

Moroccan Jewish Studies in Israel

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In the 1950s, Moroccan Jews became the largest immigrant group from any country in the new State of Israel, the result of the mass emigration that preceded Morocco's independence in 1956. The Israeli government and public greeted the newcomers from North Africa with ambivalence, if not hostility. Not surprisingly, the Israeli population was ignorant of the history and culture of Moroccan Jews, nor was its study considered to be of importance. The major concern was how the mass of new immigrants would adapt and assimilate in the larger society that was dominated by Ashkenazi Jews of European origin. The first studies on Moroccan Jews were by anthropologists, who focused on the process of immigration from Morocco and elsewhere in North Africa to Israel and their adjustment to life in the new society. Thus, Moshe Shokeid explores the adjustment and transformation of Jews from the Moroccan Atlas who settled in a town in the edge of the Negev,¹ and Shokeid and Shlomo Dshen, both of Tel Aviv University undertook studies on Moroccan Jewish ethnic relations in Israel.²

Historical studies were almost entirely lacking on Moroccan Jews, and most of the existing literature was still a vestige from the colonial area. André Chouraqui, an Algerian French lawyer, and public figure who settled in Israel in the late 1950s, wrote one of the first histories of the Jews of the Maghreb, as well as a thesis on the history of the juridical status of Moroccan Jews. Chouraqui's main concern was the modernization or "westernization" of the Jews, reflecting the ideology of the Alliance Israélite Universelle to which he was closely associated. In Israel Chouraqui was active in politics and held governmental positions, and though his history of the Jews of North Africa was translated to Hebrew (1975)—the only popular survey of the history of the Jews of North Africa—his influence on scholarship on North African Jews in Israel was marginal.³

1. Moshe Shokeid, *The Dual Heritage: Immigrants from the Atlas Mountains in an Israeli Village* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

2. Shlomo A. Dshen and Moshe Shokeid, *The Predicament of Homecoming: Cultural and Social Life of North African Immigrants in Israel* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974).

3. André Chouraqui, *La condition juridique de l'Israélite marocain* (Paris: Presses du livre français, 1950); idem, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord: marche vers l'Occident* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1952). His historical survey: *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord entre l'Orient et l'Occident* (Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1965); idem, *La saga des Juifs en Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1972), Hebrew version: *Qorot ha-Yehudim bi-Şefon Afriqah* (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1975).

Historical research on Moroccan Jews was almost entirely absent in Israeli scholarship until the late 1970s. The one major exception was Haim Ze'ev Hirschberg (1903-1976). Born in Tarnopol Galicia in 1903, ordained as a rabbi and educated in the Orientalist tradition at the University of Vienna, Hirschberg settled in Israel in 1943. He worked for the Israeli government's Ministry of Religious Affairs from 1948, and from 1959 taught at Bar-Ilan, the religious Zionist university founded in 1955. There he founded the Institute for the Study of the Jews of the East, and edited a journal, *East and Maghreb (mi-Mizrah u-mi-Ma'arav)* some of his earlier research was on the history of the Jews of Arabia,⁴ and in the 1950s, he turned his attention to the history of the Jews of North Africa. On the eve of Moroccan and Tunisian independence in 1956, he embarked on a semi-official trip to Morocco to conduct research and observe the Jewish communities first hand. His account is an invaluable source on many of the smaller communities that were soon to disappear, though his depiction paints a somber picture of the poverty stricken and disease riddled communities.⁵ His years of research on North African Jews from medieval through modern times, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, was published in two volumes in 1965.⁶ Painstakingly collecting evidence from diverse sources in multiple languages, Hirschberg created a narrative history of the Jews of the Maghreb. Hirschberg's voluminous work became a starting point for researchers undertaking other studies, especially for its compilation of diverse sources, but it offers little critical analysis of the primary sources that are quoted liberally in the text. The strength of the work lies more in the first volume that deals with the cultural, religious, and intellectual life of the Jews of the Maghreb in the Middle Ages; the second volume, divided between countries since the sixteenth century has a separate chapter on Morocco. The second volume focuses more on the political and diplomatic history of the Maghreb as it affected the Jewish community, with little to say about its intellectual, cultural, and religious life. He devotes only a few pages for each country to the twentieth century.⁷ The two volumes were translated to English and were edited and revised by Eliezer Bashan, a student of Hirschberg who later became a professor at Bar-Ilan University

4. H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra'el ba-'Arav: qorot ha-Yehudim be-Himyar ve-Hijaz me-hurban Bayit sheni ve-'ad mas'e-ha-selav* (Tel Aviv: Mosad Bialik 'al-yede "Masadah," 1946).

5. Idem, *Me-eres mevo ha-shemesh: 'im yehude Afriqah ha-sefonit be-arshotehem* (Jerusalem: ha-Maḥlakah le-'inyene ha-no'ar veba-ḥaluts shel ha-Histadrut ha-Šiyonit, 1957).

6. Idem, *Toldot ha-Yehudim be-Afriqah ha-Sefonit; ha-tefusah ha-Yehudit be-arshot ha-Maghreb mi-yeme-qedem ve-'ad zamanenu* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1965). The English versions: *A History of the Jews in North Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1974-1981).

