

The Sephardi *Berberisca* Dress, Tradition and Symbology

by JOSÉ LUÍS SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ,
Bachelor's degree in Fine Arts and PhD from the Universidad Complutense
de Madrid

¹ This is an Arab tradition that was adopted by the Jews. Arabs and Berbers attribute a power of healing and protection to the henna plant and its leaves are used for aesthetic and healing purposes. On the henna night, women paint their hands following an Arab practice that is supposed to bring luck. GOLDENBERG, André. *Les Juifs du Maroc: images et textes*. Paris, 1992, p. 114.

When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs, many of them crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and put themselves under the protection of the Sultan of Morocco, who at the time held court in Fez. This meant that the Jewish people already living in North Africa, who were either Arabic or Berber in their language and culture, were now joined by Sephardi Jews from the Iberian Peninsula who held onto Spanish as their language of daily life and kept many of the customs and traditions developed over centuries back in their beloved Sepharad. The clothing of the Sephardim, too, had its own character, which was based on their pre-expulsion Spanish roots and now changed slowly under the influence of their new Arab surroundings.

The Sephardi *berberisca* dress, which is also known as *el-keswa el-kbira* in Arabic and *grande robe* in French (both meaning “great dress” in English), forms part of the traditional costume of Sephardi brides in northern Morocco. It is not a wedding dress, but rather is worn by the bride on the celebration known as the *noche de paños*, or henna night¹. Particular to northern Morocco’s Jews (e.g., in Tangier, Larache, Ksar el-Kebir and Tétouan), the henna night takes place before the wedding and brings together the families and friends of the bride and groom to sing the praises of the bride.

The presence of relatively similar ceremonial costumes in a number of the countries where the Jews expelled in the fifteenth century went to settle is a coincidence that inevitably leads back to Spain. As written texts and first-hand accounts suggest, the use of the ceremonial *berberisca* dress, which had similar equivalents in the Jewish communities of Turkey, Greece, Algeria and Bulgaria, extended far beyond the wedding ceremony itself. Jewish women also wore it on the day of circumcision and in the main festivities of the Jewish calendar.

In the nineteenth century, the wedding celebrations of Morocco’s Jews began between ten and fifteen days before the ceremony itself. It appears that the bride’s henna night, or *berberisca* night, has no equivalent outside of Morocco. Among Morocco’s Jews, the Saturday before the wedding is known as *saftarraï*, while the Sephardi communities in Turkey and Greece call it the shabat of hand-kissing and the shabat of second birth, respectively.

Moroccan Jewish woman.
Oskar Lenz, 1892.



The dress itself has its roots in fifteenth-century Spain. Garments of this sort, which were first produced by the Jewish embroiderers of the Spanish royal court in the Middle Ages, were characterised by being made of rich dark velvet, with embroidery of a particular thickness and sleeves that were separate from the rest of the dress, reminiscent of late medieval Spanish ceremonial robes. The dress has been compared to various traditional costumes of the Iberian Peninsula. Some authors have commented on its similarity with the traditional clothing worn by the women of Spain's Salamanca province. Similarities can be observed, for example, in the *traje de charra* or *traje de vistas* of the village of La Alberca, and the skirt recalls the *manteo* worn in most of the southern areas of Spain's northern sub-plateau. The embroidered geometrical motifs still persist in our tradition, where they may be recalled in the white linen chemises worn by Spanish brides and embroidered with silk thread. Even the velvet fabric is evidence of a richness indebted to the Spanish garments worn by nobility at the dawn of the Renaissance. Thus, as Sarah Leibovici suggests in her study on Sephardi weddings entitled *Nuestras bodas sefarditas*, a provisional inference can be drawn that the velvet-and-gold dress owes a great deal to some of the Spanish provinces from which the Sephardim came.

Jewish woman in Tangier
(Morocco), 1900.



This party dress was worn by married women until the mid-twentieth century. It came to be known as the dress that the bride would receive from her father on the occasion of her wedding, where she would first wear it in the henna ceremony as part of the legacy of Morocco's Jews.

Over time, the *berberisca* dress or *keswa el kbira* has evolved in terms of its decoration and the introduction of new techniques. The use of braided gold thread in the embroidery and the application of gold cord, both of which appeared often, created surprising effects. There are also examples of *keswa el kbira* in which pieces of precious fabrics like silk were used to adorn, for example, the bottom part of the skirt. With the increase in decoration, particularly the use of gold thread, the *keswa el kbira* became very costly and only wealthy families could afford it. As a result, young women from the lower classes were forced to borrow parts of the garment or even the entire dress for their wedding. The *keswa el kbira* became increasingly rare and production plummeted in the nineteen-fifties. Then, with the massive migration of the Jewish population in the nineteen-sixties, production ceased altogether.

