

# HEBREW PRINTING HOUSES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Yaron Ben Na'eh

Yaron Ben-Naeh: born in Jerusalem 1965. Researcher in the Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of the Jewish Communities in the East (Jerusalem), and Lecturer in the Department of the History of the Jewish People, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Published a few articles about Ottoman Jewry. His PhD is titled "The Jewish Society in the Urban Centers of the Ottoman Empire in the 17th Century (Istanbul, Salonica & Izmir)".

## INTRODUCTION



Title page of *Me'am Loez*. Istanbul, 1748.  
[From the Morit Collection]

[For other illustrations see *supra*, pp. *supra*, pp. 141-167].

Printing began in Europe with Johann Gutenberg around 1445; the first printed Hebrew books appeared in Italy in the 1470's and immediately afterwards in Spain and Portugal as well. When the Jews were exiled from Spain in 1492 and later from Portugal, they arrived by the thousands in those areas which were then under Ottoman rule or soon to be conquered by Turks. Among the emigrés from the Iberian Peninsula there were experts in the art of printing; and upon settling in Constantinople they established the first Hebrew printing house there. Jews were thus the first to enter the printing trade in the whole Empire; they were followed later by other minorities such as the Armenians (1567) and the Greeks (1627).

The Turks themselves refrained from engaging in this type of work, since the printing press was viewed by Islamic leaders as the invention of heathens, and the printing of the Holy Scriptures and the Koran was considered a profanation of the sacred. Additionally, there was the adamant opposition to printing by the scribes guilds in the capital. Only in 1727, as a result of the *fatwa* of the Sheikh al-Islam which permitted the printing of books on secular subjects, was an imperial firman issued allowing for the establishment of a Turkish printing house in Istanbul. The printing presses and type moulds were purchased from the Jews and Christians, and some of their expert craftsmen were employed. This printing house was closed after fifteen years and reopened only in 1784, under Abdül-Hamit I.

The two most important centers for Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire during the past five centuries were Istanbul and Salonica. In the 16th century printing houses operated elsewhere for very short periods, having been established by printers from Salonica or Istanbul: in Adrianople (1553-5), in Safed (1577-87), in Cairo (1557), in Damascus (1603), and later in Egypt (1740) and in Tunis (1768). Another important printing center existed in İzmir from the mid-17th century.

Until the 19th century two kinds of printing type were used. The first was the traditional square Hebrew script used for printing sacred texts such as the Bible, the *Mishnah*, the *Talmud* and prayer books. The second was the semi-cursive Sephardi type known as *Rashi* script. Until the 20th century, this script was the one most commonly used for the printing of Hebrew and Ladino works. The use of Latin letters or Arabic script was relatively rare until the late 19th century.

During the 16th century, only twenty works were printed in Ladino, known as "La'az Sefaradi", mainly for the benefit of the *Marranos* returning to Judaism in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Istanbul and Salonica. These include *Chovot Halevavot Hanhagath ha-Hayyim*, *Shulchan Lechem ha-Panim*, and Bible translations. Until the 18th century, however, the dominant language for published works was Hebrew, although only religious scholars and sages were fluent in that language.

The publication of the famous work *Me'am Loez* in 1730 marks the beginning of a new era characterised by the increasing dominance of Ladino works intended for the general public. Among these publications were *Otiot de Rabi Akiva* (1729), *Koplas de Yosef* (1732), *Sheveth Musar* (1766) and a new translation of the Bible (1739).

*Me'am Loez* was a moral and exegetical commentary on the Torah written in Ladino which utilised all the traditional Jewish sources of rabbinical literature. It was written in clear, easily comprehensible language and enjoyed widespread popularity. Its author, Rabbi Ya'akov Chuli, managed to complete the commentary on *Genesis* (1730) and part of *Exodus* (1733), and his work was continued by other scholars. The first edition of one thousand copies was an immediate success, and from that time onward many more editions were printed proving that Chuli had justifiable reasons for writing this work.

In his introduction, Chuli deplores the sorry state of Jewish learning. Knowledge of the Bible, the most precious heritage of the Jewish people, was decreasing, and Jews were neglecting its study in favour of other pursuits, or reading foreign literature. Being unfamiliar with Jewish sources, they could not even understand the sermons preached on the Sabbath. The works which had been printed in Ladino translation in the 16th century were already outdated and by now almost incomprehensible.

The 19th century opens a new chapter in the history of printing within this period of the Ottoman empire's decline. Many printing houses were established in the provinces — in the Balkans, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa, as well as on the islands in the eastern Mediterranean. In contrast with the previous periods during which Jewish refugees from Europe (mainly Italy and Poland) had dominated the printing trade, it was the local Jewish population that now ran the printing business.

More significant was the change in the character of the works printed. Until this period, printing had been confined mainly to religious literature, with a very small percentage of historical, grammatical or linguistic works, and poetic or rhetorical compositions. But from the first half of the century on, there was a increasing number of publications of a secular nature, all in Ladino, including translations from world literature, poetry, fiction, periodicals, pamphlets, dictionaries, manuals, official reports and forms used for private and commercial purposes.

Thus, a wide variety of printed material was produced. Religious publications, while including basic Jewish sources, consisted mainly of translations into Ladino of popular *halachic* compendiums as well as poems, songs, prayer books and other similar works. Alongside these, there was an increasing production of literary works in the original language and in translation, as well as a variety of journalistic publications.

It is interesting to note that towards the end of the 19th century printing houses were subject to strict censorship that in general characterized the Hamidian period, and a significant number of them operated without official licence and at great personal risk for the printers. This was the reason for the fact that in many cases the places of publication bore fictitious names.

An additional point of interest is that in İzmir and Salonica printers continued to publish religious works in significant quantities until the late 19th century, while in Istanbul, which was the greatest center of Ottoman Jewry and the seat of the Chief Rabbinate, only a few *halachic* works were printed from the 1860's onward.

There is evidence of thousands of items (books, pamphlets, journals, placards, notices, bills, letters of accreditation, etc.) which were produced by the printing presses in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 15th century onward. All traces of many printed items (sometimes even uncompleted publications) have disappeared over the years, mainly due to natural disasters which occurred from time to time. Our knowledge of some other items is fragmentary and incomplete. In this study, we shall attempt to give an overview of the work done by the important printing establishments based on preliminary research done by Ya'ari, Emmanuel and others. The period divisions below follow those of Abraham Ya'ari.

