

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix

Acknowledgments xi

Note on Translation and Transliteration xiii

Introduction	1
PART I. SHARED HOMELAND: LATE OTTOMAN PALESTINE, 1882–1917	17
1 Ambivalent Encounters: Jews and Arabs in Late Ottoman Palestine	23
2 Writing the Landscape, Writing the Homeland	61
3 Constructing Jewish Indigeneity through Arabic Language and Literature	95
PART II. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL HOME IN MANDATE PALESTINE, 1917–48	139
4 The Ethnonationalization of the Palestine Landscape	147
5 The Hebrew Construction of an Arabo-Islamic Literary Past	183
Conclusion	225
<i>Notes</i>	247
<i>References</i>	297
<i>Index</i>	319

Introduction

THIS BOOK EXAMINES how Arabic and Islamic culture was used to advance Zionist ideals in late-nineteenth- and mid-twentieth-century Palestine through the activities of a group of culturally influential and ethnically diverse Jewish intellectuals. While Arabic and Islamic culture includes Palestinian culture and ways of life, it also encompasses constituents shared by other adjacent Arab communities. Like the identities of people in many other Arab contexts in the modern era, Palestinian identity is complex due to its intricate connections with broad and influential transnational identities, particularly Arabism and Islam.¹ Some members of this group were Palestine-born Jews who grew up in mixed cities like Jerusalem, Haifa, and Jaffa, and acquired knowledge of Arabic through their daily contact with Palestinian Arabs as well as in educational settings, studying with local Arab or Jewish teachers. They were either Sephardi, or of hybrid Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin, such as David Yellin, Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Isaac Yahuda, Eliyahu Sapir, or of only Ashkenazi descent, like Israel Horowitz and Yosef Yo'el Rivlin. Other members of this cohort included Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants who were born in eastern Europe and settled in late Ottoman and British Palestine, such as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda as well as the Bilu members Israel Belkind and Menasche Meirovitch.

In scrutinizing Hebrew Orientalism, I diverge from two dominant methodologies: the ideological critique of Orientalism as presented by the scholar and literary critic Edward Said, and the defense of Orientalist studies, practices, and activities based on their contributions to scientific progress or national enterprise. In examining practices of Hebrew writers in this book, I refer to the actual activities, methods, and routines of Jewish individuals who engaged in the formal or informal pursuit of Arabo-Islamic culture and language in Palestine long before the opening of the School of Oriental Studies (*ha-makhon le-limude ha-mizrah*) at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1926, and mainly functioned outside this academic institution. This approach is contrasted with investigating the Hebrew perception of Islam and the Arab, which would focus more narrowly on how Hebrew writers conceptualized and portrayed Islam, Arab culture, and

the Arab. Instead, I advocate for a detailed exploration of the day-to-day work as well as scholarly and quasi-scholarly practices of those Jewish individuals in their cultural and social environments.

The justification for the above-mentioned “third way” or alternative method lies in its ability to bypass the dichotomy inherent in either purely ideological critiques or defenses of Orientalism’s scientific merits.² By concentrating on the tangible practices—such as learning languages, translating texts, producing scholarship, and engaging in fieldwork—I aim to uncover the nuanced realities of how Hebrew Orientalism functioned in the context of the creation of Hebrew culture and the advancement of Zionist aspirations in Palestine. This includes understanding the motivations, ambitions, and prejudices of the scholars as well as the broader institutional and cultural contexts in which they operated.

I believe that recognizing and analyzing these practices can shed light on the complexities and contradictions within the field of Hebrew Orientalism. It allows for a critical history that acknowledges the contributions while also being mindful of the power dynamics and prejudices embedded in the discipline. This approach seeks to provide a more balanced understanding that informs contemporary discussions on postcolonialism, settler colonialism, and global history, highlighting how past scholarly practices have shaped and prepared the ground for current academic and ideological trends.

This book explores the complexities and nuances of the engagement with Arabo-Islamic culture in the formative period of modern Hebrew culture through the knowledge-making practices of this cohort of Jewish writers who were widely recognized as authorities on the religious, cultural, and historical significance of Arabic and Islamic culture. Their works were instrumental in the indigenization of Jewish settlers by virtue of bolstering and reinvigorating Jewish ties to their perceived ancestral homeland, excavating the place of Jews in the literary and historic legacy of the Orient, while promoting the return to origins and adopting Orientalist attitudes.

The shared experience of living in the Ottoman homeland encouraged Jews and Arabs to seek common ground rather than focus on differences. One of the main foundations for common ground was Islamicate civilization: a culture to which Muslims, Christians, and Jews contributed. Interconfessional relations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims from late Ottoman Palestine until World War I fostered a sense of Ottoman fellowship that created by and contributed to an ecumenical framework in which these various communities could retain their distinctiveness, while making possible a bridge between all parties. Although Orientalism informed Hebrew works on Arabo-Islamic culture in the Ottoman era, and guided their settler colonial practices and activities, as the political landscape shifted into the British Mandate period, the Jewish settler community, centered on its project of national reclamation along with elevating and advancing Jewish

indigeneity in Palestine, amplified Orientalist views about Palestinian Arabs that both reified differences and denigrated their Palestinian neighbors.

Hebrew writers' knowledge of Arabic and Islam was instrumental in advancing the Zionist project as a settler colonial enterprise, and reconciling Zionism with Ottoman citizenship. This book explores the sorts of knowledge of Arabic and Islam that were vital to their evolving perception of their own heritage in relation to the long Arabo-Islamic history of the region. The transmission of Islamic culture—through language, literature, religion, and knowledge of the natural world—into the modern Hebrew culture taking shape in Palestine was made possible through the practices and activities of the aforementioned Jewish intellectuals.

The British conquest of Palestine brought about drastic changes in the relative political and social status of Sephardi and Oriental Jews as well as Ashkenazi Jewish communities. With the termination of the Ottoman state, Sephardi and Oriental Jews lost the superior status granted to them by the Ottoman authorities, with the power balance now tipped in favor of Ashkenazi Zionists, whose hegemonic leadership marginalized the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish communities. The latter adapted to this new reality by continuing to play their historical role as mediators between Ashkenazi Zionists and Arabs, while demonstrating their loyalty to the Zionist movement and commitment to solving “the Arab question”—a notion that emerged only after the decline of the Ottoman state and loss of Arabs' hope for a unified independent Arab state.³ While other studies have explicated the mediatory role played by Sephardi and Oriental Jews in building bridges between Jews and Arabs on the political, sociocultural, and security levels, this book concentrates on the intellectual history of the period, arguing that these mediatory agents also contributed to shaping the emergent Jewish culture by adopting and adapting elements from Arabo-Islamic culture.⁴ This book shines light on the dual role a group of Sephardi and Oriental as well as some Ashkenazi Jews played in connecting Jews to the cultural sphere of the East, on the one hand, while expressing their commitment to the Zionist movement, on the other.

The Sephardi and Oriental Hebrew authors examined in the pages that follow present several unique problems regarding their position in British Palestine, ranging from Zionism to the native Palestinian Arab population. As supporters of the Jewish national home enterprise pledged in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, they ultimately went from being natives to be seen by their Palestinian Arab fellows as settler colonists in their own land, as it will be explored further in chapters 4 and 5. Their knowledge production likewise went from advocating coexistence with Arabs to stigmatizing the native Palestinian Arabs in service of Jewish nationalism. In other words, their participation in the production and dissemination of Hebrew Orientalism caused the instability of their own indigeneity, and placed them into the settler category in British Palestine. This book

4 INTRODUCTION

identifies specific patterns of thought that the authors employed to craft social spaces circumventing the rigid colonial dichotomy, thereby enabling them to maintain a native identity.⁵ At some point, these patterns of thought necessitated that they align with the colonial dichotomy of native versus settler—an alignment that ultimately disempowered the Palestinian Arab population. The book posits that their adoption of Orientalist practices played a role in reinforcing their perceived settler colonial identity during the Mandate era when Palestinian Arabs sought the revocation of the imperial British pledge and the invitation of native Jews to join their national movement in seeking independence from the British. It considers the possibility that native Jews adopted Orientalist expressions and styles in their writings to make their discourse more palatable to their European-oriented Jewish audience, which had already internalized Orientalist ideas. By distributing negative representations of the land and its people, they sought acceptance among Zionist European Jews, reinforcing rather than challenging stereotypes, and therefore solidifying the Jewish community's distinctiveness in contrast to Arabs.

The Jewish discourse on Arabo-Islamic culture in Palestine revolved around Palestine's territory and encompassed contradictory attitudes ranging from reconciliation to instrumentalization, from romanticization to denigration, and centered around subjects such as *yedi'at ha-arets* (knowledge of the land), the Hebrew Bible, the creation of the "New Jew," and the revival of modern Hebrew. All figures featured within the book came of age in the Ottoman era, and continued to write and influence during the Mandate period, drawing on their Ottoman experiences to advocate for their belonging, nativity, and a Jewish national homeland under British rule while counteracting Palestinian nationalist aspirations.

In what follows, the relational history between Jews and Arabs in Palestine is refocused away from aggressors and victims, toward settlers and natives where settlers sought self-indigenization influenced by Orientalization. The settler's main interest is in territory—a desire for land that propelled and guided the appropriation of Arabo-Islamic knowledge to enhance the settlers' connection to the land even as it advanced their claims to long-standing ties to it. This analytic framework reveals the depth of the Hebrew scholarship and investment in Arabo-Islamic culture in a way that challenges the conventional impression that Hebrew scholars in Palestine were dismissive of as well as uninterested in Arabo-Islamic culture. Thus the book charts the growth of Hebrew works drawing on Arabo-Islamic materials (textual and oral) paralleled by the evolution of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, beginning with the early influx of a small group of Jewish settlers committed to residing there and leading up to the establishment of a Jewish state within the boundaries of historical Palestine. The book looks at the ways in which Arabo-Islamic knowledge practices by Hebrew

scholars and educators helped in the advancement of belonging in the land of Palestine, creation of the New Jew, and production of distinct understanding of the Hebrew Bible within the national context taking place in the East, and built familiarity with and othering from the Arab. This discussion moves beyond native Palestinian Hebrew writers to include Ashkenazi Hebrew writers who were no less interested in the cultural currents of their place and time.

The life and work of Yellin (1864–1941) provide a uniquely opportune vantage point from which to investigate the influence of Arabo-Islamic thought on the Jewish culture evolving during the formative years of both the Zionist and Palestinian national movements. As a central figure whose life and activities spanned the period from the late Ottoman Empire to British Palestine and witnessed various forms of Jewish-Arab relations (from amity to discord and tension to enmity), Yellin epitomized the intersection of Jewish renewal centered on Zionism with the broader cultural, political, and social landscapes shaped by centuries of Arabo-Islamic presence in the region. His hybrid identity—his mother was an Iraqi Jewess, and his father was born in Jerusalem to a Jewish Polish immigrant—enabled him to mediate between Arabs and Ashkenazi Jews.⁶ Yellin's promotion of Zionism and engagement with Arabo-Islamic culture rendered him the perfect tour guide through the intellectual and sociopolitical complexities that emerged during the period in question.

