



CEJA pelo mundo

O CEJA no Marrocos

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CEJA – CENTRO DE ESTUDOS JUDAICOS DA AMAZÔNIA

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Anne Gimol Benzecry Benchimol – CIAM/Brasil

Debi Chaimovitch-Yehoshafat - Ben Gurion University/Israel

O FÓRUM

O evento

Sephardic Moroccan Jewish Latin American Forum - Essaouira, 23 -26 de junho, 2024
– Marrocos.

Organizado sob a tutela da iniciativa do Centro Cultural Beit Dakira, em Essaouira, serviu como uma plataforma vital para discutir o passado, o presente e o futuro das comunidades judaicas marroquinas sefarditas na América Latina, este evento inaugural, organizado pela Associação Mimouna, reuniu acadêmicos, líderes comunitários e entusiastas culturais para, explorar a rica história, a cultura vibrante e os desafios contemporâneos enfrentados por estas comunidades. Através de discussões envolventes, exposições culturais e sessões colaborativas, o Fórum teve como objetivo fortalecer os laços, promover a compreensão mútua e preservar a herança única dos judeus sefarditas marroquinos no contexto latino-americano.

A anfitriã: A Mimouna Foundation

Uma associação cultural sem fins lucrativos criada em 2007 por jovens estudantes muçulmanos dispostos a promover e preservar a herança judaico-marroquina.

Desde então, a Associação expandiu estas atividades a nível nacional, a fim de se envolver na educação da juventude marroquina sobre a herança judaica marroquina. Esta sensibilização é particularmente alcançada através dos «Dias da Herança Judaico-Marroquina» e através de atividades educativas destinadas a estudantes do ensino secundário e pós-graduado.

Um dos princípios fundadores da Associação é recuperar a diversidade cultural de Marrocos através da sua história. Num contexto onde a intolerância e o extremismo são galopantes, Mimouna, como Associação Cidadão Patriota, gostaria de contribuir para a preservação e fortalecimento da identidade plural marroquina.

Programação:

Contando com uma rica e diversa programação, o evento recebeu representantes de dez diferentes países: Marrocos, México, Brasil, Argentina, Estados Unidos, Chile, Colômbia Panamá, Peru e Israel. E foi estruturado em três segmentos:

- Acadêmico
- Institucional comunitário
- Liderança jovem

O CEJA no Fórum:

A participação do CEJA no evento foi marcante. Como representante do Brasil, o CEJA contou com a apresentação de trabalhos de sete membros de seu Conselho de Pesquisadores, que compuseram o segmento acadêmico do Fórum.

- Prof. Elias Salgado – Brasil
- Dr. Aviad Moreno - Israel
- Dr. Monique Sochaczewski – Brasil
- Dr. Adriana Brodsky – EUA
- Dr. Vanessa Paloma Elbaz – Inglaterra
- Dr. Omar Lamghibchi – Marrocos
- Dr. Stephanie Pridgeon – EUA.



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ASOCIACIÓN
JUDÍA SEFARDÍ
DE MÉXICO



جمعية ميمونة
התאגדות ספרדים
ארגון מימונה
Association Mimouna



**MOROCCO - LATIN AMERICA
THE SEPHARDIC CONNECTION**
JUNE 2024 - MOROCCO



PROGRAM

MOROCCO - LATIN AMERICA
THE SEPHARDIC CONNECTION
JUNE 2024-MOROCCO



Opening Evening – Essaouira– Sunday, June 23rd 2024

7:30 PM - Welcome Address, Dinner and Performance by Gnawa Music Band

Sephardic Jewish life in Latin America – Essaouira–Monday, June 24th 2024

10:00 AM

Welcome

Mr. El Mehdi Boudra, Founder and President of Mimouna Association

Keynote Speaker

H.E. Oumama Aouad Lahrech, Former Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to Panama and Peru

10:30 AM

Historical Survey of Sephardic Jewish Life in Latin America

Dr. Monique Sochaczewski, Permanent Professor at the Brazilian Institute of Teaching, Development, and Research (IDP) and Senior Researcher at the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI), Brazil.

Dr. Adriana M. Brodsky, History Department Chair at St. Mary's College of Maryland, United States of America

Dr. Stephanie M. Pridgeon, Professor at Emory University, United States of America

Dr. Aviad Moreno, Head of the Research Hub, The Azrieli Center for Israel Studies

Facilitator: Dr. Omar Lamghibchi, Professor at Hassan II university, Morocco

12:00 PM

Lunch



PROGRAM

MOROCCO - LATIN AMERICA
THE SEPHARDIC CONNECTION
JUNE 2024-MOROCCO



2:30 PM

Moroccan Jews in Latin America

Dr. Elias Salgado : Co-founder of the Jewish Amazon project and director of the Center for Jewish Studies in Amazonia.

Mr. Moises Amselem Elbaz, President of The Moroccan Jewish Association in Mexico

Dr. Omar Lamghibchi, Professor at Hassan II university, Morocco

Dr. Vanessa Paloma Elbaz, Senior Research Associate, Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge

Facilitator: Ms. Carol Castiel, President of The Cape Verde Jewish Heritage Project

4:00 PM

Contemporary Jewish Life in Latin America

Rabbi Abraham Tobal, Chief Rabbi of the Damasco community in Mexico Monte Sinai

Mr. Gabriel Cohen Henriquez, Vice President of the Congreso Judío Panameño, Panama

Mr. Gaston Maya Funes, President of the Latin American Sephardic Federation

Mr. Reich Fred, Board member of the Jewish Community of Peru.

Facilitator: Mr. Jason Guberman, Executive Director of the American Sephardi Federation



A cross-Atlantic discussion– Essaouira–Tuesday, June 25th 2024

10:00 AM Discussion on the Future of Jewish Life in Latin America

Ms. Yana Naftalieva, President of the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS)

Ms. Micaela Tramer Swinburn, President of the union of Jewish students of Chile.

Mr. Michael Rosental Guzman, Member of the union of Jewish students of Colombia.

Ms. Gabriela Chazan Blanck, Member of the union of Jewish students of Mexico.

Facilitator: Mr. Abdou El Kaoukabi, Director of Education at Mimouna Association

11:30 AM Preservation of Jewish Latin American heritage: Sephardic connection

Mr. Jason Guberman, Executive Director of the American Sephardi Federation

Ms. Dafne Englander, General director of Comunidad Judía de Chile

Mr. Jacob Marrache, Founder & Head of Adafina – Jewish Genealogy in Morocco

Ms. Laziza Dalil, Director of Communication at Mimouna Association

Facilitator: Dr. Vanessa Paloma Elbaz, Senior Research, Associate, Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge

1:00 PM Lunch

4:00 PM A guided tour of the old city of Essaouira in both Spanish and English

PROGRAM

MOROCCO - LATIN AMERICA
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Wednesday, June 26th 2024

10:00 AM A book discussion between Dr. Aviad Moreno and Dr. Adriana M. Brodsky on the recent launch book « Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas »

11:30 AM Closing Remarks by Mr. Reda Ayadi, Director of the Muslim-Jewish dialogue at Mimouna Association

Apresentação - Um relato pessoal?

Por Elias Salgado - Fundador e Diretor do CEJA – Centro de Estudos Judaicos da Amazônia

*Dedicado ao El Mehdi, ao Abdou, à Sara
e a todos os membros da Mimouna Foundation que tão bem nos receberam*

Vou começar meu relato pelo meio do caminho.

O diálogo a seguir se deu em Jerusalém, no ano de 2022, dentro de um táxi a caminho da Universidade Hebraica de Jerusalém, durante o XVIII Congresso Mundial de Ciências Judaicas, onde apresentaria um trabalho sobre o que venho chamando de “*nova historiografia brasileira sobre os judeus da Amazônia*”.

Mas, vamos deixar o historiador de lado por um instante e permitamos que fale o neto de judeus sefarditas marroquinos que chegaram na Amazônia brasileira, na segunda metade do século XIX.

_ Ah! Então você veio do Marrocos?

_ Sim, chegamos em Israel nos anos 50.

_ E como foi abandonar o seu país de origem?

_ Na verdade, não queríamos ir embora. Minha família, nem tampouco muitos outros de nós e, mais ainda, nossos vizinhos muçulmanos, não queriam que partíssemos. Muitos vieram ao aeroporto, chorando e suplicando que não fôssemos embora, dizendo: “Não partam, aqui é sua verdadeira casa”. Nós também nos sentíamos como eles. Foi muito difícil partir.

Naquele momento, dentro daquele táxi, confesso que senti um misto de surpresa e alegria, mesmo tendo consciência de que muita coisa estava mudando nas relações entre o Marrocos, Israel e os judeus, em particular para aqueles que abandonaram o país; alguma coisa ainda me deixava, não diria descrente, mas curioso e com muita vontade de vivenciar tal experiência ao vivo.

E isso já acontecia há vários anos. O historiador dos judeus do Marrocos na Amazônia brasileira precisava fazer aquilo. Porém, mais que tudo, o Elias Salgado.

Na verdade, eu sou o Eliahu Elmaleh (Almalih), judeu de origem sefardi andaluza, cujos ancestrais foram viver no Marrocos no século XV, após sua expulsão pelos reis católicos, Fernando II de Aragão e Isabel de Castela, e lá permaneceram por quatro séculos.

Apresentação

Finalmente, depois de seis décadas de existência por estas paragens, consegui realizar meu sonho de quase toda uma vida. Não é que não houvesse pisado em solo marroquino antes. Fiz isso nos anos 70 quando ainda era um jovem de 19 anos. Naquela época, minhas motivações pessoais eram completamente distintas das de hoje. Era um garoto brasileiro, com uma mochila nas costas, viajando pela Europa com dois amigos de escola, que recém havia terminado o ensino secundário em Israel.

