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Sabatay Sevi
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postexilic continuation in North Africa and the East. Shalom Shabazī made a more significant contribution to the consolidation and finalization of Jewish Yemenite poetry than any other Jewish poet in Yemen. He was, as well, the greatest poet of Yemenite Jewry and one of the greatest poets of Jewish and Hebrew literature through the generations. Although Joseph ben Israel was his mentor in many respects, it is only in Shabazī's verse that we can easily see the affinities between Yemeni Jewish and Muslim verse.

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YOSEF TOBI

Shabbetai (Shabbati), Ḥayyim

Ḥayyim ben Moses Shabbetai (Shabbati) was a noted rabbi of → Salonica from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Born around 1555, Shabbetai (known also by the Hebrew acronym Maharḥash) was the pupil of Aaron ben Joseph → Sasson (1550 or 1555–1626) and of Solomon ben Abraham ha-Kohen (Maharshakh, d. 1602). By the last decade of the sixteenth century, Shabbetai had already achieved recognition as one of the leading rabbinical scholars in Salonica. In 1615, he suc-

ceeded Samuel Florentin as *marbis tora* (teacher of Torah study), i.e., rabbi, of the Qahal Qadosh Shalom; succeeded his father. By the end of his life, he had become the most important of Salonica's rabbis and had been the teacher of many illustrious scholars, including David → Conforte (d. ca. 1690) and Ḥasday ben Samuel → Perahya (d. 1678). He died in 1647.

Maharshakh's writings include responsa on section Even ha-'Ezer of the *Shulḥan 'Arukh* (Salonica, 1651) and *Torat Ḥayyim* (3 parts; Salonica, 1713, 1715, 1722). He left two sons: Moses Ḥayyim (1615–1685) and David Ḥayyim. Maharshakh's novellae on tractate Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud and the last chapter of tractate Yoma were published in his son Moses's *Torat Moshe* (Salonica, 1797). Moses succeeded him as rabbi of Qahal Qadosh Shalom, and toward the end of his life, it appears, was one of the head rabbis (*rav kolel*) of Salonica.

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YARON BEN NAEH

Shabbetai Sevi 180021
auf-Jacob Barnai

Shabbetai Şevi (Sabbatai Şevi, Shabbetai Tzvi, 1626–1676) was born in → Izmir (Smyrna) on August 1, 1626, which coincided with the ninth of Av, the fast-day in remembrance of the destruction of the Temple, and also, according to tradition, the day on which the messiah will be born. Shabbetai's father had moved with his

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MIRA GELEN EKONOMİ

³⁵ The Guardian, 3 December, 1925. The same idea is emphasized in an academic scrutiny: "The biggest resistance againsts the Turkish revolutions had been the one to the hat revolution." Özdemir, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Şapka Devrimi*, *ibid*, p.89.

³⁶ Berkowitz, *Telling the Unknown*, *ibid*, p.210.

³⁷ "Crusades" are one of the most important moments of encounter between East and West. The Orientalist imagination on the East and the literature on it is formed during these encounters. "Crusading bequeathes to Orientalism the distorted imagination, constructed misrepresentation that precluded closer contact becoming a vehicle for improved mutual understanding" Sardar Ziauddin. *Orientalism*. Oxford: Open University Press 1999.

³⁸ Berkowitz, *Telling the Unknown*, *ibid*, p.209.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Sabatay Sevi (180021)
Dönme (040607)

02 Temmuz 2018

Evangelizing "the Jews": Western Missionaries and their Encounters with the Sabbatean/Dönme Community in the Ottoman Empire

Mehmet Ali DOĞAN*

Abstract

While working among the Jews in the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries from Europe and the United States encountered with the Sabbateans/Dönmes, the followers of Sabbatai Sevi, and the missionaries wanted to extend their activities to this community as well. In this article, the American missionary activities among the Ottoman Sabbateans are traced by focusing on letters, memoirs and reports of the missionaries who worked in the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) station in Salonica. The ABCFM mission to the Jews discontinued in 1856. According to the available reports, none of the Sabbatians in the Ottoman Empire converted to Christianity.

Key Words

Missionaries, Sabbateans, Dönmes, Jews

I met here with a few of the Sect of Shabbatai Zebi, who profess outwardly the Muhammedan religion. The chief of them is Khair Allah Effendi, he asserts that Shabbatai Zebi had not been put to death, but on the contrary made Pasha, by the Sultan of that time. Shabbatai Zebi, he saith, had not pretended to be the Messiah, but believed that Jesus of Nazareth had been the Messiah, but he asserted that the Law of Moses had been abolished, and that even adultery was no longer sin; they are reading continually the Sohar, and never intermarry with the

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CHAPTER 18

SABBATAI ZEVI AND THE SABBATEAN MOVEMENT

MATT GOLDISH

The messianic movement surrounding Sabbatai Zevi (1626–76), a Turkish rabbinical scholar and mystic, peaked in the years 1665–6. It was the most widespread and influential Jewish messianic movement since Christianity. While scholars continue to debate the depth and pervasiveness of Jewish faith in Sabbatai, there is no doubt that his messianic candidacy was received enthusiastically across the extensive Jewish diaspora, and that a very large number of Jews did believe that Sabbatai was probably the long-awaited messiah.

Jews had believed since biblical times that God would redeem them from their degraded condition – as a nation and perhaps as individuals – with the use of a human emissary, called a messiah (“anointed one”). The rabbis of the Talmud and medieval Jewish thinkers such as the authoritative Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) amplified and institutionalized Jewish hopes for the messiah. At the same time, conceptions of this figure took on numerous hues in the minds of the people. Rationalists imagined the messianic future in natural terms, while kabbalists expected a series of miraculous events. All needed to contend with the most successful messianists, the Christians, who constantly proclaimed to the Jews that the messiah had already come in the person of Jesus. Christianity, however, was only one in a long list of messianic movements in Jewish history centered around figures who were taken to be the messiah by groups of Jews.¹

At face value, Sabbatai himself might not appear to be a particularly likely candidate for a successful messianic pretender. He was born into a Jewish merchant family in the thriving Ottoman port of Izmir (Smyrna). The family was not from the dominant Sephardic (Spanish) cultural

¹ There is an enormous literature on these topics. See, e.g., Harris Lenowitz, *The Jewish Messiahs: From the Galilee to Crown Heights* (Oxford, 1998); Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism* (Grand Rapids, 2005; original English edn. 1956; original Norwegian edn. 1951); Marc Saperstein, ed., *Essential Papers on Messianic Movements and Personalities in Jewish History* (New York, 1992).

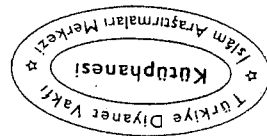
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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What is the point of looking for a hidden layer in the Torah that has no link whatsoever with the actual text? In the context of Nahmanides' writings, several answers to this question can be adduced. Nahmanides presents the Torah as alluding to sublime wisdom on two occasions, in two different periods of his literary production, and on each occasion he is prompted by a distinct intellectual and religious motive. In the earlier text, the discourse, he seeks to extol the status of the Torah over philosophy, presenting it as the source of universal wisdom for all generations. By contrast, in the commentary, written later in his life, his goal is to establish the status of the new Jewish mystical doctrine—the Kabbalah—and to present it as part of the Oral Law delivered to Moses on Sinai and alluded to in the Torah. Thus, tracing Nahmanides' path toward proposing the *remazim* as a hermeneutic tool is not only important for recovering the internal structure of his kabbalistic commentary on the Torah, it also contributes to our knowledge of developments in his thought that occurred during the second half of his life, enabling us to suggest, with all necessary caution, that the discourse on "The Law of the Eternal is Perfect" and the introduction to the commentary constitute significant milestones in the intellectual and religious biography of one of the most prominent medieval Jewish thinkers.

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From Lucretia to Don Kr[e]ensia, or, Sorry, I Just Had to Convert

The Karakaş Sabbatian Oikotype of a Medieval Romance

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Abstract

Eschatological expectations and messianic hopes aroused by the expulsion of Jews from Spain climaxed in the seventeenth century with the appearance of Sabbatai Tzevi. In 1666, Sultan Mehmed IV, eager to halt the uproar without creating a martyr, offered Tzevi a choice between conversion to Islam and death. Tzevi chose life. Although many Jews were devastated by his apostasy, a nucleus of Sabbatai's most ardent followers preferred to interpret it as the ultimate *tiqqun*. This article presents one of the most intriguing Sabbatian literary accounts of their Messiah's apostasy, the internal Sabbatian version of the *romansa* "Tarquin and Lucretia."

Keywords

apostasy – conversion to Islam – Karakaş Sabbatians – Ladino/Judeo-Spanish oral literature – Ottoman Jewry – Sabbatai Tzevi – Sabbatianism – Sephardic *romansero*

This article presents and discusses one of the five Sabbatian sacred *romansas*,¹ "Tarquin and Lucretia," analyzing the uniqueness of the Sabbatian

1 Samuel G. Armistead, the most prolific scholar of Sephardic *romansero* in the previous generation, defines the Judeo-Spanish *romansa* thus: "Judeo-Spanish *romansas* (Spanish *romances*) are narrative ballads characteristically embodying 16-syllable, usually monorhymed verses, divided into two octosyllabic hemistichs, with assonant rhyme in each second hemistich. The eight-syllable assonant ballad verse ultimately derives from the anisosyllabic assonant verse of the medieval Spanish epic, and a certain number of Judeo-Spanish ballads, together

Gerstman Scholem, The Messianic Idea in Judaism, New York 1935

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THE CRYPTO-JEWISH SECT
OF THE DÖNMEH (SABBATIANS) IN TURKEY.

Dönme (040607)
Sabatai Sevi (180021)

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

I

THE PHENOMENON with which I shall deal in the following pages represents one of the strangest and most paradoxical episodes in the history of the Jewish religion. It concerns the existence of an important religious group which nearly three hundred years ago voluntarily left Judaism, or rather the religious framework of the social and religious organization of the Jewish people. Its members became formally Muslims but remained Jews at heart—though Jews of a most peculiar kind. They continued as a separate entity, preserving their Jewishness in this twofold existence. Deeply motivated, even fanatical adherents of a Jewish mystical heresy, they succeeded in maintaining their identity almost untouched for more than two hundred and fifty years. Moreover, with amazing success they shrouded everything pertaining to their beliefs and religious practices with an impenetrable veil of secrecy. There are few sects in the recent history of religions like the crypto-Jewish sect of the Dönme. It has existed for centuries, been known both in its environment and, later, through the literature, yet scholars have had very little trustworthy information on which to proceed. It is therefore not surprising that reports concerning the sect in the scholarly literature on religions are most sparse. This has been true less because of lack of interest than because of the extreme paucity of information that was available to the outside world.

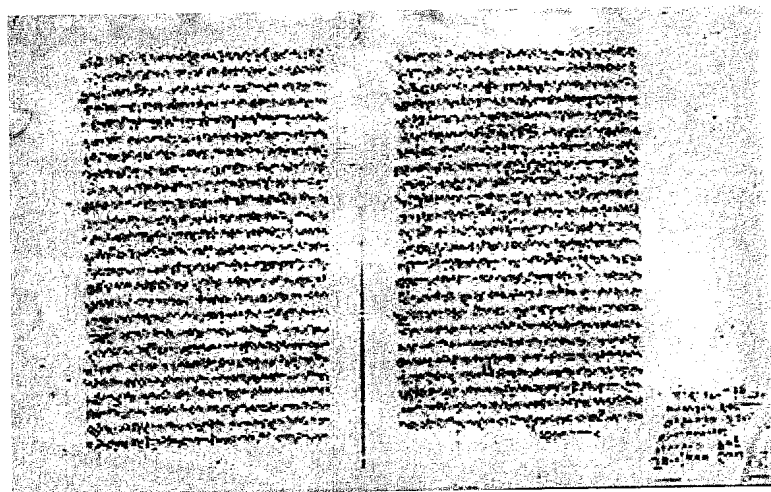
Since Abraham Danon, more than sixty years ago, spoke to the Paris Orientalists' Congress on "une secte judéo-musulmane en Turquie"—which contained the first reliable, if somewhat narrowly circumscribed material—there has really been only one other study: the 1926 review by Vladimir Gordlevsky in *Islamica*

of the discussion carried on in 1924 in the Turkish press concerning the Dönme, at the time of the Greco-Turkish population exchange. A Turkish book by the well-known publicist İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, which appeared in 1938 or 1939, relied for its information on the Dönme principally upon this same discussion in the press. This is also true of Abraham Galanté's *Nouveaux documents sur Sabbetaï Sevi; organisation et us et coutumes de ses adeptes*, which appeared in Istanbul in 1935. These two studies contain nothing that is really new. If I now take up the discussion once again, I do so because in the last years, and especially since 1948, for the first time significant portions of the sect's so anxiously guarded secret literature have found their way to Israel and have there given rise to a spate of studies and publications. Thus we can now speak of this peculiar phenomenon with a very different knowledge of sources and circumstances. I hardly need mention that this represents only the beginning of real research into this sect.

As has always been known, the origins of the Dönme lie in the great Messianic eruption which took place in Judaism during the years 1665–66. This movement, which crystallized around the figures of the widely acclaimed pseudo-Messiah, the learned Kabbalist Sabbatai Zevi (1626–76), and his prophet and theologian Nathan of Gaza (1644–80), represents far and away the most significant Messianic movement in Diaspora Jewish history. While earlier movements of this type, which have never been lacking, were consistently limited in scope and duration and produced no lasting effect, this was decidedly not the case with the so-called Sabbatian movement. Its roots lay deep in an organic connection of national and popular apocalypticism with mystical ideas. Since the expulsion from Spain this complex of ideas had increasingly gained dominance in the Judaism of the period, so that when a Messianic eruption occurred, the conditions of the time were bound to secure for it an unprecedented echo and the largest effect. The prejudiced Jewish historiography of former generations wanted to minimize as much as possible the significance of this eruption, the depth from which it emerged, and the breadth of its effect. Only the research of the last twenty years has thoroughly swept away these prejudices and taught us to evaluate properly, on the basis of detailed study of manuscript sources, the great significance of this movement, which at one time embraced equally all parts of the Jewish Diaspora. In a work published in Hebrew in 1957, I undertook a comprehensive presentation.

we must not forget that the creative activity in the knowing process is indispensable for the development and extension of our scientific knowledge about Qur'an. Without this creative activity there cannot be development in society. And the activity of knowing is the one upon which the success of all other activities depend. This is why Qur'an mostly encourages it. In order to make successive steps in this field, we must criticize and change, if there is a need and we must not forget that we may be criticized by others. All this is useful and represents progress in understanding the absolute. There is no need for quarrel between groups and individuals when we face two different interpretations of the absolute. All what is needed is a rational analysis and further development of the problem. To conclude we may evaluate Ibn Sina's hermeneutics of the *Surat al-Ikhlās* against this contemporary background. We may learn a lot from his approach, but one must evaluate it within the existing knowledge that we have reached today. I believe that our benefit from this Peripatetic analysis will be much more valuable and yield far reaching results.

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ROLE OF THE SABBATIAN MOVEMENT IN THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS OF TURKEY

Serdar Demirel

Introduction

In the westernization process, which had commenced towards the decline of the Ottoman era, many movements and individuals played crucial roles in the foundation of modern secular Turkey which succeeded the Ottoman State.

Explaining this drastic change by pointing at only one of the power centers or attributing it to the founding military staff of the Republic among all other factors would diminish the significance of the issue at hand. Thus, evaluating various dimensions of the secularization/westernization process is vital for a scientific approach. To understand this issue power centers inside the government and various social actors who partook in this process should be studied individually. On the other hand, despite the need to focus on each factor separately, the common ground shared by the power centers should not be missed. The attempt to understand an active agent in the secularization process should be carried out by bearing the big picture in mind.

When the military superiority of the Ottoman State started to decline, the modernization of the military became one of the priorities of the State, for only a strong military could ensure the continuum of the state. However, the modernization of the military triggered the secularization/westernization process of other institutions of the state, and entailed ideological and administrative westernization as well.

The institutions and socio-cultural structures of the Ottoman State were founded on religion-oriented values. Therefore, the Islamic worldview, also inherent in the administration, was the ideology of the state. The religious worldview and the structure of the society formed by religious values began to degrade through a painful secularization process.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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Deutungen, seine Freiheit von jeglicher Voreingenommenheit, etwa hinsichtlich der spezifischen Nähe des Korans zu einer besonderen der beiden älteren Offenbarungsreligionen.

Es ließen sich eine Fülle von Beispielen für diese Unabhängigkeit aufzählen. Es sei im folgenden nur eines herausgegriffen, ein Fall, bei dem der neu zugänglich gemachte Kommentar zunächst einmal die – in den Anmerkungen zur Übersetzung noch vermißte – Begründung für die dort getroffene Später-Datierung eines Surenteils nachliefert. Erst durch diese Dokumentation wird eine Auseinandersetzung mit Bells Entscheidung möglich: der nun in den Blick tretende Anstoß läßt sich historisch einordnen, ohne daß man mit Bell die Homogenität der Sure infrage stellen muß: Sure 91 besteht aus zwei Teilen, einer langen Schwurserie und einer kurz referierten Straflgende. Für die Legende, die Bell später datieren will als den Schwurteil, seien – zur Verdeutlichung der Stringenz der von Bell betriebenen Philologie die Übersetzungen von Bell und Paret gegenübergestellt:

V.11 *Kaddabat Tamüdu bi-tağwähā*:

B.: Thamud counted (it) false in their presumption; P.: Die Thamud ziehen (seinerzeit) in ihrer Widersetzlichkeit (den Gesandten Gottes) der Lüge.

V.12 *Idi nba'ata ašqähā*. B.: When their most miserable (one) was sent. P.: (Damals) als ihr unseliger (Landsmann) auftrat (und sie zur Unbotmäßigkeit anstiftete).

V.13 *Fa-qāla lahum rasūlu llāhi nāqata llāhi wa-suqyāhā*. B.: And the messenger of Allāh said to them: „The she-camel of Allāh, and her drink!“ P.: Der Gesandte Gottes sagte zu ihnen: (Achtet auf) das Kamel Gottes, und daß es (richtig) zu trinken bekommt!

V.14 *Fa-kaddabūhu fa-'aqrūhā fa-damdama 'alayhim rabbuhum bi-danbihim fa-sawwāhā*. B.: But they counted it false, and hamstring her; so their Lord overwhelmed them for their sin and made it even. P.: Sie aber ziehen ihn der Lüge und brachten es zu Fall (indem sie ihm die Flechsen durchschnitten). Da kam ihr Herr (zur Vergeltung) für ihre Schuld mit seinem Zorn über sie(?) und ebnete die Erde über ihnen ein (?) (w. und ebnete sie (d.h. die Thamud und ihre Wohnungen?) ein).

V.15 *Wa-lā yah āfu 'uqbāhā*. B.: Not fearing the consequence of it. P.: ohne fürchten zu müssen, daß das Folgen nach sich ziehen würde.

Bell ist sich sicherer als Paret: Er kommt in V.12 ohne Eintragungen aus, da er *inba'ata* aufgrund des Konkordanzbefunds als terminus technicus für die Entscheidung eines Boten auffaßt: „when their most miserable (one) was sent“. Er kommentiert seine Übersetzung: „This is usually taken to mean „when the worst one of them was stirred up“ to lead them in their evil-doing. But „miserable“ has not necessarily a moral sense, and the verb is one that is used for „sending“ a messenger. The mention of the messenger in v.13 confirms the above interpretation, and so read the verse gives an interesting reflex of Muḥammad's position in Mecca.“ – Bells im „Commentary“ aufgeführten Belege für koranisches *šaqi* im sozialen bzw. physischen Sinne unterstützen seine Deutung weiter. Seine dort erhobene, für seine eigene Textbehandlung aber noch ohne Konsequenz bleibende Frage: „Does *rasūl Allāh* occur in very early passages?“ führt den Leser nun noch einen Schritt weiter: Mit *rasūl Allāh* dürfte in der Tat ein Interpretament vorliegen, das erst auf Grund der später durchgedrungenen Deutung von *ašqā* im Standard-Sinn von „(moralisch) Elender“ notwendig wurde. Ursprüngliches *fa-qāla lahum: nāqata llāhi* ... sollte auf

diese Weise in seinem Bezug auf den – nun nicht mehr mit *ašqā* identifizierten – Boten eindeutig gemacht werden. Entsprechend der ursprünglichen kürzeren Variante wäre zu übersetzen: „Leugner waren (schon) die Tamüd in ihrer Unbotmäßigkeit. Damals als der Geringste unter ihnen entsandt wurde. Da sprach er zu ihnen ...“. – Bells Begründung für seine chronologische Einordnung der Legende „later but probably Meccan“ dürfte sich auf das in der Tat frühmekkanisch noch nicht nachweisbare *rasūl Allāh* zum einen, und auf die kryptische Kürze der Erzählung („one wonders if Muḥammad could have made this cryptic reference unless he had previously recounted the story in fuller form“) zum anderen stützen. Geht man für *rasūl Allāh* von einem Interpretament aus, entfällt der wichtigste Anstoß; die Legende ist im übrigen in ihrer kurzen Form durchaus verständlich.

Allenfalls der Schluß bietet eine Schwierigkeit, auf deren grammatischen Aspekt Bell auch hinweist. Der stilistisch-erzähltechnische ist gewiß ebenso gravierend – aber der liegt außerhalb des Bellschen Interesses: in unserer Sure folgt der – sonst stets am Ende stehenden – Erwähnung der Bestrafung noch ein kurzer, syntaktisch nicht gut zu rechtfertigender Nachklapp: *wa-lā yahāfu 'uqbāhā* (nach einer Suffixkonjugation!), während das Delikt zusammen mit der Bestrafung einen einzigen überlangen Vers ausfüllt. Hier sollte emendiert werden: *fa-kaddabūhu fa-'aqrūhā* (dies ist Versschluß bei drei von acht Zählern!)/ *wa-lam* (statt *lā*) *yahāfu* (statt *yahāfu*) *'uqbāhā*/ *fa-damdama 'alayhim rabbuhum bi-danbihim fa-sawwāhā*: da ziehen sie ihn der Lüge und brachten sie zu Fall, / ohne die Folgen davon zu fürchten. / Da überwältigte sie ihr Herr für ihre Schuld und machte es eben über ihnen.

Das Beispiel kann für eine Anzahl von weiteren Fällen stehen. Nimmt man generell für die von Bell selbst eingeleitete Diskussion um die Zusammengehörigkeit der Surenteile seine im Commentary gesammelten Beobachtungen ernst, treten häufig sprachliche oder stilistische Phänomene ins Auge, die gegen eine Homogenität der Sure sprechen könnten. Es sollte dann aber – unabhängig von Bells Datierungshypothesen – von neuem die Frage der Gewichtung dieser Einzelbeobachtungen gestellt werden, die keineswegs immer – wie das Beispiel von Sure 91 zeigt – im Sinne der von Bell getroffenen verschiedenen Datierung der Surenteile entschieden werden muß.

Berlin

Angelika Neuwirth

P. S. VAN KONINGSVELD, J. SADAN and Q. AL-SAMARRAI: *Yemenite Authorities and Jewish Messianism: Ahmad ibn Nasir al-Zaydi's Account of the Sabbatian Movement in Seventeenth Century Yemen and its Aftermath*, Leiden: Leiden University, Faculty of Theology, 1990, 206 pp.

This volume is exceptional from several aspects. The two most important of these are, first, that it is a first-rate piece of joint research by three scholars – a Christian, a Jew from Israel and a Muslim from Iraq. The participation of the latter is what makes this triad of scholars exceptional in these times, so marked by senseless enmity. Secondly, for the present we have before us a unique document, written by a Muslim sage from Yemen, which is an extensive treatment of a Jewish subject. Furthermore, his treatment seems to be objective, scholarly and comprehensive, flu-

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liturgiques) de sa composition. Il exerça une influence sans précédent sur les générations à venir, représentant pour Abraham *ibn Ezra le gaon par excellence et faisant dire à *Maïmonide – qui ne partageait pas ses options philosophiques : « Peu s'en fallut que ne fût détruite la Torah divine, s'il n'avait pas été là » (*Épître au Yémen*). Ses travaux législatifs parvinrent jusqu'aux tossafistes (voir **Tosafot*) en passant par la France et l'Allemagne.

Aphorismes de Saadiah Gaon

Plus un objectif a de valeur, plus il est difficile à atteindre.

Il est évident de par la raison que si D. n'a besoin de rien, toute chose en revanche, a besoin de D.

La mort est une transition avant la vie future, qui est le but ultime de l'existence temporelle.

Si dans ce monde, les méchants prospèrent, alors que les justes souffrent, il y a certainement un autre monde où chacun sera récompensé selon ses mérites.

Toute interprétation conforme à la raison ne peut être que juste.

Le désespoir n'est pas une raison pour trahir.

En plus de la Bible, le judaïsme repose sur deux piliers : le premier qui la précède, est la fontaine de la raison ; le second, qui la suit, est la source de la tradition.

SABBATAÏ TSEVI (1626-1676)

Pseudo-Messie dont l'activité s'est principalement développée en aire ottomane, durant la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle. Il est à l'origine d'un des mouvements messianiques juifs les plus puissants et les plus influents qui soient apparus dans l'histoire de la diaspora.

Trois facteurs majeurs ont sans doute favorisé son apparition : les guerres de Religion en Europe, dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle

et la guerre de Trente Ans (1618-1648) ; la propagation rapide et la réception des doctrines kabbalistiques d'Isaac *Louria ; enfin, le choc profond créé au sein des populations juives d'Europe de l'Est par les massacres perpétrés par l'hetman ukrainien Chmielnicki (1648-1649). Ces trois facteurs conjugués eurent pour effet de préparer les esprits, éprouvés par les désordres d'une époque chaotique, à l'idée consolatrice de la venue d'un messie rédempteur.

Doué d'un savoir étendu et d'une intelligence certaine, Sabbataï Tsevi est, dès l'âge de 18 ans élevé à la dignité de rabbin dans sa ville natale de Smyrne (Izmir). Il se livre à des exercices ascétiques de plus en plus fréquents, s'adonne à l'étude du **Zohar*, tout en s'entourant de disciples toujours plus nombreux. Il souffrira, cependant, sa vie durant, de brusques accès de crises maniaco-dépressives alternant avec des périodes de calme et d'euphorie inspirée. A certains moments, il fait part de durs combats qu'il prétend devoir mener contre des puissances démoniaques ; à d'autres, il est capable du comportement irreligieux le plus débridé et le plus paradoxal. Le fait d'être né à Tichah be-*Av (9 du mois de Av, jour de deuil national commémorant la destruction du Premier et du Second Temple, traditionnellement censé être celui de la naissance du *Messie à venir), renforce sa conviction d'un destin messianique et, en 1648, il prononce le tétragramme (voir *Dieu, noms de). L'année est marquée par un certain nombre de calamités que les kabbalistes interprètent comme autant de signes avant-coureurs de la *Rédemption finale d'Israël.

