

ARTICLE

# A transnational *millet* in the Jewish state: A Judeo-Spanish diaspora between Israel and Turkey, 1948–1958

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## Abstract

Between 1948 and 1956, 36,302 Jews migrated from Turkey to Israel, forming the largest Turkish diaspora hub at that time. Drawing on the nine newspapers published by Turkish Jews in Israel in their vernacular, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), this article sheds light on the complex nature of the migrants' transnational affinity to the Turkish Republic and on how it coexisted with their Jewish nationalism. In addition to situating this development within the broader context of post-WWII Turkish transnationalism, we also delineate their unique historic status as ethnic Jewish communities or *millet*. Examining the post-Ottoman era, we show how they leveraged their political, commercial and leisure-related ties with Turkey—deemed more developed in those terms than Israel—to empower themselves as an ethnic community and to facilitate their integration into the Jewish state. In so doing, this study bridges some of the gaps in the analyses of Muslim and non-Muslim migrations, and it suggests that we rethink the languages used to explore Turkish transnationalism as well as its geographical borders and underlying characteristics.

## KEYWORDS

Israel, Jews, Turkey, transnationalism, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish)

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## 1 | INTRODUCTION

Between 1948 and 1956, 36,302 Jews migrated to Israel from Turkey, over 80% of them arriving in 1948–1949 (Czerniak, 1999, p. 15; Weiker, 1988, p. 22). During those 2 years, Israel was the most significant destination among Turkish emigrants, and throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the number of Jews who left Turkey for Israel continued to exceed that migrating to the United States.<sup>1</sup> Jews from Turkey constituted about 5% of all migrants to Israel during the years 1948–1952 and about 10% of all migrants from Asian or African countries. Indeed, immigration from Turkey was an important part of Israel's repatriation projects during this period, which is known as the 'Great *Aliyah*', or great repatriation era (Sicron, 1957, p. 73).

As migrants from the first Muslim-majority country to establish bilateral relations with Israel, Turkish Jews' transnational experience in Israel differed markedly from that of immigrants who arrived from countries that had no bilateral ties or even from those that had engaged in warfare with Israel. The scholarly focus on this migrant group, therefore, raises broader questions about the nationalism-transnationalism connection in the post-Ottoman period and in the culture of the Ottoman *millet* (ethno-religious groups).<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, much of the scholarship on the subject has tended to examine Turkish Jewish migration separately from the broader inquiry into global Turkish migration and transnationalism, particularly in the period after WWII when the number of Turkish citizens who migrated to Europe increased markedly (Kaya, 2013). Jewish migration is treated in the context of the migrations of other *millets* that 'repatriated' to their ethnonational homelands—Greece, Armenia, and Israel.

But can one still identify among those *millets* an affinity to the Turkish Republic developed in the context of their repatriations? And can these processes teach us anything new about Turkish transnationalism? To a certain extent, this subject has remained something of a taboo, particularly as it applies to the Armenian and Greek cases. Even in the Jewish context, discussion of the topic elicits discomfort that is rooted in national sensitivities. To fill this lacuna, this article examines the phenomenon of Turkish transnationalism among the community of Turkish Jews in Israel from 1948 to 1958, who were usually referred to by their own press—published in the language of the *millet*, Ladino—as *Turkanos* and sometimes as *Turkinos*.<sup>3</sup>

## 2 | MIGRATION TYPOLOGY

To appreciate the contribution of this discussion to the scholarship on Turkish migration and transnationalism, a survey of the prominent approaches would be necessary. Between the 1820s and the 1920s, some five million people immigrated to various locations in the Ottoman Empire, and several million people also fled the Empire altogether (de Haas et al., 2019, pp. 202–203). The massive wave of migration from Europe and the Middle East to the 'New World' intensified in the wake of the first industrial age, between 1880 and 1920 (de Haas et al., 2019, pp. 100–108). At the time, some 300,000 Ottoman Empire citizens migrated to the United States (Karpat, 1985, p. 196). Of these, only 25,000 were Muslim (Naar, 2015, p. 175). The final days of the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s and 1920s witnessed the emergence of a different form of migration—an ethno-religious population exchange that effectively repatriated ethno-religious groups to their ethno-national homelands. Some examples of this phenomenon include the late Turkish *Sürgün* and the Greek 'Catastrophe', the migration of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide from Anatolia and so forth. The rulers of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic encouraged ethnic Turks to 'repatriate' to their national territory and encouraged the displacement of the 'non-Turkish' minority groups (de Haas et al., 2019, pp. 202–203). Turkey's *millets* repatriated themselves to Greece (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006, p. 117), Soviet Armenia (Laycock, 2009) and Israel. The number of migrants from Turkey to the United States was relatively low after the gates of entry into the United States were shuttered in 1924 and due to the onset of the Great Depression of the 1930s (Kaya, 2004, pp. 296–297).

The post-war years witnessed the resumption of a migration boom. In contrast to the waves of global migration that characterised the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, post-war migrants targeted the industrialised

heart of Europe rather than the Americas (Haas et al., 2019, pp. 117–119). From 1958 through 1973, therefore, some three million Turks migrated from Turkey to Western and Central Europe, mainly as labour migrants. The majority—over 2.5 million Turks—chose Germany as their migration destination. Indeed, from 1971 to 1973, about one and half million Turks settled in Germany (Yurdakul, 2009, pp. 23–25), while smaller groups migrated to North America and Australia, mainly as labour migrants (Ozcurumez, 2009).

Contrary to the nationalist assumption that migration entails a disconnection from one's roots in their country of origin, in practice, Turkish migration fostered the creation of cohesive communities that maintain 'long-distance nationalism'—a strong, nationalistically oriented bond to the country of origin. Based on linguistic affinities to the country of origin and to its state bodies, migrant nationalism was fortified by a loyalty to Turkish state values, and it necessarily included the maintenance of dual citizenship. In contrast to the Armenian and Greek *millet*s, whose diaspora experiences were fortified by a strong ambivalent attitude toward their respective countries of origin, the migration of Turkish emigrants was generally perceived to not involve trauma and/or alienation vis-à-vis their country of origin (Bruneau, 2010, pp. 40–45; Faist, 2010, pp. 9–12, 20). The fact that most Turkish migrants over the three decades following WWII were Muslims only served to highlight the gap in research about migration patterns among non-Muslim groups, including Jews.

The distinctions between the diasporas of Turkey's varied *millet*s and the transnational Turkish diaspora, the latter being overwhelmingly Muslim, were based on broader divisions in the general field between a 'victim diaspora', exemplified, at least until recently, by the Jewish experience, and a labour diaspora of work migrants, exemplified by Turkish migration to Europe, for instance (Bruneau, 2010; Cohen, 2008, pp. 16–18; Sheffer, 2003). Turkish migration to Israel was indirectly deemed a separate subject in the handful of studies dedicated to Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Jewish migrations: For example, Devin Naar (2016) studied the Jews of Salonica during the transition from the late Ottoman era to the rule of the Greek state (1912–1941). Orly Meron (2019) explored patterns of migration to France among the Jews of Salonica in the 1920s and 1930s, and Corry Guttstadt (2022) ties with the Turkish homeland in the 1910s through the 1930s. Devi Mays (2020) examined the global contexts of the developments in migration from the imperial era to the period of nation formation in North and Central America, including national migration policies. Even those scholars who extended their discussion beyond 1948, such as Aviva Ben-Ur (2009), did not address migration to Israel.

