

Macalester College

DigitalCommons@Macalester College

History Honors Projects

History Department

Spring 5-1-2023

Interpreting Spain's Jewish Past: Jewish Heritage Tourism and the Politics of History

Ana C. Berman
anaberman01@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/history_honors



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Berman, Ana C., "Interpreting Spain's Jewish Past: Jewish Heritage Tourism and the Politics of History" (2023). *History Honors Projects*. 33.

https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/history_honors/33

This Honors Project is brought to you for free and open access by the History Department at DigitalCommons@Macalester College. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Honors Projects by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Macalester College. For more information, please contact scholarpub@macalester.edu.

Interpreting Spain's Jewish Past

Jewish Heritage Tourism and the Politics of History

Ana Catherine Berman

Honors Thesis

Macalester College Department of History

Dr. Jessica Lynne Pearson, History Department

May 1, 2023

Table of Contents

I.	Abstract.....	2
II.	Acknowledgements.....	3
III.	Introduction.....	5
IV.	Signs: What to Expect of Spanish Inquisition.....	18
V.	Stones: Historiography, Heritage Management, and Surviving Structures.....	41
VI.	Souvenirs: Selling Jewishness since 1992.....	78
VII.	Epilogue.....	97

Abstract: This honors project explores Jewish heritage tourism in twenty-first-century Spain and how the politics of historiography permeate all aspects of the tourism experience. It argues that Jewish heritage sites in Spain are deeply entrenched in global, centuries-long historiographical debates about Spanish empire, nationalism, and legacy. This, in turn, has shaped decisions about which Jewish spaces Spanish entities preserve for future generations and how Spanish entities represent present-day Jews, Jewishness, and Judaism. To demonstrate the reach of academia beyond the classroom, I use on-site signage, heritage management initiatives, and souvenirs to trace the influence of historiographical narratives, like Spanish Black and White Legend, in the heritage tourism sphere.

Acknowledgements

There are so many people who have helped this project take shape over the past two years. It is hard to know where to even begin with my thank-yous! First and foremost, thank you to the Roetzel Family for your financial support. Without your dedication to undergraduate religious studies research, I would never have been able to pursue a project like this. To the folks on the ground in Spain, thank you for your hospitality and generosity. I will forever be grateful to the DeNó family for hosting me in their home on several research trips and for treating me to many meals, ice cream cones, and coffees. I am also greatly indebted to Moises Hassan— thank you for an enlightening conversation on the Jewish heritage tourism industry and for sharing your Jewish Sevilla with me.

I could not have finished this project without support from a large team of folks here at Macalester. I am so appreciative of the Macalester library faculty and staff, especially Connie Karlen, Jackie Beckey, and Ginny Moran, all of whom helped me with my research at various points throughout this process. Thank you to the Macalester History department for believing in me and this project, and for supporting me both financially and emotionally. Special thanks to Carla Zelada for helping me organize events for this thesis and for just being such an amazing cheerleader to me. I am also so grateful to Ernie Capello and Katrina Phillips for sharing their expertise and recommending invaluable resources.

To my committee members— Jessica Pearson, Karin Velez, Susanna Drake—, thank you for your patience and your kindness, for listening to my ramblings, and for reading and re-reading various sections of this thesis in its various iterations. Susanna Drake, thank you for helping me work through all of my questions on Jewish-Christian relations, on Jewish bodies, on the religious studies discipline, and most of all, thank you for reminding me to

approach my scholarly work with nuance and empathy always. Karin Velez, thank you for getting me through all the first draft “angst,” and for chatting with me about Spanish historiography and all of the fascinating things that happen in the religious tourism world. Jessica Pearson, your guidance and mentorship has meant so much to me throughout my time at Macalester. Thank you for the hours you put into this project, for listening to me, for helping me make sense of my word vomit, and for all of the other little things you have done for me over the course of this project. You have truly helped shaped me into the scholar I am today and for you, I will always be grateful.

To all of my friends, thank you– I feel so thankful to have such a wonderful support network of people who challenge me to be the best person and scholar I can be. I extend my gratitude to all of you, and especially to Zoë Baker, Ella Deutchman and Hannah Scharrer who helped me process my experiences in real time in Sevilla. To my family– Sam, Dani, Mom, and Dad–, I love you deeply and do not know what I would do without your endless support and encouragement. Mom and Dad, thank you for instilling in me a deep love for learning and a strong sense of Jewish identity. Finally, thank you Nick. I would not be able to get through this project without you. Thank you for believing in me even when I doubt myself. Your love means so much to me.

Introduction

In the spring of 1992, on the eve of the 500th anniversary of Spain's Edict of Expulsion, Spanish king Juan Carlos I and Israeli president Chaim Herzog stood in Madrid's Synagogue Beth Yaakov and recited Kaddish together to honor Sephardim, Spain's exiled Jews.¹ Many Jews, including Elie Wiesel, hoped that with this symbolic reunion between the two communities would come an official apology from the Spanish monarch on behalf of his predecessors. The Spanish king neither apologized, nor did he mention the word expulsion in his remarks.² Instead, he offered the Jewish community an ambiguous response, noting that Spain had "periods of profound respect for freedom and others of intolerance and persecution for political, ideological and religious reasons."³ The Spanish monarchy and state saw this reunion not as the 'reconciliation' many Jews had hoped for, but rather, as Danielle Rozenberg remarks, as a 'reencounter.'⁴

Spanish authorities marketed this 'reencounter' between the communities as the highest-profile act of 1992, a year Spain had dedicated to celebrating its entrance into democratic Europe.⁵ The 're-encounter' was complimented by a series of legal and cultural commitments made to Jews in the years leading up. In 1982, Spanish civil code placed

¹ William Drozdiak, "Spain's Inglorious Edict of 1492," *The Washington Post*, March 31, 1992, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1992/03/31/spains-inglorious-edict-of-1492/f93ae396-008b-452a-b1c4-66e580ca4dd5/>.

² Adrián Pérez Melgosa and Daniela Flesler, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 18.

³ Alan Riding, "500 Years after Expulsion, Spain Reaches out to Jews," *The New York Times*, April 1, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/01/world/500-years-after-expulsion-spain-reaches-out-to-jews.html>.

⁴ Danielle Rozenberg, *La España contemporánea y la cuestión judía: retejiendo los hilos de la memoria y de la historia* (Casa de Sefarad-Israel and Marcial Pons Historia, 2010), 325.

⁵ The 1992 celebration was marked by three major international events: the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the World's Fair in Seville, and the yearlong tenure of Madrid as a "European City of Culture." For more information on the significance of 1992 see Helen Graham and Antonio Sanchez, "The Politics of 1992.", *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 406-418.

Sephardi Jews in a special class of citizenship-seekers along with other members of Spain's former empire. Spain established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1986. And finally, in 1987, the Spanish government created the commission Sepharad '92: The Re-Discovery of Jewish Spain. These efforts culminated in both the reencounter *and* a heritage work commitment: the establishment of *la Red de Juderías de España* (Spain's network of Jewish quarters), Spain's predominant Jewish heritage preservation organization.

The commitments of 1992 largely avoided any mention of expulsion or any conversations insinuating that Spain might have a moral obligation to the Jewish community. That being said, in 2015, when Spain passed a Law of nationality for descendants of Spanish Jews that acknowledged wrong-doing, the global Jewish community hoped that this self-declared "historic reparation" would live up to its intention as a restorative act.⁶ Spanish authorities, as it appeared, had made a significant recommitment to their legal promises to the Sephardi community. However, Spanish authorities did not follow up this legal commitment with a renewed heritage commitment. Restorative heritage work requires significant historiographical intervention, whereas the

⁶ Of the 132,000 applicants for the 2015 Spanish Law of Return, only 34,000 have received citizenship (See Nicholas Casey, "Spain Pledged Citizenship to Sephardic Jews. Now They Feel Betrayed"). The official application window closed in 2019, after a year-long extension. However, the majority of applicants are still awaiting a response from the Spanish government, and an increasing number of applicants have received rejections in 2021. Applicants are beginning to feel betrayed by the Spanish promise of a "historic reparation" (See Gergely et al., "New Yorkers with Sephardic Roots Say Spain Is Breaking Its Promise of Citizenship"). Scholars acknowledge the largely symbolic nature of the law, pointing to barriers to application such as steep financial costs, language requirements, citizenship exams, and thorough genealogical evidence (See McDonald, and Fleser and Melgosa, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain*). As McDonald observes, "We might think of the Law of Return not as conferring Spanish citizenship on Sephardic descendants, but as confirming the Spanishness of Sephardic Jews. Viewed in this light, Spain wasn't offering a homecoming to Jews and their descendants; it was renegotiating the terms of inclusion to claim them as Spaniards, shoring up an explicitly Castilian national identity against the backdrop of renewed assertions of Catalan and Basque nationalism" (111). For more information on how the present-day Sephardi diaspora has responded to the Law of Return, see "Ancestry, Genealogy, and Restorative Citizenship: Oral histories of Sephardi descendants reclaiming Spanish and Portuguese nationality" by Benmayor and Kandiyoti.

citizenship laws do not necessarily. That being said, this thesis explores how Spain's commitment to Jewish heritage work has evolved in the twenty-first century and asks: How do people—locals and tourists alike— experience Spain's Jewish past at Jewish heritage sites? What role does historiographical narrative play in how Spanish keepers of Jewish heritage preserve this Jewish past and communicate a Jewish present?

To delve into these questions, I explore a number of medieval Jewish heritage sites preserved for twenty-first-century Jewish heritage tourism, and how the politics of historiography, the writing of history, permeate all aspects of the Jewish heritage tourism experience. I argue that Jewish heritage sites in Spain, although leisure destinations, are deeply entrenched in global, centuries-long historiographical debates about Spanish empire, nationalism and legacy. This, in turn, has shaped decisions about which Jewish spaces Spanish entities preserve for future generations and how Spanish entities represent present-day Jews, Jewishness, and Judaism.

Origins of Difference

At the core of this thesis is the understanding that history— in all of its forms whether that be professional or non-professional— is political. Before I bring readers on-site, I must explain both the history *and* the politics of history that shape the dynamics on the ground at Jewish heritage sites in the twenty-first century. This requires that I take readers all the way back to medieval Spain, or Al-Andalus.

In 711, Muslim forces conquered the overwhelming majority of the Iberian Peninsula during what had become a time of turmoil in the Visigoth empire. Jews, who had come to face increased persecution as a religious minority under Visigothic control, inherited new legal status under Muslim rule as *dhimmis*, a protection extended to non-

Muslim religious minorities. *Dhimmi* status afforded Jews economic mobility and the right to continue practicing their respective religions granted they pay a special tax, a luxury and safety that was almost unimaginable to Jews in Christendom. As Christian forces began reconquering the Iberian Peninsula in a centuries-long military campaign known as *la Reconquista* (the Reconquest), Jewish status began shifting, although for the most part Jews remained relatively protected. When Christian strongholds in the peninsula became more significant, Christian rulers became less inclined to remain lenient towards religious minorities. Jewish studies scholarship marks 1391 as a significant turning point in the history of Inquisition: the beginning of Spain's *converso* problem.⁷

Due to a variety of pressures including mass pogroms, scholars estimate between a third and half of Spain's Jewish population converted to Christianity in 1391.⁸ As a result, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish 'Christian' and 'Jew.' To compensate, 'natural Christians' looked for other ways to determine Jewishness, namely through genealogy or a *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) caste system.⁹ As historian David Nirenberg notes, "Accusations of Judaism now became instigations to prove through

⁷ Abigail Dyer and Richard Kagan, *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2014).

⁸ Dyer and Kagan, 12.

⁹ "Natural Christians" are also referred to as 'Old Christians', a designation given to distinguish Christians from 'New Christians', recent converts to Christianity. It is important to note that the category of 'new Christian' was not limited to people of Jewish heritage. The designation extended to Protestants, Protestant sympathizers, Moriscos (converts to Christianity from Islam) and, later, under the Spanish empire, to Indigenous and Black people. For more information on the effects of Inquisition on Moriscos see O'Banion *It Happened in my Presence* and Vollendorf, "I am a man and a woman" in *Lives of Women: A New Inquisitorial History*. For further reading on effects of Inquisition on Black and Indigenous people see Behar, "Sexual Witchcraft" in *Sexuality and Marriage in colonial Latin America* and Vicuña Guengerich, "The Witchcraft Trials of Paula de Eguiluz" in *Afro-Latino voices: narratives from the early modern Ibero-Atlantic world, 1550-1812*. It is important to note that Inquisition in the Americas disproportionately targeted people of color, and especially women of color.

genealogy and interrogation that their objects were Jews in flesh and faith.”¹⁰ From here, Spain developed institutions to deal with the power of this new discourse surrounding Judaism and Jewishness. Inquisition became one custodian of that power, initially as an institution implemented in selective Spanish Kingdoms, and later, starting in 1492, as a nation-wide institution. The nation-wide implementation of Inquisition in 1492 was coupled with the Edict of Expulsion, which gave Jews an ultimatum: leave or convert. The policies of Spanish Inquisition and expulsion are particularly notable because, via *limpieza de sangre*, Jewishness became a characteristic that was inherent and immutable by conversion. Many scholars mark Inquisition as the starting point for biological, racialized antisemitism, a specific kind of antisemitism that ultimately would inspire the genocide of millions of Jews in the Shoah.¹¹

The year 1492 is also an important year in Spanish history because it marks the beginning of the Spanish empire with Christopher Columbus’ first expedition to the Americas. In his book *Puritan Conquistadors*, historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra demonstrates how the policies of Spanish colonialism and Inquisition and expulsion were part of a larger, Christian expansionist agenda (taking place amongst Protestant nations as well) to rid Europe and beyond of “demonic enemies.”¹² These Christian expansionist agendas, although similar in actuality, as Cañizares-Esguerra proves, sparked a centuries-long ideological battle between Catholicism and Protestantism.¹³ Out of this ideological battle between Protestantism and Catholicism grew two dominant historiographical

¹⁰ Nirenberg, 240.

¹¹ Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 238-244.

¹² Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 9.

¹³ For more information on the similarities between Catholic and Protestant expansionism in the 16th and 17th century see Cañizares-Esguerra’s *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*.

narratives about Spanish colonialism. The first, retrospectively titled by Spanish historian Julian Juderías, is “Black Legend,” a term that refers to a body of foreign writings and representations originating in the sixteenth century that tell tales of Spanish backwardness in a supposedly propagandistic attempt to delegitimize Spanish colonial and legitimize Protestant colonial rule.¹⁴ The second is “White Legend,” a term that refers to a body of writings by the Spanish which counter Black Legend by proving Spanish colonial ‘peculiarities’ to be at the root of Spanish superiority. As historian Christopher Schmidt-Nowara notes, “In this rendering of conquest and colonization, the apparent conflicts created through war, slavery, despotic rule, and racial heterogeneity were harmonized into a coherent whole by language, religion, laws, and racial mixture.”¹⁵

In the centuries since their inception, the uses and abuses of Black and White Legend historiography have evolved significantly. Schmidt-Nowara, in his book *The Conquest of History*, examines nineteenth-century Black and White Legend and shows how history became a battlefield in Spanish struggles over empire. Schmidt-Nowara along with John-Nieto Phillips also explores the transnational effects of Black and White Legend on Spanish colonial and post-colonial America from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries and demonstrates how history often responds to present-day needs and expectations.¹⁶ To complement scholarship by Schmidt-Nowara and Nieto-Phillips, historian Antonio Feros uses historiography as a primary source and traces White Legend in Spanish academia through the late twentieth century, including the infusion of racial science and eugenics

¹⁴ For an example of how Anglo powers used Black Legend to discredit and racialize Spain see María DeGuzmán’s *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*.

¹⁵ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 41.

¹⁶ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John Nieto-Phillips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism : Empires, Nations, and Legends*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

into the ideological battle.¹⁷ He argues that White Legend historiographical narratives have been central to the construction of Spanish nationalism, which has enabled not just the longevity of the narrative, but also its ability to garner support from both progressive and conservative academics and governments.¹⁸ This thesis uses Black and White Legend as a primary source to identify those historiographical narratives in public-facing history at Jewish heritage sites in the twenty-first century, and to evaluate the links between historiography and Spain's present-day needs, expectations and agendas.

In more recent years, scholars have begun exploring Spain's tourism marketing at public-facing historical sites. For instance, scholars Adrián Pérez-Melgosa and Daniela Flesler note the transformation of concepts like *Convivencia* (coexistence between Jews, Muslims and Christians in medieval Spain) at Jewish heritage sites in the late twentieth century Spanish tourism industry into an ideological product through which Spain now promotes as a sign of its "intrinsic knowledge of democracy and of its inherent racial and cultural tolerance: a multiculturalism *avant la lettre*."¹⁹ *Convivencia*, as an ideological product that boasts Spain's 'racial and cultural harmony,' undoubtedly has its roots in White Legend historiographical narratives. I argue that investigating the historiographical roots of Spanish tourism's marketable ideological products, like *Convivencia*, is crucial to understanding the history and trajectory of the Spanish tourism industry.

¹⁷ Antonio Feros, "'Spain and America: All Is One': Historiography of the Conquest and Colonization of the Americas and National Mythology in Spain" in *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Feros, 111.

¹⁹ Daniela Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia: Contemporary Tourist Appropriations of Spain's Jewish Past" in *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Cultural Identity*, 63.

Commodification of Difference

When we think about history as a battlefield on which nations hash out questions of empire and nationalism, we must also think about how sites that serve as platforms for history, like heritage sites, tourist attractions and museums, are implicated in this process. In this age of mass tourism, the public interacts with sites that serve as platforms for history more than ever before. The historical work at these sites becomes increasingly central to how nations communicate questions of empire and nationalism, not just to their own constituents, but to the world. As a result, heritage tourism sites function as powerful and political platforms.

In the case of Spain's tourism industry, the politics of history have played a heavy hand in shaping how the industry has evolved. Over the course of the last century and a half, Spain transitioned from being what many considered an undesirable destination to one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world— a shift that coincided with the downfall of Spanish empire and thus the decreasing global relevancy of Black Legend narratives. Spain's tourism success (although not linear) also occurred in spite of transitions in and out of dictatorships, civil war, and fascism. This success hinged largely on a complicated and ever-evolving balance between commodifying Spanish 'difference' to "fulfill foreign appetites" and proving Spain's place among 'civilized' Western nations.²⁰ As post-Franco Spain rebranded its tourism industry, Spanish 'difference,' particularly racial, ethnic, and religious difference came to be a central pull for foreign visitors seeking out 'multicultural' adventures.

²⁰ Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia," 64; Jose Luis Venegas, *The Sublime South: Andalusia, Orientalism, and the Making of Modern Spain* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2018), 13.

To analyze Spain's 'commodification of difference' at Jewish heritage sites, I must first take readers back into the *long durée* history of Spanish tourism. When Spain emerged as a unified, Christian nation in the 15th century, Spain's western European counterparts leaned into Black Legend and stressed 'exotic' and 'backwards' elements of Spanish history and culture to differentiate it from the rest and make Spain seem an undesirable destination. However, a shift towards Orientalist taste occurred between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and soon, the very elements of Spain that had made it 'uncultured' instead made it, as Flesler and Melgosa note, a unique "reservoir of exotic culture" in continental Europe.²¹ Capitalizing on Spain's new found popularity, the Spanish government developed commissions and allocated funds to the tourism industry in the early twentieth century, making it one of the first governments in Europe to do so, and thus cementing Spain as a destination in the European Grand tour.²² Spain's Civil War (1936-1939), however, soon destroyed much of this new infrastructure; and Western countries economically isolated Spain in response to Francisco Franco's new fascist leadership, causing Spain's economy— and by extension Spain's tourism industry— to suffer.

In the early 1950s, Spanish authorities began reestablishing diplomatic relations with the West, and tourism became central to normalizing these relationships and bolstering the Spanish economy. As historian Justin Crumbaugh argues, tourism was "Not only part of the symbolic fabric of late francoism, but one of its organizing principles... tourism created its own mythology."²³ This mythology, which leaned into 'exotic' and

²¹ Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia," 64.

²² Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia," 65.

²³ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*, SUNY Series in Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 3.

‘backwards’ elements of Spanish culture and marketed them as ‘spectacles of local color,’ made Francoism more palatable to foreigners and allowed Franco to present to the world a unified vision of Spain during his aggressive campaign to suppress Spanish regionalism.²⁴

After Franco’s death in 1975, Spain’s tourism industry and its ‘commodification of difference’ remained central as the country transitioned from dictatorship to democracy in the late twentieth century. Upon joining the European Union in 1986, Spanish authorities began their efforts to distance their country from its Francoist past and, instead, promote Spain as a modern, progressive European nation. As a result, 1990s tourism marketing shifted away from Spain’s coastal beaches and towards urban tourism, and Spain refashioned its ‘exotic’ differences as representative of the country’s rich and multicultural past. Not only did these new cultural and heritage tourism initiatives enable Spain to market to wealthier, more ‘cultured’ clientele, but they also enabled new autonomous communities to embrace regional differences as opposed to the previously homogenous vision of Spain under Franco.²⁵

Spain’s shift towards urban and cultural tourism is not unusual given a global shift in the past fifty years towards cultural and heritage tourism. Tourism studies scholars Bob McKercher and Hilary DuCros explore this shift in their book *Cultural Tourism* where they discuss the complicated relationship between cultural heritage management and tourism.²⁶ They argue that tourism can be used as a tool to achieve broader management goals but is not. Instead, heritage management and tourism operate in parallel to one another, using the

²⁴ Crumbaugh, 4-6.

²⁵ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 67.

²⁶ Bob McKercher and Hilary Du Cros, *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management* (New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2002),

same resources, but valuing them for different purposes.²⁷ Archaeologist Lynn Meskell also researches heritage management in her work on the history of UNESCO and cultural heritage, arguing that the stakes for heritage are high and that we must educate ourselves to the politics and history at work in cultural world heritage that still influence the future of sites and regions.²⁸

Scholarship on preservation and heritage management with a focus on Jewish studies exists but is mostly limited to post-Holocaust Europe and Holocaust studies. For instance, Jewish studies scholar James E. Young examines Holocaust monuments and museums from an architectural perspective and argues monuments and museums oftentimes “suppress as much as they commemorate” and “tell as much about their makers as about events.”²⁹ Like Young’s, this project aims to identify when museums and monuments “suppress as much as they commemorate” and “tell as much about their makers as about events.” However, unlike Young’s, this thesis achieves this goal by exploring interactions between historiography and preservation politics—from global heritage management organizations like UNESCO to regional organizations— and arguing that the historiography that informs the preservation of Jewish heritage sites, although it appears to be in service of global heritage management goals, actually pushes forth a distinctly Spanish heritage agenda.

Although Spain follows global tourism trends like marketing cultural and heritage tourism, the country’s quest to prove and sell its difference remains alive and well,

²⁷ McKercher and Du Cros, 231-232.

²⁸ Lynn Meskell, *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), xix, xxiii.

²⁹ James Edward Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven ; Yale University Press, 1993).

intriguing scholars around the world. Scholar José Luis Venegas looks at Spain's complicated balance between 'fitting-in' and 'standing out' through the lens of Orientalism, looking to Spain as Europe's 'internal orient.'³⁰ Additionally, Crumbaugh and Dorothy Kelly explore the commodification of Spanish difference and its role in Spain's success both as a fascist nation and in democratic transition.³¹ In spite of extensive research on Jewish heritage tourism in Europe by scholars like Ruth Gruber, Michael Meng, Erica Lehrer and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, limited research has been done on Jewish heritage tourism and how it intersects with Spain's commodification of difference at Jewish heritage sites in Spain.³² In recent years, scholars like Flesler, Pérez-Melgosa, and Tabea Linhard have begun to explore cultural memory work at Jewish heritage sites in Spain, but none have dived deep into the relationship between Spanish cultural memory and Spanish historiography at these sites.³³ This thesis traces the influence of Spanish historiographical narratives on Spain's 'commodification of difference' through representations of Jews, Jewishness and Judaism at Jewish heritage sites in Spain. I argue that Jews, as commodities for a certain vision of Spain's past, become anachronistic, static, and unchanging, as opposed to a living, breathing community whose reality does not always align with Spain's historical agenda.

³⁰ Venegas, *The Sublime South: Andalusia, Orientalism, and the Making of Modern Spain*.

³¹ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship*; Dorothy Kelly, "Selling Spanish Otherness since the 1960's," in *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*, eds. Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas (London: Arnold, 2000), 29-37.

³² Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Michael Meng, *Shattered Spaces* (Harvard University Press, 2011); Erica T. Lehrer, *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013); Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Exhibiting Jews" in *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley Calif.: University of California Press, 1998).

³³ Adrián Pérez Melgosa and Daniela Flesler, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain*; Tabea Alexa Linhard, *Jewish Spain: A Mediterranean Memory*, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014).