Après avoir un temps toléré les choses, le rabinat de Smyrne prononce l'expulsion de Sabbataï Tsevi (vers 1651) qui va dès lors connaître des années d'errance en Grèce et en Turquie d'Europe, créant partout le scandale par ses attitudes et ses déclarations contradictoires. On le retrouve, des années plus tard, dans un environnement qui lui est plus favorable, à Jérusalem puis au Caire où, en mars 1664, il épouse (à l'instar du prophète Osée dont l'exemple est



Francesco Sforza, portrait by Francesco Bonsignori.

Ludovico il Moro; b. 1452; d. 1508; legitimate son of Francesco, and uncle of the young duke. As regent and, after the death of Gian Galeazzo (1494), as duke of Milan, he kept a brilliant court and was famous as patron of the arts. His appeal to King *Charles VIII of France in 1494 led to the French invasion of Italy and to his ultimate defeat. He died in a French prison in Loches. Ludovico's two sons ruled Milan for a brief time. *Massimiliano*; b. 1493; d. 1530; was duke from 1512 to 1515. His brother *Francesco II*; b. 1495; d. 1535; reigned from 1521 until his death under the supervision of the Spanish, to whom Milan fell in 1535.

Other branches of the Sforza family founded by illegitimate sons of Muzio Attendolo were the *Sforza di Santafiora*, descended from Bosio; b. 1411; d. 1476; and the *Sforza di Pesaro*, going back to Alessandro; b. 1409; d. 1473. A third branch, the *Sforza di Caravaggio*, descended from *Giampaolo*; b. 1497; d. 1535; illegitimate son of Ludovico il Moro.

Bibliography: G. B. PICOTTI et al., *EncIt* 31:571-577. C. M. ADY, *A History of Milan under the Sforza*, ed. E. ARMSTRONG (London 1907). L. COLLISON-MORLEY, *The Story of the Sforzas* (New York 1934). N. VALERI, *L'Italia nell'età dei principati, dal 1343 al 1516* (Milan 1949). *Storia di Milano* (Milan 1953-) v.7-8, for bibliog. G. PEYRONNET, "Il ducato di Milano sotto Francesco Sforza (1450-1466): Politica interna, vita economica e sociale," *ArchStorIt* 116 (1958) 36-53. **Illustration credit:** National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Widener Collection.

[E. G. GLEASON]

SGAMBATI, ANDREAS, theologian; b. Naples, about 1735; d. Rome, July 17, 1805. Little is known of his early life. He was awarded a doctorate in theology at the Roman College of St. Bonaventure in 1763. He was assigned to assist in the compilation of the *Bullarium Franciscanum*, and in 1771, was appointed professor of theology and rector of the university college of the Conventual Franciscans in Naples. His *De theologicis institutis* (14 v., Naples 1775-82; 2d ed. Madrid

1833) became the prescribed text in seminaries of the Conventuals, was adopted by other religious orders, and in 1830 was made the official text in the seminaries of the Spanish Observants. A second work, *De praecipuis locis theologicis*, appeared in Naples (2 v. 1785). In this year Sgambati was appointed professor at the Roman College of St. Bonaventure and named a consultant to the Congregation of Rites. Unlike many of his Conventual contemporaries, he was inspired more by Bonaventure than by Scotus. He made special efforts to eliminate every trace of enlightenment philosophy from his works. This was, perhaps, the chief source of his popularity among the adherents of a more traditional orthodoxy.

Bibliography: D. SPARACIO, *Frammenti bio-bibliografici di scrittori ed autori minori conventuali* (Assisi 1931). Hurter *Nomencl* 5.1. A. TEETAERT, *DTC* 14.2:2018-19.

[P. D. FEHLNER]

SGHEMMA, GASPAR, theologian; b. Palermo, c. 1595; d. Palermo, July 24, 1657. He was received into the Conventual Franciscans in 1612, and obtained the doctorate in theology at the Roman College of St. Bonaventure. He was regent of studies for his order in Palermo, Catania, and Naples. Later he became an official of the royal inquisition of Sicily, and finally provincial of his order in Sicily. He was known as a strict religious, zealous for regular observance. His principal theological works are the *Manuale Scoticum* (Palermo 1638), *De Deo Trino et Uno* (Palermo 1645, 1652), *De Dei Visione, lumine gloriae, fruitione, beatitudine, praescientia, et praedestinatione* (Palermo 1652), *Scoticum Opusculum de scientia et voluntate Dei* (Palermo 1651). They show him to have been a faithful and accurate exponent of the traditional Scotistic views.

Bibliography: Sbaralea 1:318-319. Hurter *Nomencl* 3:942-943. A. TEETAERT, *DTC* 14:2019.

[P. D. FEHLNER]

SHABBATAIISM

A widespread messianic movement among the Jews of the 17th and 18th centuries, named after one of the principal pseudo-Messiahs of this period, Shabbatai (Sabbatai) Ševi (Zevi). It is known also as Shabbataianism (Sabbataianism) after the Shabbataians (Sabbataians), or followers of this man.

*Maimonides (1135-1204) formulated one of the 13 basic principles of Judaism as follows: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and, though He tarry, I will wait daily for His coming." Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish history records a great number of messianic movements, none of which can compare in importance with Shabbataiism. With the expulsion of the Jews, toward the end of the 15th century, first from Spain and then from Portugal, with the great sufferings in the wake of the Thirty Years' War, with the Chmielnicki massacres between 1648 and 1658 in Poland and the Ukraine, in which approximately 100,000 Jews perished and countless refugees sought asylum through Europe, messianic expectations among Jews came to a climax. The horrible sufferings seemed to be the *ḥablē šel māšīah*, the birth pangs of the messianic age, as foretold by tradition. Even the Christian world was in expectation, and the main argument put forward by Manasseh ben Israel (1604-57) in his petition for the readmission of Jews in England, sub-

Shabāngāra'ī, in *Učenie Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, ix (1954), 220-40; J. Aubin (ed.), *Extraits du Muntakhab al-tavarih-i Mu'ini* (anonyme d'Iskandar), Tehran 1957, 2-10; idem, *Un chroniqueur méconnu, Sabānkāra'ī*, in *StIr.*, x (1981), 213-24; edn. of the *Ma'djima' al-ansāb* and of Faryūmadī's *dhayl* by Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363/1984.

(C.E. BOSWORTH and P. JACKSON)

SHĀBĀSHIYYA, the name of a sect of extreme Ḳarmaṭians in the region of Baṣra and al-Aḥsā led by hereditary chiefs, the Banū *Shābāsh shaykhs* (the *rubūbiyya* was handed down from father to son). Their political activity lasted over a century (about 380 to 480/990-1090) in the Persian Gulf region. (The form *Shabbāsiyya* should be dropped.)

Two of them, in spite of their excommunication by orthodox writers, were viziers to the Būyid governor of Baṣra: Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Faḍl (or Ḥasan) Ibn *Shābāsh* (d. 444/1052) and his son Salīl al-Barakāt (mentioned in 487/1094 by al-Ḡhazālī). It is remarkable that the Druzes regarded them as followers of their religion, for we have in the Druze canon an epistle of al-Muḳtanā [*q.v.*] of 428/1037 which is dedicated to them. We know also that in the 9th/15th century there were still links between the Druzes and the islands of the Persian Gulf (cf. Poliak, in *REI* [1934], 255).

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ḡazālī gegen die Bātinīya-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 57, 62; Sacy, *Druzes*, ii, 346; Massignon, *Hallāj*, 339; Ma'arri, *Risālat al-Ḡhufrān*, 168; Yāqūt, *al-Muḥtarik*, 287; von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen*, 124, n. 10. See also *ḲARMAṬĪ* and its *Bibl.* (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**SHĀBB** AL-**ZARĪF** [see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ].

SHABBATAY ŠEBĪ, a Jewish mystic, pseudo-Messiah and the inspiration for a Judaeo-Muslim sect.

Born at Izmir in 1035/1626, where his father, originally from the Peloponnese, was a trader, he showed a precocious propensity for the religious sciences, and was dedicated to a rabbinical career. From his adolescence, he devoted his time to the esoteric study of the Ḳabbālāh and led a life of abstinence and solitude. Thanks to his remarkable charisma, he became surrounded by a group of adepts whose extravagant practices ended up by attracting the censure of the rabbinical authorities. He was banished from his native city in ca. 1061/1651, and became a wandering ascetic travelling in turn from Salonica to Istanbul and then from Jerusalem to Cairo. There, during 1663-5, he was the protégé of the mystical circle of Raphaël Joseph Čelebi, head of the Egyptian Jewish community and director of the Ottoman treasury (*sarrāf bashī*) until the time when, visiting Gaza, he was hailed as the Messiah by Nathan Ashkenazi, who also took himself for the Prophet Elijah. The tireless efforts of this latter person to spread the messianic faith in the form of circular letters and pamphlets provoked a real frenzy in the Jewish world, from Kurdistān to Morocco via Europe. He was denounced to the *kādī* of the town through the rabbis' opposition in *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjdja* 1075/June 1665. Šebī, mounted on a horse and clad in green, despite Muslim prohibition, made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem after having circumambulated it seven times. From there he returned via Aleppo to his natal city, where he was hailed enthusiastically by the populace. In an eschatological atmosphere of penitence and asceticism, the messianic movement, favoured by socio-religious factors, increased in fervour. Whilst certain rumours related the story of the miraculous conquest of Mecca by the ten

tribes of Israel, manifestations of "Jewish pride" were cruelly repressed in certain Muslim lands, involving a breaking of the contract of *dhimma*, notably in Yemen.

Henceforward called by the Hebrew acrostic *amīrah*, evoking Arabic *amīr* "prince", Šebī, accompanied by his "ministers", set sail in *Djumādā II* 1076/December 1665 for Istanbul where, according to Nathan's predictions, he was to seize the crown of the "Grand Turk" without having to strike a blow. Meanwhile, the Ottoman government, perhaps alerted by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah's own Jewish opponents, decided to put an end to this ferment of activity, considered to be seditious. The fate of the agitator, intercepted on the high seas, was decided by the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü [see *KÖPRÜLÜ*], who, unwilling to create a martyr, imprisoned him in the fortress of Gallipoli (*Shābān* 1076/February 1666). With an aura of prestige for having escaped death, Šebī continued to receive, in prison, delegates from all over. These included Nehemiah Cohen, a Polish Kabbalist, who feigned conversion to Islam in order to gain access to the Grand Vizier, to whom he denounced Šebī as an imposter. Šebī was brought to Edirne and to Sultan Meḥammed IV's *diwān* on 16 Rabī' I 1077/16 September 1666.

Šebī escaped capital punishment by "adopting the turban", on the advice of the apostate Muṣtafā Ḥayātī-zāde, *alias* Gid'ōn, the sultan's physician. On his conversion to Islam, he took the name of 'Azīz Meḥmed Efendi, saw himself receive the honorific title of *kapıdā' bashī* "chief doorkeeper of the palace", and received a royal pension. Had the Turks spared him in order for him to act as a missionary for Islam? If the majority of his followers abandoned him, his apostasy was in fact followed by numerous of his faithful followers, including his wife Sarah, who, after arriving in Gallipoli, took the name of Fāṭima Ḳaḍīn. Seeking a theological justification for the paradoxical mystery of his defection—it could allegedly be considered as a deliberate act with an esoteric aim—Šebī's partisans continued to believe in him, adopting for themselves the Hebrew name of *ma'amīnīm* "believers". Šebī kept up secret contacts with them and with Nathan of Gaza during his stays in now Edirne and now Istanbul, during which he led a double life, observing the Muslim religion externally whilst practicing certain Jewish rites. He is described as going now to the mosque and now to the synagogue, holding a *Ḳur'ān* in one hand and a *Tōrah* scroll in the other. The *Shabbatayan* tradition holds that, despite this duplicity, Šebī enjoyed the favour of Meḥmed Wānī Efendi, the sultan's favourite preacher, who is said to have been assigned to him as his teacher of the precepts of Islam. It seems also that during this period Šebī had contacts with Muslim sectaries like the *Bektāshīs*, and perhaps also with the *Ḳhalwatī* mystic Meḥmed Niyāzī [*q.v.*]. According to certain pieces of evidence, he reportedly frequented in Edirne the *Bektāshī tekke* of *Ḳhīḍirlik* and took part in *dhiḳr* sessions. He was again arrested in Rabī' II 1083/August 1672 on charges of licentious conduct, and finally deported in *Shawwāl* 1083/January 1673 to Ulčindj in the distant province of al-Bassān (Albania). Despite visits from certain of his followers, apparently disguised as Muslims, Šebī died in solitude on 9 Raḍjab 1086/17 September 1676 at Ulčindj, where his unmarked tomb is still venerated by the local Muslim population.

Coming as it did at a time of eschatological expectation in the Muslim environment, where he was seen as the *Dajjdjal* [*q.v.*], Šebī's death stimulated the appearance of Mahdī claimants.

114 For a detailed discussion, see Rozen, "France and the Jews of Egypt, 456-60."

115 Ibid. See also Rozen, "Contest and Rivalry," 326-30.

116 For Salonica, see Rozen, "Contest and Rivalry." For Aleppo, see the letter of French Consul Louis Chambon to the Echevins et Députés de Commerce de Marseille, 22 June 1692, A.C.C.M. J 900.

117 On this, see Rozen, "Les Marchands Juifs livournais," 93-94, and the documents on 123-24.

118 Ibid., 92-129.

119 Rozen, "France and the Jews of Egypt," 426-27.

120 Ibid.

121 On this, see Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayri Müslimler, Kapitülasyonlar—Beratlı Tüccarlar Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarlar (1750-1839)* (Ankara, 1983).

122 On these developments, see the discussion in B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 154-73.

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**Messianism and Leadership:
The Sabbatean Movement and the Leadership
of the Jewish Communities in the Ottoman Empire**

Handwritten: + 1500/1600

In 1718, R. Leib, the secretary of the Ashkenazi Jewish community in Amsterdam, wrote the following in his book on Sabbateanism:

Nevertheless there were very many people in Turkey who continued to believe and were willing to wager with their lives that there was something genuine in Shabbetai Zevi, and according to rumor there are still today many people in Turkey who believe in him: at any rate ten years ago there [were] still many such. . . ."

And indeed, as is well known, the Sabbatean movement was not merely a short episode that lasted only from the time that Shabbetai Zevi declared himself to be the Messiah in Gaza in July 1665 until his conversion to Islam in Edirne in September 1666. Sabbateanism as a religious and social movement continued to exist even after Shabbetai Zevi's conversion and his death (1676) and until the end of the eighteenth century in various parts of the Diaspora. Moreover, even in places and periods in which it no longer exists, its influence on Jewish history remains great.

Since Gershom Scholem published his book *Sabbatai Sebi—The Mystical Messiah*,² many important studies have been published and many new sources have been printed, especially on the period after Shabbetai Zevi's death. Worth mentioning are the publications of I. Tishbi,³ R. Shatz,⁴ I. Sonne,⁵ Y. Liebes,⁶ R. Molcho and A. Amarilio,⁷ A. Atias,⁸ E. Moyal⁹ and others. M. Benayahu¹⁰ performed a particularly important service with his book, *The Sabbatean Movement in Greece*, in which there is an amazing wealth of important sources for the history of Sabbateanism in the Ottoman Empire and in Italy after the time of Shabbetai Zevi. There are also additional sources, some of which are mentioned in this book while others

J U D E O - E S P A G N O L

LE JUDEO-ESPAGNOL DE SABBATAY TSEVI ET DES DEUNMES

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A partir du premier quart du XVIIème siècle, un courant mystique s'étend parmi les communautés juives d'Orient. Dans les Yechivoth, universités rabbiniques de Safed et d'autres villes, les souffrances du peuple juif alimentent l'espoir messianique. De nombreux savants croient pouvoir affirmer que les crises de l'univers entier sont les signes avant-coureurs de l'arrivée du Messie qu'ils fixent à 1666. En 1648¹, année traumatisante par excellence, Sabbatay Tsevi annonce à Smyrne qu'il est le Messie. L'impact est énorme. Qu'on y pense! 1648 voit se terminer la guerre de Trente ans, Cromwell prendre le pouvoir et ordonner la décapitation d'un roi, Charles Ier. C'est le caractère divin des monarchies qui est ainsi ébranlé, mais aussi les esprits. En 1648, Bogdan Chmielnicki marche sur l'Ukraine et la Pologne et y massacre près de cent mille Juifs. Les rescapés affluent vers les communautés de l'Empire ottoman.

C'est cette année de "fin du monde" qu'a choisie le faux prophète pour lancer son message. En dépit des excommunications des rabbins, le flot des partisans grossit. Avec ses disciples il se rend à Constantinople, à Salonique, à Jérusalem et au Caire. Partout il enflamme les foules. Le nombre de ses admirateurs croît sans cesse. "Le rédempteur est arrivé! Finis nos malheurs séculaires". Une rescapée des massacres de Pologne dit avoir vu en rêve qu'elle serait la fiancée du Messie. Il s'agit de Sara que Sabbatay Tsevi épouse chantant en son honneur le vieux romance judéo-espagnol Meliselda auquel le faux prophète accordait une valeur mystique². Partout on ne pense plus qu'au retour en Terre Promise. On vend ou néglige ses affaires, on prépare ses bagages pour le grand et ultime voyage libérateur. Le délire est collectif, la fièvre gagne même les populations non juives³. Seul le sultan pourra mettre fin à cette aventure qui ébranle ses domaines. EN 1666, date de l'arrivée présumée du Messie, il met Sabbatay devant l'alternative: se convertir à l'Islam ou être décapité. Notre faux prophète choisit la vie... Les autorités religieuses poussèrent un grand soupir de soulagement, mais le mal était fait. Grande fut la déception là où on y avait vraiment cru. Il fallut à nouveau courber la tête et attendre. De nombreux disciples de Sabbatay Tsevi le suivirent dans sa conversion formant au-delà de sa mort plusieurs sectes encore bien vivantes avant 1940⁴. Extérieurement musulmans

SABETAYCILIK VE OSMANLI MİSTİSİZMİ

ILGAZ ZORLU

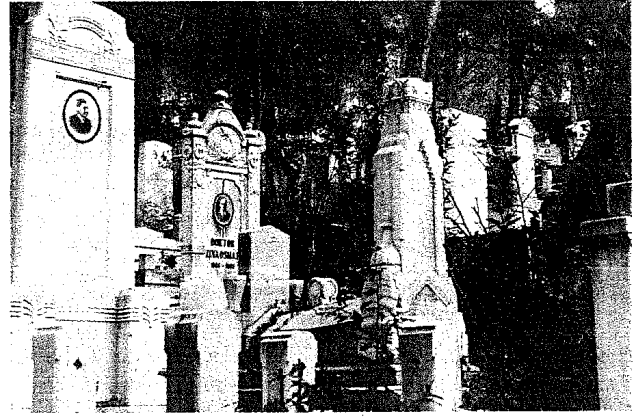
Evrensel bir değer olarak mistisizm tarihsel süreç içerisinde Batılı ve Doğulu kültürlerde farklı tarzlarda gelişmişse de sonuçta her iki kültürdeki mistik kişiliklerde aynı ortak sonuçlara ulaşmışlardır. Genellikle ortaçağın başından itibaren Yahudi gizemciliği İslâm ve Hıristiyan gizemciliği arasında bir köprü görevini görmüştür.

Onyedinci yüzyılda doğan ve Osmanlı kültür evreninde gelişen Sabetaycılık Kabbalist teoriye dayalı bir Yahudi mistik hareketi olarak ortaya çıkmışsa da zamanla giderek İslâmi karakterler de taşımaya başlamıştır. Bu, ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonrasında o kadar belirginleşmiştir ki, özellikle Sabetaycı gruplar içinde yer alan Yakubilerde devrin mistik hareketlerine karşı aşırı bir ilgi ve destek görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bu yazıda özellikle ondokuzuncu yüzyıl ile yirminci yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine kadar geçen sürede Sabetaycılarının İslâm dünyasındaki belirgin rolleri incelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

1

Sabetay Sevi'nin din değiştirerek İslâmiyeti kabul etmesi sonrasında, onunla beraber aynı yolu takip eden ikiyüz aile görünüş itibarıyla de olsa, İslâmi gruplarla yakınlaşma yolunu seçmişti. Yalnız Osmanlı toplumunda değil, hemen hemen tüm Avrupa ve Asya Yahudi cemaatlerinde derin etkiler bırakan Sabetaycı akım temel olarak "benzet-benzeme" prensibinden hareketle egemen sınıfların olası baskılarından kurtulmayı başarmıştır.

İşte o andan itibaren kerhen de olsa İslâmi gruplarla yakınlaşma zorunluluğu doğmuştu. Sabetaycılığın temelde Zohar'ın mistik evrenine dayalı olan teorisi kısa zamanda Sabetaycılarının girdikleri yeni ortamlarda da başarı kazanmalarına yol açmıştı, çünkü genelde gizemci grupların hepsinde varolan "bire ulaşma-birde kaybolma" çabası dinsel otoritenin başaramadığı bir bütünleşmeyi sağlamaktaydı. Sabetaycılar daha ilk andan itibaren iktidara yakın ve nispeten dinsel kurallara daha hoşgörüle yaklaşan mistik grupların içine karışarak buralarda etkinlik sağlamaya başladılar.¹ Sanılanın aksine bu gruplara girmelerinin ana nedeni yalnızca gizli kimliklerini muhafaza etmek değildi, aslında farklı bir dine ait tarikatlerde de olsa gizemci karakterlerini korumayı amaçlıyorlardı.



İstanbul-Üsküdar'daki Sabetaycı mezarlığından bir kesit.

Sabetaycı cemaatlerin İslâm mutasavvıflarıyla olan ilişkileri genellikle üç ana merkezde yoğunlaşmıştır. Bunlardan ilki imparatorluğun merkezi olan İstanbul, daha sonra Batı Anadolu'da İzmir ve ardından da Balkanlar'daki merkezlerdir. Burada Selanik, Sofya ve Trakya'da da Edirne dikkati çekmektedir.

Sabetaycılarının din değiştirmeleri sonrasında İstanbul'da yaptıkları ilk eylem zamanın Halveti Dergâhı Pirleri'nden olan ve bugün Üsküdar'da yatan Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi'nin tekkesinin yapıldığı maddi destek sağlamalarıdır. Bunun ana nedeni uzun bir süre Sabetaycılarının bu dergâha devam etmeleriydi, 1924 mübadelesine kadar da Sabetaycılar Aziz Mahmud'un dergâhında bulundular. Üsküdar'da bulunan Bülbülderesi mevkiinin Sabetaycılar için özel bir anlamı vardı, çünkü Talmud'a göre Mesih bülbüllerin sesine gelecekti. Nitekim Türkiye'deki Sabetaycı mezarlıklarının en büyüğü olan Bülbülderesi mezarlığının bu bölgede kurulması da bundan dolayıdır. İstanbul'da Sabetaycılarının yaptıkları diğer mabedlere baktığımızda bunların genellikle hep Üsküdar ve civarında olduklarını görürüz. Yine Bülbülderesi mezarlığının girişinde yer alan Feyziye Hatun Camii de Sabetaycı aileler tarafından yaptırılmıştır. Bu cami ile ilgili olarak ortaya konması gereken bir nokta şudur: Sabetaycılarının Karakaşlar koluna mensup ailelerin en sık kullandıkları sembolik kelimelerden biri olan "Feyziye" ismi aynı zamanda Selanik'te kurulan ve Atatürk'ün de ilk eğitimini aldığı okula da verilmişti.² Diğer bir dinî

להודות העצמם מאיסטנבול

הם נפגשים בבתי-כנסת השאיים, במרתפים ובבניינים נטושים באיסטנבול. הם נראים כמוסלמים לכל דבר, אבל עמוק בלב פועמת אצלם הציפייה המשיחית ליהודי שבתאי צבי, שהכריז על עצמו במאה ה-17 בעל משיח, ונאלץ להתאסלם לאחר שהתרברב שבקרוב יהפוך הסולטאן הטורקי לעבדו הנרצע. במשך מאות שנים הם מקיימים בסתר פולחן משונה הכולל, לפי השמועה, אורגיות פרועות בצד תפילות מטורטיות. אחרוני השבתאים פוחדים מחשיפה כמו מאש. המוסלמים מתייחסים אליהם בחשדנות, והיהודים בזים להם ולמשיחם. משה טמקין פגש את צעירי הכת ושמע מהם על החיים בשקר

טוען שהוא לא מרגיש כאן בבית, שהוא בעצם כמו דג מחוץ למים. יש רק מקום אחד בעיר, שבו הוא מוצא קצת שלוה. זהו בית-קברות מבודד ברובע אושקודאר, בצד האסיאתי של העיר. במבט ראשון המקום נראה כמו בית-קברות מוסלמי רגיל לחלוטין. סמוך לכניסה, למשל, קבור כדורגלן-עבר מקבוצת פנרבחצ'ה, עטוף בצבעי הקבוצה. אלא שפנימה יותר, במעמקי המתחם, הרברים מתחילים להיראות אחרת. זורלו מצביע על ההבדלים הקטנים והמשמעותיים: רוב המצבות מכוסות במלט, לא באדמה, ומורכבות עליהן תמונות המתים. אלו אינם מנהגים מוסלמיים, ורבים מהמתים כאן מסביר זורלו, אינם באמת מוסלמים אלא שבתאים - צאצאי מאמינים יהודים של שבתאי צבי, הקבליסט בן המאה ה-17, שהכריז על עצמו כמשיח בן דוד. כרי לחמוק מעונש מוות בידי הסולטאן העותמאני התאסלם צבי, וכמה מחסידיו האדוקים הלכו בעקבותיו. כלפי חוץ הם הפכו למוסלמים, אבל בסתר הם קיימו פולחן יהודי



אנחנו יהודים ממש כמוכם, אילגו זורלו

משיח וטמקין, איסטנבול

הקהילה היהודית לא רוצה קשר עם השבתאים ומתכחשת לקיומם. "מבחינתנו", אומר הרב יצחק חלבה, "יש רק יהודים ומוסלמים. שום דבר באמצע. האנשים שאתה מדבר עליהם הם מוסלמים"

מדי בוקר. קצת לפני הורחה מתייצב קשיש בן 92 לחוף הבוספורוס. הוא עומד מול המים ומתפלל במשך כמה דקות בשקט. אחר-כך, בסיום התפילה, הוא מרים את העיניים לכיוון מזרח ומדקלם בלדינו את המשפט "Sabetai, Sabetai. Sabetai" ("שבתאי, שבתאי, אנחנו מצפים לך"). הזקן הזה מקיים מנהג בן 300 שנה שבקרוב, כך נראה, לא יישאר ממנו זכר. אילגו זורלו, רואה-חשבון נעים-הליכות בן 30, עושה כל מה שהוא יכול כדי שזה לא יקרה. זורלו הוא מומחה לא קטן למטבח הטורקי האוטנטי ולשוקי איסטנבול. מומלץ לצרף אותו לכל סיבוב בעיר. הוא מכיר את המסעדות המעולות והלא מתוררות, הוא מרחיק אותך ממלכודות התיירים, הוא מוביל אותך אל חנויות העור הכי זולות בסביבה. אבל למרות שהוא בילה את כל חייו בעיר הענקית הזו ומכיר אותה ממש בעל-פה, זורלו

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LOUIS JACOBS

SHABBETAI TSEVI (1626–1676), Jewish messianic pretender (in the definition of those who did not believe in him) and founder of the messianic movement known as Shabbateanism. The Shabbatean movement is in many ways unique, yet it is also representative of the forces at work in Jewish history and of the interaction of external and internal factors.