Conversely, researchers of Israel framed Turkish Jews in this country as an *edah*, a Jewish 'ethnicity'.<sup>4</sup> Relatedly, the literature tends to portray this group's migration as unidirectional and, in fact, as an *Aliyah*—a Hebrew word that is used to differentiate Jewish immigration to Israel from other Jewish and non-Jewish migrations (Czerniak, 1999; Weiker, 1988; Yeyni, 2009). In other words, there exists a methodological disconnection between the study of the early diasporas of the *millet*s and that of the post-1948 Turkish Jewish diaspora in Israel.

Often the methodological choices—for example, archives and languages—echo these disciplinary boundaries and further set them in place. For example, Turkish scholars who focused on the 'integration' of Jews in the Turkish nation-state have tended to rely on archival material written in Turkish (Ari, 2019; Toktaş, 2006). Israeli scholars have also focused on 'integration', while working with Israeli archives written in their national language, Hebrew (Czerniak, 1999; Yeyni, 2009). Both Turkish and Israeli scholars used methods drawn from the social sciences like in-depth interviews conducted in the respective national languages, Turkish and Hebrew. A recent study by Duygu Atlas (2022) combines sources in both national languages to explore Israel's policies toward Turkish Jews.

One undesirable outcome of this somewhat flawed approach was that community sources in Ladino—the vernacular language of the Jewish *millet* under the Ottoman Empire and later the language of the post-Ottoman Sephardi communities—were excluded from research of the Jews of Turkey in national contexts. An extreme example of an implication of this lacuna is the erroneous assertion by the Turkish scholar Kemal Ari that 'the native language of those who migrated [from Turkey to Israel] till 1954 was Hebrew' and not Ladino (Ari, 2019, p. 228). More recently, a few studies utilised Ladino sources to inform their exploration of *adatıyut*—Israeli Jewish ethnicity—and the 'integration' of Ladino-speaking Jews in Israel (e.g., Refael, 2020). Basing our study on an analysis of articles from

the Ladino press that were published in Israel between 1948 and 1958, we concentrate on such questions of transnational identities among the Turkish-Jewish community in Israel during the period of its consolidation.

### 3 | LADINO TURKISH NEWSPAPERS AND THEIR POLITICS

Studies of the migration experiences of Turkish migrants to industrialised Central Europe report that the migrants often felt marginalised and confined to the social, economic and geographical peripheries of society. Scenarios like this significantly increased the need for the dedicated activity of transnational organisations that imbue in the community members feelings of solidarity (e.g., Kosnick, 2007). Non-Muslims who migrated from Turkey to Soviet Armenia or to Greece encountered similar processes of expropriation and exclusion, even during their 'repatriations' (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006, pp. 116–117).

To some extent, this general account about non-Muslim migrants reflects the experience of Turkish migrants to Israel during its nationalistic melting pot era (Kaplan, 2022). In the 1950s, Turkish migrants to Israel established several dedicated organisations to represent the community and to facilitate its ongoing migration processes, and the activities of such bodies were occasionally reported by the Ladino press. Established in Tel-Aviv in 1937 and headed by the businessman Henri Perez, the most significant of these organisations was the Organization of Turkish Immigrants (OTI) (Weiker, 1988, p. 111). By 1943, this organisation was already firmly entrenched when it received a significant boost in membership from Jews who had left Turkey after the imposition of the 'capital tax' (*Varlık Vergisi*) on non-Muslims in 1942 (see below). Turkish migrants who were connected with the OTI formed several additional groups in disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as the Hatikvah neighbourhood in Tel-Aviv (Yaech, 1950c).

The newspaper *La Union*, published in the working-class city of Lod situated in central Israel, devoted occasional articles to the local branch of the OTI and to its connections with neighbouring branches in the nearby Israeli cities of Jaffa, Ramla, and Kfar Saba (Satinger, 2018, p. 143). Nissim Danon (1912–1986), a prominent journalist at the *El Avenir* newspaper, was also active in the OTI in Jaffa (Satinger, 2018, p. 103). As cities wherein the majority of the Palestinian population had been uprooted during the 1948 War, Lod/Lyddá, Ramla and Jaffa were rapidly settled over the next few years by Jewish migrants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe and North Africa to prevent the refugees from returning (Rabinowitz & Monterescu, 2008, pp. 199, 209–212).

While Jewish migrants from Turkey faced a difficult integration process in Israel, the agents who ran the OTI maintained ties to the ruling political party MAPAI, that is, the Labor Party in Israel. The party's newspaper *El Tiempo* often reported on the cultural activities that were held at the organisation's branches in Jaffa and Lod (Satinger, 2018, p. 205). Conversely, the migrant organisations in the Hatikvah neighbourhood emphasised their autonomy, as one activist explained: 'Our organization does not belong to any political party—we are independent. Each of us may be a member of a party, but our organizations are not' (Yaech, 1950c).

Based on its aspiration to emphasise the agency of the Turkish residents of the Hatikvah neighbourhood, the principal goal of the local migrant organisation was to ensure that their members had access to adequate social and cultural frameworks. In December 1949, *La Verdad* published an article titled, 'Saving Jewish Youth from Danger'. The dangers described in the article included 'certain places where every day hundreds of people are "blown out" from hashish (*estan entosegando del Hachich*) in full view of the police'. The article proclaimed the need 'to kill the poisonous snake [that bites] young people by outlawing the playing of games for money in all the cafes'. It was also hinted that young men were being seduced by older men: 'Severe prison sentences [must be imposed] on all those who act against the Torah of Moses and lead the sacred youth into evil ways' (Ben-Maor, 1949).

Considering these perceived 'dangers', which were all grouped together, it is hardly surprising that a few months later the need was raised to organise the Turkish migrants: 'as was noted in another article, since they do not have meeting halls and leaders, [...] they spend their free time at the card tables, jeopardizing their children's livelihood (*pamasa*)' (Yaech, 1950c; see also Yaech, 1950b).

The preliminary overview of the processes of marginalisation among Turkish migrants in Israel that is reflected in their self-established newspapers underscores the important role played by the media in transnational community organisation (Chalaby, 2005). During Israel's first decade of existence, the Turkish migrant community published nine newspapers, some politically affiliated and others independent, but all printed in Ladino (Satinger, 2018). Their issuing was not only ingrained in the Israeli context, it also continued a pre-migration legacy. Between 1845 and 1948, roughly 300 Ladino newspapers were published in the Ottoman cultural sphere. *El Tiempo* (Istanbul 1872–1930), the most important and long-lived among them, was edited by David Fresco (1853–1933) during its two first decades of existence (Abrevaya Stein, 2004).

