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Jewish Social Studies, Volume 22, Number 2, Winter 2017, pp. 74-115 (Article)

Published by Indiana University Press



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Money, Power, Politics, and the Great Salonika Fire of 1917

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ABSTRACT

In August 1917, a fire broke out in a crowded quarter on the northwest side of Salonika. It eventually destroyed the historical center of the city, including the homes and property of more than 70,000 people, most of them Jews. The Greek government enacted a law for the reparceling and reconstruction of the burned-out area, which aroused anger and concern among Salonikan Jews, who understood it as a scheme to push them out of the city. The scholarly discussion of this crucial event in the history of the city and its Jewish community has revolved mainly around two main foci: the role of the fire as a much-needed opportunity to modernize the city and the question whether the rebuilding plan was a calculated scheme to Hellenize Salonika at the expense of the Jewish community. This latter debate is part of the wider discussion of the place of European Jewry in the transition from empire to nation-state. In this paper, the repercussions of the fire will be discussed from another perspective, namely, the role played by members of the local Jewish political and social elite in the aftermath of the fire. Key members of this elite adapted themselves to the politics of the Greek state and succeeded in turning what was considered a disaster by the majority of the Jewish community into a catalyst for promoting their own economic interests.

Key words: Salonika, Great Fire, Jacob Cazes, Rabbi Ya'akov Meir, Saul Modiano, Jewish community

This article offers an in-depth exploration of an event that took place in Salonika over the course of August 18–19, 1917. Known as the Great Fire, it laid waste to the historical center of the city and left over 50,000 Jews homeless. Shortly thereafter,

Minna Rozen, "Money, Power, Politics, and the Great Salonika Fire of 1917," *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* n.s. 22, no. 2 (Winter 2017): 74–115. Copyright © 2017 The Trustees of Indiana University. doi: 10.2979/jewisocistud.22.2.03

the Greek government expropriated the so-called Burnt Zone and began planning its reconstruction. Until now, the event and its consequences have been debated at the individual level as part of a larger argument over the government's intentions, with Jewish survivors of the fire portraying the reconstruction plan as part of a Greek conspiracy to drive the Jews from the city and Greek historiographers casting it as a colossal undertaking to modernize Salonika and turn it into a European showpiece. At the broader historical level, the event and its aftermath have been judged within the context of the transition from an imperial regime to a nation-state, specifically with regard to minority populations.

The perspective offered in the present work is at once microscopic and telescopic. The former perspective proposes a fresh reading of the existing sources on the incident and its repercussions, based in part on an abundance of new sources that shed light on the role played by the Jewish community's leadership and financial elite in the eventual shaping of the reconstruction plan and on the way that the plan was utilized to increase the capital and assets of these same leaders and their social stratum. The microscopic perspective also allows us to reexamine the accepted approach whereby the Great Fire represented a turning point in the history of Salonika's Jewish community. As the present study indicates, an important aspect of community life—namely, its political culture—did not change in the wake of the fire: the dominance of a handful of wealthy families who elected to remain in Greek Salonika persisted along with the ethos of appeasing the regime and avoiding conflicts, which had also characterized the Ottoman world. This attitude endured despite the challenges posed by the Zionist movement.¹ From a telescopic standpoint, the specific incident of the fire provides us with an opportunity to observe its broader, universal meaning, which emerges if we examine the fire and its aftermath through the prism of various disasters in other times and places and question whether these led to opportunities for those with vested interests to get richer. One might assume that numerous historical studies had already been conducted on this topic, but in fact it began to attract academic interest only in recent decades, and the many studies on the nexus of natural disasters and profit making relate, for the most part, to disasters that took place in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.²

Naomi Klein has coined the term *disaster capitalism* to describe this type of economic activity. In her book *The Shock Doctrine*, she analyzes not only natural disasters but war, which is not our subject here. The fact that there are always people who profit from war,

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and that some wars take place in hopes of financial gain, does not need to be proven here. Nor is the exploitation of natural resources for profit to the point of catastrophe of interest to us at this juncture. Our subject is natural disasters, or disasters that by definition took place without premeditation but were nonetheless exploited for profit after the fact. There is a difference between the former examples and the latter. Warmongering for financial gain and the callous exploitation of the planet's resources, even at the expense of human life, demonstrate cold-blooded planning unbound by moral constraints. The latter and more common category, which encompasses the Great Fire, entails taking advantage of the opportunity presented by someone else's misfortune to further one's own interests. Surprisingly, there are few studies dealing with the connection between natural or accidental disasters and profit making over the course of human history prior to the late twentieth century. This could lead us to conclude that it was only then that this phenomenon emerged, but it stands to reason that this is not the case and that the paucity of research stems instead from the difficulty of tracking the incidence of disaster-based profiteering in the distant past. For example, *The Routledge Handbook of Hazards and Disaster Risk Reduction* contains only one article devoted to the historical aspect of the phenomenon.³ Unlike studies dealing with the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, which discuss profiteering from natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, marine oil spills, and the like, the bulk of the research dealing with the subject from a wider historical perspective has revolved around the subject of hunger, which is not always the result of a natural disaster but often stems from speculation or poor planning (whether misguided or intentional). These include studies by Steven Kaplan on hunger in Paris in the eighteenth century,⁴ the work of Pierre-Etienne Will on famine in China in the eighteenth century,⁵ and many studies of famine in India under British rule.⁶ The present study offers a modest contribution to addressing this lacuna.

The Sources

The primary sources used in this paper can be divided into two types, each with advantages and disadvantages that were taken into account during the writing process. The bulk of the historical material is found in memorial books compiled in Israel during the 1960s and 1970s, along with memoirs written in Israel that present events and

impressions dating back 50 years or more. It is important to recall that these memories reflect the Zionist ideology that inspired the writers to immigrate to Israel.⁷ Nor are the descriptions of the fire that were written proximate to the actual event, either by Jews or by soldiers of the Entente powers stationed in Salonika at the time of the fire, free of speculation and personal opinion, which affected the description of the fire. I have relied heavily on newspapers from the period in all languages published in Salonika (Judeo-Spanish, Greek, and French). The local press represents the political opinions of the newspaper owners and editors as well as the writers themselves. The notices in the Greek press announcing auctions of parcels of land in the Burnt Zone are of great importance.⁸ In addition, the 1910 commercial directory of Macedonia provides us with a matter-of-fact portrait of the community institutions and major businessmen at the time.⁹ The archival material on which this article is based includes documents from the Greek Foreign Ministry Archives, which have been published by Photini Constantopoulou and Thanos Veremis in Greek and English versions that are virtually identical. Both versions were compared before being referenced here. Nearly all citations are from the English edition; when I cite the Greek edition (due to a disparity between the versions), this is mentioned in an endnote. Unfortunately, for reasons beyond my control, I was unable to access the archives themselves, but photocopies of several documents contained therein and not appearing in the aforementioned work were provided to me by Manolis Kandilakis of Salonika, for which I am exceedingly grateful. Naturally, most of the material in this archive reflects the positions of the Greek government on the subjects in question. I also made use of a section of the Salonika Jewish community archives that was confiscated by the Nazis and found its way to Moscow.¹⁰

A different portion of the Archives of the Jewish Community of Salonika appears in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem (CAHJP).¹¹ The various sections of the Archives of the Jewish Community of Salonika generally recount the basic facts and figures. In addition, I made use of files of the Israel Land Development Company (ILDC) and the Central Bureau of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet le-Yisrael, or KKL), both found in the Central Zionist Archives (CZA); documents in this archive pertain to topics of interest to the Zionist movement. The archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris contain fascinating material about the efforts of Salonikan Jews with close ties to the Alliance to mobilize it in the fight against the reconstruction

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plan for Salonika put forward by the Greek government.¹² Rounding out the material is the correspondence of the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, found in the YIVO Archives in New York.¹³

The Fire and Its Aftermath

On Saturday, August 18, 1917, in the early afternoon, a fire broke out in a crowded quarter on the northwestern side of Salonika known by the local Jews as Agua Nueva (New Water) during the Ottoman period. It was a mixed neighborhood, home to ordinary Greeks as well as impoverished Jews and refugees from the Balkan wars and World War I. In Greek sources, the exact site where the fire broke out is identified as 3 Olympiados Street.¹⁴ Strong winds blew in from the Vardar River valley, and the flames spread quickly through the narrow alleys lined with wooden houses, leaping from house to house, moving rapidly southeast. Firefighters were called in, but the water supply was soon depleted because of the density of the population and the fact that water had been diverted for the use of Allied warships anchored in the harbor and Allied troops camped in the city. The fire was not brought under control while it was still possible. As the fire raged in the poor districts in the north and headed downtown, families were sitting in cafes along the boulevard near the White Tower,¹⁵ and people in holiday clothes were out for a stroll. The cinemas and theaters were packed, and an Italian military band was playing lively marches in Liberty Square on the waterfront. The fire swept through the Greek neighborhoods and the upper quarters populated by Muslims. No one believed that the fire would spread to the city center, and many people were confident that it would die down when it reached Agiou Dimitriou and Egnatia, which were the most important streets of the city. In fact, in a few places their width was of maximum eight meters from building to building and in other places even less. It is no wonder they did not create a barrier against the flames. The French army dynamited several rows of buildings, including the enormous new Talmud Torah, hoping this would stop the fire, but again to no avail.¹⁶ The fire was not extinguished until the evening of August 19, though a few smoldering hot spots remained.¹⁷ Sixty percent of the real estate inside the city's walls—totaling roughly 9,500 buildings—was destroyed. Of the 73,448 people left homeless, 52,000 were Jews, and 40,000 of these could not fend for themselves. Eighty-four percent of the 5,400 property owners in the district were Jews. The damage from

the fire was appraised at a billion French francs. Seventy-five percent of this was Jewish property.¹⁸

A fortnight after the fire (September 4, 1917), the government of Eleftherios Venizelos declared that Salonika would be rebuilt not along the old lines but according to a new master plan. Law 823, calling for the redesign of the city, was drafted by the minister of transport, Alexandros Papanastasiou. An International Committee for the Redesign of Salonika was established, and a team of architects headed by two famous experts, Ernest Hébrard of France and Thomas Mawson of England, was appointed to come up with a design.¹⁹ On June 29, 1918, the proposal was submitted to the General Administration of Macedonia, supported by Law 1394, which was promulgated on May 9, 1918. The initial concept was to rebuild Salonika as a model European city. To accomplish this, the government expropriated not only the Burnt Zone but also large parts of the city that had not been affected, which were slated for demolition and reconstruction. Fifty-two percent of the land was allocated for public buildings, grand public squares, and wide boulevards, with an efficient transportation system catering to a population of 350,000.²⁰ The planners envisaged stately colonnaded buildings similar to those in the modern districts of Paris, which would serve as the foundation of “garden cities” for the middle class and carefully designed suburban districts for the masses.²¹ The area was divided into huge pieces of real estate that were put on the market for exorbitant prices.

