

**SECOND MEMORANDUM HISTORICAL SURVEY
OF THE
JEWISH POPULATION IN PALESTINE
FROM THE FALL OF THE JEWISH STATE TO THE
BEGINNING OF ZIONIST PIONEERING.**

Chapter I: Under Roman and Byzantine Rule.

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CHAPTER I

UNDER THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE RULE.

The vivid rhetoric of Josephus Flavius' *Jewish Wars* and the absence of sources accessible to Western scholars for the later periods, have combined to create an impression in the minds of many people that the fatal issue of the Roman-Jewish war of 66-70 C.E. did not only result in the destruction of the Temple and of the city of Jerusalem, but brought Jewish life in Palestine to a complete standstill by obliterating what remained of the nation. However, even a cursory glance at the *Jewish Wars* will show that the struggle cannot have been as destructive as is popularly supposed. As shown on map A, Josephus specifically names as destroyed, apart from Jerusalem, four towns out of nearly forty, three districts (toparchies) out of eleven, and five villages. Even in these cases the destruction cannot have been very thorough. Lydda and Jaffa were burnt down by Cestius (*Wars II*,18,10 and 19,1), yet Jaffa had to be destroyed again (*Wars III*,9,3), while Lydda apparently continued to exist and surrendered quietly to Vespasian (*ib. IV*,18,1). The case of Bethannabris and the other villages in the Jordan Valley is even more instructive; burnt down by Placidus (*Wars IV*.7,5) they continued to flourish in the Talmudic period and remained Jewish strongholds down to the last days of Byzantine power in Palestine, i.e. over 500 years after their 'destruction'. Even in Jerusalem, which underwent the misery of a long siege and piecemeal destruction, there was a revival of Jewish settlement after 70. According to the fifth century Christian author Epiphanius ¹ seven synagogues existed on Mount Zion, one of them still standing in the time of Constantine.

The conclusive proof of the survival of the Jews in Palestine, particularly Judaea, after 70 C.E., is furnished by the fact that another uprising, as formidable as the first, occurred barely 62 years later. The Second Roman-Jewish War, in which the Jews were led by Simon Bar-Kokhba, stands comparison with the first as regards duration (three and a half years against four), extent and destructiveness. It involved part of Galilee and the whole of Judaea, and led to a recapture of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Jewish government there; a whole Roman legion appears to have perished; and the prowess of the troops under Bar-Kokhba entirely dispelled the contempt in which the Jews had been held in the preceding century, inspiring in its place a hatred not far removed from respect. ² This time, however, the Jews paid a terrible price for their defeat in 135 C.E. The number of their dead given by Dio Cassius ³ as 580,000 does not seem to be

exaggerated if we consider that the greater part of Judaea was depopulated and had to be resettled. Jews were forbidden to dwell in or near Jerusalem, although even so, some Jewish villages managed to cling to the southern slope of the Judaeian highlands, where their existence in the fourth century A.D. is attested by the "Onomasticon" of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (c. 264-c.339).⁴ Other villages were left in the coastal plain and the Jordan Valley, where their existence was found to be necessary to the Roman fiscus. In Galilee, however, the fundamentally Jewish character of the countryside remained unchanged even after 135 C.E., and the major part of Palestine Jewry was henceforward to be found there.

In the course of the two generations that followed the abortive attempt of Bar-Kokhba to regain Jewish independence in Palestine, the exigencies of daily life evolved a certain **modus vivendi**, whereby the Jewish population tacitly acquiesced in the renunciation for the time being of its attempts to gain political independence by the use of force. The Roman conquerors recognised this, first **de facto**, and later **de jure**, by the creation of a certain measure of autonomy in the administration of Jewish communal affairs, under the politico-religious leadership of the Nâsî' (Patriarch) supported by the Sanhedrin, a mixed legislative body of religious teachers and a religious High Court. The Patriarchate became hereditary in the house of Hillel, and its authority was acknowledged not only by the Jews of Palestine, but also by those in the Diaspora. In the early days the Patriarch resided in various parts of Galilee, but he finally fixed his headquarters at Tiberias. This city therefore became the capital of Palestinian Jewry, remaining so until the end of the Byzantine rule, when the Jews were again allowed to take up residence in Jerusalem. The central authority of the Patriarch and Sanhedrin was assisted by local authorities throughout the area settled by Jews. Thus the Jewish population of Palestine, recovering from the disastrous defeat of Bar- Kokhba, again became an organized community with a corporate will. In the meantime, the central Jewish authorities introduced many measures intended to strengthen their position in Palestine: they proscribed emigration and encouraged Jews living abroad to return to the country, they prohibited the export from Palestine of some of the necessities of life such as wheat, oil and wine, they defended the Jewish peasants against abuse from within and without, they forbade the breeding of sheep and goats in closely cultivated areas as detrimental to agriculture.

That these measures proved effective is shown not only by the strong current of spiritual life among Palestinian Jewry in the ensuing centuries, although these saw the completion of the Mishna (a codification of Jewish law and custom based on the interpretation of the Bible) and of the Palestinian Talmud (an elaboration of the former). But there was material development as well. The above two works frequently refer to Jewish settlements in Palestine in the second to fifth centuries C.E. Such references are the more valuable because they are spontaneous and incidental. Archaeological research is in addition constantly disclosing new names and localities, settled by Jews during the period, but for one reason or another not mentioned in the written sources.

The evidence of Jewish settlements after the year 70 C.E. has been collected from all available sources and is published, for the period between the Fall of Jerusalem and the Arab conquest (70-640 C.E.), in Vol. I, Part 1 of the **Sefer ha-Yishuv** (Book of Settlement), edited by the late Prof. S. Klein of the Hebrew University, (Jerusalem, 1939). This work contains the names of 373 Jewish towns and villages, collected from 1939 passages in ancient authors. Of these 205 are in Galilee, 101 in Judaea and the South, and 67 in Transjordan and the coastal plain. Map B shows

such places as could be identified, together with some to which reference has been discovered since 1939.

Two facts emerge from this survey. First is the predominantly rural character of the Jewish people in Palestine, even after the havoc wrought in Judaea; among the two hundred and more localities shown on the map only 32 are towns.

The second outstanding factor is the recuperative power of a healthy national organism rooted in the soil. A few generations after the end of Bar-Kokhba's war its ravages had been repaired. Rabbi Simon B. Yaqim, who lived in the second half of the IIIrd century, wrote: "At first olive-trees were scarce in Galilee after the wicked Hadrianus came and ruined the whole country, but now (i.e. in his own time) they are common enough" (Palestine Talmud. Tractate Peah, p. 20 a).

The economic crisis which shook the whole Roman Empire in the third century, and the anti-Jewish policy of the Byzantine Government which succeeded the Roman at the beginning of the fourth, caused a gradual reduction of the Jewish population in Palestine. In the reign of Constantius II the Jews of Sepphoris, Tiberias and Diospolis (Lydda) were goaded into open revolt (351) by Christian discrimination. This rebellion was suppressed with great cruelty by Gallus Caesar, ^{4a} But the outbreak demonstrates that the Jews were strong and numerous enough to take up arms. However, in spite of all adverse circumstances, the people continued to cling to the soil of their forefathers. Evidence of this is furnished by their most inveterate enemies, the leaders of the Christian churches in the IVth and Vth centuries.

We have already referred to the Onomasticon, a topographical dictionary of the Bible, composed in the early fourth century by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in which the ancient localities are identified with or described in relation to places existing in the author's time. Among the latter ten big Jewish villages, as compared with only two Christian ones, are mentioned. ⁵

John Chrysostom (c. 344-407 C.E.) a native of Antioch, later Patriarch of Constantinople, and a violent Jew-hater, thus addressed his flock at Antioch: ⁶

"Is not that nation (i.e. the Jews) bold, impudent, ready to kill, seditious, warlike? Are they not many in Palestine, many in Phoenicia, many everywhere?"

In the Syriac biography of the monk Barsauma ⁷ (first half of the fifth century) we find the following:

"The Christians were (at that time) not numerous in these countries (Palestine, Phoenicia and Arabia); the Jews and the Samaritans dominated... in this region."

Jerome (c. 340-420 C.E.) who translated the Bible into Latin, lived for many years in Bethlehem, where he studied Hebrew under a Jewish rabbi. In his letters and commentaries on the Bible, which, like most Christian writings of the period, have a decided by anti-Jewish bias, he nevertheless makes several interesting comments on his Jewish contemporaries. Thus he notes their high birth-rate: ⁸

"The people of the Jews, which till this day propagate themselves like worms, with sons and grandsons."

His contemporary, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, and the foremost Latin author of his time, notes in one of his commentaries on the Bible: ⁹

"The Jews live in the cities of the land of Canaan", adding the remarkable prophecy: "and they shall live there for ever after."

Although the Jews were degraded by the Byzantine rulers of Palestine to the status of second class citizens, forbidden to hold any public office, to serve in the army, to bear witness against Christians, to have Christian servants, or to build new synagogues, as well as being constantly threatened with forced baptism, at the end of the Byzantine rule we still hear of 43 Jewish settlements which had survived three hundred years of persecution (these are marked by squares on map B).

At this point mention must also be made of the **Samaritans**, who, although separated from the Jews on points of dogma, were nevertheless connected with them for historical reasons and through common enmity to the Byzantines. Two substantial uprisings in 484 and 529 C.E. indicate their number and strength even at that late period; in the course of these they several times occupied both the two capitals possessed by Palestine at the period, Caesarea and Scythopolis (Beth Shean), set up a government of their own and spread destruction far and wide among their enemies. Their numbers are shown by the fact that the number of Samaritans slain during the first revolt is reported as 10,000, ¹⁰ while in the second we are told ¹¹ that 20,000 perished and another 20,000 were sold into slavery.

When the Persians invaded Palestine in 614 C.E., the oppressed Jews again rose against their persecutors. According to the evidence of the Christian historian Eutychius (Sa' id ibn Batrik, Patriarch of Alexandria 876-940 C.) ¹² the Jews of the mountains of Galilee, Jerusalem and Nazareth raised a force of 20,000 men to besiege Tyre, from which we assume that their numbers must have been at least 250,000, besides the Samaritans, even at that date (taking the normal rate of mobilization in a national emergency to be no more than ten per cent).

In addition to the general outline of the history of Jewish settlement in Palestine after 70 C..E we propose to complete the picture with a short sketch of the history of a few selected localities.

(a) **Tiberias**

After the Bar-Kokhba rebellion the Roman government deprived the Jews, **inter alia**, of their municipal rights. The new Gentile municipality began to strike coins with pronounced pagan emblems and started to erect a huge building in honour of Hadrian. Yet within one generation there were Jewish municipal counsellors at Tiberias, and the former unprovocative emblems had been restored to the city coinage; ¹³ two generations later the whole town-council and its managing committee (the strategoi) appealed to the Jewish Patriarch as the supreme authority for the settlement of their differences as regards tax assessment; in the third century Rabbi Yohanan (died 279 C.E.) ordered the destruction of the pagan emblems in the public baths, this being duly carried out; ¹⁴ while the Hadrianeum remained uncompleted until the time of Constantine. ¹⁵

(b) **Sepphoris**

This, the next big city in Galilee, was given a new municipality after the quelling of Bar-Kokhba's revolt, and soon after was renamed Diocaesarea, Here again the Jews had their

municipal rights restored within one generation, and Sepphoris remained a purely Jewish town for centuries to come. It was one of the centres of the Jewish revolt against Gallus Caesar (351 C.E.), and in consequence, was "burned down".¹⁶ Yet about twenty years later, some Egyptian bishops, exiled there by the Emperor Valens, complained bitterly of having to live in a purely Jewish town.¹⁷ We may judge therefore both of the degree of "destruction" and of the persistence of Jewish life in Galilee.

(c) **Jerusalem**

This case deserves special notice, because it illustrates more than anything else the persistent will of the Jews not to give up their ancient patrimony. After the defeat of Bar-Kokhba a pagan city (called Aelia Capitolina in honour of Aelius Hadrianus) was founded on the ruins of Jerusalem. A Hadrianic decree, recovered by J. Rendel Harris¹⁸ from the writings of various Church fathers, forbade any circumcised person under pain of death to enter the city or even its district, which at that time extended all over the Judaeian mountains. Even the local Christian community was forced to exchange those of its bishops who were of Jewish origin for others of Gentile extraction.¹⁹ Yet notwithstanding the severity of the decree, the Roman power could not prevent the Jews from visiting the Holy City for any length of time. As might be expected, the first to come were Jewish muleteers, who entered Jerusalem in the course of their work (Simon Qamtra, early third century).²⁰ The Romans found it impossible to keep up the watch for ever, and an ever-increasing number of Jewish pilgrims came to Jerusalem, the trickle gradually growing to a stream. In the first half of the third century several of the principal Jewish leaders visited the city, and in about the middle of the century the Christian scholar Origen speaks of Jewish pilgrimages to Jerusalem as a matter of course.²¹ At about the same time the Jewish leader, Rabbi Yohanan, describing the difference between the Jerusalem in heaven and that on earth, writes: "anyone who likes can go up to the Jerusalem of this world".²²

When Constantine transformed the pagan Aelia into Christian Jerusalem, the old prohibition of the entry of Jews was renewed. An exception however, was made: on one day in the year (the 9th of Ab, anniversary of the destruction of the Temple) they were allowed to visit it. These annual pilgrimages are vouched for by both Christian and Jewish sources²³. Under the pagan emperor Julian the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem and immediately established a synagogue near the site of the Temple.²⁴ For some time indeed they may possibly have hoped to see the Temple rebuilt and their commonwealth re-established by the emperor, but on Julian's death (363 C.E.) any such hopes were brought to naught.

Two generations later the liberal empress Eudocia allowed the Jews free access to the Holy City.²⁵ Although hopes for a permanent return there were doomed to disappointment, this dispensation remained in force, in due course leading to a restoration of Jewish settlement in the northern suburbs, mentioned by the ecclesiastical historian Theodoretus.²⁶ A century later we still find Jews living in Jerusalem and paying taxes to the Government.²⁷ In the course of the Persian invasion the Jews took part in the siege of Jerusalem²⁸ and for several years shared in the possession of the city, although in the end the Persians, anxious to curry favour with their Christian subjects, expelled them. Although the Jews returned with the Byzantines in 629, they were expelled again and forbidden to approach within three miles of the city by the emperor Heraclius, in defiance of his solemn oath to protect them.²⁹ Eventually the Arab capture of the city (636) was followed almost immediately by a renewal of Jewish community life in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER II

UNDER ARAB RULE

I. The Early Arab Period (640-1099).

Historically the 500 years of Arab rule in Palestine may be divided into four parts - the Omayyad period (until 750 C. E.), the Abbaside period, until about 950 C. E., the Fatimide period (until 1071 C. E.), and the Seljuk Turk period, until the conquest of the country by the Crusaders.¹ The changes of dynasty, which had considerable influence on the course of the history of the Moslem Empire, left few marks of any significance on the fate of the Jews of Palestine, save during the reign of the mad Caliph Hakim, and that of the Seljuk Turks.² The treatment meted out by the Moslem Arab conquerors to the people of the country was determined by religious, strategic and economic considerations, and once decided on, shortly after the occupation of the country, remained almost unchanged in its general outline throughout Arab rule in Palestine.³ Generally speaking this policy was benevolent enough to enable Jewish settlements to hold on to what they had gained during the Byzantine period, and subsequently even to emerge, during the tenth and the early eleventh centuries, as a force whose voice had again become strong enough to carry considerable weight throughout the Diaspora.

The Arab conquest of the country was completed with amazing speed and we hear little of any devastating carnage. After the decisive Battle of the Yarmukh, the Byzantine forces withdrew and the country remained in the hands of the new conquerors. Jerusalem capitulated to the invaders after brief negotiations between the Patriarch and the Moslem conquerors, and Caesarea finally fell in 640. The local population remained where they were, but certain areas were taken over by the conquerors, who were few in number, and who formed occupation garrisons and in a few isolated cases founded colonies of little significance.