In a speech delivered to the Twelfth Zionist Congress in September 1921 in Czechoslovakia—an event held in the shadow of the May 1921 riots in Jaffa that led to dozens of deaths in both Jewish and Palestinian communities—Yellin commemorated the Jewish victims of the riots in Jaffa earlier that year by citing the following lines from “To Zion” by eleventh-century Jewish poet Yehuda Halevi (1075–1141): “When I weep about your sorrow, I turn into a wolf / when I dream of you, freed / I became a harp that accompanies your song.”⁷ Although Yellin's speech, with its medieval poetic reference, was met with favor by the assembled delegates, it was vehemently criticized by members of the Muslim-Christian Association (Al-Jam'iyya al-'Islāmiyya al-Masīhiyya) (MCA), founded in 1918 in opposition to the Balfour Declaration and Zionist movement. For MCA members, Yellin's remarks were seen as evidence of his intent to incite Jews against Arabs for nationalist objectives. Indeed, MCA members claimed that the speech led to further clashes between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem on the fourth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, on November 2, 1921.⁸

In response to the MCA public statement, Yellin sent an Arabic translation of his speech along with a letter to the editor in chief of *al-Ṣabāḥ*, then the organ of the Arab Executive Committee.⁹ In his letter, Yellin complained that the MCA

had taken his quotations from Halevi's famous poem "Zion" out of context. As he wrote at the end of this letter,

For my entire life, I have been a lover of the Arab people (*ohev ha'am ha-'aravi*), occupied with learning their language, reading their literature, and always encouraging my people to study it. It would not be an idle boast on my part to say that most Arab leaders in our land recognize me, thank God, as a man who at all times loves peace (*ohev shalom*). [This is the way of all Zionists ever since the appearance of this movement until today.] They are the same people who elected me before the Great War as a delegate in the Provincial Council (*Majlis 'Umūmī*) of the land of Israel.¹⁰

To counter the MCA's depiction of him as a provocateur who incites violence between Jews and Arabs, Yellin portrays himself as a cultural intermediary with longstanding affection toward Arabic language and culture, and someone who encourages other Jews to likewise learn the language and acquaint themselves with the culture.

At the same time and in the same letter, Yellin makes a crucial distinction between contemporary Arabs and Arabs of the past, noting that "there is difference between Arabs and Arabs." Yellin rejected the claims of Palestinian nationalists to continuity with the legacy of Saladin (ca. 1137–93), the Muslim leader who reconquered Jerusalem from the medieval Crusaders.¹¹ Yellin argued that contemporary Arab nationalists' opposition to mass Jewish immigration and land purchases severed their link to the more welcoming spirit of their Arab forebears. He criticized the nationalists for allegedly straying from the inclusive legacy of figures such as Ḥātim al-Tā'ī, celebrated for his generosity, and Saladin, who welcomed Jews back to Jerusalem following his triumph over the Crusaders. While Yellin appears to show respect for Arabs through the advocacy of learning their language and culture, he seems inclined to appreciate the cultural dimension of the native Arab population without heeding the invocation of past Arab and Muslim figures for the assertion of political aspirations. Even though Yellin's interest in Arab culture may seem positive, studying the language and literature of a people without engaging with their political aspirations or social realities reflects a superficial commitment to their identity. The Arabic culture that Yellin praised, appropriated, and borrowed from, in other words, was not to be found among the Arab inhabitants of the Palestine of his day. He found it, rather, in the cultural production of the pre-Islamic and medieval historical periods as well as preserved in the physical landscape of Palestine.

Yellin's professed love of Arabic language and literature, and premodern Arab rulers, combined with his refusal to recognize contemporary Arabs as social and political actors worthy of respect, is characteristic of other members of the aforementioned cohort of Jewish writers and intellectuals.

These Jewish writers interacted with and transformed an imagined and re-claimed Orient located largely in the past, and preserved, frozen, into the present in the character and customs of Arab peasants and Bedouins. This view aligns with the prevailing Orientalist framework through which earlier Jewish settlers regarded Arab inhabitants of rural settlements as “primitive, dirty, noisy, and chaotic.”¹²

Zionist settlers drew on local cultural components that facilitated their indigenization into the region, while maintaining aspects from their home culture to preserve their Europeaness. Examples of this cultural selection include the adoption of certain foods and clothing styles from the Bedouins and fellahin (local Arab peasants) by the early Zionist pioneers during the First and Second Aliyah. The *Ha-shomer* (Watchmen’s Association), a defense organization responsible for guarding Jewish settlements, for instance, donned keffiyeh and agal as their uniform. These adoptions, however, were not simply straightforward borrowings from neighboring cultures; they were complex reinterpretations filtered through existing models and stereotypes of the “Orient.” The settlers’ perspective was influenced by nineteenth-century Romantic views and contemporary portrayals, which often linked Bedouin attire to the biblical ancestors of the Jewish people. This reshaping of reality allowed the settlers to create positive connections with the cultural items they embraced. Despite this, the local Palestinian Arab populations—the Bedouins and fellahin not Arab city dwellers—were perceived ambivalently. On the one hand, they were viewed as noble and heroic individuals deeply connected to the land, and on the other, as primitive and culturally backward. The settlers’ assimilation of Arab culture was akin to translating the new reality into an old, familiar Eastern European cultural framework. This was done by mapping familiar archetypes onto the new context: the Bedouin replaced the Cossack figure, and the fellah the Ukrainian peasant. Symbolically, the keffiyeh replaced the rough Cossack chokha, and local Hebrew songs that are based on Arabic tunes such as “Yafim halelot Bicen’an” (How beautiful are the nights of Canaan) took the place of Eastern European folk tunes. This cultural adaptation allowed the settlers to understand and incorporate the new experiences into their existing worldview while building a distinct Jewish cultural identity in Palestine.¹³

In their encounters with Palestine’s landscape, Hebrew writers drew on their own firsthand experience with the land, Arabs’ individual and collective experience of the land, and textual representations of the land produced by medieval Arab geographers and botanists. Hebrew texts on Palestine’s landscape and Arab culture reflect the flow of ideas and views from the Arabo-Islamic to the Jewish realm, and back again, with transformations along the way. These writings do not reflect a purely Jewish experience of Palestine but rather a hybrid experience that has absorbed Arabo-Islamic knowledge in the construction of Jewish indigeneity

through the connection to the natural and human landscape. These works enrich our understanding of how this knowledge was used by both Jewish and Arab intellectuals in the construction of their selfhood within a society whose nature and structure were highly fluid.

Some of the thinkers we will consider held attitudes that profoundly linked Jews and Arabs into one race (the semitic race), acknowledging that they shared not only the land of Palestine but also key parts of biblical scripture, cultural values, language, and histories. It is too simplistic to claim that they always thought of themselves as a united group over and against “the Arab other.” In some contexts, they rendered Arabs as others, and in other circumstances as kin, though notably “cousins” in need of tutelage, according to Jewish Palestinian journalist and translator Nissim Malūl (1892–1959).¹⁴ With that in mind, one needs to appreciate the richness and complexity of Jewish relations to Arabo-Islamic culture through the lens of these Jewish scholars without imposing binary distinctions that distort our understanding of the complex social as well as cultural life of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish writers studied here.

The depth of Yellin’s scholarship and investment in Arab culture challenges the conventional impression that Jewish intellectuals of the Hebrew revival movement were incurious about Arabo-Islamic culture. Yellin and others not only demonstrated curiosity about Arabo-Islamic culture but also advocated for and promoted Arabic culture, language, and literature. Yellin’s involvement in the diffusion of Arabic culture is attested to by his translation of major Arabic literary works into Hebrew in addition to the incorporation of Arabo-Islamic cultural constituents into many of his writings, whether those on medieval Hebrew poetry or biblical interpretations.

Sephardi and Oriental Jews such as Yellin and his Jerusalemite contemporaries, as the historian of Sephardi and Oriental Jewish communities Yitshak Bezael has shown, were involved in Zionism from its infancy onward. Yet due to their familiarity with the physical and cultural landscape of Palestine, their notion of Zionism was importantly distinct from that held by their Ashkenazi counterparts.¹⁵ During the Ottoman period, they did not see a contradiction between supporting Zionism and belonging to the Orient. Sephardi and Oriental Jews’ affiliation with Zionism, as historian Michelle Campos has observed, did not impugn their Ottomanism.¹⁶ This view continued in British Palestine, and reverberated in Sephardi and Oriental Jews’ efforts to mediate between Arabs and Zionists, as has been recently shown by historians Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor in their study *Oriental Neighbors*, despite the tremendous pressures they faced from members of both national movements to pledge allegiance exclusively to one or the other.¹⁷

Yellin and his Jewish contemporaries were clearly following the major polemics and intellectual currents of their time and place, where ideas of

modernity and national identity swept al-Mashriq (Orient) in the aftermath of European encroachment, particularly the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798. The essential preoccupations of these Jewish figures resembled to a striking degree those of the Arab scholars of the *nahda* movement (Arab cultural renaissance). Christian and Muslim Arab members of *nahda* were deeply engaged in the construction of a modern selfhood that was in dialogue with the Arabo-Islamic past, as in the case of Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his work *Khuṭba fī adab al-ʿArab* (Discourse on Arab culture), published in Greater Syria, in which he provides a commentary on Arab culture past and present.¹⁸ Meanwhile, as these debates swept the intellectual spheres of the Middle East, Jewish intellectuals in Palestine appropriated aspects of the Arabic heritage to fulfill their own objectives in accordance with their own religious identity and political inclinations.

The reform movement (Tanzimat or reorganization) led by the Ottoman sultan in 1839, included the February 1856 issuance of the Hatt-i-Humayun (Noble Rescript), a decree that granted equal rights to non-Muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire. The imperial rescript eliminated all forms of discrimination based on language, religion, or race, with the goals of undermining nationalist separatist efforts, promoting loyalty to the sublime porte, and forging better connections between imperial subjects and their homeland.¹⁹ Three decades later, all subjects of the empire became Ottoman citizens, regardless of their religious identity. With the rise of Zionism in the late nineteenth century, some Jews became Ottoman citizens and Zionists simultaneously. The love of homeland promoted by the Ottoman authorities, which echoed a major Zionist principle regarding Jewish people's connection to their perceived ancestral land, encouraged Jewish intellectuals in Palestine to enhance their relationship with the surrounding landscape and promote Jewish immigration to it.

Jewish settlers in late Ottoman Palestine, in their efforts to establish a unique Jewish culture distinct from their diasporic origins, and especially from eastern European traditions, selectively adopted features from the local Arabo-Islamic culture and infused them with Zionist ideology. This created what Israeli culture scholar Itamar Even-Zohar has called an “alternative system” within their emerging culture. In their project to reject the cultural trappings of the Diaspora in favor of a newly constructed culture of the old-new homeland in Palestine, the origin of the adopted cultural constituents was secondary to their capacity to “fulfill new functions,” in Even-Zohar's framework.²⁰ Looking closely, one finds that this resonates with the notion of authenticity, not as a singling out of what is mine and nobody else's, but as that “which is original and pristine to us, stripped of all later accretions, and therefore ‘true,’ ‘genuine,’ and ‘real.’”²¹

Hebrew Orientalism

The “mediation practices” of the Hebrew writers examined in this book revolved around producing texts pertaining to the physical, linguistic, and human landscape of Palestine, and in particular the history, geography, and flora and fauna of the land, and at other times by providing Hebrew translations of Arabic sources treating Palestine’s physical, linguistic, and human landscape. This “textual attitude” to Palestine rendered the land open to Hebrew readers’ scrutiny, particularly those of European origins who were gazing at Palestine and aiming to settle in it. When Ashkenazi Jews planned to immigrate to Palestine, they built their imagination of the land and its people based on what they found in these Hebrew corpora.

