Religious Diversity Today

Experiencing Religion in the Contemporary World

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Ritual and Pilgrimage

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11

Seeking the Saint, Finding Community: Celebrating the *Hillula* of Baba Sali

Samuel R. Thomas

Beginning with two large waves of emigration from Morocco in 1956 and 1962, a steady stream of Maroka'im (Moroccan Jews) has immigrated to Israel, France, Canada, and the United States. Once home to the largest Jewish community of any Muslim country in the world, Morocco has seen its Jewish population dwindle from nearly 350,000 to 6,000 people, almost all of whom live in or near Casablanca. This coastal city, developed by the French protectorate following the establishment of colonial rule in 1912, is renowned for being the cosmopolitan center and economic capital of the country. A multitude of Jews from the hinterlands of the country migrated to Casablanca in the first half of the 20th century, in search of opportunities in business, education, and social mobility. The city would become the launching point for the emergence of a Maroka'i (Moroccan Jewish) diaspora.

Following the rise, after World War II, of a decidedly anticolonialist sentiment in Morocco, which was amplified by the spread of Arab nationalism[1] and the establishment of the state of Israel, Maroka'im felt, for the first time in 2,000 years of life and community in North Africa, an imperative to emigrate en masse. Drawn to France and Canada by francophone tendencies, to Israel by the promise of nation building in a nascent Jewish state, and to the United States by the promise of safety and religious freedom, Maroka'im now reside on several continents. A new Jewish diasporic ethnic community has taken root, whose members see Morocco, the modern nation-state, as a homeland. They rely on cultural expressions of different types—music, food, language, and religious thought—to negotiate and define boundaries of identity in a transnational context.

Maroka'im throughout the world now share a consciousness of belonging to three distinctive diasporic groups. Certainly for Jews, diaspora has long been a major aspect of ethnic-religious identity. The notions of exile from a

homeland, migratory spread, and the promise of redemption permeate Jewish identity.[2] A 2,000-year exile from the ancient land of Israel is ingrained in the consciousness of Jewish people by a simple phrase, repeated annually at the conclusion of the Passover seder: *l'shana ha-ba'ah Yerushalayim!* ("next year in Jerusalem!"). A large segment of world Jewry participates in another diasporic community: that of the Sephardi (Spanish) diaspora. Queen Isabella and Kind Ferdinand II, joint Catholic monarchs of Spain, pronounced the Alhambra Decree (Edict of Expulsion) on March 31, 1492, forcing all Jews to leave the Iberian Peninsula within three months. Most immigrated to North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and Holland; some stayed and converted to Christianity, passing down fragmented Judaic practices to subsequent generations of *conversos* (converted Jewish families). Nevertheless, for Jewish émigrés, exile, migratory spread, and an orientation toward a particular geographic homeland form the central aspects of a Sephardi diaspora consciousness, which remains at the forefront of another particular Jewish ethnic-religious identity. For Maroka'im who can claim family roots among the exiles from Spain arriving at the shores of Morocco, Sepharad is not a place for hopes of communal return or the realization of any physical or spiritual redemption.[3] Rather, it remains a homeland for cultural advancement, a representation of a "Golden Age" moment in Jewish history long lauded for birthing an efflorescence of accomplishments in rabbinic thought, mysticism, poetry, music, mathematics, and philosophy. Similar to other locales of Sephardi resettlement, in Morocco, the pervasive influence of Sephardim on local Jewish communities has forever affected the non-Sephardim, who found themselves thrust into the precarious position of being the neighbors of these immigrants—their alien Jewish brethren.[4] More than five centuries have passed since the Alhambra Decree, and most Maroka'im have adopted aspects of Sephardi identity as their own, with or without any particular evidence of direct lineage.

For Maroka'im today, a juxtaposition of the aspects of these three diasporic identities—Jewish, Sephardi, and Maroka'i—is central to fostering what I call a "layered diaspora consciousness."[5] Despite the inherent historical hierarchy, this layered diaspora consciousness should be understood less as a hierarchical construct and more as a construct with overlapping, or comingling, diasporic identities. Cultural expressions that make reference to practices associated with any of these diasporic identities are valued equally. Thus, a particular song, food, custom, or spiritual practice that conjures any or all of these Jewish diasporic identities is valid and often revered for its role in constructing communal identity. Today's Maroka'i communities tend to be centered on synagogues that encourage particular approaches to Jewish practice. Ways of practice are used by Maroka'im to promote a distinctive identity. Yet much remains similar to the practices of other Jewish ethnic groups'

synagogues, including liturgical rites, holiday cycles, and adherence to the basic norms of established Jewish law. Despite a seeming ethnic particularism, Maroka'i synagogues are open to anyone, and members of the Maroka'i diaspora regularly find themselves having to attend synagogues of other Jewish persuasions. In sum, the experience of diaspora (three times over) certainly informs Maroka'i identity worldwide, as community members seek ways of expressing and fostering cultural associations with one another in a new transnation, as distinctive from other Jewish ethnic communities.

THE *HILLULA*

On Lag B'Omer, a nonbiblical holiday that falls between Pesaḥ (Passover) and Shavuot (the Festival of Weeks), Jews worldwide honor the life of second-century CE rabbinic sage and mystic Shimon Bar Yoḥai, as a memorial celebration on the day of his passing. With bonfires, live music, and plenty of food and drink, the holiday celebrates Bar Yoḥai in lively remembrance rather than mourning.[6] North African Jewry is renowned for practicing a tradition of venerating dozens of Jewish saints and celebrating a plethora of *hillulot* (saint veneration rituals, the singular of which is *hillula*) in their honor.[7] During their lifetime and in death, these *tsaddiqim* (holy persons; the singular is *tsaddiq*) are seen as interlocutors between the physical world and the celestial space, between the mundane and the sacred. Most are considered miracle workers who, through their knowledge and practice of Judaism, have been able to access the heavens for the benefit of individuals and whole communities. A *hillula* is typically performed at the gravesite of a *tsaddiq* for up to one week prior to—and culminating with—a 24-hour memorial celebration on the anniversary of the *tsaddiq*'s death. Historically, the *hillula* has included journeying to the gravesite of the *tsaddiq*, camping for several days or just overnight, and participating in revelry in the forms of live music, feasting, praying, and socializing—all in the service of fostering a personalized relationship between venerator and saint. Thus, the primary elements of a *hillula* include pilgrimage, the *tsaddiq*, a *seudah* (festive meal), and joyous revelry. In the ritualization of these elements, symbolic meanings are brought to the fore that foster a sense of communing with the *tsaddiq* in death, to pay homage to his enduring legacy and to bring him back into the life of the community. The *hillula* is seen as a special opportunity to evoke a metaphysical connection between the *tsaddiq* and his beloved venerators; by conjuring his spirit, pilgrims hope to embolden a particular ethnic-religious identity.