The conquerors found the population of the country divided into three distinct units - Christians, who were split into a large number of sects as a result of two centuries of religious controversy, Jews and Samaritans. A change for the worse was particularly noticeable in the treatment of the Christians. Hitherto these had been the ruling class, constituting the majority of the population and supported in their religious propaganda, which often culminated in outbreaks of physical violence, by the Byzantine bureaucracy, but they now found themselves relegated to the same legal status as other non-Moslems. Under Islamic law all non-believers who came under the heading of **People of the Book** ("Ahl'-Kitab") were given protection as second-class citizens, or, to use the technical term, Ahli-de-Dhimme or, protected communities, with rights and obligations equal before the law.⁴

The Yishuv, therefore, who had continued, in the face of heavy odds, to cling to their position in the land of their ancestors, benefited from a legal status which, out of a proper regard for the interests of the non-Moslem majority of the population, enabled it to evolve an existence culturally and socially independent, without any fear of interference or infringement, at least on the part of the Law.

The short and relatively bloodless conquest enabled the Jewish communities to emerge almost intact from the period of transition, all the more so because, owing to their deep detestation of the Byzantine oppressors, they were natural allies of the Moslems.⁵ On their part the latter's

treatment of non-Moslems during the subsequent period was generally one of tolerance, thereby eliminating any cause for conversion to Islam or secession from Judaism. It is true that the attitude of local officials, particularly the economic pressure they brought to bear on non-Moslems, did result in a considerable tendency to embrace Islam, affecting Jews and Christians alike, but apart from occasional brief periods, there was no cause for mass conversion, and no planned persecution which could seriously affect the protected non-Moslem subjects. Obviously, therefore, a Yishuv which had failed to capitulate to the cruel Byzantine rule, would continue to hold its own under the rule of the successors. Old-established settlements consolidated themselves, and with the accretions to their numbers which resulted from a flood of immigration after the formation of the Moslem bloc, the Jews even managed to establish new ones.

The history of the Yishuv is not altogether clear in certain details, but we have sufficient material to enable us to review the course of its development in general as well as to notice many interesting particulars. A variety of material enables us to attempt a reconstruction of the period. Numerous Arab sources report on the early days of the occupation of the country, incidentally adding information about the Jewish communities and their loyalty to the Arabs at the time. The amount of evidence, it is true, dwindles as the occupation goes on; Palestine became a small province in the vast Moslem Empire, and its place in historical writing was accordingly reduced in size. But meanwhile Islam, emulating Judaism and Christianity, proclaimed Jerusalem one of the holy cities of the faith, so that Arab geographers visited the country, and their accounts provide an important source for our knowledge of the period. Christian sources, relatively numerous during the Byzantine period, become progressively less, but European pilgrims to the Holy Places have left us information about the history of the Yishuv. Lastly, there is a wealth of Jewish sources - thousands of deeds and documents discovered only fifty years ago by Professor Shaechter in the old synagogue in Fostat (Cairo). They include correspondence exchanged between the Jews of Palestine and the communities in Egypt and elsewhere in the Diaspora, which sheds much light on the life of the Yishuv. Most of the MSS. discovered there are now in the university libraries of Oxford or Cambridge or in private collections in the United States.⁶ Some non-literary exhibits, such as archeological finds, help to complete the picture⁷. The following description is based on the sources indicated above.

The Jewish community in Jerusalem resumed its normal development in the early stages of the Moslem conquest⁸ and after a short while became the chief community in the country. This involved the transfer there⁹ of the centre of all Jewish public activity from Tiberias, where for lack of a more suitable home in the IXth century it had hitherto developed. It is true that even in Jerusalem the Jews suffered at the hands of the Christian population and the local officials, but save for brief intervals caused by the earthquake and the raids of Arab tribes in the XIth century, the Yishuv remained established there. The Jews, who had originally pitched their tents at the southern end of the town, close to the Temple Site, later moved to the quarter north of the Temple Area. There to this day the Moslems preserve traces of Jewish settlement in the form of place-names such as **Ma'adanat Beni Israël**, **Birket Beni Israël** (Israel's pool), **Zawiyat-il-Lawi** (the Levite's corner), **Bab-El-Asbat** (the Gate of the Tribes)¹⁰. Finally, in the middle of the eleventh century an entire Jewish quarter rose up in the north-eastern part of the town, adjoining the Christian quarter in the West¹¹. The city was apparently divided into four quarters, two occupied by Moslems, one by Jews (from St. Stephen's Gate to Damascus Gate) and one by Christians.

South of Jerusalem we find settlements in **Aqaba** (on the Red Sea)¹², in Hebron¹³ and the nearby villages such as Kfar Yatta, while numerous settlements lay on the main commercial artery of the country, the Via Maris, such as el Arish¹⁴, Raffah¹⁵, Gaza¹⁶, and Ascalon¹⁷. The most important of these was Gaza, which had attained preeminence at the end of the Byzantine period and, thanks to an increased economic value due to its favourable geographical position on the crossroads to Egypt, maintained its central position during the subsequent period.

Ascalon, too, was a great community, spiritually as well as materially. It won fame even among the wealthy communities of Egypt. and the reputation of its scholars lent it considerable renown abroad. Old- established communities continued to exist, and new ones were created. Hebron, the city of the Patriarchs, took on a new lease of life. A synagogue was built at the entrance to the Cave of Machpela, indicating a firmly-established Jewish community in the place, and not long afterwards an additional synagogue was erected¹⁸. In Jericho as well, the Moslem conquest considerably strengthened the Yishuv, for Hejaz Jews who had refused to embrace Islam were deported there by Omar Ibn Al Khattab and settled in the city and its vicinity¹⁹.

A new community was established in Ramleh, which under the new administration became the capital of the Southern District, which had come to be known as **Falistin**. The town was founded in the middle of the VIIIth century, and a Jewish community appears to have grown up there in the early days²⁰, for adjacent Lydda, one of the most important communities of earlier times, was abandoned by its Jewish inhabitants in favour of the capital. Ramleh became one of the biggest Jewish settlements in the country, with all the paraphernalia of a large community, including several synagogues; Caraites and Samaritan congregations of appreciable numbers also settled there and the town even became the centre of a religious sect which had seceded from Judaism. Earthquakes and the raids of Arab tribes impoverished Ramleh in the XIth century, but the Jewish community remained there until the advent of the Crusaders. In the fertile agricultural lands around Ramleh were Jewish agricultural villages known as the "**Settlements of the Shephela**" (i.e. the Plain of Ramleh and Lydda) and the "**Sharon**"²¹. We know of one such settlement at **Ono**, which had been there since Biblical times.

Just as there were Jews in the old and the new capitals, so they were to be found at the end of the line of commercial communications from Jerusalem and Ramleh westwards to Jaffa²². Of the coastal centres mention should also be made of Caesarea, which according to the probably exaggerated accounts of Arab historians, had a Jewish population of 100,000-200,000²³.

The line of Jewish settlements stretched from Aqaba to Akra (north of Shilo) and from El-Arish to Caesarea. There is no trace of such settlements in northern Samaria, possibly attributable to the increasing impoverishment of that area during the period under review. But south of **Haifa**, as well as in a north-easterly direction through the valley of Jezreel, to Galilee and as high as the sources of the Jordan, there was close Jewish settlement. The important communities include those of Haifa²⁴, Acre²⁵ and the ancient Jewish centres of Sippori (Sephoris)²⁶ and Tiberias.

Tiberias²⁷ continued to be the centre of Palestinian Jewry for 200 years after the Moslem conquest, until that centre was restored to its home in Jerusalem. The official representative body of the Jewish population of Palestine had its headquarters there, and it was also the hub of intense spiritual activity. The great Massretes (keepers of the exact biblical text) taught in Tiberias, and there, too, was evolved the so-called Tiberias Nnkkud (the vowel points of the

alphabet), this finally superseding the Babylonian system which had developed earlier. The many rural and semi-rural settlements which surrounded Tiberias (Hammath, Kafra, Kfar Mendi, Kfar Hanania (Kfar Anan), Safed, Dallton (Dallata), Gush Halav, Ein Zeitim, Ablin ²⁸ and Nazareth ^{28a} point to the economic importance of the town. Some of the nearby villages still bear names which indicate the existence of a Jewish population in the area, such as Al Yahudie, near Wadi Yahudie - north-east of Lake Tiberias, and the village Al Yahudie near Yatir.

On the coast a rich and prosperous community continued to exist in Tyre ²⁹, and near the sources of the Jordan there was Banyas (Paneas), called Dan by the Jews, a centre which came near to being the headquarters of a strong Messianic movement embracing Caraites as well as Jews in Palestine and Egypt some time before the Crusader invasion ³⁰.

Nor did Transjordan break its continuous Jewish tradition. After Mohamad's conquests in Arabia Jews settled in the ancient community of Deras ³¹, and there were Jewish settlements in Es-Salt, in Amman, in Geraba, near Petra, in Basra to the east, in the ancient Jewish town of Nave, near the northern sources of the Yarmukh and in Amata in the Jordan valley ³².

A very conservative estimate of the Yishuv's number in various parts of the country puts them at no less than 40 individual settlements, rural and urban, a figure which, in view of the fortuitous nature of the available material, could well be doubled. Its occupational structure, too, must have been very diverse. It may be assumed that even the townsmen were not tradesmen only. We find farmers even among the Jews of Jerusalem, but there is little doubt that as a result of increasing insecurity and heavy taxation, there was a flight from country to town and a resultant abandonment of agriculture which was general throughout the Moslem Empire ³³. In spite of it, Jews remained in the villages near Jerusalem as well as in the Ramleh Plain and in Galilee, either as farmers or as craftsmen who supplemented their incomes by agriculture.

In the towns Jews engaged primarily in crafts and domestic industries, such as dyeing and glass making, the latter industry bringing new fame to Tyre. There were also silversmiths and goldsmiths, physicians and apothecaries. Jewish commerce played an important part in the economy of the country. Internal trade, such as that between Jerusalem and Ramleh or between Tyre and other towns in the interior of the country, was very important, but commercial contacts extended to North Africa and Western Europe as well.

The revival of the local Jewish communities naturally encouraged immigration to Palestine, and developed a mutual influence between the country and the Diaspora. Immigration to Palestine increased, because Jewish settlements in the country were economically prosperous and culturally progressive; on the other hand, intensified immigration was a powerful factor in the development of existing settlements. Of the immigrants to Palestine some were mere pilgrims, others, with the definite intention of settling, came from Babylonia and Syria, from Egypt and Cairawan, from Spain, from the Slav countries and from the provinces of Byzantium. Some groups coming from a specific country were so large that even after their arrival they preserved their old customs in their new homes-Babylonian Jews, for instance, had synagogues of their own called the "Babylonian" ³⁴.

Babylonia and Persia, which had escaped the Byzantine invader, had remained strongholds of Jewish history from the Vth century onwards, the Exilarchs (Rosh Golah) and the Heads of the Colleges being acknowledged leaders of Jewry. In the meantime, however, times had changed.

The Yishuv had been strengthened and consolidated, and against this background the **Gaonate** was revived. The **Gaon** was the Principal of the Jerusalem college, bearing the title "**Principal of the Yeshivah, Gaon of Jacob**". He was the official representative of the Yishuv, recognized by the ruling Power, and wielding unlimited authority in the Yishuv's internal affairs. Of the three families from which the Gaons originated, two were supposed to be of priestly descent, in the direct line from Ezra, while one had to be of royal blood, descended from the House of David.

Relying on the inherent strength of the Yishuv, the Gaon came out openly against the attempts of the Babylonian Jewish leaders to impose their authority on Palestine, emerging triumphant from this "campaign". The Jerusalem Yeshivah and its Gaon maintained close contact with all parts of the Diaspora, and regular contributions from outside the country flowed into its treasury, some of these, like the "half Shekel" of Temple days³⁵, being more or less of a regular levy. The Yeshivah's authority in religious matters was undisputed, for it was generally recognized that the rules of worship were more carefully preserved there than elsewhere. In one of the sources dealing with the "rules of reading" (of the law) it is stated: "reading in Palestine is the very same reading of Ezra the Scribe"³⁶. The Palestine Yishuv well knew its importance as bearer of the original uncontaminated ancestral traditions; as a Caraitic writer of the eleventh century puts it, "**The people of Palestine say they have never seen Galuth (Diaspora), for they have been residing in Palestine for well over a thousand years, without exile**"³⁷.

This prosperous position often annoyed the Moslems, and we can well understand the irritated comment of **Al Makdasi**, the Moslem geographer, a native of Jerusalem, when he wrote, after 100 years of **Moslem rule**: "It is the **Christians** and the Jews who have the upper hand"³⁸.

But towards the end of the eleventh century, the Seljuk wars and the Fatimide attempts at the reconquest of Palestine left their mark. The country became impoverished, and with it the Yishuv. The Jerusalem Yeshivah (College) moved to Tyre, and thence to Damascus. The Yishuv fell on evil days, about twenty years before the appearance of the Crusaders, whose conquests added to the already severe troubles of the population. But as the latter regime became consolidated, a new sun rose over Jewish settlement in the country.

CHAPTER III

THE CRUSADERS (1099-1291)

As has been stated, the position of the Jews in Palestine deteriorated in the course of the XIth century, one of incessant trouble and misery. In its early days the mad Caliph Hakim wreaked his will on the people; ten years later, in 1020, the land was swept by disturbances following upon the raids of Arab tribes, this once again impoverishing the communities. Before the years of quiet in the fifties of the century had managed to heal their wounds, there came the Seljuk conquest (1071) which prostrated the Yishuv completely.

Later a new wave of terror and misery swept over Palestine Jewry¹. The Jewish communities of Byzantium and of the countries under Seljuk and Fatimide domination had heard what had happened to their brethren on the Rhine and shuddered at the approach of the first Crusaders to their gates. The people in the small towns and villages flocked to the fortified towns for protection; some of these deserted settlements, such as Rafiah, whose Jews moved to Ascalon,

have not been re-occupied by Jews since then. With the sense of terror, messianic hopes grew in intensity. The Jews saw a vision of God gathering the nations of Europe to one threshing floor in Palestine, ready to command: "Thresh, ye daughters of Zion" ².

The history of the Yishuv under the Crusades, that is during the two hundred years between the Christian conquest of Jerusalem and the Moslem conquest of Acre, may be divided into four periods. As only casual sources of information on the Jews are available, we have no full details, but it is possible to trace the general sequence of events.

The first period consists of the actual conquest, which ends with the first quarter of the twelfth century. During this time, all Jewish communities on the Crusaders' route were completely wiped out, together with their Moslem neighbours and the Seljuk and Fatimide (Egyptian) garrisons ³. In those tragic days, when all the local inhabitants fought for their lives, Jews fought side by side with Moslems.

The important Jewish centre in Ramleh was destroyed after the flight of its inhabitants before the Crusaders' advance from Caesarea to Jerusalem. Jews and Caraites of Ramleh joined those who had sought refuge in the fortified towns of Ascalon and Jerusalem. After a brief stay in Ramleh the Crusaders advanced towards the Holy City and laid siege to it in July 1099. Jews were among its defenders, particularly on the walls of their own quarters in the north-east of the town, which, being less fortified than others, were the first to be breached by the Crusaders. An echo of the massacre there has reached us, through the report of the burning of the synagogue with all who sought sanctuary in it. Other stories tell of the selling of Jews as slaves in Europe ⁴.