It should be borne in mind that there was no connection at all between the parceling of land before the fire and its allotment after the fire. Under the new plan the redistributed area was divided into six sections, the average minimum price of which went as follows, from lowest to highest: D, E, B, A, the Bazar section, and C section.²² Three years after the fire, only a few dozen of the 2,400 tracts offered at auction had been purchased for rebuilding.²³ The rights of the evicted population were supposedly protected by a complex set of financial arrangements. An association of property owners was established by the state, and the expropriated land became the property of the association. Anyone who submitted proof of ownership of assets in the Burnt Zone in time received a certificate that specified the exact tract of land he had owned before the fire and its worth at the time. The evaluation of the lot was based on the average value of the land and the buildings in use on it in the five years preceding the fire. The appraisal was conducted following a survey by the president of the Inferior Court of Salonika, assisted by a consultative committee, which included two representatives of the affected landowners. Landowners

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could comment on and appeal the findings of this body within a time frame determined by the president of the court. A date was fixed at which the relevant evidence was heard in public, and the results were published in the local newspapers. Landowners were still able to submit a second appeal within two months, after which the assessment became final. At that point, the property rights were transferred to the Property Owner's Association (POA), and the property owner received a combined treasury bond and title deed that specified the place and value of the property turned over to the POA. These legal tenders were not transferable. However, since most of the fire victims remained homeless and deprived of their places of business, these bonds could be used as collateral for loans issued by the National Bank of Greece for up to 75 percent of their face value. The bank could not realize them except for collecting the interest payable on them. Disputes over the property value could not halt the implementation of the plan. The certificate could be used as legal tender in a closed bid among the property owners for a tract in the Burnt Zone that had been reappraised and assigned price restrictions. Prime properties defined by the new plan were sold at auction without restrictions on the maximum price; however, there was a minimum price. The next most valuable properties were designated to be sold at auction for a price not exceeding 50 percent of their minimum value, and the final category were to be sold at a price not exceeding 25 percent of their minimum value.²⁴ A commission was appointed to decide the order in which the lots would be sold. The successful bidder could pay with his title deed and, if necessary, add more money. Resale of the property was forbidden for three years.²⁵ The deed was never equal in value to the property owned previously and was worth almost nothing when compared to the value of real estate following the unification and redistribution scheme, but it was still legal tender.²⁶

A problem that further complicated the situation of landowners in the Burnt Zone was the fact that some 75 percent of the burnt lots basically belonged to Ottoman *vakıfs* (religious endowments). Under Ottoman law, the *vakıfs* had inalienable rights of ownership without usufruct, and the people who benefited from the asset had to pay a yearly sum to the *vakif* for its use. Ottoman law was preserved within the Greek legal system through the Greek-Turkish Agreement of November 1, 1913, signed in Athens.²⁷ Contrary to this agreement, a Greek law passed in 1918 stated that the person who enjoyed the usufruct was considered to be the owner. He was also the owner of the title deed (*ktimatografo*) that formed the basis of his claim on the land in the Burnt Zone. The *vakif's* right to the land was reduced

to a relationship of obligation (*enochiki schesi*), that is, the holder of the land owed money to the vakif, but the vakif no longer had rights to the land. For small landowners, this complicated legal situation meant that the actual value of their title deed was slashed even further. A more basic problem emerged from the simple fact that many of the fire victims were unaware of the time limit for declaration of ownership of lots in the Burnt Zone, and thus they lost their rights to the bond that would have enabled them to participate in the auction.²⁸

Most of the fire victims, though they had had a roof over their heads before the fire, were now stranded with very little hope of reclaiming such a roof in the near future. Although the deeds were nontransferable and resale of the property was restricted (which should ostensibly have prevented speculation), in reality the necessities of life prevailed. People who did have deeds but needed housing right away were forced to take loans against them or sell their rights in one way or another in order to rent or buy a property that was worth much less than what they had owned before. Most of the property owners could not afford to buy at the auction prices.²⁹

There is a tendency to doubt the testimonies written 50 years after the fire and collected in *Zikhron Saloniki* (Memoir of Salonika),³⁰ which is rightfully considered a *memorbuch* written by Zionists under the impact of the Holocaust and belonging to the genre developed by Ashkenazi Holocaust survivors to commemorate their annihilated communities; thus the constraints that forced the fire refugees to abandon their rights and make do with lesser housing conditions are sometimes regarded as exaggerated. Yet this must be balanced against the fact that a majority of the refugees eventually settled in the poor suburbs of Salonika. In his survey of the length of time that refugees had to wait until they could reclaim their old lots of land, Evangelos Hekimoglou shows that on June 28, 1922—58 months after the fire—when the auction of the new lots (section D) began, only eight of the 85 Jewish former owners in the Rogos neighborhood regained lots in this neighborhood.³¹ Those who waited until all the properties were sold at their new reevaluated prices could look forward to pocketing 50 percent of the revenue generated by these auctions.³²

The Jews of Salonika were shocked by this turn of events.³³ For the majority of the Jewish community, the explanations made by the Greek authorities about what a marvelous opportunity this was for the city and for them personally, and about how they would now be able to live in a modern environment and rake in profits from selling their property, which was steadily spiraling upward in value, fell on deaf

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ears. They saw the rebuilding scheme as a Greek conspiracy to drive them out of the city center.³⁴ Most of the protest came from the middle class, whose entire world had collapsed.³⁵ These were small- and medium-scale businessmen of all types and members of the free professions. The backbone of the Zionist movement in Salonika could be identified as belonging to this same middle class.³⁶ Thus, it is no surprise that the Zionist leaders of Salonika were particularly outspoken on the subject. Especially active was Rabbi Ya'akov Meir, who wrote a steady stream of letters to the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. News of his complaints reached Jewish public figures in the United States.³⁷ The Zionists were not the only ones who were critical of the plan. Outrage was also expressed in Alliance circles.³⁸ The president of the local committee of the Alliance for many years (until 1920) was Joseph Misrachi,³⁹ an industrialist, banker, and tireless community activist. Together with the Allatini and Fernandez-Diaz families, the Misrachi family owned the Olympos beer brewery (founded in 1892).⁴⁰ They also owned a spinning mill along with the Torres family (1885) and a jute-sack factory with the Fernandez-Diaz and Torres families (1906).⁴¹ In the early twentieth century, Joseph Misrachi was the director of the Salonikan Commercial Society, which dealt in tobacco,⁴² and his personal capital was estimated at £10,000–15,000.⁴³ From 1902 to 1914 he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Banque de Salonique and from 1922 to 1929 served as director of the bank.⁴⁴ He was among the founders of the Industrialists Association of Salonika (1914) and was its second president.⁴⁵ From 1914 to 1919 he was a member of the Salonika Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁶ In 1919 he was also a member of the chamber's board of directors. In 1910 he became president of Baron de Hirsch Hospital.⁴⁷ He was a member of the Community Executive Council in 1902 and again in 1911,⁴⁸ and in 1911 he also served as a member of the administrative council of the Talmud Torah ha-Gadol.⁴⁹ In short, he was a major pillar of the city in general and of the Jewish community in particular.

Whereas the Zionists stressed the injustice done to the Jewish community at large, the correspondence of Misrachi with the Alliance in Paris reflects the efforts made by landowners more practical than the Zionists to resolve their problems. In letters written on August 21 and 29, 1918, Misrachi explained the demands of the landowners from the Burnt Zone. They were interested in keeping their former lots but would agree to accept smaller lots in exchange for decent compensation. When they realized that this was not going to happen, they demanded compensation for expropriated land as stipulated in

the Greek Constitution. When they understood that the government would not be able to pay them for the expropriated land, they offered to be paid in installments. Seeing that this offer too was rejected, they offered to found an association of landowners under government supervision, on condition that they be able to decide on the repartitioning of the land. They also asked that the bonds representing their rights to the land be negotiable. None of this was accepted by the government. Misrachi, like everyone else, did not believe that the system of public auctions envisioned by the government would leave anything for the landowners. As he wrote, everyone was ready to give the government the profits they imagined would come from the land, if only it would buy the land from them at the 1917 prices.⁵⁰

Misrachi's letters were sent to the Alliance two months after Law 1394 of May 9, 1918, was presented to the ministry of Macedonia (June 29, 1918). They attest to his acknowledgment of the fact that the landowners themselves could not change the law and that the Jewish community as an organization could not do much either. Outside help was needed. Because of all the efforts to recruit organizations and people of influence from abroad to the Jewish cause, the Greek government was inundated with demands and inquiries via its embassies in various countries. As a result, it sent a briefing to all its diplomats on how to respond to charges made by the Jews that they were being thrown out of the city. The Jews were not the only ones who protested. Greek Christians and Muslims, who also felt cheated, lodged complaints, but since both groups together made up 15 percent of the total of fire victims, the number of complaints lodged by them was smaller than that lodged by Jews.⁵¹ According to contemporary Jewish sources, government aid was quickly extended to the other groups, a complaint that was indignantly rejected by the government.⁵² As a result of the uncertainty surrounding the final rebuilding arrangements, the properties put up for sale had no takers. The laying of the cornerstone for the first building in the Burnt Zone took place only in April 1920, with a total of 90 properties being sold by the end of the year, all for rock-bottom prices. There was no competition.⁵³ "Salonikans are not stupid enough to buy land in the Burnt Zone for three times the price, and then pay money for thousands of building permits," quipped a satirical magazine published in Ladino.⁵⁴

In November 1920, Venizelos lost the election, and Dimitrios Gounaris, his successor, abolished the rebuilding order of 1918. On January 10, 1921, Gounaris published a letter stating that the vast public spaces designed in the original plan would be reduced, and western Salonika, untouched by the fire but included in the remodeling

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plans, would not be razed. He wrote that the landowners in the Burnt Zone were now free to build there without restriction.⁵⁵ However, Gounaris's repeal of the order did not bring about the anticipated results as far as the ordinary refugees from the fire were concerned. The savvy businessmen of Salonika had already grasped the fantastic real-estate potential of the plan and explained to the Greek government that they opposed only certain clauses—not the project as a whole. The upshot was that Hébrard amended the plan to suit them.⁵⁶ The rich grew richer, and the poor grew poorer. By 1921, at which point most of the landowners were already impoverished, the government allowed the sale of the bonds, which now sold very cheaply.⁵⁷ A piece in the newspaper *Makedonia* on December 30, 1921, claimed that “vested interests,” that is, wealthy individuals who had never owned real estate in section A, had “infiltrated the ridiculous auction” by buying up all the deeds (ktimeatografa) of this section and “grabbed the large plots.”⁵⁸ The government had approved the exclusion from the auction of deed holders in the other sections, thus giving an advantage to big businessmen who could afford to buy these deeds, generally from poorer residents, in advance. These conclusions are not new; Alexandra Karadimos-Yerolimpos has already alluded to them.⁵⁹ But how did this happen? The explanation lies in the encounter between Jewish social and political culture and the world of Greek politics.

The Jewish Leadership of Salonika between the Ottoman Empire and the Greek Nation-State

I wish to shed light on another aspect of the story that has received less attention until now: the role of the community president, Jacob Isac Cazes, and a number of wealthy, influential families in the battle between different segments of the community to block the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan⁶⁰ or at least minimize the harm it would cause them if it were carried out in full. This facet of the fire story fits in very well with the discussion of how economic power, translated into political power, enables power brokers to amass even more clout. To comprehend the issue, some background on the political culture of the Jews of Salonika—and the personal histories of the leading families involved—is needed. Throughout the Ottoman era, the community was governed by a plutocracy of several hundred individuals whose sons and daughters married one another. Traditionally, cultivating a position in this group entailed having close relations with the Ottoman authorities. At the end of the Ottoman era, strong connections with

the European powers were another prerequisite. The last Jewish communal elections under Ottoman rule took place in the winter of 1912. The list of community members eligible to vote or run for office included 794 individuals.⁶¹ Members of this group, payers of the *petcha* tax—a direct tax on income and property—came from 210 families. Fifty families had more than four representatives on the list, and some families had between eight and 10. By way of illustration, in 1902 five of the 17 members of the Community Executive Council belonged to the Modiano family.⁶² Common people who had no right to vote had no idea how the procedure worked. The sources show this aspect of Ottoman life remained largely unchanged for many years, even under Greek rule. Formal political involvement remained the prerogative of a very small segment of the population—those who paid the *petcha* tax, in a carryover from the Ottoman period. The running of the community was an inside affair, almost a family matter, in the hands of a closed group of taxpayers. Nobody else was privy to information or understood the true dynamics.⁶³

The arrival of the Greek army challenged this state of affairs. Having identified the problems of the Ottoman Empire, which still governed Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro launched a combined military campaign designed to conquer these regions and divide the spoils of war between them. Following the unexpectedly swift progress of the Greek army toward Salonika, the Ottoman commander Hasan Tahsin Pasha, who was promised that the local population would not be harmed, surrendered Salonika and its garrison of 26,000 men to the Greeks without a fight on November 9, 1912.⁶⁴ The early weeks of Greek control in Salonika were accompanied by violence against the Jewish community, which perceived itself—and was treated—as an occupied population.⁶⁵ The leaders of the community, until then loyal allies of the Ottomans, found themselves in a bind. They were not certain of the political future of the city, which was coveted not only by the Greeks but also by the Bulgarians and the Austrians. There were even rumors circulating about a free port where the Jewish element would be the major player.⁶⁶ But in the meantime, they could not afford a confrontation of any kind with the new regime. In 1913, the future was Greek, and Salonika's Jewish leaders had to prove their loyalty to the new rulers.⁶⁷

A major figure in the leadership of the Jewish community was Jacob Isac Cazes. He had served as a member of the Community Executive Council since 1888⁶⁸ and in 1912 was elected president of the community, a post that he continued to hold virtually uninterrupted until

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1930.⁶⁹ Cazes was born in 1845 to a wealthy family. His father Isac was a major trader of cotton and other agricultural products and a broker of the Vlastos firm in Salonika.⁷⁰ Cazes was sent to the Lippman School, a French-oriented Jewish school in Salonika.⁷¹ Upon completion of his studies, he did not join the family business but went his own way, working for the Charissis firm for 20 years before opening his own business in 1880. The reason for his choice of career may have been connected with the fact that by the time he finished his studies, his brother-in-law Saul Modiano had already taken control of Cazes's father's business. It is very likely that Saul Modiano got Cazes the post at the Charissis firm through his ties with Pulcheria Prassakakis (née Charissis), thus connecting the two brothers-in-law with two of the greatest Greek international firms in the city, Vlastos and Charissis.⁷² Cazes became a successful grain and flour merchant and businessman⁷³ and was among the founding members of the Club des Intimes, a Jewish social club whose members constituted the financial and social backbone of the community, all of them graduates of Italian and French schools.⁷⁴ In 1909, he founded the Cercle Commercial Israélite, which merged with the Club des Intimes and took its name. Some two hundred major Jewish merchants belonged to this club, the aim of which was to foster and protect the interests of Jewish businessmen in Salonika.⁷⁵ Cazes served as a member of the Salonika Chamber of Commerce under both the Ottomans and the Greeks⁷⁶ and was also on its board of directors. From 1888 through 1906, he sat on the Salonika City Council.⁷⁷ For 50 years, Cazes was a fixture of the local Jewish community and a leader in business circles.⁷⁸ In 1912, he was still living in the quarter of Kaldirgoch,⁷⁹ but in 1917 (before the fire) he lived on Hamidiye Caddesi (Hamidiye Avenue), nowadays Ethnikis Amynis (and previously Vasilissis Sophias). I have no documentation on his residence after the fire, but in comparison to his brother-in-law's palace in the Campagnias (Vasilissis Olgas Avenue), Hamidiye Caddesi was just a well-off neighborhood, which reveals something about the balance of power between the two families. However, in 1932, when the 599 wealthiest Jews in Salonika were taxed by the Greek authorities to finance soup kitchens for Jewish indigents, then 87-year-old Jacob Cazes was one of seven people taxed at the rate of 14,000 drachmas. The highest tax was 15,000 drachmas, paid by 21 community members, among them the three sons of the late Saul Modiano.⁸⁰ The remainder of the taxpaying community members were charged much smaller sums. Cazes lived to the ripe old age of 90.

