

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN  
BURSA DURING THE *TANZİMAT* PERIOD

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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# ABSTRACT

## SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN BURSA DURING THE *TANZİMAT* PERIOD

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This thesis aims to introduce the social, cultural and economic situation of the Jewish community of Bursa between the years 1839-1876. This study focuses on the situation of Jews in their relations with Muslims and other non-Muslims (Greeks and Armenians) and mainly questions how they lived in the Ottoman Empire in Bursa, how their conditions were, how they sustained their lives and how the Ottoman Empire behaved towards the Jewish community in this defined period of time.

In light of these questions, this thesis intends to give some information about the Jewish settlement in Bursa and the demographic structure of the city before and during the reform period by using Ottoman archival documents and travelers' accounts. Next, it touches upon the social organization and the leadership structure of the Jewish community and aims to show the transformation process in the leadership dynamics after the establishment of the Chief Rabbinate. In the following chapter, the thesis provides brief information about the houses, furniture, clothing and wedding ceremonies in the Jewish society of Bursa. Lastly, the thesis will examine the economic composition of the Jewish society.

Keywords: Jews, Bursa, *Tanzimat*, *millet* system

# ÖZ

## TANZİMAT DÖNEMİNDE (1839-1876) BURSA YAHUDİLERİNİN SOSYAL, KÜLTÜREL VE EKONOMİK DURUMLARI

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Bu tez, 1839-1876 yılları arasında Bursa Yahudi cemaatinin sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik durumunu tanıtmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yahudilerin, Müslümanlar ve gayrimüslimlerle (Ermeniler ve Rumlar) ilişkilerine odaklanana bu çalışma asıl olarak Yahudilerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, özellikle de Bursa'da, nasıl yaşadıklarını, yaşam koşullarının nasıl olduğunu, hayatlarını nasıl idame ettirdiklerini ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yahudi cemaatine nasıl davrandığını açıklamaya çalışıyor.

Bu soruların ışığında, bu tez Tanzimat dönemi öncesi ve Tanzimat dönemi Bursa'daki Yahudi yerleşimleri ve bunların demografik yapılanmaları hakkında Osmanlı arşiv belgelerini ve seyahatnameleri kullanarak bilgi vermeyi amaçlıyor. Bununla birlikte, Bursa Yahudi cemaatinin sosyal yapısına ve liderlik yapılanmasına ışık tutarak Hahambaşılığın kurulmasıyla beraber liderlik yapılanmasında ortaya çıkan değişimi gözler önüne sermeyi hedefliyor. Bunu izleyen bölümlerdeyse, tez Yahudi evleri, mobilyaları, kıyafetleri ve evlilik seremonilerine odaklanarak bu konularda özet bilgiler sunuyor. Son olarak, bu tez Yahudi toplumunun ekonomik kompozisyonunu inceliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yahudi, Bursa, Tanzimat, millet sistemi

To My Parents

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADL	Adliye
BC	Before Christ
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
BŞS	Bursa Şeriye Sicilleri
C	Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi
C.E.	Common Era
DİA	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
DVE	Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri
DVN	Divan Kalemî
Ed.	Edited by
EI	Encyclopedia of Islam
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica
HR	Hariciye Nezareti
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
KK	Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi
MKT	Mektubiye Kalemî
ML	Maliye
No	Number
p.	Page
pp.	Paper pages
TD	Tahrir Defteri
TMT	Temettuat Defteri
Trans	Translated by
TT	Tapu Tahrir
VRD	Varidat
Vol	Volume

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to describe a history of the Bursa Jewish community during the *Tanzimat* Period (1839-1876). It analyzes the cultural, social and economic structures of the community in lights of developments throughout this era in Bursa. It mainly deals with the city of Bursa in the *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti* since Bursa, the first capital of the state, was one of the most important cities of the Ottoman Empire. Beside the fact that, it was the cultural and commercial centre for centuries. Therefore, the establishment and institutionalization of the Empire were realized in Bursa in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Also it accommodated people of many different religious and ethnic identities. Majority of people was Muslim but Greeks, Armenians and Jews were living in the city, as well. Thus, the rules and limits of the relations between the Muslims and non-Muslims were established in Bursa. Moreover, Bursa is the second city after Istanbul that has a great amount of archival documents.

Bursa is a city in the northwest of Turkey that is settled on the northwestern slopes of Mount Uludağ (Mysian Olympus). It is also bordered by the Sea of Marmara.

The first tribes, the Bithynians and their relatives the Tnyrians, living on the shores of the river Strumon in Thrace migrated to the northwestern Anatolia most probably through the Dardanelles because of the Scythian invasions and they remained in this area settled for over 5000 years. After living under the reign of various political powers as prinedoms, the Bithynians assembled under a single authority in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC establishing the Kingdom of Bithynia. Many settlements in the region were named as Prusias due to the luminous period under the

leadership Prusias.<sup>1</sup> When Philip V of Macedon granted the city to Prusias, he renamed the city as *Prusa*.<sup>2</sup>

However, according to Herodotus, the only city existed there was Gemlik, *Cius*. Therefore, the earliest known settlement in Bursa was the city of *Cius*, an ancient Greek city which was established in 202 BC.

In the first century (74 BC), Bursa was annexed into the Roman Empire along with the rest of the Kingdom of Bithynia, making the city part of the political and economical structure of Roman Empire. During the Roman era the city continued to develop economically. It is possible to see how much the city is developed in the letters of Governor Kaellus Garyus Pilinus to the Roman Emperor Trianus. In one of his letters, he says “Prusians have a commune. It is required to construct new one since it is very old and neglected. I think this can be done and there are financial sources to do so. The taxes that had to be used in oil purchasing can be spent for the commune this time. It is important for the city’s beauty and necessity.”<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Emperor Trianus, several architectural works were done in Bursa. The city had also a Roman library, a gymnasium, a stadium, baths, temples and a colonnaded street like all other classical Roman cities.<sup>4</sup>

In 395 AC, after Roman Empire dividing into two, Bursa fell under the East Roman Empire’s (Byzantine) sovereignty. Bursa continued its existence as a district of the Byzantine Empires. During the reign of Emperor Joustinianus I (527-565 AD), the city became especially significant thermal center due to new facilities that constructed on geothermal resources in Pythia (*Çekirge*).<sup>5</sup>

By the decline of the Byzantine Empire, Bursa’s location near Constantinople, Byzantine Empire’s capital, attracted the interest of possible conquerors, including the Goths, Huns and Arabs. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Bursa had been through a rough historical process in which the Crusades and the Anatolian

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<sup>1</sup> Mustafa Süel, “Antik Dönemde Bursa,” *Bursa*, (İstanbul, 1996), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Bursa,” *D.I.A.*, Vol: VI, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Rüknettin Akbulut, *Her şeyi ile Bursa*, (İstanbul, 1957), pp. 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Rıfat Samih, *Tarih İçinde Bursa*, (İstanbul, 1989), p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Bursa Tarihçesi*, (Bursa, 1937), p. 6; Sedat Ataman, *Bursa Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, (Bursa, 1938), p. 6.

Seljuks had decisive influence. By 1075 Bursa was taken by Seljuks, however, after the First Crusade, the city entered a cycle of conquest and reconquest. It changed hands periodically for the next hundred years. Such power struggles affected the populations and their settlement in Bursa, however, the city continued to preserve its importance both economically and geographically.

After the dissolution of the Seljuks a new era began in Anatolia which was called the *Beylikler Dönemi*. Thus during 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries small principalities and provinces arose in Anatolia after the Turkish migration from the Central Asia. One of these warlords, Ertuğrul Gazi, formed a small state close to Bursa and around the Sakarya River. It was initially a meager and unnoticed political entity. Encircled by the much more powerful principalities of Germiyanogulları and Candaroğulları, the Ottoman emirate showed few initial signs of success. “This anonymity lasted only as long as it took for the Ottomans to create a political relationship with the Byzantine Empire. The strategic importance of their location helped the Ottomans develop quickly and extend their influence over the surrounding principalities.”<sup>6</sup> In 1317, his son Osman Bey besieged Bursa and in 1326 Orhan Bey captured Bursa and declared it as a “*Bey Sancağı*.”<sup>7</sup> The surrender of Bursa was a turning point for the Ottoman Princedom. Bursa had been one of the Ottoman capitals, until 1453. Although Bursa was under the shadow of the Byzantine İznik (Nicaea), it started to develop economically and politically in the Ottoman period.<sup>8</sup> In order to create a prosperous city, bazaars and caravansaries were constructed.<sup>9</sup> “Originally, the town was surrounded by Hellenistic walls, but after becoming the Ottoman capital, it developed outside the citadel. The production of silk and velvet, as well as the movement of caravans loaded with goods, provided for a lively economic life.”<sup>10</sup> In

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<sup>6</sup> Feridun M. Emecen, *Unutulmuş bir Cemaat: Manisa Yahudileri*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1997), p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi I (1243–1453)*, (İstanbul: Barış Yayınları, 1995), p. 226.

<sup>8</sup> Vasileios I. Kandes, *Kuruluşundan XIX. Yüzyıl Sonlarına Kadar Bursa*, (Ankara: Gaye Kitabevi, 2006), p. 109.

<sup>9</sup> Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, (New York: A. D. Caratzas, 1989), p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and the Early Modern Europe: New Approaches to the European History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 47.

1333, the seventh year after the conquest of the city, a well-known North African traveler Ibn-i Batuta came to the city and wrote about the gorgeous bazaars and huge streets<sup>11</sup> which means Orhan *Bey* was successful in reviving the economic life of the city. As a result, the city witnessed a considerable amount of urban growth throughout the 14th century. During the ottoman period the city was referred to as the “Hüdavendigâr” (God’s gift).

Throughout the Murad I (r. 1362–89) era, the city continued to its development. The mosque in Bursa walls and Çekirge, various hospices, a school and an inn were constructed by Murad I. Murad I took Adrianople, a strategic point on the road linking Istanbul to the Balkans. This ancient garrison town became the new Ottoman capital, known in Turkish as Edirne.<sup>12</sup> However, Bursa remained the most important Anatolian administrative and commercial center although it lost its status as the Ottoman capital.

During the reigns of subsequent sultans, new religious and commercial centers, the foci of city life, were built in the form of endowments (*waqfs*) by various sultans, high officials, and wealthy citizens, including the Ulu cami (Great Mosque) built during the reign of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402). A vast area surrounding the Great Mosque was developed into a busy commercial center with spacious inns, a large *bedestan*, and streets lined with shops.<sup>13</sup>

Many travelers noted that during the 15<sup>th</sup> century Bursa had become one of the most important cities in the region within a century after its conquest by the Ottomans. However, Timur’s victory over Bayezid I in 1402 and Bursa’s subsequent sacking crippled the city.<sup>14</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Mehmed I (r.1413–21) and Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51) rebuilt the city and revived its earlier prosperity. During the reign of Mehmed II, Bursa grew economically through the silk and spice trades. Although Istanbul was the capital of the empire, Bursa kept its status as the launching point for the sultans’

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<sup>11</sup> İbn Battûta Tancî, *İbn Battûta Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol: I, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), p. 428.

<sup>12</sup> Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and...*, p. 48.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

eastern campaigns.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Bursa was one of 30 judicial districts (*kazas*) of the sub-province (*liva* or *sancak*) of Hüdavendigâr. The city preserved its administrative position with small changes until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Bursa was really important regarding economy due to the fact that it served as a trading center between the Ottoman dominions and Syria and Egypt in the spice trade. Besides its spice trade, Bursa continued to be the source of most silk products. Aside from the local silk production, the city imported raw silk from Iran and China. The silk trade with Iran and China played an even greater role in the international trade activities of the city until 1512. When the Silk Road began to shift, Aleppo and Izmir replaced Bursa as pivotal points in the silk trade. Bursa continued, however, to produce silk locally until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup>

Non-Muslims had a great impact as well as Muslims, on the economic prosperity and social richness of Bursa. As Braude and Lewis mention, “the variety of different types of *dhimmi*s additionally including various Muslim peoples and sects were represented in the Ottoman society as one of the greatest multi-religious and multi-ethnic societies of the world history, often termed “plural society.”<sup>16</sup> Bursa had been one of the good examples attesting to this argument.

The Jews especially formed a large part of this plural society starting from the early ages. After the destruction of the Jewish state in Palestine (586 BC), the Jewish settlement in Anatolia started. Jewish communities were established in over 50 cities in Anatolia in this period.<sup>17</sup> In Bursa, the first Jewish settlement was recorded as of BC 79.<sup>18</sup> The archaeological artifacts in a house which has a Hebrew inscription closed to *Zindankapı* show that the Jews have been living in Bursa for a long time.

There are abundant of materials in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul

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<sup>15</sup> Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and...*, p. 106.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, “Introduction,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Vol: 2 (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, Vol: II, (İstanbul: İsis Yayıncılık), p. 195.

about religious minorities lived in the Ottoman territories and many of these archival documents are accessible. Turkey has inherited these valuable records from the Ottoman Empire and is now one of the few countries that has the richest archives in the world both in quantity and quality. These archives are genuine sources not only for the Jews but also for other minorities in the Ottoman Empire to study their social, cultural and economic histories. To examine these archival documents left by the Ottoman Empire should be the leading principle so as to study the Ottoman Jews. In that sense, in order to understand Bursa Jews and to draw a comprehensive picture about their economic, social, cultural and religious structures *Temettuat Defteri* (the Revenue Registry), *Nüfus Defteri* (the Census Registry), *Mühimme Defteri* and *İrades* (records of Divan-ı Hümayun) in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul will be examined. However, due to problems stemming from the transfer of the archive to another building and inaccessibility of documents due to this reason, only the digital ones are analyzed.

In this study, in addition to the original Ottoman documents, secondary resources such as western travelogues will be used in order to provide a better analysis.

The study will first touch upon the initial Jewish settlement in Bursa and the demographic composition of the city before and during the *Tanzimat* period in order to understand population movements and population growth, and further to observe the Jewish representation in the total Muslim and non-Muslim population. *Temettü* records and *Nüfus* registers will give valuable information on the census of Jews in Bursa, on their demographic nature and further, on the social organization of the city.

Then it will provide concise information about the Jews as *dhimmi*s and as a part of the *millet* system for comprehending the big picture. After touching upon *kahal* neighborhood and society system in Bursa, the thesis will highlight the institutions binding to *kahal* such as synagogues, cemetery, hammam, or bakery.

In the following chapter, the thesis will focus on the houses in Kuruçeşme, and furniture, clothing and wedding ceremonies in the Jewish society of Bursa in order to describe their traditions and customs. Also, the depiction of the Jewish community of Bursa and their neighborhood in Altıparmak will be tried to be supported by some photographs from the 19<sup>th</sup> century collected from several secondary sources. Next, it will bring forth, the Jews' relations with other non-

Muslims (the Armenians and Greeks) as well as Muslims with the special attention to the blood libels.

Lastly, the thesis will examine the economic composition of the Jewish society in Bursa. It will give statistical information about the Jewish professions in Bursa. Also the study will deal with the questions of total annual and average income of the Jews living in Kuruçeşme regarding the *temettü* records of 1845.

This thesis will provide some information about the lives of the Jews in Bursa. It will answer the subsequent question: how they lived, how they behaved, how they sustained their livelihood, how they became a part of their respective societies and of course how the Ottoman Empire and other minorities behaved towards them.

## CHAPTER 2

### DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE BURSA JEWS

*Deshame entrar*

*You me hare lugar*

[“Let me enter, I will make a place for myself”]<sup>19</sup>

Judeo-Spanish proverb

In this chapter I will try to give some population estimations for the Jews of Bursa from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire until today. Nevertheless, to draw an exact demographic picture of Bursa is almost impossible since the population records of the Ottoman Empire enrolled only men. Therefore, I will use both individual estimates and official records in order to make a comparison and to reach much healthier information. Firstly, the individual estimates of the Ottoman population consist of “some Europeans who became interested in the Ottoman population for economic and social reasons but also for subjective ethnic and political purposes.” Within this context, it is essential to stress over and over again that the analysis of these writers, though sometimes inaccurate and purposefully distorted, became the source of information for the European public and politicians, and were used as basis for state decisions affecting the political fate of millions of people.”<sup>20</sup> In addition to them, official records such as *Temettuat Defteri*, *Nüfus Defteri* or *Salname* will be used. Although there are many problems with the population numbers, I will try to give some information regarding the abovementioned sources.

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<sup>19</sup> Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California, 2000), p. XVIII.

<sup>20</sup> Kemal Karpat, “The Ottoman Demography in the Nineteenth Century: Sources, Concepts, Methods,” in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002), p. 190.

## 2.1 Demographic Structure of Bursa Jews before the *Tanzimat* Period

Jews have lived in Anatolia since ancient times. Even some sources date the Jewish presence to the beginning of the Common Era. Avram Galante asserts that the Jews lived in Bursa until BC 79.<sup>21</sup> And even during the Roman period, there were some small Jewish communities in several Anatolian localities. Under the Byzantines, the Jewish communities seem to have thrived in areas with links to international commerce. For Kazım Baykal, *Etz Ahayim* (Life Tree) Synagogue was a work of the Byzantine era.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning, most of the Jews in Anatolia were Greek-speaking *Romaniots*. Also there were a few scattered *Karaite* communities.<sup>23</sup> As Epstein stresses, “the Jewish communities existed in the larger Anatolian emirates during the period of the expanding Ottoman frontier state, as well as in the Byzantine Balkans and in the Slavic states.”<sup>24</sup>

In 1326 Orhan Bey captured Bursa, which was then a Byzantine territory. The city started to develop economically and politically with the Ottoman period. In order to create a prosperous city in terms of economics, bazaars and caravansaries were constructed. Moreover, this economic recovery was also a result of the demographic changes in Bursa. After the conquest, a part of the Roman population including the Jews (*Romaniots*/ Byzantine Jews) in Bursa immigrated to Istanbul, or converted to Islam because of their economic concerns. To develop Bursa, the Ottoman Empire aimed to bring in more people and communities who had different ethnic and religious backgrounds. In that sense, as a result of the Jewish contribution to the Ottoman conquest of Bursa, Sultan Orhan sent a message to the Jews explaining that he would resettle them in Bursa.<sup>25</sup> According to Franco, as a result of this aim, a

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<sup>21</sup> Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol : IV, (İstanbul: İsis Yayıncılık), p. 157.

<sup>22</sup> Kazım Baykal, *Bursa ve Anıtları*, (İstanbul: TAÇ Vakfı Yayınları, 1982), p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Onur Yıldırım, “Anatolia,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, (Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill), [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/anatolia-COM\\_0001950](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/anatolia-COM_0001950) accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Allan Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Avram Galante, “Bursa’nın Fethi ve Museviler,” *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol: IV, (1923), p. 184.

significant number of Damascus Jews also immigrated to Bursa.<sup>26</sup> Additionally Shaw expresses that “[a]s a reward, [Orhan] brought in Jewish artisans and money changers from Damascus and Byzantine Adrianople (Edirne) so that it could become the first Ottoman capital, with the ancient *Etz Ahayim* Synagogue marking the center of the Jewish quarter (*Yahudi Mahallesi*), established to assure their autonomy in religious and secular matters.”<sup>27</sup> This shows us that Orhan was not only tolerant of Jewish practices, but even willing to help them prosper.

In addition to this, the Ottomans saw the Jews as a productive, urban element, politically more reliable than the local Christians. Therefore, they preferred the Jews to repopulate and rebuild their important urban centers. Thus, the Ottomans encouraged the Jews to settle in Bursa and expected that the Jews would help in the reconstruction and economic development.<sup>28</sup> But the Jews also had their own reasons to reside in the area. Firstly, the towns (Bursa, İzmit, İzmit and Ankara), which were conquered by the Ottomans, were important trade stations. Secondly, these towns continued to flourish under the Ottoman rule as administrative and trade centers. The Jews then involved mainly in trade, became willing to settle in these towns, before the Ottomans and, enjoy the new opportunities created by the Ottoman rule.<sup>29</sup>

In the formation or transformation of the Ottoman Jewish community, the Jewish immigration to the region was as important as annexation of new territories. Even before 1492, the Jews from different regions of Europe, facing hostility, political pressure and expulsion, had already begun settling in these cities. With the conquest of Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul and Salonika, many Jews from the newly conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire settled into these major cities, adding to the Jewish population which had lived in the region from Byzantine times.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Walter F. Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of the Jews of Turkey*, (Lanham: University Press of America; Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1992), p. 29; Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, pp. 25-26.

It is not possible to make an exact evaluation about the population of the city before the conquest. Although there are not enough resources in the Ottoman archives to prove the Jewish presence in Bursa in the earlier times, Rosanes and Franco claim that “the Jews had lived in the Ottoman domains since the establishment as a tiny principality in north-west Anatolia at the beginning of the fourteenth century.”<sup>31</sup> At the same time Schieltberger mentions a Jewish population in Anatolia, and he especially refers to the Jews in Bursa.<sup>32</sup>

Generally, the non-Muslims lived together in the same neighborhood. These neighborhoods, Kuruçeşme, Balıkpazarı and Kayabaşı, were circled around the “Hisar” and the others, Sedbaşı and Karağağaç, were on the coastline of the Gökdere Stream. But this does not mean that the non-Muslims did not live outside these quarters. There were *dhimmi*s who were registered in 22 Muslim neighborhoods and this shows us that there was no sharp distinction between the Muslims and non-Muslims in Bursa.<sup>33</sup>

**Table8: Population Estimations for Bursa in the Tax Registers and Travel Accounts**

Date	Muslims	Jews	Greeks	Armenians	Total
1397 (Schiltberger)					10.000
1437 (Pero Tafur)					4.000
1450 (ŞS A4/4)					27.500
1487 (TT No 23)					33.515
1530 (TT No 166)	41.794	345	585		42.724
1573 (TT No 67)	83.524	1.540	2.710		87.774
1609 (Simeon)				1500	
1640 (Evliya Çelebi)					100.000
1675 (Spon&Wheler)	40.000	12.000			55.500
1701 (Tournafort)	40.000	2.000	1.500	2.500	56-66.000

Source: Heath Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003), p. 37.

The resources are also not enough to give exact results for the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The limited information related to this era might be reached also through the travelers’ impressions, and chronicles. The traveler’s accounts of İbn-i Batuta, Gregory Palamas and Johann Schiltberger assert that the population of the city was

<sup>31</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Johann Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schieltberger: in Europe, Asia and Africa 1396-1427*, (New York, 1970), p.40.

<sup>33</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006), p. 115.

approximately 10.000 at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

The conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans in 1453 was a turning point not only in the Ottoman history but also in the history of the Ottoman Jews. In the first years after the capture of the city, the Ottomans embarked on a well-known campaign to repopulate the city and to make Istanbul a truly great capital. “The Jews from Bursa were transferred to the new capital where they were probably assigned a part in the development of the new administrative center.”<sup>35</sup> This had an effect on the population: the policies increased both the number and the diversity of people in Istanbul. The first formal demographic records can be found in *Tahrir Defteri* in 1487. The *tahrirs* generally refer to members of the Romaniot or Sephardic Jewish community of Bursa as *yahudiyân* (Jews). “*an mahalle-i Kuruçeşme Yahudiyân* (the Jews of Kuruçeşme).<sup>36</sup> According to this record, there were 5.000 houses and 25.000 people<sup>37</sup> and in the *Bazar-ı Mahi* neighborhood there was only one Jewish household<sup>38</sup> and in Kuruçeşme there were “117 households, 1 adult unmarried man (mücerred)”<sup>39</sup> However the majority of the records of *Tahrir Defteri* are still missing.

By the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Empire’s relations with its Jewish communities developed with the Ottoman expansion in Anatolia and towards the Balkans. The Jews of Anatolia and Balkans gradually came under Ottoman rule. The Ottoman Empire became an important Jewish land.<sup>40</sup> In 1492, when King Ferdinand and the Queen Isabella expelled the Jews of Spain, only small numbers actually set out for the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, this expulsion became a starting point for the establishment of new Jewish settlements together with the evolution of older ones

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<sup>34</sup> Heath W. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003), p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman...*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>36</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Halil İnalçık, “15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi Kaynakları”, in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, p. 32.

in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup> Within a decade many Jews arriving in Ottoman ports settled in Balkans and Anatolia. But their immigration to the Ottoman Empire and their migration around Ottoman lands did not stop in the succeeding century. So, the shape and composition of the Ottoman Jewish communities continued to evolve long after the expulsion of 1492.<sup>42</sup>

Although in 1487 there were no Jewish families in Kuruçeşme, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the non-Muslim taxpayers (the Jews, Armenians and Greeks) constituted the 3% of the entire population. According to records, in 1521 there were 117 Jewish families living in the Kuruçeşme district<sup>43</sup> and so the district became a real Jewish neighborhood at the end of these migration movements.

**Table 9: The Jewish Population in Bursa**

Year	Figure	Source
1520-30	117 households	Lewis, Barkan
1551	265 households	Özer Ergenç
1570	308 households 683 households	Barkan Levy, Shaw, Ergenç
Pre-1583	459 families	Gerber
1583	504 families	Baron
1585-86	485 families	Gerber
1594-95	650 families	Gerber
1618-19	270 families	Baron, Gerber
1688-89	278 taxpayers	Gerber
1696-97	141 families	Baron, Gerber

**Source:** Walter F. Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of the Jews of Turkey*, (Lanham: University Press of America; Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1992), p. 43.

*Hüdavendigâr Livası Mufassal Tahrir Tefteri* (1530–31) is the one of the best records for providing us with information on the distribution of the population in Bursa. By the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the population increased to 4376 tax-paying households (*hane*) and 3 non-Muslim *cema'ats*, or religious communities in the city consisting of 166<sup>44</sup> non-Muslim families and there were 147 neighborhoods in the city that had a population of approximately 35.000–40.000.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Bursa had the largest Jewish community in Anatolia in that time.

<sup>41</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish...*, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> Osman Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa'da İhtida Hareketleri ve Sosyal Sonuçları (1472–1909)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), p. 29; Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, p. 43.

<sup>44</sup> Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında...*, p. 115.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The population reached to 265 Jewish households (1325 people)<sup>46</sup> in 1551, as a result of resettling Jews and 683 households (3415 people) in 1571.<sup>47</sup> We should also take into consideration that there is contradiction among records about the number of households and taxpayers. Therefore, while 308 household were recorded in Weiker's book in 1570, 683 households were recorded in Shaw's book. In addition to this, Levy asserts that 117 Jewish households increased to 683 by 1571-2.<sup>48</sup> Shaw stresses that "the Jews continued to come into the Ottoman dominions in large numbers from all over the Christian Europe, settling in all parts of the Empire."<sup>49</sup> At the same time, the increase in the neighborhood numbers and population demonstrate us the development in the social and economic structure of the city.

By the 1570s, the city's population exceeded 60,000 (12,852 households). Also, *tahrir* surveys show that Bursa was divided into around 152 quarters in the early 16<sup>th</sup> and 168 quarters in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. These figures indicate the fast population growth, possibly as a result of a concurrent general population increase in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>50</sup>

In the third record, Bursa *Mufassal Defteri* (981/1573), the population was doubled by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Repeating a pattern established with the expulsion of Jews in 1492, the Salonika Jews migrated to newly flourishing cities such as Izmir and Manisa in the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century, following a crisis in the Ottoman textile sector. Therefore, the second Jewish migration movement from Salonika to Western Anatolia began in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; making a basic demographic change occurred in some cities, including Bursa. Bursa had become the most important commercial and production center in the world between 1450 and 1600 since Bursa had an important location on the Silk and Spice Roads

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<sup>46</sup> The question of the number of people in a typical Ottoman family has been the subject of considerable debate since the late Ömer Lütfi Barkan decided that a "*hane*" consisted of five people. Obviously, the term "family" (*hane*) as used in Ottoman documents refers mainly to the taxable family—the *hane-i avanz*—a unit that is not either the "nuclear family" or the "extended family," as those terms are used today. (Kemal Karpat, "The Ottoman Family: documents pertaining to its size," in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, p. 235)

<sup>47</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 39.

<sup>48</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim...*, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, 35.

<sup>50</sup> Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Facts on File, Inc. An imprint of Infobase Publishing, 2009), p. 106.

played an important role in the trade of cotton, wool, and especially silk, as well as spices. Bursa *Mufassal Defteri* recorded that the city had 177 neighborhoods and 12.908 houses (*nefer*) consisting of 308 Jewish families which means approximately 1540 Jewish people lived in Bursa.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, these numbers show us that there was a huge population rise in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century of Bursa; it became the biggest city in Anatolia. Even a German traveler called Reinhold Lubenau who visited Bursa in the 16<sup>th</sup> century stresses the population growth in the city as: “...predominantly the Jews and Turks were living in the city.”<sup>52</sup>

Moreover, local Muslim judicial records indicate that there were 504 Jewish households meaning that there were 2520 people in Bursa in 1583, but this fell to 270 families (1350 people) in 1618-1619, and to 141 families (705) in 1696-1697. Therefore it is possible to assert that the proportion of the non-Muslim population fluctuated in Bursa.

Before 1453, the Mediterranean Jewry existed in at least three distinct communities, the Spanish-speaking Iberian community, the Arabic-speaking Egyptian and Syrian one, and the Greek-speaking Byzantine community. After 1453, these communal lines became blurred. First of all, Sultan Mehmed II’s policy of resettling Jews from the Balkans and Anatolia in Istanbul created a new mix of Jews of Ashkenazi (German), Romaniot (Greek), and Karaite (heterodox) origin. Secondly, the Christian re-conquest of Iberia and the resultant policy of repression (the Spanish expulsion of Jews in 1492) pushed thousands of Sephardic Jews into Ottoman domains. Thirdly, the conquests of Syria and Egypt in 1516–17 transferred the ancient Arab-Jewish community into the Ottoman lands.<sup>53</sup>

By the second and the third decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Sephardic communities had become established in many Ottoman towns, which in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century had little or no Jewish population at all. “In sheer numbers, the migration of the Iberian, as well as French, German, and Italian, Jews to the Ottoman Empire in

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<sup>51</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, p.111; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the History of the Near East”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol: VI, pp. 27-28; Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa...*, p. 29; Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, p. 43.

<sup>52</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 44.

<sup>53</sup> Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton, NJ, 1992), pp. 21-23

the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries constituted the most important demographic change in the structure of the Jewish Diaspora at that time.”<sup>54</sup> Because of the continued expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the additional Jewish communities joined the Ottoman rule. Therefore, we can say that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century more Jews lived in the Ottoman Empire than in any other state.<sup>55</sup> Apart from travelers’ accounts, the data which may be gleaned from records regarding the religious and ethnic composition of the city supports the conclusion that 16<sup>th</sup> century Bursa was primarily a Muslim city with a small Jewish population.<sup>56</sup>

The population figures and vicinities of Bursa for the 17<sup>th</sup> century mostly rest on the travel accounts since tax registers are not capable of enlightening the 17<sup>th</sup> century Bursa on this score. Therefore, Heath Lowry’s study on the travel accounts of the Ottoman Bursa is quite informative in order to get population figures of the non-Muslim communities. The Armenian traveler Simeon of Poland who visited Bursa in 1609 expresses that there were 300 Armenian households in the city, five priests and a small, wooden church.<sup>57</sup> Similarly Evliya Çelebi gives some information about neighborhoods of the town in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. For him, there were 176 Muslim, seven Armenian, six Jewish and one Coptic quarters in Bursa in 1640.<sup>58</sup>

Dr. John Covell, a clergyman and scientist who visited Bursa at the last quarter of the century, states in his travel book that the Jewish population of the town was 500 households. Nevertheless his friend Sir George Wheeler, a clergyman and scholar who visited the city at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, recorded that there were more than 12,000 Jews along with some Armenians and Romanians living in the city. Unlike other travelers, Wheeler asserts that the Jewish population was bigger than Armenian and Romanian population because Armenians and Romanians resisted

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<sup>54</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim in...*, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p.30, with reference to Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon’un Seyahatnamesi, 1608-1609*, ed. by Hrand D. Andreasyan (İstanbul: 1964).

<sup>58</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Üçdal neşriyat, p. 362.

during the siege of Bursa.<sup>59</sup> Also his friend Spon asserts that the Jewish population was 12.000 in Bursa during their visit.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, Heath Lowry considers that in fact Spon and Wheler were intended to note 2000 instead of 12.000.

Although travelers' accounts give some information about population of the city, they also create some contradictions. In that point, it is really useful to make double-check with the archival resources. According to records of 1696, the population of Bursa was 27.241 at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century meaning that there is a great decline in the city's population. As from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, many of the travelers mentioned the decline and its reasons, as well. For Haim Gerber, this great decline in the population of the empire is usually associated with the *Celali* revolts.<sup>61</sup> Also when Simeon of Poland climbed Mt. Uludağ, he observed that "the half of the city had been burnt, and destroyed by the *Celalis*."<sup>62</sup> Tournefort also reports in his account that "the attacks on the city in 1607-9 and again in 1649 by rebel who burnt half the city and killed thousands of inhabitants."<sup>63</sup>

Another reason behind the population decline is plague. The city had suffered from periodic outbreaks of plague between 1573 and 1701, affecting the population growth rates negatively.<sup>64</sup> In addition to uprisings and plagues, also fire and earthquakes had negative effect on the population rates. Besides, the changing trade relations and routes might have had impacts on the population of the town.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century is also a dark age in terms of the population. Both Halil İnalcık and Özer Ergenç point out the inaccessibility of reliable tax registers for the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, the population numbers of Bursa for the 18<sup>th</sup> century mostly reached through the travel accounts.

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<sup>59</sup>Agoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 106; Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p.150, with reference to John Covell, *Voyages en Turquie (1675–1677)*, ed. by Jean Pierre Grémois, (Paris, 1998), p. 51.

<sup>60</sup> For Simeon, Evliya Çelebi, Spon, Wheeler and Tournefort see Table 1.

<sup>61</sup> Haim Gerber, *Economy And Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa (1600–1700)*, (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p.74, with reference to Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi, 1608-1609*, p.17.

<sup>63</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 35.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.

The first traveler in this century is a French botanist, Joseph Piton de Tournefort, who visited Bursa in 1701, estimated the city's population as between 11,200-13,200 or 44,800-52,000 individuals (4 persons per household) or 55.000-66.000 individuals (5 persons per household).<sup>65</sup> Tournefort's accounts give us an estimated number of non-Muslim communities on the basis of his record. According to Tournefort's report, "there are in Prusa ten or twelve thousand families of Turks, which make above forty thousand souls, reckoning but four persons to a family. They reckon four hundred houses or families of Jew, five hundred of Armenians, and three hundred families of Greeks. And yet this city did not seem to us well peopled."<sup>66</sup>

Tournefort's account also provides us the probable rates of non-Muslim communities in Bursa in 1701. 3-4 % of the population was Jewish, 4.2-5% was Armenians and 2.2-3 % was Greeks. That makes 9.4-12% of non-Muslim population in total, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This means whereas the population of Bursa had decreased since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the rate of the non-Muslim population had been on constant increase since the 1530, when it was lower than 3%. However, on the other side, the total population of Bursa had not increased at all, and even decreased in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This means the population of the city had declined by 2-6 % since 1571. It is possible that the Evliya Çelebi's records were exaggerated.

The next traveler is Carsten Niebuhr of Denmark who visited the city in 1767 noted that there were 19.000 Muslims, 1.200 Armenians, 700 Greeks and 400 Jews.<sup>67</sup> In addition to Tournefort and Niebuhr, Von Ignatz von Brenner also visited Bursa in 1793. He estimated the population of the city as 100.000 inhabitants including 6.000 Armenians, 3.500 Greeks and 1.200 Jews.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Joseph Piton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, Vol: III, (London: 1718), p. 307.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Nurşen Günaydın and Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Seyahatnamelerde Bursa*, (Bursa, 2000), p. 73.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

## 2.2 The Population of Bursa Jews during the *Tanzimat* Period

The early *Tanzimat* reforms began during the last decade of the reign of Mahmut II (1808-1839). These reforms were included census as a part of the modernization process. Therefore, the Ottoman census system developed slowly through the 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to achieve accurate and comprehensive results. In that sense, Sultan Mahmut II initiated a census to create a new army and bureaucracy following the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826. As a part of this purpose, “the local mayors (*muhtars*) and *millet* religious officers were assigned to count the people, and to issue the census receipts (*nüfus tezkeresi*) and travel permits (*murur tezkeresi*) which became the basis for population control.”<sup>69</sup> The most important part is that Bursa was the model for these early efforts.

Hence the first modern type of census carried out in 1831 as part of the effort to develop it into the nucleus of a municipal government before more modern municipalities were organized by the *Tanzimat* following the Crimean War.<sup>70</sup> It was not aim to know the socio-ethnic composition and the exact number of its population, but it was a practical measure intended to establish a basis, first, for levying personal taxes on non-Muslims above puberty age, and, second, for conscripting Muslim males into the army.<sup>71</sup> Although the Christian and Jewish males were not yet subject to military service because of their status as *reaya* (the “protected subjects” of the sultan) they were subjected to the head tax (*cizye*), however, “they were counted and divided into the traditional three categories of wealth according to level of wealth: the highest (*a’la*), middle (*evsat*), and lowest (*edna*). Those unable to pay because of destitution, old age, or infirmity were listed separately. In the larger villages and in all cities and towns, the non-Muslims were recorded according to *millet*.”<sup>72</sup> Briefly, individuals (women, orphans, children below the age of puberty, the mentally and

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<sup>69</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914,” *IJMES*, Vol: 9, No: 3 (October, 1978), p. 327, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/162768>

<sup>70</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, “The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” *IJMES*, Vol: 10, No: 2 (May, 1979), p. 265, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/162130>

<sup>71</sup> Karpat, “The Ottoman Demography ...,” p. 194.

<sup>72</sup> Shaw, “The Ottoman Census System...,” pp. 325-26.

physically incapacitated, high ranking officials, etc.) who did not or could not pay taxes or perform military service were not registered.<sup>73</sup>

**Table 10: The Ottoman Population in 1831**

City	Muslim	Greek Orthodox	Gypsy	Jew	Armenian Gregorian	Total
Rumelia	513,448	811,546	29,532	11,674	3,566	1,369,766
Anatolia	1,988,027	366,625	7,143	5,338	16,743	2,383,876
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,501,475</b>	<b>1,178,171</b>	<b>36,675</b>	<b>17,012</b>	<b>20,309</b>	<b>3,753,642</b>

Source: Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," p. 326.

**Table 11: The Population of Bursa in 1831**

City	Muslim	Armenian Gregorian	Greek Orthodox	Jew	Total
Bursa	10.532	2.800	2.159	627	16.118

Source: Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, (Ankara: T.C Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), pp. 95-99 or Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010), p. 230.