The events at Jerusalem were repeated on the occupation of **Haifa**, which capitulated after a close blockade by the Venetians ⁵. The Jewish communities in all the towns which fell to the Crusaders, before the surrender of Tyre in 1124, were completely wiped out, along with their Moslem neighbours. The Crusaders had not yet recognized the method of bloodless negotiation for the surrender of towns; objectives were besieged, conquered, and the inhabitants massacred ⁶. The result was the total extermination of the communities of Acre, Caesarea, Haifa and Jerusalem. Others, such as those of Ramleh and Jaffa, were not actually massacred, but Jews, along with the other inhabitants, fled from them. On the other hand, Jewish rural settlements were not destroyed, and Jews who managed to escape to them were not killed. Although the fighting resulted in enormous damage, the Crusaders generally spared the villages on which they depended for food, whenever these capitulated unconditionally along with the towns to which they were satellite. This fact was of decisive importance, because it allowed the Galilean Jewish settlements to survive the Crusaders' wars ⁷.

But in the twenties of the XIth century a new era in the history of the country began. The fanaticism of the Crusaders abated, and several towns, along with their Jewish communities, capitulated by treaty, without bloodshed. That this was the case in Tyre and Ascalon, explains why the communities there were not destroyed, but continued to exist under their new masters. At about the same time, with fanaticism subsiding and daily life beginning to come back to normal, the Jewish communities which had fled from places such as Ramleh and Tiberias ⁸ resumed their communal life.

In only one town was a special edict issued abolishing the community, and that was Jerusalem. After the massacre following the conquest, the new Crusader administration restored something

like normal conditions. Non-Christians were excluded from the town. Moslems as well as Jews were forbidden to set foot there, for the place was holy to the Christians and for "those who denounced Jesus" to reside in it was deemed by the Crusaders to be desecration ⁹.

However, by the twenties certain facilities had been accorded to the non-Christians which made at least trading possible in the Holy City ¹⁰. It is thought that at that time a number of Jewish families, who had purchased the dyeing monopoly from the King of Jerusalem, settled in the town. As their old quarters in the north-east of the town (near the present St. Stephen's Gate). had been occupied by new settlers, probably Syrian Christians from Transjordan, they took up residence near the Citadel and the King's Palace ¹¹. Under the Crusaders the Moslems, too, did not settle in the town again until Saladin's victories turned the tables.

The middle of the twelfth century, the heyday of the Latin Kingdom, brought a new lease of life to the Yishuv. The account of the celebrated traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, written in the seventies, describes this revival of the Yishuv. Jewish settlement was mainly concentrated on the Coast-Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Caesarea and Ascalon. The most important at the time was the community of Tyre. Inland there were the important centres of Ramleh in the South and Tiberias in the North, apart from smaller settlements scattered throughout Galilee and Judaea. Of the Galilean communities the most outstanding was Safed, whose synagogue was later to be destroyed by the Crusaders in the forties of the XIIIth century.

At the beginning of the XIIIth century Safed was the home of the titular head of the Jerusalem Yeshivah. After the departure of the Crusaders the community recovered, and its scholars took part in the famous debate over the writings of Maimonides. In that district there were numerous Jewish villages, then as always, and we find communities in Gush Halav (Gischala), Alma, Kefar Bir'am, Amuqua, Nabarta, Kfar Hanania, Capernaum, Meron, Dallata, Biyria and el Alawiya. The ancient community in Banyas, which had so often changed hands in the XIIth century, was still in existence. In the south we find communities in Lydda, Bethlehem, Beith Nuba, Latrun, Beith Gubrin and Schechem (Nablus). In Transjordan, too, which for over a hundred years had been a battlefield between the Crusaders and the Moslem forces of Egypt or Syria, there were Jewish communities in Salchad, Der'a, Ajlun and Habram ¹².

General conditions throughout the country were in favour of the recovery of the Yishuv. The Jews formed one class with the Syrian Christians and the Moslems, which succeeded to the title "protected subjects" of the preceding period. It is amazing to record that the very same Crusaders who had been responsible for one of the grimmest chapters in the history of the Jews of Europe now placed their brothers in Palestine in a position so favourable as to be without precedent in any Christian State in Northern or Central Europe. The main points of the status of Jewry under the Crusaders were complete religious freedom, legal autonomy, equality with the majority of the population (even though it was an equality for no more than the status of second-rate citizens), and generally speaking, freedom from economic restrictions ¹³. It is true that the Church conducted a campaign against the Jews; William, Bishop of Tyre, fulminated against Christian rulers who made use of the services of Jewish physicians ¹⁴, and Jacob, Bishop of Acre, wrote: "The Saracens among whom Jews live hate them and loathe them, but the greed of the Christian princes permits them, for their own selfish gains, to oppress the Christians" ¹⁵. So far as we can rely on our sources, the hatred appears to have borne no fruit. The first Crusade had indeed destroyed a good many Jewish communities in the country, but once the conquest period was over, we hear of no more persecution for two hundred years. Indeed, in the XIIIth century,

when most of the country was held by the Moslems, Jewish centres were re-organized in the Christian, and not in the Moslem zone. This favourable social status was not due to any special Jewish legislation passed by the Crusaders. Unlike European communities, the Jews of Palestine enjoyed no special privileges, but nor were they subject to any special restriction. They were part of a large class, and convenience dictated that there should be no difference in the treatment accorded to any section of the general population. It was however the rights of the larger class that determined the favourable status described above ¹⁶.

Most of the Jews were craftsmen, particularly dyers, but there were some famous Jewish glassmakers, as well as ship-owners in the important port of Tyre ¹⁷. Jewish physicians, too, were famous, and the Crusader lords preferred them to their Christian colleagues. The Jews in the villages are known to have engaged in agriculture, peddling and crafts. Jews did not go in for commerce on a large scale, but we hear of Jewish peddlars touring the villages and of Jewish hawkers selling spices ¹⁸. Here and there we come across a Jewish trader engaged in international commerce, but generally speaking the Jews did not attain pre-eminence in this direction. On the other hand we hear of several Jewish bankers doing business with the Crusader knights ¹⁹. Public security of life and property enabled the communities to develop. Tourists such as Maimonides, Benjamin of Tudela and Petachiah of Regensburg, who travelled throughout the country without hindrance, bear witness to the prevailing stability of conditions. We hear of well-organized communities in Tyre and Acre with religious Courts of their own, and scholars from those cities corresponded with Maimonides in Egypt. It is difficult to find more convincing proofs of the vitality of the Jewish communities than that of their religious propaganda among Moslems and Christians, under the rule of a fanatical church ²⁰.

The conquests of Saladin opened a third phase in the history of the Yishuv under the Crusaders. So far as the coastal towns were concerned, Saladin's rule was no more than an episode. But in the inland towns his conquests put an end to the Christian interlude, which had lasted 100 years, opening a long chapter of subjugation to Moslem rule which was to stretch well into modern times. The most important change brought about by Saladin's conquests was the repeal of the ban on the residence of Jews in Jerusalem. ²¹ The Yishuv began to re-establish its communal life in the capital. The transfer to the new rulers of extensive areas held by Jews necessitated the formation of a new representative body, under the protection of the rulers of the Ayubid dynasty. **The "Exilarchs (Nagid) of Judaea and Palestine"** appointed to represent the Yishuv before the central authorities, were thus created ²². The numbers of the Jerusalem community were reinforced by Jews from Morocco and Ascalon ²³. The latter had moved to Jerusalem after their town had been destroyed, by Saladin's orders, to prevent it falling into the hands of the Christians. Some of the French and English Rabbis who arrived in 1211 also settled in Jerusalem ²⁴. But these hopeful beginnings were soon to be nipped in the bud when, in the middle of the XIIIth century, the Jerusalem Community was completely destroyed by the Mongol invaders, to be revived only by the famous Nahmanides in 1267, a few years later ²⁵.

The Crusader State set up after the third Crusade spent the second and last century of its existence in being pushed back nearer and nearer the coast, the interior of the country remaining in Moslem hands. At the time the final stamp of serfdom and humiliation was being put on the European Jewish communities. The fourth Lateran Church Council, the establishment of the Inquisition, the religious debates heralding a flood of restrictions, libels and finally deportations, the emergence of a class of Christian traders ready and willing to oust Jews from their positions

and their sources of livelihood-all these make up the black mourning band which surrounds European Jewish history during this century. Circumstances such as these were fertile ground for the re-appearance of messianic hopes, which fed on the nostalgia of the masses for their ancient homeland. Throughout the XIIIth century the flow of Jewish immigration to Palestine went on increasing in intensity.

In the XIIth century the Rabbis had ruled that no woman might be compelled to immigrate to Palestine "because it was a country of brigands and savage beasts", a reference to the state of insecurity during the Crusaders' wars; in the XIIIth century we find religious authorities emphasizing the divine command to settle in the country. Rabbi Meyer of Rothenburg, an eminent rabbi who lived in the middle of the XIIIth century, replies to one of his questioners that "no father may stop his son from immigrating to Palestine, seeing that it is a divine precept, and in all such religious commands he need not obey his father, for the will of God has precedence." In fact the leaders, inspired by reports of the defeats of the Crusaders, encouraged and sponsored such immigration. Rabbi Meyer writes "It is a country that devours its people, and when we read that the country shall not vomit you as it has vomited the heathens, it is obvious that it only vomits those who contravene the commands of the Law. That is why the country is now devastated and there is no city there surrounded by a wall as in other countries". It is obvious that the picture of the Crusader's downfall is highly significant to the author. The movement, which had originated with the spiritual leaders, spread to the masses ²⁶.

In contrast to the first part of the Crusader conquest, the second (1189-1192) was accompanied by the capitulation of towns according to treaties providing security of life and property for the inhabitants. Mainly for this reason the Jewish communities escaped annihilation, and the local Yishuv continued to be reinforced by constant immigration during the XIIIth century.

At the head of the important immigrants of the time were the French and English Rabbis mentioned above. Before the middle of the XIIIth century Rabbi Yehiel of Paris, one of the leading lights of religious study in France, had settled in Palestine, and in the second half of the century the coming of Nahmanides and Rabbi Meyer of Rothenburg's attempted immigration are important events ²⁷. These people and their companions came to Palestine with the definite intention of settling there as permanent residents. By this time the substantial flow of immigrants was turning to the Christian and not to the Moslem zones. This phenomenon can probably be largely accounted for by the economic structure of the country; in the densely populated and economically developed coastal towns it was easier to make a living than inland, and for this reason only a minority of the newcomers turned to Jerusalem, most of them settling in Acre. There they formed a large and well organized community, and established a Yeshivah which became a great intellectual Jewish centre. The "Sages of Acre" were known throughout the Jewish communities of the Orient ²⁸.

The rising importance of the Acre community towards the end of the XIIIth century is best illustrated by the division of opinions there during the second controversy over the writings of Maimonides. At Acre originated both the case for the banning of his writings, and that for the excommunication of those who banned them ²⁹. But Acre's days were numbered. During the second half of the XIIIth century the Crusaders' rule collapsed completely. Town after town fell to the Moslems, generally after fierce battles in which whole Jewish communities perished. It may be assumed that in the last years of the existence of the State what was left of the Jewish communities in the Christian towns moved in search of safety either to the quieter interior, or to

Acre and Tyre, which were better fortified. But the advancing tide of battle overtook even these. The Jews of Acre were the last to suffer; some were massacred in the Battle of Acre, some were taken prisoner gravity of the Yishuv shifted, and from then on its life was concentrated in the interior of the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAMLUK PERIOD (1291-1516).

The year 1291, that of the occupation of Acre by the Mamluks¹, marks the official termination of the Crusader period. Actually, the period known as Mamluk began 40 years before with the failure of the Ninth Crusade. It lasted over 200 years, and the change of regime in 1382 when the so-called Bahari rulers gave place to the second Circassian Dynasty, did not bring about great changes. It was a period of unprecedented disorder and anarchy, accompanied by disasters of nature. Hardly 20 years passed without some calamity or other wreaking havoc on the lives of the people. There were earthquakes (1293, 1303, 1344, 1485), plague, severe cold, drought, famine and locusts (1294, 1348, 1357, 1438, 1468, 1472, 1477, 1491). Natural catastrophes came side by side with misgovernment, and outrages perpetrated by the central rulers in Cairo, by small chieftains and by petty Amirs² in the various towns of the country. A long list of rebellions by Fellahin and Bedouin, Tartar invasions and campaigns waged by pretenders to the throne, add up to a picture of complete disruption of all sources of livelihood in the country, in fact the almost complete extermination of the population. It has been estimated that the Mamluk period cost Palestine two thirds of her people. Worse still, the country's economy which, with proper attention, might have helped to fill the void, was shattered beyond hope of immediate restoration³.

As an integral part of the population the Jewish communities suffered with it struggling desperately for survival. Exposed to the ruthlessness of tyrants, humiliated at frequent intervals by edicts such as the enforcement of special dress, the ban on riding on horseback, exclusion from Government posts⁴, they had also to endure additional oppression at the hands of the Moslems, whose outbreaks of fanaticism, though proportionately few in number, affected Jews and Christians alike⁵. It was a period of martyrdom rare even in the history of a people used to a life of martyrdom—a tragic episode of fortitude and suffering such as only the supreme love of the people for the country could explain⁶.

The development of the Yishuv was governed during this period by the political and economic conditions prevailing in the country, a tight political grip which hardly left any breathing space for the people. To prevent a fresh Christian invasion, the Mamluk conquerors destroyed all the coastal towns and concentrated administrative power in those of the interior⁷. The Jews, accordingly, moved to the new centres, although some made a last heroic effort to strike roots in the ruins of the coastal towns, such as Acre where, according to Christian sources, remnants of Jewish communities still existed in the middle of the XIXth century⁸.

The first period, although one of unprecedented devastation, still saw intensified immigration from Europe⁹. European Jewry regarded the defeat of the Crusaders as a divine sign that no people other than the Jews would ever be able to establish themselves in Palestine. The belief was supported by the tradition that only in Palestine would be Messiah reveal himself, and that it was for the Jews, through settling in the country, to pave the way for his coming¹⁰. There was a

faint hope, even, that the Almighty might move the King of the Tartars or the King of France to conquer the country and give it to the Jews ¹¹. Immigration was encouraged by the only quiet spell of the Mamluk period, under the rule of Beibars and Kalaum. Jewish centres mentioned in 1322 included not only Jerusalem, but Lydda, Ramleh and Beisan, which was the administrative centre of the Mamluks and the residence of the first Jewish explorer of Palestine, Istori el-Farhi, who came from France in 1306. In Galilee there were settlements in Tiberias, Safed and a number of villages, of which Gyscala is specifically mentioned ¹². In addition, a Christian traveller of the period refers to Jewish settlements in Samaria ¹³. In Transjordan, communities continued to exist at Es-Salt, Der'a, Ajlun and Habram ¹⁴.

Immigrants during the period included not only those from European countries, who came as the result of successive expulsions from England (1296), France (1306), and various principalities of Germany (after the plague of 1348), but also Jews from the Middle East, mainly from Tripoli (Syria), Hama, Aleppo and Egypt ¹⁵. The number of Christian pilgrims had dwindled considerably at the time, and from the fragmentary descriptions we have it is difficult to form a clear picture of the extent of the Yishuv. Arab sources, too, are disappointingly few, probably because Palestine was no more than a tiny slice of the vast Mamluk Empire, and figured inconspicuously among the administrative districts of the State. Yet every description of the country does mention the Jews, and with them the Samaritans and Caraites (known to both Christians and Jews as "Sadducees"). Mention is also made of the yellow turbans of the Jews and the red ones of the Samaritans, which the superficial fanaticism of the Mamluks considered evidence of their proper status as compared with that of the local Moslems. (Christians wore blue turbans). We also hear of restrictive edicts against Jews and Christians, singly or together, issued in turn from Cairo, Damascus, and Safed. Even such fragmentary evidence is enough to establish the fact that the Yishuv, although more and more impoverished under the stress of contemporary events, still held its own. It relied, it is true, not on its own resources, for circumstances were hardly propitious for economic development. Salvation came from the persistent flow of immigration, in the teeth of edicts by Pope and Doge prohibiting the passage of Jews by ship to Palestine ¹⁶, from Europe, Asia, and Africa. We have records of decisions given by **Beth-Dins** (Jewish Courts) in distant Algiers, at the end of the XIVth and the beginning of the XVth centuries, dealing with the emigration of Jews to Palestine. At about the same time the arrival of Rabbis from Vienna and Germany indicates other immigrants from those countries as well. The bulk of newcomers to Palestine at the end of the XIVth century came from Algiers and Tunis, the first ports of refuge for Spanish Jews after the religious persecution of 1391 ¹⁷.

