

## THE IMAGE OF SEPHARDIM IN THE MODERN HEBREW SHORT STORY

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While the life of European Jewry elicits a strong echo in modern Hebrew literature, the depiction of the life of the Sephardim and Eastern Jews (henceforth to be included as 'Sephardim') in this literature is relatively minimal. The reasons are not only the relatively meager quantity of literary production and participation of the Sephardim in modern Hebrew literature, but also the objective impossibility of access to literary Jewish materials which are now in Arab countries. There is a lack of sufficient research and data about this literature. Generally speaking, today the term 'modern Hebrew literature' is immediately associated with Hebrew literature written by European Jewish writers about European Jews. Therefore, when modern Hebrew literature is seen as a mirror reflecting the socio-historical events which shaped the lives of Jews within the last generations, the fact that this mirror reflects very little of the life of the Sephardim is simply ignored.

The mass aliyah of the Sephardim to Israel in the 1950s brought with it poets and writers, but they did not play a dominating role in Hebrew literature because of several factors — among them the need to shift from Arabic to Hebrew as their literary language, the hardship of life at this time, the fact that the literary establishment was a European Jewish one, and also the fact that not many of them could immediately produce significant literary contributions in Hebrew.

Today we find Sephardic writers who do not write about Sephardim, i.e., A.B. Yehoshua, who said in an interview that he

would willingly “assimilate” into the Ashkenazic society because Israeli society relates to the Sephardim as inferiors.

Some writers of Sephardic origin did not write about Sephardim simply because their primary experience and interest lie with Israeli society as such. For example the young poets Hertzal and Balfour Hakak gave no expression to a specific way of life of Sephardim, perhaps because they were only one-year old when they came to Israel from Iraq unlike Sammi Michael, Shimon Ballas, and Shalom Katav, who were older and therefore had a longer life experience from the country of birth which they wrote about.

On the other hand, some European writers devoted a significant part of their writing to Sephardim (Hazaz), and gave us a clear image of them in their stories.

The modern Hebrew short stories reflect more than one image of Sephardim. Sometimes the Sephardim are regarded as perfect ‘angels’, and other times the image is extremely negative. These negative characters are often characterized as representative of the Sephardic community. Other stories portray the European Jews as being superior, the Sephardic Jews as being inferior and describe confrontations between the two communities.

The black critic Carolyn F. Gerald emphasizes the importance of the created image and its implications. Some of his remarks about the term ‘image’ are of special interest to us. Images are, according to him:

“... The projection or representation of an object; the image is a mirror of some aspects of reality.

The created image [unlike the real image—L.H.] is projected by the imagination of man and by the recall and associative power of his five senses.

Why is image so central to a man’s self-definition? Because all images, and especially created images, represent a certain way of focusing on the world outside, and therefore they represent a certain point of view. Now, if we hold a certain point of view, we have automatically emphasized some aspects of reality blocked out others, and glossed over the rest... If it is someone else’s reshaping of reality which we perceive,

then . . . we can be led to believe whatever he wishes us to believe . . . By guiding, by controlling our associations, the image maker can, and usually does, shape our view of reality . . ." (*The Black Aesthetic*, Anchor Books, 1972, pages 349–350).

Therefore, the question of the image of Sephardim in literature is of a special importance in the Israeli society where we find communities struggling for recognition of their unique heritages.

Modern Hebrew short stories supply a picture of the life of Sephardim during their childhood and youth, parents-children relationships, relations between Sephardic couples, as well as relations between European Jews and Sephardim.

Many short stories written by prominent literary figures and less prominent writers hold an extremely negative view of the Sephardim. Following, are a few examples.

The story "Human Reformation" by Milah Ohel (Vilna, 1925), presents an Eastern Jewish father who is "the most atrocious, disgusting, and ugly character that ever appeared in the shape of a human being," whose home emits "a thick heavy mass of foul-smelling air," who beats his family at night, gets drunk, and whose wife is his "donkey" at night. He abuses his family. The Ashkenazi teacher of one of the sons, Soli, decides to take him to his home so that Soli's father will not be able to abuse the child anymore. But the father gets drunk and forces his wife to go to the teacher and demand the child back. This is how she addresses the teacher: "Teacher, teacher . . . Give Soli, teacher . . . Gabriel to kill teacher, Gabriel to kill . . . Gabriel to kill me, children . . . Gabriel is Arak [kind of alcohol — L.H.] . . . Arak all the day . . . every day, every day . . . crazy this Arak . . . Crazy Arak, O . . . crazy . . . Arak to kill teacher . . . not good Arak, not good, and Gabriel only Arak, Arak all day long . . . And at night he me . . . know teacher . . . At night he me, every night, every night. No strength . . . no strength, teacher. I not strength. During the day beating and at night like a donkey, really . . . like a donkey no strength teacher . . . Also in Iran he all day Arak, all day, at night a girl, every night, O . . . every night a girl. Such is Gabriel such . . . In Iran mine three children die. Grown

