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Women, Ritual, and Secrecy: The Creation of Crypto-Jewish Culture

This research focuses on the role of women in sustaining crypto-Judaism in twentieth-century American society. The historical significance of such women has been identified in the work of Cecil Roth (1932) and Renee Levine (1982), both of whom studied the role of women in sustaining hidden Judaism during the Spanish persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This study expands the gendered analysis through an investigation of the role that contemporary Latina women assume in preserving and maintaining crypto-Jewish traditions. My objective is to provide an understanding of the way in which gender informs the maintenance and transmission of religious culture under threatening and adverse social conditions.

Using ethnographic methodology, I examine the ways in which ritual and secrecy have been maintained by female descendants of crypto-Jewish families. The findings reveal that the survival of crypto Jewish culture is expressed through the privatization of religious practices that have been preserved primarily, although not exclusively, by women in the family. These findings suggest that the preservation of crypto Judaism may have empowered female descendants in two ways: first, by creating an informal system of matrilineal descent and, second, by establishing a separate sphere of spiritual practice over which women in the household maintained control.

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

This research is based on an ethnographic study of descendants of crypto Jewish populations living in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Data for the study were collected through participant observation and in-depth interviews with twenty-eight individuals, fifteen women and thirteen men, who have identified themselves as descendants of crypto-Jewish ancestors. Among the participants, sixteen of the respondents emigrated from Mexico over the last 50 years. The remaining sample population of twelve is comprised of individuals descended from crypto Jews who settled in the American Southwest in the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

turies.

The majority of respondents were raised as Latino/a Catholics, although in four cases, the respondents families converted to Protestantism in the last century. The level of commitment to Christianity varied across families. With regard to current religious affiliation, eight respondents have formally converted to Judaism, twelve attend services and celebrate religious holidays, although they have not formally converted, and eight remain religiously identified with Christianity.

The age of the respondents ranges from 38 to 65; the level of education ranges from eighth grade to advanced degrees in education and dentistry, with the majority of respondents having completed high school and some college. At the time of the interview, all respondents were

“...my grandmother would tell me about the Jewish people, my ancestors, and how Catholicism came along and people were imprisoned

engaged in establishing genealogies and investigating family rituals and customs that were Sephardic in origin. The link to crypto Jewish heritage was thus established through three indicators: the existence of Jewish ritual in the family

of origin; the disclosure of Jewish ancestry by mothers and grandmothers; and the development of family genealogies that trace Jewish ancestry to Inquisition records in Mexico City. Half relied on all three indicators, while the other half determined their Jewish ancestry from one or two of these familial identifiers.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Findings indicate that with the exception of three cases, women were the primary bearers of crypto Jewish culture in Latino families. The data reveal that women performed this role through the preservation of Jewish-based rituals and the transmission of knowledge of Jewish

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ancestry. Within this gendered framework of cultural preservation, four related aspects of modern crypto Judaism can be identified. Each of these is elaborated below.

Fear And The legacy of Persecution in The Formation of Crypto Judaism

Like the Holocaust, the memory of the Inquisition is deeply embedded in the consciousness of individuals descended from Spanish Jewry. Among the crypto Jewish whose families remained in Mexico until this century, the fears associated with a history of persecution are especially strong, as a female respondent, 49, explained:

Beginning with the Romans, starting with our exile. there has been an obsession to destroy the Jews. It is so ingrained in us who come from the *anusim* [forcibly converted] - who is friend and who is foe, who you trust and who you don't. That is our obsession. You know we have survived 600 years because we have fought it, our annihilation. We survived because we keep it all inside the family - we tell no one and never discuss our private lives with those outside.

Another respondent, also raised in Mexico, recounted the stories of persecution that she was told as a child:

I remember when I was about five years old, my grandmother would tell me about the Jewish people, my ancestors, and how Catholicism came along and people were imprisoned and burned. There was the fear we always had. We knew we were Hebrews. We were called Hebrews but it was very quiet because people who had Hebrew ancestors were executed in Mexico until recently. My mother said that the most important thing was that we were descendants of Abraham and we had to keep the Sabbath. But that was not something we could trust others to know. If other people found out, they would call us *sabatistas*, which were Saturday morning worshippers.

As oral tradition kept alive the memory of Jewish suffering, succeeding generations of crypto Jews retained an awareness of the dangers associated with Jewish ancestry. According to the respondents, such dangers were given new meaning in the twentieth century with the advent of the Holocaust and the periodic resurgence of anti-Semitic attacks on Jews or suspected Jews living in Mexico and the United States. As one respondent explained:

Whatever might have been more out in the open went underground after the war. It was hidden after that, just like in the old days because of the way the Jews were being treated in Germany and what was going on over there. I think that silenced people like my great aunt who now tells me she knows we are Jewish, even has proof in a trunk with papers and a Bible, but refused to talk about it because her husband had been in the war, had been to Germany and he saw what happened.

Among the crypto Jewish descendants whose families left Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and settled in the American Southwest, fears surrounding stigma and exclusion were also prevalent. Here respondents expressed concerns that exposure could lead to loss of social position and status, as ties to the community were determined by the centrality of the Church and of Catholicism in the social and economic lives of Hispanic Americans. For these participants as well, the specter of anti-Semitism surrounded their families, as respondents recalled growing up in a time when Jews were held accountable for the death of Christ. A male participant, 45, recalled his childhood in Denver:

We lived in an Hispanic neighborhood and the kids said the Jews were killers of Christ and that they started wars. When they said things like that, I knew they were talking about me - my mother. I was about ten at the time so I asked my mom, "if we're Jewish, how come I don't know anything about Jews?" She answered me in Spanish. She said that I knew what I had to know. I think she was trying to protect me.

As these accounts suggest, crypto Jewish culture weaved together the memory of historical atrocities with fears of anti-Semitism in contemporary society. Out of this consciousness of persecution, a privatized form of ritual life was maintained by women, as secrecy became the context through which connection to Jewish ancestry was sustained and transmitted across generations.

Women, Ritual and Secrecy

The historical role of women in crypto Judaism has been studied by Levine (1982) who analyzed the Inquisition records of 111 women accused of the crime of Judaizing between the years 1492 and 1520 in Spain. The trial records indicate that, as persecution led to the elimination of Jewish public worship in Spain, the survival of Judaism relied on the privatization of Jewish practice; this led to the expansion of women's religious roles in the crypto Jewish home. Thus, Levine reports, it was often the preservation of ritual by women that sustained the hidden Jewish culture of the Inquisition period.

