



Jews and Muslims

Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries
in Modern Times

ARON RODRIGUE

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Jewries in Modern Times

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UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
Seattle and London

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Originally published as *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition: The Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860-1939*
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rodrigue, Aron.

[Images of Sephardi and eastern Jewries in transition]

Jews and Muslims : images of Sephardi and eastern Jewries
in modern times / Aron Rodrigue.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-295-98314-0 (alk. paper)

1. Jews—Islamic countries—Correspondence. 2. Jewish
teachers—Islamic countries—Correspondence. 3. Jews—
Education—Islamic countries. 4. Islamic countries—Ethnic
relations. 5. Alliance israélite universelle. I. Title

DS135.L4R63 2003

909'.04924—dc21

2002041622

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Acknowledgments

This is an expanded, updated, and revised version of a book that appeared in Paris in 1989 under the title *De l'instruction à l'émancipation: Les enseignants de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle et les Juifs d'Orient, 1860–1939*, published in the Diaspora series of Editions Calmann-Lévy. My thanks go to Bernard Lewis for initially suggesting the idea of this project.

I would like to thank Georges Weill for allowing me access to the archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and Yvonne Lévyne for making my work in these archives particularly pleasant. I am grateful to Esther Benbassa, who read and commented upon the various drafts of the French version.

The research for this book has benefited from the support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and from a Summer Faculty Fellowship from Indiana University, and I thank both institutions. I am grateful to the American Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, whose grant enabled me to undertake the translation of the documents printed in this volume. My thanks go to Barbara Pieroni, who did the first draft of the translations, and to my research assistant, Joan Clinefelter, for typing and retyping the various versions of the manuscript.

A Note on the Documents

All the documents reproduced here are from the archives or the publications of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and are translations of French originals. Hebrew, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian words that appear in the texts have been transliterated in a simplified manner to conform to English transliteration usage; no diacritical marks have been used. The meanings of non-European words are explained in the notes or supplied by me in the letters at their first occurrence.

In order to convey as closely as possible the original flavor of the texts, the place names in the documents have not been modernized. Widely accepted nineteenth-century versions in the English-speaking world have been used throughout. Hence, for example, Smyrne in the original appears as Smyrna, but not as İzmir. Table 2 gives the nineteenth-century versions along with the modern names.





Locations of schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1910

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Introduction

The irruption of Europe into the economy, politics, and culture of the Middle East and North Africa in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constitutes a watershed in the history of this region. European domination, whether military, economic, political, or cultural, altered conclusively most aspects of life that it touched. Indeed, if one focuses on the issue from the perspective of the East itself, it becomes quite clear that the burning question of the day was not the “Eastern Question,” the central preoccupation of a Europe obsessed with the vacuum created by the decline in Muslim power, but the “Western Question.” It was the triumphant and triumphalist West with its newly acquired economic and military might fueled by the Industrial Revolution that posed the main challenge to the rest of the world.

One of the most important consequences of the incorporation of the Middle East and North Africa into the European sphere of influence was the process of westernization that was set in motion. It began as a primarily defensive stance. If Western military might could be defeated only through the adoption of European armaments and warfare tactics, then such a borrowing was clearly in order. The Ottoman as well as the North African states began their reforms in this domain. European-style warfare was learned from European military officers, who trained and remodeled the local armies. However, in order to learn the new techniques, European languages also had to be acquired. Gradually an elite of military officers and bureaucrats emerged, proficient in European languages as well as familiar with European ideas and ideologies. They became convinced of the necessity of transforming not only the military but also the state apparatus and indeed eventually civil society as well. The model for reform was to remain the European one. This process was fully and radically completed most notably in the case of Turkey with the advent of the Turkish republic in 1923.¹

1. For Turkey see, e.g., Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); and Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge

However, the European powers themselves were far from taking a disinterested attitude toward the process of reform and westernization. They were not above strongly suggesting and indeed imposing theoretically far-reaching constitutional change, as with the Reform Decree of 1856 in Turkey and the Fundamental Pact of 1857 in Tunisia. And of course, in the case of direct European colonial rule in Algeria after 1830 or mitigated colonial rule as in Tunisia and Egypt after 1881 and 1882, Morocco in 1912, and the Fertile Crescent after World War I, the full weight of the West was brought to bear in most areas of life. Europe not only was the superior power but was also fully convinced of its own superiority. Since it was deemed to have reached the most advanced stage of civilization, all other cultures and societies had to follow its lead and, whether willingly or not, adopt its ways and undergo the reforms it suggested or imposed. This perspective lay at the heart of the triumphalist prism through which all non-European reality was refracted and was to guide European "civilizing" missions, most notably that of the country which made a special cult of its mission, France.