Background. With the expulsion of the Jews at the end of the fifteenth century from Spain and Portugal, a new phase began in Jewish history. The magnitude of the disaster and sufferings seemed to indicate the "birth pangs" of the messianic age as foretold by tradition. Messianic expectations and speculations were rife, and false messiahs arose and disappeared, but still salvation tarried, and new and greater afflictions followed instead, reaching a climax in the Cossack massacres led by Bogdan Khmel'nitskii. Tens of thousands of Jews were slaughtered in these massacres between 1648 and 1658 in Poland and the Ukraine; the decade was a peak of suffering in the postmedieval period, unparalleled until the twentieth century. But now at least every Jew knew that the Messiah was coming, for he had to come. By that time the doctrine of the sixteenth-century qabbalist Isaac Luria had come to dominate Jewish thought and piety, not least because of its profoundly messianic orientation. The qabbalists focused all their religious fervor and asceticism, their power of prayer and meditation, on the imminent advent of redemption. And it was indeed from the circle of qabbalists that the messiah appeared.

Life. Shabbetai was born in 1626 into the prosperous Tsevi family of merchants living in Smyrna (İzmir), a city in Asia Minor situated within the Ottoman empire. There, Jews—because of their knowledge of languages, their international connections, and their familiarity with local conditions—were much in demand as agents and brokers by English, Dutch, and other merchants and companies that operated in the Levant. As was customary in Jewish families, Shabbetai, the gifted son, did not go into business but devoted himself to study, first of the Talmud and then of Qabbalah. He seems to have been not only gifted as a scholar but also endowed with a magnetic personality. He soon exhibited eccentric behavior and strange fantasies, which probably also included messianic elements. To avoid scandal, the rabbis and the family made him leave his hometown, and after some wandering through Turkey, he came to Jerusalem. There the winsome young ascetic did not fail to attract attention, not least because of his strange behavior. Nevertheless, he seems to have been sufficiently respected to be sent as emissary of the community to Egypt to collect alms for the Holy City. On his return to Palestine he met in Gaza another young rabbi from Jerusalem, Natan (henceforth known as the prophet Natan of Gaza), who claimed that during the Shavu'ot vigil in May 1665 he had experienced a vision in which it was divinely revealed to him that Shabbetai was the Lord's anointed one, the Messiah of Israel.

Some historians argue that this proclamation was the climax of a messianic plan carefully laid and hatched by Shabbetai and his supporters, who had long cultivated messianic fantasies. Gershom Scholem, on the other hand, maintains that the event was sudden and unpremeditated, that its explosive result was due to a combination of circumstances: the messianic mood of the age, Shabbetai's peculiar character, and Natan's charismatic and prophetic personality. Shabbetai's erratic behavior, diagnosed by Scholem as a manic-depressive condition (an interpretation contested by others), proved to be of theological significance. In his manic states, which would indeed account for his eccentric actions, Shabbetai invented new rituals, at times involving deliberate and highly ritualized transgressions of Jewish law. These instances of messianic antinomianism would occasionally be accompanied by a blasphemous pun. For the traditional liturgical formula "thou who loosenest [*mattir*] those in bonds [*asurim*]," Shabbetai would substitute, when transgressing the law, the benediction "thou who permittest [*mattir*] all prohibitions [*issurim*]." This incipient messianic antinomianism would prove a major factor in the subsequent development of the movement.

SABETAYCILAR , VE

TERCÜME:

TÜRKİYEDE BUGÜNKÜ DÖNMELER

ARASINDA

(Gazeteci Yohay Hakak'ın Yediyot Aharonot'ta 22.3.96'da yayınlanan yazısından)

Türkiyede, Sabetaycı denen Şabtay Tsvi temsilcileriyle karşılaşmak kolay olmadı. Bunlar inançlarından kimseye bahsetmemeye, korkularından dolayı büyük dikkat gösteriyorlar. Gerçekten dönmeler çiftte bir kişiliğe sahipler: Dışa karşı görünüşleri tamamen Müslüman; gizli olarak da, kimsenin bilmemesine itina göstererek geleneklerini devam ettiriyorlar. Türkiyenin politika, ticaret letişim ve bilim hayatında bu kişilere rastlanabiliyor. Sırlarının ortaya çıkması kendilerini o derece ürkütüyor ki kendi çocuklarına dahi Sabetaycı inançları ancak evlenme çağında açıklıyorlar. O güne kadar çocukların bildikleri, ailelerinin değişik bir gruba ait olduklarıdır, fakat bu değişikliğin ne olduğu anlamını bilmiyorlar. O bakımdan dönme cemaati temsilcilerinin basına gözükmekten çekinmelerini anlamak mümkün.

Yaptığımız araştırma, 1950'lerin başında, birkaç dönme ailesinin İsrail'e göç ederek Ramle civarında yerleştiğini gösterdiyse de, bunlara veya çocuklarına bugün rastlamak kabil olmadı. Bunların Yahudi nüfusa karışarak ortadan kaybolduğu kabul edilebilir. Varsa bile, kimsenin benliğini ilan etme tehlikesini alması beklenmez.

Türkiye'deki dönmelerin temsilcilerine Türk dostlar aracılığıyla varmak kabil oldu. Önce bazıları benimle telefonda görüştüler ve İstanbul'a vardığımda karşılaşabileceğimizi, ancak neşredilecek bir röportajın eninde sonunda Türkiye'de de okunacağını ve gerçek kişiliklerinin ortaya çıkmasını istemediklerini söylediler.

Bunlara rağmen, görüşmeyi kabul eden biri oldu: adı İLGAZ ZORLU, 27 yaşında mall müşavir, Şişli'de oturuyor. Birkaç yıldır Yahudileşip İsrail'e göç etmeyi arzuluyor. Son aylarda İlgaz Zorlu, kendisi ile aynı istekte olan genç Sabetaycı dönmeler grubuna katılarak, Türkiye'nin Yahudi makamlarına başvurmayı kararlaştırmışlar. Türkiye Yahudi cemaati idarecileri ve Hahambaşlığı, çok bariz bir memnuniyetsizlikle isteklerini reddetmişler. Zorlu, "Hahambaşlık bizim Yahudi olmadığımızı, Yahudiliğin hiçbir parçasını oluşturmadığımızı, ve kendilerini lütfen rahatsız etmememiz talep ettiler" diyor.

Türkiyede bugün yaşayan dönmeler arasında, geleneklerini koruyanların sayısı takriben 5000. İslam Türkler'e katılarak kimliklerini kaybetmekte olanların sayısı ise 40.000 civarında.

İSRALİ BASININDA YAYINLANAN BİR RÖPORTAJA GÖRE TÜRKİYEDE YAŞAYAN 5000 KADAR "SABETAYCI" DÖNME ARASINDA YAHUDİLİĞE DÖNMEK VE HATTA İSRAIL'E GÖÇ ETMEK İSTİYENLER VAR.

DİLEKLERİ: İsrailde Karaim'ler gibi bir statüde olmak.

Yediyot Aharonot gazetesinin 22 Mart 1996 Cuma günkü Tel -Aviv ilavesinde yayınlanan bir araştırma - röportajda (İstanbuldan Yohay Hakak'ın röportajı) Türk Sabetaycılarının arasında Müslüman çoğunluk arasında eriyip gitmeyi kabullenmeyi Yahudiliğe dönmek isteyen bir topluluğun olduğu anlatılıyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı S. Demirel'in İsrail ziyaretleri esnasında bu durumdan Şaradl RAV-RAŞI Eliyau Bakşi -Doron'a bahseden Türkiye'deki kültür ateşesi Zall de Toledo'ya Rav Raşl'nin yanıtı şu oldu: "Bu duyulmamış ve son derece enteresan bir durum... Bunların, Yahudi olmayanlara uygulanan (GİYUR LE - HUMRA) işlemiyle Yahudi dinine kabulleri düşünülebilir. Bu ilimli tepkiye rağmen gerek Türkiyede dindar çevrelerin, gerek İsraildeki koyu dindar (HAREDI) çevrelerin Sabetaycılarının böyle bir girişimine şiddetle karşı olmaları bekleniyor.

Yahudilikte "yalancı mesih" onbinlerce müritli olduğu bir devirde (1666' da) İslamiyetli kabul ederek müritlerinin de müslümanlaştığı Şabtay Tsvi (Sabetay Sevi), mesihliğine bugüne kadar inanan (Sabetaycı - Şabtaim - dönmeler) arasında Yahudiliğe yaklaşmak isteyenlerin çoğalmasında, Türkiyede İslam fundamentalizminin güçlenmesiyle izah ediliyor.

Sabetaycılarının bu amaçla başvurdukları Türkiye hahambaşlığı, Müslüman olanların Yahudiliğe alınmasına karşı olması nedeniyle Türk Sabetaycılarının dileğini şiddetle reddetmiş.

İlgaz Zorlu adlı bir Sabetaycı, Yahudiliğe dönme sürecine İsrailde başlayıp bir yıl Ülpan - Yeşiva yaptıktan sonra isteği kabul edilmediğinden yurduna dönmüş. " Tiryaki" dergisinde sık sık Sabetaycılık - Yahudilik - Kabala hakkında ilginç ve bilgilil yazılar yazan İlgaz Zorlu'nun hikayesini (ŞABTAIM - SABETAYCI) tarikatın tarih ve geleneklerini, Yediyot Ahronot yazarı Yohay Hakak şöyle dile getiriyor:

ŞABTAY TSVİ
İSLAMİYETİ KABUL EDEN TUHAF YAHUDİ MESİHİ:

Şabtay Tsvi (Sabetay Sevi) mesihlik, yalancı mesihlik, Yahudi tarihinin en karışık en çok tartışılan, en çok araştırılan ve en fazla görüş farkarı arzeden mevzularındandır.

Şabtay Tsvi, 1626 yılının 9 av (teşa beav) günü İzmir'de doğmuştur. Teşa Beav Yahudi dini ve tarihi açısından son derece anlamlı bir gündür: Bu günde Babilin Kral Şlomo mabedini yakmışlar, aynı günde Romalılar ikinci kutsal tapınağı ve devrin Yahudi Devletini yıkmışlardır. Midraş'a göre Yahudilerin beklediği Maşlah bu günde deşacaktır. Şabtay Tsvi İzmirli Yahudi tüccar bir ailenin oğlu olup genç yaşta dine merak sarmış, çok başarılı bir din adamı olarak, Talmud ve özellikle "KABALA" alanında üstün kabiliyet niteliğiyle tanınmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak hem çok yakışıklı, hem de çok güzel bir ses ve müzik kabiliyeti olduğundan etrafında kolaylıkla hayranlar toplayabilmiştir.

Araştırmalar, Şabtay tsvi'nin ruhi dengesinin pek muntazam olmadığını göstermektedir. 20 - 11 yaşlarında tuhaf davranışlarından dolayı İzmir Hahamları onun şehirden kovulmasını sağlamışlardır. Tsvi Türkiye ve Yunanistanın birçok illerine giderek, yaptığı konuşmalarla bir çok hayran toplamış, fakat aynı şekilde kazandığı düşmanlar yüzünden birçok şehirden kovulmuştur.

Başarılı olmayan iki evlilikten sonra, 1644 yılında ŞABTAY TSVİ, Sara adlı, Polonya doğumlu, anne ve babası Hemillinski pogromlarında öldürülmüş, Avrupada bir şehirden bir şehire göç eden, hayatını orospulukla kazanan ve ruhsal dengesi tam olmayan bir kadınla evlendi. Sara, öncedenberi etrafındakilere bir gün Maşlah ile evleneceğini söylemekteydi. Bu haber her nasılsa o devirde ERETS İSRAEL'DE bulunan Şabtay'ın kulağına gelince, Avrupa'ya adamlarını gönderip Sara'yı getirtilir ve kısa zaman sonra onunla evlenir.

İşte Şabtay Tsvi bu tuhaf göçebeliği esnasında, Gazze'li Natan adlı, hem din adamı, hem Kabala mütehasısı hem de ruhi dengesizlikleri tedavide ün salmış birine, kendi ruhi problemlerine çare aramak üzere başvurur. Natan'ın teşhisi ise başkadır: Tsvi'nin şikayetleri hastalık emareleri değil, ruhi düzeyinin son derece yüksek tipki Yahudi Milletinin beklediği Mesih'in ruhsal özelliklerine sahip olmasından ileri gelmektedir. Bundan sonra Gazze'li Natan her yerde Şabtay Tsvi'nin nesillerden beri Yahudilerin kurtarıcı olarak beklediği Mesih (MAŞİAH) ruhunu taşıdığını ilan eder. Kısa zaman sonra da, Şabtay Tsvi giderek artan hayran ve müritlerini Gazze'de toplayarak, kendisini Yahudilerin Mesih'i olarak ilan eder. 12 Yahudi kabilesini temsilen 12 temsilci tayin ederek, hayranları ve müritlerinin başında Yeruşalayim'e varır. Şehrin girişinde, Kralliyet gıysileri kuşanmış ve ata binmiş olarak Kudüs surları etrafında yedi kere döner bu esnada Natan, bütün Yahudilerin dine dönmeleri (HAZARA BİTŞUVA) gereği ve bu şekilde kurtuluşun yaklaşıcağı yönünde vaazlar vermektedir.

Tsvi'nin temsilcileri ise Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika'daki Yahudi cemaatlerine giderek, Maşlah'ın ortaya çıktığını ve kurtuluşun çok yaklaştığı haberini yaymaktadır.

1665 A-aliğinde Şabtay Tsvi, Dünya Yahudi Krallığını tekrar kurmanın ilk önemli basamağı olarak Sultanın yerini almak kararını ilan ettikten sonra, müritlerinden bir topluluk başında gemi ile İstanbul'a doğru yola çıkar. Haber Padışahın Sarayına ulaşır ve kendisini tahittan indireceğini iddia eden Tsvi, gemiden inince derhal tevkif edilir ve hapse gönderilir. Maşlah'ın hapsedildiği süratle yayılır. Kısa zaman sonra Şabtay Tsvi mahkemeye verilir. Mahkeme sonucu kendisine ya ölüme mahkum edilmek, ya da İslamiyeti kabul etmek seçeneği tanınır. Kendisi de İslamiyete giren Padışahın Hekimbaşısı (Mustafa Hayatizade) tavsiyesiyle Tsvi , Kelime Şahadet getirir ve İslamiyetli kabullenir. (AZİZ MEHMET EFENDİ) adını alır.

► Sabataycılık üzerindeki münakaşanın arttığı günlerde bazı gazeteciler Türkiye Hahambaşısı ünlü bilgin **Haim Becerano**'ya da "dönmeler"le Yahudiliğin ne dereceye kadar alakası olduğunu sormuşlardır. 12 Ocak 1924 tarihli mülakatında hahambaşı; *"Ben dinler konusunda çok tetkikat yaptım, ancak bu Selânikliler konusunda bilgim yoktur. Herkes ne kadar biliyorsa ben de o kadar biliyorum"* diyor.

OSMANLI MODERNLEŞMESİ VE SABATAYCILIK

İLBER ORTAYLI

16 Eylül 1666 da hem Yahudilik, hem de Türkiye tarihi için önemli bir olay meydana geldi. Bir müddettir beklenen Mesih olduğunu iddia eden ve imparatorluğun birçok köşesinde hatta doğu Avrupadaki Yahudilerin bile bir kesimini ikna eden Sabetaî Zvi Sultan IV. Mehmed tarafından Edirneye getirtilmiş ve orada divanda yargılanmıştı. İzmirde kazandığı etkiden dolayı, hahamların şikâyeti ve huzursuzluk bunun nedeniydi. Bizzat Şeyhülislam Vanî Mehmet Efendi yargıçlardandı. Ölümüne mahkum edileceğini öğrendiği son anda bir tereddüt ve ardından bir telkinle Müslümanlığı kabul etti ve Aziz Mehmet Efendi adını aldı. Bunu kendisine telkin eden muhtedî bir Yahudi olan he-

► Musevilerden önce batılılaşma ve eğitim ile Sabataycılar daha önce durumlarını yükselttiler (emancipé) ve bir yerde batı Avrupada Musevilerin kendi cemiyetlerine yaptıkları kültürel katkıyı, Türk cemiyetinde Sabataycılar yaptılar. Nitekim bir müddet sonra kurulacak Fevziye ve Terakki gibi gerçek anlamdaki gayrinasiumlar laik eğitime önem vermiştir. Onların bugünkü devamı olan Işık Lisesi de (İstanbul!) kanunî zorunluk olan din derslerini laik bir rhetorique ile sürdürmektedir.

kimbaşı Hayatîzadeydi. Sabataî Zvi bağışlandı, kendisine 150 akçe yevmiye bağlandı ve kapucubaşılık memuriyetinden emekli edildi. Maiyyetine de benzer rütbe ve armağanlar verildi. Kendisine inananlarla birlikte özellikle hadiselerle sebeb olduğu İzmirli terkedecek-

ti. Bundan sonra Selânik şehri cemaatinin başlıca yerleşme yeri oldu. Sabataî bundan sonra Arnavutluk'u geçmiş ve orada ölmüştür. Kendisine inananlar Mesih'in tekrar dönmesini bekliyorlardı. Sabatayın cemaatine Türkler (dönme) veya (avdeti) eski dindaşları yani Yahudiler ise sazanikos (renkleri değişen bir balık ol-

Moshe Temkin Istanbul

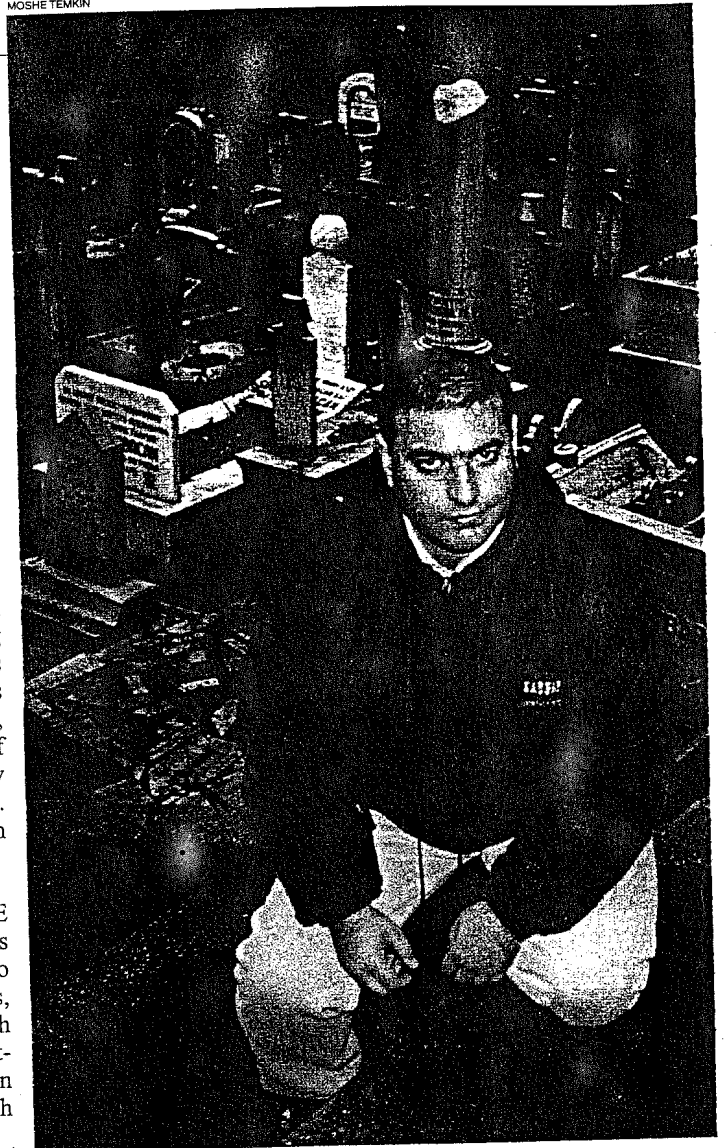
ILGAZ ZORLU IS SOMETHING OF an expert on the markets of Istanbul and Turkish cuisine. As he strolls down lesser known streets, pointing out this gem of a restaurant and that great leather shop, dozens of people greet him. But although the 30-year-old accountant has lived in this enormous city all his life, and knows most of it practically by heart, he claims he doesn't feel quite at home here.

There is one place where Zorlu finds peace: a secluded cemetery in the Uskudar district, across the Bosphorus on the Asian side of the city. At first, it looks like an ordinary Muslim cemetery, but Zorlu and his companions begin to point out the small differences. Many of the tombs are covered by a concrete surface, not earth, and have pictures of the deceased on them. These are not Islamic customs, and many of those buried here, he explains, are not Muslims — well, not exactly. Rather, they're Sabbateans — members of a community descended from Jewish followers of the 17th-century self-proclaimed messiah Shabbtai Tzvi. To avoid execution by the sultan, Tzvi converted to Islam in 1666; the most extreme of his followers did so as well, practicing Islam outwardly and a strange form of Judaism in secret — a Judaism that supposedly included ritual adulterous orgies. Until this century, the sect was concentrated in the city of Saloniki; today most Sabbateans live in Istanbul.

attest, but, as Zorlu puts it, "all the Muslims know we're different." Their elders speak Turkish in an accent heavily flavored by Ladino, the Judeo-Spanish of Sephardi Jews. Their beliefs and rituals are largely unknown to outsiders. They rarely go to mosques. They marry mainly among themselves and live in the neighborhoods on the European side — Nisantasi, Sisli and Haskoy — where most of the city's Jews also reside. But they are not Jews either. The Jewish community wants nothing to do with them. "As far as we're concerned," says Rabbi Yitzhak Haleva, deputy chief rabbi of Istanbul, "there are only Jews and Muslims. There's nothing in between."

SO WHO ARE THE Sabbateans? This is what Zorlu set out to explain in his book, "Yes, I Am a Salonikan," which has been through six printings since its publication earlier this year and which

MOSHE TEMKIN



Shabbtai Tzvi Would Be Proud

And everyone in Istanbul, so it seems, knows about the Sabbateans, or, as they are known here, the Doenmeh ("converts" or "apostates" in Turkish; the Sabbateans themselves dislike this title, and seldom use it.) They are perhaps Turkey's best-known secret. No Sabbatean, with the exception of Ilgaz Zorlu himself, will ever publicly admit to being one, and they are rarely talked about. Even the Sabbateans themselves learn their real identities only when they turn 18, when the secret is finally revealed to them by their parents. This tradition of zealously maintaining a double identity in Muslim society has been passed on for generations.

They're Muslims, as their identity cards

has made its author persona non grata in the Sabbatean community. After centuries of secrecy and denial, Zorlu is determined to break the silence, to put the issue on the public agenda, and to prove that the Sabbateans are actually crypto-Jews, that their Muslim appearances are nothing more than a sham.

Sabbatean leaders are convinced that Zorlu's disclosure has put the community in jeopardy, and have washed their hands of him. Some critics argue that he is only after publicity. Zorlu rejects the criticism and stresses that he wants only one thing: official recognition on the part of the Jewish rabbinical establishment, that the Sabbateans are Jews, albeit with a difference.

They secretly practice a strange form of Judaism, but are not recognized as Jews. At least one of Turkey's Doenmeh would like to change this.

So far, he's been turned down. Three years ago, he spent time in Israel, at the religious kibbutz, Yavneh. He met with Sephardi Chief Rabbi Rafael Bakshi-Doron, who hadn't even heard of the Sabbateans. Zorlu told Bakshi-Doron that if the Sabbateans were recognized as Jews, many would settle in Israel. Bakshi-Doron replied that they would have to undergo full Orthodox conversion. This was unacceptable to Zorlu; he feels they are already Jewish.

About five years ago he had a Jewish girlfriend, whom he wanted to marry. He claims her family forced her to leave him because they discovered he is a Sabbatean.

Yet he hasn't given up. "We're only asking for the kind of recognition given to the

Tiryaki

Söylediklerinizin hiçbirinde sizinle aynı düşüncede değilim; ancak onları söyleme hakkınızı ölünceye değin savunacağım.

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Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Sabataycılık
Prof. Dr İLBER ORTAYLI'nın yazısı, 9. Sayfada

■ الدونمة (يهود -)

أحدثت سيطرة العثمانيين على العالم الإسلامي تبديلاً جذرياً في السلطة، فقد اقتدى الحاكم العثماني بالخليفة العباسي، وجمع السلطتين الدينية والزمنية.

وقد نتج من التسامح الذي كان سائداً وقتها بروز نفوذ الأقليات الدينية والقومية، وهكذا حظي اليهود برعاية السلاطين واهتمامهم ووجدوا في الدولة العثمانية ملجأً يحميهم من التشرد والضيق.

لكن الضعف المتزايد في نظم الدولة العثمانية وازدهار التصوف الديني رافقه بروز ظاهرة الدجل الديني، وظهر عدة أشخاص من المسلمين والمسيحيين ادعوا النبوة واستغل اليهود ما هو جارٍ في الدولة على نحو أشد خطورة، فادعى سبتاي زيفي النبوة، وزعم أنه هو المسيح المنتظر الذي سينقذ اليهود ويطهرهم ويعيد لهم أرضهم ويحقق لهم وحدتهم السياسية التي افتقدوها منذ مئات السنين، إلا أن السلطة العثمانية لم تلجأ إلى الرد على الادعاء اليهودي بالقوة، كما فعلت مع بقية الأقليات، بل تعاملت معهم بمنتهى اللين.

كثرت التفسيرات حول مصطلح يهود الدونمة، فبعضهم عرفها بالعودة أو الرجوع أو الارتداد، وبذلك يكون المصطلح قد حمل أكثر مما يحتمل، ومرد ذلك ببساطة، أن الفئة اليهودية التي تظاهرت باعتناق الإسلام طابقت بمصطلح المؤمنين، فرفض رجال الدين المسلمين والأتراك آنذاك ذلك بشدة وصمموا على تسميتهم بالمهتدين، وبعد جدال عنيف اتفق الطرفان على مصطلح العودة. وبعد سنة ١٩٢٤م، واعتماد الحرف اللاتيني بدلاً من الحرف العربي حولت كلمة عودة

العربية إلى ما يقابلها بالتركية الحديثة وهي الدونمة (dönme)، ومنذ ذلك التاريخ أطلق على اليهود الذين أسلموا مصطلح يهود الدونمة (dönme yahudlar).

سبتاي زيفي

ولد سبتاي زيفي Sabatay Zevi سنة ١٦٢٦، في أزميز من أب يدعى موردخاي، عمل بالتجارة بعد توطنه في أزميز قادماً إليها من اليونان، وهو من يهود إسبانيا. لاحظ عليه والده الطموح وحب الاستطلاع، فأرسله إلى الحلقات السرية التي كانت الحاخامية اليهودية تقيمها وتطالب آباء اليهود بإرسال أبنائهم إليها. فبدأ بدراسة التوراة والتلمود، وفي الثامنة عشرة من عمره حصل على مرتبة الحاخامية بدرجة أستاذ.