This dark period saw the development of a change which was of fundamental significance to the future of the Yishuv. We have stated that the Mamluk period was marked by an extreme religious fanaticism, apparently used by the authorities to justify their sway over Moslem masses in the countries under their rule. It was precisely this that resulted in a wave of proselytisation in the country. The local Christian population, as well as the remnants of the Crusader settlements, became increasingly assimilated to the Moslem population. Naturally the conversion fever first hit the downtrodden rural population. A Moslem observer of the time states that the fate of a slave was better than that of a farmer, for the former at least had hopes of being freed one day, while the latter, and his descendants after him, could only remain in subjugation. Religious persecution, coupled with the heavy burden of taxation (for Cairo, Syria and the local District Officer, as well as the chieftain of the local tribe, all demanded a share in the tribute), ousted Jews from the rural areas and drove them to the towns. But the Palestinian town of that period

was not the oriental metropolis of the Crusaders; it was merely an administrative centre in a derelict country, with no flow of produce to bring new blood into its arteries. The townspeople were reduced to a state of pauperism and finally to complete economic degradation.

The more we learn of the Yishuv at the beginning of the XVth century the better we see the depths of squalor and poverty of the Jewish townspeople, still wearing their yellow turbans to avoid insult to the white-turbaned Moslems. Village settlements disappeared; Jews concentrated in enclosed ghettos in the towns, but they could also be found at every crossroad and in every wayside inn. To quote a modern historian: -

"In every pilgrim chap-book they are referred to among the pedlars, offering wares at fairs organised for the benefit of the pilgrims. They are always mentioned with loathing and contempt, and yet watched with curiosity because they were hoarding building stones against the day of national restoration" ¹⁸.

In the south the Jews lived mainly in Jerusalem, in a quarter at the southern end of the town facing Mount Zion, established as early as the second half of the XIIIth century. The public life of the community centred in the synagogue established by Nahmanides. Moslem fanaticism attempted to wrest even this from them, and litigation in Palestine and Egypt for its defence cost the community a fortune in money and in trouble ¹⁹. Attempts to acquire the site assumed to contain the tombs of the Jewish Kings were not only abortive, but resulted in yet a fresh requisitioning order ²⁰ by which Jews and Christians alike were banished from the place. Even the Jewish cemetery was moved from its former site, to make room at the foot of the hill for more distinguished Moslem dead ²¹.

Most Jerusalem Jews were small traders and craftsmen, by then pauperised by Mamluk exploitation. But for the constant wave of immigration and the flow of charity from their European co-religionists, they could not have survived ²². Near Jerusalem a Jewish community clung to the site thought to be the Tomb of the Prophet Samuel at Mizpeh (**Nebi Samuel**) ²³. To the south Jews were to be found in Hebron ²⁴, which, according to Moslem sources, contained an entire Jewish quarter. As early as the XIVth century we learn from a Christian authority that, in spite of ban of Beibars on the entrance of either Christians or Jews to the Tombs of the Patriarchs there, Jews could obtain the privilege on payment of a bribe ²⁵. Gaza, in the south was also a large Jewish centre, containing a Samaritan quarter, and, according to the estimate of Christian travellers of the end of the XIVth century, a number of Jews equal to that in Jerusalem ²⁶. In the central part of the country the Yishuv was concentrated in Ramleh, whose population was made up of members of all three faiths ²⁷. The community of Acre, which continued to exist for some time after the departure of the Crusaders, apparently disappeared in the course of time for lack of economic foothold. The same fate was shared by Kfar Yulis, a nearby Jewish rural settlement ²⁸. In the north a community was to be found in Sidon, which until the revival of Jaffa ²⁹ remained the only port in the country after the vandalism of the Mamluks. Of the Galilean settlements, there is mention of the Yishuv in Safed ³⁰, which came back to life in the XVth century ³¹, after its destruction at the hands of the Crusaders. Allusion to the rural settlements in that area, which had led an interrupted existence since ancient times, disappears from the sources for a period of 200 years, only to reappear towards the end of the XVth century under the influence of new factors which have played a decisive role in the history of the Yishuv ever since.

Two major events meanwhile occurred which gave the history of the Yishuv a new turn. The

first was the occupation of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453; the second the culmination of a long period of Marano emigration from that country, in the final expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. Both these events lent physical and spiritual support to the Yishuv, and helped to prepare it for the transfer to Ottoman Turkish rule and the new political framework it created.

The occupation of Constantinople was a signal to European Jewry to return to its homeland. The Byzantine Empire, the Edom of the Jewish Apocalypse, had ceased to exist and its place was taken by the Ottoman Turks. Jews who had settled in the countries occupied by Turkey, extolled Turkish hospitality, appealing to their brethren in Europe to settle in the young State, which needed man-power. But what the Jews sought here was not merely a refuge, but a springboard to the land of their ancestors. For the appeal specifically states:

"Let the exiles from Ashkenaz (Germany) and from Sarfat (France) come and kneel to God in his Holy Mount in Jerusalem... for the Almighty has remembered his people, and has struck a different path, the road through Turkey, a safe land route, from which passage is easy to reach the Holy Land" ³².

Such appeals and reports were not without effect, and the Jewries of Central Europe resumed immigration at an increased rate. One party met another; the Marano crypto-Jewish immigrants from Spain, who had escaped the Inquisition by conversion to Christianity, returned together with the Jews, themselves originally refugees from Spain, to the land of their ancestors, which shone like a bright light in the darkness of Catholic intolerance. The two contrasting channels united into a powerful stream which brought new life to the denuded country. They added strength and resource to urban settlements, and once again struck roots in the villages, such as Kfar Kanna ³³, near Nazareth, Kfar Hanania ³⁴, Ein Zeitim, Alma and Kfar Yasif, places concerning which we have evidence of Jewish settlement until the end of the Crusader period, but whose populations were so impoverished as to leave no trace in the records of Mamluk times.

CHAPTER V

UNDER TURKISH RULE (1517-1917).

I. Introductory

The Turks ruled Palestine for 400 years, from January 1517 until December 1917, with a short interval under Mohammed Ali (1832-1840). A common feature of both the Mamluk and the Turkish periods, was the fact that, under both, Palestine was merely a province in the domain of an alien Power. In neither period was the local population of Palestine administratively, legally or militarily a self-governing community. The population was not a uniform political or national unit, but divided into several administrative districts under the jurisdiction of commissioners—Pashas, Deputy Pashas, or various local chieftains appointed first by the Mamluks and then by Constantinople, in whom all power was vested. From this angle the transference of power from one authority to another, from Mamluk Moslems to Ottoman Moslems, made little difference to the political fortunes of the country.

The Turkish conquest did not change the appearance of the country in so far as the ethnic composition of its population was concerned. It is important to note that the Turkish conquest

had no colonising tendencies; of the tens of thousands of Yanichari and Sipahi soldiers who took part in the conquest, only a very few remained as permanent settlers, most of them either returning home or being transferred to other fronts on which their government was at war. All that remained in the country was a few civil and military officials, and some religious dignitaries, assisted by small garrisons to enforce law and order, and, particularly, to levy taxes. Occasionally the Governors received a "timar hass" or private estate, as a prize and source of income in lieu of salary, but almost all the tenants and cultivators of these estates continued to be natives of the country as before.

But it cannot be said that no change occurred in the economic situation of the country. What had hitherto been a remote little Mamluk province torn from the European world became part of the rising fortunes of a great and powerful Empire. Palestine was situated almost in the heart of a domain which extended from Persia to North Africa and from the Yemen to Caucasia, and whose armies ruled supreme in Eastern Europe as far as Poland and Hungary. The Turkish Mercantile Marine and warships sailed the Mediterranean, and Palestine became part and parcel of an international system of trade and communications.

As to social structure, the majority of the people of Palestine were and continued to be farmers and peasants, with an appreciable sprinkling of Bedouin tribes, and only a small portion was concentrated in the towns. Of the more important of these during the period of the Occupation there remained Jerusalem, Ramleh, Gaza and Hebron in Judaea, Nablus in Samaria, Safed and Tiberias in Galilee, and the ports of Sidon and Jaffa. The population was predominantly Moslem, a small proportion of non-Moslems having survived from preceding period, this including Orthodox Christians, Jews, Druzes and Samaritans.

The attitude of Turkey towards the Jews had always been one of friendship and benevolence. When the **Sultan Mohammed Fatih** won Constantinople from the Byzantines in 1453, he invited his subjects, the Anatolian Jews, to settle there, while the **Sultan Bayazed II** pressed the Spanish exiles of 1492 to come to his country, guaranteeing their safety to the point of threatening severe punishment for anyone attacking a refugee. Large numbers of Spanish Jews settled in Salonika, Constantinople, Adrianople, and other Turkish towns, which were later to offer refuge to the Marano political and religious refugees.

For 300 years the Moslem Religious Law (Sharia) reigned alone and supreme. According to it all non-Moslems were in a state of discrimination; they were subject to a poll tax, debarred from acquiring immovable property, and excluded from state and military services. Instead, they paid a special tax, known as the personal exemption tax. But this was the fate of all non-Moslems, Jews faring no worse than Christians. In addition, in the middle of the XVth Century the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Jews of the Ottoman Empire had been granted special status, by the Sultan Mohammed II, as "millets" or religio-national communities with a certain autonomy in cultural and religious affairs; this gave them **the right to use their own national language in any special schools maintained by them**, which were to have rights similar to those of State schools, the right to levy taxes on their respective communities, the proceeds to go their own local and central institutions, the right of a juristic personality, the right to be represented in the various Administrative Councils, through their own elected representatives, and the right to have both matters of personal status and finance tried by their own Courts, according to their own Law, where both parties to the dispute belonged to the same community.

Under the Ottoman regime, in fact, Jews often attained very high-ranking posts, becoming Ambassadors, Court Physicians, royal counsellors, and even Governors-for instance, Joseph Nasi of Naxos and Solomon ben Yaish of Mytelene. In his victory marches the Sultan Selim was accompanied by a Jewish doctor, Moses Hammon. It goes without saying that after the Turkish Occupation Palestinian Jewry shared the status of the other Jews of the Ottoman Empire, becoming a Millet, a state of affairs which represented a very considerable improvement on matters under the Mamluks. Palestinian Jews, in fact, welcomed the new regime.

The new situation paved the way for renewed immigration. The terrible fate of Spanish Jewry as a result of the Expulsion of 1492 brought in its wake crowds of Jewish fugitives seeking refuge in various countries. Tens of thousands settled in the Turkish ports, particularly in Salonika, Constantinople, and Anatolia. Thousands of others reached the ports of North Africa which at the time was outside the frame-work of the Ottoman Empire: only a few of these, on account of disturbed communications and the danger of pirates, who then controlled all the Mediterranean sea-routes, succeeded in reaching Palestine. A particular obstacle to immediate mass immigration from Spain had been the economic decline in the country towards the end of the Mamluk period, so that it could offer no livelihood to those who managed to go there. But only 25 years later the position had changed: Jews began to flow into Palestine in their hundreds, and later in their thousands, and about half a century after the Turkish conquest we find a considerable transformation both in the quality and quantity of the Jewish population. Old centres, such as Safed and Jerusalem, were revived along new productive lines, and Palestine again became the spiritual centre of Jewry.

The famous traveller Moses Bassola ¹ (1521-1523) and other Jewish travellers at the end of the XVth and the beginning of the XVIth centuries distinguish between those local Jewish inhabitants who came before the Turkish Occupation and those who came after it. The first were known as **Muste' arabin** ², that is, Arabic-speaking inhabitants, while the others, referred to as **non-Muste' arabin**, appear as Spanish, Italian, Ashkenazi (German), and Moroccan Jews. The Muste'arabin had adopted the Arabic language in earlier times in place of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek which they had used under the Byzantine rule preceding the Arab Occupation. Also called "Moriscos", they were largely descendants of the original inhabitants of the country who had never gone into exile; their own tradition, as well as their names and their peculiar customs, prove this. A similar tradition is preserved by the Samaritan community in Nablus. At least one community of Muste'arabin survives in Palestine to this day,- the Jewish peasants of Peqiin Village in Upper Galilee. Similar communities exist in Aleppo and Damascus, but these are outside the scope of our research. When the new immigrants arrived, the Muste'arabin continued to preserve the framework of their own communal organisation, and for 200 years or more after the Turkish Occupation they are mentioned as a separate community. In the course of time, however, they became completely merged with the Sephardim, adopted the latter's vernacular, and formed one community.

Moses Bassola, who travelled all over the country five years after the Turkish conquest, spending a year and a half there, gives us a comprehensive account of all that he saw and heard. In Sidon he found 20 families, a hundred souls in all, most of them Muste'arabin, with a single synagogue. Safed had a community of 300 families or 1,500 souls, with 3 synagogues, one Sephardi, one Moroccan, and one belonging to the Muste'arabin. The traveller describes their economic position and offers advice as to which classes of immigrants are desirable and which not,

specifying the trades and crafts that have prospects of success. He mentions the villages in the vicinity of Safed, including 'Ein Zeitim with 40 Muste'arabin families, Alma with 15 families, and Kfar Hanania ('Anan) with 3 families: he names the ruins of synagogues of various rural Jewish settlements which had been destroyed - 'Amuqa, Nabratein, Dallata, Jish, Ras El-Akhmar, Kfar Bir'am, Yaquq, Akbara and Kfar Hittin. He also mentions Kfar Kanna, with 40 families. In addition to the agricultural settlements in the above villages, there was a total of 150-180 farming families in Peqiin and Kfar Yassif, which together with those already mentioned make up about 1,000 persons. To this we should add the Jewish community of Gaza with 60 families, that of Nablus with 12, and of Hebron with 10, a total, therefore, of 5,000 persons. (apart from Jerusalem). This was the Yishuv in Palestine at the beginning of the Ottoman period, soon after the close of the Mamluk rule, when the decline of the country in general and of its Jewish population in particular had reached unprecedented depths.

II. The Sixteenth Century

Jewish immigration and settlement under the Turks reached its zenith towards the middle of the XVIth century during the reigns of the Sultans Soliman I (1520-1566) and Salim II (1566-1573). Upper Galilee, with Safed as its capital, was the main centre, ancient Jerusalem taking second place. Safed is situated in an area of considerable natural fertility, and at the time of the Conquest the district contained about 400 villages with a large agricultural population. In the Safed area another 10 Jewish settlements, three urban and seven rural, already existed or were re-established. The urban settlements were Safed, Tiberias, and Acre; the rural centres were Kfar 'Alma, 'Ein Zeitin, Biryia, Peqiin, Tirieh, Kar Hanania, Kfar Kanna (on the way from Tiberias to Safed), and Kfar Yassif, near Acre. There were eight more rural settlements in Syria and Lebanon, all in the closest trade and commercial contact with the neighbouring Arab population as well as with Safed. At the time Jerusalem was rather isolated, from the Jewish point of view, and there were only a few small Jewish communities in any proximity to it-those of Nablus, Hebron and Ramleh. Mention should also be made of the Jews of Gaza, and a small community in Jaffa.

In 1549 Safed was fortified, the wall surrounding the town and a Turkish garrison ensuring defence against the raids of tribesmen and villagers. In addition, in the middle of the XVIth century the Jews, on their own initiative and with permission from the central Government, built themselves a Khan (fortified enclosure). This was an enclosed court of some 100 buildings, with dwellings on the first floor and shops at the ground level surrounded by a wall with entrance gates and night watchmen outside. This, known as Khan el- Basha, served as a refuge for the Jews of Safed for at least a hundred years. The Turkish traveller Evlia Chelebi, who visited the country in the middle of the XVIIth century, mentions 2,000 Jews as living there ³.