Westernization emerged as an open-ended phenomenon of mimesis, emulation, adoption, or adaptation of European ways. It represented the kaleidoscope of responses based on the reorientation around the central referent, a reified "West." At its core lay a profound inequality of power and the attempt by the powerless to transcend their position of inferiority even while internalizing the perception of Western superiority. As a rule, the appropriation and co-optation of the culture arriving from the metropole and its mixture with elements of the home culture accompanied the confrontation with the West as it manifested itself in the locality.² The non-West never transmuted itself into the West but created a new, hybrid reality that was nevertheless overdetermined by European superior power.

European domination of the Middle East and North Africa and the process of westernization that accompanied it form the general context in which the modern encounter between the West and the Sephardi and Eastern Jewish communities of the Muslim world took place, an encounter that decisively marked the last century of Jewish existence in the lands of Islam. Sephardi and Eastern Jews did not, of course, remain immune to the demands and attractions of the West. However, one crucial difference distinguished their experience from that of their Muslim neighbors. For

University Press, 1976–77). For a provocative analysis of westernization see Theodor von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

2. For the latest discussion of this phenomenon of "transculturation," see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

the Sephardim and Eastern Jews the most important and central impetus for cultural westernization came in most areas from their coreligionists in the West, especially the French Jews working through the Alliance Israélite Universelle with its vast school network in Muslim countries. An added twist was supplied by the militantly westernizing teaching corps of this society. These teachers, primarily Middle Eastern and North African Jews trained by the organization in Paris, returned to spread their newly adopted culture with all the zeal of neophytes.

The central focus of this study is the Alliance teachers and their activities. The aim is to illuminate the problematic nature of Middle Eastern and North African Jewry's encounter with the West through the presentation of the rich correspondence of the teachers with the Alliance Central Committee in Paris. The teachers supplied the Alliance not only with frequent information about matters concerning schooling and education but also with extensive details about the life of the local Jewish community, its communal and social structure, its customs and mores, its relationship with the surrounding non-Jewish population and the authorities, and the changes it underwent as a result of political, social, and economic developments. The teachers were both participants in and observers of an era of rapid change, and their correspondence drew a distinct picture from a unique vantage point.

I have made no attempt to be exhaustive in the selection of texts included in this volume, as such a task is beyond the capacity of any one researcher. The decision to end this work with the year 1939 has been dictated by the fact that the archival material after this date is not available. Furthermore, the ideological realignment of the Alliance after World War II merits a full study on its own.

I have chosen to present some of the representative documentation that best conveys the full range of ideas and activities of the Alliance teachers and their gaze on the Sephardi and Eastern Jewish communities. Their letters form a distinctive genre and are often self-referential, pointing to a common discursive framework shared by all the writers. My purpose in this book is not to produce a reader on the history of the Jews of Muslim lands in modern times. Rather, I aim to explore the ways these Jewish communities were perceived by a radically westernizing group among them.

This study is conducted in two registers. One is that of textual representation, the constructed image of the Jews of the lands of Islam as it is represented in the letters by the Alliance teachers, an image refracted through the looking glass held to the observing eye of the radical westernizer. The observer and the observed are both protagonists in the same process, and the authors themselves, far from being outsiders, are

an integral part of the phenomenon that they depict. The second register is that of the information about the sociopolitical transformation of this Jewry and the world in which it lived that is embedded in the picture created by the texts. The two registers are closely intertwined. The site of representation here is the shifting sands of a Middle East and North Africa engaged with the challenge from the West, and the letters are revelatory of a context that eventually was to prove extraordinarily corrosive to the position of the Jews in Muslim lands.

The richness of this source and my concern to convey its full flavor have led me to somewhat mute my own authorial interventions in the texts. Nevertheless, a distinct argument about westernization, the Alliance teachers, and their relationship with Sephardi and Eastern Jewries runs throughout the book. I proceed through the letters, drawing with them a composite picture, a mosaic. I introduce and elaborate upon each theme of the discursive universe of this correspondence. Then I let the letters that follow each of these introductions further illustrate, explicate, and demonstrate the argument. My ultimate aim has been to reveal the “voice” of the Alliance teacher and through his or her words not only understand all the modulations of this “voice” but also comprehend the ironies, contradictions, and dissonances of the process of Sephardi and Eastern Jewish westernization embedded in it.

