

Bondage of Jewish Messianism: The Silent/ Non Silent Subaltern in Yehuda Amichai's "Jerusalem 1967" and Marco Antonio Campos's "Friday in Jerusalem"

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Abstract

The religious textures of Jewish Messianism which the Zionists support in order to defend the righteousness of the sons of Zion in Palestine constitute a postcolonial pejorative discourse of alterity. Though critics like Binta Parry criticize Gayatri Spivak's viewpoint of the silent subaltern, the researcher believes that her deconstructive approach paves the way for an attack against the marginalization of the colonial subject. In subaltern studies, Homi Bhabha has another point of view which is different from that of Spivak. For instance, his views of the failure of the colonial gaze and mimicry show that the subaltern can speak. Consequently, the research believes that Spivak and Bhabha's viewpoints complement each other in expounding an analysis of the chosen poetic discourse of this postcolonial paper. A study of the two poems elucidates Bhabha's belief in ambivalence of the postcolonial discourse. Thus, the researcher believes that the somewhat derogatory language of the Latin American poet Campos and the Israeli poet laureate Amichai, constitute a Manichean dualism of projection and rejection. Moreover, the strategic manipulation of repetition raises a discussion of Bhabha's concept of the stereotype and its relation with ambivalence. A postcolonial study of the two poems shows that the Jewish Messianic connotations, which depict a colonizer/ colonized polarity, give voice to the subjugation of the subaltern whose silence can now be heard. The researcher supports her analysis with the views of a number of scholars who belong to the fields of aesthetic, and postcolonial studies and Jewish-Christian theology. The paper shows that a Zionist call for a Jewish Messianic affiliation defends a kind of a postcolonial penalty, and inferiority of the subaltern.

Keywords: Subaltern – Ambivalence – Hebrew Roots Movement – Colonial Maneuver – Colonial archetype.

عبودية اليهودية المسيحانية: التابع الصامت/ الناطق في قصيدتي يهودا أميشاي «القدس 1967» وماركو أنطونيو كامبوس «الجمعة في القدس»

الملخص العربي

تُناقش الباحثة الأهداف الصهيونية الخاصة بمفهوم اليهودية المسيحانية وذلك من خلال دراسة نقدية في نموذج من شعر يهودا أميشاي (1924-) وأنطونيو كامبوس (1949-). وتنادي حركة اليهودية المسيحانية بضرورة وجود الكيان الصهيوني في فلسطين وعودة ما يُعرف بشعب الله المُختار أو أبناء صهيون لأرض الميعاد وذلك كي تتحقق نبوءة "المجيء الثاني" للمسيح الداودي في جبل المعبد. ولذلك ركّزت الدراسة على استخدام الشعارين لفن الرمز والدلالة لبعض الوقائع والشخصيات التاريخية مثل بلشزار وفرنسيس الأسيزي، هذا بالإضافة للإشارة الشعرية للوحة الجرافيتي الشهيرة "وليمة بلشزار"، والأيقونة الفنية "عندما ينام العقل؛ تولد الوحوش". كما قام الشعارين بمناقشة بعض النبوءات التوراتية المأخوذة من منظور صهيوني وذلك إمّا عن طريق الرمز، كما فعل الشاعر أميشاي عندما أشار لسفر أشعياء ونبوءة بعث إسرائيل، أو عن طريق التضمين المباشر لأبيات من كتب العهد القديم مثل سفر حزقيال وكتاب المزامير كما رأينا ذلك عند كامبوس. وقد ساهم استخدام الرمز، على تعدد أنواعه، في خلق حوار استعماري؛ مما دفع الباحثة لتحليل القصيدتين في ضوء جوانب من نظرية "ما بعد الاستعمار" عند هومي بابا وغاياتري سبيفاك. فعلى سبيل المثال؛ وضحت الباحثة حرص أميشاي وكامبوس على خلق أيديولوجية يهودية توراتية لمدينة القدس، مما أدى إلى دراسة نموذج العلاقة بين المحتل/ والمستعمر وذلك في ضوء تحليل بابا لطبيعة هذه العلاقة القائمة على الصراع والبعيدة عن العداء بين الطرفين وذلك لوجود نوع من توازن القوى بينهما. كما حرص كلاً من الشعارين على خلق تقارب صهيوني مسيحي مما ساهم في إحداث ما يُعرف لدى بابا بتناقض أو ازدواجية اللغة الاستعمارية "ambivalence" وذلك من خلال إظهار النفور من الفلسطيني أو الآخر وتوصيفه كتابع صامت حيناً ثم موارد ذلك النفور والتحليل عليه أحياناً أخرى. كما ترتبط هذه الازدواجية بدراسة ما يُعرف بالصورة النمطية للآخر ومحاكاة النظرة الاستعمارية. وتوصلت الباحثة إلى أن قمع القوى الإمبريالية لذلك التابع ونعت سبيفاك له "بالصامت" لا يفي عدم قدرته على النهوض والتفكير الذاتي أو بالتحديد "انعكاس – الذات"، لا سيما أن هذه القدرة على النهوض قد تجلت في القصيدة الأولى من خلال قابلية ذلك التابع لعكس حالة الصمت على المحتل. وقد استندت الباحثة على العديد من الدراسات النقدية في نظرية ما بعد الاستعمار هذا غير بعض الدراسات اللاهوتية التي تُثبت الأيديولوجية الصهيونية لتيار اليهودية المسيحانية.

Paper Objectives:

Studying the Zionist views which defend the birth of Israel in two selected poems, the researcher relates them to the motives of Jewish Messianism. In *The Grammar of Messianism* (2017), Matthew V. Novenson traces the history of this messianic concept which predicts the future glory of the Jewish nation in Jerusalem. A major familiarity with Jewish Messianism started since the mid 1990s, claiming for a belief in the upcoming regeneration of a Davidic Messiah. Messianic Jews believe that the rebirth of this savior will bless the chosen people and lead to a unity between them and the so-called land of Zion or the promised land. Based on studies of Jewish and Early Christian scriptures most of the definitions of this messiah revolve around the role of Yeshua whose presence will lead to the restoration of the Israelis from exile. However, the researcher's postcolonial analysis of these Charismatic Christian or Jewish Messianic views in Yehuda Amichai's poem "From Jerusalem 1967" and Marco Antonio Campos's "Friday in Jerusalem" reveal a form of repetitiveness or a colonial uncertainty. This points to a possible or a deliberate misinterpretation of these Jewish and Messianic scriptures, so as to defend the Zionist agenda. Even though this idea is not stated directly, Novenson believes that a "preoccup[ation] with the quest for the origins of the eschatological redeemer myth that we sometimes seem to have lost the capacity simply to interpret ancient messiah texts in their own right" (29). In order to write a postcolonial study of the two poems in the light of Homi Bhabha's and Gayatri Spivak's views, the researcher has to expound a number of Zionist religious allusions, though she personally does not believe in their righteousness.

A depiction of Spivak's subalternity and Bhabha's views on colonial discourse help the researcher to realize that the two poems show an oscillation between the two states of the silent/ non silent subaltern. Amichai's poem defends the idea of Jewish supremacy. However, a poetic analysis of the colonizer/ colonized archetype, mimicry and ambivalence shows the ability of the colonized subaltern to speak. Similarly, the title of Campos's poem is ironic. In spite of his claim to defend the values of human inclusion and equality, his intertextual connotations support the ideas of Jewish Messianism and give an image of the silent Palestinian subalterns, as if they were an underclass.

Some critics like Benita Parry believe that Bhabha's analysis of colonial discourse, mimicry and the ability of the colonized subaltern to return the colonial gaze gives a space for it to speak, while Spivak's views help to further enforce silence on the subaltern. This is because in "Can the Subaltern Speak?," she states that "[t]he archival, historiographic, disciplinary – critical and, inevitably, interventionist work involved here

is indeed a task of 'measuring silences' " (Spivak 82). However, the researcher believes that Spivak does not intend to silence the subaltern but rather to inquire whether there is a possibility to have an independent self that is not constrained by the discourse which silences it? Spivak's main viewpoint is that subaltern historians cannot act as a mouth speaker for the subaltern. This is because each subaltern enlives an experience of hegemony different from the other. Therefore, Spivak urges the subaltern to develop a state of identity self-reflection because the intellectuals cannot represent those heterogenous subjugated classes.

Similarly, a postcolonial analysis of stereotypes and ambivalence depicts an ability of the subaltern to speak. In "The Other Question," Bhabha believes that the colonizer/ colonized archetype does not reflect an antagonistic relationship. If anyone of the two parts has power over the other, this means the end of this colonial archetype. Even the experience of otherness which leads to a process of self-recognition is shared between them. Furthermore, the agonistic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized shows that the existence of the first's identity depends on the second. Stereotypes reflect an image of the superior colonizer, but at the same time it exposes hegemonic instability. This is due to the fact that the stereotype, which depends on ambivalence and obscures the truth, has a repetitive falsifying nature. Both Bhabha and Spivak believe that this ambivalence can deconstruct colonial discourse and give voice to the oppressed subaltern. Bhabha stresses that "[w]hat such a reading reveals are the boundaries of colonial discourse and it enables a transgression of these limits from the space of that otherness"/ ambivalence (67). Though the concept of subaltern is obvious in the two poems, Campos's poem exposes an analysis of Spivak's subalternity more than that of Amichai. On the other hand, Bhabha's views shape the main bulk of Amichai's poem. The researcher's reading of Bhabha and Spivak's postcolonial views reveals that all the artistic, historical allusions and theological connotations in the two poems form a Jewish Messianic ideology of Jerusalem, thus giving different modes of the speaking/ non speaking subaltern.

Yehuda Amichai's poem "From Jerusalem 1967" published in *Poems of Jerusalem and Love Poems* (1992) is a Jewish Messianic and a historical poem. It commemorates the memory of the six-day war of 1967, its consequent result of the dispossession of 400,000 Palestinians and celebrates the birth of Israel. Amichai is an Israeli Zionist poet born in Germany whose poetic volumes include *Songs of Jerusalem and Myself* (1973) and *Open Eyes Land* (1992). In the opening lines of the poem, Amichai analogizes the constitution of the Israeli state in 1967 which

leads to the occupation of almost all of Palestine to the cradle of a newly born baby. Therefore, Amichai's analogy in the verse-lines "A baby calms down when you rock it, a city calms down from the distance" creates a Zionist collective memory of this event (line 3).

Yehuda Amichai calls upon Yehuda Halevi (1075-1141CE) who is considered as a martyr for two reasons; one is religious and the other belongs to the field of colonial and postcolonial studies. Reviewing "National and Personal Melancholy in the Writings of Yehuda Halevi" (2015), the researcher understands that Halevi's poetry reflects a permanent Zionist desire for oneness and unity with the promised land. Amichai calls upon Halevi, a medieval Zionist poet, as if he were seeking to be united with his Jewish grandfathers, in an attempt to constitute an archival memory of a history of Jewish persecution. As a poet who lived in the period of the Andalusian Muslim civilization in Spain, Halevi's life is representative of the Jewish exile, and the Jew who experienced religious oppression. Therefore, one of the motives of his Kuzari religious writings is a call for repentance and salvation, the main divine conditions, that will realize a future prophetic reunion with the mythical promised land. By projecting the colonizer in the role of the oppressed, Amichai attempts to deconstruct the archetype of the colonizer/ colonized. This view is elusive because in Bhabha's postcolonial views each part of this colonial model has his own share of power. It also contradicts Amichai's attempt to make the colonizer/ the community of the Zionist Jews or Halevi appear in the position of the victimized or the oppressed. What supports the researcher's analysis is Kenneth Collins and Joseph Yahalom's reference to the idea of exile and captivity as a main motif in Halevi's Poems. Therefore, Amichai's depiction of the Yehudean deserts is a poetic allusion to the first Jewish exodus in Egypt and the second one in Babylonia. Moreover, the poet's metaphorical image of the "Yehudean desert" or the Judean Desert has another crucial colonial connotation (line 9). The creation of Israel in 1967⁽¹⁾ is the backbone which will lead to the existence of the assumed biblical state of Eretz Israel whose borders extend from the Nile to Euphrates. Thus, Amichai's metaphor of the Judaeen Desert has a Jewish religious connotation to the location and the borders of Eretz Israel. Moreover, the choice of this metaphor can be understood as a Zionist attempt to urge the Zionist messianic readers to believe in the righteousness of the Israeli colonial occupation of Palestine. The colonizer/ Amichai indirectly states that it is the right of the poor, homeless Jews who experienced years of wilderness and exile away from their Genesis land located in the Judean desert to establish the land of Israel or the city of David in Jerusalem.

