

Us and Them: Jews and Awliya in Morocco

Rachid ED-DALI

Faculty of Arts, Moulay Ismail University, Morocco

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ABSTRACT: Each culture possesses its unique aspects that are mostly recognized and employed by the members of the same in-group. Most individual and collective cultures hold and share aspects that are agreed upon and accepted by the groups and individuals belonging to the same environment and culture. Jews resided in Morocco, hand in hand, with the Amazighe for centuries prior to the advent of Islam. They constituted their own social and religious in-groups that were far removed from any social group in Morocco. They co-existed in harmony with a number of Amazigh tribes in several mountainous areas. Islam also protects Judaism as Jews are considered as the *People of the Book*, but the Jews are discriminated against based on some religious fallacies held solely by extremists.

This study begins with an account of Moroccan Jews so as to manifest the primary reason behind restricting themselves within their own minority and social in-groups. In addition, the study weathers Moroccan *Awliya* (saints) and their posterity focusing on how they have come to acquire their actual status. Investigating the impact of “*us*” and “*them*” on Moroccans with more emphasis on Moroccan Jews and *Awliya* is also a crucial priority in this study. Illiterate and well-educated people will be investigated so as to reveal their views and notions regarding the status quo. The outlook of people is essential to take into account so as to reveal the distinction between “*us*” and “*them*”. The posterity’s deeds are tolerated irrespective of their gravity whereas the Jews’ practices are unforgettable and deserve severe treatment. Therefore, it is a prerequisite to investigate these cases to manifest the enlarging gap between “*us*” and “*them*”.

KEYWORDS: Jews, Awliya, posterity, Mellah, Karamat.

1 INTRODUCTION

“The worst insult that a Moroccan could possibly offer was to treat someone as a Jew.... My childhood friends have remained anti-Jewish. They hide their virulent anti-Semitism by contending that the State of Israel was the creature of Western imperialism.... A whole Hitlerite myth is being cultivated among the populace. The Massacres of the Jews by Hitler are exalted ecstatically. It is even credited that Hitler is not dead, but alive and well, and his arrival is awaited to deliver the Arabs from Israel” (Ghallab, 1965, pp. 2247-2251).

There is no doubt that social categorization is a natural phenomenon in any given community and that people are classified and categorized according to their social class, race, ethnicity and religious belonging. The question of “*us*” and “*them*” is dichotomous and has given rise to tension and struggle in a number of countries around the globe. As humans, we tend to prioritize our in-groups and denigrate the other out-groups irrespective of our borders, languages and beliefs. Countries such as India and China are featured by the prevalence of hundreds of religious sects and cultural identities whereby people cohabit and coexist with the other out-groups while some countries and neighbors like Iraq and Myanmar use religion as a pretext to massacre the enemies.

Further, the distinction between “*us*” and “*them*” may unconsciously bring about socio-cultural changes and perpetuate biases and anarchy as is the case in the Middle East. Violence has become the norm as it emanates from the perception of possessing the “*truth*”. The struggle between Shiites and Sunnis has pushed both sides to commit crimes and massacres on a

daily basis against innocent people whose prime crime is that of being part of the “*other*”. Historically, a number of minority groups sought safety and pretended to harbor the beliefs of the dominated group to avoid social punishment and isolation.

Morocco is not an exception due to its cultural and religious diversity. The country witnessed tension between Jews and Muslims in Fez, Meknes, Marrakech, Sefro, Casablanca, etc., and was behind the set up of Mellahs in some other Moroccan cities and the migration of thousands towards new destinations such as France, Canada, the United States and Israel. In addition, the distinction between “*us*” and “*them*” is not always related to the impact of the dominated group over the minority one. Morocco is renowned as the land of the *Awliya* (saints) and their grandsons are still taking control over the shrines of their ancestors and believe in their superiority over the remainder of people.

2 MOROCCAN JEWRY

2.1 HISTORY OF MOROCCAN JEWRY

Jews are believed to be the second oldest religious and ethnic group to inhabit North Africa in general and Morocco in particular after the Amazigh. According to historians, the Jewish settlement in Morocco dates back to 70 C.E (Deshen, 1989). Jews chose to reside in mountainous areas with the Amazigh with whom they lived in ultimate peace for years (*ibid*). These Jews, *Toshavim* (indigenous Jews), shared some cultural aspects with the Amazigh before the advent of Islam (Schroeter, 2008). “The latter was established in Morocco in the eighth century, following the vast Islamic conquest which spread as far as Spain in the ninth and tenth centuries”, (Ennaji, 2005, pp. 10).

The advent of Islam altered the situation when the Amazigh chose Islam as their religion. “Later on, Arabic became the main language used in the coastal areas, while Berber was limited to the mountainous and rural areas” (*ibid*). Nevertheless, Jews maintained their social relations with the Amazigh regardless of the newly adopted religion (Gottheil, 1934).

Jews did not suffer from the distinction between “*us*” and “*them*” at the outset as the first dynasties that ruled Morocco implemented fairly the Pact of Omar Ibn Al Khatab (the second Khalif after the prophet Mohammed) which considers Jews and Christians as *Ahlu Adhima* (followers of a divine religion like Islam). Therefore, Jews and Christians, according to the Pact, do not need to convert into Islam or any other religion as far as they pay *Jizya* (taxes) to Muslims so as to be covered and protected (Stillman, 1979).

Nonetheless, protection was not utterly guaranteed to Jews as vandalism, anarchy and revolutions occurred on many occasions in the history of Morocco and caused the collapse and removal of dynasties like Al Idrissids (789- 917), Al Moravids (mid 11th century- 1147), Al Mohads (1147- 1269), Al Marinids (1244- 1465), Al Wattasids (1472- 1554) and Saadis (1554- 1603) (Terrasse, 1954).

The fifteenth century witnessed the demise of the Islamic empire in Spain and the expulsion of thousands of Moriscos and Sephardic Jews from Spain. Meakin (1892) suggests that “whether any of the Jews expelled from Italy in 1342, from Holland in 1350, from France and England about 1400, found refuge in Morocco with most of those expelled from Spain in 1492, and from Portugal two years later, I must leave others to determine, but it is very likely that to them some of the Moroccan families owe their origin. Those who sought shelter with the Moors from the outset suffered treatment hardly better than that which had driven them forth and the story of their sufferings is a harrowing one” (Meakin, 1892, pp. 373). The act of moving to a new destination was to a large extent chaotic and the new comers settled in different Moroccan cities like Fez, Rabat, Meknes, Marrakech and Casablanca. They chose settlements that, somehow, resembled their birthplaces in Spain (*ibid*).

The twentieth century was pivotal in the history of Moroccan Jews due to certain reasons. The year 1948 witnessed a war between some Arab countries and Israel and witnessed the defeat of the former and the occupation of more lands by the “*Haganah*” (Morris, 2009). The defeat incited rage and more hatred against Jews, especially after the establishment of the State of Israel in different Arab countries and Morocco was not an exception.

