"*Anā min al-Yahūd*": The Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture in the Twentieth Century[1]

Reuven Snir

1. Introduction

In the wake of the national and political conflict in the Middle East from the late 1940s onward, Arab-Jewish culture has undergone a process of marginalization and negligence, resulting in a sharp decline in Arab-Muslim and Hebrew-Zionist national and cultural systems.[2] Both sides, due to particularist considerations, have refused to accept the legitimacy of Arab-Jewish hybridity, preferring to doubt its existence from a historical point of view. For example, the *Isrā'īliyyāt*, a term used by classical Muslim authors to denote material ascribed to Jews (*Banū Isrā'īl*), became a flashpoint for charges of Jewish or Zionist religio-cultural infiltration.[3] But in the formative period of Islamic civilization, when cultural contact between Jews and Muslims was more likely to have been marked by curiosity and interest rather than outward antagonism, Muslim scholars were well aware that Jewish scripture and lore deeply penetrated their own traditions, and thus engaged in a sharp discussion as to the potential impact of this influence.[4] Moreover, until the twentieth century, Arabness referred to a commonly shared culture and language that contained religious differences. The distinction in Arab lands has always been between Muslims, Jews, and Christians, and was never defined in terms of Arabs versus Jews.

Modern Western intellectual discourse has always highlighted the Judeo-Christian cultural heritage in spite of the fact that for half a millennium, the creative centers of Jewish life were to be found under Islam and not Christianity and to speak nowadays about a Judeo-Muslim heritage is undoubtedly historically no less justified.[5] The Jewish experience in the Muslim world has often been portrayed as an unending nightmare of oppression and humiliation. For example, writing under the pen name Bat Ye'or (Daughter of the Nile), Egyptian-born Giselle Littman argues that the myth of "peaceful co-existence" between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, especially during the Andalusian "Golden Age," propagated the Islamic version of the perfection of the *sharī'a* (Islamic law), and that this was to justify the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a "secular and democratic Arab Palestine, the multicultural Arab Palestinian State."[6] After the European Union voted unanimously to support a United Nation resolution condemning an Israeli fence in the occupied territories, Littman refers to a steady progression towards the

Arabization and Islamization of Europe that "has evolved from a Judeo-Christian civilization, with important post-Enlightenment elements, into a 'civilization of *dhimmitude*,' i.e., Eurabia: a secular-Muslim transitional society with its traditional Judeo-Christian mores still preserved." Littman says that Eurabia's contemporary anti-Zionist and anti-American leanings are "the spiritual heirs of 1930s Nazism and anti-Semitism, triumphally resurgent."[7]

The purpose of this article is to explore the gradual demise of the hybridic Arab-Jewish cultural option, which, from a historical point of view, used to coexist together with Arab-Muslim and Arab-Christian hybridic identities.

2. A Clash of Narratives

From the mid-nineteenth century, Arabic was taught in orthodox Sephardi Jewish community-schools in Jerusalem.[8] When the British Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) tried to encourage the orthodox Ashkenazis in Jerusalem to include Arabic in their school curriculums, however, he faced fierce opposition from Ashkenazi religious leaders.[9] Their reaction should be viewed against a dichotomizing background in which the Sephardi community prior to World War I was declining rapidly, while the Ashkenzi community, supported by the Zionist movement, was on the rise.[10] From 1911 onward, Arabic was included in the curriculum of most Jewish schools in Palestine, in particular those subsidized by the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), but Ashkenazi Zionist leaders never considered Arab culture to be an integral part of the national Jewish vision to be implanted in Palestine. They were guided by what Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the founder of modern Zionism, wrote in his *Der Judenstaat* (1896): "We should [in Palestine] form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism."[11] In his *Altneuland* (1902) Herzl describes a process designed to turn Palestine into a kind of European state within the Middle East: "The Jewish settlers who streamed into the country had brought with them the experience of the whole civilized world."[12] In his impressions of his journey to Palestine, Vasily Bermann, one of the earliest "Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) in Russia, wrote: "Order and cleanliness signify culture, Europe; filth and disorder, Asia; barbarism."[13] This approach was also shared by Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky (1880-1940), the founder and spiritual leader of Revisionist Zionism, who wrote in 1926: "For us, the Jews, there is nothing common – thanks God – with the Orient."[14]

Influential Zionist personalities such as Aḥad Ha-'Am (Asher Ginzberg) (1856-1927) and Joseph Klausner (1874-1958) were completely adverse to the idea of including Arabic in school curriculums. Even those who believed that the Andalusian Jewish "Golden Age" had not been a myth, but rather a solid historical reality, generally adhered to the Orientalist conception of the Arabs as a culturally extinct people who possessed an important ancient culture, but no contemporary one. During the European Enlightenment, contemporary Muslims were regarded as "ignorant, irrational, and superstitious, incapable of scientific thinking."[15] This

attitude prevailed throughout the 20th century in the West, presumably due to a classicist bias that viewed the artistic work of the Arabs, (and certainly the Jews among them) during the late Middle Ages and early renaissance, as essentially decadent and without aesthetic merits. Even as late as 1971, we find A.S. Halkin concluding his essay on Judeo-Arabic literature in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* by asserting that modern Jewish works in Arabic have little value.[16]

Nevertheless, there have been some historical attempts to encourage the study of Arabic. Yosef Luria (1871-1937) and Yitsḥak Epstein (1862-1943), supported Arabic studies as a way of establishing harmony between Jews, Muslims, and Christians, Epstein actually delivering a lecture at the Seventh Zionist Congress in Basel (1905) in which he called for a closer acquaintance with Arab peoples and their culture.[17] Writing in the Zionist newspaper *Ha-ḥerut*, the Jewish-Tunisian journalist Nissim Ya'qūb Mallūl (1892-1959)[18] claimed that language was not a major component in national identity, and that if Jews wanted to settle in Palestine, they should learn Arabic. He even called for the assimilation with the "people of the country," by learning and speaking their language.[19]

The Zionist educational system's approach to Arabic studies was cemented from the time German-Jewish Orientalists founded the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1926. They advocated a philological and historical approach with a strong emphasis on the study of classical literature and Islamic civilization, but with only a minor inclusion of aesthetic cultural elements.[20] From 1948 onward, this approach became predominant in Arabic studies, especially because it was seen through the lens of national security needs. An incentive to encourage Jews to learn Arabic might, for example, be so that they could serve in the Israeli army and hold positions in military intelligence or the security services. Until recently, the IDF's Intelligence Corps was deeply involved in influencing the Arabic curriculum and encouraging the study of Arabic cultures.

In the initial stages of these programs, Arab-Jewish immigrants mostly served as Arabic teachers, but in the course of time, Arabic was no longer the mother tongue of most teachers, who were usually graduates of Israeli universities and teacher-training colleges. As most new generations of Jewish teachers were not of Arab descent and lacked fluency in Arabic, they did not relate to the language in an aesthetic manner, their knowledge being orientated towards its functional or grammatical dimensions. Consequently, aesthetic aspects of the culture were neglected, and the curriculum tended to comprise grammar and syntax, reading paragraphs from classical Arabic literature and newspapers, and learning about the Muslim world. From the late 1970s, following Egyptian President Anwar al-Sādāt's visit to Israel, the Israeli Ministry of Education increased the number of Arabic classes and reorganized curriculums to include the study of Arabic in an inter-disciplinary way, so that Arabic would be taught along with history, literature, art, geography and so forth. In 1986, the Israeli Ministry of Education declared Arabic a mandatory subject in junior high schools, however many schools have ignored this requirement. Although it is now taught in hundreds of Hebrew schools,

the status of Arabic studies remains as low as ever. A Ministry supervisor once claimed that parents had called her and said: "Do you really want to turn my son into an Arafat aide?"[21]

At a tertiary level, aside from the Hebrew University, undergraduate and postgraduate Arabic and Arabic literature courses are taught at Tel-Aviv University, Bar-Ilan University and Haifa University. In recent years, a different conception of Arabic studies has been adopted, emphasizing cultural and aesthetic dimensions and differences. This has been possible due to the growing enrollment of Muslim, Christian and Druze students, as well as an increase in the number of lecturers advocating this new approach.[22] Arabic is also taught at the Technion in Haifa, where it is included as part of general studies, and at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba, where Arabic is a supplementary subject included in Middle Eastern history studies.

The philological-functional attitude to Arabic studies in Israeli academic and educational systems is accompanied by the specific attitude in which the Israeli and Hebrew canon of writers regard the Arabs. Early Hebrew fiction tends to present them as exotics, a romanticized people who exemplify life as envisaged by European Jews longing for their homeland or looking to transform themselves into pioneers. In their close identity with the land, the Arabs seemed to be everything that the urbanized Jews were not, and it is this particular image that the early settlers held up as paradigms for themselves. After the founding of the State of Israel, the nature of the fictional Arab changed. He was no longer idealized as the social model of the pioneering Jew, and his configuration became divorced from reality, more as a function of the writer's personality than from an attempt to explore political causality. In general, the Arab character is a central device in a literature whose primary generic characteristic is allegory. From the time of "The Prisoner" (1948)[23] by S. Yizhar (1916-1986), fictional Arabs have become part of a complicated schema through which the author examines aspects of Israeli identity and responsibility. They are also metonymic reminders that what is really at issue are the responses of Israeli artists, intellectuals, kibbutzniks and others to the 1948 War and the conquest of the 1967 War and its aftermath. There was consequently "little attempt to explore the feelings or motives of the Arabs through their literary representatives, who remained stereotypes of one form or another."[24]

Arab-Jewish literary voices have been marginalized from the start, and have been required to adapt to the Israeli and Hebrew canons, even if their Arabism generally reflects orientalized conceptions. One example is Yitzḥak Shami (1889-1949), who, in order to win respect as a Jewish-Hebrew writer, produced work that somehow turned its back on the Arab world. Shami did not completely abandon his Arabism; some of his stories place Arab-speaking subjects at their center, however while these writings were not "Arabic in essence and expression,"[25] and often took a highly critical view of Arabs and Arabism,[26] Shami was subsequently marginalized by the canon. Reading the stories in which he dealt with Arab characters, students of Arabic literature will see nothing that reflects any affinity between his characters

and the spirit of contemporary Arab culture. Instead, there is a concentration on folklore and the popular beliefs and conceptions which prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, Shami's 1928 novella, *Nikmat ha-'avot* (The Vengeance of the Fathers),[27] considered by scholars to be his most important work, reflects nothing of the renaissance Arabic literature had been going through at the time. During the inter-war period Arabic literature was under the influence of two major literary groups, the Egyptian *Apollo* and the New York-based *al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamiyya*,[28] however the Hebrew texts of Shami reflect nothing of these influences. To describe Shami as a "Jewish-Arab author,"[29] and "one of the most significant Palestinian writers of [the twentieth] century,"[30] does not really do justice to contemporary Arabic-Jewish-Palestinian literature.

In light of the Israeli-Hebrew literary canon's attitude to Arab culture, which was typified by a sense of superiority to and contempt for most authentic Arab cultural phenomena,[31] it is no wonder that Arab Jews in Zionist Israel experienced a serious culture shock upon arrival.[32] As the great majority of Arab Jews came to Israel after its establishment, they were completely dependent on the educational and cultural institutions set up by European-Jewish immigrants, especially the pioneer generations of Russians and Poles. Those immigrants sought to erase their past, but were unwilling to give up their European cultural preferences,[33] and thus their educational and cultural systems were never prepared to adopt dynamic or inclusive multiculturalism.[34] Unlike what Richard Rorty was preaching at the time, they never believed that the social function of Israeli educational and cultural institutions should be to "help students see that the national narrative around which their socialization is centered is an open-ended one," and "to help students realize that, despite the progress that the present has made over the past, the good has once again become the enemy of the better."[35]

Upon arriving in Israel the Arab Jews did not only experienced understandable alienation but were also marginalized and stigmatized as stagnant and backward[36] in conformity with the binary ethnic classifying division of Ashkenazim/Mizrahim,[37] which from 1948 started to reflect in a simplified way the heterogeneity of the various Jewish communities immigrating into the Jewish state.[38] Arab Jews were forced to pass through the Israeli-Zionist "melting pot" in order to adapt to the new society in Israel. This melting pot ignored the fact that many Arab-Jewish immigrants, such as those coming from Iraq, had already served, in their original traditional Arab societies, as agents of secularization and modernization. The attitude of the Zionist movement toward Arabic language and culture, rooted in the very conceptions of its first leaders, accelerated the process through which Arab Jews started to internalize the negative attitude in which the canonical Hebrew cultural center has always regarded Arab culture.[39]

Facing a denial of their original culture, especially when Jewishness was equated with Zionism in virtually synonymous terms, it would take several decades, if at all, before Arab Jews would be able to develop specific modes for coping with these alienating circumstances. The dilemma was particularly traumatic for people

from Egypt and Iraq, who, prior to immigration, were immersed in mainstream Arab-Islamic culture. Quite a few Arab-Jewish authors continued to write in Israel, publishing their work in Arabic and adhering to the poetics they had grown accustomed to in their native lands, however most of them felt excluded and faced a dilemma of an unprecedented nature. In Iraq, Arab cultural and national identity included Jews together with Muslims and Christians, however upon their arrival in Israel in the 1950s, Arab Jews discovered that Jewish identity had become a cultural and national identity. Instead of a language (Arabic) which permitted multi-layered national, religious, and ethnic entities, Arab Jews faced a new linguistic situation in which the language (Hebrew) enforced upon them was limited to only one religion, one nation and one ethnic entity. On top of this, advocates of Western-orientated cultural identity were bewailing the "danger" of the "Orientalization," "Arabization," or "Levantinization" of Israeli society.[40] These and other terms were used to express dismay whenever Arab culture was suggested as a possible component of the new Israeli society. The negative impact of all this on Arab-Jewish families has been apparent. Trying to conform to the Ashkenazi norm of the Sabra (a native-born Israeli Jew), children were made to feel ashamed of the Arabness of their parents. In his autobiographical story, "Pictures from the Elementary School,"[41] the Syrian-born writer Amnon Shamosh (b. 1929)[42] confesses that as a child, he forbade his mother to speak Arabic in public. "For our parents," the Moroccan-born poet Sami Shalom Chetrit (b. 1960) says, "all of us were agents of repression."[43] The Iraqi-born Yehuda Shenhav describes how in his childhood "I tried to escape my Mizrahi identity and to deny the existence of a Mizrahi issue."[44]