Structure and Sources

This project is divided into three chapters—signs, stones, and souvenirs— each inspired by key components of the cultural heritage experience. This division is intended to aid readers in their conceptualization of the Jewish heritage tourism experience in Spain, and, to some extent, to enable them to feel as though they themselves are present at each site and immersed in every aspect of the experience. As McKercher and du Cros note, cultural tourists oftentimes are more interested in a perceived cultural authenticity than cultural reality.³⁴ This project is intended to act as a sort of ‘historian’s hat’ for armchair travelers— both academic and non-academic— who are interested in exploring cultural *realities* on the ground at cultural heritage sites.

In the first chapter “Signs: What to Expect of Spanish Inquisition,” I walk readers through the on-site signage and the historical scholarship behind the words that tourists encounter at these sites. I argue that, primarily through their signage, Jewish heritage sites (which are often managed by non-Jewish entities) uphold and legitimize long-standing Spanish historiographies like White Legend in the public sphere. After examining the foundational historical work at the heart of these sites, I explore heritage management infrastructure, the process and politics of how each stone is preserved. My second chapter, “Stones: Historiography, Heritage Management, and Surviving Structures,” investigates UNESCO’s global heritage preservation standards and its application in Spain, and argues that UNESCO’s standards privilege cultural heritage preservation along the lines of problematic and whitewashed *Convivencia* historiography. In other words, oftentimes, Spanish entities preserve Jewish heritage sites only as long as they serve nationalistic

³⁴ McKercher and Du Cros, *Cultural Tourism*, 40.

Spanish interests. Finally, I take the reader to perhaps the most exciting part of the cultural tourism experience: the gift shop. My last chapter, “Souvenirs: Selling Jewishness since 1992,” examines gift shop offerings and argues that shopping experiences lean into Spain’s historical ‘commodification of difference’ and thus normalize Jewish difference.

By taking readers on tour of Spain’s Jewish heritage tourism industry, this project aims to demonstrate how heritage management, preservation, and tourism are steeped in the politics of history. Unraveling the politics of history at the sites that not just embody but interpret Spain’s Jewish past reveals, beyond government commitments and legislation, the extent to which Spanish cultural memory has (or has not) reconciled with the Jewish community. History and the ways we write history are crucial components to the reparation process, as this project hopes to illustrate.

Chapter 1

Signs:

What to Expect of the Spanish Inquisition

In the prologue to the second edition of *Caminos de Sefarad Guía Judía de España* (the first specialized guidebook to Spain's Jewish heritage), Spanish writer Juan García Atienza said the following about his visit to the Israeli diaspora museum's exhibit on the medieval Spanish-Jewish experience:

un cuadro patético de las persecuciones, marginaciones y vejaciones que sufrieron los hebreos hispanicos... [con un] regusto por lo macabro y lo trágico... [y] ese espíritu decididamente victimista... que caracteriza demasiado a menudo a buena parte del pueblo judío. [a pathetic picture of persecutions, marginalizations, and humiliations suffered by Hispano-Hebrews [with a] relish for the morbid and tragic... [and] that spirit of victimization...which too often characterizes a good part of the Jewish people].¹

In fact, he proclaims that not being a Jew gives him an advantage in writing this guidebook because, as a non-Jew, he has "an objectivity too often absent in the researchers of Hebrew origin."² Atienza lauds his guidebook for its historical authenticity after centuries of "misinterpretations" of the facts surrounding Jewish expulsion in 1492. His book, as he proclaims, unlike other Jewish retrievals of the history, intends to focus on the good, on the life and legacy left behind by Sephardim rather than on the persecution, in hopes that "el aroma de un pastelillo cocido en el horno de una aljama pueda con el hedor de la carne chamuscada" [the scent of a hot cake out of the oven of an *aljama* might overcome the stench of scorched flesh].³

¹ Juan García Atienza, *Caminos de Sefarad. Guía Judía de España* (Barcelona: Robin Book, 1994), 10; Daniela Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia: Contemporary Tourist Appropriations of Spain's Jewish Past" in *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Cultural Identity*, 84; Translation by Flesler and Melgosa.

² Flesler and Melgosa, 76. Translation by Flesler and Melgosa.

³ Flesler and Melgosa, 76-77; Atienza, 16. Translation by Flesler and Melgosa.

Atienza's commentary is problematic for multiple reasons: it paints Jews as evil and conniving, *and*, maybe even more importantly, it insinuates that Jewish people are incapable of responsibly telling their own history. Leaning into the 'whiny Jew' trope, Atienza dismisses Jewish narratives outright, characterizing them as too focused on persecution and Spanish misdeed.⁴ Underlying his prejudice, however, is this age-old battle in Spanish historiography over who has the right to tell Spanish history, and, who has the right to pass moral judgment on Spanish actions of the past. This battle over Spanish historiography and morality is inextricably linked to the centuries-long ideological battle between Black and White Legend historiographical narratives.

Much of the signage at Jewish heritage sites around Spain has been crafted by non-Jews like Atienza and draws on similar tropes. This chapter explores how trends in Spanish historiography manifest themselves in signage at a number of Jewish heritage sites in Spain in the twenty-first century. We will tour Sagunto, Casa de Sefarad (Córdoba), Centro Didáctico de Segovia, and Museo Sefardí (Toledo), engage their historical signage as we examine key historiographical debates such as Black and White Legend, and unpack important historical concepts like *Convivencia* and *hispanismo*. With the intention of exploring the relationship between Spanish historiography and identity further, I ask the following questions: How does Spanish historiography mobilize Jewish history to navigate questions of national, regional, and local identity at sites of Jewish history? And, how do Spanish historiographical narratives make dealing with the dark histories of Inquisition and expulsion so difficult?

⁴ For a more thorough discussion of Jewish historiography of Spanish-Jewish history see David Nirenberg's *Communities of Violence*, 8-9.

I argue that Jewish heritage sites in twenty-first-century Spain and status-quo Spanish academic historiography have a mutually beneficial relationship. Heritage sites, which are almost always managed by non-Jewish entities, apply existing Spanish historiography to their recoveries of Jewish history to help them navigate difficult questions of identity. In turn, these sites maintain a defense of Spanish historiographical phenomena and normalize them in public spheres. I begin by considering how Jewish history is mobilized in Jewish heritage sites to navigate regional and national agendas, and how these sites conform to and deviate from traditional historiography to carry out these agendas. Then, I explore signage at Jewish heritage sites that deals directly with Inquisition and expulsion and how these sites legitimize, defend, and privilege Spanish historical narratives.

Navigating Regional and National Identity in Jewish Heritage Sites

The Spanish national government started funding Jewish heritage preservation under its new Socialist leadership in the 1990s. This time in Spanish history was marked by deep uncertainty—Spain had recently transitioned from fascist to democratic leadership and was dealing with deep regional and cultural divides. As Flesler and Melgosa note, in the 1990s Spain did not critically engage with its Jewish history, instead using Jews as tools for reimagining Spain as a “multicultural, pluralistic society” and for reconciling with national, local, and regional identities.⁵ Over 30 years later, these dynamics still present themselves. Small, regional sites like Sagunto continue to draw upon local, philosemitic historiographical traditions as well as linguistic tradition in their retrievals of Jewish heritage, aligning themselves with Sephardim as cultural minorities within the larger

⁵ Daniela Flesler and Adrián Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 63.

Spain.⁶ Meanwhile, sites of greater national significance, like Córdoba, incorporate national historiographic narratives like White Legend and key historical concepts like *Convivencia* and *hispanismo* in their retrievals of Jewish history, converting Sephardi Jews into symbols through which these sites defend national legacy.

Sagunto, a small city on the outskirts of Valencia, joined *la Red de Juderías de España* (the Network of Jewish quarters in Spain) in 2017.⁷ Upon first glance, the inclusion of a city relatively unknown in Spanish history like Sagunto in a heritage preservation organization with international renown like *Red de Juderías* might seem curious. However, there has been an extensive amount of research done on the local Jewish community of medieval Sagunto.⁸

The signage around the town's Jewish quarter offers imagery and explanations of the sites in multilingual text. Additionally, Jewish heritage signage contains QR codes with incredibly thorough, multilingual audio descriptions of the historical context and

⁶ The term “philosemitism” was originally coined in the 1880’s by antisemites in Germany, as a derogatory antonym to antisemitism. Scholars of philosemitism disagree about whether or not philosemitism is truly the antithesis of antisemitism (Rapaport, 1980; Edelstein, 1982), or rather, a subset of antisemitism (Lassner and Trubovitz, 2008; Stern, 1991). Throughout the literature, however, scholars overwhelmingly agree on philosemitism’s othering effect (Bauman, 1998) and underlying current of ambivalence (Bauman, Cheyette). Much of the scholarship done on philosemitism is in German and focuses on instances of German philosemitism, particularly post-war German philosemitism. It was not really until the late 20th century that scholars began publishing scholarship on philosemitism in English (See Rapaport, 1980; Edelstein, 1982; Rubenstein and Rubenstein, 1999), and even still, scholarship focused heavily on European and post-war philosemitism.

⁷ Ayuntamiento de Sagunto, “Sagunto Ya Forma Parte De La Red De Juderías De España-Caminos De Sefarad,” [https://aytosagunto.es/es/actualidad/sagunto-ya-forma -parte- de-la-red-de- juderias-de-espana-caminos-de-sefarad/](https://aytosagunto.es/es/actualidad/sagunto-ya-forma--parte- de-la-red-de- juderias-de-espana-caminos-de-sefarad/); Red de Juderías, Spain’s national association for Jewish heritage preservation, began as part of the 1992 Jewish culture initiative, Caminos de Sefarad. Caminos de Sefarad created a tourist route through cities with significant Jewish presence prior to 1492. As Caminos de Sefarad grew, its efforts were formalized into *Red de Juderías de España: Caminos de Sefarad*, an association “that fosters the research, restoration, and tourist promotion of the historic Jewish quarters in each participating city.” The association is co-sponsored by the Spanish Ministry of industry, Commerce and Tourism, Offices of Tourism from the respective Autonomous Communities, and the local councils of participating cities. The association also participates in European Union initiatives aimed at celebrating European Jewish culture (Flesler and Melgosa, *Spain is (still) Different*, 67-68).

⁸ In addition to Civera’s *Morvedre Hebreu*, see Mark Meyerson’s *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-century Spain*.

significance of Jewish sites, some of which last up to ten minutes. Beyond its thoughtful and comprehensive signage, what distinguishes Sagunto from many other Jewish heritage sites is that several of its signs cite a source, a local historian by the name of Manuel Civera i Gómez.⁹ Manuel Civera published his extensive research in 2009 in a book titled *Morvedre Hebreu (segles XIII-XVI)* (Hebrew Morvedre (13th to 16th Century)). Written in *Valencià*, a dialect of Catalan native to Valencia, this book provided Sagunto with an abundance of information on the city's Jewish past which was foundational to its admission in *Red de Juderías*.

In his book, Civera argues that the material Jewish heritage of Morvedre (medieval Sagunto) is exceptional and that Jews' and Jewish conversos' role in Sagunto's community is fundamental. He traces this historical Jewish influence on the city's physical, social, and legal makeup, identifying sites, parochial traditions, and genealogy to support his claims. As Valencian medieval historian Enric Guinot points out, Civera's writing is immensely thorough with a mountain of archival data and evidence to back up his claims.¹⁰

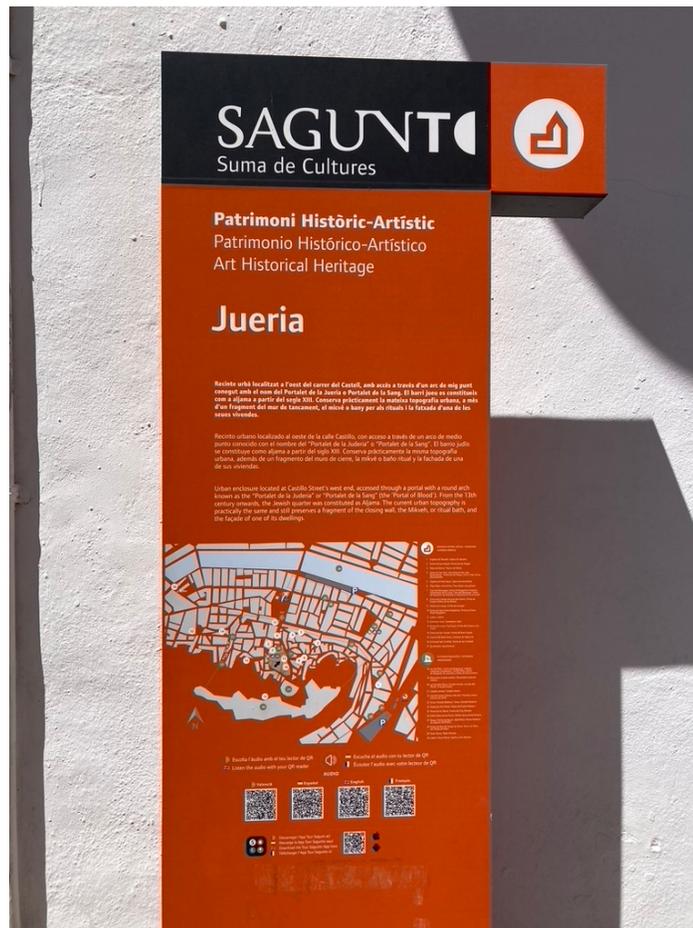
Beyond proving Morvedre's exceptional Jewish heritage, Civera's *Morvedre Hebreu* has a secondary, more political goal. Civera notes: "Although it is not València or Girona, present-day Sagunto enjoys a Jewish urban heritage with many cultural and touristic possibilities."¹¹ In the same paragraph, he calls upon a broader community of teachers, architects, archaeologists, and politicians to study and pass legislation in order to save the Jewish remains before they endure further degradation and/or possible irreparable

⁹ Although there is academic work happening about Jewish heritage in Spain, scholars are rarely cited at Jewish heritage sites.

¹⁰ All translations are my own unless otherwise noted; Manuel Civera i Gomez, *Morvedre Hebreu: (Segles XIII-XVI)*, (Catarroja: Afers, 2009),14.

¹¹ Civera, 22.

damages. His plea is reflective of a wider-spread sentiment amongst smaller Spanish cities and towns that investment in Jewish heritage preservation has the potential to put a small town, like Sagunto, ‘on the map’ as a tourist and/or cultural destination.¹² However, in maintaining the focus of his plea on local scholars and politicians, Civera seems far less interested in the touristic opportunities than the cultural opportunities for the local community.



Sagunto’s multi-lingual signage accompanied by multi-lingual audio descriptions via QR. Sagunto, 2022. Photo by author.

¹² Orge Castellano et al., “In Spain, Small Towns Are Unearthing Ancient Synagogues to Resurrect Jewish History - and Attract Tourists”, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 31, 2022, <https://www.jta.org/2022/01/26/global/in-spain-small-towns-are-unearthing-ancient-synagogues-to-resurrect-jewish-history-and-attract-tourists>.

In his review of Civera's book, Guinot identifies two protagonists in this history: Sagunto's Jews *and* the city of Sagunto itself. He says: "[It is] as if Civera had wanted to introduce us to the medieval Jewish history of the city, because Jewish history is important, [but also] in order to highlight the importance of the city itself."¹³ In other words, the exceptionality of Sagunto's Jewish community makes Sagunto's history exceptional. This retrieval of Jewish history, with its two protagonists, thus takes on an additional purpose: to celebrate local culture.

This nod towards local culture is further reinforced by the linguistic dynamics at play both in this piece of scholarship and on the ground in Sagunto. Civera's work is written in *valencià*, a dialect of Catalan that is spoken in Valencia; no Castellano or English translations exist. The act of writing in *valencià* clearly signals to the reader that his audience is a local audience. He is not writing for a broader Spanish audience, nor is he writing for a Jewish audience. On the ground, Jewish heritage signage also puts Valencian culture at the forefront. Text and audio are offered in *valencià* first and followed by other languages. By putting Valencian language at the forefront, the signs, just like the scholarship they draw from, demonstrate that their primary audience is a local one. In this way, this retrieval of Jewish history functions more as a celebration of local culture than an act of reconciliation with its former Jewish community.

In Civera's research, he identifies Sagunto's local culture as fundamentally Jewish. As a result, Jewish culture and local Valencian culture become one in the same. Civera celebrates local culture through Jewish culture and achievement, and, in doing so, he situates his work within a century old tradition of Catalan philosemitism. At the beginning

¹³ Manuel Civera i Gomez, *Morvedre Hebreu (Segles XIII-XVI)*, 14.

of the twentieth century, antisemitism and anti-nationalist discrimination (especially anti-Catalanism) were on the rise in Spain. In some circles of Catalan culture, this mixture of discrimination created a feeling of identification with Jews. As Edgar Illas notes, Jews' "condition of persecuted people and the foundation of Israel in 1948 became particularly symbolic for a Catalanist discourse that was trying to re-articulate itself against the repressive rule of Francoism."¹⁴ Jewish pathways to self-determination and reclamation of the Hebrew language served as fundamental inspiration for certain Catalanists as they reimagined what Catalan nationalism and nationalist education could look like post-Franco.¹⁵ Jews have served as a symbolic metaphor for Spanish separatist groups and ethnic subcultures through which they seek liberation and independence, and celebrate their differences. Sagunto's participation in the broader Spanish network is contingent upon this distinctly *valenciano* work— a work that is written in *valencià* and traces local traditions and landmarks back to their origins. In this way, Sagunto centers Valenciano culture and tradition in their participation in *la Red de Juderías*.

Sagunto's engagement with its Jewish past clearly draws upon the tradition of twentieth century Catalanist philosemitism because it uses Jewish history as a lens through which to explore local history; and yet, its focus is unique from twentieth century Catalanists. Civera makes a point of not ending Sagunto's Jewish history in 1492, and traces Jewish *converso* history in Sagunto through the 16th century. In doing so, he ultimately centers a story of assimilation. Rather than focusing on aspects of Jewish history relating to liberation and self-determination, Sagunto and Civera emphasize Jewish life as a

¹⁴ Edgar Illas, "On Universalist Particularism: The Catalans and the Jews." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2011): 79, 81, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.556878>.

¹⁵ Illas, 79, 81; For more information about Jewish influence on Catalanist nationalists in the twentieth century see Illas pp 79-84.

minority within a larger nation and focus on aspects of Jewish history that have been impactful, long-lasting, and indicative of their ability to persevere over prejudice and coexist as a minority. He focuses on ‘those who stayed’ rather than ‘those who left.’ As a result, Jewish *Convivencia* in Sagunto provides a historical example of minority cultural perseverance and adaptability, and thus provides a model for which Valenciano culture can coexist (and thrive) with Castellano culture.

At Jewish heritage sites where there is not the same question of regional and local identity, Jewish history can be seen to take on a new role: that of defending, navigating and transmitting Spanish national legacy both within and beyond Spain. In this new role, Jewish heritage sites become public platforms for Spanish historiography, particularly Spanish White Legend. Jewish history, in its role as disseminator of White Legend, is exemplified in Casa de Sefarad, Córdoba’s primary Jewish museum. Casa de Sefarad’s location is significant because Córdoba, in recent years, has become somewhat of a de-facto Jewish heritage tourism capital. The city has an abundance of Jewish programming and heritage sites, including one of Spain’s three fully intact medieval synagogues. Additionally, and most significantly, *la Red de Juderías de España*, Spain’s national association for Jewish heritage preservation, is headquartered in Córdoba’s Jewish Quarter.

Casa de Sefarad has eight exhibition rooms with information scattered along the hallways that separate them. In between its Synagogue exhibit and Maimonides exhibit, a blurb titled “In the Beginning” gives an overview of the origins of Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula. It begins:

Our Jews, Sephardic Jews, have been present in the Iberian Peninsula since the first century of the common era, they have lived with a great plurality of

peninsular languages: Castillian, Catalan, Galician, Portuguese, Arabic, and the (linguistic) varieties of Leon, Navarro and Aragon.¹⁶

By referring to Sephardi Jews as “nuestros judíos,” or “our Jews,” this Spanish site indicates a sense of Spanish ownership, a Spanish right to make claims on Sephardi Jews. “Nuestros judíos” echoes the sentiment of “brotherhood” that is central to key Spanish colonial concepts like *hispanismo* and *hispanidad*. *Hispanismo* and *hispanidad* are concepts that initially arose from scholarly Spanish discourse post-1898. According to Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John Nieto-Phillips, *hispanismo*, in essence, was “Spain’s effort to reinvent its colonialism in the Americas and to consolidate a metropolitan national identity after the end of formal colonialism.”¹⁷ It asserted that “all Spanish-speakers were part of Spain’s spiritual and cultural empire.”¹⁸ *Hispanismo* was particularly useful to Spaniards because it functioned as a defense of the benevolent Spanish colonizer and by extension, the White Legend of Spanish benevolence.¹⁹ *Hispanidad* is a certain kind of *hispanismo* that became popular in the early twentieth century under Francisco Franco.²⁰ Although the terminology surrounding *Hispanismo* originated in a colonial context, it has since been used by Spaniards to make sense of the Sephardi diaspora and Spanish-Sephardi relations.

After 1898, Spaniards, in an attempt to try and make sense of their nation’s decline, began exploring possible ways to resurrect the empire and modernize Spain via a

¹⁶ Casa de Sefarad, “En el origen,” Casa de Sefarad, Córdoba, 2022.

¹⁷ Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John Nieto-Phillips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 2.

¹⁸ Isabelle Rohr, “‘Spaniards of the Jewish Type’: philosephardism in the Service of Imperialism in Early Twentieth-Century Spanish Morocco,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (2011): 63-64, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.556877>.

¹⁹ Schmidt-Nowara and Nieto-Phillips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism*, 3, 1.

²⁰ Bailey W. Diffie, “The Ideology of Hispanidad,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (1943): 457–82, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2508538>.

movement that became known as Regenerationism.²¹ From the Regenerationism movement arose the philosephardic movement— a movement that argued that Sephardi Jews were central to restoring Spain to its former glory. Philosephardites were particularly concerned with Sephardi “economic prowess,” and traced Spain’s economic decline and degeneration to the Inquisition— an error only to be remedied by reintroducing Sephardi Jews into the Spanish gene pool. In this movement, Sephardi Jews were widely referred to as “españoles sin patria” (Spaniards without a homeland), who spoke an “incorrect Castilian,” casting Spanishness onto Sephardim and undoubtedly situating them within the mission of *hispanismo*. Rooted in their notion of *hispanidad*, philosephardites extended bold claims of Spanishness onto Sephardim, under the assumption that Sephardim served “as the bearers and transmitters of Spain’s cultural legacy, and as witnesses and advocates of a greater Spanish patria beyond Spain’s national borders.”²²

Not only does the blurb echo philosephardic rhetoric by declaring Sephardim ‘nuestros judíos,’ but it also touches on this concept of Jews as witnesses to and advocates for a particular Spanish cultural legacy. After tracing back Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula to the first century CE, “In the Beginning” details the variety of languages (and, by extension, cultures) that Jews have coexisted with in the Iberian Peninsula. The blurb thus frames Jews as both ancient and constant witnesses to *historia patria* (national

²¹ Charles McDonald, “Rancor: Sephardi Jews, Spanish Citizenship, and the Politics of Sentiment,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (July 2021): 725, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417521000190>.

²² Michal Friedman, “Jewish History as ‘Historia Patria’: José Amador de Los Ríos and the History of the Jews of Spain.” *Jewish Social Studies* 18, no. 1 (2011): 118, <https://doi.org/10.2979/jewisocistud.18.1.88>; *Hispanidad* is the notion of the existence of a cultural and spiritual communion or “brotherhood” among all Hispanics and former colonial subjects, grounded in a shared language and religion.

history). It is as ancient and constant witnesses to culture in the Iberian Peninsula that Sephardi Jews become ‘ideal’ “bearers and transmitters of Spain’s cultural legacy.”

The exhibit further explores the notion of Sephardim as ‘ideal’ “bearers and transmitters of Spain 's cultural legacy” through Sephardi language, Judeo-Español.²³ In a blurb on the Spanish “Discovery of Judeo-Español”, the exhibit states the following:

Our Jews, the expelled Sephardim, have been seen and cataloged for centuries as alien elements to the Hispanic society (both in the Academic tradition and the popular consciousness) because of being Jews (it was supposedly incompatible to be Hispanic and Jew) and foreigners (it was not possible to be Hispanic and not Catholic). This situation also caused, as says Paloma Diaz-Mas, a paradox: "our Sephardim were seen as 'exotic and remote.'

