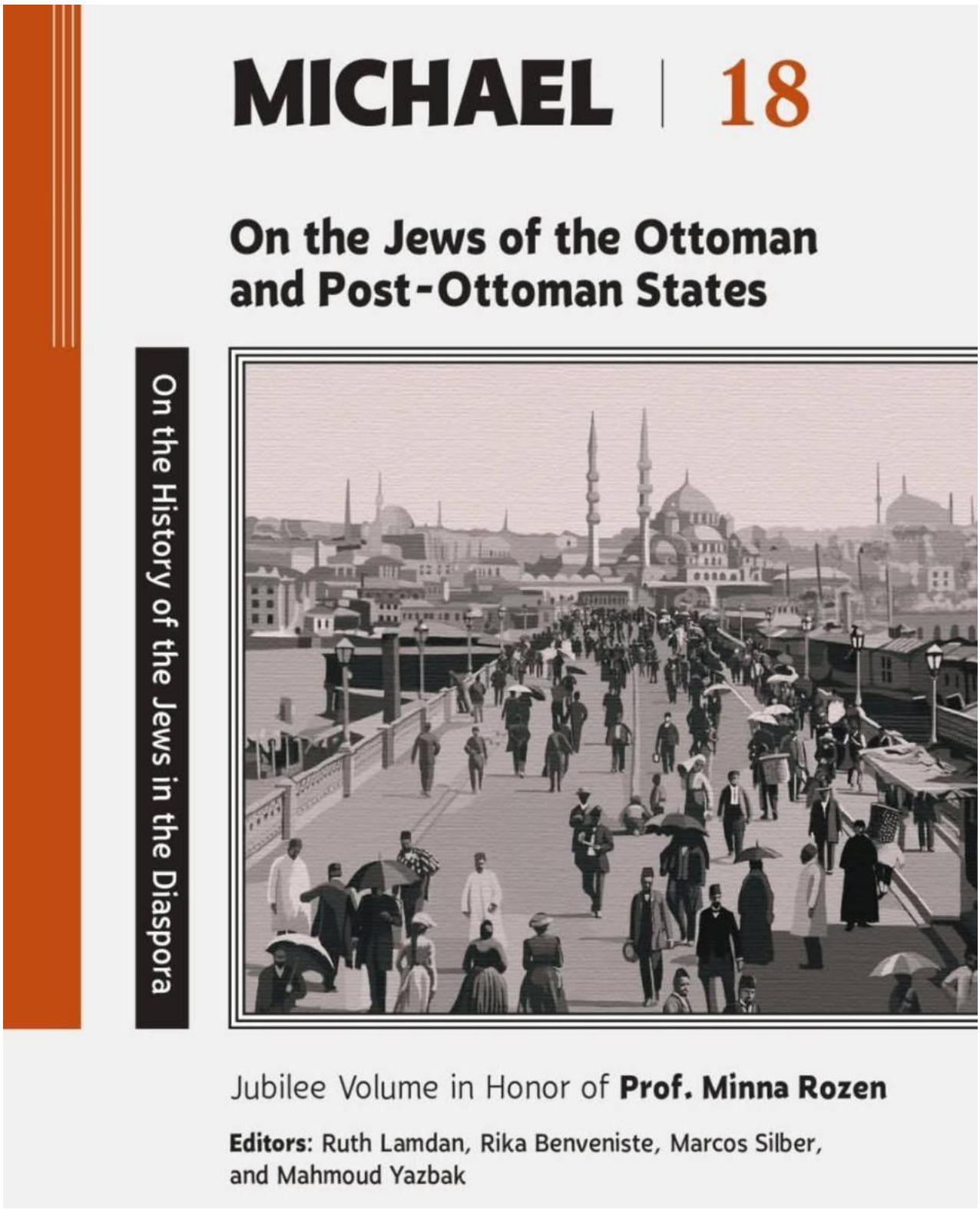

A moment of bliss. I am thrilled and excited by the generous gesture of my colleagues and ex-students who invested time, energy, and intellectual effort and contributed their work to my jubilee volume. Attached herewith is the introduction to the volume, written by the editors , from which you will be able to get an idea of the book's contents. I am grateful to all the people who contributed to the contents of the volume and to its technical production as well as to the

Department of Jewish History at the University of Haifa, and the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center at Tel Aviv University.