Though Ladino publications were dominated by Hebrew scripts, these were Latinised after the Turkish Republic instituted a modified version of the Latin alphabet in 1928 (Fortna, 2011, pp. 131–143). From late 1920s, some 15 Ladino newspapers in Latin script appeared in Turkey (Simon, 2013). The most prominent among these newspapers, established in October 1947 by Avram Leyon (1912–1985), was *Şalom*, which was published continuously until 1983. Against the backdrop of Turkification, the appearance of *Şalom* in Ladino echoed the *millet* culture in an era of nationalism and migration to Israel. Containing ethnically oriented reporting on Jewish community events, among other related issues, *Şalom* thus served as the glue that held the community networks together after most of Turkey's Jews had emigrated (Tarablus, 1993).<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to *Şalom*'s decidedly community approach, the Israeli Ladino press tended to be politically oriented: Some newspapers were published on the initiative of political parties, and accordingly, they often ran articles written by party members or by sympathetic journalists that were translated into various languages; other papers, though they were not owned by a political party, identified with one, and they benefited correspondingly from the party's benevolence (Caspi & Limor, 1992, pp. 40–53). The first Ladino-language newspapers to appear in Israel were party-political publications, as were the two that survived the longest (e.g., Gruss, 2012).

The first issue of *La Boz de Israel*, for example, was published in July 1949 at an early stage of the wave of Jewish migration. Although the newspaper described itself as an 'independent organ', it maintained an affinity to the MAPAI ruling party, but it survived for only 2 months. In the footsteps of *La Boz*, a weekly newspaper named *El Avenir* (1949–1950) was founded, and it overtly declared its association with MAPAI. In response to the emergence of these two newspapers that were ostensibly affiliated with the MAPAI party, a newspaper called *La Verdad* was established as the organ of the General Zionist party, which represented elements of the Israeli bourgeoisie who comprised mainly European migrants. Members of this circle supported free enterprise and were fundamentally opposed to MAPAI's desire to centralise the state's economic and political systems, and as such, its slogan was 'Let us live in this Land'. Despite the wide ideological gulf between the two parties, the General Zionists party participated in several governments. *La Verdad*, the last of the Ladino newspapers in Israel to be published on at least a monthly basis, was founded in 1949 and continually published until 1975 (Satinger, 2018, pp. 57–81).

Additional publications that entered circulation during this period in response to these party-affiliated newspapers were less robust. July 1950 witnessed the appearance of a new MAPAI newspaper called *El Tiempo* that survived until 1967. In August 1950, the first issue of *Libertad* was published, a short-lived publication that was affiliated with the Revisionist Herut party, the right-wing opposition party that claimed to be an alternative to MAPAI and that supported the vision of the Whole Land of Israel and the promotion of free enterprise (Satinger, 2018, pp. 82–92). In contrast to the newspapers affiliated with the more established, mainstream parties that participated in the government during this period, *Libertad* had a very limited budget, and it was circulated as a duplicated booklet.

By 1951, just two Ladino newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *La Verdad*, were still running, both with overt political party orientations. More than mere party organs, however, these two newspapers were perceived by some readers as constituting unifying and organising forces for a community that felt 'invisible', both to the authorities and to most other migrants in Israel. One writer asked in August 1952: 'Why should *La Verdad* not take the initiative to organize the Turkish masses, who unfortunately have been abandoned and left without dignified leaders? [Is this] because *La*

*Verdad* does not belong to the ruling party? And what if *La Verdad* belonged to the ruling party—would everything then be forgiven?’ (Un Amigo del Turcano, 1952).

The valuable contributions of these papers to the Turkish community notwithstanding, some rejected the idea that a political party newspaper could adequately represent the interests of the Turkish migrants. In 1953, therefore, several private journalists sought to enter the Israeli Ladino press market and to express independent positions, but these ventures were short-lived. *La Boz de Yeruchalaim* was published during 1953–1954 on the initiative of the independent migrant organisation, *Ihud Tzeirey Turkiya Be-Yerushalyim* (The Union of Young Turks in Jerusalem). Shabbetai Leon (1915–1973), a MAPAI activist, founded an independent newspaper called *La Union* together with some of his like-minded colleagues (Lod, 1954–1955). At the beginning of 1955, a MAPAI activist in Lod founded a newspaper called *Nuestro Kamino*, but none of its issues have survived (Satinger, 2018, pp. 93–109, 139–41).

Indeed, the long-term survival of any independent newspaper that was established during the nascent state's creation was precarious at best, and their rate of failure in the young State of Israel was correspondingly high. Moreover, the Ladino-language audience probably declined gradually in size as readers gravitated toward the Hebrew press once they acquired literacy in the language.<sup>6</sup>

The linguistic and cultural worlds of members of the Turkish community in Israel during the 1950s were addressed in a column, ‘Kualo dizen los jornales’ (What Do the Papers Say?), which appeared intermittently in *La Verdad* (see Figure 1). While the Turkish and Jewish nation-states comprised important components of their identities, both their linguistic and cultural worlds as Turkish migrants were Ladino. Therefore, key messages from the nationalist- and Kemalist-flavoured Turkish press (*Vatan, Hürriyet, Dünya, Yeni Sabah*), from the Hebrew-language Israeli press (*Al Hamishmar, Haboker, Maariv*) and from a Jewish diaspora newspaper (the London *Jewish Chronicle*) were all adapted into their Ladino vernacular to make them easily accessible to the entire community (e.g., Kualo dizen los jornales, 1953).

That members of the Turkish community in Israel constituted the main audience for the country's Ladino-language newspapers can also be deduced from a simple demographic analysis. The Ladino-speaking Jewish communities of Southeastern Europe, mainly Salonica, were virtually annihilated in the Holocaust, leaving only a few thousand survivors from these communities who reached Israel. The Jews of proper Bulgaria were saved from the Holocaust and migrated to Israel in 1948–1951. Totalling about 38,000 people, they only slightly outnumbered those from Turkey (Satinger, 2018, pp. 39–45). Because Bulgaria had not been under the effective control of the Ottoman Empire since 1878, however, in the intervening years, many Jewish residents of the country assimilated to the Bulgarian language (at the expense of their use of Ladino) prior to their journey to Israel (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, pp. 118–121, 150–154).

It was thus no coincidence that *La Union* described itself as ‘the newspaper of all the Turks’ (Satinger, 2018, pp. 101–102). Another newspaper, *La Verdad*, published a special literary supplement in 1957 emphasising that ‘the supplement has been sent to almost all the homes of Turkish origin’ (Satinger, 2018, pp. 230–231). The *La Verdad* journalist responsible for the supplement, Nisim Bueno, also related specifically to ‘novedades de Turkia’ (news from Turkey). In February 1950, for example, it reported on the weather in Istanbul, ceremonies in the Jewish community of the Galata quarter of the city, and the arrival to the city of the actress Yvonne De Carlo by plane from the United States (Bueno, 1950a). Three weeks later, Bueno's column featured news from Turkey about the upcoming elections there and about the arrest of the activist Abdülğani Conatay for ‘spreading Communist propaganda’ (Bueno, 1950b; see Figure 2). Stationed in Istanbul as *La Verdad*'s Turkey correspondent, Bueno continued to report for the newspaper until at least 1953 (Satinger, 2018, p. 115).