Amichai speaks in the tone of the triumphant colonizer who celebrates oneness with the newly born Jewish state in Palestine. Therefore, he expounds his colonial prejudice and is anxious to awaken the Zionist national spirit in the hearts of his community of the Zionist Jews. Therefore, he makes a metaphorical connotation to Halevi's poem "My Heart is in the East". Halevi made a pilgrimage journey, leaving his previous exiled life in the west/ Spain to the east/ Jerusalem where his heart is religiously and spiritually rooted. The verse lines "[m]y heart. Myself. East. West" indicates that Halevi knew his route to Jerusalem that is determined by cardinal directions of a compass (Amichai line 6). It is as if Amichai were urging all the Zionist Jews to follow the steps of Halevi, obey the religious call of Yahweh and hear the voice of their hearts directing them like the four points of a compass to Jerusalem. Amichai's urge to a colonial immigration to Jerusalem is in accordance with the Jewish law of return⁽²⁾. Thus, the already discussed lines of the poem expose a postcolonial perspective based on Bhabha's views on the dynamics of the colonizer/ colonized relationship:

1

This year I traveled a long way
To view the silence of my city.
A baby calms down when you rock it, a city calms down
from the distance. I dwelled in longing. I played the hopscotch
of the four strict squares of Yehuda Ha-Levi:

My heart. Myself. East. West.

I heard bells ringing in the religions of time,
but the wailing that I heard inside me
has always been from my Yehudean desert (Amichai lines 1-9).

The researcher draws on Bhabha's thoughts about the colonizer/ colonized archetype to analyze the introductory lines of the poem. The colonizer seeks, through probably mind colonization, to turn the colonized image into a reflection of his own, though that of the colonial subjects should not be exactly the same. Therefore, Zionists enforce their Jewish identity over the colonized Palestinians treating them as Arab Israelis who should not be equal to them in the citizenship rights. In "Sly Civility" Bhabha states that "[w]hat is articulated in the double-ness of colonial discourse is not simply the violence of the one powerful nation writing out the history of another For it reveals an agonistic uncertainty contained in the incompatibility of empire and nation" (95-96). There is a conflict which foreshadows a state of disparity between the colonizer and the colonized, however no one has a dominative power over the other. Moreover, the colonized has the power ability to resist the

domination. The researcher opposes Bhabha's viewpoint of the archetypal relationship between the colonizer/ colonized because it ignores the idea of a power imbalance between the two parts. Amichai's verse reflects the national spirit of the Hebrew roots movement, thus attempting to trace what he considers as the inscribed Jewish history of Palestine. Addressing the followers of the Hebrew roots movement and the Christian Zionist readers, the colonizer/ Amichai stresses that the colonized city of Jerusalem is the land that was religiously given to his Jewish forefathers where he spent his early childhood.

To justify the Zionist colonial maneuver Amichai indulges in a journey through time, charting a map of bus routes that details certain past and present turning points in the life of the Israelis. An overview of Barbara E. Mann's *Space and Place in Jewish Studies* discusses how chronotope can reflect Amichai's Jewish Messianic perspective. Amichai chronicles a list of significant events in the Jewish history that show a built-in relationship between time and space/ place. The similarities and differences between the past and modern land grabbing of place or the Palestinian territories announce the rise of a new era of Zionist settlement in the so called promised land. Mann remarks that Amichai "largely viewed the war as concluding a redemptive national narrative, the closing of a modern historical cycle that began with the advent of Zionism" (40). The researcher agrees with Maan in the belief that the idea of war can be metaphorically understood as a kind of atonement or a means of religious salvation of the Israelis from their sins which lead to Yahweya's curse upon them and their loss of the promised land. However, Amichai's viewpoint does not imply the end of Zionism but in contrast his list of years is an attempt to fabricate a Jewish history of Jerusalem. This is part of a Zionist Christian religious oneness which is one of the main motives of the Hebrew Roots movement. Maan further adds that "Jerusalem is mathematically calculated through a multidimensional algorithm encompassing both time and space ... the city's topography has truly been shaped by historical events ... Indeed, the speaker's "return" to the city is construed as a kind of historical redemption ..." (41). Hence, this verse shows journey through time in order to ascribe Jewish identity to Jerusalem:

2

I've come back to this city where names
are given to distances as if to human beings
and the numbers are not of bus-routes
but: 70 After, 1917, 500
B.C., Forty-Eight. These are the lines
you really travel on. (Amichai lines 14-19)

The researcher understands the journey of the bus rider who navigates the city as a metaphorical depiction of the cyclic movement of history. The latter begins with a reference to the present Jewish defeat in the war of 1973 and its consequent loss of the dream of Eretz Israel. The modern defeat of the Israeli forces in the war of 1973 echoes two major events in the past history of the Israelis or Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in the years 589BC and 597BC and the burning of Solomon's temple. In the verse lines "but: 70 after⁽³⁾, 1917, 500/ B.C., Forty-Eight ..." Amichai contrasts each memory of defeat in the Jewish history with another one that indicates victory (17-18). Therefore, he pairs the defeat of 1973 with the rise of Jewish power in 1917, the year of Balfour declaration which guarantees the right of Jews in the Palestinian territories. Then he contrasts the burning of Jerusalem in 500 B.C. with another modern rise of the Zionist era in 1948, the year of the Palestinian Nakba and the dispossession of 700,000 Palestinians. This exposes Amichai's Zionist colonial maneuver and historical seduction in order to assert that Jerusalem is the city of Judah rather than the land of Canaan. Moreover, the poet implicitly indicates that each memory of the dispossession of Jews should be followed by a reunion with their supposed land. Thus, Amichai celebrates the year 1967 which signifies the beginning of the settlement policy in the occupied Palestine.

In order to defend the Zionist colonization of Jerusalem, Amichai claims that it is a Jewish city whose history is Jewish as well, therefore his verse creates a unity between Christianity and Judaism which is the main doctrine of the messianic Hebrew roots movement. In "The Hebrew Roots Movement An Awakening!" (2016) Mike Becon points out that the Hebrew Roots movement calls for a kind of an original oneness between Christianity and Judaism. Therefore, Amichai stresses the Jewish roots of Christianity, advocating a messianic belief in the principles of the Torah. He states that the belief in the three doctrines of the Hebrew Roots Movement is an issue that is "[i]lluminated in the Tower of David, illuminated in the Church/ of Maria" (Amichai lines 28-29). By building a unity between the church and the synagogue, Amichai further refers to the second return of Yeshua, to Jerusalem on the eighth day of Sabbath festival. Amichai focuses on this point as something that is common between Jews and Christians. Therefore, in the metaphorical depiction of the "cheeks" he repeats the word "illuminated" for three times (Amichai line 35). This is meant to emphasize that in spite of the discrepancy between Christianity and the Messianic Hebrew Roots Movement, a Messianic Jewish belief in the principles of the Torah is something that is personally taught to him in his childhood. Consequently, from a Jewish

Messianic perspective Amichai manipulates this belief in the Judeo-Christian tradition so as to gain support from the Charismatic Christians who defend the existence of the Israelis in Jerusalem as the city of Judah:

3

Illuminated is the Tower of David, illuminated is the Church of Maria,
illuminated the patriarchs sleeping in their burial cave,
illuminated
are the faces from inside, illuminated the translucent honey cakes, illuminated the clock and illuminated the time passing through your things as you take off your dress.
Illuminated illuminated. Illuminated are the cheeks of my childhood,
illuminated the stones that wanted to be illuminated along with those that wanted to sleep in the darkness of squares.

.....
Illuminated is the terrible, true X-ray writing in letters of bones, in white and lightning: *mene mene tekel upharsin*. (Amichai lines 28-46).

The researcher believes that there are different symbolic interpretations of Amichai's allusion to Belshazzar's graffiti which is iconic of the divine intervention, causing the downfall of this tyrant's Kingdom. In "God's Graffiti: On the Social Aesthetics of Divine Writing" (2013) Massimo Leone believes that all the Hebrew Biblical studies discussing the divine graffiti which suddenly appear in the feast of the last Babylonian King Belshazzar emphasize that the collapse of the power of the absolute monarch is a righteous act. Furthermore, chapter five of *The Book of Daniel* details a prophecy about the fall of Belshazzar's monarchy. Leone further adds that "[i]n *Daniel*, the guilty unawareness of the unjust ruler materializes as a hand that mysteriously writes on a wall" (111). In a form of history-repetition, the researcher believes that Amichai analogizes the return of the Israelis to Jerusalem after the end of their captivity and exile in Babylonia to the situation after 1967. This is a form of colonial seduction, and reality subversion so as to persuade the Zionist Christian readers that the colonial, unjustful existence of Belshazzar in Jerusalem is analogous to that of the Arabs or the Palestinians in Israel. Therefore, it is a colonial maneuver to prove that the Israeli existence in Palestine after the war of 1967 is not a colonial one.

Leone discusses the Christian medieval religious point of view of the story of the doomed fall of Belshazzar and the book of *Daniel* which the researcher perceives as an emblem of the Jewish Messianic beliefs. As an

example, Rupert of Dentz's Christian medieval study of *Dnaiel* points out that the power of Christ ends Belshazzar's tyranny. From a Jewish Messianic perspective, Amichai manipulates the historical episode of Belshazzar's fall, which is an indication of faith in Jewish Christianity, to remind the Zionist Christians that the birth of the state of Israel will lead to the second return of the Davidic Messiah. Therefore, Belshazzar's fall, which connotes the defeat of the Arab forces in the war of 1967, paves the way for the building of the third temple. This leads to the fulfillment of another prophecy of Daniel which predicts the emergence of Christ in the temple. Leone's exposition of the aesthetic symbolism of Folio's iconography, "Belshazzar Feast," expounds oneness of the Jewish Christian analysis of the divine graffiti. Leone states that "the inscription of God's graffiti coincides with a re-appropriation of the place, which is all the more significant if one takes into account that the mysterious message is provoked by Belshazzar profaning the vessels of the temple of Jerusalem" (122). Thus, Amichai manipulates this historical event in order to revive the memory of the two times when Christ had previously purged the temple. Similarly, from a Zionist Christian perspective, the defeat of the Arabs in the war of 1967 paves the way for the dream of another purging of the temple after Christ's expected rebuilding of this sanctuary. There is a significance in Christ's act of cleansing the temple for twice. From a colonial Zionist perspective, Amichai believes that Christ's power which purges the temple in the past in the time of Belshazzar will purge again the land from the Arabs after the war of 1967.

Leone discusses the aesthetic significance of two other paradigms of the art of iconography; one is late medieval and the second is early modern Christian, which goes with the context of the Jewish Christian interfaith dialogue and Amichai's call for combating Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism. His aesthetic social analysis of the iconography of "Belshazzar Feast" in the religious book *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* shows an intertextual cohesion between Daniel's Jewish theological interpretation of the divine Judgement that falls upon Belshazzar due to his irreverent behavior in the temple and a Christian exposition of the divine curse on the ten virgins. Moreover, an allegorical study of Tintoretto's early modern iconography of "Belshazzar Feast" stresses this messianic Jewish point of view which Amichai intriguingly manipulates to defend the Zionist colonialism in Palestine. Leone points out "the fact that 'mene' [which] is repeated twice is perhaps a sign that the sources of Tintoretto are not simply the Vulgate or the Septuagint, but a biblical text revised according to venetian Jewish erudition" (125). As a metaphor for the

power of the Jewish Messiah, the divine hand causing the end of Belshazzar tyrannical power had also supported the Israelis. Thus, Amichai alludes to the story of Belshazzar's feast which is misconceived as an indication for the divine fight against the historical cycles of Anti-Semitism. In a form of a historic recurrence, Amichai relates the period of Babylonian captivity to Halevi's experience of exile and religious discrimination in Spain and the memory of the Holocaust due to the poet's personal upbringing in Germany. Amichai draws the sympathy of the Zionist Christian readers calling them to support the immigration of Jews to Jerusalem. This reflects Amichai's interest in the spirit of the Hebrew Roots Movement which advocates a return to the Jewish roots of Christianity.