Due to national rather than religious motives and in order to avoid being mistaken for Arabs, many Arab Jews wear a Shield of David (the Jewish six-pointed star), on a "Hai" around their necks,[45] or a Kippah, a Jewish skullcap, on their heads. In order to escape their Arab identity, many of them have also hebraicized their names, and women of Arab-Jewish origin often dye their dark hair blond. Also, Arab-Jewish actors in Hebrew theater were advised to change their pronunciation from *'ayin* (guttural) to *aleph* (non-guttural) and their *ḥet* (guttural) to *khaf* (non-guttural).[46] The Iraqi-born actor Arieh Elyas (Albert Ilyās) (b. 1921)[47] was denied roles in the Israeli-Hebrew theater because of his accent: "I learned phonetics and diction in order to correct the *'ayin* and the *ḥet,* but to no avail," he writes.[48] Some scholars consider the aforementioned phenomena as a "rapid assimilation to the prevailing Israeli values and lifestyle," which "removed all meaningful differences on the general level."[49] However, one cannot ignore the fact that this assimilation conforms to the prevailing *Ashkenazi* values and lifestyle. All efforts of imitation have never completely abolished the differences; the desire of Arab Jews to belong have only, to use Abdelfattah Kilito's argument, marked their "animality."[50] At the same time, while Zionists are capable of viewing Arab Jews as being an impediment to peace in the Middle East; the same internalized oppression is also partially responsible for the nationalist positions that Arab Jews have adopted in response.[51]

"Stripped of our history," the Arab-Jewish scholar Ella Habiba Shohat writes, "we have been forced by our no-exit situation to repress our collective nostalgia, at least within the public sphere."[52] In the documentary *Forget Baghdad: Jews and Arabs – The Iraqi Connection*, which revolves around five Iraqi Arab Jews,[53] Shohat relates how, "when I went to kindergarten in Israel, I was aware that Arabic words sometimes slipped out when I spoke. I was ashamed." This was a direct result of the stigmatization and orientalization process that Arab Jews and their offspring have been forced to endure in Israel.[54] Shohat argues that the historical conflicts that forced Palestinians to relinquish their property, land and national-political rights, have been linked to the dispossession of Middle Eastern and North African Jews from their property, lands, and rootedness in Muslim countries: "We have been systematically discriminated against by institutions that have deployed their energies and material to the constant advantage of European Jews and to the constant disadvantage of Oriental Jews. Even our physiognomies betray us, leading us to internalized colonialism or physical misperception." Shohat sees herself "as a member of a marginalized majority in Israel that has experienced the systematic discrimination and institutional suppression of Middle Eastern history and culture."[55] With the intent of multiculturalizing notions of Jewishness, she questions the Eurocentric opposition of Arab and Jew, particularly the denial of hybridic Arab-Jewish voices both in Middle Eastern and Western contexts. To be a European or American Jew has hardly been perceived as a contradiction, but to be an Arab Jew has been seen as a kind of logical paradox, even an ontological subversion. Shohat says she has often been obliged to explain the "mysteries" of this oxymoronic entity. "This binarism has led many Oriental Jews to a profound and visceral schizophrenia, since for the first time in our history, Arabness and Jewishness have been imposed as antonyms."[56] Together with Robert Stam, Ella Shohat argues that Multiculturalism and Eurocentrism are inseparable concepts, and that each becomes impoverished without the other: "Multiculturalism without the critique of Eurocentrism runs the risk of being merely accretive – a shopping mall boutique of the world's cultures while the critique of Eurocentrism without multiculturalism runs the risk of simply inverting existing hierarchies rather than profoundly rethinking and unsettling them."[57]

The inferiority complex of Arab Jews deepened as a result of negative attitudes on the part of the Hebrew establishment,[58] which imposed its interpretative norms over Arabic culture under the umbrella of leftist-liberalism. Due to the predominantly Ashkenazi orientation of Israeli culture, Arab culture was rejected in the dominant circles. A good illustration of this can be found within the departments of Hebrew and comparative literature at Israeli universities, where there are few tenured academic scholars of modern Hebrew or comparative literature who have a knowledge of Arabic or have taken the trouble to study the culture's literature. The canon cannot openly express its dismissive attitude for fear that it would voice a disparaging attitude towards the "other," however the establishment's attitude is particularly evident after multiculturalism has become a fashionable component of the local

intellectual and academic discourse, and when consensus of opinion is that the Eurocentric character of Israeli education and culture should be multiculturalized. To resolve this "cognitive dissonance" and preserve the cozy reassurance of its liberal and tolerant attitude towards Arab culture, the establishment assigns "chosen" representatives in the cultural arena, such as the Druze Na'īm 'Arāyidī (b. 1948) or the Christian Anṭūn Shammās (b. 1950), as representatives of the Palestinian minority,[59] as well as Hebrew Arab-Jewish writers such as Eli Amir (b. 1937)[60] or the previously mentioned Sami Michael.[61]

Gershon Shaked's five-volumes on the development of Hebrew narrative fiction between 1880 and 1990[62] illustrates this point by grouping Arab-Jewish writers together even though, in the case of Shimon Ballas (b. 1930)[63] and Sami Michael, they have little in common with each other except their Iraqi Communist origins. This attitude towards Arab-Jewish writers is also evident in Shaked's television series, *Leshon ha-mar'ot: 'al sifrut ve-ḥevra* (The language of mirrors: on literature and society).[64] Episode 10, entitled "There is Beauty in Those Songs," focuses on Arab and Islamic immigration in the 1950s, grouping together works by Michael, Ballas, as well as Yehosua Kenaz (b. 1937), Nathan Shaḥam (b. 1925), and Yitsḥak Ben-Ner (b. 1937). It should be noted that the works of Michael and Ballas are quoted for their documentary value as opposed to their aesthetic merits.

Ha-merkaz le-shiluv moreshet yahadut sepharad ve-ha-mizraḥ (The center for the integration of the heritage of the Oriental and Sephardi Jewry), established in 1977 by the Israeli Ministry of Education, has been cited as proof that Israel is tolerant of Arab-Jewish culture. However, the center's main orientation has been Zionist, and it has hardly dealt with modern Jewish-Arab culture.[65] Also, a survey of Israeli print and electronic cultural magazines would show that interest in Arabic literature and culture is not a truly aesthetic tendency, but rather a politically-correct enterprise. When the Israeli media needs to present a view of the "other," it usually turns to the same writers and intellectuals who seem to be on-call playing the role of decorative tokens in Israeli culture. Whenever an academic, cultural, social or political activity requires a "authentic Oriental speaker," the same names emerge and the speakers are "forever 'burdened' with "the glorious weight of that representation."[66]

Circumventing the aforementioned dissonance, intellectuals at the canonical center often resort to leftist-liberal tendencies without any leanings towards Arab culture. For example, the Hebrew poet Aharon Shabtay (b. 1939) declares in one of his poems, "I am a Palestinian Jew,"[67] however his declaration is a mere political stance and has nothing to do with any cultural Arab-Jewish vision, as the Arabic language and Arab-Muslim culture are by no means among Shabtay's intellectual or aesthetic interests. Nor should Shulamith Hareven's (1930-2003) proclamation "I am a Levantine"[68] be considered to express any preference for Arab culture, but should be seen as a kind of romantic and sentimental leaning toward the scenes and atmosphere of the Levant. Also, dedicating the 10th issue of the journal *Dimuy* (Simile) to the topic of "Turning the Face toward the East," editor Hava Pinhas-Cohen wrote a preface in which the terms "Sephardi" or "Mizrahi" are frequently

mentioned, but without any mention of "Arab" or "Arabic." She states that "the Sephardi-Mizrahi identity was formed in 1492," but when she mentions communities which belong to the "Mizrahi" psychological structure, but whose origins were not Spanish, she does not mention Arab culture, saying that "sometimes their roots were attributed to the Second Temple Exile" (p. 4). The way she ignores the Arab dimension in the Mizrahi identity is instructive. Skipping the Arab component in the Sephardi-Mizrahi identity is standard practice in contemporary Israel, even if it is not openly admitted. When a distinguished Jewish scholar such as Aviezer Ravitzky warns against the demonization of Islam and the dehumanization of Muslims, his point of departure is not cultural, but merely historical-pragmatic, concerning the "national interest" and the "Jewish long term future."[69] Proficiency in Arabic among Jews in modern Israel is very low[70] and can usually be traced to two cases: Arab Jews who immigrated to Israel having already mastered the language, or those who make a living from their knowledge of Arabic, whether in the governmental, educational or security services. Moreover, the reluctance of Arab-Jewish intellectuals to touch upon Arabic belles lettres, including those written by Jews, is very interesting. For those who speak about the importance of accepting the hybridic Arab-Jewish option, their cultural identity is more a political or academic, rather than ethnic or cultural, concern.[71]

In light of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), the development of postcolonial theories and the rise of multicultural studies gave rise to a critical literature focusing on the way the hegemonic Ashkenzi society of the 1950s attempted to absorb Arab-Jews into its culture. More Arab-Jewish intellectuals had gradually become aware that the Israeli Western-Ashkenazi cultural center imposed limits on thought about the Arab-Jewish legacy, just as Orientalism imposed limits upon thought about the Orient. Like Orientalism, the Western-Ashkenazi center had "a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the "other" (the Orient, the East, 'them')."[72] "Since the hegemonic Zionist narrative saw itself as part of a Eurocentric narrative," Gabriel Piterberg writes, "it adopted the dichotomy between East and West as a given, objective category. In order to be incorporated into the narrative, Arab Jews were forced to negate their memory and culture, just as 'the Exilic Jew' had been forced to do according to the general pattern of the Negation of Exile, in order to transform themselves and become eligible to join the Zionist/Israeli imagined community."[73] According to Shimon Ballas, one of the first Arab Jews to revive the Arab-Jewish option in his Hebrew writings, "Zionist ideology is essentially an Ashkenazi ideology that developed in a different culture, in different surroundings, in a different world, and which came to claim its stake here in the Middle East through alienation and hostility towards the surroundings, with a rejection of the surroundings, with no acceptance of the environment."[74]

3. The Negation of Hybridic Arab-Jewish Cultural Identity

The German scholar Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), was so vigorously and enthusiastically insistent on introducing the terms "Arab Judaism" or "Jewish Arabism" into Jewish Western cultural discourse,[75] that Rabbi Zecharias Frankel (1801-1875) cautioned him against his excessive "Arabomania."[76] In his novel *Coningsby or the New Generation* (1844), the Jewish-English Prime Minister and novelist Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) made many references to "Mosaic Arabs," side by side with "Mohammedan Arabs." Speaking about the superior races, he stated that "the Arabian tribes rank in the first and superior class, together with the Saxon and the Greek [...] The Hebrew is an unmixed race [...] the Mosiac Arabs are the most ancient, if not the only unmixed blood that dwells in cities."[77] The Jewish Prussian-born historian Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891) was impressed that the Jews of Arabia had become "so thoroughly Arabic that they were distinguished from the natives of the country only by their religious beliefs,"[78] and that they "were likewise able to speak with elegance the Arabic language and to adorn their poetry with rhymes."[79] Struck by the high degree of Jewish cultural assimilation in al-Andalus, Graetz was one of the creators of the notion of the Andalusian Golden Age in a country the Jews loved "as only a fatherland can be loved."[80] Furthermore, their Arab fellow-citizens were "as proud of the Jewish poets as the Jews themselves."[81]

The frequent references with which European Jewish scholars and writers made to Arab-Jewish identity in the nineteenth century, combined with the emphasis they put on Jewish cultural assimilation into medieval Arabic society, can be seen as part of a European tendency to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards Muslims and Arabs. This should, however, be viewed against the dark prism of disappointment associated with what was seen then as Christian intolerance and barbarism, and as proof of what could be possible in an enlightened atmosphere.[82] This was also the time when German-Jewish scholars applied the biological notion of symbiosis to the idea of cultural intermingling between Jews and non-Jews,[83] however due to the previously mentioned classicist bias, the artistic work of contemporary Muslims and Arabs was considered decadent and without aesthetic merits.

From the beginning of modern Zionism, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel, hybridic terms started to disappear from the cultural discourse of both the Jewish and Arab worlds. References to Arab-Jewish cultural activities generally meant activities where Jewish *and* Arab artists are participating.[84] The disappearance of Arab-Jewish hybridity was like a *deus ex machina* solution to a delicate problem that could have hampered the creation of the Jewish nation-state. One of the very few attempts to challenge the demise of such hybridity was Michael Selzer's *The Aryanization of the Jewish State* (1967). Selzer, who worked as a liaison officer for the Council of the Sephardi Community in Jerusalem, refers to the attempt to recast Mizrahi immigrants in an Ashkenazi image, comparing the governmental policy of *Mizzug ha-galuyot* (The merging of the exiles) to what T.B. Macaulay (1800-1859) defined, in a speech he made in 1834 before the

General Committee on Public Instruction, as one of the educational objectives of the British in India; that is, the creation of a new type of person who would be, "Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."[85]

Due to the recent activities of a new generation of post-Zionist intellectuals of Arab-Jewish origin, the hybridic terms of identity have made a marginal comeback in academic scholarship.[86] Such intellectuals have argued that prior to their immigration to Israel, Arab Jews had closer cultural links with Arabs than with Ashkenazi Jews, and that the Zionist nationalism forced on Arab Jews has blurred their cultural identity, while the national conflict in the Middle East left little room for complex identities, resulting in the pressurized need to choose between being a Jew or an Arab. For Arab-Jewish families abruptly relocated to Israel, the effect of suddenly being forced to assume a homogenous European Jewish identity was an exercise in self devastation. Calling for an end to the simplistic creation of Middle Eastern identities, as well as a revival of the hybrid "Arab-Jewish" cultural identity, these intellectuals have started to challenge the Zionist idea that Jews can never be "Arab." This can be likened to trying to redraw the cultural map by examining the relationship between Jews and Arabs through various political, social and historical moments.[87]

There has also been a recent appearance of Mizrahi artists who have started to celebrate their identities as Arab.[88] Greatly contributing to this comeback is the journal *Te'oria u-bikoret* (Theory and criticism). More than 27 issues have already been published by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, and from the 16th issue (2000) onward, the editor has been the aforementioned Yehuda Shenhav, a Tel-Aviv University professor and one of the activists of *Ha-keshet ha-demokratit ha-mizraḥit* (The Mizrahi democratic rainbow).[89] According to Shenhav, the process of inclusion and exclusion within Jewish nationalism bounces back and forth: "It is as though we are told, 'You are one of us, but a distant relative.' That is to say, you are almost like the Ashkenazim, but not exactly. As opposed to the Palestinians, you are a part of the collective. However within the Zionist nationalist movement, you are marginal and have become ethnicized,"[90] he writes. The militant outlooks expressed by many Arab Jews towards Arabs are the result of years of a European Zionist ideology that has always regarded Arab culture with contempt.[91] Shenhav argues that the negation of the East and the crystallization of Western culture within Zionism are a powerful driving force; and that the East serves as a wall, or as an "other" which Zionism uses in order to define itself.

Because Zionist conditioning informs the way Arab-Jewish immigrants view Arabs and their culture, a large part of the multiculturalist struggle is a struggle to define collective memory. Just as the memory of the Holocaust has been mobilized for the sake of the State of Israel, the *Farhūd* pogrom in Baghdad has been co-opted as part of the Holocaust in publications by the Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center in Or-Yehuda (BJHC).[92] Since its foundation in 1972, the center has painted Jewish Iraqi modern history in strong Zionist colors, even sending a letter to the Ministry

of Education asking why "the Holocaust in Baghdad" was not a major part of the educational program in the study of history. In April 1998, a museum was opened within the center, adopting the memorialization practices used in Yad Vashem, Israel's national Holocaust memorial.[93] As a result of these initiatives, Arab Jews and their offspring are now calling to be included in the Jewish national collective by claiming their place in the civil religion defined by the Holocaust.

The Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East has also adopted a similar approach to the *Farhūd*, but to a lesser degree. In a book on the Jews of Iraq, published within a series on Jewish Communities in the East during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the first illustration after the introduction is a painting by Mordekhai Moreh (b. 1937) titled "Pogrom." The painting, which reflects the painter's childhood experience during the *Farhūd* in Baghdad, is so striking in its color and the use of the symbol of crucifixion, that one can hardly ignore the manipulative method through which the history of Iraqi Jews is conveyed to the readers.[94]

By such effective activities, the aforementioned institutions have "succeeded" in exporting this conception. For example, in January 2005, the Los Angeles Holocaust Memorial Museum and California State University's Center for Excellence on the Study of the Holocaust, Genocide, Human Rights, and Tolerance, simultaneously announced that they would officially recognize and remember the *Farhūd* as "a forgotten Holocaust pogrom."[95] Also, at the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, the *Farhūd* was described as part of the Holocaust: "a day in 1941 which marked the start of the end of Jews in Iraq. On June 1, many hundreds of Iraqi Jews were brutally killed by local Arabs *trained by the Nazis*."[96] Recently, the writer Edwin Black protested that "the pogrom, encouraged by the Nazis against the Jews of Iraq in 1941," was not mentioned in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.[97]

As for Jewish scholarship outside Israel, apart from a general tendency to ignore Middle Eastern Jewry when using the definite article to refer to "The Jews",[98] there is little recognition of the legitimacy of Arab-Jewish literature. For example, Sorrel Kerbel's reference work on modern Jewish Writers[99] provides introductory surveys for American-Jewish literature, British-Jewish literature, Hebrew literature in the twentieth century, Holocaust writing and Yiddish writing in the twentieth century (pp. 3-22), but nothing on Arab-Jewish writing. Among more that 340 entries on Jewish writers, the work does not include one author whose main writing was in Arabic.[100] Also, a recent anthology of Jewish poetry in world literature includes 100 poets, none of whom have written in Arabic.[101] There is even a tendency to consider the modest contribution in the study of Arab-Jewish culture to be a "danger" to Zionism, such as the essay "The Return of 'Diasporism,'" which refers to "a full-blown, fully legitimized intellectual movement, comprised of intellectuals and academics of varying calibers, united in their hatred of Jewish nationalism in any form, and determined to return to the 'good old days' of Jews 'fertilizing' other cultures."[102]

In the present Israeli Western-oriented culture, the terms "Arab-Jewish" or "Jewish-Arab" refer almost exclusively to activities concerning both Arabs *and* Jews. Thus when the press mentions a "Jewish-Arab Musical Youth Orchestra,"[103] it is unreasonable to suppose that this refers to any sort of revival of the Jewish-Arab Baghdadi ensembles of the 1930s. For example, the *maqām* orchestra that represented Iraq at the First Congress of Arabic Music (Cairo, 1932) was entirely Jewish. Also the orchestra of the Baghdad Broadcasting House consisted of five Jews and one Muslim. Both ensembles performed with the well-known Muslim recitalist Muḥammad al-Qubbāndjī (1901-1989).[104] What is now meant by "Jewish-Arab" or "Arab-Jewish" is quite different to the meaning of this term in pre-1948 Baghdad, Cairo or Beirut.[105] Consequently, Israeli-Arab Jews and their offspring have three main cultural options. The first of them, the revival of active Jewish involvement in Arab canonical culture, is probably impossible[106] The Iraqi-born Jewish writer Samīr (Moshe) Naqqāsh (1938-2004)[107] epitomizes the feelings of all Mohigans still writing in Arabic when he said: "I don't exist in this country [Israel], not as a writer [...] I don't feel that I belong anywhere, not since my roots were torn from the ground [in Iraq]."[108]

The second option is involvement in popular Israeli culture; an option that is characterized by a strong desire for legitimacy. Jewish musicians and singers of Arab origin have accomplished a great deal in this field, a fact that has become obvious from the time of the appearance in the mid-1960s of what was known as *musika mizraḥīt* (literary "eastern [Jewish] music").[109] *Musika mizraḥīt* is a Mediterranean genre of popular music adapted to the Israeli Hebrew scene.[110] Audio cassettes and video tapes, both of which became exceedingly popular, were sold in marketplaces and at central bus stations.[111] *Musika mizraḥīt* has become popular in the general community, not only with Eastern Jews, but also with European Jews, and has started to reach a large audience via electronic media and the internet. The popularity of *musika mizraḥīt* seems to be a result of two factors: first, as the Israeli media has become increasingly ratings-oriented – such music has proved its capability to play to a wide audience and increase the profits of the media outlets[112] – and second, it stems from the cognitive dissonance encouraged and promoted by the programming directors of the aforementioned media outlets.[113] The acceptance of *musika mizraḥīt* into Israeli culture by no means suggests that the Israeli mainstream has succeeded in dominating this music, but is more a sign that Israeli popular culture has been "forced to meet it on equal terms."[114] *Musika mizraḥīt* has been accepted because it has successfully accommodated the patterns and demographics of mainstream Israeli popular music, and while this acceptance could be interpreted as a failure of the original subversive aim of this kind of music, what was initially considered to be a subversion of the Eurocentric nature of Israeli culture now serves as a strategy for escaping Arabization, while at the same time developing a sense of connection between Arabic and Israeli (Western-oriented) culture.[115]

I now want to concentrate on the third cultural option facing Arab Israeli Jews – participation in the activities of the canonical Hebrew culture.

4. Hebrew Culture as a Refuge

This option is taken by Jewish writers and poets of Arab origin who have stopped writing in Arabic and moved on to write in Hebrew.[116] Their cultural background is revealed in their work, and tends to focus on the clash between Arab-Jewish and Zionist-Israeli narratives. Sometimes these writers attempt to reconcile East and West in the shaping of the new Israeli culture, or they might favor the "Levantine" option. Some of them view Israeli culture as anti-Arab, and lean towards an anti-Ashkenazi orientation. We may also find a preference for the universal philosophical existentialist option without any visible connection with Arab culture, as we find in the writings of Shelomo Zamir (b. 1929).[117] A much more favored option, however, is the adoption of the Zionist master-narrative with an insistence on various degrees of relationship to Arab culture, both out of a true preference for Arab culture or as a way of securing a position within Israeli culture as representatives of the "other," the Arab-Jew. Among these writers are Sami Michael and Eli Amir, as well as Sālim al-Kātib (Shalom Katav) (b. 1931),[118] and writers who have never written in Arabic, but go back to their Arab roots to present their views towards Israeli society. Amnon Shamosh, for example, argues that Israeli society is a new society in the making, a meeting place for people from more than a hundred countries. Unlike Kipling's India, he says, "East is East and West is West but the twain must meet, and do!"[119] Yitsḥak Gormezano-Goren (b. 1941)[120] writes nostalgically about his birthplace in Alexandria, Egypt, but one can feel in his writings a sense of superiority vis-à-vis Arab culture that is typical of many Egyptian-born Jews.[121] On the other hand, we have Lev Hakak (b. 1944),[122] a professor of Hebrew literature at the University of California, writing some of the most radical literary works directed against the canonical center of Hebrew literature, while at the same time expressing his desire to be part of it.[123]

An interesting case is the novelist A.B. Yehoshua (b. 1936), a pillar of the Israeli literary establishment, whose father was the Arab-Jewish journalist and scholar Yaacob Yehoshua (1905-1982).[124] In some of his writings, A.B. Yehoshua goes back to his Arabic roots, and his novel *Ha-kalla ha-meshaḥreret* (The liberating bride) (2001) not only has large portions of Arabic texts in Hebrew,[125] but also laments the absence of the Arab component in Israeli culture. In one of the episodes which reflects the author's own inner voice, we find the protagonist, Professor Tedeschi, declaring: "We have no hope of understanding the Arabs rationally, therefore we must go back and study profoundly their poetry "(p. 500).[126]

Shimon Ballas is probably the only Iraqi-born Jewish author who has successfully adapted to writing in Hebrew while still adhering to Arab cultural preferences. "I am an Arab Jew," he says, "I write in Hebrew and I belong here. This does not mean that I have given up my cultural origins; my cultural origins are Arab."[127] From the mid-1960s, Ballas has challenged Ashkenazi Western-oriented Hebrew literature and its reluctance to accept the legitimacy of Arab culture. Only after a demarcation in the boundaries of the Hebrew literary canon, he argues, will Israeli

society be able to boast an original culture that expresses the aspirations of all its citizens – Jewish, Muslim, and Christian. Most of Ballas's literary protagonists are outsiders who live in the margins of society and refuse to compromise their principles.[128] Preaching a new connection between identity, language, and territory, Ballas demystifies Hebrew, attempting to divorce it from Jewishness in a process that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have termed "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization."[129] Ballas's view, as presented in his novel *Ve-hu akher* (And He is Other) (1991),[130] is that Jewish-Arabism must be considered as a legitimate option for Israeli society. A number of critics have commented that this novel could only have been written by an Iraqi author and the fact that it is in Hebrew is not particularly significant. Ballas himself admits: "Even though I am a Hebrew writer and I write in Hebrew, I am not affiliated with Hebrew literature."[131]

As for younger Hebrew writers and poets expressing their desire to return to their Arab roots, most of them have not become proficient in Arabic, and their interest in their origins is vented in a suggestive way or voiced in the form of support for the Mizrahi or Arab-Jewish cause, as is the case with Iraqi writer Ronny Someck (b. 1951) and Moroccan writers Erez Bitton (b. 1942), Albert Suissa (b. 1959),[132] and Moshe Benarroch (b. 1959). Expressing the credo of these writers, Benarroch published the long poem *Kinat ha-mehager* (The immigrant's lament) which concludes with the following lines:

I shout my right
To be different
To be Sephardi
To be traditional
In the Israeli society
To be secular and religious
Not right and not left
I demand my right
To stop feeling
Strange and detached
I am the Israeli.[133]

There is also the unique Mizrahi voice of Ronit Matalon (b. 1959), whose *Zeh 'im ha-panim 'eleynu* (The One Facing Us) (1995) contains the passage: "the nationalist narrative unfolds across vast geographic expanses by means of which the Mizrahi story of immigration to Israel is presented as yet one more possible story, undermining the exclusivity of the dominant and ostensibly natural Ashkenazi immigration."[134] Referring to the tragedy engulfing the Arab Jews who, as new immigrants in Israel, found Arabic culture to be despised, she says: "our life here in Israel mostly depends on the ability to learn to live with the East."[135]

Finally, an exceptional meta-fictional Hebrew story with an Arabic title provides some evidence that Arab-Jewish cultural hybridity may be on the demise. "Anā

min al-Yahūd" (I'm One of the Jews), by Almog Behar (b. 1978)[136] won first place in a short story competition organized by the literary supplement of Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz*. The *Arabic* title of the *Hebrew* story is understandable for every Hebrew-speaking Israeli as the Arabic words correspond to the same Hebrew words, indicating the Semitic root and the similarity of both languages. But the title shocks readers who are not used to such titles in Hebrew literature. The plot of the story is surrealist: as the narrator walks down a street in Jerusalem, he loses his Hebrew Israeli accent and begins to speak in the Arabic accent of his grandfather: "Suddenly that beautiful voice which had been entirely in my past started coming out of me, and not as a beggar and not asking for crumbs, but truly my voice, my voice strong and clear." No matter how hard the narrator tries to extricate himself from an accent that has emerged from the distance of two generations of forgetting, he is unable to do so: "I tried and tried to soften the glottal *'ayyin*, because of the looks from the teachers and other children, but strangers passing by just rooted me to the spot. I tried to soften the pharyngeal fricative *ḥet* and pronounce it gutturally like *khaf*, I tried to make the *tsadi* sound less like an *samekh,* I tried to get rid of that glottal Iraqi *quf,* but the effort failed." The "return to roots," which is accompanied by reviving the pre-1948 Palestinian reality in Jerusalem, only exacerbates the narrator's estrangement. The Jews suspect him of being an Arab, and the Arabs alienate themselves from him. Policemen target him on the streets, forcing the narrator to pull out his identity card and point to his nationality before every passing policeman can ask him for it, telling them: "*anā min al-yahūd, anā min al-yahūd*." but the policemen investigate him slowly, going over his body with metal detectors, eager to defuse any suspicious object. Suddenly explosive devices appear within his heart, "swelling and refusing to be defused, thundering and thundering." But at the same time, the narrator is suffering a sort of schizophrenia, and his self denial of his new identity reflects the tragedy of the demise of the Arab-Jewish hybridity: "And my heart did not know that I had returned to my heart, he didn't know, and my fears didn't know they had all returned to me, they did not know."

As the story progresses, this meta-fictional "plague" begins to strike other Israelis, who start to speak in the accents of their parents and grandparents. "His companion wondered about his voice, but suddenly she was infected and her lips connected to a jumble of her father's Yemenite Arabic accent and her mother's Istambouli Ladino accent. Also, this *dybbuk* was haunting Ashkenazim. The security authorities begin to keep track of who had been infected by whom with the forbidden accents, and there was concern that the country would be filled with Arabs, many, many Arabs, and therefore the authorities decided to reinforce the radio with announcers whose Hebrew was so pure that we would feel alien in our speech."