1

An Overview of the Alliance's Activities

The Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in Paris in 1860 with the aim of fighting for Jewish rights throughout the world and defending Jews wherever they were persecuted. As its statutes proclaimed, the Alliance sought

1. to work throughout the world for the emancipation and the moral progress of the Jews;
2. to help effectively all those who suffer because they are Jews;
3. to encourage all publications designed to achieve these results.¹

The origins of the Alliance and the forces leading to its creation have been the subject of many studies and need not detain us here.² Suffice it to say that the founders, deeply imbued with the liberal ideals of the age and inspired by the principles of the French Revolution, all subscribed to the emancipation ideology so dominant among West European, especially French, Jewry of the time.³ For them, the emancipation of the Jews, the granting of equal rights and full citizenship first begun in France in 1790–91, was a process destined to spread throughout the world and transform all Jewish communities. Antisemitism and persecution were relics of the past destined to disappear as modern civilization destroyed superstition and prejudice. However, the process was not as yet complete, for many countries had still not given full rights to the Jews and bigotry still reared its ugly head. The Damascus blood libel of

1. "Appel à tous les Israélites," in Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (Paris, 1860), 39. The statutes and the changes they underwent can be found in André Chouraqui, *Cent ans d'histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et la renaissance juive contemporaine (1860–1960)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 412–16.

2. The most thorough account is in Michael Graetz, *Les Juifs en France au XIX^e siècle: De la Révolution française à l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, translated by Salomon Malka (Paris: Seuil, 1989). See also Narcisse Leven, *Cinquante ans d'histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860–1910)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1911).

3. For the ideology of the founders, see Georges Weill, "Emancipation et humanisme: Le discours idéologique de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle au XIX^e siècle," *Les Nouveaux Cahiers* 52 (Spring 1978): 1–20.

1840, which accused the Jews of the ritual murder of a Capuchin monk,⁴ and the Mortara affair of 1858, in which the Catholic church in Italy had refused to return to his parents a Jewish boy secretly baptized by the maid of the house, were only the most recent examples. The duty of emancipated Jewry vis-à-vis its persecuted coreligionists, as well as Jewish solidarity,⁵ called for the creation of a Jewish organization to fight for Jewish rights in the international arena. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, with its talmudic motto "All Jews are responsible for each other,"⁶ was the first international Jewish body founded for this purpose.

However, in the classic spirit of the emancipation ideology, the Alliance was also convinced, just like those who had debated Jewish emancipation at the time of the French Revolution, that the Jews themselves had to change if they were to merit emancipation. They had to transform themselves into enlightened, modern citizens, abandoning their particularistic habits and attitudes. Again, in the classic terminology of the Enlightenment, the Jews had to be "regenerated" in order to show themselves worthy of emancipation and citizenship. Hence, to extend emancipation and equal rights successfully, Jewish solidarity called for a concerted effort of regeneration among Jewish societies that were "backward," societies that had yet to benefit from the age of progress.

It was this concern with regeneration that was behind the creation of the vast network of Alliance schools in the Middle East and North Africa.⁷ This consideration was already evident in the *appel* of the new organization:

... If you believe that a great number of your coreligionists, overcome by twenty centuries of misery, of insults and prohibitions, can find again their dignity as men, win the dignity of citizens;

If you believe that one should moralize those who have been corrupted, and not condemn them; enlighten those who have been

4. The latest analysis of the blood libel of 1840 is to be found in Tudor Parfitt, "The Year of the Pride of Israel": Montefiore and the Blood Libel of 1840," in Sonya Lipman and Vivian D. Lipman, eds., *The Century of Moses Montefiore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 131–48.

5. On this theme see the article by Phyllis Albert, "Ethnicity and Jewish Solidarity in Nineteenth-Century France," in Jehuda Reinharz and Daniel Swetschinski, eds., *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1982), 249–74.

6. *Babylonian Talmud*, Shavuot 39a.

7. On regeneration and the Alliance's ideology, see Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 1–8. Regeneration is discussed extensively in Jay R. Berkovitz, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth Century France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989).

blinded, and not abandon them; raise those who have been exhausted, and not rest with pitying them; defend those who have been calumniated, and not remain silent; rescue all those who have been persecuted, and not only talk about the persecution . . .

