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Regulations of Moroccan Sages: A Journey Between Jewish Law and Tradition in the Jewish Community

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Abstract

The article explores the regulations composed by Moroccan sages throughout the generations, focusing on their composition process, subjects, and key figures. These regulations reflect the need to adapt Jewish law to changing realities while preserving the core values of Judaism. The article describes the roots of the Jewish community in Morocco and the development of the important community in Fez with the arrival of exiled Spanish Jews. It explains how legal scholars formulated regulations based on traditional Jewish sources. The process of drafting regulations involved discussions, writing, and public proclamation, emphasizing the importance of public consent. The regulations covered a wide range of areas, including marital law, monetary matters, Jewish-gentile relations, ethics, education, and more. The article reviews key regulation collections, such as those from Fez, Meknes, and Sefrou. It presents the unique characteristics of each collection and the central figures behind them. Additionally, it addresses the regulations of the Rabbinical Council in Morocco, which worked to unify laws and customs in the country. Three central regulations are analyzed in depth: a regulation concerning daughters' inheritance, a regulation limiting expenses for celebrations, and a regulation prohibiting the employment of young children. The analysis of these regulations emphasizes the aspiration for social justice, community solidarity, and protection of the vulnerable.

Keywords: regulations, Morocco, Judaism, Jewish Law, sages, Fez, Meknes, Sefrou, education, inheritance, social justice, solidarity.

1. Introduction – The Jewish community in Morocco

The Jewish presence in Morocco began in the first century BCE, represented by diverse and ancient cultural layers. Initially, Moroccan Jews included a core of local Berber tribes, joined by immigrants from the Land of Israel who arrived following the Phoenicians and Romans. After the Muslim conquest in the seventh century, Jews from the Arabian Peninsula and neighboring regions were added (Avitbul et al., 2003).

The city of Fez was built in 789 by Idris I ibn Abdullah, who maintained relationships with Jews and Christians and was influenced by them. Fez served as a refuge for political refugees from Tunisia and Spain. The Idrisids spread Islam and made Fez a religious center. Many Jews arrived in Fez from Kairouan, Egypt, and other places, and it became the most important Jewish community in Morocco. From the ninth century, Jewish Fez became a Torah center for studying the Bible, Hebrew language, poetry, and oral Torah. The lives of Fez Jews experienced many trials

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and fluctuations depending on the treatment they received from the ruling authorities (Bashan, 2000).

With the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, a stream of Jewish refugees began arriving in Morocco, continuing from Portugal until around 1500. Many of the exiles settled in Fez, preferring the city due to its status as a capital with significant economic and political importance. Moreover, the positive attitude of King Moulay Muhammad al-Shaykh (1472–1505) towards the exiles was well-known. This attitude strengthened the refugee' sense of security, and therefore many preferred to live in Fez (Amar, 2021).

1.1 *Recovery and revival*

After the arrival of exiled scholars to Morocco, and despite the suffering and difficulties they experienced, within two years of coming to Fez, they began independently organizing community life and rebuilding its ruins. In 1494, they established initial regulations that were innovative and courageous, thereby laying the foundations for proper community management living according to Jewish law and facing challenges with dignity. In these regulations, they addressed difficult issues in marital law that arose from the upheavals of exile, and questions that emerged to unify exiles who arrived from different regions of Spain into one community (Galily, 2019; Amar, 2021).

The integration of exiles into the local Jewish population was not one-sided and showed mutuality. From the mid-sixteenth century, community regulations were no longer written in Judeo-Spanish but exclusively in Judeo-Arabic. Exiles brought, among other things, the concept of monogamous marriages, and under their influence, polygamy became an exceptional phenomenon. The exiles brought cultural and spiritual renewal to Moroccan Jewry (Avitbul et al., 2003).

2. Sages' regulations – Background and process

2.1 *Sages' regulations*

Jewish legal scholars' base Jewish law on written sources in the Torah and ancient oral traditions passed down from generation to generation. Additionally, they have the authority to innovate laws by re-examining Torah verses, deeply investigating passages, and understanding the internal logic of the text using established and known rules – a method called midrash. The validity of these laws is at the highest level, as if they were directly written in the Torah.