"Introduction

The volume of articles now presented is the product of a conference held in honor of Prof. Minna Rozen's retirement from teaching. Most of the articles in the book began with lectures given at the conference. Contributors to this file are researchers from different generations, older friends and colleagues of Minna, and young researchers who were her students. They all wish to extend their deep appreciation to her vast scholarship, collegiality, and friendship.

Minna Rozen was born in Tiberias in October 1947 and grew up in Afula, Israel. After graduating from the University of Haifa, she completed her PhD in History at Tel Aviv University. Between 1973 and 1999 she taught at Tel Aviv University, and for five years (1992–1997) was the director of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center. Since 1999, she has been teaching at the University of Haifa. She has also taught as a guest professor at Princeton University. Throughout her academic work she was accompanied by her supportive, loving partner, Avinoam, and they are the parents of three daughters and have seven grandchildren.

Rozen has specialized in the history of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire, combining historical research with diverse disciplines from the worlds of social sciences, economics, literature, gender studies, and art. She has published dozens of books and articles, starting with the history of the Jewish community of Jerusalem in the seventeenth century, through the wanderings in Italy and the Levant of the adventurer Beniamin Abendana, the thorough history of the Jewish communities of Istanbul and Salonika, and journeys through many Greek and Balkan Jewries. Her research dealing with Greece's modern history led to a study comparing the Greek diaspora with the Jewish diaspora over the generations and studying theories of diaspora and migration. The title of her 2016 book: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century testifies more than anything to the breadth of her research topics and interests.

[Minna Rozen, The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century: Captives, Pirates, and Ransomers at the Juncture Between Religion, Politics, Economics and Society (Palermo: New Digital Frontiers S.R.L. and Casa Editrice Mediterranea, 2016)].

her research topics and interests.

Much of Rozen's work is based on research in archives, some of which were unveiled for the first time, such as the archives of the French Levant Company in Marseilles, the archives of the French Foreign Ministry, and the archives of the British Levant Company. She conducted a far-reaching survey of the protocol books documenting the decisions of the rabbinical courts in Istanbul in the years 1701– 1931. She used these materials, along with printed and archival Ottoman sources, to examine the historical processes experienced by the Jewish community in Istanbul. In 1991, she traveled to Moscow on a mission to locate and photograph the archives of the Jewish community of Salonika which had been stolen by Nazi Germany and had reached Moscow with the victorious Red Army. She vividly narrated this unique expedition as "the Hunt for Forgotten Jewish Past". This archival research uncovered unknown aspects of the Salonika

Jewish community in the twentieth century, leading to research in contemporary Greek archives, and shone a new light upon the annihilation of the Jews of Greece in 1943 by the Nazis and the post-war relations between the Jewish survivors and the Greek community.

Between 1987 and 1990, Rozen moved with her family to the city of Istanbul from where she conducted a large-scale documentation expedition in Turkey initiated by the late Prof. Bernard Lewis. She documented and photographed 61,000 Jewish gravestones dated 1583–1900, more than 40,000 of them in Istanbul, and formed the most extensive digital collection of Jewish gravestones in the world. This digital collection has been uploaded to the website of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center at Tel Aviv University.

After her retirement from the university, Rozen did not stop writing and inspiring her fellow scholars in the various areas of her expertise. Always active and creative and eager to communicate her vast knowledge, during the Covid-19 pandemic she prepared a series of talks on YouTube on the history of the Jews of Salonika between 1430 and 1943.