Jacob Cazes's sister, Fakima, married Saul Modiano. Through this marriage, she eventually became an exemplary, even legendary, figure

in the history of the community.⁸¹ Viewed through the lens of time, the marriage of Saul Modiano and Fakima Cazes has acquired a kind of romantic-nostalgic patina. According to the story, Modiano was born in 1816 and orphaned at the age of seven. His relatives refused to take him in, and he was forced to earn a living from the age of 10. First he was taken as a servant by a French physician, Dr. Lafont, for whom he worked until the age of 16. After Lafont's death, Modiano started working for another Greek physician and businessman, Dr. Ioannis Prassakakis, a French citizen originally from the island of Chios. Prassakakis, a very wealthy man with no children, lived with his childless sister-in-law, Pulcheria, who was the daughter of wealthy Greek international entrepreneurs, the Charissis family. Apparently Prassakakis and his sister-in-law liked the young boy and appreciated his talents and diligence. He did all sorts of odd jobs and peddled goods from village to village.⁸²

After Modiano's marriage to Fakima Cazes, his father-in-law introduced him to the brokerage business he conducted with the house of Vlastos, an international firm run by a family of Greek merchants and bankers that operated branches in Istanbul, Trieste, Marseilles, Paris, London, New York, and New Orleans.⁸³ Establishing himself as a loyal and conscientious business associate, Modiano gained entry into the world of international commerce. Eventually, he became a top-tier merchant and banker in his own right. According to Modiano family mythology, he wed Fakima Cazes at the age of 17. She was 12, and they married for love.⁸⁴ They were young, but that should not make us doubt the story; early marriage was the Ottoman Jewish custom of the day. More interesting was the fact that the Cazes family gave its consent. The Cazeses were successful grain merchants and colonial traders. Why would they give their daughter in marriage to an orphan without any family backing? On the face of it, all he had to show was a talent for hard work. If we accept the account of Saul Modiano's childhood without reservation, the mystery of the match may be explained as follows: Modiano was a descendant of a long line of rabbis and scholars,⁸⁵ which meant a good pedigree. Good lineage had always been an important asset in Sephardi society.⁸⁶ However, pedigree alone may not have been the only advantage Cazes the elder saw in young Saul. The Modianos managed to acquire Tuscan citizenship.⁸⁷ In 1834, the year Saul and Fakima were married, this meant they were Austrian citizens.⁸⁸ (Later, after the founding of the Italian state in 1860, they became Italian citizens.⁸⁹)

In this respect, Saul Modiano was a good match. Foreign citizenship meant many advantages in Ottoman lands, and coupled with

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local business interests, it was even better.⁹⁰ Modiano soon surpassed his wife's family in wealth and reputation. Jacob Cazes was thus affiliated with one of the richest families in Salonika and the whole of the Ottoman Empire. The Modianos had a finger in every pie.⁹¹ The president of the General Assembly of the Jewish community in 1910 was Saul's cousin, Samuel Daniel Modiano. Among the members of the assembly's presidency was another relative, Dr. Leon Modiano. Saul's son, Jacob Modiano, and another distant relative, the lawyer Raphael Modiano,⁹² as well as Jacob Cazes sat on the consultative committee of the community.⁹³ Saul Modiano died in 1883, leaving three sons: Jacob, Samuel, and Levi. Jacob was the principal owner of Banque Saul (Bank Saul), in partnership with his brother Samuel. Levi owned Banque Levi. Both banks were based in Salonika. Levi was also the owner of another bank carrying his name in Paris. The Modianos owned a stocking factory and real estate worth over 700,000 Turkish liras. Among the properties belonging to them were Rogoti Han, Boshnak Han, a large house on Ptolemaion Street, six warehouses, two nurseries, a silk factory in the Karahatzioglou neighborhood, a café on Venizelos Street, a store in the Vardar district, and storerooms on Egnatia Street. They owned the Cité Saul, a commercial center that housed 96 small businesses, a café, offices and storerooms, a large building, and various businesses on the same street, as well as a bakery. They were also the owners of shops in the flour market, a five-room hostel on Papoutzilar Street, an industrial building housing 23 workshops on Alexandrou Megalou Street, and two shops on the waterfront. They owned two enormous tracts of land on Fleming Street, known at the time as Saul Zadeleri (Sons of Saul)—and this is just a partial list. The Modiano brothers owned property in the best parts of town. Their assets doubled between 1909 and 1911, but like businessmen of our time, they were heavily leveraged. When Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire in 1911, they owed millions to Greek banks and huge sums to dozens of local investors in Salonika itself. On November 6, 1911, when the Ottomans ordered all businesses owned by Italian subjects to be shut down, the Modianos packed their bags and left for Budapest.

Evangelos Hekimoglou offers a detailed account of how the Greek banks and Salonikan lenders tried to recover their money from the Modianos' shuttered banks. After negotiations conducted across the continent, from Paris to Vienna and Istanbul to Salonika, an arrangement was worked out based on the family's vast real-estate holdings in Salonika, which served as financial leverage. With the outbreak of the first Balkan War at the end of 1912, however, the plan fell

apart. The Modianos' banking career thus came to an end, but most of their property in Salonika remained in their hands.⁹⁴ Jacob Cazes represented the Modianos' bank in the complicated negotiations to resolve the financial troubles brought on by the 1911 war. His close involvement was probably necessary due to his Ottoman citizenship, though it may also attest to the fact that he was not only a trusted uncle but also a partner in the Modianos' business operations.⁹⁵ The collapse of the Modiano family's banking enterprise did not harm him personally, just as it did not mark the end for the family into which his sister had married. Those who remained in Salonika continued to be active in the local economy, and those who left became prosperous businessmen in Europe. The Cazes and Modiano families were first and foremost businesspeople. In their eyes, wars were just an annoying interruption of their financial and mercantile pursuits, and when the guns died down, the new geopolitical settings became a springboard for new transactions. Perpetuating this state of affairs required placating the Ottomans until 1912 and accommodating the Greeks after them.⁹⁶ They pledged allegiance to whoever was in power. Jewish communal activism was part of their business, and the same was true for their philanthropy.⁹⁷ When the Greek army entered Salonika, the families faced a serious dilemma. In November and December 1912, Jewish businesses were attacked and looted, and women were raped. Some Jews were killed.⁹⁸ Cazes, then president of the community, remained silent. He waited to see which way the winds were blowing and how strongly, then left the chief rabbi of Salonika, Ya'akov Meir, to face the tempest alone. After all, he himself had businesses at stake.⁹⁹ (In fact, there is a possibility that he left the city altogether at the beginning of the war and returned only some time in 1913.¹⁰⁰)

Rabbi Meir, who had been brought to Salonika from Palestine, was a devoted and passionate Zionist who saw the future of the Jews as being in their sovereign homeland. He regarded life in Salonika or anywhere else outside of Erets Yisrael as a passing episode. Rabbi Meir had no businesses to worry about, and he did not flinch from throwing his weight around and standing up to the Greek state.¹⁰¹ Cazes himself did not waste time and aligned himself with the Venizelist ruling party, running as a Liberal candidate in the elections of 1915.¹⁰² Without the documentation of his political and business activities in later years, this step might have been interpreted as a form of cautious investment on behalf of the Jewish community. But times were changing, and as the Latin proverb says, Cazes was changing with them. The outbreak of World War I and developments on the Balkan front

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changed the global status of Salonika. In early 1917, the Allied powers were a dominant presence in the city, to the point of overshadowing Greek sovereignty.¹⁰³ Moreover, the idea that after the war a new order would prevail in Europe became so popular that it occurred to the community lay leadership, Cazes included, that some preparatory activity to ameliorate the political status of Salonikan Jewry might be a good idea.¹⁰⁴ Though ostensibly acting for the benefit of the Jewish people at large, the leaders believed they could look out for the Jews of Salonika without arousing antagonism in the minds of any future government. There is no question that Cazes was persuaded by the city's Zionists to take this course of action.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, it is also obvious that neither then nor later did he become a Zionist or agree to identify himself with the Zionist cause. This point needs to be emphasized to avoid any possible doubt: after August 1917, the Zionists saw the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan as an abomination—a position that placed them in direct opposition to the government. Cazes did not share this view.

A pamphlet in French distributed in Salonika free of charge at the beginning of March 1917 points to the duality entrenched in the Jewish Congress initiative, to be described below. The pamphlet, entitled *Le Congrès juif*, explained the need that had emerged, with the realization of the coming peace conference, to express the wishes and opinions of Salonikan Jewry. This need led the group of people behind the pamphlet to convene a "Jewish Congress." From the wording of the pamphlet, it is clear that the chief rabbi and the Community Executive Council supported and collaborated with the organizing committee of this congress. The word *Zionism* does not appear in any form anywhere in the pamphlet. The persons who published the tract signed it as "the Organizing Committee." Someone added a handwritten "index" to the printed pamphlet specifying the political opinions of the members. Was the omission of their political affiliation from the printed matter accidental? It is unlikely. They simply preferred to leave their political views hidden. Cazes in particular was anxious to do so, and future events support this theory. Nevertheless, the addition of the political affiliations shows the power of Zionist circles in this initiative. The organizing committee's members were divided by the anonymous commentator into three groups: (a) nationalists; (b) members of Zionist organizations and unaffiliated Zionists; and (c) a group referred to in French as *incolore* (uncolored, that is, non-aligned). The "nationalists" were people who promoted the right of Jews to live as a national minority within the nation-states of others. The "uncolored" were those who did not identify with either the

nationalists or the Zionists. They can best be described as people who believed in the possibility of being a Greek outside and a Jew at home. In future years, they would be identified as assimilationists, and Jacob Cazes would be their head.¹⁰⁶ The second group consisted of delegates of Zionist organizations and Zionists who were not delegates. Their views need not be explained.

