ISSN 2348-3156 (Print)
International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research ISSN 2348-3164 (online)
Vol. 13, Issue 2, pp: (159-174), Month: April - June 2025, Available at: www.researchpublish.com

Relations with Jews under Islamic Rule from Jewish Perspectives

Hatim M. Mahamid[1]

DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15283191
Published Date: 25-April-2025

Abstract: **This article deals with Jewish-Muslim relationship under Islamic rule from the point of views and perspectives of Jewish studies and documents. There are clearly differences in viewpoints in these studies, with sometimes wide gaps between their positions. In his studies, David Wasserstein, for instance, describes that relation as good and "Golden Age" between Muslims and Jews. While others admit that the "Golden Age" of relations in Andalusia and other countries was just a myth. Some Jewish historians and scholars dealt in their studies relying on Jewish archival writings, compared with Arab and Islamic sources to get their conclusions of Muslim-Jewish relationship. While others are influenced by orientalist views of modern ideologies and opinions. Therefore, this study aims to examine the reasons for these contradictions in the positions of Jewish researchers regarding these relationships.**

Keywords: **Muslim-Jewish relations, Jews, Islamic Rule, Jewish Perspectives.**

1. INTRODUCTION

Jews and Christians in general, as "*Ahl al-Kitāb*" (People of the holy Book) were in the position of dhimmis (under protection of Muslims), who were given by Islam to preserve their monotheistic religions and to remain in the Islamic state (*Dar al-Islam*). The relationship with the dhimmis came in Quranic verses to protect them in exchange for the imposition of tribute (*jizya*), and then to treat them according to the treaties of the Prophet and his hadiths,[2] and then 'Umar conditions (*shurūṭ ʿUmar*).[3] Dhimmis got protection of Muslims if they are non-combatants and do not pose a threat to the Islamic state, and they carry out their duties towards Islamic religion and state.[4]

In the early stages of the Islamic era, Dhimmis sometimes welcomed the Islamic conquests, as did the Christians of the Levant, for example, and the Jews in Andalusia. This stage marked the tolerance of Muslims and Jews to the maximum extent and was considered the golden age of the Jews under Islamic rule. However, in the later period in Andalusia, especially during the rule of the al-Muwaḥḥidūn (Almohads) (r. 1130-1269), the relationship was strained. This was due to the arrogance of Jews against Muslims and the display of non-obedience or conspiracy with enemies of Muslims in periods of Islamic weakness.[5] In general, the first four centuries of the Islamic state were characterized by tolerance and openness towards Dhimmis, while maintaining the payment of *jizya*. There were no manifestations of strictness or application of

[1] The Open University of Israel & Sakhnin Academic College. (e.mail. hatim_mahamid@hotmail.com)

[2] On this covenant (*ʿahd al-ʾumma*), see: ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, (II), (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1990). pp. 143-146.

[3] Several narratives were related to "ʿUmar conditions" (*shurūṭ ʿUmar*). For comparison, see: Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1994), pp. 542-544; Muḥammad bin Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-ʾumm*, (IV), (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1990), pp. 208-211; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, (II), (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), pp. 18-57, 113-114.

[4] See the Qur'anic verse: (chapter 2: 62).

[5] See: Khālid Yūnis al-Khālidī, *al-Yahūd fī al-dawla al-ʿArabiyya al-Islāmiyya fī al-Andalus*, (Palestine: Gaza, 2011), pp. 157-245; On intolerance towards Jews under al-Murābiṭūn and al-Muwaḥḥidūn, see: ibid, pp. 246-266; ʿAṭiyya al-Qūṣī, *al-Yahūd fī ẓill al-ḥaḍāra al-Islāmiyya,* (Cairo: University of Cairo, 2001), pp. 125-162.

'Umar conditions, except in some cases and for short periods under some Muslim rulers or caliphs, such as the Abbasids caliphs al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) and al-Muqtadir (d. 932). But this policy was not applied strictly.[6]

This study tries to review the positions and views of Jewish researchers on Muslim-Jewish relations. It will deal with the main topics of debate and discussions around the research of Jewish historians and scholars, focusing on the factors that influenced the attitudes of Jewish researchers in modern era. The study also attempts to examine the attitudes and Jewish viewpoints on the application of Dhimmi rules to the Jews. This paper tries to answer several questions about this Muslim-Jewish relations under Islamic rule: How do Jewish historians and scholars see the relationship of Muslims with Jews through the application of Islamic rules? Why are some of their opinions varied? How could contradictions of Jewish views be understood about Muslim-Jewish relationship during the various eras until modern times?

a. Controversial Topics in Jewish Scholars' Views on Islamic-Jewish Relations

Controversial topics of discussion in Jewish studies on the relationship to Islam mostly revolve around several key points, such as the symbols and narratives about the Jews in the Holy Qur'an, the legal status, and the legitimacy of the Jews in Islam through covenants and treaties. The Constitution of Medina (*ʿahd al-ʾumma*) and the Conditions of ʿUmar (*shurūṭ ʿUmar*) have had a wide field of studies and debates, as some Jewish scholars focus on examining the credibility of Islamic sources by using criticism methods. For example, some of those scholars do not recognize the sanctity of the Holy Qur'an, but rather claim that it is from the words of Prophet Muhammad, or additions even after his death. For example, in one of Uri Rubin's research on the Holy Qur'an, he tries to prove the humanity of the Qur'anic text, that was not given by God, but it is the work of the Prophet.[7]

In his studies on relationship between the three religions, Moshe Sharon, tries to examine the relationship of Prophet Muhammad with the Jews. He criticizes the Islamic sources on which Islam was based, such as the Prophet tradition. Although Sharon disagrees with other scholars that Prophet Muhammad was influenced by Judaism and Christianity, he claims that the Prophet was influenced by the old stories and novels of the Jewish books, and when Muhammad reached the conviction of those accounts, he formed his character as a prophet according to the specifications contained in those Stories. In one of his seminars, Sharon tries to highlight contradictions in the Qur'anic verses, tradition and other Islamic novels and their impact on the attitudes of Muslims toward Jews.[8] On the same attitude, Mordechai Kedar, deals with the subject of the development of Islam and its relation to Christianity and Judaism. He focuses on some of his studies on Qur'anic verses and Sunna that speak of the negatives of Jews as mentioned in the Qur'an and *hadith*, as mean of "anti-Semitism".[9]

The document *'Ahd al-Umma* (the constitution of Medina) and the meeting of the Prophet with the Jewish tribes in Yathrib is a place of great debate among Jewish historians. Most scholars recognize the importance of this document in forming of relations between Muslims and others, especially Jews, and in the formation of the entity of the "nation" (*ʾumma*) in the first Islamic era. While, those historians try to study the background of this document and its influence, and then raise doubts

[6] See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām*, (I), pp. 166-184.

[7] Rubin has published a translation of the Holy Qur'an in Hebrew, see: Uri Rubin, *The Qur'an: Translation from Arabic*, (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 2005) (in Hebrew); Similarly, Hai Bar-Zeev attributes to the Prophet Muhammad finding the book of the Qur'an. See: Hai Bar-Zeev, *Beyond the Quran: Explanations in Jewish and Islamic Affairs*, (Dapim Misaprim, 2011), pp. 13-61. (in Hebrew). It was published in French titled: *Une lecture juive du Coran* (Éditions Berg International, 2005).

[8] See: Moshe Sharon, "Relations between Prophet Muhammad and the Jews", (YouTube), 9 May 2014 at the forum "Fathers and Founders": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ws1xWcDCcVU (in Hebrew) (accessed August 1st 2023); See also his "lecture on Islam", (Oct. 12, 2016): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8u_uugbFfk (accessed 8 Oct. 2017); In another study, Sharon reviews the Islamic, Christian and Jewish relations and conflicts. See: Moshe Sharon, *Judaism, Christianity and Islam, Interaction and Conflict*, (Publications of the Eric Samson Chair in Jewish Civilization, No. 2) (The University of the Witwatersrand, Snap Print, Johannesburg and Jerusalem, 1989); L. Holtzman also discusses the first meeting between the Jewish tribes and the Muslims in Medina (Yathrib), and the friction that arose between them, leading to the first fundamental disputes in the shared history of the two religions. See: Livnat Holtzman, "When Muhammad met the Jews," (chapter 6), series: "*Following the Prophet Muhammad*", (8.6.2022). (Accessed 1.8.2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3I3dj-lidkcq. (in Hebrew).

