

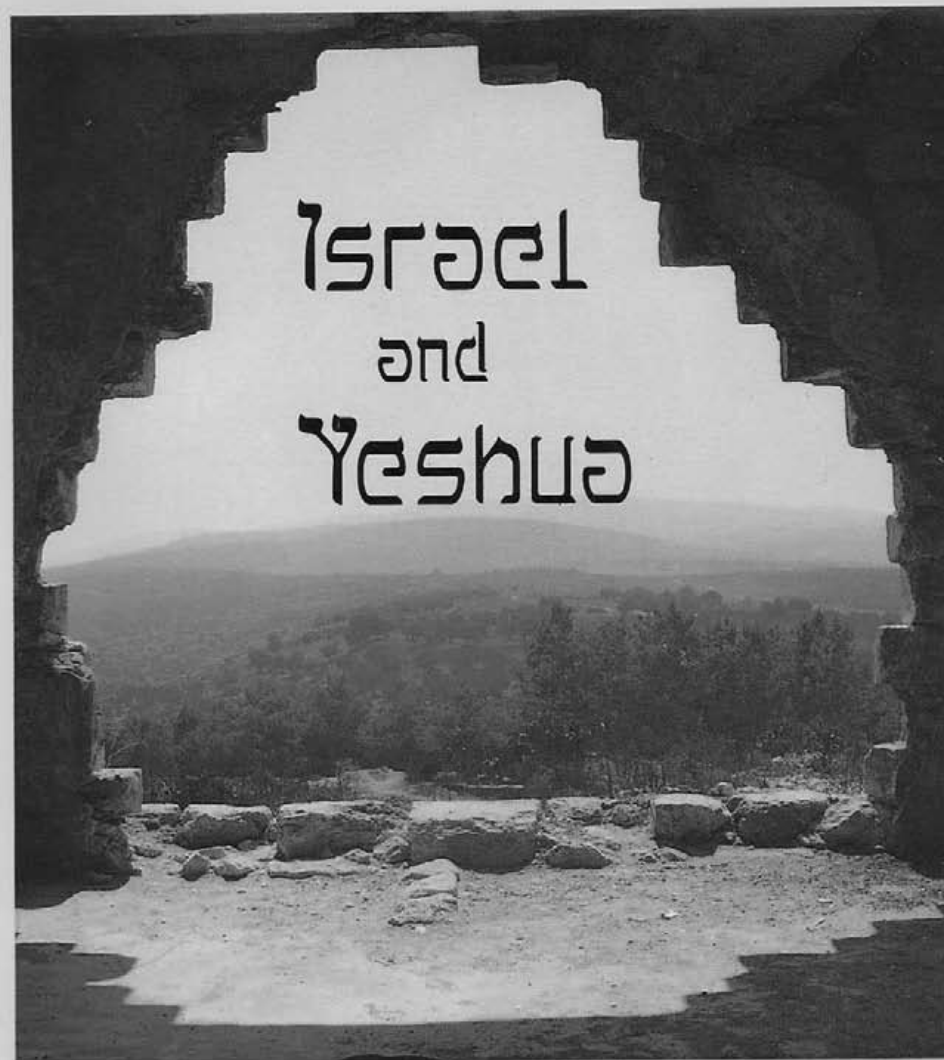


*"My loved one had a vineyard on a fertile hillside...
and he built a watchtower in it." Isaiah 5:1-2*

Israel and Yeshua is a Festschrift celebrating the tenth anniversary of Caspari Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies. A biblical-style watchtower in the land of Israel illustrates the aim of the Center – to provide a vantage point, in Jerusalem, from which to support the Messianic-Jewish remnant who confess Yeshua/Jesus as Messiah, to live in open dialogue and witness with the Jewish people of today, and to remind the church worldwide of its biblical and Jewish roots.

This collection of articles casts light on a number of aspects of Messianic Judaism and Christian presence in Israel, today and in the past. Provoking questions are raised by Messianic Jews, Jewish rabbis, an Arab Christian, and expatriate theologians who have ministered in Israel.