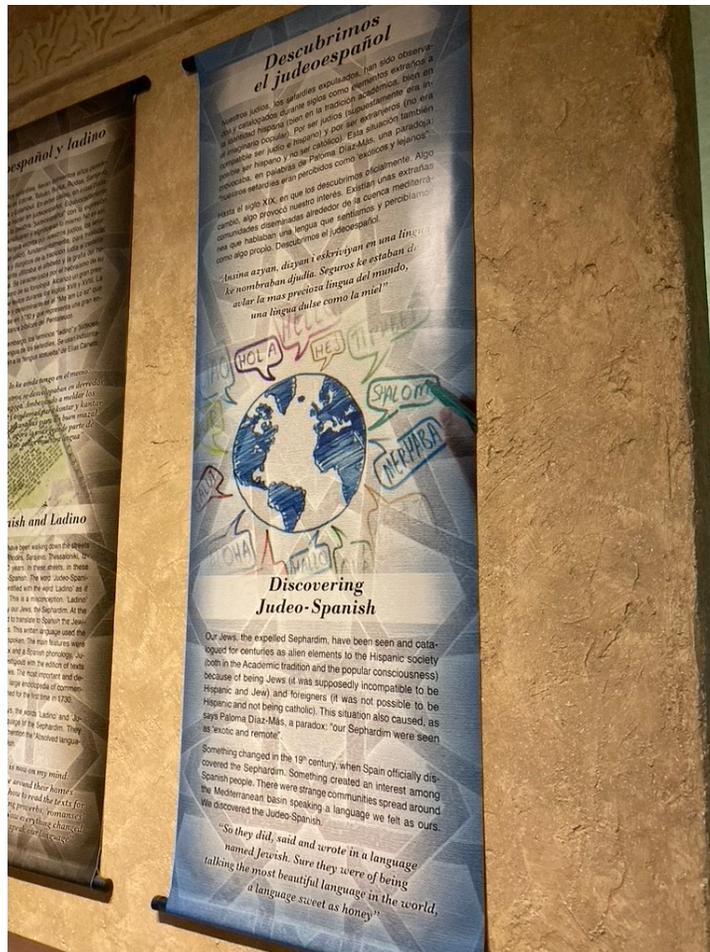
Something changed in the 19th century, when Spain officially discovered the Sephardim. Something created an interest among Spanish people. There were strange communities spread around the Mediterranean basin speaking a language we felt as ours. We discovered Judeo-Español.²⁴

This blurb has two central goals: 1) to distinguish between Spain’s Catholic past and secular present and 2) to prove its commitment to secularism by highlighting Sephardi inclusion in Spain’s cultural empire. Language, as is typical in discourse about *hispanismo*, is central to the blurb; language, it explains, is supposedly what transforms Sephardi Jews from something ‘exotic and remote’ to something ‘we felt as ours.’²⁵ The blurb dates this transformation to the nineteenth century, which, uncoincidentally, overlaps with the inception of the philosephardic movement.

²³ Judeo-Español is also more widely known as Ladino.

²⁴ Casa de Sefarad, “Descubrimos el Judeo-Español”, Casa de Sefarad, Córdoba, 2022.

²⁵ Schmidt-Nowara and Nieto-Phillips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism*, 136.



“Descubrimos el judeoespañol” as it appears in Casa de Sefarad. Córdoba, 2022. Photo by author.

Alluding to the philosephardic movement to demonstrate Spanish inclusivity, however, is curious. Under the philosephardic movement, Jewish integration into Spanish society was conditional. Jews were to be reintegrated under the assumption that they could restore Spanish glory. This outlandish assumption was based on entirely stereotyped conceptions of Jewish ability. Philosephardism became popular, not because Spaniards overwhelmingly changed their minds about Jews, but because Spain was politically desperate and reintegrating Jews seemed politically expedient. Philosephardism marked a reconciliation on Spanish terms, and citing the philosephardic movement as a turning point in Spanish-Sephardi relations demonstrates a failure to think critically about this history.

White Legend has an underlying presence in both “In the Beginning” and “We Discovered Judeo-Español” because it is White Legend historiography that legitimizes *hispanismo* and *hispanidad*. White Legend historiography, however, becomes increasingly obvious in the following blurb on Judeo-Español called “A Palimpsest language.” To describe Judeo-Español, the blurb says the following: “This language, Judeo-Spanish, never had a linguistic unified set of rules. A monumental record of cultural mixing. Unique. Exceptional.”²⁶ In the same way that White Legend identifies the peculiarities of Spanish empire to testify to Spain’s superiority, the blurb identifies the peculiarities of Judeo-Español to testify to its exceptionality. Further, it identifies Judeo-Español’s peculiarities as inherently Spanish peculiarities. “A monumental record of cultural mixing” is a direct reference to Spanish *Convivencia*. That being said, the blurb infers that Judeo-Español is exceptional thanks to Spain’s “inherent racial and cultural tolerance.”²⁷ Sephardi language is used as testimony to the greatness of Spanish empire, as a platform through which White Legend can be communicated.

In Casa de Sefarad’s exhibit on Judeo-Español, Sephardi Jews truly do become “the bearers and transmitters of Spain’s cultural legacy” and “witnesses and advocates of a greater Spanish patria beyond Spain’s national border.”²⁸ White Legend narratives are woven throughout these retrievals and revealing them demonstrates how Sephardi culture has been used to both navigate and defend Spanish legacy and historiography. Ultimately, in centering questions of national identity, the exhibit embodies the “highly selective

²⁶ Casa de Sefarad, “A Palimpsest language”, Casa de Sefarad, Córdoba, 2022.

²⁷ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 63.

²⁸ Michal Friedman, “Jewish History as ‘Historia Patria,’” 118.

appropriation for tourist purposes of an otherwise-silenced cultural heritage” that happens all too often at Jewish heritage sites.²⁹

Both sites—Sagunto and Casa de Sefarad—mobilize Jewish history for their respective agendas. In their formulation, Jews both legitimize a very narrow perception of Spanish empire and nationalism, and inspire regional diversity and identity. Jewish heritage sites thus provide a window into this uniquely twenty-first-century Spanish struggle of navigating national and regional identities and their coexistence. Sephardi Jews offer an example of how minority communities have thrived long-term in the peninsula and represent a culture that is the product of ‘unique, Spanish cultural mixing.’ In close readings of these texts, the ‘Spanishness’—whether that be Castellano or Valenciano—of these Jewish heritage sites becomes increasingly apparent whereas the Jewishness becomes increasingly obscured.³⁰

Discussing Dark Histories

Jewish history, as exemplified in the last section, is often manipulated by heritage sites to reflect the needs of contemporary Spain. The lack of commitment to Jews at these sites is further showcased by their engagement with Spain’s dark histories of Inquisition and expulsion. In the following section, I will discuss the awkward “balancing act” that exists in Jewish heritage sites of Spain that is combating the Black Legend of Spanish mistreatment and upholding the White Legend of benevolence, while acknowledging that Jewish expulsion and persecution happened. In my analysis, I identify two main ways in

²⁹ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 63.

³⁰ I acknowledge that not all individuals living in Spain identify as Spanish, and that many individuals living in Spain identify with their regional identities more than their national identity.

which sites that I encountered dealt with histories of Inquisition and expulsion: 1) sites that did not designate any one specific section on Inquisition and expulsion but mentioned Inquisition and expulsion indirectly or in passing and 2) sites that did designate specific sections to Inquisition and expulsion in some form of exhibit or blurb. I examine three sites, one of which, Centro Didáctico de Segovia, engages indirectly with Inquisition and expulsion, while the other two, Casa de Sefarad (Córdoba) and Museo Sefardí (Toledo), engage more directly with the histories. Through each site's signage, I identify historiographical narratives and explore how they privilege certain histories over others.

Sites that deal with Inquisition and expulsion in passing uphold the historiographical status quo because they downplay the significance of the events and fail to hold perpetrators accountable. Centro Didáctico de Segovia, a self-proclaimed educational center located in the center of Segovia's Jewish quarter, takes immense pride in its educational mission, and yet fails miserably to address some of the most crucial aspects of Spanish-Jewish history. The site provides detailed signage on Jewish holidays and traditions, and important buildings in Segovia's Jewish quarter. The closest that the site comes to addressing the reality of Jewish expulsion is in a blurb on Spain's lack of Jewish artifacts: "Desgraciadamente no se han conservado restos artísticos, pertenecientes a la vida cotidiana, o de uso litúrgico o religioso." [Disgracefully, these artistic remains, pertaining to daily life, or liturgical and religious life, have not been conserved].³¹ The blurb acknowledges that these physical artifacts no longer exist, but expresses it in the passive voice, omitting the active destruction of these artifacts by Spanish Catholic institutions, namely the Inquisition.

³¹ Centro Didáctico de Segovia, "Testimonios de la presencia Judía en Segovia," 2022.

In defense of the blurb, the historical passive voice is considered standard academic form in many places. However, using the passive voice does not implicate perpetrators of harm, and therefore deflects attention away from them.³² Omitting this active destruction of Jewish culture by these Spanish institutions maintains a defense of them because it fails to hold them accountable. A lack of accountability reinforces structures of privilege. Further, as Kathleen Fitzgerald notes, “you cannot assume that the audience knows who the perpetrators are.”³³ Unlike some other sites I visited, this site is a self-proclaimed “centro didáctico”; its tour guides emphasize its explicit educational purpose. As an educational site, Centro Didáctico has a duty to be as informative as possible. On the most basic of levels, this means not assuming the knowledgebase of an audience. Perpetrators need to be named in order for visitors to understand their role.³⁴ Without this accountability, structures of privilege benefitting perpetrators are reinforced, and the traumatic, long-lasting effects of Inquisition and expulsion are undermined.

On the other hand, sites that did address Inquisition and expulsion more thoroughly did so either by aggressively defending Spanish legacy or leaving out major details of information. For example, in a blurb titled “La Inquisición” in Casa de Sefarad, the first blurb that visitors see when they walk into the museum’s Inquisition exhibit, begins: “La denominada Inquisición Medieval o Romana se constituye en 1184 durante la celebración del Concilio de Verona.” [The so-called Medieval or Roman Inquisition was established in 1184 during the celebration of the Council of Verona].³⁵ The blurb’s immediate effect

³² Kathleen Fitzgerald, “A Sociology of Race/Ethnicity Textbooks: Avoiding White Privilege, Ahistoricism, and Use of the Passive Voice,” *Sociological Focus* 45, no. 4 (2012), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41633924>, 349.

³³ Fitzgerald, 350.

³⁴ Fitzgerald, 350.

³⁵ Casa de Sefarad, “La Inquisición,” Casa de Sefarad, Córdoba, 2022.

breaks the visitor's association of Inquisition with Spain— an immediate defense. The blurb continues:

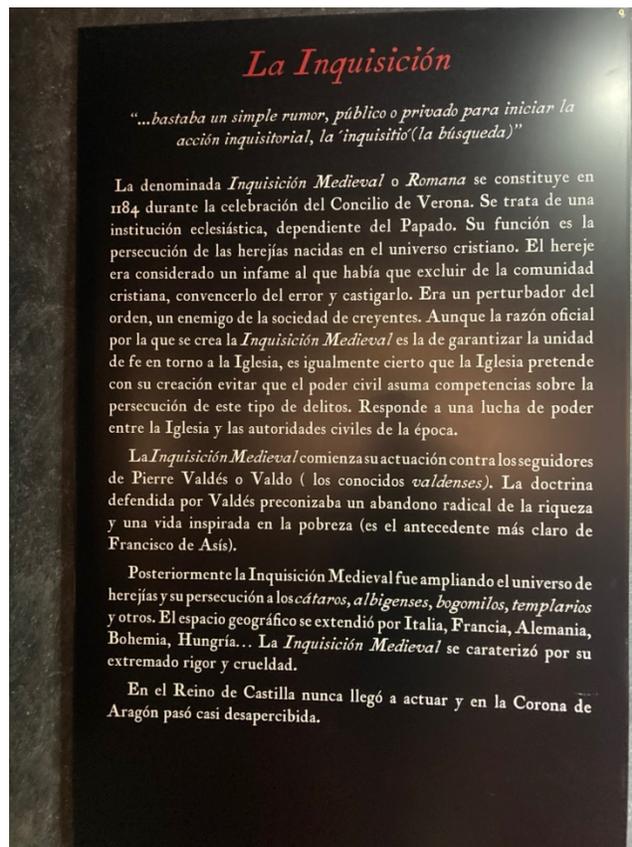
Posteriormente la Inquisición Medieval fue ampliando el universo de herejías y su persecución a los cátaros, albigenses, bogomilos, templarios y otros. El espacio geográfico se extendió por Italia, Francia, Alemania, Bohemia, Hungría... La Inquisición Medieval se caracterizó por su extremado rigor y crueldad. En el Reino de Castilla nunca llegó a actuar y en la Corona de Aragón pasó casi desapercibida. [The medieval Inquisition was expanding the universe of heresies and its persecution to Cathars, Albigensians, Bogomils, Templars and others. The geographical space extended throughout Italy, France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary... The medieval Inquisition was characterized for its extreme rigor and cruelty. In the Kingdom of Castille, it never was enacted and under the crown of Aragon, it passed almost unnoticed].³⁶

The text names various groups that were victims of Inquisition, none of which include Jews, and none of which survived to the twenty-first century. This is severely misleading because there are groups persecuted by Inquisition who have survived to the twenty-first century, and one of those groups is Jews. By citing groups that no longer exist today, the blurb makes the effects of Inquisition seem more like an obscure ancient trauma rather than a trauma that continues to be inherited by people today.

This signage also blurs the Inquisition's geographic situation; not only is there no mention of Spain within the medieval Inquisition's geographic boundaries, but there *is* the clarification that within Spain, medieval Inquisition overwhelmingly failed. Lastly, in conjunction with its emphasis on Spanish non-participation, the text emphasizes the particularly “cruel” nature of these other Inquisitions. This emphasis on the particular cruelty of pre-Spanish Inquisitions gives the visitor the impression that by comparison, Spain's Inquisition was less cruel. Here, the blurb engages in the practice of comparative

³⁶ “La Inquisición,” 2022.

inquisition, a European academic practice of comparing Inquisitions with the intention of determining which is “less bad.”³⁷ Inquisitions are bad. Cruelty cannot and should not be measured. The practice of comparative Inquisition not only minimizes the trauma of victims of Inquisition, but also centers the narrative on perpetrators. This cycle of perpetrators pointing fingers at perpetrators completely derails the process of reevaluating these histories. The purpose should be to make amends with victims.



“La Inquisición” text as it appears in Casa de Sefarad. Córdoba, Spain, 2022. Photo by author.

By engaging in comparative inquisition, the text parrots a key purpose of Spain’s White Legend: to combat the Spanish Black legend of mistreatment and, in turn, create

³⁷ This is also done with respect to colonialism. For more information on European scholars who are pushing back on the notion of comparative colonialism see New Dutch History.

new Black legends for its European rivals.³⁸ Overall, this blurb, which serves as the visitor's introduction to Inquisition in the museum, disrupts the visitor's understanding of the Inquisition by de-judaizing it, de-hispanicizing it, and re-emphasizing the violence of non-Spanish Inquisitions.

On the character of the Spanish Inquisition, this same exhibit says the following: "Aparece esta institución en una España contradictoria y convulsa. Se ha roto el modelo de vecindad de cristianos, musulmanes y judíos."³⁹ [This institution appears in a contradictory and convulsed Spain. The model of neighborliness of Christians, Muslims and Jews has been broken.] The display insinuates that Inquisition was "uncharacteristic" or "unnatural" of Spaniards." As evidence of the Spanish Inquisition's contradictory nature, the blurb cites *Convivencia*, Spaniards' "inherent racial and cultural tolerance." By citing *Convivencia* as the norm in Spanish society, the blurb makes Spanish Inquisition out to be an anomaly, a lapse in judgment, a singular error. This directly contradicts the fact the Inquisition marked the culmination of over a century of antisemitic violence, including a variety of segregationist policies, forced conversions, and pogroms.⁴⁰ Additionally, chalking the Inquisition up to an anomaly, or a lapse in judgment, severely minimizes its harm and resulting Jewish trauma.

Other museum exhibits on Inquisition struck me due to their significant historical omissions. For instance, in Spain's national Museum of Jewish history, Museo Sefardí in Toledo, an exhibit provided the following explanation for the creation of Spanish Inquisition:

³⁸ Christopher Schmidt Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 41.

³⁹ Casa de Sefarad, "La Inquisición Española," 2022.

⁴⁰ For more information, see the earlier section in the introduction, "Origins of Difference."

Se creaba por tanto, para perseguir a la comunidad conversa, con la intención de frenar su creciente progreso económico y social. No obstante, una de las claves de su pervivencia a lo largo de los siglos será la capacidad de adaptación a todo tipo de persecución herética. [It was created to persecute the *converso* community with the intention of stopping its growing economic and social progress. However, one of the keys to its survival throughout centuries would be its ability to adapt to all kinds of heretical persecution].⁴¹

Again, in emphasizing the multiplicity and diversity of the victims of Inquisition, there is a “de-judaizing” of Spain’s Inquisition. That’s not to say that the multiplicity and diversity of victims of Inquisition should not be recognized, but to refer to a more general victim-base at an explicitly Jewish site has the effect of minimizing the Spanish Inquisition’s distinct impact on Jewishness, Judaism, and its trajectory for centuries to come.

On the other hand, the signage does not do justice to the diversity of experiences of the numerous groups that were persecuted under the Spanish Inquisition. Lumping victims together is lazy and oversimplifies the complex effects of the Spanish Inquisition, an institution that took on a variety of different forms over centuries of existence. Additionally, grouping all victims of the Spanish Inquisition under the general category of *converso* assumes that this group of diverse individuals had a uniform experience under Inquisition. This is unquestionably false—experiences even within the *converso* community of Jewish descent varied significantly.⁴² Using terms like “la comunidad conversa” to address Inquisition is lazy historiography and harmful to both Jewish and non-Jewish victims.

⁴¹ Museo Sefardí, “Reinos Cristianos siglos XII-XV dC: La Inquisición,” Toledo, Spain: Museo Sefardí, 2022.

⁴² Abigail Dyer and Richard Kagan, *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 13. For more information on the diversity of the *converso* situation see “The Pegs of a Wider Frame: Jewish Merchants in Anglo-Iberian Trade” by Holly Snyder in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830*.

Further, in explaining the creation of the Inquisition as a tool to deal with “economic success,” the blurb ignores one of the fundamental aspects of the Spanish Inquisition, *la limpieza de sangre*. Purity of blood is paramount! As David Nirenberg points out, the Spanish Church was performing mass conversions as part of a religious unification project by Spanish monarchs making it increasingly difficult to distinguish between who was and was not a Jew. Accusations of “Judaizing” became less about the “spirit” of making something Jewish and more about the “flesh” and bloodlines of Jewish people. Castilian ideologies about “blood purity” in many ways heavily inform the early histories of race and racism.⁴³ “Blood purity” and the inability to “lose Jewishness” through conversion, as seen in the Spanish Inquisition, mark a turning point in antisemitic rhetoric. That being said, de-emphasizing the centrality of blood and instead, emphasizing economic success is a major omission, not to mention, an omission that lends itself to harmful stereotypes. Ideally, this signage would acknowledge the immense and lasting harm caused by the Spanish Inquisition, the diversity of its victims, and acknowledge the specific impact Inquisition had on the Jewish community. Failing to do so demonstrates a lack of accountability for Inquisition and a failure to think critically about the long-term implications of this dark history.

These blurbs on the Spanish Inquisition are all too focused on its politics and how its subsequent historiography has been weaponized. These sites all acknowledge that the Inquisition happened and significantly impacted Spain’s history. Yet, each of these sites in their historiographical approaches give the impression—whether that be through comparative Inquisition, historical passive voice, or historical omission— that the Spanish

⁴³ David Nirenberg, David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2014), 239.

Inquisition has been ‘misportrayed.’ It is this ‘misportrayal’ that is central to White Legend and its attempts to delegitimize Black Legend. In this way, discussions of Inquisition and expulsion at Jewish heritage sites read more like self-defense than a genuine wish to reconcile with the Jewish community and make up for past harm— a notable departure from Spanish authorities' expressed intentions in their legal commitments. Until there is accountability and critical thinking about the long-term implications of Spanish Inquisition on the Jewish community, these sites will continue to function as a defense of Spain and Spanish actions rather than a reparation in the form of education for Jews.

Conclusion

The first time I learned about Black Legend was in the classroom at Spanish university. The professor announced to the class: “La historia no se escribe por España” [History is not written by Spain]. He pivoted from there to discuss the Spanish Inquisition: “La Inquisición Española fue mala pero no se puede comparar con otros países... solo 5,000 muertos en 300 años, menos que otras instancias en Europa incluso la matanza de brujas en Holanda.” [The Spanish Inquisition was bad but it cannot be compared with other countries... only 5,000 dead in 300 years, less than in other instances including the Witch Hunt in Holland.]⁴⁴ He chalked up this over-exaggeration of harm to “una contra historia, parte de una lucha propagandista por Inglaterra y Holanda, una lucha para despreciar y deshonorar España” [A counter-history, part of a propaganda fight by England and Holland, a fight to dishonor Spain] otherwise known as *La Leyenda Negra* (Spain's Black Legend). In another class, another professor asked the class: “¿por qué España tiene tan mala fama

⁴⁴ Author’s notes, Sevilla, Spain, Spring, 2022.

con los Judíos?” [Why does Spain have such a bad reputation with the Jews?]. He proceeded to answer his own question: “porque olvidan que habían otras expulsiones” [because they forget there were other expulsions]. Historically, he argued, England, France and Germany have been more intolerant towards Jews, whereas Spain only had one moment of intolerance. He too, attributed Spain’s “mala fama” with the Jews to La Leyenda Negra. There was this overwhelming sentiment from both of them that a) Spain’s victims had severely misunderstood their own pain/trauma/ history and that b) Spain was in fact the *real* victim of these histories.

I was appalled and intrigued by the prevalence of these opinions amongst my professors at institutions of higher education. And, as I continued my research around Jewish heritage sites in Spain, I was fascinated by how much these academic opinions seeped into the public sphere. The historiographical narratives defending Spanish legacy and promoting White Legend trickle down from academia to public history work at Jewish heritage sites, reinforcing existing notions of empire amongst Spanish visitors. Further, at these sites, many of which receive visitors from all over the world, White Legend historiography has the potential to reach a global audience. Ultimately, in exposing how these sites perpetuate problematic historiographical narratives, this chapter demonstrates that academia does not exist in a bubble. Additionally, in exposing problematic and colonial historiographical narratives at these public-facing sites, I underscore the importance of normalizing anti-colonial/decolonial historiography and historiographical narratives in the academy so that historically marginalized voices, like Jewish voices in this instance, are afforded the right to tell their own history.

Chapter 2

Stones:

Historiography, Heritage Management, and Surviving Structures

Funnily enough, my experiences in Spain that inspired this chapter revolve heavily around parking lots. Early on in my study-abroad orientation in Sevilla my classmates and I learned about the issue of parking scarcity in the city. It first came up when we were learning about fun sites to hang out in the city— one of which being Las Setas. Las Setas, which translates to the mushrooms, is a massive, multipurpose structure in the middle of the city. The space was originally blocked off with the intention of building a massive underground parking lot to alleviate some of the city’s parking stress. However, when construction workers began digging out the foundations, they came across a mass of Roman ruins including several homes and factories. The city put an immediate halt to the parking lot construction and in its place built a multilevel structure that would function as a museum (to display the ruins), a food market, and an observation deck. It truly is an incredible spot and functions as an incredible gathering place for tourists and locals alike.

Fast forward to my last week in Sevilla... I was meeting with a local Jewish Sevilla tour guide to discuss some of the Jewish heritage tourism work he was doing around the city. At some point in our conversation, he asked me “have you seen Sevilla’s Jewish cemetery?” I had not. In fact, I was shocked to hear about it so late in my experience considering the fact that I had spent the last five months actively seeking out the city’s Jewish heritage sites. “Look for the underground parking lot on the outskirts of la judería next to Jardines de Murillo,” he said. After our meeting, I followed his instructions and walked down the stairs into the underground parking lot. I took a lap around the lot but found nothing. I walked out and looked around for any signs that might point me in the

right direction. Nothing. Finally, I did a Google search and found an old newspaper article that gave me directions to the cemetery. I walked into the parking lot a second time, and there, in the very far corner of the lot, I found a singular tomb behind plexiglass with a small plaque marking the Jewish cemetery with a few short sentences on the age and the ‘funerary structures’ found in the cemetery.



Sevilla's Jewish cemetery, 2022. Photo by author.

In laying the foundation for this underground parking lot, construction workers came across the second-largest medieval Jewish cemetery in Spain. In spite of the scarce surviving medieval Jewish sites, a result of systematic destruction of Jewish culture post-Inquisition, the city decided to go ahead with the parking lot construction. I was curious as to why one discovery of exceptional ruins was considered ‘beneficial’ to the landscape and given first-class treatment, whereas another was completely discarded. Reflecting on these two experiences, I found myself increasingly curious about the politics and process behind preservation of Jewish heritage in Spain. As it turns out, Spain, which is tied with France for fourth most heritage sites inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List, is deeply enmeshed in the global politics and process of preservation.¹

¹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “UNESCO World Heritage Centre - World Heritage List Statistics,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed March 29, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat/>.