Through unpublished archival material from Jewish and Islamic courts and other sources, the contributors to this volume deal with the economic, cultural, and social lives in the various Jewish centers. Migration and mobility - the result of changing political and economic situations - created a web of intertwined connections and changes. Rozen's massive and diverse research, which spans all Jewish communities throughout the Ottoman empire, is the connecting thread between their scholarly works and the three divisions of this volume: the Middle East (Syria-Palestine and Egypt), Greece, and the Balkans and Turkey.

Dotan Arad's article provides us with a rare glimpse into the family life of Egyptian Karaites during the Ottoman period. He delves into the incomparably significant corpus of manuscripts known as the Firkovitch collection held by the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg and concentrates on divorce issues among the Karaites and the particular differences between the rabbinate and the Karaite halakhic (Jewish law) process in this matter.

Arad discusses the types of physical defects and moral flaws of a woman that are considered "ervat davar" (obnoxious behavior or mannerisms) and serve as legitimate causes for a husband to divorce his wife, and also situations in which obtaining a bill of divorce (get) is considered in the best interests of the woman. He concludes that the tendency of the Karaites to limit the motives for divorce is used as a means of protecting women from their husbands' caprices and from divorce without just cause. However, at times, protecting women required obligating a husband to divorce his wife and at the same time secure her financial and other rights.

From the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem went through a severe social and economic crisis that led to the ruin of their synagogue and the expulsion of Ashkenazim from the city. Several well-connected Jews from Central Europe tried to come to the aid of their brethren in Eretz Israel and worked to raise funds for the benefit of the community. In his article, Jacob Barnai talks about the sequence of events, especially in the context of the Wertheimer family's diplomatic and financial efforts. Three archival documents that have never been previously published are included.

Mahmoud Yazbak's article takes us to Haifa in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and is based on the protocols of the shari'a (Muslim) court in the city. Despite the existence of a civil court and an autonomous Jewish rabbinical court, Jews continued to apply to the shari'a court, which was considered a reliable establishment, not only for civil and business matters but also for Jewish religious matters such as inheritance and alimony disputes.

Unlike halakha (Orthodox Jewish religious law), Islamic law recognizes the right of both sexes to inherit (though not equally), so it is not surprising that a large proportion of non-Muslim claims filed in the shari'a court were made by Jewish women seeking to get their share from a husband's or a father's inheritance, or when a husband failed to fulfill his obligation to satisfy the woman's legitimate needs for food, clothing, and housing. In some cases, rabbis appeared before the kadi (Muslim judge) to support a woman's claim, knowing that the shari'a court had much better enforcement power. Yazbak concludes that the need of Jews in Haifa for the Muslim court in these and other matters, even after the establishment of civil courts in the city, indicates their integration into Ottoman society.

Gila Hadar pays tribute to her teacher, Rozen, in her article about the life of the first Hebrew teachers in the Lower Galilee, whose achievements are enrooted in the landscapes of the Yizrael Valley and the Lower Galilee, Rozen's home location. She relates the story of an independent woman, Hannah Ba'aloul Anavi Yizraeli, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through rare postcards, diaries, personal testimony, Ladino and Hebrew press, and other sources the life story of Hannah, her family, and her beloved David is revealed. As a young Zionist teacher, full of ideological and socialist aspirations, Hannah spent four years in Plovdiv, Bulgaria as a teacher in a Hebrew school and took an active part in the educational and cultural life of the Jewish community there. She was among the few girls who participated in Maccabi's awakening campaign in Salonika, Istanbul, and Edirne. After her return to Ottoman Palestine and marrying David in 1911, she joined her husband as a pioneer in the Kinneret Colony and contributed in many ways to the Jewish establishment in the Lower Galilee. Through the lens of this idiosyncratic life course, Hadar includes in the Zionist narrative the voices of industrious Sephardic women committed to the Zionist project.