If you believe in all these things, Jews of the world, come hear our appeal, join our society and give us your help.⁸

The ideological specificity of this program of regeneration notwithstanding, there were other reasons why Western Jewry was increasingly conscious of the Jewish communities around the Mediterranean basin. The growing Western penetration of the economy of the Middle East and North Africa, the introduction of the steamboat, and the rapid increase in trade were accompanied by an influx of Europeans—merchants and others—into the ports around the Mediterranean. The ease of transportation and communication was reflected in the extraordinary increase of reports on the Middle East and North Africa in the European press. The nascent Jewish press also began to write extensively on the Jews of Muslim lands from the early 1840s onward, usually in an extremely unfavorable way, accusing these Jews of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism.⁹ It is undoubtedly true that this was in part a reflection of the generally negative perception of non-Western societies so prevalent in nineteenth-century Europe, a perception that European Jewry shared in full. But there was an added dimension. For a recently emancipated Western Jewry with a tenuous hold on its newly gained equality, and with its goals of integration and assimilation, the Jews of Muslim lands were clearly a source of deep embarrassment. The Jews of the West feared that the Gentiles would tar them with the same brush as their unenlightened coreligionists of the East.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Eastern Jewry had come to constitute a “Jewish Eastern Question”¹⁰ for the leadership of Western Jewish communities. Both a genuine and deeply felt solidarity with Jews in distress and embarrassment and distaste when faced with “uncouth” coreligionists suffused the discourse of Western Jewry and later that of the Alliance. This also contributed to the deep ambivalence toward the local communities which pervaded all the correspondence of the teachers with the Alliance Central Committee.

8. “Appel à tous les Israélites,” in AIU, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 10–11.

9. Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, 8–17; Michel Abitbol, “The Encounter between French Jewry and the Jews of North Africa: Analysis of a Discourse (1830–1914),” in Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein, eds., *The Jews in Modern France* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1985), 31–53.

10. See the series of articles by Ludwig Philippson in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 18 (1854): 152–54, 189.

Unlike Russia, which barred Western Jewish interference with its Jewish subjects (who were perceived in the same negative light by Western European Jewry as Sephardi and Eastern Jews), the Muslim powers were relatively nonchalant about such efforts, or were too weak to offer much resistance. This fact, together with Western penetration into the area, facilitated considerably the activities of an organization such as the Alliance.

It would be easy to see in the Alliance's efforts a Jewish variant of French colonialism, with its theories of "assimilation." However, although the colonialist context is crucial for understanding the larger dynamic of domination of the non-European with which the Alliance inevitably became associated, it does not explain adequately the ideology and self-representation of the organization. The Franco-Jewish leadership of which the Alliance was an integral part saw itself in a continuum with the rest of the Jewish people. The act of emancipation and the accompanying process of "regeneration" had allowed French Jewry to enter "civilization." Eastern Jewries were not perceived as distinctively different, as "other," but as essentially extensions of "self," and it was only a matter of time before they underwent the same process in the face of advancing "civilization." Solidarity dictated that they be helped along this path. The very process of emergence from servitude and "obscurantism" that French Jewry was seen to have undergone thanks to the French Revolution had to become the normative route to be followed by traditional, nonemancipated Jewish communities. Hence the self-legitimizing drama of emancipation/regeneration had to be enacted over and over again.

The ideology of the Alliance, deeply marked by the integration and acculturation of French Jewry but also imbued with a great sense of international Jewish solidarity, was not, however, as contradictory as a more nationalist Jewish historiography following the Holocaust has described. The identity of nineteenth-century emancipated and emancipationist Jewry, especially French Jewry, was a complex one that cannot be reduced to the paradigm of "assimilation."¹¹ What appeared as Jewish in this identity—such as solidarity—was not a "remnant" from an all-encompassing preemancipation "tradition" or a "persistence" of ethnicity. Jewish ethnicity in the postemancipation era was not a survivor but a dynamic reconstruction that rearticulated the old and the new and reached a new configuration that needs to be understood on its own terms. Emancipation and the challenge of integration that it brought

11. See the articles in Pierre Birnbaum, ed., *Histoire politique des Juifs en France* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1990).

with it redrew the boundaries of Jewish ethnicity and created a new identity that took fierce pride in being French while maintaining pride in and a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people as a collectivity throughout the world. The new Jew, the citizen-Jew, represented a break with a past full of suffering and became the model to be exported, to be universalized. This new Jewish ethnicity in France, already in evidence in the first decades after the Revolution, eventually found its natural home in the Third Republic, creating what can be called a "republican Judaism" that pervaded all aspects of French Jewish life until Vichy.¹²

It became the duty of the Alliance to ensure that the rest of world Jewry followed in the footsteps of French Jewry to enter the new age—hence the depth of the engagement with Jewish communities elsewhere. Ethnic boundaries had shifted and had not created a "lesser" Jew but simply a "different" Jew, a distinctive, modern Jew. This was the new model that had to be exported.