In this chapter, to delve deeper into Spain's process of preserving heritage, I explore UNESCO's foundational heritage standards, and ask: how are UNESCO standards for heritage reflected in Jewish heritage sites in Spain? And, how do these standards for preservation inform preservation practices, not just at the national level, but at the local and regional level as well?

I argue that UNESCO's utopian, universalist global standards for heritage enable, legitimize, and privilege *Convivencia* cultural heritage over Jewish cultural heritage in Spanish preservation efforts. These UNESCO standards, whether that be through direct UNESCO involvement or through *Convivencia* cultural narratives, permeate all levels of Spanish heritage preservation. As a result, Jewish heritage landscapes, which historically have been disadvantaged, continue to be disadvantaged by twenty-first-century heritage preservation systems and infrastructure.

Before I discuss UNESCO's influence on Jewish heritage preservation, I first explore how twenty-first-century Jewish heritage landscape came to be and the historical disadvantages it has had to overcome to survive medieval Spain.² In the following section, I use Toledo, a UNESCO world heritage site, as a case study to demonstrate how UNESCO's standards enable *Convivencia* narratives and how the *Convivencia* narratives that dominate Spain's heritage landscapes lead to ambivalence both towards the living, breathing Jewish community and its material heritage. Finally, I examine Lucena, a city with distinctly Jewish heritage, and explore how UNESCO's standard of utopianism and

² For the purposes of this thesis, I define "Jewish heritage landscape" as the collective makeup of Jewish spaces preserved for Jewish heritage tourism. "Jewish landscape" refers to the collective makeup of Jewish spaces.

internationalism, and ultimately Spanish *Convivencia* narratives, play out even at sites without UNESCO designation.

How Jewish heritage landscape came to be

In order to comprehend the complexity of Spain's medieval Jewish spaces, it is crucial to explore relations between majority and minority communities on the Iberian Peninsula. In the following section, I explore both the policies and realities that defined Jewish infrastructure under both Muslim and Christian majority rule. Under Muslim rule, Jews were subjected to limits on the building and use of places of worship. Symbolic of Jewish subordination, Muslim authorities required that houses of worship be shorter than mosques, that no new synagogues be built, and only old ones be restored.³ In reality, there were ways to circumvent these restrictions, especially for wealthier Jewish individuals. However, the legal restrictions mean that Jewish spaces, and by extension landscapes, were perpetually vulnerable and largely dependent on their Jewish community's degree of favor with local Muslim leadership.

Unlike in Christendom, *dhimmi*s were not confined to ghettos. However, non-Muslims often naturally formed their own quarters based on occupation.⁴ This de-facto social segregation was exacerbated by the weakening and increasing impoverishment of the Muslim empire that coincided with Christian attacks like the Crusades. As the empire became threatened, so did the safety of non-Muslims, resulting in both the expansion of

³Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 23–24.

⁴ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 38.

Jewish quarters and Jewish migration.⁵ Ultimately, the makeup of Jewish spaces was defined by Jews' legal and political status, but also by Jews' social status, which was, in part, determined by the state of the empire. That being said, Jewish spaces, although constant and legally protected, were also vulnerable to change.

The Christian *Reconquista*, a centuries-long war to reconquer the Iberian Peninsula that began almost as soon as Muslim control did, marked a time of uneven transition for both the Iberian Peninsula and Jewish landscapes. In the earlier centuries of the *Reconquista*, new Christian leadership, for fear of losing power, oftentimes maintained amicable relationships with non-Christians.⁶ There are indications that in some places like Toledo and Sevilla Christian leaders transferred mosques to local Jewish communities after reconquering territory.⁷ These examples make for an interesting window into how Christian leaders used the power of land and space to attempt to sway Jewish communities to their favor. Overall, Jewish landscapes remained relatively untouched in the early years of *Reconquista*.

In Christian-controlled territories, Jews lost their *dhimmi* status, meaning they also lost the same long-term legal protections they had under Muslim rule. As Christian power was consolidated in the Iberian Peninsula, Jewish landscapes began to reflect the increasingly common policies of segregation and isolation enforced against religious minorities. As David Nirenberg points out, as the *Reconquista* continued to succeed and catering to religious minorities became less politically expedient, Christian leaders became

⁵ Yitzhak Baer and Louis Schoffman, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961), 78–80.

⁶ Baer and Schoffman, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 78–80.

⁷ Vivian B Mann, “Decorating Synagogues in the Sephardi Diaspora: The Role of Tradition,” in *Synagogues in the Islamic World: Architecture, Design and Identity*, edited by Mohammad Gharipour, (Edinburgh University Press: 2017), 213.

increasingly interested in the idea of changing the religious demography of their conquered territory. Mass conversions (both voluntary and forced) defined the end of the fourteenth century, making it increasingly difficult to determine between Jew and non-Jew.⁸ These shifts in the religious demography of Spain marked a shift in Jewish landscape because they created the necessity for physical differentiation between ‘Jewish’ and ‘non-Jewish’ spaces.

After mass conversions of the late fourteenth century, many new converts chose to remain in Jewish neighborhoods rather than move to traditionally Christian neighborhoods.⁹ This practice, although quite common, was soon considered quite dangerous; old Christians feared that new Christians in close proximity to Jews were at heightened risk for Judaizing. Legally enforced policies of segregation began shortly after, one of the most aggressive examples being Saint Vincent’s Messianic program from 1411 to 1416. With papal support, Vincent launched his program with the goal of forcing remaining Jews into conversion or complete isolation.¹⁰ In “one of the most thorough attempts at segregation before the modern era,” Jewish people in Castile and Aragon were forced to move into completely separate neighborhoods and their commercial contact with non-Jews was severely restricted if not forbidden altogether.¹¹ Vincent simultaneously launched a massive program of evangelization aimed at these (sometimes literally) starved communities. Saint Vincent’s program never reached completion; his patron died, and subsequently, cities withdrew. However, his program had a lasting effect; Spain’s Jewish

⁸ For more information on the mass conversions of the late fourteenth century and their significance see introduction “Origins of Difference.” Or, see David Nirenberg’s *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 220-230.

⁹ David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 226.

¹⁰ David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 223.

¹¹ David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 224.

community remained at a size that was one-fourth to a half of what it had been prior to his program.¹²

Although some segregationist policies were lifted in the first half of the 15th century, *los reyes católicos* (the Catholic Monarchs) reissued segregationist policies in 1481 that were strictly enforced until Jewish expulsion in 1492.¹³ Jewish landscapes during the second half of *la Reconquista* were in flux. Subject to various policies of segregation that were enforced at varying levels, Jewish landscape was in a constant state of upheaval—ghetto infrastructure was in a constant cycle of being hastily and shoddily built and then abandoned. In the aftermath of expulsion, Jewish landscapes were either destroyed, abandoned or repurposed by Christians. As a result, few synagogues from medieval Spain have survived, even in fragmentary condition.¹⁴ Many of the surviving structures did so as Christian homes, churches, hospitals, or storage spaces. Overall, the makeup of medieval Jewish spaces, in its fragmented twenty-first century state, is a product of the legal and political realities of the Jewish experience.

Toledo, *Convivencia*, and UNESCO’s Dream of Peace

In April 1986, just two years after Spain’s first UNESCO sites were inscribed, the historic city of Toledo was inscribed in UNESCO’s world heritage list. At this point in time, Spain was a new and shaky democracy, barely ten years out from Francisco Franco’s death, five years out from an attempted right-wing coup, and brand new to multilateral organizations like NATO and the European Union. Spain, and its newly democratic

¹² David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 226.

¹³ Centro Didáctico de Segovia, “Vista Panorámica del Barrio Judío,” 2022.

¹⁴ Vivian B Mann, “Decorating Synagogues in the Sephardi Diaspora: The Role of Tradition,” 207.

government, were in the midst of a massive transition. In this time of transition, UNESCO and its heritage programs presented an opportunity for economic and diplomatic growth. As Lynn Meskell notes, “World Heritage designation is considered by the state's parties as an investment in the future.”¹⁵ Not only does it function as an investment in the future, but “The business of heritage thus acts as a proxy for other global benchmarks such as good governance, transparency, sustainability, and modernity.”¹⁶ Engaging in the business of heritage symbolically allowed Spain to demonstrate its new commitment to ‘good governance’ and ‘transparency’ in addition to its cooperation with the international community. Additionally, Spain’s multicultural history and, by extension, heritage landscape, was ripe with opportunities for UNESCO’s mission to preserve a “shared heritage for all mankind.”¹⁷

Toledo, a “museum-city” that has been “shaped by eighteen centuries of history,” was an ideal candidate for UNESCO.¹⁸ In their proposal to inscribe Toledo in the World Heritage List, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) compared the city to Rome and Florence, declaring “any attempt to make a survey of the monumental heritage of Toledo would be an impossible undertaking and a derisive justification.”¹⁹ ICOMOS then proceeded to give a short summary of the city’s Roman, Visigothic, Islamic and Christian histories, commenting not only on the city’s remarkable history, but also on how well the city had been preserved. To conclude their justification, ICOMOS wrote:

¹⁵ Lynn Meskell, *A Future in Ruins: Unesco, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 140.

¹⁶ Meskell, 140.

¹⁷ Jessica Lynne Pearson, “Traveling to the End of Empire: Leisure Tourism in the Era of Decolonization,” (unpublished manuscript, November, 2022), Microsoft Word file, 18.

¹⁸ “Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS): Historic city of Toledo,” April 1986, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/379/documents/>.

¹⁹ “Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS): Historic city of Toledo.”

All of the civilisations which contributed to the grandeur of Toledo left there amazing masterpieces which expressed both the original beauty of a highly characteristic style and the paradoxical syncretism of the hybrid forms of the Mudejar style which sprang from the contact of the heterogeneous civilizations in an environment where for a long time the existence of three major religions— Judaism, Christianity and Islam— was a leading feature.²⁰

From language like “paradoxical syncretism,” the reader gets the impression that Toledo represents not just a unique, but also a bizarre and unthinkable heritage landscape. The statement insinuates that Toledo—against all odds—truly represents a heritage of the world, a heritage that mirrors UNESCO’s founding “utopian sentiment of intercultural exchange, cooperation, [and] peace-building.”²¹

Throughout the document, Toledo’s Jewish heritage plays, at best, a secondary role. In its justification, ICOMOS only mentions Judaism once and in the context of listing Toledo’s “heterogenous civilizations.” Although Toledo was inscribed in the World Heritage List on account of four criteria, its Jewish heritage is only mentioned in one, criterion III. Under criterion III, selection based on a site’s “unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared,” Jewish heritage is incorporated in the following way:

After the reconquest in 1085 remarkable Jewish religious monuments such as Santa Maria la Blanca Synagogue (1180) and El Transito Synagogue (1366) were built at the same time as churches either on the very location of earlier foundations (the Cathedral, founded in the 6th century by Saint Eugene, was converted into a mosque), or ex nihilo.²²

Although it is unclear which aspect of criterion III it falls under, Toledo’s Jewish heritage does not even manage to get its own sentence. The final inclusion of Toledo’s Jewish

²⁰ “Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS): Historic city of Toledo.”

²¹ Lynn Meskell, *A Future in Ruins*, 80.

²² UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “World Heritage Information Kit,” June, 2008, 14, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/567/>; “Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS): Historic city of Toledo.”

heritage in the ICOMOS document is a photo of Sinagoga Santa María la Blanca, which is included as one of just three images that bear visual testimony to Toledo's Mudéjar architecture. This is a noteworthy inclusion considering the discussion of Jewish art in Jewish-Christian relations, which historically has rendered Jewish art inferior and in the position of 'being influenced' rather than 'influencing.'²³ Reducing a rich tradition of Jewish art in the Iberian Peninsula to a subset of a broader Christian architectural tradition, however, is indicative of the rest of the document. The underlying implication of the document is that Toledo's Jewish heritage is not outstanding in its own right; it is only outstanding in conjunction with Toledo's other heritage. This narrow vision for Jewish heritage is demonstrated by a noticeable ambivalence to Toledo's current Jewish spaces by its non-Jewish keepers.

The two synagogues mentioned in the ICOMOS document, El Tránsito Synagogue (1366) and Santa María la Blanca Synagogue (1180), are two of three medieval synagogues that survived expulsion intact. These two structures, on the basis of their survival alone, are outstanding and miraculous. El Tránsito survived as a church, and is now the location for Museo Sefardí, a Spanish government-run museum that covers the Jewish history of Spain. Santa María la Blanca, on the other hand, has a far less linear trajectory in its survival. Santa María la Blanca, also known as Ibn Sushan synagogue, was originally converted to a church.²⁴ After its time as a church, the building was repurposed several times, also serving as military barracks and a warehouse. Ibn Shushan, like El Tránsito, is

²³ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley Calif.: University of California Press, 1998), 82.

²⁴ This synagogue was originally known as Ibn Shushan synagogue. The name Santa María la Blanca was adopted after the building became a church in the 15th century. The synagogue is best known by its Christian name. However, it is curious to refer to a synagogue by "Saint Mary" and the synagogue should be returned to its original name. I will use both names to refer to the synagogue.

open to visitors, but, unlike El Tránsito, it is owned by the Archdiocese of Toledo. In more recent years, Ibn Shushan and the question of its rightful ownership have been at the center of controversy.

In March 2017, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain (FCJE) issued a statement asking the archbishop to return Sinagoga Santa María la Blanca to Spain's Jewish community as a symbolic gesture of his commitment to interfaith relations. The Federation expressed that under their ownership, they hoped to restore the synagogue's rightful name and turn it into a museum that more thoroughly acknowledged the building's roots. The FCJE President, Isaac Querub stated "The winds of Rome have blown very weakly in Spain...The gestures of John XXIII, Paul VI, John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Pope Francis seem to be reaching Spain very late – or not at all," thus identifying a distinctly Spanish-Catholic tendency for antisemitism.²⁵ Querub explained that he had written a letter to the Archbishop with hopes of scheduling a meeting to discuss the issue, but had not received a response in over a year.

Rather than engage with the Federation, the Archbishop issued a three-page public statement. In the statement, he reaffirmed his belief in the church's ownership of the "now deconsecrated building," tracing it back to 1929 when a local parish restored the building to the care of the archdiocese. He also noted "proceeds from the museum went on the upkeep of other buildings in the archdiocese and that the archbishop had spent almost €800,000 (£685,000) on conserving the building since 2013" and that El Tránsito was owned by the government."²⁶ The statement is curious for several reasons, the first being

²⁵ Sam Jones, "'We Want Action': Call to return former Toledo synagogue to Jewish community", *The Guardian*, March 8, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/08/we-want-action-call-to-return-former-toledo-synagogue-to-jewish-community>.

²⁶ Sam Jones, "We Want Action."

that the archbishop admitted that the profits from the stolen synagogue were funding the care of other buildings, and the second being his very obvious deflection in his allusion to El Tránsito. Via his deflection, the archbishop ignored the very heart of the FCJE's strategic request for Santa María la Blanca.

Querub's initial statement conveniently coincided with a visit to Spain from Israel's then president, Reuven Rivlin, who was commemorating the thirty-year anniversary of diplomatic relations and 100 years since the 're-establishment' of Spain's Jewish community. Israel's president was scheduled to visit Madrid's Jewish community, to speak at an economic forum, and finally, to spend a day visiting Toledo.²⁷ In addition to releasing his initial public statement, Querub released a letter on behalf of the FCJE to the Israeli President thanking him for his visit and asking him for support in the FCJE's efforts to return Santa María la Blanca to its rightful Jewish ownership.

He begins his appeal by reiterating Spanish Jews' commitment to Israel and summarizing the state of Spain's Jewish community today. He then shifts to discuss Spain's "esfuerzo extraordinario por rectificar los errores del pasado y construir un futuro de concordia mediante la integración de los judíos y de las demás minorías religiosas con el resto de los ciudadanos," [extraordinary effort to rectify the errors of the past and construct a future of concordance through the integration of Jews and other minorities with the rest of (Spanish) citizens] listing numerous efforts by the Spanish government, legislative and beyond, to combat antisemitism and support Jews and Spain's Jewish

²⁷ "President Rivlin departs on State visit to Spain", Israeli Missions around the World, November 5, 2017 <https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2017/Pages/President-Rivlin-departs-on-State-Visit-to-Spain-5-November-2017.aspx>; "President Rivlin heads to Spain to mark 30 years of diplomacy," <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/237657>.

history.²⁸ At the end of this list, he goes on to acknowledge and thank the monarchy for their role in these initiatives. Querub aligns Jewish interests with secular, democratic Spain and its current Spanish monarchy. He pardons two institutions– Spanish government and monarchy– that were crucial to Spain’s policies of Jewish oppression, and noticeably omits the third crucial institution: the Spanish church. In doing so, he creates distance between the Spanish church and Spain, drawing a clear distinction between church and state in an attempt to evidence twenty-first-century Spain’s ‘truly’ secular nature. Through this moralizing language, he is both forcing the Spanish government into a position where they have to take his side and safeguarding Jews’ relationship with the Spanish government.

When Querub finally asks Rivlin for his support, he makes no mention of the archdiocese:

Sabemos, querido Presidente, que usted visitará Toledo... Le rogamos, pues, que manifieste ante las autoridades locales su apoyo a la devolución simbólica de la Sinagoga Mayor de Toledo, hoy Iglesia de Santa María la Blanca, a la Comunidad judía. Esta sinagoga fue expoliada tras las revueltas 6 antijudías de 1391 y la FCJE reclama su devolución simbólica. Creemos seriamente en el diálogo judeocristiano como un hecho positivo y en constante desarrollo.²⁹ [We know, dear President, that you will visit Toledo. We beg you to declare before the local authorities your support for the symbolic return of the Synagogue Santa María la Blanca to the Jewish community. This synagogue was pillaged in the six anti-Jewish revolts of 1391, and the FCJE reclaims this symbolic return. We believe in Jewish-Christian dialogue as a positive and constant development.]

²⁸ Isaac Querub, “Discurso de Isaac Querub ante el Presidente Rivlin”, Federación de comunidades judías de España, March 7, 2017, https://www.fcje.org/-/discurso-de-isaac-querub-ante-reuven-rivlin-palacio-de-el-pardo-6-11-2017?redirect=%2Factualidad%3Fp_id%3Dcom_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26_com_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai_delta%3D9%26p_r_p_resetCur%3Dfalse%26_com_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai_cur%3D18. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

²⁹ Isaac Querub, “Discurso de Isaac Querub ante el Presidente Rivlin.”

He not just asks but *begs* the Israeli president to express his support to local authorities for Santa María la Blanca's transfer back to the Jewish community. He refocuses the right to ownership on the original antisemitic and violent context in which the synagogue was initially stolen from Jews. Further, he emphasizes the Federation's commitment to Judeo-Christian relations so as to say that he is not condemning Christian individuals for the sins of their ancestors. This request is not motivated by vengeance.³⁰

Overall, this is an incredibly diplomatic document that demonstrates the precarious role (and lack of agency) Spanish Jews have in their own heritage preservation. In an attempt to garner support for the return of a synagogue to the community, a seemingly mild ask, the Federation had to grovelingly express their utmost gratitude for democratic Spain and the Spanish monarchy, and literally beg the president of Israel for the most basic public display of support. Querub, by appealing to Israel for support, makes the question of Santa María la Blanca's ownership an international issue. In spite of bringing the international community into the debate, the Federation has been unable to restore the synagogue to its original ownership. To add insult to injury, the Spanish legal system makes it near impossible to force the archdiocese to restore ownership rights to the Jewish community.

There is another alternative. Not one, but two fully intact synagogues still stand in Toledo. The second, El Tránsito, is owned by the Spanish government. If the Spanish government was so committed to the idea of granting Sephardi Jews a "historic reparation," could they not return El Tránsito to the Jewish community?³¹ Even if the Spanish church

³⁰ Querub's tone is especially careful because he has to navigate dominant antisemitic tropes, as evidenced by the prologue of Atienza's guidebook in chapter one, that reduce Jewish attempts to participate in heritage efforts as malicious, vengeance-seeking campaigns filled with 'historical misinterpretations.'

³¹ Charles McDonald, "Rancor: Sephardi Jews, Spanish Citizenship, and the Politics of Sentiment," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (July 2021): 722, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417521000190>.

was not willing to cooperate, surely the Spanish government, the allies that they are, would be willing to get behind Jews claiming their own narratives. This solution has never been entertained, demonstrating a pervasive and unquestioned privileging of Spanish narratives (secular and religious) over Jewish ones.³²

Toledo's Jewish landscape reflects the limits to the government's commitment to Jewish heritage, perhaps most obviously in the case of Toledo's third synagogue, Sofer Synagogue. Sofer synagogue itself, however, is not made obvious at all— a wooden framework covers the synagogue's remains, hiding it from street view. A description of the synagogue listed in the specially curated Toledo Jewish heritage guidebook by *Red de Juderías de España* reads:

Continuando por la calle Reyes Católicos nos encontraremos junto a un arquillo muy pintoresco, una plaza en cuyo suelo un entramado de madera deja percibir el secreto que esconde bajo su suelo: los restos de la Sinagoga del Sofer construida en 1190 y que fue destruida en 1391 tras los ataques a la judería. Este es uno de los últimos descubrimientos de los muchos que aún nos oculta Toledo. [Continuing on the street of the Catholic monarchs, we will find ourselves next to a picturesque arch, a plaza whose wooden framework hides a secret beneath its floor: the remains of Synagogue Sofer, constructed in 1190 and destroyed in 1391 in the attacks on the Jewish Quarter. This is one of the latest discoveries of many that Toledo still hides from us.]³³

³² In 1994, the FCJE made a similar request to its 2017 request, asking for the Spanish government to return one of Toledo's two synagogues to the community. On the topic Flesler and Melgosa note: "When King Juan Carlos inaugurated the reopening of the Sephardic Museum of Toledo in the Synagogue of the Transit in 1994, the very different concerns of the Museum authorities and the Spanish Jewish community became evident. While the museum director lamented the lack of space they could dedicate to the exhibition of (past) Jewish life in Spain, the Jewish community petitioned for permission to utilize either this synagogue or Santa María la Blanca (a second Toledo Synagogue that was transformed into a church in the fifteenth century) for Jewish religious ritual. In spite of official calls to celebrate *Convivencia* and Spain's Jewish cultural heritage, the current authority in charge of the temple, the bishop of Toledo, refused to yield its use to the Jewish community," ("Marketing *Convivencia*," 75).

³³ "Rutas por las juderías de España: Toledo", Caminos de Sefarad, Red de Juderías de España, 25.

The guidebook acknowledges the hidden nature of the site but does not acknowledge how its concealment could act as a form of erasure. The description then pivots to the excavation and preservation of the site:

A finales del siglo XV no se vuelve a mencionar a este antiguo templo hebreo hasta que, con el nuevo milenio, el Ayuntamiento de Toledo emprendió el proyecto de convertir el solar en una plaza empedrada. Las exploraciones arqueológicas previas determinaron un cambio de planes. Debajo del terreno se encontró un verdadero tesoro. La excavación fue descubriendo... la cimentación de la sinagoga del Sofer, y un espacio cuya estructura nos recuerda al baño ritual judío o mikve. [At the end of the fifteenth century, the synagogue was not mentioned again until, with the new millennium, Toledo's city council undertook a project to convert the plot of land into a paved plaza. The preliminary archeological explorations determined a change of plans. Beneath the plot a true treasure was found. The excavation discovered... the foundation of Sofer synagogue, and a space whose structure is reminiscent of a Jewish ritual bath, or mikveh.]³⁴

The guidebook describes what was clearly extensive archaeological research into the site, also giving the implication that granted the archeological and historical significance of this “true treasure,” the site would receive thorough preservation and protection efforts.

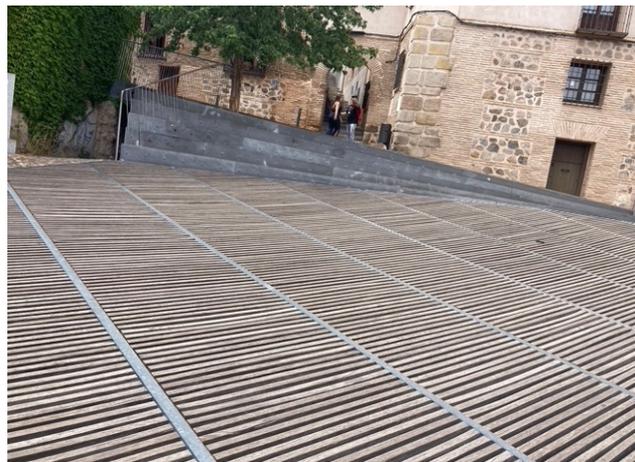


Image of Sofer Synagogue from above, Toledo, 2022. Photo by Author.