Just a few remarks before we begin:

Unlike our own times, the price of books in the 15th and 16th centuries was very high and only a few people could afford to acquire and maintain complete libraries. The printers' desire to enable the public to own the basic Jewish texts and the financial difficulties of the printing trade (the average edition of a book was one hundred and fifty to three hundred copies) led to the development of a special system of sales. In Istanbul and Salonica a considerable number of books were printed in pamphlet-segments which were distributed in the synagogues on the Sabbath in exchange for a promise of payment. Since such buyers did not always keep up their payments for all the sections of a book, or could not afford to bind them together properly, it is obvious such books could not have easily survived.

For example, in the introduction to the *Talmud* Constantinople edition of 1583, it is said :

Every Sabbath we shall publish sections from the *Talmud* and distribute them among those who wish to buy them. They will receive these booklets each *Sabbath* and pay their price so that with God's help the *Talmud* will be in the hands of everyone in a short while and can be paid for gradually in a manner that will make the burden of payment easier to bear. The *Talmud* will then be wholly his own by payment which will amount to about twenty-five florins. Therefore, now anyone who wishes can come and get booklet after booklet and pay for them...

This method of publication, introduced at the beginning of the 16th century, continued to be used until the 19th century. At the same time, there were people who could afford to buy not only entire books but even unique and expensive editions printed on vellum (parchment). Extant today are certain books printed on vellum in Istanbul and Salonica during the first half of the 16th century.

The output of the printing houses in the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century reflects to a great extent the creative range and scope of interest shown by the intellectual elite of Ottoman Jewry. Detailed research on the printed books and their prefaces will probably reveal much about the spiritual and creative aspects of their lives, about the interconnections between the authors and their patrons and readers, and about the status of *Torah* study and *Torah* students within the Jewish society. Since the 19th century, the works printed have provided a faithful mirror of the literary tendencies and tastes of the general public.

Until the 19th century only a few Jewish printing houses existed within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, and these were to be found in the main cities such as Istanbul, Salonica and Izmir. Writers who wished to publish their books were forced to come to the printing centres in the Empire or outside it (mainly in Italy), and in this way strengthened the spiritual bonds among the different communities in the Empire, as well as the connections and cultural transmissions between these communities and other Sephardi communities in central and western Europe.

# HEBREW PRINTING HOUSES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

## a. The First Period: 1493-1530

The first Hebrew printing house in Constantinople was founded in 1493 (some date this ten years later) by David Ibn Nahmias who obtained his expertise in the Iberian Peninsula. The first undertaking was the printing of the *Arba'a Turim*. After an unexplained interruption of ten years, printing was resumed in 1505 by the Ibn Nahmias brothers who were managers of the printing house until 1511. Among the important works they published were the *Torah*, *Haftaroth* and *Five Megilloth* (1506), Rambam's *Mishneh Torah* (1509) and *Midrash Raba* (1512). [See illus. no. 1 p. 141].

In the following years the printing house was run by Samuel ben David Nahmias and Astruc ben Ya'akov de Toulon of Provence who had been one of the workers and later became an independent printer in Salonica from 1520 onward. Others such as Shmuel Rikomin, Yehuda ben Yosef Sasson, Yosef ben 'Ayad Kabzi, Moshe ben Shmuel Fisilino and Rabbi Shlomo ben Mazal Tov, leased the premises and kept the press going for short periods of time [See illus. no. 2 p. 141]. In those days, rich Jews who invested their funds and capital were the only ones who "supported the efforts of the workmen", though sometime the workers themselves supplied financial assistance.

During this early period more than one hundred books were published. The printers recognized the enormous importance of their enterprise against the background of the trauma of expulsion and the fury of persecution. Therefore they included among these books many of the basic texts of Judaism, some of which appeared for the first time in print: *midrashim* and various *halachic* compendiums including works by the *Geonim* and medieval sages such as Maimonides (the Rambam), Alfasi (the Rif) and Asher ben Yehiel (the Rosh). We can gain some idea of the spirit of those days and of the sentiments and intentions of the printers from the following words in the Introduction to the *Torah*, *Haftaroth* and *Five Megilloth* with Rashi's Commentary, Constantinople, 5265 (1506):

Since that day when God confused the languages of the earth by the sudden and bitter expulsion from Spain ... books were also abandoned in the trauma of destruction and the confusion of sudden change, for the constant afflictions have left us as an empty shell ... and because of troubles of the times and the lack of books, people have neglected the education of their children. So that even if they have the *Chumash* (*Pentateuch*) they lack the Targum and if they find that, then they lack the commentaries. May their hearts inspire them to spread the knowledge of the Torah in Israel ... and to replace some of the numerous works which were destroyed ...

*b. The Second Period: 1530-1553*

The first half of this period is marked by the activities of the Soncino family headed by Gershom Soncino, the famous Italian printer who arrived in Constantinople after a short stay in Salonica.

Besides sacred and religious writings, they also printed general works, including scientific literature and other secular works. Among these were: *Mahbarot Emanuel* by Imanuel Ha-Romi; *Sefer Hashorashim* by David Kimhi (Radak) and *Amades de Gaula*. Altogether about forty books were printed until 1547. [See illus. no. 3 p. 142].

Over the next few years small printing houses were active in the city, but they did not survive for long. Among the well-known printers were Moshe ben El'azar of the Parnas Harofe family who took over the printing equipment of the Soncino family in 1548 and continued printing until 1553. [See illus. no. 4 p. 142].

During those same years Shmuel Helitz had settled in Constantinople. One of the founders of the printing press in Crakow, he had converted to Christianity, but returned to the Jewish faith in Constantinople in 1550 or thereabouts. He printed three books between 1551 and 1553: the Pentateuch, a commentary on Ruth, and the Book of Judith.

Research indicates that fourteen books were published in the city during this period. (According to Hacker, only ten books were printed from 1548-1560).

A noteworthy event was the printing of two books in Cairo in 1557 by Gershom ben El'azar Soncino: *Refuoth Hatalmud* and *Pitron Chalomoth* which were preserved and later discovered in the Cairo Geniza.