The general context of French imperialism within which the Alliance operated should not obscure the fact that the relationship between the organization and the Quai d'Orsay was a complex one. In spite of the fact that the Alliance rendered invaluable service to the cause of French linguistic expansion, the political relationship between the Alliance and the French Foreign Ministry was not particularly strong until the first decades of the twentieth century.

Although the leadership and the ideology of the Alliance remained distinctively Franco-Jewish, members of the society were to be found in all corners of the globe. The composition of the Alliance, as well as its audience, was an international Jewish one. Too close an association with French interests would have run the risk of alienating its non-French members. Indeed both the Quai d'Orsay and the Alliance took this international nature of the society seriously. In fact, only the *Ecole Normale* of the Alliance was registered as an official body in Paris. Otherwise, the Alliance as an institution had no legal French status until 1975. As a result, in the first decades of its existence, it asked for and received no subsidies from Paris, and its schools were not put under official French protection in the Levant and North Africa. They benefited only from *de facto* protection in the localities when the need arose. In 1868 and in 1879, at the request of the Alliance Central Committee, the French Foreign Ministry asked its consuls to protect the Alliance

12. Aron Rodrigue, "L'exportation du paradigme révolutionnaire: Son influence sur le Judaïsme sépharade et oriental," in *ibid.*, 185. This new ideology is very much in evidence among the Jews holding various state offices during the Third Republic. See Pierre Birnbaum, *Les fous de la République: Histoire politique des Juifs d'Etat de Gambetta à Vichy* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).

institutions. This was left to the discretion of the individual consul and did not carry the weight of juridical protection.¹³

The entry of most of the Maghreb into the sphere of French control led to greater contact between the Quai d'Orsay and the Central Committee, which sought to promote its schools. In North Africa, the Alliance teachers and French officials collaborated closely. The erosion of French power in the Middle East by the early twentieth century and conflicts between the Alliance and new, rival Jewish movements such as Zionism led to further consolidation of the ties between the organization and the French government. World War I constituted a turning point in the relationship. The Alliance, much impoverished by the war, began to receive regular subsidies from the French Foreign Ministry.¹⁴

The Alliance was not founded to serve and aid French influence. Nevertheless, the primacy given by the organization to the teaching of French and its missionary zeal to westernize, which in this case often meant to Gallicize, led inevitably to a convergence with the aims of French foreign policy, especially that of spreading the use of the French language to gain adherents to its cause. As a result, their juridical status notwithstanding, the Alliance schools eventually became, intentionally or not, allies of French interests abroad.

The Alliance grew rapidly. Anyone could become a member by paying a subscription of six francs a year. The membership increased from 850 in 1861 to 3,900 in 1865, to 13,370 in 1870, to over 30,000 in 1885. By 1880, 349 local committees had been established in various parts of the world. Of these, 56 were in France (including Alsace-Lorraine), 113 were in Germany, and 20 were in Italy. The French membership declined from 80 percent of the total in 1861 to approximately 50 percent in 1864 and less than 40 percent in 1885.¹⁵ However, the leadership (the Central Committee) remained firmly French.

The first Alliance school opened in Tetuan in Morocco in 1862. It was followed by schools in Damascus and Baghdad in 1864, in Volos (in present-day Greece) in 1865, and in Adrianople (Edirne, in Turkey) in 1867. Even though the Central Committee had launched an appeal for funds to support its educational work in 1865,¹⁶ the financial resources of the organization were not sufficient for the large-scale expansion of the fledgling school network. Expansion was made possible only by the

13. On this topic see Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, 148–49.

14. Ibid. See also Joan G. Roland, "The Alliance Israélite Universelle and French Policy in North Africa, 1860–1918" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969), 334–35.

15. Georges Weill, "The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Emancipation of the Jewish Communities of the Mediterranean," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 24 (1982): 119–21.

16. AIU, *L'oeuvre des écoles* (Paris, 1865).

munificence of the noted philanthropists Baron Maurice de Hirsch and his wife. The baron endowed one million francs to the Alliance in 1873 for its work in the Ottoman Empire, covered its yearly deficits, and in 1889 gave it an endowment of ten million francs.¹⁷ His wife, Clara, was particularly active in the creation in 1897 of an *oeuvre de nourriture*, which dispensed free lunches to the poor in the schools. With the help of these two eminent personalities and other leading Jewish philanthropists such as the Goldschmidts and the Bischoffsheims, the Alliance was put on a secure financial footing.