up . . . Yes, O . . . died three . . . This crazy. He all of them to kill, all of them to kill, teacher . . . Told me not come now Soli home I to kill you and all the children, teacher . . . Give Soli, give Soli, teacher . . .”

In “After He was Worn Out,” by Jacob Hurgin (Yaffo, 1899), one finds an old man married a little girl on condition to pay her a penny each time he touches her, and he dances and twists his body in order to amuse her. In honor of his marriage to her he changes his filthy and stained underwear which he waves in front of everybody’s eyes: “His underwear, that had a special reputation all over the city, disappeared. Year after year he did not take off his underwear during the weekdays, and they fulfilled faithfully the two assignments that were designed for them: they hid the modest parts of his body, lest, God forbid, an eye will peer upon them, and they served as an eternal rag on which to wipe his hands, the hands that touched all the liquids and inanimate objects that were in his grocery store — until they soaked colors and odors — joy for every nose and every eye . . .”

“Hovevey Zion Street,” by Yitzhak Shenhar (Russia, 1905) is about an Eastern Jew who is a liar, exploiter, and lazy, who oppresses his loving, handsome, and dynamic European Jewish neighbor. In Shalom Aleichem’s story, “A Guest for Passover,” a guest to the Seder night repays the respect and care he received from his European Jewish hosts, by stealing their cash and sneaking away with their maid. In “Salimah,” a story written by Chayim Hazaz (Russia, 1898), a drunken husband beats his wife cruelly and lives with his mistress.

Sometimes the narrator adopts the view of a character in a story which ‘attacks’ the Sephardim; at other times he merely indicates the unjustified prejudices against them, as it happens in the case of an European Jewish teacher who thinks: “I hate their dirt . . . the rancid odors in their homes . . . they are beasts and cattle and not human beings, they have no culture . . . they are degenerate, selfish, and are wild people from the jungle.” [“And Let There Be Light,” by Bar Yosef (Safad, 1911)]. A European Jewish counselor finds in Eastern Jews “hatred and jealousy and envy and deceitfulness, and thievery, and insincerity and laziness and drunkenness,” and a student

who thinks that the East is “anarchic . . . extremist, lazy . . . loves bribery and pursues unjust profits,” and is anxious about Israel’s future because of the influx of Eastern Jews (Hazaz, “Expanding Horizons”).

Modern Hebrew short stories often approach Sephardim by stereotyping them, and the negative image they give of them reflects prejudice. For example, the Sephardic man is described time and again as being violent towards his children, his wife and others. Thus we find Sephardic parents who beat their children in Milah Ohel’s “Human Reformation,” in Hurgin’s “Elijah the Butcher,” and “At Uncle Raful’s,” and in Shenhar’s “Esther MaAdani’s Soul.”

Such a typical beating scene is found in Hurgin’s “At Uncle Raful’s”:

“ . . . Bring me the cane! . . . And now come here! . . . Chaim comes close, as a boy who has sinned, and he is stammering and pleading . . . O father! forgive me! I only chatted . . . Go and find out . . . I swear on Rabbi Meir!  
— Lie down and stretch your legs towards me!  
— O, father . . . I will never be late again! I will come back early! Forgive me this time, dear father! I have sinned!  
— Lie down!, orders Uncle Raful—He hits strongly and with great devotion, on the feet . . . Chaim wails, and Aunt Gammilah’s heart is in pain seeing her youngest son suffering. But she is afraid to interfere, lest the cane will turn towards her and beat her.”

Sephardic husbands who beat their wives, are portrayed in “Salimah,” “Returning Wheel,” and “Expanding Horizons,” all by Hazaz. In this context it is interesting to compare two identical situations in two of Hazaz’s stories. In these stories there are arguments between husbands and wives. The husbands in both stories cannot find work, cannot earn a living, and their wives are angry.