The gap between “*us*” and “*them*” enlarged and caused tension and boycott in some cases. Some unofficial voices emerged in 1948 to request Moroccans to cut ties with Jews and not to deal with them in any social, political or economic matter. Moroccan Jews after such steps felt unsafe and unsecure in their original country and began to consider new decisive decisions in their life. In June 1948, bloody clashes took place in Oujda and Jerrada (a city in northeastern Morocco) between Moroccan Jews and Muslims and caused the death of 44 Jews. Another bloody incident occurred in 1949 in the North of the country and was behind the death of dozens of Jews (Aharoni, 2002).

Prior to World War II, the Jewish population of Moroccan reached 225.000. Between 1948 and 1956 Quadima Organization was behind the migration of approximately 110.000 Moroccan Jews towards Israel whereas thousands chose

their own ways to reach their new destination (Bin-Nun, 2010). Immediately after the independence of Morocco, the Moroccan government stopped all the Zionist movements and forbade the emigration of Jews towards Israel for fear of weakening the Moroccan economy in addition to some other considerations (*ibid*). According to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in 1960, nearly 80% of the Moroccan Jews wanted to leave the country and 60% of them wanted to leave immediately due to their sense of belonging to a neglected and abhorred minority (*ibid*).

In 1960 and due to international pressure, the heir to throne at that time, Moulay Hassan, agreed to negotiate a deal so as to approve of the departure of Jews from Morocco. The Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs was sent on many occasions to discuss the fiscal compensation of the departure of Jews towards Israel (Bin- Nun, 2008). “By the end of July, with the collaboration of Sam Benazeraf and Dr Isaac Cohen Olivar, he was negotiating with Abdelkader Ben Jelloun (Minister of Labour) and Moulay Ali Alaoui (the king’s cousin and brother-in-law) and came to a compromise agreement. An economic clause was planned: half a million dollars would be paid as a down payment for the emigration of 50.000 Moroccan Jews to Europe, and then, 100\$ per capita (250\$ after the 50.000 th) (Abécassis, 2012, pp. 77). The deal was behind the migration of more than 265.000 Moroccan Jews between 1948 and 1976 as is shown in the following table:

Table 1. Estimated Jewish Population in Arab Countries between 1948 and 1976

	1948	1976
Morocco	265.000	17.000
Algeria	140.000	500
Tunisia	105.000	2000
Libya	38.000	20
Egypt	100.000	200
Iraq	135.000	400
Syria	30.000	4.350
Lebanon	5.000	150
Yemen	55.000	1.000
Aden	8.000	00

Source: (Aharoni, 2002).

3 MELLAHS AS A SIGN OF SEGREGATION

As was mentioned earlier, Jews are considered in Islam as *Ahlu Adima* (monotheistic religion just like Christianity) and are supposed to be respected and the Pact of Omar proves this fact. Nevertheless, Jews were, on many occasions and by many leaders, humiliated and discriminated against by Muslims and non-Muslims. Moroccan Jews were the victims of a number of upheavals that took place in Morocco during the reign of most dynasties. The set up of urban areas resulted in the movement of Jews from mountainous areas to cities like Fes and Marrakech. They lived peacefully for a long time with Muslims as they used to pay their taxes, *Jizya*.

Etymologically, the word *Mellah* stems from the Arabic word *melh* (ملح) (salt). According to Stillman (1979), there exist two stories regarding the reference to the Jewish settlements in Morocco as *Mellahs*. The first story stipulates that the first Moroccan *Mellah* was set up in Fez on a salty land whereas the second explanation is germane to the employment of Jewish butchers by Moroccan sultans in the process of salting the heads of criminals and rebels in order to display them to the public and masses to bar any potential revolution. These are the two major agreed upon stories narrated by Jewish historians.

The creation of *Mellahs* was an important incident in the history of Moroccan Jews owing to a number of reasons. To start with, the step created a kind of unity between Moroccan Jews and enabled them to practice their religion freely, without considering the presence of Muslim neighbors. Also, *Mellahs* provided Jews with safety and protection against any potential peril from their neighbors and permitted them to further enjoy their cultural aspects. Social, political and economic ties with Moroccan sultans are also of paramount significance. Jews, throughout history, tried to build rapport with Moroccan rulers to maintain their religious, social and economic positions. The significance of Jews to Moroccan sultans appears in *Mellahs* that were intentionally built next to Moroccan palaces (Benyahu, 1993).

Jewish historians argue that the set up of *Mellahs* ended, to some extent, the clash between Muslims and Jews. Toledano (1911) suggests that the year 1438 brought about changes to Moroccan Jews when a misfortunate incident occurred. Muslims found wine in the ablution fountain in a mosque in the old city of Fez and directly accused Jews of committing the

unforgettable crime. Many of the Jews were killed by the irritated masses, others converted to Islam while others left the city. Toledano (1911) also suggests that the incident provided the sultan with the pretext to move all the Jews of Fez to their new residences near his palace in the *Mellah* so as to protect them, as was aforementioned, and end the struggle between the two groups. The step, however, deepened the gap of “us” and “them” between the two religious groups.

The *Mellah* of Fez contributed to the building of other Mellahs in some other Moroccan cities like Marrakech, Tetouan, Meknes, Rabat and Sefro. The violation of the *Pact of Umar Ibn Al Khatab* by some Jews in addition to violence and vandalism led several ruling dynasties in Morocco to take a decisive decision to move the Jews to their new dwellings. One of the examples that can be illustrated in this case is related to the creation of the *Mellah* of Marrakech. Toledano (1984) suggests that “the given reason for the creation of the *Mellah* of Marrakech is the complaint of a Muslim woman against the Jewish beadle, who was awakening the Jews for prayer. According to her words, he fell upon her and hit her when she requested him not to bother the repose of the neighbors” (Toledano, 1984, pp. 31).

In addition, the *Mellah* of Tetouan was constructed due to some religious considerations. To illuminate, the proximity of the new big mosque in Tetouan to a Jewish quarter pushed Muslims to complain and call for the transfer of Jews to a distant location so as not to disturb both Muslims and Jews as well (Daoud, 1959).

However, some historians argue that the transfer of Jews to new Mellahs, sometimes, took place owing to the request of Jews themselves. Schroeter (2002) suggests in his book *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* that “the foundation of the *mellah* of Essaouira, according to Jewish traditions, was the consequence of a request to the sultan from the ‘second class’ of Jews living among Muslims. (i.e. not those in Casbah) The measures be taken to guarantee their safety because of the general insecurity of the period. The decision to establish the *mellah*, however, came as a bitter surprise” (Schroeter, 2002, pp. 92). Seeking safety and avoiding derogatory terms, as was mentioned before, enlarged the hole between the two sides and caused the emergence of *Mellahs*. Meakin (1892) suggests that:

“From the date of his birth till all trace of his last resting-place has disappeared, the Hebrew of Morocco is despised and scorned. “Dog of a Jew!” is a very mild term to be employed in abusing him, and the soubriquets of “ass!” and “swine!” stand in equal favour” (Meakin, 1892, pp. 380-381).