عرف عن سبتاي زيفي بعد بلوغه الخامسة عشرة كثرة الاعتكاف والصوم في أوقات يراها هو، وتزوج مرتين بعد بلوغه الثانية والعشرين، ولكنه لم يقرب زوجته، إذ بث في روع الناس أن رب بني إسرائيل لم يأذن له بالزواج، وأنه فرض عليه الطهارة، فذاع صيته وتناقل يهود أزميز أخباره إلى جميع المدن التركية. ولم تمض عدة أشهر حتى أسبغ على نفسه صفات النبوة، وبألف في صيامه وعبادته.

بعد اطمئنان سبتاي زيفي إلى زيادة شعبيته، وإسكات خصومه الدينيين، أعلن نبوته عام ١٦٤٨م، وصرح في بيان نبوته أنه المسيح المنتظر الذي سينقذ بني إسرائيل مما هم فيه، وأنه سيحكم العالم بإقامته دولة يهودية في «أورشليم» عاصمة تلك الدولة المزعومة.

فور إعلان سبتاي زيفي نبوته وجه بياناً إلى اليهود في كل مكان، جاء فيه «سلام

من ابن الله سبتاي زيفي مسيح إسرائيل ومخلصها إلى كل فرد من بني إسرائيل، لقد نلتهم شرف معاصرة منقذ بني إسرائيل ومخلصهم الذي بشر به أنبيأؤنا وأباؤنا، فعليكم أن تجعلوا أحزانكم أفراحاً وصيامكم إبطاراً ولهاواً، فلن تحزنوا بعد اليوم فإن حكمكم لم يقتصر على أمم الأرض بل سيتعداها إلى جميع المخلوقات في أعماق البحار فكل هؤلاء مسخرون لكم ولرفاهيتكم».

وتلاقت الأحداث حين زعمت فتاة يهودية بولونية عام ١٦٦٦، أنها رأت نوراً يسطع عليها، وأنها ستتزوج من المسيح الذي سيظهر قريباً، وحالما سمع بها سبتاي، رد على رؤياها بأن طلبها للزواج وتزوجها في القاهرة، وقد أدت دوراً مهماً في إنجاح دعوته واستمرارها من بعده.

لم يتمكن أعداء سبتاي زيفي من مواجهة نبوءته، وتحول يهود أزميز إلى مؤيدين بل ومدافعين عنه، فغصت مدينة أزميز سنة ١٦٦٦م ببسطاء اليهود الذين أيقنوا أن مسيحهم (مطهرهم) ظهر وأن عذابهم انتهى، ولا سيما بعد بيان النبوة الذي أذاعه سبتاي زيفي ووضح لهم مهامه المكلف بها من رب بني إسرائيل.

إزاء ازدياد مؤيديه وأنصاره حُق لسبتاي زيفي لبس تاج، فأقيمت المراسيم الرسمية وسط جموع غفيرة، وبعدها حددت مواعيد لاستقبال الزوار ذكوراً وإناثاً، ثم انصرف ليخطط لبني إسرائيل، فقسم العالم إلى ٣٨ منطقة، وعين لكل منطقة حاكماً يهودياً وألزمه بالنهج الذي رسمه، فاقترب بعمله من الماسونية. وبعد ذلك وجه رسائل كثيرة إلى الخاصة والعامة داخل المدن التركية وخارجها، وكان يمهرها

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ERNESTINE G. E. VAN DER WALL

A Precursor of Christ or a Jewish Impostor?

Petrus Serrarius and Jean de Labadie on the Jewish Messianic Movement around Sabbatai Sevi

The present article considers the relationship between Christian millenarianism and Jewish messianism by examining two Christian responses to one of the most remarkable episodes in seventeenth-century Jewish history: the Sabbatian movement. The reactions of Petrus Serrarius and Jean de Labadie to this Jewish messianic revival may provide valuable insight into the extent of seventeenth-century philojudaeistic millenarianism and into the attempts made at that time to synthesize Christian millenarianism and Jewish messianism, resulting in a phenomenon which may be labelled as „Christian Sabbatianism“.

In the mid-1660s the Jewish world was profoundly shaken by the outbreak of messianic frenzy around a rabbinic scholar from Smyrna, Sabbatai Sevi.¹ From 1648 onwards Sabbatai Sevi had repeatedly claimed to be the Messiah, but since he was known to be mentally afflicted at times – in present-day psychological terms he is called „an extreme case of manic-depressive psychosis“² – no attention had been paid to his messianic claims. In 1665, however, this would change dramatically. Being in great spiritual despair and seeking help, Sabbatai travelled to Gaza in order to visit Rabbi Nathan, a brilliant young kabbalist who had acquired great fame for his capacities to cure the mentally ill. In Sabbatai's case, however, Nathan did much more than only cure him: having had a vision of Sabbatai as the Messiah, he knew to convince the latter of his messianic destiny. On 31 May 1665 Sabbatai proclaimed himself Messiah and now, in sharp contrast with his earlier proclamations, the effect of this announcement was unexpectedly strong, occasioning a frenzy which immediately spread to Jewish communities throughout the diaspora. Everywhere Jews were seized by an extraordinary messianic enthusiasm, being confident that the time of redemption was at hand. It was a mass movement and ‚believers‘ (as Sabbatai's adherents were called) came from all classes of society. The movement

¹ On Sabbatai Sevi and the revival around him, see the leading work on the subject by G. Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi. The Mystical Messiah 1626–1676, London 1973.

² Encyclopedia Judaica s. v. Sabbatai Sevi, 1222.

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Ellen Zorlu

19 AUGUSTOS 1993

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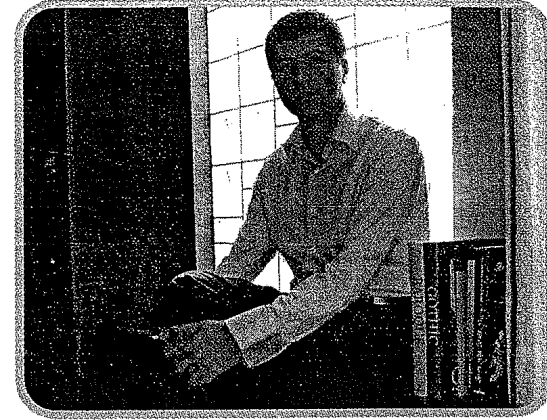
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28 ARALIK 2006 - NOKTA DERGİSİ 2006/09

İçindekiler



10-17 Cengiz Şişman, Sabetaycılık üzerine 9 yıl çalışmış, doktorasını ABD'de Harvard Üniversitesi'nde "Osmanlı Yahudi Tarihi" konusunda vermiş bir uzman. Konuyla ilgili kitabı önce Stanford University Press'ten İngilizce olarak yayımlanacak, ardından Türkçesi basılacak. Uzmanlığını Nokta okurları için konuştu.



44-47 Filistin'de El Fetih ve Hamas milisleri sivililer üzerinden birbirleriyle çatışıyor. ABD ve İsrail açıkça El Fetih'i ve Mahmut Abbas'ı desteklerken, demokratik seçimle iş başına gelen Hamas hükümetini devirmek için Gazze'deki insani krize hiçbir müdahalede bulunulmuyor.

18-19 Sabetaycılıkla ilgili iddialarda sık sık karşımıza çıkan onomastik, Türkçe karşılığıyla "adbilim"i Türkiye'nin önde gelen dilbilim uzmanları anlattı. Uzmanlar, son dönemlerin "çoksatar" kitaplarında rastlamadığımız bir tablo çiziyorlar.

28-31 Caner - Tülin, Safiye - Faik, Ahu - Meriç ve tabii Semra Hanım... Bu zevatin ruh sağlığını bozduğu iddiaları ayyuka çıkınca RTÜK devreye girdi, programları yayından kaldırdı. Kadın programlarının yarattığı ruh halini olay yerinde tespit ettik.

SABETAYCILIĞI HEP "ÇOK SATAR" LARDAN OKUDUNUZ,
HİKÂYİYİ BİR DE İŞİN "DOKTOR"UNDAN DİNLEYİN

"Ortada açığa vurulmayı bekleyen bir sır yok!"

Haber: Cengiz ŞİŞMAN
cevher@noktadergisi.com.tr

Türkiye'de Sabetaycılık konusu neden bu kadar gündemde?

Aslında bu konu her zaman ilgi çekici olmuştur, ancak hiçbir zaman günümüzdeki kadar geniş kitlelerin ilgisini çekmemiştir. Özellikle son yıllarda adeta Cumhuriyet'in bütün basınına ya da basınısızlıklarını açıklayan köylü yaklaşımın aracı oldu. Bir yandan "Sabetayist Cumhuriyet" kavramı kullanılırken bir yandan da "Ülusalçılar" diye tabir ettiğimiz geniş kesimin ortak paydalarını oluşturma sürecinde bir 'öteki' ya da bir günah keçisi oldu. Ümit ederim bugünkü konuşmamız sorunuzun daha geniş bir yanıtı olur.

Sizin de ilginiz bu çerçevede mi başladı?

Hayır. İlgin yaklaşık 10-12 yıl önceye dayanıyor. Başlarda işin günümüzdeki siyasi boyutundan ziyade tarihi ve mistik boyutuyla ilgileniyordum. Çünkü bu hadise Yahudi ve Osmanlı tarihinin en önemli olaylarından birisidir. Örneğin Yahudilik tarihinin en büyük mesiyani (Mehdici -Nokta) hareketidir. O yüzden hareketin ilk ortaya çıktığı dönem olan 17. yüzyıldan itibaren hem Yahudi dünyasında hem Hıristiyan Avrupa dünyasında çok ilgi çekmiş ve konu üzerine yüzlerce hatta binlerce kitap, makale ve hatıra yayımlanmıştır. Türkiye'de konunun nasıl tartışıldığına baktığımda, neredeyse sadece politikaya indirgenmiş, son yüzyıla hapsolmuş, diğer Batı dillerindeki ve İbrani'deki literatürden bîhaber bir bilgi yığını ile karşılaştım.

350 yıllık meselenin tarihi ve dini boyutları anlaşılmasın, bugününün anlaşılabilceğini düşünmüyorum. İşte ben çalışmalarına bu eksikliklerin farkında olarak başladım.

İlk izlenimleriniz neler oldu?

İlk izlenimleri edinmek bir hayli uzun sürdü doğrusu. Konu çok boyutlu. Osmanlı Sabetayistleri yanında Yahudi ve Hıristiyan



Cengiz Şişman

Cengiz Şişman kim?

Bogaziçi Üniversitesi, İktisadi İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, 1994'e bitirdikten sonra ABD'de Temple Üniversitesi'nde Yahudilik çalışmaları üzerine master yaptı. 1996 yılında Harvard Üniversitesi'nde ikinci master çalışmasını tamamlayıp "Osmanlı Yahudi Tarihi" üzerine doktora çalışmasına başladı. 2004 yılında Sabetaycılık üzerine olan tezini bitirdi. Bu sırada İbranice öğrenmek ve arşiv araştırmaları yapmak üzere bir süre İsrail'de yaşadı. Harvard, Hebrew, Koç, Bogaziçi, Bilkent ve son olarak TOBB-ETÜ Üniversitelerinde başta Yahudilik olmak üzere Türk ve Osmanlı tarihleri üzerine dersler verdi, bu derslerini halen sürdürüyor. 2005 - 2006 yılında TÜBİTAK'ta Sosyal Bilimlerden Sorumlu Başkan Danışmanı olarak görev yaptı. Uluslararası yayınları ve ödülleri var. E-mail: cengiz.sisman@gmail.com

Sabetayistler var. Ben onlarla da ilgilendim. Ama burada sadece Osmanlı Sabetayistleri hakkında konuşacağız. Osmanlı cemaati hakkındaki değerlendirmeler çoğu zaman sırlar ve şehir efsaneleri içerisine gömülmüş olarak sunuluyordu. İşin doğrusu cemaatin kendi mensupları da kendi tarihlerini tam olarak bilemediklerinden bunun tersini iddia edebilecek bir bilgi birikimiyle çıkıp konuşamadılar.

Benim amaçlarımdan birisi bu masalımı dünyayı gerçeklik düzeyine getirmeye çalışmak ve bunu da tarihi, dini ve ekonomik faktörleri göz önüne alarak açıklamaktır. Benim çalışmalarım bir anlamda "anti-climatic"tir. Yani bu konuda yazarların pek çoğunun iddiasının tersine, hadisenin çapının ve etkisinin ne tarihte ne de şu anda sanıldığı kadar büyük olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Fark ettiğim başka bir önemli husus da, fenomenin Osmanlı dönemi dinamikleri ile Türkiye dönemi dinamiklerinin çok farklı olduğuydu. En basitinden, Osmanlı döneminde organik bir cemaatten ya da cemaatlerden söz etmek mümkünken; Cumhuriyet döneminde bundan söz etmek mümkün değildir. Çünkü 1924 mübadelesinden sonra cemaat yapısı ve dini yapı neredeyse tamamen bozulmuş ve cemaat mensupları bireyselleşme sürecine girmiştir. Birlik aileler etrafında sürmüş ama bir süre sonra o da çözülmüştür. Bu neden önemlidir? Çünkü şu andaki varsayımlarımızın başında karşımızda organik ve kendi bilincinde olan bir cemaatin var olduğu olgusu gelmektedir. Eğer bu varsayım yanlış ise o zaman görüşlerimizin çoğunu zaten değiştirmemiz gerekecektir.

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Messiah and the Qelipth: the Mental Illness of Sabbatai Sevi



AVNER FALK, who received a Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Washington University in St. Louis, is presently senior and supervising psychologist at Eitanim Psychiatric Hospital, Israel. A lecturer in psychiatry at the Hebrew University Medical School, and member of the Israel Psychological Association, Dr. Falk supervises graduate students in clinical psychology and conducts research studies. His articles have appeared in Contemporary Psychoanalysis, Journal of Forensic Medicine, Midstream, Psychiatry, The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, and The Psychoanalytic Review, among others.

STRACT: The mystical movement of Sabbatianism which developed in Judaism in 17th Century was unique in Jewish history. Never before had the figure of one man elevated to King, Messiah and God, and never had so many Jews left their homes belongings and followed one man in a messianic quest. Sabbatai Sevi attracted followers from all over Europe, Asia and North Africa. He was a flamboyant personality with great charisma during his states of "illumination," which alternated with states of "darkness." Many books were written about him by his contemporaries, his followers and enemies, and important biographies are still being written in this century. The most important of these is Gershom Scholem's (1973), which says that Sabbatai Sevi suffered from a manic-depressive psychosis which is a constitutional illness with no known cure or etiology. With this viewpoint Scholem is unable to explain Sabbatai Sevi's "bizarre acts" other than as the symptoms of his "constitutional" illness. This article surveys the psychoanalytic theories of manic-depressive illness and connects them with the facts of Sabbatai Sevi's life, both his childhood and his later bizarre behavior. It also discusses Sabbatai Sevi's married and sexual life in light of these theories. It investigates the unconscious symbolism of the Kabbalah, the centerpiece of Jewish mysticism, in terms of Sabbatai Sevi's own pathology, since he used the language of the Kabbalah to express his thoughts and feelings. It finally attempts to show that the antipsychoanalytic bias of Gershom Scholem was the pitfall which made it impossible for him to truly understand the person he was studying so carefully.

It is not by accident that by 1982 hundreds of books and thousands of articles had been published on Sabbatai Sevi and his movement. As

This article was written in 1979. A few months before its publication, in March 1982, Gershom Scholem died in Jerusalem. For all the criticism my article levels at his antipsychoanalytic bias, I should still like to dedicate it to his memory. He was a great scholar and a wise man.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE APOSTASY OF
SABBATAI ZEVI (1)

By GEOFFREY L. LEWIS and CECIL ROTH, Oxford

PERHAPS THE MOST remarkable episode in seventeenth-century Jewish history took place at Adrianople in Turkey the morning of Thursday 16th September 1666. Sabbatai i, who had proclaimed himself Messiah and received the ration of his coreligionists, had been brought thither under e guard on the previous day, coming from Abydos, where had spent some time in what had become a luxurious risonment. That morning, he was taken to the Sultan's ce, the New Kiosk, through streets crowded with credulous s, who were convinced that he would now receive from sovereign who was in temporal control of the Holy Land full acknowledgment of his claims. Within the palace, he taken to an apartment in which he found a handful of t officials, including the Sheikh al-Islam, the Kaymakām tafa Pasha, the army preacher Vānī Efendi, and the gade Jewish court physician Hayātizāde Feyzī Efendi, acted as interpreter. The Sultan, Mehemmed IV, was present in the accepted sense of the word (as is generally ed), but watched the proceedings through a lattice. r some while, Sabbatai emerged again, now wearing the e turban of the true believer: he had cravenly consented mbrace Islam—a fact which had repercussions in Jewish over many generations, for even his apostasy did not roy his credit among the mass of his gullible followers. ecisely what had happened in the Imperial Kiosk is

he fullest and most reliable account of this remarkable personality : biography by G. Scholem (Tel Aviv, 1957), about to appear glish translation. We are most obliged to Professor Scholem for nd advice unselfishly given to us, notwithstanding our immature ss into his chosen field of study.

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and censure which he believes the Targumim to have suffered. But in all the evidence of censure which he brings forward (pp. 588 ff.) there is no mention of the suppression of *Memra* as such. In passing, we may note that the author seems almost as fond of the word 'revision' as of 'substitute', and would question whether he has produced adequate evidence for the amount of revision of one Targum in the light of another which he so often proposes.

Muñoz attempts to date *Memra* by means of external evidence (ch. 8), almost all of which is extant only in non-Semitic languages (Philo, Wisdom, NT, IV Esdras, II Baruch). Consequently when 'word' occurs in these texts, it is difficult to assess whether the Semitic *Vorlage* (in those cases where such is thought to have existed) had a form derived from the roots 'mr, dbr, mll, or some other term. The author pays little attention to this problem, so that some of his evidence must be carefully scrutinised. Philo's Logos, for example, is far from being the exposition of the Name 'EHYEH which is *Memra*; Targumic influence on the NT requires proof which Muñoz seems to take for granted; and preoccupation with the Johannine Logos has before adversely affected the study of *Memra* [cf. Hamp's remarks in *Bib. Zeitsch.* 17 (1973), pp. 309-10]. All this, however, is not to deny *Memra's* antiquity: correctly understood, the *Memra*-theology, if not Hebrew 'EHYEH itself, can be found in the Aramaic *IQ Gen Ap* xxii: 30-31, ed. N. Avigad & Y. Yadin, Jerusalem (1956), a document which Muñoz cites as being ignorant of the term.

Muñoz's book represents an attempt on a massive scale to solve the problem of *Memra*. Its wealth of detail and exhaustive study of individual texts make it a useful tool and work of reference for those who will continue to study *Memra*. But despite its insights into the meaning of *Memra* — and they are many — it unfortunately misses a number of fundamental points, and consequently gives an incomplete picture of *Memra's* significance.

Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies

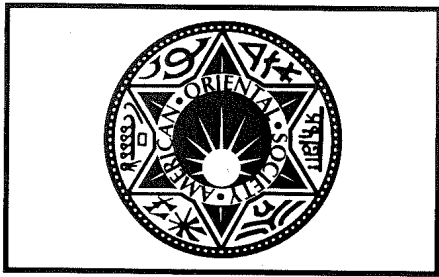
C.T.R. HAYWARD

GERSHOM SCHOLEM, *Sabbatai Ševi, the Mystical Messiah 1626-1676*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul 1973. xxvii, 1000 pages £9.00.

This book was first published in Hebrew in 1957, and those who are ignorant of Hebrew, like the present reviewer, can now at last know by direct acquaintance what they have long known by reputation. This English version however is more than a translation of the original Hebrew edition. The author has been able to make use of new sources which have come to light since the publication of the first edition, and largely as a result of it — in particular, the archives of the Donmeh community of Salonika, now deposited in the Ben Zvi Institute for the History of Oriental Jewish Communities in Jerusalem. He already had at his disposal a large number of contemporary records, both Hebrew and European: narratives by Abraham Cuenque, Leyb b. Ozer and others, the devotional and mystical works of Nathan of Gaza, the correspondence of the leading opponent of Sabbatai's claims, Jacob Sasportas, and accounts by European residents or travellers, like Sir Paul Rycout, the Chevalier De la Croix, and above all the chaplain to the Dutch merchants in Smyrna, Thomas Coenen. The late Professor Uriel Heyd gave him some information from Ottoman sources, although many of the Ottoman documents which might have been expected to exist seem to have disappeared. The richness and variety of his materials have enabled Professor Scholem to give us an account of the strange life of Sabbatai Ševi, an

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THE GRAND VIZIER AND THE FALSE MESSIAH:
THE SABBATAI SEVI CONTROVERSY AND
THE OTTOMAN REFORM IN EGYPT

JANE HATHAWAY
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

When Sabbatai Sevi proclaimed himself messiah in 1665, many Jews throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond abandoned their normal occupations in anticipation of a messianic age. The Ottoman authorities imprisoned Sabbatai Sevi, who ultimately converted to Islam.

The Sabbatian movement has typically been analyzed as a form of Kabbalistic mysticism. Madeline Zilfi has pointed out, however, that the movement coincided with the heyday of the Kadızadeli, a rigorously anti-mystical group of Muslim preachers. The present study proposes that the collapse of Sabbatai Sevi's movement was also connected to the reforms of the Köprülü grand viziers, who patronized the Kadızadeli. In Egypt, fiscal reform was accompanied by the murder of the fervently Sabbatian Jewish community leader and the abolition of his office. Thus, a rereading of the Sabbatai Sevi affair in light of the Köprülü reforms and Kadızadeli rigor reveals it as a product of intense religious and political ferment within the Ottoman Empire, and within Egypt in particular.

IN 1651, THE SON OF A JEWISH COMMERCIAL AGENT was expelled from the Ottoman port of Izmir (ancient Smyrna), located in what is today southwestern Turkey, for publicly pronouncing the name of God. By 1658, he and his followers had launched a proselytizing campaign designed to prepare Jewish communities throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond for the approaching messianic age. The merchant's son was known as Sabbatai Sevi, and his movement became one of the most widespread Jewish messianic movements in history. The movement's initial fervor was relatively short-lived, however, lasting only from roughly 1651 through Sabbatai Sevi's conversion to Islam in 1666. Nonetheless, the Sabbatian faith, in the form of the Frankist sect, lived on into the nineteenth century in eastern Europe and can still be found among the sect of Muslims known as Dönmes, who reside primarily in Greece and Turkey.¹

The political events of Sabbatai Sevi's movement are fairly well known: he attracted followers throughout the Ottoman Empire, notably in the Arab provinces and Salonika, as well as among Jewish communities in Holland

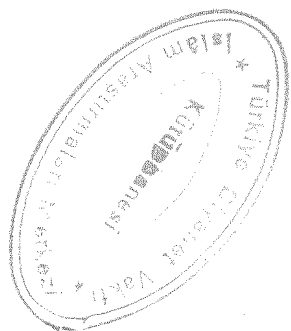
and Italy. Beginning in 1665, when he proclaimed himself messiah, Jews throughout these regions abandoned their normal occupations in anticipation of the day when Sabbatai Sevi's messianic reign would commence. The Ottoman authorities, however, were alarmed at this ferment among their Jewish subjects, as well as Sabbatai Sevi's implicit challenge to the Ottoman sultan's authority, and imprisoned Sabbatai Sevi. They were loath to execute him lest he be hailed as a martyr, which, in any case, would do nothing to mitigate the messianic movement. Instead, they persuaded him to accept Islam. A number of his followers followed him into the new faith, thus laying the ground for the Dönme sect.²

The major treatment of Sabbatai Sevi, Gershom Scholem's monumental 1957 study, published in English translation in 1973, emphasizes the doctrinal features of his movement and seeks to place these in the context of Jewish mysticism. More recently, the Ottomanist Madeline Zilfi has examined Sabbatai Sevi's arrest and conversion in the light of Ottoman social and religious history. In a study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman *ulamā*,³ or religious authorities, she demonstrates that a puritanical tendency among the *ulamā*³

¹ Gershom Scholem, "Frank, Jacob, and the Frankists," *Encyclopedia Judaica*; idem, "Doenmeh," *Encyclopedia Judaica*; idem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676*, tr. R. J. Z. Verblowsky, Bollingen Series 93 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973).

² Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 140–267, 327–460, 603–86. See also Paul Rychart, *A History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (London: John Starkey, 1680), 200–219.

71. Cohen, p. 34.
72. Goodblatt, p. 58.
73. M.V. Coronelli, a Venetian geographer, cited in Wischnitzer, p. 131.
74. Emmanuel, p. 230.
75. Braudel, II, p. 814.
76. Jacob Barnai, "On the History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul in the 18th Century," *Miqqedem Umiyyam*, University of Haifa (1981):59 (Hebrew).
77. Gerber, *Sefunot*, 1.
78. Baron, XVIII, p. 271.
79. Haim Gerber, "Archives of the Shari'a Court of Bursa as a Source on the History of the Jews of the City," *Miqqedem Umiyyam* (1981):36 (Hebrew).
80. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
82. On the Greeks and Armenians, see Mantran.
83. Shmuelevitz, p. 177.



10 TEMMUZ 1996

Chapter Five

CULTURE, RELIGION, AND THE SAGA OF SABBATAI ZEVI

One of the matters at the heart of the Jewish political tradition is that its members and constituencies further the maintenance of the covenant between God and the Jews. Among the important components are contributions to the *keter torah*, the constitutional referents, i.e., scholarship. Another significant aspect is that individual Jews be able to better understand what the covenant requires in both moral and practical terms. This ability can be furthered in two ways: 1) the presence of capable officers of the *keter* such as priests or others who can serve as "the conduit whereby God and the *edah* are brought into constant contact,"¹ and 2) education of the general Jewish population. In this chapter we shall look at how these were influenced by the context which we have been describing. We shall also examine the extent and effects of cultural integration and distinctiveness of the Jews in relation to their surroundings. Finally, we shall consider the impact on Ottoman Jewry of Izmir-born Sabbatai Zevi, perhaps the most famous Jewish "false messiah."