“Returning Wheel” describes a Yemenite Jew and his wife. These are some of the wife’s statements in the story, spoken to her husband when he tells her that a scholar of the Torah promised to pray for him so that he will get a job: “What? What? . . . He will pray

for you that you will be given shit from heaven! He found for himself a new contractor and a new labor organization that will give him a job! . . . You are a nut, and associate with nuts! Oy veh on your brain! . . . Bastard . . .” The husband does not treat his wife more delicately, and he expresses himself in this fashion: “God damn your father and your father’s father . . . Shut up! O you son of a bitch!”

But when Hazaz describes the quarrel between husband and wife in the story “Hidden Puddle,” the circumstances being exactly similar but the couple being European, the description is different: “If the curses she uttered were ever fulfilled, the world would fall apart . . . She started to goad him into a quarrel.” Again, the husband’s reaction is different: “He ignored them in silence . . . He grabbed his cane and fled the house.”

In “Lulu,” by Hemdah Ben Yehuda (Vilna, 1873), the husband bites the finger off his innocent wife, and half of it drops to the floor. The relations between the husband and his wife are described in this way: “He demanded that she will obey him and will fear him, and he beat her every day for no reason or excuse. And when she asked him one time, crying, ‘Why do you beat me for no reason?’, he answered, ‘So does every husband to his wife.’” One time the husband allowed his wife to eat before he came back from work; but when he saw that she had taken him seriously, he acted in the following manner: “You eat, nervy woman! — He screamed from afar, and before the poor girl could turn her head and say something, he seized her right hand that she stretched towards the bread and he bit her finger . . . Half of it fell and the other half bled . . .”

In some stories, the parent-child relationships continue after children are married when Sephardic parents still try to control their children’s lives. Such an example is given in “The Devil” by Yitzhak Shenhar (Russia, 1905). First there is a description of the son eating: “He swallows big slices of bread, that puff up his cheeks like balls and cause his eyes to protrude, like someone who is choked, and he swallows with peculiar sounds of whistling and twittering and groaning.” Then the father reaches the conclusion that his daughter-in-law is not good enough for his son, and he gives orders: “Tomorrow we will go to the Rabbis and you will divorce her! — I will die, O

father! I will die! — weeps Barhoomah [the son — L.H.]. He lunged towards his father and seized the father's legs. 'Do not talk this way, O father! I will die'."

Such interference of parents in their children's marriages is also found in "Fate," by Shenhar. This is how a mother-in-law addresses her kind, faithful, loving daughter-in-law: "You are getting ugly my daughter, getting ugly, and there is no device to help you. These extra years that you have comparing to Ezra's age are showing more and more. O, what a foolish act he did, the poor man! . . . Ezra will get out (of prison — L.H.) and he still will be a fresh juicy guy and you will be worn out and strengthless."

But when, Heaven forbid, a European Jewish husband beats his Yemenite wife, as in Gluska's "Wounded Olives," it is only a consequence of a mental breakdown caused by the Six Day war, and, of course, when he recovers, he again resumes his loving attitude towards her.

In Arieli's story, "Ben Azai the Yemenite," Ben Azai threatens violence in order to win his orphaned young relative as a wife. Machluf, the graveyard guard, in Hurgin's "To the Light of the Full Moon," wishes to find a couple "making out" there, because he will then have the opportunity to enjoy beating them.

Another example of modern Hebrew short story stereotyping Sephardim is the occupation assigned to the Sephardic woman — she often is a maid. Thus "Roomia" (Yaacov Steinberg), "Salimah" (Hazzaz), Esther (in "Esther MaAdami's Soul" by Shenhar), "Lulu" (Hendah Ben Yehuda) — all these characters are maids. This occupation often gives the Ashkenazim a good opportunity to fulfil their educational mission towards the Sephardim.