The narrator's parents stand staunchly against their son and the plague, remembering the years of effort they had invested in acquiring their clean Israeli accents, and begin to hint strongly that their son should cease and desist. But his ears are not open to hearing them, and their accents became alien and distant. His deceased grandfather also starts to complain, asking the narrator: "How have I

come to trouble your life? I am the generation of the desert and how have you arisen to renew me. You are the generation for which we waited, so that there would be no difference between its past and the past of its teachers, because our past was already very painful and we remained in the desert where the birds of prey ate us, for your sake." And also: "Build extensions in your heart, my grandson, make many departments and lodge me in one of the hidden departments, and live in the rest of them. Or move into the silence department, because the change you thought is occurring is too simple, and what is going to change if a different accent is spoken? Will I live again, will you live my new life?" Following the advice of his grandfather, the narrator chooses silence, only to discover that this too does not provide security, and he is eventually taken to jail. There, he starts to write stories and poems in opposition to Hebrew, in Hebrew, because he has no other language to write in. In silence, he shows his writings to his parents, trying to convince them that his estrangement is a reelection of their alienation because "you too are the same exile, the same silence, the same alienation between heart and body and between thought and speech, perhaps you will know how the plot will be resolved." But his parents' response is a total denial: "this is not our son [...] we don't have this accent [...] his grandfather Anwar died before he was born." The last sentence of the story, a variation on the aforementioned sentence which reflects his schizophrenic situation, shows the tragedy of the demise of the Arab-Jewish hybridity: "And my parents did not know that I had returned to their heart, they did not know, and they did not know that all of their fears had returned to me, they did not know."[137]

The reader is led to the conclusion that the estrangement of the narrator in Israeli society is due to some sort of historical blindness, an allusion to José Saramago's novel *Blindness* (1995)[138] in which a man loses his sight while he is waiting in his car at the traffic lights. The mysterious epidemic of "white blindness" spreads to the whole nation: "Why did we become blind? I don't know. Perhaps one day we'll find out. Do you want me to tell you what I think? Yes, I do. I don't think we did go blind. I think we are blind. Blind but seeing. Blind people who can see, but do not see." In Behar's story, one person initially loses one of his senses, the capacity for speech, although he is not stricken mute, but merely loses his Hebrew accent. But unlike Saramago's novel, which is full of hope, Behar's story is full of despair. The "plague" or the "dybbuk" – the return of the narrator to his Arab roots – is by no means a start of a revolution, but only "a last visit of health before death."[139]

5. Conclusion

Arab-Jewish culture flourished briefly in the twentieth century, especially in Egypt and Iraq, however we are currently witnessing the demise of that culture. A tradition that started more than fifteen hundred years ago is vanishing before our eyes. There is no Israeli-born Jewish writer on record after 1948 who writes belles lettres in Arabic; there is no readership for writers who still publish their works in Arabic; Muslim and Christian Arabs do not comprise a prospective readership due

to political and national considerations, and most Israeli readers do not have the requisite knowledge of Arabic to read such publications, or are hesitant to do so due to aesthetic considerations and the marginal status of such writers. The main factor in the Muslim-Jewish Arab symbiosis up to the twentieth century was that the great majority of Jews under the rule of Islam adopted Arabic as their language, but this symbiosis does not exist in our time as Arabic has been gradually disappearing as a language mastered by Jews.

In a postscript which the Jewish-Hungarian scholar Raphael Patai appended in 1969 to his book *Israel: Between East and West*, Patai asks whether the hope that there would be a "process of amalgamation," in Israel, eventually leading to a "cultural synthesis between East and West," had proved vain? Patai, who generally referred to Arab Jews in his work as a "culturally deprived population," says that "the considered answer in 1969 is that this is almost, but not quite, the case."[140] He concludes his postscript by stating that "it can no longer be expected that a cultural synthesis will take place in Israel between traditional Middle Eastern and modern Western culture. It can now be foreseen that in another generation, Israel will be totally Westernized."[141] After more than 25 years, it seems that Patai was right.

It is thus appropriate to conclude this essay with a few lines from a poem by Sami Shalom Chetrit, entitled "Who is a Jew, and What Kind of a Jew?" Referring to the tragic demise of the Arab-Jewish cultural option, the poem expresses the despair felt by the new generation of Arab Jews born in Israel or having immigrated from Arabic lands as children. They know full well that in the foreseeable future, the Arab-Jewish cultural option is presumably lost. In a conversation between the narrator and an American female friend, the friend asks him whether he is a Jew or an Arab. "I'm an Arab-Jew," he responds. "I've never heard of that," she exclaims. He tries to convince her that just as there is an American Jew or European Jew, one can imagine the existence of an Arab Jew:

> – You can't compare. A European Jew is something else.
> – How come?
> – Because "Jew" just doesn't go with "Arab." It just doesn't go. It doesn't even sound right.
> – Depends on your ear.
> – Look, I've got nothing against Arabs. I even have friends who are Arabs. But how can you say "Arab Jew," when all the Arabs want is to destroy the Jews?
> – And how can you say "European Jew," when the Europeans have already destroyed the Jews?[142]

Notes

[1] This study was conducted at Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (2004-5) as part of my fellow project on the Arab culture and literature of the Jews.

[2] On modern Arab-Jewish culture, see my studies: '*Arviyut, yahadut, tsiyonut: ma'avak zehuyot ba-yetsira shel yehude 'Iraq*; idem, "'We Are Arabs Before We Are Jews': The Emergence and Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture in Modern Times," 1-47; idem, "'Arabs of the Mosaic Faith': Chronicle of a Cultural Extinction Foretold," 43-60.

[3] On the *Isrā'īliyyāt* and relevant references, see J.D. McAuliffe, "Assessing the *Isrā'īliyyāt*: An Exegetical Conudrum," 345-369; R. Tottoli, "Origins and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature," 193-210. See also U. Rubin, *Between Bible and Qur'ān: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image*. On the rejection of the *Isrā'īliyyāt* in contemporary Muslim literature, see R. Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature*, 180-183.

[4] J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*, 121.

[5] Cf. B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 67-106; idem, "The Judeo-Islamic Heritage," 3-13.

[6] Bat Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*, 316-317. See also Albert Memmi, *Jews and Arabs*, 19-29. For a summary of the contributions towards establishing the myth of harmonious Muslim-Jewish relations prior to the rise of Zionism and the countermyth emphasizing the darker side of Jewish history under Islam, see Norman A. Stillman, "The Judeo-Islamic Historical Encounter: Vision and Revision," 5-6. Cf. Moussa Abadi, *La reine et le calligraphe*, 217; Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World*, 6-7.

[7] Bat Ye'or, "How Europe Became Eurabia, "FrontPageMagazine.com, July 27, 2004. Reacting to Littman's arguments, the Lebanese writer Raghīd al-Ṣulḥ wrote that "those who are filling the Europeans and the West with fear from the Islamization and Arabization of Europe follow the same path of Hitlerism and strive to drag the Europeans to the same path. The danger they pose for Europe and its civilization is no lesser than those who adopt terrorist ideas" (*al-Ḥayāt*, August 30, 2005).

[8] See Rachel Sharabi, *Ha-yeshuv ha-spharadi bi-Yerushalayim be-shalhe ha-tkufa ha-'otomanit 1893-1914*, 108.

[9] Yaacob Yehoshua, *Ben masoret le-havai*, 55-57; Jeff Halper, *Between Redemption and Revival: The Jewish Yishuv of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*, 156.

[10] As a result of that, in Jerusalem "the main losers were the 'natives' – Muslim Arabs and Sephardis alike – who lost much of their privileged status to the ascendant Europeans, including the Europeans' 'client' populations, the Christian Arabs and the Ashkenazis" (Halper, *Between Redemption and Revival*, 69. Cf. Akira Usuki, "The Sephardi Community of Jerusalem before World War I: A Note on a Dominant Community on the Decline," 93-108).

[11] Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*, 30.

[12] Theodor Herzl, *Old-New Land ("Altneuland")*, 127.

[13] Shmuel Almog, *Zionism and History: The Rise of a New Jewish Consciousness*, 152.

[14] Z. Jabotinsky, "The Orient," 18-19.

[15] For example, Daniel J. Schroeter, "Orientalism and the Jews of the Mediterranean," 184.

[16] *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: The Macmillan Company, 1971), vol. X, 423. The controversy among Israeli intellectuals whether Ḥaim Naḥman Bialik (1873-1934), the "national poet" of Israel, fell short of appreciation for "Sephardi" culture, misses the point when taking up the question of whether he actually uttered the racist quote: "I hate the Arabs

since they are just like the Sephardim" (see Shmuel Avineri's essay, in *Ha'aretz*, Literary Supplement, January 2, 2004 and the letters to the editor in *Ha'aretz*, January 9, 2004 and January 30, 2004). His presentation, "The Renaissance of the Sephardis" (H.N. Bialik, *Dvarim she-be'al-peh*, 110-119) has been frequently quoted so as to refute any such doubts, which are seen as a kind of libel. However, this very presentation which was originally delivered before the association of *Ḥalutse Ha-Mizraḥ* (The Explorers of the East) in Jerusalem in 1927, reflected the attitude of the hegemonic canonical cultural Jewish-Hebrew center of the time towards the Sephardi and Arab Jews then known without distinction as Sephardis – peoples having had an ancient culture, but with none at present. On this issue and others related to the relationship between Bialik and Arab Jews, see Lital Levy, "'From Baghdad to Bialik With Love': A Reappropriation of Modern Hebrew Poetry, 1933," 125-153.

[17] Published in *Ha-shiloaḥ* 17 (July-December 1907), 204-205. English translation by A. Dowty, "'A Question That Outweighs All Others': Yitsḥak Epstein and Zionist Recognition of the Arab Issue," 52.

[18] On Mallūl, see Moshe David Gaon, *Yehude ha-mizraḥ be-'erets Yisra'el*, II, 432-434; Ya'qūb Yehoshua, *Ta'rīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya al-filasṭīniyya fī bidāyat 'ahd al-intidāb al-barīṭānī 'alā Filasṭīn (1919-1929)*, 206-217; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve sofrim yehudim sfaradiyim bi-lshonot yehudiyot ve-zarot*, I, 295; Sihām Naṣṣār, *Mawqif al-ṣiḥāfa al-miṣriyya min al-ṣihyūniyya khilāla al-fatra min 1897-1917*, 110-112.

[19] *Ha-ḥerut*, June 17, 1913; quoted in Abigail Jacobson, "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question' in Pre-First World War Palestine: a Reading of Three Zionist Newspapers," 120-121. *Ha-ḥerut* at the time mentioned frequently that unlike the Ashkenazi Jews, a great majority of the Sephardim were able to communicate in Arabic with the local Arabs (ibid., 124).

[20] See Gil Eyal, *Hasarat ha-kesem min ha-mizraḥ: toldot ha-mizraḥanot be-'idan ha-mizraḥiyut*, 44-52. The orientation of the institute was presumably the reason behind the paucity of academic connections between its scholars and similar institutes in Arab countries before 1948, when such connections were possible (Shimon Shamir, "Cultural and educational Links [between Egypt and the Jewish Yishuv before 1948]," 98).

[21] According to www.haaretz.com, November 21, 2004. On attitudes towards teaching Arabic in Jewish schools, see Joseph Yonai, *'Aravit be-bate-sefer 'ivriyim*; Naftali Kinberg and Rafael Talmon, "Learning of Arabic by Jews and the Use of Hebrew among Arabs in Israel," 37-54; Elie Podeh, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948-2000*, 22-74.

[22] All this has been inspired as well by a liberal outlook to the relationship between the Jewish, Muslim and Christian populations in Israel, as a result of which Muslim and Christian lecturers have been tenured at Tel-Aviv University and Haifa University. With for example the Department of Arabic Language and Literature at the Hebrew University, there has been an unofficial policy of refusing to appoint Arab lecturers whether they are Muslim or Christian.

[23] S. Yizhar, *'Arba'a sippurim*, 113-138.

[24] Glenda Abramson, "The Absence of Reality: Islam and the Arabs in Contemporary Hebrew Literature," 3-5. On the Arab in Hebrew culture, see also Risa Domb, *The Arab in Hebrew Prose 1911-1948*; Gila Ramras-Rauch, *The Arab in Israeli Literature*; Dan Urian, *The Arab in Israeli Drama and Theatre*; Ehud Ben-Ezer (ed.), *Sleepwalkers & Other Stories: The Arab in Hebrew Fiction*.

[25] Words said by the Palestinian historian Abbas Shiblak about the Jewish writers and artists of Iraq during the first half of the twentieth century; see Abbas Shiblak, *The Lure of Zion – The Case of the Iraqi Jews*, 28 (=Abbas Shiblak, *Iraqi Jews – A History of Mass Exodus*, 46; it is a new edition of the original book with minor changes; new preface by Peter Sluglett, 13-26).

[26] Hannan Hever, "Yitzhak Shami: Ethnicity as an Unresolved Conflict," 134.

[27] Yitzḥak Shami, *Sippure Yitzḥak Shami*, 9-137. For an English translation of the novella, see Yitzhaq Shami, *Hebron Stories*, 117-227.

[28] See, for example, M.M. Badawi, *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, 115-203.

[29] Gershon Shaked's introduction to Yitzhak Shami, *Nikmat ha-avot*, 5.

[30] Arnold J. Band's introduction to Shami, *Hebron Stories*, xiv. While Band's argument that, "there is nothing of the Orientalist in [Shami's] stories," (xii), may be correct, at least no intended Orientalization, one might attribute to Band's evaluation of Shami Western norms of evaluation.

[31] For example, when Umm Kulthūm (1903-1975) came to Palestine to participate in the inauguration of the Alhambra hall in Jaffa, Jewish cultural critics were invited to see the concert but all of them, with the exception of one, ignored the invitation in what was seen as an insult and attitude of contempt to Arab culture. Also, the Mugrabi Cinema in Tel-Aviv refused to enable the singer to hold a concert in the cinema, arguing that Umm Kulthūm was not of the cultural level required for such occasions (see, Shimon Shamir, "Cultural and educational Links [between Egypt and the Jewish Yishuv before 1948]," 102).

[32] The term "Hebrew culture" is used here to refer to the native culture which emerged in Palestine from the first '*Aliya* (immigration) in the late nineteenth century; see Itamar I. Even-Zohar, "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882-1948," 75-191.

[33] Cf. Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, "From Eastern Europe to the Middle East: The Reversal in Zionist Policy vis-à-vis the Jews of Islamic Countries," 28, 34-35.

[34] See Richard Rorty, "Education without Dogma," 189-204; Jeff Spinner-Halev, "Cultural Pluralism and Partial Citizenship," 65-86; Yossi Yonah, *Bi-zkhut ha-hevdel: ha-proyekt ha-rav tarbuti be-Yisra'el*, 40-44. The rejection of any sort of dynamic or inclusive multiculturalism by the canonical circles prevails also today; a good example is the opposition of Professor Menahem Perry, Head of the Department of Poetics at Tel-Aviv University, to include Arabic literary works in the curriculum of Israeli Hebrew schools and his disrespect to one of the best of Arab authors: "Why should we include into the curriculum Yūsuf Idrīs [1927-1991] instead of Shalom Aleichem [pseudonym of the Yiddish writer Shalom Rabivonich, 1859-1916]?! It is as if at French schools they will teach a third-rate German author, only because he belongs to a neighboring country, instead of Honoré de Balzac" (*Ha'aretz*, March 2, 2000, A1, A10. Cf. Yonah, *Bi-zkhut ha-hevdel*, 89).

[35] Rorty, "Education without Dogma," 203-204.

[36] In the beginning of the 1930 the Oriental Jewry was described "as being characterized by its passivity and serving mainly as vessels for foreign influence" (D.S. [only initials appear] in *Moznaim* IV.15 [1932], 2).

[37] Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the Jewish community in Palestine was composed of *Ashkenazim* (literally, Germans, i.e., Jews of European origin); *Sephardim* (Spaniards, i.e., the offspring of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492; however, since the expulsion those of them who settled in the Middle East mixed with other Jewish Oriental communities); *Mista'revim* (*Musta'rabūn*) (the Arabized, i.e., those indigenous Jews who had lived in Palestine and adopted the Arab way of life and spoke Arabic); *'Edot mizraḥ* (Eastern Communities, i.e., Jews who immigrated from Arab and Muslim countries). After the establishment of Israel, the considerable differences between these groups blurred and Israeli society polarized around two primary groups: Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim. For the later the term Mizrahim has been recently in use. For a brief history of the Ashkenazi-Mizrahi relations, see Sammy Smooha, *Israel: Pluralism and Conflict*, 48-61.