Education

The Sephardim brought with them a somewhat higher level of education than was prevalent among the general Jewish population, and certainly a deep tradition of valuing education highly. For example, the Jews of Cervera (Spain) "were too poor to own a cemetery, but they could boast of their schools and educational funds."² Another important characteristic often found was stress on free education for the children of the poor.³ But education among Spanish Jews was limited in terms of numbers, and often applied mostly to yeshivot, so that at the same time "there were many Jews of the middle and lower estates who did not know how to read or write."⁴ It also appears that only minimal secular education was included in Talmud Torahs in Spain. Though the curriculum of one school claimed to have included "logic,

İLBER ORTAYLI

16 September 1666 was a date of great importance in the history of both the Jews and the Turks. On that date, Sabetai Zvi, who had succeeded in convincing the Jews in several parts of the Ottoman Empire and even some of the Jews in Eastern Europe that he was the long-awaited Messiah, was brought to Edirne by Sultan Mehmed IV and put on trial before the Imperial Council (*divan*). The reason for this lay in the complaints made by the Rabbis, who had been disturbed by the influence Sabetaî had begun to exert in Istanbul. The Sheikh-ul Islam, Vanî Mehmet Efendi, was himself one of the judges. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Pilates were rather more circumspect. If Sabetai Zvi were put to death he might possibly become a Messiah with a large public following. On the other hand, any such crisis would be prevented by his conversion to Islam. On learning that he would be condemned to death, Zvi hesitated, but decided at the very last moment to become a Muslim with the name Aziz Mehmet Efendi. This he did on the suggestion of a Jewish physician by the name of Hayatîzade, who was himself a convert to Islam.¹ Sabetai Zvi was pardoned, awarded a salary of 150 akçe with retirement from the post of *kapucubaşılık*, head of the Palace doorkeepers. His followers were granted the same rank and the same payments on condition that he and his followers left Izmir, where they had been the cause of disturbances. From then on, Salonica was to be the centre of the congregation. Sabetaî himself went to Albania, where he died. Those who had remained faithful to him awaited the return of the Messiah. To the Turks, the followers of Sabataî were known as *Dönme* or *Avdetî*, while to his old co-religionists they were known as *sazanikos*, a type of fish that changes its colour in accordance with its environment. His followers, however, called themselves *ma'aminim*, or the faithful. Sabetaism was never, as some suppose, simply a secret religious sect. Some of the Jews lost heart at the idea that Zvi had been afraid. Others returned to their old faith. But some followed their old leader. The conflict spread to Eastern Europe, where discontent appeared among the Frankist Jews in Poland and the Russian pale. But the real confusion was to be found in the sphere of historiography, with some pointing to this incident as the cause of the decadence to be observed in Ottoman Jewry after the 17th century.² As a matter of fact, the same approach is to be observed in Turkish historiography, with Muslim religious figures indicated as the cause of all the decline. Secular historians sometimes overestimate the importance of religion. The Sabetaists cannot be likened to the Marranos (crypto-Jews) or Moriscos (crypto-Muslims) after the *reconquista* in Spain. The Sabetaists consisted of a group of the faithful who awaited the return of the Messiah (false or true) and who, meanwhile, continued a modified form of the old ritual while in appearance practising, and to some extent actually accepting, the Muslim religion. Just as previously they had rejected intermarriage with Muslims, they now also rejected intermarriage with orthodox Jews.

1 Findıklı Mehmet, *Silâhdar Tarihi*, vol.1, p. 431, H.1077/1666.

2 Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, p. 147.

15 HAZİRAN 1998

Sabetay Sevi

Bütün 17. yüzyıl boyunca Batı Avrupa gazeteleri -özellikle Alman ve Hollanda kaynaklı olanları- Rusça'ya tercüme edilir, Çar ve danışmanları önünde sesli şekilde okunurlardı. Bu el yazısı gazetelere *vesti* (haberler) ya da *kuranty* (gazeteler) denirdi. 1665-66 arasında, bu gazetelerdeki en önemli konu Sabetay Sevi ile ilgili olan haberlerdi. ... Rus ayrılıkçılardan "Eski İnançlılar", Sabetaycıların 1666 yılına ilişkin eskatolojik [Mesih'in hüküm süreceği binyıl] beklentilerini paylaşıyorlardı. ... Çünkü 1666, iki apokaliptik sayının bileşimidir: 1000, yani milenyum ve 666, yani *Yeni Ahit Vahiyler Kitabı*'na göre şeytanın yılıdır. Çeşitli cemaatler 1666 yılında sıradışı bir şey olmasını bekliyorlardı. ... Kabaca herkesin 1666 yılından eskatolojik ya da mesihi bir beklentisinin olması, Batı Avrupa gazetelerinin Sabetay Sevi çevresinde geçen olayları yazmayı sürdürmelerinin nedenlerinden biri olabilir. ... Gazeteler Rusça'ya tercüme edilirken, tercümanlar hangi haberleri tercüme edeceklerini, hangilerini eleyeceklerini seçiyorlardı. Ancak Sabetay Sevi ile ilgili olan haberler hiçbir zaman elenmemişti.

Ingrid Maier*

İzmir'de 1626'da doğan Sabetay Sevi'nin, Filistin kralı olduğuna, bizzat Sultan tarafından taçlandırıldığına inanılıyordu. [Sabetay Sevi'nin Thomas Coenen tarafından yapılan

portresi (*Ydele verwachtinge der Joden*, Amsterdam 1669), Sevi'yi gören biri tarafından yapılan tek portredir (İzmir, 1666). Diğer bütün resimler ya hayalidir ya da Coenen'in reproduksiyonlarının kopyalarıdır.]

1665-1666 yıllarında hemen hemen bütün Musevi dünyasını mesih heyecanı sarmıştı. Sabetaycı hareketin zirve noktasında Sabetay Sevi'nin bir milyondan fazla takipçisi vardı. Bu büyük başarının sorumlusu, Sabetay'ın kendisinden çok onun parlak "halkla ilişkiler müdürü", aynı zamanda Gazzeli Nathan (ya da hikâyenin iki kahramanının adının karışımı olan "Nathan Levi")

olarak da bilinen karizmatik Nathan Ashkenazi'ydi. Sabetay hareketinin tanrı bilimcisi olan Nathan, aslında (1643 ya da 1644'te) Kudüs'te doğmuş, daha sonra Gazze'ye yerleşmişti. Aralarında Gershom Scholem'in



de bulunduğu birçok araştırmacı, Sabetay'ı "hasta" olarak tanımlamışlardı. Gershom, Sabetay Sevi üzerine yazdığı muazzam monografide, "muhtemelen paranoyaya ait kimi niteliklerle birleşmiş manik-depresif psikoz"dan mustarip olduğundan söz etmiştir. "Çıkışları ve inişleri" vardır. "Çıkışlar", aşırı zihinsel heyecan halleri, neşeli coşkunluk ve esrime noktasında mutluluk duyguları" içermekte, "düşüşler"inde, pasif, melankolik olmakta, işkence çekiyormuş gibi gözükmektedir. Sabetay, Nathan'la tanışmaya, "tiqqun [şifa terapisi] ve ruhu için huzur bulmaya" Gazze'ye gitti. Doktora, ken-

font le choix inverse et coupent les relations avec leur communauté d'origine. L'équilibre voulu par le plus grand nombre est d'autant plus difficile à tenir que les pressions et les échanges sont au quotidien permanents. Permanents et cependant inégaux selon les lieux, ce qui provoque des évolutions diverses. Nul doute que les recherches futures mettent celles-ci en lumière.

Les études morisques connaissent un profond renouvellement grâce à l'exploitation systématique des sources notariales⁽³⁰⁾. Il importe cependant d'être extrêmement prudent. Les minutes notariales sont des documents tout autant "empoisonnés" que les papiers inquisitoriaux ou les cédulas royales. La plupart sont la conclusion d'accords entre deux parties sans oublier la médiation du notaire. Elles occultent pratiquement les conflits et sont donc biaisées. Ensuite une partie de la population, en particulier les plus démunis, n'a jamais recours aux services du notaire. Combien de morisques auront préféré réaliser leurs transactions par d'autres voies plus discrètes et plus sûres. Pour obtenir de véritables certitudes, le croisement des sources est évidemment la meilleure garantie.

Les papiers notariaux permettront sans aucun doute de réaliser des monographies extrêmement précises. L'histoire privilégiera ainsi les micro-analyses qui montreront les écarts entre communautés voisines. Il faudra pourtant prendre garde à ne pas sombrer dans un localisme dénué de signification. Pour éviter la parcellisation, il sera nécessaire de conduire des travaux à des échelles diverses (village ou ville, micro-région, région, ensemble des communautés morisques). Nul doute que de la sorte aucun des courants de la rivière morisque ne nous échappera.

Bernard VINCENT

E.H.E.S.S. - C.N.R.S. - Paris

ملخص

تصور عبارة "النهر الموريسكي" في نظر صاحب هذا البحث لما وقع فيه مسلم الأندلس بعد سقوط غرناطة سنة 1492 و فشل ثورته الكبرى (1568 - 1570) من التآرجح بين الرغبة في البقاء على أرضهم مع الاندماج في الأغلبية المسيحية والبقاء على دينهم مع التعرض للقمع والاضطهاد. ويفند الباحث الظروف الراضحة في صفوف المختصين الإسبان المتعاطفين مع القضية الموريسكية الذين منهم من يدعي أن الموريسكيين كانوا كتلة مترابطة متمتعة عن اعتناق المسيحية إلا من باب التقية، ومنهم من يرى أن البعض منهم قد اندمج طوعاً أو كرهاً فيما بين 1500 و 1609 وأن جلهم ضعف إسلامهم حتى لم يبق منه إلا نية مكبوتة. ويرى صاحب المقال أن الموريسكيين لم يكونوا من طبقة واحدة ولا من إقليم واحد حتى يندمجوا في كتلة متناسقة متماسكة. كما يرى أن إقدام فيليب الثالث على طردهم سنة 1609 كان أمراً وارداً منذ ثورة 1570 وذلك خوفاً من أن يستعملوا تمهيداً لهجوم عثماني. وكان طردهم في نظره من باب الإبادة الثقافية وليس من باب الإبادة العرقية لأن مفهوم العرق والجنس لم يكن قد تحول إلى ما أصبح عليه في النظريات العنصرية منذ القرن التاسع عشر.

(30) Je songe, outre les ouvrages cités à la note 6, aux travaux de Nicolás Cabrilla Ciézar, en particulier *Almería morisca*, 1^o éd., Grenade, 1982; 2^o éd., Grenade, 1989, et à ceux en cours de Javier Castillo Fernandez et d'Amalia García Pedraza.

Sabiray Sevi (180 021)

LA DEUXIEME MORT DE SABBATAÏ SEVI, OU LA FIN DES SALONICIENS DE TURQUIE

MADDE YATIRILANDIRILAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

08 AĞU 2008

Lucette VALENSI

Sous un titre emprunté l'écrivain George Semprun⁽¹⁾, cette communication s'attachera à décrire l'irrésistible érosion de la secte sabbatéenne, surgie au XVII^e siècle à la suite du mouvement messianique de Shabbataï Sevi et présente dans l'Empire ottoman, toujours avec des effectifs réduits, jusqu'au XX^e siècle. On ne fera que rappeler, après Gershon Scholem⁽²⁾, l'ampleur du mouvement messianique qui affecta tous les Juifs de la diaspora, du Maroc au Yémen et de l'Europe du nord à l'Iran, puis son effondrement à la suite de la conversion du messie à l'Islam. Il s'agira plutôt de tracer, sur la base de documents et de travaux publiés, l'histoire sociale des Sabbatéens entre le XVII^e et le XIX^e siècles, avant d'appuyer sur des observations recueillies sur place en 1987 et 1993 une analyse des contradictions qui sous-tendent la disparition de leurs sectes.

1. DE L'EFFERVESCENCE GÉNÉRALE À LA FORMATION DE SECTES LOCALES

Le mouvement messianique qui surgit en 1665 autour du personnage de Shabbataï Sevi a connu une ampleur que l'on peut qualifier de mondiale, et forme, selon Gershon Scholem, le mouvement le plus important de l'histoire juive depuis la destruction du Temple. Il convient donc d'en relater les séquences principales, pour débrouiller les fils d'une histoire souvent obscure.

1665: partant de Gaza, où Shabbatï Sevi se déclare ouvertement messie, l'effervescence gagne rapidement les autres villes de Palestine et de Syrie, puis Smyrne et Istanbul, sur les pas du messie qui se déplace de ville en ville. Diffusée par les correspondances, portée par les marchands, la nouvelle de son avènement atteint toutes les régions de l'Europe, l'Égypte et l'Afrique du Nord, et de proche en proche, le Yémen, le Kurdistan et la Perse. La ferveur messianique se répand tant dans les

(1) George Semprun, *La Deuxième mort de Ramon Mercader*, Paris, Gallimard.

(2) Gershom G. Scholem, *Sabbataï Sevi. The Mystical Messiah*, Princeton, 1973, trad. fr., 1983. *Le messianisme juif. Essais sur la spiritualité du judaïsme*, Paris, et notamment "La secte crypto-juive des Dunmeh de Turquie", pp. 219-250. *Kabbalah*, Jérusalem, 1974, et notamment pp. 244-286 sur Shabbataï Sevi, et pp. 327-332 sur les dönmech.

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SABATAY SEVİ VE SABATAYCILAR: MİTLER VE GERÇEKLER



MADDE 307 İN ANA VE EKİNİN
SONRASI İÇİNCE KAYITLILARIN

30 AĞU 2008

CENGİZ ŞİŞMAN
Ankara 2007

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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AŞINAKİTAPLAR

Although he had not abandoned the tendency of anthropology to emphasize the *functional* interrelationships between religious practices and beliefs, it was also of prime importance to Harris to comprehend such phenomena as *processes* that did not have an independent existence in people's minds or depend on a set of *a priori* cultural or symbolic norms, which was the prevailing anthropological view. On the contrary, for Harris they reflected and, even more, were part of, a community's overall mode of production, emerging out of the practical experience of people challenged to secure their livelihoods within a particular set of environmental conditions. As such, they could be shown to play an important role in organizing or reinforcing behavior patterns that were crucial, often counterintuitively, to the ongoing dynamic of a given social formation. But, to that extent, religious phenomena, in Harris' overall research strategy, were really treated no differently than any other cultural traits that initially seemed to have an incomprehensible relationship to the way people met basic needs.

Harris first elaborated this position in two papers on the "cultural ecology" of the sacred cattle of India (1966), in which he forcefully argued that the apparently counter-productive Hindu taboos on cow slaughter and beef consumption were intelligible if examined both in terms of other material advantages – such as the use of cow dung for fuel and fertilizer and of oxen for traction – for individual poor farmers and, in the aggregate, in terms of their cumulative positive effects for the carrying capacity of the Indian ecosystem.

Over time, Harris elaborated his arguments to meet the views of his many critics, while his general method of analysis was extended by some of his students and colleagues to other cases. Collectively, they have made a powerful argument that patterns of religious meaning and practice need to be seen within wider patterns of survival and livelihood strategies of individuals, communities and societies.

Harris' work is not beyond criticism. There is a tendency in his approach, especially where he has examined religious beliefs related to dietary practices (including not only the cow in India, but the pork taboo in ancient Israel and cannibalism among the Aztecs) to place inordinate emphasis on endogenous variables such as population pressure and to minimize the influence of political-economic structures and processes, especially those of a global nature. In his accounts of the emergence of the India cow taboo, for example, Harris' environmental history of the sub-continent makes virtually no reference to British colonialism. While this does not negate the merit of a materialist analysis of religion, it does raise theoretical questions about Harris' work that will engage future scholars for years to come.

Eric B. Ross

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 See also: Anthropologists; Anthropology as a Source of Nature Religion; Domestication; Ecological Anthropology; Ecology and Religion; Evolutionary Biology, Religion, and Stewardship; Goshalas (Home for Aged Cattle); Hunting and the Origins of Religion; Magic; Rappaport, Roy A. ("Skip"); Religio-Ecological Perspective on Religion and Nature.

Hasidism and Nature Mysticism

Hasidism is a mystical revival movement within Judaism that began in southeastern Poland in the last decades of the eighteenth century. It spread quickly through the areas of Jewish population in Eastern Europe and was a major force in Jewish religious life until the Holocaust. In the post-war era, Hasidism has reestablished itself in Israel, North America, and Western Europe.

Hasidism originates in a call for spiritual renewal, one that did not shy away from radical and daring forms of expression. These include a challenge to Judaism's typically bookish, intellectualized form of religiosity and a call to seek out the radiance of divine presence to be found throughout the created world. "The power of the Maker is in the made," proclaimed many a Hasidic author, and therefore (quoting the biblical prophet Isaiah [6:3]) "the whole Earth is filled with God's glory."

The discovery of God's presence within the created world was often couched in the language of a quest for "sparks" and their "uplifting." This religious discourse was derived from the sixteenth-century Lurianic Kabbalah, named for its originator, Rabbi Isaac Luria of Safed.

A ritual task of the Jew, taught the Hasidic masters, was to find these sparks even in the most unlikely places, recognize their divine origin, and thus restore them to God. This quest often took masters and disciples to the fields and forests surrounding the shtetls or towns in which they lived. It was there that the true devotee could best celebrate the pure joy of living in God's presence.

"Nature" is a concept not found in the ancient sources of Judaism. Indeed the Hebrew term for nature, *teva*, is a coinage created for the translation of Greco-Arabic

Yohudisite
 Sebatay Sevi
 Sabatay Sevi

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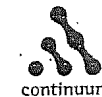
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MARIFET VE İZLENLERİNİN
 SONRA ÇIKAN OKUMAN

Marc David Baer,

HONORED BY THE GLORY OF ISLAM, Oxford 2008.

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26 SUBOT 2010

Shabbatai Zevi

Chronicles reveal that Hatice Turhan's unprecedented policies toward Jews reflect a change in the formerly favorable dynastic attitude that had allowed Jews to hold prominent positions in the palace for over two centuries. As with the construction of the valide sultan's mosque in Eminönü, a link between conversion and change in religious space is made: whereas at the beginning of the 1660s Jews had a privileged position with the royal family and resided mainly in the heart of the city, by the end of the decade the geographic position of the Jews reflected their fall from importance. Most Jews in Istanbul resided on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, and those who remained in the most important palace positions were compelled to convert to Islam.

The chapter thus concerns the book's themes of why people attempt to bring others of the same religion to their understanding of that religion (Shabbatai Tzevi converting Jews to his path to God) or try to ensure that people of completely different religions join the tradition (the sultan converting Shabbatai Tzevi to Islam), the link between piety and proselytization, the central role of the mediator of conversion, and the role of changing power relations in conversion (the decline of Jews' power at court).

Rabbi Shabbatai Tzevi's Competing Conversion and Reform Movement

Prophecies about Rabbi Shabbatai Tzevi led to the eruption of the greatest Jewish antinomian movement in millennia, the culmination of widespread Jewish belief in the renewal of prophecy, a phenomenon noticed by Ottoman writers, and the dawning of the messianic age.¹ When observing authorities' response to the movement in Istanbul and Egypt, two scholars have suggested that Kadızadeli zeal and the policies of Grand Vizier Fazil Ahmed Pasha conditioned their reaction.² But how should we interpret the way the sultan reacted? Just as the calamitous fire in Istanbul afforded an opportunity to remake a substantial part of the city in Islamic form, the prophetic propaganda surrounding Rabbi Shabbatai Tzevi of Izmir provided an opportunity for the sultan and his court to publicly articulate how one should properly express religious faith, to convert a prominent Jewish scholar to Islam, and to instruct him in the true religion. Just as the gaze of the valide sultan and her son from their mosque lodge in Eminönü was directed over a newly Islamized landscape on the historic peninsula, and viewed converted space across the Golden Horn in Galata, the sultan's gaze at his palace in Edirne presided over the end of a movement led by a rebellious, even treasonous rabbi, which also served as one of the most significant factors in the confirmation of the changed dynastic attitude toward Jews.

122-132

Shabbatai Tzevi's messianic calling could not have come at a worse time for the Jewish elite in Istanbul. It confirmed for the Ottomans that Jews were untrustworthy and helped convince them to turn to the Jews' rivals, Orthodox Christians, as the two groups struggled for positions of power and influence. Jews appeared to be a volatile and untrustworthy group because they so wholeheartedly endorsed Shabbatai Tzevi. Their actions threatened to undermine the social order and directly challenged the sultan's uncontested rule when he was facing serious military and financial problems, including the siege of Venetian Crete, a fact noted by a late Ottoman historian.³ Shabbatai Tzevi's attempt to dethrone the sultan and his inciting Jews to sedition worsened already negative palace opinion of Jews. The decade of the 1660s was thus a crucial turning point for the fortunes of Istanbul Jewry. Shabbatai Tzevi's mission to the city, initially met with such hope and even cockiness on the part of some Jews who felt their persecutors would soon taste their just reward, ended with most of the rabbi's original followers in despair and many eventually converted to Islam. It benefited Orthodox Christian physicians, translators, diplomats, and advisors, to whom Ottomans would thereafter entrust their lives and political affairs.

Due to the dissemination of prophecies concerning Shabbatai Tzevi, many Jews in Istanbul expected a "quick transfer of the sultan's power" to the rabbi.⁴ Especially those from Iberia believed Shabbatai Tzevi would dethrone the sultan and crown himself king sometime in the autumn of 1665 or winter of 1666: "Jews printed prophecies of rescue from the tyranny of the Turk, and leading the Grand Signior [the sultan] himself captive in Chains." He referred to himself as "the High King, above all the kings of the Earth," and told the Jews not to fear, "for you shall have Dominion over the Nations."⁵ According to the Frenchman Chevalier De La Croix, Jews expected "the imminent establishment of the kingdom of Israel" and the subsequent "fall of the Crescent and of all the royal crowns in Christendom."⁶ Christians such as the Armenian historian and priest Arakel of Tabriz feared the Jews would then destroy other peoples.⁷ A French Catholic priest wrote that Jews threatened Christians "with dire disaster if we failed to join them as soon as possible, and of our own good and free will walked in front of the king who would rule over them, acknowledging his kingdom and submitting to the religion and the laws which he would establish in the world." As a result of this fervor, Jews exhibited a "peculiar atmosphere of feverish expectation" that was a "psychological and social reality."⁸

The man who created such expectations was born in 1626 to a Jewish family of Greek origins in the new, bustling Ottoman port city of Izmir. His parents had immigrated to this relatively new city, a rough-and-tumble town of Armenians, Jews, Muslims, Orthodox Christians, English, French, and Dutch that began to rival Istanbul as international entrepôt.⁹ In this brash, diverse

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Sabetaycılık

İZMİRLİ MESİH SABETAY SEVİ

Joseph Kastein

ÇEVİRİ: ORHAN DÜZ

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İlahî Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi Yayın ARDİY BELGİSİ	
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Aubrey Ross

The reality of Jewish suffering

The problem of Jewish suffering has taxed the minds of Jewish thinkers and scholars throughout Jewish history. But there has been a widespread feeling, even among Orthodox Jewish thinkers, that traditional thoughts on the Fast of Tisha Baav expressed in the liturgy — "that it is because of our sins that we were driven from Zion" — are simply not adequate to account for Hitler's death toll.

Yet the Bible itself has great deal to say on national suffering and adversity. A kind of jealousy was a factor in Pharaoh's persecution of the Jews, who clearly outstayed the welcome that Joseph had gained for their ancestors. The actual phraseology used of the period is illuminating: "... and the children of Israel were fruitful and they increased in number and they became mighty and the land was filled with them".

Of course, Pharaoh's refusal to let the children of Israel go is condemned as wicked, but there is here some initial understanding of the factors which contributed to his siege mentality.

Later, when the exodus is underway, the Bible relates two further significant facts: the children of Israel complain about the good times they enjoyed in Egypt, notably the rich and varied diet which included luxury foods such as garlic and cucumbers; and second, that the children of Israel sank to the depths of Egyptian morality whilst living there.

We are led to conclude that they

were vulnerable to a life of decadence. This is the classic combination of factors which makes for Jewish persecution: first, the presence of Jews as an identifiable social group; second, their wealth and affluence; third, their assimilation into the morass of a decadent society. Whenever these events have occurred, the outcome has invariably been prejudice and persecution. Unjustified and unwarranted though this is, it is nevertheless true that, as a people with a moral mission, we might have done more collectively to elevate the moral tone of the host nation, thereby generating goodwill.

The German philosopher Hegel propounded a social theory that fits very well with the biblical account of Jewish suffering. He observed a parallel between a balance in nature and structure of society. In a healthy organism a finger with a cut will inevitably heal if it is kept clean and covered. One can interfere with the natural process by failing to take this precaution. The consequences of such neglect may lead to the exposed finger becoming infected and, worse, the infection spreading to the whole body. Society is vulnerable in a similar way to this threat of corruption, because individuals are dependent on each other, and subject to each other's influence.

The very special position which Jews have occupied in history cannot easily be explained in normative historical terms: one is left with the promise made by God to Abraham

that Jews would be a blessing unto the nations of the earth — conditional on good behaviour. Subsequent historical events fit in very well with that promise. In Egypt, fourteenth-century Spain, and modern Germany, Jews enjoyed immense wealth and affluence in relation to their numbers, and it is in these lands that we have suffered our greatest indignities.

The people who begat Moses, Marx, Freud, and Einstein as pioneers of a high moral order have also contributed their fair share of miscreants. When some Jews drop their guard and fail to sustain their role as custodians of the moral order, all Jews suffer collectively. Jewish adversity is not simply divine retribution, but the outcome of the breakdown of a moral balance which Jews are divinely bound to maintain. This view simply echoes that of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

No matter what the gentile community envisages, this is the image of the people of the book which they have internalized. By our frequent failure to recognize our collective responsibility and moral mission to our host community, we deny our identity and commit assimilation by another name, becoming Jews in title only.

If some Jews misbehave in positions of influence or wealth, the worthy will suffer with the unworthy, the good with the bad. It is not enough for morally upright people, or even worthy rabbis of Jewish communities, to keep their own house in order; their responsibility extends to their erring co-religionists, some of whom may be

providing the upkeep of their own pet charities; but so, we are told, was Al Capone helping the unemployed in the Chicago of the 1930s.

If a Jew, for example, commits fraud in business, then our leaders must condemn such activity, but too often they remain silent. Jewish missionary work among Jews is invariably confined to the teaching of the Jew's duty to God and — worthy though that is — not enough stress is put on his duty to society, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

There is absolutely no point in Israel claiming that all nations commit atrocities in the course of preserving internal law and order. Because our very claim to title in Israel is that we are different. Anti-semites feed on this revelation of double standards — and we then get no marks for all the good we have done, both collectively as a race, and as individuals, because Pharaohs and Hitlers choose to stress only the bad. "From out of Zion shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem," is for the Jew an absolute and unequivocal moral imperative.

Such responsibility is indeed awesome, but its recognition at least helps us to come to terms with the reality of Jewish suffering, because it is really the only key which fits the texts of Jewish suffering.

The writer is retired minister of Richmond upon Thames Orthodox Jewish Synagogue.

OBITUARIES

PROF IAN FLI A literary polymath and humour

Professor Ian Fletcher, poet and scholar, Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Reading, died in Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Birmingham on November 2 at the age of 68 after a long illness.

He was acknowledged as the foremost authority on the literature of the late nineteenth-century Decadence, and was widely known as an expert in many other fields of literature and the visual arts.

Fletcher's extensive learning, scholarship and expertise earned him the reputation of a polymath; and this was abundantly evident in his recent publications on the work of Beardsley, Yeats and Pater. As recently as July of this year he delivered an authoritative paper on the work of Walter Pater and Herbert Horne, and many readers will have seen his masterly review of Michael Holroyd's biography of Bernard Shaw in a recent issue of *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Born on August 20, 1920, Fletcher began work as a librarian in the service of Lewisham Borough Council. His studies towards a London University degree were interrupted by war service from 1941 to 1946; he spent two years on active service in the Army in the Middle East and was then seconded to work for the Ministry of Information in Cairo.