7. For a discussion of Hirschberg in Israeli historiography, see Yaron Tsur, "ha-Historiografyah ha-yisra'elit ve-ha-ba'ayah ha'edatit [Israeli Historiography and the Ethnic Problem] *Pe'amim* 94-95 (2003): 14-19.

and author of a number of studies on Moroccan Jewish history,⁸ and by Robert (Avraham) Attal, a Tunisian Jewish scholar and head librarian of the Ben-Zvi Institute, the most important center and collection of material on the Jews of the Maghreb. Attal's extensive bibliography was an essential guide for publications on the Jews of the Maghreb and an essential scholarly resource.⁹

Apart from Hirschberg, Moroccan Jewish studies remained largely outside the academy until the late 1970s, and largely the production of rabbinical leaders and scholars. David Ovadia (1911-2010), who presided over the rabbinical court in his home town of Sefrou and who held an official function in charge of Hebrew education in the Moroccan government after independence, moved to Israel in 1964. In Israel he published on Moroccan *halakhah* and responsa, and self-published through his Center for the History of the Jewish Communities of Morocco, two multi-volume tomes on the history of the communities of Sefrou and Fez.¹⁰ A compilation of published and unpublished texts, chronicles, legal documents, correspondence, and personal testimonies, these volumes are an important resource for scholarship on Moroccan Jewish history and Judaism. Bridging somewhat the Moroccan rabbinical elite in Israel and the academy is Moshe Amar, a professor at Bar-Ilan University (significantly, Bar-Ilan was founded with the purpose of bridging Jewish religious heritage with modern academic study). A rabbi and prolific scholar, Amar has written extensively about the history of rabbinical scholars and institutions in Morocco, especially in the XXth century. His erudition on this literature is unparalleled; its purpose, however is that of a religious traditionalist with the goal of documenting or salvaging the contribution of rabbis to the Moroccan Jewish heritage. His work also forms an important corpus of information on Moroccan Jewish communities and some of the key figures among the rabbinical elite in the early modern and modern periods.¹¹

8. Eliezer Bashan, *Yahadut Maroqo: 'avrah ve-tarbutah* [Moroccan Jewry: its past and culture] (Tel-Aviv: Hoşa'at ha-Qibuş ha-me'uhad 2000); idem, *Ha-Yehudim be-Maroko be-me'ah ha-XIX ve-ha-misiyon ha-Angliqani* [The Anglican Mission and the Jews in Morocco in the XIXth Century] (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1999); idem, *Nashim Yehudiyot be-Maroko: demutan be-re'i mikhtavim min ha-shanim 1733-1905* [Jewish Women in Morocco Seen through Letters from 1733-1905] (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2005)

9. Robert Attal, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord: Bibliographie* [in French and Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1973; revised edition, 1993)

10. David Ovadia, *Qehilat Şefru*, 5 vols. Jerusalem: Mekhon le-ḥeḳer toldot qehilot Yehude Maroqo, 1974-1992); idem, *Fas ve-ḥakameha*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Mekhon le-ḥeḳer toldot qehilot Yehude Maroqo, 1978).

11. Moshe Amar, 'Eş Ḥayyim le-Rabi Hayyim Gagim (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1987); idem, *Dimuyot merkaziyot be-toldot Yehude Maroqo* (Jerusalem: Irgun qehilot Yehude Şefon Afrika, 2013); idem, *Sefer Avne Shaysh* (Lod: Orot Yahadut ha-Maghreb, 2010); *Sefer Hillula de-rabi Yosi Ben Zimra* (Lod: Orot Yahadut ha-Maghreb); "Taqqanot Meknes ve-Ziqatan le-Taqqanot Fes," *Miqedem u-Miyam* 9 (2006): 186-209; Moshe Halamish and Moshe Amar, *Kaf naqi* (Lod: Orot Yahadut ha-Maghreb, 2011); for a collection of ordinances (*taqqanot*), Moshe Amar, Eliyahu Aşur, and Moshe Gabbay, *Sefer ha-taqqanot: ha-mishpat ha-'ivri be-qehilot Maroqo* (Jerusalem: Toldot, ha-Makhon le-moreshet Yahadut Maroqo, 1980).

Some of the first research in Moroccan Jewish history in Israel was by independent scholars.¹² The most significant research outside the academy was by David Corcos, from an elite family of Essaouira, who worked as a merchant in Agadir before settling in Israel in 1959.

Without formal academic training in history, he wrote and published numerous academic studies on Moroccan Jews, meticulously using a range of sources. He wrote in Hebrew, French and English on subjects ranging from the Jews during the period of the Almohads and Marinids, to the subject of the mellahs, and paved the way to future research. While not idealizing Muslim-Jewish relations, he nevertheless placed emphasis on their coexistence in Morocco.

David Corcos also brought with him to Israel a major collection of documents, many pertaining directly to his family. Interestingly, of the many languages that he used in his studies, classical Arabic was not one of them, despite the fact that a significant part of his private archive was in Arabic relating directly to the close ties that his family maintained with the Makhzan in the nineteenth century.

It was Michel Abitbol of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who recognized the importance of the Corcos family documents for the study of Moroccan Jewish History, and published a monograph on the subject.¹³ Abitbol was of a generation of Israeli Moroccans, schooled in Morocco and educated in France (or France and Israel). Trained as an Africanist and Arabist, his first monograph was on the Arma, the dynasty that remained in Mali following the sixteenth century conquest of Ahmad al-Mansur.¹⁴ As an African studies scholar at the Hebrew University from the mid-1970s, he shifted his attention to the history of Moroccan Jews in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. He joined the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, and set about to integrate and encourage the study of North African Jews into the study of Jewish history, training a new group of students who studied the history of the Jews of the Maghreb in the modern period.¹⁵

12. See, e.g., Joseph Toledano, *Le temps du Mellah: une histoire des juifs au Maroc racontée à travers les annales de la communauté de Meknès* (Jerusalem: Edition Ramtol, 1982); idem, *Épreuves et liberation: Les Juifs du Maroc pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Jerusalem: Éditions Elkana, 2014).

13. Michel Abitbol, *Témoins et acteurs: Les Corcos et l'histoire du Maroc contemporain* [French and Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, Centre de Recherches sur les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord, 1977); expanded versions based on the Corcos documents; subsequently the larger collection of these documents were translated and studied: *Tujjār al-Sulṭān: Une élite économique judéo-marocain au XIX^{ème} siècle* [in Hebrew with a French introduction] (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1994) and *Les commerçants du roi: Tujjār al-Sulṭān: Une élite économique judéo-marocain au XIX^{ème} siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1998).

14. *Tombouctou et les Arma: de la conquête marocaine du Soudan nigérien en 1591 à l'hégémonie de l'empire Peulh du Macina en 1833* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1979).