³⁴ “Rutas por las juderías de España: Toledo”, Caminos de Sefarad, Red de Juderías de España, 25.



Remnants of Sofer Synagogue's mikveh baths, Toledo, 2022. Photo by Author.

When I arrived, however, I struggled to find the synagogue; the wooden slates obscured the site from street view, and the entrance was unmarked and too short to accommodate me while standing. Protecting the synagogue's remains from the public was a singular metal pole, which had clearly been skirted considering the trash littering the edges of the mikvah. The site has not been treated as one might imagine "un verdadero tesoro" would be. Sofer Synagogue has fallen into a state of disrespect (at minimum), its presence overshadowed by its counterparts. What was an attempt to preserve a Jewish site has turned into poorly cared for and (literally) covered up ruin.

No signs accompanied the ruins underneath the wooden slates, leaving visitors in the dark about the site. Only one sign sat atop the wooden slates. It read:

“En recuerdo de todos los toledanos confinados en los campos nazis de concentración y exterminio, y a la memoria de los diez asesinados en Gusen, Dachau y Mauthausen:

- Pedro Castelló Hernández, 14 del XI de 1941.
- Máximo Gil Serrano, 31 del XII de 1941.
- Raimundo Herrero Toledo, 1 del X de 1942.
- José Rodríguez Tocinos, 30 del X de 1941.
- Lacioano Rubio del Valle, 25 del III de 1942.
- Francisco Ruiz Benito, 15 del X de 1943.
- Emiliano Sotoca López, 29 del IX de 1941.
- Gabriel Villacañas Suárez, 25 del XI de 1941.

- Juan Tordesillas Arellanos, 16 del XI de 1941.
- Eleno Díaz Tendero, 15 del II de 1945.

Toledo, 27 de enero de 2014.”³⁵

This medieval Jewish site, one of so few left standing, and one without proper recognition or signage, conveniently housed a Holocaust memorial to non-Jews.

Spain’s Holocaust history is incredibly complicated. As an ‘neutral country,’ Spain was not officially involved in perpetrating the Holocaust. However, Franco’s fascist dictatorship voiced its Nazi sympathies and riddled its rhetoric with antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories.³⁶ Beyond Franco’s dalliances with antisemitism, thousands of Spanish Republicans (many of them who had fled to France as refugees post Spanish Civil War) were sent to and died in Nazi Concentration Camps after Franco denied them recognition as citizens.³⁷ Prior to Spain’s transition to democracy, the government did not commemorate the Holocaust in any official capacity. After 1975, this began changing.

After Spain’s transition to democracy, the nation slowly but surely started to commemorate the Holocaust, first under initiatives led by local Jewish communities (2000-2004) and later under government initiatives (2004–present). In hopes of making the memory of the Holocaust relevant to Spain, Jewish leaders incorporated other groups, *Spanish* groups, into their ceremonies (and rightfully so) that were affected by the Holocaust, namely Roma people and Spanish Republicans. However, the commemorations, especially from the government, remained heavily focused on Jewish victims. This was largely because, in its transition, Spain created a culture of ‘forgetting’

³⁵ Photo by author, Toledo, Spain, June 23, 2022.

³⁶ For more information on these conspiracies, namely the “Judeo-masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy,” see Isabelle Rohr’s “Spaniards of the Jewish type,” 71.

³⁷ Alejandro Baer, “The Voids of Sepharad: The Memory of the Holocaust in Spain”, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 96-97.

Francoist and Civil War-related trauma, its goal to keep the transition to democracy as smooth as possible. Therefore, as Alejandro Baer notes, “there was no substantial change, even at a symbolic level, in the acknowledgment of the suffering that was caused by Franco.”³⁸



Memorial to Spanish Republican Holocaust victims atop the remains of Sofer Synagogue, Toledo, Spain, 2022. Photo by author.

Spanish government officials commemorated Jewish suffering in the Holocaust, but failed to make commemorative commitments of the same caliber to Spanish Republican suffering because the Holocaust did not cause the same political issues for Spain. According to Alejandro Baer: “the very uniqueness of the Holocaust allows us to draw a radical distinction between Nazism and Fascism (both in its Italian and its Spanish form) and hence to dissociate Franco from the horror. It enables Spain to remember the

³⁸ Baer, “The Voids of Sepharad,” 98.

Holocaust without questioning itself, without probing into its own past.”³⁹ The commemoration ceremonies, since ignoring Spanish Republican suffering, have become subject to “blatant partisan exploitation” by Spanish politicians.⁴⁰ These unfortunate circumstances, since the early 2000s, have created a sort of ‘memory envy’ between Spanish Republican victims and Jewish victims that has too often pitted the communities against one another rather than in solidarity with one another.⁴¹

Sofer Synagogue is the physical manifestation of this ‘memory envy’; a memorial for Spanish victims of the Holocaust is literally competing for space with the ruins of a medieval Spanish synagogue ruined in a pogrom. The preservation politics of this place, rather than commemorating the trauma of each respective group as preservation and commemoration efforts should, pit them against one another. Ultimately, the preserved space does right by neither group. In pitting their memories against one another, there is the implication that there is only room for one persecuted group at the metaphorical table, inadvertently demonstrating an ambivalence to *both* persecuted groups.

Overall, Toledo’s Jewish heritage landscape is defined by its ambivalence both in its lack of commitment to the physical care for Jewish sites and its lack of commitment to the actual, living, breathing Jewish community of Spain. Jewish heritage holds value for Toledo’s heritage landscape, but only insofar as it bears evidence of the city’s multicultural “paradoxical syncretism”; it is ‘worthy’ of preservation within a multicultural agenda, but not necessarily in and of itself. As Tabea Linhard notes: “it is not the specifically ‘Jewish’ aspect of these restored [sites] that makes them so appropriate for the promotion of tourism

³⁹ Baer, “The Voids of Sepharad,” 106.

⁴⁰ Baer, “The Voids of Sepharad,” 106

⁴¹ Baer, “The Voids of Sepharad,” 107.

but rather that they have come to symbolize the period of *convivencia*, underscoring commendable aspects of Spain's national identity."⁴²

Beyond that, UNESCO's mission of intercultural exchange and universalist heritage provides a platform behind which Spanish preservation efforts can hide their ambivalence to an already scarce Jewish landscape. UNESCO lauds a universalist model creating an international heritage standard based on equality rather than equity. This standard gives Spain permission to cling to problematic historiographical narratives of *Convivencia*, to continue to think uncritically about their past, and to remain ambivalent to their history—an ambivalence that is undoubtedly reflected in the heritage landscape itself. UNESCO's utopian vision allows Spain to continue to ignore the violent and discriminatory truth behind their current heritage landscapes. As historian Jessica Pearson writes, "international organizations also play key roles as both forums for debate and as platforms for 'memory agents' ... If tourism is—at its core—a form of civic education, then organizations like UNESCO have an important role to play in determining that curriculum at key sites across the globe."⁴³

Lucena and heritage preservation's "Dream of Peace"

In 2006, while repairing a road on the outskirts of Lucena's town, workers came across human remains. After thorough excavation and study, the human remains found scattered across 346 tombs were determined to be Jewish remains dating back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, making this cemetery Spain's largest and one of its oldest found to

⁴² Tabea Alexa Linhard, *Jewish Spain: A Mediterranean Memory*, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014), 160.

⁴³ Jessica Lynne Pearson, "Traveling to the End of Empire: Leisure Tourism in the Era of Decolonization," (unpublished manuscript, November, 2022), Microsoft Word file, 20.

date.⁴⁴ Along with Jewish remains, archeologists found other valuable and sacred items, including a tombstone engraved in Hebrew, only one of four found in Andalucía.⁴⁵ The bodies were reburied with the help of Spain's Jewish Federation in 2012, and the site was restored and opened to the public as an exhibit in 2013 so that people from all over the world could experience this unique archeological find.

Beyond Lucena's outstanding and unrivaled Jewish material heritage, Lucena has a deep and rich Jewish history. The city refers to itself as "la Perla de Sefarad" because, from the ninth century to the twelfth century, the city was inhabited exclusively by Jews. For centuries, Lucena was a uniquely Jewish space; "Los judíos viven en el interior de la villa y no dejan penetrar en ella a los musulmanes" [the Jews live in the interior of the town and don't let Muslims enter], meaning that Jews and Jewish culture thrived in the city.⁴⁶ Lucena became a Jewish economic hub and home to one of the world's most well-known Talmudic schools at the time. After invasions, Lucena's Jews left Lucena, many heading to Toledo and eventually becoming founders of Toledo's renowned School of Translators.⁴⁷ However, Lucena's Jewish legacy extends beyond the Iberian Peninsula. Tens of documents on Lucena's legal proceedings were found as part of the Cairo Genizah

⁴⁴ Asun Luján, "Las 15 Juderías Más Bellas de España," accessed April 5, 2023, https://viajes.nationalgeographic.com.es/a/juderias-mas-bonitas-espana_12949; "Necrópolis Judía de Lucena - Official Andalusia Tourism Website," accessed April 5, 2023, <https://www.andalucia.org/en/lucena-cultural-tourism-necropolis-judia-de-lucena>; Alicia Bea, "¿Por qué miles de judíos quieren conocer Lucena?," *viajes.nationalgeographic.com.es*, August 20, 2019, https://viajes.nationalgeographic.com.es/lifestyle/por-que-miles-judios-quieren-conocer-lucena_14509.

⁴⁵ Two of the four Jewish tombstones found in Andalucía come from Lucena. The other was found in 1958, hidden inside a wall, "Hallazgos arqueológicos en la Lucena Judía: Las lápidas de Lucena," *Necrópolis Judía Lucena*, 2022.

⁴⁶ "Entre el Sur y el Oeste está Lucena," *Castillo del Moral Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico*, 2022. Non-Jews lived in the areas surrounding the city, but only Jews lived within city walls.

⁴⁷ Joseph Rivlin, *Al-Yussana: Documentos Legales de la comunidad judía de Lucena*, Translated by José Cano Pérez, Tania García Arévalo, and José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu (Ayuntamiento de Lucena-Delegación de patrimonio histórico, 2014), 7.

in Ben Ezra synagogue, giving unique and unprecedented documentation on how Jews understood their own experiences under Islamic rule.⁴⁸ Medieval Lucena is outstanding for its Jewish heritage, for its history as an exclusively Jewish city. In this way, Lucena's Jewish heritage is unique because it cannot be subsumed into *Convivencia* narratives in the way that many other Spanish cities can be; its Jewish heritage stands alone.

As a result of its unique Jewish history, Lucena, in recent years, has been included in a number of different local, national and European heritage organizations and initiatives. Lucena has received government support on a variety of different levels for heritage preservation from local and regional governments—from the Ayuntamiento de Lucena and Córdoba, from Spain's ministry of Finance and Civil Service, and from the European Union's fund for regional development.⁴⁹ In addition to government support, several preservation organizations and initiatives contribute to Lucena's preservation efforts. Visits to Lucena's Jewish cemetery are hosted by the city's local Archeological and Ethnological Museum, housed in Castillo del Moral. Castillo del Moral and la Necrópolis Judía are sponsored by three main heritage organizations and initiatives: *La Red de Juderías de España*, the European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage (AEPJ), and the EU's cultural heritage initiative, 2018 Year of European Cultural Heritage. Not only are these organizations and initiatives all closely

⁴⁸ The Cairo Genizah is comprised of some 250,000 documents from all over, primarily Andalucía, Northern Africa and the Middle East, and is one of the largest and most diverse collections of medieval manuscripts. Documents date anywhere from the sixth century to the nineteenth century. No other record as long or as full exists. For centuries prior, researchers had been relying on Islamic legal documents to understand Jews' socio-political reality; this changed when they discovered the Genizah (Greenhouse, "Treasures in the Wall"), <https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/treasures-in-the-wall>.

⁴⁹ Government funding is displayed on signage around the city.

linked to one another, but they are heavily influenced by (and in some instances, literally involved with) UNESCO's cultural heritage mission.

Currently headquartered in Córdoba, *Red de Juderías de España* (The network of Jewish Quarters in Spain) is a public, non-profit organization whose membership is made up of twenty-one Spanish cities. The organization was founded in 1992 as one of Spain's heritage initiatives aimed at preserving Spain's Jewish past.⁵⁰ In their online mission statement, the network declares its objective "to defend the historical, architectural, cultural, and artistic Jewish heritage in Spain."⁵¹ Flesler and Melgosa note the significant absence of any mention of tourism from la Red's mission statement, especially considering their board membership, which is overwhelmingly composed of heads of tourism from participating cities.⁵² This, however, is not the only "contradiction inherent in their initiatives."⁵³ In order to participate, members are expected to pay a 22,500 Euro fee per year.⁵⁴ Although this is not a significant sum for larger participating cities, the fee can be devastating for smaller cities, and determine their ability to participate. For instance, in 2020, Oviedo had to drop its membership because it could not afford the annual fee.⁵⁵ Larger, wealthier cities, therefore, are inherently privileged by this organization. Beyond local governments, *Red de Juderías* is co-sponsored by Spain's Ministry of Industry and

⁵⁰ For more information on the significance of 1992 in the history of Spanish-Jewish relations see Introduction, 2.

⁵¹ Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia", 68.

⁵² Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia", 68.

⁵³ Flesler and Melgosa, "Marketing Convivencia", 78.

⁵⁴ Europa press palma, "Palma sale de la Red de Juderías para tener un programa propio," Diario de Mallorca, December 23, 2017, <https://www.diariodemallorca.es/sociedad/2017/12/23/palma-sale-red-juderias-programa-3289621.html>.

⁵⁵ "Oviedo se da de baja de la Red de Juderías", *La Voz de Asturias*, Jan 29, 2020. <https://www.lavozdeasturias.es/noticia/oviedo/2020/01/29/oviedo-da-baja-red-juderias/00031580312828524352175.htm>.

Ministry of Commerce and Tourism in addition to several European Union initiatives, one of which includes the AEPJ.

The AEPJ is an NGO that was founded in 2004 by “a network of European institutions, including public bodies, private foundations, federations of Jewish communities and NGOs, that serves as a platform to develop cultural initiatives and educational programs to European Jewish sites.”⁵⁶ As such, it hopes to create a “channel for intercultural dialogue,” an “awareness for cultural diversity” and strengthen European cultural identity by training, promoting and developing Jewish cultural and heritage projects of excellence around Europe.⁵⁷ In line with the Council of Europe’s heritage approach, the AEPJ sponsors two main projects: European days of Jewish Culture and Routes of Jewish heritage. Spain’s *Red de Juderías*, as one of AEPJ’s 30 members, is heavily involved with both initiatives. In fact, *Red de Juderías* remains one of the main organizers and sponsors of AEPJ’s European days of Jewish Culture, which started out under the program “Europe a Common Heritage,” sponsored by the Council of Europe.⁵⁸

Jewish studies scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identifies two main kinds of Jewish museums, “perfect fits,” which “are created more or less by, more or less for, and more or less about Jews,” and “imperfect fits,” which are not.⁵⁹ Building on Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, scholars Adrián Pérez Melgosa and Daniela Flesler caution that at ‘imperfect fits’ Jews are often invited to collaborate and give input, but often end up playing a

⁵⁶ “About Us”, European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage, <https://jewishheritage.org/about>.

⁵⁷ “About Us”, European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage.

⁵⁸ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia”, 68.

⁵⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Why Do Jewish Museums Matter? An International Perspective,” *Association of European Jewish Museums*, 2011, 1-2, https://www.cejm.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Barbara-Kirshenblatt-Gimblett_Why-Do-Jewish-Museums-Matter-An-International-Perspective_Keynote-2011.pdf.

subsidiary role.⁶⁰ This ‘imperfect’ designation extends beyond European Jewish museums and to European Jewish preservation initiatives like AEPJ. AEPJ’s mission and programming is overwhelmingly focused on language like “intercultural dialogue,” “diversity,” and strengthening European cultural identity. Here, as outlined by this mission, Jewish heritage functions as a tool for non-Jewish education, as a lesson in morality, in intercultural relations, in diversity, to teach white Europeans how to encounter people different from them. This is not necessarily an issue, except when Jews are excluded from preservation efforts (as is often the case in Spain).

In 2018, the AEPJ’s European days of Jewish culture was supported in part by another EU cultural heritage initiative, the 2018 Year of European Cultural Heritage. The year was designated the year of European Cultural Heritage by the European Commission, during which the EU sponsored thousands of events and initiatives across tens of countries.⁶¹ Its goal, as stated by the EU, was to: “to encourage more people to discover and engage with Europe’s cultural heritage, and to reinforce a sense of belonging to a common European space. The slogan for the year was: “‘Our heritage’: where the past meets the future.” This slogan bears remarkable similarity to UNESCO’s slogans, “Heritage: A gift from the past to the future”⁶² It is not entirely surprising that the 2018 Year of European Cultural Heritage slogan bears similarities to UNESCO’s because the EU heavily incorporated UNESCO into the initiative, and because it was, in part, funded by UNESCO.

⁶⁰ Adrián Pérez Melgosa and Daniela Flesler, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 200, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/monograph/book/98664>.

⁶¹ “Commission Takes Stock of a Successful European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 | Culture and Creativity,” accessed April 5, 2023, <https://culture.ec.europa.eu/news/commission-takes-stock-of-a-successful-european-year-of-cultural-heritage-2018>.

⁶² “World Heritage Information Kit”, 5.

For the Year of European Cultural Heritage, the European Commission held regular exchanges with UNESCO, and ensured all their initiatives and protections were in cooperation with UNESCO guidelines.⁶³ Further, ICOMOS served as an ‘official stakeholder’ and participated in organizing activities internationally and locally through its National Committees.⁶⁴ The European Commission sought out UNESCO involvement in their initiatives and complied with UNESCO standards to garner legitimacy. They mimicked UNESCO utopian, universalist, and intercultural narratives of ‘shared heritage’ to do the same, to extend legitimacy to their initiative. UNESCO sets a global standard that heritage initiatives on all levels aspire to recreate. Even on the most local of levels, heritage sites can be seen trying to prove their stake in the ‘shared heritage of all mankind.’ This dynamic can be seen at Lucena.

I went to Lucena because I wanted to see the cemetery. I had heard about it from several people, all of whom praised the quality of preservation and the exhibit itself. I did a quick search of the sites I planned to visit, only to find reviews online warning visitors about reserving tours in advance to the cemetery. The next morning, I emailed begging for a tour of the cemetery explaining that I was a student from the US who was writing about Jewish heritage in Spain with limited time to visit sites. I arrived in Lucena and began my self-led tour, still without a word about the cemetery. Walking into Castillo del Moral, I noticed signs on the door advertising tours to the cemetery and asked the women at the

⁶³ European Commission, Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, *European framework for action on cultural heritage*, Publications Office, 2019, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2766/949707>.

⁶⁴ “2018 - European Year of Cultural Heritage - International Council on Monuments and Sites,” accessed April 5, 2023, <https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/committees/regional-activities-europe/39217-2018-european-year-of-cultural-heritage>.

front desk if I could get a tour. They informed me that I could not get a tour unless I had scheduled one in advance, or that I could come back on Sunday when the cemetery was open to the public for a few hours. The museum, however, was open every day and only a few euros, they told me.

Shortly into my visit at the museum, the woman at the desk ran up to me to ask if I was the person who had emailed about the tour. When I confirmed that it was me, she informed me that I could do a tour that day, but I would have to pay 40 euro compared to the weekend price of 3.50 euro. I was grateful that I was able to go on the tour, but also confused. How many tourists would really plan their trips so precisely that they could make it to the short window that the exhibit was open on weekends? It seemed to me to be a severe price hike-up for tourists, many of whom, I'd imagine, were Jewish tourists like me. When we finally arrived at the cemetery, the tour guide gave me free rein of the site because, like she said, it was "my sacred space" (a Jewish space). I appreciated her offer but also laughed at the irony of the situation, which was that the space wasn't really mine if I had to pay 40 euro to access it. I could not help but reflect on the realities of accessibility. The truth was that the cemetery was not accessible to really anyone, except locals. The museum, on the other hand, was extremely accessible. Thinking about this dynamic made me increasingly frustrated because whereas the cemetery was a site dedicated solely to Jewish heritage, the museum subsumed Jewish heritage into narratives about multiculturalism and *Convivencia*.

The grounds at the cemetery were perfectly kept— there was no graffiti in sight (unlike my experience at Segovia's Jewish cemetery). The near end of the site included an exhibit with blurbs on topics ranging from Jewish death rituals, to archaeological findings

at the cemetery, to Jewish Lucena, and Jews in medieval Spain. The far end included a viewing deck overlooking the cemetery. Although the site had some educational aspects, the space— which was equipped with Jewish ritual infrastructure— was clearly meant for Jews rather than *just* to educate non-Jews.



The view of la necropolis judía de Lucena from the viewing deck, Lucena, Spain, 2022. Photo by author.

Castillo del Moral, Lucena’s archeological and ethnological museum, on the other hand, was clearly far less concerned with the city’s Jewish heritage. The museum consists of 10 different rooms, each on a different topic and meant to reflect “el devenir y la

idiosincrasia de Lucena” [the transformation and idiosyncrasy of Lucena].⁶⁵ The city’s Jewish heritage was only mentioned in two of them: ‘La perla de sefarad’ (The Pearl of *Sepharad*) and ‘El mundo ideológico’ (The Ideological World). The ‘perla de sefarad’ exhibit provided information on Jewish culture and holidays, in addition to information on Lucena’s Jewish history. The parts on Lucena’s Jewish history were often redundant—the exact wording appearing in other exhibitions on Jewish life around the city including in el Centro de Interpretación and La Necrópolis Judía. The redundancy in Castillo del Moral was curious especially because key scholarship about Lucena’s Jews, particularly about the research done on the Cairo Genizah (which I bought in their gift shop), was missing from the exhibit.

Of the content related to the city’s Jewish history in Castillo del Moral, one blurb titled “Los Antecedentes: Necrópolis y Basílica de Coracho”, stood out to me. The text read:

A raíz de los trabajos de la autovía A-45 entre Córdoba y Antequera, en su tramo Lucena Sur - Encinas Reales, apareció en el paraje conocido como Coracho en el año 2003 una extensa necrópolis y los restos de una basílica paleocristiana y visigoda, sobre un asentamiento del bronce final. [As a result of the work on highway A-45 between Córdoba and Antequera in the section by Lucena, an extensive necropolis and the remains of a paleo-Christian and Visigothic basilica on a bronze-age settlement appeared in the spot known as Coracho].⁶⁶

The exhibit title ‘Perla de Sefarad’, an exhibit dedicated to the city’s Jewish heritage, displayed an entire blurb worth of information about an unidentified cemetery and Christian Basilica. The Basilica of Coracho, a site containing one of the first Constantinian

⁶⁵ “Castillo del Moral, Lucena, Museo arqueológico y etnológico”, Castillo del Moral informational pamphlet, Lucena, 2022.

⁶⁶ ““Los Antecedentes: Necrópolis y Basílica de Coracho”, La Perla de Sefarad, Castillo del Moral, Lucena, 2022.

basilicas in Spain, is undoubtedly important.⁶⁷ However, to put it in an exhibit on Jewish history, is such blatant and careless erasure. To make matters worse, the Jewish cemetery, although mentioned in passing, did not receive its own blurb.

Another blurb at Castillo del Moral, ‘El mundo ideológico,’ engaged in a different kind of Jewish erasure by leaning into *Convivencia* narratives. In the exhibit, Lucena is referred to as both “perla de sefarad y núcleo irradiador de cultura y Convivencia entre religiones de origen semita (Judaísmo, Cristianismo e Islam).”⁶⁸ The historical reality is that the ‘three cultures’ did not live together, at least within the confines of the city, peacefully for very long. That being so, Lucena makes for a relatively poor example of *Convivencia* in the way it is intended to be marketed. Aside from the question of historical accuracy, it is as though one is an automatic indicator of the other. That is to say that because Lucena was a city of Jews, it is also, automatically a symbol of *Convivencia*. The blurb implies that Jewish heritage in medieval Spain cannot be divorced from the idea of *Convivencia*.

Castillo del Moral is only one example of many sites in Spain, whether they be centros de interpretación or archaeological museums. It functions as a centralized point of contact with the town for foreign visitors, and, as showcased by its close association with several preservation initiatives, is connected to “economic narrative that rationalizes uncovering this past because it is ‘good business.’”⁶⁹ However, as Flesler and Melgosa point out, too many of these sites, often containing basic explanations of Judaism and

⁶⁷ “Basílica Paleocristiana de Coracho,” accessed April 5, 2023, <https://www.andalucia.org/en/lucena-cultural-tourism-basilica-paleocristiana-de-coracho>.

⁶⁸ “El Pensamiento y las ideas: La Muerte en Al-Andalus”, *El mundo ideológico*, Castillo del Moral, Lucena, 2022.

⁶⁹ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 77.