The ceremony of the *berberisca* night is a rite of passage: the bride is initiated into the secrets of her new life and her new role as a bearer of tradition. Both the *berberisca* night and her dress fulfil this function: to help the bride transition into her new role as a married woman. As Alvar states: "All these Jewish



2 Alvar, Manuel. *Cantos de boda Judeo-Españoles*, Madrid, CSIC, 1971, p. 28.

3 ORTEGA, Manuel L. *Los hebreos en Marruecos: estudio histórico, político y social*. Ed. hispano-africana, Madrid, 1919, p. 178; JANSEN, Angela. "Keswa Kebira: The Jewish Moroccan Grand Costume" *Khil'a 1, Journal of Dress and Textiles in the Islamic World*. Leiden, 2005, p. 84.

ceremonies, so replete with complexity, are quite simply the formal steps by which the betrothed separates herself from one social structure (her family, her unmarried state) and joins another one (her husband's family, her married state)².

Jewish women in Morocco used to marry very young. From their earliest days, their families arranged their weddings according to material interests. The rule was to marry extremely young women not to males of their own age, but to middle-aged men or even to elderly men, while their spouses were only seven to ten years of age. In some wealthy families, the tradition was to organise a type of miniature wedding at five years of age, with children dressed as bride and groom. This not only brought good luck and good fortune to the children, but it also anticipated the day on which they would marry. For the occasion, the girl would wear a small *keswa el kbira*. A real marriage had two parts, the betrothal and the wedding, which could be spread out over time. The betrothal ceremony generally took place in the house of the girl's family and gave an opportunity for the future groom to offer pieces of jewellery and sweets to his future spouse. Sometimes, a contract of betrothal was signed, stipulating a certain sum of money that would have to be returned along with the jewellery and other gifts if the betrothal was broken³.

The *keswa el kbira* is part of the legacy of Morocco's Jews. The dress originated in Andalusia, where today there still exist such festival garments, like the ones

4 Tétouan was the capital of the Spanish protectorate between 1913 and 1956. It was the northern Moroccan city with the largest settlement of Sephardic Jews who kept their deep-seated Spanish customs and carried on speaking a variety of Spanish known as Judaeo-Spanish, commonly referred to as Ladino and called *Haketia* in Morocco.

worn in the mountains of Huelva by the brotherhoods of Andevalo and Puebla de Guzmán on their religious pilgrimages known as *romerías*, when participants don a jacket, sleeves and skirt that bear a striking resemblance to the *keswa el kbira*, similarly made of velvet and trimmed in braided gold galoons.

The dress is composed of a series of pieces that infuse the ensemble with an incomparable functionality. Given the intrinsic significance of traditional costume, the symbolic function occupies an important place; each piece is a sign that fulfils a specific function for the wearer. Three functions can be seen to coexist or overlap in the same item: the utilitarian, aesthetic and symbolic. The *berberisca* dress is a highly complex piece of clothing, a “cosmic” dress of sorts, which refers to abstract, spiritual and metaphysical ideas and functions as a highly encoded message. It carries the bride into her new life as a married woman, connecting her to tradition.

The names of the different items that make up the *berberisca* dress, or *keswa el kbira*, recall the garment’s Spanish origins and the materials from which they are made resemble those of the Torah scrolls. The colours range from maroon and dark green to dark blue and black. Specifically, the green and blue indicate cities in the interior; the red and maroon point to cities on the coast and in the south; and the purple and black are particular to the city of Tétouan. Over the course of time, regional differences developed. For example, the *keswa el kbira* of Tiznit in southern Morocco shows many more Berber influences than its counterpart in Tétouan in the north, which was considered the most authentic version⁴.

The main ensemble of the garment has **eight pieces**: 1) a skirt; 2) a bodice or breastpiece; 3) a short jacket; 4) a pair of long, wide sleeves; 5) a silk belt; 6) a silk scarf; 7) shoes decorated like the dress, and 8) a headband, because the hair cannot be shown after marriage.

Below is an analysis of the different pieces used in the cities of northern Morocco, with the Arabic names appearing first and the Ladino names included in brackets.