15. The one specialist on the Maghreb at the Hebrew University at this time was Pesah Shinar, but his work was not focused on Jewish history. One of his students wrote a doctoral thesis on Moroccan Jewish history under his supervision: Shalom Bar-Asher, "ha-Qehilah ha-yehudit be-Maroco (Fas, Meknes ve-Şefru) ba-me'ah ha-18: ma'amadah ha-ḥuḳi yecha-ḥevrati ve-hanhagatah ha-ašmit" [The Jewish community in Morocco in the XVIIIth century: studies in history of the social status and self government of the Jews of Fes, Meknes, and Sefrou], (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1981).

As director of the Centre de Recherches sur les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord and later director of the Ben-Zvi Institute, Michel Abitbol also had an important institutional base from which he organized conferences and promoted research on North African Jewry. The Ben-Zvi Institute of the Yad Itzak Ben-Zvi (affiliated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), the center for the study of Jews of Islam and Asia/Africa, founded by the second president of Israel, became the most important forum for the study of Moroccan Jews. Its journal, *Pe'amim*, was first published in 1979. Michel Abitbol organized several conferences, a collaboration between the Ben-Zvi Institute and the Institut de Recherches Méditerranéennes of Aix-en-Provence (directed at that time by Jean-Louis Miège), that were published in several edited volumes of multi-disciplinary studies on the history, language, culture and society of the Jews of the Maghreb.¹⁶ He later was appointed the Robert Assaraf Professor of the History of Morocco and Moroccan Jewry at the Hebrew University and directed the Centre International de Recherche sur les Juifs du Maroc (CRJM), with its headquarters in Paris and a branch of the research center in Rabat.¹⁷

One of the main foci of the first, modern secular studies of Moroccan Jews, and more generally, the Jews of the Islamic world, was the study of Zionism. The emphasis on the study of Zionist movements in the Muslim world reflected the efforts of Mizrahim to be inscribed in the national narrative from which they had been excluded, and to revise the commonly held understanding in Israeli society, born out of negative stereotypes of the Jews of the Muslim world, of having had no part in the political revival of the Jews which was centered in Europe.¹⁸ In a similar vein, the central experience of the Holocaust, which was fundamental to the legitimation of State of Israel, also excluded Middle Eastern and North African Jews from the national narrative. The Israeli public was unaware of the fact that Jews of the Maghreb were subjected to anti-Jewish and Nazi inspired laws under the Vichy regime, or in the case of Libya and Tunis, direct, though short-lived Axis occupation. The first major research on the Jews of North Africa during World War II was produced in a survey of the Maghreb by Michel Abitbol,¹⁹

16. *Judaïsme d'Afrique du Nord aux XIX^e-XX^e siècles*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Avi, 1980); *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1982) [both volumes are in Hebrew, French, and English]

17. See the préface by Robert Assaraf to *Relations judéo-musulmanes au Maroc: Perceptions et réalités*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1997).

18. Zvi Yehuda, "The place of Aliyah in Moroccan Jewry's Conception of Zionism," 6 (2) (1985): 199-210. For a discussion of the wider context of the study of Zionism in the Middle East and North Africa, see Michel Abitbol, "Research on Zionism and Aliya of Oriental Jewry—Methodological Aspects," *Pe'amim* 29 (1989): 3-14 [Hebrew]; and Tsur, "ha-Historiografyah ha-yisra'elit."

19. Michel Abitbol, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1983; Paris: Riveneuve, 2008).

and this was followed by other research by Israeli scholars, such as the studies by Michael Laskier in which he has both analyzed the period and compiled a source reader of documents on the Jews during Vichy rule in North Africa.²⁰ The study of both Zionism and the Holocaust and their impact in Morocco can be seen as a major national enterprise to integrate the study of Moroccan Jews into the Israeli national curriculum. In 2007, The Documentation Center on North-African Jewry during World War II, directed by Haim Saadoun whose research specializes in the history of Zionism and the Jews in Tunisia during World War II, was founded with Israeli government support with the explicit agenda of inscribing the plight of North African Jews during the Shoah into public discourse in Israel.²¹

The first major monograph on the history of the Jews of modern Morocco was by an Israeli American scholar, Michael Laskier, that focuses on the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Morocco, a book that grew out of his UCLA Ph.D. dissertation.²² More than simply a study of the organization, Laskier explores the Moroccan Jewish communities in the modern period and their transformation that resulted from the AIU's intervention. After a number of appointments in the United States and Israel, Laskier joined the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Bar-Ilan University in 2002. He has authored numerous books and studies, expanding his research include Tunisia, Algeria, and Egypt examining the range of forces affecting the Jewish communities that inexorably lead, in his view, to the mass departure in the twentieth century: Westernization, Arab nationalism, Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel, and decolonization.²³

By the 1990s, the main contours in the social and political narrative of Moroccan Jewish history had been well-established by Israeli historians, but the cultural study of Moroccan Jews was somewhat missing. The study of Moroccan Jewish culture emanated more from other disciplines. The initial research on Moroccan Jews in Israel tended to focus on their absorption and adaptation in Israeli society, but the growing awareness of the "ethnic

20. Michael M. Laskier, *Yehude ha-Maghreb be-šel Vichy ve-šlav ha-qeres* [The Jews of the Maghreb in the Shadow of Vichy and the Swastika] (Tel Aviv: ha-Makhon le-ḥequer ha-tefušot, Universitat Tel Aviv 1992); "Between Vichy Antisemitism and German Harassment: The Jews of North Africa during the Early 1940's," *Modern Judaism* 11, 3 (October 1991): 343-369.

21. The Documentation Center on North-African Jewry during World War II <http://www.ybz.org.il/?CategoryID=582>

22. Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco: 1862-1962* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).

23. Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the 20th Century: Jews of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); idem, *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); idem, *Yisra'el ve'ha-'aliyah mi-Šefon Afriqah: 1948-1970* [Israel and the Aliya from North Africa, 1948-1970] (Sde Boker: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2006).

problem”—that the Jewish communities had not simply shed the cultural and religious practices of their diasporic past, consistent with the Zionist ideology of “the ingathering of the exiles—increased the relevance of studying the background and continuities of Moroccan Jewish culture. Parallel to this change was the growing assertion of Moroccan Jewish practice in Israel—the mass celebration of Mimuna in Israel,²⁴ and the revival and reinvention of saint veneration and the celebration of the *hillulah*—pilgrimage to the tombs of saints (*qadoshim*, or *saddiqim*), known for the performance of miracles on the supposed anniversary of the saint’s death. Parallel to the growth of this practice was the increasing visits of Israeli Moroccans to their places of origin in Morocco and to the graves of *saddiqim* scattered throughout Morocco.²⁵ Another important development was the appropriation of ancient Jewish sages of Palestine from antiquity by Moroccan Jews, such as the mass pilgrimage to the tomb of Shimon Bar Yochai in Meron, the imputed author of the thirteenth century mystical book of Zohar. The politicization of the Mizrahi ethnicity, the social protest Black Panther movement of the early 1970s or the emergence of the political party, SHAS (acronym of Sephardi Torah Guardians), of which Israelis of Moroccan origin occupied the central place, further motivated studies on Moroccan Judaism and cultural practice.

A number of the first generation of Israeli anthropologists whose early studies were devoted to analyzing the transition of Maghrebi communities to Israeli society, turned their attention to ethnographic history, drawing insights from anthropology to interpret historical texts on the social and cultural life of North African Jews in the past. Harvey Goldberg of the Hebrew University has focused his attention on Libyan Jews and has been instrumental in encouraging interdisciplinary work on North African Jewish communities, including the study of Moroccan Jews.²⁶ Shlomo Deshen’s Study, *The Mellah Society*, first published in Hebrew in 1983, draws from published responsaliterature of rabbinical scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth century to offer a portrait of the social structure and community life in pre-

24. Harvey E. Goldberg, “The Mimuna and Minority Status of Moroccan Jews,” *Ethnology* 17 (1978):75-87.

25. André Levy, “To Morocco and Back: Tourism and Pilgrimage among Moroccan-Born Israelis,” in *Grasping Land: Space and Place in Contemporary Israeli Discourse and Experience*, ed. E. Ben-Ari and Y. Bilu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 25-46.

26. While most of Goldberg’s work has focused on Libya, he has also written on Morocco. See Harvey E. Goldberg, “The Mellahs of Southern Morocco: Report of a Survey,” *The Maghreb Review* 8, 3-4 (1983): 61-69; idem, “The Zohar in Southern Morocco: A Study in the Ethnography of Texts,” *History of Religions* 29 (1990): 233-58; idem, “Potential Polities: Jewish Saints in the Moroccan Countryside and in Israel,” in *Faith and Polity: Essays on Religion and Politics*, ed. M. Bax, P. Kloos and A. Koster, 235-50 (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit University, 1992); “Customs of the Jews of Morocco,” *Morocco: Jews and Art in a Muslim Land*, ed. Vivian Mann Mann, 85-104 (London: Merrell Publishers in association with The Jewish Museum, New York, 2000).

colonial Morocco against the background of the larger Muslim society.²⁷ In the field of folklore, Yissachar Ben Ami collected and recorded and published a huge corpus of the popular traditions about the hundreds of venerated saints scattered throughout Morocco's over 200 urban and rural Jewish communities in Morocco, resulting in a massive tome, *Saint Veneration among the Jews in Morocco*.²⁸ While his book is largely uncritical of the oral testimonies he collected from mainly Moroccan Jews in Israel, his work both provided a kind of unfiltered data base on Moroccan Jewish traditions, and brought to light the significance of saint veneration in Moroccan Jewish practice.

Yoram Bilu's work takes a more analytical approach to the study of the phenomena of Moroccan saint veneration and its manifestation in Israel. An anthropologist and psychologist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who deploys both disciplines in his research, Bilu brought to attention how through the veneration of saints Moroccan Jewish ethnic identity was strengthened in Israel. He studies the phenomenon of the translocation of dead saints from Morocco to Israel, which frequently occurred when the *ṣaddiq* would request to take up residence in the home of the devotee, revealing himself in dreams. New saintly lineages were created in Israel that perpetuated and transformed cultural practice that began in Morocco. In *Without Bounds: The Life and Death of Rabbi Ya'aqov Wazana*, Bilu offers a cultural biography and psychological profile of Wazana, a healer from the High Atlas Mountains (born in Assarag) with powers to control the demonic underworld, transporting the reader from Israel back to Morocco through the saint's adherents in Israel.²⁹

Israeli ethnographic research on Moroccan Jews also studied how Muslim-Jewish relations in shaped Jewish cultural and religious praxis in both Morocco and Israel. A Moroccan born scholar who teaches at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, André Levy was the first Israeli anthropologist to conduct fieldwork among Jews in Morocco, where he studied the Jewish community of Casablanca in the 1990s for his doctoral research at the Hebrew

27. Shlomo A Doshen, *The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

28. Issachar Ben-Ami, *Ha-araṣat ha-qedoshim be-qerev Yehude Maroqo* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1984); the abridged English versions, *Saint Veneration among the Jews in Morocco* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998); see also, idem, *Le Judaïsme Marocain: Etudes ethno-culturelles* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1975) [in Hebrew and French].

29. Yoram Bilu, *Without Bounds: The Life and Death of Rabbi Ya'aqov Wazana* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000); idem, *The Saints' Impresarios: Dreamers, Healers, and Holy Men in Israel's Urban Periphery* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2010; original version in Hebrew was published in 2015); idem, "Dreams and the Wishes of the Saint," in *Judaism Viewed from Within and from Without: Anthropological Studies*, ed. Harvey E. Goldberg (Albany: State University of New York Press), 285-314.