Moroccan Jews were also banned from wearing colored garments; it was compulsory for Jews to put on black attires which Muslims were obliged to avoid (*ibid*). Meakin also stipulates that “for an unprotected Jew to lift his hand against or curse a Moor would be to bring down untold vengeance on his head. Yet in the Muslim courts they may tender no evidence on oath---nor may the foreigners---so that they are obliged by *force majeure* to put up with whatever is inflicted on them” (Meakin, 1892, pp. 381-382).

Nevertheless, Jews were honored by some Moroccan sultans over history. They were appointed as ministers, ambassadors, politicians and counselors. Shoomel-el-Barensi is believed to be amongst the pioneer Moroccan Jews who came to power. He was designated as the first Jewish minister during the era of Said-el-Watasi, ruled in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (*ibid*).

Meakin further argues that “in 1610, Shoomel-el-Farrashi was sent by Moulay Zeedan as his representative to the United Provinces, and he was succeeded in 1675 by Yoosef Toledano, whose brother Haim was ambassador to England....In 1750 the Morocco Ambassador to Denmark was a Jew, and thirty years later Yakoob Ben Ibraheem, of Beni Idder, came to London in the same capacity, being succeeded in 1794 by one named Zumabl, who had been in charge of the Sultan’s finances....In 1859 and English Jew from New York was captain of the Port at Mogador, and it is stated that one Sultan had a Jewish cook” (Meakin, 1892, pp. 374-375).

4 AWLIYA AND SALIHIN

There is no doubt that inferiority and superiority characterize the social scene in any given society. Some social groups are believed to be inferior while some others are thought to be superior owing to their social significance within that particular society or community and their dominance. The classification and distinction between “us” and “them” may result in hatred and abhorrence as well as love and adoration. The same basis, which is that of religion, can push us either to adore the “other” or to abhor him. Religion has been the basis behind hatred between Muslims and Jews, Christians and Muslims and Sunnis and Shiites, believing in the falsehood of each side. Also, love may push human beings to love a particular religious group irrespective of its arrogance and haughtiness.

Over history, especially in the Islamic World, the emergence of *Awliya* (saints) in different parts of the Arab World created a kind of stability and encouraged the masses to pursue their path so as to obtain some of the *Awliya's Karamat*. Ignorance and illiteracy led the masses to consider the *Waliy* (saint) as a vice-prophet chosen by Allah to appear in a particular

community to guide people and help them figure out their real belief. The latter stems from the clear-cut conviction which stipulates that Mohammed is the last prophet and messenger and that the *Awliya* are the only human beings enabled by special power to help guide people.

Morocco is one of the few countries in the Arab and Islamic World that witnessed the birth and death of thousands of *Awliya*. In fact, Moroccans describe the Middle East as the land of prophets and messengers and Morocco as the homeland of *Awliya* and *Salihin* (saints). The following table provides the list of the most renowned *Awliya* in the history of Morocco.

Table 2. The Most Renowned Awliya in Morocco

Name of the Waliy	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Location	Karamat (supernatural powers)
Ahmed Ben Al Arif Attanji	_____	1142 C.E.	He is originally from Tangiers and died in Marrakech	⇨ Knowing hidden intentions.
Moulay Ali Bo Ghaleb Al Kasri	_____	1173 C.E.	He was born in Andaluss and died in Laksar Lakbir (Morocco)	⇨ Ability to find any missing object.
Ali Ben Hrazem	_____	1199 C.E.	Fez	⇨ Knowing his exact day of death. ⇨ Having his supplications fulfilled
Bouchaib Adokali	_____	1166 C.E.	El Jadida (Morocco)	⇨ Moving from one remote place to another in few minutes.
Abo Yaaza Al Haskouri	_____	1177 C.E.	Kheribga (Morocco)	⇨ Revealing the negative deeds of people.
Abo Madyen Al Ghout	_____	1198 C.E.	He was born in Seville and died in Telmssan (Algeria)	⇨ Controlling animals and possessing some of the prophets' miracles.
Abo Al Abass Assabti	1129 C.E.	1204 C.E.	He was born in Ceuta and died in Marrakech	⇨ Foreseeing his date of death. ⇨ Employing the clouds for the benefits of people.
Abdessalam Ben Mchich	1164 C.E.	1226 C.E.	Tetouan	⇨ Knowing hidden intentions.
Abou Mohammed Salih Al Majeri	1156 C.E.	1234 C.E.	Safi (Morocco)	⇨ Transforming alcohol into olive oil. ⇨ Pushing objects without touching them
Mohammed Ben Arbi Hatimi	1165 C.E.	1241 C.E.	He was born in Murcia and his shrine is in El Salihya	⇨ Talking to angels. ⇨ Seeing prophets and messengers.
Abou Al Hassan Achadili	1176 C.E.	1259 C.E.	He was born in Chefchaoun and died in Egypt.	⇨ Having answers to all questions.
Abou Al Hassan Achichtari	1214 C.E.	1270 C.E.	He was born in Andalus and dies in Egypt.	⇨ Freeing innocent prisoners from tyrants.
Ahmed Ben Achir Al Andalossi Asselaoui	_____	1364 C.E.	He was born in Andalus and died in Salé. (Morocco)	⇨ Curing diseases
Mohammed Ben Abbad Arandi	1333 C.E.	1390 C.E.	He was born in Andalus and died in Fez.	⇨ Flying in the air.
Mohammed Ben Soulaïman Al Jazouli	1404 C.E.	1465 C.E.	He was born and died in Sous (Agadir). His shrine is in Marrakech	⇨ Specifying his date of death. ⇨ After seventy-seven years of his death and while moving his corps to Marrakech, they found it unchangeable.
Ahmed Zarouk Al Bernussi	1443 C.E.	1493 C.E.	Taza (North East of Morocco)	⇨ Halting some natural disasters in addition to some other miracles.
Abdellah Al Ghuezouani	_____	1529 C.E.	He was born in Lakser Lakbir (North of Morocco) and died in Marrakech	⇨ He was once shot by a soldier, but he took the bullet out of his chest with his fingers as if it were a feather.
Allal Lhaj Lbakal	_____	1574 C.E.	Chefchaoun (North of Morocco).	⇨ Foreseeing some future events like death and defeat of some tribes.
Redouan Al Jenoui		1583 C.E.	Fez	⇨ Foreseeing some future events
Abderehman Al Majdoub	1504 C.E.	1569 C.E.	El Jadida	⇨ Knowing hidden intentions. ⇨ Foreseeing some future incidents.