If Orientalism is based on a stark distinction between West, as the subject, and East, as the object, this dichotomous model is not entirely applicable to the group of Hebrew authors explored here, considering the various ways in which they connected with the Orient. Hence in the assessment of these individuals’ Orientalism as representation or notion, we must go beyond simplistic dualism. As literary critic Homi Bhabha has insisted, the images that Easterners and Westerners have of themselves and one another, while ostensibly separating people into distinct categories, are inherently multivalent. Bhabha’s insight, as Harvey Goldberg has pointed out, provides “an appreciation of ‘hybridity’ as cultural creativity, transvaluing the perception of some cultural processes and thus adding a positive perspective missing from Said’s assessment.”²²

The usefulness of the notion of Orientalism in construing the ways in which Hebrew writers encountered Arabic and Islamic culture as well as mobilized it to a Hebrew-reading audience is complicated by these individuals’ entangled and enmeshed relationship to the Orient. The Jewish community in late Ottoman Palestine can be divided generally into two groups: Sephardim and Oriental Jews, on the one hand, and Ashkenazi Jews who had settled in Palestine since the eighteenth century, on the other. The presence of the latter intensified with the eruption of pogroms in eastern Europe and Russia coupled with the rise of Zionism along with calls to emigrate and settle in Palestine, identified by those settlers as their ancestral homeland. The Hebrew scholars examined in this book reflect the ethnic diversity of the Jewish community of Palestine. They were embedded in a diverse and intertwined relationship with the Orient through birth, immigration, affection, and learning, and with the West through origins, education, and exposure to acculturation to Western society.

“Eastern” or “Oriental” was the identifier that Sephardi and Oriental Jews chose for themselves. According to historians Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek Jonathan Penslar, “The [Western] Jews are identified, both by themselves and by the Western world, with the ancient Israelites who established themselves and

the monotheistic tradition, in the same ‘Oriental’ location. It is this latter identification with the Biblical lands that allowed Jews to be seen during the centuries as an ‘Oriental people,’ a perception challenged only in the twentieth century as the result of Jewish-Arab strife in the Middle East.”²³ For European Jews, identifying as Oriental and disseminating Orientalist knowledge about Islam in the West did not entail an identification with the colonizer. As historian John Efron explains,

For many central European scholars, among them Jews, orientalism was more than a system of domination. It could be genuinely celebratory and inspirational, as orientalism sometimes entailed a valorization of the Muslim Other. For Jews, such an exercise was often tantamount to a search for roots, for authenticity, and for oriental role models. Thus, rather than a straightforward means of asserting colonial, corporeal, and cultural authority, orientalism could be a profound expression of one’s own cultural anxiety and insecurity, one that could provoke deep-seated fears of inferiority. Such is a far cry from the overconfidence and feelings of cultural superiority that Said and his followers attribute to all orientalists.²⁴

In the following look at the Hebrew Orientalism that emerged in prestate Palestine, we discover how the Jewish communities’ relationship with the East differed from that with the West. Ashkenazi Hebrew Zionists recognized the centrality of the Arab figure and Arab culture in the construction of a Hebrew national culture in Palestine. In the process of transforming “the exilic Jew” into a New Jew, early Zionists were fascinated with the image of the Bedouin, Oriental city, and lifestyle of local peasants.²⁵

Settler Colonialism

A recent strain of scholarship in the field of Palestine-Israel studies has enriched our understanding of the evolution of the Zionist enterprise within the framework of a settler-native narrative.²⁶ Approaching the linkages between the two paradigms helps illuminate the distinctiveness of Hebrew Orientalism and its contribution to Jewish indigeneity as well as its impact on Indigenous Palestinians.

At the heart of “settler colonialism” lies the issue of territory, where “land is life,” in the words of English historian Patrick Wolfe.²⁷ Unlike other settlement movements that chose their target lands on the basis of their political, geographic, and economic availability, “Zion”—a name that denotes the promised land, which is Palestine in the Jewish religion—as Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimmerling has indicated, “was *a priori* the territory” where the Zionist movement found the political answer to an ethnic-religious minority that “could not be absorbed or

assimilated as a group within the so-called ‘host’ societal systems.”²⁸ In contrast to European colonial movements, historian Gershon Shafir has shown that Jewish settlers could not claim the land under the “right of discovery,” “right of conquest,” or “right of protectorate” since they lacked military power as well as governmental support to expropriate and transfer land in favor of their ancient claims. Thus to acquire the land, Jewish settlers and their philanthropists had to purchase it primarily from absentee landlords, not the Palestinian farmers who were cultivating it. Late Ottoman Palestine was not a tribal society but rather a sedentary agrarian community that was part of the Ottoman Empire. As Shafir indicates, the settlement pattern of the Palestinians made them vulnerable to outside penetration. Concentrated primarily in the hilly regions, they had only started expanding into the coastal zones and inland valleys a generation or two before the onset of Jewish immigration. These areas were already inhabited, and their populations opposed the Jewish settlement.²⁹

Jewish settlers aimed to, as historian and prominent scholar in the field of settler colonialism Lorenzo Veracini has argued, delegitimize the Indigenous population by asserting their inauthenticity. From a Zionist perspective, Palestinians could never be accorded the status of one of the “first nations” that inhabited the land.³⁰ The Zionist settlers’ project can thus be described as one of surpassing the native population in terms of authenticity and legitimacy.³¹ Settlers sought the replacement of Indigenous Palestinians in several ways: superseding Palestinian farmers in cultivating the land and ridiculing their cultivation techniques, replacing the Arab geographic imagination with a Hebrew map, and claiming to be more native than native Palestinians. Palestinian sociologist Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, in her study on Zionist settlements in Mandate Palestine, demonstrates how interactions between settlers and Palestinian cultivators led to a lasting structural change, with settlers replacing the farmers. This process of supersession did not always progress unhindered. She highlights, for example, the contingency of settler colonial practices, noting that the resistance of Palestinian farmers (fellahin) sometimes slowed down the eliminatory aspect of settler colonialism.³² Supersession could also mean reducing the Indigenous presence in favor of the exogenous settlement and replacing the former’s geography with that of the latter. In the wake of the 1948 war, for instance, Palestinian place-names were effaced and replaced with Hebrew toponymy.³³ The efforts of Hebrew writers who operated from both within and outside Zionist institutions to replace the Palestinian presence on the land by hebraizing the land’s map must be understood in the context of a project of replacing the existing natives with settlers who claimed to be the prototype native who, based on religious texts, had inhabited the land of Palestine a long time ago.

Recognizing settler colonialism’s enduring nature—its temporal quality—offers a valuable lens through which to examine the proliferation of Hebrew

Orientalism. This long-term perspective allows for a comprehensive evaluation of how Hebrew writers utilized their understanding of Arabic and Islamic culture over time, particularly as the Zionist project progressed in Palestine. By focusing on the evolving relationship between these writers and the local culture, insights can be gained into the changing dynamics of cultural integration and appropriation within the broader context of the Zionists' ongoing settlement activities.

In indigenizing themselves, European Jewish settlers mimicked the lifestyle of the native Palestinian population to emulate their biblical ancestors who had lived and toiled on this land millennia ago. Consequently, the categories of settler and native are not only socially constructed but also strongly contested in the Israeli-Palestinian context. In both the construction of Jewish settlers' indigeneity and the contestation of that of Palestinian Arabs, the Hebrew writers explored in this book resorted to Arabic and Islamic sources in seeking textual evidence to recuperate their nativity. For example, Hebrew writers disseminated narratives drawn from Arabic culture in which the Jewish presence is attested to, as in their Hebrew-language versions of *The Arabian Nights* and Arabic proverbs. Concurrently, Hebrew writers investigated the origins of the Palestinian Arabs, and produced narratives that sometimes indicated the commonalities between both people, and at times contested the indigeneity of the Palestinian Arabs, who for their part, vehemently opposed Zionist claims to the land and asserted their precedence as inhabitants.

This book investigates the positionality of Hebrew writers in the settler colonial context along three axes. The first is these writers' contribution to the indigenization of the settlers—that is, their project of turning European Jewish settlers into “natives.” The survivability of Jewish settlers in Palestine was contingent on instrumentalizing Arab culture and at the same time avoiding complete assimilation into it. Second, these writers promulgated histories and institutions that led to land possession for Jewish settlers coupled with the dispossession of the native population, in the erasure of the native presence on the land and the marginalization of their presence by replacing Arab place-names with Hebrew ones. And finally, these writers exploited the Arabic language to advance the revival of Hebrew. Understanding the positionality of Hebrew writers necessitates turning to Palestinian narratives that interacted with the Zionist movement as a settler colonial enterprise and reflect the experience of the Palestinian people. The interrogation of the positionality of Hebrew writers against the history and experience of the Palestinian people gives a voice to Palestinians, and as such, provides “a writing and a righting of Palestinian history through purposely elevating Palestinian indigenous experiences and narrative.”³⁴

The examination of Hebrew writers' positionality within the settler colonial context allows us to explore how Arabo-Islamic knowledge became a crucial

instrument for advancing various dimensions of their efforts. First, in the discourse on *yedi'at ha-arets* (knowledge of the land), Jewish intellectuals harnessed Arabo-Islamic insights to strengthen the ties between Jewish settlers and the Palestinian landscape. Next, the Hebrew Bible served as a foundational text for constructing a national identity, with Hebrew writers integrating Arabo-Islamic interpretative traditions to align Jewish heritage with Zionist ideologies. Additionally, the concept of the New Jew emerged as a redefinition of Jewish identity, drawing from Arabo-Islamic cultural elements to connect modern aspirations with ancestral roots. Finally, the utilization of Arabic, termed *sefat ha-arets* (language of the land), highlights how Hebrew writers saw Arabic not only as a means to reconnect with the land but as a vital resource for reviving the Hebrew language too. These dimensions collectively illustrate the pivotal role that Arabo-Islamic knowledge played in the Hebrew scholars' strategies to establish and legitimize a Jewish presence in Palestine, while simultaneously shaping the cultural and political dynamics of the settler colonial project.

The broader settler colonial endeavor in late Ottoman Palestine was marked by a complex interplay of cultural adaptation and self-indigenization, driven by both national and colonial impulses. This duality is evident in the settlers' pursuit of Jewish national aspirations on a land they believed belonged to their ancestors based on biblical narratives. Yet this self-indigenization process also carried a colonial dimension, involving the marginalization and dispossession of the Indigenous Palestinian population. This colonial aspect has continued to manifest in the Israeli government's expansionist policies in the West Bank, Gaza, and southern Syria. These policies jeopardize not only the fulfillment of justice for the Palestinian people, but more dangerously the acceptance of Israel in the Middle East, despite earlier efforts at the construction of Jewish indigeneity. And these policies contradict the early settlers' hopes for self-indigenization, as they perpetuate a system of occupation and dispossession that undermines the very foundation of a just and equitable society—a society where both Jews and Palestinians can live as equals as well as exercise their right to self-determination.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I traces the evolution and appropriation of Arabo-Islamic knowledge in late Ottoman Palestine, while part II addresses similar issues in British Palestine. Although the book progresses chronologically from the late Ottoman period to the establishment of the state of Israel, the chapters are not rigorously chronological as they treat various central themes (knowledge of Palestine's landscape, the Hebrew Bible, the New Jew, the Palestinian Arab, and Arabic language and literature) with which Hebrew writers of different periods interacted. The chapters of part I look at discussions of people,

land, and language in the Ottoman era. Chapter 1 delves into the complex dynamics between Jewish settlers and Palestinian Arabs in both rural and urban settings during the late Ottoman period. Chapter 2 explores the interconnectedness between human identity and the natural landscape, particularly in the context of the Zionist imagination of Palestine. Chapter 3 focuses on the role of Arabic language and literature in the revival of modern Hebrew along with the construction of Jewish indigeneity in Palestine. Part II revolves around the construction of a national home in Mandate Palestine. Chapter 4 turns to the emergence of polemical discourses surrounding landownership based on a reliance on Arabo-Islamic sources to strengthen Zionist objectives. Chapter 5 examines how Hebrew writers studied Arabic folkloric literature based on their translation of works like Arabic proverbs and the *Nights* to gain insights into Arab culture as well as aid in the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, enriching Hebrew with Arabic language and customs.

