

Book Reviews

Harvey Goldberg, *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries. History & Culture in the Modern Era*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1996.

Aron Rodrigue, *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition – The Teachers of Alliance Israelite Universelle, 1860-1939*, University of Washington Press, Seattle & London, 1993.

One does not have to be a historian or a sociologist in order to know how close but, at the same time, how far away our world is from that of our grandparents. It is enough to have listened to Mummy's bedtime stories about her childhood to know that, despite the genealogical link, our grandparents lived their lives in totally different economic and political conditions from our own. Moreover, in the case of the Jews, the environmental and geographical scenes were also different. Even lullabies were sung in a different language, though they preserved the same tunes. What then lies behind the link and the rift, the change and the continuity, between our world and that of our grandparents?

The authors of the two books under review have taken upon themselves to investigate the historical and cultural transformation that took place in the Jewish communities in Islamic countries in modern times. Their desire to elaborate on their research produced new challenges that forced them to reexamine the methods and concepts that were, until recently, commonly used in academic research.

The volume edited by Harvey Goldberg is a collection of lectures on the subject delivered at the interdisciplinary conference on "Jewish Communities of Islamic Countries in The Modern Era," held in Israel in January 1991. It represents a breakthrough in two main directions. First, the awareness of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the processes that took place in the Jewish communities in the Islamic countries exposed the limitations of historical political research. The purpose of the collection is to supplement historical, political and economic data by social and cultural findings, and to construct patterns of cooperation between history and other disciplines, such as anthropology, linguistics and literature. Secondly, the tendency in contemporary research is to link the processes of "transformation" and "continuation" in the Jewish Diaspora, in the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries, with the concept of "modernization." The mental and physical changes which enabled the Jews adapt to new conditions – have been attributed to reforms inspired by modernization. In spite of the processes of transformation Jewish sense of continuity has been preserved thanks to the rise of nationalism, also attributed to modernization.¹

However, is it possible to rely solely on these concepts in order to explain the history of more than a hundred years in the life of the Oriental Diaspora, which spread over the continents of America, Europe, Asia and Africa? An absorbing discussion of this subject takes place in the Goldberg's collection of articles:

...the notion of modernization is a “master theme of the social science” and often has been applied, explicitly or implicitly, in studies of Middle Eastern Jewry. Of late the notion has undergone much criticism; many of its weaknesses parallel those of evolutionary theories and dominated views of society and culture in the nineteenth century. Societies do not all move through the same “stages” of modernization; when they do change significantly, it often is through contact with other societies and is not the expression of some immanent thrust toward “modernity.” Criticisms of simplistic evolutionary models early in this century argued that societies typically changed through diffusion, while today’s criticisms of modernization add the element of power to that insight, stressing developments that arise from differences in economic and political strength among societies. Rather than picturing an “external” impact of Western society on the “the East”, it is now appreciated that both these conceived geopolitical entities have long been part of the same “world-system.” Another challenging claim is that such gaps shape the very terms in which members of powerful states portray other societies; scholarly discourse thus feeds upon and contributes to popular perceptions which see “others” as lacking modernity. In this manner, “modernization” and related concepts both mask and sustain intersociety power differentials. Finally, what does modernization mean, and does it entail costs as well as bring benefits to those who participate in it?²

Indeed, some researchers have begun to question the equation between modernization and westernization, and between knowledge and assimilation. For example, the experience of the Iraqi Jewry with modernity led Yehuda to reconsider “whether there is an inevitable connection between modernization and cultural change... Does the acquisition of knowledge demand abandoning of traditions and customs...?”³

Major behavioral phenomena and patterns of Jews in Islamic countries in the modern era do not fit the general course of modernity. This difficulty stimulated researchers to re-examine the concepts that defined the processes of change in the Jewish communities in Islamic countries.

These concepts, resulting from evolutionary theories in general, and modernist and orientalist ones in particular, have been shown to be inadequate and have limited the progress of the research. They imposed on the researchers a one-dimensional viewpoint which identifies modernization with westernization. Likewise, they stress the dichotomy between traditional and modern societies, between East and West, between religion and secularity, between rational and irrational aspects of the ways of life of the subjects of the research.