Of the list of organizers, Jacob Cazes and three others were identified as nationalists, and two others, among them David Matalon, were considered Zionists. This meant that the nationalists on the organizing committee numbered twice as many as the Zionists. However, on the list of “members,” which followed the organizing committee, 14 out of 21 were Zionists, four were nationalists, and three were uncolored. The proposed goals of the congress were as follows: (1) to ensure equal civil, political, and religious rights for Jews in all countries where they were denied them, in full or in part; (2) to obtain national rights in countries where other national groups enjoyed such rights; (3) to ensure the unhampered development of a Jewish national center in Palestine; and (4) to establish collaboration between Salonikan Jewry and Jews around the world so as to achieve legitimate Jewish representation at the upcoming peace conference. Zionism was only one of four goals aspired to by a group consisting mainly of Zionists.¹⁰⁷ However, the Great Fire pushed aside this initiative as larger problems mounted. Again, Cazes stepped aside, and the Zionists began to fill the leadership vacuum. He appeared again as an active leader only at the beginning of 1919, when the chance of gaining profits from the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan became more realistic. Now he had to find a way of toning down the agitation against the Greek authorities that the Zionists had managed to arouse outside of Greece over what they saw as the unfair treatment of Jewish refugees from the fire, the attempt to change the status of Saturday as the city’s official day of rest, and a host of smaller problems.¹⁰⁸

The outrage was genuine. The Zionist activists capitalized on it, with Rabbi Meir as their guide and moral compass. Cazes worked hard to restore a sense of calm, but he was unable to halt the politicization of the Jewish community. Sam Yoel, who left Salonika before the war and returned to the city in 1919, wrote that “in 1914 very few were drawn by the Zionist idea, whereas now, one might say that there is at least one Zionist in every family, and this is the result of the war and the alienation caused by the attitude of the Greek authorities.”¹⁰⁹ In February 1919, the Greek government released two separate statements, supposedly by Rabbi Meir and the leaders of the Alliance in Salonika, which denied that the city’s Jews were being persecuted.¹¹⁰

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Soon after, on March 10, 1919, the first Panhellenic Jewish Congress finally convened in Salonika. At that point, the world seemed to be undergoing a total transformation; preservation of minority rights came to be considered a mandatory condition for the new nation-states formed by the Versailles Conference, and the principle of nationhood became the order of the day. In 1919, the Jews of Salonika were carried away by the euphoria generated by the Versailles Conference and decided to reconvene the congress. In view of the mounting dissatisfaction among them, Greece's support for Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the Greek government's need for the Allies to support its plans in Anatolia, expressing the needs of the Jewish community in a diplomatic manner seemed reasonable.¹¹¹ There is a certain amount of confusion regarding this congress in the sources. It has been defined as the First Zionist Panhellenic Congress;¹¹² however, it is often confused with another congress, which took place on May 28, 1919, some three months after the Jewish Congress.¹¹³ The archival sources relating to the March congress convey a complicated reality that has hitherto gone unnoticed. The planned congress of 1919, like the 1917 congress, was defined not as a Zionist Congress but as a Jewish Congress.¹¹⁴ On March 7, 1919, Cazes's signature still appears on a handwritten appeal to support the "Jewish Congress."¹¹⁵ Within a few days of the publication of the appeal, Cazes realized that the Zionists had taken over the reins of the congress in a way that was going to put him in a very uncomfortable position vis-à-vis the Greek authorities. At the congress, which convened on March 10, his apprehension was shared by the other delegates, whose eyes were constantly turned to the loggia, where agents of the Greek government, the director of the Salonika Press Office, and the chief of police were sitting and trying to make sense of what was being said in Judeo-Spanish and French.¹¹⁶

By this time, the government's plans for restoring the Burnt Zone were clear, and the Jewish tycoons—Cazes, the Modianos, and others—had ideas about how they could turn a fine profit. It was an opportunity they had no intention of passing up. While the Zionists were fighting the reconstruction plan, the French-language Jewish newspapers, which reflected the views of the tycoons, supported it.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the Modiano-owned insurance company, *Patriotique*, was in no hurry to pay property owners in the Burnt Zone and created all kinds of difficulties.¹¹⁸

On March 17, 1919, Cazes worriedly wrote to the governor of Macedonia that four days earlier a "decision-making" committee (of which he was not a member) had been established at the congress;

basically, he was saying that his vision of the future differed from theirs. He explained further that the Jews of Salonika were seeking national autonomy. Cazes knew that national aspirations in a place far from Greece would not upset the government,¹¹⁹ but by now he understood that the battle for autonomy within Salonika was lost. The supremacy that Jewish entrepreneurs had enjoyed for generations would have to be preserved by other means, if at all. The notion of national autonomy would not be something the Greek government would favor, and Cazes wanted to continue doing business in the city.¹²⁰ In the letter to the governor, he actually defined the congress as a Zionist congress, and to distance himself from the Zionists, he declared that he had quit his post as president of the congress (*proedros*).¹²¹ At that point, Cazes wanted badly to distance himself from the Zionists, yet he was not prepared to openly betray his coreligionists. At the end of the letter, he added: "Let there be no misunderstanding: The Jews will always work for the good of the Greek state."¹²² The letter seems to indicate otherwise.

Cazes may have resigned from the presidency of the congress, but he did not resign from Jewish communal activity. On the contrary, he continued to serve as the community's president (interspersed with short breaks) until 1930, thereby constituting a solid bridge between the Ottoman and Greek periods.¹²³ It was Rabbi Meir who left the city in September 1919, though his supporters pleaded with him to return.¹²⁴ The rabbi agreed only on condition that matters revert to what they had been before and that he continue to be the sole decisionmaker. But even the Zionists were not so sure they wanted one person, however capable, to have such power.¹²⁵ Ottoman political culture thus persisted into the Greek period with the same leadership and the same mindset—the sovereign must be humored. Rabbi Meir's departure was prompted by the angry response to his attempts to mobilize foreign governments against the reconstruction plan via Jewish organizations in those countries. It was feared that such tactics would not help the Jews of Salonika and might even harm them.¹²⁶ Cazes continued to maneuver expertly between the conflicting interests—his own and those of his peers, the interests of the Greek government, and those of the poor Jewish masses left without roofs over their heads. But while he was toiling over these matters, the Zionist Executive in Salonika, which did not trust him or the Venizelist government, dug up the old plan to internationalize Salonika and sent emissaries to Europe to convince Zionist institutions there to propose the nullification of the Greek mandate over Salonika and the establishment of a

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sovereign city. Cazes hurriedly wrote to the Greek minister of foreign affairs, assuring him as follows:

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our community has never sent a single representative to Europe to promote such a scheme since the liberation of the city. Furthermore, the community is working toward brotherhood between the Greek population and the Jews. The Jewish Community Executive Council condemns any attempt to ruin the relationship between Greece and Salonika Jewry.¹²⁷

Cazes's declaration regarding the emissaries to the peace conference was not entirely accurate. French diplomatic correspondence from 1919 names three people sent from Salonika to represent the interests of Salonikan Jewry at that conference.¹²⁸ However, his declaration that the community had not sent such emissaries indicates that he did not regard the Zionists as its representatives. This turn of affairs brings us back to the spring of 1920, when events concerning this matter came to a head.

The Rich Get Richer, the Poor Get Poorer

In order to appease the homeless, restrain the Zionists, and move the reconstruction plan forward, Cazes had to do something for the homeless members of the Jewish community. After negotiating with government representatives, he managed to extract a promise from the minister of transport, Alexandros Papanastasiou, who was in charge of the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Project, to build six hundred homes—or cabins, to be more precise—for refugees from the fire.¹²⁹ He also arranged for the Jews of Salonika to be exempted from military service.¹³⁰ In March 1920, Cazes, speaking before a large crowd, stated: "Now that the government has reached a commendable decision in the matter of our military service, were it not for the rebuilding plan, one could say that we are living in a paradise here."¹³¹ The head of the Salonika Press Office, whose duties included tracking political developments and the mood of the Jewish community, wrote to Athens that he thought the atmosphere was more positive than in the past and that even the Zionists had softened somewhat, owing, among other reasons, to the government's pledge to contribute toward the construction of housing for refugees from the fire—an achievement that Cazes took credit for.¹³²

All these details take on new significance when we examine them in the light of other sources. As already stated, some of the great

landowners in the Burnt Zone were not opposed to the project itself but only to certain sections that interfered with their plans, such as the enormous open spaces designated as public areas, which were to their detriment, or the low assessments of the value of their old lots. It seems reasonable to assume that most members of the community were uninformed about the details of the plan both before and after Gounaris rose to power and that they had no concept of what their leaders were up to. The person in charge of negotiating changes to the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan was Jacob Cazes, and his goal was to preserve the interests of his family and colleagues. While Cazes was negotiating in Athens, Dr. Leon Modiano, the grandson of Saul Modiano's brother Juda Modiano, was working to spread the word—across the ocean and in Salonika itself—that the Jewish community was being discriminated against, in order to pressure the government. When Cazes returned to Salonika, the community sent Saul Modiano's son, the banker Jacob Modiano, to Athens to negotiate on its behalf. Cazes then assumed the role that had previously been filled by Leon Modiano, appealing to the masses to “help him moderate the community's demands on the government.” These demands, he said, had been imposed on him by the community's wealthy Jews.¹³³ This was not entirely false. The demands presented in Athens were indeed those of the rich, but presenting himself as a spokesman for the poor was far from the truth. He needed the lobbying power of the Jewish street, and indeed that of Jewish organizations abroad, to achieve what was really the opposite of the interests of the poor and the middle class. Those who were not part of the inner circle understood that they were being cheated but could not do anything about it. As a result, many of them found their way to the Zionist cause. Their frustration was directed not toward the president of the community but toward the Greek government. Rich industrialists, who found it difficult to integrate into the new state politics, left the country,¹³⁴ while socialists found another way to express their anger.

In early 1921, the satirical journal *El kulevro* (The Snake) published a series of stinging articles against Cazes's political activity in Athens and on the various committees that dealt with the sale of the new land lots. The alleged facts related by the journal all refer to the period before the elections of December 1920. The journal does not call the protagonists of the articles by their real names. Cazes is called Yakovaji, and Papanastasiou is called Papanash. Only Venizelos is called by his actual name. In the first article, the author, writing under a pseudonym, mocks Cazes, who had become a frequent “pilgrim” to Athens (using the Turkish term for a pilgrimage

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to Mecca, *hacılık*). According to *El kulevro*, since the Great Fire, Cazes had become a devoted adherent of Venizelos and a dear friend of Papanastasiou, all in order to make sure that his parcels of land would be favorably assessed. In return, he pledged the Jewish community's allegiance to the Venizelist Liberal Party. This is, of course, far-fetched. Cazes had betted on Venizelos already in 1915. However, in the general election held on November 1, 1920, Venizelos's Liberal Party was badly defeated. The royalists came back to power, and on December 19, 1920, King Constantine returned to Greece. *El kulevro* described in Ladino how Cazes, like any good merchant who never missed an opportunity, sheepishly hurried back to Athens, went to King Constantine, kissed his hand, burst into tears, and begged for *mehilah*, *selihah*, *ve-kaparrah* (compassion, forgiveness, and atonement). "The God of the Greeks may have forgiven, but the Jews well understood the deceit," wrote the author.¹³⁵

Two weeks later, the same author elaborated further on the subject. Now that Venizelos was out of the country and Papanastasiou was no longer in office, he could do so without fear. In a new article, he blamed Cazes very openly for not opposing the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan. The complicated story told by "the Snake" explained that in order to ensure high assessments for lots owned by himself (and his friends) before the fire without causing a scandal, he arranged that all the old lots around his own would be assessed high, at 90 drachmas a meter. However, one of his friends, a Dönme (Muslim descendants of Salonikan Jews, who converted in the wake of Sabbetai Zvi's movement in the seventeenth century), was unhappy with the evaluation of his old lot and wanted more—a fact that caused Cazes to try to raise the assessment of this group of lots. To achieve this, he went to Athens, bribed Venizelos and Papanastasiou, and showered them with "love and affection."¹³⁶ Such things cannot be proven easily if one has no access to the scene of the crime, but sometimes the irregularities are so obvious that they can hardly be overlooked, and the author referred to one such irregularity. Keeping his readers on edge, the author revealed the rest of the story only several weeks later. In the next chapter, readers learned how a lot that this same Dönme friend was interested in was bought by the friend at auction for a very low price. The lot, number 15, was situated adjacent to what is now Aristotelous Square and was publicized in the newspapers among prime property lots (numbers 82–96) around the planned Town Hall Square. The minimum prices set for these lots were very high, and they could not be sold at lower prices. The publication of lot 15 in the midst of these lots could be explained as a "typographical" error,

but it caused potential buyers to refrain from competing for the lot and enabled the lucky friend to buy it for a piddling sum, according to *El kulevro*, thus earning him a profit of half a million drachmas.¹³⁷ “The Snake” was sure that the publication of lot 15 among the high-priced lots of another series was not a mistake but was planned and executed as a result of Cazes’s efforts in Athens. And that was not the end of the business dealings between the president of the community and his friend, the anonymous Dönme. The next day, “the Snake” had bitten again. According to *El kulevro*, the Dönme friend made sure that the lots he had owned before the fire would be overvalued and that he would be able to buy new lots at less than their estimated worth. To achieve all this, he promised Cazes that he would sell him a lot of his in the Burnt Zone (or most probably a bond attesting to the value of his former ownership of a lot) at a very low price. According to *El kulevro*, Cazes’s efforts were not limited to bribes. He promised Venizelos and Papanastasiou that all Jews in Salonika would vote for the Liberal Party.¹³⁸ In view of these allegations, it is obvious that Cazes could not achieve such goals without continuing to hold his prestigious post. He certainly could not fight the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan, and if he wanted to go on performing as he did under the Venizelist regime, he had to gain the favor of the Laiko Komma, the royalist People’s Party. One should not, of course, take the bites of “the Snake” at face value. They were socialists and, in their eyes, Cazes, Modiano, and the rich Dönmes in Salonika were prime examples of the exploitation of the working man (and woman). There is no guarantee that the buyer of lot 15 made half a million drachmas out of this transaction. Nevertheless, financial support of Greek political personalities in return for personal favors was not invented by Salonikan Jews, and generally speaking, such maneuvers are as old as humanity itself.