In cases where legal scholars cannot establish new laws through midrash, the Torah delegated to them the authority to enact regulations beyond existing laws. Scholars received this authority to ensure that Torah would not be forgotten by the Jewish people (Alon, 1997).

The regulations were designed to resolve problems arising from social and economic changes by creating new regulations alongside existing law. This could be in monetary laws, interpersonal relations, individual-community relations, or by adding a new prohibition or commandment in laws between humans and God. Sometimes the regulation would introduce changes to existing law due to difficulties in its observance, including social, economic, and moral challenges (Toldot – Institute for Moroccan Jewish Heritage, n.d.).

2.2 *The process of formulating regulations*

Jewish communities in Spain made significant use of enacting regulations to provide solutions within Jewish life where Jewish law failed to offer appropriate answers. Influenced by

the exiles, Moroccan Jews began using regulation enactment to address problems that Jewish law did not adequately resolve (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

Enacting regulations was the authority of the "status" – namely, the scholars, community leaders, and the Nagid (religious leader in Sephardic communities of the Middle Ages). When a problem requiring a solution arose, these status members would gather in a central location like a synagogue or the Nagid's home, where they would discuss and decide the matter. After deciding, they would formulate the regulation in writing and sign it. Regulations would be brought to public knowledge through an announcement in the synagogue, and from the moment of publication, they would acquire legally binding status. Regulations affecting only a small group were presumably brought only to the attention of those directly concerned and not publicly proclaimed (Toldot – Institute for Moroccan Jewish Heritage, n.d.).

For a regulation to gain legal binding status, several key requirements had to be met. Leading community scholars needed to be among its creators, it required written documentation with signatures to preserve it for future generations, and the targeted public had to accept it. After a regulation was decided upon, court scribes would draft it, and scholars, status members, and the Nagid would sign a single master copy. Multiple copies were then made and distributed to synagogue scholars for public reading during the Sabbath.

Public consent represented a fundamental principle in regulation-making. As stated in the Talmud (Babylonian Talmud, Avodah Zarah 36a): "A decree is not imposed on the public unless the majority can uphold it." The public reading without objection was considered acceptance of the regulation (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

The process of establishing regulations varied. Most regulations were enacted solely by scholars, though in some cases, they included the Nagid. Regulations concerning court procedures and religious law were typically established by scholars alone, often requiring signatures from only a select few rather than the entire scholarly establishment. In contrast, regulations regarding community affairs involved the broader participation of scholars, community leaders, and the Nagid (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

Regulations varied in their temporal scope. Some were established with predetermined time limits, while others remained in effect until superseded by new regulations. Those deemed appropriate and just for generations maintained permanent validity, while unsigned regulations held no legal force. Beyond formal regulations, judicial customs were also collected and documented, becoming as binding as the regulations themselves.

When the public disregarded a regulation, particularly those affecting the broader community, it would be revised to ensure public acceptance. Sometimes specific details were removed or updated, while in other cases, stricter versions of the original regulation were implemented. Community scholars enforced these regulations through monetary fines, corporal punishment, and even imprisonment, exercising autonomous authority granted by the governing authorities (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

3. Major regulation collections and key figures in regulation establishment

3.1 *Fez Regulations*

The Fez Regulations represent a significant collection comprising approximately 250 regulations enacted between 1494 and 1750. Initially established by Castilian exiles in Fez and later supplemented by city rabbis, these regulations were first written in Ladino and translated to Hebrew after about a century. This collection served as the authoritative code for Moroccan communities for 400 years, with judges and religious authorities frequently consulting it for legal decisions (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

Rabbi Jacob Ibn Zur first compiled the Fez regulations in 1698, drawing from ancient documents and exile community agreements. In the book's introduction, he noted that existing copies were deteriorating, prompting him to personally transcribe the regulations for future generations. Since Morocco lacked printing houses, regulations were typically hand-copied. Rabbi Makhluf Ibn Zakhri created a new copy in 1778, incorporating numerous judicial decisions from 18th-century Fez scholars. The collection was finally printed in 1871 in Livorno, Italy, by Rabbi Abraham Ankawa, a descendant of Spanish exiles, in his work *Kerem Hemer* (Bar-Asher, Shalom et al., 1977).

3.2 *Meknes regulations*

The Meknes regulations collection differs from its predecessors as it was originally written as a unified city collection containing all regulations from 1750 to 1822. This compilation was created as a continuation of the Fez regulations and contains forty original regulations, with an additional thirty regulations collected from various manuscripts.

