

THE JEWS OF SMYRNA / IZMIR

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THE IZMIR PROJECT

Research prepared for :
KIRIATY FOUNDATION & IZMIR PROJECT



THE IZMIR PROJECT

Translation from Turkish to English
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This work is sponsored by the Kiriaty Foundation. The time scope it covers starts in the 2nd century BC, when conclusive evidence exists as to the Jewish presence in Smyrna (Izmir) and ends in the 1950's. The resources used during the preparation of the study are photographs, maps, archive documents, and works written by scientists on the subject.

A chronological course was observed during the preparation of this study. Five main topics were selected and Jewish life in Smyrna (Izmir) is described under these headings. It aims to create a solid foundation and suitable ground that would provide a scientific framework for the Izmir Jewish Museum planned for the future and for the works to be exhibited there.

DR. H. SIREN BORA

JEWISH PRESENCE IN SMYRNA IN ANTIQUE TIMES

Before I give information on the Jewish community living in Smyrna in Western Anatolia during the ancient era, I believe it will be better to provide a brief description of why, when and under what conditions Jews arrived and settled in Anatolia. Therefore, I found it would be more appropriate to begin by presenting a short summary of the political changes that took place during the history of the Middle East and the Near East.

The kingdom of Israel, one of the two kingdoms founded after the death of King Solomon, was conquered by Assyrians in 722 BC. King of Assyria II. Sargon expelled 27,290 Israelites from their scattered country. These were the first Jewish Diaspora who dispersed throughout the entire Middle East. The Kingdom of Judah, the other kingdom which was established after the death of Solomon, was demolished and destroyed by the Babylonian state in 582 BC, along with the Temple of Solomon. This time the Jews were scattered all over the Mediterranean basin ¹. By 6th century BC, the borders of the Babylonian state, which was established on Sumerian and Akkadian lands, stretched from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Basra, and from the Gulf of Iskenderun to Malatya, Diyarbakir and Jerusalem. Thus, the Babylonian state had taken control of the spice route between Yemen and West Arabia, and the Mediterranean ports along the coastline between Gaza and the Gulf of Iskenderun. In short, it now controlled the trade routes between the East and the West. The Jews expelled to Babylonia in the year 597 BC to 582 BC included a Jewish community of great merchants and craftsmen. Afraid of losing control over trade routes, Babylonia inevitably tried to take advantage of the experience of Judahian merchants and it gave them commercial privileges. Jewish merchants strengthened their international trade ties with the Anatolian cities they got to know through Solomon's trade fleet. When the Babylonian state was destroyed by the Persians, the Jews in exile were allowed to return to Jerusalem. Some of them returned to the city. Those who went to Jerusalem built the Second Temple of Solomon. The Middle East and Anatolia came under the rule of Persians, Greeks, the Ptolemaic Kingdom based in Egypt, Syria-based Seleucid Kingdom and finally under Roman rule.

¹ Lawrence, 2008, 78-79, 86-89. Gürkan 2012, 28-33.

The Second Temple of Solomon was destroyed when Jerusalem was under Roman rule ². From that time on, there would be no return for the Jews. This time they would disperse all over the world ³.

Between 547 and 480 BC, the Persians who destroyed the Babylonian State occupied a vast stretch of land extending from the Danube River the Indus River and from Indus to Egypt and the coast of North Africa. In 547 BC, they defeated King Croesus of Lydia and captured Lydia's capital city, Sardis. They built the King's Road to carry out their expansion policies towards the West. The King's Road, which started in Ephesus, stretched through Sardis to Gordion and Ankara, up to the Kızılırmak River. From there, it continued through Cappadocia and the doors of Lycia,⁴ reached the Euphrates, passed through the Tigris River, reaching Susa ⁵ through Assyria⁶. Along the way, there were post stations and places of accommodation reminiscent of the caravansaries we were familiar with. The Persian rule in Anatolia continued for over two hundred years from the occupation of Western Anatolia by Kyros until when Alexander the Great passed through the Dardanelles. The cities along the famous King's Road trade route built by the Persians in time became residential areas settled by Jews.

Obadiah 20 says: "And this exiled host of the children of Israel who are [with] the Canaanites as far as Zarephath and the exile of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad shall inherit the cities of the southland". Prophet Obadiah's prophecies suggest that he lived in 6th century BC. Let's review the events of the century: The Kingdom of Judah, which was attacked by the Babylonian state, was destroyed. Its people were sent to exile. After a while, the Persians who destroyed the Babylonian State invaded Anatolia. In that case, the exile of Jerusalem mentioned in Pasuk, may be Judaians. On the other hand, Sepharad mentioned in the same pasuk was the Aramaic and Semitic name of the city of Sardis, and the name of Sardis in the Lydian and Persian languages was Spard (Sfard), giving way to claims that the first Jews came to Anatolia during the Babylonian exile. Those who advocate this claim support it with a verse in the Book of Joel, believed to be from the 6th century BC. The Book of Joel 3:6 says: "You sold the people of Judah and Jerusalem to the Greeks, that you might send them far from their homeland". If the theory as to the writing date of the Book of Joel is true, it wouldn't be accurate to claim that they went to Anatolia only for commercial reasons in the 6th century BC. It may be the case that some of the Jews exiled to Babylon were sold as slaves.

² Gürkan 2012, 14-15, 33-35.

³ Bora 2017 a, 15-54.

⁴ Name of the antique region beginning from Alanya in Anatolia up to the mound of Kinet in the east and surrounded by Taurus Mountains from north.

⁵ Asur.

⁶ The city of Susa by the Persian Gulf in Iran.

In the years before Jesus, did the Jews come to Anatolia only for commercial activities or because of slave trade? My answer to this question would be as follows: There is a claim that when Alexander reached Jerusalem, he sent a community of a few hundred Jews to exile in Smyrna. According to another claim, he brought the Jews when he was returning from Jerusalem to Smyrna in the 4th century. The Jewish administrative authorities were able to carry out the Jewish rituals, because the Hellenes as the ruling power recognized the Torah. The borders of the Alexander Empire extended from the Balkans to Indus, from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf. Thus, the Jews who lived anywhere within these boundaries had freedom of belief and worship. However, they did not have citizenship rights. The right to citizenship was given to those who gave up their religious and embraced the Hellenistic beliefs. The result was that many Diaspora Jews accepted the polytheistic religion. On the other hand, many foreign elements entered the Jewish local life. The Jews were Hellenized. First the upper classes were affected; then this trend affected the clergy and the people as well.

After Alexander's death, III. Antiochus, the King of Seleucus which was one of the successors of the empire, had good relations with the Judahians living in and around Jerusalem. He approved Judah's autonomous regime. The people of Judah were exempted from taxation for three years. After the deadline, the taxes they were obliged to pay were reduced by one third. The rulers of the Temple of Solomon, members of clergy and members of the Elders Council were entitled to tax exemption for life. It seems there was harmony and trust between the administration and the Jews. When the uprising started in Lydia and Phrygia, King III. Antiochus sent Jewish families considered credible elements of the kingdom to the uprising zone, due to his confidence in the Jewish community. The date was BC 212-205 / 4 BC.

*"... As I have learned that those in Lydia and Phrygia are creating disturbances, I consider this to require a serious response on my part; after taking council with my friends about what to do, I have decided to move two thousand Jewish households, with their possessions, from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortified communities and most important places. For I believe they will be loyal guards of our territory because of their piety to god, and I know that testimony about their loyalty and eagerness to do what is commanded has been given by my ancestors. Therefore, I wish, although this is a troublesome matter, to transport them, since I have promised it, and for them to use their own laws. And when you bring them to the aforementioned places, give to each of them a place to build a house, and land for cultivation and for growing vines, and exempt them from taxes on the produce of the land for ten years. And until they can harvest their crops, let them measure out grain to feed their servants. Let sufficient support also be given to those engaged in service, so that, since they have received benefits from us, they will more eagerly support our affairs And give as much forethought as possible to their nation, so that it is not troubled by anyone."*⁷ 2000 Jewish families mentioned in the letter mean about 10,000 people. The cities of Lydia and Phrygia were in Western and Central Anatolia. Is it possible that some of the Jewish families Antiochus sent to Anatolia in 3rd century BC settled in Smyrna over time? Unfortunately, no findings are available in this regard.

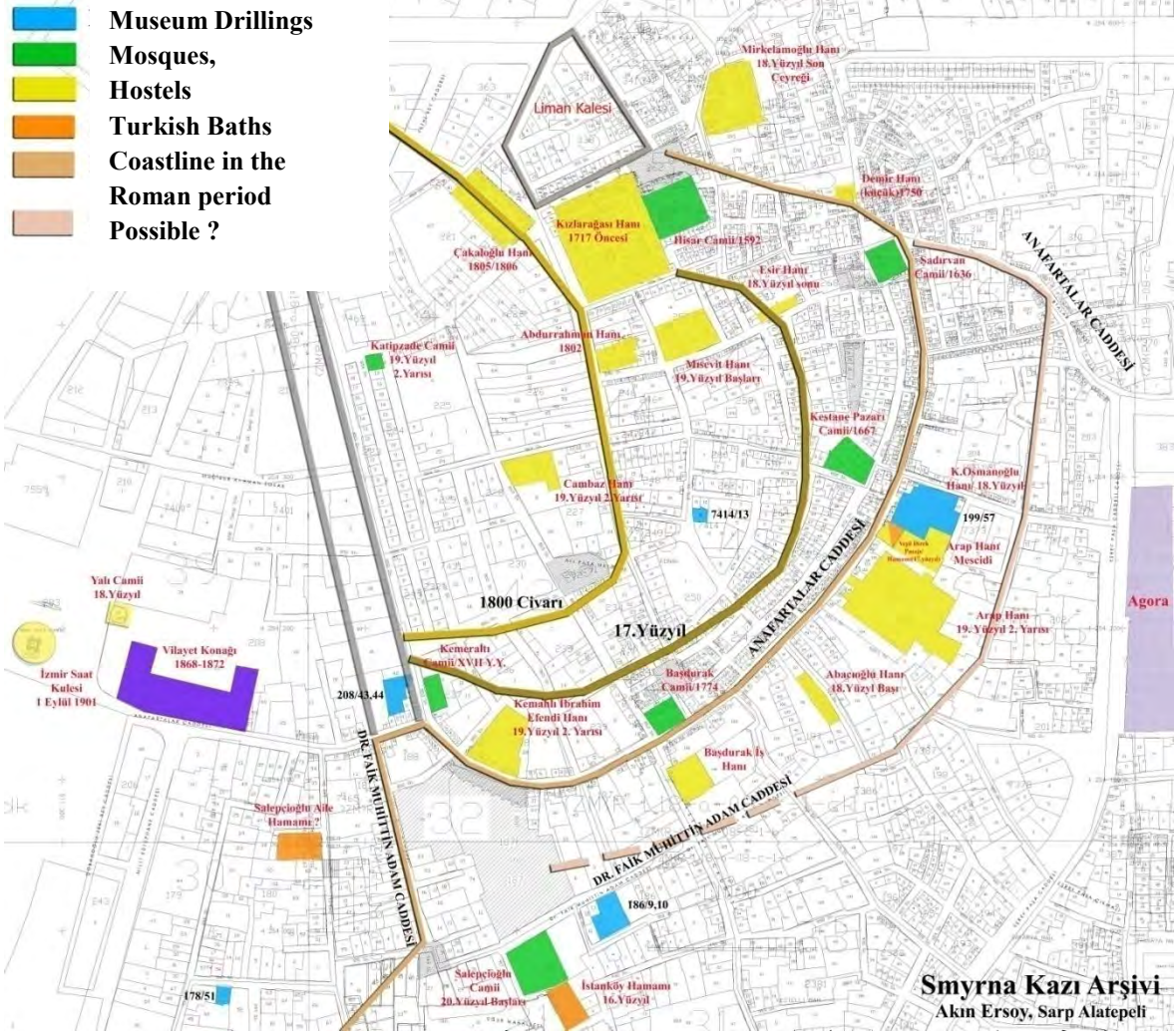
Archaeological research suggests that Smyrna (Izmir) was located in Tepekule which is a peninsula in the Bayraklı district. The city's place changed during the period of Alexander and towards the end of 4th century BC, Izmir was transported to Mount Pagos (Kadifekale). The city's agora, theater and stadium, destroyed many times by great earthquakes, were built after 200 AD⁸. At this time, the city was positioned as an "*open fan*" towards the bay⁹. In the beginning, the intensive construction of ancient Smyrna was on the wide slope extending from the Kadifekale Değirmendağı (Koryphe?) to the sea. This region included the north of the theater-stadium axis, the northern and western slopes of Kadifekale. A flat area in the axis extending from Basmane to Çankaya and even to Pasaport had fewer buildings and settlers. The borders of the city were drawn by the walls: the southern wall was built along the summits of Değirmendağı and Kadifekale, while the eastern walls descended down the slope from Kadifekale, and the northern wall stretched along Basmane-Pasaport axis¹⁰. In the west, where the ancient city meets the sea, there was an enclosed inner harbor. This port was almost completely filled in the second half of the 19th century and lost its functionality. Therefore, only a partial description of the physical structure of the port can be made, based on the shape and stages of construction in the Kemeraltı region.

⁷Josephus 1981, 252. Bora 2017 b, 43-44.

⁸ Ersoy, 2015, 14. The residential area probably expanded up to the sea during this period.

⁹ Ersoy, 2015, 55.

¹⁰ According to the plan in the Smyrna Excavation Archives drawn by Sarp Alatepeli, the walls north of Smyrna reached the sea around the area of Pasaport. Ersoy, 2015, 55-58.



Smyrna Excavation Archives, Akin Ersoy, Sarp Alatepeli.

A plan in the Smyrna Excavation Archives drawn by Sarp Alatepeli. Inner harbor: Coastline since the Roman period. (Source: Akin Ersoy, *Büyük İskender Sonrasında Antik Smyrna (İzmir)*, İzmir -İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yay. 106-November 2015, 74).

Available information suggests that the coastline of the ancient city in the late Roman period is most likely Dr. Faik Muhittin Adam Street. Or to put it another way, the wide street known as Faik Muhittin Adam Street is probably the shoreline where the city center met the sea in Roman times.¹¹ This possibility is important, because it is necessary to elaborate on the settlement and construction by the Jewish community, mostly engaged in trade, on the shoreline.

¹¹ Ersoy, 2015, 74.

As a matter of fact, the Jewish District in Izmir, which is defined as the First Juderia, was intensively concentrated on the area between İkiçeşmelik Street and Dr. Muhittin Adam Street. The main issue to be investigated and examined is the date Jewish settlement started in this area. The first finding on Smyrna Jews is from 123 or 124 AD. A white stela, formerly the Arundel Collection, is exhibited today at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Part of the inscription on it read: "... the old residents are to (give) 10,000 ... for the Jews to open."¹² This date coincides with the time just after the reconstruction date of the agora, theater and stadium I the city mentioned above. At the same time, it also matches the period the city probably expanded to the sea. Is it possible that the Jewish settlement area in years 123-124 AD was around the inner harbor by the sea? Unfortunately, there is no concrete information or finding that can shed light on this issue yet ¹³

The second and third inscriptions were discovered and copied by Dutchman Herman van der Horst, who lived in Izmir in 1718-27. On one them it was written that, "The work was done under the guidance of Dosas". ¹⁴ The other one contained the names of donors to the synagogue in Smyrna. A short time after Van der Horst copied the inscription, both inscriptions disappeared. They're still lost. The fourth inscription refers to a woman named Rufina. The inscription, set on a marble panel, said: "*Archisynagogus Rufina, a Jew, built this tomb for her freedmen and her slaves. None other has the right to bury a body here. If, however, any one should dare to do so, he must pay 1,500 denarii into the holy treasury and 1,000 denarii to the Jewish people. A copy of this inscription has been deposited in the (public) archives*" ¹⁵.

This was dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD. Archisynagogos was the title that described the synagogue's rulers. Rufina was probably a prominent and respected synagogue official. There are two more inscriptions discovered in Izmir. One of these was the inscription of the tomb of Iollius Iustus. There is speculation as to whether this inscription, dating from the Early Imperial Period, belongs to Jews.

¹² (Ameling nr. 40)

¹³ The area on Konak coast, from the opposite side of SGK Building to the Kızlar Ağası Han and the Hisar Mosque was once part of the sea. This was the area that was referred to as the Inner Harbor. It got filled or was filled over time. This region became completely residential. Therefore, unfortunately, we cannot reach the history and antiquities lying under the buildings.

¹⁴ (Ameling nr. 42)

¹⁵ (Ameling nr. 43)

The other was a broken marble piece found in the Evangelical School in İzmir that said: "*Anna built a tomb for herself and for their dead child Iudas*".¹⁶ Iudas was a common Jewish name. Thus the inscription had to belong to the Jews of Smyrna. It was dated to the era of the Roman Empire.



Kadifekale (Pagos). Estimated date – Late 19th century.

¹⁶ (Ameling nr. 45)

II

JEWISH PRESENCE IN SMYRNA DURING THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

There are two different views on the Jewish presence in Smyrna under Byzantine rule. According to Barnay and Bashan, there is no evidence as to the presence or absence of the Jewish community in Izmir in the Byzantine period ¹⁷; while Weiker, Galante and Nahum specifically underline the existence of Jews in the city during the Byzantine period ¹⁸. Henri Nahum, who expressed the "*possibilities*" and "*claims*" of the existence of a Jewish settlement in Izmir in the years before the Ottoman conquest, writes that there was "*Jewish migration from western and central Europe (from Hungary, France and Germany) to Izmir in the 14th century*" ¹⁹. According to Nahum, the Jewish community continued its presence in Izmir until the conquest of Istanbul by II. Mehmet. After the conquest of Istanbul, - again "*possibly*", the community was transferred to Istanbul as per the Ottoman Empire's "Exile Policy" (from 1453) ²⁰. Similarly, Goffmann, after discussing the Romaniote presence on the imperial territory, makes the following comment: "*II. Mehmet forced most of them to move to Istanbul after conquering the city (Istanbul) in 1453; as a result, Izmir and other Anatolian and Balkan towns lost their Jewish population*" ²¹. Therefore, the following assessment on the topographic structure of Izmir can be made about the period from the 11th century to mid-15th century: The presence of a Jewish settlement in addition to Muslim Turks and Christians in the city is a possibility that should not be overlooked.

¹⁷ Barnay 1982, 47. Bashan 1988, 64.

¹⁸ Walter Weiker too, claims that Jews lived in Izmir during the Byzantine period. See Weiker 1992, 3. Also see AAIU, Nahum, 2014, URL: <http://remmmr.evu.es/Org/2799>. Galante 1941, 10-12.

¹⁹ See Nahum 2014, URL: <http://remmmr.evu.es/Org/2799>.

²⁰ "When Fatih conquered Istanbul, he demanded his loyal subjects to be settled in the city. As a result, Muslim, Christian and Jewish subjects whose loyalty was certain were brought in without ethnic or religious discrimination in accordance with the 'Exile Policy'. Thus, the Romaniots who lived in Izmir in 1424 were exiled to Istanbul when the city was conquered (in 1453), and no Jewish community remained in Izmir." See Nahum, 2014, URL: <http://remmmr.evu.es/Org/2799>.

²¹ Goffmann 2012, 119. This interpretation actually belongs to Joseph Hacker. Goffmann is citing from him.

Avram Galante voiced two different claims about the Jewish presence in the city during the Byzantine period: In 1207 some of the Jews living in Kuşadası migrated to Izmir ²². All synagogues bearing the name of Etz Hayim (Tree of Life) located in Ottoman cities, including Izmir, were built during the Byzantine period ²³.



The area within the red borders is the map of Izmir during the Byzantine period. Approximate borders of the city are shown.

Number 11 is the inner harbor. Number 17 is the Lower Fortress. Number 18 is the Smyrna Agora.

²² İsrail Saraujan, a Jewish immigrant who settled in the city, became partners with İsak Alfassi and engaged in trade. See Galante 1941, 12.

²³ Galante 1937, 10. The construction date of the Etz Hayim Synagogue, considered to be one of the oldest in Izmir, is unknown. Galante writes in another book that it was built in the Ottoman period. It is possible that here he has corrected the interpretation he had made in his previous book. See Galante 1947, 9. On the other hand, Esther Juhasz asserts that the claim about Etz Hayim Synagogue is a legend. See Juhasz 1989, 45.

In that case, according to Galante, the Etz Hayim Synagogue in today's Izmir may have been built during the Byzantine era. However, in another book, Galante indicates that Etz Hayim Synagogue was constructed under Ottoman administration ²⁴. The only reason for the discrepancies of concept and information is that the city of Smyrna / Izmir has continued to exist as a residential area for centuries. Built on multiple layers of remnants, many findings on the history of the city's previous inhabitants were either destroyed or used as construction materials. Or they are hundreds of meters under the city and still have not been brought to the surface. Smyrna (İzmir), a religious center since the early periods of the Byzantine Empire, eventually became one of the most important cities of the empire after Constantinople (Istanbul) ²⁵. From 9th century onwards, the positive effects of economic and cultural vitality in the empire were observed also in İzmir, the port city of Western Anatolia ²⁶. Its economic and cultural vibrancy must have drawn the Jews to this city. Izmir was the scene of various wars from the 11th century to the 15th century and its secure environment was compromised. Izmir first came under Muslim-Turkish dominance when Chaka Bey ²⁷, the Seljuk commander, settled in Izmir in 1081. His rule lasted 17 years (1081-1098). After the death of Chaka Bey, the Byzantines took it back in 1098. The city was almost divided into two when the coastal area of the city was taken by the Knights of Rhodes in 1204. 220 years later, Aydınoğlu Mehmed Bey captured Kadifekale and the city on the foot of the mountain in 1317 ²⁸.

²⁴ Galante 1947, 9.

²⁵ In the 7th century, Izmir's development was negatively affected because of raids by the Sasanites and then the Umayyads to the city, and its economic activities came to a halt. It also got its share from the damages caused by the "Iconoclasm" movement that swept through the Empire from the end of the 7th century until the middle of the 9th century. A new era opened for the Empire when III. Mikhail (842-867), the last Emperor of the Amorion dynasty, came to power.

²⁶ Ayönü, 2.

²⁷ Çaka Bey was the Seljuk commander and seaman of the 11th century who founded and governed an independent seigniorship based in Smyrna (now Izmir) when the Seljuks spread to Anatolia immediately after the Malazgirt Battle in 1071. Çaka Bey, who took part in Seljuk attacks on Anatolia after 1071, was captured by the Byzantine Empire and left the palace in 1081. That same year, he created the first Turkish sovereignty in Izmir's history.

²⁸ The Muslim-Turkish Izmir was attached to Birgi, the capital of the Aydın seigniorship, since at that time, Birgi's population was 20.000, while Izmir's was 3.000.

At that time, there was a large settlement by the sea and a second castle called Saint Peter. Named Port Castle or Lower Izmir, this castle was in the hands of the Venetians, which led to the name *Gavur* (infidel) *Izmir* in Muslim historical records. In 1344, the Genoese took the castle on the coast. The Genoese had the lower city under their control, while the Aydinids dominated the upper city. After Umur Bey's death, administration of Izmir was given to Emir Mükremeddin²⁹. By 1333, *Izmir was a big city on the seashore, but a major part of it was ruined because of continuous wars and the earthquake ...*³⁰. *In the years before Timur's pillage of Izmir in 1402, the Turkish population of the city lived in and around Kadifekale on the hill because of the threat posed by Christians in Aşağıkale which protected the inner harbor. In the years after Timur's definitive victory, local population further increased and the Turks gradually shifted down from Faikpasa to Masjid-i Selatinzade, Hanbey (market) and the Izmir harbor.*³¹ With the capture of the Port Castle by Timur in 1402, all of Izmir came under Turkish control but the city was destroyed by Timur. After Timur, Cüneyd Bey, the son of Ibrahim Bey, who was Umur Bey's brother, ruled in Izmir until 1426. During the civil war, Cüneyd Bey administered the city for 24 years, sometimes negotiating, and other times struggling with the Ottoman State and the Sultan's sons. Was there a Jewish community in İzmir during this period? We do not know.

An oil lamp was found in 2013 during excavations by Prof. Akın Ersoy and his team at Altınpark area in Basmane. There was a six-pointed star figure on the terracotta lamp. The lamp was dated to 5/6 century AD based on the material used, its shape and the layer on which it is found. This date coincides with the Byzantine period. Akın Ersoy and his team thought the lamp might have been used as a light source in a Jewish house or a Jewish place of worship in Basmane Altınpark area. This theory is worth investigating. Although the six-pointed star is not regarded as *a traditional Jewish symbol*, we know it was used on a 6th century BC Jewish seal found in an excavation in Israel and in a synagogue from year 50 BC. And there are more examples³².

²⁹ Mükremeddin died in 1348 and was buried at the location of his tomb in today's Basmane. After 1344, the conflict between the two parts of Izmir continued for half a century, intense at first and slowly subsiding after the 1350's. The Aydınoğlu seigniority declined and got smaller along with the division of the land among the brothers. Yıldırım Bayezid came to Izmir in 1390 and added the city to Ottoman territory. He also blockaded the Lower Fortress. The historian Ali says that I. Murad too, blockaded Izmir for three years but was unable to capture it, and that Yıldırım decided to take the Venetian Castle but had to give up because of the Niğbolu War.

³⁰ Baykara 1974.

³¹ Goffman 1995, 7.

³² For further information on this subject, see Bora 2017 a, 127-133.



Oil lamp with Magen David relief discovered in Basmane Altınpark (5/6th century AD).(Akın Ersoy, *Büyük İskender Sonrasında Antik Smyrna (İzmir)*, İzmir -İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yay. 106- November 2015, 28).

Batey Kenesiyot (synagogues), written by Rabbi Avraham Eben Ezra, who was viewed as one of the two most important Rabbis in Izmir of mid-18th century, was published in Thessaloniki in 5571 (1811). This work is also considered one of the most important examples of Responsa³³ literature. In his book, Avraham Eben Ezra refers to Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra, his grandfather who lived in Izmir in the 17th century:

³³ Responsa (Tshuvot) is an index of Jewish rulings based on a system of Sheelot utshuvot (Questions and Answers). The Responsa literature, which gained importance from the middle of the Geonim Period, consists of booklets conveying Tora-based religious rules, along with binding decrees and local traditions.



This photograph is primarily an animation of the early periods of Ottoman Izmir. The animation is based on insight gathered from historical data. It is important because it shows the residential structure in Smyrna starting from the Inner Harbor. It will help the research on Byzantine Smyrna and Izmir of the Ottoman period.

"My great grandfather may his memory be blessed. QUESTION: This is what happened. (In Izmir) there was nothing but a synagogue. Turks came and prayed there. That is, they worshipped there and assigned it as a mosque. Therefore, Jews could not pray in the synagogue any longer and like wanderers, they prayed outside the synagogue at times and on the streets at other times. Ruben built a synagogue in his garden to dedicate it to God. And from that day on, they prayed for him on Kipur evenings. And they prayed for him at Simha Tora³⁴ evenings. Throughout his life and after he died. Ashkava³⁵ was read for him every year when he was summoned from the Yeshiva in heaven. Moreover, when Ruben's wife wanted to go to Jerusalem (may it be built) she paid for the annual expenses. On condition that ashkava would be read for her as well. When she died ashkava was read for her too. When the children of Shimon and Ruben sold the synagogue to the community they said these conditions must continue without being cancelled³⁶."

³⁴ The holiday that immediately follows the Succoth Holiday. In Simha Tora, the joy of reading the Tora throughout the year is celebrated once again.

³⁵ Roughly, the equivalent of Fatiha in Islam.

If there was a Jewish community in Izmir during the Byzantine period, then there must have been a synagogue. According to Responsa, when the Turks captured Izmir, they converted the synagogue into a mosque and used it as a place of worship. The Jews remained without synagogues for years. In that case, the Turks did not have a place to worship at that time. In other words, the description should concern one of the Turks' first arrivals to the city³⁷. Thus, the presence of a synagogue in Smyrna during the Byzantine Period is possible, and the synagogue is indicative of the Jewish presence in Smyrna.

³⁶ The question in Responsa was answered by two leading Rabbis in Izmir in the 17th century; Rabbi Avraham Hacoen and Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra. Shlomo Eben Ezra's response was: "The elderly man agreed to give them a synagogue. A synagogue named after him. Kahal Kadosh Sason or Kahal Kadosh N. Kiş. This is his name ... ". As you can see, there is no specific reference to when the question was asked and when the answers were given. The name of Ruben is mentioned in the text without a family name. There is no clue as to who he is. The description in the Responsa is the tale of Izmir Jews who lost their synagogue in the Byzantine period and built a new one. Avraham Eben Ezra, 5571, 71.

³⁷ Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra, who answered the question, died in 1688. Ruben, his wife and his children must be the heroes of events that took place about two generations before the time of Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra. This means the event described in Responsa took place about 150-200 years earlier. In other words, the events happened in the 15th century, when all of Izmir (Smyrna), including Limankalesi, was taken over by Timur in 1402. Is it possible that the Synagogue in Izmir was turned into a mosque in Timur's time? The Ottoman State conquered all Izmir in 1424-1426. Shortly after, a synagogue was built by Ruben in the city. In 1453, the Izmir Jews were probably forced to migrate to Istanbul and settled there as per the Ottoman settlement policy. Nahum 2014, URL :. <http://remmm.revues.org/2799>. Bora 2016, 14-15. Bora 2017 c, 97-99.

III

JEWISH PRESENCE IN IZMIR DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Historians agree that Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and 1497 and came to Ottoman lands preferred the settlements around Izmir, because Izmir seemed like a small village and had no Jewish community. So, the general view is that a continuous Jewish community in the city began in the last quarter of the 16th century. Indeed, there are actual sources pointing to that date. On the other hand, there are also some findings that lead us to *question* whether there was a settlement in the first half of the 16th century. One of these is the tombstone of Avraham Papo.



Avraham Papo's tombstone (Source: Smyrna Agora Excavation Archives)

There are 25 Hebrew tombstones in Smyrna Agora recorded in the inventory of the Smyrna Excavation Archives. These tombstones were found in the former Izmir Jewish Cemetery (Bahribaba Jewish Cemetery) during the opening of the tunnel in Izmir Varyant in 2013 and moved to Smyrna Agora. I read the inscriptions on 23 tombstones that were in readable condition and made an inventory³⁸.

One of the dates on Papo's tombstone, which I have illustrated above, is written in Hebrew letters within the inscription and coincides with the year 5627 (1866). The other date is on the lower right corner of the tombstone: the date 5265 (1505) written in numerical form according to the Hebrew calendar (that starts from the Genesis)³⁹. I worked on Hebrew tombstone inscriptions in Jewish cemeteries of Bodrum, Tire, İzmir Bornova, Manisa and those in museums. But I have never encountered a similar example. Death dates on Hebrew tombstones are usually expressed in three ways: Either they are written only in letters that stand for numbers or only in numbers, or the death date is recorded on the gravestone in both letters and numbers. What is important here is that the numbers and the letters point to the same date. However, on Avraham Papo's tombstone, there are two dates of death with a gap of 361 years. As Papo cannot have died in two different dates, one of the dates must be wrong. "Which one is wrong?" Unfortunately, it is impossible to make a prediction. But we cannot ignore the tombstone and the dates on it. So it is necessary to evaluate the possibilities and make an assessment. Let's examine the possibilities:

1- The tombstone could have been tampered with by unknown persons who wrote the numbers. Professor Recai Tekoğlu, Prof. Hasan Malay and Secretary General of the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey Mr. Yusuf Altıntaş focus on this possibility. It is not an easy process to write on marble with a hammer and chisel. Still, is it possible that the numerical date was written by people who just wanted to have some fun?

2- The numbers written on the gravestone read in reverse give us 5625. Assuming that number 5 was mistakenly written and the correct number is 7, we get the date 5627 (1866). If the date 5627 (1866) was intended, then it matches the date 5627 (1866) written in letters

3- The date 1505 could have been deliberately and intentionally added to the tombstone to give a message. What can this message be? Avraham Papo may have been buried in the tomb of one of his family members who died in 1505, perhaps his great-grandfather. If this assumption is true, the death date of the person who died earlier was engraved on the corner of Avraham Papo's tombstone. Just as in Islam, in Judaism too, family members can be buried in the same grave, provided a reasonable period has passed between burials.

4-One of the two dates was mistakenly written. If the error is with 1505, that means the tombstone is from the 19th century. If the error is with 1866 is misspelled, then we are facing an important finding regarding the beginning date of the Izmir Jewish Community in the Ottoman period. This is because the oldest known tomb of Izmir Jews dates to 1565. Is it possible that there was a Jewish cemetery and a Jewish community in Izmir in 1505?

³⁸ I presented my work on the Hebrew tombstones of the Smyrna Agora in the Antique Smyrna / Izmir Excavation and Research Workshop held between 23-24 September 2016. The paper I presented was published in the Workshop booklet printed in 2017. See. Bora 2017b, 45-67.

³⁹ Bora 2017b, 58-59.

Let's consider the possibility of a Jewish community in Izmir in 1505. In this regard, the etymological root of the word Papo or the geographical root of the Papo family can give us some clue. Papo means larynx in Portuguese and Spanish. Bate Papo is synonymous with Portuguese Conversa and means chat ⁴⁰. If Papo is a Spanish or a Portuguese word, then Avraham Papo must come from the migrants from Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and 1497, meaning must be of Sephardic origin. On the other hand, the Greek word Παππος (Pappos) is a name used by Romaniotes. It means grandfather in Greek and has different versions such as Παπος (Papos) or Παπιας (Papyas) with Greek letters and פפוס (Papos) or פפיש (Papis) with Hebrew letters ⁴¹. If the name of Avraham Papo is a different version of Papo, then the Papo family could have originated from the Romaniote ⁴².

The name Papo is a very common and well-known name. Records of Papo families have been found especially in Croatia-Makarska (port city on Adriatic coast) and England, Holland, Hungary, the United States, Israel and Istanbul - Turkey. I am aware of the data on Jews of Makarska descent whose last names are Papo. On the other hand, I also know the Papo family has a large family cemetery on Mount of Olives Cemetery.

The earliest record I can find belongs to Yosef Papo, who lived in Ancona. Yosef Papo, a Converso from the Iberian Peninsula, was burned on a stake on 1555 in Ancona along with his 24 unfortunate friends⁴³. The data I have suggests that the Papo surname was used by the Conversos from Portugal, rather than Romaniotes. If the date 1505 on Avraham Papo's tombstone proves the existence of the Papo family in Izmir, that means Portuguese Converso immigrants were in Izmir in 1505, and even settled in the city. The question is: Could it be that the assumption that Jewish immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula preferred to settle in surrounding cities and not in Izmir is wrong? If the answer to this question is yes; then the institutional existence of the Izmir Jewish Community should have begun many years before 1565. After all, tombstones and cemeteries, which are considered a community's title deeds or population records, are at the same time indisputable evidence as to the presence of the community in that region.

On the other hand, there are answers to the question I presented previously, given by two Rabbis from Izmir and included in the book *Batey Kenesiyot* (Synagogues) written by Rabbi Avraham Eben Ezra. Let's consider the answers given by *Rabbi Avraham Hacoheh* and *Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra* ⁴⁴:

Shlomo Eben Ezra's response is as follows: "*The old man agreed to build them a synagogue. A synagogue named after him. Kahal Kadosh Sason or Kahal Kadosh N. Kish. That is his name ...*" ⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ Another source claims that the Papo is short for the Hebrew saying of Pnei Elohim Peer Vehadar'in (God's presence is beauty and elegance). See <http://www.gen-mus.co.il/en/person/?id=1549>. This explanation is a factoid. I added it as a footnote for informative purposes.

⁴¹ Ilan 2002, 301-302.

⁴² Although a distant possibility, it shouldn't be disregarded.

The question in Batey Kenesiyot, though, cannot be considered alone. Questions and answers should be evaluated together ⁴⁶. In the question section, no specific date was used. Moreover, a long historical process is described regarding the Jews of Izmir. On the other hand, the issues described in the question correspond both to the conquest history of Izmir and to *limited* data on the existence of a Jewish community in Izmir during the Byzantine era.

Therefore, I thought it would be appropriate to evaluate all available resources and give my estimates of when and where the Jewish Community lived in Izmir as follows:

* The question suggests a Jewish community existed in Izmir during the Byzantine period.

- When the Turks seized Izmir, they converted the synagogue in the city to a mosque and used it as a place of worship. The Jews remained without a synagogue for years. That means the Turks did not have a place to worship at that date. It must have been their first arrival after which they stayed for a long time. The first (partial) conqueror of İzmir is Çaka Bey. But his dominance in Izmir was very short lived ⁴⁷.

- The Aydınids seignior seized a part of Izmir (Kadifekale) in 1310 and built the fortress mosque there. According to some researchers, the fortress mosque was built in the 14th century ⁴⁸. Since the Aydınids had already built a mosque in the area they seized, they probably did not need another place of worship in Izmir. Thus, if there is a synagogue in the Byzantine Period; it should be searched within the boundaries of the inner harbor and the city walls, that is, inside the triangle created by Dr. Faik Muhittin Adam Street, Basmane Altınpark and the foot of Kadifekale-Değirmendağı ⁴⁹.

⁴³Some of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497 settled in Ancona, which had an important port, to engage in commercial activities. In 1555, Pope IV. Paul began to take anti-Jewish decisions in areas attached to the papacy. Ancona Jews were condemned to live in the ghetto. They were not allowed to acquire real estate or engage in free trade. The opposition to the Conversos was unbelievable. Some managed to escape. 51 people were arrested and judged. 25 of them were burned on a stake on 1555. One of the people who were burned to death was Yosef Papo. See <http://www.italian-family-history.com/jewish/ancona.html>.

⁴⁴ Rabbi Avraham Hacoen is one of the 17th century rabbis in Izmir. Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra lived in Izmir a long time and died in 1688. Barnay, 2014, 70.

⁴⁵ Avraham Eben Ezra, 5571 (1811), chapter 14, 71. Considering Shlomo Eben Ezra's reply, Barnay makes the following comment on Bakiş Synagogue, the first synagogue founded in Izmir during the Ottoman period: The Eben Kiş (or Sason) family founded the Bakiş Synagogue and it was named "Le Bakiş" in memory of the family. Barnay, 2014, 72.

⁴⁶Yaakov Barnay specifically underlines that there's no evidence of a synagogue in the Byzantine period. He makes the following comment on Avraham Galante's claim that there could be a synagogue in the city in the Byzantine period: "Galante seems to have read the question and disregarded the answers. He pointed at the Byzantine period without any reference". Barnay, 2014, 71. Galante, 1937, 38.

⁴⁷ Chaka Bey is the first Turk to have conquered Izmir. He stayed in Izmir for only 17 years. Ersoy, 2015, 45.

⁴⁸ Ersoy, 2015, 47.

⁴⁹ On the other hand, if Jews preferred during the period between 7th and 9th centuries to recede to the secure area within Kadifekale because of attacks and threats of occupation, they must have built a synagogue there. There is an article about the mosque in the fortress and the possibility that it was built by Turks. Bozkurt Ersoy, Akın Ersoy, Harun Ürer, "İzmir'in Türk Dönemine Ait İlk Dini Yapısı: Kadifekale Mescidi", XVI. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri -18-20 October 2012, cilt 1, Sivas 2014, 391-402. A question comes to mind: Could this mosque be an old synagogue, the one mentioned in the Responsa? Historians and archeologists underline that this possibility is not reasonable.

- Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra, who answered the question in the Responsa, died in 1688. We believe that Ruben, his wife and children are the heroes of the events that took place about two generations before the time Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra lived. In that case, the event described in Responsa must have happened 150-200 years before. In other words, the events could have happened in the 15th century.
- All of Izmir, including Limankale, was seized by Timur in 1402 and the city was destroyed. It is strongly possible that the synagogue was turned into a mosque in Timur's time.
- The Ottoman State conquered all of Izmir in 1424-1426. We believe a synagogue was built in the city by Ruben shortly after this event. Some time later, the Jews of Izmir were allegedly moved to Istanbul in 1453 as per the Ottoman Empire's exile policy⁵⁰.

After Çaka Bey, the coastal area of Izmir, which was taken back by the Byzantines in 1098, passed to the Knights of Rhodes in 1204. From 1204 to 1426, Izmir was the scene of tensions and wars between the Byzantium, the Knights of Rhodes, the Venetians, the Genoese and the Turks⁵¹. However, there was also vibrant commercial activity in the city. In that case, the synagogue should be located in a region far from the conflicts. Around the synagogue there was also a Jewish neighborhood. Here are the questions that need to be asked: Where was the settlement of the Jews who we think were living in Izmir between 1098 and 1453? In the area under Byzantine rule? On Kadifekale along with the Byzantines? Or was it close to Limankalesi, where the Knights of Rhodes, the Venetians and the Genoese took control? Or was it an area close to the Jewish cemetery which we believe was located right outside the city walls? Is it possible that the historical roots of the Gürçeşme and Değirmendağı Jewish cemeteries used in the Ottoman period go back to the Roman or Byzantine period? Could these areas, which were once cemeteries, been selected and used again as a cemetery under the influence of Jewish beliefs? Then could it be that the Jewish District of the Byzantine Period was established in Basmane Altınpark, which is close to Gürçeşme Cemetery, or on the foot of Kadifekale-Değirmendağı which is close to Değirmendağı Cemetery?

Frimann refers to a tombstone inscription which he copied in Izmir and included in his book *Sabbatai Zevi's Activities: "The intelligent, knowledgeable and highly noble person, Rabbi Yaakov Hayim Algazi, son of Moreno. May his memory be blessed ... year 5300 (1540)"*⁵².

⁵⁰ AAIU, Nahum, URL.: <http://remmmrevues.Org/2799>.

⁵¹ Ersoy, 2015, 45-49.

⁵² Barnay, 2014, 43. Bora 2016, 16.

Historians regard this evidence, which is not documented, with suspicion, because it is possible that the date of death was manually copied in reverse by Frimann. On the other hand, Rabbi Itshak Leon's Hebrew tombstone of 1565, discussed by both Galante and Frimann, suggests that the Izmir Jewish Cemetery may have been established before 1565⁵³. Moreover, the idea that this tombstone can be an evidence is also expressed by a respected professor of history such as Yaakov Barnay. Indeed, cemeteries and tombstones are considered to be the most important resources that prove the existence of an institutional community. One of the most prominent religious scholars of Izmir, the Chief Rabbi Hayim Palachi, also mentions the date 1599 as the approximate beginning of the Izmir Jewish Community as an institution. According to Barnay's citation from the traveler August Frankl, Frankl made a stopover in Izmir on his way to Jerusalem in 1856 and had the opportunity to meet Chief Rabbi Hayim Palachi. Palachi's account of the history of the Izmir Jewish community is as follows: "*The first families came from the lands ruled by the Ottoman Empire, Asia, Africa and Venice. The İzmir Jewish Community has existed as an institution for 257 years*"⁵⁴.

According to the 1528 census, there were 200 houses in 5 neighborhoods⁵⁶ in Izmir, where 300 Moslem Turkish taxpayers (approximately 1500-2000 people) and a small number of Christians used to live⁵⁷. But by 1575, the number of taxpayers had reached 500 (approximately 2500-3500 people). This means the population of Izmir had doubled during the 47-year time period from 1528 until 1575. The number of Christians in the city was still very small. 1528 and 1575 census results suggest that in those years there were no Jews in Izmir.

⁵³ Galante suggest the year 1605 as the beginning of the Izmir Jewish Community in the Ottoman period and confirms the 1565 tombstone mentioned by Barnay. Galante 1937, 9.

⁵⁴ Institutional or official presence means the attendance of at least ten Jewish adult men.

⁵⁵ According to Palachi (257 less the date of 1856 gives 1599), the Izmir Jewish community acquired an institutionalized structure in 1599. For further information, see Barnay, 1982, 48. Bora 2016, 15-16. Bora 2017 a, 139-140.