Apenas cruzamos o Estreito de Gibraltar, descemos em Ceuta, circulamos por três dias entre Tânger, Tetuã, Arcila e Larache e voltamos para a Espanha, onde vivemos por cerca de um ano. Nossas razões maiores eram estar num lugar exótico e dizer que havíamos atravessado continentes.

Passados mais de 45 anos, um outro Elias desceu em solo marroquino, com motivações completamente distintas.

Era um Elias ciente e consciente do que o levava até ali. Cheio de expectativas, ávido por vivenciar, de maneira profunda e plena, aquela experiência. E o que ali aconteceu foi milhares de quilômetros mais além da minha maior expectativa.

Parecia que estava revivendo um sonho que já havia sonhado. Mas não, não era um sonho a mais, tudo aquilo era real.

O Abdou e o El Mehdi com quem há algum tempo vinha mantendo contato, eram de carne, osso e espírito elevado, como eu havia imaginado. Eles e todos seus colegas da Associação Mimouna. Eles e todos os que nos receberam nos locais onde o evento ocorreu. Eles e toda a gente com quem eu cruzava pelas ruelas da cidade velha de Essaouira e, depois, já voltando para casa, pelas ruelas da Medina e do *Mellah* de Marraquesh.

Estar com nossos pares de diversos países da América Latina e do Marrocos me provou o que eu, por décadas, havia descoberto: Eu estava certo. Eu estava no caminho certo. Eu havia chegado ao meu lugar ancestral. Era verdade tudo aquilo!

Agora eu tinha certeza de que sou como sou, *também* porque sou brasileiro. Mas descobri que, mais que tudo, sou como sou, expansivo, barulhento, falo alto – gritando mesmo. E meloso como um bom doce tipicamente marroquino. E também sou beijeiro com mulheres e homens. Agora sei porque falo gesticulando, com as mãos quase dançando, como vi os bailarinos movimentando suas mãos. Este interlúdio foi durante o *banquete* de abertura oficial do evento que me havia levado a conseguir tornar real meu desejo de tantos anos.

Sim, aquele não foi apenas um jantar gostoso, luxuoso. Por horas, fomos tratados como se fôssemos reis e rainhas. As fotos e os vídeos estão aí para quem duvidar e para outros que pensam que estou exagerando...

CEJA pelos mundos

Poucas vezes fui assim tão bem recebido. Disse isso dezenas de vezes aos organizadores e seguirei dizendo mundo afora.

Não foram poucos os eventos culturais e acadêmicos em que participei, que tiveram o nível de organização, de conteúdo, de propostas e objetivos tão pertinentes à realidade que estamos vivendo nas relações entre o Marrocos e os judeus sefarditas marroquinos da América Latina. E, repetindo, o Marrocos que eu vivenciei foi muito além das minhas expectativas iniciais.

Acho que este meu relato, que poderia ser pensado como pessoal, não o é. Muitos, se não todos, que ali estivemos, certamente relatariam o que foram aqueles quatro dias, claro que não com as mesmas palavras, mas a mensagem, certamente, teria a mesma intensidade.

Para mim foi tão emocionante, me senti num ambiente tão familiar que, num certo momento, disse ao El Mehdi e ao Abdou:

_Quero pedir minha cidadania marroquina, será que consigo?

E, ao fazer aquela pergunta, para mim tão vital, uma luz muito intensa pareceu, por um momento, ofuscar minha visão e, através dela, posso jurar que vi meu avô Eliezer, de Casablanca, e minha avó Sime, de Tânger, abraçados, me acenando e dizendo:

_Tu boca en el cielo, nieto *endiamantado*.

Presentation - A personal story?

By Elias Salgado - Founder and Director of CEJA – Center for Jewish Studies in the Amazon

*Dedicated to El Mehdi, Abdou, Sara
and to all the members of the Mimouna Foundation who welcomed us so well*

I will start my report halfway.

The following dialogue took place in Jerusalem, in the year 2022, inside a taxi on the way to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, during the XVIII World Congress of Jewish Sciences, where I would present a work on what I have been calling “new Brazilian historiography on the Jews of the Amazon.”

But, let’s leave the historian aside for a moment and allow the grandson of Moroccan Sephardic Jews who arrived in the Brazilian Amazon in the second half of the 19th century to speak.

- Oh! So you came from Morocco?

- Yes, we arrived in Israel in the 50s.

- And what was it like leaving your home country?

- Actually, we didn’t want to leave. My family, not many others of us, and even more so our Muslim neighbors, did not want us to leave. Many came to the airport, crying and begging us not to leave, saying: “Don’t leave, this is your real home.” We felt like them too. It was very difficult to leave.

At that moment, inside that taxi, I confess that I felt a mixture of surprise and joy, even though I was aware that a lot was changing in the relations between Morocco, Israel and the Jews, in particular for those who left the country; Something still left me, I wouldn’t say in disbelief, but curious and eager to experience such an experience live.

And this had been happening for several years. The historian of Moroccan Jews in the Brazilian Amazon needed to do that. But, more than anything, Elias Salgado.

In fact, I am Eliahu Elmaleh (Almalih), a Jew of Andalusian Sephardic origin, whose ancestors went to live in Morocco in the 15th century, after their expulsion by the Catholic kings, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and remained there for four centuries .

Finally, after six decades of existence in these parts, I managed to fulfill my lifelong dream. It’s not that I hadn’t set foot on Moroccan soil before. I did this in the 70s when I was still a young

19 year old. At that time, my personal motivations were completely different from those of today. He was a Brazilian boy, with a backpack on his back, traveling through Europe with two school friends, who had just finished high school in Israel.

We just crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, got off in Ceuta, traveled for three days between Tangier, Tetouan, Arcila and Larache and returned to Spain, where we lived for about a year. Our biggest reasons were to be in an exotic place and say that we had crossed continents.

More than 45 years later, another Elias arrived on Moroccan soil, with completely different motivations.

It was an Elias aware and aware of what led him there. Full of expectations, eager to live, in a deep and full way, that experience. And what happened there was thousands of kilometers beyond my greatest expectations.

It felt like I was reliving a dream I had already dreamed. But no, it wasn't just another dream, it was all real.

Abdou and El Mehdi, with whom I had been in contact for some time, were flesh, blood and high in spirit, as I had imagined. They and all their colleagues from the Mimouna Association. They and everyone who welcomed us to the places where the event took place. They and everyone I passed through in the alleys of the old city of Essaouira and then, on my way home, through the alleys of the Medina and the Mellah of Marrakesh.

Being with our peers from different Latin American countries and Morocco proved to me what I had discovered for decades: I was right. I was on the right path. I had arrived at my ancestral place. It was all true!

Now I was sure that I am the way I am, also because I am Brazilian. But I discovered that, more than anything, I am who I am, expansive, noisy, I talk loudly – even shouting. And syrupy like a good typically Moroccan sweet. And I'm also a kisser with women and men. Now I know why I speak gesturing, with my hands almost dancing, like I saw the dancers moving their hands. This interlude was during the official opening banquet of the event that had led me to make my wish of so many years come true.

Yes, that wasn't just a nice, luxurious dinner. For hours, we were treated as if we were kings and queens. The photos and videos are there for anyone who doubts and for others who think I'm exaggerating...

I have rarely been so well received. I said this dozens of times to the organizers and I will continue to say it around the world.

Apresentação

There were many cultural and academic events in which I participated, which had a level of organization, content, proposals and objectives that were so pertinent to the reality we are experiencing in relations between Morocco and the Moroccan Sephardic Jews of Latin America. And, to repeat, the Morocco I experienced was far beyond my initial expectations.

I think that this story of mine, which could be thought of as personal, is not. Many, if not all, of those who were there would certainly relate what those four days were like, of course not with the same words, but the message would certainly have the same intensity.

For me it was so emotional, I felt in such a familiar environment that, at a certain point, I said to El Mehdi and Abdou:

- I want to apply for my Moroccan citizenship, can I do it?

And, as I asked that question, so vital to me, a very intense light seemed, for a moment, to dim my vision and, through it, I could swear that I saw my grandfather Eliezer, from Casablanca, and my grandmother Sime, from Tangier, embracing each other. , waving me and saying:

Tu boca en el cielo, nieto endiamantado

Artigos das apresentações de membros do Conselho de Estudos e Pesquisa do CEJA

From Morocco to Latin America : Notes on the Path of Northern Moroccan Jews (1860-1980)”

Omar Lamghibchi

Head of History Department – University Hassan II- Morocco

The migration and settlement of Jews from Northern Morocco must be understood within the wider context of worldwide diaspora studies. Moroccan Jewish communities have spread across Latin America, giving valuable insights into how historical processes, socioeconomic circumstances, and cultural exchanges interact to shape diasporic identities and community formations.

This research is particularly significant because it explains how Jews from Northern Morocco coped with a range of possibilities and challenges when they relocated to Latin American countries. It examines how they merged into broader Latin American cultures, conserved their cultural heritage, and enhanced local economies. We attempt to understand the historical trajectories and long-term repercussions on the cultural environment of Northern Moroccan Jews by looking at their movement patterns and settlement choices.

1. Historical Context

Jews from Northern Morocco, mostly from Tangier, Tetouan, Ceuta, and Chefchaouen, have a long and illustrious history dating back many centuries. Their notable contributions to trade, the arts, and communal life stem from the development of unique cultural customs derived from Sephardic Jewish ancestry, shaped by Moroccan and wider Mediterranean influences. After the French Revolution, opportunities in the West became significant “pull factors” in the liberation of Western Jews. The Industrial Revolution also brought forth global commercial potential. In Paris, London, Manchester, New York, and other important Western capitals, wealthy

Artigos das apresentações:

Moroccan Jews adopted the nationalities of their host countries. All Jewish immigrants from Morocco had better abilities after 1862 as a result of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* establishing an educational system¹.