Most of the new immigrants were merchants. Some were wealthy enough to charter ships to import merchandise through the ports of Tripoli and Sidon, and later Acre, which also served local manufacturers as ports of export. The Jews were the first to introduce weaving and knitting in Palestine and to start dressmaking establishments and mills for pressing the cloth. The locally-manufactured goods were designed not only for the local population, but also to meet the demands of the Turkish garrisons in Syria, Aleppo and Damascus. The goods were also shipped to Anatolia and Rumelia, and there was constant contact with Jewish merchants in Salonika, Smyrna, Constantinople and Alexandria, as well as in Venice and other Italian towns. The wool was imported from Turkey and used for the manufacture of clothing for civilians and for the

army, as well as cloaks (abayahs) for the villagers. The manufacture involved some 40 processes before the finished article was ready. The extent of the industry can best be gauged from the statement of the Turkish traveller already mentioned, Evlia Chelebi, who says that in the XVIth century there were 3,000 looms, although in his own time, the middle of the XVIIth century, only 40 of these remained.

Evlia Chelebi mentions 70,000 Jews as paying tribute, which is probably exaggerated, especially as in another passage he gives the much more modest figure of 12,000⁴. Rabbi Moshe Hagiz, who lived at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, also puts the number of Jewish tax-payers in Galilee at the high figure of 40,000⁵. Be that as it may, **12,000 would not appear to be exaggerated**. A Spanish traveller (quoted by Sir Harry Luke)⁶, who visited Safed in 1551, reports that at the time some 8,000-10,000 Jews resided there along with a similar number of Moslems. The Yemenite Jewish traveller, Rabbi Zachariah ben Saadia, who visited the country some time after 1568, gives the number of Jews in Safed then as 14,000 a figure which would appear to be rather conservative.

This economic background was of considerable help in the evolution of a spiritual centre. In Safed were concentrated some of the most famous rabbis of Jewish History. Mention should be made of Rabbi Joseph Caro, author of the **Shulchan Aruch**, a codification of the Law obeyed all over the Jewish world from the Yemen to Europe. Another famous name is that of Rabbi Jacob Berav, who revived the authority of Jewish legal institutions and the power of the Jewish Beth Din? (Court of Law) to ordain Rabbis, - known as **Semikha** (Ordination). This right had been officially abolished under Byzantine rule, and Rabbi Berav made a bold attempt to restore it.

In Safed, too, had been laid the foundations of Jewish mysticism, first by Rabbi Moshe Cordovero, and subsequently by Rabbi Isaac Lurie and his disciples, who preached the news of impending redemption to an unhappy European Jewry. The town had become a source of Hebrew poetry (Solomon Halevy El-Kabbez, Israel Naggara), and a centre for the revival of the Hebrew language. The **Yeshivoth** (Talmudical Colleges) were swarming with pupils, and the first printing press in Western Asia was established there in 1577. For at least ten years this press continued to produce theological and poetical works sufficient for the needs not only of the local Jewish population, but of a large clientele all over the Middle East.

By the end of the century security, in all parts of the country, but particularly in the North, had deteriorated, and Safed became a target for the raids of Bedouin, Druzes, and fellahin. The decline in public security brought about a slump in business. On top of this came natural disasters, the famine and epidemics which spread throughout the Middle East at the time. The result was an exodus; a letter of 1584 states that famine drove over 1,000 persons out of Safed⁷.

Tiberias lay desolate for a long time under the Mamluks, but on the initiative of Donna Hanna Gracia and her son-in-law Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos, who planned a return to Zion in the form of Jewish colonisation in Palestine, a Charter was obtained from the Sultan Suleiman giving Nasi the right to rebuild Tiberias and settle Jews there and in seven neighbouring villages, in exchange for the payment of certain contributions to the Imperial Exchequer. In 1565 the walls of Tiberias were finished. Fruit trees were planted in the vicinity, with the emphasis on mulberries for the breeding of silkworms, and pedigree merino sheep were imported from Spain. Through the efforts both of local Jews and of new settlers, mainly from Italy, who responded to Joseph's appeals for immigrants, the whole district took on a new lease of life.

Jewish settlement in Tiberias and the surroundings was again renewed by Suleiman ben Yaish Duke of Mitylene, who in 1593-94 was granted a concession by Sultan Murad III with administrative powers over the town. This was in the nature of a continuation of Joseph Nasi's experiment.⁸

Settlement was resumed not only in Tiberias and the immediately adjacent villages, but also all over the country bordering Lake Tiberias, especially its northern part. Thus in 1547 the French traveller, Pierre Belon, mentions Capernaum, Beth Sayda, and Korazin as being occupied by Jews who had recently settled all round the Lake, revived the fishing industry, and populated a once desolate area. Pontille d' Avero, who toured the country some 18 years later, also mentions Jewish fishermen in Beth Sayda as well as gardeners and fruit growers. In this connection mention should also be made of the of the old-established agricultural settlements which had survived since the Mamluk period, inhabited by Musta' arabin. These, Peqin and Kfar Yassif, for example, were strengthened by the arrival of new settlers, and maintained close contact with Safed. We hear again of Kfar Hanania, Allama, Biryaa, Ein Zeitin, Kfar Kanna, Banyas and Meron.

Jerusalem was in a rather worse position economically. It had no rural Jewish hinterland, yet its population constantly increased through the arrival of new settlers, even if not to the same extent as did that of Upper Galilee. Jerusalem Jews were subjected to severe persecutions in 1579. In the time of Abu Sifyan only 230 families, or a little over 1,000 souls, are mentioned. In 1586 this Governor forcibly requisitioned the Nahmanides Synagogue, which has since remained in Moslem hands, and is now a cheese factory. Later the community increased, when many Safed Jews came to settle there. When the Portuguese traveller, P. D'Averro, toured the country in 1580, an interesting attempt was being made by Portuguese and Sicilian Jews to settle in Nebi Samuel village, shrine and goal of pilgrimage for Jews in every part of the world.⁹

In Hebron there were some 20 families, mostly Musta' arabin from before Mamluk days. The distance of the place from the Turkish centre of administration had exposed the Hebron community to the repressions of local Sheikhs, and led to its stagnation throughout the centuries.

The community of Gaza had been strengthened by the arrival of Spanish settlers. Gaza Jews were engaged not only in commerce, but also in horticulture, concentrating mainly on vineyards. Most of them were Musta' arabin, as is clear from a special prayer in the liturgy of the Gaza community (known as the Gaza Service).¹⁰ There were 60 of these families as well as a few Samaritans.¹¹

For many years an isolated Jewish community existed in Nablus, closely connected with that of Jerusalem. Nablus was situated on the route of the Jewish caravans from Jerusalem to Safed and was a place of pilgrimage for many in view of the presence in it of the traditional tomb of Joseph, and its proximity to those of Joshua (Kfar Haris), and of Eleazer the Priest and his son Phineas, all centres of attraction to Jewish pilgrims. In addition there was, of course, the ancient community of Samaritans, which in the meantime had considerably dwindled in numbers as a result of persecution by the local Arab rulers, and had been reduced to only 12 families. At the beginning of the century only remnants of the Samaritan agricultural settlements near Nablus were left, in Awarta village, site of the tomb of the Priest Eleazer and his son. During the XVIIth century this Samaritan settlements was completely wiped out, together with all the other rural Samaritan settlements in the vicinity (Beit Dagon, Beit Bazin, etc.).¹²

III. The Seventeenth Century

The heyday of the Yishuv in Galilee came to an end early in the XVIIth century. After the Golden Age of Safed, which followed the coming of the Spanish Jews and continued for about a hundred years after the Conquest, the streams of immigration which had flowed mainly from Turkey, North Africa, Germany and Italy as well as from the Spanish Maranos, dwindled progressively. The stoppage of immigration meant not only a stoppage in the growth of the Yishuv but also a very considerable decline. There were two reasons for this. First, the reservoir of Spanish exiles had been exhausted, their descendants somehow managing to eke out an existence in the countries of Europe and Asia which had been their first havens. At the same time there had been great upheavals in Europe, following on the Thirty Years' War, which had impoverished German Jewry and stopped the flow of money from the ravaged countries. Adding to this the complete destruction of Ukrainian Jewry following the Cossack Rebellion (Chmelnitzky) and the massacres in other Polish provinces, which stopped all contributions from Polish Jewry to the Yishuv, it is easy to understand why immigration in general halted and only isolated refugees reached Palestine.

Again, public security in Palestine had deteriorated. The tribute extorted from the inhabitants by local officials, the general and specific taxes mulcted mainly from the "Raaya" (non-Moslem, that is, mainly, Christian and Jewish subjects) contributed to a further impairment of the general sense of safety which, in any case, had been undermined by the raids of Bedouin, Fellahin and Druzes. From time to time, Jews were forced to flee en masse from the persecutions of their tyrannical neighbours and rulers, as well as from the vandalism of brigands, and even if they did return to their homes, never losing their faith in the future, these violent upheavals resulted in economic chaos and discouraged European Jews from further immigration. The chaotic Turkish misrule, which cared little for the security and welfare of the people, never providing even the scanty public health services customary elsewhere at the time, often resulted in serious epidemics which took a heavy toll of life, and drove the inhabitants out of the densely populated Ghettoes of Safed and Tiberias, with a resultant dispersion of the population of those centres. Some fled to the villages and adjacent towns, others to Syria, - Sidon, Beirut, Damascus-and even to Egypt, but most of the Safed refugees found a haven in Jerusalem, reinforcing the existing community, although some moved to Hebron and Gaza. Generally speaking, the decline of Galilee in the XVIIth century resulted in the removal of the centre of the impoverished Yishuv from there to Judaea.

In 1603 there were 1,200 heads of families (as is clear from the letter of Solomon Shlumiel),¹³ or about 5,000 persons in Safed. Some thirty to forty years later, the French traveller Roger mentions 200 Jewish and 100 Moslem houses, elsewhere in his book putting the number of Jews at 4,000 persons. According to the Turkish traveller Evlia Chelebi there were about 1,300 Jewish houses, although he probably meant families. It seems, therefore, that at about the middle of the XVIIth century there were some 4,000 to 5,000 Jews in Safed. The position deteriorated still further later in the century. In 1662. Safed and Tiberias were destroyed in a raid by Druzes from the Lebanon, and the inhabitants fled to the adjacent villages, to Sidon or to Jerusalem. Five years later the people of Safed returned to rebuild the ruins of their town, but Tiberias remained deserted for nearly 80 years.

According to Roger, the number of Jews in Palestine, and Syria at that time was 15,000, 4,000 in Jerusalem and the remainder in other parts of the country. Roger found Jewish communities in

Hebron, Gaza, Ramleh, Nablus, Safed, Acre, Sidon and Tyre, as well as in the villages. Most of the latter mentioned by him were situated in Upper and Lower Galilee.¹⁴

The agricultural settlements in the North at that period include, of course, Peqin, Kfar Yassif and Shefarem, which continued their rural existence. Roger adds the names of three other Jewish settlements in the North, in the Mutawalli District, but their identity can not be established with certainty. He also mentions Akhshaf (no doubt identical with Kfar Yassif). Kadesh (probably Kadesh Naftali), Hurma (probably Ramath Asher) and Jaballah, (Bint El-Jebel). Roger refers in addition to Jewish settlement in the area ruled by the Emirs of the Terabin, a powerful Bedouin Tribe, which for a period of 180 years reigned supreme over the villages of Jezreel as far as Haifa on the coast and Lake Tiberias to the north-east. The Emirs levied tribute on all who passed through their territory, as well as on all voyagers landing on the coast. Their domain appears to have contained several Jewish settlements, which enjoyed their protection. Roger speaks of Jews settled in Zerain (Jezreel). In that village, which contained 150 houses, there were Moslem fellahin, as well as Jews, and it may be assumed that the Jews were engaged for the most part in agriculture. Roger states that Jews here lived exactly like the Bedouin, on highway robbery, endangering the safety of Christian travellers, - meaning, no doubt, that the Jews of Jezreel took an active part in the raids of the Terabin on hostile tribes. Some of these Jews of the Terabin were the Emir's tax-collectors and customs officers, as in Haifa, which had an established Jewish community, and in other places. Another report, of Jewish origin, refers to a Jewish settlement in Jenin, capital of the Terabin territory. Roger also mentions a permanent Jewish settlement at **Ein et-Tujjar or Souk il-Khan**, more or less the commercial centre of the Terabin territory. The French traveller mentions thirty or forty huts there in which a number of Jews lived, probably refugees from Kfar Kanna, the importance of which had already declined at the time. Roger also speaks of the Jewish settlement near Jub Yussef. He tells us that there were a number of Jewish houses there, and that the place was full of beautiful vineyards. To this list can be added other names from Jewish sources, viz. Yaquq and Maon, near Tiberias, as well as Banyas.

Roger reports the existence of small Jewish settlements on the coast, especially at Caesarea, with a special quarter where seven to eight Jewish families lived, to the east or landward side of the town where they were safer from possible raids of the Malta Knights, who from time to time attacked the coast to plunder and capture slaves. In Arsuf, too, at the time there was a Jewish settlement. Both these places were subject to the jurisdiction of the Terabin and paid them tribute. Roger mentions another small Jewish settlement of about seven or eight homesteads in Kfar Haris, where tradition placed the Tomb of Joshua.

At the beginning of the XVIIth century, Jerusalem had a community of 2,500 - 3,000 persons, 500 of them Ashkenazim; in addition there were 20 Caraites. The Jerusalem Jewish community was undergoing severe persecution at the hands of the Turkish District Governor Ibn Farukh (1625) who extorted large sums of money from them, by arresting all the representative Jews, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, and by inquisitorial methods of torture compelling the community to sell the whole of their property to pay the large ransoms he demanded. His brief governorship virtually destroyed the whole community. Its grim experiences under his rule are strikingly described by an eyewitness in a book called **Hurvot Yerushalayim**¹⁵ (The Ruins of Jerusalem), a reliable testimony of what happened at the period. Even after Ibn Farukh's ejection from office, there was little improvement in the position, and the heads of the community had to appeal to

their co-religionists abroad for regular relief. Missions were sent to Egypt, and to Italy and other European countries, and, thanks to their work, the community institutions, which had been considerably weakened during the crisis, took on a new lease of life.

During this period the community in Gaza was being continually reinforced from Safed, Jerusalem and Hebron, many of the new arrivals settling there permanently. Some of the newcomers to Gaza were prominent businessmen who took advantage of the excellent geographical position of the town at the crossroads between Egypt, Syria and Palestine, and even did a prosperous business with the desert tribes. Jewish caravans penetrated deep into the country, as far as Petra and the Tomb of the High Priest Aaron, and they seem to have been familiar with all the desert trails. In this connection mention should be made of the contacts of the Jews of Hebron and Jerusalem with the Bedouin, and of Jewish settlement in the heart of Gilead at Ajloun. A French traveller called Le Blanc, writing in 1658, reports coming across an entirely Jewish village, known as Jusara, on the way from Mount Sinai to the Hejaz. There was a sprinkling of writers and scholars among the new settlers in Gaza. Their arrival helped to consolidate the position of the Yishuv in the south of the country from the religious and spiritual aspects.

We also hear of a Jewish community in Hebron, about thirty families smarting under the despotic rule of local tyrants. From time to time they were forced to seek refuge in Jerusalem and Gaza, but they never completely abandoned the city of the Patriarchs and always returned to their homes in Hebron, where they were concentrated in the ancient Ghetto, defended by gates kept under lock and key. Jaffa and Ramleh also contained small communities which from time to time were destroyed and then revived again.