A final note on this matter of exchange between old lots and new ones is in order. On December 2, 1919, the court of appeal on the Burnt Zone land assessments rejected an appeal made by the Jewish community regarding the valuation of certain plots of land owned by it before the fire. The president of the court, N. Plaskakis, rejected the appeal, since it was made after the legally prescribed period for such a motion, and ordered that the appellant (the Jewish community) pay a fine of 50 drachmas as court expenses.¹³⁹ This can be interpreted as proof of the limited ability of the public to change the court’s decision; at the same time, one can deduce from this court order that when it came to assets owned by the community, Cazes was not as industrious as he was concerning his own property or that of his friends.

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The implementation of the Burnt Zone Rebuilding Plan changed the face of Jewish Salonika, with poor and middle-class Jews now pushed to the perimeters of the city. In the best case, the refugees were housed in crowded neighborhoods lacking municipal services built on the grounds of army barracks and hospitals of the Allied forces, such as in District 151 and District 6. In the worst case, they huddled in roofless, floorless shacks, in Angelaki for example, and managed as best they could. When there was no alternative, they took shelter in schools and synagogues.¹⁴⁰ In stark contrast, some two hundred meters off Cité Saul, which was partially destroyed in the 1917 fire, Saul's architect grandson, Eli Jacob Modiano, and Henry Oliphant built the shopping center known as Agora Modiano (Modiano Market, 1922), with 143 shops on an area of 3,300 square meters. Before his death in 1926, Eli Modiano designed a whole series of buildings constructed after the Great Fire on land purchased by his family: the Modiano buildings at 22–24 Ermou Street (around 1923); the Levi building at 26 Venizelos Street, on the corner of Vassileos Irakleiou (1924); the house at 6 Ermou Street (1925), and others too numerous to list here.

Grade A lots, assessed at 30,000 drachmas or more, could not be sold for less than that, and there was no limitation on their sale even if they had belonged to a large number of owners before the fire.¹⁴¹ Reviewing the records of the public auction of these lots on December 15, 1921, it is obvious who the winners were; out of 19 buyers, 14 were Jews, three Muslims, and two Christians. All three Muslims bought their assets in partnership with Jews. Members of the Modiano family bought three of the lots for 248,000 drachmas all together. The greatest buyer was Joseph Sides, who sold his spinning mill in 1919.¹⁴² The value of his transactions amounted to 550,000 drachmas.¹⁴³ On April 13, 1923, no less than 39 lots were sold at auction. Only five of them were assessed at less than 30,000 drachmas, which attests to the classification of the other 34 lots as prime property. Of these 39 lots, 18 were bought by Jacob Cazes together with the architect Eli Modiano. Most of the other lots sold at that auction were bought by the Greek hospital.¹⁴⁴

Religious communities and public institutions such as hospitals were not restricted in their acquisitions, and there is almost no doubt that Cazes and Modiano made these transactions as representatives of the Jewish community. The late date of the sale, and the fact that all the lots were bought by representatives of communal organizations for not much more than the minimum price, suggests that there were no other bidders. Most of these lots were situated between Tsimiski Street

and Mitropoleos Street. Very close to them was lot 15, purchased by the anonymous Dönme, Cazes's friend. What became of these lots is a subject for another study. The role played by the president of the community did not, and could not, have changed the overall result of the Greek government's plans. However, there is no doubt that he and the Modiano family—being so well connected—were among those who benefited the most from them.

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Social Responsibility

Joseph Nehama has attempted to assess the relative share of each of the elite Jewish families in contributing to communal undertakings, based on lists of donations in the 1880s. His conclusion is that the major donors totaled 40 families all in all, comprising 197 individuals. The highest number of donations was made by the Modiano family (21), followed by Fernandez (10), and Allatini, Benjamin, Bensussan, and Hassid (all 8). Cazes lags far behind (2).¹⁴⁵ These lists attest to the general situation that existed in the Ottoman era, but they are also telling in terms of the role of the Modiano family as philanthropists.

Both families, Modiano and Cazes, were involved in philanthropic ventures within the Jewish community but collaborated mainly on two major projects: a school and an old-age home. In 1902, Vida, Cazes's wife, reportedly donated a large sum for the construction of a new school building together with her sister-in-law Fakima (sister of Jacob Cazes), wife of the well-known banker Saul Modiano.¹⁴⁶ In the course of his lifetime, Jacob Cazes continued to be involved in philanthropic ventures within the Jewish community. His epitaph commemorates his charitable activities as well as his community leadership, presenting him the way his mourning family saw him and wished future generations to remember him:¹⁴⁷

Blessed be the True Judge

A counselor and man of great insight, a glorious spokesman for the elders

Patron of the poor and champion of our people's welfare

He acquired a good name; he was a glory to his community

He established the Cazes school for our offspring

Where the children of Israel [study] the Torah of the Lord

Splendor and honor will be his legacy for eternity

Wise at heart he was, beyond that of all exalted men

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Temperate, resourceful, the mark of life on his forehead
The community of Salonika venerates his name
His memory and his righteous deeds will be extolled for generations to
come
He will awaken, when all the dwellers in the dust are awakened
Everyone will proclaim this righteous man's demise
Here is interred a grandee of the Jews
A prince and leader of the community of Israel in Salonika
Jacob Isac Cazes, whose soul is in the Garden of Eden,
Was taken to his eternal home, on the fourth of Nisan, in the year 5695,¹⁴⁸
May his soul be bound up in the bond of [eternal] life.¹⁴⁹

Saul Modiano's son Samuel (not to be confused with his second cousin, Samuel Daniel Modiano) contributed a large sum of money to build an old-age home named after his father: "Thanks to the efforts of Jacob Cazes, head of the Jewish community, and a donation of 400,000 liras by Samuel Modiano, a native of the city now living in Italy, a home was bought in the Campagnias consisting of two buildings, each with six rooms and a large yard," announced *La verdad*.¹⁵⁰ The Cazeses and Modianos were a classic illustration of the age-old game of power and politics. Despite the philanthropic activities of both families, praised so highly by historians of the Salonika Jewish community,¹⁵¹ they were like all major players: they accumulated a certain amount of wealth, set themselves up in strategic social and political positions in order to increase and safeguard their assets, and tossed an occasional bone to the masses.

In 1928, Yosef Uziel, author of *The White Tower*, wrote about his beloved birthplace from his home in Tel Aviv. Though the scion of a famous family of rabbis, he himself was raised in the humble neighborhood of Kalamaria and was not blind to the poverty of the Jewish masses. He dedicated a short chapter of his book to Fakima Modiano. Looking at this Ottoman matriarch and her husband through the lens of the Greek era and the Tel Aviv reality of his day, Uziel wondered why Saul Modiano, the Ottoman tycoon, "commander-in-chief," and spokesman of the Jewish community, never won the kind of honor and admiration earned by his widow, Fakima.¹⁵² When Saul Modiano passed away in 1883, he was eulogized by the Livornese educator Mosheh Ya'akov Ottolenghi in *La epoka*. A newspaper that catered to the needs of people with no distinct political views and devoted considerable space to the activities of the rich and famous,¹⁵³ it was

the natural place to extol the man.¹⁵⁴ Ottolenghi wrote that at such an hour all differences of opinion should be forgotten, because “il kapitan manka” (Italianized Judeo-Spanish for “the Captain is gone”). The majority of his words were dedicated to the subject of unity. He mentioned Modiano’s good deeds, in particular on behalf of poor children and the Holy Land. Reading this piece, it is obvious that Modiano was remembered largely because of his wealth and his role in community leadership and only lastly because of his philanthropy. It should be borne in mind that Fakima Modiano outlived her husband by many years, in which her generosity outshined his—to say nothing of the fact that philanthropy was virtually the only way for a woman to be active in the public arena at the time. In the end, the vox populi could not be ignored: the collective wisdom of the masses allowed simple Salonikans to make the distinction between husband and wife, with Saul Modiano’s commercial and banking activities ultimately overshadowing his generosity. Fakima Modiano, who lived to a ripe old age,¹⁵⁵ lavished her money on the poor of Salonika without counting pennies or making political calculations. She opened both her purse and her heart.

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Notes

I am indebted to Evanghelos A. Hekimoglou and Alexandra Karadimos-Yerolimpos, who read the manuscript of this article and offered valuable and important comments. In addition, Mr. Hekimoglou kindly shared with me the results of his own research on the urban history of Thessaloniki. Nonetheless, it goes without saying that everything written in this paper is my own responsibility. A note about the transliteration: Hebrew titles were transliterated into Latin characters according to JSS style. Titles in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) were transliterated from the Hebrew characters in accordance with the system of the newspaper *Aki Yerushalayim*; foreign words inside such titles were transliterated phonetically. Surnames written in Judeo-Spanish were cited in the romanized form used in the original documents. If such did not exist, they were transliterated according to the *Aki Yerushalayim* system. Surnames of Sephardi origin written in Hebrew were transliterated. Greek bibliographical information was transliterated according to the ELOT 743 system.

- 1 In a recently published book, which emphasizes the cultural aspect of Salonikan Jewish leadership rather than the sociopolitical one, Devin Naar comes to similar conclusions, namely, that imperial practices in molding the experiences of Salonikan Jewry persisted from the Ottoman

to the Greek era; Devin Naar, *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece* (Stanford, 2016), 15.

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2

See, for example, Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (Oxford, 2006), 27, 39; Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York, 2007); Alan Singer, review of *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, by Naomi Klein, *Encounter: Education for Meaning and Social Justice* 21, no. 1 (2008): 53–56; Jonathan Katz, “Gang Members in Haitian Slum Profit from Disaster,” www.streetgangs.com, Jan. 19, 2010, accessed Aug. 1, 2016, http://www.streetgangs.com/news/011910_haitiangang#sthash.ITtNurV9.dpbs; and John C. Mutter, *The Disaster Profiteers: How Natural Disasters Make the Rich Richer and the Poor Even Poorer* (New York, 2015). The July 2016 conference of the ISA Forum of Sociology in Vienna devoted an entire session to the connection between disasters and profiteering: <https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2016/webprogram/Session5543.html> (accessed Aug. 1, 2016).

3

See Greg Bankoff, “Historical Concepts of Disaster and Risk,” *The Routledge Handbook of Hazards and Disaster Risk Reduction*, ed. Ben Wisner, J. C. Gaillard, and Ilan Kelman (London, 2012), 31–41.

4

Steven L. Kaplan, “The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 72, no. 3 (1982): 1–79; idem, *Provisioning Paris: Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade during the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984).

5

Pierre-Etienne Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-Century China* (Redwood City, Calif., 1990).

6

Christopher V. Hill, “Philosophy and Reality in Riparian South Asia: British Famine Policy and Migration in Colonial North India,” *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1991): 263–79; David Hardiman, “Usury, Dearth and Famine in Western India,” *Past and Present* 152 (Aug. 1996): 113–56.

7

Saloniki ‘ir va-em be-Yisrael (Jerusalem, 1967); Avraham Recanati, ed., *Zikhron Saloniki*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1972–86).

8

See below, pp. 84, 98.

9

Georgios Hatzikiriakos, *Tmima Defteron-Meros Ekton-Makedonia meta tou parakeimenou tmimatos tis Thrakis* (Salonika, 1910).

10

This section of the Archives of the Jewish Community of Salonika has belonged to the Russian State Military Archive in Moscow since 1945, within the collection entitled Ocobyi Arkhiv (Special Archive). Since 1992, this entire archive has been referred to as the Centre for Preservation of Historical Collections (Tsentr Khraneniia Istoriko-Dokumental’nykh Kollektzii, or TsKhIDK), and I refer to it hereafter as the Moscow Archives. It was photographed in video form for the Tel Aviv University Documentation Project of Turkish and Balkan Jewry of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center (TAU DP, Salonika Archives). This portion of the archive contains 500,000 documents, of which 50,000 have been analyzed and digitized. Citations from the

digitized material in this archive appear as follows: name of document, document number in the file of the Moscow Archives, fond number, opis number, file number, Moscow Archives; TAU DP, Salonika Archives, document number in the digitized archive.