This book is based on evidence drawn from primary sources published in the late Ottoman period through British Palestine and during the first decade of Israel as well as the work of contemporary scholars in this field. The primary sources are mainly published Hebrew textual materials from various books and journal articles pertaining to the geographic and botanical world of Palestine. Some of these textual materials treat topics within Arabic literature such as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, medieval, premodern and modern Arabic proverbs as well as topics within Islamic urban history. Some of these works are original publications whereas others are Hebrew translations of Arabic texts such as the *Nights*.

INDEX

- Aaronsohn, Aaron, 140
 Aaronsohn, Ran, 105, 148
 Abū Ibrāhīm. *See* Meirovitch, Menasche
 Abū 'Ubayd, 186
 Abufarha, Nasser, 105
 Agnew, John, 62
 agricultural colonies, teaching of Arabic in, 119–21
 agricultural practices: Arab, Jewish settlers' negative perception of, 25; Arab, reliance of Jewish settlers on, 25–26, 53–58, 148–49; and Meirovitch's relation with Arab elites, 46–53. *See also* rural settings, Jewish-Palestinian encounters in
 al-'Anṭākī, Dāwūd, 113
 Al-Aqsa Mosque, 90–91
 al-'Aref, 'Aref, 233, 235
 al-Bājūrī, Maḥmūd 'Umar, 186, 195
 al-Burāq Commission, 170–74, 177
 al-Burāq Wall (Ḥāiṭ al-Burāq), conflict over ownership of, 91–92
 al-Burāq Wall disturbances of 1929: Jewish reactions to, 166–74; overview, 164–66; sense of otherness after, 190; Zaki Pasha and Muslim reactions to, 174–78
 al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, 9, 22, 66–67
 al-Dabbāgh, Muṣṭafa Murād, 280nn54, 280nn55, 280nn56
 al-Dīn, Yusūf Ḍiyā, 253nn44
Alf Laylah wa-Laylah. See *Arabian Nights, The*
 al-Ḥanbalī, Mujīr al-Dīn, 86–87, 88, 265nn99
 al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (Noble Sanctuary)/ Temple Mount, 88, 172–73. *See also* al-Burāq Wall disturbances of 1929
 al-Hussein, Abdullah Ibn, 234
 al-Ḥusseinī, Bashīr 'Abdelsalām, 91–92
 al-Ḥusseinī, Hajj Amin, 174, 233
 al-Ḥusseinī, Jamāl, 146, 174, 198
 al-Ḥusseinī, Musa Kāẓim, 198
 'Ali, Qaṣaṣuna al-sha'bī, 286nn67
Al-'iqd al-farīd (The unique necklace) (Rabbih), 185–86
 al-'Isa, 'Isa, 47–48
 al-'Isa, Yūsuf, 22
 al-Jumaḥī, Muḥammad Ibn Sallām, 124
 al-Khālidi, Rūḥī, 45, 52, 90–91
 al-Khālidi, Yusūf Ḍiyā al-Dīn, 27
 al-Khālidiyya library, 43–44
Al-khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya (The quarters of Tawfik) (Mubārak), 62–63
 al-Khūrī, Salīm, 63
All the produce of the land (*Tev'o'ot ha-arets*) (Schwarz), 261nn36
al-lamiyyat: inna al-kirām qalūl (The nobles are few) (*al-Samaw'al*), 127
 Allenby, Edmund, 153
al-Maḍnūn bihi 'ala ghayr Ahlih (That which is to be withheld from those unworthy of it) (Yahuda), 42–43, 66–67
 al-Mas'ūdī, 203
 al-Mashriq, semitism in, 21–22
 al-Mawāṣif, Zayn (character in *Arabian Nights*), 211, 213
al-Muqaddima (Introduction) (Ibn Khaldūn), 37–38
 al-Musawi, Muhsin, 203
 al-Muẓafar, 'Abd al-Qāder, 235
 al-Nādī al-'Arabī (Arab Club), 235, 236
al-Nafir (Clarion) newspaper, 50

- al-Qalamāwī, Suhair, 288nn81
- al-Qays, Imru', 126
- al-Rahmān, Sālim 'Abd, 235
- al-Rikābī, Ali Riḍa Pasha, 234
- al-Ruṣāfī, Ma'rūf, 143
- al-Šāliḥ, Sheikh Muḥammad, 185
- al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Adiya' al-Yahūdī (the Jew), 125–27
- al-Ṭabarī, Sheikh Ṭāher, 240, 295nn59
- al-Ṭaḥṭawī, Rifā'a Rāfi', 66–67, 187
- al-Ṭā'ī, Ḥātim (Ḥātim of Ṭayy'), 128–30
- al-Tamthil wa-al-muḥāḍara* (The book of exemplification and discussion) (al-Tha'labī), 190
- al-Tha'labī, Abū Maṣṣūr Ismā'il, 190
- al-'Ubaydī, 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'abd Al-Kāfi, 255nn72
- al-'Umarī, Ibn Faḍl-Allah, 177
- Al-'uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (The glorious history of Jerusalem and Hebron) (al-Ḥanbalī), 86–87, 88, 265nn99
- al-Yahudiyya village, 35
- al-Zanjānī, 255nn72
- al-Zayyāt, Aḥmad Ḥasan, 203, 217
- ambivalent encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine, 23–26. *See also* Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine
- Amthāl al-'awām fī Miṣr wa-al-Sūdān wa-al-Shām* (On the proverbs of the masses in Egypt, Sudan, and Sham) (Shuqayr), 186–87
- ancients (*ḳadmonim*), methods of, 55
- Andalusian Jews, cultural legacy of, 122–23. *See also* Sephardi Jews
- Antebi, Albert, 92
- Antiquities of the Arabs, The (Ḳadmoniyot ha-'Aravim)* (Yahuda), 28–30
- anti-Semitism in late Ottoman Palestine, 36–39
- anti-Zionism in late Ottoman Palestine, 34–41
- appearances, proverbs related to, 196
- Arab Club (al-Nādī al-'Arabī), 235, 236
- Arab lands, commemorating Jewish heroes from, 178–81
- Arab Nation Fund (ṣundūq al-Umma al-'Arabī), 235
- "Arab noblemen and heroes" ("Nedive vegibure 'Arav") (Yahuda), 128–30, 132–33
- Arab renaissance, 66–67, 184. *See also* nahdawi Arab intellectuals
- Arabian Nights, The*: background of Rivlin's translation, 208–10; cross-cultural content of, 199–200; enhancement of Hebrew through translation of, 218–22; general discussion, 223; as guide to Arabs, 213–18; Jewish past encoded in, 211–13; and Jewish rootedness in Orient, 204–8; in Jewish vernacular, 200–202; as world literature, 202–4
- Arabic language: Ben-Yehuda's use of, 72, 73–75; botanical names from, expansion of Hebrew through, 104–8; cross-pollination with Hebrew, 113–17; enrichment of Hebrew lexicon through, 97–100; and hebraization of Palestine's flora, 108–13; and Hebrew Bible, 22, 133–36; Hebrew writers' knowledge of, 3; Horowitz's view of Arabic knowledge and, 158–62; instruction in Ashkenazi schools, 117–21; as linguistic source for Hebrew, 219–22; in Mandate Palestine, 141–42; Meirovitch's advocacy of learning, 49; nahdawi intellectuals and renaissance of, 66–67; poetry in, Jewish identity formation and, 124–33; prose in, and retrieval of Hebrew nativity, 122–24; recruitment of to advance Jewish objectives, 242–44; and remaking of Hebraic landscape, 100–104; revitalizing Hebrew and reshaping New Jew through, 136–37; settler colonialism and, 14; status in Israeli state, 237–41; Yahuda and, 42–44; Yellin's use of, 77, 82–83
- Arabic place-names: Ben-Yehuda's use of, 73–75, 102–4; evolutionary process of

- building Arabic map, 227; replacement with Hebrew place-names, 12, 13, 162, 227–30; role in identifying previous Jewish settlements, 151–52; as source for knowledge of the land, 162–64; Yellin's use of, 77
- Arabic proverbs: and Biblical interpretation, 192–94; as cross-cultural discourse, 185–89; and Jewish proverbs, 198–99; as mirror of intercommunal life in Orient, 195–96; in *Mishle 'Arav*, 189–92; portrayal of Jews, 196–98
- Arabic teachers' conference of 1950 (Israel), 239–41
- Arab-Israeli War of 1948, 225, 231
- Arabo-Islamic culture, Jewish engagement with, 4, 7–8. *See also* Hebrew Orientalism
- Arabo-Islamic literary past, Hebrew construction of, 183–85, 222–24. *See also* *Arabian Nights*, *The*; Arabic proverbs
- Arabs: *Arabian Nights* as guide to, 213–18; Arabic proverbs as providing insights into, 189–90, 195–96; conquest of Palestine in 634 CE, 117; elites, relations of Jewish settlers with, 41–53; framing of in Ben-Yahuda's history of Zionism, 241; portrayals of Jews in proverbs of, 196–98; Zionist opinions of British policy favoring, 233–34. *See also* nahdawi Arab intellectuals; Palestinian Arabs
- archaeological exploration in Jerusalem, 90–91, 172
- Aryan origins of *Arabian Nights*, 203–4, 288nn87
- Aryan race, conceptualization of, 21
- Ashkenazi Jews: Arabic instruction in schools of, 117–21; changes in relative status in Mandate Palestine, 3; and ecumenical frame, 20; fascination with *Arabian Nights* among, 200–201; and Hebrew Orientalism, 10–11; relation with Arab elites, 44–53. *See also* Zionism
- assimilation, ideas of Jewish settlers on, 149–50
- Association for the Exploration of the Land of Israel and Its Antiquities, 155
- Association of the Eastern Bond (Jambiya al-Rābiṭa al-Sharqiyya), 174–75
- atad* tree, 79–82
- Attal, Robert, 284nn33
- authenticity, 12, 55
- Avishur, Yitshak, 201
- Bakhos, Carol, 27
- Balfour Declaration, 3; Arab population's reaction to, 144–45; contradictions related to, 146; differing reactions to in Palestine, 17–18; Jewish anxieties about, 152–53; Muslim-Christian Association and, 5; Zionist reactions to, 139–40, 278nn22
- Bashkin, Orit, 21, 36
- Baudissin, Wolf Wilhelm, 82
- Baydas, Khalil, 64–65
- beards, proverbs related to, 196
- Bedouins, 7, 35, 53–55
- Begin, Menahem, 233
- Beit ha-Sefer shel Ezraḥ (Ezrah School), 185
- “Beit Hashem be-me' arbolet” (The Hashemite dynasty in a whirlpool) (Rivlin), 232–36
- Beit She'arim settlement, 155–56
- Belkind, Israel, 245; apolitical entrepreneurial agenda of, 105; *Erets Yirael shel zemanenu*, 32, 150–51, 154, 162–64; interest in Arabic and education, 119–21; Qiryat Sefer school and, 25, 121; on origins of Palestinian Arabs as Hebrews, 32–34, 59; relationship to Arab population promoted by, 147–49
- ben Korḥa, Yehoshua, 193
- Ben-Arieh, Yehoshua, 117–18
- Bene ha-Mizraḥ (Sons of the East), 83
- bene kedem* (people of the East), 189, 191
- Ben-Gurion, David, 227
- Benvenisti, Meron, 162, 225
- Ben-Yahuda, Barukh, 241

- Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer: attitude towards Arabs, 39–41; as encouraging young Jews to identify with Palestine's culture, 123–24; first encounter with Palestinian Arabs, 30–31; life of, 69; as recommending Jews become Ottoman citizens, 48; relations with Arab elites, 44–46, 59; on similarities of Arabic and Hebrew, 97–98; study of Arabic by, 100–101; use of Arabic to enrich Hebrew lexicon, 99–100, 101–2; writings on geography and landscape, 69–75, 99–100, 260nn32
- Ben-Ze'ev, Israel: criticism of Naming Committee by, 180–81; description of Yahuda's personality by, 42; on influence of *Mishle 'Arav*, 191; on influence of nahdawi scholars, 66; on use of Arabic for enrichment of Hebrew, 142; and use of Arabic in early Israeli state, 239–41
- Ben-Zvi, Isaac, 184, 185
- Beška, Emanuel, 22
- Bezalel, Yitshak, 8
- Bhabha, Homi, 10
- Bialik, Haim Nahman, 205, 220
- Bible. *See* Hebrew Bible
- Biluim: attitudes toward Arabic, 119; dualistic nature of mentality of, 58–59; and ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape, 149, 151–52; objective of, 23; rebranding of as pioneers, 277nn2; views on origins of Palestinian Arabs, 27–28; as working on two fronts, 252nn16. *See also* Belkind, Israel
- "Binah ba-Mikra" (Understanding the Hebrew Bible) essays (Yahuda), 192
- Binyamin, Rabbi, 142
- bitter herb (*maror*), 116–17
- Blau, Joshua, 274nn152
- B'nai B'rith (Children of the Covenant) order, 73, 84
- Boissier, Edmond, 111
- Book of compilation of medication and aliment simples, The* (*Kitāb al-jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa al-aghdiyya*) (Ibn al-Bayṭār), 80
- Book of exemplification and discussion, The* (*al-Tamthil wa-al-muḥāḍara*) (al-Tha'labī), 190
- Book of pleasant gardens in describing the Holy Land, The* (*Kitāb al-rawḍa al-Mu'nisa fī wasf al-arḍ al-Muqaddasa*) (Baydas), 64–65
- Book of the land of Israel, The* (*Sefer Erets Yisrael*) (Ben-Yehuda), 70–73, 75, 99–100, 259nn32
- botanical nomenclature: and Biblical interpretation, 78–82; and cross-pollination between Arabic and Hebrew, 113–17; expansion of Hebrew through, 104–8; hebraization of Palestine's flora, 109–13
- bravery, moral virtue of, 131–32
- Brinner, William, 211
- Britain. *See* Great Britain; Mandate Palestine
- Brith Shalom (Covenant of Peace), 142
- Burton, Richard, 211
- cacti, 105
- Cairo Geniza, 285nn43
- Campos, Michelle U., 8, 18, 46
- catastrophe (Nakba), Palestinian, 225, 231
- Cemal Pasha, 92
- Children of the Covenant (B'nai B'rith) order, 73, 84
- Christians: Arabic proverbs as mirror of intercommunal life, 195; and British conquest of Jerusalem, 153; Christian Arab intellectuals, 47; conflicts over sacred sites in Jerusalem, 90–93; ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36; importance of Jerusalem to, 87–88; literature concerning Palestine produced by, 154; maps of Holy Land, 61; Muslim-Christian Associations, 5, 144–45; opinion of Mandate Palestine, 18; resistance to Jewish immigration, 36–37
- Churchill, Winston, 198
- citizenship: Ottoman, 48, 90; in state of Israel, 231
- civic Ottomanism, 18
- Clarion (*al-Nafir*) newspaper, 50

- Classes of champion poets* (*Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'*) (al-Jumaḥī), 124
- Claval, Paul, 62
- clothing styles, 7
- Cohen, Ephraim, 185
- Cohen, Hillel, 142–43, 165–66, 170
- commemorating Jewish heroes from Arab lands, 178–81
- Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929 (Shaw Commission), 170–74, 177
- comparative philology, 135
- converts to Islam, Palestinian Arabs as, 32–34
- Covenant of Peace (Brith Shalom), 142
- cross-cultural content of *Arabian Nights*, 199–200
- cross-cultural discourse, Arabic proverbs as, 185–89
- Dahamsheh, Amer, 162
- “Dallim ve-reḳim anaḥnu” (How vacuous and penurious we are!) (Meirovitch), 49
- Dalman, Gustaf Hermann, 111
- Deer (*ha-Tsevi*) newspaper, 44–45
- Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish state) (Herzl), 121
- descriptive geography, increased interest in, 62–65
- Die Pflanzen Palästinas* (Plants of Palestine) (Dinsmore), 111
- Dinsmore, John Edward, 111
- Dā'irat al-ma' ārif* (The dictionary of knowledge) (al-Bustānī), 67
- Discourse on Arab culture (*Khutba fi adab al-'Arab*) (al-Bustānī), 9
- division of Palestine, 225
- Dizengoff, Meir, 110
- Dolbee, Samuel, 46
- Dome of the Rock, 88, 90
- Dowty, Alan, 36
- dual society paradigm, in Mandate Palestine, 146
- Duggan, Anne, 291nn140
- Duncan, James, 62
- East Jordan, 233–34
- ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36, 181–82
- Eder, David, 143, 174, 175–76
- education, Jewish views of Muslim Arab, 40
- Efron, John, 11
- Egypt, 174, 186–87
- Elmaleh, 181
- Eloenskii, Nikolai Aleksander, 65
- El-Shamy, Hasan, 126
- Erets avotenū* (Land of our fathers) (Yellin), 75, 76
- Erets Hemdah* (Sokolow), 75, 259nn18
- erets tovah* (good land), in Hebrew Bible, 74
- Erets Yisrael shel zemanenu* (The land of Israel in our time) (Belkind), 33, 150–52, 154, 162–64
- Erets Yisrael u-shekhenteha* (The land of Israel and its adjacent countries) (Horowitz), 158, 164
- Erets-Yisrael* (The land of Israel) (Press), 228–29
- Erwin, Robert, 205
- Esau, descendants of, 30–31
- Esther, Yahuda's discussion of, 192–94
- ethnography, treatment of *Arabian Nights* as, 214–15, 216–17, 218
- ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape: Arabs and popular culture as source for knowledge, 156–64; commemorating Jewish heroes from Arab lands, 178–81; contesting sacred spaces (*see* Wall disturbances of 1929); general discussion, 181–82; identification of historic Jewish settlements, 154–56; Judaization of homeland, 152–54; overview, 147–52
- Etzel, 233
- European anti-Semitism, 36–39
- European Jews: criticism of use of Arabic in Hebrew revival, 122; Hebrew writings on landscape for, 65–69; imagination of landscape, 61; and Orientalism, 11; Ottomanization of settlers, 48–49, 51–52; superiority complex of, 27–34, 40. *See also* Ashkenazi Jews; Russian Jews; Sephardi Jews

- Europeans: interest in Arabic proverbs, 186; Orientalist, fascination with *Arabian Nights*, 201–2, 203–4, 216–17
- Even Sapir* (Sapir), 269nn60
- Even-Zohar, Itamar, 9
- excavations in Jerusalem, 90–91, 172
- Eyal, Gil, 161
- Ezra the Jew (character in *Arabian Nights*), 213
- Ezrah School (Beit ha-Sefer shel Ezrah), 185
- Facing forests* (*Mūl ha-yé'arot*) (Yehushua), 104
- faḍā'il al-Quds* (Virtues of Jerusalem), 167–68, 170
- Fainberg, Joseph, 58
- Faisal (King of Syria), 235–37
- faithfulness, moral virtue of, 125–27
- familial affinity between Jews and Arabs, 27–34
- Farmers' Federation (hit'aḥdut ha-'ikarim), 105
- Paraġ, Alfred, 287nn68
- fellahin (Palestinian Arab farmers), 7, 161–62. *See also* agricultural practices; rural settings, Jewish-Palestinian encounters in
- Fellman, Jack, 267nn24
- Fields, Gary, 97
- Filastīn* (Palestine) newspaper, 47–48, 49–50, 51
- First Aliyah: Arabic instruction in schools in Jewish settlements, 120; hierarchical coexistence after, 24–25; relations of Jewish settlers with Arabs, 34; uniqueness of immigrants of, 105
- Fishman, Louis, 51–52
- flora of Palestine. *See* botanical nomenclature
- “Flora of the land of gazelles, The” (“Tsimḥe Erets Ha-Tsevi”) (Meirovitch), 78–82, 81, 107
- folkloric literature, Arabic, 199–200. *See also* *Arabian Nights*, *The* foxes, parables of, 123–24
- Frumkin, Israel Dov, 40
- Furas, Yoni, 21
- Galland, Antoine, 201, 203, 216
- Garden of Knowledge (Rawḍat al-ma'ārif), 185
- Gedera settlement, 151–52
- General Zionists, 105
- generosity, moral virtue of, 128–30
- geography of Palestine, 150–52, 154. *See also* landscape
- George, Lloyd, 146
- German language instruction in Mandate Palestine, 218–19
- Glorious history of Jerusalem and Hebron, The* (*Al-'uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*) (al-Ḥanbalī), 86–87, 88, 265nn99
- Godfry of Bouillon, 153
- Goitein, S. D., 30, 194, 284nn33, 288nn76
- Goldberg, Harvey, 10
- good land (*erets tovaḥ*), in Hebrew Bible, 74
- Gordon, Yehuda Leib, 99
- Gordon, Yehuda Leib, 100
- Governmental Naming Committee (va'adat ha shemot ha-mimshaltit) (GNC), 227–30, 293nn5
- Graetz, Heinrich, 254nn61
- Great Britain: Balfour Declaration, 139–40, 152–53 (*see also* Mandate Palestine); conquest of Jerusalem in 1917, 153
- Great War, The (World War I), 90–93
- Greater Syria, 142, 176
- Gribetz, Jonathan, 45
- Ha-arets* (The land) (Sapir), 116, 158, 160
- Habicht, Christian Maximilian, 201
- Haim, Abraham, 143–44, 167
- Ḥāiṭ al-Burāq (al-Burāq Wall), conflict over ownership of, 91–92. *See also* Wall disturbances of 1929
- ḥaḳīrat ha-arets* (study of the land), Horowitz's essay on, 161

- Halevi, Yehuda, 5, 134
- Halperin, Liora, 47, 105, 141, 251nn8
- Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von, 204
- Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir (Young Worker) movement, 121
- Ḥasanein, Fū'ād, 287nn71, 288nn87
- "Hashemite dynasty in a whirlpool, The" ("Beit Hashem be-me' arbolet") (Rivlin), 232–36
- Hashemite kingdom, 233–34
- Ha-shomer* (Watchmen's Association), 7
- Hatim of Tayy' (al-Ta'i, Hatim), 128–30
- ha-Tsevi* (Deer) newspaper, 44–45
- Hatt-i Humayun (Noble Rescript), Ottoman Empire, 9
- Ha-turgman (Translator) publishing house, 205–6, 289nn100
- Ḥawaja Nazar* (Smilansky), 23
- Haycraft Commission of Inquiry, 175–76
- Hazkani, Shay, 46
- Hebrew Bible: Arabic language and, 22, 133–36; Arabic proverbial lore and interpretation of, 192–94; botanical knowledge and interpretation of, 78–82; imagery of Palestine in, 151; linking flora to, 111; national identity and, 14; and origins of Palestinian Arabs, 27, 30; reconstruction of landscape in accordance with, 73–75
- Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past, 183–85, 222–24. *See also Arabian Nights, The*; Arabic proverbs
- Hebrew language: Ben-Yehuda's referencing Arabic dialects for, 73–75; enhancement of through translation of *Arabian Nights*, 218–22; Meirovitch's writings on need for national language, 106–7; Semitic character of, 269nn58; status of in Israeli state, 237; use of Sephardi accent, 100, 101; Yellin's *Mikra'* and, 75–78. *See also* revival of Hebrew language
- Hebrew Language Committee (Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit), 96, 109–10, 114, 261nn42
- Hebrew Orientalism: general discussion, 244–46; and life and work of Yellin, 5–9; methodologies of study, 1–5; overview, 10–11; settler colonialism and, 11–15
- Hebrew place-names: institutional activities related to in Mandate period, 154–56; in Israeli state, 226–30; replacement of Arabic place-names with, 12, 13, 162, 227–30; role of existing Palestinian settlements in, 151–52; Yellin's use of, 77
- Hebrew translation of *Arabian Nights* (Rivlin), 212; background of, 208–10; and enhancement of modern Hebrew, 218–22; as guide to Arab culture and society, 215–16; and Horovitz's German study of, 204; objectives of, 200–202; review of fourth volume of, 242–44
- Hebrew translation of *Arabian Nights* (Yellin), 205–6, 208, 220–21, 222
- Herzl, Theodor, 121, 165
- hierarchical coexistence, 24–25, 251nn8
- higher culture, Jewish ideas about, 150
- Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden school, 185
- Hissin, Haim, 277nn12
- historic Jewish settlements, identification of, 151–52, 154–56
- hit'aḥdut ha-'ikarim (Farmers' Federation), 105
- holy sites, 90–93. *See also* Wall disturbances of 1929
- homeland, creation of: construction of Jewish past in Palestine, 82–89; Hebrew writings on landscape, 65–69; Jewish imagination of, 93–94; in Mandate Palestine, 139–46; by nahdawi Arab intellectuals, 62–63; reconstruction of landscape in accordance with, 73–75. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past
- Horovitz, Josef, 204, 214–15
- Horowitz, Abraham, 158, 279nn38, 279nn40

- Horowitz, Israel, 92, 93, 153–54, 156–62, 164
hospitality, moral virtue of, 130
hostility between Palestinian Arabs and
 Jewish settlers, 34–41
“How vacuous and penurious we are!”
 (“Dallim ve-reḡim anaḥnu”) (Meiro-
 vitch), 49
Ḥussein, Ṭaha, 132, 286nn67
- Ibn al-Bayṭār, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad, 80
Ibn al-Nadīm al-Yahūdī (the Jew), as title
 for Yahuda, 42
Ibn al-Nadīm (medieval bibliographer),
 203, 255nn70
Ibn al-Najjār, Mordechai, 201–2
Ibn Ezra, Moses, 221
Ibn Khaldūn, 37–38
Ibn Manẓūr, 72
Ibn Shaddād, ‘Antar, 128–29, 131–32, 135–36
Ibrāhīm, Abū. *See* Meirovitch, Menasche
identity formation, Jewish: Arabic poetry
 and, 124–33; ideas of Jewish settlers
 about, 149–50; link between landscape
 and, 61–64
immigration: of Ashkenazi Jews, 10; fourth
 centenary of Jewish arrival in Ottoman
 Empire, 83–84; Ottoman policies for
 Jewish settlers, 67–69. *See also* First
 Aliyah; Second Aliyah
imperial power, positioning Zionist
 movement within, 232–33
Imru’ al-Qays, 193
indigeneity, Jewish: and adoption of Arab
 agricultural practices, 53–58; Arabic
 prose and retrieval of, 122–24; and
 Arabo-Islamic literature, 198, 222–23;
 and assimilation of Arab culture, 7–8;
 and botanical knowledge and Biblical
 interpretation, 78–82; and Hebrew
 writings on landscape, 65–69; and
 identification of historic Jewish
 settlements, 155–56; in Mandate
 Palestine, 144; and settler colonialism,
 11–15, 244–45. *See also* revival of Hebrew
 language
indigeneity of Palestinian Arabs, Zionist
 recognition of, 235
intercommunal life in Orient, Arabic
 proverbs as mirror of, 195–96
interconfessional relations: ecumenical
 frame, 2, 18–20, 21, 36; effect of British
 takeover of Palestine on, 18; under
 Ottoman rule, 67–69; relations with
 Arab elites, 41–53
Introduction (*al-Muqaddima*) (Ibn
 Khaldun), 37–38
Irwin, Robert, 213
Ishmael, Arabs as descendants of, 27, 30–31
Islam: and British conquest of Jerusalem,
 153; conflicts over sacred sites in Jerusa-
 lem, 90–93; and ecumenical frame,
 18–20, 21, 36; Hebrew writers’ knowledge
 of, 3; importance of Jerusalem in, 86–88;
 Jewish engagement with Arabo-Islamic
 culture, 4, 7–8 (*see also* Hebrew Orien-
 talism); Muslim opinions of Mandate
 Palestine, 18; Palestinian Arabs as
 Hebrew converts to, 32–34; tolerance
 towards Jews in, 36–37; and Wall
 disturbances of 1929, 164–66, 177–78
Islamic jurists (qadis), 295nn59
Islamicate civilization, 2
Israel: birth of state of, 225–26; creation of
 Hebrew map for, 226–30; recruitment
 of Arabic to advance national objectives,
 242–44; status of Arabic in, 237–41;
 status of Arabs in early years of, 230–37
Israeli Citizenship Law of 1952, 231
Israeli Parliament (Knesset), 237–38
Israelite patriarchs, recreation of life of, 23
Issa, Rana, 22
- Jabal Hārūn (Mount Hor), 74–75
Jabotinsky, Ze’ev, 208, 214, 233, 289nn100
Jacobson, Abigail, 8, 92–93, 145, 166, 173
Jaffa disturbances of 1921, 175–76
Jaffa oranges, 104–5
Jam’iyyat al-Rābiṭa al-Sharqiyya (Associa-
 tion of the Eastern Bond), 174–75
Jankowski, James, 186

- Jawhariyyeh, Wāṣif, 18, 19, 164–74, 271nn94
- Jerusalem: British conquest of, 153; Hebrew writings in Late Ottoman era about, 90–93; holy sites, conflicts over, 90–91 (*see also* Wall disturbances of 1929); Yellin's writings about, 84–88
- “Jerusalem four hundred years ago” (“Yerushalayim li-fnay arba’ Me’ot shanah”) (Yellin), 84–89
- Jerusalemite circle, 209
- Jewish identity, formation of. *See* identity formation, Jewish
- Jewish National Council (Va’ad Le’umi), 167
- Jewish National Fund’s Naming Committee, 155–56, 162, 178–81
- Jewish proverbs, 194, 198–99
- Jewish state, The (Der Judenstaat)* (Herzl), 121
- Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine: agricultural practices and, 53–58; Jewish insights on Arab discontent, 34–41; Jewish relations with Arab elites, 41–53; Jewish views on origins of Palestinian Arabs, 27–34; overview, 23–26; Palestinian Arabs as model, 58–60
- Jews: *Arabian Nights* in vernacular of, 200–202; Arabic proverbs as mirror of intercommunal life, 195–96; and ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36; heroes from Arab lands, commemorating, 178–81; Judaization of homeland by, 152–54; King Faisal of Syria’s attitude toward, 235–36; land acquisition by in Mandate Palestine, 140; in late Ottoman Palestine (*see* Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine; landscape; late Ottoman Palestine; revival of Hebrew language); national home for, construction of in Mandate Palestine, 139–46 (*see also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past); past of as encoded in *Arabian Nights*, 211–13; portrayal of in Arabic proverbs, 196–98; relationship to Arab population in Mandate period, 147, 148–52, 181; reliance on Arab agricultural practices, 148–49; and settler-native analytic framework, 244–46; status of in Israeli state, 231; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 164–74, 178. *See also* Hebrew Orientalism; interconfessional relations; Zionism
- Job (Bible character), 191
- Jordan, Hashemite kingdom of, 233–34
- Jordan River, identification of, 103
- Judaization of homeland, 152–54. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape
- Judeo-Arabic, 201, 202
- Kabha, Mustafa, 105
- ḵadmonim* (the ancients), methods of, 55
- Ḳadmoniyot ha-‘Aravim* (The antiquities of the Arabs) (Yahuda), 28–30
- Kalisman, Hilary, 141
- Kalmar, Ivan Davidson, 10–11
- Kāmil, Muṣṭafa, 19–20
- Karlinsky, Nahum, 105
- Katzenelson, Yitṣḥaq, 205
- Khazzoom, Aziza, 26, 150
- Khirbet Khizeh* (Yizhar), 225
- Khusraw, Nāṣir, 93
- Khuṭba fī adab al-‘Arab* (Discourse on Arab culture) (al-Bustānī), 9
- Kimmerling, Baruch, 11–12
- Ḳiryat Sefer school, 25, 121
- Kitāb al-jāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-‘adwiya wa al-aghdhīya* (The book of compilation of medication and aliment simples) (Ibn al-Bayṭār), 80
- Kitāb ‘āthār al-adhār* (Signs of times) (al-Khūry and Shihāda), 63
- Kitāb al-rawḍa al-Mu’nisa fī waṣf al-ard al-Muqaddasa* (The book of pleasant gardens in describing the Holy Land) (Baydas), 64–65
- Klausner, Joseph, 82–83, 96, 155–56

- Klein, Samuel, 82–83
- Knesset (Israeli Parliament), 237–38
- knowledge of the land (*mada' ha-arets*), 157–58
- knowledge of the land (*yedi'at ha-arets*):
Arabs and popular culture as source for, 156–64; Ben-Yehuda's writings on, 69–75; Hebrew writings on, 65–69; settler colonialism and, 14; Yellin's writings on, 69–75
- Krauss, Samuel, 279nn38
- Labor Zionists (Socialist Zionists), 140
- Lake Tiberius, identification of, 102–3
- Land, The (Ha-arets)* (Sapir), 116, 158, 160
- land acquisition, as priority for Zionists in Mandate Palestine, 140
- Land of Gilad, The* (Oliphant), 259nn18
- Land of Israel and its adjacent countries, The (Erets Yisrael u-shekhenoteha)* (Horowitz), 158, 164
- Land of Israel in our time, The (Erets Yisrael shel zemanenu)* (Belkind), 33, 150–52, 154, 162–64
- Land of Israel, The (Erets-Yisrael)* (Press), 228–29
- Land of our fathers (Erets avotenū)* (Yellin), 75, 76
- landscape: Arab hostility toward settler land purchases and use, 34–41; Arabo-Islamic botanical knowledge and Biblical interpretation, 78–82; Ben-Yehuda and, 69–75; construction of Jewish past in Palestine, 82–89; expansion of Hebrew through botanical names, 104–8; hebraization of Palestine's flora, 108–13; Hebrew writings on, 7–8, 65–69; human identity and, 61–64; Jewish imagination of, 93–94; nahdawi writings on, 62–65; Ottoman love of homeland, 9; sacralization of, 111; settler colonialism and, 11–15; World War I and, 90–93; Yellin and, 75–78. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape
- Lane, Edward William, 216
- Lang, Yoseph, 260nn30
- language, effect of founding of Israeli state on, 237–44. *See also* Arabic language; Hebrew language; revival of Hebrew language
- Language of Arabs, The (Lisān al-'arab)* (Ibn Manẓūr), 72
- language of the land (*sefat ha-arets*), 14, 78, 96. *See also* Arabic language
- Language War, 218–19
- late Ottoman Palestine: Arab hostility towards Jewish settlers in, 34–41; Arabic and Hebrew Bible in, 22; Arabic instruction in Ashkenazi schools in, 117–21; demographics of, 279nn44; and ecumenical frame, 2, 18–20, 21, 36; fourth centenary of Jewish arrival in Ottoman Empire, 83–84; hebraization of place-names in, 226–27; hostile Jewish-Arab relations before WWI, 90; immigration policies for Jewish settlers, 67–69; Ottomanization of European Jewish settlers, 51–52, 66; overview, 17–18; political and economic changes in, 118–19; protests against Jewish immigration in, 127; semitism in al-Mashriq, 21–22; writings on holy sites through WWI, 90–93. *See also* Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine; landscape; revival of Hebrew language
- legends found in Arabic sources, use by Hebrew writers, 164
- Leibovitz, Dov Ariel, 149
- Levy, Lital, 42, 44, 144
- lexicon, Hebrew, 218–22
- Lilienblum, Moshe Leib, 98
- Lipschitz, Eliezer Meir, 98–99, 266nn8
- Lisān al-'arab* (The language of Arabs) (Ibn Manẓūr), 72
- literary past, Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic, 183–85, 222–24. *See also* *Arabian Nights, The*; Arabic proverbs

- Lorenzo, Kamel, 63–64
 lotus tree, 82
 Lunts, Abraham Moshe, 67–69, 107–8, 168
mada' ha-arets (knowledge of the land), 157–58
madrasah, 185
 magic, 213
 Magness, Jodi, 165
 Mahdi, Muhsin, 200, 204
 Maimonides, Moses, 87, 89
 Makdisi, Ussama, 18, 19, 36, 144
 Malül, Nissim, 170, 173, 174
 Mamluk Jerusalem, 84–86
 Mandate Palestine: changes in Jewish communities during, 3; conflicting opinions on, 17–18; construction of national home in, 139–46; end of, 225; hebraization of place-names in, 154–56, 162, 227–30; opposing Zionist positions toward, 232–35; Orientalist views in, 2–3; plurilingualism in, 237; status of Palestinian Arabs in, 230–31. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past
 Mandel, Neville, 36
 maps, hebraizing of. *See* place-names
maror (bitter herb), 116–17
 Masalha, Nur, 154
Masālik al- 'abṣār fī mamālik al- 'amṣār (Voyages of eyes) (Zaki Pasha), 177
 Masrūr (character in *Arabian Nights*), 211, 213
 Mazar, Benjamin, 156
 MCAs (Muslim-Christian Associations), 5, 144–45
Me'asef Zion journal, 168
 medieval Arabic literature, status of *Arabian Nights* in, 203
 medieval Hebrew poetry, 219–20
 Meirovitch, Menasche, 255nn88, 256nn106; depiction of Indigenous agricultural practices, 53–58; ideals related to agricultural colonization and language, 105–7; relation with Arab elites, 46–53, 59; use of Arabo-Islamic botanical sources, 78–82
 Meyuḥas, 156, 181
 Midrash, 168–70
Mikra le-na 're Bene Yisrael (Reading for the youth of the children of Israel) (Yellin), 75–78, 125–27
Mikra le-yilde bene Yisrael (Reading to the children of the people of Israel) (Ben-Yehuda and Yellin), 123–24
 Miḳveh Yisrael colony, 119–20
 military rule of Palestinian Arabs in Israeli state, 231, 241
Mishle 'Arav (Yahuda): comprehensive approach in, 189–92; general discussion, 223; and intercommunal life in the Orient, 195–96; and interpretation of Hebrew Bible, 192–94; Jewish proverbs in, 198–99; overview, 187, 188; portrayal of Jews, 196–98
 Mishnaic period, 114–15
 modern Hebrew language. *See* Hebrew language; revival of Hebrew language monolingualism, 141
 Montefiore, Moses, 118
 moral lessons, storytelling as medium to convey, 206, 216
 moral virtues, revival of: Arabic poetry in context of Hebrew identity formation, 132–33; bravery of 'Antar Ibn Shaddād, 131–32; faithfulness of al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Adiya', 125–27; generosity of Ḥātim of Ṭayy', 128–30; through Arabic poetry, 124–25
 Moreh, Shmuel, 135
 moshavoth, 23
 Mount Hor (Jabal Hārūn), 74–75
 Mubārak, 'Ali, 62–63
 Mughrabi Quarter, claims of ownership of, 91–92
Mūl ha-ye'arot (Facing forests) (Yehushua), 104
 Muslim-Christian Associations (MCAs), 5, 144–45

- Muslims: and British conquest of Jerusalem, 153; conflicts over sacred sites in Jerusalem, 90–93; and ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36; Hebrew writers' knowledge of Islam, 3; importance of Jerusalem to, 86–88; Jewish engagement with Arabo-Islamic culture, 4, 7–8 (*see also* Hebrew Orientalism); opinion of Mandate Palestine, 18; Palestinian Arabs as Hebrew converts, 32–34; tolerance towards Jews, 36–37; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 164–66, 177–78; Yellin's calls to regarding excavation of sacred sites, 172–73
- nabaq* tree, 79–82
- nahdawi Arab intellectuals: anti-Semitism among, 36–37; attention to geography and landscape, 62–65; and ecumenical frame, 19, 20; overview, 9; and renewal of Arabic language, 22; role in literary and cultural Arab renaissance, 66–67; Semitism and, 21; use of prose to rejuvenate Arabic, 122; Yahuda and, 42–44
- nahdawi Jews, 66–69
- Nakba (catastrophe), Palestinian, 225, 231
- Naming Committee of the Jewish National Fund, 155–56, 162, 178–81
- Naor, Moshe, 8, 166, 173
- national home, construction of in Mandate Palestine, 139–46. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past
- national landscape. *See* landscape
- nativity, Jewish. *See* indigeneity, Jewish
- natural habitat. *See* landscape
- “Nedive ve-gibure ‘Arav” (Arab noblemen and heroes) (Yahuda), 128–30, 132–33
- New Jews: Arabic literature in construction of, 185; overview, 14; reshaping through Arabic language and literature, 136–37; as seeing themselves reflected in fellahin, 161–62; and settler-native analytic framework, 245; translation of *Nights* as proclaiming rootedness in Orient, 204–8
- Nimtsuvitz, Yisrael, 58
- Noble Rescript (Hatt-i Humayun), Ottoman Empire, 9
- Noble Sanctuary (al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf)/ Temple Mount, 88, 172–73. *See also* al-Burāq Wall disturbances of 1929
- Nobles are few, The (al-lamiyyat: inna al-kirām qalūl)* (al-Samaw'al), 127
- Oliphant, Laurence, 259nn18
- olive oil production, 55–58
- On the proverbs of the masses in Egypt, Sudan, and Sham (Amthāl al-'awām fī Miṣr wa-al-Sūdān wa-al-Shām)* (Shuqayr), 186–87
- One Thousand and One Nights*. *See* *Arabian Nights*, *The*
- oral Arabic tradition, replacement by printing, 66–67
- Oriental Jews: affiliation with Zionism, 8; al-Rikābī's opinions on allowing in Transjordan, 234; Arab nationalist views of, 145–46; attitude toward Arab population in Mandate Palestine, 143–44; changes in relative status in Mandate Palestine, 3; familiarity with *Arabian Nights*, 201–2; marginalization of in Mandate period, 167; and Orientalism, 10; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 166, 167–68, 181–82
- Oriental Neighbors* (Jacobson & Naor), 8
- Orientalism. *See* Hebrew Orientalism
- Ottoman Empire: Arab hostility toward settler land purchases and use, 34–41; and ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36; fourth centenary of Jewish arrival in, 83–84; immigration policies for Jewish settlers, 67–69; imperial rescript of 1856, 9; regional integration under, 142; Young Turk Revolution, 46–47, 50–51, 90. *See also* late Ottoman Palestine

- Ottomanization of European Jewish settlers, 48–49, 51–52
- Our master Moses Maimonides (Rabenu Mosheh Ben Maymun)* (Yellin), 89
- Palestine: British (*see* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past; Mandate Palestine); Ottoman (*see* Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine; landscape; late Ottoman Palestine; revival of Hebrew language); partition of and war after, 225. *See also* Hebrew Orientalism
- Palestine (Filasṭīn)* newspaper, 47–48, 49–50, 51
- Palestine Exploration Fund, 227
- Palestinian Arabs: agricultural practices of, 25, 53–58, 148–49; Arabic proverbs as providing insights into, 189–90; Arabic use by in Israeli state, 238; Ben-Yehuda's use of accounts of, 73; connection to land, 104–5; distinction between native Jews and Zionist settlers by, 198; efforts to marginalize in Mandate Palestine, 139–40; elites, relations of Jewish settlers with, 41–53; fellahin (farmers), 7, 161–62 (*see also* agricultural practices; rural settings, Jewish-Palestinian encounters in); framing of in Ben-Yahuda's history of Zionism, 241; Hebrew place-naming based on settlements of, 151–52, 155–56; hostile Jewish-Arab relations before WWI, 90; reaction to Balfour Declaration, 144–45; relationship with Jews in Mandate period, 147, 148–52; settler colonialism and, 11–15, 244–46; as source for knowledge of the land, 156–64; status in early years of Israeli state, 225, 230–37; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 164–66, 170–71, 174–78; Yellin's calls to regarding excavation of sacred sites, 172–73; and Zionism in Mandate Palestine, 142–44; Zionist distinction of Palestinian nationalists from, 173–74; Zionist opinions of British policy favoring, 233–34. *See also* Jewish-Palestinian encounters in Late Ottoman Palestine; nahdawi Arab intellectuals
- Palestinian identity, complexity of, 1
- Palestinian national movement (Palestinianism), 52; policy of monolingualism in, 141; Rivlin's portrayal of, 235–36; views of native Jews and foreign Zionists, 145–46; Zaki Pasha and, 175, 176; Zionist distinction of Palestinian population from, 173–74
- Palmon, Joshua, 295nn59
- Paran, identification of, 103–4
- partition of Palestine, 225
- “peaceful crusade” in Jerusalem, 90–91
- Penslar, Derek Jonathan, 10–11, 27
- people of the East (*bene kedem*), 189, 191
- Petaḥ Tiḳva (Jewish settlement), 35
- Pines, Michel, 149
- Pines, Yehiel Michael, 24
- place-names: Ben-Yehuda's use of, 73–75, 102–4; institutional activities related to in Mandate period, 154–56; in Israeli state, 226–30; replacement of Arabic with Hebrew, 12, 13, 162, 227–30; role of existing Palestinian settlements in choosing, 151–52; Yellin's use of, 77
- plant names: Biblical and Arabic, use of corresponding, 78–82; and cross-pollination between Arabic and Hebrew, 113–17; expansion of Hebrew through, 104–8; hebraization of Palestine's flora, 109–13
- Plants of Palestine (Die Pflanzen Palästinas)* (Dinsmore), 111
- poetry, Arabic: al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Adiya', 125–27; Antar Ibn Shaddād, 131–32; in context of Hebrew identity formation, 132–33; Ḥātim of Ṭayy', 128–30; reviving lost Hebrew virtues through, 124–25
- popular culture, 156–64. *See also* Arabic proverbs

- portrayal of Jews in Arabic proverbs, 196–98
- Post, George Edward, 111
- Press, Yeshayahu, 101, 226, 228–29, 242
- print, importance in knowledge production, 66–67
- productivization ethos, 27–28, 119
- professional mourners, proverb on, 195–96
- property ownership in Jerusalem, conflicts over, 91–92
- Provence, Michael, 18, 19
- proverbs. *See* Arabic proverbs
- Psalms 119:61, 136
- qadis (Islamic jurists), 295nn59
- Qaṭra (Palestinian village), 151–52
- Quarters of Tawfik, The (Al-khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya)* (Mubārak), 62–63
- Quran, Ishmael in, 30
- Rabbih, Ibn ‘Abd, 185–86
- Rabenu Mosheh Ben Maymun* (Our master Moses Maimonides) (Yellin), 89
- race. *See* Semitism (semitic race)
- Rawḍat al-ma‘ārif (Garden of Knowledge), 185
- Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon, 123
- Reading for the youth of the children of Israel (Miḵra le-na ‘re Bene Yisrael)* (Yellin), 75–78, 125–27
- “Reading the Arabian Nights in Modern Hebrew Literature” (Tzoreff), 287nn72
- Reading to the children of the people of Israel (Miḵra le-yilde bene Yisrael)* (Ben-Yehuda and Yellin), 123–24
- Regan, Bernard, 146
- Reḥovot colony, 35
- religion: ecumenical frame, 18–20, 21, 36, 181–82; effect of British takeover of Palestine, 18; nahdawi Arab intellectuals and anti-Semitism, 36. *See also* Christians; interconfessional relations; Islam; Wall disturbances of 1929
- Renan, Ernest, 21
- Renan, Ernest, 204
- Revisionist Zionism, 232–33, 238
- revival of Hebrew language: Arabic and Hebrew cross-pollination, 113–17; and Arabic instruction in Ashkenazi schools, 117–21; Arabic poetry and Jewish identity formation, 124–33; Arabic prose and retrieval of Hebrew nativity, 122–24; enrichment of lexicon through Arabic, 97–100; expansion through botanical names, 104–8; general discussion, 136–37, 242–44; hebraization of Palestine’s flora, 108–13; overview, 95–97; remaking of Hebraic landscape, 100–104; and role of Arabic in interpreting Hebrew Bible, 133–36
- Rishon Le-Zion colony, 35
- Rivlin, Rachel, 209
- Rivlin, Yosef Yo‘el; background of, 208–10; and founding of Israeli state, 226; overview, 183–85; political vision of, 213–14, 291nn136, 294nn31; and selective Zionist settler memory, 232–36; on Sephardic Jewish poetry, 219–20. *See also* Hebrew translation of *Arabian Nights* (Rivlin)
- Romantic Orientalism, 168, 189
- rootedness of Jews in Orient, translation of *Nights* and, 204–8
- Rothschild, Edmond de, 106, 151, 152
- Ruppin, Arthur, 52
- rural settings, Jewish-Palestinian encounters in: agricultural practices and, 53–58; Jewish insights on Arab discontent, 34–41; Jewish relations with Arab elites, 41–53; Jewish views on origins of Palestinian Arabs, 27–34; overview, 23–26; Palestinian Arabs as model, 58–60
- Russia, persecution of Jews in, 24, 39, 147
- Russian Jews, 23–24, 27–28, 46–53. *See also* Biluim
- Rutenberg, Pinḥas, 167

- Sabbagh-Khoury, Areej, 12
sacralization of landscape, 111
sacred sites, 90–93. *See also* Wall disturbances of 1929
sacred trees, 82
Sacy, Silvestre de, 203
Said, Edward, 1, 217
Samuel, Herbert, 233, 234
Sapir, Eliyahu: countering of anti-Semitism by, 36–39, 41; and cross-pollination between Arabic and Hebrew, 113–17; *Ha-arets*, 116, 158, 160; study of Arabic, 108–9; work on flora of Palestine, 109–13
Sapir, Jacob, 108–9, 269nn60
Saposnik, Arie Bruce, 205
Schama, Simon, 93
Schayegh, Cyrus, 142
Schlegel, Friedrich von, 204
Schneider, Suzanne, 141
schools, Arabic instruction in, 117–21
Schwarz, Joseph, 261nn36
Second Aliyah: and anti-Zionist sentiments among Arabs, 35–36; Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir movement, 121; relations of Jewish settlers with Arabs, 25, 34
sefat ha-arets (language of the land), 14, 78, 96. *See also* Arabic language
Sefer Erets Yisrael (The book of the land of Israel) (Ben-Yehuda), 70–73, 75, 99–100, 259nn32
Semitic character of Hebrew, 269nn58
Semitic origin of *Arabian Nights*, 204, 288nn87
Semitism (semitic race), 8, 21–22
Sephardi Jews: affiliation with Zionism, 8; Arab nationalist views of, 145–46; attitude toward Arabs in Mandate period, 143; changes in relative status of in Mandate Palestine, 3; community and schools of, 117; fourth centenary of arrival in Ottoman Empire, 83–84; marginalization of in Mandate period, 167; and Orientalism, 10; poetry of, 219–20; use of Sephardi accent, 100, 101; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 166, 167–68, 181–82
Settlement of the Holy Land (Yishuv Erets Ha-Ḳodesh) association, 149
settler colonialism: general discussion, 244–46; and Hebrew Orientalism, 11–15; selective Zionist memory of, 231–36; Sephardi and Oriental authors' adoption of settler identity, 3–4
settler-native analytic framework, 244–46
Shafir, Gershon, 12
shared traditions, Arabic proverbs as mirror of, 195–96
Shaw Commission (Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929), 170–74, 177
Sheikh Burayk (Palestinian town), 156
Shenhav, Yehudah, 17
Shihāda, Salīm, 63
Shuqayr, Na'ūm, 186–87
sidr tree, 79–82
Signs of times (*Kitāb 'āthār al-adhār*) (al-Khūry and Shihāda), 63
Siton, David, 209, 219
Slouschz, Naḥum, 82–83
Smilansky, Moses, 23
Smilansky, Moshe, 96
Socialist Zionists (Labor Zionists), 140
Sokolow, Naḥum, 65–66, 75, 259nn18
Sons of the East (Bene ha-Mizraḥ), 83
Stein, Kenneth, 140
stereotypes, in Arabic proverbs, 197–98
Stern, Avraham (Yair), 233
stigmatization, hierarchy of, 26
“Story Told by the Jewish Physician, The” (*The Arabian Nights*), 213
storytelling, 206, 208. *See also* *Arabian Nights*, *The*
Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte (Baudissin), 82
study of the land (*ḥaḳīrat ha-arets*), Horowitz's essay on, 161
ṣundūq al-'uma al-'Arabī (Arab Nation Fund), 235

- superiority complex of European Jews, 27–34, 40
- supersession of Palestinian farmers, 12
- Syria, 235–36
- Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu‘arā’* (Classes of champion poets) (al-Jumaḥī), 124
- Talmud, proverbs of, 194
- Tamārī, Salīm, 260nn26
- Temple Mount/al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (Noble Sanctuary), 88, 172–73. *See also* Wall disturbances of 1929
- Tevo’ot ha-arets* (All the produce of the land) (Schwarz), 261nn36
- That which is to be withheld from those unworthy of it (al-Maḍnūn bihi ‘ala ghayr Ahlih)* (Yahuda), 42–43, 66–67
- Tidhar, David, 178
- “to’elet lashon ‘Aravit” (The Value of Arabic) (Yahuda), 134
- toponymy. *See* place-names
- Total, Musa Eliyahu, 236
- Transjordan, 233–34
- Translator (Ha-turgman) publishing house, 205–6, 289nn100
- Tschernichovsky, Saul, 132–33, 274nn152
- “Tsimḥe Erets Ha-Tsevi” (The flora of the land of gazelles) (Meirovitch), 78–82, 81, 107
- Tzoreff, Avi-Ram, 287nn72
- “Understanding the Hebrew Bible” (“Binah ba-Miḵra”) essays (Yahuda), 192
- Unique necklace, The (Al-‘iqd al-farīd)* (Rabbih), 185–86
- urban centers, anti-Jewish sentiment in, 35–36
- Va’ad ha-Lashon ha-‘Ivrit (Hebrew Language Committee), 96, 109–10, 114, 261nn42
- Va’ad Le’umi (Jewish National Council), 167
- va’adat ha shemot ha-mimshaltit (Governmental Naming Committee) (GNC), 227–30, 293nn5
- “Value of Arabic, The” (to’elet lashon ‘Aravit) (Yahuda), 134
- Veracini, Lorenzo, 12
- Virtues of Jerusalem (*faḍā’il al-Quds*), 167–68, 170
- Voyages of eyes (Masālik al- ‘abṣār fī mamālik al- ‘amṣār)* (Zaki Pasha), 177
- Wall, conflict over ownership of, 91–92
- Wall disturbances of 1929: Jewish reactions to, 166–74; overview, 164–66; sense of otherness after, 190; Zaki Pasha and Muslim reactions to, 174–78
- War of Independence, 225, 231
- Watchmen’s Association (*Ha-shomer*), 7
- Weil, Gustav, 201
- Western travelogues to Palestine, 72
- Wilderness of Paran, identification of, 103–4
- wisdom literature, 123–24
- Wolfe, Patrick, 11
- World War I (WWI), 90–93
- Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, 143, 209; discussion of ‘Antar Ibn Shaddād by, 131–32; discussion of Ḥātim of Ṭayy’ by, 128–30; *Miḵra le-yelde bene Yisrael*, 123–24; and role of Arabic in interpreting Hebrew Bible, 133–36; theories on origins of Arabs, 28–30
- Yahuda, Isaac, 209; background of, 187, 189; concerns about British colonial rule, 18; as encouraging settlers to become Ottoman citizens, 90; mentoring of Abraham Shalom, 134; overview, 183–84; relations with Arab elites, 42–44; writings on Western Wall by, 168–70. *See also* *Mishle ‘Arav*

- yedi'at ha-arets* (knowledge of the land):
 Arabs and popular culture as source for, 156–64; Ben-Yehuda's writings on, 69–75; Hebrew writings on, 65–69; settler colonialism and, 14; Yellin's writings on, 69–75
- Yehushua, Abraham B., 104
- Yellin, David, 209, 233; as Bene ha-Mizrah, 83; Ben-Yehuda's relation with, 73; book about Maimonides by, 87, 89; and construction of Jewish past in Palestine, 82–89; cooperation with Ottoman and British powers, 17; discussion of al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Adiya' by, 125–27; as encouraging young Jews to identify with Palestine's culture, 123–24; on familial affinity with Arabs, 30; general discussion, 5–9, 83; Hebrew translation of *Nights* by, 205–6, 208, 220–21, 222; on importance of Arabic to Hebrew language, 96; on importance of Hebrew language, 95; proficiency in Arabic language and culture, 82–83; recommendation to use Sephardi Hebrew accent, 101; request to purchase Wailing Wall, 92; Rivlin's parallel career path, 271nn94; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 166–67, 170–74; writings on geography and landscape, 75–78; Zaki Pasha's treatise in response to testimony of, 177–78, 179
- Yerushalayim* almanac (Lunts), 67–69
- “Yerushalayim li-fnay arba' Me'ot shanah” (Jerusalem four hundred years ago) (Yellin), 84–89
- Yishuv Erets Ha-Kodesh (Settlement of the Holy Land) association, 149
- Yizhar, S., 225
- Young Turk Revolution of 1908, 46–47, 50–51, 90
- Young Worker (Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir) movement, 121
- Zaki Pasha, Ahmad, 143; and Palestinian nationalist movement, 175, 176; perception of Zionism, 174–76; testimony on Wall disturbances of 1929, 177; treatise in response to Yellin's testimony, 177–78, 179
- Zerubavel, Yael, 104
- Zionism: affiliation of Sephardi and Oriental Jews with, 8; Arab hostility toward land purchases, 34–41; and assimilation of Arab culture, 7; Belkind's focus on education contrary to, 121; and changes in relative status in Mandate Palestine, 3; and conflicts over sacred sites, 90–93; and construction of Jewish past in Palestine, 82–89; and distinction of Palestinian nationalists from Arab population, 173–74; effect of increased activity on Arab elite, 52; General, 105; and Hebrew place-naming, 162, 226–27; and Hebrew writings on landscape, 65–69; and hostile Jewish-Arab relations before WWI, 90; and imagination of landscape, 61; importance of Jewish connection to land for, 104; King Faisal of Syria's attitude toward, 235–36; in Late Ottoman era, 59; in Mandate Palestine, 139–46; and Orientalization of others, 26; Palestinian Arab opposition to, 198; policy of monolingualism in, 141; reactions to Balfour Declaration, 139–40, 278nn22; Revisionist, 232–33, 238; settler colonialism and, 11–15, 231–36; Socialist, 140; and transmission of Islamic culture into modern culture, 3; and Wall disturbances of 1929, 165, 166, 168; writings on holy sites through WWI, 90–93; Zaki Pasha's perception of, 174–76. *See also* ethnonationalization of Palestine landscape; Hebrew construction of Arabo-Islamic literary past