**Table 12: The Population of the *reaya* (non-Muslims) in Bursa in 1831**

	Armenians	Greeks	Jews	Total
<b>Higher (<i>ala</i>)</b>	435	246	60	741
<b>Medium (<i>evsat</i>)</b>	1115	926	170	2211
<b>Low (<i>edna</i>)</b>	30	7	107	142
<b>Those who have just earned the head tax</b>	160	104	----	264
<b>Merchants</b>	8	17	----	25
<b><i>Sığar ve alil ve gaip rüüs</i><sup>74</sup></b>	1052	829	292	2203
<b>Total</b>	<b>2800</b>	<b>2159</b>	<b>627</b>	<b>5586</b>

Source: Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, (Ankara: T.C Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), p. 99.

According to 1831 population census, the amount of the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of Bursa are given respectively, to be 10.532 and 5586. The estimated total population of Bursa in 1831 is given as 80.590 (x5) of which were 52.660 Muslims, 27930 were the total of Greek, Armenian and Jew. Moreover, 627 Jewish families lived in Bursa before the *Tanzimat* period.<sup>75</sup> 3.9% of the Bursa population was Jewish. Also 3.7% of the total Jewish population of the Ottoman Empire (17,012) resided in Bursa. For Stanford Shaw, the 1831 census seem very low, or partial, compared with those compiled later in the century since females were

<sup>73</sup> Karpat, "The Ottoman Demography...", p. 194.

<sup>74</sup> The population of minor, disabled, and lost.

<sup>75</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, (Ankara, T.C Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), pp. 189–190.

not counted, leaving the census a record of only one part of the population.<sup>76</sup> Notwithstanding its deficiencies, the 1831 population census remained the only empire-wide count of the population available for at least fifteen years. Therefore, travelers' accounts will be analyzed in order to fill in the gap and to make comparison between official records and individual evaluations.

Four years after the population census a traveler called Richard Reverend Burgess visited Bursa. For him, the inhabitants are mainly Turks and the number of their houses is estimated at 16,000. "The Armenians are next in point of numbers possessing about 1000 habitations they have however but one church whilst the Greeks though fewer in number have three. There are about 300 Jewish houses and three synagogues."<sup>77</sup> In addition to Burgess, six years after this population census, traveler Robert Walsh visited Bursa in 1837 and he estimated the population of Bursa as "75,000 people, of which 9000 are Greek and Armenian Christians, and 1800 Jews."<sup>78</sup> For another traveler Baptistin Poujoulat, 100.000 people were living in Bursa pre-*Tanzimat* period including 90.000 Turks, 5000 Greek Orthodox, 3000 Armenian Gregorian, and 2000 Jews.<sup>79</sup> According to Eliza Cheney Abbott Schneider who visited Bursa in the end of 1830s, "Its present number of inhabitants is variously estimated from 80.000 to 100.000. [...] More than two-thirds of the number are Mussulmans. There are about 10.000 Armenians, 8.000 Greeks, 2.000 Jews, and a few Franks who belong to various European nations."<sup>80</sup> Consequently, before the *Tanzimat* period, the Jews between the numbers of 1800 and 2000 were living in Bursa meaning that approximately 2% of the total population (75.000-100.000) was Jewish. After Schneider, another traveler Adalbert de Beaumont estimated the population of the city as 400.000 including 80.000 Turks or Muslims, 7000-8000

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<sup>76</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population," p. 326.

<sup>77</sup> Richard Burgess, *Greece and the Levant; Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834*, Vol.II, (London, 1835), p. 134.

<sup>78</sup> Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople: During a period including the commencement, progress and termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, Vol: II, (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1838), p. 199.

<sup>79</sup> Baptistin Poujoulat, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure, en Mésopotamie, à Palmyre, en Syrie, en palestine Et En Egypte : Faisant Suite A La Correspondance D'orient*, Vol : I, (Paris, 1840), p. 162.

<sup>80</sup> Eliza Cheney Abbott Schneider, *Letters from Broosa, Asia Minor*, (Chambesburg, Pennsylvania, 1846), p. 34.

Armenians, 4000-5000 Greeks and 2000-8000 Jews.<sup>81</sup> In 1855, Ubinici visited Bursa and he estimated the population as 100.000 of which 80.000 are Muslims and 20.000 non-Muslims including Greeks, Armenians and Jews.<sup>82</sup> In 1857, a French archaeologist Georges Perrot asserts in his book that the travelers which visited Bursa before him over-exaggerated the city's population. According to him, the population of Bursa was 35.000 including 1000 Jews.<sup>83</sup>

**Table 13: The Population of the non-Muslims in Bursa regarding the *Temettuat Defter* of 1845**

Quarter	House	Adults (male)	Estimated Population (house X 5)
<b>Kuruçeşme (Jews)</b>	204	324	1020

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d 07462

Generally, the non-Muslims lived together in the same neighborhood. These neighborhoods, Kuruçeşme, Balıkpazarı and Kayabaşı, were circled around the "Hisar" and the others, Sedbaşı and Karağaç, were on the coastline of the Gökdere Stream.<sup>84</sup> Archival resources show us that the Jews especially preferred to live in Kuruçeşme.<sup>85</sup> According to Halil İnalçık, "the Jews first formed congregations (*cema'ats*) on the basis of their towns of origins. Over time, however, these congregations were integrated into already existing Jewish quarters, or they formed separate quarters around a synagogue of their own."<sup>86</sup> In that sense, a synagogue was firstly constructed by the approval of the Sultan. Then, because of the rising population in Bursa, the Ottoman administration gave permission to the Jews to establish a neighborhood called "*Yahudi Mahallesi*" or "*Mahalle-yi Yahudiyân*" (the Jewish quarter) around the synagogue and to live in this area together through a *ferman*. After that, this model was applied to all Ottoman provinces.

According to revenue register of 1845, the Jewish community was overwhelmingly settled in the district of *Kuruçeşme*, which is also known as

<sup>81</sup> Adalbert de Beaumont, *Voyage en Asie Mineure-Brousse*, p. 486.

<sup>82</sup> Par A. Ubinici, *La Turquie Actuelle*, (Paris, 1855), p. 28.

<sup>83</sup> Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, (Paris, 1864), p. 69.

<sup>84</sup> Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, p.115.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>86</sup> İnalçık, "Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation," in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 8.

*Yahudilik*, located just beneath the Citadel. But this does not mean that the non-Muslims did not live outside these quarters. Nevertheless, the Jews seemed to have an introvert social life compared to the Greeks and Armenians and had a strong sense of solidarity. In addition to this, there were 1020 Jewish people in 204 households in Kuruçeşme in 1845. While 86 Jewish households were extended families meaning that they were living in their parents' houses, the remaining part of the district had nuclear families having only one taxpayer. Moreover, 13 people did not pay taxes because they had really low revenues and were tenants. Also, according to the report there was one homeless and lunatic (*meczub*) person.

**Table 14: The Population of Bursa regarding the year books**

Bursa	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Household	Neighborhood	Total
1870	22.826	12.883	16.408	173	35709
1871	22.826	12.883	16.408	173	35709
1872	22.826	12.883	16.408	173	35709
1873	22.826	12.883	16.408	173	35709

**Source:** *Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigâr 1287*, p. 105.

*Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigâr 1288*, p. 117.

*Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigâr 1289*, p. 112.

An additional source for the Ottoman population statistics is published in the Ottoman imperial or provincial *salnames*<sup>87</sup> (yearbooks). The most useful *salnames*, as far as population information is concerned, are the provincial *salnames* which were published sporadically mainly after 1870.<sup>88</sup> According to the year book (*Sâlname-i Hüdavendigâr-1287*) of Bursa in 1870, there were 173 neighborhoods and 16.408 households. The population of Bursa was 35.709 including 12.883 non-Muslims. The population figures stayed the same in 1871, 1872 and 1873.

The city's population continued to grow during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nonetheless, the earthquake of 1855 and the fire within the citadel led to a population decline. Cyrus Hamlin who is an American Congregational missionary and educator visited Bursa in 1855 and described the earthquake as:

<sup>87</sup> The Ottoman government compiled periodically population lists which were reproduced partially in the annual *salnames* or in the writings of geographers who had access to this information. The yearbooks contain excellent information about the Ottoman population. The imperial (*devlet*) *salnames* issued in 1846-1914/5 published the first comprehensive statistical table covering the population of the entire realm in 1877/8. (Kemal Karpat, "The Ottoman Demography in the Nineteenth Century," pp. 188-899).

<sup>88</sup> Karpat, "The Ottoman Demography...", pp. 188-189.

*All the solid stone and brick buildings were either ruined or injured. The twenty-four domes of Ooloo Djami [Ulu Camii] fell in. Every minaret but one was decapitated, and that the one highest up the side of Mt. Olympus; the bazaars were destroyed and burned. Well-built wooden houses of course escaped, but the adobes were wrecked. It was reported that six thousand persons perished. The whole population spent a fearful night in the cold open air.”<sup>89</sup> “I soon began to see in the course of my ten visits, that while the destruction of property was immense, the loss of life must have been small. The great solid structures, the churches, the mosques, the baths, the bazaars, were all unoccupied at the time. The houses were empty. Those that fell the adobes, mainly in the Jewish quarter, fell every way, leaning against each other, presenting a scene of wild confusion, and yet few fell so as to bury their owners if within.”<sup>90</sup>*

Besides, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenian migration from the east and refugees from the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78 led to a rapid increase in the population of the city. These migrants also established several new villages and quarters, raising the population to approximately 80,000, of whom 6,000 were Greeks, 11,000 were Armenians, and 3,000 were Jews.<sup>91</sup>

According to 1881/82–1893 population registers, that enrolled both men and women, the total population of Bursa was 121.950 of which 89.663 were Muslims and 31.907 were non-Muslims. Besides, 2.584 Jewish people lived in Bursa at this time.<sup>92</sup>

In 1887, the Ottoman government paid for the expenses of resettling in Bursa 400 Jewish from Akkerman in Bessarabia, who were discontented under Romanian rule. Therefore, the Jewish populations in Bursa increased to 3.760 in 1906/7 population census.<sup>93</sup> Although the Ottoman government adopted measures intended to transform Anatolia from a multi-ethnic, multi-religious region to one more uniformly Turkish, on the eve of World War I, the Jewish population of Bursa had decreased to 3.687.<sup>94</sup> Constant immigration from the 1920s on, at first to South America, and then elsewhere, steadily reduced the city’s Jewish population. According to the official census of 1927, there were about twenty-eight thousand

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<sup>89</sup> Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (London, 1878), p. 248.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>91</sup> Agoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 106

<sup>92</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010), pp. 310-311.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

Jews in Anatolia. Most of the region's Jews moved to Israel after 1948.<sup>95</sup> In 1977, fewer than two hundred Jews remained, and in the early twenty-first century, the number was reportedly down to 140 according to the International Jewish Cemetery Project.<sup>96</sup> As of 2008, there are very few Jews in Anatolia, with the exception of İzmir and Ankara, where there are still small communities.<sup>97</sup> In these days, only 65 Jews live in Bursa.

By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Bursa had achieved the population admixture that it would maintain up to the First World War. Between 1701 and 1923, another 130 travelers visited Bursa and published descriptions of their journey. Almost all of these accounts describe the city's population as composed of an overwhelmingly majority of Muslims, and of Gregorian Armenians, Greek Orthodox and Jewish minorities.<sup>98</sup>

In spite of different and confusing population figures, there are some concluding remarks about the demographic structure of the city which almost every academic and traveler agreed upon. Initially, the total population of Bursa followed a general ascending graph from the beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> century and onwards although there are some descents. The Jewish population of Bursa is stated to follow a generally ascending graph, as well. This ascending graph shows that the Jews in Bursa were pleased to their life in the city. Secondly, the records prove that Bursa was a multi-religious and multi-ethnic society composing of Muslim, Armenian, Greek and Jewish populations. The Armenian population was the largest non-Muslim group. The Jewish population was the third community after the Greeks concerning the population statistics. Moreover, until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Jewish population rate is the highest in the Western Anatolia. Besides, although their population is stated to follow a generally ascending graph, the number of Jewish vicinities never changed. This trend gives an idea about Jews' community relations

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<sup>95</sup> Yıldırım, "Anatolia," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*.

<sup>96</sup> Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky, "Bursa (Prousa)," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/bursa-prousa-COM\\_0004710](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/bursa-prousa-COM_0004710) accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>97</sup> Yıldırım, "Anatolia."

<sup>98</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, p. 37.

and 'community habitus' in Bursa. In light of neighborhood numbers, it is possible to assess the Jewish community as a closed group.

## CHAPTER 3

# SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BURSA JEWS DURING THE TANZIMAT YEARS

### 3.1 Social Structure of the Jewish Community in Bursa

#### 3.1.1 *Dhimmi* Status of the Jews and the *Millet* System

The Islamic state regarded its relations with its non-Muslim subjects as governed by a covenant known as *dhimma* in Arabic, *zimmat* in Turkish,<sup>99</sup> “a contract of protection made between the Muslim ruler and the non-Muslim subjects belonging to one of the peoples of the *ahl al kitab* (people of the book).”<sup>100</sup> This system was evolved in the early centuries of Islam<sup>101</sup> and adopted by the Ottomans from the Seljuks. It was also influenced by the practice in the Roman Empire allowing minorities to retain their own laws and to apply them among themselves.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, the Ottomans formalized the *dhimmi* system according to the necessities of their time and to its own administrative characteristics.<sup>103</sup> In return for the payment of a poll tax, the *jizya*, and of a land-tax, *haraç*, the Ottoman Empire assumed the responsibility of providing the same protection for its non-Muslim subjects as for Muslims.<sup>104</sup> Due to this protection of their lives, property and freedom

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<sup>99</sup> Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), p. 16.

<sup>101</sup> HAR Gibb & Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, Vol: 1 (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 207.

<sup>102</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 16.

<sup>103</sup> Halil İnalcık, “Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation,” in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 6.

<sup>104</sup> Gibb & Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, p. 208.

of religion, the Jews immigrated to Ottoman lands and developed prosperous Jewish communities.<sup>105</sup>

According to the Muslim political thought, the central duty of the government, the main justification of authority, and the basic virtue of the good ruler is justice. Therefore, it was a strict religious duty for a Muslim ruler to abide by this law,<sup>106</sup> so the Jews and Christians are considered as the “people of the book.” Thus, Mehmet II issued new regulations for each community in the empire and the traditional *dhimmi* system as a state-organized administrative system called the *millet*<sup>107</sup> system.<sup>108</sup> The Jewish community’s internal structure and organization were defined on the basis of this substantial autonomy which it was allowed by the Ottoman government.<sup>109</sup> According to Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, within this context, the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire formed “theocratic microstates.”<sup>110</sup>

The Ottomans allowed the members of these major religious groups to govern themselves, firstly the Greeks, then the Armenians.<sup>111</sup> When the Jews officially joined this system is not precisely known. But such a system was not new for the Jews: “they had controlled their internal affairs previously in Christian Europe and in the Islamic world as well. The theoretical bases for rule by rabbis in authority derived from communal consent are to be found in the Talmud, as well.”<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the Jews had almost two thousand years experience in organizing

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<sup>105</sup> İnalçık, “Foundations of Otoman-Jewish...,” p. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>107</sup> Due to time and space limitations, the millet system will not be discussed in this study.

<sup>108</sup> Shmuelewitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 19.

<sup>109</sup> Originally, the word *millet* (Arabic *milla*) had the meaning “religion, confession, rite,” largely identical with the word *dîn*, and under this meaning it occurs in the Qur’ân.

<sup>110</sup> Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of Judeo-Spanish Community, 14<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California: 2000), p. 18.

<sup>111</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 29.

<sup>112</sup> Mark Allan Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 101.

themselves as religious ethnic minorities.<sup>113</sup>

Additionally, the religious law was made only for believers. There was, thus, no provision for a person of a different faith.<sup>114</sup> Hence, İnalçık asserts that “Islamic law and the state generally accepted non-Muslim communities, including the Jews, as a part of the larger Islamic society”<sup>115</sup> as part of *umma*. On the other hand, for Hourani even though “the Christian and Jewish communities continued to live under Muslim rule, they were not of course regarded as part of the Muslim *umma*.” Nevertheless, they were “protected peoples”, allowed life and property, the exercise of their religion and the preservation of their laws and customs.<sup>116</sup> Meanwhile, for Shmuelevitz, the Jews were generally respected in the Empire because they were considered as the oldest (*kadim*) people of the book.<sup>117</sup> Moreover Shaw stresses that the Ottomans were considerably more tolerant toward other peoples and faiths than were contemporary rulers in Christian Europe. He shows the reason for the tolerance was that “the sultans were concerned not to suppress or convert non-Muslim subjects but to organize and control them so that they would keep order, obey the law, and pay their taxes.”<sup>118</sup> Therefore, the *millet* system had also practical basis for the Ottoman governors, since the Ottoman governors were interested in maintaining order and peace within the Empire so as to be free to deal with foreign, military, financial and economic affairs.

One of the discriminatory regulations throughout the Ottoman history until the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the *cizye* tax.<sup>119</sup> Even though the *dhimmi*s did not bear the whole weight of taxation, since the Muslims were not exempted from the land tax (*harâdj*,

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<sup>113</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 17.

<sup>114</sup> Walter F. Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of the Jews of Turkey*, (Lanham: University Press of America; Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1992), p. 49.

<sup>115</sup> İnalçık, “Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish,” p. 6.

<sup>116</sup> Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

<sup>117</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman*, p. 18.

<sup>118</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman*, p. 41.

<sup>119</sup> Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Vol: I, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 6.

Ottoman *harâç*), and paid *zekât*, they still had to pay higher taxes than Muslims.”<sup>120</sup> There are travel accounts such as Jean Thevénot, Jacob Spon, George Wheler and Dr. John Covell, who wrote on the forbiddance of the non-Muslim settlements within the citadel and the extra taxes (*cizye*, or *haraç*) imposed on them.<sup>121</sup> The travelers’ accounts also confirm that the non-Muslims of Bursa were subjected to the *dhimmi* status.

Moreover, these communities had certain degree of communal autonomy and self-government, representing in a way a state within a state. They were represented in front of the government by their religious leaders (*millet başıs*) who were in charge of tax-collection and had legal authority over members of their *millets*.<sup>122</sup>

Consequently, under the demographical and administrative changes throughout the Ottoman history, the Ottoman Empire continued to apply the “*millet* system.” Minorities enjoyed religious and cultural freedom, as well as considerable administrative, fiscal and legal autonomy.<sup>123</sup> Even though its deficiencies, it is possible to argue that the “micro states” that forming the plural society allowed to live different communities in a coherent way.<sup>124</sup>

### 3.1.2 The Jewish Communal Organization (*Kehillah*)

The Jewish *millet* consisted of several communities. According to theological differences, the Jews were *Rabbanites* (those who revered the Talmud), and *Karaites* (those who did not revere the Talmud); in terms of geographical origin, Jews in the Ottoman Empire were either natives – *Romanioits* – or immigrants – *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim*. In the beginning, most of the Jews were of the Romaniot community –

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<sup>120</sup> Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews...*, p. 6; A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1930; reprint, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1970), p. 223.

<sup>121</sup> Heath Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, pp. 33-34, with reference to Jacop Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675-1676* (La Haye: 1724), p. 211; Wheler George, *A Journey into Greece* (London: 1682), p. 215; Dr. John Covell, *Voyages en Turquie, 1675-1677*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Grémois (Paris: 1998), p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, pp. 211-220; Michael O. H. Ursinus, “Millet,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Bernard Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, pp. 58-59, p. 61; İlber Ortaylı, “The Ottoman Millet System and its Social Dimensions,” in *Ottoman Studies*, ed. by İlber Ortaylı, (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2004), pp. 15-22.

<sup>123</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim...*, p. 42.

<sup>124</sup> Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews...*, p. 1.

Greek speaking Jews living in the Byzantine Empire or Jews of the Middle East and North Africa. They were joined by small groups of Jews coming from the Central and Eastern Europe, from German-speaking territories, called Ashkenazi.<sup>125</sup> In 1492, the Sephardic Jews emigrated from Spain, Portugal, and South Italy. They soon became the predominant community among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire due to their refined cultural tradition and due to their larger numbers. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Ottomans conquered the Arabian area of the Middle East. In addition to native and immigrant communities, this conquest added another Jewish community to the Empire – “the *musta’ribah* – the veteran Arab-speaking Jewish community of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Mesopotamia.”<sup>126</sup>

Initially, “the Jewish communities were more or less uniform in character and ruled by central authority, such as the *Haham başı* or the *Kehaya*”.<sup>127</sup> In the course of time, the newcomers, especially the Sephardim, outnumbered the natives, and became the most significant segment of the Ottoman Jewry.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, the Sephardic community was itself divided by their place of origin and their different traditions. This division was noticeable in the large number of congregational units, separated according to the city or area of origin, which existed in almost every town in the Empire.

The Jewish community in Bursa was broken up into small units called *kahals*, which were organized according to the countries of origin and ritualistic disparity. This Jewish communal organization *kahal* (pl. *kehalim*, *landmanshaftn*) developed after 1492.<sup>129</sup> But in time, the old order, in which congregations were primarily organized on the basis of ancestral country or city of origin, gave way to a new order in which congregations had a spatial basis of neighborhood, quarter, and actual place of residence. These congregations united to form an authoritative supra-

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<sup>125</sup> Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman...*, p. 102.

<sup>126</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 12.

<sup>127</sup> Morris Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey in the XVIth Century*, (New York: The Jewish Theology of America, 1952), p. 61.

<sup>128</sup> Avigdor Levy, “Introduction,” in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), pp. 12-13; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, pp. 218-219.

<sup>129</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey...*, p. 61.

congregational organization known as the *kehillah* (the Jewish community, or *cemaat* in Ottoman).<sup>130</sup>

In the case of Bursa, the Jews had fled the city after the Turks captured the city. But with the invitation of Sultan Orhan, they returned quickly. “In return the Jews requested and were given residence in a particular area of the city in order to be able to live a full Jewish life.”<sup>131</sup> In Bursa, Demirkapı was the one of the neighborhoods in which the non-Muslims usually lived. But there were five other neighborhoods in Bursa that non-Muslims already lived in: Kayabaşı, Sedbaşı, Karaağaç, Balık Pazarı, and, Kuruçeşme.<sup>132</sup> The Jews settled in a particular quarter of the Bursa, which came to be known as the *Mahalle-i Yahudiyân* (the Jewish quarter) or Kuruçeşme around the synagogue. According to the *tahrir* records in 1573, the Jews in Bursa were registered under the title of “*Cemaat-i Yahudiyân-i Kuruçeşme*” as four different groups: *Cemaat-i Mayer*, *Cemaat-i Firoz*, *Cemaat-i Giroz*, and lastly *Cemaat-i Kadiz* in Kuruçeşme district.<sup>133</sup>

At first, as mentioned earlier, all the Jews of Bursa who were the Romaniots had escaped from the Byzantines, but later they were joined by the Ashkenazis from France and Germany as well as the Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal. All these migration movements made Bursa into an early model of what was to follow of Jewish life in Salonika and Istanbul, according to Shaw.<sup>134</sup> In Bursa, the Jewish community was not subjected to different rules, as the Jews of Bursa were already accustomed to the Ottoman *millet* system. They had experience in maintaining their autonomy, since they had lived in the non-Jewish environment for centuries. Although the Jewish communal government was patterned after the standards and principles of the ancient Jewish communities in Babylonia, Persia, Anatolia, and

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<sup>130</sup> Avigdor Levy, “Millet,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/millet-COM\\_0015330](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/millet-COM_0015330) accessed on 09 June 2012; Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 13.

<sup>131</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, p. 29.

<sup>132</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006), p. 45.

<sup>133</sup> Necla Günay, *16. Yüzyılda Bursa Yahudileri*, (Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 2005), p. 41; Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>134</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 26.

Spain,<sup>135</sup> the earlier Jewish communal organization had been developed by the Sephardic Jews, by assimilating other Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire.

Each unit maintained its communal life around its own synagogue with its own leaders, rabbis, law courts and schools. It was administrated independently by its religious leaders and a council which was called the *ma'amad*<sup>136</sup> consisting of representatives of the congregation. "These executive administrators were known as *Memunim*, *Parnassim*, *Kezinim* (officers) or *Berurim*, the designations varying in different cities. These officers were also referred to as the *tube hair* or the *boni urbis*."<sup>137</sup> They were chosen for a term of one to three years. In most instances *parnasim* nominated their own successors, but their selections had to be approved by the members of the congregation. They were empowered to conduct public activities.<sup>138</sup> For example, taxation was one of the primary responsibilities of the *ma'amad*, which negotiated tax rates with the government, appointed Jewish officials to assess congregants' property and tax obligations, then collected and remitted the required taxes to the Ottoman treasury.<sup>139</sup>

The *kehillah* in Bursa throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century was governed also by a committee of nine including the rabbis, as well. These leaders were the highest authorized representatives since the *kehillah* was in fact the highest level of organization within the Jewish *millet*. However, there was no supreme leadership for the whole Jewish community as in the Christian communities. These leaders constituted the supreme power in each *kehillah* and maintained connections not only with the local but also with the central authorities."<sup>140</sup> Lastly, each *kehillah*

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<sup>135</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 17.

<sup>136</sup> The *maamad* (Heb. assembly) was an executive council that managed the secular affairs of many Jewish congregations in the Ottoman Empire. Usually made up of seven members (the so-called seven best men of the city; Heb. *shivat tove hair*), although some councils were smaller, it functioned alongside the community's spiritual leadership.

<sup>137</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey...*, p. 62.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> D.Gershon Lewental, "Ma'amad," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/maamad-SIM\\_0014110](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/maamad-SIM_0014110)> accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>140</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, "Relations between Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire: The Armenian Case", in *Ottoman History and Society: Jewish Sources*, (İstanbul: İsis Press, 1999), p. 180.

constituted a fiscal unit that was responsible for registering its members and assessing, collecting and paying their taxes to the Ottoman authorities.<sup>141</sup>

The Ottomans granted the Jewish community a certain amount of autonomy and allowed them to retain their own laws in their internal affairs. Within this context, they were left in full control of ownership and maintenance of religious and educational buildings; conduct of religious services; operation of *millet* schools; recording births, marriages, and deaths; the collection of taxes; mediation of inheritance cases; and other civil actions that might arise between members of the same community.<sup>142</sup>

Lastly, this autonomous leadership situation prevailed until the 1830s, when the Ottoman government was forced to take a fresh look at the *millet* system in general, and at the condition of the Jewish *millet* in particular.<sup>143</sup>

### 3.2 Synagogues

One of the basic necessities of every congregation was a place of worship. Hence, the synagogue was the most central institution in every Jewish community, serving as a religious and social focal point.<sup>144</sup> The word “Synagogue” (Greek: συναγωγή, meaning “assembly”; Heb. בית כנסת *beyt kneset*, meaning “house of assembly”; בית תפילה *beyt tfila*, meaning “house of prayer”; שול *shul*; אסנוגה *esnoga*; קהל *kal*) is derived from the old Greek. It is composed of *syn* (together) and *agoge* (learning or training) and means that bring together or learning together and place of assembly. In addition, the Ashkenazi Jews have used the Yiddish word *shul* (from German Schule, “school”) is also used to refer to the synagogue. In Judaism, synagogue is a community house of worship that serves as a place not only for liturgical services but also for assembly and study. Its traditional functions are reflected in three Hebrew synonyms for synagogue: *bet ha-tefilla*, *bet ha-kneset*,

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<sup>141</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turk...*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>142</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire...*, pp. 16-17; Waut van Bekkum, “The Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: An Introduction”, pp. 102-3.

<sup>143</sup> Avigdor Levy, “Millet,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/millet-COM\\_0015330](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/millet-COM_0015330) accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>144</sup> Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2008), p. 218.

and *bet ha-midrash*.<sup>145</sup> In Turkish, today, it is known as *sinagog* or *havra* (Heb. “society, association”; pl. *hevrot, havarot*). While the Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire called their synagogue *cemaat* or *kutsal cemaat* (*kaal, ka(h)al, ka(h)al kadoş* or *kehilla*),<sup>146</sup> the Persian and Karaite Jews used the term *Kenesa* for the synagogue.<sup>147</sup> The Jewish places of worship were called as “*sinavi*,” “*mabed*,”<sup>148</sup> “*sinagog*”<sup>149</sup> or “*havra*”<sup>150</sup> in the Ottoman archival resources.

The oldest dated evidence of a synagogue is from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC during the Babylonian captivity that was the period in Jewish history throughout which the Jews were captives in Babylonia, but synagogues doubtless have an older history. In order to meet the terms for sanctuary, the first synagogues emerged.<sup>151</sup> In addition, some scholars emphasize that the destruction of Solomon’s Temple in 586 BC gave rise to synagogues. Therefore, the synagogues flourished side by side with the ancient Temple cult and the established priesthood was terminated with the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus in 70 C.E. Thereafter, synagogues took on an even greater importance as the unchallenged focal point of Jewish religious life.<sup>152</sup>

### 3.2.1 Functions of the Synagogues

The synagogue became the central institution of Judaism, just as the Temple at Jerusalem had been the center for the entire people. In fact, the synagogue became a sanctuary for each scattered community in compensation for the loss of the Temple. Thus all sizable Jewish communities had a synagogue where regular

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<sup>145</sup> “Synagogue,” <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/578206/synagogue> accessed on 18 July 2013.

<sup>146</sup> İnci Türkoğlu, “Yahudi Geleneğinde Sinagog,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, No: 112, (April 2003), p.10.

<sup>147</sup> Yusuf Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayım A.Ş., 1999), p. 294.

<sup>148</sup> A.MKT.UM 74/58

<sup>149</sup> C.ADL. 100/6014

<sup>150</sup> A.MKT.UM 127/92

<sup>151</sup> Türkoğlu, “Yahudi Geleneğinde Sinagog,” p.11.

<sup>152</sup> “Synagogue,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/578206/synagogue>, accessed on 18 July 2013.

morning, afternoon, and evening services were held, with special liturgies on the *Shabbath* and on religious festivals.<sup>153</sup>

In the Ottoman Empire, the synagogues became a hub for the community, as well since all aspects of Jewish community and individual life in each quarter were reflected in its synagogue (*havra*).<sup>154</sup> The primary function of a synagogue is being a “house of prayer” (*beit tefilah*). Judaism mandates prayer three times every day. The Jews can satisfy the obligations of daily prayer by praying anywhere; however, there are certain prayers that can only be performed in the presence of a *minyan* (a quorum of 10 adult men) because the priority of community is so strong in Judaism.

Secondly, the synagogue is a house of study (*beit midrash*). The synagogue was also home to several congregations’ formal and informal study frameworks: the young children who studied in the *Talmud Torah*, study group for members of various societies, the general public which listened to sermons or lectures delivered there.<sup>155</sup> The study of *Torah* and other sacred books is a sort of worship for the Jews. The Jewish education does not end at the age of *bar mitzvah*; the study of Judaism and sacred texts is a life-long task. As a result, synagogues offer education to both children and adults. So the synagogues were the places where the elementary school (*talmud-tora* or *meldar*), that was usually in the synagogues building or immediately adjacent, was organized and books were maintained.<sup>156</sup>

It was serving not only as a site where religious rituals were practiced but also as a socio-political center where diverse congregational gatherings took place. So thirdly, it is a house of assembly (*beit knesset*). The synagogue provides a place where people share the important facets of their lives. Also the synagogue was the place where “the *ma’mad* met and enacted and declared its regulations and where its *parnassim* were elected, where the Rabbinical court held its sessions and pronounced its sentences and bans, where marriages and circumcisions were performed and celebrated and where announcements of divorce and renunciation were

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<sup>153</sup> William G. Tachau, “The Architecture of the Synagogue,” in *American Jewish Year Book*, p. 155.

<sup>154</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 221.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>156</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 68.

proclaimed.”<sup>157</sup> An adjacent room or its courtyard provided a place for *seudot mitzvah* (festive meals at religious ceremonies).<sup>158</sup> Besides, the basement of the synagogue usually was the location of the community prison.

Lastly, synagogues often provide social welfare functions, collecting and dispensing money and other items for the aid of the poor and needy (*zedaka*) within the community. Therefore, it is really accustomed to see alms boxes placed in the synagogue.

### 3.1.2 Architecture of the Synagogues

Ottoman synagogues are usually rectangular buildings constructed of stone, plastered brick or wood, with wood ceilings, situated in the heart of the Jewish quarters. Most synagogues are hidden from the streets by high walls, shops and the like. They are mostly surrounded by houses connected by tortuous and twisting streets, far from the great arteries, and thus buried away from the world. “Ottoman Jews generally avoided external decoration to avoid attracting attention. Austerity of manners prohibited sumptuous decoration of the exteriors or even the interiors of synagogues, particularly in the Ashkenazi structures.”<sup>159</sup> Traditionally, synagogues have been orientated toward Jerusalem, signifying the connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel and their longing for an end of exile.<sup>160</sup>

There is no standard synagogue architecture in the Ottoman Empire during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, a typical synagogue has, initially, a *Sefer Torah*, Holy Ark and *Tevah*. A *Sefer Torah* (Heb. ספר תורה “*Torah* scroll”) is a handwritten copy of the *Torah* or *Pentateuch*. It is the holiest object in Judaism and, of course, in the synagogues. It includes the first five books of the Old Testament written in Hebrew by a qualified calligrapher (*sofer*) on vellum or parchment and enshrined in the Holy Ark in synagogues. It must meet extremely strict standards of production. It has to be transcribed on specially prepared parchment marked with lines, in a particular script

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<sup>157</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 68.

<sup>158</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 221.

<sup>159</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 69.

<sup>160</sup> Lee Shai Weissbach, “Buildings Fraught with Meaning: An Introduction to a Special Issue on Synagogue Architecture in Context,” *Jewish History*, No: 25, (2011), p. 2.

and with orthographic uniformity.<sup>161</sup> Every Jew was obliged to write or possess a *Sefer Torah*.<sup>162</sup> A Jewish community could do without a synagogue, an ark, Scripture wrappings, or other books of Scripture, but not a *Torah* scroll. The *Sefer Torah* is used for public readings during services on *Shabbaths*, Mondays, Thursdays, and religious festivals. While Sephardic Jews often enclose the *Sefer Torah* in a case of wood or metal, Ashkenazi Jews generally cover it with an ornate mantle of cloth, with ritual ornaments attached.<sup>163</sup>

The Holy Ark (Sephardic: *hekhal* (Heb. הֵיכָל “palace”), Ashkenazi: *aron kodesh* (Heb. אָרוֹן קֹדֶשׁ “holy ark”) which housed the scrolls of the *Torah*. Holy Ark is a symbol of the Chest of the Covenant that held the tables of the Ten Commandments handed down on Mount Sinai. Thus it was considered the holiest object in the synagogue aside from the scrolls themselves. As a general rule, it was slightly elevated on the side that faced Jerusalem where the first Temple was located. It was generally a receptacle, or ornamental closet; however it was not supposed to be decorated with animal figures.<sup>164</sup> The *Ner Tamid* (“Eternal Light”) which symbolizes the everlasting presence of the Lord hangs over the Holy Ark in every synagogue.<sup>165</sup> A large curtain called *Parokhet* which symbolizes the curtain in the Holy Temple and is made of rich materials and decorated with silver and golden embroidery, hangs outside (typical Ashkenazi custom) or inside (typical Sephardi custom) the doors of the Ark. As it is written “He brought the ark into the Tabernacle and placed the screening dividing curtain so that it formed a protective covering before the Ark.”<sup>166</sup> The Ark is only opened during special prayers and the *Torah* to

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<sup>161</sup> William Scott Green, “Scripture in Classical Judaism,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism*, eds. by Jacob Neusner, Alan J. Avery-Peck, and William Scott Green, Second Edition, Vol. IV, (Brill, Leiden, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), p. 2409.

<sup>162</sup> Deuteronomy 31:12

<sup>163</sup> “*Sefer Torah*,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/532601/Sefer-Torah>, accessed on 18 July 2013.

<sup>164</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 69; İnci Türkoğlu, “Yahudi Geleneğinde Sinagog,” p. 14.

<sup>165</sup> Naim A. Güleriyüz, “The History of Synagogue as an Institution,” <http://www.turkyahudileri.com/content/view/430/222/lang,en/>

<sup>166</sup> Exodus 40:21

reading in daily prayers<sup>167</sup> since its doors represent the passage from the world of mankind to the sacred realm.

The other focal point of the synagogue is the reader's platform. The pulpit from which the *Torah* was read, called *bimah* by eastern Ashkenazim, *almemmar* by Central and Western Ashkenazim and *tevah* by Sephardim. It was often the most elaborately decorated part of the sanctuary, and sometimes surrounded by columns supporting the domed ceiling, was located in its center so that all worshippers could see and hear.<sup>168</sup> It may be constructed of timber or stone, with a metalwork or timber balustrade by emulation the Noah's Ark. In addition, the *Tevah* is surrounded by pews for the congregation. This arrangement was inspired by *Torah*. As it is written in *Torah* "... and on the third day Rav will come down on Mount Sinai, be seen by all, and gather all the people around him"<sup>169</sup>

The synagogues have few emblems which may be used that are characteristically Jewish for the internal decoration such as the interlacing triangles, the lion of Judah, and flower and fruit forms. The menorah, seven-branched candlestick is another important decoration object.

The synagogues are complex of buildings like mosques (*külliyeye*). Most synagogues also had a smaller sanctuary nearby, usually within the courtyard, which was used for the daily study of *Torah* as well as for secular purposes.<sup>170</sup> In addition to this, the segregation of men and women is a practice that is still observed in Orthodox synagogues. Therefore, women were not allowed to pray together with men, but were instead provided with separate though adjacent quarters called the *azara* (*mehizah*) that in general is a balcony, gallery or seats placed on an elevated platform at the back of the main hall. In some conservative communities, women are seated in an entirely separate section behind the *cumba* ("oriel window").<sup>171</sup> Most

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<sup>167</sup> İnci Türkoğlu, "Bursa Sinagogları," *Bursa'da Yaşam*, (May, 2004), p. 162.

<sup>168</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 69

<sup>169</sup> Exodus 19:11,12; Güteryüz, "The History of Synagogue as an Institution."

<sup>170</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 69

<sup>171</sup> Güteryüz, "The History of Synagogue as an Institution."

synagogues, moreover, has a ritual bath (Heb. מקווה / מִקְוֵה, *mikvah*)<sup>172</sup> is sometimes located on the premises. All have interior courtyards, with fountains and basins for ritual washing of hands before performing prayers, with windows opening from the sanctuary to the skies so that it could be lit naturally and the worshipper could see the heavens, considered necessary to inspire devotion and reverence during the prayer.<sup>173</sup>

### 3.2.3 The situation of the Synagogues in the Ottoman Empire

Jewish communities were autonomous vis-à-vis internal affairs. However they had to follow certain rules and regulations associated with their *dhimmī* status, such the poll tax and sumptuary laws. Also they need to obtain special permission to build or repair their synagogues as the statute of synagogues in the Ottoman Empire was formulated according to the Islamic law. Until the *Tanzimat* Period it was not allowed to build new synagogues, nevertheless, old and ruined synagogues were permitted to be repaired.<sup>174</sup> Besides, there were limitations pertaining to the height of synagogues saying that they could not be higher than mosques. To preserve the wideness and the shape of the synagogue during the repairing process were also the important limitations. Although it was forbidden to use new construction materials, however, there was no such a restriction in Bursa.<sup>175</sup>

As a matter of fact, the Sultan regarded the Jews as *dhimmis* and enabled them to build synagogues on the foundations of existing houses. By issuing imperial orders, the Sultan allowed even the smallest existing structures to be transformed into major religious establishments, without contradicting religious law.<sup>176</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century traveler Hamlin also points out the rules that Jewish communities had to follow. “They may have their churches or synagogues, may

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<sup>172</sup> A ritual purification bath is taken by Jews on certain occasions, as before the Shabbath or after menstruation or ejaculation. The *Mishna* (Jewish code of law) describes in elaborate detail the requirements for ritually proper water and for the quantity of water required for ritual cleansing.

