

Jews of Morocco and the Maghreb: History and Historiography

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Introduction

In 1978, Germain Ayache, the Moroccan Jewish historian and one of the founders of the Moroccan Communist Party, described the state of research on Moroccan Judaism after years of emigration. G. Ayache acknowledged the challenge of historical research on Moroccan Jews within Moroccan universities during the post-colonial period. In order to limit these ideological and methodological obstacles, he postulated that:

Quant au partage entre deux équipes, celle du Maroc et celle de l'étranger, il est apparemment, en bonne logique, assez facile à faire. A celle de l'étranger constitué de juifs, revient l'étude de tout ce qui, dans la communauté, se perçoit du dedans: rapports sociaux, institutions, rituels, mentalités, arts et littérature. Un remarquable fruit de cette orientation nous est déjà fourni grâce aux travaux de Zafrani. Quant à la position de la communauté dans la société marocaine et aux rapports entre marocains, juifs et musulmans, l'équipe de l'intérieur sera sans doute la mieux placée pour les décrire et les analyser correctement.¹

Thirty-six years after this recommendation, Brahim Boutaleb, a former dean of the Faculty of Letters in Rabat, and an eminent Moroccan historian who supervised many theses on Moroccan contemporary history makes this pertinent observation about studies related to Moroccan Jewry:

La page judaïque de l'histoire du Maroc commence à peine à être écrite. Ce qui en est écrit, cependant, montre qu'elle est enfouie au plus profond de notre histoire, qu'elle y est très étendue et de ce fait complexe pour ne pas dire compliquée. Elle est si bien enfouie qu'on ne sait, avec certitude, en dater le commencement. Elle est si étendue qu'on en trouve les traces à toutes les étapes et à tous les niveaux de la géographie et de la société marocaines. Elle est complexe parce qu'elle est difficile

1. Germain Ayache, "La recherche au Maroc sur l'histoire du Judaïsme marocain," in *Juifs du Maroc: Identité et dialogue. Actes du colloque international sur la communauté juive marocaine: vie culturelle, histoire, sociale et évolution*. Paris, décembre 18-21, 1978, 31-35 (Paris: La Pensée Sauvage, 1980).

à lire, non seulement à cause de la rareté et de la dispersion des archives mais aussi en raison des retombées de la colonisation et de ce qui se passe en Palestine. De grands travaux de recherche ont commencé à en éclairer des passages entiers, menés par des plumes marocaines et étrangères, celles de feu Haïm Zaafrani, et celles de ... Mohammed Kenbib ou Daniel Schroeter par exemple.²

This special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda* reflects a moment in the historiography of Jews in Morocco—and the Maghreb more broadly—that is unprecedented so far in the history of this field.³ The number of scholars, both senior and junior, who are engaging in new and innovative research on Maghrebi Jews in North Africa, Europe, Israel, and the United States is astounding. And the many new directions in which the field is going testifies to the vibrancy of the study of Jews in the North African context.

This special issue is mainly focused on the Jews of Morocco, in large part because Morocco occupies a unique place in the scholarship on Jews of the Middle East and North Africa. Indeed, there are significantly more studies on the Jews of Morocco than on any other Middle Eastern Jewish community.⁴ (Although in the 1970s, studies of the Jews of Yemen were on par with those of Jews in Morocco, this trend was definitively reversed even a decade later.)

It is worth reflecting on why the study of Moroccan Jewry has achieved such relative success. We identify at least five factors: 1) demography; 2) continuous presence in the Arab world; 3) political and social positionality of Moroccan Jews; 4) access to sources; and 5) the large number of Muslim scholars working in this field.

The Jewish community of Morocco was by far one of the largest of the Islamic world in the modern era, a demographic reality that made the Jews of Morocco a natural subject of study. The estimates put the population

2. Book review by Brahim Boutaleb on *Memories of Absence*, published in *Hespéris-Tamuda* LI (3) (2016): 349-353.

3. We should note that of an international colloquium on: “Ethnic and Religious Minorities in the Arab-Muslim world” was organised at the Faculty of Letters in Rabat (Mohammed V University) from 28 to 30 November 1995. Ten papers presented by Moroccan and international scholars at this colloquium had treated the Jewish dimension in Morocco and other Arab and Islamic countries. These papers were published in a special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda* in 1999. *Actes du colloque international, Les minorités ethniques et religieuses dans le monde arabo-musulman*, Rabat, 28-30 novembre 1995, *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXXVII (1999): 9-11.

