

## **Academic Research on Moroccan Judaism: Historiography, Sources and Archives**

**Jamaâ Baida**

Archives du Maroc, Rabat.

### **Introduction**

Before its independence in 1956, Morocco was a country divided between French and Spanish colonial powers, in addition to an international authority, which administered the city of Tangiers. When the country finally recovered its independence, there was in the Moroccan political arena an overwhelming desire to reunify the different Moroccan territories. As such, the concept of “unity” became almost sacred in the lexicon of political leaders of the time. A poignant example of this aspiration for unity was the “Road of Unity,” an enterprise launched by Istiqlal leader Mehdi Ben Barka to bridge former French and Spanish occupation Northern zones by mobilizing youth.

Amid this enthusiasm for independence, the temptation to have a single party was strong, especially with the Istiqlal Party, which was the main political force and became even stronger when it merged with the National Reforms Party of Abdelkhaleq Torrès, the most important national party of the northern zone.

The Nasserist Revolution in Egypt in 1952, followed by the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956, further contributed in stimulating these nationalist slogans calling for unity in Morocco, simultaneously disdaining any minority claims to political agency, whether regional, political, or religious. In this context, for instance, Berber claims immediately would have been accused of reviving the Berber *Dahir* of 1930. Other regional projects, such as that of the Rif in 1958/59, were simply accused of being an attempt to foment secessionism, while any cultural claim made by Jews would have been perceived similarly as a Zionist attempt to undermine Morocco’s national unity.

The discourse on homogenization and unity was so dominant in the country that even some Moroccan Jews raised their voices to support the movement. Joe Ohana, who created the *Mouvement national marocain* (National Moroccan Movement) called for the complete abolition of the “community councils, community committees, and generally of any secessionist devices, which hold the main responsibility for the isolation of Jews in the Moroccan nation as well as for abrogating the *dahirs* of 1918

and 1945.”<sup>1</sup> In the same vein, David Berdugo opposed the idea of having too many Jewish institutions in Morocco, which he perceived as a sort of “Jewish Kingdom” within the Cherifian Empire—a “state within the state.” According to him, all these institutions, which had not been created by the Jewish people for their own benefit, were instead the outcome of a policy conducted by the colonial regime meant to divide the country. As that colonial regime had since collapsed, it was therefore necessary for the Jewish community to fully integrate back into the national body.

Created in 1957 to replace the former Moroccan Institute of Advanced Studies (Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines), Mohammed V University did not escape these dynamics. For a significant period of time, academic publications referenced works and articles inherited from colonial historiography. This includes articles from *Archives Marocaines*, *Hespéris*, and many publications from individuals such as Jules Goulven,<sup>2</sup> Pierre Flamand,<sup>3</sup> among others.<sup>4</sup>

This batch of material, roughly produced between 1912 and 1956, focused on housing, languages, traditions, and customs. However, as André Adam notes, “perhaps there was too much emphasis on what differentiated the Jewish community from the Muslim community, or even on what opposed them, whereas the civilizational common core that they shared was not sufficiently explained.”<sup>5</sup> I will not review here the ideological motives of the colonial historiography dedicated to Judaism; Mohammed Kenbib has already tackled this topic brilliantly in a 1989 article published in *Recherches sur l’histoire du Maroc: Esquisse et bilan*.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to stress that such colonial historiography, in spite of its lack of neutrality, had and still has great importance, even if it was marginalized—if not openly attacked—in post-independence Morocco.

1. Joe Ohana, “Conscience nationale,” *Maroc-Presse* November 22, 1955.

2. Jules Goulven, “Esquisse historique sur les mellahs de Rabat-Salé,” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie du Maroc* (1922): 11-41; idem, *Les mellahs de Rabat-Salé* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927).