As for the poorest emigrants, Jewish benevolent associations provided the cost of passage and supplied letters of recommendation. In fact, Morocco after 1860 had political unrest throughout its colonial era and during its post-independence transitions, which led to uncertainty and occasionally targeted discrimination against minority groups, including Jews. Jews from Northern Morocco were frequently driven by this volatility to look for safer and more stable homes elsewhere. Feelings of uneasiness were exacerbated by past acts of discrimination and sporadic acts of violence against Morocco's Jewish community, which led some families and individuals to leave for nations where minorities' rights and religious liberties were more protected. In addition, Migration was significantly pushed by Northern Morocco's economic woes and lack of opportunity. In Latin American nations where trade, banking, and business provided fresh potential for success, many Jews from Northern Morocco went in search of improved economic prospects, employment opportunities, and stable financial situations.

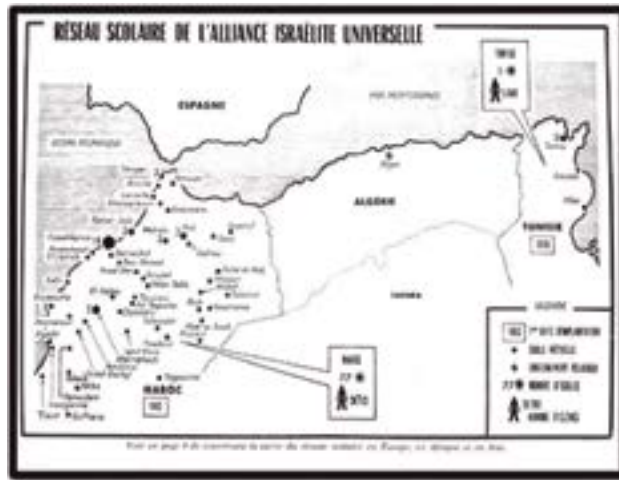
As early as 1865 and 1873, a few Moroccan Jews traveled to Latin America, originally laboring as Amazonian river peddlers². The Jews of Tétouan, for instance, like other Jews, have known to travel and migrate from the very beginning of their presence in the city, whenever they are troubled, as part of their business activities, and when they are certain that there are other destinations that will stabilize them and live well. Between 1877 and 1879 there were one hundred and thirty-five male pupils who left the Mellah of Tetouan and emigrated in search of work. Not only did the migration of Jews to Latin American countries begin after the occupation of Tétouan, but some of them had already emigrated, particularly to America and Jamaica³. Jews had initially gone to Gibraltar (at the beginning of the 18th century), Algeria (1830), and Spain, but over time they had discovered that Latin American nations provided them with better employment opportunities. One of the factors that encouraged them to change their orientation towards these Sta-

¹ Juan Bautista Vilar, Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870): Aproximación a la historia del Judaísmo Norteafricano, Biblioteca popular sefardí, Vol. 2, Ediciones de la asociación israelita de Venezuela y del centro de estudios sefardíes de Caracas, 1985, p.18

² M. Mitchell Serels, A History of the Jews of Tangier in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Sepher-Hermon, 1991), 29.

³ David Corcos, Studies in the history of the Jews of Morocco, Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1976, p.p. 117-120.

tes was their good knowledge of Spanish and the subsequent establishment of the Community School. The most important countries that accounted for the migration of the city's Jews were Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela. And extensive research has been conducted on the Jews of Tetouan, America, and as far as current knowledge goes, the Richard study remains pivotal. Richard's work is considered the most significant in this field⁴.



The school network of the Alliance Israélite Universelle

For this reason, migration is one of the most important social changes of this communities that have led to clear shifts in the social composition of the population, not only at the social level, but also at the economic and political levels. At the end of the 19th century, migration had shifted from mere individual and limited movements to organized migrations to which Jewish shipping and navigation organizations and organizations had contributed. At a time when the inhabitants of the Tétouan were going through difficult events as a result of the geopolitical variables in the Mediterranean region, its Jews had prepared for themselves solid scenarios that needed only the opportunity to be implemented.

The intentions of the Jews were evident just before and during the Spanish-Moroccan skirmishes that preceded the occupation of Tétouan by the Spagniards in 1860, when more than 300 Jews received foreign protection in order to move easily to the other bank. Brazil was at the forefront of these States due to the presence of Jewish families since their colonization by the Netherlands in the 17th century, and thanks to the tolerant policies of the Emperor Pedro I (1834-1798) and his son Pedro II (1825-1891), who was passionate about the history, culture and

⁴ R. Ricard, « Notes sur l'émigration des israélites marocains en Amérique espagnole et au Brésil », in RAF 1-2, 1944.

Artigos das apresentações:

language of the Jews⁵. As time passed, the Jews of Tétouan settled in the cities of Rio, Bahia, and Para in the north, and then San Paulo and Manaus later⁶. Since 1824, important Jewish groups have been established in Brazil, the majority of which are of Tétouan and Tangier's origin⁷. But the first organized Jewish community in Brazil appeared in 1648, and remained there throughout the Dutch colonization of Pernambuco⁸.

Among the families that have settled in Brazil, the family of Abicasis, Abouderham, Ibn Albaz, Farachi, Lévi, Marquiz and Serruya⁹. Other groups have settled in Barcelona, east of Venezuela, since 1844 and established a Jewish cemetery in 1875 after obtaining permission from the governing authorities. The presidency of the Barcelona community was followed by Jewish faces from Tétouan and Tangiers, such as Ben Zakuri, Ben Assaraf, Ben-Arouch, Ben- Dayan, Pariente, Ben-Attar, Levi and Torrel¹⁰. In 1890, two synagogues, the '*Synagogue of Samuel*' and the '*Synagogue of Jacob Pariente*,' were founded in Caracas. A document dating back to 1884 indicated that a Moroccan Jew named Simon Benjio was involved in several commercial activities in this city¹¹. In 1861, the '*Asociación Sinagoga Congregación Israelita Latina*' of Buenos Aires was founded¹². But the most important catalyst for popularizing the phenomenon of migration among Jewish students from Northern Morocco at the end of the 19th century was their ambition to secure a future for their children in these countries and to return with substantial capital¹³. Modern school interventions have supported this process by encouraging community members, assisting males seeking new opportunities, and providing them with the necessary framework to achieve their goals.

⁵ Vilar, Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío, p.23. See also William G. Clarence-Smith, « Moroccan Jews and the Lusophone World: Reciprocal Impact, 1774-1975 », in Martínez, Francisco Javier, éditeur. *Entangled Peripheries. New Contributions to the History of Portugal and Morocco*. Publicações do Cidehus, 2020.

⁶ Vilar, Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío, p.381

⁷ Juan Bautista Vilar, *La emigración judeo-marroquí a la América latina en la fase preestadística (1830-1880)*, Sefardica, N. 11, 1996, p.54.

⁸ André Goldenberg, *Les juifs du Maroc, images et textes*, Paris 1992, pp.39-42.

⁹ Abdelaziz Chahbar, *Etudes sur les juifs de Tétouan*, Imprimerie Chwiyakh Despress Tetuan, 2000, p.52.(en arabe).

¹⁰ Chahbar, *Etudes sur les juifs de Tétouan*, p.58.

¹¹ André Goldenberg, *Les juifs du Maroc, images et textes*, Paris, 1992, p.42.

¹² Ricardo Feierstein, *Historia de los judíos argentinos*, Editorial Galerna, 2006, p.50.

¹³ Ana María Álvarez López, *La comunidad judía de Tetuán*, Ed. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y deporte, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Bienes Culturales, Subdirección General de Museos Estatales, 2003, p.381.

On the flip side, community members who migrated to Latin American countries actively sought to reunite with their relatives by writing letters and recruiting others to join them. When direct contact wasn't feasible, they appealed to community leaders to facilitate the process. Elders and merchants within the community provided financial support for travel expenses, particularly for single males who met health requirements. Initially benefiting only a few, this initiative became crucial for all Jews in the city. In subsequent years, the demographic structure of the Jewish community underwent significant changes. Young and elderly alike became more acquainted with migration opportunities, transforming migration from a mere transit point into a stable settlement. This transformation also turned the "navigator" into a workshop for nurturing a skilled Jewish workforce through enhanced educational opportunities, thereby bolstering community stability and growth.

Anna Alvarez's study brings us closer to the migration of the this Jews, and provides us with a lot of important information in this area. After 1860, immigration became an obsession of all the city's Jews, especially among the educated young people and the graduates of modern school¹⁴. A 1884-1885 report by David Cazes on Union schools indicated that Tétouan's school had been prepared only for the export of graduates who wished to work outside the Mellah's walls, and that 95% of its students preferred to migrate instead of staying in the city¹⁵. This fact is borne out by statistics dating from that stage. Between the months of 1868 between November and December, one hundred and forty out of the three hundred and eighty pupils, most of whom were "sellers"¹⁶. Between 20 and 30 families in 1860 went to Ceuta for the purpose of commerce¹⁷, while many came to Spain despite the lack of documentary documentation, such as the Tétouanist Jew Ibrahim Ben Toulila, who had a small navigation company at ports in northern Morocco¹⁸. In spite of that, the early twentieth century saw the emergence of larger migratory waves, which were fueled by economic possibilities and political stability in host nations¹⁹, as well as global events such as World War I. Following waves in the mid-20th century were affected by Morocco's independence in 1956, driving Jews to seek stability.

¹⁴ Vilar, *La emigración*, p.54.

¹⁵ Victor A. Mirelman, "Los sefardíes en Latinoamérica después de la independencia", en *Sefardica*, N.11, pp. 55-88

¹⁶ Vilar, *La emigración*, p.50.

¹⁷ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío*, p.381

¹⁸ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío*, p.381.

