

Jewish Settlers in Cyprus During the British Rule, 1880s-1940s*

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Abstract

This article is part of a series of preliminary qualitative surveys of both the Jewish settlements that once existed in Cyprus and the literature concerned with those settlements. This study is a documentation of the Jewish presence in Cyprus from the 1880s to the 1940s. It presents the historical background, maps the locations of the Jewish colonies, outlines the circumstances which brought about their existence, describes some aspects of life in those locations, and examines relations between Jews and the Cypriot populace.

The recent book *Place of Refuge* by Stavros Panteli (2003) is a significant contribution to our understanding of the Jewish involvement in Cyprus. This study, however, uses other useful sources as well, such as the memoirs of camp residents and the descendents of Jewish settlers, archives in Israel, and the personal accounts of persons who were involved in or witnessed important events in the lives of Jews in Cyprus. It is hoped that this documentation triggers further research on some of the settlements and that the difficulties in such studies will be overcome.

Keywords: Cyprus, Jewish settlements, British, Ottoman, Zionism, immigration, emigration, Palestine, agriculture, colonization.

Özet

Yahudilerin 1880-1940 tarihleri arasında Kıbrıs'taki varlığını konu alan bu makale, Yahudi yerleşimleri hakkındaki araştırmaların niteliksel analizini içerir. Bu çerçevede araştırma, Yahudilerin Kıbrıs'taki tarihlerinin, haritalarda Yahudi kolonilerinin yerleşim yerlerinin izlerini sürerken, onların hayat tarzlarını ve Kıbrıslılarla olan ilişkilerini aktarır. Yakın geçmişte Stavros Panteli (2003) tarafından yazılmış olan *Place of Refuge* başlıklı kitap Kıbrıs'taki Yahudi varlığını gösteren çok önemli bir kaynaktır. Bu çalışmada bu kaynağın yanı sıra kamplarda yaşayanların anıları, İsrail'deki arşivler, kişisel anlatılar veya tanıkların anlatılarından da yararlanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs, Yahudi yerleşimleri, Siyonizm, İngiliz, Osmanlı, göç, Filistin tarım, kolonileşme

In 1878, by a convention of defensive alliance between the Ottoman Empire and England, Cyprus under Ottoman suzerainty was assigned to be occupied and administered by the British. By that time, the island's Jewish population was dwindling. Nevertheless, a new era now dawned on Cyprus, changing its character forever. Cyprus was now in the hands of a western colonial power, with deep interests the region in general. In (Ottoman) Palestine, this was the beginning of the Jewish settlement (1882), referred to by Settlement Historians as 'the first *aliya*' (lit. Hebrew 'first ascent' meaning 'first immigration'), or 'the New *Yishuv*' (lit. Hebrew 'new community'), which encountered difficulties imposed by the Ottoman Authorities. Some Jewish prospective settlers to Palestine coming from Europe regarded Cyprus as an 'interim point', where they could settle in the meantime, until a more lenient settlement policy was introduced by the Ottomans in Palestine.

The Jewish settlements of Cyprus are still an open issue for research. Panteli's (2003) research shed some light on the affair and this documentation augments it using sources not published earlier on scientific platforms. This article needs to be considered as a natural continuation of a previous article where an attempt was made to historiographically show the Jewish involvement in Cyprus.¹ Certainly it is adequate to add here that one faces various problems in doing surveys of settlements in Cyprus. As the island is now divided, it is impossible to work on certain historical sites, for these are located in inaccessible military zones, where photography is forbidden.

The Kouklia – Orides Settlement, 1883

In 1883, a group of Jews purchased a considerable tract of land on the western side of the island, next to the village of Kouklia. The venture failed; the settlement was aborted and the place deserted only a few years later. Vilnay (1976) reported that there are relics of "simple houses", probably remains of the Jewish houses next to what (at the time of Vilnay's writing) was a Government agricultural experimentation station. Panteli (2003) even pinpoints the location of Kouklia colony: "[...] some three square miles in extent at Orides, some four miles north-east of Kouklia [...] Palea Paphos [sic, in the map Palaipafos, or Pafos as it appears on contemporary Greek maps] [...]."²