This collection belonged to the Toledano family of rabbis, whose influence on community life was nearly exclusive between 1640 and 1790. Subsequently, the Berdugo family dynasty assumed leadership for a century, with Rabbi Raphael Berdugo establishing a new community regulations book (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

3.3 *Sefrou regulations collection*

This collection comprises seventy regulations enacted between 1622 and 1953. Rather than being written as a formal community book, these regulations were gathered from individual sheets across various manuscripts. Rabbi David Ovadia compiled and published them in his 1985 book *The Community of Sefrou*. Most regulations address city governance and moral conduct, with notably few innovations in religious law.

Rabbi David Ovadia was appointed as Sefrou's rabbi in 1952 following his father's passing. He authored several books about the Sefrou community, collecting unique regulations, letters, and preserved memories from Sefrou's scholars, along with sources and documents pertaining to the economic, social, political, and spiritual history of Sefrou's Jews (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

3.4 *Regulations of the Moroccan rabbinical council*

Prior to the French Protectorate in Morocco, which began in 1912, no national rabbinical body existed. The French government established a national rabbinical council that convened in Rabat six times between 1947 and 1955. The rabbis aimed to unify Morocco's laws and customs, address matters requiring reform, and strengthen religious observance. The discussions and decisions were published, providing insight into the issues addressed and attempts to correct deficiencies and negative phenomena. In his 1985 book *Jewish Law in Moroccan Communities*, published in Israel, Rabbi Moshe Amar reorganized these regulations and included new ones adopted by the Moroccan Rabbinical Council.

4. Central themes in the regulations

4.1 *Preservation of religious life*

These regulations focused on maintaining religious life, including Sabbath observance, holiday adherence, and various regulations concerning ritual slaughter and meat kashrut (dietary laws).

4.2 *"Status of women"*

The regulations reflect a trend of elevating the status of Jewish women, protecting their dignity and rights in matters of inheritance, prohibiting polygamy, and establishing compensation for women who claimed they were intimate after promises of marriage.

4.3 *Jewish-gentile relations*

These regulations deal with mutual trade and loan relationships, legal connections and appeals to non-Jewish courts, and the prohibition of selling alcoholic beverages to Muslims, which is forbidden by Islamic law.

4.4 *Social regulations*

An important area of regulations dealt with the many diverse celebrations of Moroccan Jews, such as circumcision ceremonies, redemption of firstborn sons, bar mitzvahs, and weddings with their many customs and traditions.

4.5 *Morality and modesty*

Important regulations addressed social phenomena that compromised religious and moral life. These regulations prohibited card games and prohibited women from going out in luxurious dress or mingling with men, especially during funeral processions and cemetery visits.

4.6 *Family life regulations*

Regulations dealing with broken engagements, early marriages, or permission to take an additional wife for those without children from their first wife. Other regulations dealt with determining the amount of the ketubah (marriage contract) that the husband commits to give his wife in case of divorce or death. Important regulations address the distribution of the husband's or wife's estate among various heirs and daughters' inheritance rights.

4.7 *Taxes*

Tax assessment and collection became a source of tension in the community. Regulations were established for more equitable distribution of the tax burden on the wealthy and middle class, as well as attempts to reassess tax collection from people who were exempt from tax payments for various reasons.

4.8 *Consumer protection*

Following natural disasters that caused crop depletion affecting the economic situation, price gouging, merchandise fraud, and unfair competition between merchants became issues. Several regulations dealt with appointing market supervisors to monitor compliance with regulations and improve the situation.

4.9 *Land of Israel*

Various regulations arranged donations for the inhabitants of the Land of Israel and Jerusalem's poor. Despite their difficult economic situation, Moroccan Jews did not shirk from giving money to support the poor of the Land of Israel. The regulations dealt with proper collection arrangements for the benefit of Jerusalem and Land of Israel residents.

4.10 *Education*

In education, regulations were enacted prohibiting the employment of young children by craftsmen until they completed their studies at bar mitzvah age. Other regulations dealt with free admission of poor children to Torah study and fair payment for teachers (History – The Institute for the Heritage of Moroccan Jewry, n.d.).