¹⁹ For instance, in 1905 Moroccan Jews created 'La Asociación de Beneficencia Mutual Hesed Veernet' with the objective of assisting Jewish immigrants of that origin. Adrián Jmelniczky, Ezequiel Erdei, *La población judía de Buenos Aires: estudio sociodemográfico*, AMIA, Editorial Milá, 2005, p.17. Isaac Caro, *Islam y judaísmo contemporáneo en América Latina*, RIL Editores, 2006, p.84.

Artigos das apresentações:

Date	Numbers of students		
	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Total</i>
1863	0	1	1
1865	60	1	1
1867	1	1	2
1868	1	2	3
1869	Unknown	1	Unknown
1876	Unknown	2	
1880	Unknown	Unknown	265 new students
1882	200 new	Unknown	Unknown
1889	2	170 ²⁰	3
1899	4	2	7

Evolution of student numbers (between 1863 and 1889)²¹.

In general, the Jewish diaspora in Latin America, which includes Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, exemplifies diverse migratory experiences and settlement methods affected by historical, social, and political conditions. Jewish migration to Argentina increased significantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as Jews fled Eastern European pogroms and the Holocaust. Settlement began in agricultural colonies funded by the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), eventually moving to metropolitan centers such as Buenos Aires, which currently has the biggest Jewish community in Latin America²². Integration attempts have struck a balance between retaining cultural uniqueness and embracing the greater Argentine population. Brazil's Jewish colonization extends back to the 16th century, with substantial waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, fueled by Nazi persecution during World War II. Settlement patterns were marked by urban concentration in areas like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, with Jews playing a significant role in Brazil's economy. Cultural integration efforts have effectively preserved Jewish identity while embracing Brazilian culture.

²⁰ Leven spoke of 375 pupils in 1889, while Sarah Libovici spoke of 170 males, and in an arithmetical process the number of females is 205. Narcisse Leven, *Cinquante ans d'histoire : L'Alliance Israelite Universelle (1860-1910)*, T2, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1920, p.74.

²¹ Mouliéras Auguste, *Le Maroc inconnu : Etudes géographiques et sociologiques*, Vol.2, Imprimerie Fouqué, Oran, 1895, 1899, Fès-Paris, 1902, p.234. Eugène Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, A. Colin, Paris, 1904, pp.358-359.

²² Ricardo Feierstein, *Historia de los judíos argentinos*, Editorial Galerna, 2006, p.50. Adrián Jmelnizky, Ezequiel Erdei, *La población judía de Buenos Aires : estudio sociodemográfico*, AMIA, Editorial Milá, 2005.

Jewish migration to Mexico began in earnest in the early twentieth century, with arrivals from Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and, subsequently, Nazi-occupied Europe. Economic prospects in commerce and trade drew Jewish immigrants, who started successful firms in textiles, jewelry, and retail. The organized Jewish community in Mexico City emphasizes both cultural preservation and absorption into Mexican culture.

In comparison, Argentina and Brazil witnessed major Jewish immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, primarily from Eastern Europe, whereas Mexico saw a more concentrated influx in the early twentieth century and post-World War II. Settlement patterns differed, with Argentina first focused on agricultural colonies before urban migration²³, whereas Brazil and Mexico saw instant urbanization. Economically, Jewish immigrants in Argentina migrated from agriculture to commerce and professions, which helped to drive urban growth²⁴. In Brazil, Jews had important positions in business and manufacturing, whereas in Mexico, they excelled in specialized retail. Community organization in all three nations focuses on strong community institutions that protect cultural history and identity. Argentina and Mexico place a strong focus on cultural preservation, but Brazil incorporates its Jewish identity within larger socioeconomic frameworks²⁵.

As previously noted, many Jews from Northern Morocco first settled in cities like Buenos Aires, São Paulo, and Mexico City, where there were already established Jewish communities. They chose areas that offered both a sense of security and economic opportunity. Their assimilation was aided by learning the language and customs of the area, and they made use of the Sephardic Jewish networks already in place to smooth the move. It was essential to establish communal networks. In order to uphold their religious customs and rituals, they established synagogues and religious schools. In order to preserve their cultural history and feeling of community, they also established social organizations and cultural institutes. In addition, they created unofficial networks for information and resource sharing and mutual aid organizations to provide incoming immigrants with homes, jobs, and financial support. Cultural institutions were essential to their attempts at integration. To teach Hebrew, religious studies, and Jewish history, they established Jewish day schools and supplemental education programs. They placed a strong

²³ Isaac Caro, *Islam y judaísmo contemporáneo en América Latina*, RIL Editores, 2006, p.85.

²⁴ Ricardo Feierstein, *Historia de los judíos argentinos*, Editorial Galerna, 2006, p.50.

²⁵ Martin A. Cohen, Abraham J. Peck, *Sephardim in the Americas: Studies in Culture and History*, University of Alabama Press, 2003, pp.241-242.

focus on bilingual education in order to strike a compromise between cultural preservation and integration. In addition to publishing books, newsletters, and other media in Ladino, Arabic, and Spanish, organizing cultural events like festivals, talks, and exhibitions promoted Moroccan Jewish history and preserved linguistic and cultural links.

The efforts to integrate the economy were varied. Using their customary networks and abilities, many Jews from Northern Morocco participated in small-scale entrepreneurship, trading, and import-export operations, frequently in the food, jewelry, and textile sectors. As educational prospects grew, they eventually entered professions including academics, law, medicine, and networking within the Jewish community to obtain employment chances. As educational prospects grew, they eventually entered professions like medicine, law, and academia, networking within the Jewish community to get employment and enhance their careers. Their active involvement in local economies aided in the development of cities and the expansion of businesses, and their charitable and community service contributions improved the economics of their new nations as a whole. In order to ensure both cultural preservation and assimilation into Latin American communities, these initiatives provide a balanced approach to preserving cultural identity while adjusting to new circumstances.

2. Socioeconomic Integration and Cultural Preservation Among Northern Moroccan Jewish Communities in Latin America

Jews from Northern Morocco who settled in Latin America have achieved significant socioeconomic integration. Compared to the general population, they are prominently engaged in self-employment and entrepreneurship, especially in professions like education, law, and medicine. This financial success stems from their career advancements and profitable ventures, leading to higher average family incomes than the overall average. Younger generations exhibit high levels of educational attainment, supported by Jewish day schools and supplementary educational programs that ensure both academic success and cultural education. The majority of Northern Moroccan Jews reside in middle to upper-middle-class urban neighborhoods, characterized by economic stability and expansion through real estate investments and property ownership. Case studies further illustrate their business successes and community engagement :

- The Sasson family in Buenos Aires established a prosperous textile import-export company, significantly contributing to the local economy and supporting community initiatives.

- The Toledano brothers in São Paulo founded a renowned jewelry manufacturing business, combining traditional craftsmanship with modern marketing strategies, actively supporting the establishment of a Jewish cultural center and other community projects.
- The Amar family in Caracas opened a chain of kosher supermarkets in the 1980s, central to the Jewish community, and supported community programs, including a clinic providing affordable healthcare to underserved populations.
- Dr. Rachel Benatar, a Northern Moroccan Jewish immigrant, became a renowned cardiologist in Mexico City, where her clinic established a foundation focused on medical research and education.

These cases demonstrate how Jews from Morocco have successfully integrated socioeconomically into Latin American society, contributing both to their own prosperity and to the growth of their new communities. On the other hand, these Communities Maintaining Their Cultural Legacy The importance of preserving cultural customs Cultural preservation is essential for preserving a distinct collective identity, encouraging a sense of belonging, and guaranteeing continuity across generations. It makes sure that values, beliefs, and rituals are passed along and helps the next generation recognize and be proud of their heritage. Preserving cultural traditions and rituals fosters a sense of purpose and support within the community, so fortifying the bonds among its members. Celebration, friendship, and community involvement can be centered around institutions and cultural events. By maintaining their own cultural heritage, Jewish communities in Northern Morocco contribute to the diversity of Latin America and encourage tolerance and understanding of other civilizations.

The cultural resilience and identity preservation of Northern Moroccan Jewish communities in Latin America hinge significantly on safeguarding customs, dialects, and religious practices. Celebrating Jewish festivals such as *Rosh Hashanah*, *Yom Kippur*, *Passover*, and *Sukkot* with distinct Moroccan traditions fosters continuity and community cohesion. Special occasions like *Mimouna* reinforce cultural bonds through traditional meals and communal gatherings. Major life events like circumcisions, bar and bat mitzvahs, and weddings incorporate Moroccan rituals, including dance, music, and traditional attire.

Efforts to preserve Judeo-Arabic and Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) languages are active through language classes, cultural events, and literary publications. Bilingual education programs, teaching Spanish or Portuguese alongside Hebrew, further ensure linguistic and cultural retention. Religiously, Sephardic-rite synagogues with Moroccan liturgy and music serve as spiritual hubs,

while religious schools (yeshivas and Talmud Torahs) educate on Torah, Talmud, and Jewish law, emphasizing Sephardic customs and rituals like piyyutim and dietary laws. Cultural institutions such as museums and centers play a vital role in preserving Moroccan Jewish history, art, and culture. They organize lectures, workshops, and exhibitions to educate both the public and community members on Moroccan Jewish heritage. Modernization initiatives adapt traditional practices to contemporary lifestyles, leveraging social media and technology to engage younger generations in cultural preservation efforts.

3. Impact of Northern Moroccan Jewish Migration on Latin American Jewish Communities

Jews from Northern Morocco immigrated to Latin America, adding a great deal of diversity to the region's previously established Ashkenazi Jewish populations. By bringing a distinctive cultural legacy that includes Sephardic traditions, customs, and particular food, these Sephardic Jews enhanced the demographic landscape and added to the rich cultural mosaic of Judaism in Latin America. Due to their propensity for entrepreneurship, a large number of Jews from Northern Morocco contributed significantly to the local economy by starting enterprises and generating employment. Moroccan Jewish literature, art, and music were introduced, and these cultural contributions represented the rich history of Moroccan Jews. In exchange, Latin America had vibrant cross-cultural relations, especially during shared Jewish holidays and festivities like Hanukkah, Purim, and Passover seders, which promoted cross-cultural exchanges between Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities.