⁵⁶ The names of most Muslim Turkish districts in this century are available as they are included in detail in the records. In contrast, the settlement area of non-Muslims is only described as "cemaat-ı gebran" (non-Muslim congregation). According to Arıkan, the definition of cemaat-ı gebran refers to the Greek Orthodox. See. Arıkan, 1992, 64. Barnay does not mention HanBey-Pazar in the list of Jewish districts. Instead, he cites Cemaat-ı Gebran. See Barnay, 2014, 22. However, the first Jewish districts established in Izmir are located in Hanbey- Pazar on the skirts of Kadifekale and in Liman-ı Izmir. Another historian who speaks of a Jewish settlement in the Cemaat-ı Gebran is Goffman. Goffmann 2012, 119. Both must have used the same source.

⁵⁷ Sertoğlu 1976-1977, 72-76. Faroqli 1979, 29-30, 55. Goffman 1990, 7-18. Baykara 1974, 118.

Goffman, who did not come across Jewish names in Izmir's tax books from late 16th century, has also reached a similar conclusion ⁵⁸. On the other hand, the Istanbul Prime Ministry Archives contain records of Jewish merchants coming to Izmir and working in the city. For instance, an imperial decree was issued in 1574 which prohibited beeswax exports by a Jew from Izmir named Itzhak. The cause of the prohibition is not anti-Jewish sentiment or a desire to prevent unfair competition. There is only one reason for the decision: The Ottoman Sultan and the Ottoman bureaucracy viewed Izmir as a "*fruit basket*". Izmir was the exit gate of Western Anatolia's rich resources which Istanbul used for provisions. All the products gathered in Izmir were shipped to Istanbul. This tendency of the Ottoman bureaucracy was influential in the decision to restrict or even prohibit the exports of beeswax mentioned above ⁶⁰. The presence of a Jewish community in Manisa was recorded in Ottoman land records of 1530 ⁶¹. The following question comes up: Is it possible that Manisa land records were correct, while errors have been made in Izmir census records of 1528 and 1575? Ottoman land records are archival documents and those who do academic work have to accept the official documents as valid. On the other hand, the 1565 tombstone in Izmir is also an archival document. Moreover, the presence of the tombstone indicates the presence of the Izmir Jewish Cemetery. Therefore, the institutional Jewish community in Izmir during the Ottoman period must have begun in mid-16th century.

The social, economic, cultural and administrative structure of the Izmir Jewish Community during the long historical process from the 16th century to the 20th century should be examined under five different categories ⁶². This categorical distinction perfectly matches the historical evolution of the Izmir Jewish Community:

- The first of these is the time from 1565, the possible foundation date of the Izmir Jewish Community during the Ottoman period, until the great earthquake in 1688. This period has been a time of intense conflicts among Jewish communities that came to the city from different geographical regions, that came up because of differences in tradition, leadership races and conflicts between economic interests ⁶³.

⁵⁸ Goffman 1990, 80.

⁵⁹BBOA, TS.MA.d 7290 0018. There's no evidence on whether the man named Itshak was living in Izmir with his family.

⁶⁰ Goffman 2012, 119-120.

⁶¹ Emecen 1997, 32-34

⁶² A categorical distinction was first made by Yaakov Barnay with some differences. Barnay preferred to divide the time frame into four. For further information see Barnay, 1992, 3. I found it more appropriate to divide into five.

⁶³ Barnay, 1992, 11.

On the other hand, I believe it should be underlined at this point that the *social conflict* continued during the long history of the Jewish community for different reasons and between different classes. This phenomenon is also a matter that should be discussed separately.

- After the massive loss of life in the 1688 earthquake ⁶⁴, Izmir was vacated for a while, and economic and social life came to a halt. At the beginning of the 18th century, when the commercial activity of the port was back to normal, the city regained its previous lively economy ⁶⁵. Naturally, the Jewish community also had been integrated in the economy. Especially the existence of the rich Franco Jews, meaning Jews from Portugal, in Izmir is important. This period is the bright period of the Izmir Jewish community (i.e. the second phase) which would continue until the end of the 18th century ⁶⁶. In my opinion, this phase ended with the Izmir Fire of 1774.

- The period from 1774 to 1865 should be named as the third phase. This period was a time of decline for the community. It started with the Izmir Fire, and ended around when efforts for opening Alliance Israelite Universelle educational institutions had begun.

- The date when the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the western Jews begin their efforts to boost the economic development of eastern Jews marks the end of the third phase and the beginning of the fourth in the Izmir Jewish Community. This period, which started in about 1865 and lasted until 1908, is considered to be the period of development.

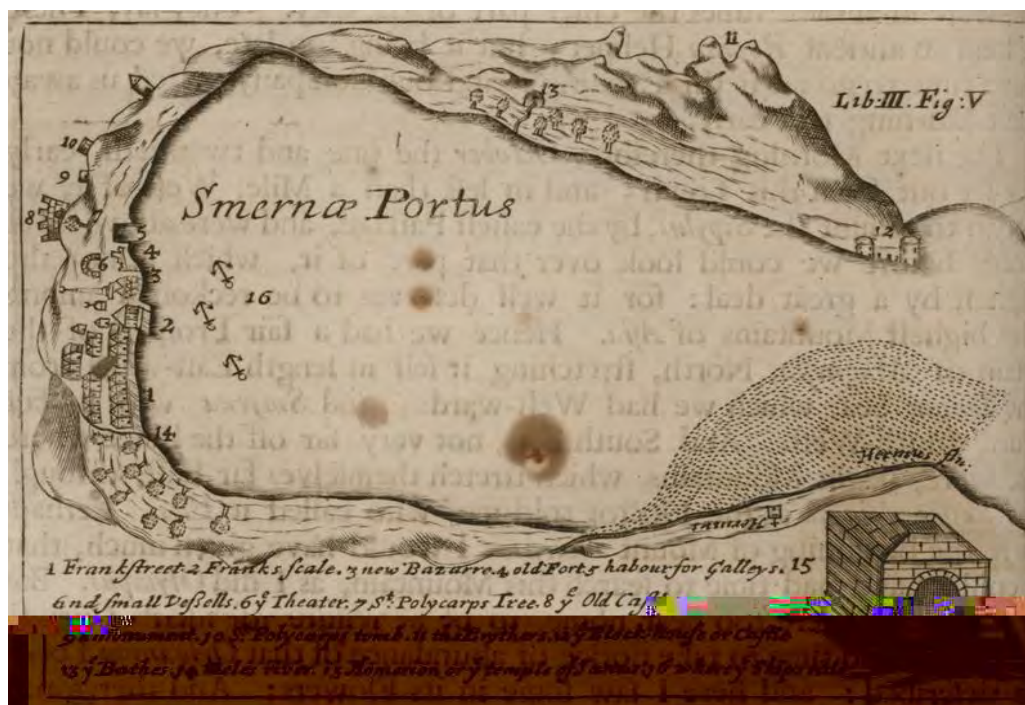
- This period starts in 1908 when the Committee of Union and Progress comes to power and continues until the proclamation of the Republic in 1923. Turkish nationalism, national economic practices, the War of Tripoli, the Balkan War and the First World War destroyed the natural balance of the Jewish community. During this time, both internal and external Jewish immigration are observed. Some of the members of the Izmir Jewish community gradually moved to France, South America, England and Italy, Jewish communities living in western Anatolian cities filled the gap created by the departure of Izmir Jews. Jews from Foça, Menemen, Bergama, Manisa, Akhisar, Salihli, Tire, Ödemiş, Bodrum, Milas, Thessaloniki and Aegean islands came to settle in Izmir, forming a new Jewish community in the city.

⁶⁴ Barnay, 1992, 11. Raif Nezihi 1926, 10. Barnay, 2014, 26-27.

⁶⁵ The city regained its vitality in the 1710's but a great change took place in the demographic structure of Izmir Jews. Only a small part of the original pre-earthquake (1688) community and their descendants remained in Izmir. See Barnay, 2014, 27.

⁶⁶ It seems the Ottoman Empire's strong structure and economy share a common fate with the Izmir Jewish Community. When one strengthens or weakens, so does the other. Actually this connection is true not only for the Izmir Jewish Community, but for all Jewish communities in Ottoman cities. It can even be said that Jews in Izmir and other cities share the same fate all through the Ottoman history. As Barnay pointed out, even a study of only the Jewish community in Izmir would help researchers to understand the history of all Jews who live within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. For further information see Barnay, 1982, 3-4

A-The years between 1565 and 1688



An engraving of the city of Smyrna dated 1682 by George Wheler (Source: <http://t.travelogues.gr/travelogue.php?view=51&creator=1127965&tag=12618>) . The area called Smerna Portus is the inner harbor. As clearly seen in the engraving, there is intense development around the harbor in 1682. The area around the harbor is the area before it was filled either deliberately or by natural causes. Today's Havra Street and the surrounding residential area fall within this region.

This period starts in 1565, the possible date the Jewish community began after the conquest of the city by the Ottoman Empire and ends with the great Izmir earthquake in 1688. 1565 is the date of death on the gravestone of Rabbi Ishak Leon, which was mentioned by Frimann and Galante and which Barnay also indicated that it could be correct. The year 1688 is an important milestone for Izmir Jews. An estimated 20,000 people died after the earthquake. 400 of them were Jews. The surviving Jews left the city. The city was evacuated. Izmir was virtually destroyed because of the 1688 earthquakes and the fires that came afterwards. The city was now almost empty city and had changed greatly. The neighborhoods before the earthquake and the structures that formed them were no longer there; neither were the original Jewish community and their descendants. Due to the series of disasters and their consequences, it is difficult to describe in detail the topographic and demographic structure of pre-1688 Izmir. I will try to make a depiction based on the limited data and findings available.

1-Migrations

The Jewish nation is the first community in the world to face immigration and exile. The Jews have been in exile since 8th century BC for approximately twenty-eight centuries. During this time, they have dispersed and migrated to different geographical regions ruled by different civilizations and undergone distinct and unusual changes in terms of culture and tradition. Different names began to be used to refer to the various Jewish communities: the Romaniotes, who under Hellenistic rule embraced Greek and Hellenistic cultures and mixed them with Hebrew and Jewish cultures; the Karaites, who do not accept any other source except the Torah and do not view the Mishna and Talmud as binding ⁶⁷; the eastern Jews or the Mizrahis living in the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia and the Caucasus; the Ashkenazis who since the Middle Ages lived in the regions west of today's Germany and along the Rhine River in northern France and Italy and in time spread all over northern Europe ⁶⁸.

Smyrna (İzmir) is one of the cities which attracted Jewish immigration since the antique period. As we have already mentioned in previous chapters, the first concrete finding of Romaniote presence in the city is from 123 or 124 AD. It is unclear until when the Romaniotes continued to live in the city, but it is possible to say that with Jews coming and going, there was movement and circulation in the city. I found the names of some community members who lived in Izmir in 1616: "Itshak N. Soson and his daughter Simha, Moshe F. Soson, Emanuel Hacoheh, Itshak Leon, Itshak Yafe, Shmuel Roman, Avraham Hacoheh, Shmuel H. Kish, Yehuda Ganon, Itshak H. Zamira, Shaltiel Galiffa, Avraham Gico " ⁶⁹. As his name suggests, it is obvious that Shmuel Roman, who is mentioned in the list, originated from the Romaniote.

⁶⁷ This sect was formed by Anan Ben David in the 8th century following a political conflict he had with the clergy in Mesopotamia and his consequent exclusion.

⁶⁸ Delevi, "http://www.salom.com.tr/haber-84581-askenaz_yahudileri_tarihi.html.

⁶⁹ Barnay, 2014, 49. Bora 2017,

On the other hand, the name Soson is of Hebrew origin and indicates the Middle Eastern roots of the family. It is possible that Afiya, who lived in İzmir in the 1590's, and Süleymanoğlu Nojim ⁷⁰, are of Safed origin, because these two names are Arabic names that are neither used or known in Anatolia, but they are used by Jews living in Arabic-speaking cities. Although scarce, there is some evidence of Ashkenazi presence in Izmir during the 17th century. Rabbi Eliyahu Hacoen Itamar wrote that he met with educated and cultured Ashkenazi Jews when he came to Izmir ⁷¹. Another source refers to the existence of Karaites in Izmir in the 17th century. However, there is no concrete evidence on this subject.⁷² The last group to come to Izmir were Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. Over time, other groups in Izmir were completely immersed in the dominant Sephardic culture and became fully Sephardic.

The most important reason for the cultural transformation to the Sephardic culture, which can be defined as assimilation, is the decrease in population of the old Jewish communities. We cannot ignore the adverse effects of infant and elderly deaths caused by deadly epidemics, conversions and immigration to foreign countries, especially northern Italy and Western Europe, on the demographic growth of Jewish communities in the 16th century. It should also be emphasized that *natural growth* was no longer possible for Romaniotes.

⁷⁰ Barnay, 2014, 45. Bora 2017,

⁷¹ Barnay, 2014, 61. We know of Jews who were expelled in 1470 from Bavaria and found refuge in the Ottoman state. Could it be that the Jews he met were of Bavarian origin?

⁷² Barnay, 2014, 22. Bora, 2015, 19.



George Wheler and Spon, 1688. (Source: <http://tr.travelogues.gr/travelogue.php?view=295&creator=1127965&tag=12618>)

There was a general tendency that caused the phenomenon of Jewish immigration I briefly mentioned above. This tendency was nourished by the relationship between the communities in different cities. And what is the nature of these relationships? We can define them as business or marriage bonds that explain the journeys from one city to another. The absence of travel restrictions by the Ottoman authorities also facilitated the demographic mobility. *"Ruben, who lives in Tire, went to Izmir to marry Simon's daughter who lives in Izmir. The house he stayed in Izmir belongs to Simon's daughter's mother's brother. The Levi family is the host. Simon's daughter is from the Yehuda family ...⁷³".* This record is very important also from a different aspect: It is the first solid evidence of two Jewish families living in Izmir in the late 16th century.

⁷³ Barnay 2014, 44.

The name of one of the Jews who owns a home in Izmir is Levi, while the other is Yehuda. So it is clear that in the 1590's there was a small Jewish community in Izmir. However, this congregation was not yet organized: "*The Izmir Jews wanted a response from me. A widow named Afiya and a man named Süleymanoğlu Nojim. There is no Rabbi there who will enforce the rules of religious law, or declare the prohibitions ...*"⁷⁴. As we mentioned in the previous paragraph, the names Afiya and Nojim are Arabic names that are not used or known in Anatolia. These names are used by Jews living in Arabic-speaking Ottoman cities. Afiya and Nojim must have migrated to Izmir from Safed. The population and economy of Izmir entered a tendency of rapid growth especially from the second half of the 16th century. It is widely accepted that Jewish merchants who engaged in commercial activity in Izmir initially did not live in the city. Jews who exported goods from the city are believed to reside in surrounding cities, like Manisa or Tire, which had larger Jewish communities than İzmir. In that case, Jewish immigration to Izmir initially must have been from the surrounding cities and the immigrants were probably families of Jewish merchants who engaged in export. As a matter of fact, the "*Pinto Synagogue*", one of the first synagogues from the Ottoman period in Izmir, belongs to Tire Jews. We know that a large number of Jews from Tire, Manisa and Ankara came and settled in Izmir, especially during the Celali Rebellions. Izmir initially must have been from the surrounding cities and the immigrants were probably families of Jewish merchants who engaged in export. As a matter of fact, the "*Pinto Synagogue*", one of the first synagogues from the Ottoman period in Izmir, belongs to Tire Jews. We know that a large number of Jews from Tire, Manisa and Ankara came and settled in Izmir, especially during the Celali Rebellions.

The crisis that broke out in textile production centers in Thessaloniki at the end of 16th century and the beginning of 17th century led many Thessalonian Jews to leave the city. In addition, many important scholars such as Rabbi Yosef Talvi, Rabbi Yehoshua Azaria Ashkenazi, Rabbi Yosef Eskapa (Rabbi Yehoshua Azaria Ashkenazi and Rabbi Yosef Eskapa organized the Jewish community in Izmir) and Rabbi Yitzhak D'Alba (Sabbatai Zevi's teacher) came from Thessaloniki to Izmir⁷⁵. Thessaloniki Jews migrated to Izmir throughout the 17th century; some reached Izmir, others lost their lives on the way. Those who managed to reach Izmir from Thessaloniki "*always remained a minority in the eyes of Izmir's children ...*"⁷⁶. Most of the Portuguese Jews exiled from Portugal settled in European cities and after staying in these cities for a while, they preferred to migrate to important trade centers within the Ottoman borders.

⁷⁴Barnay 2014, 45.

⁷⁵ Barnay, 2014, 50-52.

⁷⁶ Barnay, 2014, 53. Since the number of Jews who came from Thessaloniki to Izmir was quite high, there must have been a synagogue in Izmir for Thessalonikian Jews. But I was unable to find the name or the location of this synagogue.

The commercial privileges the Ottomans provided the Europeans, namely, the capitulations, as well as their strong connections with Western trading companies, led the Portuguese Jews to go to cities such as Izmir, Istanbul and Aleppo. By late 17th century, there were Jews in Izmir who had migrated from Istanbul, Ankara, Patras, Safed, Thessaloniki, Aegean islands, eastern Mediterranean and even Italy and western Europe ⁷⁷. Sabbatai Zevi was born in Izmir in 07/07/1626. His family migrated from Mora to Izmir in 1614 ⁷⁸.

The Jewish groups who came to Izmir from the places we mentioned above acted individually and not as part of a group. As new Jewish groups arrived in the city, new communities were formed according to their origin. Different synagogues were constructed in Izmir, while the tendency of division was accelerated by the driving force of migration, internal factors and natural disasters. A separate congregation, even a separate settlement was formed around each synagogue. In other words, synagogues had an additional important function; each synagogue was the center of a community. There were 4 synagogues in Izmir in 1634 ⁷⁹.

⁷⁷Bora, 2014, 16-18. 17th century Izmir was more tolerant than other Ottoman cities. In addition, all economic sectors were open to Jews. These two qualities encouraged Jewish migration to the city. Barnay, 2014, 33.

⁷⁸ Goffman 2102, 122.

⁷⁹ Barnay, 2014, 64.

By 1636 the number of synagogues reached 5, and there were 7 in 1661. The first known synagogue in Izmir during the Ottoman period was Bakish. Then, the following synagogues were built in chronological order: Portuguese (established in the 1630's) belonging to the Portuguese Congregation, Neve Shalom (established in the 1640's) again belonging to the Portuguese Congregation and Pinto (established probably in 1655), presumably belonging to the Tire Congregation. The name and place of the fifth synagogue, assumed to be in the city in 1636, is unknown. This should be a synagogue for the Jewish immigrants from Thessaloniki. It was probably built before 1634. In that case, one of the four synagogues that existed in 1634, before Neve Shalom or Pinto Synagogue, could be the synagogue of Thessalonians⁸⁰. In 1660 the Giveret (Senyora) Synagogue was built. Our evidence is Rabbi Shlomo H. Ezra's words from 1670: "*Our synagogue Kahal Kadosh Giveret, may God glorify its name, was built ten years ago*"⁸¹. There is an important piece of evidence from 1660 showing that there were 6 congregations in the city and therefore 6 synagogues: According to the information obtained from Rabbi Avraham Di Boton's book "*Lehem Rav*" published in Izmir; an agreement was reached in Izmir with the consent of 6 Rabbis: Rabbi Yosef Escapa, Rabbi Shlomo Algazi, Rabbi Itshak DiAlba, Rabbi Gershon Mutal, Rabbi Shlomo Eben Ezra and Rabbi Binyamin Melamed. Rabbi Hayim Benveniste signed separately. On the other hand, it seems that at this date, "*the city has not yet been handed over to any single Rabbi*"⁸². In the 1660's, the Algazi and Orehim (Visitors) Synagogues were built, thereby increasing the number of synagogues in the city⁸³. Below I listed the main factors that caused Jewish migration, although there are periodical and geographical differences between them:

- Freedom of movement (given by the government)
- Exile (Ottomans placing the communities they trusted in the cities they conquered)
- Expulsion
- Political developments (changing attitudes and laws of the rulers)
- Wars
- * Revolts
- Family ties, marriages
- Business relations
- Business activities and privileges
- Security concerns
- Pressure from the society
- Natural disasters (fires, epidemics and earthquakes)

⁸⁰ Barnay, 2014, 65-82.

⁸¹ Barnay, 2014, 83.

⁸² Barnay, 2014, 68.

⁸³ Barnay, 2014, 85-86.

2- The Formation and Development of Districts in İkiçeşmelik

In my opinion, a holistic description of the Izmir Jewish residential area from a historical perspective will facilitate a better understanding of it. Therefore, this section starts from the foundation date of the Jewish residential area and continues without interruption until 1887, when the Izmir District Organization was established.

Izmir was topographically divided into five districts during the period between the beginning of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. These five areas were not the smallest administrative units in the contemporary sense of local government; rather, they described residential districts formed separately by religious congregations around their own places of worship ⁸⁴. We know the founding date of most synagogues built in Izmir during the Ottoman period. The order of their construction may provide a clue as to where the Jewish district was founded and where it expanded, since Jewish immigrants who come to the city had a tradition of forming separate congregations based on their origin, organizing around the synagogues they built and living close together. The Portuguese Synagogue ⁸⁵, probably built in the 1630's, was in the port area. This suggests that the first Jewish district in Izmir is the Port region ⁸⁶.

On the other hand, we also know of the Jewish settlement on the foot of Kadifekale. We know Sabbatai Zevi's date of birth and where his house was located. Zevi was born in Izmir on July 7, 1626. ⁸⁷

His family migrated from Mora to Izmir in 1614 ⁸⁸. The house of Sabbatai Zevi is on the foot of Kadifekale and within the borders of the current excavation area of Smyrna Agora. Evliya Çelebi also points to the foot of Kadifekale as the location of the Jewish district in Izmir.

⁸⁴ Serçe 1999, 5.

⁸⁵ Barnay 2014, 73. Bora 2017 b, 101.

⁸⁶ The first synagogue built in Izmir is the Bakiş Synagogue. We unfortunately don't know when and where it was built. We therefore don't have any information as to the Jewish settlement that was formed around the synagogue. We believe this settlement was the first Jewish residential area in Izmir during the Ottoman period.

⁸⁷ There were also migrations from Patras and Yanina (Greece) to Izmir. Barnay claims that Sabbatai Zevi's family had come to Izmir from Mora, while emphasizing Gerschom Sholem's assertion that the Zevi family was from Patras. According to Barnay, Sabbatai Zevi was born in Izmir in 07/07/1626. So the family must have come to Izmir before this date. See Bkz. Barnay 1982, 57.

⁸⁸ Barnay 1979, 59-71. Barnay 1987, 191-202. Goffmann 2012, 123.



District names in Izmir at the beginning of the 16th century and their locations. The top point of the triangle in the photo corresponds to Basmane and Kadifekale. The area near the Inner Harbor is a residential area where the Hahambaşı District and Havra Street are also located. Han Bey (Pazar) is the slopes of Kadifekale where the Pinto Synagogue was built. The white empty rectangular area under Han Bey which is not clearly visible is the Smyrna Agora.

Based on a census ordered by an unidentified Ismail Pasha, Evliya Çelebi writes that there were around 2000 houses on the foot of Mount Pagos (Kadifekale) in 1068 (Islamic calendar, refers to years 1657-1658) which included 10 Muslim, 2 Armenian and 1 Gypsy Districts, along with 10 Frankish and Jewish districts ⁸⁹. Goffmann underlines that the Izmir Jewish Community entered a process of rapid growth starting from 1605 and that until the year 1660, one or two thousand Jews settled in the center and southern areas of the city known as Cemaat-i Gebran and Liman-ı Izmir ⁹⁰. The area that Goffmann describes as Cemaat-i Gebran is the settlement that includes the Frankish Street, which would become the Frankish District in the future. On the contrary, the Jews preferred to settle in the Port and Market areas, and not in Cemaat-i Gebran. As a matter of fact, the inner harbor area has been known as a Jewish residential area since the Roman period. Moreover, it is also known that the first Ottoman synagogues were built in this area. Jewish merchants from Tire and Manisa must have settled around the harbor before bringing their families to the city and it is likely that they continued to live in the same dwellings when they brought in their families. In addition, virtually all customs tax collectors in Izmir between 1610 and 1650 were Jews ⁹¹. This suggests that the dwellings of these officials were also located in the port area.

Available data suggests that the synagogues were established in the following order: Portuguese ⁹², Neve Shalom (Shalom), Pinto (could also be in first or second place), Giveret (Senyora), Algazi and Orehim (Foresteros). All of the synagogues I named are located in the inner harbor area and the marketplace. The Jewish district expanded to two directions. One was the market area on the foot of Kadifekale. The other is around the Inner Port. The Jewish settlement, located on both sides of İkiçeşmelik Street, expanded as much as possible in the area allocated to it between the inner harbor, the Armenian district and the Muslim district. Since the inner harbor had not been filled (either intentionally or naturally) until mid-18th century ⁹³, it is possible that in the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century, the Havra (synagogue) street had direct contact with the sea, and even continued towards the inner harbor, ending by the coastline. This conclusion that I reached seems plausible, considering that Jews played an active role in Izmir's trade as a commercial go-between until the end of the 18th century.

⁸⁹ Ülker, 326.

⁹⁰ Goffmann 2012, 119.

⁹¹ Goffmann 2012, 121.

⁹² Yaakov Barnay's estimated founding date of the Portuguese Synagogue is between 1630 and 1640. He mentions two different founding dates for the Pinto Synagogue established by Jewish immigrants from Tire: "Before 1640" and "the year of 1655". As far as I understand, there is no definite opinion on which of these founding dates is correct.

⁹³ The port must have been filled in mid-18th century.

The Ottoman district administration continued without much change until II. Mahmut's time. During the process of arrangements that continued from II Mahmut's rule until 1887, residential areas in Ottoman cities were divided into relatively smaller districts ⁹⁴. The arrangement was tried in each district and two people, who were known to be well-behaved and competent individuals, were elected mukhtar in each district, one having the title muhtar-ı evvel (first mukhtar) and the other, muhtar-ı sani (second mukhtar) ⁹⁵. This is probably the time when borders were drawn for the Jewish neighborhoods of Tsontsino, Bene Israel, Chavez, Chief Rabbinate, Efrati, Yeni and Hurshidiye ⁹⁶. I can describe the changes as follows: In the second half of the 18th century, the inner harbor was filled ⁹⁷, Anafartalar Street became the main street from Başdurak up to Hisar Mosque and business centers moved northward. Influenced by these changes, one part of the Jewish district expanded southward, while the other part, expanded to the east ⁹⁸.

In the 19th century, the Jewish neighborhoods, formed mainly around the synagogues, stretched from the point of intersection between İkiçeşmelik Street (today's Gazi Osman Pasha Boulevard) and Anafartalar Street (Mezarlıkbaşı) to two directions; one being towards Agora, Tilkilik and Basmane, and the other towards the residential area between Havra Street and Kestelli Street.

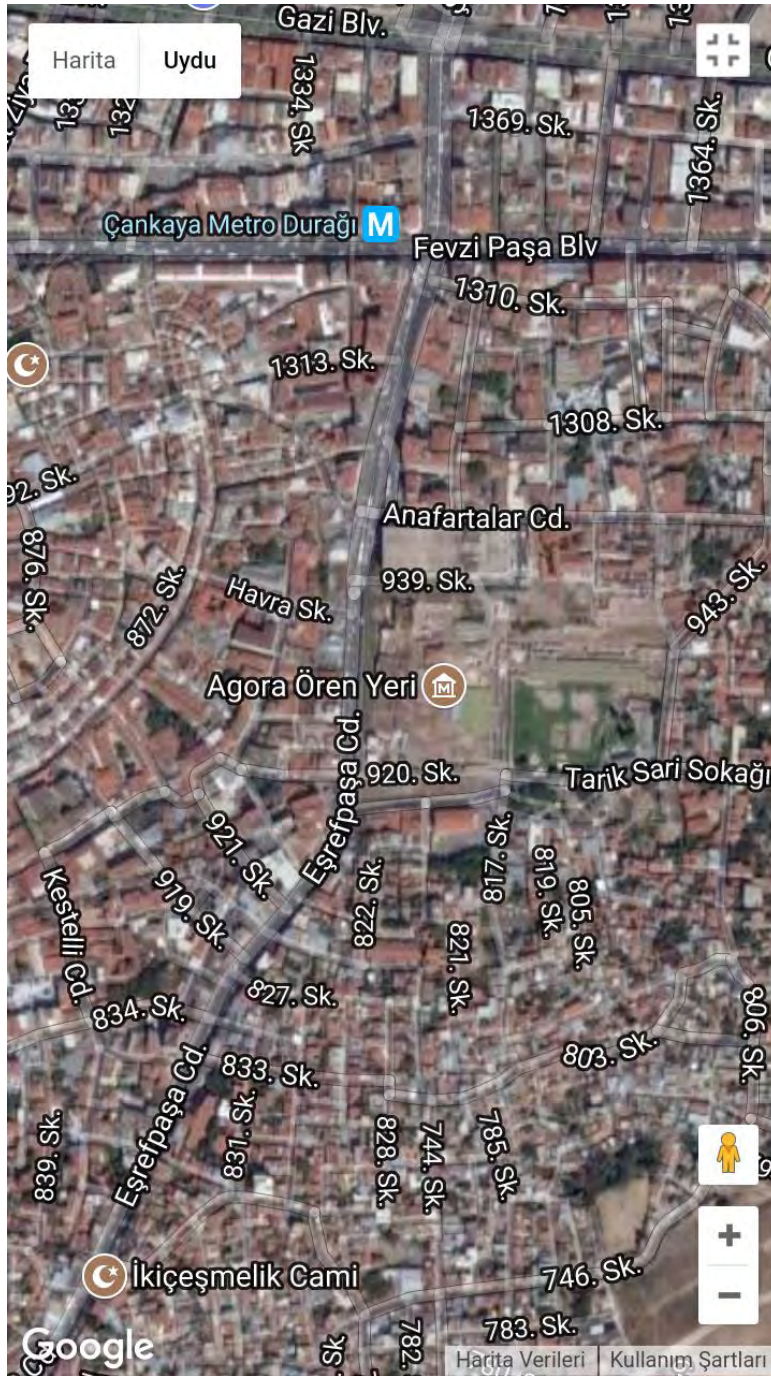
⁹⁴ Izmir was initially divided into 50 districts in 1885. The correspondence between the Aydın Province and the Ministry of Interior reveals that every initiative on this subject proved unsuccessful for two years. Work was always left in the middle. The Mukhtar Organizational Structure in Izmir was established in September 7, 1887. Kaya, 2011, 4.

⁹⁵Serçe 1999. The main purpose of the Mukhtar structure was to ensure security which was almost non-existent at that time. In time, its role in facilitating tax collection became clearer. Provincial Regulations of 1864 and Public Management of Provincial Regulations of 1871 added the councils of elders alongside the mukhtar structure, while regulating the rules for their selection.

⁹⁶ Previous district names left a mark in public memory and continued to be used in public and in kadı records. For instance, we observe that the name Cami-i Atik District appears in the kadi records of the second half of the 19th century. See Bora 2016,

⁹⁷ Chandler, who came to Izmir in 1765, writes that mud (alluvium) coming from Mount Pagos filled the inner harbor over time, which was the reason why the port dried up. Ülker, 320. Rauf Beyru on the other hand, expresses his doubts on the way the harbor was filled. He thinks it's unclear whether it was filled by natural causes or by human hands. See Beyru 1992, 42.

⁹⁸ Kıray 1972, 31-32.



The Jewish residential area and the streets around Agora. The map is from 2018.

Juderia ⁹⁹ was the name given to the Jewish settlement on both sides of İkiçeşmelik Street ¹⁰⁰. The Jewish residential area was divided into small administrative sections in the 19th century, and each section became known under Jewish-specific names in Hebrew, Judeo Spanish (Ladino) and Turkish ¹⁰¹. Havra Street, an important market place, was located in the Hahambaşı (Chief Rabbi) District in the 19th century. In the 18th century, some Jewish families were free of social and economic problems thanks to the active role they played in the city's commercial activity, therefore it is highly possible that they had settled in the area of Hahambaşı District. After the inner harbor was filled in the second half of the 18th century, the area of the Hahambaşı, Bene Israel and Tsontsino districts probably extended to the south; and the area of Chavez district probably extended to the east. In light of the information I gave above, I can say that Yeni and Hurşidiye districts were established last. On the other hand, the Hahambaşı district also grew in time, and a new district named Efrati, was born from within its borders in the second half of the 19th century.

It is impossible to identify the borders of the districts, considered the smallest local government units in the Ottoman cities. We cannot precisely determine where the Ephrati, Hahambaşı, Tsontsino, Chavez and Bene Israel districts began and where they ended. Hurşidiye and Yeni were residential areas where Jews lived side by side with the Muslims. From a total of 86 houses located in the Hurşidiye district in 1887, 47 belonged to Muslim Turks and 39 to Jews. All through history the Greeks, Armenians or Frankish never lived together with the Muslim population in the city; such an intimacy was only granted to the Jews from among the non-Muslim minorities. The Hurşidiye district, which extended from Mezarlıkbaşı to Çorakkapı on the left side of the road today named Anafartalar Street, was also a business center. It was probably called the Jewish district because most of the workplaces in the region belonged to Jews. In Ottoman cities, ownership was the main criterion when deciding on a name of a district. In other words, the important factor was which community the dwellings in the district belonged to.

⁹⁹ The name *Juderia* would change to First *Juderia* when Karataş was zoned for construction and a new Jewish colony was formed along the line of Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe. The Jewish settlement in Karataş and vicinity would be referred to as the Second *Juderia*.

¹⁰⁰ The place Jews took refuge in times of a disaster in the city was Pınarbaşı. There was a small number of Jewish families in Bornova as well. We also see that some Jews lived in Karşıyaka at the beginning of the 20th century.

¹⁰¹ See Bora 1985, 36-37. Galante 1937, 12-13. District names of Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew origin remained the same until 1923. The names were all changed to Turkish after the declaration of the Republic.

However, the definition of the Hurşidiye district as a Jewish one clearly does not adhere to the above criterion. Even the name of the district was chosen in Turkish.

In the historical process from the beginning of the 16th century until the end of the 19th century, I found it appropriate to briefly classify the properties and development of the districts and the Jewish residential area as follows:

- Izmir gained a dual appearance along with the beginning of the Turkish settlement in the 14th century, when the Turks settled along the slopes of Kadifekale and the Latins along the shoreline. This duality came to an end when the city was completely conquered by Turks ¹⁰².
- As it had always been in all Ottoman cities, Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims in Izmir lived in districts separated by invisible borders. The districts from the foot of Kadifekale up to Pasaport were in this order: Turkish district, Armenian district, Greek district, Jewish district and Frankish district, the distinction being a demographic one.
- In the meantime, from the 16th century the city of Izmir entered a phase of topographic development. The city expanded from around the Inner Harbor towards Pasaport and Basmane. District names appeared inside the settled triangle-shaped area: The districts of Faik Pasha, Mescid-i Selatinzade, Han Bey (Pazar), Liman-i Izmir, Boynuz Seküsü and Cemaat-i Gebran reportedly existed in the first half of the 16th century. By the second half of the century, the districts of Ali Çavuş, Şaphane and Yazıcı were added to these ¹⁰³. According to Arıkan, all the districts, except Cemaat-i Gebran, which was the residential area of the Greek Orthodox, were Turkish ¹⁰⁴. Although Barnay and Goffmann name the Jewish residential areas as Liman and Cemaat-i Gebran, in my opinion the Jewish settlements must have been in the Port and Market areas.
- There is a long gap from this date until the second half of the 19th century. References to Punta, Darağacı, Frankish district, I. Kordon, Market, Islamic, Greek, Armenian, Jewish districts, as well as widely used names such as Yukarı (upper) district, Basmahane and Konak describe centers of commercial activity, residential areas of religious congregations or important streets, streets and neighborhoods, and not districts as administrative units. The Izmir Kadı (Moslem Judge) Records, available from the middle of 19th century, can give an idea about the Muslim districts in Izmir in the second half of the 19th century; namely, Mirali, Kefeli, Cami-i Atik, Hatuniye, Kasab Hızır, Selâtinoglu, Hacı Hüseyin, Çorakkapı, Pazaryeri, Faik Pasha, Ali Reis, Hasan Hoca, Şeyh, Cedid and Izmir Karantina. These are the district names mentioned in the books between 1852 and 1880.

¹⁰² Tanyeli 1987, 117-119.

¹⁰³ Goffman 1995, s. 8, Arıkan 1992, s. 63-64.

¹⁰⁴ Arıkan 1992, s.64.

- From among the districts named above, I have identified the ones where Jewish dwellings and shops were located. These are: Kefeli, Kasab Hızır, Cedit, Hasan Hoca and Cami-i Atik.
- The Cami-i Atik district is especially important. Havra Street, Rothschild Hospital, the Rabbinate building and the synagogues of Portuguese, Bikur Holim, Beit Hillel, Hevra, Etz Hayim, Algazi, Neve Shalom, Senyora and Orehim were located within the borders of this district.
- In 1885, Izmir was divided into fifty districts. On September 7, 1887, the Izmir Mukhtar Organization was established. The names of the Jewish districts I have mentioned above (Hahambaşı, Efrati, Chavez, Bene Israel, Tsontsino, Yeni and Hurşidiye) began to be used. Other districts were formed in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe which were zoned for construction in 1865. There was Jewish settlement in this region, although no mention of a Jewish district yet.
- The names of Jewish districts changed during new administrative arrangements made in the Republican period. Efrati's name changed to Güneş, Hahambaşı became Güzelyurt, Tsontsino was named Sakarya, Chavez's name turned to Kurtuluş and Bene Israel's name became İstiklal. The names of Yeni and Hurshidiye which already were Turkish continued to be used for a long time without being changed.



Efrati District



Yeni(New) District

Hahambaşı District (Sabbatai Zevi's house shown on the map is not in Hahambaşı District, but falls within the borders of Bene Israel District)

3- Synagogues

Today there are eleven synagogues in Izmir's İkiçeşmelik, namely; Beit Hillel, Portuguese, Hevra (Talmud Torah), Etz Hayim, Algazi, Shalom, Senyora (Giveret), Tsontsino, Shonsol, Bikur Holim and Ashkamat Beit HaKnesset. There are also synagogues which we know where they were, but don't exist today, and those I have concrete evidence on their existence, but cannot determine where they were. These are four in number and are named Pinto, Tsontsino, Orehim (Foresteros) and Mahazike Aniim.

The number of synagogues built between 1565 and 1688 was eight ¹⁰⁵. Their names are Bakish, Portuguese, Neve Shalom, Pinto, two (or one) synagogues for Jews from Thessaloniki (names and locations cannot be determined), Giveret, Algazi and finally Orehim ¹⁰⁶. I classified the synagogues in İkiçeşmelik based on the century they were built in. I'm presenting below the information I have on these synagogues, except the synagogues or synagogues belonging to Jews from Thessaloniki.

¹⁰⁵ Barnay gives the number of synagogues founded during the 17th century as nine, based on the possibility that there were two Thessalonikian synagogues.

¹⁰⁶ For further information See Barnay 2014, 70-87.

Bakish (Sason) Synagogue:

Contradictory information makes it impossible to determine when this synagogue was constructed. The information I have suggests it was probably built in the 15th century. This synagogue does not exist today ¹⁰⁷ and there is also no information as to its location. The synagogue was founded by the Eben Kish family, also known by the name of Sason ¹⁰⁸. There is evidence that the family still lived in Izmir during the 17th and 18th centuries. In the seventeenth century Rabbi Moshe Sason was serving as a pinchas in the city, and there is evidence on the presence of a Bakish (Sason) Synagogue in the 18th century. Rabbi Itshak Hakohen Rapaport was serving in Kahal Kadosh Sason in the first half of the 18th century ¹⁰⁹.

Portuguese Synagogue:

Most of the Portuguese Jews who were deported from Portugal in 1497, settled in European cities first. They stayed in these cities for a while; and then preferred to migrate to important trade centers within the Ottoman borders. The existence of commercial privileges - capitulations - Ottomans provided the Europeans and their strong connection with western trading companies led Portuguese Jews to commercial centers such as Izmir, Istanbul and Aleppo ¹¹⁰. It is estimated that the Portuguese Synagogue was founded by Portuguese immigrants in the 1630's. According to Barnay, "*immigrants from other places joined*" ¹¹¹ the synagogue community. This synagogue is known as the second synagogue established in Izmir during the Ottoman period.

¹⁰⁷ Is it possible that this synagogue was rebuilt after the great fires and earthquakes in Izmir and began to be referred by a different name? This should be examined.

¹⁰⁸ Sason is a Hebrew word meaning joyous or cheerful.

¹⁰⁹ The possibility of a connection between Bakiş Synagogue and Etz Hayim Synagogue should be examined.

¹¹⁰ These are the Conversos. Converso means convert in Spanish. The word is used for Jews who converted from Christianity back to Judaism. There is evidence that some of the famous Portuguese physicians who came to Izmir supported the Sabbatai Zevi movement. They are Dr. Karon, Dr. Mihal Kordoza and Dr. Avraham Baruh. Barnay 2014, 73.

¹¹¹ Barnay 2014, 73.

There is evidence of its existence in 5404 (1654). The expression "*beney Kahal Kados anusi Portugal*" (sons of the Portuguese synagogue community) is mentioned a few times in a reply by Rabbi Danyel Esterosa to a question in the Responsa. The answer continues as follows: "*Gevrey anşey Kahal Kadoş anusi Portugal hay yişmeram*" (Conversos congregation members of the Portuguese synagogue may God glorify them) ¹¹². According to a Responsa dated 5416 (1656), Ruben rented a yeshiva he owned to members of the Portuguese Community. The synagogue was built in the garden. Twenty years passed and according to Ruben's claim, the yeshiva was expanded without his permission ¹¹³. "What is meant by the word yeshiva? Does it refer to a religious academy? Or is it a synagogue?" No one knows ¹¹⁴. Many sources claim that the Portuguese Synagogue was at the very center of the events related to Sabbatai Zevi in 1666 ¹¹⁵.

¹¹²Barnay 2014, 73-74.

¹¹³ The Responsa is by Rabbi Hayim Benveniste. Izmir Jewish Community Archives, Rav Hayim Benveniste, Bee Hayay, Seloniki 5548 (1788), siman 34, 26. Barnay 2014, 73. The description in this Responsa brings to mind the information in Avraham Eben Ezra's book "Sefer Batey Knesiyot" on the years before the founding of the Bakiş Synagogue: "...Ruben built a synagogue in his garden to dedicate it to God.....". Izmir Jewish Community Archives, Avraham Eben Ezra 5571 (1811), 71.

¹¹⁴ Gershom Shalom, Rozanes ve Galante mention the Bakiş and Portuguese Synagogues within the context of Izmir synagogues from the 17th century. Rozanes 1930, 163 Galante 1937, 16. Barnay 2014, 69. The phrase "twenty years passed. and Ruben claimed the yeshiva was expanded without his permission" in the Responsa has no definite time frame. Could it be the Bakiş Synagogue, which is not mentioned along with the Izmir synagogues of the 19th century, was combined with the Portuguese Synagogue and lost its name and identity?

¹¹⁵ Many sources claim that the Portuguese Synagogue was at the very center of the events related to Sabbatai Zevi in 1666. But there's also a similar claim about Algazi Synagogue. The events about the Portuguese Synagogue develop as follows: Sabbatai Zevi returns to Izmir in 1666. As the Sabbatean movement grows, the Portuguese Synagogue, considered to be the stronghold of his opponents, closes its doors to Sabbatai Zevi. Sabbatai and his supporters respond by breaking into the synagogue and throwing out the leading rabbis of the opposite camp. Among these was Salomon Algazi, one of the founders of the Algazi synagogue. Sabbatai Zevi declares himself as the Messiah of the Jews and the date June 18, 1666 as liberation day. The Portuguese Synagogue would now become the center of the Sabbataean movement.

But there is a similar claim regarding the Algazi Synagogue as well. The Portuguese synagogue was completely demolished and rebuilt several times as a result of earthquakes and fires. It is estimated that today's Portuguese synagogue was rebuilt most recently in the 19th century. The synagogue, which survived a major fire hazard in 1976, is currently being renovated. A marble inscription with the date 5561 (1801) was found during plaster scraping works on the courtyard wall. The synagogue was completely burned during the Great Izmir Fire in 1772. The reconstruction of the synagogue was subject to the approval of the relevant government agency. A document in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry suggests that the application for reconstructing the synagogue was answered in 1799¹¹⁶. Therefore, either the permission procedure was very long, or it took some time until the impoverished community management could generate the necessary financial resources for reconstruction. Whatever the reason, the Portuguese Synagogue was rebuilt in 1801, 29 years after the fire. The marble inscription I mentioned above must have been hanged in the synagogue courtyard after the construction was finished.