<sup>173</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 68.

<sup>174</sup> Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler: Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Hukuki Durumları*, (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2001), pp. 232-233.

<sup>175</sup> A. İhsan Karataş, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Toplum Hayatı: Bursa Örneği*, (İstanbul: Gökkuşbu Yayınları, 2009), p. 139.

<sup>176</sup> Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman...*, p. 32.

repair or rebuild them, but no new churches or synagogues shall be built.”<sup>177</sup> It is to be noted that the conditions were not always so favorable in this respect.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bursa had been through two catastrophic events. The first one was the fire on November 1801. In this fire two thirds of Bursa burned down. According to Kazım Baykal, Yahudilik and the three synagogues of the Jews which were constructed excessively close to each other were destroyed by fire.<sup>178</sup> The Jewish community applied to *qadi* court in order to obtain permission for repair their synagogues.<sup>179</sup> They acquired the permission for repairing the syanagogue from the Ottoman Grand Viziership.<sup>180</sup>

The second one is the 1955 earthquake which destroyed the most of the buildings even the most of the mosques and hammams.<sup>181</sup> According to Perrot, the most miserable part of Bursa was the Jewish neighborhood since most of the houses and the synagogues were destroyed in this disaster.<sup>182</sup> For that reason, the community in Bursa most likely applied to the *qadi* court following the 1855 earthquake.

### 3.2.4 Synagogues of Bursa during the *Tanzimat* Period

Jews already lived in the Byzantine city of Bursa before the city was conquered by Orhan Bey in 1326. As a result of defeat, most of the citizens of Bursa escaped other cities. However, Orhan and his brother Alaettin recalled the Jews for returning to the city and authorized the reconstruction of the ruined Romaniot *Etz Ahayim* Synagogue and the creation of a new Jewish quarter in its neighborhood. Additionally, Orhan *Bey* endowed a branch of water from Pınarbaşı to the Jewish synagogue.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (London, 1878), p. 334.

<sup>178</sup> Kazım Baykal, *Tarihte Bursa Yangınları*, (Bursa: Emek Basımevi, 1948), p. 34.

<sup>179</sup> Baykal, *Tarihte Bursa Yangınları*, with reference to C.ADL. 6014; B80/111b.

<sup>180</sup> A.MKT.UM 127/92 (This document could not be reached because of the relocation of the Ottoman archives. Only the explanation in the “search” engine of the archives was used as a source.)

<sup>181</sup> Baykal, *Tarihte Bursa Yangınları*, p. 37.

<sup>182</sup> Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, (Paris, 1864), p. 69.

<sup>183</sup> Raif Kaplıanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtlar Ansiklopedisi*, (Bursa: Yenigün Yayınları, 1994), p. 125

Tournefort notes that the Armenians had one church in Bursa, the Greeks had three, and Jews have four synagogues.<sup>184</sup> However other sources assert that there were only three synagogues in Bursa.<sup>185</sup> For Burgess, the inhabitants of Bursa are chiefly Turks having 16,000 population. Although the Armenians have about 1000 houses, they have one church whilst the Jews are fewer in number, they have three synagogues.<sup>186</sup> Today two of them, the Mayor and the Gerush, still exist in Bursa.

#### **3.2.4.1 The Etz Ahayim Synagogue**

The Etz Ahayim Synagogue<sup>187</sup> (“The Tree of Life”) a Romaniot synagogue no longer in existence, was one of the three synagogues in Bursa located at Arap Şükrü Street which was known as “Yahudilik” (“Jewry”). The name of the synagogue means “Life Tree” in Hebrew.

This synagogue is significant from the aspect of being the first Jewish house of worship ever built in the Ottoman Empire. Construction began in the mid-fourteenth century after an imperial edict issued during the reign of Orhan *Bey*, the conqueror of Bursa, gave permission for the establishment of the synagogue.

According to Galante, it had been quite large. It had a small and rectangular *Tevah* which is called *dansa* covering the center of the floor, was made around the *hakafot* (circle). There was also an upper *Tevah* that may be accessed by stairs was used only Saturdays and religious festivals.<sup>188</sup>

Structurally the synagogue had Ottoman architectural features and resembled to a mosque. It was constructed by using stone and brick and had a timber roof.

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<sup>184</sup> Joseph Piton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, Vol: III, (London: 1718), p. 309.

<sup>185</sup> Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol: IV, (İstanbul: İsis Yayıncılık), p. 161.

<sup>186</sup> Richard Burgess, *Greece and the Levant: Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834*, Vol: II, (London, 1835), p. 134.

<sup>187</sup> See also Naim Gülerüz, *The Synagogues of Turkey*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın, 2008) and Ersin Alok and Mili Mitrani, *Anatolian Synagogues* (İstanbul: Ana Basım Evi, 1992).

<sup>188</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 161.

Etz Ahayim remained active until the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. The remains of the building were destroyed by a fire that broke out in 1940.<sup>189</sup>

### 3.2.4.2 The Gerush Synagogue

At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Spain began to settle in Bursa. According to the Bursa *Tahrir Defteri* of 1573, these groups were registered as *Cemaat-ı Giroz* (the community of exiles)<sup>190</sup> and each community started to build its own synagogue. Thus the synagogue was built in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century under the reign of Sultan Selim II and took the name *Gerush* (“cast out, exiled”) since the owners of the synagogue were the Jewish exiles from Spain.

The Gerush Synagogue is also situated at number 59 on Arap Şükrü Street in the vicinity of the present Sakarya Boulevard today like Etz Ahayim. The Gerush Synagogue is an artistically attractive building. It was made of a rectangular-shape and cut stones. It has an arched main entrance and a side door with a lean-to roof, stained-glass windows, and two pulpits (*tevot*). (See Appendix A)

In the main hall the seats are placed along the surrounding walls, leaving a circular space in their middle. The Gerush Synagogue has a seating capacity of 100 to 150 people. (See Appendix A)

The *Ehal* is simple. The synagogue has an upper *Tevah* that is used by the cantor on the High Holy Days. It is in the form of a gallery that may be accessed by two spiral stairs built into the wall, on either side of the entrance. This is a rare type of *Tevah* that has been encountered in the town of Koshin in India, and in France, in the synagogues of Carpentras and Cavillon.<sup>191</sup> The attractive synagogue has a circle of pillars around the *Tevah* in the center of the room. The columns support a dome composed of lathe and plaster. From the central dome hangs a crystal chandelier that lights the *Tevah*. The worshipers arrayed around the *Tevah*, has not only practical

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<sup>189</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtlar Ansiklopedisi*, (Bursa: Yenigün Yayınları, 1994), p. 125; Aksel Erbahar, “Etz Ahayim Synagogue, Bursa” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/etz-ahayim-synagogue-bursa-SIM\\_0007450](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/etz-ahayim-synagogue-bursa-SIM_0007450), accessed on 09 June 2012; Gülerüz, “Jewish Presence in Bursa and Its Synagogues.”

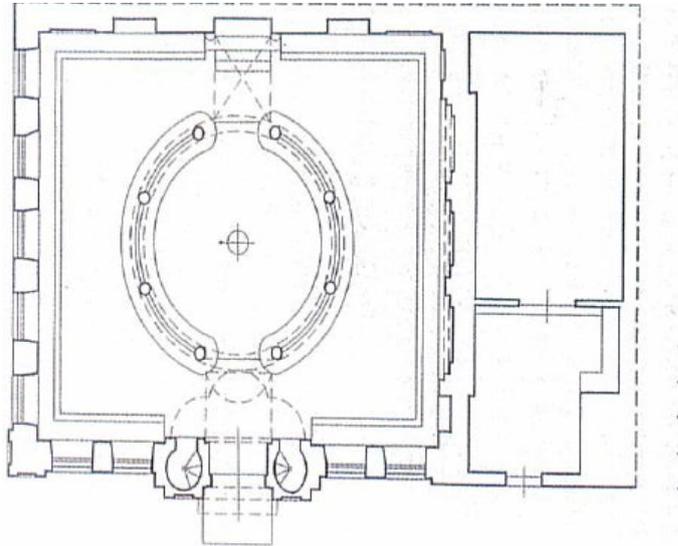
<sup>190</sup> Barkan and Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*, p. 7.

<sup>191</sup> “Bize her yer Bursa,” <http://www.salom.com.tr/newsdetails.asp?id=84964#.UfDdbo3LWXA>, accessed on 20 July 2013; “Cemaat İdarecileri Bursa’daydılar,” <http://arsiv.salom.com.tr/news/print/17963-Cemaat-idarecileri-Bursadaydilar.aspx>, accessed on 20 July 2013.

acoustic value but also symbolic meaning. These arrangements place emphasis on the actual reading of the *Torah*, more than on the physical *Torah* scrolls in the Ark.<sup>192</sup> The second *Tevah* is fixed and is situated in the centre of the main hall; it is a relic from the antique Etz Ahayim Synagogue, and was transferred here in the 1950s.<sup>193</sup> The placement of the *Tevah* across the worship space from the Holy Ark is the custom in most Sephardic synagogues.<sup>194</sup> (See Appendix A)

In addition, there is an *azara* (women's part), which has a capacity for 60-70 persons, is located on the upper right side of the building and is accessed from the courtyard. (See Appendix A)

**Figure 15: The Architectural Plan of Gerush Synagogue in Bursa**



**Source:** İnci Türkoğlu, "Bursa Sinagogları," *Bursa'da Yaşam*, (May, 2004), p. 162.

Some sources indicate that the *Torah* scrolls still used in the synagogue were brought from Spain by the Sephardic exiles about 500 years ago.<sup>195</sup> There are still

<sup>192</sup> Weissbach, "Buildings Fraught with Meaning," p. 2.

<sup>193</sup> Güleriyüz, "Jewish Presence in Bursa and its Synagogues."

<sup>194</sup> Weissbach, "Buildings Fraught with Meaning," p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> Aksel Erbahar, "Gerush Synagogue, Bursa," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/gerush-synagogue-bursa-SIM\\_0008410](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/gerush-synagogue-bursa-SIM_0008410), accessed on 09 June 2012.

ancient texts in Hebrew, Spanish and Ladino with pottery and delicate silk embroidery keeping in a small side which was used as a school and library.<sup>196</sup>

The Gerush Synagogue was most likely restored by a French architect Parville, who was commissioned to restore all the mosques in Bursa after the devastating 1855 earthquake which totally destroyed the city.<sup>197</sup> An inscription on either side of the prayer hall (*ehal*) of the synagogue is dated to the year 1872, illustrate the possible time of the building's restoration. The date fits in with the general pace of post-earthquake rebuilding in the city, which was still underway in the 1870s.<sup>198</sup> (See Appendix A)

Lastly, it is still a strong and well maintained building. Hence the Gerush Synagogue is the only active Jewish house of worship in Bursa.

### 3.2.4.3 The Mayor Synagogue

The Mayor Synagogue is located in the Arap Şükrü Street. It was constructed by the Sefarad Jews who emigrated from the Majorca Island in Spain to the Ottoman Empire in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and settled in the area within the city walls comprising the Tophane and Muradiye districts. Besides “Gracia Nasi, also known as Dona Garcia Mendes a *marrona* refugee from Portugal, became a wealthy and prominent cultural patron as well as a political force in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman affairs helped to build the Mayor Synagogue in Bursa.”<sup>199</sup>

The Bursa *Tahrir Defteri* of 1573 registered this Seferad community under the name of *Cemaat-ı Mayer* (community of Mayer).<sup>200</sup> Therefore, the name of the synagogue “Mayor” might be derived from the name of the island Majorca.

The initial date of the construction is known to be 15<sup>th</sup> century. This synagogue is rectangular planned and adorned with the colored patterns and pen motifs on the walls and the ceiling. (See Appendix A)

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<sup>196</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtlar Ansiklopedisi*, (Bursa: Yenigün Yayınları, 1994), p. 125; Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Doğal ve Anıtsal Eserleri ile Bursa*, (İstanbul: Altan Matbaacılık, 2003), p. 293.

<sup>197</sup> Güleriyüz, “Jewish Presence in Bursa and its Synagogues.”

<sup>198</sup> Erbahar, “Gerush Synagogue, Bursa.”

<sup>199</sup> Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*, (Simon and Schuster, 1992).

<sup>200</sup> Barkan ve Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I*, p. 7.

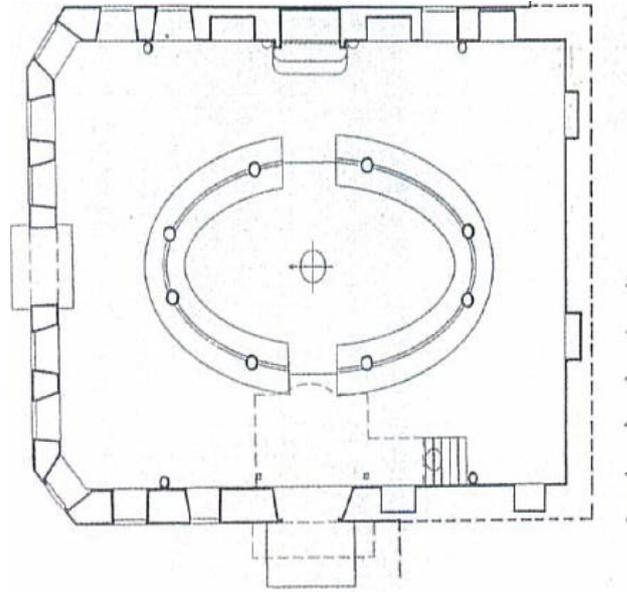
The Mayor Synagogue has a large and oval *Tevah*, higher than the main entrance. The lower *Tevah* is unmovable and located in the centre; the floor is covered with marble. It is reached by steps and small *Dansa*. There is a *Parohet* with Hebrew inscriptions on the *Ehal*.<sup>201</sup> Stairs leading to the upper *Tevah* are cantilevered over the entrance of the synagogue. (See Appendix A)

The layout is literally an elliptical in a rectangular, with eight pillars and the central pulpit topped by a central dome whose interior is covered by a floral design painted to look like draperies. (See Appendix A)

The Mayor Synagogue has a seating capacity of 100 to 150 people as in the *Gerush*.<sup>202</sup> Some of the seats are lined along the walls; the rest is grouped around the lower *Tevah*.

What's more, the arches on top of the entrance on the Sakarya Boulevard make us to suppose that the Mayor Synagogue had underwent major repairs and restorations after the great 1801 fire and the 1855 earthquake. Also there are archival documents proving that the Mayor Synagogue repaired after the 1855 earthquake.<sup>203</sup>

**Figure 16: The architectural Plan of Mayor Synagogue in Bursa**



**Source:** İnci Türkoğlu, "Bursa Sinagogları," *Bursa'da Yaşam*, (May, 2004), p. 166.

<sup>201</sup> Alok and Mitrani, *Anatolian Synagogues*, p. 87.

<sup>202</sup> Güteryüz, "Jewish Presence in Bursa and its Synagogues."

<sup>203</sup> A.MKT.UM 127/92; A.MKT.UM 74

### 3.3 The Jewish Cemetery in Bursa

A Jewish cemetery is known in Hebrew as (Heb. בית עלמין) “the house of eternity” and in the Jewish tradition, the land of the cemetery is considered holy. Therefore, and because of the rules of *Halacha* about funeral, to establish a cemetery is one of the first priorities for a new Jewish community.

In the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan allocated lands for cemeteries and provided the security for the graveyard. In Bursa, the Jewish cemetery was also allocated by Sultan. The Jewish cemetery in Altıparmak was located within the city although early Jewish cemeteries were located outside of the city. According to Galante, the Jewish community had a vast cemetery where he could find only two tombstones since the former governor of Bursa perceived the cemetery as abandoned and ordered to use the tombstones for construction of a new prison in Bursa. As a consequence of the complaints of the Jewish community against the actions of the governor, the court decided to return the stones to the Jewish cemetery.<sup>204</sup>

If an existing cemetery could not meet the requirements, the community was able to demand new lands in another place or empty lands adjacent to their cemetery. However, the Jewish community faced some problems during the 19<sup>th</sup> century regarding the enlargement of their cemetery. According to a registry in 1823, there was a disagreement between the Jewish community and managers of the *waqf* of Hüdavendigâr about the enlargement of the present cemetery. For the register, managers of the *waqf* of Hüdavendigâr applied to the court and complained that the Jews crossed the borders of their cemetery which they paid for 1100 *akçe* and seized approximately 11.110 *zira*.<sup>205</sup> However, the Jews denied this argument by claiming that the impugned land was already within their cemetery’s territory. As a result, the Jews accepted to pay 500 *kuruş* (penny or dime) to the *waqf* as compensation.<sup>206</sup>

The appearance and organization of the Jewish cemeteries reflected socio-economic and cultural realities of the Jewish society.<sup>207</sup> Although the tombstones usually have inscriptions in Hebrew and the regional language, Ottoman

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<sup>204</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 164.

<sup>205</sup> Between 75-90 cm.

<sup>206</sup> Karataş, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Gayrimüslimlerin*, p. 129 with reference to BŞC 316/10b.

<sup>207</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 290.

Turkish, however, in Altıparmak Cemetery there are only Hebrew and Ladino inscriptions on the gravestones. In general, on the gravestone firstly the identity information (i.e. name, honorific) is given with some prayer. These statements can be very brief as they may be extremely long. At the end of the statements on some of the gravestones the year of death is written. While the old ones have Hebrew dates, new ones have both.

Moreover, it is traditional to bury the dead with the feet in the direction of Jerusalem which is a rule is also followed by the Jewish community of Bursa with one exception. (See appendix B)

In addition to this, it is really common to use some figures giving clues about the life of deceased. There are many figures referring to the profession of the death in Jewish cemetery of Bursa. For instance, scissors, knives or swords are the most used ones. (See appendix B). In addition to professional figures, the floral gravestones are quite widespread in the Altıparmak cemetery. (See appendix B) However there is one important *Kohen*<sup>208</sup> buried in the Jewish cemetery whose gravestone has hands of *Kohen* showing that he was a priest. (See appendix B)

Stanford Shaw asserts that the members of the same family were supposed to be buried as close as possible to each other, except for those who died from the plague, who normally were buried in special distant sections of the community cemetery.<sup>209</sup> However, according to Galante, the women were buried in a separate section in Bursa.<sup>210</sup> But, it is not possible to assess this separation today in the Bursa Jewish cemetery since most of the cemetery and the tombstones were located to a new section of the cemetery during the high-way construction.<sup>211</sup>

Although some of the tombstones indicate the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is no indication on most of them about the date of birth or death. The oldest epitaph dating

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<sup>208</sup> *Kohen* or *Cohen* is the Hebrew word for priest. Jewish *Kohanim* are traditionally believed that they have a direct patrilineal descent from the Biblical Aaron. (Yusuf Besalel, *Yahudilik Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 2001), p. 402.)

<sup>209</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman*, p. 59.

<sup>210</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 165.

<sup>211</sup> Minna Rozen, "A Survey of Jewish Cemeteries in Western Turkey," in *Jewish Quarterly Review* Vol: 83, No: 1-2, (July-October 1992), p. 78.

1687 mentions the death of the daughter of Isaac Ashkenazi.<sup>212</sup> In addition, the Jewish community of Bursa preferred to use Hebrew calendar which is used for Jewish religious observances. Also there is only one 19<sup>th</sup> century (1861) cemetery belonging to a woman whose husband was Mr. Kadon. There is no other information on the tombstone.

In Jewish culture, every *kahal* had its own cemetery. Although there were four Jewish communities, according to the records, there was one Jewish cemetery in Bursa showing that these communities turned into one community in time. In addition, they had charity organizations in order to organize funerals, such as *Rehicha* for ritual cleansing of the deceased, *Levaya* for supplying funeral requisites, and *Chevra Kedisha* for conducting cemetery works.<sup>213</sup>

Consequently, every culture has a unique subculture related with *terminus vitae*. In the Ottoman Empire, Jewish gravestones in Bursa have some features which can be rarely seen in other civilizations such as *Kohen* hands. Inscriptions and figures on the gravestones represent significant information such as status, occupations, identities and wishes of the dead people. In this context, the tombstones are essential sources for researchers.

### **3.4 Beyaz Saray Hammam (Yahudiler Hamamı)**

Beyaz Saray Hammam is located also in the Jewish neighborhood in Bursa. According to Kamil Kepecioğlu, it was constructed by the chief gate-keeper Rüstem Pasha in 1552. However, some other sources assert that the Bursa Jewish community was funded this hammam.<sup>214</sup> Thus, today the Jewish community is still the owner of the place.

The dome and vault are the common currency of the hammam architecture; therefore, the first impression of the hammams is their curvilinearity. Every Ottoman bath has one or more domes. Nevertheless, the Yahudiler Hammam is categorized as

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<sup>212</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 165.

<sup>213</sup> Günay, *XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa...*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>214</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtlar Ansiklopedisi*, p. 125; Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Doğal ve Anıtsal Eserleri ile Bursa*, p. 293.

a single-domed hammam<sup>215</sup> was made of stone and brick. The entrance to the hammam is on north.

The Yahudiler Hammam has a *camekan* which is called *apodyterium* in the Roman baths. The *camekan*, which is a square in shape (10.000x10.000) and is covered by a timber dome, is equipped on four sides by lofts, with benches. (See appendix C)

The medium-temperature room, *ılıklik*, is called as ‘*tepidarium*’ in the Roman Hammams. The *ılıklik* in the Yahudiler Hammam allowed the user to get used to the rise of temperature gradually during the passage from the *soyunmalık* to the *sıcaklık*. It is directly connected with the latrines and the washrooms. (See appendix C) It is also functioned as a dressing room during the winter.<sup>216</sup> In the neighborhoods with large Jewish populations like Kuruçeşme, it is customary to provide an immersion tub (Heb. *mikvah*) in this passage for Jewish ritual bathing.<sup>217</sup> The Yahudiler Hammam also used to have an immersion tub in the *tepidarium* part. (See appendix C)

The *calidarium*, *sıcaklık*, is the last section of the Yahudiler Hammam that is designed as a hot room for an actual bath and the most important part of the hammams. Its *sıcaklık* part is rectangular in shape. Moreover, Yahudiler Hammam has an advanced type that has a centrally planned domed hall opening into two heated chambers (*halvet*). *Halvet* is a place where a visitor can bathe in private.<sup>218</sup> Lastly, Yahudiler Hammam has a raised marble platform called *göbek taşı* (“central stone” or “stone umbilicus”) occupies the centre of the *sıcaklık*. (See appendix C)

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<sup>215</sup> Elif Şehitoğlu, *Bursa Hamamları*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), p. 107.

<sup>216</sup> Yılmaz Önge, “Anadolu Türk Hamamları Hakkında Anadolu Türk Hamamları Hakkında Genel Bilgiler ve Mimar Koca Sinan’ın İnşa Ettiği Hamamlar” in *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, (İstanbul: 1988), p. 24.

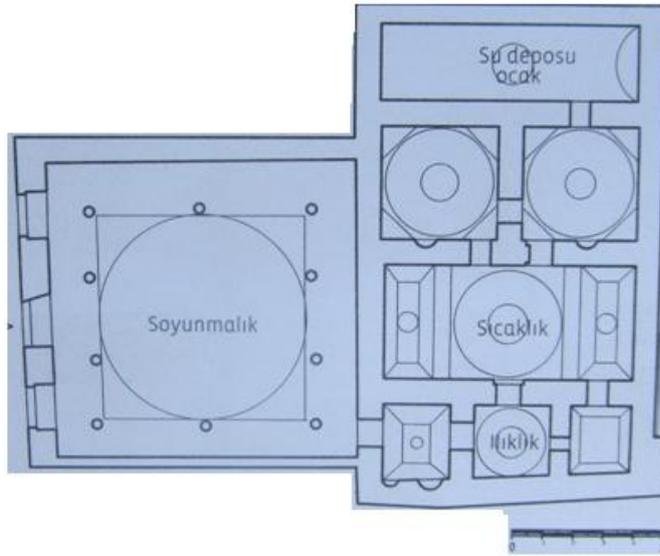
<sup>217</sup> Fikret K. Yegül, “Islamic Lands,” [http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T006848?q=hammam+architecture&article\\_section=all&search=article&pos=7&\\_start=1#firsthit](http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T006848?q=hammam+architecture&article_section=all&search=article&pos=7&_start=1#firsthit), p.1, accessed on 11 August 2012.

<sup>218</sup> Emine Dağtekin, *Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi Geleneksel Hamam Tipolojisi ve Buna Bağlı Koruma Ölçütlerinin Oluşturulması*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Gazi University, 2007, p. 69.

The hammam, like its precursors, is not exclusive to men. The traditional Turkish baths have separate sections for women and men, or have different visiting times or days for women and men, like the Yahudiler Hammam.<sup>219</sup>

This hammam has a hypocaust heating technique was modeled after the antique and Byzantine method of using hypocausts to heat floors and hollow tiles to heat walls. Although the walls of the bath are not tubulated, it contains terracotta pipes connected to the hypocaust (*tütkeklik*). The burning fire in *külhan* (the boiler room) –which is right next to hot room and at the bottom of the bath– heats the hammam by passing through the channels called as *cehennemlik* (stokehole).<sup>220</sup>

**Figure 17: The architectural Plan of Yahudiler Hammam in Bursa**



**Source:** Elif Şehitoğlu, *Bursa Hamamları*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), p. 109.

### 3.5 Charity Institutions

Eachvery *kehillah* showed determination to protect their autonomy in their internal affairs. Within this context, the Jewish community in Bursa tried to continue their own “language, dress, cultural background, traditional liturgy, religious rites and other customs, and even the customary laws and legal practice brought with

<sup>219</sup> See also Robert Hillenbrand, *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem*, (Fox Communications & Publications: 2002), p. 78; M. Dow, *Islamic Baths of Palestine*, (Oxford: 1993), p.2; [http://archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.jsp?entry\\_id=DIA0132](http://archnet.org/library/dictionary/entry.jsp?entry_id=DIA0132)

<sup>220</sup> Yegül, “Islamic Lands,” p.1.

them from their countries of origin.” They also continued their network of social institutions that were financed by regular taxes and contributions<sup>221</sup> since they tried to protect their respective values through charity organizations. Although these charity institutions had a great significance for the Jewish culture and tradition, merely Avram Galante has some information about these organizations in Bursa. For him, Bursa Jewish community had nine charity organizations.

### **3.5.1 *Bikur Cholim***

*Bikur cholim*'s (Heb. ביקור חולים; “visiting the sick”; also transliterated *Bikur Holim*) aim is to visit and extend aid to the sick people especially those whose condition is desperate. The act of *bikur cholim* is a *mitzvah* (Jewish religious commandment), a moral and spiritual obligation that is compulsory for all Jews to perform since the God visits Abraham after being circumcised.<sup>222</sup> The *Talmud* (Biblical Commentary) advises that if the God visited the sick, so shall you visit the sick.

It is a tradition to recite prayers for healing and Psalms on behalf of the sick. Also the *veladores* (watchman) ensure the free treatment and keep accompany. If it is necessary, *veladores* spends the night with the patient without sleep in order to support. The institution also provides coal, coffee, sugar and other materials by means of donations.<sup>223</sup>

The institution is composed of both males and females or rich and poor. It is directed by *gabayim* (Heb. גבאי a person who assists in the running of synagogue services) appointed by the community council.

### **3.5.2 *Rehicha***

This charity organization takes care of the *Tahara* – the ritual cleansing of the deceased. Its members belong to both sexes.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks...*, 61.

<sup>222</sup> Genesis 17:26-18:1

<sup>223</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 172.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

### 3.5.3 *Levaya*

The Hebrew word for funeral is *levaya* (honoring the deceased by “accompanying” his/her bier to the grave). *Levaya* is responsible for providing free casket or shroud to the families in need and carrying the coffin to the cemetery<sup>225</sup> since the community is responsible for this *mitzvah* of transporting the dead to the final resting place. According to the Jewish tradition, neither the rabbi nor the cemetery worker buries the dead. Therefore, they need the help of the community.

### 3.5.4 *Chevra Kedisha*

*Chevra Kedisha* (Aramaic: חברה קדישא, “holy society”) is an organization of the Jewish men and women. Their aim is to prepare the bodies for burial according to the Jewish tradition and to protect them from desecration. Also the organization takes care of the work and maintenance of the cemetery.

In case of the funeral, the *gabai* of *kehillah* informs *yehidim* which accompanied the *gabayim* to dig a grave. In addition, the *Chevra Kedisha* supports the families during the traditional week of bereavement by arranging prayer services and meals. Furthermore, nobody denies its service, since it is an honor to obtain this service for the memory of the member leaving.

Every synagogue in Bursa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a *Chevra Kedisha* which was directed by the *gabai* whose appointment approved by the community council. Almost all the Jews of Bursa were the members of the *Chevra Kedisha*. Income of this company consists of voluntary donations, gifts on the occasion of religious and family celebrations.<sup>226</sup>

### 3.5.5 *Aniyim Zenoyim*

*Aniyim zenoyim* works under the surveillance of the community council in order to prevent begging. This community existed in Bursa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century nonetheless it did not work properly. However, following the *irade* of Sultan that prevented begging, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, the governor of Bursa, and the members of the community reorganized the system. Since then, there were no Jewish beggars in Bursa.

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<sup>225</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 172.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

Outside the main functions of this organization takes care of the indigent patients, provides them free doctor, medicine and food.<sup>227</sup>

### **3.5.6 Ahchanat Orahim**

*Ahchanat Orahim* takes care of the needy foreign Jews crossing Bursa. The organization provides food, a place to stay and their travel expenses until they reach the next Jewish community.

This charity organization's income consists of voluntary donations, especially those made on the *Lag BaOmer*<sup>228</sup> (Heb. ל"ג בעומר), also known as *Lag LaOmer*.<sup>229</sup>

### **3.5.7 Hemdat Yamim**

*Hemdat Yamim* takes care of the old and needy people in *minyan* (the quorum of ten Jewish male adults). The volunteers read psalms and other religious texts every day in a different house. Every Jew in the synagogue participates in the expenditures that this society needs to provide aid.

By the help of this charity society, the verse “*veaguila bo yomam valayla*” is accomplished. (We are here in day and night)<sup>230</sup>

### **3.5.8 Kadish Community**

*Kadish* (Aramaic: קדיש, “holy”) Community assembles its congregation in the Etz Haim Synagogue from two o'clock until the dawn in order to read psalms and religious texts following by the Morning Prayer. In general these meetings start at the very last day of *Sukkoth*<sup>231</sup> and end on the first day of the *Purim*.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 173.

<sup>228</sup> *Lag LaOmer* is a Jewish holiday celebrated on the 33<sup>rd</sup> day of the Counting of the *Omer*, which occurs on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the Hebrew month of *Iyar*. This day marks the anniversary of death of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai who was a 1<sup>st</sup> century *tannaic* sage in ancient Israel and was one of the most eminent disciples of Rabbi Akiva. (Lag ba-'Omer, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/327739/Lag-ba-Omer>, accessed on 11 August 2013)

<sup>229</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 173.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> *Sukkoth* is also called Feast of Tabernacles or Feast of Booths, a Jewish autumn festival of double thanksgiving that begins on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of September or October. It is one of the three Pilgrim Festivals of the Hebrew Bible. (Sukkoth, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/572270/Sukkoth>, accessed on 11 August 2013)

This charity organization's income consists of coal and lighting which comes from donations made during the day of *Simhath Torah*.<sup>233</sup>

### **3.5.9 Women's Committee**

Women's Committee is a charity organization that tries to help orphan girls who are at the age of marriage. It provides *trousseau* including clothing and linens that a bride assembles for her marriage to girls in need. The budget of this community comes from donations of the ladies.<sup>234</sup>

## **3.6 Leadership of the Jewish Community**

There were two types of leadership in the Ottoman Jewish community, according to Mark Alan Epstein: traditional leadership and accidental leadership. The traditional leadership is exercised by rabbis of the community and the accidental leadership by laymen in the community who were influential in politics and economic affairs. The first type can be divided into two sub-categories: the leadership of the chief rabbi at Istanbul which was a supra-congregational institution and the leadership of the local rabbis in other communities.<sup>235</sup>

### **3.6.1 The Local Authority of the Jewish Community in Bursa**

#### **3.6.1.1 The Local Religious Authority**

##### **3.6.1.1.1 Rabbis (*Hahams*)**

The Hebrew word for rabbi was *rav* and its use was common among most the Romaniot, Ashkenazi, Italian and French Jews. The Sephardic community preferred to use the title *haham* instead of *rav*. *Haham* ("wise or learned man") or rabbi ("my teacher" or "my master") is a person qualified by academic studies of the Hebrew

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<sup>232</sup> *Purim* (Heb. Lots) is English Feast of Lots a joyous Jewish festival commemorating the survival of the Jews who, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, were marked for death by their Persian rulers. (*Purim*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/483999/Purim>, accessed on 11 August 2013)

<sup>233</sup> *Simhath Torah* (Rejoicing of the *Torah*) is a Jewish religious observance held on the last day of *Sukkoth*, when the yearly cycle of *Torah* reading is completed and the next cycle is begun. (*Simhath Torah*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/545087/Simhath-Torah>, accessed on 11 August 2013)

<sup>234</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 173.

<sup>235</sup> Epstein, "The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews...." p. 101.

Bible and the *Talmud* to act as spiritual leader and religious teacher of a Jewish community or congregation.

Each congregation was free to select or appoint a rabbi to serve as its spiritual leader and minister to its needs, according to its customs and traditions. Rabbis could be appointed for a limited, but renewable, term of number of years or for life. Moreover, large congregations could appoint two, or more, rabbis. On the other hand, poor congregations could appoint one rabbi to serve in two, or more, synagogues.<sup>236</sup>

The rabbi's most important duties consisted of the administration of justice according to the Jewish Law (*halakhah*). He acted as a *dayyan*, or judge. The rabbi had responsibility for the religious education of the young, so the rabbi also acted as a teacher (*marbitz torah*). The rabbis were also expected to deliver sermons on *Shabbats* and holidays. They generally conducted religious services, assist at *Bar Mitzvah*,<sup>237</sup> *Bat Mitzvah* and weddings, and were present at funerals and circumcisions. "An outstanding rabbi whose scholarship was widely recognized could also act as *posek* ("decisor"), making pronouncements on difficult or controversial issues, where the law was not always clear-cut."<sup>238</sup> Above all, the rabbi served as a spiritual mentor and a guide to his congregants."<sup>239</sup> The rabbi was rather considered more *de-atra*, Aramaic for "the authoritative teacher of the place."<sup>240</sup>

The responsibilities of the rabbi and the lay leaders were clearly and distinctively defined. Within the community, the rabbi represented the *halakhah* as the supreme law of Judaism and took care of all religious and spiritual needs while the lay leaders were responsible for all financial and administrative matters. However, the rabbi was not the chief executive of the community which is

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<sup>236</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 46.

<sup>237</sup> *Bar* or *Bat Mitzvah* literally means "son of commandment" or "daughter of commandment." It refers to the child who is coming of age and to someone as "becoming a bar or bat mitzvah" or "subject to the law." According to the Jewish law, when a boy becomes 13 years old, he becomes accountable for their actions and becomes a bar mitzvah. A girl becomes a bat mizvah at the age of 12.

<sup>238</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 211.

<sup>239</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 47.

<sup>240</sup> Chaim Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life and Thought*, (Jerusalem: Carta Jerusalem, 1996), p. 373.

administered rather by elected officials. Besides, the rabbi was not considered subordinate or accountable to them.<sup>241</sup>

The Jewish communities were led by Rabbis who were recognized as the leaders of their congregations by the authorities in the capital. It appears that the Ottomans adopted similar policies in Bursa. The earliest registered *haham* of Bursa was Isaac Ben Lev. He was there at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century and he was one of the top *hahams* of his time in the Ottoman Empire. He was enjoyed great esteem in rabbinical circles, although he was in a contradiction with a new immigrant Italian *haham* Jacob Taitachak.<sup>242</sup>

Moreover, the Jews in Bursa had a quarter of their own, implying a certain measure of autonomy in day to day affairs. There were three different Jewish communities living in Kuruçeşme. Each community had their respective synagogues and *hahams*. In 1829, Elie Joseph Chilton was one of the *hahams* of Bursa and he served at *Beth-din* with his colleagues Touvi Isaac and Moses Afnayim. According to Galante, Chilton was the first officially recognized chief rabbi of Bursa in 1836.<sup>243</sup>

According to the population records of the non-Muslims in Bursa, there were three *hahams* in Kuruçeşme belonging to the three different congregations. These were *Haham* Isak, the son of Yasef (55), *Haham* Musa, the son of Nesim (65) and *Haham* Manozil, the son of Avram (45).<sup>244</sup>

According to the additional population records of 1833, there was another *haham* called Yafes Ilya residing with his extended family (with his son Samuel and his grandson Refail) in number 23 in Kuruçeşme.<sup>245</sup>

In 1839, 250 *kuruş* was allocated as a salary to the chief rabbi of Bursa with the other *millet* leaders.<sup>246</sup> In 1851, David Karasu from Salonika was assigned as a *haham* to one of the synagogues in Bursa.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life and Thought*, p. 373.

<sup>242</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>244</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, (Bursa: Akkılıç Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 2011), p. 164.

<sup>245</sup> KK.d.6331

In 1859 he was followed by Raphael Jacob Levi who was awarded with the fourth class *Mecidiye Nişanı* in 1879,<sup>248</sup> in return for his outstanding services for the state. He was also the father Moses Levi who had a position as *ad interim* Chief Rabbi of Turkey over thirty years.<sup>249</sup> In 1888, Salomon Ouziel (Uziyel) followed him.<sup>250</sup>

### 3.6.1.1.2 *Shohets* (Butchers)

In Orthodox Judaism, the dietary laws are considered the implications of the divine rule. According to the Jewish law, meat is not permitted for the Jewish consumption unless the animal has been slaughtered in a specified manner. Although the *Mishnah* (“Jewish oral tradition”) declares that “all may slaughter with the exception of the deaf-mutes, minors, and mental defectives,” it has become established practice that slaughtering is restricted to individuals who have been especially trained and certified.<sup>251</sup> Its strict dietary laws obligated the congregations and communities to employ certified *shohets* (“ritual slaughterers”) and *menakrim* (who remove certain inner parts from the meat, to make it *kosher*).