5. Case analysis – Three central regulations

5.1 *Inheritance of daughters*

The source of Jewish inheritance laws comes from the Mishnah and is based on Scripture:

> "The order of inheritance is as follows: If a man dies and has no son, 'you shall transfer his inheritance to his daughter.' A son takes precedence over a daughter, any descendant of a son takes precedence over a daughter, the daughter takes precedence over brothers, and any descendant of a daughter takes precedence over brothers. Brothers take precedence over the father's brothers, and any descendant of brothers takes precedence over the father's brothers. This is the general rule: whoever takes precedence in inheritance, their descendants take precedence. And the father takes precedence over all his descendants" (Tractate Baba Batra, Chapter 8, Mishnah 2).

The Talmud concludes that when there are sons and daughters, even if there is only one son, the sons inherit while the daughters receive no portion. This was codified in the Shulchan Aruch. However, the sages instituted that an unmarried daughter about to be married should receive one-tenth of the father's assets, as appears in the Babylonian Talmud (Ketubot 68b).

In his book *Kerem Chemer*, Rabbi Abraham Ankawa presents a regulation concerning the division of the father's estate among heirs. This regulation was enacted in 1494 and was read in synagogues on Saturday, the 12th of Sivan, and reaffirmed three years later. The regulation was written in Judeo-Spanish, spoken among the exiles. According to Rabbi Abraham Ankawa's translation in *Kerem Chemer*, as it appears in Rabbi Amar's book *Regulations of the Sages of Fez*, Regulation 1, Section B states:

> "Furthermore, when sons and daughters remain, the daughters shall inherit equally with the sons. This applies specifically before the daughters enter second marriages. If they are engaged, they shall marry with this inherited portion, as this inheritance due to them under this regulation is for the purpose of marriage. If the inheritance is insufficient for marriage, they shall complete the marriage requirements from the remainder. If the inheritance amount exceeds the marriage needs that they are

> obligated to give to the betrothed, all shall belong to the betrothed…" (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).
>
> This regulation regarding the division of the father's estate establishes:
>
> (1) If there are sons and unmarried daughters, the inheritance is divided equally among all of them.
>
> (2) Engaged daughters shall use their inheritance portion for marriage expenses.
>
> (3) If an engaged daughter's portion is insufficient for marriage expenses, the remainder shall be supplemented from the rest of the estate.
>
> (4) If the engaged daughter's portion exceeds engagement expenses, the surplus remains with her.

This regulation was part of a trend that began in Spain about two hundred years earlier in the city of Valladolid. These conditions of full partnership between husband and wife in all assets, and the inheritance rights of unmarried daughters brought from Spain, gave women a unique, egalitarian status unparalleled in Jewish communities until and including the twentieth century (History – The Institute for the Heritage of Moroccan Jewry, n.d.).

This regulation does not establish complete equality between sons and daughters, as married daughters do not inherit since they already received their portion from their father at their wedding. The regulation demonstrates great concern for the daughter's dignity, ensuring she can marry properly. If her inheritance portion is insufficient, she receives an additional portion from the remaining estate to make up the difference—in this case, the inequality works in favor of the unmarried daughter.

5.2 *Limitation of luxuries in celebrations*

This regulation appears as Regulation 52 in the Fez Regulations Collection. Written in Hebrew, it addresses the restriction of excessive expenditures in feasts and celebrations. The regulation effectively limits individual personal freedom by preventing people from spending excessively on luxuries in a way that could adversely affect others who cannot afford such expenditures.

The regulation begins with the following statement:

> "Because our neighbors' demands regarding tax matters have greatly increased, and the gates of prosperity are narrow, we have observed that the community, despite their hardships and limited wealth, feels compelled to incur excessive expenses in matters of feasts, both poor and wealthy alike. They take loans with interest to maintain luxuries because they see others boasting and spending without restraint. Therefore, even those who struggle for livelihood end up wasting money on luxuries to match the actions of the prosperous…" (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020a).

The regulation proceeds to specify the types of celebrations that may be held and the kinds of food that may be served.

The regulation was established to remain in effect for a minimum of five years. After this period, if the sages and community leaders did not decide to modify or cancel it, the regulation would continue to be valid. Those who violated the regulation would face fines as deemed appropriate by the leaders and community heads.

The regulation bears the signatures of both the sages and community leaders.