3. Pierre Flamand, “Quelques renseignements statistiques sur la population israélite du sud marocain,” *Hespéris* XXXVII (1950): 363-397; idem, *Les communautés israélites du Sud-Marocain: Essai de description et d’analyse de la vie juive en milieu berbère* (Casablanca: imprimeries réunies, 1959); idem, *Un mellah en pays berbère* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1952)

4. Y. D. Sémach, “Une chronique juive de Fès: Le ‘Yahas Fès’ de Ribbi Abner Has-sarfaty,” *Hespéris* XIX (1934): 79-94; idem, “Un Rabbin voyageur marocain,” *Hespéris* VIII (1928): 385-99; Abraham Isaac Laredo, “Les Purim de Tanger,” *Hespéris* XXXV (1948): 193-203; Georges Vajda, “Un recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains,” *Hespéris* XXXV (1948): 311-358; XXXVI (1949): 139-188.

5. André Adam, *Bibliographie critique de sociologie, d’ethnographie et de géographie humaine du Maroc* (Alger: Mémoires du C.P.R.A.P.E., 1972).

6. Mohammed Kenbib, “Recherches sur les Relations judéo-musulmanes au Maroc: Esquisse et bilan,” in *Recherches sur l’histoire du Maroc: Esquisse et bilan*, eds. Mohammed El Mansour et al., 35-50 (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1989).

### Re-appropriation of the Jewish dimension in historical research

Among the factors that hindered Moroccan academics' re-appropriation of the Jewish dimension in the country's history and identity include The Six-Day War and its repercussions in the Middle East, as well the emigration of an important part of Moroccan Jewry for political, economic, and security reasons. It was only in the mid-1970s that significant work on Moroccan Judaism began to take place. Quiet occurrences of this shift could be seen in historical research, as a new generation of historians preferred the monographic approach over what is known in Morocco as "nationalist" history; that is, research whose methods are actually closer to memoir than to history. With the production of regional monographs that favor a socioeconomic approach inspired by the methods of the French school of *Annales*, Moroccans were able to realize the extent to which the Jewish element was essential to understanding the country's development. Many high-quality monographs in the wake of Ahmed Tawfiq's thesis on *Inoultane*<sup>7</sup> (supervised by Germain Ayache) realized in-depth studies in local private archives, complementing this focused research with documents from the *Makhzen* and from foreign collections. All these studies, which have now covered nearly all parts of Morocco, began to recognize Jewish communities as an essential component of Moroccan history.

Equally crucial in this process of stimulating regional monographs and a pluralist historiography was the gradual decentralization of Moroccan universities, which resulted in the creation of many humanities schools and departments around the country (often with deans who were academic historians). Indeed, this era of research, which began in the mid-1970s, continues to have vestiges even today, as doctoral theses focusing on specific regions are still occasionally defended in one of Morocco's fifteen universities. Almost all of these studies now concern the history of Moroccan Judaism as firmly embedded within the social, economic, and cultural apparatus of the country. In addition to the academic production of these regional monographs, thematic monographs (i.e. concerning architecture, journalism, currency, etc.) have also enabled historians to consider Moroccan Judaism in relation to a variety of research topics.

Besides these efforts, some scholars—often doctoral students—have been directly involved in the production of studies on Moroccan Judaism. This research activity has resulted in many high-quality dissertations on the Jewish people and their relationship with other Moroccan communities.

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7. Ahmed Tawfiq, *al-Mujtama' al-Maghribi fi al-Qarn al-Tasi'a 'Ashar: 'Inūltāne (1850-1912)* (al-Ribāt: Manshūrāt kulliyat al-'ādāb wa al-'ulūm al-'insāniyya, silsilat rasā'il wa 'utrūhāt, raqm 63, 1983).

Unfortunately, not all of these works have been published.<sup>8</sup> This particular wave of scholarship began with the pioneering works of Mohammed Kenbib, especially the publication of his book *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc*<sup>9</sup> by the School of Humanities of Rabat in 1994 and *Les Protégés*<sup>10</sup> in 1996. These publications genuinely symbolize a new threshold in scholarship on Judaism in Morocco. Even though these two works were the outcome of separate theses defended in a French university, their publication in Morocco under as prestigious a public institution as the School of Humanities of Rabat enabled Moroccan historians to overcome their hesitations and enter into an academic field that is far from having revealed all of its secrets.