Jewish culture, serve the purpose of educating their overwhelmingly local gentile audience rather than providing Jewish visitors with thorough and thoughtful research on Sephardic heritage.⁷⁰ Takeaways about Jewish heritage beyond the basic tenets of Judaism (some of which are incorrectly relayed), exist only within *Convivencia* dialogue, perpetrating the myth of *Convivencia* and enabling Jewish heritage and heritage landscape to be silenced. Although the Necrópolis Judía de Lucena has been saved, it remains far less accessible than its heritage partner, Castillo del Moral. As long as heritage sites like Castillo del Moral remain more accessible than Jewish heritage sites, visitors will experience Jewish heritage in a space which considers Jewish heritage valuable for its role in *Convivencia*, and not in and of itself. As long as UNESCO continues to set the universalist standard for heritage work, people will continue to approve of heritage preservation in the name of problematic historiography that erases minority heritage and struggle, like *Convivencia*.

Conclusion

Towards the end of my research in Spain, I went on a tour of the Jewish quarter in Segovia. We walked by one church that housed the remains of a synagogue in its basement. After the guide gave a brief overview of the site, a woman on the tour asked: “Well, why didn’t Segovia preserve the remains?” The tour guide, in what almost seemed like a fit of annoyance, spat back, “Well, we can’t preserve everything.” I have thought a lot about the tour guide’s remark, especially alongside my experience visiting la Necrópolis Judía de Sevilla. In many ways, I imagine someone would say the same thing had I asked why Sevilla’s Jewish cemetery had not been preserved. These encounters made me feel sad that,

⁷⁰ Flesler and Melgosa, “Marketing Convivencia,” 77.

in spite of various and sundry commitments to fighting antisemitism, Jewish spaces, already scarce due to socio-political restrictions, continue to become scarcer due to an overwhelming ambivalence towards their future.

UNESCO's universalist example for heritage work enables Spain to push forward a heritage landscape that aligns with their historiography and, subsequently, erases Jewish narratives. UNESCO has changed tourism, making cultural tourism a profitable and respectable industry. Its model for 'shared heritage of mankind' has been replicated on all levels—international, national, and local. *Convivencia*, the supposed multicultural peaceful coexistence in medieval Spain, has been capitalized on as a marketable ideological product under this heritage model. That being said, the economic value of Jewish heritage is, more often than not, calculated within the *Convivencia* model, leading to ambivalence to 'excess' Jewish heritage.

Jewish material heritage in Spain was scarce to begin with, and now, Jews have to rely on the 'good nature' of their historical oppressors to save what little is left. In some cases, such as Toledo, Jews' historical oppressors actively refuse their requests to participate in their own heritage work. In her book, Meskell identifies the dangers of rescuing purely material heritage in UNESCO—the powerful continue to determine what is worthy of being saved and the powerless remain voiceless.⁷¹ Reliance on material heritage in cultural heritage preservation means that communities whose culture and heritage have historically been persecuted will continue to be underrepresented on a global heritage scale. Meskell notes: "The materiality of the past cannot be relegated to history,

⁷¹ Meskell, *A Future in Ruins*, 183.

or a list, but instead must be interwoven with the living, connected communities.”⁷² She suggests a future World Heritage arena that, rather than inscribes sites on a list, restores power back to local communities. And while this is a good solution for most UNESCO participants, it is not the case for Spain, whose local heritage oftentimes should not belong to local communities, but to the descendants of its expelled communities. Under the UNESCO model, minority cultural heritage (Jewish and Muslim) continues to benefit majority cultural heritage (Christian) even centuries after expulsion.

Returning agency in heritage work to both the local Spanish Jewish community and to the Sephardi diaspora is crucial to ensuring restorative heritage work. What ‘agency’ looks like— whether that be intangible heritage preservation or another alternative— should be determined by the Sephardi community. Ultimately, there is a lot of heritage in the world that is being managed by people who it does not belong to. Spanish keepers of Jewish heritage have a unique opportunity to set a precedent for restorative and responsible heritage work by returning Jewish heritage to its rightful keepers.

⁷² Meskell, 183.

Chapter 3

Souvenirs:

Selling Jewishness since 1992

At Sinagoga Santa María la Blanca in Toledo, visitors buy tickets to the synagogue in the gift shop located in an exterior building that shares a courtyard with the synagogue. Unlike the blank white walls and empty floors of the synagogue, the gift shop was full of colorful *chatchkes*. As I was waiting in line to buy my ticket, I was checking out the merchandise. Among the usual gift shop items was a shelf filled with small figurines of Hasidic men with small, pointy noses holding prayer books. I had never seen this before. How odd, not to mention anachronistic, to sell figurines of Hasidic men at a fourteenth-century Sephardic synagogue! I did not think about these pocket-sized Hasidim until a few months later when I was working on a different project and came across an old Polish folklore tradition: the Lucky Jew. In a Polish tradition dating back to the nineteenth century, figurines or paintings of Hasidic men are gifted as good luck charms. In more recent years this luck has taken on more financial undertones, but historically, as scholar Erica Lehrer notes, these Jewish dolls have been “figures of supernatural mediation in the Polish peasants’ world- view.”¹ Jews, according to Lehrer, represented a “borderland between the local and outer world” which “imbued them with a mystery and a power” that Polish peasants hoped to harness.² Obviously, these dolls do not have the same traditional importance to Spaniards as they do to Poles. Symbolically, though, they reflect a similar sentiment: a feeling that Jews are at once familiar and foreign.

¹ Erica Lehrer, “Repopulating Jewish Poland—in Wood,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry Volume 16*, ed. Michael C. Steinlauf and Antony Polonsky, Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture and Its Afterlife (Liverpool University Press, 2003), 338, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1rmk6w.23>.

² Lehrer, 339.



Lucky Jews in the gift shop at Sinagoga Santa María La Blanca, Toledo, 2022. Photo by author.

Part of the reason why these dolls have become such popular tourist souvenirs is because they are able to encapsulate the mythology that the emotionally intense experience of Jewish heritage tourism can evoke— for all parties Jewish and non-Jewish. Anthropologist Nelson Graburn explores the mythology and emotion surrounding the practice of travel. Drawing on work of sociologist Emile Durkheim, Graburn asserts that the practice of travel is a sacred practice because it is unique and therefore treated as

superior to the profanity of our everyday lives.³ He explores the entire travel process, arguing that “The Holy Grail is the myth sought on the journey and the success of a holiday is proportionate to the degree that the myth is realized.”⁴ Souvenirs, he argues, are a particularly important part of the travel experience because they act as proof of this ‘sacred’ experience.⁵ The souvenir, whether that be a picture or an artifact, becomes symbolic of the Holy Grail and helps give the journey its meaning.⁶

This chapter explores both the creation of ‘Holy Grail’ myths at Jewish heritage sites and the souvenirs that become symbols of those myths.⁷ I ask: how do Spanish keepers of Jewish heritage produce representations of Jews and Jewishness to create ‘Holy Grail’? And, how do these representations tie in with Spain’s longer history of commodification of difference in the tourism industry? I argue that Spanish keepers of Jewish heritage sites stage orientalized representations of both present-day and medieval Jews to create ‘Holy Grail’ myth. In turn, these sites normalize Jewish difference among tourists in the gift shop by imitating Catholic pilgrimage tourism practices.

Before delving into the meat of my argument, I discuss the commodification of Jewish difference at heritage sites in Spain with the intention of incorporating Jewish discourse into existing discourse on Spain and Orientalism. In this section, I argue that reading Orientalism as a ‘politico-theological’ Christian discourse is crucial to exploring the dynamics of Orientalism in Spain, a historically Catholic country. Then, drawing upon

³ Nelson H. Graburn, “Tourism: The Sacred Journey,” in *Hosts and Guests*, ed. Valene L. Smith, 2nd ed., *The Anthropology of Tourism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 24.

⁴ Graburn, 33.

⁵ Graburn, 33.

⁶ Graburn, 33.

⁷ I should clarify here that when I say “Holy Grail” myth I am not referring to the Arthurian “Holy Grail” myth, but rather, using the concept of “Holy Grail” as a metaphor.

performance studies scholarship, I explore how orientalized representations of Jews at Jewish heritage sites manage Spanish relations to its Jewish past and create a representation of a Jew that is both familiar enough to sympathize with Jewish plight, but foreign enough reinforce Jewish otherness using Segovia's Centro Didáctico as a case study. Finally, I compare the commodification of Jewishness in Spain to the commodification of Catholicism in pilgrimage practices by looking at selling practices in gift shops.

Spanish tourism, the commodification of difference, and Orientalism

Spain is undoubtedly a case study worthy of study through the lens of Orientalism but, Spain is oftentimes overlooked because it does not fit neatly into the Occidental/Oriental binary established by Edward Said. As historians David Penslar and Ivan Kalmar note, Said's original reading of Orientalism creates a "rigid structural opposition between East and West."⁸ Instead, they argue for a new reading of Orientalism, one that gives due recognition to Orientalism's often flexible and permeable boundaries.⁹ Using this fluid reading of Orientalism, my analysis in this chapter will focus on the "liminal" space between occidental and oriental,' and the "'hybrid' discourses of identity" that lie within it.¹⁰

While scholars have engaged with Spain's complicated relationship to Orientalism, few have delved into the relationship between Orientalism and Sephardi Jews in Spain.¹¹ Other 'exotic' elements of Spanish culture— Islamic architecture, flamenco, bull fighting to

⁸ Derek Penslar and Ivan Davidson Kalmar, *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2020), xix, https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/218/edited_volume/book/81108.

⁹ Penslar and Kalmar, xix.

¹⁰ Penslar and Kalmar, xix, xx.

¹¹ For more information on Spain and Orientalism, see Channon-Deutsch, Colmeiro, Martin-Márquez, and Venegas.

name a few— are and have been much more visible in Spain’s physical and cultural landscape. Scholars have incorporated these ‘exotic’ elements in their discourse on Spain’s relationship with Orientalism, but have paid less attention to how, especially in new retrievals of Sephardi heritage, Sephardi Jews fit into orientalist narratives.¹² As I discussed in the last chapter, Spain’s ruling authorities policed and then systematically destroyed much of Spain’s tangible Sephardi heritage. Sephardic heritage visibility was not a priority for Spanish government officials until the late 1980s and early 1990s when Spain began to prioritize multiculturalism in its tourism initiatives. Given that Jewish heritage tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in Spain, it is not surprising that there is a lack of scholarship on its intersection with Spanish Orientalism.

This lack of scholarship is even less surprising granted that scholars have only begun to explore the connections between Orientalism and Jews in more recent years. Although he recognized that Jews can and have been targets of Orientalism, Said primarily focused his research on the *Islamic* other in an imperialist context.¹³ Scholars Kalmar and Penslar note that including Jews in the study of Orientalism is crucial because it demonstrates that “Orientalism has been not only a modern Western or imperialist discourse, but also a “politico-theological,” Christian one.”¹⁴ Their scholarship reframes Orientalism as a discourse with historical roots in the Christian West’s attempts to navigate “and to manage its relations with both its monotheistic Others.”¹⁵ Ultimately, they argue that it is Christian religious tradition that connects orientalist representations of Jews and

¹² See footnote 11, pp 75.

¹³ Penslar and Kalmar, xv, xxi.

¹⁴ Penslar and Kalmar, xiv.

¹⁵ Penslar and Kalmar, xiv.

Muslims, and that reading Jewish and Muslim discourses together is crucial to understanding Orientalism.¹⁶

Creating Myth at Jewish Heritage Sites

One of the central missions of many of the Jewish heritage sites I visited was this definitional quest. Sites, which oftentimes act as an introduction to Jews and Judaism for local visitors, attempt to answer complex questions that remain widely disputed within the Jewish community today like ‘what is Judaism?’ and ‘what is Jewishness?’ Sites list Jewish calendars, holidays, and lifestyles, each a little different from the next. In their definitional endeavors, however, one thing remains constant: Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness are singular, narrow, monolithic, and easily identifiable.

During my visit to *Museo Sefardi* in Toledo, I paused at a sign that described ‘the Jewish lifestyle.’ The sign identified religion as *the* defining element in Jewish life, as “the motor that drives [Jews’] every day.”¹⁷ Jewish men, the sign claimed, lived their lives within a strict, “cúltico,” framework that entails daily torah study and prayer. As evidence of the authenticity of the Jewish lifestyle outlined in the sign, it cites eleventh-century Sephardic scholar Yehuda Ha-Levi who notes the centrality of prayer in Jewish life. Accompanying the text was a handful of photos meant to display Jewish lifestyle. By far the largest image on the sign was a photo of an elderly Hasidic man blowing a shofar with his tallit draped over his head. This sign, like many of the others I saw during my visits, salvaged an overwhelmingly male-focused representation of Jewishness in which religious life not only dominates but defines Jewish experience.

¹⁶ Penslar and Kalmar, xx, xxii.

¹⁷ “El Judaísmo como modo de vida,” Museo Sefardi, Toledo, 2022.

To depict Jews as a monolith and Hasidic men as the archetypal Jew is problematic for several reasons. First and foremost, these are sites of Sephardic heritage. Although there are Hasidic Jews with Sephardic heritage today, the movement originated in eighteenth-century Eastern Europe. Hasidism is both geographically distinct and anachronistic to the medieval Sephardim who originally inhabited the sites. Second, signs that define ‘Jewish lifestyle’ and accompany these definitions with images of Hasidic men (oftentimes Hasidic men in Israel) create an association for the visitor between Hasidim and the ‘purest,’ most authentic form of Jewishness and Judaism. In her book *Salvage Tourism*, Katrina Phillips distinguishes between the acts of salvaging and preserving; salvaging, unlike preserving, she argues, requires the transformation, reinterpretation, and eventual commodification of a particular kind of historical narrative.¹⁸ In their ‘preservation’ of Jewish history, many of these sites salvage an incredibly narrow idea of Judaism and, as a result, give visitors that impression that anything that deviates from this perceived norm—this male-oriented, religiously-focused, and Hasidic norm— is not authentically Jewish.

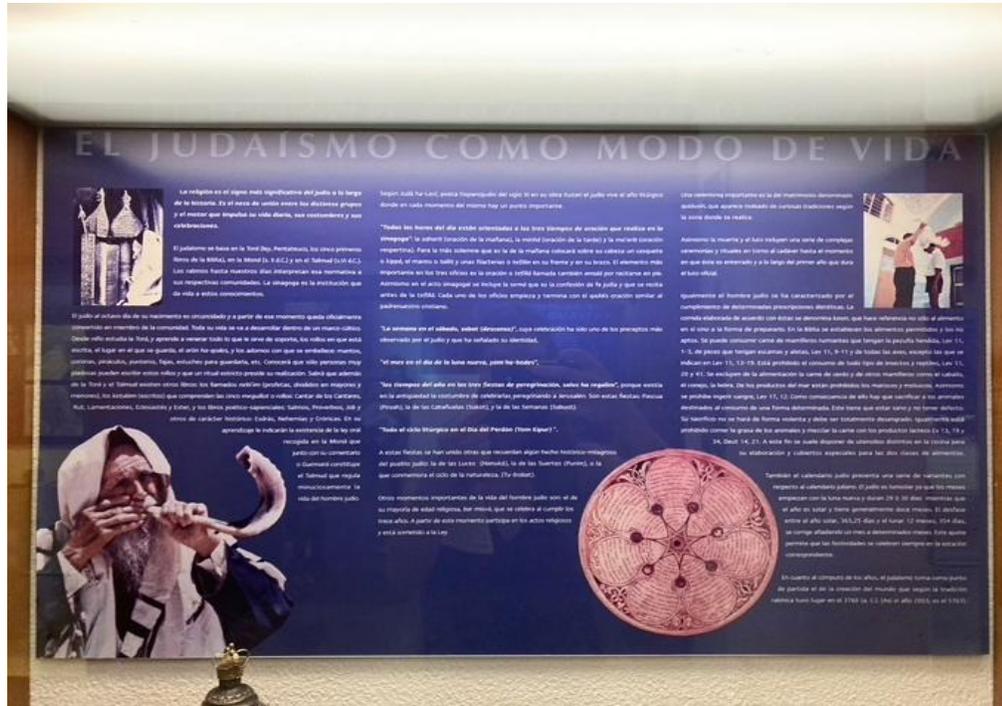
Not only do these depictions dictate to visitors who is and is not authentically Jewish, but they also codify bodily difference between Jew and non-Jew, especially for non-Jewish visitors who are being introduced to Jewishness. As performance studies scholar Jane Desmond notes, bodies function as physical markers for categories of social difference like race, religion, and ethnicity.¹⁹ As such, bodies play an important role in creating contradistinction between who is ‘alike’ and who is ‘different.’²⁰ This physical

¹⁸ Katrina Phillips, *Staging Indigeneity: Salvage Tourism and the Performance of Native American History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 12–13, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/12/monograph/book/82216>.

¹⁹ Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), xiv.

²⁰ Desmond, xv–xvi.

differentiation between ‘Jew’ and ‘non-Jew’ at these sites ultimately comes full circle, reinforcing ideas around Jewish race-making that originated with Spanish *estatuos de limpieza de sangre*.



Depiction of present-day Jew at Museo Sefardí, Toledo, Spain, 2022. Photo by author.



Depictions of present-day Jews at Centro Didáctico, Segovia, 2022. Photo by author.

Additionally, the Hasidic body has historically been at the cornerstone of Jewish difference in Central and Eastern Europe. Secularized Ashkenazi Jews oftentimes portrayed themselves as the ‘Western’ and ‘modern’ counterpart to traditional (Hasidic) Jews who they deemed ‘half-asiatic’ and oriental.²¹ Featuring images of the Hasidic body—a historically orientalized body—in Israel—the Orient—creates a clear-cut distinction between life of the Jew and the life of the most-likely secular or Catholic European visitor. Here, it is important to note Hasidic communities thrive across contemporary Europe, including in Spain itself. However, by segregating images of Europe from images of ‘the Jew’, ‘the Jew’, by comparison, seems unchanging and distinctive like

²¹ Kalmar and Penslar, xix.

the oriental, and thus incompatible with the progressive, modern, secular European society that Spain has worked so hard to become a part of in the last half-century.

This distinction between ‘Jew’ and secular European society is part of ‘Holy Grail’ myth created by sites for visitors to consume. In her book *Destination Culture*, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out the constitutive nature of exhibition: “exhibition classifications and hierarchies, discursive conventions, and representational practices constitute subjects and, in the process, set out terms for action.”²² She points out the inherently theatrical elements of museums, which employ theatrical methods like painting scenes and staging performances to create story out of objects. She argues that, in essence, museums serve as surrogate theaters. As surrogate theaters, museums not only fulfill expectations for the travel ‘Holy Grail’, but also create expectations for the travel ‘Holy Grail.’ In the case of many Jewish heritage sites in Spain, museums, as surrogate theaters, add a certain “theatricality of difference,” to borrow a phrase from Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, which “needs to be staged to be seen.”²³ In more recent years with the onset of new technologies and the growing importance of digital humanities, museums have become, not just surrogate theaters, but actual theaters.

In the months leading up to my time in Spain, I watched a documentary on Segovia’s Jewish past directed by an American scholar of Spanish literature, Kate Regan. Regan’s documentary takes its audience on a tour of Jewish Segovia, highlighting places of Jewish importance and discussing with local scholars, artists and museum folks. One of the stops she makes in the documentary is at el Centro Didáctico de Segovia, where she

²² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley Calif.: University of California Press, 1998), 80.

²³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 105.

speaks with two curators, Clara Lucero and Belén Peña.²⁴ In her interview with Belén Peña, the center's overseer who works closely with *Red de Juderías*, Peña discusses her (and others who work closely with the Red) motivation for working in the field of Spanish Jewish history:

I do not know how to explain what drives or motivates those of us who are involved with working in Sephardic or Jewish studies, I don't know what motivates us, it might be a certain kind of romantic notion or a special sensitivity to these issues... It is people who have a special sensibility for this, a team of caring people who understand this topic, and know how to promote it and want to maintain and preserve the Spanish Jewish cultural heritage. Our common and strong interests in this area and our special heart and personal connections can do everything, it moves mountains.²⁵

Peña acknowledges that it is, at least in part, her romantic understanding of Jews and Spain's Jewish past that informs her work. Peña, as a curatorial 'ventriloquist', brings her own mythology to the space, and thus actively influences the mythology that visitors take away from the space—whether that be reinforcing their existing mythologies or steering them in the direction of new mythologies.

²⁴ The site refers to itself as a didactic center, and cites education as one of its central missions. As Flesler and Melgosa note, the on-site reality of the center is that it functions more as a museum and/or information center for tourists.

²⁵ *The Sephardic Legacy of Segovia, Spain: Pentimento of the Past*. Films On Demand. 2006. Accessed February 13, 2023, 10:40. <https://digital.films.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=105033&xtid=36488>. Translation by subtitle.



Virtual Reality Shabbat Experience, Centro Didáctico, Segovia, 2022. Photo by author.

In addition to acknowledging the mythological space this history occupies for her, Peña consistently emphasizes the “special sensitivity” and “caring” nature that people have in her field. She describes Spanish Jewish culture as something that is in danger of disappearing, omitting the fact that Sephardi culture has been passed down in the diaspora for centuries. These two statements in conjunction with one another send the viewer a clear message: most often, people are participating in her field of work *not* because they have a personal connection or stake in the work—*not* because they are descendants of Jews who fled persecution.

Ultimately, attaching descriptors like ‘special sensitivity’ and ‘special heart’ to her line of work leans into a salvage mentality because it gives the false impression that the Sephardi community no longer has relevance to or presence in Spanish society. It paints Jewish heritage preservation work as a courtesy to a by-gone community rather

than a reparation to a current, living, breathing community. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes, the museum effect “brings distinctions between the exotic and the familiar closer to home.”²⁶ At Centro Didáctico, curators’ romantic notions about Spain’s Jewish heritage and their work within Jewish heritage preservation ultimately have an otherizing effect that reinforces Jewish difference.

When Peña begins discussing museum experiences available to visitors, ‘Jew’ becomes increasingly synonymous with ‘other.’ The museum experience Peña chooses to highlight for viewers is a virtual reality Shabbat experience. The experience is set up as a theater would be: a platform like a stage surrounds the diorama of a synagogue that is set up to mimic a black box theater, and projections of Jewish figures reenact a service. The museum no longer acts as a surrogate theater, but as an actual theater. Peña explains the intention behind the experience:

I love the diorama. It is a virtual reality that shows how a Sabbath is celebrated in a synagogue. This is one of the main attractions of the center because it is something that we usually never see. Only practicing Jews who attend synagogue on the sabbath know what goes on. This virtual representation of what is done on the sabbath, what it is about, what it represents to the Jewish people and what rituals and customs are observed.²⁷

The experience, as curators intended, literally makes the private public, promoting a kind of ‘intimacy at sight’ and selling social nakedness.²⁸ As Jane Desmond notes, in cultural tourism today, seeing bodies and people who are different has an enormous appeal, and people are willing to purchase that right to look.²⁹ This becomes problematic because, oftentimes, purchasing this kind intimacy gives

²⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 52.

²⁷ *The Sephardic Legacy of Segovia, Spain: Pentimento of the Past*, 11:15; Translation by subtitle.

²⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 54.

²⁹ Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, xiii.

viewers the false impression that merely through visual consumption, they have come to know something they did not before.³⁰ In this instance in particular, this becomes especially dangerous because the site is not historically explicit.

During Peña's interview, she speaks in the present tense implying to viewers that the virtual reality shabbat experience is a representation of a present-day shabbat service. She does not acknowledge that the video is intended to reflect a medieval service. While it is doubtful this was meant in any sort of malicious way, advertising the experience as an authentic, present-day experience dehistoricizes Jews and their practices and sets them up as "avatars of unchanging innocence and authenticity, and origin."³¹ The sign accompanying the experience has since been updated to reflect its medieval setting. It reads: "In this audiovisual presentation, a shabbat ceremony is reconstructed through a virtual theater with scenery, rituals and dress typical to the Medieval period."³² Although the sign is more explicit about its intended historical timeline, it remains problematic. The rituals and prayers performed in the experience— Aliyah prayers (before and after the torah service), Sh'ma, and Adon Olam (closing prayer)— are still rituals and prayers that are practiced and remain sacred to the Jewish community today. The experience also uses modern trope and chanting. That being said, the experience still promotes anachronistic representations of Jewish practice and tradition, making certain aspects of culture seem extinct when they are not.

³⁰ Desmond, xiii.

³¹ Desmond, 254.

³² "Sinagoga Virtual," Centro Didáctico de Segovia, Segovia, 2022; All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

Performing present-day sacred activities brings in a more complicated ethical question of agency, especially considering that this experience is pre-recorded and does not involve live-performers. Speaking to this question of agency, historian Clyde Ellis explores Indigenous dancers' experiences and motivations while performing in twentieth-century "Wild West" shows. He argues that dancing served as an alternative to chronic poverty; "dancing for pay," he argues, revealed that the relationship between victimization and agency rested on complex negotiations and mediations in which an either/ or paradigm had little meaning."³³ In a filmed performance, performers lose their opportunity for agency; consent is not being negotiated between performers and their bosses. The only 'check' on the experience itself is the viewer for whom the experience is being created as entertainment.