*c. The Third Period: 1560-1598*

This was the most productive period for the printers of Constantinople, and we know today of about one hundred and twenty books which were published during these years. This fertility is no doubt connected to the economic and political conditions prevailing at the time.

The period opens with the activities of three printers: Rabbi Yosef Hekim printed three books in 1560 and his son Yitzhak succeeded him in his work; Avraham ben Shmuel Hacohen of Sanguinny who brought out two books in 1560-1561; and the Ya'abetz brothers.

Most of this period is noted for the intensive activities of the Ya'abetz brothers. Shlomo and Yosef Ya'abetz printed in Salonica and in Andrianople for a short while (see below) and then their ways parted. Shlomo went to Istanbul and his brother remained in Salonica. Among the first works printed by Shlomo Ya'abetz were the *Responsa* of Rabbi Eliya Mizrahi and that of the Rabbi Yosef Ibn Lev. In 1572 Yosef also arrived in Constantinople, and it was from then onward that their printing house in Constantinople became most productive. The Ya'abetz brothers printed about seventy books. Their most important enterprise was the printing of the *Talmud*, which was never completed, in the years 1583-1593. [See illus. no. 5 p. 143]. After the burning of the *Talmud* in Italy, the Ya'abetz brothers saw its printing as a prime necessity.

In the 1570's another printer was active in Constantinople: Eliezer ben Yitzhak, who had already been employed in such work in Prague, Lublin, and Kansky-Voli (Poland). He brought with him his letter blocks and decorative printing molds and in 1575 began printing in partnership with David ben Eliahu Kashti. Among the works he printed was the prayer book for the *Days of Awe* (*Yamim Noraiim*) according to the Romaniot custom. By 1576 he was printing independently and a year later he went to Safed where he did printing for two years. He then returned to Constantinople and published, in partnership with Kashti, one additional book in 1586. He later returned to printing work in Safed.

With the closing down of the Ya'abetz brothers printing house, Dona Reyna, the widow of Don Yosef Nasi, Duke of Naxos, founded a Hebrew printing house in the Belvedere Palace on the outskirts of Constantinople, in the area called Ortaköy. The printer in charge was Yosef ben Yitzhak Ashkeloni, and he began printing in 1593. Letters were fashioned into new forms for this purpose. Over a period of four years seven books were printed there. [See illus. no. 6 p. 143].

Dona Reyna is mentioned on the title-pages of the books as "... the illustrious lady ... widow of the Duke, Minister and great leader in Israel, Don Yosef Nasi, of blessed memory ..."

For unknown reasons, the printing house was moved to Kuruçesme, a near suburb, where eight books were printed within a two-year period. Upon her death the activity of the printing house came to an end.

Foremost among the fifteen works brought out by this printing house were books of commentary. An attempt was made to print an edition of the Talmud, (extant today is only the *Ketuboth* tractate with its commentaries), and a book in Ladino — *Libro intitulado yihus hatzadikim*, probably for the use of those intending to go on pilgrimage (*ziyara*).

d. *The Fourth Period: 1639-1695*

During the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Jewish community was in a state of crisis, and this had a direct influence upon cultural activities including book printing. Various attempts to renew the printing of Jewish books, even involving European intellectuals, were unsuccessful.

After a period of forty years in which printing activity ceased, Shlomo ben David Franko, a former forced convert (*Marrano*) founded a new printing house in the city in 1639. Shlomo was, as his son has testified, "a great artist" and "an expert engraver, a craftsman skilled to perfection in this work" who had acquired his skills in Spain. He managed to print no more than one book before his death. His son and son-in-law continued his work from 1641 onwards. [See illus. no. 7 p. 144].

Many of the workers in the industry were Jews who had fled from Poland after the massacres of 1648-49. Printed records of the events in 1665-66, the year of the *Sabbatean Movement*, are preserved in only two books of *Tikkunim* by Nathan of Gaza which were printed at that time. Many documents and printed works having to do with the messianic movement of Sabbetai Sevi were later destroyed in an attempt to eradicate all traces of this traumatic episode.

From 1660 onwards, for a period of three decades, printing work was done with occasional interruptions by Avraham ben Yedidia Gabbay, formerly one of the foremost printers in İzmir, sometimes in partnership with Franco. Abraham Gabbay, a scholar who arrived from Livorno, was known to have been in contact with Europeans who came to the Levant. His appointment as the translator of the Genoese Ambassador was apparently the reason for the cessation of his printing activity. He published commentaries, *responsa*, and sermons including the *Midrash Raba*, books of the *Mishnah*, the *kabbalistic* work *Hod Malkhut* by Abraham Hayachini, and two books of *Tikkunim* by Nathan of Gaza.

Altogether twenty-eight books were printed in this period.

e. *The Fifth Period: 1710-1808*

Yonah ben Ya'akov of Zalazitz, a Jewish refugee from Poland, was the person who re-initiated printing activity in the capital of the Ottoman Empire which became, in Ya'ari's words, "the metropolitan centre of Hebrew printing in the entire Middle East." His printing house produced most of the books printed in this period: 188 out of 210. [See illus. no. 8a, 8b p. 145].

Among the works printed here were important halachic compendiums, and works of scholarship: *Kneseth ha-Gedolah*, *Shearei Kneseth ha-Gedolah*, *Bnei Hayyai*, *Tikkunei Zohar*, *Sifrei Kavvanot*, *Seder Mishmarah*. Additionally, there were a significant number of *responsa* including *Bnei Moshe*, *Eduth Biyehosef*, *Ginath Vradim*, *Bnei Ya'akov*, *Mate Yosef*, and many others.

A fire which broke out in Istanbul in 1712 forced him to move his printing press temporarily to the Ortaköy suburb, where seven years later he was to return and establish his enterprise. During this period the Turks founded the first Ottoman printing house with the assistance of Jews such as the above-mentioned Yonah ben Yaakov, also known as Yonah ha-Ashkenazi.

In 1728 Ashkenazi founded a printing house in İzmir as a branch of the one in Constantinople. He was active in İzmir for eleven years, printing more than thirty books. During the same period he printed sixty books in Constantinople. Another fire which broke out in 1740 caused him to interrupt operations temporarily. He resumed printing two years later in partnership with his sons who continued to do so for more than thirty years after his death in 1745.