The ethnographic data from this study indicate that twentieth century women, like their ancestors, preserved the family's connection to Jewish heritage. The accounts of the respondents reveal that a body of ritual has survived, which contains elements of Jewish practice and faith. In this regard, the participants report that women in the family performed rituals and customs relating to the Sabbath, religious holidays, and Jewish dietary laws. Within these categories of ritual practice, norms of secrecy and concealment were observed among descendants of crypto Jewish families, creating a separate sphere of female religious practice within the Latino family.

Sabbath Observance. Among the rituals remembered by crypto Jewish descendants, Sabbath observance is perhaps the most important link between families and their Jewish past

The data on Sabbath observance reveals that crypto Jews engaged in covert acts of resistance, similar to those described by James Scott (1990) in his analysis of ritual responses to domination and oppression. Within crypto Jewish families, the lighting of oil lamps and candles on the Sabbath represents a form of covert behavior that challenges the theological hegemony of the dominant Christian culture. In one of the earliest ethnographies of crypto Judaism in New Mexico, a descendant describes the observance of these ritualistic aspects of the Sabbath as they were practiced in the early and middle twentieth century:

Women will shop on Fridays and try to get home as soon as supposedly. Some of them light candles supposedly to the saints, but they will never tell you which saints. Instead of candles some will light a wick in a bowl of olive oil and this will burn for six to seven days. (Nidel 1984:253)

The descendants of twentieth century crypto Jews living in Mexico report that the women sought a variety of means to conceal the lighting of the Sabbath candles. Among their

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE:

2000 Conference

August 6 - 8, Albuquerque New Mexico

Gloria Trujillo

As we go to press we are waiting for responses from several individuals whom we have asked to make presentations. We will have more in the next issue. Registration information will be going out to everyone soon. The conference will be held at the Best Western Rio Grande Inn near Old Town Albuquerque. The room rates are \$65.00 for Single/Double rooms, and the hotel has a free airport shuttle for registered guests.

Lorenzo Dominquez, the well-known and respected host of "Mi Seferino," an Albuquerque radio program dedicated to the Hispano Sephardic community has been a tremendous help and has provided us with many incredible leads. Mario Martinez has written a screenplay about a fictional Sephardic family in colonial New Mexico and he will present a special reading on Saturday evening, August 5 in Albuquerque. Those of you who spend any time on the Internet will be happy to know that Rufina Bernardetti Mausebaum will also be speaking at our conference.

Other tentative presenters are:

Jona Armijo-Beltran	Floyd Montoya
Kristine Bordenave M.D.	Ana Pacheco
Mona Hernandez	Michael Perko, S.J
Dr. Stanley Hordes	Nan Rubin
Andrea Kalinowski	Dolores Sloan
Dr. David Kazzaz	Dr. Seth Ward

Seth Kunin

Mike Spiegel, owner of El Rincon Books in Albuquerque will have sales tables at the conference. Ana Pacheco, Editor/Publisher of *La Herencia*, quarterly publication on Hispano culture of New Mexico, will have copies of the magazine on view. We are inviting others to participate in the exhibit accompanying the conference. Information will be provided on local synagogues for those of you who are planning on attending Shabbat Services Friday evening. More information will follow in the Summer 2000 issue. A registration form can be found on page 11 of this issue. We hope to see you in Albuquerque in August.

Sephardim in Melilla

El Museo de la Ciudad de Melilla is presenting
a Sephardic Liturgical Exhibit

On May 2nd El Museo de la Ciudad Autónoma de Melilla opened the first celebration of Sephardic culture in the city's history. The exhibit includes Sephardic religious items which previously only could be seen in synagogues. Some of the items dated from the nineteenth century.

"The pieces had belonged to Melillian Jews or were furnishings from the nine synagogues of Melilla," explained Simón Benguigui, the museum director. "The Jewish community consists of 1,500 people and is the third largest in Melilla after Christians and Muslims."

The exposition, which contains the initial collection of the projected Museo Municipal Sefardi de Melilla (Municipal Sephardic Museum of Melilla), is in homage to this culture, which has been rooted in the city since the sixteenth century. It goes through the cycles of life: birth, integration in to the community, marriage and death, and through the events of the year: Sabbath, Rosh Hasahana, Yom Kippur, Succoth, Hannukah, Purim, Passover and Shavout, which are the principal religious holidays.

This continuing exhibit is valued at eight million pesetas and is centered on religious objects because religious rituals have a great significance in the life of Jews who attach strong sentiment to them and a sense of common identity.

Melilla also has a Municipal Berber Museum where one can see jewelry, clothing and typical objects of daily life of this north African community which constitutes forty percent of the population of the city.

This exhibit is associated with the Sephardic Museum of Toledo and will remain open to the public through May. It may remain open for several months more if attendance warrants. This exhibition is an ambitious plan of el Museo de Melilla, as it is time that Sephardic culture be totally integrated into society.

Note: *Ceuta and Melilla, are two Spanish owned enclaves in Morocco.*

For more information see:

<http://www.diarosur.es/diario/melilla.htm>

INACIO STEINHARDT WRITES HORACIO CALLE

In a recent issue, Horacio Calle of Colombia described his research into his Jewish heritage and his family name. Inacio Steinhardt, originally from Portugal, now resident in Israel, sends the following:

Dear Professor Calle,

I have just received in the mail the last issue of *Halapid* and I read with interest your article. I would like to add the following items to your information:

1) In the townlet of Fundão, in Portugal, there is a street called Rua da Cale. An old friend of mine, Joaquim (Moises) de Brito Abrantes, an 80-year-old former Crypto-Jew returned to Judaism at the age of 20 when he became also a *moreh* (teacher) in Captain Barros Basto's *Obra do Resgate*, wrote some years ago, an article to the local newspaper, *Jornal do Fundão*, defending the idea that actually the name of the street would have been originally "Rua do Cahal", because the Jews lived there.

2) In a small village near Vila Nova de Foscoa, also in Portugal, I met an old women known as Crypto-Jew whose surname by

marriage was Cale. In the same day I met one of her sons, who had returned recently from Brazil, where he lived several years. Young Mr. Cale had a shoe store in Vila Nova de Foscoa. He told me that most of his friends in Brazil were Jews and he used to go to Synagogue for their family occasions.