According to R' (Rabbi) Gad Bouskila of Brooklyn, New York, a first-generation Maroka'i immigrant to the United States, when a gravesite is visited, a part of the deceased's spirit hovers above.[8] In making such a pilgrimage, one

is rewarded by the *tsaddiq*'s spirit being present and ready to help. Speaking about R' Amram ben Diwan, a popular *tsaddiq* buried in Ouezzane, Morocco, Liliane Shalom suggests that "he [Diwan] allows those to come who he wants to see. If he does not want you here, you will not be able to make it [the journey]."[9] The *hillula* is seen as an important opportunity to commune with the *tsaddiq*, and pilgrims seek to include him in the social experience. This is a regular occurrence in the social life of the community: the spirit of a central member, whose physical presence has been lost, is brought back from the supernal realm to live for another day with his beloved community. The mystical attribute of the occasion inspires great reverence. But lest one think it is a solemn occasion with a funerary atmosphere, a *hillula* is an opportunity to celebrate the life of the *tsaddiq*—which means celebrating life itself. As pilgrims pray and share stories of mystical experiences attributed to the *tsaddiq*, a constant soundtrack of live music beats on, and trays of food are passed around. Flickering flames from bonfires and candles light the chaotic scene. Participants use the opportunity to socialize with family and friends, and they are always keen to discover new contacts and acquaintances among the throngs of people.

Advances in travel technology would seem to make pilgrimage to the gravesite of a *tsaddiq* a less arduous endeavor than in centuries past, encouraging more pilgrims to take part on a regular basis. After all, modern roads and automobiles are ubiquitous in modern-day Morocco. However, travel to Morocco remains cost prohibitive for many. Perhaps of even more concern to potential pilgrims are the absence of local Jewish communities near most Maroka'i *tsaddiqim* gravesites and the dangers posed by the political instability caused by the enduring Arab-Israeli conflict and the growth in militant Islamist movements. Instead, several renowned *tsaddiqim* from Maroka'i history are now venerated with *hillulot* in safer and more comfortable conditions. For most, synagogue social halls and private homes have replaced the gravesite context.[10] Festivities—including a catered meal, live music, and speeches by communal dignitaries—and veneration are typically concentrated in several hours. Rather than a single *hillula* being carried out by pilgrims in a specific place, dozens of *hillulot* happen worldwide, in relative simultaneity. Additionally, a cyber presence now exists for several of the most renowned *tsaddiqim*, through which interested parties can consume digital mementos and even real-time postings by celebrants. The *hillula* has become a transnational expression of Maroka'i identity throughout the diaspora. The occasion has become ritualized in different ways, emphasizing the memory and enduring legacy of the *tsaddiq* as part of a Maroka'i patrimony—heightening a Maroka'i diaspora consciousness—while de-emphasizing pilgrimage to the gravesite.

MUSICAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE *HILLULA*

Whether in a Catholic church, Hindu temple, or Native American powwow, musical expression plays a central part in sacred ritual. Liturgy has long relied on musical settings to encourage group participation and memorization. In trance ceremonies, the presence of certain songs, melodies, instruments, or musicians can mean the difference between achieving success and experiencing failure in being able to connect with the divine, the self, or ancestral spirits. Funeral dirges, sacred text cantillation, and meditational chants are examples of musical expression as a focused part of religious ritual. In every case, its presence is felt. Music is more than a soundtrack; it is a means for people to carry out ritual and define what they see as central to their understanding of their (ethnic) religious identity.[11]

Several aspects of a *hillula* operate as ways to ritualize a communal experience: pilgrimage, prayer, and feasting. These activities involve multiple people, who carry out actions related to and in service of the ritual. Musical expression in the *hillula* has multiple functions: to inspire general revelry; to honor a *tsaddiq* or multiple *tsaddiqim*, historical figures, and important dignitaries; to play a programmatic role in the event, helping to mark the major moments in the flow of the ritual; and to iterate important religious themes, characterized mostly by the song texts. In preparation for a *hillula*, beadle Maurice Perez of Brooklyn's Netivot Israel synagogue commented that, "as long as there is music, there is *simḥa* [joy]. Along with arak [a fig-based libation] in the middle of the table, then we are ready to go!"[12] Perez's statement exemplifies both the centrality of music in setting the right mood for the occasion, and its programmatic role in defining the beginning of the *hillula*.

Perhaps the most vital aspect of musical expression in *hillulot* today is how it is used to define the boundaries of a particular Jewish diasporic ethnic identity: a Maroka'i identity. Various aspects of musical expression—such as song repertoire, instruments, rhythms, melodies, and stylistic aesthetics—help to characterize this particular ethnic-religious identity. Highlighting sociohistorical elements in these aspects of musical expression is central to iterating a communal identity that is at once distinctive from and similar to other Jewish identities.

In Maroka'i communities throughout the diaspora, the practice of *hillulot*, dislocated from gravesites, has resulted in significant transformations to the ritual. Musical expression, while a central component of any *hillula*, is now foregrounded. Electronic sound systems and professional musicians have supplanted the primarily acoustic presentation of music and the organic diversity of musicianship found at gravesite *hillulot*. Enclosed spaces like synagogue social halls and homes invite a new kind of focused attention as well. Professional music ensembles in these performance contexts now provide background

music for socializing. They are called on to punctuate specific moments during speeches and fund-raising appeals, and they perform sing-along-style moments for larger community participation. The chaotic spontaneity of a gravesite *hillula* has generally disappeared, and the nature of performance has changed from being primarily participatory—with anyone and everyone a part of the music making—to jostling back and forth between presentational and participatory. This range of musical expression is particularly conducive to constructing communal identity boundaries, as concomitant representations of identity share center stage. Alongside moments during which professionals represent identity are moments when everyone is able to express identity.[13] This give and take is the processing of a communal consciousness.