Yaron Harel's article presents a unique document written by young Jewish married women in Jerusalem in 1909 addressing a significant public matter, i.e., the conscription of Jewish young men into the Ottoman army. This document, according to Harel, perceived the changes that took place among Jewish Jerusalemite women at the beginning of the twentieth century. Harel's paper presents us with a preliminary step that took place during that period to be followed by the deeper involvement of Jewish women in the public sphere. However, Harel concludes that "the weakness and impotence of men… pushed women to assume the role of men's defenders." In fact, the question remains whether this document represented the first step of feminist action to protect women's interests. Or was it instead a loud call to preserve traditional family structures?

Amnon Cohen concludes his paper by saying "history should never be bent in the service of political aims." This warning reflects his attitude against Israeli political activists who try to

bend history to serve contemporary political goals. Through a thorough study of Jerusalem's sijill volumes (Islamic court records), and a well documented historical event related to the murder of Avraham Zoref in 1851, Cohen strongly criticizes modern Zionist political activists who turned Zoref's murder "into the very beginning of Arab terror against Zionist settlement." Contemporary political activists have cited this murder as a "terror act" without substantiating it with any available source. Cohen's sources present the readers with a contradictory picture of the social life of Jerusalem's Jewish community from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The Jewish communities in the Balkans were characterized by being socially stratified, multi-lingual communities, and by economic and cultural mobility. Over the years, there has been a process of "Sephardization." Balkan Sephardic diasporic communities often referred to an almost mythical past in Spain and, while being diverse, they had established links and networks through trade, travel, language, and religious life. The Balkan Sephardic centers in Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Turkey were in continuous communication economically and culturally. They shared similar government structures; they were highly hierarchical; and their charitable institutions barely addressed the poverty of the masses.

Rozen has opened a way to use economic history to address the complex social history of the communities, the role of leading entrepreneurial families, and all those who belonged to the lower classes. Following her perspective, the history of the Jewish communities may contribute to reconsidering, complexifying, and enriching the history of the region and the national histories.

Shai Srougo's paper on "Port and Dock Jews" in Salonika explores the port archives of the city for a period that preceded Greece's entry into World War Two and deals with Jewish entrepreneurs in shipping as well as with the neglected group of Jewish wharf laborers, workers and civil servants. Srougo assesses the economic reality of the period, showing that while pre-war neutrality did affect the activity of the port, the outbreak of war did not halt economic activity. By documenting Jewish maritime activities, Srougo reveals a wide array of occupations in the private and the public sector and challenges a general theory on the exclusion of Jews (laborers, whitecollar workers, merchants, and shipping agents) from the mainstream economy due to the Hellenization of the city.

Commercial networks are the object of Orly Meron's study. Her essay deals with the Jewish commercial networks in the Balkans and the Mediterranean Basin during the early 1930s. She focuses on Jewish entrepreneurs from Serbia and Salonika and their relatives who continued to maintain international commercial ties between Greece and the Balkans and played a crucial financial role as a bridge to settling the commercial debts between Greece and the Balkans. The personal reputation of the Jewish entrepreneurs, their transnational connections between the Sephardic diaspora in the Mediterranean basin, and their commercial links with international banks turned out to be important factors in mediating among industrialists, bankers, producers, and good suppliers even in a period when the Balkan states tried to build autarkic-oriented economies.

The economic networks, migrations, and mobility of families and ideas among the Sephardic centers enabled them to respond to the challenges of nationalisms that followed the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, the birth of new nationstates, and the eruption of Western political and cultural powers.

Performances of theatrical plays are contact zones for cultural transfers, enabling the exchange of cultural goods. This is shown in Rena Molho's study of Henri Bernstein's play Israel, originally written in French, which was performed in Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) and Greek in the interwar period. By interrogating the choice of the play, relating the timing of the performances with social and political tensions, and examining its reception by the critics, the author proposes an understanding of the cultural dynamics against antisemitism in a society on its road to modernity, shaken by wars and crises.