IV. The Eighteenth Century

The great messianic movement born in Turkish Jewry late in the XVIIth century had its direct effects on the Jews of Palestine. From Gaza emerged a disciple of Shabbetai Zevi, the "prophet" Nathan, who spread the gospel of this false Messiah from Gaza. Just as the general excitement inspired by the advent of Shabbetai Zevi had spread to certain sections of Palestine Jewry, so the deep disillusion of his defeat reacted on them as well. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century large groups of Shabbetai Zevi's secret followers came to Palestine, while from Poland came the party headed by Rabbi Yehuda He-Hassid, some 1,300 strong,¹⁶ and from Italy the group of Rabbi Abraham Ravigo. The immigration of Polish Jews did not take root and most of Shabbetai Zevi's followers returned to their homes; However, the Italian group settled for good in the country, and close in its wake came other waves of immigration. One of the results of the frustration of the messianic dreams engendered by Shabbetai Zevi's appearance, and of the lack of faith in any purely miraculous redemption, was an increased interest taken in Palestine, and in its colonization by ordinary means. The most important symptom of this was the resettlement of Jews on the ruins of Tiberias and their rebuilding of that town by Turkish Jews under the leadership of Rabbi Haim Aboulafia.

According to Raphael Mordehai Malhi,¹⁷ who was a physician in Jerusalem at the end of the XVIIth and the beginning of the XVIIIth centuries, the number of Jews there at the time was three hundred families, amounting to fifteen hundred persons. Another authority, Haim Karigal, who lived in about the middle of the XVIIIth century, found about a thousand Jewish families or four thousand persons in the whole country).¹⁸ He enumerates thirteen synagogues in Palestine,

of which five large ones were in Jerusalem, and the remainder in Safed, Hebron, Gaza, Acre, Nablus, Tiberias and Jaffa, but he makes no mention of the communities of Peqiin and Kfar Yassif, which certainly existed at the time. Rabbi Moshe Hagiz, a staunch advocate of colonization in Palestine and a great opponent of Shabbatai Zevi's movement, who toured the Diaspora on a propaganda campaign for the relief of Palestinian Jewry, writes that, in his time, there were 1,500 Jews in the country, a thousand of them settled in Jerusalem.¹⁹ It may be assumed that he meant 1,500 families or 6,000 persons.

At the beginning of the XVIIIth century the Bedouin tribe of Beni Zeidan succeeded in dominating the whole of Upper and Lower Galilee, which had hitherto formed part of the District of the Pasha of Sidon. The Beni Zeidan won over the Beni Sakhr and the Fellahin of the local villages, by promising them help in their war against their neighbours and protection against the Pasha's repressive measures. Sheikh Daher el-Omar conquered Tiberias and later Nazareth. The later capture put him in control of the whole Valley of Jezreel (about 1741); he then turned to the coast, and succeeded in taking Acre in 1743/44. About eight years later he fortified the town and compelled the Pasha of Sidon to give him an official lease of it. Daher continued his campaign, advancing to Haifa and Tanturah, establishing his rule there, and later marching into the interior of the country bringing that, too, under his domination.

Daher thus succeeded in organizing something like an "imperium in imperio", a regime which was officially still under the Sultan's rule, but which to all practical purposes of administration was entirely independent. His rule continued until 1776, when he was finally killed in battle against the Turkish Admiral sent to suppress him by orders of the Sultan.

Unlike other local governors, Daher el-Omer was tolerant towards his non-Moslem subjects, in this respect following the example of the Shehabi Emirs in the Lebanon. He made use of the services of both Christians and Jews, whose ability and skill were higher than those of the Moslems, and indeed encouraged these new settlers. He allowed new Christian immigrants to settle in the district under his control, adopting a similar attitude towards Jews.

In 1742 Sheikh Daher el Omar invited Rabbi Haim Abboulafia of Smyrna to come to Tiberias and found a new Jewish community on the ruins of the town, which had been destroyed at the end of the XVIIth century, although, according to another version, the request came from Rabbi Aboulafia. In any case the latter arrived in Tiberias with a large party of immigrants and at once proceeded to resettle the town. The new community built a beautiful synagogue, a public bath, shops and a sesame oil-press and planted trees all round the town. During the attacks of Suleiman Pasha on Tiberias in 1742-43 the Jews remained loyal to Daher, and took part in the defence of the city.²⁰

Mention must be made of renewed Jewish attempts to take up agriculture and thereby reinforce the few impoverished rural settlements which existed at the time. Indeed, it was thanks to Daher's restoration of public security to the country, that the Yishuv in Kfar Yassif east of Acre, was revived by Rabbi Solomon Abbadi. There had been a community there for generations, but droughts and campaigning troops had forced the inhabitants to abandon it. After Abbadi's restoration it continued to exist for over a hundred years, well into the middle of the nineteenth century. At about the same time the Jewish community in Shefaram, consisting of an agricultural community with public institutions and well-known Rabbis, was also restored. At the beginning of the XIXth century Shefaram had 20 native Jewish families engaged in agriculture, with a

synagogue and a cemetery of their own. This population was reinforced by immigrants from North Africa. The ancient agricultural community in Peqiin also received new blood at the time. From additional sources we learn that there were Jews living in other villages, such as Kfar Haim, in the Emek. There were at least 50 heads of families in Peqiin who were known as expert farmers (1765) and the Peqiin Yishuv stretched as far as the adjacent Beith Gan.²¹ News of Jewish settlement spread to all parts of the Diaspora, particularly the Turkish Empire, and several Jewish travellers who visited Palestine (Simon Gilderden, Joseph Sopher, Simcha of Zalazitz and others) spread the news of Jewish farmers (fellahin) cultivating the soil of the Holy Land.

The fortification of Acre gave a sense of security to its Jewish community. Joseph Sopher,²² who visited the town in 1760, notes 36 families engaged in weaving, knitting and commerce. Somewhat later sources tell us that the Acre Jewish community numbered one hundred families or 500 souls.

After Daher el-Omar's defeat in 1776 the regime of the Turkish Pashas was restored and in Acre the notorious Ahmad El Jazzar ruled under the Sultan. He ruled with an iron hand, cruelly repressing any sign of rebellion or opposition to the regime. But in his day, as in Daher's, public security was maintained throughout the district he governed. As security improved the way was laid open for immigration. Inevitably the Jews of Turkey, particularly of Constantinople, Salonica and Smyrna, were the first to notice the improved conditions in the country.

The Jews of Turkey were personally familiar with the situation, most of them having visited the country at least once in their lives. The Ben Zonana family of Constantinople was interested in Jaffa as the "Gate to Zion", and built there a **Khan** or Hostel for pilgrims. The Farhi family, which occupied a high position in official circles in Damascus and was in close personal contact with leading personalities at the time of Daher el-Omar, attained great prominence in Acre on the restoration of the Turkish regime there. One of the Finzi family, whose members were British Consular Agents in Aleppo, was appointed to the same office in Acre.

Among the leading personalities in the country at the end of the XVIIIth and the beginning of the XIXth century was Haim Farhi, who was appointed Financial Secretary by Ahmad Jazzar. Thanks to his administrative and financial abilities and strong character, Farhi held a leading position in the Administration of Ahmed Jazzar, and European travellers (Burckhard),²³ who visited the country at the time, state that Jazzar's whole district was actually governed by Farhi. The defensive war against Napoleon's armies in which Turkish troops stood firm to the end against the armies of the world conqueror were also conducted under the advice and direction of Farhi, but his end was bitter. As the result of envious denunciation by his Moslem fellow-secretaries he was executed in 1819 by order of Ahmad Abdallah Pasha, Jazzar's son and successor.

News of the improvement of security in Galilee and Acre reaching the Diaspora undoubtedly helped to attract more immigrants to the country, and Jews were encouraged in their desire to go and settle there. A new wave of immigration began, that of Hassidim, disciples of the Baal Shem Tov, founder of Hassidism, from the Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania, Arriving in a party 300 strong the Hassidim revived the Yishuv in Safed and Tiberias.²⁴ They were followed by their opponents, the Perushim, disciples of the Gaon of Vilna, who also settled first in Safed, whence they moved to Jerusalem at the beginning of the XIXth century.

In 1779 Napoleon marched on Palestine from Egypt, conquering the coastal towns, the Sharon and Galilee. His reconaissance parties reached Safed, but fortified Acre stood firm and refused to surrender to the pressure of his Army.

Napoleon's advance involved a significant historical fact, his attempt to win the good will of the Jews of Syria and Palestine, and indeed of the world, by his official pledge to restore Palestine to the Jews and establish a Jewish State. The proclamation made public at the time has recently been brought to light again²⁵ and serves to clarify the ambiguous reports from Constantinople on the subject (see appendices). At all events, it confirms that Napoleon did actually promise to restore Palestine to the Jews and to re-establish the Jewish State in it. Even if the report of the presence near Aleppo of a Jewish Army which "threatened the town" is exaggerated, the mere fact of Napoleon's appeal to the Jews of Syria and Palestine proved that the great commander appreciated the weight and importance of them and of their fellow-Jews in the neighbouring countries, and valued them as a powerful partner among the other political factors of the Orient. It is at the same time evidence that the ideal of the restoration of the political life of Israel in its ancient homeland held an important place not only in the thoughts of the Jews but also in the political minds of the great statesmen of the world.

The reaction of the Jews to Napoleon's appeal is of little relevance, for their status as a non-Moslem minority among a Moslem majority debarred them from giving expression to their real feelings. On one side we find Haim Farhi heading the defence conducted by Abdallah Pasha, with no doubt that the Jewish Community as a whole followed his leadership, and the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem appealing to his community to help in defence works, and all, old people and children, to help to fortify the walls. On the other, we find a proclamation by Aaron Halevy, Rabbi of Salonica and sometime resident of Jerusalem, published close on the heels of Napoleon's, in support of the latter, from which it appears that there was a party in the Yishuv which looked forward to Napoleon's help.

Salvation did not come. General Kleber, one of Napoleon's commanders, withdrew without conquering Acre, and Napoleon's promise to the Jewish people remained unfulfilled. The war inflicted terrible hardships on the Jews of Palestine; in Jaffa all the Jews were massacred by Napoleon's troops, together with the rest of the population; on the other hand, the suspicions of the Moslems that the Jews were disloyal to the Turks became more and more vociferous, and no sooner did the French troops leave Safed than the Turkish soldiers who came in ran amok in an orgy of looting and murder, which destroyed the Jewish quarters there and in Tiberias.

V. The Nineteenth Century

The history of the country and the Yishuv during the XIXth century are sufficiently well-known from the descriptions of European travellers, as well as from the reports of Consuls of foreign Powers, particularly the British, French, and Russian, and from the many Hebrew books of increasing scientific value which appeared during the period.²⁷ It is unnecessary, therefore, for us to go into details to prove the continuity of the Yishuv during that period as we have done for the preceding ones, and we shall content ourselves, therefore, with a general outline.

At the beginning of the XIXth century the bulk of the Jewish population was still concentrated in Galilee - Safed, Tiberias, Acre, and the villages. But Safed, which continued to be a metropolis for the first thirty years of the century at least, was hard hit by numerous disasters, some man-

made, such as the riots after the retreat of the French, and some natural, such as droughts and epidemics. The epidemics of 1812-1814 drove the Jews of Safed away from the town to the villages, in many cases for a year or more. Apart from the well-known agricultural settlements which offered asylum to the refugees from the Plague (Peqin, Kfar Yasif, Shefaram), the villages of Gyscala, Rumeish, Dallata, and Meron offered temporary refuge of varying length. There is no doubt that constant contact with the villages and rural life strengthened the tendency of the Jews to move from urban to rural existence, a tendency which found its practical realisation later.

The retreat of Napoleon resulted in the deterioration of the position of non-Moslems. Abdullah Pasha ran amok in his district. After murdering his trusty adviser, Haim Farhi, and confiscating all his property, he poured out his wrath on Farhi's family, and indeed on all members of his community within his jurisdiction, those in Acre and Safed being the worst sufferers.

The rule of the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha, which lasted eight years (from 1832-1840), brought no improvement. The successive rebellions in Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea, hit Jewish centres hard. The worst victim was Safed, which was twice a target for Druze and Bedouin raids (1834 and 1839), and was also a special victim of the severe earthquake of 1837, which killed some two thirds of its Jewish community of 3,000-4,000.

A few chronological data on the disasters experienced by the Jewish community of Safed are instructive: -

- 1799 The looting of the Jewish quarters by Turkish troops.
- 1812-14 The plague which drove most of the community from the town.
- 1819 Abdallah's persecutions.
- 1824 The rebellion of the fellahin.
- 1825 The collapse of houses as a result of heavy rainfall.
- 1834 Riots by fellahin.
- 1837 The Great Earthquake.
- 1838 Looting and massacre by the Druzes.

Tiberias, where some 700 Jews perished in the earthquake, fared no better. These catastrophes resulted in the virtual destruction of most of the Galilean settlements, but as a consequence the Jews of Safed and Tiberias fled to Jerusalem, thereby restoring the **Ashkenazi** Yishuv of Jerusalem, which had stagnated for about two generations until their coming in the second decade of the XIX century.²⁸ The Jewish population of Jerusalem and Hebron suffered badly during the riots of the fellahin (in 1824 and later under Ibrahim Pasha), but the authorities rapidly brought the situation under control.

In this connection a special note should be made of the position of the small isolated Jewish groups in villages and minor towns in Galilee, glossed over by most authorities on Palestine. Jews shared the life of their neighbours down to their internal squabbles and raids. Evidence as

to participation in wars of this kind is found in the form of interesting traditions still extant among the descendants of the fellahin of Kfar Yassif, who took part in the war against Ibrahim Pasha, as well as among Jewish peasants in the Lebanon (Hasbya and Deir El Kamar), who were recruited by the Emir Bashir to help Abdullah Pasha in his wars against the Jerar family of Nablus. A Jewish Regiment of 100 soldiers succeeded in reducing the fortress of Sannur in which the Jerars had barricaded themselves, and were singled out for praise.²⁹ As to the participation of the Samaritans of Nablus in the feudal wars between the rival families in the Nablus District, we have evidence in the despatches of British Consuls.³⁰

The Egyptian Conquest gave a new stimulus to public life, and there was an all-round revival of activity. During this period the dwellers in the ancient cities strove to break out of their ghettos, move to the villages and take up agriculture as their occupation. Rabbi Israel Back, who had already proved his initiative in industry by the establishment of a machine printing press in Safed, reviving the printing industry in the very place where the experiment had been made 250 years before, received a concession from Ibrahim Pasha for the Jermak village, the first Jewish settlement to be restored in Palestine. There he installed his press, which had been destroyed at Safed some time before, and placed ten families in charge of the place.

At about the same time Sir Moses Montefiore toured the country with practical plans for Jewish colonisation. In consideration of such a concession he was prepared to found a large bank with a capital of a million pounds and put it at Mohammed Ali's disposal. Lady Montefiore's Memoirs, "Judith", contain several memoranda and petitions from the Jews of Safed, Tiberias, and Jerusalem, begging Sir Moses to help them establish themselves in agriculture, as well as a Note from the British Commercial Agent, Finzi.³¹ This first practical proposal for Jewish colonisation preceded **Hibbat Zion** by sixty years and political Zionism by fifty. Apart from the actual villages referred to in Chapter IV, we find new experiments in agricultural colonisation during this period, such as the Jewish estate at Dalatta, near Safed, owned by the Shoshan family.

The ambitious Montefiore plan failed to materialise, but twenty years later Sir Moses embarked on a more modest experiment which became the foundation for modern Jewish agricultural colonisation. This was the planting of **Pardess (Grove) Montefiore**, near Jaffa, in 1856, where the first Jewish agricultural pioneers were given practical training in agriculture. Fifteen years later a second magnificent effort was made in Charles Netter's foundation of the first Jewish Agricultural School at Mikveh Israel, which last year celebrated its seventy-fifty anniversary.