BABA SALI'S *HILLULA*

Annually, on the fourth of Shevat, a date on the Hebrew calendar that generally falls sometime in January, Maroka'im celebrate the *hillula* of Rabbi Yisrael Abuḥatsira (1890–1984). Better known as Baba Sali ("praying father"), Abuḥatsira was born into a beloved and revered Maroka'i rabbinic dynasty centered in Tafilalt, a small oasis town in southern Morocco, on the edge of the Sahara Desert. Baba Sali is considered to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, modern-day *tsaddiqim* for Maroka'im worldwide. He is *the tsaddiq* of the Maroka'i diaspora.

Baba Sali was a prominent religious leader during his tenure in Tafilalt, and as a *tsaddiq*, he was renowned early on for his mystical prowess. After immigrating to Israel in 1964, he eventually settled in a development town in the south, near Gaza, called Netivot. Shortly thereafter, he established a yeshiva (rabbinical seminary) and synagogue in Netivot, building on his role as inheritor of the Abuḥatsira dynastic leadership. He quickly occupied a central place in Maroka'i life as the strongest leader of the community in Israel. With Israel having the largest Maroka'i population of any country in the diaspora, and with the central role Israel plays in the religious life and imagination of Jews everywhere, Baba Sali was catapulted into a position of worldwide renown during his lifetime. Political and religious dignitaries, as well as laypeople, regularly visited him to seek his counsel. On January 8, 1984, at the age of 94, Baba Sali passed away. For those who value and practice Jewish mysticism, he remains in death an influential and revered figure, who worked tirelessly on behalf of his beloved community and all who have enjoined him to intercede in the heavenly sphere.

Few *hillulot* are so prevalently celebrated as the *hillula* for Baba Sali, which now takes place on a major date of the Maroka'i calendar. His *hillula* is an important event in every Maroka'i synagogue, advertised for weeks in advance and typically a catered affair, with live music and fund-raising

petitions. Many people also host private *hillulot* for Baba Sali in their homes. It is a particularly special occasion if a synagogue is able to have a member of Baba Sali's family as a special guest of honor at the *hillula*.

Despite the plethora of localized celebrations in his honor at synagogues and homes throughout the Maroka'i diaspora, Baba Sali's tomb in Netivot, Israel, is a major pilgrimage site. The general trend has been away from privileging pilgrimage as a central part of the *hillula* ritual because of the tomb's location in southern Israel, yet it is relatively accessible. (Israel has a large local Maroka'i population, and those who live in other parts of the Maroka'i diaspora regularly travel to Israel.) Israelis typically form the bulk of the pilgrimage population, simply because of their proximity to the tomb. People with no apparent Maroka'i heritage are noticeable among the Israeli pilgrims. These non-Maroka'i pilgrims tend to be from other Sephardi-Mizra'i immigrant communities, or they associate with communities that emphasize fervent mysticism in Jewish practice. When asked why he would celebrate a Maroka'i *tsaddiq*, Moshe, a pilgrim I interviewed, responded, "It doesn't matter. He's a *tsaddiq* for all of us [Jews]. I just hope for health for my family."[14] In addition to Israeli pilgrims, there are a number of pilgrims from France, the United States, Canada, and Morocco who make the trek. Unlike the Israelis, however, every overseas pilgrim I met and spoke with was Maroka'i. Many of them expressed excitement about being able to make a pilgrimage and "carry out the *hillula* like we're supposed to."[15] Baba Sali's *hillula*, a ritual occasion during which the effect of his presence is amplified, serves as a "come together" moment for members of the Maroka'i diaspora and worshippers of different backgrounds.

Visiting Baba Sali, January 26, 2012

Gravel grips the tires of the taxi as we approach the *kever* (gravesite or tomb) of Baba Sali.[16] We bump along the entrance road in a line of slow-moving cars. Over my shoulder, I see buses parked in a makeshift lot. The ground is moist from the recent January rains that have battered this small town in the south of Israel. As I open the door and step outside, stopping for just a moment to pay the driver, the air clears, and I can see that I still have some distance to walk to reach the *kever* entrance. Between my destination and me is a swath of festivalgoers, including a large market of entrepreneurs selling wares of all sorts from stalls and fellow pilgrims here to perform the *hillula* and gain a spiritual boost.

I am immediately struck by a swirling about of wonderful fragrances. The scents of grilling meats and vats of *ful* (stewed fava beans) and hummus comingle with smells of candles, spices, cigarettes, and more. Accompanying this rich experience for my nose is a feast for my eyes. As I make my way through

the festival market and toward the *kever*, bright colors come at me from all directions, from booths selling clothing and accessories, artwork, crafts, and trinkets. But perhaps the most striking to my senses is the complex sonic field. Sound systems rigged up on the tops of vans and outside booths selling musical wares compete for control of my aural attention with the occasional blaring of a shofar (ram's horn), the beating of drums, and spontaneous outbursts of singing voices, which seemingly appear from thin air and disappear just moments later.

The dancing of the senses continues after the market, reaching the gates of the *kever*, where a haphazard collection of picnic plots occupied by pilgrims comes into view. In this space, the selling of wares ceases but the smells and sounds do not. A devotional spirit pervades the space as well, as *hillula* pilgrims have gathered to express their love for and desire to commune with the *tsaddiq* in his final resting place.

As I enter the *kever* area, my right shoulder is immediately warmed by the drifting winds blowing heat from a large, elevated fire pit full of candles. Just beyond is a bookseller's stall, playing music in the background and hocking texts written by or about the Abuḥatsiras. I am drawn by the sounds emanating from the entrance to the *kever*, an odd mix of wailing, clapping, melodies, and plain commotion.

Once I cross the threshold of the entrance gate, I am greeted by a crush of people trying to get as close as possible to the elevated tomb of Baba Sali. A cacophony of sounds hovers overhead. Blasts from the occasional shofar punctuate the regular murmur of prayers washing over the crowd. One man stands to the side, chanting, loudly and in a wailing tone, a text of hope for the future. He sings from the Psalms of David. Before I can fully digest the moment, a man approaches and asks me to put out my hands in a cupped fashion. He proceeds to pour *maḥia*, a fig-based alcoholic drink, right into my hands. "Drink! Drink!" Next come trays of snacks—nuts, candies, fruits—which are being passed around the crowd. "Say a blessing, in the *zekhut* (virtue) of Baba Sali." My belly, tumbling about with a stiff alcoholic drink and a variety of snacks, holds up and allows me to proceed.