Beyond that, the Shabbat experience is specially curated for viewers who otherwise would not be able to see one; in other words, the experience is intended for non-Jews. It is about helping non-Jews understand, manage, and navigate their relationship with Jews and Jewish culture. Like many other performance tourism experiences, on a surface-level this experience seems progressive like it is trying to foster empathy for Jews among Spaniards.³⁴ However, this experience slips into the realm of Orientalism because, in aiding non-Jews navigate, understand, and manage their relationship with Jews, Jews and Jewish tradition are portrayed as

³³ Clyde Ellis and Donald L. Fixico, "Five Dollars a Week to Be 'Regular Indians': Shows, Exhibitions, and the Economics of Indian Dancing, 1880–1930," in *Native Pathways*, ed. Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill, American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century (University Press of Colorado, 2004), 187, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46nvxp.13>.

³⁴ Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 260.

static and unchanging. The Jew, “as a kind of ideal and unchanging abstraction”, becomes the oriental.³⁵ Further, in the eye of the viewer, the Jew and Jewish tradition become associated with medieval Spain, a time in which Spain was aligned more with the Orient than the Occident. The site reinforces this oriental association by presenting images of present-day Hasidic Jews in Israel, the Orient.

Daniela Flesler and Tabea Linhard argue that contemporary Spain remains incredibly anxious about the historical memory of Sephardim.³⁶ The Sephardic community highlights Spain’s status between Occident and Orient.³⁷ At many of these sites of Jewish heritage, the Jew is set up as ‘other’ and stands in stark contrast to its (likely) Christian or secular consumer. By orientalizing Sephardim and Sephardic history (and Jews in general), these sites establish difference between contemporary Spain and the medieval Spanish Orient, thus aligning Spain and Spanishness as it exists today with its desired progressive, secular, and Western identity. These sites establish association between Jews and Jewishness and the medieval Spanish Orient, and, as a result, create this oriental mythologization of Sephardim. Sites sell this mythologization which rests on Jewish difference and reinforce the sacredness of their myth by literally selling the Jewish sacred. In this process, sites sell Jewish difference, normalizing it by mimicking selling practices of Catholic pilgrimage sites.

³⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2014), 8.

³⁶ Daniela Flesler, *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2008); Tabea Alexa Linhard, *Jewish Spain: A Mediterranean Memory*.

³⁷ Venegas, *The Sublime South*, 19.

Selling Myth in the Gift Shop

It is important to note that content and narrative at historical sites, ruins, and museum exhibits only make up part of the tourist experience. Just as much a part of the experience as the consumption of content itself is the consumption—visual and financial—of souvenirs. Most Jewish heritage sites have gift shops that visitors pass through at the beginning or end (and sometimes both) of their visits. These shops function as transitional spaces for visitors, as a boundary between the chaos of the outer world and the oftentimes pristine, sensory-segregated European museum experience.³⁸ Like the exhibits that accompany them, many gift shops display their goods behind display cases or on display shelves. However, unlike exhibits, these gift shops are filled to the brim with bright and colorful souvenirs. Souvenirs vary slightly depending on the location, but overall include religious objects (kipot, challah covers, mezuzahs, menorahs, kiddush cups, Magen Davids, hamsa jewelry) and some selection of secular offerings (dolls, books, CDs, DVDs, mudéjar azulejos).

The collection of souvenirs curated by attractions is important to a tourism experience because it signifies to tourists the kind of experience they are meant to have and the kind of tourist they are meant to be. Graburn distinguishes between two main types of tourism: culture tourism and nature tourism. The historical touristic type engages in cultural tourism exclusively and the environmental touristic type engages in nature tourism exclusively, but the ethnic touristic type lies at the intersection of the two. Ethnic tourism, as Graburn asserts, is “the approach to Nature through her people.”³⁹ In ethnic tourism,

³⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 57.

³⁹ Graburn, “Tourism,” 32.

certain peoples are labeled as ‘creatures of instinct’, and their cultural practices and traditions as primitive.⁴⁰ With regard to the souvenirs that attract the ethnic tourist, Graburn notes the following: “The Ethnic tourist rarely has the opportunity to bring home the ‘whole Primitive’ but is content with arts or crafts, particularly if they were made by the ethnic for his/her own (preferably sacred) use.”⁴¹

Souvenirs at Jewish heritage sites read remarkably similar to the purchasing preferences of ethnic tourists as described by Graburn. The most obvious similarity is that sites sell sacred Jewish objects to mass audiences. Beyond the sacred objects, there exists this phenomenon of objects for sale that are made to look sacred, but, in reality, have no actual sacred value. For example, in the gift shop at the Sinagoga Santa María la Blanca in Toledo, skinny slabs decorated with the Hebrew letter shin (as is typical of mezuzahs) and Magen Davids seem to mimic the shape of mezuzahs but are two dimensional and have no space for prayer scrolls inside. The same gift shop also sells larger painted slabs with “Shabbat Shalom” painted on them in Hebrew. Both items seem to be masquerading as sacred, their ‘sacredness’ legitimated by the presence of Hebrew language. Further, both the ‘mezuzahs’ and Shabbat slabs have an almost homemade feel— the lettering looks handwritten and the paint lines are not particularly clean or precise, giving the same ‘arts and crafts’ vibe that Graburn describes.

In addition to selling the sacred, gift shops offer visitors the opportunity to bring home the ‘whole Jew.’ Several gift shops sell some variations of ‘lucky Jews,’ providing visitors with their own pocket-sized and portable Jew to take with them. Most ‘lucky Jews’

⁴⁰ Graburn, 31.

⁴¹ Graburn, 33.

are figurines targeted toward a more adult audience, but other gift shops included Jewish figurines for younger audiences as well. For instance, in el Centro Didáctico de Segovia, the gift shop offers a set of ‘Sephardic paper dolls’ complete with paper accessories and educational explanatory character cards. The set, although meant as an educational tool, ultimately is a toy that reinforces Jewish difference to children. These Jewish dolls wear traditional ceremonial and/or distinctly medieval garments and come with medieval accessories. The explanatory, educational cards reinforce these anachronistic representations, not just by using past tense to describe the Sephardic community, but by ending the Spanish-Jewish historical timeline at 1492. Children who interact with this educational toy will ultimately associate the Spanish Jewish community with literal objects of the past as opposed to a community that exists and practices in twenty-first-century Spain.



Jewish paper dolls in the gift shop at Centro Didáctico, Segovia, 2022. Photo by author.

Where these sites and souvenirs diverge from Graburn's reading of the ethnic tourist and ethnic tourism is in their approach. Rather than being nature-centric, these sites were intentionally preserved as part of a shift towards urban tourism in Spain. At these urban-centric Jewish heritage sites, the experience lies somewhere in between ethnic and cultural tourism. The intention is not for visitors to take home the 'primitive,' but rather, to take home a 'relic,' a token of a nostalgic, romanticized, disjointed past. This in-between state—between ethnic and cultural tourism—in which these Jewish heritage sites lie, I argue, is connected to Orientalism and Orientalism's historical basis "in the Christian West's attempts to understand and to manage its relations with both of its monotheistic Others."⁴²

Although these sites are technically marketed to a secular audience, the line between religious tourism and tourism about religious histories oftentimes gets blurred. Elements of religious tourism, especially Catholic pilgrimage tourism (and Catholicism more generally) begin to bleed into experiences at Jewish heritage sites. For instance, on Jewish sites tours, tour guides describe medieval Sephardic grand Rabbis as Jewish equivalents to the Pope, and the B'nei mitzvah process as the Jewish equivalent to first communion.⁴³ In other words, these tour guides communicated Judaism and Jewish practice in Catholic terms and through a distinctly Catholic lens. These comparisons have some major gaps to them, but the significance is not so much the correctness of the comparison as it is the comparison's ability to manage a Spanish relationship to Judaism on Christian terms. Understanding Jewish religious practice through Catholic religious

⁴² Penslar and Kalmar, *Orientalism and the Jews*, xiv.

⁴³ Tour of Segovia's Jewish Quarter, Centro Didáctico de Segovia, Segovia, June 24, 2022.

practice allows both practicing and secularized Catholics to see the Jew as someone who they could relate to—something familiar albeit distant.

This sentiment—‘familiar albeit distant’—is the very same sentiment echoed in philosephardism and White Legend. Both philosephardism and White Legend rely on romanticized and unrealistic constructions of Jews and Jewishness that outwardly signal allyship, but really just keep Jewish reality at a distance. As scholar Jose Luis Venegas points out, this simultaneous familiarization and distancing has roots in a “romantic orientalizing of Spain” intended to reverse Black Legend.⁴⁴ In the same way that it is easier to accept Jews in their romanticized and orientalizing form, it is easier to accept Judaism through a lens that is compatible with Catholicism. Neither requires a critical examination of Jewish history, culture nor religion, and thus both strategies make it easier for the Christian West to manage its relationship with the Jewish other.

At Jewish heritage sites, however, the line between secular tourism and Catholic pilgrimage tourism blurs even more in the experience of buying souvenirs. The act of pilgrimage in Catholicism, which has been around for centuries, did not become available to the masses until the nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, a massive shift occurred in Catholic pilgrimage spurred in large part by the modernization of pilgrimage in Lourdes, France. According to historian Suzanne Kaufman, the Church modernized the act of pilgrimage “By deploying new techniques and commercial practices, authorities encouraged pilgrims to interact with the holy site as modern tourists and consumers.”⁴⁵ Kaufman argues that the very success of Lourdes as a pilgrimage site “depended on erasing

⁴⁴ Venegas, *The Sublime South*, 14–15.

⁴⁵ Suzanne K. Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 18.

its identity as a local holy site and linking the practices of Catholic pilgrimage to the emerging mass culture of urban France."⁴⁶ From Lourdes on, Catholic pilgrimage sites and experiences became enmeshed with modern technology and consumerism to the point where the act of consuming goods has become a key part of the sacred experience for Catholic pilgrims. For example, in their work on contemporary Catholic pilgrimage souvenir shopping, scholars Catrien Notermans and Jean Kommers interviewed one pilgrim who noted “that she spends easily half of her pilgrimage time and a third of her travel budget on the acquisition of souvenirs like Marian statues, candles, rosaries, bottles filled with holy water and house decorations.”⁴⁷ According to Notermans and Kommers, souvenir shopping has become so central to pilgrimage experience, especially for female pilgrims, because it enables pilgrims to bring home sacred healing and protection, and share it with others.

Souvenir shopping at Jewish heritage sites in Spain, like its Catholic counterpart, has a focus on material excess; consumerism is central, as is the act of bringing home the sacred (or at least the perceived sacred). The sacred materiality and consumer experience offered at Lourdes as described by Kaufman mirrors the experience at Jewish heritage sites. Shops cluttered with an excess of souvenirs line the streets. At many locations, a souvenir can become as much of a spectacle as the heritage sites themselves— especially when, comparatively, the heritage sites look bleak and empty. Excess, as Robert Orsi points out,

⁴⁶ Kaufman, 18.

⁴⁷ Catrien Notermans and Jean Kommers, “How Pilgrimage Souvenirs Turn into Religious Remittances and Powerful Medicine,” in *Exploring Materiality and Connectivity in Anthropology and Beyond*, ed. Philipp Schorch, Martin Saxer, and Marlen Elders (UCL Press, 2020), 72, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13xpsp9.10>.

is central in meaning during Catholic pilgrimage experiences.⁴⁸ Kaufman notes that, in Catholic pilgrimage souvenir shops, “the vast quantities on display promised that all pilgrims would find a religious keepsake to help recall the experience after they returned home.”⁴⁹ Excess allowed for greater numbers of people greater access to the sacred. At Jewish heritage sites, excess does not just provide greater access to the sacred, but greater access to different kinds of new and exotic sacred. It makes the Jewish sacred more accessible than it was intended to be.

At larger sites where *Convivencia* is central, the experience between Catholic souvenir consumption and Jewish souvenir becomes indistinguishable. For instance, at shops in Toledo and Córdoba, Catholic rosary beads are sold alongside Shabbat platters—a tourist can consume multiple kinds of ‘sacred’ in one space. In other shops, Jewish, Muslim and Christian sacred symbols are combined in a singular souvenir— notepads and necklaces (to name a few items) are adorned with crosses, Magen Davids, and a star and crescent. The three cultures necklaces are particularly interesting because they mimic forms of religious expression such as cross necklaces or Magen David necklaces. In these necklaces, the Abrahamic sacred becomes inextricably intertwined, thus pioneering a new

⁴⁸ Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 56–57.

⁴⁹ Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 47.

kind of sacred that is distinctly Spanish. This new kind of sacred draws on *Convivencia* and White Legend and, by extension, consecrates orientalized history.



Rosary beads for sale next to Shabbat platters in a souvenir shop in Toledo, 2022. Photo by author.

In effect, what is supposed to be a secular experience turns into a sacred experience that is largely informed by Christian conceptions of the sacred. When the lines between Catholic religious tourism and secular tourism blur, the experience of encountering Jewishness becomes something that Catholics (and by this I also mean people born into historically Catholic communities) associate with Christian conceptions of religion. Jewishness is normalized through a lens of Catholicism and Catholic religious experience which, as a result, makes Jewishness and Jewish experience seem familiar without unpacking the nuance of the historical relationship between the two religions (in Spain and more generally). As long as Jewishness and Jewish experience are presented in this

orientalist light and thus in a way that is compatible with non-Jewish experience, non-Jewish visitors are less likely to critically examine their own relationship to Jewishness.

Conclusion

On the walk back from my private tour of Lucena's Jewish necropolis, the tour guide and I engaged in small talk. At first, she asked questions about where I was from and where I learned to speak Spanish, but as we talked and got to know each other she began asking questions about my Jewishness. "What language do most Jews speak? What language do you speak? Do you speak Hebrew in your home?", she asked in a rapid-fire procession. I was stunned. I responded to her questions, but could not help and wonder: how could a tour guide who had received a specialized degree for the purpose of working in the tourism industry not know the answer (or at least have an idea of it)? My existence, as a living, breathing Jewish person, directly contradicted the orientalized, ahistorical and anachronistic image of the Jew as presented by many Jewish heritage sites. Further, my existence as a western, secularized, Reform Jewish woman directly contradicted the Jewish Hasidic male archetype as portrayed at many sites. She had been so immersed in myth that she could not comprehend my everyday Jewish existence. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes that, in tourism that features human performance and display, "people become signs of themselves."⁵⁰ The performative and orientalized image of Jews and Judaism informed the questions directed at me by my tour guide, and I, at a Jewish heritage site supposedly intended for my use, became a symbol of all Jewish people.

⁵⁰ Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, xx.

At these sites, Jews, Judaism and Jewish culture become part of a production, a production in service of creating sacred travel experience. Jews—in the ahistorical, oriental space they occupy—become one with the Orient and take tourists on a journey within their journey to both a medieval orientalized Spain or a present-day orientalized Israel. Tourists are then encouraged to consume relics of this romanticized representation of the Jewish sacred in an experience akin to souvenir shopping in Catholic pilgrimage tourism. In her book *Destination Culture*, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that “tourism stages the world as a museum itself” and underscores that heritage is ultimately a mode of cultural production.⁵¹ Tabea Linhard, in conversation with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, argues that heritage travelers and memory tourists “might think they are touring the past, when in actuality they are touring a production of the past.”⁵² In these productions of the past, destinations become part of sets, and tour guides and shop owners become actors that communicate history. Thinking about the theatrical elements of tourism is crucial to acknowledging them as spaces that communicate history, and thus as spaces that are deeply entrenched in the politics of history and historiography.

⁵¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 7, 150.

⁵² Linhard, *Jewish Spain*, 162.

Epilogue

“¿Qué le falta a Madrid?...hace falta un Museo HispanoJudío en Madrid.” – Fundación HispanoJudía¹

On May 9, 2003 the State Corporation for Spanish Cultural Action Abroad (SCSCAA) in collaboration with the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport opened an exhibition “Remembering Sepharad: Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain” at the Washington National Cathedral. The exhibit, which was intended as a “new tribute to the understanding between the two countries,” graced the American capital’s cathedral for a month. To commemorate the exhibit after its closure, the SCSCAA turned the contents of the exhibit into a book written and published in English.² The irony, of course, of this exhibit with its intention of “Spreading the cultural legacy of our country across Europe, America, and throughout the world” was that it did not, nor did an exhibit like it, make its debut in the *Spanish* capital, Madrid.³

Madrid and Jews have a complicated relationship. The city did not become the capital of Spain until the 1560s, decades after the Edict of Expulsion. That being said, Madrid as the capital of Spain historically has been emblematic of golden-age Spain, a Spain that was inherently hostile not just to Jews, but to much of the diversity medieval Spain harbored. Nevertheless, Jews began moving back to Madrid and, in 1968, a year after Franco declared freedom of worship, the city became home to the first synagogue built in

¹ “Que le Falta a Madrid,” downloaded from “Museo HispanoJudío,” *Fundación Hispanojudía*, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/museo-hispanojudio/>. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

² Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso et al., *Remembering Sepharad: Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain : Washington National Cathedral, May 9-June 8, 2003* (Madrid, Spain: State Corp. for Spanish Cultural Action Abroad, 2003), 9.

³ Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso et al., 9; The exhibit was displayed in Toledo prior to arriving in the United States, but never made an appearance in the Spanish Capital.

the nation since 1492.⁴ Since then, Madrid has acted as a center of Spanish Jewish life, and the local Jewish community takes pride in their history as Madrileños.

This community pride is tangible and physically manifested in what remains to this day the only Jewish museum in Madrid: The Museum of the History of the Jewish Community of Madrid. Located in a community center which is also home to Beth Yaakov synagogue, the small museum details the contemporary history of Jewish life in Madrid through to present-day with photos and ritual objects.⁵ The museum, which opened in 2007, is open to the public although only through prior appointment and personal pre-registration. As Daniela Flesler and Adrian Perez Melgosa note: “In effect, it serves as a quasi-private museum for the very community it chronicles.”⁶ This ‘For the community, by the community’ ethos stands in stark contrast to the SCSCAA’s exhibit whose specific intention was to serve a global audience (rather than a local one). Beyond that, this museum stands out from the rest of Spain’s Jewish museums and sites because it is the only “perfect fit”-- a museum “created more or less by, more or less for, and more or less about Jews.”⁷ Notably, in Spain’s only museum more or less “for Jews, by Jews,” the community chose to focus, not on Sepharad, Spain’s medieval Jewish past, but on a Jewish present that is deeply enmeshed in and reliant upon this new, secular, multicultural, democratic Spain. Very few heritage sites and Jewish museums sites mention Jews’ return to Spain post-1492,

⁴ Alan Riding, “500 Years after Expulsion, Spain Reaches out to Jews,” *The New York Times*, April 1, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/01/world/500-years-after-expulsion-spain-reaches-out-to-jews.html>

⁵ “Museum of the History of the Jewish Community of Madrid,” Turismo Madrid, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/museo-de-historia-de-la-comunidad-judia-de-madrid>.

⁶ Adrián Pérez Melgosa and Daniela Flesler, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 200, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/monograph/book/98664>.

⁷ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Why Do Jewish Museums Matter? An International Perspective,” *Association of European Jewish Museums*, 2011, 1-2, https://www.aejm.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Barbara-Kirshenblatt-Gimblett_Why-Do-Jewish-Museums-Matter-An-International-Perspective_Keynote-2011.pdf.

erasing the present-day community. Spain's Jewish community is not just centering Spanish-Jewish life today when other government initiatives and preservation organizations will not, but they are also recreating Madrid's heritage landscape to reflect, not its past, but its present as a safe-haven for the community.

In 'imperfect fits,' Jews played and continue to play a role, but oftentimes a subsidiary one, supporting non-Jewish Spanish efforts rather than having the opportunity to lead their own. As scholars like Ruth Gruber, Michael Meng, and Erica Lehrer have shown, this is not atypical in the Jewish heritage world in Europe.⁸ However, in more recent years, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, the Jewish heritage world has evolved to include Jews at more senior levels. Beyond involvement, scholar Behrnard Purin notes "In some cases, descendants of emigrated Jews have transformed communities around Jewish museums in their ancestral cities and towns."⁹ In their work, Flesler and Melgosa wonder if the same evolution will be true in Spain. Already, this process can be seen in motion.

In 2015, the same year as the Law of Nationality granting citizenship to the descendants of Sephardi Jews was passed, a group of Spanish Jews and non-Jews created Fundación HispanoJudía.¹⁰ Since then, the foundation has been fundraising, and its primary goal has been to establish el Museo HispanoJudío.¹¹ The museum is set to open in its virtual phase in summer 2023, and then later in its physical space by summer 2024.¹² In the eyes

⁸ See footnote 32, pp 11.

⁹ Flesler and Melgosa, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain*, 200.

¹⁰ "La Fundación," *Fundación HispanoJudía*, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/la-fundacion/>.

¹¹ "Museo HispanoJudío," *Fundación Hispanojudía*, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/museo-hispanojudio/>.

¹² The museum is set to open in a building notoriously named "the Ungovernable" that has been occupied by left-wing anti-capitalist Occupy network protestors. I cannot help but wonder what implications this will have for an already tense memory-war between Spanish Jews and leftists. For more information see Cnaan Lipshiz, "Madrid to Open Jewish Museum in building reclaimed from far-left activists."

of David Hatchwell Altaras, one of the foundation’s co-founders and a leader of the Spanish-Jewish community, the museum’s mission “is to teach future generations that Judaism is an intrinsic element to Spanish and Hispanic identity. Judaism is not something foreign – on the contrary.”¹³ His hope is to teach the Hispanic world about its Jewish history with the intention of combating antisemitism “and making sure that Christian societies that have Hispanic origin also understand the fundamental values that are shared between Christians and Jews, which are huge.”¹⁴ He also emphasizes in the interview that the connections between Sephardi Jews and the Hispanic world go beyond ‘shared values.’ These connections, he notes, are blood-based. According to Hatchwell Altaras, exposing the hispanic world to their Jewish heritage will help squash antisemitism “because once you realize that you have Jewish ancestry, you can no longer be antisemitic. If you are antisemitic, then you’re a fool – hating your own origins.”¹⁵ The irony, of course, is that in Hatchwell Altaras’ attempt to ‘combat antisemitism,’ he centers ancestral bloodlines in the same ways his historical oppressors did with *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*. By underscoring the genealogical closeness between Sephardim and the Hispanic world, Hatchwell Altaras makes hispanic ‘brotherhood’ a literal one and thus legitimizes *hispanismo* from a Sephardic perspective.

This theme of closeness between the two communities– Sephardim and the hispanic world– remains constant throughout materials produced by the foundation, especially in their recollection of Sephardic history. In one of its attached documents, “Qué le falta a Madrid,” the foundation pitches why Madrid needs a Jewish museum like Museo

¹³ Zvika Klein, “Spanish Foundation Teaches Millions of Spaniards That They Are Jewish” *The Jerusalem Post*, May 11, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/article-706419>.

¹⁴ Klein, “Spanish Foundation Teaches Millions of Spaniards That They Are Jewish.”

¹⁵ “Qué le falta a Madrid.”

HispanoJudío. The document's first subsection, "Las raíces de España" [The Roots of Spain], explores Sephardim's historical relationship to Spain from their arrival in the Iberian Peninsula to their expulsion from it. It states: "Los Sefarditas... nunca olvidaron a España y siempre supieron que volverían a su casa y por eso conservaron sus llaves, siempre conservaron sus tesoros culturales en su mente y en su corazón y siempre fueron los mejores embajadores oficiosos de España en donde quiera que se establecieron." [Sephardim... never forgot Spain and always knew they would return to their home and for that they conserved their keys, they always conserved their cultural treasure in their minds and in their hearts and always were Spain's best unofficial ambassadors wherever they established themselves].¹⁶ Not only does the document describe a history, but it ascribes certain truths to how Sephardi Jews felt (and feel) about Spain in the diaspora. Attaching certain feelings to Sephardi Jews and their experiences in the diaspora, however, is not uncommon. Anthropologist Charles McDonald discusses this affective lexicon in Spanish historiography and historical memory, particularly surrounding claims of Sephardi nostalgia, love, and rancor (or lack thereof) for Spain. His research explores "why asserting such 'truths' has been so important for advocates of their repatriation" and argues that asserting these "truths" has its historical basis in affective lexicon dating back to the philosephardic movement.¹⁷

The philosephardic movement and its claims to legitimacy relied heavily upon renderings of White Legend historiography.¹⁸ This affective lexicon developed under the

¹⁶ "Que le Falta a Madrid," <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/museo-hispanojudio/>

¹⁷ Charles McDonald, "Rancor: Sephardi Jews, Spanish Citizenship, and the Politics of Sentiment," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (July 2021): 727, 749 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417521000190>.