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- 11 Documents from this part of the archive are cited according to their GR/SA file number. In some cases, internal protocol numbers of the Salonika Jewish community or of various Greek government ministries also appear. Such numbers appear after the file number. The file numbers in the CAHJP were changed several months ago. Although the new classification makes it much easier for the contemporary researcher to find his/her way around the archives, it constitutes a problem for those who have worked in the archives previously and those searching for material based on publications that pre-date the change in the catalogue. Unfortunately, the comparative table with the old and new numbers is not without errors, and at times it is very difficult to locate documents identified by their old file number under the new one. For the reader's convenience, I have cited the new designation followed by the old one. In cases where I was unable to locate a document by its new number, or in cases in doubt, this is stated explicitly.
- 12 Grèce, Alliance Israélite Universelle Archives.
- 13 RG 348, YIVO.
- 14 Charalampos K. Papastathis and Evanghelos A. Hekimoglou, *The Great Fire of Salonika, August 1917* (Salonika, 2010), 12.
- 15 The White Tower, an iconic symbol of the city, was constructed by the Ottomans in 1535–36 and once guarded the eastern end of the city's sea walls; Simon Pepper, "Ottoman Military Architecture in the Early Gunpowder Era: A Reassessment," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge, Engl., 2000), 282–316.
- 16 The explosion of the Talmud Torah initiated by the French army is mentioned by Yosef Uziel, "Saloniki 'olah ba-lehavah," in *Saloniki 'ir va-em*, 223–25, esp. 223. This is an accepted historical fact, supported by the reality that most of the community archives prior to 1917, as well as the major library, were lost in this way as well. However, in an aerial photo made by the Aeronautic Service of the Allied Forces in the Orient, parts of the buildings can still be seen (Papastathis and Hekimoglou, *Great Fire*, 45).
- 17 For a description of the fire along with numerous sources, see Gila Hadar, "Hebetim be-hayei ha-mishpahah ha-yehudit be-Saloniki: 1900–1943" (Ph.D. diss., University of Haifa, 2003), 54–56; Papastathis and Hekimoglou, *Great Fire*, unsigned and undated report written in real time either by Joseph Nehama or by Joseph Misrachi, "Ce que j'ai vu de l'incendie de Salonique," sent to the Alliance Israélite Universelle around Aug. 25, 1917 (the report appears in the file after the telegram sent by the French consul in Salonika on that date),

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Grèce_VII_B_9002-9011, Alliance Israélite Universelle Archives, Paris, France (hereafter AIUA).

- [104] 18 Joseph Nehama to the president of Alliance Israélite Universelle, Jan. 16, 1921, Grèce_XVIII_E_202_0045-0047, AIUA; Alexandra Karadimou-Yerolimpou and Vasilis Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis meta to 1917 apo tin koinoniki kai poleodomiki outopia,” in *Oi Evraioi ston elliniko choro: Zitimata istorias sti makra diarkeia, praktika tou a'symposiou istorias tis etaireias meletis evraikou ellinismou: Thessaloniki, 23–24 Noemvriou 1991*, ed. Efi Avdela and Odette Varon-Vasar (Athens, 1995), 231–54, esp. 233; Rena Molho, *Oi Evraioi tis Thessalonikis, 1856–1919: Mia idiaiteri koinotita* (Salonika, 2001), 120–22.
- 19 Thomas H. Mawson, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect* (New York, 1927), 271–90; Alexandra Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation in the Balkans (1820–1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Salonika* (Salonika, 1996), 106–8.
- 20 Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, “A Mediterranean City in Transition: Thessaloniki between the Two World Wars,” *Facta Universitatis, Architecture and Civil Engineering* 1 (1997): 493–507, esp. 495.
- 21 Pierre Lavedan, “Un problème d’urbanisme: La reconstruction de Salonique,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64, no. 5 (1921): 231–48, accessed Aug. 3, 2016, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cgi-bin/digi-downloadPdf.fcgi?projectname=gba1922_1&firstpage=248&lastpage=265; Lila Leontidou, *The Mediterranean City in Transition: Social Change and Urban Development* (Cambridge, Engl., 1990), 11; Gila Hadar, “Régie Vardar: A Jewish ‘Garden City’ in Thessaloniki (1917–1943)” (paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Urban History: European City in Comparative Perspective, Panteion University, Athens–Piraeus, Greece, Oct. 27–30, 2004); Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, “Urban Aesthetics and National Identity: The Refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean Cities between 1900 and 1940,” *Planning Perspectives* 26, no. 2 (2011): 153–82, esp. 154, 164, 168, 172.
- 22 Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*, 118.
- 23 Nehama to the president of Alliance Israélite Universelle, Jan. 16, 1921.
- 24 James W. Mawson, “The Salonica Town Planning Act,” *Town Planning Review* 9, no. 3 (1921): 147–54. In the list of property prices on p. 153, items b and d are identical and are most probably the result of an error.
- 25 J. Mawson, “Salonica Town Planning Act,” 153–54.
- 26 Karadimou-Yerolimpou and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 234–35; “The Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs to All Greek Embassies,” in *Documents on the History of the Greek Jews, Records from the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, ed. Photini Constantopoulou and Thanos Veremis (Athens, 1998), doc. 10, 83–84. The book was republished in Greek as *Oi Ellines Evraioi: Stoicheia tis istorias tous mesa apo diplomatika kai istorika engrafa tou YP. E* (Athens, 2000), with some minor changes that will be noted below as “Greek edition” with the

- relevant pages. On the same topic, see also the documents stamped in Paris, Sept. 17, 1918, “Exposé des motifs; Question des terrains et immeubles sinistres, Démarches faites par les propriétaires depuis l’incendie jusqu’à ce jour; Solutions proposées par les propriétaires,” Grèce_VII_B_10007-10008, AIUA, and Sept. 19, 1918, “Avant-projet de constitution d’une société de liquidation des propriétés sinistres le 18.8.1917,” Grèce_VII_B_10005-10006, AIUA.
- 27 For a Turkish version of the agreement, see Nihat Erim, *Devletlerarası Hukuk ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri, vol. 1: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Andlaşmaları* (Ankara, 1953), 477–88.
- 28 “Invito la segunda komision por la delimitacion de los terrenos tuviendo en vista el artikolo 8 de la lei 1122 invita a ke se presenten delante de eya en el lugar mizmo onde se topa el inmueble,” *El puevlo*, Dec. 9, 1918, p. 1 (in Ladino), and see Hadar, “Hebetim,” 59 n. 154.
- 29 Yosef Alvo, “Aharei ha-delekeh,” in *Saloniki ‘ir va-em*, 226–27; Karadimou-Yerolimpou and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 236.
- 30 A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*.
- 31 Archives of the exhibition *A City in Search of Its Kehilot*, 3/1, Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki, Greece. I am indebted to Evangelhos Hekimoglou for allowing me to use this material.
- 32 See “Treatment of Jewish Claims Regarding Compensation for Property Following the Fire of 1917, Aide-Mémoire, 1918,” doc. 1, 71–72; “Eleftherios Venizelos, Prime Minister, to the Greek Embassy in London, April 18, 1918,” doc. 3, 75; and “Minutes of Discussion Between Eleftherios Venizelos, Greek Prime Minister and Representatives of Jewish Associations in London, London, 23 April, 1918,” doc. 6*, 77–79, in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*.
- 33 Rena Molho, “Jewish Working-Class Neighborhoods in Salonika following the 1890 and 1917 Fires,” in *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond*, ed. Minna Rozen, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv, 2002), 2: 173–94, esp. 188 n. 52.
- 34 On the consequences of the fire for the Jews of Salonika and different views of the significance of the reconstruction of the city, see Uziel, “Saloniki ‘olah ba-lehavah,” 223–25; Yosef De Buton and Avraham Barzilay, *El insendyo del 18–19 Agosto 1917: Suvenires inolvidávles, verdades krudas, detáyos otentikos, fátos y pasajes akontesidós mientres y despues dela katastrofa de Saloniko* (Salonika, 1919) (in Ladino); Shemuel Sa’adi Ha-Levi, *Flama ensendida: Esjeuenio que somio en el anvio 5677* (Salonika, 1922) (in Ladino); Elias Petropoulos, *Salonique: L’incendie de 1917, avec un texte de Jacques Lacarriere* (Salonika, 1980); Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*; idem, “La part du feu,” in *Salonique, 1850–1918, La “ville des juifs” et le réveil des Balkans*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 261–70; Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, “On the State of the Jewish Community of Salonika after the Fire of 1917: An Unpublished Memoir and Other Documents from the Papers of Henry Morgenthau,” in *The*

- Jewish Communities of Southeastern Europe from the Fifteenth Century to the End of World War II*, ed. Ioannes K. Hassiotis (Salonika, 1997), 147–74; Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 1, 72; doc. 6*, 78–79; Karadimou-Yerolimpos, *Great Fires*; Karadimou-Yerolimpos and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 231–39; Hadar, “Hebetim,” 54–66; Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 174–78; and M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts* (New York, 2005), 301–10.
- 35 Papastathis and Hekimoglou, *Great Fire*, 16; Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*, 118; Karadimou-Yerolimpos and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 238; Uziel, “Saloniki ‘olah ba-lehavah,” 224.
- 36 The social composition of the Zionist circles is well illustrated by their own publications as well as the contemporary Jewish press. See, for example, Yosef Uziel, “Ha-tenu‘ah ha-tsiyonit ve-irgunehah,” in *Saloniki ‘ir va-em*, 108–15; idem, “Mo‘adonim ve-agudot le-minehem,” in *Saloniki ‘ir va-em*, 127–29, esp. 128–29; Asher R. Moisis, “Ha-tenu‘ah ha-tsiyonit be-Saloniki uve-yeter kehilot Yavan,” in A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*, 1: 366–93, esp. 368–69, 371, 377, 380–82; Yitshak Ben-Rubi, “Agudat tse‘irim ‘ivrim [A.J.J.],” in A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*, 1: 398–400; Dodon Recanati and Tamar Massa, “‘Ha-Tehiyah’: Agudat nashim le-hit‘amlut ule-tarbut yehudit,” in A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*, 1: 416–22; and “Una ermoza fiesta,” *La verdad* 4, no. 1196, Dec. 31, 1924 (in Ladino).
- 37 Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 175, esp. n. 97; doc. 1, 71–72; doc. 3, 75–76; “Lucien Wolf, Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Communities and the Anglo-Jewish Association, to Ioannis Gennadios, Greek Ambassador to London, London, 19 April, 1918,” doc. 4*, 76; “Ioannis Gennadios, Greek Ambassador in London, to Lucien Wolf, the Anglo-Jewish Association, London, 22 April, 1918,” doc. 5*, 77; doc. 6*, 77–79; “Ioannis Gennadios, Greek Ambassador in London, to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, London, 12/25 April, 1918,” doc. 7, 79–80 (documents pertaining to the handling of the Burnt Zone), in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*.
- 38 Karadimou-Yerolimpos and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 235–37.
- 39 Joseph Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1978), 7: 684.
- 40 Meropi Anastasiadou, *Salonique, 1830–1912: Une ville ottoman a l’âge des réformes* (Leiden, 1997), 197.
- 41 Donald Quataert, “Ma‘amad po‘alei ha-ta‘asiyah be-Saloniki,” in *Yemei ha-sahar: Perakim be-toledot ha-Yehudim ba-imperiyah ha-‘otmanit*, ed. Minna Rozen (Tel Aviv, 1996), 311–31, esp. 315–16, 321–23; Alexandros Dangas, *Symvoli stin erevna gia tin oikonomiki kai koinoniki exeliksi tis Thessalonikis: Oikonomiki domi kai koinonikos katanerismos tis ergasias, 1912–1940* (Thessaloniki, 1998), 62; Anastasiadou, *Salonique, 1830–1912*, 197.