His printing house published some of the most important books that were written in that period, among them *Kneset Hagedolah* and *Chemdat Yamim*. He was instrumental in the revival of Ladino literature — the printing of the Bible with Ladino translation, part of the book *Me'am Loez*, the Siddur (prayer book) and translations of other books, among which were those of a secular nature such as *Yosifon Ben Gurion*. He also published works written by Jews in Constantinople and also books written by scholars of Palestine, which were transferred by emissaries to Palestine.

During this period other smaller Hebrew printing houses operated in Constantinople with a relatively low output. Among these were the printing house of Avraham Franco which was activated with interruptions by his son-in-law Avraham Rozanes in the years 1711, 1719-1720; that of Avraham ben Moshe Yatom, who made a few printing attempts in the 1730s and 1740s and that of Binyamin ben Moshe Rossi of Venice who printed nine books in the years 1742-1751.

The period closes, after an interruption of twenty years, with the activities of Raphael Hayyim Pardo who was a bookseller and printer's agent. During the years 1799-1808 he published six books, including the Books of the *Zohar* which was printed and sold in installments to subscribers. These used the old type molds and printing decorations of Yonah ha-Ashkenazi of Zalazitz.

Mention should be made of the numerous single sheets printed during the 18th century, among which were the collection of Letters against Hayyoun and the correspondence between Rabbi Shimshon Wertheim and Yosef, the Sultan's physician. During this century many emissary letters were printed by order of the Eretz Israel officials in the city. In various collections are preserved some lettres calendars of that period. [see ill. no. 8c. p. 146, 8d. p. 146].

*f. The Sixth Period: 1808-1863*

A new printing house was founded in the city by Yitzhak ben Avraham Castro in 1808. After printing *Tikkunei Zohar*, work was stopped and resumed only in 1823. From then onwards the books were apparently prepared for publication in Castro's home and brought for printing to *El Saray del Inglez* which belonged to the Anglican missionaries. These books were mainly Ladino translations from Hebrew, a few rabbinical treatises, and two polemical works against Christianity and the English missionaries. Until his death in 1848, Castro printed more than ten books. [See illus. no. 9 p. 148].

After his death, his sons continued operating the printing house. The Nissim de Castro press printed three books during the years 1849-1850, and the Moshe de Castro press printed only two books until 1862. [See illus. no. 10 p. 149]

A printing press was founded in Ortaköy by the Armenian printer Arapoğlu Bogos and Sons. From 1822 to 1833 Jews commissioned this press to print more than eighteen books. [See illus. no. 11 p. 150].

Two other printing houses were in operation during this same period: The printing house of Ya'akov Halevi and Yosef Anavi printed two books in the years 1824-1827. Aharon Fermon and Co. printed one book in 1824.

Nissim Hayyim Piferno was a typesetter, and five of his books including the *Libriko de Moda'a*, *Marpeh le-Nefesh*, and *Makor Hayyim* (Pt. 3) were printed in different printing houses in the city (belonging to Jews, Greeks and Armenians) during the years 1857-1863.

*g. The Seventh Period: 1865-1940*

This period is characterized by the proliferation of printing houses throughout the Ottoman Empire, including in Istanbul itself. According to Ya'ari, more than two hundred and twenty books were printed, mostly in Ladino, in the fields of journalism, literature (original and translated), fiction, poetry, grammar, linguistics, etc.

Various Jewish printing houses were active during this period, including the Avraham Shalto press, 1880-1881. During the first quarter of the 20th century a number of printing houses were founded, among which were:

- The Arditi press founded in 1899 and active until 1921
- The Babuch press, 1910-1928
- The Nissim Aboab and Albert Cohen press, 1910-1921
- The Salomon Alkachir press, 1922-1940
- The Nationala Judia press, 1922-1924

Publishers such as Binyamin Raphael ben Yosef, a bookseller in Constantinople, and other publishers at the end of the 19th century printed scores of books in Ladino. More than forty books were also printed in serialized form on the pages of Jewish journals such as *Tyempo* (1873-1897); *El Nationale* (1875-1880); *El Telegrafo* (1881-1913); *El Judio* (1910-1924); *El Jugeton* (1921-1926 p.).

A considerable number of these books were printed by Armenian Christian presses — such as Boyajian, Menasian, Philipidis & Biberian and by the Greeks — Byzantes de Policrites, El Nomismatides, Thomayides and Aristobolos.\* Books were also printed in the Alfred Churchill press [see ill. no. 12a p. 151]

From the 1920s onward, printing activity in Istanbul decreased considerably, yet it continues till the present day, generally in the form of offset lithography. Naturally what was printed were mostly religious texts and language study manuals. An example of such a printing house which has been functioning for decades is the Güler press which printed many books by Nissim Behar, the eminent educator. [See illus. no. 12b p. 152].

### Bibliographical Sources

- A. M. Haberman, *Ha-Sefer ha-Ivri be-Hitpathuto*. Jerusalem, 1958. see pp. 101, 124-126.
- Y. Hacker, "Defusey Kushta be-Me'ah ha-Shesh Esrey" in *Areshet* 5 (1972), pp. 457-493.
- Y. Hacker, "Shlichu shel Luis ha-Arba'a Eser be-Levant ve Tarbutam shel Yehudey ha'Imperia ha'Ot'manit be-Divuah mi-Shnat 1675" in *Zion*, 52, 1987, pp. 25-44.
- Y. Vinograd, *Otzar ha-Sefer ha-Ivri* II, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 602-620.
- Abraham Ya'ari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta*. Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1957.
- Salomon A. Rozanes, *Divrey Yemey Israel be-Togarma*, Dvir, Tel Aviv, 1930.
- Salomon A. Rozanes, *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkiya ve-Artzot ha-Kedem*. Sofia, 1937-1938. See Pt. II, pp. 233-234, 236-238; Pt. III, pp. 332-333, 335-337; Pt. 4, pp. 355-358.
- Avram Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, V. II, Isis, Istanbul, 1985.

\*I have in my possession a matchmaker's contract by the Bursa community dated in the 1920's which indicates that it was printed by "Imp. de Avila, Khalil Khan, Istanbul" This printer was not documented by Ya'ari. Other leaflets carry the name of Imp. Fratelli Haim and Imp. Izak Gabbay, Galata.