Religious diversity was enhanced by the construction of Sephardic synagogues alongside Ashkenazi ones, providing a wider variety of Jewish liturgical experiences within the communities. Additionally, the presence of Sephardic rabbis in positions of community leadership offered a variety of viewpoints on Jewish law and religious practice, which promoted cooperation on matters of communal concern and religious instruction between Ashkenazi and Sephardic religious authorities. More solidarity and collaboration amongst the various Jewish ethnic groupings bolstered community dynamics. Within Latin American Jewish communities, collaborative efforts in education, social services, and cultural projects fostered harmony and respect for one another.

These exchanges weren't without difficulties, though. There were times when it was difficult for the Jews of Northern Morocco to integrate while maintaining their own cultural

identity, particularly when there were generational changes brought about by modernization and assimilation. To guarantee the continued transfer of cultural legacy, efforts were undertaken to include young people in community service and cultural preservation. In short, the social, cultural, and economic fabric of Latin American Jewish communities was greatly enhanced by the immigration of Jews from Northern Morocco. Their varied efforts promoted greater understanding amongst people in general as well as bolstered the religious and cultural fabric of Judaism in Latin America.

Jews moved from Northern Morocco to Latin America at the end of the 19th century because to political turmoil, economic opportunities, and a desire to blend into existing Jewish communities. These immigrants exploited their entrepreneurial drive to establish themselves in the commercial sector. They generally landed in the cities of Venezuela, Brazil, and Argentina. The construction of synagogues, cultural hubs, and educational institutions was crucial to maintaining their religious and cultural identity in addition to assisting in their integration into society at large. Because of their multiple identities, they were able to overcome the challenges of assimilation and preserve their unique customs.

Gaining insight into the lives of this Jews in Latin America enables us to better comprehend global migration trends and the dynamics of diaspora communities. The complex interplay between social, political, and economic factors that affect human movement is illustrated by their migration. The accomplishments of these migrants in terms of community building and integration serve as a reminder of the importance of economic adaptability, urbanization, and the establishment of strong community institutions. These narratives shed insight on the ways diaspora groups can relocate while preserving their cultural identity, which broadens our understanding of the complex patterns of migration and diaspora networks throughout the world.

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Del Norte de Marruecos al Norte de Brasil: judíos sefardi marroquíes en la Amazonía brasileira – Algunos apuntes

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INTRODUCCIÓN: HOLA A TODOS

Agradezco inmensamente a Foundation Mimouna , en nombre del Proyecto Amazonía Judaica y su centro de estudios – el CEJA – Centro de Estudios Judaicos de la Amazonía, al que acá representamos, por la honorable invitación a participar de este importante y histórico fórum.

ACERCA DEL PROYECTO AMAZÔNIA JUDAICA:

El proyecto Amazonia Judaica, surgió en el año de 2002, en la ciudad de Belém, en la provincia de Pará. Fue creado por el periodista y jazz David Salgado como un periódico comunitario, que es el más largo de la historia de la presencia judía en la Amazonía brasileña.

En la actualidad, el proyecto está compuesto de varias iniciativas:

El CEJA – Centro de Estudios Judaicos de la Amazonia, que tiene como directores, la Profesora Emérita de la Universidad de Maryland, Regina Igel; El Dr. Aviad Moreno de la Universidad Ben Gurion, la doctoranda por la USP – Universidad de São Paulo Adriana Abuhab Bialski y el Prof. Elias Salgado, su fundador.

CEJA mantiene un Consejo Académico con destacados especialistas de 12 países distintos.

El CEJA realiza a cada dos años, en países distintos, el CIES – Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sefarditas. La próxima versión será en la Universidad de Lisboa de 23 a 26 de octubre de 2025. A que invitamos a todos aquí presentes.

Tenemos un Archivo Histórico Digital y somos también un editorial que publica una revista – Amazonía Judaica y libros, en especial de temas sobre judíos en la Amazonia y de etnias sefarditas y mizrahitas.

LA PRESENTACIÓN

Nuestro campo de investigación y interés de estudios es la presencia judía sefardi-marroquí en Brasil, en particular, en la Amazonia.

Los estudios acerca del tema empiezan en los años 70 y el primero artículo publicado fue del historiador Eidorfe Moreira – Presença Hebraica en Belém do Pará, 1972

El fue seguido por: Mirelman, (1987), Bentes (1989), Liberman (1990), Leibovici (1992) Ben-chimol (1998) y Heller (2010), entre otros.

Las motivaciones de la emigración se evidencian por dificultades de sobrevivencia en los “mellahs” traducidas por pobreza, superpoblación y epidemias de cólera y peste bubónica, como las de 1790 e 1818, la alternancia en las relaciones de las dinastías en el poder con la población judaica, el rol europeizante de la Alianza Israelita Universal, y los conflictos coloniales de 1860-70, entre Marruecos, Francia y España.

Y la razón mayor de aquellos que vinieron a la Amazonía brasileña fue el surgimiento del ciclo económico de explotación del caucho y otros productos naturales de la región.

Eran en su mayoría sefardies originarios del norte de Marruecos y fundaron en Belém do Pará, la más antigua comunidad judaica de Brasil todavía existente.

Pero, no fueron ellos los primeros inmigrantes oriundos de Marruecos a llegar a la Amazonía.

En siglo XVIII (1770), en el período liberal del Marques de Pombal este decide abandonar la fortaleza de Mazagão que estaba en manos de Portugal y trasladó a la Amazonia, a la provincia de Amapá, más de 300 familias, con el objetivo de poblar aquella región para defensa de las fronteras y fue creada la ciudad de Nova Mazagão para allí establecerlos.

Es sabido (pero hace falta estudios más completos), que se trataban en su mayoría de cristianos nuevos.

En nuestro Centro de Estudios fue creado un núcleo de estudios para mejor investigar el tema de los cristianos nuevos en la Amazonía brasileña.

Tentando resumir, el establecimiento de los sefardies marroquíes, tiene como eje principal su importante participación en el ciclo económico del látex, con su establecimiento en localidades del interior de la selva. Aquellos judíos se establecieron en todo el curso del río Amazonas, llegando hasta el Perú, donde un grupo allí se estableció de manera definitiva.

Sochaczewski (2019) destaca, de manera muy correcta, un gap en la historiografía, que apunta, como destaque, la importancia que es dada solamente a los árabes de otros orígenes, cuál sea, su importancia en conectar varias regiones de Brasil.

Pero en realidad, lo que ocurrió fue que los judíos marroquíes tuvieron igual importancia en tal proceso. Para corroborar sus afirmaciones, cita, una vez más a Heller, que afirma, que la experiencia de viajes largos, ya estaba enraizada en la cultura de los judíos marroquíes, hasta fines del siglo XVIII. Partían después de Pesaj y solo volvían en Rosh Hashaná. En la Amazonía mantuvieron una dinámica muy similar.

Acerca del tema de los inmigrantes judíos sefarditas de Marruecos y sus relaciones en aquellos años, con su país de origen es de extrema importancia el mismo artículo de Sochaczewski “Sobre o Marrocos”, en el libro que publicamos – Trópicos Orientais, Orientes Tropicais, donde apunta datos sobre el tema.

Es sabido de la ida de varios jóvenes para estudiar en escuelas de la Aliança Israelita Universal y que volvían con profesiones que les permitían mejores condiciones de vida.

Y en las primeras décadas del siglo XX, con la crisis económica, muchos abandonaron la Amazonia y volvieron. Varios se establecieron, también, en Portugal.

Los que permanecieron en Brasil, parte se establecieron en las capitales, Belém y Manaus y otros migraron para Rio y São Paulo. En Rio pasaron a participar de la sinagoga de los marroquíes, la Shel Guemilut Hassadim.

Y por fin, aquellos que vinieron, con el objetivo mayor de adquirir una ciudadanía y volver, para en Marruecos, tener trato diferenciado de los nativos (Sochaczewski, 2019).

Hasta fines de los años 80, se creía que habían inmigrado poco más de 1000 personas, pero estudios posteriores (Jeffrey Lesser – 1999 y Lucas Fernandes en principios de los años 2000, trabajando en documentación del Itamaraty (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Brasil, descubren que en la realidad fueron cerca de 2000 inmigrantes y que cerca de 1000 retornaron.

Y en la actualidad somos testigos de un nuevo proceso de retomada del interés por la búsqueda de un acercamiento de los descendientes de aquellos pioneros con el país de origen de sus antepasados y cuna de su etnia, su cultura original, de sus tradiciones y costumbres.

Y en este sentido, son de extrema importancia las iniciativas de Foundation Mimouna y otras, que apoyan esta aproximación.

CONSIDERACIONES FINALES

Mucho más hay por investigar y relatar. Pero es de extrema importancia señalar el crecimiento exponencial del interés por el estudio del tema, en Brasil y en varios lugares del mundo.

Apenas como destaque y ejemplo, destacamos la cooperación que el CEJA mantiene con él gran especialista israelí, Aviad Moreno de Universidad Ben Gurion, que viene manifestando su creciente interés en incluir en sus investigaciones, el estudio, también, de los judíos en la Amazonia brasileña, hecho que ya empezó, en su nuevo libro *Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas, Hispanic Moroccan Jews and Their Globalizing Community*. Y otros proyectos de producción conjunta que ya están en el camino.

Gracias a todos.

Obrigado.

Shukran.

Thank you

Todá rabá

"Revival, Tradition & Authority: What is Transmission in Transatlantic Relations?"