What are the ramifications of the presence of Jesus-believing Jews in Israel, for the church as well as for the Jewish people? Which theological questions must be discussed as this movement ventures to navigate the troubled waters between church and synagogue? This book uncovers roots from the Bible, from the early church and its reformation offspring, and from various Jewish traditions – questioning presuppositions within the diverse groups involved with or reacting to a Jewish *Camp Yeshua*, which is once again raising its voice in the land of the Bible after an interval of fifteen hundred years.



Edited by
Torleif Elgvin

Israel and Yeshua

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Festschrift
celebrating the tenth anniversary of
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Israel and Yeshua

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in the past, by writers representing a variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds.

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Contents

Preface	7
Evangelism and Affirmation <i>Ole Christian M. Kvarme</i>	9
The Cost of Discipleship: Lessons from the First Century <i>Kai Kjær-Hansen</i>	23
Augustine's Theology of Israel <i>Raymond L. Gannon</i>	35
Hebrew Christians between Early and Later Christian Traditions <i>Daniel Oswald Rufeisen</i>	49
From Jewish Enlightenment to Lutheran Pietism: The Spiritual Odessey of Carl Paul Caspari <i>Oskar Skarsaune</i>	57
Bible Distribution and Jewish Evangelism in the Holy Land, 1844-1939 <i>Ray A. Pritz</i>	65
Messianic Jews and the Modern Zionist Movement <i>Gershon Nerel</i>	75
Some Thoughts on Jewish-Christian Dialogue <i>Chaim Pearl</i>	85
The Relationship between Jews and Evangelicals in Israel <i>David Rosen</i>	91
Jewish Leaders against Messianic Jews: The Old/New Weapons <i>Walter Riggans</i>	97
Biblical Interpretation in the Israeli-Palestinian Context <i>Mitri Raheb</i>	109
Jewish-Christianity: Whither and Why? <i>Baruch Maoz</i>	119
The Messianic Use of Rabbinic Literature <i>Avner Boskey</i>	129
Torah of the Messiah and Torah of the Rabbis <i>Torleif Elgvin</i>	143
Messianic Jewish Exposition of Scripture <i>Joseph Shulam</i>	153
Living Waters from the Land and from the Heart of Man <i>David Miller</i>	161

Messianic Jews and the Modern Zionist Movement

Gershon Nerel

Sociologist B.Z. Sobel, in his article "The Tools of Legitimation - Zionism and the Hebrew Christian Movement",¹ presents the following theory:

*The long-term objective of Hebrew Christianity's adoption of Zionism is the legitimation of Christianity as a valid mode of Jewish existence, but its shorter or tactical goal is the acceptance (by Jews) of Jewish believers in Christ as "bona fide" Jews who differ from their fellows only in regard to their interpretation of the faith of Israel.*²

For proving this thesis, the key-words used by Sobel are: *adoption, assimilation, affirmation and embracing of Zionism by Hebrew Christianity.*³ In the body of the article, Sobel claims that the "usurpation" of Zionism by modern disciples of Jesus (*Yeshua* in Hebrew) served as a tool to achieve both evangelistic gains and legitimation for themselves and for their form of Christianity.

However, Sobel does mention the parallel emergence of modern Hebrew Christianity and Zionism that pointed to a joint destiny for the two. Nevertheless, his basic conclusion remains that Zionism was "courted" by Messianic Jews (or Hebrew Christians) on a pragmatic organizational level, and in so doing, from within, it "afforded entry to an area that had captured the imagination of so many Jews."⁴

De-legitimation, which is the attitude of normative Judaism towards Jewish believers in Jesus, seems to have influenced the way Sobel reasoned and searched after "tools of legitimation" in the relations of Hebrew Christians/Messianic Jews with the Zionist movement. Actions and ideas, which in themselves are *bona fide*, are interpreted as desperate and opportunistic adoption of "tools" for achieving legitimation, when expressed by Hebrew Christians. Therefore, it seems

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to me that Sobel subconsciously approached Hebrew Christians/Messianic Jews while still having these concepts in mind. Otherwise, he should have mentioned the constant efforts of secular Zionism to gain support and even legitimation from various religious Messianic circles, both Jewish and Christian.⁵ However, no one can deny the fact that political Zionism and Messianic Judaism were both seeking to have their world-views and status accepted as normal within Jewish society.⁶

Another fact should also be mentioned. Not all modern Jewish disciples of Jesus belong to one large monolithic camp of adherents to the Zionist vision - to rebuild in our days the Jewish Homeland in *Eretz Yisrael*. Some of them are non-Zionists, while others would even define themselves as anti-Zionists, who wish to solve the "Jewish problem" solely on spiritual grounds or on territories located outside historical Zion.⁷

Essence of Messianic Zionism

How then should we regard the prolonged relationship between Jewish disciples of Jesus and the Zionist movement? My own reply is, first of all, to recognize the basic irrelevance of Sobel's claim of an "opportunistic and utilitarian" approach which focuses on "tools of legitimation", to which his article refers. Those Hebrew Christians who enthusiastically expressed Zionist aspirations, in word or in deed, did so from an inherent belief rooted in their understanding of biblical prophecy. In fact, their Zionism, which often integrated political and spiritual aspects, should be understood as a *conditio sine qua non* of their individual and national identity.

Actually, the "tool" or "means" concept does exist there, but on another level. In the idea of Zion's restoration, there was the expectancy of a further fulfillment of human history within the framework of the history of man's redemption. Social or credal legitimation was not the core of their genuine Zionism. It also was more than a new form of nationalism or aspiration for political sovereignty in a modern state. Rather, Zionism was "ordained" to pave the way physically for the movement of the *dry bones* (Ezek 38), leading into a spiritual renaissance.⁸ From this perspective, Zionism is grasped as greater than the Jewish secular state *per se*.

Forerunners and Upholders of 'Patriotism'

Hebrew Christians, especially when organized in societies, may be regarded among the various forerunners of modern Zionism. For example, since the formation in England of the Hebrew Christian Alliance in 1866, repeated Zionist expressions were proclaimed, such as: "We cannot and will not forget the land of our fathers, and it is our desire to cherish feelings of patriotism; for to this day we sing the song of our noble ancestors: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.'"⁹

In that Alliance, exclusively formed by and for Hebrew Christians, all members felt bonded together by a national tie, looking to Jerusalem as their common Fatherland. Zion was their source of inspiration because no such organism was in existence "since the Apostolic Age".¹⁰ From the outset of the Alliance structure,

Hebrew Christians focused on bridging themselves directly with the first-century Jewish followers of Jesus. It was in Zion, according to the New Testament account, that the early Jewish believers in Jesus received the Holy Spirit, and there they became holders of the Hebrew biblical truth, in contrast to all later Christian apostasy.

Therefore, from the nineteenth century on, we find Hebrew Christians calling to purify the "Greek and Roman church" by replacing it with the Hebrew Church. We read in the magazine of the Alliance, *The Scattered Nation*: "It is high time that the Church begins to understand that all errors date from the time that the Church of Rome has put Rome in the place of Jerusalem."¹¹ They wished that these reform tendencies be realized practically in Zion itself, as a renewed field of activism for Hebrew Christian "Israelites".

Following these hopes, pragmatic plans were made. A "Model Farm" in Palestine was an important issue on their agenda, and they wished it to "be incorporated with the Alliance, and become the centre of our operations in the land of our fathers."¹² (The Anglican London Jews Society in 1883 established an agricultural settlement at Har Tuv, north of Bet Shemesh. The project was abandoned in 1895.)¹³

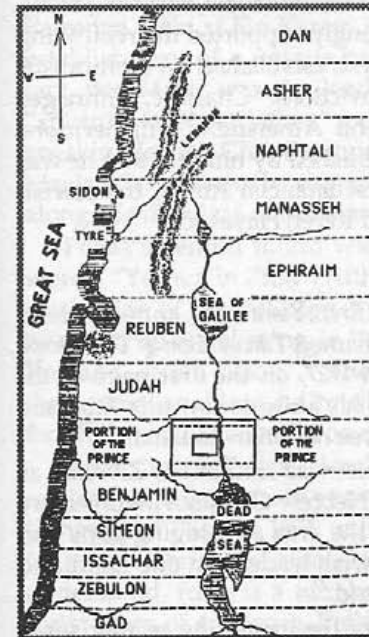
Expressions like "Return to the Promised Land" or "Reestablishment of Israel in their own land" were not uncommon in another magazine also published in London in the 1870s. This periodical, the *Hebrew Christian Witness and Prophetic Investigator*, included a long subtitle that spoke for itself: "An Anglo-Judaeo

Christian Magazine, Under the Entire Management of Editor and Contributors from Patriotic Jewish Believers." In it, Zionist aspirations received a central place; it even dealt with the "Future [Tribal] Division of the Land of Israel", with a practical map attached (at left).¹⁴

In another periodical, which began to appear in London in the 1880s, patriotic and national consciousness was reflected in almost every page. Just a few words from "The Everlasting Nation" (*Am Olam*) can exemplify that "There is a land waiting for a people and a people waiting for a land"¹⁵ - the people's "patrimony" - given by covenant to the patriarchs.

Consequently, the term "Messianic Zionist" was born. To the best of my knowledge, it appeared for the first time in an official Hebrew-Christian document presented to the Fourth Zionist Congress in London in 1900. Maxwell Ben-Oliel, president of the Hebrew Christian Alliance and Prayer Union in London, was the initiator of a formal appeal "To Doctor

FUTURE DIVISION OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL
ACCORDING TO EZEKIEL KIVIII



Theodore Herzl, and the other Leaders of the Zionist Movement". In this document, Herzl was offered Hebrew Christian co-operation in his "earnest efforts for the restoration of a Jewish State". Herzl was compared to Nehemiah, and he was assured of their prayers for the realization of his plans.¹⁶ Ben-Oliel was not alone. He was enthusiastically supported by many other Hebrew Christians who encouraged him to be an active Zionist, not merely a hoping and praying Zionist. In fact, he was asked to "start a movement of Hebrew Christian Zionists",¹⁷ and practical Zionist principles were incorporated in the HCA&PU Constitution.¹⁸

Messianic-Zionist Activists in *Eretz Yisrael*

In 1925, "The Second Balfour Declaration",¹⁹ delivered in public by the Earl of Balfour himself at the inauguration of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, was attended and spontaneously supported by Hebrew Christians living in Mandatory Palestine. Five months later, S.B. Rohold, superintendent of the Carmel School in Haifa²⁰ and a native of Jerusalem, personally reported to the first International Hebrew Christian Conference held in London, about his participation and impressions of this unique event on Mt. Scopus. Rohold's Zionist sentiments cannot be overestimated. In detail, he described his good and close relations with Zionist leaders in Palestine, and with much admiration he spoke about the many achievements of the Palestine Zionist Executive.²¹

Rohold, prior to returning to Palestine in 1921, initiated the establishment of the American Messianic Jewish Alliance in 1915 and, as its first president, systematically preoccupied himself with the aspirations of Zionism.²² It was this Alliance that, in 1920, sent to Jerusalem an active Messianic Jew, Hyman Jacobs, as its representative to the Holy Land.²³ Jacobs strongly supported the rebuilding of a Jewish "National Home" in the Promised Land, established on a pluralistic basis and comprised of a wide range of religious convictions: "Chasidic, Mithnaged [anti-Chasidic], Reformed, Messianic, Karaite, and Atheistic."²⁴ Furthermore, Jacobs was very proud to write, in a pamphlet published by himself, that he was regularly contributing sums of money to Zionist financial funds, the Jewish National Fund (well known for its "blue box") and Keren Hayesod.²⁵

Tikvat Zion

The second half of the 1920s also witnessed in *Eretz Yisrael* the appearance of a unique Hebrew Messianic quarterly periodical named *Tikvat Zion* ("The Hope of Zion"), published in Haifa. From its outset in 1927, on the first page of the quarterly, Morris Sigel, the editor, clearly defined his attitude towards Zionism: "Very much indeed we would like to see Israel a free nation in its Land...."²⁶

Throughout the pages of *Tikvat Zion*, strong trust was credited to Zionism as the Jewish national movement in *Eretz Yisrael*. The Hebrew Christian involvement in this movement was particularly referred to in the area of bridging gaps and working for reconciliation between nationalist Jewish leaders on one hand and indigenous non-Jewish inhabitants on the other hand.²⁷

However, *Tikvat Zion* gave space for criticism of the increasing secularism in the Zionist movement. Writers expressed their hope that scriptural messianism

would guide practical Zionism in the Homeland. Thus, for example, the national poet, Hayim Nachman Bialik, was quoted in his exposure of the spiritual decadence prevailing in Tel Aviv (which was celebrated as the first modern Jewish city). In fact, the whole *Yishuv* (Jewish inhabitants in Palestine), in Bialik's "diagnosis", suffered from "bad spiritual health" because of the secular malaise within Zionism in *Eretz Yisrael*. The medicine, therefore, as prescribed in *Tikvat Zion*, was to turn to Yeshua and the New Testament.²⁸

The love for *Eretz Yisrael* and its restoration was reflected in *Tikvat Zion* through its "archeological pages". In fact, *Tikvat Zion* served as another tool for the popularization of scientific archeological discoveries in the Land. Almost every volume contained fascinating accounts of ancient sites excavated and their relevance to biblical truth.²⁹ In almost every issue, a column was devoted to "The Land and the Book". This section supplied vivid and updated information, with photos included, about central places in Palestine also mentioned in the Bible, from the Sea of Galilee to Hebron and the Dead Sea. Thus, the discovery of archaeological monuments was seen as parallel to the national renaissance of the Jews in their Homeland.

"The Cross in the Star of David"

"To be a Zionist is a Jewish duty," declared Abram Poljak, who enthusiastically traveled, in 1935, to Palestine with a plan to establish there a center for "Jewish Christian Press Correspondence".³⁰ In Haifa, he contacted Moshe Immanuel Ben-Maeir, the secretary of the Hebrew Christian Alliance of Palestine. Both of them attended the third annual conference of the Hebrew Christian Alliance of Palestine, held at Ein Karem in April 1935. Ben-Maeir and Poljak supported the establishment of a unique national Jewish-Christian church in *Eretz Yisrael*. In fact, Ben-Maeir was the leading person to push towards the formation of a "spiritual local patriotism" focusing on forming in *Eretz Yisrael* a special Hebrew-speaking Jewish-Christian nucleus.³¹ From the 1930s until his death in 1977, Ben-Maeir wholeheartedly supported the revival and survival of the Jewish State, alongside the ideas of Messianic Zionism.

Poljak's central motto was: "The Cross in the Star of David", or in other words, "Yeshua in Zion". Although Poljak planned to take part physically in the restoration of Biblical Zion, by founding a Jewish-Christian colony in Palestine, he ended up establishing, in 1940, an agricultural colony at Kenninghall, Norwich, England, called "Zion".³² The orientation of Poljak's new organization, named the International Jewish Christian Union, having branches in Europe and America, focused, *mutatis mutandis*, on defining its own Zionism.

According to Poljak, Herzl's political Zionism had a very limited time for its realization. Exactly forty years had elapsed, Poljak claimed, since the first Zionist Congress of Basle in 1897, until the first meeting of the International Association for Jewish Christian Colonies in Palestine, also held in Basle, in 1937. Symbolically understood, forty is a number of preparation and transition. Therefore, in its forty years of existence, Poljak argued, Zionism had already accomplished its task of bringing together the "dry bones" - it had reconstituted Israel nationally

and built up Palestine.³³ "That," Poljak wrote, "has been the great work of Zionism during its forty years of wandering in the desert ... [and] now begins a new chapter of Jewish History. Zionism rises above the sphere of politics and enters the sphere of the spirit."³⁴

Practically, although not always ideologically, Poljak transferred his Zionism from Palestine to communities and fellowships in other "suitable countries", especially in central Europe, and mainly for gentile Christians. In his first steps as a Jewish Christian, Poljak visited Palestine, fully identifying himself with political Zionism, but as early as 1939, he began to express his reservations concerning "Zionist politics as they are made today".³⁵ His criticism was directed towards Zionist politicians who "underrated the Arabs and omitted to get an understanding with them in a brotherly spirit".³⁶

Abram Poljak's Jewish Christian Community became, in the following decades, a universalistic fellowship, mainly fighting against anti-semitism, sometimes clothed as "anti-Zionism". Yet, followers of Poljak often referred to themselves as "Christian Zionists". The majority of these followers were Gentile - very few were Jews. While belonging to all nations throughout Christendom, they supported "Christian Zionism", pointing to Jerusalem as the spiritual capital of the world.³⁷

Hatzophe

For more than ten years, from 1935, Solomon Ostrovsky edited and published in Mandatory Palestine his periodical *Hatzophe* ("The Watchman") - a Messianic-Jewish pamphlet in Hebrew. Frequently he used *Hatzophe* to express his support for the modern Zionist movement. It was, for Ostrovsky, a crystal-clear fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. In 1936, he used the fig tree parable to demonstrate the special timing of the ingathering of the Jews in Mandatory Palestine, which he compared to the seasonal blossoming of the fig tree. Thus, with much enthusiasm, he described the "huge" number of the Jewish population gathered in 1936 into Palestine: 400,000 persons!³⁸ This simple fact, according to Ostrovsky, "is the work of God acting within the Zionist movement in recent years."³⁹

Yet, when quoting David Ben-Gurion, who proclaimed that "the Bible is the source for the Jewish mandate over Palestine", Ostrovsky reminded the readers of *Hatzophe* that the Bible should not be used by Zionism in a selective manner. As a real "watchman", he rebuked the Zionist leaders in the Land for ignoring the messianic and spiritual passages in the Bible.⁴⁰

Furthermore, in one case Ostrovsky raised an existential question: Does the New Testament abolish the historical right of the Hebrew nation to *Eretz Yisrael*? An absolute "No" was given as an answer. Ostrovsky emphasized that the New Testament made no changes concerning Old Testament national promises, eternally given to the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Rather, he explained that there exists a "total unity of the Nation of Israel, the Land of Israel and Messiah of Israel. In other words, these three elements form the spirit, soul and body of Biblical Zionism."⁴¹

In 1946, Ostrovsky unequivocally rejected two anti-Zionist declarations given in Mandatory Palestine. The first one by the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, who stated that "the Christian Church, being the new spiritual Israel, is the sole inheritor of Biblical promises."⁴² The second declaration, actually a repetition of the former by the Orthodox bishop of Galilee, Archbishop Hakeem, pronounced that "the claims of the Zionists are based on the Bible but in fact the New Testament, being the basis of Christianity, nullified all the promises given to the Jews in the Old Testament." Ostrovsky strongly attacked those traditional ecclesiastical interpretations, mainly by quoting Paul's message in the epistle to the Romans, chapter 11. (For example, verse 29: "for God's gifts and his call are irrevocable".) Ostrovsky's simple reply was that the sovereign Lord of all Land will soon fulfil his territorial promises to his chosen people.

Reverse Exodus

Messianic Jews in Mandatory Palestine, including those who held firm Zionist aspirations, had to put their national views to practical test in 1948. A mass evacuation of Hebrew Christians from the Land was organized. The main reason for that was the uncertainty concerning their future in a Jewish State. Most of them left the country before the State of Israel was proclaimed. However, about half a dozen Zionists among them refused to leave. When war broke out, they joined Jewish troops, fighting for independence. They felt that this was the right time to identify practically with their brethren. Among those families who remained in *Eretz Yisrael* in those crucial days were Ben-Maeir, Ostrovsky and Haimoff (Bar-David). More than seventy others left for Europe and America in a "reverse Exodus".⁴³

After the State of Israel was born, however, a new chapter began.

Epilogue

This survey is the tip of an iceberg when dealing with such a comprehensive topic. Further research is needed, especially regarding the following subjects:

- ◆ Hebrew-Catholics and their relation to Zionism, vis-a-vis the Vatican's official approach to that issue.
- ◆ Non-Zionist Messianic Jews and their argumentation.
- ◆ Jewish Messianic congregations in Eastern Europe between the two world wars and their understanding of modern Zionism.
- ◆ The uniqueness of Messianic Jews living in the State of Israel since 1948.
- ◆ The relations between Israeli and Diaspora Messianic Jews concerning Aliya and support of the Jewish State.

However, at least one common ground ties together various modern Jewish disciples of Jesus: The attachment to the Hebrew language and its constant use. Messianic Jews could not escape the national revival of the Hebrew language in the Jewish world, and even gave their unique contributions to this process. That linguistic aspect will also need attention in future research.

- ¹ B.Z. Sobel, "The Tools of Legitimation – Zionism and the Hebrew Christian Movement", *Jewish Journal of Sociology* X (1968): 241-250.
- ² Sobel 247.
- ³ Sobel 246-248.
- ⁴ Sobel.
- ⁵ Cf. S. Sharot, *Messianism, Mysticism and Magic: A Sociological Analysis of Jewish Religious Movements* (North Carolina U.P. 1982), 228: "... the rabbinate needed the economic support of the Zionists, and the Zionists sought the legitimation of the rabbis to emphasize the historical and spiritual ties of the Jews to the Land of Israel"; and Y. Ariel, "A Neglected Chapter in the History of Christian Zionism in America: William E. Blackstone and the Petition of 1916" in *Jews and Messianism in the Modern Era: Metaphor and Meaning*, ed. J. Frankel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Annual VII (Oxford U.P. 1991), 74: "... the American Zionist leaders were engaged in efforts to persuade the American government to support the Zionist cause, and they were eager to win Christian backing."
- ⁶ Cf., e.g. Y. Shavit, "Realism and Messianism in Zionism and the Yishuv" in *Jews and Messianism ...*, 100-127; see also F. Levison, *Christian and Jew: The Life of Leon Levison (1881-1936)* (Edinburgh 1989), *passim*.
- ⁷ Two activist Hebrew-Christian leaders between the two World Wars, Nahum and Leon Levison, may be typical examples representing ambivalent attitudes toward Zionism. Nahum, e.g. strongly supported the idea of colonizing the Jews in Mesopotamia (Iraq). See F. Levison 93-101, 124-127.
- ⁸ Such ideas were expressed already in 1864 by Adolph Saphir, active Hebrew Christian leader in Britain. See *Christ and Israel* (Lectures and addresses), reprinted by Yanetz (Jerusalem, n.d.), 138-191; cf. also K. Crombie, *For the Love of Zion, Christian Witness and the Restoration of Israel* (London 1991), *passim*.
- ⁹ "Hebrew Christian Alliance", *The Scattered Nation* (1 June 1866): 126.
- ¹⁰ Referring to the Book of Acts, cf. *The Scattered Nation* (2 July): 164.
- ¹¹ *The Scattered Nation* (1868): 159; cf. *The Scattered Nation* (1 June 1867): 156-158. The concept of "Biblical Truth", originating from the Jews, known also as *Hebraica Veritas*, was strongly leading them.
- ¹² *The Scattered Nation* (1 June 1868): 159-161.
- ¹³ D. Pileggi, "The Experiment at Artouf", *Mishkan* 12 (1/1990): 42-55.
- ¹⁴ *The Hebrew Christian Witness and Prophetic Investigator* (1874): 17-19.
- ¹⁵ *The Everlasting Nation* (עַם שׁוֹלֵם), ed. A.A. Isaacs, III (1891): 2, 337-339.
- ¹⁶ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Department of Western Mss., C.M.J. files, d. 21/7, *Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 272.
- ¹⁷ Introduction to the new Hebrew Christian Alliance and Prayer Union, being the old Hebrew Christian Prayer Union, established in 1882, and in July 1901 amalgamated with the Hebrew Christian Alliance (London 1901), p. 3.
- ¹⁸ The constitution of the Hebrew Christian Alliance and Prayer Union, adopted by a Council of Hebrew Christians on 18 July 1901, spoke, *inter alia*, about "Communications with the Zionists" (#7) and "Promoting any practical scheme of colonization in the Holy Land by Hebrew Christians" (#8), pp. 4-5.

- ¹⁹ This expression, "The Second Balfour Declaration", is based on the high estimation of Lord Balfour's speech on Mt. Scopus given by Sir Herbert Samuel. See I. Cohen, ed., *Speeches on Zionism: By the Earl of Balfour* (London 1928), 13-18.
- ²⁰ For a short biography of Shabbetai Benjamin Rohold, see: J. Gartenhaus, *Famous Hebrew Christians* (Chattanooga, Tennessee 1979), 153-158.
- ²¹ Rohold gave updated statistic information about the realization of the Zionist ideal in Palestine. See *Report of the First International Hebrew Christian Conference, Held at Islington, London, 5th-12th September, 1925* (The International Hebrew Christian Alliance: London 1925), 11-28.
- ²² Cf. S.B. Rohold, *The War and the Jew: A Bird's Eye View of the World's Situation and the Jews' Place in It* (Toronto 1915), 66-95.
- ²³ For a recent monograph on the subject see R.I. Winer, *The Calling: The History of the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America, 1915-1990* (Pennsylvania 1990); esp. 80-81, 118-120.
- ²⁴ H. Jacobs, *Nationality and Religion* (Jerusalem, September 1927): 9, in Hebrew. דוּעָה חַיִּים יַעֲקֹבִים, הַדָּת וְהַלְאוּם, מַחְדָּרָה חַמִּישִׁית, תַּרפ"ז
- ²⁵ *Kupat Keren Kayemet Le'Israel* (קופת קק"ל). Jacobs wrote in public that he felt obliged to continue and contribute money for those funds. H. Jacobs 15-16.
- ²⁶ *Tikvat Zion: A Quarterly Magazine in Hebrew to make known the truth of God and His Messiah* (May 1927): 1. However, the editor also expressed his reservation concerning the trust of Zionism in the might of money and physical strength, because just "Mammon and Labour alone, will not achieve a National Home for us".
- ²⁷ Messianic Jews contributed *de facto* to negotiations between Christian institutions (European and Arab) and Jewish national elements in the Land. Sometimes, like in the case of S. Rohold, close relations were developed even with Moslem leaders. These contacts were used for pacification purposes. See *Tikvat Zion* XIII (April 1931): 9-10.
- ²⁸ *Tikvat Zion* XXIV (April 1936): 8-9.
- ²⁹ See, e.g. *Tikvat Zion* I (May 1927): 1.
- ³⁰ A. Poljak, *The Cross in the Star of David* (London 1938): 24. The original book in German, entitled *Judenchristen im Heiligen Lande* (Leipzig 1936), has some substantial differences.
- ³¹ In the words of Ben-Maeir himself, "The Jewish national Church will be the only one with which the Jews will agree to discuss matters." Poljak 39.
- ³² A. Poljak, "The Jewish Christian Colony Zion", *The Jewish Christian Community: Organ of the Jewish Christian Movement* 15/16 (March/April 1940): 1-2.
- ³³ A. Poljak, "Our Zionism", *The Jewish Christian Community* 13/14 (January/ February 1940), 3. Poljak's explanation for such a reasoning is as follows: "For 40 days Moses stayed on Mt. Sinai; 40 days Elijah was wandering; 40 days Jesus was in the wilderness ... 40 Years the children of Israel wandered in the desert; and 40 years have lasted the political wanderings in the desert of Zionism."
- ³⁴ Poljak, "Our Zionism".
- ³⁵ A. Poljak, "Zionism and Assimilation", *The Jewish Christian Community* 3 (March 1939): 2.
- ³⁶ Poljak, "Zionism and Assimilation", 3.
- ³⁷ Cf. J. Brockis, "Patmos", *Christian Zionism* (Essex 1976), *passim*.
- ³⁸ *Hatzophe* IX (1936).

³⁹ I.S. Ostrovsky, open letter to readers of *Hatzophe* (December 1936), in Hebrew.

⁴⁰ I.S. Ostrovsky, "Mandate over Eretz-Israel", *Hatzophe* X (1937).

⁴¹ I.S. Ostrovsky, "The New Testament and the Return to Zion", *Hatzophe* 15 (n.d., probably 1938). His conclusion is therefore, "Israel, come to Zion! but via the road of Golgotha!" See *Hatzophe* 17 (June 1939).

⁴² I.S. Ostrovsky, "And the Word of our God will Stand Forever", *Hatzophe* XLI (1946).

⁴³ See M. Benhayim, "Two who Were Twice Redeemed", *The Hebrew Christian* XLVIII (1975): 112-114. I am preparing a separate article concerning the background and aftermath of the Hebrew Christian exodus from Mandatory Palestine in 1948.