However, the organization did not perceive itself as a philanthropic body, although when disaster struck a Jewish community, it was at the forefront of the help that arrived from abroad. Many questions had to be answered before a school could be established. The Alliance was very eager to resolve certain issues before it accepted responsibility for the new institution. The active support of a group of local notables had to be guaranteed. It was hoped that the supporters of the new schools would have sufficient influence to neutralize any possible opposition. Once the demand from a locality was established, local financial support had to be secured. The Central Committee would consent to send a director only after this condition was met. This director would more often than not take over an already existing school, earmarked by the local notables and community as a potential Alliance establishment, and transform it into a full-fledged Alliance institution. Local financial resources would consist of a subvention from the community and a minimal tuition fee to be paid by those students who could afford it. Of course, there were wide variations from school to school in this respect, and many institutions were closed and reopened because of problems with local financing. There was, however, one constant. The schools were totally independent of the supervision of the local communities and local Alliance committees, and the salary of the school director was always paid by the Alliance.¹⁸

The years between 1880 and 1914 constituted the golden age of the organization. Alliance schools for boys and girls were established in all the major Jewish centers in an area ranging from Morocco in the west to

17. Paul Silberman, "An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1862 to 1940" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973), 63–64. For the life and activities of Maurice de Hirsch, see Kurt Grunwald, *TürkenHirsch: A Study of Baron Maurice de Hirsch, Entrepreneur and Philanthropist* (Jerusalem: Israel Programs for Scientific Translation, 1966). On the philanthropic activities of the de Hirsch family, see Sarah Leibovici, *Si tu fais le bien* (Paris: AIU, 1983), 11–24.

18. For an example of the founding of an Alliance school and its functioning, see Aron Rodrigue, "Jewish Society and Schooling in a Thracian Town: The Alliance Israélite Universelle in Demotica, 1897–1924," *Jewish Social Studies* 45 (Summer–Fall 1983): 263–86.

Iran in the east, and lesser communities were joining the school network in increasing numbers. From 1872 on, upon the suggestion of David Cazès, the director of the Volos school,¹⁹ apprenticeship programs were created to complement the work of instruction, and a trades school was founded in Jerusalem in 1882. In 1870, *Mikveh Israël*, the first modern agricultural training school in Palestine, was established by Charles Netter, one of the Alliance founders, on the outskirts of Jaffa. Other agricultural schools were instituted in Djedeida in Tunisia in 1895 and in Asia Minor in 1900.²⁰ Two short-lived rabbinical seminaries were created by the Alliance, one in Turkey and the other in Tunisia.²¹ By 1914, 43,700 students were attending 183 Alliance institutions. As can be seen from table 1, the Alliance underwent a dramatic growth in the decade before World War I, especially with the extension of the network to Iran in 1898 and to the smaller centers of the Sephardi and Eastern Jewish diaspora. Table 2 lists all the Alliance schools founded from 1862 to 1935.

World War I inaugurated a period of crisis, with grave financial and logistical problems. The real challenge—which in the end would lead to the dismantlement of the network—was the intransigent nationalism that began to appear in the immediate aftermath of the war. Turkey and Greece, with their populous Judeo-Spanish communities, which had hitherto constituted the focus of the Alliance's educational system, gradually nationalized the schools, which then had to break their ties with the Central Committee in Paris. However, the loss was made up by new schools opened in the interior of Morocco, where security had improved with the "pacification" undertaken after the French Protectorate was established in 1912.

World War II was the real watershed for the Alliance. The Holocaust and the founding of the state of Israel led to a complete revision of the ideology of the organization and to the adoption of a more pro-Zionist stance. The process of decolonization after World War II and the mass migrations of Jews from Arab countries altered the school network be-

19. Cazès, 31 Oct. 1872, Archives of the AIU, Grèce XX.E.251.

20. For the foundation of *Mikveh Israël*, see Georges Weill, "Charles Netter ou les oranges de Jaffa," *Les Nouveaux Cahiers* 21 (Summer 1970): 2–36; see also Leven, *Cinquante ans*, 2:265–319. For the Djedeida school see Leven, *Cinquante ans*, 2:319–32. On Asia Minor see Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, 273–75.

21. On the rabbinical seminary in Turkey, see Aron Rodrigue, "The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Attempt to Reform Rabbinical and Religious Instruction in Turkey," in S. Schwarzfuchs, ed., *L'Alliance dans les communautés du bassin méditerranéen à la fin du 19^{me} siècle et son influence sur la situation sociale et culturelle* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1987), liii–lxx.

yond all recognition. The Alliance of the post–World War II era was a very different organization from the Alliance of the period from 1860 to 1939.