These printed materials emphasise that the affinity to the Turkish Republic could also be expressed in the languages of the *millets*—and not only in Turkish—even a century after non-Muslim Turks were exposed on a significant scale to Ottoman-Turkish during the Tanzimat reforms (Cohen & Abrevaya Stein, 2014, p. 185).

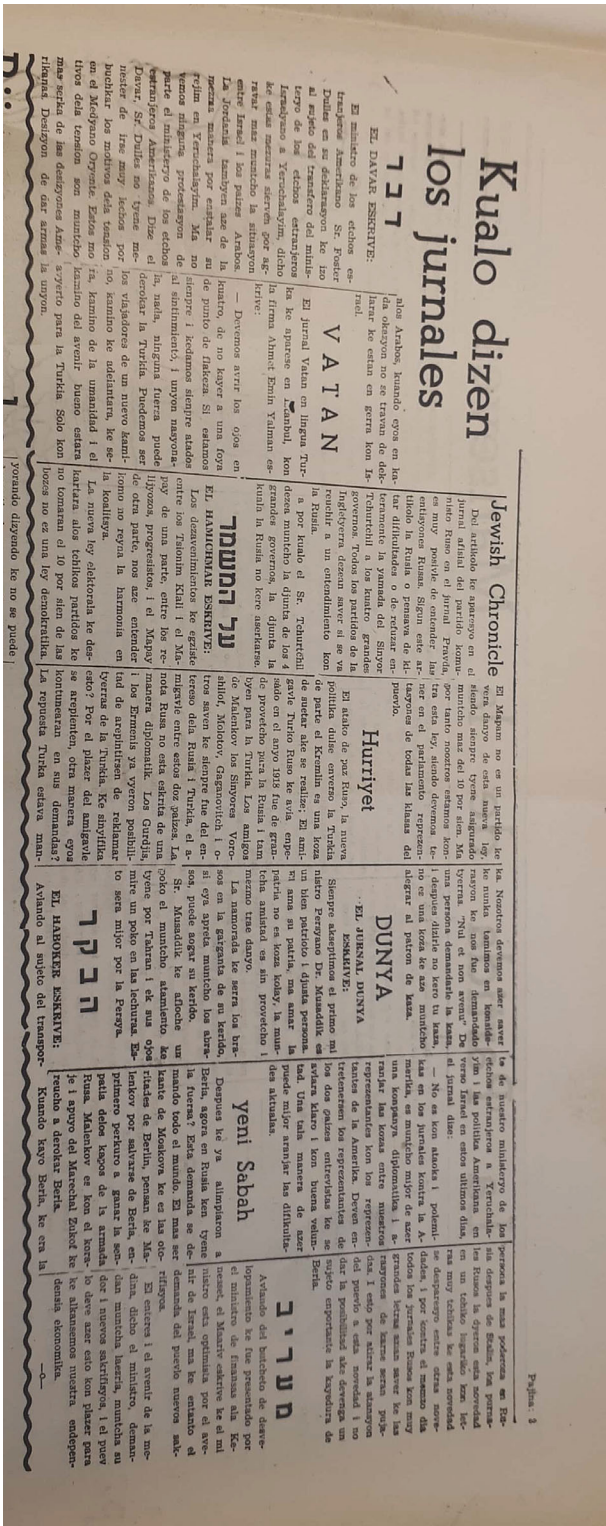


FIGURE 1 La Verdad, 6 August 1953, 3 (Courtesy of Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Library, Jerusalem) [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]

Página 3

## NOVEDADES DE TURKIA

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De nuestro kollaborador NISIM BUENO

### Sr. Eliyahu Sason

El Ministro Israelyano de Sinyor Eliyahu Sason, la otra semana partisipo a la tefila de la grande keilla en Ankara i el propio meldo la aftara.

De esta manera el topo la okazyon de konoserse kon los judios de este paiz.

Lós judios de Ankara pasaron un día muy alegre kon el Ministro Eliyahu Sason.

### Las eleksiyones en Turkia

Serkamente empesan las eleksiyones en Turkia. Sigun las leyes nuevas, en kada kacha de votós se topara un djuzgador (hakim) prezente.

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### Aprontamientos de Pesah

Esta semana se empeso a lavorar la matsa para Pesah, ma este anyo se pensa ke la vendida sera 50 por 100 manko delos anyos pasados.

### En Ankara

Una persona nõmbrada Abdülğani Conatay, fue aprezado en Ankara, por azer propaganda komunista.

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### Un balon DE LOS JURNALES

Empasadas los jurnales turkos avizaron, komo al 6 avril el mundo seva undir. Esto aki en Turkia se izo la kestion del dia todos asperan kon dezespere el 6 de avril i muntchos mankos de penseryo estan kon merokia. Por kontra ay personas ke se riyen de esto.

### El Spor

Esta semana tuvo lugar la mas grande match de futbol en Istanbul. La match ke mostrara el champion de este anyo se jugo entre Galatasaray - Bechiktach, el djugo fue suivado kon grande atansyon por 15.000 personas i Galatasaray gano 2 - 1.

El estado de los klupes es esto :

Fenerbahtche	34 puaes
Bechiktach	32 "
Galatasaray	31 "
Vefa	24 "
Istanbulspor	22 "
Emniyet	20 "
Beykoz	20 "
Kasimacha	17 "

Por la ora Fener esta el primero.

NISIM BUENO

FIGURE 2 *La Verdad*, 10 March 1950, 3 (Courtesy of Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Library, Jerusalem) [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2396.2023.02599.x)]

