THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE "MODERN" AXIS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL: PROPERTY, INVESTMENTS AND ELITES FROM TAKSİM SQUARE TO SİRKECİ STATION

Dissertation submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Lorans İzabel Baruh

Boğaziçi University

2009

Thesis Abstract

Lorans İzabel Baruh, "The Transformation of the 'Modern' Axis of Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Property, Investments and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station"

The "construction" of the "modern" axis of nineteenth-century Istanbul is analyzed through its three complementary facets: laws and regulations brought on property ownership including everyday practices; investments in "new" commercial buildings and apartment blocks at the core of the city; and the capitalist elite, who by taking advantage of the *Tanzîmât* reforms, which protected people from arbitrary interference in their private and commercial dealings, invested in these buildings. The dissertation tries to investigate, at a micro level, to what extent Istanbul's urban fabric may have been the product of capitalism and of its elite —consisting of both Ottoman bureaucrats and of the business elite— as precursors of the modernization process, and sheds light on the power game between different agencies involved in the process.

Such an analysis could only be possible through a multiplicity of perspectives and approaches. In an interdisciplinary fashion, political, economic, social, urban and institutional history is used in combination to trace the background of the transformation of the urban fabric. A quantitative approach is also applied to analyze the "modern" building stock, to follow its evaluation through time, define its peculiarities and trace its topography. This method also helps us to quantify the size of investments and to identify the family names which constitute our sample. To know more about the background of these families a prosopographic approach is also followed.

This research is largely based on the sources of the Ottoman State Archive; on sources in private archives, such as the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, Saint Peter Church or Nissim de Camondo Museum archives; and printed sources such as insurance maps and trade directories.

Tez Özeti

Lorans İzabel Baruh, "19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unun 'Modern' Ekseninin Dönüşümü: Taksim-Sirkeci Güzergâhında Mülkiyet, Yatırımlar ve Elit"

Bu doktora tezi, 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unun "modern" aksının "inşa ediliş" hikâyesini birbirini tamamlayıcı üç farklı açıdan değerlendirmekte ve mülk edinme üzerine çıkarılmış kanun ve nizamnameler ile yapılan uygulamaları; kentin merkezinde inşa edilen yeni büro hanları ile apartmanları; ve son olarak da, kişiyi özel ve ticari yaşamındaki devlet müdahalesinden korumayı amaçlayan Tanzimat reformlarından güç alan kapitalist bir elitin yaptığı yatırımları mercek altına almaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca, İstanbul'un kentsel dokusundaki değişimin ne oranda kapitalist düzenin ve bu düzenin öncülüğünü yapan, Osmanlı devlet adamlarından ve ticari burjuvazinin üst katmanlarından oluşan kapitalist elitin yatırımlarından oluştuğunu ölçümleyerek mikro düzeyde test etmekte ve bu dönüşümün güç dengelerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Böyle bir araştırma ancak farklı metodolojilerin ve yaklaşımların ışığında anlam kazanabilecektir. Kentsel dokunun dönüşümünün hikâyesi disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımla politik, sosyal, ekonomik tarihten ve kurum tarihlerinden faydalanarak yazılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra kullanılan sayısal yöntem "modern" bina stokunun, bu stokun tarihsel gelişiminin, binanın fiziksel özelliklerinin ve topografik dağılımının analizinin yapılmasına imkân tanımaktadır. Bu yöntem ayrıca yatırımları ölçümleme yoluyla en önemli yatırımcıların isimlerinin belirlenmesini sağlamaktadır. Söz konusu ailelerin geçmişi hakkında detaylı bir çalışmaya ve "prozopografik" bir yaklaşıma da yer verilmiştir.

Çalışmanın temel kaynaklarını Osmanlı Devlet Arşivi'nden ve Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, Saint Pierre Kilisesi, Nissim de Camondo Müzesi gibi özel arşivlerden elde edilen belgeler ile dönemin sigorta haritaları ve ticaret yıllıkları oluşturmaktadır.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Lorans İzabel (Tanatar) Baruh
PLACE OF BIRTH: Istanbul
DATE OF BIRTH: 13 April 1967

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:
Boğaziçi University – History Department, 2002-2009
Boğaziçi University – History Department,1990-1993
Boğaziçi University – Economy Department, 1986-1990

DEGREES AWARDED:
Doctor of Philosophy in History, 2009, Boğaziçi University
Master of Arts in History, 1993, Boğaziçi University
Bachelor of Arts in Economy, 1990, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:
Late Ottoman economic, urban and social history, Eastern Mediterranean port cities

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:
Scientific Manager, Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 1998-to the present
Assistant, Ottoman Bank Historical Projects of the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1997-1998

PUBLICATIONS:
Company Journals in Banks and Insurance Companies : History and Recent Developments, ed. by Hubert Bonin, Lorans Tanatar Baruh, Frankfurt: EABH, 2007.
Archives and IT Solutions, *Istanbul, 24 & 25 October 2002*, ed. by Maria Guercio, Lorans Tanatar Baruh & Clotilde Wang, Frankfurt: EABH, 2004.
"Istanbul Tekstil Tüccarının Profili" ("Profile of Istanbul Textile Merchant"), *Görüş*, no:56, October 2003: 64-72.
"Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi" (Ottoman Bank Historical Research Centre), *Tarih Çevresi*, November-December 1999: 59-64.
With Laurence Ammour, "Çalışan Kadından Bir Kesit: Osmanlı Bankası Kadın Personeli (1911-1934)" ("The Ottoman Bank Lady Employees 1911-1934"), *Tarih ve Toplum,* no: 183, İstanbul, Mart 1999: 15-22.
"At the Turn of the Century, Textile Dealers in an International Port City, Istanbul"*, Boğaziçi Journal,* vol.11, no: 1-2, İstanbul, 1997: 33-52.
"A study in commercial life and practices in Istanbul at the turn of the century: the textile market" submitted to the History Department of Boğaziçi University, 1993.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With its fascinating history, Istanbul attracts, in one way or another, the attention and curiosity of numerous people in touch with the city. As one of them, my personal experience in the area from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station, which constituted the core of Istanbul in the nineteenth century, led me to undertake a comprehensive study relating to one of the most visual aspect of the city's urban fabric: the buildings themselves and their owners. This transformation of the urban texture in the nineteenth century, which today still preserves its main features and together with most of the buildings, gained even more importance in the last decade when these areas again became points of attraction and were subject to a process of gentrification. The hope is that this dissertation, which began with personal curiosity and interest, will not only shed light on some aspects of the nineteenth century urban transformation of this specific area, but also lead to some awareness for its future reconstruction.

Working on a full time basis in the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, this dissertation could not have been completed without the encouragement, effort, and generous help and support of many persons whom I met during these six years. Several pages would not be sufficient to list them here but I would like to thank them all for very kindly contributing to my personal development and to this work. In the remaining part, I will more specifically acknowledge persons who were directly involved in the production of this study.

My deepest gratitude goes first to my advisor, Edhem Eldem, who not only believed in me, but also assisted me through all this process and made a thorough revision of the dissertation; also to Cem Behar and Paolo Girardelli, who were there through all the writing process, and offered invaluable comments. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Murat Güvenç and Meltem Toksöz, who kindly shared with me their knowledge and experience.

The intellectual background of the dissertation, which was mainly based on several courses which I took at Boğaziçi University, owes a lot to several scholars of the field. I would like to acknowledge Şevket Pamuk, Huri İslamoğlu, Suraiya Faroqhi, Vangelis Kechriotis, Selma Özkoçak and Selçuk Esenbel for all

the positive influence they have exerted on me and my dissertation. During the enjoyable group courses on Ottoman script, Selim Kuru provided me with invaluable insight on the language. I also owe a lot to Mustafa Kaçar, who introduced me not only to paleography but also helped me to comment on the content and patiently guided me every time I was lost.

The painstaking task of editing the dissertation was realized by my cousins Julian and Lale Lee, who kindly gave their time in the first reading of the text and later, more professionally by Sema Göksel at the editing office of Boğaziçi University. Their contributions as well as those of Edhem Eldem for the English and Mustafa Kaçar for the Ottoman transcriptions were invaluable in improving the language of the dissertation.

The realization of my dissertation owes a lot to the support of several archives and institutions. I would like to thank the personnel of the Ottoman State Archive, the French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Nissim de Camondo Museum Archive, Saint Peter Church Archive, The American Board Library, French National Library, Atatürk Library and Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre. These words of thanks are extended more specifically to İlhan Ovalıoğlu, Fuat Recep and Ali Toköz in the Ottoman State Archive who facilitated the process of application, invaluable to me; to Pierre Chuvin and Nora Şeni, head of the French Institute of Anatolian Studies, but also to Pascal Lebouteiller, Mathilde Pinon, Céline Bogel, Ümit Topuz from the Institute who generously shared with me the sources; to Sophie le Tarnec who kindly sent me the archival material that I needed from the Nissim de Camondo Museum Archive; to Father Alberto who enabled the digitalization of the Saint Peter Church archives and guided me in its catalogue, also to Father Lorenzo who helped me to read the registers of the parish; to Brian Johnson, head of the American Board Library and Janet Duran from the same library, who shared with me the history of the American Bible House; to Sara Yontan Musnik from the National Library of France who worked with me to locate the articles of the lawyer Salem in Clunet and sent them to me; to Ali Mazak, director of Atatürk Library who was always very contributive, and to İrfan Dağdeviren, responsible for the maps section, who generously shared with

me the sources; to Oya Arıkan, the secretary of the History Department of Boğaziçi University who organized the logistics behind the dissertation. Lastly my special thanks to Sima Benaroya, head of the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre who created a friendly atmosphere during this long study, to Aylin Koçuryan, Nida Özkaymak and Ceren Çıkın at the Library who helped me every time I was in need, and to all the scanning staff Hilal Aktaş Şentürk, Ümit Servi, Çetin Zeren, Ercan Ünal, Serkan Örs, Erhan Ölgün to whom I owe the digitalization of the documents that I used in the appendices.

At a more personal level, I also want to thank Christophe Alléon who informed me on the details of the history of his family, sent several articles and documents on the subject and also Mehmet Ö. Alkan and Barış Altan whose friendship, sharing of knowledge and sources incontestably enriched the content of the dissertation.

I also have a debt of gratitude to my family, starting from my mother and father, Camille and Yakup Tanatar who shared with me the task of bringing up a child and of managing the house, to my sister Stella Murat and her family Kaan and Cem Murat who took care of my son and took him on holidays when I had to stay to study at home, and to my mother and father in law, Ceni and Rober Baruh, who were there for my husband when he needed support and I was not there. Last but not least, my deepest gratitude goes to my husband, İzzet Baruh, who not only tolerated my long hours of work but also assisted me in technical problems and contributed to the dissertation by his photos of the buildings which I included in the appendix, and to my son, Moray, who from his youngest age has been trying to understand this personal achievement but is also eager to see the accomplishment of this stage "to find again" his mother. My hope is that this work is adequate enough to compensate all the efforts that were invested in me and I dedicate this dissertation to my father, whom I lost last year.

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INTRODUCTION

"The city reflects the great social transformation better than any other institution" says Eric Hobsbawm. [1] As implied in its title, this dissertation is an attempt to catch a glimpse of the "great" transformation of nineteenth-century Istanbul through the study of a very specific urban axis extending from Taksim Square to the Sirkeci train station, which corresponds to an urban area of some 2.5 km^2, and to explore the dynamics behind this process. In other words, the "physical construction" of Istanbul's "modern" urban space will be analyzed not only through the normative impact of laws and regulations on property ownership, but also through the everyday practice of investment in "new" commercial buildings or *hân*s and apartment buildings in one of the core areas of the city, and through its capitalist elite, who, by taking advantage of the *Tanzîmât* reforms which gradually transformed the Empire into a "state of law," where people were protected from arbitrary interference in their private and commercial dealings,[2] invested in such buildings. The main aim of this endeavor is to paint, as much as possible, a complete picture of all the facets of this urban transformation. Besides the municipality, which stands as the main actor in the transformation of urban space, all sorts of other actors are thus brought into the picture: the State as law-

[1] E.J. Hobsbawm "From Social History to the History of Society", *Historical Studies Today*, ed. by F. Gilbert and S.R. Graubard, (New York, Norton, 1972), pp. 14-16, quoted from Zeynep Çelik, "New Approaches to the 'Non-Western' City", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 58 no. 3, (September 1999), p. 374.

[2] Çağlar Keyder, "Europe and the Ottoman Empire in Mid-Nineteenth Century: Development of a Bourgeoisie in the European Mirror", Paper presented at the Colloquium of European Association for Banking History e.V., East Meets West: Banking, Commerce and Investment, Istanbul, 15-16 October 1999.

maker and mediator of different claims on property ownership; the Ministry of Pious Endowments as the greatest land owner; the capitalist elite and corporate business interested in real-estate investment; the representatives of foreign powers as protectors of their own subjects and citizens. The dissertation analyzes the complex relations of these actors with the urban space of the Ottoman capital, their different claims on property ownership, and their interaction. The background of investment operations on urban property are brought into light, at a time when the city was —more than ever— open to foreign interference through western capitalism, when the State was struggling to get some control over the process, and when the newly rising bourgeoisie was trying to shape the urban space according to its needs and desires. Seeing and understanding the obstacles before and the resistance to these processes, and discovering the solutions that were found will enable us to better understand the dynamics behind the urban transformation of the city, as well as the reasons why modernization was eventually achieved only in a scattered and partial fashion.

Before going further into the details of the study, it would be useful to devote the following pages to a presentation of its main lines and of the terminology it will use. First of all, it should be stated that this dissertation does not recount a "top down" process of modernization; rather, the analysis focuses on a " bottom up" perspective of urban transformation. Even though the society and its production of urban fabric will constitute the main focus of the study, proper attention will also be given to the other side of the picture, namely the relations of social actors with the State and its agencies. A proper reading of the role of these

power relations in shaping the urban space will help us to understand the constraints imposed on each side of the struggle.

However, this dissertation does not intend to study all strata of the society of Istanbul, but intends rather to focus on a very specific portion of it. The group analyzed in Chapter Four consists not only of people who had the material means of emulating a western lifestyle, but of those who also controlled important amounts of capital and used it in a modern form of investment. Thus for the purposes of this study, it would be less confusing to speak of an upper stratum of society or of an elite —and not of the bourgeoisie in general— often close to the administration, and financially powerful enough to seize the opportunity of increasing returns on modern buildings in the newly developing and renovated districts of the city. However, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, it is important to realize that this group, which constructed a new topography of space, was not of uniform nature, but was rather a composite and integrated stratum composed of merchants, financiers, and high-ranking bureaucrats of very different cultural and social backgrounds.

Third, this analysis should also be considered as a micro-level study, since one can at any time delve into the details of each unit composing its database of 1,448 buildings, in terms of address, approximate date of construction, owner(s), and, for some 561 buildings, with the additional information of building height, and total built area. Yet, when considering the area under study, which corresponds to the core of the modern(ized) city, the dissertation's spectrum is

wide enough to allow us to make meaningful comparisons both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

Fourth, I argue that in terms of the renovation of the building stock, the three districts at the core of the city, the allegedly "modern" Galata and Pera, on the one hand, and the supposedly "traditional" Stamboul or Eminönü, on the other, were not really as different from each other as may have been claimed to this day. As Chapter Three will try to show, the differences between these areas were rather the result of their specificity, topography and of the availability of land. Moreover, the trajectories of the elite traced in Chapter Four illustrate the great mobility that existed between the "modern" and "traditional" sides of the Golden Horn. These quantitative and factual evidences will lead us to reject the artificial dichotomy and break embedded in the word "modernity" which indeed does not always reflect everyday reality. Instead we will focus on the notion of a process of transformation from traditional to modern structures, sometimes allowing for their co-existence, which implicitly rejects the "duality" of the colonial city paradigm.[3]

Fifth, the model which proposes a transformation along the lines of standardization, rationalization and uniformity was imported from Europe and could therefore be named "Europeanization" or "Westernization" as is often the

[3] From Mitchell's point of view the modern city was created by what it kept out, and to represent itself as modern, it had to represent the outside as irrational, disordered and dirty. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 164-165. Available [on line] http://www.escholarship.org/editions/view?docId=ft587006k2&brand=ucpress [December 8, 2008]. For examples of colonial cities paradigm see Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and Janet Abu Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 years of the City Victorious*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

case in historical studies of the late-Ottoman and Republican periods. In this respect, I will come close to Dirlik's notion of "Eurocentrism," defining the process as a transformation and not as assimilation or homogenization,[4] and I will argue that this process, far from being a blind mimicry of the West, was adapted and shaped by indigenous realities and by local actors. These different responses of local dynamics to the transformative forces of capitalism, as was argued in Eldem, Goffman and Masters, shaped the historical trajectories of modernization for each city.[5]

Moreover, it goes without saying that the *Tanzîmât* reforms, as they were announced in the Gülhane Edict, were not aimed at the cultural transformation of the society but at the consolidation of state power. Thus, considering Abu Lughod's argument, that "cities are processes and not products",[6] the term "modernization" in the sense of "transition to modernity" instead of "modernity", which embodied a complete achievement including the cultural one, seems to be more appropriate, as a term describing the nineteenth-century urban transformation of Istanbul, and will be used alternatively with "transformation".

Last, this dissertation aims to go beyond its economic approach by including individuals and their families in the picture. Although the question of identity will not be problematized, it is also important to underline the "in-betweenness" or the clash of "tradition" and "modernity" of these people in their

[4] Arif Dirlik, "Is There History after Eurocentrism?", *History after the Three Worlds. Post-Eurocentric Historiographies*, ed. by Arif Dirlik, Vinay Bahl and Peter Gran, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), p. 35.
[5] Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[6] Janet L. Abu Lughod, "The Islamic City. Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, (1987), p. 172.

everyday life and practices whatever their background. Even though used for nation states, despite the risk of anachronism, Occidentalism, when freed from its political connotations, could be useful in showing all the tensions of individuals in what they refuse and desire to be when negotiating and consolidating their power in the image of the West in line with their pragmatic interest. Nonetheless, leaving aside the cultural side for another research, or the other way around, as Bahl and Dirlik claim, considering that culture is just a "kind of self-knowledge that comes with confrontation of historically circumscribed material realities",[7] the following chapters will confront life in all its materiality and deal solely with the economic, social, legal and political structures of modernity.

Before going into the details of each chapter, some information on sources and methodology will be necessary.

Sources and Methodology

Analyzing the issue of property ownership, the particularities of the production of urban space, and the investments of the elite, cannot be realized completely through a single methodology; one needs rather to resort to a multiplicity of perspectives and approaches. In interdisciplinary fashion, we have tried to combine political, economic, social, urban, legal and institutional history to trace the background of the transformation of the urban fabric of Istanbul. A quantitative approach is also applied to be able to analyze the "modern" building

[7] Arif Dirlik, Vinay Bahl, "Introduction", *History after the Three Worlds...,* p. 8.

stock, to follow its evolution through time, define its peculiarities and trace its topography. This method will also help us to quantify the size and importance of investments and to identify the diverse background of the names found in our sample. It should also be added that to know more about the background of these families a prosopographic approach will also be necessary.

Legal codices and compilations such as *Düstûr*,[8] or Young's *Corps de Droit ottoman*[9], Aristarchi's *Législation ottomane*,[10] as well as commentaries and treatises[11] written by jurisconsults, combined with the archival material found in the Ottoman State Archives, are the main sources on the issue of property ownership, considered to be very complex at that time. A preliminary scanning of the Ottoman State Archives online catalogue with the keywords "*emlâk*" and "*mülk*", retrieved several thousands of documents which were subjected to further filtering for Istanbul and its three main districts. With the addition to this list of the files relating to some members of the elite of the time, such as the Camondo, Azaryan, Alléon, Helbig, and Lorando families, or to companies such as the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the archival database rose to 436 files, corresponding to a total of 2,086 documents. Leaving aside those of secondary importance, some 1,700 documents were read in order to be able to understand and illustrate the

[8] *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 1-4.
[9] George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman : recueil des codes, lois, règlements, ordonnances et actes les plus importants du droit intérieur, et d'études sur le droit coutumier de l'Empire ottoman*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905-1906), vol. 1-6. George Young was the second secretary of the British Embassy.
[10] Grégoire Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane ou Recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman,* (Constantinople: Demetrius Nicolaïdes - Bureau du Journal Thraki, 1873-1874), vol. 1-4.
[11] W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation foncière*, (Paris: A. Pedone, 1904); Nédjib H. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété immobilière en Droit ottoman*, (Le Caire: Imp. El-Maaref, Neguib Mitri, 1906); also Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf fi ahcam-il awkafs, Lois régissant les propriétés dédiées (Awkafs)*, trans. by C.G. Stavridès and Simon Dahdah, (Marseille : L. Sauvion, 1307 [1890]).

issue of property ownership discussed in the first chapter. These documents, originating from various collections and dating from the 1840s down to 1922, not only reveal several issues on the property ownership of Ottoman women married to foreigners, of those naturalized as foreign, and on the complaints of western embassies about court cases and procedures, but also bring to light matters relating to property taxation, expropriation, mortgage companies and the issue of ownership by companies, as well as several buildings and some names from among the contemporary elite of Istanbul.

A second category of sources which will mainly shape the second chapter consists of the trade directories of the time which are complemented by contemporary topographical sources, mainly insurance maps. The trade directories published in Istanbul under the names of *Indicateur constantinopolitain* (1868), *Indicateur ottoman* (1880-1888) and finally of *Annuaire oriental* (1889-1930), provide some of the basic information that is essential to the study of *hân*s and apartment blocks erected in the Pera, Pera-Galata, Galata and Stamboul regions. These trade directories, published by Raphaël César Cervati, himself a resident of Pera,[12] and who had previously been working in Galata, contain detailed information about the Ottoman dynasty, state officials, sanctuaries, embassies and consulates, telegraphic and postal services, railways and bankers, merchants and artisans. The information and advertisements appearing in these yearbooks intended to familiarize western producers and distributors with eastern tradesmen and vice versa. It is also true

[12] Cervati, *Annuaire oriental du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature, 29ème année*, (Constantinople: The Annuaire Oriental & Printing Co. Ltd., 1909), p. 501.

that these "yellow pages," omitting mostly traditional dwellings and districts,[13] aimed at a rather selected clientele, but this will not be an impediment to our study since we will be dealing with prominent figures of the urban elite, who belonged to the world referred to in the *Annuaires orientaux*.

Different fire insurance maps — by Charles Edward Goad (1904-1906) and Jacques Pervititch (1922-1945),[14] the latter completing the former — will also enable us to spatialize our data and to conduct the topographic analysis of the dissertation. These maps, which were sponsored and used by insurance companies until the 1960s,[15] with the purpose of identifying the risk level of real estate, allowed "insurance policies to be built upon detailed, reliable, valid, easily and rapidly readable and objective data".[16] Today, they constitute an important source for us to recover data on lost urban texture, and they could be considered as a unique, extremely valuable and essential tool in the "reconstruction of

[13] This part of the city, which constituted the other reality of the district, appeared in the description of Bertrand Bareilles; "[After the han Saint Pierre] the streets to the right disappear into poor quarter filled with wooden houses. The strange silence of narrow streets, the lattice masking the dusty windows, the scarce passers-by silently passing under the balconies all show that Frankish life ends at this point. There are no shops here, nor any shopkeepers; all you can see is a bath clumsily painted in pink and several mosques among which stands the Arap Camii with its Genoese belfry." Bertrand Bareilles, *Constantinople, Ses Cités franques et levantines (Péra, Galata, Banlieue)*, (Paris : Bossard, 1918), p. 74. The English translation quoted from Edhem Eldem, "The Ethnic Structure of Galata", *Istanbul*, '92 Selections, vol. 1, no. 1, January 1993, p. 33.

[14] The Goad and Pervititch maps are projects realized in different contexts with respect to organization, timing and funding. If both sets of plans are compared, it should be mentioned that in the Pervititch maps the level of detail is vastly superior to the Goad maps, which were prepared in a speedy work program in 1904-1905. These maps were recently published in a volume edited by İrfan Dağdelen. *Charles Edouard Goad'ın İstanbul Sigorta Haritaları*, (İstanbul: IBB Kütüphaneler ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, December 2007).

[15] Müsemma Sabancıoğlu, "Jacques Pervititch and His Maps", *Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul, Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch*, (Istanbul, Axa Oyak, 2000), p. 22.

[16] Murat Güvenç, "Pervititch haritaları: İstanbul için bitmemiş bir araştırma projesi", *Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul = Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch*, (Istanbul, Axa Oyak, 2000), p. 18.

historical Istanbul."[17] The plan by Count G. d'Ostoya, an engineer at the Municipality, realized between 1858 and 1860 as the first plan of Galata, Pera and Pangaltı; that of the French engineer R. Huber, who drew a map in 1887-1891 of the northern quarters of the Golden Horn to be presented to the Sultan in 1892 and rectified it in 1895; the maps by Suat Nirven, who drew Eminönü, Galata, Karaköy and Beyoğlu between 1947 and 1952, will also be consulted when needed, although they generally comprise less detail than Goad's and Pervititch's earlier maps.

To complete the picture, files from the archives of the Ottoman Bank have proven to be indispensable sources to locate information on individuals who most of the time could not be traced back to the Ottoman State Archives. Closely linked to the West by capital and management, the Ottoman Bank took its place among those institutions representing modernity. In this sense, different information on its clientele kept in the bank's archive make it possible to observe the efforts of a society to adapt to a new world order and its corresponding mentality.[18] The minutes of the board of directors' meetings dating from 1895 are also used as a cross reference, particularly with respect to the business activities of these individuals and of certain companies. The Imperial Ottoman Bank was also one of the most influential organizations of its time not only regarding the usual savings services, but also for the safekeeping of bonds and

[17] "Pervititch Planları", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6, pp. 247-248.
[18] Most of the time the bank itself was obliged to reconcile tradition and modernity. Edhem Eldem, *A 135-Year-Old Treasure, Glimpses from the Past in the Ottoman Bank Archives*, (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank, 1998), p. 151.

securities. Stocks and bonds deposit cards dating between 1901 and 1918 and incorporating minor but valuable information are also taken into consideration.

To these major sources which are intensely used, some others should be added. Newspapers and particularly reviews, the outcome of the new capitalist order, are other sources that reflect many of the aspects of change experienced in the nineteenth century. *La Turquie* (1866-1895), the official newspaper of the state[19] until November 1868 and the bi-lingual *Levant Herald* (1856-[1914])[20] have both been consulted for the years 1884, 1885 and 1886 for the listings of property belonging to the Ministry of Pious Endowments put into auction, and for 1870-1871 to collect information on the great Pera fire of June 1870. More importantly, however, some specialized periodicals such as the *Gazette financière* (1909-1914),[21] the *Revue technique d'Orient* (1910-1912) on the infrastructural works of the empire,[22] and the *Revue commerciale du Levant* (1887-1929)[23] with its vivid descriptions of the market as well as of everyday life in the city have provided us with precious information on the topic under study.

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[19] G. Groc, I. Çağlar, *La Presse française de Turquie de 1795 à nos jours. Histoire et catalogue*, (Istanbul: Isis, 1985), p. 181. The Atatürk Library keeps the issues between 1866 and 1891.

[20] Initially issued twice a week by the old correspondent of the *Times*, Edgar Whitaker, the journal was published under different titles: *Moniteur du commerce, Commercial Adviser* (1876-1879), *Messager de Constantinople* (1878-1880), *Eastern Express* (1880-1886), *Levant Herald and Eastern Express* (1886-1914). *Ibid.* Issues of the years 1867, 1869, 1870-1872, 1874 -1875, 1890, 1906, 1910 are kept in the Atatürk Library.

[21] *La Gazette financière: Organe financier, commercial et industriel des intérêts de l'Empire ottoman*, Constantinople. This weekly journal was published by Alfred Rizzo. Groc and Çağlar, p. 105. The following issues are kept at the OBARC Library 1911, 1913-1914, no. 91-117, 171-263.

[22] *Revue technique d'Orient : Organe mensuel illustré technique et industriel des travaux publics dans l'Empire ottoman*, Constantinople : J. Houli (Imprimerie du Levant Herald), 1910-1912 no. 1-39, issued monthly.

[23] Issues between 1899 and 1912 are kept at the IFEA library. OBARC Library has the digital copies of issues 1887-1912.

Both nineteenth century inventions, photography and postcards constitute the basis of the visual material used in this research. As photography became popular in the 1860s, it soon became commercialized and an increasing number of studios opened in Istanbul. Photos of the urban site as well as portraits of state officers and of members of the bourgeoisie taken by the most renowned photographers of the city, Abdullah Frères, Kargopoulo, Sébah & Joallier, Berggren, Nikolas Andriomenos, and Boğos Takulyan, known as Phébus Effendi, are invaluable sources for researchers willing to reconstruct this past. Postcards, which followed by several decades the invention of photography and were widely used for personal correspondence and communication after the 1890s, made available the photos of both renowned and unknown photographers to a wider public. Both sources used together give us important snapshots of the city's urban fabric and help us to visualize the microcosm of the "modern" elite. To complete the missing parts of this visualization and to reach a deeper understanding of particular buildings owned by the most important investors, which were not often found in photographs or postcards, these buildings were photographed this year and have been included in the appendices.

Structure

The dissertation is composed of three chapters —following the first introductory one— which tackle different but complementary facets of our study

on the nineteenth-century urban development of Istanbul through the actions of individuals and corporate bodies holding power and resources.

Chapter Two is based on the assumption that investment in real estate could only be viable when the necessary guarantees were given under a rational general law which would secure property. Because productive activity was central to the nineteenth century, property was entirely conceived as the work of the law, which was nothing but a guarantee for individual expectations to derive certain advantages from an asset which a person was said to possess. In this sense, individual property created in law provided the individual with a security and freedom that facilitated his decisions regarding production and was instrumental in fulfilling an individual's expectations in realizing his or her welfare. Thus the Ottoman legislation on property which brought the necessary guarantees to the investors is discussed in detail through a reading of laws and regulations, commentaries of the lawyers or other authorities and archival documents.

The comprehensive categorization made in the Land Law of 1858 is our starting point. The Land Law of 1858 has been considered as one of the major and most decisive legal transformations of the *Tanzîmât*, since it was one of the main pivotal issues around which most agrarian issues turned in the following century.[24] Nevertheless, as opposed to previous studies, whose analysis of the property issue focused on the integration of agricultural lands into the capitalist

[24] Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987), p. 67.

economy,[25] this study will concentrate on an analysis of property ownership relations within urban space. Thus considering that this law is a compilation on *mirî* (State-owned) land located mostly in rural areas, the amendments following the law of 1858 and concentrating on succession, expropriation, the case of *vakıf* (endowed) property which is crucial in our understanding of Istanbul and the limits of property ownership of foreigners are the main concerns analyzed in the chapter. The question of *gedik* which was transformed in the nineteenth century into *mülk* (freehold) is also discussed in this chapter. A better understanding of these issues gives us an understanding of the legal aspects of property ownership, which in turn define the constraints within which the society could realize investments. The chronology and the attempt of schematization of the legal background to property ownership are included in Appendix A for this purpose. Nevertheless, going one step beyond the legal structure, this chapter also analyzes everyday practices not only through examples given in commentaries but also through complaints, operations and decisions revealed in the Ottoman State Archive documents.

The main question here is whether this century experienced a transformation of the status of land which weakened the State's connection to urban land, and enabled its integration into the market economy. Consequently the chapter will try to determine whether there was a shift between different

[25] See the works of Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi Toplu Eserler 1*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980) and Oya Sencer, Muzaffer Sencer, "Türkiye'de Toprak Mülkiyeti Sorunu", Karacan Armağanı, Istanbul, 1963. Huri İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858", *New Perspectives on Property and Land*, ed. by Roger Owen, (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, c2000), pp. 3-61, and *Constituting Modernity : Private Property in the East and West*, ed. by Huri İslamoğlu, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

categories of land as defined in the Land Law of 1858, which enabled its integration into the market, and will look for the means of this modification throughout this specific period. The case of companies, the expropriation based on public utility and mortgage issues are all discussed in this chapter in order to constitute a basis for an enhanced understanding of the legal framework in which the nineteenth-century urban transformation operated. Another important case to investigate was that of foreigners, whose numbers increased significantly throughout the nineteenth century. The last parts of the second chapter will analyze the case of those people who enjoyed capitulatory protection, or more specifically issues relating to their inheritance, to the property ownership of Ottoman subjects acquiring foreign nationality, or of Ottoman women married to foreign nationals and foreign women married to Ottoman subjects. Again, practices and complaints will be examined and the limits of foreign interference in the use of property ownership right will be investigated. Briefly, the chapter intends to relocate in its economic and urban context the issue of *vakıf* property in the nineteenth century, which has mostly been studied within the framework of the institutional history of the Ministry of Pious Endowments, as well as the cases of foreigners, which are usually analyzed within the context of the capitulations by legal scholars. Thus, the aim is to capture the new legislation on property ownership in the urban milieu, and to examine the practices and negotiations of investors or, in other words, to learn about their constraints and the way they were able to circumvent the law when necessary.

Chapter Three intends to contextualize the urban space under study and to follow the transformation of the urban fabric on both sides of the Golden Horn. The area was divided into four different regions, namely Pera, Pera-Galata which corresponds to the area between the Galata Tower and Tunnel Square in Pera, Galata, and Stamboul, on the southern side of the Golden Horn. The study of the urban fabric in each of these areas will enable us to learn about similarities, differences, time lags in the development of each region and to reconsider the transformation of Istanbul in its topographic and spatial dimension.

Infrastructural works undertaken by the State or by the municipality in these districts also determined the development of each side of the Golden Horn. The achievements of *Islâhât-ı Turûk Komisyonu* (Commission for the Improvement of Roads) and of the Sixth Circle municipality, whose undertakings formed the basis of the modernization of these districts, are compared. More importantly, however, from our data collected from the trade directories and plans of the time amounting overall to 1,448 commercial and apartment buildings, different quantitative analyses are made to delve into the peculiarities of each district and of their building stock. This concrete analysis enables us to raise questions on the cycle of investment in modern urban property and on the factors which shaped them. Moreover, the average height and size of some 561 buildings located in these regions and the reasons behind these differences and/or similarities are also direct inputs into the discussion of this issue. A survey of *vakıf* property put in public auctions will enable us to have a glimpse of the distribution of these 107 items in Galata, Pera and Stamboul. In qualitative terms,

two different income generating investments in urban space which aimed at the transformation of unused structures, the first one being that of the transformation of traditional structures into the Vakıf *hân*s built by the Ministry of Pious Endowments, and the second one, that of the transformation of the Taksim military barracks and of the exercise grounds of Talimhane into apartment buildings, after the passing of the mortgage law, are also brought into the picture to show the nature of the State's involvement in the modernization of Istanbul. The aim is a better understanding of the modernization of urban space in Istanbul, or more specifically of the "modern" and "traditional" regions located on each side of the Golden Horn, not only by an analysis of "state and society" through an evaluation of their respective involvement and relationships; but also by testing how far the model of "old" Stamboul versus "modern" Galata and Pera corresponds to our findings.

The fourth and final chapter, based on the information retrieved from the second and third chapters, aims to constitute a list of real estate owners[26] from among whom we have chosen to retrieve some of the biggest investors in terms of the size of their investments. A closer look at the list of the most important investors in Appendix T gives us important clues about their investments in urban property, and about the trajectories that these individuals or families followed. Among these investors buying in the central axis of Istanbul were Sultan Abdülhamid's chamberlain, Sarıcazâde Ragıb Pasha, the Syrian merchants Abûdzâde Brothers, the Catholic Armenian Azarian family, the Greek banker

[26] See Appendix S.

Christaki Zographos, or the Helbig family of Belgian businessmen. As stated in the beginning, this group constitutes an upper stratum of the bourgeoisie or an elite whose members' common traits were, besides being close to the administration, their financial power and their willingness to invest in urban property. To these names can also be added some companies, such as the Orosdi-Back department store in Bahçekapı or the American Bible House in Mercan. Among the names on the list, four different case studies were analyzed in detail, thanks to the wealth of available archival material: the earliest investors, the Camondos; the Levantine Lorando family; a foreign administrator at the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Emile Deveaux; and the Imperial Ottoman Bank itself, which illustrates the case of a company. While analyzing their capitalist investments in urban space, this chapter also tries to look at how they controlled, or tried to respond and adapt to, the urban development strategies of the State, and to trace their power relations in the negotiations they carried out on issues relating to urban space. The question of prestige or, in other words, the display of fortune and power by these individuals when investing in these buildings is yet another point addressed in this chapter. As a last point, the trajectories of these people and their presence in different areas of the city is also studied and commented on in order to obtain a more refined image of nineteenth-century Istanbul.

Briefly, this study tries to move beyond the works of Çelik,[27] Yerasimos, Pinon and Borie,[28] which were mainly based on municipal regulations, on the

[27] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1993.

infrastructural works carried out by the State or by municipalities, or on architectural styles; accordingly, this dissertation is an attempt to test at a micro level the macro-economic assumptions made by several scholars such as Tekeli,[29] Yücel,[30] and Yerasimos[31] on the effects of capitalism on urban space. Thus, this dissertation explores the nineteenth century urban transformation of Istanbul in all its materiality; including its capitalist property relations, legislation, reorganization of urban structures, application of new forms, physical patterns, functions, individual investments and through a study of the investors themselves.

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[28] Alain Borie, Pierre Pinon, Stéphane Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul au XIXe siècle. Rapport de synthèse septembre 1996*, Paris: Ecole d'Architecture de Paris La Défense, Bureau de la Recherche Architecturale, 1996.

[29] İlhan Tekeli, "19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü," *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri,* ed. by Paul Dumont, François Georgeon, trans. by Ali Berktay, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 19-30. Also İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Kent Planlama Pratiğinin Gelişimi ve Kültürel Mirasın Korunmasındaki Etkileri", *İslam Mimari Mirasını Koruma Konferansı = Conference on the Preservation of Architectural Heritage of Islamic Cities, 22-26 April 1985, İstanbul,* (Istanbul: İki Nokta, 1987), pp. 161-173.

[30] Atilla Yücel, "Typology of Urban Housing in 19th Century Istanbul", trans. by Işıl Kurtoğlu, *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme = Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective , Habitat II,* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996), pp. 298-312.

[31] The uncompleted study of Yerasimos on the analysis of quarters through registers kept by *kādı*s is an important one which can illuminate the early phases of the modernization process.

CHAPTER 2

ON PROPERTY OWNERSHIP IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the earlier stages of the *Tanzîmât* period, the *Hatt-ı Şerîf* of 26 Şaban 1255 (November 3, 1839) proclaimed that all subjects of the Empire would benefit from new institutions, which would insure their security of life, honor and fortune, and that, the State would levy regular taxes,[1] with the ultimate aim of increasing the prosperity and power of the Empire and of rationalizing the administration which was until then inconsistent. The idea behind this was the basis of the liberal economic doctrine that a person who felt secure in his fortune and free of worries would contribute to the wealth of the Empire.[2] Just after the proclamation of the *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* (Imperial Rescript) on 10 Cemâziyelâhir 1272 (February 18, 1856), in a memorandum[3] sent by Fuad Pasha to the Foreign Ministries of London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Saint-Petersburg and Florence, it was stated that a cadastral survey of buildings which would constitute the basis of an equitable repartition of the property tax in the Empire would be completed for the urban areas of the Empire.[4] Fuad Pasha also confirmed the clause of the *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* by announcing that a law

[1] A third point not discussed here was the military dimension.
[2] Chiha mentioned that the idea behind the issue of several legal regulations was to increase the value as well as the prosperity of the Empire's land. Nédjib H. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété immobilière en droit ottoman*, (Le Caire: Imp. El-Maaref, Neguib Mitri, 1906), p. 18.
[3] Grégoire Aristarchi, "Considérations sur l'exécution du Firman Impérial du 8 Février 1856", *Législation ottomane ou Recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman, 2ème partie : droit administratif,* vol. 2, (Constantinople: Demetrius Nicolaïdes, 1874), p. 33.
[4] Young claims that a first tentative cadastral survey in the 1860s could only be completed for Istanbul and Bursa. George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), vol. 6, p. 90.

concerning the property ownership of foreign inhabitants submitted to the Ottoman legislation and regulations would be promulgated.[5]

The Land Code of 7 Ramazan 1274 (April 21, 1858), which was a part of the *Tanzîmât* administrative and legal reforms carried out under the pressure of capitalist economy, aimed to codify State ownership over land and replaced the old *tımar* and *zeâmet* (feudal landholdings) beneficiaries with the State employees or *mal me'muru* until the creation of a title deeds or *tapu* system. From there on, the code abrogated all anterior decrees and *fetva*s, and became the sole regulation which had to be followed by the Sheikhulislam, imperial offices, courts and councils. The Land Code, which could be considered as a compilation of the codes used until then,[6] essentially dealt with the *mirî* (State) land, *mülk* (private property or freehold) being under the jurisdiction of Ottoman civil code and *vakıf* property falling under specific headings of Islamic law.[7] Although the aim of the code was basically to regulate and control agrarian lands and urban property remained secondary, it is important to start our analysis from there since the different categories of properties were described in its first seven clauses. Based on this section of the code, the rest of the chapter will focus on the ownership of these different kinds of property.

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[5] Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, "Hatti Humayun relatif aux réformes de l'Empire Ottoman", *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman : traités, conventions, arrangements, déclarations, protocoles, procès-verbaux, firmans, bérats, lettres patentes et autre documents relatifs au Droit public extérieur de la Turquie, 1300-1789,* (Paris : Librairie Cotillon, 1897), p. 87. "Comme les lois qui régissent l'achat, la vente et la disposition des propriétés immobilières sont communes à tous les sujets de mon Empire, il pourra être permis aux étrangers de posséder des propriétés foncières dans mes Etats, en se conformant aux lois et règlements de police, en acquittant les mêmes charges que les indigènes et après que les arrangements auront lieu avec les puissances étrangères." Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* pp. 7-14.

[6] Based on a petition found in the Ottoman State Archives (İ.MM 522), Kenanoğlu argued that the aim of this code was the standardization in its application and its revision according to the needs of the day. Mustafa M. Kenanoğlu, "1858 Arazi Kanunnamesinin Osmanlı Siyasal ve Toplumsal Yapısı Üzerindeki Etkileri (1858-1876)", (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2002), p. 10. It should be added here that the ultimate aim was of course the levy of taxes as mentioned in the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of 1839.

[7] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 21.

Categories of Land

The land in the Ottoman Empire had been divided into five different categories. *Mülk* or *arâzi-i memlûke*, *miri* or *arâzi-i emiriye*, *vakıf* or *arâzi-i mevkûfe*, *arâzi-i metrûke* and *arâzi-i mevât*. Padel and Steeg inform us that every piece of land as well as its category was inscribed on land registers kept in Istanbul since the reign of Sultan Süleyman and Murad III. The change in the category of the land was only possible with an imperial decision, or *firman*.[8]

Mülk

The owner of *mülk* had the right of freehold; he could at his wish sell, pawn, give or establish a *vakıf* on it. The *mülk* was transmitted by inheritance, or as opposed to other types of property, by testament. In the case of the absence of legal heirs, the land was returned to the Public Treasury (*Beytü'l-mâl*).[9] *Mülk* property was regulated by the civil code which was based on the religious law or Sharia.

Mirî land could be transformed into *mülk* in two different cases: either upon the establishment of a village or district by authorization of the Sultan (Art. 32), or

[8] W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation foncière*, (Paris: A. Pedone, 1904), p. 9.
[9] Literally meaning "the house of property/wealth," in Ottoman usage the term referred to a certain group of revenues belonging by law to the public treasury. These consisted of various categories of forfeited, escheated, and unclaimed property. The most important were property belonging to missing and absent persons; unclaimed or escheated inheritances; runaway slaves and stray cattle. Unclaimed inheritances were to be held for a period of time, variously determined, as a trust, to give the heirs the opportunity to assert and establish their claim. Only after their failure to do so did the money or estate become the property of the treasury. B. Lewis, "Bayt al-Māl, The Ottoman State", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), vol. 1, p. 1147. Belin informs us that in his time, the *Beyt'ül-mâl* was a subdivision of the Ministry of Finance dealing with the inheritances of orphans and of those without legal successors. Belin, *Journal asiatique*, 1861, p. 502, quoted from Young, "Code des terres", *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 46 also in Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 13.

through a *temlîk-i sahîh*, a contract granted by the Sultan to the prospective owner (Art. 2). The owner had to pay a tax corresponding to the value of the land to the *Beytü'l-mâl* (Public Treasury) if the latter was short of money. However, if the Treasury was not in need of money, the owner had to pay double this amount.[10] The corresponding deed was called a *temlîknâme*.[11] The use of the right to own a *mülk*, just as for *mirî* land, was insured through a title deed or *mülk senedi* i.e. a *tapu* regulated by the laws issued on 8 Cemâziyelâhir 1275 (December 14, 1858)[12], 28 Receb 1291 (September 10, 1874)[13] and 9 Rebiyülâhir 1293 (April 5, 1876).[14]

This category of property alone enjoyed real and full property rights whereas for *mirî* and *vakıf* properties, the owners could only acquire the right of use or *tasarruf*.[15]

Mirî

The *mirî* land owned by the State was administered by the *Beytü'l-mâl* and after the abolition of the *tımar*s and *zeâmet*, the right of use of *mirî* land was granted directly by State employees. The owner of the right of use took the title deed or *tapu* in return for a fee called *mu'accele*. With the law of 7 Şaban 1276 (February 29, 1860),

[10] Padel and Steeg, *ibid.*, Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 31, from Ali Haydar Efendi, *Şerh-i Cedîd Kānûn-ı Arazi,* (İstanbul: 1311), p. 16
[11] *Temlîk* is a term which refers to the transfer of property. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 32.
[12] "Defter-Khané, titres possessoires (tapou) pour mirié et mevkoufé" in Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, pp. 93-100.
[13] The law regulated the issue of regular title deeds for *mülk* properties including land, buildings, trees, houses, shops, vineyards and gardens as well as for *mülk* properties established on *mukāta'a* and *mirî* lands. See Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, pp. 100-103.
[14] "Defter-Khané, titres des immeubles vakoufs moussakafat et moustagalat " in Young, *ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 104-109. Thereafter all title deeds of *vakıf* properties would be issued by the Land Registry as was the case for the *mirî, mevkūfe* and *mülk* properties.
[15] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 23.

those who had the right of use of *mirî* land had to acquire a title deed just like *mülk* owners. According to this law, the *rakaba* or naked property owned by the *Beytü'l-mâl* was limited to impose some obligations and to ensure the return of the land in the absence of heirs or due to the unfulfilled obligations of the possessor. The owner of *mirî* land could hand down property to the following generations even though they were more limited than *mülk* and could not be transmitted by testament.

As the possessor of *mirî* land was considered to be just a tenant of the State, the construction of buildings on that land was subject to the approval of the competent authority. Article 31 of the Land Code declared that the State was authorized by law to demolish any building erected on *mirî* land without preliminary permission. Nevertheless, taking into consideration economic reasons, the State indulged people who committed infringements until 1300 (1884). A vizierial circular, which was issued in 26 October 1300 (1884) and sent to the governors of the provinces, stated that buildings constructed without permission before 1300/1884 would remain in place but would have to pay a tax equivalent to the tithe. The same circular invited the administrators to strictly follow the law and to stop constructions on *mirî* land which had not obtained preliminary approval. But this warning was not sufficiently adhered to and buildings continued to rise. Another circular dated 1311 (1895), issued by the General Directorate of the Cadastre or Land Registry to all administrators of the provinces,[16] asked for a complete list of the buildings constructed since 1300 and ordered that if the buildings did not cause any inconvenience, their owners should pay, in addition to the tax, a fine which

[16] Halis Eşref Efendi, *Külliyât-ı Şehr-i Kānûn-ı Arâzi*, 1316, 2nd. ed., p. 247 quoted from Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 152.

corresponded to double the amount of the tithe. All buildings constructed later than 1300 were to be demolished by State order.[17]

Vakıf

Vakıf lands were of two possible origins: either *mülk* or *mirî*, the latter requiring the approval of the Sultan. While the first category was not administered by the Land Code, the latter was subject to the same legislation as *mirî* land. The term *evkāf-ı mazbûta* referred to the *vakıf*s of the sovereign which were administered directly by the Ministry of Pious Endowments (*Evkāf Nezâreti*); those belonging to the high dignitaries and that were managed by administrators under the supervision of the Ministry of Pious Endowments were called *evkāf-ı mülhaka*. For our purpose it is important to distinguish the different categories of *vakıf*s:

Those used directly for charity purposes such as mosques, hospitals, schools. These buildings were not used for commercial purpose and could not be used by individuals. They were known as *müsessesât-ı hayriye* (charitable institutions).

Another category consisted of property that could be rented to third parties and whose revenues were used for the maintenance of *vakıf* properties. Those in rural areas such as vineyards, gardens or movables such as money or the equipment necessary for the execution of a profession or *gedik* were named *mustagalât*,[18] while apartment houses or any kind of property in urban areas covered by a roof were

[17] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 151-156.
[18] *Mustagalât* (plural of *mustagal*) which literally means "creating revenue" also comprised cash money whose interest was used, as well as the rent of tools, that is of *gedik*s. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 59-60. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 251.

called *musakkāfât*.[19] They were rented for a short term or conceded in return for some fees and were classified under three different categories according to the type of revenue they provided.

- Those rented to individuals on a monthly or annual basis under a rent contract named *icâre-i vâhideli*. The rent contract could not be longer than three years for agricultural land and farmland, and not longer than one year for houses.[20] Nevertheless, from the Hegirian year 1020 (1611/12) on,[21] it came to be accepted that in the case of devastation or fire, if the foundation's resources were not sufficient to reconstruct the property, the administration of the *vakıf* could decide to rent it for a longer period against a double charge (*bi'l-icâreteyn*) or a fixed amount of money (*mukāta'a*), with the approval of the judge (*kādı*) and that of the sovereign, expressed through an *irâde-i seniye* (imperial decree).[22] Later, this transfer between categories started to be abused; even if the property was in good condition, it was transferred to *icâreteynli* and *mukāta'a* at the expense of *vakıf* rights.[23]
- Those whose rights of use were transmitted through a double rent or *bi'l icâreteyn,* also known as *icâreteynlu.* The first fee, *icâre-i mu'accele,* covered the value of the property and was paid when the *vakıf* was

[19] *Sakf* means roof in Arabic, and the word *musakkāfât* (plural of *musakkāf*) is used for all buildings but more particularly urban properties. Young, *Corps de droit…,* p. 115. By definition, although the *mustagalât* also comprised the *musakkāfât*, their use indicated two different categories. For definitions on the *vakıf* see also Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf fi ahcam-il awkafs, Lois régissant les propriétés dédiées (Awkafs)*, trans. By C.G. Stavridès and Simon Dahdah, (Marseille: L. Sauvion, 1307 [1890]), pp. 6-7.
[20] Ömer Hilmi noted that the term for the location of *icâre-i vâhideli mülk* was determined by the 7th clause of the Law on the Rental of Buildings issued in 10 Rebiyülevvel 1291 (April 27, 1874). See "İcâr-ı 'akâr nizâmnâmesidir", *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 3, pp. 511-517.
[21] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, (İstanbul : Tanin Matbaası, 1325 (1909)), p. 5.
[22] Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* p. 85, quoted also in Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 251-252.
[23] Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 115.

transferred, and the second was an annual fee of a smaller amount called *icâre-i mü'eccele*. The possessor committed himself to restoring the property. The right of use was similar to that applied in the case of *mirî* land. The possession right acquired through this deal was for life and could be transferred to a third party (*ferağ*), or pawned and transmitted by inheritance to children.[24]

Ömer Hilmi, who also worked at the Tax Office,[25] reported that the reason behind such a practice was the shortage of money available to the *vakıf*s for the reconstruction of devastated buildings. As the annual contract was not a sufficient guarantee for the tenant to invest in the reconstruction of the building, and as there was need of investors to rebuild devastated properties, *kādı*s, after an investigation, had had to approve the prolongation of the contract from an annual basis to life terms since the seventeenth century.[26] The *vakıf* was put up for auction and if the price reached the real value of the building the judge decided if the *vakıf* would be transferred by *bi'l-icâreteyn* or *mukāta'a* and this verdict was submitted to the Ministry of Pious Endowments, which in turn submitted it to the approval of the sovereign. It was only after this approval that the title deed was delivered to

[24] See the 4th clause of "Musakkāfât ve mustagalât-ı evkāfın mu'amelâtı hakkında nizâmnâmedir, 9 Cemâziyelâhir 1287 (September 6, 1870)", *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 170. Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf...,* p. 55.

[25] BOA, A.MKT.MHM 487-67, "Reji İdaresi tarafından kiralanan musakkāfat-ı mevkufe için kıymetine nazaran binde on kira bedeli alınması ile söz konusu idarenin eline geçen her türlü emlaktan maliyenin haberdar edilmesi. 1303.R.06 (January 12, 1886)." From Karinabad in Bulgaria, Ömer Hilmi Efendi (1843-1889) was also at the head of the Court of Appeals, an adviser to the Evkāf and a member of the Commission who prepared the *Mecelle* with Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. Kâmil Yaşaroğlu, "Ömer Hilmi Efendi (Karinabadî), *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by. Ekrem Çakıroğlu, (İstanbul : Yapı Kredi Yayınları (YKY), 1999), vol. 2, p. 424.

[26] Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf...,* p. 55, quoted also in Padel and Steeg, *De la législation...,* p. 254.

the possessor.[27] In this deal, if it was decided that the *vakıf* would fall under the category of *bi'l- icâreteyn*, the *mu'accele,* a corresponding fee which was calculated based on the construction cost of the building, was paid. The annual fee or *mü'eccele* was a small amount which corresponded to 1‰ of the property's value,[28] and which was considered as a reminder to the possessor that he did not own the property. Moreover, it was also considered as a renewal of the contract for both parties. If this annual fee was not paid, the *vakıf*'s administration had the right to take the property back.[29] Sıdkı, in his introduction, claims that people did not find the conditions satisfactory enough to invest in renovations and that consequently the expected improvements did not take place. According to him, the people who paid the *mu'accele* to take over the property and invested in hundreds or thousands of liras to rebuild or renovate the building expected to be able to transfer it to their children or heirs. Moreover, in cases of debt, the option of paying the debt after the death of the owner with the sale of the building did not exist. Thus at the death of the *icâreteynli* property owner, the property was considered *mahlûl* (escheated), and was returned to the Pious Endowments.[30] However, inheritance was extended with a new regulation to comprise

[27] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 64.
[28] See the document on the property of the Tobacco Regie where the amount of annual rent was calculated when the property was transferred from *icâreteyn* to *mukāta'a*. BOA, A.MKT.MHM 487-67.
[29] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 254-255.
[30] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, p. 7.

relatives other than children, such as grandchildren, parents, brothers, sisters and spouses on 2 Zilkāde 1285 (June 10, 1867).[31]

Ömer Hilmi informs us that the transfer to *icâreteynli* graduately became the rule and even though it did not conform to the law, properties in good condition were transferred to *icâreteynli* to satisfy personal interest. He also claims that the establishment of *gedik*s 150 years earlier had also led to the weakening of the *vakıf* rights on property.[32] On the other hand, since for public works institutions, such as hospitals or schools, one could not talk of transfer, sale, or loss of the property, the status of *bi'l-icâreteyn* was transformed into *mukata'a* with the approval of the sovereign based on an *irâde* of 16 Ramazan 1299 (August 1, 1882).[33]

- Those called *mukāta'alı* consisted of land owned by the *vakıf* whereas the buildings were owned by a particular under the status of *mülk*. The annual fee, which was considered as a compensation for a different usage and for the rights of the *vakıf* on land, a fixed payment amounting to 1% of the declared value,[34] was called *icâre-i zemin* (land rent) or *mukāta'a*. Thus the land became a kind of secondary property accompanying the buildings. As long as the buildings on it remained and the fee was regularly paid, the rights of possession were transferred to the new purchaser as *mülk* properties. In this case, buildings which were owned by the possessor and not by the *vakıf,*

[31] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 2, pp. 263-266. For the *vakıf* case see Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* pp. 58-61.
[32] Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* p. 57.
[33] Young, *Corps de droit…,* p. 116. Ömer Hilmi, who complained about the transfer of *vakıf* properties from Muslim institutions to non-Muslims and warned about troubles which could occur in the future, probably had in mind this application of the law. Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* p. 57.
[34] Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* p. 87.

as was the case for *icâreteynli* properties, were named *mukāta'alı vakıf* (*vakıf* on a fixed fee).[35] The disappearance of the buildings did not give way to the loss of the land as long as the *mukāta'a* was paid. Nevertheless the land could only be transferred by inheritance to children. Thus for a *mukāta'alı* land to be returned to the *vakıf*, either the buildings had to be devastated, the fee of *mukāta'a* ceased to be paid or the possessor had to have died without heirs of the first degree. As long as the buildings remained, even if the possessor did not have any heirs at his death the land which was related to the buildings was no longer considered as *mahlûl* and therefore was not returned to the Ministry of Pious Endowments but to the Treasury.[36]

Whatever the type of contract chosen, the aim of transferring the possession rights was for the renter to take charge of repairing the property, and auctions became the means of renting the *vakıf* property to the highest bidder in order to increase the revenues of the Ministry of Pious Endowments. Nazif Öztürk, a former director at the Ministry who analyzed the transformation of the institution during the period of modernization, reported that in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the percentage in the overall budget of the Ministry of revenues derived from the rent of property, was around 47.92 %.[37] Thus, it is not surprising to read a decision of the Parliament taken in 1910 concerning property given, in some way, without receiving any money in return or rented for only a very small amount. The parliament first

[35] The transfer of a *vakıf* property from *icâreteynli to mukāta'a* would mean the loss of the buildings on it. To compensate for the corresponding amount, an imperial decree dated 16 Ramazan 1299 (August 1, 1882) stated that in such cases the *mukāta'a* or the fixed amount should be calculated as 10 piastres for each 1,000 piastres mentioned as the official estimated value in the cadastral registry. Ömer Hilmi, *Ithaf-ul-akhlaf…,* p. 89, quoted also in Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 69.
[36] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 263-265. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 69.
[37] Nazif Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 135.

forbade thereon the transfer of property without prior announcement from the Ministry and considering that it was not possible to take back the properties rented many years ago which had been transferred to other parties, it ordered the Land Registry Office to prepare a register describing the properties, their location and real value in order to ask for an increase of their rent. If the renter did not accept to pay the difference, the parliament instructed the *Evkāf* to go to court to take back the property. It is also interesting to note that, in all this, the case of poor people living in properties not exceeding 20,000 piastres in value was put apart in order to be reconsidered separately.[38]

Similarly, keeping in mind that property in Istanbul belonged mostly to the *vakıf* category,[39] a decree of Abdülhamid II stated that *vakıf* and *mirî* property were being converted to *mülk* on the basis of fake documents. This switch between categories was particularly widespread in Istanbul and its surroundings so that even properties belonging to the Sultan were threatened by it. The Sultan's decree continued by drawing attention to the British example and claiming that property was one of the reasons behind a country's wealth and power, and concluded by ordering the careful maintenance of *mirî* and *vakıf* properties.[40]

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[38] BOA, MV 145-16 "Bedelli veya bedelsiz olarak tefviz olunmuş mahlûl emlâk hakkında yapılacak muâmele", 19.L.1328 (October 24, 1910).

[39] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 374.

[40] "Ma'rûz-ı çâker-i kemineleridir ki
Reside-i dest-i ta'zîm olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiye-i sadâretpenâhileri manzûr-ı 'âlî buyrulmuş ve emlâk ve arâzi-i vakfiye ve emîriyenin muhâfazasında lüzûm ve ehemmiyet derkâr olduğu halde bir müddeten beri buna i'tinâ olunmayarak sened ü berât ve sahte evrâk ile bu kâbil emlâk ve 'arâzi mülke tahvîl edilmekde olduğundan ve bu gibi mu'âmelât İstanbul ve cıvarında da kesretle cereyân etmekde ve emlâk-ı hümâyûna dahi tecâvüz vukû'bulmakda edüğünden ve halbuki emlâk ve 'arâzi-i vakfiye ve emîriye hakkında müttehiz olan usûl ve kā'ide-i kadîmenin muhâfazası lâzımeden olub hatta İngiltere'nin esbâb-ı servet ve kuvvetinden biri de bu sûretle emlâk ve arâzi hakkındaki usûl ve kā'ide-i kadime-i mutahhazenin kemâl-i dikkatle muhâfazası kaziyesi olduğundan ba'dezîn bu bâbda bir kâ'ide-i sâlime vaktiyle vaz'ıyla emlâk ve 'arâzi-i mezkûrenin muhâfazası esbâbının cidden istikmâli zımnında keyfiyetin meclis-i mahsûs-ı vükelâca 'arîz ve 'amîk müzâkeresi şerefsudur

Metrûke and *Mevât*

The land called *metrûke* (abandoned) designates the land used for common activities; the owner was always the State or *Beyt'ül-mal* and the land was used collectively as pasture, woods or public roads. The land called *mevât* (waste), on the other hand, designates unused land, such as mountains or rocky lands. When the land was cultivated or vivified according to Article 103 of the Land Code, when trees were planted, the soil was plowed, channels or ditches were dug or walls were built to ensure protection from flooding, the land could be transferred to the *mülk* category with the approval of the Sultan. However, this transfer was not automatic and only the right of possession could be given to the person who revived the land, and the land accordingly acquired the status of *mirî*.

For our purpose, it is important to go into the details of the land which was filled in and reclaimed from the sea, and treated as *mevât*. If this action was undertaken with the approval of the Sultan, the land became *mülk* according to Article 132.[41] If the land remained unused during the following three years, the person would loose his right and the Sultan could assign the *mülk* to somebody else. Padel and Steeg argue that the land that was filled in the sea for the harbour facilities in Salonica and Istanbul was considered to be the *mülk* of the Port Companies in return for their infrastructural work.[42] Nonetheless, one should be cautious when

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buyrulan irâde-i seniye-i cenâb-ı hilâfetpenâhi icâb-ı 'âlîsinden bulunmuş olmağla olbâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliü'l-emrindir. Fi 5 Muharrem 322 – 10 Mart 320. Ser kâtib-i hazret-i şehriyârî bende Tahsin."
BOA, İ.ML 95-66, "Emlâk-ı vakfiyenin ve emiriyenin mülk 'arâzisi haline getirilmesine engel olunması", 1322.M.05 (March 22, 1904).

[41] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 169.

[42] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 42.

claiming that companies had full possession of the land, since each company signed a particular agreement with the State, as we will see in detail for the case of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in the last chapter. Companies only possessed the right of use, and a clause mentioning that the land would be returned to the State at the end of their concession was usually added to the contract. Nedjib Chiha also stressed this point in his study when dealing with the wharf companies founded by imperial decree and regulated by a concession. He illustrated his point through the most recent case, that of the construction of Haydarpaşa wharf. According to Article 6 of the company's concession, vacant land owned by the State could be used —permanently or temporarily— free of charge by the company. During the period of concession, the company had the exclusive and full right of using the plots which were filled in the sea as well as expropriated ones and the land entrusted to the company. Land obtained by filling in the sea, and which was not used for any purpose, would also be considered as property of the company but could not be sold and would have to be used in accordance with the sanitary regulations. At the end of the concession, all the property together with the wharfs, docks, warehouses and outbuildings had to be returned to the State without any charge.[43]

Again, according to Article 132, if the land was filled in without imperial approval, the land would be considered as *mirî* and would be sold to the first person who would undertake the action if it was not put up for auction. Based on the term "sell" used in the clause, Nedjib H. Chiha argued that the new owner did not acquire the right of use but had full possession of the land which turned out to be classified in

[43] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 126.

the *mülk* category.[44] As indicated in the instructions of the Administration of the Land Registry dated 28 Safer 1311 (August 29, 1309 / September 10, 1893), if buildings were erected on the land, the amount corresponding to the value of the buildings would be returned to the owner whereas ownership of the land would revert to the State.[45]

Here, though it is not our main concern, it is interesting to note that according to a regulation dated 9 Rebiyülâhir 1280 (September 23, 1863), the sea filled in and transferred into land as quays (*rıhtım*) along the Bosphorus or the suburban coastline would acquire the same status as the seaside property (*yalı*) itself, either *mülk* or *vakıf*. The size of the land acquired was indicated by an additional passage on the title deed.[46]

Gedik

Before completing this section, though they were not mentioned in the Land Code, it is also worthwhile going through the *gedik*s,[47] which turned out to be a form of property, as by the end of the Ottoman era, *gedik* documents had become almost as good as title deeds.[48] Initially, around the Hegirian year 1140 (1727/28),[49] the term referred to the materials and tools of a shop or workshop necessary to practice a trade

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 124. See also pp. 480-481.
[45] *Muharrerât-ı 'umûmiye*, 1311-1316, p. 6 reported from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 43.
[46] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 169, fn. 199.
[47] Redhouse defines the word *gedik* as a shop or place of business in any building, held by patent or warrant assigning it to a special use or ownership. Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, new edition, (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1987), p. 1531.
[48] Engin Deniz Akarlı, "*Gedik*: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct, and Monopoly among Istanbul Artisans, 1750-1850", *Wissenschaftskolleg Jahrbuch 1985/86*, p. 231.
[49] Akgündüz argues that though the *gedik*s were anterior to this date, at that time, the word *gedik* started to designate a monopoly and privilege of trade. Ahmed Akgündüz**,** *İslâm Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Istanbul : Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1996), p. 508.

in a specific place. This type of *gedik* was called *müstekār gedik* or fixed *gedik*, whereas those which did not rely on a specific workshop were referred to as *havâî gedik*, literally meaning "in the air".

Later, *gedik* came to designate both the necessary material of a certain profession and the specific place where that profession was executed. According to Chiha as well as Steeg and Padel, the *gedik*s, the establishment of which dated back to two centuries, were legalized due to the influence of the guilds.[50] Once a shopkeeper wanted to ensure possession of his shop for a long time, he asked the guild to declare the material as *gedik*. If his petition was accepted, he would obtain a certificate (*gedik hücceti*) and could no longer move from this shop where the tools were appointed as *gedik*. The material which was considered as *mülk* could be sold, pawned or constituted as *vakıf*. In order for the *gedik* to be realized, the consent of the shop owner had to be ensured. Thus an agreement with the owner, or *mütevelli* if it was a *vakıf*, was made and the contract was transferred to the status of *bi'l-icâreteyn*. The shopkeeper agreed to pay a first amount called *mu'accele* corresponding to the value of the property and an annual rent (*mü'eccele*) of a smaller amount. After this contract was made, none of the prospective owners could revoke it. Thus the *gedik* could be considered as a right based on others' property and could only be nullified by the destruction of the shop or by the owner giving up this right himself.

[50] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 77. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 267.

Sıdkı,[51] who worked at the Land Registry Office, recounted the historical development of the *vakıf* and *gedik* relationship and explained how property was transferred step by step to the possession of the *gedik* owner. Once the property was transferred to *icâreteynli*, *gedik* owners did not consent to an increase in the annual fee, *mü'eccele,* and had to take over the reparations and taxes of the shops, initially one of the responsibilities of the *mütevelli* of the *vakıf*, which in time had lost interest in these properties.[52] The example of a *vakıf* owning 28 different units of property but which could not enjoy any revenue from 21 of them clearly shows the inefficiency of the system. Since the amount was not important, the *mü'eccele* was no longer collected, while on the other hand, the transfer of the property to the heirs was not registered regularly and the names of 80-100 years ago still remained unchanged in the registers. Even if after several years the *mütevelli* decided to ask for the unpaid amount, most often the cost of going to court exceeded the amount required. The *gedik* owner, taking advantage of these circumstances, ceased to pay the annual payment. Consequently this fact resulted in the disinterest of the *vakıf* to such an extent that sometimes the name of the *vakıf* to which the property belonged was unknown by the *gedik* owner.[53]

The owner of a *gedik* also benefited from a privilege that the guild provided him with, and which allowed him to prevent anybody else from practicing the same

[51] Hüseyin Hatemi claims that the first secretary of the administrative council of the *Evkāf*, who wrote a pamphlet on the administration of the *vakıf*s entitled *Hatırât: Memâlik-i Osmaniyye'de kâin Evkāf'ın sûret-i idâresi hakkında bâzı mütâla'ât havîdir* printed in Istanbul, in 1324, could be the same person. Hüseyin Hatemi, *Medeni Hukuk Tüzel Kişileri, I, Giriş, Tarihi Gelişim, Eski Vakıflar*, (İstanbul: Sulhi Garan Matbaası, 1979), p. 367.
[52] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, p. 54.
[53] *Ibid.,* pp. 90-92.

profession on the same street.[54] As Akarlı stated in his detailed article on the *gedik*s between 1750 and 1840, *mukāta'a* and especially, *icâreteyn* arrangements became commonplace in eighteenth-century Istanbul.[55] He also describes the long struggles of Selim III and Mahmud II to break the monopolistic tendencies of *gedik* owners.[56] Finally, the establishment of new *gedik*s was banned after 1247 (1830/1831), but the validity of the previous *gedik*s which could be proved by a deed issued before that date was recognized. Consequently, *gedik*s founded after 1247 were considered as null and void (Art. 5) with the exception of flour merchants', bakers' and tobacco sellers' *gedik*s of the capital in Galata, Eyüp and Üsküdar (Art. 9). Moreover, the law dated 8 Zilhicce 1277 (June 17, 1861) which focused mainly on the *mülk gedik*s, forbade explicitly the delivery of new *gedik* certificates and the renewal of *mahlûl gedik*s of the *havâî* category, that is those which were not assigned to a shop (Art. 16). In order to ensure a close follow up of *gedik* matters, the law assigned all transfer, inheritance, sales and donations to one court, the Sharia court of Istanbul, with the exception of mortgage issues which could be followed by local courts. [57] It seems that the banning of the *gedik*s in 1861 was not really sufficient to regulate the system, since both Sıdkı, in his book,[58] and Mehmed Said, in a letter sent from the Ministry of the Land Registry to the *Meclis-i Mahsûs* (Privy Council),[59] mentioned that some of the property were not used anymore by the *gedik* owners but had been

[54] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation...,* pp. 267-268.
[55] Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Gedik: A Bundle of Rights and Obligations for Istanbul Artisans and Traders, 1750-1840" in *Law, Anthropology, and the Constitution of the Social, Making Persons and Things*, ed. by Alain Pottage and Martha Mundy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 182.
[56] See particularly Akarlı, *ibid.*, pp. 188-196.
[57] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété...,* pp. 82-86. For the text of the law see Osman Nuri Ergin, "Ber-vech-i mülkiyet tasarruf olunan gedikler hakkında nizâmnâme", *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, (Istanbul: İ.B.B. Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), vol. 4, pp. 1749-1752.
[58] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, pp. 48-49.
[59] BOA, İ.MMS 156, "Gediklerin ilgāsı hakkındaki kānûnun muvakkaten yürürlüğe konulması", 22 Ra 1331 (March 1, 1913).

transformed into houses, gardens or *hân*s. This discrepancy between the documents and the reality gives us an idea of the chaos reigning over property rights in Istanbul at that time. The law of 1913[60] included the comments by Sıdkı on the abolition of *gedik*s. Sıdkı did not want to be unfair to *gedik* owners who had invested in property and he proposed to merge the property and the *gedik* and the name of the *gedik* owner under the condition that he paid a certain amount of money for the property. Indeed the third and fourth articles of the law regulated this transfer in the name of the *gedik* owner. The amount paid to the *mülk* owner was calculated on the annual rent, 100 piastres were paid for each 3 piastres. If the rent was not known, 1/30 of the registered value or if not registered, of the estimative value was paid as compensation to the *mülk* owner.[61]

Sıdkı concluded his book by saying that after such a transformation, it was evident that the word *gedik* would not be used anymore and that a mention of "owned after transformation" ("*tahvilen tasaruf olunan*") would be needed to distinguish it from other title deeds.[62] Even if the word was used less, once the *mülk* was transferred to the *gedik* owner, it would not have led to a definite elimination of the *gedik*s in Istanbul. That had to wait for the Republican period, when, in 1935, the government enacted a law which obliged the *Evkāf* to relegate their rights to the *gedik*-deed holders in return for monetary compensation. The multiplicity of claims

[60] "Loi provisoire concernant la supression des Guédiks", *Lois provisoires sur les immeubles*, (Constantinople: Imp. Archak Garoyan, 1913), pp. 1-3. For the Turkish text see Osman Nuri Ergin, "Gediklerin İlgası Hakkında Kânûn-ı Muvakkāt", *Mecelle*…., vol. 4, pp. 1753-1756 or BOA, İ.MMS 156.
[61] "Loi provisoire concernant la supression des Guédiks", *ibid.*, p. 2 and Osman Nuri Ergin, "Gediklerin İlgası Hakkında Kânun-ı Muvakkāt", *Mecelle*…, vol. 4, p. 1754.
[62] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, pp. 98-99.

on the same property was at length resolved.[63] The observations by Cemal Tutel in 1938 on the continuation of the *gedik* under the name of *hava parası* ("air money") paid to the former renter confirm the argument.[64]

Cadastral Registration: Title Deeds

Until 1255/1839, the date of the abolition of the *tımar* and *zeâmet,* land was distributed through fief owners; from 1263/1846 on this was done solely through *mültezîm*s (land contractors) and *muhassıl*s (tax collectors). After the promulgation of the Land Code in 1274/1858, State employees or *mâl me'mûrları* were exclusively assigned to deliver title deeds in the name of the Land Registry. Until 1293/1876, the Ministry of Pious Endowments had the right to issue title deeds for *vakıf* property; but the laws of 6 Receb 1292 (August 8, 1875)[65] and 9 Rebiyülevvel 1293 (April 4, 1876)[66] gave the exclusivity for all title deeds, including urban and rural *vakıf* property, to the Land Registry. The title deeds of *mirî* and *mevkûfe* properties were administered by the *tapu* regulation dated 8 Cemâziyelevvel 1275 (December 14, 1858),[67] the instructions on title deeds of *mirî* property issued on 7 Şaban 1276 (February 29, 1860),[68] the ordinance on the deliverance of certificates of *mevkûfe* and *vakıf* property in the provinces dated 25 Ramazan 1281 (February 21, 1865),[69] and a last one for title deeds of *vakıf* properties, delivered in the capital and issued on 7

[63] Akarlı, "Gedik: Implements …, p. 231.
[64] He added that this payment was particularly widespread among porters. Cemal Tutel, *Tasarruf ve Gedikler Hakkında Umumî Malumât*, (Galata: Ege Basımevi, 1937), pp. 19-20.
[65] *Düstûr,* 1st series, vol. 3, pp. 452-456.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 463-467.
[67] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 171.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-196.
[69] *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 1, pp. 245-250. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-232.

Cemâziyelâhir 1287 (September 7, 1870). Thus one could certify one's ownership of any property through a title deed. However, this did not mean that the titles previously delivered by *mültezîm*s, the Ministry of Pious Endowments or the Sharia courts were no longer valid. As long as these documents had the seal or the signature of a recognized authority, they could also be transferred to the new *tapu* system.[70]

The sale[71] or transfer (*ferağ)*[72] of property, either *mülk* or *miri,* was regulated by the law of 28 Receb 1291/28 Ağustos 1290 (September 9, 1874)[73] and certified by a title deed or *sened-i hakāni*. According to Article 11 of this law, the seller had to produce an '*ilm ü haber* (certificate) signed by the neighborhood *muhtâr* and the *imâm* and had to submit it for cadastral registration to a commission composed of a judge, Land Registry and *Evkāf* employees, and a member of the municipality.[74] The approval of the commission, according to Steeg and Padel, was a mere administrative formality and the transfer could not be refused as long as it conformed to laws and regulations. For instance, before the regulation of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867), being a foreign subject constituted reason enough for the refusal of a transfer of property. [75] Even after the application of this regulation, a circular dated 7 Nisan

[70] See Article 11 of the regulation and Articles 1 and 10 in the instructions regarding the title deed. See also Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 223.
[71] Chiha reported that "the sale of *mülk* properties did not require any approval from the commission but should be registered at the Land Registry to prevent abuses." According to Halis Eşref Efendi (p. 274) the Supreme Court of Appeal approved this decision dated 9 Rebiyülevvel 1306 (November 13, 1888) of the commission which was in charge to clarify the first article of the 28 Receb 1291 (September 10, 1874) regulation stating the invalidity of the transactions which did not take place in the presence of the Cadastral authorities. For this discussion see Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 242-245.
[72] *Ferağ* was not considered as a sale but as a transfer of possession rights of a *mirî* land or *vakıf* property to a third party in exchange for a certain amount of money or free of charge. The term also designated the official formality at the Land Registry. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 234-235.
[73] *Düstûr,* 1st series, vol. 3, p. 447. Reported from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,,* p. 118.
[74] A circular from the Land Registry dated 3 Kānûn-ı sânî 1305 (January 15, 1890) stated that for the capital, an *ad hoc* commission *of* the Land Registry would be in charge of land transfer registration. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 239.
[75] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 122.

1307 (April 19, 1891) notified the Land Registry to ensure that the transfer of land to Montenegrins and Rumanians was refused since, as we will see below, no protocol had been signed with these two countries.[76] In 1893, even when the State decided to facilitate the paperwork on matters relating to property and did not ask for identity certificates for Ottoman subjects in the provinces, the procedure for foreigners remained the same.[77] The aim of such a decision was to differentiate foreigners who "legally and politically"[78] did not have the right of acquiring property in their own names.

The procedure for Istanbul should have remained the same since a circular, this time issued by the Grand Vizier himself on 7 Zilkāde 1327 (November 20, 1909), informed the Ministry of the Interior on the procedures to follow in selling and transferring by inheritance the properties owned by non-Muslims in the surrounding districts of Istanbul, such as Kartal, the Princes' Islands, Gebze, Şile and Beykoz. Christians living in these districts were to ask the *muhtâr* for their identity certificates whereas those living in Istanbul and owning property were to obtain it from their Patriarchate and submit it to the *imâm* and *muhtâr* who would then issue the official document needed for these formalities.[79] Jews, on the other hand,

[76] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 246-247.
[77] BOA, DH.MKT 3-73, "Oturdukların yerin dışında bir mahalde emlak satın almak isteyen Osmanlı vatandaşlarından emlâkın alım, satım, füruğ ve intikālinde tezkere-i 'Osmanî celbine gerek olmadığı fakat ecnebilerle ilgili usûlün yürürlükte olduğu", 1310.L.28 (April 15, 1893).
[78] "… kānûnen ve siyâseten hakk-ı istimlâkden memnû' olanların devâm-ı memnû'iyetleri içün tahkikāt icrâsı nüfûs tezkerelerinin ibrâzına vâbeste edüğüne binâ'en…" BOA, DH.MKT 3-73, *ibid.*, "Dâhiliye Mektûbî Kalemi müsvedâtına mahsûs varaka", gurre-i Ramazan, 1310/ 7 Mart 1309 (March 19, 1893).
[79] BOA, DH.MUI 41-1-6, "İstanbul vilâyetinde mülhâk kazâlar dâhilinde gayr-ı Müslim ahâliye âid 'arâzi ve emlâkın ferağ ve intikāline dâir ma'lûmât", 23.Za.1327 (December 6, 1909).

continued to acquire their *'ilm-ü haber* from the *imâm* and *muhtâr* as was the case for Muslims.[80]

The Land Registry officially recognized the transfer of property based on a declaration by the above mentioned commission, which attested to the transfer of properties between both parties. The procedure for foreigners was described in a document written by the Office of Mixed Legal Affairs at the Foreign Ministry in 1891. To buy and sell property in Istanbul, foreigners had to obtain from their consulates an '*ilm ü haber* (certificate) which included not only personal information like the name, reputation, address, profession and nationality of the owner, but also provided the details of the existing property, including its type, size, location and value. Having received the approval of the Office and the receipts of tax payments,[81] the foreigner had then to apply to the Land Registry to register the property. Failing this, the procedure necessary for the sale or inheritance of the property would not be executed.[82] Thus, the State aimed to ensure the payment of charges, fees and taxes; moreover it gained a direct control on property and increased the possibility of pursuing unoccupied properties to claim them back. The transfer was inscribed on the cadastral registers and the possessor was first provided with a provisional certificate (*muvakkāt ' ilm ü haber*) and then with a permanent title deed one (*sened-i*

[80] *Ibid.,* doc. 3, copy of the petition sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Grand Vizierate, 18 Şubat 324 (February 26, 1909).
[81] Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received complaints not only from the German but also from other countries' ambassadors about the taxes paid at the approval of the '*ilm ü haber*, it seems that the Ottoman State continued to charge taxes for each transaction. The document noted that a residence tax of 20 piastres/year was charged for four years at once. BOA, Y.A.HUS 307-66, "Ecnebilerden emlâk alım ve satımı münâsebetiyle tabi'iyetlerinin tedkīk ve tasdiki için alınmakta olan harcın şikāyete sebebiyet verdiği", 1312.S.24 (August 27, 1894).
[82] BOA, HR.TO 535-63, "Teb'â-ı ecnebiye arasında mübâya'a ve füruht olunacak emlâk hakkında icrâsı lazım gelen mu'âmeleye dair", 1891.05.20.

hâkānî). Both documents had the same value in court.[83] Again, according to a circular issued by the Land Registry Office on 17 August 1304 (August 29, 1888),[84] it was specified as the responsibility of the *muhtâr*s and *imâm*s to inform the cadastral employees about the sale of any property.

Cadastral Registration in the name of Companies or Institutions

As mentioned in Article 8, communities could not acquire property in their own name or in the name of assigned persons.[85] Chiha asked if the same was also true for the communities and companies whose legal status was recognized.[86] Some authors such as Halis Eşref[87] made a distinction between official institutions as ministries or municipalities which could register their property in the name of the institution and others such as hospitals, schools, and companies, which had to have inscribed on the title deeds the name of the person who represented the institution, generally its director or manager. This distinction was the one in use. But according to Chiha, there was no reason for this restriction to the registration of property in the name of institutions since legally they could act as real persons. He argued that a joint stock company, founded by imperial decree, and whose legal status could not be contested, should have had the right of possessing property in its own name. He added that this

[83] Circular of the Cadastral Ministry dated 19 Teşrin-i evvel 1304, *Muharrerât-ı 'umûmiye*, 1305-7, p. 371, quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 120.
[84] *Muharrerât-ı 'umûmiye*, 1305-7, p. 356, reported from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 119.
[85] "La totalité des teres d'une commune ou d'un canton ne peut être concédée, en bloc, à l'ensemble de ses habitants, ou bien par voie de choix, à un ou deux d'entre eux. Ces terres sont concédées à chaque habitant séparément, et on lui fait remise d'un titre posséssoire (tapou), établissant son droit de possession", Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, pp. 48-49.
[86] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 132.
[87] Halis Eşref, *Külliyât-ı Şerh-i Kānun-ı 'Arâzi*, (Dersa'adet: n.p., 1315 (1899/1900)), no: 833, p. 90 quoted from Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p.132.

system had important drawbacks: first of all, the person in whose name the property was registered was just an intermediary who had to sign a declaration expressing his position and confirming that in reality the property belonged to the company. Another inconvenience arose upon his death without heirs, as the property, becoming *mahlûl,* had to be returned to the *vakıf* or to the State. Finally, with each transfer of property, the transaction was subject to expensive charges.

The case of *vakıf* properties was different, and public institutions such as hospitals, schools and churches could inscribe their names on the title deed. Moreover, in certain cases, the Land Registry accepted to register property belonging to joint stock companies established for the exploitation of concessions granted by the government. As discussed above, the concession *firman* of these companies generally stipulated that the buildings owned by the company be returned to the State at the end of the concession. Chiha argued that most probably, this clause inscribed in the statutes was the reason behind the decision to register property in the name of joint stock companies, giving the example of the paper factory founded by imperial decree which had obtained the monopoly of manufacturing paper in the Empire. In fact, the title deed issued on 4/17 July 1306 (July 17, 1890) revealed that the land had been transferred in the name of the company by a decree of the Sultan. A note on the reverse drew attention to the return of the land and of the buildings at the end of the concession.[88] Chiha's wish was that this practice be generalized in order to solve difficulties faced by most companies.[89] This wish seems to have been realized as long as companies entered into particularistic negotiations with the State. Thus, the

[88] OBA, XKHY005 00437B, "Hamidié Paper Mills. Copie et traduction des titres de propriété".
[89] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 134-135.

Imperial Ottoman Bank, when asking for the registration of its property in the name of the bank in 1897, based its request on the precedents of the Tobacco Regie, the Istanbul or Terkos Water company, as well as the Quay companies.[90] The case studies treated in Chapter Three will also include the efforts of the Imperial Ottoman Bank to have its property registered in its own name.

Expropriation

The expropriation for public interest such as the widening of roads, the establishment of market places and public gardens, or the construction of railroads, docks, hospitals, schools, and military barracks was regulated by Article 1 of the law of 21 Cemâziyelevvel 1296 (May 13, 1879) which replaced the law dated 4 Receb 1272 (March 11, 1856).[91] If the expropriation took place in Istanbul, the motive behind it was checked by the State Council and then ratified by the Sultan. In the case of a single province, it was the administrative council of the municipality which verified the reasons behind the expropriation and the governor or *vâli* who ratified it. But if the expropriation comprised property located in more than one province, the decision had to be ratified by the State Council, as was the case for the capital.

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[90] BOA, Y.A.HUS 376-134, "Osmanlı Bankası mu'âmelâtında bankanın tasarrufuna geçen emlâk ile bankanın menfa'âtine olarak Laffointe (*sic,* La Fontaine) nâmına mukāyyed emlâk ve terhinâtın Frank Obuano (Frank Auboyneau) uhdesine nakli husûsunda alınacak harç ve resimler", 1315.R.25 (August 24, 1897). See also BOA, Y.A.RES 88-86, "Bank-ı Osmanî uhdesinde bulunan emlâk hakkında yapılacak mu'âmeleye dâir," 1315.R.17 (September 15, 1897).

[91] "Meclis-i 'umûmînin ictimâ'ında kānûniyeti teklîf olunmak üzere mer'iyetine irâde-i seniye-i hazret-i pâdişâhi müte'allik buyrulmuş olan menâfi'-i 'umûmiye içün istimlâk karârnâmesidir. *Düstûr*un ikinci cildinin 338 sahifesinde muharrer fi 4 receb sene 272 tarihli istimlâk nizâmnâmesinin hükmü menfesîhdir. İrâde-i seniye tarihi 21 Cemâziyelevvel 96 ve fi 24 Teşrin-i sâni sene 95", *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 4, pp. 560-565. For the French text see Young, "Expropriation d'immeubles pour cause d'utilité publique, loi. 21Cemâziyelevvel 1296", *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 127-131. For the transcription of the text see "İstimlâk Karârnâmesi" in Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 4, pp. 1758-1762.