University under the supervision of Harvey Goldberg and Yoram Bilu.³⁰ André Levy's research has focused on the ongoing pilgrimage and tourism circuit of Jews in Morocco, and the much diminished remaining Jewish community in Casablanca. Levy investigates the evolving relationship and meaning of homeland and diaspora, ethnicity, and memory.³¹

In other disciplines, religious thought, *halakhah*, mysticism and literature of Moroccan Jews have been major themes of research. These fields, based more on written texts than oral histories and traditions, have been less concerned with situating the cultural production of Moroccan Jews in the wider context of Moroccan society, and more interested in the internal workings of communal and religious life. The research, therefore, tends to be part of an effort to inscribe the religious heritage of Moroccan Jews into the master narrative of universal Judaism. One of the first studies on Moroccan Judaism that focused on the seventeenth century messianic Sabbatean movement in Morocco, was written by Elie Moyal, a Moroccan Jew who immigrated to Israel and who was active in the political life of the early State of Israel.³² The importance of the kabbalah in Morocco, especially from Fez, Dra'á and Tafilalt have been studied by a number of scholars. Moshe Hallamish has focused on North Africa, and Morocco in particular, as an important center for the development of kabbalah and kabbalistic writings and ideas after the expulsion from Spain.³³ Dan Manor has concentrated much of his scholarship on Kabbalah in Morocco, and wrote a monograph on the nineteenth century mystic from Tafilalt, Ya'aqov *Abuḥašira*, whose greatly venerated lineage is the subject of hagiological literature produced and disseminated in Israel.³⁴ In view of the role played by Moroccans in the expansion of kabbalah in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Palestine, Italy and London, and the interactions of Moroccan kabbalists with Lurianic kabbalah, the study of Moroccan kabbalists has been integrated into wider literature on Jewish

30. André Levy, "Jews among Muslims: Perceptions and Reactions to the End of Casablancon Jewish History," (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996).

31. André Levy, "The Diaspora that Turned into a Center: Contemporary Jews in Morocco" in *Homelands and Diasporas: Holy Lands and Other Places*, ed. André Levy and Alex Weingrod (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 68-96; idem, "To Morocco and Back;" idem, "Playing for Control of Distance: Card Games between Jews and Muslims on a Casablancon Beach," *American Ethnologist* 26, 3 (2000): 632-653.

32. Elie Moyal, *ha-Tenu'ah ha-Shabta'it be-Marokko: toldoteha u-meqoroteha* (Tel-Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1984).

33. Moshe Hallamish, *ha-Qabalah be-Şefon Afriqah le-min ha-me'ah ha-17: Seqirah historit ve-tarbutit* (Bnai Brak: ha-Qibuş ha-Me'uhad, 2001).

34. Dan Manor, *Qabalah u-musar be-Marokko: darko shel R. Ya'aqov Abiḥašira* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982); a recent compilation on the Abuḥašira family: Shlomo Mi'ara, *Ge'one mishpaḥat Abiḥašira: toldotehem, qorot ḥayehem u-morashtam le-dorot heḥel meha-me'ah ha-shesh 'esreh 'ad ha-me'ah ha-esrim*, 4 vols. (Haifa: Mekhon Me'or Yişḥaq, 2012).

mysticism by Israel's leading scholars on the Kabbalah: Moshe Idel and Rachel Elijor.³⁵

Morocco's very rich tradition and extensive corpus of liturgical poetry, *piyyut*, and music have also been important areas of research. Ephraim Hazan, Rachel Hitin-Mashiah, and Meyer Nizrit have written extensively about Moroccan poetry and *piyyut*.³⁶ David Hassine of eighteenth century Meknes, arguably the most influential of Moroccan poets, has been studied by scholars and is the subject of a film by Haim Shiran, an Israeli film maker originally from Meknes who has produced a number of films on Moroccan Jews, working with Israeli scholars, artists, and writers and bringing knowledge about Moroccan Jews into the public sphere.³⁷ Juliette Hassine, a specialist on Proust, also wrote an in depth study on Solika, a Jewish girl from Tangier whose execution in Fez in 1834 for apostasy from Islam produced a considerable number of poems and other texts.³⁸

There is also a generation of scholars educated and trained in Israel, mainly at the Hebrew University, who have devoted studies in the field of Jewish languages, specializing in the Maghreb. Born in Ksar es-Sūq, Moshe Bar Asher settled in Israel and studied and then taught at the Hebrew University. A specialist in Mishnaic Hebrew, Aramaic, and the language traditions of North African Jews, he has devoted some of his research to the linguistic culture of Jews in Algeria and Morocco.³⁹ Aharon Maman, born in Rich, Morocco, and Professor of Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University, has also specialized in the production of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic literature

35. Moshe Idel, "The Kabbalah in Morocco: A Survey," in *Morocco: Jews and Art in a Muslim Land*; Rachel Elijor, "The Kabbalists of Dra'a," *Pe'amim* 24 (1985): 36-73 [in Hebrew].

36. Ephraim Hazan, *ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Şefon Afriqah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1995); *Progress and Tradition: Creativity, Leadership and Acculturation Processes among the Jews of North Africa*, Moises Orfali and Ephraim Hazan (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 2005) [in Hebrew, with contributions in English and French]; Ephraim Hazan and Rachel Hitin-Mashiah, *Mi khamokha: piyuṭim meqomiyim be-qehilot Şefon Afriqah* (Beer-Sheva: Hoşa'at ha-sefarim shel Universitat Ben Gurion ba-Negev, 2012); Raphael Aharon Monsonego, Rachel Hitin-Mashiah, and Tamar Levi, *mi-Neot midbar: igrot meḥorazot* [from Neot Midbar: rhymed epistles of Rabbi Raphael Monsonego (Jerusalem: Ben-Avi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2010); Meyer Nizrit, *Shirat ha-Rama: ha-rav Refa'el Mosheh Elbaz: me-adrikhale ha-shirah ha-ivrit be-Maroko* (Jerusalem: ha-Merkaz le-leshonot ha-Yehudim u-sifruthem, ha-Universitat ha-Ivrit, 2012); *Qehilot Tafilalet/Sijilmassa: Ma'agal ha-Shanah* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2015).