I didn't jump into any conclusions about the name, because "Cale" is the name of a Spanish tribe of gypsies, and their descendants in Portugal are very proud of being called authentic Cale people.

Wishing you all the best in your endeavors.

Inacio Steinhardt - inacio@cheerful.com
<http://www.geocities.com/Beithakfar>

Emerging Fragments

By Max Valerio

When the first Valerio, Martín Fernandez Valerio, marched up into Northern New Mexico in 1694, what dreams, prayers and fears were in his mind? He was only a twelve year old boy, and there are no records of his parents. They did not accompany him. He walked singly, up through the long, harsh desert passage, with the other families, servants and soldiers who comprised the De Vargas Expedition. This long march was a segment of *La Reconquista*; New Spain was reclaiming the lonesome Northern territory after it had been taken back by the Pueblo Indians in 1680. That battle had been the most successful Indian rebellion in the entire history of the conquest of the Americas. Many families had members lost, and the few who survived waited in what is now El Paso for the Crown to authorize a resettlement. This Reconquest would comprise not only the surviving members of the first Oñate expedition, but reinforcements from other areas of New Spain.

Descendents of my ancestors, Hernán Martín Serrano and Bartolome Romero, had been with Oñate in 1598 (as well as Montoya ancestors and possibly others I have not traced yet). But it is the brave and singular passage of Martín Fernandez Valerio that most captures my imagination. Now, I wonder, was he escaping from an Inquisition Tribunal that had already taken his family, or was he only trekking up north for the adventure and possible wealth - as I have been led to believe?

By then, the Spanish settlers knew there were no "seven cities of gold" in Northern New Mexico. So wealth was probably not foremost on young Martín's mind, although he must have entertained hopes of a modest prosperity on a land he could claim as his own. Only twelve, he walked farther and farther into the stretching heat, into an uncertain and dangerous area, plagued by material hardship, intense conflicts with the Native Indian peoples, and a deep isolation from the rest of New Spain. He would attend a "small school for boys conducted by Father Azebedo". His place of origin had been Sombrerete. Possibly his family had been connected to the mining industry there, but much more I cannot say. The story is still a fragmented one, and most portions remain missing or incomplete.

Always a Missing Piece

There was always a missing piece to the story of my father's background -- an unidentified, yet crucial element awaiting discovery. Why did we have a name that sounded more Italian than Spanish, when no one could remember an Italian ancestor? For a time, my mother told a story of my father being a quarter Italian, but eventually this unsubstantiated tale slipped into the void and was never repeated again. Every story that I told myself about their ancestry felt false, and every story that others told me felt incomplete. Most family members would declare with great pride that they were "Spanish," and preferred this term to "Mexican-American" or the later, more militant "Chicano." As a teenager, I read about Chicanos, Mestizos, and Aztlan and for a time hoped and believed that these terms described my father's family regardless of their claims of being Spanish. It was a hope, since I am already nearly half-American Indian from my mother's side. She is three-quarters Blackfoot from the Kainai or Blood Band, and was brought up in Alberta Canada on the Blood Reserve (the Canadian term for reservation). Born with blue eyes and blonde hair, I never completely fit in. I am the lightest person in my family, with hair that has darkened in shades over time to a chestnut brown, as well as green eyes and fair skin. People mistake me for Russian, half-Chinese, Hungarian, plain old white American male (my least favorite), and Swiss (believe it or not), as well as part-Tibetan or Siberian (the other half some Northern European strain), or a Laplander (!). So I have gone through life never sure what any particular person is going to think I am. Rarely do they say Spanish or Mexican, although occasionally someone who knows what Indians look like will identify me as part Native American. I was a member of the American Indian Movement in my adolescence, and spent time marching and visiting the Pine Ridge Reservation when it was under siege by the F.B.I. after the Wounded Knee occupation. I had done the sweat lodge and read

voraciously about American Indian spirituality, so fortifying my Indian ancestry with unknown Native ancestors on my father's side of the family was very appealing. But whenever I asked Dad if his family was actually, the way Chicanos are purported to be, half-Indian, he would flatly state, "No." My Hispanic grandmother had also told me in no uncertain terms, "You are NOT an Indian."

"We were Creole"

"We were Creole," my father states now, or Spanish people born in the New World. In his old age, my father has initiated a determined search into our family tree. For a moment, he would seriously consider the Mestizo possibility but further research led away from it, although there could be some initial Indian blood early on as some early Conquistadors had Indian wives. This point remains unresolved. Mostly though, the marriages were arranged, with what appears to be cousins marrying each other, at least for the first few generations. One didn't arrange marriages with Indians (this might sound racist, but it was the reality of the times). The idea that my father's family was primarily descended from Sephardic Jews never occurred to me. Now, I do remember a cousin bringing up the possibility after he had done extensive research into the family tree some ten years ago, but I had not really understood what he meant, and the idea had flown past me.

As a teenager, I read about Chicanos, Mestizos, and Aztlan and for a time hoped and believed that these terms described my father's family regard-

Since Martín Fernandez Valerio first stepped into Northern New Mexico, the Valerios have become many. A road in Ranchos de Taos would be called, "Valerio Road," since so many Valerios lived on it. There is a rumor that we were "land barons" at one time, although I am unfortunately not in line for any inheritance! We can trace Martín Fernandez

Valerio to Santa Fe, where he would marry a María Montoya. Later Valerios would marry extensively into the Martín Serrano family and settle in Santa Cruz, Chimayo and Taos. My father is from Ranchos De Taos. On childhood visits, I would be struck by the sheer *otherness* of the place -- the adobe houses quiet under gentle starlight, the herds of sheep, the rumors of mysterious moradas where the Penitentes held secret rites. Valerio Road was a winding dirt road high up on a hill, overlooking an expanse of orchards and cornfields. There was a feeling of being close to another time, the presence of a powerful spiritual energy pervading an atmosphere absolutely and entirely unique.

The cipher of our Italian name lingered. I began to make forays onto the Internet to track down the name and its origins. When I first discovered the Sephardim.com web site, I was intrigued to find that so many of my father's ancestral names were listed (thank you Harry Stein!). I read, for the first time, a description of the Spanish Inquisition and Expulsion, the settlement of Northern New Mexico that could include my family's story. Other web sites discussed the discovery of Sephardic ancestry by unsuspecting Hispanics from the American Southwest. Could it be that the seemingly devout Catholics on my father's side of the family were actually Jewish by ancestry? The more I read, the more this initially absurd possibility felt tangible. I felt a sensation of shock that was physical, an amazement that squeezed my heart when I realized that this might be true! I was also excited, I have always admired the Jewish people, and felt an affinity for them, having always had many Jewish friends and -- girlfriends (like four out of six of my serious girlfriends!) I went around in a state of quiet astonishment for awhile. When my parents visited in June of 99, I brought it up to test their reaction.