As the Galillean Yishuv dwindled in numbers and importance, the star of Jerusalem rose again. In the days of Napoleon its Jewish population was 1,000. But the misfortunes of Galilee brought about a great revival in the numbers as well as in the importance of the capital. The Russian Consul, Basili, states in 1887 that immigration from Turkey, Barbary (North Africa), Germany, and Russia in his time was as much as 1,500 a year. He mentions a community of 4,000 families. In 1856/7 Dr. L. Fränkel gives a general figure of 10,639 as being the total Jewish population of Palestine, Jerusalem's share being 5,700³³; other places mentioned as having Jewish communities are Safed, Tiberias, Hebron, Jaffa, Sidon, Acre, Shefaram, Haifa, Peqiin, Nablus and Rama. In the census taken by Dr. Ascher on behalf of the Anglo-Jewish Association we find the Jerusalem Community with double that number (13,860), Hebron with 700, Tiberias with 2,000, and Safed with 4,000.

A great surge of immigration began in the early eighties, mainly from Russia and Roumania, as

well as from the Yemen, Bokhara, North Africa and Turkey. Towards the end of the seventies Petah Tikvah was established, followed in the eighties by Rishon Le Zion, Ness Ziona, Ekron, Gedera, all in Judaea, Zichron Jacob in Samaria, Rosh Pinnah and Yesod Hama'ala in Galilee, and Bnei Yehuda on the estate of Baron de Rothschild in the Hauran. In the nineties several more settlements were added, while immigration at the beginning of the XXth century, known as the Second Aliyah, (the Workers' immigration) considerably expanded the area of Jewish colonisation. At the outbreak of the first World War the Jewish population in Palestine numbered over 100,000, 13,000 living in rural settlements, as shown in the attached table.

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Number of Jews in Cities and Colonies in the XIXth century

Localities	In the 30's and the 40's	In the 50's	In the 70's and the 80's	In the 90's	1914
Jerusalem	4,000	10,000	14,000	27,000	50,000
Safed	1,200	2,100	--	7,150	12,500-13,000
Jaffa	30	400	1,200	3,000	12,000
Tiberias	650	1,514	2,047	3,200	7,000
Hebron	500	400	600	1,420	1,000
Haifa	150-200	100	175	1,400- 1,000	3,500
Sidon (Saida)	300	300	500	780	800
Gaza	--	--	150	75	175
Acre	100	120	140	130	50
Tyre	100	--	--	--	2
Nablus	150-200	40	120	31	--
Beit-Shean	--	--	--	13	80-100
Ramle	--	--	--	106-166	20
Beer Sheba	--	--	--	--	130-150
Lydda	--	--	--	14	15-10
Total Urban Jewish Population	7,200	15,000	22,000	44,000	88,000
Agricultural Settlements					
Colonies	--	--	3,000	4,500	12,000
Peqi'in	100	50	100	96	90
Shefaram	60	60	30	45	15
Total agricultural Jewish Population	160	110	3,130	4,640	12,105

Total Jewish Population	7,360	16,000	25,000	48,500	100,000
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Appendix I.

Napoleon and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Discovery of an historic document

by FRANZ KOBLER

(The New Judaea, September, 1940)

1). Notice in the news sheet of the French Republican Government, the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel*, which reads as follows:

"No. 243. Tridi, 3 prairial, an 7, de la Republique Française une et indivisible.

"(Page) 389. Politique. Turquie. Constantinople. le 28 germinal.

"Bonaparte a fait publier une proclamation, dans laquelle il invite tous les juifs de l'Asie et de l'Afrique à venir se ranger sous ses drapeaux pour rétablir l'ancienne Jérusalem. Il en a déjà armé un grand nombre et leurs bataillons menacent Alep."

2) *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel*. No. 279. Nonidi, 9 messidor, etc. Pages 1136-1137. "De la conquête probable de l'empire ottoman par Bonaparte.

".....Attendons confirmation de ces heureuses nouvelles. Si elles sont prématurées, nous aimons à croire qu'elles se réaliseront un jour. Ce n'est pas seulement pour rendre aux Juifs leur Jerusalem que Bonaparte a conquis la Syrie....."

3) The tenth chapter of Napoleon's memoirs on the "Campagnes d'Italie, d'Egypte et de Syrie", written during his exile at St. Helena, 3rd vol., contains the following passage on page 66:

"Les juifs étaient assez nombreux en Syrie; une espérance vague les animait; le bruit courait parmi eux que Napoléon, après la prise d'Acre, se rendrait à Jérusalem et qu'il voulait rétablir le temple de Salomon. Cette idée les flattait. Des agents chrétiens, juifs, musulmans furent dépêchés à Damas, à Alep et jusque dans l'Arménie; ils rapportèrent que la présence de l'armée en Syrie agitait toutes les têtes."

Appendix 2

Letter to the Jewish Nation (1) from the French Commander-in-Chief Bonaparte; (2) from Rabbi Aaron in Jerusalem (Translated from the original, 1799).

General Headquarters, Jerusalem, 1st Floreal, April 20th, 1799, in the year 7 of the French Republic.

BONAPARTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
IN AFRICA AND ASIA, TO THE RIGHTFUL HEIRS OF PALESTINE.

Israelites, unique nation, whom, in thousands of years, lust of conquest and tyranny have been able to deprive only of ancestral lands, but not of name and national existence!

Attentive and impartial observers of the destinies of nations, even though not endowed with the gifts of seers like Isaiah and Joel, have long since also felt what these, with beautiful and uplifting faith, foretold when they saw the approaching destruction of their kingdom and fatherland; And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. (Isaiah XXXV. 10).

Arise, then, with gladness, ye exiled! A war unexampled in the annals of history, waged in self-defence by a nation whose hereditary lands were regarded by its enemies as plunder to be divided, arbitrarily and at their convenience, by stroke of the pen of Cabinets, avenges its own shame and the shame of the remotest nations, long forgotten under the yoke of slavery, and, also, the almost two-thousand-year-old ignominy put upon you; and, while time and circumstances would seem to be least favourable to a restatement of your claims or even to their expression, and indeed to compel their complete abandonment, it offers to you at this very time, and contrary to all expectations, Israel's patrimony!

The young army with which Providence has sent me hither, led by justice and accompanied by victory, has made Jerusalem my headquarters and will, within a few days, transfer them to Damascus, a proximity which is no longer terrifying to David's City.

Rightful heirs of Palestine!

The great nation which does not trade in men and countries as did those which sold your ancestors unto all peoples (Joel IV, 6) here-with calls on you not indeed to conquer your patrimony; nay, only to take over that which has been conquered and, with that nation's warranty and support, to remain master of it to maintain it against all comers.

Arise! Show that the former overwhelming might of your oppressors has but repressed the courage of the descendants of those heroes whose alliance of brothers would have done honor even to Sparta and Rome (Maccabees, XII, 15), but that all two thousand years of treatment as slaves have not succeeded stifling it.

Hasten! Now is the moment, which may not return for thousands of years, to claim the restoration of civic rights among the population of the universe which has been shamefully withheld from you for thousands of years, your political existence as a nation among the nations, and the unlimited natural right to worship Jehovah in accordance with your faith, publicly and most probably for ever (Joel IV 20).

AARON, SON OF LEVY, RABBI OF JERUSALEM, TO THE CHILDREN OF CAPTIVITY
IN THE LANDS OF SUNRISE AND OF SUNSET, OF NOON AND OF NIGHT.

Jerusalem, in the month of Nissan, of the year 5559.

Although there is no need to add anything to the letter which the man after God's heart, Bonaparte, the great and highly enlightened Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies in Africa and Asia, has directed to you, I, Aaron son of Levi, by the memory of our God, Adonai Zebaoth, after the passing of numberless generations again first Rabbi and Priest in this Holy City, have for the sake of the weak, thought fit to remind them of the words of Joel, son of Pethuel, Chapter IV, and of Zephaniah, son of Cushi, Chapter II, and Malachi, Chapter II, III.

Brethren, the glorious prophecies contained therein have been, as to their larger part, already fulfilled by the victorious army of the great nation, and it now depends only on us to be not as the children of harlots and adulteresses but true descendents of Israel, and to desire the inheritance of the people of the Lord, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple (Psalms XXVII, 4).

Take, then, unto yourselves the wings of the eagle and the strength of the lioness, like unto our fathers in the days of Nehemiah son of Hachaliah, and Ezra, son of Seraiah, to build the walls of the orphaned city and a temple to the Lord in which His glory shall live from now and for evermore.

Proclaim this to all nations among whom Jacob's seed is scattered, sanctify a combat, arouse the stronger, let all men of Israel capable of bearing arms gather and come up to us, let even the weak declare: I am strong! (Joel IV).

May the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob bless the work of our hands! May He do and accomplish this, as He hath sworn to our fathers! May He remember for good all that the great nation has done unto us (Ezra IX, 9), and let the whole people speak as of Gideon, son of Joash (Judges VII).

Here the sword of the Lord and of Bonaparte!

Footnotes – 1st Set

1. Epiphanius, *De mens, et pond.* 14 (*Patrologia graeca* ed. Migne, Vol, 43, c.260 s.); Vincent et Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, II,3, Paris, 1922, p.450.
2. N. Bentwich in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, XXIII, 1932-33, pp. 337 ff.
3. Epitome of Book 69, cap. 12 and 13.
4. ed. Klostermann, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 26, 86, 92, 98, 108.
- 4a. Hieronymus, *Chronicon*, ad a.352.ed.Helm, Leipzig, p.238.
5. See note 4 above and pp. 22, 78, 136 for the Jewish and pp. 26. 108 and 112 for the Christian villages.
6. *Contra Judaeos et Gentiles oratio XVI* (*Patrologia graeca*, vol. 48. c.835).
7. Nau, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, XVIII (1913), p. 274.

8. Commentary on Isaiah xlviii, 17 (*Patrologia latina*, vol. 24, col. 479)
9. *De civitate Dei*, cap. 21 (*Patrologia latina*, vol. 41, col. 499)
10. John Malalas. XV, p. 382 f. (Bonn ed.); *Chronicon paschale*, pp. 603-4; Procopius, *De aedificiis*, ed. Haury, V, 7, pp. 165-6.
11. See note 10.
12. Eutychiei *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beryti, 1906, II. 5-7.
13. Hill, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine*, p. XV.
14. Palestinian Talmud, Tractate Abodah Zara, p. 43 d.
15. Epiphanius. *Panarion haer.* xxx, 12,8.
16. See note 4a.
17. Theodoretus, *Church History*, IV, 22 (Berlin ed. vol. 19, p. 259 f).
18. *Harvard Theological Review* XIX (1926), pp. 199-206.
19. Eusebius, *Church History*, IV, 5, 1 and 6,4 (ed. Schwarz, pp. 304, 308).
20. Palestine Talmud, Tractate Berakhot, p. 18 d.
21. *Homilia in Jerem.* xvii, 1 (Berlin ed. XXX, p. 401).
22. Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra, p. 75 b.
23. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux; Jerome, *In Zephan.* I, 15; Midrash Echa Raba I, 17.
24. Philostorgius, *Church History*, ed. Bidez, p. 95 f.
25. Nau, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1913, p. 383 foll; 1914, p. 119 foll.
26. In Ezech. xlii, (*Patrologia graeca*, vol. 81 col 1224).
27. Scythopol. *Vita ST. Sabae*, 54, 13, and 57, 58.
28. Sophronius, p. 23, ap. Cuoret, la prise de Jérusalem par les perses, Orleans, 1896).
29. Eutychiou, (*Patrologia graeca*, vol, 101, col. 1090); Cedrenus (ed. Bonn I, p. 735.)

Footnotes – 2nd Set

1. Apart from general histories of the Arabs, such as S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the M.A.*, 1936; P. U. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 1943, only a few history-books deal specifically with Palestine - Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern*; Lammens, *La Syrie*; Idem, *Ash Sham*, *Encyc. of Islam*; Y. de Haas, *History of Palestine in the last two thousand years*, N.Y., 1934.
2. The history of the Jews is mentioned *passim* in books listed in note 1. There is a short general

history of the Yishuv by S. Klein, *The History of the Yishuv in Palestine (Heb.)*. Material and documents are scientifically edited in the monumental "Sefer ha 'Yishuv" Vo. II, published by the Jewish Historical and Ethnographical Society.

3. Baeker *Islam Studien* (special chapter on Christians and Jews); Hitti, *op. cit.*

4. *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. *Dhimme*.

5. E. g. el-Biladhuri, ed. de Goeje, 1866, p. 141 (the Conquest of Caesarea).

6. The publication of the mass of documents, deeds and letters, begun immediately after Schechter's discovery, has not yet been completed. Our quotations are not only from Schechter's work but also from the monumental work of d. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimides*, 2 vols.; R. Gottheil and H. Worrel, *Fragments from the Geniza*; J. Mann, *Texts and studies in Jewish History and Literature*, 2 vols.

7. Similarly, note must be taken of oral tradition still alive to this day among the Moslem population, especially in the south of Palestine, which points to many places having been Jewish settlements at the time of the Moslem conquest. See Alt, *Aus der Araba*, *passim*. A short summary of these traditions is given by I. Ben Zevie, *The Remnants of Jewish Population in Edom (Heb.)*. *JPES*, IV, 4, pp. 98 foll. Some of these places are marked on the attached map of Jewish settlements in the Moslem- Arab period.

8. Ms. Camb., T. S. Arabic Box 6 (1); "Sefer ha'Yishuv" II, pp. 17,18.

9. During the period of exclusion from Jerusalem, Tiberias became the goal of Jewish pilgrimage from the north. See the testimony of the Caraites Sahl ibn Masliah (Mann, I, p. 43) and in *JQR* N.S. XII (p. 514; "Sefer ha'Yishuv" II, p. 9).

10. L. A. Meyer in *ZDPV* 1930, s. 228.

11. Under the Crusaders this quarter was called "Juiverie" (*La civéz de Jerusalem in PPTS*) but the few Jews to be found at that time in Jerusalem lived in the vicinity of the citadel and only the topographical appellation remained from the preceding (i.e. Early Arab) period.

12. The Jewish inhabitants of the place are mentioned by Arab geographers and historians, beginning with Istakhri; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 4.

13. Several letters from the community of Hebron to personalities in Fustat have been preserved in the *Geniza*. All have been edited in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II* pp 6 foll. The history of the Jewish synagogue built at the entrance to the Machpela Cave was known even at the time of the Latin Kingdom. *Canonici Hebronensia Tractatus de Inventione Patriarcharum, Rec. des Hist. d. Croisades (Hist. Occid.)* V, p. 309.

14. People bearing the cognomen el-Arishi are referred to in the *Geniza*. MS Cambridge T.S. & J. 20 12 and from a Caraites chronicle, *JQR* IX p. 333; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p 50.

15. From Rafiah. Erroneously identified in the Middle Ages with the Biblical Hasor come two letters asking for a favour from the community in Fustat. *AHUC* III, p. 278; Mann, II, p. 199.