¹⁸ See pp 22-24.

philosephardic movement proclaiming Sephardic love for Spain harmonized history and supported White Legend claims of Spanish benevolence. Simultaneously, it staved off Black Legend claims of Spanish maltreatment. To employ philosephardic language and lexicon is to perpetuate White Legend in a twenty-first-century context, which “Las raíces de España” ultimately does. Not only does the foundation’s statement perpetuate White Legend, but also makes sweeping statements about Sephardi feelings that are not necessarily true. In their research on Sephardim pursuing Spanish citizenship post-2015, Dalia Kandiyoti and Rina Benmayor conducted oral history interviews around the diaspora. They discuss with narrators their various motivations for seeking citizenship including genealogical certainty and nostalgia. From their interviews, Kandiyoti and Benmayor conclude: “If there is any nostalgia, it is instead for lost Sephardi communities, languages, customs, and social relations that have disappeared or transformed over the course of the centuries.”¹⁹ What this reveals is that the foundation’s interests, in spite of participation and leadership from Spanish Jews, are more aligned with Spanish historical memory and historiographical tradition. The foundation seems to be attached to a specific notion of Spanishness in a way that the diasporic community is not– the Jews spearheading the project are, after all, Spanish. This gap between how certain members of the Spanish Jewish community feel and how members of the Sephardi diaspora feel ultimately reveals nuances in Jewish identity and exposes the fundamental issue with presenting the Jewish voice as a monolithic one.

¹⁹ Rina Benmayor and Dalia Kandiyoti, “Ancestry, Genealogy, and Restorative Citizenship: Oral Histories of Sephardi Descendants Reclaiming Spanish and Portuguese Nationality,” in “Genealogies of Sepharad (‘Jewish Spain’),” eds. Daniela Flesler, Michal R. Friedman and Asher Salah, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History, Journal of the Fondazione CDEC* 18 (December 2020): 250.

In the section that immediately follows “Las raíces de España,” however, “¿Qué le falta a Madrid?” undergoes a significant tone shift: bold claims about Sephardi pasts filled with big emotions like nostalgia and love take a cold turn, and Museo HispanoJudío transforms into a major economic venture for Madrid. Rather than focus on combating antisemitism or teaching Hispanic people about their Jewish heritage, the section “Porque Madrid” notes “El turismo religioso-cultural en España es una industria de unos veinticinco mil millones de euros que representa más del dos por ciento del P.I.B. del País.” [Religious-cultural tourism in Spain is an industry of some 25 billion euros, representing more than two percent of the country’s GDP].²⁰ The section then pivots to a statistic from *la Red de Juderías*, which calculates that “sólo en los Estados Unidos, hay un mercado potencial de unos quinientos mil turistas interesados en el tema Sefardita. Esto significa que hay un turismo religioso cultural no solo para las catedrales y otros edificios relevantes de la España Católica, si no que también lo hay para los cimientos judíos de España.”²¹ [Just in the United States, there is a potential market of some 500,000 tourists interested in the topic of Sepharad. This means that there is a religious-cultural tourism not only for the Cathedrals and other relevant buildings to Catholic Spain, but there is also for the Jewish foundations of Spain]. Not only does the foundation cite an economic interest in creating a museum, but an economic interest that is specifically rooted in tourists from the US, which is home to the second largest Jewish population in the world. Museo HispanoJudío would, as the document notes, not just put Madrid on the map as a destination in this market, but as a starting point for tourists in their cultural-religious tourism travels. Even though

²⁰ “Que le Falta a Madrid,” *Fundación HispanoJudío*.

²¹ “Que le Falta a Madrid,” *Fundación HispanoJudía*.

Fundación HispanoJudía prides itself on its diverse Jewish and non-Jewish leadership, it mimics a lot of the same economic tropes about Jewish heritage tourism as its heritage counterparts without Jewish leaders. Their desire to prove the museum’s economic expediency reflects a broader, implicit desire in the Jewish heritage tourism industry in Spain “to declare the Jewish past closed for grievances and open for business.”²²

These seemingly contradictory motivations—combating antisemitism (which should function as a reparation in the form of education) and growing Spain’s tourism economy—encapsulated in Fundación HispanoJudía’s mission raise significant questions: What roles do cultural heritage and heritage tourism play in dismantling antisemitism? Can they play a role? Dara Horn begins to address some of these questions in her work particularly as it relates to Holocaust tourism and museum work. She notes the tendency of these sites (whose mission is oftentimes to combat antisemitism) to use histories of antisemitism as a more general stand-in for public moral education.²³ “Jews are not a metaphor, but rather, actual people,” declares Horn.²⁴ How do we make sure that Jews do not become reduced to metaphors for morality or, as in the case of Spain, symbols of nationalistic historiographies? How do we make sure that Jewish *humanity* is at the forefront of Jewish cultural heritage?

As I have shown over the course of this journey, I am not sure heritage work in and of itself does not have the capacity to dismantle antisemitism, but it certainly does have the capacity to raise awareness of antisemitism. In order for heritage work to do this, we have

²² Flesler and Melgosa, *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain*, 35

²³ Dara Horn, “Is Holocaust Education Making Anti-Semitism Worse? - The Atlantic,” accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2023/05/holocaust-student-education-jewish-anti-semitism/673488/>.

²⁴ Dara Horn, *People Love Dead Jews: Reports from a Haunted Present* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2022), 189.

a duty to dismantle antisemitism in our respective roles as creators and consumers. This requires different things from different people at different points in the heritage process, but ultimately has to be a group effort— from both Jews and non-Jews.

Visitors need to be educated consumers of museums and heritage sites. These spaces go through processes of mediation and are ultimately created by individuals who carry their own biases into their work. To reiterate Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, heritage is a cultural production. This does not mean that a consumer cannot learn things from heritage work, but a consumer cannot *unlearn* biases solely from visiting heritage sites. For non-Jewish visitors, Jewish heritage sites function as an accessible introduction to dismantling antisemitic biases. For Jewish visitors, however, it is harder to offer a recommendation for how to approach these spaces. As Ruth Gruber notes in the first edition of her *Jewish Heritage Travel* guidebook, it is a good idea for Jewish visitors to do some pre-trip reading.²⁵ Most of these heritage spaces are spaces with deeply traumatic histories and entering into those spaces with some knowledge of those histories might help Jewish folks process whatever complicated emotions might arise. Emotions might vary, not just from individual to individual, but also because different diasporic Jewish communities have different trauma.

Curators, as people doing public history, have a responsibility to dismantle antisemitism in their own historiography and historiographic narratives. Some questions for curators at Jewish heritage sites in Spain to consider on their current and future public history endeavors: What would it look like for Jewish heritage sites in Spain to de-center *convivencia* narratives? What would it look like to discuss the diversity of Sephardi culture

²⁵ Ruth Ellen Gruber *Jewish Heritage Travel : A Guide to Eastern Europe*, (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007), 11.

in the diaspora? What would it look like to incorporate oral history interviews (especially from the diaspora) like Kandiyoti and Benmayor's into these spaces? What would it look like for these sites to acknowledge Spain's Jewish present? Jewish curators also have to work to dismantle historiographic narratives like White Legend, even if these narratives privilege the preservation of our cultural heritage. If we do not, we ultimately prolong our marginalization.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- “Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS): Historic city of Toledo.” UNESCO, April 1986. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/379/documents/>.
- Atienza, Juan García. *Caminos de Sefarad. Guía Judía de España*. Barcelona: Robin Book, 1994.
- Bango Torviso, Isidro Gonzalo, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior (Spain), D.C.) Washington National Cathedral (Washington, Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior (Spain), and D.C.) Washington National Cathedral (Washington. *Remembering Sepharad: Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain: Washington National Cathedral, May 9-June 8, 2003*. Madrid, Spain: State Corp. for Spanish Cultural Action Abroad, 2003.
- Casa de Sefarad, “A Palimpsest language.” Córdoba, Spain: Casa de Sefarad, 2022.
- Casa de Sefarad, “Descubrimos el Judeo-Español.” Córdoba, Spain: Casa de Sefarad, 2022.
- Casa de Sefarad, “En el Origen.” Córdoba, Spain: Casa de Sefarad, 2022.
- Casa de Sefarad, “La Inquisición.” Córdoba, Spain: Casa de Sefarad, 2022.
- Casa de Sefarad, “La Inquisición Española.” Córdoba, Spain: Casa de Sefarad, 2022.
- “Castillo del Moral, Lucena, Museo arqueológico y etnológico.” Castillo del Moral informational pamphlet. Lucena, 2022.
- Centro Didáctico de Segovia, “Testimonios de la presencia Judía en Segovia.” Segovia, Spain: Centro Didáctico, 2022.
- Civera i Gomez, Manuel. *Morvedre Hebreu: (Segles XIII-XVI)*. Catarroja: Afers, 2009.
- “Discurso de Isaac Querub Ante El Presidente Rivlin.” Accessed April 6, 2023. https://www.fcje.org/-/discurso-de-isaac-querub-ante-reuven-rivlin-palacio-de-el-pardo-6-112017?redirect=%2Factualidad%3Fp_p_id%3Dcom_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26_com_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai_delta%3D

9%26p_r_p_resetCur%3Dfalse%26_com_liferay_asset_publisher_web_portlet_AssetPublisherPortlet_INSTANCE_zjai_cur%3D18.

“El Judaísmo como modo de vida,” Museo Sefardí, Toledo, 2022.

“El Pensamiento y las ideas: La Muerte en Al-Andalus.” El mundo ideológico. Castillo del Moral, Lucena, 2022.

“Entre el Sur y el Oeste está Lucena.” La Perla de Sefarad. Castillo del Moral Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico, 2022.

“Hallazgos arqueológicos en la Lucena Judía: Las lápidas de Lucena.” Necrópolis Judía Lucena, 2022.

“La Fundación.” *Fundación Hispanojudía*. Accessed May 1, 2023. <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/la-fundacion/>.

“Los Antecedentes: Necrópolis y Basílica de Coracho.” La Perla de Sefarad. Castillo del Moral, Lucena, 2022.

“Museo HispanoJudío.” *Fundación Hispanojudía*. Accessed May 1, 2023. <https://fundacionhispanojudia.org/museo-hispanojudio/>.

“Museum of the History of the Jewish Community of Madrid.” *Turismo Madrid*. Accessed May 1, 2023. <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/museo-de-historia-de-la-comunidad-judia-de-madrid>.

Museo Sefardí, “Reinos Cristianos siglos XII-XV dC: La Inquisición.” Toledo, Spain: Museo Sefardí, 2022.

“Rutas por las juderías de España: Toledo.” Caminos de Sefarad, Red de Juderías de España. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://redjuderias.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Toledo-web.pdf>.

“Sinagoga Virtual.” Centro Didáctico de Segovia. Segovia, 2022.

Tour of Segovia’s Jewish Quarter. Centro Didáctico de Segovia. Segovia, June 24, 2022.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. “World Heritage Information Kit.” Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/567/>.

Secondary Sources

“2018 - European Year of Cultural Heritage - International Council on Monuments and Sites.” Accessed April 5, 2023. <https://www.icomos.org/en/about->

[icomos/committees/regional-activities-europe/39217-2018-european-year-of-cultural-heritage](https://www.icomos.org/committees/regional-activities-europe/39217-2018-european-year-of-cultural-heritage).

Ayuntamiento de Sagunto. “Sagunto Ya Forma Parte De La Red De Juderías De España-Caminos De Sefarad.” <https://aytosagunto.es/es/actualidad/sagunto-ya-forma-parte-de-la-red-de-juderias-de-espana-caminos-de-sefarad/>.

Baer, Alejandro. “The Voids of Sepharad: The Memory of the Holocaust in Spain.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 2011): 95–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.556879>.

Baer, Yitzhak, and Louis Schoffman. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. [1st ed.]. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961.

“Basílica Paleocristiana de Coracho.” Accessed April 5, 2023. <https://www.andalucia.org/en/lucena-cultural-tourism-basilica-paleocristiana-de-coracho>.

Bauman, Zygmunt. “Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern.” Essay. In *Modernity, Culture and "the Jew"*, 143–56. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

Bea, Alicia. “¿Por qué miles de judíos quieren conocer Lucena?,” August 20, 2019. https://viajes.nationalgeographic.com.es/lifestyle/por-que-miles-judios-quieren-conocer-lucena_14509.

Benmayor, Rina and Dalia Kandiyoti. “Ancestry, Genealogy, and Restorative Citizenship: Oral Histories of Sephardi Descendants Reclaiming Spanish and Portuguese Nationality,” in “Genealogies of Sepharad (‘Jewish Spain’),” eds. Daniela Flesler, Michal R. Friedman and Asher Salah, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of the Fondazione CDEC* 18 (December 2020): 219-250.

Cañizares-Esguerra Jorge. *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830*. Philadelphia, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Cañizares-Esguerra Jorge. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Casey, Nicholas. “Spain Pledged Citizenship to Sephardic Jews. Now They Feel Betrayed.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, July 24, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/24/world/europe/spain-jews-citizenship-reparations.html>.

Castellano, Orge, David I. Klein, Toby Axelrod, Howard Lovy, Caleb Guedes-Reed, and Gabe Friedman. “In Spain, Small Towns Are Unearthing Ancient Synagogues to Resurrect Jewish History - and Attract Tourists.” *Jewish*

Telegraphic Agency, January 31, 2022.
<https://www.jta.org/2022/01/26/global/in-spain-small-towns-are-uneathing-ancient-synagogues-to-resurrect-jewish-history-and-attract-tourists>.

Charnon-Deutsch, Lou and Jo Labanyi. *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain*. Oxford Hispanic Studies. Oxford: Clarendon Press ;, 1995.

Colmeiro, José F. “Exorcising Exoticism: ‘Carmen’ and the Construction of Oriental Spain.” *Comparative Literature* 54, no. 2 (2002): 127–44.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/4122479>.

“Commission Takes Stock of a Successful European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 | Culture and Creativity.” Accessed April 5, 2023.
<https://culture.ec.europa.eu/node/119>.

Crumbaugh, Justin. *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*. SUNY Series in Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture. Albany: SUNY Press, 2009.

DeGuzmán, María. *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. 1 online resource (xxxiii, 372 pages): illustrations vols. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press; 2005.

Desmond, Jane. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
<http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/uchi052/99018914.html>.

Diffie, Bailey W. “The Ideology of Hispanidad.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (1943): 457–82. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2508538>. to bibliography

Drozdiak, William. “Spain's Inglorious Edict of 1492.” *The Washington Post*. WP Company, March 31, 1992.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1992/03/31/spains-inglorious-edict-of-1492/f93ae396-008b-452a-b1c4-66e580ca4dd5/>.

Edelstein, Alan. *An Unacknowledged Harmony Philo-Semitism and the Survival of European Jewry*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Ellis, Clyde, and Donald L. Fixico. “Five Dollars a Week to Be ‘Regular Indians’: Shows, Exhibitions, and the Economics of Indian Dancing, 1880–1930.” In *Native Pathways*, edited by Brian Hosmer and Colleen O’Neill, 184–208. American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century. University Press of Colorado, 2004. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46nvxp.13>.

- European Commission, Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture. *European framework for action on cultural heritage*. Publications Office, 2019. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2766/949707>.
- European Jewish Heritage powered by AEPJ. “About Us.” Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://jewishheritage.org/about>.
- Fitzgerald, Kathleen J. “A Sociology of Race/Ethnicity Textbooks: Avoiding White Privilege, Ahistoricism, and Use of the Passive Voice.” *Sociological Focus* 45, no. 4 (2012): 338–57. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41633924>.
- Flesler, Daniela and Adrián Pérez Melgosa. “Marketing Convivencia: Contemporary Tourist Appropriations of Spain’s Jewish Past” in *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Cultural Identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008. 63-84.
- Flesler, Daniela and Adrián Pérez Melgosa. *The Memory Work of Jewish Spain*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020. <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/monograph/book/98664>.
- Flesler, Daniela. *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration*. Purdue University Press, 2008.
- Friedman, Michal. “Jewish History as ‘Historia Patria’: José Amador de Los Ríos and the History of the Jews of Spain.” *Jewish Social Studies* 18, no. 1 (2011): 88–126. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jewisocstud.18.1.88>.
- Gerber, Jane S. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York: Free Press, 1992.
- Gergely, Julia, Ron Kampeas, Shira Hanau, Rachel Ringler, and Ben Sales. “New Yorkers with Sephardic Roots Say Spain Is Breaking Its Promise of Citizenship.” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 15, 2021. <https://www.jta.org/2021/10/14/ny/new-yorkers-with-sephardic-roots-say-spain-is-breaking-its-promise-of-citizenship>.
- Graburn, Nelson H. H. “Tourism: The Sacred Journey.” In *Hosts and Guests*, edited by Valene L. Smith, 2nd ed., 21–36. The Anthropology of Tourism. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Graham, Helen, Jo Labanyi, Helen Graham, and Jo Labanyi. *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*. Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Greenhouse, Emily. “Treasures in the Wall.” *The New Yorker*, March 1, 2013. <https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/treasures-in-the-wall>.

- Gruber, Ruth Ellen. *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*. The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Gruber, Ruth Ellen. *Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to Eastern Europe*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007.
- Horn, Dara. "Is Holocaust Education Making Anti-Semitism Worse?" *The Atlantic*, April 3, 2023.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2023/05/holocaust-student-education-jewish-anti-semitism/673488/>
- Horn, Dara. *People Love Dead Jews: Reports from a Haunted Present*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2022.
- Illas, Edgar. "On Universalist Particularism: The Catalans and the Jews." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2011): 77–94.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.556878>.
- Jones, Sam. "'We Want Action': Call to Return Former Toledo Synagogue to Jewish Community." *The Guardian*, March 8, 2017, sec. World news.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/08/we-want-action-call-to-return-former-toledo-synagogue-to-jewish-community>.
- Jordan, Barry and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas. *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*. London : Arnold ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2000.
http://archive.org/details/contemporaryspan0000unse_z5p4.
- Kagan, Richard L, and Abigail Dyer. *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*. Edited by Richard L Kagan and Abigail Dyer. 2nd ed. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Kaufman, Suzanne K. *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine*. 1 online resource : 1 map, 41 halftones vols. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501727351>.
- Klein, Zvika. "Spanish Foundation Teaches Millions of Spaniards That They Are Jewish." *The Jerusalem Post*, May 11, 2022.
<https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/article-706419>.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley Calif.: University of California Press, 1998.

- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Why Do Jewish Museums Matter? An International Perspective." *Association of European Jewish Museums*, 2011.
https://www.aejm.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Barbara-Kirshenblatt-Gimblett_Why-Do-Jewish-Museums-Matter-An-International-Perspective_Keynote-2011.pdf
- La Voz de Asturias. "Oviedo se da de baja de la Red de Juderías," January 29, 2020.
<https://www.lavozdeasturias.es/noticia/oviedo/2020/01/29/oviedo-da-baja-red-juderias/00031580312828524352175.htm>.
- Lassner, Phyllis, and Lara Trubowitz. *Antisemitism and Philosemitism in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Representing Jews, Jewishness, and Modern Culture*. Newark, New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 2008.
- Lavrin, Asunción. *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*. Latin American Studies Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Lehrer, Erica. "Repopulating Jewish Poland—in Wood." In *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry Volume 16*, edited by Michael C. Steinlauf and Antony Polonsky, 335–56. Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture and Its Afterlife. Liverpool University Press, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1rmk6w.23>.
- Lehrer, Erica T. *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places*. New Anthropologies of Europe. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Linhard, Tabea Alexa. *Jewish Spain: A Mediterranean Memory*. Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Liphshiz, Cnaan. "Madrid to Open Jewish Museum in Building Reclaimed from Far-Left Activists." *Times of Israel*, February 7, 2020.
<https://www.timesofisrael.com/madrid-to-open-jewish-museum-in-building-reclaimed-from-far-left-activists/>.
- Luján, Asun. "Las 15 Juderías Más Bellas de España." Accessed April 5, 2023.
https://viajes.nationalgeographic.com.es/a/juderias-mas-bonitas-espana_12949.
- Mann, Vivian B. "Decorating Synagogues in the Sephardi Diaspora: The Role of Tradition." In *Synagogues in the Islamic World*, edited by Mohammad Gharipour, 207–25. Architecture, Design and Identity. Edinburgh University Press, 2017. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvxcrk2d.15>.
- Martin-Márquez, Susan. *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*. Yale University Press, 2008.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1npzj1>.

- McDonald, Charles A. “Rancor: Sephardi Jews, Spanish Citizenship, and the Politics of Sentiment.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (July 2021): 722–51. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417521000190>.
- McKercher, Bob, Hilary Du Cros, and Hilary Du Cros. *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2002.
- McKnight, Kathryn Joy and Leo Garofalo. *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub., 2009. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=31145>.
- Meng, Michael. *Shattered Spaces*. Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Meskill, Lynn. *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Meyerson, Mark D. *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021. <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/267/monograph/book/81313>.
- “Necrópolis Judía de Lucena - Official Andalusia Tourism Website.” Accessed April 5, 2023. <https://www.andalucia.org/en/lucena-cultural-tourism-necropolis-judia-de-lucena>.
- Nirenberg, David. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York: Norton, 2014.
- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages - Updated Edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/267/monograph/book/64485>.
- Notermans, Catrien, and Jean Kommers. “How Pilgrimage Souvenirs Turn into Religious Remittances and Powerful Medicine.” In *Exploring Materiality and Connectivity in Anthropology and Beyond*, edited by Philipp Schorch, Martin Saxer, and Marlen Elders, 72–89. UCL Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13xpsp9.10>.
- O’Banion, Patrick J. *This Happened in My Presence: Moriscos, Old Christians, and the Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza, 1569-1611*. University of Toronto Press, 2017. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctv2fjqw8d>.
- Orsi, Robert A. *History and Presence*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016.

- Palma, europa press. “Palma sale de la Red de Juderías para tener un programa propio.” *Diario de Mallorca*, December 23, 2017. <https://www.diariodemallorca.es/sociedad/2017/12/23/palma-sale-red-juderias-programa-3289621.html>.
- Pearson, Jessica L. “Traveling to the End of Empire: Leisure Tourism in the Era of Decolonization.” Unpublished manuscript, November 2022. Microsoft Word file.
- Penslar, Derek, and Ivan Davidson Kalmar. *Orientalism and the Jews*. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2020. https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/218/edited_volume/book/81108.
- Phillips, Katrina. *Staging Indigeneity: Salvage Tourism and the Performance of Native American History*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021. <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/12/monograph/book/82216>.
- “President Rivlin Departs on State Visit to Spain 5 November 2017.” Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2017/Pages/President-Rivlin-departs-on-State-Visit-to-Spain-5-November-2017.aspx>.
- “President Rivlin Heads to Spain to Mark 30 Years of Diplomacy | 7 ערוץ.” Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/237657>.
- Rappaport, Salomon. *Jew and Gentile: The Philosemitic Aspect*. New York, New York: Philosophical Library, 1980.
- Regan, Kate. “The Sephardic Legacy of Segovia, Spain: Pentimento of the Past - Video - Films On Demand.” Accessed April 6, 2023. https://digital.films.com/p_ViewVideo.aspx?xtid=36488.
- Riding, Alan. “500 Years after Expulsion, Spain Reaches out to Jews.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, April 1, 1992. <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/01/world/500-years-after-expulsion-spain-reaches-out-to-jews.html>.
- Rivlin, Joseph. *Al-Yussana: Documentos Legales de la comunidad judía de Lucena*. Translated by José Cano Pérez, Tania García Arévalo, and José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu. Ayuntamiento de Lucena- Delegación de patrimonio histórico, 2014.
- Rohr, Isabelle. “‘Spaniards of the Jewish Type’: philosephardism in the Service of Imperialism in Early Twentieth-Century Spanish Morocco.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (2011): 61–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.556877>.

- Rozenberg, Danielle. *La España contemporánea y la cuestión judía: retejiendo los hilos de la memoria y de la historia*. Marcial Pons Historia, 2010.
- Rubinstein, W. D., and Hilary Rubinstein. *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support for Jews in the English-Speaking World, 1840-1939*. Macmillan, 1999.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2014.
- Schmidt-Nowara, and John M Nieto-Phillips. *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century*. 1st pbk.ed. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.
- Stern, Frank. *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*. London: Heinemann, 1992.
- Venegas, Jose Luis. *The Sublime South: Andalusia, Orientalism, and the Making of Modern Spain*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2018.
<https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/147/monograph/book/59163>.
- UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "UNESCO World Heritage Centre - World Heritage List Statistics." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed March 29, 2023. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat/>.
- Vollendorf, Lisa. *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain*. Vanderbilt University Press, 2005.
- Young, James Edward. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven; Yale University Press, 1993.