The value of the property to be expropriated was calculated by three experts, who were in charge of drawing the plan and were appointed by the municipal council. These experts were accompanied by four members of the municipal council, a delegate of the Sharia court, and an employee of the Ministry of Pious Endowments or of the Land Registry. Following the land survey, they completed the information on the value of the property for their report where the indemnity was calculated. If the owner of the property was not satisfied with the amount, he or she could apply to the president of the municipality within eight days. The municipal council, after having discussed the issue, sent its decision to the Ministry of the Interior.[92] Nonetheless, the objections to the expropriation prolonged and increased the cost of the process as in the case of Karaköy Square, discussed in the following chapter. Thus, a complementary law, which immediately followed the expropriation law of 1879, was passed on 1 Kānûn-ı sânî 1298 (January 13, 1883). According to this law, the expropriation could be realized against the payment of an additional 20 percent to the specified amount, just after the decision of the municipality.[93] In 1902, the newspaper *Selanik* announced an additional article to the law, mentioning that if the value of the land increased due to the widening of the street, the owners had to pay to the municipality a tax named *şerefiye* which was equal to the increase. This tax could be paid within four years.[94]

[92] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 377.
[93] Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 4, p. 1762.
[94] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 151.

Mortgage

Initially, the pawning of land was only possible for *mülk* properties, since one could not talk of full property rights over *mirî* and *vakıf* lands. This hindered the credit market and reduced the volume of transaction on property. Thus Article 116 of the Land Code, though it began with an emphasis on the impossibility of pawning *mirî* and *vakıf* land, mentioned a form of mortgage called *ferâğ bi'l-vefâ* [95] in the following sentences and articles.[96] Nonetheless, as was the case in the transfer of property, such a transaction also had to take place in front of the competent authority.[97]

The law dated 21 Rebiyülâhir 1287 (July 7, 1870)[98] and another one dated 27 Receb 1291 (September 9, 1874)[99] described the clauses for a mortgage. Both parties declared their intention in front of a commission as was the case for the procedure of a transfer; the mortgage was inscribed on the title deed and was given to the borrower. Only after such a procedure was the mortgage officially recognized. The sole exception was the transactions of the Agricultural Bank (Ziraat Bankası) which, according to its concession, could acquire mortgages in accordance with notarized proceedings.[100]

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[95] A contract by which the possessor of the property agreed to give up his property to the buyer with the condition that he could claim back his property at a predetermined time or at any time against payment of the amount received. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 320.
[96] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 158, see also Articles 117 and 118 on p. 159 and 160.
[97] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 323.
[98] Aristarchi,, "Loi sur la mise en hypothèque des biens immeubles", *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, pp. 274-275.
[99] "Emlâk-ı sırfe içün Defterhâneden verilecek senedâta dâir" nizâmnâme, *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 3, p. 447 and "Defter-Khané, titres des immeubles *mulk* (en pleine propriété)", Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 100.
[100] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 326. Young, "Banque Agricole, articles additionnels au règlement C", *Corps de droit…,* vol. 5, p. 351.

Even after the promulgation of the Land Code, the compulsory sale of the *miri* and *vakıf* lands, considering that they were owned by the State or by the *Evkāf,* was strictly prohibited. Articles 115 to 118 of the Land Code also followed this understanding.[101] Nonetheless, these two clauses were modified with the Law on Compulsory Sales dated 7 Rebiyülevvel 1279 (September 2, 1862) and that of 27 Şaban 1286 (November 19, 1869), which regulated the compulsory sale of *mirî* and *vakıf* property in the life time of the owner. Exceptions arose if the borrower was a farmer at subsistence level or if the revenue of the land gathered in three years was sufficient to pay back the debt. A decree promulgated on 21 Ramazan 1288 (November 5, 1871) as an appendix to the law of 27 Şaban 1286 (December 2, 1869) allowed the sale of the above mentioned properties even after his death, but solely for the amounts due to the State. According to the Law on the Compulsory Sale of property dated 23 Ramazan 1286 (December 27, 1869),[102] upon the death of the borrower, the mortgage on *mirî* land was first reimbursed on the *mülk* properties of the deceased. If the amount left was not sufficient to cover the debt, the remainder could be completed with the amount taken from the adjudication of the mortgaged land. But if the debt was still not covered, the *mirî* land could not be seized by the creditor.[103] The *vakıf* property, on the other hand, had a particular status and its sale was subject to the court's decision.[104]

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[101] "Article 115: Le créancier ne peut s'emparer, en échange de sa créance, de la terre possédée par son débiteur, que celui-ci ait ou non des biens meubles, la terre en sa possession passera par héritage à ses héritiers directs […]" Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 157.
[102] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, pp. 268-270.
[103] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 143-146. See also Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 358-360.
[104] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 370.

Thus the mortgage law was not satisfactorily codified at that period, particularly considering the fact that property in Istanbul was mostly *vakıf*.[105] Mortgage companies had to wait until the law of 1913 prepared by Mahmud Esad Efendi, the head of the Land Registry, which allowed Ottoman companies or banks that had obtained an authorization from the government to invest totally or partially in all manners of property, including *mirî* and *vakıf*.[106] More specifically, the second clause of the law permitted the establishment of companies carrying out improvements through loans or advances backed by real estate and authorized the Agricultural Bank as well as the administration of the *vakıf*s to engage in mortgage activity. However, these companies were subject to some restrictions: first, they had to be Ottoman companies approved by the government; second, the mortgaged real estate had to be located in towns; and last, these companies could never definitely possess this property. Billiotti, who commented on the law in the *Gazette financière*, noted that although the first point was perfectly understandable, the second one, based on the fact that mortgage was limited to real estate in towns, was probably related to the issue that the field of mortgage on agricultural land was reserved to the Agricultural Bank. He also added that the third point was included for fear of enabling companies to acquire important quantities of property. According to him, since these companies were not real estate companies, their aim would not be to invest in property. Yet this restriction would limit the mortgages, or else both parties

[105] *Ibid.,* p. 374.
[106] The promulgation of the law was on 1 Rebiyülevvel 1331/25 Şubat 1328 (February 8, 1913). For the French text see "Loi provisoire concernant l'hypothèque sur immeubles pour la garantie des dettes", *La Gazette financière*, no. 182, pp. 181-182.

would have to have recourse to a third person to in whose name the property would be registered.[107]

Inheritance

Difference of Religion or *İhtilâf-ı Milleteyn*

When considering the hereditary transmission of property, it should be noted that the transmission was not valid when there was a difference of religion, or more specifically, property could not be transmitted from a Muslim owner to a non-Muslim heir. Sectarian differences, however, did not matter. Thus there was no difference between Hanafite, Shafiite or Malikite Muslims, just as there was none between Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant Christians. Even if there was a difference of religion, most jurisconsults agreed that non-Muslims could transmit their property among themselves regardless of creed, under the sole condition of being monotheists. Thus Jews could inherit from a Christian but unbelievers could not inherit from believers and vice versa.[108] Article 109 of the Land Code, which clearly underlined, that a non-Muslim did not have the right of ownership over Muslim land and vice versa, also confirmed this point for *mirî* land.[109] In Ottoman law, this conflict of religion in the rights of succession was named *ihtilâf-ı milleteyn*, or literally the "difference between two religions."

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[107] A. Billiotti, "Le régime hypothécaire", *La Gazette financière,* 1913, no. 182, p. 179.
[108] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p.175. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 428.
[109] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol.1, p. 150-151.

Difference of Nationality or *İhtilâf-ı Dâreyn*

A similar conflict existed based on the difference of nationality; known as the *ihtilâf-ı dâreyn* ("difference of the worlds"), which initially stated that inhabitants of the "abode of war" (*dârü'l-harb*) were not allowed to inherit property, but which was later expanded to include the subjects of all foreign countries for all categories of property. Thus a *zimmî* or Ottoman non-Muslim could not leave his property to a foreigner living outside the Empire since he was considered "dead" to cite from the *Mültekā*.[110] However, the case of a *müstemîn,* that is of a foreigner living in the Empire, was quite different. If he was considered a *zımmî*, he could leave his property to an Ottoman non-Muslim, but once he left the country, the *müstemîn* lost all his hereditary rights.

It is important to note that religion, rather than nationality, was the crucial point in inheritance rights, so that Muslims of different nationalities could inherit from their relatives and transmit their assets to their heirs. For instance a British Muslim could inherit from an Ottoman Muslim and vice versa. Nonetheless Article 110 of the Land Code, which prevented foreigners from inheriting *mirî* land from their Ottoman relatives, did not make any distinction of religion. Based on this article, some jurisconsults such as Haydar Efendi concluded that the legislator intended to exclude all foreigners, including Muslims, from entering in possession of *mirî* land by succession.[111] Others, such as Aristarchi, Mehmed Ziyaeddin,[112] or

[110] The main law school in the Ottoman Empire, the Hanefite school, was founded by Abu Hanifa. His doctrine was compiled under the title *Mültekā* by Sheikh İbrahim bin Muhammed al-Halebi and translated and commented in Ottoman by Mehmed el Mevkūfatî. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 4.
[111] Ali Haydar Efendi, *Şerh-i Cedîd…,* p. 381 quoted from Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 431.

Halis Eşref,[113] commented that since reciprocity was not mentioned, the article was not formulated as an essential principle of religious law but mostly as a consequence of the inability of foreigners to possess property. After the issue of the regulation giving foreigners the right to own property, the application of the clause should have changed accordingly.[114] The case of a Muslim Crimean refugee, Abdülkerim Efendi, who acquired Ottoman nationality and died in Bursa reveals that in 1900, an Ottoman Muslim subject upon his death, could not leave his property to his also Muslim, but foreign, children and relatives.[115] Chiha, on the other hand, informs us that several decisions of the State Council indicate that there was no reciprocity in the law and that therefore Ottoman subjects could inherit from foreigners. He adds that based on these decisions, the Land Registry registered the transfer of property belonging to foreigners and that had been inherited by their Ottoman heirs.[116] Steeg and Padel describe a decision taken by the State Council[117] which solved the issue of reciprocity for all *icâreteyn* and *mukāta'a* properties. Thus, contrary to foreigners, Ottoman subjects could inherit from foreign parents. But, according to the comments of Steeg and Padel to which we will return below, it seems that this clause still remained controversial.

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[112] H. Mehmed Ziyaeddin, *Şerh-i Kānun-ı 'Arâzi*, (Dersa'adet: n.p., 1311 (1895/1896)), p. 483, quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 211.
[113] Halis Eşref, *Külliyât-ı*…, p. 619; quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 211. See also Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 432.
[114] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 153.
[115] BOA, MV 101-70, "Osmanlı teb'asından bir şahsın vefâtında, yabancı teb'adan vârislerine onun emlâk ve vakıflardaki haklarının intikâl etmeyeceği fakat diğer mirâsının intikâl edeceği", 1318.N.04 (December 26, 1900). The Council of Ministers confirmed that though the vizierate's memorandum which was dated August 5, 1875 (24 Temmuz 1291) was submitted to a revision, considering that property and inheritance were not linked to one another for *vakıf* and *mirî* properties and the prevention of the passage of Ottoman subjects to foreign nationalities was the main issue, there would be no change to the usual procedure.
[116] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 432.
[117] Ali Haydar, p. 380, quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 211.

Returning to the Hanefite doctrine,[118] we saw that it excluded foreign non-Muslims from the inheritance of Ottoman subjects and vice versa. Moreover, according to this school, people of different nationalities were not allowed to inherit from each other.[119] As long as foreigners did not have the right of possessing land, the jurisdiction was only applied for movable goods. But a question still remained, whether this clause would still be valid after the issue of the regulation of 24 Safer 1294 (March 10, 1877) which allowed the subjects of foreign powers which had ratified the protocol, to benefit from the right of acquiring rural or urban property under the same conditions as Ottoman subjects.

Foreign advisers such as E. R. Salem[120] and Pélissié du Rausas[121] argued that this clause could no longer be applied since the new regulation clearly stated that foreigners owning property were assimilated into Ottoman society and that therefore the difference in nationality would no longer be of relevance to Ottoman authorities. According to them, if the above clause remained in use, it would lead to inequality between foreign and Ottoman subjects in property matters and would contradict the clauses of the *firman* dated 1284/1867.[122] Nonetheless, the Ottoman jurisprudence concluded that the assimilation of foreigners should not have any further consequences than being judged in Ottoman courts under the same conditions as Ottoman subjects. A decision of the State Council in 1311 (1893/94) in answer to a

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[118] The *mecelle-i ahkâm-ı adliye* or the civil codification was composed of the comments of the Hanefite doctrine compiled in 16 volumes. This civil code was also published in the 1st, 3rd and 4th volumes of the *Düstûr* and translated in the 6th and 7th volumes of Aristarchi's *Recueil de législation ottomane*. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 4-5.
[119] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 176-77.
[120] *Journal de droit international privé*, 1889, no: 30, quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p.178.
[121] Pélissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations dans l'Empire ottoman*, vol. I, p. 452, also quoted in Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 178.
[122] *Ibid.*

question asked by the Foreign Ministry stated that "the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867) confers to foreigners the right of possession of property, but not the right of inheriting from an Ottoman subject".[123]

This case was also confirmed by another decision of the State Council on Ottoman women married to foreigners; they would obtain the nationality of their husbands, without any need of prior permission from the State. The same decision of 1311 (1893/94) added that the property owned by these women would be governed by the law dated 1284/1867, but that they could not inherit from their parents. Steeg and Padel note that the correspondence exchanged between the Ottoman government and foreign embassies on the promulgation of the 1284/1867 regulation shows us that the ambassadors argued without success that women who obtained foreign nationality, through their husband, should not be subjected to the loss of their rights of inheritance from their parents of Ottoman nationality.[124]

Before concluding this part, it should be mentioned that with the 1284/1867 regulation, the jurisdiction did not make any further distinction between different nationalities. A decision dated April 13, 1300 (April 25, 1884), sent to the governor of Salonica on 13 Şaban 1301 (June 8, 1884) and approved by the State Council, stated that it had become impossible to defend the exclusion of subjects of different nationalities in inheritance affairs after the regulation of 1284/1867. Thereafter, for example, a Russian could inherit from a British subject.[125] Chiha, on the other hand, reported that, in usual practice, the transfer of property based on the succession right of foreigners of all nationalities was registered at the Land Registry without any

[123] *Ibid.,*p. 178-179.
[124] *Ibid.,*p. 179.
[125] *Ibid.,*p. 179-180.

difficulties; but he added that the exception remained for foreigners belonging to countries which had not ratified the protocol.[126]

Property Rights of Foreigners

Foreigners whose personal rights and estates were under the jurisdiction of their countries, had been for a long time omitted from the right of possession of property in the empire. The reason behind such a restriction was not only the Sharia but also the legislation of certain foreign countries. France was one of these countries. Pélissié du Rausas explains that in 1781, in contrast to the previous ordinance of 1649 according to which the French were forbidden to own property, the ownership of their residence and of any property necessary for their business was tolerated in the Levant and on the Barbary Coast. The aim of this clause was to prevent the lifetime establishment of French subjects in the Orient.[127]

Even though the acquisition of real estate, which was exclusively regulated by the law of the Empire, was forbidden to foreigners, they obtained property in the name of Ottoman subjects or simply by passing as Ottomans in front of the authorities concerned. A document addressed to the Vizierate by the Embassy of France and which asked for a registration of property in the Bereketzade quarter of Galata in their name shows that this practice was common.[128] The document reveals that property bought by the embassy and assigned as the residence of poor French

[126] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 246-247; Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 435.
[127] Pélissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations…,* p. 444.
[128] Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 1, pp. 334-335. It seems that the registration of properties at a "lend name" continued to be practiced even after the Law on Ownership for Foreigners. The law of 5 Cemâziyelevvel 1331/30 Mart 1329 (April 12, 1913) published in the *Takvîm-i Ve'kâi',* no. 1435 formally forbad this practice. *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 190, p. 310.

subjects were registered under the name of renowned people or Muslims.[129] On the other hand, before the nationality law, foreigners married to Ottoman women registered their property in their wife's or in her relatives' names. A letter addressed to the Governor of the Bank of France by Gabriel Hava, the representative of the Hava family in France on November 21, 1861, recounted how women, as was the case with Marie Alléon[130] and Marie Hava, and in general of the Hava family,[131] acted in Istanbul as *prête-nom* (figurehead or 'dummy') for French, British, Austrian, Italian, Russian and even Ottoman subjects.[132]

As mentioned in a circular issued by the French Embassy, the chaos this restriction caused[133] as well as the insistence of foreign powers to implement the

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[129] "… vaktiyle bi'l-iştirâ kisân-ı malûme ve İslâm dahi uhdesine kayd etdirilmiş…" BOA, İ.HR 198-11233, "Galata Perşembe Pazarı'ndaki vakıf menzîlin senetlerinin Fransa sefâretine kaydı," 11.B.1279 (January 2, 1863). Although the right of possessing property was not yet granted, the Sultan accorded this favor to the French Embassy.

[130] Marie Marion was the daughter of a French merchant of Livourne. She married Jacques Alléon (July 20, 1792-January 30, 1876) on July 15, 1820 in Constantinople. They had nine children among whom five survived: Adélaïde (April 3, 1823 – March 8, 1895, Hamburg), Elisabeth (April 3, 1823 – May 27, 1875), Fortunée (August 18, 1824 – December 6, 1903), Marie-Louise (August 3, 1833 – July 29, 1885, Paris), Amédée (Octobre 8, 1838 – January 16, 1904, Macriköy). Christophe Alléon, "Les Alléon, deux siècles de présence française à Istanbul", *Orients*, Mai 2008, pp. 21-36.

[131] The family gave its name to the street between the Alléon Street, where the Alléon family owned four apartment buildings, and the Grande rue de Pera. See Goad, no. 39, pl. 869. The Hava family also owned a cité opening to the Bourse Street. Goad no. 40, pl. 889.

[132] I would like to thank Christophe Alléon for sending me information about this document. BFA, "L'affaire des maisons grecques de Marseille". Non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, whenever they bought property in a district where the Muslim population was dominant, also used an intermediary. For instance the wife of the famous banker Alléon who had Ottoman nationality, used a Muslim intermediary by the name of Mehmed Nazif Ağa for a property located in Şeyhülharem Hüseyin Ağa district in Pera that belonged to the *Evkāf*. The same document informs us that once non-Muslims acquired a property through an intermediary, it was inhabited by them even though the quarter was dominantly Muslim. "… menâzil-i sâireden dahi ba'zılarını teb'a-ı gayr-i Müslîmeden talîbleri bedellerini eshâbına vererek bi'l iştirâ İslâmdan emniyet eyledikleri kimesneler üzerlerine muvâza'a suretinde ferağını icrâ etdirerek on seneden berü derûnlarında iskân ve ba'zılarını dahi mutassarıfları 'akār suretine koyarak teb'a-ı gayr-i Müslimeye icâr etmekde oldukları tebeyyün etmiş olduğu mahkeme-i mezkûreden ilâm kılınmış…" Many years later, when the vicinity of the property in Şeyhülharem Hüseyin Ağa district started to be inhabited by Christians, the petition for the transfer of property to the name of Alléon's wife was accepted. BOA, İ.HR 147-7769, "Mösyö Alyon'un eşinin uhdesinde olub Beyoğlu'nda Şeyhülharem Hüseyin Ağa mahallesinde Haremeyn-i Muhteremeyn vakfı musakkāfâtından olan arsanın sahibine ifrâğı". 1274.S.9 (September 29, 1857).

[133] Edouard Engelhardt, *LaTurquie et le Tanzimat ou histoire des réformes dans l'Empire ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu'à nos jours,* (Paris : A. Cotillon, 1882), p. 214. According to this circular which

promises of the *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* of 1856 opened the way to negotiations between foreign representatives and the Ottoman authorities. In 1862, Âli Pasha sent a note to foreign legations in which he declared that it was not possible to grant the right of possessing property to foreigners who were not subject to the country's law.[134] The collective answer of the foreign powers, in 1863, was that the right of possessing property was not incompatible with the capitulatory regime, that its execution without affecting the territorial authority was possible, and that, for this purpose, they were ready to start negotiations. The condition of the Ottoman State was that all foreigners should be subjected to the laws of the Empire.[135] Finally, the Ottoman State granted the right of owning property to foreigners with the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867),[136] ratified as a particular concession with each foreign power,[137] which had to agree not to intervene in the judicial affairs relating to the property of its subjects. The long title of the law in Ottoman also mentioned that the purpose of the law was to remove the difficulties (*müşkilât*), abuses (*su'-i istimâlât*) and uncertainties (*şübehât*), and to regulate property ownership for foreigners in order to

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Engelhart reported, the new law would put an end to abuses and injustice resulting from the use of a "figurehead" by substituting the real name instead.

[134] See for the text in Ottoman and French, BOA, HR.TO 472-44 "Tebea-i ecnebiyenin memalik-i şahanede emlak edinmeleri", 1862.10.05.

[135] Pélissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations…,* pp. 445-46.

[136] "Memâlik-i Devlet-i 'Âliyede tevsi'-i servet ve ma'mûriyete medâr olmak ve teb'a-ı ecnebiyenin emlâka mutassarıf olmaları maddesinden dolayı hâsıl olan müşkilât ve su'-i isti'mâlât ve her dürlü şubehât ber taraf olarak bu madde-i mu'tenâbihâtın dahi bir hüsn-ı zâbıta ve nizâm altına alınmasıyla emniyet-i mâliye ve mülkiye kazıye-i mültezimesi ikmâl olunmak üzere bu def'a bâ irâde-i seniye karârgîr olan mevâd-ı kānûniyedir ki bervech-i âtî zikr olunur." n.d., *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 1, 1289, pp. 230-231. For the text in French see Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 1, pp. 337-341. Konan said that although it was entitled as "regulation" or "Teba'-ı ecnebiyenin emlâk istimlâkına dair nizâmnâme", on the first page of the table of contents of the *Düstûr*, 1st series, the content corresponded to that of a law. Belkıs Konan, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yabancıların Kapitülasyonlar Kapsamında Hukuki Durumu", (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2006), p. 104.

[137] Article 5 declares that "every foreign subject will enjoy the benefits of this law as soon as the related country will join the agreement prepared by the Sublime Porte for the use of property rights." See Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 1, p. 341. Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 21.

open the way for the growth of the Ottoman State's wealth and its development, the ultimate aim of this Age of Reforms.

One year after its promulgation, France was the first country which agreed to ratify the accompanying protocol; the Grand Vizier, Fuad Pasha, and the French ambassador, Nicolas-Prosper Bourée signed it in Istanbul on 17 Safer 1285 (June 9, 1868).[138] The protocol made a clear distinction between personal rights, estates which were under the jurisdiction of the capitulations, and the owning of real estate which would be held under the Ottoman legislation. Thus it enumerated the rights of foreigners who would increasingly establish themselves in the Empire, on the inviolability of their home, which was composed of rooms, a yard, a garden and enclosures; and the conditions under which the Ottoman authorities could penetrate in these homes.[139] Moreover, once foreigners obtained the right of possessing property in the rural areas of the Empire, and their property became more and more distant from the consular protection, the application of capitulatory rights were reformulated. Austro-Hungary, the United Kingdom, Prussia, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark,[140] Spain and Portugal followed suit. Though they hesitated at the beginning, Greece,[141] Russia and Italy ratified the protocol in 1873.[142] Serbs'

[138] See Gabriel Effendi Nouradounghian*, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman,* 1856-1878, vol. 3, pp. 271-274.
[139] For the whole text in French see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* pp. 22-25. For the Ottoman text see BOA, Y.EE 91-21, "Ecnebilere emlak tasarrufu verilmesine dair elçilerle imza olunacak mazbatanın sureti", n.d.
[140] It was the ambassador of Sweden who signed for Denmark, which did not have any representative in the Empire.
[141] The main urge for Greece was the increasing number of Greek subjects residing in the Ottoman Empire. İ.HR 258-15418 "Ecnebi tebaasının Osmanlı memleketinde emlak edinmelerine izin verilmesi", 1289.Z.15 (February 13, 1873).
[142] According to Nouradounghian, the dates of adhesion of each country to the protocol were as follows:

property rights were described in the commercial treaty of June 9, 1902 whereas Rumanians[143] and Montenegrins were not allowed to possess property. Swiss nationals established in the Empire could acquire property only through their protector countries, France or Germany, and they were refused when they applied directly as Swiss citizens.[144] A document in the Ottoman State Archives shows that sixteen years later, to solve the problems of its subjects in property matters, Switzerland finally decided to sign the protocol, in 1884,[145] but that the Ottoman State, arguing that there was no agreement signed before with this country, refused to ratify it.[146]

Countries	**Dates of adhesion to the protocol**
France	17 Safer 1285 / June 6, 1868
Sweden and Norway	22 Safer 1285 / June 13, 1868
Belgium	8 Rebiyülâhir 1285 / July 28, 1868
United Kingdom	20 Receb 1285 / November 5, 1868
Austria*	5 Teşrin-i sânî 1868 / November 5, 1868
Denmark	20 Muharrem 1285 / May 10, 1869
Prussia	27 Safer 1286 / June 7, 1869
Spain	10 Receb 1287 / November 5, 1870
Greece	26 Zilhicce 1289 / February 24, 1873
Russia	21 Muharrem 1290 / March 20, 1873
Italy	24 Muharrem 1290 / March 23, 1873
Netherlands	14 Receb 1290 / August 6, 1873
United States	28 Cemâziyelâhir 1291 / August 11, 1874
Portugal*	29 Kānûn-ı sânî 1883 / January 29, 1883
Persia*	June 30, 1883†

* Mentioned in Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle...,* vol. 4, p. 1772.

† A document in the Ottoman State Archives informs us that although unsealed at that time the protocol was already ready to be signed by Muhsin Han, ambassador of Persia and Asım Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. BOA, Y.A.RES 9-66, "Ecnebi devletler tarafından tasdik edilen teb'a-yı ecnebiyenin emlâk tasarrûf etmeleri hakkındaki protokolün hükümlerinin İran tarafından kabûluyle imza edilmesi", 1298.S.28 (January 30, 1881). It is also interesting to note here that although the difference of nationality did not matter when the person was Muslim in the previous application of the law (see the *ihtilâf-ı dâreyn* principle discussed above), this protocol officially shows us that Muslims of different nationalities were also considered foreign. Deeper research is needed to examine the process but we can assume that this alienation started with the nationality law of 1869.

[143] Foreigners in Rumania were only allowed to acquire urban properties; they could not own rural ones. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété...,* p. 499.

[144] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation...,* p. 50.

[145] BOA, HR.TO 206-98, "İsviçrelilerin Memâlik-i Şâhânede tasarrûf-ı emlâk nizâmnâmesinden istifâdesine dâir", January 4, 1884.

[146] BOA, HR.TO 369-15, İsviçrelilerin Fransa mahmisi sıfatıyla Memâlik-i Şâhâne'de tasarrûf-ı emlâk etmeleri hakkında", April 30, 1885.

At this point it is probably worthwhile to state the first two articles of the law which underlined the status of foreigners. The first asserted that foreigners were permitted, under the same conditions granted to Ottoman subjects, to possess rural or urban estates in the whole empire with the exception of the Hejaz province, and were subject to the same laws and regulations as Ottoman subjects. The second article confirmed the first one and added that foreigners owning rural or urban real estate were granted equal status with Ottoman subjects in all affairs concerning their real estate.

Thus foreigners, as long as they were subjects of those countries which agreed to sign the protocol accompanying the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867), were granted equal rights with Ottoman subjects regarding the use, transmission, alienation and mortgage of property under the jurisdiction and legislation of Ottoman courts. Similarly, foreigners were obliged to pay all taxes and fees regarding urban and rural property.

Not surprisingly in its first years, the application of the new law met with resistance from different parts of the population and particularly from the *Evkāf*. In 1876, the Italian embassy transmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs complaints about the property ownership affairs of its subjects.[147] The first case was about the transfer formalities of a piece of land bought by a certain Galerini from a Muslim woman. The Ministry of Pious Endowments asked for the transfer formalities, the *'ilm ü haber* (certificate), from the *muhtâr* (headman) and *imâm*. But the *muhtâr* did not consent to deliver the requested document and when the complaint was

[147] BOA, HR.TO 278-57, "İtalyanların Dersa'adet'de almış oldukları üç 'adet emlâkla ilgili davânın sürüncemeden kurtarılıp neticelendirilmesi", 1876.06.20.

transmitted to the police to force the *muhtâr* to give it, the answer was that although the police accepted that the opposition of the *muhtâr* was not based on any real and valid reason, they had no power to force the *muhtâr* to deliver the requested document. When the ministry applied to the Judiciary Community of Foreign Affairs, recognizing the absurdity of the incident, it ordered to the *Evkāf* to register the land without the document, but based on a regulation issued on the matter, the answer of the Pious Foundations was negative. The second complaint was about the restrictions noted on the *hüccet* (deed) of a land in Pera bought by a certain Stefanoviç. Though he possessed a property next to it, the *Evkāf* brought on the new property the restriction of not selling the land to non-Muslims and prohibited the taking up of residence or construction in order to raise income from the property. Even though a vizierial letter was ordered to stop such an application, which opposed the decrees and firmans previously issued, the affair remained unsolved.

On the other hand, although the law was supposed to grant foreigners equal treatment with Ottomans disregarding any difference of nationality for issues regarding property, its application caused several debates. The first and major issue raised was that the promulgation of the law was not sufficient to abolish the differences between Ottomans and foreigners before Ottoman courts with respect to matters of property transfer through inheritance. According to Padel and Steeg, the State Council and the courts did not accept the notion that the new law abolished the clause of religious law regarding the difference of nationality, which was still considered a reason of exclusion from inheritance.[148] In similar fashion Pélissié du Rausas asked whether "refusing foreigners the right to inherit from Ottoman parents

[148] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 51.

[was] not a violation of their right to own property under the same conditions as Ottoman subjects, and therefore a violation of the formal declaration of the 1284 firman?"[149]

As Aristarchi mentioned in his compilation of Ottoman laws, the property law for foreigners did not refer to the issue of inheritance from someone of a different religion.[150] Yet a decision of the State Council dated 25 Temmuz 1291 (August 6, 1875) clarified the question as follows: "Assuming that property and inheritance are not linked to each other and are two different issues, the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867) granted to foreigners the right to own property, but it did not allow them to inherit from their parents of Ottoman nationality. The inability to inherit mentioned in Article 110 of the Land Code was approved with the justified reason of preserving the bonds of Ottoman nationality[151] and this point was taken into consideration in every country as well as the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the decision of preventing the succession of the property belonging to an Ottoman to his/her foreign children or parents has to be maintained."[152]

Chiha, on the other hand, argued that the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867) did not in fact alter the inheritance matters regulated by civil law and added that besides the difference of nationality or *ihtilâf-ı dâreyn*, that of religion or *ihtilâf-ı milleteyn* also remained as an obstacle before the inheritance of property. Conforming to the regulation of *ihtilâf-ı milleteyn*, if both parties, the deceased and the children, were Muslims, the difference in nationalities was not a reason to

[149] Pélissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations…,* p. 452.
[150] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 152-153.
[151] Many years later, Barkan stated that such a decision was an attempt of the Ottoman State to stop the conversion of people who would like to escape the military or tax duties. Ömer Lütfü Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, Toplu Eserler 1*, (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), p. 350.
[152] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 512-513.

prevent inheritance. Thus, as mentioned above, a French Muslim could inherit from an Ottoman Muslim and vice versa. Foreigners, on the other hand, could enjoy their inheritance rights for the properties of a deceased foreign relative. Thus Chiha concluded that the inability of transfer by inheritance between foreigners and Ottomans was in full conformity with the law.[153]

The second issue was related to the competence of Ottoman courts in the disputes between foreign citizens about their property. The Ottoman government, which did not want the consular courts intervening in property matters, paid great attention to mention in the law this exclusivity of Ottoman legislation, even if both parties were foreign. Article 3 of the law dated 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867) revealed this point very clearly. Nevertheless, consular courts insisted on their competence for personal or mixed issues regarding property, leaving issues regarding *actions réelles* or real procedures to Ottoman courts. For instance, the issue regarding the renting of property was estimated to be a personal act, or in its wording *actions personnelles* by consular courts whereas Ottoman courts considered that a foreigner requesting a rent from his tenant acted as an owner of property and should therefore be considered as Ottoman. He should therefore apply to the Ottoman courts where the verdict would be given without the presence of a dragoman as was the case for mixed issues. Chiha, on the other hand, informs us that all this confusion derived from a mistranslation of the text; the Ottoman government drawing attention to the fact that the competence of Ottoman courts was not limited to real procedures

[153] *Ibid.,* p. 515.

but as the text in Ottoman revealed, for all proceedings related to property. Moreover, Article 2 confirmed the competence of Ottoman courts in all issues.[154]

The Ottoman courts, however, made a distinction if the foreigner was not the owner but the tenant against whom the claim was directed. A circular dated 17 Zilkāde 1297 (October 21, 1880)[155] issued by the Ministry of Justice argued the following: The ministry was asked to give its opinion on the issue of foreigners who should have recourse to the authority of their consulate with respect to disputes about property, and more specifically, those deriving from rent matters. The legal experts committee examined the issue and decided that since Article 2 of the law stated clearly that all matters regarding property, even if both parties were foreign, should be solved under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman courts, if a foreign owner had to claim the rent of his property, the assistance of a dragoman from his consulate was not necessary; but if the tenant was a foreign subject; the lawsuit had to be brought to the Istanbul High Court and conducted in the presence of a dragoman who spoke on behalf of the foreign defendant. Although this decision was opposed by the consulates[156] as well as by Pélissié du Rausas in his study on the capitulations,[157] Steeg and Padel drew attention to the fact that, when a foreigner was suited as a renter, the consular authority was accepted in Ottoman courts. According to Steeg and Padel, a concession had been made for consulates in order that they may admit the execution of judgments which they could have refused without the assistance of

[154] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 520-521.
[155] *Cerîde-i Mehâkim*, 23 Zilkāde 1297- 14 Teşrin-i evvel 1296, no. 68, p. 539. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 318.
[156] For different lawsuits on rented properties seen in different courts and objections, see Konan, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yabancıların…, pp. 111-116. She also argued that Article 2 of the law made clear that the sole authority was the Ottoman courts.
[157] Péllissié de Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations…,* p. 462.

consulate dragomans during lawsuits. Finally, an agreement came out with the promulgation of the Law on Rents on 5 April 1298 (April 17, 1882).[158] Embassies gave their approval to Article 20 of this law, which fixed the procedure on the issues regarding contract law. When the tenant was foreign, the president of the court sent him a summons through the intermediary of the consulate, specifying the complaint and asking him to appear within a short period. The defendant was expected to make an appearance with the assistance of a dragoman who would sign the minutes which would serve as the basis of the president's decision, which would eventually be executed. If a justified excuse was presented in writing to the court, the president had to postpone the case to the closest date and announce again to the dragoman and if necessary to the consulate itself to assist the foreign defendant. On the same occasion, it was agreed that the execution of the president's decision belonged totally and exclusively to the consular authority.[159] The function of the dragoman was not only to be present at the Ottoman court to attend the judges' debates, but also to sign the verdict or *kārar* which served as the basis of the wording of the sentence.[160]

Another controversial issue was that all property issues could not be judged by the civil or *Nizâmiye* court, and that for *vakıf* property one had to apply to the Sharia or religious courts as was the case for Ottoman subjects. Again a

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[158] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 320. The application of Article 20 to foreigners was regulated afterwards. See footnote 3 in Young, "Location d'immeubles", *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 134. The date of the law slightly differs in Young; it was mentioned as 28 Cemâziyelâhir 1299 (April 15, 1882).

[159] From Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* pp. 319-320.

[160] A circular issued by the State to the provincial governors on 13 Cemâziyelâhir 1280 (November 25, 1863) and sent to the ambassadors, as an annex to the consulate regulation of 23 Safer 1280 (August 9, 1863) advised the courts "to pay attention to the observations of the consulate or his delegate, in conformity with the law, justice and fairness". Vizierial letter of 17 April 1291 (April 29, 1886), "Tercümânların esnâ-ı müzâkerede huzûru hakkında muvakkāt karara verildiğine dâir tezkere-i sâmiye", *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 3, pp. 197-198. Quoted also in Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 323.

misinterpretation in the translation which qualified the courts as "civil" in the French text, a term which did not exist in the original one was at its origin. Chiha tells us that this qualification was probably added to make a distinction between mixed commercial courts which were exclusively competent on issues regarding movable goods. Even if the term "civil courts" was inserted into the Ottoman text, he continued, this would not mean the Sharia court, which was considered to be the sole authority of jurisdiction in the Empire before the *Nizâmiye* courts lost its "civil" qualification.[161]

Chiha also mentions another misunderstanding of consular tribunals which considered the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867) as an international one. He claims that although the protocol was ratified by each power it could be regarded as an international act but that the law itself was completely an Ottoman proceeding. He develops E. Manasse's argument to reinforce his view:

> The Turkish text of the law should prevail even for consular courts, since it was only this document which took the imperial seal giving its executive power. The right of possessing properties for foreigners was related to the law and not to an international convention. However the application of the law was subject to the protocol dated January 9, 1868 to solve problems which might arise during its execution.[162]

The Case of Ottoman Subjects Acquiring Foreign Nationality

Another point to note is the case of Ottomans who acquired a foreign nationality. Before the property law for foreigners, the Ottoman subject who renounced his

[161] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 536-537.
[162] Clunet, 1893, p. 74 quoted from Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 526.

nationality had to accept the loss of his property.[163] This fact was made clear in Article 111 of the Land Code, which did not allow the heirs, Ottoman or foreign, to inherit *mirî* land from a person who renounced his or her Ottoman nationality. The land was considered as unoccupied and consequently, was returned to the State.[164] This article of the Land Code was modified successively by the Law on Property for Foreigners on 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867), and later by the Law on Nationality of 6 Şevval 1285 (January 19, 1869) and lastly by the law of 25 Rebiyülâhir 1300 (February 21, 1883) on inheritance, complementary to the law of 1284/1867.[165]

In this specific case, one should return to Article 5 of the Law on Nationality which declared that "every Ottoman subject acquiring a foreign nationality with the approval of the Imperial government is considered foreign; but if the person is naturalized without preliminary approval, the State authorities consider him as an Ottoman subject."[166] Nonetheless, the Ottoman government had the right to decide on the loss of Ottoman nationality of its subjects who were naturalized abroad or who accepted the military mission of a foreign government without the authorization of the sovereign. In that case, the person would be forbidden from returning to the Empire.[167]

A circular issued by the State and sent to provincial governors on March 26, 1869, gave specifications on the application of Article 6, underlining that the Ottoman authorities would consider the naturalization of such an individual null and void, and could not take any decision of expulsion without direct orders from the

[163] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 52.
[164] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 153.
[165] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 435.
[166] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 8.
[167] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 53. Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 8.

Sublime Porte.[168] With a regulation dated July 17, 1869, a Commission of Nationality Affairs was established to confirm the nationality of individuals who were considered Ottomans but had foreign protection or nationality.[169] The first clause of the Property Law for Foreigners mentioned that those who abandoned Ottoman nationality would not benefit from this law but would be subject to a special regulation.[170]

The law of February 21, 1883 on the inheritance of Ottoman subjects who were naturalized as foreign regulated property rights. Article 1 mentioned that those who had relinquished their Ottoman nationality before the nationality law and whose foreign nationality had been approved, as well as those who had been naturalized as foreign after the law, would benefit from the Property Law for Foreigners. Nonetheless, the country to which they belonged should have had ratified the protocol accompanying the said law.

The remaining two articles dealt with those Ottoman subjects who were naturalized without prior approval. According to the law, they could not benefit from their succession rights. Moreover, their real estate, categorized as *mülk,* would be transferred to their Ottoman heirs, whereas their *mirî* land, according to Article 111 of the Land Code, would be considered unoccupied. As Aristarchi annotated in his compilation of laws,[171] and as Steeg and Padel confirm, in such a case the *mirî* land would be considered as *mahlûl* and consequently, would be sold through

[168] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 10. Several years later, in 1886, a warning on the expulsion of people who were installed in a foreign country and were probably naturalized as foreign reconfirms that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the sole authority which could expropriate a person after an investigation. The final decision would be declared to the Governor, to the *Evkāf* Ministry and to the Tax Office. BOA, HR.TO 369-94, "Tab'iyetini terkeden şahısların emlâkı hakkında lâzım gelen mu'âmeleye dâir", 1886.12.13.
[169] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, pp. 12-13.
[170] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[171] *Ibid.,* p.153.

adjudication by the Treasury. The same was also true for the *vakıf* properties of such individuals.[172]

The Case of Ottoman Women Married to Foreign Nationals

A second issue which was discussed at length was the case of an Ottoman woman married to a foreigner. According to the Sharia, an Ottoman woman married to a foreigner did not loose her nationality and the children issued from this marriage were also considered as Ottoman subjects.[173] The Law on Nationality altered this understanding but with some reservations. In accordance with the principles of international law, a woman married to a foreigner automatically received the nationality of her husband,[174] but Article 7 of the law notes that if in the event of her husband's death, the woman could apply to the Ottoman authorities to reclaim her Ottoman nationality within the following three years.[175] The article continues by emphasizing that this arrangement would be valid for her personal rights, whereas

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[172] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 53. See also Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 1, pp. 332-333 and Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 437-439.

[173] Salem, "De l'influence du mariage sur la nationalité de la femme en Turquie", in Clunet, *Journal du droit international,* 1901, vol. 28, p. 939. In Salem's words, " … je trouve dans le Traité de Jurisprudence musulmane, considéré comme « si une étrangère (Harbie Mustemen) épouse un sujet tributaire (Zemi), elle s'engage à demeurer dans notre pays, et comme dépendante de son mari elle devient tributaire (Zemi) » Similarly, Belin in his study on property in the Empire published in the *Journal asiatique* claims that foreign women (*müstemen*) who married an Ottoman subject or *zimmi*, followed the status of her husband. Belin, *Journal asiatique*, December 1861, p. 488. Salem, "De l'influence du mariage sur la nationalité de la femme en Turquie", in Clunet, *Journal du droit international,* 1902, vol. 29, p. 82-83.

[174] Aristarchi, "Circulaire adressée aux gouverneurs généraux des *vilayet*s de l'Empire, 26 Mars 1869", *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 10. See also BOA, Y.EE 33-27 "Osmanlı teb'asından bir kadının yabancılardan biriyle evlenmesi halinde emlâkine ne yolda mu'âmele olunacağı ve yine 'Osmanlı teb'asından iken tab'iyetini değiştiren şahısların emlâkinin evlâdlarına intikāl etmeyeceğine dâir yazı sûreti", 1304.N.15 (June 7, 1887).

[175] Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane…,* vol. 1, p. 8. The clause goes on underlining that this arrangement would be valid for her personal rights whereas her property would be governed by the laws and regulations to which they belonged.

her property would be governed by the laws and regulations to which they belonged. As a result, with this regulation such a woman, considering that she was a naturalized foreigner without prior permission, would lose her ownership right over her property. However, this issue of the nationality of women married to foreigners never ceased to be problematic. A decree issued on 18 Muharrem 1325 / 8 Şubat 1323 (March 3, 1907) to correct a *hüccet* (decision) of the Sharia court which considered the wife of the Italian İstefano Baruçi (Stefano Baruzzi or Barozzi) as an Ottoman subject had to reaffirm that in such cases, based on the Law on Nationality, women married to foreigners should also be considered as foreign nationals.[176]

The Ottoman State Archives, on the other hand, reveal several cases on the property of women married to foreigners which had to be solved. One of these was related to the mother of İzzet Pasha, the Director of the Royal Stables. İzzet Pasha claimed that the properties of his mother İkbal Hanım[177] were confiscated by force (*müsâdere*) after her marriage to the Belgian subject Vanderboche. The Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, arguing that the confiscation of the properties was legitimized before the law, found it necessary to correct the wording of the act of confiscation. Nonetheless, the Sultan agreed to pay a certain amount of money in proportion to the harm caused to the interests of İkbal Hanım.[178]

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[176] *Düstûr*, "No:192 – Teb'a-ı 'Osmanîyeden olup Tâb'iyet Kānûnunun neşrinden sonra ecnebiyle izdivaç eden kadınların vefatında ecnebi olan veresesinin hukuku intikaliyesi ve olbapta konsoloshanelerinden verilecek ilmühaberlerin itibarı hakkında iradei seniyeyi mübelliğ tahriratı (*sic*) Meşihatpenahi", 18 Muharrem 1325/8 Şubat 1323 (March 3, 1907), 1st series, vol. 8, pp. 823-26.
[177] The list of properties included 1/6 of a land in Kanlıca which amounted to 1,250 liras, a stable at the Kazgani quarter in Tophane valued at 8,000 piastres, a house in Fındıklı including the land at 288.000 piasters. The overall value equaled 3,900 liras.
[178] BOA, Y.A.HUS 333-96, "Istabl-ı Âmire Müdürü İzzet Paşa'nın validesinin ecnebi ile izdivâc edip tabi'iyetden çıkarılması üzerine emvâl ve emlâki kānûnen hükümete geçtiğinden oğlunun bu husûstaki iddiâları gayr-i kānûnî olup ancak kendisine bir miktar atiyye-i seniyye ihsânı talebi", 1313.S.13 (August 5, 1895).

15 years later, a vizierial circular dated 15 Ramazan 1304 (June 7, 1887)[179] declared that a woman who took the nationality of her husband after her marriage could enjoy the property rights given to foreigners by the law of 7 Safer 1284 (June 16, 1867), but, as mentioned above, that she would lose her rights of inheritance from her parents of Ottoman nationality.[180] Again, for the woman married to a foreigner to enjoy her property rights, her husband had to be a citizen of a state which had ratified the protocol. Otherwise, the woman's property, in accordance with the law, would be transmitted to her heirs.[181]

The Case of a Foreign Woman Married to an Ottoman Subject

The case of a foreign woman who married an Ottoman subject was not taken up in the Law on Nationality. Some authors claimed that the acquisition of a new nationality could only take place if it was explicitly mentioned in the text of the law. Others considered that since it was assumed that religious law conformed to the spirit of foreign legislation, the case of a foreign woman who married an Ottoman subject needed not to be included in the Law on Nationality.[182] Nevertheless, decisions by

[179] The decision of the Council of State published in *Levant Herald* dated July 5, 1899, quoted from Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 54. The date was erroneously mentioned as March 26, 1303 instead of May 26, 1303. See Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 440 and Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 1, p. 333. *Düstûr*, 1st series, vol. 8, p. 845. See also the document written by the Correspondence Office of the Interior Affairs Department of the State coded as BOA, Y.EE 33-27, *op. cit.*

[180] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p.54. See also V. Salem, "De la nationalité de la femme en Turquie", *Journal du droit international* by Edouard Clunet, Paris : 1902, p. 84.

[181] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 441.

[182] According to the Sharia, a foreign woman married to an Ottoman acquired the nationality of her husband. But the same was not true for a woman of Ottoman nationality, who remained an Ottoman subject even if she married a foreigner. Moreover her children acquired the nationality of their mother. Based on the Rey's work on consular protection in the Levant (p. 396), Salem tells us that in order to avoid conflicts with foreign countries, the Ottoman State preferred to forbid Ottoman women from marrying foreigners. He added that the lawyer Hilmi Effendi in his article written in the journal *Hukūk* published in Constantinople mentioned this topic and the related *firman* of 1 Rebiyülâhir 1234

the State Council, as well as a vizierial circular, declared that as a rule, women took the nationality of their husband.[183] Courts had never excluded a foreign women married to an Ottoman subject from his succession. As Chiha as well as Steeg and Padel saw it, Ottoman consular law stated that foreign women who were married to Ottomans and who obtained Ottoman nationality through their marriage, should be inscribed in the registers of Ottoman subjects and should be given an Ottoman certificate of nationality or *tezkere-i 'Osmâniye*.[184] Moreover, Chiha also added that the Porte had twice replied to the ambassadors that a woman married to an Ottoman was considered as Ottoman. Salem, who gives us details on the case of women married to foreigners, also mentions the correspondence of the Porte on this matter with General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, on August 23, 1872, as well as with the ambassadors of Italy and of the Netherlands in 1873.[185]

Again according to Steeg and Padel, this silence of the law caused some conflicts with French jurisprudence. According to the interpretation of Article 18 of the civil code, a French woman lost her nationality only if the authorities of the country to whom the husband belonged conferred his nationality on her. Thus courts in France, not taking into consideration the Sharia as well as the particularities of Ottoman jurisdiction, had to judge that a French woman who married an Ottoman

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(January 28, 1819). Salem, "De l'influence du mariage sur la nationalité de la femme en Turquie", *Journal du droit international* by Edouard Clunet, 1901, vol. 28, pp. 938-939.

[183] See also the comments of the jurisconsults dated March 11, 1885, and which certified this application as a consequence of international law. BOA, Y.A.RES 29-55 "Devlet-i Âliye teb'asından iken yabancı ile evlenen Artemisya ve Marya adındaki kadınların emlâki hakkında yapılacak mu'âmele hakkında", 1302.Ş.29 (June 13, 1885).

[184] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* pp. 506-507. Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 55. Salem, vol. 29, p. 88.

[185] Salem, "De l'influence du mariage…, vol. 28, (1901), pp. 939-940.

remained French.[186] Ottoman jurisconsults warned that if such a decision was accepted by the Ottoman authorities, it would cause the loss of the wife's inheritance rights over her husband's estate. They added that even if the woman was the subject of a state which did not ratify the protocol; once she got married to an Ottoman, she could acquire property by any means.[187]

Concluding Remarks

Based on the comments of jurisconsults and archival documents, this chapter revealed a multi-layered and rather chaotic situation concerning the ownership of property in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. As Ernest Giraud, the editor of the French Chamber of Commerce monthly bulletin, mentioned in one of the advertisements for a translation of Ömer Hilmi's book, such books aimed at clarifying issues relating to property ownership in the Empire not only for "foreign property owners and jurisconsults"[188] but also for Ottoman subjects. In fact, this situation had already arisen in earlier centuries, but the centralization attempts of the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century remained limited with respect to daily life. The registration of properties in the Land Registry for the purpose of collecting taxes faced resistance from the subjects. A document addressed to the Vizier[189] mentioned that more than 20 percent of the property in

[186] Padel and Steeg, *De la législation…,* p. 55-56. See V. Salem, "De la nationalité de la femme en Turquie", dans Edouard Clunet, *Journal du droit international*, (Paris : 1902), p. 79.
[187] Chiha, *Traité de la propriété…,* p. 506.
[188] "Une brochure qui rendra de grands services aux Européens propriétaires d'immeuble en Turquie et aux jurisconsults Européens", *Bulletin mensuel de la chambre de commerce française de Constantinople*, no. 112, 1896, p. 152.
[189] BOA, Y.PRK.ML 19-62, "Emlâk Yoklamalarının İcrâsı", 1317.Ca.16 (March 18, 1900).

Istanbul and 50 percent of property in the greater perimeter of Istanbul were not registered in the name of their actual owners but rather in that of their ancestors. The reasons behind this chaos as discussed above were first, the lack of coordination between the departments of the State such as the tax offices and the Land Registry, and secondly, the high rate of the inheritance tax. Moreover, the particularistic relation of the State with its subjects was an impediment to any improvement of the system. For instance, the State did not put into practice a proposition to apply the confiscation of properties if they were not registered in the name of the actual owner within a time of two or three months. Consequently, property owners knew how to take advantage of the particularistic relations or of the chaotic situation as was the case for the registration of *gedik*s. The shop and the *gedik* could be owned by the same person and each of them could belong to different categories as *mülk* or *vakıf*. In such cases, the registration which took place following the abolition of the *gedik* was made into the most advantageous category. Those who had children, based on one of the title possessed, registered the shop as *vakıf* whereas those without children preferred to register it as *mülk*. Sıdkı commented that this practice caused a serious loss of rent for *vakıf* properties. On the other hand, several years later when the heirs discovered a *gedik* title, they usually claimed their ownership rights on the shop which had been sold or transferred to third parties.[190]

Moreover, one could follow through time the gradual transformation of a property into *mülk*, much as was the case for *gedik* or *vakıf* property from *icâre-i vâhideli* to *bi'l-icâreteyn* and *mukāta'a* status. Yediyıldız puts forward that this

[190] Sıdkı, *Gedikler*, pp. 55-56. Thirty years later, Tutel still complained about the lawsuits of *mülk* title owners who no longer had the right to claim their property. Tutel, *Tasarruf ve Gedikler...,* p. 31.

transformation could be considered as a form of hidden private ownership.[191] We would argue that this fact weakened the State's connection to the land and in the first years of the Republic paved the way to the sale of land to *mukāta'a* owners.[192] Although the case of *bi'l-icâreteyn* property was more complicated and Article 29 of the draft of the law underlined the need of a request not only from the users but also from the Management of Pious Endowments, Öztürk tells us that this proposal was not taken into consideration and that *bi'l-icâreteyn* property was sold by putting it in the same category as *mukāta'a* property.[193]

Foreigners, on the other hand, obtained their rights of ownership eleven years after the proclamation of the 1856 *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* which officially announced it. At the beginning of the negotiations in 1856, during the Congress of Paris, Âli Pasha had proposed the abolition of the capitulations, which had turned out to be an obstacle to the improvement of commercial transactions, but with the exception of the Sardinian delegate Comte Cavour, this proposition was not accepted, and the protocol was content with stating the wish of pursuing this debate after the peace.[194] The capitulations were not abolished, but as a consequence foreigners had to wait until 1867 to obtain the right to acquire property in their name. By this time, the issue of property owned by foreigners was carefully taken up under the control of the Ottoman authorities and the possibility of capitulatory privileges was ruled out. At that point, Barkan's argument on considering the law as a hopeless struggle of the

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[191] Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Vakıf", *İslam Ansiklopedisi: İslam Alemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lugati*, (Eskişehir : Eskişehir Anadolu Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi – MEB yayınları, 1997), vol. 13, p. 159.

[192] According to the Law on the *Vakıf* number 2762 and dated June 5, 1935, the owner of a building acquired the possibility to own the land for a fee which corresponded to twenty times the *mukāta'a* amount. Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme…,* p. 261.

[193] *Ibid.*

[194] Noradounghian, "Protocole No: XIV – Scéance du 25 mars 1856", *Recueil d'actes…,* pp. 37-38.

State against foreign powers which would transform the Empire into a sort of colony[195] seems exaggerated, and to a large extent inspired by the nationalist ideology and sentiments of the time. On the contrary, Davison's argument that the Law on Foreign Ownership could be considered as an attack on the capitulations, seems to come closer to the reality of the period,[196] not to mention the fact that İsmail Hami Danişmend goes as far as considering it a victory of the Ottoman State.[197] As discussed above, foreigners assimilated to Ottoman nationals in matters of property were subjected to the same legislation for almost all issues including taxation. As Konan also put forward, the protocol which regulated the capitulatory rights of property owners was concerned with personal rights and not with property *per se*.[198] The answer written to the Municipality of Salonica and all the correspondence of the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior about the difficulties encountered in Serres with respect to the distribution of the notification on the value of the property belonging to foreigners underlines this issue and shows us the limits of capitulatory rights. The Ministry of the Interior ordered that, like in Salonica, the notification should be left at the door of the house if the people concerned did not accept to receive it.[199] When reading the documents of the time, it becomes obvious that the

[195] Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak…,* p. 351.
[196] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 262.
[197] İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1955), p. 228.
[198] Konan, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yabancıların…", p. 109.
[199] "14 Kānûn-ı sânî 325 tarihli ve 1674 numerolu tahrirât-ı behiyeleri cevâbıdır. Memâlik-i 'Osmanîye'de ecnebilere hakk-ı tasarruf-ı emlâk bahş eden 7 Safer 1284 tarihli kānûnun ikinci maddesinde ecânib 'uhde-i tasarruflarında bulunan emlâka 'âid kaffe-i husûsâtda teb'a-ı Devlet-i 'Âliye'nin mükellef oldukları şerâ'iti îfâya mecbûr oldukları ve kaffe-i tekâlif ve rüsûmu i'ta eyleyecekleri ve emlâka müte'allik husûsât-ı zâtiyelerine mahsûs sıfat-ı tâbi'iyet-i 'asliyelerinin te'sîri olmaksızın ve mu'âhedât iktizâsınca zâtlarına ve emlâk-ı menkulelerine 'âid olan mu'âfiyet muhâfaza olunmak kaydıyla haklarında tamâmıyle teb'a-ı 'Osmâniye gibi mu'âmele îfâsını icâb eyleyeceği musarrah olmasına ve emlâk kıymetlerine dâir ihbârnâmelerin vilâyetçe bu bâbda müttehiz usûl vech ile doğrudan doğruya 'alâkadârâne tebliği muktezî bulunmasına nazaran Siroz'da bu husûsda başka

Ottoman State was very determined to keep the property issues under its control. Moreover, as Young or Engelhart put forward, foreigners in the Ottoman Empire were generally lost, in the complexity and intricacy of the fiscal system as well as of the legislation on property and succession.[200] Therefore, if one were to talk of foreign opportunists, it could at most be said that some foreigners, just as some Ottomans, profited from the discrepancies of a multi-layered and chaotic system to turn property rights to their advantage.

Under such a regime of property and bearing in mind that the land was mostly *vakıf* in Istanbul, the analysis of the investment manners of its inhabitants and the search for the particularities of the expansion of the capital will be the quest of the following chapters. How did these limitations on property ownership affect the investment decisions and the urban transformation of Istanbul? What were the demands of these actors? To what extent would the newly issued legislation on property ownership meet their needs?

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sûretle mu'âmele îfâsı câ'iz olmayub yalnız emlâka müte'allik ihbârnâmelerin teblîği için me'mûrînin ecânîbin hânelerine duhûlu anların imtiyâzât-ı şahsiyelerine ta'alluk edeceği cihetle câiz olamıyacağından Selanik'de yapıldığı gibi ihbârnâmeleri tebellüğden imtinâ edenlerin hâneleri kapularından verilmesi yahud kapularına yapıştırılması sûretiyle emr-i teblîğin icrâsı münâsib olacağı bi'l muhâbere Hâriciye Nezâret-i Celîlesinden cevâben alınan tezkerede izbâr olunmakla olvech ile mu'âmele îfâsına himmet buyrulması bâbında. 10 Şubat 1325 (February 23, 1910)" BOA, DH.MUI 61-2-3, "Emlâk sahibi olan yabancılara emlâklarına aid ihbârnâmenin evlerinde ve kendilerine teblîği", 1328.S.12 (February 23, 1910).

[200] Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 336. Engelhart, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat,* p. 214.

CHAPTER 3

THE MODERNIZATION OF URBAN SPACE

The nineteenth century modernization/modernity issue is very much related to the representation of urban space. During this century, cities became fields of implementation for new forms that conformed to a new way of living. Starting from Istanbul, port cities of the Empire underwent important transformations which varied according to the indigenous response given to European models of modernity. The capital of the Empire, the fourth biggest city of the world with its size and population, first entered the path of reformation through the willingness of its rulers to regulate urban space and to create a city rivaling European ones. The letter addressed by Mustafa Reşid Pasha to the Sultan in Receb 1252 (October/November 1836) during his stay as ambassador in London,[1] just before the proclamation of the *Tanzîmât,* illustrates very well the approach of reformers to urban space. The critiques of European newspapers on the wooden houses which were destroyed with each fire led him to propose *kâgir* (masonry) buildings instead which would be constructed in the beginning by European architects and later by native architects who would travel to Europe to learn this technique. The implications of the letter did not take long to materalize. The arrival of Helmut von Moltke a few months later to trace a topographical plan of Istanbul could be attributed to the effects of this letter. This was the first time that rulers were interested in the visual reproduction of

[1] This letter was first published by M. Cavid Baysun, as "Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Siyasi Yazıları" *in İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Dergisi*, (Istanbul: September 1960), vol. XI, no.15, pp. 124-127. It was translated into French by Stéphane Yerasimos in Alain Borie, Pierre Pinon, Stéphane Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul au XIX^e siècle, Rapport de synthèse, septembre 1996*, (Paris: École d'Architecture de Paris La Défense, Bureau de la Recherche Architecturale, 1996), pp. 28-29.

space on a map. Moltke's plan, though it was not detailed enough ─the plan is of 1/25.000─ for setting an urban project, could be considered as the first official visual document on urban space.[2] On the other hand, a petition dated 25 Rebiyülevvel 1255 (June 8, 1839) presented the important points of urban space planning which could be regarded as utopian for that time.[3] Yerasimos and Pinon are in doubt about the name of the urban planner who prepared the petition[4] since they argue that the plan prepared by Moltke is not precise enough to constitute a basis for it. İlhan Tekeli also pronounced his doubt about it and suggested that it could well have been prepared by the Organization of Imperial Buildings among whom architects of the Balyan family had a great influence.[5] Similarly Mustafa Cezar in his last publications put forward that the petition, which was accompanied by a plan, could not belong to Moltke as was claimed by several researchers until now [6] but to the director of the Organization of Imperial Buildings (*Ebniye-i Hassa Müdîriyeti*) between 1824/25 and 1852 probably, Abdülhalim Bey,[7] who knew the city

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[2] Borie, Pinon, Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul…*, p. 21. See the plan printed in 1260 (1844) by the Engineering Office Printing in Appendix B. The plan was reproduced in Cahit Kayra et al., *İstanbul Haritaları : Ortaçağdan Günümüze - Maps of Istanbul : From the Middle Ages to the present day*, (Istanbul: TSKB, 1990), p. 155 and Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 2002), p. 323.

[3] For the text see Ergin, *Mecelle...,* vol. 3, pp. 1240-1243. M. Rıfat Akbulut, "Moltke, Helmuth von", *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1994), vol. 5, pp. 486-487.

[4] Pierre Pinon, Stéphane Yerasimos, "Relevés après incendie et plans d'assurances: les précurseurs du cadastre stambouliote", *Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, vol. 1-2, 1993, p.112-114. [112-129] Available [online]: http://archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.jsp?document_id=5000 [November 15, 2008].

[5] İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökleri", *Türkiye'de İmar Planlaması*, (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1980), p. 38.

[6] Cezar mentions only Zeynep Çelik (Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…,* p. 325) but Rıfat Akbulut also tells us that the petition which was published in Osman Nuri Ergin's *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye* belongs to Moltke.

[7] For further information, see Mustafa Cezar, "19. yüzyılda önemli işlere imzasını atmış bir mimarımız: Abdülhalim Bey," *19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Sanat Ortamı*, *Habitat II'ye Hazırlık Sempozyumu 14-15 Mart 1996, Bildiriler* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1996), pp. 96-99.

very well and who was given the responsibility of its implementation.[8] The main points of the petition reported in Ergin's *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye* could be summarized as follows:

From now on houses and other buildings constructed should be in conformity with the plan and should not be made of timber. To those, Muslim or non-Muslim, who would like to build their houses in masonry, one could assign the land on the wide streets where calculations and plans were made according to geometric principles. Nobody should be allowed to build a house in timber facing the masonry ones. Poor people can construct their houses in timber only at a certain distance. The width of the streets of Istanbul, particularly those of the Imperial Palace crossing the Divanyolu, Beyazıd, Aksaray and arriving at Silivrikapı and Mevlevihane kapısı; from Çarşamba to Eğrikapı, from Kadırga port to Yedikule, from Bahçekapı to Eyüp will be 20 *zirâ'*s (15.16 meters). Trees will be planted and pedestrian roads will be constructed on both sides of the streets. The remaining streets will be of 10, 12 and 15 *zirâ'*s or respectively 7.58, 9.09, 11.37 meters[9] and dead-end streets will not exist anymore.

To the seashore from Yalıköşkü at Sarayburnu to Unkapanı and on the other side from Tophane to the new bridge (Galata bridge) waterfronts in stones with pedestrian roads of 4 *arşın*s (3.03 meters) will be built. Trees will be planted and squares will be opened on the available places of the waterfront. In addition, squares will be opened around mosques and important buildings.

[8] Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…,* pp. 324-325.
[9] The unit of length, *arşın,* used by architects and also called *zirâ'-ı mimarî* equalled 0,758 meters. Alexandre M. Raymond, "Mesures et poids usités dans l'Empire ottoman", *Notes pratiques et résumés sur l'art du constructeur en Turquie*, (Alexandrie: I. Della Rocca, 1908), p. 18.

The losses of land by private *vakıf*s as a result of the widening of roads will be covered by the amounts given by the Ministry of Pious Endowments (*Evkāf Nezâreti*) and the owners of houses can cover their losses by increasing the rent.

New houses that are built will not be higher than 3 floors, that is 20 *zirâ*'s (15.16 meters). When widening the roads, the location of mosques and cemeteries will not be changed; fountains and similar monuments, however, could be moved if necessary. Everything will conform to the plans prepared.

If people, who cannot afford to build their houses from stone, construct them in timber, will need to raise a roof-high masonry wall separating it from the neighboring buildings.

The Director of Imperial Buildings (*Ebniye-yi Hassa Müdîri*) will be responsible for the application of the above clauses and the Ministry of *İhtisab* (guilds and markets) will give him its support.[10]

One could trace back the influence of this petition to the building regulations issued by the state in 1848.[11] Although narrower than the width mentioned in the petition, the new regulation set the limits of the streets at 10 *arşın*s (7.58 meters) for the widest, 8 *arşın*s (6.06 meters) for the medium-width streets, and 6 *arşın*s (4.55 meters) for the rest.[12] The first attempts at planning the urban space which reflected the willingness of the ruling elite for

[10] Reported from Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, p. 324; for the whole text see Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, pp. 1032-1037.
[11] Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, p. 487. Yerasimos argued that one could follow the traces of the petition even in 1985-87, during the reorganization of the Golden Horn. Yerasimos, "À propos des réformes urbaines", *Hommes et idées dans l'espace ottoman*, (Istanbul: Isis, 1997), p. 305.
[12] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 1032.

the modernization of urban space were certainly state-sponsored, whereas with the Crimean War (1854-1856), which increased the influx of Europeans to Istanbul, the demands of foreigners started to shape the urban environment. According to Yerasimos, the Ottoman State was unwilling to establish municipalities due to the fear of losing its control over urban space[13] and the establishment of the Sixth District Municipality (*Altıncı Dâire-i Belediye*), whose administration would be shared by the wealthy inhabitants of the district, was approved without great enthusiasm. Later, when the state became suspicious of foreign interference in the case of the Sixth District Municipality,[14] government withdrew its support for the regulation of urban space. Finally, in 1868, the status of the Sixth District Municipality was altered with the establishment of the Municipality of Istanbul which would centralize the urban planning of the city.

Among several studies which describe the urban transformation of nineteenth-century Istanbul, Doğan Kuban's, *Istanbul, an Urban History*[15] as well as Mustafa Cezar's *Osmanlı Başkenti* (*The Ottoman Capital*) are of particular interest.[16] Both works consist mainly of narratives describing the urban transformation of Istanbul over time. Particularly Cezar's work gives precious information on the transition from the 'classical' period to the era of reforms, while a third study, that of Zeynep Çelik[17] on nineteenth-century

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[13] Stéphane Yerasimos, "L'Occidentalisation de l'espace urbain: Istanbul 1839-1871", *Hommes et idées…*, pp. 327-328.
[14] Steven Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 136-137.
[15] Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul. An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, (Istanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation, 1996).
[16] Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti …*
[17] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996). Its Turkish translation was published by the publication of History Foundation of Turkey. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı*

Istanbul, introduces a comparative perspective with colonial cities. Çelik's macrohistorical approach, which is always present in her analysis, gives us, together with the first two publications, a description of the city's transformation and concludes that the transformation of the urban space in Istanbul was not at all of colonial nature, and that the city had its own particular and autonomous history. Her work, published in 1986, still remains one of the most important studies in the field for nineteenth-century Istanbul. Stéphane Yerasimos' unpublished study[18] conducted with the collaboration of Pierre Pinon and Alain Borie, on the "westernization"[19] of Istanbul is another outstanding work in the field.[20] Trying to understand the dynamics of change in urbanization, the study is mainly a detailed analysis of the different tools of urban change and modernization. Stressing that the work of Çelik should be broadened and analyzing the transformation of the urban space through urban regulations, different cadastral and assurance maps as well as architectural transformations,[21] the report reached a conclusion similar to Çelik's. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Istanbul looked modern when the city was studied in detail; one of the most striking examples of nineteenth century urban planning could be that of Voyvoda Street, reorganized by the Sixth District Municipality. Nonetheless, compared with European cities such as Paris,

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Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul, translated by Selim Deringil, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, February 1996).

[18] Though this study was never published as a whole, Yerasimos made known some of its outcomes in a number of articles: "Réglementation urbaine et municipale (1839-1869)", *Les villes dans l'Empire ottoman: activités et sociétés*, ed. by Daniel Panzac, (Marseille: CNRS, 1991), pp. 97-119; "A propos des réformes urbaines des *Tanzimat*", *Villes ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*, ed. by Paul Dumont, François Georgeon, (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1992), pp. 17-32. The latter was translated as "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine" in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 2nd ed., pp. 1-18.

[19] My quotation marks. I prefer to use the term modernization since it includes the internal dynamics of the Empire.

[20] Alain Borie, Pierre Pinon, Stéphane Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul au XIX^e siècle…*

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Vienna or even London, Istanbul had not undergone urban planning on a great scale before the implementation of Henri Prost's projects in the 1950s.[22] To put it in Çelik's words, the modernization of nineteenth-century Istanbul remains "piecemeal, partial and scattered". Similarly, İlhan Tekeli also stresses the lack of integration in the city's transportation system; according to him the communication of different areas was only possible by passing through the center of the city.[23] Several reasons could be enumerated, such as financial problems, the limits of land supply, the fear of an overall transformation and the resistance of people and institutions to the transformation of their relationship with the state… The complex structure of the capital made it very different from the port cities of the Empire as well as from most of the colonial cities of the Orient, where in most cases a very deep surgery had been possible through the division of the cities into two parts — western and 'native' — as in Alger or Cairo.[24]

The focus of the modernization of urban space in Istanbul would be on those regions that developed on each side of the Golden Horn, which constituted the core of the commercial areas, and were therefore closely linked to Europe through their commercial operations: Stamboul, a traditional business centre for wholesale trade; Galata, a business centre for the newly rising occupations of the time, as well as a residential area along its steep hills for white collar workers employed in the surrounding offices;[25] Pera, the upper

[22] *Ibid*., p. 18, 191.
[23] İlhan Tekeli, "19. yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü", *Modernleşme…*, p. 30.
[24] See Zeynep Çelik on Alger*, Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997) and Janet Abu Lughod on Cairo, *Cairo: 1001 years of the City Victorious*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).
[25] See Mübeccel Kıray "Apartmanlaşma ve Modern Orta Tabakalar", *Çevre*, no: 4, 1979, p. 78; Edhem Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi, Voyvoda Streets from Ottoman Times to Today*, (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Bankacılık ve Finans Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi, 2000), p. 29, Stefanos

extension of Galata, was mainly a residential area for the well-off population with wide and very developed retail trade possibilities. Besides the infrastructural projects, which were first implemented in these areas, modern *hân*s and apartment blocks were principally built there. A study by Murat Güvenç and Tansı Şenyapılı, which was an attempt through geographic methods to set the economic, social and spatial relations for two specific years, 1910 and 1922, was based on the data of the trade directories and quantified and visualized on the plans of the time the occupation and status of the inhabitants for each street in the entire area, setting the spatial relations between residential and office space.[26] Taking into account the particularities of each region and bringing into the picture the individual, our study aims to grasp and construe the urban transformation over a longer period of time, from 1868 to 1914, and to test, verify and elaborate what has been said to this day.

Among a number of publications on Galata and Pera, Steven Rosenthal's analysis, Mustafa Cezar's outstanding work, Nur Akın's extensive research, and Edhem Eldem's case study on Bankalar (Voyvoda) Street, are noteworthy sources for understanding the urban transformation of the area throughout the nineteenth century. Cezar, who linked the growth of Pera to the distribution of sufficient water supplies from the end of the eighteenth century, claims that the establishment of the schools and barracks of the new army would pave the way for its urban development.[27] Rosenthal approached the

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Yerasimos, "Konaktan Apartmana Geçiş Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", Lecture given at the Ottoman Bank Museum on March 10, 2008. Available [on line] http://www.obarsiv.com/e_voyvoda_toplantilari_0304.html [October 25, 2004].

[26] Murat Güvenç, Tansı Şenyapılı, "II. Meşrutiyetten İşgal Dönemine İstanbul'da Toplumsal, Ekonomik ve Mekansal Dönüşüm: Doğu Yıllıkları Üzerinde İlişkisel Çözümlemeler, Sonuç Raporu", (Ankara: Tübitak Projesi SBB 8006, December 2004).

[27] Mustafa Cezar, *XIX. Yüzyıl Beyoğlusu*, (İstanbul: Ak Yayınları Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları, 1991), pp. 16-28.

transformations of the nineteenth century through the dependency theory and looked at the role of non-Muslim bourgeois in the creation and execution of the Galata municipality. His conclusion was that becoming dependent on foreign power, the municipality of Pera alienated itself from the whole of society and therefore the state's support of the undertakings of the municipality was only possible when the Porte took an increasing part in the administration after the appointment of Server Efendi.[28] Akın, on the other hand, traces the social, cultural and urban transformation of the quarter through contemporary newspapers. She claims that Pera and Galata were mostly developing through European dynamics and that their connection to the other shore of the Golden Horn was very limited.[29] We could argue that the areas established on both sides of the Golden Horn were in close connection through their commercial transactions and the Galata Bridge could be considered as the physical implication of this connection.[30] As Çelik argued, the bridge does not separate the two peninsulas as was the case in colonial cities but in fact contributes to the creation of a greater Istanbul.[31] Moreover, as we will notice in the following parts of our study, a similar growth and the rise of similar buildings could be observed on both parts of the Golden Horn. Eldem, on the other hand, analyzes the development of the urban texture of Voyvoda Street that witnessed the establishment of mostly foreign companies in the nineteenth

[28] Rosenthal, *Politics…*, pp. 198-199. The exact date of the appointment of Server Efendi was 4 Ramazan 1279 (February 23, 1863). Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1338.
[29] Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2002), p. 349-350.
[30] "The construction of the bridge linking the two shores of the Golden Horn confirmed the transfer of commercial and financial power. Galata's dynamism gradually dragged Sirkeci and Eminönü, formally integral parts of the old city, into its orbit". Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital", *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul,* ed. by E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters , (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 203.
[31] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 118.

century. In his analysis, he shows us how the investment of companies in buildings fluctuated according to the conjonctural conditions of the time. The growth of the street towards Okçu Musa came to a halt with the war, the ensuing economic crisis and later with political instability.[32]

The urban transformation of the other side of the Golden Horn and for our purpose the Stamboul area itself has been much less studied. This area is considered as a part of the old city with its monumental mosques and its traditional wooden houses. The nineteenth century urban reorganization was studied with respect to fires which opened the way to the regularization of the urban fabric in that specific area. It could be assumed that the reason behind this is the belief that this part did not undergo important changes and remained more or less as it was before throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, to depict the transformations of the upper part where state institutions and the *konak*s of state officials were established would be of greater interest than a commercial area for researchers dealing with traditional parts of the city.[33] Scholars tended to analyze social and physical transformations through dual concepts such as traditional/modern, Islamic/European or Western/Oriental. This focus tends to overlook many meaningful details, the in-betweens which reveal different truths about the city. A quick look at the plans by Goad and Pervitich reveal changes similar to Galata particularly in the most commercialized area that is from Galata Bridge to the left up to Sirkeci and to the upper parts towards the Great Bazaar including Sultanhamam and Mahmutpaşa. The modernization of the area started with the Hocapaşa fire of

[32] Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi*, *passim*.
[33] For a nostalgic perspective see Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Divanyolu: Bir Caddenin Hikayesi*, (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2003).

1865, one of the largest fires (also known as *harîk-i kebîr,* the big fire) which destroyed 2910 buildings in a large and prestigious area from the coast of Marmara at Kumkapı to the West of Eminönü.[34] This fire became an occasion for the *Tanzîmât* promoters, namely Reşid, Fuad and Âli Pashas, to implement the reordering of urban space and to encourage the construction of new buildings along the lines of urban planning and modernity which had impressed them during their visits to European cities and which at that time were lacking in Istanbul.[35] In fact the Hocapaşa fire initiated the persistent application of the basic guidelines established by Mustafa Reşid Pasha in 1836 and the 1848 regulation on buildings: the regularization of the street system and the conversion of timber buildings into masonry.[36] As Ergin points out, in 1270 (1854/1855) the streets were so narrow that two people could not pass side by side, while the squares disappeared under the buildings[37] and houses could not survive for more than two generations.[38] Cezar argued that the reason for such a mess was the increasing population which was squeezed in the already inhabited quarters, a fact which was accentuated by the influx of refugees due to the defeats in the Balkans. He added that the establishment of a new district was subject to a decree by the Sultan and that even after the *Tanzîmât*, the opening of new quarters lagged behind this growth of the urban population.[39] Yerasimos, on the other hand, argued that the Islamic practices

[34] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1229. Also in Yerasimos et al., *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul…,* p. 30. The number corresponded to the total number of buildings destroyed in Hocapaşa and Kumkapı-Baliğ slope, respectively 1007 and 1903 buildings. See the map of the fire in Appendix C.
[35] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, p. 937.
[36] Çelik, *The Remaking…,* p. 53.
[37] See also on this issue Osman Ergin, *İstanbul'da İmar ve İskan Hareketleri*, (İstanbul: Eminönü Halkevi Dil, Tarih ve Edebiyat Şubesi Neşriyatı VI, 1938), pp. 17-19.
[38] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, p. 1240.
[39] Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…,* , p. 330.

which made possible the use of the street by its habitants and rendered it somewhat private were the reasons behind the inability of the state in ordering the city before the legislation of the *Tanzîmât*.[40] A commission, the *Islâhât-ı Turûk Komisyonu* (Commission for the Improvement of Roads) which would deal with the planning of the burned area as well as other locations needing regularization was constituted on 24 Zilhicce 1282 (May 10, 1866)[41] and pursued its activities until the regulation on the administration of the municipality which divided the city into 14 municipalities was issued on 17 Cemâziyülevvel 1285 (September 5, 1868).[42] According to Cezar, the establishment of the commission was a clear result of urban reforms which had started fifty years ago with the first regulation of buildings issued during the reign of Selim III in 1808.[43] Thus it could easily be argued that as opposed to colonial cities where the regularization of urban space was imposed, in Istanbul the state bureaucracy internalized the modernization of urban space in order to consolidate its power or create a modern capital which would rival European ones. The support of Fuad Pasha, for instance, who stood behind the drastic decisions of the transfer of Muslim tombs in the enlargement of the Divan Yolu, to the undertakings of the commission, is well known.[44]

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[40] Stéphane Yerasimos, "Réformes urbaines des *Tanzimat*", *Hommes et idées…*, pp. 315-316. Also in Yerasimos et al., *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul…,* pp. 17-18.
[41] This dates corresponds to the issue of the petition of the High Council in *Takvîm-i Vekāyi'*. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 944.
[42] Different dates were mentioned for the dissolution of the commission, probably due to the lack of knowledge about the exact date. Çelik and Yerasimos gave the date of 1869 whereas Cezar put forward the year 1868. Ergin, on the other hand, informs us that the commission transferred its activities to the municipality after 1285. If we have to consider the exact date given in Young, we could say that the activities of the commission were transferred by the end of 1868 or beginning of 1869. Çelik, *The Remaking…,* p. 56-57. Yerasimos et al., *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul…,* pp. 29-32. Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, p. 317. Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 2, p. 960. Young, vol. 6, p. 149.
[43] Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…,* p. 317.
[44] Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 2, p. 955.

With financial and political support behind them, arguing that by widening the streets, the transport of materials would be facilitated and construction costs reduced, the commission gave priority to certain roads located at strategic points such as the connection of the Sirkeci quays to the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âlî*) via the Aziziye Street.[45] With the arrival of the train crossing the gardens of the imperial palace with the approval of Sultan Abdülaziz and the Sirkeci train station the construction of which began on February 11, 1888 and was inaugurated on November 10, 1890,[46] the reconstruction of Sirkeci quays was completed in 1900. A few years later the Galata quays and harbour, followed by the opening of the head post office[47] in 1909 provided the district with a modern infrastructure.

The Sixth District Municipality and the Urban Tranformation of Galata and Pera

The transformation of these three areas went hand in hand with the development of the municipality. It seems that for Galata and Pera the experience of the Sixth District Municipality, even though it was only partly successful, played a key role in the regularization of the area. Created in 1855 and composed of people familiar with European methods, the Commission for the Order of the City (*İntizâm-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) was unable to function

[45] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 58-59.
[46] Yıldız Salman, "Sirkeci Garı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1994), vol. 7, p. 13.
[47] The post office was built on the location of Çengeloğlu Tahir Paşa's *konak*, which was later used as the location of the Ministry of Police. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 957 fn 2. The building was built by the architect Vedat Tek between 1905 and 1909 at Bahçekapı. Yıldız Salman, "Posta ve Telegraf Nezareti Binası", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 6, p. 279.

properly and proposed the experimental creation of the Sixth District Municipality under the control of the Grand Vizier for Galata, Pera and Tophane.[48] With a restrained budget, the municipality could only work with the financial contribution of its residents and the Galata-Pera area which was inhabited by wealthy businessmen, foreign ambassadors or high-rank officers acquainted with European practices, was considered to be suitable for the creation of an experimental setting.

After its establishment on 11 Cemâziyelâhir 1274 (January 27, 1858)[49], the first work undertaken by the Sixth District Administration was the cadastral survey of the district which was approved by the Council of the *Tanzîmât* on 15 Şaban 1274 (March 31, 1858),[50] and completed and presented to the Grand Vizier some twenty years later, in 1876.[51] These very detailed plans which include the surface of each building besides their length and width obviously aimed to serve for an "objective" base for the calculation of taxes. It was a pioneering work of its kind in the Ottoman capital and turned out to be a model for the other municipalities.[52] The survey succeeded to include the height, the width as well as the surface of 12,000 properties (houses and shops)[53] measured by the Polish land surveyors who had worked before in the

[48] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1307.
[49] This date corresponds to the ratification of the petition dated 12 Rebiyülâhir 1274 (November 30, 1857) by the Sultan. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, pp. 1308-1313.
[50] The Council approved the petition sent by the Sixth District Municipality to the Council on 14 Şaban 1274 (March 30, 1858) which comprised the budget of this affair, the total amount being calculated as 514,200 kuruş. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, pp. 1323-1326.
[51] Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat ottoman à Galata (Istanbul) à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle, questions de continuité et de rupture," (PhD diss., Université de Paris VIII, Juin 2002) vol. 1, p. 118. These cadastral plans –at least those in the collection of the Atatürk Library– were recently brought together in one of the latest publications of the Atatürk Library: *Cadastre de la Ville de Constantinople, VI. Cercle Municipal*, ed. by İrfan Dağdelen, (İstanbul: T. C. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2005).
[52] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 45-46.
[53] *Journal de Constantinople*, December 1, 1858, quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 543.

Highways Department in France (*Ponts et Chaussées*)[54] and marked the borders of the buildings. Nonetheless this issue of defining the borders seems to have been problematic. Alfred de Caston, the owner and publisher of the *Revue de Constantinople* reported from the pages of the *Phare du Bosphore* newspaper that a commission whose members included General Mahmud Pasha and Colonel Ali was established to investigate the complaints on the exactitude of the information reported.[55] Although several complaints were raised, considering that the cadastral survey of the remaining part of the city was accomplished very late, the accomplishment of the cadastral work of the Sixth District Municipality could be considered as a success.[56]

Based on the first findings of the cadastral survey, Count G. d'Ostoya, an engineer at the Municipality and who had established its technical bureau, realized in 1858-1860 the first plan of Galata, Pera and Pangaltı which makes it possible for us to see the urban fabric of the region before the dismantlement of the Galata city walls in 1864 and great fire of 1870. On the other hand, the opening of Karaköy Square in 1858 in a labyrinthine area where two animals could not pass through side by side[57] marked the beginning of a new and intensive phase of activity in the district. The widening of Karaköy Square together with the destruction of the Galata city walls was one of the two most

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[54] A. de Caston, "Péra, hier, aujourd'hui, demain", *Revue de Constantinople*, *politique, financière et littéraire*, January 17, 1875, vol. 1, p. 52.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] The cadastral survey of the remaining part of the city would start after the petition dated June 29, 1290 (July 11, 1874) and as Ergin underlines, the fact that 66 years after the cadastral maps of Pera and Galata, the task for the rest of Istanbul was still not accomplished by the Municipality or by the Cadastre showed the importance of the achievement of the Sixth District Municipality. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1321. Tekeli notes that the circulation network maps prepared by a German firm which started its drawings in 1913 and completed its projects in 1919 measuring a total area of 27,000 hectars constituted the basis of cadastral plan studies starting in 1925. İlhan Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning*, (Istanbul: IULA-EMME, 1994), p. 57. See also Pinon and Yerasimos, "Relevés après incendie…, pp. 128-129.
[57] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1326.

important achievements of the Sixth District Municipality. Although the usual practice was to regularize such areas after fires, the fact that the buildings were mostly made of stone did not give another alternative to the municipality than to expropriate them by paying their value. Thus, thanks to the newly issued expropriation law of 1856 mentioned in the first chapter, the Sixth District Municipality for the first time regularized an area which had not been destroyed by fire. A petition signed by Cermanos veled-i Yusuf Havva (Germanos son of Joseph Havva), Antuvan Alyon (Antoine Alléon), Covani Eliazar (Giovanni Eliazar), Avram Kamondo (Abraham Camondo), Septime Franchini, E's-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil, Naum Duhânî Mihail, Tıngırzade Ohannes, Serviçen (Servitchen), Miltiyadi, Charles Hanson and sent to the High Council of the *Tanzîmât* (*Meclis-i Tanzîmât*) on 23 Şaban 1274 (April 8, 1858) stated that when the streets were regularized and the new plots sold at the auction, if the Municipality was to lose money from this transaction, it would be considered as its own loss, but, on the contrary, if it gained money, the municipality would have to distribute it among the individuals whose property had been expropriated.[58] This proposition was found to be "fair enough"[59] by the Council. Nonetheless this suggestion, as was mentioned in the issue of October 30, 1858 of the *Journal de Constantinople*, did not satisfy the property owners.[60] The details of this implementation can also be traced through documents in the Ottoman State Archives,[61] which reveal not only the resistance of property owners but also the budget foreseen for this

[58] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, pp. 1326-1328.
[59] "Pek adilâne bir mu'âmele" (2 Ramazan 1274 / April 16, 1858), Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1329.
[60] See Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, pp. 542-543, 617.
[61] BOA, İ.DH 413-27332, "Karaköy Kapısı dâhilinde olup tesviye-i tarîk için satın alınacak 'arâzi ve emlâk keyfiyetine dâir", 1275.N.07 (April 10, 1859).

expropriation. The area of each shop was calculated and the unit price of the location was set at 60 liras/ *zirâ'* (79 liras/m^2) in Fermeneciler, at 70 liras/ *zirâ'* (92.47 liras/m^2) in Karaköy and between 60-70 liras/ *zirâ'* (79 liras/m^2 – 92.47 liras/m^2) in Balıkpazarı. Two hans were estimated separately: Çadırcı Han which was calculated as 512 *zirâ'*s (294 m^2) was valued at 12.108,8 liras (23.65 liras / *zirâ'*) and Bıçakçı Han, measuring 1,480 *zirâ'*s (850 m^2), was valued at 34,987.20 liras (23.64 liras / *zirâ'*). Thus the total budget for the expropriation was calculated to be 96,734.91 liras.[62] The commission composed of members of the Council of Public Works, of the Courts of Inquiry (*Teftiş*) and of the Galata Tribunal, of the municipality and of former and recent *muhtâr*s (headmen) of the Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha, Cami'-i Kebir and Cedid neighborhoods complained that although the revenues of twenty years instead of the usual practice of thirteen to fifteen years was taken as a basis, the owners, at the end of three months, not being convinced that the amount proposed was a fair one, did not want to abandon their properties. As a result the municipal council composed of E's-Seyid Mehmed Kâmil, Serviçen (Servitchen) Avram Kamondo, Covani Eliazar (Giovanni Eliazar), Naum Duhânî Mihail, Karabet Kara...(?), Tıngırzâde Ohannes, Antuan Alyon (Antoine Alléon), Miltiadi, S. Franchini, Cermanos *veled-i* Yusuf Havva

[62] *Ibid.*, doc 1. The total amount of expropriation in each street estimated by a commission composed of government employees, representatives of the court of Galata, of the municipality and the *muhtâr*s (headmen) of the districts of Cami'-i Kebîr and Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha was given as below:

Location	**Piasters**
Fermeneciler Çarşısı	1.690.500
Karaköy	1.617.291
Balık Pazarı	1.656.100
Çadırcı Hanı	1.210.880
Bıçakçı Hanı	3.498.720
Total	**9.673.491**

See Appendix F for the details of each shop and of the two *hân*s.