TABLE 1
The Growth of the Alliance Educational Network

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>Number of students</i>
1865	3	680
1871	14	2,365
1880	43	5,910
1891	55	12,400
1901	109	29,000
1909	149	41,000
1913	183	43,700
1922	112	35,426
1931	126	43,708
1939	127	47,746

SOURCES: Data taken from the *Bulletin semestriel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* 34 (1909): 108–9; G. Weill, “L’action éducative de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle de 1860 à 1914,” *Les Nouveaux Cahiers* 78 (1984): 51–58; *Paix et Droit* 2 (Oct. 1922): 16; *Paix et Droit* 11 (Mar. 1931): 8; *Paix et Droit* 19 (Mar. 1939): 12.

TABLE 2
Alliance Schools Founded from 1862 to 1935

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
ALGERIA		
Algiers	<i>Talmud-Torah</i> , co-ed	1900
Constantine	<i>Talmud-Torah</i> , co-ed	1902
Oran	<i>Talmud-Torah</i> , co-ed	1907
BULGARIA		
Burgas	primary, girls	1896
Phillipopolis (Plovdiv)	primary, boys	1881
	primary, girls	1885
Rustchuk (Ruse)	primary, boys	1879
	primary, girls	1885
Samacoff	primary, co-ed	1874
Shumla (Shumen)	primary, boys	1870
	primary, girls	1874
Silistria	primary, boys	1897

TABLE 2. — *Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
BULGARIA (cont.)		
Sofia	primary, boys	1887
	primary, girls	1896
Tatar-Bazardjik	primary, boys	1880
	primary, girls	1883
Varna	primary, co-ed	1880
Widdin	primary, boys	1872
	primary, girls	1880
Yamboli	primary, co-ed	1881
EGYPT		
Alexandria	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1897
Cairo	primary, boys	1896
	primary, girls	1896
Abassieh	primary, boys	1902
	primary, girls	1902
Tantah	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1905
GREECE		
Cavalla	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1905
Demotica (Didymotikhon)	primary, co-ed	1897
Gumuldjina (Komotini)	primary, co-ed	1910
Janina	primary, boys	1904
	primary, girls	1904
Larissa	primary, boys	1868
Preveza	primary, co-ed	1908
Rhodes	primary, boys	1901
	primary, girls	1902
Salonica	primary, boys	1873
	primary, girls	1875
	for the poor, boys	1897
	for the poor, girls	1897
Serres	primary, co-ed	1901
Volo (Volos)	primary, boys	1865
IRAN		
Burugerd	primary, co-ed	1913
Hamadan	primary, boys	1900
	primary, girls	1900

TABLE 2.—*Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
IRAN (<i>cont.</i>)		
Isphahan	primary, boys	1901
	primary, girls	1901
Kermanshah	primary, boys	1904
	primary, girls	1911
Keshan	primary, co-ed	1929
Seneh	primary, boys	1903
	primary, girls	1905
Shiraz	primary, boys	1903
	primary, girls	1903
Teheran	primary, boys	1898
	primary, girls	1898
Yezd	primary, boys	1928
	primary, girls	1930
IRAQ		
Amara	primary, boys	1910
Baghdad	primary, boys	1864
	primary, girls	1893
Noam	for the poor, girls	1927
Nouriel	for the poor, boys	1902
Saleh	for the poor, boys	1905
Basra	primary, boys	1903
	primary, girls	1913
	for the poor, boys	1913
Hanekin	for the poor, co-ed	1911
Hille	primary, boys	1907
	primary, girls	1911
Kerkuk	primary, boys	1912
Mossul	primary, boys	1907
	primary, girls	1912
ISRAEL		
Caiffa (Haifa)	primary, boys	1881
	primary, girls	1895
Jaffa	primary, boys	1892
	primary, girls	1894
<i>Mikweh Israël</i>	agricultural, boys	1870
Jerusalem	primary, boys	(1868) 1897 ^b
	primary, girls	1906
	vocational, boys	1882

TABLE 2. — *Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
ISRAEL (cont.)		
Safed	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1897
Tiberias	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1900
LEBANON		
Beirut	primary, boys	1869
	primary, girls	1878
Saida	primary, co-ed	1902
LIBYA		
Tripoli	primary, boys	1895
	primary, girls	1898
MACEDONIA		
Monastir (Bitola)	primary, boys	1910
	primary, girls	1903
Uskub (Skopje)	primary, boys	1902
	primary, girls	1905
MOROCCO		
Agadir	primary, co-ed	1935
Azemmour	primary, co-ed	1911
Benahmed	primary, co-ed	1929
Beni Mellal	primary, co-ed	1927
Berrechid	primary, co-ed	1927
Boujad	primary, co-ed	1927
Casablanca		
N. Leven	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1900
M. Nahon	primary, co-ed	1933
Verdun	primary, boys	1933
Demnat	primary, co-ed	1929
El Ksar	primary, co-ed	(1879) 1911
Fez		
S. Lévi	primary, boys	1881
	primary, girls	1899
Ville Nouvelle	primary, co-ed	1934
Kasbah Tadla	primary, co-ed	1932
Larache	primary, boys	(1873) 1901
	primary, girls	(1874) 1901