Pinto Synagogue:

It is estimated that it was founded in 5496 (1655) by Jews of Tire origin who settled in Izmir. It is also possible that the year of foundation is before 1640. We know that the first immigrants who settled in Izmir came from surrounding cities and Tire Jews, who founded the synagogue, are considered to be the first immigrants to do so.

Rabbi Shlomo Algazi wrote in a eulogy that "*may the great honorable old gentleman Rabbi Yosef Pinto's name remembered in blessing... may the great Rabbi Shlomo Ben Ezra rest in paradise ... this is the synagogue mentioned in the question. It belongs to Rabbi Yosef Pinto. The date of foundation is 496 (1655).*" It seems Rabbi Yosef Pinto financed the establishment of the synagogue. Rabbi Efraim Pinto, a member of the family, was deported from Tire in the 1630's. Members of the Pinto family were known as Sabbatai Zevi supporters in the 17th century.

¹¹⁶ See the reply to Izmir Jewish Community's application for permission to renovate the burnt synagogues. BOA, C. DH. 38-1856, dated 29/R/1214(1799).

It is said that Rabbi Yosef Escapa also prayed in this synagogue, which was located at the foot of Kadifekale. Years after its establishment, it was zoned within the boundaries of the Tsontsino district, that was formed in the 19th century. Located on 817 street across Agora Park, it is used today as a private parking lot. The Izmir Jews describe the area where the Pinto Synagogue was located as: "*La Suvida de Pinto*" (Pinto slope) or "*La Eskalera de Pinto*" (Pinto staircase). These words are the product of collective memory, since congregation members do not remember the Pinto Synagogue or its location. The synagogue probably continued to be used by the poor Jewish community, who preferred to stay in İkiçeşmelik, rather than emigrate and settle in Karataş. Since Refael Diyaz knows its location, it must have been used until the 1950's or 1960's. However, there are no stairs or slopes on either side of the plot shown by Refael Diyaz. Therefore it will be useful to investigate the source of the words "*La Suvida de Pinto*" (Pinto slope) or "*La Eskalera de Pinto*" (Pinto stairs). I wrote in previous chapters that I have a copy of the map drawn by Ernest Bon in 1913. Above is the part of that map that interests us. The name of the 817th street passing in front of the Pinto Synagogue on the map was recorded as *Rue Pintos*. Ernest Bon's map of 1913 is an important resource in this respect.



Pinto Synagogue is located in Tsontsino District (Sakarya District) 817 street. In the photograph, the land of Pinto Synagogue is the large plot in the intersection of 821 and 817 streets where parked cars can be seen. This information was given by Refael Diyaz and the location of the synagogue was shown by him personally.



I have a copy of the map drawn by Ernest Bon in 1913. The Street in front of the Pinto Synagogue is marked in this map as Rue Pintos. In this sense, the Bon's map of 1913 is a valuable source.

Neve Šalom (Šalom) Synagogue:



The instription at the entrance of Neve Shalom Synagogue

Neve Shalom or Shalom Synagogue was founded by wealthy Portuguese Conversos in the 17th century. Its name is stated in the sources both as Neve Shalom and Shalom. In that case, the synagogue, known today as Shalom (Aydınlı), should be the Neve Shalom Synagogue. The book "*Sefer dila Havera Kaduša di İzmir*" written by Avraham Yaari contains the 42-item charter of Neve Shalom Synagogue's orphanage and the list of its members in 5404 (1644). That means the Neve Shalom Synagogue must have existed in 1644¹¹⁷, in other words, it was founded before 1644. Further, there's evidence that Rabbi Eliyahu Hacoen Haitamar¹¹⁸ came to the synagogue several times to preach. One of the Rabbis and Tora instructors of Neve Shalom Synagogue in 5435 (1675) was Rabbi Yosef Hazan. One of the Thessalonian Rabbis who came to Izmir in the middle of the 17th century says that in those years, "*the great Rabbi Yosef Escapa and the great Rabbi Aharon Lepapa are on duty at Kahal Kadosh Shalom*"¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁷ Barnay 2014, 75.

¹¹⁸ Rabbi Eliyahu Ben Avraham Shlomo Cohen Itamar was born in Izmir in 1650 and died in 1729 in Izmir. He's known to have written some 40 books. <http://ascentofsafed.com/cgi-bin/ascent.cgi?Name=rebbeBios>.

¹¹⁹ Barnay 2014, 77.

The inscription I illustrated above is located next to main entrance of the synagogue in the courtyard. The fire mentioned in the inscription refers to the Izmir fire which broke out in June 1841 and burnt down the Jewish district along with many synagogues. Thousands of people, especially Jews, were left homeless. The incident was to be remembered as a major disaster. Some Izmir Jews even perceived the fire as a divine punishment; "*they believed the August 1841 fire was a heavenly punishment for the poor who did not eat kosher meat*"¹²⁰. The fire of 1841, which caused a decline in the Jewish population and a deterioration of morale, miraculously stopped right in front of the main entrance to the Shalom Synagogue. The synagogue survived the fire with no damage. The marble inscription describes this miracle.

Algazi Synagogue:

Most of the synagogues established in Izmir bear the name of the person who founded it or of the synagogue administrator. Some writers have also used the name Galante Synagogue for the Algazi Synagogue. However, Rabbi Moshe Galante, whose name is mentioned in connection with the subject, came to Izmir from Aleppo together with Sabbatai Zevi and is not a local Rabbi. As Barnay emphasizes, Galante is probably one of the Rabbis of Jerusalem. "*On Friday (or Saturday?), he went to the Algazi Synagogue and declared that Zevi was a true Messiah*"¹²¹. Since the declaration was made in the Algazi Synagogue, this synagogue must have been referred to as the Galante Synagogue for some time and came to be known by this name in the Jewish community. There is evidence that the Algazi Synagogue existed in 5426 (1666), indicating that it was built prior to that. It is also known that there was a person named Avraham Algazi, who acted as a broker for Venetian merchants in Izmir during the 17th century. On the other hand, one of the Rabbis in Izmir was Rabbi Hayim Algazi who died in 5431 (1671). It is possible that both were related to the synagogue¹²². Rabbi Hayim Benveniste describes that Sabbatai Zevi frequented the Algazi Synagogue in 1666: "*They gathered in Kahal Kadosh Algazi (may God glorify the name)*". Regarding this issue, Barnay commented that: "*Was Algazi Sabbatai Zevi's synagogue? We do not know. Did Sabbatai Zevi go to this synagogue only on a certain Sabbath (Saturday) in 1666; or was this the synagogue that was already being used and frequented by his family? We do not know*"¹²³.

¹²⁰ Levy 1992, 186.

¹²¹ Barnay citing from Gershon Shalom 2014, 85.

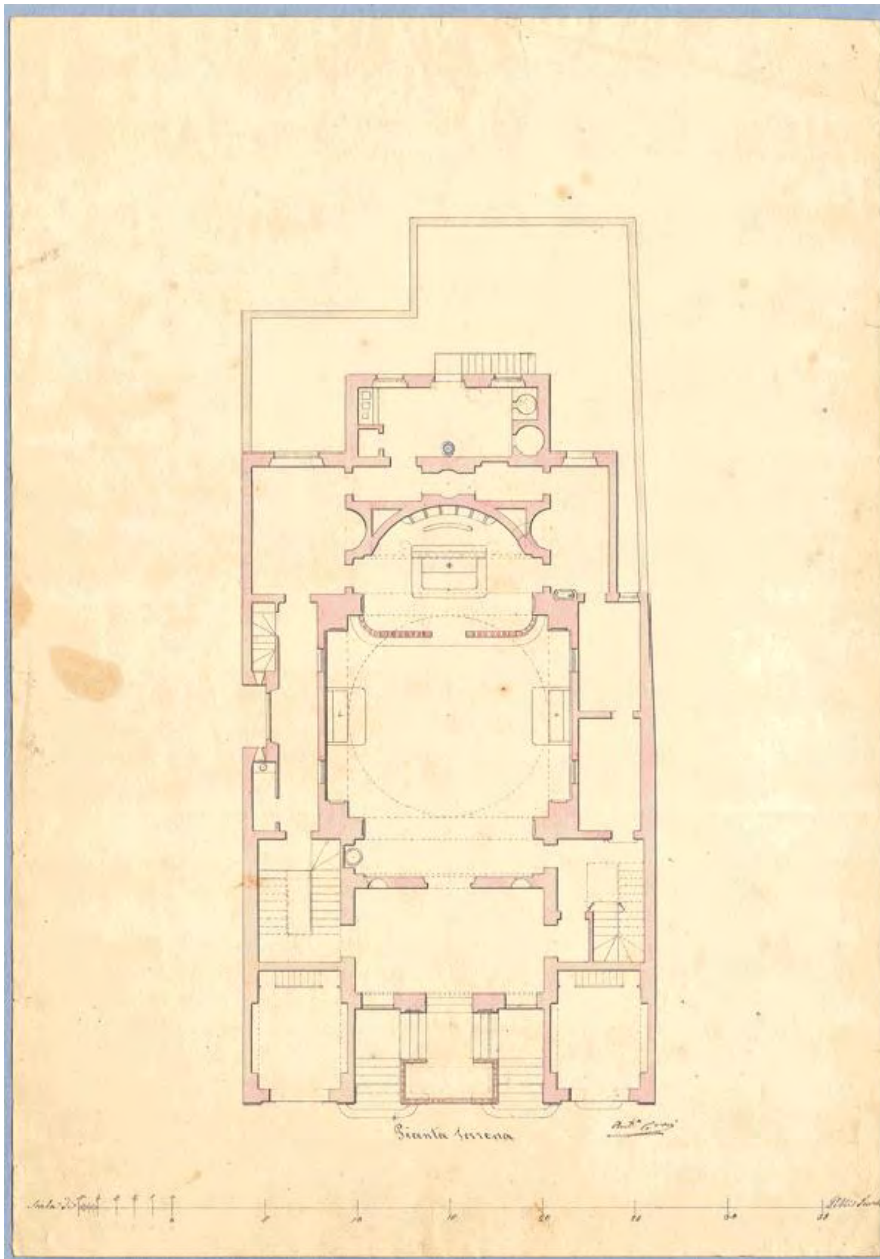
¹²² Barnay 2014, 84-85.

Giveret (Senyora) Synagogue:

Giveret (Senyora) Synagogue was built in 1660. These words by Rabbi Shlomo H. Ezra dated 1670 prove that: "*Our Synagogue, Kahal Kadosh Giveret, may God glorify it, was built ten years ago*" ¹²⁴. It is located on Havra Street, on the plot facing Anafartalar Street and 927 street. The synagogue, which suffered great damage in the Izmir Fire of 1841, was rebuilt by the Yerushalmi family according to a centralized plan. The main hall of the synagogue is reached by a terrace elevated by five steps. The original structure of the synagogue was built with a central plan. The new plan, which probably began to be used under Italian influence in the 19th century, was also tried in Senyora (Giveret). The portable teva (prayer platform) was elevated to the Ehal wall and integrated with the Tora cabinet. The seating rows were converted to a linear style, like the interior layout in a church. Access to the azarat našim (women's area), located above the entrance opening to the main hall, is from the courtyard. The synagogue walls are stone built, its roof is wooden, the ceilings and the flooring are from wood. The walls of its large courtyard are high and massively built, to prevent the synagogue from being seen from the street. There are also single storey annexes in the garden.

¹²³ Barnay 2014, 85-86. It is widely accepted that the Portuguese Synagogue had an important part in the events that took place after the return of Sabbatai Zevi to Izmir in 1665, and not the Algazi Synagogue. As the Sabbatean movements grew, the Portuguese Synagogue, considered to be the stronghold of his opponents, closed its doors to Sabbatai Zevi. Sabbatai and his supporters responded by breaking into the synagogue and throwing out the leading rabbis of the opposite camp. Among these was Salomon Algazi, one of the founders of the Algazi synagogue. In this raid, Sabbatai Zevi declared himself as the Messiah of the Jews and the date June 18, 1666 as liberation day. The Portuguese Synagogue would now become the center of the Sabbataean movement.

¹²⁴ Barnay, 2014, 83.



This plan was discovered in the Antonio Croci Archives in Switzerland by Stefania Zannone Milan who has written a doctoral thesis on the architect Antonio Croci. It was sent to Associate Professor Cenk Berkant who shared it with me. Croci's signature can be seen on the bottom right side of the plan, which also states that this is the ground floor plan of the building. But there is no information on the city or the building it's referring to.

Croci, a Swiss-born Italian architect who had been trained in Brera Academy, the most prestigious academy of his time, was in Istanbul from 1847 until 1858 when he returned to Switzerland. Evidently, he came and stayed in Izmir during this period. "Is it possible that the Senyora Synagogue which was damaged in the fire of 1841 and rebuilt, is the work of the architect Croci? Could it be that above building plan belongs to Senyora?" This is indeed a possibility, according to Dr. Cenk Berkant and Dr. Stefania Zannone Milan who prepared a doctorate thesis on Croci. This possibility is a hypothesis which is worthy of consideration.

Orehim (Foresteros) Synagogue¹²⁵:

This synagogue, probably founded by Jews (Francos) who came to the city for commercial purposes, was first mentioned in a source from the end of 17th century. Most of the Francos were from Livorno. The source which mentions the name of the synagogue is Lev Shlomo. The work mentions the garden of the Orehim Synagogue within the context of the period after the earthquake in 1688. There is evidence that the synagogue was destroyed in the 1688 earthquake and was rebuilt in the first half of the 18th century. It was known as Rabbi Hayim Abulafia's synagogue in the 1760's¹²⁶.

When Yosef Molho of Thessaloniki said in the 18th century, "*I saw visitors coming to settle in Thessalonica ... their card games are different from ours ...*", he probably meant the Francos.

It is likely that the Francos who came to Izmir were described as visitors, just like those who went to Thessaloniki. The Turkish meaning of Orehim Synagogue is also visitors¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ Galante emphasizes that Gerush Synagogue's other name was Orehim. He got this information from Rozanes. Barnay on the other hand, writes that while there were Gerush (expulsion) Synagogues in Thessaloniki and Istanbul, there's no evidence of synagogue with this name in Izmir. Barnay 2014, 82.

¹²⁶ Barnay 2014, 86.

¹²⁷ Barnay 2014, 86.

¹²⁸ A term for non-Muslim subjects living in Islamic countries. Non-Muslim living in Islamic countries is a term used for the people. In the dictionary, zimmi (zimem in plural) is defined as "a person taken under protection, given assurance". It comes from the root zimmet, meaning "a debt one undertakes or is obliged to pay, patronage, protection, agreement, treaty". In Islamic countries citizens of other faiths who live together with Muslims are also called ehl-i zimme (ehlü'z-zimme). <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/ayrmetin.php?idno=440428>.

¹²⁹ Olson 1977, 120, Bora 1995, 10.

4- Community Organizational Structure

According to Islamic law, the Zimmies (non-Muslims) ¹²⁸, who recognized the protection of an Islamic state and lived permanently within its borders, were defined on the basis of congregation, and not individually ¹²⁹. In the Ottoman Empire, where the official religion was Islam, the Jews in the Zimmi status were primarily members of the Jewish community and were represented by their religious leaders in the presence of the sultan. There were differences between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects in terms of rights and obligations. All non-Muslims were obligated to pay the state an annual tax per capita and a yearly land tax. In return, they were exempted from military service and enjoyed freedom of belief, worship and education ¹³⁰. There was an important condition for the freedom: not to violate the limitations defined by law. The segregational laws were so far-reaching that non-Muslims were not allowed even to give their children Muslim names. Names both groups had in common were required to be used differently. For example, they were allowed Salomon, but not Süleyman; David but not Davud; Moshe or Moiz, but not Musa ¹³¹. Under these circumstances, non-Muslims had less rights and more obligations than Muslims ¹³². Indeed, equality of status and opportunity given to non-Muslims in Islamic society was limited in some important respects. The title of full membership in society belonged to free Muslim men. Those deprived of any of those three qualities; slaves, women, and infidels, were not equal ¹³³. The aim of reflecting inequality in law was to institutionalize the distinction between the ruler and the ruled, because inequality was one of the pillars of class society ¹³⁴.

The Ottoman State's attitude towards Jewish subjects, viewed as more reliable compared to Greeks and Armenians, was generally tolerant. But occasionally, some harsh practices resulted in deviations from this policy. For instance, during II. Bayezid's time Jews were subjected to strict restrictions ¹³⁵. II. Murat was disturbed that Istanbul Jews' wealth was starting to draw attention and ordered the slaughter of all Jews in the country. He was convinced to cancel his decision. However, a law that reorganized Jews' clothing and compelled them to wear long pointed cone-shaped hats, but not turbans, could not be prevented ¹³⁶.

¹³⁰ Eryılmaz t.y., 22. Avner Levy 1989, 1. Avigdor Levy 1989, 15-19. Bora 1995, 10.

¹³¹ Lewis 1980, 33. Rules about what non-Muslims could wear and where they could live were defined and limited by law. Eryılmaz t.y., 18-23.

¹³² Avner Levy 1989, 1. Bora 1995, 10.

¹³³ Lewis 1980, s. 8. Bora 1995, 10.

¹³⁴ Schick 1986, 56. Bora 1995, 10.

¹³⁵ Hacker 1982, 124. Bora 1995 10-11.

¹³⁶ Olson 1977, 124. Sharon 1981, 39. 52. Bora 1995, 11.

In the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic State, the executive power was softer than the laws, contrary to the practices in Christianity. This is the reason Ottoman State's attitude towards Jewish subjects is described by some historians as "*negligence without malice*"¹³⁷. Ottoman Jews were able to protect their own identity because they were free to practice their language, culture, and especially religion, unlike the Jews who were oppressed by European Christian states. The Ottoman State never carried out an Islamization policy against non-Muslims. Had it adopted such a policy, the Ottomans would possibly have succeeded in fully Islamizing the Balkans. There were Jewish migrations from Christian Europe to the Ottoman Empire, which is an important indicator that Ottoman Jews lived in a more tolerant environment than their fellow Jews in Europe¹³⁸.

Fatih Sultan Mehmet, who conquered Istanbul in 1453, recognized the Greeks, Armenians and Jews as a community at around the same time. He tried, as much as possible, to do this without causing political harm to their laws and traditions. Like other Zimmies, the Jews also had an autonomy approved by the Ottoman sultan¹³⁹. Moshe Kapsali, who was appointed as Chief Rabbi of Istanbul, had the right to administer and judge his congregation in financial, social, legal and cultural domains. In return, it was expected that the Chief Rabbi would pay his congregation's tax shares in time and maintain order. The *Rabbi Tax* the Jewish community was obliged to pay appeared to be the price for having a chief rabbi approved by Ottoman authorities, but in fact it was the price of having the privilege to live independently¹⁴⁰. The Chief Rabbinate of was an institution which had more powers than the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs. The reason for this was that the Ottoman authorities had less confidence in Christians than in Jews¹⁴¹. On the other hand, Chief Rabbi Moshe Kapsali's jurisdiction was limited to the city of Istanbul. Ottoman Jews were organized separately under the name *kahal* (congregation), each having its synagogue and rabbi. There was also no religious hierarchy in the Jewish community, unlike the Armenian and Greek communities. Thus, while the Ottoman Nation (*millet*) System was institutionalized under the rule of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, the authority of the Chief Rabbi was extended to include the entire Ottoman Jewish community only in the 19th century when the Nation System earned its original meaning. The assertion that Fatih Sultan Mehmet appointed Moshe Kapsali as the Chief Rabbi of the Ottoman Jewish Community with extensive powers started to appear in history research only as a "*hearsay stemming from a concern to find a historical basis for the 19th century reforms*"¹⁴². This comment is supported by the fact that the Rabbi Tax continued to be collected, Although the Chief Rabbi position was left empty for a long time because Ottoman authorities canceled the election for Chief Rabbi in 1526.

¹³⁷ Rodrigue 18. Bora 1995, 11.

¹³⁸ Hacker 1982, 117. Sertoğlu 1969, 44. Bora 1995, 11.

¹³⁹ Hacker 1982, 122. Avigdor Levy 1989, 43. Bora 1995, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Epstein 1982, 103. Hacker 1982, 122. Bora 1995, 13.

¹⁴¹ Olson 1977, 121. Bora 1995, 13.

¹⁴² Lewis 1980, 126-127. Avigdor Levy 1989, 42-43. Bora 1995, 13.

Indeed, for Ottoman authorities facing financial problems, regular tax payments were more important than the presence of the Chief Rabbis ¹⁴³.

Some of the Jews expelled from the Iberian peninsula in 1492 and 1497 settled in Ottoman lands. In the cities they settled, they found Jewish communities organized by ancient rules of tradition and adopted the existing system. The system they adopted was some sort of a feudal system ¹⁴⁴, which was a traditional form of government which Jewish communities in Islamic countries had since the Middle Ages. The Ottoman Empire's practice of exile in newly conquered places also contributed to the formation of such an administrative system. For example, when Fatih Sultan Mehmet conquered Istanbul in 1453 and exiled Romaniote Jews living in Anatolia ¹⁴⁵ to Istanbul, the Jews who came to Istanbul were organized around congregations bearing the names of the cities they came from ¹⁴⁶. In every city where Jews lived, every Jewish community had its own synagogue and rabbi. These social organizations, named Kahal (congregation), were establishing and maintaining relations with the Ottoman authorities through their representatives. The Iberian Jews also established kehalim (plural of kahal- congregations) bearing the names of their geographical origins. Thus, dozens of kehalim were established in big cities. The Kehila Organization, on the other hand, represented all the kehalim in a city. Kehalim had religious authority, while the Kehila Organization had financial, legal and administrative authority. The Kehila Organization was also responsible conducting the relations between the Ottoman government and the kehalim. The Rabbis, referred to as Hahamim or Marbizet Tora ¹⁴⁷ were the sole leader of the Kehila.

¹⁴³ This position was divided into two during the time of Chief Rabbi Eliyahu Mizrahi, who was appointed after the death of Moshe Kapsali. The community's spiritual leadership was given to Mizrahi and its financial and administrative responsibility was given to Shealtiel (Salti). This practice weakened the authority of Chief Rabbi Mizrahi. When Mizrahi died in 1526, the election of a new rabbi came to the agenda. This time, the election process came to a dead end because Jews originating from the Iberian peninsula opposed the candidates. This resulted in the intervention of the Ottoman authoritarians and the Sultan canceled the election. Epstein 1982, 106-107 and Avigdor Levy 1989, 56-59.

¹⁴⁴ Every aspect of life in the Ottoman Jewish community was regulated by laws and rules since the 16th century. These were the legal rules applied by elected officers in each kahal (community). The legal rules took the form of laws (takanot in Hebrew) and rules (haskamot in Hebrew). According to Naeh, haskama sometimes had more power than takana. The most important law was that elected executives had the authority to enforce rules set forth for the welfare of the kahal, and this authority had no limit. The rules aimed to ensure the continuation, management and proper functioning of the community. Ben Naeh 2009, 176.

¹⁴⁵ There were also Jews of Mizrahi ve Ashkenazi (Germanic) origin among them but they had assimilated with the dominant Romaniote culture after they settled in Ottoman lands.

¹⁴⁶ Ben Naeh 2009, 85.

¹⁴⁷ Barnay 1990, 23-24.

Despite the differences between the Kahals, the Iberian model became the Ottoman Jewish community's widespread form of government especially from the 17th century onwards ¹⁴⁸. Two main leadership institutions appeared in this model under the names of maamad and memunim. The most prominent feature of Ottoman Jews seemed to be that management organizations were high in number and their areas of responsibility were not clearly specified. The main reason for this was the division into communities and the socio-economic differences between the communities. Maamad was the main leadership institution of the kahal, which, as mentioned earlier, originated in the Iberian Peninsula and was widely used within the Sephardic diaspora. It usually consisted of fewer than 10 people ¹⁴⁹. The Maamad, which was elected by taxpayers and had the authority to make decisions about Takkanot (kehila rules) ¹⁵⁰, was present in every kahal. The positions of parnasim ¹⁵¹, a rosh kahal (head of congregation), a bailiff (who administered the relationship between Ottoman authorities and the Jewish community), and a tax collector ¹⁵² were selected from among Maamad members. From 17th century onwards, the words memunim (people responsible for running the daily tasks of the kehila), parnasim and tovey hakahal (the best in the kahal) became the titles for the elected leaders of the kahal. The elected officials generally consisted of 5 to 7 members. The number of administrators was increased during times of crisis due to political and practical reasons. This way, tax collection was ensured, while tasks were divided among the administrators rather than being a burden ¹⁵³.

The financial organization of the Ottoman Jewish Community had two main purposes: The first was to ensure that taxes Jews were obliged to pay would be taken from individuals and given to state authorities on time. Secondly, it had to ensure that all religious and social activities of the community would be financed. Tax collection was not just about the transfer of money from the taxpayer to the kahal's treasury and then to state treasury. Responsibilities and duties also entailed deciding on the kahal budget, distribution of the tax burden and setting priorities. The Ottoman Jewish community leaders were always striving to reduce the number of registered taxpayers. They did this by hiding taxpayers during the census and bribing census officers, inspectors and tax collectors to have them record fewer taxpayers. Costs that covered unexpected needs such as bribes and gifts were often found in community records. Apart from the taxes that should be paid to the Ottoman authorities, the Ottoman Jewish community's expenditures included debt interests, internal expenses and funds for institutions and services operated for the community members. Debt interests became an important community item After the 17th century.

¹⁴⁸ Iberian Jews who gained majority with ongoing immigrations got stronger thanks to the preferential status they achieved in management positions and in the trade sector. Anatolia's historical Jewish communities (Romaniote, Mizrahi and Ashkenazi) came under the influence of Sephardic culture and traditions. Thanks to the cultural assets brought along by Sephardic Jews, Ottoman Jews lived a bright era all through the 16th and the 17th centuries.

¹⁴⁹ Ben Naeh 2009, 204-205.

From the 1680's onwards, Ottoman Jewish communities started having difficulties in paying the heavy taxes they were made to pay. They had a larger deficit in their budget every year. This forced them to borrow from different sources, such as the money invested in the community by individuals, religious foundations and associations; wealthy Muslims and foreign merchants. As the debts increased, the amount of return payments and the interest also increased. Expenditures collected under the name of internal expenses were payments to salaried employees, various charity activities (including paying the state taxes on behalf of the rabbis and poor members of the community) and support for Jewish congregations in the Holy Land. The Jewish community had various sources of income: Taxes paid directly or indirectly by members were the most important source of income. Ariha was the property tax. Theoretically, every property owner, including divorced women or widows living in separate houses, had to pay taxes in the city where they lived. Even short-term visitors were obliged to pay this tax if the duration of the visit was extended. Hebrew sources refer to continuous mandatory payments as *tamidin* (constant). Every kahal kept a record of all the taxpayers. It was the responsibility of congregation officers to record births, deaths and newcomers to the congregation ¹⁵⁴. Other incomes were gabel, voluntary donations, profits from donated properties and foundations and fines. Further, starting from the 17th century, financial agreements were made between the members of the congregation and the congregation leader. The community was functioning like a bank and paying yearly interest to its customers the community members. Over time, a separate institution was created, and deposits began to be collected there ¹⁵⁵. In the 17th century there was a method practiced by Ottoman Jewish communities regarding the income from congregational taxes, namely, tax evaluation. Every three years, Ariha Gidola (major tax evaluation) took place during the interim days of Pesah (Passover) or Succot holidays. In addition, there were annual minor evaluations. Thanks to yearly calculations, members whose financial situation had changed were able to appeal the tax amount ¹⁵⁶.

17th century *haskamas* (permits, approvals, decisions) were related to issues that came up due to changing circumstances in both collective and individual life. The initiative to change the rules was the privilege of kahal administrators. From 1630 on, all the kahalim in every city began to

¹⁵⁰ Takkanot consisted of the rules regulating the administration of the Kahal, the relations between the individual and the administration, taxation, accommodation, work ethics and dressing style.

¹⁵¹ Treasurer.

¹⁵² Tax collectors were called Maarihim.

¹⁵³ Ben Naeh 2009, 204-205.

¹⁵⁴ The officials avoided updating the records when the community showed a tendency to grow.

¹⁵⁵ Ben Naeh 2009, 184-193.

¹⁵⁶ Ben Naeh 2009, 194.

Gather under a single management, thereby moving to a new form of administration. The way community regulations were formulated was as follows: The marbitz tora ¹⁵⁷ wrote a draft for the planned regulation and it was approved either by community administrators or all community members. An askama usually included the following elements: An introduction describing its necessity, the text of the regulation, its duration and the penalties for offenders. The last section specified the place and date of entry into effect. The rabbis and the administrators signed at the bottom, and later, it was presented to the taxpayers at the synagogue, which was the kahal center, on a shabbat or a holiday. The main reason for choosing the sabbath or a holiday was that most men came to the synagogue on those days. One of the administrators read the text to everyone, any necessary changes were proposed right there and approved immediately. The approvals were verbal or signed. A signature was required if a very important law was on the agenda. Approving the text meant that the community promised to adhere to this new rule. Consequently, the askama was recorded in the kahal books. The most important detail of the ceremony was that the Tora cabinet was opened and the Hazan carried the Tora throughout the ceremony. In this way, the askama gained a sacred nature. After an askama came into effect, all kahal members were obliged to obey it. Sometimes there would be a demand to annul a rule. The annulment was done by openly informing the addressees and by tearing or burning the text in the records. The religious aspect of the annulment process was more complex; it required the participation of the rabbis or at least one rabbi and two dayanim ¹⁵⁸. Since a rule came into effect through a public oath by kahal members, they also had the right to participate in the annulment ¹⁵⁹.

The strict Jewish dietary rules compelled the Jewish community to employ shohetim ¹⁶⁰ and menakrim ¹⁶¹ and to closely monitor their work. Meat was sent to Jewish meat shops after the slaughter by shohetim. Jewish butchers cut the meat, salted it and shed the blood, making it religiously clean or completely kosher, and then sold it to the public. Independent specialists were responsible for supplying the animals for slaughter and for processing the parts forbidden to be consumed. Each group was organized in a guild or had a second guild among themselves. Poultry was slaughtered by the head of the household or by butchers. Shohet certificates were usually the duty of religious butchers of the city and of the memoney issuer ve heter (the official for bans and permits). In other words, a shohet could be appointed by means of a certificate issued by the city rabbi. From the 17th century onwards, shohet duty became a hazaka ¹⁶² that passed from father to son ¹⁶³.

¹⁵⁷ Tora teacher.

¹⁵⁸ Religious court judge.

¹⁵⁹ Ben Naeh 2009, 177. The askamas often were violated. For instance, despite the askamas that prohibited applying to non-Jewish courts, it was not possible to prevent the Jews from turning to Sharia courts. See. Ben Naeh 2009, 178.

¹⁶⁰ Butcher that slaughters meat according to religious rules.

¹⁶¹ Butcher who removes some internal parts to prepare kosher meat.

¹⁶² Propriety right.

¹⁶³ Ben Naeh 2009, 321-322.

After the conquest of Chios Island by the Ottomans in 1566, Izmir gained significance in the foreign trade of the Ottoman State as a port for exports. This triggered the Jewish immigration to the city ¹⁶⁴. First, Jewish immigrants from Tire and Manisa, then from Ankara, Bursa, Safed, Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Aegean islands, Livorno, Venice and Marseilles came to Izmir and formed separate communities. We know that Jews from Tire were the first to form a kahal, Thessaloniki and the Portuguese immigrants followed. Every kahal organized around its own synagogue. As a matter of fact, the Jews of Izmir were unique in terms of structure. The qualities and organizational forms in Izmir were different from other Jewish communities in the big cities of the time. The number of communities in Izmir was very low, even though it welcomed Jewish immigrants from many localities. In comparison, the number of communities in Edirne, which had a similar number of Jews in the same period, was twice that of Izmir. The Izmir communities communicated with the Ottoman bureaucracy as an organized unit. Consequently, we can see that during Ottoman taxpayer censuses, the Jewish taxpayers in Izmir were registered collectively with no reference to congregations. We also can learn from tax collection records that Jewish taxpayers paid their taxes collectively and in a single payment. However, in Istanbul, Thessalonica and Edirne, censuses and tax collection were carried out separately in each community ¹⁶⁵.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, every kahal in Izmir was free in managing its internal affairs and was subject to a central authority in terms of foreign affairs. On one hand, there was a collective administration linking each kahal in the city, which ensured the collection of taxes, their transfer to the state, and the implementation of decisions on issues affecting the entire Jewish community. On the other hand, each kahal was allowed to continue its own traditions ¹⁶⁶. The kahal formed a framework for every aspect of members' daily lives and offered all religious and social services, such as praying, court judgements, education, social support and burial services. At the same time, it represented the households in dealings with government, especially in the area of tax payments.

¹⁶⁴ The generally accepted opinion is that the Izmir Jewish community in Ottoman period began in the second half of the 16th century. When 1492 and 1497 immigrants came to Ottoman lands, they preferred to settle in Tire and Manisa that accommodated Jewish communities, and not in Izmir, that looked like a small village at that time.

¹⁶⁵ Ben Naeh 2009, 96.

¹⁶⁶ Ben Naeh 2009, 173-174. A law banning members from joining a different kahal has not been found. In any case, there's no Responsa on this subject.

An unofficial sign of being a member of a kahal was a shared language, traditions, memories, a feeling of belonging to a kahal and some surnames. The real aim of the kahal was to allow its members to continue their traditional way of life. As time went by, immigrants and exiles got used to their new home. The tradition of solidarity that was present in among immigrants in their first years slowly eroded. So their motivation to create a separate kahal also weakened. *Origin*, which emerged as a unifying element at first, lost its significance. Different areas of interest and the aim to create a common cultural milieu replaced the factor of origin ¹⁶⁷.

There is no evidence of a Rabbinic institution in Izmir in 1617. At that time there was only one community and a single Rabbi in the city: Rabbi Itsak ben Rabbi Meir Hadyan ¹⁶⁸. Migration waves to Izmir continued at that time. By 1620, the number of communities in the city reached 3. By 1631, the number was 6, three of them being under the responsibility of Rabbi Yehoshua Azarya Ashkenazi, and the other three under the responsibility of Rabbi Yosef Escapa. Both Escapa and Azaria were immigrants from Thessaloniki. Both had spent their childhood and first years of youth in that city and received their education at the Beit Midrash of Thessaloniki. The competition between the two probably started in Thessaloniki. Rabbi Azarya emigrated from Thessaloniki to Izmir towards the end of the 16th century. Rabbi Escapa first went to Istanbul. He stayed here for a few years and continued his education in the yeshiva. Then he settled in Izmir. Rabbi Azarya was older and more senior than Escapa ¹⁶⁹. In 1631, the two Rabbis shared the responsibilities by dividing the Izmir congregations into two equal parts and co-signed the first community law of the same date. Rabbi Yehoshua Azarya died in 1648 and Rabbi Escapa became the only rabbi of the city until his death in 1661. In 1665 the administration was again divided into two. Meanwhile, the events around Sabbatai Zevi along with power struggles the rabbis in Izmir increased the disorder and the unrest in the community ¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁷ Jewish associations and guilds became more common in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although losing from their importance and authority, the kahalim continued to exist with their old names and identities until the beginning of the 20th century. Ben Naeh 2009, 174-175.

¹⁶⁸ Barnay 2014, 160. Many sources on Izmir Rabbis claim that Izmir's first Rabbi was Rabbi Isak Levi, son of Meir Levi who emigrated from Istanbul. The family name here must be missing. Shaw 1991, 130. Galante 1937, 71.

¹⁶⁹ This is briefly how the Rabbinical system in Izmir worked at the beginning of the 17th century: First the rabbi of the community or communities would be appointed with an official document and the community or communities under his responsibility would be obliged to pay his salary. If the Rabbi died or was dismissed, the next rabbi in the seniority rank would replace him. This method did not prevent the power struggles that would come later. Barnay 2014, 161.

¹⁷⁰ Barnay 2014, 160-164.

Yosef Escapa, who became the chief rabbi of Izmir after Ashkenazi's death, initiated a series of reforms aimed to ease the struggles that increased the social tension in the Izmir Jewish Community. First, two committees were formed to conduct the legal, administrative and financial affairs of the community: Beit Din (Religious Council or Law House) and Secular Council (Community Council). Having the powers and authority of the Religious Courts, Beit Din was ruling on civil and commercial cases involving the Jewish community. From time to time, even non-Jews resorted to this Council in order to find solutions to problems they had with the Jews. Beit Din always consisted of single-digit number (3, 5 or 7) of rabbis. When the President was absent from the meetings, the Chief Rabbi undertook this task. The Secular Council consisted of 12 members who were elected every year. The duty of the Secular Council was to determine the income and expenses of the community and collect taxes. At the same time, it assumed the administration of the community. The Secular Council was obliged to prepare a general balance sheet at the end of each year. The members of the Council were called Memunim (Administrators). In the last years of Yosef Escapa's duty as Chief Rabbi, the Izmir Jewish Community was governed by 7 Memunim in 1670 ¹⁷¹. Yosef Escapa's reforms paved the way for two Chief Rabbis to share the powers. After Escapa's death Hayim Benveniste assumed religious authority, while Isak Dalba took over the administrative and financial powers ¹⁷². This created a suitable environment for the intensification of the conflicts that separated the Izmir Jewish community into two opposing camps.

The Rabbis of Izmir had unique qualities. Many distinguished Rabbis had migrated to Izmir from many different geographies. For this reason, Izmir was to become famous for its yeshivas as well. The Rabbinical System in İzmir was created a long time after the formation of the Izmir Jewish Community. A Rabbinic hierarchy was established based on the level of the studies at the yeshiva (religious academy). A student who passed the examination and graduated from the yeshiva with the approval of the Chief Rabbi, was given his first title: *Haham haneela*. The number of titles was 7. The highest was Rav Hakollel, which was prerequisite for becoming the Chief Rabbi ¹⁷³. In the 17th century there were a large number of great Rabbis in Izmir, which inevitably led to power struggles. At first, the elections for Chief Rabbi caused a confrontation between communities with different traditions who came from different towns. Then came the struggle of the poor and the middle class against Rabbis who tried to strengthen their authority by resorting to oppression, and against the rich because of unfair taxation ¹⁷⁴. The conflicts seemed to diminish during the time of Chief Rabbis Hayim Abulafya and Isak Hakohen Rappaport, but did not come to an end.

¹⁷¹ By 1811 their number was 12 and they were called Nesia Haeda (Israel's leaders). In 1884 Secular Council members increased to 20, including 3 foreign subjects, 6 Memunim, 4 Parnassim (tax collectors) and 10 substitute members. Galante 1937, 17-18. Bora 1995, 40.

¹⁷² Galante 1937, 51. Bora 1995, 41.

¹⁷³ Galante, Anatolie, 1937, 45-49. Bora 1995, 39.

¹⁷⁴ Lewis 1980, 142-147. Olson 1977, 126-128. Bora 1995, 15. The scholastic educational system gained weight as the religious authority got stronger, which deprived the Jews of modern education.

In 1725, Hayim Abulafya issued a law banning Fraudulent Scales to prevent the unfair taxation that led to complaints from the poor class. In the same year, he introduced restrictions to put an end to people's actions against religious rules. His aim was to prevent Jewish merchants from opening their shops on Sabbath (Saturday) afternoon to compete with their non-Jewish neighbors, and prevent the residents, including religious officials and administrators, from spending the holy day by drinking coffee and chatting in coffee shops. After the aging Abulafya and Hacoheh returned to Jerusalem in 1740, the election system for Chief Rabbi was changed in 1749. The right to elect the Chief Rabbi, enjoyed until then only by Beit Din members, was also given to members of the civilian elite. However, this system was not successful and in 1751 there was a return to the old electoral system¹⁷⁵. In 1835, II. Mahmut officially recognized the position of the Ottoman Chief Rabbi, which would provide the administration of the Ottoman Jewish Community from a single central office¹⁷⁶. According to the new system, the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul, was now the leader of the entire Ottoman Jewish Community and had the authority to make proposals to the Ottoman Sultan regarding the appointments of the local Chief Rabbis in the cities. This change effectively ended the dual administration system in the local chief rabbinate institutions¹⁷⁷.

5- Cemeteries

Brief History of Değirmendağı Jewish Cemetery (Bahribaba Jewish Cemetery)¹⁷⁸

Although limited information prevents making a definite assertion as to when the Jewish Cemetery in Değirmendağı was established, it is still possible to make some assumptions. For example, documents related to Değirmendağı Jewish cemetery in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office in Istanbul emphasize the ancient history of the cemetery¹⁷⁹. Moreover, according to the records of the Izmir Jewish Community, "Heset shel Emet"¹⁸⁰, which organizes activities related to funeral services, was founded in 1656¹⁸¹. In Addition, we know of tombstones that were moved to the Gürçesme Jewish Cemetery from Değirmendağı and to Smyrna Agora.

¹⁷⁵ Barnay 1992, 13-16. Bora 1995, 41.

¹⁷⁶ Braude 229. Lewis 1984, 174-175. Barnay On the history 1990, 30. Bora 1995, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Bora 1995, 41.

¹⁷⁸ For further information on the Izmir Jewish Cemetery, See. Bora, 2015, 116-127.

¹⁷⁹ BOA, C. Adliye 622/1. Document dated Hicri 15 Muharrem 1278 (23 July 1861). MVL. 712/13. Document dated Rumi 26 Temmuz 1281 (7 August 1865). İDH. 850/68223. Document dated Rumi 20 Mart 1298 (1 April 1882).

¹⁸⁰ The Hebrew name Heset shel Emet means a true good deed, which refers to a good deed towards the dead, as no reward is expected. Taking care of the dead is one of the most important mitsvot in Judaism. Tora Bereshit, 47:29, 2002, 389. Mitsva is the rule and command every Jew is obliged to fulfil. Besalel, 2001, 415-424.

The oldest tombstone in Gürçesme is dated 1640, while the oldest one in the Smyrna Agora is from 1646. This means that a Jewish Cemetery did exist in Izmir in the 17th century.

The earliest information on the arrangements and changes in the Jewish Cemetery is from 1840. The Izmir Jewish Community renovated the walls surrounding the cemetery land in 1840¹⁸². However, the community encountered some legal issues concerning the land in 1865, when Karataş was zoned for construction and the city began to expand beyond Değirmendağı. When the cemetery land was put up for auction in 1865, the Izmir Chief Rabbinate had to apply to the authorities to correct the error¹⁸³. In 1868, Sanitary Regulations were published after which a burial ban was issued in the cemetery¹⁸⁴. When the Ottoman-Russian wars of 1877-1878 ended with defeat, between 60,000 and 70,000 Muslims migrated to Izmir. A decision was made to allow 5,000 to 6,000 migrants to settle in Izmir¹⁸⁵; which apparently led to problems as to where they would be accommodated. During this period, the Jewish Cemetery land was invaded by the local government to build houses for immigrants from Macedonia and Teselya¹⁸⁶; leading to an unending chain of correspondence that would continue from 1882 until 1923. There are dozens of correspondences involving the Chief Rabbinate of Izmir, the Chief Rabbinate of Istanbul, Office of the Grand Vizier, Ministries of Internal Affairs and Sanitation, Aydın Provincial Office, Alliance Israelite Universelle's Central Bureau in Paris, Greek Occupation Command, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in London and the Italian Embassy. The cemetery land, which until 1882 was known to be 242 acres, was declared as 115 acres by an international commission created that year. The remaining 127 acres were divided as follows: 63 acres of land were allocated for the Muhacir district¹⁸⁷, 19 acres for Kale Mosque foundation, 15 acres for building an ordnance depot, while 30 acres were designated as public land. 115 acres of land allocated as a Jewish cemetery was mapped, tithe and land taxes were collected and then left to the Izmir Jewish Community, provided it would only be used as a cemetery¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸¹ BZİJE, "1926 – Almanac", a 1926, 176-177. Rabbi Yosef Escapa, one of the most important chief rabbis in Izmir, tried to introduce a series of reforms concerning legal, administrative, Escapa's work gave an institutional structure to the community. For further information, see Barnay, 1985, 53-73. Founded in 1656 as an extension of the institutional structure, Heset Shel Emet is the institution that deals with funerals. Therefore this date indicates that the cemetery existed in 1656, and it's not the founding date of the cemetery.