Dr. Vanessa Paloma Elbaz
Senior Research Associate, Peterhouse



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

Judeo-Spanish in Sephardi diasporas
and the 'Traceability of Home'

De un punto que se exte,
De combite no a parte,
que fue en riguros De verdad Aman,
Helo en dancaron,
Al Don Dancadaron,
A flayeh raron,
De Mehar De Israel,

que Canta tu cantos ya,
los don inon cantados,
Canta tu que Amores,
que y y que los voy Al mando,
Helo en dancaron,
De me cantaron maron,

Maurice Merleau Ponty

Phenomenology as the study of essences, including the essence of perception and of consciousness. He also says, however, that phenomenology is a method of describing the nature of our perceptual contact with the world. Phenomenology is concerned with providing a direct description of human experience. (1945)



Diasporic Communities Functions

1. Mobility of knowledge/experience
 2. Translatability of essence: living in between the folds of experience
 3. Connected distinctiveness
-

MOBILITY: AVRAM

Avraham

Lech Lecha - Genesis 12: 1-3

Translatability of essence:
▼ Libi b'mizrah,
ve'anochi b'sof ma'arav

My heart is in the east, and I (my body), am in the edge of the west

Yehuda HaLevy (12th Century)

Connected distinctiveness

Emma Lazarus, Jorge Isaacs, Moacyr Scliar



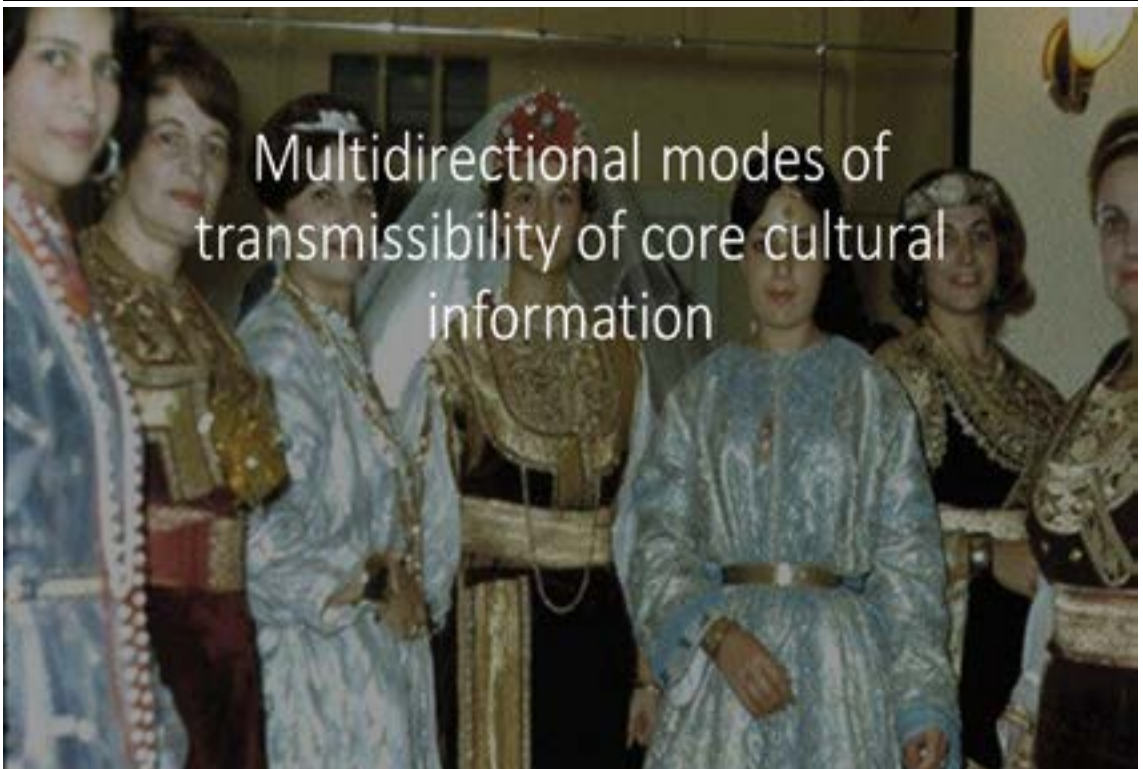
Rupture and the recentering
unto the voice

HaKol haKol Ya'akov ve Yadayim Yadei Esav

Voice, media, technology,
transmission

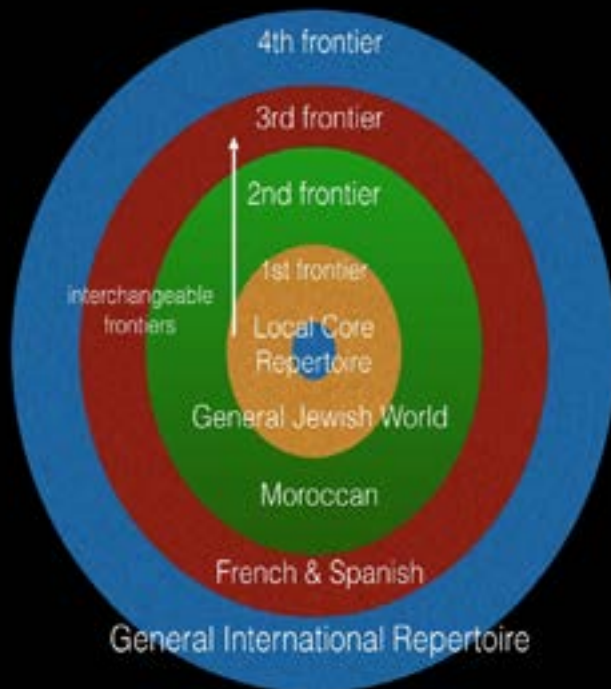


Multidirectional modes of
transmissibility of core cultural
information



Belief, ritual, belonging

Visual, sonic, mnemonic, repetitive devices



Jewish
polyvalent
repertoire
(Moroccan
example)

Fertility represents both the fertility and bounty of the land as well as that of the Jewish couple in bringing forth new generations. In Judaism, this fertility is considered crucial, as it is the communal fortress against annihilation. The existence of Judaism depends on its continuity through generations. The fertility of the land is also bound with the voicing of prayers, dramatically demonstrated by the rhetorical organization of the foundational text of the Mishna, which starts the initial section on the fertility of the land, *Zera'im*, seeds, with chapters on blessings and prayer, most often chanted or sung.



The 'refrain' of music demarcates the we that diasporic communities fight to establish and maintain, by teaching and making music that is perceived as group-specific, a sonic boundary is maintained demarcating insider-status.

(Elbaz, 2021)



Arborescent modes
of masculine
transmission -
lineages of belief
and sound



RHIZOMIC DISPERSION

GRASSROOTS RHIZOMIC STRUCTURES OF FEMININE
TRANSMISSION



Today our challenge is how to transcend issues of outsider insider through the recognition of connected distinctiveness?

Transatlantic recognitions of connection are an important beginning.

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Thank you

Moroccan Jewish Immigration to Argentina: The early years, 1870-1940¹

Adriana M Brodsky
St. Mary's College of Maryland

What follows is the story of my maternal grandparents, Jacobo Azulay and Lida Guahnon. Through their story, I will paint a picture of Moroccan Jews in Argentina. Their migration was tied to examining the opportunities that former Spanish and Portuguese colonies opened for the Jewish population in Morocco who spoke Spanish. This linguistic ease certainly facilitated their migratory experience. And once a few settled and wrote back home describing opportunities, others followed. With linguistic advantages and some prior experience as immigrants and peddlers, these Moroccan Jews participated in the expansion of the frontier and were key players, even if in small numbers, in the assimilation of other Jews to the Argentine nation.²

Within the context of Sephardi immigration to Argentina, Moroccan Jews were usually the first Jews to arrive in many areas, and to create organizations and communities, which new waves of Sephardi joined in. They engaged in commerce, also an occupation that other Sephardi groups would participate in. So, before continuing with the story of Jacobo and Lida, let me paint a few strokes of Sephardi life in Argentina.

Although there are not records that can give us a fully accurate picture of Sephardi numbers to Argentina (as Argentine authorities were more interested in national origin than in religion profession), a 'community' study done in 1960 (many years after the first arrival of Sephardim to the country) give us a few clues about the arrival of Sephardim to the country. Jews from Morocco who were still alive in 1960 had arrived in two waves: before 1919 (the largest group), and post Moroccan independence (smaller number). Syrian Jews, the largest group to settle in Argentina, had mostly arrived between 1920 and 1929; most Ottoman Jews

¹ Part of this material has previously appeared in Brodsky, Adriana, and Yolande Cohen. "Argentina and Canada: Promised Lands for Moroccan Jews?"

² Ibid., 36.

arrived after the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after WWI. Other (smaller groups of) Sephardim arrived post WWII. they got together for religious and burial services.

Let me return to the story of my Moroccan grandparents. Even before the Spanish occupation of Tetuán in 1860, which brought about important changes to this community, Moroccan Jews had sought their luck in Brazil, a recently independent country that had declared freedom of religion in their 1824 constitution, and had instituted policies that encouraged immigration³. By the time the rubber boom started in Brazil in the 1870s, Moroccan Jews had already become a central part of the economy of the Amazonian region and in Rio de Janeiro⁴. The boom fueled the desire to migrate from many Moroccan cities⁵. After these early settlements in northeastern Brazil, the Spanish-speaking young republics of Venezuela and Argentina attracted the most northern Moroccan Jewish immigration. There is no evidence of a Moroccan Jewish presence (or any Sephardi presence) in Argentina prior to 1870, likely because of the constant internal fighting among various political groups vying for control, and the passage of the 1853 Constitution, which guaranteed freedom of religion, a short time before⁶.