4. For a relatively comprehensive bibliography of the Jews of Morocco see, Aomar Boum and Thomas Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2016), 555-583.

of Jews in Morocco in 1948 between 250,000 and 300,000; the next-largest Jewish populations in the Islamic world were nearly half again as small (about 140,000 in Iraq and Algeria respectively).⁵ Thus the sheer size of the Moroccan Jewish community, relative to other Middle Eastern and North African communities, has made it an object of more intensive study.

Moreover, the continuous presence of Jews in Morocco to this very day has facilitated, shaped, and influenced this field. While larger communities of Jews remain in Iran and Turkey, the Jewish community of Morocco is today the largest of the Arab world by far (estimates put the number of Jews resident in Morocco today at about 3,000). While the size of today's Jewish community pales in comparison to its historical importance, both demographically and socially, it is nonetheless the case that Jews continue to create, interpret, and shape Judaism in Morocco. Moreover, the existence of a Moroccan Jewish diaspora that remains connected to the living community in Morocco—through pilgrimage, life-cycle celebrations, and tourism—reinforce the dwindling numbers of Moroccan Jews.

This continuous presence of Jews is largely a product of the political and social positionality of Jews in both the official and popular spheres. Unlike most other Arab countries, Moroccans and the Moroccan government early on attempted to make a place for Jews in the newly independent nation. While the sense that Jews belong in Morocco and are even part of the fabric of the nation is by no means uncontested, it nonetheless remains strong among a broad swath of the Moroccan Muslim population. This sense was recently enshrined in the Moroccan constitution passed in 2011, which recognized the “Hebraic” contribution to the Moroccan nation.⁶ The fact that Morocco boasts one of the only museums dedicated to Jews in the Arab world (the Musée du judaïsme marocain in Casablanca)—and that Moroccan school children are brought to this museum to learn about the Jewish component of Moroccan history and culture—further testifies to the ways in which Jews are officially recognized as central to Morocco.

The political stability of Morocco since independence has meant that researchers have had relatively easy access to a number of sources to write the history of the Jews of Morocco. This is, of course, also directly related to the positionality of Moroccan Jews; the government's official embrace of the Jewish community has made the study of Jews a legitimate subject, and

5. Reeve Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer, eds. *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

6. See the “préambule” on p. 2: http://www.amb-maroc.fr/constitution/Nouvelle_Constitution_%20Maroc2011.pdf (accessed 13 April 2016).

thus has recently facilitated access to the sources for these studies. Although Moroccan archives did not become widely accessible until the 1970s, scholars working on the history of Moroccan Jews were among the first researchers to use these archives.⁷ Moreover, the large number of printed sources that concern Jews—particularly in Hebrew and in French, but also in Arabic, has facilitated the study of Moroccan Jews. Anthropologists have also long drawn on Jewish informants to shape their studies—which often contributed to scholarship on the Jews of Morocco even if they were not focused on Jews alone.⁸

Finally, all of these factors outlined above have made it possible for Moroccan Muslim scholars to research and publish about the Jewish community of Morocco in a way that is unparalleled in the rest of the Islamic world. Many of Morocco's most prominent scholars in the humanities have focused much of their studies on Jews. Among Morocco's most respected historians, Mohammed Kenbib, Khalid Ben-Srhir (the editor of *Hespéris-Tamuda*), and Jamaâ Baïda (director of Archives du Maroc) have published extensively on the history of Moroccan Jews—and are all contributors to this issue. Linguists such as Ahmed Chahlane and Mohammed Medlaoui have also made important contributions to the study of Moroccan Jews. And a younger generation of historians, many of whom have made contributions to this special issue, demonstrates that this tradition of Moroccan scholarship on Jews remains alive and well. The centrality of Muslims to the scholarship on Moroccan Jews is particularly striking when compared to other countries, even within the Maghreb: virtually no Algerian Muslim scholars publish on Jews, and only a few Tunisians such as Habib Kazdaghli, a contributor to this volume, and Abdeletif Allagui have done so. The prominence of Moroccan Muslim scholars working on Jews puts this field in the center of Moroccan scholarship, rather than at its margins. The Moroccan perspective is also viewed as a critical addition to the field of Jewish studies in United States given the fact that Moroccan Muslim historians and anthropologists who have access to Arabic sources and Moroccan darija also publish in English in American and European academic journals.