¹⁸² Galante, 1937, 77.

¹⁸³ BOA, BEO. Prime Ministry Book /271 md. 52 (Latin, Jewish, Protestant Kazak year 1280).

¹⁸⁴ BOA, DH. İ. UM. 19-16/1-10. Document dated 13 Zilkade 1337/10 August 1335. Despite the claim that a burial ban had been imposed in the cemetery in 1868, some tombstones from 1869 and 1879 were among those found in the Varyant excavation of 2013 and transferred to the Agora. This suggests burials continued even after 1868.

¹⁸⁵ Öztürk, 2000, 125.

¹⁸⁶ BOA, İ. DH. 850/68223. DH İ. UM. 19-16/1-10.

¹⁸⁷ Öztürk, 1990, 39. 63 acres of the cemetery land, commonly known as Çalı cemetery, was used to build an 80-unit district for immigrants. The name of the district was Halidiye.

The land was again targeted by the local government in 1901, this time for road construction¹⁸⁹. In 1907, the section from the gate of the Jewish Cemetery to the tomb of Bahribaba was donated to Gureba Hospital¹⁹⁰. From 1908, the local press brought up the idea of building a park in the area where the cemetery is located: *"Isn't it a shame that such a good location with air so pure is still used as a cemetery? Some Jewish patriots who considered how good it would be for the country and the environment, have now begun negotiating the transfer of the cemetery to a suitable neighborhood outside the city, the way it is in other countries"*¹⁹¹. In 1914, construction began on the land for a garden, a school (later Karataş High School for girls), a library (or even a movie theater) and a maternity ward (later became the Orphanage and the Provincial Health Directorate)¹⁹². During this process, the olive trees in the cemetery were cut off, and some of the tombs and tombstones were once again destroyed. Available archive documents give the impression that Governor Rahmi played a personal role in the damage that was caused in the cemetery. This issue is described in detail both in the letters written by Izmir Jews to the Central Bureau of Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris and in the correspondence in 1919 with government authorities in Istanbul¹⁹³. Rahmi Bey had occupied the cemetery land without receiving the approval of administrative authorities and without informing the Izmir Jewish Community that owned the land. He gave the order to cut off the olive trees on the land, remove some of the tombstones and use them for the public construction in the vicinity. In a letter to the Alliance, it is emphasized that Governor Rahmi bey allowed the stones to be used on the walls of a primary school and a

¹⁸⁸ BOA, İ. ŞD. 66/3872. Sultan's decree of 18 Muharrem 1301/ 7 Teşrin-i sani 1299 (19 November 1883).

¹⁸⁹ BOA, Şurayı Devlet 1386/6.

¹⁹⁰ Ahenk, 4 Eylül 1323(17 September 1907).

¹⁹¹ Hizmet, 28 Teşrinievvel 1324(10 Teşrinisani 1908).

¹⁹² BOA, DH. İD. 162-2/146.

¹⁹³ BOA, BEO. 4642/348128. BOA, DH. UM. 19/-16.

A mosque being built in the district ¹⁹⁴. During the construction of a new road and a vocational school for teachers in 1915, Roman period mosaics, some building fragments and pieces of sculpture were found in the region where the cemetery was located. Ahmed Bedreddin Bey, who was sent to Izmir by the Imperial Museum to investigate the matter wrote in his report of February 22, 1915 that : *“During the work to remove the Jewish cemetery as per the decision by the Province... in order to build a park and a teachers’ school in the old Jewish Cemetery located in Bahri Baba... the tombstones in the cemetery can be identified on the basis of ruins of ancient Greek architecture, marble pillars and the fact that the graves were made of fringes and other marble fragments ... ”*¹⁹⁵.

Along with the occupation of Western Anatolia by the Greeks in 1919, the Jewish families who left their homes in Aydın and Nazilli because of Greek harassment, were settled by the Izmir Jewish Community Administration in the school built by Governor Rahmi Bey in Değirmendağı. The families were able to reside in these buildings for a very short time and had to evacuate the houses due to the pressure from the Greek Occupation Commissioner in Izmir ¹⁹⁶. In addition, the Commissioner of the Greek Occupation Forces began to carry out terracing work to prepare the ground for building new buildings ¹⁹⁷ on the Izmir Jewish Cemetery. During these operations, many graves were opened, and the bones came out to the ground. Izmir Jewish Congregation President N. Tarica’s letter of 23 June 1921 to the Central Bureau of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris reveals that there were still many tombs in the cemetery at that time ¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁴AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne NABON, “Letter dated 20 October 1920”. The tombstone mentioned in Nabon’s letter is located in the outer wall of Selimiye Mosque and Sarikamış Primary School on Halil Rıfat Paşa. We believe nuances of Union and Progress politics played a role in the fact that no result came out of the numerous requests made by the Jewish community for the return of the occupied cemetery land. We see that the Union and Progress began to give special importance to Izmir following the 1913 raid to the Ottoman porte. In fact, the Union and Progress’s ideal of creating a nation state did not find a meaningful architectural expression anywhere as much as it did in Izmir. As Tanyeli emphasized, the move to construct buildings with the word “national” in their names (National Library, National Cinema) could be nothing but “a reaction to the urban-cultural environment that they hated”. Tanyeli, 1992, 327-338. Or these practices can be accounted for as a projection of Union and Progress’s Turkification policies in urban environments. Rahmi (Aslan) Bey was appointed Governor of Izmir to apply these policies in Izmir. In turn, he ensured Celal Bayar would serve as Secretary In Charge, and Evliyazade Refik Bey as the Major and the three worked together in unison. Born in Thessaloniki on June 25, 1873, Rahmi Bey was arrested for being a Union supporter when he was studying Law in 1893. He then escaped to Paris and stayed there for some time. After the declaration of the Second Parliamentary Monarchy, he served as the Thessaloniki representative in the parliament in the years 1908-1912 and was appointed as the Governor of Izmir in September 13, 1913. For further information on Rahmi Bey’s life, see, Mehmetefendioğlu, 1993, 347-370.

¹⁹⁵ Istanbul Archeology Museum Archives box no 89, file no 6808. Submitted by Koşay –Olgun –Tan, 2013, 246-249.

¹⁹⁶AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne TARICA, “letter dated 5 January 1921”.

¹⁹⁷ The Greeks wanted to build a large Hellenic University here.

¹⁹⁸ AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne TARICA, “letter dated 23 June 1921”.

Nabon, the principal of the Alliance's Izmir boys school, described the matter in these words *"... the Hellenic Commissioner still hasn't replied our applications about the cemetery, and I don't think they ever will. They are unsympathetic. They are unable to act like a good administrator, even when they feel strong. They are incompetent of making decisions. They still do not see themselves as the owners of Izmir, and they split all the work in the city among the local Greeks. Everyone complains about the Greek occupiers' attitude. They control everything, and they treat us very badly. They make us long for the Turkish government. Some of the gravestones in the cemetery were moved by Greek soldiers. We will send Venizelos a delegation on the cemetery issue ..."*¹⁹⁹.

The Izmir Jewish Community applied to İzzet Bey the Governor of Aydın and to the Ministry of Internal Affairs several times about the return of the cemetery to the congregation but did not receive a positive response. To ensure that the cemetery issue would be resolved in favor of the Jewish community, Turkey's Chief Rabbi Hayim Nahum Effendi along with the Consulates of the United States, France, Italy and the UK in Izmir applied to the Greek Occupation Command in Izmir many times but could not get a positive result ²⁰⁰. The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Anglo Jewish Association intervened on behalf of the Jewish community and contacted the Greek government officials in London, but they did not receive results. The Izmir Greek Occupation Commissariat decided on June 1921 to move the Jewish cemetery. The decision caused great distress in the Jewish community; a telegram to the Paris Alliance Israelite Universelle Central Office on June 24, 1921 stated: *"40,000 Jews from Izmir are renewing their protests against the decision to relocate the tombstones, which stemmed from the pressures of the authorities. Answer urgently. Jewish Community"*²⁰¹. Transfer of the tombstones in the Jewish cemetery began on June 28, 1921 ²⁰² and continued until after the liberation of Izmir from occupation. The evacuation process was completed in 1926, when a park was opened on part of the cemetery land which included a playground for children ²⁰³.

¹⁹⁹ AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne NABON, "letter dated 11 January 1921".

²⁰⁰ AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 letters dated 27 March 1921, 17 April 1921, 8 May 1921, 28 June 1921 ve 7 July 1921.

²⁰¹ AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne TARICA, "copy of the telegram sent to Paris on 24 June 1921.

²⁰² Galante, 1937, 77-78.

²⁰³ Karayaman, 2008, 248.

*A Brief History of Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery*²⁰⁴:

According to the information in two documents in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry, families of two members of the Izmir Jewish Community, named Direm Yakoni (2)²⁰⁵ and Lion²⁰⁶, acquired land for the burial of Jews and roughly in the middle of the nineteenth century, left it to the use of the community. In return, an annual fee was paid to the families. A letter dated January 5, 1921 written to the President of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the President of the Izmir Jewish Community N. Tarika mentions a cemetery purchased by the Izmir Jewish Community: "... Some years ago, a cemetery land was purchased from the Ottoman administration and our community members who died from epidemic diseases were buried on this land. The land is outside the city and quite far ...²⁰⁷". The cemetery mentioned in the letter of N. Tarika, President of the community, is probably the land left to the congregation by the families of the Jews named Direm Yakoni and Lion. Likewise, the land in these three documents is possibly the area known today as the Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery. During the surveys we carried out at the Gürçeşme Cemetery, we identified mass burials from the year 1850; 59 people were buried in the cemetery on 01.01.1850. There are no names on the tombstones. Some of the graves contained 2, some 3, some 4 and some even 5 people who were buried together²⁰⁸. The graves at the Gürçeşme Cemetery from 1 January 1850 probably belong to the Jews who died during the plague epidemic, that spread in Izmir in 1849. People who lost their lives during the epidemic were buried together.

²⁰⁴ For the history of Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery, see Bora, 2016, 78-83.

²⁰⁵ BOA, A.) MKT. UM. 262/99. Document dated 11.R. 1273 (7 March 1857).

²⁰⁶ BOA. HR. TO. 431/35. Document dated 03.01.1859. We believe the plot mentioned in this document and the one mentioned in footnote 31 could be the same or two adjacent plots. The Jewish community had a second plot for burial at the beginning of the 19th century. This land is unrelated to the Jewish cemetery in Değirmendağı.

²⁰⁷ AAIU, Turquie II C 8-14 Smyrne, TARICA, "letter dated 5 January 1921". In Judaism epidemics are considered punishments from heaven. Tora Vayikra 13:37-44, 2006, 213-239. Tora Devarim 27:15, 2009, 168-169. Kitabı Mukaddes, Levililer 19:16, 1988, 119. Kitabı Mukaddes, Sayılar 12, 1988, 146. Tora Vayikra, 107:8-9. 2006, 536-537. The Islamic faith is different. While Judaism views epidemics as a punishment to those who defer from truth and reality, in Islam it is God's grace and a way to prove one's faith. For further information, see Panzac, 1997, 156-157.

²⁰⁸ We learned that these graves are unrelated to the bones found from time to time around Varyant and given to the Jewish Community. The bones found in Bahribaba were carefully processed during the reburial in Gürçeşme cemetery and the date of burial was written on tombstones. A similar example is found in Bornova Jewish Cemetery. Bones removed from four graves were transferred there in 1915 and buried in a collective grave. The date 1915 was then written on the tombstone. See. Bora, 2015 b, 57.

We did not come across the name of Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery on the 1869 cemetery plan in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry²⁰⁹. The cemetery must be the land referred to as "*jardin*" or "*garden*"²¹⁰. The land, which is quite far from the city center, has been called the cemetery area since the middle of the 19th century. Muslim Turkish cemeteries are located on one side of the Kervan Bridge, while German, Dutch and English cemeteries are on the other side²¹¹. The Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery is located between the Muslim Turkish Cemetery and the German, English and Dutch cemeteries.

The year 5645 (1885), the opening date of the cemetery is recorded on a marble inscription at the Gürçeşme Cemetery. As we mentioned in the previous section, a burial ban was issued regarding the Jewish cemetery in Değirmendağı following the 1868 Sanitary Regulations. Thus,

²⁰⁹ BOA, İ.DH. 593/41301. Plan des Cimetières Potestants.

²¹⁰ New arrangements were made to allocate today's Yenışehir marketplace to Catholics and the area of Konak Municipality Sanitary Office to the British, Dutch and German (in adjacent plots) as cemeteries. For further information see Pınar, 2013, 81-90. Our research revealed that the land just across the Sanitary Office is the Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery. We cannot make a clear decision due to the limited information available. We can only make estimates.

²¹¹ On British and Dutch cemeteries in Izmir BOA, C. HR. 18/868. On the cemetery allotted to British soldiers BOA, HR. MKT. 136/95. On British, Prussian and Dutch cemeteries BOA, İ. DH. 593/41301.



This shows the marble inscription which was once at the entrance to Gürçeşme Cemetery. The opening date is written on the bottom left: 5645(1885). The inscription begins with the warning “Only TSADIKIM can enter this gate”. The Hebrew word Tsadik means a just, honest and kind man of faith. Such a person has a giving nature towards others. Jewish tradition says there are 36 Tsadikim who never exposed their identity.

The Gürçeşme Cemetery, where only epidemic victims were buried until 1885, probably became the official burial place of the Izmir Jewish Community at that date. It was closed to burials in 1933, when the Altındağ cemetery was opened. The Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery has an area of approximately 19,000 square meters which contains a total of 9478 tombs. Several tombstones were found during excavations at the entrance of Izmir Konak Tunnel Varyant construction project carried out by the General Directorate of Highways in 2013. This first batch was taken to Smyrna Agora and recorded in the inventory. Many other tombstones and bones were uncovered during the later phases of the excavation and were all moved to Gürçeşme Jewish Cemetery between 2013 and 2015, resulting in an increase in the number of tombstones at the Cemetery.

6- The Earthquake of 1688 and Its Consequences

The epicenter of the earthquake in 1688 was the Castle of Sancakburnu which was constructed in 1658 or 1659. An estimated 20,000 people died because of the earthquake. 400 of them were Jewish ²¹² Raif Nezih provides the following details on how devastating the earthquake was: " ... *On the tenth day of August in the year 1688, one hour before noon, several severe earthquakes occurred consequently. Simultaneously, a great fire broke out in the city. These two disasters, one destroying and the other burning, cost the life of Izmir as well ...* ²¹³ " The population of Izmir in 1688 was between 50,000 and 80,000. 10 to 15% of the residents was Jewish. The earthquake along with the fire and epidemic diseases which followed, caused an estimated 20,000 people to lose their lives. "*Hosted by our great Lord, in Izmir, the morning of the month of Tamuz in 5648 came with a great noise. All the buildings tumbled down in the earthquake and the Jews who were trapped under them died. 400 people. 400 people under the leadership of our great Rabbi and teacher, Rabbi Ribi Aharon N. Hayim, may his name be honored, were killed. Then came the fire. Most people wanted to go to the coast and get on the boat. Then there was another major earthquake. And then the noise continued for 30 days. The administrators of the city were in great fear. They went to foreign countries ...* ²¹⁴ ".

After the earthquake Izmir was no longer the same. Economic activity in the city suffered great damage, the port became completely silent. According to Barnay, evidence shows that many Jews abandoned Izmir and settled in another city or country ²¹⁵. Indeed, great changes occurred in the city which was almost completely deserted. Nothing remained from the districts that existed before the earthquake and the structures that shaped the districts. Similarly, no one was left from the original society and their descendants. Due to the series of disasters and their consequences, it is almost impossible to provide a *detailed* description of the topographical and demographic structure of Izmir city before 1688.

²¹²See Barnay, 1992, 11.

²¹³See Raif Nezih 1926, 10.

²¹⁴Barnay's citation from Lev Shlomo by Rabbi Eliyahu Hacohen, 2014, 26-27.

²¹⁵ Barnay, 2014, 27.

B – The Years Between 1688 and 1774

Izmir was an important Byzantine commercial center in the 13th century. Then it became the port city for the Aydinis and the last stop in Timur's push towards Anatolia. But after conquering the city, the Ottoman bureaucracy never gave it the same importance as Aleppo or Istanbul. During most of 15th and 16th centuries, they used it as a source of subsistence for Istanbul. In short, the Ottoman government neither encouraged trade in Izmir, nor considered it a developing center that could be a source of income.

In the meantime, the intricate coastline of western Anatolia was adorned with small towns with a population of no more than two or two thousand people. Residents of settlements such as Kuşadası, Foça, Menemen and Izmir supplied cereals, raisins, figs, oranges, cotton, wool and other important products grown in rich Anatolian lands and loaded them onto the ships in Izmir to be transported to Istanbul. The Ottoman administration had granted Venetians, Genoese and other Europeans limited permit to transport Iranian silk and Anatolian produce. The preferred place for the silk trade was the town of Çeşme. From there, the silk was loaded on the ships and taken to the Genoese-controlled Chios Island. The island of Chios was conquered by the Ottomans in 1566. Under Ottoman rule, Chios lost his commercial significance and Izmir started to gain importance as a port for exports. Western countries would now buy the commercial commodities of Anatolia and the Middle East from the Izmir port. Izmir developed into an important port and trade center from the second half of the 16th century but did not -could not- receive any favors from the Ottoman bureaucracy. We can even say that Izmir developed *despite the Ottomans*. The real elements that contributed to the development of the city were local administrators, merchants of European origin and Ottoman subjects like Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Muslims, who were sometimes partners, and sometimes competitors.

The trade network centered around Izmir, rather than Istanbul, rapidly developed. The British and the Dutch engaged in trade with new and modern ships that sailed through the Indian Ocean and Cape of Good Hope, which led to a loss of commercial significance for the cities of Aleppo, Bursa and Iskenderun. Dutch, British, French and Venetian merchants enjoying capitulation privileges also turned to Izmir instead of Aleppo, Bursa and Iskenderun, where they believed business activities would not be profitable. Western Anatolian commodities gathered in Izmir would now be transported to Western Europe and not to Istanbul. This mass trade and transportations changed the topography, the make up of the population and even the soul of Izmir. Many non-Muslim Ottoman subjects and Europeans settled in the city. In 1621 the Baron of Courmenin Louis Deshayes, a representative of the King of France, said, "*In Izmir today there's intense trade of wool, wax, cotton and silk, which Armenians bring here instead of Aleppo*"²¹⁶. In time, important merchants began to come to Izmir. In 1638, the merchant from London named Roberts was telling about cotton, which was sent to England, France, Holland and Italy.

As I mentioned in previous chapters, there was Jewish migration to Izmir from neighboring cities. In later years, Jewish immigrants from all over the country, especially the Aegean and Mediterranean islands, Ankara, Thessaloniki, Istanbul, Edirne, Patras, Mora, Jerusalem and Safed would come and settle in Izmir. The Ottoman state was economically dependent on textile industry. Not only was it against the growth of Izmir, it also opposed that Jewish textile producers would move from Manisa, Thessaloniki and Safed to Izmir. But it seems the state's orders did not have any power of enforcement. Those who came to Izmir left textile

production. Textile industry did not continue in Izmir, as fabrics brought by Western merchants were cheaper and of higher quality. Instead, many newcomers turned to trade. Consulates of Western countries, houses and shop owners along Frankish Street had a demand for servants, brokers, moneychangers, middle men and interpreters. Many of these positions were filled by Jews. As I mentioned earlier, all the customs tax collectors in Izmir between 1610 and 1650 were Jews ²¹⁷. In fact, the Dutch, French, British and Venetian traders in Izmir preferred the Jews. There were various reasons for this preference: For instance, the Jews provided security for the French through other fellow Jews who served in the customs office and other Ottoman official positions. They also protected them from lawsuits that could drag them into the daunting Ottoman judicial system (Kadi Courts). There are many examples for the relations between British and French merchants and the local Jewish intermediaries. Let me give an example: Two Englishmen would ask for assistance from the Jews regarding a conflict between them. Or the Jews would separate into two different camps and support two different British merchants. All these examples illustrate the complex nature of the economic and social relations linking the various socio-religious communities in Izmir.

On the other hand, we should not ignore the events around Sabbatai Zevi before 1688, that shook the Izmir Jewish Community to its foundations and remained on the agenda for many years. I will not go into details here. I just want to briefly outline the consequences. This *great trauma* that occurred in the 17th century was almost a *breaking point* for the Izmir Jews. Sabbatai Zevi declared himself a Messiah and influenced with his speeches, comments, assertions and promises about the future, not only the Jews in Izmir and the Ottoman Jews, but also other Jews in the world living outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire, causing great changes in the lives of all. To name a few; countless Jews who received the news of the Messiah and left all their belongings behind to go to the promised land; the turmoil in the social fabric of the Jewish communities in the cities they abandoned; the Ottoman administration's harsh reaction to the Sabbatai Zevi issue; and Jews who collectively converted to Islam along with Sabbatai Zevi (the *dönme* or hidden Jews). These developments I have mentioned caused the Jews in Izmir to live as a closed society for a long time, while bringing about a degeneration and regression in the Jewish education system. This event would also influence the choice of topics in Judaism studies in the city. From this point on, most of the works would be about the Kabbalah or the Talmud.

²¹⁶ Goffmann 2012, 113.

²¹⁷ Goffmann 2012, 120-121.

Izmir started to develop at a faster pace in the 1650's and 1660's as more merchants from the Atlantic coast and more Ottoman Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Muslims flocked to the city. Although Muslim Turks were still the majority in the city, there were significantly large OttomanArmenian, Greek and Jewish congregations, along with populous Dutch, British, French and Venetian communities, which made Izmir look like a true world city. 17th century Izmir was like a mirror of Europe.

Mid-17th century was also the time when Ottoman rulers became aware of İzmir's influence and wealth. After Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier in 1653, the Ottoman bureaucracy sought to regulate the development of Izmir with an effective public institutional campaign. The blockade imposed by the Venetians on the Dardanelles in 1656 led to the risk of famine and turmoil in Istanbul, which in turn brought the Izmir Gulf into the limelight and increased its importance. Building a fortress at the entrance to the gulf came to the agenda. The fortress would make it possible to monitor the port and have the incoming and outgoing vessels pay customs duty and other levies. There was an ideal location for such a fortress; the Gediz River, that expands towards the Izmir Gulf from the north, forming a delta about half way between İzmir and the Karaburun peninsula that protects the city from eastern winds. Because of the alluvial formation here, the passageway for the ships was so narrow that a fortress built on the small foreland on the southern coast would be enough to control the vessel traffic. So the construction of Sancakburnu Fortress was completed in 1658 or 1659.

The main purpose of the explanation I made above on the significance of Izmir in the eyes of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects as well as Western merchants, and its development as a port city is to draw attention to the reasons why the city, which was destroyed by a great earthquake on July 10, 1688, was rebuilt in such a short time. In addition, by underlining its importance for Western merchants and non-Muslim subjects, I tried to show the reasons why Jews preferred to come and settle in Izmir.

The epicenter of the 1688 earthquake was just under Sancakburnu Fortress. The earthquake not only destroyed the Sancakburnu Fortress; but it also demolished almost all of the churches, synagogues and mosques. The fire magnified by the strong wind burnt down the entire Frankish Street and most of the districts between the sea and Kadifekale. The uncontrollable fire destroyed wood structures, stone buildings were damaged and countless residents were trapped in the wreckage. When the aftershocks stopped, the wind calmed down and the fire lost its intensity, the city was left in total desolation. Ten to fifteen thousand people lost their lives. Almost all property was destroyed.



Dutch Council Daniël Jan Baron de Hocchepied (1657-1723) is being received by the Kadi of Izmir.

After this tragedy, it was not an easy decision to rebuild Izmir. The state did not have the relief agencies to finance reconstruction. Moreover, it was not certain that there would no longer be disasters such as earthquakes, fires and epidemics in the city. The decision to rebuild a place depends on whether its historical or economic significance is still relevant. In Izmir's case, its importance which I tried to underline in the paragraphs above, led to the decision to rebuild it following the catastrophe of 1688. There was no alternative to Izmir. The ports of Chios and other islands were far from the main products of Western Anatolia and the caravan routes to the East. Mainland towns like Foça and Kuşadası did not have spacious ports suitable for large vessels. It was also difficult to reach the inner regions of Anatolia from those towns. Besides, the Ottoman administration was against the formation of another commercial center on the western Anatolian coast.

Foreign merchants and companies mobilized their resources to help rebuild the houses, churches, bazaars and various public buildings. For instance, the French community and the heirs of the Köprülü family built not only their own structures, but also public and commercial buildings. Izmir rose up again with common efforts by European merchants, Ottoman subjects and the Ottoman government.

1-Migrations

Those who came to Izmir after the earthquake of 1688 were predominantly Portuguese Jews. On November 7, 1693, twenty-four British commercial representatives in Izmir conveyed a complaint to their embassy in Istanbul and expressed the concern of Christianity, which had a large number of members and believers in this port city, against Portuguese Jews: "*The community, encouraged by the large commissions paid to them for products of British origin ... has reached an extraordinary number here*"²¹⁸. As the letter shows, the number of Portuguese Jews in Izmir had increased dramatically in the period following the 1688 earthquake. First came the Conversos (Marranos) in the 17th and 18th centuries²¹⁹, followed by the Francos²²⁰. Portuguese Jews were everywhere. They lived in important trade centers such as Amsterdam, Venice, Florence, Marseilles, Ancona, London, Livorno, Isfahan, Aleppo and Izmir. They formed an extraordinary trade network among themselves. In the Eastern Mediterranean, not only did they manage to acquire commercial privileges the British reserved only for their own British Levant Company, but being among the insiders, the Portuguese Jews also understood the British market and traditions. They became serious competitors and succeeded in other areas such as obtaining a great capital from wealthy fellow Jews in Izmir (the Portuguese Jewish Community in Izmir), establishing a network based on family relations and religious commitments, and getting far ahead of the English in understanding the complex Western Anatolian commercial network. In the meantime, they also benefited from the capitulations granted to Western countries since they had Western citizenship.

²¹⁸ Goffmann 2012, 134-135.

²¹⁹ Jews of Converso (Marranos) origin who are subjects of foreign countries.

²²⁰ Most Jews who came from Livorno to Izmir in the 17th century were Conversos (converts) of Portuguese origin. Like the Francos who would come later, they worked for the enlightenment of Ottoman Jews. This attitude triggered social conflicts. See Barnay, 1990, 33. Barnay, 1992, 14. Foreign Jews mostly of Italian origin who were at the forefront of Jewish elite classes in Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir, played an important role in integrating European education in the lives of Ottoman Jews. For further information, see Rodrigue, 62-74.

2-Earthquakes, Epidemic Diseases and Fires

Izmir had an extraordinary topographical delicacy. Earthquakes, fires, epidemics and disasters followed by looting and unrest prevented population growth for many years. It is also necessary to add that despite all kinds of negative developments, Izmir continued to receive immigration for centuries. It's possible that the function it assumed (or the role it was given) as the Anatolian gateway to the West made its significance permanent. The years between 1688 and 1774 were a period of great catastrophes in Izmir. I too, find it appropriate to use these disasters as a base when making a periodic distinction of the Jewish history of Izmir, namely, the 1688 Earthquake and the 1774 Fire.

I will not discuss the earthquakes, fires, epidemics and their consequences that have affected Izmir over time. I will share information on the disasters of the 17th and 18th centuries. This will give you a brief picture of the lives of the people in Izmir:

The 1688 earthquake left a permanent psychological mark in collective memory. In 1737, many settlers faced a fear of death during a relatively small earthquake and the fire that followed. This fear led people to spend the night in the open air. The effect of the 1765 earthquake on the residents was not much different.

In 1742, Izmir faced a fire that destroyed nearly two thirds of the city. Unplanned urbanization, widespread use of wooden materials in construction and extensive use of tobacco, increased the intensity of Izmir fires.

From the second half of the 17th century, when Izmir began to become an important commercial center, it was exposed to the plague ²²¹ and then to cholera outbreaks, both classified under the title of *the deadliest and most commonly encountered disasters*. According to Daniel Panzac, in the 150-year period between 1700 and 1850, the city of Izmir lived with the plague for 80 years. Between 1707 and 1800, 54 years of plague with various degrees of intensity were recorded, of which 8 were serious (in 1709, 1728, 1735, 1741, 1759, 1762, 1771 and 1788) and 5 were severe (in 1740, 1758, 1760, 1765 and 1784) ²²². Until 1784, the plague had prevailed mostly in the European lands of the Ottoman State. Even if the epidemic was seen in Izmir, it was brief. Another feature of plague outbreaks up to this date was that they were regional. In other words, the plague only appeared in Istanbul, Macedonia, Bulgaria or Serbia and seemed to be trapped in that region. But the year 1784 is known as the year when the disease spread to almost all the Ottoman lands

The plague outbreak that started in January of 1784 in Izmir, spread in a short time and became serious in April. The French Consul's letter dated April 1784 points to the fact that the disease had already begun in Manisa and was brought to the city by those who escaped from there. Another letter the Consul wrote in June reveals the severity of the disease: "... 300-400 people are dying each day, sometimes even more. Considering Izmir's population, this ratio is much higher than the death rate in Istanbul, where the plague claimed 3000 lives a day ²²³." Finally, at the end of July, the plague lost its intensity; but it was exported to other settlements, especially to the Aegean islands.

Some Ottoman cities faced this disease more frequently than others. Izmir, which lived with disease during five or six years out of ten, falls in this category. Therefore it would be useful to list the factors that paved the way for plague outbreaks in the city in the 18th century: Although undernourished organisms may be less resistant to outbreaks, it was determined by Panzac that the plague did not develop in Izmir in the 18th century solely due to famine and hunger. On the contrary, large grain storehouses prepared a suitable environment for the survival of mice colonies that could spread the disease during plague epidemics ²²⁴. The spring and summer months, the reproduction season for fleas which carry the disease, were usually the months when the plague appeared and became a chronic problem. The plague (or the germ *Yersinia pestis* that causes it), secretly and slyly survives in places where it affected previously (including Izmir) and reappears periodically. This is an indication that the disease had not disappeared and was always present ²²⁵. The city often faced earthquakes and fires, and most of these disasters were followed by plague epidemics. The consecutive nature of various disasters is expressed very clearly in the French Consul's descriptions of Izmir in the summer of 1771: "*Since last July, we faced all the disasters that God would give in a fierce moment in order to punish a city deserving to be in hell, like war, famine and the plague*" ²²⁶. In reality, Izmir, unlike other Ottoman cities, had never been an epidemic center. If the plague came from land, it always started in cities located on caravan routes in an area less than 200 km to Izmir (Manisa, Kırkağaç, Pergamon, Menemen, Balıkesir), and after some time, Izmir also became infected ²²⁷. After the great plague epidemic in Izmir, which is claimed to have killed 30,000 people in 1678 ²²⁸, in the years between 1708 and 1800, there were a total of fifty-four plague epidemics of various intensity, including seven very serious ones and five with horrific results ²²⁹. The most dangerous epidemic of the 18th century was the bubonic plague that took hold of the city between 1757 and 1772 and wiped 15-20% of the city's population in 15 years. This is the plague epidemic during which Bikur Holim Synagogue assumed the important duty of serving the Jewish community as a hospital for fifteen years ²³⁰.

²²¹ The terms used for the plague in Ottoman sources are "taun" and "veba". Veba specifically refers to a deadly epidemic disease. According to Panzac, this term was also used for other epidemics as well. Taun however, usually referred to bubonic plague. See Panzac 1997, 15.

²²² Panzac 1997, 14.

²²³ Panzac 1997, 29.

²²⁴ Panzac 1997, 15.

²²⁵ Panzac 1997, 34.

²²⁶ Panzac 1997, 12.

²²⁷ Panzac 1997, 59-60.

²²⁸ Beyru 2009, 281-282.

²²⁹ Yetkin 1993, 371.

²³⁰ Many books about Izmir Jews claim that the Bikur Holim Synagogue "was used as a hospital during the cholera outbreak of 1724". However, Izmir would not get acquainted with cholera until 1831.

It is a complicated and difficult task to explain the reaction and disposition of people in the face of disasters, since reactions are never the same. As a matter of fact, it's possible to observe that Muslim Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Levantines and Jews living in five separate districts in Izmir displayed different forms of behavior in times of epidemics, in line with their traditions and beliefs, and with the spatial characteristics of their districts. The attitude of the Izmir Jewish Community is what interests us here.

According to the information given by Western travelers, the population of the Izmir Jewish Congregation was 1,800 in 1702; while in the 1730's it increased to 6,000 and in the 1770's to 10,000. Comparing the total population of the city with the Jewish population, we get an average ratio of 10/1. There was no change in this ratio in the 18th century. In other words, we can say that the deaths caused by the disasters did not distort the proportional balance between the Izmir Jewish population and the general population in the city. On the other hand, for the Jews living around the Inner Harbor and on the Market, life must have been very hard during the epidemics. The direct connection of these regions with the sea and the port, left the Jews living in these areas vulnerable to all kinds of dangers that came from the sea as well as from the caravans. This means that the Jews were probably among the first groups to be affected at times of plague outbreaks until 1784.

It can be observed that during the epidemics, most congregation members preferred the typical escape formula of those days and took refuge in the surrounding settlements and islands. I know that in the outbreaks of 1735, 1758, 1760, 1765 and 1784, "*some of the residents escaped to the countryside, and some to the Aegean islands and to nearby towns*", while in the epidemic of 1784, "*more than 20 thousand Jews and other non-Muslims preferred to retreat to the vicinity and the islands* ²³¹". Moreover, I must add that *the abandoning of the city* which turned to a tradition continued for months until the disease receded.

²³¹Panzac 1997, 165.

3- Synagogues

Bikur Holim Synagogue:

The synagogue was built by Salomon de Ciaves (Cavez, Siyaves) from Netherlands (could be an Amsterdam immigrant), possibly in the 1720's ²³². The Ciaves family was a powerful family of Portuguese origin. During the plague epidemic of the 18th century, part of the synagogue served as a hospital. Manuel de Ciaves rebuilt the synagogue in 1800 when the first one was destroyed in the fire of 1772. The synagogue still retains its appearance of those days.

²³² Another construction date given for Bikur Holim Synagogue is 1690.



The above map is the 1913 map by Ernest Bon. The street names in Hahambaşı, Tsontsino and Bene Israel districts are striking. Bohor Levi, Abulafya, Tsontsino Streets attract immediate attention.

Ciaves Synagogue:

It is known as the synagogue of the Di Ciaves family, probably located within the boundaries of the Chaves (Ciaves) District, which was one of the 19th-century Jewish neighborhoods. Today we only have estimates about its existence and location.

Etz Hayim Synagogue:

The first evidence of the Etz Hayim Synagogue is from the 18th century ²³³. Some researchers claim that this synagogue was founded during the Byzantine era, but they do not have concrete evidence. On the other hand, the land on which the synagogue is located probably coincides with the region where the Inner Harbor meets the coast during Roman and Byzantine periods. In other words, the Etz Hayim Synagogue is located on the coast of the Inner Harbor, on land once used as a harbor. If there was a Jewish community in the city during the Byzantine era, the harbor area seems to be a suitable choice for the construction of the synagogue.

The Etz Hayim Synagogue burned during the Izmir Fire of 1841 and was rebuilt by Daniel Sidi in 1851.

C – The Years Between 1774 and 1865

II. Mahmut officially recognized the position of Ottoman Chief Rabbi in 1835, a position which would ensure the administration of the Ottoman Jewish Community from a single center. As a result, the Kehalim system came to an end. The Chief Rabbi, after being elected by the Jews and receiving the approval of the Ottoman Sultan, would begin his duty. This new position and its affiliated institutions were the focus of the struggles that would deeply shock the Ottoman Jewish Community throughout the 19th century. The Ottoman Jews who by means of a scholastic education system closed their doors to external influences, were neither affected by the ideological movements of the French Revolution, nor by the intellectual development of Europe, which brought about a substantial revival in the Greek and Armenian communities. Similarly, they were alienated from Hasidism, Haskala, the efforts to revive Hebrew, religious reforms and Zionism, all of which made up a significant part of European Jewish History. The Westernization Movement which influenced Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the first half of the nineteenth century, caused a confrontation between Reformist Jews who wanted modernization and conservative Jews who struggled to preserve the old order. The rabbis, who were concerned that a change in the existing order would lead to a deterioration of their authority, declared themselves as enemies of reform. The poor Jewish classes, who suffered the most from the economical crisis in the community, supported the reforms in the hope that the tax injustice would be corrected and continued their struggle against the rabbis and the privileged wealthy classes.

²³³ Barnay 2014, 83.

The declaration of the Tanzimat (reform) Edict in 1839 did not bring a solution to the Ottoman Jewish Community's problems. Moreover, although the edict introduced principles based on equality between Muslims and non-Muslims, it was not effective, as it only remained at the theoretical level. However, the decision to accept non-Muslim members to Provincial Assemblies was an important innovation. The Islahat (correction) Edict of 1856 promised to lift the limitations applied to non-Muslims. To emphasize equality, the word "citizens" was used instead of "subjects" at the beginning of the decree. Cizye was cancelled and non-Muslims were now required to serve in the army. Those who did not want to do military service would pay a fee. This practice was nothing more than reinstalling the Cizye under another name. The fact that the Islahat Edict reorganized the administration of non-Muslim communities was received with dissatisfaction by the Rabbis who were against the Reforms. They were concerned that adding representatives from the public to assemblies of religious communities as per the edict would harm their powers and interests within the Jewish community. The regulations that came into effect in the years after the Edict reinforced the autonomy of the communities instead of weakening them, thereby creating a formal system by the name "National Order". For the first time in February 1835, the word *Nation* was used in the sense of an "*under protection of the state*" in the statement published in the Official Gazette that officially recognized the position of Chief Rabbi. Before this date, Greeks, Armenians and Jews were referred in documents only as "a special group" or a "congregation".

The 1856 Islahat Edict served the Greeks and Armenians who enjoyed all kinds of benefits under the auspices of the Western States, but it did not serve the Jews. The social and economic problems of the Jews were not resolved. The struggle between Rabbis and Reformists was still present. In 1865, the Rabbinate Ordinance came into effect, using the example of the Congregation Ordinance previously issued for the Armenian community. The difference was that the Armenians had prepared their own ordinance themselves. Despite pressure from Ottoman authorities for abiding by the Rabbinate Ordinance, it never was implemented due to opposition from the rabbis and it became a dead document. The efforts in the second half of the 19th century by the Alliance Israelite Universelle to socially, economically and culturally develop the Jewish Community provided a partial solution to the problem.

The Constitution announced in 1876 included the concept of Ottomanism. Articles 8 to 26 of the Constitution of the I. Parliamentary Monarchy explained and secured the rights of Muslim and non-Muslim communities under the heading *General Law of The Subjects of the Ottoman State*. Jews also participated in the General Assembly by electing and being elected as parliament members. However, the life of the I. Parliamentary Monarchy was short. In 1878 the constitutional regime was interrupted. The rule of II. Abdul Hamid began. Regime changes did not create a change in Turkish-Jewish relations.



The above map presumably shows the districts of Izmir in the first half of the 19th century (between 1840 and 1850). The places marked as Jewish Hospital in dark colors is the Jewish Lazaretto in the Bene Israel district (the Quarantine Building). The place marked as Hospital in the Hahambaşı District on the other hand, is the Jewish hospital founded in 1827 which was later named Rothschild Hospital. The Greek and European Lazarettos also appear on the map and are shown as Hospitals at the intersection of Tabakhane street and the Meles creek. The reason they are described as hospitals is because they were founded under the status of Special Plague Hospitals. (Source: Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost Smyrna* 1922, 2008).

From the second half of the 18th century, the Izmir Jewish Community began to experience a serious economic depression and social tensions in the community increased rapidly. The increase in social tension is largely due to the fact that compared to other non-Muslim communities, the Jewish community's structure was less hierarchical, but as schismatic as could be. Jewish communities that come from different geographical origins and gathered together were ruled by community arrangements that opposed any kind of authority. The Jewish communities with different customs and traditions that come to the city from different geographical regions were not able to merge together and continued their conflicts of interest for various reasons. I found it appropriate to list the reasons for the conflicts under these three headings:

- A leadership race existed among them in religious and social areas.
- They had different economic interests.
- Injustice was prevalent in social tax collection. This injustice would lead most poor members of the community members to rebel for almost a century (from the end of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century) against the community's administrative structure and against the wealthy classes who had it under their control ²³⁴. Indeed, the severe political and economic downfall in the Ottoman Empire in late 18th century took its toll also on the Jewish congregation in Izmir and a large part of the Jewish population became impoverished.

The factors leading to the prevalence of the conflict, caused by the three major reasons I listed above, can be classified as follows:

²³⁴ There's a widely accepted idea rooted in the 19th century, according to which Yosef Escapa initiated a series of reforms when serving as the Chief Rabbi of Izmir. During his tenure, two councils were established for administrative and financial affairs: Beit Din (Religious Council) and the Community Council (Secular Council). Another outcome of the reforms was that community powers began to be shared by two rabbis. But at the same time, it prepared the ground for consolidating the conflict that divided the Izmir Jews into two opposing camps during the 18th and 19th century. For further information see Galante 1937, 71. An attempt was made in 1749 to end the two-headed administration by changing the election system but it was not successful. The old system was reinstated in 1751. For further information see Barnay, 1992, 11-16.

- Rich Italian businessmen (Francos) who were already adapted to the capitalist system seized the administration and fueled the social conflicts with their reformist attitudes ²³⁵.
- Missionary activity increased in the city, and some poor Jews pressured community institutions on the issue of conversion.
- The 1744 fire ²³⁶, the 1772 great fire (all the synagogues in the city were burnt), the fires of 1834 ²³⁷, 1841 (the Jewish neighborhood and the synagogues were burnt), 1862 and 1883 ²³⁸ caused even more poverty among Jewish community members and the impoverished population had to leave the city.
- The earthquakes, frequent epidemics and very long quarantine times had adverse effects, especially on Jewish poor classes ²³⁹.
- Distinctions between the wealthy, middle and poor classes widened (a virtual gap formed between them).
- Shop owners guilds, mostly made up of poor laborers, started an effective rebellion against indirect taxes ²⁴⁰.

²³⁵ . Most Jews who came from Livorno to Izmir in the 17th century were Conversos (converts) of Portuguese origin. Like the Francos who would come later, they worked for the enlightenment of Ottoman Jews. This attitude triggered social conflicts. See Barnay, 1990, 33. Barnay, 1992,

²³⁶ See Izmir Jews' application submitted after the fire of 1744 asking for a reduction of Imperial taxes (taxes paid by non-Muslims, construction tax, etc.) and social taxes. BOA, C. ML. 198-8211, document dated 16/C/1160.

²³⁷ See report sent by Izmir Taxation Secretary Tahir Bey about the fire that was extinguished after six hours. BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun 52783/A-1351, document dated 27/M/1250.

²³⁸ See the names of Jewish families who suffered from the fire in the Jewish district and their numbers. BOA, Y.PRK.UM. 528, document dated 3/N/1299.

²³⁹ The Severe plague outbreaks of 1834-1838 and 1865, the cholera outbreaks of 1866 and 1895 and long quarantine periods would harm the socioeconomic structure of the Izmir Jewish Community and lead to poverty. See BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun documents numbered 1330-51866, 1330-51866/A, 1321-51551, 524-25575. BEO documents numbered 245-18318, 246-18319, 249- 18429. See also on the accommodation of Jews in tents due to the cholera outbreaks of 1866 and 1895. BOA, Prime Ministry A.)MKT.MHM. 338-39., documents dated 26/S/1282 and BEO 258-19347, 7/S/1311. The Quarantine Office was established in the Ottoman Empire in 1831 by order of II. Mahmut. The Minister of Religious Affairs published an Islamic ruling in 29 April 1838 that the practice of quarantine was permissible. Based on that, Quarantine Organizations were established first in Istanbul, followed by Izmir and other cities.