Amichai's verse gives a postcolonial analysis of the nature of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and their experience of otherness and ambivalence. The poet metaphorically analogizes the state of the two divided parts of Jerusalem or the West and the East Bank to an agitated contest between 'two lovers [who are] separated' thus turning to be foreigners and enemies (Amichai lines 50-51). Bhabha describes the archetype of the colonizer/ colonized as a one which does not involve a struggle for dominance. As no one has superior power to the other, Bhabha refutes the point of view which defines this colonial archetype in terms of binary opposites. A description of otherness is a key point which gives the colonized subaltern a voice of power. Bhabha believes that the colonizer by turn denies this aversion due to a supposed call for an ethnic inclusion that is based on a reproduction of the identity of the colonized according to the colonial standards. In "Sly Civility" Bhabha further discusses the point of power balance in the colonial relationship that each one undergoes an experience of otherness in a process of self-recognition. He states that "[b]oth colonizer and colonized are in a process of miscognition where each point of identification is always a partial and double repetition of the *otherness* of the self ..." (Bhabha 97). By describing the Palestinians and the Israelis as two lovers, Amichai follows Bhabha's viewpoint which stresses putative equality in the power relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. However, this dream of equality in the colonial relationship is what Jacqueline Rose refutes in her book *Proust Among the Nations From Dreyfus to the Middle East*. This is because there is a difference in the citizenship rights between the Palestinian refugees who lost the right to territorial sovereignty and the Israelis or the potential immigrants who are granted nationality due to their Jewish religion⁽⁴⁾. Therefore, Bhabha's belief in an agonistic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized leads to an analysis of the ambivalence of colonial discourse.

Amichai's archetype of the putatively equal lovers shows an antagonistic struggle between two enemies and dissimilarity within similarity which account for a discussion of Bhabha's concept of ambivalence. The verse maintains ambivalence in the description of the Israeli colonial regime as the father figure that pretends to welcome a peaceful co-existence between the Palestinians and the Israelis. However, it also forges its strict separation policies and a state of ethnic disparity in the two states territorial partition. Bhabha stresses that this ambivalence subverts the dogma of the absolute power of colonialism. However, the researcher believes that this perspective also ignores the real existence of power asymmetry between the colonizer and the colonized. The selected verse foreshadows a comment on the ethics of ambivalence in the relationship between the colonizer/ colonized:

4

In vain you will look for the fences of barbed wire.

You know that such things

don't disappear. A different city perhaps

is now being cut in two; two lovers

separated; a different flesh is tormenting itself now

with these thorns, refusing to be stone. (Amichai lines 47-52)

Amichai's paradigm of the two lovers voices Bhabha's belief that part of the colonial discourse is ambivalence. The latter means "[t]o bet the father and the oppressor; just and unjust; moderate and rapacious; vigorous and despotic: these instances of contradictory belief, doubly inscribed in the deferred address of colonial discourse, raise questions about the symbolic space of colonial authority" (Bhabha 96). The Palestinians or the Arab Israelis, whom the Zionists treat as if they were non-native citizens, are apparently accepted to live in Israel as part of an assumption of a peaceful co-existence. However, the reality shows that the Palestinians live as no more than refugees in their homeland. Amichai's personification of Jerusalem, that experiences a body split in half, is due to the colonial discourse of ambivalence. The repetitive manipulation of the adjective "different" is meant to stress a persistent experience of otherness which the two lovers feel. Amichai creates this ambivalence in his metaphorical depiction of "[a] different city perhaps/ is now being cut in two; two lovers/ separated" (lines 49-51). This experience of difference asserts that in spite of being two lovers, the colonizer/ colonized cannot coexist in the city of Jerusalem. Though ambivalence destabilizes the power of colonial discourse, Amichai's antithesis of the colonial relationship shows that the colonizer still has the domineering power. What exposes a scale of a power hierarchy between

the colonizer and the colonized is the land acquisition law which proves how the state of Israel is based on an illegal confiscation of the Palestinian territories⁽⁵⁾.

Amichai's misconceived image of the colonized pertains to an analysis of Bhabha's concept of the stereotype which is inseparable from ambivalence, the context of metaphor and metonymy and the Lacanian concepts of the formative mirror, narcissism and aggression. Stereotyping turns the othered colonized subaltern into "fixated" person being stripped of his sense of imago⁽⁶⁾ (Bhabha 78). The second half of the personified body of Jerusalem or East Jerusalem which is the capital of the Arab Palestinians is "a different flesh [that] is tormenting itself now/ with these thorns, refusing to be stone" (Amichai lines 51-52). Ambivalence is related to Amichai's stereotypical language which exposes the otherness and hides it at the same time. His metaphorical portrayal of the Palestinians and the Israelis as two lovers conceals the difference. However, his stereotyping metonymically points out the Zionist otherness of the Palestinians. Therefore, Amichai depersonifies the Arab Israelis/ Palestinian subaltern as "thorns, refusing to" accept the existence of the oppressive colonizer/ Israelis which leads to an ethnically-induced conflict (line 52). This recalls Fayeze Sayegh's discussion of the racist extremism of the Israeli-Settler colonialism in his essay "Zionist colonialism in Palestine (1965)". The researcher believes that Sayegh's focus on the power of Zionist apartheid system over the Palestinians stresses the aversion which Amichai's stereotypical language metonymically exposes. According to Sayegh "Zionist racial identification produces three corollaries: racial self-segregation, racial exclusiveness and racial supremacy. These principles constitute the core of the Zionist ideology" (214). Hence, Amichai's Zionist urge for cleansing the "[t]horns" refers to the law of return and the Zionist agenda of a systematic genocide of the Palestinians in order to enlarge the Zionist colonial settlements in Palestine (Amichai line 52). The colonized realizes that his own imago is different from his stereotype and this leads to a Lacanian state of aggression. Similarly, the postcolonial narcissism of the Zionist state denies any claim for a peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Since the opening lines of the poem, Amichai sets the main ethics of Palestinian subaltern silencing. Living under siege and colonial rule, "the fences of barbed wire," this colonial subject is excluded from an equal access to socio-economic and political citizen rights (Amichai line 47). However, the researcher's analysis shows that a deconstructivist exercise can overturn the hegemony of colonial discourse which suppresses the subaltern. Turning the subaltern silence into non-silence, Andreotti co-

shares with Spivak a belief that "educators interested in working against systems that create subalternity could use self-reflexivity and deconstruction, ... to resignify "social responsibility" in their contexts in ways that are ethically responsive to the other" (47). Thus, Spivak and Bhabha believe that the ambivalence of colonial discourse, rather than opposition, can deconstruct it. The description of "the silence" in the poets' "city" depicts an image of fascism within the authoritative colonial discourse (Amichai line 2). This condition suppresses the subaltern agency and denies its ability to put an end to subalternity. Refuting an image of the subalterns as a homogenous entity denies the possibility of a collective action to confront this imperial sovereignty. However, the depiction of the colonizer/ colonized as "two lovers" reflects a scale of ontological dependence without giving an alternative discourse of colonial alterity.

In a form of a memory retrospection, Amichai commemorates the memory of Rabbi Hachohen's Yom Kippur prayer at the Western wall on Jerusalem day that has been celebrated since 1967 as the day on which the IDF paratroopers seized the old city. In "From Wailing to Rebirth: The Development of the Western Wall as an Israeli National Symbol After the Six-Day War" (2018), Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Doran Bar discuss the historical, religious significance of the Western Wall which becomes an iconic symbol of Zionism after the war of 1967. They mention that in 1968 a group of the reform Jews carried on a prayer at the Western Wall stressing the importance of this place as a spiritual embodiment of the unity of the Israeli people. In spite of being a secular Zionist, Amichai acts as if he were a worshipper who supplemented prayer for thanksgiving and repentance asking God/ Yeishwa to save the state of Israel and help his chosen people to rebuild the temple. Amichai states that "[O]n Yom Kippur in 1967, the year of forgetting, I put on/ my dark holiday clothes and walked to the old city of/ Jerusalem" (lines 62-64). The Researcher believes that Amichai's focus on the religious spirituality of Yom Kippur is part of a Jewish messianic scheme. The latter is meant to persuade the readers that returning to God in repentance known as Teshuvah is what caused the Israeli victory in the war of 1967 and the return of the chosen people to the promised land. Moreover, Amichai is aware that Jewish nationalism is part and parcel of political Zionism. Hence, from a Jewish messianic point of view, Amichai indicates that after the war of 1967 the Western Wall or the Wailing Wall where the Israelis supplement prayers of lament over the ruins of the temple should turn to be prayers of restoration. Thus, the Western Wall, from Amichai's point of view, turns to be a symbol of the sun rise of the

Jewish power after the war of 1967. It paves the way for the fulfillment of one of Zechariah's Jewish Messianic prophecies predicting a rebuilding of the third temple and the return of the Messiah to Jerusalem. Amichai's claim that he "returned, with all the worshippers, home" is an example of verbal irony because this hippocratic tradition stressing faith in the Jewish Credo of Israel contradicts reality, since Zionism is a secular movement (line 79). Acting as a historian, Amichai claims that the Western Wall⁽⁷⁾ is a Herodian structure whose remnant vintage stones prove, according to the Zionist story, the existence of the second temple mount/ the second Beit HaMikdash before its destruction in the Roman period⁽⁸⁾. The Western Wall is the place where many military occasions, such as Memorial Day, Yom Hazikaron and Jerusalem Day are commemorated and religious prayers like Shavuot are supplemented. Therefore, in Zionist literature, the image of the Western Wall is symbolic of Jewish nationalism in the collective memory of the Israelis.

Amichai's metaphorical depiction of the Israeli forces as the host father accepting the existence of the Palestinians is an instance of ambivalence. This explains Amichai's future expectations of the sun set of the Muslim civilization in Palestine and a complete ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians:

When I finished, it was time for the Closing of the Gates

prayer.

He too lowered the shutters and locked the gate
and I returned, with all the worshippers, home (Amichai lines 76-79).

This portrayal of Arabic culture demolition is symbolically indicated by the action of the muted Arab who "lowered the shutters [of his shop] and locked the gate" (Amichai line 78). In contrast to this situation, the immaculate chosen people returned home after the war of 1967⁽⁹⁾. Hence, Amichai's Jewish Messianic connotation to Zechariah's call to the Israelites to repent in order to return to Judea is colonially propagated. Instead of portraying the war of 1967 as a colonial occupation of Palestine, Amichai convinces the Jewish people that prayers of repentance on Yom Kippur led to their doomed return to Jerusalem. Ironically, the Israeli forces should ask for forgiveness from the Palestinians who turn to be refugees whether in their homeland, the biblical land of Canaan or outside it.

Amichai's encounter and dialogue with the silenced Arab/ Palestinian pertains to a postcolonial analysis of the colonial gaze, mimicry, the colonizer/ colonized prototype and mind colonization. In a process of mind colonization, the colonizer Amichai negotiates with the Palestinian about his so called historical right in Palestine as a Zionist and Jew. Thus,

in this unspoken dialogue Amichai assures himself and the Arab of the Jewish Messianic assumptions which depict the settler colonial war of 1967 as a legal existence of the colonizer in the promised land. The failure of the colonial gaze and the idea of the watcher that turns to be the watched involve a discussion of mimicry as an indication of the desire of the colonizer to transform the colonized into a repetitive image of his own. The colonizer casts a colonial gaze upon the colonized subaltern enhancing a call for assimilation between them. In "*The Rhetoric of Violence*," Kamal Abdel-Malek believes that the dialogue between the Israeli/ colonizer and the subaltern Arab/ colonized shows an overriding power of the colonizer silencing the colonized. However, the researcher has another point of view. This is because though this one-sided dialogue is stated in the voice of the colonizer, it is meant to be an unspoken rehearsal in his heart. What explains this point is Amichai's dramatization of silence as a medium that is co-shared between the colonizer and the colonized. This shows that the watcher can turn to be the watched and vice versa. Hence, the colonized/ Palestinian subaltern redirects his silence upon the colonizer/ Amichai whose voice is internalized in his heart.