[9] See: Mordechai Kedar, "*Islamic Anti-Semitism*", a lecture at the seminar "Fathers and Founders", May 21st 2016: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=tax5sUGTnSk (in Hebrew) (accessed July 29, 2023).

about its reliability. Martin Gilbert, for example, attempts to shed light on the relationship between Jews and Muslims, as it dates to the era of Ismā'īl and Isaac, sons of Prophet Abraham, and the charged relations extended throughout Islamic history beginning with the rejection of Jews in Yathrib confession in the prophecy of Muhammad. Gilbert tries to link this bad relationship to these days, strengthened through other events in Islamic history.[10]

Bernard Lewis concludes in his studies that the relationship between Islam and other dhimmis groups began since the days of the Prophet Muhammad in Yathrib, when he fought there against the Jewish tribes and then got rid of them, in addition to subjugating the Jews of Khaibar in 629, then expelling them by Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Lewis points out that the relationship between Islam and Judaism was founded from a religious perspective, according to the Qur'anic verses concerning Jews. He mentions some verses that speak negatively about Jews, such as the verse about the imposition of *jizya* (tribute tax), and the verse not to take Jews and Christians as parents (*awliyāʾ*). According to Lewis' view, Islam has treated the Dhimmis with indignity, contempt, and humiliation from the beginning.[11]

The researcher Michael Lecker deals with the relationship between Muslims and Jews through the document of Medina (*ʿahd al-ʾumma*). He comes to conclusion that this document includes two main sections: the first agreement with his followers from Medina (*Anṣār*) and immigrants from Mecca (*Muhājirūn*), and the other with the Jews. But more important, according to Lecker's analysis, is that there is a debate over the issue that the majority of the Jewish tribes of Medina, including large tribes such as Qaynuqāʿ, Naḍīr and Qurayẓa, as well as non-Muslim Arab tribes, were not included in this document, even those who had been mentioned in it and got safe, have a false reading. In another study, Lecker tackles the issue of these important Jewish tribes with query and doubt about their participation in the *Umma* treaty of Medina.[12] A similar view, Moshe Gil sees that this document reflects the policy of the Prophet against the Jews, and that they were not a party to this document, but were only followers and loyal to the Arabs.[13] Meanwhile, Uri Rubin notes that the Jews included in this treaty were not important of Jewish tribes in Yathrib, but rather peripheral and pro-Arab tribes, while large and important Jewish tribes lived outside the city and were not covered by this document.[14]

Regarding of *shurūṭ ʿUmar*, Jewish scholars view this document differently. For example, those scholars see legislation in *shurūṭ ʿUmar* as discriminatory and restrictive against Jews and other Dhimmis in general, and that this legislation remained unchanged in the various Islamic eras. Those researchers focus on highlighting the conditions of housing, religious rites, clothing and apparel with other behavior, as well as they consider the payment of a *jizya* as "discriminatory laws" to humiliate Jews, not as conditions of alliance and protection. Uriel Simonsohn, a historian of religions and societies, deduced from his research on *shurūṭ ʿUmar* that although some of the conditions were used in other countries in pre-Islamic period, this document was designed to form a legal and judicial reference to non-Muslims, that aims to separate between Muslims and others. It is therefore possible that some Muslim rulers, through times, have added or modified them to serve their interests and goals.[15]

In this context, Bernard Lewis discusses the conditions of *shurūṭ ʿUmar* and their credibility of time and place, where it raises doubts about the Arab sources that Christians of the Levant are the ones who put these conditions on themselves, and then doubts about the validity of the issuance of this document by the second Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 644) or by

[10] Martin Gilbert, *In Ishmael's House, A History of Jews in Muslim Lands*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

[11] See: Bernard Lewis, *Jews in the Islamic world*. (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1996), pp. 17-23. (in Hebrew). This book was first published in English, see: idem, *The Jews of Islam*, (Princeton University Press, 1984).

[12] See: Michael Lecker, *Muhammad and the Jews*, (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2014), pp. 29-31, 60-61, 66, 70-74. Sometimes Lecker relies on unreliable accounts and stories for his research, such as the story of the murder of the Jewish poet "Asmāʾ bint Marwān". Lecker tries to conclude that Muslims' dealing with others was very cruel. See: ibid., pp. 83-85; See also: idem, *The Constitution of Medina: Muhammad's First Legal Document*, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, INC., 2004), pp. 1-4. See also: Idem, "Did Muhammad Conclude Treaties with the Jewish Tribes Nadir, Qurayza and Qaynuqa?". in *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, (David Wasserstein & Uri Rubin eds.), (Eisenbrauns: 1997), pp. 29-36.

[13] Moshe Gil, "The Constitution of Medina: A Reconsideration", *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974), pp. 44–66.

[14] Uri Rubin, "The Constitution of Medina: Some Notes," *Studia Islamica* 62 (1985), pp. 5–23.

[15] See: Uriel Simonsohn, "Between Separation and Absorption: The Document of ʿUmar in its Cultural and Social Context," *Historia* 35 (2015), pp. 31-64. (in Hebrew)

Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 720). But the most important argument that Lewis raises is to impose these conditions for security needs first, and then evolved into social and legitimate laws. However, Lewis notes that most of these conditions have a more symbolic social character than a process. But he focuses on the debate on taxes and the high cost, in his opinion, paid to the Islamic Authority by Dhimmis.[16]

On the other hand, M. Levy-Rubin tries to interpret *shurūṭ ʿUmar* objectively, and the relationship between Muslims and Dhimmis. Despite the controversy raised by Levy-Rubin in her research on the period in which this document and the various accounts of her texts were presented, she sees that those conditions did not reflect the social reality, as many other Jewish scholars view as humiliating and insulting toward non-Muslims. In the Arab and Islamic historical texts, Levy-Rubin systematically examined these conditions in this document and viewed them as a process of evolution that was variable and not fixed. This gave Levi Rubin a new perspective to explore the changing circumstances that led to the creation of these terms or attempts to apply them sometimes. She even looks at the reasons that some of the early Muslim historians and jurists mentioned some applications of *shurūṭ ʿUmar* and the strictness on Dhimmis.[17]

b. Perspectives of Jewish Scholars on the Application of Islamic Laws to Jews

The attitudes of Jewish studies vary regarding the application of Dhimmi laws during Islamic history, between the hardliner, tolerant and rightful. While M. Gilbert mentions that Jews lived in a state of inferiority and humiliation because of the *jizya* and *shurūṭ ʿUmar*,[18] Levy-Rubin concludes that *shurūṭ ʿUmar* were not effectively or widely applied. Levy-Rubin explains that ʿUmar conditions were applied only during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil, and later, it appeared sporadically in certain areas, according to personal desires and interests of the ruler. She recalls that some of these conditions were followed and applied in the Byzantine period as well as during the Persian-Sasanian rule, such as clothing or religious persecution. By comparing between the Jews status under Byzantine rule and under Islam, Levy-Rubin concludes that Jews were accepted as religious groups under the Islam, in addition to holding high positions even after al-Mutawakkil era.[19]

Gilbert claims in his study that the Jews did not live in a state of cooperation and tolerance with Muslims, highlighting some negative aspects to show that Jews in Islamic countries, from Morocco to Central Asia, for 1400 years, were not part of the general community of the Islamic state, although there were periods of tolerance and prosperity. Gilbert mentions the negative effects of the *jizya* and *shurūṭ ʿUmar* without looking into their influences and developments over time. He admits that Jews have faced acts of militancy and other negative acts throughout Islamic history, especially in times of distress from military conflicts and internal economic crisis or in times of campaigns and foreign invasions against Islamic countries.[20]

Otherwise, various scholars who studied Jewish-Muslim relations through documents of Jewish Geniza testify the justice and tolerance under Islam, while Jews in Europe have suffered persecution, intolerance, and discrimination. The tolerant position of Islam among Dhimmis remained stable in general, except in limited and abnormal cases under rival Islamic rulers and authorities. Goitein's studies about Jews, relying on the archive of Jewish documents of the "Geniza", represent this viewpoint of Jewish-Muslim relation. Goitein testifies that Jews helped Muslim conquerors in the new areas, especially in Palestine, Syria, and Spain. Thus, the status of non-Muslims under Arab-Islamic rule from Andalusia to Iran is much better than that of Jews in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, in economic, social, and religious treatment. He adds that Jews gained religious freedom and autonomy in managing their judicial and religious affairs, reaching to their golden

[16] Lewis, *Jews*, pp. 29-31. Lewis notes that the distinctive dress of the Jews was used before Islam, and that the purpose of imposing it was humiliation, not just discrimination. See: ibid, pp. 38-41; On this context, see: Mark R. Cohen, "Islamic Policy toward Jews from the Prophet Muhammad to the Pact of ʿUmar," in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, (eds. Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora), (Princeton: UP, 2013), pp. 58-74.

[17] Milka Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence*, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 58-112; idem, "From Early Harbingers to the Systematic Enforcement of Shurut Umar," in: *Border Crossings: Interreligious Interaction and the Exchange of Ideas in the Islamic Middle Ages*. (eds. M. Goldstein and D. Freidenreich), (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012), pp. 30-43.

[18] See: Gilbert, *In Ishmael's House.*

[19] Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*, pp. 113-163.