The *shohet* is a pious and expert who is officially responsible for slaughtering animals and poultry in accordance with the rules of *shehitah*.<sup>252</sup> His duty is to

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<sup>246</sup> C.DH. 215/10704

<sup>247</sup> “Bursa’da Yahudi taifesinin umur-ı milliyye ve hususat-ı sarielerini ruyet etmek üzere Selanikli David Karasu Haham tayin olunarak bu kere ol tarafa i’zâm kılınmış olduğundan mersum hakkında ri’âyet-i lâzime ve umurunda teshilat-ı mukteziyenin icrasıyla beraber taife-i merkume haklarında dahi şime-i teba perverinin icrası hususu Hahambaşı tarafından bâ takrir ifade v eistida olunmuş ve her sınıf tebea-i şahanenin her hal ve kârda dilîr-i ni’met ve asayiş ve madelet olması nezd-i merâhim-i vefd-i cihanbanide mültezim bulunmuş olmakla ber uceb-i istidâ Haham-ı merkum hakkında hürmet ve sahabet ve memurine dair düşen aylıklarında muavenet-i icabiyyenin ifası ile taife-i merkumenin dahi sair sınıf-ı tebea-i devlet-i aliyye misilli istikrar olunmak ve iraha-i balleri hususuna himmet buyurmaları babında şikka.” (HR.MKT. 41/34)

<sup>248</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turque*, p. 168.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Canan Seyfeli, “Osmanlı Devlet Salnamelerinde Hahambaşılık (1847-1918),” in *Milel ve Nihal İnanç, Kültür ve Mitoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol: 7, No: 1, (January-April 2010), with the citation from *Osmanlı Devlet Salnamesi 1305*; Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turque*, p. 168.

<sup>251</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 439.

<sup>252</sup> The special method of slaughtering animals, called *shehitah*, consists of an incision made across the neck of the animal or fowl by a qualified person especially trained for ritual slaughter, with a special knife that is razor-sharp and has a smooth edge with absolutely no nicks. The cutting must be made by moving the knife in a single swift and uninterrupted sweep, and not by pressure or by stabbing. The cut severs the main arteries, rendering the animal unconscious and permitting the blood

slaughter the animal and examine the vital parts of the viscera. The *shohet* must be an individual known to be God-fearing and pious. Then he must become an expert in the laws of ritual slaughter.<sup>253</sup> The *kahal* trained, examined and licensed the slaughterers making certain of their moral qualities as their knowledge of how to prepare their products in accordance with *kosher*<sup>254</sup> ritual requirements such as sharpness of their knives. So, to be certified, the *shohet* must pass an examination administered by the local rabbi or by the recognized rabbinate. The work of the ritual slaughterers also was under constant supervision, especially by the city's *hakhams* and *memunei issur ve-heter* ("overseers of ritual matters") who responded to the *shohets'* questions, examined their proficiency, checked their knives and enacted ordinances such as the one forbidding ritual slaughtering by a single *shohet*.<sup>255</sup> Severe punishments were provided for violations. As a result of this diligence, the members of the community could consume the products in confidence of their ritual purity.<sup>256</sup>

In addition, they were paid a set sum per animal slaughtered, or a regular salary. Their wages were generally paid of the income from the *gabella* tax on meat that was paid by the butchers to person who bought the right to collect it and known as *gabellero*. Although slaughtering provided a regular income, however, the prestige of this profession was low due to the filth and unpleasant odor.<sup>257</sup>

Cattles were slaughtered by the *shohets* in the municipal slaughterhouse (*salhaneh*), located on the outskirts of the city because it posed a hazard to health. *Kosher* slaughtered animals bore a special mark to avoid mix-ups and were then transferred for sale in the shops of Jewish butchers, who would cut the meat, make it ritually clean by salting it to drain the blood, and sell it to the public. Moreover,

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to drain from the body. The slaughterer recites a prayer before the act of *shehitah*. (Yusuf Besalel, *Yahudilik Ansiklopedisi*, p. 666)

<sup>253</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 439.

<sup>254</sup> In Judaism, *kosher* regulations prohibit the eating of certain foods and require that other foods be prepared in a specified manner.

<sup>255</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 314.

<sup>256</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 59.

<sup>257</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 314.

slaughter of poultry was apparently carried out by heads of households themselves, or by butchers.<sup>258</sup>

The same rules had followed in Bursa regarding the animal slaughtering. In that sense, there were two *shohets* (*hayvan boğazlayıcı*) working for the Jewish community in Bursa, according to the *Temettu* records of 1845. First *shohet* was Salamon (son of Musa) who was earning 360 *kuruş*. The second *shohet* was Isak (son of Basak) who was also paid 360 *kuruş*. While Salamon was living alone in number 68, Isak was sharing his house with his brother Haim who is working as a servant.<sup>259</sup>

### 3.6.1.1.3 *Melameds* (Teachers)

A *melamed* (Heb. מלמד, “teacher”) was an elementary school (*Talmud Torah*) teacher who was employed by the congregation. A distinction was made between *melamed* who taught in his own home and *melamed* who taught in a room set aside for this purpose in the synagogue.

The teachers were considered the lowliest of the rabbis in the congregation. Their religious education was not always of the highest level and they had a fairly low social status. But they were required to be pious and to understand his vocation. Only a married man might be a *melamed*. In addition, their salary was low, paid on a weekly basis by the parents, the *Talmud Torah* society or by the supra-congregational leadership.<sup>260</sup>

In Bursa, the Jewish community had five *melamedim* (*mekteb hocası*) according 1845 *temettu* records of Kuruçeşme. First two of them were Başde (*veled-i Hazi*) and Yakov (*veled-i Samuel*). Both had nuclear families. The third *melamed* was Yakov (*veled-i Yuda*) was living on number 95 with his son Avram who was a *kazzaz* (silk dealer) and earned 360 *kuruş* in a year. Subsequent one was Haim (*veled-i Basak*) resided in number 98 with his son Basak as well. His son was a *kazzaz* and gained 360 *kuruş*. The last *melamed*, Herut (*veled-i Benyamin*) had a nuclear family and dwelled into number 119. All of the community teachers earned

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<sup>258</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 313.

<sup>259</sup> ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

<sup>260</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 312.

360 *kuruş* for a year. It is possible to conclude that the *melamedim* in the Jewish community of Bursa had fixed salaries that were determined by the *kahal*.

#### 3.6.1.1.4 *Shamashs* (Beadles)

A *shamash* (Heb. “servant or attendant”) was a salaried sexton in a Jewish synagogue. The *shamash* was hired to serve the members of the congregation and received instructions from the *parnassim*, the *haham* and the worshippers themselves. Often, he would live close to the synagogue, so as to be able to carry out his duties more effectively. In addition to his regular salary, he received a payment from individual members who hired his services.<sup>261</sup>

The beadle undertook just about everything that the other officials did not do. He was the principal guardian of the temple, locking and opening the doors and maintaining general security.<sup>262</sup> He called the Jewish community to prayers in the synagogue. The beadle cleaned the Ark and changed its curtains on holidays, lit the candles and lamps in the synagogue and supervised the chapels. He supervised the ceremonies and celebrations in the synagogue.

In fact, mainly in small Jewish communities, where it was difficult to support a large number of public servants, it was common for the *shamash* to assume responsibility for all of these functions relating to the religious program of the synagogue.<sup>263</sup> So while the synagogue services were being carried out, he kept people quiet and arranged the prayer services.<sup>264</sup> Each *Shabbat*, prior to the taking out of the *Torah* scroll from the ark, the beadle would sell the right to be called up to the *Torah* and to read a part of it to the highest bidders.<sup>265</sup> His duties also included preparing prayer books and prayer shawls for the worshippers. He was also responsible for preparing lists of those who would be called up to the *Torah* and of the deceased whose names would be read out during memorial services.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 225.

<sup>262</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 70.

<sup>263</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 427.

<sup>264</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>265</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 226.

<sup>266</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, pp. 70-71.

In small congregations, the beadle also served to the *parnassim* and the court judges, and was sent on errands. Therefore, he also had to be a learned man for he helped to the rabbis in applying laws, making necessary preparations for ceremonies and at times acting as a teacher.<sup>267</sup> He was the *kahal's* messenger, carrying communications to members as well as to officials to the Ottoman government. He was community notary public, court clerk, and court recorder. He executed the sentences of the *Beit Din* (rabbinical court of Judaism) and incarcerating guilty members in the synagogue prison. In these small communities, he was also a repair man, supervisor of the soup kitchens and charity houses, and even the gravedigger.<sup>268</sup>

The Kuruçeşme neighborhood had a *süpürgeci* who worked as a *shamash* in the synagogue. The *Süpürgeci* Simarye registered as number 61 and earned 360 *kuruş* for a year like other employees of the *kehillah* such as the teachers and butchers.

#### **3.6.1.1.5 Hazzans (Cantors)**

A cantor officiated in the synagogue and was usually chosen for his knowledge of the synagogue ritual and for his pleasant voice. Moreover he had to be a man of moral character, learned, in good health, and acceptable to the community.<sup>269</sup> He was a person who chanted the prayers and read from the *Torah* as well as pronouncing marriage and burial prayers.<sup>270</sup> Other functions of the cantor included teaching at the communal Hebrew school, serving as court orderly, as a *mohel* (“circumciser”) at circumcisions and also as a *shohet* (“ritual slaughterer”).<sup>271</sup>

The *hazzan* was hired by the congregation’s trustees and given a writ of appointment for one or several years that stipulated his wages and conditions of employment. In addition to his salary, the cantor received other ameliorations, dependent on economic possibilities and customary conditions: exemption from the payment of certain taxes, gifts received from individuals and societies, and the

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<sup>267</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 225.

<sup>268</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>269</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 183.

<sup>270</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 70.

<sup>271</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 183; Besalel, *Yahudilik Ansiklopedisi*, p. 205.

payment for services rendered in addition to his functions in the synagogue, such as conducting memorial services in private homes or at the cemetery.<sup>272</sup>

According to the list of Galante, Palacci family was the *hazzan* family of Bursa since the family had eleven *hazzanim*<sup>273</sup> working both in Bursa and Istanbul. Currently, Haim Daniel Palacci was the *hazan* of the Mayor Synagogue.<sup>274</sup>

### 3.6.1.1.6 *Sofers* (Clerks or Scribes)

A *Sofer* was an attendant who wrote *Torah* scrolls, *mezuzot*,<sup>275</sup> *ketubbot* (marriage contracts), divorce papers, and all sorts of contracts. Other than having a good handwriting, he had to be proficient in phrasing and formulations used in the various types of writs and certificates. The laws regulating the writing of these works are quite complex and exacting. The writing must be on parchment produced from the hide of a *kosher* animal. The letters must be formed in conformity with precise standards using a special ink, and certain letters must be embellished with ornamental crowns. Prior to writing, the scribe must lay out the page and its margins, scratching parallel lines onto the surface of the parchment with a sharp instrument.<sup>276</sup>

Almost every congregation was in need of a professional scribe to record the decisions of the elected leadership and execute formal correspondence and recording of ordinances, court decisions and writs. The presence of scribe was obligatory at weddings and during the drafting of wills and endowments.<sup>277</sup> The scribe also looked after the financial affairs of the *kahal*.<sup>278</sup>

The congregation's *parnassim* appointed the scribe, though it seems that there was no limit to the length of time he could fill the office. There was no set salary,

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<sup>272</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 311.

<sup>273</sup> Here are the names of *hazzanim* from this family: Joseph Palacci, Jacob Palacci, Haim Palacci, Daniel Palacci, Moses Palacci, Nissim Isaac Palacci, Raphael Haim Palacci, Reuben Palacci, Haim Sabatay Palacci, Isaac Palacci and Jacob Palacci. (Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol. V, pp. 163-164).

<sup>274</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, pp. 163-164.

<sup>275</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 413.

<sup>276</sup> Pearl, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life...*, p. 414.

<sup>277</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 315.

<sup>278</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 70.

payment being made on the basis of the number of the documents. The scribes could earn money from private assignments, as well.<sup>279</sup>

### 3.6.1.1.7 *Mohels* (Circumcisers)

A circumciser (Heb. *mohel*) performed his duties as a private individual and was paid by the person who hired him. Anyone who had not been certified was forbidden to engage in circumcision, authorization to be provided by the three leading *mohalim* in the city after the candidate completes a two-year apprenticeship. The regulations were confirmed by the *mohalim* and *hahams* of Istanbul.<sup>280</sup> However, there is no official record showing that there was a *mohel* in the Jewish neighborhood in Bursa. It is possible to conclude that the circumcisions were performed by either the *shamash* or *hazzan* instead of *mohel*.

### 3.6.1.2 The Lay Leadership

#### 3.6.1.2.1 *Kahyas*

The Jewish community maintained contact with the Ottoman authorities through special functionaries, known in Turkish, *ketkhüdalar* which is derived from the Persian *ketkhoda* (“master of a household”). *Kahyalar* carried the meaning of “administrator” or a man who looks after the affairs of an important government official or influential person, *kocabaşı* or *cemaatbaşı* (“head of the community”).<sup>281</sup> This term was often interchangeable with the Hebrew *shtadlan* (“intermediary, lobbyist”; pl. *shtadlanim*)<sup>282</sup> or *parnasim* (“aldermen,” sing. *parnas*), who were sometimes called *memunnim* (“appointees,” sing. *memunneh*) or *berurim* (“the elect,” sing. *barur*).<sup>283</sup>

This system might have existed in the Ottoman Empire even before the 16<sup>th</sup> century since it was already a common institution among the Jewish communities

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<sup>279</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 315.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 24.

<sup>282</sup> D Gershon Lewental, “Kethüda (Kâhya, Heb. Shtadlan),” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman. [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/kethuda-kahya-heb-shtadlan-SIM\\_0012540](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/kethuda-kahya-heb-shtadlan-SIM_0012540), accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>283</sup> Minna Rozen, “Individual and Community in the Jewish Society of the Ottoman Empire: Salonica in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* ed. by Avigdor Levy, p. 217.

under the various Muslim and Christian regimes in Asia, the Middle East and Europe.<sup>284</sup> In the Ottoman Empire the first recorded *kahya* was active around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As Mark Allan Epstein points out, “in [a] document where the *cizye-i rav* of Capsali was recorded there is an entry for a payment by the *kethüda* of the Karaites.”<sup>285</sup> In fact, Rozanes makes the point that the Jews of the Ottoman Empire felt the need for some official intermediary because, if the government indeed allowed the Jews to settle throughout the country and participate in all sorts of trade and commerce, the “old residents,” in particular Greeks, would be hostile, and that the Jews could also be subject to harassment and over-taxation by greedy officials. Therefore, the government established the *kethüdalık*.<sup>286</sup>

In the *kehalim* the executive body (*ma'amad*) composed of several *kahyas* and their deputies who were elected by the tax-paying members (*yehidim*) of the congregation<sup>287</sup> in order to represent the Jewish community's interest before the Ottoman authorities. Also the community would allow them to nominate their successors. However, the latter had to be approved by a majority of the members in a public meeting.<sup>288</sup>

“The elected lay leader assisted the Rabbi in carrying out the *kahal*'s administrative and financial affairs, sometimes referred to modestly as the ‘Great Men of the *kahal*’, were by tradition limited to seven, though sometimes fewer actually served in the community council.”<sup>289</sup> Aside from representation, other duties, performed by *kahyas*, included arranging the repairs of the synagogues. Its duties also included reporting on the activities and cash flow of the Jewish businessmen and tax-farmers and keeping records of communal taxes. The Ottoman administration saw *kahya* as a major tax payer charged with ensuring that the Jewish

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<sup>284</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 24.

<sup>285</sup> Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities...*, p. 57.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>287</sup> Minna Rozen, “Individual and Community in the Jewish Society...,” p. 217.

<sup>288</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 64.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

community satisfied its financial obligations to the government.<sup>290</sup> *Kahya* had to be trustworthy and wealthy enough to enable him to pay the all taxes of the community to the government until collecting all the taxes.<sup>291</sup>

Above all, among his responsibilities was the defense of the Jews against the depredations of officials and from other communities in Ottoman society. They rectified the injustices by local authorities by appealing to the Imperial Court.<sup>292</sup> They worked as a “lobbyist” negotiating for the safety and benefit of the Jews with the authorities holding power. In spite of their right to administer the *kahal*, they were bound to listen to the advice of men of prominence in the community before decisions were made.

Moreover, “the *kahya* administered the *kahal*’s affairs according to the Jewish law (*halakhah*) and custom (*hagaddah*), as well as old-established community regulations or ordinances (*takkana*, pl. *takkanot*) and agreements (*haskama*, pl. *haskamot*). For problems not covered in existing law or agreement or created by new conditions, the *kahya* enacted new regulations, which gained the force of law equal to the dictates of the *halakhah* once they were accepted by the community and the rabbis and confirmed by *halakhah*.”<sup>293</sup>

All these duties are considered, it seems that the *kahya* was politically prominent and influential. Although *kahyas* sometimes made constructive efforts to improve conditions of their communities, however, many also used their connections with the Ottoman officialdom to become an independent power.<sup>294</sup> However, the re-establishment of the imperial post of the chief rabbi (*haham başı*) in 1835 and the Statute of 1865, which modernized the Jewish community, largely eliminated the historical function of the *kahya* by transferring much of his duties to the *haham başı*. However, in Istanbul and other Jewish communities, there continued to be a

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<sup>290</sup> D Gershon Lewental, “Kethüda (Kâhya, Heb. Shtadlan)”; Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 202.

<sup>291</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 205.

<sup>292</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 24.

<sup>293</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 64.

<sup>294</sup> Marc D. Angel, “The Responsa Literature in the Ottoman Empire as a Source for the Study of Ottoman Jewry,” in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* ed. by Avigdor Levy, p. 675.

functionary with the title of *kahya* who acted as a registrar, recording births, deaths, marriages, and divorces.<sup>295</sup>

Nonetheless, the system had an advantage which was that only an appointed person was empowered by the Jewish community to represent the interest and needs of the Jews. “Since the individual Jews were not supposed to bring their problems to the government, they would have to resolve their needs within the confines of the authority of the Jewish community.”<sup>296</sup>

According to the 1845 *temettü* record, there was only one *kahya* registered under the title of “*millet kethüdası*.” His name was İsak and was the son of Hazım. He was earning 500 *kuruş* and had an extended family since his son Isak was living with him. His son was a *kazzaz* and earning 360 *kuruş*.<sup>297</sup>

### **3.6.1.2.2 Muhbirs**

*Muhbirs* were the lay leaders of the community since 1839. They were assigned locally to count the people, to announce and enforce state regulations, and, ultimately, to issue the census receipts and travel permits and to collect taxes and to represent the community before the Ottoman authorities.<sup>298</sup>

According to the population records of Kuruçeşme, *kocabaş-ı evvel* was registered who was equal to the *muhtar* in the Muslim neighborhoods. The *kocabaş-ı evvel* of the community was Avram (*veled-i Davut*) was 45 years old. (See the appendix F)

## **3.6.2 The Supra-congregational Leadership: The Chief Rabbinate (*Hahambaşılık*)**

### **3.6.2.1 The Chief Rabbinate**

*Hahambaşı* has been the title of a government-appointed chief rabbi in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey since 1835. The title, of Ottoman Turkish

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<sup>295</sup> D Gershon Lewental, “Kethüda (Kâhya, Heb. Shtadlan).”

<sup>296</sup> Marc D. Angel, “The Responsa Literature in the Ottoman Empire...,” p. 675.

<sup>297</sup> ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

<sup>298</sup> Shaw, “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914,” p. 327; Avigdor Levy, “Millet,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/millet-COM0015330>, accessed on 09 June 2012.

provenance, combines *haham*, the Turkish form of Hebrew *haham* (wise man, sage), used by Sephardi Jews as a title for their rabbis, and Turkish *baş* (head, chief) in the qualifying relationship construct *başı*.<sup>299</sup>

When the Ottomans conquered Istanbul and the Thrace, and met the Jews there, they allowed internal authority of the Jews, as part of the Ottoman policy of governing diverse subjects and Rabbi Moses Capsali (1420-95), who had been the head of the community under the Byzantines, emerged as the political and spiritual leader of the community.<sup>300</sup> It has been claimed that “Rabbi Moses Capsali offered the solution, agreeing to pay a special tax, the *Rav Akçesi* or Rabbi Tax, in return for the Sultan’s recognition as Grand Rabbi (*Hahambaşı*) of a separate Jewish community.”<sup>301</sup> Certainly, he was the chief rabbi, however, it is blurred that which communities fell under his jurisdiction and what was his relationship with the Ottoman authorities.<sup>302</sup> There are also stories about his membership to the Imperial Council seems to have been a myth, “since extant contemporary Ottoman records do not mention his presence in this body.”<sup>303</sup>

The Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire were under the religious and civil leadership of their religious heads, the patriarchs who were officially appointed and confirmed by the government as the only representatives of their respective communities. The Jews, however, fashioned their own unique leadership and administration. In general, the representation of the community before the Ottoman authorities was in the hands of lay leaders after the death of Capsali. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the local rabbis and laymen took administrative and

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<sup>299</sup> Avigdor Levy, “Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi),” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/haham-bas-chief-rabbi-COM\\_0008940](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/haham-bas-chief-rabbi-COM_0008940), accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>300</sup> Epstein, “The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews...,” p.103.

<sup>301</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 42.

<sup>302</sup> Epstein, “The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews...,” p.103.

<sup>303</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 42.

spiritual responsibility of their communities. In many places, the community consisted of several congregations had leaders of their own.<sup>304</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century and after, the Ottoman authorities recognized the right of the local Jewish communities to organize their own autonomous leadership, but as a rule they did not interfere in the process and did not grant official recognition to individuals holding the office of chief rabbi. The religious leadership became more or less institutionalized and vested in the office of the local chief rabbinate, often a committee of two or three rabbis, each of whom was considered a chief rabbi in his own right and was known in Hebrew as *rav ha-kolel*, or rabbi of the entire community. The Jews who were longing to avoid government interference in their internal affairs were apparently satisfied with this arrangement.<sup>305</sup>

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century the chief rabbinate continued to be divided in the Jewish communities of Ottoman Empire as it was in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At times, more than two rabbis shared this position, reflecting the interests of different groups.<sup>306</sup> This situation prevailed until the 1830s.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman government aimed to advance the appearance of a pluralistic Ottoman society, especially the political position of the Jewish community. For this reason, shortly before the *Tanzimat* reforms, the first step in that direction was taken with the granting of the formal recognition to the Ottoman Jewry as one of the four “official” communities (*millets*) that together constituted the Ottoman body politic, the others being the Muslims, Greeks, and Armenians. Thus the office of chief rabbi was reinstated in Istanbul, and Jewish communities in the empire<sup>307</sup> since the Ottoman government began trying to implement broad reforms that would transform and redefine the Ottoman polity on the basis of patriotism, pluralism, and equality before the law. Within this context, Sultan issued an edict

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<sup>304</sup> Onur Yıldırım, “Anatolia,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/anatolia-COM\\_0001950](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/anatolia-COM_0001950), accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>305</sup> Levy, “Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi).”

<sup>306</sup> Jacob Barnai, “Organization and Leadership in the Jewish Community of Izmir in the Seventeenth Century,” in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), p. 282.

<sup>307</sup> Yıldırım, “Anatolia.”

(*ferman*) dated 21 January, 1835 referring to the appointment Rabbi Abraham Levi as the chief rabbi:

*Whereas, whenever it is necessary to replace the patriarchs of the three millets [millet-i selase; presumably the Greeks, Armenians and Catholics] who live under my benevolent Imperial protection, they are clothed with a robe of honor in an official ceremony at the Sublime Porte, the same Imperial favor[has been requested] to be granted also in the case of haham başı of the Jewish millet; and whereas the present haham başı of the Jewish millet has become disabled and old, my Imperial benevolent permission has been requested that he be dismissed and in his place his assistant (mülazım), the best of the select of the aforementioned millet Haham Avram—may his later days end well!—be appointed haham başı.*

*Whereas the aforementioned millets are ancient subjects of my Imperial government, upon request for my Imperial authorization, permission has been granted to appoint the aforementioned assistant as haham başı and clothe him with a robe of honor in an official ceremony at the Sublime Porte, as in the case of patriarchs.*<sup>308</sup>

In January 1835, it was conferred on Abraham Levi in the presence of the sultan. In principle, the chief rabbinate was to be equal to the Orthodox and Armenian patriarchates, meaning that the *haham başı* was regarded as the civil and religious head of the Jewish community, as well as its official representative to the government.<sup>309</sup>

The decision to the establishment of the chief rabbinate was issued in the official newspaper (*Takvim-i Vakayı*) of the Ottoman government in February 22, 1835<sup>310</sup>:

*Whereas it has been recorded in a recent issue of Takvim-i Vakayı that, by Imperial order, brilliant nişans [official decorations] had been granted to the Greek, Armenian and Catholic patriarchs, and this Imperial favor has caused abundant rejoicing and glory to the patriarchs themselves, as well as to their millets; the Jewish millet, hopeful that as subjects of the Imperial government since ancient times, they too would not be deprived of this great honor and the happiness derived from His Imperial Majesty's favor, has humbly submitted a written petition and addressed the (following) request to the Imperial court: Although until now [Jews] used to elect their haham başıs among themselves and it was not customary that they be clothed with a robe of honor (hıl'at) at the Sublime Porte [it is requested that] henceforth, the dismissal and appointment of their haham başıs, and their clothing with a robe of honor, are to take place at the Sublime Porte; and since at the present time, the person holding the office of haham başı has grown old, his deputy (vekil) is to be appointed haham başı and granted a glorious nişan, so as to bring honor and pride to him and to his millet.*

*Whereas the gate of compassion and concern of His Imperial Majesty is open to all subjects and it is evident that His Sovereign kindness and generosity are lavishly granted, the favor of His Imperial Majesty was deemed appropriate also in the case of aforementioned*

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<sup>308</sup> Levy, "Millet Politics: the Appointment of a Chief Rabbi in 1835," in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), p. 430.

<sup>309</sup> Levy, "Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi)."

<sup>310</sup> Hatice Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hahambaşılık Müessesesi*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 2003), p. 80.

[Jewish] millet; the aforementioned deputy was brought to the Sublime Port, appointed *haham başı* and clothed with the requisite robe of honor. Afterwards he was taken to His Majesty's quarters in the Imperial Palace (*mabeyn-i hümayun*) and in the presence of His Imperial Majesty was honored by being awarded a brilliant *nişan* appended to his collar.<sup>311</sup>

The institution of the chief rabbinate was first introduced in Istanbul and was recognized by the Jewish community. They perceived the new institution as an intervention to its internal affairs. Notwithstanding the attitude of the community, the *haham başı* officially represented the Jewish *millet* in all state ceremonies.<sup>312</sup>

Five chief rabbinate under the title of first degree in Istanbul, Selaniko, Bursa, Izmir, and Jerusalem and three second degree chief rabbinate in Sofia, Bosnia and Edirne were established in the Ottoman lands. Subsequently, *haham başıs* were appointed in the Jewish communities of Izmir, Salonika, and Bursa in September 1835; and in Edirne and Sofia in July 1836 and Jerusalem (1841).<sup>313</sup>

Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century Bursa had four chief rabbis. The first chief rabbi was İliya who was appointed in 1848, according to the *Salnames*.<sup>314</sup> Then, Yakov Levi was assigned as a chief rabbi of Bursa between the years 1859-1888.<sup>315</sup> In 1888, Salamon Uziyel *Efendi* was appointed to the chair and governed the Bursa Jewish community until 1895.<sup>316</sup> Succeeding Salamon Uziyel's retirement, Davit Papo *Efendi* was chosen as the chief rabbi of Bursa in 1895.<sup>317</sup>

### 3.6.2.2 The General Regulations of the Rabbinate (*Hahamhane Nizamnamesi*)

In July 1863, Fuad Pasha, the grand vizier, ordered the chief rabbi of Istanbul to launch a process in order to reconstruct the social structure of the Jewish community and the rabbinate. In this context, the chief rabbi organized a committee

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<sup>311</sup> Levy, "Millet Politics: the Appointment of a Chief Rabbi in 1835," pp. 425-426.

<sup>312</sup> Levy, "Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi)."

<sup>313</sup> Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hahambaşılık*, p. 81; Barnai, "Organization and Leadership in...," p. 282.

<sup>314</sup> Canan Seyfeli, "Osmanlı Devlet Salnamelerinde Hahambaşılık (1847-1918)," in *Milel ve Nihal İnanç, Kültür ve Mitoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol: 7, No: 1, (January-April 2010), with the citation from *Osmanlı Devlet Salnamesi*, 1264.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, with the citation from *Osmanlı Devlet Salnamesi*, 1275;1281; 1289; 1291; 1293.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, with citation from *Osmanlı Devlet Salnamesi* 1305.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, with citation from *Osmanlı Devlet Salnamesi* 1313.

consisting of fourteen regional representatives from Istanbul and the committee selected twelve lay leaders and four rabbis to formulate a reform statute. Afterwards, the reform proposals were presented to Sultan Abdülaziz and in May 1865, the Ottoman government adopted highly structured regulations, known as *Hahamhane Nizamnamesi* (General Regulations of the Rabbinate).<sup>318</sup>

The Organizational Regulations of the Rabbinate<sup>319</sup> were organized under five titles. First one was about the status of the *haham başı*, his qualifications and election (clauses 1-4). In the elections, “the general council was to be joined by forty representatives from provincial communities, in recognition that the chief rabbi of the capital was the representative of all of the Ottoman Jewry.” This larger body was to elect the chief rabbi from a list of five candidates prepared by the lay council.<sup>320</sup> The second title covered the problems about his powers and replacement in the event of resignation or removal from the office (clauses 5-15).<sup>321</sup> Thirdly, the statute laid down the responsibilities and appointment mechanisms of the three communal institutions—the *meclisi umumi* (general council), the *meclisi cismani* (lay council), and the *meclisi ruhani* (religious council). The general council had sixty lay members who are elected by the inhabitants of Istanbul, and they in turn elect 20 rabbinical members. The general council was also responsible for electing the members of the religious council which had seven rabbis and nine members of the secular committee. At the election of the *haham başı*, the general committee was temporarily accompanied by 40 members from eight districts Edirne, Bursa, Izmir, Salonika, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem (clauses 16-19).<sup>322</sup>

According to the statute, the general council was responsible for supervising religious laws and regulations, and appointing and overseeing the community’s rabbis. The chief rabbi had to consult with the religious council before imposing

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<sup>318</sup> Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hahambaşılık*, p. 79.

<sup>319</sup> For an original document see Hatice Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hahambaşılık Müessesesi*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 2003), pp. 122-125.

<sup>320</sup> Levy, “Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi)”; Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hahambaşılık...*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>321</sup> Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Hahambaşılık...*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

punishments on community members found to have transgressed religious or communal regulations.<sup>323</sup>

The clauses between 20 and 38 covered the subjects about the powers of the religious council which supervised the activities of the city-district rabbis who act under its instructions.<sup>324</sup>

The statute lastly defined the boundaries of the lay council in regard to management of communal affairs and carrying into effect of government orders. It was charged with regulating and supervising the community's secular affairs, including finances. It also assured the integrity of property of orphans and endowments (clauses 39-48).<sup>325</sup>

The statute divided the Ottoman Jewish community into eight rabbinical districts except Istanbul: Bursa, Baghdad, Edirne, Izmir, Salonika, Cairo, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Each district had its own chief rabbi and communal institutions functioning under the authority of the chief rabbi of Istanbul.<sup>326</sup>

In practice, congregations in the empire had been evolving an unofficial new leadership structure. So, the general regulations of the rabbinate helped this evolution and played an important role in the politicization of the Ottoman Jewish world. In most places the chief rabbi was already restricted to the spiritual sphere, while laymen were in charge of daily matters. However, the Hahamhane Nizamnamesi recognized the chief rabbi as the administrative leader of the Ottoman Jewry.

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<sup>323</sup> Levy, "Haham Başı (Chief Rabbi)."

<sup>324</sup> Doğan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hahambaşılık...*, pp. 86-88.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>326</sup> Aksel Erbahar, "Hahamhane Nizamnamesi (General Regulations of the Rabbinate)," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/hahamhane-nizamnamesi-general-regulations-of-the-rabbinate-COM\\_0008890](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/hahamhane-nizamnamesi-general-regulations-of-the-rabbinate-COM_0008890) accessed on 09 June 2012

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE BURSA JEWISH COMMUNITY

*“You must not do as they do in Egypt, where you used to live,  
and you must not do as they do in the land of Canaan,  
where I am bringing you. Do not follow their practices.”*

Leviticus 18:3

#### 4.1 Clothing

In the Ottoman Empire, various restrictions were applied to the *dhimmis* under the *millet* system.<sup>327</sup> For example, they were prohibited from dressing as Muslims, riding horses, owning slaves, and practicing religious ceremonies in a way that might be offensive to Muslims.<sup>328</sup> Therefore, in this chapter the Ottoman clothing regulations with regard to *dhimmis* but in particular to the Jews of Bursa will be examined.

##### 4.1.1 Clothing Regulations

In the Ottoman Empire, all classes had been subject to the Ottoman clothing regulations. All members of the *millet* system were obliged to wear garments of

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<sup>327</sup> “Müslümanlar kafirlerin kilise ve manastırlarına müdahalede bulunmayacaklar; gayri müslimler de yeni mabedler inşa ve tamir edemeyecekler; casus saklayamayacaklar; oğullarına ve kızlarına müslüman adı veremeyecekler. Müslüman olmadıkça Kuran okuyup öğretemeyecekler; aralarında müslüman olmak isteyenlere mani olmayacaklar; herhangi bir müslüman meclisine gelseler ayak üzere duracaklar, onlara hürmet edecekler; hiçbir işde müslümanlara benzemeyecekler; elbiseleri başka olacak, kılıç kuşanmayacaklar. Herhengi bir harb aleti ellerine almayacaklar; başlarını kazıtıp enselerinde saç bırakacaklar; kendi mukaddes kitaplarını müslümanların yoluna çıkıp okumayacaklar; ölülerini müslüman mezarlığına gömmeyecekler; evlerinde dini ayin veya başka bir vesile ile yüksek sesle konuşup bağırmayacaklar; ölülerini önde od yakıp beraber götürmeyecekler. Eğer bunlar yapılırsa cezalandırılacaklar.” (Feridun M. Emecen, *Unutulmuş Bir Cemaat Manisa Yahudileri* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1997), p. 61)

<sup>328</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation,” in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 6.

certain materials and color depending on their class, *millet* and position, with the shape and color of headgear and shoes being of particular importance with the purpose of demonstrating the status of each person.<sup>329</sup> These regulations of clothing were in accordance with the Islamic law. In that sense, various groups wore different colors of attires and hats. For instance, Muslims' shoes and *kavuks* were yellow, Armenians' were red and lastly Jews' were blue.<sup>330</sup> In other words, in the Ottoman Empire, it was forbidden to the non-Muslims to dress like the Muslim subjects. Therefore, the color green was reserved for Muslims since it was considered particularly sacred by Islamic tradition. In that sense, it was easy to distinguish Jews by their manner of dress from their Muslim and Christian neighbors.<sup>331</sup>

For controlling the non-Muslim clothing, a number of decrees restricting minorities in terms of color, quality of fabric, measuring and cutting were issued throughout the Ottoman history. Regulations on the *dhimmi* clothing varied to please the wishes of the ruler. The first decree introduced initial clothing regulations concerning the *dhimmis* in the Islamic state. According to it, "*They shall have the right to wear any kind of clothes save the military uniforms, provided their clothes shall not be similar to those of the Muslims. If any one of them is found to wear a uniform, he is to be arrested and to give reasons for so doing; if he is to be punished by a fine equivalent to the price of his uniform.*"<sup>332</sup> This tradition started in the earlier Islamic states and was accepted by the Ottoman governors, as well. Although Khadduri claims that "there is nothing in this arrangement which might be construed as humiliating,"<sup>333</sup> it might be also interpreted as discriminatory and needless.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Stanford Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman and the Turkish Republic*, (London&Hampshire: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991), p. 78.

<sup>330</sup> Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu, 1839-1914*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), p. 19.

<sup>331</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 79.

<sup>332</sup> Majid, Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 184.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

<sup>334</sup> A.S., Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of 'Umar*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1930; reprint, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1970), p. 115; C. E., Bosworth, "The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Vol: I, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 45.

On the other hand, the decrees were not varied to please only the wishes of the ruler. Shaw also emphasizes that “the most of these practices resulted from the desire of the millet leaders to avoid ostentatious display and also distinguish their followers from members of other millets than they did from any regulations imposed or enforced by the Ruling Class.”<sup>335</sup> Amalia Levi states her thought in the same line with Shaw, “Jewish *millet* leaders imposed clothing regulations on Jews more severely and pervasively than the state ever did, to prevent the assimilation of their coreligionists.”<sup>336</sup> For instance, during the first half of the sixteenth century, “women’s attire was not subject to any restrictions. The immigrants from Spain and Portugal flourished economically and the Jewish women who were wealthy began to wear luxurious garments and precious jewelry. The display of luxury by Jewish women called forth the envy and hostility of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Ottoman Empire.”<sup>337</sup> Therefore, the religious leader of Jewish community enacted decrees because of display of affluence was fraught with danger to the Jewish community.

Whatever its character, it is clear that the Ottomans continued with this early tradition. All Ottoman sultans tried to draw the lines between Muslims and non-Muslims and to prevent the non-Muslims to wear luxurious attires. Murad II (1421-1451) after conquering Macedonia decreed rules, what kind of dresses all non-Muslim subjects could wear. At that time, Christians were required to wear blue turbans and Jews yellow turbans and long garments.<sup>338</sup>

Another decree with regard to clothing regulations was issued during the Selim II (1566-1574) period. According to this decree, none of the Jews, Christians, and other non-Muslims would wear high quality dresses (اعلا). Moreover, the *feraces* were worn by Jews and other non-Muslims had to be grey or black *çuha*<sup>339</sup>. It was forbidden them to use better quality fabrics than Muslims such as fur, atlas, and

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<sup>335</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>336</sup> Amalia S. Levi, *Jewish Costumes in the Ottoman Empire*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Sanat Galerisi, 2000).