Amichai's metaphorical depiction of silence which is directed and redirected between the colonizer and the colonized shows a further analysis of mimicry:

I told him in my heart that my father too

had a shop like this, with thread and buttons.

I explained to him in my heart about all the decades

and the causes and the events, why I am now here

and my father's shop was burned there and he is buried here.

(Amichai lines 71-75)

Mimicry as a means of resistance "reverse[s] 'in part' the colonial appropriation by now producing a partial vision of the colonizer's presence, a gaze of otherness ... which, as Foucault describes it, liberates marginal elements and shatters the unity of man's being through which he extends his sovereignty" (Bhabha 88-89). The colonizer manipulates mimicry so as to turn the identity of the colonized into a reflection of his own though it should not be quite the same. By portraying the colonized as a silenced man, Amichai acts as a colonizer who is persistent that the colonized should mimic his colonial norms/ self-silence. There is a difference between the silence of the colonized subaltern that is enforced upon him stigmatizing his own identity and the silence of the colonizer which is a matter of his own choice. However, this mode of mutual serenity accords with Bhabha's belief in a kind of a power equality

between the colonizer and the colonized. Therefore, the Arab/ Palestinian mimics Amichai's silence as a means of resistance redirecting the colonial gaze of otherness upon the colonizer. Thus, this dialogue reinforces otherness and difference experienced by the colonizer and the colonized.

The silent encounter between the colonizer and the colonized indicates a postcolonial analysis of the discourse in a context of a metonymic use of silence and ambivalence. Amichai as an Israeli agent appeals to the Arab/ the othered colonial subject persuading him in a mindful dialogue that his "father [Pfeuffer, a German Jew] too/ had a shop like this, with thread and buttons" (lines 71-72). In "The Blessing of Metonymy: A Dream Poetics" (2017) Rodger Kamenetz stresses the point that the Israeli victory in the war of 1967 is a transformative historical moment which advocates the call for cohesion between the Arabs and the Jews. Thus, by narrating the story of his father whose shop was burnt in Germany, Amichai ironically propagates for a deception that the war of 1967 was a divine solution for the holocaust survivors who should settle in the biblical city of Jerusalem. Bhabha adds that "[i]n mimicry, the representation of identity and meaning is rearticulated along the axis of metonymy [M]imicry is like camouflage, not a harmonization of repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically" (90). Metonymically, silence stands for a mental state of otherness and identity-displacement or a traumatized identity that is co-shared between the colonizer and the colonized. Ambivalence of the colonial discourse is manifestant in the colonizer's desire for a cohesive relationship with the othered colonial subject and his disavowal of this desire. The state of the silenced subaltern shows that his identity is non-existent for the colonizer depicting this colonial subject as if he were an innocent child who cannot defend himself. However, this state of silence is also a metonymic instance that the identity of the colonized is vague which gives him some sort of power. This stresses that "the subject of colonial discourse – splitting, doubling, turning into its opposite, projecting – is a subject of such affective ambivalence" (Bhabha 97). Silencing the colonized, which is an indictment of a surveillance strategy imposed on his rejected/ attractive identity, is the condition that will overturn the power of colonial/ postcolonial discourse. Solitude and spacial distance that is created by an interchangeable use of the prepositions "here" and "there" are metonymical implications of a feeling of unbelonging. The colonizer/ Amichai feels that he does not belong neither to his life "there" in the German – Jewish diaspora nor to the one "here" in Jerusalem. What builds a psychological bond between the colonizer/ Amichai and the colonized country is that his father "is buried

here" in Jerusalem (line 75). By a psychological projection of the pain of unbelonging, Amichai seeks to displace the identity of the colonized. Mimicking the silence of the colonizer is a means of resistance which reflects this identity-displacement on him.

Self/ counter-reflection of silence and sound helps the subaltern to regain its voice, expose a deconstructivist perspective of the imperial language and give an account of the colonizer/ colonized dichotomy. Amichai structures the archetype of the silenced/ dead Palestinian subaltern on the model of Spivak's female subaltern invisibility of Bhubaneswari. Rajeswari Rajan discusses how death can be a means to be granted life. Commenting on Bhubaneswari's suicide, she states that "subaltern death, or the dead subaltern, poses questions about the manner of death but also about the meaning of death, a particular death, in a postmodern communication that traverses the boundary between the living and the dead" (Rajan 117). In the dialogue between the poet and the colonized, the mode of serenity shows a self-reflection of subaltern silence on the colonizer. This renders the colonizer voiceless, therefore he speaks only 'in [his] heart' (Amichai line 71). Silencing the Palestinian subaltern foreshadows its subsequent death. Deprived from the right to express their thoughts, this form of colonial suppression creates a subaltern character in the two cases of the other Palestinian and the sati woman. "Despite the failure of communication, there is no noticeable absence of or incapacity for speech on [either] Bhubaneswari's part" or the Palestinian subaltern (Rajan 120). The decision of the Palestinian subaltern to be silent or dead is the condition which gives it power and helps its voice to be heard. This is manifested in the mutual action of "the closing of the Gates" between the poet and the colonial subject (Amichai line 76). Hence, the silence of the subaltern indicates that he is misrepresented by the colonizer and the Western intellectual. The projection of the subaltern as the one that closes the scene and the sound of "the shutters" are two symbolic instances which prove that the subaltern has now become the master of the situation (Amichai line 78). This turns its silence into non-silence, thus gaining a space of resistance and self-reflection. Unlike Spivak's belief that the subaltern voice cannot be totally retrieved, the death/ silence of the Palestinian subaltern affects a complete representation of a nonidentity problem. Moreover, being able to understand its dilemma is a form of speech.

Amichai's depiction of the children of Jerusalem/ the children of Zion involves ambivalence in the context of his theological connotation to the prophet Issiah and the Jewish messianic prophecy of the constitution of new Jerusalem. The colonizer/ Amichai tends to make a humanitarian

response to the sufferings of all the innocent children of Jerusalem⁽¹⁰⁾, whether Arabs or Jews, who become accustomed to the feelings of bereavement and the scenes of bloodshed. Though Amichai partially defends the rights of all children yet his verse simultaneously otherizes the Palestinian children due to a Jewish messianic theological connotation to “the children” of Zion/ Jerusalem (line 96). What reveals this ambivalence is Amichai’s theological connotation to “the messenger of good tidings”/ the prophet Isaiah (line 100). A reading of Gary Yates’s “Isaiah’s Promise of the Restoration of Zion” helps the researcher to realize that Amichai connotes to Isaiah’s prophecy predicting the destruction of Jerusalem due to the sinful actions of the people of Judah and its later transformation into a heavenly Jerusalem where peace should be eternal. Thus, Amichai forms a historical analogy comparing the return of the Babylonian exiles to Zion after Jerusalem’s siege to the reunity between the Israelis and Jerusalem after the war of 1967. Amichai metonymically refers to Isaiah’s Jewish Messianic evangelical views to indicate that Yahweh’s retribution causing the existence of the Babylonians and the Arabs, whether before or after the war of 1967, in Jerusalem should be followed by his divine benevolence. Amichai advocates the Messianic Jews⁽¹¹⁾ to follow the steps of the prophet Isaiah and their forefathers seeking salvation. In an exercise of God’s vengeance and mercy, they should be expecting a future reformation of Jerusalem with the help of a Davidic ruler/ the Mashiah. Hence, Amichai’s metaphorical depiction of “[t]he city [which] plays hide-and-seek among her names” is metonymic of Yahweh’s hidden face due to the disobedience of the people of Judah (line 101). However, Israelis’s repentance and salvation devoting their lives and the lives of their children to worship Yahweh will end their exile. In the following verse, the metaphorical discourse on the children of Zion reveals ambivalence stressing a colonial fabric of an inclusivist-exclusivist policy that is based on a Jewish Messianic bigotry against the other:

I think of children growing up half in the ethics of their fathers
and half in the science of war.

The tears now penetrate into my eyes from the outside
and my ears invent, every day, the footsteps of
the messenger of good tidings. (Amichai lines 96-100).

Amichai makes an allusion to Yahweh’s religious blessings to the⁽¹²⁾ children of Zion/ children of Jerusalem who are granted the right to return to live in Zion’s villages, so as to expose ambivalence. Though Amichai defends the rights of children to live in peace, he makes a linguistic distinction between the blessed children of Zion and the othered children of the Arabs whose fathers are Israel’s enemies. According to Bhabha,

ambivalence involves "[s]plitting [which] constitutes an intricate strategy of defence and differentiation This results in the production of multiple and contradictory belief. The enunciatory moment of multiple belief is both a defence against the anxiety of difference, and itself *productive* of differentiations" (132). Amichai metonymically implies that it was Yahweh's decision that led to the victory of the people of Zion in the war of 1967 returning with their children to Jerusalem. He also believes that the suffering of the children of Zion after the war of 1967 is provisional. This is because according to Isaiah's Jewish Messianic prophecy, all people will be submissive to the future glory of Israel.

A postcolonial analysis of ambivalence and the fixity of colonial discourse of otherness reveals Amichai's Messianic Jewish motif which becomes obvious in his historical/ theological connotation to Jerusalem as the city of David and Melchizedek's *Salem or Jeru-Salem*. In an attempt to otherize the Muslim Arab identity of Jerusalem, Amichai creates a historical analogy between the Israeli conquest of Palestine in 1967 and King David's Conquest of the Canaanite Jebusites. Addressing the charismatic Christian readers, the colonizer/ Amichai listed diverse Jewish names of Palestine in order to defend his assumption that Jerusalem was historically a Jewish city.

Thus, the poet's adherence to the Jewish Messianic beliefs involves a historical discussion which supports colonial displacement/ otherness:

8

The city plays hide-and-seek among her names:

Yerushalayim, Al-Quds, Salem, Jeru, Yeru, all the while
whispering her first, Jebusite name: Y'vus,

Y'vus, Y'vus, in the dark. She weeps (Amichai lines 101-104)

In a form of history-repetition, Amichai manipulates the story of king David⁽¹³⁾, so as to imply that the Israelis are now waiting for the return of the Jewish Messiah who should establish the Messianic Kingdom of Jerusalem and restore Israel's land. Part of the Messianic Zionist scheme is to further displace the Palestinian subaltern identity, therefore Amichai connotes to the identity of Melchizedek, the Canaanite of Salem. This is because from a Messianic Jewish perspective, Melchizedek is considered to be a Messiah or a Christ-like figure. Amichai's persistent tendency to displace the Arab-Islamic identity of Jerusalem mentioning the name "Al-Quds" only for once, leads to an analysis of Bhabha's displacement (line 102). In his attempt to displace the indigeneous Palestinian, the identity of the colonizer/Amichai is displaced. This stresses Bhabha's belief that the colonizer's identity is subsequent to the desirable/ undesirable identity of the colonized other. Ironically, Amichai's theological connotation to the

story of King David's conquest of the Jebusites/ Philistines proves that the Israeli existence in Palestine, whether in the past or in present after the war of 1967 is always colonial. Amichai appears to call for a peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and the Palestinians. However, his wide selection of Hebrew names of Jerusalem shows that he simultaneously otherizes the Arab identity of the city.

Depicting the Jebusites/ Arabs in the image of the enemy pertains to the fixity of the postcolonial discourse of otherness and its ambivalence. Bhabha defines fixity "as the sign of cultural/ historical/ racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, [it] is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition" (66). Repetition is the literary medium which Amichai/ the colonizer employs to defend the existence of the Israeli settler colonial project in Palestine. Therefore, he repeats the name "Y'vus" to assert his claim that Jerusalem is the Jewish city of David (Amichai 103). Literary, repetition stresses the otherness of the collective Palestinian identity. However, it also acts as an example of ambivalence highlighting that Amichai has generalized anxiety disorder due to his fear to acknowledge that Jerusalem is not a Jewish city. Furthermore, Amichai creates the impression that the Palestinian identity is controlled and subjugated due to Israel's apartheid regime. This comes to be untrue because repetition also implies Israel's political instability, and conveys a fear from a stubborn, and a rebellious enemy who will never stop his resistance to the Israeli existence. The fixity which marks Amichai's postcolonial discourse is meant to normalize and advocate the belief in the Jewish supremacy and the Jewish ideology of Jerusalem. However, ambivalence distorts the power of the Jewish supermacists and the colonial authority. The subsidiary reference to the Arabic Muslim name Al-Quds, in the midst of other numerous Hebrew names, foreshadows this ambivalence as it shows a state of human sameness/ difference or equivalence/ inequivalence between the unarmed Palestinians and the hostile Jewish supermacists.