The findings of recent years point to a more complex historical reality: the division between the modern “Western” world and the traditional “Eastern” world was not dichotomic, and certainly not unambiguous. Furthermore, the processes of change did not occur in a one-directional movement of changeover from tradition to modernization. Rather, they occurred in a multi-directional movement, resulting from constant interaction between trends of change and continuation, between the desire to preserve the tradition and the attempt to adapt it to the changing reality. Schroeter and Chetrit express this well

in their article on the transformation of the Jewish community in Essaoura, a Moroccan city on the shore of the Atlantic ocean:⁴

As our analysis suggests, westernization cannot be seen as a linear development whose outcome would imply a modern, secular pluralistic (i.e. emancipated) society. Westernization became an integral part of the more general process of social changes, in which "Orientalization" – which we can define as recourse to endogenous social forces as a response to exogenous influence – was also a crucial component. In other words, Westernization should not only be analyzed in terms of a dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernity. The history of the community is defined by the interplay and accommodation of external and internal social forces.⁵

It is true that most of the scholars participating in this collection were brought up on the "modernist" concept widely held at the time of their studies. Nevertheless, during their independent academic work they have demonstrated self-criticism and have begun to scrutinize "modernist" viewpoints. Therefore, particularly at this time when there is a continuing argument between modernists and the postmodernists, between the Orientalist school and those who reject it,⁶ the two books mentioned above represent an important contribution to both schools of thought, those supporting the Orientalist or modernist approach and those opposing it.

The majority of the articles in Goldberg's collection are based on case studies. In other word, they examine a specific case, which includes events or developments occurring in a specific community at a given time, and construct from it a model whose application can be tested on other communities as well. The models used in the research display many patterns of encounter between the "traditional" and the "modern" world. These encounters, which sometimes occurred in the shadow of the confrontation between the Islamic countries and European imperialism, produced various shades of interaction between the values of the old and new worlds: from a selective choice of values, leading to various forms of synthesis, and in some cases to a real conflict. One way or the other, the very interaction caused a significant transformation of both worlds. On the one hand, agents of the modern world were forced to adapt themselves to the constraints of the place, so that the "universal" or "western" message changed according to the distinct nature of the population that received it. An example of this may be found in the encounter between the teachers of the Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU) and the Jewish communities in Islamic countries, displayed in Rodrigue's book, and in the articles of Tzur and Yehuda appearing in Goldberg's collection.

On the other hand, the traditional world did not remain as it had been before its exposure to the modern world. As a matter of fact, phenomena which were taken to be the antithesis of modern rationality and universality increased in the modern era. For example, improvements of routes eased the organization of mass pilgrimages to the graves of righteous men (*hillulot*),⁷ while printing contributed to the development or local Jewish languages.⁸

The articles in Goldberg's collection deal with polarized aspects of community

existence, such as tradition versus modernity, secular versus religious education, western versus national reformism, Zionism versus local patriotism, activities of Alliance versus the Zionist Movement, pioneering activities in the economic fields versus conservatism in social fields, rationalism versus superstitions. In modern western eyes, these aspects, cannot co-exist. In the psychological reality described in the Golberg's collection, "contradicting" ideas like these do exist side by side. This wonderful ability to move between the two extremes – without being accompanied by a feeling of internal conflict, disturbance or schizophrenia – enabled Jewish individuals to cope with new challenges and preserve the vitality of their communities in the changing and volatile actuality. Goldberg's article exemplifies this special phenomenon using the figure of Mordechai Ha'Cohen, a "*maskil*" who struggled to introduce rational thinking amongst the Jewish public in Tripoli.⁹ At the same time he remained responsive to the mystical beliefs of his public, concerning the supernatural powers attached to the grave of the "*Kabbalist*," Rabbi Shim'eon Lavi.

The collection opens with an introduction by its editor, Professor Harvey Goldberg, who brings to it insights as historian, sociologist and anthropologist.¹⁰ The main contribution of the introduction lies in welding the heterogeneous articles in the collection into a coherent and congruous whole. Goldberg manages to expose the common denominator of the articles in his collection, and at the same time to emphasize the unique contribution of each of them. The collection is accompanied by important Appendices, such as a map, a population graph and a population table which bring to life the population movements amongst the communities under discussion. One can also find a detailed list of the researchers who contributed articles to the collection, a glossary of terms and an index.