<sup>337</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey in the Sixteenth Century*, (New York: The Jewish Theology of America, 1952), p. 127.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

<sup>339</sup> It is a kind of fabric which includes wool.

silk.<sup>340</sup>

Under the Murad III (1574-1595), the clothing regulations continued to apply to the non-Muslim minorities. As a further limitation, in 1577, another royal decree was issued which forbade all Jews to indulge in any form of luxuries dress or to be attired in any dress that resembled that of Muslims. Furthermore, a royal decree of 1579 forbade the Jewish women to wear any jewelry except their marriage ring. Their dress had to be made of cotton without any decorated collars, and their skirts had to be black. All silk garments were forbidden. “The Jewish women no longer were permitted to wear white or red shoes; their shoes had to be made of black leather, without inner lining. Cloth was not to be embroidered with silver and gold thread. The girdles worn by men were not to be expensive and were to be half cotton and half silk.”<sup>341</sup> A subsequent decree forbade all non-Muslims to wear turbans and gave permission to wear high headgear.<sup>342</sup> The Jews were required to wear red bonnets and the Christians black bonnets. In this decree penalty of imprisonment was provided for those who disobeyed these rulings by Murad III.<sup>343</sup>

The Muslim rulers often prohibited *dhimmi*s from wearing certain types of bright colors as well, whereas forcing them to put on highly distinctive garments. According to *Mühimme* records, there were some dress codes focused on especially the Jews and bright colors. In light of this *mühimme*, the Jews had to wear red hats and black *başmak* and *edik*, shoes that the Muslims wore, and high-necked collar *kapama*.<sup>344</sup>

The laws concerning the dress of the non-Muslims continued throughout 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. A royal decree was issued in 1630 proclaiming that the non-Muslim women must not wear garments that were like those of the Muslim women. The non-Muslim women should wear *fistan* instead of *ferace*, their baggy trousers

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<sup>340</sup> Yavuz Ercan, “Türkiye’de XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Gayrimüslimlerin Hukuki, İçtimai ve İktisadi Durumu”, *Bellekten*, 1983, Vol. XLVII/188.

<sup>341</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey...*, p. 128.

<sup>342</sup> BOA, *Mühimme* 39, No: 525/ 273.

<sup>343</sup> BOA, *Mühimme* 39, No: 561/ 292; Naim Güteryüz, *Türk Yahudileri I...*, p.173.

<sup>344</sup> “...Fatih Sultan Mehmed zamanında Yahudiler kırmızı şapka ve siyah başmak ve edik giyip boğazı kapamadan libas giydikleri ve Hıristiyanlar siyah şapka giydikleri cihetle bunlara dülbend sardırmayıp zikrolunan kıyafetle gezdirilmesi...” (BOA, *Mühimme* 39, No: 556/ 290).

should only be light blue, and that they should wear *shirvani* and *kundura* instead of *başmak* on their feet. They should not wear *seraser* (a kind of fabric embroidered with silver and gold thread) collars and *arakkiye* (head dresses) like those worn by Muslim women, if they did wear them they should be made of *atlas*.<sup>345</sup>

In 1758, on the order of Mustafa III, the decree that Jews could not wear clothes and hats like those of the Muslims was revived, and the hat merchants were ordered to be careful about who their customers were. The decree of 1702 of the vizier Daltaban Pasha, forbidding Jews to wear shoes and hats other than black ones, was revived.<sup>346</sup> Lastly, in 1829, Sultan Mahmud II enacted a law making it obligatory to wear the fez in order to replace turbans and hats.<sup>347</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Jewish Clothing in Bursa

The newcomer Jews' costumes<sup>348</sup> were special to themselves. Nevertheless, in time the Jewish clothing habits were affected by three factors and changed until the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the traditional clothing of Byzantine Jews (Romaniotes) who had lived Anatolian territories since the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Spanish and Portuguese clothing brought by Jews exiled from the Iberian Peninsula and the Ottoman laws pertaining to the dress codes.<sup>349</sup> Therefore, the cultural influence of Muslim Ottoman society became rather obviously evident in the Jewish fashions.<sup>350</sup> Other factors that affected the clothing system of Jews in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were *Tanzimat* Reforms and the first Constitution dated 1876. They formed the statutory framework of the changes in clothing of the Ottoman society. Some Muslims as well as some Jews reacted with suspicion to this westernizing process in clothing. Therefore, it was possible to observe traditional clothing and European style clothing concurrently during the

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<sup>345</sup> "The Costumes of the Ottoman Women," <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,32051/the-costumes-of-ottoman-women.html>

<sup>346</sup> Naim Güleriyüz, *Türk Yahudileri I: 20. Yüzyılın başına kadar*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 1993), p.173.

<sup>347</sup> Amalia S. Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>348</sup> For more information about Jewish clothing see also Yusuf Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 2004), pp. 170-173.

<sup>349</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>350</sup> Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul- the Formative Years, 1453-1566*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 287.

transition period.<sup>351</sup>

The color of clothing and their headgear were the only differences between Jews and others. Generally Jewish outdoor attire and shoe color was limited to black or dark colors. They wore cylindrical hats, widening at the top. The hats were wrapped around the base with a colored turban which is called *boneta* or *kaveze*. Each religious group had a different kind of hat. “An ordinary man wore a yellow turban; a physician wore a high red hat; and some newcomers from Venice wore black Italian berets. The *dhimmis* wore shoes of lesser quality than those of the Muslims.” The Jewish men often wore plain, long and wide baggy trousers, called *şalvar* and made of dark colored cloth, which could be seen under the robe at the hem or at the sides. The unfastened robe, or *entari*, open in the front, consisted of two panels overlapping in front and a tight high-necked collar was worn in Bursa. Both sides were slit. The fabric could be plain, striped, and flowered. *Kuşak*, a belt made of long and wide cloth or leather, were bound at the waist on *entari* and *şalvar* in order to keep them in a place and to carry tobacco pouch and money. A waistcoat, *yelek*, and an open-fronted, wide sleeved and blue or black wool robe, or *cübbe*, was worn by the Jewish man over this loose robe.<sup>352</sup> The Jewish man and young boys who strictly observed the *halacha* also wore a *tallit katan* (a small fringed shawl) under their clothes. At home, men would wear thin, high leather shoes and stockings of sort (*mestes/şerviye*). When they went out of doors they would wear thick leather, dark colored shoes (*papuş*), open at the rear and supported under the heel by a horseshoe-like piece of metal. Shoes were wide to be worn over the *mest* (socks made of soft leather). Men also liked to sport jewelry-rings, seals and earrings. A pocket watch which is made generally of silver or gold and embellished by various techniques served both as an ornament and a status symbol.<sup>353</sup> (See Appendix D)

Rabbis also wore the same clothing. The only difference was their robes (*biniş*) made of wider and better quality fabric. A rabbi appointed as a chief rabbi was given a decree, sign and seal as well as a wide sleeved robe ornamented with

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<sup>351</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2008), p. 50.

silver dival work in the front. Their fezzes were wrapped with expensive turbans.<sup>354</sup> (See Appendix D)

The home clothes of the Muslim, Christian and Jewish women were similar those used in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The most significant difference was their headdress. The married women, who were obliged to cover their heads with a scarf according to the religious rules (*halackha*), covered their hair with a fringed and colored cotton kerchief. They used to attach the embroidery done with needles (*oya*) to the colored cotton kerchief made of flower-patterned material.

It is possible to see the Jewish women with the casual clothes on the gravures of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A dark-colored cloak, or *cübbe*, a mantilla which covered their heads, and dark-colored shoes had been enough for showing their identities. The Jewish women wore more comfortable clothes such as *şalvar* and dresses in their daily life. From illustrations and written descriptions we know that the Jewish women coiled their hair or braided it. A traveler, Miss Julia Pardoe, depicts the hairstyles of Jewish girls as follows:

*A sweet little girl of about nine years of age was introduced in order to show me the difference of head dress and assuredly her coiffure was & most elaborate affair. She must have worn at least fifty braids each secured at the end by a knot of pearls and ribbon while her little chubby hands were literally covered with jeweled rings and her feet like those of the elder females simply thrust into richly embroidered slippers.”*<sup>355</sup> *“The Jewish females also take great pride in the adornment of their hair but from the moment of their marriage it is scrupulously hidden so scrupulously indeed that they wear a second handkerchief attached to the turban behind which falls to the ground in order to conceal the roots of the hair that the turban may fail to cover.”*<sup>356</sup>

They covered their heads with a hat or by net decorated with gold ornaments, strings of pearls, silk ribbons, or natural or artificial flowers.<sup>357</sup> In Bursa when they go out, they wore a special turban called *hotoz* or *halebi*, which covered their heads totally. A ball-shaped hat was placed on their head, and then it was covered by turban in order to add volume.<sup>358</sup> Miss Pardoe describes the headdress of Jewish women as a

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<sup>354</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>355</sup> Miss Pardoe, *The City of Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1837), Vol: II, p. 371.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>358</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

scene of the Arabian Nights and added that “During my residence in the East, had I looked on any costume which equaled in richness, and, their head-dresses excepted, in elegance the dress of these Jewish females.”<sup>359</sup> For her,

*There is not a greater difference in the mode of wearing the turban by the one sex at Broussa than in that of wearing the yashmac by the other. In Constantinople it is bound over the mouth and in most instances over the lower part of the nose and concealed upon the shoulders by the feridjhe [...] The yashmac is made of fine thin muslin through which the painted handkerchief and the diamond pins that confine it can be distinctly seen and arranged with a coquetry perfectly wonderful. At Broussa it is composed of thick cambric and bound so tightly about the head that it looks like a shroud.*<sup>360</sup>

Some examples of other accessories of the Jewish women: a wide underwear called *dizlik*; a long and wide baggy trousers (*şalvar çintiyan*) which could often be seen under the robe or *entari*; a long-sleeved shirt or *kamiza* which is made by tulle, *pembezar* or *bürümcük* and covered by needle lace on the collar and sleeves; an unfastened and long or short-sleeved robe (*üçetek entari*) open in the front, consisting of three panels overlapping in front with a tight, high-necked collar; *kuşak* a belt which is made by a wide shawl and closed by metal buckles; a jacket which was spilled down to feet and generally was embroidered with gold or silver thread; a cloak or overcoat which was made by cotton, wool or satin and enriched by fur. The Jewish women preferred in general, dark brown *feraces* in the street. The *ferace*'s collar was embroidered; it extended from the neck to the ankles the back.<sup>361</sup>

However it was the best to learn the Jewish clothing styles from travelers accounts who visited Bursa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of the travelers is Miss Pardoe explaining their attire in that way:

*The mistress of the house was attired in a full dress silk confined a little above the hips by a broad girdle of gold clasped with gems both the girdle and the clasps being five and six inches in width. Above this robe she wore a of dove coloured cachemire lined and overlaid with the most costly sables and worth several hundred pounds the sleeves were large and loose and fell back to reveal the magnificent bracelets encircled her arms and the jeweled rings that flashed upon fingers. Her turban of the usual enormous size worn by all Jewish women was formed of the painted muslin handkerchief the country but so covered with gems that its pattern was undistinguishable while from beneath it a deep fringe of pearls dropped with emeralds of immense size and value fell over her brow down each side of her face and ultimately upon her shoulders...Her three daughters in law in dresses nearly*

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<sup>359</sup> Miss Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, p. 369.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>361</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

similar save that not being widows they did not wear the heavy pelisse and that the gold and pearl embroidered sleeves and bosoms of their silken robes were consequently visible.<sup>362</sup> One of the daughters' dress was gorgeous the costly garniture of gold and jewels which almost made her bodice appear to be one mass of light was continued to the knee of her tunic where it parted to form a deep hem that entirely surrounded the skirt of the garment. The jeweled fringe of her turban was supported on either temple by a large spray of brilliants and fell upon a Border of black floss silk that rested on her fair young brow. Her arms were as white as snow and seemed almost as dazzling as the gems which bound them while her slender waist was compressed by a golden girdle similar in fashion but richer in design than that of her mother's.<sup>363</sup>

Through the *Tanzimat* reforms, the dressing styles of the Jewish community started to change gradually in Bursa. The *fez* started to replace the *turban*, and hats. Whereas the *fez* gradually came to replace the *boneta*, the *entari* was also replaced by the European coats. In time, *ferace* was also gradually replaced with the European style coat, as well.

In the Ottoman Empire, the apparel was an issue going beyond personal taste. Dressing was a part of a social '*etiquette*' and one of the foremost factors in safekeeping society's class structure.<sup>364</sup> Jewelry had a great importance for the Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire. They used their jewelry for personal adornment, to display their personal and familial social positions, and their marital status. It was also kept as a financial guarantee for future security.

The Jewish women owned various jewelries in the Ottoman Empire. The most common and important was the *yadran* (also known as *ogadero*, or *gerdan* in Anatolia). The Ladino word *ogadero* means "choker" referring to the way the necklace was worn. It consisted of subsequent clasps and chains and which was close at the front. This was a gift given to bride by husband. *Mania de çaton* were bracelets made of gold, silver or precious stones and consisted of parallel chains attached to retaining bands attached to each other with a hinge or clasp. The father of the bride gave two bracelets in the wedding to her daughter as a gift. In addition, *lelal* consisted of chains of various lengths and was hung on the left side of the headdress.<sup>365</sup> The other jewelries most common among Jewish women were *sarkiyo*

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<sup>362</sup> Miss Pardoe, *The City of Sultan...*, p. 370.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 370-371.

<sup>364</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*

(an ornament made of pearls, also for the headgear), *yedek* (a string of pearls or corals), *pilar* (a long chain), *rasta* (a chain of coins) and *hamsa, kadena con boton*, or *tartes de oro* (a pendant worn on the breast, made of gold ducat surrounded by smaller gold coins).<sup>366</sup> (See Appendix D)

Although clothing regulations, İnalçık describes the above-average Jews as indistinguishable from the Muslim elite with their costly caftans, richly harnessed horses, and their slave attendants.<sup>367</sup> For Minna Rozen, wealthy Jews expressed their affluence by wearing expensive clothing. Although they wore lavishly, they still obeyed the rules regarding different colors for the different ethnic groups.<sup>368</sup>

## 4.2 Jewish Weddings

The aim of marriage is companionship as expressed in the Bible, because it is not good for the man to be alone. Hence the God made a helper suitable for him.<sup>369</sup> It aims also procreation because God said to them “Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it.”<sup>370</sup> Also in the Talmud the marriage is highly recommended as a way of achieving personal happiness: “A Jew who is not married, lives without delight, without blessing, without goodness.”<sup>371</sup> In *Yeramos* 63b marriage is also advocated as a way of avoiding sin: “Since a man marries a woman his sins dissipate.” Shortly, “marriage was a social institution aims to ensure the continuation of the world, in the sense of the family line and the Jewish people. The role of the women in this arrangement was to complete the man, helping him live a life of purity and keeping him away from sin.”<sup>372</sup>

Historically, arranged marriages were common, and the matchmaker played an important role in the Jewish life. As a tradition, in Bursa the father made this arrangement. The girl was consulted, but it was merely a formality. So, after father

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<sup>366</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 51.

<sup>367</sup> İnalçık, “Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish Cooperation...,” p. 6.

<sup>368</sup> Rozen, *A History of the Jewish...*, p. 284.

<sup>369</sup> Genesis 2:18.

<sup>370</sup> Genesis 1:28.

<sup>371</sup> Yevamos, 62b.

<sup>372</sup> Rozen, *A History of the Jewish...*, p. 107.

taking the decision, the engagement of a man and woman was formalized in a ceremony called *shidukhin*, at which the financial conditions of the marriage were set.

The formation of a Jewish family was shaped mainly by old legal issues. The groom had to be at least thirteen years plus one day old. As for the partners themselves, the man was expected to have an education and the ability to earn a living, while the woman should be healthy and productive. According to the Jewish law, he had to speak the formula of the *qidushin* (or *erusin*, meaning *sanctification*), in the presence of two valid male witnesses, while giving bride the some object of value; and the bride had to accept the object. Even though the bond was committing at that point, the legal process was not complete until the *nisuin* (or *chupah*, the actual ceremony for marriage) the couple stood under the canopy in the presence of ten male adults, the blessing of marriage were said, and the groom handed the marriage contract (*ketubah*)<sup>373</sup> to the bride. Only after the *nisuin* had taken place could the marriage be consummated.<sup>374</sup> The regulations and ordinances of the *kahal* obligated the presence of a congregational officeholder, usually the congregation's *hakham*, at the wedding ceremony and prohibited secret and farce marriages.<sup>375</sup>

Dowry or *drahoma* is a proportion or property that a wife brings to her husband at marriage. The basic dowry also included some money, clothing and household artifacts such as bed linens, tablecloths or towels for the hamman.<sup>376</sup> (See Appendix D) The custom of dowry became clearly defined and institutionalized only in the Talmudic period. So the Rabbis ordered that a father must give some of his property to his daughter when about to be married. If the girl was an orphan, the minimum amount was paid to a poor girl out of the charity funds of the community. These were the societies founded to help poor girls marry by supplying them with a basic dowry. This type of society was common in Bursa Jewish society, as well. According to Galante, the Jewish community of Bursa had a Women's Committee

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<sup>373</sup> A marriage contract contains the settlement on the wife of a certain amount payable at her husband's death or on her being divorced. The purpose of the *Ketubah* is to protect the woman's rights during the marriage. It is forbidden for the Jewish couples to live together without a *Ketubah*.

<sup>374</sup> Rozen, *A History of the Jewish...*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>375</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 358.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

which is a charity organization that tries to help orphan girls who are at the age of marriage. This committee provides *trousseau* including clothing and linens that a bride assembles for her marriage to girls in need. Budget of this community comes from donations of the ladies.<sup>377</sup> Before the wedding, the dowry was hung on the wall of bride's home for relatives and friends to view. Two or three respected members of the community would visit to calculate the value of the dowry *aşugar* or *presyado*.<sup>378</sup>

The Jewish brides wore robes (*kaftan* or *entari*) of velvet or silk embroidered with silver and dival threads. The name of these flowing robes was *premier vestido*. Generally these dresses were embroidered with flower patterns. Jewish women used to buy these wedding dresses together with their dowry.<sup>379</sup> The evidence of the ceremony dress of the non-Muslim woman can be seen on the appendix D. With her ceremony dress the Jewish woman is figured dancing in a closed area. Her dress is worked with goldthread, her big buckled belt decorated with precious stones and her crimson *kaftan* was edged with fur. Under the disk-shaped hat her veil worked with thread attracts attention. She is also wearing a *frentera*, forehead ornament; and *lelal*, headdress ornament, *hotoz* pin, *ogadero* necklace and *resta de dukados* necklace. (See Appendix D)

### **4.3 Jewish Houses**

#### **4.3.1 Housing**

The *dhimmis*' obligation not to build houses higher than those of Muslims is one of the clauses of the Pact of Umar.<sup>380</sup> According to Bat Ye'or, the rule was not always enforced. The Ottoman Empire adopted the same policies towards the minorities. In fact, sultans issued some decrees about housing in addition to the covenant of Umar. For example, during Osman III (1754-57) period, an ancient decree was renewed which stated that the Jews could not build houses above the

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<sup>377</sup> Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol: IV, (İstanbul: İsis Yayıncılık), p. 173.

<sup>378</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes...*

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> The Pact of Umar is supposed to have been the peace accord offered by the Caliph Umar to the Christians of Syria, a "pact" which formed the pattern of interaction. It contains a list of restrictive measures and prohibitions on non-Muslims in general.

height of 6m., while the Muslims could build up to 8m.<sup>381</sup> Therefore, Jews constructed their houses according to these Ottoman decrees.

Most common Jewish residential plan was the *cortijo* which was a low building stretching around a central courtyard, one, two, or even three stories high, with residences and shops intermixed in some. In Bursa the houses were built in the style of *cortijo* and they had tile roofs, (See Appendix E)<sup>382</sup> balconies and terraces hung over the outside streets.<sup>383</sup> The Jewish houses in Bursa had glass windows although they were expensive. Windows facing the street had wooden shutters for the privacy. The homes were built of wooden beams and bricks since they were forbidden to use fired bricks. (See Appendix E) Since wind and rain caused speedy deterioration, buildings were in need of renovation every few years. The facades of houses looked cheap and decrepit, due either to the owners' modesty or their fear of the "evil eye."<sup>384</sup> Also the houses were not resistant to the earthquakes. Perrot who travelled Bursa in 1857 was describing the 1855 earthquake thus: All houses had suffered from the earthquake. After the disaster the appearance of the city is extremely poor. The city is covered entirely by mud and planks. A person wonders how these one or two stored shelters can survive in a hurricane or even in a heavy rain. The most miserable of those houses are in the Jewish neighborhood in the west of the Bazaar. We cannot believe that how all of the women and children in the Jewish houses are sitting on one cushion in a small room altogether.<sup>385</sup>

In addition to the architecture, interior and exterior walls were plastered and painted over in various colors or covered with carved and painted wooden boards, depending on the financial ability of the owners. Wealthy persons used to embellish the ceilings with inscriptions and paintings in vegetal patterns. The poor made it with flower-pots and flowers, especially grapevines in Bursa. The flooring corresponded to the financial condition of the residents. Whereas the poor homes had dirt or plaster

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<sup>381</sup> Güleriyüz, *Türk Yahudileri I...*, p.174.

<sup>382</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 56.

<sup>383</sup> Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, p. 189.

<sup>384</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 44.

<sup>385</sup> Georges Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, (Paris, 1864), p. 69.

floors in their homes of the poor, those of the wealthy had wooden or stone floors covered by tapestries and carpets.<sup>386</sup>

In most of the homes there was no running water and no ready drinking water, the latter being supplied by nearby public fountains. (See Appendix E) There was little sanitation and no heat.<sup>387</sup> However, ownership of a house obligated sharing in neighborhood expenses to cover sanitation, guards, and payment of fines. The owners also had to pay the *avariz* and other taxes and were responsible for maintaining law and order in the neighborhood.<sup>388</sup>

The mass migration in the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century caused a rise in prices of houses. Also it caused overcrowded neighborhood in Bursa. Most of the Jews started to reside in what was known as *yahudihane* or *yahudi-odalari*. These were buildings several stories high which contained apartments or single rooms (*oda*, *hujara*) as well as basements and attics and were constructed round a central courtyard.<sup>389</sup> As a result, the residences were intensely crowded.

Moreover, the residents, in general, preferred to live on the second floor because of street noises and smells and to use the ground floor as space for storage. The houses also served as a workshop, with the occupation being practiced in the courtyard or in a ground-floor shop, below the living quarters, or in some of the house's rooms. Housing habits were closely connected to the patriarchal family. Patrilocality was common. For example, a young couple took up residence in the home of the husband. Thus, it was quite common for several multi-generational core families live together in one house, at least among certain social classes.<sup>390</sup> According to the income records, the Jewish neighborhood in Bursa had 204 families (*hane*) of which 87 of them were extended families.

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<sup>386</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 44.

<sup>387</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 56.

<sup>388</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 45

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-46.

### 4.3.2 Furniture

There was a little permanent furniture, not even more than the barest utensils needed for meals<sup>391</sup> because a paucity of furniture is one of the most significant characteristics of the Ottoman house. Most of the furniture was made of mobile furnishing, particularly of those made of textiles, such as mats, rugs and carpets of cotton, wool, or silk, cushions, and covering of diverse types. The primary room served several functions and generally contained a raised area (*sofa*) on which it was customary to sit during the day and sleep at night. Bedclothes and blankets would be spread out every night and during the day were stored in closets (*dolap*) that were no more than alcoves in the wall that either remained open, with a curtain drawn over them, or were closed by wooden doors.<sup>392</sup> Furthermore, a clay or metal vessel filled with burning coal (*mangal*) was placed in the middle of the room to supply warmth during the winter months.

Wooden or copper trays were set on a leather tablecloth (*sofra*), serving as a sort of table for the dinners who sat on carpets and cushions. Wooden crates were used to store valuables, clothes, books, and documents, serving to some extent as protection for the contents against thefts, humidity and rodents. Kitchen utensils and other small articles were hung on the walls. Among the most common kitchen utensils were a frying pan (*tencere*), ewer (*ibrik*), tray (*tepsi*), pan (*leğen*), copper bucket (*bakraç*), and bowl (*çanak*).<sup>393</sup>

Jewish houses also had religious furniture such as *mezuzah* a doorpost including a piece of parchment inscribed with Hebrew verses from the *Torah* for blessing the home. *Magen David* (Star of David) was also found in Jewish houses in Bursa since it symbolizes Jewish identity and Judaism. *Menorah* is further religious furniture which was seen in Jewish houses in Bursa since it was obligatory to have one. *Menorah* is a seven-branched candelabrum used in the ancient Tabernacle in the desert and Temple in Jerusalem, symbolizes the ideal of universal enlightenment and the creation in seven days. It was customary to kindle the candles on *menorah* on Shabbat day. *Kiddush* (holy cup) was another unchangeable utensil of the Jewish

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<sup>391</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman...*, p. 56.

<sup>392</sup> Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans...*, p. 47.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*

dwelling places as reciting *Kiddush* before the meal of Shabbat and Jewish holidays is a commandment from the *Torah*.

#### **4.4 Relations with the Others (the Greeks and the Armenians)**

“You shall not eat the blood of any creature,  
for the life of every creature is its blood;  
whoever eats it shall be cut off”

Leviticus 17:14

The Jews in the Ottoman Empire were divided into four communities: Romaniot, Sephardic, Ashkenazi and Musta‘rib according to their origins. It was impossible not to live any tension between these many different groups. Therefore, firstly, the tension between the indigenous communities (the Romaniot and the Musta‘rib) and the newcomers, especially the Sephardic community will be examined.

Although the Romaniots did not see the Sephardim as rivals at first, in time Romaniots became more insistent on their own domination. Therefore, there was a tension between Romaniots and Sephardim because they did not want to be infested and tried to preserve their own traditions in areas such as food and marriage. For example, for a long time they did not eat in each others’ homes.<sup>394</sup>

The latter felt superior to the other Jewish communities, because it considered itself much advanced culturally. “The Sephardim were proud of their economic and cultural achievements in Spain and Portugal and later in the Ottoman Empire; of their contributions to Ottoman economy; to a certain extent to the Empire’s science and armament industry; and of their success in reaching influential positions in the Ottoman court.”<sup>395</sup> Although the separations and traditional enmities continued to prevail throughout the history, the differences within the Sephardic groups and others faded away in time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century all Jewish community in Bursa turned into a Sephardic community as “they all resided in one empire, under the same ruler, and

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<sup>394</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turk...*, p. 60.

<sup>395</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman.....*, p. 13.

within a kind of autonomous framework; the codification of Jewish laws, rules and regulation; and new generations emerged to whom the place of origin was of much less importance than it had been to their ancestors.”<sup>396</sup>

Further to problems within the Jews, the relations between the Jews and the Christians (the Greeks and Armenians) were challenging. According to Levy, the relations included little social and cultural interaction, from time to time inter-communal tensions and crises erupted. For the most time, the different groups lived in peace, and mutual respect. “They conducted business relations with each other, lived as neighbors in close proximity and in many incipient ways affected each other’s culture, tastes and mores, and contributed to the general Ottoman cultural synthesis.”<sup>397</sup>

However, on the other hand there was an ongoing antagonism between Jews and Armenians. In the Jewish written sources, generally Amaleq or Amaleqis<sup>398</sup> was used instead of the term Armenians for describing “Armenians as arch enemies of the Jews, while discussing developments of anti-Jewish activities in which the Armenians were involved.”<sup>399</sup> Therefore, the foundations of this tension were coming from the earlier times. On the other hand, for Shmuelevitz, the real reason for the tension between the two communities in Anatolia was the tension in the economic-financial competition. The Armenians drove the Jews out of various economic and financial fields including government positions. There was also Armenian fear of the growing power and influence of the Jewish community. The Jewish community became prosperous and obtained a powerful and influential position in the Empire.<sup>400</sup> Consequently, all these reasons led to a continuous socio-economic struggle.

More to the point, sometimes there was a tension between Christians,

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<sup>396</sup> Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman....*, p. 4.

<sup>397</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim....*, p. 17.

<sup>398</sup> The *Amaleqis* were the first to confront the children of Israel after their Exodus from Egypt and were considered by them as their eternal arch enemies, whose aim was to annihilate them.

<sup>399</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, “Relations between Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire: The Armenian Case,” in *Ottoman History and Society: Jewish Sources*, (İstanbul: İsis Press, 1999), p. 83.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

especially between Armenians and Jews about blood libels.<sup>401</sup> Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire protected the Jews, as they did other minorities, against acts of fraud and oppression. They showed particular concern to protect Jews against blood libels.<sup>402</sup> Moreover, for Weiker, many sultans had been particularly active on behalf of Jews in the investigation of accusation of blood libels.<sup>403</sup> For instance, following the blood libels in Amasya and Tokat, Süleyman the Magnificent issued a decree ordering that: *“I would not like to see this millet’s members attacked or treated unjustly. Such calumny shall be dealt with only at the Sultan’s Divan and nowhere else without my permission and consent.”*<sup>404</sup> Following the Süleyman the Magnificent’s decree, the Ottoman Sultans issued a number of other decrees about blood slanders: the decree by Sultan Abdülmecid (1841) following the events in Damascus and Rhodes in 1840, and the one by Sultan Abdülaziz (1866) following the libel at Kuzguncuk in 1865. According to the decree by Sultan Abdülmecid *“... as attested by religious experts who have examined the religious texts of the aforementioned millet, it’s specifically stated in the Biblical order of Kashrut, that the use of not only human blood but also that of animals is expressly forbidden. Therefore, the members of this millet should in no way be abased or humiliated with such falsehoods... during their prayers, they should not be disturbed unjustly by anyone, and their safety and security should be provided...”* Accordingly, such decrees guaranteed the protection of the Jewish community, as stipulated in the *Hattı Şerif of Gülhane*.<sup>405</sup>

The most important, Bursa became the place for several blood libels. Initially, in 1592, eight Jews were accused of trying to take the blood of a Muslim man. The

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<sup>401</sup> Blood libels are the false accusation that Jews kill non-Jews, especially Christians. It was originated in the Middle Ages, accused Jews of using the blood of Christian children in the baking of their traditional unleavened bread, *matzot*.

<sup>402</sup> İnalçık, “Foundations of Ottoman-Jewish...,” p. 8.

<sup>403</sup> Weiker, *Ottomans, Turk...*, p. 38.

<sup>404</sup> Shmuelevitz, “Relations between Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire,” p. 83.

<sup>405</sup> Daniel J. Schroeter, “Changing Relationships between Jews and the Ottoman State,” in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Avigdor Levy, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 98.

sultan ordered the accused Jews to be exiled to Rhodes.<sup>406</sup>

Another blood libel accusation occurred just before Passover in 1865 at the same time Kuzguncuk libel. According to Galante, in 1865, the Jewish community of Bursa lied under the suspicion of murder which put the *kahal* through much trouble. Hereupon, Hamdi *Bey*, the governor of the Hüdavendigâr, asked for new measures with the intention of protecting the Jewish community of Bursa by writing a letter to Chief Rabbinate in Istanbul.<sup>407</sup>

For another Jewish historian, “Jews and Armenians never lived together in peace and cooperation, stressing the fact that they should have worked together because they both belonged to the same group of subjects and blamed the Armenians for being responsible for the tension and enmity in the relations between the two communities.”<sup>408</sup>

On the whole, the blood libels throughout the Ottoman Empire were largely due to the commercial rivalry prevailed between the Greeks and the Jews. The Jews, of course, were also hated by the Christians for religious reasons.

Blood libels were not the only problem between minorities. Another problem was emerged between Jews and Greeks in Bursa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century about the land of cemetery in Altıparmak. According to Galante, the Jewish community bought a new cemetery which situated beside the Greek cemetery that surrounded by walls, while the Jewish cemetery did not. There was a vacant land separating two cemeteries, which gave rise to protests on both sides. Two communities laid claim to the empty land. By making excavations, the Jews found a tombstone which allowed them to assert ownership of the place.<sup>409</sup>

In addition to the cemetery dispute, some assaults occurred between the two religious communities. In an event, a Jew died on Friday evening, the community

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<sup>406</sup> Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky, “Bursa (Prousa),” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/bursa-prousa-COM\\_0004710](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/bursa-prousa-COM_0004710) accessed on 09 June 2012.

<sup>407</sup> Galante, “Appendice,” in Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol. I, (Istanbul: İsis Yayıncılık).

<sup>408</sup> Shmuelevitz, “Relations...,” p. 84.

<sup>409</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Vol. IV, (İstanbul: İsis Yayıncılık), p. 164.

had to bury on Saturday night after Shabbat ends by using torches. However Greeks believed that the Jews tried to take advantage by burying the dead in the middle of the night. Hence, they armed and came to attack the Jews while they were in the middle of the funeral. As a result, the Greeks were arrested and the court ordered that the municipality became the owner of the disputed land.<sup>410</sup>

All things considered, the Ottoman Empire has a plural character like a mosaic. It was quite usual to have these kinds of disagreements in such a multi-religious and poly-ethnic society. Also, “the tensions of majority minority relations were more relaxed, compared with most European societies, and social attitudes and interactions were more flexible and open.”<sup>411</sup>

#### **4.5 Cultural Influence of the Jewish Society in Bursa**

Despite its small size, the Jewish community of Bursa produced several prominent *halakhic* scholars. Among them were Rabbis Abraham ibn Yaish, Moses ibn Gamil, Yom Tov Alroy, Meir Halevi ibn Migash, Moses Shorbiel, Jacob Sirillano and Gabriel ben Elia in the sixteenth century.

Abraham Algazi and his son Judah Algazi, Abraham Ganso, Samuel Sagis, Isaac Raphael Alfandari, Moses Algazi, and Raphael Samuel Hajiz were the most important cultural figures of the Jewish community in Bursa in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Jewish community of Bursa entered a stagnation period culturally as well as economically. As a result of this stagnation, the community achieved to educate only two significant cultural figures: Elijah Joseph Shilton and Yom Tov Saban.

On the other hand, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Jewish community of Bursa started to advance culturally. Especially the opening of two schools, one for boys and one for girls, by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1886 had a really great impact on education and culture of the Jewish community. Therefore, Jacob de Leon, the stepfather of Rabbi Hayyim Pallache, Shabbetay Galipolity, Nissim Medini, Solomon Uzziel, David Papo, and Moses ben Habib became well-known with the help of Western style education.

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<sup>410</sup> Galante, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, p. 164.

<sup>411</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim...*, p. 17.

Many of these men served the community as chief rabbi or judge (*dayyan*). Some were teachers for its young, because modern Jewish schooling did not arrive in Bursa until 1886 with the opening of two schools, one for boys and one for girls, by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.<sup>412</sup>

#### **4.6 Declaration of the *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* Reforms**

The *Tanzimat* era began in 1839 with the promulgation of what has become known as the *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* because the Greek War for Independence (1821-29) and Mehmed Ali's occupation of Syria (1831-40) had demonstrated that the empire required a modernization. Such an army would depend on a rationalized system of taxation and reformed provincial administration to collect revenues.<sup>413</sup>

Within this context, *Tanzimat* era began and the reforms officially declared that the life, honor, and property of all subjects regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation were to be brought under the protection of the state. They led to the creation of some specific policies, such as regularization of tax-assessment and military conscription, and assurance of due process of law. The document also provided for the recognition of non-Muslim subjects as witnesses in courts, as well as for their representation in the local administrative councils. By affirming the equality of Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, the decree abolished the centuries-long Islamic and Ottoman tradition whereby non-Muslims had the status of *dhimmis*.<sup>414</sup>

At least in theory, *Tanzimat* reforms improved conditions for non-Muslims by eliminating discrimination against non-Muslims such as clothing, restrictions on the construction and repair of synagogues and churches, and barriers on entering government service.

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<sup>412</sup> Bornstein-Makovetsky, "Bursa (Prousa)."

<sup>413</sup> Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 135.

<sup>414</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol: V, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), pp. 170-184; Onur Yıldırım, "Tanzimat Reforms," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. by Norman A. Stillman, [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/tanzimat-reforms-period-COM\\_0020950](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/tanzimat-reforms-period-COM_0020950) accessed on 09 June 2012

The Gülhane Edict was reaffirmed in 1856 by the proclamation of the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (imperial decree) in order to show its commitment to reform after the Crimean War (1853–1856).

The decree called for equal treatment of all religious communities in the empire, adding matters not mentioned earlier, and expanding others. These included access to education and employment, and various other legal, fiscal, and military issues. Although equality had been proclaimed in the decree of 1839, the poll tax was abolished by the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856. Moreover, at least in theory, the reforms opened all professions and opportunities to one and all in the empire no matter their religious affiliation. So, the Jews of the Ottoman Empire obtained the same rights as the other minorities. They secured positions in Ottoman society and participated in the cultural and economic life.

## CHAPTER 5

# THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE JEWS IN BURSA

“ The Catholic monarch Ferdinand was wrongly considered as wise  
since he impoverished Spain by the expulsion of the Jews,  
and enriched Turkey.”

Bayazid II

### 5.1 The Ottoman Economic Situation in the *Tanzimat* Period

The financial crisis began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the *Tanzimat* era in the Ottoman Empire. It is an attention-grabbing and key historical period that actually demonstrates the causes and the process of the social, political and economic developments of the Empire.

In the *Tanzimat* Period, the Ottoman Empire’s integration into the European-based global capitalist economic system had become obvious since many countries which had non-capitalist way of production also became a part of this new global system. These countries began to export raw materials in return for importing manufactured goods. Shortly, they turned into periphery states. So the Ottoman Empire became a member of this capitalist system, as well, due to structural, political and military problems.

Within this context, the Ottoman Empire aimed to reform the military, financial, and administrative fields in order to strengthen the structure of the Empire. To realize this aim the Ottomans guaranteed the military, political and financial support of Europe in return for following open economic policies. In that sense, in 1838 a commercial treaty was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain and the Ottomans agreed to the abolition of all state monopolies. The agreement also prohibited the ban on exports of any commodity, and allowed British merchants to

settle anywhere in the Ottoman Empire. The agreement abolished internal tariffs on British merchants moving goods between Ottoman provinces. In the short term, this convention helped to prosper the trade between two states; however, in the long-term other European countries followed England and received similar treaties soon later. This eventually put Ottoman Muslim merchants at a distinct disadvantage as they found themselves continuing to pay taxes from which their competitors were exempt. By the end of the 19th century, cheap British manufactured goods had replaced many of the items formerly produced in Ottoman workshops. Furthermore, the trade balance between the Ottoman Empire and the West was overwhelmingly in the latter's favor, leading to the empire's default on its foreign loans in 1876.<sup>415</sup>

In addition to the general economic situation of the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to focus on the roles of the Jewish community in the economy of both the Empire and Bursa. The Sephardic Jews, who migrated to the Ottoman lands after the expulsion from Spain and Portugal in 1492, were settled in commercial cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Salonika and Bursa. Whereas the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries were the golden age<sup>416</sup> for the Ottoman Jews, the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were the era of depression in terms of political and economic conditions. As Bekkum pointed out they had won “the upper hand during the 16<sup>th</sup> century and outnumbered the Romaniots.”<sup>417</sup> During the golden age, “the unification of the larger part of the Mediterranean lands and the Middle East under Ottoman rule enhanced the Jews’ freedom of movement.”<sup>418</sup> The wealthy Jews were engaged in large-scale commerce, banking, tax farming, administration of state monopolies, and supplying goods and services.<sup>419</sup> Those were the Jews who brought technical knowledge of occupations connected with cloth-manufacture, silk, skins, and their dyes, metals, including the production of arms and cannon, and printing with them from Europe.<sup>420</sup> In Bursa the

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<sup>415</sup> Bruce Masters, “Anglo-Ottoman Convention,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. by Agoston Gabor and Bruce Masters, (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2009).