[38] On "Mizrahim" as an Israeli ethnic invented category, filled with negative cultural connotations, and as a symbolic vehicle by which cultural differences capable of masking socioeconomic inequality are explained, see Arnold Lewis, "Phantom Ethnicity: 'Oriental Jews' in Israeli

Society," 149-151; Ella Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," 5-20. For an attempt to pinpoint the roots of the Westernizing of the emerging Israeli society in the earlier history of the Jewish encounter with Orientalism and Western colonialism, see Aziza Khazzoom, "The Great Chain of Orientalism: Jewish Identity, Stigma Management, and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel," 481-510.

[39] The encounter of the Arab Jews in Israel with the Zionist master narrative created new terms to identify them in Israeli society; the most accepted has been *'Edot mizraḥ* or *Mizraḥī*. The term Arab Jew was marginalized. The present study does not see any essential difference between an Arab-Jewish poet living and working in Baghdad and the same poet living and working in Israel after his immigration; the term Arab Jew is generally used here unless I refer to the opinions of others.

[40] The journalist Arye Gelblum wrote: "We are dealing with a people whose primitivism is at a peak, whose level of knowledge is one of virtually absolute ignorance, and worse, who have little talent for understanding anything intellectual" (*Ha'aretz*, April 22, 1949. Cf. Shimon Rubinstein, *Mi-Berlad 'ad ma'beret Rosh-Pinah: 'al ma'avak ha-kiyyum ve-ha-histaglut shel mishpaḥat 'olim mi-Romanya ba-Galil 1950-1956*, 291; Smooha, *Israel: Pluralism and Conflict*, 87). In 1957, while being the Israeli delegate to the UN, Abba Eban (1915-2002) wrote: "One of the great apprehensions which afflict us when we contemplate our cultural scene is the danger lest the predominance of immigrants of Oriental origin force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighboring world. So far from regarding our immigrants from Oriental countries as a bridge towards our integration with Arabic-speaking world, our object should be to infuse them with Occidental spirit, rather than to allow them to draw us into unnatural Orientalism" (A. Eban, *Voice of Israel*, 76). Unaware of, or most probably consciously denying, the Arabness of the immigrants from Arab countries, in 1966 Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) said: "We do not want Israelis to become Arabs. We are in duty bound to fight against the spirit of the Levant which corrupts individuals and societies, and preserve the authentic Jewish values as they crystallized in the Diaspora" (quoted in Smooha, *Israel: Pluralism and Conflict*, 88). Cf. A. Shama and Mark Iris, *Immigration without Integration: Third World Jews in Israel*, 83; Hayim Malka, *Ha-selektsia*, 49-53, 78-86. On the fear that cultural deficiencies of Arab-Jewish immigrants would stymie the utopian Zionist future, see Raphael Patai, *Israel: Between East and West*, 320-323; Lewis, "Phantom Ethnicity: 'Oriental Jews' in Israeli Society," 142-145.

[41] Amnon Shamosh, *Kane ve-kinamon*, 79-87.

[42] On Shamosh, see G. Shaked, *Ha-sipporet ha-'ivrit* 1880-1980, IV, 172-173; W.P. Zenner, "Aleppo and the Kibbutz in the Fiction of Amnon Shamosh," 25-35.

[43] *Yedi'ot aḥronot, 7 Days*, August 8, 2003, 54.

[44] A lecture at the School for Peace Neve Shalom/Wāḥat al-Salām, Israel, March 2000 (*School for Peace Annual Review 1999-2001*, January, 2001). For Shenhav's views, see his book *Ha-yehudim ha-'arvim: le'umiyut, dat ve-'etniyut*; English version *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity*, as well as his articles: "The Jews of Iraq, Zionist Ideology and the Property of the Palestinian Refugees of 1948: An Anatomy of National Accounting," 605-630; "Ethnicity and National Memory: The World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) in the Context of the Palestinian National Struggle," 27-56; "The Phenomenology of Colonialism and the Politics of 'Difference': European Zionist Emissaries and Arab Jews in Colonial Abadan," 521-544. Shenhav published also the anthology *Kolonyaliyut ve-ha-matsav ha-postkolonyali*.

[45] *Hai* is the Hebrew word for "alive" – made up from the eighth and tenth letters of the Hebrew alphabet, it adds up to eighteen, a number imbued in Judaism through the ages with magical property.

[46] S. Swirski, *Israel: The Oriental Majority*, 137.

[47] On Elyas, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 448; *Apiryon* 2 (Winter 1983), 58-59.

[48] *Yedi'ot aḥronot, 7 Days*, November 14, 2003: 62-66.

[49] Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State – A Century Later*, 151.

[50] "When two languages meet, one of them is necessarily linked to animality. Speak like me or you are an animal [...] The paradox of mimicry resides in the fact that the mimic wants to belong but in the end marks his or her own separation" (Abdelfattah Kilito, "Dog Words," xxi-xxxi; the quotation is from p. xxvii.

[51] Cf. N. Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity: Reading in the Formative Years*, 148-175.

[52] A visual representation of that was offered by the artist Meir Gal in his "Nine Out of Four Hundred" – a photograph showing him holding up nine pages devoted to the history of Arab Jews out of a textbook by Shmuel Kirshenbaum (*Ha'aretz*, February 14, 1997).

[53] Sami Michael (b. 1926), Sham'ūn (Shimon) Ballāṣ (Ballas) (b. 1930), Mūsā Ḥūrī(b. 1930?), Samīr Naqqāsh (1938-2004) and Ella Habiba Shoḥat herself. The film was written and directed by Samīr Jamāl al-Dīn, an Iraqi Shiite exile film-maker (produced by Dschoint Ventschr, Zurich, 2002).

[54] "Shame becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his attributes as being a defiling thing to posses" (Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, 7).

[55] Shohat, "Antinomies of Exile," 122.

[56] For Shohat views, see her studies "Columbus, Palestine and Arab-Jews: Toward a Relational Approach to Community Identity," 88-105; "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of its Jewish Victims," 1-35 (republished in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Edited by McClintock, Anne et al. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, 39-68); "Taboo Memories and Diasporic Visions: Columbus, Palestine and Arab-Jews," 131-156; "Rupture and Return: A Mizrahi Perspective on the Zionist Discourse," 1-11 (http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/mitejmes/). Some of Shohat's quotations in the present article are cited from her personal home-page (http://members.aol.com/ehshohat/home/index.html). See also a collection of her essays translated into Hebrew and published as *Zikhronot asurim*. The collection has been translated into Arabic titled *Dhikrayāt mamnū'a*, but in a shortened version and without the references.

[57] Robert Stem and Ella Shohat, "Contested Histories: Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism, and the Media," 320-321.

[58] I use the term "Establishment" advisedly. As much as a political establishment is based not on merit but on power, so cultural and literary establishment refers not just to literary and cultural elements within the community but to the power relations that structure it. It is that hegemonic group in a society's culture that has succeeded in establishing its interpretative authority over all other cultural groups, that is, a minority group of individuals within society, such as major critics and scholars, editors of literary periodicals, publishers, major educators, etc., who from the sociocultural point of view are acknowledged as superior in some sense and who influence or control most segments of culture. Although the people-in-the-culture share in the process of defining the sociocultural distinctions, it is the cultural, literary and critical élite which plays the decisive role in that process (R. Snir, "Synchronic and Diachronic Dynamics in Modern Arabic Literature," 93). In Israel, the cultural and literary Establishment closely parallels the hegemonic Zionist structure of the state itself and is predominantly Ashkenazi and Western-oriented.

[59] Snir, "'Postcards in the Morning,'" 197-224.

[60] On Amir, see Nancy E. Berg, *Exile from Exile – Israeli Writers from Iraq*, 391-394; R. Snir,

"Till Spring Comes": Arabic and Hebrew Literary Debates among Iraqi-Jews in Israel (1950-2000)," 110-114.

[61] On Michael, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 411; S. Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra 'inda yahūd al-'Irāq*, 221-232; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve sofrim yehudim sfaradiyim bi-lshonot yehudiyot ve-zarot*, 294; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-āthār fī al-adab al-'arabī fī Isrā'īl 1948-1986*, 226-227; Ramras-Rauch, *The Arab in Israeli Literature*, 179-183; *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 16 (May 1992), 47-50; Lev Hakak, "Sami Michael's Literary World," 7-33; Yosef Oren, *Megamot ba-sipporet ha-yisra'elit*, 135-151; Sorrel Kerbel (ed.), *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, 373-374; Nancy Berg, *More and More Equal: The Literary Works of Sami Michael*. See also Muḥammad Jalā' Idrīs, *Mu'aththirāt 'arabiyya wa-islāmiyya fī al-adab al-isrā'īlī al-mu'āṣir*; the book is a study of various linguistic, stylistic and thematic aspects in the writings of Michael and of three other Iraqi writers – Samīr Naqqāsh, Isḥāq (Isaac) Bār-Moshe and Shimon Ballas.

[62] Shaked, *Ha-sipporet ha-'ivrit* 1880-1980.

[63] On Ballas, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 397-398; S. Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra 'inda yahūd al-'Irāq*, 187-202; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve sofrim yehudim sfaradiyim bi-lshonot yehudiyot ve-zarot*, 283; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-āthār fī al-adab al-'arabī fī Isrā'īl 1948-1986*, 31-34; Ramras-Rauch, *The Arab in Israeli Literature*, 184-187; J. Clerk and R. Siegel (eds.), *Modern Literature of the Non-Western World: Where the Waters Are Born*, 459-466; Berg, *Exile from Exile,* 391-394; R. Snir, "Shimon Ballas and the Canon of Hebrew Literature," 16-21; R. Snir, "Intersecting Circles between Hebrew and Arabic Literature," 177-210; Kerbel, *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, 65-66. See also the aforementioned Idrīs, *Mu'aththirāt 'arabiyya wa-islāmiyya fī al-adab al-isrā'īlī al-mu'āṣir*, which devotes many sections to the writings of Ballas.

[64] Produced by the Israeli Educational Television, 1993. On the series, see N.E. Berg, "The Cavalcade of Hebrew Literature on TV," 301-312.

[65] For an evaluation of the center's activities during the first 25 years of its existence, see the various contributions in the two special issues of *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 92 (Summer 2002) and 93 (Autumn 2002). It seems to be no coincidence that none of the contributors are Arab Jews who still adhere to their original culture and that none of the contributions in either issue deals with modern Arab-Jewish culture. Also worthy of note is that the advisory board of the journal does not include a scholar in the field of Arab-Jewish secular literature.

[66] Following Ella Shohat's words referring to Edward Said as "Palestinian speaker" in the USA ("Antinomies of Exile: Said and the Frontiers of National Narrations," 121).

[67] A. Shabtay, *'Arzenu: shirim 1987-2002*, 363.

[68] S. Hareven, *Mashiaḥ o knesset*, 168-174.

[69] Aviezer Ravitzky, "The Clash of Civilizations is not Our War," April 11, 2004. Because of the pragmatic orientation of Ravitzky's essay, Stuart Cohen could react by saying that "we no longer need to fear the effect of our close ties with the U.S. on Jewish communities in the Islamic countries for the simple reason that such communities were emptied out long ago" (www.haaretzdaily.com, April 19, 2004).

[70] According to a poll by the Central Bureau of Statistics released on August 2, 2004, 79 percent of Israeli Jews over the age 20 don't know Arabic (*Jerusalem Post* online edition [www.jpost.com/]). The poll does not indicate the level of proficiency but it is known that proficiency in literary standard Arabic is very low.

[71] There are only few exceptions, such as 'Ezra Nāwī, an Iraqi-born leftist activist in the *Ta'āyush* (Coexistence) Jewish-Arab organization; he waits the day when Zionism will disappear and

the Jews will be integral part of their Arab environment. Fluent in Arabic he lives in Jerusalem with Fu'ād Mūsā, his Palestinian male partner from Ramallah. Mūsā is subjected to a double threat: in the Palestinian Authority he is persecuted for his homosexuality and is in danger of being murdered by his family; in Israel he is being persecuted for being a Palestinian with neither an Israeli citizenship nor a permit to stay inside Israel (*Yedi'ot aḥronot*, Saturday Supplement, October 31, 2003, 3; SEGEL-PLUS@list.haifa.ac.il, December 16, 2003; *Ha'aretz*, *Magazine*, December 19, 2003, 48-54). Some of the intellectuals who are very critical of the conception of *political* and *academic* Arab-Jewish identity, mainly because they see it as an American import, totally ignore the existence in Israel of the authentic *cultural* Arab-Jewish identity which is referred to in the present article (see, for example, Gadi Taub, "We Are not a Fruit-Salad" (Hebrew), *Yedi'ot aḥronot*, Pessah Supplement, April 5, 2004, 9).

72 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 43.

73 Gabriel Piterberg, "Domestic Orientalism: The Representation of 'Oriental' Jews in Zionist/ Israeli Historiography," 135. Cf. Raphael Cohen-Almagor, "Cultural Pluralism and Israeli Nation-Building Ideology," 464.

74 *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 186; A. Alcalay (ed.), *Keys to the Garden: New Israeli Writing*, 67-68, On the clash of narratives, see also R. Snir, "Iraqi Jewry after 1945 – Literature, History and Historiography," 245-271.

75 See, for example, Moritz Steinschneider, "Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews," IX (1897), 224-239, 604-630; X (1898), 119-138, 513-540; XI (1899), 115-149, 305-343, 480-489, 585-625; XII (1900), 114-132; XIII (1901), 92-110, 296-320, 446-487; idem, *Die Arabische Literatur Der Juden*.

76 S.W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians*, 279.

77 Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby or the New Generation*, 195-205. See also Russell Schweller, "'Mosaic Arabs': Jews and Gentlemen in Disraeli Young England Trilogy," 55-69.

78 H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, 56.

79 Ibid., 58.

80 Ibid., 41.

81 Ibid., 235. Referring to what Graetz wrote about the Jewish poets, N.A. Stillman argues that "it is sheer fantasy," because the Arabs "took little interest in their non-Muslim subjects' internal communal and cultural life. They were ignorant of Hebrew poetry and probably could not care less about it, even if they were aware of its existence. (Needless to say, they did not know Hebrew)" (N.A. Stillman, "The Judeo-Islamic Historical Encounter: Vision and Revision," 5-6). However, it seems that Graetz was referring to Jews' Arabic and *not* Hebrew poetry.

82 Cf. Orit Bashkin, "Why Did Baghdadi Jews Stop Writing to their Brethren in Mainz? – Some Comments about the Reading Practices of Iraqi Jews in the Nineteenth Century," 99-100.

83 Cf. A. Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925*, 11-12. Cf. Goldberg, *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries*, 40-41 (introduction); Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jew*, 5; Schroeter, "Orientalism and the Jews of the Mediterranean," 184, 189.