The articles in the first part of the collection provide the historical background to the modern period, examine the changes that took place in the communities and the external and internal forces that influenced their formation. Stillman¹¹ and Goldberg, each in his own way, define the political, economic and also the cultural and psychological significance of the process of modernization and its implications on other non-European societies. Benbassa,¹² who deals with the loaded connection between modernization and westernization, indicates the principal channels through which the process of modernization penetrated the world of the Ottoman Jews. Most of the article deals with the external sources of influence, such as western European organizations, eastern European "*Haskala*" and the Central European Zionism, whose values penetrated the Empire through foreign teachers, immigrants or newspapers. Rodrigue, Barnai, Schroeter and Chetrit, Gershon and Tzur examine the reciprocal relations between the external and internal forces in the community and their influence on the processes of change in the Jewish public.

Rodrigue,¹³ in his article on the Jews in the nation-states that developed in the Balkans in the final days of the Ottoman Empire, emphasizes the influence of political organization on the Jews. Barnai,¹⁴ in his article on Ottoman Jewry on the eve of Ottoman reforms and the *Haskala*, describes the effect of internal Jewish factors, such as the effect of the Sabbateanism crisis. Gershon¹⁵ compares the acculturation processes in the Tetuan

community to those in Tangier, by studying the effect of factors such as the socio-economic structure of the communities and their geo-political location. Tzur,¹⁶ in his article on *Haskala* in a Sectional Colonial Society, such as Mahdia and in Tunisia, analyzes the social, economic and cultural structure of the Jewish public and its implications regarding the processes of change.

Historical sources are the foundation stones of all historical research, but their use raises difficult methodical problems. As Goldberg warns:

Achieving an understanding of Middle Eastern Jewish communities in tune with historical experience as perceived by those communities presents several methodological challenges. The first is that knowledge of the period and the processes involved stems, to a large extent, from documents shaped by European points of view. The extensive use of the archives of the AIU in Paris, by researchers, including many appearing in this volume, is the most salient case in point.¹⁷

No one disputes that documentation preserved in the Alliance Israelite Universelle archives is essential to researchers as a historical source. This documentation is particularly important for those regions for which other written historical sources are either almost non-existent or difficult to access. In fact, many important researches on the Sephardi and Middle East Jewish communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have relied directly or indirectly on this rich source of information. This documentation includes the correspondence held between members of the communities and their representatives and the AIU center in Paris, but most of the researches are based on the detailed letters of the Alliance teachers in Muslim Countries, who sent reports to the Alliance center in Paris about their missions to these communities. These reports differ from the majority of books and articles written by travelers. In contrast to the adventurous travelers who just describe the "Oriental" way of life as uninvolved observers, the Alliance teachers came to change it. Indeed, the Alliance teachers had an impact on the majority of the Sephardi and Middle East communities. It is therefore essential to be acquainted with their patterns of activity.

Rodrigue's book makes a major contribution to this subject.¹⁸ The book comprises letters from the Alliance teachers in the Afro-Asian communities to the center in Paris, and is accompanied by background notes written by Rodrigue. The letters are arranged according to several topics, which present the central points in the ideology of the Alliance organization and review the principal fields of its activity. The teachers' correspondence with the AIU center in Paris conveys the social, economic and psychological conditions in which they acted. It unfolds their relationships with the pupils and their parents, with the non-Jewish authorities, with the non-Jewish community leadership, and, of course, with the Alliance center in Paris. The book contains detailed references, a bibliography and an index. Its chapters include tables such as a list of schools founded by Alliance, with includes details of their location and date of founding.¹⁹ These lists and tables provide important information about the schools and

the teachers, and permit the reader to find his/her way in the impressive map of the spread of the Alliance educational network. All in all, Rodrigue's book provides background vital for a critical examination of the teachers' reports and can therefore serve as a guide to researchers dealing with the Alliance archives.

In his introduction, Goldberg warns against adopting the viewpoints of the AIU organization, when using its archives, in order to recreate the historical reality. However, he raises the possibility of using AIU archives with an appreciation of local perspective. Tzur and Yehuda in Goldberg's collection apply this possibility in their researches. However, though their articles are based mainly on AIU archives, they succeed in extracting from the documents the response of the leadership of the local communities to the acculturation attempts of the Alliance.

Zohar chose a different branch of historical sources: *Halachic* rulings and *Responsa*.²⁰ Zohar chose to concentrate on the response of the religious leadership to the demands for modernization, and went straight to the source. His article, which discusses two Halachic rulings concerning the rights of women to participate in political elections analyzes the response of the religious leadership to the demands for modernization. The reality of Eretz Israel permits him to examine two models of response: the Ashkenazi model (the Rav Kook in Eretz Israel) and the Sephardi model (the Rav Uziel).