Zeltita (giraldeta)

A large wrap-around skirt, which is called a *zeltita* or *giraldeta*, is worn around the waist in the same fashion as the Torah scrolls, transforming the bride metaphorically into the bearer of the Law. The skirt, which is held to the body by one or more sashes or belts, is made of various bell-shaped pieces with the closed end slanting from left to right, cutting an angle across the front, which is richly decorated with concentric curves that grow in size from the hemline upwards, making a triangular shape that metaphorically represents fertility.

El-keswa el-kbira (Grande Robe).
Left: Rabat, 19th cent., The Jewish Museum in New York.
Right: Tétouan, 19th cent., Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme in Paris. [See more.](#)





Zeltita or giraldeta. British Museum in London.

⁵ Gematria is a method and a metathesis (alternating the letters of a word dependent on the fact that each Hebrew character has a numerical value).

⁶ JOUIN, J. "Le costume de la femme israélite, au Maroc", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*. Vol. 6, no. 2, 1936, pp. 167-180.

Broadly speaking, the dress is typically adorned with 22 strands of braided galloons as a reminder of the 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet and a metaphor for the Torah, which was written with 22 letters. Another typical number in which the braided galloons can appear is 26, which is highly significant in Judaism. According to gematria⁵, 26 is the numerical value of the name of God. The two lateral pieces above the hips are decorated with star motifs. According to Jouin, the stars are a stylised representation of the protective hand of the *hamsa*, a symbol of monotheistic faith highly prized by Jews and Muslims alike as a reminder of God and an expression of their desire to receive his blessings and protection⁶.

With few exceptions, the braided galloon that finishes the grapes corresponds symbolically to the grapevine, which is above all the property of life and consequently its promise and its value, one of the most precious possessions of man. In nearly all the religions in the vicinity of ancient Israel, the grapevine is a holy and divine tree and its product, wine, is the drink of the gods. Israel, for its part, sees the grapevine as one of the messianic trees. This can be read in the Book of Zechariah: "In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree" (Zech 3:10). In their character as fruit, bunches of grapes symbolise fertility, which can be seen in Psalms: "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house: thy children like olive plants round about thy table" (Ps 128:3).



Ktof (punta or peto). National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid.

***Ktof* (punta or peto)**

Beneath the jacket is a bodice or breastpiece, called a *ktof*, which is the same colour and fabric as the skirt and jacket. In most cases, it is only a front piece held to the body by ribbons and this is easily concealed because the jacket covers the rest. Unlike its simple cut, however, it is richly embroidered with gold thread in most cases. The motifs were always different, with floral and geometric designs being foremost. There were also breastpieces decorated with the motif of a two-headed eagle, a characteristically Jewish motif that was also used in jewellery. The two-headed eagle was associated with supreme power by the ancient peoples of Asia Minor. The doubled heads do not express duality or multiplicity. Rather, they reinforce the symbolism of the eagle as a symbol of height and the ascension of the spirit.

In other cases, the breastpiece features birds facing one another. Like all winged creatures, birds are symbols of spirituality, because their ability to fly represents the relationship between heaven and earth.

Generally, birds symbolise spiritual states and a figure of the soul escaping the body, thus interpreting the flight of the soul toward heaven. In both eastern and western traditions, birds are arranged hierarchically on the branches of the Tree of Life.

Detail of ktef (punta or peto).
Birds facing one another.
Sephardic Museum in Toledo.



The first *Etz Jaim*, or Tree of Life, appears in the Garden of Eden and it is a metaphor for the Torah. In Jewish tradition, it is said that the *Etz Jaim* is a symbol both for God and for the Torah, or Law. The Midrash, which contains early interpretations and commentaries on Hebrew biblical texts, indicates that God's first involvement in the creation of the earth was to plant trees. At times, the Tree of Life is used as a name for places of Jewish worship, because it is extremely important in Jewish thought.

In the Kabbalah, the *Etz Jaim* is a mystical symbol used to understand the nature of God and the way in which He created the world. Represented in the form of ten interconnected attributes or emanations, it appears as a central symbol in the Kabbalah.

The Tree of Life is also associated with wisdom: "[Wisdom] is a tree of life to those who take hold of her; those who hold her fast will be blessed" (Prov 3:18).

The **palm tree** is another frequently represented symbolic motif because of its special link to the Jewish people. On their exodus from Egypt, the Israelites made their second camp at Elim, a spot where there were 70 palm trees and twelve springs (Ex 15:27; Num 33:9), and later they received an instruction to take leaves from this tree to raise booths for the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23:40; Neh 8:15).

