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**RABBI SHLOMO MASHIAH AND HIS “SHIRAH”:**

**MODERN IMMIGRATION AND MYSTIC REDEMPTION**

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# Introduction

The first group of Mashhadi Jewish immigrants arrived in the Land of Israel in 1901. It was a small group of several families, which grew to about forty-fifty families on the eve of the First World War. It is common wisdom to assume that these immigrants had pre-modern motivations for immigration: longing for the holy places and a wish to die in the Holy Land. In the case of Iranian Jews, long-time oppression and hardships at home played a decisive part. Research has made it clear that Zionism came to Iran with the Zionist organizations and organized immigration, that is, only after the Balfour declaration.[[1]](#endnote-1) And yet, something changed at the end of the nineteenth century to start that steady trickle of immigrants. Among these first immigrants were groups of Jews from the Mashhadi community. They are a special case well worth looking into. [[2]](#endnote-2)

The Mashhadi community, though it has much in common with other Iranian and Central Asian Jews, is unique because of its crypto-Jewish past. In the mid-1740s, Nadir Shah (1698–1747) brought several Jewish families (maybe forty or so) to his newly proclaimed capital, Mashhad, one of the holiest cities for Shi’a Islam in the Khorassan province of northern Iran, which became the nucleus of a prospering community.[[3]](#endnote-3) In March 1839, on the eve of Passover, during the commemoration of the third Shi’a Imam, Husayn B. ‘Ali, the Jews of Mashhad were fatefully attacked. The mob killed thirty-six, perhaps more, community members; to save the rest, the entire community converted to Islam.[[4]](#endnote-4) Evidence of the circumstances leading up to the forced conversion is lacking and vague. About half of the community left the city to Herat across the border in Afghanistan, in spite of the dangers involved. The rest, under the constant threat of being accused of disloyalty to their new religion, had to conceal their Jewish identity. Their continued secret Jewish existence and their persecution are recounted by Christian and Jewish travellers to Iran.[[5]](#endnote-5) Against all odds, their clandestine faithfulness to their Jewish religion strengthened their social cohesion while their outward conversion opened up economic possibilities, including much greater social and physical mobility.

The need for secrecy created a new social identity – the Mashhadis. The memory of this community’s Jewish past, along with stories of heroic cunning to preserve their Judaism, forged a link between the sacred memory of the Jewish people as it is enacted in the religious rites and its own trials and tribulations. Social mechanisms, such as endogamy and female home leadership created a new identity supported by a unique communal memory.[[6]](#endnote-6)

The turn of the century brought about some improvements in the lot of Iranian Jews, including the Mashhadis, thanks to the greater intervention of European Powers and European Jews.[[7]](#endnote-7) This intervention culminated in the 1873 promise of the Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–1896), during his trip to Europe, to accord Iranian Jews official royal protection. Even the crypto-Jews in Mashhad felt more secure in establishing secret synagogues and secret Jewish schools for boys following this decree.

The present article focuses on one immigrant in particular: Rabbi Shlomo Mashiah. In many ways it can be said to utilize something similar to the micro-history approach, in that it presents the story of one person as reflective and indicative of the views and cultural background of the earliest Mashhadi immigrants to the Land of Israel. The main reason for focusing on Rabbi Shlomo Mashiah is the fact that he left behind him a text, the “Shirah.” The “Shirah” is a rare literary expression among the Jews of Mashhad, who were mainly merchants, and the only literary expression left by them from this period are personal memoires or communal histories. Written in close proximity to the author’s immigration, it is almost unique in allowing a glimpse of his beliefs and feelings about his immigration. The “Shira,” therefore, is a voice well worth listening to, even if it cannot be regarded as characteristic of all Mashhadi Jews or of the Iranian Jewish community.

The poem and Mashiah’s early immigration provide a point of reference before political Zionism came to Iran and is an example of how cultural heritage and its connection to the land can engender the innovative idea of building a new home in what was until then a mythical homeland.[[8]](#endnote-8)

# From Mashhad to Jerusalem: A Story of Immigration

Very little can be ascertained about Rabbi Shlomo Mashiah beyond the main stations of his life. He was born in Mashhad, in northern Iran to his father Haj Mashiah, a member of the Bassali family, in 1871.[[9]](#endnote-9) The Jewish community in Mashhad had undergone a forced conversion to Islam in 1839 but had preserved a crypto-Jewish identity. Their life as crypto-Jews opened a doorway to opportunities as well as dangers since their neighbors could and sometimes did renounce them as unfaithful Muslims, as undercover Jews. They continued working as merchants and, as Muslims, could move more freely within Iran and across its borders, some of them reaching as far as Moscow and even Vilnius. The community’s leaders, including its religious leaders, were usually merchants who provided services without pay. Rabbi Mashiah would continue to do so in Jerusalem.

Rabbi Mashiah married Michal, his cousin on his father’s side, and when he immigrated to the Land of Israel it was together with his father’s larger family, including that of his grandfather’s second wife. One of the main characteristics of the community was intra-communal marriages, which took place quite often within the bounds of the same family. Family ties bore religious meaning and provided social and economic capital.

In the late nineteenth century, the situation of the community improved and Jewish education became possible, albeit in covert conditions.[[10]](#endnote-10) Mashiah had studied the Torah first in Mashhad with Mulla (Rabbi) Abba and later on his own; however, following his marriage, he earned his living by trade.[[11]](#endnote-11) His subsequent move to Turkestan in the early 1890s may have been motivated by the attack on the community in 1892. In 1892, the Mashhadis were accused of having killed a Muslim child (who was hidden away) in order to incite the local Shi’ites against the community. In verses 6–8 of his “Shira,” Mashiah expresses the heart-breaking experience as the work of the Heavenly hand: “How weighty also are Your thoughts unto me, O G-d,[[12]](#endnote-12) when You executed judgments.[[13]](#endnote-13) And in the year 1892 my part was plagues and sorrows,[[14]](#endnote-14) the hand of the Lord was against me[[15]](#endnote-15) in pestilence and plotters.[[16]](#endnote-16) Who is like You, mighty One, O Lord.[[17]](#endnote-17)”

The community was saved when the young boy was finally found. Mashiah in his “Shirah” commemorates the event as a miracle and a sign of heavenly mercy: “He remembered His mercy, and lo the boy was before the strangers who sought after my soul” (verse 7). Mashiah gives heartfelt thanks for the miraculous escape (verse 8). It is the only event that has three verses consecrated to it and probably the only one that Mashiah experienced in person.[[18]](#endnote-18)

In verses 8 and 9, the Mashiah family is depicted as living in Turkestan, motivated by economic as well as religious reasons.[[19]](#endnote-19) They joined a growing nucleus of 149 Mashhadi families who acted as small private bankers—providing cash against land, cattle, or future harvests at interest. These families, freed from the shackles of forced conversion, nonetheless found themselves in an environment hostile to Jews. Turkestan at this time was an area designated for the spread of Russian imperialism in Central Asia, under the pretext of what Tsarist officials called “the civilizing mission.” The mission was understood mainly as a means to consolidate Russian rule in Turkestan through the close integration of the province into the Russian empire.[[20]](#endnote-20) In reality, it mainly meant full economic exploitation of the region.[[21]](#endnote-21)

In Marv, Turkestan, the Mashhadi families came into direct contact with Bukharan Jews. The Bukharans’ solidifying ties with the Land of Israel, indeed, their growing immigration, would become a pivotal factor for Central Asian Jews and especially for the Mashhadis and the Afghanis. Mashhadis had close and stable ties with the Bukharans based on a linguistic and cultural affinity, commercial relations, and even marriage ties. Jews had moved from Mashhad to Bukhara to flee the forced conversion and then again after 1883. [[22]](#endnote-22) In Marv they met Bukharan Jewish families who returned to Judaism, the Chalah (half-made), with whom they shared a common fate of forced conversion.[[23]](#endnote-23) Bukhara was the most important source of the growing number of immigrants to the Land of Israel from Central Asia, but not the only one.[[24]](#endnote-24) The sporadic pilgrimages of the beginning of the 19th century turned into a wave of immigrants who built the “Bukharan neighbourhood” in Jerusalem in the 1890s.[[25]](#endnote-25) By 1913, no less than 9.3% of Bukharan Jews (917 people) had immigrated to the Land of Israel, an unprecedented proportion in comparison to other communities.[[26]](#endnote-26) A quarter of Bukharan Jews had visited the Land of Israel as pilgrims.