"I found some of our family names on a website for Sephardic Jews... Maybe we have some Sephardic Jews in our background." I was sitting across the table from my parents at a diner. My mother and father looked down at their plates after I said this, they both looked struck by a sudden shock. Their faces had the appearance of a sudden fear. I continued, ignoring their expression in order to bring them back to a state of calm, "Well, I found Romero but not Valerio. But I did find 'Valero'."

My father looked up at me cautiously, he said slowly, "Valero could be a variation."

"There are supposed to have been Jews who practiced Judaism in secret Dad." I didn't want to go too far into the subject since they were so uncomfortable, but I wanted to get some clarification or

information if I could.

"Yes, there were Jews in Taos who practiced in secret." He said this slowly. I told my Dad that I would give him the pages that I had printed out from Sephardim.com, and the Villarreal family web site. He would take part of what I gave him, and hand the rest back. It was as though he could only take in a little at a time.

Researching family tree

We have not spoken directly about the possibility that our ancestors are Anusim since that visit. My mother tells me that my father is "obsessed" with completing his family tree, and since the summer he has found hundreds of ancestral names by researching baptismal and marriage records from the Denver Public library.

In California, where I live, I have been doing my own research, using the ancestral surnames that my Father sends me. My story is a true tale of cyberspace, since nearly all my discoveries have been made on and abetted by the Internet. Through surname forums, I've connected to Valerios and others from Northern New Mexico who are searching for their past. I discovered a Valerio cousin who had information on the Italian origins of our name. She wrote on the Valerio surname web site that the Valerio family from Northern New Mexico had originated in Spain, and fled to Italy because of "religious persecution." When I wrote to ask the nature of this religious persecution, she answered that the Valerios were Jewish and were fleeing the Spanish Inquisition. When they migrated to Italy, they changed their name from "Valero" to the more Italian, "Valero." Later, I would find a Greek Jewish scholar, Samuel Valerio, and news that there is an influential Sephardic family in Israel called "Valeiro." Later research reveals a Chueta family on Majorca called "Valleriola"

Reading this confirmation of what I had come to suspect, I was overcome with feeling and wept. Thinking of my ancestor's fear, their courageous struggle and the fact that after all these years -- after all they had been through, we did not know them. How could it be, that I could live as long as I have, the age of 43, and not know that many of my ancestors were Sephardic Jews? How could my father not know this? It occurred to me that I could have lived my entire life and not have known this essential fact. Just as the Catholic Church had tried to rob my mother's people of so much of their culture, they had also tried to beat down my father's people - - and nearly succeeded.

Later, also through the web, I managed to track down second cousins who lived nearby me in Northern California. They were asking the same question I asked, "What are we?" They also had a feeling that the story of our ancestry was incomplete or inaccurate, and that in some critical way we were different from other Latin Americans. When I told them we could be of Jewish ancestry, they were surprised and excited, although not entirely convinced. When we got together, everyone was talking at once, they were three sisters and myself, trying to figure out the puzzle of who we were. One cousin remembered her father, my father's first cousin and childhood companion, covering mirrors when people died, and turning pictures to the wall. There is a tale of a great-uncle who sent a card with a Star of David on it, and stories of secret prayer rooms. Their father once told one of my cousins, "Don't worry about going to church, just do good deeds." Every now and then, one of my them would exclaim "They knew, they knew, why didn't they tell us?" Then another would counter, "But we were Catholics!" Suddenly, another of the sisters would look at the family tree I had brought in, and see a name "Moises Valerio? Look, Moises Valerio! that's it, we are Jews!" Another would be nearly convinced, but wanted proof.

Then, we would wonder if their parents really did know... Someone in the family, after all, must know. Both of their parents are deceased now, and so they will never get a direct answer.

The other Valerio cousin who found out about the Valerios fleeing from Spain to Italy learned this from her eldest sister, who did extensive research. However, this elder sister refuses to discuss the matter, and will not talk about the family ancestry any longer, she refuses to say why.

More clues emerge as I research. It turns out that my father was not named immediately after birth, but about a week or so later according to his birth certificate. The New Mexican custom of brothers marrying their brothers' widows (if they are free to) has been identi-

fied by people on the Anusim email list, as some version of a "Leverite" marriage. My father and I have both noticed that the first son of each generation is named after the grandparent, although this appears to change in the most recent two generations. I don't know if my Father has connected all the dots yet, but if he has, he is not telling me. In our phone conversations, he will tell me about these discoveries, such as the fact that he has no name on his birth certificate, with a mild astonishment. He has also told me about the custom of men marrying their brothers' widows with a matter-of-factness. The truth is, I don't think he is aware that these practices are Jewish in origin. Again, it is amazing to me that this could have happened, that there are people in the world practicing Jewish customs with no knowledge of their origin!

It is nothing short of a miracle that I am learning this. I don't yet know what I will do with the knowledge, but I have told my siblings of my discovery. By an odd turn of circumstance, I told my sister right on Rosh Hosanna. She was shocked, but matter-of-fact saying, "I think you have found the family skeleton." I have yet to discuss the matter with my father. I want to approach the whole topic with an open mind, and to allow him to tell me his story. Gathering information from him about his childhood, his memories, all those things he knows that we don't want to lose, and then - later - much later, bring up what I have concluded. I am eager and ready to go to this next step, and am planning on a visit to Colorado soon. Wish me luck!

Max Valerio is a poet/writer with ancestral roots I Ranchos e Taos, NM. Growing up he was an army brat and lived all over the world - he now lives in San Francisco, California.

"Yes, there were Jews in Taos who practiced in secret." He said this slowly.

HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR MEMBERSHIP FOR
2000?
SEE THE APPLICATION ON PAGE 12

strategies was the practice of lighting Sabbath oil lamps in a church so that no one would suspect the family of being "sabatistas." A female respondent, 55, offers this recollection of her mother's weekly ritual:

Every Friday my mother went to church and she always had. She would pay the church-keeper to pour the oil directly into the lamp on the highest altar and she always made sure that they had the oil burning from week to week. It would be two or four in the afternoon. The church was empty and she would go up to the altar and start praying. And I said, "Who are you praying to? There are so many saints in there and she would say, "We are praying to ourselves. Don't speak, don't say anything in here. We are praying to the Holiness." And she would never say God, which is Dio in Spanish or Christ or anything. But she always went there and prayed to the Holiness. It was very confusing to me. I knew that Christ was someone special but that he was not the same as God. It seemed like we were not really true Catholics.

In the above account, the actions of the crypto Jewish women manifest an element of subversion, as a hidden Jewish ritual is performed within the sacred confines of the Catholic Church. In this example of resistance, the location of the Sabbath observance seems especially significant, as the Church became the site of ritual practices that affirmed the survival of Judaism.

In this example of resistance, the location of the Sabbath observance seems especially significant, as the Church became the site of ritual practices that affirmed the survival of

However, rarely do such acts of resistance take place in the public domain. More commonly, they are carried out in localities beyond the surveillance of the dominant society. As such, the predominant forms of Sabbath worship were those observed within the home. The crypto Jews and their descendants created what Albert Raboteau has termed "invisible" spaces in which to practice a forbidden religious tradition. This phenomenon is especially evident in reports of Sabbath rituals involving the lighting of traditional Sabbath candles. These practices were frequently observed in basements or in other shielded rooms in the house. A female respondent, 60, remembers her grandmother secretly lighting the candles each Friday night in their home in Mexico:

On Friday evenings my grandmother would change all her beds. The house had to be clean. She had a small table in her bedroom with two candles, one on each side. Every Friday evening she would light them and she would not allow anyone in her bedroom except for me.... And she would say some prayers in words that I did not understand.

Similarly, a male respondent raised in New Mexico offers this recollection of his grandmother's Friday night ritual:

My grandmother used to light these candles by herself and when I was about ten years old, I remember asking her, "Why do you light them candles on Friday evening?" Like this woman is a very Christian woman and she was always willing to teach me prayers and here I am sitting with her and this is not my grandmother that I normally know.

The relationship among women, the Sabbath observance, and the persistence of crypto Jewish culture can in part be explained by the separate-spheres ideology governing traditional Jewish law. According to this ideology,

women are obligated to perform those commandments, such as the lighting of the Sabbath candles, which can done at home and therefore do not interfere with domestic responsibilities (Hauptman 1974). Keeping the Sabbath thus became the woman's responsibility in the crypto Jewish household. This perspective on gender and cultural survival helps to explain the persistence of other rituals, which, like the Sabbath, obligated women according to traditional Jewish law. Among these obligations are the observance of Chanukah, Passover, and Purim (Hauptman 1974), three of the holidays forming the basis for crypto Jewish celebrations in modern culture.

Religious Holidays and Festivals. The ethnographic data on the celebrations of Chanukah, Passover, and Purim reveal that a syncretic form of ritual practice was developed and observed by women in Latino families. This phenomenon is most apparent in the social construction of the festival of Purim. This festival, still celebrated as the Fast of Queen Esther by the crypto Jewish in Portal (Canelo 1990), was at one time celebrated as the Festival of Saint Esther in New Mexico. A crypto Jewish descendant describes this celebration:

The Festival of Saint Esther is mainly a women's holiday in our way of doing things. Usually this holiday is dedicated to mothers teaching their daughters the ways of the home and such. Pastries, rolled *empananitas* made with fried bread and pumpkin were prepared along with elaborate meals.... The

women lit candles to Saint Esther and other saints. It was held up to about twenty years ago. At that time we had a bishop named Davis in New Mexico who started doing away with the so-called Jewish holidays and traditions, in this instance by telling people that there was no Saint Esther in the Catholic religion, claiming that Esther, commemorated on Purim, was part of the Jewish faith. (Nidel 1984:254)

A similar form of syncretic ritual is found in the festival of Las Posadas, a celebration that like the Festival of Saint Esther, combines Catholic symbols with Jewish tradition. A male respondent from New Mexico describes this holiday, which coincides with the celebration of Chanukah

From the 16th to the 24th of December in my grandmother's house we had to light a bonfire everyday. On the 16th, one bonfire; on the 17th, two bonfires; and the 18th, three bonfires; and so on. Every day you had to light one until the ninth day and then you light the ninth fire and they say that it is a novena to the child Jesus. But it really isn't. It's the *shamas*, the ninth candle on the menorah. And my grandmother was very upset if these luminaries, the bonfires, were not lit. She said you have to light nine candles if you don't have wood.

The syncretic forms of hidden worship found among crypto Jewish women, like those of other colonial traditions, emerged out of a cultural framework in which religious syncretism provided a means for preserving an ancestral religion threatened by forced acculturation. The accounts of respondents suggest that, while in some cases the original meaning of the Jewish-based rituals has been forgotten, in many instances the Sephardic roots of the traditions are known - although rarely spoken of even within the family.

Additional evidence of syncretic practices among the descendants of crypto Jews is found in the celebration of Passover. Unlike the festivals of Saint Esther and Las Posadas, however, the ritual aspects of Passover have been retained primarily through the preparation of special foods rather than

through the incorporation of saints and deities. These special food preparations assume two forms, *capirotada* and *pan de semita* (Santos 1983), both of which are associated with the eating of matzah (unleavened bread). In New Mexico the preparation of *capirotada* was accompanied by other Passover rites, as described in this account.

For Passover a bread pudding called *sopa* is made. Among those who have some Marrano (crypto Jewish connection, you will hear it called *capirotada*. It's made of layers of bread, raisins, cheese and syrup. When my grandparents still lived on the farm they would sprinkle blood on the doors, just a tiny bit, because otherwise it would be too obvious to Hispanic Catholic community. The sprinkling of blood is from the Bible (Nidel 1984:261)

Another descendant from New Mexico explained the preparation of *capirotado* and *pan de semita* in this way:

My mother makes *capirotada* with soda crackers. She doesn't make it with leavened bread. In my mother's household this was with crackers, even though in New Mexico traditionally it is made with bread... After my grandmother died I was seventeen. I started asking my mother. "Did Grandma make anything special for Easter, Holy Week?" "Oh," she said, "Yes, we used to make this *pan de semita*" and as a kid I always used to think *semita* was bran. And this bread is heavy. It doesn't rise, and my grandmother baked it in the outdoor oven and they called it *pan de semita*. My friend and I looked up *semita* in the dictionary and it means semitic. I thought it had always meant bran, but it means semitic. *Pan de semita* is semitic bread. And this is what we used to eat during the Easter holidays.

