

# Citizens support the Jew Bekhor Levy: A collective petition from nineteenth century İzmir

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## Context

The one-page large document we analyze, kept in the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> is a petition signed by Muslim, Armenian, and Jewish residents of İzmir to approve a certain Bekhor Hayim haLevi's character. Presenting collective petitions (*arz-ı mahzar*) to complain about state officials or ordinary people was a very old tradition in the Ottoman Empire. However, complaints were not always the main reason for compiling these documents. By the seventeenth century, dwellers in cities or in villages also expressed their preferences through such collective petitions.<sup>2</sup> Thus, residents in different locales collectively declared their support of a government office holder or their other co-dwellers in order to demonstrate the level of the local populace's content.<sup>3</sup> The document under consideration can be regarded as a collective declaration supporting the cause of a Jewish man who was under investigation in nineteenth century İzmir.

Bekhor haLevy<sup>4</sup> was born in 1817 to Nissim Refael haLevy, a well-to-do Jew in İzmir.<sup>5</sup> Though we know very little about his early years, it seems that Bekhor (the meaning of the name is "firstborn") received a rabbinic education but became famous as an astronomer (which also meant a fortuneteller), a magician, and a popular healer. He is also known to have collected many Hebrew manuscripts in these fields.<sup>6</sup> Bekhor was well connected in İzmir. One of his two sons, Refael, married the granddaughter of Rabbi Hayim Palache, the Chief Rabbi of İzmir. Eliyahu Mazliah, his second son, married a daughter of the Shalem family, a rich merchant household. Eliyahu immigrated to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem in 1934, bringing with him

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<sup>1</sup> YBZ L-0137. It measures 79 x 52 cm. Our thanks to Dr. Lavi Shay, director of the Ben-Zvi Institute Library, for providing us with a copy of this document and enabling its publication.

<sup>2</sup> İnalçık, "Şikâyet Hakkı."

<sup>3</sup> For various petitions regarding Ottoman Palestine in the same period see Avcı, Lamire, Özdemir, "Collective Petitions."

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the title *chelebi* (Tr. *çelebi*) appears only in the Hebrew sources for Bekhor but not in hundreds of documents produced by Ottoman central and local authorities. In the document we see Şabetây Levi with the same title (see the text). This calls for a check of other cases of Jews who are noted with honorific titles. For titles in the Ottoman Empire, see Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles".

<sup>5</sup> His "Ottoman identity card" (*Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye tezkiresi*) issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Nezâret-i Umûr-ı Dâhiliyye*) clearly states that he was born in 1817 (H.1233). The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, P-74/1.

<sup>6</sup> HaCohen, "Rabi Chelebi Behor Haim."

many of his father's manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Eliyahu's son, Avraham (1901-1990), died in Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> Bekhor died in his native city, İzmir on September 22, 1905.<sup>9</sup>

Bekhor haLevy, who was involved in a real estate lawsuit, managed to get a certificate attesting to his positive personality as a loyal and beneficial Ottoman subject. Dozens of Muslims, nearly twenty Armenians, and over a hundred Jews (including his son, Baḥur Refā'īl Levi), all citizens of İzmir, signed the document. Moreover, representatives of twelve of the city's Jewish guilds also signed it, thus adding, at least symbolically, hundreds if not over a thousand other men. Who was Bekhor haLevy? How was he able to secure this letter? And by whom was it meant to be read – in İzmir or even in the capital? The reader may raise more questions, but these call for a much broader future research that will be based on Hebrew documents, rabbinic responsa literature, and Ottoman documents produced by local and central governments.<sup>10</sup> Until then, we can still note a few matters of interest: The discourse about Ottoman subjectivity versus a foreign one; relations between members of the various *millets* in the midst of the *Tanzimat* period; the need of such a “recommendation” in the age when *nizāmiye* courts began operating; the importance of the guilds (the “*eşnāf*”) as an important protagonist – at least in intra-communal matters; the presence of so many Jews, some of whom are known as belonging to the upper echelons of Jewish society at the time – and the absence of others, hinting at inner networks. Even petty matters such as the use of a personal stamp, Jews writing their names in Latin characters, the fact that they resorted to such a measure, and more, all attest to the beginning of a cultural change among Ottoman Jews.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Some are now in the collection of the National Library of Israel, while others may have made their way to Prof. Meir Benayahu's collection in Jerusalem.

<sup>8</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/y778tvn7> (accessed September 18, 2022).