Meanwhile, from 1900, the situation in Turkestan, which for Mashhadis was a kind of refuge, soured. Like other non-Russian citizens, the Mashhadis lived in constant danger of expulsion because the Russians perceived them as an obstacle to their economic expansion and a target for traditional antisemitism.[[27]](#endnote-27) In 1902, forty-nine Mashhadi families were ordered to leave immediately; some of the families obtained a reprieve until 1905. The Mashhadis viewed the expulsion as directed against Jews and brought out their old trump-card—the fact that they were, officially, Muslims. The Russians, who were already aware that the Iranian “Muslims” were, in fact, Jews were not impressed and wished to be rid of them regardless of their religion. They were willing to let them stay if they accepted Russian citizenship and vowed to promote Russian economic interests, a result, probably, of the economic competition between the Russian Bank and the Imperial (Reuters) Bank represented by the Mashhadis.[[28]](#endnote-28) However, since most representatives of the Russian empire in Turkestan considered the conversion of Central Asia’s Muslims to Christianity as part of their imperial mission,[[29]](#endnote-29) the Mashhadis had little to endear them to Russia’s imperial government as members of either religion. The final order to expel all the Jews came on August 27, 1911. The expulsion order notwithstanding, some Mashhadis managed to stay in Turkestan as late as 1917, but not without suffering heavy losses at the hand of Russia’s discriminatory policies.[[30]](#endnote-30)

The Mashiah family was among the earliest to leave, although Rabbi Mashiah was a Russian subject until 1925, when he received a certificate of citizenship from the British Mandate for Palestine.[[31]](#endnote-31) Did he leave due to Russian imperial advances, the pressure on Jews to leave, and growing economic restrictions in Central Asia, or had he already decided on joining the group of immigrants heading to the Land of Israel beforehand? Before immigration, Haj Eliyahu, Mashiah’s father-in-law and uncle, (and member of the group that would later form around the Aharonoff brothers) went on a Hajj to Mecca with Haj Adoniyah and had a stop in Jerusalem that made Haj Adoniyah set his sights on immediate immigration.[[32]](#endnote-32)

Whatever the case may be, returning to Mashhad was not an option. In 1903, shortly after Mashiah had left the famine-stricken Mashhad, Shaykh Ibrahim Qazvini, a clergyman with a history of inciting violence against the Jews of Tehran (in 1901, for example), accused the crypto-Jews of Mashhad of hoarding wheat and roused the people against them.[[33]](#endnote-33) The angry mob was stopped before they reached the Jewish houses in the neighborhood of Eidgah, but turning onto a different road, they looted a few Jewish businesses and houses.[[34]](#endnote-34) Despite the poetically succinct description, verse 9 of the “Shirah” gives the impression that Mashiah had intimate knowledge of the events. Seeing as his brother Shaul stayed in Mashhad until 1950, his familiarity and deep identification is not surprising.[[35]](#endnote-35)

As in 1892, the accusation against the Mashhadis was that they were not “real” Muslims. What Mashiah does not say, or perhaps does not even know, is that the trouble in Mashhad had wider implications. Already in the 1890s, the popular pressure to curb the Shah’s power in Mashhad as well as other population centers, provided the wider political and economic context to the new accusations against the religious duplicity of the crypto-Jews.[[36]](#endnote-36) In 1891, Mashhad, Isfahan, and Kerman, among other towns, became centers of unrest against the Shah in protest of granting concessions to strangers, combining class interests and religious opposition.[[37]](#endnote-37) Mashhad was also one of the best examples of the dual role played by the Muslim establishment as both a progressive anti-Western force resisting foreign domination, and a reactionary force resisting internal secularization.[[38]](#endnote-38) The protests revolved around religious ideas about Shari’a law, but also included a component of resistance to foreign influence, at least in a roundabout way, as the reformers presented themselves as defenders against those who were selling the lands of Islam to infidels. Mashhad was a place where foreign infringement was a tangible reality, where Mashhadi (converted) Jews and Armenian Christians were seen as representatives of foreign economic influence. The Mashhadis were identified with the English due to their business connections.[[39]](#endnote-39) They therefore experienced these economic and political tension as religious persecution time and again, not least when it resulted in their forced conversion.[[40]](#endnote-40) The same was true when Iran was going through the throes of constitutional demands that finally culminated in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906.[[41]](#endnote-41)

Thus, when Mashiah left Turkestan and Mashhad, he and his wider family joined a group of immigrants to the Land of Israel in 1901.[[42]](#endnote-42) It was not the best choice from an economic standpoint. The destinations a merchant such as Mashiah should have chosen were Istanbul, Alexandria, or London. All of these cities were, in fact, destinations of immigration for other Mashhadi Jews fleeing persecution at this time. Yet many, like Mashiah, continued to Jerusalem.[[43]](#endnote-43)

The group Mashiah joined included the families of the five Aharonoff brothers, under the leadership of the eldest brother, Haj Adoniyah. He reportedly told of an incident that made up his mind to leave Mashhad. His brother’s descendent, Ephraim Levy, wrote about the hurt pride and perhaps the new hopes that spurred the group on: “As he [Adoniyah] entered the Artisans Market, a religious Muslim youth suddenly came up to him, called him a “Najes” [unclean, Jew] and threw at him a rotten egg, which bespattered his expensive and elegant robes. Hadji Adoniahu [sic.], who was a wealthy merchant and a notable of the city, was deeply insulted, and thought unto himself: until when shall we be downtrodden by our enemies, who denigrate the People of Israel with impunity? Why do we not return to the land of our fathers…?”[[44]](#endnote-44)

A short time later, a brief report from Mashhad that appeared in 1904 in Habazeleth, one of the early Hebrew-language newspapers published in Jerusalem, made it clear that the affluence accessible to the crypto-Jews was checked by continued discrimination.[[45]](#endnote-45) After 1906, a hundred families, “an exodus of the Jadeeds,” as the British consul in Mashhad called it, emigrated from Mashhad to Istanbul, fearing that the new constitution would further bolster religious intolerance and that their situation as crypto-Jews would become even more unbearable because they would “be compelled to become Mussulmans in something more than name, as they are at present.”[[46]](#endnote-46) Many of them continued on from Istanbul to Jerusalem.[[47]](#endnote-47)

Although this sounds like the “usual” state of perpetual discomfort experienced by Jews in Iran, for the Mashhadis it was a good deal more frustrating. Although outwardly living as Muslims, they were not spared the hate or the persecutions. They were still strangers in a way that neither religion nor the stirrings of modern Iranian nationalism could overcome. Only after WWII would the Mashhadis feel themselves at home in Iran.[[48]](#endnote-48)

And yet, Mashiah left no direct expression attesting to his motives for immigration. His son explains the timing by the news that reached Mashhad via the pilgrims to Mecca. Specifically, he mentions the pilgrimage of Haj Yehezkel that awakened in other Mashhadi Jews “the fervent yeaning to immigrate” to the Land of Israel. He then gives a short list of members of the group and laconically adds “in addition (to the above mentioned) the ancestors of our family also immigrated.”[[49]](#endnote-49)

Haj Adoniyah, even before his pilgrimage was in close contact with the Sephardic community in Jerusalem through the Chief Rabbi, Rishon Le-Zion Yisa Berakha (1817–1906).[[50]](#endnote-50) Iranian Jews in general and Mashhadi Jews in particular had long standing connections with the Land of Israel but, up until the late 19th century, very few actually immigrated there.[[51]](#endnote-51) These connections were mainly through *shadarim*, emissaries who collected charity for Jerusalem’s poor and for the *yeshivot* (schools of rabbinic study), and through pilgrimage to the holy places. Letters from the Chief Rabbi in Jerusalem, Rishon Le-Zion Yisa Berakha, to the chief Rabbi in Mashhad, Rabbi Mordekhai Aqlar, and Haj Adoniyah regarding the donations given by Mashhadis in Mashhad and other cities where they dwelt express deep gratitude and give evidence of the ongoing connection. Rabbi Yisa Berakha also points out that he heard from the *shadarim* “of the great degree to which our dear brethren in the diaspora partake in the love of Zion.”[[52]](#endnote-52)

Immigration from Mashhad increased after the Bukharan neighborhood of Jerusalem had been established.[[53]](#endnote-53) The most direct influence and practical assistance came from Binyamin Gol-Shauloff (1859-1929) who “worked conscientiously and brought after him many members of his community and members of the Persian Mashhadi community. . . . He bought them land, built them houses and helped them settle in Jerusalem.”[[54]](#endnote-54) His father, Shaul, was a Mashhadi who had moved to Herat, after the forced conversion in 1840. Binyamin played a central role in the immigration to the Land of Israel of the Afghan Jews to whose community he belonged, and whose committee he led for thirty years. The same was true for the Mashhadi Jews to whom he was related and in whose building projects he participated, and for the Bukharan Jews who integrated into his family through marriage. For a while, he even served as member of the Bukharan community’s committee, so close were his ties with this community.[[55]](#endnote-55) Gol-Shaulof propagated immigration and was in direct contact with Haj Adoniyah, whose synagogue he helped build, as stated on the plaque that adorns the building to this very day:

Even unto them will I give in My house and within My walls a monument and a memorial better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting memorial. This magnificent building was built for the synagogue and the beit midrash for the Giv’at Shaul company out of charity money by the old and venerable gentleman who pursues charity and kindness seeking the good of his people, our master and teacher Mordekhai Adoniyah may his soul be preserved who passed away on the first day of Kislev [12.11.1901]. . . all was done by the efforts of. . . and by the efforts of Bai Baba Pinhsof and the brothers Yisrael and Binyamin Shaul Gol. . . and they are the guardians, as a condition that the building will not be sold and will not be redeemed, not to mortgaged and not be exchanged even for charity.