(Germanos son of Joseph Havva) asked for permission to destroy all properties with the goods and furniture inside at the end of the term accorded and requested that the complaints of proprietors who would have damages not be taken into account.[63] The documents do not reveal if the expropriation was carried out by force but news from the *Journal de Constantinople* issued on September 14, 1859 announced the beginning of the construction, on a land of approximately 2,600 *zirâ'*s (1,493 m^2) of a new *hân* designed by the architect Barborini.[64] Another document found in the Ottoman State Archives reveals that an auction was organized on 17 Kānûn-ı Sânî 1274 (January 29, 1859) and that in order to supervise both the auction and the distribution of the profits generated by the sale of the constructions, the High Special Council (*Meclis-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâ*) approved the nomination of Azmi Bey, second assistant to the prosecutor.[65]

The building of Karaköy Han on the location of a former *hân* called Havuzlu Han[66] where the owners of expropriated shops were to be housed was completed a year later. According to the *Journal de Constantinople* the right of use of the 45 plots inside[67] was put into auction on January 17 and 29, 1860,[68] and a year later, in May 1861, it was announced that the shops of the *hân*

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[63] *Ibid.*, doc. 2, dd. 11 Muharem 1275 (August 21, 1858).
[64] Quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 545. The overall area was calculated as 4,880 *zirâ'*s (2,802 m^2). *Journal de Constantinople,* May 25, 1859, quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat …, p. 544.
[65] BOA, A.MKT.NZD 303-43, "Karaköy kapısındaki emlâkin tesviye-i tarîk için satın alınması", 1275.S.27. One of the cases probably referred to the file related to the expropriation of Havuzlu Han as mentioned in Ergin's *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1327.
[66] Ergin, *ibid.*
[67] 7 of these were located on Fermeleciler (Fermeneciler) Street, 12 on Karaköy Street, 3 on Grande rue de Galata (Galata Main Street), and 6 on Kürekçiler Street, while the remaining 17 were located on the *hân*'s 50 *zirâ'*s long and 12 *zirâ'*s wide interior courtyard. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, pp. 544, 548.
[68] Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 1, p. 91, vol. 2, p. 548.

would be completed and leased out very soon.[69] It was expected that the rent acquired from the building would be a contribution to the municipal budget. For instance in 1865, in a budget of 3,739,000 piasters, the rent acquired was estimated at 650,000 piasters.[70]

The regularization of the street network, together with the widening of the main arteries in conformity with the official plan approved in 1861,[71] the incorporation of gas light, water and sewage lines into the network were the main undertakings of the municipality. But above all the demolition of a major part of Galata's walls between 1864 and 1865 played a determining role in reshaping urban space. New streets such as Büyük and Küçük Hendek Streets in the North, Lüleci Hendek Street in the East, Şişhane and İskender streets in the West were created out of this demolition. In similar fashion Mumhane or Kılıç Ali Pasha Street[72] between Galata Bridge and Tophane was widened thanks to the taking down of a section of the walls along the sea in 1865. On the other side of the bridge, Yorgancılar Street from Karaköy to Azapkapı[73] was also widened and regularized during the same year. Obviously, the aim was to open up new spaces for new buildings and wider streets and to increase revenues through the sale of land for residential buildings.[74] On the other hand

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[69] *Journal de Constantinople*, May 10, 1861. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 552.

[70] OBA, CGVRP012, "Contrats pour les immeubles de la Municipalité", March 30, 1865. See also Cüneyt Ölçer, *Osmanlı Bankası Aracılığı ile Yapılan Osmanlı Devleti Borç Anlaşmaları, Metinler*, vol. 1, p. 20 and *Belgeler* vol. 2, p. 26.

[71] *The Levant Herald*, June 23, 1870, p. 185.

[72] The name of the street was changed by imperial decree, just as was the case of the Grande rue de Galata which was renamed as Topçular Street. *Journal de Constantinople*, April 22, 1865, quoted in Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 569.

[73] In 1865, Azapkapı and Yorgancılar Streets were unified and took the name of Mahmûdiye. *Ibid.*

[74] An announcement in the *Journal de Constantinople* of June 22, 1868 gives us some information as to the price of land on these newly opened streets. A plot of 360 square *arşın*s (206.70 m^2) located on Hendek Street not far from the Galata Tower was put into auction at 3 liras/square *arşın* (5.22 liras/m^2), another plot of 280 square *arşın*s (160.77 m^2) on the same

this implementation enabled the opening of a new drivable access from the bridge to Pera through Voyvoda Street, which was also widened. The opening of this street which would have a length of over 400 *arşın*s or 303.2 meters started in 1868. Its cost, estimated at 7,500 liras ─6,000 liras for the expropriation and 1,500 liras for the opening of the street─ was financed by different sources. The government provided 3,000 liras, Camondo and Zarifi 1,500 liras without interest, while the Société Générale Ottomane gave a loan of 3,000 liras at 6 percent. The construction of this new street, which established an easy access for the population of Istanbul to the upper part of Pera faced difficulties related not only to the expropriation[75] of mostly wooden houses in the area[76] but also to the leveling of a slope accessible to carriages. This latter problem was solved through the know-how of the Dutch engineer Leval Efendi, a student of d'Ostoya who later became the land surveyor of the French embassy.[77] Finally, Okçu Musa Street was opened in 1871[78] and the plots of this new street were put up for sale in the following year, 1872.[79]

The Pera fire of 1870 destroyed more than 3.000 buildings[80] on the upper part of Pera from Galatasaray square to Taksim on the Tarlabaşı side,

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street was also put into auction at the same price, while the price of another plot of 120 square *arşın*s (68.90 m^2) also located on the same street close to the Şâhsûvâr Mosque decreased to 1.5 liras/*arşın* square (2.61 liras/m^2). Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 581.

[75] *Journal de Constantinople,* November 5, 1870, in Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 587.

[76] See the texture of the area on the plan d'Ostoya. Öncel put forward that one of the streets in the following passage of Edmondo de Amicis corresponded to Okçu Musâ Street. "Le Galata d'autrefois a presque entièrement disparu. Un millier de pauvres habitations a été rasé pour faire place à deux longues rues. L'une remonte la colline de Pera et l'autre court parallèlement au rivage, d'un bout à l'autre de Galata." Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1883), p. 49. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 1, p. 95.

[77] *Revue de Constantinople*, p. 53.

[78] Öncel, vol. 1, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, p. 107. See Appendix I to trace the opening of the street through the maps of d'Ostoya and Goad.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[80] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 64.

which corresponded to an area of 480,000 m^2.[81] This disaster brought an opportunity to reconsider the urban planning of the area, which had already been discussed in former years.[82] However, "ambitious" plans to regularize the urban fabric and to open new arteries from Hamalbaşı to Taksim through Tarlabaşı had to be abandoned because of the opposition and open protests of its inhabitants.[83] On the other hand, fearing that their plots would partially be expropriated and their size substantially reduced[84] as well as their value reduced, they proposed the regularization of Hamalbaşı, Tiyatro and Deveaux streets[85] only and claimed that the rest had already been satisfactorily regularized. As a result, the state decided to conform to the pre-fire plan for the reconstruction of the area. Only streets recommended by the residents were rebuilt[86] and masonry construction was made obligatory with the 1290/1875 amendment to the Roads and Buildings Regulation (*Turûk ve Ebniye Nizâmnâmesi*) issued in 1280/1863.[87]

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[81] For the plan of the destroyed area see Appendix D.

[82] See the comments published in the *Journal de Constantinople* of May 4, 1867 about the widening of the Grande rue de Péra, which, due to the financial impossibilty of expropriating some 100 plots, found no other solution than the opening of a new artery. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, pp. 628-630.

[83] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 64 and "La Reconstruction de Pera", *The Levant Herald* , June 30, 1870, p. 205 and September 19, 1870, p. 432.

[84] The 1863 regulation foresaw an equal amount of expropriation from both sides during the widening of streets; the owners were not given the right to appeal but were forced to donate the portion of their property necessary for the operation. (*Turûk ve Ebniye Nizâmnâmesi*, 1863, art. 3, p. 86) In the reorganized neighborhoods, new lots would be assigned to the owners in accordance with the value of their previous properties. *(Turûk ve Ebniye Nizâmnâmesi*, 1863, art. 12, p. 89) However, the 1882 Building Law limited the amount that could be expropriated to a maximum of one-fourth of its pre-fire lot size (*Ebniye Kānûnu*, 1882, Art. 22, p. 1042). Çelik, *The Remaking…*, pp. 51-52.

[85] Hamalbaşı and Tiyatro Streets were immediately enlarged. As a result, the remaining plot on Tiyatro Street was not big enough to reconstruct the theater. See the following chapter for the story of the building (Cité de Pera) constructed in its place, whereas the enlargement and opening of Deveaux Street was completed in 1903. For the details of the opening of the street see the following chapter.

[86] *The Levant Herald*, December 1, 1870, p. 639; Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 64.

[87] According to the law, the area of Galata and Beşiktaş, from Ağakapısı in the Sixth District, Dolmabahçe, Bayıldım and Beşiktaş, until Ortaköy and Nışantaşı was classified as one of the

Two parks, one in Taksim completed in 1869,[88] and the other in Tepebaşı were created and the non-Muslim cemeteries in Taksim were transferred to Şişli. Two hospitals, one for women, the other for first aid;[89] and between 1868 and 1870, a neo-classical townhall, which became the symbol of the Sixth District Municipality, were built.[90] The waterfront was also rebuilt and regularized. In 1895, the port and quays were remodeled to accommodate for the transport of commercial goods or the daily commute of the capital's residents between the historic peninsula, Üsküdar and the villages along the Bosphorus. Developments in public transportation followed the regularization of spaces in Galata. The Şirket-i Hayriye, the first Ottoman joint-stock company founded in 1851,[91] provided ferry services from the Galata Bridge, with the purpose of serving high government bureaucrats and Europeans residing seasonally on the Bosphorus. The French engineer Eugène-Henri Gavand, acquiring a concession of 42 years, established the Metropolitan Railway of Constantinople from Galata to Pera and obtained the right to operate the system, which was inaugurated in 1876. Similarly, the Istanbul

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important regions where masonry construction was made obligatory. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 1052.

[88] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 69.

[89] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1336.

[90] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 46. Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, p. 351. The exact dates of its construction were unknown to Ergin but news in the press informed us that the Sixth District Municipality was transferred to the new building in October 1871. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1335. *Journal de Constantinople*, November 1, 1871, quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 591. It is striking to see that the Municipality of Istanbul had not constructed its own building until very late during the Republican period in 1953. Afife Batur, "Belediye Sarayı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…*, 1994, vol. 2, p. 144. To follow the trajectory of the Municipality see Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, pp. 1529-1534.

[91] The first shares were bought by members of the ruling elite. Among them were the Sultan himself, his mother, the Grand Vizier Reşid Pasha, the Minister of War Mehmed Ali Pasha, the banker Camondo and the mayor of Bursa. Murat Koraltürk, "Osmanlı Devletinde Kurulan İlk Anonim Şirket, Şirket-i Hayriye'nin Kent İçi Ulaşımındaki rolü", *İstanbul*, 19, 1996, p. 85. Eser Tutel gives a more complete list mentioning the bankers Mısırlı Kevork İbrahim, Zarifi, Tıngırcıyan Ohannes, Mısırlıoğlu Bedros and also the mayors of Aydın, Silistria and Baghdad. Eser Tutel, *Şirket-i Hayriye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), p. 23. For the history of the institution see also Murat Koraltürk, *Şirket-i Hayriye (1851-1945)*, Istanbul: IDO, 2007.

Streetcar Company (*Dersaadet Tramway Şirketi – Société des Tramways de Constantinople*), founded by the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Camondo, Christaki Zoghraphos, Zarifi and Constantine Karapano[92] in 1869, established on 18 Cemâziyelevvel 1288 (August 5, 1871)[93] the first lines of horse-drawn trams between Azapkapı and Yorgancılarbaşı[94] or Karaköy, which would be replaced by two electrical lines only in 1913.[95] Ernest Giraud, who wrote in his articles published regularly each month in the *Revue commerciale du Levant* the details of everyday life seen in the streets of Istanbul, also vividly recounted the change in public transports.

> "Formerly, almost half a century ago, it was not possible to go by car through the streets of Constantinople. Wealthy women used chairs which are still in use today, men circulated on horseback. All the streets that led towards Pera,[96] which was located on a plateau, were in fact made of steps. These streets are still in function, but new streets for the circulation of vehicles in almost every quarter have been opened. Streetcars now circulate in Pera, Galata and Stamboul".[97]

[92] Osman Nuri Ergin, "İstanbul Tramway Şirketi Nizâmnâme-i Esasisi", *Mecelle…*, vol. 5, p. 2408.
[93] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 961.
[94] The pavement of a road of 1,000 *arşın*s (758 meters) was completed by October 1870. *The Levant Herald*, October 24, 1870, p. 531. According to the agreement signed in 18/30 Ağustos 1285 (August 18/30, 1869), the line would be extended to Tophane, Beşiktaş and Ortaköy. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 5, p. 2401.
[95] Although the contract of the electrification of the trams was signed on 17 Muharrem 1329-5 Kānûn-ı sânî 1326 (January 18, 1911) or as was mentioned in the copy printed by the company on 8/21 Kānûn-ı sânî 1326 (January 21, 1911), it could only replace the horse-drawn tramway in 1329 (1913). Ergin told us that during the Balkan War, trams could not function in the city since the horses of the tram company were sold to the army at some 26,000 liras and it was only after that incident that the Tünel-Şişli line and later Karaköy-Ortaköy lines were electrified from a small central located in Kabataş. The completion of Silahtarağa, on the other hand, enabled the electrification of the Stamboul lines. Ergin, "Dersa'âdet Tramvay Şirketi Hutûtunda Kudret-i Elektrikiyye İsti'mâline Dâir Mukavelenâme" *Mecelle…*, vol. 5, p. 2429, also p. 2398.
[96] Giraud means the streets between Galata and Pera.
[97] Giraud, "La Rue", *Revue commerciale du Levant*, no: 70, January 1893, pp. 12-14.

Thus the area was provided with the necessary public transportation and communications network which allowed a greater freedom of movement within the city.

However, the budget deficit of the Municipality increased because of the unfeasibility of tax collection from the inhabitants who, as Rosenthal shows, protected by the ambassadors, took advantage of the capitulations.[98] Although foreigners or foreign *protégé*s living in the city should have shown resistance to taxes, it should be underlined here that, as was stated in the first chapter, matters relating to property were not subject to the capitulations but were arranged with a particular protocol appended to the Ottoman legislation. Moreover, after analyzing documents in the Ottoman State Archives, it could easily be argued that this problem was not only limited to foreigners but also concerned the remaining part of the population, among whom were a number of State officials.[99] Although most cases refer to a period posterior to the establishment of the Sixth District Municipality, a petition proposing to assign the collection of property taxes to the Public Debt Administration shows us the importance acquired by the problem.[100] In 1861, the Sixth District

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[98] Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency...,* pp. 91-96.

[99] See for instance DH.MKT 149-37, "Altıncı Belediye Dâ'iresince Cemâl Paşa adına kayıtlı emlâkın dörtte bir hissesine sahip Şurâ-yı Devlet azâsı Esad Efendi'nin eşi Ayşe Safvet Hanım'ın vergisinin bir kısmının Esad Efendi'nin maaşından mahsûbu ve bir kısmının da nakden ödenmesi", 1311.R.04 (October 15, 1893); DH.MKT 164-96, "Mektûbî-i Sadr-ı Âlî hülefâsından Osman Bey'in Altıncı Belediye Dâ'iresi dahîlindeki vâlidesine âit emlâkın vergilerinin mütedâhil ma'aşlarından tesviyesi talebi", 1311.R.29 (November, 9, 1893); DH.MKT 2275-123, "Şurâ-yı Devlet azâsı Bedros Efendi'nin eşinin emlâk vergilerinin müdedâhil ma'aşından tahsîl olunması", 1317.B.22 (November 26, 1899); ZB 391-110 "Beyoğlu mutasarıfı Hamdi Bey'in emlâk vergisi borcunu ma'aşıyla ödemek istediğinden gereğinin ifâsı talebi", 1323.Ks.22 (February 4, 1908). See also DH.MKT 1407-114, "Emlâk vergisi ödemekten kaçınanların borçlarını ödemedikleri takdirde emlâkının hacz edileceğinin gazetelerde ilânı", 1304.B.03 (April 27, 1887); DH.MKT 1407-46, "Dersa'âdet Altıncı Dâ'ire-i Belediye dahilinde birikmiş emlâk vergisi borçlarını vermeyenlere karşı uygun bir şekilde mu'âmele yapılması", 1304.C.29 (March 25, 1887).

[100] BOA, Y.PRK.AZN 21-72, "Tam anlamıyla toplanamayan Dersa'âdet emlâk vergisini, mükelleflerin Düyûn-ı 'Umûmiye Dâ'iresi'ne havâle ederek ödemeleri, devletin gelirleri

Municipality's tax revenues amounted to one million piasters instead of an expected four. Moreover, the office space for rent that had been created in the *hân* built on Karaköy Square remained to a large extent empty.[101] This situation harmed the reliability of the Municipality and its likeliness to acquire credits decreased enormously; projects had to be interrupted so drastically that newspapers were often asking if the urban areas on the other side of the

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açısından daha faydalı olacağı", 1318.Z.1 (March 22, 1901). Umûr-ı mâliyenin hüsn-ı ceryânı vâridât-ı devletin bilâ istisnâ hükm-ı nizâma ri'âyetle vakt-ü zamânında tahsîline vâbeste olduğu derkârdır. Şu kaziye-yi mühimmeye pâyitaht-ı saltânât-ı seniyelerince hakkıyla ri'âyet olunmayub tekâlif-i emiriye-yi sâ'ire şöyle dursun Dersa'âdetleri ve Bilâd-ı selâse emlâkı vergüsü evkāt-ı mu'ayyenesinde tahsîl edilemeyerek emvâ'-ı sû'-i istimâlâta meydan açılmakta ve eshâb-ı 'akār vergülerini dürlü dürlü hiyel ve desâyis ile kapattırmaktadır. Bu sûretle senevî birkaç yüz bin lira râddesinde bulunan bir menba'-ı cesîm vâridâtdan istifâde edilememektedir. Emr-i tahsilâta gelince Dersa'âdet'de bulunan ahâlinin kısm-ı külliyesi 'akārâtdan istifâde etdikleri halde bunlardan bir takımı güyâ hazîne-i celîlede ma'âşât-ı mütedâhilelerinden matlûbları olduğu yolunda serd-i 'izâr ve bir kısmı dahi deynlerini yüzde yirmi guruş ile kapatabilmek fırsatına intizâr ederek te'diye-i düyûna kat'en ehemmiyet vermemektedir. Erbâb-ı servet ve iktidârın bu yolda hâsıl etdikleri 'itibâr bi't-tabi'î kā'ide-i müsâvâtın icrâsına mâni' olarak Hazine-i celîlenin zararını mûcib envâ'-ı su'-i istimâlât vukû' bulmaktadır. Ekser ecnebi devletleri bu misüllû büyük şehirler emlâk vergülerinin tahsîl ve cibâyetini hâricden bankalara ve sâir mâliye şirketlerine münâsib mikdâr ücret-i tahsîliye i'tâsıyla tevdi' ederek vâridâtı sûret-i muntazammada elde etmekde olmasına nazaren Dersa'âdetleri emlâk vergüsü hakkında böyle bir tedbire mürâca'ât muvâffık-ı maslahat görünüyor. Bu kabilden bir çare olmak üzere Dersa'âdet emlâk vergüsünün hükûmet-i seniyeleri mu'âvenetiyle tahsîl ve cibâyeti Hazine-i celîle nâm ve hesâbına olarak muvakkaten Düyûn-ı 'Umûmiye Dâ'iresine havâle buyrulduğu halde sû'-i istimâlât kapusu kapanmış ve borçlarını vermekden başka çare olmadığını herkes anlayub heman vergülerini te'diyeye tabî'atıyla mecbûriyet hissetmiş olacağından bu sûretle varidât-ı hazînenin tahsîli taht-ı te'mîne alındıkdan başka i'tibâr-ı mâlî hakkında dahi pek ziyâde hüsn-ı te'sîr hâsıl edecekdir. Ve bu kadar masârıf ve külfet dahi vukû'a gelmeyecektir. Vergü bakâyâ-yı müterâkimesinin yüzde otuzu nisbetinde ma'âşât-ı mütedâhileden mahsûbât icrasına dahi cevâz gösterildiği halde hem eshâb-ı düyûn hem de eshâb-ı matlûb mahzar-ı teshilât edilmiş olacaklarından eltâf ve 'inâyât-ı mütemâdiye-i cenâb-ı zıllullâhîlerinin bu dahi bir lâhikası hükmünde bâ'is-i izdiyâd-ı şükrân ve mesnetdârı olacaktır. Tahsîl edilecek mebâliğin karşuluk irâ'esiyle dâ'ire-i mezkûreden avans sûretiyle akçe istihsâli imkânı dahi me'mûl-ı kavî olmasıyla buna dahi muvafakkiyyet hâsıl olduğu halde emr-i cibâyetin oraya tevdi'i mütâla'ât-ı siyâsiyeye dahi pek muvâfık bir şekl ve sûret almış olacaktır. Şimdiki hâlde tahsilât içün me'mûrîn-i mahsûsasına yüzde beş nispetinde 'â'idât verilmekte ise de bununla netâyic-i matlûbenin te'mîn edilemediği mertebe-i subûtda olmasıyla bu a'idâta daha münâsib mikdârısı 'ilâvesiyle dâ'ire-i mezkure i'tâsı herhalde mûcib-i istifâde görülmektedir. Ber minvâl-i ma'rûz emlâk vergüsünün iki üç sene tahsîl ve cibâyeti Düyûn-ı 'umûmiye ma'rifetiyle ifâ etdirilmeyerek dâ'ire-i intizâma alındıkdan ve ahâlîce te'diye-i tekâlif i'tiyâdı hâsıl oldukdan sonra yine Hazîne-i Mâliye'ye alınması yedd-i müeyyed-i hazret-i hilâfetpenâhîlerinde bulunduğundan hem ahâli müşkilâttan kurtarılmak hem de sû'-i istimâlâtın önü alınarak vâridât-ı külliye zamanıyla elde edilmek üzere iktizâ-yı hâlin icrâsı menût-ı rey'i 'ali-i cenâb-ı cihânbânîleri olmağla fermân zât-ı akdes-i hazret-i hilâfetpenâh efendimizindir. 9 Mart 1317
Mahkeme-i istinâf cinâyet 'azâsından elhâc köleleri
Mühür: İsmâ'il Hakkı bin Mustafa, 1308

[101] Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency...,* pp. 148-152. Yerasimos, "L'Occidentalisation de l'espace urbain: Istanbul 1839-1871", *Hommes et idées*…, p. 333.

Golden Horn were not better managed under the direct control of the State. The Municipality thus decided to ask for financial aid from the State. Fuad Pasha, though he recognized the importance of the Sixth District Municipality, refused to come up with the necessary financial aid. Everything, even the lighting and cleaning of the streets had to be interrupted. However, this situation eventually changed and most important achievements took place with the appointment on 4 Ramazan 1279 (23 February 1863)[102] of Server Efendi who benefited from the support of the State[103] The *hân* was transformed into a stock exchange[104] and started to bring in revenue. Soon it would be sold for 90,000 liras and this amount would cover part of the municipal deficit in paying back the debts on the loan dated 26 September 1863 and totaling approximately 160.000 liras — and not 600,000 liras as was claimed by Rosenthal and later by Yerasimos[105] — contracted with the Imperial Ottoman Bank and Lorando Brothers.[106] A part of the loan consisting of 100,000 liras had been guaranteed to the Imperial Ottoman Bank with the *hân* as security, while that of 60,000 liras to Lorando was backed by the rents to be obtained from the same *hân*. On 18/30 March 1865, the Minister of Finance Kâni Pasha, and Server Efendi, the president of the Council of the Sixth District Municipality, had to sign a new agreement with the Imperial Ottoman Bank.[107] According to this agreement the *hân,* as well as other property belonging to the

[102] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1338. It is interesting to note that Server Efendi was also a member of the Commission for the Improvement of Roads.
[103] Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency...,* p. 199.
[104] Already in 1881, it was planned that the building would be transferred to the stock exchange. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, pp. 533-534.
[105] Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency...,* pp. 91-96, Yerasimos et al., *L'occidentalisation…*, p. 29.
[106] OBA, CGVRP012, "Contrats pour les immeubles de la Municipalité, March 30, 1865)".
[107] *Ibid.* See also Cüneyt Ölçer, *Osmanlı Bankası aracılığı ile yapılan Osmanlı Devleti Borç Anlaşmaları: Metinler - Les Contrats des Dettes Publiques entre l'Etat Ottoman et la Banque Impériale Ottomane: Textes,* (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1989), pp. 24-26.

municipality, such as plots of land around the Tower Gate (Kule Kapısı), a plot located on the way to Tophane, and one last plot on the moats of the Galata walls would be put to auction to pay back the municipality's debts. According to Caston, the debts were paid back thanks to the sale of the plots on Hendek streets.[108] In a report presented to the Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha, which accompanied the contract, the total profit was estimated at 135.000 liras. In order to pay the remaining 25.000 liras, it was proposed to form a commission headed by Server Efendi and the director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and including Aristide Baltazzi and Galib Bey from the Ministry of Finance as members, to submit a report to the Grand Vizier. It was calculated that the sale of plots in Taksim, along the Tophane moats, and around the Galata Tower, together some small fields would be sufficient to pay back the remaining amount. Although there certainly were financial difficulties, the most important accomplishments, among which the destruction of the city walls and the transfer of some of the cemeteries, were realized during this period. Later, during the presidency of Edward Blaque Bey (22 Kānûn-ı sânî 1294 (February 3, 1879) - 27 Nisan 1306 (May 9, 1890))[109] the Imperial Ottoman Bank

[108] A. de Caston, "Pera, Hier…, p. 57.

[109] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 3, p. 1338. He was appointed a second time from 13 Şubat 1308 (July 1, 1895) until his death on 19 Haziran 1311 (February 25, 1893). For a short biography see *ibid.*, pp. 1342-1343. The eldest son of Alexandre Blacque, Edouard or Edward studied at the collège Sainte-Barbe in Paris thanks to the financial support of the Ottoman State. During his education, he was followed by Mustafa Reşid Pasha, a friend of his father and then ambassador in Paris. Upon his return to Istanbul in 1849, he was a young man of 19 years of age, fluent in Turkish, French, English and Italian. He started his career in the Translation Bureau (*Tercüme Odası*) of the Foreign Ministry, later issued for a while the newspaper *Courrier de Constantinople* but had to close it due to financial difficulties. Returning to diplomacy, he was appointed ambassador to Paris thanks to Âli Pasha. Later he was appointed to Turin, Naples and Washington. Upon his return in 1873, he took different responsibilities as director of the Administration of the Press, member of the Council of State and Prefect of the Sixth District Municipality. On May 12, 1890, he was appointed ambassador to Bucharest but had to return due to health problems and was reappointed as Prefect of the Sixth District Municipality. Soon after, on July 1, 1895, he died in Prinkipo. For a detailed biography of Blacque Bey and the history of the family see Orhan Koloğlu, "Blak Bey, précurseur du

financed the construction of the garden of Tepebaşı[110] as well as the gas factory, in return for the rent of the garden from June 20, 1879 to September 29, 1897.[111]

In 1868, the Ottoman government extended the municipal administration to the entire city with a regulation on the administration of Istanbul Municipality (*Dersa'âdet İdare-i Belediye Nizâmnâmesi*). Although the Sixth District Municipality was administratively linked to the *Şehremâneti* (Istanbul Municipality),[112] it still kept its privileged status until the 27 Ramazan 1294 (October 5, 1877) Istanbul Municipality Law (*Dersa'âdet Belediye Kānûnu*).[113] This resulted in a sharp decrease in road and building activities as the municipal resources remained insufficient to fund them.

The Hocapaşa Fire and the Urban Transformation of Stamboul

As mentioned above, the transformation of the northern section of Stamboul occurred after the Hocapaşa fire, which destroyed an area of 5,000,000 *zirâ'*s or 2,870,850 m^2. In Osman Nuri Ergin's words "the great fire of Hocapaşa brought more happiness than disaster to Istanbul since the most distinguished

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Tanzimat. Une famille française au service de la Sublime Porte (1820-1923)", *Anatolia Moderna, Yeni Anadolu I*, (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1991), pp. 47-114.

[110] Alfred de Caston proposed as a suitable solution in 1875 the stealing of some lands from the cemetry when needed, the transfer of the cemetry after Feriköy on the route to Maslak. "Causerie", *Revue de Constantinople*, May 9, 1875, vol. 1, p. 256.

[111] OBA, XKHY002-543, "Avances sur Immeubles et Hypothèques, Municipalité du 6ème Cercle".

[112] Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, p. 346. The *Şehremâneti* founded according to European models by an *irâde* dated 10 Zilkāde 1271 (July 25, 1855) replaced the *İhtisab Nezâreti* whose undertakings remained unsatisfactory for a growing Istanbul. Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 3, pp. 1265-1272. See also Zafer Toprak, "Şehremaneti", *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul…,* vol. 7, pp. 147-148.

[113] For the text of the law see Young, *Corps de droit...,* vol. 6, pp. 151-155. *Düstûr*, vol. 4, pp. 520-552.

quarters of Divanyolu, Bâb-ı Âli and Gedikpaşa were rebuilt thanks to it"[114] The Commission for the Improvement of Roads (*Islâhât-ı Turûk Komisyonu*) was constituted of nine high-ranking officers: Refik Efendi, a member of the High Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*); Subhî Bey and Afîf Bey; Kâmil Bey, the chief of protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mustafa Efendi, a member of the protocol (*teşrîfât*) department; Server Efendi, advisor at the Ministry of Commerce; Ferîd Efendi, a member of the Inspection Court; Mahmud Pasha, commander-in-chief of the army, and Ahmed Muhtâr Efendi, a member of the High Military Council. The planning of the area from Hocapaşa to Divanyolu to Kumkapı and to Beyazıd, as well as that of other locations untouched by fire but needing regularization was crucial for the regularization of the urban fabric on this part of the city, and an amount of 45,000 liras was dedicated to the project.[115] Ergin claims that before the fire and the construction of the railway station, Sirkeci and its surroundings were full of stonecutters' shops and was one of the worst districts of the city. [116] According to the commission's regulation, the Divanyolu, as a main artery, would be widened to 25 *zirâ'*s or 19 meters. Secondary arteries such as Aziziye Avenue, connecting the Sirkeci quay known also as Vizier quay[117] to the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âli*) would be 20 *zirâ'*s or 15,16 meters wide[118] to conform to the 7 Cumâdelûlâ 1280 (October 20, 1863) regulation on roads and buildings.[119] Nonetheless, the

[114] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, 63. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 1222.
[115] The fund was raised by the Sultan's and the State treasuries as well as by the sale of the new plots. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 962.
[116] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 950.
[117] It is important to note the connection to the bureaucracy for the opening of a wide road.
[118] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 944. The regulation was issued in the *Takvîm-i Vek'âyi'* of 17 Safer 1283 (July 1, 1866). *Ibid.,* p. 946.
[119] According to the regulation, the width of the streets would be 15, 12, 10, 8 and 6 *arşın*s (respectively 11.38, 9.10, 7.58, 6.04, 4.55 meters) according to their importance. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 4, p. 1673.

local topography and some existing buildings influenced the planning schemes. The Sirkeci and Cağaloğlu areas were not only hilly but dotted with many monuments, such as mosques or other large-scale stone buildings. The new street system was designed to conform to the topography, while still preserving the monuments. For example, two big curves dictated by the contours of the land were incorporated into Aziziye Caddesi just before reaching the Sublime Porte.[120] The Commission also completed the widening of Divanyolu, the opening of a square in front of Hagia Sophia, and accomplished infrastructural projects such as sewage lines of a total length of 3,500 *arşın*s (2,653 meters) built under the Aziziye, Orhaniye, Mahmudiye, Nuruosmaniye and Kumkapı streets.[121] On the other hand, Mahmud Paşa Street, which was very narrow, was widened by cutting the front part of some forty shops which were rebuilt by the commission and the slope of the street was reduced.[122] A similar kind of regularity was brought to the buildings on Fincancılar Street. In addition to this, the widening of the streets from Bahçekapı to Mahmud Paşa and Fincancılar was planned, in order to enable the use of carriages for the transportation of merchandise to the warehouses and shops of wholesalers.[123] In fact, the regulation of the urban fabric of this part of Stamboul was limited to the widening of the former roads.

The commission executed a very efficient work, which became a challenge to the Sixth District Municipality which was experiencing financial

[120] Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 58. Pinon et al, *L'occidentalisation…*, p. 78.
[121] Çelik, *ibid.,* p. 58. Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 951.
[122] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 951.
[123] *Ibid.,* p. 953.

difficulties during the same period.[124] It planned even the regularization of the urban fabric on the other side of Istanbul. Nonetheless, this phase should be considered as exceptional due to the concentration of this planning activity on a prestigious area that had been destroyed by fire. In 1869, financial problems brought an end to the commission, whose resources were mainly based on funding from the State Treasury. Thus the most active phase of urban planning, supported particularly by Fuad Pasha, had to come to an end earlier than Pera and Galata, and the Istanbul Municipality would continue the planning of urban space with very limited financial resources. Ergin, who compares this period with that of the Istanbul Municipality *Şehremâneti*, tells us about the success story of the commission by stressing the effective work realized by the commission, for instance in establishing the fire map of Hocapaşa in a very short period.[125] Nonetheless, even if at a slower pace, the projects designed to improve the quality of urban life continued. The streetcar line between Eminönü and Aksaray for instance was opened the same year as those of Karaköy, in Ramazan 1288 (November/December 1871),[126] with a difference of only a few months. The arrival of the train and the construction of the railway station in the 1890s reshaped once more the urban space in its immediate surroundings.[127]

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[124] "La Municipalité du VI[e] Cercle devrait suivre cet example, non pour embellir les voies publiques de Péra et de Galata, puisque ce fait semble impossible, mais au moins pour réparer les rues effondrées et faire repaver celles qui ont besoin de l'être. Il serait trop long de citer toutes celles qui se trouvent dans cette catégorie, tant à Pera qu'à Galata." *Journal de Constantinople*, June 9, 1862 in Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, pp. 555-556.
[125] Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 2, p. 962.
[126] *Ibid.,* p. 961.
[127] Pinon and Yerasimos, "Relevés après incendie…, p. 122.

The most intensive phase of the transformation of urban space obviously went hand in hand with the *Tanzîmât* reforms and the support of European powers, which, until the financial crisis of 1875, were willing to fund the Ottoman State in its modernization efforts. In her dissertation, Öncel stresses that the construction of important buildings on the urban tissue built-up between 1865 and 1870 constituted the third phase of the activities of the Municipality, [128] the first one ending with the taking down of the walls in 1864-1865 and the second characterized by the widening or opening of new streets as described above. Once the state paved the way for, and completed some of the major infrastructural projects, the path for private investment was also opened. Property rights, which were regulated in 1858 for Ottoman subjects, and later on June 18, 1867 for foreigners under the same conditions of Ottomans except in the Hejaz region and its surroundings,[129] provided guarantees for the personal use of property and both had the time to be accustomed until the beginning of 1880s. Moreover, the installation of bigger companies, powerful enough to commission their own buildings as well as to employ a larger number of personnel who in turn looked for closer accommodation availabilities, was witnessed after the 1880s.[130] The price of land increased with the increase in population and with their rising demand for offices and

[128] Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 1, p. 119.
[129] Louba Belarbi, "Les mutations dans les structures foncières dans l'Empire ottoman à l'époque du *Tanzimat*", *Economie et Société dans l'Empire ottoman* (*fin du XVIII^e^-début du XX^e^ siècle),* ed. by Louis Bacqué-Grammont et Paul Dumont, (Paris: CNRS, 1983), p. 257. Stefanos Yerasimos, *Azgelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye, Tanzimattan I. Dünya Savaşına*, Vol. II, trans. by. Babür Kuzucu, (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1977), 3rd ed., vol. 2, p. 727.
[130] The massive Imperial Ottoman Bank headquarters building was commissioned only in 1890 although the company which was established in Istanbul since 1856, could also be considered as the product of the 1880s conjuncture.

living space. In 1882, a regulation on buildings increased the height of masonry buildings from 4 floors or 20 *arşın*s (15.15 meters) ─including the basement adjusted with the 1863 regulations, to 6 floors or 30 *arşın*s (22.725 meters) on streets wider than 15 *arşın*s (11.27 meters).[131] Öncel, once again basing herself on her study of apartments buildings built around the Galata Tower, explains that although the first examples of these buildings appeared in the 1870s, the real building boom occurred in the 1880s, particularly after the 1882 regulations.[132] Thus the investment in masonry buildings, particularly in the "modern" and newly developing part of the city, became a profitable venture.

This part of the study will focus on the changes undergone by the urban fabric in this particular period and look at the speculative behavior of its population in these specific regions. What was the size of the investments? Was there any significant difference in terms of speculation on either side of the Golden Horn? What were the preferences in building construction over a period of about thirty-five years? How were these preferences shaped? As a first step, the development of urban space in this specific area will be analyzed at a micro level through insurance plans and the commercial directories of the time, namely the *Annuaire oriental*. Charles Edward Goad's fire insurance plans of 1904-1905,[133] as well as the cadastral insurance plans of 1940 for

[131] The height of *kâgir* (masonry) buildings increased from 15.20 meters to 26.60 meters between 1863 and 1891. Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, p. 167. See Article 20 in the regulation of 1863, Ergin, "Turûk ve Ebniye Nizâmnâmesi", *Mecelle*..., vol. 4, p. 1678; the height slightly increased with 14 Muharrem 1292-9 Şubat 1290 (February 20, 1875) regulation to 24 *arşın*s but the major modification came with the one issued in 23 Zilhicce 1299-24 Teşrin-i evvel 1298 (November 5, 1882) with Article 33. See respectively, Ergin, "İstanbul ve Bilâd-ı Selâse'de yapılacak ebniyenin suver-ı inşâiyyesine dair nizâmnâme", *Mecelle*..., vol. 4, p. 1699 and "Ebniye Kānûnu", *ibid.*, p. 1722.

[132] Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 1, p. 317.

[133] See the index plans of Goad's insurance plans in Appendix E.

Stamboul drawn by Jacques Pervitich for the insurance company l'Union will be our main visual and cartographic references. Pervitich had not remapped the Galata-Pera area, except for certain parts, especially those neighborhoods that were mainly inhabited by a Muslim population such as Fındıklı (1926), Cihangir (1926) and the northern part of Taksim and Talimhane (1943), Gümüşsuyu (1943), Sıraselviler (1927), which do not appear in Goad's maps.[134] A time dimension will therefore be missing in our visual references, at least for the Galata-Pera area, since the plans drawn by Suat Nirven who retraced this part of the city at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s do not usually mention the names of buildings. On the plans of Pera-Galata, which by then had been renamed Beyoğlu-Karaköy, only a few buildings located on the map were given Turkish names, and a systematic comparison with the plans of Goad seems to be difficult. For the earlier period, further information retrieved from the plan of the French engineer R. Huber, who traced in 1887-91 the northern quarters of the Golden Horn with the authorization of the High Military Commission of Inspection and presented it to the Sultan in 1892 and then rectified the plan in 1895, is also included in our data.

The first issue of the *Annuaire oriental* directories came out in 1868 as the *Indicateur constantinopolitain*, but following its next issue in 1880, it widened its scope to other cities of the Empire and started to be published regularly on a yearly basis. The *Annuaire oriental* provides us with a very rich data on *hân*s and apartment buildings in the Stamboul, Galata and Pera areas, on their inhabitants, and sometimes even includes information on their owners.

[134] It is interesting to see on his plans numbered 12 (Talimhane) and 13 (Tatavla), both dated 1925, that Pervitich took up Goad's tracings and drew only the missing parts.

The processing of the data of the 1868, 1881, 1889-90, 1905, 1909 and 1914 editions of this directory aims also to analyze the dynamics of development throughout this specific period. Before going any further, it should also be noted that the frontier of Galata was indeed traced by its walls, or, after 1865, by the streets that replaced them. The area lying north of these limits, following Büyük Hendek and Lüleci Hendek streets, is generally included in Pera's frontier as can be observed in the trade directories. In the same way, the Grande rue de Péra continued down to the Galata Tower. Goad, who combined the whole area in an index plan, also preferred to consider the area as a whole in his plan. Nonetheless, since the area between Tunnel Square and Galata Tower showed different peculiarities from Pera and was often included by several researchers into Galata, and since it was indeed an in-between zone, it will be considered as a separate region in our study.

Focusing on the 1905 insurance maps by Goad, it can clearly be seen that in the area under study the new types of buildings that took the name of their owners had not arrived yet at Taksim and Ayaspaşa in the North where military barracks and cemeteries were still the dominant feature.[135] Consequently, the modern buildings were confined to an axis formed by the Grande rue de Péra and to its parallel streets, the most prestigious being Tepebaşı, a newly built area after the transfer of Muslim cemeteries, and then following the moats of the former Galata walls and continuing on its way towards the sea through Voyvoda Street and ending on this side of the Golden Horn with the newly created Karaköy Square, distinguished by the imposing structure of the Aziziye police station, a modern state building, at the head of

[135] See Goad's plan in Appendix K.

the bridge. Afterwards, crossing the bridge to Stamboul and moving towards the Grand Bazaar and the Sublime Porte, one could note that at that date the new type of *hân*s had not yet reached the recently built Sirkeci train station.[136]

The Physical Characteristics of the Buildings

The data which constitutes the basis of the analysis includes the building stock of Pera, Galata and Stamboul in their widest limits. In other words, all the *hân*s and apartment buildings revealed in our sources were listed for the specified dates between 1868 and 1914.[137] In our later analysis, buildings located in Ayaspaşa as well as in the Tarlabaşı district of Pera, those of the Azapkapı and Arap Camii districts in Galata, or those located in the area from Balık Pazarı and Mercan Çarşısı up to the Grand Bazaar in Stamboul will be excluded from our sample. The first survey below is based on the overall data in which the risk of repetition of certain buildings due to changes in street names has been minimized. Another problematic issue is that besides the repetition through time, one could come across the mention of a building which had access to two streets, and could be counted twice, once for each different street.

Before going further, a few words are also necessary on "modern" hotel buildings, which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. This category of buildings, although analyzed separately, will not be included in our overall analysis for two basic reasons. First, when listing the hotels mentioned in the Goad's plan (1905) and the *Annuaire*s (1881, 1889, 1894, 1909 and

[136] See Goad's plan in Appendix L.
[137] See the list of buildings in Appendix M.

1914)[138], one notices that they were basically located in Pera, on and around Mezarlık Street, with a magnificent view of the Golden Horn or on the prestigious Grande rue de Péra. The hotels in Galata, on the other hand, were rather of a much lower category and were located on the back streets of the harbour area, or on Yüksek Kaldırım, while there were practically no hotels in the residential Galata-Pera region neighboring the upper part of Voyvoda Street. In Stamboul, hotels were mostly located behind the Sirkeci train station, in the Hocapaşa quarter which is excluded from the area under study. Thus they were not distributed evenly enough through the area under observation to enable meaningful comparisons. As a second point, the European-style high quality hotels such as Pera Palas (1894)[139], Tokatlıyan (1894)[140], Bristol (1896)[141], Kroeker (1883)[142], Hôtel de Londres (1891)[143] were all located in Pera and as opposed to other buildings, these investments for a particular business branch could be considered as similar to the case of single company-

[138] See the list of hotels in Appendix N.

[139] The construction of the Pera Palace Hotel, undertaken by the architect Alexandre Vallauri, started in 1893 and was completed at the end of 1894. This plot, owned since 1879 by the Russian banker Ohannes Kiyorkof (Kirkof) and by the Ottoman subjects Artin Manokyan and Arslanoğlu Manok, was transferred to the Company of Wagons-Lits which established the administration of the hotel in 1894. Çelik Gülersoy, "Pera Palas", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 6, 239-240.

[140] The Tokatlıyan Hotel was built on a plot belonging to the Üç Horan Armenian Church, where once had stood a theater built in 1884 which burnt down 8 years later. The building should have been completed before 1894 since it appears on the Huber's map as Hôtel Splendide. A few years later, in November 1897, Mıgırdıç Tokatlıyan took over the management for 60 years. Pelin Aykut, "Tokatlıyan Oteli", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 7, p. 272.

[141] The Bristol Hotel was built by the architect Manoussos and opened in July 1896. Pelin Aykut, "Bristol Oteli", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 2, p. 324.

[142] The Grand Hôtel Kroeker was built next to the mansion of the Corpi family in 1883 by Alexandre Vallauri in a neo-classical style. Auguste Kroeker, of Austrian nationality, administered this four-storied hotel until it was taken over by the Novotny family during the war years. *Annuaire oriental*, 1894, p. 558. "Grand Hôtel Kroeger - Hotel Novotny", *Istanbul guide.net*. Available [on line] http://www.istanbulguide.net/istguide/artetarch/batimliste/immeubles/kroeger.htm [November 20, 2008].

[143] The Hôtel de Londres was built in place of the Glavany family's wooden mansion by L. Adamopoulos and N. Aperghis in 1891. Çelik Gülersoy, "Londra Oteli", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 5, pp. 226-227.

owned buildings. Known most of the time by the name of their tenants and not by their investors, hotels will be set apart in our sample, focusing on the investments of individuals and not on companies' property, except for those of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which will be studied in the next chapter.

Although Galata is considered as a locality where modern buildings made their first apparition in the second half of the nineteenth century,[144] it seems that between 1909 and 1914 the construction of modern buildings in Pera extended towards the North, namely towards Taksim and Ayazpaşa, as well as Pangaltı,[145] Feriköy, but also towards Tarlabaşı and down to Sıraselviler, whereas the construction of new buildings in traditional quarters such as Galata and Stamboul reached a relatively lower pace during the same period. It is also interesting to note that although the building boom seems to have occurred during the period between 1890 and 1905, thanks to the Huber plans of Galata and Pera which were completed by 1894 and the *Annuaire oriental* data for Stamboul, this period can even be reduced to ten years, from 1894/1895 to 1905. When put in numbers, the realization that 72 percent of Galata's, 88 percent of Pera's, and 69 percent of Pera-Galata's reconstruction

[144] Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 1, p. 6.

[145] The 1848 decision to create a new neighborhood in Pangaltı was the earliest step to promote orderly growth on the northern side of the Golden Horn. Population density in the mid-nineteenth century in Pera had reached intolerable levels, so in 1848 an imperial decree was issued to develop the 272,800 square meter area opposite to the Military School into a residential neighborhood. The plan envisaged 10 main avenues, each 15.20 meters wide with 2.30 meter sidewalks on both sides and a 10.60 meter paved strip in the middle. The secondary 6.80 meter streets would also be paved and would have 1.15 meter sidewalks. Infrastructure (water and sewage lines) was also incorporated into the street network, and brick and cement construction was made mandatory for all buildings. (BOA, İ.MV 3776-9351, quoted from Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 68). The area defined by this 1848 decree roughly equaled 18 to 20 residential blocks. Yet by 1870, only 12 blocks had been built. The resulting neighborhood, although noteworthy for its relative regularity, did not match the ambitious guidelines given by the imperial decree. But Pangaltı determined the direction of expansion from Taksim toward Şişli. It also established a spine that followed the main highway connecting Pera to Büyükdere, the seat of the summer residences of European embassies on the Bosphorus. Çelik, *The Remaking…*, p. 69.

with modern buildings occurred after 1894/1895 will help us to be more precise in the timing of the transformation of Istanbul's urban space. Giraud's narration of the time also confirms this point; when complaining about the high prices of buildings and apartments in Pera, he explains that this increase in prices continued although a considerable number of buildings were going up in the early 1890s.[146] The slow down which occurred in 1905-09 due to the financial crisis of 1907-1908 was recovered for the later period of 1909-1914 which also coincided not only with the rise to power of the Committee of Union and Progress, which initially created an optimistic atmosphere with the proclamation of the Constitution, but was also fueled by the high rate of increase of the urban population. The development of new quarters, on the other hand, had to remain limited due to the lack of easy means of communication. To solve the housing problem, a reporter of the *Gazette financière* proposed a better use of property, which could be achieved by destroying mansions which housed single families and transforming them into apartment buildings. He also added that the law on mortgage had to be ratified to enable the financial means for such a transformation.[147] However, as will be discussed below, the mortgage law would only be issued in 1913, just before the war, which would slow down important investments. Nevertheless, as was already mentioned in Güvenç's work, the number of apartment buildings, which replaced private mansions, increased from 654 in 1910 to 986 in 1922, the respective percentages in the overall habitations increasing from 37 percent

[146] Giraud, "Habitation", *Revue commerciale du Levant*, No: 64, Juillet 1892, p. 8.
[147] "Le renchérissement de la vie", *La Gazette financière*, 1911, no. 91, p. 4.

to 59 percent for all regions covered by the *Annuaire oriental*.[148] The expansion should have been enhanced by the electrification of the streetcar lines starting with the Şişli-Tünel line in 1913.[149] Although the new bridge which would enable the connection of the trams was achieved in 1912, the Stamboul connection was not completed at that date because of the delayed expropriations on Karaköy Square and near the Sirkeci train station.[150]

The comparison of the 1870s cadastral plans with Goad's 1905 plans for the Pera, Pera-Galata and Galata areas show us a similar trend; most end-of-the-century buildings do not appear on the cadastral plans. On the other hand, it is true that certain parts like Büyük Hendek Street had already been constructed after the destruction of the walls in 1865. Nonetheless, it should also be stated that most of these buildings were rather modest structures known as "*Tanzîmât* boxes," which generally housed a single family, generally in a two- to four-storey structure with a projecting bay window,[151] and not large apartment buildings. Giraud's description of this category of buildings housing a single family gives a more detailed and tangible picture of these structures.

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[148] Güvenç, "II. Meşrutiyetten İşgal Dönemine…, p. 43. The analysis was made for all of Pera including its less prestigious areas such as Tarlabaşı as well as the area expanding from Taksim towards Şişli.

[149] Murat Güvenç, "Galata ve Pera'nın Toplumsal Coğrafyasındaki Değişme: 1910-1922 Doğu Yıllıkları Üzerine Çözümlemeler", lecture given at the Ottoman Bank Museum on November 12, 2003. Available [on line] http://www.obarsiv.com/e_voyvoda_toplantilari_0304.html. [November 29, 2008]. "Les actions de la Société des Tramways de Constantinople", *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 220, p. 808. For other lines projected see "Les Tramways de Constantinople", *La Gazette financière*, 1911, no. 96, p. 5.

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 809. The lines to be extended were listed as Karaköy-Ortaköy, Karaköy-Şişli, Karaköy-Köprü, Eminönü-Beyazıd, Topkapı, on the Yedikule line the Aksaray warehouse station, Fatih and Fatih-Edirnekapı. "L'électrification des Tramways de Constantinople", *La Gazette financière*, 1911, no. 78, p. 5. For the discussions on the expropriation to widen to 20 meters the streets where the streetcar lines would pass, see "Les Revenus de la Ville de Constantinople. Les expropriations. Les taxes de balayage et d'éclairage", *La Gazette financière*, 1914, no. 243, p. 378.

[151] Zeynep Merey Enlil, "Residential Building Traditions and the Urban Culture of Istanbul in the 19th Century", *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture : "A Supra-National Heritage"*, ed. by Nur Akın, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur, (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, 1999), p. 308. See a postcard showing "Tanzîmât boxes" in Büyük Hendek Street in Appendix G.

Giraud depicted with his usual critical gaze, a house built on the lower hills of Pera in a small and narrow street, but underlined also that such houses were all similar to each other. This one measured four meters on its street façade and had eight or nine meters of depth, over two and a half floors.

> The kitchen is on the basement where there are also two spaces to keep wood, coal and garbage. It is dark and humid.
>
> On the ground floor, the door opens into a corridor paved with marble. It is narrow and does not permit the entrance of voluminous furniture. The corridor ends in a small hall where are located the stairs going down to the kitchen and up to the floors. It is also through this hall that one has access to the two rooms of the ground floor: the dining room which is a little dark and another small room parallel to the corridor whose dimensions are rather small.
>
> The first floor consists of two rooms, one living room looking out on the street with a projected window, the "shahnishin" and another smaller than the living room, looking at the back. Between the two rooms is a small hall with a wardrobe and a lavatory.
>
> The second floor is similar to the first, but the larger room has a rectangular balcony shaped by the roof of the "shahnishin."
>
> Finally the third floor is not complete. It consists of a small room comprising half of the flat and looking on the road, and a balcony where clothes are hanged to dry.
>
> […]
>
> Smaller houses are similar but have only one room per flat.[152]

Apartment buildings, as the thesis of Derin Öncel reveals, are mostly the product of the period between 1895 and 1905. In the area of Kuledibi, 28 of the 84 apartment's houses were already built before 1895. Among the modern constructions which Öncel has been able to identify from the comparison of the Huber and Goad plans are the following buildings:

[152] Giraud, "Habitation (suite), *Revue commerciale du Levant,* No. 66, Septembre 1892, p. 12.

Name of the Streets as revealed in Öncel	Name of the Streets in Huber's and Goad's Maps	Apartment Buildings
Büyük Hendek	Büyük Hendek	Essayan
Büyük Hendek	Büyük Hendek	Mazza
Büyük Hendek	Büyük Hendek	Pekmezian Gomidas
Camekan	Camcı	Plytas
Camekan	Camcı	Rauf Bey
Kuledibi	Camcı	Sinator
Şimşir	Çimşir Dead End	Barnathan
Şair Ziya Paşa	Çimşir Dead End	Şeyh Talat Efendi
Ali Hoca	Dibet dead end	Marketto
Ester dead end	Ester Dead End	Namık Paşa
Galipdede	Grande rue de Péra 681	Friedmann
Hacı Ali	Hacı Ali	Camondo
Bereketzade Medresesi	Hacı Ali	Faik Bey
Küçük Hendek	Hendek	Zeki Paşa
Ali Hoca	Hoca Ali	Barnathan
Ali Hoca	Hoca Ali	Mehmet Bey
Ali Hoca	Hoca Ali	Papazian
Ali Hoca	Hoca Ali	Zuhdi Paşa
İlk Belediye	Karanfil	Bagdadlian Ohannes
İlk Belediye	Karanfil	Chrissostomos
Kuledibi	Kuledibi	Kelsen
Kuledibi	Kuledibi	Sadık Paşa
Küçük Hendek	Küçük Hendek	Faik (Vve)
Lüleci Hendek	Lüleci Hendek	Capozzi
Şahkulu Bostan	Lüleci Hendek	Hacı Said
Lüleci Hendek	Lüleci Hendek	Mimicopoulo
Tatarbeyi	Macri dead end	Convopoulos
Otçu Street	Ott	Yannissopoulo
Portakal	Portucal	Şevket Bey
Şahkulu	Şahkulu	Mehmet Bey
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Feldmann
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Hacı Mahmud Bey
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Kamadjian
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Manoukian
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Şirvani Ali
Şair Ziya Paşa	Şahsuvar	Şirvani Arif
Serdar-ı Ekrem	Yazıcı	Amancieh (Amancieli) Marco
Serdar-ı Ekrem	Yazıcı	Dikeos
Galipdede	Yazıcı	Leonidas
Serdar-ı Ekrem	Yazıcı	Metritikas Manol

Source: Öncel, “Un nouveau type d’habitat…, vol. 2, p. 485-486.

Table1: The Distribution of New Buildings in Different Quarters with respect to Years

Dates	Regions	Total
1868	G	19
	P	2
	S	48
Total 1868		**69**
1881	G	23
	P	3
	S	36
Total 1881		**62**
1889	G	22
	P	20
	PG	9
	S	17
Total 1889		**68**
1894	G	5
	P	49
	PG	13
	S	22
Total 1894		**89**
1895	G	18
	P	14
	PG	7
	S	1
Total 1895		**40**
1905	G	104
	P	345
	PG	48
	S	120
Total 1905		**617**
1909	G	44
	P	7
	PG	1
	S	18
Total 1909		**70**
1914	G	71
	P	310
	PG	15
	S	37
Total 1914		**433**
Grand Total		**1448**

Table 2: The Distribution of New Buildings through time with respect to Regions

Regions	Dates	Total
G	1868	19
	1881	23
	1889	22
	1894	5
	1895	18
	1905	104
	1909	44
	1914	71
Total G		**306**
P	1868	2
	1881	3
	1889	20
	1894	49
	1895	14
	1905	345
	1909	7
	1914	310
Total P		**750**
S	1868	48
	1881	36
	1889	17
	1894	22
	1895	1
	1905	120
	1909	18
	1914	37
Total S		**299**
PG	1889	9
	1894	13
	1895	7
	1905	48
	1909	1
	1914	15
Total PG		**93**
GrandTotal		**1448**

Sources: *Annuaire oriental* (1868, 1881, 1889, 1894, 1905, 1909, 1914); plans of Goad (1905) and Huber (1895).

Could the fact that the construction of buildings came to a slow down after 1905 in the Pera-Galata area be explained by a saturation of the available land, the

amount of which had been last increased in 1865? The same question could also be asked for the Stamboul area (18 and 37 buildings respectively in 1909 and 1914), which developed at an even faster rate (41 percent) than Galata (28 percent) and Pera (12 percent) for the period 1868-1905. Once the transformation of Stamboul by the Commission for the Improvements of Roads was achieved, the number of constructions increased substantially. From 1868 to 1905, the total area constructed was calculated as 167,941 m^2. In the last ten years, between 1895 and 1905, no less than 120 new constructions, representing a total area of 85,703 m^2, were built in this area. In the following decade, with only 56 new buildings, this area of the capital witnessed a relative stagnation compared to Galata (115 buildings), and especially to Pera, which expanded its borders towards the North with some 317 buildings as shown in the table. When comparing the plans by Pervititch drawn in 1940 with those of Goads (1905), it appears that some of the major new buildings such as the Vakıf *hân*s, or the Sanasar Han were mostly built after 1911 on those plots marked as vacant on the 1905 Goad plan and that the Ministry of Pious Endowments started to transform the last traditional structures such as *medrese*s, *imaret*s, or *türbe*s by transferring them to another site and replacing them by high —from five to seven storeys— modern *hân*s. As mentioned in the first chapter, the Ministry of Pious Endowments could decide to rent some of its property in bad state, under the status of *bi'l icâreteyn* to raise revenues; a petition found in the Ottoman State Archives and signed by the Minister of Pious Endowments Mustafa Mansûrizâde on 31 Kānûn-ı sânî 1303 (February 12, 1888), revealing the case of the sale of an unused primary school (*sıbyan mektebi*) in Bahçekapı may give us some clues as to how these structures were transferred.[153] The property, corresponding to an area of

[153] BOA, İ.DH 1072-84113, "Merhûm Çorlulu Ali Paşa vakfı hayrâtından Bahçekapı civârındaki

249 *zirâ'*s 12 *parmak*s square (142,98 m^2) and surrounded by the Hamidiye mausoleum, a cemetery next to it, the courtyard of Meydancık mosque and the street,[154] was sold by means of *bi'l icâreteyn* to Süleyman Sırrı Efendi for the amount of 22,500 piastres. At a point in time when urban space in this area was providing an increasing economic return, the reasons behind this decision were described in the following way: the school had remained squeezed between buildings belonging to Christians; the resources necessary for its reconstruction were lacking; and another school located in the same neighbourhood was sufficient to ensure the education of Muslim children. On top of all this, it was also claimed that with the amount received a school could be built to fulfill the conditions of the *vakıf*. Whatever the real reasons behind it may have been, obtaining the Sultan's consent did not take long and the petition of Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha was ratified on 8 Cemâziyülâhir 1305 – 8 Şubat 1303 (February 21, 1888).

However, the proposal made by Ürgüplü Hayri Efendi,[155] who had been appointed Minister of Pious Endowments in 1910, to replace empty plots and unused structures with income generating *hân*s, was a new initiative, which would necessitate important funds for construction.[156] The construction of the First Vakıf Han (Birinci Vakıf Hanı) at Sultanhamam in place of the seventeenth-century school

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sıbyan mektebi 'arsâsının icâreteyn sûretiyle satılarak mu'accelesinin vakfın sâir hayrâtına harcanması hakkında", 1305.C.08 (February, 21, 1888).

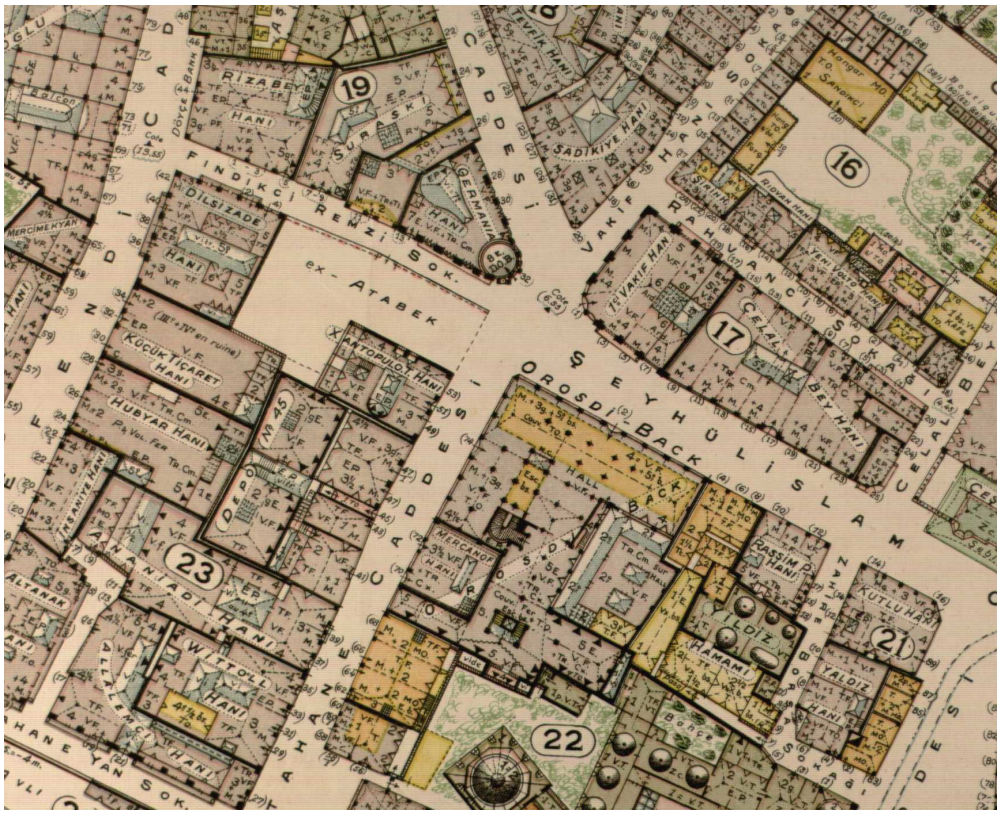
[154] The location described refers to the structure mentioned as a *medrese* on Goad's plan, number 6, plot 181. This area would later be transferred to host the Istanbul Stock Exchange. See plot 22 on the Pervitich plan number 72.

[155] As a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, Ürgüplü Hayri Efendi (1867-1921) occupied several positions in several of the cabinets established after the seizing of power by the Committee. On December 22, 1910, he was appointed Minister of Pious Endowments and although his work was interrupted by other positions or by the resignation of governments, he continued to hold this position until his appointment as Sheikhulislam in March 1914. Mehmet İpşirli, "Hayri Efendi (Ürgüplü)," *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Ekrem Çakıroğlu, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), pp. 560-561.

[156] On the difficulties in financing the Fourth Vakıf Han, the construction of which was estimated at 85,000 liras, see BOA, İ.MMS 152-1330.N.7 "Gurâbâ-i Müslîmîn hastanesi ile Dördüncü Vakıf Han'ın ihâle bedellerinin ödenmesi", 1330.N.14 (August 27, 1912).

(*medrese*) built by Vânî Mehmed Efendi had started in 1911 but was completed only in 1918.[157]

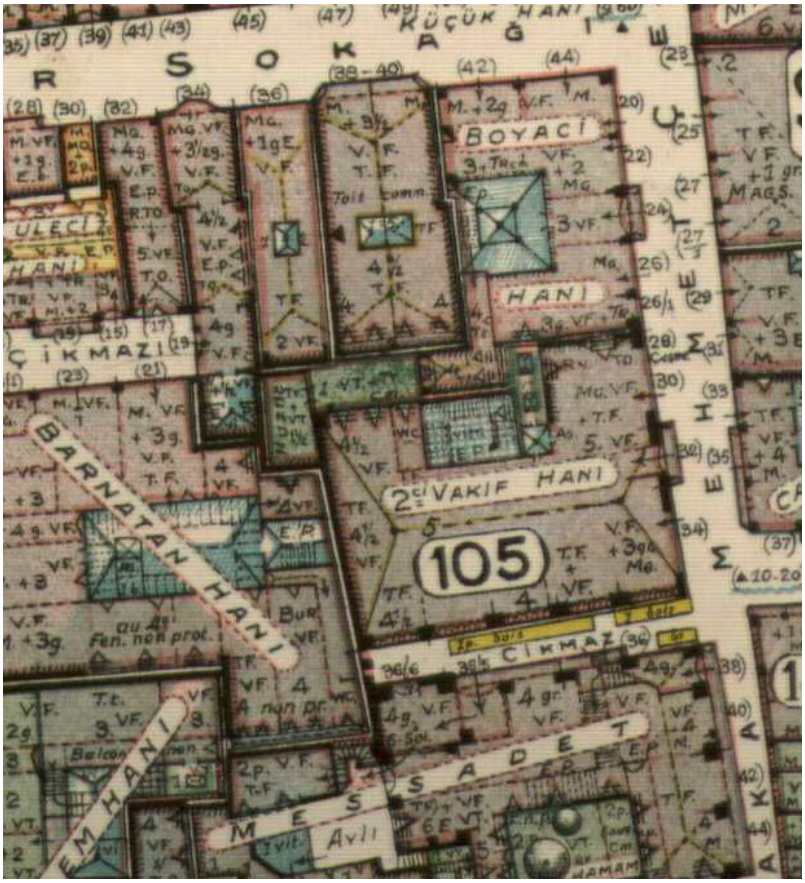
Figure 1: The First Vakıf Han on the opposite of Orosdi Back Department Store in Sultan Hamam



Source: Pervititch, Eminönü, no. 72, 1940.

[157] Yıldırım Yavuz, "Birinci Vakıf Hanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 2, p. 243.

Figure 2: The Second Vakıf Han in Saka Çeşme Street

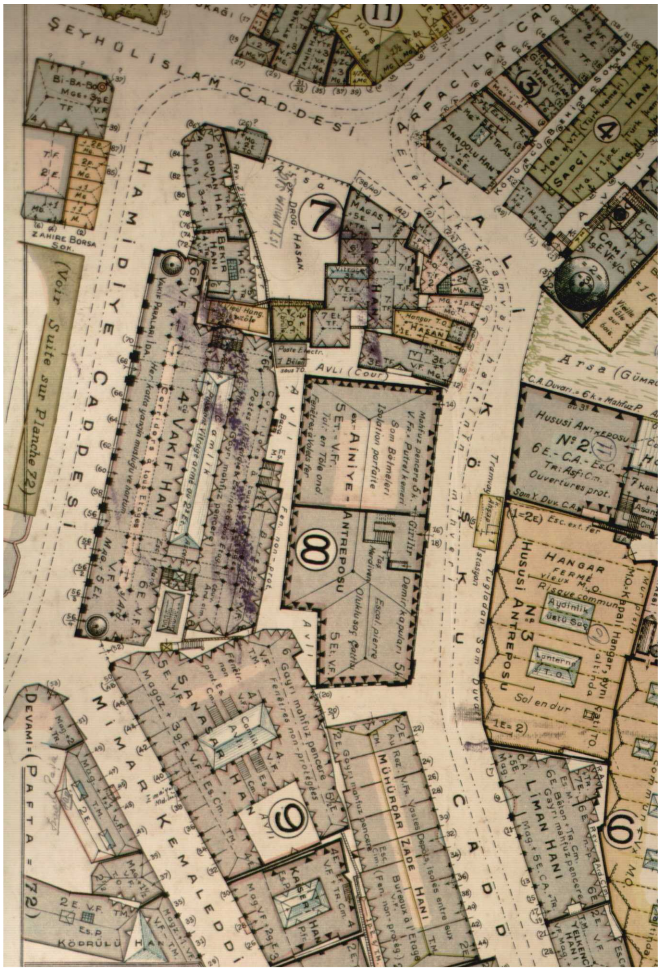


Source: Pervititch, Eminönü, no. 71, 1940.

The Second Vakıf Han (İkinci Vakıf Hanı), at the corner of Saka Çeşme Street opening to Sultanhamam, and built on the location of the Saka fountain that had given the street its name, was realized in a shorter time, between 1912 and 1914.[158]

[158] Yıldırım Yavuz, "İkinci Vakıf Hanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…*, vol. 4, p. 147.

Figure 3: The Fourth Vakıf Han[159]



Source: Pervititch, Eminönü, no. 74, 1940.

The construction of fourth of the series, Dördüncü Vakıf Hanı, which replaced Abdülhamid I's eighteenth-century *külliye* (complex) on Hamidiye Street, started in 1912, but because of the war and its aftermath, could not be completed before 1926.[160] Moreover, it is also worth noting that despite its financial constraints, the municipality did not miss the opportunity of widening the street to 20 meters during the construction of the *hân*.[161] The architect Kemâleddin Bey, who was at the head of the Construction and Restoration Department between 1909 and

[159] Compare the texture of the area with that of the map of Goad (1904) in Appendix L.
[160] Yıldırım Yavuz, "Dördüncü Vakıf Hanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…*, vol. 3, p. 102.
[161] On the details of the expropriation of the shops located on the other side of the construction and the negotiations between the municipality and the Ministry of Pious Foundations see, BOA, İ.DUİT 83-8, "Nizâmât, bütçe, tahsîsât, ilâve, istimlâk, te'minât; Evkâf Nezâreti; Vakıf Hanı (Bahçekapı); Hamidiye Medresesi, Bahçekapısı, Hamidiye Caddesi", 1330.Za.13 (November 24, 1912).

1919, was responsible for the construction of all these buildings, as well as that of the Third Vakıf Han (Üçüncü Vakıf Hanı), which was built between 1911 and 1913 as a six-storey apartment building in the Ağahamam neighborhood of Pera, at the corner of Turnacıbaşı and Kuloğlu streets.[162] Thus, the mosque erected by Kuloğlu Mustafa Bey, Mustafa III's keeper of linens (*çamaşırcıbaşı*) in 1602, as well as a school (*sıbyan mektebi*), which were no longer in use, were opened up for construction, and the mosque was transferred to Bostancı on the Asian side of the city, and rebuilt on a plot belonging to Kuloğlu Mustafa Bey's *vakıf*.[163]

Figure 4: The Third Vakıf Han at the corner of Kuloğlu and Ağa Hamam streets.



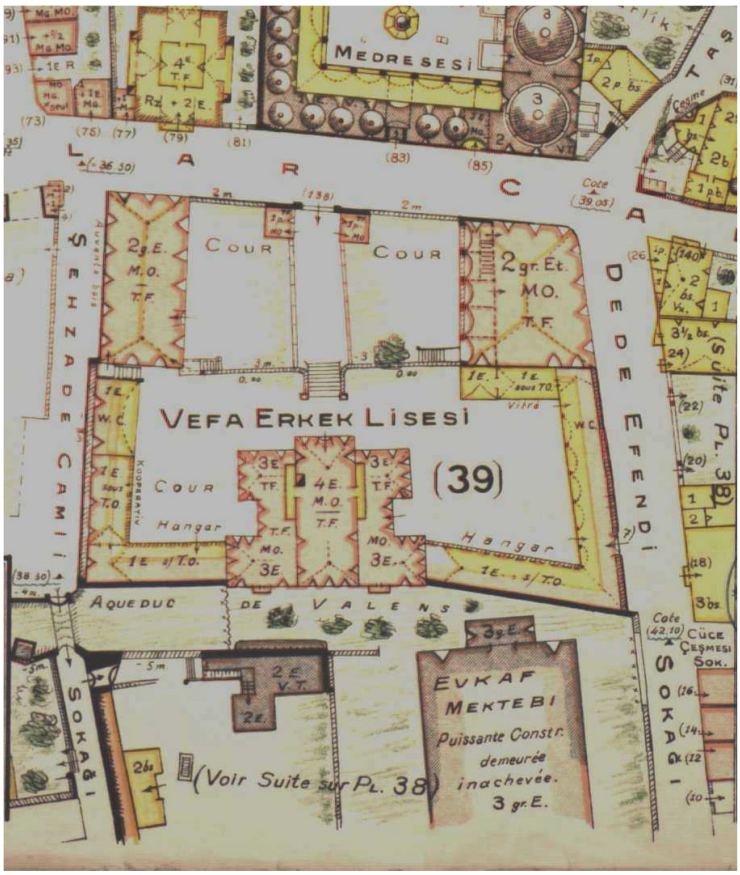
Source: Pervititch, Agha-Hamam, Çukur Cuma no. 32, 1927.

[162] In 1919, it was proposed that the building be converted into a hospital for women to replace the one with a 40-bed capacity, which was planned to be transferred to Siniosoğlu Han, occupied by the Greek sanitary mission. The correspondence with the Ministry of Pious Endowments, however, made it clear that the Third Vakıf Han was not suitable for such use and consequently the mayor Cemil Pasha informed the Ministry of the Interior on May 20, 1919 that it would no longer be used as a hospital. BOA, DH.UMVM 95-26, "Ağa Hamamı'nda bulunan Üçüncü Vakıf Hanı'nın emrâz-ı zühreviye ve nîsâ hastahanesi yapmaya elverişli olmadığından kiralanmasından vazgeçildiği" 1337.Ş.21 (May 22, 1919).

[163] Yıldırım Yavuz, "Üçüncü Vakıf Hanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…*, vol. 7, p. 334.

The Fifth Vakıf Han (Beşinci Vakıf Hanı), conceived as the dormitory of the Vefa High School, was built on the plots next to the school, but could be inaugurated only in the first years of the Republic without the construction being really completed, with three storeys instead of five.[164] Kemâleddin Bey's other projects of a Sixth and Seventh Vakıf *hân*s were never realized.

Figure 5: The Fifth Vakıf Han



Source: Pervititch, Vefa, no. 42, 1934.

Considering that the renovation of the urban tissue of the Stamboul area slowed down after 1905, one could also ask why the plan of this district needed to be redrawn in 1940, when we know that the insurance companies found it sufficient for

[164] Yıldırım Yavuz, "Birinci Vakıf Hanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 2, p. 173.

Pervitich to draw only the recently developed areas in Pera and Galata. The fact that Prost's plan of 1939 for Eminönü was already implemented in 1940 probably played a decisive role in the decision to redraw the area. The spatial reorganization at the head of the bridge and the transformation of the neighboring urban tissue is well represented on the Pervitich plans. A few years later, at the end of the 1940s and beginning of 1950s, just before the urban reorganization projects of the Menderes era, at a time when urbanization took up some speed, Suat Nirven, an architect, would be the last one to map out the older parts of Pera and Galata before the demolition works, but his maps would include much less detail than those drawn by his predecessors.

Considering that space became a scarce and rather valuable commodity in the nineteenth century, the areas of the buildings on Goad's plans were calculated in order to grasp one variable related to various investment behaviors in the districts of the city under study. This time, the data differs from the precedent one which only counted buildings, and our analysis is based on the areas of 561 buildings erected along some of the most prestigious streets of the city and mapped out on Goad's 1905 plans. The sample thus constituted consists of buildings lined on both sides of the Grande rue de Péra or located in its immediate surroundings, the apartment buildings built in the intermediate area of Galata-Pera, down the hill, the buildings located in Galata on the axis running from Voyvoda Street to the harbour, and crossing the bridge, the structures located on the streets on the left side of the bridge, towards the Sirkeci train station and up the hill towards Mahmud Paşa. The area to the right of the bridge in Stamboul, the districts of Azapkapı and Arap Camii on the

western side of Galata, where traditional structures were more persistent[165], and those areas of Pera towards Kalyoncu Kulluk or Tarlabaşı where modest apartment blocks dominated, were excluded from the data. Referring to Goad's maps, for Stamboul the sheets numbered 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 were used; for Galata and Pera, sheets 24, 26, 42, 43, 44 and 45 were excluded from the analysis. The distribution of the building stock of the overall area, which corresponded approximately to 2 square kilometers, is shown in the table below. Although the size of the constructed space differed for each region, —the closest being Galata and Pera— the building stock included in the data appears to be more or less evenly distributed for Galata, Pera and Stamboul, while for obvious reasons of size, the Pera-Galata area represents a mere 10 percent.

Table 3: Distribution of the Building Stock

Regions	Constructed Area (km^2)	Number of Buildings	percent
Galata	**0,42**	**169**	**30,12**
Pera	**0,48**	**178**	**31,73**
Pera-Galata	**0,12**	**57**	**10,16**
Stamboul	**0,95**	**157**	**27,99**
Total	**1,97**	**561**	**100,00**

Sources: Goad (1904, 1905) Pl. 5, 6, 9-11, 25, 27-30, 35-41

As can be perceived from Table 4, Galata, squeezed inside the walls, was the area where the smallest structures were concentrated. Overall, the buildings in Galata with an area of less than 60 m^2 formed 11 percent of the total, and most of the buildings fell in the range between 60 and 120 m^2. Not surprisingly, the Pera-Galata

[165] See Appendix J.

area was also mainly made up of smaller buildings and more than 50 percent of the constructions measured between 60 and 180 m^2; however, a significant number of buildings, some 28 percent, measured between 180 and 300 m^2. In Pera, however, at least for the area studied along and close to the Grande rue de Péra, the building size increased in surface. Though most buildings' areas (71 percent) were in the range of 60 to 300 m^2, a significant number of building blocks (21 percent) measured between 300 m^2 and 1,000 m^2. The increase in land prices does not appear to have been an obstacle for larger constructions. When compared with d'Ostoya's 1860 plan, one can observe, as in the case of Rumeli Han, that the size of some built plots had changed after the fire. Moreover, the tug of war between the Municipality and the inhabitants with respect to the widening of streets by taking an equal part from each plot was concluded in favor of the inhabitants. Thus it can be concluded that particularly for the most recently developed area extending from Galatasaray to Taksim, larger buildings and consequently bigger investment in real estate was mostly the product of the end of the nineteenth century. Though the Tunnel-Galatasaray area had been shaped before this period and probably after the fire of August 2, 1831,[166] d'Ostoya's map shows that in 1858-1860 the size of residential buildings in Pera still remained modest.

The largest structures seem to have been dominantly a feature of the Stamboul area, since the region studied was the poorest in small buildings and the richest in those of more than 1000 m^2. 56 percent of its building stock was between

[166] As reported by Cezar from *Tarih-i Lütfi*, the fire started in the Çukur neighborhood on 23 Safer 1247 (3 Ağustos 1831), and the destruction was all the more important at the crossroads called Dörtyol Ağzı and Aynalı Çeşme and most of the embassies were destroyed. Cezar, referring to İnciciyan, added that even the area around Galata tower as well as down to Perşembe Pazarı was also affected by the fire. Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti…*, pp. 422-423. In 1870 the newspaper *Levant Herald* also referred to the fire in the following terms "[The British Embassy] was totally destroyed. The French, Russian and Prussian embassies, all first class houses, were destroyed, and indeed, every European mission in Pera, except the Austrian. The number of people who were made homeless was 80,000." *The Levant Herald*, June 14, 1870, p. 164.

180 and 1000 m^2 and 15 percent of the constructions were bigger than 1000 m^2. This was probably due to the construction of buildings on the plots of older structures of some importance such as schools or traditional *hân*s, since Stamboul did not have the possibility of expanding its frontiers and of claiming new plots as was the case for Galata-Pera and Pera

Table 4: The Distribution of the Buildings in Different Quarters with Respect to their Surface

Regions	Surface Range	# of Buildings	percent
G	**1-60**	18	10,65
P	**1-60**	10	5,62
PG	**1-60**	2	3,51
S	**1-60**	3	1,91
G	**61-120**	52	30,77
P	**61-120**	42	23,60
PG	**61-120**	19	33,33
S	**61-120**	20	12,74
G	**121-180**	35	20,71
P	**121-180**	46	25,84
PG	**121-180**	12	21,05
S	**121-180**	22	14,01
G	**181-300**	29	17,16
P	**181-300**	38	21,35
PG	**181-300**	16	28,07
S	**181-300**	31	19,75
G	**301-500**	16	9,47
P	**301-500**	19	10,67
PG	**301-500**	6	10,53
S	**301-500**	33	21,01
G	**501-1000**	10	5,92
P	**501-1000**	18	10,11
PG	**501-1000**	1	1,75
S	**501-1000**	24	15,29
G	**1001-**	9	5,32
P	**1001-**	5	2,81
PG	**1001-**	1	1,75
S	**1001-**	24	15,29
Total # of Buildings		**561**	

Sources: Goad (1904, 1905) Pl. 5, 6, 9-11, 25, 27-30, 35-41

When the size of the buildings is considered in relation to time, it appears that for the first period, until 1881, approximately half of the buildings were larger than 500 m^2. As expected, this changed as the number of constructions increased. In 1905, approximately half of the buildings were between 60 and 300 m^2. For Stamboul, although in 1905 the number of large structures added to the urban space remained more or less the same with those already built in 1881, their number had drastically decreased in proportion to the overall building stock added during the same period. This tendency was even more significant for the other side of the Golden Horn.

Table 5: Buildings Classified according to their Size and Construction Period.

Dates	**1-60**	**61-120**	**121-180**	**181-300**	**301-500**	**501-1000**	**1001-**	**Totals**
1868	0	4	3	7	4	9	17	**44**
1881	4	7	8	9	2	9	4	**43**
1889	1	10	1	15	9	6	4	**46**
1894	1	8	11	10	8	3	3	**44**
1895	1	5	5	7	8	4	2	**32**
1905	26	99	87	66	43	22	8	**351**
1909	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
1914	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
	33	**133**	**115**	**114**	**74**	**54**	**38**	**561**

Sources: Goad (1904, 1905) Pl. 5, 6, 9-11, 25, 27-30, 35-41.

Table 6: Buildings Classified according to their Size, Construction Period and Region

Region	Years	1-60	61-120	121-180	181-300	301-500	501-1000	1001-	
	1868	0	1	3	4	1	1	5	
	1881	4	5	3	4	0	1	1	
G	**1889**	1	7	1	3	2	2	1	
	1894	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	
	1895	0	3	5	3	4	2	1	
	1905	13	34	23	13	9	4	1	
	1868	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
	1881	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	
	1889	0	2	0	6	1	2	1	
P	**1894**	1	1	5	2	1	2	1	
	1895	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	
	1905	9	38	41	28	14	10	1	
	1909	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	1868	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1881	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
PG	**1889**	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	
	1894	0	2	3	2	2	0	0	
	1895	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	
	1905	1	16	9	9	1	0	0	
	1868	0	3	0	3	3	7	12	
	1881	0	2	5	4	2	7	2	
S	**1889**	0	1	0	4	3	1	2	
	1894	0	3	3	4	5	1	2	
	1895	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
	1905	3	11	14	16	19	8	6	
	Totals	**33**	**133**	**115**	**114**	**74**	**53**	**39**	**561**

Sources: Goad (1904, 1905) Pl. 5, 6, 9-11, 25, 27-30, 35-41.

Considering that the height of the buildings could also be considered as one of the significant features of the modernization of the urban tissue, a study was conducted based mainly on the 1905 Goad plans as well as on the information derived from the *Annuaires*. The number of storeys was registered and analyzed. Nonetheless, to be consistent with the data used in the precedent analysis of buildings' surfaces, only those which were marked on the 1905 Goad maps and whose surfaces were registered were analyzed. One of our problems was to harmonize the data since

different numbers of storeys were sometimes encountered for the same building, particularly in Galata where the steep slopes forced such diversity. The results of the study carried out on 561 buildings selected from our data of 1,448 and a comparison with those matching storey criteria in overall data, are given below:

Table 7: Buildings Classified according to the Number of Storeys[167]

Regions	# of storeys	# of Buildings whose calculated areas match the area and storey criteria in the sample
G	1	0
	2	5
	3	45
	4	73
	5	26
	6	19
	7	1
P	1	0
	2	1
	3	5
	4	31
	5	59
	6	75
	7	7
PG	1	0
	2	0
	3	2
	4	4
	5	23
	6	25
	7	3
S	1	6
	2	43
	3	61
	4	35
	5	11
	6	1
	7	0
	Total	**561**

Sources: *Annuaire oriental* (1868, 1881, 1895, 1899, 1909, 1914); Goad (1904, 1905) Pl. 5, 6, 9-11, 25, 27-30, 35-41.