## HEBREW PRINTING HOUSES IN SALONICA

a. *The First Period: 1512-1530*

Don Yehuda Gedaliah, also known as Ibn Gedalya, who had managed the printing house of Eliezer Toledano (Alantasi) in Lisbon, arrived in Salonica as did many other emigrés, and founded a printing house in 1512. As well as Rabbi Ya'akov Ibn Habib testifies in his introduction to Ein Ya'akov (1517) — a collection of legends from the Babylonian Talmud with commentaries by early sages — the printing work of Ibn Bedalya was of a highly important and valuable quality.

"A worthy and reputable artist, elderly, of a kindly disposition and trustworthy, is this eminent and wise man, the honorable Rabbi Yehuda Gedaliah, may the Lord protect him and give him long life. I knew him in earlier days in Lisbon at the home of the eminent and humble sage ... the honourable Rabbi Eliezer Toledano, of blessed memory, who was like a son and brother to him and took charge of the holy work which was done at his home. And after reaching this city he expended much money to accomplish this work to perfection with great effort, and his sons and the members of his household devoted themselves wholeheartedly to this work..."

Hymns of praise and high-flown rhetoric in acclamation of Ibn Gedaliah's important work can be found in other sources. Like the printers of Constantinople, Ibn Gedaliah's family also printed important sources texts: *Pentateuchs* and other parts of the Bible with various commentaries, *midrashim* and *halachic* studies. The most important was the printing of the Babylonian Talmud with Rashi's commentary, which was never completed. [See illus. no. 13 p. 152].

About thirty books were printed by this press until the 1530s (according to Haberman until 1529, but Emmanuel claims that the printing house existed until 1535/38). These include *Yalkuth Shim'oni*, *Akedath Yitzhak*, *Tur Orach Hayyim*, *Tur Yoreh De'ah*, and some Talmud tractates with Rashi's commentary.

There was considerable printing activity in Salonica during the 1520s. Besides the Ibn Gedaliah family there were other printers whose output was far smaller. Aside from various anonymous printers, we know of Yosef ben Avraham Elnekave (1521), Astruc ben Ya'akov de Toulon (1521) and Yosef ben Yitzhak Sid (1529) who had previously worked in Gedaliah's printing house.

During this period the Italian printer Gershom Soncino, his son Eliezer and his nephew Moshe were residents of the city. They printed a few books in the years 1527-1529, and then moved on to Constantinople. Noteworthy among these were *Sefer ha-Shorashim* and many prayer books including some according to the Catalanian and Aragonese custom. From then onward there was a period of obscurity during which only a few odd books were printed. Many were completely lost in the great fire of 1545.

It seems that the general public made wide use of printing facilities, not always in accordance with the better judgement of the sages and leaders of the community. In 1529, the city elders laid down a general ruling which in effect imposed censorship on published works:

"As the rabbis of the Salonican communities noticed that unsuitable things have been printed, they have been agreed that no Jewish person will be allowed to print any text, without the permission of six of the city rabbis, and the one who transgresses will be under ban... we hereby decree that a ban will be imposed on any Jew who purchases them. In case of printing has begun, it will not be allowed to be completed without the permission of above-mentioned six Torah scholars. The permission will be granted by consensus in a specific place, signed and sealed. Any transgressor will be under ban. This day in Sunday, the 10th of Elul, 1529. I am your servant, Eliezer ha-Shimoni, Avraham Hazan, Shmuel Albukher known as Halatz, Yosef son of our eminent rabbi Shlomo Taitazak, Shlomo Cavaliere, Yaakov Tzarfati."\*

b. *The Second Period: 1559-1628*

In the mid-1540s the Ya'abetz brothers, Shlomo and Yosef, founded a new printing house in the city. The great fire that occurred in 1545 apparently did not cause disruption in their operation, and they continued printing without interruption until 1554. In that year a terrible plague broke out, and the brothers moved to Adrianople where they established a printing house. Five years later they re-established their operation in Salonica. In 1560 Shlomo left his brother and moved to Constantinople.

The 1560s were a flourishing period for the city with the mass influx of former Marranos from the Iberian peninsula. Not surprisingly, this period was one in which printing activity reached its height with more than one hundred and twenty books published, among which were a few Ladino works.

\* A. Danon, "La communauté juive de Salonique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *REJ* XLI (1900), p. 264.



In the printing house of Yosef Ya'abetz many books were printed for the purpose of *Torah* study and religious instruction. Among these were the books by Rabbi Moshe Almosnino, as well as the *Pentateuch* and *halachic* compendiums translated into Ladino. Besides religious works, Ya'abetz also printed various kinds of secular literature. Although his most important achievement was the printing of the *Talmud*, this undertaking was never completed. [See illus. no. 14 p. 153] In 1572 he left Salonica and joined his brother who had been printing since the mid-1550s in Constantinople.

To replace this loss, David Avraham Azoviv began to make use of the typographical equipment of the Ya'abetz brothers. During the years 1578-1588 he printed over fourteen books including rabbinical *responsa* by contemporary sages, ethical works, and commentaries on the prayers. We know that he tried to bring out a new edition of the *Nevi'im* (Prophets) and the *Ketuvim* (Hagiographa) with a Ladino translation and continued the project of Talmud printing which Ya'abetz had begun. [See illus. no. 15 p. 153]

A few years later, in 1592, the printing family of Matitya Bat-Sheva arrived in Salonica from Italy. They had been persuaded to come by Rabbi Moshe de Medina, as he relates in the introduction to the collection of his father's *responsa*: "In an attempt to persuade them, I provided them with much gold so that they would bring their tools and all their possessions to this city... I have expended a great deal of my wealth to import paper, printing press and workers from Venice..."

Within a few years their printing house produced more than thirty books of various kinds. [See illus. no. 16 p. 154] They printed *responsa*, halachic works, stories and secular works such as *Mazaloth Shel Adam*, *Refuath Gevayah*, *Minhat Yehuda Soneh ha-Nashim*, etc. Special mention should be made of the anti-Christian polemical work *Fuente Klara* which also seems to have been printed by this press.

Avraham Bat-Sheva was the first to print in Damascus, where he published *Kesef Nivhar* in 1603, but there was no one to continue his activities in this city. Later, the Bat-Sheva brothers left Salonica in 1605. Five years later the Shimon brothers, Shlomo and Moshe, made use of the typographical equipment left by their predecessors, and renewed printing activity. They, too, relied on the support of Rabbi Moshe de Medina and his son Judah. [See illus. no. 17 p. 154] Their printing house functioned until 1628 and produced more than fourteen books — *halachic* works, prayer books, and a few Talmudic tractates.