Because they were so familiar to the Israelites, it was natural that the figures of palm trees should be used in the design of the temple of Solomon (1 Kings

Detail of *kter* (punta or peto).
Stylised flowers. Sephardic
Museum in Toledo.



6:29, 32, 35) and appear in the temple in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 40; 41). Jericho was called "the city of palm trees" (Deut 34:3; Judg 1:16; 3:13; 2 Cor 28:15). The palm is a classical emblem of fertility and victory. This can be seen in Psalms: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (Ps 92:12).

Stylised flowers appear repeatedly and in a wide range of varieties, including lilies, irises, tulips and particularly roses. Flowers and how they grow and develop out of earth and water symbolise the nascent manifestation of life as a passive principle, the calyx being like the cup and receptacle of celestial activity and in this respect an especially feminine symbol. The rose is one of the most commonly depicted flowers and it appears in varying shapes and configurations.

The rose is essentially a symbol of finality and the absolute achievement of perfection. It symbolises the cup of life, the soul, the heart and love. It is viewed as a mystical centre. In this respect, a fitting allusion appears in Song of Solomon: "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys". And this gives rise to a metaphor for the people of Israel as "a lily among thorns" (Song 2:1, 2).

Fragments of *ktes* (punta or peto).
Rosettes of different types.
Sephardic Museum in Toledo.



The most characteristic rose in the textile arts is the rosette. Chief among types of rosette are the Gothic rose, Renaissance rose and Assyrian rosette, with each presenting the schema of its corresponding style. All of these flowers, which are shown facing outward with a distinct number of petals, appear as opened roses composed of a central button or knob and leaves clustered around it in a circle. Their typology varies widely and some take the shape of a cross. The Assyrian rose has rounded petals that come together at a rounded point. The rosettes on a *ktes* are often accompanied by other geometrical and floral elements and by sigmoid shapes in varied combinations and rhythms with volutes that are attached to a central curved stem. This motif is highly characteristic of Renaissance ornamentation in the stylistic environment from which the *berberisca* dress first came.

Gombaiz (*kasot*)

Above the skirt is a short jacket, the *gombaiz* (*kasot* in Ladino), in matching colour and material. It has short sleeves, a round neck and is open-fronted, with small silver filigree buttons adorning the edges. A range of techniques and motifs may be used in the decoration of a *gombaiz*.

A common motif on the jacket of the *keswa el kbira* from Tétouan is the spiral on either side of the chest. The spiral is a schematic form representing the evolution of the universe and bears relation to other symbols such as the moon, the labyrinth, the vulva and the shell, all of which converge of the themes of fertility, feminine energy and the natural cycles. In its two directions, the double spiral symbolises both birth and death.



Gombaiz (kasot) 19th cent. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The front of the *keswa el kbira* from Tétouan typically features two symmetrical pairs of large spirals, decorating each side of the gombaiz, which alternate braided gold thread and gold cord. The spiral, or solar wheel, symbolises the cycle of life (eternity). This motif can also be found on Moroccan funeral dress and on tombs in Jewish cemeteries across Morocco, again symbolising the unity of life and death.

Four types of decoration are used for the *gombaiz*:

- 1) *Bersman*. This is a type of braiding applied directly to the cloth. It is often used for edging, as it is strong and can easily be moulded to the contours and seams of the garment. The gold thread is braided around red silk.
- 2) *Sfifa*. Unlike *bersman*, this type of braiding is produced separately and was made by the women of the household under the supervision of the tailor, who provided the gold thread. There are different ways of creating *sfifa*, which may require up to nine threads to be used. Today, both hand-crafted and machine-made *sfifa* can be found in Morocco. It can be used to create different types of decoration; in this case it was used for the spirals on the *gombaiz*, applied around a cardboard core to maintain the shape of the design.
- 3) *Gold galoon*. Gold galoon came mainly from the French influence and was a popular decorative motif that could be used to cover large areas of fabric. In this case, two types of gold galoon were used, one narrow and one wide, matching those of the skirt. The jacket is particularly notable for the elaborate decoration on the back of the sleeves, which combines braiding and cord.

Gombaiz (kasot) 19th cent. Spiral motifs and filigree buttons. Sephardic Museum in Toledo.



7 The first book of the Kabbalah, the *Sefer Yetzirah*, makes reference to the Seven Double Letters of the Hebrew alphabet, from which came the Seven Heavens, the Seven Earths and the Seven Sabbaths.