[167] To simplify the table, buildings which have a different number of floors were included on the above floors. 3 floors constructions includes also 2,5 / 3-3&b / 2-3 / 2-5 floors buildings whereas 4 floors comprised 2-6 / 3-4-5 / 3-4 / 4&b / 3-4&b / 3-4&b / 3&b-4 / 4-4&b floors, 5 floors consist also of 4-7 / 4,5 / 4-5 / 4-5,5 / 4-5-6 / 4&b-5&b floors, 6 floors includes 5,5 / 5-6 / 5-6-7 / 5-7 / 6-6&b / 6&b and 7 floors buildings also consists of 6-7, 7&b / 6&b-7 floors.

Having worked on the history of regulations issued on buildings in Istanbul, Yerasimos noted that the height of buildings was restricted to a basement and one floor in 1556. In the eighteenth century, a maximum height of 12 *zirâ'*s (9.10 meters)[168] height, which corresponded to a basement and two floors, was allowed for Muslims. Non-Muslims were limited to 10 *zirâ'*s (7.58 meters) for their constructions.[169] The *Tanzîmât,* which put an end to the discrimination in the heights of buildings according to religion, standardized the height of buildings according to the width of the streets. In 1882, the law regulated masonry building height at 24 *arşın*s (18.19 meters) for streets of 10 *arşın*s (7. 58 meters), 28 *arşın*s (21.22 meters) for streets between 12 to 15 *arşın*s (9.10 and 11.37 meters) and 30 *arşın*s (22.74 meters) for streets of 15 *arşın*s (11.37 meters).[170] A law issued in 1891 on the construction of buildings[171] regulated once more the height of buildings to 12 to 18 *arşın*s (9.10 to 13.64 meters) for a street of 8 *arşın*s (6.06 meters), 15 to 20 *arşın*s (11.37 to 15.16 meters) for a street of 10 *arşın*s (7. 58 meters), 20 to 25 *arşın*s (15.16 to 18.95 meters) for a street of 12 *arşın*s (9.10 meters) and 15 *arşın*s (11.37 meters) or more for a street of 25 to 35 *arşın*s (18.95 to 26.53 meters).[172] Considering that one of the most important streets, Divan Yolu, did not exceed 4 meters in width,[173] it is clear that few streets met the largest criteria of width prescribed in the legislation.

It is in Pera and in the area which we have called Pera-Galata that we observe the presence of the tallest buildings, usually consisting of five or six storeys affected

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[168] My conversion was based on Raymond's table of conversion whereas Yerasimos calculated each *zirâ'*s 0.76 meters, as was noticed in the *Règlement et tables pour la conversion des poids et mesures*, (Istanbul: 1870), p. 5.
[169] Stéphane Yerasimos, "La Réglementation urbaine ottomane (XVI-XIXe siecles)", *Hommes et idées dans l'espace ottoman*, (Istanbul: Isis; 1997), p. 219.
[170] See Article 33 of the law issued in 23 Zilhicce 1299-24 Teşrin-i evvel 1298 (November 5, 1882) in Ergin, "Ebniye Kānûnu", *Mecelle…*, p. 1722.
[171] The date of issue of the regulation was 18 Muharrem 1309 (August 22, 1891). Young**,** *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, pp. 137-148. See also Ergin, *Mecelle…*, vol. 4, p. 1706 (for the specific item see Article 32), pp. 1700-1714 (for the complete text).
[172] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[173] Stéphane Yerasimos, "La Réglementation..., p. 325.

to residential use. Seven-storey apartment buildings also existed but were rather exceptional. In Pera, the number of buildings with four storeys cannot be underestimated, whereas in Galata one could hardly find a comparable number of buildings of this height. Galata, which was partly reorganized with the widening of Mumhane, Yorgancılar streets and Karaköy Square, and the creation of Şişhane, Büyük Hendek, Boğazkesen streets, displayed the traditional as well as the modern textures side by side. In accordance with its commercial characteristics, buildings of three or four storeys were built in Galata to meet the daily needs of companies. In smaller numbers, the apartment buildings of Okçu Musa or those on the heights of Galata toward Büyük Hendek often had five or six storeys just as was the case in Pera. Referring to Table 8, it could even be said that the average height (5.6 meters) of the apartment buildings in Pera-Galata which developed after the 1860s was even higher than Pera (5.1), which could be explained by a higher number of old structures. Stamboul, on the other side, displayed a much more traditional building pattern with two or three storeys, few of which were replaced by higher structures. As mentioned before, when crossing the bridge, the area beginning from the bridge towards the Sublime Porte was renewed after the 1865 Hocapaşa fire and consequently new style buildings of four and sometimes five storeys made their appearance there.

Table 8: Average # of Storeys of the Buildings raised in the Studied Area

Region	**Total Area (area*# of storeys in m^2)**	**Area (m^2)**	**Average # of storeys**
G	164.361	42.283	3,89
P	239.599	46.993	5,10
PG	65.507	11.671	5,61
S	253.644	95.438	2,66
Total	**723.111**	**196.385**	**3,68**

Goad (1904, 1905).

Before concluding this section, a few short comments on our sample of hotels which includes 119 hotels opened between 1881 and 1914 mostly in Pera and Galata (54 and 37 percent, respectively) and a few in Stamboul (9 percent) might be useful.[174] When 1905 is considered, only two "modern" hotels in masonry appear on Goad's plan for Stamboul,[175] the remainder being located on the other side of the Golden Horn. It should also be noted that the decade or so between 1894 and 1905 was a period during which investments in hotel buildings increased substantially. For Stamboul, although the sample is very limited and cannot be considered to be representative, it could be said that the construction of hotels around the Bâb-ı Âli Street followed the opening of the Sirkeci train station and were mainly erected after 1889. Contrary to investments in *hân*s and apartment buildings, those in hotels did not seem to be affected by the drastic decrease of investments between 1905 and 1909. On the other hand, when the size of these structures are analyzed, it can be said that there was a considerable number of small hotels (21 percent) built on plots measuring less than 60 m^2 and between 61 and 120 m^2 (33 percent). 35 percent were in the range of 121-300 m^2, 10 percent between 300 and 1000 m^2, and the remaining 2 percent represented hotels built on an area larger than 1000 m^2. It should also be added that the only area of the city where hotels were built on plots larger than 301 m^2 was Pera. On the average, hotels had about five storeys, although those in Pera (4.9 storeys) were slightly taller than those in Galata (4.5 storeys), a negligeable difference. To go one step further, the only hotel whose total area exceeded

[174] Hotels in Stamboul were located on the borders of our area of study. Thus this number includes the ones opened after 1905 on Bâb-ı Âli Street and at Eski Zaptiye Kapısı but excludes those on Hocapaşa Street on the back side of the train station, which remains outside the studied area.
[175] See Goad, no. 6, pl. 183. Wooden constructions used as hotels could also be noticed on the same plot.

5,000 m^2, was the Pera Palace Hotel erected on a plot of 1,315 m^2 and with six to eight storeys depending on the slope, representing an overall built area of some 9,205 m^2.

The Transfer of Urban Property

A newspaper of the time, *La Turquie,* provides important information on the traditional structures owned by the Ministry of Pious Endowments. Lists of property, that is *mülk*s[176] and sometimes *gedik*s, which were put in public auctions between 1884 and 1886,[177] give us precious information on the nature of these different kinds of property, their *vakıf* holders and their estimated price. The whole data covers a vast area in Istanbul and is also available for our selected areas of Stamboul, Galata, and Pera. 107 of these buildings are located within our area of study[178] and are distributed as follows:

Table 9: The Distribution of *Vakıf* Property put to Auction

Region	**Number of *Vakıf*s**
Pera	22
Galata	52
Stamboul	33
Total	**107**

Sources: *La Turquie*, January-July 1884, January-April 1885 and January-April and July-September 1886.

[176] *Mülk* was used here in the sense of real estate and does not refer to the legal category of property.
[177] More specifically the issues of newspapers corresponding to the following periods were looked up: January-July 1884, January-April 1885 and January-April and July-September 1886. The missing issues between were not available to researchers due to their damaged state during our research at the end of 2005. The Atatürk Library has been closed since 2007.
[178] See the list in Appendix O.

Although the table corresponds to *vakıf* property put to auction and does not represent the totality, it is striking to see how far the *vakıf* properties were embedded in Galata, contrary to the foreign image it had in the eyes of Europeans as well as Ottomans. This fact also strengthens the hypothesis of Muslim presence in Pera as well as in Galata, through both traditional and modern forms of investment. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that according to this data, the *mülk*s registered in Pera were mostly situated outside of the borders of our area, in Tatavla, Elmadağ, or Tarlabaşı… If proximity to the Grande rue de Péra is taken as a cirterion of inclusion into our area, the number drops to only five *mülk*s. Although our sample remains limited in its representativity, could this mean that there was less *vakıf* property on the Grande rue de Péra and in its immediate vicinity than elsewhere? Or had the plots belonging to the *vakıf*s been already transferred in one way or the other at an earlier point in time? These questions will constitute the base of some of the inquiries of the following chapter, which through different case studies will also evaluate the categories of property invested in.

What could have been the meaning of such auctions for the sale of property in the hands of the *vakıf*s? Certainly, this field of study needs to be investigated deeply through archival documents. However, it is a known fact that the *vakıf*s, which were an integral part of the economy and of the real estate market,[179] lost much of their power in the nineteenth century. In the context of the *Tanzîmât* reforms, the state incorporated important endowments under its control and created the Ministry of Pious Endowments in October 1826. This organization enforced regulatory legislation over the management of *vakıf*s and their assets.[180] One of the regulations

[179] Randi Deguilhem, "Wakf", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by P.J. Bearman ... [et al.], vol. 11, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), p. 90.
[180] *Ibid.*

dated 9 Rebiyülevvel 1293 (April 5, 1876) stated that *mussakafât*[181] as well as land, whose sale was authorized, or in other words had become *mahlûl*, would be sold at public auctions according to the regulations of the Ministry of Pious Endowments.[182] The announcements of public auctions listed in the newspaper were clearly related to this. Besides, as was discussed in the first chapter, the personal use of urban property was guaranteed by prior legislation in 1858 for Ottoman subjects and after 1867 for foreigners through protocols. Yerasimos, who analyzed the role of the *vakıf*s in the urban transformation of nineteenth-century Istanbul, referring to the letter of Mustafa Reşid Pasha written from London, stated that since the beginning of the *Tanzîmât*, *vakıf* properties were mostly seen as an impediment to the transformation of the urban structure. [183] He concluded that this difficulty was partly solved through the vulgarization of the *vakıf* properties by their equalization with other categories of property.[184] Ortaylı also mentioned a similar antagonism between the municipality and the Ministry of Pious Endowments at a later date, during the time of Topuzlu Cemîl Pasha.[185]

Considering all these facts, as well as the auction announcements in French, it could be argued that the adjudication of *vakıf* properties led to a change of ownership and that these areas or quarters were slowly integrated into the modernization of the urban tissue, just as was illustrated by the case of Voyvoda Han on Perşembe Pazarı

[181] For a detailed description of different categories of *vakıf* property see Chapter Two, pp. 22-39.
[182] See Article 6 in George Young, *Corps de droit…,* vol. 6, p. 105.
[183] Stéphane Yerasimos, "Les waqfs dans l'aménagement urbain d'Istanbul au XIX^{e} siècle", *Le waqf dans le monde musulman contemporain (XIXe-XXe siècles) : fonctions sociales, économiques et politiques : actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 13-14 novembre 1992* ed. by Faruk Bilici, (Istanbul: IFEA, 1994), pp. 47-48.
[184] Yerasimos, "Les waqfs…, pp. 48-49.
[185] İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000), p. 170. Becoming mayor twice in 1912-1914 and 1919-1920, Cemil Pasha wrote, in a pamphlet entitled *Yarınki İstanbul* and published in 1937, that to make Istanbul modern, one should demolish it and then reconstruct it. Yerasimos, "Planification de l'espace en Turquie", *Hommes et idées…,* p. 349.

Street.[186] In a petition written to the Ministry of Pious Endowments in 1873, it was stated that since the sale of the *hân* to non-Muslims or foreigners was possible, the announcement of the auction should also appear in the major newspapers of the Empire.[187] As could be followed from the announcements in the newspaper and from a register of the Ministry of Pious Endowments dating from 1879,[188] the size of the land put to auction and transferred to third parties when becoming *mahlûl* remained partial and small, which makes it possible to argue that the investments in buildings were not very considerable. In other words, putting aside, as Yerasimos stated, those cases of urban renewal following a fire where the plots were redistributed, the size of speculation seems to have remained rather limited and the modernization of the urban fabric was therefore probably not quite widespread.

Another case of land transfer was the allocation of the Taksim military barracks and of the land opposite the building, used for the drills and exercises of troops (*Talimhane*). Following the first attempts of modifying the property law in 1908, which would make mortgage possible, foreign investors were interested in founding an Ottoman Real Estate Credit Company. A project by Mahmûd Esâd Efendi was presented in June 1909 to the Council of State headed by Hilmî Pasha. As was stated in the first chapter, the new mortgage law, which would be ratified

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[186] It is not clear if this *hân* is the one described in Eldem, *Bankalar…*, op. cit., pp. 112-113 and located on Voyvoda Street.

[187] "… mezkûr hanın cânib-i Evkâf-ı Hümâyun'dan satılık olduğunun Galata ve Beyoğlu'nda tab' ve neşr olunmakda olan jurnallere derc ile i'lân etdirilerek karârının başkaca isti'zân olunması ve ba'demâ millel-i gayr-i Müslîme ve teb'a-ı ecnebiye taraflarından mübâya'a ve iştirâsında bir gûne mahzûr ve mazarrât melhûz olmayan 'arsa ve arâzi ve musakkafâtın bey' ve fürûhtu yalnız nezâret-i celîleleri münâdîlerinin ifâde ve ihbârlarına bırakılmayub elsîne-i mütenevvi'ada tab' olunan gazetelerin mu'tebercelerine ta'yîn-i müddet müzâyede ile derc etdirilmesi sûretinin usûl ittihâz kılınması…" BOA, A.MKT.MHM, "Evkâf Nezâreti'nin beş yüz ondokuzuncu defterde kayıtlı emlâk ve 'arâzinin satışı ve bu defterde kayıdlı Perşembe Pazarı'ndaki Voyvoda Hanı'nın satışı için gazetelere 'ilân verilmesi", 1290.Za.3 (December 23, 1873).

[188] BOA, EV 19043, "Galata'da Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Hazînesi'nden mazbût masakkafâttan mahlûl olan hisseli vakfların mu'accele ve rüsûmât mikdârı ile kimlerin uhdesinde olduğuna dair kayıtlar", 1281.M.25 - 1296.Za.14 (June 30, 1864 – October 30, 1879). This register comprised the transactions of the greater Galata or Mahrûsa-ı Galata; it included not only Tophane, Fındıklı and Beyoğlu districts but also villages on the European shore of the Bosphorus.

only in 1913, proposed that *mülk*s, *mirî* and all categories of property, constructed or not, belonging to the *vakıf*s could be used as a mortgage for credit.[189] The National Company of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture was founded on almost equal footing by the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the Société Générale and an Ottoman group of investors in June 10, 1909.[190] Earlier, in 1906, Fernandez and Ménaché, representatives of Rouvier Bank in Istanbul had also proposed a project of a company which would give credit backed by property.[191] This first project was rejected, but the National Company of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, had the advantage of having as its vice-president at its Paris headquarters a well-known personality of Istanbul, Comte Isaac de Camondo.[192] Initially the company aimed at conducting activities in trade, industry, urban and rural property, and to establish a company which would last for 50 years and would give credits on mortgage. However, it was soon decided that the National Company of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture would deal exclusively with property.[193] The company was interested in the barracks and the drill ground in Taksim which were estimated at 400,000 liras. In an article in the *Revue technique d'Orient* dated March 15, 1911, this estimation had been criticized for being too low for apartment buildings that would enjoy a marvelous view of the Bosphorus and located in one of the poshest districts of Istanbul. Basing itself on the square *zirâ'* value of property in Pera, the journal calculated that if the State made the triangulation and sold each

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[189] See Chapter Two, pp. 46-49, Jacques Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire ottoman, (1895-1914)*, (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1977), p. 471.
[190] Thobie, *ibid.* p. 469.
[191] *Ibid.* Several propositions on the establishment of a credit institution on property were made as early as 1878 by Edwin Pears on behalf of English entrepreneurs. BOA, HR.TO 464-66, "Emlâk tehrini mukabilinde akçe ikraz eder bir şirket teşekkülü hakkında Edom Pears isimli zatın arizası", September 10, 1878. See also the proposition by Charles S. Hanson for the establishment of a mortgage bank in Istanbul. BOA, HR.TO 464-64, "Ashâb-ı emlâkın 'arâzilerini rehin ederek akça ikrâz etmelerini sağlamak üzere Dersa'âdet'de bir rehin kumpanyası teşkili imtiyâzına dâir Hanson ve şürekāsının arîzası", August 29, 1878.
[192] "Le Champ de Mars et la Caserne du Taxim", *La Gazette financière*, 1912, no. 68, p. 8
[193] Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme...,* p. 470.

plot at an auction, the government was likely to cash in 1,640,435 liras.[194] After long discussions in the Ottoman Parliament, this area of 150,000 m^2 [195] was allocated to the company with a contract dated February 20, 1913 (February 7, 1328) from the Treasury for the amount of 500,000 liras. The Taksim barracks and the drill ground were sold at 400,000 liras, to which were added 100,000 liras for the Borsa Han (Stock Exchange Han) in Karaköy,[196] rented until then by the School of Arts and Crafts. From the minutes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank board meetings, we learn that the advance of 300,000 liras, paid just after the ratification of the contract, was provided by two credits taken from the bank,[197] the remaining amount being provided with the transfer of the land.[198]

According to the contract, the government kept the privilege of rescinding the deal by paying back the amount received with an additional 10 percent for injury and loss. However, the reporter of the *Gazette financière* estimated that this probability was very low, since it would be difficult to find another company willing to provide better guarantees and promising such a fast realization of the transformation of the plots into a new district that would contribute to the embellishment and to the

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[194] Based on a project of drawn plots, the bulletin differentiated the value of each plot and after deducing the area needed for the road and squares, which was estimated as 41,810 *zirâ'* square, the value of the plots was assessed as below :

A category plots : 78,208 *zirâ'* square (44,905 m^2) at 10 liras/plot	782,080 liras
B category plots : 64,770 *zirâ'* square (37,189 m^2) at 8 liras/plot	518,160 liras
C category plots : 34,870 *zirâ'* square (20,021 m^2) at 6 liras/plot	209,220 liras
D category plots : 19,580 *zirâ'* square (11,942 m^2) at 4 liras/plot	78,320 liras
E category plots : 21,058 *zirâ'* square (12,091 m^2) at 2,5 liras/plot	52,645 liras
Total 218,486 *zirâ'* square (126,148 m^2)	1,640,425 liras

From the above calculations, the average price of the land in Taksim could be calculated as 13 liras/m^2, the lowest price being 2,5 liras/m^2 and the highest 17,41 liras/ m^2. "Lotissement des terrains de Taxim", *Revue technique d'Orient*, No: 7, March 15, 1911, p. 4. See the project in Appendix P.

[195] The 50,000 m^2 would be allocated to the streets and squares. "Le Champs de Mars et la Caserne du Taxim", *op. cit.*

[196] "L'édifice de la Bourse", *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 214, p. 706.

[197] OBA, CDPV 017 , *Procès verbaux des scéances du comité 1912/13*, Meeting of February 20, 1913, p. 274

[198] "L'affaire du Taxim", *La Gazette financière*, no. 178, p. 116.

solution of the housing problem of Istanbul.[199] It was soon decided that a part of Borsa Han would be expropriated for the widening of Karaköy Square. According to Article 8 of the Law on the Construction of Buildings passed on August 22, 1891, a quarter of the property would be given free of charge and for the part exceeding it, the municipality proposed to the company 90 liras/m^2. The company argued that the *hân* was sold to them under a particular contract and protested against the new terms. As a result, based on the clause of resignation, the municipality suggested to the government to take back the *hân* under the above mentioned conditions. Thus the review informs us that if the municipality was willing to pay the price of the property including the transfer charges which amounted to 1,500 liras and 6 percent interest to the government, the *hân* would be taken back from the National Company of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture.[200] In a file found at the Ottoman State Archives on the widening of Karaköy Square for the new line of electrical streetcars, the prefect of the municipality, Cemil Pasha is seen to have complained that the Treasury did not agree to a cut of 5.5 m^2 from the building to widen the street from 9 to 20 meters; moreover since the *hân* had been pawned for a one-year loan, the widening of the street could not take place before, and this would cause delays and extra costs in the infrastructure.[201] The matter was concluded by the purchase of the

[199] "Les Terrains du Taxim*", La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 184, p. 313; "L'affaire du Taxim", *op. cit.*

[200] "L'édifice de la Bourse", *op. cit*., pp. 705-706.

[201] BOA, DH.İD 173-8, "Galata Tramway Caddesiyle Karaköy'de Borsa Hanı ve Saraçhâne Caddelerinde tramway için yol genişletme çalışmalar zımnında istimlâkine lüzûm görülen Ebûlfazıl Medresesi ve sair binalar hakkında olunacak mu'âmelenin süratle neticelendirilmesi", 1332.Z.01 (September 9, 1914). It is interesting to see the comments of each side. Cemil Pasha was willing to conclude the affair as soon as possible because of the committments of the municipality to the streetcar company but the Treasury claimed that it was not responsible for the delay but was bound by the fact that the *hân* was pawned for a year for a loan. See particularly doc. 125230, the letter of the Finance Minister dating 11 Rebiyülâhir 1331 – 7 Mart 1329 (March 20, 1913) and doc. 125223, the letter of Cemil Pasha to the Ministry of Interior Affairs dated 13 Cemâziyülâhir 1331 – 7 Mayıs 1329 (May 20, 1913).

hân from the company.[202] Cemil Pasha reported that the municipality had advanced approximately 114,000 liras.[203] The following details are missing but when examining the plan of Suat Nirven, it is clear that the *hân* was cut and the square widened accordingly.[204]

The Ottoman Real Estate Company of Istanbul (İstanbul Emlâk Şirket-i Osmaniyesi – Société Immobilière Ottomane de Constantinople) whose aim was the construction of buildings in the purchased area of the capital city, could only be formed on May 25, 1914. The aim of the company, managed by Rambert[205] whose offices were located in Azaryan Han in Galata,[206] was to construct buildings in place of the military barracks of Taksim, to rent them, to sell the property as a whole or in parts, to buy other property in Istanbul and to deal with all sorts of construction projects in the city. The founding partners were the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Société Générale, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the Banque de Salonique and the Société Nationale Ottomane pour le Commerce, l'Agriculture et l'Industrie whereas the Ottoman government kept the privilege of subscribing for 100,000 liras.[207] The *irade* of 22 Rebiyülevvel 1332 / 5 Şubat 1329 (February 18, 1914)[208] announced this

[202] It was claimed that the *hân* was transferred to the municipality against a payment of 116.000 liras on November 24, 1913. "L'édifice de la Bourse", *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 217, p. 757.
[203] "Les Finances de la ville de Constantinople", *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 220, p. 810.
[204] See Suat Nirven, no. 42, pl. 1258. See Appendix R. Not only Karaköy Han but also 16 shops of Haviar Han were also partially expropriated and the façade rebuilt. See the announcement of the adjudication in the *Gazette financière*, 1914, no. 223, p. 13.
[205] "Société Immobilière de Constantinople", *La Gazette financière*, 1914, no. 238, p. 287. OBA, XKOD 003 07283, "Objets Divers, Société Immobilière de Constantinople", doc. 3, Correspondance of L. Rambert with the Imperial Ottoman Bank, May 23, 1914.
[206] *Memâlik-i 'Osmâniye'de 'Osmânlı Anonim Şirketleri*, (İstanbul: Ticâret ve Zirâ'at Nezareti, 1334), pp. 15-16. I would like to thank Mehmet Ö. Alkan for providing me with the transcribed text of the book.
[207] "Société Immobilière de Constantinople", *La Gazette Financère*, 1914, no. 238, p. 287, also *ibid.* no. 236, p. 260.
[208] BOA, İ.MMS 233-96, "Ticâret ve Sanâ'î ve Zirâ'at Şirket-i 'Osmâniyesi'ne meşrûten ferâğ olunan Taksim'deki kışla ve Ta'limhâne Meydanı'nın istirdâdından sarf-ı nazarla, şirket nezdindeki tahvilât satılarak elde edilecek mebâliğden 100 bin liranın şirkete tesvîyesi ve kalan meblâğla yeni kurulan emlâk şirketine iştirâk olunması", 1332.Ra.22 (February 18, 1914), doc. 4 dd. 22 Rebiyülevvel 1332 – 5 Şubat 1929.

subscription and the Treasury bought 20,000 shares at 5 liras each.[209] Once it was founded and the land transferred, the company presented the plan of the project whose revision was requested by the municipality for a change in the orientation of three streets. The municipality also wanted a written confirmation from the Ministry of the Interior that there would be no need to reserve places for the school and police station as was stated in Article 16 of the buildings law.[210] The disagreement with the municipality seems to have continued during the war years; as late as 1919 nothing had been constructed in the area yet.[211] Later, in 1922, two other issues related to the water storage building and to the mosque inside the barracks were finally solved by an agreement signed by the company and the Minister of Finance on 10 Zilkāde 1340 – 11 Temmuz 1338 (July 5, 1922). According to this agreement, an area of 2,237 m^2 corresponding to the water storage building, and the court surrounded by a passage of 2.5 meters, shops and rooms, was transferred to the Ministry of Pious Endowments for the amount of 225,000 francs or 109,734 liras 43 kuruş 30 paras.[212] Moreover, according to Article 2, the mosque inside the barracks would be moved to another location. Although this conflict seemed to be solved, the uncertainty brought by the war, as well as the difficulties in obtaining material, the soaring inflation, and

[209] BOA, MV 192-17, "Taksim'de bulunan kışla ile Ta'limhâne Meydanı'nın Ticâret ve Sanâ'î ve Zirâ'at Şirket-i Milliye-i 'Osmâniyesi'ne ferâğı ve hükûmetin satın aldığı emlâk şirketi hisse senedlerinden dolayı mezkûr şirket masraflarından payına düşen meblâğın Hazîne'den tesviyesi, 1332.L.25 (September 16, 1914).

[210] BOA, DH.UMVM 100-43, "İstanbul Emlâk Şirketi'ne ferâğ edilmiş olan Taksim Kışlasıyla Ta'lîmhâne'ye aid harîtanın ta'dîli hakkında Şehremaneti'ne görüş bildirildiği ve harîtanın bu değişiklikten sonra ancak tasdîk edilebileceği", 1334.M.19 (November 27, 1915)

[211] "Taksim kışlasıyla meydânını Hazîne-i Mâliye'den bi't-teferrûğ taht-ı tasarrûfuna almış olan İstanbul Emlâk Şirket-i 'Osmâniye'si oraların sûret-i ifrâzını ta'yin ile harîtasını 'ale'l-usûl emânete tasdîk etdirmişse de bu harîtanın tatbîkine ve oralarda esâslı mebâni ihdâsına başlayamayub hâlen câbecâ muvakkat bârâkalar vucûda getirmek sûretiyle intifâ'a çalışmaktadır." BOA, DH.UMVM 100-43, *op. cit.*, Correspondance of the Municipality to the Minister of the Interior, 5 Muharrem 1338 – 28 Ağustos 1338 (September 30, 1919).

[212] BOA, İ.DUİT, "Mukāvele: Emlâk-ı Şirket-i 'Osmâniye (İstanbul); Su hazînesi (Taksim), Çeşme (Taksim), 1340.Za.15 (July 10, 1922).

the shortage of labor were responsible for the project's failure,[213] and the construction of the area, with the exception of the barracks would only be possible by different means in the 1930s.[214]

Conclusion

As was stated at the very beginning of the dissertation, this study aims to go beyond the history of the municipality and urban development that concentrates on regulations and planning, or in Girardelli's words, on "autocratic decisions of the ruling elite".[215] It rather intends to include into the picture the individuals who transformed their environment through their speculative behavior. As traced by the whole story, this process followed the major undertakings of the state or municipality, and was boosted according to our findings in the decade between 1895 and 1905, and continued with less vigor until 1914. An important part of the infrastructural projects regarding the widening of streets were accomplished by that time, and the last building regulation which increased the height of buildings was issued in 1891. Moreover, as discussed in the first chapter, the property rights for Ottomans as well as for foreigners were already regulated by the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz. Finally, the resources of the state were no longer abundant enough to

[213] Ali Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Dönemi tahvil ve hisse senetleri - Ottoman securities*, (Istanbul: TEB, 2001), p. 244.
[214] Pervitich draws first the Talimhane area in his plan number 12 and dated 1925. See Appendix Q. In this plan the plots are shown but buildings do not appear yet. The construction of the area is drawn later on a plan dated 1943 under the same number. Nur Akın states that these apartment buildings in art deco style were constructed by the renowned architects of the time such as Vedat Tek, Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Nur Akın, "Talimhane Yayalaştırma Projesi'nin Düşündürdükleri", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, no.176, January 2005, p. 84.
[215] Paolo Girardelli, "Sheltering diversity: Levantine architecture in the late Ottoman Istanbul", *Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Maurice Cerasi, Attilio Petruccioli, Adriana Sarro, and Stefan Weber, (Beirut: Orient Institute, 2007), pp. 117-118.

realize large-scale urban projects. But once the way to urban modernization was opened, the incorporation of individual speculation came by itself.

From the analysis of our data which corresponds to the study of an approximate area of 2.52 km^2,[216] the major trends of this speculation emerge as follows: the core of Istanbul, that is Pera, Galata and Stamboul all witnessed a transformation which made them "modern". The particularities of each could be different. The historical background, the functionality of the area, as well as topographical particularities would shape their transformation. Taller buildings which were residential blocks emerged in the Pera and Pera-Galata areas, whereas in Galata the height of the buildings which were mostly used as offices remained at three or four storeys. The necessity of height for Stamboul buildings was even less due to its specialization in wholesale trade. Specifically for this reason the height of the modern *vakıf hân*s constructed at the end of our period could be criticized and one could ask if such a speculation was viable.

The size of the areas occupied by these buildings could also be explained through function, but it is also noteworthy that due to a lack of available land, the transformation most often had to be accomplished according to the size of the oldest plots. Nonetheless it is striking to find the biggest structures in Pera after Stamboul, even though it was a predominantly residential area. The fact that it was a prestigious and posh area, and the very strict limits of Galata where available land was even rarer could be an explanation of why the tallest apartment structures were found in Pera. The Pera-Galata area is obviously less prestigious and though new

[216] This number represents the Center of Beyoğlu and Eminönü regions as well as Galata. Taksim whose surface was calculated as 2,70 km^2 which was mostly developed after the Republic was not included. According to the statistical yearbook of Istanbul issued in 1932-1933, the studied area corresponded to 10 percent of the overall Istanbul and was calculated as 253 km^2 for the municipalities of Princes Islands, Bakırköy, Eminönü, Fatih, Kadıköy, Sarıyer and Üsküdar. *İstanbul Şehri İstatistik Yıllığı*, 1932-1933, vol. 3, (İstanbul: İstanbul Belediyesi İstatistik ve Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1936), p. 39.

plots were created after the destruction of the walls their size remained smaller and closer to Galata's size.

In this era one could also talk of a transformation of the unused urban structures through their sale to third parties, or from within, through their conversion into profit-generating buildings, as was illustrated by the examples of the Ministry of Pious Endowments or of the Treasury. In a period of intense construction, the projects realized during the war years failed to bring profits but they were important in transforming the urban area according to the needs of the time.

Coming back to Çelik's argument that Istanbul was not divided into two parts, the old and the new city, our detailed analysis also confirms this. The Galata Bridge, first built in 1845 and renovated in 1912 to provide the infrastructure for two electrical tram lines, did not separate the two sides of the Golden Horn but on the contrary united them. This fact becomes all the more obvious when considering that people investing in Galata and Pera could also have invested in the Stamboul area or vice versa. Thus investors had in mind a larger picture of Istanbul and did not limit themselves to the so called "modern" parts of the city. The next chapter will take closer look at some of this elite group to underline their different networks and investments in the city which, rather than being merely a speculative behavior, shaped the city according to their needs, desires and preferences.

CHAPTER 4

ELITES' INVESTMENTS IN URBAN PROPERTY: STRATEGIES, TRAJECTORIES AND IMPACTS

As Hobsbawn put it when discussing the case of the urban development of Bordeaux, "… property from land or, more commonly, from urban real-estate, remained an important source of bourgeois income…"[1] These individuals and, at a later date, the administrators of institutions and companies, were without contest those who had the capitalistic insight to invest in property expecting an economic return. Though they most often did not control the exercise of political power and usually operated within a framework of state power and of administration which was not their own,[2] they had the economic power of negotiating with the state or with the municipality in order to undertake the necessary improvements to increase the value of their property. The case studies discussed below will allow us to see the capacity of these actors to intervene in state affairs, at least at the local level, and to understand how far the state and its legislation and regulations could be manipulated in reshaping the city.

Moreover, this attitude of the high ranking bourgeoisie or of the elite of the capital, though not explicitly mentioned, could be considered as a way of displaying their fortune in this last quarter of the nineteenth century —a sort of *belle époque*— and of inspiring other sections of society by placing their cultural imprint on the urban landscape. Was this urge of displaying wealth and of influencing not only

[1] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 2001), p. 284. Hobsbawm continues by stressing that even in areas lagging behind in terms of industrialization, real estate was already losing some of its importance. For instance in 1873 in non-industrial Bordeaux, it formed 40 percent of the estates at the time of death, while in industrial Lille it formed only 31 percent. From P. Guillaume, "La fortune bordelaise au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle", *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 43 (1965), pp. 331, 332 and 351.
[2] Hobsbawm, *ibid.*, p. 291.

architectural inspiration but also processes of urban reorganization[3] present in the investment decisions made with respect to property? In other words, how much did the desire of creating "a world after its own image"[4] as Marx and Engels stated, affect this bourgeoisie's investment policies? Although difficult to derive directly from the documents, this issue will be one of the points that we hope to be able to raise in our analysis by reading between the lines.

Although the names of the main investors in real estate are well-known figures of the time, in order to quantify their buildings located on the main residential and business axis of the capital, we have established a list, based on our data compiled from the plans and from the commercial directories of that period.[5] Among the largest investors, those for whom archival documentation is available will be analyzed in greater detail. The list in the appendix[6] confirms that the biggest investors were merchants, financiers or state officials such as Abud Mehmed Efendi, Allahverdi, Azarian, Baltazzi, Barnathan, Camondo, Deveaux, Friedmann, Hazzopoulo, Helbig, Katırcıoğlu, Olivo, Ragıb Pasha and Zographos. To this we should add the list of buildings belonging to some of the major companies of the time, such as the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Tobacco Regie on Voyvoda Street in Galata, the Orosdi-Back department store at Bahçekapı in Stamboul, or the American Bible House on Fincancılar Street in Stamboul, all of which were built in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[3] See David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003) for a detailed discussion on all its facets and on various actors of the urban transformation of nineteenth century Paris.

[4] Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (London: 1848). Available [on line] http://www.scribd.com/doc/202256/1848-K-Marx-Manifesto-of-the-Communist-Party [September 21, 2008]. See also Hobsbawm, *ibid.*, p. 64.

[5] For the details on the source of the data, see pp. 110-112 in Chapter Three. For the list of owners, see Appendix S.

[6] See Appendix T.

All of these investors will not be analyzed in the following pages. Rather than aiming at an exhaustive but possibly superficial treatment of the data, our analysis will be limited to case studies of the four most important investors on the list. The cases of the Camondos, Lorandos and of Emile Deveaux, which will be discussed below, illustrate different strategies of some individuals and families well implanted in the nineteenth-century financial world of Istanbul, while the case of the Imperial Ottoman Bank will refer to the same process from the perspective of a corporate body. These cases, the documentation on which should allow us to delve into their investment decisions, represent 7.27 percent of the overall data in terms of the urban space they represented of our sample derived from Goad's maps. However, before going into further details on these particular cases, it may be of interest to browse, as far as our documentation permits, the information available on some of the other names mentioned above, and whose investments could also be considered as the visual imprint on urban space of their economic power.

Investors Buying Down-Town

A Preliminary Sample

Chamberlain and Capitalist: Sarıcazâde Ragıb Pasha

Sarıcazâde Ragıb Pasha was born in Euboea (Eğriboz) in 1857; he was the son of a certain Murad Efendi. He graduated from the schools of Galatasaray (*Mekteb-i Sultanî*) and of Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), with good command of the French

and Greek languages.[7] He was then recruited as chamberlain by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Ragıb Pasha was also well known as a businessman with investments in the coal mines of Kozlu and Ereğli in Zonguldak,[8] and a *rakı* factory founded in the 1880s in Umurca, Tekirdağ. He lived in his *yalı* in Sarıyer, at Yıldız palace, or during the spring and fall in his kiosks and *yalı*s built by August Jasmund[9] in the woods located on the seashore in Caddebostan.[10] He also had several real estate investments in Pera. Among these were three famous *hân*s on the Grande rue de Péra, symbolically named Rumeli (Europe), Anadolu (Anatolia) and Afrika, an apartment building named after him on the same avenue at a short distance from Galatasaray square[11], as well as the Magic movie theater in Taksim, built by the Italian architect Giulio Mongeri.[12] Except for the theater, his overall investment in the real-estate of this area represented 16,065 m^2. Anadolu Han was the first of the three *hân*s named after the three continents. It seems to have been built between the years 1890 and 1893.[13] The second of the series, Rumeli Han or, as mentioned on the inscription, Rumeli Çarşısı (Rumeli Mall), was built in 1896 (1312).[14] These two *hân*s were reevaluated for taxation purposes on March 15, 1913. Anadolu Han, standing at

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[7] Yıldız Demiriz, "Mabeynci Ragıp Paşa Yalısı", *Göztepe*, ed. by Prof. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, (İstanbul: TTOK, 1969), p. 117.
[8] His wife Kâmile and his two sons Mehmed Abid and Şakir were also involved in this business. Ahmet Öğreten, "Ereğli Kömür Havzasında Bahriye Nezareti Döneminde Madenler ve Madenciler (1865-1908), *ZKÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, v. 3, no. 5, p. 149, 161, 166, 177. [pp. 139-178] Available [online] http://iibf.karaelmas.edu.tr/sbd/makaleler/1303-9245/200703005139178.pdf [October 1, 2008].
[9] Müfid Ekdal, "Ragıp Sarıca Paşa Köşkü", *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu – Kadıköy Konakları*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), p. 254. Yıldız Demiriz claims that Ragıb Pasha who built this magnificiant *yalı* for 105,000 liras did not have the opportunity to live in it. Yıldız Demiriz, "Mabeynci Ragıp Paşa Yalısı", p. 113.
[10] Ragıb Pasha also built a kiosk next to his *yalı* for one of his daughters, who was married to Colonel Tosun Bey. For the architectural details of the building see Yıldız Demiriz, "Caddebostan'da, Mabeynci Ragıp Paşa'nın, Kızı İçin Yaptırdığı Köşk Hakkında Bazı Notlar", *Semavi Eyice Armağanı, İstanbul Yazıları* (İstanbul: TTOK, 1992), pp. 363-367.
[11] For their locations see Appendix U.
[12] Burçak Evren, "Majik Sineması", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 5, pp. 276-77.
[13] The passage appears in the *Annuaire oriental 1893-94*, p. 679 and there is no trace of the one dated 1889-90.
[14] Inscribed at the head of the entrance door.

numbers 183 and 185 of the avenue, which had been worth 15,000 liras before the construction of wooden stairs from the shop to the apartment, was reevaluated at 41,132 liras, while the estimated value of Rumeli Han increased from 30,000 liras to over 70,000 after the merging of two shops on the ground floor.[15] Afrika Han which connected the two streets of Büyük Parmakkapı and Küçük Parmakkapı was built between 1909 and 1913 on a plot of wooden previously occupied by wooden houses.[16] Ragıb Pasha Apartments, an apartment building of six storeys built on a plot of 540 m^2, which appeared on the Goad plan of 1905,[17] was not mentioned in any of the trade directories of the time; instead, this plot appears to have been known under the name of Passage Aznavur.[18] Kuruyazıcı, on the other hand, attributed to him the apartment building named Ragıb Bey and built by the brothers Aram and Isak Caracache,[19] which stood at the corner of İmam Adnan Street.[20] The investments of Ragıb Pasha in Pera attracted much attention, and on March 12, 1882 a note mentioned the rumors that the plot next to the Ağa mosque on the Grande rue de Péra, for which he had paid 50 to 60,000 liras, was not in actual fact bought for him but rather in the name of the Sultan.[21] After the dethronement of Abdülhamid in 1909, Ragıb Pasha was exiled to Rhodes, where he got cancer. He went to

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[15] BOA, DH.ID 54-2-44, "Cemal ve Şakir Beyler'in Anadolu ve Rumeli Hanı'nda mutassarıf oldukları dükkânlara takdîr edilen fi'âta yaptıkları 'itirâz ve fi'ât takdîri yapılan tarihten 'itibâren vergi tahakkuk ettirilmesi karârının hazineyi zarâra uğratacağı gerekçesi ile durumun düzeltilmesi için teblîgatın bir müddet ertelenmesi gerektiği talebi", 1331.R.23 (April 1, 1913).

[16] *Annuaire oriental 1913,* p. 1096. For the plot see Goad, pl. 40/885. Belge reported that in his time, it was said that if Abdülhamid's reign had continued, Ragıb Pasha would have had the time to build two other *hân*s which would be named America and Australia. Murat Belge, *İstanbul Gezi Rehberi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), p. 239.

[17] Goad, no. 38, pl. 850. The plot was unnamed in the Huber plan of 1895.

[18] *Annuaire oriental 1909,* p. 1329.

[19] Hasan Kuruyazıcı, "Beyoğlu'nu Beyoğlu yapan Yapılar ve Mimarlar", *Geçmişten günümüze Beyoğlu*, ed. by Sinan Genim (İstanbul: Taç, 2004), p. 607. *Bir Beyoğlu Fotoromanı* (Istanbul: YKY, 2000), p. 47.

[20] There is also another apartment building named Ragıb Bey on the Şişhane Street in the Galata-Pera area, again of 5-6 storeys and rising on a plot of 90 m^2. These two buildings named Ragıb Bey which constituted in total an area of 1,710 m^2 were not included in the investments of Ragıb Pasha.

[21] BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ, "Beyoğlu'nda kurenadan Ragıb Bey tarafından satın alınan emlâkın gerçekte padişah adına satın alındığı şayiaları dolaştığı", 1309.Ş.24 (March 12, 1882).

Switzerland for his treatment but he did not live much longer and died in Caddebostan in 1920.

The Syrian-Muslim Connection: The Abudzâde Brothers

The brothers Mehmed (1830-1917)[22] and Ahmed Abudzâde were traders of Syrian origin who dealt in the commerce of products from Damascus. They were first established in the Grand Bazaar on Aynacılar Street,[23] then by 1893, they moved into Imameli Han in Mercan, just down the hill from the Grand Bazaar.[24] Some time around 1895, they moved into their offices in Stamboul Yeni Çarşı Han located on Mahmud Paşa Street.[25] The first of their *hân*s, Büyük Abud Han,[26] was built close to it, on Tarakçılar Street, while the second one Küçük Abud (or Stamboul Yeni Çarşı) Han, built in 1895 was located close to the Galata Bridge behind the 'Egyptian Bazaar,' on a street named after their proprietors.[27] Mehmed Abud was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople between 1889 (1324) and 1917 (1332).[28] Elected president of the Chamber from 1905 until his death,[29] he was one of the prominent figures in the commercial life of Istanbul. He established with his brother the "Mehmed and Ahmed Abud National Ottoman Joint-Stock Trade

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[22] Tülay Artan, "Abud Efendi Yalısı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* p. 60.
[23] *Indicateur ottoman 1881*, p. 141.
[24] *Annuaire oriental 1893-94*, p. 203.
[25] *Annuaire oriental 1895*, p. 661. See also 1896-97, pp. 303, 796.
[26] Existed in 1889-90, p. 509. In the Goad's maps, the building was named Biraderler. See pl. 11, no. 254. Pervititch, however, names it Abud Efendi Hanı. See pl. 62, no. 265. See Appendix V. The address given in the *Annuaire* for both *hân*s is Marpuççular or Abud Efendi Han Street. Moreover the fact that Küçük Abud Efendi Han was called Stamboul Yeni Çarşı Han just like the one on Mahmud Paşa Street makes all the matter more complicated and needs to be analyzed in detail.
[27] *Annuaire oriental 1904*, p. 338. In 1904, they were partners with Halbuni and had their offices in Yeni Çarşı Han. Also in other trade directories of 1883, p. 186 / 1888, p. 114 / 1889-90, p. 135. At those dates Mehmed and/or Ahmed Abud conducted their business in the Grand Bazaar, at the Aynacılar Street. *Ibid.*
[28] Hakkı Nezihi, *50 Yıllık Oda Hayatı, 1882-1932* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası Neşriyatı, 1932), p. 94.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Company" (Mehmed ve Ahmed Abud Müessessât-ı Millî Ticaret Anonim Şirket-i 'Osmâniyyesi) on November 9, 1916.[30] Both brothers were partners with Hulûsizâde 'Osman Nuri and Dâdânelizâde Habib Hakkı Efendi in the "New Trade Ottoman Joint-Stock Company"(Yeni Ticaret Anonim Şirket-i 'Osmâniyyesi) whereas Mehmed Abud Efendi was a member of the administrative committee of the Crédit National Ottoman Bank ('Osmânlı İ'tibâr-ı Millî Bankası).[31]

In the 1890s, the Abud brothers crossed the Galata Bridge and invested in a *hân* on Kara Mustafa Pasha Street in Galata.[32] However, their largest project was realized a decade later. In the early 1900s, they started investing in a number of small buildings located at the corner of Timoni (today's Gönül) Street, to prepare the ground for the huge structure that would come to be known as the Abud Passage and Apartments, also known as the Passage of Syria (Cité de Syrie). This six-storey apartment building which was conceived by the architect D. Vasiliadis,[33] was erected on a plot of 765 m^2. The building was still under construction in 1905,[34] and as mentioned on the inscription engraved on the entrance, this huge building, totalling an area of almost 4,000 m^2, was completed only in 1326/1908.[35] Mehmed Abud's personal residence was located on the Bosphorus, at Kandilli, where he owned a *yalı* next to that of Comte Ostrorog.[36]

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[30] *Memâlik-i 'Osmâniyye'de 'Osmânlı Anonim Şirketleri*…, p. 111.
[31] Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Dönemi tahvil…,* pp. 262-265.
[32] *Annuaire oriental, 1896,* p. 771.
[33] Hasan Kuruyazıcı, "Beyoğlu'nu Beyoğlu yapan Yapılar ve Mimarlar", *Geçmişten günümüze Beyoğlu*, ed. by Sinan Genim, (İstanbul: Taç, 2004), p. 605.
[34] See Goad, no. 37, pl. 839. See also Appendix V.
[35] http://www.netbul.com/asp/kentrehberi/displayNews.asp?NewsID=34544 [September 17, 2008]. Giovani Scognamillo, "Pasajlar", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* v. 6, p. 226.
[36] Tülay Artan, "Abud Efendi Yalısı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 1, p. 60.

An Armenian Trading Elite: The Azarian Family

Another family who lived in a distant village on the Bosphorus was the Azarians. The company Azarian and Sons was already established in 1835 by Ohannes Azarian, and functioned as a bank and a commercial company. His two sons Aristakes and Joseph, the latter settled in Boston,[37] as well as the sons of Aristakes, Bedros (1842-1906)[38] and Joseph, were the new generation of owners of the firm located on Perşembe Pazarı Street, 22.[39] The Azarians were also the representatives of the Alliance insurance company founded by the Rothschilds in 1834.[40] Aristakes Azarian was the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople for 15 years from its foundation in 1882 until his death on 5 Mayıs 1313 (May 18, 1897).[41] His son Bedros took over the presidency between 1901 (1316) and 1905 (1320) after which date Mehmed Abud Efendi was elected in his place.[42]

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[37] Joseph Azarian died on January 19, 1899 in Boston and his wife Anna was the only successor. OBA, XKSE099 01566, "Sucessions Etrangères. Joseph Azarian", doc. 12689, from the U.S. Consular Court, Constantinople to Anna Azarian of Prinkipo, May 28, 1899.

[38] Kevork Pamukciyan, "Azaryan, Bedros", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 1, p. 501. He was born on December 12, 1842 in Istanbul and died on September 3, 1906 during his voyage to Frezenbad, Austria. He married Takuhi Maruş in April 19, 1874. They had a son Hovhannes Arisdages (1880-1902) and two daughters Anna-Marta (1876-1908) and Nektarine (1892-1908). Kevork Pamukciyan, "Azaryan Bedros", *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler* (İstanbul: Aras Yayınları, 2003), p. 64. Hakkı Nezihi, *50 Yıllık…*, "Oda âzasından vefatlar: Bedros Azaryan Efendi", p. 151. A letter written to the Ottoman Bank by the lawyer Barozzi after the death of Bedros Azaryan stated that he had two sons, Yervant and Aristakes, and four daughters, Marianik, Zabel, Rita and Nectarina. XKSO 012 04100, *op. cit.*

[39] *Annuaire oriental 1899*, p. 223.

[40] *Annuaire oriental 1899,* Advertisements, p. 53.

[41] Hakkı Nezihi, *50 Yıllık…*, pp. 63, 128-132. He died when travelling between Alexandria and Brindisi, on a boat belonging to the Lloyd Company. *Ibid*, p. 130. The reporter of the Chamber of Commerce newspaper wrote that Azarian was the president of the Chamber for 18 years since its foundation. Although the official date of the creation of the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople was 1882, he probably had in mind, with one year of difference, the Commercial Association founded in 1296/1880 and which took the initiative for the foundation of the Chamber. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150.

Table 10: Property of the Azarian Family[43]

Name of the Building	Number of storeys	Area (m^2)	Total Area (m^2)	Address	Region	Category	Year*
Azarian Han	3	82	245	Rue Voivode 17	G	H	1905
Azarian Apt.	5	1,114	5.568	Boulevard Ayaz Pacha 77 (formerly Ağaç Dibi St.)	G	H	1909
Azarian Apt. Aristakes	4.5	160	800	Grande rue de Péra 366 / impasse Lorando 2	G	H	1894
Azarian Apt.	5-6	210	1,260	Rue Asmalımesdjid 45	P	A	1905
Azarian Apt.	4	440	1,760	Grande rue de Péra, 204	P	A	1905
Azarian Apt.	4	255	1,020	Rue du Théâtre, 1	P	A	1905

Sources: *Annuaire Oriental*, 1881, 1894, 1909, 1914; Goad, 1905.

* Year does not refer to the date of the construction of the building, but only to the first appearance of the building in the *Annuaire*s or on Goad's map.

As can be followed from Table 9, the family, besides their *hân* on Voyvoda Street built in 1904,[44] also owned several apartment buildings in Pera. Those located in Asmalımescid and Lorando streets, where Aristakes Azarian lived, were the oldest ones, whereas the ones built next to the Sıvacıoğlu building and at the corner of Theater Street were constructed after the fire of 1870. However, the most renowned was the one built in Ayazpaşa at the corner of the Sulak Çeşme Street and opposite the residence of Alexandre Pangiris, administrator at the Imperial Ottoman Bank.[45] This building was not commissioned by the most renowned name of the family,

[43] See Appendix W for their location on the maps.
[44] Eldem, *Bankalar*..., p. 58. As Eldem argued it was very probable that it was an investment of Bedros Azarian since the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople moved there in 1904. *Annuaire oriental 1904*, p. 1067. The *hân* did not appear in the trade directory of 1903.
[45] See below the case of the Imperial Ottoman Bank.

Bedros, but his brother Joseph A. Azarian in 1904. A file found in the Ottoman State Archives[46] reveals that the total area of the plot was of 1,938 *zirâ'-ı mimarî murabba'* (1,113.5 m^2) and that the lower sides of 865 *zirâ'*s (497 m^2) were of *mülk* category whereas the upper parts close to the street which equaled 1,073 *zirâ'*s (616,5 m^2) belonged to the Sultan Bayezid Vakfı. In 1904, the value of the plot was calculated at 2 liras/*zirâ'* in the *mülk* category and 3.5 liras/*zirâ'* in the *vakıf* one, thus averaging 2,83 liras/*zirâ'*, the total was valued at 5,485.50 liras.[47] Although the whole story is missing and still has to be investigated, the file reveals that the unfinished residence of Joseph A. Azarian was taken over by the Treasury. The commission composed of the engineer of Imperial lands, civil engineers and *kalfa*s (builders) proposed to transform the dwelling into an apartment building of twelve flats, each consisting of seven or eight rooms. Thus, it was calculated that it would be more profitable to rent each flat between 900 and 1,000 liras instead of renting the whole building to a single tenant. The commission also reported that in the first case the profits would double and the completion of sixth floor would no longer be necessary. In its place, it was proposed to construct a laundry room, rooms for servants, and a terrace; all extra charges were calculated at 5,412 liras.[48] The apartment building, which initially was projected as a mansion for the Azarian family, was thus completed in 1909[49] and only two of the flats were inhabited by members of the family, Joseph A. Azarian and Bedros Azarian's widow, who had moved from their *yalı* in Büyükdere.[50]

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[46] BOA, Y.PRK.SGE 10-24, "Ayazpaşa'da sakin Azaryan Jozef Efendi'nin, satın alınan ve ta'mîri yapılan binâların sarfiyâtıyla ilgili takdîm ettiği cedvel ve rapor", 1322.S.28 (May 14, 1904).
[47] BOA, Y.PRK.SGE 10-24, *op. cit.*, doc., dd. 20 Mayıs 1320 (June 2, 1904).
[48] BOA, Y.PRK.SGE 10-24, *op. cit.*, doc. dd. 1 Mayıs 320 (May 14, 1904). The average price of the plot could be calculated as 2.80 liras/*zirâ'* or 4,87 liras/m^2.
[49] See its photo in Appendix W.
[50] *Annuaire oriental*, *1909*, p. 455. The address for both brothers was given as Büyükdere in the *Annuaire oriental* of 1884-85, p. 228.

A Self-Made Greek Tycoon: Christaki Zographos

The name of Christaki Zographos is well known due to building known as the Cité de Pera, built after the fire of 1870, in the 1874-1876, by the architect Cléanthe Zanno (Kleantis Zannos), initially baptized after him as Christaki Passage.[51] This building, which represented a total area of about 4,600 m^2 (according to my calculation the building was built on a plot of 1,155 m^2, the total area being 4,620 m^2), had two entrances, one on Theater Street and the other on the Grande rue de Péra.[52] The ground floor was designed to house shops, while the three upper storeys were reserved for large apartments of five, six, or seven rooms. All the amenities of modern apartment buildings such as running water and gas were incorporated in the eighteen flats.[53] The businessman Christaki Zographos was born in 1820 in the town of Argyrokastro (Qestorati), in Southern Albania; he stayed in his hometown until 1830 to complete his primary education. At 11, he was sent to Ioannina (Yanya) to pursue his education, but after two and a half years spent there and despite his very young age, he left and settled in Istanbul.[54] He founded a small money-lending business with his fellow countryman Mihal Dimos. Left alone, after the sudden death of his partner, Zographos managed to rise among the bankers of Galata. He became the private banker of Murad V.[55] He invested in the Société Générale de l'Empire Ottoman, in the Streetcars of Constantinople, in railways with Baron de Hirsch and was one of the administrators of the Ottoman Public Debt

[51] Behzat Üsdiken, "Çiçek Pasajı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* p. 508.
[52] See Appendix X.
[53] Vassilis Colonas, *Greek Architects in the Ottoman Empire 19th-20th Centuries* (Athens: Olkos, 2005), p. 41. Also Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders…,* p. 121.
[54] His father Victor Zographos was married to Zoi Kirouidou. Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders…,* p. 119.
[55] *Ibid.*

Administration. Probably because of the fact that the market became more and more dominated by foreign financial institutions, like the Camondos he moved to Paris around 1878 but continued to be represented by Joannidis Costantin Effendi, who lived in one of the apartments of the Cité de Péra. Zographos died in Paris in 1898.[56] Two different files at the Ottoman Bank Archives inform us that his heirs were, according to the Sharia, his sons named Solon and Georges, and his wife Dominika, daughter of Costi of Ottoman nationality. His three daughters Marie,[57] Théano[58] and Sophie,[59] whose husbands were of Greek nationality, were excluded from the succession.[60] The heirs assigned as their proxy the director of the Streetcar Company of Constantinople, Jean Alexandre (Iskender) Hodji Effendi, who also boasted the title of State councillor on his calling card. Among other obligations, he was also responsible for legal formalities regarding property issues.[61] Another file reveals that he was obliged to pay in 1901 the amount of 1,726.30 liras, corresponding to the unpaid taxes of the Nahum Theatre destroyed during the fire and on which the Cité

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[56] Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, "Zographos", *Grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople: Dictionnaire historique et généalogique*, 2nd ed., Paris: Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, 1999, p. 193. "Biographie. Son Excellence Christaki Efendi Zographos", *L'Orient illustré*, no. 90, Novembre 21, 1874. Studza also gave the details of his donations to the Greek institutions which were praised in *L'Orient illustré*. Besides being the principal administrator of the funds of the Greek Patriarchate, he financed projects related to education. One of the founders of the Greek Literary Sylogos, he became president and financed the publications and research on the Greek Folklore in the Asian Minor. He also rebuilt its building after the fire (*The Levant Herald,* October 15, 1868). He financed the Greek classics, the educational program of the Greek School in Heybeliada, the building of a school for girls in Büyükdere and a lycée completed in 1893 and named after him, Zographion, in Suterazi Street in Pera. He also gave scholarships to the Greek children to become teachers.

[57] Born in 1847, Marie Zographos was married in 1867 to Constantin Carapano in İstanbul. She died in 1901 in Paris. Sturdza, "Zographos", p. 193.

[58] Studza did not mention the name of the third daughter of Christaki Zographos which come up on the file of the OBA, but he noticed that she was married to Leonidas Deligeorgi. *Ibid.*

[59] What we know about Sophie is that she was married in Paris in 1890 to the Comte Alexandre Roma. *Ibid.*

[60] OBA, XKSO 004 01606, Successions Ottomanes. Christaki Zographos, doc. 13398 and 13398B, Copy of the Power of Attorney and its translation, 21 Eylül 1314 (October 3, 1898). See also BOA, DH.MKT 2450-16, "Osmanlı teb'âsında olub firâren Paris'te bulunmakta iken vefât eden Hrıstaki Zoğrafos Efendi'nin emlâk ve 'arâzisinin vârislerine intikāli", 1318.L.16 (February 6, 1901). The later document refers to a petition sent to the District of Manastır for the transfer of a plot in Alasonya, Mora. Besides his property in Pera, Zograhos also had a *yalı* in Tarabya. http://www.istanbulguide.net/istguide/artetarch/batimliste/yali/zografos.htm

[61] OBA, XKSO 004 01606, *op. cit.*, doc. 13399, Letter of the lawyer Barozzi, Novembre 18, 1898.

de Péra was constructed, as well as the *şerefiye* tax of the Christaki Passage at number 229, and of two other plots numbered 1 and 3 on Suterazi Street, [62] on the location where the Zographion highschool was built on the site of a former structure which also bore Zographos' name.[63] Üsdiken notes that Zographos was so influential that he applied to the Sixth District Municipality to change the name of Theater Street, and with the approval of its council members, obtained that the name of the street be changed to Zographos Street for a time.[64]

A Belgian Dynasty of Businessmen: The Helbigs

Another major figure closely associated with real estate in Galata and Pera was Charles Helbig, a Belgian who had settled in Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century. Helbig had come from Liège to Constantinople in 1848[65] to represent the commercial interests of an industrialist from his hometown, a certain Clément Francotte. Helbig settled, gradually becoming involved in trade and banking. In 1853 he married a banker's daughter, Léontine Balzac,[66] who gave him four sons,[67] Albert, Charles[68], Gustave[69], Edmond,[70] and two daughters, Amélie[71]

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[62] OBA, XKAD 003 01607, "Dossier de Georges et Solon Zographos. Avances sur garanties diverses", doc. 18001, Letter of Hadjı Effendi to the Imperial Ottoman Bank, April 13, 1901.
[63] The plans of the school were prepared by Perikles Photiadis. Colonas, *Greek Architects…,* p. 23. See also "Hristaki Zografos Efendi and the Zografyon High School", p. 124.
[64] Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders…,* p. 121. However, since there is no mention of the source, the date of this incident is not known.
[65] Üsdiken gives an earlier date, the year 1822, but this date corresponds to his birth. Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders…,* p. 134. See also http://gw1.geneanet.org.
[66] The daughter of Jean-Clair Balzac (1801-1878) and of Amélie-Claire Arnaud (1811-1889), she was born in 1833 and died in 1915. Available [online] http://gw1.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=gounou&lang=en;pz=reginald;nz=dumont+de+chassart;ocz=0;p=leontine;n=de+balzac [September 7, 2008].
[67] Üsdiken says that Charles Helbig had three sons, Jean-Baptist (*sic*), Albert, Gustave, and a daughter, Jean (*sic*). Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders…,* p. 134.
[68] He became an industrialist in Liège. OBA, XKSE007 06721, "Successions étrangères (Belges). Albert Helbig", doc. 43890, notarized act of the Belgian Consulate listing the names and qualifications of Albert Helbig's heirs.

and Marie.[72] He established a trading company known as "Société belge d'exportation". They invested in the early horse-drawn streetcars of Constantinople but above all they were bankers,[73] and founded the Banque Helbig et C^{ie}. in their *hân* located on Voyvoda Street, at the corner of Billur Street.[74] Upon the death of Charles Helbig in 1894,[75] Albert took over the administration of the company.[76] A prominent financier of the city, Albert Helbig was also an administrator on the board of the Bank of Metelin, the Constantinople Land Building Company, and the Constantinople Streetcars and Metropolitan Railways Company. However, the financial crisis of 1908 which culminated in 1909 seems to have put the bank into a difficult position. Albert Helbig, who had written his will on December 20, 1908, in his apartment in Pera,[77] committed suicide on August 9, 1913.[78] In his will he left the responsibility of the liquidation of the bank to his brother, Charles. Their mother, still alive at that date, also assigned Charles as her legal representative by a power of

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[69] He lived in Paris as a professor. *Ibid.*
[70] He died before Albert, leaving behind his four children Andrée, Yvonne, Emile and Jean, residents of Anvers.
[71] She married Alphonse Cingria, an engineer in Istanbul.
[72] She was married to Etienne Francou, in Istanbul. See also OBA, OFTF 0161, "Madame Marie Francou née Helbig".
[73] Marc Van den Reeck (ed), *Belgium in the Ottoman Capital, From the Early Steps to La Belle Epoque, The Centenary of "Le Palais de Belgique": 1900-2000* (Istanbul: Consulate General of Belgium, 2000), pp. 45-46.
[74] Goad, no. 28, pl. 622.
[75] Üsdiken erroneously gives the date of 1864. Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders...,* p. 134. The exact date was January 27, 1894. OBA, XKSE007 06721, doc. 43891.
[76] Albert-Marie-Alfred Helbig was born in 1861, in Pera. Üsdiken, *The Money Lenders...,* p. 134.
[77] In Misk Street. *Annuaire oriental 1900*, p. 400.
[78] Nonetheless, the family claimed that it was an accident. *La Turquie*, August 10, 1913, *Stamboul*, August 9, 1913. Quoted from Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Les levantins - cadres de vie et identités d'un groupe ethno-confessionnel de l'Empire ottoman au "long" 19^{e} siècle*, (Istanbul: Isis, 2007), p. 279. The press wrote that when he went to the Society of St. Benoît in Galata to give alms to the poor, he entered the hall of the society to sign some documents, and when he tired to sit down, he wanted to take out his revolver which fell down and fired. He was killed instantly and the body was transported to the French Hospital. C. Meyer Schlichtmann, *Von der Preussischen Gesandtschaft zum Doğan-Apartmanı : 130 jahre Geschichte eines Grundstückes und Hauses in Beyoğlu – İstanbul. Prusya Elçiliği'nden Doğan Apartmanı'na: İstanbul - Beyoğlu'ndaki bir binayla arsanın 130 yıllık tarihi*, trans. by Ümit Öztürk, (Istanbul: Istanbul Kitaplığı, 1992), p. 48.

attorney signed in Büyükada.[79] In order to pay off the bank's outstanding debts, Charles was probably obliged to sell property.

Table 11: Property of the Helbig Family[80]

Name of the Building	Number of Storeys	Surface	Total Surface	Address	Region	Category	Year*
Helbig (Passage) – Nahid Bey Han	5-6	103	618	Rue Fermeledjiler, 40	G	H	1894
Helbig Han	4	137	549	Rue Billour, 1	G	H	1881
Lloyd Han (Mouhammer Han)	4	1,070	4,280	Rue Kılıdj Ali Pasha, 93	G	H	1889
Nahid Bey – Cité Yazıdjı – Helbig Apt.	6-7	1,225	8,575	Rue Yazıdjı, 58	PG	A	1895

Sources: *Annuaire Oriental,* 1881, 1889-90, 1905, 1914; Goad, 1905.

* Year does not refer to the date of the construction of the building, but only to the first appearance of the building in the *Annuaire*s or on Goad's map.

When analyzing the table above listing the property of the Helbig family, it appears that besides the oldest *hân* on Voyvoda Street, the Helbigs owned another *hân* on the Galata coastline. More important, though, were two other buildings owned by the Helbig family: a *hân* on Kılıç Ali Pasha Street, close to the harbor and mentioned as Helbig property in a power of attorney found in the State Archives, and the famous huge apartment building located in the region of Galata-Pera and known under several names, Helbig, Nahid Bey, and Cité Yazidji (today's Doğan Apartmanı). The building occupying numbers 88 through 98 on Kılıç Ali Paşa Street, known as Lloyd Han, together with the shops below and its annexes would eventually be sold

[79] OBA, XKSE007 06721, doc. 43892, power of attorney of Léontine Helbig
[80] For their location on the Goad maps see Appendix Y.

in 1887 to a certain Hacı Mehmed Hüseyin bin Abdülkerim, of Russian nationality. With this power of attorney, Charles Helbig, who was then temporarily in Liège, had designated his son Edmond Helbig as his legal representative for all necessary formalities regarding the sale of his portion of Lloyd Han.[81] The other building, an apartment complex located on the heights of Galata towards Pera was completed around 1894-95.[82] This huge U-shaped building of six storeys with servants' rooms in the attic space, comprised no less than 49 individual flats, whose area varied between 91 and 192 m^2. The building was put up for auction by the Istanbul Debt Court in 1919 and was sold to Mayer de Botton, the owner of a cigarette factory.[83] The bank's *hân* on Voyvoda Street was sold at an earlier date, in 1913, for 15,000 liras to the Ottoman General Insurance Company which tore it down together with the neighboring Castro to build its own new headquarters (today's İş Bankası branch).[84] Besides these built-up plots, the Helbig family owned two plots of 2,351.6 *zirâ'*s (1,353.46 m^2) located at the Nişantaşı crossroads. The state offered to buy these plots, which were located just across from property belonging to a daughter of the Sultan, for fear that they might be use for the construction of hotels.[85] The state proposed 4,600 liras in 1899, but the Helbigs (probably Albert) did not accept this proposal and sold them for 5,000 liras to a German company. A petition written from the Belgian Consulate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 11,

[81] BOA, HR.TO 561-25, "Belçika teb'asından Banker Şarl Helbig'in Galata'da Kılıç Ali Paşa Caddesinde mevcûd Loyd Han nâmıyla ma'rûf hân ile altındaki mağazaların nısf hissesinin satışı için verdiği vekâletnâme", July 11, 1887. Bir kıt'a vekâletnâme tercümesi.
[82] C. Meyer Schlichtmann, p. 48.
[83] Yıldız Salman, "Doğan Apartmanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* pp. 79-80. The name of his brother David de Botton was also mentioned on the title deed. *Ibid.,* p. 52.
[84] Eldem, *Bankalar…,* p. 78.
[85] BOA, DH.MKT 558-70, "Belçika teb'alı banker Mösyö Helbig'in tasarrufunda olan Nişantaşı'ndaki iki arsanın başkasının satışına müsâ'ade edilmesi talebi üzerine bu arsâların karşısında bulunan emlâk ve 'arâzinin padişahın kızı Sultan Hanım'a ihsân edileceğinden bu arsâların uygun fi'âtla Hazine'ce satın alınması düşünüldüğü, bu mevki'nin bir harîtâsının gönderilmesi isteği", 1320.Ca.8 (October 3, 1902).

1902, complained that the transfer of the property by the Land Registry was not made possible until that date and asked to sell the property to the state for 6,000 liras, which corresponded to the value of the plots including interest and expenses.[86] We do not know how the deal was completed but on the eve of the First World War, nothing was left in the hands of the family from that property.

Companies and Institutions on the Real Estate Market

Quite a number of local and foreign companies were directly involved in the acquisition and sale of real estate in the Ottoman capital. Two of the most important examples of this reality, the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Tobacco Regie will be analyzed in greater detail below. At a much more impressionistic level, we will present the cases of a number of companies that may illustrate the diversity of investment policies with respect to real estate. A first example, on which we will say just a few words, is the Orosdi-Back department store, whose building seems to have been built in 1902.[87] This six-storey building was erected on a plot with an area of 1,350 m^2, which had previously been the property of Adolphe Orosdi's widow, Berthe.[88] With a total built area of 8,100 m^2, "the huge store of the Etablissements Orosdi-Back, as the president of French Chamber of Commerce, Ernest Giraud, put it, was the most important company of our city."[89]

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[86] BOA, Y.A.HUS 434-119, "Nişantaşı'ndaki Belçikalı banker Mösyö Helbig'in arsasının mübâya'ası keyfiyeti", 1320.C.29 (October 3, 1902). A plan showing the location of the plot was included in the file.

[87] *Annuaire oriental 1902,* p. 643, the advertisement of the company in the *Annuaire oriental 1903,* p. 2037. The address of Orosdi-Bank in the 1900 was mentioned as Ömer Efendi Palace, Bahçekapı. *Annuaire oriental 1900,* pp. 489, 1621. For its location see Appendix AA.

[88] Uri Kupferschmidt, *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers: The Orosdi-Back Saga*, Istanbul: OBARC, 2007, p. 24.

[89] Giraud, "La France à Constantinople", *Revue commerciale du Levant* (Constantinople: Chambre de commerce Française, 1907), pp. 12-13; reported also in Kupferschmidt, *ibid.,* p. 25.

Another institution with a comprarable office area totalling approximately 9,000 m^2 was the headquarters of the American Bible House in Mercan, close to Tahtakale.[90] The construction of this five-storey building opposite the mansion (*konak*) of Rıza Pasha has been well documented. A booklet found at the library of the American Board describes the stages of construction between January 1869 and June 9, 1872.[91] It had been decided that the title deed of the property would be established in the name of the United States Consul General, as was the case for American schools, colleges and churches.[92] The aim was to avoid inconveniences and possible conflicts that could have arisen with the State. Unfortunately, however, the author of the booklet was unable to find any information on how the whole operation was completed.[93] Interestingly, the building, known as American Han, was considered to be too fancy and its rooms too large for a *hân* by the authorities; the architect Stampa was summoned three times before the mayor, and was accused of deceiving the Commission and of building a church or a missionary school under the guise of a *hân*. Though Stampa showed them his plans and the site was inspected by men from the mayor's office, the authorities were not satisfied.[94] Before finishing the building in February 1872, reverend Bliss,[95] who was person responsible for the construction of the building, received word that no balcony would be allowed over the front door. Nevertheless, the balcony was quickly completed and the inspectors

[90] See Appendix Z.
[91] Paul E. Nilson, "History of Istanbul Bible House", Excerpts from the history given on April, 10, 1969 on the occasion of a new arrangement of the "Bible House appartment" as offices.
[92] Properties of Saint-Pierre Church for instance were registered under the name of the French Embassy. SPC032- 0714, "Copie de lettre du couvent au chargé d'affaire pour l'annulation du titre rendu à Gallerini ", June 7, 1879.
[93] Today, the property does not belong to the American Consulate. At that time, the property could have been registered in the name of Reverend Bliss, Agent for the Levant of the American Bible Society (see below fn. 95).
[94] Nilson, "History of Istanbul…, pp. 4-5.
[95] Rev. Isaac Bliss was born in July 1822 and came to the Empire in June 1847. He served with the American Board in Erzurum and Diyarbakır until 1851, when he returned to the United States. In 1856, he came to Istanbul to serve as the Agent for the Levant of the American Bible Society until his death in 1889. Nilson, "History of Istanbul …, p. 1.

said nothing about it.[96] The building was finally completed in June and its occupants moved in. It embraced

> "on the lower floor in front, the depot for the sale of Bibles and religious books, and the three stores designed for rent. On the second floor were the offices of the American Bible Society, and the Mission of the American Board, on the third floor those of British and Foreign Bible Society and on the fourth rooms for the translators, and the publishing department of the American Board. In the rear, the second and lower floors were principally occupied by the printing establishment of A. H. Boyadjian who rented the rooms and did considerable printing for the different societies. On the third floor were the storage rooms accessible by an elevator and on the fourth the rooms of the electro-typing department. On the fourth floor there was also a large hall for holding meetings, and on the second floor a smaller committee room."[97]

A report dated October 29, 1872 showed that the construction costs up to that day had reached 66,920.34 dollars.[98] The construction of the building had faced opposition from Rıza Pasha, who wished to acquire the site for himself, and from certain government officials when they had learnt the purpose the building was planned to serve; it also suffered from delays in all sorts of administrative and legal matters. For instance, although applied for in January 1869, the permission to construct could only be obtained almost two years later, on September 11, 1870. Nilson was unable to find any information on the construction of the building at the back, where the chapel was, although its construction date was given as 1884 in a letter dated July 23, 1927.[99] It would certainly be interesting to know more about these problems, which could give us some insight on the difficulties encountered in

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[97] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[98] *Ibid.,* p. 5.
[99] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

the construction of non-Muslim religious buildings, but that lies well beyond the scope of our research.[100]

One could of course expand this list of examples to include the names above as well as a number of other actors with a strong presence on the city's real estate market: the Baltazzi family who, despite their foreign nationality, had acquired at a very early date the right to own property; the Barnathans who invested in a huge apartment building and several others of more modest size in the Galata-Pera region, as well as in a *hân* in Marpuççular; Ahmed Muhtar Pasha,[101] who invested in a huge building of 5,250 m^2 named Katırcıoğlu Han[102] in Sultanhamam; or the Allahverdi(an) family who owned the Yeni Büyük Han in Çakmakçılar Street.[103] To this could we could add the name of J. R. Friedman, a trader in mirrors and glassware, with several investments in apartment buildings in the lower (Galata-Pera) part of the Grande rue de Péra as well as on Iskender Street in the far-western part of Galata; that of the banker Kyriako Hazzopoulo and his famous passage in Pera;[104] or that of the Olivos, who owned quite a number of apartment buildings in the same

[100] The Saints Peter and Paul Church archives also contain very interesting files on property matters.
[101] Necdet Sakaoğlu who provided us with details on the Katırcıoğulları family also noted that Ahmed Muhtar Pasha (1839-1919) was one of the richest pashas of Istanbul; besides his kiosk in Feneryolu, he also owned a mansion in Molla Gürani. However, Sakaoğlu did not mention the *hân* which was mentioned in the pasha's memoirs.
[102] The *hân* was built by the architect Hovsep Aznavur (1845, London – May 3, 1935, Cairo) and was destroyed by a fire in 1979. Vartuhi S. İbişoğlu, "Aznavur, Hovsep", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 1, s. 511. Today, although the name remains, it belongs to a new *hân* that was built in its place. Colonas, on the other hand, based on Kuruyazıcı's work, claims that the *hân* was built in 1903 by two architects M. Langas and A. Perpignani. Colonas, *Greek Architects…*, p. 44. Kuruyazıcı, "Unutulmuş İki Mimar, Yok Olmuş Bir Bina", *İstanbul,* vol. 36, 2001, pp. 20-24.
[103] This *hân* was an early construction which dated from 1761. Kevork Pamukciyan, "1868'de Mevcut İstanbul Hanları", *İstanbul Yazıları* (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2002), p. 130. Also published in *Tarih ve Toplum*, August, 1994, no. 128, pp. 5-9.
[104] Although Colonas notes that the passage was constructed by the architects Langas and Perpignani in 1892, it seems that it must have been built before this date by an architect whose name is not known. Langas and Perpignani had built another building belonging to the Hazzopoulo family on Atlama Street in Çukurcuma. Colonas, *Greek Architects…,* p. 65. Behzat Üsdiken and Seza Durudoğan, "Hacopulo Pasajı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul*…, pp. 481-82. Kuruyazıcı, "Beyoğlu'nu Beyoğlu yapan…, p. 607, for a photo of the building see Girardelli, "Sheltering diversity…, p. 140.

area. But above all these examples, the name of one family stands apart as one of the oldest and most impressive investor in property: the Camondos.

The Earliest and Greatest Land Magnate: Abraham de Camondo

The history of the Camondo family is well known thanks to the work of Nora Şeni and Sophie le Tarnec,[105] but due to the size of their investments which well surpassed all others, the Camondos could not be put aside in our work. The Isaac Camondo et C^{ie} Bank, founded by Isaac (?-1832) and Abraham Salomon de Camondo (1780/1785-1873) in 1802 prospered thanks to close relations with the Sublime Porte. Upon his brother's death 1832, Abraham Salomon de Camondo inherited all the fortune.[106] Taking advantage of his position as private banker to Reşid and Fuad Pashas,[107] besides his own financial affairs, he also invested in infrastructural projects and urban property. First a member of the Commission for the Regulation of the City and then an advisor at the Municipal Council of the Sixth District,[108] with the insight that Galata would gain importance and its land value, Abraham Salomon de Camondo bought several plots and erected important buildings in this district.[109]

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[105] Nora Şeni and Sophie le Tarnec, *Les Camondo ou l'éclipse d'une fortune* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1997). Naim Güleryüz, "Kamondo, Avram", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* v. 4, pp. 404-405. M. Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'Empire ottoman depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, (Paris: Librairie A. Durlacher, 1897), pp. 244- 248. Avram Galante , *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, (Istanbul: Isis, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 58-60. On properties see Nora Şeni, "The Camondos and their Imprint on 19th-century Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 26, 1994, pp. 663-675; Nora Şeni, "Des banquiers faiseurs de ville. Les Camondo à Istanbul", *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire otoman et de la Turquie (1326-1960)*, ed. by Daniel Panzac, (Paris: Peeters, 1995), pp. 719-729; Emine Çiğdem Tugay, Mehmet Selim Tugay, *Kamondo Han* (İstanbul: Beyoğlu A.Ş., 2007).

[106] Şeni and le Tarnec *Les Camondo…,* p. 27. Galante, "Fouad Pacha et le Comte de Camondo", *ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 109-111.

[107] Galante, *Histoire des Juifs…,* p. 110. Güleryüz, "Kamondo, Avram", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 4, p. 404.

[108] Steven Rosenthal, "Minorities and Municipal Reform in Istanbul", *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, p. 376.

[109] Ergin, *Mecelle...*, vol. 3, pp. 1304-1305.

His real estate empire consisting in 1889 of 11 *hân*s, 10 apartment buildings, 13 houses, 11 plots of land, 6 shops, a theater, a farm, a factory, almost all of which were established on *vakıf* land, was also the outcome of advances backed by property.[110] As an Austrian and later an Italian subject, Abraham did not have the right to own property in the Empire; as discussed in the first chapter, he needed to resort to intermediaries for such operations. However, just after the law recognizing the right of property for Ottomans was passed, Camondo, together with his colleagues Aristidi and İspiraki Baltazzi, applied to the government to obtain the right to register property in their names, despite the fact that they were of foreign nationality.[111] In a document summarizing the matter, mention was made that since these people had faithfully served the state for a long time, they should not be considered as foreigners, and that this exception, which had been granted before in several cases, would conform to the State's dignity.[112] Though we do not know to whom the right of owning property may have been granted before, documents in the State archives show that Abraham Camondo, who first presented the list of his property to the Ministry of *Evkāf*, received the permission before the Baltazzis, to whom the decree was granted on 18 Şaban 1277 (March 30, 1861).[113] In a note written from the High Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*) to the Ministry of *Evkāf* in 1858, it was noted that based on the decree, the property registered in the name of intermediairies, was already transferred to the name of Camondo. This in fact

[110] See for instance the case of Süleyman Pasha and his wife Fatımatüzzehra Hanım who obtained loans backed by their *yalı* in Emirgân in 1848. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* pp. 54-57.
[111] BOA, İ.MVL 446-19880, "Baltacı Aristidi ile İspiraki ve Kamanto bâzergânlar uhdesine geçirilecek emlâka dâir", 1277.N.17 (March 29, 1861), doc. 5 dd. 28 Şaban 1277 (March 11, 1861).
[112] BOA, İ.MVL 446-19880, *ibid,* doc. 3 dd. 15 Ş 1277 (February 26, 1861). "…öteden berü bunlar hidemât-ı devlet-i 'alîyyede ibrâz-ı sıdk u gayret eylemekde bulunduklarına nazâren kendüleri tamâmıyla ecnebiyyeden 'add olunamayacakları cihetle mu'âmele-i istisnâ'iyeye mazhâriyetleri şân-ı mekârim nişân-ı 'aliyye muvâfık olacağına ve bunun haylice emsâli dahi bulunduğuna mebni is'âf-ı iltimâsları husûsuna bi'l istizân idâre-i seniyye cenâb-ı tâcdârî müte'allik ve şerefsudûr buyrulmuş…"
[113] BOA, İ.MVL 446-19880, *ibid.*, doc. 6 dd. 18 Şaban 1277 (March 30, 1861).

clarified the point of Şeni who claims that there should be an earlier decree than the one mentioned in Galante which exceptionally allowed the transfer of the property in the name of the grand-son of Abraham in 1866,[114] since at that date they their investments on property had already reached considerable size.,[115] The note described also the limits of the decree and it was added that the High Council would not agree that the property acquired in the coming years be included in the process, even if this fact would cause some difficulties on the sale of the property .[116] In 1866, having lost first his wife Esther and later his son Salomon Raphael on December 21, Abraham Salomon de Camondo decided to hand over his business to his grand-sons and renewed his request for the transfer of property. The petition which was presented to the Sultan underlined the fact that his faithful services to the Porte were continuing and drew attention to his particular devotion to financial affairs and to the Treasury in the last five or six months, requesting the registration of 23 items of property in the name of his grand son, on condition that it would not set a precedent for other cases.[117] The Sultan ratified it the day after and a few days later the decision was communicated to the Ministry of *Evkāf* for execution.[118] The list attached to the petition gives us the detail of the oldest property of the family. The *vakıf* property was mostly registered in the name Abraham Salomon's wife and in that of his son Salomon Raphael's wife, Klara binti Yehuda and Ester binti Nissim, respectively. The usual practice of the time, which was elaborately discussed in the

[114] Galante, *Histoire des Juifs…,* vol. 6, p. 109.
[115] Şeni, *Les Camondo…,* p. 275, footnote 55.
[116] BOA, A.MKT.NZD 267-25, "Ecnebi Kamondo'nun başkasının üzerinde bulunan emlâkının kendi üzerine geçirilmesine bir def'aya mahsûs olarak izin verildiği", 1257.Ra.19 (October 27, 1858).
[117] BOA, İ.MMS 33-1358, "Mösyö Kamando'nun emlâkinden olub da muvâza'âten başkaları uhdesinde bulunan yerlerin büyük torunu Abraham'ın uhdesine geçirilmesi", 1283.Ş.17 (December 25, 1866). Galante comments on this firman based on the documents in the hands of Leon Piperno, the last director of the society, in charge of the management of properties. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs…,* vol. 6, p. 109.
[118] BOA, A.MKT.MHM 371-66, "Kamanto'nun emlâkından ba'zılarının torunu Abraham adına ferâğının yapılması", 1283.Ş.23 (December 31, 1866).

first chapter, was that to own property, women were declared to be Ottoman subjects, even if this was not the case. A note of the Camondos' secretary, Léonce Tedeschi[119] who in 1888, traveled from Paris to Istanbul to record the properties of the family[120] informs us that Clara and Esther had also followed the same procedure — which was called *takıyye* ('camouflage') — until the right to own property was granted to foreigners.[121] A few Muslim names, such as Safvet Pasha, Huriye Hanım, Hasan Bey ibni Süleyman or Armenian names, such as Merzican Canikoğlu,[122] were probably the names of the former owners to whom advances backed by property were accorded by the Camondos. The registration of all the real estate in his grandson Abraham's name at the Ministry of *Evkāf* was completed by March 19, 1867.[123] The 23 different items which formed the oldest core of this real estate empire are listed below:

[119] Of Austro-Hungarian nationality, Léonce Tedeschi was assisted during his visit in Istanbul by his brothers Gabriel Tedeschi, Camondo's architect, and Raphaël Tedeschi, working in the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 124. *Annuaire oriental 1889-90*, p. 344.
[120] Şeni, , "The Camondos…, p. 666.
[121] See the note in the Archives du Musée de Nissim de Camondo (AMNC), Notes of Tedeschi on the Camondos property, 1888, p. 71.
[122] See the list in Appendix BB.
[123] BOA, EV 20150, "Mösyö Kamonto'nun malı olan 23 kalem mahaller ile vakıflarının isimleri ile senedlerin mikdâr ve kayıdları", 1283.Ş.23 – 1283.Za.13 (December 31, 1866 – March 19, 1867).