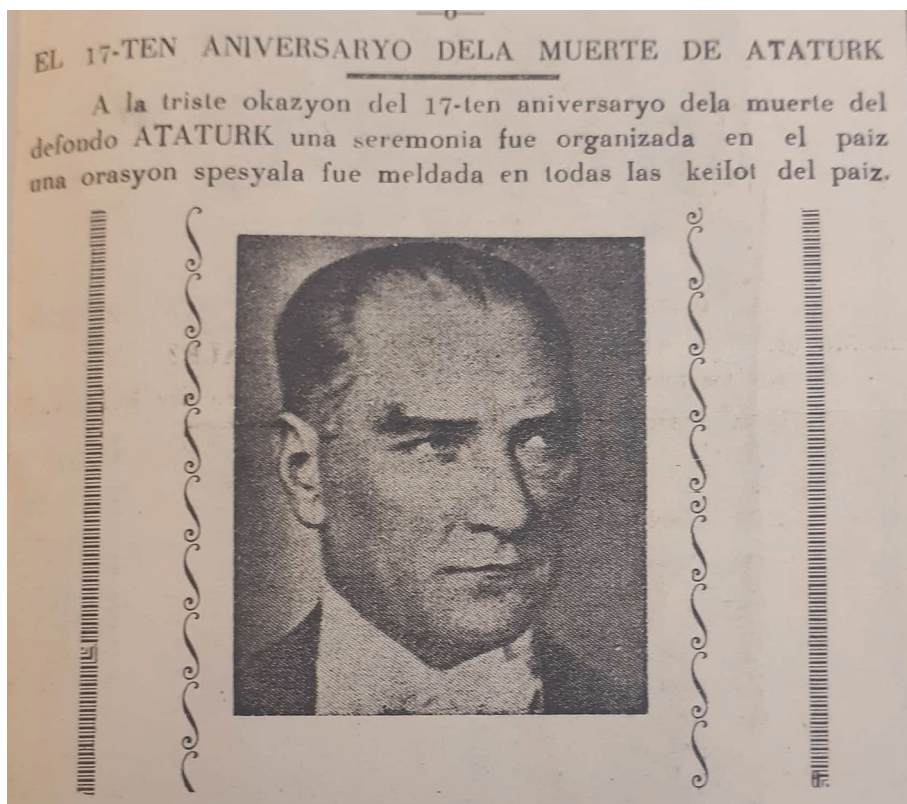


#### 4 | “YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN THE LAND OF ATATÜRK”: TURKISH TRANSNATIONALISM IN THE SERVICE OF JEWISH NATIONALISM

While Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the father of the Turkish Republic, was still alive, his memoirs (Salonica 1927) and biography (Salonica 1933) were published in Ladino (Cohen, 2021, p. 448). An affinity to Atatürk also manifested across the Turkish-Jewish diaspora, even infiltrating the realm of the synagogue. For example, in January 1939, a month after Atatürk's death, the Sephardi community in Paris, whose members included Jews of Turkish origin, held a memorial service in the Berith-Shalom Temple (Cohen & Abrevaya Stein, 2014, pp. 369–371).

After his death, Atatürk assumed mythological status. The preservation of his memory remained an important element of the Turkish community in Israel, some of whose members considered themselves ‘sons of Atatürk's state’. Like their peers in France, members of Israel's Turkish community also incorporated Atatürk's memory into their religious practices. In November 1955, *La Verdad* reported that to commemorate ‘the sad event of the memorial marking 17 years since the death of the late *Atatürk* [emphasis in original] [...]. A special prayer was read in all the synagogues (*kehillot*) in Israel’, that is, those synagogues that served the Turkish migrant community (El 17-ten aniversario dela muerte de Ataturk, 1955; see Figure 3).

The publication of *La Verdad*'s report indicated how the religious practices introduced in the synagogues of Turkish migrants across Israel accommodated a broader awareness of their Turkish-Israeli identity. Two weeks after David Ben-Gurion, the father of the State of Israel, returned to power for his second period in office as prime minister, General Zionists who were of Turkish origin and who were also opponents of MAPAI evoked the memory of the



**FIGURE 3** *La Verdad*, 17 November 1955, 3 (Courtesy of Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Library, Jerusalem) [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

father of their Turkish nation. As part of their internal struggle against MAPAI, the General Zionists from the Turkish migrant community—members of a party better known for its pragmatic politicians than for charismatic leaders—lauded their alternative, ‘transnational father’ in a practice that, in itself, may have been simply another way to distance themselves from the MAPAI establishment and its dominant melting-pot ethos. The photograph of Atatürk that accompanied the report (see Figure 3) added an important and prominent sentimental touch that ensured it would reach its intended audience.

Turkish migrants to Israel thus sought to integrate into the country while maintaining a strong affinity to the Turkish Republic. Any query about the reasons for this phenomenon should consider that in 1950, Turkey was the first Muslim country to recognise Israel as a legitimate state as part of its broader strategy to incorporate into the Western bloc during the Cold War. Driven by similar motives, Israel later sought alliances with Turkey to strengthen its ties with the West. Israeli policymakers deemed Turkey a key player in bypassing regional isolation in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although Turkey's policies in the Middle East since the 1950s have reflected its support for the Arab stance on the Israel–Arab conflict, this has not come at the expense of Ankara's ties with the West. Owing to the importance Turkey attaches to these ties, it has strategically balanced its support for the Arab position to preserve its relations with Israel and the United States (Aykan, 1993).

In their dual role as migrants from a strategically important country to Israel and as a relatively large demographic component in their new home during the State's nascent years, Turkish Jews in Israel believed that they were well positioned to help strengthen Israel's standing in the international arena. The perceived ‘invisibility’ of their Turkish background vis-à-vis the Israeli establishment notwithstanding, they still felt that their origins in the Turkish Republic, a post-imperial, regional power that was interested in cultivating Israeli-Arab relations, would be critical to realising that objective.

In fact, their affinity to Atatürk provided Turkish migrants in Israel with symbolic capital, which they nurtured and exploited to satisfy their own needs, as exemplified by the following incident. The educator Yehoyakim Papurish (1906–1992) was born in Austro-Hungarian Galicia and migrated to Palestine in 1929 after completing a doctorate in geography at the University of Vienna. He published numerous geographical works, including ‘Knowledge of the Land: Settlement Geography of the Land of Israel’, which became a high school textbook and was eventually published in numerous editions (Papurish, 1954). Though the book mentioned various Jewish ethnic groups (*edot*) in Israel, it glaringly omitted the *Turkanos*. In response, Shabbetai Leon, the editor of *La Union*, complained: ‘Why has Dr. Papurish forgotten us? The Jews of Turkey have enriched the state with healthy and effective elements’. The failure of Papurish to mention the Turkish Jews ‘leads us to conclude that the author has not studied closely the Jewish component of the descendants of the state of Atatürk’ (Porke El Dr Paporich Se Olvido De Nozotros?, 1954).

Relatedly, other community leaders expressed pride in their contributions to the promotion of economic, commercial and political ties between Turkey and Israel. In its role as the newspaper affiliated with the ruling party, *El Avenir* reported regularly on Israeli-Turkish relations. In April 1950, shortly after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the newspaper's correspondent reported that ‘a delegation of 70 businessmen from Turkey is due to arrive in Israel soon to study how to develop commerce between the two nations. At the same time, an Israeli negotiating delegation will visit Turkey’. The correspondent added: ‘According to the Turkish Chamber of Commerce, Israel is now one of the five best customers for [the exports of] Turkey’. He also mentioned that the possibility of establishing a direct air link between the two countries was discussed (Israel y la Turquia, 1950).

Turkish migrant participation in the promotion of economic activity between Turkey and Israel merits a different study. Their portrayal of themselves as individuals who could cultivate the critical Turkey-Israel connection that would bear fruit in the form of the injection of foreign currency into the sluggish Israeli economy (during the austerity era) was remarkable (Rozin, 2005). Turkish migrant editors marketed this message to the *Turkano* readers of party-political newspapers.

