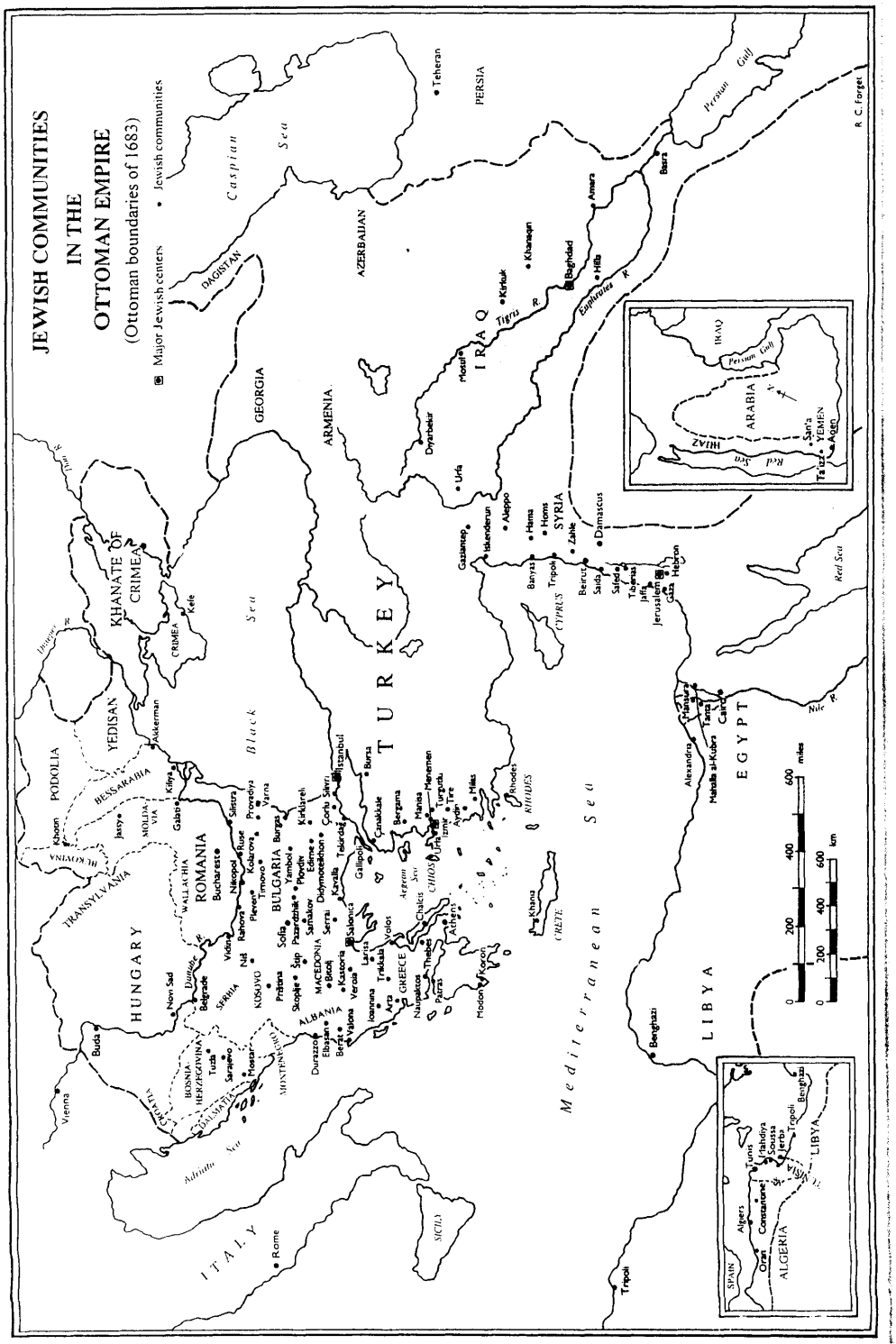


CHAPTER I

Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation

Halil İnalcık

The records of the Ottoman archives clearly indicate that in public life Jews performed important functions as advisors to the government, tax farmers, financial agents, and scribes. In economic life, in international and interregional trade, as well as in urban trades and industries, Jews also played a role of importance far beyond the size of their community. One can see the Jewish presence in all kinds of Ottoman archival documentation: in the *Mühimme,* or proceedings of the imperial council, in the registers and papers of the finance department, and in the court records of the *kadi,* or judge, which deal with legal and commercial transactions and administrative matters. On the activities of Jews only a fraction of these vast collections has so far been the subject of investigation.[1] The question before the historian is to explain why at a particular period of time the Ottomans demonstrated an exceptional interest in European Jewry, an interest that was indeed without precedent or equal in Islamic history.

The community of interests between Turks and Jews had a long history, going back to the early days of the Ottoman state. It was, however, the confluence of certain circumstances in the second half of the fifteenth century that led the Ottomans to show a particular interest in the Jews expelled from Spain. First, it must be recalled that following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the crusading fervor in Europe had reached its peak. On the other hand, the Spanish *reconquista,* resumed against the Muslims of al-Andalus, stirred an intense spirit of *jihad* in the Islamic world. In 1492 the fall of Granada was celebrated with religious processions throughout Europe. Ear-

lier, in 1490, the pope had invited all the Christian states to send delegates to Rome to discuss a full-fledged crusade against the Ottoman Empire. Prince Cem (Jem), the son of Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, was at the time held as a captive at the Vatican, and the Christian powers had intended to use him as a tool in their crusade. At the same time, Andalusian and North African Muslims attempted to attract the attention of the Ottoman sultan to their impending conquest by a crusading Spain. In 1477 they had sent a delegation to Mehmed the Conqueror to solicit his aid and protection. After the fall of Granada in 