84 Most of the Arab Jews themselves refuse to be referred to as such – the aforementioned actor Arieh Elyas says: "I am a Jew and cannot hear that combination 'Arab-Jew'" (*Yedi'ot aḥronot, 7 Days*, November 14, 2003, 85).

85 Michael Selzer, *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*, 67-68. For Macaulay's words, see Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Selected Writings*, 249. In his speech titled "Minute on Indian Education," Macaulay stated: "I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia

[...] I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations" (Macaulay, *Selected Writings*, 241).

86 See Meyrav Wurmser, "Post-Zionism and the Sephardi Question," 21-30.

87 See, for example, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, "The Zionst Return to the West and the Mizrahi Jewish Perspective," 162-181.

88 An example is the exhibit "Mother Tongue" held in Museum of Art Ein Harod, 2002; most of the twenty-two artists who participated had been born in Israel, but the experiences their parents had faced upon migrating from Arab and Muslim countries were integral to the way they defined their identities. The curator of the exhibit was Tal Ben Zvi. Following the exhibit a book was published, including photographs of the artistic works as well as some essays on the issue of Arab-Jewish cultural option in Israeli society: Yigal Nizri (ed.), *Ḥazut mizraḥit: hove ha-na' bi-svakh 'avaro ha-'aravi*.

89 On this movement, see Moshe Karif, *Ha-mizraḥit – sippura shel ha-keshet ha-demokratit ha-mizraḥit ve-ha-ma'avak ha-ḥevrati be-Yisra'el 1995-2005*; Sami Shalom Chetrit, *Ha-ma'vak ha-mizraḥi be-Yisra'el: ben dikuy le-shiḥrur, ben hizdahut le-'alternativa, 1948-2003*, 290-295.

90 A lecture at the School for Peace Neve Shalom/Wāḥat al-Salām, Israel, March 2000 (*School for Peace Annual Review 1999-2001*, January, 2001). Cf. Shenhav, *Ha-yehudim ha-'arvim*, 153-155, 173.

91 Nissim Rejwan claims that the hatred of Mizrahi Jews in Israel for Arabs is circumstantial and temporary, whereas the contempt Ashkenazi Jews direct at Arabs is inherent, a duplication of European anti-Semitism (Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity: Reading in the Formative Years*, 75-76, 81-83, 91-95, 162-168. Cf. Yonit Efron's review in *The Journal of Israeli History* 20.2-3 [2001], 199-203).

92 See, for example, Shmuel Moreh and Zvi Yehuda (eds.), *Sin'at yehudim u-fra'ot be-'Iraq*, 7-10.

93 On the "success" of BJHC and its museum to present the history of Iraqi Jewry as integral part of the Zionist narrative, see Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, "Our Dowry: Identity and Memory among Iraqi Immigrants in Israel," 165-186.

94 Haim Saadoun, '*Iraq*, 8. Cf. also the cover of Salīm Fattāl, *Be-simta'ot Baghdad*, which bears a painting on the *Farhūd* by the Iraqi-Jewish painter Nissim Zalāyiṭ (b. 1927?). Fattāl's uncle, Meir Abraham Khlef was one of the victims of the *Farhūd* together with his business partner Naḥūm Yosef Qazzāz. The latter's son Nissim Qazzāz (Kazzaz) wrote one of the reliable sources about the history of the twentieth century Iraqi Jewry (Kazzaz, *Ha-yehudim be-'Iraq ba-me'a ha-'esrim*). Kazzaz cites memories of one of the witnesses to the *Farhūd* who, as a child, saw his father and a friend being led away by Arab rioters, never to be seen again (p. 179). These details might have been no more than another piece of information, had we not known that this child was the author himself (for a review of the book see *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXXIV, 4 [April 1994], 495-500). Kazzaz's book is dedicated to his father and his father's business partner, the aforementioned Meir Abraham Khlef. It should be noted that Kazzaz wrote a study while Fattāl wrote an autobiography.

95 According to www.farhud.org/intro.html.

96 Leslie Bunder, "A Day to Remember," www.somethingjewish.co.uk (January 24, 2005) (my emphasis – R.S.).

97 Haaretz.com, January 22, 2006.

98 See the observation in Goldberg, *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries*, 50 (introduction), regarding C. Goldscheider and A.S. Zuckerman, *The Transformation of the Jews*.

99 Kerbel, *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*.

[100] The entries on Shimon Ballas (65-66) and Sami Michael (373-374) are allocated only for their Hebrew literary writings.

[101] Itamar Ya'oz-Kest (ed.), *Be-siman kokhav: shire meshorerim yehudim be-sifrut ha-'olam*. On the Eurocentric nature of the anthology, see H. Pesah's review in *Yedi'ot aḥronot*, Literary Supplement, February 27, 2004, 26-27. So far the only encyclopedia of Jewish culture which has incorporated entries on the cultural activities of the Arab Jews in modern times is Glenda Abramson (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture*.

[102] AIWAC; http://aiwac.blogspot.com/2006_01_08_aiwac_archive.html (posted on January 11, 2006).

[103] A "multicultural" orchestra of Israeli Jewish, Christian, and Muslim players, directed by Ronen Shapira and Wisām Jubrān. It is supported by UNESCO in order to promote peace in the Middle East through music (*Ha'aretz*, November 12, 2003).

[104] See *The Scribe* 72 (September 1999), 50. Jewish instrumental ensembles in Morocco also performed for non-Jewish circles, it was even related that "each Sultan had his Jewish musician" (Amnon Shiloah, *Jewish Musical Traditions*, 202). On the prominent place of Jewish musicians in classical Algerian music during the 20th century, see Amnon Shiloah, "The Activity of Jewish Musicians in Classical Algerian Music and Related Areas," 51-64. More on the contribution of Jews to Arab music, see Jehoash Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880-1948, A Social History*; J. Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and Formation of a Modern Diaspora*, 81-85; Sara Manasseh, *Women in Music Performance: The Iraqi Jewish Experience in Israel*; Inbal Perlson, *Ha-mosadot ha-musikaliyim shel ha-mehagrim me-'artsot ha-'islam ba-shanim ha-rishonot shel medinat Yisra'el*; Yeheskel Kojaman, *The Maqam Music Tradition of Iraq*; Margaret Kartomi, "Continuity and Change in the Music-Culture of the Baghdadi-Jews Throughout Two Diasporas in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods: An Introduction," 90-110. Inbal Perlson, *Simḥa gdola ha-layla – muzika yehudit-'aravit ve-zehut mizraḥit*.

[105] The Palestinian scholar Hishām Sharabī (1927-2005) mentions in his memories that during his studies in Beirut in the early 1940s he was culturally inspired by an Iraqi Jew, Ḥiskīl (Yehezkel) Jūrī, whose Jewish religious identity was not at all an obstacle: "we did not attribute in these days any importance to the religion of a person or his [ethnic] identity; his identity was defined only by his personal behavior" (Sharabī, *Ṣuwar al-māḍī – sīra dhātiyya*, 119-121).

[106] See my aforementioned studies, especially '*Arviyut, yahadut, tsiyonut: ma'avak zehuyot ba-yetsira shel yehude 'Iraq*; "'We Are Arabs Before We Are Jews': The Emergence and Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture in Modern Times"; and "'Arabs of the Mosaic Faith': Chronicle of a Cultural Extinction Foretold."

[107] On Samīr Naqqāsh, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 410; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve sofrim yehudim sfaradiyim bi-lshonot yehudiyot ve-zarot*, 296-298; S. Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra 'inda yahūd al-'Irāq*, 251-254; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-āthār fī al-adab al-'arabī fī Isrā'īl 1948-1986*, 236-237; Miklif Hamad Mudhi, *The Origin and Development of the Iraqi-Jewish Short Story from 1922-1972*., 404-458; David Semah, "The Iraqi Novel of Samīr Naqqāsh," 21-22 (English version: Semah, "The 'Iraqi' Novel of Samir Naqqash," 13-14); R. Snir, "Jewish-Muslim Relations in the Literature and Periodicals of Iraqi Jewry," 32-33; Markus Lemke, *Im Labyrinth des verlorenen Paradieses: Samīr Naqqāš – ein jüdisch-arabicher Schriftsteller aus dem Irak und die Immigration nach Israel im Spiegel ausgewählter Werke*; 'Izz al-Dī n Sarmad, "The Period I Lived in Baghdad was All My Life: An Interview with Samīr Naqqāsh," 134-142; Lital Levy, "Exchanging Words: Thematization of Translation in Arabic Writing in Israel," 93-114; N. Hawker, "Mizrahi Wanderings," 153-160. See also the aforementioned Idrīs,

Mu'aththirāt 'arabiyya wa-islāmiyya fī al-adab al-isrā'īlī al-mu'āṣir, which devotes many sections to the writings of Naqqāsh.

[108] Berg, *Exile from Exile,* 3. Cf. interview in *al-Sharq al-awsaṭ* (London), January 15, 2002.

[109] At the end of the 1950s, Kol Yisra'el (Voice of Israel) radio Hebrew station began to broadcast live concerts by Mizrahi troupes, but only in the mid-1960 a weekly program was initiated broadcasting selection of songs from Oriental communities. However, much of the so-called Mizrahi music was written by European Jews with Western musical sensibility (Derek J. Penslar, "Broadcast Orientalism: Representation of Mizrahi Jewry in Israeli Radio, 1948-1967,"192).

[110] For a historical review of the emergence of that music, see Amnon Shiloah and Erik Cohen, "The Dynamics of Change in Jewish Oriental Ethnic Music in Israel," 297-340; Eliezer Moshe Finegold, *Musika Mizrahit: From the Margins to the Mainstream*. On its origins, style, production and acceptance, see Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*, 191-235. On the various approaches to Mediterranean music styles, see E. Seroussi, "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli Music: An Idea and its Permutations."

[111] This gave such music the title of *musikat kassetot* (cassette music) or *musika shel ha-taḥana ha-merkazit* (music of the central bus station); see Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*, 192.

[112] See *Yedi'ot aḥronot, 7 Days*, December 26, 2003, 66; www.haaretz.co.il, December 25, 2003.

[113] Yaron Ilan, presenter of a television program of *musika mizraḥīt*, says: "the playlist of the radio stations [in Israel] is the most racist in the world" (www.ynet.co.il, October 29, 2003).

[114] Finegold, *Musika Mizrahit: From the Margins to the Mainstream*, 38.

[115] Writing on the programs for children in Israeli television, "where the world-view of the next generation of Israelis has been structured," the journalist Naḥum Barne'a says that even when the names of the stars are Abu-Qasis and Ben-Harosh, the messages are Ashkenazi and Western-oriented (*Yedi'ot aḥronot, 7 Days*, September 18, 1998, 34).

[116] In rare cases, together with the shift to Hebrew, the writers continue to publish also in Arabic, but with the adoption of the Hebrew poetics, blurring the peculiarities of Arabic poetics; a typical case is Ilyāhū Manṣūr; see his collections *'Alā ḍifāf Dijla*, *Layālī Baghdād*, and *Ṣadā al-dhikrayāt*. On his poetry, see Snir, '*Arviyut, yahadut, tsiyonut: ma'avak zehuyot ba-yetsira shel yehude 'Iraq*, 407-408, n. 165.

[117] On Zamir, see L. Hakak, *'Im 'arba'a meshorerim*, 165-190; Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 438; *Apiryon* 30 (1993), 12-15; Shelomo Zamir, *Shu'alim be-ma'alit*, 181-190.

[118] On al-Kātib, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom*, 427-429; S. Moreh, "Five Writers of *Shi'r Manthūr* in Modern Arabic Poetry," 229-233; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-āthār fī al-adab al-'arabī fī Isrā'īl 1948-1986*, 192-193.

[119] Amnon Shamosh, "Lessons in Tolerance," a presentation given at the Eleventh International Congress of the International Society for the Performing Arts Foundation (Jerusalem, June 8, 1997).

[120] On Gormezano-Goren, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 220-235; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 162-185. In 1982 Gormezano-Goren established Bimat Kedem (Kedem [=East] Theater), so as to encourage the development of Mizrahi culture – over 35 original productions have been presented. In 1998 he founded Bimat Kedem Publishing House which has published books by Mizrahi authors as well as the periodical *Ha-kivun mizraḥ* (The Direction Is East) with so far 12 volumes.

[121] For example, Yitsḥak Gormezano-Goren, *Kayits 'aleksandroni*, 9-14. Cf. J.M. Landau, "Bittersweet Nostalgia: Memories of Jewish Emigrants from the Arab Countries," 230-231;

J.M. Landau, "The Confused Image: Egypt as Perceived by Jewish Emigrants," 371-372; J. Beinin, "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," 13-14.

[122] On Hakak, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 311-313; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 286-289; Shmuel Moreh, "Lev Hakak – A Baghdadi-Born Scholar, Poet and Writer," 117-140.

[123] See, for example, the novels *Ha-asufim* (English translation: Hakak, *Stranger Among Brothers*) and *Bayit 'al gib'a* (A House on a Hill) (Tel-Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1993) as well as the poetry collection *Le-horish shir 'ivrī be-Los-Angeles*.

[124] On Yaacob Yehoshua, see his *Yerushalayim ha-yeshana ba-'ayin uba-lev* as well as the introduction by his son, A.B. Yehoshua, titled: "In Search of the Sephardi Lost Time, Somewhat" (7-18), which reflects the son's complicated and even depreciative attitude towards his Arab and Mizrahi roots. On that topic, see Yitsḥak Laor, *'Anu kotvim 'otakh moledet – masot 'al sifrut yisra'elit*, 105-114; and "'I am Standing before them as a People before a People': A.B. Yehoshua and the 'Mizrahi Hatred' to the Arabs – Some Observations on the Nature of Racism among Minorities in Israel," 43-60. See also Dror Mishani, *Be-khol ha-'inyan ha-mizraḥi yesh 'eze 'absurd*, 130-170.

[125] Such as poems by the Ṣūfī mystic al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (858-922); A.B. Yehoshua, *Ha-kalla ha-meshaḥreret*, 417-420.

[126] The English translation of the novel does not keep the meaning of the original: "It is hopeless to try to understand the Arabs rationally. Back to their poetry, then, for that is all we have to go on" (A.B. Yehoshua, *The Liberated Bride*, 515). The English title of the novel is a translation of its pre-publication Hebrew title (*Ha-kalla ha-meshuḥreret*) before the novelist decided to change it. On the opening page of the translated novel appears the following sentence: "This is a translation of *Kallah Ha-Meshuḥreret*" (sic!). The Spanish translation of the novel is *La sposa liberate* (2002); the French *La mariée libérée* (2003); and the German *Die befreite Braut* (2003).

[127] *New Outlook*, November-December 1991, 30-32. Cf. *Ma'ariv*, April 25, 1989, B9.

[128] Cf. I. Taha, "Duality and Acceptance: The Image of the Outsider in the Literary Work of Shimon Ballas," 63-87

[129] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "What is a Minor Literature?," 59-69.