37. *Tehila le-David* [In Praise of David], dir. Haim Shiran (1984), *Tehilah le-David: koveş shirato shel David Ben Hassine*, ed. Ephraim Hazan, and André E. Elbaz (Lod: Be-hoşa'at Orot Yahadut ha-Maghreb, 1999).

38. The book was published posthumously: Juliette Hassine, *Solikah ha-şadeqet harugat ha-malkhut* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2012).

39. Moshe Bar Asher, *Masorot ve-lashonot shel Yehude Şefon Afriqah* [Traditions and Languages of North African Jews] (Jerusalem: ha-Merkaz li-lashonot ha-Yehudim ve-sifruyotihen-ha-Universitat ha-Ivrit be-Yerushalayim, 1998).

of Moroccan Jews.⁴⁰ A number of scholars have also focused their research on Judeo-Spanish. Born in Tetuan, Yaakov Bentolila taught at Ben Gurion University and has researched Judeo-Spanish, including Haketia, a spoken Jewish language of Northern Morocco.⁴¹

Many of the different strands in the study of Moroccan Jewish culture, language and history have been brought together in the work of Joseph Chetrit of the University of Haifa. Trained in the field of linguistics, and specializing in sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics, Chetrit has been the central figure in Israel advancing scholarship on the language, culture, music and literature of Moroccan Jews based on both oral and written texts in Judeo-Arabic, French, Hebrew, and Judeo-Berber. Born in Tarudant and educated in the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Morocco and university in France, he began his academic career in the field of French linguistics. At the University of Haifa where he taught, he soon became involved in the preparatory program to integrate Israeli students at the university, many of whom were of Moroccan origin. This work, and concern for the advancement of disadvantaged students of the first generation of immigrants, propelled him in a new direction of research—the multidisciplinary study of the cultural life and history of North African, and especially Moroccan Jews, on which he has written and published extensively in Hebrew and French. A native Arabic speaker, he has undertaken extensive ethnographic research, not only among Jewish informants in Israel, Morocco, France and Canada, but also among Muslims in Morocco. He has excavated and discovered numerous written texts, some of which were hitherto unknown. His books and studies range from socio-pragmatic studies on Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, poetry and *piyyutim*, and proverbs of Moroccan Jews. Joseph Chetrit has also devoted himself to encouraging and promoting scholarship and knowledge on Moroccan Jewry in both the academy and Israeli public. He edited or co-edited *Miqqedem Umiyyam*, a journal on Middle Eastern and North African Jews published by the University of Haifa, with many studies devoted to Moroccan Jewry. He founded in 1978 and directs a musical group *Tsafon Ma'arav* [North West] affiliated to the University of Haifa, for which he has researched the musical repertoire. The group performs Andalusian and traditional Moroccan Jewish

40. Aharon Maman, *Mirqam leshonot ha-Yehudim bi-Şefon* Afriqah [The texture of Jewish languages in North Africa] Jerusalem: ha-Merkaz li-lashonot ha-Yehudim ve-sifruyotihen-ha-Universitah ha-İvrit be-Yerushalayim, 2014).

41. Yaakov Bentolila, "Le composant hebraïque dans le judéo-espagnol marocain," in *Judeo-Romance Languages*, ed. I. Benabu and J. Sermoneta (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Misgav Yerushalayim, 27-40); idem, "Le processus d'hispanisation de la hakétia à la lumière de quelques sources littéraires," in *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*, ed. F. Alvarez-Pereyre and J. Baumgarten (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003), 247-265. *La cultura judeo-española del norte de Marruecos* ed. Tamar Alexander-Frizer and Yaakov Bentolila (Beer-Sheva: Universidad Ben-Gurion del Negev, Sentro Moshe David Gaon de Kultura Djudeo-Espanyola, 2008).

music in various venues in Israel. He has recorded oral histories, poems, songs and proverbs in Judeo-Arabic on the cultural and communal life of Moroccan Jews in both urban and rural milieux.⁴²

An important institution that has contributed to the growth of Moroccan Jewish Studies and its dissemination in the public sphere is the Open University of Israel. Committed to a larger mission of expanding public education and pedagogy, the Open University admits students to degree programs without requiring matriculation degrees. Students take courses by “distance” learning, studying material produced by faculty on a range of subjects. Haim Saadoun, an historian specializing on the Jews of Tunisia and the Maghreb in the twentieth century (and among Michel Abitbol’s first doctoral students) has been a leader at the Open University in the study of Jewish communities in North Africa and the Middle East, and has edited and produced numerous books. He has edited a book series, *Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, which includes a volume on the history, culture, language, and arts of Moroccan Jews.⁴³

From the late 1970s through the 1980s, Yaron Tsur, a specialist on the early modern and modern history of the Maghreb, was the leading figure in developing curriculum on North African Jewish history at the Open University and integrating it into the study of modern Jewish history.⁴⁴ Since 1990, he has taught at Tel Aviv University and also founded and directed the Jews of

42. Joseph Chetrit, *The Written Judeo-Arabic Poetry in North-Africa: Poetic, Linguistic and Cultural Studies* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1994); idem, *Piyyut et Poésie hébraïque au Maroc: Etudes sur des poèmes et des poètes* (Jerusalem: Institut Bialik, 1999); idem, *Diglossie, Hybridation et Diversité intra-linguistique. Etudes socio-pragmatiques sur les langues juives, le judéo-arabe et le judéo-berbère* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2007); idem, *Trésors et textures d’une langue. Etudes socio-pragmatiques sur le judéo-arabe en Afrique du Nord et son composant hébraïque: articles, poèmes, récits et proverbes* (Jerusalem: Institut Bialik, 2009) [in Hebrew]; idem, *Parole exquises: Proverbes judéo-marocains sur la vie et la famille* (Waterloo, Belgium: Matanel Foundation, 2014) [in French, Judeo-Arabic, Arabic, Hebrew]; idem, *Paroles affables: Proverbes judéo-marocains sur l’hospitalité et l’amitié* (Waterloo, Belgium: Matanel Foundation, 2015) [in French, Judeo-Arabic, Arabic, Hebrew]; Joseph Chetrit, et al, *ha-Ḥatunah ha-yehudit ha-mesoratit be-Maroko: Parke ‘Iyun ve-te’ud* [Traditional Jewish Marriage in Morocco: Interpretative and Ethnographic Studies], a special issue of *Miqqedem Umiyyam VIII* (Haifa: The University of Haifa, 2003); on his research and publications, see the festschrift, *Ḥikrei Ma’arav U-Mizraḥ: Studies in Language, Literature and History Presented to Joseph Chetrit*, 2 vols., ed. Yosef Tobi and Dennis Kurzon (Jerusalem: Carmel Publishing, 2011), vol. 1, v-xxii.