<sup>416</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 36.

<sup>417</sup> Waut van Bekkum, “The Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: An Introduction”, in *Turkish Jewish Encounters*, ed. by Mehmet Tütüncü, (Haarlem: 200), p. 101.

<sup>418</sup> Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), p. 19.

<sup>419</sup> Avigdor Levy, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994), pp. 80-89.

<sup>420</sup> Levy, *The Sephardim...*, p. 19.

Jews worked mostly as silk dealers, tailors, and butchers. Moreover, it is also obvious that the Jews conducted important activities in Bursa *Kapalıçarşı* and they were protected by the state. It is observable that they were active in the bazaar for a long time. According to a record of 1573, there was an attempt to seize some of the stores owned by Jews since the shops were located by a mosque.<sup>421</sup> Galante claims that it was the Jews that brought the silk industry to Bursa. Paul Lucas adds that the entire silk sector was in the hands of the Jews in Bursa and Britain. Besides, the Jews of Bursa organized 38 of the 71 silk guilds.<sup>422</sup> Also Ubinici approves that the Jews of Bursa were deeply involved in the local and regional economy. Most of them were shop owners and members of guilds, as well...<sup>423</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> century includes changes in political and economic conditions ranging from boom to crises. So a slow decline started in the Ottoman Empire, due to external and internal factors such as European price inflation, the influx of Spanish gold and silver, the shift in world trade routes and military defeats. For Bernard Shaw, these factors opened the way to “the emergence of *ayans* and *derebeys*, some of whom targeted the Jews for their own particular purposes.”<sup>424</sup>

Also Europe’s intervention into the Ottoman economy resulted in the decline of opportunities for the Jews. The European powers started to prefer the Greeks and Armenians who were often considered to be local coreligionists, instead of the Jews in their services since the Jews’ knowledge of Europe gradually became outdated. Therefore, what had previously been advantages for the Jews became advantages for the Ottoman Christians. The European powers were also able to extend protection to Christians through the capitulations.<sup>425</sup> The era of depression for Jews in terms of political and economic conditions started and continued throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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<sup>421</sup> “...*Bursa Uzun Çarşı*’da on, yirmi, otuz hatta kırk seneden beri dükkanları olan Yahudi taifesinin mescide yakındır diyerek dükkanlarından çıkarmağa hüküm ettiği bildirilmekle böyle yolsuz iş etmeyüp kimsenin dükkanına müdahale ettirilmemesi...” (BOA, MD, 24/10)

<sup>422</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, “Oldest Dwellers of Bursa: Jews,” [http://www.turkofamerica.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=530&Itemid=59](http://www.turkofamerica.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=530&Itemid=59)

<sup>423</sup> Par A. Ubinici, *La Turquie Actuelle*, (Paris, 1855), p. 28.

<sup>424</sup> Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, p.109; p. 137.

<sup>425</sup> Levy, *The Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 77-78.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the decline in influence and power of the Jews continued in the economy of the Empire. The influential positions in international trade mostly remained in the hands of the Greeks. These times also witnessed the general decay of the Ottoman industry and a flood of cheap manufactured goods flowed into the Ottoman market. The imported textiles competed successfully with the local wool, cotton, and silk manufactures.

## 5.2 Common Jewish Occupations in Bursa before and during the *Tanzimat* Years

### 5.2.1 Artisans

#### 5.2.1.1 Coal Dealer (*Kömürcü*) and Tinmith (*Tenekeci*)

**Table 8: Craftsmen in Bursa regarding to the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>			
Coal dealer	1					9
Tinmiths	13		1			1

**Source:** Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, pp. 139-140.

**Table 9: The Jewish Tinmiths in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
22	İsak	600	125	725
23	İsrail	500		500
49	Haim	400		400
65	Avram	500		500
65	? ( <i>çırak</i> )	260		260
72	Haim ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
72	Smail ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
96	Yakov	400		400
101	Yakov ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
105	Yakov	360		360
111	Musa	450	50	500
111	Avram	360		360
111	İsak	360		360
131	Basak	400		400
156	İsak	400		400
169	İsak	400		400
170	Nesim	400		400
185	Salamon	450		450
204	Musa ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
	<b>19</b>	<b>7720</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>7895</b>

**Source:** ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

Tinsmith business was in the hands of the Jews in Bursa according to the population records. While there was only one Muslim tinsmith in Bursa, there were 14 Jewish tinsmiths including one apprentice in Bursa, in 1831 population records. In addition, there were not any Greek or Armenian tinsmiths in the city.

In 1845, the number of the Jewish tinsmiths showed an increase and reached 19 including 4 apprentices and one headworker meaning that being a tinsmith was utmost popular among the Jewish community of Bursa. The annual income of the Jewish tinsmiths was 7720 *kuruş*. Among them İsak had the highest earning (600 *kuruş*). İsrail and Avram were sharing the second place with 500 *kuruş* annual income.

While the tinsmith business was mainly performed by the Jews, there was only one Jewish coal dealer among total ten coal dealers in Bursa. This business mainly performed by the Muslims. Also there was no *temettü* record showing this one coal dealer.

## 5.2.2 Textile Workers

**Table 10: Textile Workers in Bursa regarding the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>			
<i>Basmacı</i>	1	1		36		41
<i>Boyacı</i>	3			1	9	55
Silk dealer	51					81
<i>Simci</i>	1					
Tailor	21	4	8	182	42	19

**Source:** Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, pp. 142-144.

Textile production had always been important for Bursa in history. Starting with the Byzantine Period the silk production continued as silk trade in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. For the raw material of silk industry was inadequate in Bursa, a major centre of silk trade in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; raw silk was imported from Iran.<sup>426</sup>

Abovementioned reason, until the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, the city of Bursa remained as an international trade centre where silky, spicy and soft goods were sold

<sup>426</sup> M.Bilal Bağbancı and Özlem Köprülü Bağbancı, "Urban Reforms of Tanzimat: Early Urbanization and Transportation Practices in The Formation Process of Turkish Reconstruction System (1839-1908) in Bursa The First Capital City of Ottoman Empire," in *World Academy of Science*, (2010), p. 1108.

through the foreign merchants. As a result of the wars with Iran in 1520, the import of raw silk was forbidden and many weaving looms were closed down. In conclusion silk trade and silk textile industry started to deteriorate. Lasting from the end of the 16th century to the mid 17th century, Celali revolts affected Bursa negatively. The dissolution in state-owned land system and the changes in transportation and in the world trade caused Bursa to experience a quiet period.<sup>427</sup>

After the effects of the Industrial Reform, which had started in England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and spread to other countries, the production of pure silk out of silkworm and production by weaving silk material had gone through a change. Bursa became a regional center of environmental economy which operates its agricultural production to raw material level.

### 5.2.2.1 Dealers of Printed Material (*Basmacı*)

**Table 11: The Jewish Dealers of Printed Material (*Basmacı*) in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
116	<i>Basmacı</i> Mihail ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
168	<i>Basmacı</i> Avram	360		360
		<b>720</b>		<b>720</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A *Basmacı* was a person who dealt out the cloth was made through a special way of printing. Even though the business of *basmacılık* was mainly performed by the Armenians (36 people) and Muslims (41 people), there were only 2 dealers of the printed cloth in the Kuruçeşme neighborhood registered in the 1831 census. As well in the 1845 *temettü* records, there were 2 *basmacı*s: *Basmacı* Mihail and *Basmacı* Avram who earned 360 *kuruş* in a year.

### 5.2.2.2 Painters (*Boyacı*)

**Table 12: The Jewish Painters in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
4	Musa	500		500
81	David	0		0
		<b>500</b>		<b>500</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

In the population records of Bursa, there were 2 Jewish painters in Bursa, although there were 1 Armenian and 9 Greeks painters. However, while 13 *dhimmis* were in the painting business, 55 Muslims were also painters and they constituted the

<sup>427</sup> Bağbancı and Köprülü, "Urban Reforms of Tanzimat...", p. 1108.

lion share in the painting business of Bursa.

If we observe the table above, we can see that the number of the Jewish painters decreased to 2. In 1845 two Jews were recorded as the painters in the textile sector: Musa and David. While Musa was earning 500 *kuruş* annually, David was a poor person in need living with his son İsak who was a porter and earned 360 *kuruş* per annum.

### 5.2.2.3 Silk Dealers (*Kazzaz*)

**Table 13: The Jewish Silk Dealers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
1	Nesim ( <i>çırak</i> )	260		260
3	İsak ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
5	Yuda ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
7	Rube ( <i>çırak</i> )	400		400
8	İsak	1500		1500
10	Yakov ( <i>çırak</i> )	450	100	550
11	Yuda ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
15	Haim	850		850
	İsrail ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
16	Yakov ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
21	İlya ( <i>dellal</i> )	450		450
29	Simon ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
30	Hekimoğlu Yasak	1800		1800
31	Kantarcıoğlu Tanil	1500		1500
32	Avram ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
37	Türecioğlu İsak	1250		1250
39	Hiron ( <i>dellal</i> )	400		400
40	Haim	1800		1800
42	Smail ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
45	Smail ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
46	Sabatay ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
47	Musa	1500		1500
48	Başde	0		0
50	David ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
	Başde ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
	Sabatay	1250		1250
53	Salamon	0		0
		360		360
66	David ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	160		160
69	Avram ( <i>dellal</i> )	400		400
73	Avram ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
77	Avram ( <i>dellal</i> )	400		400
78	Sadık ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
	Başde ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
80	Smail ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
87	Yakov ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
90	Yankon ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
91	Arslan	3500	35	3850

“Table 13 (continued)”

<b>92</b>	Haim	720		720
	Refail	480		480
<b>93</b>	Sabatay ( <i>dellal</i> )	450		450
<b>94</b>	Hananiye ( <i>dellal</i> )	400		400
	Mikail ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
	Yakov ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
<b>95</b>	Avram ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
<b>97</b>	Musa ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
<b>98</b>	Basak ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
<b>100</b>	İsak	3650		3650
<b>104</b>	Avram ( <i>işçi</i> )	400		400
	Musa ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
	Başde ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>107</b>	Mamlacioğlu Yuda	3200	275	3475
	Mihail	400		400
<b>109</b>	Yuda ( <i>işçi</i> )	400		400
<b>112</b>	David ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
	Smail ( <i>işçi</i> )	400		400
<b>115</b>	Haim ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
<b>117</b>	Musa ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
<b>118</b>	Başde ( <i>işçi</i> )	360		360
	Binyamin ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
<b>123</b>	Basak	850		850
	İsrafil ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
<b>124</b>	Yuda ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
<b>128</b>	Yakov ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
<b>138</b>	Daniel ( <i>kalfa</i> )	450		450
<b>147</b>	İsak ( <i>dellal</i> )	520		520
<b>161</b>	Musa	360		360
<b>164</b>	Basak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	500		500
<b>183</b>	Musa ( <i>dellal</i> )	360		360
<b>184</b>	David ( <i>işçi</i> )	400		400
<b>187</b>	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	<b>71</b>	<b>44490</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>45215</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

Bursa had been a center for the silk trade since Byzantine Empire. It was established on the trade routes such as Silk Road. Also “Bursa is mentioned as a silk-centre by Rabbi Joshua Benvenisti telling of an inhabitant of Izmir who gave his son a sum of money to go to Bursa and buy silk.”<sup>428</sup> The sericulture consists of a series of processes. Many experts fulfill various jobs from the beginning of the extraction of silk from the cocoon and until the weaving. This production process was realized by hand simply. The expert who manufactured the silk was called as *kazzaz*. The *kazzaz*

<sup>428</sup> Eliezer Bashan, *Jews in the International Trade of the Ottoman Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as Reflected in the Responsa Literature*, 1974, p. 12.

was also a silk merchant in the Ottoman Empire. There were two *kazzazhanes* which was a place for silk manufacturing in Bursa. One of them belonged to the Jewish community of Bursa and the other was owned by the Muslims.<sup>429</sup>

The most notable finding about the silk dealers which is apparent from the census table is the huge numbers of the Jewish silk dealers and producers in comparison with the other non-Muslims, since the silk textile and trade were main occupations for the Jews. There were 51 Jewish and 81 Muslim silk dealers.

A large proportion of the Jews of Bursa were earning their living from the manufacture or sale of silk, according to the *temettü* records. By 1845, the numbers of *kazzazs* increased to 71 in Kuruçesme. The total annual income from the silk dealing was 44490. There were 3 Jewish silk dealers, Hekimoğlu Yasak, Kantarcıoğlu Tanil and Mamlacioğlu Yuda earning more than 3000 *kuruş* and ten Jews gaining more than 1000 *kuruş* in a year. These numbers and the total annual income are extremely high for the Jewish society.

#### 5.2.2.4 Tailors (*Terzi*)

**Table 14: The Jewish Tailors in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
11	Avram( <i>kalfa</i> )	360	15	375
12	Yakov ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
17	Haim	25		25
35	İlyas ( <i>kalfa</i> )	460		460
39	Haim ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
48	Yakov ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
57	Yuda	400		400
89	İsak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	450		450
	Yuda	360		360
	Basak	450		450
90	İsak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
94	Avram ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
113	Rufail	450		450
114	İsak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	450		450
122	Yakov	450		450
125	David	500		500
	Yuda ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	Salamon ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
131	Sentu ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400

<sup>429</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, (Bursa, 2013), p. 144.

“Table 14 (continued)”

<b>141</b>	İsrafil ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	Haim ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>148</b>	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>152</b>	İzidor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
<b>171</b>	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
<b>177</b>	Yuda ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>178</b>	Avram	360		360
	David ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>184</b>	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>188</b>	Salamon ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	Varam ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>192</b>	Yuda	400		400
<b>193</b>	Arslan ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
<b>203</b>	Musa ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	<b>34</b>	<b>12835</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12850</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

The last step in the textile industry is the sewing the cloth which was mostly produced in Bursa. This process, in 1831, was employed predominantly by Armenians. There were 182 Armenians, 42 Greeks and 19 Muslim tailors were registered in the population records of Bursa. In addition, the Jewish community had 21 master, 4 headworker and 8 apprentice tailors.

By 1845, the number of the Jewish tailors increased to 34. While their annual income was 12835 *kuruş*, the average annual income per person was 377 *kuruş*. In light of the average annual income, the half of the tailors earned less than 377 *kuruş*. There was only one tailor called David gained annually 500 *kuruş* and he was the richest tailor of the Jewish neighborhood.

### 5.2.3 Service Industry

**Table 15: Service Industry in Bursa regarding the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>			
Porter	28			20		38
Servant	5			33	22	65
Teacher	8			4	2	19

Source: Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, pp. 147-148.

#### 5.2.3.1 Porters (*Hamal*)

A porter is a person who shifts objects for others. In the census of 1831, 28 Jews were recorded as porters whereas 20 Armenians and 30 Muslims were registered as being porters. There was no Greek porter in the city.

This number increased to 37 by 1845 since Bursa became more active in the trade in 15 years as a result of the trade agreements. In addition, the portage business had the lowest income among the other professions. According the *temettü* records of Kuruçeşme in 1845, a porter earned 293 *kuruş* average income per annum. Although it is the lowest-income job, 12% of the Jewish population was porter. While most of the porters in the community earned 360 *kuruş*, 7 of them gained nothing and needed the help of charity organizations in the neighborhood.

**Table 16: The Jewish Porters in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
14	Yanto	360		360
20	Musa	360		360
	Yakov	360		360
24	İlya	360		360
25	Haim	360		360
26	Yakov	400		400
33	Salamon	0	0	0
35	David	400		400
36	Nesim	360		360
38	İsak	0	0	0
39	Musa	360		360
41	Nesim	400		400
43	Naim	360		360
52	Yakov	360		360
61	Musa	360		360
66	Odre	260		260
72	David	360		360
	Herut	360		360
74	İsak	360		360
79	Salamon	360		360
81	İsak	360		360
108	Nesim	360		360
114	Yanto	360		360
116	İsak	360		360
	Avram	360		360
131	Yanto	360		360
136	Salamon	360		360
138	Musa	360	120	480
143	Yakov	360		360
144	İsak	0	0	0
153	Samarye	360		360
159		0	0	0
172		0	0	0
186		0	0	0
190	Avram	360		360
194	Avram	360		360
197		0	0	0
	<b>37</b>	<b>10820</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>10940</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

### 5.2.3.2 Teachers (*Melamed*)

**Table 17: The Jewish Teachers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
6	Yakov	360		360
9	Yakov	360		360
95	Yakov	360		360
98	Haim	360		360
119	Herut	360		360
	<b>5</b>	<b>1800</b>		<b>1800</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

According to the census records, there were 8 Jewish teachers for the community. Apart from the 8 Jewish teachers, there were also 4 Armenian, 2 Greek and 19 Muslim teachers. If we compare the teacher numbers with the population numbers for non-Muslims, it is possible to state that although the Jews were the smallest minority group among them, they had 8 teachers meaning that they really cared about education of their children or they sent their children to the school only in the Jewish neighborhood for receiving religious education.

In Bursa, the Jewish community had five teachers according to 1845 *temettu* records of Kuruçeşme. First two of them are Başde (*veled-i Hazi*) and Yakov (*veled-i Samuel*). The third teacher is Yakov (*veled-i Yuda*) was living in the number 95 with his son Avram who was a silk dealer and earned 360 *kuruş* in a year. Subsequent one is Haim (*veled-i Basak*) resided in the number 98 with his son Basak, as well. His son was a silk dealer, too and gained 360 *kuruş*. The last teacher Herut (*veled-i Benyamin*) had a nuclear family and dwelled into the number 119. All of the community teachers earned 360 *kuruş* for a year. It is possible to conclude that the teachers of the Jewish society in Bursa had fixed salaries that were determined by the *kehillah*. They had nothing but salaries. Their total annual income is 1800 *kuruş*.

### 5.2.3.3 Bartenders (*Meyhaneci*)

**Table 18: The Jewish Bartenders in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
2	Haim ( <i>çırak</i> )	400		400
76	Nesim	500		500
108	İsak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
	<b>3</b>	<b>1260</b>		<b>1260</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A *Meyhaneci* is a person who serves usually alcoholic beverages in a tavern. Mostly, they were also involved in producing alcoholic beverages such as wine and

*raki* in the past. The producing and selling of alcoholic beverages were mostly employed by the non-Muslims and in their neighborhood. In addition, the Jewish community needed at least one alcoholic beverages manufacturer to produce *kosher* wine for the religious holidays and the daily consumption. Therefore, according to the records, 3 Jews were recorded as being *meyhaneci* or *meygedeci*. If we take into consideration the Jewish quarter is the Bar Street of Bursa called Arap Şükrü today, this leads us to question about the historical continuity of the place.

#### 5.2.4 Food Industry

Some branches of the food industry were connected with religious ritual principles, *Kosher* (Jewish dietary law),<sup>430</sup> e.g., the slaughtering animals or baking. So these kinds of jobs were in the hands of Jews in order to follow the rules of *Halakha* (Jewish law).

**Table 19: Food Sector in Bursa regarding the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırac</i>			
Fisherman	8					
Baker	2				14	35
Butcher	14	3		2		80
<i>Paçacı</i>	4					5
<i>Pazarıcı</i>	8			22		114
Farmer	-----			89	141	262
<i>Şekerci</i>	1					12
<i>Şerbetçi</i>	1					27
Bartender				3	8	

Source: Raif Kaplıanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, pp. 154-155.

#### 5.2.4.1 Fishermen (*Balıkçı*)

**Table 20: The Jewish Fishermen in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
36	Yakov	360		360
54	Salamon	360		360
56	Yakov	360		360
58	Naim	450		450
74	Yakov	360		360
	<b>5</b>	<b>1890</b>		<b>1890</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

The Jews are allowed to eat anything residing in the water is ritually clean if it has both fins and scales, according to the Leviticus and Deuteronomy. So they are only able to consume fishes with fins and scales; and lobster, oyster octopus, shrimp,

<sup>430</sup> For more information about *kosher* see Leviticus 11:1-47 and Deuteronomy 14:3-20.

whale, dolphin etc. are strictly forbidden to eat.

In light of *kosher* information, the Jewish fishermen in Bursa were only able to catch *kosher* fishes. There were 8 fishermen were recorded in Kuruçeşme. The fishing was a profession only for the Jews in Bursa since there was no registered the Armenian, Greek or Muslim fisherman.

By 1845, the number of the fisherman decreased to 5. Their average income was 378 *kuruş* and four among five fishermen sustained their life under the average income. Only Naim registered on number 58 earned 450 *kuruş* yearly.

#### 5.2.4.2 Bakers (*Ekmekçi*)

**Table21: The Jewish Bakers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
72	<i>Françalacı (hizmetkar)</i> Nesim	400		400
103	<i>Françalacı (hizmetkar)</i> Haim	360		360
126	<i>Ekmekçi</i> Yakov	400		400
129	<i>Françalacı (hizmetkar)</i> Avram	360		360
	<b>4</b>	<b>1520</b>		<b>1520</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

Apart from the fishermen, there were also bakeries in the Jewish neighborhood. According to the census records there were 2 Jewish, 14 Greeks and 35 Muslim bakers in Bursa. As we can see from the statistics, most of the bakeries were run by the Muslims. The Jews only had enough bakers to their community in order to bake the *kosher* bakery products. By 1845, there was only one baker were registered as a master baker. The rest of them were the servants in the bakeries.

#### 5.2.4.3 Butchers (*Kasap*)

The *kosher* rules are binding in the slaughtering, as well. Therefore, 14 Jewish butchers as well as 3 headworkers were listed in the census record. However, the Muslim community had 80 butchers.

Only 2% of the Jewish population was engaged with the butchery in Bursa and 18 Jewish butchers including 10 headworkers and 1 apprentice were registered in the 1845 records of the city. Their annual income was 10500 and the average income per person was 583 *kuruş* which was higher than many other professions in the Jewish neighborhood. It is possible to evaluate Avram registered in number 110 as the *shohet* of the community since he earned more money than the other butchers. There were also 2 *hayvan boğazlayıcısı*s (animal strangler), Salamon and İsak, who

were probably working for the community as well in return for a set salary with the *shohet* Avram.

**Table 22: The Jewish Butchers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
27	Smail ( <i>kalfa</i> )	720		720
67	Musa ( <i>kalfa</i> )	720		720
82	Yakov ( <i>kalfa</i> )	500		500
105	Hari	720	150	870
110	Avram	1200	250	1450
112	Yakov ( <i>kalfa</i> )	500		500
127	Musa	500		500
132	Binyamin	720		720
	Avram ( <i>kalfa</i> )	500		500
	Yuda ( <i>kalfa</i> )	720		720
134	İsak	500		500
140	Yaru ( <i>kalfa</i> )	400		400
145	Gerşon	720		720
151	İsak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	500		500
166	İsak	500		500
	Basak ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	Nesim ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
198	Yeşve ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
	<b>18</b>	<b>10500</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>10900</b>
68	Salamon ( <i>hayvan boğazlayıcısı</i> )	360		
85	İsak ( <i>hayvan boğazlayıcısı</i> )	360		
		<b>720</b>		

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

#### 5.2.4.4 Bazaar Sellers (*Pazarıcı*)

**Table 23: The Jewish Bazaar Sellers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
19	Avram	1200	875	2075
66	Yakov	400		400
	Smail ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
83	Yakov	550		550
	Avram ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
97	Basak ( <i>çırak</i> )	400		400
114	Rufail ( <i>çırak</i> )	400		400
135	Nesim	450		450
	Sabatay ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
150	Başde	720		720
	Başde ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
154	İlya	0	0	0
	<b>12</b>	<b>5560</b>	<b>875</b>	<b>6435</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A *Bazarıcı* is a person who sells manufactured goods, cloth or food in the city bazaar. 8 Jewish bazaar sellers were recorded, as 22 Armenians and 114 Muslims

were registered as bazaar sellers in Bursa. The number of the Jewish bazaar sellers was rather low vis-à-vis the Muslims’.

By 1845, the number of the Jewish bazaar sellers reached to 12 including 6 apprentices. In support of the records, 3% of the population was working in the bazaars as being sellers and their annual average income was 463 *kuruş*. Only three of the sellers, Avram, Yakov and Başde, gained more than the annual average income. Avram had the highest income among the bazaar sellers.

#### 5.2.4.5 *Şekerci* (Confectioner) and *Şerbetçi*

**Table 24: The Jewish *Şekercis* and *Şerbetçis* in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
49	<i>Şekerci</i> Yanto	450		450
146	<i>Şerbetçi</i> Rubin	360		360
189	<i>Şekerci</i> Yakov	360		360
	<b>3</b>	<b>1170</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1170</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

Sherbet is a soft and cold drink includes pulp mixture, water and sugar or syrup consumed mostly during the summer months in the Ottoman Empire. *Şerbetçi* is the person who is responsible for preparing and serving the sherbet on the streets or in a shop. In the Jewish neighborhood, only one *şerbetçi* was registered: *Şerbetçi* Rubin who earned 360 *kuruş* annually.

A confectioner prepares and sells the confectionery items include sweets, candy bars, cotton cadies, lollipops etc. either in streets or in a shop. In the Jewish quarter in Kuruçeşme, there was one *şekerci* in 1831 while Muslims had 12. However the number of *şekercis* reached at 2 in the last 15 years.

#### 5.2.4.6 Lemon Dealer (*Limoncu*)

**Table 25: The Jewish *Limoncu* in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
64	Yakov	400		400
88	Binyamin	360		360
120	Salamon	360		360
139	Musa	360		360
	Hermen	360		360
143	Musa	360		360
202	İsak	360		360
	<b>7</b>	<b>2560</b>		<b>2560</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

Lemon sellers were only registered in the *Temettuat Defteri* of 1845, not in the census records of Bursa. There are 7 lemon sellers in the Jewish quarter and their

annual income was 365 kuruş. Only Yakov who was registered in the number 64 earned 400 *kuruş*.

### 5.2.5 Construction Sector

**Table 26: Construction Sector in Bursa regarding the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>			
Plumber	1			1	1	50
Carpenter	1			30	123	6
Tinsmith	13		1			1

**Source:** Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, p. 152.

#### 5.2.5.1 Carpenters (*Dülger*) and Plumbers (*Çeşmeci*)

**Table 27: The Jewish Carpenters in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
129	Basak	360		360
	İsak	360		360
2		720		720

**Source:** ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

The construction sector was mainly performed by the Muslims, Armenians and Greeks, one plumber and one carpenter were listed in Bursa while 30 Armenians, 123 Greeks and 6 Muslims were registered as carpenter. By 1845, the carpenters' number reached at 2: Basak and Isak who were brothers dwelling at the same house. Both carpenters earned 360 *kuruş* for a year.

### 5.2.6 Trade Sector

**Table 28: Trade Sector in Bursa regarding the 1831 Population Records**

	Jews			Armenians	Greeks	Muslims
	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>			
Peddlers	31					2
Broker	9			6		
Herbalist	1					80
Merchants	7			12	23	47
Grocer	4				37	10
Jeweler	1			1		
<i>Yaymacı</i>	4			3	3	20
<i>Arpacı</i>				1	1	28

**Source:** Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, p. 96.

### 5.2.6.1 Peddlers (Çerçi)

**Table 29: The Jewish Peddlers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
42	Sabatay	450		450
55	İlyaz	0		0
	İsak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
63	Basak	360		360
	Avram	360		360
73	Avram ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	400		400
75	Basak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
90	Smail	400		400
	Smail ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
91	Başde	500		500
106	Salamon	360		360
109	Turacioğlu Yakov ( <i>dolapçı</i> )	500		500
126	İsak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
130	İsak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
141	Nahim ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
148	Smail ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
149	İsak	360		360
154	Yakov	400		400
155	Yarev	400		400
157	İsak	720		720
158	Nesim ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
	Yakov ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
160	Smail	450		450
	Serdehay? ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
162	Refail	400		400
	Mihail ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
163	Yaşve ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
164	Musa	400		400
165	Hari?	400		400
169	Gerşon ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
173	Haim ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
175	Yuda	720		720
	Basak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
176	Avram ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
179	Herd?	400		400
180	Haim	500		500
181	Musa ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
191	Avram	400		400
195	Basak ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
196	Yuda	400		400
199	Haim ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
200	Ezdira ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
201	Yanto ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
204	Benyamin	400		400
	<b>44</b>	<b>17240</b>		<b>17240</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A peddler is an itinerant seller of small goods such as needle and thread, tweezers, mirrors, beads, toys, all kinds of cloth in the streets of the city or by travelling from village to village on the horseback. According to the census records of Bursa, 31 Jewish peddlers and 2 Muslim peddlers were listed.

By 1845, 13,6% of the Jewish population was engaged with peddling business in Bursa. Therefore, this number increased to 44 including 19 servants and 3 apprentices. While their total annual income was 17240, the average annual income was 392 *kuruş*. Among the all peddlers İsak and Yuda were the wealthiest. Both earned 720 *kuruş* in 1843.

### 5.2.6.2 Brokers (*Simsar*)

**Table 30: The Jewish Brokers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
16	Avram	450	125	575
44	Haim	720	170	890
101	Basak	600		600
106	Basak	500		500
121	Yakov	2500		2500
	İsrafil	400		400
	Yuda	360		360
130	Nesim	360		360
137	David	400		400
138	Yuda	400		400
	<b>10</b>	<b>6690</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>6985</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A broker arranges contracts between a seller and a buyer in return for a commission or fee, or a broker can buy the product first then sale it to the other seller. In Bursa, the brokering business was generally employed by the Jews. There were 9 Jewish brokers and 6 Armenian brokers were registered in the records. Aside from the Jews and Armenians, there was no other broker in the whole city.

There were 10 Jews were registered as being brokers in Kuruçesme in 1845. The annual income of brokers varied; in fact there were some rich and mediocre brokers. The total annual income was 6690 and the average income per annum was 669 *kuruş* which was higher than the most of the occupational groups. Except two people, Avram and Haim, their annual income was mostly from their brokering business. In addition, Yakov who earned 2500 *kuruş* in a year was one of the wealthiest people in the Jewish community and he was also in the list of 200 richest

people of Bursa.<sup>431</sup>

### 5.2.6.3 Herbalists (*Attar*)

**Table 31: The Jewish Herbalists in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
18	Hertu	720		720
70	Salamon	500		500
143	Avram	500		500
	<b>3</b>	<b>1720</b>		<b>1720</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

An herbalist prepares special medications such as cough pills, patches and sells the pharmaceutical raw materials such as herbs, and animals brought from foreign countries used in medication production. They were trained within the master-apprentice relationship in the Ottoman Empire.

In Bursa during the 1830s, there were only one Jewish and 80 Muslim herbalists. The Muslims had the upper hand in the herbal business. Nevertheless, the number of the Jewish herbalists ascended to 3 by 1845. Hertu was the wealthiest herbalist in the *kehillah* with the 720 *kuruş* annual income. The other two herbalists, Salamon and Avram, gained 500 *kuruş* in a year.

### 5.2.6.4 Sidewalk Peddlers (*Yaymacı*)

**Table 32: The Jewish Sidewalk Peddlers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
17	Hari	500	200	700
84	Basak ( <i>çirak</i> )	400		400
	Avram ( <i>çirak</i> )	360		360
86	Yakov	450		450
99	Nesim	600		600
102	Avram ( <i>çirak</i> )	400		400
	Basak	450		450
	İsak	720		720
	<b>8</b>	<b>3880</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>4080</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A *yaymacı* is a seller who spreads out his goods including hardware or narrow goods on a counter or a cloth in a bazaar or street. Sometimes the *yaymacıs* travel from city to city. The sidewalk peddling was mostly the Muslim business; in 1831 there were 20 sidewalk peddlers in Bursa. Apart from the Muslims, 4 Jews, 3 Armenians and 3 Greeks were in the business of sidewalk peddling in this time

<sup>431</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1844 Yılı Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Değişim Sürecinde Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı*, pp. 54-61.

period.

By 1845, the numbers of the Jewish peddlers increased to 8 and their total income was 3880 *kuruş* annually. Their annual income was mostly from their profession, except Hari who had 200 *kuruş* from property. Moreover, the annual average income was 484 *kuruş*. Only three people, Hari, Nesim and İsak had income more than 484 *kuruş*.

### 5.2.6.5 Merchants (*Tüccar*)

**Table 33: The Jewish Merchants in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
1	Avram	1200		1200
59	Tenoti	3600	1290	4890
121	Musa	720		720
182	Davidoğlu Avram	1200		1200
	Haim	500		500
	David ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	360		360
	<b>6</b>	<b>7580</b>	<b>1290</b>	<b>8870</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

A merchant is a businessman whose occupation is the wholesale purchase and retail sale of goods for profit. The commerce was in the hands of the Muslims in Bursa. There were 47 Muslim merchants in the city. However, the Greeks were also important players in the trade game with 23 merchants. Besides the Muslims and Greeks, there were 12 Armenians were registered as being merchants in Bursa. The smallest piece of cake fell to the Jewish population share. There were only 7 Jewish merchants in the market.

There were 6 merchants including one servant were registered in the *temettuat* records. In spite of their small numbers, their earnings were really high. While their total income was 7580 *kuruş*, their annual average income was 1263 *kuruş*. Their annual total and average income were the highest among the all occupations in the Jewish neighborhood. Also the merchant Tenoti was one of the richest businessmen in the quarter by gaining 4890 *kuruş* in a year.

Moreover there are some documents showing that a Jewish merchant was in trade business with a French merchant. According to the document the Jew called Menahem owed approximately 5850 *kuruş* to the French merchant, Mösyö Anikat.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>432</sup> “...Mösyö Anikat nam Fransalı tacirin bu defa canib-i senvaferiye takdim eylediği bir kıta arzuhalin mealine nazaran devlet-i aliyye tebaasından Menahim Karmuna nam kimesnede beş bin sekiz yüz elli *kuruş* on para bâ-ilâm-ı şeri alacak hakkı olduğu...”

### 5.2.6.6 Grocers (*Bakkal*)

**Table 34: The Jewish Grocers in Bursa in 1845**

Number	Name	Income	Others	Total
13	Avram	850	200	1050
28	Yasak	850	120	970
34	Nesim	720	150	870
	Musa ( <i>çırak</i> )	360		360
60	Salamon	1750		1750
	Musa ( <i>kalfa</i> )	360		360
	<b>6</b>	<b>4890</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>5360</b>

Source: ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

In grocery business the Greeks had the upper hand in Bursa which had 37 Greek grocery stores. Aside from the Greeks, Muslims had 10 and the Jews had 4.

There were 6 registered grocers in the Kuruçeşme neighbourhood. The annual average income in the grocery business was 815 *kuruş* per person annually. The richest man was Salamon among the Jewish grocers with 1750 income from only grocery business.

### 5.2.7 Others (*Kantarçı, Çamurcu, Mahalle Pasubanu (gece bekçisi), Eskici, Dökmeci and Süpürgeci*)

The neighborhood also had a *süpürgeci* who worked as a *shamash* in the synagogue and a night watchman (*mahalle pasubanu*) who was responsible for the security of the Kuruçeşme neighborhood. The *Süpürgeci* Simarye registered as number 61 and earned 360 *kuruş* for a year like other employees of the *kehillah* such as the teachers and butchers. The night watchman İsak earned 360 *kuruş*, as well.

There were also construction workers called as *çamurcu* who mixed mud and hay for the construction. There was one registered *çamurcu* in the neighborhood, Smail, gained 360 *kuruş* per annum. In addition to them, there were one *eskici* (second-hand dealer), one *dökmeci* (casting) and one *kantarçı* (scaler).<sup>433</sup>

As a result, the Jews of Bursa were mostly an urban element. They did not live in villages and none of them engaged in agriculture. They were mostly specialized in silk dealing, tailory, butchery and portarage.

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“...Meâl-ı takrir, Fransa devlet-i fehimesi tebaasından Mösyö Anikat nam tacirin tebea-i devlet-i aliyyeden Menahim Karmuna nam yahudi zimmetinde bâ ilam-ı şeri mahkûmun-bihi olan beş bin sekiz yüz elli *kuruş* olan para alacağıнын tahsili için hapse ilka kılınmış...” ( A.DVN.DVE. 8/57)

<sup>433</sup> ML.VRD.TMT.d.07572

In order to attain these statistical results about the distribution of professions, the total annual income and the total average income of the Jews in Bursa, the Temettü Records of Kuruçesme of 1845 were examined. These statistical results assist us to expose in general the economic conditions of the Jews in Bursa, in particular the Jewish professions and their incomes per annum to view.

Although their economic situation was covered statistically, their taxation system was not dealt in this study due to the space and time limitations. To focus on the taxes paid by the Jews go beyond the limits of this study and it requires a further examination of archival resources to comprehend the bigger picture.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Jews have lived in Anatolia since ancient times. Some sources date the Jewish presence to the beginning of the BC 79. Under the Romans and Byzantines, there were Jewish communities. When the Ottomans reached to Anatolia, they perceived the Jews as a productive, urban element. Thus, the Ottomans encouraged the Jews to settle in Bursa and expected that the Jews would help in the reconstruction and economic development. In that sense, firstly a synagogue was constructed through the approval of the Sultan Orhan. Then, the Ottoman administration gave permission to the Jews to establish a neighborhood called “*Yahudi Mahallesi*” or Kuruçeşme around their synagogue. Although there was no sharp distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in Bursa, the Jews only lived in their own neighborhood which became a real Jewish neighborhood as a result of the migration movements.

The early *Tanzimat* reforms which were included census as a part of the modernization process began during the reign of Mahmut II. In that sense, Mahmut II initiated a census to create a new army and bureaucracy following the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826. As a part of this purpose, the first modern type of census carried out in 1831 in Bursa. According to this population census, the total population of Muslims was 10.532 and non-Muslim was 5586. Moreover, 627 Jewish families lived in Bursa before *Tanzimat* period and the 3.9% of the Bursa population was Jewish. In addition to this, there were 1020 Jewish people in 204 households in Kuruçeşme in 1845.

The total population of Bursa and the Jews of Bursa followed a general ascending graph from the beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> century and onwards showing that the Jews in Bursa were pleased to their life in the city. Besides, the number of Jewish vicinities never changed. Therefore, the Jewish community of Bursa can be characterized as isolationist and introversive in comparison with the Greeks and

Armenians, and they had a quite strong sense of solidarity. Additionally, the Jewish community of Bursa was the smallest minority group among the *dhimmis*.

The Ottomans allowed the members of major religious groups, the Jews, Greeks and Armenians, to govern themselves under the *millet* system that gave them a certain degree of communal autonomy and self-government. Hence, they enjoyed religious and cultural freedom, as well as considerable administrative, fiscal and legal autonomy. This kind of autonomous system was not new for the Jews since they had controlled their internal affairs earlier in Christian Europe and in the Islamic world.