²⁴⁰ Barnay, 1992, 17-19.

The 19th century is defined as the period of downfall for Ottoman Jews. The Ottoman Jews, who in the period between the 15th and 18th centuries were renowned for their wealth and their superiority in economic sectors, suffered great erosion in these qualities from the beginning of the 19th century. They were in a state of decline. What was the reason for the downfall? How did it start and how did it develop? What happened to the Jews who, until the beginning of the 19th century impressed European consuls with their education, knowledge and talents and were the preferred choice for cooperation? Why did they come to this point? What did they do to rescue themselves from the grip of downfall? Were they successful?

The answer to the question I asked about the cause of the downfall is obviously not just about regional and episodic events such as earthquakes and epidemics. There are many reasons for the loss. I will list them here: Western European Jewish immigration, that nourished the Ottoman Jewish community materially and spiritually came to an end. They were replaced by poor immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia. The schismatic structure of the community strengthened. After the events around Sabbatai Zevi, administrative powers in the Jewish community were handed down to rabbis who glorified a petrified religion and opposed any kind of change, including religious, cultural and social developments. Education declined under the influence of fanaticism and bigotry. The political leaders of the Jewish community, Yeşaya Acıman (moneychanger), Çelebi Behor Karmona (banker) and Yehezkel Gabay (banker) were killed by Ottoman authorities. The incident was a huge loss of morale and trauma for the Jewish community and led to large economic losses.

There was another reason for the 19th century decline of the Ottoman Jewish Community that I think is more influential than the reasons I have mentioned above: The general nature of Anatolian Jews of the Diaspora. What is this general nature? I'll give a brief explanation: Accepting the city or country where they live as their home. Making it their home. Even taking this a step further and fully integrating with that country and its residents and sharing their fate. Adopting and internalizing the feelings, habits, pleasures and weaknesses of the people of the country with whom they share their fate. Then reflecting them like a mirror. What's your opinion? Can the picture I outlined in the previous paragraph about Ottoman Jews of the 19th century be a suitable example for the Jewish community who shares the fate of the country it lives in? 19th century was a period of downfall not only for the Ottoman Jewish Community, but also for the Ottoman Empire. The central structure of the Ottoman Empire and its economy had weakened. The deterioration and the problems felt in Jewish institutions were mirrored in the Ottoman Empire in a wider framework. The help needed for the Ottoman Jews came from wealthy Western Jews like Rothschild, Montefiore and Cremieux, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Alliance in short).

It is impossible to describe the social, economic, cultural and administrative structure of Ottoman Jews in the 19th century without mentioning the Alliance. The Alliance was founded in 1860 by a group of young French Jews. These young people started their efforts to make Ottoman Jews a part of European civilization.

1- Synagogues

Mahazike Tora (Tsontsin - Sonsino) Synagogue:

This synagogue is located between Aya Yani Church and Asmalı Mosque in the district of Tsontsino (Sonsino) in İkiçeşmelik. The street to Asmalı Mosque that passes right in front of the synagogue is called "Sonsino Street". The synagogue which went through a major fire in the 1960's, today is in ruins and abandoned. Only four walls and four pillars of the Teva remain. It was built in the 17th century according to Rozanes²⁴¹. Galante, on the other hand, does not refer to Mahazike Tora in the context the synagogues established in İzmir in the 17th century²⁴². Barnay too, states that there are 9 synagogues in the city in the 17th century²⁴³ but does not mention Mahazike Torah. He claims that it was built in the 19th century, along with the Talmud Tora (Hevra) and Beit Hillel synagogues.

The Sonsino District, named Sakarya District in the Republican Period, includes street numbers 803, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826 and the area around the dead-end of Eşrefpaşa Street. Sonsino synagogue is located at the intersection of 826 and 822 streets. According to Galante, Hisar Mosque's architectural structure and dome were used as a model in the construction of the Mahazike Tora (Sonsino) Synagogue. Since the synagogue was restored twice in 1850 and 1896²⁴⁴, it must have been built in the first quarter of the 19th century.

Talmud Tora (Hevra) Synagogue:

The Talmud Tora Synagogue was built in the 19th century. Traditionally, most synagogues in İzmir included a Beit Midrash (Study House or Madrasah) or a yeshiva, usually located at the entrance. There was also a Beit Midrash in the Talmud Torah. The synagogue is in ruins today, but the Holy Ark is still intact.

²⁴¹ Rozanes 1930, 163.

²⁴² Galante 1937, 16.

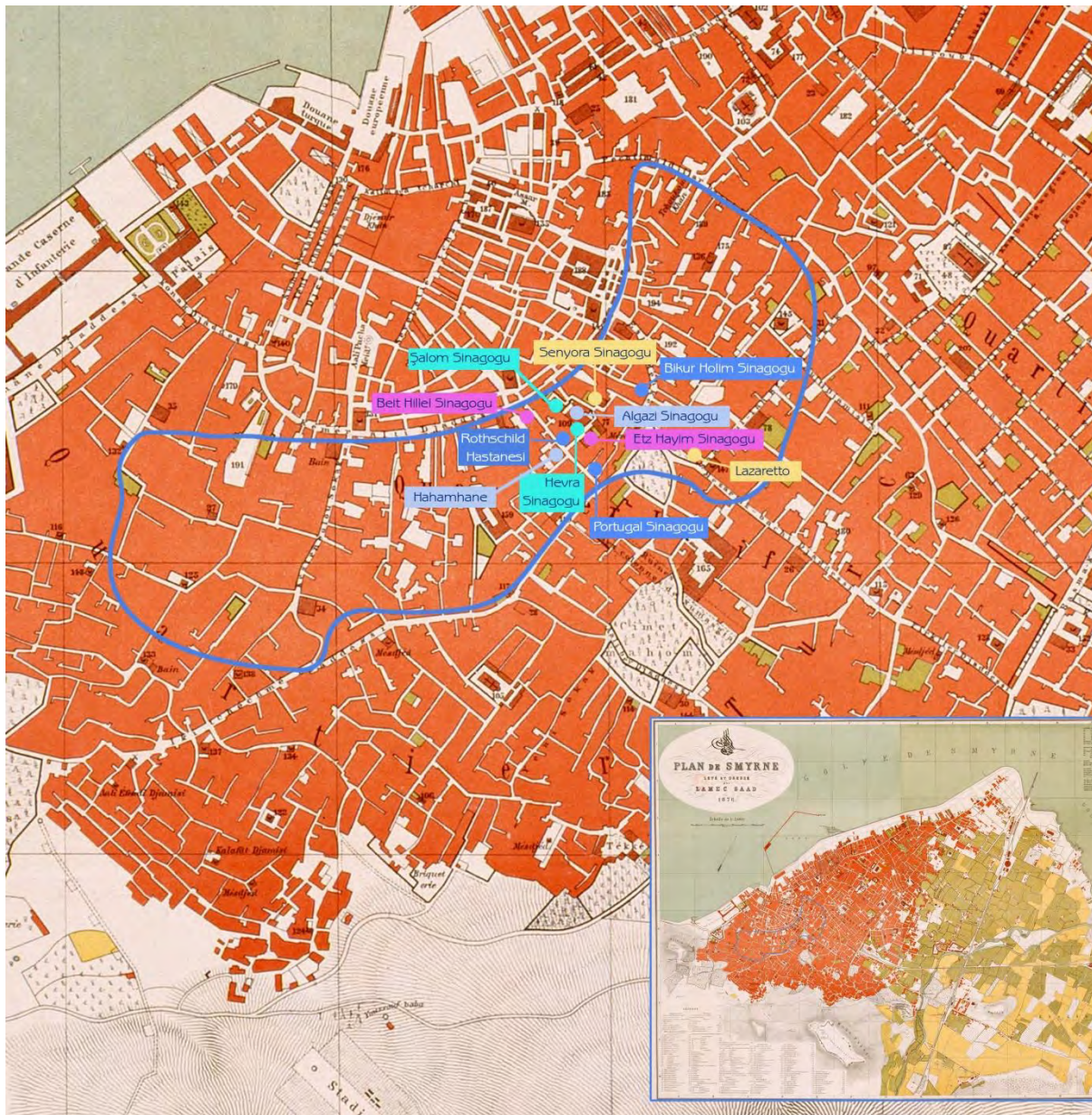
²⁴³ The synagogues Barnay mentions as having been founded in the 17th century are Bakiş, Portuguese, Neve Shalom, Pinto, two synagogues for Thessalonikians (their names are unknown), Giveret Algazi and Orehim. For further information see Barnay 2014, 70- 87.

²⁴⁴ Galante 1937, 42. Bora, 1995, 49-50.

Beit Hillel Synagogue:

Beit Hillel was founded by Eliezer Hillel Behor (Behar) Menuah in the first quarter of the nineteenth century as a yeshiva. Initially it had two rabbis; one being Rabbi Baruh Kalomiti and the other Rabbi David Amado, who taught there in the years 1820-1830 and died in 1838. Eliezer Hillel, a wealthy philanthropic Jew from Romania (Bucharest), was an entrepreneur by nature.

He rebuilt Beit Hillel which was destroyed in the fire of 1841 and contributed to the repair and renovation of Yaakov Ribbi House and Beit Avraham House belonging to Avraham Matsliyah. Eliezer Hillel Behor (Behar), who sponsored numerous books by Hayim Palachi, died in 28 Sivan 5622 (26 June 1862) in Izmir. After the death of Chief Rabbi Hayim Palachi, Beit Hillel was used by his son Avraham Palachi. The building was probably first constructed as a two-part structure: the main hall, that is the *Beit Midrash* or *Yeshiva* on the left and *the place of residence* on the right. The section on the left was used as a synagogue in the following years. The building was made of stone and the roof, windows, ceiling, the stairs, and in the *azarat nashim* were from wood. The floor coverings, probably renovated in early 20th century, were made of cement tiles. There was an iron entrance gate. Four steps led to the building. In the main hall, which was the prayer hall, the Ehal (Holy Ark) was built adjacent to the south wall, while the Teva (platform) was located straight across the Ehal on the north wall. Beit Hillel was almost completely destroyed in a fire that broke out in 2006. The roof collapsed. The Izmir Metropolitan Municipality made up a plan in 2013 to rehabilitate the historical Agora region, along with the synagogues and their surroundings, while integrating them with the Kemeraltı Bazaar. For this purpose, it provided support by allocating personnel and materials. Reconstruction work began in the Beit Hillel Synagogue in the same year and was completed in 2015. The synagogue was organized as "Rabbi Palachi Memorial House" which displays all the archival documents and photographs concerning Rabbi Palachi. The opening ceremony was held on April 27, 2017.



The area separated by blue lines is the Cami-i Atik District which is densely populated with Jews. The map shows the pre-1887 state. In 1887 the Izmir District Organization was established and the city was divided into districts. The residential area of Jews was also divided into 7 districts.

Ashkamat Synagogue:

Ashkamat Synagogue is a small synagogue of 50 m2. The date of construction is unknown. Presumably it began to be used as a place of worship when a Jewish house was converted to synagogue. It is not active today. The property belongs to the Izmir Jewish Community.

2- Poverty

According to A. Galland, in 1678, many of the 150 Jewish families in Izmir living around 7 synagogues in the city center were home owners ²⁴⁵. Galland's description leads to the following conclusion: *"In the 17th century, most Jewish families in Izmir lived in excellent social and economic conditions."* However, there is a different description of the socio-economic profile of the Izmir Jewish Community in the second half of the 17th century. According to a letter cited by E. Bashan from an embassy secretary in Istanbul, the Izmir Jewish Community was a small and poor community in the 17th century, but soon prospered by playing an active role in the commercial activity of the city ²⁴⁶. It seems the situation completely changed in the 19th century. In 1887, *"most of the twenty thousand Izmir Jews who had been expelled and alienated everywhere, began to live a miserable life in their barns in the districts around the nine synagogues"* ²⁴⁷. Regular reports sent by the principals of Alliance Israelite Universelle ²⁴⁸ schools in Izmir to the central bureau in Paris also touched the subject.

²⁴⁵ Archives Historique de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, Henri Nahum, "The Jews in Smyrna of confinement at the opening to the world", *Journal of Muslim Worlds and the Mediterranean*, (online) 107-110, September 2005, posted May 4, 2005, accessed June 18, 2014. URL: [http:// remmm revues.org/2799](http://remmm.revues.org/2799).

²⁴⁶ Bashan 1988, 50.

²⁴⁷ Deschamps 1894, 169.

²⁴⁸ Founded in 1860 in Paris by a group of Jewish youngsters, Alliance Israelite Universelle aimed to remove the socio-economic and cultural differences among Jews that changed according to the countries they lived, to increase their awareness and develop their spiritual values. The Alliance was convinced that Eastern Jews who lived in darkness would be rescued from misery and ignorance through technical scientific work, education and population planning. It believed that vocational schools were the solution to the problems of overpopulation arising from early marriages, ignorance and unemployment. From 1862 onwards, many apprenticeship schools, agriculture schools and modern schools were opened in the cities with large Jewish communities, especially in Baghdad, Edirne, Istanbul and Izmir. For further information, see: Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews The Alliance Israelite Universelle in Turkey 1860-1914*, Harvard University 1985.

According to a report by D. Cazes, the director of the first Alliance school opened in Izmir in 1873, there were 3,500 Jewish families in 1873 totaling 20,000 people. Only about 100 of the 3500 family members were wealthy. The heads of these families were owners of large businesses. Middle class families numbered around 1500-2000 and consisted of brokers, merchants, porters and small business owners. Heads of 500 families were rabbis (probably living on tips). The remaining 1000 families were the poorest in the community. The descriptions of the schoolmaster continue as follows: "... *about 1000 families live on donations, and their place of residence constitutes the dirtiest and the most disgusting quarter of the Jewish district and therefore in Izmir*" ²⁴⁹. Paul Dumont underlines the fact that in the last quarter of the 19th century, Alliance school principals' reports to Paris always emphasized the trilogy of *poverty, misery, and catastrophe* ²⁵⁰. Another characteristic of these reports was the detailed description of the houses in which the poor families live and the living conditions in them: "*The Jews in Izmir live like Turks except for a small number. They sleep on the floor. The whole family eats from the same pot and drinks water from the same pitcher The courtyard replaces the living room, while the rooms are very neglected and the household sleeps in the courtyard in the summer because the rooms are full of bedbugs ...*". The poor families live in heartbreaking living: "*When one enters the houses these poor people live in, one gets annoyed and begins to shed tears. These families are made up of 8-10-12 members and live in a room entered from a single door. It is not possible to understand how humans live in such a place without deteriorating into poor health*" ²⁵¹. The places described are traditional living quarters of poor Jews in Izmir, namely the cortejos and Jewish houses.

3- Conflicts Within the Community

A major conflict in the community was the tax evasion (gabel-related corruption), which is described in the pamphlet named "Shaavat Aniyim" (The Outcry of the Poor) ²⁵². In Izmir, the *social fracture* that opened in 1847 in Izmir, lasted for so long, the wounds it opened in the congregation were so deep and left such a significant impact that even Hayim Palachi became anxious about possible grave events ²⁵³.

²⁴⁹ 1000 families make up for almost a third of the Jewish population. The reports written by school principals suggest that these families tried to live on donations and were begging for money. See Nahum, 126-127. Dumont 1982, 216.

²⁵⁰ Dumont 1982, 210.

²⁵¹ Nahum 1990, 127.

²⁵² It was printed in 1847 in Izmir by one of the opponents. This 8-page pamphlet was written in Ladino. According to Levy, its only copy is in the British Museum, while the Yad Ben Tsvi Institute in Jerusalem has a photocopy.

According to Avner Levy's description; "Between 1840 and 1842, the young Rabbis Hayim Palachi, Pinhas de Segura, Shelomo Krispin and A. Ashkenazi, who were new in their profession, looked after and supported the poor, and decided to arrange the meat gabel in favor of the poor. But after a while (in 1847), they all crossed sides to the rich and began to work against the poor "²⁵⁴.

During this period, Rabbi Hayim Palachi was the Beit Din president ²⁵⁵. Palachi made arrangements about the meat gabel that favored the poor and declared the gabel null and void. But his efforts were blocked. The poor communicated their displeasure about the fact that Beit Din president's decision wasn't being implemented, as shown in a letter sent by the Supreme Judicial Council to the province of Aydın as a response to the complaints. The document, dated 25 / S / 1264 (27 July 1848), included a demand that the decision blocked by the rich would be implemented ²⁵⁶.

²⁵³ Avram Galante and M. Franco's citations from Chief Rabbi Hayim Palachi suggest that he had reflected in his works the concern and sorrow he felt about the class struggles in the community. See Galante, 1937, 58-62. Franco 1897, 197-200. In fact, we know that two of his books (Sefer Hukot Hayim and Hayim and Shalom) were about peace and well being. It is evident from the documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives that Aydın Province also shared these concerns. To illustrate: County Governor Osman's letter asking for instructions on how to reconcile rich and poor Jews who got into a conflict because of the raise in the Gabel Tax. BOA, Prime Ministry A.9 MKT. 121-1 (10/Ca/1264). Letter about the appointment of Sabri effendi regarding the dispute that has arisen among the Jews in Izmir. BOA., İ.HR. 45/2119 (22/Ca/1264). Letter about examining the disagreement within the Jewish people in Izmir. BOA., İ.MVL. 123/3149 (15/Ş/1264). Also see Ekşatayn, 1999, 165-172.

²⁵⁴ Levy 1992, 196.

²⁵⁵ Beit Din was an institution that had the power and authority of the Sharia Court. It heard the civil and commercial cases in the Jewish community. Occasionally non-Jews also applied to this institution on their issues with Jews. Galante, 1937, 17-19. Evidently, Palachi was known and appreciated as a reliable judge in Izmir and the surrounding area.

²⁵⁶ Application for the implementation of the agreement reached among the Jews in Izmir and blocked by the rich in the community. BOA, MVL. 27-56, document dated 25/Ş/1264.

On the other hand, according to A. Levy's explanations, "*Palachi regained his authority after a while, but forgot about his decision to abolish the meat gabel*" ²⁵⁷. Did he forget his decision? Or did he deliberately postpone it? We do not know. He was a relative of Rabbi David Hazan, who was serving as a "shohet" (slaughterer), an important part the Gabel practice. Rabbi Hazan always stood by and supported the poor ²⁵⁸ and in my opinion, it is very likely that Palachi shared the same ideas with Hazan on the protection of the poor. Palachi, a peace-loving person, may have preferred to compromise to calm things down. Was he successful? The fact that the events still continued between 1865 and 1866, occupying the agenda of Jewish newspapers in Istanbul, Paris and Vienna is evidence of his failure ²⁵⁹. In 1866, Hayim Palachi warned tax collectors (Gabelleros) involved in meat gabel corruption, kosher meat slaughterers (Shohetim) and butchers. Palachi stopped the "*Connected Knife*" ²⁶⁰ practice when his warnings were not effective ²⁶¹. The Gabel that triggered the events was collected from meat, wine and cheese and was used for the hospital, cemetery, clothing for the poor, expenses of the religious courts, *Talmidey Hahamim* (rabbinic students) and *Asara Batlanim* ²⁶². According to A. Levy's quote from Shaavat Aniyim; wine gabel was 25.000 lions (*arayot*) ²⁶³.

²⁵⁷ Levy 1992, 197.

²⁵⁸ In a letter to Beit Din members, Rabbi Hayim David Hazan informed that he had decided to help the poor Jews in the city, who numbered some 2000 people. He claimed that many of them might convert if they didn't get help and support.

²⁵⁹ Levy 1992, 189.

²⁶⁰ The "Connected Knife" practice involved auctioning the right to collect "Gabel". The highest bidder would earn the privilege to collect the Gabel. Tax collectors (Gabelleros) who signed a contract with the community administration were obliged to pay the weekly rent they had promised. However, the community administration did not take any precautions against possible acts of fraud by Gabelleros in rent payments.

²⁶¹ Galante, 1937, 31-32. Ekşatayn, 1999, 168. Also see the letter on the Prime Ministry sending aid to Izmir's poor Jews. BOA, MVL. 732-66, 18/Za/1283. Report by Head of Hahambaşı District on issuing a written order that the government shall provide aid to the official sent by the Chief Rabbi for solving the dispute among the Jewish people in Izmir. BOA, MVL. 736-50, document dated 14/S/1284.

²⁶² Asara Batlanim means ten unemployed people, and Batlanim means idle people who have nothing to do or are a useless crowd. Batlanim waiting to be called for prayer were found around almost every synagogue or yeshiva in the Ottoman Empire. When there was a need to fill the Minyan (10 people), these Jews who mostly had informal religious knowledge were paid to come to the place of worship.

²⁶³ Arayot was the Ottoman gold kurush dubbed Aslanlı or Asadi. One side depicted a lion. 1 kurush is 40 para. See Levy 1992, 199.

It seems the injustice that led the poor to revolt started right at this point, at the gabel distribution: 20.000 of the 25,000 arayot were paid by the poor, and 5000 by the rich. The same was true for meat gabel. Moreover, the 40,000 arayot paid to the slaughterers (Shohetim) were all collected from the poor. Thus, the poor Jews were faced with paying double for both meat tax and the Shohet fee, while the richer class did not pay a single penny for the Shohet ²⁶⁴. As I understand from the sources I have available, the disputes in this context continued for many years. ²⁶⁵

The Izmir Jewish Community's new board of governors ²⁶⁶ established in accordance with the 1865 Rabbinate Ordinance invited Hayim Palachi to its first meeting and made him sign a *declaration* restricting the Chief Rabbi's powers. Prepared by the members of the Board, the declaration introduced the condition that all decisions and signatures of the Chief Rabbi had to be approved by the board of governors. According to M. Franco's interpretation, Hayim Palachi, who was 78 at the time, "*willingly or unwillingly (it's not clear which) signed the declaration*". The board began to make radical changes; replacing the administrative staff and preparing new arrangements for wine and meat gabel. To achieve formal status for its decisions and to increase its sanction power, the board appealed to Yakir Geron, the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul, and asked for his support. However, the board of governors was short-lived. It was abolished after a few months of work, thereby nullifying the declaration. Rabbi Hayim Palachi, meanwhile, "*was appointed Chief Rabbi for good -meaning until his death - and those who used Gabel as a means for exploitation apologized to Chief Rabbi Palachi*" ²⁶⁷.

²⁶⁴ Levy 1992, 184-186.

²⁶⁵ The two consecutive fires of 1841 and 1845 harmed the economy of the Izmir Jewish community. A. Levy claims that the community debt of 500.000 arayot Palachi paid during these years (this matches the information given in Shaavat Aniyim) probably also includes the total cost of the damage caused by the fires. See Bkz. Levy 1992, 194.

²⁶⁶ The board of governors that was chosen from among rich merchants included Abraham Enrikes as president and Yako Melammed, Moshe Mordoh, Isak Sidi, David Cohen, Avraham Roditi, Moshe Sion, David Taranto, Isak Dannon and Habib Nesim Crespín as members. See Franco 1890, 197.

²⁶⁷ Franco 1890, 197-199. The Izmir Jewish Community began implementing the Rabbinate Ordinance in 1896.

4- Cortejos, Jewish Houses and Lazaretto

Throughout history, the Jewish Diaspora ²⁶⁸ faced legal barriers and persecution in some countries they migrated to, while they were shown tolerance in others. Sometimes accepted on condition of staying temporarily and at other times permanently, they were forced many times to prove their trustworthiness. The Diaspora, who incorporated the local cultural elements in every country, also formed Jewish communities blended with these cultures ²⁶⁹. The new formations caused a new concern for Jewish scholars: *The danger of losing the common Jewish identity*. Thus, a series of measures began, starting with emphasizing family and lineage connections, and continuing with organizational efforts that would last for centuries ²⁷⁰. These measures included establishing Jewish social institutions, preserving the language, the religion, the values, the social norms and the accounts of the homeland ²⁷¹, and isolating Diaspora Jewish communities by maintaining minimum contact with others ²⁷².

The main objective was to preserve the Jewish people as a religious and ethnic community. Judaism and Jewish History, which have been in continuous and mutual interaction for centuries, entailed many elements, institutions and architectural structures created by integrating religion and ethnic identity, such as synagogues, schools, purification pools (mikve), kosher shops, butchers, Jewish houses and cortejos ²⁷³.

Ezra, the leader of Jews who returned to Palestine, ensured that the Tora would be shaped into its current form and reestablished its significance in the Jewish community. During this time, conflicting ideas on the way to implement the commandments and the rules of the Tora resulted in the formation of different factions in Judaism (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes). The outcome of this period was the Jewish Religious Court or Sanhedrin, which started the tradition of interpretation for revealing the hidden meaning behind the Oral Tora. By interpreting the Tora in religious academies founded in Palestine and Babylon, Jewish scholars created the Talmud that reshaped the oral Jewish traditions. They first formed the Palestinian Talmud, followed by the Babylonian Talmud, while starting the tradition of regular worship as it is observed in synagogues today. During these developments, the Jews and the Palestinian lands came under the rule of the Greeks, the Ptolemy Kingdom of Egypt, the Seleukos Kingdom of Syria and finally the Romans. The Second Temple was destroyed under Roman rule. For further information see Salime Leyla Gürkan, *Yahudilik*, İstanbul June 2012 (revised 4th edition). There is no concrete data on the historical background of the Jewish-specific communal houses in Izmir called han, cortejo, yahudihane (Jewish house) or Lazaretto ²⁷⁴. These structures are only one of the practical ways that the community, expelled and left without a homeland since the 6th century BC, had developed from the experiences it gained over the centuries. In other words, they are the manifestations of Jews' practical thinking in sociological and architectural areas. Being familiar with immigrants and immigration, they formed building complexes that would meet the needs for accommodation, security, water, food and worship for as many families as possible in the narrow areas they moved into. Immigration is the main reason for the emergence of such building structures.

The fear of being deported any time and the need to find accommodation as fast as possible must have led to the construction of this practical form of communal housing. The mass housing is called *dirot* in Hebrew, meaning apartments. Although the core families of mother, father and children have small units within the building complex, the units are very close to each other. They all share life with others. In fact, they are like members of a *largefamily* living together in a building complex. They often cook and eat together, pray and celebrate the holidays together, watch over each other and share their problems and joys. Life in these structures can be described as *the communal lifestyle of the Izmir Jewish Community*.

²⁶⁸ The term for Jewish immigrants since the exile from Babylon has been Diaspora (tfutsot) גלות (galut) גלות.

²⁶⁹ Jews are claimed to be deeply assimilated with the Arab community, although they have always been considered different in terms of their culture and characteristics. See Çetinkaya, 40, <https://bozok.academia.edu/KenanCetinkaya>.

²⁷⁰ Religious organization began during the exile from Babylon and continued to the Second Temple period.

²⁷¹ The Jewish diaspora in exile was unique in that they had collective memory and collective awareness. There was no homeland, but they believed in returning. For further information, see Safran 2005, 36-60.

²⁷² <http://www.friends-partners.org/Judaism>, Judaism and the Jewish People – The Jewish Diaspora and Israel.

²⁷³ Cortejos and Jewish houses always remind of Izmir. But similar buildings can also be found in the architectural history of Tire, Manisa, Turgutlu, Thessaloniki, Istanbul and the islands of Crete and Rhodes. The word is also used as a district name. For example, the name of the first Jewish district in Sarajevo is known as El Cortijo. Spanish and Portuguese immigrants who came to Sarajevo when it was conquered by the Ottomans in the 15th century founded their community in 1565 and built their first synagogue in 1587. The district in which the synagogue was built was named El Cortijo. Strom 1992, 13.

²⁷⁴ For further information on the Lazaretto see Bora 2014, 43-44. 161-170. Bora, 2016, 66-78.

Cortejos and Jewish houses:

Cortejo, which is a form of communal housing we mentioned above, is a word of Spanish-origin. The word refers to a farmhouse if the building is in a rural area, and to a public courtyard if it is in the city. The origin of cortejos could be the cohorts; Roman era villas with courtyards or caravanserais and inns built in the Persian period along the trade road that stretched all through Anatolia (King's Road) or houses surrounded by high walls that were made compulsory for isolating Jews during the Roman / Byzantine period. Common features of almost all traditional cortejos were large entrance gates and a large courtyard reached through the gate. There were usually two or three storey buildings around the courtyard, with rows of extremely small rooms of 8-10 square meters and corridor-like galleries in front of them. There were no sinks, no bathrooms, and no toilets in the rooms. The toilet and well (fountain or pump) in the public courtyard met all the needs of the cortejo residents (face washing, cooking, laundry and dishwashing). The owner of the property was obliged to clean the common areas, in return for monthly rent collected from cortejo residents.

Jewish houses, which have different architectural characteristics than the cortejos, can be described as amorphous family houses. They were often made up of small apartments or small detached houses standing side by side on a narrow street. Only one section of each dwelling had a small kitchen area. Especially in the years when many Jewish immigrants arrived in the city, additional sections were built to meet the urgent need for housing. As a result, it's possible to say that every Jewish house developed a different appearance. For example, some were a U-shape around a narrow street. Others turned into a T-shape, consisting of a common street in the middle, one or two storey houses on either side of the street and a courtyard ²⁷⁵. The Vakıf Senedi (settlement deed) by Katipzade Ahmed Reşit Effendi includes informative descriptions of the structural features of the Jewish houses, as well as the structural differences between the cortejos and the Jewish houses: "*A Jewish house with five two-floor buildings, two ovens, a kitchen, and a kitchen stove. Next to bay-windowed houses, a Jewish house with storage, toilet and half measure of fresh water. A Jewish house on a plot of 25 yards with seven two-storey buildings, an oven and toilet. A Jewish house made of two-storey stone buildings, a kitchen, a toilet, a kitchen stove and an empty courtyard. A Jewish house with six stone houses, an oven, three toilets and a courtyard. A Jewish house of five two-storey simple buildings, four kitchen stoves, a cellar, a kitchen, six toilets, an empty courtyard and a measure of fresh water*".

²⁷⁵ Bora 2015, 48-50.

The *cortejos* in Karataş, or the Second Juderia (Jewish residential area), were not as numerous as the Jewish houses and *cortejos* near İkiçeşmelik. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the number of *cortejos* and Jewish houses in Karataş is estimated to be between five and seven. We will list the names and features of *cortejos* and Jewish houses in Karataş, based on the information we received from interviews and research: At the entrance to Mithat Paşa Street from the direction of Konak, on the right there was the Bahri Baba casino (in the 1940's), then the People's House building (now the State Theater), and then, just opposite the İzmir Karataş High School there were *cortejos* called Rıza Bey Family House²⁷⁶ and *El Hangras Kavras* or *El Han de Las Kavras* (Goats's Inn). Both were two-storey social residences entered from the main road, with a large courtyard, single room units on both sides, a water pump and boats tied to the coast on the backside. The location of *Urgancıoğlu* was across the Eshot Counter Workshop and there was a Jewish house to the north of *Urgancıoğlu*. The structure, made up of a row of houses in a small alley, had a very narrow façade. Almost all Jews who lived in this social housing were working in candle workshops. We learned from an İzmir Jew that there was a *Cortejo Bazbana* in Karataş but could not identify its location or any details about it. *Cortejo Bazbana* must be the *cortejo* located along the steep slope of Karataş, on the *street* connecting Asansör Kulesi (Lift Tower) to the district called *back district*.²⁷⁷ According to the information we received, this *cortejo* had a front and a back gate. The courtyard in the middle was concrete. There was a two-storey building on three sides of the courtyard with rows of rooms and most probably, a public toilet in one corner of the courtyard²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁶ This is the place mentioned in the novel "Rıza Bey Family House" by Tarık Dursun Ka. It appears that there were more than one *cortejos* in the area across Karataş High School and Rıza Bey Family House was only one them. Tarık Dursun Ka, Rıza Bey Aile Evi, 1957, Varlık yayını.

²⁷⁷ In a meeting we had on 30/10 /2014 with Avram Bereshit, who lives in Bat Yam and serves as a Hazan in a synagogue in Jaffa, we received some information on the *cortejo* located near the Elevator Tower. Avram Bereshit was born on 302 street (Dario Moreno street) house number 10 and lived there until he moved to Israel. The street the *cortejo* was located is now closed due danger of landslide.

²⁷⁸ For further information on İzmir *Cortejos* and Jewish houses see Bora 2015, 41-49

From the beginning of the 20th century, there was a steady increase in the Jewish population of İkiçeşmelik, Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe. Especially from the end of the War of Independence - 1922 onwards, many Jewish families living in Turgutlu, Menemen, Manisa, Bergama, Tire, Milas and Aydın migrated to İzmir. For instance, all 50-60 Jewish families living in Turgutlu preferred to leave and settle in İzmir. As a result, the Jewish population of İzmir, which was around 40,000 in 1922, rose to 55,000 after 1922. I believe some of the newcomers (especially the poor) were placed in *cortijos* and Jewish houses. Since the beginning of the 20th century, most of the Muslim Turkish immigrants (porters, laborers and peasants) who came to İzmir from Anatolia to find work started living in *cortijos* and Jewish houses. The houses were extremely crowded; in addition to job seekers, there were “*İzmir’s poor classes of seven or eight thousand people forced to live underground in watery (wet, humid, moldy) neighborhoods*”. This situation resulted in epidemics. In the report sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the houses that were described as the focal point of epidemics were the Greek houses, Jewish houses, *cortijos*, rooms for singles and the bazaars. “Five or six people were sleeping together in one place” in these neighborhoods ²⁷⁹.

Lazaretto:

The only positive aspect of epidemic diseases throughout history is that they have promoted the idea of preventive health and provision of services in this regard. The introduction of quarantine measures and the establishment of quarantine organizations in Europe began with the 14th century plague outbreaks. These epidemics cost the lives of millions of people until 1348, but also brought with them the idea of struggle. The most important lesson was that fighting outbreaks was possible through sanctions and restrictions. Several measures were taken in Europe in this context. Initially, a health commission was established in Venice in 1348, which was given the authority to remove and bury victims of epidemics using special methods and to take protective measures concerning incoming passengers. From 1377 onward, an obligatory measure was introduced in Raguza (Dubrovnik-Croatia) according to which passengers who came by sea were kept away from the city and the harbor for 30 days (isolation). After a while it would be extended to 40 days and the word “quarantine” derived from “quaranta”, the Italian equivalent of 40, would be used ²⁸⁰. In fact, quarantine or isolation practices in Europe were not only against plague, but also leprosy and lepers. In medieval Europe, lepers were isolated from society by measures and bans led by the church. One of the sanctions imposed on lepers was to force them to carry “Lazarus Bells” and to inform of their arrival by tolling them ²⁸¹.

²⁷⁹ Citing from the document sent to the Ministry of Interior on January 18, 1911: Yetkin, İzmir in the Days of Cholera, www.izmirkitap.com/sabri_yetkin_2.htm.

²⁸⁰ Nikiforuk 2001, 49-60.

²⁸¹ Nikiforuk 2001, 144-146.

The Ottoman State began to take measures to protect public health during II. Mahmut's rule. Smallpox vaccinations began after the opening of the Tıbhane-i Şahane (medical school) in 1840, and it was decided to vaccinate all children who were Ottoman subjects. On the other hand, the most important development in terms of protecting public health was a series of measures concerning quarantine practices. In 1823, two quarantine points for trade vessels were identified to protect the Ottoman borders against the cholera epidemic in Russia (the interpreters of European embassies also insisted on this measure). Several steps were also observed during the plague epidemic of 1831. The Quarantine Assembly, convened in September 1837, decided on introducing quarantine at the borders, in ports and trade centers and issued a regulation to that effect. The Ottomans notably preferred to use the word *tahaffuz* ²⁸² instead of *quarantine*. Izmir was one of the places where quarantine was established (1840) immediately after the first one in Istanbul. Quarantine stations were located both on land and the sea. The naval station was Urla (Klazomen), while the land station was in a place known as Süleyman Pasha tower ²⁸³. The impression we get from the information about Ottoman quarantine stations is that some were temporary facilities used only during outbreaks, while others were used for many years and functioned as *special hospitals* dedicated to epidemic diseases. Such quarantine stations with a status of a special hospital, show great resemblance to the Lazarettos established in various cities of the world.

²⁸²The word used for quarantine is *usul-ı tahaffuz*; while *Karantinahane* or *Tahaffuzhane* is used for quarantine station. These were placed at points of entry or along the road to the city and incoming passengers were kept there under observation for some time to prevent the spread of a disease. Those who were found to be susceptible to illness were separated from healthy people and given treatment.

²⁸³ Gürpınarlı 2009, 222-225.

Lazaretto can be regarded as one of the most important consequences of the "black plague" epidemic, which strongly prevailed in Europe. "Lazaretto Veçio", the first quarantine building in Europe, was established in 1423 in Santa Maria Nazaret, one of the islands of Venice. Then similar others were opened in Genoa, Marseilles, Malta, Majorca and Ragusa²⁸⁴. A Lazaretto opened in Vienna in 1679; and another in Philadelphia in 1799 because of the yellow fever epidemic²⁸⁵. A Lazaretto was built in Rhodes because of its geographical position on the transportation route between Egypt and the Anatolian coast. Merriam Webster's dictionary makes the following definitions regarding the meaning of Lazaretto. The word in plural is Lazarettos or Lazarets or Lazarettes. Their meanings are:

- institutes for epidemic diseases (institutes used as hospitals).
- ships or buildings used for quarantine practices.
- a ship's warehouse.

According to Britannica, Lazaretto is a quarantine station²⁸⁷. Different claims are put forward about the etymology of the word:

- "*Laazar*" means helping in Hebrew. Lazaretto may refer to the place where help is given.
- It is said that Lazaretto is related to Eliezer and refers to "*El Azar*" (God help me) in Hebrew²⁸⁸.
- There is a claim that it was inspired by the name of Bethany Lazarus who was revived by Jesus, as told in the Gospel of John²⁸⁹.
- Some say it refers to the wealthy beggar Lazarus, who is mentioned in a section in the Luka Bible²⁹⁰.
- In the 12th century, the St. Lazarus Military Hospital was established in Jerusalem, that undertook the treatment of knights who were infected with leprosy. The name allegedly inspired the word.
- In medieval Europe, isolated lepers had to carry a so-called "*Lazarus bell*", seemingly related to the word.

²⁸⁴ www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/486307/quarantine. Geddes, Lazarettos&Quarantine-The Infected patient between hospitality&rejection, School of Medicine University of Birmingham UK., a.mgeddes@bham.ac.uk. Mellor, "Anderson Stuart -Plague rats in the realm", Common Room/The University of Sydney, April to December 2009. lisem@med.usyd.edu.au. (written introduction of a visual presentation).

²⁸⁵ America's Oldest Quarantina Station-The Lazaretto, www.saupem.edu/dbarnes/Lazaretto.html.

²⁸⁶ www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lazaretto.

²⁸⁷ www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/333194/lazaretto.

²⁸⁸ Hitchcock 2005, 297.

²⁸⁹ Yuhanna 11: 38-44, 106-107. Probably expresses healing through a miracle.

²⁹⁰ Luka 16: 19-22, 79. The heaven-hell dilemma and the afterlife are underlined.

- In 1464, the "*Lazar House*" (Quarantine Building) was opened in San Lazzaro near Piza and was named Lazaretto ²⁹¹.
- The name of the Lazarist Catholic sect founded by Vincent de Paul in Paris in 1624 comes from the Lazare College, which was under its administration until 1792. One can also refer to the Missionary Lazarist Community, an extension of the Lazarist Catholic Order and its activities in 19th century Izmir ²⁹².

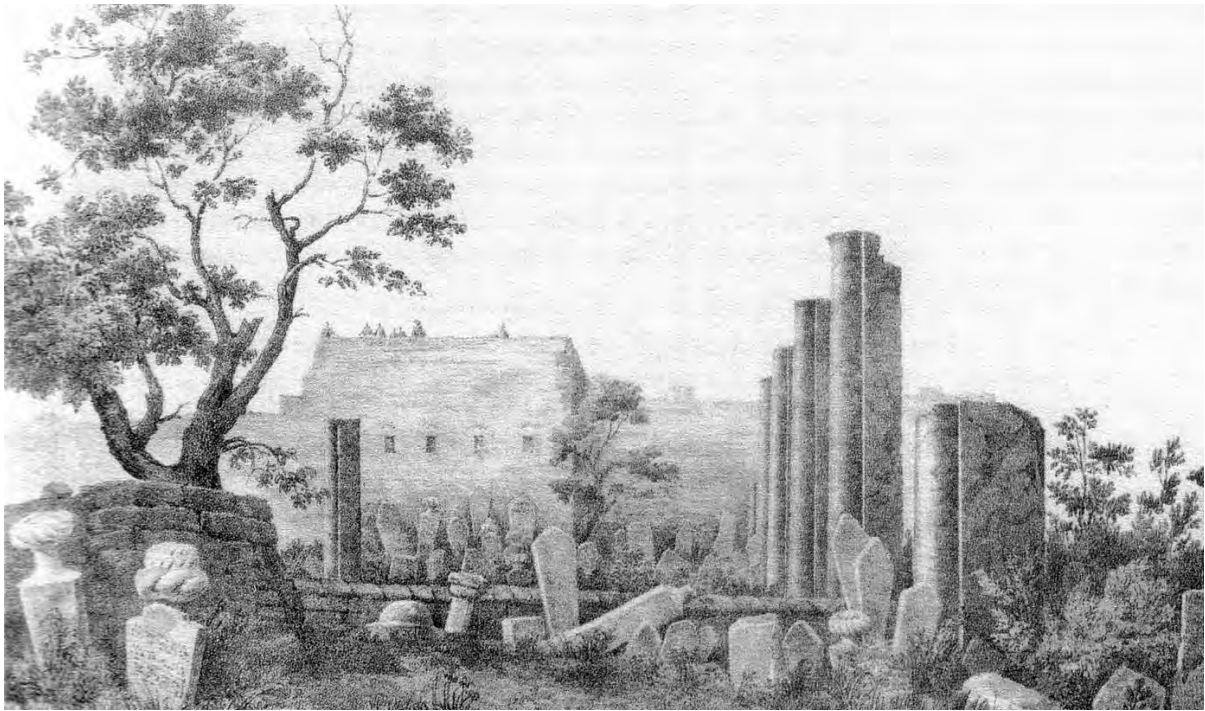
Lazarettos are hospitals usually set up outside the walls of cities for treating epidemic diseases (such as leprosy and plague). Researchers emphasize that these hospitals were particularly concerned with the care of poor patients. Days of quarantine in Lazarettos was 30 in the first years, after which it was increased to 40. The number 40 is thought to have been inspired by Judaism and Christianity and taken after the 40-day references to Jesus and Moses in the holy books.

The Lazaretto for the Izmir Jewish Community was founded in the first half of the 19th century ²⁹³ when the cortejo purchased by Osbia, a Dutch woman, was donated to the Jewish Community. We believe the Lazaretto was founded in conjunction with the "Midrash Kadosh Hospital" (Hospital Institute) after the end of the 1837 plague epidemic. The fact that the quarantine building and the health institute were opened in the same period gives the impression that the Izmir Jewish Community was trying to make serious and fundamental innovations in the health field. The founding of the Jewish Hospital in 1827 (or just before) has strengthened our conviction in this regard. The 1841 Izmir fire destroyed the Lazaretto building. In the following years, a building of 300 rooms was constructed on the same plot with the Financial contributions of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, M. Montefiore and A. Cremieux. There was an open courtyard in the middle of this building whose construction date is unknown. Around the courtyard there was a two-storey building with rows of small rooms. There was also a water source (must be a fountain) in the courtyard.

²⁹¹Lise Mellor, "a.y."

²⁹² Yaranga 2002, 43-50.

²⁹³ I assume the Lazaretto was acquired just after the 1837 plague outbreak. The community most harmed by the plague after the Muslim Turks was the Jews. According to the information I received from Beyru, for every 1000 Jews, 60 were infected with plague and 67% of those who got infected died. See Beyru 2009, 283. We also believe the need for a large quarantine center came up since some important diseases were highly contagious and also because the hospital across the Rabbinate which took care of infected patients in the 1837 epidemic was insufficient.