The poem ends with Amichai's celebration of the 1967's Zionist colonial occupation of Palestine and the reunity between the Israelis/ "Yom Kippur sailors" and Jerusalem which expose ambivalence (line 248):

21

Jerusalem is a port city on the shore of eternity.
The Temple Mount is a huge ship, a magnificent
luxury liner. From the portholes of her Western Wall
cheerful saints look out, travelers. Hasidim on the pier
wave goodbye, shout hooray, hooray, bon voyage! ... (Amichai
lines 237-241).

The poet's key reference to "Hasidim" which is a movement known to have a Jewish Messianic roots and ideology is part of his tendency to enforce the Jewish identity of Jerusalem (Amichai line 240). David Biale stresses that "[b]ecause Jewish nationalism had to confront the question of messianism, the various interpretations of Hasidism often focused on the messianic character of the movement" (540). Amichai's verse voices his Jewish Messianic Credo indicating that the Jewish existence in Palestine will lead to the second return of the Davidic Messiah on "[t]he Temple Mount" (line 238). Since the poet manipulates the medium of repetition so as to enforce the otherness of the Arab ideology and to create a bond between the land of Zion and the sons of Judah, this exposes a state of colonial uncertainty. This also pertains to the ambivalence of colonial discourse which assumes to defend the rights of all the ethnicities living in Israel's pre-1967 state, while in fact Amichai's discourse stresses that nationality should be based on religion. However, the researcher agrees with Bhabha that these instances of ambivalence which partly silence the Palestinian subaltern can deconstruct Jewish Messianic colonial discourse.

Though Spivak's thoughts about the concept of the subaltern have raised a lot of controversy, she plays a main role in the study of subalternity from a postcolonial perspective. From a Marxist, Gramscian perspective the subaltern is indicative of the subordinated other who suffers from oppression due to a cultural hegemony. Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" centers around the problematic issue and the dichotomy of representation. In her viewpoint, due to the coercive practices of imperial and patriarchal hegemony, the reference here is to the instance of the sati tradition, the indigenous citizens cannot have a voice of their own. She further states that "there is no unrepresentable subaltern subject that can know and speak itself; the intellectual's solution is not to abstain from representation" (80). In other words, the double silence of the subaltern is the outcome of two reasons. The first is the colonial authority and its discourse which hinder the native subjects' right to a freedom of expression. The second is related to the Western thinker's assumption that the subaltern other is a homogenous class and can be a representative of its own which ends with a restatement of the Eurocentric views of the same criteria of inadequacy and oppression. However, Spivak's insistence on the subaltern silence is the crucial point which is attacked by some critics such as Benita Parry and Ania Loomba. For instance, Parry stresses that "while protesting at the obliteration of the native's subject position in the text of imperialism, Spivak in her project gives no speaking part to the colonized, effectively writing out the evidence of native agency recorded in India's

two-hundred-year struggle against British conquest ...” (20). Parry criticizes Spivak’s persistence on hegemony of colonial discourse because it helps but further to silence and distress the colonial subject. Furthermore, she goes on to criticize Spivak’s attack on Foucault and Deleuze rejecting their methods of deconstruction to the oppression practiced upon the subaltern subject.

A reconceptualization of Spivak’s postcolonial criticism reveals an inverted tendency defending the non-silence of the subaltern. Spivak does not deny the voice of the subaltern, but rather she rejects a representation of the colonial subject that is based on the same colonial discourse which silences it. Therefore, Vanessa Andreotti believes that rather than focusing on a representation of the subaltern other, a pedagogical approach can teach how to be in a direct communication with this underclass. Spivak draws the attention of the subaltern historians to the point that they should not have a monolithic vision of subaltern concerns. Criticizing the views of subaltern studies group, to which Ranjat Guha belongs, Spivak rejects a belief in the collective agency of subalterns and an overlook of them as a homogenous entity. This is due to a diversity based on issues such as gender, ethical and educational backgrounds and culture. Griffiths stresses that “Spivak’s work is not intended to implore us to further silencing, rather we must apply her work on the ground towards an ethical engagement with subalternity that rests on a mode of speaking for and about in an anti-foundationalist and hyper-self-reflexive manner” (300). Spivak’s main intention is to give a reverse image of subaltern silence which subaltern historiography reveals. Her focus on self-reflection is a pivotal step towards the end of this state of subalternity and the existence of a new historical bloc. Thus, from Spivak’s deconstructivist view, juxtaposition or opposition is not enough to change the discourse of imperial hegemony. Deconstruction should involve a “strategy of unsettling the dominant discourse from within because she believes that a counter discourse of reversal ... involves remaining within the logic of the opponent ...” (Andreotti 46). Self-reflection and theorization of discourse which is void of the possibility of differentiation can overturn the hegemony of the imperial and patriarchal language which silences the subaltern.

Marco Antonio Campos (1949 –) is a Latin American poet, novelist and short story writer. In the introduction to his verse volume *Friday in Jerusalem and Other Poems* (2005), the translators K. Hedeem and V. Núñez assert that Campos’s verse has a dialogic nature supporting the ideas of human inclusion and socialism. However, the researcher’s postcolonial study of the main poem “Friday in Jerusalem” exposes the poet’s pro-Zionist motives which aspire to fulfill the Jewish Messianic

hopes in a complete Judaization of Jerusalem. Throughout the poem, Campos's allusions to verses from the Hebrew scriptures such as *The Song of Songs*, *Psalms*, *The Book of Ezekiel* and *The Book of Zechariah* reflect an inherent belief in the Anglo-Zionist alliance. Defending the right of the sons of Zion in the city of David, Campos propagates the exclusivist visions of movements like Anglo-Israelism and in particular Jewish Messianism. From a Zionist Christian perspective the poet's verse, which solidifies Israel policies, tends to masquerade ethnic differences in the Israeli societies. In spite of Campos's belief in the Christian principle of self-purification his use of biased language boosts ethnic unity between Anglo-Saxons and Ephraimites/ Israelites and a depiction of the othered subaltern/ Arabs as if they were the backward easterners in their native lands.

Though in Campos's "Friday in Jerusalem" there are some reflections on Homi Bhabha's ambivalence and otherness, which disrupt the power of colonial discourse, the poem depicts an image of the utmost silence of the subaltern. Making allusions to the three religions, Judaism/ "Mount Scopus," Christianity/ "Mary Magdalene," and Islam/ "Dome of the Rock," the poet is supposedly writing an inclusion discourse (Campos lines 1-6). However, the Jewish Messianic interpretation of his reference to "the Mount of Olives," and "Mount Scopus" introduces an instance of ambivalence which exposes an inclusion/ exclusion paradigm (Campos lines 1-5). Mount Scopus is the site of a number of Israeli establishments and the place where the Temple Mount and the Hebrew University should be built. This implies that Campos marginalizes the Arab Muslim identity and defends the right of the Israelis to be reunited with their land. Diana Dolev points to "[t]he frequent analogy of the Hebrew University with the Temple and the Jabneh Academy suggest[ion] that many envisaged the university as a renewed centre for Judaic studies, which would once again provide a spiritual authority for the Jewish people" (20). Campos indirectly states that since Mount Scopus is the place where the Romans invaded the Kingdom of Judea, it should now witness the sunrise of the Israeli supremacy over Palestine. Moreover, the poetic allusions to "Mount of Olives" and "black birds⁽¹⁴⁾" support the researcher's Jewish Messianic reading (Campos lines 5-10). The association between black colour and sins indicates that it is only when the Israelis repent they will regain their promised land. Hence, the metaphor of the "black birds/ [that] dispute light and speak with God, and only him" has two connotations (Campos lines 10-11). One of them is related to the common Jewish Messianic motif of the Davidic Messiah's second return to the Mount of Olives and the creation of the kingdom of God that depends on Israel's⁽¹⁵⁾

salvation. Daniel Juster and Peter Hocken point out that the “Messianic Jewish congregations seek to promote a faith in Yeshua as Messiah of Israel ... This normally involves holding their weekly congregational worship on the Jewish Sabbath, either Friday evening or Saturday during the day ...” (6-7). The second connotation is related to Bhabha’s thoughts on otherness, and the pejorative colonial discourse and Spivak’s image of the non-speaking subaltern. Though the verse presents the idea of human dialogue, it hides the poet’s advocacy of some of the Messianic Jewish beliefs:

From the clear heights of Mount Scopus
morning and evening I ponder the hills,
and the round cupola of the Dome of the Rock
glows golden in the center, and on the lower side
of the Mount of Olives glow the gold cupolas of the Russian
Church of Mary Magdalene, which seems like it’s standing
On a scaffolding of air

Later on and once more on the bus

I descend the mount to the city on a sunny Friday,
and I go through neighborhoods where black birds

Dispute light and speak with God, and only him (Campos lines 1-11).

The interchange between the aesthetic and theological textures reveals that Campos is considered to be a Christian Zionist who advocates an adherence to Jewish Messianism. Campos’s subtext, which involves a dialogue of sin and redemption, is understood as a call for the return of the Jewish people to the land of Zion. Supporting the Israeli colonial legacies in Palestine, the poet has a Jewish Messianic belief that Israel’s redemption will lead to the nation’s resettlement in the land. This prophetic message in the Jewish Christian scriptures precedes the second return of a Davidic Messiah, the constitution of the temple of Yahweh and the future prosperity of the Israelis and the whole nations. Gerald R. McDermott stresses that Christian Zionists “assume that in the future, the members of Israel of the Messiah Jesus will enjoy life in the land God promised in a reconstituted Davidic Kingdom” (138). The quoted phrase in the verse line “I think with good reason that ‘reason produces monsters’ is an allusion to Francisco Goya’s etching “The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters” (Campos line 21). Discussing ideas like the constant struggle between members of goodness and evilness and the mystery of life creation, this etching shows an influence of the Jewish Kabbalah literature and mysticism in the aesthetic experience. The Jewish Christian narrative of Judith and Holofernes written in *The Book of Judith* and the idea of divine justice inspire Goya’s artworks. This can be related

to the context of Campos's allusion to *The Book of Hosea* and the temple of God in the line "that reason and heart and temple don't join with the rule" (22). The poetic choice of the word "temple" can be an allegorical reference to the Jewish people of Bethulia and how Judith's belief in God helped her to defeat and kill Holofernes. "[T]he Hebrew word *betulah* was understood as *bêt éloah*, which meant the house of the Lord, that is the Temple in the Old Testament or the city of Jerusalem, a prototype in the New Testament for the Christian Church" (Cheney 156). In the verse lines the researcher expounds Campos's theological references to introduce an image of subaltern subjects and the stereotype:

I reflect on the plight of the Middle East,
more indecipherable than cuneiform script,
where little is ceded and then not given,
and I think with good reason that "reason produces monsters,"
that reason and heart and temple don't join with the rule,
that death befriends undying death.

I go down to king George Street, cross it,
go straight until Ben Hillel and see how the dozens
of skeletal cats multiply, passing and surpassing, mathematically
speaking, the number of beggars.

In the winter months – they tell me – it poured
and the water voices of John and Jesus came down
to the waters of the sea of Galilee and along the Jordan (Campos
lines 18-30).

Justifying the Israeli colonial existence in Palestine, Campos's messianic ideas create a state of ambivalence and portray the two stereotypical images of the colonized savage and the ironically benign colonizer. The poet makes an allusion to the colonized as the "monsters" and "beggars" who are subject to the imperial hegemony of the colonial discourse and the colonizer as descendants of the "voices of John and Jesus" (Campos lines 21-27). However, Bhabha believes "that the point of intervention should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of the *processes of subjectification* made possible (and plausible) though stereotypical discourse" (67). In other words, Bhabha points out that neither the colonizer nor the colonial discourse has superior power over the colonized. This is because the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is one of a mutual interdependence. The repetitive nature of stereotypes exposes its inadequacy being based on a falsification of truth. For instance, Campos's repetitive description of the Arabs/ Palestinian subalterns as "beggars," the people who are "begging" and "monsters" reveals that these

stereotypes are unreliable (lines 21-27). Though he displaces the identity of the Palestinians, Campos's apparent call for a human interaction between Arabs and Israelis pertains to ambivalence of colonial discourse. Thus, the poet refers to the Arabic name "Sea of Galilee" so as to defend the existence of a multicultural society in Palestine (Campos line 25). However, he also makes an allusion to the Zionist writer Mordechai "Ben-Hillel" Hachoen (line 25). Being skeptical that the Arabs, even if they are Christians, can be civilized citizens, he gives an image of the noble savage. This interplay between inclusion – exclusion shows that the colonized has an active agency which drives the colonizer to pretend to respect his existence. However, the researcher believes that Campos's poem depicts an image of the silent subaltern that lost its agency.