No	Area	Neighborhood	Address	Category	Name of the *Vakıf*
1	Pera	Asmalımescid	Glavani, 7	Mansion in masonry	Emetullah Hâtûn
2	Pera	Tomtom	Kolonba, 3, 4 (Felek)	2 mansions in masonry	Elhâc Mustafa Efendi
3	Galata	Bereketzade	Felek, 2, 4	Wooden mansion	
4	Galata		Hacı Mustafa	Mansion in masonry	Mehmed Ârif – Fertek ‘Ali
5	Galata	Bereketzade	Kamondo, 3	Wooden mansion	Ayasofya-ı Kebîr
6	Galata		Karaköy, 1, 3, 5, 25	Shop in masonry	Ayasofya-ı Kebîr – Çakırağa
7	Galata		Kumbaracı Yokuşu	Land	‘Abbas Ağa – İskender Pasha – Derviş Mehmed Ağa – Cihân Bey – Hasan Ağa
8	Galata	Yeni Cami	Kürekçiler, 8	Shop in masonry – *gedik*	Ayasofya-ı Kebîr – *gedik*: Hâremeyn
9	Galata	Yeni Cami	Mertebani, 12, 13, 15	2 shops and a wooden house	Emin Ağa
10	Galata	Yeni Cami	Mertebani, 5, 7	Mansion in masonry	Yunus Bey
11	Galata	Yeni Cami	Mertebani, 7, 8	Wooden mansion	Yunus Bey – Tâcir ‘Abdullâh Ağa
12	Galata		Morfelek	Mansion in masonry – half measure of running water (*nısf masura mâ-i lezîz*)	Hüseyin Ağa – Yavuz Mehmed Ağa – Elhâc İbrahim Pasha – *mâ-i lezîz*: Vâlide Sultan
13	Galata	Arap Cami	Perşembe Pazarı, 30	Sâatçi Han	Molla Şemseddin Gürânî
14	Galata	Arap Cami	Perşembe Pazarı, 22	Shop under Hanson Han	İbrahim Pasha – Harâmi Ahmed Pasha – Galatalı Dukasakiyanus
15	Galata	Yeni Cami	Sebut, 11 [Sevud/Söğüd]	Shop in masonry	
	Galata		Siyon, 1	Shop in masonry	İbrahim Ağa – Mehmed Çelebi
16	Galata		Sebut [Sevud/ Söğüd]	Selânikli Han	‘Abdülkādir Efendi
17	Galata	Bereketzâde	Voyvoda, 7, 8	Hamam and 2 shops	İbrahim Ağa
18	Galata	Yazıcı	Yazıcı, 6	Mansion	Cezayirli Gāzî Hasan Pasha
19	Galata		Konfomidi, 87 (Yorgancılar?)	Kuyumcu Han	Ayasofya-ı Kebîr – İlyas Çelebi – Tuti ‘Abdüllatîf Efendi – Mimâr ‘Acem – Koca Sinan
20	Galata	Yeni Cami	Zülfiyar, 13 (Zülfaris?)	*Hân*	Mehmed Çelebi
21	Galata		2, 4, 5	*Hân*	Ferah Kethûda – Mehmed Tahir Ağa
22	Stamboul	Mahmud Paşa	Mahmud Paşa, 75	Lüleci Hanı - *gedik*	Ayasofya-ı Kebîr – Hacı Küçük - Elhâc Ali Ağa – *gedik* Mahmûd Hân-ı Sânî
23	Yeniköy			Mansion with boathouse	Mehmed Emin Efendi

Sources: BOA, İ.MMS 33-1358, *op. cit.* and BOA, EV 20150, *op. cit.*

A close look at the table reveals that apart from a *yalı* in Yeniköy, a *hân* in Mahmud Paşa and a few mansions in Pera, all the Camondo property was located in Galata. Thus it could easily be said that, as Şeni argued, most of it was bought or built according to a specific speculative policy,[124] at least for the earlier years. In those years, as we have seen in the second chapter, the major undertakings of the municipality were focused on the district of Galata. The opening of Karaköy Square in 1858, the demolition of the walls and the filling of the moats in 1864-1865, and the regularization of the streets in the following years gave Galata the necessary impetus for real estate speculation. This early phase reflects this momentum; Camondo's real estate was almost exclusively concentrated in Galata except for the two mansions in Pera and a *hân* in Stamboul. The Camondo Han just behind the Commission Han, which still stands today in all its splendor, must have been built by the architect Stampa[125] just after the opening of the square in 1858. Other *hân*s, among them the Ibret, Latîf, Yakut (built by Stampa in 1873), Selânikli[126] and Sâatçi *hân*s were dispersed in an area circumscribed between Karaköy square and Perşembe Pazarı, the main commercial axis, at a few minutes' distance from the harbour and from the bridge renewed in 1863.[127] This commercial area was to a large extent

[124] Şeni & Le Tarnec, *Les Camondo…,* p. 33.
[125] AMNC, Notes of Tedeschi… , p. 3. Also Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 249. Camondo's architect Giorgio Stampa was born in 1836 in Istanbul and educated in Italy. In addition to the *hân*s he built for Camondo, the Iranian Embassy at Cağaloğu, the Italian Hospital at Tophane, American Bible House on Mercan Yokuşu, Santo Pacifico Church in Büyükada and Palazzo Corpi at Tepebaşı accomplished with Giocomo Leoni are his important buildings. He was also in charge of the repairs and renovations of the British Embassy in Tepebaşı after the fire of 1870. Cengiz Can, "Levantine Architects in Post-Tanzimat Istanbul Architecture", *Convegno "Architettura e architetti italiani ad Istanbul tra il XIX e il XX secolo"* by IFEA, IIC and Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul, 27-28 Novembre, 1995, p. 60 [55-60]. Yıldız Salman, "Stampa, Giorgio", *Eczacıbaşı Sanat Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: YEM, 1991), vol. 3, p. 1694.
[126] According to the *Journal de Constantinople* issued on April 17, 1862, the Selanik *hân* was among the newly erected *hân*s which would be soon completed. The *hân* was described as distinctive for its solidity and elegance, the interior court was covered by a roof made of glass and the galeries as well as the stairs were made of cast iron. Quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat…, vol. 2, p. 555.
[127] See Appendix BB.

modernized, but still preserved a few wooden houses in its streets.[128] The only Camondo property on the other side of the Golden Horn, the Lüleci Han in Stamboul, was also well located. The building constituted a block in itself, surrounded by four streets. In Léonce Tedeschi's words, "at a distance of 8 minutes from the bridge [Lüleci Han] was at the heart of the commercial district of Stamboul".[129] To this comment we should add that the two *gedik*s attached to the Lüleci and Kürekçiler *hân*s in the list should have been of a higher value than the property itself. The fact that the *gedik* did not appear in the subsequent lists prepared by the Camondos give the impression that they were no longer evaluated separately from the property.

As for the Camondo mansions, they were installed in the older residential section of Galata, that is in the area that extended from Voyvoda Street to the Galata Tower.[130] Wooden houses on Felek, Camondo, Morfelek and Hacı Ali streets housed the different branches of the family. Moïse, who accompanied Tedeschi in his travels, was probably the last of the Camondos to have been born in Galata, in the family mansion located on Felek Street, just before the family's departure for Paris in 1867. Two years later, their grandfather Salomon followed them. One of the reasons for their departure from the city was a desire to better compete for the credits and advances proposed to the government; at any rate, this departure did not mean that they were suspending their affairs in Istanbul. The I. Camondo et C^{ie} Bank would continue to function;[131] and so would the family's investments in property.

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[128] See in the list those in Mertebani Street.
[129] Léonce Tedeshi, who in 1888 traveled from Paris to Istanbul with the young Moïse, son of Nissim de Camondo, recorded the property in his small notebook which is now in the archives of Nissim de Camondo Museum. For its Turkish translation see Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 250.
[130] See Appendix BB.
[131] The 1904 trade directory informs us that the company was founded in Paris in 1870 having its offices in Bahtiyar Han, Galata. *Annuaire oriental 1904*, p. 408.

The older structures were gradually transformed and modernized. The wooden mansion on Felek Street was thus transformed into an apartment building in 1877 by Gabriel Tedeschi;[132] the one on Voyvoda Street with an entrance on Camondo Street was turned into a *hân*; the one inherited from the family on Yazıcı Street was converted into apartments, just as the one on Polonya Street, both being redesigned by the architect Stampa.[133] New lands were bought on the newly filled moats, particularly in Hendek and Lüleci Hendek streets. The plot on Lüleci Hendek, on which three shops had been built, was well located with a view which could not be obstructed thanks to the steep slope. Tedeschi advised constructing on this property, and although he included accounts relative to this building in his notes, no building bearing the name of Camondo was appears on Goad's 1905 map,[134] apparently because the plot was sold before the realization of the building.[135] Up in the Pera district, three new apartment buildings were built; first, the colossal apartment building located on the plot between Kabristan and Yemenici streets; second, the wooden houses[136] that had been transformed into an apartment building, located on Nane Street in the Ağa Camii neighborhood, at a 2 minute distance from the Grande rue de Péra;[137] and finally, the prestigious apartment building on that very avenue, at numbers 123 through 127, in the same district which was reconstructed after the 1870 Pera fire.[138] A note on the list of title deeds informs us that these new

[132] Can errorneously mentions that the first name of Tedeshi was Antonio and gives as his birth date the year 1876. Can, "Levantine Architects…, p. 60. He lived in Camondo apartment at Yazıcı Street, 42, between 1889 and 1921. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 132. Gabriel Tedeschi's name was still present in the list of inhabitants of the apartment building in 1922. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[133] AMNC, Notes of Tedeschi… , pp. 14, 17, 18. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* pp. 251-252.
[134] AMNC, *ibid.*, p. 26. See also Tugay & Tugay, *ibid.,* p. 254. Goad, no. 35 and 29.
[135] See below. Also Tugay & Tugay, *ibid.,* p. 128.
[136] On February 3, 1865, in an advertisement for rent, the two wooden houses numbered as 16 and 18, were described in the *Journal de Constantinople* as each having 8 rooms, shaft and cisterne. Quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat …, vol. 2, p. 566.
[137] AMNC, Notes of Tedeschi…, p. 16. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 252.
[138] See Appendix BB for the buildings in Pera.

properties were registered under the name of Comte Avram de Camondo by an '*ilm ü haber* of the Italian Embassy,[139] which which was probably completed after the ratification in 1873 of the protocol with Italy on the ownership of property by foreigners.

After his father's death, Moïse de Camondo visited the sites with Léonce Tedeschi and established a real estates company in partnership with his uncle Abraham de Camondo in July 1889. They registered 55 items of their urban property[140] under the company, which would administer them and organize construction projects and works on the plots.[141] The company was established in Istanbul for 50 years and its offices would be located at the I. Camondo et C^{ie} Bank, at that time located on the second floor of the Camondo Han in Yorgancılar, Galata. However, the Camondos' propery was not limited to these 55 items. They had set apart their *yalı* in Yeniköy and some other property which, although registered under the name of Abraham de Camondo, no longer belonged to the family.[142] Another list comprising property whose revenues were dedicated to charity was also set apart. One half of a shop on Yeni Cami Street and others on Billur, Sevud, Kürekçiler and Mahmud Paşa Streets, houses on Mertebani and Bakır streets, 80 percent of Selanikli Han on Zülfarisse Street and finally the school in Hasköy named after the family were mentioned in the appendix of the contract, specifying that although they would be administered according to the company's rules, their revenues would continue to be donated as before to the allocate recipients.

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[139] AMNC, "Recensement des titres de propriété opéré le 8 Avril 1884", translated in Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* pp. 120-123.
[140] See these properties with a reference date 1884 in the list in Appendix BB. Also Tugay & Tugay, *ibid.,* p. 127.
[141] Article 5 of the agreement made an elaborate description of the functions of the company. See the text in Appendix BB.
[142] AMNC, Contract related to the foundation of the real estates company, Constantinople, July 1, 1899. See Article 2 in Appendix BB.

A few months after the contract was signed, upon Abraham's death in December 1889, Moïse and his cousin Isaac took the lead of the family business. None of the two was really interested in the financial and real estate business; moreover, as their ties with Istanbul were not as deep and emotional as their predecessors', they decided to close the bank's Istanbul office 1894,[143] and their real-estate company, headed by Léon Piperno, remained limited to the administration of their fortune. Some of their property was sold just after the death of Abraham between 1890 and 1899: the house on Mertebani Street, 5, property in Beykoz, Çamlıca[144], a brick factory in Sütlüce, plots in Duvarcı and Kömürcü streets in Pera, in Feriköy, Lüleci Hendek, Bulgaria and the prestigious *yalı* in Yeniköy were altogether sold for 143.920, 59 French francs.[145] A letter from Piperno to Moïse in 1902 revealed one of the problems related to real estate ownership in the context of companies: although the affair was not mentioned in detail, we understand that during the liquidation of the bank, the State wanted to claim back the property registered in the company's name, and was ready to pay 40,000 liras for it. Piperno tried to avoid it by using the influence of Said Pasha.[146]

In 1908, Moïse paid a visit to his motherland with his 16-year-old son Nissim to initiate him into the real-estate of his family, just as Moïse had been in his young age. We learn from Şeni's work that there is no information on Nissim's impressions and reminiscences from this journey; in fact it seems that neither Nissim, nor his son-in-law Léon Reinach, were ever really interested in the family business.[147] Thus, after the death of Nissim during the Great War, in 1917, Moïse de Camondo decided

[143] Şeni & Le Tarnec, *Les Camondo…,* pp. 150-154. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 136.
[144] The mansion with its vineyard was sold to Necib Molla. Tugay & Tugay, *Kamondo Han,* p. 110.
[145] *Ibid.,* p. 128.
[146] *Ibid.,* p. 143.
[147] Şeni & Le Tarnec, *Les Camondo…,* pp. 211, 253.

to liquidate his business. In his letter of January 23, 1919, written to the Imperial Ottoman Bank, he declared that I. Camondo et C^{ie}. had entered into liquidation,[148] and two months later, gave orders to Piperno to liquidate the business, and particularly the remaining real estate in Istanbul.[149]

The Camondos, with some 100 property in their hands, were certainly the major investors in real estate of their time. Thanks to the influence and insight of Abraham Salomon, the Camondos were able to use to their advantage the winds of change of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. His major investments were in Galata, a district which rapidly gained importance and value during his lifetime, and where he participated in a variety of infrastructural projects which would increase the value of the region and consequently, his own assets and profits. Thus, for Abraham Salomon, who could circumvent the ban on property ownership for foreigners thanks to his influence at the Porte, property meant business. The area from Perşembe Pazarı to the bridge was already the most prestigious and central area of Galata, which soon turned out to be exclusively dedicated to commercial activity.[150] Camondo, when investing in Galata, found that the district was already promising in terms of investment, and the new office *hân*s which he constructed offered the facilities requested by the companies of the time. The high level of rents, which decreased as

[148] OBA, OFTC0052, Camondo & Cie., November 21, 1903.
[149] AMNC, Letter of Moïse de Camondo to Piperno, April 4, 1919 reproduced in Şeni & Le Tarnec, *Les Camondo…,* p. 250.
[150] A file in the Ottoman State Archives on the request for permission to construct shops in place of Muslim houses destroyed by fire gives us some clues on the transformation of the area in the 1850s. Although in the beginning the original owners wanted to reconstruct their houses, they changed their mind. It was said that the reason behind such a request was the increasing demands of Christians to settle in the district, and because of the proximity of the plots to the mosque, it was preferable to transform the houses into shops. As such it would be ensured that non-Muslims would only be there during the day and not in the night. The Sultan accorded his permission under the condition that houses would not be constructed on it. BOA, İ.MVL 361-15961, "Galata'da Perşembe Pazarı'nda yanan İslâm hâneleri arsâlarına mağaza yapılmak üzere ruhsat verilmesi", 1273.Ca.13 (January 9, 1857).

more and more new buildings were constructed,[151] indicates a corresponding decrease in the returns from investments in commercial buildings in the 1890s. By then, the majority of real estate investments had moved towards apartment buildings mostly situated in the upper parts Galata, which would in turn decrease in importance as apartment buildings expanded towards the more prestigious Pera. The fact that the Camondos left the city in 1867 may also have been one of the reasons that they did not seem to develop a greater interest for investment in the northern part of Pera rebuilt after the 1870 fire. Moreover, although the investments in the beginning seemed to be more or less consistent in terms of their location, the great variety of property located in different districts of the city acquired by the family at a later date gives the impression that an increasing portion of their property was acquired against outstanding debts. When the family business was transferred to the fourth generation, who, contrary to their forefathers, did not have any real emotional tie with the city, the Camondos tried to rationalize the administration of their property by selling the real estate they did not want to invest in, and keeping only the core property which would be liquidated in 1919. However, when one realizes that Isaac de Camondo became the vice-president of the National Company for Trade, Industry and Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire, established in Paris,[152] which had founded the Ottoman Real Estate Credit Company to build residential buildings in Taksim, one would be tempted into thinking that their interest for real estate investment in Istanbul was still quite alive, even if it seemed to have come to mean business rather

[151] See the case of Saint-Pierre Han or that of Camondo Han in Yorgancılar. A note in the Tedeschi notebook informs us that both stages of the *hân* rented to Société Générale at 1,000 liras per year would decrease to 300 liras, if they left. When the Imperial Ottoman Bank left Saint-Pierre Han, the owner was unable to rent the offices for the same amount (450-500 liras instead of 1,350). See, AMNC, Notes of Tedeschi…, p. 3 and SPC 030-0731, "Lettres de la Municipalité du 6ème Cercle réclamant les taxes échues de Saint-Pierre", September 26, 1896-December 10, 1896.
[152] "Le Champ de Mars et la Caserne du Taxim", *La Gazette financière*, 1911, no. 68, p. 8.

than prestige, the latter being in a sense transferred to the Parisian life of the family's last generations.

A Levantine Case: The Lorando Family

The first appearance of the Lorando family can be traced back to the parish registers of Saints Peter and Paul church of Galata around the 1740s.[153] Although the story of their migration to Galata remains unknown,[154] their naturalization as French citizens was supposed to go back to the reign of Louis XVI. Nevertheless, because the archives of the French consulate in Istanbul disappeared in the fire of 1837, Thobie states that the Lorandos nationality can only be certified after 1850.[155] Two descendents of the family, Etienne and Jean Lorando[156] sons of Libère Lorando

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[153] SPP001, Liber I. Baptizatorum. Matrimoniorum et Mortuorum (1740-1823), Baptism of Anna Lorando, p. 2. Although the index mentioned the name Lorando, in the record the name of Anna was registered as Lorado. The record informs us that the parents of Anna whose baptism was made on January 22, 1742 migrated from Syra (Syros).

[154] Müfid Ekdal also claims that the Lorandos, of Italian origin, migrated from Syros just as the Tubinis. Müfid Ekdal, *Kapalı Hayat Kutusu – Kadıköy Konakları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), p. 18.

[155] Jacques Thobie, *Intérêts et impéralialisme français dans l'Empire ottoman (1895-1914)*, (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1977), p. 562. It should also be noted that the Lorandos did not appear among the members of the French Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople. Only the name of Stephen Lorando who lived in Moda appeared in of the Chamber's 1912 bulletin. ARERCL91202, *Revue commerciale du Levant, Revue mensuel de la chambre de commerce Française de Constantinople, 2ème semestre de l'année 1912*, no. 304-309, p. 17.

[156] Only the baptism of the elder brother Etienne was recorded in the Saint Peter parish registers (Liber I, *op. cit.,* p. 95). Etienne Hilarion Lorando was born on December 26, 1808 and married in 1845 Marie Henriette Louise Crespin, born in 1825. They had nine children: Marie Honorine (1847), Alphonse Libère (1851), Adèle (1852), Marie Josephine Philomène Virginie (1853), Antoine Isidore (1855-1867), Etienne (1858), Léandre (1859), Casimir André Florimond (1862), Achille Jean (1863). Etienne Lorando died on January 22, 1889. His wife Louise survived him until April 24, 1903. Sources: SPP001, Liber I, *op. cit.*, http://gw4.geneanet.org, XKLI099 00038 "Groupe Hanson-Giove. Succession Etienne G. Lorando", 1891-1893, Doc. 2, *Almanach à l'usage des familles catholiques de Constantinople 1ère-6ème année, 1901-1906* (Constantinople: Zellich Frères, December 20, 1905), vol. 4 « Nos Morts Adultes de l'Année 1902-1903 », p. 139.
His brother Jean was born in 1811 and married Carmela Corcacı/Cacacı (?) from whom he had a son, Liber. He died in December 1891 in Istanbul at the age of 80. Liber was born in February 1846, and, married Eudoxie Eugénie Marie Glavany on January 29, 1869. One of their children, Jeanne Marie, married Léon Valérien, known as Comte Ostrorog, and they had a son Jean who was born on March 28, 1896 in his grand father's mansion in Pera, close to the Mevlevihâne, probably the mansion on Suède Street. He lived until December 19, 1975. His mother, Jeanne Marie died on January 17, 1931,

(1764-1817) and Marie Lapierre (1778-1853)[157] who were listed among the bankers of Galata in the trade directory of 1868, were the most renowned figures.[158] Jean Lorando appeared among the founders of the Crédit Général Ottoman in 1869, an institution established to provide loans to the Ottoman government,[159] and an alliance of the Société Générale de France and local bankers, among whom were Georges Tubini, Köçeoğlu, Andon Mıssırlı and Düz Mihran Bey, director of coinage department at the Imperial Mint (*Darb-hâne-i Âmire Meskûkât Dâ'iresi*).[160] The Lorando brothers had also loaned 30,000 liras at an interest rate of 15 percent to the administration of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit Railway on March 17, 1875, under the guarantee of the Administration but also of the Ministries of Public Works and of Finance.[161] A few months later, on June 15, they lent money to the Ministry of Finance. This amount of 55,000 liras was guaranteed by the revenues of Salonica and Edirne provinces for the year of 1890. Both advances amounting to 85,000 liras, which had to be paid back in a period two years, were left pending and the provincial revenues that had been offered as security were used by the government for other purposes. In 1895, the commercial court calculated that all interests included, the

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and his father, Comte Ostrorog followed her one year later. Both were buried in Feriköy Cemetry. Sources: Information from mariages au consulat de France à Constantinople (1794-1885) quoted from http://gw4.geneanet.org, Kont Ostrorog Yalısı in http://www.diaturkiye.com. See also Tülay Artan "Kont Ostrorog Yalısı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul …,* vol. 5, p. 62.

[157] Liberius Lorando and Maria Lapierre were married at Saint Peter of Galata in October 13, 1799. SPP001, p. 34.

[158] *Indicateur constantinopolitain, guide commercial première année 1868-69*, p. 154 and 1881, p. 210. According to the information in the directory of 1863, the Lorando brothers had their office in the Stock Exchange building located on Voyvoda Street; in 1881 their office was in Lorando Han, on the same street. It could be supposed that both buildings were in fact one and the same.

[159] Du Velay informs us that the bank was specifically established for the loan of 1869, amounting to 150 million francs. The treasury bonds issued on this occasion announced the creation of the bank by *firman* of January 5, 1869, but the bank could only be constituted in August 1869 and worked for 30 years until its liquidation in 1899. A. du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie, Depuis le règne de Sultan Mahmoud II jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1903), pp. 201-202.

[160] Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme…,* p. 90. The Crédit Général Ottoman, bought by the Imperial Ottoman Bank in 1899, had its offices in a building on Voyvoda Street at the corner of Mertebany Street. Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi…*, p. 72.

[161] For a copy of the contract see BOA, Y. PRK.TNF 7-13, "Haydarpaşa'dan İzmit'e kadar olan demiryolu için Mösyö Lorando ile yapılan sözleşme", 1319.B.10 (October 23, 1901).

loan amounted to 550,000 liras.[162] To conclude this pending affair, Lorando's brothers' heirs,[163] in accordance with the French Embassy's proposal, accepted to take 253,300 liras over three years at 9 percent interest, totalling 321,691 liras. But the Ottoman government refused to pay the requested amount. This situation left the Lorando heirs in great financial difficulty, and Constans, then French ambassador to the Porte, decided to intervene actively to force Abdulhamid II to accept to pay this debt, together with other pending matters, such as the unpaid Tubini loan and the registration of the title deeds of the land claimed from the sea in the name of the Constantinople Harbour Company. To this were added other political concerns: first, the official recognition of, and authorization for, all schools, hospitals, and religious establishments under French protection; second, the immediate issue of the *firman*s necessary for the construction and repairs of institutions damaged during the Armenian troubles; and last, a *berât* recognizing the Chaldean Patriarch and delivered in terms acceptable by the Holy See.[164] As diplomacy remained ineffective, French naval forces landed on the island of Mytilini on October 25, 1901, thus forcing the Ottoman government into accepting a solution to the problem of the Lorando-Tubini loans. First an *irâde* which ordered the payment of the amount due to Lorando was issued on November 1, 1901. However, the French authorities were not satisfied with it and asked for precise terms of payment. On November 6, the drafts which covered the entire amount and the due dates between March 1902 and June 1903 were remitted by the Foreign Minister Tevfik Pasha to

[162] Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme…,* p. 562-563.
[163] Among the heirs of Etienne Lorando were his wife Louise Lorando and only three of his children mentioned above: Marie, Philomène and Liber Lorando. See XKLI099 00038, "Groupe Hanson-Giove. Succession Etienne G. Lorando, 1891-1893", doc. 2.
[164] For the details of the affair, see Thobie, *Intérêts et impéralialisme…,* pp. 562-583. Also Graham H. Stuart, *French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Sarajevo (1898-1914)* (New York: The Century Co., 1921), pp. 46-51. Available [online] http://www.questia.com. The *Catholic Directory* of 1901 also informed its readers that the Chaldean Patriarch Mgr Emmanuel Thomas was recognized as the head of his community by a *berât* of the Sultan. *Almanach à l'usage...,* vol. 1, p. 116.

Bapst, the French chargé d'affaires in Istanbul.[165] As was reported in the weekly minutes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the Ottoman government remitted 16 drafts in the name of the French consulate, each amounting to 21,000 liras and to be payed monthly from the customs revenues.[166] Thus a total of 336,000 liras was reimbursed to the Lorandos until June 1903.

A note in the file of Etienne Lorando, written after his death, mentioned that his debt to the Imperial Ottoman Bank exceeded 22,000 liras, guaranteed by some 4,000 shares of the Borax Company in Sultançayır, whose privilege had been given to Hanson and Giove,[167] and a farm located in Beyköy near Bandırma including all the equipment and animals in it. At the time of his death, Etienne Lorando was in financial difficulty and his wife Louise had to ask the Imperial Ottoman Bank for a loan in return for the mortgage of her property in Galata, Pera and Kadiköy. In 1893, the bank accepted this deal and as Thobie noted, required it to be covered by July 1901.[168] However, according to the mortgage titles the debt should have been payed in two years' time, and the minutes of the Committee reveal that although the debt came to term in 1896, a deadline extension was granted to the Lorandos upon the request of the French ambassador.[169] Once the debt repaid, the bank made new

[165] Thobie, *Intérêts et impéralialisme…,* pp. 574-76.
[166] OBA, CDPV010, "Procès verbaux des scéances du comité, 1901-1902", Meeting of November 6, 1901, p. 32.
[167] A copy of a letter found in the file of Etienne Lorando and written to the French consulate in Constantinople on December 17, 1887 informs us that Etienne Lorando was condemned by the French consular court to pay 15,300 francs with an interest rate of 12 percent, starting from July 21, 1879 to the heirs of Joseph Baudouy. But the debt could not be reimbursed until that date because of Lorando's financial difficulties, due to the loans to be received from Frederic Giove —an Italian subject with his office in Quarantine Street, Galata— and the clearance of the debt of Charles Hanson and Co. XKCRG001 00045, "Dossier de Etienne Lorando", doc. 5.
[168] Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme…,* p. 563.
[169] See OBA, CDPV005, "Procès verbaux des séances du comité, 1896-97", Meeting of January 14, 1897, p. 266, meeting of August 5, 1897, p. 84, CDPV008, "Procès verbaux des séances du Comité, 1899-1900", Meeting of Novembre 30, 1899, p. 284, CDPV009, "Procès verbaux des séances du comité, 1900-1901", Meeting of July 17, 1901, p. 611.

agreements with the heirs of Jean and Etienne Lorando on April 3, 1902,[170] and was finally reimbursed, including interests, by the end of June 1904.[171]

The file of this transaction kept at the Ottoman Bank Archives gives us the list of property owned by the Lorando family. These 36 items, although mostly concentrated in the Galata and Pera area, were also distributed among other areas of the city. Besides the farm mentioned above, the Lorando's daughters owned property on the Bosphorus at Ortaköy which was bought for 2,550 liras by imperial princesses in 1898.[172] They also possessed important property in the Cafer Ağa neighborhood of Kadıköy, where they built a house in a big garden with the facility of a private dock; they had also set up a vineyard in Küçük Moda, next to the Tubini family property.[173] Though this area is beyond the scope of our study, it is worthwhile to say a few words about this vast property whose owners applied to the Ministry of Pious Endowments for the division of the land into smaller plots. The Lorando property on Lorando Street was composed of a mansion and its garden of 3 *dönüm*s[174] or 2,757.9 m^2 in the *mukāta'a* category, rented for a monthly fee of 30 *akçe*s (aspers) or an annual amount of 3 piastres from the Selim Hân-ı Kadim Vakfı, a property of 12 *dönüm*s or 11,031.6 m^2 rented for 60 *akçe*s a month or an annual rent of 6 piastres from Fethi Mustafa Efendi Vakfı, a mansion of 9 *dönüm*s or 8,273,7 m^2 in the *mukāta'a* category for a yearly rent of 5 piastres paid to Selim Hân-ı Kadim Vakfı, and again a garden of 1.5 *dönüm*s and 132 *zirâ'*s or 1,454.79 m^2 belonging to the *mukāta'a* category and rented for 120 *akçe*s or 1 piastre per year

[170] OBA, CDPV010, "Procès verbaux des séances du comité, 1901-1902", Meeting of April 3, 1902, p. 292.
[171] OBA, CDPV012, "Procès verbaux des séances du comité, 1904-1905", Meeting of June 29, 1904, p. 64.
[172] BOA, İ.HUS 67, "Ortaköy sahilinde bulunan Mösyö Lorando'nun kızlarına ait arsânın satın alınması", 1316.R.1 (July 7, 1898).
[173] See OBA, APLGDKADI, *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople*, vol. III, *Kadıkeuy y compris Haydarpacha, Moda*, Avril 1906, no: 63 and 64.
[174] A *dönüm* equalled 919.30 m^2. Raymond, *Notes pratiques…,* p. 18.

from the same *vakıf*. With an *irâde* issued on March 9, 1907, the Sultan confirmed the decision of the State Council which agreed to divide the property into nine plots, all converted into *mukāta'a* at the annual rent of 1 piastre for each 100 *zirâ'*s or 57,5 m^2 and gave the permission to construct on it. Thus, separate title deeds would be delivered for each plot. As a result, the overall property decreased from 23,518 m^2 (25.5 *dönüm*s, 132 *zirâ'*s) to 32,480 *zirâ'*s or 18,662 m^2, after the cession to the municipality of the plots necessary for a street, a school and a police station.[175] Thus the annual rent of the remaining property increased to 325 piastres. In Müfid Ekdal's memoirs, the Lorando family's plot, where an impressive mansion called "palace" stood, and whose area was estimated to approximately 2,000 m^2 at that time was still of a very considerable size.[176]

In Galata, the area of the city where they seem to have settled when they first migrated to Istanbul, the Lorandos invested in dwellings on the newly opened Iskender Street which connected Azapkapı to Şişhane square. They must have invested in numerous shops and plots which constituted an important number of the structures located there,[177] when the street was newly created in 1869,[178] a few years

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[175] BOA, İ.DH 19, "Kadıköy'ünde Cafer Ağa Mahallesi'nde Lorando vereselerinin kendilerine 'aîd bağ ve konak yerleri üzerine ev yapmalarına izin verildiği", 1325.M.24 (March 3, 1907). See also BOA, DH.MKT 721-22, "Kadıköy'de Caferağa mahallesinde Lorando veresesinin tasarrufunda bulunan konak ve bağın parça parça satılmasına ruhsat ve vereseler nâmlarına sened-i hâkānî verilmesi husûsunda gerekli mu'âmelenin yapılması", 1321. Ra.13 (June 9, 1903) and BOA, DH.MKT 1154-62, "Kadıköy Cafer Ağa Mahallesi'nde Lorando veresesinin tasarrufunda bulunan konak ve bağın parça parça satılmasına ruhsat ve vereseler nâmlarına sened-i hâkānî verilmesi husûsunda gerekli mu'âmelenin yapılması", 1325.S.07 (March 22, 1907).

[176] Ekdal, *Kapalı Hayat…,* p. 19.

[177] See the list of Lorando properties in Appendix CC. Dwelling no 68 was destroyed by the fire of May 6, 1901. The adjacent dwellings no 70, 72 and 74 were damaged. XKHY002 00541, doc. A18366 Correspondance of the Société générale d'assurances ottomane with the Imperial Ottoman Bank, May 25, 1901.

[178] In 1869, the Sixth District Municipality put in adjudication a plot of 140 *arşın* square on Iskender Street, located at the corner of the streets at 1.5 liras/*arşın* square. *La Turquie*, March 23, 1869, quoted from Öncel, "Un nouveau type d'habitat …, vol. 2, p. 584. A report by the architect-expert Burness written after the fire about the destroyed dwelling/house situated on Iskender Street, 68, confirmed that the house was 35 years old when he had surveyed it earlier in 1894. XKHY002 00541, doc. A18494.

only after the demolition of the city walls. The buildings, bearing the same characteristics as those on Büyük Hendek Street, were mostly four-storey dwellings of modest standing.[179] Antoine Perpignani, the architect of the French embassy, described one of these dwellings of 96 square *zirâ*'s or 55.6 m^2 as made of masonry, with a basement, a ground floor and three upper floors. It also had a balcony overlooking the street.[180] The only apartment building on the street, located at the corner of Tersane Avenue was probably constructed by the Lorandos in 1893.[181] The only *hân* they owned in Galata was built in the very center of the financial quarter, in the lower section of Voyvoda Street, next to the Camondo Han; it disappeared in 1911-1912 during the construction of Union Han.[182] A document dating from 1862 shows that the building was already there at the time, and that it was proposed as an alternative for holding the stock exchange to the new Karaköy Han erected by the municipality. Karaköy Han was strongly recommended by the prominent traders partly because of the financial difficulties experienced by the municipality, which was then unable to pay back the loan it had contracted for its construction. The indication, in the trade directory of 1868, that the Lorando brothers were established in the building of the stock exchange on Voyvoda Street,[183] seems to indicate that even though the stock exchange would eventually be established in the new Karaköy Han, at least for a while it was most probably hosted in the Lorando Han.[184] In 1881,

[179] See Goad, no. 24-25. See also Appendix CC.
[180] XKHY002 000541, *op. cit.*, doc A18495 and A18495A001, Rapport d'expertise d'incendie, June 11, 1901. Antoine Perpignani represented the Imperial Ottoman Bank and Sophie Artar, owners of the house. See also doc. A18496 in the same file, Report of Mongeri, June 12, 1901.
[181] The building does not appear on the plan by Huber drawn in 1892, nor in the pages of the *Annuaire oriental* of 1892, but emerges in that of 1893-94. See *Annuaire oriental 1893-94*, p. 746.
[182] Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi*…, p. 250.
[183] The address of the stock exchange was given as Voyvoda Street, 8, in the trade directory of 1868. *Indicateur constantinopolitain 1868-69*, p. 117.
[184] "…Karaköy Hân-ı cedîdi mevki'ce ve borsa nizâmının hakkıyla icrâ ve inzibâtça en ziyâde münâsib mahal olub bu hân mahalinin asıl alınışı ve yaptırılışı nezd-i cenâb-ı vekâletpenâhîlerinde müstağni-i ta'rîf bulunduğu üzere menâfi'-i 'umûmiye istihsâli maksâdından 'ibâret olurak bunun içün

the stock exchange was no longer there, but the Lorando Brothers kept their offices in the building that still bore their name. Two years later, the two brothers split their offices. Etienne Lorando stayed in Lorando Han, while in 1883 Jean Lorando transferred his offices to the *hân* just opposite, at the corner of Mertebany Street.[185]

According to the parish registers of Saints Peter and Paul, Jean Lorando was not born in Galata like his brother Etienne in 1808; his parents had probably by then moved to Pera, and established their house in the same area. Etienne Lorando lived in his private dwelling on Mezarlık Street, 25, next to the hotel Belle Vue and the houses of the Ekmekçibaşı and Alléon families[186] in the district of Tepebaşı,[187] where bankers of the time established their mansions overlooking a wonderful view of the Golden Horn. This house of 417 old *arşın* or 240 m^2 was estimated at 2,400 liras and the wash house and laundry in the back at 200, by Burness, the expert of the Société Générale insurance company.[188] His younger brother Jean Lorando lived on the Rue

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idâre-i dâ'ire külliyetlü deyne giriftâr olduğundan ve hasebü'l-vakt değil re'is-i mâl fa'izinin bile tediye veya bir gayr-ı suretle tesviye çaresi bulunamadığından alelân düyun-ı müterâkime hân-ı mezkûrun hîn-i füruhtunda bihesâb ferağı husûlü tahmîn ve tasavvur olunan mu'acelâtı bütün bütün ekl ü beli' edeceği emâreleri ma'te'essüf görülmekte ve borsa mahali tahsîsinde ezdiyâd-ı şeref ve i'tibârıyla gerek icârında ve gerek füruhtunda oldukça tezâyüd-i kıymeti ümid olunmakda olduğu misüllü mücerred dest-i bâri-i lütf ve â'tıfet-i celîle-i sadaretpenâhîleri ile te'sîs buyrulan bir ifâde-i nâfi'anın bekâ ve istikrârı hakkında bîdiriğ-i himmet ve 'inâyet buyrulacağı 'itikâd kavlinde bulunulmasına mebni sâlifü'z-zikr hânın taraf-ı eşref-i saltanât-ı seniyeden borsa mahali tahsîs buyrulmasıyla beraber keyfiyetin iktizâ edenlere irâdesi husûsuna müsâ'ade-i me'âlî'âde-i hıdıv-i efhâmîleri sezâvâr buyrulmak istid'âsı ma'rûzunda takdîm-i mazbata-ı 'acizânemize mücâseret olundu…." BOA, A.MKT.NZD 399-7 "Kurulacak olan borsa için Karaköy'deki Yeni Hân veya Lorando binasından hangisinin tahsîs olunacağının bildirilmesi", 1278.Ş.11 (February 11, 1862), doc. 2, petition of prominent traders to the Grand Vizier on the Stock Exchange building, 15 Receb 1278 (January 16, 1862).

[185] *Annuaire oriental 1883,* p. 281.

[186] See the translation of the title deed, XKHY002 00541, doc. C00006E002, Sened Hakani (Titre impérial de propriété), 15/29 March 1893.

[187] Tepebaşı was transformed after the fire of 1870. The Muslim cemetery was moved and the hill filled by the land brought from the Tunnel excavation in 1874-1875 to form a plateau; the construction of new houses on the border started in the same years, and continued until 1880. Çelik Gülersoy, *Tepebaşı Bir Meydan Savaşı* (İ.B.B., Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1993), pp. 23-25; also Gülersoy, "Tepebaşı Meydanı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 7, pp. 251-252.

[188] OBA, XKHY002 00541, doc. A00004 Copy of a letter by Burness to the manager of the Société générale d'assurance ottomane, April 25, 1894.

de Suède, a street next to the Swedish embassy in the neighborhood of Asmalımescid.

The family also owned several apartment buildings with shops at ground level on different streets leading to the Grande rue de Péra. The area from Tunnel Square to Galatasaray Square, where these buildings were located was the most prestigious and lively section of Pera.[189] The Imperial Ottoman Bank's list of mortgaged buildings shows that 1/8 of one of these apartment buildings and its shops, located between Latine and Ezadjı streets next to the locale of the Società Operaia Italiana,[190] all of it under the category of *mülk*, were estimated at 8,000 liras. The correspondence between the bank and the insurance company informs us that the plot covered largely the value of the buildings.[191] Another apartment at the corner of Glavany Street with its five shops on the Grande rue de Péra, partly *vakıf* and partly *mülk*, was also owned by the brothers Etienne and Jean Lorando. Next to the Tinghiroğlu mansion, owned by his heirs and which would be later taken over by Siniossoglou, the shops and the apartment building were mortgaged at 10,000 liras.[192] Two of the shops, numbers 338 and 340, were damaged after the fire of March 27, 1896, but were repaired by the insurance company.[193] Another mansion and its shop below, located at number 410 on the Grande rue de Péra and owned by the Lorandos was estimated at 2,500 liras. The Lorandos also owned a house at the corner of Pologne Street, with a shop at ground level facing Yeni Çarşı Street. Their

[189] See Appendix CC.
[190] XKHY002 00541, doc. C00011E002, Séned Hakani (Titre impérial de propriété), March 15 / 27, 1893.
[191] XKHY002 00541 A01279.
[192] *Ibid.*, doc. C00010E002, Séned Hakani (Titre impérial de propriété), May 22 / June 3, 1893. See also Goad, no. 37, pl. 843. The apartment building owned by Siniossoglou would eventually become the property of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and is still today among the assets of Garanti Bank.
[193] See the correspondance XKHY002 00541, *op. cit.*, particularly A03452, A03453 and A03501.

property next to the Rossolato and Latifian houses,[194] whose surface was around 122 *arşın* or 70 m^2, was evaluated at 1,440 liras. Another investment of the Lorandos was in the Pangaltı area, a plot of 6,449 pics or 3,705 m^2 used as a garden restaurant and located in Bekçi Street, on the Nişantaşı side of the avenue.[195] According to a note by Burness, who estimated the property of Etienne and Louise Lorando for the insurance company, their property on Iskender Street in Galata, Pologne Street in Pera and their two mansions on Church Street in Kadıköy were in a dilapidated condition and would deteriorate even more if they were not repaired soon.[196]

The real estate was registered in the name of Louise Lorando and some of the titles revealed that Louise, just as was the typical practice of the day, passed as an Ottoman in front of the authorities in order to own property. The nationality issue was rectified in the 1880s with an *'ilm ü haber* of the French consulate attesting her French nationality, several years after the passing of the law authorising foreigners to acquire and own property. Although initially property seems to have been an instrument of investment in the eyes of the Lorandos, and indeed became important as a backing to their loans, there does not seem to have been much motivation to invest in property among the following generations. The dilapidated condition of the buildings other than those where they actually lived confirmed this lack or loss of interest. Similarly, the huge plot in Moda, which had been separated into nine different parcels in 1907, could have opened the way to a profitable investment. Nevertheless, contrary to the Camondos, the Lorandos seem to have failed to manage properly their real estate; ironically, the only mansion which they were able to

[194] XKHY002 00541, *op. cit.*, doc. C00013E002, Séned Hakani (Titre impérial de propriété), March 8 / April 8, 1893.
[195] Although the garden restaurant is not marked, see for the location of the street, Huber, K and J 69-74 and Pervitich, *Ferikeuy, Nichantach, Plan cadastral d'assurances levé et dessiné en Mai 1925*, no. 6, pl. 209-211, also pl. 211-218.
[196] OBA, XKHY002 00541, doc. A00004 *op. cit.*

preserve ended up in flames.[197] Upon the death of its last inhabitants, the Lorando property became the subject of several lawsuits and nothing remains today of these very considerable investments.[198]

A Foreign Investor in Istanbul: Emile Deveaux

The 1870 Pera fire, which devastated 160 neighborhoods in the northern part of Pera from Macar Street and Tarlabaşı to Bülbül Dere and the gardens of Tatavla and Kasımpaşa; and in the South up to the Orient Hotel and the Petits-Champs, destroying completely Sakız Ağacı, Karnavula and the Abanos, Mekteb, Bayram, Yeşil, Kalyoncu Kulluk streets, as well as the quarters of Şerbethane and Aynalıçeşme,[199] created new opportunities for reconstruction and investment in the area. *The Levant Herald* suggested rebuilding such a vast area with a Crédit Immobilier (Building Credit Bank), which would build houses to sell, and a Crédit Foncier (Land Credit Bank) to organize the mortgage of the plots on which these constructions would rise.[200] This proposal was also supported by Doctor Brunetti, who witnessed, as a physician, the disaster caused by the 1870 fire. He wished for the transformation of the system of construction of the buildings by introducing a crédit foncier, which after the evaluation of the value of the burnt property, and the construction of the new one by the company, would either pay the estimated value to the owner or would receive the amount invested plus the interest fixed at 5 percent in

[197] Ekdal, *Kapalı Hayat…,* p. 19.
[198] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[199] Supplément de *The Levant Herald,* June 7, 1870.
[200] *The Levant Herald*, June 13, 1870, p. 161.

annual terms.[201] However, as the legislation did not allow for the mortgage of *vakıf* land and these pious institutions were seen as a serious impediment to urban development, propositions were made for the conversion of all property in Pera into *mülk*.[202] As was recounted in our previous chapters, such a transformation of the system could only be possible through a long process extending from 1913 well into the Republican era.

One of the earliest investors in Pera after the fire appears to have been Emile Deveaux, a Frenchman who became deputy general manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank from 1871[203] to 1889, when the Committees decided to change the general managers in the hope of improving their relations with the Ottoman State, which had been deteriorating due to personal conflicts. Deveaux, replacing Morgan H. Foster who had had a long experience in the Empire, but was often absent due to health problems, appears to have been of a somewhat brusque character, lacking in flexibility. He thus entered in conflict with Agop Kazazyan Pasha,[204] who was appointed Minister of Finance on August 10, 1888. To repair their relations with this crucial actor, the Committee took the initiative of having the French ambassador contact Agop Pasha, who was hostile to French finance in general and to the bank in particular. He declared that "he was prepared to resume cordial relations with them on condition that certain procedures, which are no longer considered proper

[201] Docteur Brunetti, *Épisode de la catastrophe de Péra, souvenir du 5 Juin 1870*, (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographies Centrales, n.d.), p. 32-34.
[202] *The Levant Herald*, June 13, 1870, p. 161. See also the issue of July 12, 1870, p. 237.
[203] Emile Deveaux, who was inspector of finances in France, entered the service of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in September 1866 and came to Istanbul in 1868 at the age of 33 to work for the bank as manager/general secretary. Deveaux spoke French, Italian and a little Turkish. *Indicateur constantinopolitain 1868,* p. 117. OBA, PP 915 00025, "Dossier de Personnel, Joseph Alexis Emile Deveaux".
[204] Agop Kazazyan (Istanbul, 1831/33 – September 7, 1891) had worked at the Imperial Ottoman Bank as head of the Translation bureau. He was appointed between February 1872 and October 1873 as district governor (*kaymakam*) of Galata and in 1884 as Minister of Finance. In 1888, he once again became Minister of Finance. He was among the founders of the Darülaceze hospital, and home, founded on June 29, 1892. Vağarşag Seropyan, "Kazazyan, Agop", *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar…*, vol. 2, p. 23.

nowadays, are abandoned completely and that the Constantinople staff is changed."[205] In September 1889, the Committee wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, informing him that Morgan H. Foster would retire from his position to get a much-needed rest, and that the deputy general manager, Emile Deveaux would also have to quit his position to return to Paris to attend family matters.[206] Nevertheless, although Deveaux left for Divonne-les-Bains in Switzerland for his holiday,[207] the trade directories of the time seem to indicate that contrary to the official statement above, Deveaux stayed on in Istanbul even after his resignation as the representative of priority bondholders at the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, and that he lived in his house on Ağa Hamam Street, 2.[208] When he died in 1892, his succession was read out in front of the French authorities in Istanbul to the tutors of his children Marie Joseph Raoul and Marie Gasparine Marguerite, still minors at that date.[209]

He had been part of the relief committee set up after the Pera fire of June 5, 1870,[210] and he himself lived in a mansion with a big garden, located at the corner of

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[205] André Autheman, *The Imperial Ottoman Bank*, trans. by J.A. Underwood, (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Cenre, 2000), p. 132. Autheman erroneously calls him Agop Zarifi.
[206] BOA, HR.TO 379-54, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî müdürü Devo'nun istif'a eylediği ve yerine diğerinin intihâb olunacağına dâ'ir Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin Londra ve Paris komiteleri tarafından Sadaret'e 'arîza", September 5, 1889.
[207] See the letter sent from Divonne-les-bains to the Grand Vizier about the reduction of taxes on his properties in Pera. BOA, HR.TO 534-25, "Beyoğlu'nda kā'in emlâkı üzerine tarh edilmiş olan vergilerin tenzîli hakkında Bank-ı 'Osmânî eski direktörü Mösyö Devo tarafından Sadaret'e 'arîza", August 12, 1890.
[208] "Liste des membres de la Chambre de commerce française de Constantinople", *Revue commerciale du Levant*, no. 57, December 31, 1891, *Annuaire oriental 1891*, p. 631 and 1892, pp. 268 and 631.
[209] OBA, XKSE001 00205 00003, "Succession Em. Deveaux", December 29, 1892.
[210] The Relief Committee was formed for the purpose of centralising the subscriptions collected and supervising their employment. The Committee under the presidency of Sadık Pasha, Minister of Finance, consisted of Kabuli Pasha, Minister of Commerce, Salih Bey, President of the Municipality of the Sixth District, Lord Hobart from the Imperial Otoman Bank; Etienne Ralli from the Société Générale, T. Tubini from the Credit Général, all representing the major subscriptors. To these names were added Sir Philip Francis, Agop Keutcheoglou, P.M. Clado, Jean Lorando, A. Vlasto, Emile Deveaux, D.Z. Sgouta, N. Cricozzo, Stephanovich, Evangeli Baltazzi and Georges Coronio. *The Levant Herald*, June 21, 1870, p. 180.

Ağa Hamam Street, just opposite the Turkish bath that gave the street its name.[211] Deveaux must have invested in a number of plots located not far from his residence just after the fire. From the d'Ostoya 1858-1860 map, we understand that before the fire there were small buildings in masonry on the Grande rue, with a wooden building right behind them, where a circus was established.[212] After the fire, in 1871, this circus, which bore the name Olympique was transformed into a theater named Théatre Alhambra, which also fell prey to the flames in 1874.[213] A new one was built on the same location in 1875 by the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Barborini,[214] who also worked at the Land Registry Commission of the Municipality.[215] The stage was at the back but the entrance of the theater known first as the Verdi and later as the Odeon, was from number 134 on the Grande rue de Péra.[216] Next to it, the Hotel du Luxembourg, located at numbers 130-132, was renamed Deveaux Apartments after 1902.[217] The dead-end where the theater was

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[211] Huber, *Plan de Pera, Taxim, Pancaldi et Feriköy, plan dressé en 1887-91 et rectifié en grande partie en 1895*.

[212] Yıldız Salman, *1870'lerden 2050'lere Beyoğlu Nereye?*, catalogue of the exhibition undertaken in the premises of the Società Operaia Italiana between June 1-25, 2006, (Istanbul: Demirören Gayrimenkul, 2006), p. 56.

[213] *La Turquie*, November 24, 1874, quoted from Metin And, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908),* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1972), p. 210.

[214] Barborini (1820-1891) graduated from the Ecole de Génie Civil in Turin. He decided to come to Istanbul in 1849 and stayed there until 1880. He was in charge of several projects among which the Embassy of the Netherlands in Pera (1858), the Assumption Church in Moda (1859), the Protestant Church in Aynalıçeşme (1861), the arrangement of Çemberlitaş and its surroundings after the 1865 fire of Hocapaşa, the Ottoman pavilion at the Paris Exhibition in 1867 and the building of the Sixth District Municipality (1879-83). To these buildings that of the Théâtre Variété could also be added. Paollo Girardelli and Cengiz Can, "Giovanni Battista Barborini à Istanbul", *Observatoire Urbain*, no. 8, October 1995, pp. 2-7. Hasan Kuruyazıcı, "Beyoğlu'nda Yok Edilen İki Kültür Varlığı: Lüks ve Saray Sinemaları", *Oyun*, no. 2, (May-June 2008), [typescript].

[215] He worked with the engineer Ritter, İbrahim Bey, Gavand and Stampa at the commission headed by Mahmud Pasha in 1869. Cengiz Can, "Giovanni Battista Barborini", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…*, vol. 2, p. 54. See also Yıldız Salman, "Barborini, Giovanni Battista", *Eczacıbaşı Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: YEM yayınları, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 192-193.

[216] As Verdi in *Annuaire oriental 1885*, p. 404, *1888* p. 438, *1891* p. 583, *1895* p. 607, as Odeon in 1896-97, *op. cit.*, p. 804, 1898 p. 742.

[217] *Annuaire oriental*, 1903, p. 1054. Kuruyazıcı, "Beyoğlu'nda…", *op. cit.* The café Luxembourg under the apartment building was transformed into a movie theater in 1913, first opened as Gaumont and later known as Luxembourg (1914), Glorya (1930) and Saray (1933). Giovanni Scognamillo, "Saray Sineması", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul …*, vol. 6, pp. 459-460. See the photograph of the building in Appendix DD. Contrary to Scognamillo who said that the apartment building was

located was transformed one year later into a street, which would be known as Deveaux Street.[218] We do not possess any documents from this earlier phase of the buildings which appeared on the Cadastral Plans of the Municipality,[219] but the dead-end alley between them and the Cercle d'Orient Club, the famous building owned by the state dignitary Abraham Pasha,[220] which was transferred, due to his unpaid debts, to the Imperial Ottoman Bank, is well documented in the bank's archives.[221] This four storey building, built by Allexandre Vallauri[222] as the konak of Abraham Pasha with the upper storeys rented to the Cercle remained in the possession of the bank until 1919 and was sold that year to Manuk Manukian.[223]

As discussed in the second chapter, after the fire of 1870, the residents of Pera had expressed their opposition to the widening of the streets, fearing that their plots would be substantially reduced,[224] and they proposed the regulation of three streets only, those of Hamalbaşı, Tiyatro and Deveaux, which would have to be rebuilt.[225] The opening of Deveaux Street was realized only 30 years later. This dead-end of 2.25 m. between the property of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Odeon Theatre, as well as some shops belonging to Deveaux, were considered to be

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Barborini's work, Kuruyazıcı claims that it was constructed at a later date than the Odeon Theater, and that its architect was unknown. Another apartment building of four storeys was erected in 1884 on Sakız Ağaç Street. *Annuaire oriental 1895*, p. 719. See also Goad, *Pera-Galata,* no. 39, pl. 866.

[218] *Annuaire oriental*, *1904*, p. 1052. See also Goad, pl. 39, between plots 365 and 366.

[219] *Cadastre de la ville de Constantinople: VI Cercle Municipal: livre figuré,* ed. by İrfan Dağdeviren, (Istanbul: IBBB Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, 2005).

[220] Born in 1833, Abraham Eramyan was the son of a renowned family of bankers from Eğin. His father, Kevork Eramyan (1816-1900), and his grand father Terzontz Eram Amira (1768-1835) were the private bankers of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha and his family. Abraham Pasha, who died in 1918, invested in property among which the woods on the eastern shores of the Bosphorus, close to the Black Sea, a *yalı* in Büyükdere, and the *konak* (mansion) where the Cercle d'Orient was located. See "Apraham Paşa Eramyan", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, pp. 890-891 and Edhem Eldem, "Abraham Paşa", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul…,* vol. 1, pp. 59-60.

[221] OBA, XKHY002 539, "Hypothèques. Abraham Pacha. Cercle d'Orient", Eldem, *135-Year-Old…*, pp. 230-231.

[222] Ernest Giraud, "La Rue", *Revue commerciale du Levant*, Mars 1897, no. 120, pp. 192-205.

[223] Ernest Giraud, *La Rue* annotated by Edhem Eldem, to be published.

[224] See "La reconstruction de Péra" in *The Levant Herald*, September 19, 1870, p. 432.

[225] Çelik, *The Remaking…,* p. 64.

private and in conformity with Islamic practice,[226] were owned half and half by both parties.[227] The bank, wishing to increase the value of its property and to gain access to the Grande rue de Péra, took the permission of the Committees to buy the part owned by Deveaux.[228] Thus, according to an agreement signed in 1900, Raoul and Marguerite Deveaux agreed to sell their part, which amounted to 423 *murabba' zirâ'* or 243 m^2 to the bank for 5,800 liras. This part would be used for the widening of the street to 6.70 m. Both parties agreed not to construct on this area, and if they were to build on their own plots houses or shops opening onto the street, they would also construct the pavement in front of these buildings and the sewage of the street. If the other party constructed a building that would benefit from the sewage system, it would pay half of the cost to the one who was in charge of the infrastructure. As a last point, the Imperial Ottoman Bank committed itself to widening the street until Yeşil Street if a house was to be built on either side.[229] A few months later, on October 3, 1900, a plan drawn on the request of the municipality, dated September 8, 1900, and signed by each party set the details of the opening of the street. It was decided that the shops on the plots requested for the opening of the street would be demolished at the expense of their owners and left vacant for the street. The opening of the dead end to Yeşil Street had to include the expropriation of the plot belonging to Bedros Azarian, next to the buildings of the Armenian Patriarchate built by Andon Tülbendjian and inaugurated in 1866.[230] Bedros Azarian agreed to give the requested

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[226] Yerasimos describes the *finâ*, which corresponded to an area shared by its inhabitants where the right of ownership diminished as one got closer to the neighbor's property. Yerasimos, "À propos des réformes urbaines…", p. 314.
[227] OBA, XKZB001 00007 00003, Contract between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and Deveaux in May 12, 1900.
[228] OBA, CDPV009, "Procès verbaux des scéances du comité, 1900-1901", Minutes of July 4, 1900, p. 49.
[229] *Ibid.*
[230] Hovhannes J. Tcholakian, Mgr, *L'Eglise arménienne catholique en Turquie*, (İstanbul: Ohan Matbaacılık, 1998), pp. 293, 298.

plot free of charge, under the condition that the municipality would not charge him the *şerefiye* tax which was required when a building was upgraded by its location on a newly opened street. The canalization and pavement remained to be the responsibilities of the owners of the new buildings.

In 1901, Emile Deveaux's heirs, his son Raoul[231] and his daughter Marguerite, married to the Marquis de Saint-Seine in 1897,[232] both living in Paris, appointed as their legal representative the Belgian lawyer Gustave Coûteaux, settled in Istanbul, to deliver, free of charge, their property in the quarter of Hüseyin Paşa for the opening of a street from the Grande Rue de Péra to Yeşil Street, where the Armeno-Catholic Patriarchate church was located.[233] The three properties, one of them numbered 138 and 138A on the Grande rue de Péra, consisted respectively of a barber shop with its *gedik*, which was estimated at 1,045 liras and its annual *mü'eccele* at 104.5 piastres, and of the horse stables as mentioned in the new title deed, and were delivered to the heirs on March 18, 1893, following Deveaux's death in 1892.[234] The plot 138A was measured as 423 square *zirâ'*. The second plot was half of a *vakıf* land aligned along the buildings which measured 145.5 square *zirâ'*. The overall property amounting to 865 *zirâ'*s or 487 meters[235] was estimated at 1,890 liras and the shop at 350.[236] Their annual rents were respectively set to 189 and 1.3 piasters. The other half, again along the side of the houses number 145 and 150 on

[231] Raoul Deveaux died in 1907. See his file at the OBA, XKSE005 04412, "Successions étrangères. Raoul Deveaux".
[232] Marguerite Deveaux born on November 4, 1873 in Istanbul, and married Etienne Le Gouz de Saint-Seine (1865-1935) on November 17, 1897. Marguerite Deveaux - Arbre généalogique Françoise de Galembert-GeneaNet. Available [online] http://gw2.geneanet.org/index.php3?b=leyssac&lang=en;pz=victor;nz=lucas+de+leyssac;ocz=0;p=marguerite;n=deveaux [August 28, 2008]
[233] OBA, XKZB001 00007 00002E008, Procuration signed in Paris in January 7, 1901.
[234] OBA, XKSE001 00208, *op. cit.*
[235] 1 *zirâ'* carré equaled 0,574564 m^2. Raymond, *Notes pratiques…,* p. 18.
[236] OBA, XKZB001 00007 00004, Title deeds of the properties belonging to Deveaux and transferred to his heirs, 29 Şaban 1310 – 6 Mart 1309 (March 18, 1893).

the Grande rue de Péra and which corresponded to the Cercle d'Orient was registered in the name of Gaston Auboyneau at that time. All plots were left in accordance with the Sixth District Municipality for the opening of the new street from the Grande rue de Péra to Yeşil Street. A map drawn a few months later on October 3, 1900, signed by all the parties involved, and sent to the Engineering Department of the Municipality confirmed the agreement and showed the borderlines and extension of the street.[237] Similarly, Gaston Auboyneau, arguing that the plots were abandoned free of charge and the opening of a new street was for the public benefit, requested in 1902 to be exempted of the sales tax.[238] The answer of the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha to the Council of State showed that although the request of authorization to open a street belonged to Auboyneau, the argument was accepted, and both the Land Registry and the Municipality were accordingly informed through the Ministry of the Interior.[239]

By the end of 1903, the opening of a new street named Deveaux, after the plots donated by the family, was completed.[240] Although investing in property on a dead-end street off the Grande rue de Péra was profitable both for Deveaux and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the new street connecting the avenue to Tarlabaşı was also opened to public use through a private initiative conforming to traditional practices as well as to the regulation of the *Tanzîmât*.

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[237] OBA, XKZB001 00008 00006, dd. 20 Eylül 1316 (October 3, 1900). See Appendix DD.
[238] BOA, İ.HUS 96, "Beyoğlu'nda çıkmaz sokağın genişletilmesi ve alt tarafda bulunan Yeşil sokağa çıkar hâle getirmek üzere ruhsat 'itâsının Bank-ı 'Osmânî müdürü ile sâ'ire tarafından taleb olunduğu", 1320.S.15 (May 24, 1902).
[239] OBA, XKZB001 00007 00001, Answer of the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha to the Council of State, 21 Safer 1321/6 Mayıs 1319 (May 19, 1903).
[240] *Annuaire oriental 1904*, p. 1052.

Investments of Prestige: The Imperial Ottoman Bank

When 'upgraded' in 1863, the Imperial Ottoman Bank was established in the premises of Saint-Pierre Han in Galata, which were used until 1893[241] and its assets did not include any property from the former Ottoman Bank founded in 1856. This prestigious bank started to function in June 1863 in rented offices but Article 17 of the act of concession of February 4, 1863[242] explicitly mentioned that the state would provide the bank with land which would be used for the erection of a suitable building necessary for its operations, under the condition of taking them back at the end of the bank's concession, recompensing the Bank with the expenses related to the erection of the building. Soon after, on April 1, 1868, in a letter written to the Minister of Finance Rüşdü Pasha, Deveaux and Gilbertson, then directors of the bank, asked for a property grant, mentioning the poor condition of Saint-Pierre Han which was considered as a provisional office only.[243]

Although the period prior to the construction of the new head office is not documented in the bank's archives, two documents found in the Ottoman State Archives reveal that in July 1863, the government had proposed to the bank the building of the municipality or the *hân* owned by the Sixth District Municipality.[244] The *hân* mentioned was probably the Commission Han, built upon the opening of Karaköy Square in 1858. Following the bank directors' request for a piece of land to erect a new building in their letter of 1868 mentioned above, the Grand Vizier was

[241] See SPA, SPC030-07-02 "Réponse du père Marengo au president du Sixième Cercle au sujet des droits immobiliers et celles du balayages", October 10, 1896.
[242] Edhem Eldem, *A History of the Ottoman Bank*, (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank, 1999), p. 466.
[243] BOA, İ.MMS 35-1460, "Şehremaneti binasının Bank-ı 'Osmânî'ye tahsisi", 1285.M.03 (April 26, 1868).
[244] BOA, A.MKT.MHM 268-28, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî için bina temîn edilmesi", 1280.M.18 (July 5, 1863).

asked to grant permission to assign the municipality building, which would be emptied, for this purpose.[245] The archives remain silent on the background of the story but the construction of the new building that would eventually be built in 1890-1892 is well documented thanks to the plans and documents found in the Ottoman Bank Archives kept at the Guildhall Library.[246] The building proposed in 1868 had probably not been satisfactory for the bank's management, which wished to be located at the heart of the financial district.[247] The decision was thus taken to invest in a proper plot when, in 1889, the Tobacco Regie, which was then established in the newly built Ticaret Han,[248] purchased the land and the large commercial building located on Voyvoda Street, known as Glavany Han,[249] after the name of its owner Ana Glavany. In 1881, Anna Desterling, the daughter of Yerolimi and the wife of David Galvany, who owned the property as an Ottoman subject, had asked for the correction of her nationality to French in the registers, following the proclamation of the property law for foreigners. She died three years later in 1884 and the building

[245] BOA, İ.MMS 35-1460, *op. cit.* Though it is not clear if the building proposed was that of the Sixth District Municipality, it should be noticed that the Municipality was in a *konak* in Yemenici Street before it was transferred to its new headquarter on Şişhane square. Ergin, *Mecelle…,* vol. 3, p. 1332.
[246] The plans are displayed now in the Ottoman Bank Museum, while the documents are kept in the Ottoman Bank Archives. See LA 24032, "Plans and elevation of the Imperial Ottoman Bank's offices in Constantinople drawn by Alexandre Vallauri, with related original in-letters, February 1890". For the story of the building see Edhem Eldem, *A 135-Year-Old Treasure, Glimpses From the Past in the Ottoman Bank Archives*, (Istanbul: Otoman Bank, 1998), p.123-125.
[247] Nora Şeni notes that by 1865 all of the newly created modern banks were established inside a small perimeter circumscribed by Felek and Kürekçiler Streets. For the list of the banks see "The Camondos and their Imprint on 19th-Century Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 26, no. 4, Novembre 1994, p. 671. Edhem Eldem also mentions the "excellence" of the location. Underlining the importance of newly enlarged avenue enabling the circulation of the tramways, the main communication route between Stamboul and Pera, he continues saying that the projected stock exchange building opposite the newly purchased plot of land mentioned in the letter of the general manager sent to the Committee of Paris in February 7, 1890, although never realized, clearly showed the attraction exerted on financial institutions. Eldem, *Voyvoda Street…*, pp. 28-29.
[248] Ticaret Han, built in 1881 according to the inscription above the entrance door, was on Perşembe Pazarı Street, the main commercial axis of traditional Galata which turned out to be increasingly populated by the French. See for instance a petition from the French ambassador asking for the registration of *vakıf* property in his name. These houses were located in the Bereketzade district and Perşembe Pazarı, until then registered to the name of Muslim people and dedicated to the poor of French nationality. BOA, İ.HR 198-11233, "Galata Perşembepazarı'ndaki vakıf menzilin senedlerinin Fransa Sefareti'ne kaydı", 1279.B.11 (January 2, 1863).
[249] Eldem, *A 135-Year-Old….*, p. 123. Also, OBA, XKZB001-00004, doc. 8.

passed on to her children who appointed Antoine Berzolise, a merchant who had his offices in Glavany Han, Galata,[250] and lived in Glavany Street, Pera, as their representative. Berzolise sold the property to Catherine and Sofia Corpi for 7,000 liras, and they, in turn, sold the building five years later to the Tobacco Regie for 15,000 liras.[251]

Edgar Vincent, then general manager of the bank, who considered the price to be extremely advantageous, calculated that the bank would pay 7,700 liras for half of the plot and between 2,500 and 3,000 liras for the annexes[252] whereas the building expenses were estimated to be around 15,000 liras. Adding to this another 5,000 liras for unforeseen expenses, the total cost of the new premises of the bank was calculated at some 30,000 liras. Though it was not clear why the bank invested in land which was categorized as *vakıf*, the building seems to have been a good investment if one considers that the estimation made by the bank's architect, Alexandre Vallauri, had reached 61,300 liras in five years.[253] The land was registered in the name of the Tobacco Regie and remained so, since the transfer tax of 3‰ was deemed too high;[254] a note in the register of the bank's buildings notes that it was exempt of all taxes. Based on Article 18 of its act of concession which

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[250] *L'Indicateur ottoman*, *1881*, p. 155.
[251] See for the detailed story OBA, XKZB001-00004, *op. cit.*, Eldem, *A 135-Year-Old…..,* pp. 123-124. Also BOA, HR.TO 559-72, "Emlak satışı ve saire için Mösyö Etyen Glavani tarafından Mösyö Antuan Berlzolz'a verilen vekâletnâme", January 24, 1884.
[252] Three plots were added; one was a house belonging to Selim Melhame Efendi, Director General of the Granted Revenues whereas one belonged to an imam and the other to a Maltese. OBA, LA 24032, *op. cit.* and Eldem, *A 135-Year-Old…..,* p. 125. The same document reveals that the latter two buildings were occupied by prostitutes and their evacuation would be claimed in order to decrease the price. A document found in the Ottoman State Archives shows that this order was immediately transferred to the Municipality. BOA, DH.MKT 1698-78, "Galata'da Voyvoda Caddesi'nde vâki' Glavani Hânı Bank-ı 'Osmânî ile Reji İdâresi tarafından müştereken satın alınacağından hân bitişiğinde ikāmet edenlerin tahliyesi", 1307.C.22 (February 2, 1890).
[253] OBA, IMRE002, BIO Immeubles, 1897-1907. The estimation of the building with its annexes amounted to 67,085 liras in 1898. OBA, XKHY003-00003, "Note sur les immeubles de la banque et sur les avances sur immeubles", 26 Juin 1896. See particularly, document no. 00006.
[254] OBA, XKHY003-00007, "Immeubles au nom de M. H. Foster & C.W. Mills et au nom de J. Van Haas, 1893", see the letter of the bank's lawyer dated May 5, 1892.

mentioned that "the Bank and its branches shall be entirely exempt from all kinds of taxes and impositions,"[255] the bank's headquarters were exempt from the *mukāta'a,* which had to be paid to the *vakıf,* as well as from other taxes owed to the municipality. Nonetheless, this article does not seem to have been applied to other buildings and property registered in the bank's name. Annexes of the headquarters in Baykuş and Ayazma streets,[256] the land of which belonged to the Emetullah or Cedid Valide *vakıf,* benefited from no tax exemption.

According to the statutes of the bank as well as the 1875 agreement with the government, branches would be opened in the provinces of the Empire; the cities of Izmir, Trabzon, Beirut and Salonica were explicitly mentioned but a second branch in Istanbul was not considered at that time. Several years later, in 1886, when the bank was to a large extent relieved of its duties as treasurer to the Public Debt Administration and decided to explore the commercial market, the need to open a branch on the other side of the bridge became imperative. The branch should have started its activities in one of the rented *hân* offices as was the case in Galata or any other city of the Empire. Once the market was considered to be flourishing enough, the bank then decided to invest in property. Thus while the Stamboul branch would have the privilege of owning its premises, the Pera branch, opened in 1891, would rent its offices first in the Cité de Péra, at the corner of Theater Street[257] and then under the British School on the Grand rue de Péra.[258] But the fact that another

[255] Eldem, *A History…*, p. 466.
[256] See the list of properties of the bank.
[257] Huber, 49 / I-H.
[258] In an album of the bank's branches dated 1930, the branch was still there. See OBA, IMHAL002, "Banque Ottomanes. Photographies des immeubles occupés par les agences de Turquie et de Grèce, 1930". It is around 1950, when the bank took over the building named İkizler, formerly owned by Siniossoglou, and located on Saka Street that it transferred its Pera branch to a property owned by the bank located the other side of the Istiklal Caddesi. See both locations on the plan by Suat Nirven, *Beyoğlu: Meşrutiyet ve İstiklal Caddesi arası*, 1/500, October 1950 and in that of Charles Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople, v. 2, Pera-Galata*, no: 37, 1905.

branch in Istanbul was not mentioned in the statutes caused problems when trying to transfer the property in the bank's name.[259]

Located on Yeni Cami Street in Eminönü, the premises of the Stamboul branch were also built by the architect of the bank, Alexandre Vallauri,[260] on a plot of land which stood two houses to the side of Şeyh Mehmed Geylanî's burial place and four shops to the side of the Yeni Cami courtyard.[261] The land was purchased in 1894,[262] and although the exact date of construction is unknown, it was most probably built in 1895, since neither the building nor the plots appear in the list of the bank's properties established in June 1894,[263] but are mentioned in another inventory prepared two years later in June 1896.[264] As with the head offices, this building, too, was soon found to be insufficient during the prosperous and booming business years, and an annex was built in 1906 by the architect Baruh[265] on the Yeni Cami side of the branch. The plots on Kırbacı Street between the Yeni Cami courtyard and the premises, had a surface of 350 to 400 *zirâ'*s (201 to 230 m^2) [266] and their price was estimated at 10,000 liras.[267] They were bought and registered in 1905 in the name of Jules Deffès, general manager from 1904 to 1910. The value of the building was estimated at approximately 19,000 liras by Vallauri in 1898 before the addition of the

[259] BOA, Y.A.RES 88-86, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî uhdesinde bulunan emlâk hakkında yapılacak mu'âmeleye dâ'ir", 1315.R.17 (September 15, 1897), doc. 2.
[260] Mustafa Servet Akpolat, "Fransız Kökenli Levanten Mimar, Alexandre Vallaury", (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, September 1991), pp. 113-114.
[261] See Appendix EE
[262] Mentioned in BOA, Y.A.RES 88-86, *op. cit.*
[263] OBA, XKHY003 00007, *op. cit.*, doc. 2E003-005.
[264] OBA, XKHY003 00003, *op. cit.*, doc. 5.
[265] OBA, CDPV012, "Procès verbaux des séances du comité, 1904-1905", Minutes of May 10, 1905, p. 513.
[266] 1 square *zirâ'*equalled 0,574564 m^2. Raymond, *Notes pratiques…,* p. 18.
[267] OBA, CDPV012, Minutes of November 3, 1904, p. 257.

annex, the construction charges of which amounted to 8,600 liras, all expenses included.[268]

The bank's head office and its Stamboul branch were located at the core of the business and finance districts, whereas the residence of the general manager was built in the northern end of the newly developing residential area of Pera. It was situated on Ayaspaşa Boulevard, formerly known as Ağaç dibi/ Ağaç altı Street.[269] A look at the map drawn by d'Ostoya between 1858 and 1860 shows that this area, right across from the Taksim military barracks, was mostly made of wooden houses.[270] The newly built property, together with its annexes on Ahır and Mezarlık streets, constituted an island of buildings and their gardens.[271] Besides the general manager's residence, it also comprised the deputy general manager's house on Ahır Street, 26.[272] The houses numbered 18 and 20 on the same street, estimated at 1,881 liras, were already sold in 1898 to one of the bank's managers, Georges Cartali who still resided there in 1921.[273] Another mansion, not far from there, on Ayaspaşa Boulevard, which belonged to Alexandre (Aleko) Pangiris Bey,[274] who was manager

[268] OBA, CDPV013, "Procès verbaux des scéances du comité, 1905-1907", Minutes of April 10, 1907, p. 623. The first estimation of the architect Vitalis was 6.000 liras. See OBA, CDPV012, Minutes of November 3, 1904, p. 257.
[269] The street was named Ahır until 1888. The name changed between 1885 and 1888 to Ayazpaşa and though it was mentioned that the street was the old Ağaçdibi, it seems that the way from Taksim or Ağaçaltı to Ayazpaşa was called as such. See *L'Indicateur ottoman, 1881*, p. 182; *1883*, p. 476; *1885*, p. 171, *1888*, p. 185 and *1909*, p. 1349.
[270] Plan d'Ostoya, *Plan Général de Galata, Pera et Pancaltı, 1958-1960* (1:2000).
[271] See the list of the bank's property in Appendix EE and the plan of Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople, v. 2, Pera-Galata*, no: 41 for the location, in Appendix EE.
[272] La Fuente, manager between 1890 and 1896 in Istanbul resided there in 1891. *Annuaire oriental 1891*, p. 631. Later, it was rented to high dignitaries as the Italian Consul Comte Mazza in 1900 or the representative of German bondholders Baron Charles de Testa in 1909. *Annuaire oriental 1900*, p. 912 and *1909,* p. 1341.
[273] OBA, XKHY003-00003, *ibid.,* see document 6E001, "II Categorie. Immeubles à Vendre". *Annuaire oriental 1898*, p. 357 and *Annuaire oriental 1921*, p. 968.
[274] Born in Istanbul in 1859, Alexandre Pangiris was the son of an Albanian family who emigrated in 1811. Beginning his career in 1878 in the Imperial Ottoman Bank, he was later appointed as manager. He was also administrator at the Smyrna-Cassaba and Baghdad railways, president at the Company of Tramways and Electricity of Beyrouth, administrator at the port company of Beyrouth. In 1928, he was delegate-administrator in the Chrissoveloni Bank and administrator of the Osmanlı Milli and

of the bank between 1904 and 1909, although registered in the name of his wife Christine Pangiris, was also included in the list of the Imperial Ottoman Bank's real estate presented to the Grand Vizier in 1907.[275] A report by Esseyid Mehmed Kemaleddin, head engineer of the municipality, described the mansion, located at the corner of Sulak Çeşme Street,[276] as measuring 620 architect's *zirâ'*[277] or 356 m^2, facing Hacı Kadın Street[278] and consisting of five storeys, the first two of masonry and the remaining three of wood. The total area, including the garden sloping down toward Hacı Kadın Street, was calculated as 910 architect's *zirâ'* or 523 m^2, its total value amounting to 10,562.5 liras in 1897.[279]

The two houses numbered 7 and 9 on Tarla Street and the stables and rooms numbered 3 and 5 on the same street and 45 on Mezarlık Street, were used as annexes of the general manager and manager's residences. The remaining plots listed were added to the mansion's wide garden.[280] The translation of an auction license found in the miscellaneous papers of the bank[281] allows us to document how the parcels changed hands. These plots had been the property of a grocer named Lazar, but had been registered in the name of an intermediary, Arab Mehmed Pasha.

Ereğli Societies. Mehmed Zeki, Mahmud Paçacı, *Türkiye Terâcim-i Ahvâl Ansiklopedisi – Encyclopédie Biographique de Turquie*, (Constantinople: L. Babok & Fils, 1928), vol. 1, p. 126.

[275] BOA, Y.A.RES 146-30, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin teferruğ eylediği emlâkın tashîh-i kaydı", 1325.Ra.22 (May 5, 1907). This list entitled "Mübây'a ve rehin suretiyle Bank-ı 'Osmânî idaresinin temellükünde bulunan emlâkın defteridir – Liste des immeubles et hypothèques de la Banque Impériale Ottomane" was presented to the Grand Vizierate on April 7, 1323/1907.

[276] See the insurance plan by Jacques Pervitich, *Ayaz-pacha. Kabatache*, no. 30, (1:1000), September 1926.

[277] Although the architect *zirâ'* was a unity of length which equalled 0,758, in this case, it should have referred to the area of the property. To find its equivalence in square meters, it is therefore multiplied by 0,574564. Alexandre M. Raymond, *Notes pratiques…*, p. 18.

[278] Atilla Yücel, "Japon Elçiliği Binası", *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul…*, vol. 4, 1994, p. 317.

[279] BOA, Y.PRK.ŞH 8-16, "Bank-ı Osmanî müdürü Panciri Bey'in Ayazpaşa'daki evinin keşif ve tahmin raporunu takdim eylediği", 315.Ş.01 (26.12.1897). The property was estimated at 13 liras/architect's *zirâ'* or 22.60 liras/m^2 whereas the land was 2.75 liras/architect's *zirâ'* or 4.79 liras/m^2, assuming that the square architect's *zir'â* equalled 0,574564 metersquares. We can compare it with the price of the plot of the property owned by the Azarians at the other corner of the street which was calculated as 4.87 liras/m^2. See above footnote 40.

[280] OBA, XKHY003-00003, see document 6A001 I Categorie. Immeubles propriétés permanentes de la Banque Impériale Ottomane, 30 Mars 1898.

[281] OBA, IMDIV015 00002, "Banque Impériale Ottomane – Pera", doc. 6.

His seven children inherited the parcel at his death. Four of them were considered adults and among the others who were minors, one died without heirs, and his part became *mahlûl*. The remaining shares of the two minor children were auctioned at 1,000 piastres and transferred to the bank by the Sharia Court of Eyüb, arguing that the children were in need of money, and confirming Lazar's approval. Among the adult children, two were also ready to sell their shares to the bank. The remaining bits of the story are missing but it appears that La Fuente, the French manager of the bank had succeeded to add these plots to the garden of his residence since they were mentioned as Tarla Street 8, 10 and 12 on the list of real estate prepared in 1896.[282] It is also worth noting a letter by La Fuente addressed to Blacque Bey, then president of the municipality, whereby the bank's manager expressed his willingness to donate part of his property to the Municipality for the widening of the street which measured 2.5 *zirâ*'s in width, under the condition that the work start immediately and the street be widened throughout. He also added that this proposition was in conformity with "the cleaning and embellishment" policy of the Municipality.[283] Certainly this widening of the street was to the advantage of the directors but it is also interesting to notice, as in the case of the opening of Deveaux Street, the willingness and the active participation of the bank in the regularization of the urban fabric.

As for the value of the bank's general manager's residence, Vallauri's estimation of the building including its annexes was 31,893 liras. It is noteworthy to mention that the residence seemed to be there since 1883,[284] and that Morgan Hugh Foster, general manager between 1871 and 1889,[285] was the first to use it. The

[282] OBA, XKHY003-00003, *op. cit.*, doc. 6.
[283] OBA, IMDIV015-00002, *op. cit.*, doc. 6E002.
[284] *Indicateur ottoman 1883,* p. 476.
[285] See OBA, PHINP008. The exact dates are noted under his portrait as November 1871 and August 1889. See also for his biography the *Orient illustré*, January 30, 1875.

property had been registered in his name and upon his death and Mrs. Foster's, it was inherited by his children Arthur Foster, Lady Thomas and Lady Lacon, but they eventually had to declare in 1892 that the property did not belong to them.[286] As the time coincided also with the purchase of the head office registered in the name of the Tobacco Regie Company, the London committee asked Barozzi, the bank's lawyer, for advice with respect to the registration of the mansion in the name of Charles H. Mills, an administrator in London. The lawyer's answer was that although non residing foreigners could also own property in the Empire, a proxy should represent him at the Land Registry Office for the legal procedure as well as for taxes and reparations, and that the same person should also have a lawyer to represent him legally. However, the duration of the power of attorney was short and had to be renewed every year, which would cause difficulties in the bank's business, particularly when considering that the bank had sometimes recourse to forced expropriation in order to claim its dues.[287] Nevertheless, as each building was registered, contrary to Barozzi's advice, under different names, the general manager's residence was eventually registered in the name of Charles Mills. The annexes, on the other hand, remained in the name of the bank's local manager, La Fuente. The mansion's value ranked second among the property of the bank and it seems that the London committee wished to have a guarantee against the French.

As discussed in the first chapter, the bank, like other companies, was not allowed to own property in its own name. As a result, real estate was registered in the name of the bank's administrators. Although they did not concentrate on a single name and, as seen above, property was distributed among local administrators as

[286] OBA, XKHY003-00007, "Immeubles au nom de MM. M. H. Foster & C. W. Mills et au nom de M. J. von Haas, 1893", doc. 4 and 6.
[287] OBA, XKHY003-00007, "Immeubles au nom de MM. M. H. Foster & C. W. Mills et au nom de M. J. von Haas, 1893", doc. 00003, Letter of Barozzi dated April 7, 1892.

well as members of the London and Paris committees, most of the registration of the bank's property was made in the name of La Fuente, the French manager of the bank from 1890 to 1896. When he left the country, the bank applied in 1897 to the Grand Vizier in order to transfer his property to the bank's name, reminding him that as a bank established for the financial support of the state, it should be granted the privilege of avoiding the legal difficulties concerning property registered in the name of administrators who returned to their home countries, resigned, or died.[288] However, the bank's case was different from that of the Tobacco Regie or of other companies,[289] and it was not easily solved, since besides the properties mentioned above and used for the bank's premises and own use, there were also mortgaged properties that had entered in the bank's possession against unpaid debts. But the problem lay in the fact that such transactions were not explicitly mentioned in the statutes of the bank and that the State would not permit it to continue to make such advances backed by property.[290] As the bank promised that this property would be sold as soon as possible, this category of real estate would have to remain registered in the name of the managers. The bank's case was discussed at length at the State Council,[291] the Ministry of Finance [292] and the Special Council,[293] while the petition about the transfer of properties was formulated by the Grand Vizier Rıfat Pasha.[294] The Ministry of Finance gave the list of all properties registered in the name of La Fuente, of those belonging to the bank and of those held as counterpart for advances

[288] BOA, Y.A.HUS 376-134, "Osmanlı Bankası mu'âmelâtında bankanın tasarrufuna geçen emlâk ile bankanın menfa'âtine olarak Laffointe nâmına mukayyed emlâk ve terhînâtın Frank Obuano uhdesine nakli husûsunda alınacak harç ve resimler", 1315.R.25 (September 23, 1897). Also Y.A.RES 88-86, *op. cit*.
[289] BOA, Y.A.RES 88-86, doc. 2.
[290] *Ibid.*
[291] *Ibid.*, doc. 4, 20 Rebiyü'l evvel 1315 / 7 Ağustos 1313 (August 19, 1897)
[292] *Ibid.*, doc. 2, 23 Rebiyü'l evvel 1315 / 12 Ağustos 1313 (August 22, 1897)
[293] *Ibid.*, doc. 3, 17 Rebiyü'l ahir 1315 / 3 Eylül 1313 (September 15, 1897)
[294] *Ibid.*, doc. 1, 17 Rebiyü'l ahir 1315 / 3 Eylül 1313 (September 15, 1897)

backed by real estate.[295] The list of property which would be registered in the bank's name was limited to:

- The headquarters on Voyvoda Street and next to it, its annex, and the stables on Baykuş Street in Galata
- The Stamboul branch in the Çelebioğlu Ala'addin and Şeyh Mehmed Geylani districts, and on Kırmacı Street and next to the mosque courtyard, numbered 7, 8, 10 and 12 in Bağçekapı, Eminönü
- The Edirne branch in Çilingirler district
- The Salonica branch on 84, Bank Street, in the New district.[296]

Twenty days later, the new Grand Vizier Said Pasha, summarizing the case to the Sultan, asked specifically for a decree on the issue of an advance of 5,000 liras for the payment of state officials' salaries, which corresponded to the transfer fee of property, specifying that the bank management would like to advance this amount to finalize the transfer of real estate from La Fuente to Frank Auboyneau,[297] a member of the Paris Committee between 1900 and 1903.[298] The Sultan did not ratify it and in February 1898, Said Pasha wrote again to the Sultan about the transfer of property. This time the amount was not mentioned at all, but the issue of taxes was underlined. Stating that the transfer tax was once paid upon registration under the name of La Fuente and that repaying it would be unfair; it was proposed to transfer them exceptionally without any fee under the condition of charging them at the sale or

[295] *Ibid.*, doc. 8, undated.
[296] *Ibid.*, doc. 7, undated.
[297] Frank Auboyneau entered the services of the bank at 27 years old in June 1863 and worked at the Imperial Ottoman Bank until his sudden death in 1903. See OBA, PP 116-20 and in *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, "The late F. Auboyneau", vol. 23, no: 5, February 2, 1903, p. 52.
[298] BOA, Y.A.HUS 376-134, *op. cit.*

return of property. Said Pasha added that although the decision was taken, it was not confirmed by the Sultan and this fact caused inconveniences for the bank.[299] In July 1898, these two requests for the registration of the bank's property in its name as *mukāta'a* and for the transfer of part of it under the name of Auboyneau free of taxes were repeated in a petition to the State Council headed by Halil Rıfat Pasha.[300] Another document which revealed a decision of November 24, 1898 stressed the fact that from thereon new property would absolutely not be registered in the name of the directors.[301] The decision was again denied ratification by the Sultan and the bank decided to renounce its request which had been pending for two years and to register its property in the name of Frank Auboyneau, paying all charges.[302] The sudden death of this administrator in 1903 brought up again the question of property registration. In 1905, a new condition was put forward for property obtained through mortgage operations. If the debt was not paid back and the property was definitively taken over by the bank, when sold, the state would have a right to pre-emption.[303] But in fact, the decree of the Sultan came out when the State seemed to be interested in property in Beirut belonging to the Beirut Quays Ottoman Company transferred to Gaston Auboyneau; as a result, the Sultan this time ratified Ferid Pasha's petition on November 24, 1906.[304] Thus the properties which would be registered in the name of the bank as well as those registered under the name of persons would be

[299] BOA, Y.A.HUS 382-44, "Osmanlı Bankası tarafından iştirâ' olunup, başkası nâmına mukayyed bulunan emlâk hakkında", 1315.L.05 (February 27, 1898).
[300] BOA, Y.A.RES 94-5, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin uhdesinde bulunan emlâk hakkında", 1316.Ra.05 (July 24, 1898).
[301] BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 58-4, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin emlâk üzerine yaptığı borç verme dolayısıyla imtiyâz selâhiyetinin sınırlandırılması", 1316.R.10 (November 24, 1898).
[302] OBA, CDPV007, "Procès verbaux des scéances du comité, 1898-99", Minutes of January 16, 1899, p. 275.
[303] BOA, Y.A.RES 131-37, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin emlâk-ı resmiyesi ile vefâen rehin edilmiş olan emlâk", 1323.R.24 (June 28, 1905).
[304] BOA, İ.DFE 18, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin emlâk ve 'arâzisinin harçsız olarak Mösyö Obuano üstüne kayd edilip tapusunun kendisine verilmesi talebi", 1324.Ş.07 (November 24, 1906).

transferred without charges and orders to that affect were sent to the Land Registry for the necessary formalities.[305]

The case of the buildings' registration seems to have been solved at that point, but although the mortgage law was passed in 1913, the bank's mortgage rights had to await the renewal of its concession and were granted only in 1933.[306] Article 2 which described all operations of the bank included also the right

> to accept all sureties, mortgages or other guarantee designed to ensure the execution of any obligations and engagements whatsoever contracted with the bank; and generally to undertake all commercial, industrial and financial operations and those connected with real estate or other property, which may be proper to the operations of a Banking institution…

However the bank faced difficulties in the registration of mortgaged property and it took several months for it to be declared that the statutes of the bank had changed and that it could from then on mortgage property.[307]

An Evaluation of Strategies, Trajectories and Beyond

After the analysis of the above cases, though each case is different in certain respects, it could easily be said that the investments were mostly business oriented and that the expectation of economic returns was the main incentive behind these operations. Thus the Camondos, Lorandos, Deveaux, the Helbigs and Zographos, all had close ties with the municipality, and thus benefitted from new opportunities in urban space: more specifically, the newly filled plots after the demolition of the walls

[305] BOA, Y.A.RES 146-30, "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin teferruğ eylediği emlâkın tashîh-i kaydı", 1325.Ra.22 (May 5, 1907).
[306] The convention was ratified on June 5, 1933 by the law 2292. OBA, IMDIV028, "Nouvelle Convention. Constitution d'hypothèques au nom de la B.O. December 19, 1933 – July 6, 1934", doc. 1. Eldem, *A History…,* pp. 486-487.
[307] OBA, IMDIV028, *ibid.*

in Galata, the post-fire reorganization of the urban space between Galatasaray and Taksim, and the restructuring of Tepebaşı. The fact that the property invested in was mostly *vakıf* and that they did not have the absolute right of ownership does not seem to have affected their investment behavior. On the other hand, new lands filled and sold by the municipality gained the status of *mülk*. One of the earliest investors, the Camondos, followed the urban development and invested in several properties in Galata. After the fire, however, although they were installed in Paris, they continued their investment in Pera. Even Deveaux, a foreigner who came to the city to work at the Imperial Ottoman Bank, seized the opportunity to invest in Pera. The Lorandos, who were installed in Istanbul since the eighteenth century, preferred to concentrate their investments in Galata, and constructed several buildings on the newly built Iskender Street. Zographos, who had a limited stay in the city, but made his fortune in Istanbul, did not miss the opportunity of building after the Pera fire. A state dignitary who had a flair for business, Ragıb Pasha, also did not miss the opportunity to invest in Pera during his good times. Mehmed Abud, on the other hand, although he invested as late as 1905 in Pera, still found opportunities to build an important building just as was the case for the African passage belonging to Ragıb Pasha built after 1909. Since most of these buildings were erected for economic return, it could be argued that prestige remained most often secondary. Some cases, like the buildings of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Zographos' Cité de Péra, the Azarian's *art nouveau* apartment buildings, the famous Helbig apartment building on Yazıcı Street, or the Camondo's apartment building on the Grande rue de Péra, could be considered to be investments of prestige. Rather than the narrow streets of Galata and Stamboul, Pera and Taksim were better suited to display wealth and status.