An engraving from the 19th century. The building behind the Muslim cemetery is the Jewish Lazaretto or Jewish Orphanage. Many potties of different sizes were found in the excavations where the Lazaretto once stood. The potties indicate the presence of collective housing in this area.

According to Galante, there was a place of worship inside the Lazaretto ²⁹⁴. This was a huge two-storey building with a single entrance that led to a large courtyard and small rooms around the courtyard. Again, according to Galante, the Lazaretto's management was left for some time to Giovanni Kohen (Yohannan Kohen). Those living in the rooms were cripples, widows and orphans. The rent was 1 piaster ²⁹⁵. Galante does not give any information on when Giovanni Kohen served as the manager.



From the 1856 map by Luigi Storari. Number 13 is said to be the Great Jewish Inn. It must be referring to the Lazaretto. Number 8 is stated as the Jewish Hospital.

²⁹⁴ We know that a chapel existed in every Christian Lazaretto built in European cities. Joan Howard also included in his book the plans for Lazarettos in other port cities he had visited. Although the plans are different, they all have an inner courtyard and a chapel. There are chapels in the courtyards of the Genoa Lazaretto and Greek Plague Hospital in Smyrna. Another feature shared by both buildings is their resemblance to cortejos.

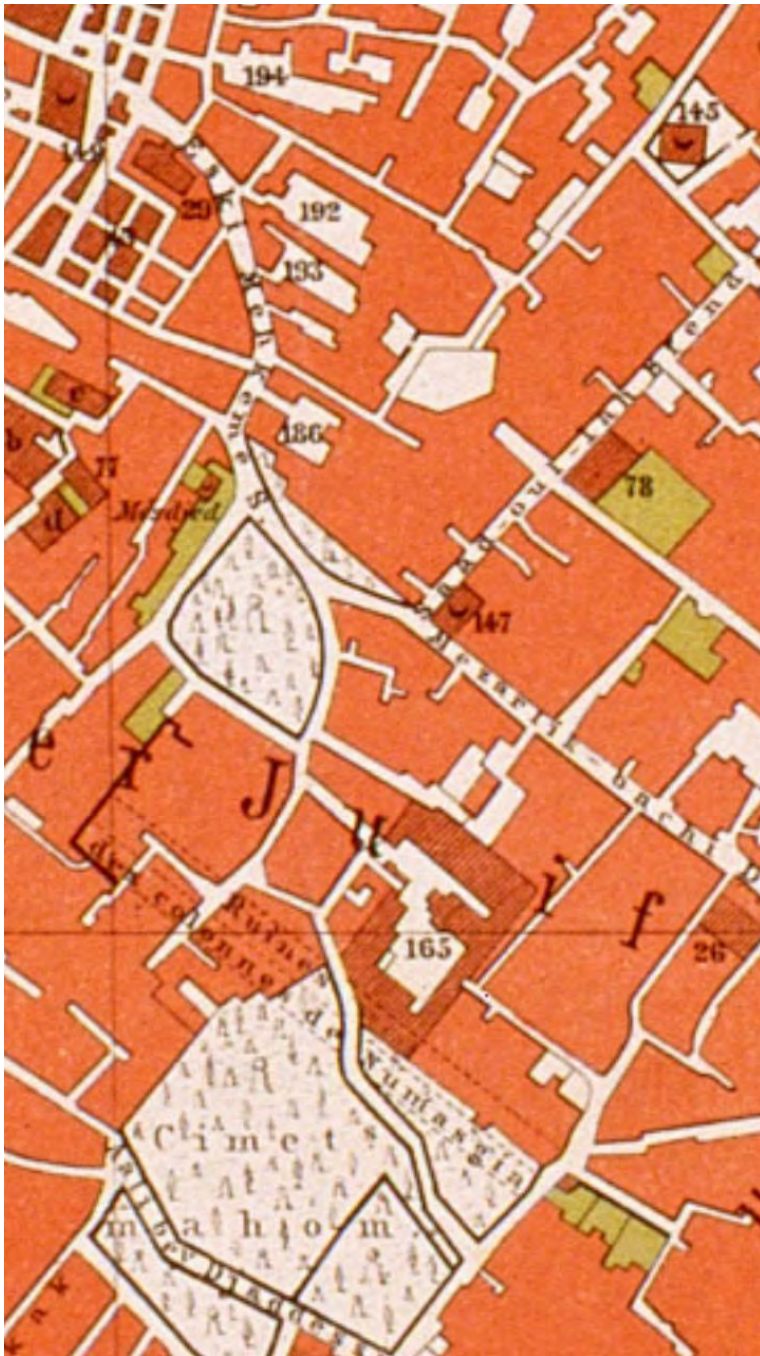
²⁹⁵ Galante t.y., 98-99.

I believe Galante's descriptions brings to light the appearance of the Lazaretto in early 20th century. The Lazaretto, which we presume was used as a quarantine station (special hospital for plague or cholera) from its foundation years until end of the 19th century must have been transformed into a Cortejo in late 19th century, to solve a serious problem like filling the need for accommodation for immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia who flooded into the city. We know that the plague epidemic ended in mid-19th century. Moreover, we also know that the city's Provincial Administrative Council and the Municipal Organization began to assume administrative responsibilities and local services for the city. These factors must have made it easier to take such a decision. As a matter of fact, we learn from Izmir's local press in 1907 that Russian immigrants stayed in the Lazaretto in 1907²⁹⁶.

I haven't encountered any other source on the Jewish Lazaretto except Galante²⁹⁷, but I have identified on the map the locations of the Europeans and Greeks Lazarettos by the bank of Meles River. Both Lazarettos were special hospitals (or quarantine houses) for epidemic diseases. It is possible that the quarantine land station in Süleyman Pasha Tower, which I mentioned above but could not locate, was also built in the same region. If my estimations are correct, it's possible to say that the only Lazaretto building that doesn't follow the tradition is the Jewish Lazaretto, since it was built in a region where *isolation and strict supervision* were impossible. The Lazaretto was located in Bene Israel District (İstiklal district) in Dikilitaş; at the very center of the city and the Jewish neighborhoods. Its location today coincides with the area between 940 and 941 streets. Why was the Lazaretto established in the city center In the first half of the 19th century?

²⁹⁶ Ahenk, 27 Haziran 1323. Ahenk, 2 Eylül 1323.

²⁹⁷ Galante writes that the Lazaretto is a poorhouse. It is possible that the Lazaretto which served many years as a quarantine station was later used as a poorhouse. In fact, we know that poor Jewish immigrants from Russia stayed in the Lazaretto in 1907. Galante t.y., 38-39. Bora 1995, 60. On the other hand, I believe there's need at this point to clarify a practice only seen in Jewish institutions in Izmir. I have found that buildings owned by the community were given different functions depending on the changing or increasing needs of community members. For example, after being rebuilt (1841) the Lazaretto was first used as a quarantine station, then as a Jewish house and later as a poorhouse. It seems practical thinking by the Jewish community made it possible to find immediate solutions to problems.



From the 1876 map by Lamec Saad. Number 165 is marked as Dispensary for the Sick. This is the same place as the Great Jewish Inn marked as number 13 in the 1856 Storari map. I think it refers to the Lazaretto.

In my opinion, before we answer this question, it would be useful to examine and remind ourselves of the conditions the Izmir Jewish community was facing in the 19th century. Let's take a look at those conditions:

- The fires that destroyed the city and caused great damage: The fires of 1834, 1841, 1845, 1862,
- Epidemic diseases leading to mass casualties: the outbreaks of cholera in 1834, plague in 1835, plague again in 1837, and cholera in 1848, 1854 and 1865,
- Class struggles between the Izmir Jewish Community's poor and rich classes, which started in the first half of the 19th century, intensified in the 1840's and lasted for almost a hundred years.
- Incidents of tax fraud that constantly triggered these struggles,
- Jewish migration from Central and Eastern Europe and Russia that started in the second half of the nineteenth century and increased steadily until the end of the century, as well as major issues like accommodation and nourishment caused by the rapid population increase in the city,
- Occasional blood libels by Christians against Jews followed by unrest, oppression and in rare cases, deaths caused by these slanders,
- Most importantly, *poverty*.

A miracle was needed to solve the problems. The most important factor affecting the choice of place must have been lack of money. Considering the building was a donation to the greatly-impooverished congregation, there was no other choice. The Jewish community administration did not have the financial means to build a quarantine hospital within the city limits. Available sources were already exhausted. On the other hand, the greatest need of community members living under the above conditions must have been hope for the future and moral support. The Gemilut Hesedim tradition related to the mitzva (religious rule) of helping the needy in difficult times and the mitzvas of Tsedaka (helping the poor or charity), Bikur Holim (taking care of the sick) ²⁹⁸ and Alvayat Hamet (duty to the dead) ²⁹⁹ required not alienating the needy.

²⁹⁸ The Jewish Lazaretto must have worked on many occasions with one of the Jewish charity institutions named Bikur Holim, since it mostly helped patients with deadly diseases, in other words, those with no hope of surviving. We can consider this a reflection of the traditional Jewish solidarity.

²⁹⁹ Besalel 2001, 186-187.

We know that the rules of hygiene in the Tora protected Jews from plague outbreaks in Medieval Europe. But when we look at the 19th century Izmir Jewish community; we are faced with a different reality. Descriptions of Jewish communities and Jews living in these neighborhoods in travelogues, memoirs, news stories from the local press and reports by local government officials show that the words "*filth*", "*poverty*", "*helplessness*" "*desolation*" and "*misery*" were extensively used. We don't think poor Jews facing daily problems of accommodation and nutrition, would have the luxury of practicing Tora's orders of hygiene. So epidemic diseases started and spread in Izmir especially in cortejors and Jewish houses. We believe the rules of hygiene and cleanliness were carefully observed by other members of the Jewish community except the poor.

5- Epidemic diseases and countermeasures

As we explained in more detail in previous chapters, having won the status of an important port city of the Eastern Mediterranean in this period, Izmir was vulnerable and open to all kinds of external influences, including epidemics ³⁰⁰. It was one of the most important gates of the Ottoman Empire, which European countries had selected as their target for expansion when industrialization began in the 19th century. It was also Western countries' preferred place.

It cannot be denied that epidemics, especially plague and cholera, had a negative effect on Izmir's image. The diseases caused massive casualties and reduced the city population, while on the other hand, created a negative impression in the world as "a settlement where epidemic diseases ran rampant" ³⁰¹. With the intense plague outbreaks of 1791, 1792 and 1793,

³⁰⁰ Izmir started facing malaria, smallpox and rubeola outbreaks in 5th century AD. Plague outbreaks which started in the end of the 16th century in surrounding settlements also affected Izmir and from the 19th century the city had to struggle with the plague, cholera and syphilis. For further information, see Rauf Beyru, 19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Sağlık Sorunları ve Yaşam, İzmir (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür yayını) Mart 2005.

³⁰¹ Although 19th century Izmir is characterized by plague and cholera outbreaks, there were also local diseases in and around the city. Despite mass casualties caused by malaria and smallpox, they were never the focus of the descriptions of 19th century Izmir. For further information see Beyru 2009, 280.

The hospitals were working over capacity, the ships in the harbor were evacuated, and serious problems were encountered in hospitalizing patients. According to the information I have, there was a Jewish hospital in Izmir in the years mentioned above ³⁰². After the 1809 plague outbreak that brought quite severe consequences, there were four other epidemics in Izmir, one between 1812-1816 that cost the lives of 45,000 people, followed by additional ones in 1826, 1837, and 1849 ³⁰³.

All travelogues written about Izmir underline that there was no planned and orderly development, while giving detailed descriptions of the filth on the streets. In 1826, *stray dogs are wandering in the streets of Izmir, never touched by the Turks, often even fed and given food by them... Occasionally, large-tailed sheep and cows with dirty furs can be seen wandering around... These animals, that rub and barge against, and sometimes bite the people walking in the streets, add to the overall filth of the city* "³⁰⁴. In 1830 and 1831; "Many streets are unpaved, and the ones that are paved are so badly maintained that it is difficult to walk on them Disgusting odors come out from pits that are often seen on the streets, which no one bothers to close. In many streets, we see a muddy stream, more precisely, an open sewer with pavement on both sides " ³⁰⁵.

³⁰² Stephen Schultz writes in 1752-1753 that "...every nation, the Dutch, British, French, Greek, Armenian and Jewish, has hospitals. All are nice and very clean... ". Cited by Pınar 2009, 304. John Howard, who traveled from Izmir to Venice, described the Izmir Jews also in a way that confirms the information given by Schultz. Howard indicates that there's a hospital for Jews in Izmir of 1786. See Howard 1789, 63, www.bookgoogle.com.tr/.

³⁰³ Pınar 2009, 372. A positive influence of the plague outbreaks on the Izmir Jewish community is that they led to awareness and institutionalization in the health field. Rothschild Hospital, Midrash Kadosh Hospital and the Lazaretto were founded in the first half of the 19th century and the Gürçeşme Cemetery was purchased for burying the victims.

³⁰⁴ Beyru 2005. Citation from XII. Leon de Laborde.

³⁰⁵ Yaranga 2002, 78. Citation from Michaud.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Corde municipal | Quartier | دائری | استقلال محله |
| Rue | No | میدان | خیابان |
| Le nom, prénom et domicile du bailleur | Nature | نام و نام خانوادگی و محل اقامت | شماره و نام و نام خانوادگی |
| Le bailleur déclare être sujet | | تأکید می‌کند که متعلق به این ملک است | تأکید می‌کند که متعلق به این ملک است |
| Le Nom, prénom et domicile du locataire | | نام و نام خانوادگی و محل اقامت | نام و نام خانوادگی و محل اقامت |
| Le locataire déclare être sujet | | تأکید می‌کند که متعلق به این ملک است | تأکید می‌کند که متعلق به این ملک است |
| Le prix du bail annuel | | قیمت اجاره سالانه | قیمت اجاره سالانه |
| Le prix du bail mensuel | | قیمت اجاره ماهانه | قیمت اجاره ماهانه |
| L'espèce de la monnaie | | نوع سکه یا پول | نوع سکه یا پول |
| Payable | | قابل پرداخت | قابل پرداخت |
| Durée du bail | | مدت اجاره | مدت اجاره |
| La date du bail | | تاریخ اجاره | تاریخ اجاره |
| Le nombre des propriétaires et leurs parts | | تعداد مالکین و سهم آنها | تعداد مالکین و سهم آنها |
| Etat actuel des lieux loués | | وضعیت فعلی مکان اجاره شده | وضعیت فعلی مکان اجاره شده |
| L'usage des lieux loués | | استفاده از مکان اجاره شده | استفاده از مکان اجاره شده |

CONDITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Art. 1er. — A la fin de la durée du bail le locataire est obligé d'évacuer les lieux loués et d'en remettre la clef au bailleur. Dans le cas contraire il paiera la somme de comme loange futur, pour chaque jour écoulé, à partir de l'expiration du contrat jusqu'au jour où il en livrera la clef et en dehors de cela, il paiera aussi les dommages qui auraient eu lieu au bailleur.

Art. 2. — Le bailleur est tenu de faire toutes les réparations fondamentales pour rendre habitables les lieux loués, mais les dépenses concernant les réparations pour l'embellissement du local incombent à la charge du locataire; lors des réparations fondamentales à faire pendant la durée du bail, le locataire ne pourra pas en empêcher l'opération; il ne peut non plus fixer un délai pour des réparations en cours; le locataire ne pourra faire aucune démolition dans la division inférieure de l'immeuble; sans l'autorisation du bailleur.

Art. 3. — Le locataire ne pourra pas sous-louer, en totalité ou en partie l'immeuble, ni passer le contrat au nom d'un tiers, sans l'autorisation écrite du locateur ou de son fondé de pouvoir; dans le cas contraire, ou s'il produit des dommages à l'immeuble, le locataire se refuse de payer les indemnités et les contributions du locoyer convenu, le propriétaire aura la faculté de demander la résiliation du contrat, ainsi que tous les frais et dommages-intérêts qui seraient occasionnés par ce fait.

Art. 4. — Tous les travaux d'embellissement que le locataire aura faits inférieurement ou extérieurement de l'immeuble, seront à sa charge et à l'expiration du contrat, ces travaux deviendront la propriété du bailleur, sans que le locataire ait le droit d'en demander les frais ou des dommages.

Art. 5. — Si le locataire désire renouveler le contrat, il doit en aviser

[illegible]

After the plague outbreak of 1812, the year 1831 went down in history as the year Izmir got acquainted with the cholera disease that accompanied the plague. The cholera epidemic of 1831 - 1832 is defined as the first of a series that began in the first half of the 19th century and became more and more frequent. This epidemic first manifested itself in the Jewish neighborhoods and then spread to other parts of the city. During the epidemic, a total of 17,000 people was infected, of which 7000 lost their lives. It is reported that there were approximately 300 deaths per day in the city during the most severe phase of the epidemic³⁰⁶. Between 1831 and 1837, there was a cholera outbreak (1834) and a plague outbreak (1835) in the city. The 1837 plague epidemic mostly affected Muslim Turks and to a lesser extent, the Jews. French doctor M.A.F. Bulard de Meru, who came to Izmir during the 1837 plague epidemic for research, prepared charts showing the distribution of deaths by congregations. According to Meru, the Izmir Jewish population was 8000 during the outbreak; 457 of them were infected, 160 recovered and 297 people died. Infection rates and mortality were very high³⁰⁷.

For every 1000 Jews, 60 were infected with plague; 67% of those who got infected died. These ratios place the Jews in second place among the congregations living in Izmir, after the Muslim Turks³⁰⁸. This epidemic is a turning point in the Izmir Jewish Community. The Jewish Hospital, established in the Hahambaşı (Chief Rabbi) district in 1827, was enlarged during the 1837 plague epidemic by acquiring and adding new buildings, the Lazaretto (Quarantine Building) and Midrash Kadosh Hospital (Holy Hospital Institute) were also founded in the same year.

Regarding the 1848 cholera outbreak, Beyru presents two different pictures of the situation based on two different sources. According to the first picture, Jews occupy the second place in terms of infection and death rates³⁰⁹, while in the second picture they rank last 310. In 1854, there was a cholera epidemic that lasted 136 days and killed 172 people. 49 of the deceased were Jews. Greeks had the most casualties and Jews came second 311.

³⁰⁶ Beyru 2005, 28-29.

³⁰⁷ Beyru 2005, 42-43.

³⁰⁸ Beyru 2009, 283.

³⁰⁹ Beyru 2005, 52-53.

³¹⁰ Beyru 2005, 55.

³¹¹ Beyru 2005, 91-92

The most violent phase of the cholera epidemic in 1865-1866, which began in spring, was between June and September of 1865. Of the Jewish population of 14,000, 550 lost their lives. Descriptions of the episode indicate that the Jewish community was most affected by the epidemic: *"In the Jewish district greatly affected by the disease, the dead were left unburied for a while, since the undertakers were also dead. Within a week in the Jewish district, 98 Jewish bodies remained unburied and later buried by order of Governor Reşit Pasha ... the bodies were carried on beasts to the Jewish cemetery that was illuminated by torches and there was no religious official to say a prayer during the funeral"*³¹². Galante's description of the incident is as follows: *"One Friday when the community was not able to bury its dead, some of the bodies remained on the street or at home; the next day, Saturday, burials are not allowed according to Jewish tradition anyway, so new ones were added ... The Governor decided to throw this mass of some two hundred bodies into the sea, but when a Jewish member of the provincial council asked him to reconsider, he did not put his decision into effect. As a result, on Saturday evening, a large pit was opened in the Jewish cemetery and the bodies were buried there in a certain order"*³¹³.

The Izmir Jewish Community had a population of approximately 12,000 to 15,000 people in the 19th century and many of them were poor. As described in the 1847 pamphlet named "Shaavat Aniyim"³¹⁴ (The Outcry of the Poor), the most important problem of poor Jews was the filth in their living quarters and hunger. Let alone consuming protein, the poor, who mostly lived in cortijos or Jewish houses, fed only on *"rotten and contaminated vegetables and fruits"*; and *"they are not able to save their already thin and weak bodies from the claws of the cholera epidemic"*³¹⁵. The 1865 cholera epidemic mostly affected the Greeks and the Jews, and the dead were mostly poor³¹⁶. The Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis edition of August 31, 1865, wrote that *"a member of the House of Commons, known as the guardian of Jews,"* came to Izmir accompanied by an English doctor and a Jewish representative and brought medicine. The person mentioned in the newspaper was Baron Lionel Rothschild, the first Jew who entered the House of Commons.

³¹² Beyru 2005, 93-94. Beyru 2009, 283-284. ³¹³ Galante 1937, 157-158, Beyru 2009, 288.

³¹³ Galante 1937, 157-158, Beyru 2009, 288.

³¹⁴ This 8-page pamphlet was written in Ladino and printed in Izmir. Its only copy is in the British Museum, while the Yad Ben Tsvi Institute in Jerusalem has a photocopy.

³¹⁵ Raif Nezih 1926, 13. Forma, 7. (from the 3 August 1865 edition of Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis newspaper). Beyru 2005, 95.

³¹⁶ Beyru 2005, 8. (from the 9 August 1865 edition of Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis newspaper). Beyru 2005, 95.

³¹⁷ Cited by Raif Nezih 1926, 9. Beyru 2005, 95-96.

Rothschild brought along some two thousand liras collected from English Jews, to be distributed to cholera patients and their families. According to the information given by Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis, aid from London continued; first 450 liras, then 2883 liras were collected and sent ³¹⁷. It is reported that these funds were used for the treatment of all cholera patients in the city. Also, British and American Consuls, the Ottoman Bank and the Provincial administrators also provided food and financial assistance to the entire city population ³¹⁸. Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis reports that many people left the city during the epidemic, among them "*the Greek Metropolitan and the Jewish Rabbi*". According to the same newspaper, the Governor of Izmir Reşit Pasha called on them to return and while the Greek Metropolitan returned, the Jewish Rabbi declined ³¹⁹. The newspaper further states that the office of the Governor was temporarily transferred to Menemen, so both the Metropolitan and the Chief Rabbinate must have been temporarily transferred to one of the surrounding settlements, with the religious leaders leaving the city. Cholera was followed by other epidemic diseases, typhus and yellow fever. Since all economic sectors in Izmir came to a halt, the people, who were "*all skin and bones*" and miserable with hunger and disease, attacked "*like wild animals for a piece of bread*" during the distribution of even the smallest item ³²⁰. All the descriptions of the 1865 cholera epidemic reveal the dimensions of the epidemic.

The Russian immigrant Jews (Ashkenazim) who came to Izmir in the 19th century were undoubtedly exposed to epidemic threats during migration, perhaps even carried dangerous microorganisms. According to Hizmet newspaper, during the cholera outbreak between August-October 1893, 343 people lost their lives, while according to Hristo Solomonidi, the number was 413. 204 of the dead were Jewish ³²¹. Meanwhile, news reports emphasized that the epidemic was particularly effective in the Jewish districts and in the cortejos of Karataş. The plague epidemic of 1900 began with a Jew named Yuda who lived in Izmir Dikilitaş. Yuda was treated, but after a while, the Jew named Mishnon who was living in one of the cortejos of Keçeciler fell ill. According to the local printed news and the correspondence between the Aydın province and the ministries; although the disease was not openly identified as plague, quarantine measures were not neglected ³²².

³¹⁸ Beyru 2005, 98-99. "About the spending for treating the poor and the unfortunate to protect the Jewish people in Izmir from the dangerous disease" see BOA, MVL. 878/20. About the accommodation of Jews in tents, see BOA, A.) MKT. MHM. 338/39.

³¹⁹ Raif Nezih 1926, 8. Beyru 2005, 97.

³²⁰ Beyru 2005, 98-99.

³²¹ Nahum 1990, 156-157.

³²² BOA, , Y. PRK. MYD. 23/25. Document about "a Jew in Izmir got infected with a plague-like disease, but otherwise his general health is satisfactory". See also BOA, DH. MKT. 2343/50. BOA, DH. MKT. 2344/10. BOA, İ. HUS. 82/18. BOA, İ. HUS. 82/22.

Apparently, two different commissions were established during the plague epidemic: The *Health Commission* and the *Aid Commission*. The Aid Commission determined how much bread was needed in Muslim and non-Muslim communities and distributed that amount every day³²³. The health commission took the following measures in order to reduce the population in the *cortijos* and Jewish houses, where the disease initially: It was decided that the Jews would be transferred to the tents set up on the Mount of Belavista (Gündoğdu)³²⁴, the municipality would provide new clothing for those who were transferred, and old clothes would be collected and burnt. Meanwhile, it was decided that patients' homes would be fully disinfected and rags and old objects inside them would be burnt after determining their value. It is reported that during the plague epidemic of 1900, a series of serious steps was taken, especially for Jewish neighborhoods, Jewish houses and *cortijos*. This suggests that Jewish houses and *cortijos* were seen as the focus of the epidemic. The measures even included banning accommodation in certain Jewish houses and *cortijos*. The ban was applied in Mecidiye Han in Başdurak (closed as a precaution), Ali Rıza Bey Han in Eşrefpaşa³²⁵, Emirler Han and Hüseyin Ağa Han³²⁶. Mishon's *cortejo* room in Keçeciler was separated by a fence; Jewish families living in other rooms were transported to tents and kept there in quarantine for 8 days. During the period from May 28 to the middle of June, the number of Jews living in tents reached almost 1000,³²⁷. Meserret, one of the Jewish newspapers published in Izmir, reported that all Jews living in *cortijos*, Jewish houses and the Lazaretto were being transferred to tents set up on the mountains. To clarify the matter, we should quote from the Chief Surgeon of the Izmir Military Hospital and the head of the Provincial Health Commission Faik Pasha about the scene he witnessed in the Jewish houses and *cortijos* where poor Jewish families lived: "*Jewish houses ... great misery, no air or light, narrow, suffering of dampness, like chicken coops*"³²⁸.

³²³ Ayar 2010, 181.

³²⁴ Ayar 2010, 176-177. Beyru on the other hand, states that Jews were transferred to the barracks built in Değirmendağı with the financial aid provided by their sponsor, Rothschild. Beyru 1992, 332.

³²⁵ Ayar reports that this public house was described as the focus of the plague. See Ayar 2010, 178. As evident from their names, these Jewish houses and *cortijos* were owned by Izmir's rich Muslim Turks.

³²⁶ Ayar 2010, 178. Beyru 1992, 350.

³²⁷ Ayar 2010, 178.

³²⁸ Yetkin, Izmir in the Days of Cholera, www.izmirkitap.com/sabri_yetkin_2.htm, 377.

6- Izmir Jewish Community Institutions

Midrash Kadosh Hospital and Rothschild Hospital:

According to Stephan Schulz who came to Izmir in 1752-1753, "every nation, Dutch, British, French, Greek, Armenian and Jewish, had hospitals" in those years ³²⁹. John Howard, who visited Izmir in 1786, also gives information about a Jewish hospital in Izmir ³³⁰. I could not locate the places both travelers emphasized as the Jewish Hospital.



The 1876 map by Lamec Saad: Number 159 is the Rothschild Hospital, number 110 is the Bikur Holim Synagogue and the Izmir Jewish School (probably Talmud Tora), the letters a-b-c-d in number 109 indicate adjacent synagogues.

³²⁹ Pinar 2009, 304.

³³⁰ Howard 1789, 63. The book also mentions John Howard's meeting with a Jewish physician in Izmir. He must be the doctor of the Jewish hospital. See Howard 1789, 32-41.

However, I have learned that the Bikur Holim Synagogue on İkiçeşmelik Street was used as a hospital during plague outbreaks of 1728 or 1729. In that case, it is highly likely that the place the travelers called the Jewish Hospital was the Bikur Holim Synagogue. Further, the Jewish doctor whom John Howard met in the city was probably one of the doctors in this hospital.

Information about the Rothschild Hospital goes back to the 19th century. A cortejo in the Chief Rabbi district was purchased by the Izmir Jewish Community and transformed into a hospital before the outbreak of "feverish rash disease" (must be measles) in 1827³³¹.



An inscription on the donation made by Senyor Hayim Şonsol Argi to the Izmir Jewish Hospital.

³³¹ Galante t.y., 91. According to Charles de Scherzer and Almanacs of 1895 and 1896, the hospital was founded in 1831. See de Scherzer 1880 51. 1895 Indicateur 1895, 64. 1896 Indicateur 1311, 57. The date given by M. Franco is 1873. See Franco 1897, 203. Franco's date coincides with the date the hospital was named after Rothschild.

Assuming the small property would not suffice the needs, the cortejo across the Izmir Chief Rabbinate was purchased with the initiative of Salamon Albağlı and Cheleby Levy the butcher. In 1837 the two existing cortejos were combined to form a larger hospital. We can imagine that the hospital was in deep financial trouble since the day it was established, since the 19th century was the time the Izmir Jews gradually became impoverished. As a matter of fact, the helplessness caused by poverty forced the community administration to apply to the Ministry of Health in 1259 (1843). Upon the request of the community, it was decided to "provide meat to the Jewish Hospital, the way it was with the Greek and the Armenian Hospitals" ³³². The Izmir Jewish Community's bad experience during the plague epidemic of 1837 may have forced them to take drastic measures. After the end of the plague epidemic, "Midrash Kadosh Hospital" (Hospital Institute) was established.¹¹⁹ Since the Hebrew meaning of Midrash is study house, college or school; it is very likely that the function of the Midrash Kadosh Hospital was both training healthcare staff needed for the hospital and the Lazaretto and operating like a charity that creates financial resources for the hospital. In 1857 the hospital consisted only of a single-storey building with four corners, all of which opened to a corridor ³³⁴. It is evident from the description that it was a classic cortejo. Most likely, there was also a courtyard in the middle. The hospital gave an impression of a mediocre health center with no beds and no medical or other equipment. Those who came for treatment had to bring their own carpets or mattresses from home ³³⁵. The Rothschild family's Vienna branch ³³⁶ was very interested in this hospital and its health services. Galante describes the renewal and the change in the hospital in these words: "*When Bohor Yomtov Danon (Bohoraci Danon) went with Hayim Polako to Vienna to collect the money from Baron Albert de Rothschild, he mentioned the subject of renovating and enlarging the hospital. During the meeting, the Baron agreed to support the renovation work and to pay for some of the expenses. To provide for the rest of the money needed for construction, the Izmir Jewish Community issued Hospital Bonds and offered them for sale*" ³³⁷. It is reported that Jews in European cities also provided financial support. The hospital building was renovated with the money and it was named Rothschild Hospital in 1873 ³³⁸.

³³² BOA, C. Sihhiye, 1336.

³³³ Galante t.y., 91.

³³⁴ Beyru 2009, 66.

³³⁵ Beyru 2009, 60.

³³⁶ The Rothschild family is of German origin (Ashkenazi). Mayer Amschel Rotschild, who's considered the family patriarch, sent his five sons to five different European cities (Frankfurt, Vienna, London, Napoli ve Paris) to have the great money empire managed from five different branches.

³³⁷ Galante t.y., 91.

³³⁸ There are two reasons why the hospital was named Rothschild. The hospital land was partly owned by Baron Rotschild and Rotschild made a substantial donation for renovating the hospital. Bkz Galante t.y., .91-92.

During the measles epidemic between 1882 and 1883, the affected Jews were treated at Rothschild Hospital. The measles epidemic must be one of the major epidemics, since 72 of the hospitalized patients died ³³⁹. In 1889 the Izmir Jewish Community informed Baron Rothschild that it would no longer be able to pay its share of the hospital expenses, and the Baron accepted the request. Now the congregation would only pay a symbolic amount of 15,000 piastres a year as a contribution to the hospital. In those years, we see that the Austrian Consul, who acted like the representative of Baron Rothschild, assumed the administration of the hospital and that only a single representative from the Izmir Jewish community served in the hospital management committee.

The information I have gathered from various sources about the Rothschild Hospital in its first years is full of contradictions. Pieces of information I have managed to find about the years after 1890 are disconnected, fragmented and again, contradictory: In 1890, a benefit ball for the hospital was organized with the participation of more than 300 people, including the governor Halil Rifat Pasha ³⁴⁰. The Rothschild Hospital, which had a bed capacity of 30 in 1891, provided free medical care three days a week ³⁴¹. After a while, a plan came up to raise the capacity to 45, but the hospital continued to work at low capacity with 25 beds ³⁴². In 1895, the hospital's polyclinic was quite effective, providing free medical care to approximately 200 patients yearly. In 1897 a ball was organized on the 25th anniversary of the hospital, with the participation of Chief Rabbi Avraham Palachi, Consul of Austria-Hungary and the city's leading figures ³⁴³. The occasion must have been 25 years since the hospital officially took the name Rothschild (in 1873), since the hospital was initially founded in 1827. Herman Spierer, who donated 1000 gold coins to the hospital in 1900, was elected president of the hospital's board of governors.

³³⁹ Beyru 2005, 127.

³⁴⁰ *Hizmet*, 11 Şubat 1890.

³⁴¹ Karayaman, 75.

³⁴² Galante 1937, 53.

³⁴³ *Ahenk*, 26 Mayıs 1897.

Following the death of Chief Rabbi Avraham Palachi in 1900, Baron Rothschild stopped his financial support of the Jewish Hospital and the hospital's activities were suspended some time between 1900 and 1903 or between 1905 and 1907. Albert Amateau also refers to this hospital in his memoirs of Izmir in the years 1903-1906: "*The Jews had a Hospital near the Laborers' Market*". After a while, the Rothschild family's French branch replaced its Viennese branch and began to send financial aid for the hospital. This period coincides with the years in which the Alliance Israélite Universelle continued its intensive activities in Izmir. It is therefore quite natural that the financial resources needed by the Izmir Jewish Community Hospital were provided from the Rothschild family in Paris by way of the Alliance.

In 1911, the Rothschild Hospital closed down and almost all its income-generating property was sold. Four different institutions took over the health services for the Izmir Jewish Community until the Karataş Jewish Hospital was founded: *Bikur Holim and Bikur Holim Şel Naşim, Rofe Holim, Ozer Dalim and Hayat Aniyeha*.

The Rabbinate:

The place of the Jewish Hospital in İkiçeşmelik is known to be opposite the Rabbinate building. The maps I presented above also show that hospital is straight across the Rabbinate. There is no solid information on the construction of the Rabbinate building. Galante writes that the Aydın provincial administration claimed to have rights on today's Rabbinate land which was owned by the Rothschild family of Vienna since 1840. Following this development, Bohoraci Danon from the congregation administration went to Vienna and received a donation of 1000 liras for the construction of the Rabbinate building on the land, suggesting that Rothschild had agreed to it. The building remained for many years in the possession of Meir Rothschild, son of Solomon ³⁵⁰.

³⁴⁵ According to a document in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, "The Scottish Church Missionary Hospital" which operated in İzmir since 1297 (1882) also served the Jews. See BOA, *The Church Book 4*, s. 83/a. But the hospital was not an official institution of the İzmir Jewish Community. It was actually a part of Christian missionary activities. I therefore thought it was not necessary to include the Scottish Church Missionary Hospital as a medical institution that served the community.

³⁴⁵ 1896 *Indicateur*...57.

³⁵⁰ Galante t.y., 50.

The Orphanage:

According to the Ernest Bonn map of 1913, the Izmir Jewish community orphanage was in the Hurşidiye Distict in 1913. It was located on the other side of Anafartalar Street (previously Tilkilik Street) which passes through the parking lot building and connects İkiçeşmelik Street with Basmane. It is roughly behind the İkiçeşmelik Police Station and the Alliance Israelite Universelle School. This place was called Talmud Tora Orphanage School in 1929.



The Sadullah Efendi Street is on one side of the Orphanage, while Emilie Street is on the other side (1913)

Galante states that the orphanage was founded in 1922 with the initiative of the Izmir Bene Berith Lodge and with the help of the American Joint Committee. The purpose of the institution was to house, feed and educate orphans and to ensure they found work when they left the orphanage. The budget was only from donations ³⁵¹. The orphanage Galante is referring to is probably the one which was founded for the orphans of Tripoli and Balkan wars, the First World War and the War of Independence from all of western Anatolia. Those were the times when Western Anatolian Jews migrated to Izmir.

In 1922, when the new orphanage was established, the Talmud Tora School which served in different locations must have moved the old orphanage building. Since it was registered as an orphanage in the building permit, the name of the school was changed to "*Talmud Tora Orphanage School*" during the relocation (another practical solution).

The Talmud Tora School:

The Talmud Tora School has quite a long history. It was located in Talmud Tora (Hevra) Synagogue for many years and reorganized in 1871 at the initiative of Ari Kohen Rappaport. In 1876 it operated inside the Bikur Holim Synagogue. In 1922, when the Izmir Orphanage was established, it moved to the old Orphanage building.

The Spirer Clinic:

In the years 1889-1890, a clinic belonging to Jews was opened right next to the Ashkenazi Synagogue in the Chavez district ³⁵². Dr. Herman Spirer, who was to serve on the future Jewish Hospital's board of governors was working in this clinic. The Spirer Clinic is located in the Smyrna Agora excavation area. Large amounts of medical supplies such as drugs and syringes were found during the excavation.

Charity Organizations of Izmir Jews:

The main charity organizations for the poor were Ozer Dalim (Association for Aiding the Poor), Talmud Tora Women's Committee, Buena Veluntad (Good Intentions), Soup House, Malbush Arumim, Bigdey Kodesh, Oel Moed and Dansa Institution. The Talmud Tora Women's Committee and Buena Veluntad were women's organizations that provided food and clothing for the poor. Founded in 1899 with the money given by Baron Rothschild, the Soup House (Philanthropic Kitchen) served meals to 150 poor people daily for 2 pennies. It operated inside the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Keçeciler.

³⁵¹Galante t.y., 50.

³⁵² Galante t.y., s. 51.

Malbush Arumim and Bigdey Kodesh provided clothing for the poor. Bigdey Kodesh closed in 1912 and Oel Moed, which opened that year, took over its duties. The primary institutions for orphans and women were Mohar u Matan, Ezrat Yeladot, Hevrat Yetumot and the Orphanage. Mohar u Matan or Matan (the gift) provided the dowry and marriage expenses for young girls. Ezrat Yeladot (Help for Girls) helped pregnant women. Hevrat Yetumot (Orphanage Institution), one of the oldest charity institutions in the Izmir Jewish Community, helped young orphan girls to get married. The traditional Jewish institutions, which I have named above, can be summarized under two main headings: *Tsedaka and Hesed Foundations* (Institutions for Aiding the Poor) and *Mahazike Anim Institution* (Institution for Supporting /Promoting the Poor).

God's Will Society was founded in 1902 by young girls who graduated from British and American schools to find work for poor Jewish girls. The institute had a sewing and lingerie workshop for teaching young girls to sew. I could not find any information about Avad Halsid Foundation mentioned in the Prime Ministry Archive documents. This organization must be the Aavat Hessed Institution founded as a branch of Bene Berith by David Meyuhas and David Yellin who came from Jerusalem to Izmir in 1895.

7-Izmir Sharia Records (1847-1866):

Sharia Records or Kadı Judicial Records ³⁵⁴ are the generic name of records concerning the lawsuits heard by the Ottoman kadı courts and documents such as edicts, licenses, letters and others that came from the central government. For the Ottoman kadı court to be convened, a kadı or a delegate representing him had to be appointed by the sultan's written order. The main duty of the kadı was to solve legal problems and disputes of the people in his region according to the rules of sharia. In addition, he was responsible for the appointment and approval of foundations, the appointment or dismissal of trustees, the appointment of guardians for orphans and documents issued by today's notaries, such as bills of guarantee, loan certificates, powers of attorney and distribution of inheritances ³⁵⁵. The Ottoman State accepted that non-Muslim communities would be subject to their own religious rules and community systems in terms of family and inheritance law. However, they had the right to request assistance from kadıs regarding their legal problems, should they wish to do so.

³⁵⁴The records are classified under Ilamat Records, official documents showing the final court verdict.

³⁵⁵ For further information See Bora 1995, 101-114. Yetkin 1991.

The period between 1847 and 1866 coincided with the declaration of the Tanzimat (reform) and the Islahat (correction) Edicts and the radical changes in the Ottoman institutions of education, law and military ³⁵⁶. While the political and legal rights of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman State were not greatly affected by the Tanzimat Edict; it can be said that Islahat Edict was a significant attempt in this context. One of the steps was to ensure the participation of non-Muslim religious leaders in city councils. The information in Izmir Sharia Records, which will be discussed in this section, also reflects the period of change mentioned briefly above. Records were kept between 1847 and 1866 ³⁵⁷. The total number of cases and provisions about Jews in the records I have available is 45. This number is not enough to display in detail the socio-economic profile of the Izmir Jewish Community, which had a population of 8000 in the second half of the 19th century. Still, the records fulfill a crucial task: They prove Jews in the second half of the 19th century tended to accept the decision of the kadi more easily. Jews were not in the habit of going to Kadi Courts because of the "*the prohibition of applying to courts other than Jewish law courts*", traditionally implemented until the 19th century. But by that time, they had begun to apply to the Kadi Courts. We believe the 45 records mentioned above should be described as a sign of a significant breaking point in terms of the Jewish traditional prohibitions and social isolation. When evaluating the available records, I first tried to determine the main reasons that led Ottoman Jews to appeal to the Sharia Court. Here are some possible factors:

³⁵⁶ The Tanzimat (reform) Edict of 1839 promised to safeguard the life, property and dignity of all Ottoman subjects. The term "All Ottoman subjects" refers to all Muslim and non-Muslim communities living in Ottoman borders. But something important is missing in the Edict, as there's no mention of the right of representation. The Edict stipulated that the legislative councils would not represent the people, but only the pillars of the traditional governmental system, such as the clergy, the bureaucrats and the military elite. Berkes 1978, 208-209. The Islahat (correction) Edict of 1856 however, promised equal representation for all Ottoman subjects. That's the reason the subjects are defined there as citizens. The Edict says fair representation would be granted to Muslims and non-Muslims in Provincial and Municipal Councils, and non-Muslim members would be appointed to the Law Council. As a result, religious leaders began to take part in local councils in 1856. Berkes 1978, 211-212.

³⁵⁷ Hayim Gerber and Yaakov Barnay surveyed these records to select the ones on Izmir Jews. The number of rulings on Jews is 45. They were printed in a book named "Jewish Izmir" published in 1984 in Jerusalem. Half of the book includes the copies of these documents, while the other half consists of their Hebrew transcriptions. See Gerber/Barnay 1985. The records are also in the Ahmet Piriştina Izmir City Archives and Museum. I compared the originals of the Izmir Sharia Records I received from the Museum with Gerber and Barnay's transcriptions. My evaluations of the outcome are included in the study.

- They must have believed that the kadi would make an objective decision concerning a dispute between Jews and non-Jews. The fact that the Sharia Court was able to rule against a Muslim defendant was probably aimed to create trust.³⁵⁸
- If one of the parties was a member of a prominent Jewish family, some Jews believed that the Jewish court would not make an objective judgement and turned to Sharia courts. Middle-class Jews or those who came from outside the city preferred to be judged by the kadi.
- In some cases, an appeal would be made to the Kadi Court on behalf of the Jewish Community about a problematic community member.
- The Kadi was one of the most important administrators of the city. He had strong influence. That's why Jews preferred the Kadi Courts for many issues like the shop owners' guild, rent collection, maintenance of shops, loans and debts etc.
- If the issue was inheritance, the kadi distributed the inheritance according to "feraiz"³⁵⁹ Islamic law, in which shares were calculated for each heir as follows: 1-Boys always deserved twice the shares girls received. 2-Only Ottoman subjects could inherit from an Ottoman subject. Similarly, if the deceased was a French subject, only family members who are French subjects could benefit from the inheritance. It seems the subject distinction did not prevent the Kadi Courts from getting preference in inheritance issues or powers of attorney.

In the 45 records I have found, the parties were either only Jews or Jews vs. Muslim Turks or Jews vs. Christians. While some Jews and Christians who turned the Kadi Court were Ottoman subjects; others were French or Italian subjects. Based on the information in the 45 records, I identified the district and street names where Izmir Jews resided between 1847 and 1866 and prepared a table. I also made a general evaluation of district names in this table:

³⁵⁸ For further information and examples See Cohen 1984, 112-115.

³⁵⁹ Feraiz is the Islamic inheritance law. The word feraiz means religious duty determined by the Kuran, the Prophet and the Muslim clergy.