In January 1950, *La Verdad* reported on the opening of the Turkish embassy in Israel. Yitzhak Yaish (Yaech, 1922–1970), the editor of *La Verdad*, had edited two Ladino-language newspapers in Turkey before migrating to Israel: *Şalom* (together with Avram Leyon), and *Or Yehuda*, which appeared for only a brief period in 1948. Shortly

after he arrived in Israel in 1949, Yaish applied his Turkish journalistic experience and founded *La Verdad* for the new Turkish audience in Israel. Initially defining his newspaper as ‘the only politically independent newspaper’, he eventually re-branded it as ‘the only *Turkano* journal in Israel’ (Satinger, 2018, pp. 114–116). He was thus able to leverage his abilities to mediate between the Israeli government and senior political and diplomatic figures in Turkey to promote his newspaper’s reputation.

At around the same time, Seyfullah Esin (1902–1982) was appointed the first Turkish ambassador to Israel, and Yaish travelled to the embassy to interview the new arrival. Although Esin was exhausted, and initially, he declined to be interviewed, Yaish related that

Knowing the *La Verdad* is intended specifically for Turkish readers, and aware that the writer is a veteran journalist in Turkey, the general advisor [to the ambassador] agreed by way of an exception [to hold an interview] and accepted us – as they say in Turkish – *teklifsizcesine* – without conditions. In order not to abuse his kindness, we immediately began to present our questions (Yaech, 1950a, p. 1).

Yaish’s narrative maintained that the ambassador eventually acquiesced and agreed to the interview because the newspaper in question was Turkish. According to Yaish, ‘the diplomat hopes that 1950 would be a good year for all the Jews of Turkish origin living in the Land of Israel (*Eretz-Israel*)’ (Yaech, 1950a, p. 1). Thus, although Esin had come to Israel as an official Turkish representative, he devoted his greeting—at least in the Ladino newspaper edited by Yaish—to Turkish migrants in Israel alone.

Faithful to his self-appointed ‘calling’ as the representative of Turkish migrants in Israel, Yaish presented the ambassador with guiding questions that he believed would be of interest to his readers:

[Yaish]: Do you believe that the supreme Turkish-Israeli interest is to establish a commercial agreement?

[Esin]: Definitely.

[Yaish]: What is your opinion concerning the internationalization of Jerusalem?

[Esin]: The UN is an extraordinary organization, from the idealistic perspective. Despite that, I think that this decision will not be implemented (Yaech, 1950a, p. 4).

Concluding his interview, Yaish stated: ‘We thank the honorable diplomat for his interest in the perspective of *La Verdad* he brings to the readers, the Turkish element [in Israel]’ (Yaech, 1950a, p. 4). Indeed, Yaish’s perseverance combined with his Turkish roots enabled him to provide his readers with exclusive access to the ambassador’s remarks, an ability that he unabashedly flaunted after the latter took an interest in his newspaper’s unique perspective and consented to talk with him. The implicit message was that with his background as a Turkish journalist, Yaish was uniquely capable of securing news items that were simply out of reach to the editors of the more hegemonic Hebrew-language newspaper—of the type from which *La Verdad* frequently collated and translated reports—because in contrast to *La Verdad* and Yaish, neither the Hebrew newspapers nor their editors had any stake in the global transnational Turkish community.

Access to the Turkish ambassador was not unique to Yaish. Soon after he interviewed the new arrival, a correspondent for the government party newspaper *El Avenir* reported on a meeting between the Turkish ambassador and Israel Rokach (1896–1959), the mayor of Tel-Aviv, and Pinhas Lavon (1904–1976), the General Secretary of the *Histadrut*, a powerful labour organisation that exercised considerable centralised control over the Israeli economy and maintained affinity to MAPAI. ‘The ambassador took an interest in the development plans for Tel-Aviv and was impressed by the details he heard from the General Secretary of the *Histadrut* about labor, management, and the protection of the Israeli worker’. According to the report, Shabbetai Dinar, the head of the Turkish Department in the Israeli Foreign Ministry, also attended the meeting (El ministro de Turquia vijita nuestras instituciones, 1950).

Dinar, who had migrated to Israel in the 1930s, authored articles for the MAPAI Ladino language newspapers, *El Avenir* and, later, *El Tiempo*. Accordingly, it is not inconceivable that he wrote, or at least initiated the publication of, the above-mentioned report. Incidentally, his reports in *El Avenir* may have formed part of his political campaign, and several months after the report's release, Dinar was elected to the Tel-Aviv municipal council (Satinger, 2018, p. 142). His election underscores the importance of the multiple networks cultivated by Dinar—as a Turkish migrant, a member of the diplomatic corps and a prominent figure in municipal politics—who exploited his wealth of prominent contacts as well as his journalistic, linguistic and interpersonal skills to advance not only a strong affinity to Israel, but also a type of long-distance nationalism vis-à-vis the development of the Turkish transnational community in Israel.

Dinar's power within the Turkish community in Israel is also apparent from the references to him in the rival newspaper *La Verdad*, in November 1949, as a 'dictator' (Satinger, 2018, p. 210). This 'dictator', however, was not averse to using his contacts to advance both Israel's and the Turkish nation-state's interests. The government MAPAI party competed with the rival opposition party not only for the leadership of the hegemonic Israeli ethos but also for the leading role in advancing Israel's international relations with influential countries such as Turkey, and members of the Turkish community in Israel played an active role in this competition. That role gained immense meaning in the context of the overall lower economic and political status of the *Turkinos*, as recounted above and emphasised by the Turkish newspapers in Israel, which often juxtaposed accounts about the hardships faced by many Turkish migrants to Israel with the less common stories of a compatriot's successful integration.

Comparable to how Turks in the United States sought to escape their generic status as 'Muslim-Americans', a classification that is devoid of 'any reference to their ethnic, cultural, racial, and religious differences (Kaya, 2004, p. 296), Turks in Israel grappled with feelings of invisibility' against the backdrop of Israel's complex ethnic mosaic. In efforts to establish themselves in Israeli society while preserving their rich cultural heritage, they emphasised their presence by leveraging their transnational connections with Turkey in different ways. As such, they differed from Armenians and Greeks of Turkish origin, among whom we have not found evidence of such an affinity.

## 5 | FOOTBALL AND LONG-DISTANCE NATIONALISM

With its inviting combination of leisure, commerce and politics, football was an important factor of the mid-twentieth century formation of transnational communities around the globe, where the ball bound migrants to their respective countries of origin (e.g., Butta, 2018). Though the origins of football culture in Israel date back to the pre-1948 period, the game gained markedly in popularity during the 1950s, and as in many other places, it was identified primarily with the working class (Ben-Porat, 2012).

Several of the Ladino newspapers in Israel, such as *La Verdad* and *La Boz de Yeruchalayim*, featured regular sports columns. They reported on matches in the football leagues in Israel as well as in those around the world. As the newspapers of transnational migrant communities, they paid particular attention to matches of interest to readers of Turkish origin, such as those that involved the Turkish national squad or Turkish teams (Sport, 1954). Notably, the 1950s witnessed the emergence of a strong Turkish national football squad, which almost advanced to the quarter finals of the World Cup in 1954 to achieve a standing on the world football stage that it would not repeat for another five decades. In a manner analogous to the power differentials in the international arena between Turkey and the young State of Israel, the recently formed Israeli national football squad was also not considered a serious contender for the World Cup in the 1950s. Nonetheless, *La Verdad* reported enthusiastically on a planned visit to Israel by the Turkish national squad in 1955, a visit that, ultimately, did not materialise. The reports also acknowledged, however, the large gap in skills between the more experienced Turkish team and the relatively new Israeli squad (Enkontros de futbol: Israel - Turkia, 1955).