To say a few words about trajectories, in most of the cases above the investments were in Galata and Pera. Stamboul remained a place of contact with the wholesale market and manufacturing. Thus the Imperial Ottoman Bank opened a branch and built its own property to serve its customers working in Stamboul. Similarly, Orosdi-Back established their department store in Bağçekapı not far from the bridge and in accordance with its wholesale and manufacturing activities beside its retail sales. It is not suprising that in our cases the investments in Stamboul were located on the axis extending from the Grand Bazaar to the bridge. The Camondo and Hazzopoulo *hân*s on Mahmud Pasha Street, Barnathan in Marpuççular or the two properties of Abud Effendi were constructed on the streets descending from the Covered Bazaar, one just behind the Egyptian Bazaar through which it led to the bridge. The case of Mehmed Abud was interesting to cite, since it showed us the trajectory of businessmen at the end of the nineteenth century. First installed in the Grand Bazaar, the Abud brothers moved to Marpuççular, constructing their *hân*s where they established their offices and although they did not cross the bridge for their wholesale affairs, they invested first in Galata for a *hân* and than in Pera for a prestigious apartment building just as other Muslim entreprenors like Zeki Pasha, the field marshall of the artillery, or Süreyya Pasha, the mayor of Kadıköy.[308]

However, these investments did not grow with the coming generations. Business and financial fluctuations affected their investment decisions. Some of them left the country for better opportunities, such as the Camondos; for others the financial situation worsened due to economic crisis or to unpaid debts, as was the

[308] See Goad, no. 40, pl. 878 and no. 37, pl. 843 for Zeki Pasha and no. 37, pl. 847 for Süreyya Pasha. Enlil says that "a close examination of the Goad Maps of 1905 as well as the *Annuaire oriental* of 1914, reveals Muslim names who were the proprietors of about one eight of the apartment buildings in Pera." Zeynep S. Enlil, "Continuity and Change in Istanbul Neighbourhoods: From Traditional House to Apartment House", (PhD. Diss., University of Washington, 1994), p. 157.

case with Helbig or the Lorandos; for foreigners such as Deveaux, their stay in the city and consequently their investments remained limited. Among all cases, only the Camondos, by founding a society to manage their property, institutionalized their investments and managed them for a longer period. Even the attempts at founding a syndical chamber of property owners in 1913 did not open the way of institutionalization.[309] The case of institutions was different and their investments continued to survive as long as they remained in the market, usually far longer than families. In some cases, for example in that of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the mansion of the general directors which was no longer used in the 1950s, was transferred first to the Club of Constantinople,[310] and then in the 1970s to a hotel investment[311] from which the bank decided to withdraw in the beginning of the 1980s after a prolonged strike and the tragic murder of one of its directors. Thus, on the eve of World War I, in almost all the cases above, including Ragıb and Abud Mehmed Pashas, these private investors disappeared from the urban scene, leaving behind their property which would be transferred to third parties.

[309] The founders were Gustave Couteaux, Albert Helbig, Simon Kaiserlian, Aram Köçeoğlu, Leon Piperno and Aldolphe Rosenthal and the aim of the chamber which had its Head Office in Istanbul was to protect owners of real estate from the abuses of the law and regulations on properties, more specifically from the taxes on buildings. *La Gazette financière*, 1913, no. 202, p. 514 and no. 203, p. 530.

[310] First opened in the Tubini mansion located on Kabristan Street, was a social club open to men in commercial, professional, diplomatic, military, and naval circles where they could eat, read, write, play table games and tennis. Clarence Richard Johnson, *Constantinople today or the pathfinder survey of Constantinople: A Study in Oriental Social Life*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 163. Available [online], http://www.archive.org/stream/constantinopleto1922john/constantinopleto1922john_djvu.txt [November 28, 2008].

[311] Atilla Yücel, Hülya Hatipoğlu, "Taksim Square", *Becoming Istanbul, An Encyclopedia*, (Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2008), p. 318. [311-321]

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

ELITES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE OF ISTANBUL

A caricature of the time portrays Haussmann sitting on cushions of projects, holding a compass and an angle-iron, and projecting his shadow on Istanbul. A plan of Paris is hung on the wall behind him.[1] Here Haussmann was represented as the man who regularized the plan of Istanbul. In fact, Haussmann did come once to Istanbul in 1873, but his visit was motivated only by the foundation of a company under the name of Société des Finances et des Travaux Publics de l'Empire Ottoman (Company for Finance and Public Works of the Ottoman Empire), when applying for a railway concession in Anatolia. He had as partners the British financier Merton and the Fould Company.[2] This project, however, eventually failed due to the financial crisis of the following years.[3] Although Haussmann's relation to Istanbul seems to have been limited to this project, the masterpiece of modern urbanism he had created in Paris had

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[1] See Appendix FF. The caricature which was part of the Pierre Pinon collection is reproduced in Pinon's *Atlas du Paris haussmanien…*, p. 188.

[2] The banking house founded by Berr Léon Fould, as B.L. Fould & Fould-Oppenheim in 1813, of which Achille Fould (November 17, 1800–October 5, 1867), the finance minister of Napoléon III was a member. Adolphe Fould was among the founders of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Rondo E. Cameron, "Crédit Mobilier and the Economic Development of Europe", *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 61, no. 6, (December 1953), p. 464, 481. On Achille Fould see wikipédia available [online] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Achille_Fould. Also Obtiuary. Senator Achille Fould", *The New York Times*, October 8, 1967. Available [online] http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9501E3DC133BE63BBC4053DFB667838C679FDE [December 14, 2008]. This company which later changed its name as Fould Company was liquidated in 1875-1876. *Catalogue du Centre des Archives du Monde de Travail, Banque Fould et banque Heine 115 AQ*, Available [online] http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/camt/fr/inventairesaq/115aq-2.html [December 14, 2008]. See also Isabelle Guérin-Brot*, Etat sommaire des archives d'entreprises conservées aux Archives nationales (série AQ),* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1977), v. 2. [65 AQ à 119 AQ], pp. 292-293.

[3] Pinon, *Atlas du Paris haussmanien…*, p. 188.

influenced the urban transformation of Istanbul, just like that of a number of other cities in Europe[4] or in the Middle East.[5]. There is no need here to mention again this influence, which has been discussed in a variety of sources, from Osman Nuri Ergin to Zeynep Çelik. For our purpose, it seems more important to underline one of the facts which were revealed in Pinon's study of Paris after Haussman. According to him, the "haussmannization" of the French capital was a collective work in which notables, advisors, ministers and technicians had taken part and which was realized through the active involvement of pressure groups composed of property owners, notables, merchants and the academia…[6] Paris was thus adapted to the capitalist economy and to its speculation through the active participation of the forerunners of the new social, economic, and political order. In similar fashion, this study tries to avoid seeing the transformation of nineteenth-century Istanbul as a "top down" process of modernization, and to look into the dynamics of a society which was more than ever receptive to capitalism. To what extent Istanbul's urban fabric may have also been the product of the transformative forces of such a system and of its capitalist elite as precursors of the modernization process is the main question of our dissertation.

First, it should be stated that not being able to find adequate information on the urban tissue anterior to the 1850s, the analysis had to be based on the urban fabric already formed by 1868. The earliest visual source giving us some detail of

[4] In France, Grenoble, Lille or Rennes; all over Europe, Milan, Turin, Bologna, Bari, as well as Brussels, Bucarest, are cities where Haussmann's influence is felt the most strongly. *Ibid.,* pp. 187-189.
[5] Cairo is the most striking example. Janet Abu Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 years of the City Victorious*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). See also Mercedes Volait, "Making Cairo Modern (1870–1950): Multiple Models for a 'European-style' Urbanism", *Urbanism : imported or exported?* ed. by Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, (Chichester, England ; Hoboken, NJ : Wiley-Academy, 2003), pp. 17-50.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

the urban tissue in some areas of the city is d'Ostoya's map, drawn during the cadastral work of the Sixth District Municipality in 1858-1860. The scattered information anterior to this date does not allow us to attempt any systematic and detailed analysis of the tissue at an earlier date. Stéphane Yerasimos' research on the analysis of districts through court registers was an important and promising step towards understanding the urban fabric of Istanbul prior to 1850, which his untimely death left pending. Until such a study of the earlier periods is finally completed, this period is bound to remain as uncharted territory. The starting point of our present analysis corresponded therefore to the publication of the earliest trade directory of Istanbul dated 1868; its aim was thus to look into the transformation of urban space from the 1860s to 1914 with a focus on three separate variables: property ownership, the modernization of the urban fabric, and the investors in real estate.

As discussed in Chapter Two, *vakıf* property, which constituted the main category of property in Istanbul, came to be rented on a lifetime basis to individuals and to be inherited by their direct successors well before the nineteenth century. Thus the *bi'l icâreteyn* type of contract, according to which the person acquired the right of use by paying an amount equal to the value of the property and an annual rent of a much smaller and almost symbolic amount, most often neglected as the years passed, became the standard type of contract. Whenever the property turned out to be *mahlûl* (escheated), the building constructed on the land was also transferred to the *Evkāf*. Nonetheless, this was not the only sort of contract available, and several other ways of property ownership were administered by the different agencies of the State which led to a

multilayered and rather chaotic system of property ownership. The *gedik*, a case where a perpetual contract was signed with the owner of the property, illustrates well this chaos that characterized ownership arrangements. Thus the capitalist economy, which put pressure on the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, asked first for regulation and later for the extension of these rights so that property could be integrated into the wider market. The amendments brought to the Land Law on Cadastral Registration (1858), the extension of hereditary rights (1867, 1875, 1883), the abolition of the establishment of *gedik*s (1830/1831, 1861), the extension of property rights to foreigners (1867) were all steps that facilitated the process of commercialization of urban land and property. As Kenanoğlu has claimed,[7] these legal changes could be considered as proof of the State's capacity to adapt to changing conditions. Nevertheless, our study reveals that the State was often reluctant to put property at the mercy of financial markets. The restrictions brought on the ownership of land by companies as revealed in detail in the case of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the fact that the regulation on the mortgaging of *mirî* and *vakıf* property, as well as the fact that the abolition of all *gedik*s in Istanbul was only completed as late as 1913, are indicators of a strong degree of defiance by the State against some of the facilities brought to the commercialization of the property.

The same resistance was also true with respect to the property rights of foreigners. The Ottoman State, which saw in this demand an opportunity to counter the capitulations, was clearly reluctant to grant this right to foreign powers. Eleven years after the promulgation of the *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* of 1856,

[7] Kenanoğlu, "1858 Arazi Kanunnamesinin…, p. 285.

which advocated the extension of property rights to foreigners, in order for their nationals to be able to acquire property, foreign powers had to comply with the full legislation of the Ottoman State on property. Moreover, this right was not granted automatically to all foreign countries but was subject to the signing of a bilateral protocol. An answer to the frustration of European powers came from the French ambassador Bourée, who was the first to ratify the protocol. In one of his letters, he answered the critics in the following words: "There is in these critiques a lack of logic which the inhabitants of the Orient would confirm. They should acknowledge that if the Porte put certain conditions to the property right accorded to foreigners; these conditions are in the nature of things…"[8] On the other hand, in everyday practice, the complaints of foreign powers regarding the implementation of the law and those arising from misunderstandings due to nuances in translation did not succeed in holding back the Ottoman State. Laws on property ownership were very strict. Ottoman subjects who acquired another nationality without prior permission from the Sultan lost their rights on property. This was also true, after the Nationality Law of 1869, for Ottoman women married to foreigners. In 1887, the case of women was somewhat mitigated, and although they still could not enjoy their hereditary rights, they were allowed to acquire the permission to own property if their husbands were the subject of one of the countries which had ratified the protocol.

[8] "Il y a dans ces critiques un manque de logique dont les habitants de l'Orient auront fait justice facilement. Ils reconnaîtront que si la Porte a mis certaines conditions au droit de propriété accordé aux étrangèrs, ces conditions étaient dans la nature des choses,…" Ministère des affaires étrangères, Nantes (MAEN), Fonds: Damas-Consulat, vol. 25, Therapia, August 17, 1868 (preceded by the French text of the imperial decree of 7 Safer 1284 and the protocol with commentary). Quoted from Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Ownership of Real Property by Foreigners in Syria, 1869 to 1873", New *Perspectives on Property and Land*, ed. by Roger Owen, (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, c2000), p. 183.

In everyday practice, however, the absence of updates in the registration of property in the Land Registry, the lack of coordination between the *Evkāf* and the Land Registry until the latter acquired exclusive control in 1876, and the use of a "dummy" or figurehead in registration formalities, made it difficult for the State to really establish control over property and to draw a detailed and accurate register for all of Istanbul. As a consequence, the cadastral plan of Istanbul remained incomplete and so did to a large extent the collection of taxes, an unsolved and insoluble issue for the State whose reforms were aimed at increasing its revenue.

Throughout the dissertation, the power relations over property between State and society are not only viewed from the exclusive perspective of their legal framework, but also through a discussion of everyday practices and negotiations in order to understand how the law influenced the daily life of the inhabitants and, inversely, how it could be countered or circumvented by them under different circumstances. On the other hand, there were also cases, where even though the State held in its hand the power to implement the law, it was sometimes reluctant to do so. The case of the right to property ownership of foreigners before 1867 illustrates well this situation. Although it was known that many foreigners owned property through a figurehead before the law was passed, the State, probably for financial reasons, chose not to intervene against this practice. It was even claimed that the law would help regulate this chaotic situation, and in order to facilitate the transfer of property in the name of its real owner, the State announced that the necessary procedure would be executed free of charge for a full year.[9] To what

[9] Belarbi, "Les mutations…, p. 257.

extent this goal of encouraging registration was successful will not be discussed here; for all practical purposes of our discussion, it seems more important to underline that the Ottoman State was acting as an "insider" who made use of the advantages and of the self-assurance of possessing local knowledge to somehow control the urban space. Therefore the need for, and the implementation of, sophisticated control tools that were used extensively by western powers in their colonies and that rendered the city "readable, like a book" to outsiders became of secondary importance to the Ottoman State authorities. Thus, the Ottoman State was unable to draw the cadastral maps of the whole city which would have traced the boundaries and would have left no ambiguity as to who owns what and where. As a result, the Ottoman State lagged far behind some of the modern states which enjoyed a complete control of property as a tax base and of urban space in general.

As long as the State felt that it had some form of control over it, it did not hesitate to support the transformation of urban space. This dissertation therefore argues that the achievements of the *Islahât-ı Turûk Komisyonu* (Commission for the Improvement of Roads) following the Hocapaşa fire of 1865, or those of Server Pasha, a member of the Commission assigned to the Sixth District Municipality, which equipped these three districts with the necessary infrastructures of the time —though in various degrees, since the transformation of Hocapaşa was totally financed by the state whereas the Sixth District had to acquire its funding from the inhabitants— could be considered as State-driven. The expropriation laws of 1856 and 1876, issued for the "benefit of the public," were applied with the approval of the State Council and the ratification of the

Sultan, in order to render the streets accessible to the free circulation of carriages. However, the success of these achievements depended on the resistance shown or not by the local population. Although in Eminönü, Sirkeci as well as in Karaköy or Galata the resistance could be overcome, the case was not the same for Pera after the 1870 fire, and leaving aside the most ambitious plans, even the widening of the streets was subject to harsh negotiations between municipal authorities and property owners. Even if unevenly implemented, the widening of the streets enabled a free —that is an easier and less costly— circulation of goods and people. The first horse-driven streetcar lines opened in the 1870s and although they did not yet cross the bridge, they reduced distances and opened these three districts to new developments. But all of these infrastructural works, undertaken either by the State agencies or by the municipality, experienced a serious drop with the 1875 financial crisis and the bankruptcy of State finances. Private entrepreneurs, who at that time had acquired most of their rights on property ownership, took over the development of these districts by promoting the construction of commercial and apartment buildings which would house the newly rising service sectors and a growing white-collar population. When the evolution of these investments on property is analyzed it could be argued that the most flourishing years were between 1895 and 1905 for all three areas under study, which could be explained by the combined effect of the end of the financial crisis and of the new regulation of 1891, which increased the height of the buildings and rendered investments more profitable. In the following years, particularly after 1909, the expansion of Pera towards the North well surpassed the transformation of the remaining districts whose expansion had slowed down

due to a saturation of available land. The peculiarities of these "modern" buildings changed from one district to another. The historical background, the topography, the functionality of the district, the availability of space, all shaped the urban fabric and the "modernization" story of these districts.

In this context, the allegedly "traditional" district of Stamboul was also responding to the capitalist demands of the economy. As the Covered Bazaar lost its importance, the wholesale business started moving closer to the bridge, whose location not only gave access to the port and railway facilities which insured a speedier and cheaper handling of the merchandise, but also established a direct link to Galata, which attracted the growing service sector of banks, insurance companies, or shipping agents. Our findings confirmed this transfer of the business center and showed that for the period extending until 1905, Stamboul did not really lag behind Galata. The region was reconstructed after the Hocapaşa fire of 1865, practically during the same years as the Sixth District's first achievements; similarly the streetcar line between Eminönü and Aksaray was opened in 1871, the very same year as that of Karaköy, while the quay construction, which was completed in 1900, a few years later than Galata, was undertaken almost simultaneously on both sides of the Golden Horn. These developments in Stamboul were incontestably supported by the State and it could easily be argued that they were mostly State-driven and not the result of the new market demands. However, the analysis of our data also shows that contrary to the images created, the "traditional" side of the city also adapted to the newly emerging patterns, and that "modern" *hân*s in Stamboul were rising at a comparable rate to the northern shore before 1905. The opening of a branch of

the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Bahçekapı in 1895, which was not intended at the time of the bank's establishment, is yet another good example of a dominant actor of the "modern" economic scene showing the willingness not only of establishing closer contact with the State agencies, but also of catching up with the dynamism observed on the southern shore of the Golden Horn, at least prior to 1905. After that date, constructions did slow down in Stamboul, compared to Galata and Pera. In this sense, the timing of the Ministry of Pious Endowments' major investments, that is, the transformation of unused structures into profit-rising Vakıf *hân*s needs to be questioned from this perspective. Indeed, only two of a projected six *hâns*— the second and the third — could be completed in a relatively short period of two years before the Great War started, while the others could be completed only years later. However, more importantly, these investments by the Ministry of the Pious Endowments, that is, by the biggest institutional landowner of Istanbul, on both sides of the Golden Horn, illustrates well the intermingling of "tradition" and "modernity" and the successful incorporation of a traditional structure into the capitalist economy through the desire to increase the economic return on "modern" property, wherever possible, be it in Stamboul or in Pera.

The modernization of the core of the city, although desired by several parties, was not the affair of a consensus. A number of conflicts of interest had to be resolved and elaborate negotiations took place for expropriations and for the enlargement or opening of streets. Before the financial crisis of 1875, the State or the municipalities kept in their hands the power they derived from their control over urban space to face resistance when the interest of property owners was threatened. This fact would explain why the renovation of Stamboul after the

Hocapaşa was successful, knowing that this was a time when the state was relatively financially powerful enough to undertake such expropriations. On the northern side, however, the resistance against the expropriation of Karaköy Square or against the widening of Voyvoda Street for the passage of a streetcar line was much stronger. In the case of the widening of the streets of Pera after the fire of 1870, the municipality's goals were simply not achieved at all. The reasons behind private resistance to urban renewal varied widely. The owner could think that the expropriation price did not correspond to the actual price of property or to the increasing return that would derive from the widening of the street, as was the case in the opening of Karaköy Square; the owner sometimes simply did not want to pay the *şerefiye* tax taken from property once the street was widened, as was the case during the opening of Deveaux Street, or more simply as was illustrated by the case of Commission Han, whose owners did not want to loose part of their property. As could be illustrated by the case of a subway project proposed between Bahçekapı and Çadırcılar Kapısı in Bayezid, the State itself could sometimes be reluctant to implement projects whose effects could harm property owners and consequently the interests of the Treasury.[10] It should also be mentioned that the reverse could be true. Archival documents and Ergin's *Mecelle* remain silent on the circumstances of the opening of Okçu Musa Street which would eventually enable the connection by streetcar of Karaköy, the center of business, to the prominently residential area of Tepebaşı in Pera. As can be visualized in Appendix I, the traditional tissue composed of wooden constructions and gardens in 1858-60 was thus probably transformed in the late

[10] BOA, MV 27-4, "Bağçekapu'dan Çâdırcılar Kapusu'na kadar bir tünel yapmak için imtiyâz hakkı isteyen Reji memûrlarından Boğos Efendi'ye; yeraltı tünelinin mal sahipleri ve Hazîne'ye zararı olacağından olumsuz cevap verilmesine dâir", 1305.R.3 (December 19, 1887).

1860s and 1870s without any significant opposition into a "modern" neighborhood with a high concentration of apartment blocks.

The modernization of urban space also consisted of a transfer of economic return to new social groups. The sources, however, are silent on the price of the land and of buildings and on their changes through time or in comparison with other locations. As revealed in Chapters Three and Four, all the documentary evidence that is available consists of scattered price information extracted from the analysis of a handful of cases. Price lists of property that might enable a systematic analysis of gains are still nowhere to be found. We do not know how far this fact affected the investments overall, but it could be argued that not only because of the complexity of the legal system but also because of the lack of a certain economic clarity, foreigners, who did not enjoy the benefit of local knowledge, found it much more difficult to invest in Istanbul. Crinson has well illustrated this fact in his study through the construction details of different buildings of the British Empire in Istanbul.[11] Our study also reveals that the investments of a French financier, Emile Deveaux, were followed at the beginning by the local administrators working at the Imperial Ottoman Bank and that later the interests of his heirs were represented by a local lawyer, Gustave Coûteaux.

Although it could not be quantified systematically, such a transformation and expansion could only be realized if such a need was anticipated and found profitable by a *haute bourgeoisie*, or as expressed in this dissertation, by a "capitalist" elite. As explained in Chapter Four, this definition of a group embraces wealthy persons from all parts of the society, "either possessors of

[11] Marc Crinson, *Empire Building: Victorian Architecture and Orientalism*, (New York: Routledge, 1996).

capital, or the receivers of an income derived from such a source, or profit-maker entrepreneurs,"[12] and using the tools made available by the new economic order. The list of such people which we have established on the basis of the size of their property, includes several merchants, bankers and bureaucrats from very different backgrounds. A quantitative study of the ethnic backgrounds of these owners enabled us to have a glance on the distribution of their buildings constructed along the specific axis extending from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Train Station. Such an analysis had to be inevitably based on the inference of their ethnicity from the names of the buildings' owners. The accuracy of these ratios are therefore open to some risk of error. Moreover there is an important number of buildings whose names do not reveal anything concerning the owner's identity, such as Yeni, Yaldız, Adalet or Çorapçılar *hân*s, but the overall results still give us at least some figures on the ethnic distribution and concentration of real-estate investments. In 1905, when the total area of these buildings is considered, Muslims come out as the biggest property owners with no less than 24 percent of the built area. About the half of this property was built in Stamboul, but their dominance was not only restricted to this region. Muslims were also the biggest investors in Galata, whereas in Pera they ranked third, falling slightly behind the Greeks, who followed the Levantines. Overall, individuals of western European origins or Levantines ranked second with 17 percent; as could be expected, the major part of their investments was located in Pera, followed by Galata. Greeks only came third in the "ethnic" distribution of all investments in 1905 with 15 percent, just before the Armenians who closely followed with 14 percent. However, the

[12] Hobsbawn, *The Age of...,* p. 283.

location of their investments differed significantly: in terms of the total area of the buildings, the Greeks had greater investments in Pera than in Galata, whereas for the Armenians, the first two locations were Stamboul and Pera. Jews followed with 12 percent and it is interesting to note that when compared in terms of the total area covered, their major investments were not only in Galata and Pera-Galata but also in Pera, where greater structures helped tip the balance towards this particular location. Stamboul, on the other hand, was not at all neglected and although the structures were larger and the number of buildings fewer, when compared in terms of total area, it ranked close to the Pera-Galata area.

During the period from 1905 to 1914, this picture seems to have been somewhat altered. Although we do not have the maps necessary to locate the buildings and calculate their total area, on the basis of the number of buildings, Greeks appear to have become the dominant ethnic group in urban investment, with a particular emphasis on Pera. Muslims loose their former primacy and step back to a second rank, followed by Levantines in third position.

When considering the investments in property throughout the entire period, it could be argued that the complexity of the multi-layered property ownership system did not seem to hinder the investment decisions of these people who benefited from the economic return of these buildings. Foreigners, such as the Alléons, Havas, Lorandos, Baltazzis and Camondos, all obtained property through a "figurehead" or in the name of their wives who declared that they were of Ottoman nationality well before 1867. As was demonstrated in the case of the Camondos, the close connections of these people with the State enabled the

process of formalizing property already acquired and of obtaining official permission to own property in the Empire as early as 1858.

Forming municipal ties and being part of the decision mechanisms, on the other hand, allowed these people to seize new opportunities in urban space. The investments of Lorando in Yenikapı Street or Tepebaşı, those of Deveaux, Zographos, Camondo and Ragıb Pasha on the Grande rue de Péra after the fire, illustrate how these people were among the first to benefit from the major implementations undertaken on urban space. For the bureaucrats, to whom this sort of affiliation was the natural state of things, the size of the investments depended not only on their fortune but also on the nature of their ties with the capitalist world. Ragıb Pasha, who invested in several buildings in Pera, and who would have been tempted to invest more if he had not been exiled after the change of regime, was also well known for his investments in the business world. The same was also true for Süreyya Pasha, a military officer who eventually entered the world of business.[13]

As stated above, when seen from an economic perspective, investments on both sides of the Golden Horn could well have had an economic return, the streets just behind the Egyptian Bazaar on the road to the Covered Bazaar and the newly regularized Bahçekapı and Sirkeci neighborhoods could also have hosted the buildings of these nineteenth century investors. The comments of the Camondos' secretary Léonce Tedeschi on the significance of the sight of Lüleci or Camondo Han in Marpuççular in 1888 prove that although the point of reference had changed in the nineteenth century from the Covered Bazaar to the bridge, still this

[13] Süreyya İlmen, *Teşebbüslerim ve Reisliklerim*, (İstanbul : Hilmi Kitabevi, 1949). He lived from 1874 to 1955.

district kept its importance for wholesalers, or even for the service and financial sectors, as was illustrated by the Imperial Ottoman Bank, who decided to open a branch in Bahçekapı. The famous wholesaler, manufacturer and department store known as the Établissements Orosdi-Back, which erected its own building in Bahçekapı, and the American Bible House, which established its offices and its printing house in the same area, were other illustrations of this development. Thus, the quantitative analysis of Chapter Three, showing the expansion of the Stamboul area comparable to that of Galata for the period 1895-1905, was also confirmed by much of the factual evidence.

It could also be argued that the choice of the region invested in was a clear consequence of the owners' identities. For people of western European origin or for Levantines who were rooted from the oldest times in Galata and later moved up the hill to Pera, it does not come as a surprise to see that in 1905, 90 percent of their investments, in terms of total area or 95 percent, in terms of numbers, were located in these two areas. However, for other ethnic groups who had lived before in the "traditional" sites of the city, and had moved to the north of the Golden Horn to emulate new life styles, the results differed and investments were not concentrated in a single district. It could be said that these people did not compartmentalize Istanbul but kept in them a more or less unified vision of the city which was reflected in their investment choices. The preferences could slightly vary according to their backgrounds, their closeness to European culture and to modernization dynamics; Armenians, for instance, had 40 percent and Muslims 47 percent of their investments in Stamboul. For Greeks, this proportion fell to 12 percent and for Jews, to 19 percent. All these rates show the preferences

of each group for the business district of Stamboul, and an important variable which seems to play a decisive role in the investments on property was the occupation of the owner. For instance, the ideal location for the wholesale trade would be Stamboul rather than Galata. However, Stamboul was not limited within the narrow barriers of "tradition". The rise of "modern" commercial structures on both sides of the Golden Horn showed also the willingness of these groups to enjoy the advantages of the modernization process whatever their location. Thus when viewed from this perspective it should come as a surprise to see that 28 and 20 percent of Muslim investments in urban property were located in Pera and Galata, respectively. In other words, economic rationality could well force the limits of a "rigid" notion of identity. We might even suggest that identity holds within itself a reference to both the "modern" and the "traditional," and that the "western" and the "local" existed side by side with all their tensions, but often losing their rigidity in everyday practices and sometimes even intermingling. This fluidity and eclecticism in identities could also be illustrated by the various architectural forms and elements used in the urban space. As Girardelli claims "the Levantine environment is actually formed by transversal combinations of all possibilities" and "a straight alignment of 'all local' or 'all western' forms and identities is rather the exception than the rule".[14]

Another question asked in the introduction of this dissertation, namely that of knowing whether these buildings were constructed for prestige, is more difficult to answer since we do not have the reminiscences of these investors or notes taken on these buildings, except in the very particular case of the

[14] Girardelli, "Sheltering diversity…", p. 125.

Camondos. However, a quick analysis of the size and surfaces of the buildings could give us some idea in this respect. The Imperial Ottoman Bank, which according to its foundation statutes and concession would be provided by the State with the land to be used for the erection of a suitable head office building, was not satisfied with the propositions made by the government, and decided therefore to buy the land where its building would be erected jointly with the Tobacco Regie. As a symbol of the new order, the bank erected its prestigious building, very similar to the buildings of its nineteenth-century counterparts in Europe, in the core of the financial district of Galata. Similarly, when the bank opened a branch in Stamboul and constructed its building in 1894, it would use plans drawn by the same architect, Alexandre Vallauri, with imposing façades that spoke of the bank's prestige and power. The mansion of the General Manager was again built by the same architect, in Taksim, and was renowned for its bay window.[15] These buildings, which would be returned to the State at the end of the bank's concession, were certainly not built for economic return but rather for prestige. As stated in Chapter Four, several impressive buildings belonging to Zographos, Azarian, Ragıb Pasha, Camondo, Mehmed Abud, Helbig could also be considered as examples of a visual and architectural expression of financial, economic, and social power. However, there were also a considerable number of buildings with simple façades constructed for economic gain, and located in the narrow streets of Galata, Pera or Stamboul.

These investments grew as long as the coming generations were powerful and kept an interest in property. As could be expected, their investment decisions

[15] Akpolat, "Fransız Kökenli Levanten Mimar…, pp. 106-107.

were affected by the financial and political fluctuations of the country. The Camondos, seeing as early as in the 1860s that the State's debt was gradually being transferred to foreign financial centers, decided to move to Paris for better opportunities. A decade later Zographos followed them. The Lorandos' financial situation was deeply affected by the State's refusal to pay back its debts, and the amount due to them was paid back to the heirs of the family only several years later, after the whole matter had been turned into a political affair. The financial situation of the Helbigs changed with the crisis of 1908, and their business had to be liquidated; to cover the debts, all property was sold in the years before the Great War. Again the turmoil of 1909 also affected the situation of the Chamberlain Ragıb Pasha who had to leave in exile after the dethronement of Abdülhamid II. The Azarian family also seems to have fallen into financial difficulty in 1904, and the construction of the Azarian property in Ayaspaşa had to be taken over by the Treasury, while the mansion which was planned to be a mansion for the family was turned into an apartment building where the family members would occupy two flats after 1909. The Abudzâde brothers, on the other hand, survived the times of wars but lost their economic power of the earlier years. Thus, on the eve of the Great War, for a variety of reasons but mainly for economic and political motives, all these people, regardless their backgrounds, businessmen or bureaucrats, disappeared from the urban scene, leaving behind their property which would gradually be transferred to third parties in the following years.

This dissertation brings the most important patrons into the picture and re-evaluates the balance between the society and the State in the process. This

group was certainly a small part of the society, consisting of individuals with similar socio-economic status and wealth, from among both the Ottoman bureaucracy and the business elite; they nevertheless led the way by funding several buildings in newly opened or restructured streets. The research for this dissertation was based on the analysis of private investments, but in this period of rapid social and political flux, a variety of modern institutions were also introduced during the second half of the nineteenth century. Schools, hospitals, literary associations and orphanages designed to promote the cultural and linguistic integration of the urban lower classes, were supported by this elite, who transferred to society some Western influence through their civilising values. As Exertzoglou claims, these donations, always made in the name of a person, returned to the individual as investments in symbolic and political capital.[16] Thus, a shift from the analysis of the material world to that of the social and cultural worlds[17] would certainly help throw light on the other constituents of this complex development and some more insights on what it meant to be "modern" in Istanbul at this particular period of history.

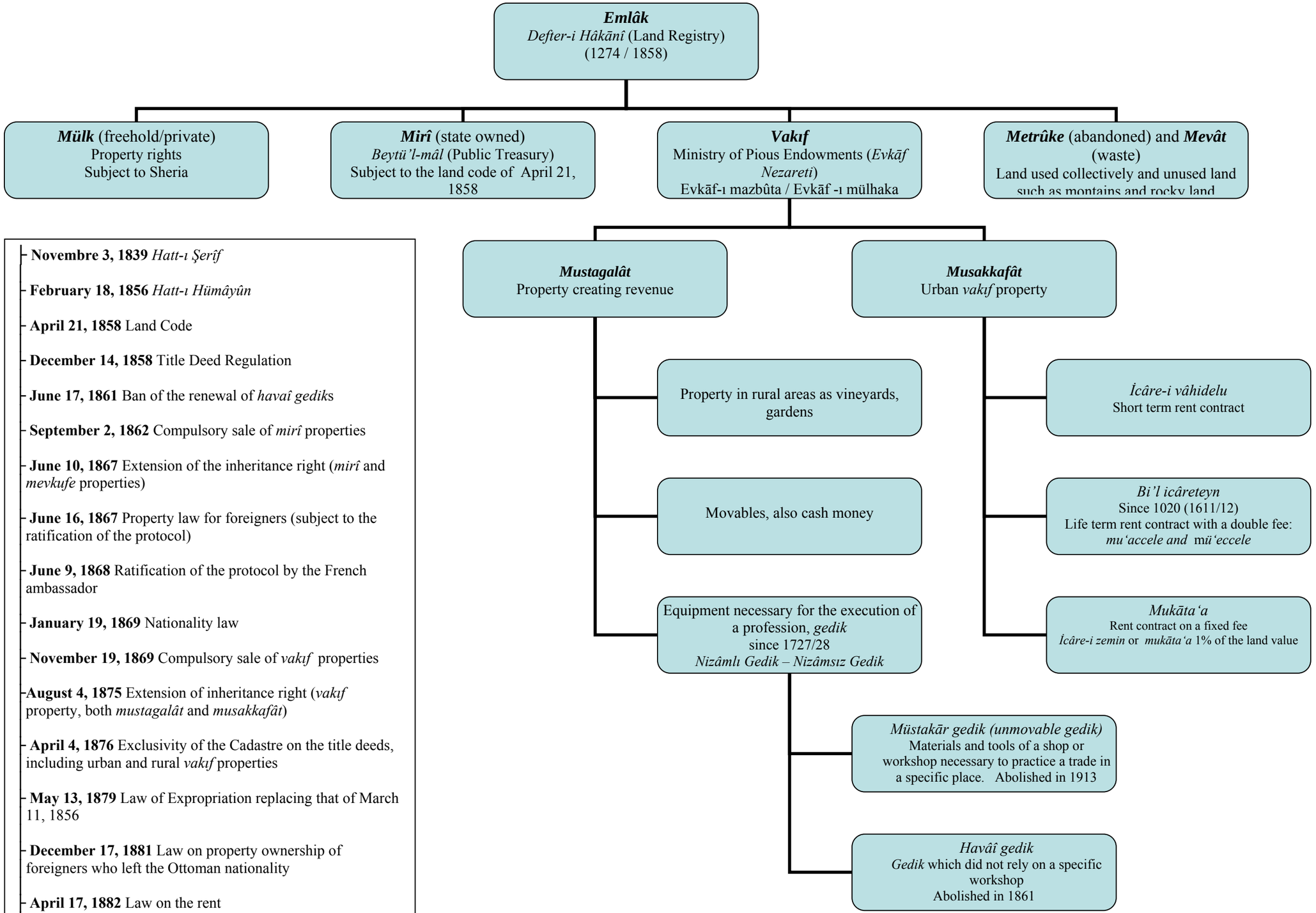
Finally, it is important to situate Istanbul with its population of approximately one million, which in fact was very close to the most important European capitals, London and Paris, in its geography of the Eastern Mediterranean / Middle-East. Our findings should also be compared with the growing "new" Eastern Mediterranean ports of the nineteenth century. Similar plans as drawn by Goad, are also available for Alexandria, the vanguard of

[16] Haris Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 35, 2003, pp. 77-101.
[17] The ongoing study of Mehmet Ö. Alkan, on the associations in the Ottoman Empire could constitute a starting point for such an analysis.

modernity reconstructed by the upper business class,[18] and Izmir,[19] the second largest city of the Empire after Istanbul. Conducting a similar study at least in both these locations and if possible in Beirut, the unrivalled port city of the Syrian coast,[20] and Salonica, the metropolis and harbor of the Macedonian hinterland,[21] will allow us to understand the internal dynamics of each city in the production of space, their different responses according to their historical background, geography / hinterland, and to set the different trajectories in the spatiality of capitalism. Each experience of the production of "modern" urban space hidden behind the ports, symbols of European penetration, will also describe the different forms of capitalist modernity. Thus the analysis of every day practices in urban space in turn will enable us to reconsider the power game between the state and society or more specifically the *haute bourgeoisie*, the pioneer of the new order; to deconstruct the term bourgeoisie in a non-European world, to reassess the identity question and to re-evaluate the complex process of modernity in the Empire.

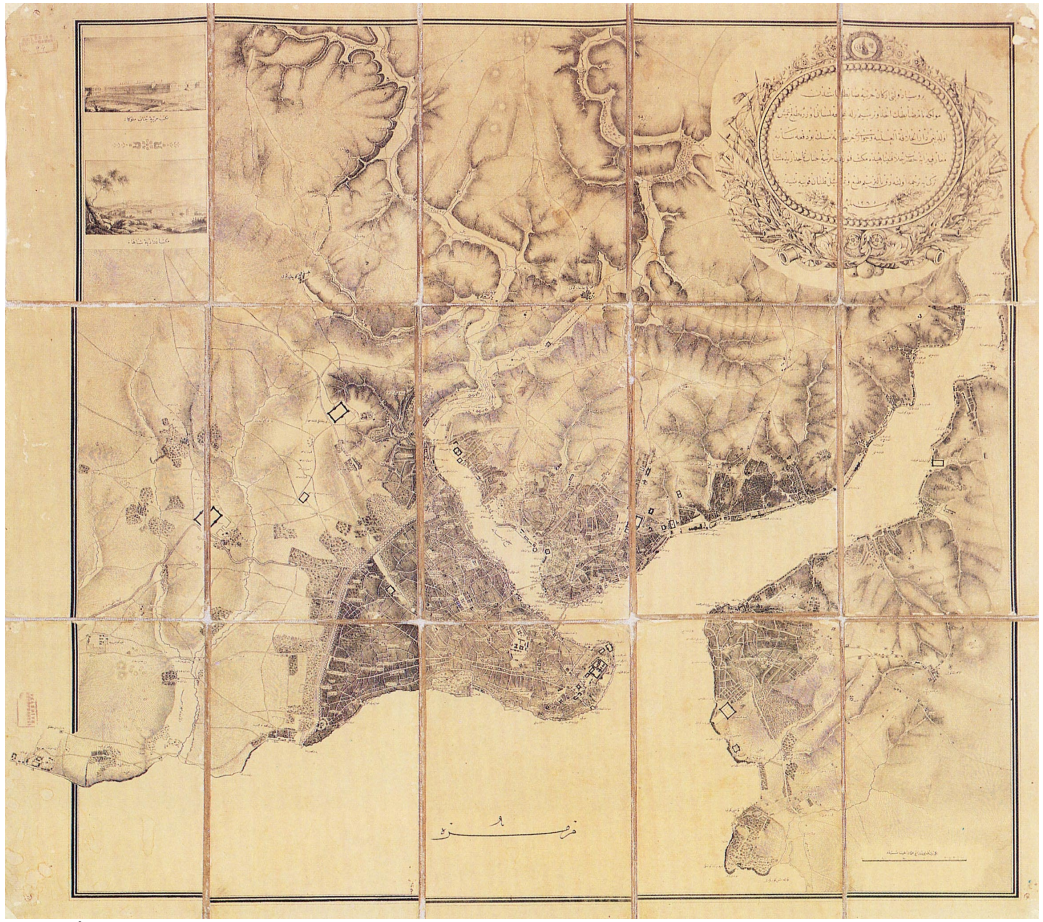
[18] See for instance Vassilis Kolonas, "Présence Grecque et Héritage Architectural à Alexandrie", *Un modèle éphémère de convivialité: communautés et identités cosmopolite*, ed. by Robert Ilbert, Ilios Yannakakis, (Paris: *Autrement*, 1992), pp. 77-87. See also the colossal work of Robert Ilbert, *Alexandrie 1830-1930*, (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1996).
[19] See Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Public Space and Urban Citizens: Ottoman Izmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, (PhD thesis, University of California at Berkeley, Dec. 2001).
[20] See Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in the Nineteenth Century Beirut*, (Harvard University Press, 1983). Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut, The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[21] See Meropi Anastassiadou, *Salonique, 1830-1912: Une Ville ottomane à l'Age des Réformes*, (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1997). *It was translated in Turkish under the title Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri, Selanik*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001).

Appendix A: Table of possible ownership forms and chronological list of Ottoman laws and regulations on property in the nineteenth century



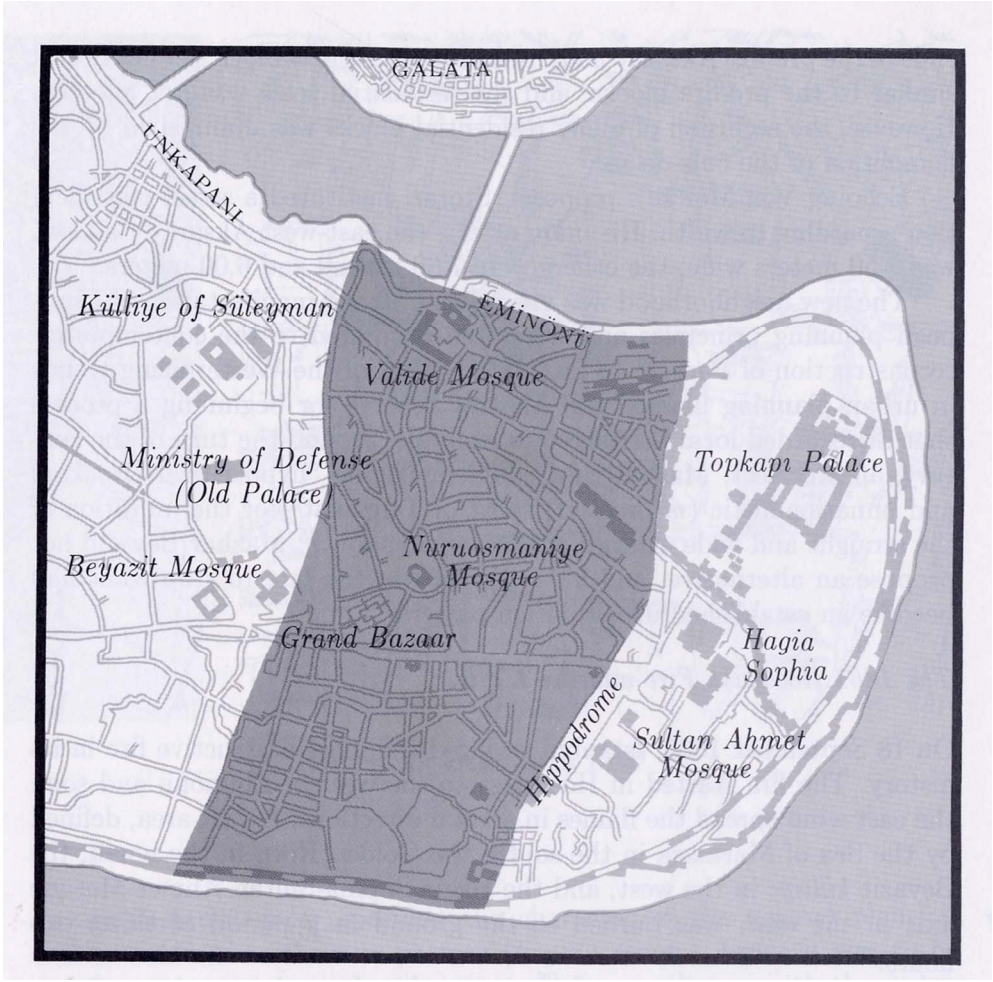
- **Novembre 3, 1839** *Hatt-ı Şerîf*
- **February 18, 1856** *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn*
- **April 21, 1858** Land Code
- **December 14, 1858** Title Deed Regulation
- **June 17, 1861** Ban of the renewal of *havaî gedik*s
- **September 2, 1862** Compulsory sale of *mirî* properties
- **June 10, 1867** Extension of the inheritance right (*mirî* and *mevkufe* properties)
- **June 16, 1867** Property law for foreigners (subject to the ratification of the protocol)
- **June 9, 1868** Ratification of the protocol by the French ambassador
- **January 19, 1869** Nationality law
- **November 19, 1869** Compulsory sale of *vakıf* properties
- **August 4, 1875** Extension of inheritance right (*vakıf* property, both *mustagalât* and *musakkafât*)
- **April 4, 1876** Exclusivity of the Cadastre on the title deeds, including urban and rural *vakıf* properties
- **May 13, 1879** Law of Expropriation replacing that of March 11, 1856
- **December 17, 1881** Law on property ownership of foreigners who left the Ottoman nationality
- **April 17, 1882** Law on the rent
- **February 21, 1883** On inheritance, compl. to 1867
- **March 1, 1913** Abolition of *gedik*s for Istanbul

Appendix B: Moltke's Map of Constantinople 1844



Source: Cahit Kayra, *İstanbul haritaları Ortaçağdan Günümüze = Maps of Istanbul : from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, (İstanbul : Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası (TSKB), 1990), p. 110.

Appendix C: Map of the Hocapaşa Fire, 1868



Source: Çelik, Zeynep, *The Remaking of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996), p. 56.

Appendix D: Map of the Pera Fire, 1870



Source: Le Docteur Brunetti, *Episode de la catastrophe de Pera, souvenir du 5 Juin 1870*, (Constantinople: Typographie et Lithographies Centrales, n.d.)

Appendix E: Visualization of the studied area through the index of Goad's insurance plans, 1904-1905 (I)



Source: IFEA Collection

Appendix E: Visualization of the studied area through the index of Goad's insurance plans, 1904-1905 (II)



Source: IFEA Collection

Appendix F: The expropriation cost of the opening of the Karaköy Square as revealed in the documents of the Ottoman State Archives (April 10, 1859)

Karaköy kapusu dahilinde olub oraların tesviyesi zımnında mübâya'ası muktezâ-ı irade-i seniyeden olan arâzi ve emlâkın mikdar ve kemiyeti ve komisyon ma'rifetiyle takdir ve tahmin kılınan kıymet-i hakikiyelerini mübeyyin defterdir.

Fermeneciler Çarşusu

Numero	Guruş	Parmak	Zira'	Beher zira' fiyatı (guruş)
1	264.000	00	44	6000
2	241.500	06	40	
3	238.500	18	39	
4	195.000	12	32	
5	178.500	18	29	
6	151.500	06	25	
7	144.000	00	24	
8	087.000	12	14	
9	046.500	18	07	
10	045.000	12	07	
11	099.000	12	16	
	1.690.500			

Karaköy Çarşusu

Numero	Guruş	Parmak	Zira'	Beher zira' fiyatı (guruş)
12	308.000	00	44	7000
13	147.000	00	21	
14	151.375	15	21	
15	144.666,66	16	20	
16	169.750	06	24	
17	169.750	06	24	
18	180.250	18	25	
19	117.250	18	16	
20	229.250	18	32	
	1.617.291			

Balık Pazarı

Numero	Guruş	Parmak	Zirâ‘	Beher zirâ‘ fiyatı (guruş)	
21	127.750	6	18	7000	Kâgir
22	098.000	0	14	7000	Kâgir
23	112.000	0	16	7000	Kâgir
24	099.750	6	14	7000	Kâgir
25	080.500	12	11	7000	Kâgir
26	499.100	0	217	2300	Ahşap
27	108.000	0	18	6000	Ahşap
28	094.500	18	15	6000	Ahşap
29	159.500	06	18	6000	Ahşap
30	094.500	18	15	6000	Ahşap
31	040.500	18	06	6000	Ahşap
32	028.500	18	04	6000	Ahşap
33	163.500	06	27	6000	Ahşap
	1.656.100				

Çadırcı hânı 512 zirâ‘ beher zirâ‘ı 2365 toplam 1.210.880 guruş
Bıçakçı hânı kule 190 zira‘ han 1290 zirâ‘ toplam 1480 zirâ‘ beher zirâ‘ı 2264 toplam 3.498.720 guruş

Cem‘an yekûn

Fermeneciler Çarşısı	1.690.500
Karaköy	1.617.291
Balık Pazarı	1.656.100
Çadırcı Hânı	1.210.880
Bıçakçı Hânı	3.498.720
Toplam	**9.673.491**

Source: BOA – İ.DH 413-27332, “Karaköy Kapusu dahilinde olup tesviye-i tarîk için satın alınacak arâzi ve emlâk keyfiyetine dâir”, 1275.N.07.

Appendix G: Postcard showing Karaköy Square and the Commission Han posted in 1919 (Max Fruchterman)



Source: OBA, AHISTKARA029, Constantinople-Galata, Place Karakeui. Harbiye Nezareti ve Beyazıd Kulesi

Appendix H: Postcard showing the houses called "*Tanzîmât* boxes" on Büyük Hendek Street opened after the demolition of Galata's walls in 1865



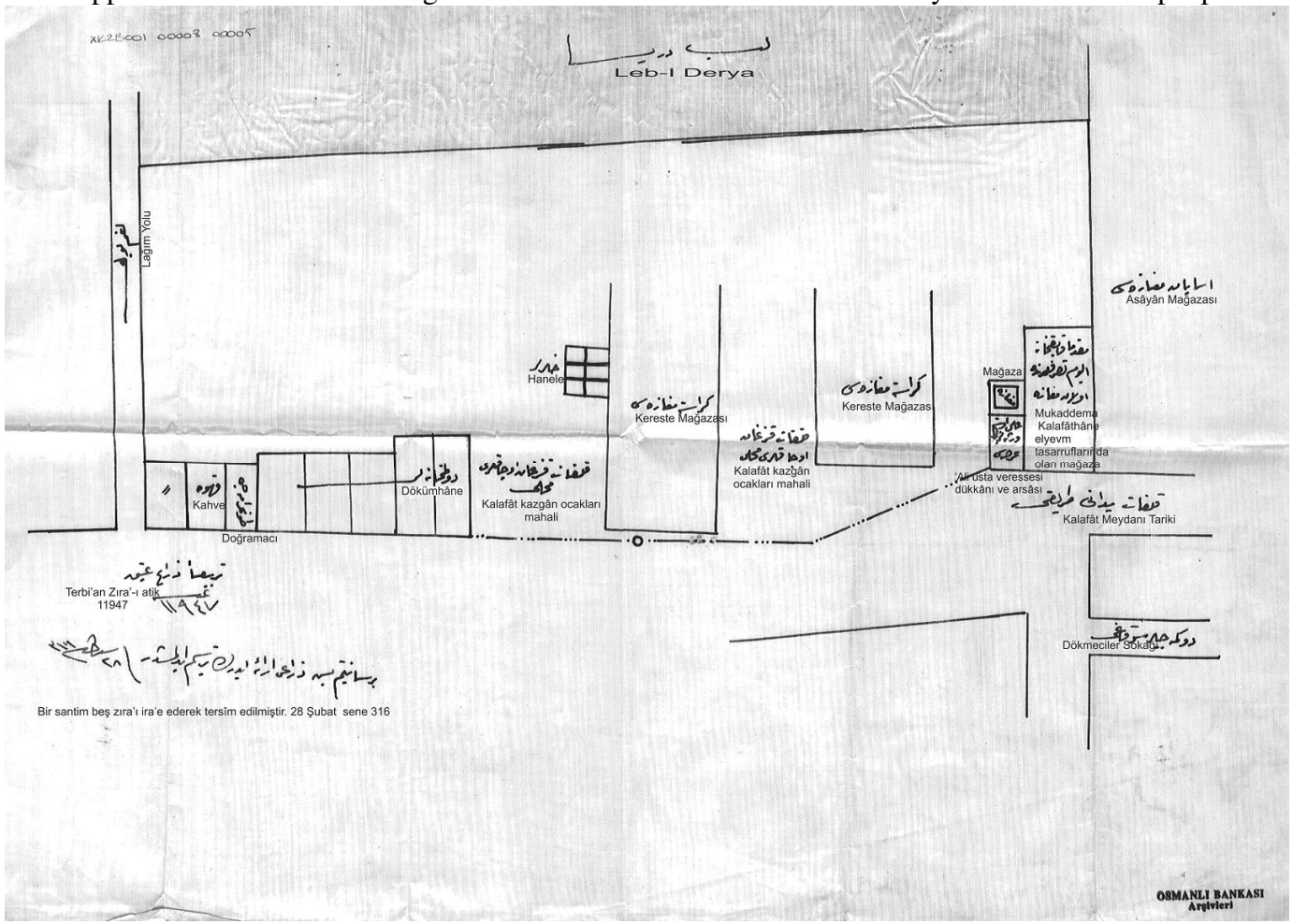
Source: OBA, AHISTKARA079, Constantinople. Rue Hendek et Tour de Galata – Galata Kulesi Dibi.

Appendix I: Opening of Okçu Musa Street in 1871 as reconstituted through the superimposition of the d'Ostoya (1858-60) and Goad (1905) maps



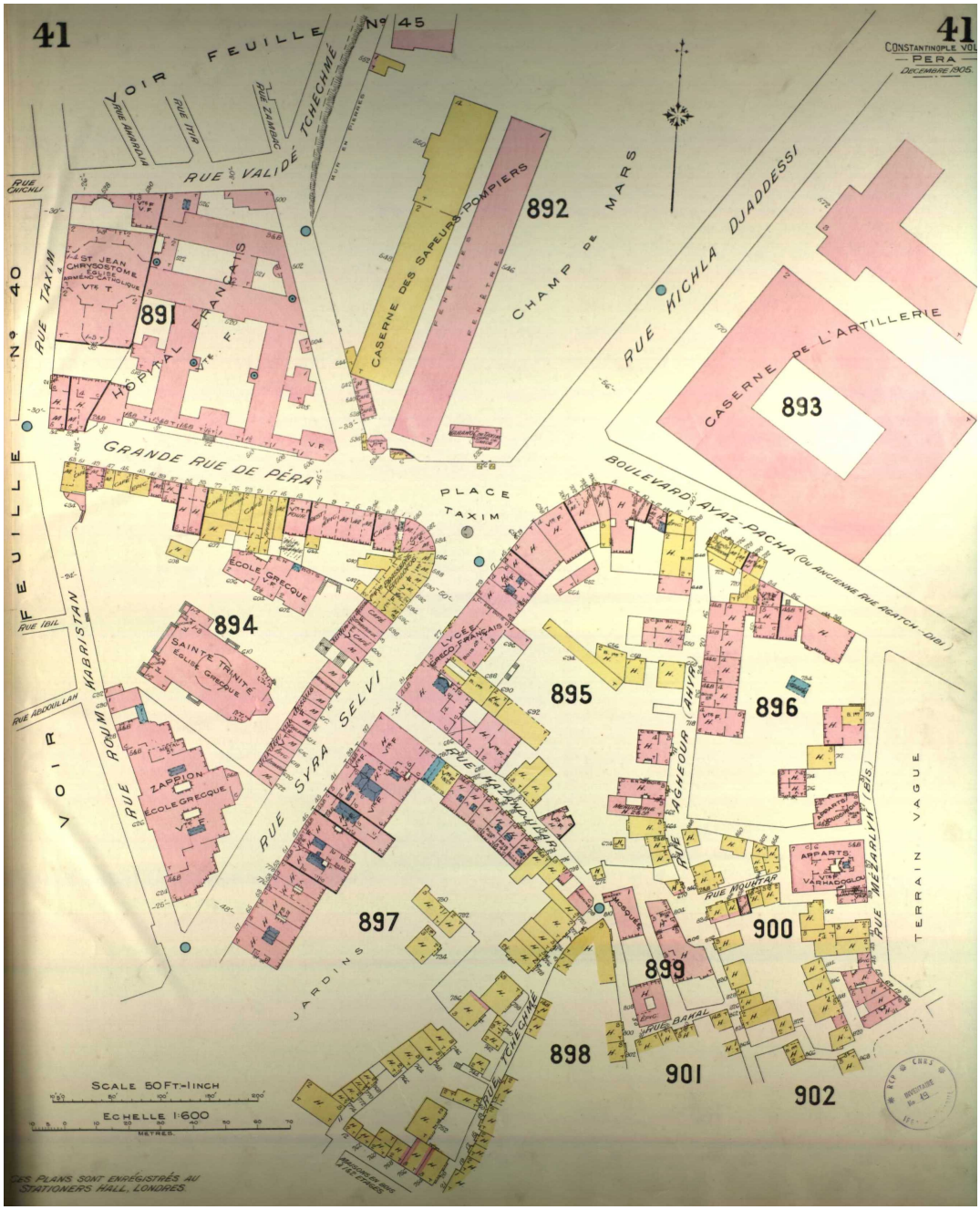
Sources: Atatürk Library and IFEA Collections
Map reconstitution by Barış Altan

Appendix J: A sketch showing the urban fabric on the Western extremity of Galata in Azapkapı



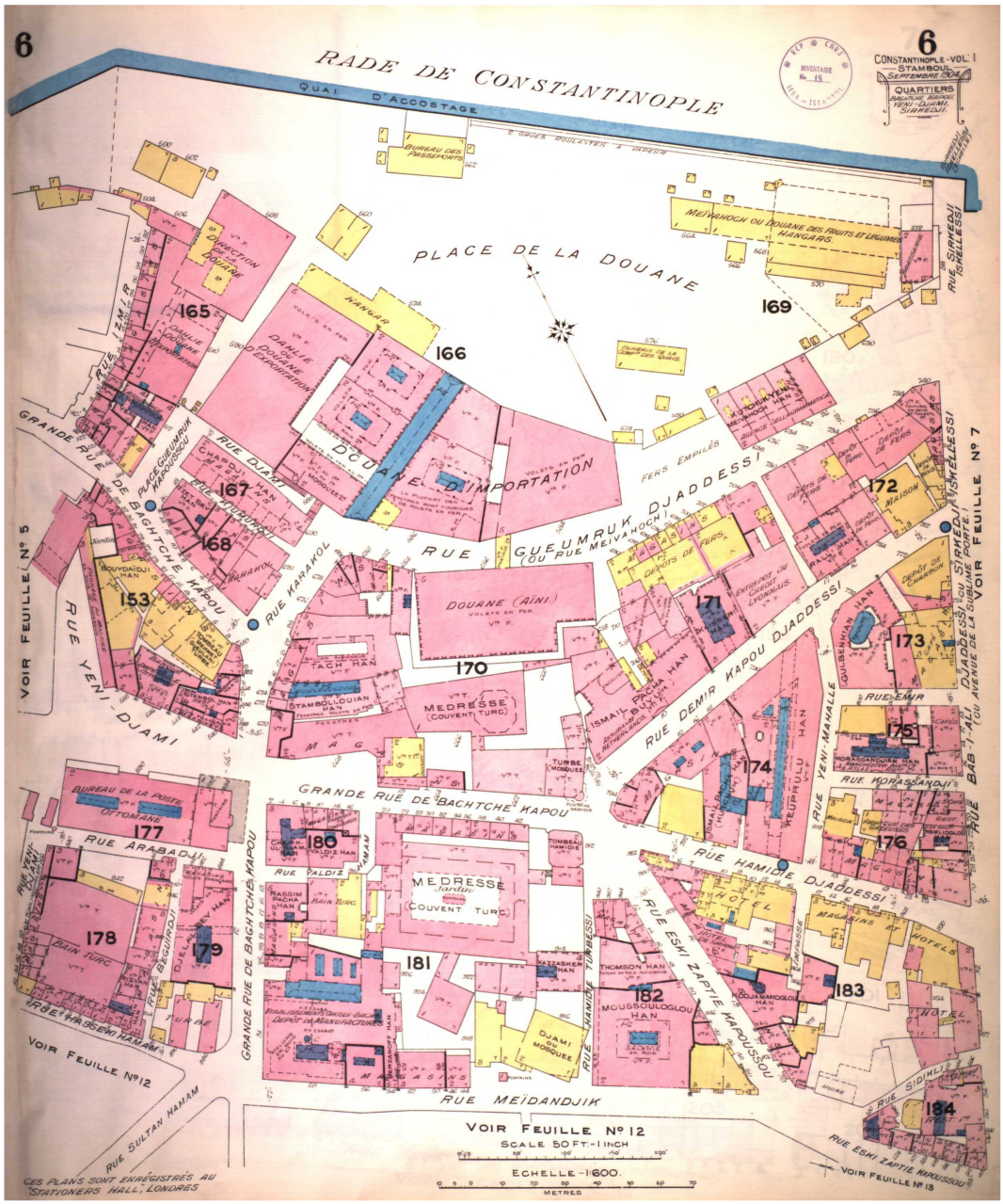
Source: OBA, XKZB 001 00008, Documents de Zia Bey. Divers

Appendix K: The urban fabric on the northern extremity of the studied area, Taksim and Ayaspaşa, from the 1905 Goad plan



Source: IFEA Collection

Appendix L: The urban fabric on the southern side of the Golden Horn, the south western extremity, and Sirkeci, from the 1904 Goad Plan



Source: IFEA Collection

Appendix M: List of buildings erected in Galata, Pera, Stamboul between 1868 and 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
CAMONDO SALONIQUE HAN	2-3	190	569	RUE ZULFARISSE 15 ET RUE HARATCHI 31	G	1868	AO 1909
COMMISSION HAN (KUCUK) - BOURSE	2-3-4	1315	3945	RUE KARAKEUY - RUE FERMELEDJILER 9	G	1868	AO 1909
DEMIR HAN	3-4	244	975	RUE KUREKDJILER 51	G	1868	AO 1909
FRANÇAISE CITE			0	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA	G	1868	AO 1914
GHUL CAMONDO HAN	4	364	1456	RUE BILLOUR 20	G	1868	AO 1909
GLAVANY HAN			0	RUE VOIVODE	G	1868	AO 1881
HALIL PACHA HAN	3	1212	3636	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 47 (RUE GUEUMRUK ?)	G	1868	AO 1909
HALIL PACHA HAN (KUTCHUK) (IN 1905 YANISSOPOULO)	x		0	RUE GUEUMRUK	G	1868	HUBER 5
HAVIAR HAN	2-3		0	RUE KARAKEUY 19 EN FACE DE COMMISSION HAN	G	1868	AO 1909
IPTCAL (IPTCHI) HAN	2	131	262	RUE PERSEMBE PAZARI	G	1868	GD 1905
KIEVORK BEY HAN	3-4	1317	5269	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 102	G	1868	AO 1909
KOURCHOUM HAN (KOURCHOUMLOU)	2	1608	3215	RUE KUREKDJILER (RUE ESKI BALEK BAZAR)	G	1868	AO 1909
MEHMED ALI PACHA HAN	2-3	1221	3664	RUE KARAKEUY 19	G	1868	AO 1909
SAATCHI HAN (CAMONDO)	3&B-4&B	272	1089	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR	G	1868	AO 1909
SARNITCHLI HAN	3	170	509	RUE HELVADJI 16	G	1868	AO 1909
SERPOS HAN	4	222	888	DANS L'IMPASSE DJIRDJIR RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR	G	1868	AO 1909
SIMONIAN HAN	3	135	405	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 65	G	1868	AO 1909
VITALIS HAN	2-3-4	109	327	RUE VOIVODE 39	G	1868	AO 1909
ZINDJIRLI HAN (BEFORE 1868)	2	775	1550	RUE YENI DJAMI 76	G	1868	AO 1909
CRESPIN PASSAGE / HAN	3	530	1.590	RUE HAMAL-BACHI 20	P	1868	GD 1905
ORIENTAL PASSAGE			0	RUE TIMOTI	P	1868	AO 1881
ACHIR EFFENDI HAN (BOUYOUK)	2	1575	3150	RUE SULTAN HAMAM 21	S	1868	AO 1909
AGHA HAN	3	105	315	RUE TAHMIZDJILER	S	1868	GD 1905
AGOPIAN HAN	3-4	260	1040	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR, 10	S	1868	AO 1909
BALCAPAN HAN	2		0	RUE BALCAPAN, 13	S	1868	AO 1909
BALTADJI HAN	2		0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1868	AO 1909
CACHIKDJI HAN	2		0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 258	S	1868	AO 1909
CAMONDO HAN	4	770	3080	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1868	AO 1909
CHERIF PACHA HAN	3	1100	3300	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI, 403	S	1868	AO 1909
CHICHEDJI HAN	2	430	860	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR 40	S	1868	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
COUCHAKDJI HAN	2		0	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI, 22, AU GRAND BAZAR	S	1868	AO 1909
COUMROU HAN	2		0	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR	S	1868	AO 1881
DJADIRDJI HAN			0	RUE TAVOUK BAZAR	S	1868	AO 1881
EVLIE HAN - DEMOLI	3	260	780	RUE YORGANDJILAR, 3, AU GRAND BAZAR	S	1868	AO 1909
HADJOPOULO HAN			0	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1868	AO 1881
HARATCHI HAN	3	100	300	RUE TCHITCHEK BAZAR, 2	S	1868	AO 1909
KACHIKDJI	2		0	RUE TARAKDJILAR	S	1868	GD 1905
KILID HAN	2	1040	2080	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI, 356	S	1868	AO 1909
KIZLAR AGHASSI HAN			0	RUE MERDJAN 94	S	1868	AO 1909
KURKDJI HAN	3	6050	18150	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA, 132	S	1868	AO 1909
LEBLEBIDJI HAN	2	820	1640	RUE ALADJA HAMAM, 79	S	1868	AO 1909
MATHEO HAN	2	645	1290	RUE TARAKDJILAR, 21	S	1868	AO 1909
MERDJAN AGHA HAN	3		0	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1868	GD 1905
PASTOURMADJI HAN	2	1045	2090	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1868	GD 1905
RIZA PACHA HAN	1	740	740	RUE FILDJANDJILAR, 8	S	1868	AO 1909
ROUBIE HAN	2		0	RUE KURKDJI CAPOU	S	1868	AO 1909
SAPOUNDJI HAN (OU SOULOU)	2		0	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI 159	S	1868	GD 1905
SILAHTAR OU ZILIFDAR AGHA	2		0	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI 156	S	1868	GD 1905
SULTAN ODALAR HAN	2	1040	2080	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1868	AO 1909
TACH HAN	2	415	830	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU 10	S	1868	AO 1909
TCHINILI HAN	2	350	700	RUE TARAKDJILAR, 16	S	1868	AO 1909
TCHOHADJI HAN	2		0	ENTREE DU GRAND BAZAR PAR LA RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1868	AO 1909
TCHORABDJI HAN	2	1445	2890	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA, 40	S	1868	AO 1909
TCHORABDJI HAN (KUTCHUK)	2	190	380	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 50	S	1868	AO 1909
TCHOUKOUR HAN	2	120	240	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1868	GD 1905
TIDJARET HAN (BOUYOUK)	3	1470	4410	RUE TARAKDJILAR, 2	S	1868	AO 1909
TIDJARET HAN (KUCUK)	2-3	515	1545	RUE TARAKDJILAR, 7	S	1868	AO 1909
VALIDE HAN	1	13910	13910	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR YOCOUCHOU 84	S	1868	AO 1909
VEZIR HAN			0	A TCHEMBERLI TACH	S	1868	AO 1909
YALDIZLI HAN	3	1405	4215	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI, 51	S	1868	AO 1909
YENI HAN	1		0	RUE HASSIRDJILAR 23	S	1868	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
YENI HAN (BOUYOUK) [1761-İNCİCİYAN]	3	4340	13020	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR YOCOUCHOU, 33	S	1868	AO 1909
YENI HAN (KUTCHUK)	2-3	980	2940	RUE TARAKDJILAR 1	S	1868	AO 1909
YOL-GUETCHEN HAN	3		0	AU GRAND BAZAR / RUE BIT-PAZAR	S	1868	GD 1905
YOUNDJIOU HAN	2		0	RUE ALI PACHA HAN / RUE YORGANDJILAR 3	S	1868	GD 1905
YOUSSOUFYAN HAN	4	830	3320	RUE FILDJANDJILAR YOCOUCHOU 11	S	1868	AO 1909
ZINDAN HAN	4		0	A ZINDAN CAPOU ITCHI	S	1868	AO 1909
ZINDJIRLI HAN			0	RUE PARMAK CAPOU	S	1868	AO 1909
ZUMBULLU HAN	2-3	2095	6285	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR	S	1868	AO 1909
ADA HAN	3	290	870	RUE GUEUMRUK 35	G	1881	AO 1909
ANDON BEY HAN (1905'TE YOK)			0	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA	G	1881	AO 1881
CAVAFFIAN HAN	3-4	147	588	RUE VOIVODE 15	G	1881	AO 1909
CHEKER BOYADJI HAN - CHEKERDJI HAN			0	RUE KUREKDJILER, 10	G	1881	AO 1881
DEIRMEN HAN (KUTCHUK)	4	104	417	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 35	G	1881	AO 1909
DEMIRDJIBACHIAN HAN	2	85	170	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 73	G	1881	AO 1909
DILBER HAN	4	50	200	RUE DE LA QUARANTAINE 9	G	1881	AO 1909
HELBIG HAN	4	137	549	RUE BILLOUR 1	G	1881	AO 1909
JEREMIE HAN (JEREMIAN)			0	RUE YORGANDJILAR, 2	G	1881	AO 1881
KEUTCHEOGLOU HAN	3	160	480	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 71	G	1881	AO 1909
MANIHOGLOU HAN			0	PLACE KARAKEUY, 19	G	1881	AO 1881
MILET HAN, KUCUK (KUÇÜK BALIKLI HAN)	4	713	2852	RUE DE LA QUARANTINE RUE PESTEMALDJI / RUE YEMICHE	G	1881	GD 1905
PATCHADJI HAN	3	55	165	PLACE KARAKEUY 38 (GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 38)	G	1881	AO 1909
PIANCODJI HAN	4	25	100	RUE HALIL PACHA	G	1881	GD 1905
RALLI HAN			0	RUE FERMELEDJILER 11	G	1881	AO 1909
SOUVADJIOGLOU HAN	4	37	148	RUE HALIL PACHA - RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA	G	1881	AO 1909
TACH HAN	3	235	705	RUE YORGANDJILAR 143	G	1881	GD 1905
TIDJARET HAN	3&4	1270	5080	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR	G	1881	AO 1909
TUNNEL HAN (KUCUK)	4	69	276	RUE SEVOUD - RUE MERTEBANY	G	1881	AO 1909
YANNISSOPOULO HAN	5	95	475	RUE GUEUMRUK 30	G	1881	AO 1909
YELDIS HAN	3	236	708	RUE KUREKDJILER 21	G	1881	AO 1909
YENI HAN (KUCUK)	3	117	351	RUE KUREKDJILER 51	G	1881	AO 1909
ZIVER BEY HAN	3	189	566	RUE KUREKDJILER 27	G	1881	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
HADJI SAID	5-6	240	1440	RUE NOUVELLE 29	P	1881	GD 1905
HAZZOPULO	6	530	3.180	RUE TEPEBACHI 35	P	1881	GD 1905
PERA - CHRISTACHI EFFENDI	4	1.155	4.620	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 188	P	1881	GD 1905
ACHIR EFFENDI HAN (KUTCHUK)	1	150	150	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1881	GD 1905
AINALI HAN	2		0	RUE TCHOUKOUR TCHECHME	S	1881	AO 1909
ALTOUNDJI OU ROZA HAN	4	135	540	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1881	AO 1909
AMERICAN HAN	5	1800	9000	RUE FILDJANDJILAR, 25	S	1881	AO 1909
BALTAZZI	2	145	290	RUE TACHTA KALE	S	1881	GD 1905
BARNATHAN	3-4	515	2060	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR 47	S	1881	AO 1909
BOUNDJOUKDJOU HAN	2	235	470	RUE TARAKDJILAR YOCOUCHOU, 104	S	1881	AO 1909
CHABDJI HAN	2	535	1070	RUE KEUMURDJI 2	S	1881	AO 1909
CHEIK-UL-ISLAM HAN	2	110	220	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU, 4	S	1881	AO 1909
CHEKERDJI	3	125	375	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA YOKOUCHOU 51	S	1881	GD 1905
DJELAL BEY HAN	4-5	550	2750	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1881	AO 1909
ESSAD EFFENDI HAN			0	RUE BAGHTCHE KAPOU, 10	S	1881	AO 1881
ESSAYAN HAN	3-4	265	1060	RUE BALEK HANE	S	1881	AO 1909
GAZINOLI HAN			0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1881	AO 1881
GEORGIADIS HAN	3	340	1020	RUE FOUNDOUKTCHI, 11	S	1881	AO 1909
GEORGIADIS HAN (KUTCHUK)	2	305	610	RUE MEIDANDJIK	S	1881	AO 1909
HALIDJILAR HAN	2		0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 270	S	1881	AO 1881
HAVOUZLOU HAN	3	835	2505	RUE SULTAN HAMAM / RUE HAZZOPOULO	S	1881	AO 1909
KEZABDJIOGLOU HAN	2-3-4	815	2445	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR	S	1881	AO 1909
MEHMED PACHA HAN	3	260	780	RUE HADJI KIOTCHEK	S	1881	AO 1909
NAFIE HAN	3	255	765	RUE BALEK BAZAR, 8	S	1881	AO 1909
PERDAHDJI HAN	2		0	RUE PERDAHDJI	S	1881	AO 1881
RASSIM PACHA HAN	4-5	160	800	RUE YALDİZ, 11 BAGHTCHE CAPOU	S	1881	AO 1909
SAPOUNDJI HAN	2	1000	2000	RUE ALADJA HAMAM, 21	S	1881	AO 1909
SARAF - RUINE	2		0	YORGANDJILAR, 12 AU GRAND BAZAR	S	1881	GD 1905
SERMAKECHE HAN			0	RUE SULTAN BAYAZID	S	1881	AO 1881
SULTAN AGHA HAN			0	RUE YORGANDJILAR, 26	S	1881	AO 1881
TARAKDJI HAN	3		0	RUE TARAKDJILAR, 6	S	1881	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
TCHADIRDJI HAN			0	RUE TAVOUK BAZAR, 39	S	1881	AO 1881
TCHARCHILI HAN	2	705	1410	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR / RUE ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN, 22	S	1881	AO 1909
VALIDE HAN	2	1310	2620	PLACE EMIN EUNU	S	1881	GD 1905
VALIDE SULTAN HAN	3	120	360	PLACE EMIN EUNU PRES DU PONT	S	1881	AO 1909
YAGDJI HAN	2		0	RUE NOUR OSMANIE, 13	S	1881	AO 1909
YENI HAN			0	RUE HELVADJI, 10	S	1881	AO 1909
YOL-GUETCHEN HAN			0	RUE YENI DJAMI	S	1881	AO 1881
YOMOUCHOGLU HAN			0	RUE OUZOUN TCARCHI, 422	S	1881	AO 1881
ALEXIADI HAN (MELEK HAN)	4	170	680	RUE YEMICH PRES DE HAVIAR HAN	G	1889	AO 1909
BAHTIAR HAN & CAMONDO	5	581	2903	RUE VOIVODE 24	G	1889	AO 1909
FRANCHINI HAN			0	RUE DE LA QUARANTINE, 6	G	1889	AO 1889
GABAI HAN	4-5	85	425	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 26	G	1889	AO 1909
HALAGIAN HAN			0	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 2 PRES DU PONT	G	1889	AO 1909
HANSON HAN			0	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR 26	G	1889	AO 1909
HASTAHANE HAN-BÜYÜK MİLLET- BÜYÜK BALIKLI HAN	4	822	3288	RUE HELVADJI, RUE KEMER ALTI	G	1889	GD 1905
HAVA HAN ILIA			0	RUE MERTEBANY 21	G	1889	AO 1909
IBRET HAN (CAMONDO)	4	68	271	RUE SEVOUD	G	1889	AO 1909
IZMIRLIOGLOU HAN	4	325	1300	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 75	G	1889	AO 1909
IZZET PACHA HAN	4	94	377	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1889	GD 1905
KENADJIAN HAN	4	58	232	RUE SEVOUD 15 - RUE MERTEBANY	G	1889	AO 1909
LATIF HAN (CAMONDO)	3	99	296	RUE SEVOUD 5	G	1889	AO 1909
LLYOD HAN (OU MOUHAMER HAN)	4	1070	4280	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA 93	G	1889	AO 1909
MANOUKOGLOU HAN	3	70	211	PLACE KARAKEUY 19	G	1889	AO 1909
NOMICO HAN	3	250	750	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA 79	G	1889	AO 1909
NORADOUNGHIAN HAN	3-4	99	396	RUE VOIVODE 7	G	1889	AO 1909
SANDALDJI HAN	4	100	400	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 30	G	1889	AO 1909
TAHTABOUROUNIAN (NARLIAN) HAN	2-4	198	593	RUE VOIVODE	G	1889	AO 1909
URBACH - OURBACH HAN	3		0	RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA	G	1889	HUBER 5
YALDIZ HAN	4	225	900	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA 37 (MOUMHANE) ET RUE DEMIRDJI	G	1889	AO 1909
YUSUF IZZEDDIN GUMUCHLU HAN	3	354	1061	RUE VOIVODE	G	1889	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ALEP	5-6	553	3.318	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1889	GD 1905
BAUDOUY MAISON	5	245	1.225	RUE DEVE 1	P	1889	GD 1905
BIO - TAKSİM	3-4	1.383	5.532	RUE AGHATCH DİBİ	P	1889	GD 1905
CAMONDO APP	5	230	1.150	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 125	P	1889	AO 1909
CANZUCH			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 243	P	1889	AO 1889
COUTEAUX APP	5	290	1.450	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 127	P	1889	AO 1909
DANDRIA PASSAGE	5-6	235	1.410	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1889	AO 1909
D'EUROPE PASSAGE			0	RUE HAMAL BACHI	P	1889	AO 1914
DEVEAUX, MAISON	3		0	RUE AGHA HAMAM 2	P	1889	HUBER 1
FRANÇAIS PASSAGE			0	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 28	P	1889	AO 1914
HAVA CITE	2	980	1.960	RUE DE BROUSSE 41	P	1889	GD 1905
IBRAHIM PACHA APP	4&B-5	280	1.400	RUE VENEDIK 5	P	1889	GD 1905
LORANDO APP	6	400	2.400	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 370/RUE GLAVANY 1	P	1889	GD 1905
MONNIER APP	5	75	375	RUE LINARDI 10	P	1889	GD 1905
NAIB BEY			0	RUE KABRISTAN 76	P	1889	AO 1889
PEKMEZIAN	5	120	600	RUE YENI 1	P	1889	GD 1905
SARAFOGLOU APP	4	265	1.060	DE LA PLACE DU TUNNEL A LA RUE KARANFYL	P	1889	GD 1905
SEMPIRINI APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 38	P	1889	AO 1914
SIMONIAN HAN			0	RUE KARAKEUY 63	P	1889	AO 1914
STAMATIADIS APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 396	P	1889	AO 1889
APERGHI MARC	4-5-6	375	1875	RUE KARANFIL	PG	1889	GD 1905
ASSEO	6	400	2400	RUE YAZIDJI 23	PG	1889	GD 1905
BRAUNSTEIN APP	5-6	240	1440	RUE YAZIDJI 34	PG	1889	GD 1905
CAMONDO APP	4-5	720	3600	RUE YAZIDJI 42	PG	1889	GD 1905
CASARETTO (1889-90)	5&B-6	200	1200	IMPASSE MACRI	PG	1889	GD 1905
HADJI SAID			0	RUE YAZIDJI 26	PG	1889	AO 1905
LEVY, MAISON (NOT LISTED IN 1905)			0	RUE YAZIDJI 50	PG	1889	HUBER 5
NAHID BEY, MAISON [IN 1905 ROBERT APP]			0	RUE CHAKOULY	PG	1889	HUBER 6
YOUSSOUF IZZEDDIN APP	5-6	340	2040	RUE YAZIDJI	PG	1889	GD 1905
ANANIADI HAN	1	460	460	RUE MEIDANDJIK 9	S	1889	GD 1905
BAZAR ORIENTAL HAN (CHARK TCHARCHI)	2		0	RUE FILDJANDJILAR YOCOUCHOU 20	S	1889	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
CADI COUMROU HAN -DEMOLI			0	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1889	AO 1909
FOUNDOUKLIAN HAN	2,5-4	300	900	RUE YENI DJAMI ET RUE TCHITCHEK BAZAR	S	1889	AO 1909
HAZZOPULO HAN	2	1220	2440	RUE SULTAN HAMAM / RUE HAZZOPOULO	S	1889	AO 1909
IMAMELI - IMAM ALI			0	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI 81	S	1889	AO 1909
ISMIRLIOGLOU HAN (KUTCHUK)	3		0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 25	S	1889	AO 1909
KODJAMANOGLOU HAN	2	290	580	PLACE ESKI ZAPTIE CAPOUSSOU	S	1889	AO 1909
MAKSOUDIE HAN	4-5	475	2375	RUE BALEK BAZAR / RUE ASMA ALTI	S	1889	AO 1909
MISSIR HAN	4	106	424	RUE YENI DJAMI 49	S	1889	AO 1909
MONASTIRLI HAN	3&B	1060	3180	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 159	S	1889	AO 1909
RACTIVAND HAN			0	RUE FOUNDOUKTCHI	S	1889	AO 1909
SAIDIE HAN	3	970	2910	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 10	S	1889	AO 1909
YALDIZ (YELDIZ) HAN (KUCUK)	3	285	855	RUE ALADJA HAMAM, 35	S	1889	AO 1909
YAREM HAN	2	275	550	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR, 59	S	1889	AO 1909
YAREM HAN (DJEDID)	3&B	430	1290	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA DJAMISSI / RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 265	S	1889	AO 1909
ZINDJIRLI HAN	2		0	RUE MERDJAN 7 AU GRAND BAZAR	S	1889	AO 1909
CAMONDO	3-4	263	1052	RUE CAMONDO	G	1894	AO 1909
CRESPIN HAN	3	191	572	RUE VOIVODE 2	G	1894	AO 1909
HELBIG (PASSAGE) - NAHID BEY HAN	5-6	103	618	RUE FERMELEDJILER 40	G	1894	AO 1909
SAKSI HAN			0	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR	G	1894	AO 1909
YACOUD HAN (CAMONDO)	3-4	117	467	RUE MERTEBANY 10	G	1894	AO 1909
AHMED CHERIF BEY APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 8	P	1894	AO 1914
AKESTORIDES APP			0	RUE YECHIL 2	P	1894	AO 1914
ANATOLIE - PASSAGE	5	745	3.725	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1894	AO 1909
APOSTOLIDES APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 162	P	1894	AO 1914
AZARIAN APP	4,5	160	800	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 366 / IMPASSE LORANDO 2	P	1894	AO 1914
AZARIAN PETRI APP - ANDON			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 6	P	1894	AO 1914
AZNAVOUR J.S. APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR 6	P	1894	AO 1894
BAGDADIAN OHAN EFFENDI MAISON			0	RUE KABRISTAN 76	P	1894	AO 1894
BAGDADLIAN OHANNES EFFENDI	4-4&B	142	568	RUE KARANFIL 63	P	1894	AO 1905
BALSAMO APP	5	145	725	RUE KOULOGLOU 12-14	P	1894	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
BALTAZZI APP			0	RUE TOM TOM 9	P	1894	AO 1905
BALTAZZI APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 8	P	1894	AO 1914
BAVA CAPITAN PACHA APP			0	RUE RODOLPHE 27	P	1894	AO 1905
CALFOPOULOS APP			0	RUE DE POLOGNE 3	P	1894	AO 1914
CAMONDO APP	4	175	700	RUE NANE 6	P	1894	GD 1905
CAMONDO APP	5	155	775	RUE DE POLOGNE 13	P	1894	GD 1905
CHEIKH	6	900	5.400	RUE MEZARLIK	P	1894	GD 1905
CRITICOS APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 160	P	1894	AO 1914
FARRA APP	5&B	350	1.750	RUE MEZARLIK 1	P	1894	GD 1905
GEORGIADES APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 127	P	1894	AO 1905
GRAVIER APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 108	P	1894	AO 1914
GUSELOGLOU MAISON			0	ASMALI MESDJID 5	P	1894	AO 1894
HADJI SAID APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 27	P	1894	AO 1905
HADJIBIAR ANTOINE APP			0	RUE LINARDI 21	P	1894	AO 1894
HANSON APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA	P	1894	AO 1914
HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 167	P	1894	AO 1905
KANAGHINI APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 44	P	1894	AO 1894
KANAGHINI APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 52	P	1894	AO 1894
KANAGHINI APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 60	P	1894	AO 1894
KIRICO APP	6		0	RUE TELEGRAPHE 4	P	1894	AO 1914
LICATA MAISON			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 52	P	1894	AO 1894
LORANDO APP			0	IMPASSE LORANDO 1	P	1894	AO 1905
MILLE APP	3		0	RUE TCHOPLOUK TCHECHME 5	P	1894	AO 1914
MOURADYAN APP	4	52	208	RUE JOURNAL 2	P	1894	GD 1905
NOURIAN EFFENDI	4&B	200	800	RUE NANE	P	1894	GD 1905
OLIVO	5	75	375	RUE DE POLOGNE 33	P	1894	GD 1905
PEDEMONTE APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 4	P	1894	AO 1905
PEKMEZ GOMIDAS APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 89	P	1894	AO 1905
PEKMEZIAN	6&B	196	1176	RUE YENI 17	P	1894	GD 1905
RALLI	6		0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME 33	P	1894	GD 1905
RECHID MOUSTA BEY APP		0	0	RUE FAYK PACHA 13	P	1894	AO 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ROSENTHAL A. MAISON			0	RUE KIBLE 28	P	1894	AO 1894
SOUVAZOGLOU MAISON			0	RUE KUTCHUK PARMAK CAPOU 2	P	1894	AO 1894
STAMATIADIS APP	3		0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 407	P	1894	AO 1914
TANNENBAUM AVRAHAM MAISON	3		0	ASMALI MESDJID 6	P	1894	AO 1894
TUNNEL APP (A, B, C, D)	5-6	1.165	6.990	PLACE DU TUNNEL	P	1894	GD 1905
VEKIL EFFENDI APP			0	RUE VENEDIK 11	P	1894	AO 1894
VLASTARI	4		0	RUE PIR MEHMED 17	P	1894	GD 1905
YACOUBIAN APP		0	0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 38	P	1894	AO 1914
ALI BEHDJED APP	5	115	575	RUE DEIRMEN 9	PG	1894	GD 1905
APERGHI ANDONAKI			0	RUE KARANFYL 10	PG	1894	AO 1914
BAGDADLIAN OHAN EFFENDI	4&B,5,6	205	1025	RUE KARANFIL 43	PG	1894	GD 1905
BARNATHAN	5-6	430	2580	RUE DJERAH PACHA / RUE CHAHKOULI 19	PG	1894	GD 1905
CUPPA	4	325	1300	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 4	PG	1894	GD 1905
FOUAD BEY MAISON			0	RUE BUYUK HENDEK 8	PG	1894	AO 1894
MADELENY MAISON			0	RUE CHAHKOULI 20	PG	1894	AO 1894
PEKMEZIAN GOMIDAS	5-6	145	871	RUE BUYUK HENDEK 9	PG	1894	GD 1905
RIGO	6-7	136	952	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK 40-46	PG	1894	GD 1905
SOUROUNIAN MAISON			0	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK 14	PG	1894	AO 1894
TIANO APP	5-6	155	930	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 39	PG	1894	AO 1914
TRIANDAFILIDES	5-6	270	1620	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK 38	PG	1894	GD 1905
YANNISSOPOULO	5	110	550	RUE OTT	PG	1894	GD 1905
ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN (BOUYOUK)	3-4-5	300	1200	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR / RUE ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN, 28	S	1894	AO 1909
ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN (KUCUK)	4	0	0	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR / RUE ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN, 8	S	1894	AO 1909
AGOP MOURADIAN HAN	2-3-4	305	915	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR, 91	S	1894	AO 1909
ANANIADI HAN	3-4	380	1520	RUE MEIDANDJIK 13	S	1894	AO 1909
ASLAN HAN	2		0	RUE BALEK BAZAR, 118	S	1894	AO 1909
BOYADJI HAN	2-3	250	750	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1894	AO 1909
DJEFERIE HAN	3	1225	3675	MERDJAN YOCOUCHOU, PRES DU SERASKERAT	S	1894	AO 1909
GILBRALTAR HAN	1-2	245	490	RUE SAKA TCHECHME 22	S	1894	AO 1909
GUMUCHOGLOU HAN - GUMUCHIAN	2	260	520	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI	S	1894	AO 1909
KAZASKER HAN	4	175	700	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE	S	1894	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
LULEDJI HAN	3	109	327	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR 13	S	1894	AO 1909
MAHMOUDIE HAN	4	570	2280	RUE FINDJANDJILAR	S	1894	AO 1909
MEIVAHOCHE YENI HAN	2	315	630	RUE MEIVAHOCHE	S	1894	AO 1909
MISSIRLIOGLOU HAN			0	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE 82	S	1894	AO 1909
NYMET HAN	4	175	700	RUE ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN	S	1894	AO 1909
OSMAN EFFENDI HAN	3-4	120	480	RUE BALEK HANE AU BORD DE LA MER	S	1894	AO 1909
PINTO AMRAM HAN	3	310	930	RUE KUTUFHANE 4	S	1894	AO 1909
SALIH EFFENDI HAN	2	120	240	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR 15	S	1894	AO 1909
WHITTALL HAN	3-4	340	1360	RUE MEIDANDJIK 11	S	1894	AO 1909
XANTHOPOULO	3-4	145	580	RUE MEIDANDJIK	S	1894	AO 1909
YAGHLIKTCHI -YAGHDJI HAN	2		0	RUE TAVOUK PAZARI, NOURI OSMANIE	S	1894	GD 1905
YALDIZ (YELDIZ) HAN (BOUYOUK)	4	1210	4840	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA, 255	S	1894	AO 1909
AGOPIAN HAN (ANCIEN BALTAZZI HAN)	4	714	2857	RUE VOIVODE 67	G	1895	AO 1909
ASSAF PACHA MAISON	2-6	66	264	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA / RUE HEZAREN	G	1895	GD 1905
BEREKET HAN - FRANCHINI- PALAZZO DEL COMUNE	3-5	209	836	RUE TCHINAR - RUE VOIVODE 19	G	1895	AO 1909
BIO - GALATA	4-5-6	1.988	9.940	RUE VOIVODE	G	1895	GD 1905
CAMONDO HAN	3	216	647	RUE KUREKDJILER, 1	G	1895	AO 1909
CAMONDO MAISON / APART. [HAN]	5-6	380	2280	RUE HADJI ALI 1 - RUE FELEK	G	1895	GD 1905
CASTRO HAN	4--4&B	160	642	RUE MERTEBANY 1	G	1895	AO 1909
COUYOUMDJILER HAN (CAMONDO)	3	379	1138	RUE YORGANDJILAR 87	G	1895	AO 1909
HAMDI PACHA HAN (ADALET HAN IN 1906-1907)	3	314	942	RUE DE LA BANQUE 2	G	1895	AO 1905
KARAKEUY KUTCHUK DJEDID HAN	4	80	320	RUE GUEUMRUK 20	G	1895	AO 1909
KARAKEUY YENI HAN	4	300	1200	PLACE KARAKEUY	G	1895	AO 1909
LLYOD HAN (OU MOUHAMER HAN)	6	135	810	RUE ESKI CHARAP ISKELESI	G	1895	AO 1909
MACRI HAN - AHMED AGHA HAN	3-4	157	627	RUE VOIVODE	G	1895	AO 1909
MARASSOGLOU (IKIADIS) (ELIADIS YANI)	4	139	557	RUE FERMELEDJILER	G	1895	GD 1905
MEIMANETLI HAN	4	100	400	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 42	G	1895	AO 1909
RASSIM BEY HAN	3	310	930	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1895	GD 1905
TCHETCHEYAN HAN	4	122	488	RUE GUEUMRUK 23	G	1895	AO 1909