In the last two parts of the collection, the researchers make use of a totally different kind of historical sources, both to recreate the past and to understand the present. These parts of the collection demonstrate how the interaction between historians, sociologists, anthropologists and linguists can enrich research.

The third part of the collection examines the historical, socio-economic and cultural transformation, through research of the changes that took place in the use of languages by Afro-Jews. Some of the articles deal with the range of languages that were spoken by the Jews: Arabic, Turkish and European languages. Others examine the local Jewish dialects: Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian.

Bunis contributes philological aspects, such as alphabetic form, vocabulary and diction, to the recreation of historical processes in the Judeo-Spanish speaking population.²¹ Netzer examines the place of Judeo-Persian in the development of the Jewish community of Persia.²² Toby deals with the development of Judeo-Arabic.²³ His article, which gives a colorful description of the sense of adventure and detective instincts of book collectors, reveals to us some of their professional secrets, and examines their contribution to the understanding of the cultural changes. Those aspects of the external form of the book that the average researcher tends to neglect in his required considerations, are, in fact, revealed as being a vital part of the process of drawing conclusions. Thus, for example, it appears that the state of wear of a book can give an indication of the extent of its distribution.

The articles in the fourth part of Goldberg's collection contribute various methods, mainly anthropologic, to recreate the past. One of the common techniques is to interview informants (in our case, Jews who came from Muslim countries) and evoke their

memories about their former life. The use of informants to recreate reality that occurred some generations earlier, in a totally different geographic, political, social and cultural context, was, until a short time ago, the subject of serious dispute between anthropologists and historians.²⁴ Even those historians who were prepared to flavor their researches with folk tales or proverbs did so only in order to give examples of historical findings acquired from other, usually written, sources. Many historians find difficulty in accepting the use of recollections and popular traditions as a single historical source, since they are afraid that, in the process of passing them on from one generation to the next, they lost their reliability. They sometimes reflect more the reality of the popular story teller than the reality being talked about, and cannot therefore provide a sole, reliable evidence to the distant past. This fear is not totally unfounded.

Wasserman's research into reconstruction changes of versions of Grimm's fairy tales²⁵ gives evidence that the popular tradition has a tendency to change, or, at least, to introduce changes in emphasis and color, depending on the cultural, political and social conditions in which they are recounted. Therefore, for many years, historical research limited itself to reliance on primary sources close to the period of the events. This limitation restricted the fields of research. Moreover, it narrowed its scope to fields of interest and viewpoints of the educated elite, who bequeathed to the following generations rich documentation in the form of correspondence, literature, art valuables, architecture, etc.

However, the historians' frustration increased as they became aware of the importance of cultural groups who had left behind neither written reports nor monuments. Moreover, social and cultural historians looked for aspects of daily life that had not been documented to enhance their understanding of central historical processes. At the same time, anthropological research improved the methods of collecting and cross checking the information, and reached impressive achievements in the recreation of the past. The articles mentioned above give examples of use of cultural enclaves, such as the immigrants' settlements in the State of Israel. These settlements serve as a human "laboratory" which permits reliable field research for anthropologists.²⁶ It is true that written sources of people living in that period are still preferable to other sources, but, in their absence, historians have no alternative but to use the methods and findings of other disciplines.

Schelly-Newman and Leob contributed the ethnographic method to historical research, in order to break into areas – such as women in traditional societies – that had, until now, been neglected. Schelly-Newman presents a literary sociological analysis of the metaphors employed in women's narrative, as can be learned from the title of the article: "The peg of your tent' – narrative of North African women."²⁷ The feminine voice arises from the collection of folk tales and proverbs collected from suburban women from Tunisia who settled in Israel. Leob's research on women in isolated communities in Yemen permits the researcher to peep into village life that, up till now, had only been described by observers from the outside, such as travelers' impressions or reports of town dwellers or the administration, found in archival documents. Her findings destroy the existing stereotype of the place of the women in community life in Islamic countries.²⁸

The principal contribution of the fourth part lies in the questions concerning collective memory. As is known, an integral element of the process of collective identity is the relation to "the other." Bily and Levy propose an ethnographic approach to the discussion of complex questions, such as the relationship between Jews and Muslims in Morocco.²⁹ Another subject connected with changes in the collective identity of the Jewish people is the phenomenon of emigration, which represents one of the major motives in the Jewish history of the present century. This phenomenon permits examination of how the collective identity was preserved, during periods of disintegration of the local community framework and the spreading of the members of the community to all corners of the world.