43. *Morocco*, ed. Haim Saadoun (Jerusalem: Ministry of Education /Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2003) [in Hebrew]. The volume contains original articles written by some of the major figures in Moroccan Jewish Studies in Israel, as discussed above. Saadoun also contributed three chapters in the volume, on “The Jews in Independent Morocco,” “Zionism,” and “Aliyah.”

44. He co-authored a textbook on Casablanca was published, based particularly on the study and analysis of the press. Yaron Tsur and Hagar Hillel, *Yehude Qazablankah: ‘iyunim be-modernizašyah shel hanhaḡah yehudit bi-tefušah qolonyalit* [The Jews of Casablanca: A Study of Modernization in a Colonial Jewish Society] (Tel-Aviv: ha-Universitah ha-Petuḡa, 1995).

Islamic Countries-Archiving Project website⁴⁵ and the Jewish Historical Press website,⁴⁶ both invaluable resources and tools for researchers in Israel and worldwide. Tsur's research, critical of the more empirical, Zionist-nationalist, and under-theorized studies of the earlier generation of historians, has pushed scholarship in Israel on Moroccan Jewish history in new directions. His work on Morocco offers an important analysis on the social structure of the Jewish elites in relationship to the larger society. His path-breaking book, *Qehilah Qeru'a*, examines in depth the dynamic and overlapping ideological tendencies and identities that divided Moroccan Jews in the ten-year period following World War II.⁴⁷ Set against the history of colonialism, he has also examined issues related to the immigration of Moroccan Jews to Israel, critically challenging functionalist, Zionist and post-Zionist (or post-colonial) approaches to immigration of "Mizrahim" to Israel.⁴⁸ Tsur's work has contributed to a more critical, theoretically attuned scholarship on North African Jewish history in Israel, and has pointed towards new, interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Moroccan Jewish immigration in Israel.

Earlier scholarship on immigration of North African Jews to Israel was primarily focused on the adaptation to Israeli society. This was followed by studies on the emergence of ethnic culture and identity politics, often out of concern for and critical of the inequalities and discrimination evidenced by the ethnic divisions. Most of these studies were informed by anthropology, sociology, or political science, and for some since the 1990s, from post-modern, post-colonial, or post-Zionist perspectives. Henriette Dahan-Kalev, who teaches in the Gender Studies program at Ben-Gurion University, wrote her doctoral thesis in political science on "Wadi Salib and The Black Panthers-Implications on Israeli Society."⁴⁹ Dahan-Kalev writes critically on Israeli sociology of Moroccans in Israel, and autobiographically on her experience growing up as a Moroccan immigrant in Israel.⁵⁰

Historians have paid relatively little attention to immigration history of Moroccan Jews, despite the fact that they constituted the single largest group from any country in the formative years of the State of Israel. In conjunction with the historiographical advances in the study of immigration to Israel, a

45. <http://mayaeh.tau.ac.il>.

46. <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/JPress/Hebrew/Pages/default.aspx>.

47. Yaron Tsur, *Qehila Qeru'a: Yehude Maroqo ve-ha-le'umiyut, 1943-1954* [A Torn Community: The Jews of Morocco and Nationalism, 1943-1954] (Tel Aviv: ha-'Amutah le-ḥeker ma'arkhot ha-ha'apala 'a'sh Sha'ul Avigor; Universitat Tel Aviv, 'Am 'Oved: 2001).

48. Idem, "Carnival Fears: Moroccan Immigrants and the Ethnic Problem in the Young State of Israel," *The Journal of Israeli History* 18, 1 (1997): 73-103.

49. Henriette Dahan-Kalev, "Wadi Salib and The Black Panthers-Implications on Israeli Society," (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992).

50. idem, "Ḥeker ha-mizrahit b-soṣiyologiyah ha-yisra'elit-ha-Maroka'im be-"miqreh" shel ha-miqreh, *Pe'amim* 108; "You're So Pretty-You Don't Look Moroccan" *Israel Studies* 6, 1 (2001), 1-14

new generation has begun to write on the immigration history of Moroccan Jews to Israel. Avi Picard, who teaches at Bar-Ilan University, wrote his 2004 doctorate at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev on the politics of immigration and absorption of North African, and especially, Moroccan immigrants to Israel in the 1950s, the subject of his book published in 2013.⁵¹

While Picard primarily focuses on Israeli immigration policies vis-à-vis Moroccan Jews, and the social history of Moroccan immigrants once they arrived in Israel, Aviad Moreno, whose father immigrated to Israel from Tangier, casts his net wider, focusing on *emigration* rather *immigration*, and thus analyzes the Moroccan and global context for the migration of Moroccan Jews. His 2014 doctoral dissertation, “Ethnicity in Motion: Social Networks in the Emigration of Jews from Northern Morocco to Venezuela and Israel, 1860-2010,” departs from much of the existing scholarship on modern Moroccan Jews, which explains the emigration of Moroccan Jews primarily in terms of nationalism and Aliyah. Moreno decenters the Zionist narrative by studying the wider and longer process of ethnicity and migration, which begins in the latter half of the XIXth century with migration of Moroccan Jews to Latin America, and continues through the colonial and post-independence periods. Moroccan Jewish immigration to Israel is thus understood and situated in terms of a longer process of migration in which the interplay between Israel and their place of origin was essential for the construction of ethnicity.⁵²