1492, the North African Muslims, fearing that the same fate would soon befall them, redoubled their efforts to secure Ottoman protection. Thus, in the Ottoman mind, Spain was a major antagonist, and the Ottomans made little distinction between the plight of the Andalusian Muslims and that of the Jews when both communities were threatened by Spain and both appealed for Ottoman aid and protection.[2]

By 1492 the patterns of Jewish immigration to Ottoman lands had been established for more than a century. Ever since the year 1360, when King Louis the Great of Hungary issued a decree expelling the Jews from his dominions, European Jewry had begun to look to the Ottoman territories as a sanctuary.[3] The Jews of Central Europe may have become aware at that time of the favorable conditions that existed for Jews in the Ottoman Balkans before 1453. Although this awareness did not result at the time in a mass Jewish migration to the Ottoman dominions, the Ottoman sources testify that there were prosperous, and growing, Jewish communities in Ottoman Balkan cities such as Edirne and Salonica in the period prior to 1453. It was, however, after the conquest of Constantinople that the Ottomans demonstrated their particular interest in the Jews by encouraging their immigration. This was the outcome of a rational and deliberate policy on the part of the Ottomans in response to a crusading Europe, where religious intolerance and persecution of Jews were on the rise. Mehmed the Conqueror must have been aware of the plight of the Jews in Europe when he encouraged them to take sanctuary in his territories. This attitude corresponded to the general policies of Mehmed II, who was then deeply preoccupied with the resettlement of his depopulated and ruined new capital, Istanbul, with a population possessing skills and financial resources.[4] The well-known circular letter of Isaac Sarfati (Yitzhak Tzarfati) gains credit when placed in this

context. Incidentally, this letter belongs, I believe, to Mehmed II's reign (1451–81), although Salo Baron is inclined to trace it back to the reign of Murad II (1421–51). Himself a refugee from Germany, Sarfati, in his letter, vigorously encouraged the Jews of Europe to immigrate to the Ottoman Empire, where "every man may dwell at peace under his own vine and fig-tree."[5] In view of the circumstances following the conquest of Constantinople, it is quite plausible that the sultan himself had Sarfati send out this circular to European Jewry.