Some anthologies present Sephardim through humiliating stories. Yitzhak Shenhar's story "Hovevey Zion Street" appeared in the "Anthology of Poetry and Prose," an anthology printed according to the program of literary studies requested by the Israeli Ministry of Education. Shenhar's story is the only story about Sephardim in this anthology, and it takes but 25 pages of the anthology. Its aesthetic value cannot explain its presence in such an anthology. Here Ezra Sason, an Iraqi Jew, who is a liar, exploiter, lazy and of offensive appearance, is confronted with his neighbor, Mirski,

a Russian Jew, who is loving, active, beautiful, and honest; Ezra Sason's wife is lazy, ugly, and has no manners while Mirski's wife is modest, attractive, and educated; Ezra Sason's daughter is superficial and idle, while Mirski's son is pleasant, refined, and loves Israel.

Sephardic writers also described negative Sephardic characters. In some stories written by Sephardic authors, we find morally defective Sephardic characters, but they are not the main characters; they are not described as representative of their Sephardic community. Through descriptions of such characters, the authors gain reliability and are trusted by their readers to have an objective point of view. These stories express pain and care for the morally defective characters, as opposed to self-adoration at the expense of emphasis on another person's defects. Some Sephardic readers might find it easier to accept criticism from Sephardic writers.

Of course, one can also find a positive image of Sephardim in short stories written by European Israeli writers such as Eliezer Smali, Amalya Cahana Carmon, Joshua Bar Joseph, Hazaz, Yitzhak Ben Ner, and in poems by Nathan Alterman; stories written by Sephardic writers such as Yehuda Burla, Yitzhak Navon, Amnon Shamosh, David Sitton, and others, also describe commendable Sephardic characters.

Eliezer Smali (Russia, 1901) developed many characters of Eastern Jews in his short stories. For example, in his story "Land," he describes a Yemenite grandmother who lives on a Moshav. She is proud of her agricultural work in Israel. She is sensitive, natural, simple in her manners, and full of love for Israel. She describes how she and her family are well absorbed now in Israel:

"When we immigrated to Israel, operation 'Magic Carpet' . . . We went to the village . . . We are people of work we are, we lived in a village and we wanted land . . . There [in diaspora — L.H.] we loved a land of Gentiles . . . and here, ours, the land of Israel, a holy land . . . Do you understand? We were a family of fourteen people . . . And we eat vegetables of our own, fruits of our own, eggs and meat of our own, and drink milk of our own . . . the sons . . . two serve in the army



and one is a teacher . . . And we already have, thank God, grandchildren, two minyans . . .

And every holiday all of them, all of them come . . . And the home, like a synagogue. Singing and dancing and blessing the Lord . . . And who cares if the hands are dirty from the soil? Is this the soil of Gentiles? Not at all! This is the soil of Israel, a holy soil, really . . .”

Descriptions of affectionate relationships between Sephardic husbands and wives appear in some stories. This is how a Yemenite tries to help and comfort his wife who was insulted by her husband's family simply because she belonged to a different Jewish Yemenite tribe: “He sat down and took her to his lap, as a father takes his baby to his lap and called her by affectionate nicknames and asked her: ‘O, my mother, o, my soul, tell me what dream have you dreamed that caused you to cry so’ . . . And while she was telling him he repeated time and again: ‘Forget them and do not pay attention to them, o my mother’.” (Mordechai Tabib's “Gazal.”)

David Recanati (Saloniki, 1923) in his story “Emergency Call” tells us about some beautiful aspects of life that the Sephardic son carries from his home. Because of an emergency call (the son belonged to a Zionist underground organization in Israel before the establishment of the State), the son, for the first time in his life, is not with his family on Friday evening and he longs for what he is missing: “And the dining room is filled with light. The table is set with a white table setting, the candle burns, and the homemade Challah gives a smell of a wheat field and crop. Father takes off his hat and puts on a Kipah, and this is a sign for all of us to come and to stand around the table to sing ‘peace be unto you, ye ministering angels’.”

There is a sensitive, deep, and thoughtful Iraqi girl in the story “Naaima Sason Writes Poems,” by Amalya Cahana Carmon. In Yitzhak Ben Ner's story, “Kokomo,” a young, sensitive and intelligent Eastern Jew bitterly criticizes Israel, but at the same time his love for Israel, his home, is strong and touching. In another story written by Ben Ner, “A Rural Sunset,” a fascinating young brave Yemenite sacrifices his life for Israel.