Youssef Al Fassi	1531 C.E.	1605 C.E.	He was born in Lakser Lakbir and died in Fez.	⇨Curing the handicapped.
Mohammed Ben Abdellah Ben Maan Al Andaloussi	1633 C.E.	1708 C.E.	Fez	⇨Foreseeing the future.
Abou Bakr Adilaai	1537 C.E.	1567 C.E.	He died in Marrakech	⇨Understanding animals and communicating with them. ⇨Foreseeing the future.
Moulay Abdellah Chref Al Ouazani	1597 C.E.	1678 C.E.	He was born in Tetouan and died in Ouazen (the North of Morocco)	⇨Listening to the speech of stones, soil, trees, etc.
Abdel Aziz Adabagh	1684 C.E.	1719 C.E.	Fez	⇨Knowing his future since his adolescence.
Al Arbi Adarkaoui	1737 C.E.	1824 C.E.	Beni Zeroual (Amazigh tribe)	⇨Hearing voices in the sky. ⇨Moving from a country to another in few minutes.
Mohammed El Bouzidi	—————	1717 C.E.	He was born in Beni Selman (North of Morocco) and died in Beni Zayate (North of Morocco).	⇨Numerous <i>Karamat</i>
Ahmed Ben Ajiba	1747 C.E.	1809 C.E.	Tetouan	⇨Witnessing the occurrence of his wishes.
Ahmed Ben Idriss Al Idrissi	1759 C.E.	1837 C.E.	He was born in Fez and died in Yemen.	⇨Resurrection
Mohammed El Harrak	1772 C.E.	1845 C.E.	He was born in Chefchaoun and died in Tetouan	⇨Numerous <i>Karamat</i>
Ahmed El Badaoui Zwinten	—————	1859 C.E.	Fez	⇨Numerous <i>Karamat</i>
Ahmed Ben Abdel Moumen	1786 C.E.	1846 C.E.	He died in Tajkant tribe	⇨Foreseeing future events.
Mohammed Ben Jaafer Al Katani	1858 C.E.	1927 C.E.	His shrine is in Fez	⇨Foreseeing future events. ⇨After years of his death, they found his body unchangeable.
Mohammed Ben Seddik	1878 C.E.	1935 C.E.	Tangiers	⇨Foreseeing some future events. ⇨Curing diseases.

Source:(Tilidi, 2003).

The main objective in this study is also on shedding light on the second case, which involves the *Awliya's* posterity and the belief in their purity and superiority of their belonging. The focus here is on clarifying and revealing the distinction between "us" and "them" rather than manifesting the *karamat* (parapsychological powers) of *Awliya*. Nevertheless, it is essential to mention some of the *karamat* in order to show the methods employed by the *Waliy's* grandsons to keep control over the masses and maintain their superiority of their race in order to achieve lucrative benefits and gains.

Enlightening the sky, flying in the sky, walking on water, curing the handicapped, etc., are some of the *karamat* (supernatural powers) of the *Awliya*. These parapsychological powers led millions of people in Morocco and the Arab World to believe in the superiority of the *Waliy* (saint) and his miracles. The process resulted in the set up of shrines in most, if not all, Moroccan cities. The shrines were constructed in every city, town, village and tribe. These shrines comprise the grave of the *Waliy* decorated as if it were that of a well-known prophet.

The shrine is considered as a place of pilgrimage that is visited once a year by thousands of pilgrims from different parts around the country. Seeking the *wali's Barakat* (Blessings), looking for divine cures to many diseases, demanding a child by infertile females, finding a husband, etc., are only some of the demands and requests of the pilgrims whose visits are highly appreciated by the *Waliy's* posterity. The legend of the *Awliya* and their heritage made people consider not only the *Waliy's* power, but also that of his posterity. The latter are also thought to possess supernatural powers transmitted and given to them by their ancestors. Most of the *wali's* grandsons constructed their lodgings next to their grandfather to protect his shrine and welcome people in the *Mousseem* (An occasion that takes place once a year and knows the influx of thousands of people to visit the *wali* and asks his *Barakat*).

According to the masses, the *Wali* (saint) represents a supernatural power that has the ability to protect people and the area from disasters and brings about positive changes. To illustrate this point, farmers in some villages, at the beginning of each agricultural year, gather and ask that particular *wali* to help them and protect their crops. Some others deem the

existence of the *wali's* posterity as a privilege sent to them by God and, therefore, the latter must be protected and preserved. As was mentioned earlier, the emergence of the *Awliya* in Morocco is as old as the advent of Islam (Tilidi, 2003).

For centuries, the posterity of the *Awliya* has expanded to become an in-group. Thousands of the *Awliya's* grandsons reside in different Moroccan cities and consider themselves to be of a different race, a noble one. They believe in the purity of their belonging due to their ancestors whose *Karamat* are countless. The distinction between “*us*” and “*them*” becomes palpable and believed in by both sides. The outcome is that ordinary people eye the posterity as special people with hidden and potential *Karamat* capable, at any time, to reshew their supernatural powers. In fact, the *Awliya's* grandsons, even if they constitute a minority, are highly valued and revered by the masses. On the contrary, the posterity, mostly, tends to confine themselves to their in-groups. It is in fact crucial to find out the view of both well-educated and illiterate people towards the Jews of Morocco as well as the *Awliya's* posterity.

5 METHODOLOGY

Working on a topic which involves religion, Jews and the *Awliya* mostly encounter a number of hardships owing to the lack of specific data and objectivity as well. This topic highlights the view of Moroccan Muslims towards Moroccan Jews as well as the *Awliya* (saints) and their posterity. It is pivotal, in fact, to find out the outlook of people towards each group separately.

Among the difficulties that can be faced in any study in any developing country is that of distributing and collecting the questionnaires. Nevertheless, two hundred questionnaires were distributed in areas characterized by the existence of Jews like Marrakech and Fez. The questionnaire was also distributed in some other Moroccan cities such as Kelaa des Sraghna (88 Kms away from Marrakech), Lafkih Ben Slih (160 kms away from Marrakech). Furthermore, Statistical Product and Service Solution (SPSS) and Microsoft Office Excel are the major software programmes used during the analysis of the data in this study.

6 DATA ANALYSIS

As was mentioned before, the questionnaire in this study is divided into three main parts. The first one encompasses the respondent's general information; the second part involves questions about the *Awliya* and their prosperity whereas the third one is related to Moroccan Jews. Regarding the first part, the analysis of the two hundred questionnaires shows that 53% of the respondents are males and 47% are females as is shown in figure one.