<sup>9</sup> His tombstone is found in Gürçeşme Cemetery, I-4 153 (courtesy of the academic research site “A World Beyond: Jewish Cemeteries in Turkey, 1583-1990” of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center at Tel Aviv University, headed by Prof. Minna Rozen).

<sup>10</sup> We intend to conduct such a research, based on hundreds of documents soon.

<sup>11</sup> As can be seen in the fascimile, not all the seals are legible or they are only partly legible. At this stage of our research, we transcribed Ottoman Turkish words (and only seals when there is no word), checking the Armenian and Hebrew seals and stamps as well. We would like to thank Diana Yayloyan for her help with the Armenian words.

## Transcription

*İşbu mevzū ‘olan mūhūr ve imzālar muḳırrān-ı ahālīniñ mūhūr ve imzāları oldığı añlaşılmıř olmağla tařdıken temhīr olunmuřdur fī 4 Receb sene [12]85*

[...] <sup>12</sup>

*İzmir ahālīsinden ve hāhām tā ‘ifesinden Baḫur Levi teb ‘a-i řādıka-i salṭanat-ı seniyyeden ve ehl-i ‘ırz ve nāmūsdan ve herkes kendūsinden emīn ve hořnūd olur bir ādem olub muḳaddemā bir emlāk nizā ‘ından ṭolayı bi-ğayr-ı haḳḳ külliyetlü zarar-dīde olması memleketce mūcib-i te ‘essūf olmuř iken bu def ‘a daḫı zātına haḳāret olunması sā ‘ir hemřehrīlerimizle berāber cümlemize te ‘essūr-i ‘azīmi mūcib olmuřdur. Mumā ileyhiñ gerek kendüsü ve gerek familyası mine ‘l-ḳadīm salṭanat-ı seniyyeniñ ḫayr-ḫ‘āhı olub müteveffā pederi ve ceddī müste ‘men oldukları ḫālde devlet-i ‘aliyye ve millet-i ‘Ořmāniyyeye kemāl-i řadāḳat ve muḫabbetlerinden tābi ‘iyyet-i ecnebiyyeyi terk ile zīr-i cenāḫ-ı müstelzimü ‘l-felāḫ salṭanat-ı seniyyeye řıgınmıř bulundukları ve kendüsü daḫı peder ve ceddiniñ eřerinden ayrılmaz ḫāliyle meřğül beyne ‘l-ahālī mu ‘teber her ḫālde mu ‘temed vazīfe-i tābi ‘iyyetini bilūr ařdıka-i teb ‘adan bulundığı her birerlerimiziñ meczūmı oldığından beyān-ı ḫāl zımnında terḳīm ve ṭaraflarımızdan imzā ve temhīr ḳılındı fī 11 Cemāziyü ‘l-āḫir sene [12]85 ve fī 15 Eylöl [12]84*

[Line 1] <sup>13</sup>	[Line 2]	[Line 3]
Bende [...]	Bende [...]	Hāçaṭur Ağazaryān
Bende Es-seyyid El-ḫāc İsmā ‘il[?]	kātibi Es-seyyid İbrāḫīm Edhem 1284	Kiforḳ Elmasyān Temyīz-i ḫuḳūḳ a ‘zāsından
Bende Es-seyyid Meḫmed Emīn	Bende Zeynel ‘ābidīn Rızvān	Bende sā ‘atçı Serkiz
Bende Meḫmed Nūrī 1282 <sup>14</sup>	Bende ‘Alī	İstefan Balasanyān
Bende ‘Abdülḫalīm	Bende Es-seyyid İbrāḫīm [?]	Artin Papazyān tüccār
Bende řālīḫ [...]	Bende [...]	Ḳarabet Bedrosyān

<sup>12</sup> İllegible seal.

<sup>13</sup> In line 1, we transcribed only the seals unless personal details were written as in ‘Ořmān ‘Ömerzāde Kātib-i Bānḳ-ı ‘Ořmānī.

<sup>14</sup> Date on the seal most probably refers to the date when the seal was made. Only the legible dates on seals are mentioned.

