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S. CELEN DOKÜMAN

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By

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هي الوثنية واليهودية والنصرانية بشيء من الاختلاف المجالي وفي درجة التعايش. وتعتبر الوثنية عقيدة أمازيغية محلية تعود إلى أصول قديمة ارتبطت طقوسها بالخصوص بالكهانة وتتعاطي السحر الذي أخذه الأمازيغ فيما بعد عن اليهود، فكان للكهان والكاهنات في المجتمع الأمازيغي بشمال إفريقيا مكانة اجتماعية متميزة.

اليهودية : أما اليهودية فلم تكن ديانة أمازيغية بل كانت ديانة وافدة حافظت على تميزها وانحسارها العرقي، وكان انتشارها محدوداً بين بعض القبائل الأمازيغية. وقد اعتبرت الدول الإسلامية المتعاقبة على حكم المغرب اليهود أهل ذمة فعاملتهم بمقتضى عهد الذمة الذي منحهم وضعية قانونية واضحة وحافظ عليهم كأقلية احتفظت بعقيدتها وشرائعها.

النصرانية : كانت النصرانية أقل انتشاراً وتأثير في البربر قبل الإسلام، رغم أن بعض الأخبار تؤكد توغلها إلى داخل البلاد، مثل أغمات التي ذكر أن بعض حواربي النبي عيسى عليه السلام قد بنوا بها كنيسة. ولازال اندثار النصرانية ببلاد المغرب كلها أمراً غامضاً. وفي العصر الإسلامي لم يبد المغاربة أي تأثر بالنصرانية رغم احتكاكهم الطويل بها سواء بالأندلس أو بالمغرب عندما أصبحت البلاد تتعرض لهجمات الإيبيرين، ولا في المرحلة الاستعمارية وما سبقها وحصل خلالها من حملات تبشيرية قوية ومنظمة.

العقيدة الإسلامية : كان الفتح الإسلامي للمغرب سنة 62 / 682 بداية تحول عقدي عميق للمجتمع الأمازيغي لم يتوقف خلال المراحل الأساسية التي عرفها انتشار الإسلام بالمغرب والتي استمرت إلى عصر المرابطين. وشكلت العقيدة الإسلامية بوضوحها وبساطتها حافزاً قوياً للبربر للدخول في الإسلام. وقد أدت استجابتهم القوية للإسلام إلى انقراض كل من الوثنية والنصرانية.

ترسخت عند المغاربة في البداية عقيدة بسيطة قائمة على مذهب التفويض الذي كان عليه الصحابة وجمهور السلف. ثم توالى على المغرب تأثيرات عقدية مشرقية ارتبطت سواء بظهور الفرق والنحل المختلفة في المشرق أو بتطور البحث الكلامي. وكان المغرب باعتباره من مناطق الأطراف في الدولة الإسلامية في العصرين الأموي والعباسي مستهدفاً لمخططات فرق الخوارج والشيعية لنشر دعواتها. وفي هذا السياق دخلت إلى المغرب عقائد إسلامية متعددة، مثل الخارجية والشيوعية والاعتزال والحشوية والأشعرية والسلفية، واستطاع بعضها أن يرسخ قدمه مثل الأشعرية، بينما مرت الأخرى مروراً سريعاً.

آثار الوثنية : خلال العصر الوسيط كانت النزوعات الوثنية، أو المجوسية كما تسميها المصادر العربية، تظهر من حين لآخر في بعض مناطق المغرب، فعندما انحسر مشروع الأدراسة لاستكمال نشر الإسلام بتفتت الدولة وإنهاكها، لم تتمكن الإمارات الزناتية التي خلفتها من متابعة المشروع،

قبل المجتمع تجاوزت الحدود السابقة، حيث وصلت إلى حد القتل حرقاً. فقد قام أهل فاس بإحراق أحد اليهود عام 1001 / 1593 بعد أن ضبطه متلبساً بالسرقعة. أما المشاركون في السوق الذي كان يقام في إقليم جزولة، لمدة شهرين في السنة، فإنهم كانوا إذا ما ضبطوا لصاً متلبساً بجريمة السرقة يقتله على الفور بواسطة طعنه برمح قصير، وترك أشلائه للكلاب.

وكان بديها أن يثير تطبيق مثل هذه العقوبات العرفية على اللصوص اشمزاز واستنكار العديد من الفقهاء لا سيما أن المذهب المالكي لا يبيح العقوبة بالمال. لهذا ألف التنبكتي في صفر 1012 / 11 يوليوز 1603، إبان إقامته في المغرب، مؤلفه "جواب عن القوانين العرفية التي تعارف عليها بعض سكان الجبال"، الذي هو عبارة عن فتوى مطولة نددت بالعقوبات الصارمة التي كان يعاقب بها بعض سكان الجبال المغربية أهل الحراية واللصوص، والتي لا تستند إلى أي نص من نصوص الشريعة. وقد عرضت القضية على الفقهاء ليقولوا رأيهم في تلك الوسائل الزجرية، وأفتى في هذا الشأن طائفة من علماء المغرب بالإضافة إلى أحمد بابا التنبكتي كالفقيه عيسى السكتاني (ت. 1062 / 1652).