Obviously, this evolution must be considered within its political setting. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Morocco under King Hassan II committed to enact new democratic political reforms, which expanded, though timidly, the extent of individual and collective freedoms. This policy change resulted in an unprecedented interest in identity particularisms, especially that of Berber and Jewish identities. These two groups were considered not as parties of division, but rather as a heritage of national cultural prosperity. It is in this context that the School of Humanities of Rabat hosted the 1995 conference “Ethnic and Religious Minorities in the Arab-Islamic World.” The proceedings of this conference were published in an issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda* in 1999. Among the guest speakers and authors were Abraham Udovitch, Lucette Valensi, Simon Lévy, Mercedes Garcia Arenal, Bernard Rosenberger,<sup>11</sup> Khalid Ben-Srhir,<sup>12</sup> Jamaâ Baïda,<sup>13</sup>

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8. As examples of unpublished theses, we may mention some works in Arabic: Abdellah Larhmaid, *Jamā'āt yahūd Sūs: al-majāl wa al-tamathulāt al-ijtimā'iyya wa al-siyyāsiyya, 1860-1960*,” utrūḥat duktūrāh fī al-ttārīkh al-mu'āšir, kulliyyat al 'ādāb wa al 'ulūm al-insāniyya, al-Ribāt, 2002. Larhmaid's dissertation has been published in 2016 under the following title: Abdellah Larhmaid, *Yahūd Mantaqat Sūs. Dirāsa fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-'Ijtimā'i* (al-Ribāt: Dār Abī Raqrāq, 2016); Mohamed Bourrass, “al-aḥzāb al-wataniya wa al-yahūd al-maghāriba bayna tatawur al-awḍā' al-ddākiliya wa 'aṣḍā' al-qaḍiyya al-filistiniyya 1934-1967,” utrūḥat duktūrāh fī al-ttārīkh al-mu'āšir, kulliyyat al 'ādāb wa al 'ulūm al-insāniyya, al-Ribāt, 2004; and Mohammed Hatimi, “al-Jamā'āt al-yahūdiyya al-Maghrebiyya wa al-khiyār al-ṣa'b bayna nidā' al-ṣahyūniyya wariḥān al-Maghreb al-mustaqil 1947-1961,” utrūḥat duktūrāh al-ddawla fī al-ttārīkh al-mu'āšir, kulliyyat al 'ādāb wa al 'ulūm al-insāniyya, Fās Sāyis, 2007.

9. Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc (1859-1948). Contribution à l'histoire des relations inter-communautaires en terre d'Islam* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1994).

10. Mohammed Kenbib, *Les protégés: contribution à l'histoire contemporaine du Maroc* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1996).

11. B. Rosenberger, “Les Juifs au Maroc dans la première moitié du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 113-161.

12. Khalid Ben-Srhir, “Présentation d'un document inédit sur le Mellah de Marrakech à la fin du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 163-170.

13. Jamaâ Baida, “La Presse Juive au Maroc entre les deux guerres,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 171-190.

Mohammed Kenbib,<sup>14</sup> and Edmond Amran El Maleh.<sup>15</sup> Besides this particular effort to promote a piece of Moroccan history that had been disregarded up to that point, it is also worth mentioning the contributions of Ahmed Chahlane and his students in their research group “Oriental Studies.”<sup>16</sup> All of this is to say that the topic of minorities—in particular, the Jewish minority—finally found a welcoming context as an academic interest shared with many foreign scholars.

It is also in this same period that the Moroccan Judaism Studies and Research Group was created in Mohammed V University (GREJM, based on the French initials).<sup>17</sup> GREJM was established in 1997 in the School of Humanities of Rabat at the initiative of a small group of scholars coordinated by Jamaâ Baïda. The purpose of this group was to promote Morocco’s cultural, historical, and linguistic diversity by putting a special emphasis on studies of Moroccan Judaism since these Jews were an essential component of Moroccan heritage that had not received the interest that they deserved in the national academic sphere. GREJM’s total of six publications, as well as its research round tables, formed a critical locus to expand on the historical reflection of Moroccan Judaism. This group is currently in a state of “lethargy” since its coordinator, Jamaâ Baïda, has been called to perform other administrative tasks. However, by the point of its hiatus, the group had already contributed to increase research interest on Moroccan Judaism in academic circles.