Another printer of Italian origin who was active in Salonica during this period was David ben Aharon Matza who had printed in Mantua and in other places. Today we know of only one book which was produced by his printing house in 1614: *Ya'arim Moshe* by Rabbi Moshe Hacohen, a collection of songs for *Perashat Zachor*. Other books were also printed in Salonica during these years without mentioning the printer's name. These include the *Responsa Bnei Sehmuel*, *Ein Yisrael*, *Sefer ha-Terumoth*, *Tsa'akat Sdom*, and others.

In fact, with the exception of a short period, Salonica did not have any well-established printing house until the end of the 17th century. From 1650-1655 Abraham Hager printed at least nine books including a few *Talmudic* tractates. [See illus. no. 18 the Proselyte, p. 155] but the quality of the printing was extremely poor.

A few other works were printed during the 1690's without any indication of the printer's name. Among these were *Machzor Katalan* (1694) and *Machzor Aragon* 1699).

### c. The Third Period: 1705-1840

Towards the end of his life Avraham ben Yedidia Gabbay, the printer in Constantinople and İzmir, established a new printing house in Salonica where a number of *Talmudic* tractates were published during the first decade of the 18th century. [See illus. no. 19 p. 156]. According to Rozanes, the printing house was already established in 1694/5 by the Talmud Torah Society at the initiative of contemporary philanthropists.

After Gabbay's death the printing equipment was transferred in accordance with his will to the Talmud Torah Society in Salonica, which henceforth also dealt with book printing, mainly for its own needs. They printed *Talmud* tractates and various *responsa* by the sages of Salonica, and printing activity continued there without interruption until 1818. Avraham ben David Nahman and Yom Tov Canfelias, who had been nominated as its directors, leased the press and operated it independently [See illus. no. 20 p. 157]. When Nahman died, his place was taken by Samuel Falcon.

In 1740, Bezalel Halevi Ashkenazi who had arrived from Amsterdam leased the printing house from the *Talmud Torah Society* and renovated it. Until his death in 1756, he produced more than thirty five books which are noted for their high printing quality [See illus. no. 21 p. 158]. His sons continued to maintain the printing house until 1763.

Rabbi Judah Kal'ai and Mordechai Nahman founded a new printing house in 1753. During their thirty years of activity they printed fifty books, including a number of Talmud tractates. In their own words, these were printed:

... for the needs of the scholars in the Talmud Torah, may God protect them, because the Gemarot which had once been available in the Talmud Torah have now entirely disappeared...

Among the books this partnership printed were the *responsa Magen Giborim*, *Shulhan Gavohah*, and a book of sermons called *Yekarah de Shachvei*.

After Kal'ai's death, his son Hayyim Leon inherited his share of the business and in the five years that followed, printed a number of works. His share was then bought by David Israelije, who maintained the partnership until 1804. For the following two years Nahman managed the printing house by himself. It should be noted that he published new editions of certain parts of *Me'am Loez*. Among other works he printed were the *responsa Mayim Sha'al*, *Mishpath Tzedek* (Pts. 2 and 3), and a second edition of the *responsa* of Rabbi Samuel de Medina (Maharashdam).

In 1792 a new printing house was founded in the city by the Nehama brothers in partnership with Sa'adi Halevi Ashkenazi who brought in his grandfather's type molds. Rabbi Yosef Molcho joined the partnership, in 1800, which lasted for a period of three years. A year later he began printing independently with new type molds imported from Istanbul and his printing activity continued until 1829. He brought out mainly *responsa* and sermons: *Beer Mayim Chayyim*, *Yadav Shel Moshe*, *Chesed Avraham*, *Darkhei ha-Yam*, etc.

The other partner, Sa'adi Halevi Ashkenazi, engaged in private printing until 1815. His brother, Bezalel, continued his work until 1826, and after his death his widow took over the management of the printing house with the assistance of her sons. Printing activity continued there until the end of 1839, producing works which consisted mainly of *halachic* compendiums.

Yitzhak Jahon, who had been a worker in the printing house of Bezalel Halevi Ashkenazi, engaged in independent printing activity from 1828-1855. [See illus. no. 22 p. 159].

During this period many books were printed in Salonica, sometimes without indication of date or printer, and until today we have no knowledge as to the names of their printers.

#### d. The Fourth Period: 1840-1941

During this period a few printing houses were active for short periods of time in the city. These were privately owned presses by individuals working side by side with those established by various societies and associations of the Jewish community.

The most important printer in this period was Sa'adi Halevi Ashkenazi (the Second), a descendant of the veteran printing family, who continued working from 1840 to 1902. We know that he travelled to Vienna to buy new equipment for his printing press, and his longstanding occupation in the printing trade earned him the nickname "Ha[ch]am Sa'adi el de la Estampa". (Hacham Saadi, the printer). Within a period of sixty years he printed over two hundred items, including that of the print house, most of the works of Rabbi Hayyim Palachi of İzmir, rabbinical *responsa* written in the Ottoman Empire and books in Ladino. [See illus. no. 23, p. 159] His printing house brought out the first Jewish journal in the city, *El Lunar* and this was followed by his own journal, *La Epoka*. His printing house was named after him in 1875.

Smaller printing houses were active for brief periods only, and generally printed *Torah* related works. Among these we can list Hayyim Ze'ev Ashkenazi (1842); Rabbi Eliahu Faraji (1842-1843); Daniel Faraji (1842-1850); Rabbi Yitzhak Bechor Amaraji (1845-1847); and Moshe Ya'akov Ayash (1857-1858). [See illus. no. 24 p. 160].

Among those societies which engaged in printing there was the *Etz Chayyim Society* which founded a new printing house in 1875 in competition with that of Sa'adi Halevi. Until the great fire of 1917, more than one hundred and fifty books were printed there in addition to booklets, leaflets and posters. The *Gemiluth Hassadim Society* also founded a printing house which printed various works from in the late 1860's.