Haj Adoniyah came to Jerusalem with the intention of building a synagogue and an alms house for the community as a way to encourage and facilitate further immigration.[[56]](#endnote-56) Rabbi Mashiah admired him for his role in encouraging further immigration and claimed that “although the deceased passed away childless, we could say that all the immigrants from Mashhad are his good offsprings and are accounted to him,” for by the “holiness of his soul he attracted to himself all the immigrants up to this day.”[[57]](#endnote-57)

The connections forged between the Jews in Central Asia were revived in Jerusaelm. The Mashhadis built their houses adjacent to the Bukharan community in a new neighborhood, Giv’at Shaul, named in the memory of Binyamin Gol-Shaulof’s father. Afghan Jews, taking advantage of their scion’s connections with Bukharan community also resided within the same quarter.[[58]](#endnote-58)

After reaching Jerusalem, Rabbi Mashiah still lived by his trade. Contrary to traditional messianism, Mashiah was not sitting around waiting for the Messiah.[[59]](#endnote-59) Having brought his family to Jerusalem, he went on with his commercial travels to Istanbul.[[60]](#endnote-60) However, unlike other members of his family, for him it was a temporary trade post.[[61]](#endnote-61)

In 1905, he wrote his “Shirah Lemeora’ot Anusei Moshe” (Poem of the History of the Forced Converts in Mashhad)[[62]](#endnote-62) dealing with the pains of exile and a prayer for redemption of the Mashhadi Jews. It was published in the *Siddur ‘Olat Hashabbat* (Shabbat Offering Prayer Book) in 1910. This *siddur* can still be found in Mashhadi centersaround the world. Quite possibly, it was written as a thanks-giving offering for having reached his destination safely, which was a common custom among immigrants. As Binyamin Gol-Shaulof wrote in the preface to *Hayyat al Ruh* (Spiritual Life) by Rabbi Siman Tov Melamed, the religious leader of Mashhadi Jews before their conversion, “there is no doubt that we owe thanks to the Holy blessed be He for all the goodness he has shown us, getting us over the see to good and safe life and to behold the graciousness of the LORD, and to visit early in His temple. And if the Temple was now standing we ought to have brought an offering of thanks. . . now. . . that we have no temple. . . our idea encouraged us to convey credit to many by printing the book…which so far was in handwriting only.”[[63]](#endnote-64) Many books published by Bukharans were thanksgiving offerings for their successful immigration.[[64]](#endnote-65)

Like many in the Bukharan community, Mashiah allowed his son’s curriculum to include modern subjects besides the Torah. In fact, he went one step further by allowing the boy to go to Tahkemoni, a religious-Zionist school, which received students from all communities, and combined traditional and modern studies in its curriculum. The school was founded in Jerusalem in 1909, sparking heated controversy among the Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox community.[[65]](#endnote-66) Although his son remembered it as a pragmatic decision, allowing his son to go to a modern school that taught secular subjects and was not ethnically sectarian was, for Mashiah, a step toward accepting Zionism.[[66]](#endnote-67)

Mashiah was well known for his devotion, especially in prayer. He was a mystic and a disciple and friend of Rabbi Shaul Dweck-HaCohen (1857-1933), the recognized leader of Jerusalem’s Sephardic Kabbalists. After Dweck-HaCohen passed away, Mashiah emerged as one of the era’s most important Kabbalists.[[67]](#endnote-68) His image as a spiritual personage was painted by his son, Eliyahu, as a heavenly presence, “an amazing apparition, not of this world. My father was sitting as usual in his corner wrapped in his tallit [prayer shawl] and adorned in his double tefillin [phylacteries][[68]](#endnote-70) and there was a sort of glow of light shining around his being, where he sat. Seeing this vision, we were dumbfounded, my friend and I could not believe our own eyes.”[[69]](#endnote-71) His prominence in the community was well established and symbolized by having had a yeshiva for young people named after him: “Tif’eret Shlomo” (The Glory of Shlomo).[[70]](#endnote-72) He passed away in Jerusalem and buried there in 1956.

# The “Shirah”: Innovative Traditionalism

The “Shirah” is a religious poetic expression of the oppression of the Jews of Mashhad and a prayer for Jewish redemption. It is a *piyyut* in terms of its form, style, language, and imagery, and uses traditional poetic methods such as “Tanakhic inlay” (*shibbutz*) and the use of acrostics. In fact, it even borrows from other *piyyutim*.[[71]](#endnote-73)

The “Shirah” consists of an opening section, followed by two main sections—one historical and one messianic—which are connected by two verses expressing personal gratitude. Its overall structure is as follows:

* verse 1: address to the almighty
* verses 2–9: Mashhadi history
* verses10–11: thanks for personal redemption
* verses 12–22: prayer for the people’s redemption

The historical section is framed within the sacred history of the people of Israel (verses 2–3). The “Shirah” gives thanks for G-d’s support in the struggle against the prototypical enemies—Esau and Ishmael. By doing so, the author sets his story in the traditional meta-historical framework.[[72]](#endnote-74) Ishmael, as the mythological forefather of Islam and Muslim rule fits this framework even though he is not depicted as an arch enemy quite as often as Esau. Coupling him with Esau, however, truly allows an all-inclusive view of Jewish sacred history. The framework of sacred history is also established by the allusion to the exodus from Egypt, the prototypical redemption story, using the formal opening of the *Haggadah* for the start of his own tale:[[73]](#endnote-75) “Blessed are You the Lord who keeps His promise to Israel.[[74]](#endnote-76) As his people fall into the hands of Esau and Ishmael. When they are in the land of their enemies, He does not reject them, neither does He abhor them.[[75]](#endnote-77) For He forsakes not His saints, the Lord.”[[76]](#endnote-78)

The “Shirah” was written as a religious expression of thanks and prayer. Yet it is important to note that, although ostensibly written in traditional messianic language and couched in biblical terms, it is a poetic act driven by modern anxieties and characterized by numerous departures from tradition. Immediately after a traditional appeal for permission and for heavenly encouragement, Mashiah elucidates his frame of reference through the use of Tanakhic inlay, namely that the Mashhadi community’s particular woes are woven into Jewish sacred history. The story of his community is identified with that of the people of Israel at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem through the traditional associations linked with this event. The framework is important as a source of hope: G-d protects the people of Israel for staying faithful, “He preserves the faithful, the Lord.”[[77]](#endnote-85)

Yet sacred history is meant to transcend local, transitory problems and provide a long, messianic viewpoint. Sacred history goes against individuality, locality, and temporality; therefore, it is not history. Among Jews, commemorating specific events is a modern secular custom that defeats the very notion of sacred history which posits that the biblical record can inform all history and lacks interest in historical facts.[[78]](#endnote-86)

Despite the formal framework, Mashiah does not write sacred history; he writes poetic history. He celebrates his community and commemorates its suffering and endurance. By incorporating the Mashhadis’ history in the general sacred history of the Jewish people, the “Shirah” aims to sanctify the community’s history while preserving its particularity. Its very expression connotes a modern sense of a particular identity and awareness of a specific time. His setting of dates to the events is therefore highly significant. After relating the forced conversion, he continues to follow Masshadi history by referring to the latest attacks on the community in 1892 in verses 6–8 and in 1903 in verse 9:

[Verse 6] How weighty also are Your thoughts unto me, O G-d,[[79]](#endnote-87) when You executed judgments.[[80]](#endnote-88) And in the year 1892 my part was plagues and sorrows,[[81]](#endnote-89) the hand of the LORD was against me[[82]](#endnote-90) in pestilence and plotters.[[83]](#endnote-91) Who is like You, mighty One, O Lord.[[84]](#endnote-92)

[Verse 9] You have dealt bountifully with me,[[85]](#endnote-93) year 1903 month Ziv [light—Iyyar][[86]](#endnote-94) the proud have forged a lie against me[[87]](#endnote-95) to take the spoil, and to take the prey[[88]](#endnote-96) voracious multitudes.[[89]](#endnote-97) Their eyes bedaubed[[90]](#endnote-98) and you repelled them though they came up to[[91]](#endnote-99) my home once and again. How manifold are Your works, O Lord![[92]](#endnote-100)

In these verses, Mashiah adopts a first-person narrative voice, whereas prior verses are written in the third person. Thereby he is speaking at once as individual and as spokesman for his community, indicating personal involvement since the events he recounts happened in his own lifetime. These incidents, in 1892 and in 1903, clearly point to the precarious state of the crypto-Jewish community.