In addition to its stories about Turkey's national team, the newspaper also reported on the visits to Israel by Turkey's national league football teams. The prestigious Fenerbahçe team came to Israel in March 1950, 'in an Israeli

airplane'. Four matches were planned for the visiting team, including one against Hapoel Tel-Aviv. The correspondent for *La Verdad* was in no doubt that 'since [Fenerbahçe] is at the top of the teams in Istanbul, it can be expected to win the matches' (Geldin Fenerbahçe: Dost milletin sayın futbolcuları sehrimizde, 1950).

After the Fenerbahçe team had returned home, the correspondent quoted one of its players as commenting that 'the stadiums [in Israel] are very cramped and neglected. We play using long passes, and the ground didn't let us play our game' (Bueno, 1950c). The tone of the report revealed a sense of transnational pride on the correspondent's part, to whom Israel's stadiums had been described as 'cramped and neglected' in contrast to the impressive Turkish stadiums that allowed the ball to roll more smoothly, producing a higher-quality game. As with its interviews in the diplomatic arena, the paper's sports interviews also conveyed the high level of pride of the Ladino journalist, who was able to provide the paper's readers with direct access to the voices of the Turkish footballers that his peers in the hegemonic Hebrew press, who lacked the Turkish connection, were simply unqualified to do.

## 6 | AMBIVALENCE TOWARD THE TURKISH HOMELAND OR THE ONGOING MILLET

The key to understanding the disparate post-emigration feelings expressed for one's country of origin by the different *millet*s lies in two aspects: first, in the more traumatic circumstances of the migrations by the latter two groups, particularly the Armenians, compared to those of the Turkish Jews (Benhabib, 2015), and second, in the way that history was constructed in retrospective: While most of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire indeed perceived it as a 'safe haven' from the persecution of the Iberian inquisition in the post-1492 era (as the mainstream contemporary narrative maintains, e.g., Levy, 1992; Meron, 2005, pp. 278–279), the relationship with the Ottoman state was not consistently sound (e.g., during the Sabbatian crisis of 1665–1666) (Cohen, 2014, pp. 3–4).

Inconsistent relationships also characterise the Armenian and Greek engagements with the Ottoman state, but while mainstream narratives focus on persecution and hostility in the post-1453 histories, several studies have shown religious and commercial that Armenian and Greek elites were, in fact, preferred over Jewish ones in several periods (e.g., Ueno, 2016). Thus, the way in which the past was broadly imagined by the communities in the post-migration era influenced their affinity to the Turkish republic and the way they often perceived their migration from modern Turkey.

Having shown how the Turkish migrants leveraged their origin in the Turkish Republic in their attempts to reinforce their political, economic and sporting status, we now examine how they reconciled their complex, transnational affinity with their criticism of Turkey. For instance, despite his sympathy for the Turkish Republic, which manifested in his overt transnational identity, Yitzhak Yaish nevertheless sought, in November 1949, to provide 'some reminders for the Turkish Jews', the readers of his *La Verdad*:

Remember when they took 20 [military] squads (*klasas*), turned us into soldiers, and threw us into the mountains of Konya, Eskişehir, and Kandra.

Remember when they took even the shirts of our brothers in Turkey, and they arrived in Istanbul in their underpants.

Remember the *Varlık* and *Aşkale*.

Remember when our wives and daughters could not move around freely on the street.

Remember when we were constantly cursed.

Remember the military service we performed in Turkey as slaves.

Remember the day when we listened on the radio to [the declaration of] Israel's independence.

Remember the date May 15, 1948, and the joy we felt, though we could not show it.

Remember when we waited in line on the steps of the police station to receive our [Turkish] passport [to be able to leave Turkey].

Remember when the Great *Aliyah* (*aliya grande*) to Israel began.  
 Remember when they closed the ports to us, and left thousands of people thrown onto the streets  
 and in the cafés.  
 Remember the joy we felt as we left for Israel.  
 Remember the day we boarded the ship.  
 Remember when you saw the port of Haifa.  
 Remember the tears of happiness when we saw the Jewish flag.  
 Remember those who have their souls for the State of Israel (A los Judiyos de Turkiya unos kuantos  
 akodramyentos, 1949).

The strong affinity of the Jews to Turkey notwithstanding, their treatment by the Turkish Republic elicited profound criticism. Yaish did not shy from mentioning the hardships associated with the uncertainty and instability during the first year of the State of Israel's independence, a period during which the Turkish authorities made frequent and arbitrary changes to their emigration procedures, even periodically halting the process, ostensibly due to their stunned surprise at learning of the Jews' enthusiasm to leave Turkey (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, p. 187; Ari, 2019).

Yaish also boldly described the recent traumas suffered by the Turkish Jews. For example, 1942 witnessed the imposition of the 'capital tax' (*Varlık Vergisi*) on all non-Muslims in Turkey, including Jews, to finance the defence of Turkey during WWII. Eventually causing the economic collapse of a large part of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie in Turkey, this tax also severely affected the working class. Anyone who was unable to pay was sent to toil in work camps in Aşkale in eastern Anatolia, where the brutal combination of hard labour, poor living conditions and constant hunger led to the deaths of 21 non-Muslim labourers (Bali, 2005; Dinçşahin & Goodwin, 2011; Ozil, 2019).

After a moderate deterioration in the status of Turkish Jewry during the nation-state era relative to its standing in the days of the empire and following the expulsion of the Jews from Thrace during the events of 1934, the capital tax and the work camps constituted the 'straw that broke the camel's back', forever alienating many Turkish Jews from their country. Taken together with the impoverishment of the *millet* brought on by the tax, this trend largely explains the scale of their emigration from Turkey, including to Israel (Yeyni, 2009, pp. 210–213).

The trauma evoked by the capital tax paled in significance compared to the events of the Holocaust in Europe, particularly the devastating impact it had on the Jews of neighbouring Greece and Macedonia, whose populations were virtually annihilated. In the Israeli context, too, the significance of this worrisome course of events was muted by the overwhelming traumas of refugeehood and uprooting experienced by other migrant communities from Islamic countries, such as the Jews of Iraq and Yemen and the Palestinians in Israel, the latter of which struggles with the trauma of the *Nakba* until today. Accordingly, the capital tax has not been retained in Israel's collective memory.

Even if the trauma of the *Varlık Vergisi* was silenced in later collective Jewish memory, however, in 1949, it was still fresh in the minds of many *Turkanos*. Indeed, the social and psychological costs of the capital tax could not be eliminated instantaneously, and they coexisted uneasily among Turks in Israel, side by side with their admiration for Atatürk and the desire to promote Israeli–Turkish relations with the goal of forging a new amalgam of Jewish–Turkish nationalist identities. After all, Atatürk's successor, İsmet İnönü (in power from 1938–1950), who imposed the tax, was the same leader who, in 1949, established diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel.