The Jewish Messianic references stress that Campos is a representative of the dominant colonial subject position and maintain an analysis of Spivak's views about silence and silencing of subaltern. As mentioned before, Campos's diagram of "heart and Temple" is an allegorical reference to *The Book of Hosea*⁽¹⁶⁾, giving prophetic implications of the future rebirth of Israel (line 22). Defining ideas of European integration and Christian Zionist unity, Campos's language of a colonial prejudice fabricates truth. From a Zionist Christian perspective, the Jewish-Christian bonds "of Johan and Jesus" should be a motivation to stress the Jewish ideology of Palestine (Campos line 29). Campos's denial of the sovereign identity of the Palestinian subalterns stresses Spivak's viewpoint that "[t]here is no space from which the [...] subaltern can speak" (103). Stigmatizing the Arab Palestinians as a group of "beggars" and evil agents or "monsters," he gives a vision of the voiceless controlled other (Campos lines 21-27). As an instance of colonial aggression Campos refers to the identity of Eliezer "Ben Yehuda" so as to implicitly indicate that the prophetic revival of Israel should be part of the revival of the Hebrew language and Jewish identity of Palestine (line 31). Being incapable of self-reflection and answering the colonizer back without using the same colonial discourse of stereotypes, Spivak believes that the colonized subaltern is silent. Though this silence does not mean that it is unable to speak, the verse discloses the truly absence of the subaltern's agency.

Reviewing subaltern studies, Campos sets the main paradigm for the otherization of the Palestinians who are treated as if they were non-citizens and denied equal nationality rights. The poetic discourse differentiates between the conditions of the civilized sovereign Israeli colonizer and the uncivilized non-sovereign Palestinian colonized. Doty points out that "the positivity of terms such as *civilized* and *uncivilized* is subverted in that the difference expresses something identical to the

reason/ instinct difference, the superior/ inferior difference, the sovereign/ dependent difference" (46). Campos's manipulation of language derogation in his description of the Palestinian subalterns appears as if it were part of a call for strengthened collaboration and mutual respect between them and the Israeli colonizers who ironically have sovereign power:

I get to Yaffo Street
Young Soldiers, women and men,
with fingers on the trigger,
rifles pointed at their faces,
defend their childhood and the childhood of others. (Campos lines 37-41).

The verse exposes an image of the silent Palestinian subaltern that is subject to imperialist power and the feelings of Jewish supremacy and exceptionalism. Setting the main framework of subalternization, the Palestinian "others" do not have access to political power (Campos line 41). This depiction of a Jewish Messianic hegemony over the Palestinian lands enhances the image of the Palestinians as a non-sovereign nation. Double silence of the Palestinian subalterns are due to their inability to represent themselves and the denial of their agency in the poetic discourse. Loomba stresses that "Spivak reads this absence as emblematic of the difficulty of recovering the voice of the oppressed subject and proof that 'there is non space from where the subaltern [...] subject can speak'" (195). Thus, the poet gives a stereotypical image of the Spivakian subaltern that is unrecognized and thereby lost a capacity for self-reflexivity. As a western writer who does not interact or communicate with the Palestinian subalterns, he does not have knowledge to represent them. According to Binebai "[t]o pull down the subaltern wall there must be a positive and fruitful interaction between the colonized and the colonizer such that the colonized status of voicelessness will be changed to produce voice and liberties demanded" (210). Though the poet's language apparently eliminates the discrepancies between the silenced Palestinian subalterns who cannot speak and the Israeli colonizers, the researcher's analysis shows that Campos's intentions are quite the opposite:

*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
May those who love you be secure.
Pray to the lord, let us pray for him
So he does not live in sadness and misfortune.*

.....
Down Yaffo steet, Israeli girls,

Mediterranean freshness, airy,
With bared navels and lush breasts.
Your mouth tastes like honey,
Wine dripping from it.

Beautiful are the daughters of Jerusalem,
more desirable than fig trees bearing fruit,
flock of doves flying toward the hollow of boulders. (Campos
lines 42-57).

Celebrating a unity between the land of Zion and the Israeli nation, a Zionist interpretation of the Judeo-Christian scriptures expose imperial hegemony and create a bond between subalternity and supplement. Intertextual allusion appears in Campos's first italicized lines which start with "pray for the peace of Jerusalem" (line 42). Citing verses from *Psalms 122* (Song of Zion), the poet depicts voices of Israelites who are in their pilgrimage route to the Davidic Temple so as to experience God's benevolence and protection. This pilgrim psalm is symbolic of the fulfillment of a Jewish Messianic prophecy of the establishment of the state of Israel and the restoration of the Davidic Kingdom. Campos's intertextual allusion to this *Psalms* reveals a discourse of Anglo-Jewish Coalition. Thus, "Christians [who believe in the Jewish apocalyptic thoughts] have a spiritual obligation to bless Israel and 'pray for the peace of Jerusalem'. To fail to bless Israel, to fail to support Israel's political survival today will incur divine judgment" (Chetty 303). From a charismatic Christian point of view, Campos's ideas, which revolve around Jewish national redemption defending the right of Israelis to a historic homeland in Palestine, point to the plight of the silent Palestinian subaltern. The poet delineates the Arab identity while referring to the colonizer as the psalmist, "Israeli girls," and "daughters of Jerusalem" (Campos lines 50-550). This monotonous speech of imperialism shows that the underclass of Palestinians is subject to the Israeli's agency. According to Morton, "Spivak suggests that the logic of exclusion that both defines and threatens the coherence of western philosophical discourse is equivalent to the political logic of exclusion that defines the hegemonic discourse of elite bourgeois nationalist historiography" (104). This perception of the imperial self and other forges that the silent subaltern is under the surveillance of the colonizer who usurps its voice and agency. Therefore, the hegemonic discourse hints to a brief view of the supplement. The talks about Israel's righteousness are denied and attacked due to a depiction of the Israeli apartheid regime and the genocide of the Palestinian subaltern. This drives the poet to write and find out supplements to his defence for this colonial existence. The supplements take the form of the diverse theological allusions that are

written in different parts of the poem, supporting and defening the supposed legal bonds between the sons of Zion and their land. The dominant imperial discourse reveals the tight coercion over the colonial subjects being silent and silenced.

Campos's citation of verses of *The Song of Song*, expounds a thematic analysis about Jewish Messianism, thus giving a future possibility for an opposition of subalternity. Campos's intertextual allusion to this solomonic song is allegorical of God/ Yahweh's benevolence toward his Jewish people. From a Jewish Messianic perspective, "God is the beloved male (the dod) and Israel is the/ female lover. But among the multifarious interpretations that appear in classical rabbinic literature, there was a line of exegesis that saw the beloved as the hoped-for Messiah" (Kozodoy 121). Thus, Campos's citation of this song⁽¹⁷⁾ is meant as a form of a theological justification for the Israeli colonial existence in Palestine. Throughout the poem, Campos repetitively mentions the noun "mount" which is the place where the Davidic Messiah is expected to return and God/ Yahweh will be in unity with his allegedly chosen people (Campos lines 1-134). Defending the return of the Israeli nation to the land, Campos implicitly states that this Zionist existence in Palestine is part of a fulfillment of a Jewish Messianic prophecy which announces the beginning of the Messianic age and the prosperity of all the nations.

Though the researcher's viewpoint is that Campos's poem depicts an image of the Spivakian silent subaltern, the theological references rather give postcolonial perspectives on the ability of the subaltern to speak. The colonizers/ "Young soldiers," "Israeli girls," and "daughters of Jerusalem," are anxious to fixate on portraying the identity of the colonized as inferior to them (Campos lines 38-55). Stereotypical language "effectively displays the 'separation,' makes separation which, in denying the colonized the capacities of self-government, independence, Western modes of civility, lends authority to the official version and mission of colonial power" (Bhabha 83). Campos's verse introduces an agonistic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The subaltern "beggars" are portrayed as descendants to the villainous character Holofernes and the sovereign colonizer is called as the "daughters of Jerusalem" whose desirable beauty resembles that of the chaste Judith, the saviour of the Israeli nation and an archetype of Virgin Mary (Campos lines 27-55). David Huddart relates these stereotypical distinctions to a moment of fixation which exposes the phantasmatic world of colonial knowledge. Campos's repetition of stereotypes, so as to stage a view of subalterns that are stripped of their identity, indicates that they have unstable nature. Bhabha relates stereotype to the Lacanian "mirror phase" and the metaphoric and metaonymic

structure of colonial language (77). Metaphor shows that the colonizers are anxious to defend and protect their narcissistic ego as “daughters of Jerusalem” (Campos line 55). On the other hand, metonymy exposes the colonial aggression of the Israeli “[y]oung soldiers” and their control over the subaltern (Campos line 38). Huddart asserts that “[t]he colonizer aggressively states his superiority to the colonized, but is anxiously contemplating his own identity, which is never quite as stable as his aggression implies” (43). In other words, the ability of the colonized to return the colonial gaze and oppose subalternity poses a menace for the colonizer’s identity.

Based on the use of apparently unbiased language, the poet claims to create an equal status contact between various ethnicities, however, the colonial discourse obscures the underlying discrepancies and racial prejudice between the colonizing and colonized subjects. Pretending to remove racial distinctions between the dominant and the silent subaltern, Campos manipulates the use of an inclusive language. The poet’s use of a parallel structure in “for every clod, for every shared” and “for each splinter” is meant to create the impression that there are symmetric relations between the silenced Palestinian Arabs and the Christian Zionists (Campos lines 77-78). This is the first impression which the readers get when they notice an equivalent set of group proportions in the poetic description “of Christians and Arabs, Jews and Turks” (Campos line 75). It is as if the poet were stating that there should be a Palestinian-Israeli peace process between all the several ethnic people living in the land. However, this poetic vision is in fact impartial because it implies that the Palestinian subalterns and the Israelis have equal nationality and citizenship rights. “Thus, in order to listen for subaltern voices we need to uncover the multiplicity of narratives that were hidden by the grand narratives, but we still need to think about how the former are woven together” (Loomba 200). Since the researcher’s analysis shows that the poet has a unilateral vision of a Jewish Messianic perspective, the Palestinian subalterns are denied a space in which they speak themselves. The discourse on subalternity involves a discussion of Pramod Nayar’s belief in ““continuing colonialism”” and the Spivakian rejection of Eurocentric humanism (Nayar 95). In the verse Campos equates between people speaking semitic languages and living in Palestine. On the other hand, the poet’s Eurocentric standards creates a form of a Judeo-Christian alliance, giving racial supremacy for Christians and Jews who are mentioned in the beginning of the pair parts. Treating the Palestinian Arabs as if they were a minority like “Turks” this proves that Campos does not represent the subaltern voice (line 75). To this point Doty adds that “[t]erms such as *civilized*, *benevolent*, and *rational* exhibited a

mobility that enabled humanistic values to be invoked in justification of practices of subjugation, torture, and oppression" (47). Rather than giving a representation of the Palestinian subaltern, the poetic discourse exposes the disenfranchisement of the non-sovereign native subjects in their lands: I arrive to the Old City, the center of upright heaven for nations and lands, where the crossfire of Christians and Arabs, Jews and Turks, pierces the white in leaf in the dove's beak.

.....
fruitlessly, absurdly, they've sacrificed millions without the life of a donkey or camel changing at all. (Campos lines 73-80).