This wave of interest, which started from Rabat, has certainly spread its influence on general Moroccan historiography in one way or another. In any event, it is worth mentioning that the section on Moroccan Judaism in an edited volume by the Royal Institute for Research on Moroccan History is a novelty that must be highlighted. This text was published in 2011, the same year when other countries in the region were shaken by Arab Spring and when Morocco adopted a constitution which both recognized Berber as the second official language and emphasized that the country’s unity was enriched by many sources, especially Hebrew culture. This might seem to be a trivial reference, but it actually symbolizes an unprecedented step whose deep implications have not escaped careful observers.

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14. Mohammed Kenbib, “Les juifs du Maroc pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale. La phase 1939-1942,” *Hesperis-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 191-205.

15. Edmond Amran El Maleh, “Témoignage d’une expérience: le parcours d’un Juif marocain,” *Hesperis-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 207-213.

16. Ahmed Chahlane, Coord., *Écritures Orientales, éthiques littérature mysticismes et religion* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 2007).

17. GREJM: Groupe de Recherches et d’Études sur le Judaïsme Marocain.

In reality, all these events constitute the culmination of a lengthy process in which academic research has had an undeniable, if subtle, contribution. Of course, we must recognize that academic research does not typically make newspaper headlines, except when journalists see some controversial element in it. An example of this usually exceptional attention by the media was conference held in Essaouira in 2010 on the topic of minorities. This conference had resounding echoes in the Moroccan press because of the presence among foreign guests of Israeli scholars. Against all odds, the conference still took place, and its proceedings were published in 2012 as a three-volume work entitled *La bienvenue et l'adieu. Migrants juifs et musulmans au Maghreb, XV<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Welcome and Farewell: Jewish and Muslim Migrants in the Maghreb, XV-XX<sup>th</sup> Centuries). The work was eventually presented at the XVIII<sup>th</sup> International Publishing and Book Fair in Casablanca and was dedicated to Simon Lévy, the recently deceased director of Casablanca's Museum of Moroccan Judaism and author of the seminal "Essaid'histoire et de civilisation judéo-marocaine"<sup>18</sup> (Essay on Jewish-Moroccan History and Civilization), whose preface was written by the Berber/Amazigh activist Mohammed Chafik.

This museum, which opened in 1977, is unique in the Arab world, as its collections are a mirror reflecting the history, religion, and traditions of Moroccan Jews and contain objects of great educational value for all Moroccan youth. Indeed, one could see the museum's pedagogical role as complementary to the historical research burgeoning in the universities. The museum's name remains linked to the late Professor Lévy, who was such an important activist for Moroccan Judaism that King Mohammed VI sent a letter of condolence to Lévy's family upon his death that praised his "noble human values" and "nationalist spirit." At Lévy's funeral, the procession included important figures from vastly different political backgrounds, such as Leila Shahid, representative of the Palestinian Authority to the European Union, and Abdelilah Benkirane, the recently appointed Islamist Prime Minister. This funeral constituted a crucial moment which did not fail to arouse the interest of both the national and international press, particularly among the many observers who were monitoring the attitude of the Justice and Development Party (PJD) against minority groups. When Abdelilah Benkirane received Serge Berdugo, head of the Council of the Jewish Community in Morocco, after parliamentary elections, the February 12, 2012, digital version of *The Jewish Chronicle* of London was quick to appear with the headline "In Morocco, Islamist and Jew have Embraced." Lévy's funeral was another such moment of plurality, ultimately shedding light on the social and political

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18. Simon Lévy, *Essai d'histoire et de civilisation judéo-marocaines* (Rabat: Éditions Centre Tarik Ibn Ziyad, 2001).

impact that academic research can have—here, the media suddenly discovered the presence of scholars who have devoted their life to the writing of a plural history of Morocco.