The food preparation associated with Passover represents a form of ritual adherence directly tied to the domestic sphere, as food becomes the symbol system through which connection to a Jewish heritage is maintained. In a recent study of elderly Kurdish women in Israel, Susan Sered (1992) found that in nonobservant Jewish families, grandmothers prepared holiday foods that served as a link to Jewish cultural heritage.

For the female descendants of crypto Judaism the

religious act of food preparation not only preserved a connection to Jewish roots but offered a path to privatized spirituality as well. Within a culture of secrecy and concealment, the preparation of ritual food became an autonomous act of observance, clandestinely linking the individual to God as she acknowledged her Jewish ancestors in the special dishes she prepared for her family. This interpretation is supported by the views of a female respondent whose family immigrated to Texas thirty years ago:

For us, preparing food is very spiritual. It is something only the women can do. It is our connection to God. Cooking is considered a sacred act. That is why only the woman can cook.

A further illustration of this phenomenon is found in the observance of dietary laws, which, like the preparation of ritual food, represents an aspect of domestic culture that connected women to ancient Jewish tradition.

Women and the Observance of Dietary Laws. For many descendants of the crypto Jews, dietary customs relating to the Jewish laws of kashrut are instrumental in reconstructing the evidence for Sephardic ancestry (Hernandez 1993; Hordes 1994; Santos 1983). Such customs include the separation of

milk and meat in the household, a preoccupation with "unclean" foods and materials, examining uncooked eggs for the presence of blood in the yolk, the drinking of kosher wine, and an aversion to pork in a culture

where such meat is a mainstay of traditional Hispanic cooking. A woman in her fifties, who was raised in Texas, spoke of her mother's extreme concern for cleanliness:

Oftentimes my mother would ask a lady in the neighborhood to come in and eat with us. She would invite her to eat at our table because my mother thought she was poor and hungry. But then she would say that this person was unclean and I would ask her. "Well, how do you know when somebody is unclean?" "Well," she answered, "when people have our customs and our ways they are clean." And after the person left, the dishes would be washed. She had a large double sink. All of the things that she considered unclean would only be washed on this side of the sink, the "non-kosher" side, and then they would be boiled and paced under the sink.

Here, as in the preparation of ritual foods, the women would offer little in the way of explanation for observing customs that clearly differentiated them from their neighbors. The dietary rituals, like the observance of the Sabbath and syncretic religious holidays, contained elements of secrecy that further contributed to the aura of mystery that came to characterize the ritual life of women in the crypto Jewish family. In some cases, the mystique surrounding dietary customs was expressed through public violation rather than observance. Women sometimes engaged in rituals intended to shield the family from discovery. An example of this phenomenon was reported by a female respondent raised in Mexico:

We didn't eat pork but my family always made sure, that there were pigs in the yard because you don't want to let the neighbors know that you don't eat this meat. We do a lot of things for show. Like when strangers came to the dinner table,

Every day you had to light one until the ninth day and then you light the ninth fire and they say that it is a novena to the child

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that was the only time we would say Christian blessings and the only time pork would be placed on the table. No one ever explained these things, but you are told not to discuss anything about your family, about what happens in your home, when there is an outsider there. If you begin to discuss this at the table, you would be sent away immediately.

Further, a male respondent from New Mexico offered this explanation of a feast day that is celebrated by his family:

It always seemed odd to me. We have this feast day that we celebrate on Saturday during the season of Lent. Everyone else celebrates it on Friday. Not us; we have this big elaborate feast on Saturday so that we can have ham on our feast day because if it were on Friday you couldn't eat meat. This is a carryover from Passover meals from the Sephardic crypto Jews. You always had a piece of ham on your place so that no one would suspect you of being Jewish and to this day you may not have chicken or turkey, but there is always ham. Growing up, I always wondered about this ritual, why we were so different than everyone else. Now I think I understand.

The findings with respect to the public violation of Jewish custom suggest that women used ritual not only to maintain a hidden and privatized connection to ancient Jewish roots but to disguise this connection as well. In both instances ritual became the means through which women sought to preserve secret identities and conceal religious difference.

Secrecy and the Disclosure of Jewish Ancestry. In keeping with the clandestine behavior that governed the practice of Jewish-based rituals, knowledge of Jewish ancestry was often communicated through a context of secrecy that focused on concern for privacy and a fear of exposure. The patterns of disclosure reported by respondents reveal that in some cases this knowledge was passed on in childhood, while in others the descendants learned of their Jewish background in adulthood. Among those participants whose families remained in Mexico until this century, a common approach was to tell children that their ancestors were Jewish, typically with a warning that such information was to remain inside the family. A female respondent describes how she learned of her Jewish background while still a child in Mexico:

My grandmother would tell me about the Hebrews, why they are special and why we mustn't practice on the outside because it was like a covenant, you know, and we had to practice very secretly because God had decided that we had to keep contact between Him and us. She would say, "Remember we are Hebrew and even though our husbands are Christians and our children, we still pass down that we are Hebrews to our children because we have a covenant, a very personal and sacred relationship with God." And she would tell me stories and they would be about the Hebrews who had a lot of problems. They never were wanted anywhere so they had to go everywhere. And she used to tell me this story of the wandering Jew and she would say, "No, he is not going to rest. For a long time we are not going to have a place of our own. We have to continue to follow the Divine's rules before the world is mended."

In the above account, the importance of religious heritage is framed within the context of a covenant, the special relationship that the Jew has maintained with food throughout centuries of persecution. Thus, for women, crypto

Judaism is understood as a personal relationship between the individual and God, which, of necessity, must remain hidden. As such, the experience of this respondent illustrates the way in which secrecy and fear of anti-Semitism contextualized the transmission of Jewish culture to young children within the crypto Jewish family.