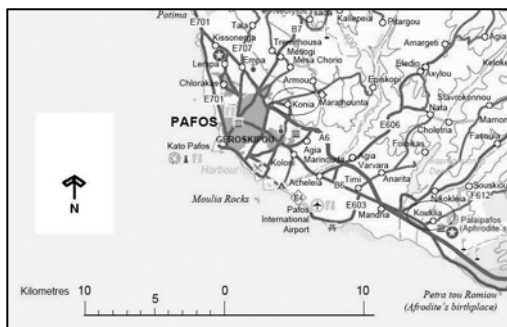


Figure 1: Kouklia near Pafos (detail)

Source: Cyprus Tourist Organization, compiled and drawn by the Cyprus Department of Lands and Surveys, revised March 2004. Kouklia is located next to Palaipafos southeast of the town of Pafos. The location of the Jewish colony as

described by Panteli is where today is the village of Souskiou, 4 Km NE of Kouklia off road F612.

There were about 200 Jews from Russia, escaping the pogroms carried out against the Jewish population.³ The British were not indifferent to the distressed Russian and east-European Jews: records uncovered by Panteli show that British authorities in Cyprus and the secretary of State for the Colonies, supported initiatives to settle Jews in Cyprus, perhaps not only in order to ease their distress, but also to further British interests: as they thought the island needed an industrious population.

The British authorities in Pafos gave them access to land, on the hills east of the town but the settlement failed due to improper farmland quality. A settler identifying himself only as "one of the members", sent a letter to the Jewish newspaper *Hamagid*,⁴ describing the settlers' difficulties:

They gave us a land of mountains and depressions, full of thorns and prickles, a land no one had passed through before and no man has ever settled, next to the village Koudia [sic] in the Pafos district, and last September we arrived at our property. Our wives and children stayed in the village, and we went up the mountain to do our work; we worked with all our might, to clean up the soil for it to be ready for seeding, and we bored-in wells. But to our dismay, after much labor and effort, we have realized that all will be in vain and we will not be able to turn a forest of thorns into fertile land [...] and especially was to our disadvantage the foul air, so much so that during two moons

[months] we lost seven souls from total of one-hundred and sixty-three souls.⁵

[My translation, trying to reflect the original Old Hebrew style, DG].

The settlers turned for help to the Governor, who obliged, and ordered that they be rationed with bread by local police. The 'Mansion House Fund' in London also provided them with fare money, which most of them used for travel to England. Three families went to Jerusalem, and four remained on the island.⁶

The Kouklia – Famagusta Settlement, 1885

One year following the first settlement attempt, another Jewish group, from Romania, initiated a new settlement venture in Kouklia (named *Köprülü* by Turkish Cypriots), on the old road connecting Famagusta and Nicosia.

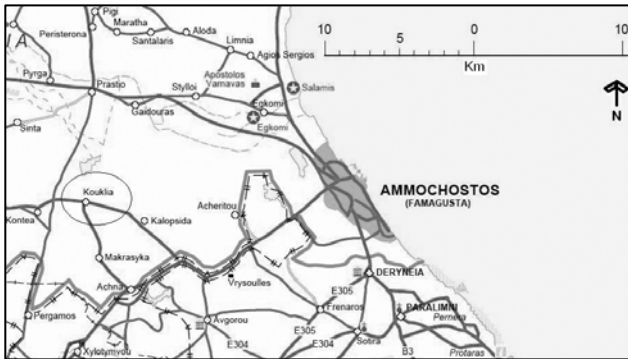


Figure 2: Kouklia near Famagusta (detail)

Source: Cyprus Tourist Organization, compiled and drawn by the Cyprus Department of Lands and Surveys, revised March 2004. Kouklia - Köprülü is located about 15 Km west of Famagusta on the old road connecting Famagusta and Nicosia.