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محمد ياسر الهلالي

ابن العقول، صالح بن محمد ولد سنة 1913 بأولاد احريز ناحية الدار البيضاء عرف منذ شبابه بالاستقامة ونقاوة الضمير انضم إلى الحركة الوطنية بالمقاومة السرية عند تأسيسها وبدأ عمله بها بكل نشاط وجدية وغيره وطنية. ومن أعماله إبان فترة كفاحه مشاركته في إطلاق الرصاص على متعاونين مع الاستعمار، كما قام بوضع قبلة بملعب الاسبان وأخرى بمقهى على مقربة من المسبح البلدي وأخرى بسيارة عامل بالجمارك، وكان يوزع السلاح على الخلايا السرية والأقراص السامة على المقاومين. وقد اغتيل من مجهولين يوم 5 يونيو 1955.

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Fas
060078
Almanya
01/184

DE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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CONTENTS/İÇİNDEKİLER

Daha Bilgili, Daha Doğru: İslami Finans Okuryazarlığı Üzerine Bir Araştırma <i>Bünyamin Er, Mesut Mutlu and Yunus Emre Şahin</i>	1	Ticaret 150338
Islamic Finance as an Interest Free Finance: A Confusing Terminology <i>Ugi Suharto</i>	17	
Towards an Effective Shari'ah Compliant Equity-Based Crowdfunding for the Halal Industry in Malaysia <i>Syahida Abdullah and Umar A. Oseni</i>	23	Yiyeech 220274
Initiating A Traditional and Community-Based Islamic Economic and Finance Model: Case Study of Beng Mawah an Aceh, Indonesia Co-operative <i>Fahmi Yunus</i>	43	Agc 010605
Bir Yoksullukla Mücadele Aracı Olarak İslami Mikrofinans ve Türkiye'de Uygulanabilirliği <i>Raif Parlakkaya and Suna Akten Çürük</i>	51	Türkiye 03124
Microcredit Customers' Satisfaction: An Analytical Study of Islamic Microfinance In Indonesia <i>Wahibur Rokhman, Saekhan Muchid, Kisbiyanto Mustaqim Farida and Ida Vera</i>	67	Endonezya 050845
Analysing the Sources of Liquidity Risk Exposure in Islamic Banks: A Comparative Study on the GCC, Malaysia and Turkey <i>Ayse Nur Aydın and Mehmet Asutay</i>	79	
Döviz Kurlarında Hicri Takvim Etkisi: Türkiye Örneği <i>Engin Küçüksille</i>	81	
Mean-Variance Optimization in the Moroccan Market under Shariah Regulations <i>Abdelhamid Hamidi Alaoui, Jawad Abrache, Abdellatif Charafi and Inssaf El Boukari</i>	89	Fa S 060078
İslami ve Geleneksel Piyasa Endekslerinin Performanslarının Karşılaştırılması ve Nedensellik İlişkisi <i>H. Ali Ata, M. Fatih Buğan and İbrahim Ekrem Güler</i>	99	
A Synthesis of Fiqhi Basis for Shari'ah-compliant Stock Screening Methodologies <i>Marjan Muhammad, Shamsiah Mohamad, Kinan Salem and Farrukh Habib</i>	109	
A Review of Securities Commission of Malaysia's Revised Shari'ah Stock-Screening Criteria <i>Engku Ngah S. Engkuchik</i>	129	
Impact of Macroeconomic Volatilities on Sharia Compliant and Non-Compliant Equities in Turkey <i>Yasir Kucuksahin</i>	141	
The Co-Movement Relationship between Islamic Stock Market and Conventional Stock Market <i>Emin Avci and Bassam Al-Agha</i>	165	

ADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
ONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

13532 AZGHARI, Youssef, HOOGHMSTRA, Erna &
VIJVER, Fons J.R. van de. Young Moroccan-Dutch:
thinking in Dutch, feeling Moroccan. *Journal of
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10 Subat 2017

Morinaud Law (Loi Morinaud–1923, Tunisia)

The Morinaud Law (Loi Morinaud) was a French law promulgated in 1923 that enabled Tunisian Jews, who under the agreement establishing the French protectorate were subjects of the bey, to become French citizens. The law was the result of consistent pressure exerted by Tunisian Jews both before and after the First World War. French policy toward the naturalization of Tunisians up to this point had been conflicted. On the one hand, the French tried to assimilate them into French culture, but on the other hand, they did not want to make all of them French citizens, as were the Jews of → Algeria under the → Crémieux Decree of 1870. To avoid the kinds of problems that had arisen in Algeria after the enactment of the Crémieux Decree, the French government compromised with the Messimy Law in 1910, but the rules were so stringent that few Jews were naturalized.