<i>Bende Es-seyyid Muştafā</i> 1284	<i>Bende Es-seyyid İsmā'īl</i> <i>İşmet</i>	<i>Simon Dimyān</i>
<i>Bende Es-seyyid 'Alī Rızā</i> 1280	<i>Bende Ebūbekir</i>	<i>Haçatur Karakaşyān</i>
<i>Bende 'Osmān Nūrī</i> [?] 1282	<i>Bende Es-seyyid 'Osmān</i>	<i>Serkiz 'Arabyān</i>
<i>Bende Meḥmed Fa'it</i> [?] 1272	<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Hācı Ohannes 'Avakisyān</i>
<i>Bende Meḥmed Emīn</i>	<i>Bende 'Alī</i>	<i>Serkiz Artinyān</i>
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Ḥasan</i>	<i>Hācı Aḳob Ağacānyān</i>
<i>Bende 'Osmān 'Ömerzāde</i> <i>Kātib-i Bānḳ-ı 'Osmānī</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed Tevfīk</i>	<i>Aḳob Simonaki</i>
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Ḥasan</i> <i>Ḥayrī</i>	<i>Bende 'Alī</i>	<i>Aḳob Davityan<sup>15</sup></i>
<i>Bende Süleymān Sāmi</i>	<i>Bende Es-seyyid Aḫmed</i> 1280	
<i>Bende Üveys Fethī</i>	<i>Bende 'Ātıf</i> 1280	
<i>Bende Aḫmed Şādīk</i> 1280	<i>Bende Tevfīk</i> [?] 1281	
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Muştafā</i> <i>maḫhar-ı nūr-ı ilāhī</i>	<i>Bende Muştafā</i> [12]85	
<i>Bende Es-seyyid Meḥmed</i> <i>Tāhir</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed 'Alī<sup>16</sup></i>	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Meḥmed Emīn</i> 1281	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende be-cū ḫātem-i mühr-</i> <i>i 'Alī//lākin müstemirr-i</i> <i>'izz u velī</i>	
<i>Bende [...]</i>	<i>Bende Süleymān [...]</i> 1282	

[Line 4]	[Line 5]	[Line 6]
<i>Banḳ-ı 'Osmāniyye'den</i> <i>İstefan Nubaryān</i>	<i>Bende Yaḳo Ḳohen</i>	<i>Bende Refā'īl İshāḳ Şansolo</i>
<i>Mıḳırdıç Ohanyān</i>	<i>Bende Yeşoa Albaglı</i>	<i>Bende Avram Bardavid</i>
<i>Ḳarabet Şāhinyān</i>	<i>Bende Yuda Ponpaz</i>	<i>Bende Mūşā [...]</i>

<sup>15</sup> His signature is in Roman characters.

<sup>16</sup> This seal also has "M. A." in Roman characters.

<i>Ispartalıođlı Zahariya [?]</i>	<i>Bende Avram Benşuşān</i>	<i>Bende Rabenu Yađo Albađlı</i>
<i>Kıfork Hıorasānyān</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Aboāv [?]</i>	<i>Bende Yađo Hıabif</i>
<i>Qalust Qumaryān [?]</i> <i>İngiliz Qonsolos tercümānı</i>	<i>Bende Avram Benđabay</i>	<i>Bende Hāim Ventura</i>
	<i>Bende Hāim Benđabay</i>	<i>Bende İshāk Ardi[ti]</i>
	<i>Bende Refael Alazraqı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām İshāk Biçon</i>
	<i>Bende İsrā `ıl Estruđo</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Şimo `ıl Sināy</i>
	<i>Bende Bađur Yeşoā Qori</i>	<i>Bende İsrā `ıl Albađlı</i>
	<i>Bende Yuda Qohen</i>	<i>Bende Mūsā Romi</i>
	<i>Bende Hā `im Sināi</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Avram Yosef</i>
	<i>Bende İshāk Kohen</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Hāim İshāk Nađum</i>
	<i>Bende İshāk Cicurel</i>	<i>Bende hekim Şimo `ıl miPādova</i>
	<i>Bende İshāk Alđranate</i>	<i>Bende Siyon Azikri</i>
	<i>Bende Mūsā Şuđāmi</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Eliya Susi</i>
	<i>Bende Baruh İsrā `ıl</i>	<i>Bende Yuda Yabes</i>
	<i>Bende a `zā Hāim Qohen</i>	<i>Bende İshāk Sinay</i>