During this period, the tax burden weighed heavily on the public. Despite these difficult circumstances, driven by the desire to emulate the upper class (the prosperous = wealthy) and maintain the prevailing social norms, poor celebration hosts were forced to borrow money with interest to hold celebrations as expected of them. As a result, the poor risked falling into debt and becoming a burden on public funds (Bashan, 1980).

The solution implemented by the stages in this regulation was to establish a new, uniform norm binding on all members of society, both rich and poor. While this indeed restricted individual freedom, the sages were primarily motivated by their desire to protect those of limited means.

5.3 *Education*

A statute from 1721 prohibiting people from removing young children aged six or seven from school to teach them a trade. This regulation appears in the Book of Regulations within "Jewish Law in Morocco," Regulation 146:

> "In the House of Israel, we have witnessed a scandal where, due to financial hardship, people are removing their children from school at age six or seven and hiring them out to craftsmen to learn trades such as wool carding and combing and other crafts. These children don't even know how to recite the Shema prayer or pray properly. Instead of growing up under the guidance of scholars and developing fear of Heaven in their hearts, they are growing up in foolishness and irreverence. When they come of age, they cast off the yoke of Heaven and become those who do not lay tefillin, with one transgression leading to another until they stray to evil ways, Heaven forbid. We have seen that the craftsmen who hire these young children for their work are supporting transgressors, for it is not the mouse that steals but the hole that steals, and anything that enables sin, even in thousands of cases, does not become permitted, and whoever causes the public to sin bears the sin of the many.
>
> Therefore, we have opened our eyes and hearts to this matter, and we have decreed and established, by divine decree and holy word, that none of the wool carders and combers, nor any other craftsmen, may take children and youths who are uninitiated in the commandments to work for them, neither for pay nor for free, in any way from this day forward, until they have been educated in the commandments of tzitzit and tefillin. Only then may the craftsmen hire them, and on the condition that they get accustomed to them, warn them, and encourage them to pray with the congregation. Anyone who violates our words will be caught in the net of excommunication, while those who heed us will dwell securely without fear of evil and merit seeing the day of salvation."

Signed in the first third of [the month of] Iyar in the year 'And all peoples of the earth shall see that the name of the LORD is called upon you' [a biblical verse used to denote the year 1721], here in the city of Meknes, may God protect it, Amen (History – The Institute for the Heritage of Moroccan Jewry, n.d.).

This regulation was enacted in Meknes in 1721, during years when natural disasters led to poor harvests and severe economic hardship. Against this background, many Jews removed their children from schools while they were still young and apprenticed them to craftsmen (History – The Institute for the Heritage of Moroccan Jewry, n.d.).

The sages identified the serious problems caused by preventing children from receiving education in Jewish tradition, which resulted in these children not praying and lacking fear of Heaven. When these children grew up, they abandoned Judaism and didn't put on tefillin, considered a very serious matter since tefillin symbolize the core principles of Jewish faith. Consequently, these children, as they grew older, strayed from proper conduct. The regulation

forbade craftsmen from employing these children until they had been educated in tzitzit and tefillin, around age thirteen, the age of Bar Mitzvah. Additionally, employers were required to ensure that their young employees prayed with the congregation.

The sage authors of the regulation emphasized the responsibility placed on employers. The regulation did not address parental responsibility for their children's education, presumably understanding that their dire economic situation prevented proper judgment, and they couldn't be expected to face this dilemma. The responsibility was placed on employers not to accept young children for work, as they had the power to prevent educational harm. Therefore, the regulation was directed at them. Employers should not assume they play a minor role in the children's misfortune; these craftsmen who employ such youths are the main cause of this serious problem, as "anything that enables sin, even in thousands of cases, does not become permitted" – meaning that the factors causing harm should be measured by their impact rather than their formal responsibility for children's education, which places the blame on these employers.

Furthermore, the regulation's authors use harsh and threatening language towards these employers, stating "the sin of the many rests upon him." The Mishna mentions that the one who causes the public to sin will not merit repentance and will die in their sin. This regulation contains no concrete sanctions against violators except for the threat of excommunication. Bassan (2000) doubts whether this regulation was ever enforced.