I hear familiar songs being started in this corner and that. As I migrate closer to one group of singers, I join them.[17] Clapping and singing, clapping and singing, one minute we're performing songs in Hebrew and the next we're adding in "Tsaddiq el-Zaz," a favorite song in Maghrebi Arabic, sung at all *hillulot*. As I make my way to the adjacent room, which operates as a synagogue space, I am asked to join a quorum of men who are about to commence the afternoon prayer service. Apparently there are prayer services happening here all day, repeated just as they end so that whoever has just arrived may fulfill this basic obligation of Jewish practice. A hazan, a cantor who leads the services, takes his position at the podium in the middle of the room. He pulls

the crowd into focus around the prayers, performing them with a wonderful command of the musicality—necessary to inspire the gathered.

Baba Sali's Tomb

Built to house Baba Sali's *kever*, the tomb is a fairly large building complex, with a gated entry into a large courtyard; a single large room to one side, with his gravesite in the middle; a synagogue space next door, with pews, a dais, and an *aron* (cabinet with Torah scrolls); a covered area across the courtyard, with picnic tables; a small bookstore and gift shop; restroom facilities; and a fire pit. The fire pit is an important part of the ritual. Pilgrims are expected to light at least one candle upon entering or exiting the tomb; some light many more than one. One woman explained that she lights a candle for each of her immediate family members, including her husband and seven children.[18]

The *kever* space, the large room constructed around Baba Sali's physical resting place, is empty save for a large stone slab built on his burial plot and several bookshelves full of well-worn prayer books. The space holds approximately 400 people, standing room only. During the *hillula*, the throngs of pilgrims spill out through the doorways and into the courtyard. A few chairs are scattered about and are generally occupied by those with special needs (the elderly and infirm). The *kever* space has an entrance on one side for women and on the other for men; separation of the sexes during worship is a traditional feature of Jewish practice in all Maroka'i communities, though usually during synagogue services only. This setup is different from most *keverei* (the plural of *kever*) in that the gravesite is usually outside, and men and women gather together around it.

Draped in a blue velvet tapestry bearing an embroidered inscription with his name, and adorned with big oil lamps, Baba Sali's tomb stands in the middle of the room. Protruding from each side of the stone slab is a wall that bisects the room and ensures that men and women get separate but equal access to his physical resting place. This wall allows members of both sexes to get as near to him as possible.

While certain features of diasporic *hillulot* have been adopted at the *hillula* for Baba Sali in Israel—a formal meal, a professional ensemble with a stage, the reiteration of a standardized *hillula* repertoire—there remains much of the chaotic spontaneity of a gravesite *hillula*, especially inside the *kever* space. Outside, on the larger grounds surrounding the tomb, the festival continues, and musical expressions abound. One can easily find him or herself caught in a sonic crosswind of rooftop sound systems; small gatherings of individuals picnicking together and playing music; music playing from stalls selling recordings; and individuals plucking at stringed instruments or playing hand drums and singing along. In this space, anyone may make an informal musical

expression or prayer. (It is also common for pilgrims to bring food and alcoholic beverages and offer them to fellow strangers in honor of the occasion.) The most familiar informal musical expression is a responsorial Psalm, led by an inspired worshipper in an impromptu fashion. Often, a small group of pilgrims without instruments may begin singing a well-known song, accompanying themselves with clapping. If someone has a musical instrument, he or she will undoubtedly join in. Despite the presence of these qualities of musical expression that are reminiscent of the gravesite *hillula*, the balance between the participatory and the presentational has been assimilated from the diasporic *hillulot*. Here, the juxtaposition of the acoustic and the electronic, of the sacred and the semisacred, is the hallmark of the musical soundscape of Baba Sali's *hillula*.

HILLULA REPERTOIRE

In a pointed effort to universalize a particular Maroka'i ethnic-religious identity, a standard repertoire for the *hillula* has been developing in the diaspora. The ritual, as performed at Baba Sali's tomb, at synagogues, and in homes, has a familiar soundtrack. Songs honoring a particular *hillula*'s patron *tsaddiq* and other famous *tsaddiqim* are privileged. Such is the case at Baba Sali's *hillula*, where several well-known Abuḥatsira songs—one written by Baba Sali and others by members of his family lineage—are robustly represented. Such *tsaddiq* songs, repeated several times throughout the *hillula*, comingle with party songs popularized in Morocco in the mid-20th century. The latter help to mark the moment of Maroka'i emigration. Many of these party songs are regularly performed at weddings, at engagement parties, and as fodder for practicing *contrafacta*[19] in synagogue liturgy.[20]

The performance of *tsaddiq* songs typically occurs only during *hillulot*. *Tsaddiq* song texts are *piyyutim*, or semisacred Hebrew poems that employ a high linguistic register and use Sephardi poetic conventions in rhyme, form, and thematic content. It is quite common to hear a *tsaddiq* song referred to as "a *piyyut* in honor of so and so." There are even a few *tsaddiq* songs performed at multiple *hillulot*, because they are considered to be songs of related *tsaddiqim* (by kinship, historicity, or shared circumambience) or because they laud sainthood in general. One such *tsaddiq* song is R' David ḥassin's (1720–1792) "Oḥil Yom Yom" ("Daily I Anticipate"). This particular song makes references to several *tsaddiqim* considered to be part of Maroka'i heritage, including *tsaddiqim* from the Roman period in ancient Israel and those from different eras who lived in various parts of the Mediterranean (Sephardi diasporic) Jewish world.

The comingling of *tsaddiq* songs and party songs and the regular reiteration of a familiar, only slightly altered repertoire are central to fostering a

boundary of Maroka'i communal identity among *hillula* participants. From far and near, these songs are recognizable to most *hillula* participants as part of the Maroka'i diasporic soundscape. The reiteration of this repertoire is part of how community members negotiate continuity and change, a necessary aspect of processing identity in a diaspora. When coupled with the *hillula* ritual, which itself is clearly an expression of the negotiation between continuity and change in Maroka'i communal life, the *tsaddiq* and party songs from Morocco serve as representations of continuity.