At the time, Mehmed II's first and principal concern was to repopulate and restore the economic vitality of Istanbul. He wanted to bring and settle in his new capital as many Jews as possible. The Venetian district and the trade depots of the Latin nations, in the port area in particular, were completely destroyed during the capture of the city. These trading nations had formerly been in control of, and responsible for, much of the economic prosperity of the Byzantine capital. The well-to-do of Bursa and other Anatolian cities did not respond to Mehmed's order to come and settle in the ruined city. Also, as the Ottoman census of 1455 reveals,[6] many Turkish settlers soon returned to their original homes in Anatolia and Rumeli. For the reconstruction of the city, the sultan realized that he needed people with mercantile skills and capital. The same census shows that many abandoned houses and entire districts were then taken over by Jewish settlers from Balkan and Anatolian towns. Driven from their homes under the Ottoman resettlement (*sürgün*) system, many of these Jews were settled in the port area from Çıfut-Kapı or "the Gate of the Jews" to Zindan-Kapı. This was the business center of the city, and it had been formerly occupied principally by Venetians.[7] The sultan prohibited the return of the Venetians to the area and, no doubt, intended the Jewish businessmen and traders to replace them. It is interesting to note that Mehmed II demanded from the doge of Venice to allow Venetian Jews, who before and during the siege had fled from Constantinople's port district to Venice, to return to Istanbul. The Ottoman survey of 1477 lists 1,647 Jewish households in Istanbul but no Jews in Galata. The earlier census of 1455, however, records a group of 44 Jewish families in Galata, many of them quite wealthy. Apparently the Jews of Galata, too, were selected for resettlement on the Istanbul side of the Golden Horn. Similarly, all the Jews of Salonica were resettled in Istanbul. Furthermore,

the census of 1492 reveals that 380 new families had joined Istanbul's Jewry since the census of 1477. This clearly indicates that Mehmed II considered the Jews, even those Venetian Jews who had fled the city during the hostilities, as trustworthy subjects, and he believed that they were indispensable for the economic development of his new imperial capital.[8]

The policies that Mehmed II's successors adopted toward the Jews, the Sephardic Jews in particular, were based on the same principles. This explains why the Ottoman bureaucracy demonstrated particular sympathy toward the Jews, just at the time when the Sephardic mass immigration into the Ottoman dominions was at its peak.

Along with these particular circumstances, we also have to take into account the established norms of Islamic law, the *Shari'a,* in regard to religious minorities, the so-called *dhimma* law. In return for the payment of a poll tax by the minorities, the *jizya,* the Islamic state assumed the responsibility of providing the same protection for its non-Muslim subjects as for Muslims. It was a strict religious duty for Muslim rulers to abide by this law. True, under the Islamic tradition non-Muslims were subject to various restrictions. They were, for example, prohibited from dressing as Muslims, riding horses, owning slaves, and practicing religious ceremonies in a way that might be offensive to Muslims. These restrictions were all designed to underscore the social inferiority of non-Muslims in relation to Muslims. Ordinarily, however, such restrictions were overlooked by the Ottoman authorities, and, I believe, it is an exaggeration to interpret these social limitations as reducing non-Muslims under Islam to the status of second-class subjects. Thus we learn from imperial Ottoman orders, issued at times when popular feelings against non-Muslims ran high as a result of military defeat at the hands of Christian powers, that wealthy Jews are described as indistinguishable from the Muslim elite with their costly caftans, richly harnessed horses, and their slave attendants. In brief, Islamic law and the state generally accepted non-Muslim communities, including the Jews, as part of the larger Islamic society.