Exemplifying the general ambiguity toward Turkey's changing attitudes, in November 1949, Yaish wrote that 'the Jewish flag, the flag of the people six million of whose sons were murdered, now flies around the world, even in Turkey' (Yaech, 1949). Even four decades after Zionist activity became legal in the Ottoman Empire following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 (Benbassa, 1990), Yaish still understood that the flying of this flag on Turkish soil was no trivial matter. But Yaish's comment also reveals an underlying criticism of Turkey, which had not always been the safest home for the Jews, together with a measure of pride that it had nevertheless established official relations with Israel.

## 7 | CONCLUSION

Contemporary academic and public discourse about Turkey's attitude toward its national minorities tends to focus on its treatment of the Kurds (Kaya, 2013, pp. 305–308), an issue that has become a key stumbling block in the protracted negotiations for Turkey's admission to the European Union (Toktaş & Aras, 2009–2010). Some observers have suggested that the disproportionate amount of attention afforded the Kurds by the EU community has effectively marginalised Turkey's other minorities, both Muslims (such as the Alevi) and Christians (such as the Armenians) (Smith-Kocamahhul, 2001).

Led by both Turkish and non-Turkish scholars, a new discourse on the past of various non-Muslim groups has developed recently. Indeed, an entire volume of *Diaspora* was devoted to the contemporary Turkish diaspora (Maritato et al., 2021); a new, edited volume was published that discusses the Turkish Jews and their diasporas in diverse contexts in Israel, Europe, Latin America and the United States (Öktem & Yosmaoğlu, 2022), and in September 2022, a conference was held at the University of Newcastle to discuss 'Greece, Turkey and the Past and Present of Forced Migrations'.

'Turkish-Armenians' and 'Turkish-Greeks', whose collective memories have been contaminated by their experiences as the main victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing, respectively, at the hands of the Turks, may struggle to respond positively to the trends of multiculturalism in Turkey or to develop a strong transnational affinity to the Turkish Republic. Turkish Jews, in contrast, developed an ambivalent, but much more positive, collective memory toward the Turkish Republic, and this attitude may be attributed by and large to their migration experiences from Turkey to Israel.

Against this background, this article shows that the processes of migration of a minority group of Jews to the Jewish nation-state embodied features similar to those of the migrations of Turkish Muslims to Europe and the United States. The migrants experienced marginalisation and the challenges associated with integration in their host societies, and accordingly, they cultivated close political, diplomatic, economic, commercial, cultural and even sporting ties between Israel and the Turkish homeland.

The Turkish Jews thus created a vibrant, transnational community that maintained multifaceted, direct links with its country of origin—one of the first instances of such a community in the context of either Turkey or Israel. Jewish migrants from Europe arrived in Israel immediately after the Holocaust, and given the resultant complexity of their relationships with their respective countries of origin, the vast majority of them found it difficult to develop any sense of transnational pride vis-à-vis places from which they were lucky to escape alive (Kranz, 2016). Among the migrants from Islamic countries—who constituted a majority of the migrants beginning in the years 1948 to 1951 and indeed, throughout the 1950s—the Turkish community was the first to witness the establishment of bilateral relations between its country of origin and Israel. Turkish migrants in Israel therefore maintained a unique, transnational affinity to their country of origin from the early 1950s, with the rise of regional post-WWII nationalism.

The case of the community of Turkish Jews in Israel, however, is distinguished from similar cases by their unique *millet* status and by their belonging to the greater Turkish Jewish diaspora. First, the case examined challenges common assumptions regarding cultural and linguistic distinctions between the culture of the *millet* until the second half of the twentieth century and the affinity to the Republic among Turkish migrants thereafter. The Jewish migrants maintained transnational links with their mother country through their Ladino vernacular rather than through Turkish or Hebrew, as would be suggested by the national distinctions. The nature of the transnational affinity to the Turkish Republic among Turkish migrants to Israel thus also blurs basic concepts in the study of post-colonial migration, such as 'East' and 'West', 'South' and 'North', 'indigeneity' and 'Europeanness' (de Haas et al., 2019). Instead of the familiar story of migration from East to West, it entails post-Ottoman migration within the former borders of the Ottoman Empire.

Second, this study offers a new perspective on the complex discussion around the differences and similarities between the concepts of 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism'. To that end, it examines how a historical Jewish diaspora evolved from a minority community in Turkey into a transnational community in Israel that maintained an affinity to

the Turkish nation-state. Key articles in the literature on migration in the Middle East still tend to refrain from discussing Jewish migration patterns in the region (Chatty, 2010, pp. 7–10); this article seeks to address this gap in the literature and to incorporate the study of Jewish migration in Islamic countries into the scholarly discourse of Middle Eastern studies. The intriguing findings of this study of the Turkish diaspora in Israel suggest that comparisons of Israel with other Middle Eastern countries could enrich the fields of migration and diaspora studies.

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## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Between 1941 and 1960, 4,317 people migrated from Turkey to the United States (Kaya, 2004, pp. 296–297).
- <sup>2</sup> The term *millet* was coined in the context of the nineteenth-century Ottoman reforms, which granted a certain autonomy to non-Muslims (Cohen, 2014, pp. 8–15). By contrast, in the Turkish Republic, non-Muslims were gradually perceived as ‘minorities’ of the centralised nation-state, formally removing their ethno-religious autonomy (Rodrigue, 1995; Cagaptay, 2006, pp. 24–29, 140–155). Even after the juridical *millet* status was abolished, however, ‘the Jews’ *millet* identity remained intact’ (Rodrigue, 1995, p. 261). This *millet* identity, we argue, also reverberated across the Turkish Jewish diasporas, thereby having a continuous impact on their transnationalism.
- <sup>3</sup> Among migrants from the Ottoman Empire to the United States during the years 1893–1924, the term *Turkinos* was used to refer to all Ladino-speaking migrants (Naar, 2015, pp. 178–181). Among migrants from Turkey to Israel, however, this term, and its twin, *Turkanos*, were used solely to refer to Ladino-speaking migrants from Turkey.
- <sup>4</sup> On the term *edah* (plural: *edot*), see Goldberg and Bram (2007, pp. 231–233).
- <sup>5</sup> In the mid-1980s, the editorial board of *Şalom* was dominated by local volunteers born from about the 1940s through the 1960s. Since then, *Şalom* has appeared in Turkish, featuring only one page in Ladino as a supplement titled *El Amaneser* (Tarablus, 1993).
- <sup>6</sup> By the mid-1970s, emigration led to the closing of *La Verdad*. Follow-up initiatives, such as the journal *Aki Yerushalayim* (1979–2016), edited by Moshe Shaul (1929–2023), were tailored for a small audience of Ladino preservers (Refael, 2020, pp. 101–138; Sha’ul, 2007). *Aki Yerushalayim* resumed in a digital edition in 2019.

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