The Morinaud Law of 1923, named for Emile Morinaud (1865–1952), the mayor of → Constantine, Algeria, was another, more significant compromise. It allowed individuals to seek citizenship as a personal act, but the standards for acceptance were very selective. A Jew applying for citizenship had to prove either that he had served as a volunteer in the French army, had a French matriculation certificate (and not just a professional degree, as before), was married to a French citizen, or had rendered special services to France. Despite these stringencies, the chances of obtaining citizenship were greater than before, and an increasing number of Tunisian Jews were naturalized: from 276 in 1924, the number increased to 872 in 1925 and 1,222 in 1926—leveling off as antisemitism increased in the years before World War II.

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HAIM SAADOUN

Morocco

au Daniel Schroeter, ve 5r

1. Until 1912

Origins of the Jews of Morocco

Morocco (Ar. al-Maghrib) is a country in the northwestern part of Africa, along the Mediterranean coast to the north, and stretching along the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The origins of Jewish settlement in al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (Ar. far west, far Maghreb), as the westernmost country of North Africa was called by Arab geographers, is unknown. The Jewish communities of Morocco traced their roots back to ancient Israel; legends recount that the first Jews arrived either in the time of Kings David and Solomon, after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the dispersion of the Ten Tribes in the eighth century, or after the destruction of the First Temple in 587 B.C.E. Many Moroccan Jews believe that the oldest continuously inhabited Jewish community was in → Ifran (from Berb. *ifri*, cave), called Oufrane by Jews, situated in the Anti- → Atlas Mountains of southwestern Morocco. However, the only epigraphic evidence, found at the Roman site of Volubilis near the city of → Meknes, dates from the third century C.E.

Some scholars, based on traditions recorded in the Middle Ages, have asserted that many of the Jews in North Africa were descended from members of the indigenous Berber population (Berb. Amazigh, pl. Imazighen; see → Berber Jews) who converted to Judaism in late Antiquity. While evidence on the arrival and origins of the Jews of Morocco remains inconclusive, it is likely that Jews were present at the time of the Muslim conquests in the seventh century, especially in the → Sous and → Draa regions, whose communities maintained traditions of Jewish life in ancient times. At the crossroads of the Arab caliphate, which by the early eighth

ADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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Atlas Mountains (Morocco)

ant-Habib Kagalghli

There have been Jewish communities in various parts of the mostly Berber regions of the Atlas Mountains in the Islamic Maghreb since ancient times. The Atlas range includes mountain chains and massifs in → Morocco, → Algeria, and → Tunisia that extend along the Saharan fault from the southwestern Moroccan Atlantic coast to the southeastern Tunisian Mediterranean coast, including the Rif and Tell Atlas, which border the Mediterranean. In Morocco, Jews were most widely distributed in the southern chains of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, which include the valleys and plains of the pre-Saharan Moroccan south. There were also Jews scattered in the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, and to the east, in the Aurès (Awrās) Mountains of eastern Algeria, which stretch into western Tunisia, and in the Tell Atlas in the north.

The earliest references to Jewish inhabitants of the Atlas Mountains come from Morocco. While extant sources on Jewish communities in the Atlas date from the medieval period, Jewish traditions date the first inhabitants to the dispersion of the ancient Israelites. The town of → Ifrane (Oufrane) of the Anti-Atlas is claimed to be the oldest continuously existing Jewish community in Morocco, dating from the fourth century B.C.E. While sources on the Jewish communities of the Atlas in the early Islamic centuries are sparse, there is sporadic evidence of Jews living in the Atlas Mountains, the → Sous Valley of the Anti-Atlas and the Draa (Dar'a) River and Valley, which begin on the southern slopes of the High Atlas and stretch into the Sahara Desert, and the region of the Todgha Gorge on the southern flanks of the High Atlas, where Jews controlled the mines and minted coins, and which was the home of three communities in the modern period (Asfalou, Tinghir, and Taourirt). During the → Almoravid period, the largest Jewish community in the region was in Aghmat, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the southeast of → Marrakesh on the northern flanks of the High Atlas. Jews were banned from the new Almoravid capital of Marrakesh, but were allowed to trade there. It is uncertain whether

any Jews lived in the capital in 1147, at the time of the Almohad conquest, when the policy of forced conversions would, in any event, have destroyed the Jewish community. While there are no extant sources, it is likely that Jews fleeing persecution by the → Almohads sought a refuge in the Atlas Mountains. Jews were probably scattered across the Atlas in Marinid times. Leo Africanus, in the sixteenth century, remarked that there were a great many Jews in the Atlas, fighting for princes as mercenary soldiers and reputed by other Jews to be Karaites.