The middle verses (10–11), before the “Shirah” takes a turn, as a prayer for the future, are different from the rest. The wording of verse 10, “*yodukha ra’ayonai*” (“my ideas are praise to You”) is in the singular, just like the *piyyut* by Rabbi Israel Najara, which it quotes: “My ideas are praise to You, for redeeming me from the hands of alien lords. For they have harassed me to have me washed clean of[[93]](#endnote-101) the land[[94]](#endnote-102) of the chosen. They have proposed evil and Lord make them perish and put them away.[[95]](#endnote-103) For the Lord is a Jealous and Avenging G-d.”

This verse clearly expresses Mashiah’s personal gratitude for being saved from subjugation by foreign rulers and for returning to the Land of the Chosen. The call for revenge at the end of the verse, as well as the portrayal of his immigration as an escape from foreign rulers, reflects the political situation that made leaving Iran dangerous. In the early days after the forced conversion, emigration was forbidden under pain of death.[[96]](#endnote-104) It was only in the late nineteenth century that the Hajj began to be undertaken as a cover for visiting the Land of Israel. At this time, Iranian pilgrimage was facilitated by the waning of the Ottoman empire and of Western influence. As a result, one to eight thousand Iranian pilgrims travelled to Mecca in the period around 1885. As one Iranian Pilgrim writes, “Previously, in Mecca the populace greatly persecuted the Iranian pilgrims who were Shi’ites, so they had to practice complete dissimulation. These days, because of the weakness of the Ottoman government and the European style law which is practiced there, and the strength of the Iranian government, this practice is completely abandoned. There is no persecution of Iranians.” [[97]](#endnote-105) The lifting of the practical difficulties of practicing the Hajj was also due to Iran’s strengthening ties with Western powers and with Western Jewish organizations.[[98]](#endnote-106)

The second half of the “Shirah” is devoted to the Jewish people, suggesting that Mashhadi particularity is to be submerged in the redemption of the Jewish people as a whole. But this part also includes minor adjustments in the choice of terms and phrases which perhaps express, albeit using very traditional language, much newer ideas, or at least the antecedents to ideas that would shortly emerge. Mashiah departs from traditional prayer when he directly identifies the state of religion with the diasporic fate of the Jewish people in verse 13: “My King, be jealous for Your Holy Name. Quickly, whistle and gather the sheep, they are Your Shekhinah [Your dwelling presence]. We are so fallen and no one does raise us up[[99]](#endnote-107) and support us, but You. Wake up, why do You sleep, O Lord.” Mashiah prays that G-d be jealous for the sake of His Holy name and gather His sheep. Jealousy for the sake of the Holy name appears several times in the Tanakh.[[100]](#endnote-108) The notion that fear of G-d among the nations is a consideration for redemption is much more prevalent.[[101]](#endnote-109) But Mashiah takes a more radical stand by identifying the “sheep” with the *shekhinah*, the feminine aspect of the presence of G-d, encountered in the Mishna as a mystical concept. The degradation of the Jewish people is not merely a reflection on G-d’s name, but a degradation of His very presence as well. The state of the Jewish people as identified with G-d’s greatness and the Torah was formulated by Rabbi Moshe Haim Luzzatto (1707–1746), a prominent Italian mystic and philosopher, as a triangular equation: “the Holy One, Torah and Israel—are One.”[[102]](#endnote-110) Mashiah’s interpretation is on the verge of the political because it is combined with historically specific situations, as expressed in the earlier verses, rather than with general exilic existence. This identification would become overtly political only three decades after the composition of the “Shirah.”

Rabbi Abraham Isaac HaCohen Kook (1865–1935), the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi under the Mandate, expanded and deepened this synthesis between nationalism and religion.[[103]](#endnote-111) The heads of the Sha’ar HaShamayim Yeshiva, who backed Rabbi Kook’s appointment as chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, in their Kabbalist thinking tied the Messsiah’s arrival to Zionist activity in Palestine.[[104]](#endnote-112) But the most radical usage of the triangular identification was made by the Brit Hashmonaim (Hasmonean covenant, acronym BRIAH) group, a right-wing political movement with leanings toward the Stern group. They combined mystical Jewish ideas with radical political aspirations and used the triangular formula in their writings.[[105]](#endnote-113) In February, 1939, two years after BRIAH’s foundation in Jerusalem, the first in a series of ideological articles started out with the mystical triangle as motto: “I believe with perfect faith that Israel and the Torah and the Holy One blessed be He—are One.”[[106]](#endnote-114) It was fashioned after Maimonides’s thirteen articles of faith and intended to have the same religious force. Indeed, members of BRIAH were deeply religious individuals from the Merkaz Yeshiva founded by Rabbi Kook. The BRIAH oath accorded equal weight to religious faithfulness and political activism, being “as committed to Moses’s Torah as to David’s kingship.”[[107]](#endnote-115) Thus, desecration of the Holy Name was defined as an act “by which the honor of G-d or the honor of Israel or the honor of the Torah are violated.”[[108]](#endnote-116) Merkaz students emphasized that, following Kook’s philosophy, they viewed “nationalism and Zionism not as a secular idea, that Orthodox people also accept, but as foundations emanating directly from the Torah of Israel.”[[109]](#endnote-117) Their religious language became infused with political meaning and was backed up by their actions as a recruitment branch for underground movements, especially the paramilitary groups of Etzel and Lehi (the Stern group).[[110]](#endnote-118) Some students from Merkaz were known to hear Rabbi Mashiah’s Kabbalistic lessons. Did he teach this idea? Did they hear it from him or was it simply in the air among people who promulgated ideas of religious nationalism?[[111]](#endnote-119) Either way, their practice helps us understand the significance of his innovative verse which had nationalist potential.

The last verse of the “Shirah” (verse 22) similarly gives a political twist to a well-known spiritual messianic concept: “Incline[[112]](#endnote-120) to me Your mercies,[[113]](#endnote-121) from the high skies.[[114]](#endnote-122) Crush[[115]](#endnote-123) and cut off[[116]](#endnote-124) Your enemies[[117]](#endnote-125) to a determinate end.[[118]](#endnote-126) Remove the evil government from the Land and the Lord will be king in all the land, on that terrible day of the Lord.”[[119]](#endnote-127) The call for the removal of the evil government was understood by an overwhelming majority of Jewish rabbinic authorities as the mystic abolishment of Evil.[[120]](#endnote-128) A few of them, took a worldlier but no less messianic view and saw it as the removal of the government of Esau and Ishmael—Israel’s prototypical oppressors. The “Shirah” was framed around this oppression and redemption in the form of its removal.[[121]](#endnote-129) It is remarkable, that more than three decades later, BRIAH[[122]](#endnote-130) and Etzel[[123]](#endnote-131) would both use what, for Mashiah, may have been a purely messianic interpretation in a purely political context, vilifying the British Mandate as the ultimate (cosmic) evil.[[124]](#endnote-132)

Was Mashiah their forerunner? Mashiah’s son may have acted upon such an interpretation when he joined an illegal movement during the British Mandate. He first joined Beitar, a revisionist youth group, but left it because he “was looking for a neutral, national way by which to reach the target. The Haganah movement was the object of my desire.”[[125]](#endnote-133) However, that may also have been the result his Zionist education at Tahkemoni, an education to which his father, at the very least, acquiesced.

The “Shirah” may have sounded to Mashiah as old as prayer itself, indeed perhaps as old as offerings in the Temple, but his surroundings were modern: imperial, national, political. The clearest departure from religious custom, by including the “Shirah” in a siddur, is a show of awareness that something different was afoot, an awareness clearly shared by others. Perhaps it was a newly urgent hope that the Messiah was on his way, perhaps it was the feeling that a window of opportunity was opening somehow.[[126]](#endnote-134) After all, new times call for new ways.

The inclusion of the “Shirah” in the siddur is as confusing as the “Shirah” itself. It is a departure from tradition in a traditional way. It preserves the religious form, it provides a religious interpretation to historical events, and it revitalizes sacred history. But in doing so, it is bringing modern concerns of identity construction and preservation, and modern solutions of history writing into the religious realm, thus easing the entrance of departures and innovations, making them almost imperceptible.

Rabbi Mattiyah Gargi, the chief Rabbi of the Afghan Jewish community, in writing his book “The Annals of Time,” likewise had a dual goal: offering thanks to the Heavens for his and his people’s long endurance, but also making sure that these annals are not forgotten by posterity, which expresses a worry they might be: “lest it be forgotten from our children to thank his name and bless Him for it is good to thank the Lord.” It is a similar combination of religious sensitivities with modern hopes and modern worries that spring from the same source: the ingathering of Jews from various lands, and the wish to preserve a communal identity.[[127]](#endnote-135) The “Shirah” likewise celebrates a particular identity and commemorates particular events with the intention of preserving an identity within the Jewish people, while claiming full membership and participation in its destiny. Unlike traditional prayer, which is always in the Jewish collective voice, the “Shirah” expresses communal identity.[[128]](#endnote-136)

Rabbi Mattiyah Gargi came from a family that originated in Mashhad, but left soon after the forced conversion. The family kept close relations with the Mashhadi community; providing religious guidance and teachings. His son, Rabbi Yosef Gargi, who was a successful merchant before immigrating to Palestine in 1911, retained his enthusiasm for the Land of Israel notwithstanding the deterioration in his financial situation. In a commentary on the book of Psalms, he expounded admonishments to those who fail to immigrate while promising both spiritual and physical benefits to those who make the effort.[[129]](#endnote-137) Rabbi Dweck-HaCohen, Mashiah’s teacher and friend, apparently an enthusiastic supporter of Zionism, also regarded the “new settlement and the return to Zion [as] ‘the bells of the Messiah and the arousal from below to the redemption above.’”[[130]](#endnote-138)

Traditional language appears in the poems of Rabbi Menahem Shmuel Halevi (1884–1940), although unlike Mashiah, he was an avowed and active organizer of several Zionist organizations in Hamadan and later also a resident of the Bukharan neighborhood in Jerusalem. Only by taking into consideration Halevi’s activities can his poems be read as having a second, nationalist meaning.[[131]](#endnote-139) Even his poem in honor of Herbert Samuel’s appointment as first British High Commissioner of Palestine, is rich with “Tanakhic inlay” (just like Mashiah’s poem) and, despite the usage of words such as Nation (‘am), fatherland (eretz moladeti), and even return of Zion (Shivat Zion), neither of these are intrinsically modern, and there is no hint of breaking with religious tradition:

How my soul longed and wished

To reside in the courts of holiness;

To sacrifice the bread, offering by fire,

The day when the savior arrives at Zion.[[132]](#endnote-140)

Thus, the political activist, who led and participated in Zionist organized activity, writes in the same traditional language, his modern activity presented as a mere addition to religious messianic longings.

Mixing sacred history with secular nationalist awakening is clearest perhaps in a list of sacred events and dates accumulated by Rabbi Levi Nissim, another Mashhadi rabbi, starting with the Tanakhic kings and prophets and concluding with the first agricultural settlements in the Land of Israel in the nineteenth century, which he wrote on the inside cover of his siddur. It is hard to establish the date of Rabbi Nissim’s writing, but as the last recorded date on the list is 1892, it must have been written down between that date and WWI, which would have merited an entry. The date of the first settlement is erroneously set at 1886 instead of 1882, but the dates sound identical in Hebrew (tarlav, the “v” sound being signified by either the letter “vet” or the letter “vav”) which probably means that he received it by word of mouth.[[133]](#endnote-141) Therefore, it must have been written in around the time of those early immigrations. Rabbi Levi Nissim himself, however, stayed in Iran. His interest in the news from the Land of Israel provides the proper background to his family’s and his community’s mass immigration in later years.

The true significance of Mashiah’s “Shirah” lies in the context of his immigration, as a member of a growing phenomenon among Central Asian Jews. Whether it was part of a messianic expectation, or messianic implementation, it created new realities for the immigrants as well as for those who stayed behind. It also provided a basis for days to come. Therefore, it is the immigration that makes the “Shirah” relevant and calls attention to its innovations.

Taken together, the immigration and the messianic longing, become more than messianic implementation. They go beyond the cultural basis of an *ethnie*. Granted, not far beyond, but they have the potential of a beginning of a new age. Not merely because we read history in hind-sight, but because their innovative act gave a new edge to old prayers, and mystic beliefs, and in their growing numbers they created a new movement.

# Conclusion

Rabbi Mashiah’s life was embedded in modern phenomena. He encountered new stirrings of nationalism and imperialism and suffered at their heavy hands. But they also brought new opportunities: safer roads, shorter voyages to old sites of pilgrimage. In such a context, even trying to perpetuate the religious tradition as if nothing new was happening is bound to result in a new outcome. Rabbi Mashiah, the Mashhadis, and the Bukharan community with whom the Mashhadis enjoyed cultural, commercial, and even conjugal ties, were reacting within a traditional religious framework to events of an entirely new order.

The “Shirah” is an expression of such a reaction. It still reads history within the cycle of Exile and Redemption. Yaron Harel’s term of innovative traditionalism describes the positive embrace of modernity without a break with tradition.[[134]](#endnote-142) Writing his community’s history was a modern act clothed in traditional garb. The innovative characteristics of the “Shirah” are made clear only in the light of later usage by radical political Zionists.

The same is true of his immigration. Like Haj Adoniyah, he must have “loved his God and his people and his Torah [sic.].”[[135]](#endnote-143) Immigration to the Holy Land could be seen as a worldly implementation of redemption. As he says in verse 10, it was the “land of the chosen,” but he made it the land of his choice.

The “Shirah”, like his immigration and that of many others from Central Asia may have given expression to the feeling that the days of messianic ingathering has come. It was a traditional means of expression for a modern departure from traditional passive expectations for messianic redemption. The “Shirah” is the new poetic voice of a crypo-Jewish community whose old-new craving for redemption were expressed in a new-old environment they have carved out for themselves.

# Notes

1. See Amnon Netzer, “Transliterated title” [The Immigration of Persian Jews and their Settlement in the Land of Israel since the Late Nineteenth Century until the Balfour Declaration], in *Miqedem Umiyam* [From the East and From the Sea], ed. Sarah Fuks (Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1981), pp. 281–294; Amnon Netzer, “Transliterated title” [The Immigration of Iranian Jews to the Land of Israel in the Years 1922–1948], in *Zion vezionut bekerev yehudeu sfarad vehamizrah* [Zion and Zionism among Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews], ed. Warren Zev Harvey (Jerusalem: Misgav, 2002), pp. 366–7. Even later, the main motivations for immigration were practical rather than Zionist. Amnon Netzer, “Transliterated title” [Zionist Activity in Persia in 1920–1926], in *Miqedem Umiyam* [From the East and From the Sea], ed. Sarah Fuks (Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1981), p. 241. First Name Levy, “Transliterated title” [Persian Jews in Jerusalem], *Kivunim*, Vol. 27 (1985), pp. 133–135. See also, First Name Levy, “Transliterated title” [The Jews of Mashhad in the Early Twentieth Century], in *Transliterated title* [The Jews of Mashhad], ed. name of editor (Jerusalem: private edition, 1998), page range. Apparently, both count as Zionist only those with ties to the Zionist Organization. Only Yehoshua-Raz attributes Zionist motivations to the early immigrants. Ben-Zion Yehoshua-Raz, *Transliterated title* [From the Lost Tribes in Afghanistan to the Mashhad Jewish Converts of Iran], (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1992), p. 140. See also Ben-Zion Yehoshua-Raz, *Meachorey masach hameshi: amim veyehudim bamerhav hairani* [Behind the silk curtain: peoples and Jews in the Iranian space] (Jerusalem: Carmel Press, 2013), p. 140. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Harel defines Zionism as limited to active participation in a Zionist organization. Yaron Harel, “Transliterated title” [Zionism of Tradition? An Analysis of the Character of Zionist Activity in the Asian and African Communities], in *Transliteraed title* [Milestones, Essays and Research in the History of the Jewish People Dedicated to Zvi (Kuti) Yekutieli], ed. Immanuel Etkes, David Assaf, and Yosef Kaplan (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2015), pp. 321–335. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Yaghoub Dilmanian, *History of the Jews of Mashhad, 1746-1946: From Their Entrance to Mashhad at the Time of Nader Shah Afshar until Their Migration from Mahshad to Tehran*, trans. from Persian, private publication (New York, 1977), pp. 13–14. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Raphael Patai, *Jadid Al-Islam: The Jewish “New Muslims” of Meshhed* (Detroit, 1997), pp. 51–65. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845), p. 147. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Hilda Nissimi, *The Crypto-Jewish Mashhadis: The Shaping of Religious and Communal Identity in their Journey from Iran to New York*, (Sussex Academic press, 2007). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Walter J. Fischel, “The Jews of Persia,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1950), page range, p. 125. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Itzhak Bezalel, *Noladtem zionim* [You Were Born Zionists](Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben Zvi, 2008), p. 406. Similarly, on the idea of *ethnie*, see Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History* (Hanover, NH 2000), p. 113. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. E. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 13 Provide full reference, this is the first time it appears. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. First name Nymark, *Transliterated title* [Travels in the Land of the East, Syria, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia], ed. First name Ya’ari,(Jerusalem: publisher, 1947), pp. 89–91. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Yitzhak Elyashiv, “Meah vehamishim shana leanusei mashhad-iran” [150 Years to the forced conversion of Mashhad-Iran], *Ha-Modi’a*, Vol. 21 (July 1989), page range, p. 8, courtesy of Mrs. Ronit Mashiah, his granddaughter. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Psalms 139:17. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Exodus 12:12, Numbers 33:4. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Psalms 32:10. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Deuteronomy 2:15, Judges 2:15. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Deuteronomy 22:14. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. The *‘Amida* prayer, beginning of the 2nd blessing. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. A far more detailed account by Farajullah Nasrullayoff can be found in Patai, *Jadid Al-Islam*, pp. 79–82. A slightly different, later account given in 1939 by Samad Aqa son of Yosef Dilmani moves the date to 1890. See Yehoshu’a-Raz, *From the Lost Tribes*, pp. 114–15. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. I could not ascertain the dates of his sojourn in Turkestan, nor his actual presence in Mashhad during the incidents. However, members of his extended family were in Mashhad. Evidence? [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Ulrich Hofmeister, “Civilization and Russification in Tsarist Central Asia, 1860–1917,” *Journal of World History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2016), page range, p. 427. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Hina Khan, “Russian Expansionism in Central Asia and the Region's Response,” *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (April 1996), page range, pp. 48–9. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Mizrahi, Persian Jews, p. 209. Please provide full reference. Mashhadi History vol. 1 in general pp. 397-408. Esp. 399, 407. Please provide full reference. Bahodir Juraev, “Russian title” [Foreign Trade Relations of The Khanate of Bukhara], *Бюллетень науки и практики* [Bulletin of Science and Practice] Vol. 6, no. 3 (2020), pp. 545–549. Yehoshua-Raz, *Behind the Silk Curtain*, 489. Michael Zand, “Transliterated title” [Bukharan Jewry and the Russian Occupation of Central Asia by the Russians], *Pe’amim,* Vol. 35 (1988), page range, p. 57. Zand claims that marriages between Mashhadis and Bukharan Jews in Marv Turkmenistan were so prevalent that he argues their identity was submerged in the Bukharan community. There is enough evidence, however, that their Mashhadi identity was preserved, and Rabbi Mashiah’s “Shirah” is a very poignant one. Nevertheless, Zand’s claim points to the great affinity between the communities. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Albert Kaganovich, “Transliterated title” [The Muslim Jews: Chalah in Central Asia, 1865–1917], in *Transliterated title*, [Bukharan Jews: History Language Literature and Culture], ed. Chana Tolmas (Tel Aviv: publisher, 2006), page range, p. 111. On the Mashhadis in the same time, place, and circumstances, see Albert Kaganovich, “Russian title” [On Moslem Jews in the Turkestan region (according to archive data)], in *Russian title* [Central Asia Jews in Past and Present, Expeditions, researches, Publications, Collected Articles], ed. Ilya Dvorkin (St. Petersburg: publisher, 1995), pp. 117–132. (I am very grateful to Ms. Victoria Melichson for her translation.) [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Shirazi Jews also increasingly immigrated: Mizrahi, *Persian Jews*, p. 202, Kashani, Jewish Communities in Persia [in Hebrew], p. 71. Provide full references for both. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Giora Fuzailov, “Transliterated title” [The Immigration of Bukharan Jews to the Land of Israel and their Settlement until the First World War], *Pe’amim*, Vol. 35 (1988), page range, p. 122. In 1889, 200 families came as one group and organized as a community, and as a building society. Ibid, p. 126. See also Catherine Poujol, “Les relations entre l'Asie Centrale et la Palestine ou les voies d'un sionisme affectif: 1793-1917” [Relations between Central Asia and Palestine, or the pathways of affective Zionism : 1793–1917], *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January-March, 1991), pp. 33–42. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Rachel Shar’abi, *Hayeshuv hasfaradi beyerushalaim behsalhey hatkufa haotomanit 1893–1914* [The Sepahrdic Settlement in Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Period, 1893–1914] (Tel Aviv: Kotar, 1989), pp. 94–95. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Zand, “Bukharan Jewry,” p. 79. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Albert Kaganovich, “On Moslem Jews in the Turkestan region,” pp. 117–132. First name Levy, “The Jews of Mashhad,” p. 3, pp. 8–12. “Meshed Consulate Diary for Week ending 11 April 1902,” FO 248/164 “The expulsion of the Jews known as ‘Jadids’.” [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Hofmeister, “Civilization and Russification,” pp. 411–442, especially pp. 413–415. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. First name, Levy, “The Jews of Mashhad,” pp. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Certificate of Citizenship of Palestine, 4.5.1925, courtesy of Mrs. Ronit Mashiah, his granddaughter. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Ephraim Levy, “The Cohen-Aharonoff Family,” in *Their Ancestral Home 5–6*, (Jerusalem: The Israeli Geneological Society, 1992), p. 34. Please verify that this is correct, if the source is in Hebrew provide transliterated titles with English translations in square brackets. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. For a more complete account of the incitement against the Jews in Teheran, see Habib Levy, *Comprehensive History of the Jews of Iran*, ed. Hooshang Ebrami, trans. George W. Maschke (Costa Mesa: Mazda Pub, 1999), pp. 448–450. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Dilmanian, *History of the Jews of Mashhad*, pp. 60–62. For another version of the events see, “Meshed confidential diary no. 78,” 4 July 1904, FO 248/821 National Archives UK. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. It is unlikely he himself was still in Mashhad. He immigrated together with the Aharonoff brothers and their immigration is known to have taken place in 1901. Haj Adoniyah passed away in November 1901 after founding his synagogue. Levy, “The Cohen-Aharonoff Family,” p. 35. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Political unrest involved various parts of the population including some of the ulma and affected both the urban centers and the provinces. Homa Katouzian, “The Revolution for Law: A Chronographic Analysis of the Constitutional Revolution of Iran,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 5 (2011), pp. 759–762. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Mansoor Moaddel, “Shi’i Political Discourse and Class Mobilization in the Tobacco Movement of 1890-1892”, *Sociological Forum* 7, No. 3 (1992), pp. 462–465. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Chris Paine and Erica Schoenberger, “Iranian Nationalism and the Great Powers: 1872-1954,” *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 37 (May, 1975), page range, p. 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Frank R.C. Bagley, “New light on the Iranian constitutional movement,” in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Change*, *1800–1925*, ed. Edmond Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand(Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1992), page range, 61. Ann Lambton, “Persian Society Under the Qajars,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (1961), page range, p. 105. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Hilda Nissimi, “Us and ‘Them’ : The Formation of the Crypto-Jewish Community Mashhad, Iran,” *La Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. 3 (2005), pp. 325–337. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. For an example of one particular incident, see Shaul Bakash, “The Failure of Reform: The Prime Ministership of Amin al-Dawla 1897–8”, in *Modern Iran*, pp. 28–30. Please provide full reference for the source, is it a journal article, a book chapter? On the nationalists as “enlightenment nationalists” see Ali M. Ansari, *The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). The persecution of the Jews got worse as a political manifestation of resentment against the Shah. Daniel Tsadik, “Jews in the Pre-Constitutional Years: The Shiraz Incident of 1905,” *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2010), page range, pp. 246–7. See also about the double face of the revolution in regard to its attitude towards minorities, as treaties for and against the impurity of non-Muslims persisted throughout the nineteenth century, as well as in twentieth century. See Daniel Tsadik, “The Legal Status of Religious Minorities: Imami Shi'i Law and Iran's Constitutional Revolution,” *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2007), page range, especially pp. 381–2, pp. 405–407. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. First name Mashiah sets the date at 1901. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, 10. Unknown author, “Harav shlomo mashiah zatzal” [Rabbi Shlomo Mashiah, of blessed memory], http://www.2all.co.il/Web/Sites/mashiach-shlomo/PAGE1.asp. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 10. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Levy, “The Cohen-Aharonoff Family,” p. 34. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Author?, “Transliterated title” [Persia – Meshed], *Havazelet*, 11.01.1904, p. 7, Historical Jewish Press (JPress) of the NLI & TAU. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. “Meshed Consulate Diary,” November 9, 1906, no. 45 FO 248/880. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Levy, “The Jews of Mashad,” pp. 3–4. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Compare to other Iranian Jews in Lior Sternfeld, *Between Iran and Zion: Jewish Histories of Twentieth-Century Iran* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), p. 24. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 10. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Levy mentions forty–fifty families. Levy, “The Jews of Mashad,” pp. 21–25, 28. There was constant contact for people to send charity from Mashhad to Jerusalem through Rabbi Mordekhai Aqlar, who was leader of the community in Mashhad and later immigrated to Jerusalem. Daniel Tsadik, *Yehudey iran vesefrut rabbanit* [The Jews of Iran and Rabbinic Literature] (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 2019), pp. 110–111. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. Tsadik, *The Jews of Iran and Rabbinic Literature*, pp. 68–73. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Letter no. 1398 (27 Nisan 5658, 1898) in Levy, “The Jews of Mashhad in the Early 20th Century”, p. 21. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Mizrahi, *Persian Jews*, p. 209. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Ben Zion Gol, “Binyamin Gol Shaulof”, Doar Hayom [in Hebrew], 25.11.1929, p. 3, Jewish Historical Journalism National Library and Tel Aviv University. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Yehoshua-Raz, *Behind the Silk Curtain*, pp. 333–334; Yehoshua-Raz, *From the Lost Tribes*, pp. 307–310. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Levy, “The Cohen-Aharonoff Family,” p. 35. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Rabbi Mashiah’s handwritten eulogy for a memorial service held for Haj Adoniyah probably in the 1930s or 1940s was shown to me courtesy of Mrs. Malka Katzavian from the Center for the Dissemination of Judaism in Israel and the World. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Yehoshua-Raz, *From the Lost Tribes*, pp. 140, 262. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. See First name Ya’abetz’s letter from 1888 in which he tells of a well-off Bukharan community in Jerusalem not waiting “idly” for the Messiah in Avraham Ya’ari, *Igrot mieretz Israel* [Epistles from Eretz Israel] (Tel Aviv: Massada, 1946), pp. 483–4. First name Bezalel, “Transliteraded title” [Prolegomena to Sephardi and Oriental Zionism], *Pe’amim*, Vol. 73 (autumn 1997), page range, p. 27. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 13. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Another member of the Mashiah family, who like rabbi Mashiah was stranded in Istanbul for the duration of WWI, returned to Palestine via Alexandria and then returned to Shiraz. First name Levy, “Yehudey mashhad beshiraz” [The Jews of Mashad in Shiraz], in *Yehudey mashhad* [The Jews of Mashad] )Jerusalem: publisher, year), un-paginated article. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. The “Shirah” is a poem of praise. The title refers to “Moshe” instead of Mashhadd. It might be a typo or it might be part of the word Mashhad. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Cited in Yehoshua Raz, *The Lost Tribes*, pp. 308, 453. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
64. Fuzailov, “The Immigration,” p. 131. See also Yisrael Yazdi, *Transliterated title* [Rejoice Israel in Song and Praise] (Jerusalem: Publisher, 1901). Yazdi published the book in commemoration of his immigration, as a thanks-giving offering. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
65. Bartal presents the willingness to mix with other immigrants and cultures as one of the tests of modern national leanings. Israel Bartal, “Exile in the Land: A Historian’s Reflections on the Pre-Zionist Yishuv”, in *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies*, *Vol. 1, Division B* (Place of publication: publisher, 1989), page range, p. 302. See also Yafa Israeli, “Transliterated title” [Holy and Secular in the “Heder Torah Tahkemoni” in Jerusalem], *Mayim Midolyo*, Vol. 27 (2017), pp. 100–120. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
66. Fuzailov, “The Immigration,” pp. 129–130. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, pp. 15–16. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
67. Jonatan Meir, *Kabbalistic Circles in Jerusalem (1896–1948)* (Leiden: publisher, 2016), 41, 59. Reportedly, Rabbi Israel Abu-Hazeira, known as the Babba Sali, a well-known mystic leader of Moroccan Jews, admired his prayer devotion. First name Yehudayof, *Transliterated title* [The Holy Grandfather, Our Teacher Rabbi Israel Abu-Hazeira, Babba Sali, His Biography, His Ways in Worship, and his Praise] (Netivot: publisher, 1985), p. 194. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
68. The usual tefillin are called “Rashi tefillin.” The second pair is called Rabbeinu Tam’s Tefillin, in which the written passages are differently arranged and are put on by followers of the Kabbalah who maintain that each pair represents a different divine flow of energy. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
69. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 19. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
70. For the Yeshiva’s association: https://www.guidestar.org.il/organization/580097095 accessed 31.01.2019. The inscription on his tombstone reads “the Rabbi of the Mashhadi Community.” [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
71. The most obvious example of this can be found in the closing of the second hemistich (*Soger*) with “the Lord” just like the *piyyut* “El Mistater” (“The Lord who hides”), a very well-known Kabbalistic song by Rabbi Avraham Meimin from sixteenth century Safad. See Y.M.H. Binyamin, “El Mistater Beshafrir Hevion: Sources, Interpretation and Explanation,” *Hama’ayan,* Vol. 206 (2013), pp. 5–16. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
72. This trope is central for conceptualizing Jewish history. M. H. Hachoen, *Esau and Jacob: Jewish European History Between Nation and Empire* (Cambridge 2018). Esau and Ishmael is a common combination representing all oppressive authority over Jews in exile. [responsa project] [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
73. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (Seatle: University of Washington Press, 1982), pp. 43–4. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
74. Provide exact reference to the specific edition of the Haggadah you are quoting from, including page number for citation. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
75. Leviticus, 26:44. [All translations are mine mostly based on provide detailed reference for mechon mamre, including specific URL]. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
76. “Shirah,” Verse 2. See Psalms 37: 28. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
77. The last couplet: Psalms 113:8. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
78. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, pp.23–4, and especially pp. 43–4 about the lack of historical facts. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
79. Psalms 139:17. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
80. Exodus 12:12, Numbers 33:4. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
81. Psalms 32:10. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
82. Deuteronomy 2:15, Judges 2:15. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
83. Deuteronomy 22:14. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
84. The *‘Amida* prayer, beginning of the 2nd blessing. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
85. Psalms 13:6. Verbatim in “Day to day I will praise your Name,” which appeared inter alia in a book published “to commemorate my ‘aliya to Jerusalem.” Yisrael Yazdi, *Transliterated title* [Rejoice Israel in Song and Praise] (Jerusalem: Publisher, 1901), 25b (song 15). [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
86. 1 Kings 6:1, 37. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
87. Psalms 119:69. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
88. Isaiah 10:6. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