This question is tackled by Bahloul and Miller. Bahloul's article on family ceremonies shows that traditional related groups, such as the extended family or hamula – which apparently lost their importance and were rejected in the modern period in favor of related groups of more limited size (such as the nuclear family) or of greater size (such as national, ethnic and/or political allegiance) – have nevertheless preserved their vitality, even after emigration.³⁰ They, therefore, still fill a central role in formulating the memories – and, as a result, the collective identity – of the Jews of North Africa.

Miller examines the collective identity of Jewish emigrants from Tangier North Morocco, who left their hometown, Tangier in Northern Morocco, without their families, in order to seek sources of livelihood in the "New World." In her article on emigration of the Jews of North Africa to South America, she emphasizes the uniqueness of this emigration and its place in the creation of national awareness that she calls "trans-territorialism."³¹

Now we may reformulate Anderson's concept of the imagined community to encompass Jewish communities like those of Northern Morocco so attenuated that they have become virtually boundless. ...Jews like Muslims often conceive themselves as members of a global community with no one focus; often, they are inclined to maintain multiple points of reference that defy the pull to a single center that the modern nation-state often demands. Long into the modern era, the Jews of Morocco inhabited just such supranationalist space... For them the community imagined broadly across time and space was always the most meaningful idea of home.³²

With the many merits of the collection, one cannot overlook its flaws. Indeed, the collection has succeeded in breaking through the bounds of political history and handling cultural and social fields, using the interdisciplinary meeting encounter between historians, and anthropologists and people of language linguists. However, the interaction between the researchers of the various fields has still not found expression in the articles themselves. Most of the articles isolate the cultural element of the processes of change in Islamic countries, while the other elements – which formulate the historical event (such as, the political, economic, demographic and geographical elements) – appear only in the background, and are awarded indirect attention only. However, in practice – in contrast to the "laboratory" of the anthropologist or the "workshop" of the historian – constant

interaction exists between the various fields of life, and it is impossible to isolate the influence of a single field on the individual and society.

Tzur's article, mentioned above, exemplifies this interaction. According to Tzur there exists in certain Jewish societies (which he calls "sectional societies") a correlation between the cultural orientation of the members of a particular section in the community and between their status in the economic market (local or international), in the political field and in the social hierarchy. It is therefore impossible to understand the economic and political developments without taking into consideration the cultural differences between the various sections in society and the cultural, sociological and psychological changes taking place within the "sectional society" itself.

Consequently, further research will have to find patterns of cooperation between the various approaches and disciplines. What is needed is an integrated, comprehensive historical picture, which expresses historical reality as an uninterrupted interaction of and feedback between political and economic needs, and between these and social and cultural needs

The importance of Goldberg's collection lies primarily in the presentation of new aspects and methods of research to more fully and reliably recreate the past. From this point of view it is principally suited to, and intended for, the academic community. However, many of the questions it raises concern Israeli society also, and from this aspect it may be relevant to the general public. Israeli society, which is influenced by external cultures, may well ask itself whether it is possible to reproduce processes of change – which took place in a particular cultural, geographic and chronological context – in another context without adapting and changing them. As a State absorbing immigration, it must re-examine the question whether it is possible to cut off entire societies from their historical traditions and from their geographic roots, without ensuring any form of continuity. This and more: like other modern societies, Israeli society includes enclaves of religious fundamentalism. Public representatives of these enclaves use modern secular tools, both in the communications and political fields, to propagate the restoration of their "Old World" habits. However, it may be asked whether they are right in claiming that this is merely "revival of former glory" (*lehachzir 'atara leyoshna*) and a return to "authentic" roots, or whether this is a distorted version of traditional values.

To tackle these and other problems is essential in order to formulate the image and fate of Israeli society. Minority groups (such as Jews or Oriental Jews), and peripheral groups (such as teachers, women, villagers, etc.), have been considered of marginal importance to the existing historical narrative since they did not directly deal with the determination of political policy. The two books under review disprove this assumption by demonstrating that the investigation of so-called peripheral groups shed light on central historical processes.