Furthermore, the Turkish state tradition practiced Islamic law with regard to non-Muslims in its broadest and most liberal interpretation. Since the eleventh century, when the Seljuk Turks seized control of the Islamic lands in the east, Turkish states introduced new concepts of government and

law into the Islamic world. The Turkish states down to the Ottoman Empire jealously guarded the independence of their political action and secular state laws in the face of Islamic law and its interpreters, the *ulema.* In fact, the Ottoman sultans went so far as to issue their own imperial codes of law. The dominance of sultanic authority and law in Muslim Turkish states most likely originated from the Central Asian *törü* or *yasa* tradition. As a kind of constitutional law, *törü* or *yasa* regulated the imperial organization under a charismatic leader. In the Euroasian steppe empires, all those elements that provided information, skills, and wealth for the empire, particularly traveling merchants, were given special attention and protection. Those who produced wealth for the ruler's treasury or provided him with luxury goods or with information were believed to be indispensable for his power. Ottoman sultans, like the Turco-Mongol rulers of Central Asia, were most concerned with these aspects of government, considered as directly involving their own interests and power.[9]

In sum, special historical circumstances led to a kind of solidarity and cooperation between European Jewry and the Ottomans in the face of a crusading Christian Europe. The Turkish state tradition of Central Asia favored those subjects who could provide skill and capital to the empire. Finally, Islam's constitutional *dhimma* law provided the religious minorities with strict guarantees for their lives, property, and freedom of religion. All this made it possible for the Jews of Europe to immigrate, settle, and develop prosperous Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire.

As I noted earlier, after 1453 Mehmed the Conqueror resorted to forced resettlement of Jews from Balkan and Anatolian towns to Istanbul. It soon became evident, however, that this measure disrupted the economic well-being of those towns. In 1492 the opportunity arose to resettle these same towns with new Jewish immigrants from Spain. Although it is impossible to determine with any certainty how many Jews emigrated from the Iberian peninsula in 1492 and after, all the evidence suggests that a majority of these refugees settled in the Ottoman dominions and that their numbers were in the tens of thousands. These immigrants settled for the most part outside Istanbul, in Salonica, Valona (Avlonya), Patras, Edirne, Bursa, and many other towns throughout the empire.[10]

Once established in the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire, the

Sephardic Jews first formed congregations (*cema'at*s) on the basis of their towns of origin. Over time, however, these congregations were integrated into already existing Jewish quarters, or they formed separate quarters around a synagogue of their own.[11] The Ottoman government allowed the immigrants to maintain their traditional community organization and autonomy in their internal affairs. Moreover, they protected the Jews, as they did other minorities, against acts of fraud and oppression. In the case of the Jews, the Ottoman government demonstrated particular concern to protect them against ritual murder accusations (the false allegation that Jews kill non-Jews, especially Christians, to use their blood for the Passover or other rituals), then common in Europe and also among Ottoman Christians.[12] Thus, under the guarantees provided by Islamic law and Ottoman state law (*kanun*), as well as the supervision of a vigilant central bureaucracy, the Jewish communities prospered. These conditions are well recorded by the vast Jewish responsa literature and travelers' accounts.[13]

As the Ottomans had expected, the Jewish contribution to the Ottoman economy, finances, and urban development proved to be most substantial and diverse. Sephardic Jews made spectacular contributions to the development of the empire's industries, especially to the manufacture of woolens in places such as Salonica, Safed, and Istanbul.[14] In this article, however, I will focus on Jewish activity in the areas of tax farming and trade.

As the Ottomans sought to undermine Venetian and Genoese economic domination and exploitation of the Levant, they pursued a deliberate policy of favoring and protecting their native minorities, including Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Having become an important segment of Ottoman society, the Jewish community occupied since the fifteenth century a particularly influential position in tax farming and in interregional and international trade.[15]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ottoman Jews, Turks, and Greeks were competing for tax farm contracts, and Jews were particularly active in this area. Extensively applied in the Ottoman Empire even at this early period, tax farming was one of the most profitable economic activities for those who had accumulated cash capital. Short of steady and regular cash resources to meet current needs, and lacking the complex tax collection system of a modern state, the Ottoman government generally depended on

cash advances from individuals who had accumulated capital through commercial activities. The registers of tax farming, the so-called *mukata'a defterleri,* from the second half of the fifteenth century contain many names of Jewish "capitalists" serving as tax farmers.