89. Joel 4:14. [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
90. Isaiah 44:18. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
91. Psalms 69:2. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
92. Psalms 104:24. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
93. Jeremiah 51:34. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
94. *Nahalat* usually stands for “land.” In Joshua 13:33, the sacrifices are substitutes for the missing land. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
95. *He’eviram* may be the prophetic past anticipating fulfillment, or a request/prayer, see 2 Samuel 12:13. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
96. First name Levy, “Transliterated title” [The Expulsion of Herati Jews], *Pe’amim*, Vol. 14 (1983), page range, p. 77 [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
97. Francis Edward Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 179–180, 178. First name Leṿy, “Transliterated title” [Persian Jews and the Pilgrimage to Mecca], in *Transliterated title* [Persian Jews], ed. Editor’s full name (Jerusalem: publisher, 1979), page range; Dilmanian, *History of the Jews of Mashad*, pp. 28, 57 ; Patai, *Jadid Al-Islam*, p. 87. The facilitation of Iranian pilgrimages to Mecca was owed to the weakness of the Ottoman law and the presence of European influence. Mirzâ Mohammed Hosayn Farâhâni, *A Shi'ite Pilgrimage to Mecca (1885–1886): The Safarnameh of Mirza Mohammed Hosayn Farahani*,trans. Hafez Farmayan and Elton Daniel (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), pp. 228–9. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
98. David Yeroushalmi, *The Jews of Iran: Chapters in Their History and Cultural Heritage* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2016), p. 64. The book includes many reports by European Jews reflecting their growing interest and influence. See also Fischel, “The Jews of Persia,” 125; First name, Levi, “Transliterated title” [The Persecution of Persian Jews in the Nineteenth Century], *Ma’a lot*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1978), pp. 15–20. On Moses Montefiore’s intervention on behalf of Iranian Jews, see Amono Netẓer, “Transliterated title” [Montefiore and the Jews of Iran], *Pe’amim*, Vol. 20 (1984), pp. 55–68. [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
99. Jeremiah 50:32, the passage refers to the negative prophesy about Babylon, which had been oppressing the Israelites. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
100. The two most obvious ones are Numbers 25:10­–30, I Kings 18:15–46. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
101. Exodus 32:11–13 and Numbers 14:13–16 are archetypical. Nehama Leibowitz refers to Deut. 32:26. See Nehama Leibowitz, “Moses Prayer,” *Nehama’s Study Sheets*, http://www.nechama.org.il/answer/420.html. Other examples include: Jeremiah 14:7, Daniel 9:18–19, Psalms 25:11, 79:9, 109:21, 143:1. [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
102. Based on the Zohar. First name Tishby, “Transliterated title” [“The Holy One, Blessed be He, the Torah, and Israel Are One”: The Source of a Saying in the Commentary of Ramhal on the IdraRabba], *Kiryat Sefer*, Vol. 50 (1975), page range, pp. 489–490. [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
103. Dov Schwartz, “Transliterated title” [From Theology to Ideology – the Adaptation of the Idea of Nationalism in Religious Zionist Thought], *Alpayim*, Vol. 12 (1996), page range, pp. 243–245. [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
104. Their Kabbalistic action was the complement of and the engine behind secular Zionism. Meir, *Kabbalistic Circles*, p. 90. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
105. Compare an ostensibly non**-**political use by Rabbi Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezeritch (1704-1772) who understood the government of evil as the mystically harmful influence of a good deed done in self-interest, in First name Tishbi, “Transliterated title” [Supplement to my article on the source of the saying, “The Holy of Holies is, Torah and Israel Are One”], *Kiryat Sefer*, Vol. 50 (1975), page range, p. 668. [↑](#endnote-ref-113)
106. Haim Eichenbeum, “Transliterated title” [I Believe (Ideology Chapters)], *The Hasmonean*, Vol. 17 (February 1939), page range, pp. 4–6. See also, Zvi Zameret, “Transliterated title” [Brit Hasmonean – the Educating and Fighting Youth Movement], in *Transliterated title* [Youth Movements 1920-1960, Sources, Summaries, Selected Issues and reference Material], ed. First name Naor (Jerusalem: Publisher, 1989), page range, pp. 123–6. [↑](#endnote-ref-114)
107. First name Hashmonai, “Transliterated title” [From the Red Sea to Sinai and from Jericho to Zion], *The Hasmonean,* Vol., No. (May 1944), page range, p. 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-115)
108. In that order! First name, Hashmonai, “Transliterated title” [Chapters of the Hasmonean Covenant – and Kiddush Hashem], *Journal name*, Vol., No. (Nisan 1945), page range, p. 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-116)
109. Baruch Duvdevani, one of the leaders of the organization, cited in David Niv, *Transliterated title* [The Etzel’s Campaigns] (Tel-Aviv: Publisher, 1965), Vol. 3, p. 222. [↑](#endnote-ref-117)
110. No author, “Transliterated title” [English title]. *The Hasmonean* vol. no (Adar 1943): page range, 8. Compare to “Brit Hasmonean files no. 159”, Archive of Religious Zionism Nisan 1937–Tamuz 1940 (Jerusalem). [↑](#endnote-ref-118)
111. Although they were influenced by Rabbi Kook who probably knew Mashiah because of Kook’s involvement in Kabbalistic circles in Jerusalem. [↑](#endnote-ref-119)
112. Proverbs 2:2. [↑](#endnote-ref-120)
113. Psalms 17:7, 25:6 [↑](#endnote-ref-121)
114. The combination appears already in early *piyyutim* of late antiquity. Wout Jac van Bekkum, *Hebrew Poetry from Late Antiquity. Liturgical Poems of Yehudah* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 13. [↑](#endnote-ref-122)
115. Psalms 68:4 [↑](#endnote-ref-123)
116. Samuel 1 24:21 [↑](#endnote-ref-124)
117. Psalms 74:23. [↑](#endnote-ref-125)
118. Chronicles 2 24:10 [↑](#endnote-ref-126)
119. Malachi, 3:2 [↑](#endnote-ref-127)
120. For example, Rabbi Yehuda Leiva (Maharal) read *memshelet zadon* (evil government) as the influence of evil (in a person) in his commentary on Talmud Berakhot (Jerusalem 2012), 28:2, 213. wrote expressly against a political reading for his own times. Solomon Ibn Virga, *Shevet Yehuda* [Tribe of Judah] (Jerusalem: Publisher, 1992), pp. 62, 131. [↑](#endnote-ref-128)
121. Esau and Rome are sometimes mentioned as the generic oppressor: for example, David Abudraham, *Abudraham Hashalem* [The Complete Abudraham] (Jerusalem: Publisher, 1963). Moshe David Walli expressly identifies the “government of the nations” as the “Government of Evil.” Moshe David Walli, *Beiur sefer mishlei* [Elucidation of the Book of Mishlei] (Jerusalem: Publisher, 2010), p. 120. [↑](#endnote-ref-129)
122. Barukh Duvdevani, “Tefila zaka” [Pure Prayer], *The Hasmonean* Vol., No. (September, 1944), page range. [↑](#endnote-ref-130)
123. “Transliterated title” [To the People, to the Youth], Etzel Proclamations and Announcements no. 172-310a, proclamation no. 202, file כ4- 13/3, Archive at Zabotinsky Institute, http://www.infocenters.co.il/jabo/jabo\_multimedia/documents/linked/%D7%9B4%20-13\_3.PDF. The proclamation opens with the words “the British exterminators of our people.” [↑](#endnote-ref-131)
124. It seems to have become common usage among radical ultra-Orthodox sects. Neturei Karta also used the term in the political sense against the government of Israel, protesting the arrest of two of their members, Provide full reference (author, title, publication, etc.) http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=NNL\_Ephemera&DocID=NNL\_Ephemera700326078. First name Abuzaglo, *Transliterated title* [Fountains of Wisdom] (Bnei Beraq: Publisher, 2010), p. 44. The passage refers to the bombing of the Iraqi reactor and the fall of the Soviet Union. [↑](#endnote-ref-132)
125. Mashiah, *One of Myriad*, p. 75. [↑](#endnote-ref-133)
126. In a recent exhibition about the immigration of the Banai family from Shiraz in 1880. Among their motives, it is said that “they believed they heard the Messiah’s footsteps.” *The Banais Exhibition: It is Our Song* in the Tower of David, courtesy of Orly Rahimian and Tal Kobo (curator) who kindly opened the exhibition for a private visit. [↑](#endnote-ref-134)
127. His book *Annals of Time* has a longer version that ends after his pilgrimage to the Land of Israel in 1904, which includes the above citation. The second motive is at the head of the shorter version that was published at the end of his book *le-Oneg Shabbat* (Pleasure for Shabbat) published in 1912, cited in Yhoshua Raz, *Behind the Silk Curtain*, pp. 336–337. [↑](#endnote-ref-135)
128. The “Shirah” does not even mention the persecution of many other Iranian Jewish communities at the time. Tsadik, “Jews in the Pre-Constitutional Years,” pp. 240–145. On the attitude to music and poetry among Iranian Jews, see Amnon Netzer, “Transliterated title” [Sacred and Secular Music among the Jews of Iran], *Pe’amim,* Vol. 19 (1984), pp. 163–181. [↑](#endnote-ref-136)
129. Yehoshu'a-Raz, *From the Lost Tribes*, pp. 242–246. [↑](#endnote-ref-137)
130. In Moshe David Laniado’s eulogy, cited in Meir, *Kabbalistic Circles*, pp. 45–6. [↑](#endnote-ref-138)
131. Nechama Hellinx Kramer, “Transliterated title” [Love of Zion in the Life and Poetry of Rav Menahem Shemuel Halevi], in *Transliterated title* [The Jews of Iran – Leadership, Society and Culture], ed. First name Regev (Ramat Gan: publisher, 2017), page range, pp. 134, 143–154. See also Nechama Hellinx Kramer “Genealogy: Rabbi Menahem Shemuel Halevy (1884-1940),” *Proceedings of the 32nd IAJGS International Conference on Jewish Genealogy Paris, July 15-18, 2012*, Vol. 3 (Paris 2014), page range, p. 366. [↑](#endnote-ref-139)
132. Nechama Kramer-Hellinx, “From Hamadan, Iran to Zion, From Bondage to Freedom: The Life Journey of the Zionist Rabbi Menahem Shemuel Halevi (1884-1940)”, *The Queen College Journal of Jewish Studies*, Vol. 8 (2006): page range, p. 75 (for the Hebrew version of verse 4), p. 77 (for the translation). [↑](#endnote-ref-140)
133. Rabbi Levi Nissim in his “Zikhronei Yemei Kedem (Memories of Old Times),” privately held by the family. The Mashhadis kept up the undiscriminating attitude between Zionist literature and sacred books well after their connection with the Zionist Organization was well established. Yitzhaq Kleinbaum (a Zionist emissary from Palestine to ,Tehran who travelled to Mashhad with A. Landstein representing the Jewish National Fund), Israeli Zionist Archive S25/5291. [↑](#endnote-ref-141)
134. Harel, “Zionism of Tradition?”. [↑](#endnote-ref-142)
135. In this order! This is his depiction of Haj Adoniyah in the memorial service for Haj Adoniyah, no date. Shown to me courtesy of Mrs. Malka Katzavian. [↑](#endnote-ref-143)