Besides Lévy, other scholars of Moroccan Judaism have passed away in recent years, such as Germain Ayache, Abraham Serfaty, and Edmond Amran El Maleh. With each death, other historians of Moroccan Judaism have realized that, as paradoxical as it may sound, these losses provide a privileged opportunity to strongly reiterate the absolute need to promote the integral presence of a Jewish heritage within Moroccan identity. We have certainly experienced this phenomenon with all of the deceased mentioned above. Every death was followed by symbolic celebrations and/or academic conferences held as a tribute to their memories. For instance, after Germain Ayache passed away, two conferences were organized and two books were published.<sup>19</sup> Yet, among all the aforementioned individuals, is certainly Edmond Amran El Maleh who has received the lion's share of posthumous attention. El Maleh, who donated his entire personal library to the National Library of Morocco, including his paintings and even his coat, his hat, and his walking stick, chose to be buried in the old Jewish cemetery of Essaouira, a city once inhabited by a sizeable Jewish community. Per his will, El Maleh's name was inscribed on the gravestone in Hebrew, Tifinagh (Berber alphabet), Arabic and Latin scripts, which was meant to symbolize the Moroccan ideal that intellectuals such as El Maleh should be singular and plural at the same time.

Nonetheless, we should not believe that the path to this ideal has not met any obstacles. For instance, we have mentioned above the pressure exercised by some reactionary circles during the great conference held in Essaouira in March 2010. Still, Morocco's universities remain a bulwark against such obscurantism, fueled by the pioneering work of intellectuals like Lévy, Ayache, and El Maleh. The university continues, as in the past, to fully undertake its responsibility through research. We thus conclude by looking forward, raising some issues related to sources and archives that are the necessary foundation for any future, innovative research in Moroccan Judaism and its history:

1- Academic works on Moroccan Judaism should theoretically refer to a fairly exhaustive bibliography in various languages. Such a research base, which is highly desirable, is however problematic nowadays because

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19. Aomar Afa, ed. *Mémorial Germain Ayache: Dirāsāt Tārīkhiyya Muhdāt li al-Faqīd Germain Ayache* (Al-Ribāt: Manshūrāt kulliyat al-'ādāb wa al-'ulūm al-'insāniyya, 1994); Abderrahman El Moudden et Abdelaziz Bel Fayda, coord. *Germain Ayache, l'historien et le militant* (Rabat: Publications de l'Association Marocaine pour la Recherche Historique, 2015).

of the arrival of a generation of monolingual students to Moroccan public universities. These students constitute the outcome of an Arabization policy which has reduced the study of foreign languages, and this situation has had a negative impact on most academic works realized in recent years. Fortunately, Arabic translations of some studies on Moroccan Judaism have at least allowed these students to learn about a piece of their own history.

2- This same issue is true for manuscript sources. Earlier academic works explored archival documents from the Makhzen and from private collections, using them in conjunction with archives from Morocco, France, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, and elsewhere (cf. Kenbib's thesis, for example). Currently, we regret—except in certain cases—the absence of greater access to these foreign archives. This issue is partly due to monolingualism, but it also has financial and logistical causes linked to the relative immobility of young scholars outside of their country (travel costs, visas, etc.)

3- To overcome this problem, the creation of the Archives du Maroc, which was inaugurated in spring 2011, is meant to allow scholars and researchers access to primary source materials that are needed for their work. This organization strives to allow access to archives ranging chronologically from the Protectorate to more recent inventories. However, it should be noted that these collections suffer from a lack of sources related to Moroccan Judaism specifically. These types of documents were considered to be “sensitive” when Morocco achieved its independence and were transferred to France, where they can now be accessed either in the Center of Diplomatic Archives in La Courneuve or in the Diplomatic Archives Center in Nantes. Since 2013, many official attempts have been undertaken to recover a digital version of these documents (as was the case with The Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C.). However, these attempts ultimately failed, allegedly because the CNIL (the National Commission on Informatics and Liberty, the institution in charge of the protection of personal data in France) would not grant authorization.

4- Since we were not able to access the French diplomatic archives, similar attempts were undertaken with the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Universal Jewish Alliance) in Paris, which houses a thriving archive in terms of reports of instructors and school directors who were part of the Alliance's network covering nearly all Morocco, thus constituting a major source of information about Moroccan Judaism in the late XIX<sup>th</sup> century and early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Archives du Maroc officially requested a digital version of this collection, which, if granted, would not have incurred any additional cost to the organization. Symbolically, this endeavor was appropriate because it took place right after the Moroccan constitution of 2011 that considered Hebrew

culture as an essential aspect of Morocco's history and heritage. However, the request was no more successful than the one made to the French Diplomatic Archives. Such logistical restrictions definitely are not helpful for the desire of Moroccan universities to maintain their research momentum on Moroccan Judaism.