Among those respondents who learned of their Jewish ancestry in adulthood (50%), many were told only as their mothers and/or grandmothers neared death. Such revelations served to confirm the suspicions of the respondents, the majority of whom had already begun to explore family history and rituals linked to a Sephardic past. Thus, one woman, age 50, reported the following:

All the time I could remember mother talking about the holidays. She would say the "holidays are coming" and she'd show me the calendar. "It's such and such a date," she would say, and she would mean Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish high holidays. It's something she always did but never explained.... Then she became ill a couple of years ago and she was in the hospital. By then I was thinking that maybe we were Jewish so I had checked out a lot of books on Judaism and I had them in my arms and went into her hospital room. She looked at the books and she said, "You need to go to the synagogue over there by the Greek Church on Alameda. You need to go there and they'll teach you everything you need to know." She said this right before she died.

Another respondent spoke of a similar event in her life, when she questioned her 83-year-old mother a few months before her death:

We didn't eat pork but my family always made sure, that there were pigs in the yard because you don't want to let the neighbors

I finally felt comfortable enough to approach my mother. I finally worked up my nerve. It was an afternoon. I remember clearly. She was sitting in her room, rocking. I pulled up the ottoman to her and I sat in front of her and I looked her right in the eye and I said, in Spanish, "Are you a Jew?" And she said, "Why do you ask me?" And I said, "You have a lot of Jewish customs." And she said, "Si, yes. I had been told when I was a little girl." And she couldn't tell me exactly who had her revealed this to her, but the next thing she said to me was, "But it's better if you don't tell anybody..." And the thing that surprised me was that she blushed when I asked her if she was a Jew, so though a rush had come to her face and it was something that had been hidden for a long time.

As these case studies illustrate, women often waited until the end of their lives to disclose the secret of their Jewish heritage. Such death-bed revelations held great significance for the respondents, who believed that through disclosure their mothers and grandmothers not only made peace with the food of their ancestors but also offered their children the gift of a hidden past. As one woman poignantly explained:

I think my mother wanted me to know. It was her way of giving me back my roots, of telling me to find my Judaism and not to let it die with her.

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

The findings of this research raise some important questions concerning the role of women in cultural survival. From a historical perspective, it is not difficult to understand the behavior and motivations of the crypto Jewish women of the Inquisition period. As Levine (1982) points out, these women took risks and preserved a forbidden faith because of their commitment to a religious tradition to which they were deeply connected, both through their families and through their beliefs.

In evaluating the more contemporary phenomenon, it is less clear why women continued to preserve crypto Judaism, particularly as the culture moved further and further away from its Sephardic origins. One explanation for such commitment can be found in the role that women assume as bearers of culture (Fichter 1954). Like their ancestors, the female descendants of crypto Jews sustained the customs of their mothers and grandmothers, thereby fulfilling the traditional woman's role of culture bearing in the patriarchal family.

This explanation appears to be consistent with the cultural norms of both Sephardic and Hispanic traditions. Thus, as crypto Judaism has been adapted and reproduced, the role of women as bearers of culture has been sustained through the convergence of Sephardic Judaism and traditional Hispanic society, as each culture emphasizes women's responsibility for the preservation of cultural heritage and ethnic identity.

In addition, among modern descendants, the preservation of crypto Judaism, even in a fragmented form, has kept alive a religious tradition offering women a basis of power within the family. Within the secret world of crypto Jewish life, women primarily maintain control over the transmission of knowledge and the practice of ritual. As such, an informal system of matrilineal descent has emerged out of this unique religious phenomenon wherein both ancestry and faith have been carried and transmitted through women in the family. Significantly, this gendered aspect of contemporary crypto Judaism replicates the laws of Jewish culture whereby Jewish lineage is inherited solely through the bloodline of the mother. In the crypto Jewish manifestation of this ancient matrilineal system, not only biological maternity places women at the center of culture, but also a knowledge of religious ritual and beliefs that, in more traditional settings, would fall within the male sphere of religious adherence.

This perspective on culture bearing within crypto Judaism suggests that women continued to maintain the traditions of the past because this role empowered women in a society where male domination strongly prevailed. Further, the practice of crypto-Judaism offered women a privatized path to spirituality that was female defined. Through centuries of clandestine observance, women created and maintained sacred spaces that existed outside the boundaries of both patriarchal Judaism and patriarchal Christianity. Within this separate sphere of religious worship, they alone defined their relationship to God and to the memory of their Jewish ancestors. Thus, the survival of crypto Jewish culture can be understood, in part, through an analysis of gender and power relations, as women sought to preserve a religious legacy that over centuries evolved into a special province of female spirituality and cultural connection.

This research is supported by an Impart grant from the university of Colorado and by a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. Janet Liebman Jacobs is an associate professor of women's studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

INTERESTING WEBPAGES

SCJS Home Page:

<http://sephardicconnect.com/halapid/halapid.htm>

Spanish Jewish Names of the 13th and 14th Centuries:

<http://www.panix.com/~mittle/names/juliana/iberian-jewish/>

Jewish Genealogy: <http://www.jewishgen.org/>

Jewish History Sourcebook: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/jewishsb.html>

Sephardic Genealogical and Historical Society: <http://www.geocities.com/EnchantedForest/1321/index.html>

EDITORIAL POLICY OF HALAPID

Halapid contributors come from all over the world. The editors respect different national writing styles and, where possible, have left each item in the author's style. We edit for grammar, spelling and typographical error.

Many contributions are memoirs or retelling of family stories and legends. They may or may not be historically accurate, although they are indeed valid, sacred memories that have been passed along through time. We do not attempt to change individual perceptions as long as they are reported as such, but we do change obvious misstatements or historical error.

The editors reserve the right to edit any material. Opinions expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily SCJS or Halapid.

Converso as Metaphor

by Gloria Trujillo

Late last year, I received several emails regarding a conference sponsored by Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM) in Scottsdale, Arizona. I have to admit that the conference title was very intriguing, "Converso as Metaphor: A Paradigm Shift." It was to be held at the Sylvia Plotkin Judaica Museum. I wanted to find out more about the focus of the conference, because converso Judaica is virtually non-existent. I was also curious as to how Jewish museums would go about displaying and presenting Southwest converso materials with sensitivity and accuracy.

I was somewhat skeptical but after reading some of the literature, I felt they were heading in the right direction. An article in the CAJM newsletter had oriented members to the conference theme:

From the late 14th century, many Spanish Jews concealed their Jewish religious and cultural expressions, maintaining secret identities in order to "pass" in the majority culture.