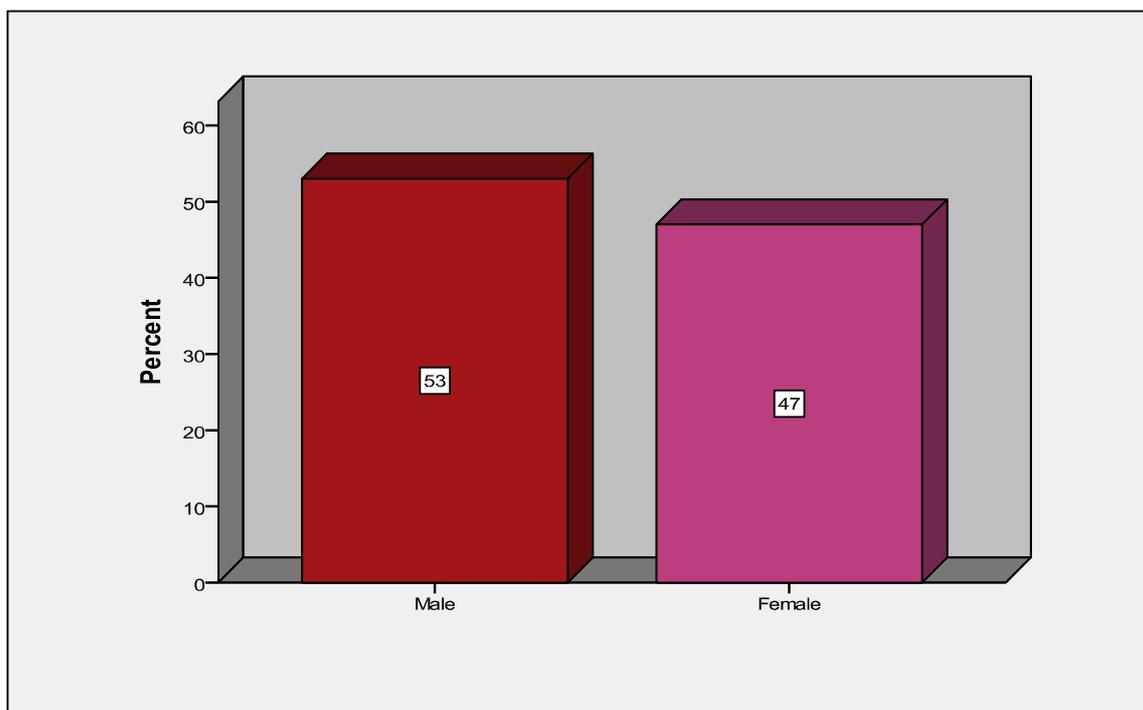


Figure1. Respondents' gender

Also, the analysis reveals that 19.5% of the cases are under the age of eighteen; 29.5% are between eighteen and thirty and 51% are over the age of thirty as is indicated in figure 2.

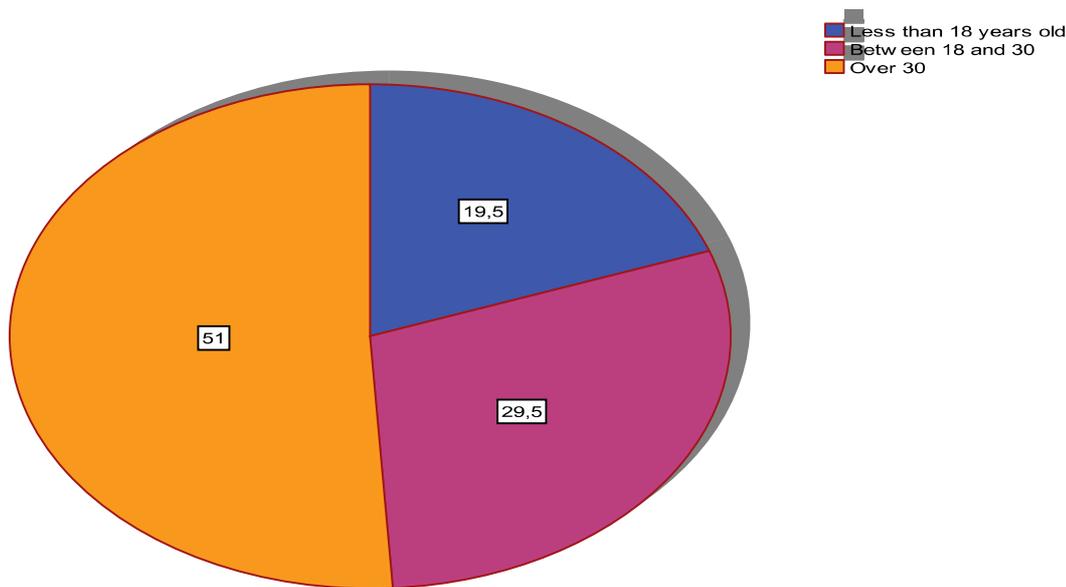


Figure2. Respondents' age

The last sub-part involves the level of education of all cases without exception. The analysis manifests that 1.5% of the respondents have never attended schools before; 16% are primary school graduates; 24% are secondary school graduates; 8.5% are high school graduates; 43% are undergraduates and 7% are post graduates as is shown in table two.

Table 3. Respondents' Level of Education

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No schooling	3	1,5	1,5	1,5
Primary school graduate	32	16,0	16,0	17,5
Secondary school graduate	48	24,0	24,0	41,5
High school graduate	17	8,5	8,5	50,0
undergraduate	86	43,0	43,0	93,0
Post graduate	14	7,0	7,0	100,0
Total	200	100,0	100,0	

The second part in the questionnaire encompasses five major questions. Moroccan respondents were asked in question number one to determine whether they attend the *Awliya's* shrines or not. The analysis of this question suggests that the bulk of respondents are interested in visiting shrines as is shown in figure three.

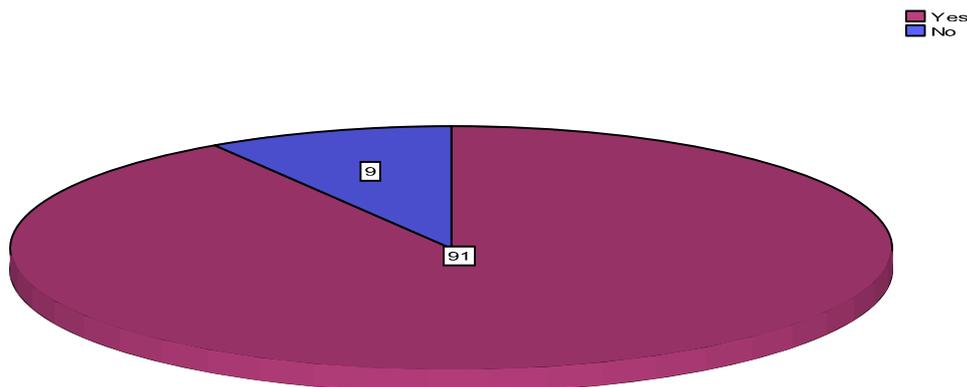


Figure3. Attending shrines

The figure shows that 91% of the cases attend the *Awliya's* shrines whereas 9% of the respondents are not interested in the process. The analysis further reveals that those who have never visited a shrine before are either undergraduates or post graduates as they consider the shrine to be a grave featured by the prevalence of superstition, social corruption, prostitution and ignorance. According to them, the *Wali* (saint) is a person who represents only himself. He is a devout person who worshipped Allah and devoted most of his time to teaching Qur'an to illiterate people. They consider the supernatural powers of the *Wali* as a lie created by some illiterate and ignorant people and employed by the posterity of the *Wali* to make lucrative benefits and to show the significance of their social belonging.