- 42 Eugene A. Cooperman, *Turco-Jewish Relations in the Ottoman City of Salonica, 1889–1912: Two Communities in Support of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1991), 190.
- 43 Evangelos A. Hekimoglou, “The Jewish Bourgeoisie in Thessaloniki, 1906–1911: Assets and Bankruptcies,” in I. Hassiotis, *Jewish Communities of Southeastern Europe*, 175–83, esp. 178.
- 44 Dangas, *Symvoli*, 113; Hubert Bonin, “Un outre-mer bancaire en Orient méditerranéen: Des banques françaises marraines de la Banque de Salonique de 1907 à la Seconde Guerre mondiale,” *Revue Historique* 305, no. 3 (2003): 567–602, esp. 591.
- 45 Dangas, *Symvoli*, 525; Georgios Christodoulou, *I Thessaloniki kata tin teleftaian ekatontaetian* (Salonika, 1936), 265–66.
- 46 I am grateful to Paris Papamichos Chronakis, who shared with me the list of members of the Salonika Chamber of Commerce. Eyaggelia A. Varella, “To emporiko kai viomichaniko epimelitirio Thessaloniki-kis kata ta chronia tou mesopolemou,” *Thessaloniki* 4 (1994): 251–85, esp. 253–54.
- 47 Hatzikiriakos, *Tmima Defteron-Meros*, 33.
- 48 “Inkuesta: La kriza komunale,” *La epoka*, Jan. 31, 1902, p. 4 (in Ladino).
- 49 *Almanach national au profit de l’hôpital de Hirsch* (Salonika, 1911), 100, 115. See also Evangelos A. Hekimoglou, *SVVE: Chroniko 1915–2015, ta prota ekato chronia* (Thessaloniki, 2015), 20, 26–32, 36–41.
- 50 See also the documents stamped in Paris on Sept. 17, 1918, “Exposé des motifs,” and Sept. 19, 1918, “Avant-projet de constitution.”
- 51 Papastathis and Hekimoglou, *Great Fire*, 15; Evangelos A. Hekimoglou, *O Nikolaos Manos kai o mesopolemos sti Thessaloniki* (Salonika, 2010), 157–58.
- 52 “Ministry of Transport, Aide-Mémoire, 16 May, 1918,” in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 8, 80–82, including attachment of a note from the same, May 16, 1918.
- 53 Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*, 116.
- 54 “Por lo kemado,” *El shamar*, Apr. 8, 1920, p. 1 (in Ladino).
- 55 Nehama to the president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Jan. 16, 1921.
- 56 Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*, 116–17.
- 57 See above, n. 29.
- 58 “I Drpagi ton Oikopedon,” *Makedonia*, Dec. 30, 1921, p. 1.
- 59 Yerolimpos, *Urban Transformation*, 121–23.
- 60 On the history of the commission that developed the plan, see T. Mawson, *Life and Work*, 271–85.
- 61 Names of candidates that can elect and be elected to the governing institutes of the Jewish Community, 1912, *El avenir*, opis 221, fond 1428, Moscow Archives; document 8655, TAU DP, Salonika Archives.
- 62 “Inkuesta: La kriza komunale,” *La epoka*, Jan. 31, 1902, p. 4 (in Ladino).
- 63 Stylianos Protonotarios, head of the Salonika Press Office, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, May 17, 1920 (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 23, 101–2); Leon Albertos Nar, *Oi Israïlites vouleftes sto*

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- elliniko koinovoulío* (1915–1936) (Athens, 2011), 91–92; Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 276; idem, “Irgun ha-kehilah ha-yehudit be-Saloniki (1912–1943): Bein tomekhim be-hitam‘ut, sotsiyalistim ve-tsiyonim,” in *Kehilot Yisrael ba-mizrah ba-meot ha-tesh‘a-‘esreh veha-‘esrim: Yavan*, ed. Eyal Ginio (Jerusalem, 2014), 139–62, esp. 140–41, 146–47, 150.
- 64 On the First Balkan War and the Salonika campaign, see Demetrius John Cassavetti, *New Hellas and the Balkan War* (London, 1914), 11–12, 99–107; Leon Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913* (New York, 2000), 197–98; Walter Harrington Crawford Price, *The Balkan Cockpit: The Political and Military Story of the Balkan Wars in Macedonia* (London, 1915), 108–24; Edward J. Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912–1913* (Westport, Conn., 2003), 44–160; M. Glenn, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1904–1999* (New York, 2000), 233–36; R. C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London, 2000), 1–26, 61–63. For a detailed description of the Greek campaign and takeover of the city as well as the situation of the civilian population, see Minna Rozen, *A Very Narrow Bridge: The Jewish Community of Salonika between the Two World Wars (1912–1943)* (in preparation).
- 65 “Komo se intrigo Saloniko,” *El avenir* 15, no. 32, Nov. 10, 1912 (in Ladino); “Tosigo Antisemita,” *El avenir* 15, no. 32, Nov. 10, 1912 (in Ladino); “Angustia en la komunidad Judía de Saloniko,” *El judío*, Nov. 19, 1912 (in Ladino); “Por salvar nuestros ermanos de Saloniko,” *El judío*, Nov. 20, 1912 (in Ladino); “Disorder at Salonika,” *Times of London*, Nov. 26, 1912; Price, *Balkan Cockpit*, 144–45; Yitshak Shemuel Emmanuel, “Toledot yehudei Saloniki,” in A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*, 1: 3–272, esp. 203–4; Rena Molho, “Popular Anti-Semitism and State Policy in Salonika during the City’s Annexation to Greece,” *Jewish Social Studies* 50, no. 3–4 (1988/1993): 253–64.
- 66 On the struggle for the future of Salonika, see “Zangwill Pleads for Free Salonika: Loan by Jews to Develop Macedonia Might Be the Return for This Concession,” *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1912, p. 3, accessed Aug. 3, 1916, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9505E5D9133CE633A25753C1A9679D946396D6CF>; Nahum M. Gelber, “An Attempt to Internationalize Salonika, 1912–1913,” *Jewish Social Studies* 17 (1955): 105–20; Kostas E. Skordylès, “Réactions juives à l’annexion de Salonique par la Grèce (1912–1913),” in I. Hassiotis, *Jewish Communities of Southeastern Europe*, 501–16; and Paris Papamichos Chronakis, “De-Judaizing a Class, Hellenizing a City: Jewish Merchants and the Future of Salonika in Greek Public Discourse, 1913–1914,” *Jewish History* 28, no. 3–4 (2014): 373–403.
- 67 Erickson, *Defeat in Detail*, 69–76, 101–6, 123–27.
- 68 Yitshak Shemuel Emmanuel, *Matsevot Saloniki*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1968), 2: 888.

- 69 See above, p. 93, and below, nn. 78–79, 123, and Minna Rozen, “The Jewish Community of Salonika, 1912–1941: Organizational Patterns,” *Archeion Analekta: Periodiki ekdosi meletis kai erevnas archeion (defteri periodos)* 1 (2016): 317–18. [109]
- 70 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 702, identified his father as Abraham; however, on his tombstone epitaph he is identified as Ya’akov Yitshak Kazes (Emmanuel, *Matsevat Saloniki*, 2: 888, stone no. *1801). *The Great Salonika Fire of 1917*
- 71 Rena Molho, “Le Renouveau...,” in Veinstein, *Salonique, 1850–1918*, 64–78, esp. 69–70. ●
- 72 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 702; Evangelos A. Hekimoglou, “I istoria tis epicheirimatikotitas sti Thessaloniki: Othomaniki periodos,” in *I Istoría tis epicheirimatikotitas sti Thessaloniki* ed. Charalampos K. Papastathis and Evangelos A. Hekimoglou (Thessaloniki, 2004), 15–304, esp. 242–43. See also n. 83, below. Minna Rozen
- 73 For example, in 1913–15 he is listed among the importers of wheat flour from Los Angeles to Salonika (*Los Angeles [Calif.], Board of Harbor Commissioners Report for 1914/15* [includes abridged report for 1913–14], 191). In the *Rand McNally Bankers Directory, 1936* (Chicago, 1936), 1544, he is still mentioned as a member of the board of directors of the Banca Commerciale Italiana e Greca. See also Orly Meron, “Sub-Ethnicity and Elites: Jewish Italian Entrepreneurs in Salonika (1881–1912),” *Zakhor: Rivista di storia degli Ebrei d’Italia* 8 (2005): 177–220, esp. 211.
- 74 Cooperman, *Turco-Jewish Relations*, 205.
- 75 Uziel, “Mo’adonim,” 127–29, esp. 127.
- 76 Cazes’s biography is based on Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 731–32 (some of the information adduced there is erroneous: Jacob Cazes’s father was Isac, not Abraham as stated by Nehama); declaration by the chief rabbi of Salonika that Jacob son of Isac Cazes was born in 1845 and had resided in Salonika since 1913, June 27, 1929, file 221, fond 1428, opis 1, Moscow Archives (document 11554, TAU DP, Salonika Archives); Jacob Cazes’s declaration of death, July 9, 1935, file 221, fond 1428, opis 1, Moscow Archives (document 10954, TAU DP, Salonika Archives). See also n. 147, below.
- 77 Cooperman, *Turco-Jewish Relations*, 214; Emmanuel, *Matsevat Saloniki*, 2: 888.
- 78 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 731–32.
- 79 List of candidates for the communal elections, document 8655, Moscow Archives. Jacob Cazes was among those who could elect and be elected as well.
- 80 “El nuevo foro para las kuzinas populares: La lista de los judios ki van a pagar este foro I las somas ki versaran,” *El pueblo*, May 29, 1932, p. 1.
- 81 See above, pp. 99–101.
- 82 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 701–2; Hekimoglou, “I istoria tis epicheirimatikotitas sti Thessaloniki,” 242–43.

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- 83 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 702–3; Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, “Ethnic Minority Groups in International Banking: Greek Diaspora Bankers of Constantinople and Ottoman State Finances, c.1840–1881,” accessed Aug. 3, 2016, <http://www.rothenburg-unz.de/greekbankers.htm>; Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou and Stavros Ioannides, “Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century,” accessed Aug. 3, 2016, http://www.thebhc.org/sites/default/files/MinoglouIoannides_0.pdf; Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (New York, 2004), 44–45, 50, 58–59, 305, 307, 343–44, 346, 352.
- 84 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 702.
- 85 Emmanuel, *Matsevot Saloniki*, 2: 514–16, stone no. 1133; 2: 839–40, stone no. 1749; Mario Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano: The Genealogical Story of the Modiano Family from ~1570 to Our Days* (Athens, 2000), 36–37, accessed Aug. 3, 2016, http://www.themodianos.gr/The_Story.pdf#page=342.
- 86 Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years (1453–1566)* (Leiden, 2010 [1st ed., 2002]), 124; idem, *Studies in the History of Istanbul Jewry, 1453–1912: A Journey through Civilizations* (Turnhout, 2015), 217–82.
- 87 Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano*, 18–22, 38, 41, 342.
- 88 Minna Rozen, “Strangers in a Strange Land: The Extraterritorial Status of Jews in Italy and the Ottoman Empire in the 16th to 18th Centuries,” in *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*, ed. Aron Rodrigue (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 123–66, esp. 150–51.
- 89 Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano*, 21.
- 90 Rozen, “Strangers,” 54–64; idem, “Tsarfat vi-Yhudei Mitsrayim: Anatomiyah shel yehasim, 1683–1801,” in *Toledot Yehudei Mitsrayim ba-tequfah ha-‘otmanit (1517–1914)*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (Jerusalem, 1988), 421–70, esp. 443–70; idem, “Les Marchands juifs livournais à Tunis et le commerce avec Marseille à la fin du XVIIIe siècle,” *Michael* 9 (1985): 87–129; idem, “Contest and Rivalry in Mediterranean Maritime Commerce in the First Half of the 18th Century: The Jews of Salonika and the European Presence,” *Revue des Études Juives* 147 (1988): 309–52, esp. 322–52.
- 91 See above, pp. 88–89, 92, 98.
- 92 Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano*, 90.
- 93 Hatzikiriakos, *Tmima Defteron-Meros*, 29; “Fakima Modiano Muerte,” *El avenir* 14, no. 10, Jan. 23, 1911 (in Ladino); Evangelhos A. Hekimoglou, *Ypohesi Modiano: Trapeziko krach sti Thessaloniki to 1911* (Salonika, 1991).
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid.