16. Gaza in the south, like Tiberias in the north, became the destination of Jewish pilgrimage in the Byzantine period. Letters from Gaza to Fustat in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 48.
17. The Jewish community here existed until the advent of the Crusaders in 1153. Members of the community were in close contact with those in Fustat; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 4. The Jews are also mentioned in connection with the destruction of a Christian Church in A.D. 932; Yahia ibn Said, p. 719.
18. The building of a new synagogue, despite the Moslem interdiction and a petition for intervention by the Cairo Government, is described in an Arabic letter in Hebrew characters, as customary ; edited by S. Assaf, *Memorial Book* for Prof. Gulak and Prof. Klein, pp. 15-18 (*Sefer ha'Yishuv II* p. 7).
19. Testimony of the Arab historian al-Waqdi (quoted by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 271) *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 47.
20. The large community in Ramle is well known from the Geniza correspondence (now made available through the material edited in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*. pp. 56 foll.) and from Arab historians such as Ibn Khalikan and Ibn al Kalansi (edited *ibid.*). The story of the community is told by B. Segal, *The Jewish Community in Ramle*, *Zion Review II*, (Heb.).
21. *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 64.
22. Geniza correspondence; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 15.
23. El - Biladhuri, ed. *de Goeje*, p. 41; Yaqut, vol. IV, p. 214 and others; *Sefer ha'Yishuv*, II, pp. 54 foll.
24. Known from the Geniza correspondence (*Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 9) and the famous Jewish defence of the city; Albertus Aquensis, VII, 22-25.
25. Known from the Geniza letters (*Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, pp. 49 foll). A site venerated by the members of all three religions is mentioned by Yakut, vol. III, p. 758.
26. El-Bakhri, ed. Wuestenfeld, p. 609; J. Mann, II, p. 357.
27. A short resumé of the history of the Jews in Tiberias at this period is given by Professors Meyer and Assaf in the Preface to *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. XXII. The Geniza documents, Christian evidence (e. g. Vita S. Willibaldi, ed. *Tobler Descriptiones T. S.*, p. 26) and Moslem testimonies (e.g. Masudi, ed. de Goeje, p. 113) are collected in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, pp. 9-15).
28. All testimonies collected in *Sefer ha'Yishuv*, s. v. 28a. Burchardus of Mount Zion, writing at the end of the XIIIth century, mentions that the Jewish Synagogue at Nazareth became a church (ed. Laurent, p. 47) which might have happened at the Crusaders' conquest in 1099-1100. As late as 1030 the Arab Dimashki mentions Jews at Nazareth. It is possible that he took his notice from an earlier Arab source.
29. Letters from the Geniza; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, pp. 51 foll.
30. A short history of the Jews in Banyas by S. Kook, *The Jews in Dan* (Heb.). On the Messianic

Movement in Banyas J. Mann, *The Messianic Movement During the Crusades* (Heb.), *ha Tequfa*, XXIII- XXIV.

31. Arabic testimonies by Wakdi. Ibn Saad, Ibn-el-Athir, collected in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, pp. 1- 4.

32. *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, s.v. and S. Klein, *The Jewish Transjordan* (Heb.).

33. Baeker, *Islam-Studien*, passim.

34. Material on the constant Jewish immigration into Palestine is collected in *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, preface, pp. XXV-XXIX. See the memorandum on Jewish immigration into Palestine.

35. This aspect of Jewish politico-religious life is described and explained by J. Mann, I. A short resumé is given in the Preface to *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, pp. XXXV-LV. The sources have been collected *ibid.*, pp. 69-115.

36. Porges in *R.E.J.* XXIII, p. 310.

37. Caraites exegetes of the Bible, Yeshua b. Yehuda; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 67.

38. El-Mukqdasi, p. 167, also quoted by Vakut. IV, p. 569; *Sefer ha'Yishuv II*, p. 23.

Footnotes – 3rd Set

1. At this period, Palestine became the centre of European and Near-Eastern history. We content ourselves with indicating a few books depicting the social backgrounds of Crusader society (including the status and position of Jews): H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte d. Kreuzzuege*; E. de Rey, *Les colonies franques an Syrie aux XII et XIII siècles*; Lammens, *La Syrie*; Idem, *Al Sham*, *Encyc of Islam*.

2. J. Mann, *The Messianic Movement at the time of the Crusades* (Heb.), *ha'Tequfa*, XXIII-XXIV.

3. B. Dinaburg, *The History of the Jews in Palestine during the first Crusade* (Heb.) *Zion Review II*.

4. Anna Comnena. 1.IX (*Rec. d. Hist. d. Croisades; Hist. Crecs*, I. p. 387). Baldricus Dolensis, *Rec. d. Hist. d. Croisades* (His. Occid.) IV, 103 p.: Gilo Parisiensis, *ibid.* V. p. 294.

5. Albertus Aquensis, VII, 42 (*Rec. His. Occid.*, III, p. 521).

6. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, passim.

7. A Jewish Apocalypse at the end of the XIIth century (*Tefillat Rashbi*, ed. S. Kaufman, *Midrashei Geula*) prophesied post factum that those fleeing to Galilee would escape the slaughter.

8. The communities of Tyre, Tiberias, Ascalon and Ramle are mentioned among the larger in the country by the famous Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (Engl. transl. by E. N. Adler).

9. Wilhelmus Tyrensis. IX. 27; Achard d' Arrouaise, *Arch. de l'Orient Latin I*, p. 567 v. 408- 410.

10. Wil. Tyr., XII, 15.
11. Benjamin of Tudela found four Jewish families here.
12. The list of places refers to the end of the XIIth century and beginning of the XIIIth (when Galilee was virtually in the hands of the Ayyubide dynasty). Our sources, apart from Benjamin of Tudela (ca. 1170) are Petahia of Regensburg (ca. 1180); Samuel b. Simon (1210); Menahem of Hebron (*Ham'amer III*), Yacob b. Nathanel (ed. Grünhut), Jacob the messenger of Yehiel of Paris. Almost all sources are translated into English by E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*. Supplementary data in *Geniza* documents, Mann, II p. 204; S. Klein, **Jewish Transjordan** (Heb.) **ha'Tor** 1929.
13. See note 1. The Jews are mentioned in the law books of the period as on a footing with non Catholic Christians, Samaritans and Moslems. E. g. Jean d' I'belin (ed. Beugnot, Lois I), Cap. LX, LXXI, CXIV; *Ass, d. Cour d. Bourgeois*, ed. Beugnot, Lois II, p. 171
14. Wil. Tyr., XVIII, 34.
15. Jacobus de Vitriaco (ed. Bangars), cap. LXXXI.
16. The sources have been collected in Prawer's article 'Jews in Jerusalem in the Latin Kingdom of the Crusaders', *Zion* XI.
17. Voyages of Benjamin of Tudela.
18. See the legal correspondence of Maimonides *She'eloth U'Teshuvoth ha'Rambam* ed. by Freimann.
19. See R. Roehricht, *Regesta Reg. Hierosol.*, No. 1399; 1435.
20. Rambam's Responsa para 36 and 124.
21. Al-Harizi, who visited the country in 1216, describes the factual abolition of the Crusaders' prohibition; *Tahkemoni*, cap. XXVIII.
22. Mann, II. pp. 313-314, I, p. 423; p. 257.
23. See note 21.
24. See the memorandum on Jewish immigration into Palestine.
25. See his Letters from Jerusalem, edited by A. Yaari, *Iggeroth Eretz-Israel*.
26. The data from the rabbinical literature of the period are collect in J. Zimmels, *Eretz Israel in der Responsenliteratur des Mittelalters*, *Monat. f. Gesch. u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums* 1930.
27. See note 24.
28. Quoted in the collection of material and document by B. Dinaburg, *The Jews in their Homeland and in the Diaspora* vol. II, I.
29. On this debate see Strauss, *The Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks*, V. (Heb.).

Footnotes – 4th Set

1. For general bibliography see not 1 Early Arab period. M. Assaf, *History of the Arabs in Palestine II* (Heb.). The sources for this period are mostly descriptions of Palestine by Christian pilgrims and Jewish settlers. The Jewish accounts have recently been edited by A. Yaari, *Palestine Travels by Jewish pilgrims from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Hibat-Zion movement* (Heb.). Our quotations are from this collection. The letters from Palestinian settlers and pilgrims are also edited in *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*. Some of the travels have been translated into English in E. N. Adler's *Jewish Travellers*.
2. These data have been collected from J. de Haas, *History of Palestine for the last two Thousand Years*, chapter XV.
3. S. Lane Poole, *The Story of Turkey*, p. 52.
4. On the official attitude of the Mamluk towards the Jews see L. A. Mayer in the "Jubilee book in honour of J. L. Magnes", p. 161, 167.
5. Lammens, *La Syrie*, Chap. XII; Idem, *Al Sham, Encyc. of Islam*.
6. *Passim* in all history books dealing with the period. A special research by A. Strauss, *The History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks* (Heb.); e. g. Ludolphus de Sundheim in *Arch. de l'Orient Latin*, II, B. *De Sectis*.
7. Godefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamelouks*.
8. Ludolphus de Sundheim, *Arch. Or. Lat., II, B.*, p. 340.
9. Material from rabbinical literature is collected in J. Zimmels, *Eretz-Israel in der Responsenliteratur des Mittelalters. Monat. f. Gesch. u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums* 1930.
10. Anonymous pupil of the famous Nahmanides, ed. Yaari.
11. A Franco-Jewish scholar Caspi writing at the beginning of the XIVth century, quoted in Dinaburg. *The Jews in their Homeland and the Diaspora II*, 1.
12. *Eshtori Hafarhi*, ed. A. Yaari, p. 100.
13. John de Maundeville, English translation by Th. Wright (Bohn's Library), p. 183.
14. Note 11, S. Kl'ein, *Jewish Transjordan* (Heb.).
15. See memorandum on Jewish immigration into Palestine.
16. This edict was issued as a repressive measure against Jewish efforts to buy the so-called Tomb of King David on Mt. Zion. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden VIII*, Appendix 6, pp. 437 foll.
17. Note 8.
18. J. De Haas, **op. cit.**, p. 307.
19. The story is told by Mujir ed-Din and others. See the historical and topographical

explanations of Luncz in *Hameammer III*, p. 63; Idem, *Jeruschalaim II*, p. 3. The Jewish quarter is described several times; e. g., Jacob de Verona (1335), *Rev. de l'Orient Latin III*, p. 206; Stefan v. Gumpenberg (1449, p. 461; Fabri, *Evagatorium* (1480), II, p. 205.

20. See note 16.

21. Izhaq b. Meir Latif (1480-1485), ed. Yaari, *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*.

22. Almost all Jewish immigrants or pilgrims describe the Jews of Jerusalem at the end of the XVth century.

23. Anselmi *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Canisius, IV, 781; *Hamisha Kuntresim le'Nahman Korovil*, p. 111; Obadia de Bartinora ed. Yaari, *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*.

24. Mujir ed-Din, p. 425.

25. Ludolphus de Sundheim, ed. Deyecks p. 70.

26. Seigneur d'Anglure, ed. Bourendot, p. 43 (on Samaritans): Fabri, *Reyssbuch* (ed. 1609). p. 291.

27. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, I, p. 218.

28. On Acre see note 8. On Julis-Neubauer, *CB*, No. 1519.

29. Anonymous pupil of O. de Bartinora, ed. Yaari, *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*.

30. Joseph da Montagna (1481); Obadia de Bartinora (1488-1490); Anonymous pupil of Bartinora (1495); Ed. Yaari, *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*.

31. The erection of the Crusaders' castle at Safed was accompanied by the destruction of a Jewish synagogue and a Moslem mosque; Benedictus de Alignano, *De constructione castris Saphet*. ed. Golubovich, *Bibl. Biblo-bibliographica T. S.*, vol. I, pp. 249 fol. Ludolphus de Sundheim, ed. Deyecks, p. 97.

32. The letter of **Izhaq Zarfatti**, ed. Jellinek (Kuntres le'gzeirat 1096), p. 14; Rosan, *History of the Jews in Turkey* (Heb.), p. 16.

33. This would appear to be the largest rural settlement in the eighties of the XVth century. "The Anonymous" of Crete (1473) ed. Yaari, p. 112 cites eighty Jewish households or some 400-500 souls. The Jewish inhabitants are mentioned by Joseph da Montagna (1481), Obadia de Bartinora (1488-1490) and his anonymous pupil (1495).

34. Kfar Hanania (K. Anan) mentioned by Bassola for the year 1522 (ed. Ben-Zevie. p. 70); Ein Zeitim (Ein Zeitun), Alma, Kfar Yasif-R. Gottheil and H. Worrel, *Fragments from the Geniza*, p. 258

Footnotes – 5th Set

1. I. BEN-ZEVIE, Library of Palestinology, Jerusalem, 1939. *A Pilgrimage to Palestine by Rabbi Moshe Bassola of Ancona*, (Hebrew).

2. I. BEN-ZEVIE, "Sinai", 1939, also 1940, Jerusalem. *Muste' arabim in Palestine* (Hebrew).
3. I. BEN-ZEVIE, Vol. X, No. 4. *The Jewish Fortress of the XVIth Century* (Hebrew) JPES.
4. *Quarterly of the Dep. of Antiquities in Palestine* vols. VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, etc. *Evlia Cheleby's Travels in Palestine* (from the Turkish) in 1649 & 1670.
5. S. GINZBURG, pp. 163 I, (Hebrew) Tel-Aviv, 1937. *R. Moshe Hayim Lutzato's Letters*.
6. H. C. LUKE, "Jerusalem 1920-22". *A Pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem* (ab. 1560).
7. A. YAARY. *Iggeroth Eretz Israel*, p. 188.
8. J. BRASLAWSKI, "Zion" V. (1940). *Jewish Settlement in Tiberias by Don Joseph Nasi*.
9. Prof. N. SLOUCH. *Annual of the JPES in memory of Dr. A. Mazieh* (1934). *The Population of Palestine and Syria in the 16th Century*, (Hebrew).
10. R. ISSACHAR B. SUSAN, XVIth century. *Tiqun Issachar, Rites and rules for Fixing the Jewish Calender* (Hebrew).
11. I. BEN-ZEVIE. *"The Book of the Samaritans"*, (Hebrew), p. 122.
12. I. BEN-ZEVIE. as above, p. 70, 73.
13. A. YAARI Tel-Aviv, 1943. *Iggeroth Eretz Israel* (Hebrew).
14. Eug. ROGER, Paris, 1664. *La Terre Sainte*.
15. E. RIVLIN, Jerusalem, 1928. *Hurvoth Jerushalayim*.
16. Z. RUBASHOW. *Shaalul Shelom Yerushalayim*.
17. MALKHI, edited by E. Rivlin. *"Likutim"*, (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1923.
18. *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, New York, 1902.
19. R. MOSHE HAGIZ, pp. 49-5. *Sephath Emeth*.
20. U. HAIT, Jerusalem, 1942. *Daher El Omar* (Hebrew). R. YAACOB BERAV, Livorno, 1820. *Zimrath Haaretz*.
21. I. BEN-ZEVIE, Tel-Aviv, 1936. *Shear Yishuv, I*.
22. *Eduth Biyehosef*, Jerusalem, 1933.
23. BURCKHARDT, 1822, pp. 78,80. *Travels in Syria etc*. R. JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, Jerusalem, 1900. *Tebuoth Haaretz*.
24. A. KAHANA, Warsaw, 1922. *Sefer ha' Hasiduth*.
25. F. KOBLER, "The New Judaea", September, October, November, 1904. *Napoleon and the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Discovery of an Historic Document*.

27. E. T. RODGERS, London, 1855. *Notices of the Modern Samaritans*. S. N. SPYRIDON, Jerusalem, 1938. *Annals of Palestine, 1821-41*. MARY ROGERS, (French translation - Paris 1865). *Domestic Life in Palestine*. Lady MONTEFIORE, London, 1885. *Notes from a Private Journal*.

28. I. BEN-ZEVIE, The Yishuv in the XIX Century. *Mosnaim, Elul 5706*. Dr. E. LEVI, "DVIR", Warsaw, 1883. *Memoirs* (Hebrew). Sir LAURENCE OLIPHANT, London, 1880. *The Land of Gilead*. R. H. D. HURWITZ, Jerusalem, 1844. *Hibath Yerushalayim* (Hebrew). R. JOSEPH SCHWARZ, Jerusalem, 1900. *Tebouth Haaretz* (Hebrew).

29. E. T. RODGERS, London, 1855. *Notices of the Modern Samaritans*.

30. YERUSHALAIMA (Hebrew), Vienna, 1860. Dr. L. FRAENKEL, Leipzig, 1858. *Nach Jerusalem* (German) II.

31. Lady MONTEFIORE, London 1885. *Notes from a Private Journal*.