The hegemony of Judeo-Spanish was also challenged by the German and Italian languages, as well as by the schools which promoted their respective languages and cultures among the Jews. The Italian schools of Salonika had existed since the end of the nineteenth century and most of their students were Jewish, with many Jews among the school personnel as well. Moreover, there were Italian citizens among those Salonikan Jews who were holders of foreign papers, either from the old Ottoman times or from the more recent period of the Balkan wars. Based on the school's archives, Andreas Bouroutis explores the relations of the Italian state with the Jewish community of Salonika, which counted among its members some affluent and influential families with Italian citizenship, from the 1920s up to the German Occupation years. Bouroutis depicts the successive phases regarding the status of Jewish students: emancipating, manipulating, discriminating and, finally, excluding them. When deportations to Auschwitz began, the Italian consulate's attitude was ambivalent: it did not hasten to assist all Jews who were Italian citizens, and this delay proved fatal for some of them.

Rika Benveniste relies on a variety of archival, private, and oral sources to describe and understand the motives of the post-Shoah (Holocaust) survivors of Salonika in terms of their future choices. Their deliberations and decisions - whether to return to Salonika, emigrate to Eretz Israel, or sail to America - were hard to implement and uncertain, and were influenced by their desire to seek relatives on the one hand and, on the other, to take advantage of the help and opportunities offered by institutional bodies such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (the JOINT). Choices were determined by the hard facts, but also by pure chance. More than 50 percent of the approximately 2,500 people who survived the Holocaust and returned to Salonika from the camps or from their hiding places finally left Salonika behind and migrated to other lands. About 1,450 people left Salonika between 1945 and 1956. Hundreds of young people and children, among them more than 200 orphans, left for Palestine in August 1945.

Benveniste follows personal stories of deportees through the dilemmas they faced, their decision-making in choosing a destination, their experiences as immigrants, and their adaptation to the places to which they migrated.

Marina Polevoy's article deals with one of the topics on which Rozen undertook fascinating research: diasporas and homelands. In her article, Polevoy compares the immigration process of Greeks and Jews from the former Soviet Union to their "national homelands." She exposes the role of the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the nation-states of Greece and Israel on the other, as experienced among those co-ethno-nationals in the former Soviet Union and the concept of return to the "homeland." Polevoy analyzes the complexity and dualities of the idea of the "homeland." She points out the perception of "physical homeland," the Soviet Union, and the absorbing countries in their dual and complex roles as mytho-historical homelands and as the concrete and mundane destination harbor where the migrants often found themselves in an inferior position.

In his article, Zvi Hartman deals with a similar dilemma but in another setting: the Transylvanian ethnonational triangle composed of Romanians, Hungarians, and Jews. He stresses the nationalization process among Transylvanian Jews in the interwar period following the fundamental changes provoked by World War One and the territorial reorganization of Eastern-Central Europe. Hartman explores the circumstances that confronted the majority of Transylvanian Jewry. Before the war they adopted the Hungarian language, culture, and self-identification with the Hungarian nation. After World War One, they faced the dilemma of adapting to the new realities of the Greater Romania: to join the irredentist Hungarian policy of a state that introduced the first antisemitic legislation in postwar Europe or adopt a Zionist approach to defining themselves as members of the Jewish nation. Hartman presents and explains the confrontation in Transylvanian Jewish society among those who saw the solution in the Zionist ideals and those who remained connected to the prewar pro-Hungarian solidarities. The author presents in a prosopographic way some individual cases illustrating evolutions between these two possibilities.

Marcos Silber's article introduces four late-nineteenth-century protagonists: Adam Mickiewicz, Armand Lévy, Rabbi Haim Palachi, and Moses Hess, and concentrates on the exchange between Jewish and Polish cultures, showing their nationalism emerging simultaneously and influencing one another. The Jewish vision of awaiting redemption and a return to Zion shaped Mickiewicz's view of the Polish nation and, in turn, his secretary Armand Levy's vision of the Jewish future. It is a story about motherlands and diasporas that entangles East and West, Jewish and Polish nationalism in a spiral discourse on diasporic nations and their states.