[20] Gilbert, *In Ishmael's House.*

ISSN 2348-3156 (Print)
International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research ISSN 2348-3164 (online)
Vol. 13, Issue 2, pp: (159-174), Month: April - June 2025, Available at: www.researchpublish.com

age during the 10th to 13th centuries. Goitein also reviews cultural prosperity of the Jews under Islamic rule in terms of culture and intellectual production as well as spiritual and religious thoughts.[21]

Although differences in dress were included in *shurūṭ ʿUmar*, Goitein confirms that even in the 10th-12th centuries the dress code of the Jews was not applied, and there were signs that they were dressed like neighboring Muslims. He even affirms that the *jizya* was applied to the Jews and other people in general.[22] In other words, these testimonies confirm that Muslims did not strictly enforce this requirement. This is also confirmed by Bernard Lewis that the Jews in later times did not adhere to the special clothing that distinguished them.[23]

In his studies, Haim Ben-Sasson emphasizes the good relationship between Muslims and Jews in general, under Islamic rule from the beginning of the seventh century until modern era. Ben-Sasson reviews the good conditions of Jews in Andalusia, North Africa and the Middle East, and then the reception and absorption of Jews in the Ottoman Empire after being expelled from Andalusia by the Spanish. He stresses that Jews came to Palestine after the Islamic conquest, and that there were no obstacles in absorbing them under Islamic rule. Jews enjoyed economic, religious, and administrative freedom in the Middle Ages, as well as cultural interaction. It is noteworthy that the changes in the relationship sometimes happened with the Jews because of inner conflicts among Islamic rulers themselves, such as during the rule of al-Murābiṭūn and al-Muwaḥḥidūn in North Africa and Andalusia.[24]

Medieval Arabic sources document many Jewish figures who occupied a pivotal position in the economic life of the Islamic state and participated in social and political affairs, as was the case during the Fatimid era. Many dhimmis (Jews and Christians) held high positions and exerted decisive influence on political affairs, such as the vizier of a Jewish origin from Bagdad Yaʻqūb ibn Killis and others, such as of al-Tustari family.[25] This is what Moshe Gil highlights about the high status of Jews under Fatimid rule through his study of the Jewish *al-Tustarī* family and the status it attained in administrative, ministerial, and advisory positions in the Fatimid palace, in addition to its role in trade and finance, as well as their role in caring for the Jewish community.[26] This preferential treatment of Jews under Fatimid rule in Egypt at the time aroused feelings of envy and jealousy, even among some Jewish rivals. One Egyptian poet, al-Ḥasan ibn Khāqān, described the situation of Jews at that time, saying:[27]

"The Jews of this time achieved their ultimate hopes and gained control; Glory and wealth are with them, and among them are advisors and kings; O people of Egypt, I have advised you to become Jewish, for the universe has become Jewish".

Similar conclusions are drawn by Shalom Bar-Asher and his colleagues on Jews in Egypt and the Maghreb, that Jews in general have lived in freedom and tolerance since the first Islamic era and continued to do so except under the rule of the al-Muwḥḥidūn in the 12th and 13th centuries. But tolerance soon returned to the Jews after the end of the al-Muwḥḥidūn's rule, which made the countries of Morocco and Egypt a haven for the Jews of Europe and Andalusia, and their pursuit after 1492. Bar-Asher and his colleagues confirm that *shurūṭ ʿUmar* were not strict there. Even the distinctive dress of Jews was followed by the desire of Jews themselves, they continued even after the annulment of these conditions in the 19th century. Bar-Asher and his colleagues also point out that Jews preferred to live in their own neighborhoods and by their own choice, and there was no imposition to determine their place of residence, except for certain periods in Morocco. As for tax, Bar-

[21] See: Shelomo D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations*, (U.S.A: Dover Publication, 2005), pp. 6-8, 62-88, 125-211.

[22] See: Shelomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza.* (Vol. II), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) pp. 286-287, 380.

[23] Lewis, *Jews*, pp. 38-41.

[24] Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson (ed.), *A History of the Jewish People*, (Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 401, 404-405, 422-423, 439-440, 489, 631-633, 753.

[25] On the Fatimid vizier Yaʿqūb ibn Killis, see: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, (vol. 16), (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1984), pp. 442-444; ʿAlī bin Munjib Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wazāra*, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2000), pp. 21-25; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭulūn, *'inbā' al-'umarā' bi-abnā' al-wuzarā'*, (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1998), pp. 58-59.

[26] See: Moshe Gil, *ha-tustarīm; ha-kat ve-ha-mishpaḥah (The Tostars; The Family and the Cult)*, (Tel Aviv University, 1981). (in Hebrew)

[27] Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tārīkh Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, (vol. 2), (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub, 1968), p. 201.

Asher and his colleagues say that it was applied strictly to the Islamic Authority in exchange for protection and safety, but that, Jews had suffered from imposition of additional taxes, which were also imposed on Muslims. It is noted that this relation with Jews on basis of Dhimmis laws in North African countries was not permanent but was changeable according to political and economic considerations. It is also noted that there were differences in the application of Dhimmi laws from place to place.[28]

Some Jewish scholars extol the good Muslim-Jewish relationship. For example, David Wasserstein acknowledges the historical fact that, thanks to Islamic rule, the Jews were saved from extinction. He confirms not only that Jews have succeeded in staying under the shadow of Islam but flourished their civilization in the long run until modern eras. In his research, Wasserstein also attempts to compare the status of Jews under Christian rule in the Byzantine (Roman) state to Islamic rule, indicating that Jews carry out religious persecution in Europe, social exclusion and abuse of their status and rights in all spheres throughout the Roman Empire. In comparison with the status of Jews under Islam, he says that thanks to Islam, Jews succeeded in getting rid of Byzantine and Persian practices and persecution. The Muslims took control of these areas and most of Jews came under Islamic rule from Andalusia through North Africa and the Middle East to the eastern border of Persia and beyond. Therefore, the Jews enjoyed legal protection and improved living conditions, in addition to cultural and civilizational prosperity.[29]

Some Jewish studies on the history of Jews in Mamluk Egypt and late medieval Islamic period describe the Jews situation as critical because of religious intolerance, such as in Arad Dotan's study. He notes that Jews had to cope with interreligious hostility and various forms of harassment under the Mamluks.[30] Otherwise, A. Mazur concludes that in the first half of the 14th century, under Mamluk rule, Jewish physicians could serve as court physicians and maintain their faith. Jews had attained a respectable status, although it was more difficult to achieve such status in earlier periods of Mamluks and even under the Ayyubid rule, because of the political situations and Crusaders and Mongol challenges.[31]

On his view, Eliyahu Ashtor tries to attribute the poor conditions to the general situation, political and cultural decline of the Muslim population with a wave of religious intolerance at the time. Therefore, this affected the lives of Jews in general, especially in the second Mamluk period. Ashtor reviews the legal status of the Jews in this period and examines various laws which affected Muslims-Jews relationship, such as *shurūṭ ʿUmar*. He notes that most of those laws were not applied at this stage of the Mamluk period. As for Jewish religious and social life, especially in Cairo, it can be concluded that Jews enjoyed complete freedom to manage their religious affairs and were internally organized in judicial matters. Ashtor concludes that despite the strictness shown by the Mamluk Sultans in the latter period over non-Muslims, the Jews enjoyed protection, especially during the reign of the sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (d. 1496) and Qānṣuwa al-Ghawrī (d. 1516), citing an incident of the direct intervention of Sultan Qāytbāy in preventing the demolition of Jewish houses of worship (synagogue) in Jerusalem and acted to protect them. Ashtor adds that Qāytbāy had welcomed and absorbed the fleeing Jewish refugees from Andalusia and Sicily.[32]

As for the *jizya*, Ashtor mentions its amount and methods of collection, and concludes that this tax was not high or onerous in relation to the profits from wages and the high income of Jews and Christians in that period, and that the Jews share of

[28] See: Bar-Asher et al., *History of the Jews in Muslim countries*, (I), (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Centre, 1981), pp. 121-134, 143-159. (in Hebrew)

[29] See: David Wasserstein, "How Islam Saved the Jews," (June 4 2012) (accessed 2 July, 2023): https://kavvanah.blog/2012/06/04/how-islam-saved-the-jews-david-wasserstein/; idem, *The Jewish Communities of the Early Islamic World*, (Ashgate Pub. Co., 2014); idem, "The Muslims and the Golden Age of the Jews in al- Andalus," in: *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam,* (eds. David Wasserstein & Uri Rubin), (Eisenbrauns: INC. 1997), pp. 179-196.

[30] See: Dotan Arad, "Being a Jew under the Mamluks: Some Coping Strategies," in *Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Middle Islamic Period*. (Stephan Conermann ed.). (V&R Unipress: Bonn University Press, 2017), pp.21-39.

[31] See: Amir Mazor, "Jewish Court Physicians in the Mamluk Sultanate during the First Half of the 8th/14th Century," *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014), pp. 38-65.

[32] Eliyahu Ashtor, *History of Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks*, (vol. II), (Jerusalem: Rabbi Kook Institute, 1970), chapters 4, 7. (in Hebrew)

other taxes was high.[33] Moshe Gil also confirms that the Jews in Cairo paid less tax of the *jizya* than those paid by Jewish minorities in other Islamic countries, as proved by the writings of Cairo's Geniza. Rather, he also asserted that the Jews themselves in Cairo were the ones who determined the amount of tribute (*jizya*), and who were exempted from it, contrary to what was stipulated in *jizya* laws in Islam.[34]

Under the Ottoman rule, historical evidence shows that Jews in general were treated with tolerance. Since the 15th century the Ottomans have been a refuge for Jews fleeing Europe and Andalusia. The legal and social status of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire was characterized by a balance between the requirements of Islamic laws and the interest of the Ottoman authority, that has eased the severity of the Islamic laws against the Jews there. Jacob Barnai concludes from a social point of view, that Jews enjoyed freedom and good relations with the surrounding Islamic environment under the Ottomans.[35] However, Jews remained a religious minority with a preference for dealing with the state and the Islamic environment. In the 19th century Jews benefited from the Ottoman reforms (*tanzimat*), such as *Ferman Sherif Humayun* in 1856, and the invalidation of dealing in religious laws with Dhimmis.[36] Barnai adds that these changes and the influence of European countries in the Ottoman Empire left their impact in the late 19th century on the spread of hatred of Jews by the Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire, which made the Ottoman authorities work hard to protect Jews.[37]

As for the Jews of Yemen and their relationship with Muslims in general there, it seems to be a consensus among researchers of Yemenite Jews that they enjoyed religious and social freedom, except for short periods and temporary, especially in periods of emerging Jewish Messianic Movements (*Mashiyyahs*).[38] The strong ties and good relations between Muslims and Jews in Yemen from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, have amounted to mutual faith in religious aspects, such as the Mahdi movements among Muslims and the Messiah movements among Jews.[39] Yusuf Tobi confirms that the Jews of Yemen have a different status from the Jewish centers in other countries because of their isolation from these groups and because of their geographical and political conditions. Therefore, Jews of Yemen maintained their ancient religious heritage, as well as culturally influenced by local Muslims. On the other hand, Tobi claims that Yemenite Jews sometimes faced persecution to force them to convert to Islam from some Muslim rulers there, while others treated them with tolerance.[40] It is obvious that many Jewish sources speak of love and respect that Jews in Yemen have for their Muslim rulers (*imams*) for tolerant policies and protection they enjoyed under their rule.[41]

The phenomenon of Jewish Messianism sometimes caused tension between Muslims and Jews. The most striking of these phenomena was the appearance of the Jewish Savior Shabtay Zvi in the sixties of the seventeenth century. As result, Jews of Sanʿaʾ (Yemen) were expelled from the city and known as "The Exile of Mawzaʿ" in 1679-1680. But the imam quickly pardoned them and restored them to their previous normal life and tolerant treatment as before.[42] In her studies relying on

[33] High taxes imposed on Jews, because of their active role in commerce and finance. See: Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews and the Mediterranean Economy, 10th-15th Centuries,* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983).

[34] Moshe Gil, *Palestine in the First Islamic Period* (634-1099), (I), (Tel-Aviv, Tel-Aviv University, 1983), pp. 122-128. (in Hebrew)

[35] Bar-Asher et al., *History*, (I), pp. 82-88.

[36] See: Yaron Tsur, *Jews among Muslims*, (units 7-8), (Ra'nana: Open University, 2003, 2004), pp. 2-19, 67- 134. (in Hebrew)

[37] Michel Abitbol, *History of Jews in Muslim countries*, (II) (Jerusalem: The Center of Zalman Shazar, 1986), (in Hebrew), pp. 221-237, 246-253; On events between Jews and Christians under Ottomans in the 18th and 19th centuries, see: Tsur, *Jews among Muslims*, (unit 2), pp. 8-47; See also units 5-6.

[38] Bar-Asher et al., *History*, (I), pp. 3-12, 199-202.

[39] Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, "Yemen: Muslim and Jewish Interactions in the Tribal Sphere," in *The Divergence of Judaism and Islam: Interdependence, Modernity, and Political Turmoil,* Michael M. Laskier & Yaacov Lev (eds), (Gainesville: Florida University Press 2011), pp. 125–142. Online, (24 May 2012), (accessed 3 Aug. 2023), https://doi. org/10.5744/florida/9780813037516.003.0007,

[40] See: Bar-Asher et al., *History*, (I), pp. 3-12, 199-202.

[41] See in this context: Shalom Gamliel, *Jews and the King in Yemen*, (I), (Jerusalem: The Shalom Institute, 1986), pp. 22-28, (in Hebrew); Aharon Ben David, *The Jews of Yemen: Between Diaspora and Salvation*, (Kiryat 'Ikron, 2001), p. 16. (in Hebrew)

[42] On Messianic movements in Yemen and their impact on Muslim-Jewish relations, see: Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, *The Jews of Yemen: History, Society, Culture*, (II), (Ra'nana: The Open University, 2004), pp. 339- 447 (in Hebrew); idem,

many Yemeni archival blogs and monuments, Eraqi-Klorman recognizes, in general, that the Jews of Yemen did not confront anti-Semitic practices or persecution in their history in Yemen, neither from authorities nor from general Muslim population. With their status as Dhimmis, until the middle of the 20th century, Jews obtained their legal status over religious freedom, personal protection, and the preservation of their properties in return for recognition of Islamic political and social regime, with the payment of *jizya* and respect for other Dhimmi laws. Eraqi-Klorman concludes that Dhimmi laws in general were not fully implemented except in the capital Sanʿaʾ, the center of the Imam authorities, while in the rural areas and under tribal authorities, these conditions were not applied, where Jews lived with tolerance and cooperation with safe and freedom under the protection of tribal leaders (shaykhs).[43] Most historians of Yemeni Jews assert that even Jews migration from Yemen to Palestine was purely inner religious feeling, not because of political, religious or ethnic persecutions.[44]

c. The Impact of Orientalism and Modern National Streams on Jewish Scholars' Perspectives

It is noted that some modern Jewish scholars have expanded their studies in writing on Jewish history and culture under Islam. Some of those researchers are affected of modern intellectual currents, who rely on the effect of cultural Jewish and archival writings.[45] Others are based on Arab and Islamic sources and acquisition of information about Jewish history compared with other Jewish and foreign sources. Part of this group tries to show objectivity in its research. In a critical way, some take an extreme attitude, depending on sources that serve certain goals and interests. M. Cohen, for example, concludes that Jewish-Muslim coexistence prevailed for centuries during the Islamic High Middle Ages, with some figures in the Jewish elite already symbolizing their golden age.[46] Another group of such researchers is influenced by orientalist streams and ideas of national Jewish movements and their modern ideologies.[47] Some of those scholars of Jewish origin had followed the colonial intellectual mainstream in the West adopting orientalist writings on the peoples under colonialism, including the history of Muslim peoples, depending on established research centers in European universities.

"Muslim Supporters of Jewish Messiahs in Yemen," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, (4 October 1993), pp. 714-725; idem, "Jewish and Muslim Messianism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (2), (May 1990), pp. 201-228; idem, "Essential Papers on Messianic Movements and Personalities," in *Jewish History* (ed. Marc Saperstein), (New York: N.Y. University Press, 1992), pp. 456-472; idem, "Muslim Supporters of Jewish Messiahs in Yemen", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 29, 4 (October1993), pp. 714-725.

[43] See studies of Eraqi-Klorman: "Zionist Ideology: The Zionist Narrative and the Jews of Yemen," *Ofaqim* (2008), pp. 11-13 (in Hebrew); idem, "The History of the Jews of Yemen and its Motivation to Build a National Identity," in *Yemen Immigrants in Palestine* (a collection of studies), (Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman ed.), (Ra'anana: The Open University, 2006), pp. 511-532; idem, *Traditional Society in Transition: The Yemeni Jewish Experience*, (Brill: Academic Pub., 2014); idem, "Yemen," in *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Time*, (Michael Menachem, Reeva S. Simon, Sara R. Laskier, eds.), (U.S.A.: Colombia Uni. Press, 2002), pp. 389-408; See also: Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, *The "Magic Carpet" Exodus of Yemenite Jewry: An Israeli Formative Myth*, (Sussex Academic Press, 2014).

[44] See: Eraqi-Klorman, "The History", pp. 513-517; Zecharia Gluska, *Book for the Jews of Yemen*, (Jerusalem: B. D. Gluska 1974), p. 91 (in Hebrew); Avraham Tabib, *Returners of Yemen*, (*Shvi Timan*), (Tel-Aviv: Afiqim, 1932), pp. 25-28, 30 (in Hebrew).

[45] See some examples who have depended on Jewish archives, such as "Cairo Geniza", see: Muḥammad Ḥasan and al-Nabawī Sarrāj, *al-Genīza wal-maʿābid al-Yahūdiyya fī Misr*, (Cairo: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqiyya,1999); Ashtor, *History of Jews in Egypt*, (III); Shelomo D. Goitein, "The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 80, No. 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1960), pp. 91-100; idem, *A Mediterranean Society:* (5 Vol.); Mark R. Cohen, *The Voice of the Poor in the Middle Ages: An Anthology of Documents from the Cairo Geniza*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[46] See some studies published in the edited collection: Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora (eds.), *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, (Princeton UP, 2013). Examples of such studies in this collection: Mark R. Cohen, "Prologue. The "Golden Age" of Jewish-Muslim Relations: Myth and Reality," in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, eds. Abdelwahab Meddeb & Benjamin Stora, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 28-38; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Jews and Muslims in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 156-161; Yosef Tobi, "Jews of Yemen", pp. 248-257; Michel Abitbol, "From Coexistence to the Rise of Antagonisms", pp. 297-319; Michael Laskier, "The Emigration of the Jews from the Arab World", pp. 415-435; See also contributions of some Jewish scholars on this topic in: Stephan Conermann (ed.), *Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Middle Islamic Period: Jews in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Sultanates (1171–1517)*, (Göttingen: V&R unipress Bonn University Press, 2017).

[47] See: Gilbert, *In Ishmael's House*; Bar-Zeev, *Beyond the Quran*.

ISSN 2348-3156 (Print)
International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research ISSN 2348-3164 (online)
Vol. 13, Issue 2, pp: (159-174), Month: April - June 2025, Available at: www.researchpublish.com

One of the specialists in Jewish thought, Abraham Geiger (d. 1874), a German Jew, discussed in his research "the Jewish influence on Islam", by publishing a book in 1833 entitled "What Did Muhammad Gain from Judaism?". In his first chapters, Geiger examines his question and had exposed many ideas and points, which he believes that the Prophet had acquired from Judaism. Through his analysis by questions and answers, Geiger gives concepts and conclusions that Islam is only part of Judaism, and that the Qur'an contains a lot of ideas taken from Judaism.[48]

This type of research into the Jewish-Islamic relationship has become a method for other researchers who have followed the same approach and even developed their views and positions in historical research. The German Jewish scholar Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921) was one of the orientalists who studied critically in Islamic and civilizational history, relying on primary Islamic sources. Through his book "*Vorlesungen über den Islam*" (Lectures on Islam), Goldziher attempts to describe Islam and its development, reviewing the different stages and influences that left their impact on Islam, such as the influence of the Torah and the Talmud on Islam.[49] The Jewish scholar Joseph Schacht (d. 1969) was influenced by Goldziher's ideas and followed his school of thought on the history of Islam. Schacht had discussed the development of Islamic jurisprudence and *hadith*. Both, Goldziher and Schacht, have left great impact in the centers of Islamic studies in Israeli universities, that tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (*sunna* and *hadith*) is only literary writings placed after the Prophet for more than two hundred years to serve religious or political purposes.[50]

With the emergence of national Jewish and Zionist movements in the late 19th century,[51] and the emergence of the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine as a political issue, it left its influence on a new formulation of the history of the Jews under Islam. In the 19th century, changes in the relationship with Jews, as well as other non-Muslim communities, especially Christians, began with the emergence of nationalist movements and the intervention of European authorities in the affairs of the Ottoman state.[52] Michel Abitbol states the same view about the relationship between Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. He claims that the relationship has deteriorated, especially after the emergence of Jewish nationalist and the Zionist movements and their attempts to influence the Ottoman authority to open the door to immigration to Palestine.[53] In this context, Haim Ben Sasson says that the main problem affected the relationship between Muslims and Jews began in the modern era, with the British Mandate controlling Palestine and allowing the immigration and settlement of Jews, and the influence of Zionist projects in the region.[54]

Some Jewish scholars took advantage of this conflict and began a new reading of Jewish life in that historical period of the emergence of Islam. This attempt is part of the policy of attaching the present to the past, namely, the application of the recent negative historical phenomena in Jewish-Arab and Islamic relations in general to relations in previous Islamic eras. Some others also try to equate the mistreatment of Jews in Christian Europe with the treatment of Jews under Islamic rule. Some researchers have denied the idea of "tolerant cohabitation" between Jews and Muslims, for serving political and ideological purposes of the Zionist movement.

Some Jewish scholars try to replace the concept "*The Golden Age*" of Jews under Islam, especially in Andalusia, with a counter-theory based on "*Islamic Persecutions of the Jews*", similarly to what Jews had suffered in Europe. Mark Cohen,

---

[48] Abraham Geiger, *Judaism and Islam. A Prize Essay*, (M. D.C.S.P. C. K. Press, 1898), pp. 4-30. This book was first published in German in 1833, see: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*?

[49] Ignác Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, (Heidelberg: Winter, 1910). It was translated into several languages, including Hebrew, (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1951); See also his study on the Prophet Muhammad: Idem, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1889).

[50] See: Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); See also similar views of Goldziher and Schacht's ideas: Boaz Shushan, *History and Ideology at the Beginning of Islam* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2012) (in Hebrew); Ibn Warraq (pseudonym) published a book that includes several studies criticizing Islam and Prophet Muhammad, see: Ibn Warraq (ed.), The Quest for the Historical Muhammad. (Prometheus Books, 2000).

[51] About Jewish organizations in the 19th century and their impact on Jewish-Islamic relations, see: Lewis, *Jews*, pp. 146-173.

[52] On Jewish-Islamic relations in the Ottoman Empire following the Ottoman Reforms of 1856, see: Tsur, *Jews among Muslims*, (units 7-8), pp. 2-19, 67-134.

[53] Abitbol, *History of Jews*, (II), pp. 246-253; Idem, *From Karmia to Petten: Antisemitism in Colonial Algeria (1870-1940)*, (Jerusalem: Shazar Center, 1993) (in Hebrew).

[54] Ben-Sasson (ed.), *A History*, p. 489.

an American Jewish researcher for instance, tries to highlight the ambiguous aspects of Jewish life in the Middle Ages, from poverty and the lives of orphans. He shows that the "*Golden Age*" of Jewish-Muslim relations in Andalusia and other countries was only an imaginary myth, and they were given inferior status and treated with hardships.[55] These ideas apparently expressed in Hai Bar-Zeev's writings. His views on the unjustified position of Muslims on the newly established Jewish state (*Israel*) and Islamic fanaticism, is rooted in the beginning of the Islamic era.[56]

With the spread of colonialism in the 19th century, the term "anti-Semitism" began to spread from Europe to the Islamic Middle East as an attempt to apply it to certain manifestations against Jews. Mark Cohen states that such events as the bloody events in Damascus in 1840, had strengthened the use of this term in the Middle East with the growing conflict between Arab and Jewish nationalism. Recently, anti-Semitism has been introduced to some of the Islamic terms and terminology mentioned in Islamic sources from the beginning. This made many Jews deny the good relations and tolerance between Muslims and Jews throughout Islamic history, so that the thoughts of many Jews from Arab countries and the memories of their friendship with Muslims turned into a negative memory characterized by hostility and persecution.[57]

Like Cohen's views, Michel Abitbol also mentions that Jews of North Africa, under Western colonialism in the nineteenth century, tried to get closer and influenced the Western colonial powers. Such phenomena had negatively affected Muslims' attitude towards Jews, especially when some Jewish communities were granted European citizenship, especially French. Abitbol calls this feeling among Muslims of contemporary anti-Semitism, originating in Christian Europe, and has been receding to Jews in North Africa, especially in Algeria. This feeling was manifested in the poor relations and dealing with the Jews, with the influence of the Zionist movement among Jews of North Africa since late nineteenth century.[58] This opinion about the reasons for the change in Islamic-Jewish relations is confirmed by Muslim researchers in Algeria, such as ʿĪsā Shanūf and others. Their studies describe the period of Islamic rule in Algeria as being good for the Jews, as it was characterized by tolerance and positive coexistence with their Muslim neighbors, despite their status as dhimmis (*ahl al-dhimma*), and their feeling of paying heavy taxes as tribute (*jizya*). However, during the period of French occupation and colonization since 1830 AD, Muslim writers notice the cooperation of Jews with the French, which sparked feelings of hatred and jealousy towards these Jews, especially those who obtained French citizenship, and were dealt with special treatment in the fields of economics, trade and politics. In addition to this change in the status of the Jews in Algeria under French rule, and then the beginning of the activity of the Zionist movement, this affected the Algerian Jews, in terms of an increased feeling of Muslim hostility towards them.[59]

The renowned Jewish scholar Shlomo D. Goitein also attributes these changes to the beginning of Jewish nationalism and the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948.[60] As result of the Zionist project in Palestine, many Jews from Diaspora countries began to form a unified Jewish community of immigrants from different sects, cultures and customs, with similar historical views and novels. The role of educational system in Israel was central and urgent after 1948 by imposing control

[55] Cohen, "The Golden Age", pp. 28-38.

[56] See: Bar-Zeev, *Beyond the Quran*, pp. 209-223.

[57] See, for example, the preach of the Chief of Sephardi Jews in Israel, Ovadia Yosef (d. 2013), in expressing against Arabs and Muslims (in Hebrew): Ovadia Yosef, "Arabs must be exterminated," (April 6, 2001), (accessed, 28 July 2023): http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-654389,00.html; See also his poem expressed against Arabs (Sons of Isma'il) (in Hebrew), (accessed, 28 July 2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVw4yImX4IE

[58] Abitbol, *History of Jews*, (II), pp. 221-237, 246-253, 411- 420; In his study, R. Firestone acknowledges that Jews suffered as a minority in the Islamic world as they did elsewhere, but it is not clear how this suffering is related to "anti-Semitism". He reviews the phenomenon of anti-Semitism as starting with ancient Greece and Egypt, passing through anti-Judaism in early Christianity, and the Middle Ages in both the Christian and Islamic worlds. He also concludes that this Islamic discourse entered with the rise of Western colonial power and its influence in Arab and Islamic countries. See: Reuven Firestone, "The Medieval Islamic World and the Jews," in *The Cambridge Companion to Antisemitism. Cambridge Companions to Religion*, (Katz S, ed.), (Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 137-157.

[59] See: ʿĪsā Shanūf, *Yahūd al-Jazā'ir, 2000 sana min al-wujūd*, (al-Jazā'ir: Dār al-Maʿārif, 2008); Amāl Maʿūshī, "Yahūd al-Jazā'ir wa-mawqifuhum min al-'iḥtilāl al-Faransī," (The Jews of Algeria and their position on the French occupation), *al-Majalla al-Tārīkhiyya al-Jazā'iriyya* vol. 5, no. 1 (2021), pp. 404-417; Lāmiya Ortilān, "Yahūd al-Jazā'ir anṣār al-'istiʿmār al-Faransī mundhu bidāyatihi," (Algerian Jews: Supporters of French Colonialism from its Beginning), *al-Khabar*, (1st Nov. 2023).

[60] See: Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, pp. 212-239.

over political and cultural decisions to form a unified collective memory, historical narratives, symbols, and values that will have an impact on future generations and to create them on the goals of the new Zionism, in history, culture and destiny.[61] Lately, in 2016, a committee known as the "Biton Committee" of the Israeli Ministry of Education was formed to formulate a new curriculum for Hebrew education in the subjects of History, Civics and Hebrew literature, to incorporate the history and culture of Eastern Jews (Sephardim), whom their culture and historical accounts were neglected.[62]

Educational curricula dominated by decision-makers in successive Israeli governments have taken root in many segments of the Jewish community, not only among intellectuals and educated. The political and ideological objectives of the Zionist movement succeeded in spreading their ideas and their impact on the historical research on the history of the Jews under Islam, as it was characterized by anti-Semitism. Nathan Weinstock, a contemporary Jewish scholar in Belgium and France, who first opposed Zionism and its policy, but later he was influenced by Zionist thoughts, reviews the history of the Jews in each of the Arab and Islamic countries, and the reasons for their immigration. In his studies, he concludes that Jews migrated from the Arab countries and Iran to the Jewish state not only through the influence of the Zionist movement but also from anti-Semitism and persecution in their origin countries.[63]

d. The Impact of Modern Research Centers on Studies of Muslim-Jews Relations

With the increase of Islamic research centers in Western countries, some Jewish scholars and others took advantage of research freedom and expression and began to delve deeper and expand on the Islamic history and their relationship to others. For example, in the 1970's, the researchers Patricia Crone and Michael Cook wrote historical research on Islam in a new reading based on non-Islamic sources. They have depended on contemporary monuments and sources for the first Islamic period, such as Aramaic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Syriac, claiming that these foreign sources had written the first Islamic history at the time, while Arabic sources and texts were not formed then. Thus, the two researchers have based their thoughts on Christian, Jewish, and other sources, in contrast to the traditional Islamic historical context.[64]

From the title of their book "Hagarism" it is understood that Cook and Crone have caused offense to the historical position of the Arabs and Muslims, even if they did not intend it. Arabs and Muslims were given this name (Hagarism) as a descendant of Hagar, who was an Egyptian maid, who later became the wife of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) and the mother of their son Ismāʻīl. Cook and Crone deny the Prophecy of Muhammad and claim that Islam was formed by many Jewish influences and beliefs in addition to their claim that the Qur'an was based on many Jewish and Christian texts. These ideas and hypotheses left a sharp debate among researchers in the history of Islam, and that some of Jewish researchers were influenced by these ideas.[65]

In some of his studies on early Islam, Michael Lecker, for example, tries to prove the Jewish impact on Islam and to highlight some of the suggestions, including turning Arab tribes into Judaism before Islam, and then turning to Islam, such as Ḥimyar tribe in Yemen and the Hadl tribe in Yathrib (Medina). He also discussed the effects of Judaism in Kinda tribe in Arabia

[61] See on the controversy in the creation of one nation of various Jewish components: Yossi Dahan and Henry Wassermann (eds.), *To Create a Nation*, (Ra'anana: Open University, 2006) (in Hebrew); Yossi Yona and Yehuda Shenhav, (eds.), *Racism in Israel*, (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Van Leer Institute, 2008) (in Hebrew); On the policy of Israeli Governments on isolating the Eastern Jewish culture and history, see: Sami Shalom Chetrit, *Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: White Jews, Black Jews*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); Idem, *The Mizrahi Struggle in Israel: Between Oppression and Liberation, Between Identification and Alternative, 1948-2003*, (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2006) (in Hebrew); Shlomo Swirski, *Politics and Education in Israel: Comparisons with the United States*, (New York: Flamer Press, 1999).

[62] See: "The Biton Committee to Strengthen the Heritage of the Jews of Spain and the East in the Education System," (June 29, 2016): (accessed, 30 July 2023): https://meyda.education.gov.il/files/edu/bitonreport.pdf

[63] See : Nathan Weinstock, *Une si longue presence: Comment le monde arabe a perdu ses juifs, 1947-1967*, (Paris: Plon, 2007). This study was translated into Hebrew, entitled "*Long Attendance: How Did the Arab and Muslim World Miss their Jews?* (Babylon and Mascal, 2014); Meir-Glitzenstein argues that the Zionism created a buffer between the Jews of Arab countries and the local Arab authorities and population, leaving no choice for Jews - but to leave or be deported and become refugees until moving to Israel. See: Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, "Back to the Question of the Migration of Arab Jews," *Hazman hazeh* (January 2021), (accessed 31.7.2023): https://hazmanhazeh.org.il/mena-immigration/ (in Hebrew)

[64] Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[65] See such examples of views: Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam. Princeton University Press*, (1984), pp. 203, 231.

and the wars of apostasy. Another research on the personality of Zaid ibn Thabit and his Jewish origins, Lecker tries to conclude the impact of Zaid on Islam, by transmitting some materials from the Jewish religion to Islam.[66]

In a similar and even more controversial view, Hai Bar-Zeev examines in his book "*Une lecture juive du Coran"* (Beyond the Qur'an) tries to present a historical analysis of the relationship between Jews and Muslims, reflecting new aspects of the conflict between the two parties. According to his claims, the ongoing conflict between Muslims and Jews and bad relations were because of Muslims' attempts to control the Jews since the advent of Prophet Muhammad. That is, the basis of conflicts is family relations between Jews and Muslims since Prophet Ibrahim and his sons Ismā'īl and Isaac. That feeling of Muslim jealousy and envy towards Jews had established the so-called "Oedipus complex," as happened between Christianity and Jews. Bar-Zeev adds claiming that it is probable that Muhammad had Jewish blood of Jewish origin dates to Abraham (Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl), and it is possible that Khadīja, Muhammads' wife, may also be Jewish because of her closeness to her cousin Waraqa ibn Nawfal, who was a Jew and later a Christian. He also claims that Muhammad's information about God was taken from a Jewish clergyman (Rabbi). Bar-Zeev claims too that Muhammad is not the founder of Islam, but Islam is a merger and a mixture with time, and that Muhammad himself is the author of the holy Qur'an, and that many of its contents were taken from different sources, even after Muhammad, by the effects of Judaism and Christianity. Bar-Zeev uses many of the Jewish symbols and elements in the Qur'an to prove the extent to which Judaism influences Islam, such as fasting. He also discusses the companion Zayd ibn Thābit as a Jewish origin, his role in copying most Qur'anic verses, and his impact on the introduction of Jewish symbols to some verses.[67]

Although Uri Rubin follows a critical approach in his research towards Islam, he seems to disagree with some Jewish scholars' thoughts about the influence of Judaism on Islam. He has a lot of studies on Islam, in addition to Qur'anic studies and translations. Rubin states that it is true that Islam has known the religion of Abraham (*Ḥanīfiyya*), where that religion was known and familiar in the pre-Islamic period, and the relationship with the Kaʿba was ancient and not only after the migration of the Prophet to Yathrib.[68] In one of Rubin's studies, he tries to show the image of the Jews in the eyes of Islam, and compares some of the elements mentioned in the Bible (*Torah*) to the Jews with others mentioned in the Qur'an, and he shows the positive image of the Israelites in accordance with Islam. Then, Rubin turns to the negative image of the Jews in the eyes of Muslims, where many examples are used in the Qur'an to describe the Jews and their negative image.[69]

2. CONCLUSIONS

It is concluded that Jewish researchers' perspectives vary on Jewish-Muslim relations under Islamic rule from critic to fair and objective. It is noted that those studies are distributed on several streams, including the trend of objective, moderate or criticizing. On the other hand, many of these studies attempt to criticize Arab-Islamic sources and dhimmi laws by casting doubt on their reliability, while others acknowledge the tolerant treatment of Muslims towards Jews.

This study shows several factors that influenced the trend of some researchers' views. One effect was the Western Orientalism, which spread with the Western colonization of Islamic countries. The effect of the Zionist movement and its ideology that emerged in the late 19th century added its impact on modern studies with the spread of centers of Islamic studies. The prominent conclusion is the attempt of these trends to criticize the Islamic policy in dealing with others, especially Jews, and the equivalent of the anti-Semitism that prevailed in Europe.

[66] See some of Lecker's studies: Michael Lecker, "The Conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina," *Die Welt des Orients*, Bd. 26 (1995), pp. 129-136; idem, "Judaism among Kinda and the Ridda of Kinda," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 115, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1995), pp. 635-650; idem, "Zayd b. Thābit, A Jew with Two Sidelocks": Judaism and Literacy in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 56, No. 4 (Oct. 1997), pp. 259-273.

[67] Bar-Zeev, *Beyond the Quran*, pp. 13-61, 238. On those conflicts, see also: Lecker, *Muhammad and the Jews*.

[68] See some of Rubin's studies: Uri Rubin, "Hanifiyya and Kaʿba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of Din Ibrahim," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990), pp. 85–112.

[69] Uri Rubin, *Between Bible and Qur'an: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image*, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999); idem, "Islamic Retellings of Biblical History," in *Adaptations and Innovations: Studies on the Interaction between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century* (Y. Tzvi Langermann and Josef Stern, eds.), (Paris /Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 299-313.

In contrast, it is noted that some other Jewish researchers try to highlight the objectivity in their studies on Islamic relationship with Jews, relying on authentic Islamic sources and studies, taking into accounts the historical causes and developments to confirm good status of Jews under Islam. Other Jewish writings preserved in Jewish archives, such as the Cairo Geniza, truthfully express good relations towards Jews under Islamic rule in all aspects of life.

REFERENCES

[1] Abitbol, Michel. "From Coexistence to the Rise of Antagonisms", in: *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relation* (Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora, eds.). Princeton University Press, 2014: 297-319.

[2] Abitbol, Michel. *History of Jews in Muslim Countries*. (II). Jerusalem: The Center of Zalman Shazar, 1986. (in Hebrew).

[3] Abitbol, Michel. *From Karmia to Petten: Antisemitism in Colonial Algeria (1870-1940)*. Jerusalem: Shazar Center, 1993. (in Hebrew).

[4] Arad, Dotan. "Being a Jew under the Mamluks: Some Coping Strategies". In Stephan Conermann (ed.). *Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Middle Islamic Period*. (V&R Unipress: Bonn University Press, 2017), pp.21-39.

[5] Ashtor, Eliyahu. *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks*. (3 vols.). Jerusalem: Rav Kook Institute, 1944-1970. (in Hebrew)

[6] Ashtor, Eliyahu. *The Jews and the Mediterranean Economy, 10th-15th Centuries.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1983.

[7] Bar-Asher, Shalom, Barna'i, Yaʿcov and Tobi, Yosef. *History of the Jews in Muslim countries*. (I). Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Centre, 1981. (in Hebrew).

[8] Bar-Zeev, Hai. *Beyond the Quran: Explanations in Jewish and Islamic Affairs*. Dapim Misaprim, 2011. (in Hebrew)

[9] Ben David, Aharon. *The Jews of Yemen: Between Diaspora and Salvation*. Kiryat ʿIkron, 2001. (in Hebrew)

[10] Ben-Sasson, Haim Hillel (ed.). *A History of the Jewish People*, (Harvard University Press, 1985).

[11] Chetrit, Sami Shalom. *The Mizrahi Struggle in Israel: Between Oppression and Liberation, Between Identification and Alternative, 1948-2003*. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2006. (in Hebrew).

[12] Chetrit, Sami Shalom. *Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: White Jews, Black Jews*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009.

[13] Cohen, Mark R. *The Voice of the Poor in the Middle Ages: An Anthology of Documents from the Cairo Geniza.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

[14] Cohen, Mark R. "Islamic Policy toward Jews from the Prophet Muhammad to the Pact of ʿUmar". In: *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, (eds. Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora). Princeton: UP, 2013: 58-74.

[15] Cohen, Mark R. "Prologue. The "Golden Age" of Jewish-Muslim Relations: Myth and Reality". In: *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, eds. Abdelwahab Meddeb & Benjamin Stora, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 28-38.

[16] Conermann, Stephan (ed.). *Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Middle Islamic Period: Jews in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Sultanates (1171–1517).* Göttingen: V&R unipress Bonn University Press, 2017.

[17] Crone, Patricia and Cook, Michael. *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World.* Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[18] Dahan, Yossi and Wassermann, Henry (eds.). *To Create a Nation*. Raʿanana: Open University, 2006. (in Hebrew)

[19] al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, (vol. 16). Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1984.

[20] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Jewish and Muslim Messianism". *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (2), (May 1990): 201-228.

[21] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Essential Papers on Messianic Movements and Personalities". In: *Jewish History*. (ed. Marc Saperstein), (New York: N.Y. University Press, 1992): 456-72.

[22] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Muslim Supporters of Jewish Messiahs in Yemen". *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, (4 October 1993): 714-725.

[23] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Yemen". in: *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Time.* (Michael Menachem, Reeva S. Simon, Sara R. Laskier, eds.). U.S.A.: Colombia Uni. Press, 2002: 389-408.

[24] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. *The Jews of Yemen: History, Society, Culture*. (II), (Ra'nana: The Open University, 2004. (in Hebrew)

[25] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "The History of the Jews of Yemen and its Motivation to Build a National Identity", In: *Yemen Immigrants in Palestine* (a collection of studies), (Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman ed.). Ra'anana: The Open University, 2006: 511-532. (in Hebrew)

[26] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Zionist Ideology: The Zionist Narrative and the Jews of Yemen". *Ofaqim* (2008): 11-13. (in Hebrew)

[27] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. "Yemen: Muslim and Jewish Interactions in the Tribal Sphere", in Michael M. Laskier, and Yaacov Lev (eds). *The Divergence of Judaism and Islam: Interdependence, Modernity, and Political Turmoil*. Gainesville: Florida University Press, 2011. pp. 125–142. Online, (24 May 2012), https://doi.org/10.5744/florida/9780813037516.003.0007, (accessed 3 Aug. 2023).

[28] Firestone, Reuven. "The Medieval Islamic World and the Jews". In: Katz S, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Antisemitism*. Cambridge University Press; 2022:137-157.

[29] Eraqi-Klorman, Bat-Zion. *Traditional Society in Transition: The Yemeni Jewish Experience.* Brill: Academic Pub., 2014.

[30] Gamliel, Shalom. *Jews and the King in Yemen*. (I). Jerusalem, The Shalom Institute, 1986. (in Hebrew)

[31] Geiger, Abraham. *Judaism and Islam. A Prize Essay*, (M. D.C.S.P. C. K. Press, 1898.

[32] Gil, Moshe. "The Constitution of Medina: A Reconsideration". *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974): 44–66.

[33] Gil, Moshe. *ha-Tustarīm; ha-kat ve-ha-mishpaḥah*. (The Tostars; The Family and the Cult). Tel Aviv University, 1981. (in Hebrew)

[34] Gil, Moshe. *Palestine in the First Islamic Period* (634-1099). (I). Tel-Aviv, Tel-Aviv University, 1983. (in Hebrew)

[35] Gilbert, Martin. *In Ishmael's House, A History of Jews in Muslim Lands*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.

[36] Gluska, Zecharia. *Book for the Jews of Yemen*. Jerusalem: B. D. Gluska 1974. (in Hebrew)

[37] Goitein, Shelomo D. "The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social History", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 80, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun. 1960): 91-100.

[38] Goitein, Shelomo D. *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. (5 Vols.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-1988, 1999.

[39] Goitein, Shelomo D. *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations*. U.S.A: Dover Publication, 2005.

[40] Goldziher, Ignác. *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1910.

[41] Goldziher, Ignác. *Muhammedanische Studien.* Hildesheim: George Olms, 1889.

[42] Ḥasan, Muḥammad and Sarrāj, al-Nabawī. *Al-Genīza wal-maʿābid al-Yahudiyya fī Miṣr*. Cairo: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqiyya,1999.

[43] Holtzman, Livnat. "Following the Prophet Muhammad", chapter 6: in: Series: "*When Muhammad met the Jews*". (8.6.2022). (Accessed 1.8.2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3I3dj-lidkcq. (in Hebrew)

[44] Ibn Hishām, ʿAbd al-Malik. *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, (II). Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1990.

[45] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, (I-II). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002.

[46] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, ʿAlī bin Munjib. *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wazāra*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2000.

[47] Ibn Ṭulūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *'inbā' al-'umarā' bi-abnā' al-wuzarā'*. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1998.

[48] Ibn Warraq (ed.). *The Quest for the Historical Muhammad*. Prometheus Books, 2000.

[49] Kedar, Mordechai. "Islamic Anti-Semitism". A lecture at the seminar "Fathers and Founders", May 21st, 2016, (accessed July 29, 2023): https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=tax5sUGTnSk (in Hebrew).

[50] al-Khālidī, Khālid Yūnis. *Al-Yahūd fī al-Dawla al-ʿArabiyya al-Islāmiyya fī al-Andalus*. Palestine: Gaza, 2011.

[51] Laskier, Michael. "The Emigration of the Jews from the Arab World". in: *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relation.* (Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora, eds.). Princeton University Press, 2014: 415-435.

[52] Lecker, Michael. "The Conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina". *Die Welt des Orients*, Bd. 26 (1995): 129-136.

[53] Lecker, Michael. "Judaism among Kinda and the Ridda of Kinda". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 115, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1995): 635-650.

[54] Lecker, Michael. "Did Muhammad Conclude Treaties with the Jewish Tribes Nadir, Qurayza and Qaynuqa?". in: *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, (David Wasserstein & Uri Rubin eds.). Eisenbrauns, 1997: 29-36.

[55] Lecker, Michael. "Zayd b. Thābit, A Jew with Two Sidelocks": Judaism and Literacy in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib). *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 56, No. 4 (Oct. 1997): 259-273.

[56] Lecker, Michael. *The Constitution of Medina: Muhammad's First Legal Document*: Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam. Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, INC., 2004), 1-4.

[57] Lecker, Michael. *Muhammad and the Jews*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2014. (in Hebrew)

[58] Levy-Rubin, Milka. *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence*. Cambridge University Press, 2011: 58-112.

[59] Levy-Rubin, Milka. "From Early Harbingers to the Systematic Enforcement of Shurut Umar". in: *Border Crossings: Interreligious Interaction and the Exchange of Ideas in the Islamic Middle Ages*, (M. Goldstein and D. Freidenreich eds.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012: 30-43.

[60] Lewis, Bernard. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton University Press, 1984.

[61] Lewis, Bernard. *Jews in the Islamic world*. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1996. (in Hebrew).

[62] Maʿūshī, Amāl. "Yahūd al-Jazā'ir wa-mawqifuhum min al-'iḥtilāl al-Faransī". (The Jews of Algeria and their position on the French occupation). *Al-Majalla al-Tārīkhiyya al-Jazā'iriyya,* vol. 5, no. 1 (2021), pp. 404-417.

[63] Mazor, Amir. "Jewish Court Physicians in the Mamluk Sultanate during the First Half of the 8th/14th Century". *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014): 38-65.

[64] Meddeb, Abdelwahab and Stora, Benjamin (eds.). *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*. Princeton UP, 2013.

[65] Meir-Glitzenstein, Esther. *The "Magic Carpet" Exodus of Yemenite Jewry: An Israeli Formative Myth*. Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

[66] Meir-Glitzenstein, Esther. "Back to the Question of the Migration of Arab Jews". *Hazman hazeh* (January 2021), (accessed 31.7.2023): https://hazmanhazeh.org.il/mena-immigration/ (in Hebrew)

[67] Ortilān, Lāmiya. "Yahūd al-Jazā'ir anṣār al-'istiʿmār al-Faransī mundhu bidāyatihi". (Algerian Jews: Supporters of French Colonialism from its Beginning). *Al-Khabar*, (1st Nov. 2023). https://www.elkhabar.com/press/article/236021

[68] al-Qūṣī, ʿAṭiyya. *Al-Yahūd fī ẓill al-ḥaḍāra al-Islāmiyya.* Cairo: University of Cairo, 2001.

[69] Rubin, Uri. "The Constitution of Medina: Some Notes". *Studia Islamica* 62 (1985): 5–23.

[70] Rubin, Uri. "Hanifiyya and Kaʿba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of Din Ibrahim". *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 85–112.

[71] Rubin, Uri. *Between Bible and Qur'an: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image.* Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999.

[72] Rubin, Uri. *The Qur'an: Translation from Arabic.* Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 2005. (in Hebrew)

[73] Rubin, Uri. "Islamic Retellings of Biblical History", in (Y. Tzvi Langermann and Josef Stern, eds.). *Adaptations and Innovations: Studies on the Interaction between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century*. Paris /Louvain: Peeters, 2007: 299-313.

[74] Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence.* London: Oxford University Press, 1950.

[75] al-Shāfiʿī, Muhammad bin Idrīs. *Kitāb al-ʾumm*, (IV). Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1990.

[76] Shanūf, ʿĪsā. *Yahūd al-Jazā'ir, 2000 sana min al-wujūd.* al-Jazā'ir: Dār al-Maʿārif, 2008.

[77] Sharon, Moshe. *Judaism, Christianity and Islam, Interaction and Conflict*. (Publications of the Eric Samson Chair in Jewish Civilization, No. 2). The University of the Witwatersrand, Snap Print, Johannesburg and Jerusalem, 1989.

[78] Sharon, Moshe. "Relations between Prophet Muhammad and the Jews". (YouTube), 9 May 2014 at the forum "Fathers and Founders", (in Hebrew) (accessed August 1st 2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ws1xWcDCcVU.

[79] Sharon, Moshe. "A lecture on Islam", (Oct. 12, 2016), (accessed 8 Oct. 2017). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8u_uugbFfk

[80] Shushan, Boaz. *History and Ideology at the Beginning of Islam.* Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2012. (in Hebrew).

[81] Simonsohn, Uriel. "Between Separation and Absorption: The Document of ʿUmar in its Cultural and Social Context", *Historia* 35 (2015): 31-64. (in Hebrew)

[82] al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān. *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tārīkh Miṣr wal-Qāhira*, (vol. 2). Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub, 1968.

[83] Swirski, Shlomo. *Politics and Education in Israel: Comparisons with the United States*. New York: Flamer Press, 1999.

[84] Tabib, Avraham. *Returners of Yemen*, (*Shvi Timan*). Tel-Aviv: Afiqim, 1932. (in Hebrew)

[85] "The Biton Committee to Strengthen the Heritage of the Jews of Spain and the East in the Education System", (June 29, 2016). (Accessed, 30 July 2023): https://meyda.education.gov.il/files/edu/bitonreport.pdf

[86] Tsur, Yaron. *Jews among Muslims,* (units 7-8). Ra'nana: Open University, 2003, 2004. (in Hebrew).

[87] al-Ṭurṭūshī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd. *Sirāj al-mulūk*. Cairo: al-Dār al-Maṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1994.

[88] Wasserstein, David. "The Muslims and the Golden Age of the Jews in al-Andalus". in: *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam,* (David Wasserstein & Uri Rubin eds.). Eisenbrauns, INC. 1997: 179-196.

[89] Wasserstein, David. *The Jewish Communities of the Early Islamic World*, (Ashgate Pub. Co., 2014).

[90] Wasserstein, David. "How Islam Saved the Jews", (June 4, 2012) (accessed: 2 July, 2023): https://kavvanah.blog/2012/06/04/how-islam-saved-the-jews-david-wasserstein/

[91] Weinstock, Nathan. *Une si longue presence: Comment le monde arabe a perdu ses juifs, 1947-1967*. Paris: Plon, 2007.

[92] Yona, Yossi and Shenhav, Yehuda (eds.). *Racism in Israel*. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Van Leer Institute, 2008. (in Hebrew).

[93] Yosef, Ovadia. "Arabs Must be Exterminated", (April 6, 2001). (in Hebrew). (accessed, July 2023); http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-654389,00.html,

[94] Yosef, Ovadia. A poem; "Sons of Ismail". (in Hebrew). (Accessed, July 2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVw4yImX4IE