Sometimes Sephardic authors expressed the bitterness and the suffering caused by prejudice to the Sephardim. For example, Yehuda Burla (Jerusalem, 1887) in his story "Two Evils" describes such prejudices. Burla writes of a sensitive Eastern boy, a hard worker, whose only comfort is the Friday evening dancing in the Moshav. The Ashkenazi boys and girls in the Moshav are very friendly to him since he is the only one to own a record player. The boy knows that his status is due to his record player: "The record player will grant him a feeling of having equal rights to dance with girls and young women as much as he wants — in spite of all the young men of 'noble' families of his village, the boastful sons of farmers, those who will not take, Heaven forbid, an Eastern Jewish boy to their 'noble' group . . . And the smartly dressed young women, daughters of noble farmers — would they dance with a low-class Eastern young man? 'They' are the choicest and best and he is merely chaff in their eyes." This status lasts as long as the boy is the only one to own a record player. But when one of the other boys brings a record player too, the Eastern boy finds himself in absolute isolation and suffers from a humiliating attitude towards him.

Mordechai Tabib (Rishon L'ezion, 1910) in his novel *As the Tamarisk in the Desert*, describes similar feelings of a young Israeli Yemenite among his Ashkenazi friends: "These [boys, the Ashkenazi friends of Yehie the Yemenite — L.H.] from the time he started to socialize with them, considered themselves superior to him and patronized him and expected him to show awe and gratitude for their association with him. But when they found out that he does not intend to fulfil their expectations of him (on the contrary, he knows his self-importance and he intends to feel himself in their company equal among equals) — there were those of them who were hurt and kept distance from him, and only few of them admitted his right to feel equal and they accepted him with no reservations."

A similar situation is described in the story "The Quarter of Asylums," by Ezra Hamenachem (Yugoslavia, 1907). He gives us an impression of the Sephardi-Ashkenazi relationship in the old settlements of Israel: "A perpetual barrier existed between the different Jewish communities in the Old City of Jerusalem. It was

said that the Sephardim there were practical people, craftsmen, and quarrelsome. Their learning is the learning of the ignorant and their piety is outward only. Their slaughtering is not Kosher . . . Unlike the Ashkenazim who were engaged with the study of the Torah day and night and far from the vain pleasures of this world. Therefore they closed (segregated) themselves in their spacious yard . . . not letting any Jew who was not from their own community to come close to them because of their fear of the evil eye."

Israeli writers of European origin described these prejudices in some of their stories, too. For example, in "Ben Asai the Yemenite" (Arieli, Russia, 1886), a young Ashkenazi likes a young Yemenite and tries to get acquainted with her. Knowing the prejudices against the Sephardim, she becomes embarrassed: "'Are you Yemenite?' The face of the girl was saddened — is it not that an Ashkenazi asked her this question? — then she answered him in a kind of embarrassment, as someone who was found guilty: 'Yes!'"

Yitzhak Shenhar (Russia, 1905) wrote in "Esther MaAdami's Soul" the following dialogue between a doctor and his wife about the Sephardim: "Isn't it that I always claim that they are given too much freedom at once, and this is unhealthy, that they are not accustomed to it and become criminals." . . . "Don't you know that here in this country everything is turned upside-down, so what are you wondering about? Until they will learn something a long time will pass but there is no choice: We have to be patient with them and to educate and teach them."

Sometimes the writers showed the suffering of an Israeli, caused by prejudice from both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. In the story by Miriam Booskala-Guttman (Israel), "The Two Couches," the narrator is the daughter of an Ashkenazi mother and Sephardic father, and she is insulted by both Ashkenazim and Sephardim: "What am I? An Ashkenazi girl or a Franc girl? . . . Who do I belong to? I carry my sorrow in my heart up to now. The children in the Moshav called out behind my back: 'filthy Franc'. And the Sephardim in Haifa spoke unfavourably to me, saying, 'Polish bastard.' And the colonists called us 'mules.' And I segregate myself and close myself in, and hate, hate the entire world . . . with tears on my cheeks I used to respond to these insults . . ."

Life in Israel had a very strong effect on the life-style of the Sephardim. It affected family structure, values, taste, etc. In a story by Yehuda Amir (Yemen, 1939), "Yehie's Peahos," the peahos (sideburns) become the main issue; Yehie's peahos were a source of pride in Yemen, but in Israel they cause him trouble because they seem very strange to his classmates. One time his friends even hurt him physically: "Suddenly his peahos were pulled by someone in the back of him! He looked back and they were plucked from the front! He looked forward and they were pulled from his back! He stood and protected them by the palms of his hands and screamed—enough! enough! enough! But between 'enough' to 'enough' they removed his hands from their way and pulled and tore off his peahos again and again, while they pushed each other, and hopped on each other and wrestled with each other in a mess of hands and legs and laughters and screams and terrible noise."