General Evaluation of Sharia Records on Jews in 1847-1866:

According to the list of Izmir districts that were rearranged in 1885 to establish the Mukhtar Organization ³⁶⁰, there were 7 Jewish districts and 25 Islamic districts in the city ³⁶¹. I compared the address information in the records of 1847-1866 with that in the records of 1885:

TOWNSHIP, DISTRICT AND STREET NAMES

| | |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Kefeli District | Irgatpazarı |
| Kasab Hızır District | Havra (synagogue) Stret |
| Vicinity of Keten Pazarı Mosque | Kuzuoğlu Street |
| Mahalle-yi Cedit | Budunabad (Bornova) |
| Cami-i Atik District | Delikulak Region |
| Bınarbaşı | Havralar (synagogues) Bazaar |
| Hacı Süleyman Street | Hasan Hoca District |
| Server Street (in Kasab Hızır) | |

The Shariya Records of year 1847 to 1866 state the districts where Jewish houses and shops were located as; Mahalle-i Cedit, Kefeli, Kasab Hızır, Hasan Hoca and Cami-i Atik. These names are among the 25 districts under the heading of Islamic Districts in the 1885 document. According to the same list, in 1885, all 273 housing units in Mahalle-i Cedit belonged to Muslims ³⁶². In 1885 there were 748 households in Kefeli District, of these 742 belonged to Muslims, 2 to Armenians and 4 belonged to Greeks.

³⁶⁰ This list has been prepared Erkan Serçe based on the documents about the National Council in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. See Serçe 1999, 155-170.

³⁶¹ I left out the Greek, Armenian and Levantine district names since they're not relevant in this context.

³⁶² In the 1885 list, information on the population was based on households.

There were 296 households in Cami-i Atik in 1885. 287 belonged to Muslims and 9 of them belonged to foreigners. Kasab Hızır and Hasan Hoca districts are shown in the list dated 1885. The number of households was 254. Only 1 of these was a Jewish household. There were also 14 households owned by foreigners. It should be noted that people classified as foreigners might have included Jews who were subjects of foreign states.

In sum, in 1885 there were a total of 23 foreign and 1 Jewish households in these 5 districts. On the other hand, the 1885 document mentions 86 Jewish households in 7 Jewish districts. If I multiply this number by 6 (assuming each family has 6 members), 7 Jewish districts have a Jewish population of about 516 people. Assuming the 23 foreigners are Jewish, I also add the 1 Jewish household: (24x6) 144 people. The result I get is only 660.

According to the records on Chief Rabbi Hayim Palachi, he also lived in Cami-I Atik in 1857. Moreover, according to the information obtained from existing records, two Jews besides Rabbi Palachi resided in the Cami-i Atik district. The Jewish Hospital was also in the Cami-i Atik district ³⁶³. Jews and Muslim Turks, then, probably lived together in the Cami-i Atik district between 1847 and 1866. It is further reported that there was no ghetto-like separation in the city. The seven Jewish districts in 1885; Efrati, Chavez, Sonsino, Bene Israel, Yeni, Hahambaşı and Hurşidiye are adjacent to Muslim Turkish districts. In fact, it is impossible to determine where the Muslim Turkish and Jewish districts begin and where they end. For example, we cannot identify the border between the adjacent Pazaryeri and the Bene Israel districts, and that between the Ali Reis and Sonsino districts. Moreover, the 1885 document on the Mukhtar Organization states that Jews also resided in the Pazaryeri and Ali Reis districts, which are included in the List of Islamic Districts.

According to the information received from both travelers and the 1895 Aydın Provincial Yearbook; between 1880 and 1895, the Izmir Jewish population ranged from 15,000 to 17,943 ³⁶⁴. We will take the lowest figure of 15,000 as a base. If the figure for the Izmir Jewish population we obtained from the 1885 document was 660, where are the remaining 14,340 Jews? This figure corresponds to approximately 2,300 Jewish "households". So, where are the records of 2,300 households?

³⁶³ Gerber/Barnay 1985, 95-96.

³⁶⁴ The Jewish population of Izmir was reported by Charles de Scherzer in 1880 as 15.000, by V. Cuinet in 1891 as 16.000 and by the Aydın Provincial Yearbook in 1895 as 17.943. For further information see Bora 2015, 21-22.

Karataş was zoned for construction in 1865. However, according to the 1885 document dated 1885, only 16 of the units in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe belonged to Jews, that means the Jewish population there should be approximately (16x6) 96. The construction date of the Rosh HaHahar Synagogue in Karataş is estimated to be between 1891 and 1895. This suggests that the number of Jewish families in the early 1890's, and perhaps even earlier, was enough to justify a permission to build a place of worship in Karataş and its surroundings ³⁶⁵. But most of them do not appear neither in the 1885 document on Izmir Districts, nor in the Lists of Military Service Fee of 1897-1900 ³⁶⁶.

According to the Vakfiye (settlement deed) by Katipzade Ahmed Reşit Effendi Foundation, there were a total of 14 collective Jewish houses owned by the Katipzade family in Cami-i Atik and Kefeli districts in the 19th century, probably inhabited mostly of Jews ³⁶⁷. However, it is almost impossible to find their records in the 1885 document on Izmir districts or the 1897-1900 lists of military service fees. Therefore, probably the most reliable source for the topographical and demographic structure of the city and the Jewish districts would be the Sharia records. Unfortunately, the volume of data the records provide about Jews is very low.

I have identified the professions of the Jews who applied to the Kadı Courts between 1847 and 1866, and the numbers of those working in these professions. I made a table:

| PROFESSION | NUMBER | PROFESSION | NUMBER |
|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Chief Rabbi | 2 | Rabbi | 3 |
| Thread vendor | 1 | Butcher | 2 |
| Merchant | 2 | Fez vendor | 2 |
| Money changer | 4 | Flour vendor | 1 |
| Grocer | 4 | Olive oil vendor | 1 |
| Confectioner | 2 | Pastry vendor | 1 |
| Lumberman | 1 | Surgeon Major | 1 |
| Broker | 4 | Tinsmith | 1 |
| Salesman | 1 | Barkeeper | 2 |
| Crystal merchant | 2 | Spice vendor | 1 |

³⁶⁵ For further information see Bora 2015, 60-62.

³⁶⁶ Bora 2015, 61.

³⁶⁷ Bora 2015, 46.

The list includes 2 Chief Rabbis and 3 Rabbis. 12 people are merchants, brokers and moneychangers. 20 people are shop owners, 1 person is a tinsmith. With the exception of 5 clerics and 1 Surgeon Major, the remaining can be described as unskilled occupations. *Alliance Israelite Universelle* was founded in 1860 and after 1862 opened apprenticeship schools, agricultural schools and modern schools in cities with Jewish communities, especially Baghdad, Edirne, Istanbul and Izmir. But the opening date of the first Alliance school in Izmir is 1873. So the Jews on my list of Jewish occupations concerning the period between 1847 to 1866 had not yet met the Alliance.

I classified the 45 records on Jews based on their subject matter and determined their number in the period between 1847 and 1866:

Rabbi Appointments:

"... *Yako, the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul, requested and presented to my attention... the rabbi who is subject to his Chief Rabbinate ... of Jewish communities in İzmir, Manisa, Turgutlu, Aydın, Güzelhisar, Kuşadası, Bergama, Urla, Çeşme and the islands of Rhodes and Chios..*". Rabbi Morino, who left his post because of old age and settled in Jerusalem was replaced by Yaşua Gherston who was appointed on Shaban 1263 (July-August 1847) as rabbi of the above areas ³⁶⁸.

³⁶⁸ Ahmet Priştina Izmir City Archives and Museum, Izmir Sharia Records, vol. 1 p. 4

Inheritance Procedures:

There are 5 records on procedures of inheritance. One of the records concerned the objection by Isak Levi about the distribution of the inheritance left by his brother, Haim Levi, son of Santo, son of Hayim Merkado ³⁶⁹. Another record was about the sale of a halva shop in the Havralar (synagogues) market, owned by Yosef, son of Yuda, son of Adam, who had passed away eight years earlier ³⁷⁰. Three records were related to distribution of inheritance. This was done according to the *feraiz method* in Islamic law:

a- Two shops and a 11-room Jewish house in Keçeciler owned by a Jew named Isak who died 18 years earlier, were distributed among his wife, son and daughter ³⁷¹.

b- A shop and a house located in Asmalımescit and a shop with a cellar in Keten market belonging to Yako, son of Isak, son of Menahem, who died in Jerusalem, were distributed among his heirs (his wife, two sons and a daughter) ³⁷².

c- A butchery and a tahina shop, located next to each other in Havra street owned by Rahami the butcher, son of Davi, son of Adem, who died 11 years ago, were distributed among his heirs (wife, son, and three daughters) ³⁷³.

Financial Lawsuits: There are 11 records. Two of these records relate to debt collection. The remaining 9 cases are about financial disputes between sugar, timber and gold trading parties. The parties were Jewish vs. Jewish or Christian vs. Jewish or Muslim Turk vs Jewish.

Commercial Lawsuits: Their number is 8.

Real Estate Sales: One case.

Warranting: Davi the moneychanger, son of Salamon, has collected 600 pennies out of 1700 pennies that someone owes him, and he wants the kadi court to register the guarantee given to him about the remaining 1100 pennies ³⁷⁴.

Regarding Marriage Certificate (Ketuba): The court decision of 1 Shaban 1271 (19 April 1855): about the money that should have been paid by the husband as per the marriage agreement but was not paid after divorce ³⁷⁵.

Disputes: Lawsuits concerning unpaid rents, ownership of shops and houses or disputes between neighbors. There are 5 records on these issues.

³⁶⁹ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 9, p. 63.

³⁷⁰ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 17, p. 56.

³⁷¹ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, voll. 1, p. 50.

³⁷² Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 4, p. 22.

³⁷³ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6, p. 87.

³⁷⁴ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 4, p. 26.

³⁷⁵ Ahmet Pıřtına İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6 p. 66-67

The case filed against government officials: Behor son of Musa, who is from Aydın Güzelhisar and lives in İzmir, sued Aydın Postal drivers Mehmed, son of Ibrahim and Ebu Bekir, son of Ibrahim and won the case. Behor had paid the drivers in advance for commodity transport but the drivers are denying it and asking for money³⁷⁶.

Murder case: According to the indictment in the register, Yaşua the pastry vendor, son of Rafael, son of Yaşua was stabbed to death on Saturday, 1 Rebiülevvel 1281 (August 4, 1864) by Yuda the pastry vendor, son of Yosef, son of Davit. It is evident that Yaşua the pastry vendor and Yuda the pastry vendor know each other. Yuda stabbed Yaşua in his right-side belly with a small Circassian knife he had in his pocket while the two were sitting in Yaşua's house in Havra Street. Yaşua was wounded and died a day later. Yuda, on the other hand, refused the accusation and claimed that Yaşua was drunk and accidentally killed himself. We have the following translation of the register³⁷⁷:

Infliction of injury: There is one record from 20 Rebiüevvel 1279 (15 September 1862). In this case, the parties were a Jew (wounded) vs. a Muslim Turk (perpetrator) and the lawsuit was against the perpetrator³⁷⁸.

Bankruptcy: There are three appeals for bankruptcy. These are bankruptcy cases concerning Menahem the moneychanger, son of Yaşua³⁷⁹; Asmalı Menahem, son of Hayim³⁸⁰ and Hayim, son of Musa³⁸¹.

³⁷⁶ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6, p. 113

³⁷⁷ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 17 p. 121

³⁷⁸ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 20 p. 66

³⁷⁹ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum, İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6, p. 45

³⁸⁰ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum, İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6, p. 84.

³⁸¹ Ahmet Pıştina İzmir City Archives and Museum, İzmir Sharia Records, vol. 6, p. 60.

D-The Years between 1865 and 1908

1- Alliance Israélite Universelle and Its Educational Mission

Traditional Jewish education within the borders of the Ottoman State was primarily based on religion. While girls did not receive formal education, boys first learned the prayers in kindergarten (*maestra*) and were sent to elementary school when they reached the age of seven. There were two institutions that functioned as primary schools: The *meldar* with about 50-60 children sitting around a poor rabbi (teacher) in a large hall, and the *Talmud Tora*, with multiple classes, a more advanced level of education and a richer library, which prepared the child for rabbinical education. Higher education institutions were Beit Midrash and the *Yeshivas*, that gave religious education at an academic level ³⁸². By the 19th century, the Talmud Torah had declined and the educational difference between the Talmud Torah and the *meldar* had disappeared. As the traditional education system entered a great depression, the Jewish community, which became poorer, became incapable even to set up a fund to help its schools. In general, the main task of Jewish primary schools (*meldars*) was to teach reading of the Hebrew holy scriptures. In addition, daily prayers were taught in these schools both for religious reasons and for strengthening the sense of social solidarity, and the children were made ready to enter the spiritual environment of the synagogues, which greatly dominated the Jewish social life. The Talmud Toras, degenerating because of the economic crisis, began to confine itself to repeating the education given by the *meldar*, which only included literacy and translation of the Hebrew scriptures to Ladino. As a result, traditional education was transformed into a system that viewed learning the skills that would be useful in life or acquiring information as unnecessary ³⁸³. In addition, children of poor Jewish families had to work to support their families because of the economic crisis. Therefore, even the inadequate education mentioned above was interrupted. Western Jews who aimed for the socio-economic development of Ottoman Jews or Eastern Jews knew that the problem would be solved by rehabilitating education.

³⁸² Beit Midrash is the name for the schools for Jewish children after primary school. The Hebrew word Midrash means educational institution. Its Turkish equivalent is “medresehane”. Yeshiva which also comes from Hebrew is the name for academies that give religious education. It means “session” and refers to a discussion on Biblical and Talmudic subjects by prominent and knowledgeable Jewish scholars who gather for this purpose.

³⁸³Rodrigue 1997, 57-59, 61. The language of Ottoman Jews is not Hebrew. Rather, they use a language called Judeo Spanish or Ladino (a mixture of (Spanish, Hebrew and Turkish). This is the reason religious texts are translated into Ladino in Jewish schools.

Therefore their primary mission became *the mission of education* and from the first half of the 19th century they started to take several initiatives with the Ottoman Empire in this regard. Western Jews' initiatives concerning the educational mission were carried out in four stages: The first was the arrival of Montefiore to Istanbul in 1840, following the Tanzimat Edict of 1839, and his efforts for Ottoman Jews to start learning Turkish ³⁸⁴. The second was the visit of Cohn, Rothchild's secretary and head of *Comite de bienfaisance* ³⁸⁵, in the Ottoman cities where Jews lived, and his inauguration in 1854 of schools in Izmir, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Istanbul ³⁸⁶. Next was Rothchild's arrival in Istanbul during the declaration of the 1856 Islahat Edict, and the work he did for reorganizing Jewish education ³⁸⁷. The fourth stage was the founding of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1860, and its activities to promote Eastern Jews. The main supporters of the Jewish four-stage educational mission were Jewish merchants of Italian origin (Francos), who had settled in large cities in the Mediterranean basin and were under the protection of foreign consulates in the Ottoman Empire ³⁸⁸.

The aim of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, founded by a group of young Jews in Paris in 1860, was to remove the socio-economic and cultural gaps among Jews in different countries, to increase their awareness and develop their spiritual values. The Alliance was convinced that Eastern Jews who lived in darkness would be rescued from misery and ignorance through technical scientific work, education and population planning. It believed that vocational schools were the solution to the problems of overpopulation ³⁸⁹ stemming from early marriages, ignorance and unemployment. From 1862 onwards, many Apprenticeship schools, agriculture schools and modern schools were opened in the cities with large Jewish communities, especially in Baghdad, Edirne, Istanbul and Izmir.

³⁸⁴ Montefiore and his secretary Dr. Loewe underlined the importance of Jews learning Turkish in all the meetings with prominent members of the Jewish community in Istanbul. Montefiore also asked for support from Chief Rabbi Moshe Fresco, who under pressure from Montefiore made a statement on October 28, 1840. The statement included a demand that Jewish educational institutions employ teachers of excellent quality who would teach Turkish. But this demand did not give any result due to lack of funds. For further information see Rodrigue 1997, 6-7, 61. Montefiore visited Izmir in one of his trips to the east and developed his friendship with Rabbi Hayim Palachi.

³⁸⁵ The committee which was founded in Paris was responsible for distributing the aid collected for needy Jews all over the world. For further information see Rodrigue 1997, 10-11.

³⁸⁶ Rodrigue 1997, 25.

³⁸⁷ Rodrigue 1997, 65.

³⁸⁸ Foreign Jews mostly of Italian origin who were at the forefront of Jewish elite classes in Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Izmir communities, played an important role in integrating European education in the lives of Ottoman Jews. For further information, see Rodrigue 1997, 62-74.

³⁸⁹ According to Paul Dumont's citations from the reports written by Alliance school principals in Izmir, around the end of the 19th century, there were Jews in Izmir who became grandfathers at the age of 29. See Dumont 1982, 211.

Thanks to these schools, there was a relative increase in the cultural and economic level of the Jewish community³⁹⁰. But on the other hand, some of the clergy was convinced that transferring the rabbi-controlled religious education to the control of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* would result in a failure to adequately convey basic religious teachings to the new generation. As a matter of fact, this issue (the opposition of rabbis) was frequently mentioned in the reports sent by Alliance officials to the main headquarters and in informative meetings on the work of the Alliance.

In Alliance's schools, Jews learned Turkish and French, received a contemporary education and a diploma, and most importantly, acquired a profession. I surveyed the occupations of Jews who graduated from these schools, along with the number of those working in these occupations. The impression I got is that the Alliance Israélite Universelle had not succeeded in providing Jews with new and qualified professions. But Alliance's schools, on the other hand, laid the foundation for the birth of a different class. Young Jewish people in Izmir, who learned accounting and foreign languages, dropped out of their schools and started to work without waiting to graduate.

So a new *Jewish Bourgeois Class* was created in the country.

In general, the Alliance school network provided mass education where most students either paid a symbolic fee or did not pay at all. These schools reflected the Ottoman Jews' social reality of poverty as most students came from poor families. In 1895, of the parents of Alliance students in Izmir (a total of 306 parents, 30 orphan students were not included), 7 were merchants, 60 were middlemen and brokers, 43 were tailors and other artisans, 11 were rabbis, 4 were synagogue officials, 3 were teachers, 12 were laborers, 125 were peddlers, street vendors or unemployed. Among these families, the merchants and brokers were somewhat wealthy, while the overwhelming majority was poor. Poverty was the reason students dropped out of school. The influence of the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools on this group did not go beyond teaching them literacy along with some arithmetic and French.

³⁹⁰ See Galante 1947, 163. As a matter of fact, before Alliance's work began in the Ottoman Empire, the first modern Jewish primary school (Avraam Kamondo primary school) was opened in Piripaşa in Istanbul. Kamondo had an intense struggle with the rabbis in order to have this school opened. This event sparked the conflict between reformist Jews and conservative Jews. Galante 1937, 116. Rodrigue 1997, 64-68. Unlike the Tanzimat (1839) period, educational reform was given special attention following the Islahat Edict of 1856. Education was now open to everyone, which enabled non-Muslims to go to junior high schools. At the same time, communities were allowed to teach their language and culture the way they wanted. See Kodaman 1980, 43. Koçak 485.

The only choice for students who dropped out from the first grades was craft and trade ³⁹¹. When a large part of these young people began to get rich in the trade sector, there was an increase in the number of young Jews who stayed in the Alliance schools only to learn how to read and write, arithmetic and some French, and left to do business. The reason was that compared to crafts and industry, trade allowed them to earn much more money and promised them a materially bright future. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century, the new Jewish bourgeois class began to form, which owed its existence largely to the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools. From the beginning of the twentieth century, this new class preferred to leave the slums they used to live when they were poor and move to a new neighborhood. The places the Jewish bourgeois class chose to move were Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe.

At the beginning of the 20th century, a different kind of Jewish immigration began in Izmir. Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe were chosen by most Jewish immigrants who came from surrounding settlements. A few rich Jewish families preferred to purchase houses in the Armenian or Frenk Districts, which had beautiful houses with gardens ³⁹². During the First World War and the time when Western Anatolia was occupied by Greeks, Jews from Manisa, Tire, Akhisar, Bergama, Menemen, Foça and Milas moved to Izmir, probably due to security concerns. These immigrations constituted one of the main reasons for the rapid population increase in the second Jewish district (second Juderia) that was formed in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe in the first quarter of the 20th century.

2- Karataş (Second Juderia)

The Ottoman administration limited from the outset the physical environment of religious communities in cities, especially the non-Muslim communities, in order to make security-related monitoring easier. This ensured they would settle in their special areas and stay there. The reflections of the practice in the physical appearance of the city were that the density and size of buildings gradually increased in some places. Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants who came to Izmir in the second half of the 19th century pushed the city's physical capacity to the limit. New residential areas were needed for the overflowing population of the city ³⁹³. In 1865 Karataş was zoned for construction.

³⁹¹ Rodrigue1997, 168-172.

³⁹² Rachel Amado Bortnick, *One Century in the life of Albert J. Amateau 1889 The Americanization of a Sephardic Turk*, (Rachel Amado Bortnick's interview with Albert J. Amateau on 26 March 1986), Vista College Berkeley California March 1989, s. 39.

³⁹³ The defeat in the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war led to the arrival of some 60.000-70.000 Muslim immigrants to the city. Most were sent to other places but between 5000 to 6000 immigrants stayed in the city. Değirmendağı was zoned for onstruction in order to settle accommodate them. Muslim immigrants who came from Crete in 1897 created a problem for the Province. New residential areas were opened in Kadifekale and Değirmendağı. Land was given to the immigrants, and they built houses and settled in the area. Bora 2015, 59.

Karataş (black stone) which was named by non-Muslims, especially Greeks as *Melantia* (means Karataş in Greek), today starts at sea level from Konak and runs along the coast to Mustafa Kemal Boulevard and Mithat Paşa Street; and at the upper level, it starts from the entrance of Varyant to Akın Simav District along Şehit Nihat Bey and Halil Rifat Pasha streets. Karataş was referred to as *nam-ı diğer Osmaniye* (another name is Osmaniye) in 1885; *First and Second Karataş* in 1908; and as "*Karataş Osmaniye and Karataş*" between 1911 and 1919. From 1924 until 1937, the name Karataş Osmaniye was preserved, while the area called Karataş was divided into first, second and third Karataş. Evidently, two changes were made in 1937: First, the name Karataş Osmaniye was changed to Karataş, and then to Mecidiye. In the same year, the names of First, Second, and Third Karataş were changed to Barbaros, Turgutreis and Kılınçreis respectively ³⁹⁴. Until the Mustafa Kemal Coastal Boulevard was built, Karataş served as a natural shelter in the Gulf with its deep bay and natural structure. The shores of Karataş have been used as shipyard areas since ancient times. We know that Byzantine naval ships and Çaka Bey's navy were built there. Boat-building work shifted to today's Naldöken area in the second half of the nineteenth century, although there are claims that sailboats and barges were still being built there in the 1870's ³⁹⁵.

There's no information on exactly when and how Jews started to settle in Karataş. In the 1885 List of Izmir Districts, the name of Karataş is mentioned along with Karantina and Göztepe. In the same list, Izmir is divided into 51 districts with a total of 573 streets. In the records, the total number of Jewish districts is 7, and the number of streets in these districts is 37. The total number of Jewish dwellings in the 7 districts and 37 streets is 412. A careful examination of the List shows that in 1885, only Ephrati, Chavez, Hahambaşı, Bene Israel, Yeni, Hurşidiye and Sonsino (Tsontsino) were recorded as Jewish districts. The names of Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe, which were zoned in 1865, were not included as Jewish residential settlements in the table prepared 20 years later. On the contrary, their names were recorded under the 18 Greek districts ³⁹⁶. This brings up the question: "Is it possible that Karataş was not settled by Jews in the 20 years after it was zoned for construction? Let's analyze:

³⁹⁴ Serçe 1999, 18.

³⁹⁵ Bora 2015, 60.

³⁹⁶ Serçe 1999, 15. Bora 2015

According to 1885 Izmir List of Districts; 11 of the 168 units in Karataş; 4 of the 262 units in Karantina and 1 of the 93 units in Göztepe belong to Jews. The rest of the units are owned by Greek, foreign, Armenian, Muslim Turkish and local Greek families. I have a table showing the names, addresses and the *military service tax* ³⁹⁷ to be paid by *Jewish taxpayers* in Izmir in return for military service exemption. According to the table, which contains information on years 313, 314, 315 and 316 (1897, 1898, 1899 and 1900), Jewish taxpayers resided in the seven districts known as the First Juderia in İkiçeşmelik. Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe were not added to the list. On the other hand, the *Indicateur Français* ³⁹⁸ dated 1895 speaks of the existence of a synagogue in upper Karataş. This is the Rosh HaHar Synagogue, probably built between 1891 and 1895. The information I received from the *Indicateur* of 1895 and the List of Military Service Tax of 1316 (1900) present two different options for me:

1- According to the table of Military Service Tax; during the period between 1885 and 1900, there was no permanent Jewish settlement in Karataş and its surroundings yet. The 16 Jewish units in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe mentioned in the 1885 list of Izmir Districts must be the summer houses of rich Jewish families. At that time the Karataş- Göztepe line was used as Izmir's summer resort. We believe the Jewish units in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe (16 units in 1885) were not recorded in the tables of Military Service Tax of 316 (1900) because permanent residences of the owners of these units were in the First Juderia. That is why addresses of Jewish summer houses were not written in the table of Jewish taxpayers' permanent addresses.³⁹⁹

2. The construction of a synagogue requires written consent from the authorities. The most important rule in the procedure is that there should be a community permanently residing in some location and therefore needs a place of worship there. The community should also be populated enough to justify the construction of a place of worship. The fact that construction permits were granted for Rosh HaHar suggests the presence of a Jewish colony to convince the authorities. So a separate list of Military Service Tax must have been prepared for them in 1316 (1900), but no such list is available. Another alternative is as follows: The Jewish colony in Karataş was made up of summer houses of the rich Jewish class and they felt they needed a place of worship during their stay there. Therefore the first option comes into play. The summer houses were not registered in the list of Military Service Tax of 1316 (1900), since permanent residences of those required to do military service are in the First Juderia ⁴⁰⁰.

³⁹⁷ The military service tax (bedel-i askeri) replaced the Cizye after the Tanzimat reform.

³⁹⁸ *Indicateur Français* 1895 , 69. Bora 2015

³⁹⁹ Bora 2015,

⁴⁰⁰ Bora 2015,

Over the years, we see an increase in the number of Jewish families who settled in Karataş. Especially in the late nineteenth century, a new Jewish bourgeois class appeared, who owed their existence mostly to the educational activities of Alliance Israelite Universelle ⁴⁰¹. Students who dropped out of Alliance Israelite Universelle schools in the first years almost always chose to engage in crafts and trade. When a large part of these young people began to get rich in the trade sector, there was an increase in the number of young Jews who stayed in Alliance schools for a short time only to learn how to read and write, arithmetic and some French, and left to do business. The reason was that compared to crafts and industry, trade allowed them to earn much more money and promised them a materially bright future. This new class left the districts they used to live when they were poor. The places the Jewish bourgeois class chose to settle were Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe. On the other hand, from the beginning of the 20th century, a different kind of Jewish immigration (internal immigration) began in Izmir. Most of Jews who came en masse to Izmir from surrounding settlements preferred to settle in Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe. Jewish population in the area increased daily. Most Izmir Jews would now live in the Karataş area, also referred to as the Second Juderia.

⁴⁰¹ Rodrigue 1997, 168-172. Nahum, 127-130. Bora 2015,

3-Synagogues

Rosh HaHar Synagogue:

Rosh HaHar was built during Chief Rabbi Avraham Palachi's lifetime, on the land that was purchased on his behalf on "*Kiremitçi street in Bola (?) Vineyard area of Teşvikiye district*"⁴⁰². Since Avraham Palachi served as Chief Rabbi between 1869 and 1900, the Rosh HaHar must have been built in these years. Considering that work on Halil Rifat Paşa and Hatay Streets began in 1891, the Jewish settlement in the region must have begun to form gradually from this date. The Jewish Community of Izmir applied to the province of Aydın to obtain a license for the repair of the synagogue in 1906, therefore the year of construction must be at least ten or fifteen years before the request for repair (between 1890 and 1895). Indicateur Français of 1895 reports that there was a synagogue in 1895 in Karataş, Izmir⁴⁰³. Since Rosh HaHar was the first Synagogue to be built in the region; it must have been built between 1891 and 1895, when work began on Halil Rifat Paşa and Hatay streets. The fact that Rosh HaHar was built on the hill above, and not in lower Karataş suggests the following: Is it possible that the first permanent Jewish colony in Karataş was where this synagogue was built, the area between Halil Rifat Paşa and Şehit Nihat Bey Streets?

The reply⁴⁰⁴ dated 14 Rebiülevlev 321/2 Safer 324 to the letter of application for renovating Rosh HaHar granted the license to rebuild the synagogue: "*... which served the daily needs of the congregation in that area was no longer sufficient and also in need of repair therefore a one-floor stone building 20 arşın*"⁴⁰⁵ *wide, 8 arşın high and 200 satranç*"⁴⁰⁶ *in size shall be built*". The same license included the information that 232 Jews lived in 158 households in this area. The license reveals that the appeal to the province of Aydın stated that construction would cost 130 akçe and also gave information on the source of funding. Construction costs were to be covered from "the money in the possession of Isak Piçon, head of Rosh HaHar's board of governors".

⁴⁰²BOA, İ. Adliye ve Mezahib 15/25 Za 1326, (3140).

⁴⁰³ Indicateur Français 1895, 69. I also learned from the Indicateur that there was a mosque in Karataş in 1895, as well as a church each for the British, the Greek and the Armenians.

⁴⁰⁴BOA, Church Book 4, 112.

⁴⁰⁵ This unit of length was used until the meter was accepted on 26 March 1931. In 1993 all Ottoman units of measurement were abolished, and the metric system was adopted.

⁴⁰⁶ Means meter square.

Mahazike Aniiim Synagogue:

According to my estimation the synagogue was built in the Chavez or Bene Israel District. We know of its existence through its parochet. It was probably built in the 19th century, when there were many poor people in the Jewish community of Izmir. Mahazike Aniiim was one of the charity institutions within the Jewish community. Could it be that the institution financed the synagogue? I have no information available on this topic yet.

Ashkenazi Synagogue (1):

The synagogue was founded in Irgat Pazarı (laborers market) in the Efrati district. The application made to the central government is dated 12 Muharrem 1319 (1 May 1901). The application states that many Russian Jews of Ashkenazi origin were coming to the city and a designated synagogue for them was needed. According to the application, the place to be used as a place of worship was a residential unit in the Jewish District No. 11 ⁴⁰⁷. It is unclear which of the seven Jewish districts in İkiçeşmelik the application is referring to. It could be the Efrati District I mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph.

Ashkenazi Synagogue (2):

There are two assumptions about the history of this synagogue:

- The Ashkenazi Synagogue, which was established in the Efrati District, was moved next to Neve Shalom Synagogue in the first half of the 20th century.
- Or it is the second synagogue built for the Ashkenazi in Izmir. The opening date must be the beginning of the late 19th century or early 20th century. This synagogue was once adjacent to Neve Shalom Synagogue. It no longer exists. At the entrance to the Neve Shalom Synagogue, there is a sign on the left wall as a reminder that the Ashkenazi Synagogue once existed.

⁴⁰⁷ BOA, BEO 1655/124074. DH.MKT. 2484/85. İ.AZN 42/6.

No matter which assumption is correct, it is likely that the Ashkenazi Synagogue was established at the site of the Neve Shalom Synagogue.

Beit Ester Synagogue:

The license dated 21 Zilkade 326 (2 Kanunuevvel 324) for constructing a new synagogue in the same area proves that the Jewish population in the region had increased greatly in the two years following the rebuilding of Rosh HaHar. According to the license, the Jewish population here is more than 1500, meaning there is an increase of approximately 1268 people after two years. This synagogue is "*Beit Esther*"⁴⁰⁸, built by Nesim Levi Bayraklı in memory of her daughter Esther. Beit Esther's land was "*state land*," and the payment for the construction was "*a share of thirty out of thousand for the value of the land*" and ten times that amount for "*leasing the land*"⁴⁰⁹. Today Rosh HaHar is still standing, but there is no trace of Beit Esther, as it was completely burnt in a fire shortly after it was built⁴¹⁰.

Beit Levi Synagogue:

I have a photocopy from Izmir Shariya (kadı) records dated 4 Zilhicce 1333 about the Beit Levi Synagogue. The record contains a request made by Nesim Levi Bayraklı to transfer a house (later the Beit Levi Synagogue) in his ownership to foundation property and to leave it to his children, and the decision taken by the kadı⁴¹¹: "*In Teşvikiye district of Karataş, Izmir, bordering the road stops of Avram the broker and Mimiko Danaci Minasakaan the coachman, house number 25 which is rented to Mehmed Ağazade Ragıb bey will permanently be transferred to a foundation, the large room in the house will be known as Bet Levi and will serve as the place of worship for the Jewish congregation and the other three rooms will serve the rabbi..*"

⁴⁰⁸BOA, İ. Adliye ve Mezahib 15/25 Za 1326.

⁴⁰⁹BOA, Church Book 5. 2871/1954, 57.

⁴¹⁰Ahenk, 17 August 1324. "A fire started yesterday at around eight-thirty in the synagogue of the Jewish community built by the owner of the Bayraklı store, the honorable Nesim Levi, on the hill in the Second Süleymaniye district and the place of worship was completely destroyed."

⁴¹¹I believe the foundation also included the Karataş Hospital and the Dokuz Eylül Elevator.

The synagogue would be managed by Nesim Levi for as long as he lives. After his death, the administration would be left to his sons and grandsons, and if there are no grandsons it would be left to his daughters and granddaughters ⁴¹².

According to the decree (license) in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry; the permission for the use of Beit Levi owned by Nesim Levi and previously used as a residence as a synagogue was taken in 24 Muharrem 1337 ⁴¹³. The Beit Levi Synagogue is a two storey building. The dimensions of the lower floor, allocated as the residence for the Rabbi, “*are 18 arşın and 14 fingers by 11 arşın and 18 fingers. The upper floor, to be used as a place of worship with the name "Beit Levi" is 15 arşın and 18 fingers by 12 arşın*”. The height of both floors is 13,5 arşın ⁴¹⁴. The Karataş Beit Levi Synagogue was unfortunately destroyed in 1982.

⁴¹² İYCA, İzmir Sharia Record no. 314 item no 5/s. 24. Documenty dated 4/Z/1333 signed by the kadı of İzmir, Esseyidi Musa Kazım bin Behçet. There’a a “cancelled” note on the document along with the date 13 Teşrin-i evvel 1331. In this date, Nesim Levi left Beit Levi to his sons and their grandsons and later changed his will to include his daughters as well. It seems the document also serves as a foundation certificate. I get the impression that Nesim Levi Bayraklı combined the Karataş Hospital, the Dokuz Eylül Elevator and the Beit Levi Synagogue under a single foundation. These three institutions which I found to have an organic bond between them, provided financial support for each other. For example, the Dokuz Eylül Elevator is one of the income generating properties for the Karataş Hospital. I believe this situation continued until after the Lausanne Conference. Therefore we can conclude that the Synagogue-Elevator-Hospital trio continued until 1923 to operate within the framework of the foundation established by Nesim Levi and his family and their status changed when the foundation was abolished. The hospital turned into an association in 1926, the Elevator was sold in 1942 to Şerif Remzi Reyent, and Beit Levy was demolished in 1982.

⁴¹³Galante indicates that the Beit Levi Synagogue was built in 1898. Beit Levi’s licence that I received from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives carries the issuing date of 24 Muharrem 1337, so either Galante is referring to the date Nesim Levy built the house as a residence (1898), or the Beit Levi license I received is a permit for rebuilding the synagogue. Another possibility is that construction began before the building permit was received from the Imperial government, since the reply from Istanbul was delayed as usual. See Galante 1937, 44. BOA, Church Book 7, 598/1103, 81.

⁴¹⁴ BOA, Church Book 7. 598/1103, 81.

Beit Israel Synagogue:

Karataş Beit Israel Synagogue is the largest synagogue in Izmir. According to the building permit issued on 24 Zilkade 322, it was to be built "*from stone on nine hundred twenty satranç (m2) of state land with a size of 20,5 by 35 totaling 717,5 satranç*" Construction began in 1905 after paying 150 pennies as "*mukataa-yi zemin*" (leasing fee), which is ten times as much as the appraised value of 15 pennies. Out of the estimated cost of 1200 Ottoman gold coins, 400 were collected from donations; and the remaining amount was promised to be "*arranged and executed by the synagogue*" ⁴¹⁵. The synagogue is on Mithat Paşa Street (then called İnönü Street) tram road. It was opened in 1907 before construction was completed. There are three possible reasons for the early opening:

- Jewish population was increasing rapidly in the region (the area between Konak Bahri Baba Park and Mithat Paşa Street). When the construction permit was given, total Jewish population was 177 in 39 units.
- The growing population had to go to the Rosh HaHar Synagogue on the hill to worship.
- The cost of construction had reached a very high level, as artisans and construction materials were brought from Italy. Funds were urgently needed to complete the construction.

Sale of synagogue shares began in 1908. Coupons with the stamp of the synagogue were sold for a price of 8 cents in return for "*a loan to complete the construction of the Beit Israel Synagogue*". The coupons included a commitment that the loan would be paid in two years ⁴¹⁶. Beit Israel is a two storey building. The lower story is designated for men and the upper storey for women.

Its style and seating plan constitute a digression from traditional Turkish Jewish places of worship. In traditional architecture, *Ehal HaKodesh* is in the east while in Beit Israel it is in the south. In the original architectural plan, it was intended to top the entire ceiling with a dome, but the limited financial resources permitted building only a small central dome. Symbols of the Turkish state are also used in the synagogue in addition to Jewish religious and traditional motifs. In the middle of the seven-armed bronze Menoras, the seventh candle is replaced by "the star and the crescent". The room in the east was arranged as a Yeshiva. Above the front entrance of the synagogue, the opening date 5668 appears on the right, and the word "*Shaddai*" is on the left.

⁴¹⁵ BOA, Church Book 4. 2351/1199, 188.

⁴¹⁶ Bora 1995, 51.

In the area where the Beit Israel Synagogue was built, the Jewish population that consisted of 177 people in 39 units in 1905 would reach 1,665 people in 340 units by the year 1918 ⁴¹⁷. This means that in the early 20th century the Jewish colony in the Second Juderia was growing rapidly.

Shonsol Synagogue:

A building in the Basmane Aya Vukla District, donated by Hayim Şimuel Şonsol, began to be used as a synagogue with the permission received on 4 Şevval 1327 (October 19, 1909). The Shonsol Synagogue was a two-floor building. There was a 12-room cortejo on the lower floor and a place of worship on the upper floor. The synagogue burned in the 1970's and underwent repair. It was used as a car wash for a while. The synagogue owned by the Izmir Jewish Community is now empty and closed.

Galante reports that the charity institution named *Malbis Arumim* had a synagogue with the same name in Karataş. He also claims the income from the *Malbis Arumim Synagogue* was put to the use of the institution ⁴¹⁸.

4-Migrations

There was Jewish immigration to Izmir from Crete in 1897, and from Russia, Crete and Thessalia in 1898 ⁴¹⁹. The nineteenth century was a period of extensive migration, particularly in terms of Eastern European and Russian Jews. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, anti-Jewish developments in Russia, Germany and Romania forced Jewish residents who have been living there for centuries to leave. The chain of events began in 1764. Shortly after this date, Poland was divided, and a part of its territory was annexed by Russia. On the eve of the annexation, there was a large Jewish population in the area between Poland and Lithuania. Facing discriminatory and restrictive treatment after the annexation of Polish territory, Jews were virtually imprisoned in the *Pale settlement area* between Poland and Lithuania, that would enable some freedom for them (1791) ⁴²⁰. They suffered from oppression during the reign of I Nicholas. In 1827, an obligation to do military service 25 years was introduced; In 1843, they were cut off from Kiev where they had lived for centuries.

⁴¹⁷BOA, Church Book 7. 598/1103, 81.

⁴¹⁸ Galante 1937, 89.

⁴¹⁹ Benbassa /Rodrigue 1998, 117. Bora 2017, 132.

⁴²⁰The History of the Jews in Russia 1995. <http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale>.

Despite difficult conditions, Jewish cultural life in the region flourished in Pale (many of the writers considered to be the founders of Hebrew and Yiddish literature have their origins in Pale). After the suppression of the uprising in Poland in 1863, freedom for all minorities was limited, including Jews living within the borders of Russia ⁴²¹. Between 1791 and 1881, the partial freedom enjoyed by Russian Jews ended when pogroms (massacres) and attacks began after the assassination of II. Alexander ⁴²². The next ruler III. Alexander's policy of creating the Russian Orthodox nation forced Russian Jews to face the dilemma of either becoming Russians or leaving their land. The *Temporary Arrangements for Jews* issued by the Tsar government in May 1882 was a turning point for the Jews in Russia ⁴²³. The Jews, who had to face aggression, violence and pogroms just two weeks after II. Alexander's murder, started to migrate from their country when they were also deprived of many civilian rights by means of the circular mentioned above ⁴²⁴. The same year (1882), an international anti-Jewish congress was held in Germany. Following the congress, the anti-Semitic Christian Socialist Party entered the German parliament and soon after, blood libels against Jews began in the country. Meanwhile, Jews living in Romania were also under pressure. Romanian Jews, deprived of civil rights, were forbidden to acquire land, trade and practice their professions. As a result, Romanian Jews also decided to abandon their country ⁴²⁵. In addition to 256,000

⁴²¹ Beyond the Pale - The Jews of Lithuania and Poland. <http://www.friends-partners.org/>.

⁴²² Russian Jews were permitted in 1791 to live on Polish soil annexed by Russia. In this area known as Pale, Jews were able to live together in partial freedom as if in a ghetto. They had limited freedom because the distinction between Jews and non-Jews in the Russian society was underlined by means of special legislation. A law approved in 1825 made military service obligatory for all Jews from 12 years of age. In 1855, only those Jews studying in Russian schools were granted additional rights, which brought the danger of assimilation of Russian Jews.

⁴²³ Şeber 2012, 41-42. This regulation limited Russian Jews' rights to acquire real estate and live in certain cities. It also stipulated a systematic expulsion of Jews from Moscow.

⁴²⁴ The Evening Star reported the following on the limitations introduced by the regulations: "This regulation includes hundreds of villages and towns in which the large Jewish population lives. According to the regulation, Jews will not be able to buy land, own mine shares or work in them, serve as soldiers, study medicine or law, acquire a good profession or work in the government and their living area will be limited to 16 regions". Cited by Şeber 2012, 42.

⁴²⁵ Şeber 2012, 48.

Romanian Jews who were preparing to leave, the fact that many of the 5 million Russian Jews left their country, naturally left a global permanent mark in the 19th century. It was inevitable that the immigrant groups, which reached very large numbers, would cause social, economic and cultural changes both in the regions they abandoned and in the countries they took refuge. The number of Eastern European Jewish immigrants between 1881 and 1891 was 500,000 ⁴²⁶, while by the year 1914 it had reached 2.700.000 ⁴²⁷.

Anatolia was presented to Jewish immigrants of Eastern Europe and Russia as a paradise and they were encouraged to settle there. The Ottoman administration restricted the places where immigrants could settle. For example, entering Palestine and Istanbul was restricted, even banned. Moreover, the Ottoman administration allowed Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia to settle where it found appropriate, rather than considering their requests on where they wanted to live. Towns with a large Jewish population were selected for this purpose. In fact, they were diverted to cities where large Jewish communities lived, such as Izmir, Bursa and Thessaloniki, as shown by the following examples: In 1892, 45 Jewish immigrants who came with the Alexander ferry from Russia were settled in Izmir and Thessaloniki ⁴²⁸. Again, in 1892, the Jews on the Russian ship Olek who came from Sevastopol and completed the days of quarantine in the Kavak Quarantine Station, were transferred to the postal ferry and sent to Izmir and Thessaloniki to be settled there ⁴²⁹. Information about the immigrants reveals that poverty and desperation were the common features of Jewish immigrants from Romania and Russia. The

⁴²⁶ Şeber 2012, 41.