[130] An English translation of the novel, entitled *Outcast* (by Ammiel Alcalay and Oz Shelach), will soon be published by City Lights Books in San Francisco. A section of the novel (pp. 95-105 of the original) was published in English translation (by Alcalay and Shelach) in *Fascicle* 1 (Summer 2005). The novel deals with the fate of Iraqi Jews via the story of several non-Zionist intellectuals.

[131] *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 185; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 361-363.

[132] On Someck, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 340-344; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 325-333; *Modern Poetry in Translation* 19 (2003), 233-236. On Bitton, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 277-283; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 261-272. On Suissa, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 245-252; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 186-204.

[133] M. Benarroch, *Kinat ha-mehager*, 7-44. On the Hebrew poetry of the Arab Jews, see Lev Hakak, *Equivocal Dreams: Studies in Modern Hebrew Literature*.

[134] Sorrel Kerbel (ed.), *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, 365. On Matalon and her work, see also *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 253-265; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 205-220.

[135] Israeli Television, Channel 1, interview with Ari Shavit, September 29, 2003. On Matalon and her revalorization of Levantinism, see Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, 234-240.

[136] Behar was born in Ra'anana to an Iraqi-born mother and a father that was born in Copenhagen.

[137] For the story, see *Ha'aretz*, Literary Supplement, April 22, 2005. An English translation, by Vivian Eden, was published in www.haaretz.com (April 28, 2005). An Arabic translation, by Muḥammad 'Abbūd, an Egyptian scholar and translator, was published in his blog http://aboud78.blogspot.com/ (June 7, 2006).

[138] José Saramago, *Blindness*.

[139] The same idea was expressed by Almog Behar in "My Arabic is Muted," a poem he wrote in Hebrew and had been the nucleus of his story; it was published in *Helicon – Anthological Journal of Contemporary Poetry*, vol. 68 (2005), 30. Together with the original poem an Arabic translation, by Rīmā Abū Jābir, was appended (p. 31). It omits some lines of the original poem and in some places distorts its meaning. The fact that the poem was translated in such a way within an Arabic-Hebrew project of "poetry class," and published in order to show the achievement of the class, only strengthens the thesis of the present article.

[140] Patai, *Israel: Between East and West*, 381.

[141] Ibid., 388.

[142] For the entire poem, see Sami Shalom Chetrit, *Shirim be-ashdodit*, 50-53; English translation: *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), 360-362; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, 361-363; on Chetrit and for other English translations of his poems, see ibid., 357-369. On Chetrit as "culture producer," see Poriya Getz (Gal), "Sami Shalom Chetrit," 175-190.

References

Abadi, Moussa. *La reine et le calligraphe*. Paris: Christian de Bartillat, 1993.

Abramson, Glenda. "The Absence of Reality: Islam and the Arabs in Contemporary Hebrew Literature." In *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, vol. I. Edited by Ronald L. Nettler. Oxford: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993: 1-17.

—. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005.

Akira, Usuki. "The Sephardi Community of Jerusalem Before World War I: A Note on a Dominant Community on the Decline." *Orient* XXIX (1993): 93-108.

Alcalay, Ammiel (ed.). *Keys to the Garden: New Israeli Writing*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1996.

Almog, Shmuel. *Zionism and History: The Rise of a New Jewish Consciousness*. New York: St. Martin's Press & Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1987.

Badawi, M.M. *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Baron, S.W. *History and Jewish Historians*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964.

Bashkin, Orit. "Why Did Baghdadi Jews Stop Writing to their Brethren in Mainz? – Some Comments about the Reading Practices of Iraqi Jews in the Nineteenth Century." In *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*. Edited by Philip Sadgrove. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 95-110.

Bat Ye'or. *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*. Lancaster: Gazelle Book Services, 2002.

Ben-Ezer, Ehud (ed.). *Sleepwalkers & Other Stories: The Arab in Hebrew Fiction*. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Beinin, Joel. "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias." *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* V.1 (1996): 1-23.

—. *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and Formation of a Modern Diaspora*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Ben Ha-Rosh, Moshe. *Kinat ha-mehager* [The immigrant's lament]. Tel-Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1994.

Ben-Yaacob, Abraham. *Yehude Bavel be-'erets Yisra'el me-ha-'aliyot ha-rishonot 'ad ha-yom* [The Jews of Iraq in the land of Israel from the first emigrations to the present day]. Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1980.

Berg, Nancy E. *Exile from Exile – Israeli Writers from Iraq*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
—. "The Cavalcade of Hebrew Literature on TV." *Prooftexts* 16 (1996): 301-312.
—. *More and More Equal: The Literary Works of Sami Michael*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004.
Bezalel, Itzhak. *Kitve sofrim yehudim sfaradiyim bi-lshonot yehudiyot ve-zarot* [The writings of Sephardic and Oriental Jewish authors in languages other than Hebrew]. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University & The Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982.
Bialik, H.N. *Dvarim she-be-'al-peh* [Oral presentations]. Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1935.
Chetrit, Sami Shalom. *Shirim be-ashdodit* [Poems in Ashdodian]. Tel-Aviv: Andalus, 2003.
—. *Ha-ma'vak ha-mizraḥī be-Yisra'el: ben dikuy le-shiḥrur, ben hizdahut le-'alternativa, 1948-2003* [The Mizrahi struggle in Israel: between oppression and liberation, between identification and alternative, 1948-2003]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2004.
Clerk, Jayana and Siegel, Ruth (eds.). *Modern Literature of the Non-Western World: Where the Waters Are Born*. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995.
Cohen-Almagor, Raphael. "Cultural Pluralism and Israeli Nation-Building Ideology," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 461-484.
Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Félix. "What is a Minor Literature?" In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*. Edited by Russell Ferguson et al. New York & Cambridge, MA: New Museum of Contemporary Art; MIT Press, 1990, 59-69.
Disraeli, Benjamin. *Coningsby or the New Generation*. London: John Lehmann, 1948 [1844].
Domb, Risa. *The Arab in Hebrew Prose 1911-1948*. London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1982.
Dowty, Alan. *The Jewish State – A Century Later*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
—. "'A Question That Outweighs All Others': Yitshak Epstein and Zionist Recognition of the Arab Issue." *Israel Studies* 6.1 (2001): 34-54.
Eban, Abba. *Voice of Israel*. New York: Horizon Press, 1957.
Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem: The Macmillan Company, 1971.
Even-Zohar, Itamar. "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882-1948." *Poetics Today* 11.1 (Spring 1990): 175-191.
Eyal, Gil. 2005. *Hasarat ha-kesem min ha-mizraḥ: toldot ha-mizraḥanut be-'idan ha-mizraḥiyut* [English title: The Disenchantment of the Orient: A History of Orieintalist Expertise in Israel]. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute and Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 2005.
Fattāl, Salīm. *Be-simta'ot Baghdad* [In the alleys of Baghdad]. Jerusalem: Karmel, 2003.
Finegold, Eliezer Moshe. *Musika Mizrahit: From the Margins to the Mainstream*. Harvard Judaica Collection, Student research Papers, no. 2, 1996
Gaon, Moshe David. *Yehude ha-mizraḥ be-'erets Yisra'el* [The Jews of the east in the Land of Israel]. Jerusalem: Author's Publication, 1937.
Getz (Gal), Poriya. "Sami Shalom Chetrit" [Hebrew]. In: *'Adone ha-tarbut: 'anatomya shel yatsrane tarbut yisra'elim* [Masters of culture: anatomy of Israeli culture producers]. Edited by Noa Grinberg and Nir Baram. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2003, 175-190.
Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963.
Goldberg, H.E. (ed.). *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.
Goldscheider, Calvin and Zuckerman, Alan S. *The Transformation of the Jews*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.
Gormezano-Goren, Yitsḥak. *Kayits 'aleksandroni* [An Alexandrian summer]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1979.
Graetz, Heinrich. *History of the Jews*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894.

Hakak, Lev. *Ha-asufim* [The Ingathered]. Tel-Aviv: Tamuz, 1977.
—. *'Im 'arba'a meshorerim* [With four poets]. Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1978.
—. *Stranger Among Brothers*. Trans. by D. Shefer-Vanson. Los-Angeles: Ridgefield Publishing, 1984.
—. *Le-horish shir 'ivri be-Los-Angeles* [To Bequeath a Hebrew poem in Los-Angeles]. Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sefer, 1988.
—. *Equivocal Dreams: Studies in Modern Hebrew Literature*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House Inc., 1993.
—. "Sami Michael's Literary World" [Hebrew]. *Yahadut Bavel* 1 (1995): 7-33.
Halper, Jeff. *Between Redemption and Revival: The Jewish Yishuv of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.
Hareven, Shulamith. *Mashiaḥ o knesset* [Messiah or Knesset]. Tel-Aviv: Zmora, Bitan, 1987.
Hawker, Nancy. "Mizrahi Wanderings." *New Left Review* 25 (January-February 2004): 153-160.
Herzl, Theodor. *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*. Trans. by Sylvie D'avigdor. London: Central Office of the Zionist Organization, 1936.
—. *Old-New Land ("Altneuland")*. Trans. by Lotta Levenshon. New York: Bloch Publishing Company and Herzl Press, 1960.
Hever, Hannan. "Yitzhak Shami: Ethnicity as an Unresolved Conflict." *Shofar – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 24.2 (2006): 124-139.
Hirshberg, Jehoash. *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880-1948, A Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Idrīs, Muḥammad Jalā'. *Mu'aththirāt 'arabiyya wa-islāmiyya fī al-adab al-isrā'īlī al-mu'āṣir* [Arab and Muslim influences on contemporary Israeli literature]. Cairo: Dār al-thaqāfa al-'arabiyya, 2003.
Jabotinsky, Ze'ev. "The Orient." *Ha-derekh* 7 (1972): 18-19.
Jacobson, Abigail. "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question' in Pre-First World War Palestine: A Reading of Three Zionist Newspapers." *Middle Eastern Studies* 39.2 (April 2003): 105-130.
Karif, Moshe. *Ha-mizraḥit*: *sippura shel ha-keshet ha-demokratit ha-mizraḥit ve-ha-ma'avak ha-ḥevrati be-Yisra'el 1995-2005* [The Eastern (Rainbow): The story of the Mizrahi democratic rainbow and the social struggle in Israel 1995-2005]. Tel-Aviv: Globes, 2005.
Kartomi, Margaret. "Continuity and Change in the Music-Culture of the Baghdadi-Jews Throughout Two Diasporas in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods: An Introduction." *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 16 (2002): 90-110.
Kazzaz, Nissim. *Ha-yehudim be-'Iraq ba-me'a ha-'esrim* [The Jews in Iraq in the twentieth century]. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1991.
Kerbel, Sorrel (ed.). *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*. New York & London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.
Khazzoom, Aziza. "The Great Chain of Orientalism: Jewish Identity, Stigma Management, and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel." *American Sociological Review* 68 (2003): 481-510.
Kinberg, Naftali and Talmon, Rafael. "Learning of Arabic by Jews and the Use of Hebrew Among Arabs in Israel." *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics* XX.1-2 (January-December 1994): 37-54.
Kilito, Abdelfattah. "Dog Words." In *Displacements – Cultural Identities in Questions*. Edited by Angelika Bammer. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, xxi-xxxi.
Kojaman, Yeheskel. *The Maqam Music Tradition of Iraq*. London: Y. Kojaman, 2001.
Landau, J.M. "Bittersweet Nostalgia: Memories of Jewish Emigrants from the Arab Countries." *The Middle East Journal* 35.2 (Spring 1981): 229-235.

—. "The Confused Image: Egypt as Perceived by Jewish Emigrants." In *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association* (868-1948). Edited by Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1984, 367-375.

Laor, Yitsḥak. *'Anu kotvim 'otakh moledet – masot 'al sifrut yisra'elit* [English title: Narratives with no Natives – Essays on Israeli Literature]. Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 2001.

—. "'I Am Standing Before them as a People Before a People': A.B. Yehoshua and the 'Mizrahi Hatred' to the Arabs – Some Observations on the Nature of Racism Among Minorities in Israel" [Hebrew]. *Mi-ta'am* (April 2005: 43-60.

Lassner, Jacob. *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Lemke, Markus. *Im Labyrinth des verlorenen Paradieses: Samīr Naqqāš – ein jüdisch-arabicher Schriftsteller aus dem Irak und die Immigration nach Israel im Spiegel ausgewählter Werke*, Schriftliche Hausarbeit für die Magisterprüfung der Fakultät für Philologie an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1996.

Levy, Lital. "Exchanging Words: Thematization of Translation in Arabic Writing in Israel." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23.1&2 (2003): 93-114.

—. "'From Baghdad to Bialik With Love': A Reappropriation of Modern Hebrew Poetry, 1933." *Comparative Literature Studies* 42.3 (2005): 125-153.

Lewis, Arnold. "Phantom Ethnicity: 'Oriental Jews' in Israeli Society." In *Studies in Israeli Ethnicity after the Ingathering*. Edited by Alex Weingrod. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985, 133-158.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

—. "The Judeo-Islamic Heritage" [Hebrew]. *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 20 (1984): 3-13.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington. *Selected Writings* (ed. John Clive and Thomas Pinney). Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Malka, Hayim. *Ha-selekzia* [The Selection]. n.p.: n.pub., 1998.

Manasseh, Sara. *Women in Music Performance: The Iraqi Jewish Experience in Israel*. Ph.D. Thesis, Goldsmith's College, London. 1999.

Manṣūr, Ilyāhū. *'Alā ḍifāf Dijla* [On the banks of the Tigris]. Nazereth: Wizārat al-'ulūm wa-l-thaqāfa wa-l-riyāḍa, 2002.

—. *Layālī Baghdād* [Baghdad's nights]. Giv'atayim: Author's Publication, 2005.

—. *Ṣadā al-dhikrayāt* [The Echoes of memories]. Giv'atayim: Author's Publication, 2005.

McAuliffe, Jane Dammen. "Assessing the *Isrā'īliyyāt*: An Exegetical Conudrum." In *Story-Telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature*. Edited by Stefan Leder. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, 345-369.

Meir-Glitzenstein, Esther. "From Eastern Europe to the Middle East: The Reversal in Zionist Policy vis-à-vis the Jews of Islamic Countries." *The Journal of Israeli History* 20.1 (2001): 24-48.

—. "Our Dowry: Identity and Memory Among Iraqi Immigrants in Israel." *Middle Eastern Studies* 38.2 (April 2002), 165-186.

Memmi, Albert. *Jews and Arabs*. Trans. by Eleanor Levieux. Chicago: J. Philip O'Hara, 1975.

Mishani, Dror. *Be-khol ha-'inyan ha-mizraḥi yesh 'eze 'absurd* [English title: The Ethnic Unconscious]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2006.

Moreh, Shmuel. "Five Writers of *Shi'r Manthūr* in Modern Arabic Poetry." *Middle Eastern Studies* 10.3 (1974), 229-233.

—. *al-Qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra 'inda yahūd al-'Irāq* [Short stories by Jewish writers from Iraq]. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981.