When he was appointed Assistant Lecturer in English at Reading University in 1956 he had the distinction of having no first degree. Nevertheless he gained a PhD from

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Today's royal engagements

Duke of Edinburgh, as
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ng and Conservation at
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Sir Francis Brooke, Bt
and Miss K.E. Huxley
The engagement is announced
between Francis, only son of the
late Sir George Brooke, Bt, and
of Lady Melissa Brooke of

Mr S.J. Dick
and Miss C.M.G. Howard
The engagement is announced
between Simon James, second
son of Mr John Dick, of

Mr J.A.J. Price
and Miss D.C. Thwaites Lastra
The engagement is announced
between John, younger son of
Colonel and Mrs D.C.

Forthcoming marriages

Marriages

The Hon Mr Justice Sheen
and Mrs H. Spiak
The marriage took place on
November 5, at the Temple
Church of the Hon Sir Barry
Sheen and Helen Ursula (nee
Woodman) Woodman of Plas-

(non-Muslims) in 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records-The Sharia Court of Ottoman Kayseri", *JESHO*, XXI/3 (1978), 225-293. Tanzimat Dönemi için bkz. G. Bozkurt, *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasal Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu 1839-1914*, Ankara, 1989.

3. Fattal, *Non-muslimans*, s. 345 vd; Jennings, *Zimmis*, s. 250 vd.
4. U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, (Ed.) V. L. Menagé, Oxford, 1973, s. 210. Jennings, "Kadı, Court and Legal Procedure in the 17th Century Ottoman Kayseri", *Studia Islamica*, XLVIII (1978), s. 164. Lefkoşe sicillerinden örnekler için bkz. Çiçek, *Zimmis*, s. 74.
5. Kıbrıs Şer'iye Sicili (KSS) 7.61/2.
6. Kıbrıs şer'iye sicillerinde reyanın tercümanlar hakkındaki şikâyetleri için bkz. KSS 7.61/2; 7.62/2; 7.100/3.
7. A. Cobham, (Ed.) *Excerpta Cyprica: Materials for a History of Cyprus. with Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus* içinde Michael de Vezin, s. 369. H. Fikret Alasya, *Tarihçe Kıbrıs*, Ankara, 1988, s. 67 vd. Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Türkler (1570-1878)*, Lefkoşe, Ocak-1994, s. 318-324. Bu eserin İngilizce versiyonunun tanıtım ve eleştirisi için bkz. Çiçek, "Osmanlılar Zamanında Kıbrıs", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 23/136 (Nisan 1995), s. 58-61. Eyalet divanı tercümanlarının görevleri hakkında bkz. KSS 7.4/2.
8. Gazioğlu, *age*, s. 318.
9. Kıbrıs'ta Rumlar arasındaki ilişkiler için bkz. Çiçek, "Living Together: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eighteenth-Century Cyprus as Reflected by the Sharia Court Records", *JCMR*, 4/1 (1993), s. 36-61.
10. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World (1571-1610)*, Newyork University, 1993. Bu kitabın türkçe tanıtımı için bkz. Netice Yıldız, "Kıbrıs ve Akdeniz'de Müslüman ve Gayrimüslimler", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 22/131 (Kasım 1994), s. 58-60.
11. Çiçek *Zimmis*, s. 14.
12. Jennings, *Zimmis*, s. 291.
13. Jennings, *Zimmis*, s. 291.
14. Bu bilgi için Bulgar meslekdaşım Dr. Ivanova Svetlana ve Dr. Rozatza Gradeva'ya teşekkürü bir borç bilirim.
15. Bkz. Cohen, *Jewish Life*.
16. Serahisi, Tarablusi ve İbn Ferdun gibi İslam müelliflerinden naklen, Fabretun Atar, *Adliye*, s. 149.
17. *Age*, s. 149.
18. Orhonlu, *age*, s. 179.
19. Konsolos tercümanları için bkz. Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yabancı Konsolosluk Tercümanları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 25/146 (Şubat 1996), s. 17-23.
20. Hatta Kıbrıs'ın genel bir tarihini yazan Sir Hill 1785-1821 yılları arasında "Dragoman ve Piskoposların Hâkimiyeti" olarak nitelendirmektedir. Bkz. Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, IV, Cambridge University Press, 1952, s. 100-141.
21. KSS 25, s. 189.
22. Atar, *Adliye*, s. 149.
23. Mühimme Delteri 4, s. 115. Hüküm no. 1169.
24. KSS 7.19/1.
25. Mühimme Delteri 40, s. 254. Hüküm no. 585.
26. Örneğin 5 Cemaziyelâhîr 1121 tarihli bir kayıta Rali (?) v. Nikolu adlı bir Rum'un tercümanlık ve saraflık hizmetinde ortığı olan İristo v. Todorî'nin görevini bir yıl süre ile 500 kuruş gibi yüksek bir bedelle Konstantin adlı bir Rum'a devrettiği kaydedilmektedir. KSS 7.75/3.
27. KSS 7.19/1.
28. Süleyman Sudi, *Defter-i Muktesid*, II, İstanbul, 1307, s. 29'da "Herkes istediği mahalde dükkân açub da san'at-ı asliye ve vazife-i zatiyesinin haricinde bulunan eşyayı dahi dükkânına cem' ve idhâr ile alub satmağa cür'et etmemek velhasıl her sınıf hangi san'atla me'luf idiye yalnız anın icrasıyla meşgul olmak için her dükkân ve mağazalara birer alamet vaz' edilmiş ve bu alamete gedik namı verilmiştir" demektedir.
29. Geniş bilgi için bkz. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, I, İstanbul, 1338/1922, s. 652-657.
30. KSS 7.75/3.
31. KSS 7.94/2.
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33. Bkz. J. Merkellbach, *Die Protokolle des Kadiamtes Nikostia aus den Jahren 1105/06 (1693-1695)*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1991, s.100-101. Bu kitabın tanıtımı için Çiçek, "Lefkoşe Kadı Sicilleri", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 17/98 (Şubat 1992), s. 62-63.
34. *Age*, s. 134.
35. Krs. S. Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri*, Cambridge, 1987

ÇOK MERAK EDİLEN BİR ŞABETAYCI RİTÜELİ:

MUM SÖNDÜ

ILGAZ ZORLU

Sabetaycılıkla ilgili yapılan bilimsel araştırmaların en ciddi olanlarında dahi sansasyonel bir merakla incelenmeye çalışılan ve genel olarak "mum söndü" olarak tabir edilen dini ritüelin dinsel anlamı ve gelişim süreci genellikle bir sır olarak tüm gruplarca muhafaza edilmiştir.

Sabetaycılığı inceleyen yazarlar çoğunlukla Sabetay Sevi ve onun düşüncelerini ele almaktansa bu kapalı kalan konuyu irdelemekten büyük zevk almışlardır. Bu yazı kendisi de Sabetaycı kökenli bir aileden gelen ve olabildiğince ilk el kaynaklardan konu hakkında bilgi edinmeye çalışan bir tarihçi tarafından tarafsız bir gözle irdelenme amacıyla kaleme alınmıştır.

Sabetay Sevi'nin dini prensipleri incelendiğinde açık olarak görülüyor ki on sekiz emir aslında Torah'ta¹ belirtilen kuralların diaspora yaşamına ilişkin pratik uygulamalarla geniş olarak ele alınmasıdır. Ayrıca yine Kabalistik Mesih fikri de bu metinde formüle edilmektedir. Fakat bu metnin hic kuskusuz en çok tartışılan bölümü Prof. Küçük'ün Galante'den naklederek tercüme ettiği² sekizinci emir olan "zina etmeyeceksin!" prensibidir.

Sabetay Sevi'nin Ülgün'de sürgündeyken kayınbiraderi Yakov Kerido kanalı ile Selanik'teki cemaate emirlerini yolladığını bilmekteyiz. Nitekim onun kayboluşu sonrasında Kerido'nun cemaatin başına geçmesi de bu nedenledir. Her ne kadar o sıralarda yaşanan olaylar konusunda bugüne kalmış tarihi belgeler yoksa da genel olarak cemaatlerde anlatılan ve kulaktan kulağa gelen söylentilerden o günkü şartlar konusunda bilgi sahibi olmaktayız.³ Buna göre Sevi kendisine bağlı iki yüz ailelik cemaatin tıpkı Tanah'ta anlatıldığı şekliyle birlik ve beraberlik içinde yaşamasını istemekteydi. Bu nedenledir ki Selanik'te tümüyle içe kapanık bir komünal hayat oluşmuştu. Fakat bir süre sonra cemaat içinde farklı dini yorumların ortaya çıkmasına paralel olarak bölünmeler baş gösterdi ve sonuçta da 18. yüzyılda üç farklı grup oluştu: Kapancılar, Yakubiler ve Karakaşlar.

Bu olay sonucunda da Sabetaycı teoride genel olarak gruplar arasında farklılıklar yaşandığı görülmektedir. O kadar ki, örneğin Kapancılar Karakas grubu üyeleri için Hanyollu ifadesini kullanırlar; burada vurgulanmak istenen dinsel pratiklerinin on değişik dinden etkilendiğidir. Her grup bir-diğerinin yaptıklarını eleştirmiş, zamanla gruplar arasında çok derin farklar ortaya çıkmıştır.

Sabetaycı cemaatler için Sevi'nin prensiplerine en sadık grup Kapancılar olmuştur. Zira Sevi'nin

sözlü tarih arařtırmalarının çoğalmasına katkıda bulunursa, ne mutlu bana!

Yaşam öykülerini benimle paylaşarak bu kitabın oluşumuna katkıda bulunan bütün görüşmecilerime, çalışmalarımı destekleyen Sabancı Üniversitesi'ne, Oxford Üniversitesi Çağdaş Türkiye Programı ve St. Antony's College'a, makaleleri İngilizce'den Türkçe'ye çeviren çevirmen Hande Özkan'a, çevirilere katkıda bulunan Engin Kılıç ve Hamdi Can Tuncer'e, bu projenin gerçekleşmesini sağlayan İletişim Yayınları'ndan editör Asena Günal'a ve bana her zaman örnek olan annem Prof. Dr. Olcay Neyzi'ye teşekkür ederim.

Leyla Neyzi, Ben Kimim Türkiye'de Sözlü Tarih
Kimlik ve Öznellik, çev. Hande Özkan, İstanbul
2006, s. 17-48.

DN. 131859

Unutmayı hatırlamak: Türkiye'de Sabetaycılık, ulusal kimlik ve öznellik

"Yedi-sekiz yaşındaydım. Halamla beraber Taksim'de yürüyorum. Yanımda onun bir arkadaşı var. 'Siz nerelisiniz?' gibi bir laf oldu. 'Biz Selanikliyiz' dedim gayet güvenerek. Benim gözümde Selanik'in hiçbir farklılığı yok, hakikaten işte geldiğimiz şehir olarak alıyorum. Eve döndüğümüzde, halam beni bir odaya çekti. 'Bir daha tanımadığın, bilmediğin hiç kimse- nin yanında "Selanikliyim" demeyeceksin. Bu çok küçültücü bir şeydir, insanlar seni aşağılarlar' dedi. Ben ağlamaya başladım, 'Niçin?' dedim. Doğrusu o çocuk aklımla bütün kötü kelimeler aklıma geliyordu. Bunlar hırsız mıdır, ahlaksız mıdır ki utanmak gerekiyor. Niçin utanacağız?"

Sabetaycı kökenli bir Türk vatandaşı olan elli bir yaşındaki Fatma Arığ'a göre geçmişe yönelik arayışı çocukken yaşadığı bu şokla başlar. Arığ, bu arayışında anılardan yararlanamadığı için tarihe başvurur. Öyküsünün ardında, az tanınan bir cemaat ve bu cemaatin gerek devletle gerekse egemen çoğunlukla kurmuş olduğu üç yüz elli yıllık ilişki yatmaktadır.

Türkçe'de *dönme* ya da *Selanikli* olarak da bilinen Sabetaycılık, kendisini 17. yüzyılda mesih ilan edip Yahudi cemaatini bölen İzmirli bir Yahudi hahamın, Sabetay Sevi'nin müritlerini

Be Karabulak

İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa

SABATAY SEVİ

**İzmirli meşhur sahte Mesih hakkında tarihî
ve içtimai tetkik tecrübesi**

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	16819
Tasnif No:	922 SAB



**SEMİH LÜTFİ ERCİYAS
SEMİH LÜTFİ KİTABEVİ**

True or false?

Despite his apparent capitulation to the Sultan, his violations of the Torah and his sobriquet, "the false Messiah," Shabbetai Zevi still has thousands of followers, three centuries after his death. Now a group of them wants to leave Turkey and be accepted as Jews in Israel. Aubrey Ross reports



Left: a 1666 engraving of Shabbetai Zevi. Above: Igaz Zorlu — seeking a new life in Israel

Turkish football club and a prominent Sephardi leader living abroad.

Around 4,000 Karakash (Orthodox Sabbateans) live in the Istanbul suburbs. A further 40,000 *domme* throughout Turkey have relaxed the traditional Sabbatean practices.

The Karakash have their own Beth Din and disputes are always settled by the *oganim* rather than in the Muslim courts. Every day, as dawn breaks, they still chant, in Ladino: *Sabbetai Zevi Esperanos*. Shabbetai Zevi, we await you. Children are still educated at *domme* schools, although the

numbers are falling. However, young people are not inducted into Sabbatean practices until they are of marriageable age.

Many older *oganim* reject Igaz Zorlu's vision of a "return" to Israel and claim that their survival demonstrates the worth of the Sabbatean faith.

On the other hand, the mainly younger people who are eager to go to Israel are prepared to make compromises and forgo ancient customs like eating unpurged meat and certain sexual initiation practices involving bridegrooms on their wedding day (though this has anyway long fallen into disuse).

Zorlu is even prepared for full conversion. But the Turkish rabbinate flatly rejects applications from Sabbateans. The Turkish Chief Rabbi's deputy recently told a group of Sabbatean leaders: "As far as we are concerned, the *domme* are Muslims. The Turkish rabbinate has refrained from encouraging conversion out of respect for the country in which we live. A move to convert Muslims to Judaism would be seen as undermining Turkey."

The crunch came for Zorlu when he fell in love with a Jewish girl. "We were together for two years, without any objections from her parents," he says. "But, when we spoke about getting married, her parents looked into the matter and were told that our children would be Muslims and so the relationship came to an end."

The Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel, Eliahu Bakshi-Doron, has expressed sympathy with the wish of Zorlu and other members of the *domme* community to become accepted as Jews. When informed of the situation earlier this year by the Israeli consul in Istanbul, Chief Rabbi Bakshi-Doron said "This is an extraordinary and very interesting phenomenon and it may be possible to convert some Sabbateans."

"In my opinion, if they are serious, we can bring them here. The Jewish community in Turkey is rather weak and I would assume they would find it difficult to deal with such a complex issue on their own. That is certainly a reason for us to get involved and strengthen our ties with them."

With the growing strength of Rafal, the Islamic party in Turkey, the situation of the *domme* is beginning to look precarious. Extremist Muslims see them as proof of Jewish perfidy: they have been given the chance to live according to the Islamic holy faith but pretend while their hearts are elsewhere.

Acceptance in Israel may be their best chance of salvation.

Emboldened by the adulation of thousands, Shabbetai Zevi embarked upon a journey to Turkey to meet Sultan Mehmet IV and lay claim to the land of Israel and the leadership of the Jewish people.

The Sultan was not impressed. He ordered Shabbetai to perform a miracle on the spot, confirming his divine calling, embrace Islam or face execution.

He embraced Islam and thereby set shock waves through Europe and the Middle East. The bulk of his following deserted him. Nevertheless, many thousands remained loyal and put a mystical interpretation on the event, seeing it as the messianic descent into spiritual exile foretold in Isaiah, chapter 53, and alluded to in Jewish mystical teachings.

Thus, it was believed, just as the children of Jacob had to experience exile in Egypt to prepare for the Exodus, so the Jews of that time had to suffer the trauma of religious exile to become fit for the Messianic era.

Some remained Jews, maintaining a façade of Orthodoxy. Others became Catholics. And others, following their leader's example, became Muslims.

All, however, secretly practised Sabbatean Judaism, incorporating the halachic amendments adopted by Shabbetai Zevi. These included the replacement of the Ten Commandments by a code of 18 precepts, which take a non-rejectionist line on sinful behaviour. The prohibition on adultery, for example, stresses caution rather than abstinence.

The Sabbatean religious calendar is similar to the traditional Jewish one except that the festivals of Pesach, Shavuot and Succot are all merged into one week. Seating in the *kahal* (synagogue) is mixed — the sin of Adam has been purged in the Messianic era.

Throughout the years, many *domme* have made notable contributions to Turkish public life. Some were among the so-called Young Turks involved in the 1909 overthrow of the Sultan. And the famous Ottoman leader, Mustafa Kemal — Ataturk — who ruled from 1923 to 1938, was said to have been a member of a Salonikan *domme* family.

During the Second World War, the Sabbateans were recognised as a separate community and had to pay a wealth tax of 10 per cent — double the normal.

In modern Turkey, a number of key figures in academe, business, politics and the media have a *domme* background. Current adherents include the chairman of a major

candles are put out and the participants swap sexual partners in breach of the seventh commandment.

This, they claim, is to emulate King David's relationship with Bathsheba, and any child produced by such a union is regarded as sacred, possibly a reincarnation of Shabbetai Zevi himself.

Curiously enough, it was this ritual of the Night of the Lambs that led indirectly to the Sabbateans of Salonika being saved from joining the mainstream Jewish community in the Nazi death camps.

In 1923, following the war between Greece and Turkey, Salonika became part of Greece. The Sabbateans applied to become absorbed into the Greek Jewish community. The rabbis refused, citing the practice of the Night of the Lambs. Unlike the Sabbatean priests — or *oganim* — the rabbis regarded children conceived on such nights not as sacred but as *mamzerim*.

As a result, the whole community moved to Turkey to join the small *domme* community there, thus escaping the German invasion of Greece and the obliteration of the Salonikan Jewish community.

ing to a midrash, is the date upon which the Messiah will be born.

He became an exceptional scholar, excelling in Talmud and especially in Kabbalah. He was imposing to look at and blessed with a fine musical talent and an exceptional voice.

He was prone to bouts of extreme, manic-depressive behaviour, however. He began to flout religious law and proclaim himself the Messiah. Eventually, the rabbis expelled him from Salonika.

He went to Salonika, from where he was again expelled after flagrant violations of the Torah, and thence to Constantinople, Jerusalem and Cairo.

Still suffering from profound mood swings, Shabbetai eventually sought the help of the renowned Jewish mystic, Nathan of Gaza.

To Shabbetai's great surprise, Nathan accepted him as the Messiah. Almost overnight, Shabbetai obtained a massive following. It is estimated that one-quarter of the Jewish population of Europe put up their hands in order to emigrate to mark the coming of

Igaz Zorlu is a 27-year-old accountant who lives in Turkey. Although officially Muslim, he is also, under the name of Yitzhak Zevi Levi, a Sabbatean — a follower of the 17th-century "false messiah," Shabbetai Zevi.

Zorlu, along with around 100 fellow Sabbateans, known in Turkey as *domme* — a derogatory Turkish term for Islamic converts who are not completely sincere — now wants to emigrate to Israel and be accepted as Jewish. Needless to say, this is far from straightforward matter.

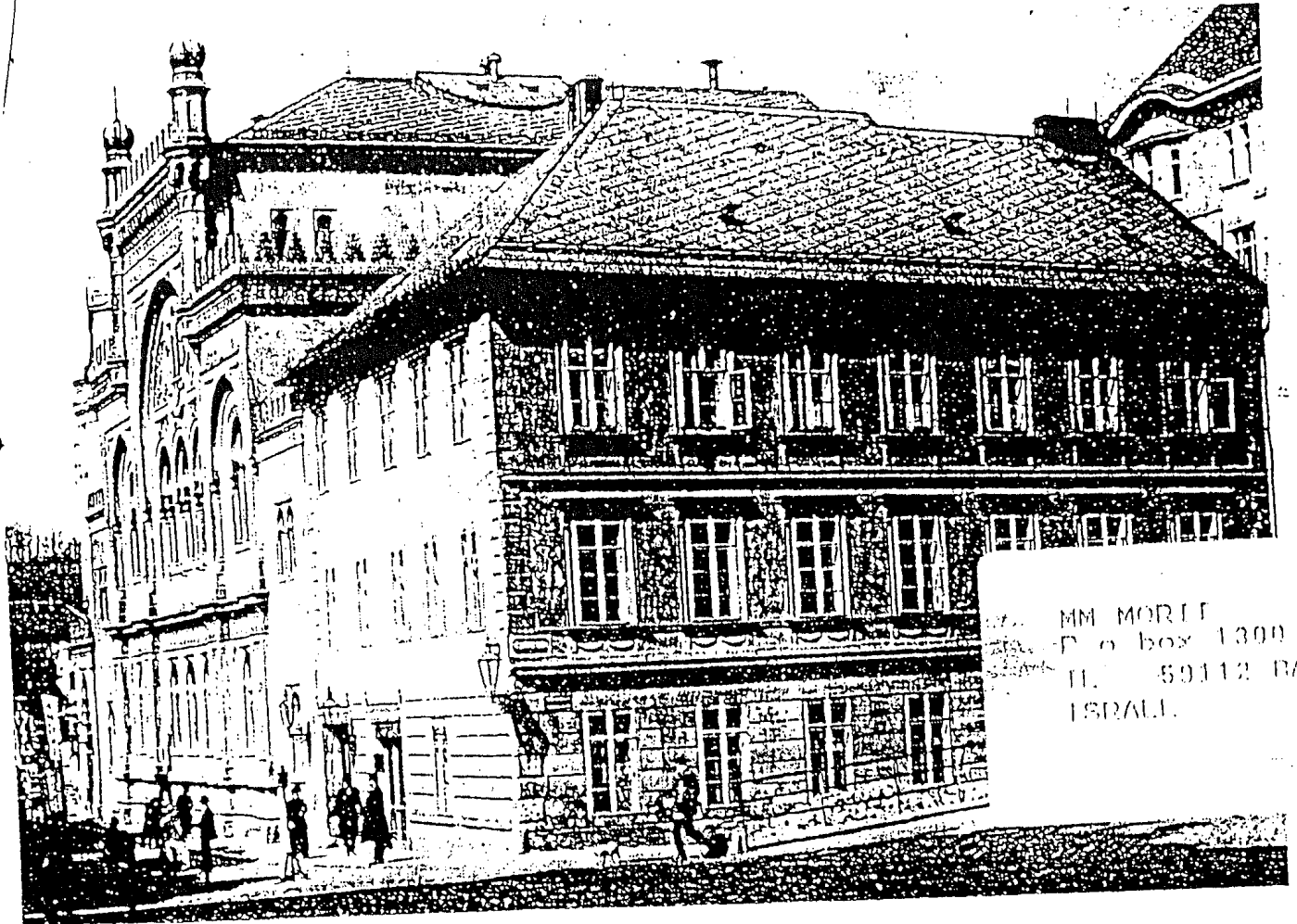
Although the *domme* circumcise their sons at eight days old, and conduct weddings and funerals in accordance with Jewish practice, it is not only their core belief in Shabbetai as messiah that presents an obstacle to their being accepted as Jews.

The most dramatic departure from traditional Judaism lies in the Night of the Lambs. This occurs annually on the 22nd of Adar. On that date, Sabbatean priests (male and female) meet to cook and eat a meal of lamb

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KAVRAMI, KONUSU VE ARAŞTIRILMASI AÇILARINDAN SABETAYCILIK

ILGAZ ZORLU

Osmanlı toplumu ve günümüz Türk toplumunun gerek sosyal gerek kültürel evreninde "Dönmelik" konusunun önemli bir yeri vardır.

16. yüzyıl Musevi dünyasında beklenen Mesih olduğunu iddia ederek, çevresine topladığı müritlerini kutsal topraklara götürüp orada bir Yahudi Devleti kuracağını söyleyen Sabetay Sevi artan gücü nedeniyle ortodoks Musevi din adamlarınca bir tehlike olarak görülerek, Osmanlı Sultanı'na şikâyet edilmişti. Sultan karşısında, kendisine yapılan telkinlerle Müslümanlığı seçen Sabetay müritlerini büyük bir düş kırıklığına uğratmışsa da, ikiyüz ailelik bir grup tarafından inançla takip edilmiştir. Bu grup üyeleri de O'nun yolunu seçerek Müslüman olmuşlar, Selânik'e yerleşerek dışta Müslüman içte Yahudi âdetlerini sürdürmek suretiyle yirminci yüzyıl başlarına kadar yaşayagelmışlerdi.

İşte tarihçiler arasında "Dönmelik" olarak ifade edilen Yahudi tarikatının kısa tarihçesi yukarıdaki gibi ele alınmıştır günümü-

müze dek. Acaba gerçekten söz konusu olay bu kadar basit midir? Ayrıca bu hareketin toplumsal etkilerinin düzeyi ne olmuştur?

Daha önce kaleme aldığım iki makalemde¹ Sabetay Sevi ve hareketini yüzeysel de olsa incelemiştım. Ancak ilgili yazılarda isteğim haricinde "Dönmelik" kelimesinin kullanılmış olduğu dikkatimi çekti.² Gerek konunun bu adla literatüre geçmiş olması, gerek benim ilgili yayıncılara uyarıda bulunmamış olmam bu sonucu ortaya çıkarmıştı. Bundan dolayı bu makalenin yazılması bir zorunluluk oldu.

Bugüne dek bu tarihî olay karşısında yapılan çalışmaların geneli Sabetay Sevi'yi sahte bir peygamber, müritlerini de bu sahte peygamberin peşinden giden kişiler olarak ele aldı. Scholem'in devasa çalışmasına kadar da³ hiç kimse olayın düşünsel boyutunu görmedi veya görmezden geldi. Yaşadığı dönemin ve hatta bugünün bile en büyük Kabbalaistlerinden sayılan Scholem İngilizcede de çevrilen "Mistik Mesih: Sabetay Sevi" adlı eserinde konuyu oldukça ayrıntılı olarak ele almış, dönemin musevi dinince önemli merkezlerinde, günümüze kadar ulaşan kaynakları inceleyerek kitabında kullanmıştır. Daha malesef Türkçeye çevrilmemiş olan

bu muazzam eser yazarınca beş cilt olarak tasarlanmışsa da, Scholem bunu bitirmeye muvafak olamadı. Fakat ondan sonra onun öğrencilerince yayımlanan bazı makaleleri ve kitaplarında da ayrıntılı bilgiler yer aldıysa da bunlar da Türkçemize kazandırılmadı ne yazık ki...