⁴²⁷ It was impossible for Eastern European and Russian immigrants to find a house of their own in Izmir. The only possible accommodation for them in the city was the *cortijos* and the Jewish houses. Unable most of the time to find a place in the upper floors, Russian immigrant families had to live in misery in the basements of *cortijos* and Jewish houses and spent the night on the earth. See Ahenk, 2 Eylül 1323 (15 September 1907).

⁴²⁸ BOA, BEO 43/3211 (09/M/1310). DH. MKT. 1982/84 (10/M/1310).

⁴²⁹ BOA, BEO 44/3276 (13/M/1310). DH. MKT. 1983/4 (11/M/1310).

It was decided in 1892 that the Jews who came to Istanbul on a Russian ship named Sezarovich would be settled in Izmir after their quarantine was over. See BOA, DH. MKT. 1980/111 (7/M/1310). In 1892, the ones among the Jews on the ship who came with the Georgian Company were settled in Izmir. See BOA, DH. MKT. 1985/23 (16/M/1310). That same year, Jewish immigrants from Russia who finished their days of quarantine in Sinop were also sent to Izmir. See BOA, DH. MKT. 2000/62 (19/S/1310). It was decided that Russian and Ottoman subjects who came in 1893 on the Russian ship Chikopov would be settled in Izmir as well. See BOA, Special Decree document no 87 (15/S/1311). In 1894, 100 out of 200 Jewish immigrants from Russia were settled in Izmir. See BOA, MV. 81/51 (16/Ra/1312). BEO 478/35834 (19/Ra/1312).

Ottoman administration, Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Izmir Jewish Community tried to help those who sought refuge. The Ministries of Finance and Internal Affairs provided financial assistance to the immigrants ⁴³⁰. In addition, the Ministry of Internal Affairs wrote to Aydın Province and requested help from the wealthy and helpful Jews of Izmir to cover the costs of food and lodging ⁴³¹. The basic needs of 150 Russian immigrant families (2500 people), which we learned were settled in Izmir in 1892, were initially covered by the funds allocated by the Alliance Israelite Universelle for this purpose. Wealthy local Jews rented out the Jewish houses in their possession to the Alliance and opened them up to accommodate the immigrants. It seems after a while the Alliance was unable to pay the rent for the houses. As a result, the immigrants grew apart from Alliance Israelite Universelle and the local Jewish people who perceived them as a financial burden. Izmir Jews began to imply that they no longer wanted the migrants among them; even the word *Lehli* (Polish) began to be used as an insult for Jewish immigrants from Russia. In his report of April 9, 1894 to Paris, G. Arie, the director of the Alliance's boys' school in Izmir, describes the relationship between Russian immigrants and the Alliance as follows: "*Russian immigrants have become unbearable. Money is not enough anymore. Tomorrow is Sunday, a large crowd gathered at school this morning and threatened me with their fists. We want money! they yelled. At noon, when the students left school, they took advantage of the open doors and swarmed into the garden. They showed their hungry and tired children*" ⁴³². The Izmir Jewish Community Administration had two charitable institutions capable of meeting the needs of immigrants coming to Izmir (accommodation, food, clothing and even psychological support): *Hahnasat Orehim* (Hospitality) and *the Women's Institution* which was founded in 1893 by a teacher in Alliance Israelite Universelle specifically to help women from Russian immigrant families ⁴³³. Although the Izmir Jewish community was extremely poor, both institutions did their best in this regard.

During this time, that is, at the end of the 19th century, the population of Izmir entered a trend of rapid growth. With the population increase, which started in the 1840's and accelerated in the second half of the 19th century, existing urban settlements first became denser and then started to expand. The reason was that the Ottoman administration limited the physical borders of religious communities, especially non-Muslim communities, to make security-related monitoring easier. It ensured that they would settle in their special areas and stay there. The effects of this practice in the physical appearance of the city were that the density and size of buildings gradually increased in some places ⁴³⁴. The arrival to the city of

Muslim immigrants and the Jews from Rumania, Poland and Russia in the second half of the 19th century pushed the city's physical capacity to the limit. I believe the number of Izmir cortejos and Jewish houses, also known as Family Houses, has increased significantly especially in this period, because they made it possible for many families to live together.

5-Military Service Tax Records of the Izmir Jewish Community (1897-1900)

Bedel-i askeri (military fee) is the name given to Cizye after the Tanzimat. Cizye is a personal tax placed on Christians, Jews, Magis and Samaritans. It was abolished on March 28, 1855. Obligatory military service was introduced, based on equality between for Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. But it was not possible to put it into practice. So a military service fee was introduced for non-Muslims who were unable to serve. The fee would be determined according to the status and power of the non-Muslim who will pay the tax.

I'm holding a book (list) in the Ottoman language of the military service tax for Izmir Jews. It shows the amount of military service tax in the years 313, 314, 315, and 316 which the commission decided to charge the Jews in Izmir. According to the information in the 268-page book, in 1900, the number of male Jewish taxpayers in Izmir is 6046, while the total Jewish population is 9940. It includes individual names and addresses of families residing in seven different districts in İkiçeşmelik. I will not give them here. They will be translated if necessary.

⁴³⁰ BOA, DH. MKT. 1471/24. DH. MKT. 14/28. DH. MKT. 1985/16.

⁴³¹ BOA, DH. MKT 1985/117.

⁴³² Cited by. Nahum 1990, 173-174.

⁴³³ Galante 1937, 89.

⁴³⁴ Serçe 1998, 161-162.

E- The Years Between 1908 and 1923

1-Izmir Sharia Records (1908)

There are 39 items concerning Izmir Jews in Izmir Sharia Records of 1908. These records are not sufficient to reflect the socio-economic profile of the Izmir Jewish Community, which has a population of around 25,000 at that time. But we get other, more important and reliable information from these records, such as occupational groups, districts and addresses and family names. I have grouped these records under four headings:

*Jews who converted to Islam

- Lawsuits opened by Jews
- Powers of Attorney
- Inheritance procedures

I found the addresses of the 39 Jewish families in the registers. They live in the following areas: Abdullah Efendi District, Hahambaşı District, the vicinity of Mekteb-i Sanayi, Taslıçeşme District, Karataş, Göztepe Tram Road, Hacı İslam District, Karantina, Birinci Kordon Belavista, Hurşidiye District, Havra Street, the vicinity of Suluhan, Binbaşı District, Irgat (laborer) market, Kasab Hızır District and Çayırılıbahçe. I have also identified some family names: Alazraki, Anrikis, Benavat, Elhadeh, Sevi, Alaluf and Sevi⁴³⁵.



The map of Izmir's districts in the first quarter of the 20th century.

⁴³⁵For further information see Bora 1995, 101-114

2- Karataş Hospital and Dokuz Eylül Elevator

After the Rothschild Hospital was closed, there was a period of waiting for a new hospital to be opened. According to Galante, while the new hospital was supposed to be opened in the Juderia, in one of the districts of Hahambaşı, Bene Israel or Chavez; Karataş was preferred when Nesim Levi Bayraklı donated his house there provided it would be used as a hospital. In the years between 1911 and 1913 until Karataş Hospital opened, the clinics meeting the health needs of the Jewish community were the Rofe Holim Dispensary and the Jewish Clinic next to the Ashkenazi Synagogue.

Nesim Levi Bayraklı gave his house to the Jewish community in 23 Recep 1331 (June 28, 1913), to be used as a Jewish hospital. After Nesim Levi left the house to the congregation, the Izmir Jewish Community Administration bought three houses adjacent to Levi's house ⁴³⁶. The purpose of the community was to build a hospital large enough to include a total of four houses. First, the Chief Rabbinate of Izmir applied to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, adding six title deeds, a report on the construction of the hospital and a map of the land, and requested the Sultan's approval of a construction permit ⁴³⁷. Then, the three houses were destroyed and the hospital's space was enlarged by combining the land of two houses with Nesim Levi's house. The land of the third house which was destroyed was arranged as a garden. In the meantime, the land tax determined by the Ministry of Finance was also paid ⁴³⁸. The Karataş Hospital was officially recognized as a hospital with the Imperial Decree issued by Sultan Reşat (26 Muharrem 1333/ 14 December 1914) ⁴³⁹.

Karataş Hospital continued its activities until 1926 as a foundation under the name "Izmir Jewish Hospital Foundation".⁴⁴⁰ According to the document of November 1925 titled "*Administrative Method and Conditions of Izmir Jewish Hospital Foundation*" which is registered in the Izmir Directorate of Foundations, the Izmir Dokuz Eylül Elevator, or the Elevator Tower, was within the foundation's area of responsibility and at the same time, the main source of income for the hospital.

⁴³⁶ Since the house on the left side of Karataş Hospital is one of the properties left behind from the old hospital, two, but not three houses must have been purchased. Some properties of Rothschild Hospital were sold, and the income was deposited in the bank. The two houses must have been bought with the 2411 liras in in the bank. The 1926 yearbook informs that one of the houses were purchased for 350 liras. Dr. Viktor İsrail, one of the doctors in Karataş Hospital, says that the two small houses next to the main building – which Galante indicates were acquired by the community – were bought by Nesim Levi. See citation bu Karayaman, 79.

⁴³⁷ BOA, DH. İD. 47-2/21 (6/S/1332). BOA, DH. İD. 162-2/46 (6/S/1132). BOA, BEO. 4269/318530 (14/S/1332)

⁴³⁸ BOA, DH. İD. 47-2/41 (17/S/1333). BOA, BEO. 324659/İD-7 (15/S/1333).

⁴³⁹ BOA, DH. İD. 47/2-41(26 Muharrem 1333/20 Kanunuevvel 1330). For the transcription of the decree see the Appendix.

3-The Period of Union and Progress

The Young Turks movement of 1908, aimed to achieve a liberal transformation in Ottoman political and economic life, resulted in the introduction of a Constitution and the adoption of a parliamentary monarchy regime. On the other hand, entrepreneurship was encouraged among Ottoman subjects and ample opportunities were given to foreign capital, in an attempt to move towards liberalizing the economic system. In fact, liberal thinking had been on the agenda of the Ottoman society for half a century. Along with the Tanzimat (reform), liberalism found many supporters in political and economic areas and the French thinking of the Age of Enlightenment became one of the basic philosophical movements that influenced the Ottoman liberals. In some ways, the liberal Young Turk movement symbolized a rebellion against Ottoman traditions. Government intervention and restrictive commercial and economic measures like official fixed prices, tariffs, centuries-long privileges and decrees, along with corruption in the government in the form of bribes and favoritism, strengthened the longing for a liberal state. Intellectual circles believed that it was impossible for an individual under constant state supervision to strive for profit by pursuing his own personal interests. In short, the longing for the west was reflected in the way of thinking, which resulted in the conclusion that Westernization required Liberalization. Thus, from 1908 onwards, an economy-based foreign trade policy was adopted. Like the industrial and agricultural sectors, taxes believed to deter the entrepreneur were reduced in the trade sector. The state would no longer intervene in the economy under the pretext of earning maximum income for the treasury. Advocating individualism and the idea that a modern state should be a national state, the Young Turks believed the main function of the national state was to create indirect income by strengthening the economic structure, creating an environment of free venture and increasing the public's ability to pay taxes. As a result, the state's concern for finding income would leave its place to development and growth.

⁴⁴⁰ Bora 2015 a, 181-203.

Economic Policies:

The economic policies followed by the new regime initially brought about a general growth in the prosperity of the Izmir Jewish Community. Jewish merchants who for years had been under the pressure of Greek and Armenian economic superiority were very pleased with the "*liberal economic policy*" observed since 1908. Most members of the Jewish Community who, just like the Muslim Turkish community, had been unable to get their share from economic activities since the 18th century, supported individual initiatives. Through the articles they published in the Turkish press in Izmir, the Jews were both trying to motivate the Ottoman people to do business and supporting the liberal economic policy.

Jewish merchants in all Ottoman cities benefited from the boycotts against Greek and Austrian goods, as well as from the liberal economic policy. Some even opted to take French and especially Italian and German citizenship, to make more advantage of the privileges provided by the Capitulations. However, their number was less than the number of Greek and Armenian merchants who used the same method. In the meantime, the economic breakthrough of the Jews from the end of the 19th century, began to give results in 1908. For the Jews who graduated from Alliance schools with cultural and technical knowledge, the economic policies led by the Union and Progress provided a wide range of possibilities.

After a while, the Liberal Economic Policy increased the influence of non-Muslims and foreigners that controlled Ottoman trade, while Muslim craftsmen became impoverished under the conditions of free competition and lost their workmanship. The II. Constitutional Monarchy prepared the groundwork for free trade and freedom of enterprise by abolishing the guilds, and this constituted a great blow for small Muslim shop owners who were able to continue their existence through organizational solidarity. That was the environment in which Turkish nationalism flourished and it would not take long until the change in direction from liberalism to nationalism led to oppression. The restraining measures that started with the 1908 Temporary Law for Work Stoppage resulted in the raid against the Sublime Porte in 1913. The Union and Progress took over the government under its direct control.

Turkish nationalism was implemented to prevent the non-Muslim and foreign activity in Ottoman trade and to create a native bourgeois class, although it's unclear whether the National Economy Policy aimed at preventing the influence of Jewish traders as well. However, it seems the Jewish merchants who took the citizenship of foreign states influenced the National Economy Policy, which was inspired by the German economic tradition on the issues of pushing the individual to the background and trying to protect the society and the state. As a matter of fact, the opinions famous Unionists Celal Bayar and Yusuf Akçura expressed about Jewish traders support this judgment. As Zafer Toprak cited from Yusuf Akçura, in 1908, the Ottoman Turkish community, like in Poland, was a flawed and disfigured artefact made up of rich people, civil servants and peasants. Like the Polish bourgeoisie of Jews and Germans, the Ottoman bourgeoisie also consisted of local non-Turkish elements such as Jews, Greeks and Armenians, who served as brokers and agents for western capitalism, and Levantines, whose origin and nationality were unknown⁴⁴¹. Celal Bayar too, said that among the "*elements contradictory with national rights and interests*" he met in Izmir was Jews⁴⁴². According to the Unionists, a society in which Muslim Turkish

elements were soldiers and civil servants, and the non-Muslim communities were craftsmen and merchants could not become a modern state. There was no common conscience between Turks and non-Turkish elements. The division of labor between them was not real. National solidarity could only strengthen if the division of labor was created in a society with a common conscience. Otherwise, it would be an artificial nation, making it impossible to create a true National Economy.⁴⁴³ Izmir, being an international trade center, was one of the main cities that the national economic policy should be implemented, due to the intense activities of non-Turks in the trade sector⁴⁴⁴. After the defeat in the Balkan War, the Committee of Union and Progress, which needed public support to strengthen its rule, formally declared that in order to create a native bourgeoisie, it intended to remove the capitulations that gave certain privileges to foreigners. The capitulations were cancelled on September 9, 1914. The state took direct responsibility of foreign trade. Foreign exchange transactions were placed under the authority of the Central Commission for Foreign Exchange. While many Unionists regarded the Jews as one of the obstacles to the creation of a native bourgeoisie, one of the prominent figures who introduced the National Economy concept advocated by the Committee of Union and Progress was Moiz Kohen, a Thessaloniki Jew. Moiz Kohen, who settled in Istanbul in 1912 after the Balkan War, defended the idea that Jews should define themselves as Turks and Turkish Jews. He tried to spread this thought. He took the Turkish surname Tekin Alp and became known with the articles he wrote with this name. The idea that "*Jews would define themselves as Turks*" was also used by Selim Mizrahi in the article titled "*Let's Have a Desire for Trade*" published in 1908 in "*Köylü*" newspaper during the time of liberal economy⁴⁴⁵. Actually, the article did not explicitly defend the idea that Jews should define themselves as Turks. But the expression "*We Turks*" showed that this idea was the essence of the article.

In conclusion, as Feroz Ahmad emphasizes, I believe the Committee of Union and Progress initially convinced some Jews along with Turks in the effort to demolish the Christian hegemony in economic sectors and that the Jews and the Turks constituted the elements of the desired native bourgeoisie. The Union and Progress primarily aimed at leaving out the Greeks and the Armenians who opposed the use of Turkish and monopolized the country's trade under their hegemony for centuries.

⁴⁴¹ Toprak 1982, 33.

⁴⁴² Bayar 1967, 1581.

⁴⁴³ Toprak 1982, 32.

⁴⁴⁵ Bayar 1967, 1552-1553.

⁴⁴⁵ *Köylü* 11 Kanun-u evvel 1324.

Did the national economic policy of the Committee of Union and Progress succeed in Izmir? The National Economy policy advocated that non-Muslim elements and foreigners should be removed from the market and native corporations should be established. For this to happen, government protection was needed. However, the cosmopolitan structure of Izmir was an important obstacle to the formation of a common conscience and national solidarity. In addition, every initiative in the city to protect the Turks was met with fierce opposition from Westerners who, in line with their interests related to the capitulations, favored the minorities under their protection. As a result, the national corporations in Izmir needed a long time to gain dominance over the economy. Nationalism, brought to the agenda by the II. Monarchy, developed under the extraordinary conditions of the First World war. The war was lost, but the Turkish middle class created by the Union and Progress enabled the formation of the staff who would guide the National Struggle in Anatolia. With the initiative of the Union and Progress, most Armenians were forced to leave during the First World War. After the National Struggle victory, a large part of the Greeks, especially the ones in Izmir, emigrated to Greece. This created a large gap in trade, banking and industrial sectors, that could be filled only by Turks and Jews.

Preparations to establish a new company with the name Turkish National Import Export Corporation had started in Ankara before the Great Offensive. After the victory, the company was announced to the public in the "*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*" newspaper. The purpose of the company was to fill the void created by Greeks and Armenians. To prevent the Greeks and Armenians who remained in the country from taking British, French, US citizenship and then seizing Turkish trade again, the public was being invited to purchase company shares. The company was viewed as an extension of the National Economic Policy advocated by the Committee of Union and Progress in terms of its purpose and structure. The company was founded in order to prevent Christian dominance in the trade sector and sold most of its shares to Jewish capital owners. Although the statement by the company in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper informed that Jewish shareholders would not be admitted to the company, the question of where it found capital remained unclear (the company continued to operate effectively until 1937). It is difficult to find an answer to this question in the backdrop of misery, hunger, epidemics and loss of the work force after the First World War and the National Struggle. Considering the social, economic, political and cultural areas to be dealt with during the initial stage of the Turkish state, the claim the British made in the "*Morning Post*" about a "Middle East Commercial Surprise: Turkish-Jewish Cooperation" (37) seemed plausible⁴⁴⁶. This possibility contradicts the official statement by the national company that Jewish shareholders were not admitted to the company. Still, it is known that after the National Struggle, most Jews borrowed from the banks and contributed to agriculture, industry, trade and economic development. In that case, the statement made to the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper mentioned above should be reevaluated.

It is possible that the contradictory statement concerning the National Company mentioned above was made under the pressure of the Lausanne Conference which started on November 20, 1922. Heated negotiations were under way during the conference about the western states' recognition of the political, economic and cultural independence of the new Turkish state and about formally drawing its geographical borders; issues of vital importance for Turkey. It's possible that the Turkish response to the Morning Post article of 8 January 1923 on the Turkish-Jewish cooperation and the possibility that foreign companies' activities would be terminated, was aimed at softening England's position at the conference. As a matter of fact, a similar policy would be followed in the Congress of Economics, held between February 17th and March 4th, 1923 in Izmir, after the Lausanne Conference recessed on 4 February 1923.

I found out that towards the end of the Lausanne Conference, the "Turkish Voice" newspaper published in Izmir began to question the Jews' economic activities and their loyalty to the country. Articles published in the newspaper criticized why many Jews in Izmir who benefited from having both Turkish and foreign citizenship were still treated as citizens, saying that "... Judaism is most probably a danger for Turkey that must be removed..."⁴⁴⁷.

Constitutional Regime and Parliamentary Elections:

Of the 37 candidates nominated to the parliament in the elections of 1908, 22 were Turkish, 8 were Greek, 5 were Jewish and 2 were Armenian. I have identified the names of Jewish candidates :

- Lawyer David Ruso, born in Izmir Hurşidiye district, graduated from Izmir High School and Faculty of Law
- *Lawyer Alber Tarika
- Nesim Mazliyah,⁴⁴⁸ a member of the Central Commercial Court of Thessaloniki
- Lawyer Jozef Sonsino, born in Izmir, living in Alexandria
- Isak Taranto, lawyer with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, born in Izmir.

⁴⁴⁶ Avcioğlu 1971, 1370-1378.

⁴⁴⁷ Bora 1995, 140.

⁴⁴⁸ Born in 1878 in Manisa, Nesim Mazliyah, went to Thessaloniki after studying law at the "Dar-ül Fünun-u Osmani Hukuk Mekteb-i Ali" in Istanbul. During his tenure as member of Thessaloniki Court of Commerce, he joined the Union and Progress Council. He taught Law and Economy in Thessaloniki Police School and published articles in the Union and Progress newspaper printed in the city. While serving as a member of parliament during the Second Parliamentary Monarchy, he served as the Interim Secretary of the Council and Secretary of the Taxation Committee. He also published the "İttihad" daily for 9 months and in 1930, began publishing the "Hür Adam" newspaper. He died in 1931 in Beirut, his remains were brought to Istanbul.

Nesim Mazliyah was elected to the parliament in 1908. As a result of the 1912 General Elections, dubbed elections with “beating and batting”, the opposition in the Assembly was reduced a very small group. The opposition was able to win only 15 seats against 270 Unionist delegates. Jews gave full support to the Union and Progress from the start. Apart from the 1908 elections, my survey of the Izmir Ottoman press did not yield any programs prepared by Jewish candidates for the elections of 1912, 1914 and 1919. Nesim Mazliyah, Izmir parliamentary representative between 1908 and 1912 ⁴⁴⁸, was reelected in the 1912 and 1914 elections. Mazliyah was a member of parliament for three terms.

I would like to briefly mention the activities of the Jews in Istanbul in the 1919 general elections.

Discussions on Zionism in the armistice period divided the Ottoman Jewish community into two. The Zionist group opposed the Jews' participation in the 1919 election. Chief Rabbi Hayim Nahum and Mishon Ventura supported Jewish participation in the elections. "Ottoman Jewish Election Association" was established in Istanbul in October 1919. The founders and administrators were Bohor Ebu Isak, Selim Gürcü, Jozef Pardo, Aron Kafe, Samuel Lui, Dr. Jak Amon and Refik Habib. The society closed after a while since it was founded only to organize the election activities. The Greeks and Armenians did not participate in the elections; only Jews did. Mişon Ventura was elected representative of Istanbul but had to resign soon after. In the post-election period, friction began between the Istanbul government and the Chief Rabbinate. Chief Rabbi Hayim Nahum Efendi resigned.

⁴⁴⁸ Born in 1878 in Manisa, Nesim Mazliyah, went to Thessaloniki after studying law at the "Dar-ül Fünun-u Osmani Hukuk Mekteb-i Ali" in Istanbul. During his tenure as member of Thessaloniki Court of Commerce, he joined the Union and Progress Council. He taught Law and Economy in Thessaloniki Police School and published articles in the Union and Progress newspaper printed in the city. While serving as a member of parliament during the Second Parliamentary Monarchy, he served as the Interim Secretary of the Council and Secretary of the Taxation Committee. He also published the “İttihad” daily for 9 months and in 1930, began publishing the "Hür Adam" newspaper. He died in 1931 in Beirut, his remains were brought to Istanbul.



Keçeciler in the Jewish district, beginning of the 20th century.

4-Wars, Occupation and the National Struggle

The 20th century brought the First World War, the Turkish War of Independence, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the founding of the Republic of Turkey, the Second World War and the founding of the State of Israel. How did these events affect the lives of Jews? First, I will refer to the wars and their consequences and then to the outcome of the transition from “subject” to “citizen”. I will continue with a brief review of how the political developments in and out of the country changed the lives of Anatolian Jews.

The year was 1916, two years since the First World War began. *"We are in Izmir, the rose garden city of Asia Minor, which is home to 40,000 Jews. Until the First World War, the economic conditions of the Izmir Jews were satisfactory. Actually, the number of rich Jews was very small, but most of the Jewish families were happy with their lives. When the war began, the Jewish community, just like Turkey, succumbed to economic problems ... Men with families of 4-5 people went to the army, while the women started to work as maids, dishwashers and housekeepers. These poor people sold the furniture in their houses, believing that the war would end at any moment A few months later, the little money they had was also gone. Most started to beg for money. Some of them sent their daughters to work as maids in return for a meal. Now meeting their daily needs of nutrition was important... Various philanthropic associations immediately started their activities ... "*

The lines you read describe the adverse effects of the extraordinary circumstances caused by the long war on Jewish social life. They are written in a clear, expressive style. So what were the extraordinary circumstances?



Beginning of the 20th century (the period of Union and Progress 1915-1918). This is the İkiçeşmelik Street. The Smyrna Agora can be seen in the background. The Jewish settlement is around Agora. The writing in the Ottoman language at the bottom says “National Training and Education Society Postcards: Fruit Market in Izmir”.

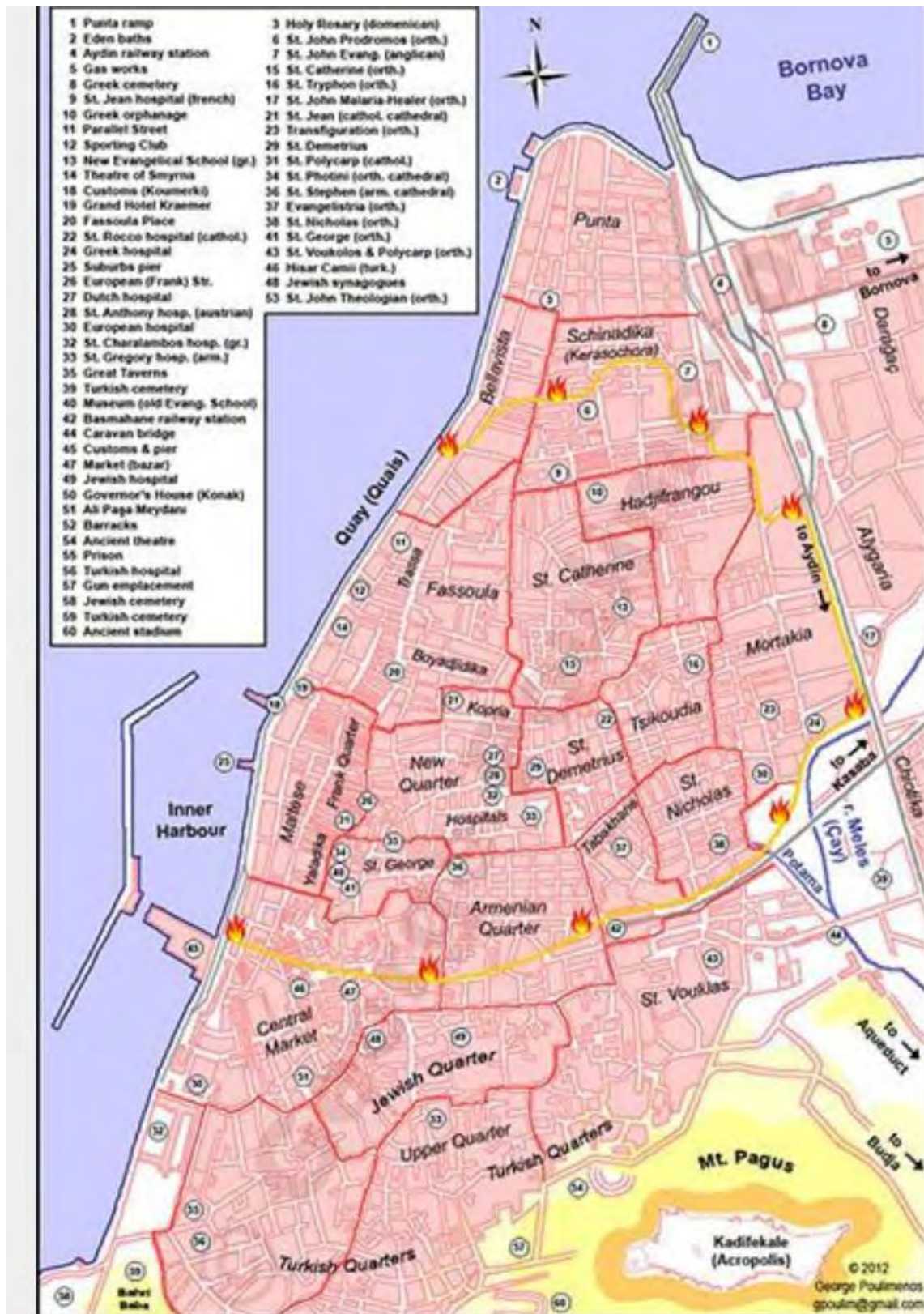
The Ottoman State declared mobilization on 2 August 1914. Then it joined the war. First, Muslim men and male subjects of the Ottoman Empire between 20 to 27 years of age were called to serve in the army. Then, the military obligation was extended to include men up to 45 years of age. On February 15, 1915, the practice of military service tax for non-Muslims entered into force, but this practice remained on paper. Jews, except religious officials, were conscripted. They served in offices, Agricultural Regiments, Farmer Battalions, Laborer Battalions and in the frontline.

Because of the war, the use of basic foodstuffs in the country belonged to the Ottoman army. For this reason, a large proportion of the foodstuffs available in the market were devoted to the needs of the army. World countries began to stock the food they exported earlier in the war period. The Ottoman Empire was blockade from the sea. The external lines of the Ottoman Railways were passing through the territory of the enemy country. In short, the import of food became impossible. Black market began. The amount of basic food items falling to the share of the civilian population has decreased. The result was hunger and misery caused by the extraordinary conditions of war.

After the end of World War I, since May 15, 1919, Western Anatolia and Izmir began to be occupied by Greek forces. A large number of Jews living in the settlements around İzmir preferred to migrate to İzmir in time. In 1921, the Jewish population of Izmir increased from 40,000 to 55,000 due to Jewish immigrants from Manisa, Turgutlu, Nazilli, Aydin, Menemen, Tire and Ödemiş. Incoming migrants were hosted in schools and synagogues. Thus, in the city, the number of Jews who needed help increased rapidly.

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, caused a great change in the demographic structure of the city of Izmir. Previously, most of the Armenians and Levants had left the city. The Greek-Turkish exchange in the minority section of the Lausanne Treaty highlighted Muslim Turks and Jews in the social life of Izmir.

Articles 37 to 45 of the Lausanne Treaty concerned the minorities. They described the rights given to minorities. The institution that would guarantee these rights was the League of Nations. Article 42 of the Treaty stipulated that disputes between the minorities concerning family law would be resolved in Turkish courts according to the religion and traditions of the communities. For each of the minority communities, a joint committee was formed with the participation of representatives from the community and the government. However, the existence of the committee contradicted the secular, egalitarian government system that was desired for the future. The first reaction to this situation came from Mishon Ventura and Kalef Gabay, members of the Joint Committee of Law. They applied to the Ministry of Justice arguing that Article 42 of Lausanne Treaty violated the law of Turkish sovereignty. They also informed the Chief Rabbi of Turkey, Moshe Hayim Becerano. On 15 September 1925, Turkey's Jews sent an official report to the Ministry of Justice, signed by 42 members of Jewish General Assembly, that they renounced the first and second paragraphs of Article 42 of the Treaty. The Armenians and the Greeks, taking them as an example, also applied for renunciation soon after the Jews. The Millet System left over from the Ottomans had thereby gone into history. A new Rabbinate Regulation was prepared, which limited the Chief Rabbi's power and authority.



The map shows the areas (districts) destroyed by the fire of 1922 in Izmir.

IV-

JEWISH PRESENCE IN IZMIR DURING THE REPUBLIC PERIOD

The Republican regime was declared on October 29, 1923. Its concept of citizenship brought the goal of providing equality between individuals. A nation state consisting of Turkish citizens speaking the same language, receiving education under same conditions, sharing the same political and social responsibilities was being established. Jews who could adapt to this situation remained in the country. Those who did not, migrated. Between 1921 and 1929, the number of Jews emigrating from Anatolia and the Thrace was approximately 70.000.

The charter of the People's Party, approved during the congress of 15 October 1927 described the goal of the party as follows: "Developing and expanding the Turkish language and Turkish culture on the basis of the belief that the strongest bond between citizens is the unity of language, feeling and thought..." On January 13, 1928, the Student Council at the Darülfünun Law School decided to launch a campaign to encourage minorities to speak Turkish. Jews living in Anatolia and Thrace had become Sephardic over the centuries, and the Sephardic language and culture had been adopted by Jews. Therefore, the language of Jews in the new Turkey was Judeo- Spanish, although public opinion since Ottoman times was that Jews' national language was Hebrew. They viewed Spanish as the language of Spain from which Jews were expelled in 1492. The Jews spoke Turkish with a strange accent. They were forced to choose between Turkish and Spanish. The First Language Assembly was convened in 1932. Izmir Jewish Community leaders, B'nai B'rith Izmir Lodge and the Izmir Society for Peace and Charity formed a joint commission to spread the use of Turkish among the Jews. One of the earliest practices was that every Jew in Izmir signed a commitment: *"I declare I will try to adopt the Turkish culture and promote national cohesion among my citizens, always speak the Turkish language for this purpose, encourage all my acquaintances to speak Turkish, and to make an effort to spread this idea everywhere"*. Izmir Jews began to use Turkish in all areas and even to take Turkish names.

There are different reasons put forward by different researchers on the cause of the 1934 Thracian Events. According to some, the reason was the ideational influence of Fascism spread in Europe and antisemitism; others believed it was the policies in the magazines published by Hüseyin Nihal Atsız and Cevat Rifat Atilhan, and still others claimed the reason was the racist nationalist ideology of the rulers of that period. Regardless of the cause, massive events took place against Jews starting in Çanakkale on 21 June 1934 and spreading to Jews in Edirne, Tekirdağ, Uzunköprü, Çorlu, Babaeski, Silivri, Lüleburgaz and Keşan in July. Jewish shops were attacked, houses belonging to Jewish people were stoned, some businesses were looted and there were beatings. Gripped by fear and panic, Thracian Jews left everything behind and emigrated to Istanbul. The Turkish government subsidized the events, punished those who turned a blind eye. Some of the Thracian Jews returned. The number of those who did not return was approximately 3,000. Zionist activity in Turkey began to find supporters after the Thrace Events. This activity focused on promoting conservatism and migration among Jews. The geographical area targeted for migration was Palestine.

The World War II began in 1939. Turkey did not join the war but suffered from its consequences. In April 1941, the German army invaded Greece. From May 1941, conscription of the 20 - 45 age group began as a precaution against a possible war risk. This

practice called *Yirmi Kur'a İhtiyat* resulted in the unconditional conscription of many non-Muslims, primarily from Istanbul, Izmir and Thrace, even if they had completed their military service. Did this practice affect the Izmir Jewish Community? Was there anyone among the Jewish men in Izmir who was conscripted? My answer is yes to both questions. But how many were conscripted? What were their names? The answer is unknown. I do not have any information on this subject except that Avram Hasan, a member of the Izmir Jewish Community, served in the military for six months in Kandira, as reported by his daughter Viyolet Israel. On June 18, 1941 after the signing of the treaty of friendship and non-aggression between Germany and Turkey, those who were conscripted were demobilized on July 27, 1942. Thus, the period of compulsory military service, which had lasted for fourteen months, was completely over.

On January 26, 1940, the National Protection Law was accepted, but the market could not be controlled. Black market could not be prevented in war conditions. The continuous increase in the prices of basic foodstuffs and the difficulty accessing them exasperated the people. The government of Şükrü Saracoğlu started to look for new sources. The Law on Extraordinary Earnings Taxation or the Wealth Tax, as we know it, entered into force on 12 November 1942. The purpose of the tax was explained as follows: to reduce the amount of money in circulation, to meet the budget needs, to boost the Turkish lira, to prevent illegal activities such as black market and hoarding, to tax those who earn extraordinary income from tax evasion, to create the supply and demand balance, and to rebuild distorted market balances.

In Izmir, three separate commissions were established under the chairmanship of the Governor in order to determine the obligations of income earners. These three commissions determined the tax amount the taxpayers had to pay based on "extraordinary gains and assets". The lists of taxpayers' names and the taxes they were obliged to pay were announced in Treasury offices of Başdurak, Yeni, Basmane and Karşıyaka. The Izmir Revenue Office made a statement informing taxpayers that the Wealth Tax lists were published. In the meantime, "*Anatolia*" and "*NewMarket*" newspapers also published the lists, which included the taxpayers' names, professions and amount of Wealth Tax they had to pay. But there was no mention of which ethnicity the taxpayers belonged to. Some taxpayers were listed as company names such as "Industrial Company" or "Eastern Industrial Company". It was impossible to determine who or which family owned these companies. I tried to determine the number of Jewish taxpayers in Izmir based on the names in the lists.

The total number of those obliged to pay Wealth Tax in Izmir was 349. Of these, 156 were Jews. I found it appropriate to write the names of the 10 Izmir Jews who were made to pay the highest amount of Wealth Tax, out of respect for the families most affected by this legal disaster. These names, along with the tax they had to pay and their professions are listed below:

"Alber Danon and Moreno (drugstore) 500,000 liras; Rabeno Politi (yarn trader) 500,000 liras; B.A. Gomel Company (trader and manufacturer) 400,000 liras; Tarika Company (tobacco merchant) 300.000 liras; Mayer Arditi (export) 150.000 poulirasnds; Hayim Arditi (export) 150.000 liras; Isak Kohen (import) 150,000 liras; Danon and Danon (broker) 150,000 liras; Alber and J. Yafe (broker) 150,000 liras; Benyamin Nahum (exporter) 100.000 liras"

(I have the complete list) ⁴⁴⁹.

Now, two questions come to my mind: Was there anyone who did pay the Wealth Tax? If so, what procedure was applied to them? At the end of the normal period of payment, a statement was made by the Izmir Treasury Office announcing that those who did not pay their debts within 10 days of the given notice, would have their property sold off. At the end of the normal and penalty payment period, the "Asset Collection Law" began to be implemented against taxpayers who failed to their debts. The law made it possible to confiscate and sell the taxpayers' household goods and movable property followed by their revenue generating assets. As a matter of fact, in January 1943, household goods owned by taxpayers who did not pay their Wealth Tax was confiscated and auctioned off in Treasury Offices of Başdurak, Alsancak and Yeni. The names and addresses of taxpayers who had their goods sold due to Wealth Tax debts were announced to the public through the press. While confiscation procedures continued, the issue of sending them to camps and business centers came to the agenda. A committee gathered under the chairmanship of the Governor of Izmir, Sabri Öney, prepared a list of people to be sent to concentration camps. The large and small Salepçioğlu centers, as well as one building each in Buca, Tepecik, Karantina and Karsiyaka were selected to serve as concentration camps, although in practice, only the building in Tepecik Kemer would be used. Taxpayers who would not or could not pay the debt were sent to Kemer Collection Camp in five groups. There was a total of 82 taxpayers. I have examined the names of each taxpayer. With the exception of N. Frode in the first group and Alberdi in the third group, the remaining 80 people were all Jewish business owners living in Izmir. The taxpayers who were taken to the Kemer Collection Camp were sent after a while to Working Camps in Eskişehir Sivrihisar in groups. Those who received the greatest blow from Wealth Tax Act were the Jews. The law was abolished on March 15, 1944.

449 Güçlü 1993, 165-173.

The events that took place in September 6-7, 1955, were one of the major events that turned the Greek minority in Turkey to the subject of Turkish - Greek tensions due to the resurfacing of the Cyprus issue. The events mainly happened in Istanbul. Although they were directed to the Greeks, Izmir and Izmir Jews were indirectly affected. The causes of the events, their internal and external connections and political repercussions have long been debated and it seems the debate will continue. The events began with the *alleged* bombing of Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki. The same evening, a protest rally called on by various student unions and the Cyprus is Turkish Association was held in Taksim Square. After the rally, the events gradually started to appear, and some groups began to stone the windows of non-Muslim businesses on İstiklal Street. Simultaneously, incidents began in Izmir and Ankara as well. There were mass rallies in various places in Izmir, especially in Alsancak, Konak and the Fair area. First, a group holding Turkish flags in Konak Square burned the Greek flag hung there on the occasion of the the International Fair and burned and then headed towards Basmane. The crowd entering the Fair grounds through the Basmane gate destroyed and burned the Greek pavilion on the north side of the Kaskatli Pool. Firemen who tried to intervene were blocked Fire hoses were cut. At this time, the Consulate of Greece in Alsancak Gündoğdu and the Greek Orthodox Church in the same district were set on fire. Besides these, 14 houses, 6 shops, 1 hostel and the British Culture House were burned and looted. Following the events, martial law was declared in Izmir as well as in Ankara and Istanbul. The Sabah Postası and the Halkın Sesi newspapers that seemingly provoked the public were closed. 424 people allegedly involved in the incident were apprehended. 9 of these were sentenced to imprisonment by the Izmir Martial Law Court for crimes of looting and plunder. According to official Turkish sources, during the events in Turkey 4,214 homes, 1,004 businesses, 73 churches, one synagogue, 2 monasteries, 26 schools and 5,317 installations including factories, hotels and bars came under attack. The Greeks suffered the most. Armenian, Jewish and Muslim businesses were also destroyed. Apart from non-Muslim minorities, foreign nationals also suffered. The building of the Swedish Embassy was looted. Some businesses owned by French, Italians, Austrians and Germans were destroyed. Immediately after the events, the Turkish government made a statement expressing regret and apology for the lootings and promised that the damages would be compensated.

Izmir Jews emigrated to foreign countries between 1922 and 1948. The population of the Izmir Jewish Community, which had reached 55,000 by internal migration in 1922, began to decline due to those who first went to Western countries and especially to South America. Later the young generation who went to Palestine through legal and illegal means contributed to the decline. In 1950, the Jewish population in the city was down to 3000 due to families who emigrated to Israel with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The Wealth Tax disaster was an important factor that accelerated migration to Israel. The 1940's and 50's were the years when the Izmir Jewish Community sent the poor population out of the city and out of the country (especially to Israel). Therefore, the Jewish community who stayed in the city, although decreasing in number, gradually became a refined society characterized by families with high social and economic status.

Izmir Jews living in İkiçeşmelik until the last quarter of the 19th century started to move to Karatas, Karantina and Göztepe after Karataş was zoned for construction in 1865. As a result, two different Jewish residential areas, İkiçeşmelik and Karataş, were formed. After the end of World War II, Jewish families of high social and economic status preferred to live in apartment buildings which gradually began to be built in Alsancak. After a while, all the families moved to Alsancak. Today, the only place where the Izmir Jewish Community lives together is Alsancak.

Although immigration to Israel between 1952 and 1957, it followed an up and down course under the influence of political and economic crises that took place over time. For instance, it is possible to say that events of September 6-7, the 1960 Coup, 1964 Cyprus crisis (and the 1964 Decree against local Greeks associated with it), the Memorandum of March 12, the economic and political crises during the 70's and the 1980 Coup motivated Turkish Jews to emigrate to foreign countries. On the other hand, during the Arab-Israeli Wars in 1967 and 1973, immigration stopped due to the lack of security in the region. Between the years 1990-1996, the number of immigrants from Izmir to Israel were only 5.

Below is a graph of the Izmir Jewish population from 1960 to the present day: 5,067 in 1960, 4,067 in 1965, 4,000 to 4,800 in 1970, 2,000 in 1996 and around 1,200 in 2017. Figures show that the population of the Izmir Jewish Community is in a great downward trend. Birth rate is low and death rate is very high. There 30 deaths vs. 2 births in 2017. There are also those who settled in Istanbul or abroad. 8 institutions continue work to keep the Izmir Jewish community alive: The Izmir Jewish Community Foundation, the Izmir Association for Educating Orphans and Poor Children (formerly managed the Talmud Tora School, now giving education to children by renting out the school building), The Izmir Jewish Cemetery Charity Association, Cultural Association (Liga), Cultural Association Konak Branch (Sunday School), Karataş Hospital Management Association, Izmir Sephardic Cultural Heritage Association and the Izmir Branch of Society for the Protection of the Poor.

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