We find Jews undertaking all kinds of tax farms everywhere in the empire, particularly in the big cities and at important sea ports, but also in many smaller towns in the Balkans and Anatolia. At the auctions of the tax farms, keen competition between Jewish, Turkish, and Greek bidders took place.[16]

In October 1477, outbidding their rivals by 400,000 *akçe,* the partnership of the Jew Altina, the Turk Seyyidi Küçük of Edirne, and an Italian by the name of Nikiroz won the right to collect the customs dues from the ports in the Istanbul customs zone for the enormous sum of 20,400,000 *akçe* (45 *akçe* equalled one gold ducat at this time). They thus outbid the previous offer made by the partnership of the Greek Palaeologus of Istanbul, Palaeologus Kassandros, and Lefteri Galyanos of Trebizond. Anyone engaged in tax farming had to provide at least two sureties with assets large enough to meet the debt in case of default. In our records, the sureties designated by the Jewish bidders are all from the Jewish community. But, as seen in the above example, Jews also joined in partnership with Muslim Turks. In this connection we should not forget that the latter group included many Jewish, Greek, and Italian converts.[17]

Because of its crucial importance for state finances, the tax farm of the Istanbul customs house conferred on its holders a great deal of influence in affairs of state. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this position was quite often held by Jews. Jews also held tax farms outside Istanbul. For example, in 1483 a Jew, Sabbetay son of Avraham, offered 1,200,000 *akçe,* outbidding all competitors, for the tax farm of the saltworks of Thrace. In addition to the rich merchants and money changers, there were also enterprising Jews who brought together investors with small savings or inherited money, and they became quite prominent in tax farming. Jewish tax farmers were assisted mostly by other Jews who acted as scribes and assessors.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, Jewish bankers and tax farmers had gained a predominant place in Ottoman finances and long distance trade. Perhaps the best-known case is that of the famous Marrano-Jewish family of Mendes in the mid-sixteenth century.[18] Many Marrano

Jews, victims of the Inquisition in western Europe, immigrated to the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Among them was the house of Mendes, which controlled a large share of the international spice trade and had accumulated enormous capital in Europe. Under the protection of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, the head of the family, Doña Gracia Mendes, settled in Istanbul in 1552. Her nephew and partner, Don Joseph Nasi, became the most prominent member of the family. Initially, his spectacular rise was due to his financial services to Prince Selim, who had made him one of his intimates, a *müteferrika* (distinguished attendant), in his provincial palace. When, in 1566, Selim acceded to the Ottoman throne, he appointed Don Joseph as the duke of Naxos (Nakşa Dukası), which comprised a group of islands in the Aegean, producing rare wines for export. This appointment must have been related to Joseph's control of the tax farm on wine exports to the northern Black Sea countries, Poland in particular. The tax farm on the dukedom was fixed at 6,000 gold pieces. Joseph's control of this trade was of course a loss for Venice. The former duke of Naxos, a Venetian, did not give up his claim and continued to harass Don Joseph. The tax farm on customs dues on the wine exported from the Aegean and Venetian Crete to Poland also came under Joseph's control. This secured for him a virtual monopoly of the wine trade, since under the Ottoman tax farm system the government put strict controls on the traffic in goods to prevent smuggling and to realize the highest revenue possible. Joseph Nasi's annual income from the monopoly on the export of Cretan wine was estimated at 15,000 ducats a year. Around 1575 it is reported that one thousand casks of wine were exported annually from Crete alone.

Don Joseph is reputed to have influenced Ottoman policy toward Venice regarding Cyprus, which was another center of wine production. Considered an expert on European political affairs, Don Joseph became at this time one of the sultan's most trusted counselors. Apparently Nasi was among the supporters of Vezir Lala Mustafa's plan to conquer Cyprus, in opposition to Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed, who objected to the plan and wanted to continue the war against Muscovy in the north. The plan to colonize the island with Jewish settlers is also worth noting in this context. The Ottoman conquest of Cyprus led to the formation of the Christian Holy

League in the Mediterranean, resulting in the Ottoman disaster at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. In spite of that, however, it appears that Don Joseph continued to enjoy the sultan's favor.