The settlers experienced trouble from the outset. They too sent a letter to *Hamagid*, describing their plight:

A Call to Our Brother Israelites

From their Romanian Colonists Brothers now on the Island of
Cyprus

With God's Help; here in the colony on the island of Cyprus, February 1886. To the editor of *Hamagid!* It is known to all the great trouble which was inflicted on our people in the wicked Romanian Kingdom, to the extent that many of them (if they could only manage it) had to leave the country that rejected them and to seek peace elsewhere. So have we the undersigned, residents of the town of Neamț, Romania, we have formed an association, twenty-five families to leave our homeland, using the little money each of us possessed. We have formed a collective fund and have decided to migrate to the Island of Cyprus, to buy ourselves land to be farmed and secured, and to make a living from our own labor, for we have heard that the land over there is fertile and rich, and the island is under the auspices of the Kingdom of England [sic], and also it is close to the Holy Land. [...] In addition we have sent one of us to Cyprus, to observe personally and learn what we need, and he bought there land for us according to his findings. [...] We need to mention favorably the *Alliance Neuen* who paid for the ship fare; nevertheless the expenses of our trip were much more than we have estimated. In addition we found here a terribly high cost of living. These are the reasons that our pockets emptied, and we were forced to sell out our houses contents, in order to overcome our hunger. We bought one hundred kilos of grain, and were careful not to eat it; instead we sowed it in the hope that next year we would be able to eat from the harvest. We have also bought a number of cattle. Now we are in great trouble without a possible solution, like a ship about to break in high seas. What are we going to do now? Making a living in other ways is very difficult on this island, and therefore we are almost at the point of starvation. Our children are asking for bread and there is none. We are altogether one-hundred and seventy souls. As long as we could take the suffering we did, and kept quiet, but now we can suffer no more and hunger becomes worse each day. Therefore we ask and beg from our Israelite brethren, passionate sons of the passionate, to have

mercy on us and our infants and children so that we will not perish in hunger, to support us until our land yields its harvest later this year. It is known that every colony requires a support in the first year, and why should we be excluded?⁷ [...] poverty makes a man insane. Honest God-fearing volunteers will do good by sending their donations to the editor of Hamagid, who will be so kind as to send it to us [...].⁸

[My translation DG] [follows are signatures of 19 persons, a note of the editor mentioning the 1883 Koukليا-Orides failure and his pessimistic view regarding the prospects of Koukليا-Famagusta.]



Figure 3: Call for help from Koukليا-Famagusta

Source: Hamagid, 8.4.1886, 115-6. The text is printed in 'Rashi-Script', adopted in the 15th C. for commentary next to 'Square-Script'. Rashi-Script, was popularly named after the most outstanding biblical commentator of all ages, Rashi (1040-1105), whose Bible commentaries were the very first to be printed (1475) in this typeface.⁹

The desperate call for help from Koukليا found hearts in Eretz-Israel, and soon the *Ezrat-Nidachim* association from Jerusalem¹⁰ assisted the colony. But this was probably too little and too late as the money they received was just enough to send them to Constantinople, where they received additional help to get them back to Romania. By 1927 most settlers had left, with only two Jewish families remained to continue farming. They were active until the 1950s, when the operation was shut down. By the 1970s, the area operated as a Government experimental farm.¹¹

Margo Settlement, 1897

But settlers kept on coming to Cyprus despite the publicized previous failures. In 1897, a new settlement was formed by a Jewish immigrant group in *Margo*, next to the road connecting Nicosia and Larnaka. The Turkish name for the location is *Gaziler*.



Figure 4: Margo area near Nicosia

Source: Cyprus Tourist Organization, compiled and drawn by the Cyprus Department of Lands and Surveys, revised March 2004. The Gialias (Çakilli Dere) stream flows east and south of Margo and is mentioned in the

memoirs of the settlers. Margo is located next to the 'Green Line', ie in the Buffer Zone, making it inaccessible to civilians.

These were Russian and Polish Jews who came from London, and had formed an association for the management of a venture called *Ahavat-Zion*,¹² within their declared target of Cyprus. The association applied for support from the JCA,¹³ which, having looked into the matter, granted them sponsorship. They received a loan with which they bought a tract of land amounting to some 4,654 dönüms (about 1,150 acres).¹⁴ Evidently, the figure who liaised the land-purchase was Paul Blattner, a Jewish Cypriot, described graphically by Panteli (2003),¹⁵ who persuaded the settlers to buy 'Margo-Çiftlik' (lit. Turkish 'Margo Farm')¹⁶ from the Greek Cypriot, Georgio Papadopoulou. The JCA built simple houses and structures for livestock, as well as a school, synagogue, bakery and flour-mill for them. The first manager of the farm was Nahum Yitzhak Adler, a BILU¹⁷ member from Russia who immigrated to Palestine, and studied in *Mikveh-Israel*.¹⁸ Adler arrived at Margo by the end of 1897, and supervised construction of ten two-family houses in different sizes. For a large family they allotted a three-room house, and for small families, two-room house. All houses had integrated kitchens and a fireplace. In September 1898 the first group of settlers arrived from England. Adler