TABLE 2. — *Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
MOROCCO (cont.)		
Marrakesh	primary, boys	1892
	primary, girls	1901
Mazagan	primary, boys	1906
	primary, girls	1906
Meknes	primary, boys	(1901) 1910
	primary, girls	(1901) 1910
Midelt	primary, co-ed	1928
Mogador	primary, boys	(1867) 1888
	primary, girls	1908
<i>Of the Mellah</i>	primary, boys	1906
Oued Zem	primary, co-ed	1935
Ouezzane	primary, co-ed	1926
Oujda	primary, co-ed	1926
Rabat	primary, boys	1903
	primary, girls	1910
Safi	primary, boys	1907
	primary, girls	1907
Saleh	primary, boys	1913
	primary, girls	1913
Sefrou	primary, co-ed	(1911) 1914
Settat	primary, co-ed	(1910) 1927
Tangier	primary, boys	(1865) 1889
	primary, girls	(1874) 1881
Taourirt	primary, co-ed	1927
Taroudant	primary, co-ed	1929
Tetuan	primary, boys	1862
	primary, girls	(1868) 1882
Tiznit	primary, co-ed	1934
SYRIA		
Aleppo	primary, boys	1869
	primary, girls	(1872) 1911
Bahsita	for the poor, boys	1910
	for the poor, girls	1910
Djemilie	primary, girls	1889
Damascus	primary, boys	(1864) 1880
	for the poor, girls	1883
TUNISIA		
Djedeida	agricultural, boys	1895

TABLE 2. — *Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
TUNISIA (cont.)		
Sfax	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1905
Sousse	primary, boys	1883
Tunis		
Hafsia	primary, boys	1910
Malta Srira	primary, boys	1878
	primary, girls	1882
Rabbinical	boys	1907
TURKEY		
Adrianople (Edirne)	primary, boys	1867
	primary, girls	1870
Aydin	primary, boys	1894
	primary, girls	1904
Bursa	primary, boys	1886
	primary, girls	1886
Cassaba (Turgutlu)	primary, co-ed	1897
Constantinople (Istanbul)		
Balat	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1882
Daghamami (Dağhamamı)	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1880
Galata	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1879
Goldschmidt	primary, boys	1876
Haskeuy (Hasköy)	primary, boys	1874
	primary, girls	1877
Tseror	primary, boys	1908
Haydar Pasha (Haydar Paşa)	primary, co-ed	1893
Kuzgundjuk (Kuzguncuk)	primary, boys	1879
	primary, girls	1880
Ortakeuy (Ortaköy)	primary, boys	(1882) 1901
	primary, girls	1882
Rabbinical	boys	1897
Dardanelles (Çanakkale)	primary, boys	1878
	primary, girls	1888
Gallipoli (Gelibolu)	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1913
Kirklisse (Kırklareli)	primary, boys	1913
	primary, girls	1911

TABLE 2. — *Continued*

<i>Country^a and town</i>	<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Date of foundation</i>
TURKEY (cont.)		
Magnesia (Manisa)	primary, boys	1892
	primary, girls	1896
Pergamon (Bergama)	primary, co-ed	(1896) 1908
Rodosto (Tekirdağ)	primary, co-ed	1904
Smyrna (İzmir)	primary, boys	1873
	primary, girls	1878
	for the poor, boys	1898
Karatash (Karataş)	primary, co-ed	1895
Tchorlu (Çorlu)	primary, co-ed	1911
Tireh (Tire)	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1910

NOTE: This is an amended and corrected version of a table compiled by Paul Silberman, "An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1862 to 1940" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973), 248–54. The towns listed are Anglicized versions of the names used in the Alliance publications. The names in parentheses are the ones in current use. See also *Bulletin Semestriel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* 38 (1913): 122–58. The table excludes all institutions that received subsidies from the Alliance but were not directed by Alliance teachers or did not follow the Alliance curriculum.

^aAccording to present borders.

^bFounded in 1868, closed, and reopened in 1897.