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TUNNEL HAN	3	508	1524	RUE BILLOUR	G	1895	AO 1909
ASLANIAN	6	103	618	RUE ALLEON	P	1895	GD 1905
AU BON MARCHE APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 354	P	1895	AO 1909
CAMONDO APP	6	730	4.380	RUE KABRISTAN 55	P	1895	GD 1905
CLUB ORIENTAL EN CONSTRUCTION (CERCLE D'ORIENT)	4	274	1.096	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1895	HUBER 4
CORPI, MAISON	3&B	445	1.335	RUE KABRISTAN 44	P	1895	HUBER 6
MAVROGORDATO. MAISON	4&B-5	780	3900	RUE TELEGRAPHE	P	1895	GD 1905
MAVROGORTATO MAISON			0	RUE ALLEON	P	1895	HUBER 1
PISANI MAISON			0	RUE SOURROURI / RUE EMIN DJAMI	P	1895	HUBER 4
PSALTY, MAISON			0	RUE KABRISTAN	P	1895	HUBER 6
RIZZO APP			0	RUE ARASLAR	P	1895	AO 1914
ROUM HASTA HANE HAN			0	RUE ROUM KABRISTAN	P	1895	HUBER 1
SUREYA PACHA, MAISON	6	393	2.358	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1895	HUBER 4
TUBINI - CLUB DE CONSTANTINOPLE	4	412	1.648	RUE KABRISTAN 46	P	1895	HUBER 6
VAHRATOGLOU APP	5&B-6		0	RUE MEZARLIK BIS 37	P	1895	GD 1905
AGOSTINI APP	4-5	205	1.025	RUE YAZIDJI 74	PG	1895	GD 1905
CHRISSOSTOMOS COSTI APP	6	60	360	RUE KARANFYL 45	PG	1895	GD 1905
NAHID BEY - NAIB BEY - YAZIDJI CITE - HELBIG APP	6-7	1.225	8.575	RUE YAZIDJI 58	PG	1895	AO 1914
NEOLOGOS			0	RUE KARANFYL 1	PG	1895	HUBER 6
PETRAKI CALFA	4-5	290	1.450	IMPASSE MACRI 4	PG	1895	AO 1905
RIGO, MAISON	5-6	250	1500	RUE CHAKOULY	PG	1895	GD 1906
YANNISSOPOULO THEODORE APP	4,5	105	525	RUE CHAHKOULI 20	PG	1895	GD 1905
BIO - STAMBOUL	2-3-4	320	960	RUE YENI DJAMI	S	1895	GD 1905
ABOUAF	5-6	178	1068	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA OU YENI YOL 15	G	1905	GD 1905
ADM. SANITAIRE DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN	3&B	600	1800	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA	G	1905	GD 1905
ALEVROPOULOS HAN	4	35	140	RUE HALIL PACHA	G	1905	AO 1909
ALI BEY	5-6	76	457	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
ARABIAN HAN	5	93	465	RUE ESKI CHARAP ISKELESI	G	1905	AO 1909
ASLANGUL HAN			0	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
AZARIAN HAN	3	82	245	RUE VOIVODE 17	G	1905	AO 1909
BAGDAD HAN	3	327	980	RUE YENI YOL 100 / RUE HEZAREN 23	G	1905	AO 1909
BALMOUMDJI HAN	4	180	720	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA	G	1905	AO 1909
BANQUE DE SALONIQUE	4	181	726	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1905	GD 1905
BARNATHAN	5	80	399	IMPASSE TCHIMCHIR 10	G	1905	GD 1905
CAMONDO	4	187	748	RUE CHICHANE 12	G	1905	GD 1905
CAMONDO APP	5-6	270	1620	RUE HADJI ALI 20	G	1905	GD 1905
CHEFKET BEY	5&B-7&B	163	978	RUE PORTUCAL	G	1905	GD 1905
CHIRVANI ALİ BEY - CHIRVANI HALID BEY	4	80	319	RUE CHAHSSOUVAR 9	G	1905	GD 1905
CHIRVANI ARİF BEY - CHIRVANI HALID BEY	4	131	523	RUE CHAHSSOUVAR 11	G	1905	AO 1909
CHRISSOVERGHI HAN			0	RUE DE LA QUARANTAINE	G	1905	AO 1909
COHEN AIVAS HAN	5-6		0	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1905	GD 1905
COURBAN	4-5	176	880	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA / RUE HEZAREN	G	1905	GD 1905
COURBAN APP	5-6	80	480	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 94	G	1905	AO 1914
COUTEAUX HAN	4	200	800	RUE ESKI CHARAP ISKELESI	G	1905	AO 1909
DAVIDOVICH ET ZIFCOVITZ (LIMAN TİCARET HAN)	5	81	406	RUE ESKI CHARAP ISKELESI ? RUE HARATCHI	G	1905	GD 1905
DEIRMEN HAN (KUTCHUK)	3-4	62	247	RUE KUREKDJILER 16	G	1905	AO 1909
DJEDID HAN	3	49	148	RUE MERTEBANY 17	G	1905	AO 1909
DJILADJIAN APP	3&B-4	169	675	RUE HADJI ALI / RUE HOROZ	G	1905	AO 1909
ELLIADI HAN	3-4	218	871	RUE FERMELEDJILER 108	G	1905	AO 1909
ESKENAZİ APP	5-6	55	330	YENI YOL OU OKDJI MOUSSA 32	G	1905	GD 1905
ESKI BORSA HAN	4	45	180	DANS HAVIAR HAN 33	G	1905	AO 1909
FAIK BEY APP	6	263	1581	RUE HADJI ALI	G	1905	GD 1905
FELDMAN APP	5	100	501	RUE CHAHSSOUVAR 13	G	1905	GD 1905
FRENGHIAN	4-5	91	457	RUE CHAHSSOUVAR	G	1905	GD 1905
FRIEDMANN	4	52	208	RUE ISKENDER 44	G	1905	GD 1905
GALATA HAN	4	52	208	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA	G	1905	AO 1909
GALLERINI	5	135	675	TOPHANE ISKELESI 1	G	1905	GD 1905
GUMUCHE HAN	4	56	224	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA / RUE GUEUMRUK 7	G	1905	AO 1909
HADJI MAHMOUD BEY APP	4&B-5	145	725	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 9 A	G	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
HADJI REDJEB	3	254	762	RUE YORGANDJILAR	G	1905	GD 1905
HAIDAR PACHA	3	71	212	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1905	GD 1905
HAIRI EFENDI APP	4-5	85	425	YENI YOL OU OKDJI MOUSSA 44	G	1905	GD 1905
HALIL PACHA APP	3-4-5	45	181	RUE COULE DIBI	G	1905	GD 1905
HAMDI BEY HAN (1906) - (HEZAREN HAN-1903)	2	137	274	RUE YENI YOL 113 / RUE HEZAREN	G	1905	AO 1909
HAZZOPARDI	4-5	140	700	IMPASSE SAVERIO (DANS LA RUE OKDJI MOUSSA)	G	1905	GD 1905
HOURCHOUD HAN	1		0	RUE YORGHANDJILAR 263	G	1905	GD 1905
IBRAHIM RIFAAT HAN	5	815	4075	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA	G	1905	AO 1909
INAYET HAN (1900-1901) (VEFAI HAN)	5	135	675	RUE VOIVODE 60	G	1905	AO 1909
IZZET BEY	4-5		0	RUE YENI KAPI	G	1905	GD 1905
KAMADJIAN	5&B	73	363	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 35	G	1905	GD 1905
KANAGHINI	4&B	137	549	RUE IBIK 6	G	1905	GD 1905
KASSAPIAN	5-6	70	420	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
KELSEN	3-4	51	203	RUE COULE DIBI	G	1905	GD 1905
KOULELI HAN (KUCUK)			0	RUE ESKI BALEK-BAZAR 11	G	1905	AO 1909
KUTCHUKIAN HAN	4	65	260	RUE LEBLEBIDJI 7	G	1905	AO 1909
LADJIVERT HAN	3	102	305	RUE ZULFARISSE 14	G	1905	AO 1909
LORANDO	4-5	150	750	RUE TERSANE - RUE ISKENDER	G	1905	GD 1905
LORANDO HAN	3-4	163	650	RUE VOIVODE 16	G	1905	AO 1909
MAATER HAN	4	130	520	RUE GUEUMRUK 38	G	1905	AO 1909
MAHMOUD BEY (HADJI)	4-5-6	140	699	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1905	GD 1905
MANOUKIAN	4-5	102	508	RUE COULE DIBI	G	1905	GD 1905
MAYER A. ET CIE	3-4	163	653	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	GD 1905
MEHMED BEY	3	70	210	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA 49	G	1905	GD 1905
MELKONIAN	5-6	70	420	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
MOUSTAFA BEY	6-7	70	488	RUE HOROZ	G	1905	GD 1905
NAZLI HAN (STE D'ASS. OTT.)	4	154	616	RUE YENI YOL /RUE HEZARENE	G	1905	AO 1909
ORIENTAL HAN	5	592	2958	RUE YUKSEK KALDERIM	G	1905	GD 1905
OUZOUN HAN	5-6	290	1742	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA / RUE HAZERENE	G	1905	GD 1905
OVADIA APP	3	110	330	RUE YENI YOL / RUE YACHMAK SYRAN	G	1905	GD 1905
PATRIKIADIS HAN	3-4	135	540	DANS HAVIAR HAN 91	G	1905	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
PETRAKI HAN / PETRAKI EFF. MEIMARIDES	6	533	3201	RUE DJAMDJI 10 / RUE COULE DIBI 21	G	1905	GD 1905
PHILOSOPHE	4	170	680	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
PICKET	3	53	159	IMPASSE SAVERIO (DANS LA RUE OKDJI MOUSSA)	G	1905	GD 1905
PINTO AMRAM APP	6	81	486	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA 52	G	1905	GD 1905
PLOMB	3-4	180	720	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM	G	1905	GD 1905
PLYTAS	3	52	157	RUE DJAMDJI 3	G	1905	GD 1905
PREFECTURE DU PORT	3	377	1131	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA	G	1905	GD 1905
PROTEST	5	150	749	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
RAGHIB BEY	5-6	90	540	RUE CHICHANE 7	G	1905	GD 1905
RAOUF BEY	6	435	2613	RUE DJAMDJI 9	G	1905	GD 1905
RECHID PACHA HAN	4	66	264	RUE BILLOUR	G	1905	AO 1909
RIGO	4-5-6	310	1551	RUE HADJI ALI 9,10	G	1905	GD 1905
RIGO APP	4-5-6	62	308	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 38	G	1905	GD 1905
RIHTIM HAN	3,5	345	1380	SUR LES QUAIS	G	1905	AO 1909
SADIK PACHA	5-6-7	290	1742	RUE COULE DIBI	G	1905	GD 1905
SAFET BEY MAISON	5	188	942	RUE HADJI ALI / RUE HOROZ	G	1905	GD 1905
SAID (HADJI)	4	45	180	RUE CHICHANE 27	G	1905	GD 1905
SAINT PIERRE HAN A - B	2-3-4	1488	4464	RUE DE LA BANQUE	G	1905	AO 1909
SAMARDJIDI HAN			0	RUE GUEUMRUK 52	G	1905	AO 1909
SAROGLOU HAN	4	45	180	RUE KEUMURDJI ? PECHTEMALDJI?	G	1905	AO 1909
SCHORR	3	434	1303	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1905	GD 1905
SINANLI HAN	4	65	260	RUE HALIL PACHA 28	G	1905	AO 1909
SINGER HAN	3	62	185	RUE BILLOUR	G	1905	AO 1909
SOLOMOVITCH	5-6	137	822	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1905	GD 1905
TALACH HAN	4	112	448	DANS HAVIAR HAN 15	G	1905	AO 1909
TALAT EFFENDI (CHEIKH)	4	242	968	IMP TCHIMCHIR	G	1905	GD 1905
TEVEKEL HAN	4	78	314	RUE ZULFARISSE 16	G	1905	AO 1909
THE ECONOMIC COOPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD	3-4	447	1788	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA	G	1905	GD 1905
TIMOUR HAN	3	78	235	RUE BAKIR	G	1905	GD 1905
TIRING V. ET FRERES	3	109	327	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	GD 1905
URBACH	3	76	228	RUE CHAHSSOUVAR 34	G	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
URBACH	5	198	991	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1905	GD 1905
VASSILAKI HAN	2-3	330	990	DANS HAVIAR HAN 27	G	1905	AO 1909
VOIVODA HAN	4	227	909	RUE VOIVODE 63	G	1905	AO 1909
YELKENDJI HAN	2-3	457	1372	RUE KURKDJI CAPOU	G	1905	GD 1905
YENI KUTCHUK HAN	4	67	268	RUE GUEUMRUK 50	G	1905	AO 1909
YORDAN EFFENDI HAN ANCIEN LEON HAN	4	75	300	RUE DE LA QUARANTAINE 10	G	1905	AO 1909
ABBOUD EFFENDI APP	5		0	RUE TIMONI 2	P	1905	AO 1905
ABBOUD EFFENDI APP			0	IMPASSE OTTONI	P	1905	AO 1905
ABBOUD EFFENDI APP (1905 IN CONSTRUCTION)	5	765	3.825	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
ADIL APP	5	125	625	RUE TUNNEL 8	P	1905	GD 1905
AGIMAN APP		0	0	RUE CHICHE HANE 12	P	1905	AO 1914
AGOP APP	6-7		0	RUE KERESTEDJI 3	P	1905	GD 1905
AHMED EFFENDI APP	5-6	50	300	RUE AGHA	P	1905	GD 1905
ALI BEY APP	3		0	RUE BEKIAR 2	P	1905	GD 1905
AMANCHICH APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 11	P	1905	AO 1905
AMON APP	6-7	113	791	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 41	P	1905	GD 1905
AMRAM APP	6	93	558	RUE KABRISTAN 57	P	1905	GD 1905
ANAGNOSTOPOULOS APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 71	P	1905	AO 1905
ANANIADI APP			0	RUE COUMBARADJI YOKOUCHOU	P	1905	AO 1905
ANASTASE SIOB APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 17	P	1905	AO 1905
ANDON CALFA	6		0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI 4	P	1905	GD 1905
ANDONAKI APP			0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME, 13	P	1905	AO 1905
ANLO-PROTESTANT APP			0	IMPASSE HAYDEN 1	P	1905	AO 1914
ANT. FOLTZ APP	5	300	1.500	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 79	P	1905	AO 1909
APERGHI	5&B-6	90	540	RUE KIBLE, 14	P	1905	GD 1905
APOSTOLIDES APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 12 (DE LA R. CHERBET HANE...)	P	1905	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDES APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 21 (DE LA R. CHERBET HANE...)	P	1905	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS BEY	4	970	3880	RUE GUMUCHE 12	P	1905	AO 1905
ARIEN BEY	5	125	625	RUE AGHA HAMAM	P	1905	GD 1905
ARIF BEY APP			0	RUE AGHA HAMAM 27	P	1905	AO 1914
ARON APP			0	RUE HAIRIE 3	P	1905	AO 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ASLANIDIS	5	150	750	RUE KOULOGLOU 20	P	1905	GD 1905
ASSEO	5&B-6	105	630	RUE KIBLE 12	P	1905	GD 1905
ATLAS	5	165	825	RUE DE POLOGNE 26	P	1905	GD 1905
ATLAS	5-6	305	1.830	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 7	P	1905	GD 1905
ATLAS APP			0	RUE ALLEON 16	P	1905	AO 1905
AZARIAN APP	5-6	210	1.260	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 45	P	1905	GD 1905
AZARIAN APP	4	440	1.760	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 204	P	1905	AO 1909
AZARIAN APP	4	255	1.020	RUE THEATRE 1	P	1905	GD 1905
AZNAVOUR CITE			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	AO 1914
BAKAL - YORGHI APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 1O	P	1905	AO 1905
BAKER APP	3&B		0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 22	P	1905	AO 1914
BALTAZZI HENRI APP			0	RUE TOM TOM 29	P	1905	AO 1905
BAREKAS APP			0	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 73	P	1905	AO 1905
BARON HUBSCH			0	RUE KARTAL 18	P	1905	AO 1905
BAUDOUY APP	5&B-6	135	810	RUE KOULOGLOU 20	P	1905	GD 1905
BEHAR APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 15	P	1905	AO 1914
BEHAR APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 40	P	1905	AO 1914
BELLE VUE APP	5	70	350	RUE CHIMAL 34	P	1905	GD 1905
BERBERIAN APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 11	P	1905	AO 1914
BOGHOS EFFENDI KERESTEDJIAN			0	RUE YAGH HANE 37	P	1905	GD 1905
BOGHOS PACHA / BOGHOS CALFA	4&B		0	RUE DALIA	P	1905	GD 1905
BOTTARO APP			0	RUE TCHAILAC 8	P	1905	AO 1914
BOTTER IMMEUBLE	5	110	550	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 477	P	1905	AO 1909
BRINDISI APP	5	110	550	RUE KOULOGLOU 20 BIS	P	1905	GD 1905
BRINDISI APP	4-5	160	800	RUE ANADOLOU 11	P	1905	GD 1905
CALPE APP			0	RUE MALACOF 4	P	1905	AO 1905
CAMLEON	5-6	135	810	RUE VENEDIK	P	1905	GD 1905
CANTAROGLOU APP			0	RUE SAGH 1	P	1905	AO 1914
CARAMANLI APP			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 6	P	1905	AO 1905
CARDIA APP	5-6		0	RUE CHERBET HANE	P	1905	GD 1905
CARTALI APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 54	P	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
CASTORIDES	4&B	140	560	RUE YECHIL	P	1905	GD 1905
CHAHZADELER	5-6	120	720	IMPASSAE SINEK/K. PARMAK KAPOU	P	1905	GD 1905
CHAKIR PACHA APP	5&B		0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 24	P	1905	GD 1905
CHEFKI PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 78	P	1905	AO 1914
CHRISSOVERGHI APP	5	658	3.290	RUE SYRA SELVI 40 / RUE ROUM CABRISTAN 40	P	1905	GD 1905
CHRISTO CALFA APP			0	RUE KALIONDJI KOULOUK 54	P	1905	AO 1914
CHRISTODOULO APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESI, 64	P	1905	AO 1905
CHRYSSOVERGHI APP			0	RUE ROUM KABRISTAN 40	P	1905	AO 1914
CHUKRI BEY APP	5-6	77	462	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 231	P	1905	AO 1909
CINGRIA APP	5-6	95	570	RUE VENEDIK 19	P	1905	GD 1905
COMBOTCHERA APP			0	RUE KULL 20	P	1905	AO 1914
CONSTANTINIDI	5-6	260	1560	RUE BOUYOUK PARMAK CAPOU,6	P	1905	GD 1905
CONSTANTINIDI			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 9	P	1905	AO 1914
CONSTANTINIDI APP			0	RUE IMAM 5	P	1905	AO 1914
COSTAKI CALFA	4&B		0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI-FOUROUN	P	1905	GD 1905
COULOUTROS APP	6		0	RUE KOUMBARADJILAR YOKOUCHOU 32,34,36	P	1905	GD 1905
CRESPI APP	6	123	738	RUE SOFIALY 10	P	1905	GD 1905
CRESPI APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 34	P	1905	AO 1914
CRISPI	5-6	223	1.338	RUE ZUMBUL	P	1905	GD 1905
CRITICOS APP			0	RUE MISK 27	P	1905	AO 1914
DALANTIS	4&B	45	180	RUE KIBLE	P	1905	GD 1905
DANDORIA	5-6	110	660	RUE DE LA CHANCELLERIE	P	1905	GD 1905
DAPOLA APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 21	P	1905	AO 1914
DAPOLA EUGENE APP	5		0	RUE KEKLIK 12	P	1905	GD 1905
DEVEAUX APP	3	848	2.544	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 130 -	P	1905	AO 1909
DEVEAUX APP	5-6	347	2.082	RUE SAKYZ AGHATCH 15	P	1905	GD 1905
DIACO APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 39	P	1905	AO 1914
DJANIMIAN APP	3	105	315	RUE YECHIL 8	P	1905	GD 1905
DJEMILOGLOU APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK 19	P	1905	AO 1914
DONIZETTI	6	75	450	RUE MEZARLIK 49	P	1905	GD 1905
ECONOMIDES	5	103	515	RUE AGHA, 12	P	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ECONOMIDES	5-6	142	852	RUE AGHA, 16,18	P	1905	GD 1905
EKMEKDJOGLOU	4		0	RUE TCHAKMAK 2	P	1905	GD 1905
ELIAS PACHA APP	5-6	85	510	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 436	P	1905	AO 1909
EMIN BEY APP	5	135	675	RUE KIBLE 30	P	1905	GD 1905
EPHORIE GRECQUE, DE L'	5-6	450	2700	IMPASSE PEMBE 4	P	1905	GD 1905
EPIRE APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 11	P	1905	AO 1914
ESMER APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 17	P	1905	AO 1914
ESSAYAN APP	5-6	280	1.680	RUE MEZARLIK 30 / 20	P	1905	GD 1905
ETHEM BEY APP			0	IMPASSE MOUSSALA 2	P	1905	AO 1905
EUMER EFFENDI APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK BIS 23	P	1905	AO 1914
FAHRI BEY APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 29	P	1905	AO 1905
FAKIR	2		0	RUE KARADJA	P	1905	GD 1905
FAKIR EFFENDI	4		0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI	P	1905	GD 1905
FETHI PACHA APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 22	P	1905	AO 1914
FLEHI APP			0	RUE DULBENDJI 2	P	1905	AO 1905
FOSCOLO APP	6	238	1.428	RUE ZUMBUL 26	P	1905	GD 1905
FOUAT BEY APP			0	RUE TOZCOPARAN 32	P	1905	AO 1905
FRATELLI HAIM APP	5-6	145	870	RUE TEPE BACHI 29	P	1905	GD 1905
FREDERICI APP	5-6	175	1.050	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 458	P	1905	AO 1909
FREDERICI PASSAGE	5-6	365	2.190	RUE KABRISTAN 47	P	1905	GD 1905
FRESCO APP	5	590	2.950	PASSAGE PETITS CHAMPS	P	1905	GD 1905
FREUND APP			0	IMPASSE TOBDJI BACHI 14	P	1905	AO 1914
FRIEDMANN APP	5-6	400	2.400	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 489	P	1905	AO 1909
FRIEDMANN APP	4-5	110	550	RUE KIBLE 16	P	1905	GD 1905
GALATA	6	115	690	RUE KOUCOUK PARMAK CAPOU	P	1905	GD 1905
GALATA SERAI PASSAGE	6	920	5.520	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
GAMBETTA	5&B-6	72	432	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 27	P	1905	GD 1905
GARABED AGHA APP	6		0	RUE ENLI YOCOUCHE 22	P	1905	GD 1905
GARABED APP			0	RUE KERESTEDJI 23	P	1905	AO 1914
GEORGHAKI CALFA APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 13	P	1905	AO 1914
GHLIGOR	5		0	RUE YAOURT HANE	P	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
GIUSTINIANI APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 89	P	1905	AO 1914
GLAVANY	5-6	120	720	RUE DE BROUSSE 38	P	1905	GD 1905
GLAVANY	5-6	480	2.880	RUE DES POSTES 11	P	1905	GD 1905
GONIDAS	6-6&B		0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 35 & 39	P	1905	GD 1905
GONIS APP			0	RUE AGHA 4	P	1905	AO 1905
GRISCTI APP			0	RUE ZUMBUL 7	P	1905	AO 1905
GRISCTI APP			0	RUE KUTCHUK KABRISTAN 14	P	1905	AO 1914
GUIRITLI APP	5	130	650	RUE YENI 25	P	1905	GD 1905
GULBENKIAN APP			0	RUE GUL BABA	P	1905	AO 1905
HADJI HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 44	P	1905	AO 1914
HADJI HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 52	P	1905	AO 1914
HADJIBIAR	3-4	175	700	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
HAGEL APP			0	RUE YENI TCHARCHI 21	P	1905	AO 1914
HAKKI BEY APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 7	P	1905	AO 1914
HAMDI PACHA	5	47	235	RUE SOFIALY	P	1905	GD 1905
HANSON	6	250	1.500	RUE YEMENEDJI	P	1905	GD 1905
HARALAMBO APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 2	P	1905	AO 1914
HASSAN PACHA	4		0	PASSAGE FRANCHI 172	P	1905	GD 1905
HASSAN PACHA APP			0	RUE ALLEON 1	P	1905	AO 1905
HAZZOPULO	6	160	960	RUE TELEGRAPHE 29	P	1905	GD 1905
HAZZOPULO / HADJOPOULOS	5	125	625	RUE DE BROUSSE 25	P	1905	GD 1905
HOLSTEIN APP			0	RUE ZUMBUL 23, 25	P	1905	AO 1914
HOURESSERIAN APP			0	RUE GUL BABA 13	P	1905	AO 1914
HUKMET BEY APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 35	P	1905	AO 1914
HUKMET BEY APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 37	P	1905	AO 1914
HUSSEIN PACHA	4		0	RUE KALIONDJI KOULOUK 52	P	1905	GD 1905
HUSSEIN PACHA			0	RUE FERIDIE 11	P	1905	GD 1905
HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 38	P	1905	AO 1905
IBRAHIM PACHA APP	6	160	960	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 451	P	1905	AO 1909
INGLIS APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 8	P	1905	AO 1914
INGLISCHE APP			0	RUE DALIA	P	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ISMAIL PACHA APP	5&B-6&B		0	RUE HALEPLI 10	P	1905	GD 1905
ISSAK PACHA	5-6	140	840	RUE KIBLE 34	P	1905	GD 1905
IVRAKIS APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 7	P	1905	AO 1914
IZZEDDIN APP			0	RUE DARADJIK 5	P	1905	AO 1914
JOANNIDES	5-6&B		0	RUE PECHKIRDJI	P	1905	GD 1905
JOANNIDIS APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 176	P	1905	AO 1905
KAISERLIAN APP.	5	165	825	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 424	P	1905	AO 1909
KANAGHINI	6	120	720	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 23	P	1905	GD 1905
KANAGHINI APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 75	P	1905	AO 1914
KANAVALOFF APP	4	235	940	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 356	P	1905	AO 1909
KANTAROGLOU	5-6	145	870	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
KAPAMADJIAN	4	135	540	RUE LINARDI 5	P	1905	GD 1905
KAPTAN PACHA	5&B-6	235	1.410	RUE ALLEON	P	1905	GD 1905
KARA YORGHI APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 2	P	1905	AO 1914
KARAGUESIAN	4-5	170	850	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 5	P	1905	GD 1905
KARAGUESIAN APP	5-6	245	1.470	RUE DERVICHE 4	P	1905	GD 1905
KARAGUESIAN HAN	3-4	165	660	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
KEUSSEYAN	5		0	RUE SAKIZ-AGATCH 99	P	1905	GD 1905
KIRKELI APP			0	RUE YENI YOL 13,15	P	1905	AO 1905
KOPP	6	150	900	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
KOUTCHEOGLOU	4-5,5	385	1.925	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
KRITIKOS	6		0	RUE TARLABACHI	P	1905	GD 1905
KUTUKIAN	6	165	990	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 407	P	1905	GD 1905
LAGOPOULOS APP			0	IMPASSE TOBDJI BACHI 24	P	1905	AO 1914
LALAS	6	140	840	RUE AGHA, 20	P	1905	GD 1905
LAMBRINIDES	6	75	450	RUE YENI	P	1905	GD 1905
LAMBRINIDES MARC			0	RUE RODOLPHE 37	P	1905	AO 1905
LAMBRINIDIS APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 40	P	1905	AO 1905
LECLERQ APP	5	125	625	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 78	P	1905	AO 1909
LEONDIDI APP	5&B		0	RUE SIMITCHI	P	1905	GD 1905
LIVADA APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 7	P	1905	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
LORANDO APP			0	KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 70	P	1905	AO 1905
LOUTFIAN APP	5	90	450	RUE IMAM 1 / GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
MAHMOUD BEY			0	RUE AGHA HAMAM 52	P	1905	AO 1914
MAHMOUD BEY APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 65	P	1905	AO 1914
MAKRIS APP			0	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 15	P	1905	AO 1905
MALIAKAS	6	60	360	RUE BOUYOUK PARMAK CAPOU,8	P	1905	GD 1905
MARKETTO APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 35	P	1905	AO 1914
MARMARA APP	4-5-6		0	RUE KIZILDJIK 3	P	1905	GD 1905
MARMARA APP	6&B	160	960	RUE CHICHLI 19	P	1905	AO 1914
MARTIN J. APP	5&B		0	RUE MISK	P	1905	GD 1905
MAVROGORDATO APP			0	RUE HODJA ZADE 20	P	1905	AO 1905
MAVROMATI	5	235	1.175	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI 27 ? HAMALBACHI	P	1905	GD 1905
MAVROMATI			0	RUE HAMAL BACHI 50	P	1905	AO 1914
MAZLIMIAN DIRAN APP	5&B		0	RUE HALEPLI 2	P	1905	GD 1905
MAZZA	6	300	1.800	RUE KABRISTAN 35	P	1905	GD 1905
MEHMED ALI BEY APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 18	P	1905	AO 1914
MEHMED ALI PACHA APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 29	P	1905	AO 1914
MEHMED BEY	5-6	55	330	RUE SOFIALI 26	P	1905	GD 1905
MEHMED MIRAT BEY			0	RUE TCHILEK	P	1905	AO 1905
MEHMED MIRAT BEY	3		0	RUE KIZILDJIK	P	1905	GD 1905
MEHMED PACHA APP			0	RUE MAHMOUD AGHA 7	P	1905	AO 1914
MEMDOUH BEY APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 22	P	1905	AO 1905
METZIS APP			0	RUE YENI TCHARCHI 43	P	1905	AO 1914
MEZIKI	5	240	1200	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
MICHEL PACHA APP			0	RUE HAIRIE 10, 12	P	1905	AO 1914
MIHAILIDI	6		0	RUE DOGRAMADJI	P	1905	GD 1905
MIHAILIDIS APP			0	RUE TCHILEK 9	P	1905	AO 1905
MIHAILIDIS APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 20	P	1905	AO 1914
MISKDJI	5-6		0	RUE FOUTCHOUDJI-TCHOUKOUR	P	1905	GD 1905
MISKDJIAN APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR 6	P	1905	AO 1914
MIZZI APP	4&B	240	960	RUE SOUTERAZI 13	P	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
MORDAN APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK 18	P	1905	AO 1914
MULLATIER APP			0	RUE DE POLOGNE 28	P	1905	AO 1905
MUNIR PACHA APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 5	P	1905	AO 1914
NAIL BEY APP			0	RUE TOBDJI BACHI 5	P	1905	AO 1905
NAMIK PACHA APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 346	P	1905	AO 1909
NAOUM PACHA	6	130	780	RUE KOUYOUN 21	P	1905	GD 1905
NAZIR PACHA APP			0	RUE VENEDIK 23	P	1905	AO 1905
NEDJIB	5-6		0	RUE TCHAKMAK 43	P	1905	GD 1905
NEDJIB BEY APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 96	P	1905	AO 1914
NESSETIN BEY APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 12	P	1905	AO 1905
NORADOUNGHIAN APP	4	325	1.300	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 77	P	1905	AO 1909
OHANNES	3-3,5&B	215	860	RUE SOFIALI	P	1905	GD 1905
OHANNES APP			0	RUE CHERBET HANE 43	P	1905	AO 1905
OLIVO	5	375	1.875	RUE ALLEON 5	P	1905	GD 1905
OLIVO APP	3-4-5	790	3.160	IMPASSE OLIVO	P	1905	GD 1905
OLIVO APP			0	RUE OLIVO 69	P	1905	AO 1905
ONIK EFENDI	4	68	272	RUE BAYAZID	P	1905	GD 1905
OTTONI APP	5	180	900	RUE TIMONI	P	1905	GD 1905
OUNDJIAN	6-6&B		0	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI	P	1905	GD 1905
OVADIA APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 25	P	1905	AO 1914
PANAIA APP / EPHORIE GRECQUE, DE L'	5	240	1.200	IMPASSE PANAIA 6	P	1905	GD 1905
PAPPADOPOULOS	4&B-5	100	500	RUE ORTA 5	P	1905	GD 1905
PAPPADOPOULOS	6		0	IMPASSE BAKAR 15	P	1905	GD 1905
PAPPADOPOULOS APP			0	IMPASSE DJAMDJI 12	P	1905	AO 1905
PARAPANDOPOULOS APP			0	RUE BEKIAR 2	P	1905	AO 1905
PARISSE APP	5	75	375	RUE SAKYZ AGATCH	P	1905	GD 1905
PARMA D. & P. APP	6-7	75	525	RUE HAMAL BACHI 17	P	1905	GD 1905
PEDRELLI	6		0	RUE TEPE BACHI 12	P	1905	GD 1905
PEDRELLI	5	135	675	RUE DE POLOGNE 43	P	1905	GD 1905
PEKMEZ GOMIDAS APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 35	P	1905	AO 1914
PEKMEZIAN	4	43	172	RUE KIBLE 40	P	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
PEKMEZIAN	3&B		0	RUE FERIDIE 62	P	1905	GD 1905
PERPIGNANI	4-5	90	450	RUE SOUTERAZI 4	P	1905	GD 1905
PERPIGNANI	4-5	90	450	RUE SOUTERAZI 15	P	1905	GD 1905
PERPIGNANI	4-5	275	1.375	RUE ALLEON 7	P	1905	GD 1905
PETIT CHAMPS PASSAGE			0	PASSAGE PETIT CHAMPS	P	1905	AO 1905
PETRAKI CALFA	6-6&B	177	1.062	RUE BAYRAM 44	P	1905	GD 1905
PETRO CALFA ADAMANDIDES	5		0	RUE BAYRAM 44	P	1905	GD 1905
PETRO CALFA APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 62	P	1905	AO 1905
PINGOPOULOS APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 6, 8	P	1905	AO 1914
PLYTAS	5&B		0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME 14	P	1905	GD 1905
RAGHIB BEY	5-6	195	1170	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 92-98	P	1905	GD 1905
RAGHIB PACHA (A.J. CARACACH)	6	540	3.240	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
RAVOUNA APP [KYRIAKIDIS-YENIDOUNIA-COLONAS]	5	95	475	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 403	P	1905	AO 1909
RECCHIA APP	5&B		0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME 30	P	1905	GD 1905
RECHID PACHA APP			0	IMPASSE TUTUNDJU	P	1905	AO 1914
RIGAUDIAS	5-6	190	1.140	RUE AGHA, 2	P	1905	GD 1905
RIZA BEY APP	5&B		0	RUE NEFTI	P	1905	GD 1905
RODITTI APP	6&B-7	60	420	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 37	P	1905	GD 1905
RODOLPHE APP			0	RUE RODOLPHE 33	P	1905	AO 1905
ROSETTO	5-6	200	1200	RUE TELEGRAPHE	P	1905	GD 1905
ROSSOLATO APP	5&B-6		0	RUE PAPATIA 8	P	1905	GD 1905
ROSSOLIMOS			0	RUE MEZARLIK 7	P	1905	AO 1914
ROUMELIE PASSAGE	7	1300	9100	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1905	GD 1905
ROY APP	4	190	760	RUE SAGH 6	P	1905	GD 1905
SAID PACHA APP	5-6	400	2.400	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 247	P	1905	AO 1909
SAKSI APP	5&B-6&B		0	RUE SAKSY 20	P	1905	GD 1905
SALVATORI APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 93	P	1905	AO 1914
SARAPHIMIDIS			0	RUE MEZARLIK BIS 39	P	1905	GD 1905
SARRIS PANAYOTI APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 12, 14	P	1905	AO 1914
SAVERIO APP	5-6	140	840	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 421	P	1905	AO 1909
SCARLATO APP			0	RUE AGHA HAMAM, 1	P	1905	AO 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
SCHEMBRI APP	3		0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 95	P	1905	GD 1905
SELIM PACHA	5,5	90	540	RUE VENEDIK	P	1905	GD 1905
SEMPIRINI APP			0	RUE D'ALGER, 15	P	1905	AO 1914
SIGALAS APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 62	P	1905	AO 1914
SIMPATHIAN	5	110	550	GRANDE RUE DE PERA/RUE GLAVANY 2	P	1905	GD 1905
SINAPIAN	5	77	385	RUE GLAVANY 6	P	1905	GD 1905
SINATOR	4	76	304	RUE DJAMDJI	P	1905	GD 1905
SINIOSSOGLOU	4-5	710	3.550	GRANDE RUE DE PERA -IMPASSE SAKA	P	1905	GD 1905
SIVAS APP			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 5,7	P	1905	AO 1914
SOEURS FRANCISCAINES APP			0	RUE TOM TOM 21	P	1905	AO 1914
SOPHIS	5-6		0	RUE MERMER	P	1905	GD 1905
SOUYOLDJIOGLOU APP			0	RUE YACMAK SYRAN 21	P	1905	AO 1905
SPADARO APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 13	P	1905	AO 1914
SPADARO PACHA	6	58	348	RUE DE LA CHANCELLERIE	P	1905	GD 1905
SPONEK APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 204	P	1905	AO 1905
ST. MARIE APP	3	510	1.530	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 431	P	1905	AO 1909
ST. MARIE APP			0	RUE DES POSTES 12	P	1905	AO 1914
ST. MARIE APP / EGLISE ST. MARIE PETITE PORTE			0	RUE DES POSTES 18	P	1905	AO 1914
STELIANIDI APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 23	P	1905	AO 1905
STERIO CALFA	6		0	RUE ALTIN BAKAL 29	P	1905	GD 1905
STERIO CALFA	5&B-6		0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI 10	P	1905	GD 1905
STERIO CALFA APP			0	RUE DOGRAMADJI 2 BIS	P	1905	AO 1905
STRATI APP			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 9	P	1905	AO 1914
SUREYA BEY	5-6	250	1.500	RUE HAMAL BACHI 28	P	1905	GD 1905
SUREYA PACHA	6-7	345	2.415	RUE ESADJI 1	P	1905	GD 1905
TAHIR BEY APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 16	P	1905	AO 1914
TAHSIN PACHA	5		0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME	P	1905	GD 1905
TAM	5-6	115	690	RUE DE LA CHANCELLERIE	P	1905	GD 1905
TAMBOURIDIS APP			0	RUE HODJA ZADE	P	1905	AO 1914
TCHAOUSSI APP	5		0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 28,30	P	1905	AO 1914
TCHIRADJI	5	227	1135	RUE ROUM KABRISTAN 2	P	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
TCHIRADJI APP	5	215	1.075	RUE KALIONDJI KOULOUK 18	P	1905	GD 1905
TCHIRADJIAN APP	5	140	700	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 61	P	1905	AO 1909
TESTA APP	4-5	245	1.225	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 469	P	1905	AO 1909
TEVFIK APP	5		0	RUE DJEVIZ	P	1905	GD 1905
THEODORIDOU APP	5&B-6	130	780	RUE BEDREDINE 2	P	1905	GD 1905
THOMAS APP			0	RUE ORTA BIS 1	P	1905	AO 1914
TIMONI	4	105	420	RUE ASMALI MESDJID	P	1905	GD 1905
TOPTACHE-ARTIN APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 29	P	1905	AO 1914
TREL	5&B-6-7	165	990	RUE KABRISTAN	P	1905	GD 1905
TSIDOURI APP			0	RUE PAPATIA 5	P	1905	AO 1905
TSITOURIS	4&B		0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 33	P	1905	GD 1905
TSITOURIS APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 48	P	1905	AO 1905
TSONGAS	6-7	160	1.120	TEPEBACHI/HAMALBACHI	P	1905	GD 1905
TZANGOPOULOS			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 11	P	1905	AO 1914
VACALIS APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 20	P	1905	AO 1914
VERNOUDAKI	5-6	200	1.200	RUE YENI TCHARCHI 50, 52	P	1905	GD 1905
VITALIS	6-7	175	1225	RUE BEKIAR 7	P	1905	GD 1905
VITALIS	5&B-6&B		0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 48	P	1905	GD 1905
VITCHEN APP		0	0	IMPASSE KUTCHUK PARMAK CAPOU	P	1905	AO 1914
VLADICA	6-6&B		0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 9	P	1905	GD 1905
VLADIKA		0	0	RUE RODOLPH 54	P	1905	AO 1914
VOUSSIKIDIS	4&B-3		0	RUE MEZARLIK	P	1905	GD 1905
VUCCINO APP	4	130	520	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 383	P	1905	AO 1909
WAIT PACHA	4-5	50	250	RUE VENEDIK	P	1905	GD 1905
XENAKI	7&B		0	RUE CHERBET HANE 71/HAMIDIE	P	1905	GD 1905
YANCO BEY APP			0	RUE ERMENI KILISSE 17 BIS	P	1905	AO 1914
YAVER PACHA	5	305	1.525	RUE MEZARLIK (PETIT CHAMPS)	P	1905	GD 1905
YENI APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 69	P	1905	AO 1905
YORGHI CALFA (1905 IN CONSTRUCTION)	6		0	RUE FAKIR 24	P	1905	GD 1905
YORGHIADIS D.			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME	P	1905	GD 1905
YOUVANAKI APP			0	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 47	P	1905	AO 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ZEKI PACHA	4	465	1860	RUE MISK 1	P	1905	GD 1905
ZEKI PACHA APP	4	255	1.020	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 350	P	1905	AO 1909
ZEKKI PACHA APP			0	IMPASSE DJERAHIS 4	P	1905	AO 1914
ZENOVITCH APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 45	P	1905	AO 1914
ZEREN HAN	4&B-5&B		0	RUE ZEREN 6	P	1905	GD 1905
ZIA BEY	4	170	680	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 346	P	1905	GD 1905
ZIA BEY	5	85	425	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 6	P	1905	GD 1905
ZIFLI PACHA	3		0	RUE ALL, 27	P	1905	GD 1905
ZILPOCHIAN SAHAK APP	5-6	86	516	RUE ZUMBUL	P	1905	GD 1905
ZOHRAB	6	75	450	RUE AGHA, 4	P	1905	GD 1905
ALI RIZA EFFENDI APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 44	PG	1905	AO 1914
AMANCHICH CARLO APP			0	RUE YAZIDJI 60	PG	1905	AO 1914
AMANCIELI (AMANCIEH) CARLO	5&B-6	188	1.128	RUE YAZIDJI	PG	1905	GD 1905
ANERBAH			0	RUE CHAHKOULI 2	PG	1905	AO 1905
BARNATHAN	5	122	610	RUE HODJA ALI 20	PG	1905	GD 1905
BELLIS APP	5-6	130	780	RUE KUTCHUK KABRISTAN 18	PG	1905	GD 1905
CAPIOZZI CAPOZZI	5&B	211	1055	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	PG	1905	GD 1905
CASTRO ABRAMINO APP			0	RUE YAZIDJI 50	PG	1905	AO 1914
COMBES APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 44	PG	1905	AO 1914
CONVOPOULOS	5	80	400	IMPASSE MACRI	PG	1905	GD 1905
DIKEOS APP			0	RUE YAZIDJI 53	PG	1905	AO 1914
DIKEOS APP	5-6	111	666	RUE YAZIDJI 51	PG	1905	GD 1905
DIKEOS APP	5-6	230	1380	RUE YAZIDJI 59	PG	1905	AO 1914
DIKEOS APP	5-6	97	582	RUE YAZIDJI 64	PG	1905	GD 1905
DURONI APP	4-5	58	290	PASSAGE ESTHER 11	PG	1905	GD 1905
EDWARD	5&B	80	400	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 93	PG	1905	GD 1905
ESSAYAN APP	5	122	610	RUE BUYUK HENDEK 11	PG	1905	GD 1905
FAIK, VEUVE (FAIT?)	4	100	400	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK	PG	1905	GD 1905
FRENGHIAN APP	4-5-6	94	470	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 47	PG	1905	AO 1905
FRIEDMANN APP	4	90	360	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 585	PG	1905	AO 1909
FRIEDMANN APP	5-6	220	1.320	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 681	PG	1905	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
GRIMA APP			0	RUE YAZIDJI 95	PG	1905	AO 1914
HADJI SAID	5&B-6	90	540	RUE HODJA ALI 18	PG	1905	GD 1905
HAMID BEY APP / HAMDI BEY			0	RUE KARANFYL 24	PG	1905	AO 1914
HUSNI EFFENDI APP			0	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 10	PG	1905	AO 1905
KASTRO A.	4-5	167	835	IMPASSE MACRI	PG	1905	GD 1905
LEONIDAS	7	265	1855	RUE YAZIDJI	PG	1905	GD 1905
LEVY APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 19	PG	1905	AO 1914
MAMIK PACHA	5	110	550	GRANDE RUE DE PERA/CHAHKOULI	PG	1905	GD 1905
MARKETTO APP	5-6	125	750	IMPASSE DIBET (BOUYOUK)	PG	1905	GD 1905
MAVRIDES APP	2-3	135	405	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 559	PG	1905	AO 1909
MAYER APP			0	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 26	PG	1905	AO 1905
MEHMED BEY	5-6	70	420	RUE CHAHKOULI 17	PG	1905	GD 1905
MEHMED BEY	6	70	420	RUE HODJA ALI 3	PG	1905	GD 1905
METRITIKAS APP	4-5	138	690	RUE YAZIDJI 17	PG	1905	GD 1905
MIMICOPOULO	5	260	1.300	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	PG	1905	GD 1905
NERSESSIAN	6&B	132	792	RUE KUTCHUK KABRISTAN 20	PG	1905	GD 1905
PAPAZIAN APP	4-5	110	550	RUE HODJA ALI 9	PG	1905	GD 1905
PEARS	5	117	585	RUE KABRISTAN	PG	1905	GD 1905
ROBERT [NAHID BEY]	5,5&B	280	1680	RUE CHAHKOULI 23	PG	1905	GD 1905
SADIK BEY	3	165	495	PASSAGE ESTHER 1	PG	1905	GD 1905
SADIK PACHA APP	5-6-7	290	1742	RUE COULE DIBI / RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 2, 4	PG	1905	GD 1905
SELIM EFFENDI	5	105	525	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK 14	PG	1905	GD 1905
SEMPIRINI APP			0	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 24	PG	1905	AO 1905
TUNNEL	5-6	330	1980	RUE KARANFYL 5	PG	1905	GD 1905
ZACHAROFF	5-7	272	1633	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	PG	1905	GD 1905
ZEKI PACHA APP	4-4&B	110	441	RUE HENDEK 11	PG	1905	AO 1914
ZUHDI PACHA	5	95	475	RUE HODJA ALI	PG	1905	GD 1905
ALI PACHA	2		0	RUE KANTARDJILAR 29	S	1905	GD 1905
ALI PACHA	2		0	RUE TCHADIRDJILAR	S	1905	GD 1905
ALI PACHA	3	205	615	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI 39	S	1905	GD 1905
ALLAHVERDI HAN			0	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ALLALEMDJI HAN	3-4-4,5	400	1600	RUE MEIDANDJIK BIS	S	1905	AO 1909
ALTIPARMAK HAN	3	230	690	RUE TCHITCHEK BAZAR	S	1905	AO 1909
ALYANAK HAN	4&B-5	355	1775	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE	S	1905	AO 1909
ANATOL HAN			0	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 2	S	1905	AO 1909
ARAP HAN	2		0	RUE KANTARDJILAR	S	1905	GD 1905
ARAP HAN	2		0	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI	S	1905	GD 1905
ARAP HAN (OU HALIL EFFENDI HAN)	3		0	RUE CHEKERDJI	S	1905	GD 1905
ARNAOUT HAN	3		0	RUE ESSIRPAZAR	S	1905	GD 1905
ASTARDJIAN HAN	3&B	445	1335	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE	S	1905	AO 1909
BALTAZZI	3	530	1590	RUE ALADJA HAMAM	S	1905	GD 1905
BALTAZZI	3	235	705	RUE YECHIL DIREK BAKAL	S	1905	GD 1905
BANQUE DE SALONIQUE	4	360	1440	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1905	GD 1905
BASMADJIAN HAN	2	150	300	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1905	AO 1909
BIRADERLER HAN	3	390	1170	RUE TARAKDJILAR 61	S	1905	AO 1909
BODROUM	2-3		0	RUE TCHADIRDJILAR	S	1905	GD 1905
BOUYDAIDJI HAN	2	460	920	RUE DE BAGHTCHE KAPOU	S	1905	GD 1905
CALIFIDI HAN	4	45	180	RUE BAKIRDJILAR, 21	S	1905	AO 1909
CHEKERDJI (BUYUK)	2	400	800	RUE TAHMIZDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905
CHEKERDJI (KUCUK)	2,5	150	450	RUE ASMA ALTI	S	1905	GD 1905
CHIRIN HAN	4	65	260	RUE YENI DJAMI	S	1905	AO 1909
CHIRINIAN HAN	2		0	RUE POSTAHANE	S	1905	AO 1909
COHEN HAN	2-3-4	160	480	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR - RUE ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN, 60	S	1905	AO 1909
COMPAGNIE DES QUAIS	1	190	190	RUE GUEUMRUK DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
CORPI, BERNARDO	2-5,5		0	RUE DJOUBALI DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
COUMROU HAN OU KOUMBOULOU	2	510	1020	RUE SAKA TCHECHME 30	S	1905	AO 1909
DIKRANIAN HAN	2-3-3,5	370	1110	RUE SULTAN HAMAM / RUE HODJA HAN	S	1905	AO 1909
DJAMBAZ HAN	2-3		0	RUE DJAMBAZ HANİ 20	S	1905	GD 1905
DJANILI	3	80	240	RUE TAHMIZ	S	1905	GD 1905
DJEDID HAN	3	485	1455	RUE TAHTA KALE 14	S	1905	AO 1909
DJINGUIROGLOU HAN	2	265	530	RUE MOLLA-TACHI, A COTE DE TOPALIAN HAN	S	1905	AO 1909
EKBERIE HAN	2-3	380	1140	RUE TARAKDJILAR 74	S	1905	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
EKMEKDJI CROSS HAN	4	140	560	RUE MARPOUTDJILAR	S	1905	AO 1909
EL-KIATIB HAN - FEZDJI BACHI HAN	3-4	470	1880	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1905	AO 1909
EMIN BEY HAN	2	450	900	PRES DU CONSULAT DE PERSE	S	1905	AO 1909
EMIN PACHA	3		0	RUE NOURI OSMANİE DJADDESİ	S	1905	GD 1905
EUSTRATIADES HAN	3	115	345	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909
EVELIE HAN	1	225	225	RUE TCHAKMAKTCHILAR YOKOUCHOU	S	1905	GD 1905
FEROUH BEY HAN			0	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE 61	S	1905	AO 1909
FILDJANDJI HAN	2	0	0	RUE RIZA PACHA YOKOUCHOU	S	1905	GD 1905
FOSCOLO MANGO & CIE	1		0	RUE DJOUBALI DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
GUIRIT	2	0	0	RUE DJAMBAZ HANI	S	1905	GD 1905
GULBENKIAN HAN	3	485	1455	RUE SIRKEDJI ISKELESI/RUE DEMIR CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
HADJI DAVOUD	2	0	0	RUE CHEKERDJI	S	1905	GD 1905
HADJI EYOUP EFF. HAN			0	RUE PEINIRDJI 4	S	1905	AO 1909
HALIL HAN	3	275	825	RUE ALADJA HAMAM - RUE TAHTA KALE	S	1905	AO 1909
HANTCHERLI HAN			0	RUE ESKI BALEK HANE	S	1905	AO 1909
HASSIRDJILAR	2	1370	2740	RUE HASSIRDJILAR	S	1905	GD 1905
HATAP CAPOU YENI HAN			0	RUE OUDOUN CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
HODJA HAN	3	625	1875	RUE HODJA HAN	S	1905	GD 1905
HUDAVERDI HAN	4	160	640	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA / RUE HODJA ZADE	S	1905	AO 1909
IBRAIM EFFENDI			0	RUE HASSA ALTI	S	1905	GD 1905
ISMAIL PACHA HAN (BUYUK)	2	765	1530	RUE DEMIR KAPOU DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
ISMAIL PACHA HAN (KUTCHUK)	3	345	1035	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI	S	1905	AO 1909
IZZET BEY HAN	3	110	330	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
KAISSERI HAN	3-4	395	1580	RUE DEMIRCAPOU DJADDESSI	S	1905	AO 1909
KAMBOUR	3	190	570	RUE ASMA ALTI, 26	S	1905	GD 1905
KASSAPIAN HAN	5	48	240	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
KATIRDJOGLOU HAN ET PASSAGE	4-5	1050	5250	DE LA RUE KUTUFHANE A LA PLACE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909
KENDROS HAN	3-4	155	620	RUE HODJA HAN	S	1905	AO 1909
KEUPRULU HAN	2	1375	2750	RUE HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 22	S	1905	AO 1909
KHORASSANDJI HAN	4	350	1400	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
KIEUMURDJI	3		0	RUE KOSKA	S	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
KIRITLI MOUSTAPHA PACHA HAN (BOUYOUK)	3	545	1635	RUE FILDJANDJILAR, 52	S	1905	AO 1909
KIRITLI MOUSTAPHA PACHA HAN (KUCUK)	2-3	520	1560	RUE FILDJANDJILAR, 39	S	1905	AO 1909
KONDAKTCHI	2		0	RUE DE VOL YOKOUCHU	S	1905	GD 1905
KUPEDJI - RUINE	2		0	RUE EURUDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905
KUTCHUK HAN	3	85	255	RUE MOLLA-TACHI, PRES DE TOPALIAN HAN	S	1905	AO 1909
LATIF HAN			0	RUE ISMIR 1	S	1905	AO 1909
LAZ HAN	2-3	125	375	RUE ASMA ALTI 54	S	1905	GD 1905
MAHMOUD BEY	3		0	RUE GUEUMRUK	S	1905	GD 1905
MELIKIAN	3	125	375	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1905	GD 1905
MERTZANOFF HAN	5	115	575	RUE MEIDANDJIK	S	1905	GD 1905
MESSADET HAN	4	420	1680	PLACE SULTAN HAMAM / RUE SAKA 40	S	1905	AO 1909
MESSERET HAN MESRET APP	5	154	770	RUE EBOU SEYOUD / ABOU SAID OU SEPETCHI DJADDESI	S	1905	AO 1909
MOSSOUL HAN	2	975	1950	RUE BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 38	S	1905	AO 1909
NEMLIOGLOU HAN / NEMLIZADE	3	51	153	RUE SIRKEDJI ISKELESI/BAB-I ALI CADDESI	S	1905	AO 1909
NEW-CHEHIR HAN	5	175	875	RUE BALEK BAZAR 126	S	1905	AO 1909
OROSDI-BACK	6	1350	8100	GRANDE RUE DE BAGHTCHE KAPOU	S	1905	GD 1905
PAPAZOGLOU HAN	2		0	RUE ASMA ALTI, 83	S	1905	AO 1909
RALLI HAN	4	305	1220	RUE DEMIRCAPOU DJADDESSI, 16	S	1905	AO 1909
REGIE DES TABACS (ESKI REGIE HAN, 1909)	3-4	220	880	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1905	AO 1909
RIZVAN HAN	5	125	625	RUE YENI DJAMI	S	1905	AO 1909
RUCHDI PACHA HAN	4-5		0	IMPASSE MERDJAN TCHARCHI 22	S	1905	GD 1905
S.O. DES GAZ DE STAMBOUL	3-4		0	RUE BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI	S	1905	GD 1905
SAATCHILAR HAN	3	105	315	RUE TARAKCHILAR	S	1905	GD 1905
SADIKIE HAN	3-4	435	1740	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909
SARNITCHLI HAN	2		0	RUE MOURADİYE	S	1905	GD 1905
SELVILI HAN	2-3	235	705	RUE YENI DJAMI	S	1905	AO 1909
SERVITCHEN	2	260	520	RUE HODJA HAN	S	1905	GD 1905
SIRA	1		0	RUE ESSIRPAZAR	S	1905	GD 1905
SIRKEDJI YENI HAN			0	RUE MEIVAHOCHE	S	1905	AO 1909
SIVADJIAN HAN			0	RUE NOUR OSMANIE, 12	S	1905	AO 1905
STAMBOUL AGHA HAN	2		0	RUE KURKDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
STAMBOUL HAN	4	70	280	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
STAMBOUL YENI TCHARCHI HAN	2	2030	4060	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA 204	S	1905	AO 1909
STAMBOULLOUIAN HAN	2	125	250	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU	S	1905	AO 1909
TAHTA HAN	2	645	1290	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA DJAMISSI / RUE YECHIL DIREK	S	1905	GD 1905
TAMBOURADJI HAN	2		0	RUE OUZOUN TCHARCHI 139	S	1905	GD 1905
TANTAVIZADE	2		0	RUE DJOUBALI DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
TCHOUKOUR HAN	2		0	RUE EURUDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905
TCHOUKOUR HAN (BUYUK)	2		0	RUE DJAMBAZ HANİ 44	S	1905	GD 1905
TCHOUKOUR HAN (KUCUK)	2		0	RUE DJAMBAZ HANİ	S	1905	GD 1905
TERAKI HAN	4	205	820	RUE MAHMOUT PACHA YOKOUCHOU	S	1905	GD 1905
THOMSON HAN	4	255	1020	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE	S	1905	AO 1909
TOHAFDJI HAN	3-4	120	480	RUE SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909
TOPALIAN HAN	2-3	1180	3540	RUE HODJA HAN, SULTAN HAMAM	S	1905	AO 1909
TOUNOUS HAN	3	185	555	RUE TAHMIZDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905
TSEBELI ATAR HAN	3	120	360	RUE TAHMIZDJILER	S	1905	GD 1905
USKULUA HAN	2		0	RUE ISKENDER BOGHAZI	S	1905	GD 1905
WALKER-GILCHRIST	2		0	RUE DJOUBALI DJADDESI	S	1905	GD 1905
YACHLAR HAN	3	145	435	RUE TAHTA KALE	S	1905	GD 1905
YALDIZ HAN	2	140	280	GRANDE RUE DE BAGHTCHE KAPOU	S	1905	GD 1905
YALDIZ HAN	2	210	420	RUE ASMA ALTI	S	1905	GD 1905
YARIM TACH	2		0	RUE YARIM TACH HAN	S	1905	GD 1905
YASSEMI HAN	3	200	600	RUE TARAKDJILAR 62	S	1905	AO 1909
YENI HAN	4	65	260	RUE BAGHTECHE CAPOU, A COTE DE LA DOUANE	S	1905	AO 1909
ABBOUD EFFENDI HAN (KUCUK)			0	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 41	G	1909	AO 1909
ABID HAN		0	0	RUE YEMICH PRES DE HAVIAR HAN	G	1909	AO 1909
ADALET HAN (1906-1907, HAMDİ PAŞA HAN)			0	RUE YENI YOL, 99 / RUE HEZAREN 10	G	1909	AO 1909
ALI HAN	4		0	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA 73 VIS A VIS LA PREFECTURE DU PORT	G	1909	AO 1909
ANERBAH			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1909	AO 1909
ANTHOUSSIS			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK 126	G	1909	AO 1909
AREVIAN			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK 2	G	1909	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
BANSOFF			0	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1909	AO 1909
BUREAU DE PERCEPTION DES PHARES			0	RUE KARA MOUSTAPHA	G	1909	AO 1909
BUREAU DE VENTE DE LA SOCIETE DU TOMBAC			0	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA (MOUMHANE)	G	1909	AO 1909
BUREAU DU TIMBRE DE LA D.P.O.			0	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1909	AO 1909
CIE DE NAVIGATION A VAPEUR MAHSOUSSE			0	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA (MOUMHANE)	G	1909	AO 1909
COSMA			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1909	AO 1909
DJOUMAET HAN			0	RUE ZULFARISSE	G	1909	AO 1909
FERMELEDJILER YENI HAN		0	0	RUE FERMELEDJILER 102	G	1909	AO 1909
HAMDI BEY APPART.			0	RUE FELEK 1	G	1909	AO 1909
HAMIDIEH PAPER MILLS OTTOMAN S.A.			0	RUE ZULFARISSE	G	1909	AO 1909
HARAKOPOULOS			0	IMPASSE MACRI	G	1909	AO 1909
HUDAVENDIGHIAR HAN			0	SUR LES QUAIS	G	1909	AO 1909
KANAAT APP			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 22	G	1909	AO 1909
KARACACHOGLOU HAN			0	RUE KUREKDJILER	G	1909	AO 1909
KOULELI HAN (BUYUK)			0	RUE ESKI BALEK-BAZAR 26	G	1909	AO 1909
KURKDJIBACHIAN HAN			0	RUE GUEUMRUK 40	G	1909	AO 1909
LAZZARO FRANCO ET FILS			0	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1909	AO 1909
MANOUKIAN			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1909	AO 1909
MEGHAKLIS			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1909	AO 1909
MEHMED ALI BEY			0	RUE ISKENDER 21	G	1909	AO 1909
MIMICOPOULO APP			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	G	1909	AO 1909
NICOLAIDI HAN			0	RUE DE LA QUARANTAINE 11	G	1909	AO 1909
NOURIDJIAN HAN			0	RUE MERTEBANY 21	G	1909	AO 1909
OMER ABID HAN (VALLAURY)	4		0	RUE KARAKEUY 47	G	1909	AO 1914
PAPPADOPOULO FRERES			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	G	1909	AO 1909
PARLAKIS HAN			0	DANS HAVIAR HAN 81	G	1909	AO 1909
PETRAKI EFF. MEIMARIDES			0	IMPASSE MACRI 6	G	1909	AO 1909
POSTES ROYALES ITALIENNES			0	RUE MERTEBANY	G	1909	AO 1909
PSALTY			0	RUE OKDJI MOUSSA 42	G	1909	AO 1909
RAFTOPOULOS			0	RUE KUREKDJILER	G	1909	AO 1909
SABOUR APP			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR	G	1909	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
SCHNITTER			0	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1909	AO 1909
SINASSON HAN			0	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR 23	G	1909	AO 1909
ST PIERRE APP			0	RUE COULE DIBI	G	1909	AO 1909
STEIN S.			0	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 10	G	1909	AO 1909
SUBHI BEY			0	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1909	AO 1909
VACALIS			0	IMPASSE MACRI	G	1909	AO 1909
ADAMOPOULOS APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 516	P	1909	AO 1909
AZARIAN APP	5	1.114	5.568	BOULEVARD AYAZ PACHA 77 (ANCIENNE AGHATCH DIBI)	P	1909	AO 1909
ESSAYAN APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 239	P	1909	AO 1909
ISMAIL BEY APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 407	P	1909	AO 1909
PASSAGE ESTHER			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA	P	1909	AO 1909
RECHAD PACHA APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 412	P	1909	AO 1909
ST. ANTOINE APP	4		0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 311	P	1909	AO 1909
CHRISTODOULOS APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 685	PG	1909	AO 1909
ANGORA HAN			0	RUE SIRKEDJI ISKELESI / RUE DEMIRCAPOU DJADDESSI	S	1909	AO 1909
CHEH DAOUD HAN			0	RUE TAHTA KALE	S	1909	AO 1909
DEIRMEN HAN	3	0	0	RUE YEMICHE ISKELESI	S	1909	AO 1909
DEIRMENDJI HAN	4		0	RUE BALIK BAZAR, A COTE DE NAFIE HAN	S	1909	AO 1909
DILSIZ ZADE HAN	3-4-5		0	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1909	AO 1909
ELVADJI (RUINE)			0	RUE MERDJAN TCHARCHI	S	1909	AO 1909
IHSAN BEY HAN			0	RUE DEMIRCAPOU DJADDESSI	S	1909	AO 1909
JOSSIFIDIS HAN	3		0	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1909	AO 1909
KALDJILAR HAN	1		0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA, 270	S	1909	AO 1909
LEMONDJI HAN	3		0	RUE LEMON ISKELESSI	S	1909	AO 1909
MAVRIDIS HAN			0	RUE YAGHDJILAR 19, 21, 23	S	1909	AO 1909
MOUSTAPHA PACHA HAN	3		0	RUE TAHTA KALE - RUE PATCHADJI	S	1909	AO 1909
SETIAN HAN			0	RUE AGHA KADEN, PRES DU CONSULAT DE PERSE	S	1909	AO 1909
SEVADJIAN HAN			0	RUE HODJA HAN	S	1909	AO 1909
TCHATAL HAN			0	RUE OKDJILAR BACHI DJADDESSI, 47	S	1909	AO 1909
TCHEBELI ATTAR HAN			0	RUE MISSIR TCHARCHI	S	1909	AO 1909
VOLTO HAN	2-3		0	RUE ASMA ALTI, 75	S	1909	AO 1909