Making allusions to Saint Francis of Assisi and the Custody of the Holy Land, intertextuality is manipulated so as to misrepresent the historical events, giving a disparaged image of the subaltern subjects. In spite of mentioning the Arabic name "el-Jadid" or Babal-Jadid, Campos's verse marginalizes the Arab identity (line 87). The message that is hidden in the discourse is that the existence of Eurocentric ideology was for a civilizing mission in Palestine. Rather than referring to the achievements of Sultan Malik Al-Kamil, Campos's implicit portrayal of the Ayyubid dynasty and the Palestinian subalterns are stated in a sarcastic manner. Historically the friar "Frères"/ or "St. Francis"⁽¹⁸⁾ of Assisi came to Palestine so as to publish peace principles of the Christ (Campos line 88). However, the incidents of St. Francis' journey and his encounter with Muslim Sentries have implications of the devilish and uncivilized character of the Arabs. Moreover, Campos employs this intertextual allusion to indicate a Jewish Messianic message, justifying the existence of the Israeli Colonizers who should civilize the Arab savages. The paradox is that Eurocentric universality defends the ideological superiority of the Christian Zionists who should have the controlling power over the othered indigenous subaltern:

I arrive to the New Gate and from el-Jadid
I go down Frères Street and St. Francis
and Arabs Cry at the top of their lungs
begging and clamoring for the return
of the years of the curved sword and bulging Pockets. (Campos lines 87-91).

Since the silent Palestinian subalterns do not have a voice, Campos introduces a paradigm of an imperial discourse of otherness and difference. As a non representative of the voiceless subaltern, the poet postulates the reasons for the sovereignty of the Eurocentric/ Christian

Zionist ideology over the third Worlders/ the Palestinians. Pramod Nayar states three main points as indications of continuing colonialism and its relation to the phenomenon of subalternity:

- The *cultural* marginalization of specific groups and communities whereby their cultural practices are mocked, legally proscribed or made difficult to practice,
- The *economic* marginalization of groups where employment and trade are restricted to dominant groups,
- The *political* disenfranchisement of groups through stringent laws of voting, housing or employment (96).

All the three elements are obvious in case of the subaltern Palestinian life and Campos's biased discourse of self-image and the other. Campos metaphorically portrays the Palestinian sublaterns as a group of "begg[ers]" who is "clamoring for the return of" the days of Islamic civilization (line 90). It is a form of a colonial knowledge production of a nation that is considered culturally and economically backward. Moreover, Spivak's discussion of the international division of labour system shows how it leads to the impoverishment of the Palestinians. Thus, Campos's poetic discourse involves a politics of systematizing differences between the colonizer and the colonized. The poet justifies the atrocities against the Easterners/ Palestinians who should be transformed into civilized Israelis and appreciates the Judeo-Christian civilization⁽¹⁹⁾. A deconstructivist perspective can maintain Spivak's vision of strategic essentialism which helps the Palestinian sublaterns to regain their voice, represent themselves and overcome the imposition of colonial binaries.

Though ambivalence sustains an internal subversion of the power of colonial discourse, Campos's Jewish Messianic views give an image of the silent subaltern. According to Parry "because he [Bhabha] maintains that relations of power and knowledge function ambivalently, he argues that a discursive system split in enunciation constitutes a dispersed and variously positioned native who by (mis) appropriating the terms of the dominant ideology is able to intercede against and resist this mode of construction" (23). However, the colonized is still unable to write a text which is totally different from that of the colonial voice. The researcher disagrees with Parry's viewpoint that Spivak depicts an image of a silent subaltern, while Bhabha's views reflect on the possibility of the subaltern to speak. This is because neither of them denies the ability of the colonized to speak. Though ambivalence gives some sort of power to the colonized, Campos's lines, which describe the imperial hegemony of the

colonizer, do not give a space for the suppressed subaltern to speak. This monotonous viewpoint of the colonizer as ironically the righteous landowners and the colonial subject as the outsider proves Spivak's perspective of the non-speaking subaltern. The verse expounds an image of the silent subaltern who cannot write an alternative discourse to imperial hegemony which further silences it. Campos's verse reveals a state of ambivalence, which takes the form of conflicted feelings of inclusion and exclusion of the silent subaltern:

*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, city of peace,
even though one gathers up the holey
body of his brother from the roadside.*

.....
*This is Jerusalem, which the Lord has set
in the center of the nations, with countries all around her.*

Mosque, church or synagogue,
God multiplied by one until becoming many.
He returns, with bread and fishes, wine
and cup, to end up bleeding down

the back streets and squares of the Old City. (Campos lines 92-115)

Having Jewish Messianic symbolism, the verse reveals an encounter between the metonymic other and the metaphoric self and maintains a discourse on mimicry and ambivalence in the relationship between colonizer/ colonized. Campos begins this part of verse with another allusion to *Psalms 122*. The poet's recurrent reference to this Psalm pertains to the meaning of the Hebraic word "Aliyah" which is said as a recital by the Jewish pilgrims connoting to the restoration of the Israeli nation to the land of Zion. Furthermore, Campos's proclamation that "[t]his is Jerusalem, which the Lord has set/ in the center of the nations" is another allusion to verses from *The Book of Ezekiel* (lines 109-110). E. Westerman's comment on this book enhances the Jewish Messianic idea of the second return of the Davidic Yeshua whose appearance will redeem nations. Reading *The Book of Ezekiel*, it is allegedly indicated that God's "goal is to ultimately dwell in the midst of Israel and Zion, in a time in which also many nations will seek the Lord and will be His People" (Westerman 81). Following a chronological order, Campos stresses that after the years of the Exodus, the time has come for the return of the Holy "One" of "God" (line 112). Thus, metaphorically the recitation of a part of *Psalms 122*, which is sung in the Jewish feast of Sukkot, stresses the spiritual and physical rebirth of Israel. This should be subsequently followed by the return of the Davidic Messiah so as "to end up bleeding down/ the black streets" (Campos lines 114-115). It is

obvious that, Campos creates a discourse that is full of contradictory feelings. However, it should be logical like all the other colonial discourses. For instance, in this part of verse, the poet claims to be a supporter of religious inclusivism. Therefore, he stresses that whether in “Mosque, church or synagogue/ God [is] One” (Campos lines 111-112). For a while, the reader gets the impression that the poet, who calls for an inter-religious dialogue, partially defends the rights of the Palestinians, treating them as citizens equal in rights to the Israeli settlers. However, Campos previously assimilates them to a group of “beggars” or even to an animal image of “skeletal cats” (lines 26-90). According to Doty “[i]n one instance the “other” is represented as a human being potentially identical to one self. This is reflected in policies of conversion and assimilation. However, this “other” is always fixed as a partial presence of the self” (40). As an instance of Bhabha’s mimicry, Campos believes that the identity of the colonized should be subsequent to the colonizer. Hence, the colonized is a subaltern whose identity is a partial imitation of that of the colonizer.

The researcher analyses how the non-voice of the subaltern discloses ambivalence and an interchange between feelings of self-anxiety and colonial otherness. In this part of verse, Campos treats the Palestinians as humans, though he enforces the ideological superiority of Christian Zionists. Campos’s metaphorical image of “God multiplied by one until becoming many” involves an indication of a belief in pentecostalism (line 112)⁽²⁰⁾. Whether in pentecostalism or “in apocalyptic Christianity the restoration and conversion of the Jews have often been regarded as signs of the endtime and of the return of Christ being imminent” (Pieterse 76). Though the poet, for the first time, observes the Palestinians as citizens or semi-citizens, his lines expose a viewpoint of the Israelis as God’s chosen people whose existence in Palestine is unquestionable. Moreover, Campos makes another allusion to St. Augustine’s *City of God* ⁽²¹⁾. Augustine’s book describes two cities, the heavenly and the earthly one. Those who believe in the principles of the Davidic Messiah belongs to the first city, while those who rejects them belongs to the second one. The poet sets a borderline between the Zionist Christians who adhere to the beliefs of the Holy God of one and the other citizens who is “multiplied by ... many” other faith traditions (Campos line 112). This Jewish Messianic interpretation of Campos’s lines expounds a model of Bhabha’s ambivalence. Campos’s repetition of verses from the Hebrew scriptures reveals that he is metaphorically anxious about the Zionist Christian self. Though ambivalence undermines the authoritative power of colonial discourse, still the verse enforces subalternity on the silent colonial subject:

I reached the outside of the city, at the top of the mount,
I see the inconsolable tears of a mother,
I see the executioner nailing his own hands, and I think
that maybe, someday, someday, when the just
are really just, and the patient in spirit
can't hear the fool's song,
when the name of the evil one is frayed and
the fraudulent hero and martyr succumb,
when weeping is not the time of trial and misfortune,
summer will become a swallow, the sun will see its glow
in the fruit of an orange tree and the old wine
will be drunk in new wineskins.

And the streets of Jerusalem

Will be filled with boys and girls at play. (Campos lines 134-147)

At the end of the poem Campos, who speaks as an oracle suppressing the voice of the Palestinian subaltern, draws three main allusions to indicate that the timeline for the Messianic Age should now begin. The first allusion is metaphorically of "the fruit of an orange tree" which has messianic connotations to the Jewish festival of Sukkot (Campos line 144). Orange is one of the main plants⁽²²⁾ which commemorate the memory of Jewish exodus and how God's benevolence has saved the Jewish nation from starvation. Being symbolic of sukkot, the citrus fruit can also be indicative of the end of Jewish diaspora, the restoration of the Israelites to the land of Zion and Israel's rebirth. In Jewish Apocalyptic literature and Apocalyptic Christianity, these are the main events which precede the Davidic Messiah's return. Enhancing the theme of a Messianic Jewish alliance, Campos's allusion to the "orange tree" is symbolic of the tree of life known in Jewish Kabbalah literature (line 144). Ameisenowa adds that "[q]uite early in prophetic writings, especially in the books of Ezekiel and Zechariah, the Psalms and the Proverbs, the tree of life is associated with the Judgment, with life after death, the Messiah and the new Jerusalem" (329-330). From a Christian Zionist perspective, Campos believes that Israel's rebirth ends the tribulation of death known as The Great Tribulation in Jerusalem. Hence, the poet introduces another allusion to the messianic parable of "New Wine in Old Wine Skin". Symbolically, in apocalyptic messianism, the messianic era is a continuation of Judaism. Therefore, Campos reverses the order of the two adjectives "old" and "new" in the parable's title "the old wine/ will be drunk in new wineskins" (lines 144-145). In order to sustain his Christian Zionist viewpoints, the poet creates a bond between the three allusions of the tree of life, Jesus's parable and the third one of *The Book of Zechariah*. As an intertextual

allusion to the latter, the poet cites the lines “[a]nd the streets of Jerusalem/ will be filled with boys and girls at play,” defending a normalization with Israel (Campos lines 146-147). Hence, the poet’s citation of verses of the Hebrew scriptures, that are interpreted from a Christian Zionist perspective, is part of a colonial maneuver. Campos attempts to create a world viewpoint which claims that the existence of the Israeli identity in Palestine will lead to the era of Heavenly Jerusalem or the new Jerusalem where nations supposedly enjoy peace.

This colonial perspective, which leads to the imminent silence of the Palestinian subaltern, reveals instances of stereotype and expounds a discussion on ambivalence. As a main principle of Jewish Messianism, Campos advocates a return to the Hebrew roots of Christianity. The researcher exposes the world of fake realism which maintains the power of stereotypical discourse. Stereotypes are often expressions of personal disbeliefs. Therefore, “[t]he subjects of the discourse are constructed within an apparatus of power which *contains* ... an ‘other’ knowledge – a knowledge that is arrested and fetishistic and circulates through colonial discourse as that limited from the otherness ...” (Bhabha 77-78). At the concluding lines of the poem, Campos attempts to otherize and domesticate the identity of the silent Palestinian subaltern. Therefore, the poet writes in a biased language portraying this third world subaltern as “the evil one,” and “the fraudulent hero” who whistles a “fool’s song” (Campos lines 140-141). The poet attempts to falsify reality and fabricate excuses, so as to enforce ideological control over the eastern subjugated subaltern. Campos’s discourse, which metonymically denotes colonial aggression, fixates the identity of the colonized as the inferior. Usurping agency of the Palestinian subaltern, the poet enumerates this set of stereotypes without declaring to whom they are attributed. Campos’s repetitive chain of stereotypes shows that “[t]o be civilized was to be superior, which was to be rational, which was to be civilized, and so on. To be uncivilized was to be inferior, which was to be ruled by instinct and passion” (Doty 46). Since each stereotype is used for a particular reason different from one another, Campos’s indirect description of the silent subaltern as “the executioner” stages an image of the colonizer as a victim (line 136). Though both the colonizer and the colonized are victims of colonial language, in Bhabha’s viewpoint, the repetitive nature of Campos’s stereotypical discourse shows that he is metaphorically anxious to protect his colonial self. Even his repetitive use of allusions questions the nature of their realism and exposes their fake duality. This is because they are meant to depict the Israelis as landowners and chosen people, even if they do not have legal ownership rights to the lands. From a Lacanian perspective, the fake duality of the colonial stereotype

involves ambivalence. Campos claims to attack all the "evil one[s]"/agents on both sides, however his discourse reveals the opposite, allying with the Zionist ideology (line 140). This explains the Spivakian viewpoint indicating "that attempts to speak for the subaltern, to enable the subaltern to speak, or even to listen to the subaltern can very easily end up silencing the subaltern" (Andreotti 40). Based on his Jewish Messianic views, Campos defends the Jewish right of return to the land of Zion where the third temple "mount" is supposed to be allocated to replace Al-Aqsa mosque (line 134). Thus, he silences the Arab Muslim identity of the Eastern Palestinian subaltern. However, this does not mean that the non-speaking subaltern cannot devise strategies to answer back the myths of this eurocentric Christian Zionism.