It has been suggested that the Marrano Jews introduced into the Ottoman Empire the techniques of European capitalism, banking, and even the mercantilist concept of a state economy.[19] International trade, tax farming, and banking operations were all interconnected at this time. The financial operations of the Mendes family were carried out through a wide network of agents in the principal centers of Europe. Thus, the Mendes family controlled a large portion of the commerce between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, which mainly consisted of the exchange of European-manufactured woolens for Ottoman wheat, pepper, and raw wool. Also, investments by Jewish merchants in the treasury's tax farms seem to have been quite high during this period. In 1555, when Pope Paul IV confiscated the possessions of Jews in the papal territory, the sultan protested, claiming that many Jews of Salonica and Istanbul had gone bankrupt and were unable to meet their financial obligations to the treasury, amounting to 400,000 gold ducats.[20]

Under the management of Doña Gracia (d. 1568 or 1569), a Jewish bank, or *dolab,* appears to have involved Ottoman finances and capital investments in European markets. Don Joseph became a big creditor to the kings of Europe. His large loans to the king of Poland procured for him various commercial concessions. Under the sultan's protection, he obtained, for example, a monopoly on beeswax exports from Poland. In 1555, when King Henri II of France was pressed for money, Don Joseph floated a loan in France in which the interest ranged from 12 to 16 percent. Little wonder that many Turks invested money in the loan through Don Joseph.

Later on, in 1588, Alvaro Mendes, who like Joseph Nasi was an archenemy of King Philip II of Spain, came to settle in Istanbul, reportedly bringing with him capital of 850,000 gold ducats. He received the same favors once enjoyed by Don Joseph. Esther Kyra, a Jewish favorite of the women in the imperial palace and a liaison between them and Jewish interests outside, also became involved in tax farming and trade and amassed a large fortune during her long relation with the seraglio. However, she met with a tragic end at the hands of the Sipahis. Her fortune at the time of her death was reported to have amounted to fifty million *akçe* or 300,000 gold ducats.

In sum, Jews played a crucial role in the relations of the Ottoman Empire with Western Europe, politically as well as economically. Joseph Nasi, for example, played a decisive role in developing Ottoman-Dutch relations. Since he had once been active in the Antwerp banking house of Mendes, the Prince of Orange, William I, sent a secret envoy to Nasi, seeking Ottoman support for the Dutch revolt against Philip II. There was even some talk of a Dutch alliance with the Ottomans. In a letter to the "Lutherans" in Flanders and other Spanish provinces, the sultan promised to send troops to their aid at a time to be determined by them.[21] Indeed, to counter the Catholic front in the Mediterranean, the Ottomans took the initiative in reaching an accord with the Dutch, whose powerful navy had greatly impressed the Ottomans.

A little-known case illustrating how the Jewish enterprising spirit led to the economic development of an entire region is that of the Jews of the Adriatic. Benjamin Ravid's inquiries demonstrate that with the help, and under the protection, of the Ottoman government, Jews were able to promote their trade and legal status in Venice in the course of the sixteenth century.[22] Moreover, during the period 1492–1520, the Ottoman government actively encouraged Sephardic Jews to settle in Adriatic ports and develop their trade there. Consequently, Jews emerged as the most active partners, and rivals, of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in regional trade. Valona, one of the most important Ottoman sea ports on the Adriatic, was a case in point. In Valona, the Ottoman government settled Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, from Portugal in 1497, and from Italy in 1510–11. By 1520 they numbered 527 households, constituting one third of the city's population. The court records of Valona demonstrate that the Jews dominated the city's economic life and enjoyed great freedom of action.[23] The Jews of Valona were principally engaged in long-distance trade. That they dominated the city's trade with Venice is attested by Venetian insurance documents. The insurance register for the years 1592–1609 lists sixteen Valona Jews as residing in Venice.