went to meet them in Larnaka, and drove them back to the farm, for five hours, in ox-driven wooden carriages. On that ride Adler met a young woman settler, Esther Bender, whom he married in 1900, then left for England. The JCA sent in a new manager, Jacob Bergman.



Figure 5: Domed outdoor oven, near Apostolos Andreas, Cyprus.

Source: photo by DG, April 2005. Most ovens are built with fired clay bricks and clad with stone or mud to preserve heat. The size varies and depends on the volume of food

normally prepared; form variations include vaults and drop-shape. Construction is done by knowledgeable traditional masons, who develop a personal style.

It was an agricultural venture in the fertile Mesaoria (*Mesarya Ovasi*) plain, and the most successful so far. The settlers that endured surprised the locals with some new ideas; such as plowing with horses instead of oxen, and using imported mechanical agricultural equipment. The Jewish women settlers learned from local women how to bake in the brick oven.

They grew sesame, grapes, cotton, apricot, almonds and tobacco which they learned from Lebanese Maronite immigrants. But conditions were harsh: the heat of summer was intolerable; they were often struck by malaria; there was no running water in the houses, and there were social problems whereby the settlers felt themselves lonely and culturally isolated, and so began to leave. The JCA, in an effort to overcome the difficulties, sent them qualified agronomists from Palestine, from the Jewish agricultural school Mikveh-Isreal. But to no avail.¹⁹

By 1912 the colony's population was 155 souls, and so the JCA gave up, and withdrew its sponsorship. A few years after World War I, the manager of the colony was sent back to London by the JCA, and most of

the settlers realized that without this vital support it was better to leave for Palestine.

All that remains today of the settlement is its cemetery – the only Jewish cemetery in Cyprus. The first to be buried there was a child who died from malaria, Yossef Bender; then shortly afterwards, some settlers from Kouklia-Paphos who also died from malaria were buried there.²⁰ Jewish Cypriots, not associated with the settlements, and about 150 Jewish 'illegal immigrants' detained by the British in Cyprus in the 1940s, who died in the detention camps were also buried there. So was Paul Blattner, who had initiated the purchase of Margo Çiftlik.

At the time of writing the Margo location (2006) is inaccessible, as it is a military zone and out of bounds for civilians. However, in the summer of 2001, an Israeli writer, Yadin Roman, obtained special permission to visit the site, and made a photographic record of the cemetery.



Figure 6: Margo Cemetery, 1970s

Margo lasted for almost 30 years, but by 1927 only five families were living there. The farm was then bought by two brothers from Romania. In the late 1930s Margo was visited by a traveler from Eretz-Israel, Joseph Weitz, who toured Cyprus in order to identify fruit-bearing trees which may be transplanted to Palestine.



Figure 7: Margo Cemetery, 2001

Sources: photo by Gilan (1970), 123; photo by Roman and Horowitz (2001) p. 35. The last relics of the Margo settlement, are still in existence, in the military zone next to the 'Green Line'.

Weitz reported 23 families in Margo,²¹ and seven families each in Kouklia (near Famagusta) and Cholmakchi (?) (perhaps Kondea or Paşaköy or Gaziköy).²² A descendent of the first-settler group visited Margo in 1954 and reported a thriving enterprise. In the 1960s the farm was bought by one Charlambidis, a Greek Cypriot in the dairy farming business. Information about the farm stops with the Turkish military operations in Cyprus in 1974 when the area was taken over by the army and declared a military zone, since it is located on the 'Green Line' dividing Cyprus.



Figure 8: Weitz debriefing a Jewish settler in Margo, early 1940s.

Source: Weitz (1945), 276. Weitz described the settler as "a Jew engaged in raising sheep".