Türkçe'de konuya ilişkin ilk yazılı eser 1900'lü yıllarda İstanbul'da yayımlanan bir risale ile olmuştur ki, konu orada da "Dönmeler" adıyla incelenmiştir.⁴ Daha sonraları bu cemaat üyelerinin siyasal yaşamda önemli roller almalarıyla beraber, özellikle radikal dinci kesimle muhafazakâr çevrelerden önemli tepkiler gelmeye başladı. 1924 yılında yaşanan Karakaşzade olayı ile de konu bir Yahudi tarikatının Müslümanlık karşısındaki durumu olarak ele alınmış, Sabetay Sevi ve müritleri vatan hainleri gibiymişcesine muamele görmüşlerdir. Dönme kelimesi de bilimsel bir ifade olmaktan öte, küçük düşürücü bir deyim gibi kullanılmıştır. Nihayet 1980'li yıllara geldiğimizde yayınlanan iki eserde de⁵ konuya bakış açısı tarafsız olmaktan ziyade, İslâmcı bir perspektivle ele alınmıştır.

Dönmelik kavramını kavram olarak eleştirebilmek için öncelikle ifade ettiği konuyu oluşturan olayları doğru analiz edebilmek gerekir. Şu da açıklıkla belirtilmelidir ki, bugüne kadarki tüm çalışmalar hep basılı kaynaklar ele alınarak yapılmıştır. Halbuki Sabetaycı toplumlar⁶ gizli olarak dinî prensiplerini sürdürmüşlerdi ve dinî bilgiler



Selânik'te Sabetaycıların ibadethanesi Yeni Cami

yor; kimileri ona Yunan kahvesi demeye başlıyor.

Kahve, bir dönemin simgesidir diyessin gelir. Rebetiko ile, sıradan insanların ufukta dönülecek bir köşeyi henüz göremedikleri yıllarla, genelde zenginle yoksulların ancak gittikleri büyük ve minik mahalle ya da (esrarın da bulunabileceği) salaş kahvehanelerine göre ayırtdıldığı zamanla ilgili gibi. Hapishanede kahve merasimi nasıldı, evde nasıl pişirilirdi, misafir nereye oturtulurdu, ikram sırasında ne denirdi, bunları öğreniyoruz. Yaşlı olanlarımız unuttuklarımızı da anımsayabiliriz. Romantizm ya da ucuz ve moda olan özlüm yok bu kitapta. Tam tersine alışılmışla alay var; ve küçük burjuva/köylü ahlâkına ve dar kafalılığına doğrudan bir karşı çıkma: "Hiç bir zaman anlamadım neden böyle traş ettiler Akropol'ü - itler! - camiye, kuleyi ve hamamı yıkarak".

Kitabın sonunda kırk sayfa boyunca kahve ve kahvehaneyle ilgili seksen kartpostal ve fotoğraf yer alıyor. Geçen yüzyıllardan günümüze, Mağrip'ten İstanbul'a, Araplar, Türkler, Rumlar; sarıklısı, feslisi, hasır şapkalısı; hamalı, saraylısı; şadırvanlı kahvede, toprak kaldırımında; nargilelerle, çubukların ucunda sigaralarını tütürerek kahve içiyorlar.

E. Petropoulos farklı görüşlere karşı, Balkanlar'a kıyasla, ürkekliği daha az, hoşgörüsü daha bol olan Paris'te yaşamaktadır. Abidin Dino ile arkadaşlıklar. Kitabın ikinci baskısı için Abidin kahve sunan bir Türk kıızı (ya da belki sadece bir kız) çizmişti. Altına da Latin harfleriyle Vari-gliko-Anatolitiko diye yazmış, yani bir kahve "reçete"si: Anadolu işi, çok şekerli gibi bir şey. Bu kitap Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi'nde Çağdaş Yunanca çeviri dersinde Türkçe'ye kazandırıldı. Dileriz yayımlanır da. ■

* Elias Petropoulos Türkiye okuyucularına yabancı değildir. Selçuk Uzun Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nde "Rebetoloji ya da Ege Blues" başlıklı yazı dizisiyle onun rebetiko şarkıları ve kültürü ile ilgili görkemli çalışmasından örnekler vermiştir. (25-28/8/1993).

SABETAYCILIK VE YAHUDİLİK

ILGAZ ZORLU

Onyedinci yüzyılda Osmanlı Toprakları'nda doğan ve günümüzde hâlâ dünyanın belli başlı merkezlerinde devam eden Sabetaycılık üzerine yazılan tüm metinlerde sürekli bu hareketin Yahudi diniyle paralellığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Türk yazarları genellikle Sabetaycılığı "Gizli Yahudilik" olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Özellikle radikal İslamcı çizgiyi benimseyen yazarlar Sabetaycılık, masonluk ve Yahudilik birlikteliğinden hareketle bu üçlünün Türkiye üzerindeki hayali etkilerinden bahsetmektedirler. Bu yazıda Sabetaycılığın Yahudilik dini açısından durumu incelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Yahudilik bu dindeki inanca göre 5800 yıllık bir geçmişe dayanmaktadır.¹ Dindeki kurumsal yapı Musa'nın ortaya çıkmasıyla başlar. O'nun Sina Dağı'nda Tanrı ile yaptığı konuşmayla birlikte İsrail Ulusu 10 Emir sembolizmiyle bir inanç sistemine kavuşmuştur. Bu sistemin temelini oluşturan kutsal metin Torah² ulusun ilk kutsal kitabıdır. İsrailoğulları'nın Mısır'dan çıkarak ikinci tapınağın yıkılışına kadar geçen sürede yaşadıkları bölge de Filistin topraklarıdır. Ancak Romalıların tapınağı yok edişinin ardından³ İsrail kavmi dünya üzerine dağılmıştır. Genellikle bu göç esnasında kuzeye giden ve Doğu Avrupa, Rusya, Ukrayna civarında yaşayan Yahudilere Aşkenaz⁴, güneye, Akdeniz ve çevresine dağılan Yahudilere de Sefarad isimleri verilmiştir. Bunların dışında Yemen, Fas, Tunus bölgelerinde yaşayan ancak Aşkenaz olmayan Yahudiler de Se-

farad olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Her grubun okuduğu günlük dualarda ana tema kaybedilen vatanın tekrar geri dönmenin gerçekleştirilme arzusudur. Bu yüzden Yahudilik daima İsrailoğulları'nı dünya üzerinde yaşadıkları zulümlerden kurtararak ana vatanları İsrail'e götürecektir bir kurtarıcı Mesih fikrini taşımaktadır. İnanca göre -Mesih'e olan iman Yahudiliğin temel inançlarından biridir - Davut Peygamber soyundan gelecek bir kurtarıcı dağılmış oniki Yahudi kabilesiyle beraber kaybolan onüçüncü Yahudi kabilesinin bireylerini toplayarak İsrail'e geri götürecektir ve orada büyük İsrail Krallığı'nı kuracaktır.

Onyedinci yüzyılda yaşayan Sabetay Sevi Yahudilerin beklediği mesih olduğunu ve İsrail Krallığı'nı kuracağını iddia ederek ortaya çıkan İzmirli bir hahamdı. Bu amaçla Ortadoğu'daki pek çok dinî merkezi gezdi, peygamberi olarak ilân ettiği Gazzeli Natan Levi'yle beraber düşüncelerini yaydı. Felsefesinin temeli Yahudi mistik kitabı olan Kabbala'nın ve onun temel kitabı olan Zohar'ın⁵ yorumlarına dayanmaktaydı. Kabbala'yı herkesin anlayabileceği bir şekilde getirmişti. Ancak Sevi'yi kendi dinî otoriteleri için bir tehlike olarak gören hahamlar, O'nu Osmanlı sarayına ihbar ettiler, böylelikle Sabetay Sevi Yahudileri Osmanlı idaresinin olası bir zulmünden kurtarmak amacıyla görünürde müslümanlığı seçti. Bu durum Yahudi cemaatleri arasında şok etkisi yaptı, kısa süre içinde tüm Yahudi dünyası O'na ve öğretisi-

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should not obscure the overall picture. The decline and dislocation of entire communities resulted in a ripple effect felt throughout Ottoman Jewry. Jewish refugees and migrants from one town often became a burden on other Jewish communities, and the total number of the Jewish poor increased. The destruction of individual communities in various parts of the empire also reduced the overall effectiveness of the Ottoman Jewish networks with important material and cultural ramifications, for material and cultural efflorescence depended on the strength of these networks.

The Messianic Movement of Shabbetai Tzevi

During the second half of the seventeenth century, Ottoman Jewry became the center of the most widespread messianic movement in Jewish history. The movement was nurtured by the age-old longings of the Jews for spiritual and political redemption, as well as by the confluence of several immediate factors. Spiritually, the background had been prepared by the rising influence, in the 1630s and 1640s, of the Lurianic branch of Kabbalah, centered in Safed, which was permeated by messianic expectations of redemption. The movement was touched off, however, by the exceptionally brutal persecution of the Jews in Poland, beginning with the "Chmielnicki Massacres" of 1648-49, and continuing into the 1650s, through the Polish-Russian and Polish-Swedish wars. In the massacres of 1648-49 alone, about three-hundred Jewish communities were destroyed, many thousands perished, and more were displaced and scattered throughout the Jewish diaspora as refugees or captives offered for ransom. Particularly large numbers of those refugees arrived in the Ottoman Empire, whose communities were still considered the largest and wealthiest in the world, possessing a long tradition of ransoming captives.²⁹⁸ The accounts of the horrors inflicted on Poland's Jewry spread throughout the Jewish diaspora, convincing many that these sufferings were the "birth pangs" of the messianic age and the redemption of the Jews.²⁹⁹

The person who became the movement's focal point was Shabbetai Tzevi (Sabbatai Sevi; 1626-76), a native of Izmir and the son of a wealthy merchant and agent for Dutch and English traders. Shabbetai Tzevi was trained in Jewish law to become a rabbi, but he also studied Kabbalah. He was recognized as a gifted student and was much liked due to his pleasant appearance, fine voice, piety, and asceticism.³⁰⁰ There was, however, another aspect to his personality.

Perhaps a manic-depressive, whose mood alternated between fits of great exaltation and profound depression,³⁰¹ from time to time he was driven to commit bizarre rituals and acts, contradicting Jewish law. In 1648, when the news of the Chmielnicki Massacres first arrived in Izmir, Shabbetai Tzevi declared himself to be the Messiah. At first, his claims were largely ignored. At some point in the early 1650s, however, when the agitation around Shabbetai Tzevi increased, the rabbinic authorities had him banished from Izmir. He spent the next thirteen or fourteen years living and traveling throughout the Jewish communities of the Balkans, Egypt, and Palestine. His continued agitation caused him to be banished time and again, but in many communities he managed to establish circles of disciples and believers.

The turning point in Shabbetai Tzevi's career came in May 1665, when a young, charismatic rabbi in Gaza, known as Nathan of Gaza, proclaimed Shabbetai Tzevi to be the Messiah and redeemer. In the enthusiasm that followed, Nathan seized control of the local community and turned it into the movement's headquarters. Nathan proved to be a remarkable propagandist and organizer and from this point onward, events unfolded in rapid succession. Without leaving Gaza, through correspondence and networks of emissaries, Nathan proclaimed the news of the Messiah's arrival throughout the Jewish diaspora, where his communications produced great excitement, and swept entire communities.³⁰²

In spite of wide popular appeal, there were many, especially among rabbinic circles, who rejected Shabbetai Tzevi's claims. In June 1665, Shabbetai Tzevi was banished from Jerusalem by the local rabbis. Referring to the fact that he had previously been appointed to serve as an emissary to collect contributions (*shaliyah*) for the Jewish community in Jerusalem, not a very prestigious office, his critics said of him derisively the verse, *halakh shaliyah u-va mashiyah*, (he left a fund-raiser and returned a messiah).³⁰³

Shabbetai Tzevi's appeal with the masses was, however, overwhelming. In September 1665, he returned triumphantly to Izmir, where, by means of popular support, he deposed his opponents from the community leadership and installed his supporters (Jacob Barnai). He then declared the day of redemption to be the 5th of Sivan, 5426 (18 June 1666), and announced his intention to depose the sultan. Indeed, on 30 December 1665, Shabbetai Tzevi sailed for Istanbul.³⁰⁴

The Ottoman authorities had been apprised of Shabbetai Tzevi's activities, but up to this point did practically nothing to stop him.

Deği / Kırım
Kütüphanesi Mecidiyeköy

19 Ocak 1994



K İ T A B İ Y A T

SABETAYCILAR HAKKINDA YAZILMIŞ İKİ OSMANLICA RİSALE

ILGAZ ZORLU

Sabetaycılık veya Türkçe'deki yaygın kullanımıyla "Dönmelik" konusunun Osmanlı topraklarında onyedinci yüzyılda başlayan serüveni bu yüzyıl sonundan itibaren Sabetaycılarının da içe kapanık yapıları nedeniyle giderek unutulmaya başlanmıştır.

Sabetaycılığın dikkatleri yeniden çekmeye başlaması ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonrasında bu grupların yaşadığı Selanik şehrinin öneminin artmasına paralel olarak ortaya çıktı. O kadar ki dönemin kültürel hayatında etkili olan kurumların başlıcaları olan İttihat ve Terakki, Mason Locaları, Osmanlı tarikatleri -ki içlerinde en önemlileri Melamilik, Bektaşilik, Mevlevilik olarak belirtilebilir- içinde yer alan siyasi aktörlerin pek çoğu Sabetaycı kökenli aydınlardı. Zaten Sarayın bu cemaat üzerinde dikkat toplaması da bu kentte yönetime karşı yapılan eylemlerde Sabetaycılarının rol olmasıyla oldu.

İnteressandır, pek çok alanda olduğu gibi Osmanlı yazarlarının Sabetaycılığa olan ilgileri hareketin doğumunun neredeyse üç yüzyıl sonrasında olmuştur. Bu konuda yaptığımız araştırmalarda kütüphanelerimizde bulunan en eski kaynak¹ 1919 senesinde yazılmış olan ve yazarı belirtilmeyen "Dönmeler-Honyos, Koyegos, Sazan" adlı çalışmadır.

Burada öncelikle dönmeler konusu hakkında kısaca bir tanım yaparak risaleye başlayan yazar, aynı zamanda Sabetay Sevi hakkında da bilgiler vermektedir. Yazarın iddiasına göre Sabetay Sevi'nin amacı ayrı bir din kurmaktı, ancak kaçıp gitmesi sonucunda cemaati kendini bilemez bir şekilde yalnız kalmıştı, yine yazar şu ifadelerle cemaatin yalnızca Yahudilerden oluşmadığını da yazmaktadır: "... aslen kimisi kıpti, kimisi mecuşi ve musevi olan bu taife..." Risale daha sonra Sabetaycı gruplar hakkında bilgiler vermektedir, özellikle Sabetaycılarının kendi aralarında evlenmeleri konusu işlenmekte, dışa kapalı olmaları eleştirilmekte ve ticaret konusunda Karakaş ve Kapancıların sahtekârlık yaptıkları

ları iddia edilerek, Yakubilerin de devleti soydukları belirtilmektedir.

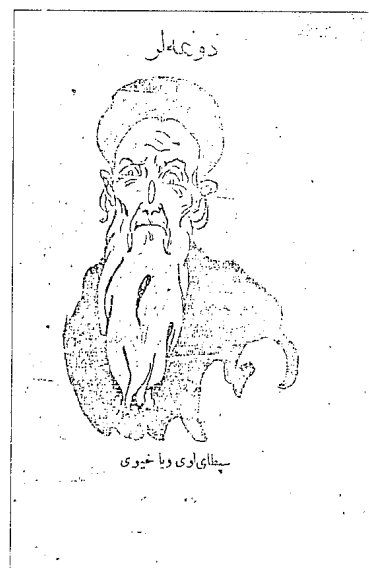
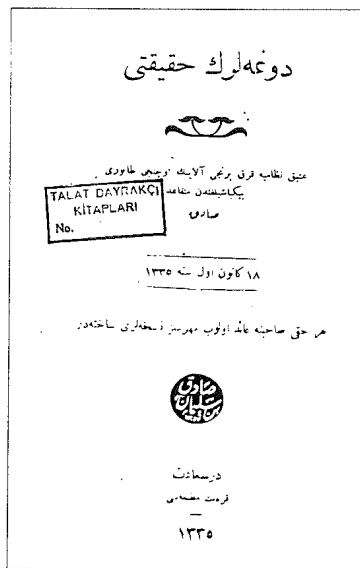
Yazara göre, Türk toplumunda kadınların başı açık gezmelerinin de nedeni Dönmelerdir,² hatta sık sık "... Anadolu ehali bilmelidir ki, bütün Rumeli ehalisine teşmil etmek istedikleri ahlaksızlık, dinsizlik yalnız İslam namıyla hareket eden Selanik dönmelerine münhasırdır" şeklindeki ifadelerle de neredeyse Osmanlı Devleti'nin içinde bulunduğu zor koşulların nedeni olarak Sabetaycılarını görmektedir.³ Yazara göre Sabetaycılarının ramazan ve Müslümanlar için kutsal olan diğer günlerde yaptıkları dini ritüeller de sahtekârlıktan başka bir anlam ifade etmemektedir. Ayrıca risalenin son bölümünde de ölümlerin iç organlarının temizlenmesi için özel bir usulleri olduğu da yine iddia edilmektedir.

Risale burada tamamlanmakla beraber ikinci bir kısmının olduğu belirtilmişse de bu konuda kütüphanelerde herhangi bir şekilde kaydına rastlanılmamıştır. Bu kaynakta açıkça görüleceği üzere tüm iddialar herhangi bir belge veya kaynak gösterilmeden dedikodu bazında kalmakta, radikal bir bakış açısını yansıtmaktadır.

Sabetaycılarının hiçbir bilimsel veriye dayanmadan açıkça aleyhinde olan bu kaynağa karşı, bir tepki olarak yazılan ve yine Osmanlıca olan, bu yazının konusunu teşkil eden diğer bir risale de yine aynı yıl İstanbul'da yayımlanan "Dönmelerin Hakikati" adlı çalışmadır.

Gerek bu kaynak ve gerekse ikinci kaynağın Osmanlıca'dan Latin alfabesine transkripsiyonları

02 OCAK 1995



Dönmelerin Hakikati (solda) ve Dönmeler adlı kitapların kapakları

John Freely

KAYIP MESİH

Sabetay Sevi'nin İzini Sürerken

Çeviren:

Ayşegül Çetin Tekçe

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi Yavuz ARGIT Bölümü	
Dem.No.	120771
Tes.No.	209 FRE.L.



Remzi Kitabevi

2002 - İstanbul

DHA Kuvveti Etkisi
R. Kuvveti



Ware afbeeldinge van Sabecha Sebi den aenamiden
hersteller des Joodischen Rycks.
ou portrait de Sabbataï Sevi ou le Diet Restaurateur
deur du Royaume de Juda & Israël.

True Portrait of Sabbatai Şevi, sketched by an eyewitness in Smyrna, 1666. From Thomas Coenen, *Ydele Verwachtinge der Joden* . . . (Amsterdam, 1669)

GERSHOM SCHOLEM

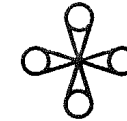
SABBATAI ŞEVI

The Mystical Messiah

1626-1676

Sabbataï Sevi

02 TEMMUZ 1993



Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kuruluşu	
Kayıt No. :	12507
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BOLLINGEN SERIES XCIII

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Charismatic Leadership in Messianic and Revolutionary Movements

*The Mahdi (Muhammad Ahmad) and
the Messiah (Shabbatai Sevi)*

R. HRAIR DEKMEJIAN

This chapter aims to develop a theoretically eclectic framework to analyze the psychological, social, and political processes by means of which charismatic founders of revolutionary and religious movements emerge in environments of acute social crisis. The validity of this framework will be tested through two case studies of leaders of messianic movements.

At the most general level of comparative inquiry, the epicentric role of personal leadership has been a persistent characteristic of religious/ideological movements throughout history. The universality of the single-leader imperative also applies to various revivalist or millenarian religious movements that seek to reinvigorate a particular religious tradition either by remaining within it or by breaking away as cults or sects. In view of the overwhelming centrality of leadership, religious and ideological movements may be fruitfully studied as extensions of the leader's personality as it reacts with the social milieu of his time.

The leader-movement interaction may be explored at three interrelated levels of analysis:

1. The movement as a projection of the leader's personality, whereby his inner conflicts seek resolution outside his self at the societal level.
2. The movement as the repository of the leader's values, beliefs, and message of salvation.
3. The movement as an organizational mechanism to propagate the leader's message and to administer the newly founded community.

These three levels or dimensions of analysis cover the whole continuum of the birth and development of new-founded or revivalist movements, beginning with the formative period of the leader, his response to the environment, his self-manifestation through propagation of a revivalist message, and finally the process of conversion to the new faith and the institutionalization

of the movement. Clearly, the complexity of this process requires the application of psychological, social-psychological, and leadership theories, along with the theological and historical analysis of specific revivalist movements. In specific terms, Erikson's psychological theories and Weber's theories of leadership offer promising results when combined with theories of leadership, crisis, alienation, and group behavior. The analytical problem is to integrate these theoretical approaches in a complementary manner in order to achieve a comprehensive theoretical framework that lends itself to generalized application to the comparative study of religious, ideological, and revivalist movements.

Charisma and Psychohistory: A Theoretical Synthesis

The contributions of Erikson and Weber constitute the two most important components of the proposed theoretical synthesis. Significantly, both men (along with Freud) derived some of their most valuable insights from their studies of religious movements. Weber's work on the prophetic tradition and Erikson's studies of Luther and Gandhi are cases in point in terms of providing theoretical guidance to scholars seeking to analyze comparatively leaders' roles in revolutionary settings and in fundamentalist movements.¹

Despite the analytical power of their respective theories, however, neither Weber nor Erikson singly can provide the theoretical depth and comprehensiveness necessary to study religious and ideological movements. Nevertheless, each provides complementary components for a composite theory of inspirational leadership—a prospect first suggested by Dankwart A. Rustow.² The task here is to develop a synthesis combining Erikson's psychology with Weber's sociology, along with other relevant theories. This synthesis can be achieved by treating the leader-movement relationship as a cyclical or dialectical process of stages that begins with the leader's appearance and culminates in the institutionalization of his movement. The conceptual outlines of this approach are suggested in Weber's typology of authority—charismatic, legal-rational, and traditional—where the leader's charisma is progressively “routinized” and diffused into legal-rational institutions that acquire traditional legitimacy with the passage of time. An earlier statement of this dynamic conceptualization of the leader's role is to be found in Montesquieu: “At the birth of societies, it is the leaders of the commonwealth who create the institutions, afterward it is the institutions that shape the leaders.”³

The Montesquieu-Weber conceptualization implies a progressive change

167125

Sabatay Sevi (180021)

23 OCAK 2006

TURKISH - JEWISH ENCOUNTERS

Türk - Yahudi Buluşmaları

Studies on Turkish - Jewish Relations through the Ages

Tarihte Türk - Yahudi İlişkileri Araştırmaları

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Ed. Mehmet Tütüncü
Haarlem, 2001

THREE SABBATEAN OBJECTS (*)

Gad Nassi

This article examines three artifacts belonging to Sabbatean families in Istanbul. These families had ancestral origins in Salonica, a city where Sabbatean communities once thrived.

The expansion of the messianic movement of Sabbetai Sevi, patriarch of the movement is well documented. However, many artifacts produced and circulated throughout communities of the Sabbatean community still remain a mystery.

Most probably, there are two main reasons why most Sabbatean artifacts have remained secrets throughout the centuries: Initially, Sabbatean communities took all measures to dissimulate their true faith and traditions. Second, the Jewish world remained reluctant to gain a more profound knowledge of them, for Sabbatean theosophy is considered contrary to Judaism.

Toward the end of the 19th century, there was a resurgence of interest in initiating an objective evaluation of Sabbatean heritage in the Jewish world¹. This resurgence brought awareness for study and preservation of Sabbatean

¹Since the apostasy of Sabbetai Sevi, the rabbis and their followers preferred to minimize the importance of the movement and even to ignore it. In several communities, records and documents concerning the Sabbatean movement were destroyed. This same attitude of rejection and negation is noticeable in Jewish literature. For more than two centuries, Jewish men of letters refrained from treating this subject and even referring to it. Probably the spiritual renaissance engendered by the *Haskala* movement of enlightenment was the basis for a more liberal and objective attitude towards the Sabbatean movement. Rabbi Abraham Danon was apparently the first religious man of letters to openly treat this subject.

See: Abraham Danon, "Influenza de Sabetay Sevi," *El Progreso (Yosef Da'at)*, pp. 269-300, 315, 331, Edirne, 1888.

Abraham Danon, "Une Secte Judéo-Musulmane en Turquie," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XXXV, pp. 264-281, Paris, 1897.

Abraham Danon, "Documents et Traditions sur Sabatai Cevi et sa Secte," *Revue des Etude Juives*, XXXVII (Paris, 1898).

261-272

Sabatay Sevi (180021)

167123

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EXPLORING THE PAGAN, JEWISH AND
OTTOMAN ROOTS OF THE "SABBATEAN
LAMB FESTIVAL"

Gad Nassi

"He who extracts the rose from the thorn
Can also turn this winter into spring.
He who exalts the heads of the cypresses
Is able also out of sadness to bring joy."

Mevlana Celalettin Rumi, Mesnevi

*(The author is grateful to Rebecca Toueg and to Roz Kohen
Drohobyczer for their assistance in bibliographical research.)*

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241-260

Sabbatai Sevi (180021)

Siyonizm (181179)

167125

TURKISH - JEWISH ENCOUNTERS

Türk - Yahudi Buluşmaları

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31 Ocak 2008

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Sabbatean Messianism as Proto-Secularism: Examples in Modern Turkey and Zionism

Avrum EHRlich

Introduction

This article tries to understand two aspects of the relationship between Sabbateanism and secularism¹, the first is the influence of the Dönme; an organised Sabbatean group that converted to Islam out of theological conviction which we will argue underscored a distinct "assimilation doctrine" and a profound sympathy for secularism. The second is the general effects of Sabbatean doctrines and the extent to which it trickled down and influenced strains within the mainstream Jewish mindset. These two are very different, despite its secrecy the former is an organised cultural group while the latter does not credit Sabbateanism in any way and even tries to disguise it, so proof must be sought through clues and doctrinal similarities still extant within the thinking patterns of suspected groups. Scholars such as Scholem and Katz undertook this and we have them to thank for drawing the connection between Sabbateanism and certain modern Jewish phenomena. This article carries off from Scholem's assertion and Katz's follow-up that Sabbateanism, as an anti-nomian religion², provided precedents and legitimacy to a Judaism that did not necessarily keep all Jewish law and in doing so paved the way to forms of ritually non-observant Judaism such as the Haskalla and Zionism. In this paper we will concentrate, amongst other things, on evidence of Sabbatean influence on the Young Turk revolution and on Zionism.

¹ Thanks to Denis Ojalvo from Istanbul and to Dönme activists Ilgaz Zorlu and B. Selim Iz for their interesting thoughts and references. Thanks to Dr Gad Nasi of the Turkish Community in Israel and Yuri Yomtov for their bibliographical suggestions. Appreciation to Yakov Leib, moderator and teacher of the Donmeh West Web Site who, through his efforts to disseminate Sabbatean teachings provides information and important archives as well as a platform for lay-people and academics alike to study Sabbatean and 'neo-Sabbatean' subjects.