In the late sixteenth century, Valona's role in the Adriatic declined in favor of new ports closer to Venice. Many Jews moved to Dubrovnik during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1570–73, when woolen cloth imports from Venice shifted to this neutral port.[24] Meanwhile, the Ottomans resettled a great number of Sephardic Jews in Nova (Herzegnovi), further north on the Adriatic, when they reconquered the town in 1570. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, many Ottoman Jews, chiefly those engaged in the cloth trade, preferred to settle in Venice or moved to Split (Spalato). Clearly, there had been large Jewish emigrations from Valona to the northern Adriatic ports. In Valona, the Ottoman tax registers of 1583 still list 212 Jews, but only 50 in 1597.[25]

In the wake of the Ottoman-Venetian peace of 1573, an enterprising Jewish merchant, Daniel Rodriguez (Rodriga), proposed to the Venetian senate to develop Split into a free port by improving its facilities and abolishing or reducing customs dues. Venice was hesitant; then Ottoman Jews approached the council of Dubrovnik and, for a while, obtained a privileged tariff. In the end, with the support of Ottoman Jews residing in Venice and the active involvement of the Ottoman governor of Bosnia, the Venetians finally decided to proceed with Rodriguez's plan. On 20 June 1590, the senate decided that Split would become a free port, that customs dues on imports from the Ottoman dominions to Venice through Split would be reduced by half, and that dues on the export of soap, rice, and some other goods would be totally abolished. Furthermore, Ottoman Jews arriving in Venice would not be subject to any residential tax and could settle in the old Jewish quarter. Rodriguez's plan could be regarded as part of a Jewish attempt to organize an international trading network under Ottoman protection. At Split, Venetian-Ottoman trade based mainly on Ottoman exports of wax, moroccos, timber, silk, mohair, and hides rapidly flourished. From 1590 onward, Split surpassed Dubrovnik and Valona in the Ottoman trade with Venice and assumed a very important role in the overall Venetian commerce.[26]

◆ ◆ ◆

It is only fitting to conclude this article with the eloquent words of the great Jewish historian Salo Baron, who described sixteenth-century Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire as follows:

> The Sephardic and Romaniot [Jewish] communities now lived almost exclusively under Ottoman rule and its system of legislation characterized by

> great stability and basic protection of human rights. The Jews reciprocated with a growing sense of Turkish patriotism. . . . With the great freedom of movement guaranteed by legal and administrative enactments, communication between the various Jewish communities became very intensive. . . . Making use of the vast opportunities offered by Turkey's Golden Age, the regrouped Mediterranean Jewry, too, now enjoyed a new efflorescence. It, too, may have legitimately classified the sixteenth century as another Golden Age of its own.[27]

As a historian, I tried to focus on the historical, rational motives and causes for Turkish-Jewish cooperation, setting aside the role of intangible sentiments such as compassion, sympathy, and loyalty. But I think I was mistaken. Sometimes human relations are shaped and moved by forces that are deeper and more significant than mere rationality. Shared experiences and positive memories, interwoven through centuries of coexistence, have made Turks and Jews one family united in friendship.

CHAPTER 2

Jews in Early Modern Ottoman Commerce

Daniel Goffman

The integration of Jews from Iberia and elsewhere into Ottoman society accompanied the Ottoman expansion into southeastern Europe, the Fertile Crescent, and Egypt. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Jews created new niches in the Ottoman economy. They also joined other Ottoman subjects in many urban pursuits and became influential in industry, banking, administration, and, most notably, international trade. The Ottomans' early triumphs, both military and commercial, also benefited that empire's Jews.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, rival Ottoman subjects dislodged the Jews from many of those very occupations in Ottoman industry and international commerce that they had helped create. Other Jewish employments simply became less pivotal in the eastern Mediterranean marketplace. This decrease in Jewish activities at the heart of transcontinental exchange had several roots. As patterns in Mediterranean commerce changed, Jewish merchants were displaced. Transformations in the Ottoman state and society forced Jews out of administrative positions. The emergence of new economic, cultural, and demographic centers served to redefine the Ottoman Jewish community's bonds to the world in which it lived. Perhaps the most profound (and certainly the most visible) change was the atrophy in Sephardic communities such as Salonica, Istanbul, and Safed, and the attendant founding of a new and metamorphic nucleus in Izmir.