The second question in the second part is also of paramount importance. Respondents were asked whether they believe in the *Awliya's Karamat*. The analysis indicates that 51.5% of the cases believe in the *Karamat* of the *Awliya* while 48.5% do not consider these parapsychological powers as is shown in the following figure.

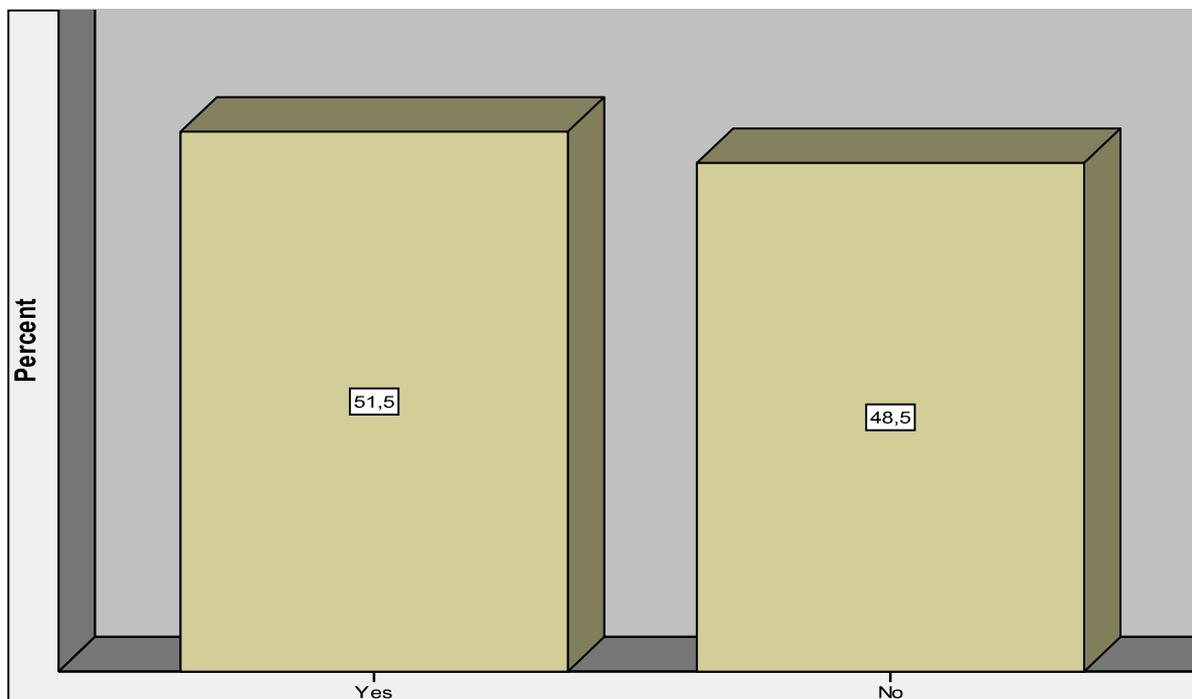


Figure4. Respondents who believe and do not believe in the Karamat

Visiting a shrine does not necessarily involve believing in the *Karamat* of the *Awliya*. Figure four suggests that 48.5% do not believe in the *Karamat* while figure three shows that the bulk of respondents have attended a shrine. Discovering the shrines and the *Karamat* of the *Awliya*'s posterity is an incentive that pushes even well-cultivated people to visit those shrines. Furthermore, the analysis manifests that the majority of low educated people in Morocco trust the *Karamat* of the *Awliya* and their grandsons. The belief in the power of the deceased *Awliya* and their grandsons results in total obedience and anxiety. To illuminate, the masses consider the supernatural powers of the *Awliya* to the extent that they should not mention even a single negative aspect related to them or their posterity so as to avoid divine punishment.

In question three, respondents were requested to determine whether the *Awliya*'s posterity has inherited some natural powers or not. Again, the analysis shows that 54.5% of the cases do not trust the inheritance of any supernatural powers while 45.5% do believe in such parapsychological powers as is indicated in figure five

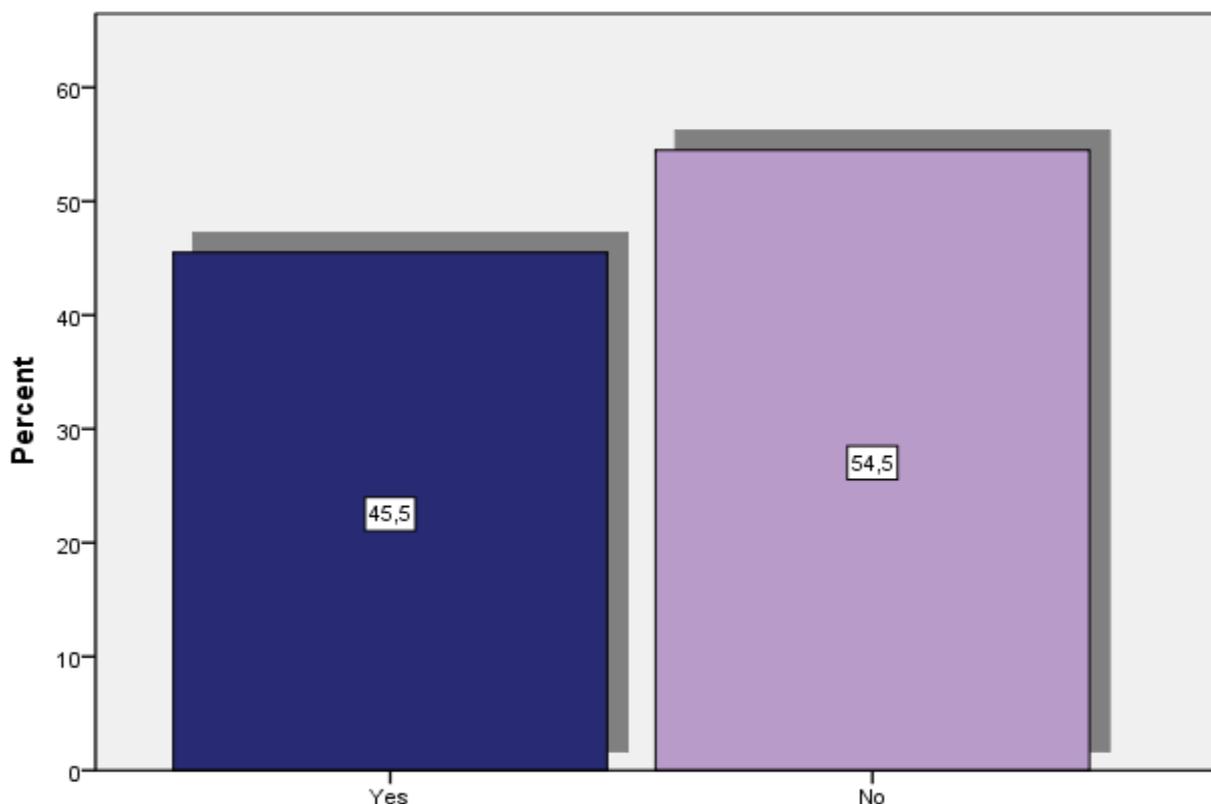


Figure5. Respondents who believe and do not believe in the *Karamat* of the posterity

Irrespective of the toll which reveals that the bulk of cases do not believe in any powers possessed by the posterity, it is crucial to take into account that 45.5% is a significant rate. Again, the analysis of this question suggests that all well-cultivated respondents, without exception, do not trust the posterity or the *Karamat*. In question four in this part, the general objective is directly eliciting the viewpoint of people concerning the *Awliya*'s posterity. 55% of the cases think that the *Awliya*'s grandsons are special creatures who are utterly different from the other human beings whereas 45% manifest their contradiction and their belief in the ordinariness of the posterity as is suggested in figure six.