Nonetheless, the fields of Algerian, Tunisian, and Libyan Jewish studies are by no means insignificant, which is why we include historiographical and

7. See, e.g., Daniel J. Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

8. Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols. (London: London, Macmillan, and Co. limited, 1926); Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Lawrence Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Lawrence Rosen, *Bargaining for Reality: The Construction of Social Relations in a Muslim Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

thematic essays on these other parts of the Maghreb. Not only do we hope to encourage further research in these fields, but we also believe that more connections are in order—both among Maghrebi scholars working on Jews in their respective countries, and across nationalist historiographies in order to reveal the interconnectedness of Maghrebi Jews.

This special issue in some ways marks the culmination of decades of scholarship on Moroccan and Maghrebi Jews, and thus comes at a particularly opportune time. Despite having published numerous articles on Jews since 1921, *Hespéris-Tamuda* has never published a special issue devoted to Jews of Morocco and the Maghreb. Perhaps even more significantly, this issue brings together scholarship on Moroccan and Maghrebi Jews from Moroccan scholars, European scholars, and North American scholars. In other words, we seek to demonstrate the ways in which this field exists across national and geographic boundaries, as well as to promote conversations among scholars working in different regions. The languages of the articles are thus significant: they are in Arabic, French, and English—three main research languages of the field—which represents a broad community of scholars. Finally, this special issue brings together three generations of scholars working on this subject: senior scholars who were among the first to write about Moroccan Jews; students of these scholars; and the emerging generation, including scholars who have recently completed their doctorates (or are still doing so) and represent the future of Maghrebi Jewish studies.

Finally, we want to emphasize the importance of publishing this special issue in a Moroccan journal. In part, this reflects the centrality of Moroccan scholars to the international field of Moroccan Jewish studies, and their preeminence among scholars of Maghrebi Jews more broadly. But it is also significant at a time when many of the crucial sources for the study of Moroccan Jews remain difficult to access for Moroccan scholars. Some of the most influential scholarship on Moroccan Jews has been based largely on archives outside of Morocco—in Europe, Israel, and America—but these archives are expensive to access and increasingly difficult given tightened visa regulations. Even as we write these words, many valuable sources are being taken out of Morocco by private dealers, such as family archives and legal documents. We cannot stress enough the importance of Jamaâ Baïda's work to build the collection of the Moroccan archives and to instill in Moroccans and non-Moroccans alike a sense that archival sources are a national resource. This special issue reminds us of the ways in which Morocco is—and should remain—central to scholarship on Moroccan Jews.

State of the Field

The field of the study of Moroccan Jewries, rural and urban, owes its foundational thematic concerns and theoretical arguments to a number of scholars in the United States, Morocco, Europe and Israel. Emily Gottreich and Susan Gilson Miller argue that the study of Moroccan Jews has been an integral part of a larger American interest in the Maghreb and Morocco that could be traced back to captive and travel accounts. In post-independence Morocco, American anthropology inspired a wave of research and approaches leading to debates over approaching Moroccan Jews through the cultural framework of local embeddedness or through broader contexts of Jewish Muslim relations. The dramatic changes in Jewish Studies and Middle Eastern Studies are currently transforming the field through interdisciplinary approaches. Mohammed Kenbib reflects on the challenges and opportunities of historical studies on Moroccan Jews in the context local, national and global politics. While he grounds his analysis on colonial and post-colonial studies on Moroccan urban and rural Jewish communities, Kenbib seeks to highlight the changes and continuity in terminologies, themes, and theories of Jewish-Muslim relations. He argues that the dramatic political transformations in Morocco have encouraged a public debate about many issues related to the position of Jews in Moroccan society. Therefore he calls on scholars to be careful in their historical analysis and unconditional use of sophisticated concepts as they navigate the muddy terrain of new public spheres where Moroccan Jewish-Muslim relations are debated.