8 JOUIN, J. "Le costume de la femme israélite, au Maroc" *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 1936. p. 169.

4) *Passementerie*. This is the general term for decorative edgings or trimmings in which cord, braid, lace, tassels and other elements are applied directly to a fabric. It was a very popular form of decoration in Morocco and was traditionally used for Jewish clothing. In this case silver cord was applied around the spiral motifs and braided gold thread was used to create the zig-zag pattern on the front of the garment. Of particular significance are the seven silver filigree buttons on either side of the *gombaiz*. They represent the Seven Blessings, recited as part of the week-long festivities following the wedding. Seven is a meaningful number in Judaism; the Sabbath, for example, is observed on the seventh day of the week⁷.

Underneath the short jacket were traditionally worn a pair of long, broad sleeves, or *kmam*. These would originally have been part of a long, fine shirt, the *tchamir*, worn under the *keswa el kbira*, but were later produced as a separate garment and worn over the jacket. Most were made of muslin and decorated with gold lace. Women would wear them passed over their backs, draping elegantly from their shoulders to give the appearance of a shawl.

Hzem (kusaka)

The silk belt is known as the *hzem*. These items were usually woven in Fez, in the same workshops that produced the belts worn by Muslim women. Most examples were woven in gold thread and decorated with fringing at each end. They were traditionally long enough to be wrapped around the waist three or four times, with the fringing left to hang at the front⁸.



Belt with geometric decoration.
Sephardic Museum in Toledo.

Shawl (*fechtul*). 19th-20th cent.
Sephardic Museum in Toledo.



Fechtul (panwelo)

9 FRAILE GIL, José Manuel
“La indumentaria sefardí en
el Norte de Marruecos. El
tocado y la ropa de cada día”.
*Revista de Dialectología y
Tradiciones Populares*, Vol. 59,
No. 2 CSIC, 2004. p. 85.

In the Jewish faith, women were traditionally forbidden from showing their hair after marriage, so the *keswa el kbira* would always incorporate at least one form of head covering. The *fechtul* is a rectangular silk scarf measuring approximately 150 x 350 cm that is worn over the head and tied at the back, with the ends either left to hang down the back or tied with a ribbon. It is usually horizontally striped and includes gold thread in the weft.

The *swalf* is a band of stiff cloth, measuring 15 cm across, with two silk braids – *dlalat* or *crinches* – that fall across the wearer’s forehead and temples to imitate hair. The word is related to the Spanish *crin* and *crencha*, which were decorated with fine silk ribbons. The *swalf* could be worn at the nape or the temples, in which case an additional pair of braids was used in order for the wearer to have two on either side of her face⁹. Though in traditional

Moorish slipper (*Rihiyyat el-kbar*).
National Museum of Anthropology
in Madrid. CE3427. Photograph:
Arantxa Boyero Lirón.



communities Jewish brides were required to cover their hair, the wearing of wigs was permitted provided that no human hair had been used in their making. This spawned any number of ingenious ideas in both urban and rural communities, where we find examples of the use of wool, silk, goat hair, cow tails and even ostrich feathers, covered with shawls, crowns and silver adornments to create styles that are sometimes amusing and on occasion surprisingly burlesque.

The *swalf* was typical of Rabat and was designed to compensate for the covering of the bride's natural hair. It was worn over the *fechtul*, in a conical form, and covered with an embroidered silk shawl, or *sebniyya*, decorated with tassels.

Jewish women would typically cover their hair with a woollen shawl when in public. For special occasions, however, the ladies of the wealthiest classes would wear a Manila shawl of white silk, richly patterned with white silk embroidery. Such items were costly, attainable only by the richest families.

Rihiyyat el-kbar* or *muquwara

The shoes worn with the *berberisca* dress have varied over the years and have followed various trends. Jewish women would commonly wear a Moorish-style slipper, open at the heel and embroidered with silk and gold thread.

The shoes worn by Jewish women were different to those worn by Muslims, based on the more open European model with a raised heel. In most cases they were the same colour as the *keswa el kbira* and decorated with gold embroidery.

Boots and ankle boots have also been worn with the *keswa el kbira*, generally woven from velvet to match the colour of the other garments.

Jewellery

The *keswa el kbira* was often heavily accessorised, with many types of jewellery worn depending on region and social status. Jewellery has always been important to the women of Morocco, whether Jewish, Muslim or Berber.



Sfifa and fixing for headpiece.
Sephardic Museum in Toledo.