From the regulations discussed above, we can see that the sages who enacted them were guided by principles of equality and justice regarding daughters' inheritance, showing deep concern for ensuring that unmarried daughters could marry despite being fatherless, and making bold attempts, even if they contradicted accepted Jewish law, to ease their situation, even at the cost of somewhat affecting other heirs. This concern for daughters continues and develops the trend that began in Spain of viewing women as equal partners with their husbands.

The relationship between the individual and the community underlies the regulation limiting community members' freedom to spend money on luxuries. This intervention in private life was intended to prevent competition and social pressure on those who couldn't afford it, which might cause them to fall into debt and eventually become a burden on the community fund that would need to care for these needy individuals. In this case, the sages considered not only concern for the poor but also for the good of the entire community, leading to the decision to limit celebration expenses. This regulation was limited to five years to ensure the infringement on individual rights would be proportionate. After this period, the regulation didn't automatically expire; the final decision about its expiration was left to community leaders.

In education, the sages showed great sensitivity by strongly opposing the phenomenon of sending young children to work before completing basic education. They directed the requirement to prevent these children from working at employers rather than parents, possibly if due to parents' difficult economic circumstances, they wouldn't comply. Therefore, they tried to close this loophole through the employers, based on the simple assumption that if children weren't hired, they would remain in educational frameworks. This wasn't just concerned for children's education but rather a broader vision looking to the future and considering the young child's welfare in their adult life when they would better integrate into the community. In effect, this regulation created a kind of compulsory education law.

6. Conclusion

The regulations of Moroccan sages were a crucial instrument for addressing social, economic, and religious challenges. These regulations reflect the dynamics of the Moroccan Jewish community and its ways of coping with changing realities.

The roots of the Jewish community in Morocco date back to the Roman and Phoenician periods, and the community developed further after the Muslim conquest in the seventh century CE. The city of Fez became an important religious and Torah learning center in Morocco, especially after the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal in the 15th century.

With the arrival of expelled Jews to Fez, serious problems arose which found their solutions through the enactment of regulations, as was customary among Spanish Jews. The halakhic scholars relied on ancient sources, renewed discussion of Torah verses, and known halakhic rules to innovate laws. In cases where problems couldn't be solved through existing sources, the sages used the authority granted to them by the Torah to establish and renew regulations. These regulations were meant to solve problems that arose from social and economic changes, and sometimes even added new commandments or prohibitions. The process of drafting regulations included gatherings of sages and community leaders, discussion, written formulation, and announcement in the synagogue. Public consent was a fundamental principle in establishing regulations, and in some cases, the Nagid (Jewish community leader) was included in their determination. Some regulations were time-limited, while others remained in effect for generations. In certain cases, physical or monetary punishments were imposed on those who violated the regulations.

The main collections of regulations are those of Fez, Meknes, and Sefrou. The Fez regulations, first compiled in 1698, served as the "Shulchan Aruch" (code of Jewish law) for Moroccan Jews for hundreds of years. The Meknes regulations, written between 1750-1822, differed from their predecessors in that they included regulations collected from various manuscripts. The Sefrou regulations, compiled in 1952, mainly included social regulations without significant halakhic innovation. After the establishment of the Chief Rabbinate Council in Morocco, new regulations were added to unify various laws and customs throughout Morocco.

The central topics addressed in Moroccan regulations covered diverse areas such as religious life preservation, women's status, Jewish-Gentile relations, morality and modesty, family life, taxes, consumer protection, the Land of Israel, and education.

Analysis of three central regulations - one dealing with daughters' inheritance, another limiting celebration expenses, and a third prohibiting the employment of young children in various jobs – reveals values of social justice, community solidarity, protection of the vulnerable, and the importance of education for the younger generation.

Through these numerous and diverse regulations, Moroccan sages succeeded in maintaining the community's unique character and social cohesion during complex periods of persecution, economic hardship, and confrontation with modernity. These regulations, which continued to develop until the early twentieth century, were unparalleled in any other Jewish communities worldwide (Amar, Mori Mordechai ben Meir & Amar, 2020b). With the departure of a significant portion of Moroccan Jews in the early 1960s, the community dwindled and ceased enacting regulations. An important and essential component in establishing regulations was public consent and acceptance of the regulation-makers' authority. Today, in the absence of rabbinical authority agreed upon by the entire public, it is no longer possible to use the method of enacting regulations within communities.

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