- 96 On Jewish allegiance to the Ottomans in general and the correlation between their allegiance and the creation of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, see Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 41–222, esp. 373–79, and idem, *Studies in the History of Istanbul Jewry*, 361–408. See also Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford, 2014), 361–408.
- 97 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 732–33. See also n. 150, below, and Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 148–51. See also Paris Papamichos Chronakis, “Oi ellines, evraioi, mousoulmanoi kai ntonme emporoi tis Thessalonikis, 1882–1919: Taxikoi kai ethnotikoi metaschimatismoi se trochia exellinismou” (Ph.D. diss., University of Crete, Rethymno, 2011), 83–86.
- 98 See above, n. 58, and an extensive description in Rozen, *Very Narrow Bridge*.
- 99 On his heavy involvement in the leadership of Salonikan economic life in general in the years 1916–18, see Paris Papamichos Chronakis, “Middle-Class Sociality as Ethnic Hegemony: Jewish and Greek Merchants from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek Nation-State, 1880–1922” (paper presented at the workshop Crossing Borders: New Approaches to Modern Judeo-Spanish [Sephardic], University of California, Los Angeles, Apr. 4–5, 2011), 28 nn. 101–2, 106.
- 100 See declaration by the chief rabbi, June 27, 1929.
- 101 See, for example, Pericles Argyropoulos, governor of Macedonia, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, May 22, 1918, in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 9, 83; Alexandros Pallis, deputy governor of Macedonia, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, Feb. 19, 1919 (telegram), in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, attachment to doc. 14*, 88; Frangistas, head of the Thessaloniki Press Office, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, Feb. 22, 1919, in Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 15, 89; and *La liberasion de Saloniko: La aliansa Balkanika kontra le Turkiya; La entrada de l’armada grega; Los raportas entre gregos y jidios in Saloniko*, pamphlet appended to *Aksion* 23 (1931): 39–42 (in Ladino). On the sensitivity of the Greek authorities to the community’s status in the West and the diplomatic activity of the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews to ensure the rights of Salonikan Jewry before and after the Bucharest treaty, see Lucien Wolf’s correspondence with Joannes Gennadius, the Greek Minister in London: Wolf to Gennadius, July 7, 1913; Gennadius to Wolf, July 8, 1913; Wolf to Gennadius, July 23, 1913, Sept. 2, 1913, and Sept. 17, 1913; Gennadius to Wolf, Sept. 24, 1913; Wolf to Gennadius, Sept. 30, 1913, and Dec. 4, 1913; Gennadius to Wolf, Dec. 8, 1913; Wolf to Gennadius, Dec. 10, 1913; Gennadius to Wolf, Jan. 11, 1914; and “Prérogatives dues à la communauté Israélite de Salonique: Raison d’être de ces prérogatives,”

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probably written by a member of the Salonikan Jewish leadership, RG 348, folder 29.3.126, YIVO Archives, New York.

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102 Nar, *Oi Israilites vouleftes sto elliniko koinovouliao*, 35.

103 For example, when the Greek king visited the city after the fire, the French commander of the Armée d'Orient, General Sarrail, noted in his memoirs: "Il sentait qu'à Salonique il était non chez lui mais chez les alliés que je commandais [He (the king) did not feel at home in Salonika but with the Allies, whom I commanded]"; Maurice Sarrail, *Mon Commandement en Orient, 1916–1918* (Paris, 1920), 271. See also Loukianos I. Hassiotis, "Macedonia, 1912–1923: From Multinational Empire to Nation State," 254, accessed on Aug. 3, 2016, http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/HistoryOfMacedonia/Downloads/History%20Of%20Macedonia_EN-11.pdf; Hekimoglou, *Nikolaos Manos*, 91, and idem, "Influences de la présence alliée à Thessalonique (1915–1918)," in *L'Armée d'Orient dans les Balkans; Témoignages archéologiques d'un hôpital à Thermi/Sédès*, ed. Thasos Antonaras and Ioannis Motsianos (Thessaloniki, 2012), 51–64.

104 See Jacob Cazes, in the name of the preparatory committee of the Congress of Greek Jewry, to the president of the World Zionist Organization in Copenhagen, Apr. 13, 1917, L/419 (428/68), Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Israel (hereafter CZA).

105 See, for example, Sam Yoel, report included in letter from Joseph Benrubi to the president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_47, AIUA.

106 "La reunion de los asimiladores jidios," *La verdad* 9, no. 2335, Dec. 10, 1928 (in Ladino). The association they formed comprised seven top businessmen and three socialists, each group with its own reasons for favoring assimilation: president, Jacob (Yakovaji) Cazes (president of the Jewish community); members, Moise Benveniste (banker and vice president), [Samuel] Mordokh (director of the insurance company Viktoria Feuer-Versicherung AG, known locally as Victoria di Berlino), David Calamaro (vice president of Bank Amar), Mario Maisa [Matza] (vice president of the Anglo-Aegean Bank), Isak Boton (jeweler), Joseph (unidentified), Hazai (long-standing secretary of the Socialist Federation), and Joseph Amiel (secretary of the Federations of Trade Unions).

107 Le Congrès Juif, *Organe du groupe organisateur du congrès juif de Salonique, Manifeste à la population juive*, Apr. 6, 1917, L6/419, CZA. A letter sent subsequently by the Jewish National Fund to the Mixed Commission of Zionist Societies in Salonika notes that the congress represents only a small portion of Salonika's Jews and that they should see to it that Zionist objectives are well represented at the congress; Jewish National Fund to the Mixed Commission of Zionist Societies in Salonika, Aug. 13, 1917, KKL 150–33, CZA.

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- 108 Stylianos Protonotarios, head of the Thessaloniki Press Office, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, Mar. 24, 1920 (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 22, 100); Rena Molho, “The Zionist Movement in Salonika, 1899–1919,” in I. Hassiotis, *Jewish Communities of Southeastern Europe*, 345; Rozen, *Last Ottoman Century*, 1: 175–77. A chapter in my forthcoming book, *Very Narrow Bridge*, is dedicated to this subject.
- 109 Yoel, report in letter from Benrubi, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_0039, and 0041.
- 110 Frangistas to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Feb. 22, 1919 (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 15, 89–90); Alliance Israélite Universelle, undated telegram, attachment to doc. 15*, 91.
- 111 Yoel, report in letter from Benrubi, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_0046.
- 112 See, for example, Rena Molho, “Les juifs de Salonique, 1856–1919: Une communauté hors norme,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Strasbourg, 1997), 3: 569–73.
- 113 Moïsis, “Ha-tenu‘ah ha-tsiyonit,” 371.
- 114 List of participants, Mar. 7, 1919, fond 1435, opis 1, file 1, doc. 2048, Moscow Archives. See also the membership card of Yitshak Shaul Amarillio, Mar. 10, 1919, in Rozen, “Irgun ha-kehilah ha-yehudit,” 143.
- 115 List of participants, Mar. 7, 1919.
- 116 Yoel, report in letter from Benrubi, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_0048-50.
- 117 Karadimou-Yerolimpou and Kolonas, “I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis,” 239.
- 118 “Notas i observaciones,” *El pueblo*, Mar. 24, 1918, p. 1 (in Ladino), on the insurance companies, among them Patriotique, which was owned by the Modiano family.
- 119 Yoel, report in letter from Benrubi, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_0044.
- 120 Compare with Yoel, report in letter from Benrubi, July 4, 1919, Grèce_IG_3_49–53, AIUA.
- 121 “Jacob Cazes to the Governor of Salonika, March 17, 1919” (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 16, 92). In the Greek version of the book, the letter is addressed to the director-general of Macedonia, which carries the same meaning as *governor* in Greek (Greek edition, 102–3).
- 122 Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 16, 92 (Greek edition, 102–3).
- 123 He was succeeded by Eliyahu Benusiglio. On Oct. 3, 1930, Benusiglio was still identified as the vice president, although he had been running the meetings for a long time and signing official documents; GR/SA file 241 (old catalogue number 374), protocol no. 194, Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 124 Yitshak Shemuel Emmanuel, “Toledot yehudei Saloniki,” in A. Recanati, *Zikhron Saloniki*, 1: 209.

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- 125 “Asamblea – statutos – Gran Rabino,” *La renassencia djoudia*, Feb. 16, 1920 (in Ladino).
- [114] 126 A lengthy discussion of his activity will be found in my forthcoming book, *Very Narrow Bridge*.
- Jewish Social Studies* 127 Jacob Cazes to the Greek minister of foreign affairs, July 22, 1919 (photocopy of a document from the Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry, without catalogue number).
- 128 The French consul in Salonika to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Affaires Étrangères 0039, Europe 1918–1929, Grèce no. 69 (religion israélite), fol. 1–3, Archives Nationales de France, Paris. Their names, according to this report, were Danon, Carmone, and Florenti. The last one is most likely David Florentin.
- Vol. 22 129 *Ephimeris ton valkanion*, May 8, 1920, p. 2.
- No. 2 130 Stylianos Protonotarios, head of the Salonika Press Office, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, Mar. 24, 1920 (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 22, 100).
- 131 *Ibid.*, 100–101.
- 132 *Ibid.*
- 133 Protonotarios to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 17, 1920 (Constantopoulou and Veremis, *Documents*, doc. 23, 101–2). On the family relations of the Modianos, see Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano*, 58, chart 15.
- 134 Most members of the Misrachi family sold their assets and immigrated to Marseilles in 1919. Joseph Misrachi lingered until 1929, when he followed his relatives (Bonin, “Un outre-mer bancaire,” 591).
- 135 Jilviz, “Los hajilikos de Yakovaji,” *El kulevro*, Jan. 21, 1921, p. 1 (in Ladino).
- 136 Jilviz, “El tereniko del Donme,” *El kulevro*, Feb. 11, 1921, p. 1 (in Ladino).
- 137 Jilviz, “Komo se merka el tereno barato,” *El kulevro*, Feb. 17, 1921, p. 1 (in Ladino). Lot number 15 was publicized among numbers 95, 96, and 97. See map in Alexandra Karadimou-Yerolimpou, *I anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis meta tin pyrkagia tou 1917: Ena orosimo stin istoria tis polis* (Thessaloniki, 1995), 186.
- 138 “El muevo tereniko del Donme,” *El kulevro*, Feb. 18, 1921, p. 1 (in Ladino).
- 139 Thalia Mandopoulou-Panagiotopoulou and Evanghelos A. Hekimoglou, *Ktimatologikes Piges: Thessaloniki -Teli 19ou, arches 20ou aiona* (Thessaloniki, 2004), 124–26.
- 140 On the hardships of refugees in the Burnt Zone, see Hadar, “Hebetim,” 56–58, 62–66.
- 141 “Gnostopoiisis,” *Makedonia*, July 15, 1920, p. 2.
- 142 Quataert, “Ma‘amad po‘alei ha-ta‘asiyah,” 317.
- 143 “I Ekpoiisi ton oikopedon,” *Makedonia*, Dec. 16, 1921, p. 1.
- 144 “Dimopraziai 13 Apriliou 1923,” *Makedonia*, Apr. 14, 1923, p. 1.
- 145 Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 732.

- 146 *El avenir*, May 4, 1902, Moscow Archives (document 8654, TAU DP) (in Ladino); Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 7: 702.
- 147 Emmanuel, *Matsevot Saloniki*, 2: 888, no. *1801.
- 148 Apr. 7, 1935.
- 149 Note that beginning with the second line and ending with the twelfth, the first Hebrew letters of each line combine to make up an acrostic spelling Jacob Isaac Cazes's name. The original Hebrew contains biblical allusions not rendered in the English.
- 150 *La verdad* 8, no. 2200, June 1, 1928, (in Ladino). See also Modiano, *Hamehune Modillano*, 341. In the *American Jewish Year Book* 31 (1929–30), review of the year, appendices, pp. 91–92, the details are slightly different: Saul Daniel Modiano of Trieste donated 21,000 pounds sterling for this purpose on July 27, 1928 (p. 92), and Jacob Cazes's heirs donated 400,000 pounds sterling to the same cause on July 14, 1928 (p. 91). Jacob Cazes was still alive at the time, so the donation may have been in the form of a pledge or given out of the expected inheritance. The sum seems to be a mistake, as 400,000 Italian liras would be more realistic.
- 151 Daut Levi, "Pe'ilut ha-Yehudim be-haye'i ha-mishar (o sipuran shel shetei mishpahot)," in *Saloniki 'ir va-em*, 198–201, esp. 201.
- 152 Yosef Uziel, *Ha-migdal ha-lavan* (Tel Aviv, 1978 [1st ed., 1929]), 86–87. Compare with the eulogy published following her funeral in Salonika itself: "Una madre de Israel," *La epoka*, Jan. 23, 1911, p. 1 (in Ladino).
- 153 Gila Hadar, "Jewish Journalism in Salonika and Greece," in *Jewish Journalism and Press in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, ed. Rifat N. Bali (Istanbul, 2016), 306–7.
- 154 "Hesped in onor del difunto Shaul Modiano א\ה," *La epoka*, Feb. 2, 1883, p. 134 (in Ladino).
- 155 Fakima's age at her death is uncertain. If she actually got married at the age of 12, in 1833 or 1834 (see n. 84, above), then she must have been born in 1821. There is no doubt that she passed away in 1911, which means that her age at death was 90. Uziel states that when she died, she was more than 100 years old (Uziel, *Ha-migdal ha-lavan*, 87). The eulogy for her in the newspaper *Imparesial* ("Muerte de una mujer de bien," *Imparesial*, Jan. 22, 1911, p. 1) gives her age as 95. The eulogy published in *El avenir* ("Fakima Modiano Muerte"), gives her age as 85. The uncertainty of her age derives from the fact that girls were usually not registered at birth, and their age at marriage was determined by their puberty.

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