The nexus of these alterations rested in international commerce. Earlier, the abilities and power of Ottoman-Jewish industrialists, tax collectors, and

JEWS, TURKS, OTTOMANS

A SHARED HISTORY, FIFTEENTH THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Edited by Avigdor Levy

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Copyright © 2002 by Syracuse University Press
Syracuse, New York 13244–5160
All Rights Reserved

First Edition 2002
02 03 04 05 06 07 6 5 4 3 2 1

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984. ∞™

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Jew, Turks, Ottomans : a shared history, fifteenth through the twentieth century / edited by Avigdor Levy.—1st ed.
p. ; cm.—(Modern Jewish history)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8156-2941-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. Jews—Turkey—History. 2. Jews—Turkey—Politics and government. 3. Turkey—Ethnic relations/ 4. Jews—Middle East—History. 5. Middle East—Ethnic relations. 6. Turkey—History—Ottoman Empire, 1288–1918. I. Levy, Avigdor. II. Series.
DS135.T8 J53 2002
956'.004924—dc21
2002011481

Manufactured in the United States of America

Contents

Acknowledgments ix
A Note on Transliteration and Pronunciation x
Contributors xi
Introduction xvii

PART ONE
Jewish Society and the Ottoman Polity, Fifteenth through Eighteenth Centuries

1. Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation
   Halil İnalcık 3
2. Jews in Early Modern Ottoman Commerce
   Daniel Goffman 15
3. The Development of Community Organizational Structures: The Case of Izmir
   Jacob Barnai 35
4. Rabbinic Literature in the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Periods
   Israel Ta-Shma 52
5. Jewish Contributions to Ottoman Medicine, 1450–1800
   Rhoads Murphey 61

PART TWO
Modernization and Transformation, Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

6. Changing Patterns of Community Structures, with Special Reference to Ottoman Egypt
   Jacob M. Landau 77

7. The Changing Relationship between the Jews of the Arab Middle East and the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century
Daniel J. Schroeter 88

8. Changing Relations between Jews, Muslims, and Christians during the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to Ottoman Syria and Palestine
Moshe Ma'oz 108

9. A Tale of Two Women: Facets of Jewish Life in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem as Seen through the Muslim Court Records
Amnon Cohen 119

10. Jewish Female Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914
Rachel Simon 127

11. The Siege of Edirne (1912–1913) as Seen by a Jewish Eyewitness: Social, Political, and Cultural Perspectives
Avigdor Levy 153

12. The Industrial Working Class of Salonica, 1850–1912
Donald Quataert 194

13. The Special Relationship: The Committee of Union and Progress and the Ottoman Jewish Political Elite, 1908–1918
Feroz Ahmad 212

PART THREE
Aspects of Turkish-Jewish Relations in the Twentieth Century

14. German Jewish Emigrés in Turkey
Frank Tachau 233

15. Roads East: Turkey and the Jews of Europe during World War II
Stanford J. Shaw 246

16. Recipes of Magic-Religious Medicine as Expressed Linguistically
Marie-Christine Varol (Translated from the French by Franck Salameh) 260

17. Mario Levi: A Young Jewish Author from Istanbul
Nedim Gürsel (Translated from the French by Franck Salameh) 272

Appendixes

A. Establishment of Jewish Girls' and Mixed Schools, 1840–1913 281

B. Enrollment in Girls' Schools by City, 1840–1917 283

C. Enrollment in Mixed Schools by City, 1890–1914 285

Notes 287

Bibliography 343

Index 381

Illustrations

Figure

5.1. Letter of Mehmed Ali Pasha Regarding His Jewish Physician 68

Table

14.1 Fields of Specialization and Locations of Emigrés 240

Map

1.1. Jewish Communities in the Ottoman Empire 2