In this sense, both books are not merely welcome additions to the unique research of the Jews of the Islamic countries in the modern era, but also form a contribution to the general research of the modern era.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1991).
2. Goldberg, in Goldberg, p. 5.
3. Zvi Yehuda, "Iraqi Jews and Cultural Change in the Educational Activity of the Alliance Israelite Universelle," in Goldberg, pp. 134-145 (quote on 134).
4. Daniel Schroeter and Joseph Chetrit, "The transformation of the Jewish Community of Essaoura (Mogador) in the 19th and 20th centuries" (Goldberg, 99-118).
5. *Ibid.*, 113-4.
6. For a summary of the development of the research on this subject, see Ehud Toledano, *Egypt on the Threshold of the Modern Era, Renewed Commentary* (Tel Aviv, 1996), (Hebrew).
7. Goldberg, in Goldberg, 168-80.
8. See the articles of Bunis Tobi in Goldberg's collection mentioned below, nn. 22 and 24, resp.
9. Harvey E. Goldberg, "The Foundation of Hispano-Jewish Association in Morocco: Grave of Rabbi Shim'on Lavi in Tripoli," 168-80.
10. Introduction, 1-55.
11. Norman A Stillman, "Middle Eastern and Northern African Jewries confronts Modernity: Orientation, Disorientation, Reorientation," 59-72.
12. Esther Benbassa, "The Process of Modernization of Eastern Sephardi Communities," 89-98.
13. Aaron Rodrigue, "Eastern Sephardi Jewry an New Nation-States in the Balkans in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 81-8.
14. Jacob Barnai, "From Sabbateanism to Modernization: Ottoman Jewry on the Eve of Ottoman Reforms and the Haskala," 73-80.
15. Issac Gershon, "The Foundation of Hispano-Jewish Associations in Morocco: Contrasting Portraits of Tangier and Tetuan," 181-9.
16. Yaron Tsur, "Haskala in a Sectional Colonial Society: Mahdia (Tunisia) 1884," 146-67.
17. Goldberg, Introduction, 18.
18. The book was originally published in French, in 1989: Aaron Rodrigue, *De l'instruction à l'émancipation* (Paris, 1989). It was later published in an extended Hebrew edition, in 1991 see Rodrigue, *חבריה והסטוריה, חינוך, חברה והסטוריה* (Education, Society and History), (Jerusalem, 1981).
19. Table 1 – The Growth of Alliance Educational Network, Rodrigue, p. 15; Table 2 – Alliance Schools Founded from 1862-1935, Rodrigue, pp. 15-21.
20. Zohar, "Traditional Flexibility and Modern Strictness: Two halakic Positions on Women's Suffrage," 119-133.
21. David M. Bunis, "Modernization and the Language Question among Judezmo-Speaking Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire," 226-39.
22. Amnon Netzer, "Persian Jewry and Literature: A Sociocultural View," 240-55.
23. Yosef Toby, "The Flowering of Judeo-Arabic Literature in North Africa 1850-1950," 213-25.
24. For history and anthropology, see Goldberg's articles, such as "Reflections on the Mutual Relevance of Anthropology and Judaic Studies," in *idem* (ed.), *Judaism Viewed from Within and from Without* (Albany, N.Y. 1987), 1-43, and "Anthropology and the Study of Traditional Jewish Societies," *AJS Review* 15/1 (1990), 1-22. The philosophical aspect of the question is discussed in Elazar Weinberg's *מחשבה הסטורית* (Historical Thinking), Open University, 1985-87 (Hebrew).
25. Henry Wasserman, *עירש הלאומיות, אירופה* (Europe, the Cradle of Nationalism) (Tel Aviv, 1989) (Hebrew).

26. Goldberg, 45-6.
27. Esether Schely-Newman, "'The Peg of Your Tent': Narrative of North-African Israeli Women," 277-87.
28. Laurance D. Loeb, "Gender, Marriage, and Social Conflict in Habban," 259-76.
29. Yoram Bilu and Andre Levy, "Nostalgia and Ambivalence: The Reconstruction of Jewish-Muslim Relations in Oulad Mansour," 288-311.
30. Joelle Bahloul, "The Sephardi Family and the Challenge of Assimilation: Family Ritual and Ethnic Reproduction," 312-24.
31. Susan Gilson Miller, "Kippur on the Amazon: Jewish Emigration from Northern Morocco in the late 19th century," 190-212.
32. *Ibid.*, 206.