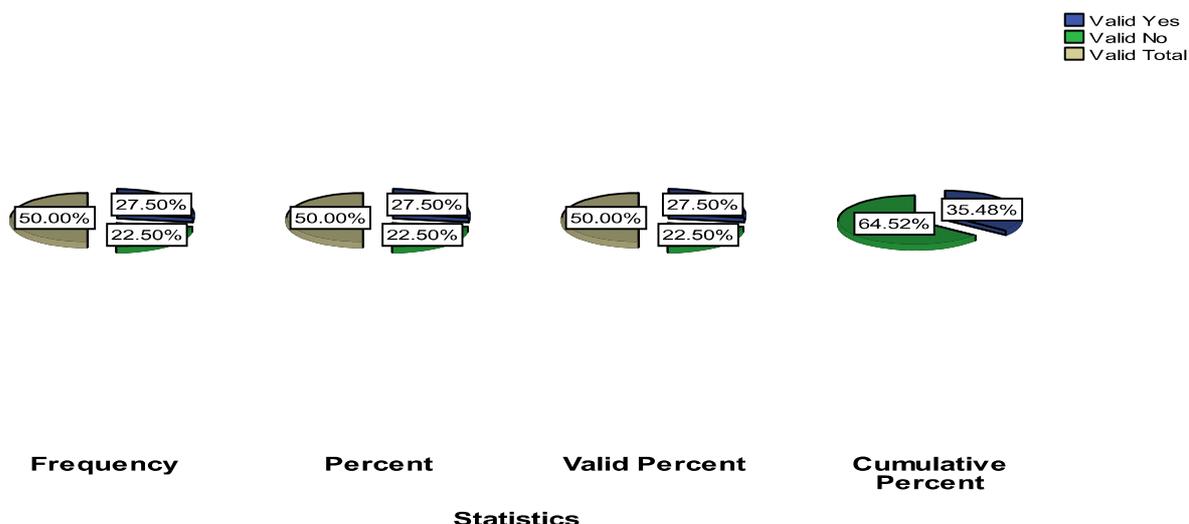


Figure 6. Respondents view concerning the posterity

Question five, originally, aims at minutely eliciting the outlook of the elite towards the posterity. Respondents were requested to determine whether the *Awliya's* grandsons are humble or haughty. The statistics of the analysis of this question are shown in the table three.

Table 4. Characteristics of the Posterity

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
humble	103	51,5	51,5	51,5
haughty	97	48,5	48,5	100,0
Total	200	100,0	100,0	

Most undergraduates and postgraduates view the *Awliya's* grandsons as haughty and arrogant seeking privileges as far as they consider themselves better than the others. In Morocco, hundreds of the *Awliya's* grandsons benefit from some privileges given by the government. To illustrate this point, they are provided with special cards that show their noble belonging and the latter are shown mostly during the violation of law for the sake of escaping punishment. Also, some of them benefited from a number of authorizations in transportation to own their own taxis and buses. These are only examples that show some of the gains of the posterity. Nevertheless, a number of voices have begun to rise in order to stop this segregation that only enlarges the gap between "us" and "them".

With respect to the third part which concerns only Jews, respondents were requested to specify whether they have any Jewish neighbors. The analysis of question six indicates that Moroccan respondents do not have Jewish neighbors and this is the result of the influx and migration of tens of thousands of Jews towards Israel and other destinations. Question seven is deductively germane to question seven. Respondents in this question were asked about their communication and contacts with Moroccan Jews. The analysis of the questionnaires show that only 3.5% of the cases who have contacted a Moroccan Jew while 96.5% have never communicated with Jews as is indicated in this figure.

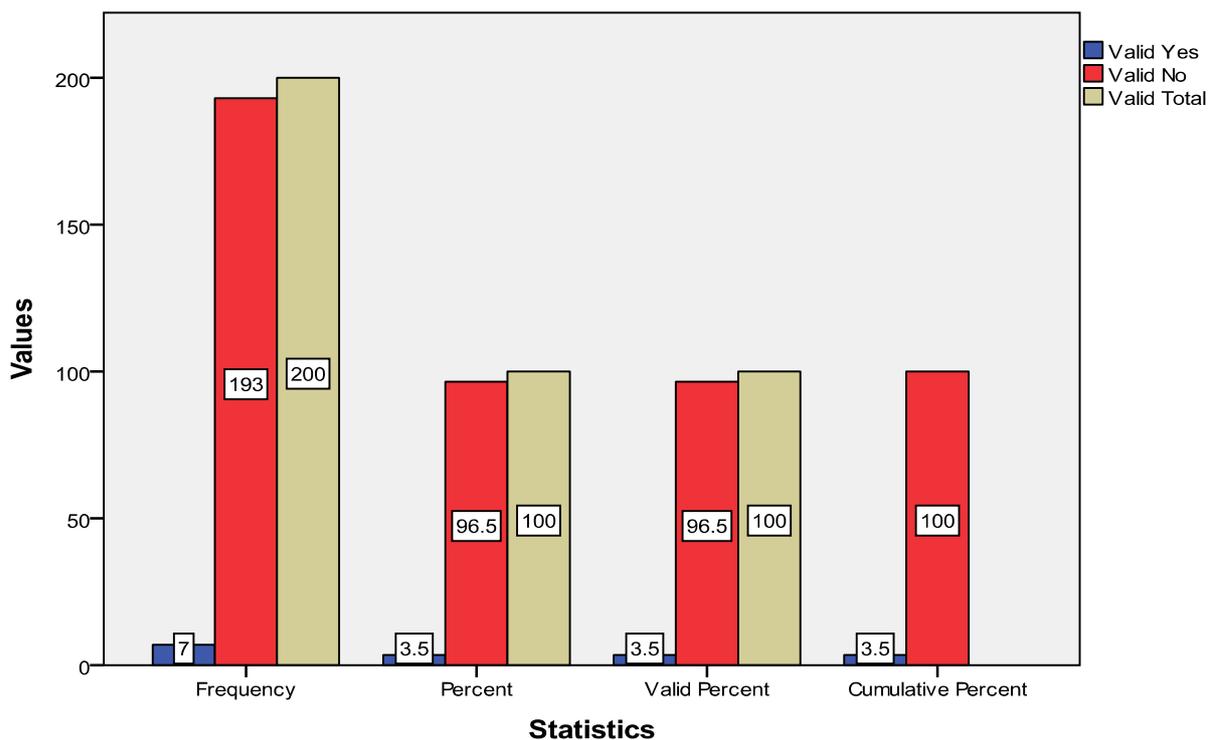


Figure6. Communicating with Jews

The last question can be considered as the most crucial in the third part. Respondents were requested to provide their point of view regarding Moroccan Jews. The analysis of this question shows that 0.5% of the cases think that the Jews are helpful; 1.5% consider them to be open-minded; 42% see them as mean; 7.5% believe they are dirty and 48.5% view them as selfish as is suggested in figure eight.