Fariba Zarinebaf analyzes the social life of the Jewish community in eighteenth-century Istanbul as reflected in Islamic court records. She concludes that the Jewish community in Istanbul, as in other Ottoman cities, had used the services of the Muslim courts even though they had their own communal courts. Zarinebaf notes that in different cases Muslim courts collaborated with Jewish communal courts in carrying out an investigation and reaching a verdict. Based upon legal cases of the shari'a court from the eighteenth century, Zarinebaf concludes that these cases demonstrate a great degree of interaction among Istanbul's Jewish and non-Jewish residents. Her final analysis demonstrates that Jews, like Muslims, considered

themselves an integral part of Ottoman society and did not live in isolated and selfcontained ghettos in the early modern period.

Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky delves into the subject of Jews' conversion to Protestantism in Istanbul from the Hatt-i hümayun of 1856 until 1914. Protestant activism among the Jews of Istanbul and its efforts to persuade many Jews to convert to Christianity was very evident during this period. By using a variety of sources - such as annual reports submitted by the missionaries, missionary journals, biographies, autobiographies, and Jewish sources, especially responsa literature, the archive of the Chief Rabbinate in Istanbul, and journals - Bornstein-Makovetsky examines the attitude of the Ottoman authorities and the Jewish community of Istanbul toward this phenomenon, as well as the extent to which the missionary societies succeeded in prevailing upon Jews to give up their faith.

One of the topics to which Rozen made a significant contribution in the field of Jewish history in the Mediterranean basin is the professional stratification of the Jewish population and the insertion of Jews in specific economic niches. In this spirit, Naomi Liran Frisch analyzes the participation of Jews in producing and disseminating films to cinemas in Istanbul's modern urban mass culture during the first third of the twentieth century. Liran Frisch focuses primarily on film distribution as a lucrative field as well as on some film producers who shaped the cornerstones of Turkish cinema, thus showing the place that Jews and other minorities acquired in developing this new and unoccupied economic field. She analyzes the distribution of film screenings and new movie theaters owned by Jews in the urban fabric. She shows the close relations between cinemas and the modern areas of the city, such as Pera, contributing in this way to its identification as a modern neighborhood with a European flavor on the one hand, while on the other "using" the modern district to profit from this new economic endeavor.

Following Rozen's pioneering work on material sepulchral culture, Ruth Lamdan used epitaphs from the Hasköy cemetery to examine the attitude towards the element of beauty in Jewish society in Istanbul. She concentrated on headstones from the seventeenth century to show that despite social and halakhic restrictions beauty was not disregarded, especially when relating to young wives, brides, and young girls, and showed that their mourners used a variety of images to describe their beauty. Her representative sample provides an example of the range of cultural, social, and familial subjects that can be learned from the important project of computerizing the gravestones in Turkey.

Carsten Wilke's article also deals with tombstones from Istanbul. Wilke refers to an anthology published by the Italian Hebraist Biagio Ugolini in 1767, which included inscriptions from Italy, Germany, Spain, and Poland, as well as thirteen Hebrew inscriptions from Istanbul. He offers a different dating to the tombstones which was attributed by Biagio Ugolini to the Byzantine period and raises various possibilities regarding the way in which the Hebrew inscriptions came into Ugolini's hands.

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Rozen's pleasure in researching and writing history is always felt by the readers of her texts and the listeners to her talks. The nineteen essays included in this book are a token of her

colleagues' appreciation of a respected researcher and teacher, who has been a role model for many."

The book can be purchased at the Goldstein - Goren Diaspora Research Center TAU (diaspora@tauex.tau.ac.il)