Jacob Bender died in Liverpool in 1929. One of his sons Charles Bender, moved to Montreal where he served as a rabbi for over sixty years. He died in Montreal in 1993, highly esteemed by the Jewish

community in Canada. Nahum Adler also moved to Liverpool, and from there to Manchester. He died in 1942, after a long service in the British Zionist Movement. Some of the descendents of these two families live, at the time of writing, in Israel. Jacob Bergman returned to Palestine in 1931, and settled in Nes-Ziona. His grandson, Dr. Yaakov Nir is a marine geologist living in the same area, currently writing about the Margo episode.²³

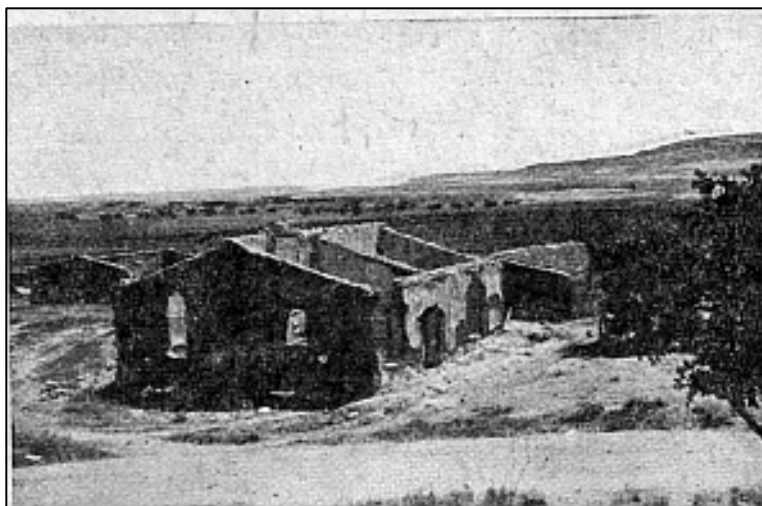


Figure 9: Ruins of Margo houses, early 1940s.

Source: Weitz (1945), 272. The photo was taken by Weitz on his visit to Cyprus, to study the local agriculture and to learn what can be applied in Eretz-Israel.

Other Enterprises during the British Period

In 1938 a known Jewish engineer from Palestine, Arpad Gut, was called in by goldmine owners from Cyprus to advise on gold extraction operations and equipment. This occurred in a place called Kocinomoti (perhaps *Kochi* about 10 Km northwest of Larnaka), though the design and production of the equipment was carried out in Rishon Le'Zion in Palestine. Feurstein (1947) reported that while digging foundations for the equipment, the Jewish workers unearthed many archaeological finds. The equipment was so effective, that a British firm later purchased it for use elsewhere.²⁴ The same venture was visited by Weitz in August 1939, who described it as a gold and copper mine, and identified the owner only

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as "an ex-farmer from Margo". He wrote in his travelogue about his encounter with the owner: "His intention is to affiliate the development of the mine with Eretz-Israel, meaning, to establish a factory in Palestine for smelting the ores mined in Cyprus [...] because in Palestine fuel is cheaper".²⁵

In the same visit to Cyprus in 1939, Weitz paid a visit to the Troodos range to learn about the pine trees as the pines that had been planted in *Ben-Shemen* Forest in Palestine, were in fact seedlings imported from the Troodos region in Cyprus.²⁶



Figure 10: Pine forest of Ben-Shemen, Israel, 2005
Source:

Photos by DG, August 2005. The first forests to be planted in Eretz-Israel, starting 1908 and re-planted in 1929. The seeds came from the Troodos range in Cyprus. Foresting lands was one measure of claiming it: the Ottoman law of *Mahlûl* allowed for confiscation of uncultivated land.²⁷ The Ottomans cut most of the trees in the KKL²⁸ forests in the 1910s for train engines fuel, and many forests were re-planted in the 1920s.