[Line 7]	[Line 8]	[Line 9]
<i>Bende hāhām Mūsā Barkı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Haron Avram Qohen Arias</i>	<i>Bende Avram Sivita</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Yađo Melamed</i>	<i>Bende Avram Qardozo</i>	<i>Bende Avram Şansolo</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Hāim Bađur Hıabif</i>	<i>Bende Rabeno Qori</i>	<i>Bende Hāim Qohen</i>
<i>Bende Yađo Çaviz</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Şalamon Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Avram Qarmona</i>
<i>Bende hāhām Nesim Mūsā Qohen Arias</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Rahamim Nesim İshāk Palaçi</i>	<i>Bende Çelebi Şābetāy Levi</i>
<i>Bende İshāk Qorı</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Yosef Bađur Avram</i>	<i>Bende Avram Mātiya</i>
<i>Bende Mordehay Qarmona</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Hāim Şemtov Melamed</i>	<i>Bende Bađur Mūsā Yerüşalemı</i>
<i>Bende Ben Siyon Taranto</i>	<i>Bende hāhām Yosef Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Bađur Refā `ıl Levi</i>

<i>Bende Marqado Beraḥa Danon</i>	<i>Bende Avram Mizrāḥī</i>	<i>Bende Meir Kohen</i>
<i>Bende Ruben Esperansa</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Yuda Rebi</i>	<i>Bende Şalomon Benḡiyāt</i>
<i>Bende Haron Azriel</i>	<i>Bende Halifa Poliṭi</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Kohen</i>
<i>Bende Baḥur Yeṣoa Ardit[i]</i>	<i>Bende Baḥur Yomtov Danon</i>	<i>Bende Baḥur Avram Sustiyel</i>
<i>Bende David Rabenu Albaḡlı</i>	<i>Bende Nesim Ruso</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Baḥur Yaḡo Yaḡbes</i>
	<i>Bende Mūṣā Ades</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Refā ʿil Eliezer</i>
	<i>Bende Refā ʿil Ruso</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Hāim Mūṣā Hasan</i>
	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Danyel Kohen</i>	<i>Bende Ğabriel Mizrāḥī</i>

[Line 10]	[Line 11]	[Bottom Line] <sup>17</sup>
<i>Bende Hāim Çorbacı</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Salomon Roditi</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] na ʿlncılar</i>
<i>Bende David Albaḡlı</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Hāim Politi</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] billürçılar</i>
<i>Bende Nesim Ben ʿEzrā</i>	<i>Bende tüccār Yosef Şalom<sup>18</sup></i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] tenekeçiler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Kālimide</i>	<i>Bende Yosef Ben ʿezrā</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı Yahūd[i] terziler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Kālimide</i>	<i>Bende Meir Benḡabbay</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] sīmciler</i>
<i>Bende Nesim deÇāves</i>	<i>Bende Danyel ʿAşem</i>	<i>[Yahūdī] baḡḡālbaşı</i>
<i>Bende Nesim deÇāves</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Moşe A[l]ḡranati</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı Yahūd[i] ḡazzāzlar eṣnāfi</i>
<i>Bende Yosef Moşe Benḡiyāt</i>	<i>Bende Yaḡo Sonsin[?]</i>	<i>kethüdā-yı Yahūd[i] manavlar eṣnāfi</i>

<sup>17</sup> This line is the transcription of the Ottoman-Turkish seals. The Hebrew words above these seals have been verified and we can see that the content corresponds to the seals.

<sup>18</sup> His signature is in Roman characters.

<i>Bende ḥāḥām Aharon dePās</i>	<i>Bende David Rebi</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] tiftikciler</i>
<i>Bende Yosef Ḳohen Ḥemsi</i>	<i>Bende İṣḥāḳ Rebi ṣarrāf</i>	[...]
<i>Bende Rabeno Yaḳo Ṣahul</i>	<i>Bende ḥāḥām Ḥāim Nesim A[l]ḳranati</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] iskemleciler</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Nesim Barki</i>	<i>Bende İlyā Alazrāki</i>	<i>kethūdā-yı eṣnāf-ı [Yahūdī] yapaḡıcılar</i>
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Ṣemṭov Alazraki</i>		
<i>Bende ḥāḥām Avram Rebi</i>		
<i>Bende tüccār Moṣe Ṣalom</i>		
<i>Bende Moṣe Arditi</i>		
<i>Bende 'Aluṣer Maṭalon</i>		
<i>Bende Moṣe Alazraki</i>		

## Translation

It is hereby certified that the signatures and applied stamps belong to those of the inhabitants who made statements, and they are genuine and original 21 October 1868.