Eloy Martin Corrales and Maite Ojeda Mata introduce the reader to the general and increasing literature and scholarship on Moroccan Jews in Spanish academia and language. They see colonialism and postcolonial memory studies at the root of Spanish studies on Moroccan Jews. However, unlike the scholarship in the United States, Spanish scholarship is very focused thematically on questions of language (*haketia*) and the history as well as cultural heritage of Sephardim in northern Morocco. Daniel Schroeter provides an analysis of the state of research on Moroccan Jews in Israel today. He notes that after the 1970s Israeli scholars began to pay attention to historical studies on Moroccan Jews. This interest was triggered by the governmental agencies and especially the Ministry of Education which encouraged scholars of the Jews of Morocco as more voices demanded the inclusion of Moroccan heritage in curriculum. Schroeter identifies unique and different trends in the scholarship and structures of research on Moroccan Jews in Israel. Despite the political and cultural interest in Moroccan Jews, studies on Moroccan Jews remain insignificant compared to other topics and tend to focus on cultural preservation. Aviad Moreno revisits scholarship on Moroccan Jews in Latin America. He notes that most of these studies focus on the assimilation of

these communities in Latin American countries. Moreno demonstrates that the old history of emigration of northern Morocco to Latin America left a Judeo-Moroccan print these communities, which continues until today. At the same time and despite this social and cultural impact, Moreno states that Luso-Hispanophone, Israeli and even North African scholars have shown less interest in these communities over the years.

Despite the breadth and depth of these historiographical essays, there are important bodies of scholarship on the Jews of Morocco that are not accounted for in this special issue. These include work by scholars in France, Canada, and others.⁹

Sources

The contributions on different sources for the study of Jews in Morocco offer both accounts of source-bases that have already been used to good effect, as well as new sources that offer exciting possibilities for the future of the field. This section is intended as a window onto some of the directions in which the field of Moroccan Jewish studies is set to expand, as well as to publicize promising lines of research for the next generation of scholars.

Jamaâ Baïda offers an account of the history of scholarship on Moroccan Jews in independent Morocco, as well as the challenges for young scholars wanting to embark on research in this field. He ends with a description of some of his work as the Director of the Moroccan Archives, and his (sometimes frustrated) attempts to cooperate with archives abroad to bring sources that are otherwise difficult to access to Morocco. Abdelkrim Boufarra writes about the rich potential of Hebrew sources for the scholarship on Moroccan Jews. He calls for more integration of Jewish studies—and the study of the Hebrew language in particular—into Moroccan universities.

Khalid Ben-Srhir is the undisputed authority on the use of British archives for writing the history of Morocco. In his contribution, he discusses the rich potential of these archival sources for writing the history of Morocco's Jews. The sources, which range from the early modern to the contemporary period, cover a range of materials (particularly travel writing and diplomatic archives). Ben-Srhir has already done much to promote the use of British archival sources for writing the history of Morocco, and his contribution here outlines the particular potential for the field of Moroccan Jewish history.¹⁰

9. For France, see, for instance, the work of Robert Assaraf, Jean-Louis Miège, Nicole Serfaty, Haim Zafrani. For Canada, see André Elbaz.

10. See, e.g., Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco during the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005); idem, *Morocco in the British Archives: The Correspondence of J. D. Hay with the Makhzen (1846-1886)* (Rabat: Dār Abī Raqrāq, 2009).

Four articles focus on new types of sources that offer promising directions for the future of Moroccan Jewish studies. Oren Kosansky describes his work on the Rabat Geniza project, which not only consists of rare or unique manuscripts, books, and ephemera, but offers an innovative model for how to study the composition of Jewish archives as a lens onto particular communities. The digitization of the Rabat Geniza suggests what the future of archival collections might look like, and offers an exciting range of possibilities for collaborative work. Aomar Boum writes about the potential of family archives to shed new light on the history and anthropology of Moroccan Jews. He focuses on the Dāwūd library in Tetouan, one of the first family archives open to researchers; Boum argues that the Dāwūd collection holds a range of documents that are central to the history of Jews in Morocco. Jessica Marglin describes the potential of legal sources, particularly those written by *'udūl* (Muslim notaries public) concerning Jews. These sources not only offer insight into the everyday commercial and legal interactions between Jews and Muslims in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, but also contain rich information about Moroccan society more broadly. Finally, Chris Silver discusses the largely neglected trove of music produced by Jews in Morocco and the rest of the Maghreb in the twentieth century. He suggests that the sonic history of Jews in the Maghreb offers an important new way of understanding the experience of Jews in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Themes