Hopefully, however, these obstacles will disappear sooner or later. Among modernist forces in Morocco, there continues to exist the political will necessary to make Moroccan universities a space for research which reflects the country's diversity and gives its many cultural, political, religious, and linguistic components their rightful place in its history.

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### ملخص: الأبحاث الأكاديمية حول اليهودية المغربية: الإستوغرافيا والمصادر

بعد استقلال المغرب سنة 1956، ركزت الإستوغرافيا المحلية أساسا على موضوعات وطنية، وهو مجال استأثرت فيه الذاكرة بالاهتمام أكثر من التاريخ. ولذلك كادت الموضوعات الدراسية حول اليهودية المغربية أن تكون مهملة على وجه التقريب من قبل الباحثين. واستمر هذا الوضع حتى منتصف سبعينيات القرن الماضي حيث أصبح العنصر اليهودي ينظر إليه كجزء من الدراسات ذات الأهمية البالغة في التاريخ الاقتصادي والاجتماعي. ومنذ ذلك الحين، تم إحراز تقدم كبير في تأسيس اليهودية المغربية كمكون من تاريخ البلاد. وتهدف هذه الورقة إلى استعراض البحوث الأكاديمية المتعلقة باليهودية المغربية، مع الحرص على رصد تطورها في سياقاته الصحيحة والإشارة إلى الصعوبات المطروحة حول الوصول إلى المصادر والأرشيفات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اليهود، المغرب، الأرشيف، الإستوغرافية، الهجرة،

البحث الأكاديمي.

**Résumé: La recherche académique sur le judaïsme marocain: Historiographie, sources et archives.**

Au lendemain de l'Indépendance, le judaïsme marocain n'y a presque pas retenu l'attention des chercheurs. Il a fallu attendre le milieu des années soixante-dix pour remarquer, dans le cadre de l'approche monographique, que l'élément juif était incontournable dans l'histoire économique et sociale du pays. Depuis lors, des progrès notables ont été réalisés dans l'appropriation par l'historiographie du judaïsme marocain comme une composante de l'histoire du Maroc. Dans le présent article, il s'agit de faire l'état des lieux de la recherche académique sur le judaïsme marocain en la mettant dans son contexte et en pointant ses difficultés et perspectives en liaison avec la question d'accès aux sources et archives.

**Mots clés:** Historiographie, migration, Juifs, Maroc, recherche académique, archives, sources.

**Abstract: Academic Research on Moroccan Judaism: Historiography, Sources and Archives**

Following Morocco's independence (1956), the country's historiography essentially focused on nationalist topics, a field in which memory was more important than history. Thus, topics revolving around Moroccan Judaism were almost completely neglected by scholars. This situation persisted until the mid-1970s, when, as part of the monographic approach, the Jewish element became seen as more essential in economic and social history. Since then, significant progress has been made in the incorporation of Moroccan Judaism as a component of the country's history. This paper aims to make an account of academic research on Moroccan Judaism, putting its evolution into context and pointing out difficulties and perspectives in connection with the issue of access to sources and archives.

**Key words:** Historiography, migration, Jews, Morocco, academic research, archives, sources.

**Resumen: Investigación académica sobre el judaísmo marroquí: historiografía, fuentes y archivos**

Después de la independencia de Marruecos (1956), la historiografía del país se centró esencialmente en temas nacionalistas, un campo en el que la memoria era más importante que la historia. Así, los temas que giraban alrededor del judaísmo marroquí fueron casi completamente descuidados por los estudiosos. Esta situación persistió hasta mediados de los años setenta,

cuando, como parte del enfoque monográfico, el elemento judío se vio como más esencial en la historia económica y social. Desde entonces, se ha logrado un progreso significativo en la incorporación del judaísmo marroquí como un componente de la historia del país. Este trabajo pretende hacer un relato de la investigación académica sobre el judaísmo marroquí, poniendo su evolución en contexto y señalando dificultades y perspectivas en relación con el tema del acceso a fuentes y archivos.

**Palabras clave:** Historiografía, migración, Judíos, Marruecos, investigación académica, archivos, fuentes.