Until the 1970s, Moroccan Jewish Studies in Israel was excluded in the curriculum of secular and religious institutions, schools and universities. As scholars and specialists on the Jews of North Africa came to occupy an increasingly central place in academic life and in the religious institutions of Israel, encouraged by the support of the Ministry of Education and other governmental agencies, Moroccan Jewish studies has become an integral part of the cultural and intellectual life of Israel. As a field of study, however, there remain underlying tensions and different purposes between traditionalist religious and secular scholars and their institutions, between public and governmental investment in the subject and the aims of scholars, between the generation of researchers born in Morocco and those born in Israel, and between critical and theoretically attuned scholarship and writings

51. Avi Picard. *Olim bi-mesurah: medinyut Yisra'el qelape 'aliyatam shel Yehude Şefon Afriqah, 1951-1956* [Cut to measure: Israel's policies regarding the Aliyah of North African Jews, 1951-1956] (Sde Boker: Mekhon Ben-Gurion le-ḥeḳer Yisra'el yeha-Şiyonut, Universiṭat Ben Gurion ba-Negev, 2013).

52. Aviad Moreno, “Ethnicity in Motion: Social Networks in the Emigration of Jews from Northern Morocco to Venezuela and Israel, 1860-2010,” (Ph.D. diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2014); he also wrote a monograph as a special supplement to *Pe'amim*, entitled: *Europe from Morocco: The Minutes of the Leadership of Tangier's Jewish Community (the Junta), 1860-1864* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2015) [in Hebrew].

in which the primary purpose is the preservation of cultural heritage. The disproportionately small number of women in Moroccan Jewish studies and their relative absence from Israeli academic institutions also points to the patriarchal legacy of traditionalists among scholars of Moroccan Jewry, and the gap in Israel between Moroccan Jewish studies and other fields of study in Israeli academia. Whether the perpetuation and the remaking of a Moroccan Jewish ethnic identity in Israel will encourage or detract from the advancement of critical scholarship in Moroccan Jewish studies for future generations of Israelis is a matter of speculation.

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ملخص: الدراسات اليهودية المغربية في إسرائيل

كانت الدراسات الأولى التي تناولت موضوع تاريخ اليهود المغاربة في إسرائيل إثر الهجرة الجماعية التي شهدتها سنوات الخمسين خلال القرن الماضي من اختصاصات علماء الأنثروبولوجيا ممن اهتموا بالتركيز على دراسة الجوانب ذات الصلة بتكيف الوافدين الجدد مع الحياة في المجتمع الإسرائيلي. وكانت معظم الكتابات العلمية حول اليهود المغاربة من اختصاص الحاخامات ورجال الدين التقليديين خارج الحيز الأكاديمي. وبدأت الدراسات اليهودية المغربية تحظى بالاهتمام في الجامعات الإسرائيلية والمؤسسات الأكاديمية في أواخر السبعينيات وخاصة في حقول التاريخ والأنثروبولوجيا والثقافة الشعبية أو الفولكلور. وبموازاة مواصلة الدراسات الدينية التقليدية اهتمامها بالموضوع، اتجهت دراسات

اليهودية المغربية نحو احتلال مكانة مركزية متزايدة في الجامعات الإسرائيلية في مجالات الفكر الديني، والهاالاخا والكابالا واللغات والأدب والموسيقى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهاالاخا، معهد بن زفي، مزراحي (م)، الهيلولة، الكابالا.

Résumé: Etudes juives marocaines en Israël

Les premières études sur les juifs marocains en Israël qui ont suivi l'immigration de masse des années 1950 ont été faites par des anthropologues qui se sont concentrés sur les immigrants s'adaptant à la vie dans la société israélienne. La plupart des écrits savants sur les juifs marocains étaient faits par des rabbins et des savants religieux traditionnels en dehors de l'académie. Les études juives marocaines ont commencé à se développer dans les universités et les établissements universitaires israéliens à partir de la fin des années 1970, en particulier dans l'histoire, l'anthropologie et le folklore. Alors que l'érudition religieuse traditionnelle se poursuit, le judaïsme marocain occupe une place plus centrale dans les universités israéliennes dans les domaines de la pensée religieuse, de la halakhah, de la kabbale, des langues, de la littérature et de la musique.

Mots clés: Halakhah, Institut Ben-Zvi, Mizrahi (m), hillulah, Kaballah

Abstract: Moroccan Jewish Studies in Israel

The first studies on Moroccan Jews in Israel that followed the mass immigration of the 1950s, were by anthropologists focusing on immigrants adjusting to life in Israeli society. Most scholarly writings on Moroccan Jews were by rabbis and traditional religious scholars outside the academy. Moroccan Jewish studies began to develop in Israeli universities and academic institutions from the late 1970s, especially in history, anthropology and folklore. While traditional religious scholarship continued, Moroccan Judaism grew to occupy a more central place in Israeli universities in the fields of religious thought, halakhah, kabbalah, languages, literature, and music.

Key words: Halakhah, Ben-Zvi Institute, Mizrahi (m), hillulah, kaballah.

Resumen: Estudios marroquíes judíos en Israel

Los primeros estudios sobre los judíos marroquíes en Israel que siguieron a la inmigración masiva de los años cincuenta, fueron realizados por antropólogos centrados en la adaptación de los inmigrantes a la vida en la sociedad israelí. La mayoría de los escritos académicos sobre los judíos marroquíes fueron hechos por rabinos y eruditos religiosos tradicionales fuera de la academia. Los estudios judíos marroquíes comenzaron a desarrollarse en las universidades e instituciones académicas israelíes a partir de finales de los años 70, especialmente en la historia, la antropología y el folklore. Mientras que la erudición religiosa tradicional continuó, el judaísmo marroquí creció para ocupar un lugar más central en las universidades israelíes en los campos del pensamiento religioso, halakhah, kabbalah, idiomas, literatura, y música.

Palabras clave: Halakhah, Instituto Ben-Zvi, Mizrahi (m), hillulah Kaballah.