Scholars of Moroccan Jews continue to ask new questions and build on old themes as they explore new material and sources. A number of these works deal with topics that until recently were considered taboos in Moroccan academia. Alma Heckman looks at the precarious situation of Moroccan Jews as well as their political and legal engagement during WWII through their physical movement in Casablanca. By describing Jewish bodies and their political and social institutions she highlights the complexity of Jewish lives at a time of war in the margin of Europe's Holocaust. Mohamed Bourrass revisits the history of Moroccan Jews within the Communist Party in the 1940s. Using mostly newspapers as a historical source, Bourrass clearly highlights the role of Moroccan Jews in transforming the Communist party within Moroccan to become a national political force and an actor in national liberation. Mohammed Hatimi summarizes and analyses the major diplomatic and legal decisions in favor of Moroccan Jewries by the World Jewish Congress between 1943 and 1955. He highlights the different relationship between the World Jewish Congress on the one hand and colonial authorities as well as leaders of the national independence movement on the other hand. Hatimi also underlines the role of the WJC in facilitating Jewish emigration

in the early 1950s. Hatimi argues that understanding the post-independence history of Moroccan Jews requires scholars to see it in the context of a larger web of agencies and political players. Susan Slyomovics revisits the role of Abraham Serfaty in political opposition against colonial and postcolonial authorities. Based on her own interviews with Serfaty as well as his political and biographical writings, Slyomovics explores the complexity of his identity as an “Arab Jew.”

Another major theme that continues to dominate the historical, archeological and architectural literature on Moroccan Jews is the study of the Jewish neighborhood (*mellah*). In this volume we have four papers that focus on the urban *mellahs* of Fes, Meknes, Essaouira and Tétouan.¹¹ Mohammed Lahya investigates the historical foundation of the *mellah* of Meknes during the reign of Moulay Ismaïl by using new historical documents especially from the *waqf* archives and as well as documents from the Franciscan mission in Tangier. Mina El Mghari argues that we have to look beyond the urban dwellings where Jews lived to other parts of the city to find out that the architectural and ornamental facades of buildings and dwellings testify of a Jewish presence throughout the city over different periods of time. Hicham Rguig follows the same narrative arguing that unlike many studies on the *Mellah* of Fes which focus on its closure as a Jewish space, the medieval sources and archeological findings show that Jewish settlement in Fes from its foundation to the Merinid period demonstrate that Jews occupied and moved around different neighborhoods. Both projects push against the orientalist ghettoization of the *Mellah*. Abdelaziz Chahbar revisits the Sephardic history of Tétouan and its *mellah* through five stages which include the first years after the Inquisition, the establishment of a new religious community and the first *mellah*, the resettlement within the city and the new *mellah*, emigration to Gibraltar and Melilla, and finally the beginning of a new relation with Spain and the establishment of the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the opening of the community to other global Jewish communities and the shrinking connections to its Moroccan roots.

The new generation of scholars in Morocco working on the history of Jews build on the work of their mentors, especially Khalid Ben-Srhir, Jamaâ Baïda, and Mohammed Kenbib. Hafsa El Hail uses commercial and diplomatic documents from the nineteenth century to discuss the question of foreign protection and the emergence of a new Jewish elite in Morocco. Hmid Mohammad Hammam narrows his focus on the Jews of Dadès by looking at the history of the Jews of Tylite. Hammam’s study is part of a general trend within Moroccan history of Jews that calls for focusing on marginal Jewish community of rural areas despite the challenges of archival documentation.

11. These build on the work of Susan Gilson Miller and Emily Benichou Gottreich.

Gender has historically been an absent topic in many studies of Moroccan and other North African Jews. Even colonial ethnographies and despite their tendencies to focus on oriental representation of Jewish and Muslim women, studies on the role of Jewish women in/outside Jewish space remain insignificant apart from a few biographical narratives written by women. Tourya Essaoudi and Sihame Lasri, both of them students of Mohammed Kenbib and Khalid Ben-Srhir, break this silence over gender issue in the study of the Jews of Morocco. Essaoudi uses the publication *Femmes du Maroc* as a window to shed light on Moroccan Jewish and Muslim women during the Protectorate. She traces and discusses the political engagement of women in national politics as well as their participation in labor unions and organizations. Unlike studies that focuses on women in the private space of the household, she invites scholars to look at women's role in politics by focusing on political organizations such as Union des Femmes du Maroc. Sihame Lasri looks at the social role and cultural positions of women in the XIXth century arguing that there is little difference between the position of Jewish and Muslim women. Finally, Vanessa Paloma Elbaz looks at Jewish women's songs in Haketia and discusses how they serve as a means of preserving the northern Jewish communities spiritual heritage. Elbaz argues that Sephardic women used songs as a means to shape and control women's sexuality, and thus to preserve the integrity of the Jewish community.