In the beginning the Jewish communities were relatively uniform in character and ruled by central authority, such as the *Haham başı*. In the course of time, the newcomers outnumbered the natives, and they became the most significant segment of the Ottoman Jewry. Therefore the Sephardic community was itself divided by their place of origin and their different traditions. Within this context, the Jewish community in Bursa was broken up into small units called *kahals*. But in time, these congregations united to form an authoritative supra-congregational organization known as the *kehillah* (*cemaat* in Ottoman).

In Bursa, the Jewish community was not subjected to different rules. They had experience in maintaining their autonomy, since they had lived in non-Jewish environment for centuries. They maintained their communal life around their respective synagogue with their own leaders, rabbis, law courts and schools. It was administrated independently by its religious leaders and had a council. The *kehillah* in Bursa throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century was governed also by a council of nine. Although the *kehillah* was the highest level of organization within the Jewish *millet*, there was no supreme leadership for the whole Jewish community as in the Christian communities. In the Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire were under the religious and civil leadership of their religious heads, the patriarchs who were officially appointed and confirmed by the government as the only representatives of their respective communities.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century and after, the Ottoman authorities recognized the right of the local Jewish communities to organize their own autonomous leadership, but as a rule they did not interfere in the process and did not grant official recognition to

individuals holding the office of chief rabbi. There were two types of leaderships in the Ottoman Jewish community; traditional leadership is exercised by rabbis of the community and accidental leadership by laymen. This autonomous leadership situation prevailed until the 1830s, until the Ottoman government was forced to take a fresh look at the *millet* system. In that sense, the Ottomans aimed to advance the appearance of a pluralistic Ottoman society. The formal recognition to Ottoman Jewry as one of the four “official” communities (*millets*), the others being the Muslims, Greeks, and Armenians was the first step on this way. Within this context, Sultan issued an edict (*ferman*) dated 21 January, 1835 referring to the appointment Rabbi Abraham Levi as the chief rabbi. The chief rabbinate became equal to the Orthodox and Armenian patriarchates, which meant that the *haham başı* was regarded as the civil and religious head of the Jewish community, as well as its official representative to the government. The next step was taken by May 1865, the Jews adopted new reforms known as the General Regulations of the Rabbinate to regulate their respective administration. The new statute established the responsibilities and the appointment mechanism of the chief rabbi and three Jewish communal institutions—general council, lay council, and religious council. The congregations in the empire had been evolving an unofficial new social structure. So, the general regulations of the rabbinate helped this evolution and played an important role in the politicization of the Ottoman Jewish world.

In the Ottoman Empire, various restrictions were applied to the non-Muslims under the *millet* system. All classes had been subjected to the Ottoman clothing regulations. All members of the *millet* system were obliged to wear garments of certain materials and color depending on their class, *millet* and position, with the shape and color of headgear and shoes being of particular importance with the purpose of demonstrating the status of each person. Moreover, they were obliged not to build houses higher than those of Muslims. The Jews were allowed to build houses below the height of 6m., while Turks could build up to 8m. They were also prohibited from riding horses, owning slaves, and practicing religious ceremonies in a way that might be offensive to Muslims.

The *Tanzimat* reforms marked the beginning of a new era for Anatolian Jewry, because the Jews received the same rights and liberties as the other non-Muslims. It officially declared that the life, honor, and property of all subjects

regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation were to be brought under the protection of the state. The decree abolished the status of *dhimmis* by affirming the equality of Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. The reform period continued with the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856 which reiterated the provisions regarding non-Muslims more assertively. These reforms improved conditions for non-Muslim subjects. They eliminated the inequality in the clothing and the construction and repair of the synagogues.

The Jews of Bursa were quite active in the *Kapalıçarşı* and mostly worked as tailors, silk dealers, butchers and porters. Also whereas the Armenians and Greeks were also settled in the villages of Bursa, the Jewish community was a predominantly urban society.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: THE SYNAGOGUES IN BURSA

**FIGURE 1: THE REST OF THE ENTRANCE OF ETZ HAIM SYNAGOGUE  
AFTER THE FIRE**



**FIGURE 2: GERUSH SYNAGOGUE FROM OUTSIDE**



**FIGURE 3: THE ENTRANCE OF THE GERUSH SYNAGOGUE**



**FIGURE 4: HOLY ARK AND *PAROKHET* (CURTAIN)**



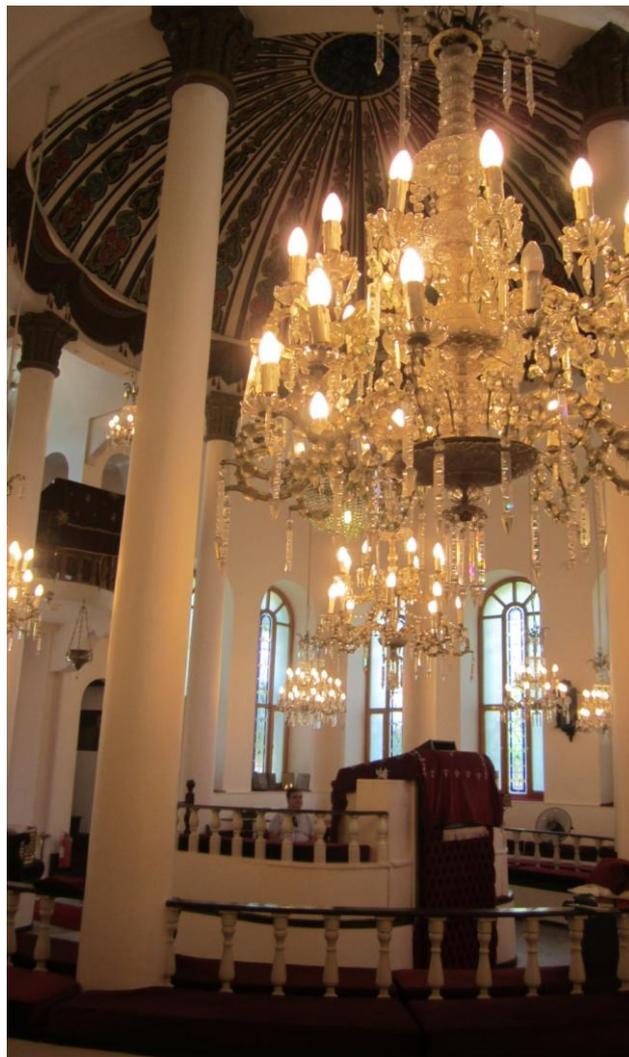
**FIGURE 5: *NER TAMID* (ETERNAL LIGHT)**



**FIGURE 6: UPPER *TEVAH***



**FIGURE 7: LOWER TEVAH**



**FIGURE 8: AZARA (BALCONY FOR WOMEN)**



**FIGURE 9: BLESSING ON THE WALL**

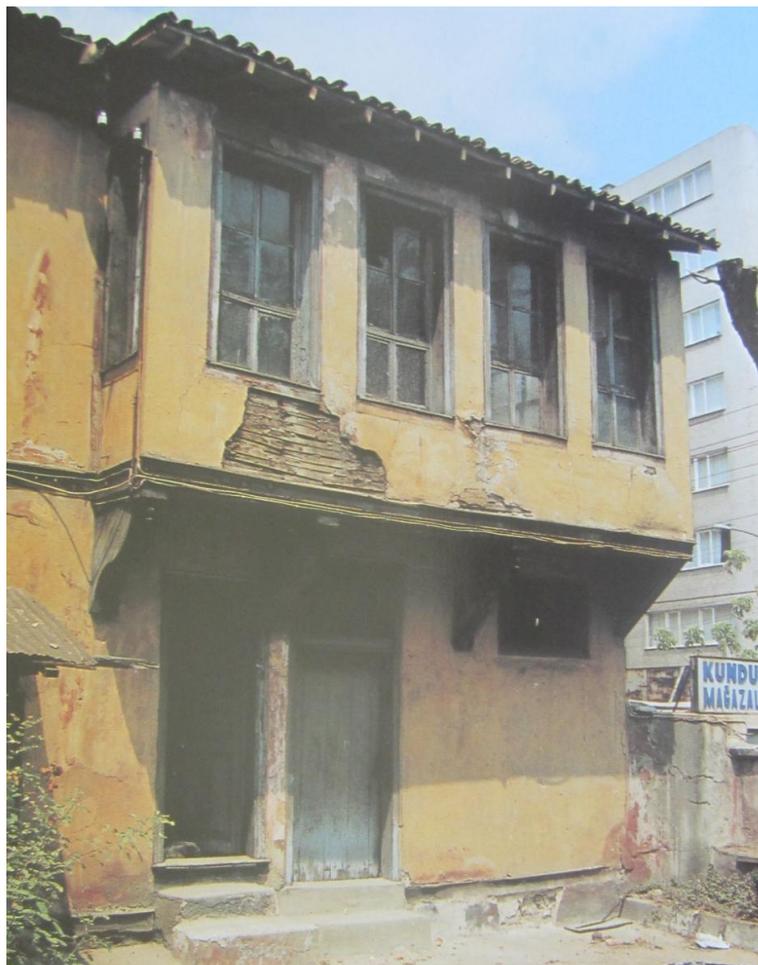


**FIGURE 10: TORAH ROLLS AND RIMONIM<sup>434</sup>**



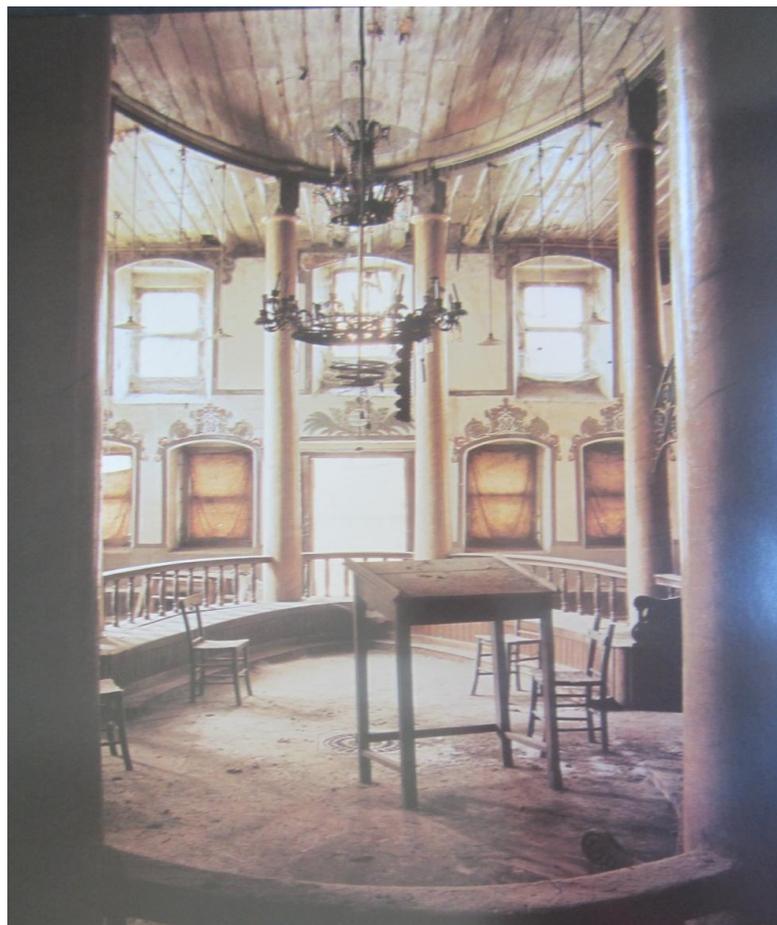
<sup>434</sup> Mili Mitrani and Ersin Alok, *Anatolian Synagogues*, (Ana Basım A.Ş., 1992), pp. 82-83.

**FIGURE 11: THE ENTRANCE OF THE MAYOR SYNAGOGUE<sup>435</sup>**



<sup>435</sup> Mitrani and Alok, *Anatolian Synagogues*, p. 86.

**FIGURE 12: THE OVAL TEVAH OF THE MAYOR SYNAGOGUE<sup>436</sup>**



<sup>436</sup> Mitrani and Alok, *Anatolian Synagogues*, pp. 87-88.

**FIGURE 13: THE HOLY ARK<sup>437</sup>**



<sup>437</sup> Mitrani and Alok, *Anatolian Synagogues*, pp. 89-94

**FIGURE 14: STAIRS TO AZARA**<sup>438</sup>



<sup>438</sup> Mitrani and Alok, *Anatolian Synagogues*, p. 90.

## APPENDIX B: ALTIPARMAK JEWISH CEMETERY

FIGURE1: TOMBSTONES CARRYING OCCUPATIONAL SIGNS



**FIGURE 2: THE TOMBSTONES HAVING FLORAL MOTIFS**



**FIGURE 3: THE TOMB WHICH WAS BURIED ON THE NORTH-SOUTH DIRECTION**



FIGURE 4: KOEN AND HIS HANDS<sup>439</sup>



<sup>439</sup> The tombstone of Nisim Cohen.

## APPENDIX C: YAHUDİLER HAMMAM

FIGURE 1: THE ENTRANCE OF THE YAHUDILER HAMMAM



FIGURE 2: THE *SOYUNMALIK* OF THE HAMMAM



**FIGURE 3: THE *ILIKLIK* OF THE HAMMAM AND THE FORMER PLACE OF THE *MIKVAH***



**FIGURE 4: *SICAKLIK* OF THE HAMMAM and *HALVET* OF THE HAMMAM**



## APPENDIX D: JEWISH CLOTHING IN BURSA

FIGURE 1: THE JEWS OF BURSA



FIGURE 2 & 3: THE JEWISH WOMEN OF BURSA<sup>440</sup>



<sup>440</sup> Amalia S. Levi, *Jewish Costumes in the Ottoman Empire*, (Istanbul: Gözlem Sanat Galerisi, 2000), pp. 34-36.

**FIGURE 4: THE JEWISH MAN OF BURSA**<sup>441</sup>



<sup>441</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 35.

FIGURE 5 & 6: THE RABBI<sup>442</sup> AND THE CHIEF RABBI<sup>443</sup>



<sup>442</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 45.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

**FIGURE 7: THE JEWISH BRIDE**<sup>444</sup>



<sup>444</sup> Levi, *Jewish Costumes in the Ottoman Empire*, p.44.

**FIGURE 8: THE DOWRY OF THE BRIDE<sup>445</sup>**



**FIGURE 9: THE *KETUBAH* FROM THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**



<sup>445</sup> From the collection of The Quincentennial Foundation.

## APPENDIX E: JEWISH HOUSES IN KURUÇEŞME NEIGHBORHOOD

FIGURE 1: JEWISH HOUSES IN 1887<sup>446</sup>



FIGURE 2: JEWISH HOUSES 1908<sup>447</sup>



<sup>446</sup> A. Normand, 1887; Neslihan Türkün Dostoğlu, *Bursa in the Ottoman Period* (Stil Matbaacılık, 2001), p. 383.

<sup>447</sup> Dostoğlu, *Bursa in the Ottoman Period*, p. 385.

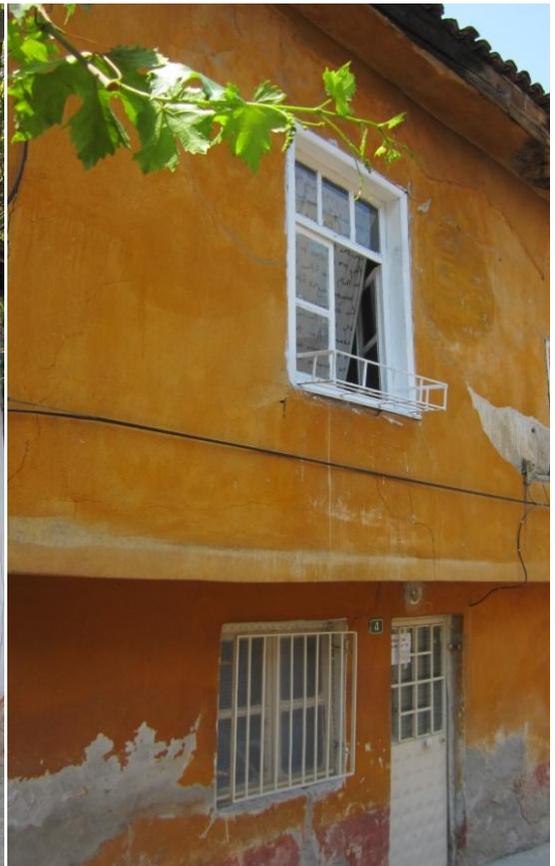
**FIGURE 3: THE GARDEN OF A JEWISH HOUSE IN 1913<sup>448</sup>**



<sup>448</sup> Dostoğlu, *Bursa in the Ottoman Period*, p. 387; Auguste Leon, from the Albert Kahn Collection (env. 2258).

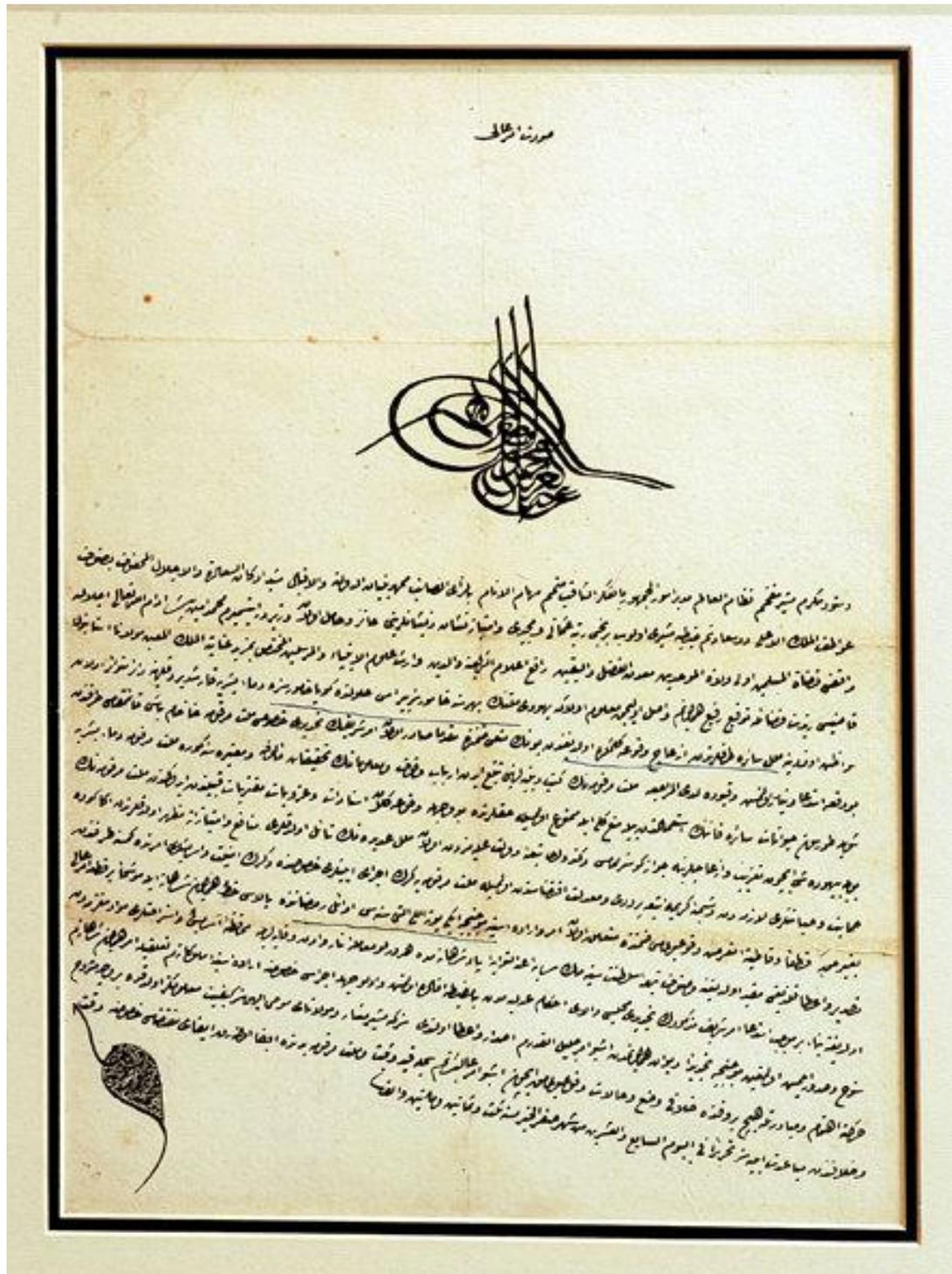
**FIGURE 4: JEWISH HOUSES IN KURUÇEŞME TODAY**





# APPENDIX F: THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES

## DOCUMENT 1: THE EDICT OF SULTAN ABDŪLMECİD UPON THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR<sup>449</sup>



<sup>449</sup> From the collection of The Quincentennial Foundation

## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE EDICT ISSUED BY ABDULMECİD 1841 UPON THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR

*“Mukaddmeden sonra... Malum ola ki Yahudi milletinin Hamursuz bayramlarından keenne insan telef etmek ve kanını istimal eylemek adeti me’lufeleri olduğu öteden beri beynelavam mutevatir ve meşhur olarak kenduleri sair milletler taraflarından bu sui zanna mahal olmak hasebiyle teb’ai Saltanatı Seniyemden olan Yahud milletinden Şam’i Şerifde ve Rodos ceziserinde bulunanlar haklarında geçenlerde vukubulan iftira ve birtakım bicarenin giriftar oldukları cevru cefa keyfiyeti malumu şahanem olmuş ve hatta mukaddemce cezirei mezkurede milleti merkumeden birtakım kesan Dersaadetime celb ile Kavanini cedide ve müessese iktizasmca ledilmuhakeme beraet zimmetleri tebeyyun ve ana gore haklarında usulü adliye ve hakkaniyetin icrasına ibtidar olunmuş olub bundan başka milleti merkumenin kütubu diniyelerini tettebbu eden erbab vukuf ve malumatın tahkikatı mevsuka ve muteberesine göre milleti merkume dem’i beşeriye şöyle dursun, hayvanatı saire kanının istimalinden bile men’i kulli ile memnu olmasıyla haklarında bu vechile vukua gelen isnadat ve izviyat mufteriyati kazibe kabilinden olmak iktiza edeceğinden milleti merkumenin bu hususda beraet ve zimmetleri meydanda iken anlerin böyle beyhude şey için tazip ve iz’aclerine cevaz gösterilmemesi ve Gulhanede kıraat olunan Hattı Humayun madeleti makrunu şahanemiz munifesince tebaai Devleti Aliyyemizden olan mileli adidenin nail oldukları menafi ve imtiyazat bittabi Yahud milleti hakkında dahi sadir ve mer’i olduğundan ona göre himayet ve siyanetlerine bakılması lazımeden ve şimei kerimeı teb’apervirii mulukdaranem muktezasmdan bulunmuş olmaktan naşi kaffei memaliki mahrusai şahanemde sakin ve mütemekkin olarak gerek icrayi ayinleri hususunda ve gerek emniyet ve asayişleri emrinde kemesne tarafından bigayri hakkın kat’iyyen ve katibeten taarruz ve mudahale vukubulmaması hususlarına iradei kat’iyyei mulukanem taallukiyle olbabda emru humayun şevket makrun şehriyaranem şerferizi sunuh ve sudur olmağın mucibince işbu emri şerifim isdar ve balası hattı humayun madeleti makrun oldukda bervechi meşruh harekete ihtimam ve mubaderetle hicbir vakitte hilafi vaz’u halet vuku bulmamak icun, işbu emri alişanimi sicli mahkemeye kaydu tesbit ve milleti merkume yedinde ibka ile ifa yi muktezayi emru iradei şahaneme ikdam ve dikkat eyleme babında fermanı alişanim sadir olmuşdur. Buyurdum ki vusul buldukta bu babda vechi meşruh uzre şerefyaaftai sudur olan ferman vacibulittiba ve*

*lazımlımtısailmin mazmunu itaat makruniyle amel ve hareket eylesin Őyle bilesin  
alameti Őerife itımad kılasın tahriren fi evaili Őehri Ramazanül mübarek sene sitte ve  
hamsin ve meetein ve elf*<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> Galante, Avram. *Türkler ve Yahudiler*, pp. 36-37.



## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE EDICT OF SULTAN ABDÜLAZİZ UPON THE BLOOD LIBEL IN KUZGUNCUK <sup>452</sup>

*“Malum ola ki Yahudi milletinin beher sene Hamursuz bayramı hululünde güya hamursuza dem’i beşeriye karıştırdıklarına dair mütevatir olan süizan üzerine mileli saire taraflarından iz’aç vukua gelmekte olduğundan bunun men’i zımnında mukaddema sadir olan emri şerifin tecdidi hususu milleti merkume Hahambaşı Kaymakamı tarafından bu defa istid’a ve niyaz olunmuş ve kuyuda ledel müracaa milleti merkumenin kütübü diniyelerini tetebbu’eden erbabı vukuf ve malumatın tahkikatı me’lüfe ve mu’teberesine göre milleti merkume dem’i beşeriye şöyle dursun hayvanatı saire kanının istimalinden bile men’i külli ile memnu olmasıyla haklarında bu vechile vukua gelen isnadat ve izviyat müfteriyat kabilinden edüğünden milleti merkumenin böyle beyhude şey için tazip ve iz’açlarına cevaz gösterilmemesi ve kenduleri tebaai Devleti Aliyyemizden olan mileli adidenin nail oldukları menafi ve imtiyazata mazhar olduklarından ana göre himayet ve siyanetleri lazımeden ve şimeî kerimeî teb’aperveri ve madelek iktizasından olmasıyla milleti merkumeye gerek icrayı ayinleri hususunda ve gerek emniyet ve asayişleri emrinde kemesne tarafından bir gayri hakkin kat’en ve katibeten taarruz vukubulmaması zımnında müteallik olan emrû iradei seniye mucibince iki yüz elli altı senesi evaili Ramazanda balası hattı hümayunu şehane ile muvaşşahan bir kıt’a emri ali tasdir ve ita kılındığı mukayyed olduğuna ve sünufu tebaai saltanatı seniyein sayei adaletvayei padişahanemde her türlü muamelei narvadan vikayeleriyle muhafazai asayiş ve istirahatleri mevaddı mültezimededen olduğuna binaen bermucibi istid’a emri şerifi mezkurun tecdidi meclisi vükelayı ahkamı adliyemden bamazbata ifade olunmuş ve olveçhile icrayı hususuna iradei seniyei mülukanem taallükiyle emri hümayunu şahane sünuh ve sudur eylemiş olmağın mucibince tecdiden divani hümayumdan işbu emri celilül kadrim isdar ve ita olundu. Siz ki Müşir ve Mevlana müşarünileyhimasız keyfiyet malumatınız oldukta bervechi meşru harekete ihtimam ve mübaderetle hiçbir vakitte hilafıvazı ve halat vukubulmamak için işbu emri alışanim sicile kayd ve tesbit ve milleti merkume yedinde ibka olunarak ifayi muktezası hususuna dikkat ve hilafından mubaadet eyliyesiz tahriren fliyevmissabi’ velaşrin min şehri Saferülhayyir lisenetül selase ve semainin ve meetein ve elf.*

*Bimakamı Kostantaniye elmahrusetül mahmiye.”*

<sup>452</sup> Galante, Avram. *Türkler ve Yahudiler*, pp.37-38.





**DOCUMENT 4: THE TABLE OF THE REVENUE REGISTRY OF  
KURUÇEŞME IN 1845**

Reg. No	Occupation	Name	Income revenue	Others	Total
1	Chief Rabbi	İlya	5000		5000
	Merchant	Avram	1200		1200
	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Nesim	260		
2	Bartender ( <i>çırak</i> )	Haim	400		
3	<i>Millet kethüdası</i>	Yasak	500		
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	İsak	360		
4	<i>Boyacı</i>	Musa	500		
5	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Yuda	360		
6	Teacher	Yakov	360		
7	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Rube	400		
8	Silk dealer	İsak	1500		1500
9	Teacher	Yakov	360		
10	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yakov	450	100	550
11	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	360	15	375
	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Yuda	360		
12	Tailor ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yakov	360		
13	Grocer	Avram	850	200	1050
14	Porter	Yanto	360		
15	Silk dealer	Haim	850		
	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	İsrail	360		
16	Broker	Avram	450	125	575
	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yakov	360		
17	Tailor	Haim	25		25
	<i>Yaymacı</i>	Hari	500	200	700
18	Herbalist	Hertu	720		
19	Bazaar seller	Avram	1200	875	2075
20	Porter	Musa	360		
	Porter	Yakov	360		
21	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	İlya	450		
22	Tenekeci	İsak	600	125	725
23	Tenekeci	İsrail	500		
24	Porter	İlya	360		
25	Porter	Haim	360		
26	Porter	Yakov	400		
27	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Smail	720		
28	Grocer	Yasak	850	120	970
29	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Simon	360		
30	Silk dealer	Hekimoğlu Yasak	1800		
31	Silk dealer	Kantarcioğlu Tanil	1500		
32	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Avram	360		
33	Porter	Salamon	0	0	0
34	Grocer	Nesim	720	150	870
	Grocer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Musa	360		
35	Porter	David	400		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İlyas	460		
36	Porter	Nesim	360		
	Fisherman	Yakov	360		

37	Silk dealer	Türecioğlu İsak	1250		
38	Porter	İsak	0	0	0
39	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Hiron	400		
	Tailor ( <i>çırak</i> )	Haim	360		
	Porter	Musa	360		
40	Silk dealer	Haim	1800		
41	Porter	Nesim	400		
42	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Smail	360		
	Peddler	Sabatay	450		
43	Porter	Naim	360		
44	Broker	Haim	720	170	890
45	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Smail	360		
46	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Sabatay	360		
47	Silk dealer	Musa	1500		
48	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Başde	0	0	0
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yakov	400		
49	Tinsmith	Haim	400		
	<i>Şekerci</i>	Yanto	450		
50	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	David	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Başde	360		
51	Silk dealer	Sabatay	1250		
52	Porter	Yakov	360		
53	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Salamon	0	0	0
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )		360		
54	Fisherman	Salamon	360		
55	Perdler	İlyaz	0	0	0
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	İsak	360		
56	Fisherman	Yakov	360		
57	Tailor	Yuda	400		
58	Fisherman	Naim	450		
59	Merchant	Tenoti	3600	1290	4890
60	Grocer	Salamon	1750		
	Grocer ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Musa	360		
61	<i>Süpürgeci</i>	Simarye	360		
	Porter	Musa	360		
62	<i>İpekçi</i>	Yuda	720		
63	Peddler	Basak	360		
	Peddler	Avram	360		
64	Lemon seller	Yakov	400		
65	Tinsmith	Avram	500		
	Tinsmith ( <i>çırak</i> )		260		
66	Bazaar seller	Yakov	400		
	Bazaar seller ( <i>çırak</i> )	Smail	360		
	Porter	Odre	260		
	Silk dealer ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	David	160		
67	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Musa	720		
68	<i>Hayvan boğazlayıcısı</i>	Salamon	360		
69	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Avram	400		
70	Herbalist	Salamon	500		
71	<i>Pişirici</i>	David	360		
	<i>İpek bağlayıcısı</i>	Avram	0	0	0
72	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Avram	400		
	Tinsmith ( <i>çırak</i> )	Haim	360		

	Porter	David	360		
	Tinsmith ( <i>çırak</i> )	Smail	360		
	<i>Françalacı (hizmetkar)</i>	Nesim	400		
	Porter	Herut	360		
73	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Avram	360		
74	Porter	İsak	360		
	Fisherman	Yakov	360		
75	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Basak	360		
76	Bartender	Nesim	500		
77	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Avram	400		
78	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Sadık	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Başde	360		
79	Porter	Salamon	360		
80	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Smail	360		
81	<i>Boyacı</i>	David	0	0	0
	Porter	İsak	360		
82	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yakov	500		
83	Bazaar seller	Yakov	550		
	Bazaar seller ( <i>çırak</i> )	Avram	360		
84	<i>Yaymacı (çırak)</i>	Basak	400		
	<i>Yaymacı (çırak)</i>	Avram	360		
85	<i>Hayvan boğazlayıcısı</i>	İsak	360		
	Servant	Haim	450		
86	<i>Yaymacı</i>	Yakov	450		
87	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Yakov	360		
88	Lemon seller	Binyamin	360		
89	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İsak	450		
	Tailor	Yuda	360		
	Tailor	Basak	450		
90	Peddler	Smail	400		
	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Yankon	360		
	Peddler ( <i>çırak</i> )	Smail	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İsak	360		
91	Silk dealer	Arslan	3500	35	3850
	Peddler	Başde	500		
92	Silk dealer	Haim	720		
	Silk dealer	Refail	480		
93	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Sabatay	450		
94	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Hananiye	400		
	Tailor ( <i>çırak</i> )	Avram	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Mikail	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Yakov	360		
95	Teacher	Yakov	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Avram	360		
96	Tinsmith	Yakov	400		
97	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Musa	360		
	Bazaar seller ( <i>çırak</i> )	Basak	400		
98	Teacher	Haim	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Basak	360		
99	<i>Yaymacı</i>	Nesim	600		
100	Silk dealer	İsak	3650		
101	Broker	Basak	600		
	Tinsmith ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yakov	360		

102	<i>Yaymacı (çırak)</i>	Avram	400		
	<i>Yaymacı</i>	Basak	450		
	<i>Yaymacı</i>	İsak	720		
103	<i>Urgancı</i>	Yuda	360		
	<i>Francalacı (hizmetkar)</i>	Haim	360		
104	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Avram	400		
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Musa	360		
	Silk dealer( <i>kalfa</i> )	Başde	360		
105	Butcher	Hari	720	150	870
	Tinsmith	Yakov	360		
106	Broker	Basak	500		
	Peddler	Salamon	360		
107	Silk dealer	Mamlacıoğlu Yuda	3200	275	3475
	Silk dealer	Mihail	400		
108	Bartender ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	İsak	360		
	Porter	Nesim	360		
109	Peddler ( <i>dolapçı</i> )	Turacıoğlu Yakov	500		
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Yuda	400		
110	Butcher	Avram	1200	250	1450
111	Tinsmith	Musa	450	50	500
	Tinsmith	Avram	360		
	Tinsmith	İsak	360		
112	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	David	360		
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Smail	400		
	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yakov	500		
113	Tailor	Rufail	450		
114	Bazaar seller ( <i>çırak</i> )	Rufail	400		
	Porter	Yanto	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İsak	450		
115	Orphan (2 years old)	İsak	50		
	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Haim	360		
116	Porter	İsak	360		
	Porter	Avram	360		
	<i>Basmacı (çırak)</i>	Mihail	360		
117	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Musa	360		
118	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	Başde	360		
	Silk dealer( <i>kalfa</i> )	Binyamin	400		
119	Teacher	Herut	360		
120	Lemon seller	Salamon	360		
121	Broker	Yakov	2500		
	Merchant	Musa	720		
	Broker	İsrafil	400		
	Broker	Yuda	360		
122	Tailor	Yakov	450		
123	Silk dealer	Basak	850		
	Silk dealer ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	İsrafil	360		
124	Silk dealer ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yuda	360		
125	Tailor	David	500		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yuda	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Salamon	360		
126	Baker ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Yakov	400		

	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	İsak	360		
127	Butcher	Musa	500		
128	Silk dealer ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yakov	400		
129	Carpenter	Basak	360		
	Carpenter	İsak	360		
	<i>Françalacı (hizmetkar)</i>	Avram	360		
130	Broker	Nesim	360		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	İsak	360		
131	Porter	Yanto	360		
	Tinsmith	Basak	400		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Sentu	400		
132	Butcher	Binyamin	720		
	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	500		
	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yuda	720		
133	<i>Kantarıcı</i>	Yakov	400		
134	Butcher	İsak	500		
135	Bazaar seller	Nesim	450		
	Bazaar seller ( <i>çirak</i> )	Sabatay	360		
136	Porter	Salamon	360		
137	Broker	David	400		
138	Porter	Musa	360	120	480
	Broker	Yuda	400		
	Silk dealer( <i>kalfa</i> )	Daniel	450		
139	Lemon seller	Musa	360		
	Lemon seller	Hermen	360		
140	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yaru	400		
141	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	israfil	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Haim	360		
	<i>Mahalle pasubanı</i>	İsak	360		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Nahim	360		
142	<i>Çamurcu</i>	Smail	360		
143	Herbalist	Avram	500		
	Porter	Yakov	360		
	Lemon seller	Musa	360		
144	Porter	İsak	0	0	0
145	Butcher	Gerşon	720		
	<i>Arpacı</i>	Sabatay	360		
146	<i>Şerbetçi</i>	Rubin	360		
	<i>Eskici</i>	Yakov	360		
147	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	İsak	520		
148	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Smail	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	360		
149	Peddler	İsak	360		
150	Bazaar seller	Başde	720		
	Bazaar seller ( <i>çirak</i> )	Başde	360		
151	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İsak	500		
	Sick	Çellebon	0	0	0
152	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	İzidor	400		
153	Porter	Samarye	360		
154	Peddler	Yakov	400		
	Bazaar seller	İlya	0	0	0
155	Peddler	Yarev	400		
156	Tinsmith	İsak	400		

157	Peddler	İsak	720		
158	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Nesim	360		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Yakov	360		
159	Porter		0	0	0
160	Peddler	Smail	450		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Serdehay?	360		
161	Silk dealer	Musa	360		
162	Peddler	Refail	400		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Mihail	360		
163	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Yaşve	360		
164	Peddler	Musa	400		
	Silk dealer( <i>kalfa</i> )	Basak	500		
165	Peddler	Hari?	400		
166	Butcher	İsak	500		
	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Basak	360		
	Butcher ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Nesim	360		
167	<i>Bezzaz</i>	Basak	400		
168	<i>Basmacı</i>	Avram	360		
169	Tinsmith	İsak	400		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Gerşon	360		
170		Musa	0	0	0
	Tinsmith	Nesim	400		
171	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	400		
172	Porter		0	0	0
173	Peddler ( <i>çırak</i> )	Haim	360		
174	<i>Dökmeci</i>	Nesim	400		
175	Peddler	Yuda	720		
	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Basak	360		
176	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Avram	360		
177	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Yuda	360		
178	Tailor	Avram	360		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	David	360		
179	Peddler	Herd?	400		
180	Peddler	Haim	500		
181	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Musa	360		
182	Merchant	Davidoğlu Avram	1200		
	Merchant	Haim	500		
	Merchant ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	David	360		
183	Silk dealer ( <i>dellal</i> )	Musa	360		
184	Silk dealer ( <i>işçi</i> )	David	400		
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	360		
185	Tinsmith	Salamon	450		
186	Porter		0	0	0
187	Silk dealer ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Avram	360		
188	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Salamon	360		360
	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Varam	360		360
189	<i>Şekerci</i>	Yakov	360		360
190	Porter	Avram	360		360
191	Peddler	Avram	400		
192	Tailor	Yuda	400		
193	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Arslan	360		360
194	Porter	Avram	360		360
195	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Basak	360		360