While Jews had a degree of independence in the more remote mountainous regions, their life was made precarious by tribal rivalries and the frequent scarcity of resources. At times they were expelled or banned from some regions, such as the Anti-Atlas region of Ammeln in the fifteenth century, and Tamgrut in the seventeenth century, where there had been a Jewish community near the new Nāširiyya *zāwiya* (Sufi lodge). The founder of the Nāširiyya order in Tamgrut established segregated weekly markets, changing the market day from Friday to Saturday in order to exclude Jewish traders from → Zagora and elsewhere in the region. Expulsions, massacres (as in Ifrane in 1792), and persecution led to dispersion and migration to other parts of the Atlas Mountains and beyond. At the same time, shifting trade routes and commercial opportunities often led to the formation of new Jewish communities at the instigation of local Muslim rulers. Such was the case of → Iligh of the Anti-Atlas in the seventeenth century, when Jews were invited to settle by the local *sharīf*, who was building a base of power in southwestern Morocco and competing for control of Morocco. In the late nineteenth century, there were numerous mellahs (Ar. → *mallaḥ*) adjacent to the *qaṣbas* (also *casbah*, *kasbah*; fortified castles) of the powerful Berber Glāwī clan, whose power stretched across various parts of the High Atlas Mountains. There were a number of mellahs near → Telouet, one of the Glāwī strongholds in the central High Atlas, a strategic location on the Tichka Pass. As pasha of Marrakesh during the French protectorate (1912–1956), Thāmī al-Glāwī, together with members of his family, enjoyed unparalleled power and control over

the school. He later served as director of the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Shumla (Shunem), Bulgaria, and then as director in Demotica and → Gallipoli (Gelibolu). He had to give up the latter posts, however, because of Ottoman policies and regulations designed to make it difficult for non-Ottoman subjects to teach in the empire. He died in → Gallipoli, Çanakkale, in 1910.

Franco was a devoted educator. In collaboration with Colonel Rushdi Bey, he compiled three French textbooks that were used in the Turkish schools of the Ottoman Empire: *Premier livre de lecture* (1888), *Alphabet français* (1889), and *Cours moyen de lecture* (1889). Franco contributed to two Anglo-French periodicals in Istanbul, *Stamboul* and *Le Moniteur Oriental*. A devoted Francophile, he prided himself “on being rather well versed in the Judeo-Spanish jargon [*sic*] spoken in Turkey” (AIU Archives, Turquie VII.E., letter from Adrianople [Edirne], January 30, 1897).

Franco’s most enduring and popular book was his *Essai sur l’histoire des Israelites de l’Empire Ottoman depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris, 1897; rpt. 1973, 1981, 2007). His other books include *Les Sciences Mystiques chez les Juifs d’Orient* (Paris, 1900) and *Histoire et littérature des juifs, pays par pays* (Paris, 1905).

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AKSEL ERBAHAR

Francophone Maghrebi Jewish Literature *Fas 060078*

aut. Johann Sadock

1. The First Generations (1890s–1940s)

The first generations of North African Jewish authors writing in French were educated in Francophone schools operated by the colonial administration in → Algeria and the → Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) in → Morocco and → Tunisia during the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. Francophone Maghrebi Jewish literature grew out of a mimetic drive to emulate the genres and constraints of the Western literary tradition (novel, theater, poetic movements) and a desire to collect and memorialize, in French, historical episodes, everyday-life events and anecdotes, tales, folkloric traditions, customs, and proverbs previously transmitted in Hebrew, → Judeo-Arabic, → Judeo-Berber, → Haketia, or → Judeo-Italian.

The origins of some of these narratives were diverse, because their authors appropriated stories, folkloric characters such as Djoha (Juha) or historical figures such as al-Kähena from mixed cultural heritages. As a result, many early texts did not deal with Jewish themes, Jewish characters, Jewish life, or what it meant to be a Jew in the Maghreb. When they did touch on Jewish themes, they offered valuable information about North African Jewry and about urban and rural life in North Africa, even when the authors were simply recycling Western literary conventions and formulas (tragic love stories, unhappy marriages, fatal affairs, etc.).

Although Francophone Maghrebi Jewish literature officially emerged in 1896 with the novel *Rabbin*, co-authored by two men born in Algeria—the Jewish poet-novelist Sadia Lévy (1875–1951) and the non-Jewish Robert Randeau (pseudonym of Robert Arnaud), one of the future leaders of the Algerianist movement—some of its first and most noteworthy figures were women. Algerian-born Rosine Boumendil (1876–1940), alias Elissa Rhaïs, was the first North African author to be published in France with *Saâda la marocaine* in

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

29 Kasım 2016

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060078

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SONRA GELEN DOKUMAN

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