Several other types of songs are performed at *hillulot* as well. Popular songs about Israel, songs from *musika mizraḥit* (Eastern or oriental music) bands, and songs associated with other Jewish communities are generally welcome at a *hillula*. The centrality of Israel in worldwide Jewish life makes Israel a favorite theme. *Musika mizraḥit* is an ethnically based popular Israeli music genre, developed primarily by Sephardi-Mizraḥi immigrants and their progeny. Based on forms of Western, Eastern Arab, and Greek popular music, since the 1970s, *musika mizraḥit* has served as an important way of expressing a profound process of social change—immigration to Israel and participation in the building of a nascent Jewish nation-state—which has affected Jewish immigrants from disparate parts of the Islamic world.[21] Maroka'im in Israel have been very active in developing the genre. The inclusion of songs from this genre in the *hillula* repertoire serves as a means of representing a fuzzy boundary between Maroka'im and other Jews from Islamic countries. At the same time, these songs also help to define a larger boundary of non-European Jewish identity that is broadly characterized by robust connections to a Sephardi patrimony. When *musika mizraḥit* appears at Baba Sali's *hillula* in Israel, it serves to bridge the gap between pilgrims by encouraging the extension of an identifiably Maroka'i approach to Jewish practice.

As for songs associated with other Jewish communities, those of the Chabad-Lubavitch[22] community are perhaps the most popular. Chabad-Lubavitch, a sect of ḥasidism well known throughout the Jewish world, has had a particularly pervasive influence in Maroka'i life. Casablanca was one of the first locations in a network of Chabad-Lubavitch centers throughout the world, which now includes more than 3,000 locations. Most pilgrims at Baba Sali's *hillula*, Maroka'i or otherwise, know the popular Chabad-Lubavitch songs. Typically upbeat and based on simple melodies, these songs encourage group participation. It is common to see people readily sing along and dance in group circles when they are played.

The inclusion of such diverse material in the *hillula* encourages a consciousness of where boundaries of ethnoreligious identity are shared with other Jewish ethnic groups. Whether exploring the messianic themes that echo approaches to the Sephardi poetic tradition, bringing to life the words of the hero-poets of the Spanish-Jewish Golden Age in song, or reiterating

the adaptation of melodies that recall the different routes traveled by the diaspora community, this repertoire—along with its occasion—is used by present-day pilgrims to negotiate and demarcate boundaries of Maroka'i identity. But while fostering boundaries of Maroka'i identity, it is also negotiating larger boundaries of Sephardi and Jewish identity. As this repertoire gets reiterated throughout the Maroka'i diaspora, a consciousness of participation in multiple diasporas percolates among community members. Through the occasion of the *hillula*, through the process of ritualizing musical expression, participants worldwide are able to focus on expressing a unique ethnoreligious diasporic identity.

"YODU LEKHA RAYONAI"

The most important and regularly repeated *tsaddiq* song at any *hillula* for Baba Sali is "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" ("Thank You, Creator of Ideas"). It can be heard several times throughout the *hillula*, in different contexts. At one booth selling large portraits of different *tsaddiqim*, including Baba Sali, I encountered a recorded version being played on the entrepreneur's car stereo. Just 100 yards away, a different recording of it was being played from the rooftop speakers of a van outfitted for the occasion. After meandering around the picnic area outside the *kever*, I heard it again 30 minutes later. This time, a group of friends had gathered at the back of a van, near a small barbecue grill; "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" was the soundtrack of an acoustic, amateur tailgating performance. Once inside the *kever*, I heard it several more times. The bookseller's stall had yet another recording of it playing on its stereo. But the best performance was by a professional ensemble. They had set up in the rear of the *kever* area to perform for spiritual leaders and political dignitaries who came to pay their respects.

According to *Yagel Ya'akov*,[23] a substantive and authoritative commentary on several *piyyutim* written by different members of the Abuḥatsira rabbinic dynasty, Baba Sali composed "Yodu Lekha Rayonai." It is rare to find a *piyyut* (singular) used for a *tsaddiq* song that was composed by the *tsaddiq* himself. Usually, a text is associated with a *tsaddiq* because it is a *piyyut* written in homage to that *tsaddiq*. "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" became a popular song throughout the Maroka'i diaspora even before Baba Sali passed away. These features of the provenance of "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" stand out, making its addition to the *hillula* repertoire unique.

The text for the song presents several instances in which Baba Sali fosters a consciousness of different Jewish diasporic identities. He makes clear allusions to ideas drawn from Modern Kabbalah[24] and normative rabbinic thought. A central teaching of the influential confraternity of 16th-century rabbis in Safed, Israel, who fashioned Modern Kabbalah (which included many Sephardim) is

that man could induce *geulah* (physical and spiritual redemption) through *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). According to Modern Kabbalah, each individual has a role to play in making reparations for the causes of the Jewish diaspora—which were, in essence, consequences of the breakdown of the relationship between God and the ancient Israelites because of the latter's wayward actions. Baba Sali's inclusion of normative rabbinic thought can be seen in his references to Midrashic (biblical folklore) and Talmudic statements throughout the text. Finally, his expressions about the end days and the exile of the Israelite community infer a strong Jewish Diaspora consciousness. Baba Sali relies on a number of poetic conventions to convey Sephardi identity, including an acrostic of his name (Yisrael), a reference to popular versification poetic forms that in this case emphasizes a personalized relationship between the poet and God. He includes several references to his role as a mystic and an interlocutor between the heavenly realm and his followers in the realm of mortals. After all, while a *tsaddiq* is, first and foremost, a righteous and illustrious person, to rise to the level of a mystical *tsaddiq*, he must also possess the ability to work miracles and convince others of his status as an intercessor between the physical and supernal realms. "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" is an important piece in the standard *hillula* repertoire, and it plays a particularly significant role at the *hillula* of Baba Sali, for its provenance and its multifaceted ways of fostering consciousness of a diverse and rich ethnoreligious Maroka'i identity.