A resident and a rabbi in İzmir, Bekhor Levy is a loyal citizen of the Sublime Porte and is an honorable man. Everyone [in İzmir] is fond of him. Previously, he was unjustly harmed totally due to a quarrel over property, which made us unhappy in the city. And now he was again harassed, which caused great sadness to all of us and all our co-citizens. Both the said honorable man himself and his family have been very beneficial to the Sublime Porte from very old days. His father and his ancestors had been protégés [of foreign states]. Yet, due to their loyalty to and friendship for the Porte, they gave up being the subjects of foreign countries and took refuge under the beneficial wings of the Sublime Porte. Being on the footprints of his ancestors he is known among the people [of İzmir] as credible and trustworthy. Each one of us recognizes that he is a loyal citizen who knows his national duty. Therefore, we wrote this within the [above] text and signed and stamped it. 29 September 1868 / 27 September 1868.

[Line 1]	[Line 2]	[Line 3]
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[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant [...]	Haçatur Ağazaryān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid El-ḥāc İsmā'īl[?]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İbrāhīm Edhem 1284	Kiforḳ Elmasyān member of the appellate court
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Meḥmed Emīn	[Your] servant Zeynel'ābidīn Rızvān	Serkiz watch maker/seller
[Your] servant Meḥmed Nūrī 1282	[Your] servant 'Alī	İstefan Balasanyān
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İbrāhīm [?]	Artin Papazyān merchant
[Your] servant Şāliḥ [...]	[Your] servant [...]	Ḳarabet Bedrosyān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Muştafā 1284	[Your] servant Es-seyyid İsmā'īl 'İşmet	Simon Dimyān
[Your] servant Es-seyyid 'Alī Rızā 1280	[Your] servant Ebübekir [...]	Haçatur Ḳarakaşyān
[Your] servant 'Oḡmān Nūrī [?] 1282	[Your] servant Es-seyyid 'Oḡmān	Serkiz 'Arabyān
[Your] servant Meḥmed Fa'it [?] 1272	[Your] servant [...]	Hācı Ohannes 'Avakisyān
[Your] servant Meḥmed Emīn	[Your] servant 'Alī	Serkiz Artinyān
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Ḥasan	Hācı Aḳob Ağacānyān
[Your] servant 'Oḡmān 'Ömerzāde Clerk of the Ottoman Bank	[Your] servant Meḥmed Tefḳ	Aḳob Simonaki
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Ḥasan Ḥayrī	[Your] servant 'Alī	Aḳob Davityan
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Es-seyyid Aḳmed 1280	
[Your] servant Üveys Fethī	[Your] servant 'Āṭıf 1280	
[Your] servant Aḳmed Şadıḳ 1280	[Your] servant Tefḳ [?] 1281	
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Muştafā maḫhar-ı nūr-ı ilāhī	[Your] servant Muştafa [12]85	
[Your] servant Es-seyyid Meḥmed Ṭāhir	[Your] servant Meḥmed 'Alī	

[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Meḥmed Emīn 1281	
[Your] servant [...]	Look for the final seal of Ali // but continuous power and authority	
[Your] servant [...]	[Your] servant Süleymān [...] 1282	

[Line 4]	[Line 5]	[Line 6]
İstefan Nubaryān from the Ottoman Bank	[Your] servant Yaḳo Ḳohen	[Your] servant Refā ʿil İshāḳ Şansolo
Mıḳırdıç Ohānyān	[Your] servant Yeşoa Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Avrām Bārdavid
Ḳarabet Şāhinyān	[Your] servant Yuda Ponpaz	[Your] servant Mūşā [...]
Ispārtalıođlu Zaḡariya [?]	[Your] servant Avram Benşuşān	[Your] servant Rabenu Yaḳo Albaḡlı
Kiforḳ Hōrasānyān	[Your] servant Yosef Aboāv [?]	[Your] servant Yaḳo Hābif
ḲaluşḲ Ḳumāryān [?] Translator of the English consul	[Your] servant Avram Bengābay	[Your] servant Hāim Ventura
	[Your] servant Hāim Bengābāy	[Your] servant İshāḳ Ardi[ti]
	[Your] servant Refael Alazraḳı	[Your] servant Rabbi İshāḳ Biçon
	[Your] servant İsrā ʿil Estruđo	[Your] servant Rabbi Şimo ʿil Sināy
	[Your] servant Baḡur Yeşoa Ḳorī	[Your] servant İsrā ʿil Albaḡlı
	[Your] servant Yudā Ḳohen	[Your] servant Mūşā Romi
	[Your] servant Hāim Sināi	[Your] servant Rabbi Avram Yosef

	[Your] servant İřhak Kohen	[Your] servant Rabbi Haim İřhak Nahum
	[Your] servant İřhak Cicurel	[Your] servant Őimo il miPadova physician
	[Your] servant İřhak Algranate	[Your] servant Siyon Aziķri
	[Your] servant Msa Őuhami	[Your] servant Rabbi Eliya Ssi
	[Your] servant Baruh İsr il	[Your] servant Yud Ybes
	[Your] servant Haim Kohen member [of council]	[Your] servant İřhak Sinay