In the 20th century we find new printing houses which handled all types of printing work. According to Emmanuel, these include Estamparia Poliglota, Estamparia Progre, Tipografia Abraham Berudo, Tipografia David Estromsa, etc. As in Istanbul, the printing presses of Ladino journals occasionally brought out books, booklets, posters, pamphlets, calendars and invitations in Ladino. Among the names listed by Emmanuel we find: Equaroni & Bechar; Tipografi Eclair; Imprimeria Equaroni; Estamparia Union; Estamparia la Libertad; etc. Sometimes Hebrew books were published by non-Jewish printing presses. Among these were Tipografia Moratore and the printing houses of Tintshof, Jordan Jartzif, and others.

The Nazi conquest brought a disastrous end to the large and flourishing community of Salonica. Printing activity ceased there altogether after having lasted for more than four hundred years. Although certain Hebrew calendars and Haggadot of Pesah were printed in the 1950's this was too transient an episode to record. According to Ya'ari, more than three thousand and five hundred titles had appeared in print in Salonica, a fact which justifies Salonika's image as "Jerusalem of the Balkans".

**Bibliographical Sources**

- A. Elmaleh, *Le-Toldot ha-Yehudim be-Salonik*. Jerusalem, 1924.
- B. Ben-Ya'kov, "Batey ha-Defus be-Saloniki" in *Saloniki: Ir va-Em be-Yisrael*. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1967. See pp. 52-53.
- A.M. Haberman, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Hitpathuto*. Jerusalem, 1968. See pp. 123-124.
- I. Mehlman, "Perakim be-Toldot ha-Defus be-Saloniki" in *Sefunot*, 13 (Sefer Yavan 3). Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1971-1978. See pp. 217-272.
- Y. Nehama, "Saloniki Ir Hotza'a la-Or" in *Zichron Saloniki*, Vol. II (ed. D.A. Recanati). Tel Aviv: Committee for the Publication of the Salonica Community Book, 1986. See pp. 250-260.
- I.S. Emmanuel, "Batey Defus u-Madpisim" in *Zichron Saloniki*, Vol. II (ed. D.A. Recanati). Tel Aviv: Committee for the Publication of the Salonica Community Book, 1986. See pp. 230-249.
- Salaman A. Rozanes, *Divrey Yemey Yisrael be-Togarma*. Tel Aviv, 1930. Pt. I: pp. 319-321, 326.
- Salaman A. Rozanes, *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkiya ve-Artsot ha-Kedem*. Sofia, 1934-1038. Pt. II: pp. 234-235, 238-239; Pt. III: pp. 333-335, 337-338; Pt. IV: pp. 392-393, 395-396; Pt.V: pp. 350-354, 358-363.
- I. Rivkind, "Sifrey Saloniko" in *Kiryat Sefer*, V. I (1925) pp. 294-30; Vol. III (1927), pp. 171-173; Vol. VI (1929) pp. 383-385.
- V. Vinograd, *Otsar Hasefer Ha-Ivri*, II, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 666-686.

**HEBREW PRINTING HOUSES IN ANDRIANOPOLE**

Hebrew printing which existed in Andrianople during the 16th century for a very short while should be viewed mainly as an extension of Hebrew printing activity in Salonica. The printing house in the city was founded by the printer brothers Shlomo and Yosef Ya'abetz who had fled from Salonica in 1554 because of the plague.

With the printing tools they had brought with them from Salonica they printed three and began work on a fourth book which remained uncompleted. The completed books were: *Sheveth Yehuda* by Ibn Virga, *She'erith Yosef* and *Masechet Avoth* by Rabbi Yosef Ya'abetz. Apparently only a few booklets of the *Responsa of Rabbi Eliya Mizrahi* were printed [See illus. no. 25a p. 160]. In 1556 the brothers returned to Salonica and printing activity in Adrianople ceased until the 19th century.

The second period in the history of Jewish printing in Adrianople begins at the end of the 19th century. Avraham Danon, the famous scholar and researcher, revived printing activity in the city in 1887 with the publication of the weekly scholarly review *Yosef Da'ath* in Hebrew, Ladino and Turkish for the period of one year (1888) [See illus. no. 25b p. 161]. In this same year Danon published his *Maskil Leeytan*, a collection of poems in Hebrew. Books and periodicals continued to be printed in Andrianople until the 1930's.

**Bibliographical Sources**

- S. Assaf, M. Benayahu, "Andrinople" in *Ha-Encyclopedia ha-Ivrit*, Vol. I. pp. 564-568.
- I. Mehlman, "Beit ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Andrinople be-Me'ah ha-Shesh Esreh" in *Aley Sefer*, 6/7 (1979), pp. 102-106.
- Salomon A. Rozanes, *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkiya ve-Artsot ha-Kedem*, Sofia, 1934-1938. Pt. II: p. 235.

**HEBREW PRINTING HOUSES IN İZMİR***a. The First Period: 1657-1675*

The first printing house to be founded in İzmir was that of Avraham ben Yedidia Gabbay in 1657. Avraham was a descendant of a famous printing family of Venice and Livorno from where he had brought the typographical equipment and skilled workmen. Gabbay used the same type molds and decorations his father had once used. These had been acquired from the Bragadine Press in Venice [See illus. no. 26 p. 162].

A noteworthy event which took place in 1659 was the printing of two books in Spanish with Latin lettering (a second edition of two books by Menashe ben Yisrael). This is the first known instance of publishing Latin characters in Western Asia [See illus. no. 27 p. 163]. These two are probably just remnants of a more intensive publishing activity in Latin characters printed for the benefit of the Portuguese Jews and European merchants residing in the city.

In 1660 and 1662 Gabbay printed in Constantinople and then ceased further printing until 1670. By 1675 he had printed another sixteen books. He left İzmir on the occasion of his appointment as dragoman to the Genoese representative. Gabbay returned to Constantinople and then moved to Salonica in 1683. After he left İzmir, all printing activity ceased for the next fifty years.

*b. The Second Period: 1728-1767*

Yonah ben Ya'akov of Zalazitz who had been printing in Istanbul since 1710, established a new printing house in İzmir in 1728 in partnership with a local resident, Rabbi David Hazan. This was actually a branch of the famous printing house in Constantinople, using the same letter blocks, and specializing in the publication of treatises by the learned sages of the city. Their joint enterprise lasted until 1739, ending when Hazan emigrated to Palestine, but within these brief years they managed to bring out more than thirty books [See illus. no. 28 p. 164].