Finally the theme of memory and narratives of remembering is one of the dominant aspects of anthropological and historical works in the study of the Jews of the Maghreb. In this volume, the articles of Orit Ouaknine-Yekutieli and Yigal Shalom Nizri as well as Emanuela Trevisan Semi exemplify this research movement, which is influenced by identity politics and the fear of losing older Muslim and Jewish generations. Using her work in Morocco and Israel, Trevisan Semi traces the discourses of narratives in Jewish literature through the trope of belonging and the continuous negotiation of the meanings of home to Moroccan Jews. Ouaknine-Yekutieli and Nizri focus mostly on the significance and use of cultural and linguistic forms of expression among Moroccan Jews in Israel, arguing that their sociocultural meanings have to be situated in larger national and global contexts and studies of diasporic communities and studies of home and belonging.

Algeria and Tunisia

As we mentioned above, although this issue is focused on the Jews of Morocco, we felt it was important to include pieces on the history and historiography of the Jews of Algeria and Tunisia. Valerie Assan offers an account of the historiography of Jews in Algeria, starting with the ancient period and through the postcolonial era. Her account offers not only a review

of the existing literature, but an overview of the experience of Jews in Algeria. The vast majority of scholarship focuses on the colonial period; much work remains to be done on Jews in Ottoman Algeria. Perhaps more importantly, the majority of scholarship on Algerian Jews is written by French scholars. With a few exceptions, Algerian scholars have not made a significant impact on this field, and the current political climate does not suggest that this will change any time soon.¹²

Collette Zytnicki similarly offers a concise overview of the historiography of Jews in Tunisia, discussing the various sources that have served as the basis of this scholarship and the diversity of periods covered (the pre-colonial era is better accounted for than in Algeria, for instance). She also points out the diverse backgrounds of the scholars who have built this field, from Tunisian Jews who turned their “memory into history” to Tunisian Muslim scholars writing in both Arabic and French. Finally, Habib Kazdaghli, a figure whose scholarship and personal involvement in recent debates about the nature of the university in post-Arab Spring Tunisia, contributes an article on the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Tunisia from 1954-1972.¹³ He offers an account of how institutions such as the AIU adapted to the departure of Tunisia’s Jewish community, and how the newly independent Tunisian state approached this French-funded institution. Perhaps most importantly, these articles together demonstrate the rich potential that remains in the study of Jews in Algeria and Tunisia.

Reviews

We conclude this volume with reviews of a number of works that have been published since the turn of the twenty-first century highlighting the importance of Morocco in the study of minorities and especially Jews. These works, including ones by major figures in the field and their students, stress the point of intellectual mentorship and continuity. We include reviews of books by Valérie Assan, Al-Arbi Hilali and Mohammed Bouziane Ben Ali, Frédéric Abécassis, Karima Dirèche and Rita Aouad. Aomar Boum, Emily Gottreich, Ethan Katz, Souâad El Koutbia, Abdellah Larhmaid, Maud Mandel, Jessica Marglin, Daniel Schroeter, Sarah Abrevaya Stein, Emanuela Trevisan Semi and Sekkat Hatimi, Lucette Valensi, Mohammed Kenbib, Abdelkerim Allagui, and Sharon Vance. We conclude by pointing out the importance of Moroccan universities in encouraging and sponsoring projects of translation into Arabic and French of English works on the Jews of Morocco, especially Mohammed V University in Rabat.

12. See, for instance, the contributions of Saddek Benkada, Farid Benramdane, Belkacem Mebarki, and Hadj Miliani in Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter, eds., *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

13. Habib Mellakh, *Chroniques du Manoubistan* (Tunis: Cérès Éditions, 2013).

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