[Line 7]	[Line 8]	[Line 9]
[Your] servant Rabbi Msa Barķi	[Your] servant Rabbi Haron Avram Kohen Arias	[Your] servant Avram Sivita
[Your] servant Rabbi Yaķo Melamed	[Your] servant Avram Kardozo	[Your] servant Avram Őansolo
[Your] servant Rabbi Haim Baķur Hbif	[Your] servant Rabeno Kori	[Your] servant Haim Kohen
[Your] servant Yaķo Caviz	[Your] servant Rabbi Őalamon Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Avram Krmona
[Your] servant Rabbi Nesim Msa Kohen Arias	[Your] servant Rabbi Rahamim Nesim İřhak Palaçi	[Your] servant elebi Őbety Levi
[Your] servant İřhak Kori	[Your] servant Rabbi Yosef Baķur Avram	[Your] servant Avram Mtiya
[Your] servant Mordeķay Krmona	[Your] servant Rabbi Haim Őemtov Melamed	[Your] servant Baķur Msa Yersalemi

[Your] servant Ben Siyon Taranto	[Your] servant Rabbi Yosef Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Baḥur Refā ʿil Levi
[Your] servant Marḳado Beraḥa Danon	[Your] servant Avram Mizrāḥī	[Your] servant Meir Ḳohen
[Your] servant Ruben Esperansa	[Your] servant Rabbi Yuda Rebi	[Your] servant Şalamon Beḡiyāt
[Your] servant Haron Azriel	[Your] servant Halifa Poliṭi	[Your] servant Yosef Ḳohen
[Your] servant Baḥur Yeşoa Ardit[i]	[Your] servant Baḥur Yomtov Danon	[Your] servant Baḥur Avram Sustiyel
[Your] servant David Rabenu Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Nesim Ruso	[Your] servant Rabbi Baḥur Yaḳo Yaḡbes
	[Your] servant Mūşā Ades	[Your] servant Rabbi Refā ʿil Eliezer
	[Your] servant Refā ʿil Ruso	[Your] servant Rabbi Ḥāim Mūşā Ḥasan
	[Your] servant Rabbi Danyel Ḳohen	[Your] servant Ğabriel Mizrāḥī

[Line 10]	[Line 11]	[Bottom Line]
[Your] servant Ḥāim Çorbacı	[Your] servant Salomon Roditi merchant	Head of [Jewish] horseshoemakers'/nailmakers' guild
[Your] servant David Albaḡlı	[Your] servant Ḥāim Politi merchant	Head of [Jewish] glassware makers'/sellers' guild
[Your] servant Nesim Ben ʿezrā	[Your] servant Yosef Şalom merchant	Head of [Jewish] tinsmiths' guild
[Your] servant ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Ḳalimide	[Your] servant Yosef Ben ʿezrā	Head of [Jewish] tailors' guild
[Your] servant ḥāḥām Şimo ʿil Ḳalimide	[Your] servant Meir Benḳabbay	Head of [Jewish] embroiderers in silver thread guild
[Your] servant Nesim deÇāves	[Your] servant Danyel ʿAşem	Head of [Jewish] grocers

[Your] servant Nesim deÇāves	[Your] servant ḥāḥām Moşe A[l]ḳranati	Head of Jewish silkmakers' guild
Bende Yosef Moşe Benḳiyāt	[Your] servant Yaḳo Sonsin?	Head of Jewish fruit and vegetable sellers' guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Ahāron dePās	[Your] servant David Rebi	Head of [Jewish] producers of mohair wool guild
[Your] servant Yosef Ḳohen Ḥemsi	[Your] servant İřḥaḳ Rebi money changer	[...]
[Your] servant Rabeno Yaḳo Şahūl	[Your] servant Rabbi Ḥāim Nesim A[l]ḳranati	Head of [Jewish] street vendors' guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Nesim Bārki	[Your] servant İlyā Alazrāki	Head of [Jewish] producers of woolen cloth guild
[Your] servant Rabbi Şemṭov Alazraki		
[Your] servant Rabbi Avram Rebi		
[Your] servant Moşe Şalom merchant		
[Your] servant Moşe Ardit		
[Your] servant 'Aluşer Maṭalon		
[Your] servant Moşe Alazraki		

Facsimile



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