As well as a solid financial investment, jewellery was an expression of social standing and a source of security for women, who were entitled to keep their jewels if they divorced or were widowed.

Jewish gold and silversmiths produced the vast majority of jewellery worn in urban and rural Morocco. The reason for this monopoly was twofold. On the one hand, the creation of gold and silver items to be sold above the intrinsic value of the metals themselves was likened to usury and was therefore deemed reprehensible by Morocco's Maliki Sunni Muslims. On the other, it was popularly believed that anyone involved in the smelting of metals was in league with the *djnnun*, or spirits.

Of the most prominent examples of traditional jewellery is the *sfifa* or *taj*, a tiara set with pearls and precious stones such as rubies. Only the richest families could hope to own such items, and they were frequently loaned to brides from less wealthy backgrounds. Tiaras, diadems and crowns were sometimes created from embroidered fabric adorned with precious or semi-precious stones while in other cases they were true pieces of jewellery and precious metalwork.

As with the *keswa el kbira* itself, the jewellery of urban Jewish women was strongly influenced by the styles of southern Europe, which was apparent in both the forms and the names of various items. For example, the *tazra* ("rich") necklace was decorated with hanging flowers or rosettes called *rarnati*, meaning

Heavy gold earrings (*kbach khras* or *khras mara*). Sorolla Museum. Madrid. 70159/1. Photograph: Susana Vicente Galende.
[See details.](#)



10 FRAILE GIL, José Manuel “La indumentaria sefardí en el Norte de Marruecos. El tocado y la ropa de cada día”. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, Vol. 59, No. 2 CSIC, 2004. p. 87.

“of Granada”, which sat between filigree balls and pearls. On traditional medallions, Hispanic-Moorish decoration was apparent in the rosettes, while more recent examples are set with pearls and precious stones such as emeralds.

Jewish women have traditionally worn white pearl necklaces, which symbolise fertility and good luck. Another characteristic motif on the pendants and rings worn by Jewish women was the *tayr*, or bird, an elegant sparrow-like form that can be dated back to the Byzantine period. It was also traditional to wear ankle bracelets called *kholkhals*, *jarjal* or *jarjales*¹⁰. Finally, Jewish brides, particularly in Tétouan and Tangier, would wear a pair of heavy gold earrings, *kbatch khras* or *khras mara*, set with pearls and precious stones in the Spanish style. These earrings were so heavy that they were not hung from the ear but instead fixed to the shawl, the gold rings hanging on either side of the face. ●

WORKS REFERENCED

- ALVAR, Manuel: *Cantos de boda Judeo-Españoles*, Madrid, CSIC, 1971.
- AZAGURY, Yaëlle. The Traje de Berberisca: an Encoded Dress. <https://goo.gl/zVqAqg>.
- BECERRIL SÁNCHEZ, Rosa “El traje de novia sefardí”, *Revista de Arte. Logopress*. 2015.
- BESANCENOT, Jean. *Costumes of Morocco*. Kegan Paul, London, 1990.
- CHEVALIER, Jean. *Diccionario de símbolos*. Herder. Barcelona, 2007.
- CIRLOT, Juan Eduardo. *Diccionario de símbolos*. Novena edición, Labor, Barcelona, 1992.
- DÍAZ-MAS, Paloma. “Las prendas de la novia: canciones de boda en la tradición judía sefardí” in *Actas del Curso “Folklore, literatura e indumentaria”*, 2008. pp. 159-173.
- GOLDENBERG, André. *Les Juifs du Maroc: images et textes*. Paris, 1992.
- FRAILE GIL, José Manuel. “La indumentaria sefardí en el Norte de Marruecos. El tocado y la ropa de cada día”, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, Vol 59, No. 2 CSIC, 2004.
- JANSEN, Angela. “Keswa Kebira: The Jewish Moroccan Grand Costume”. *Khil’a 1, Journal of Dress and Textiles in the Islamic World*. Leiden, 2003.
- JOIN, J. “Le costume de la femme israélite, au Maroc”, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*. Vol. 6. No. 2. 1936, pp. 167-180.
- ORTEGA, Manuel L. *Los hebreos en Marruecos: estudio histórico, político y social*. Ed. hispano-africana, Madrid, 1919.
- ORTIZ ECHAGÜE, José. *España Tipos y Trajes*. Ed. Ortiz-Echagüe, Madrid, 1963.
- ROUACH, David. *Bijoux berbères au Maroc dans la tradition judeo-arabe*, Ed. ACR, Paris, 1989.