	Berber ( <i>çırak</i> )	Musa	360		360
196	Peddler	Yuda	400		
197	Porter		0	0	0
198	Butcher ( <i>çırak</i> )	Yeşve	360		360
199	Peddler ( <i>çırak</i> )	Haim	360		360
200	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Ezdira	360		360
201	Peddler ( <i>hizmetkar</i> )	Yanto	360		360
202	Limoncu	İsak	360		360
203	Tailor ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Musa	360		360
204	Peddler	Benyamin	400		
	Tinsmith ( <i>kalfa</i> )	Musa	400		
	Servant	Salamon	360		360



## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DEBT OF MENAHEM TO MR ANIKAT

*Fransa Padişahının Deraliyyede mukîm murahhas Büyüç Elçi Baron De Burka senaverlerinin takriridir. 20 Zilkade 1263*

*Buyruldu.*

*Mukteza derkenar mucibince emr-i ali verildi. 29 Zilkade 1263*

*Mösyö İnkât nam Fransalı tacirin bu defa canib-i senvaferiye takdim eylediği bir kıta arzuhalin mealine nazaran devlet-i aliyye tebaasından Menahim Karmuna nam kimesnede beş bin sekiz yüz elli kuruş on para bâ-ilâm-ı şeri alacak hakkı olduğu ve medyun-ı merkum bu cihetle mahbus bulunduğru halde ber takrib hapisten çıkıp Bursa sancağında kain Kemer kasabasına fîrar birle oranın kadısı İbrahim Efendi bunu tesahub ederek güya meblağ-ı mezkuru'l-miktarın tamamen tediye kılındığına dair iki şahid-i zûr şehadetine havale-i sem'-ı itibar ile akçenin tahsili için bir güna ianet etmediğinden ma ada dain-i mekumu yedi gün hapis ve tvkif ve hakkında bazı muamelat-ı atikaya ictisar eylemiş ve tacir-i merkum gerek kasaba-i merkumeye gitmeye mecburiyeti ve gerek orada tevkifi sebebiyle zarar-ı külliye düçar olmuş ve salifu'z-zikr beş bin sekiz yüz elli kuruş ile iktiza eden tazmin-i medyun-ı merkumdan tediye ettirmek ve tacir-i merkum bu defa Bursa'ya gideceğinden hapis ve tevkifi cihetiyle çekilen zararın tazmini için kadi-imumaileyhe dahi oraya celb ile muhakeme kılınmak babında bir kıta ferman-ı alışan çıkarılmasını salifu'z-zikr arzuhalde iltimas etmiş ve mefad-ı inhaya nazaran kadi-i mumaileyhin hareketi pek uygunsuz v eşuruta muhalif idüğü mevadd-ı bahireden bulunmuş olmakla keyfiyet etraflıca ve kemal-ı bi garazı ile tahkik olunarak be rmuceb-i istida icra-yı iktizasına bakılmak ve kadi-i mumaileyh töhmet-i merviyyesi lede't-tebeyyün tazir ve tevbih kılınmak babında bir kıta emr-i ali şerefsuduruna himem-i seniyyeleri ibzal buyrulmasını mumaileyh senaverleri iltimas ve takrir eder.*

*Mühür: Sefaret-i Padişah-ı Fransa der Asitane*

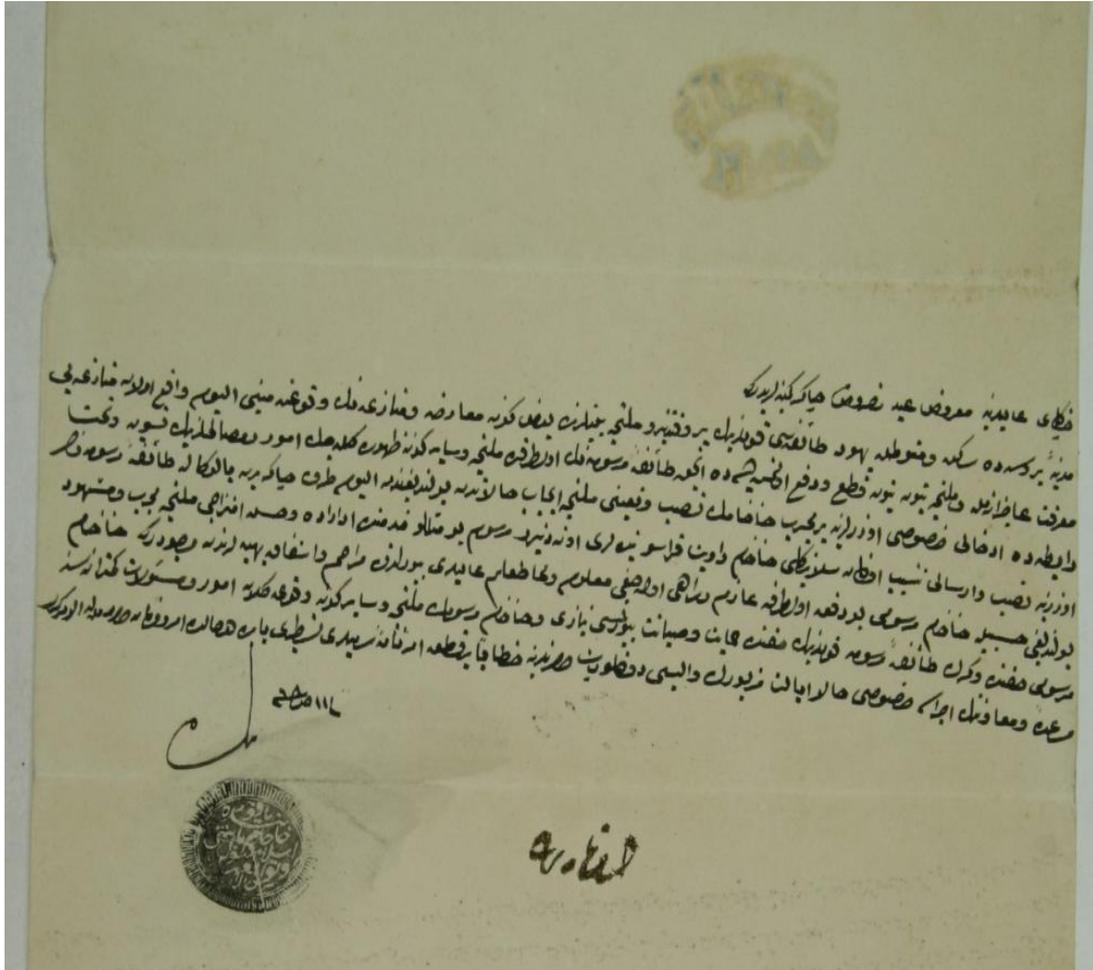
*İktizası Divan-ı Hümayundan.*

*Meâl-ı takrir, Fransa devlet-i fehimesi tebaasından Mösyö İnkât nam tacirin tebea-i devlet-i aliyyeden Menahim Karmuna nam yahudi zimmetinde bâ ilam-ı şeri mahkûmun-bihi olan beş bin sekiz yüz elli kuruş olan para alacağının tahsili için hapse ilka kılınmış ise de medyun-ı mersum hapisten ber takrib çıkarak Kemer*

*kasabasında firar ile meblağ-ı mezbur tamamen tediye kılındığına dair medyun-ı mersum tarafından şahid-i zur ikame olunduğundan ma ada taciri mersum yedi gün hapis ve tevkifi ve hakkında bazı malumat gayr-ı layıka icra olunmuş ve tacir-i mersumun gerek kasaba-i mezbureye gitmek mecburiyeti ve gerek orada tevkii sebebiyle zara-ı külliye düçar olmuş olduğundan bahisle meblağ-ı mezbur ile iktiza eden tazminin aliverilmesi babında Bursa'da muhakeme olunmak üzere emr-i ali itası iltimasından ibaret olub ilam-ı mezkur işbu takrire rabt kılınmış ve sak ve sebki usulüne muvafık idüğü canib-i fetvahaneden işaret kılınmış ve Fransa tacirleri ve tercüman ve konsolosları memalik-i mahrusede bey ve şira ve ticaret ve kefalet hususlarında ve sair umur-ı şeriyyede kadiya varub sebt-i sicil itdirub ve ya hüccet ... sonra niza olur ise hüccet ve sicile nazar olunub mucibi ile amel oluna deyu devlet-i aliyye ile devlet-i müşarunileyha beyinde münaikd olan ahidname-i hümayunda münderic ve mezkur bulunmuş olmakla (açık) bu suretde inha olunduğu üzere ve tacir-i mersum devlet-i aliyye tebaasından olmadığı halde medyun-ı mersum zimmetinde ba ilam-ı şeri mahkûmun-bihi olan alacağı mahallinde veyahut ber mucib-i istida Bursa'da şer'-i şerif ve meclisi marifeti ile tahsil olunarak ihkak-ı hakka mübaderet olunmak için emr-i ali itası iktiza eylediği malum-ı devletleri buyruldukda Ferman devletlu sultanımındır.*

*13 Zilkade 1263.*

DOCUMENT 6: THE DOCUMENT REGARDING ASSIGNMENT OF  
HAHAM DAVID KARASU



## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT REGARDING THE ASSIGNMENT OF HAHAM DAVID KARASU

*Hâk-pâyı 'Âlilerine ma'rûz-ı 'abd-ı ... çaker-i kemineleridir ki;*

*Medine-i Bursa'da saki ve mütevattin yahudi taifesi kullarının bir vakitten beru milletçe beynlerinde bazı gûna muaraza ve münazaanın vukuuna mebni el-yevm vaki olan münazayı marfiet-i acizanemle ve milletçe bütün bütün kat' ve def' olunmuş ise de anak taife-i mersumenin ol tarafda milletçe ve sayir gün zuhura gelecek umur ba'zu'l-hallerinin tesviye ve taht-ı rabıtada idhali hususu üzerlerine bir mücerrib haham nasb ve tayini milletçe icab-ı halatdan bulunduğundan el-yevm taraf-ı çakeriden bi'l-vekale taife-i mersumenin üzerine nasb ve irsali tensib olunan selanikli haham david Karasu bendeleri öteden beri mersum bu misilli hizmetde idarede ve hüsn-ı imtizacı milletçe mücerreb ve meşhur bulunduğu hasebi ile haham-ı mersumu bu defa ol tarafa azim ve rahi olacağı malum-ı veliyyi it'âm-ı alileri buyruldukda merahim ve infak-ı behiyyelerinden mercuvdur ki;*

*Haham-ı mersumu hakkında ve gerek taife-i mersume kullarının hakkında himayet ve siyanet buyrulması niyazı ve haham-ı mersumun milletçe ve sayir gûna vukuagelen umur-ı ve mesulat-ı kemteranesine müsaade ve müavenetinin icrası hususu hala eyalet-i mezburun valisi devletlu Paşa hazretlerine hitaben bri kıta emirname-i samileri tastiri babında her halde emr u ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir. 11 Safer 1268*

*Mühür: Bende-i Hahambaşı-i İstanbul ve tevabiihi.*

DOCUMENT 7: THE DOCUMENT REGARDING THE ASSIGNMENT OF  
HAHAM DAVID KARASU

فداوندگار و الهی

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

این سند به جهت تفهیم امور و فطرت سازه درین رتبه ایجاب اوزره ملائکه ذویه  
و اسو نام که مقام نفی لایزاله بکاره لایزاله غلام نشسته و کلمه را مع فقیر عاید لایزاله و امور  
تسبیح و تفسیر آن اجابت برین تفهیم و فطرت رضی صحت نم بر روزها اجلاس فضا  
فاضل این طایفه با فقیرانک و استعنا آنرا و هر صفت بنم فضا فطرتا هر حال و کار  
در این وقت و ایام و عدله اولی زرد و هم و در جناب جلالتا بنم بنم بولنه انهم  
بر وجه استخفاف و فطرت زانیا و نایب و صحابه و صحابه او فطرتا در وقت فطرتا  
و تفهیم آن رضی استغفار و اراضه بایک فطرتا فطرتا

**TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT REGARDING THE  
ASSIGNMENT OF HAHAM DAVID KARASU**

*Hüdavendigâr Valisine;*

*Bursa'da Yahudi taifesinin umur-ı milliyye ve hususat-ı sarielerini ruyet etmek üzere Selanikli David Karasu Haham tayin olunarak bu kere ol tarafa i'zâm kılınmış olduğundan mersum hakkında ri'âyet-i lâzime ve umurunda teshilat-ı mukteziyenin icrasıyla beraber taife-i merkume haklarında dahi şime-i teba perverinin icrası hususu Hahambaşı tarafından bâ takrir ifade v eistida olunmuş ve her sınıf tebea-i şahanenin her hal ve kârda dilîr-i ni'met ve asayiş ve madelet olması nezd-i merâhim-i vefd-i cihanbanide mültezim bulunmuş olmakla ber uceb-i istidâ Haham-ı merkum hakkında hürmet ve sahabet ve memurine dair düşen aylıklarında muavenet-i icabiyenin ifası ile taife-i merkumenin dahi sair sınıf-ı tebea-i devlet-i aliyye misilli istikrar olunmak ve iraha-i balleri hususuna himmet buyurmaları babında şikka.*



## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT ABOUT THE CLOTH REGULATION (DOCUMENT 8)

*Yeniçeri Ağasına Hüküm ki;*

*Bundan akdem merhûm ve mağfürunlehu ceddîm Sultan Mehmed Han aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'l-gufrân zamanında Yahudi taifesi kırmızı şabka giyub ve başmakları ve edekleri siyah olub ve libasları boğasi kapamadan olub ve nasara taifesi dahi siyah şabka giydikleri ecilden hala dahi İstanbul'da olan yahudi ve nasara taifesi dülbend sarınub vech-i meşruh üzere şabka ve başmak ve edek ve kapama giymelerin emr edub (bu babda İstanbul valisine ve ... hükm-i hümayunum gönderilmiştir.) buyurdum ki;*

*Varıcak bu babda sen dahi mübaşir olub tevaif-i mezbureye dülbend giydurub sadır olan ferman-ı hümayunum icrasında ihtimam idub emr-i şerif kimisneye iş ettirmeyesiz.*



## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT ABOUT THE CLOTH REGULATION (DOCUMENT 9)

*İstanbul Kadısına Hüküm ki;*

*Merhûm ve mağfürunlehu Sultan Mehmed Han aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'r-rızvân zamanlarında Yahudi taifesi kırmuzi şabka giyub ve ayaklarında olan başmakları ve edekleri ve dahi siyah olub boğasiden kapama giyub ve nasara taifesi ve dahi siyah şabka giydukleri ecilden zikr olunan tayife dülbend sarınub uslub-ı sabık üzere kırmuzi şabka giyub ve başmakların ve edekleri dahi siyah olub ve libasları boğasi kapama olub ve nasara taifesi dahi dülbend sarınub siyah şabka giymelerin emr idub buyurdum ki;*

*Varıcak bu babda mukayyed olub ferman-ı şerifim üzere bezazistanda/bedestende ve sayir mecma-ı nas toplanma yeri olan mahallerde nida itdirub muhkem tenbih ve siyağ eylesin min ba'd Yahudi taifesinden emr-i celilu'l-kadrim mucibince kırmuzi şabka giydurub ve başmakların ve edeklerin dahi siyah itdirub ve kapamaları dahi boğasiden giyduresiz ve nasara taife yakasına dahi vech-i meşruh üzere dülbend giydirmeyub siyah şabka giydirub ferman-ı şerifimin icrasında ihtimam edesiz bu husus yeniçerilerim ağası olan İbrhaim dame uluvvuhu mübaşir tayin olunub müşarunileyhe dahi hükmi hümayunum verilmiştir. Ona göre mumaileyhle haberleşub emr-i şerifimin itmamında ikdam ve ihtimam eylesiniz.*

*Bu dahi: Bir sureti Galata Kadılığına*

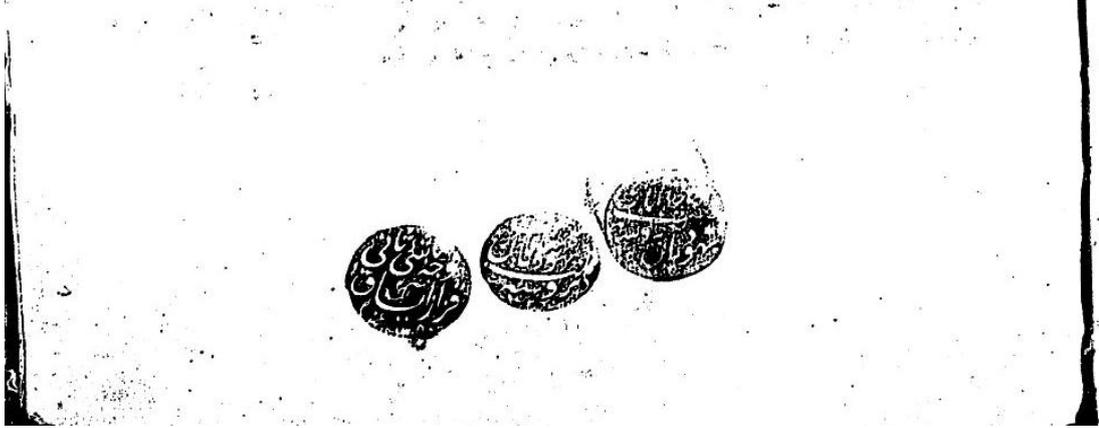
*Bu dahi: Bir sureti Edirne kadısına Yeniçeri Ağası mübaşir tayin olunmuştur. (Muharrem Bey karındaşı Mustafa Çavuşa verilmiştir.)*

*Bu dahi: Bir sureti Haslar Kadısına*

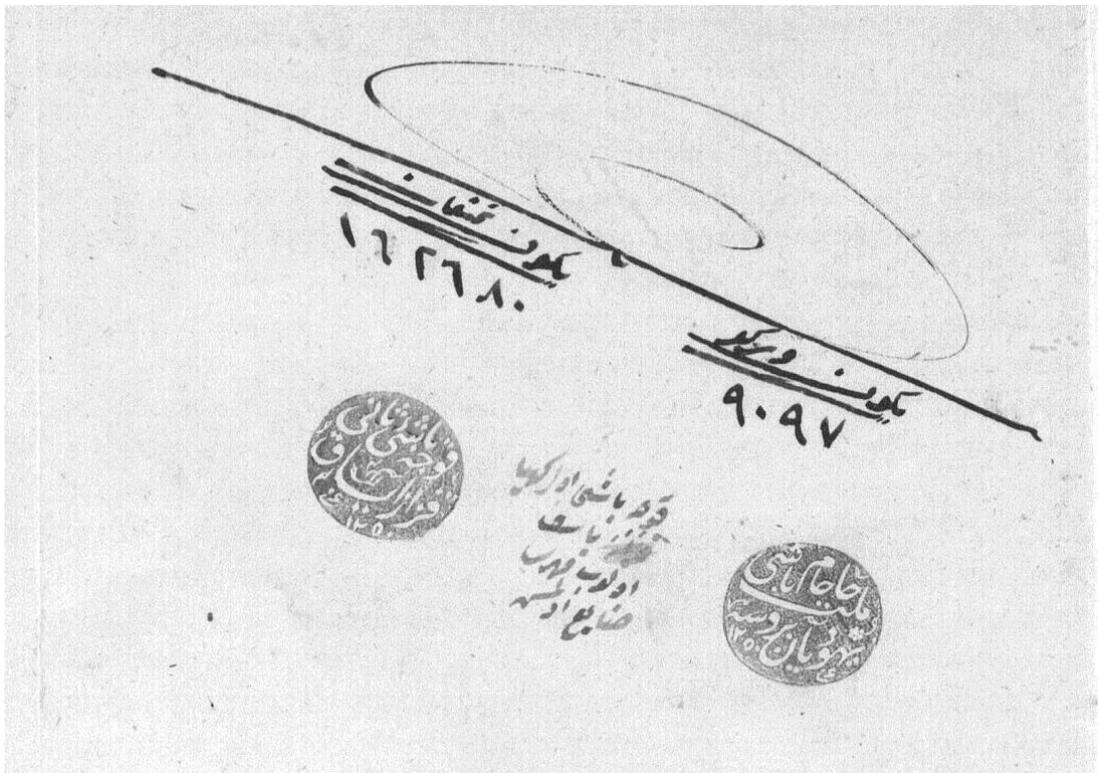
*Bu dahi: Bir sureti Bursa Kadısına Yeniçeri Ağası mübaşir değildir. (Çavuşzade Yemlihana verilmiştir.)*

*Bu dahi: Bir sureti Selanik kadısına*

**DOCUMENT 10: THE OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE CHIEF RABBI OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN BURSA AND *KOCABAŞI SANİ KAZZAZ İSAK* FROM THE *CİZYE MUHASEBESİ KALEMİ***



**DOCUMENT 11: THE OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE CHIEF RABBI OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND *KOCABAŞI SANİ KAZZAZ İSAK* FROM *TEMETTUAT* OF KURUÇEŞME**



کندوسه برقطعه نشان فروغ افشان احسان و عبا بت و تعلیق کریان  
مفترق فلنشد

اشو سوال مکرمک اون برنجی بازار ایتسی کونی ساعت طقوز بچق صورنه  
اسکدارده قره جواد چوارنه دو بیچاره فاضله مسک احمد افندی جمله سنده  
اصنافدن عمر افندی خانه سندن از قضا ظهور ایدن آتش اطرافه سرایت  
ایتیه رک انجیق مذکور خاله و بنه ماه مزبورک بکرمی برنجی بنجسند کیجه سی  
ساعت بش بچق قرارنده حمام طوبه قوسی داخلده جلواچی حسین دکاندن  
قضا آتش ظهور ایدوب چوار بنه سرایتله اون باب خانه او توز عدد دکان  
محرق اولوب سوتشد

### مولد عسکری

معادن همایونک سدیدک مناسب کور بلان معلوم الاسامی قضا لیدن ترتیب  
و تخریری مقتضای امر و اراده سنیة حضرت ملوکا نه دن اولان اوج طابور  
ردیف عساکر منصوره ک اجراسنه مباشرت اولمش اولدیفندن بلو حکومته  
اولادیت شرطیله بر وجه اوجتلقی متصرف اولان اسمعیل یک ابا عن جد  
اصدقای بتدکان سلطنت سنیة دن اولوب بوئدن بویه دخی کندوسندن  
حسن خدمت مأمول ایدوکنندن میر موی الیهک ذکر اولانسان اوج طابور  
ردیف عساکر منصوره به میرالای نصب اولمشی دولور شید باشا حضرت تازی  
اتها ایش و عساکر منظمه حضرت شاهانه مضابطاتک تعلم و تعلم  
وقومانداده کسب مهارت الیسی و متفرعات نظمی بتلیسی ارجول نظامات  
مستحسنة دن اولدیفندن تحصیل تعلیمه صرف بارلی لیاقت الیهک شرطیله  
میر موی الیهک سالف الذ کراوج طابوره میرالای نصب اولمشی و قسطنطینی  
سجستاندن متسللی معرفتله تخریر و تنظیم اولمشی اولان ردیف عساکر  
منصوره طابوری نقراتی تکبیل مضابطاتی دخی خاندان و کتی زاده لیدن  
انتخاب اولندرق برقطعه دفتری تسبیل اولمش ایدوکنندن دفتر مذکور  
تبلیص و بالاسی تذهب ایتدیله رک مبارک خط شریف شوکتدیف ملوکا نه  
ایله ترین بیورلق اوزره تقدیم فلندینی و طابور مذکوره اواه مزبور  
خاندانندن الای بکی زاده اجدک تکبیلی عین فلنسی منسل موی الیه  
طرفندن التماس اولمش اولغله ذکر اولانسان دفترک خاک عتبه فلک مرتبه  
حضرت خلافتناهی به تقدیمه موی الیه اسمعیل بک بالاده مذکور اوج  
طابوره میرالای موی الیه اجد بک مذکور قسطنطینی طابور بنه تکبیلی  
نصب و تعیینلری واقضا ایدن نشان ذیشانلرله طابور مذکور مضابطاتسه  
مقتضی نشانلرک دخی اعطاسی خصوصلری عرض و اسنادان بیورلرله رق  
اولیایده مساعدت سنیة جناب جهاندارله ارزان بیور بلور ایسه موی الیهما  
اسمعیل یک و اجد بک مأمور بتلری حاوی ایکی قطعه امر عالیک  
اصدار بیورلسی خصوصلرله دایر باب عالی به تقدیم اولمش اولان عرض  
حضرت سرعسکری اولوچهله تقدیم و اسنادان اولاننده اجرا لرینه  
مساعدت احسان معانده جناب جهانبابی عنایت و ارزان بیورلش و دفتر  
مذکور بالاسی مبارک و معل خط شریف مکرم ردیف پادشاهی ایله ترین  
فلنشد

مقدما مصالح عرفیه ایجا بنجه بغداد جا بننه مأمور تعیین فلنیش اولان  
اناطولی محاسبه چیبسی عبدالعزیز آگاه افندی بغداده بالوصول مقتضای  
درایی اوزره ایضای حسن مأموریت ایدرک بو دفعه در مساعدته عودت و قبول  
ایش و مصارفات نظری متوق حابجی علی یک افندیک مأمور اولدینی  
و اورخانه لر ایله سی بناماتی باراده سنیة عهد سته احاله و تقویض بیورلش  
اولدیفندن معاند بغداد و البسی علی رضایاشا حضرت تازی افندی موی الیهک  
امور مأموره سنده حرکات واقعه سندن خشود بیورلش اولدیفنه و والی مشار الیهک  
قبولکننداسی بولنسان رجال دولت علیه دن اوقاف همایون نظری حسب  
افندی حضرت لرینک اوقاف همایون مصالح جسمه سنک تسویه و تثبیتله  
مشغولیتلرینه مینی شرفستوح و صدور بیور بلان اراده سنیة جناب شاهانه  
موجب موی الیه آگاه افندی بغداد قبولکننداسی نصب و تعیین و جواریت  
مناسبیله شهر زور و البسی محمد باشا حضرت تازیله موصل بکر بکسی سعید  
باشانک قبولکنندالغری دخی افندی موی الیه احاله ایله اقتضای اجرا  
اولمشدر

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

شهره دولت علیه قابل پروردن فضلی مخلص شاعر بلاغت مختصک کل  
و بلبل نام منظومه مطبوعه سنی حلال دولت فضیله اوستزاده ترجان بولنسان  
این حامی الیه شهر و مکی بر معرقتند زبان اشنا نجه لسانته نظما نقل و ترجمه بیه  
اصل و ترجمه سنی در مساعدته تقدیم ایلدی بکی ایش طقوز بنجی دفعه طبع و نلنسان  
تقوم و قایع نسختنده الحاق حروف فنون نقریض ظروف اولمشیدی بودفه  
دخی صاحب التالیفات الجلیله علامه زحمرینک فن لطیف محاضرانندن  
دیله آرای شاهد معنی فلندینی اطواق الذهب نام مؤلف بلنج مهذبی ترجان  
تر زبان موی الیه بنه لسان مذکور نقل و اصل و ترجمه سنیله طبع ایتدی بکی  
نسخته فی سعادت واسطه سنیله معروض نگاه قدر آسکاه سلطنت قلمسه  
منظور نظر کتیا از شه نشاهی اولدیفنی شعر مترجم موی الیه کوندرلک  
اوزره جانب سلطنتدن احسان بیور بلان مرصع و مجوه بر عدد انقبه و وطنیسی  
مقام ریاستدن سعادت طرفنه اعطا اولمشدر

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

کچنده جفسان تقویم و قایع نسخته سنده روم و ارمینی وقتولک بطریق بقر بنه  
نشان فروغ افشانلر احسان همایون شاهانه بیورلش اولدینی محرق  
و مسطور اولوب اشو عنایت سنده دن کرک کندولری و کرک ملتلری مسرور  
و سادان و تائل فیتر فراوان اولدقاری جهته بیور ملتی دخی سلطنت سنیة دن  
قدیم رعایاسندن اولدق ملت هر سومه دخی بو محقرت عظمادن دور اولماق  
و الطاسف جلیله حضرت شه نشاهدن حصه مند سرور اولق امتیه سنیله  
شده ریبه قدر خاتم باشلری کندو وینلرنده انتخاب اید کاش و باب عالیله  
خلعت آکسای عادت اولماش ایسه ده بوئدن بویه خاظم باشلرینک عزل  
و نصبری باب عالیله اجرا و خلعت آکسا اولمش اوزره الحاله هذه خاظم باشی  
بولنسان باشلی اولدیفندن و کینسک خاظم باشی نصبتی و کند و سته  
و ملتلرینه سرمایه فخر و مباهات اولق بیجون نشان ذیشان عنایت و احسان  
بیورلسنی ملت هر سومه بالضرع و الانتهال عرضحال تقدیمه درگاه پادشاه  
مخلد الاقدالندن نیاز و رجای ایش اولدق لیدن ذات شوکتسمات حضرت  
شاهانه تک باب هر حجت و عنایت ملوکا نه لری بالجله عبادت کشاده و مقنوح  
و اطاف و احسان تاجدار بلری پدید یغ و بذول اید و کی رهین حیر وضوح  
اولدیفنندن ملت هر سومه حقیقه دخی مساعدت عاطفته اده حضرت  
ظل الیهی شایان بیورله رق و کبل هر سومک باب عالیله جلیله خاظم باشی  
نصب و تعیین و خلعت لارمه سی آکسا و اجرا اولمش و بعده مابین همایون  
جناب جهانبابی به کتور دیلوب حضور معالیته نور حضرت خلافتناهیله

<sup>453</sup> [http://gazeteler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/milli\\_kutup/865/865\\_3/0024.pdf](http://gazeteler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/milli_kutup/865/865_3/0024.pdf)

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ولایت دناخلند بولغان زبردده میجر سنجاقلرده کاشن اولور و قصبه  
 و زانجه و قسملرده بولغان مسلمان و غیر مسلمان نفوسد کورایله  
 خانه و قسرا و محلاتک مقدار بی مابین جمل اولدتر

بروسه جیما

اسامی قسما	تاریخ	خانه و محلات		نفوس ذکوة		بیگون نفوس
		خانه	محلات	مسلم	غیر مسلم	
مع نواحی برو قسما سی	۱۳۶	۱۶۳	۱۶۸۰۸	۱۳۱۸۳	۲۲۱۳۶	۳۵۷۰۹
میدان قسما سی	۱۰۰	۰	۲۹۳۶	۰۰۰۰	۹۷۵۹	۰۹۷۵۹
کلیک قسما سی	۱۹	۰	۳۹۱۳	۳۹۹۵	۲۲۶۱	۶۲۶۳
میدان قسما سی	۱۸	۰	۱۱۳۶	۲۶۹۹	۱۶۰۵	۲۳۰۳
تکیه نا حیدی	۰۱	۰	۸۰۰	۱۶۶۰	۵۵	۱۷۱۵
اینگور قسما سی	۷۶	۰	۲۵۷۸	۲۱۷۰	۹۲۷۷	۱۲۴۲۷
بکیش قسما سی	۵۹	۰	۳۷۹۰	۰۹۰۹	۶۰۲۲	۶۹۳۲
بازار حق قسما سی	۵۰	۰	۰۵۱۰	۰	۱۴۲۵	۱۳۳۵
خرمچک قسما سی	۲۳	۰	۱۵۱۰	۰	۳۹۷۰	۳۹۷۰
مختار قسما سی	۱۹۷	۰	۴۰۶۰	۴۵۷۳	۶۶۸۹	۱۲۲۶۲
کرتلی قسما سی	۲۵	۰	۱۷۸۹	۰۶۹۰	۳۹۳۳	۴۱۱۳
کوجک طاع قسما سی	۲۲	۰	۰۵۵۹	۰۰۰۰	۱۵۵۳	۱۵۵۳
کولیا بازار قسما سی	۷۲	۰	۲۰۰۱	۱۰۸۰	۲۱۱۰	۵۱۹۰
ازنیق قسما سی	۳۷	۰	۳۵۴۹	۱۸۱۰	۴۷۶۶	۵۹۱۶
بازار کوی قسما سی	۱۳	۰	۲۲۶۱	۵۵۶۳	۲۰۴۵	۷۶۰۸
بیلجک قسما سی	۲۲	۱۲	۴۱۱۸	۴۲۹۱	۵۶۰۷	۱۰۱۰۱
لفجک قسما سی	۲۳	۷	۱۵۱۶	۳۹۹۹	۲۵۵۹	۲۹۵۸
سکور قسما سی	۱۶	۷	۲۰۸۹	۶۹۷	۲۳۱۶	۵۰۵۳
قوجا قسما سی	۲۶	۰	۱۷۰۵	۰۷۲۵	۲۶۲۰	۵۳۶۳
			۶۱۹۱۳	۱۵۲۵۹	۹۶۶۱۱	۱۱۴۳۱

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روز داخنده بولنان زبرده محرم سقاقرده کائن الویه وقضا  
 وناخه وقریه بولنان نفوس ذکور مسلم و غیر مسلم ابله خانه  
 وقریه و محلاتک مقدارین مبین جسد کدن

Bursa Sancağı بروسه سنجاغی کتابخانه

اسامی قضا	نومبر	تاریخ	نفوس ذکور		مجموع
			مسلم	غیر مسلم	
مع نواحی برو قضا سی	۱۲۶	۷۳	۱۶۶۰۸	۴۱۱۳	۲۰۷۰۹
مع مین و عتیق اهره نو قضا	۱۰۵	۰۰	۳۹۴۶	۰۰۰۰	۹۷۵۹
کمالیجه قضا سی	۱۹	۰۰	۲۹۹۳	۲۹۹۵	۵۹۸۸
مداینه قضا سی	۱۸	۰۰	۱۸۲۶	۵۶۹۹	۷۵۲۵
تلیه ناجیه سی	۰۱	۰۰	۸۰۰	۱۶۶۰	۲۴۶۰
تلیه کول قضا سی	۷۶	۰۰	۶۵۸۸	۳۱۷۰	۹۷۵۷
تلیه قضا سی	۵۹	۰۰	۳۷۹۰	۰۹۹	۳۸۸۹
بازارجوق قضا سی	۵۰	۰۰	۵۱۰	۰۰۰۰	۱۲۳۵
عمر عتیق قضا سی	۶۲	۰۰	۱۵۱۰	۰۰۰۰	۳۹۷۰
سنجاغ قضا سی	۱۵۷	۰۰	۶۰۶۰	۶۵۷۲	۱۲۶۳۲
کیرمانلی قضا سی	۲۵	۰۰	۱۷۸۳	۰۶۹	۳۶۵۲
کوتلی باغ قضا سی	۲۲	۰۰	۰۵۵۹	۰۰۰۰	۱۵۵۳
کولپازار قضا سی	۷۳	۰۰	۲۰۰۱	۱۰۸۰	۳۰۸۱
ازین قضا سی	۲۷	۰۰	۲۵۴۹	۱۸۱۰	۴۳۵۹
بازارجوق قضا سی	۱۲	۰۰	۳۴۶۱	۵۵۶۳	۹۰۲۵
تلیه حاک قضا سی	۲۴	۱۴	۴۱۱۸	۶۴۹۴	۱۰۶۱۲
تلیه قضا سی	۴۲	۰۷	۱۵۱۶	۲۹۹	۳۵۱۵
سکود قضا سی	۱۶	۰۷	۲۰۸۹	۶۹۷	۲۷۸۶
قریه سنجاغ قضا سی	۴۶	۰۰	۱۷۰۰	۷۳۵	۲۴۳۵
<b>مجموع</b>	<b>۸۹۷</b>		<b>۶۰۹۶۳</b>	<b>۴۵۲۵۷</b>	<b>۱۰۶۲۲۰</b>

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ولایت داخلده بولنان زبیره عسکر سجا طرده کائن الویه وضا وناجیه  
وزیره لرده بولنان نفوس دکور مسله و غیر مسله ایله خانه و قرا و محلات  
مقدارینی مبین جدولدن

**بروسه سجاغی** → Bursa Sanca

امامی قضا	نومبر	نومبر	نفوس دکور		مجموع
			مسلم	غیر مسلم	
مع یوز و یوزده قضا	۷۶	۱۶۶۰۸	۱۷۸۸۷	۷۷۸۷	۱۵۷۰۹
مع جوبه بیله قرا و قضا	۰۰	۱۷۹۷۶	۰۰۰	۹۷۵۹	۹۷۵۹
کلیک قضا	۱۹	۷۹۸۷	۷۹۹۵	۷۷۶۸	۷۷۶۷
مغانیه قضا	۱۸	۱۸۷۶	۷۶۶۹	۱۷۷۱	۷۷۰۷
زلیله قضا	۰۱	۸۰۰	۱۶۷	۰۰۵۵	۱۷۱۵
اینگول قضا	۷۶	۷۵۵۱	۷۱۷۰	۹۷۷۷	۱۷۷۷۷
بکیشهر قضا	۵۹	۷۷۹۰	۹۰۹	۷۰۷۷	۷۹۷۷
بازار حق قضا	۵۰	۵۱۰	۰۰۰	۱۷۷۵	۱۷۷۵
خرمچک قضا	۶۷	۱۵۱۰	۰۰۰	۷۹۷۰	۷۹۷۰
مجانلیق قضا	۱۷۷	۷۰۷۰	۷۵۷۷	۷۶۸۹	۱۷۷۷۷
کرمانلیق قضا	۷۵	۱۷۸۷	۷۷۰	۷۷۷۷	۷۷۷۷
کوکچه طایق قضا	۷۵	۵۵۹	۰۰۰	۱۵۵۷	۱۵۵۷
کول بازار قضا	۷۷	۷۰۰۱	۷۰۸۰	۷۱۱۰	۷۱۹۰
ازینق قضا	۷۷	۷۵۷۹	۱۸۷۷	۷۷۷۷	۷۸۸۹
بازار کوی قضا	۱۷	۷۷۷۱	۵۵۷۷	۷۰۷۵	۷۷۰۸
ییلجک قضا	۷۷	۷۱۱۸	۷۷۷۷	۷۷۰۷	۷۰۱۰۱
لنک قضا	۷۷	۱۵۱۶	۷۷۹	۷۵۵۷	۷۷۵۸
سکود قضا	۱۶	۷۰۸۹	۷۹۷	۷۷۸۷	۷۰۸۷
قره جده شهر قضا	۷۶	۱۷۰۵	۷۷۵	۷۷۷۱	۷۷۷۷
	۸۹۷	۷۱۹۸۷	۷۵۷۵۷	۷۷۷۰۷	۷۷۷۷۷

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## APPENDIX G: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı:

Adı :

Bölümü:

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce):

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: