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ZIONISM, GENDER, AND JUDAICITY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATUTES OF ISRAELITE LADIES IN BETHLEHEM 1948

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ABSTRACT

This article contemplated the practice of analyzing the statute of the Israeli Ladies in Pará in 1948, from the decolonial gender approach on the dynamics of the women of the statute, developing a discourse analysis from the point of view of Jewishness. The objectives were to analyze the discourse of the statute of the Israelite Ladies, aiming at a better understanding of their agencies. The methodology involved a bibliographic review of Jewish historiography, more precisely about Jewish women, in addition to contemplating the concept of Zionism and Jewishness, thus resulting in the transversalization of knowledge about the feminine, Zionism and Jewishness in Belém in 1948. In summary, it is necessary to think of the Israeli Ladies through a gender approach that goes beyond Jewish identity and the Zionist movement in the Amazon.

Keywords: Jewish Identity. Female. Zionism. Bethlehem. 1947-1948.

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INTRODUCTION

We can consider that the daily life of a part of the Jewish women of Belém has unique identity characteristics in the period of 1948, since some of the purposes of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará such as those set out below: to bring together and congregate the Israeli Ladies of Pará; to awaken the national consciousness of women and to propagate Zionism among Jewish women. Thus, the daily life and characteristics of the Zionist movement, especially of the women members of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará, founded on June 19, 1947 and made up of contributions from members, driven by a Jewish identity and a socio-political articulation of opposition to anti-Semitism, generated an attempt to establish a political Zionism for the female collectivity.

Analyzing, in this article, the statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará to understand the agencies of the Jewish women who are part of this movement, as well as the meanings of the concepts of Zionism, land of Israel, Jewish identity and femininity in Judaism, the main theories shared here are those of Bergman (2002), Sand (2014), Grin and Sorj (2008), Benchimol (2013), Pinto (2021), Frankiel (2000), Butler (1990) and Scott (1995), among others.

> SUMMARY OF THE STATUTES OF THE "ASSOCIATION OF ISRAELITE LADIES OF PARÁ", APPROVED IN A SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HELD IN... Determination – Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará.

Namely, the formation of the modern State of Israel in 1948 was intrinsically linked to the Zionist movement

> [...] Secular Jews fell in love with the Zionist ideal (more than religious Jews). Zionism rescued them from their ideological affliction, a feeling that did not bother religious Jews, because the Torah gave them everything they needed in terms of national identity, filling their lives with content. They did not need national feelings as oxygen for the spirit, as the Zionist Jews did. (Bergman, p. 17, 2002)

Another point that makes it difficult to understand the Jewish mentality about Zionism is the dichotomous discourse between secular Jews and religious Jews, which focuses on few writings in the history of women's participation in Pará Zionism, with some mentions in the works of Benchimol (2013) and Pinto (2021).

In this line of thought, further circumscribing the field of research, we will analyze the discourse of the statute of the Association of Israelite Ladies of Pará of 1948, aiming at a better understanding of the agencies of these subjects in the Zionist movement, requiring a gender and ethnographic approach to understand the nuances of this social group, as well

as the complexity of the condition of women in Judaism and the daily life of the city of Belém in 1948.

ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY

Why talk about the statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará? As a historian, I believe that we must problematize the female agency in the Zionist movement of 1948, often little studied in contemporary Brazilian historiography. At the same time, the image of Jewish guerrillas during World War II in works such as Batalion (2020) evokes a very heroic sense, as shown below: "These 'ghetto girls' bribed Gestapo guards, hid revolvers in bread, and helped build underground bunker systems." (BATALION, author's translation p. 2-3, 2020).

In this way, the author of this article began to look for active female figures in the project of colonization of Palestine during the formation of the modern State of Israel, thus finding community aid associations led by women, given that the Jewish condition of this ethnic group was indelibly marked by persecution. In this way, the archetypal image of the guerrillas who fought in World War II, as well as that of the pioneers who fled anti-Semitism in Europe to plough and occupy the lands in Palestine were symbolic constructions of the image of the invention of the land of Israel, which was commonly used to justify the Zionist attacks on Palestinian lands – building, Thus, an image of the Jewish mothers of the lands for the Jewish people and generating an erasure of the agencies of other figures of the Jewish diaspora or dispersion.

In this way, the analysis of the statute documents shows that

> The document that, for the positivist historical school of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, will be the foundation of historical fact, even if it results from the choice, from a decision of the historian, seems to present itself as historical proof. Its objectivity seems to oppose the intentionality of the monument. Moreover, it is essentially a written testimony. (Le Goff, 2013, p. 486)

It is noteworthy that the writing of the history of this minority permeates a historiography of anti-Semitism (Poliaklov, 1996; Poliaklov, 1996; Poliaklov, 2007), since the persecutions forged the Semitic identity, because with the advent of liberalism the masses of Jews began to merge with the societies where they lived, leaving aside Yiddish, customs and even Talmudic Jewish philosophy, rabbinic traditions. Secular Jews saw a possible anti-Jewish offensive in Germany, so they began to develop a more political and cultural Jewish identity, not theological and Talmudic. Many began to articulate themselves, holding Zionist congresses and, some time later, they began to go to Palestine to make collective Jewish

settlements with a communist character. Only decades later, rabbis (religious leaders) turned to this movement.

For this research, the discursive analysis of the narratives of the Statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará was chosen, such a choice was made due to the fact that, if we take as a theoretical assumption the micro-history of Israeli women who participated in the statute from the indiciary paradigm, it is possible to understand the sociocultural conjunctures of the Zionist Jewish condition in Pará, as well as the mentality about Zionism, the land of Israel, Jewish identity and femininity in Judaism. It is also important to note that, whether in Amazonian history or in the Jewish religious view, the condition of the sociocultural imaginary about the feminine is still little studied.

The official documents of the entire statute, as well as the annex, a petition document, the pages of the newspaper Diário Oficial, Diário da Justiça and the Electoral Bulletin of 1948, in addition, excerpts from other Brazilian Zionist newspapers that touch on women from the same period were transcribed. Thus, to problematize the representations, stigmas and silencing about this social group, assuming that every document is a monument.

In order to think about the reality of the feminine in the Zionist movement in Pará, the following is the development of the following topics: Historical retrospective of Judaism in the Amazon focusing on the condition of the Jewish woman in Pará; Zionism and Shimiut dealing with the concepts of Zionism, land of Israel and rabbinic tradition on women and Daily Life of Bethlehem of 1948.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE OF JUDAISM IN THE AMAZON, FOCUSING ON THE CONDITION OF JEWISH WOMEN IN PARÁ

In view of the above, it is notorious that when talking about characteristics of subjects who are often stigmatized or little understood by society, it is necessary to go a little deeper into their nuances, because most of the time, cultural and religious differences (as in the case of the Semites) are restricted to a few researchers, thus focusing on orientalist intellectual productions, especially in the case of the experience of the Jewish woman, because if we think about the fact that the immigration that began in the nineteenth century of this group of mostly Moroccan origin that had dynamics within the Middle East itself, specific with regard to female agency in the organization in their communities due to the Jewish Enlightenment discourse of female emancipation even in the midst of patriarchal cultures such as those of the Turkish-Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, one of these vehicles of emancipation was the Semitic organization that fostered the creation of schools in the Middle East, the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU): "In 1863, the first school was founded in Istanbul and others followed in most of the cities of the Ottoman Empire" (MIZRAHI, p. 49, 2003). Therefore, here I make a digression in a few lines to demonstrate the different types of Jewish organization with female participation in Belém to demonstrate a periodicity that precedes the creation of the statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará in 1947. However, it is necessary to take into account the role of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which resized the Jewish experience, as well as the condition of women in the communities, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> The Alliance had the function of bringing formal education to women, trapped in the old and restrictive Arab traditions, using Western values in a deeply patriarchal society, these schools, despite the frontal disagreement of some Jewish families, played an important role in the emancipation of women. The teachers, with specialization in Paris, inspired by the fraternal idea of the Alliance, had the mission of enlightening the populations by example and by their advice. (Mizhari, 2003, p. 50)

Another point that should be taken into consideration is that the AIU, which operated in North Africa, especially in Morocco, while providing a Jewish identity and mutual aid in the community at the end of the nineteenth century, was solid enough for its ideals to immigrate to the groups that left North Africa for Northern Brazil and may also have made it possible for the action and presence of the women, already in the Amazon of the twentieth century had, at the beginning of the century, the following characteristics: "A charitable entity created on April 7, 1924 under the auspices of the Israeli Committee of Pará, with the coordination of Mrs. Julia Nahon, aiming to help needy Jewish families" (Pinto, p. 63, 2021)

A posteriori, it is worth pointing out that, in addition to the characteristics of the Arab Jewish woman pointed out by the digression made above about the Jewish presence in the Amazon, it is of paramount importance to point out that the regional structures of immigration of this ethnic group that forged well-founded institutions, both in the economic and social spheres of the synagogues, the Jewish religious temples, as in the creation of the statute, in 1947, which aimed to integrate the Israeli female community in Belém, it provided the agency of people who had political and ideological values that distinguished them from other realities in Belém, because certainly Messody Benchimol (president, Brazilian, married, merchant, resident in the city of Belém, at Avenida Gentil Bittencourt n. 9), Alia Pazuelo (vice-dictate, Brazilian, married, housekeeping), Gimol Tobelem (1st secretary, Brazilian, married, merchant), Violeta B. Serfaty (2nd secretary, Brazilian, married, housekeeping) and Messody Serruya Bentes (treasurer, Brazilian, married,

accountant) were aware of the importance of community integration with the unifying elements of the Zionist Jewish identity, considering that one of the attributions of the board of directors of the Department of Culture of the Association of Israelite Ladies of Pará was to promote lectures of a religious, scientific, cultural nature, etc., as well as the statute of this organization also provides for the organization of the association's library in order to provide the members with moral and cultural development through good reading, and it is possible to argue that the structure of this group has practices analogous to the practices of Anita Levy and her father in the 1930s.

> Major Eliezer, even in these times of crisis, never lost his political and community consciousness, because after leaving the countryside, where in addition to being a politician he had a shipping company, he was an ardent Zionist, having founded the newspaper The Voice of Israel. His daughter Anita Levy founded, in the 30s, together with her cousin, the erudite and wise David José Perez, the Deborah Club, an association of girls with the aim of holding meetings, parties and helping the community. (Benchimol, 2013)

Thus showing that the political articulations of Moroccan Jews of Spanish-Portuguese origin in Northern Brazil were already well structured, refuting discourses that deal with Zionism as a typical political articulation of Ashkenazi Jews, that is, a group from Eastern Europe, Germany, and Russia, as appears in works such as Gherman's (2021). At the same time, these different groups speak in unison with the longing of a group that would like to see its people free in the land of Israel, moved by a hope, almost two thousand years ago, to see Mount Zion and the Western Wall, because in the diaspora they turned when praying to Jerusalem. But it is necessary to say that the Zionist movement, which emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century, was, in its beginning, strictly secular, being almost a counterculture to the processes of cultural heterogeneity in modern Germany, where the Jews saw themselves in the Jewish Enlightenment, focusing on the practice of the Association of Israelite Ladies of Pará in promoting both religious identity elements, as well as science and literature, as it was possible to observe in the attributions of the Directorate of Culture.

In short, the sociocultural historical narrative of the immigration and emigration ebbs and flows of the Hebrew people from ancient Israel to their descendants in the diaspora demonstrates a unity such as the unity uttered in the greatest prayer of the Jewish people, Shema Israel ("Hear, Israel, the Lord is our G-d, the Lord is One"), a discourse contained in the sources linked to the Board of Directors of the Social Department of the Association of Israelite Ladies of Pará.

> c) To make the communications of all the parties that may be held, not only to the society but to all the members.
> d) To prepare and submit to the Board of Directors the program of social meetings to be held in the following month.
> e) Be present at the place of the festivity, before the beginning of the festivity, only getting tired after all the measures related to its end.
> f) To contribute to the efficient propaganda of parties and social gatherings.[i]

It is possible to infer that the festivals referred to in the statute can be either of a liturgical order, linked to the festivities of the Hebrew calendar, or of a social order with a much more socialization content, being notorious to shed light on the sphere of public space and private space, or rather, to focus on the fact that the attributions of the positions of the Israelite Dames of Pará affect a redimension of social history with their planned daily lives in the statute by systematizing the obligation to attend before the beginning and after the end of the festivities, as well as informing about all the festivities, demonstrating the dynamics:

> Women circulate in the public space, where they are called their mundane and domestic functions. Men are, in fact, the masters of the private sector and, in particular, of the family, a fundamental instance, a crystal of civil society, which they govern and represent, willing to delegate to women the management of daily life (Perrot, 1998, p. 10)

Concomitantly with this, it is possible to infer that the realization of a systematization of a Semitic association aimed at women is a manifestation of an economic and cultural organization that could only be built from convergent values, especially political, because in these documents there is a discourse of diffusion of the Zionist movement and integration and participation of Sephardic Jews – Benchimol, Pazuelo, Tobelem, Serfaty and Serruya Bentes. Thus, the surnames of the members listed in the statute are of Sephardic origin, that is, Spanish-Portuguese, of Jews mostly living in Morocco according to the genealogy made by Benchimol (2013).

Their specific customs reflect stories of singular immigrants, from the Russian pogroms that culminated in the departure of the Semites to the United States to the arrival of the Sephardim in Bethlehem, all of them demonstrate that comparative history must start from a specific point regarding its regionalities, as the characteristics of the discourse of the statute demonstrate very clear social demarcations of political and ideological articulation for a broader participation with other similar groups, just like the newspaper "A Columna" of 1916-1918 in Rio de Janeiro, as can be seen, in item 1 of Article 1 of the statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará, "the ASSOCIATION may or may not join any Federation of Israeli Societies, which may be founded in this city or outside it".[ii]

However, it is necessary to understand that convergences are small points compared to divergences, in such a way that tracing the historical retrospective of these immigrants must be seen in the light of a cautious and non-generalizing comparison, especially in the Brazilian case, since the formation of national identity by the Semites eradicated in the country was gradual, as verified in the efforts

> [...] as editor of the newspaper A Columna, Pérez's interests, exposed in the years 1916 and 1917, especially in articles in the magazine he created, can be understood from three distinct fronts: the first of which is linked to efforts to create effective channels between Brazilian Jews and Brazilian society as a whole. Knowledge of the national language – a rare resource among the Jews who then resided in the country –, a European intellectual background – Pérez had been trained in the Universal Israelite Alliance – and the perception that there was little information and a "certain negative image" about Jews in Brazil drove Pérez to create bridges of dialogue with sectors of the larger society. Thus, for its director, A Columna should serve as a kind of "trench against disinformation about the Jewish element in the country (Gherman, 2021)

ZIONISM AND SHIMIUT DEALING WITH THE CONCEPTS OF ZIONISM, LAND OF ISRAEL AND RABBINICAL TRADITION

"Many rabbis hold that women are required to perform fewer *mitzvot* because they do not need to practice certain commandments (e.g., putting on the *tallit* and *tefillin*) in order to reach a higher level of spirituality" (Frankiel, 2000, p. 25-26).

The mitzvot, that is, the commandments, that permeate the Jewish observance, especially in the case of the condition of women, are linked to practices such as the use or not of the tallit (prayer cottage) and teflin, known as phylacteries (a box with a rectangular base from which a ribbon comes out and which has a cube that contains some blessings in Hebrew). as well as the participation of liturgies within the synagogues are factors, within Orthodox Judaism, of differentiation between the genders that were not reflected in the discourse of the statute.

In addition, another fact to note is that the different professions such as merchant, accountant and person responsible for domestic gifts demonstrate an agency of these women in Pará society. Finally, the gender approach employed here, although it was not concerned with showing the asymmetries of the feminine and the masculine, instead was more concerned with showing the differences between bodies linked to sexuality that are fictionalized by the social.

> Intersectionality aims to give theoretical-methodological instrumentality to the structural inseparability of racism, capitalism, and cisheteropatriarchy – producers of identity avenues in which black women are repeatedly affected by the intersection and overlapping of gender, race, and class, modern colonial apparatuses (Akotirene, 2020, p. 19).

And it is this intersection and overlapping of gender, race and class of the subjects that is passive to apply in an analysis of the feminine in this statute, given that it demonstrates an official bureaucratic structure that gives voice to female agency, in addition to containing, in the pages of the statute, social markers that go beyond the life experience of these subjects, as a religion, occupation and political and community identity, in such a way that intersectionality is a key concept to understand the dynamics of this association. However, another point to emphasize is that the aspect of the purposes of this association – to awaken the national consciousness of women and propagate Zionism among Jewish women – cannot be understood as an exclusive example or of sorority, due to the fact that it is common, in some narratives, for pioneers to be portrayed as follows:

> The difference between the shtetele,[iii] as well as in the old Yishuv (ancient period of colonization in the Land of Israel), was that the community was small and tightly knit. The community gave these women the warmth, affection, and friendship they needed, precisely because its members instinctively knew that they would not survive without this basic solidarity. (S/N, p. 59, n.d.)

A posteriori, it is worth noting that, in addition, a significant point about female agency in Amazonian Judaism demonstrated in the statute is present in the sphere of the family immigration structure pointed out by Benchimol as a clear harbinger of staying in the new lands (BENCHIMOL, 2013). And this may have made possible another interaction that could have made possible, years later, an adherence of the Jewish woman to administrative participation in the 1920s, which was propitiated by external and internal factors of her community, such as world economic crises, the level of education of her group of origin, as can be seen below:

> Jewish women too, thanks to the schooling they received, were able to better educate their children, even in the far reaches of the world of high rivers and in the small towns and villages where they settled. They were also the strong arm of their husbands, at the time of the great crisis and rubber depression of the 20s, when, sitting at a Singer sewing machine, they made jeans, shirts made with cotton bags from wheat and sugar packaging, to sell to rubber tappers and local residents, to help their husbands. (Benchimol, 2013)

The writing of the history of women's organizations in the Amazon appears in the work of Pinto (2021) in a chapter – "Women's organizations: Wizo and Na'amat" – which traces a retrospective of 1924, with the case of Júlia Nahon, already mentioned, goes through 1926 when she leaves the Israeli Committee of Pará due to her death and her position is passed on to her daughter, Joy Nahon. Another important date was the date of 1947, due to the arrival of a representative of WIZO (abbreviation in English for

International Zionist Organization of Women),[iv] Professor Vitória Elauf, who aimed to spread the ideals of this organization.

In the 1948 statute, the diffusion of Zionism is placed as one of the purposes of the association, a clear proof of the relationship with WIZO pointed out by Pinto (2021) is in the photograph of a letter written by Damas Israelitas, which was the beginning of a campaign to donate ambulances in Israel. This correlation allows us to understand the clear association between WIZO and association. The International Organization of Zionist Women, according to Pinto (2021), was made up of a non-partisan group of people who aimed to help women in the new State of Israel, such as the creation of daycare centers, schools for immigrants, and even help for women who suffered violence.

These dynamics of charity are not placed in the purposes of the association directly, however, it appears in the purposes of the Damas Israelitas to help poor families in the community: "b) to respond to the appeals of poor families in the community."[v]element. It is interesting to point out that this organization demonstrates the association between femininity and the sphere of care by highlighting the importance of aid for the Jewish world and participation in festivals of the religious calendar, demonstrating a non-rupture with the religious traditions of Orthodox Judaism of traditional rabbinic orientation.

But at the same time, the association is a specifically feminine space of coexistence by having, in the annex of the statute, a headline in the Official Gazette with the names of the members, and it is possible to understand that the Israeli ladies had in the association a space for coexistence and community agency.

The measures of the statute of the Israeli ladies of Pará associated with the International Organization of Zionist Women could be based on three concepts: Zionism, invention of the land of Israel and Jewishness, and respectively the Zionist movement was conceptualized by Jews as a political and nationalist movement at a time when the State of Israel did not exist.

For Theodor Herzl, founder of the movement and author of the book "The Jewish State" (1998), he considered that the Jewish question is not a social or religious issue, even if it had these nuances. For Herzl, it was a national issue, which should be resolved at the global level, thus explaining the universal character present in the Association of Israelite Ladies in supporting Israel in 48.

With regard to the invention of traditions, historian Sand (2014) resignifies Eric Hobsbawm's concept of the invention of traditions and places it in the Jewish world, from the perspective of an Israeli national construction forged through nationalisms and inventions of cultural traditions and even historical narratives to demonstrate that the

Semitic State, Since before its creation in 48, it has been crossed by numerous mythical and religious narratives to guarantee its legitimacy.

"The construction of the myth of a wandering Jewish people torn from their homeland two thousand years ago and who aspired to return to it at the first possible opportunity is impregnated with practical logic, even if it is based entirely on historical inventions" (Sand, 2014, p. 343)

All of this culminated in a Jewishness, the formation of a Jewish identity that influenced the Israelite ladies in the Amazon in 1948, given that the elements of the propagation of Zionism, the relationship with the land of Israel and the cultural link with the Jewish festivals intersect with the concept of Jewishness:

> "Jewish thinking, defined by the French-Tunisian Jewish writer Albert Memmi (1920-2020), in the article 'Negritude and Judeity', a classic of postcolonial literature, as Judaism, Jewishness, and Jewishness, terms used by him to define, respectively, Jewish tradition, Jewish belonging, and feeling Jewish, related to expressions of Jewish identification in modernity" (Gherman, 2022, p. 11)

Although the dynamics and concepts mentioned above are tangential to Zionism, it is necessary to highlight that we will not go into the aspects of the self-determination of the people, nor the Arab-Israeli war of 1948-1949, nor will we mention the dynamics that underpinned the conflicts in the Gaza Strip and the war currently underway between Israel and Hamas in the year 2023 to the present day. 2024, considering that the possibilities of documentary interpretation place historiographical limits that, if exceeded, would be considered anachronisms and lack of adequate analysis of the discourse of the source.

DAILY LIFE OF BELÉM IN 1948

The Jewish presence in the Amazon was established in the mid-nineteenth century and, already in the rubber period in the twentieth century, it had its apogee. Synagogues were built, Sephardic-Moroccan communities were structured, according to Benchimol (2013). However, in her work, few pages were dedicated to women. The history of daily life described by Benchimol showed only a little of these figures, through Moroccan dishes and some mentions of prominent figures.

"In the home, the Jewish mother, in addition to having to be good in bed, had to be good in the kitchen to prepare for her husband and children the traditional and delicious Sephardic-Moroccan food" (Benchimol, 2013, n. p.). That said, it is necessary to mention that the historiography that deals with Judaism, such as Benchimol (2013) and Chrocron (2023), does not delve into the history of women's daily lives and also does not enter into a gender approach to the feminine in this religion.

Therefore, in this research, the work of Kushnir (1996) was used as a theoretical contribution, regarding the function of women in the Jewish world. However, it should be noted that Kushnir addresses the trajectory of women trafficked and lured into the world of prostitution in São Paulo, who founded associations, cemeteries, among other support networks in the Semitic world, since this group was segregated by the more religious and conservative Jews.

From his analysis of internal and bureaucratic documents, it is possible to draw a historiographical perspective and understand the sociocultural dynamics among the pages of the statute. Here, it is important to observe the use of the gender approach as an essential methodology to discuss the feminine within the Statute of Israelite Ladies. In view of objectivity and clarity, it is necessary to explain fundamental works in this methodological field, the first of which is the work "The Second Sex" (Beauvoir, 2014), published in 1949, whose first excerpts were published in a French magazine, a reference work of the world feminist movement.

"The Second Sex" deals with history and the hegemonic patriarchal structure, while showing the oppressions of women over time. Beauvoir talks about the invention of women, about how men inferiorized and discarded them, considering them as the other. In this sense, his work is essential to be made explicit as a theoretical contribution to our research.

Another point is the work "Gender Problems" (Butler, 2003), whose author questions patriarchy and outlines a specific methodology to understand the structures that underpin society. She also questions the hegemonic power and silences on the female body and shows the various possibilities of research from the gender approach while problematizing the history, science and medicine produced by men that segregate and make invisible the function of women, as well as the biological differences of the female body.

This work was of fundamental importance in gender studies in Brazilian historiography, but it is necessary to mention that there is currently a discussion that links feminism to decolonial studies, demonstrating an intersectionality between different cultures and the South American, Asian, among other feminine beings, and enabling a plurality in the sense of femininity today.

> Decolonial feminism, privileging the contestation of the coloniality of knowledge, also points out paths of political advancement now in the Latin American key. It proposes a radical epistemological revision of Eurocentric feminist theories, which includes the end of the division between theory and activism, which has always been characteristic of our feminisms (Varejão et al, 2020, p. 13).

For the study of this last topic, it is necessary to highlight the influence of feminist currents, such as those of Simone de Beauvoir and Judith Butler and the decolonial

feminist perspective, as well as the historiography of the female body made by Priore (2011): "History has shown us, in various ways, that almost everything has never been as it is now, and the relationship of a society with its own body also reflects the complex changes experienced throughout various historical processes" (Priore, 2011, pp. 9-10).

It is necessary to highlight that Cancela (2021), although dealing with women from the nineteenth century and a part of the twentieth, does not concern himself with discussing Jewish women in the Amazon, and it is necessary to re-signify the historical narratives of these subjects based on the statutes, descriptions, and organizations of the community's annual festivals, as well as to glimpse through the names of the associates an invention of the sense of Jewish femininity, because according to Oyěwùmí (2021, p. 44), "Consequently, in cross-cultural gender studies, theorists impose Western categories on non-Western cultures and then project these categories as natural".

In view of this, it is necessary to highlight that making a gender approach to the Israeli ladies of Pará in 1948 is to investigate through a web of many historiographical strands, ranging from studies of Judaicity to decolonial studies on feminism, given that when analyzing this statute it is possible to verify an intersection between Jewish and feminine values of Belém in the 40s.

From the descriptions of the attributions of the positions in the statute, such as participation in the festivals promoted by them, it is possible to verify that the traditions invented as proposed by Hobsbawm

> [...] seem to be classified into three overlapping categories: a) those that establish or symbolize social cohesion or the conditions of admission of a real or artificial group or communities; b) those that establish or legitimize institutions, status or relations of authority; and c) those whose main purpose is socialization, the inculcation of ideas, value systems, and patterns of behavior (2021, p. 17)

It is possible to say that the institutionalization of social cohesion is present in the creation of the statute, at the same time that it helped to legitimize Jewishness and the formation of the modern State of Israel among women, in such a way that the festivals and the construction of libraries for ladies influenced the cohesion and legitimization of Zionist policies and female Jewish identity in the Amazon. All of this ultimately results in an invention of women, gender difference, and even feminist approaches marked by Eurocentric and deterministic characterizations of women's role in society, as proposed by Oyěwùmí:

"This assumption was imported from European history as the model of global history; and because of the colonization and educational background of people of African origin who

researched history, many of these people did not move away from the Western model, which they accepted as natural" (2021, p. 168).

In summary, it is possible to unveil the daily life of the Israeli ladies present in the statute sheets from the prism of the gender approach, the decolonial studies of feminism and the concepts of the invention of traditions and the invention of women, which point to a singular Jewishness in the Amazon by showing the plot between femininity and Jewishness in the middle of the last century.

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

The statute demonstrates in its pages a methodological scope of plural research by being able to find phenomena of Jewish identity specific to Bethlehem in the 40s, which can be related to Zionism and the proposals of the Jewish State prior to the 48s, at the same time that the statute sets as its purpose to propagate Zionism among all Jewish women. However, it is not possible to glimpse, in this document, a clear influence of the international movement, as was the case in some editions of the newspaper A Columna in Rio de Janeiro, pointed out by Gherman (2021).

Furthermore, the internal policies of the Israeli ladies are analogous to the policies of WIZO, as described by Shapira (2018) in his work "Israel: A History". Finally, it is also necessary to understand that the Israeli ladies, by placing the promotion of Jewish culture as purposes and obligations, clearly show the values of the Jewish Enlightenment, in addition to promoting Judaicity in the Amazon.

In summary, it can also be affirmed that the invention of traditions and the invention of women are present in this document through the descriptions of the objectives and purposes that unveil, for us, a plot between the feminine and the Judaicity typical of Belém in 1948.

CONCLUSION

The statute of the Israelite ladies, with its six chapters plus the annex with a speech from the Official Gazette about the ladies of the statute, demonstrates a Jewish Bethlehem at the same time that it points to the sociocultural dynamics of a feminine still little studied by Pará historiography.

The festivals described, the encouragement of reading and, especially, the names of the members of the board mentioned in the Official Gazette, Messody Benchimol, Alia Pazuelo and Gimol Tobelem, show the agency of this group of Jewish women, which enables an analysis, sometimes political, of the Judaizing Zionist dynamics, sometimes an

analysis based on the gender approach that crosses the feminine and the Jewishness of the period from the concepts of invention of traditions and invention of women.

But, more than that, the daily life of this group in the metropolis of Pará in 1948 is a fragment of the historical narrative of women in Belém do Pará of the period. This research sought to demonstrate the agency of the Israeli ladies, while seeking to understand the political context and gender issues within this religious ethnic minority in the Amazon.

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[ii] Statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará/ Address: Belém do Pará/ Date of foundation: June 19, 1947 / Official Gazette /10-B. Safeguarded by the Amazon Memory Center. BR PA CMA FTJE Cx: 01 Pt: 02 Qt:03
[iii] Small Jewish towns in Europe.
[iv] An organization that works to promote an equal society for all, supported by a global network of Zionist women.
[v] Statute of the Association of Israeli Ladies of Pará/ Address: Belém do Pará/ Date of foundation: June 19, 1947 / Official Gazette /10-B. Safeguarded by the Amazon Memory Center. BR PA CMA FTJE Cx: 01 Pt: 02 Qt:03