"Yodu Lekha Rayonai" Text[25]

1) My thoughts will serve to recognize You, oh Lord, who formed me from the belly
You approached Sinai, to ignite my luminescence
In my pleas [in this *piyyut*], I will splendor you with my song
In all my days and years, forever and ever
Refrain:
I will be gladdened in You, God of the world
I will be gladdened in You, redeemer of my soul, redeemer of the world
2) These [praises] enliven my heart, in my remembrances of His kindness
Because He chose from all people, Yisrael His servants
Stem of this wholesome planting, the fathers [Avraham, Yitzhak, and Yaakov] are beloved
As the perfectly righteous Rock, He raised them from the root
3) I ask to be Your obsession always, you oh lifesource, master of desire
As in the beginning, You guided Your flock
In a wonderful and good pasture, there was utter contentment

Oh great shepherd of Yisrael, put Your ear to their voices

4) You are the Lord, witness and judge
Please rise up against the haughty, go out with Your armaments against them
Enact vengeance upon them, solving every predicament
[For the sake of] Your name and throne, they are but living obliviously

5) Wonderments are His to enact, opposing rivals His domain alone
I will forever expect His kindness to come, morning and night
If not on His own behalf, why destroy His palace [temple]
Thus, we will sing to His honor, perfected songs of praise

6) Strengthen Zion during our special season, [it is] the focus of all concentration
Just in front of our holy abode [temple] that was given to us
Strength to the One who readies His Garden of Eden
In them are all our desires; they [holy temple and garden] are the holy place and space

7) This came to me in my troubled time, this great promise
As the tested father of the masses [Avraham], at the moment of the covenant[26]
To speak of when and where, I will find from whence the rest will spring forth
In You is every desire, God, delight of the world

8) Reveal the time of days, to the nation [Israelites] laden with hardship
My burden and labor have grown, wondrous amounts
Fathers and babes are expecting, make a good sign
His crown grows on the brow of His children[27]

We can see a number of ways in which Baba Sali uses textual elements in "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" to embed emblems of Sephardi and Marokai identity. We also see ways in which he alludes to the Jewish Diaspora. After establishing the relationship between the people of Israel and God, he transitions in the fifth strophe to a focus on God as the primary agent of change. A core tenet of Jewish belief is that God has a purpose for the Jewish Diaspora. The nation was not dispersed because of mere mortal inclinations. God would never *let* the Holy Temple be destroyed (verse 5:3). After all, it was he who built it. There must have been a good reason. In the modern era, Israel the nation-state is now home to a large segment of the worldwide Jewish population; this change must also be the work of God. Surely God will rebuild the Holy Temple (verse 5:4), putting an end to the physical and spiritual exile of the Jewish people.

Subsequent strophes continue to develop the themes of God as an agent of change and God as present in the development of Jewish life. In the sixth strophe, Baba Sali makes reference to modern Jewish life in Israel. Among

followers of Baba Sali, it is commonly thought that "strengthen[ing] Zion during our special season" (verse 6:1) is in reference to God's role in protecting Jewish hostages during the Black September hijacking in 1970, when members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) held 56 Jewish airline passengers hostage in Jordan.[28] This event occurred just before the commencement of the Jewish High Holy Day season; the passengers were released one week prior to Rosh Hashanah.

By the eighth and last strophe of the *piyyut*, Baba Sali portends the completion of the Jewish exile by evoking the days of redemption, of the Messiah. Messianism is a core tenet of traditional Jewish belief, but to reference and highlight messianism within the context of a completion of the Jewish exile, as Baba Sali does in the eighth strophe (verse 8:1–4), emphasizes a mystical approach to understanding the Jewish Diaspora. As we have already established, mysticism is at the foundation of *hillula* practice. Baba Sali's emphasis on the integration of exile, messianism, and mysticism—along with the foregrounding of this *piyyut* during Baba Sali's *hillula*—fosters a particularly Maroka'i way of understanding Jewish identity.

Coupling such thick and rich textual meanings with the use of Hebrew poetic conventions mentioned above, the *piyyut* evokes a consciousness of several distinctive Jewish diasporic identities. From the musical setting of the *piyyut*, we can also see several examples of further juxtapositions of distinctive Jewish diasporic identities. The many renditions heard at Baba Sali's *hillula* make it is apparent that community members are negotiating continuity in and change to Maroka'i identity and territorial claims in a new, diasporic construct. A wide diversity in instrumentation is found on recordings and in the *kever* area. In one instant, you may hear a studio version of "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" recorded with electronic keyboards supporting a vocalist, with modern effects coloring the voice. In another, you may hear a small group of people singing along with an acoustic guitar.

Even though R' Gad Bouskila explained to me that most of the *piyyutim* written by the Abuḥatsiras in the 20th century are set to *cha'abi* songs—melodies set to six-beat rhythmic cycles, following an AB or two-part melodic song form—"Yodu Lekha Rayonai" is based on a different stream of compositional inspiration. The composer did not rely on the common melodic approaches found in *nūba*-based (classical Arab) forms, prominent in North African music; nor did he rely on Eastern Arabic musical traditions. Instead, the melody for "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" is a departure from traditional Maroka'i music.[29] It is based on a Western scale; several harmonic structures akin to popular Western music are present. The textual repetition in the refrain suggests a cognizance by Baba Sali of modern approaches to song form found in Western popular music. This hook is a recurring and catchy combination of text and melody. A melodic sequence downward helps to dramatize

the repetitive line of text. The use of this song form is ubiquitous among artists composing and performing *musika mizraḥit*, and the presence of elements from this form in "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" shows how pervasive it has become in the community's aural consciousness. These compositional elements help characterize the routes of Maroka'i identity.

In diasporic *hillulot*, in which the stated purpose remains one of connecting with a *tsaddiq*, the occasion has also become an important opportunity for the expression of a new iteration of Maroka'i identity. Pieces like "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" help to define a Maroka'i identity that integrates overlapping strains of diasporic identity. As has been suggested by Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi regarding *musika mizraḥit*, *eclecticism* provides a framework for perpetuating a pan-Sephardi identity, by allowing the incorporation of a diversity of musical expression. *Musika mizraḥit* is a viable expression of pan-Sephardi identity because its eclecticism is based on familiar elements: textual expressions of Sephardi life in Israel, performers making the music, and instruments.[30] In "Yodu Lekha Rayonai," this eclecticism is quite intense, yet we can see a similar eclecticism at work in the performance of many pieces from the song repertoire of the *hillula*.

Nevertheless, this *tsaddiq* song, which is by far the most popular piece at every *hillula* for Baba Sali, in Israel and worldwide, conveys ideas about communal history and religious thought. The ritualization of this piece deepens its importance among community members. The cultural provenance of its composer imbues it with unquestionable authenticity, promoting continuity. He relied on familiar poetic conventions and incorporated expressions of mysticism. The musical accompaniment suggests the use of several elements from beyond the genres of typical Maroka'i music. Approaches to melody, form, and harmony draw the listener westward, at the same time that they dig deeper roots in the east. Each performance of "Yodu Lekha Rayonai" gives community members the opportunity to juxtapose and reconcile boundaries of different Jewish diasporic ethnic identities.