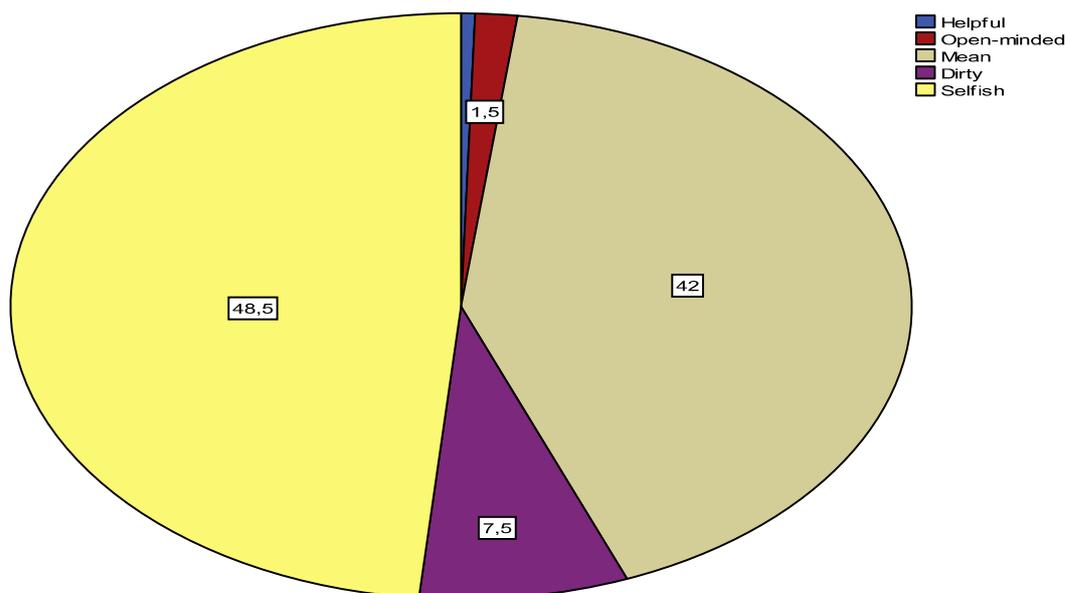


Figure7. Description of Jews

It is plain from the figure seven above that the bulk of respondents describe the Jews negatively due to a number of reasons. Low educated people, regardless of their age, mingle the Jews of Morocco with those of Israel. Killing and torturing Palestinians and Lebanese by Israeli soldiers in the occupied areas on a regular basis oblige Moroccan Muslims to abhor the Jews and their deeds and to believe in the ability of any Jew, regardless of their nationality, to kill and torture as well. Therefore, abhorring Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jews becomes the norm in this case. Further, the analysis manifests that Moroccan Jews are described positively only by under and post graduates.

7 CONCLUSION

The twentieth century is regarded as a real milestone in the history and life of Moroccan Jews. The torture of Palestinians and the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 have aggravated the problem and the gap between Jews and Muslims. *Mellahs*, in Morocco, as was mentioned earlier targeted Jews and their protection from any unprecedented upheavals. Tens of thousands of Jews were moved to *Mellahs* while others were born there and were in direct contact mostly with their social in-group. Jews are provided with several accounts, for they are described as dirty dogs and pigs capable of committing crimes with sangfroid. This distinction between “us” and “them” resulted in abhorrence and assaults. The recent status of Moroccan Jews has not yet altered. The analysis of the two hundred questionnaires indicated that the bulk of Moroccan Muslims regardless of their gender, age or level of education consider the Jews to be mean, dirty and selfish. The analysis showed that the majority of cases do not have Jewish neighbors and have never contacted them, but this judgment is derived from the retold stories about Jews in addition to the role of mass media in inciting hatred against Jews. These factors and others pushed thousands of Moroccan Jews to move to *Mellahs*, in different Moroccan cities, at the outset and then to migrate to Israel.

On the contrary, unbelievable stories were narrated to show the greatness and strength of the *Awliya* (saints) and their posterity. People trust the supernatural powers of the deceased *Wali* (saint) even from his grave. These beliefs and others nurture superstition in Morocco and lead people to revere the deceased saints and their posterity as well. The analysis of the questionnaires manifested that well-cultivated respondents are utterly conscious of the pretentious claims of the posterity. On the other hand, low educated people are extremely fond of the *Awliya* and their posterity believing in their power to create delight.

Generally, social hypocrisy becomes the norm in coping with both the Jews and *Awliya's* posterity and widens the gap between “us” and “them”. The former were compelled or chose to move to *Mellahs* due to a number of incidents whereby they were accused of violating the *Pact of Umar* while numerous newspapers in Morocco, on many occasions, reported incidents of rape, fraud, theft in addition to other crimes committed by some of the *Awliya's* grandsons. Such incidents have not yet altered the outlook of a huge number of people towards the posterity as occurred with the Jews.

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APPENDIX

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire is part of a study aiming at investigating the view of both well-cultivated and low educated people towards Moroccan Jews as well as the *Awliya's* posterity. You are highly requested to answer all the questions in this questionnaire. Your contribution will be greatly appreciated.

Gender: a- Male b- Female
 Age: a- Less than 18 b- 18- 30 c- Over 30
 Level of education: a- No schooling b- Primary school graduate c- Secondary school graduate
 d- High School graduate e- Undergraduate f- Post graduate

1. Have you ever attended a shrine before?
 a- Yes b- No
2. Do you believe in *Awliya's Karamat* (Parapsychological powers)?
 a- Yes b- No
3. Do you think that the *Awliya's* posterity has inherited some of the ancestors' *Karamat*?
 a- Yes b- No
4. Are the *Awliya's* grandsons special?
 a- Yes b- No
5. Are the *Awliya's* grandsons humble or haughty?
 a- Yes b- No
6. Do you have any Jewish neighbors?
 a- Yes b- No
7. Have you ever contacted or communicated with a Jew?
 a- Yes b- No
8. How would you describe Moroccan Jews in general?
 a- Helpful b- generous c- Determined d- Open-minded
 e- Mean f- Dirty g- Selfish h- Others (Please specify)