Fifteen years later, in 1754, a new printing house was established by Yehuda Hazan, son of the noted Rabbi David Hazan, and Ya'akov Valensi. This was a kind of partnership in which both used the same workmen and equipment, but worked separately, each one imprinting his name on his own books. Twelve books were printed by Yehuda Hazan during the years 1754-1767, and ten books by Valensi by 1766 [See illus. no. 29 p. 165]. It is interesting to note that the same typographical equipment was later transferred to Tunis and used to print one single book, *Zer' Yitzhak*, in 1768.

The printing house of Osta Maragos, the Greek printer, was also active during this period and five books were printed there between 1755-1758: four compendiums of *halacha*, *derash* and *Kabbala*, and also *Meora'oth Olam* (1756) which was a collection of historical and narrative material.

Printing activity then ceased in İzmir for a period of nearly sixty years for reasons unknown.

*c. The Third Period: 1838-1920*

From the fourth decade of the 19th century on several printing houses were in operation in İzmir. Printing work, which had begun again after a long period of inactivity, would now continue without further interruptions.

In 1838, the English printing house of Griffith was established mainly to serve the Anglican Mission. Among the publications printed by Griffith were two Ladino journals which appeared in İzmir, and which were the first to appear in the East at all — *La Buena Esperansa* in 1842 and *Sha'arey Mizrah* four years later. Ya'ari himself notes that many of the books brought out by the Mission were never recorded. The publication by the same printer of the Christian Bible raised a great deal of controversy.

During the years 1841-1844, the printing house of Shmuel Hekim published four books. The two business partners, Yitzhak ben Siman Tov Hekim (who had worked in printing layout for Shmuel Hekim) and Hayyim Yitzhak Shaul, brought out seven books in the years 1850-1857 [See illus. no. 30 p. 166].

In the 1850's another printing house was in operation, that of the two brothers, the sons of Yehuda Shmuel Ashkenazi, who had been engaged in printing work in Livorno during the 1840's. They produced six books during the years 1852-1855, mainly *halachic* compendiums. One book, *Likutei Haamarim*, dealt with disputations with Christians and Christianity. After an interval of six years they printed five more books in partnership with Rabbi Nissim Hayyim Moda'i over a three year period, 1861-1863, all of them *halachic* and *midrashic* works.

When Avraham Ashkenazi, the younger brother, went to work for the Ottolenghi Press in Alexandria, the printing house closed. Benzion Binyamin, the son of Rabbi Yehoshu'a Moses Roditi, began printing in 1857, using the equipment of Ya'akov Ashkenazi after the latter had ceased his printing activities. Of this year, we have a book printed by Rabbi Raphael Haim Pontrimoli.

In 1862 with the assistance of the *Chevra Kadishah* (burial society) in İzmir, Roditi was given the use of a new printing house and worked in partnership with others from the 1870s onward. By 1884 he had published no less than seventy one books, among them many important religious works. One of his first publications was a new edition of *Me'am Loez*. He also brought forth many *halachic* compendiums.

Another printing house which began operating in the 1860s was that of the De Segura brothers. It was founded in 1862 and continued to exist until 1906. More than one hundred and six books and other publications were produced there. [See illus. no. 31 p. 167] These include many of the works by Rabbi Hayyim Palachi, as well as a new edition of the *Zohar*.

Avraham Pontrimoli, a member of a learned family in İzmir, together with Yaakov Poli, founded a new printing house in 1876. Their partnership broke up eight years later, and Avraham Pontrimoli continued to print until 1889. During his thirteen years of printing activity, he published thirty five books mainly religious works [See illus. no. 32 p. 167]. He also printed a few of Palachi's works as well as of other İzmir sages.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Armenian printer, Tatikian, also printed a few Hebrew books [See illus. no. 33 p.]. Other, smaller printing houses were those of the Shevet Ahim press, which lasted for one year only (1876), that of Mordechai ben Yitzhak Barki (1896-1897), and of Ben Senior (1921-1922) as well as the commercial printing house of the Franko press (1904-1922).

During the 20th century, the most prominent printer was Ephraim Melamed, whose printing house operated continuously from 1901 until 1924. According to Ya'ari, the place of publication for some of his books was falsified, and appeared as having been published in Vienna. Melamed specialised in Ladino textbooks and fictional works among which were many historical novels. These include: *Buketo de Istorias* (1904), *Libro de Pasatiempo i Instruksyon* (1913), *Una Vengansa Salvaje* (1913), *Libro de Instruksion Religiosa* (1916, 1924).

In İzmir, as in the other two large centers of printing which we have mentioned above, books in Ladino were occasionally published by journal printers. Among these were the printing presses of *El Novelista* (1889-1922), *El Messeret* (1897-1924), *La Esperansa* (1871-1910), *La Boz del Pueblo*, *El Progreso* and others. Naturally, these were secular works such as novels and other literary works composed in the Ladino language, some of them even in Latin characters. Hebrew printing in İzmir continued till the 1950's.

### **Bibliographical Sources**

Abraham Ya'ari, "Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Izmir" in *Areshet*, 1 (1959), pp. 222-297.

Salomon A. Rozanes, *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkiya ve Artsot ha-Kedem*, Sofia, 1934-1938. Pt. IV: pp. 393, 396-397; Pt. V: pp. 354-355, 363-364.

Cecil Roth, "Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Izmir" in *Kiryat Sefer*, 28 (1953), pp. 390-393.

D. Hacohen, "Ha-Defus Ha-Ivri be-Izmir" in *Kiryat Sefer*, 64, 1992-1993, pp. 1403-1923.

Y. Vinograd, *Otzar Ha-Sefer Ha Ivri*, II, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 15-19.

\* Author's notice: The article was written in 1990. On the occasion of its publication the author updated the bibliography.

# JEWISH JOURNALISM AND PRINTING HOUSES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

©The Isis Press

*Published by*  
The Isis Press  
Şemsibey Sokak 10  
Beylerbeyi, 81210 Istanbul  
Tel.: (0216) 321 38 51  
Fax.: (0216) 321 86 66  
e-mail: isis@turk.net

ISBN: 975-428-149-1

First printing 2001

Edited by  
Gad Nassi

THE ISIS PRESS  
ISTANBUL