The researcher's postcolonial analysis of Amichai's poem "From Jerusalem 1967" reveals the poet's motives for supporting the principles of Jewish Messianism. Homi Bhabha's views on colonial discourse shows that neither the colonizer nor the colonized has an absolute power. Celebrating the expansion of the Israeli colonial settlements in Palestine after the 1967 war, Amichai's poem stages an image of the suppressed Palestinian subaltern. However, the researcher's poetic analysis, which expounds Bhabha's perspectives on the ambivalent nature of colonial discourse, the colonizer/ colonized archetype and mimicry, shows the ability of the colonized subaltern to have its own voice. According to Bhabha, the tropes of metaphor and metonymy and the Lacanian concepts of narcissism and aggression expose ambivalence of colonial discourse. Thus, metaphor foreshadows a state of colonial anxiety while metonymy reflects aversion and leads to colonial aggression. The latter leads to Amichai's attempt to give a misleading conception of the colonizer as a victim who suffers from two exodus journeys. Moreover, supporting his Jewish Messianic scheme, Amichai draws a number of historical allusions to Belshazzar's dynasty and to Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem. The poet/ colonizer, who is anxious to defend the Jewish ideology of Palestine, aspires to persuade the Zionist Christian readers that the war of 1967 is a form of historical repetition which allegedly restores Jews to the land. However, Amichai's later description of a relationship polarity between "two lovers" or the colonizer and the colonized gives power to the oppressed subaltern and refutes a belief in the colonizer's absolutism. Furthermore, in Amichai's poem the colonized has an ability for self-reflection, redirecting silence towards the colonizer. The ability of the colonized to return silence/ colonial gaze and thereby the use of mimicry as a form of power subversion can create an image of a speaking subaltern. In spite of Amichai's depiction of

Jerusalem as if it were the Davidic city, ambivalence and repetition of historical allusions and stereotypes deconstruct the power of colonial discourse, thus exposing a Jewish Messianic maneuver.

Writing from a Charismatic Christian point of view, Campos's poem advocates Jewish supremacy, giving reflections on postcolonial thoughts and Spivakian subalternity. Parry and Loomba believe that Spivak's discourse heightens the silence of the suppressed subaltern and even denies its ability to have its own voice. However, in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak's attack on the imperial and patriarchal hegemony is not meant to portray the stigmatized identity of the silent subaltern who cannot speak. She further stresses that this silence of the subaltern is the result of the non-radical change of the authoritative systems which subjugate a colonial other. Even though the subaltern silence is due to the hegemonic power of a colonial, masculine language, which obliterates its identity, the subaltern can form a new historic block. Moreover, from a Spivakian perspective, this heterogenous, distressed class can devise distinguished modes of self-representation and self-reflection and react against its silence. Giving an image of the non-sovereign agency of the Palestinian subaltern, Campos's poem involves religious allusions to the Jewish and Christian scriptures that are misinterpreted, so as to reflect the views of Jewish Messianism. Campos claims to support an inclusive vision which defends the rights of the Palestinians, the Jews and all the minorities in Jerusalem. However, the researcher's postcolonial analysis of the ambivalence of his colonial discourse and his use of a stereotypical language in his representation of the Arab identity expose an intention to silencing the Palestinian subaltern. Thus, the poet has a belief in Eurocentrism, protecting racial superiority of Christian Zionists and enhancing inferiority of the third Worlders/ Palestinian subalterns. Moreover, as a non-representative of the silenced Palestinian subaltern, Campos makes a historical allusion to Saint Francis of Assisi and to Goya's etching "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters". Having a Jewish Messianic scheme, the verse exposes a dichotomy between the silent noble savage and the sovereign Israeli colonizer whose existence in Palestine is now legalized as part of a civilizing mission. In order to enforce subaltern silence of the Palestinian other, Campos attempts to device supplements to support the righteousness of his Jewish Messianic dialogue. Therefore, all his allegorical references revolve around the belief that Israel's repentance will lead to a restoration of the nation to the land of Zion and thereby the future regeneration of the Messiah Yeshua. A number of scholarly publications helps the researcher to develop her postcolonial study of the Jewish Messianic views in the two poems of

Amichai and Campos. This pertains to a vision of strategic essentialism and how the third world subaltern can develop its voice.

(1) Thomas Baylis exposes the Zionist colonial motives of the war of 1967 which mainly involves a strategic policy of land confiscation and how the indigenous citizens of Palestine turn to be refugees. See: Thomas, Baylis. "History of the Arab-Israeli Wars (1949-1974)". *The Dark Side of Zionism: Israel's Quest for Security Through Dominance*. Lexington Books, pp. 57-83.

(2) Ironically, Ilan Pappé indicated that Zionists, Amichai as a representative, deny God's existence, however they have a religious allegiance to the idea of the promised land. See: Pappé, Ilan. *Ten Myths about Israel*. Verso, 2017, pp. 192.

(3) By Amichai's poetic choice of "70 After," he most probably refers to one of the Zionist studies that trace the history of the Jewish settlements. See: L. Avneri, Arieh. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-Settlement and the Arabs 1878-1948*. Translated by Kfar-Blum Translation Group. Routledge, 2017, pp. 7-301.

(4) To discuss the colonial origins of inequality the reader can review Khalidi, Rashid. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Bacon Press, 2006, pp. ix-267.

(5) For Further information concerning the land acquisition law and Israel's relentless land grabs, the reader can review Forman, Jeremy. "From Arab Land to 'Israel Lands': the Legal Dispossession of the Palestinians Displaced by Israel in the Wake of 1948". *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 22, 2004, pp. 809-830,

Citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.608.4382&rep1&type=pdf. Accessed 10 January 2020. See also Zureik, Elia. "Colonialism, Surveillance, and Population Control: Israel/ Palestine." *Surveillance and Control in Israel/ Palestine: Population, Territory and Power*. Edited by Zureik, Elia et al. Routledge, 2011, pp. 3-47.

(6) The word "imago" is used by J. Lacan in "The Mirror Stage" to indicate self-image. See p. 76 in Lacan, Jacques. "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience". *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*. Translated by Fink, Bruce. W. W. Norton & Company, 2006, pp. 74-81. Penn Arts & Sciences, <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~cavitch/pdf-library/> Accessed 12 February 2020.

(7) Marilyn Sams refutes the Zionist story which considers the Western Wall as a Jewish site. She gives archeological documents which prove that the Solomonic Temple has never existed in the site of the Dome of the Rock. See Sams, Marilyn. *The Jerusalem Temple Mount Myth*. Marilyn Sams, Publisher, 2014, pp. 1-320.

(8) Ironically, the researcher advocates the reader to watch a film known as the "Zionist Story" by Ronen Berelovich, an Israeli ex-reserve soldier, exposing the land confiscation and the genocide of the Palestinians.

(9) One of the notable references which debunk the mythical convention that the Israelis are the chosen people is Sand, Shlomo. *The Invention of the Jewish People*. Translated by Lotan, Yael. Verso, 2009, pp. ix-327.

(10) The readers can watch "children of Jerusalem," a film which expounds short narratives of a number of children who descend (come) from various ethnicities living under the Zionist Israeli regime.

(11) For a further discussion of the roots and foundation of the Messianic Jewish movement in Jerusalem and its bond of unity with the Zionist movement, the reader can listen to Dr. Erez Soref's lectures regarding this point.

- (¹²) For a further discussion of Yahweh's divine benevolence for the children of Zion and a theological/ linguistic approach to the differences between the children of Zion and Jerusalem, the reader can review Oosting, Reinoud. *The Role of Zion/ Jerusalem in Isaiah 40-55: A Corpus-Linguistic Approach*. Brill, 2013, pp. ix-305.
- (¹³) For more information about David's wars with the Philistines and conquest of stronghold of Zion, the reader can review B. Dick, Michael. "The History of David's Rise to Power" and the Neo-Babylonian Succession Apologies". *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts*. Edited by F. Batto, Bernard and Kathryn L. Roberts. Eisenbrauns, 2004, pp. 3-21.
- (¹⁴) In order to gain information about the colour black and its implications of sinful deeds, see Idel, Moshe. "Jewish Resistance to and Critique of the Saturnization of Judaism". *Saturn's Jews: On the Witches' Sabbat and Sabbateanism*. Continuum, 2011, pp. 29-38.
- (¹⁵) Michael J. Vlach's "Israel's Repentance and The Kingdom of God" (2016) gives theological information about the expected Glory birth of Israel which is manipulated from a Jewish Messianic point of view to defend the colonial existence of Israel. See J. Vlach, Michael. "Israel's Repentance and the Kingdom of God". *MSJ*, vol. 27, no. 1, spring 2016, pp. 161-86, <https://tms.edu/m/TMS-Fall2016-Article-04.pdf>. Accessed 12 February 2020.
- (¹⁶) *The Book of Hosea* belongs to a Jewish Christian Scripture known as *The Twelve Prophets*. It discusses God's unconditional love for his Jewish people after their repentance from sins. See Lim, Boh H. and Daniel Castelo. "Introduction to the Theological Exegesis of the Book of Hosea". *Hosea (The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary THOTC)*. Eerdmans, 2015, pp. 27-42.
- (¹⁷) Many references tackle *The Song of Songs* as a historical document of Jewish journey to redemption after exile/ exodus in Egypt. See Longman III, Tremper and Peter Enns, editors. "3. Refrain in Song of Songs". *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry & Writings (The IVP Bible Dictionary Series)*. IVP Academic, 2008, pp. 643.
- (¹⁸) For further information about the encounter between Sultan Malik al-kamil and Saint Francis being hailed by the former, see Thoman OFS, Bret. *Saint Francis of Assisi: Passion, Poverty & the Man Who Transformed the Church*. TAN Books, 2016, pp. 256.
- (¹⁹) This pro-colonial discourse supports the reshaping of Palestinian national identity (Consciousness). It stresses "Spivak's account of strategic essentialism [which] is precisely an attempt to develop a more situated account of the agency of relatively disempowered social groups such as women, the colonized or the proletariat" (Morton 126).
- (²⁰) It is a movement which supports a Judeo-Christian affiliation and the existence of Israel. See Richie, Tony. *Essentials of Pentecostal Theology: An Eternal and Unchanging Lord Powerfully Present & Active by the Holy Spirit*. Resource Publications, 2020, pp. 250.
- (²¹) For further reading about the Messianic interpretation of Augustine's *City of God* and the Character analogy between Melchizedek and Christ, see p. 159 in Kroeker, P. Travis. "Is a Messianic Political Ethic Possible? Yoder Critically Considered". *Messianic Political Theology and Diaspora Ethics: Essays in Exile*. Cascade Books, 2017, pp. 144-173.
- (²²) For further information about the four plants that signify Sukkot's feast, see p. 49 in Frankel, Ellen and Betsy Platkin Teutsch, editors. "73. Etrog". *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Symbols*. A Jason Aronson Book, 1995, pp. xi-229.

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