When his mother joins him in pleading with his father to let him shorten his sideburns, the father becomes angry, seeing his tradition destroyed: "—'And what is left,' he screamed, 'and what is left! Take off your head scarf too and go get you a hair style, one of those which are done in a store... Yes! Yes! The women rule this country! And the men under their shoes! You all became crazy. There is no shame any more! No shame! ...'"

Many stories present the generation gap resulting from the fact that the young Sephardic generation explores new ways of life. For example, in "Walking Dancing" (Yitzhak Navon, Jerusalem, 1921), the father does not approve of his son's secular way of life in the Kibbutz. The son adores his father but does not want to go back to the religious way of life. He describes his father as "Glorious, proud, powerful, persuasive and the most important—erect... He too walks dancing, even though maybe just slightly." The son simply admits: "I can't accept everything [religious—L.H.] and I can't deny everything." The son, in particular, is "walking dancing." On the one hand, he cannot totally deny his religious education and on the other hand he cannot comply with it.

Aharon Meged (Poland, 1920) too, described a Sephardic son rebelling against his father because of the new way of life he learned in the Kibbutz. The authoritative father is described in this way:

“Thick and short-legged, his face similar to a copper pot at sunset, his eyes sharpened and black like the eyes of a mouse in his den, and under his left eye sticks out a round black mole . . .” In spite of the father’s efforts, the son rejects his father’s values because of the influence of the Kibbutz upon him.

In some of their stories Sephardim described cultural or economic shocks. Unlike many stories which attach poverty and misery to Sephardim in their country of origin, some stories written by Sephardim indicate the shocking decrease in their standards of living. Moshe Aslan (Iraq, 1927), in his story, “Regina Searches for Her Parents,” describes the conditions of the Ma’Abarah in the early 1950s in Israel: “One night there was a hurricane, I woke up to the sound of howling wind and screams of horrified women, confused outcries of men, and heart-rending weeping of children. I stuck my head out of my tent that struggled stubbornly against the storm . . . many tents were uprooted completely, and their contents were swept away by the wind . . . Barefoot mothers, while they were shivering from the cold, gathered their infants around them . . . Slowly, slowly I got used to the way of life in the Ma’Abarah, living in a poor, floorless tent, without water and electricity, fighting with ants and scorpions . . . standing for a long time in line in order to receive the meager ration . . . To cook with kerosene . . . sharing the restrooms which were far away from my tent with several families of numerous children.”

Eastern Jewish writers reacted to their image and the prejudices against them by creating literary works. Four novelists of Iraqi origin published four novels which aroused a strong reaction among readers and critics. These novels are *The Ma’Abarah*, by Dr. Shimon Ballas, *All Men Are Equal But Some Are More*, by Sami Michael, *Quppaq from Baghdad*, by Dr. David Rabi, and *The Foundlings*, by Lev Hakak. These novelists carried a definite social message. They presented a new view of the relationship between Eastern and European Jews in Israel. These novels differ from other novels by writers of European origin about Eastern Jews and they also differ from the novels of Sephardic writers such as Shammi and Burla, who wrote about the old Sephardic settlers in Israel. These novels deal with the life of Eastern Jews in Israel from the 1950s on.

There is hope that with the growth of the share of Sephardim in Hebrew literature, there will be a real change in the image of the Sephardim. Maybe our literature will devote less time to eating exotic Eastern foods, swallowing leeches, Notarikon (acrostic method of speech) and Gematriot (use of letters as numerals), and will focus on the crucial problems concerning Sephardim today such as: their torn pride, their anger and disappointment, their conflict between Eastern and Western culture, their love and care for Israel and Judaism — and some disappointment in their status in Israel, the emotional world of the Sephardic woman, with strong roots in Sephardic tradition and culture, who is highly educated and has a profound social-professional role, etc.

Focusing on such aspects will not only give more justice to the created image of the Sephardim by reshaping it, but will also play an important role in the social integration of Israel and will produce a more significant literature about the way of life of the Sephardim.