Known as conversos or crypto-Jews, they created hybrid private/public personas merging Hispanic, Catholic and Jewish elements. Recently, the descendants of a number of conversos have returned to more active and public identification as Jews. So, too, in the modern era, many Jews paralleled the converso experience of "hiddenness" and "emergence." For some, explicit manifestations of Jewish identity are seldom expressed in public life, and Jewishness is relegated to the private sphere.

CAJM is looking for ways to assess the legitimacy, authenticity and historical accuracy of someone's Jewishness, and how these trends manifest themselves in member's lives and museums.

I hoped the conference was not going to turn into a debate on the issue of who's a Jew, and *Halapid* Co-Editor, Dolores Sloan and I discussed whether to attend. After we learned who some of the presenters were, we changed our minds. We were joined by SCJS member, Randy Baca who lives in Scottsdale. The keynote speakers' session was titled "Converso as Metaphor: An Historical Perspective" with Stanley Hordes, SCJS Vice President and faculty member, University of New Mexico, and David Gitlitz, former SCJS conference speaker (Denver), and faculty member, University of Rhode Island.

Dr. Gitlitz traced the history of various levels of Judaic observance among conversos since the fifteenth century. He spoke about a "personal sense of religious identity" as "more important" to conversos "than the nuances of *halachah*." He advised conferees to "show the diversity of Judaism, not just heroic adherents," and cautioned then to beware of myths that "romanticize colonial Jewry and Crypto Jews."

Dr. Hordes described the "Sephardic legacy" of Spain and the southwestern United States due to "half of those [Jews] of Spanish and Portuguese ancestry staying and converting" in Iberia. He showed how the "trans-oceanic movement of goods and services" facilitated converso immigration to Central and South America and the Philippines.

Dr. Hordes added that the dietary separation of milk and meat was never included on the Inquisition's lists of Jewish

practices.

We attended the roundtable with Doctors Hordes and Gitlitz on the following day. Alas, a question from the audience asked about how to be sure that those claiming Jewish heritage are indeed Jews. Randy supplemented the good Doctors' replies with a familial anecdote about how her grandmother had told her cousin one day in confidence "Somos Judios" (We are Jews), and how she had realized that certain practices in her otherwise Christian family were Sephardic observances. She advised the questioner that "if it looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck."

Keynote speakers the following day were Janet Liebman Jacobs, SCJS member, former SCJS conference speaker (Denver) and faculty member, U. of Colorado, and Illan Stavans, faculty member, Amherst College. Dr. Jacobs spoke on a work in progress regarding the endurance of Jewish belief among Crypto Jews over the centuries. She described how women have been the chief conservators of Jewish heritage.

"Crypto Jew is a metaphor for the greater Jewish world for the tension between the anxiety of personal danger and death and the need to find ways to survive," she concluded.*

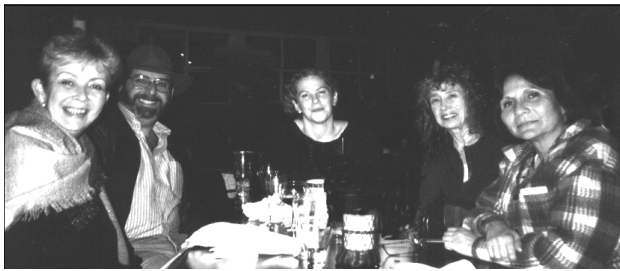
Dr. Stavans spoke on the reasons for the culture of secrecy among Crypto Jews, and "why the secret is there." He noted that "we all love secrets" and want "to find out what we can" about them. "We are of a generation that has turned memory into guilt," he added.

During the question and comment period, Dolly cautioned museum directors and staff not to let the literary use of the metaphor concept

"trivialize" the Crypto-Jewish experience of centuries-long terror and anguish, and commented on the omission of a Crypto Jew from the list of presenters.

I had a chance to speak briefly with Rabbi Albert Plotkin, who had attended our 1996 conference in Albuquerque. We also ran into Adaire Klein from the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, who addressed last year's Los Angeles conference. I had a short conversation with writer Robyn Cembalest, Editor, ARTnews, who has written several articles on Crypto-Jews. We thanked Pamela Levin, local Chair and Director, Sylvia Plotkin Judaica Museum, and Amy Waterman, CAJM Chair, and Director, Eldridge Street Project, for welcoming us as representatives of SCJS. Dolly and I would also especially like to thank our wonderful host, Randy, who made us most welcomed

*For an article by Janet Liebman Jacobs on this subject, see page one of this issue.



Randy Baca, Stanley Hordes, Gail Schneck, Dolly Sloan, Gloria Trujillo at the Scottsdale Conference.

The Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies
2000 Conference Registration
Albuquerque New Mexico

·Date: August 6-8, 2000
·Location: Best Western Rio Grande Inn
1015 Rio Grande Boulevard NW
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87104
·Phone No: 505/843-9500
800/959-4726 for Reservations (Fax: 505/843-9238)
·Email: rgihotel@aol.com
·Room Rates: \$65.00 Single/Double room (call before July 5 for this rate)
\$75.00 Triple room

The Best Western Rio Grande Inn is located two blocks from the historic Old Town Plaza, Rio Grande Zoo, museums, restaurants, and more than 150 shops and galleries. The hotel is close to Interstates 40 and 25, which makes getting around Albuquerque very easy.

Registration includes all conference sessions, Sunday evening dinner and Sephardic concert, Monday and Tuesday morning continental breakfast and Monday lunch at the hotel. Either Sunday or Monday evening's dinner will be kosher. We are planning to have tables set up for sales and other items. *El Rincon Libros* of Albuquerque will be one of the booksellers at the conference.

The Rio Grande Inn's ambiance reflects the Southwestern style of New Mexico. The hotel has a restaurant, outdoor heated pool, whirlpool, and free parking. The hotel provides complimentary shuttle service for registered guests between the hotel and the Albuquerque airport.

An optional event you may be interested in is a free walking tour of Old Town. Docents from the Albuquerque Museum will lead our group around Old Town on Sunday at 11 am. Please indicate on your registration if you are interested in joining the tour.

To register, please complete the form and mail to Gloria Trujillo, (email Gtruj@aol.com or pager no.323/478-4483) conference coordinator, at 2000 Avenida Cesar Chavez, Monterey Park, CA 91754. Make check payable to "**The Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies.**"



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2000 Conference, Albuquerque, NM

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No. of Non-members Registering: _____ @ \$135.00
Reserve table: Sales: _____ @ \$25.00 Non-sales: _____ no charge
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