CONCLUSION

One might think that carrying out a Jewish spiritual ritual in Israel would be about reinforcing Jewish identity. Certainly, the impact of performing such a ritual in the ancient land, where the notions of *galut* (exile) and *geulah* (redemption) are deliberated daily, is not lost on participants. However, Maroka'im still claim membership in two other Jewish diasporic ethnic identities. While Maroka'im recognize Israel as an important node of the community, Spain and Morocco are sources of a particular ethnic-religious identity within Israel. Community members also tend to foster a sense of transnationalism through social ties and the ongoing exchange of information, money,

and resources, further relegating Israel to a position as one geographic locale in a larger geographic constellation of communities. As Steven Vertovec writes, "Diasporas arise from some form of migration, but not all migration involves diasporic consciousness; all transnational communities comprise diasporas, but not all diasporas develop transnationalism."[31]

In attending Baba Sali's *hillula* in Israel, pilgrims from throughout the Maroka'i diaspora come together in service of reiterating a regionally specific expression of Judaism, and then telegraph the experience to the Maroka'i diaspora. We see, in the processes of the telegraphing of their experiences, the fostering of a sense of transnationalism. Individual pilgrims offer prayers—in a variety of languages—for the well-being of themselves, their immediate families, and their local communities back home. Many use modern technologies, such as cell phones, to instantly broadcast text messages and photographic or video snapshots of their visit; some even make phone calls to relatives while in the *kever* area. But perhaps the most robust telegraphing of individual experiences of Baba Sali's *hillula* to other parts of the Maroka'i diaspora occurs upon pilgrims' return home, to far-flung communities in France, the United States, Canada, Morocco, and other parts of Israel, with stories to share about their journey, their contacts, their transformative spiritual feelings.

Musical expressions found in the modern *hillulot* of Maroka'im give us a window into understanding how tradition and ritual—two aspects of religion—are translated into a "cultural praxis."[32] Such a cultural praxis serves to instill a communal identity in this social movement, a collective of individuals with common purpose. Rogers Brubaker[33] and Su Zheng[34] describe the formation of a diaspora consciousness as part of a discursive process, whereby diaspora is an individualistic claim or stance. This claim is recognized and reiterated through musical expressions at the *hillula* of Baba Sali, in the pursuit and description of a collective identity. While one needs to be rightfully wary of *groupism* and the essentialist notions that can come with it, Thomas Turino suggests that "group identities are the foundation of all social and political life."[35] Musical expression in this context contributes to a "continuation of a culture and 'habitus,'" writes Ron Eyerman, providing a means for fostering consciousness about an ethnic-religious identity.[36] Identity is the representation of selected habits—in this case, the musical expressions of the *hillula*—foregrounded in, notes Turino, "given contexts to define self to oneself and to others by oneself and by others."[37] One's participation in a *hillula* makes him or her an active member of a social movement—one committed to the cultivation of a diasporic identity.

In certain communal contexts, when members sing songs that express ideas contained in their tradition, they produce a structured link between the social movement responsible for characterizing present community consciousness and the movements of generations to follow. The *hillula* of Baba Sali serves as

such a context, in which a sense of *deep socialization* takes place. The *hillula*, which requires pilgrimage and is focused on the sacred nature of honoring a revered religious figure, offers a heightened sense of the social component for community members. People look for "signs that emerge from deep socialization . . . and those that are consciously manipulated as emblems of identity."[38] Musical artists and laypeople alike manipulate emblems of identity—text, melodies, rhythms, instruments, performance context, recordings—to suit an agenda of using the context of deep socialization to foster a connection between people from different parts of the Maroka'i diaspora, and between members of different generations. Pilgrims are, in this particular context, thrust into the role of negotiating continuity and change for the whole Maroka'i community. The standard role of music in the *hillula* of Baba Sali—a means for carrying out the ritual—is augmented by its use as a way to convey to participants who have come from different parts of the Maroka'i diaspora that a particular socioreligious identity must be recognized and reiterated, in order for a communal identity to exist and flourish in ensuing years. In the pointed context of Baba Sali's *hillula* in Israel, the most popular pilgrimage *hillula* in the Maroka'i community today, a particular Jewish religious identity is reinforced and reinterpreted.

Musical expressions are vital to negotiating the tension between continuity and change, embedding emblematic aspects of identity in musical elements—text, melodies, form, instrumentation, stylistic aesthetics. For Maroka'im, the result is a layered diaspora consciousness, juxtaposing three distinctive diasporic ethnic identities at all times. As local community member Toby Levy commented to me, "I'm Jewish, yes, but I'm Sephardi, and Maroka'i. You cannot separate."[39] This comingling of more than one diaspora consciousness must take into account a vertical historical timeline (moments of diasporic migration and the constitution of a diasporic constellation of communities, in these cases, the development of transnations) as well as a horizontally rendered collection of interactions based in one time. Thus, the Maroka'i layered diaspora consciousness incorporates overlapping instances of interaction between parts of one's self, as part of a historical continuity and as part of the inevitable change brought about by life experienced in real time.

From the pulpit, in the midst of a sermon on the holy day of Yom Kippur, R' Gad Bouskila urged his congregants in a Brooklyn Maroka'i synagogue to remember "what Morocco means to us." We must recognize that a territorial connection with Morocco, the nation-state, has eroded for most. While the community has generally been uprooted, without any possibility of returning en masse to Morocco, the land of origin is increasingly a territorialized imaginary; Maroka'i life is now part of a deterritorialized transnation, in which Maroka'i identity is defined in a purely diasporic context. Thus, "what Morocco means to us" is recognized by community members as roots and routes.[40]

Whether it is drawing from historically based ideas, engaging with modernization or new constructs of power, or dealing with new influences on musical expression, the Maroka'i layered diaspora consciousness is "a lived tension"[41] between what is *there* and what is *here*.

The practice of *hillulot* in the Maroka'i diaspora can be seen as a subtradition within Judaism. As an example of what Vertovec describes as one trajectory of subtraditions formulating the religious identity (identities) of diasporic communities, Maroka'im are "universalizing a specific form by claiming it to be all-encompassing."[42] Maroka'i emigration from several small and large communities in Morocco to a diasporic constellation of significant communities that are concentrated in a few places around the world, along with the cultivation of transnationalism, has transformed Maroka'i society. In several areas of religious practice, such as the *hillula*, an impulse to standardize aspects of ritual has encouraged homogenization within the communal identity. Simultaneously, in other areas of communal life, such as language, occupation, and political participation, the community is assimilating the cultural mores of different localities in the diaspora. This, in turn, encourages heterogeneity. The tension between these two impulses, between imagining continuity[43] and managing change, is enduring. In the context of the *hillula* of Baba Sali, in Israel and abroad, a cultural expression imbued with musical activity has become universally regarded as a space in which Maroka'i identity is negotiated.

NOTES

1. Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism: A History, Nation, and State in the Arab World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

2. Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (1993): 693–725.

3. The term "Sepharad" refers to an unknown locality. Among modern Jews it is believed that Spain is Sepharad, and hence they designate the Spanish Jews as "Sephardim."

4. Jane Gerber, *Jewish Society in Fez* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980).

5. Samuel R. Thomas, "Redefining Diaspora Consciousness: Musical Practices of Moroccan Jews in Brooklyn" (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 2014), 10–11.

6. *Idra Zuta*, *Zohar* III:287b–296b.

7. Issachar Ben-Ami, *Saint Veneration among Jews of Morocco* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

8. Personal communication with Rabbi Gad Bouskila, January 25, 2011.

9. Personal communication with Liliane Shalom, April 30, 2010.

10. Thomas, "Redefining Diaspora Consciousness."

11. Peter Yih-Jiun Wong. "The Music of Ritual Practice: An Interpretation," *Sophia* 51, no. 2 (2012): 243–55; Mark Kligman, *Maqam and Liturgy: Ritual, Music,*

and Aesthetics of Syrian Jews in Brooklyn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009); Keith Howard, *Music and Ritual* (The Hague: Semar Publishers, 2006).

12. Personal communication with Maurice Perez, July 12, 2010.

13. Thomas Turino. "Introduction," in *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*, ed. Thomas Turino and James Lea (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 27.

14. Personal communication with Moshe (last name unknown), January 26, 2012.

15. Personal communication with Josianne Dobrin (from Paris, France), January 26, 2012.

16. From field notes, January 26, 2012.

17. As a self-identifying Moroccan Jew and ethnomusicologist, I have been continually challenged to strike a balance between joining the community and remaining sufficiently on the margins. I was raised by a father who converted to Judaism as a young U.S. serviceman in Casablanca and a mother born to a family with deep and differing roots in Morocco. (My grandmother was from a Sephardi family lineage, and my grandfather was from a rural Berber-Jewish lineage.) I grew up engaging with different Jewish ethnicities and religious orthodoxies (Reform, Conservative, and mainstream Orthodox). I am thoroughly familiar with the basic tenets of religious practice, I speak Hebrew and French, and I can carry on a conversation about Jewish history and thought. Yet my upbringing and background are so different from the typical community member that my place on the sidelines is always reserved, should I seek it. This insider/outsider status has clearly been an asset to my fieldwork, as I have been able to gain trust and access from leadership and laypeople alike, at the same time that I have been able to maintain objectivity and use my connections beyond the community for comparative analytical purposes at every turn.

18. Personal communication with anonymous, January 26, 2012.

19. The practice of *contrafacta* is one of borrowing melodies and replacing the original, secular text with sacred Hebrew text. It is quite common in many Sephardi-Mizraḥi synagogue communities, and it extends to the performance of liturgical prayers, poetry, and other paraliturgical genres of Jewish musical expression.

20. Thomas, "Redefining Diaspora Consciousness."

21. Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Cultures in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

22. In addition to being a Hasidic sect, Chabad-Lubavitch represents a particular form of Jewish practice, based on a unique philosophical approach to Jewish mysticism. The community's roots are in Lubavitch, Russia. After World War II—after the Holocaust—and the mass immigration to Brooklyn of its survivors, the Lubavitcher Rebbe (Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson) began a campaign of missionizing secularized Jews around the world, to draw people back to a religious way of Jewish life and to spread a particular approach to Jewish thought that emphasizes messianism.

23. Avraham Yagel, *Yagel Yaakov* (Jerusalem: Mossadot Ner Yitzhak, 1995), 117–20.

24. Reconciliation between early forms of Sephardi Kabbalah and a pietistic approach to Jewish practice developed in Egypt in the 14th and 15th centuries, culminating in the advent of Modern or Lurianic Kabbalah in the 16th century. Lurianic Kabbalah is the product of several mystics, the most prominent and influential of whom was R' Isaac

Luria (1534–1572)—the AriZaL (the lion, of blessed memory). He was considered a master practitioner of Jewish mysticism. Although he did not leave any published works in his own pen, his personal poet, R' Yisrael Najara (1555–1625), wrote and published several collections of *piyyutim*, some of which are performed at *hillulot*.

25. Translation by Samuel R. Thomas.

26. Traditional way of making a covenant (Genesis 15:17–18).

27. One wears tefillin (phylacteries) on the brow, like a crown.

28. During the Black September hijacking, the PFLP diverted TWA Flight 741 from Frankfurt to the airport Dawson's Field in Jordan, on September 6, 1970. All hostages were released on September 27, 1970 (26 Elul).

29. Authoritative recording of "Yodu Lekha Rayonai," performed by Samy El-maghribi, YouTube, 6:51, posted by Azulaybrothersofficial on December 2, 2014, http://youtu.be/4zdrbCveNl4.

30. Regev and Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Cultures*.

31. Steven Vertovec, "Religion and Diaspora," in *New Approaches to the Study of Religion 2: Textual, Comparative, Sociological, and Cognitive Approaches*, ed. Peter Antes, Armin W. Geertz, and Randi W. Warne (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter BmbH & Co., 2004), 282.

32. Ron Eyerman, "Moving Culture," in *Spaces of Culture*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 120.

33. Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 1–19.

34. Su Zheng, *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

35. Turino, "Introduction," 8.

36. Eyerman, "Moving Culture," 130.

37. Turino, "Introduction," 8.

38. Ibid., 10.

39. Personal communication with Toby Levy, November 20, 2010.

40. Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourse of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 101–42.

41. James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (1994): 307.

42. Vertovec, "Religion and Diaspora," 296.

43. I use the term "imagining continuity" because the idea that the standardization of certain aspects of ritual is somehow bringing forth an unadulterated connection to the past, to the homeland, is in fact a major change from the Maroka'i past existence in Morocco, when several regionally specific ways of religious practice coexisted.