² See Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676* (Princeton, 1976) and Jacob Katz, "The Suggested Relationship between Sabbatianism, Haskalah, and Reform", *Divine Law in Human Hands* (Jerusalem, 1998) 504-530.

273-308

Sabatay Sevi
(1805-21)

CORTIJO DE SEVI

SABETAY SEVİ'NİN EVİNİN GEÇMİŞİ, BUGÜNÜ VE GELECEĞİ

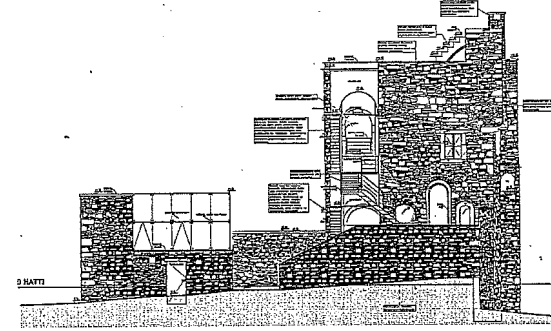
CENGİZ ŞIŞMAN



Fotoğraf 1: Sabatay Sevi'nin evinin de bulunduğu cortijo'nun bugünkü metruk hali.

Fotoğraf Barry Kapandji.

sonucunda aradığımız evin bu yazıda bahsi geçen ev olduğunu anladık. İncelediğimiz belgelerde bahsi geçen, üç katlı, bahçesi, avlusu ve manzaralı bir terası olan ev bu evdi. Evin ana gövdesi tamamen orijinal kalmış, ancak diğer kısımları yüzyıllar boyunca doğal afetlerin yaralarından dolayı birtakım tadilatlarla uğramıştı.



Sabatay Sevi'nin evinin rölesi. Cem Bilgöker.

2000'li yılların ortasındaki en büyük tehlike agora çalışmaları sırasında evin yıkılması ihtimali idi. 2005 yılında ev bir kültür varlığı olarak tescil edilmiş de olsa bir faaliyet yapılmıyor ve ev her gün biraz daha harap hale geliyordu. Ayrıca agora'yı ortaya çıkarma uğruna, bölgede bulunan yaklaşık 2.000 yıllık çok katmanlı bir tarih, ki buna Osmanlı'dan kalma tarihi doku da dahildir, özensiz bir şekilde yok edildiğinden, evin bulunduğu "Osmanlı ve Yahudi mahallesi" de toptan yıkılabiliirdi. Nitekim daha sonra evin bulunduğu mahalle ve daha sonra da evin ayrılmaz parçası olan avlu ve etrafındaki evler, yani cortijo tamamen yıkıldı. Oysa cortijo'lar ve yahudihane'ler Osmanlı Yahudilerinin en önemli yaşam alanları idi.⁵ O zamanki başka bir sorun da Sabetayist kökenli ve Yahudi cemaatinden gelen insanların eve ilgi göstermemeleri ve dahası farklı sebeplerden dolayı, istisnalar

dişında, orada bir Sabatay Sevi müzesi açılmasını istememeleriydi.

Ama tüm bunlara rağmen evi tescil ettirme, kurtarma ve müze yapma çalışmaları da eşzamanlı olarak devam ediyordu. Bir yandan İzmir Ticaret Odası (İZTO) Başkanı Ekrem Demirtaş önderliğinde İzmir kökenli bir grup bu bölgede bulunan Portekiz Sinagogu'nun bir müzeye dönüştürülmesi fikrini ortaya attı, diğer yandan bu konuda uluslararası akademik bir bilinç oluşturulmaya başlandı. Fakat İZTO'nun çabaları üyeleri arasında ihtilaftan dolayı akamete uğradı.⁶ Ancak yine de Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve agora kazı ekibinde olan tarih bilinci yüksek, Kıvılcım Keskiner, Leyla Doğer gibi kimseler

ev konusunda bir şeyler yapmak için gayret gösterdiler. Özellikle Barry Kapandji'nin gayretleri ile birçok kimse konudan haberdar oldu. İzmirli yerel araştırmacılar, Yeni Asır, Miko, İzmir Lişe, İzmir Port, İzmir Tarih ve Toplum, egedeson4oz.com türü yerlerde konu hakkında yazılar yayımlandı. Evin kurtarılması konusunda benim birkaç yazım Türkiye, İsrail ve Amerika'daki gazete ve dergilerde çıktı.⁷ Türkiye'deki çaba ve araştırmalara dayanarak yurtdışında başka yazılar yayınlandı.⁸ Ve hatta halen sürmekte olan bazı belgesel hazırlama çalışmaları başladı. Büyük ölçüde bu gayretlerin neticesi ile burası 2005 yılında bir kültür varlığı olarak,⁹ 2008 tarihinde de Sabatay Sevi'nin evi olarak tescillenmiş



17. yüzyılda Mesihliğini ilan eden ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dışındaki Yahudileri etkileyen Sabatay Sevi.

Bu makalede evin tarihsel gelişimini anlattıktan sonra, buranın Sabatay Sevi'nin yaşadığı evlerden birisi olduğunu, tarih boyunca Sabatay'ın imanlarını ve sempatisanları tarafından lieu de mémoire haline getirilerek bir ziyaretgâh olarak kullanıldığını ve yıkılmakta olan bu yerin restore edilerek Türkiye ve dünya kültür mirasının bir parçası haline getirilmesi gerektiğini iddia edeceğim. Evi merkez alanı bu çalışma,

Sabetayist kökenli cemaatin geçmiş yüzyılları için de bize ilginç ipuçları verecektir.

Söz konusu ev ile ilgili tartışmalar Kültür Bakanı Ertuğrul Günay'ın geçen aralık ayında İzmir'i ziyareti sırasında verdiği bir beyanla iyice alevlendi. Yeni Asır gazetesinin aktardığına göre, Günay, "Agoradaki evi inceledim. Buranın Sabatay Sevi'nin evi olup olmadığı henüz bilinmiyor ancak ben de doğru olmasını temenni ediyorum. Bu tür tarihi kişiliklerin yaşadıkları yerlerin turizm mekânı haline getirilmesinde fayda var. O ev müzeye dönüştürülebilir. Örne "Sabatay Sevi burada yaşamıştır" diye bir tabela konulur. Hatta bir bilgi merkezi haline getirilir. Onun da sevenleri var, onlar gelir, ziyaret ederler. İlgî çekici olacağını tahmin ediyorum" dedi.¹ Bu yazının amaçlarından birisi de Sayın Günay'ın sorularına cevap vermektir.

EV KONUSUNUN ORTAYA ÇIKMASI

1990'lı yılların başından itibaren yerli ve yabancı araştırmacılar Sabatay Sevi'nin İzmir Kemeralı'nda metruk bir evinin olduğunu ve buranın kurtarıp müze haline getirilmesi

gerektiğini dillendirmeye başladılar. 1990'lardan önce ise ev sadece mahalle sakinlerine ve ehline mahlum idi. Bu harap evin görüntüleri ilk kez 1992 tarihli Sazanikos adlı bir belgeselde² ve sonra da Haziran 1996 tarihli Atlas dergisinde dünyaya aktarılmıştı.³ 2000'lerin başında evin bulunduğu agora bölgesi henüz temizlenmeye başladığı sıralarda ev tamamen terk edilmiş, yıkıntılar altında kalmış, tinerel çocukların barınağı, eski tenekeler ve kâğıtçıların deposu, yaklaşması bile tehlikeli bir yer haline gelerek, zamanın yıkıcı kolları arasında unutulmaya terk edilmişti. Yüzyıllardır Sabetayıcılar ve Sabetay sempatisanları için lieu de mémoire hizmeti görmüş bu yer yok olmak üzereydi.⁴

Ev yıkılmaya yüz tutmuşken, evi kurtarma çalışmaları da eşzamanlı olarak başladı. Evin yeri unutulduğundan ilk başlarda evin hangisi olduğuna dair şüpheler vardı. Bir aralık Sevi'nin evi olduğu öne sürülen birkaç başka yapının daha olduğu iddia edildi. Mesela 2006 yılında evi görmek için ilk defa İzmir'e gittiğimde Yahudi cemaatinden önde gelen birileri bana başka bir binayı göstermişlerdi. Ancak uzun süren araştırmalar ve görgü tanıklarının şahadetleri

06 OCAK 1994

040607 DÖNME
180021 ŞABTAY SEVİ

509/ 9. KÜÇÜK, Abdurrahman (Dr.) ✓

Ankara Üniv. İlahiyat Fak. Ankara 1978, I c, V+403 s, matbu'.

Doktora tezinin adı :

"Şabtay Sivi ve Cemaati Üzerinde Bir Araştırma."

Hız. Muhammed'ten sonra İslâmiyet ve Yahudilik arasında ilişkiler araştırılmış Türkler ve Yahudiler'le dönme kavramı ve Şabtay Sivi (TSVİ) üzerinde durulmuştur. Son yüzyılda günümüz Türkiye'sinde dönmelik ve dönmeler üzerinde tartışmalar ele alınmıştır. Çalışma özet mahiyetinde bir netice ile tamamlanmıştır.

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7

Three Books

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

'AN ingenious observer of all things' is how Arlington describes Rycout in a letter to Winchelsea of 13 October 1666.¹ In many respects he was the archetypal early fellow of the Royal Society, with an informed interest in 'all the Observables of Nature and Art',² and a diligence in recording evidence that enabled him to make a real contribution in more than one field. 'That curiosity and desire of knowledge which always guides me'³ found its chief outlet in the study of man in society, and four very different communities were to come under his scrutiny during his consulship.

But first he had a questionnaire to fill in for the Royal Society. It had been drawn up for him even before his formal election to the Society by the secretary and one of the fellows, and was published in *Philosophical Transactions* immediately afterwards.⁴ Rycout took it back to Turkey with him the following spring and his answer (which crossed with a reminder and another copy of the questionnaire) was written on 23 November 1667. It covered, among other topics, the plague, the depilatory rusma (a compound of lime and trisulphide of arsenic), opium, mummies, seedless grapes, the Caucasus (Rycout could learn only 'that it is exceeding high, craggy, and horrid'), the drop in water level between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, whether the Caspian Sea emptied itself into the Black ('I believe

¹ E. D. Tappe, 'Charles II and the Prince of Moldavia', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 28 (1950), 419.

² H. Oldenburg, *Correspondence*, ed. and trans. A. R. and M. B. Hall (Madison, Milwaukee, London, and Philadelphia, 1965-86), ix, 338: Oldenburg to Finch, 28 Nov. 1672. See also R. W. Frantz, 'The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732', *Nebraska University Studies*, 32 (1934), 23-31.

³ *Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 385-6.

⁴ 'Inquiries for Turkey', *Philosophical Transactions*, 1/20 (17 Dec. 1666), 360-2. The original is in the Royal Society Library (Classified Papers, vol. 19 no. 43).



02 EKİM 2012

MADDE YAYIMLANDIRTAN SONRA GEZİTİLEBİLİR

it only a conjecture of the virtuosi in Christendome'), earthquakes, winds, tanning processes, Turkish pastimes and personal habits ('Often bathing makes both men and women to decay betimes'), paintings, inscriptions, and aqueducts. This letter was entrusted to Pietro Cesi or Cesii, a Persian traveller of Italian extraction who embarked from Smyrna in the *Zante Frigate* early in 1668 with the intention of settling in England. It was read out to the Society on 16 April 1668, and extracts were later published in *Philosophical Transactions*.⁵

Almost certainly Cesii also brought to England the manuscript of the consul's latest tract for the times: an account of the movement inspired by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi.

SABBATAI ZEVI

Sabatay zevi
(180021)

As we have seen,⁶ Rycout's interest in the Jews went back at least to the Whitehall settlement conferences of 1655. The practical outcome of these was the tacit admission of the Jews into England. Their presence remained unacknowledged and unchallenged until the summer of 1664, when the Conventicle Act was about to come into force. The earl of Berkshire and one of Rycout's brothers saw this as an opportunity for levying hush-money on the Jews by threats to prosecute them under the act. The Jewish wardens, however, boldly petitioned Charles II for his protection, and received an undertaking that they might enjoy the same favour as before, so long as they continued to demean themselves peaceably.⁷ This vague formula proved more valuable than any finite charter of liberties, for thereafter the Jews in England were treated almost on an equal footing with other subjects of the crown, a situation without parallel in Europe.

⁵ 'Some Communications out of Turkey, by persons residing there', *Philosophical Transactions*, 8/93 (21 Apr. 1673), 6017-19. Rycout's original letter is printed in full in Oldenburg, *Correspondence*, iii, 602-7. Ibid., iii, 343-4, iv, 133-4; T. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London . . .* (London, 1756-7), ii, 132, 134, 149, 266-70; Finch MSS, cal. corresp. bd. VII: Rycout to Winchelsea, 15 Jan. 1667/8.

⁶ p. 24 above.

⁷ L. D. Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records*, i (Oxford, 1940), 8; V. D. Lipman, *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (Cambridge, 1961), 20-1; D. S. Katz, *Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford, 1982), 223, 243. These three authorities are mistaken in identifying the Mr Rycout of the Jews' petition as Paul, who was in Turkey at the time. It was probably his brother Peter.

human desire for just reward and retribution, correcting hundreds of years of unfairness and thus assuaging popular indignation.⁵² Here, Monkey's dream represents a common human wish to alter the unalterable, to right wrong.

Thus, poetic justice is realized through Xingzhe's role as moral judge. Here, Dong Yue illustrates how a humanized spiritual perspective transcends physical limitations. While he obviously understands the evanescence of human physical existence, he also strongly affirms the immortality of the human spirit. The strength of literary or artistic creation lies in its ability to survive the ages as compared with physical structures.

IX. RETURN

While historical reality is momentary, the power of human desires is everlasting.⁵³ This may be exactly what motivated Dong Yue's conception of *Xiyoubu*: to create in a world of uncertainty a triumph of human endeavor that confirms the imperishability of moral and spiritual commitment. The fact that Dong Yue takes as his point of departure the juncture following the Flaming Mountain episode in *Xiyouji* demonstrates this. I believe that he anticipates the reader's frustration at being constantly denied an authentic account of emotional attachment and of the reality of human existence. He seems to have found the stories about the Bull Monster King (Niu Mowang 牛魔王) and Madam Rākṣasa (Luoshanū) appealing and taken Monkey's awakening to human emotions as the beginning of growth.

Not only does Dong Yue emphasize human characteristics, he also deemphasizes the traditional values of Buddhism. For example, when he criticizes the civil-

service examination for producing a group of senseless "outstanding scholars," he obviously contradicts the philosophical commentary found in *Xiyouji*. Moreover, he contradicts the Buddhist teaching on the heart. While the author of *Xiyouji* glorifies Monkey's spiritual detachment as he slays the six thieves and preaches to his Master on the Buddhist teaching of the Heart Sūtra, "no eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind," Dong Yue laments the world's lack of positive human traits and demonstrates the irony inherent in that sūtra. In *Xiyouji*, the human heart, or the heart's desire, is portrayed as the root of evil.⁵⁴ In *Xiyoubu*, on the other hand, the entirety of human existence is centered on the heart. From the heart derive feelings, relationships, intelligence, and desire. Through the complex worlds of the Monkey's dream journey, Dong Yue valorizes important features of human existence: compassion, physical attraction, emotional perfection, and mental desire. He acknowledges the substance, not the emptiness, of human experience.

Better to understand *Xiyoubu*, one must bring it out of the shadow of *Xiyouji* and consider it as an independent novel. While the sixteenth-century masterpiece has been generally acknowledged as a work about the "pilgrim's progress toward Buddhist salvation," the shorter seventeenth-century novel takes the confirmation and valuation of human existence as its central concern. In other words, the former novel records the journey of a mission, the latter that of a conscience. More specifically, the journey of mission in *Xiyouji* leads to an awareness of the illusory nature of the phenomenal world.⁵⁵ The journey of conscience in *Xiyoubu*, on the other hand, essentializes human actuality. The characters in *Xiyouji*, in whatever human forms they are identified and however lively and active their performances, are used to negate human vision and human behavior. After all, they are no more than fantastic figures of ephemeral illusion. In contrast, the characters in *Xiyoubu*, denizens as they are of dream worlds, and symbolic and abstract as they may be, evince a deeply human experience of aspiration and imagination. They concretize emotion and substantiate desire.

⁵⁴ Especially in chs. 13 and 20.

⁵⁵ The *Xiyouji* journey is often called a "quest" journey. The term is used, for example, by Plaks in *The Four Masterpieces* and James Fu in his two articles, "Plot and Style of the Quest," *Tamkang Review* 4.4, and "The Cyclic Quest," *Tamkang Review* 5.1.

⁵² "Preface" to *Xiyoubu*, 4. The narrator also identifies Xiang Yu's long story about himself as an act of *chuqi* (venting indignation). See *Xiyoubu*, ch. 7.

⁵³ The story of Yue Fei has been a rich resource of folk literature, e.g., Xiong Damu, *Da Song zhongxing tongsu yanyi*; Zhou Yuanbiao, ed., *Yue Wumu Wang jingzhong zhuan*; Yu Huayu, *Yue Wumu jingzhong baoguo zhuan*. In the late Qing dynasty, Zhou Yueqing wrote a series of "what if" plays in which he reverses tragic historical circumstances. In Zhou's stories Qin Gui never has the pleasure of having Yue Fei executed. Instead, Yue Fei defeats the Jurchen and returns in glory to the Song court. See Stephen West's comments, s.v. "Tsa-chü," *Indiana Companion*, 778.

Sabbatai Sevi (180021)

THE GRAND VIZIER AND THE FALSE MESSIAH: THE SABBATAI SEVI CONTROVERSY AND THE OTTOMAN REFORM IN EGYPT

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When Sabbatai Sevi proclaimed himself messiah in 1665, many Jews throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond abandoned their normal occupations in anticipation of a messianic age. The Ottoman authorities imprisoned Sabbatai Sevi, who ultimately converted to Islam.

The Sabbatian movement has typically been analyzed as a form of Kabbalistic mysticism. Madeline Zilfi has pointed out, however, that the movement coincided with the heyday of the Kadizadelis, a rigorously anti-mystical group of Muslim preachers. The present study proposes that the collapse of Sabbatai Sevi's movement was also connected to the reforms of the Köprülü grand viziers, who patronized the Kadizadelis. In Egypt, fiscal reform was accompanied by the fervently Sabbatian Jewish community leader and the abolition of his office. Thus, a rereading of the Sabbatai Sevi affair in light of the Köprülü reforms and Kadizadeli rigor reveals it as a product of intense religious and political ferment within the Ottoman Empire, and within Egypt in particular.

In 1651, THE SON OF A JEWISH COMMERCIAL AGENT was expelled from the Ottoman port of Izmir (ancient Smyrna), located in what is today southwestern Turkey, for publicly pronouncing the name of God. By 1658, he and his followers had launched a proselytizing campaign designed to prepare Jewish communities throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond for the approaching messianic age. The merchant's son was known as Sabbatai Sevi, and his movement became one of the most widespread Jewish messianic movements in history. The movement's initial fervor was relatively short-lived, however, lasting only from roughly 1651 through Sabbatai Sevi's conversion to Islam in 1666. Nonetheless, the Sabbatian faith, in the form of the Frankist sect, lived on into the nineteenth century in eastern Europe and can still be found among the sect of Muslims known as Dönmes, who reside primarily in Greece and Turkey.¹

The political events of Sabbatai Sevi's movement are fairly well known: he attracted followers throughout the Ottoman Empire, notably in the Arab provinces and Salonika, as well as among Jewish communities in Holland

and Italy. Beginning in 1665, when he proclaimed himself messiah, Jews throughout these regions abandoned their normal occupations in anticipation of the day when Sabbatai Sevi's messianic reign would commence. The Ottoman authorities, however, were alarmed at this ferment among their Jewish subjects, as well as Sabbatai Sevi's implicit challenge to the Ottoman sultan's authority, and imprisoned Sabbatai Sevi. They were loath to execute him lest he be hailed as a martyr, which, in any case, would do nothing to mitigate the messianic movement. Instead, they persuaded him to accept Islam. A number of his followers followed him into the new faith, thus laying the ground for the Dönme sect.²

The major treatment of Sabbatai Sevi, Gershom Scholem's monumental 1957 study, published in English translation in 1973, emphasizes the doctrinal features of his movement and seeks to place these in the context of Jewish mysticism. More recently, the Ottomanist Madeline Zilfi has examined Sabbatai Sevi's arrest and conversion in the light of Ottoman social and religious history. In a study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman *‘ulamā*,² or religious authorities, she demonstrates that a puritanical tendency among the *‘ulamā*

¹ Gershom Scholem, "Frank, Jacob, and the Frankists," *Encyclopedia Judaica*; idem, "Doenmeh," *Encyclopedia Judaica*; idem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676*, tr. R. J. Z. Verblowsky, Bollingen Series 93 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973).

² Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 140-267, 327-460, 603-86. See also Paul Rycart, *A History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (London: John Starkey, 1680), 200-219.

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-Sabatay Sevi (1800zı)

Yeni vesikalar ışığında Sabatay Sevi (ö. 1676)*

Erhan Afyoncu**

22 Şubat 2014

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Osmanlı tarihinde mesihlik iddiasıyla tanınan ve Türk tarihine “dönme” kavramını hediye eden Sabatay Sevi hakkında birçok araştırma yapılmış¹ ama Uriel Heyd’in dikkat çektiği bir belge² dışında herhangi bir Osmanlı vesikası bulunamamıştır.³ Heyd’in Sabatay Sevi ile ilgili yayınladığı vesika ise Osmanlı Arşivi’nde değil Almanya’daki “Bosnalı Osman Paşa Arşivi” olarak adlandırılan belge koleksiyonunda yer almaktaydı ve bu belgeleri yayınlayan Franz Babinger, Sabatay Sevi ile ilgili vesikanın farkına varamamıştı.⁴

* Bu Armağan’ın baskı hazırlığı sürerken makalenin yazarı, Sabatay Sevi hakkında yeni tespit ettiği arşiv belgelerini *Sahte Mesih: Osmanlı belgeleri ışığında dönmeliğin kurucusu Sabatay Sevi ve Yahudiler* adlı eserinde (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2013), yayınlamıştır. [yay. haz. notu.]

** Marmara Üniversitesi.

- 1 Gershom Scholem, *Sabatay Sevi: mistik mesih, 1626-1676*, çev. Eşref Bengi Özbilen (İstanbul, 2011); Abdurrahman Küçük, *Dönmeler tarihi* (Ankara, 1990), 340; Cengiz Şişman, “A Jewish Messiah in the Ottoman Court: Sabbatai Sevi and the emergence of a Judeo-Islamic community (1666-1720)” (Dr Tezi, Harvard University, 2004); Aynı yazar, *Sabatay Sevi ve Sabataycılar: mitler ve gerçekler* (Ankara, 2008), 51; İbrahim Alaeddin Gövsa, *Sabatay Sevi* (İstanbul, 1949); John Freely, *Kayıp Mesih: Sabatay Sevi’nin izini sürerken*, çev. Ayşegül Çetin Tekçe (İstanbul, 2002).
- 2 Bkz. Uriel Heyd, “Sebetay Sevi ile ilgili bir Osmanlı belgesi,” çev. Cengiz Şişman, *Tarih ve Toplum*, s. 223 (2002): 7-9.
- 3 Bu yüzden vesikaların saklandığı ve yok edildiği iddiaları da ortaya atılmıştır. Bkz. Mehmet Şevket Eygi, “Belgeleri kim yoketti?” *Milli Gazete*, 17 Nisan 1999.
- 4 Franz Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosnaikan Osman Pascha* (Berlin, 1931), VII numaralı vesika.

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Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal’a
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- Sabatay Sewi (180021)

Šabbetay Šewi and the Messianic Temptations of Ottoman Jews in the Seventeenth Century According to Christian Armenian Sources

Paolo Lucca

Introduction

The existence of Armenian documents based on and contemporaneous with the Šabbetay Sewi affair was made known to Hebraists by the Jewish scholar Abraham Galanté. It was a certain B. Nishanean, an Armenian antiquarian bookseller in Istanbul, who brought these documents to Galanté's attention, showing him a poem by Eremia K'ēōmiwřčan and a chapter (namely the fifty-seventh) of Arak'el Davriřec'i's *History* in which the story of Šabbetay Sewi was told. The former text, a poem composed of 127 four-line stanzas, was entitled *Yalags dera K'ristosin or kēlti kēlti asi, arareal ew řaradreal Eremiayi dpri Kostandinupōsewoy, or ēř zamanakakić ew te-sōř iranć, 1115 řwoř* ["On the Pseudo-Messiah called *Geldi-geldi*, [a poem] written and composed by Eremia from Constantinople, contemporaneous and witness to the events, in the year 1115 (1666)"].¹ The latter, an anonymous reworking in prose of Eremia's poem included in the *History* of Arak'el, was titled *Patmut'iwñ anc'ic' Hreic' azgin ew Sapēř ay anun řbtin, or asēř řē es em k'ristosn p'rkic' Hreic' azgin ew ard eki ew yaymeć ay zi p'řkećic' znosa, ew ayloc' irakut'eanc', ork' soc'unc' hetewec'an* [Story of the events of the nation of the Jews and of the řbut called Sabet'ay who said: "I am the Messiah, savior of the nation of the Jews. Behold, I have come and I have revealed myself to save them", and [story] of other subsequent events].² Galanté, who did not know Armenian, asked his friend Hamparsum Haladjan (at the time headmaster of the Armenian school "Kinali Ala" in Istanbul) to translate these sources into Turkish and, in 1934-1935, published a French version (based on

¹ Hasmik Sahakyan, *Uř mřnadari hay banastekut'yunē* [Late Medieval Armenian Poetry] 1-2, Erevan 1986-87, vol. 2, pp. 455-76.

² *Patmut'iwñ Arak'el vardapeti Dawriřec'woy* [The History of the Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz], Valarřapat 2 1884, pp. 651-65. Russian translation: *Istorija strastei evrejsnago naroda i dřixuta po imeni Sabetu, kotoryř govorit řto on Xristos, spasil' evreev, javiřřišja dlja izbavlenija ix, i drugix cobytiř posledovauřix za simi*, in X. Kućuk-Ioannesov, "Armjanskaja letopis' o evrejax v Persii XVII veka i o messii Sabbatae-Cevi" [An Armenian Chronicle on Jews in XVIIth Century Persia and on the Messiah Šabbetay Sewi], *Evreiskaja starina* 10 (1918), pp. 76-86. Eastern Armenian translation: *Hrea azgi het tehi unec'ac anc'k'eri ev Sabet'a anunov hreayi, orn asum ēř, řē inkē breakan azgi k'ristos p'rkic'n ē ev ard ekel ē ev haytnvel, or p'rkic' manć ev ayl iroht'yunneri patmut'yun, or řařordeć sranc'*, in Davriřec'i Arak'el, *Patmut'yun* [History], introduction, translation and comment by Arak'elyan V., Erevan 1988, pp. 510-23. English translation: George A. Bournoutian, *The History of Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz: Patmut'iwñ Arak'el vardapeti Dawriřec'woy*, Costa Mesa, CA 2005, Chp. 57.

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