Jacobo Azulay, born in Tetuan in 1899, like other Hispanic Moroccan Jews, came in search of work, constantly moving around to find the best opportunities. They helped expand mercantile activity to the northeast and the west and created some of the first Jewish (Sephardi) institutions in the country, in the province of Santa Fé. The region along the Paraná River (in Northeast Argentina) became fertile ground for commercial ventures, as these lands were taken away from Indigenous communities for the expansion of the railroads, and new towns cropped up with customers in need of provisions and goods. As well, railroad tracks required quebracho, a hardwood tree particularly suited to the climate. Its exploitation soon made this region attractive for workers. Peddling goods became, then, one of the occupations that many Moroccan Jews followed in these early years, as it did not require much investment, and allowed for great mobility. Initially, mostly young single men arrived in groups. Their work required constant mobility⁷. Samuel Halphon, author of a 1905 census of Jewish Argentines for the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), counted 358 Moroccan Jews living in the province of Santa Fé, 93 of whom were single young men⁸. Ease of mobility also meant that many of these early settlements would only be temporary, as migrants would leave for other towns following the construction of new train stations. Others set out for larger provincial towns or for Buenos Aires.

³ Liberman, "Judíos en la Amazonia Brasileña,"; Miller, "Kippur on the Amazon."

⁴ Liberman, "Judíos en la Amazonia Brasileña," 22.

⁵ Vilar, "La Emigración Judeo-Marroquí," 29.

⁶ Ibid., 35-36.

⁷ Epstein, "Los judeo marroquíes en Buenos Aires," 123.

⁸ Halphon, "Enquête sur la population israélite en Argentine," 305.

Many returned to Morocco. Some of the towns created during these boom years became attractive enough to warrant more permanent settlement. For example, in Chaco, which at the time was a national territory and not yet a province in the town of La Sabana and head of the railroad line, Moroccan Jews (98% from Tetuán) made up almost 19% of the total town population of 2000 in the first years of the twentieth century⁹. Halphon's 1905 report suggested not only that Moroccan Jews were the first inhabitants in many provincial towns, but that their presence in the provinces (and in the economic and commercial connections that linked them across the country) was more significant than other groups.

Some of the earliest Sephardi organizations in the country were founded very soon after the arrival of Moroccan Jews in the interior country, in particular in the provinces of Santa Fé and in the Chaco national territory. Societies in the province of Corrientes soon followed.

The mobility afforded by the commercial ventures in which many like my grandfather embarked on, made them part of the expanding "civilization" project that Argentine liberal elites had embarked on to push the frontier northward against the Indigenous populations. Jacobo Azulay remembered his encounters with the local Indigenous inhabitants. He followed the construction of the train which would link the cities of Resistencia and Tucumán, opening stores in the towns of Machagai, later in Quitilipi (present day Chaco province), eventually settling in the city of Presidencia Roque Saenz Peña. His store in Quitilipi was the only building made from durable material, and it became the de facto refuge for the population during Indigenous raids (malones). In La Sabana, descendants from those first Moroccan Jews recall they considered themselves Spaniards and were able to socialize with the other European migrants who had settled there as well (the train company was French). Some of those early settlers had been students in AIU schools in Morocco and taught those in La Sabana without access to education¹⁰. Oral histories show that Moroccan Jews believed they were accepted because they spoke Spanish and because they "were European."¹¹ Moroccan Jews, thus, were part of the civilizing project that imagined these lands and their original inhabitants in need of a civilization they felt they were a part of, and believed they provided. Another example of Moroccan Jews bringing in "civilization" were the AIU teachers, many originally from Northern Morocco, who were sent to Argentina to

⁹ Muscar Benasayag, "Sefaradís Tetuaníes en La Sabana," 193.

¹⁰ Benasayag, "Sefaradís Tetuaníes en La Sabana", 195.

¹¹ Ibid., 195.

teach in the schools of the Agricultural colonies founded by the Jewish Colonization Association. These teachers, educated in schools of the AIU, which had been founded by French Jews with the intention of “civilizing” North African and Ottoman Jewry, came to Argentina to work with Russian Jews escaping Jewish persecution to teach them about Judaism as well as Spanish, Argentine history and geography. Until 1918, when these schools reverted to the Argentine state, they did the job of the liberal state and saw themselves as part of it. My grandmother Lida’s (or Lia, as she came to be called) story is only slightly different from that of Jacobo’s. Lida Guahnon was born in Argentina in 1913, to Moroccan Jewish parents Fortunato Guahnon y Ester Sananes; Lida was the oldest of 13 siblings, and their family settled in the Province of Corrientes, moving between various towns until finally settling in the city of Curuzú Cuatiá. As Lida’s older brothers grew older, they moved to other smaller towns and opened their own stores, taking advantage of their parents’ merchandise and contacts. Just as the peddlers in small towns would sell the merchandise of larger Moroccan Jewish¹² owned stores in bigger towns and cities, thus maintaining connections (business or familial) with other Moroccan Jews, Moroccan Jews in small towns or villages with few Jews were also linked to other Moroccan Jewish organizations founded in larger towns. For example, La Sabana Jews never opened their own cemetery, but the community buried their dead in the Jewish cemetery of Vera, province of Santa Fé, or in the one in the city of Resistencia, Chaco. Both these cemeteries had been founded in the 1910s with funds raised from many Moroccan groups settled in all parts of Argentina¹³. Philanthropic organizations, also functioned to keep (Moroccan) Jews connected with each other

The need to find husbands and wives who could be trusted was also another reason that Moroccan Jews remained connected, even when living in separate areas in Argentina. Lida’s first (and truest?) love, as she told me many times, was the town’s maestro, a non-Jewish young teacher who sent furtive letters to her through my grandmother’s sister, and who arranged secret rendezvous at the house of two sisters who attempted to help the young couple. The end to this platonic relationship came not because the maestro decided to take my grandmother away, or

because they were discovered and forbidden to ever see each other again. As my grandmother told me, the sheriff of the town (comisario) came to ask her father for her hand in marriage. My great-grandfather was very polite in his response, stressing what an honor it was that he would consider Lida as a possible wife, but finished by stating that if it weren't for the fact that my grandmother was already engaged to be married to somebody who lived in Buenos Aires, they'd be more than happy to accept the proposal. This was, of course, a ploy. My grandmother was not engaged to be married, but the sheriff, not Jewish, could never have been accepted as my grandmother's husband. That evening while at the dinner table, my great grandfather informed his wife that Lida was leaving for Buenos Aires on the next morning's train. And indeed she left, leaving behind what my great grandfather thought the problem was –the sheriff-, and, as well, the love of her life –the maestro. In Buenos Aires, she stayed with friends of the family who found a 'nice young man' from the same Moroccan town as my grandmother's parents. Jacobo and Lida were married shortly after meeting for the first time. It was early 1934.

The connection to Morocco was not only evident in Argentina through the multiple ways in which Moroccan Jews remained connected to each other. Moroccan Jewish organizations in Argentina helped those coreligionists back home. Among other examples, in 1910, money was raised to aid the victims of political unrest in Casablanca, in 1926 Moroccan Jews in Argentina collected money to build the walls of the Jewish cemetery in Alcazarquivir, and in 1931, the Jewish community of Tetuán asked Moroccans in Argentina to help build the walls of their cemetery in that city¹⁴. These organizations, thus, helped Moroccan Jews maintain ties with Morocco, but as members of a diaspora with a home now in Argentina, and with a shared reality as Moroccan Jewish Argentines.

Moroccan Jews also created new ties and connections with Ashkenazi Jews in Argentina. In the provincial cities and towns in which they had been the first Jews to create their institutions, Moroccan Jews were joined by Jews from Europe and elsewhere. This was particularly the case with cemeteries. In the city of Santa Fé, for example, the newly created Burial Society purchased a plot for a Jewish cemetery which opened in 1895. While most of the members of the society

¹² Benchimol, "La Langue Espagnole au Maroc," 128.

¹³ Brodsky, *Sephardi, Jewish, Argentine*, 50.

were Moroccan, seven were Ashkenazim. The cemetery was, thus, a Jewish cemetery until 1915, when Ashkenazim, who had grown in numbers, founded their own burial society and bought their own cemetery plot. All Sephardim who arrived later became affiliated with what had become the Sephardi cemetery in the city¹⁵. In smaller towns where Moroccan Jews settled first, however, cemeteries became the resting place of all Jewish dead, as in the city of Vera mentioned above. But for the purposes of philanthropy and religious practices, the organizations founded by Moroccan Jews became Sephardi institutions when other Sephardi groups settled there. Ashkenazim, when in big numbers, tended to found their own organizations.

In the city of Buenos Aires, Sephardim settled in distinct neighborhoods. Moroccan Jews settled in what is now called Constitución, and was then called Barrio Sud. The number of Moroccan Jews made it possible to create their own institutions and remain separate from Ashkenazi (and Sephardi) Jews and their organizations. As in the interior of the country, Moroccan Jews were the first non-Ashkenazi group to arrive and found institutions. In 1891, they founded the second Jewish congregation of the city, the Congregación Israelita Latina de Buenos Aires. The chosen name stressed their different origin vis-à-vis the Western European congregation that had been founded in 1862, as well as highlighted their sense of being of Spanish descent. The address of the institutions they founded show that they were all located within a small radius in the Sud neighborhood. In 1917, Samuel and Jacobo Levy, Moroccan Jews who resided in Buenos Aires, founded the magazine *Israel*, the first long-lasting Jewish publication in Spanish. Samuel Levy, born in Argentina to Moroccan parents in 1886, single-handedly oversaw the growth of the magazine from a monthly, to a by-weekly, to a failed daily, and eventually to a weekly publication until the 1970s. The choice of Spanish, however, was not simply because the intended audience was Spanish speaking Moroccan Jews - it was not. *Israel* stated that they wished “to make themselves known in the Spanish language,”¹⁶ and they believed that with their choice of Spanish the magazine “contribute[s] to instill love for our Argentine home.”¹⁷ In 1920, Samuel Levy also requested that Jews living in Argentina institute Spanish as the language used in all Jewish organizations’ meetings¹⁸. Spanish, then, provided these Moroccan Jews with the means to

¹⁴ Ibid., 85

¹⁵ Ibid., 30-31.

¹⁶ Rein and Lewis, “Judíos, árabes, sefaradíes y argentinos,” 100.

¹⁷ Ibid., 100.

¹⁸ n/a, *Israel*, September 21, 1918, 532.

to unequivocally show Argentines their love for their new home; it also shows that Moroccan Jews felt alienated by the use of Yiddish in the existing Jewish institutions, and found themselves uncomfortable among them. By 1930, Moroccan Jews in Buenos Aires had opened their own cemetery, founded three praying houses, two burial societies, a social club, a Talmud Torah, and at least three philanthropic organizations. Except for the cemetery, all other institutions were located within a small radius in the Sud neighborhood¹⁹.

It would be wrong to assume that the founding of Moroccan Jewish institutions in Buenos Aires meant that Moroccan Jews chose complete isolation from other Jews. While it is true that marriage was almost always endogamous among immigrant and first generations, regardless of whether in Buenos Aires or in smaller cities and towns, Moroccan Jews and their institutions participated actively in overall Jewish and in Sephardi-specific organizations. Besides participating in various Jewish wide organizations²⁰, Moroccan Jews also supported the creation of the Consistorio Rabínico Sefaradí in 1928, and other attempts at creating umbrella Sephardi organizations. As well, they participated in the organizations²¹ founded to raise funds to help victims of Nazi persecution and refugees.

The growth of the Moroccan Jewish population in Buenos Aires from the 1920s to 1940s was the result of migration from Morocco, but mostly from internal movement away from provincial towns. My grandfather Jacobo, whose merchant enterprises had started in Chaco as he moved with the construction of the railroad tracks, settled in Presidencia Roque Sáenz Peña, Chaco, for about 15 years. He and Lida eventually moved to Buenos Aires in the early 1940s and opened another clothing store. He joined the Congregación Israelita Latina de Buenos Aires, and his children (my mother and uncle) attended Moroccan Jewish social institutions. Having supported the opening of the Jewish cemetery in Resistencia, where his parents had been interred, Jacobo was buried in the one founded by Moroccan Jews in Buenos Aires.

¹⁹ Brodsky, Sephardi, Jewish, Argentine., 62-7.

²⁰ Ibid, 173-89.

²¹ Ibid. 105-109.

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Pontos altos do Fórum

O Sephardic Moroccan Jewish Latin American Forum, realizado em Essaouira, no Marrocos entre 23 e 26 de junho 2024, teve como pontos de destaque em sua programação, as seguintes atividades:

- Jantar de Abertura
- Painéis diversos
- Lançamento do livro de Aviad Moreno
- Visita à Cidade Velha de Essaouira e seu Bairro judeu
- Visita à exposição permanente do Centro Cultural Beit Dakira

LINK PARA VÍDEO OFICIAL: <https://www.instagram.com/p/C85CYhtN38T/>



Jantar de abertura oficial do evento



Fala de abertura do Fórum,
pelo Fundador e Presidente da
Mimouna Foundation, El Mehdi Boudra



Painel com membros do
Conselho Acadêmico do CEJA



Painel de líderes de
instituições latino americanas

Pontos altos do Fórum



Painel com dirigentes de instituições da
juventude da América Latina
Link para o vídeo - <https://youtu.be/7di5IRJolyw>

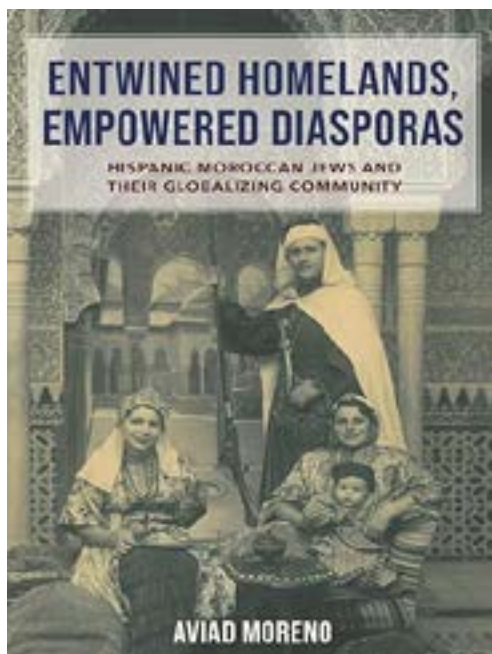


Público ouvinte



Passeio com guia especializado
ao mellah da cidade de Essaouira

Atividade de encerramento: Lançamento do livro do Dr. Aviad Moreno



Published by: Indiana University Press

<https://iupress.org/9780253069672/entwined-homelands-empowered-diasporas/>



Bate papo com o autor e mediação da Dr. Adriana Brodsky

Atividade de encerramento:

Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas, explora como os 30.000 judeus no norte de Marrocos desenvolveram um sentimento de parentesco com a Espanha moderna, a Sefarad medieval e o mundo hispanófono mais amplo, diferente de tudo o que foi experimentado em outros lugares.

A diáspora judaica hispânica marroquina, como este grupo é frequentemente chamado pelos seus académicos e pelos seus líderes comunitários, também se tornou um dos grupos norte-africanos mais móveis e globalmente dispersos no século XX, com grandes centros na Venezuela, Argentina, Brasil, Peru, Espanha, Israel, Canadá, França e EUA, entre outros.

Baseando-se numa série de fontes comunitárias de toda esta diáspora, Aviad Moreno explora como as narrativas de ancestralidade em Espanha, Israel, Marrocos e vários países latino-americanos interligaram a diáspora, fortalecendo os seus centros em todo o mundo ao longo do século XX e além.

Ao investigar estes mecanismos de formação da diáspora numa pequena comunidade que outrora partilhou o mesmo espaço em Marrocos, *Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas* desafia as contas nacionais das diásporas judaicas mais amplas e acrescenta complexidade aos anais das comunidades étnicas multifacetadas em movimento.

Synopsis

Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas explores how the 30,000 Jews in northern Morocco developed a sense of kinship with modern Spain, medieval Sepharad, and the broader Hispanophone world that was unlike anything experienced elsewhere.

The Hispanic Moroccan Jewish diaspora, as this group is often called by its scholars and its community leaders, also became one of the most mobile and globally dispersed North African groups in the twentieth century, with major hubs in Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Spain, Israel, Canada, France, and the US, among others.

Drawing on an array of communal sources from across this diaspora, Aviad Moreno explores how narratives of ancestry in Spain, Israel, Morocco, and several Latin American countries interconnected the diaspora, empowering its hubs across the globe throughout the twentieth century and beyond.

By investigating these mechanisms of diaspora formation in a small community that once shared the same space in Morocco, *Entwined Homelands, Empowered Diasporas* challenges national accounts of the broader Jewish diasporas and adds complexity to the annals of multilayered ethnic communities on the move.

Aviad Moreno, Diretor de Relações Acadêmicas Internacionais do CEJA, Recebe Prêmio Internacional

Dr. Moreno ganhador do Prêmio Gad Barzilai de Início de Carreira

O trabalho acadêmico do Dr. Moreno é multidisciplinar e envolve – sociologia, estudos judaicos, história e estudos culturais. Seu principal projeto de pesquisa incluiu o remapeamento da migração judaica de países árabes (e islâmicos).

Reúne estudos de Israel, história da América Latina e MENA, estudos étnicos e muito mais. A sua bolsa de estudos – individual e colaborativa – é transnacional, lidando com dados de arquivos em múltiplas línguas, e envolvida em múltiplas abordagens e metodologias disciplinares, especialmente qualitativas, mas também quantitativas.

Desta forma, ele situa a experiência judaica marroquina nos interstícios das narrativas do Norte de África, de Israel, da França, do Canadá, dos EUA e da América Latina. Sua abordagem está posicionando os Estudos de Israel como um campo verdadeiramente global. O seu foco acadêmico é claro e consistente e já deixou a sua marca no estudo da emigração (aliyah) para Israel, no impacto da comunidade marroquina e, num âmbito mais amplo, no contexto dos judeus Mizrahi em vários locais.

Moreno é um pesquisador jovem e promissor, que se caracteriza por significativa visibilidade e destaque, que publica frequentemente em palcos distintos, participa de conferências internacionais e ocupa com sucesso uma série de diversos cargos administrativos. Sua pesquisa é particularmente impressionante.



Dr. Moreno the recipient of the Gad Barzilai Early Career Award

Dr. Moreno's academic work is multi-disciplinary and involves – sociology, Jewish studies, history and cultural studies. His main research project included remapping Jewish migration from Arab (and Islamic) countries.

It brings together Israel studies, Latin American and MENA history, ethnic studies, and more. His scholarship – both solo and collaborative - is transnational, dealing with data from archives in multiple languages, and engaged in multiple disciplinary approaches and methodologies, especially qualitative but also quantitative.

In this way, he situates the Moroccan Jewish experience at the interstices of the narratives of North Africa, Israel, France, Canada, the U.S. and Latin America. His approach is positioning Israel Studies as a truly global field. His scholarly focus is clear and consistent and he has already left his mark on the study of emigration (aliyah) to Israel, the impact of the Moroccan community and, in a broader scope, the context of the Mizrahi Jews in various locations.

Moreno is a young and promising researcher, who is characterized by significant visibility and prominence, who often publishes in distinguished stages, participates at international conferences and successfully fulfills a series of various administrative positions. His research is particularly impressive.



Video link - <https://youtu.be/Dt60HgWYC4Q>