Weitz reported: "I compare the growth of those [Troodos pines] to the trees in Ben-Shemen [...] and I find them very similar. If so, will it be possible to have [in Eretz-Israel] the same straight tall and erect pines that I found here?"²⁹

The dwindling Jewish farms near Famagusta were transformed into orange groves, with the help of Jewish investors and orange growers from Palestine. Cyprus had an advantage over Palestine in terms of marketing fruit in England as fruit from the Crown Colony was exempted from taxes while fruit from Palestine was not, as it was a Mandate territory. In the mid 1930s Weitz counted 6 groves in the Famagusta district (730 dönüms or 180 acres), and 8 groves near Larnaka (1240 dönüms or 306 acres). But the main orange-growing enterprises initiated by Jews from Palestine were in the Limassol district near the town of Fasoula,³⁰ where there was a concentration of orange groves (700 dönüms or 173 acres). Others, totaling 3200 dönüms (790 acres) included grapes, almonds and other fruit-bearing trees.³¹

Weitz debriefed the person in charge of the orange groves, "a young energetic dark-faced Eretz-Israeli", who related the events leading to the formation of the enterprise and the 'Cyprus – Palestine Plantation Company',³² one of the major contributors to the now world-famous Cyprus citrus industry:

[In the early 1930s] I bought a 1500 dönüms farm here [near Fasoula] from an Englishman for a few hundred pounds. I did not even have that much money, so I called upon my friend who joined the venture. We paid 300 pounds, and hoped to pay the balance at a later date. At that time Eretz-Israelis were coming to Cyprus to explore the possibilities of citrus agriculture. We offered them partnership, and this is how the corporation started [...] in 1933 we bore wells and found water. This increased demand for our shares, much beyond the land we had available. We started buying adjacent land; from year to year the area of the plantations increased, and now [Weitz wrote this in 1939 DG] it is about 5,000 dönüms [...] By that time the corporation started planting not only for its members but also for non-member investors. We have enlarged the planted area to 3,200 dönüms for oranges, in addition to the seedless grapes which we grow for raisins, and other fruit-bearing trees and crops. [...] The capital invested today in the corporation is divided into 25 percent English, 15 percent Greek Cypriots, and 60 percent Jewish investors. [...] Our farm has become a model for the

islanders; the authorities take pride in it, and exhibit it to visitors as a positive example of advanced farming.³³

[My translation DG].

Weitz also did not neglect the architectural elements of the enterprise, when he described a layout consisting of a large court, formed by buildings surrounding it, and a main two-story structure that had a watchtower "similar to what we have in our new settlements [in Palestine]".

The methodology was probably borrowed from the experience gained in Palestine in the second half of the 1930s, when dozens of new Jewish settlements were erected, having the same layout of a yard protected by peripheral structures and a watchtower. These were called *Yishuvei Homa Umigdal*, meaning 'Tower-and-Stockade Settlements'.



Figure 11: Kibbutz Dafna, Palestine, 1939.

Source: Weitz (1945), 90. A typical 'Tower and Stockade' settlement. There were over 50 erected in Palestine in the late 1930s. These were designed to be put up quickly and offer a reasonably secure setup; the stockade and the tower were sometimes erected overnight, and the structures inside the perimeter followed in the next few days. Most of these settlements were built in frontier areas, in order to establish 'ground facts'. It is possible that this know-how was transferred to Cyprus to be applied at least in the Limassol orange grove farm compound.

Epilogue and Afterthoughts

By the end of the 19th century there were voices in the newly formed Zionist Movement to settle Jews in Cyprus as a policy, as it was regarded as a stepping-stone to settlement in Eretz-Israel. When the Third Zionist Congress met in Basel, Aug. 15-18, 1899, the question of colonization in Cyprus was brought up by Davis Trietsch, who had held a preliminary conference to consider the proposal. He was not allowed to proceed with the question in open discussion, however as the great majority of the members opposed the proposal. Although refused by the council, Trietsch persisted, convincing two dozen Romanian Jews to immigrate to Cyprus.³⁴ Twenty-eight additional Romanian families followed these and received assistance from the Jewish Colonization Association. These settlers established farms at Margo, and at Asheriton. In 1902, Theodore Herzl introduced the idea of establishing Cyprus as the 'Jewish Homeland'. This idea was presented in a pamphlet to the Parliamentary committee on alien immigration in London, bearing the title "The Problem of Jewish Immigration to England and the United States Solved by Furthering the Jewish Colonization of Cyprus."³⁵

Evidence and remnants of Jewish presence on the Island go back to pre-Christian times, displaying both good and bad times as the island changed hands and its populace subjected to various rulers. But it was in the time of the British rule of the region that the affiliation between the Jewish people and Cyprus became more intensive. Cyprus was taken over by the British long before they were in control of Palestine. They were a colonial Power, with a policy of interests – yet they were attentive to human plight, allowing Jewish settlement on the island. When the situation in Palestine intensified in the 1940s, they opened the detention camps for Jewish refugees in Cyprus.

The Jewish presence in Cyprus throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries await scholarly documentation pending unification of or other political solution in Cyprus and the opening of the military zones for such studies.

In the meantime, Israelis have a special corner in their hearts for Cyprus and Cypriots: the peaceful island embracing all those who found their way to it, and the friendly Cypriots who have extended a welcoming hand to distressed people through the ages.

Endnotes

- * Dedicated to Prodromos Papavasiliou, a Cypriot, lover of Cyprus, who passed away in Limassol December 2006; and to the following who assisted in this documentation, in random order: Dr. Michael Walsh, EMU, Famagusta; Raanan Reshef, Israel; Dubi Meyer, Israel; Rabbi Micah Greenstein, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Üstün Alsac, EMU, Famagusta; Nevter Zafer, EMU; Prof. Ibrahim Numan, EMU; Armağan Karbulut, Cyprus, and many more.
- ¹ D. Goldman, "Famagusta's Historic Detention and Refugee Camps", *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 11 (28/29) (2005): 29-49.
- ² Stavros Panteli, *Place of Refuge, the History of the Jews in Cyprus* (London and Bath, 2003), 81.
- ³ In 1881, following a rumor that the Jews had assassinated the Czar, riots (referred to as 'pogroms') took place in the Ukraine in more than 30 towns, the most intensive in Kiev. Later, on Christmas Day, the Jews of Warsaw were attacked and on Easter, those of Balta. In 1883 there were more pogroms, and in 1891-2 Jews were expelled from Moscow.
- ⁴ The first weekly Hebrew newspaper, started at 1856 in Leek, Prussia, and later in Berlin, Krakow and Vienna.
- ⁵ *Hamagid*, 28 / 6, July 2, 1884, Historic Hebrew Newspapers, Jewish National and University Library.
- ⁶ Shulamit Laskov, 'The British Form a Colony in Cyprus', *Et-Mol* 16 (1977): 9-10 [Hebrew].
- ⁷ The writer refers to the assistance extended by the Rothschilds: in the early 1880s Baron De Rothschild assisted the new Jewish colonies in Palestine by supporting them financially. The first colony to be supported was *Ekron*, later named *Mazkeret-Bathia* (1882). The assistance was later expanded to sending agricultural experts and administrators.
- ⁸ *Hamagid*, 28, February 2, 1884, 6.
- ⁹ Joshua A Fishman, 'Digraphia Maintenance and Loss among Eastern European Jews: Intertextual and Interlingual Print Conventions in Ashkenazic Linguistic Culture Since 1800'. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 150 (2001): 27-41, 29-31.
- ¹⁰ In late 1884, Rabbi Israel Dov Fromkin established *Ezrat Nidachim*, (lit. Hebrew 'Help for the Remote') Society, formed in London, in honor of Moses and Judith Montefiore. The goal of the society was to "assist our poor

- brethren in finding housing and occupation and to prevent their falling into the hands of missionaries".
- ¹¹ Zeev Vilnay, 'Cyprus', in *Ariel: Encyclopedia for Land of Israel Studies* (Tel-Aviv, 1976) [Hebrew], 7031.
- ¹² (Lit. Hebrew 'Love of Zion') This was chosen perhaps to acknowledge the influential novel by the same name by A. Mapu, (1807-67). First Modern Hebrew novelist and one of the leaders of the Haskalah Movement in Eastern Europe. His most famous book, *Ahavat Zion* (1853), described the longing of the Jewish people for a better life. Not to be confused with the *Ahavat Zion* organization founded in Tarnow in 1897 with the aim of promoting settlement in Eretz-Israel, a branch of the *Hovevei Zion* Movement, which merged with the World Zionist Organization in the late 1890s.
- ¹³ Jewish Colonization Association (also called ICA) founded August 1891 by the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, to promote Jewish settlement.
- ¹⁴ Figures vary with sources: Algazi 4000 dönüms; Roman 11,110 dönüms. Panteli's figure (p. 92) is the most supported by contemporary documents.
- ¹⁵ Panteli, *Place of Refuge*, 93.
- ¹⁶ Joseph Weitz, *In the Mirror: Chapters of Excursions in Eretz-Israel and its Neighbors* (Israel, 1945), [Hebrew], 263.
- ¹⁷ Student organization for emigration to Palestine (1882). The name is derived from the Hebrew abbreviation of Isaiah 2:5 — "O House of Jacob, come let us go".
- ¹⁸ *Mikveh-Israel* (lit. Hebrew 'Immersion to Israel'), a few km east of Jaffa, Palestine, the first modern rural settlement founded in 1870 as an agricultural training center. Carl Netter of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* received the land from the Ottoman Empire as a gift and started an agricultural school that was eventually attended by many of the first Zionist pioneers. Baron Edmond de Rothschild was involved with funding the school.
- ¹⁹ Yadin Roman, Photos by Doron Horowitz, 'A Forgotten Place Called Margo', *Eretz Vateva* 74 (2001): 37-48 [Hebrew], 38.
- ²⁰ Ya'acov Algazi, 'Here in the Land Our Fathers Cherished', *Haaretz Weekly Magazine*, February 11 (1994): [Hebrew], 77.
- ²¹ These numbers are in contradiction to the numbers shown in 1927; there is no supporting evidence to any of the numbers presented.
- ²² Weitz, *In the Mirror*, 265. This location is also mentioned by Yadin Roman (2001) (see note 18) but does not appear on either Greek or Turkish maps. Ben-Artzi (2005) describes these locations as a "cluster of Jewish farms and

settlements [that] grew under JCA management, with the nucleus of Jewish agriculturalism [sic] composed of three regions: Margo, Kouklia and Cholmakchi." Yossi Ben-Artzi, 'Jewish Settlement in Cyprus (1882-1935): Between Enrooting on the Land and a Springboard to Palestine', presentation in international conference, in: *To the Land! 200 Years of Jewish Agricultural Settlement*, June 2005, Tel Aviv: Bet Hatefutsoth [Hebrew].

²³ Algazi, "Here in the Land", 80.

²⁴ Emil Feurstein, *Engineer Arpad Gut and His Enterprise* (Tel Aviv, 1947) [Hebrew], 34-5.

²⁵ Joseph Weitz, *My Diary and Letters to the Children, Second Vol.: Footholds and Outposts* (Israel, 1965) [Hebrew], 87.

²⁶ KKL Website, *History of the KKL*, http://www.kkl.org.il/KKL/hebrew/nosim_ikarim/al_kakal/history/asorkkl/asorim.x (accessed January, 2007).

²⁷ The Ottoman law that that applies in the event of failure to cultivate for three consecutive years; the land reverts to the State as 'Mahlûl' (vacant land). Mark LeVine, 'Conquest through Town Planning: The case of Tel-Aviv, 1921-48', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27 (Summer, 1998): 36-52, 37.

²⁸ KKL = Jewish national Fund (JNF), established in 1901.

²⁹ Weitz, *My diary and Letters*, 87.

³⁰ The (Hebrew) text in Weitz (1945) indicates a village named Fasouri, which does not appear on the maps. The closest is Fasoula, elevation 400, 6 Km north of Limassol. There is another Fasoula east of Paphos, at elevation 200.

³¹ Weitz, *In the Mirror*, 277-8.

³² There were actually two organizations; the other was 'Cyprus Farming Company', founded also in the 1930s. Panteli, *Place of Refuge*, 110-11.

³³ Weitz, *In the Mirror*, 278-9.

³⁴ Gottheil, "Richard and Samuel Krauss, Cyprus", *Jewish Encyclopedia*, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=948&letter=C> (accessed January, 2007).

³⁵ British Embassy, Vienna, the UK and Austria Bilateral Relations, "Herzl in England,"

<http://www.britishembassy.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xccerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1107298483043> (accessed January, 2007).