—. "Lev Hakak – A Baghdadi Born Scholar, Poet and Writer" [Hebrew]. *Yahdut Bavel* 2 (1998): 117-140.

Moreh, Shmuel and ʻAbbāsī, Maḥmūd. *Tarājim wa-āthār fī al-adab al-ʻarabī fī Isrāʼīl 1948-1986* [Biographies and bibliographies of Arabic literature in Israel 1948-1986]. Jerusalem & Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1987.

Moreh, Shmuel and Yehuda, Zvi (eds.). *Sinʼat yehudim u-fraʻot be-ʻIraq* [English title: Hatred of Jews and the Farhud in Iraq]. Or-Yehuda: Center for the Heritage of Iraqi Jewry, 1992.

Mudhi, Miklif Hamad. 1988. *The Origin and Development of the Iraqi-Jewish Short Story from 1922-1972*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Exeter, 1998.

Naṣṣār, Sihām. *Mawqif al-ṣiḥāfa al-miṣriyya min al-ṣihyūniyya khilāla al-fatra min 1897-1917* [The position of the Egyptian press toward Zionism during the period 1897-1917]. Cairo: al-Hayʼa al-miṣriyya al-ʻāmma li-l-kitāb, 1993.

Nizri, Yigal (ed.). *Ḥazut mizraḥit: hove ha-naʻ bi-svakh ʻavaro ha-ʻaravi* [Eastern appearance: a present that stirs in the thickets of its Arab past]. Tel-Aviv: Bavel, 2004.

Oren, Yosef. *Megamot ba-sipporet ha-yisraʼelit* [Trends in Israeli prose]. Rishon Le-Tsion: Yahad, 1995.

Patai, Raphael. *Israel: Between East and West.* Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1970.

Penslar, Derek J. "Broadcast Orientalism: Representation of Mizrahi Jewry in Israeli Radio, 1948-1967." In *Orientalism and the Jews*. Edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar. Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2005, 182-200.

Perlson, Inbal. *Ha-mosadot ha-musikaliyim shel ha-mehagrim meʼartsot haʼislam ba-shanim ha-rishonot shel medinat Yisraʼel* [English title: The musical tradition of the emigrants from the Islamic countries during the first years of the state of Israel]. Ph.D Thesis ,Tel-Aviv University, 2000.

—. *Simḥa gdola ha-layla – muzika yehudit-ʻaravit ve-zehut mizraḥit* [A great joy tonight: Arab-Jewish music and Mizrahi identity]. Tel-Aviv: Resling, 2006.

Piterberg, Gabriel. "Domestic Orientalism: The Representation of 'Oriental' Jews in Zionist/Israeli Historiography." *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 23.2 (1996): 125-145.

Podeh, Elie. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948-2000*. Westport, CT & London: Bergin & Garvey, 2002.

Ramras-Rauch, Gila. *The Arab in Israeli Literature*. Bloomington, Indianapolis & London: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Ravitzky, Aviezer. "The Clash of Civilizations is not Our War" (Hebrew). *Haʼaretz*, April 11, 2004.

Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon. "The Zionst Return to the West and the Mizrahi Jewish Perspective." In *Orientalism and the Jews*. Edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar. Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2005, 162-181.

Regev, Motti and Seroussi, Edwin. *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004.

Rejwan, Nissim. *Israel in Search of Identity: Reading in the Formative Years*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999.

Rodrigue, Aron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Rorty, Richard. "Education without Dogma." *Dissent* (Spring 1989): 189-204.

Rubin, Uri. *Between Bible and Qurʼān: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image*. Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1999.

Rubinstein, Shimon. *Mi-Berlad ʻad maʻberet Rosh-Pinah: ʻal maʼavak ha-kiyyum ve-ha-histaglut shel mishpaḥat ʻolim mi-Romanya ba-Galil 1950-1956* [English title: From Berlad to the Maabarah of Rosh-Pinah: The First Years of an Immigrant Family in Galilee 1950-1956]. Tel-Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1993.

Saadoun, Haim. *'Iraq* [Iraq]. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education: Division for Social and Youth Education & Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2002.
Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1978.
Saramago, José. *Blindness*. Trans. by Giovanni Pontiero. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1997.
Sarmad, 'Izz al-Dīn. "The Period I Lived in Baghdad Has Been All My Life: An Interview with Samīr Naqqāsh" [Arabic]. *al-Thaqāfa al-jadīda* (Cairo), May-June 2000: 134-142.
Schroeter, Daniel J. "Orientalism and the Jews of the Mediterranean." *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 4.2 (1994): 183-196.
—. *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
Schweller, Russell. "'Mosaic Arabs': Jews and Gentlemen in Disraeli Young England Trilogy." *Shofar – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 24.2 (2006): 55-69.
Selzer, Michael. *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*. New York: Black Star, 1967.
Semah, David. "The Iraqi Novel of Samīr Naqqāsh" [Hebrew]. *Neharde'a* 7 (1989): 21-22.
—. "The 'Iraqi' Novel of Samir Naqqash." *Nehardea* [English) 4 (April 1990): 13-14.
Seroussi Edwin. "'Mediterraneanism' in Israeli Music: An Idea and its Permutations." *Music & Anthropology* 7 (2002) (www.muspe.unibo.it/period/ma).
Shabtay, Aharon. *'Artsenu: shirim 1987-2002* [Our land: poems 1987-2002]. Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 2002.
Shaked, Gershon. *Ha-sipporet ha-'ivrit* 1880-1980 [Hebrew narrative fiction 1880-1990]. Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad & Keter, 1977-1998.
Shama, Avraham and Iris, Mark. *Immigration without Integration: Third World Jews in Israel*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1977.
Shami, Yitzḥak. *Sippure Yitzḥak Shami* [Yitzḥak Shami's stories]. Edited by Asher Barash. Tel-Aviv: Newman, 1951.
—. *Nikmat ha-'avot* [The vengeance of the fathers]. Tel-Aviv: Yaḥdav Publishing, 1975.
—. *Hebron Stories* (ed. Moshe Lazar and Joseph Zernik). Lancaster, California: Labyrinthos, 2000.
Shamir, Shimon. "Cultural and Educational Links [between Egypt and the Jewish Yeshuv before 1948]" [Hebrew]. *Cathedra – For the History of Erets Israel and its Yeshuv* 67 (March 1993): 93-104.
Shamosh, Amnon. *Kane ve-kinnamon* [Calamus and cinnamon]. Ramat-Gan: Massada, 1979.
Sharabī, Hishām. *Ṣuwar al-māḍī – sīra dhātiyya* [The pictures of the past – an autobiography]. Beirut: Dār Nelson, 1993.
Sharabi, Rachel. *Ha-yeshuv ha-sfaradi bi-Yerushalayim be-shalhe ha-tkufa ha-'otomanit 1893-1914* [The Sephardic community in Jerusalem at the end of the Ottoman period 1893-1914]. Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defence, 1989.
Shenhav, Yehuda. "The Jews of Iraq, Zionist Ideology and the Property of the Palestinian Refugees of 1948: An Anatomy of National Accounting." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 605-630.
—. "Ethnicity and National Memory: The World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) in the Context of the Palestinian National Struggle." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (2002): 27-56.
—. "The Phenomenology of Colonialism and the Politics of 'Difference': European Zionist Emissaries and Arab-Jews in Colonial Abadan." *Social Identities* 8 (2002): 521-544.
—. *Ha-yehudim ha-'arvim: le'umiyut, dat ve-'etniyut* [The Arab Jews: nationalism, religion and ethnicity]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2003.
—. *Kolonyaliyut ve-ha-matsav ha-postkolonyali* [Coloniality and the Postcolonial condition]. Jerusalem: Van Leer, 2004.

—. *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
Shiblak, Abbas. *The Lure of Zion – The Case of the Iraqi Jews*. London: Al Saqi Books, 1986.
—. *Iraqi Jews – A History of Mass Exodus*. London: Saqi, 2005.
Shiloah, Amnon. *Jewish Musical Traditions*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
—. "The Activity of Jewish Musicians in Classical Algerian Music and Related Areas" [Hebrew]. *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 91 (Spring 2002): 51-64.
Shiloah, Amnon and Cohen, Erik. "The Dynamics of Change in Jewish Oriental Ethnic Music in Israel." In *Studies in Israeli Ethnicity after the Ingathering*. Edited by Alex Weingrod. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985, 297-340.
Shohat, Ella. "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of its Jewish Victims." *Social Text* 19-20 (Fall 1988): 1-35.
—. "Antinomies of Exile: Said and the Frontiers of National Narrations." In *Edward Said: A Critical Reader*. Edited by M. Sprinker. Oxford UK & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992: 121-143.
—. "Columbus, Palestine and Arab-Jews: Toward a Relational Approach to Community Identity." In *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History*. Edited by Ansell-Pearson et al. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997, 88-105.
—. "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of its Jewish Victims." In *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Edited by Anne McClintock et al. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, 39-68.
—. "The Invention of the Mizrahim." *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXIX.1 (Autumn 1999): 5-20.
—. "Taboo Memories and Diasporic Visions: Columbus, Palestine and Arab-Jews." In *Performing Hybridity*. Edited by M. Joseph and J.N. Fink. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 131-156.
—. "Rupture and Return: A Mizrahi Perspective on the Zionist Discourse." *The MIT Electronical Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (May 2001): 1-11 (http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/mitejmes/).
—. *Zikhronot asurim* [Forbidden reminiscences]. Tel-Aviv: Kedem Publishing, 2001.
—. *Dhikrayāt mamnū'a* [Forbidden reminiscences]. Trans. by Ismā 'īl Dabaj. Damascus: Dār Kin'ān, 2004.
Smooha, Sammy. *Israel: Pluralism and Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
Snir, Reuven. "Jewish-Muslim Relations in the Literature and Periodicals of Iraqi Jewry" [Hebrew]. *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 63 (Spring 1995): 5-40.
—. "Synchronic and Diachronic Dynamics in Modern Arabic Literature." In *Studies in Canonical and Popular Arabic Literature*. Edited by S. Ballas and R. Snir. Fredericton: York Press, 1998, 87-121.
—. "Shimon Ballas and the Canon of Hebrew Literature" [Hebrew]. *'Iton 77*, April 1998: 16-21.
—. "Intersecting Circles between Hebrew and Arabic Literature" (Hebrew). In: *Ben 'ever le-'arav: ha-maga'im ben ha-sifrut ha-'aravit le-ben ha-sifrut ha-yehudit bi-yme ha-benayim uba-zman he-ḥadash* [Between Hebrew and Arabic: contacts between Arabic literature and Jewish literature in the Middle Ages and modern times]. Edited by Yosef Tobi. Tel-Aviv: Afikim, 1998, I, 177-210.
—. "Iraqi Jewry after 1945 – Literature, History and Historiography" [Hebrew]. *Miqqedem Umiyyam* 7 (2000): 245-271.
—. "'Postcards in the Morning': Palestinians Writing in Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* XLII (2001): 197-224.

—. "'We Are Arabs Before We Are Jews': The Emergence and Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture in Modern Times." *EJOS – Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* VIII.9 (2005): 1-47.
—. *'Arviyut, yahadut, tsiyonut: ma'avak zehuyot ba-yezira shel yehude 'Iraq* [Arabness, Jewishness, Zionism: a struggle of identities in the literature of Iraqi Jews]. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2005.
—. "'Arabs of the Mosaic Faith': Chronicle of a Cultural Extinction Foretold." *Die Welt des Islam* 46.1 (2006): 43-60.
—. "Till Spring Comes": Arabic and Hebrew Literary Debates Among Iraqi-Jews in Israel (1950-2000)." *Shofar – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 24.2 (2006): 92-123.
Spinner-Halev, Jeff. "Cultural Pluralism and Partial Citizenship." In *Multicultural Questions*. Edited by Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 65-86.
Steinschneider, Moritz. *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*. Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1902.
Steinschneider, Moritz. "Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews." *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, IX (1897), 224-239, 604-630; X (1898), 119-138, 513-540; XI (1899), 115-149, 305-343, 480-489, 585-625; XII (1900), 114-132; XIII (1901), 92-110, 296-320, 446-487.
Stem, Robert and Shohat, Ella. "Contested Histories: Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism, and the Media." In *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Edited by David Theo Goldberg. Oxford & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992, 296-324.
Stillman, Norman A. "The Judeo-Islamic Historical Encounter: Vision and Revision." In *Israel and Ishmael: Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*. Edited by Tudor Parfitt. Richmond: Curzon, 2000, 1-12.
Swirski, Shlomo. *Israel, The Oriental Majority*. Trans. by Barbara Swirski. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1989.
Taha, Ibrahim. "Duality and Acceptance: The Image of the Outsider in the Literary Work of Shimon Ballas." *Hebrew Studies* XXXVIII (1997): 63-87.
Tottoli, Roberto. "Origins and Use of the Term Isrā'īliyyāt in Muslim Literature." *Arabica* 46 (1999): 193-210.
—. *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature*. Richmond: Curzon, 2002.
Urian, Dan. *The Arab in Israeli Drama and Theatre*. Reading: Gordon and Breach, 1997.
Wurmser, Meyrav. "Post-Zionism and the Sephardi Question." *Middle East Quarterly* XII.2 (Spring 2005): 21-30.
Ya'oz-Kest, Itamar (ed.). *Be-siman kokhav: shire meshorerim yehudim be-sifrut ha-'olam* [In a sign of a star: poems of Jewish poets in world literature]. Tel-Aviv: Eked, 2003.
Yehoshua, A.B. *Ha-kalla ha-meshaḥreret* [The liberating bride]. Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 2001.
—. *The Liberated Bride*. Trans. by Hillel Halkin. Orlando: Harvest/Harcourt, 2004.
Yehoshua, Ya'qūb. *Ta'rīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya al-filasflīniyya fī bidāyat 'ahd al-intidāb al-barīṭānī 'alā Filasflīn (1919-1929)* [The history of the Arabic Palestinian press in the beginning of the period of the British mandate 1919-1929]. Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1981.
Yehoshua, Yaacob. *Ben masoret le-havai* [English title: Between present time and tradition]. Jerusalem: The Sephardi Council, 1982.
—. *Yerushalayim ha-yeshana ba-'ayin uba-lev* [The old Jerusalem in the eye and the heart; English title: Nostalgic Jerusalem]. Jerusalem: Keter, 1988.
Yizhar, S. *'Arba'a sippurim* [Four stories]. Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 1959.
Yonah, Yossi. *Bi-zkhut ha-hevdel: ha-proyekt ha-rav tarbuti be-Yisra'el* [English title: In Virtue of Difference: The Multicultural Project in Israel]. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute & Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, 2005.

Yonai, Joseph. *'Aravit be-bate-sefer 'ivriyim* [Arabic in Hebrew schools]. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992.
Zamir, Shelomo. *Shu'alim be-ma'alit* [Foxes in an elevator]. Tel-Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1996.
Zenner, W.P. "Aleppo and the Kibbutz in the Fiction of Amnon Shamosh." *Shofar* 6.3 (1988), 25-35.