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
AHMED AGHA HAN			0	RUE VOIVODE 10	G	1914	AO 1914
ALI BEY APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 38	G	1914	AO 1914
ALI EFFENDI APP			0	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 18	G	1914	AO 1914
AMAN APP			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 1	G	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS APP			0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI 26	G	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS APP			0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI 22	G	1914	AO 1914
ARMENO-CATHOLIQUE APP			0	IMPASSE SAVERIO 4	G	1914	AO 1914
ARTAR APP			0	RUE ISKENDER 68	G	1914	AO 1914
ARVANITIDI HAN			0	RUE DE LA QUARANTAINE 4	G	1914	AO 1914
ASSICURAZIONI GENERALI HAN			0	RUE VOIVODE	G	1914	AO 1914
AZZOPARDI APP			0	IMPASSE SAVERIO 6	G	1914	AO 1914
BARNATHAN APP			0	RUE CHIMCHIR	G	1914	AO 1914
BEHMOIRAS APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 31	G	1914	AO 1914
BERLANT APP			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	G	1914	AO 1914
BOYADJOGLOU APP			0	RUE YEMICHE 13	G	1914	AO 1914
CHAKIR BEY APP			0	RUE ERMENI KILISSE 31	G	1914	AO 1914
CHRISTODOULOS APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 3	G	1914	AO 1914
COMVOPOULOS APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 31,33	G	1914	AO 1914
CONSTANT APP			0	RUE PERVOUZ AGHA 99	G	1914	AO 1914
CORPI APP			0	RUE ISKENDER 45	G	1914	AO 1914
COUREMENOS APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 30	G	1914	AO 1914
COUREMENOS APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 28	G	1914	AO 1914
CRESPI APP			0	RUE PERVOUZ AGHA 78	G	1914	AO 1914
ENOMOTARCHI HAN			0	RUE ESKI BALEK BAZAR	G	1914	AO 1914
FELDMAN APP			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 34	G	1914	AO 1914
FRANCESCO APP			0	RUE TENHA 6	G	1914	AO 1914
FRINGHIAN			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 7	G	1914	AO 1914
GOTTMAN APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 86	G	1914	AO 1914
GROSS APP			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 30	G	1914	AO 1914
GULZADE HAN			0	RUE PERCHEMBE BAZAR 35	G	1914	AO 1914
HADJI SAID			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK 118	G	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
HALEP HAN			0	RUE TOULOUMBA 7	G	1914	AO 1914
HARAKOPOULOS APP			0	RUE MARIE 21	G	1914	AO 1914
HAYGAZOUNI HAN			0	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA (MOUMHANE) 51	G	1914	AO 1914
HIDIROGLOU HAN			0	RUE YEMICHE 9	G	1914	AO 1914
HOURRIET HAN			0	RUE MERTEBANY 3	G	1914	AO 1914
ISTICAMET APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 114	G	1914	AO 1914
KIEVORK BEY HAN			0	RUE HARATCHI 13	G	1914	AO 1914
KITCHEDJI ZADE APP			0	RUE HEZARENE	G	1914	AO 1914
KUTCHUK HAN			0	RUE ERGAVANE	G	1914	AO 1914
LANGAS APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 29	G	1914	AO 1914
LAZARIDI HAN			0	RUE HEZARENE 3	G	1914	AO 1914
LEVY APP			0	RUE ISKENDER 60	G	1914	AO 1914
MADENDJIDIS APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 50	G	1914	AO 1914
MANOUKIAN APP			0	RUE HALIL PACHA	G	1914	AO 1914
MAYER APP			0	RUE COULE CAPOUSSY 26	G	1914	AO 1914
MEXSI APP			0	RUE HODJA ALI	G	1914	AO 1914
MINERVA HAN	6		0	RUE VOIVODE 2	G	1914	AO 1914
MONASTIR HAN			0	RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA (MOUMHANE) 107	G	1914	AO 1914
MOUHTAR BEY APP			0	RUE CHIMCHIR	G	1914	AO 1914
MOUSTA BEY APP			0	RUE HADJI ALI	G	1914	AO 1914
MUCHTEREK HAN			0	RUE FERMELEDJILER 72	G	1914	AO 1914
NICHASTADJIAN HAN			0	RUE VOIVODE 13	G	1914	AO 1914
PAPADOPOULO FRERES APP			0	RUE LULEDJI HENDEK	G	1914	AO 1914
PAPO APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 3	G	1914	AO 1914
PAPPADOPOULOS ET MELETIADI APP			0	RUE HADJI ALI 13	G	1914	AO 1914
PLOUMBIS APP			0	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 35	G	1914	AO 1914
RACHEL APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 52	G	1914	AO 1914
ROMAN HAN			0	RUE TCHECHME	G	1914	AO 1914
ROSENHAUS APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 5	G	1914	AO 1914
ROSSI APP			0	RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 14	G	1914	AO 1914
SABIT BEY HAN			0	RUE ESKI CHARAB ISKELESSI	G	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
SABRI PACHA			0	IMPASSE MACRI	G	1914	AO 1914
SADOCH APP			0	IMPASSE MACRI 23	G	1914	AO 1914
SCLAVOUNOS APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI	G	1914	AO 1914
SINIOSSOGLOU			0	RUE CHAHSOUVAR 20	G	1914	AO 1914
TCHINILI RIHTIM HAN			0	RUE DES QUAIS	G	1914	AO 1914
UNION HAN	5		0	RUE VOIVODE	G	1914	AO 1914
VACALIS APP			0	RUE MARIE 19	G	1914	AO 1914
YAOURHANE APP			0	RUE MADJAR DJADDESSI 25	G	1914	AO 1914
YENI COURBAN APP			0	YENI YOL - OKDJOU MOUSSA 102	G	1914	AO 1914
ABRAMOGLOU APP			0	RUE KABRISTAN 18	P	1914	AO 1914
ADAMOPOULOS APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK 13	P	1914	AO 1914
ADJEM APP			0	RUE LINARDI 37	P	1914	AO 1914
ADJEM APP			0	RUE AGHA 14	P	1914	AO 1914
AFRICA APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK PARMAK CAPOU 21	P	1914	AO 1914
AHMED BEY APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 10	P	1914	AO 1914
AHMED BEY APP			0	RUE TEKIR 6	P	1914	AO 1914
AHMED PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 19	P	1914	AO 1914
ALEXANDRIDIS APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 41	P	1914	AO 1914
ALEXIADIS APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 127	P	1914	AO 1914
ALI BEY APP			0	RUE LALELI TCHECHME 13	P	1914	AO 1914
ALI HAIDAR BEY			0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 79	P	1914	AO 1914
ALLAHVERDI APP			0	RUE TAXIM 4	P	1914	AO 1914
ALMALEH EFRAIM APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 13, 15	P	1914	AO 1914
ANASTASSIADIS APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 37	P	1914	AO 1914
ANREA APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 63	P	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDES GEORGES APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 10	P	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS APP			0	IMPASSE DJAMDJI 14	P	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS APP			0	RUE INDJE KACH	P	1914	AO 1914
APOSTOLIDIS APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 5	P	1914	AO 1914
ASLAN APP			0	RUE DE SUEDE 11	P	1914	AO 1914
ASSAF BEY APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 29	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ASSAF PACHA APP			0	RUE FERIDIE 112	P	1914	AO 1914
AURORE APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 154	P	1914	AO 1914
AYVA APP			0	RUE AYVA 8	P	1914	AO 1914
BABIKIAN APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 65	P	1914	AO 1914
BABIKIAN APP			0	RUE DE LA CHANCELLERIE	P	1914	AO 1914
BALTAZZI APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 9	P	1914	AO 1914
BARZILAI APP			0	RUE MAHMOUD AGHA	P	1914	AO 1914
BARZILAI APP			0	RUE YENI BIS 4	P	1914	AO 1914
BAUDOUY APP			0	IMPASSE LATINE	P	1914	AO 1914
BAUDOUY APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK 4	P	1914	AO 1914
BAYRAM BEY APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR BOSTAN 113	P	1914	AO 1914
BELFANTI APP			0	RUE TCHITCHEK 19, 21	P	1914	AO 1914
BERBEROGLOU APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 69	P	1914	AO 1914
BLATCHI APP			0	RUE ZERDALI 17	P	1914	AO 1914
BOSNA APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 42	P	1914	AO 1914
BOUCHET APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK BIS 27	P	1914	AO 1914
BOYADJI APP			0	RUE SARANDI 6	P	1914	AO 1914
CALFOPOULOS APP			0	RUE PAPATIA 5	P	1914	AO 1914
CALLINICOS APP			0	RUE TEPE BACHI 37	P	1914	AO 1914
CALOGHEROS LICATA APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 11	P	1914	AO 1914
CAMHI APP			0	RUE MINARET 61	P	1914	AO 1914
CAMHI APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 60	P	1914	AO 1914
CAPSALI APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 83	P	1914	AO 1914
CAPSALIS APP			0	RUE CARNAVOULA	P	1914	AO 1914
CAPSALIS APP			0	RUE GUMUCHE	P	1914	AO 1914
CARACO APP			0	RUE KABRISTAN 16	P	1914	AO 1914
CARACOUCH APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 35	P	1914	AO 1914
CARAVASSILOGLOU APP			0	RUE ABDULLAH, 8	P	1914	AO 1914
CARAYANNIS APP			0	RUE SAMANDJI 73	P	1914	AO 1914
CARAYANNOPOULOS APP			0	RUE EGRI 29	P	1914	AO 1914
CARDERINIS APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 22 (DE LA R. CHERBET HANE...)	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
CAVAFFIAN APP			0	RUE KALIONDJI KOULOUK 23	P	1914	AO 1914
CHACHATI APP			0	RUE DALIA	P	1914	AO 1914
CHAHBAZ APP			0	RUE KIZILDJIK 13	P	1914	AO 1914
CHAHBAZ APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 178	P	1914	AO 1914
CHEFKI BEY APP			0	RUE MALACOF	P	1914	AO 1914
CHRISSAFIDES APP			0	RUE CHEBEK 5	P	1914	AO 1914
CHRYSSOS APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 87	P	1914	AO 1914
CHUKRI PACHA APP			0	RUE YENI 1	P	1914	AO 1914
CHUKRI PACHA APP			0	RUE YENI 17	P	1914	AO 1914
CONST. MALLINOPOULO APP			0	RUE DE BROUSSE 26	P	1914	AO 1914
CONSTANTINIDIS APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 1	P	1914	AO 1914
CONSTANTINIDIS APP			0	RUE BALEK 10	P	1914	AO 1914
COTOPOULOS APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 26	P	1914	AO 1914
COULOUTHROS APP			0	RUE TCHECHME 31	P	1914	AO 1914
COULOUTROS			0	RUE DJEVIZ 9	P	1914	AO 1914
COUTALIS APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 58	P	1914	AO 1914
CRESPI APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 31	P	1914	AO 1914
CRESTOVITCH APP			0	RUE KOULOGLOU 1	P	1914	AO 1914
DANASIS APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 6	P	1914	AO 1914
DAYANTY APP			0	RUE KIBLE 36	P	1914	AO 1914
DELLAGRAMMATICA APP			0	RUE KEKLIK 13	P	1914	AO 1914
DEROUNIAN APP			0	RUE KARGHA 9	P	1914	AO 1914
DERVICHE BEY APP			0	RUE DE POLOGNE 5	P	1914	AO 1914
DESSIPRIS APP			0	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 21	P	1914	AO 1914
DEVLET BEY APP			0	RUE NANE 1	P	1914	AO 1914
DIAMANDIDIS APP			0	RUE NANE 19	P	1914	AO 1914
DILBER EFFENDI APP			0	IMPASSE MOUSSALA 4	P	1914	AO 1914
DILBER HANOUM APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 23	P	1914	AO 1914
DIMAKIS APP			0	RUE SOMOUNDJOU 18	P	1914	AO 1914
DIMITRIADIS APP			0	IMPASSE KANTARDJI 4	P	1914	AO 1914
DJADJOPOULOS APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 103	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
DJEMAL BEY APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 421	P	1914	AO 1914
DJIVAN APP			0	RUE BAKTCHELI HAMAM	P	1914	AO 1914
DURONI APP			0	RUE TIMONI 5	P	1914	AO 1914
DURUK APP			0	RUE ORTA 10	P	1914	AO 1914
EDWARDS APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 50	P	1914	AO 1914
EFTHIME CALFA APP			0	RUE MISK 18	P	1914	AO 1914
EFTHIME CALFA APP			0	RUE ROUM KABRISTAN 4	P	1914	AO 1914
ELEFTERIADES APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA 4	P	1914	AO 1914
ELIAS BEY APP			0	RUE SIMITCHI	P	1914	AO 1914
EMIN BEY APP			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 19 BIS	P	1914	AO 1914
EMIN DJAMI APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 63	P	1914	AO 1914
EMIN PACHA APP			0	RUE YAOURT HANE 32	P	1914	AO 1914
ETHEM BEY APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR BOSTAN 107	P	1914	AO 1914
EVANGHELOS GONIS APP			0	RUE AGHA HAMAM 14 BIS	P	1914	AO 1914
FAHRI BEY APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 64	P	1914	AO 1914
FATMA HANOUM			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 73	P	1914	AO 1914
FERAH APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 48	P	1914	AO 1914
FILIPUCCI APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 15	P	1914	AO 1914
FREIGE APP			0	PLACE CHICHE-HANE	P	1914	AO 1914
FRESCO APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 41	P	1914	AO 1914
FRESCO APP			0	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 42	P	1914	AO 1914
GALATI APP			0	RUE KUTCHUK PARMAK CAPOU 7	P	1914	AO 1914
GALATTI APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 31	P	1914	AO 1914
GALIMITES APP			0	RUE LALELI TCHECHME 10	P	1914	AO 1914
GEORGI BEY APP			0	RUE MEKTEB 19	P	1914	AO 1914
GEORGIADIS APP			0	RUE OLIVO 7	P	1914	AO 1914
GEORGIADIS APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 103	P	1914	AO 1914
GEORGIADIS APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 107	P	1914	AO 1914
GHEORGHOPOULOS APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 45	P	1914	AO 1914
GHEORGHOPOULOS APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 76	P	1914	AO 1914
GHIKAS APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 98	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
GLIGORI APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 37	P	1914	AO 1914
GNIALLOVICH			0	RUE BOYNOUZ (KUTCHUK) 8	P	1914	AO 1914
GRISCTI APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 109	P	1914	AO 1914
GRISETTI JOHN G. APP			0	RUE DE BROUSSE 44	P	1914	AO 1914
GRUNBERG APP			0	RUE CHAHKOULI 21	P	1914	AO 1914
GUERMANI APP			0	RUE TCHECHME 21	P	1914	AO 1914
GUEUVES APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 39	P	1914	AO 1914
GUREKIAN APP			0	KUTCHUK MEZARLIK 13	P	1914	AO 1914
HABIB BEY APP			0	RUE IKI KOUYOULOU	P	1914	AO 1914
HADJI APOSTOLOS APP			0	RUE INDJE KACH	P	1914	AO 1914
HADJI HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 27	P	1914	AO 1914
HADJI HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 177	P	1914	AO 1914
HADJIRY APP			0	RUE KIRAZ 11	P	1914	AO 1914
HADJOPOULOS APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 83	P	1914	AO 1914
HALIL BEY APP			0	RUE KEUMURDJI 22	P	1914	AO 1914
HAMDI BEY APP			0	RUE KOULOGLOU 20	P	1914	AO 1914
HAMID BEY APP			0	RUE DJERAH PACHA 8	P	1914	AO 1914
HAMID BEY APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 5	P	1914	AO 1914
HAMSON-COULOUTHROS APP			0	RUE JOURNAL 3	P	1914	AO 1914
HANSON-COULOUTROS APP			0	RUE SOFIALY 20	P	1914	AO 1914
HARRI APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 158	P	1914	AO 1914
HASSAN BEY			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 43	P	1914	AO 1914
HASSAN EFFENDI APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 17	P	1914	AO 1914
HAYON APP			0	RUE LALELI TCHECHME 4	P	1914	AO 1914
HERACLEE APP			0	RUE DULBENDJI 2	P	1914	AO 1914
HERACLEE APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 119	P	1914	AO 1914
HERZOVITZ APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 18	P	1914	AO 1914
HIONAS APP			0	RUE FERIDIE 38	P	1914	AO 1914
HOURMANN APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 24	P	1914	AO 1914
HUSSEIN BEY APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 42	P	1914	AO 1914
HUSSEIN PACHA APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 36	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
IBRAHIM BEY APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 48	P	1914	AO 1914
INGLISCH APP			0	RUE TIMONI 15	P	1914	AO 1914
IOAKIMOPOULOS APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 133	P	1914	AO 1914
IOANNIDIS APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 192	P	1914	AO 1914
ISMAIL PACHA APP			0	RUE ZUMBUL 7	P	1914	AO 1914
ISMET HANOUM APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 17	P	1914	AO 1914
IVRAKIS APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 28	P	1914	AO 1914
JAGLIN APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 29	P	1914	AO 1914
JEAN ECKERT APP			0	AGHA HAMAM DJADDESSI, 40	P	1914	AO 1914
JONES APP			0	RUE ARASLAR	P	1914	AO 1914
KAISSERLI APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 46	P	1914	AO 1914
KANAGHINI APP			0	RUE ORTA BIS 16	P	1914	AO 1914
KAPRIELIAN APP			0	RUE SIMITCHI	P	1914	AO 1914
KARAGHEORGHI APP			0	RUE CHEBEK 4	P	1914	AO 1914
KARAYORDANOU MICHAILIDES APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 24	P	1914	AO 1914
KASSAP BACHI APP			0	RUE MEZARLIK BIS 31	P	1914	AO 1914
KAYLONDJIAN APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 61	P	1914	AO 1914
KEHAYOGLOU APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 130	P	1914	AO 1914
KENAN BEY APP			0	RUE DULBENDJI 12	P	1914	AO 1914
KEVORK APP			0	RUE HAIRIE 3	P	1914	AO 1914
KHORASSANDJI APP			0	RUE TEPE BACHI 15	P	1914	AO 1914
KIERKIRA APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 51	P	1914	AO 1914
KIOSSEOGLOU APP			0	RUE AGHATCH ALTI, 10	P	1914	AO 1914
KISMET APP			0	RUE TIMONI 13	P	1914	AO 1914
KRIMIZAKIS APP			0	RUE ASMALI MESDJID 17	P	1914	AO 1914
KYRIACOU APP			0	RUE ENLI YOCOUCHE 18	P	1914	AO 1914
LAMBIKI APP			0	RUE FOUROUN 30	P	1914	AO 1914
LAPARDAS APP			0	RUE SAMANDJI 63	P	1914	AO 1914
LAZARIDIS APP			0	RUE TIMONI 9	P	1914	AO 1914
LOUIS APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 64	P	1914	AO 1914
LOUKIANOS APP			0	RUE KAZANDJI 89	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
LOUTFI BEY APP			0	RUE YENI TCHOUKOUR DJOUMA	P	1914	AO 1914
LOUTFIAN APP	3		0	RUE TCHAKMAK 1	P	1914	AO 1914
LUXEMBOURG APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 130	P	1914	AO 1914
MAHMOUD PACHA APP			0	RUE DOGRAMADJI 34	P	1914	AO 1914
MAKARADJI APP			0	RUE AZAP CAPOU 11	P	1914	AO 1914
MAKEDONIA APP			0	RUE KIRCHE	P	1914	AO 1914
MAKRIS APP			0	RUE CHEBEK 4	P	1914	AO 1914
MANOLAKI APP			0	RUE INDJE KACH	P	1914	AO 1914
MATCOVICH APP			0	RUE KOULOGLOU 20	P	1914	AO 1914
MATHEO APP			0	RUE PECHKIRDJI 9	P	1914	AO 1914
MAVROUDIS APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 11	P	1914	AO 1914
MEHMED IRFAN APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 66	P	1914	AO 1914
MEHMED PACHA APP			0	RUE ZUMBUL 12	P	1914	AO 1914
MELIDES APP			0	RUE INDJE KACH 58	P	1914	AO 1914
METSES APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 3	P	1914	AO 1914
MIGUIR APP			0	RUE LALELI TCHECHME 5	P	1914	AO 1914
MILIAN APP			0	RUE BAYRAM 42	P	1914	AO 1914
MIRALAY BEY APP			0	RUE MAHMOUD AGHA	P	1914	AO 1914
MISITRA APP			0	RUE KUTCHUK PARMAK CAPOU 4	P	1914	AO 1914
MRATOVICH APP OU BRATOVICH			0	RUE D'ALGER, 5	P	1914	AO 1914
MUNIR PACHA APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 14	P	1914	AO 1914
NAOUM APP			0	RUE SERKIS 63	P	1914	AO 1914
NATHAN FRESCO APP			0	RUE AKARDJA BIS, 27	P	1914	AO 1914
NEA YAPONIA APP			0	RUE OLIVO 1	P	1914	AO 1914
NECHAD BEY APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 12	P	1914	AO 1914
NECHAD BEY APP			0	RUE SOUTERAZI 1	P	1914	AO 1914
NIAZI BEY APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 6	P	1914	AO 1914
NIAZI BEY APP			0	KUTCHUK MEZARLIK 9	P	1914	AO 1914
NICOLAIDOU APP			0	RUE YENI TCHARCHI 51	P	1914	AO 1914
NICOLIS APP			0	RUE TCHOUKOUR BOSTAN 12	P	1914	AO 1914
NIKITIS APP			0	RUE JOURNAL 10	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
NOURI BEY APP			0	RUE GULIANI	P	1914	AO 1914
NOURI BEY APP			0	RUE IMAM 2	P	1914	AO 1914
NOURIDJIAN APP			0	RUE SOUTERAZI 5	P	1914	AO 1914
OMBRELADJIAN			0	RUE YENI TCHARCHI 58	P	1914	AO 1914
OMER RUCHDI PACHA APP			0	RUE DERVICHE	P	1914	AO 1914
OSTROROG APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 70	P	1914	AO 1914
OUGHOURLIAN APP			0	RUE FERIDIE 74	P	1914	AO 1914
PANDERMALY APP			0	RUE TCHAKMAK 33	P	1914	AO 1914
PANTAZOPOULOS APP			0	RUE KABRISTAN 31	P	1914	AO 1914
PAPADOPOULO APP			0	RUE ANADOLOU 11	P	1914	AO 1914
PAPAYANNOPOULO APP			0	RUE BAYRAM 15	P	1914	AO 1914
PAPPADOPOULOS APP			0	RUE KALIONDJI KOULOUK 92, 94	P	1914	AO 1914
PAPPADOPOULOS APP			0	RUE KUTCHUK SERKIS 3	P	1914	AO 1914
PAPPATHANASSIADIS APP			0	RUE BEDREDINE 12	P	1914	AO 1914
PARASKEVA APP			0	RUE KIRAZ 16	P	1914	AO 1914
PEKMEZIAN APP	4		0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 89	P	1914	AO 1914
PETRAKI EFFENDI MEIMERIDES			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 60	P	1914	AO 1914
PHOTIADES APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 17	P	1914	AO 1914
POULISSI ET CALOGHERA			0	RUE SOMOUNDJOU 22	P	1914	AO 1914
POYRAZOGLOU APP			0	RUE TOZ COPARAN 48	P	1914	AO 1914
PRELORENZO APP			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 10	P	1914	AO 1914
PROPONDIS APP			0	RUE TEPE BACHI 41	P	1914	AO 1914
PSALTY APP			0	IMPASSE DJAMDJI 12	P	1914	AO 1914
PSILIARI APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 15	P	1914	AO 1914
PYRPIGNIAS APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 3	P	1914	AO 1914
RAFTAPOULOS APP			0	RUE LINARDO	P	1914	AO 1914
RAIF PACHA APP			0	RUE DES POSTES 4	P	1914	AO 1914
RIGAUDIAS APP			0	RUE SOUTERAZI 4	P	1914	AO 1914
RISAPHE APP			0	RUE THEATRE 3	P	1914	AO 1914
ROSENTHAL APP			0	RUE KABRISTAN 20	P	1914	AO 1914
ROSSI APP			0	RUE CHERBETHANE 38	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
ROSTOMIAN APP			0	RUE VALIDE TCHECHME 15	P	1914	AO 1914
SAGREDO APP			0	RUE AINALY TCHECHME, 13	P	1914	AO 1914
SALEM APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 15	P	1914	AO 1914
SALORIAN APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 18 (DE LA R. CHERBET HANE...)	P	1914	AO 1914
SAMIH BEY APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 14	P	1914	AO 1914
SANTA MARIA APP			0	RUE HAIRIE 8	P	1914	AO 1914
SARAF APP			0	RUE ZEREN 17	P	1914	AO 1914
SARRIS APP			0	RUE SIMITCHI	P	1914	AO 1914
SCHAUB APP			0	RUE DES POSTES 1	P	1914	AO 1914
SELAMI BEY APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 589	P	1914	AO 1914
SELIM BEY APP			0	IMPASSE TOBDJI BACHI 17	P	1914	AO 1914
SELIM EFFENDI			0	RUE OLIVO 2	P	1914	AO 1914
SELIMIE APP			0	RUE KULHAN 14	P	1914	AO 1914
SERPOS APP			0	RUE ALLEON, 18	P	1914	AO 1914
SEVASTOPOULOS APP			0	IMPASSE YENI YOL 18	P	1914	AO 1914
SIDERIDES APP			0	RUE ESADJI	P	1914	AO 1914
SOLOMOVITZ APP			0	RUE SOFIALY 5	P	1914	AO 1914
SOPHIE CALFA APP			0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 125	P	1914	AO 1914
ST. ANTOINE APP			0	RUE LINARDI 27	P	1914	AO 1914
STAMBOULIAN APP			0	RUE SYRA SELVI 131	P	1914	AO 1914
STAMBOULIAN HAN			0	IMPASSE DJAMDJI	P	1914	AO 1914
STAMBOULLOUIAN APP			0	RUE YENI 6	P	1914	AO 1914
STARK APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 7	P	1914	AO 1914
STELLIO APP			0	RUE KERESTEDJI 27	P	1914	AO 1914
STERIO CALFA APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 1,3	P	1914	AO 1914
STERIO CALFA APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 17	P	1914	AO 1914
STERIO CALFA APP			0	RUE SOANDJI 7	P	1914	AO 1914
STIROPOULOU APP			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 49	P	1914	AO 1914
STRATI APP			0	RUE YLAN 6	P	1914	AO 1914
STRATIGHAKI APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 10	P	1914	AO 1914
SYRIE CITE	6		0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 420	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
TACHDJIAN APP			0	RUE TCHAKMAK 4	P	1914	AO 1914
TALAREWITZ APP			0	RUE CHICHE HANE 37,39	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHAOUSSI APP			0	RUE ORTA 5	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHIPITCHIS APP			0	RUE HAFOUZ BEY	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHIPITCHIS APP			0	KUTCHUK MEZARLIK 7	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHOLKAS APP			0	RUE DJAMDJI 20 (DE LA R. CHERBET HANE...)	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHONGAS APP			0	RUE HAMAL BACHI 44	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHORLOU APP			0	RUE HAIRIE 3 BIS	P	1914	AO 1914
TCHOUCHLOS APP			0	RUE DE POLOGNE 33	P	1914	AO 1914
TESTA APP			0	RUE SOFIALY 24	P	1914	AO 1914
TEVFIK BEY APP			0	RUE HARMAN 8	P	1914	AO 1914
TEVFIK PACHA			0	IMPASSE ADALAR, 19	P	1914	AO 1914
THAMM APP			0	RUE DE LA CHANCELLERIE	P	1914	AO 1914
THEOCHARIDIS APP			0	RUE KULHAN 13	P	1914	AO 1914
TOPTACHE APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 56	P	1914	AO 1914
TORCHIA APP			0	RUE GUL BABA 7	P	1914	AO 1914
TZILIANI APP			0	RUE SOURROURI 23	P	1914	AO 1914
TZOUMAS APP			0	RUE KULL 25	P	1914	AO 1914
VAFIK BEY APP			0	RUE RODOLPH 34	P	1914	AO 1914
VAHID BEY APP			0	IMPASSE MOUSSALA 2	P	1914	AO 1914
VANGHELI APP			0	RUE DOGRAMADJI 2 BIS	P	1914	AO 1914
VASSILIDIS APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 30	P	1914	AO 1914
VEFA BEY APP			0	RUE FAYK PACHA 5	P	1914	AO 1914
VITTORIA APP			0	RUE CHIMAL 26	P	1914	AO 1914
VLADIKA			0	RUE SAKYZ-AGATCH 81	P	1914	AO 1914
VOUCOUVALAS			0	HAMIDIE DJADDESI 71	P	1914	AO 1914
VOULIOTIS APP			0	RUE YACHMAK SYRAN 35	P	1914	AO 1914
VOURLAK APP			0	KUTCHUK MEZARLIK 11	P	1914	AO 1914
WEHAGE ALFRED APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 92	P	1914	AO 1914
YANCO BEY IOANNIDIS APP			0	RUE IMAM 10	P	1914	AO 1914
YANNISSOPOULO APP			0	RUE TUNNEL 3	P	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
YANNISSOPOULOS APP			0	RUE ORTA 9	P	1914	AO 1914
YAZIDJI ZADE APP			0	RUE DEFTERDAR YOCOUCHU 5	P	1914	AO 1914
YENIDOUNIA APP			0	RUE ABDULLAH, 2	P	1914	AO 1914
YORGHOPOULO APP			0	RUE EMIN DJAMI 5, 7	P	1914	AO 1914
ZACHARIADES APP			0	RUE KULHAN 9	P	1914	AO 1914
ZARICO APP			0	RUE ORTA 12	P	1914	AO 1914
ZEBOUNI APP			0	RUE TARLA BACHI 172	P	1914	AO 1914
ZOGRAPHOS APP			0	RUE KOUMBARADJI YOCOUCHOU 39	P	1914	AO 1914
ZOURAS MILT APP			0	RUE KULHAN 15	P	1914	AO 1914
AIVAZ APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 83	PG	1914	AO 1914
BROD APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 4	PG	1914	AO 1914
DIKEOS APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 41	PG	1914	AO 1914
ELMASLI APP			0	RUE YAZIDJI 31	PG	1914	AO 1914
EPELSTEIN			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 43	PG	1914	AO 1914
IHSAN BEY APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 11	PG	1914	AO 1914
LEVY APP			0	RUE CHAHKOULI 2	PG	1914	AO 1914
LEVY MARCO APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 9	PG	1914	AO 1914
MEHMED BEY APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 685	PG	1914	AO 1914
SADOCH APP			0	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 667	PG	1914	AO 1914
TCHINILI APP			0	RUE KARANFYL 14	PG	1914	AO 1914
TOLEDO APP			0	RUE BOUYOUK HENDEK 89	PG	1914	AO 1914
TRAUGOTT APP			0	RUE CHAHKOULI 29	PG	1914	AO 1914
TSITOURIS APP			0	RUE KUTCHUK HENDEK 23	PG	1914	AO 1914
ZELLICH PASSAGE			0	RUE YAZIDJI	PG	1914	AO 1914
ARNOPOULOS HAN			0	RUE PEINIRDJI 15	S	1914	AO 1914
ASLAN FRESCO HAN	4-5		0	RUE FILDJANDJILAR YOCOUCHOU 16 BIS	S	1914	AO 1914
ASSIA HAN			0	RUE HAZZOPOULO HAN	S	1914	AO 1914
ATECHOGLOU HAN	2		0	RUE ARABADJILAR	S	1914	AO 1914
BALTADJI HAN	2		0	RUE TAHTA KALE	S	1914	AO 1914
CAMBOUR HAN	2-3		0	RUE ASMA ALTI 26	S	1914	AO 1914
CHIRIN HAN (KUTCHUK)			0	RUE BEGHIRDJI	S	1914	AO 1914

BUILDINGS	# OF FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
CONSTANTINIDIS HAN	5		0	RUE YAGHDJILAR 10	S	1914	AO 1914
DJAMDJI ZADE HAN	4		0	RUE SAKA	S	1914	AO 1914
ERZEROUM HAN			0	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE	S	1914	AO 1914
EUSTRATIADI HAN			0	RUE SAKA	S	1914	AO 1914
FOUNDOUCO HAN			0	IMPASSE MEIDANDJIK	S	1914	AO 1914
GUIRIS HAN			0	RUE ASMA ALTI 66	S	1914	AO 1914
HANDAN HAN			0	IMPASSE HAVOUZLOU HAN	S	1914	AO 1914
HEMICH HAN			0	RUE OUZOUN TCARCHI, 124	S	1914	AO 1914
HUSSEIN EFFENDI HAN			0	RUE MEIVAHOCHE	S	1914	AO 1914
IKINDJI VACOUF HAN	4-4,5-5		0	RUE SAKA 4	S	1914	AO 1914
KAHREMAN ZADE HAN			0	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1914	AO 1914
KARAKAS HAN			0	PLACE EMIN EUNU	S	1914	AO 1914
KENADJIAN HAN			0	RUE SOUDJOU	S	1914	AO 1914
KOSSOVA HAN			0	RUE MEIVAHOCHE 80	S	1914	AO 1914
KOUROU KAHVEDJI HAN	3-5		0	RUE TAHMIZ 108	S	1914	AO 1914
LAZARI PAPAZOGLOU HAN	4-5		0	RUE ASMA ALTI 38	S	1914	AO 1914
MEDINA HAN	2-3,5		0	RUE HASSIRDJILAR 34	S	1914	AO 1914
MEIHANE HAN			0	RUE MEIHANE 3	S	1914	AO 1914
MIDHAT PACHA HAN			0	RUE SIRKEDJI ISKELESSI	S	1914	AO 1914
ORHAN BEY HAN			0	BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI	S	1914	AO 1914
OUFAK HAN			0	RUE YANGHIN TCHIKMAZ	S	1914	AO 1914
SAATDJI HAN			0	RUE TARAKDJILAR 43	S	1914	AO 1914
SANASSAR HAN			0	RUE DEMIRCAPOU DJADDESSI	S	1914	AO 1914
SEBOUHIAN HAN			0	RUE TCHAKMAKDJILAR YOCOUCHOU 15	S	1914	AO 1914
SOFDJI HAN			0	RUE NOUR OSMANIE, 12	S	1914	AO 1914
STAMBOUL RIHTIM HAN			0	RUE MEIVAHOCHE	S	1914	AO 1914
SOUHOULET HAN			0	RUE MAHMOUD PACHA	S	1909	AO 1909
TURKIA HAN			0	RUE KUTUFHANE	S	1914	AO 1914
UTCH DIREKLI HAN			0	RUE YANGHIN TCHIKMAZ	S	1914	AO 1914
YENI VOLTO HAN	3-4		0	RUE BEGHIRDJI 8	S	1914	AO 1914
YILDIZ HAN			0	RUE YILDIZ-HAMAM 4	S	1914	AO 1914

Sources: *Annuaire oriental,* 1868, 1881, 1893, 1905, 1909, 1914; Huber, 1895; Goad 1904, 1905

Appendix N: List of Hotels and Information on their Size, Owners/Tenants and Location

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
RATTOPOULO			0				GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 169	G	1881	AO 1881
ROYAL HOTEL	4&B		0	LOGHOTETI (1881), MESSINA CARAVIDAS RT CIE (1914)			RUE TEPEBACHI 18	P	1881	GD 1905
IMPERIAL HOTEL			0	TOTHFALUSSY (1881,1893)	C.M.		RUE ASMALI MESDJID 45	P	1881	AO 1894
AGOSTINI P.J. DU TEKE			0	AGOSTINI	P.J.		GRANDE RUE DE PERA 558	P	1881	AO 1881
CONSTANTINOPLE HOTEL			0	LOGHOTETI	D.		RUE VENEDIK 2	P	1881	AO 1881
ANGLETERRE HOTEL			0	LOGHOTETI	FRANÇOIS		GRANDE RUE DE PERA 463	P	1881	AO 1881
DE LA PAIX HOTEL			0	SIDAN	CHARLES		RUE YENI TCHARCHI 38	P	1881	AO 1881
TESSIER ANDRE HOTEL			0	TESSIER	ANDRE		RUE MIMAR 16	P	1881	AO 1881
LA GRECE HOTEL			0	VACOLAS	ATHAN.		RUE MEZARLIK 13	P	1881	AO 1881
PESTH HOTEL	5	130	650	TOTHFALUSSY (1881,1893)	C.M.		GRANDE RUE DE PERA 455	P	1881	GD 1905
RODOSTO HOTEL	5-6	100	600	DEMIRIAN (1889,1893)	KIRKOR		RUE YOUKSEK KALDIRIM 93/67	G	1889	GD 1905
SALONIQUE HOTEL 3E ORDRE	5	127	635	BARZILAY (1889) /ELIEZER(1893)	J / LATINE		RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 30	G	1889	GD 1905
BELLE VUE HOTEL			0	ADAMOPOULO ET APERGIS			PETITS CHAMPS, RUE MEZARLIK 27	P	1889	AO 1889
ORIENT HOTEL 3E ORDRE	5-6	60	360	PANDELIUS (1889,1893)	LEONIDAS		RUE HAMALBACHI 6	P	1889	GD 1905
CONTINENTAL ET FRANÇAIS HOTEL	4	280	1.120	AGOSTINI (1909,1914)	P.J.	O	RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS) 47	P	1889	GD 1905
MARITZA HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	JEANNOPOULO FRERES (1893)			HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 26	S	1889	AO 1894
BELLE GRECE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	CALLIGAS (1909,1914) (1893)	C.	T	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 123	G	1894	AO 1909
DE LA CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	SHELTON (1893) NOAD W. (1881)			RUE OMER 7 - 9	G	1894	AO 1894
ISMIDT HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	KITAVDJIAN (1893)			RUE LEBLEBDJI 8	G	1894	AO 1894

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
OSMANIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	ROUPEN (1893)	P.		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 233 BIS	G	1894	AO 1894
POLOGNE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	SINBERG	SALOMON		YUKSEK CALDIRIM 61	G	1894	AO 1894
SUISSE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	VIGLER	VVE ROSA		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 221	G	1894	AO 1894
THESSALIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	KEFALINEOS (1893)	G.		RUE LINARDO 8	G	1894	AO 1894
VARNA, BOURGAS & L'EPIRE	4	44	176				GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 215	G	1894	GD 1905
NEW YORK HOTEL 3E ORDRE	3-4	57	228	PROFIRI (1909) (1893)	VASSILAKI		RUE TOLOUMBA 3/ RUE TCHEUMLEKDJI	G	1894	GD 1905
CENTRAL HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	VOCOLAS (1893)	A.		GRANDE RUE DE PERA 202	P	1894	AO 1894
PERA HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	WAGONS-LITS			GRANDE RUE DE PERA 233	P	1894	AO 1894
EUROPE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	DIMITRIADES (1893)	E.		RUE HAMAL BACHI 14	P	1894	AO 1894
ETRANGERS HOTEL	4	130	520	CARIYANOPOULO	P		RUE MEZARLIK 27	P	1894	GD 1905
KROECKER GRAND HOTEL	4&B	900	3.600	KROECKER (1893)	AUGUSTE		RUE KABRISTAN 38, 40	P	1894	GD 1905
ANATOLIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	DOUKOGLOU (1893)	YOVAN		HAMIDIE DJADDESSI 14	S	1894	AO 1894
ANDRINOPLE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	THEODORACHI (1893)	NICOLAS		BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 10	S	1894	AO 1894
CONSTANTINOPLE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	ZOGRAFIDES (1893)	YANNI		BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 10	S	1894	AO 1894
ROUMELIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	TCHOUNTA (1893)	GEORGES		BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 20	S	1894	AO 1894
MALKA HOTEL	4&B		0				RUE CHICHANE 2	G	1905	GD 1905
BATOUM HOTEL -3E ORDRE	3-4	40	160	LEVY (1909)	LEON		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 163	G	1905	GD 1905
BELLA VENEZIA HOTEL -3E ORDRE	4-5	41	205	MARCOLONGO (1909,1914)	D.	T	RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA 75	G	1905	GD 1905
GRECE HOTEL	5	41	205				RUE KARA OGHLAN	G	1905	GD 1905
NORD HOTEL 3E ORDRE	5	42	210	DADJAT (1909,1914)			RUE KARANLIK FIRIN / GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 198	G	1905	GD 1905
ROUMANIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE	5	45	225	PAVLOPOULOS (1909, 1914)	D.	O	RUE LINARDO 20	G	1905	GD 1905
RUBIN HOTEL 3E ORDRE	3&B	54	162	MANDELBLATT (1909,1914)	R.		RUE MERTEBANY 4	G	1905	GD 1905
PANDERMA HOTEL 3E ORDRE	4	61	244	GUIDAVDJIOGLOU (1909)	HADJI APRAHAM		RUE YUKSEK KALDIRIM 93	G	1905	GD 1905
ANDRINOPLE HOTEL	3-4	73	292				GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	GD 1905
ALBANIE HOTEL	4-5	90	450				GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	GD 1905

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
MONTENEGRO HOTEL	5	95	475				RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA	G	1905	GD 1905
EPIRE HOTEL	5	99	495				RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA 31	G	1905	GD 1905
ISMIDT HOTEL 3E ORDRE	5	100	500	HADJI THOMAS (1909) / TOMAYAN (1914)	HATCHIK		RUE YOUKSEK KALDIRIM 47 BIS	G	1905	GD 1905
REUNIS HOTEL	5	120	600				RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA	G	1905	GD 1905
PINSK HOTEL	3-4	120	480				RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA	G	1905	GD 1905
RAGUZA HOTEL	3-4	125	500				RUE KILIDCH ALI PACHA	G	1905	GD 1905
CAUCASE HOTEL	4-5	152	760				RUE ARAP OGHLAN	G	1905	GD 1905
IBRAHIM BEY / HOTEL MER NOIRE	2-5	250	1.000	IBRAHIM BEY			RUE GUMUCH HALKA	G	1905	GD 1905
BROUSSE & MIHALITCH HOTEL	4	294	1.176				GRANDE RUE DE GALATA	G	1905	GD 1905
EPIRE HOTEL	4	33	132				RUE ARALIK 17	P	1905	GD 1905
LYON HOTEL	5&B-6	76	456				RUE GLAVANY	P	1905	GD 1905
BYZANCE HOTEL	5-6	105	630				RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS) - RUE GLAVANY	P	1905	GD 1905
LOUVRE HOTEL 3E ORDRE	4	113	452	GRUNBERG (1909)	PASQUA		RUE ADA 3	P	1905	GD 1905
BROUSSE HOTEL	4&B	115	460	SERAKIAN (1909)	VVE		IMPASSE TUTUNDJI 1	P	1905	GD 1905
MEIRAND PENSION	4	120	480				RUE ASMALI MESDJID	P	1905	GD 1905
ST. GEORGES HOTEL	4-4&B	120	480				RUE HAMAL BACHI	P	1905	GD 1905
HUNGARIA HOTEL	5	132	660				RUE MEZARLIK	P	1905	GD 1905
AUSTRIA HUNGARIA HOTEL	5	136	680				RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS)	P	1905	GD 1905
ORIENT HOTEL	5-6	150	900	PANTELOUS (1909,1914)	LEONIDAS N.		RUE TEPEBACHI 47	P	1905	GD 1905
CENTRALE, HOTEL PENSION	4-5	180	900				RUE KABRISTAN (RUE ASMALI MESDJID)	P	1905	GD 1905
ST. PETERSBOURG HOTEL	5	185	925	METSES (1909,1914)	PIERRE B.	T	RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS) 27	P	1905	GD 1905
GOGOSSIAN PENSION	5	197	985	GOGOSSIAN			RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS)	P	1905	GD 1905
METROPOLE	6	221	1.326	PAPPADOPOULOS (1909,1914)	ATH		GRANDE RUE DE PERA / IMPASSE TUTUNDJI 4	P	1905	GD 1905
FRANCE HOTEL	6-7	230	1.610				RUE KABRISTAN	P	1905	GD 1905
BRISTOL HOTEL	5-6	392	2.352	DJIRA ET HADJARA (1914)	JEAN ET GEORGES	T	RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS)	P	1905	GD 1905

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
LONDRES GRAND HOTEL DE	5	490	2.450	METSES (1909,1914)	CH. & PIERRE	T	RUE MEZARLIK (PETITS CHAMPS)	P	1905	GD 1905
KHEDIVIAL HOTEL PALACE	3-4	623	2.492	HALLAS (1909,1914)	PHILIPPE	T	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 463/ RUE KOUMBARADJI YOKOUCHOU	P	1905	GD 1905
PERA PALACE HOTEL	6-7-8	1.315	9.205				RUE KABRISTAN	P	1905	GD 1905
AIGLE NOIR HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	LITOPOULO FRERES (1909,1914)		T	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 114	G	1909	AO 1909
APOLLON HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	LITOPOULO FRERES (1909,1914)		T	KILIDJ ALI PACHA 22	G	1909	AO 1909
AL GALLO D'ORO HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	SARDELICH (1909,1914)	NICOLO		GUMUCH HALCA 6	G	1909	AO 1909
BELLA ITALIA HOTEL -3E ORDRE			0	MATEGNA (1909)	SALV.		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 163	G	1909	AO 1909
BUCHAREST HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	CATSANIS (1909)	ILIA		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 175	G	1909	AO 1909
EPTALOPHOS HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	ZAROCOSTA FRERES			GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 185, 187	G	1909	AO 1909
ESKI CHEHIR HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	GUIDAVDJIAN (1909,1914)	A.	T	RUE YUKSEK CALDIRIM 64	G	1909	AO 1909
BELLA MALTA HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	CARUANA (1909)	NICOLAS		RUE KILIDJ ALI PACHA 85	G	1909	AO 1909
ROUMAIN HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	PAVLIDIS (1909)	D.		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 199	G	1909	AO 1909
SEBASTOPOL HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	STAMATIADI (1909)	D.S.		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 135	G	1909	AO 1909
STAMBOUL HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	GARIDIS (1909,1914)	P.		GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 169	G	1909	AO 1909
ATHENE PALACE			0	HALLAS (1909,1914)	ATHANASSE	O	RUE MEZARLIK 11	P	1909	AO 1909
CONSTANTINOPLE PALACE			0	HALLAS (1909,1914)	DEMOSTHENE A.	T	CITE OLIVO 2	P	1909	AO 1909
LA LUNA HOTEL			0	GARMANTIERI (1909)	MICHEL		RUE DERVICHE 34	P	1909	AO 1909
PARIS DE HOTEL			0	HAMADOU (1909,1914)	AMEDEE		RUE ASMALI MESDJID 12	P	1909	AO 1909
ALEXANDRIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	PASMANTIER (1909)	ADOLF		RUE ASMALI MESDJID 5	P	1909	AO 1909
BELLA VENEZIA HOTEL -3E ORDRE			0	NOUAILLAC :(1909)	EMILIE		RUE DERVICHE 32	P	1909	AO 1909
CENTRAL, HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	LICHENTENTHAL (1909)	MARIE		RUE DE POLOGNE 5	P	1909	AO 1909
EUROPE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	LAVDOPOULO (1909)	JEAN		RUE VENEDIK 35	P	1909	AO 1909
GRAND ALEXANDRE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	MARGARITIS (1909	GEORGES		RUE GLAVANY 4	P	1909	AO 1909

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
LYRE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	CARTIER (1909)	M.G.		RUE TIMONI 21	P	1909	AO 1909
MINERVA HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	CARAVIDAS (1909,1914)	ANDREA	T	RUE DOUDOU ODALAR 1	P	1909	AO 1909
PERA HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	PETSOFF (1909)	DEM.		RUE HAMALBACHI 5	P	1909	AO 1909
SAVOY HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	APERGHIS (1909,1914)	STEFANOS	T	RUE HAVA 2	P	1909	AO 1909
TOKATLIAN HOTEL MAISON MEGUERD			0	TOKATLIAN	MEGUERD.		GRANDE RUE DE PERA 180	P	1909	AO 1909
ANATOLIE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	SELANIKLI KEUSSEOGLOU KADRI (1909) KIAMIL EUMER (1914)		T	BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 17,19	S	1909	AO 1909
ANDRINOPLE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	NICOLAIDIS (1909,1914)	THEOD.		RUE SIRKEDJI ISKELESSI 14	S	1909	AO 1909
BEYROUTH HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	BEHAR (1909)	CHEMARIA		RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 42	S	1909	AO 1909
BROUSSE ET RODOSTO HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	MOUSTA EFF (1909)			RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 19	S	1909	AO 1909
BYZANTION HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	MILONOPOULOS (1909)	ATH.		RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 10	S	1909	AO 1909
CHEFAK HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	ALI BEY (1909)			RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 17	S	1909	AO 1909
EUROPE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	TANNI (1909)			RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 26	S	1909	AO 1909
ISMIDT HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	NICHANIAN (1909)	AGOP		RUE ESKI ZAPTIE 74	S	1909	AO 1909
PARIS HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	DIMITROULIS (1909,1914)	D./ARISTOTELIS (1914)	T	RUE BAB-I ALI DJADDESSI 28	S	1909	AO 1909
TREBIZONDE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	MEHMED OSMAN (1909)			RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 26	S	1909	AO 1909
VIENNE HOTEL 3E ORDRE			0	ANDREADIS (1909)	PERICLES		RUE HODJA PACHA SIRKEDJI 7	S	1909	AO 1909
ESPERANCE HOTEL			0	FOSCOLO	MARIE	T	RUE YENI YOL 4	G	1914	AO 1914
MYRIOPHITON HOTEL			0	P. ALEVRIDIS FRERES (1914)		O	RUE TCHEUMLEKDJI 3, RUE TOULOUMBA 3	G	1914	AO 1914
BASTASINI HOTEL			0	BASTASINI	MARIE	O	RUE DERVICHE 34	P	1914	AO 1914
CALYPSO HOTEL			0	PATROCLE	DIAMANDIDIS	T	RUE TEPEBACHI 39	P	1914	AO 1914
DE PERA HOTEL			0	PETSILAS (1914)	GEORGES ET PHOTI	T	RUE HAMAL BACHI	P	1914	AO 1914
GERMANIA HOTEL			0	KOHM	WILHELM	O	RUE NERGUIZ 26,30	P	1914	AO 1914
GRAND HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE MISSIRIE			0	POLLATO FRERES			RUE MEZARLIK 3	P	1914	AO 1914

NAME OF THE HOTEL	FLAT	AREA	TOTAL AREA	NAME OF THE OWNER/TENANT	FIRST NAME	S	ADDRESS	R	DATE	REF
L'ESPERANCE HOTEL			0	VACONDIO ET DIMITRIOU (1914)	THOMASIE ET EMM. HADJI	T	RUE HAMAL BACHI 8	P	1914	AO 1914
LUXEMBOURG HOTEL			0	HALLAS (1914)	ATH. A.	O	RUE HAVA	P	1914	AO 1914
MONOPOL HOTEL			0	PAPPADOUPOULOS (1914)	CONST.	O	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 166	P	1914	AO 1914
NEW PALACE			0	LEMONIDIS (1914)	S.	O	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 213	P	1914	AO 1914
OSMANIE HOTEL			0	KETCHIAN (1914)	AGOP	T	GRANDE RUE DE GALATA 137	P	1914	AO 1914
ROMA HOTEL			0	HADJI VASSIL ET GOGOUNIS	ATH. A.	T	RUE MEZARLIK 15	P	1914	AO 1914
ROSSIA HOTEL			0	COURCOUMELIS	CONST.	O	RUE HAMAL BACHI 9	P	1914	AO 1914
SARIM HOTEL			0	HADJI SARIM		T	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 46	P	1914	AO 1914
SUISSE REGINA HOTEL			0	STEINBACH	L., MME	O	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 115	P	1914	AO 1914
TURKIA HOTEL			0	APRAHAMIAN FRERES			GRANDE RUE DE PERA 60	P	1914	AO 1914
ISMIR HOTEL			0	AHMED ZIHNI		T	RUE ESKI ZAPTIE 1	S	1914	AO 1914

Sources: *Annuaire oriental,* 1881, 1889-90, 1894, 1909, 1914; Goad, 1904, 1905.

Abbreviations:
S: Status, T: Tenant, O: Owner
G: Galata, P: Pera, S: Stamboul

Appendix O: List of *vakıf* property put in auction between 1884 and 1886.

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
La moitié d'une maison en bois batie sur 80 pics carrés contenant 3 chambres, 1 sofa, un puit. Elle fait partie des **vakoufs Keurktchı bacha Ahmed Bey** et est située a **Galata, quartier Aladja Mesdjid rue Toghrou**	Keurktchı bacha Ahmed Bey	Aladja Mesdjid	Toghrou	23	5.000	Galata	11/23 Fevrier 1884
Le quart d'une maison en bois contenant 3 chambres, 1 sofa, un puit et un jardin de 20 pics. Elle fait partie des **vakoufs Kiatib Mehmet Effendi** et est située a **Galata, quartier Aladja Mesdjid rue Toghrou**	Kiatib Mehmet Effendi	Aladja Mesdjid	Toghrou	24	3.750	Galata	17/29 Decembre 1883
Les 2/6 d'un terrain d'une superficie approximative de 125 pics, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Kassim pacha** et situé a **Galata, quartier Aladja-Mesdjed, rue Tchimaz Yaprak**	Kassim pacha	Aladja-Mesdjed	Tchimaz Yaprak	7	2.334	Galata	19 Fevrier 1884
Une b**outique en pierre** de cordonnier avec mulk et ghedik, contenant une chambre au dessus, louée pour 100 pi par mois, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Mahmoud Khan I et de Hodja Attar Eff** et située a **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami, rue Mahmoudié**	Sultan Mahmoud Khan I et de Hodja Attar Eff	Arab-Djami	Mahmoudié	166	15.000	Galata	6/18 Mars 1884
Le tiers d'une maison batie sur 60 metres carrés contenant 4 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puit, un jardin de 7 metres et une boutique louée pour 40 pi par mois, située à **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami, rue Feyoun.**		Arab-Djami	Feyoun	8 et 64	6.667	Galata	1/13 Janvier 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une boutique de tailleur avec mulk et ghedik, batie sur 10 pics carrées avec une chambre au dessus. Elle fait partie des **vakoufs d'El-Hadji Ibrahim Pacha**, est louée pour 100 pi par mois et située, a **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami rue Mahdoum Meidan**	El-Hadji Ibrahim Pacha	Arab-Djami	hdoum Meidan	3	5.000	Galata	17 Avril 1884
Une boutique sans hava de fruitier batie en pierre sur 4 metres carrés, louée pour 50 pi par mois, située a **Galata quartier Arab-Djami, rue Mehkeme**		Arab-Djami	Mehkeme	19	7.500	Galata	25 Fevrier 1885
Un magasin en pierre de Haladjı avec une chambre au dessus, faisant partie des **ghediks du ministere de l'Evcaf**. Il est bati sur 80 pics carrés, est loué pour 200 pi par mois et est situé a **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami, rue Moukirdjilar**	ghediks du ministere de l'Evcaf.	Arab-Djami	Moukirdjilar	35	30.000	Galata	27 Fevrier 1884
Le 1/6 d'une maison batie sur 76 metres carrés, contenant 6 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits, 1 jardin de 197 metres, située a **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami, rue Yemendjiler**		Arab-Djami	Yemendjiler	65, 67	2.500	Galata	5 Fevrier 1885
Les 1**5/120 d'une boutique de Patchadji** batie sur 35 metres carrés avec une chambre au-dessus louée pour 100 pi par mois, située a **Galata, quartier Arab-Djami, rue Atmadja**		Arab-Djami,	Atmadja	13	1.000	Galata	

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une boutique de barbier avec Mulk et guedik batie sur 100 pics carrés ayant 6 chambres au dessus et deux magasins sous sa dependance le tout loué pour 206 pi par mois. Cet immeuble fait partie des **vakoufs d'Ibrahim Eff et des guediks des Villes-Saintes** et est situé a **Galata, quartier Chehid Mehmed Pacha, rue Calafat Meidan**	Ibrahim Eff et des guediks des Villes-Saintes	Chehid Mehmed Pacha	Calafat Meidan	31, 33 et 2	20.000	Galata	3/17 Mai 1884
Le mulk et le ghedik d'une boutique de barbier batie sur 100 pics carrés avec 6 chambres au dessus, louées pour 206 pi par mois et le mulk de deux magasins situé au-dessous de cette boutique. L'immeuble est situé a **Galata quartier Cheid Mehmed Pacha a Kalafat meidan rue Yelkendjiler**		Cheid Mehmed Pacha	Kalafat meidan rue Yelkendjiler	2 et 31	20.000	Galata	15/27 Mars 1884
Une maison en bois, batie sur 80 pics carrés, contenant 3 chambres, 1 sofa, 1 puits et un jardin de 25 pics, faisant partie des **vakoufs d'El-Hadj Mehmed Reiss** et située a **Koulé-Capoussou de Galata, quartier Chekh-Chevar, rue Chemchir**	El-Hadj Mehmed Reiss	Chekh-Chevar, Koulé-Capoussou	Chemchir	2	8.000	Galata	23 Avril 1884
Le 1/10 d'un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 373 pics contenant 2 sofas, 4 baraques et une boutique, le tout loué pour 260 pi par mois faisant partie des **vakoufs de Yediktchi El Hadj Mehmed Pacha** et situé a **Galata quartier Djami Djedid, rue Voiwoda**	Yediktchi El Hadj Mehmed Pacha	Djami Djedid	Voiwoda	63 et 65	8.420	Galata	19 Fevrier 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le 1/10 d'une boutique en pierre d'orfevre batie sur 15 pics carrés, louée pour 60 pi par an, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Ste Sophie, située a Galata, quartier Djami-Djedid, rue Coyoumdji**	Ste Sophie	Djami-Djedid	Coyoumdji	10	900	Galata	10/22 Mars 1884
Les 2,5 sehims sur 120 d'une **fabrique spritueux** (autrefois boutique de haviardjı) batie sur 180 pics carrés contenant 10 chambres, 2 sofas, un casin de 130 pics, debarcadere de 170 pics allant jusqu'a la mer. Cet immeuble fait partie des **guediks des Villes Saintes** et est située à **Galata, quartier Djami-Djedid, rue Hajı-Photi**	guediks des Villes Saintes	Djami-Djedid	Hajı-Photi	10	5.208	Galata	9/21 Janvier 1884
Un immeuble bati sur 200 pics carrés composé d'un café en bois avec 3 chambres, 1 puits et un jardin de 25 pics et loué pour 300 pi par mois et d'une boutique en pierre de Hdadj. L'immeuble fait partie des **vakoufs de Tchakır-Agha et de Haradjıdjı Cara-Mehmed** et est situé a **Galata, quartier Djami-Kebir, rue Blghemoud?**. Il sera vendu que les 6 1/2 ? 45 du vakouf de Tchakir-agha et 7,5 plots du vakouf de Cara-Mehmed Bey	Tchakır-Agha et de Haradjıdjı Cara-Mehmed	Djami-Kebir	Blghemoud?.	2,4,7	4.978	Galata	5/17 Fevrier 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une boutique en bois de barbier avec mulk et guedik, batie sur 80 pics carrés avec un caik-hané au dessous louée pour 160 pi par mois, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Peyali Pacha et du sultan Mahmoud Khan** et situé a **Galata, quartier Djanni Kebir, rue Eski Baluk-hane**	Peyali Pacha et du sultan Mahmoud Khan	Djanni Kebir	Eski Baluk-hane	2	15.000	Galata	3/17 Mai 1884
Un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 76 metres, situé a **Galata, quartier Emek-Yemez, rue Oktchi-Moussa**		Emek-Yemez	Oktchi-Moussa	32	20.000	Galata	24 Decembre 1884
La moitié d'un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 68 metres situé a **Galata, quartier Grande Mosquée, rue Miné**		Grande Mosquée	Miné	9	2.000	Galata	
Le 1/5 du mulk d'un magasin loué pour 3 pi par mois situé a **Galata, quartier de la Grande Mosquée, rue Perchembé-bazar**		Grande Mosquée	Perchembé-bazar	86	300	Galata	1/13 Janvier 1885
Une boutique en bois de Sepetchi batie sur 40 pics carrés, louée pour 50 pi par mois faisant partie des **vakoufs de Nichandji Djedid Mehmed Pacha** et est située a **Galata, quartier de la Grande mosquée rue Yelkendjiler**	Djedid Mehmed Pacha	Grande mosquée	Yelkendjiler	60	6.000	Galata	6/18 Mars 1884
Le **1/8 d'une boutique en pierre** de cordonnier batie sur 40 pics carres contenant une chambre et un magasin souterrain, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Mahmoud Khan et de Kechanizade hadjı Moustapha agha** et louee pour 5 1/2 livres turques par mois. Elle est situee a **Galata, quartier Kemankech rue Toptchilar**	Sultan Mahmoud Khan et de Kechanizade hadjı Moustapha agha	Kemankech	Toptchilar	34	10.000	Galata	18 Fevrier 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Les 10/120 sehims du ghedik d'un immeuble batie sur 220 pics carrés contenant deux boutiques et 4 chambres faisant partie des **ghediks des Villes Saintes**, loué pour 1658 pi par an et situé a **Galata quartier a Kemankech rue Yuksek Caldirim**	Villes Saintes	Kemankech	Yuksek Caldirim	122 et 124	8.680	Galata	23 Janvier 1884
Le 1 1/2 sur 120 et le tiers de la moitié d'un lot du ghédik de deux boutiques en pierre de beurektchi et d'une boutique contigue de beurekdtchi, baties sur 76 metres carrés avec 3 chambres et un sofa au dessus, le tout loué 25000 pi par an. L'immeuble est situé a **Galata, quartier Keman-Kech, rue Carakeui**		Keman-Kech	Carakeui	14 et 16	8.264	Galata	8/20 Janvier 1885
L**e 1/8 du ghedik d'une boutique de cordonnier** avec une chambre au dessus et un sous-sol, louée pour 5,5 pi par mois, batie sur 30 metres carrés, située a **Galata, quartier Keman-Kech, rue Topchilar**		Keman-Kech	Topchilar	138	7.500	Galata	12 Fevrier 1883
Le 1/6 d'une maison en pierre batie sur 91 metres carrés contenant 8 chambres et au dessous un magasin loué pour 24000 pi par an situé a **Galata, quartier Keman-Kech Cara Moustafa, rue Haratchi**		Keman-Kech Cara Moustafa	Haratchi	1, 3, 5, 11	60.000	Galata	25 Fevrier 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une maison batie sur 270 pics carres, contenant 5 chambres et un magazin élevé sur un terrain de maison et louée pour 800 piastres par mois. L'immeuble est situé a **Galata, quartier Kemankech Cara Moustapha, rue Sirkedji** et fait partie des **vakoufs de Ghazi-Piyale Pacha et Kamar Hatoun**. Il ne sera vendu de cet immeuble que les 2/18 sehims sur le vakouf de Piyale Pacha et le 1/12 du vakouf de Kamar Hatoun	Ghazi-Piyale Pacha et Kamar Hatoun	Kemankech Cara Moustapha	Sirkedji	36 et 38	15.530	Galata	17/29 Decembre 1883
Le 1/6 de l'emplacement de 2 pics 12 parmaks de la muraille d'enceinte compris dans deux magasins, situés a **Galata, quartier Keman-Kech Cara-Moustafa Pacha, rue Halil Pacha**		Keman-Kech Cara-Moustafa Pacha	Halil Pacha	7, 5	33	Galata	Avril 1885
Les 6/120 sehims et les 2/3 d'un sehim d'un immeuble comprenant une maison en pierre, batie sur 152 metres carrés, avec 6 chambres, 2 sofas et un puits, louée pour 9.000 pi par an; 2 magasins au dessous de la maison et une café loué pour 5.000 pi par an. Cet immeuble fait partie **des vakoufs de Hadji Hassan Agha et d'El- Hadj Moustafa Eff** et est situé a **Galata, quartier Kemankech, Cara Moustafa Pacha, rues Kassaplar, Demirdji et Toptchilar.**	Hadji Hassan Agha et d'El-Hadj Moustafa Eff	Kemankech, Cara Moustafa Pacha,	Kassaplar, Demirdji et Toptchilar	2,4,6,19, 140 et 144	25.000	Galata	9 Juin 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le 1/6 d'une boutique de chekerlemedji, batie sur 12 metrs carrés, louée pour 200 pi par mois, située a **Galata, quartier Kemenkech, rue Keumruk**		Kemenkech	Keumruk	48	1.333	Galata	8/20 Janvier 1885
Le 1/16 d'un casin en bois (autrefois boutique de Tchourchoudjı). Il est bati sur 76 metres, contenant 5 chambres et 1 puits, faisant partie des **mulks de Ste Sophie et des ghediks des Villes Saintes.** L'immeuble est situé a **Galata, quartier Kilitch Ali Pacha, rue Keurech Capou** et est loué pour 8000 pi par an (pour 666 pi par mois)	mulks de Ste Sophie et des ghediks des Villes Saintes	Kilitch Ali Pacha	Keurech Capou	1	20.000	Galata	Juin 1884
Le mulk et le ghedik d'une boutique de Haladji batie sur 60 pics carrés, contenant 2 chambres louées pour 80 pi par mois, faisant partie des **ghediks de l'Evkaf et des vakoufs de Ste Sophie** et situé a **Galata quartier de la Grande Mosquée rue Hazırdjılar**	ghediks de l'Evkaf et des vakoufs de Ste Sophie	La Grande Mosquée	Hazırdjılar	93	12.000	Galata	6/18 Mars 1884
Les 4/7 du ghedik d'une boutique de marchand de sel, batie sur 38 metres carrés, louée pour 50 pi par mois situé a **Galata, quartier Aladja-Mesdjed, rue Mahmoudié**		Mesdjed	Mahmoudié	234	3.008	Galata	1/13 Janvier 1885
La moitié d'un konak en bois bati sur 912 metres carrés contenant 15 chambres, 4 sofas, 1 bain, 1 puits, 1 remise avec une chambre, batie sur 19 metres et louée pour 120 pi par mois, situé a **Yuksek-Caldirim, quartier Moulakurani, rue Top-Capou**		Moulakurani	Top-Capou, Yuksek-Caldirim	205, 207	50.000	Galata	Février 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le tiers d'une boutique en pierre d'orfevre, bati sur 7 metres carrés, louée pour 50 pi par mois, située a **Galata, quartier de la Nouvelle mosquée, rue Couyoumdji**		Nouvelle mosquée	Couyoumdji	14	2.668	Galata	Février 1885
Le quart d'un immeuble bati sur 30 metres carrés, composé de 4 chambres et de 2 boutique le tout loué pour 500 pi par mois, situé a **Galata, quartier de la nouvelle mosquée, rue Fermendjilar**		nouvelle mosquée	Fermendjilar	9, 11 et 84	15.562	Galata	12 Fevrier 1883
La moitié d'une maison en bois de keurktchi, batie sur 76 metres carrés, louée pour 150 pi par mois, situ"e a **Galata, quartier de la nouvelle mosquée, rue Kurekdjilar**		nouvelle mosquée	Kurekdjilar	46	15.000	Galata	25 Fevrier 1885
Le tiers de 2 magasins en pierre batis sur 190 metres carrés avec 4 chambres au dessus, loué pour 1600 pi par mois, situé a **Galata, quartier de la nouvelle mosquée rue Zindjir Khan**		Nouvelle mosquée	Zindjir Khan	7, 9	12.000	Galata	25 Fevrier 1885
Les 2/9 d'un magasin en bois bati sur 120 metres carrés avec chambres, au dessus, loué pour 800 pi par mois situé a **Galata, quartier de nouvelle mosquée, rue Zindjir-khala**		Nouvelle mosquée	Zindjir-khala	11	27.776	Galata	25 Fevrier 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le tiers d'une maison batie en bois sur 128 metres carrés, contenant 4 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits, louée pour 450 pi par mois située a **Galata, quartier Oktchi Moussa, rue Beicos Tchikmazi**		Oktchi Moussa	Beicos Tchikmazi	3	15.000	Galata	Avril 1885
Une maison en bois batie sur 63 metres carrés contenant 2 chambres, 1 sofa, 1 puits et 1 jardin de 56 metres, louée pour 80 pi par mois située a **Galata, quartier Oktchi Moussa, rue Chehchevar**		Oktchi Moussa	Chehchevar	32	2.000	Galata	Février 1885
Le 1/6 du terrain d'une boutique de Keumurdji contenant aujourd'hui une barraque, louée pour 6000 pi par an. Le terrain a une superficie de 77 m et est situé a **Galata, quartier Sultan Beyazıd, rue Keumurdji Mekteb**		Sultan Beyazıd	Keumurdji Mekteb	10 et 16	2.000	Galata	Juin 1884
Les 1/12 du mulk et les 10 aktchés sur 120 sehims du ghedik de 2 boutiques (debit de boisson et restaurant) baties sur 80 pics carrés, contenant un magasin, 1 puits, 1 sofa et 3 chambres au dessus le tout loué pour 600 pi par mois. Il est situé a **Galata, quartier Sultan Beyazıd, rue Kılıdj Ali Pacha**		Sultan Beyazıd	Kılıdj Ali Pacha	-	6.660	Galata	5/17 Fevrier 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le tiers d'une maison (taverne) et de 2 boutiques en bois le tout bati sur 45 metres carrés. La maison qui donne sur les rues de de Kipridji et de Sabizli contient 7 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits et une citerne. Cet immeuble qui est loué pour 1200 pi par an fait partie des **vakoufs de Topchou bachi Veli Agha** et est situé a **Galata, quartier Sultan Beyazıd, rue Toptchilar. Les d**eux boutiques ont la façade en pierre et les derrieres en bois.	Topchou bachi Veli Agha	Sultan Beyazıd	Toptchilar	53 et 217	33.334	Galata	10/22 Mai 1884
Le tiers d'une maison et de deux terrains. La maison est batie sur 160 pics et contient 4 chambres, 1 sofa, 1 puits, 1 jardin de 215 pics et une citerne, le tout loué pour 160 pi par mois. L'immeuble fait partie des **vakoufs Avariz** et est situé a **Galata quartier Yazidji, rue Dibek.** Le tiers de cet immeuble sera vendu par le makhlulat a qui il appartient et les deux autres tiers par ses propriétaires	Avariz	Yazidji	Dibek	25, 27, 29	5.000	Galata	5 Mai 1884
Une maison en bois, batie sur 120 metres carrés, contenant 4 chambres, 1 sofa, 1 puits, 1 citerne et un jardin de 160 metres carrés et une citerne,louée pour 100 pi par mois/160 pi par an et située a **Galata, quartier Yazidji, rue Dibek**. Le tiers de l'immeuble est vendu par le Makhlulat et les 2/3 par ses propriétaires		Yazidji	Dibek	25, 27 et 29	5.000	Galata	22 Janvier 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le 1/36 d'une boutique de Deukmedji sans numero et **d'un magasin** de chekerdji faisant partie des **vakoufs de Cheikh-Hachmi Osman Eff,** louée por 8000 ? pi par mois et située a **Galata, quartier Yeni Djami, rue Mahmoudié**	Cheikh-Hachmi Osman Eff	Yeni Djami	Mahmoudié	29	2.500	Galata	10/22 Mars 1884
Le 1/6 d'un magasin bati sur 80 pics carrés **avec une chambre au dessus**, loué pur 50 pi par mois, faisant partie des v**akoufs de la Sainte Sophie**, située à **Galata, quartier Yeni Djami, rue Omer**	vakoufs de la Sainte Sophie	Yeni Djami	Omer	11	10.000	Galata	18 Fevrier 1884
Le 1/6 d'un magasin bati sur 60 pics carrés **avec une chambre au dessus**, loué pur 300 pi par mois, faisant partie des v**akoufs de la Sainte Sophie**, située à **Galata, rue Yeni Djami, rue Omer**	Sainte Sophie	Yeni Djami,	Omer	11	10.000	Galata	15/27 Janvier 1884
Le 1/6 d'un magasin de teinturier bati sur 60 pics carrés, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sinan Pacha et de Hair-eddin Pacha** , loué pour 334 pi par mois et situé a **Galata, quartier Yeni-Djami, rue Kurekdjiler**	Sinan Pacha et de Hair-eddin Pacha	Yeni-Djami	Kurekdjiler	47	6.667	Galata	14 Mai 1884
Le mulk des deux boutiques de forgeron faisant partie des **vakoufs de Ferouh-Kehaya** et située a **Galata, rue Yelkendjiler**	Ferouh-Kehaya		rue Yelkendjiler	59 et 61	1.000	Galata	17/29 Decembre 1883

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le 1/6 **d'un immeuble** situé a **Pera, quartier Agha Djami, Grande rue et rue Alléon**. Il se compose de deux maisons louées pour 500 pi par mois et contenant 10 chambres, 4 sofas, 2 puits et d'un jardin de 1200 pics avec un magasin souterrain et louées pour 600 pi par mois		Agha Djami	Grande rue et rue Alléon	81,20,23 ,185	83.333	Pera	6/18 Mars 1884
Un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 144 metres 40/100 faisant partie des **vakoufs de Hassan Rıza P**azha et situé dans le meme quartier de la maison précédente (Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul Harem Hassan Agha, rue Tchalkı)	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul Harem Hassan Agha	Tchalkı	22	4.000	Pera	19/31 Mai 1884
Une maison en bois batie sur 70 pics carres, contenant 2 chambres, 1 sofa, un espace decouvert et une boutique en ruines au dessous. Elle fait partie des v**akoufs de Hassan Rıza Pacha** et est située à **Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul Harem Hassan Agha, rue Tchalkıdjı**	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul Harem Hassan Agha	Tchalkıdjı	21 et 23	5.000	Pera	17/29 Decembre 1883

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une maison en bois et en ruine avec une boutique en dessous, batie sur 60 pics carres, contenant 3 chambres, 2 puits et 1 puit moyen, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Hassan Rıza Pacha** et est située à **Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul Harem Hassein**, **rue Chichané**. La moitié de cet immeuble sera vendue par le Mahlulat et l'autre moitié par son propriétaire.	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul Harem Hassein	Chichané	47 et 49	300	Pera	10/22 Mars 1884
La moitié d'une maison en bois avec une boutique au dessous le tout en etant en ruine, batie sur 60 pics carres contenant 2 chambres, 2 sofas et un puit ? Elle fait partie des **vakoufs de Hassan Rıza Pacha** et est située à **Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul-Harem Hassan Agha rue Chich-hane**	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul-Harem Hassan Agha	Chich-hane	47 et 49	3.000	Pera	
Les 2/5 d'un terrain de 83 pics d'apres la carte faisant partie des v**akoufs de Rouss-Ahmed agha** et **situé a Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein agha, rue Piree-Mehmed**	Rouss-Ahmed agha	Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein agha	Piree-Mehmed	11	3.320	Pera	19 Fevrier 1884
Une maison en ruine batie sur 70 pics carrés, contenant 2 chambres, 1 sofa et un espace decouvert, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Hassan Rıza Pacha**, situé a **Pera, quartier Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha, rue Tchalkidji**	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha	Tchalkidji	23	5.000	Pera	23 Avril 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 190 pics faisant partie des **vakoufs de Hassan Rıza Pacha** et situé a **Pera quartier Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha, rue Tchakıdjı**	Hassan Rıza Pacha	Cheikh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha		22	4.000	Pera	17/29 Decembre 1883
Le **1/6 d'un immeuble composé d'une maison de trois boutiques et d'une barraque.** La maison est batie sur 300 pics carrés et contient 10 chambres, 4 sofas, 2 puits un jardin de 500 pics et un souterrain. La barraque est batie sur un terrain de 10000 pics. L'immeuble est loué pour 1100 pi par mois, et a deux façades l'une sur la grande rue de Pera et l'autre sur la rue Alleon. Il fait partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Ahmed Khan et d'Ali Effendi, Kessidar du Divani Humayoun** et est situé a **Pera quartier Chekh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha rue Alleon**	Sultan Ahmed Khan et d'Ali Effendi, Kessidar du Divani Humayoun	Chekh-ul-Harem Hussein Agha	rue Alleon	17,20,18 1,185	83.333	Pera	8,20 Fevrier 1884
Une maison en pierre, batie sur 80 pics carrés/60 anciens pics carrés, faisant partie des **vakoufs d'El Hadji Mehmed Agha et d'El Hadji Ibrahim** Agha, contenant 7 chambres, 2 sofas et un jardin de 20 pics carrés (15 metres), et située a **Pera, quartier Hamer/Coumar Hatoun, rue Merkez/Serkiz et Taradjik**	El Hadji Mehmed Agha et d'El Hadji Ibrahim Agha	Coumar/Hamer Hatoun	Merkez et Taradjik	7 et 11	50.000	Pera	6/18 Mars 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 20 pics, faisant partie des **vakoufs d'El-Hadj Ahmed Agha** situé a **Pera, quartier Hussein Agha, rue Djudan**	El-Hadj Ahmed Agha	Hussein Agha	Djudan	1	500	Pera	24 Mars 1884
Deux boutiques contigues baties sur 100 pics carres, louées pour 90 pi par mois et contenant 3 chambres. Elles sont situées a **Pera quartier Hussein Agha, rue Madjar** et font part, faisant partie des **ghediks des Villes Saintes**	ghediks des Villes Saintes	Hussein Agha	Madjar	117 et 119	6.000	Pera	18 Fevrier 1884
Un café patisserie, batie sur 67 metres carrés, contenant 3 chambres, loué pour 90 pi par mois, situé a **Pera, quartier Hussein Agha rue Madjar**		Hussein Agha	Madjar	117 et 119	6.000	Pera	24 Decembre 1884
Un café (baraque) et une boutique de corabiadji, batis sur 76 metres carrés, avec 3 chambres, loué pour 90 pi par mois, situé a **Pera, quartier Hussein Agha rue Madjar**		Hussein Agha	Madjar	117, 119	6.000	Pera	12 Fevrier 1883
Un terrain d'une superficie de 560 pics faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Beyazıd**, situé a **Idjadié de Pera, rue Elma Dagh**	Sultan Beyazıd	Idjadié	Elma Dagh	110	9.000	Pera	18 Fevrier 1884
Les 2/3 du terrain d'une maison d'une superficie de 165 metres, contenant 2 baraques, situé a **Péra, quartier Kamer-Hatoum, rue Enli-Yokous**		Kamer-Hatoum	Enli-Yokous	13	10.000	Pera	15/27 Décembre 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une maison en pierre, batie sur 26 metres carrés, contenant 1 chambre, 1 boutique au-dessous louée pour 100 pi par mois, située a **Pancaldi de Pera, rue Tehil**		Pancaldi	Tehil	22	12.000	Pera	8/20 Janvier 1885
Une maison en pierre batie sur 35 metres carrés avec une chambre et une boutique au desous louée pour 100 pi par mois, située a **Pancaldi de Pera, rue Djebel**		Pancaldi	Djebel	2, 20	12.000	Pera	Février 1885
Un **terrain de maison** d'une superficie de 140 pics faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Beyazıd khan** et situé a **Yenichehir de Pera, Papaz-Keupru**	Sultan Beyazıd khan	Papaz-Keupru	Yenichehir	126	2.300	Pera	23 Janvier 1884
La moitié d'une maison batie sur 64 metres, contenant 5 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits, 1 jardin de 64 metres et une boutique d'épicier le tout loué pour 110 pi par mois, situé a **Tatavla, rues Sari Aleksi et Hadji-Ouyouss**		Tatavla	San Aleksi et Hadji-Ouyouss	24	3.750	Pera	Janvier 1885
Un terrain de 300 pics divisé autrefois en deux avec 2 façades l'une de 10 pics l'autre de 32 pics et d'une profondeur de 10 pics faisant partie des **vakoufs de Kha-Ola Bachi Moustapha Agha**, situé a **Pera, quatier Tchelebi Moustapha Kiatib, rue Telegraphe**	Kha-Ola Bachi Moustapha Agha	Tchelebi Moustapha Kiatib	Telegraphe	13	90.000	Pera	23 Janvier 1884
La moitié d'un magasin tombé en ruine d'une superficie de 30 metres situé a **Babı Djaffer, quartier Ahi Tchelebi, rue Deirmen**		Ahi Tchelebi	Deirmen, Babı Djaffer	31	3.000	Stamboul	March 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Les 16/120 sehims d'une boutique de limondji, batie en pierre sur 22 metres carrés, contenant 2 chambres et 2 sofas louée pour 3000 pi par an, situe a **Babi Djaffer, quartier Ahi-Tchelebi, rue Limondjilar**		Ahi-Tchelebi	Limondjilar, Babi Djaffer	11	5.000	Stamboul	25 Fevrier 1885
Le 1/6 d'un café, bati sur 18 metres carrés, loué pour 150 pi par mois, situé **hors de Zindan-Capou, quartier Ahi-Tchelebi, rue Yegourdji**		Ahi-Tchelebi	Yegourdji, hors de Zindan-Capou	11	3.336	Stamboul	1/13 Janvier 1885
Les 2/3 d'une maison batie sur 140 metres carrés contenant 8 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits, un espace découvert de 20 pics, louée pour 160 pi par mois située a **Veznedjiler, quartier Balban agha, rue Dolab**		Balban agha	Dolab	38	12.000	Stamboul	25 Fevrier 1885
Un oda en pierre, bati sur 25 metres carrés, loué pour 50 pi par mois, **situé a l'etage superieur de Tach-han** faisant partie des **vakoufs de Vassilet-Cadine** a **Baghtche Capoussou, quartier Cheikh Mehmed Keilani**	Vassilet-Cadine	Cheikh Mehmed Kellessi	Tach-han, Baghtche Capoussou	8	5.000	Stamboul	10/22 Mai 1884
Un oda en pierre, bati sur 25 metres carrés, loué pour 60 pi par mois, **situé a l'etage inferieur de Tach-han** faisant partie des **vakoufs de Vassilet-Cadine** a **Baghtche Capoussou, quartier Cheikh Mehmed Keilani**	Vassilet-Cadine	Cheikh Mehmed Kellessi	Tach-han, Baghtche Capoussou	6	6.000	Stamboul	10/22 Mai 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Un oda en pierre, bati sur 45 metres carrés, loué pour 80 pi par mois, **situé a l'etage inferieur de Tach-han** faisant partie des **vakoufs de Vassilet-Cadine** a **Baghtche Capoussou, quartier Cheikh Mehmed Keilani**	Vassilet-Cadine	Cheikh Mehmed Kellessi	Tach-han, Baghtche Capoussou	38	12.000	Stamboul	10/22 Mai 1884
Les 6 aktchés et 2 pols sur 120 sehim d'un lour de beurektchi, batie sur 45 metres carés avec avec deux chambres au dessus, loué pour 20.000 pi par an situé a **Baghtché-Capoussou, quartier Cheikh Mehmed Kilani, rue Tahmis-Onou**		Cheikh Mehmed Kilani	Tahmis-Onou, Baghtché-Capoussou	1	13.100	Stamboul	March 1885
Le 1/5 d'une boutique en pierre de ? avec mülk et ghedik batie sur 20 pics faisant partie des **vakoufs de Sultan Ahmed et Sultan Mahmoud** et située **dans le Missir Tharchi quartier Tchelebi Oglou Ala-eddin, Rue Saboundjı Khan**	Sultan Ahmed et Sultan Mahmoud	Tchelebi Oglou Ala-eddin, dans le Missir Tharchi	Saboundjı Khan	47	12.000	Stamboul	17/29 Decembre 1883
Un oda en pierre, bati sur 30 metres carrés, a l'étage inférieur de **Validé-Khan**, loué pour 160 pi par mois situé a **Tchakmakdjilar, quartier Delie-Hatoun**		Delie-Hatoun	Validé-Khan, Tchakmakdjilar	8	20.000	Stamboul	12 Fevrier 1883
Le 1/8 du mulk et du ghedik d'une boutique en pierre d'épicier avec une chambre au dessus, louée pour 420 pi par mois, située a **Oudoun Capou, quartier Hadji-Demir.**		Hadji-Demir, Oudoun Capou		146	4.000	4.000	Février 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Les 2/5 d'un magasin de Tchemlektchi, bati sur 100 pics carrés, loué pour 100 pi par mois, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Ste Sophie et situé a Tahta-Kaalé quartier Hodja Hamza rue Cheikh-Daoud Khan**	Ste Sophie	Hodja Hamza, Tahta-Kaale	Cheikh-Daoud Khan	6	800	Stamboul	3 Avril 1884
La moitié d'une maison en pierre batie sur 55 metres, contenant 5 chambres, 2 sofas, 1 puits, 1 citerne et une terasse située **Divan Yolou, quartier Hodja Rustem, rue Tchatal-Tchesmé**		Hodja Rustem	Tchatal-Tchesmé	6	15.000	Stamboul	Mars 1885
Un four d'Adjem Ekmekdji bati sur 120 pics carres, loué pour 100 pi par mois, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Rustem Pacha**, **situé à Mahmoud Pacha, rue Djafer Agha Hanı**	Rustem Pacha	Mahmoud Pacha	Djafer Agha Hanı	8	8.000	Stamboul	15/27 Janvier 1884
Une boutique en pierre de boulanger (Adjem Ekmekdji) d'une superficie de 120 pics, louée pour 100 pi par mois, **sise dans le Djaffer Agha Han a Mahmoud Pacha**		Mahmoud Pacha	Djaffer Agha Han	8	25.000	Stamboul	19 Fevrier 1884
Le mulk d'une boutique de tabac louée pour 3 pi. par mois située à **Mahmoud Pacha, rue Nour-Osmanié**		Mahmoud Pacha	Nour-Osmanié	73	500	Stamboul	15 Decembre 1884
La **moitié d'un oda** en pierre bati sur 25 pics carrés, loué pour 25 pi par mois, faisant partie des vakoufs de **Pir Mehmed Pacha** situé dans le **Pastirmadji Han** quartier **Merdjan Agha**	Pir Mehmed Pacha	Merdjan Agha	Pastirmadji Han	30	2.250	Stamboul	23 Janvier 1884

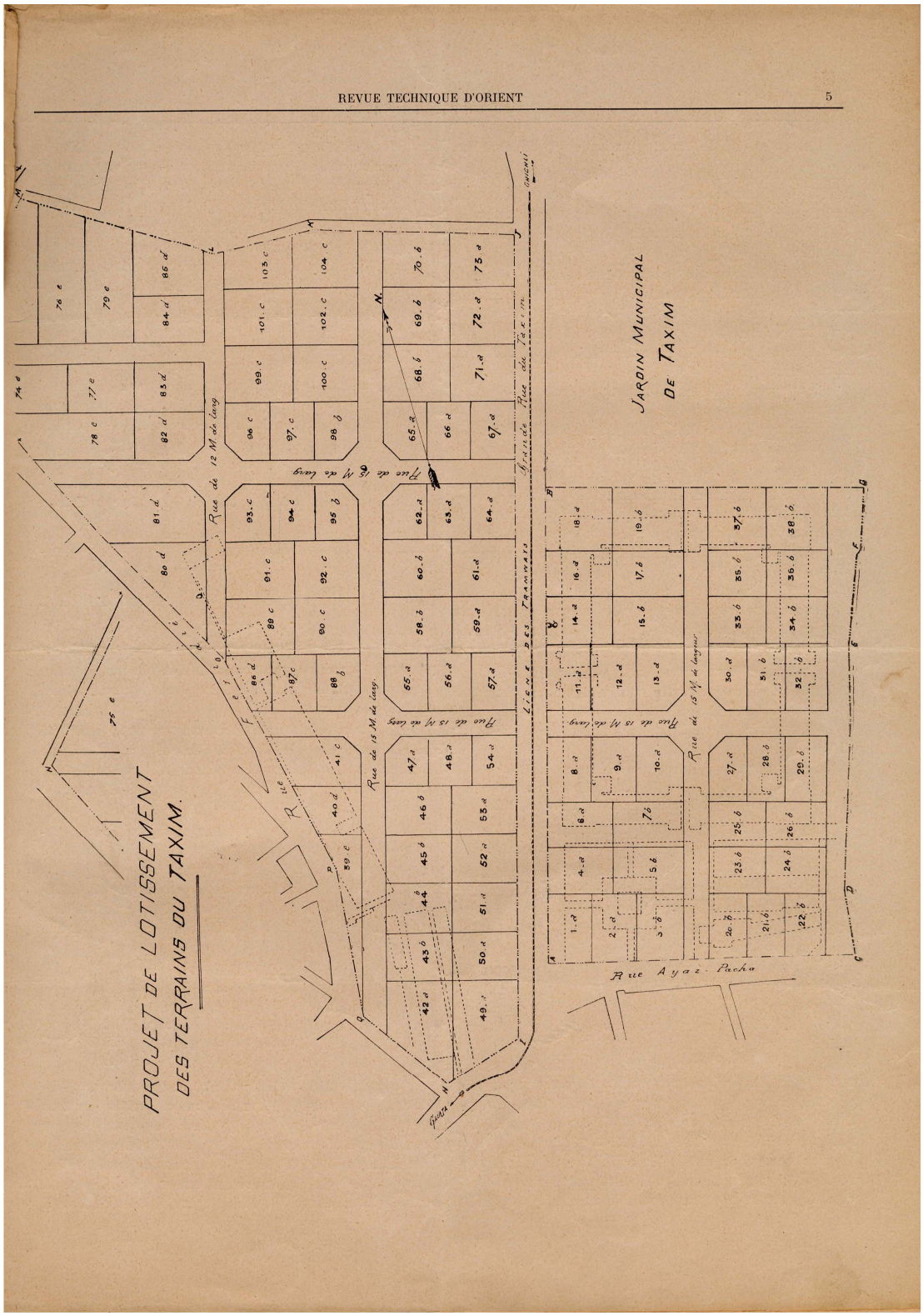
DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
La moitié d'un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 22 metres situé pres de la **Sublime porte, quartier Mesdjid, rue Tchagal-oglou**		Mesdjid,	Tchagal-oglou	18	10.000	Stamboul	Mars 1885
Les 3/4 d'un magasin en pierre bati sur 60 pics carrés, loué pour 100pi par mois faisant partie des **vakoufs d'El-Hadji-Abdullah Bey** et est situé a **Ouzoun-Tcharsou, rue Messouh-Agha**	El-Hadji-Abdullah Bey	Ouzoun-Tcharsou	Messouh-Agha	12	5.250	Stamboul	27 Fevrier 1884
Le quart d'un oda en pierre et en état de ruine, bati sur 28 metres, loué pour 40 pi par mois, sis dans le **Capan Assil khan, quartier Rustem Pacha, rue Babi Djaffer**		Rustem Pacha	Capan Assil khan, Babi Djaffer	11	1.750	Stamboul	Février 1885
Une boutique (moitié en pierre) batie sur 25 pics carrés, louée pour 70 pi par mois, faisant partie des **ghediks des Villes-Saintes**, située **hors de la porte de Babı Djaffer quartier Rustem Pacha rue Cotondjilar**	ghediks des Villes-Saintes	Rustem Pacha	Cotondjilar	23	7.500	Stamboul	3/15 Mars 1884
Le 1/6 d'un débit de tabac, bati sur 28 metres carrés loué pour 160 pi par mois, située a **Babi-Djaffer, quartier Rustem Pacha, rue Hassirdjilar**		Rustem Pacha	Hassirdjilar, Babi-Djaffer	85	4.160	Stamboul	15/27 Décembre 1884
Un oda en pierre, délabré, situé dans le **Khan Kaban-Assel situé a Babi-Djaffer, quartier Rustem Pacha**		Rustem Pacha	Khan Kaban-Assel a Babi-Djaffer	11	7.000	Stamboul	Janvier 1885

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Une boutique en pierre d'épicier batie sur 91 metres carrés, contenant 2 chambres louée pour 300 pi par mois et un terrain contigu. Il est situé a **Babi-Djaffer, quartier Rustem Pacha rue Perindjiler**		Rustem Pacha	Perindjiler	2, 2 et 4	1.250	Stamboul	8/20 Janvier 1885
La moitié d'un oda en pierre bati sur 50 pics carrés/38 metres, loué pour 40 pi par mois, situé dans le **Kilid Han sis a Ouzoun Tcharssou quartier Saman Viren-Sami**		Saman Viren-Sami	Kilid Han, Ouzoun Tcharssou	23	2.500	Stamboul	13/21 Avril 1884
Le 1 1/2 sehim sur 25 d'un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 350 pics contenant 3 puits et 2 magazins, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Rustem Pacha** et situé a **Mahmoud Pacha, quartier Servi, rue Molla Tach**	Rustem Pacha	Servi, Mahmoud Pacha	Molla Tach	1,3,5	2.800	Stamboul	10/22 Mars 1884
Une maison batie sur 350 pics carrés contenant 3 chambres, 2 magazins et une boutique faisant partie des **vakoufs de Rustem Pacha** et situé a **Mahmoud Pacha, quartier Servi, rue Molla Tach**	Rustem Pacha	Servi, Mahmoud Pacha	Molla Tach	1,3,5	2.800	Stamboul	23 Avril 1884
Un terrain de maison d'une superficie de 266 metres contenant 2 puits et 2 magasins, faisant partie des **vakoufs de Rustem Pacha** et situé a **Mahmoud Pacha, quartier Servi, rue Molla Tachi**. Les 2,5 des 25 sehims dont l'immeuble se compose seront vendus par le Makhlulat et le reste par ses propriétaires.	Rustem Pacha	Servi, Mahmoud Pacha	Molla Tachi	1,3 et 5	35.000	Stamboul	19/31 Mai 1884

DESCRIPTION	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NEIGHBOR HOOD	STREET	NO	AUCTION PRICE	REGION	REF
Le 1/8 d'un massour d'eau douce courant dans une maison située a **Baghtché-Capoussou, quartier Soubian, rue Hanoum-oglou**		Soubian	Hanoum-oglou, Baghtché-Capoussou	6	1.500	Stamboul	Janvier 1885
La moitié d'une boutique en bois de restaurateur, batie sur 35 metres carrés, louée pour 100 pi par mois, située a **Baghtché-Capoussou quartier Tchelebi Oglou Ala Eddin rue Hazirdjilar**		Tchelebi Oglou Ala Eddin	Hazirdjilar	34	7.500	Stamboul	8/20 Janvier 1885
Le **mulk d'un magasin de Ketandj (**makhlul de Mehmed Nouri Effendi) loué pour 2 1/2 pi par mois faisant partie des **vakoufs de Djedid Valide Sultane**, situé dans le **Bazar Egyptien, quartier Tchelebi-Oglou Alaeddin**	Djedid Valide Sultane	Tchelebi-Oglou Alaeddin	Bazar Egyptien	13	400	Stamboul	5/17 Fevrier 1884
Le mulk d'une boutique de ketendji louée pour 2,5 pi. Par mois faisant partie des **vakoufs de Djedid Valide Sultan** et située à **Baghtche-Capoussou**, **quartier Tchelebi-Oglou-Ala-Eddin, rue Ketendjiler**	Djedid Valide Sultan	Tchelebi-Oglou-Ala-Eddin	Ketendjiler; Baghtche-Capoussou	13	400	Stamboul	9/21 Janvier 1884
Un khan connu sous le nom de Saboundji Khan bati sur 331metres loué pour 12000 pi par mois contenant 28 odas, 1 boutique de barbier et deux magasins. Il sera vendu de cet immeuble le 1/4 des 14 odas et 1/16 des autres odas, de la boutique et des magasins			Saboundjı Khan	2, 6 a 21, 1 a 18, 3 a 20	19.300	Stamboul	Janvier 1885

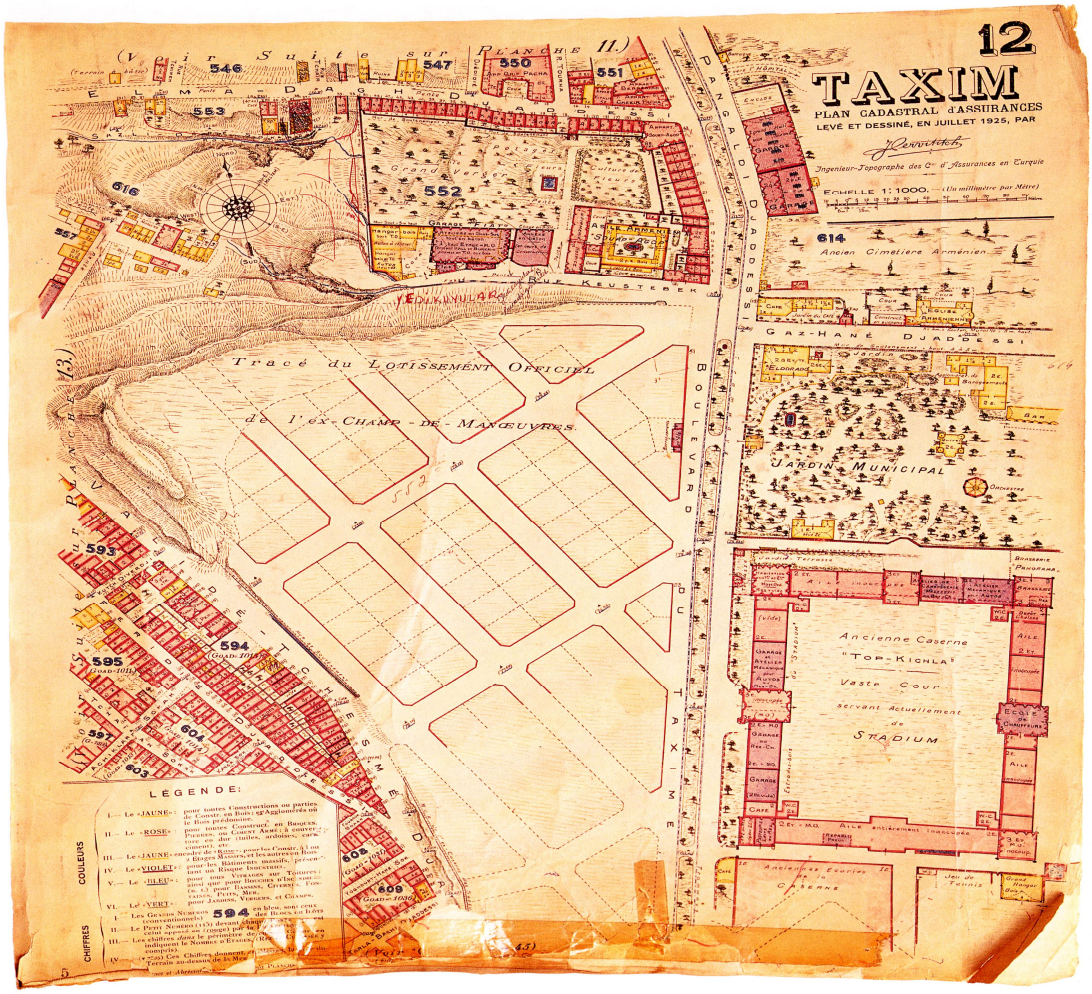
Sources: *La Turquie,* 1883, 1884, 1885.

Appendix P: Drawing of the apartment buildings projected for the Talimhane and Taksim barracks areas



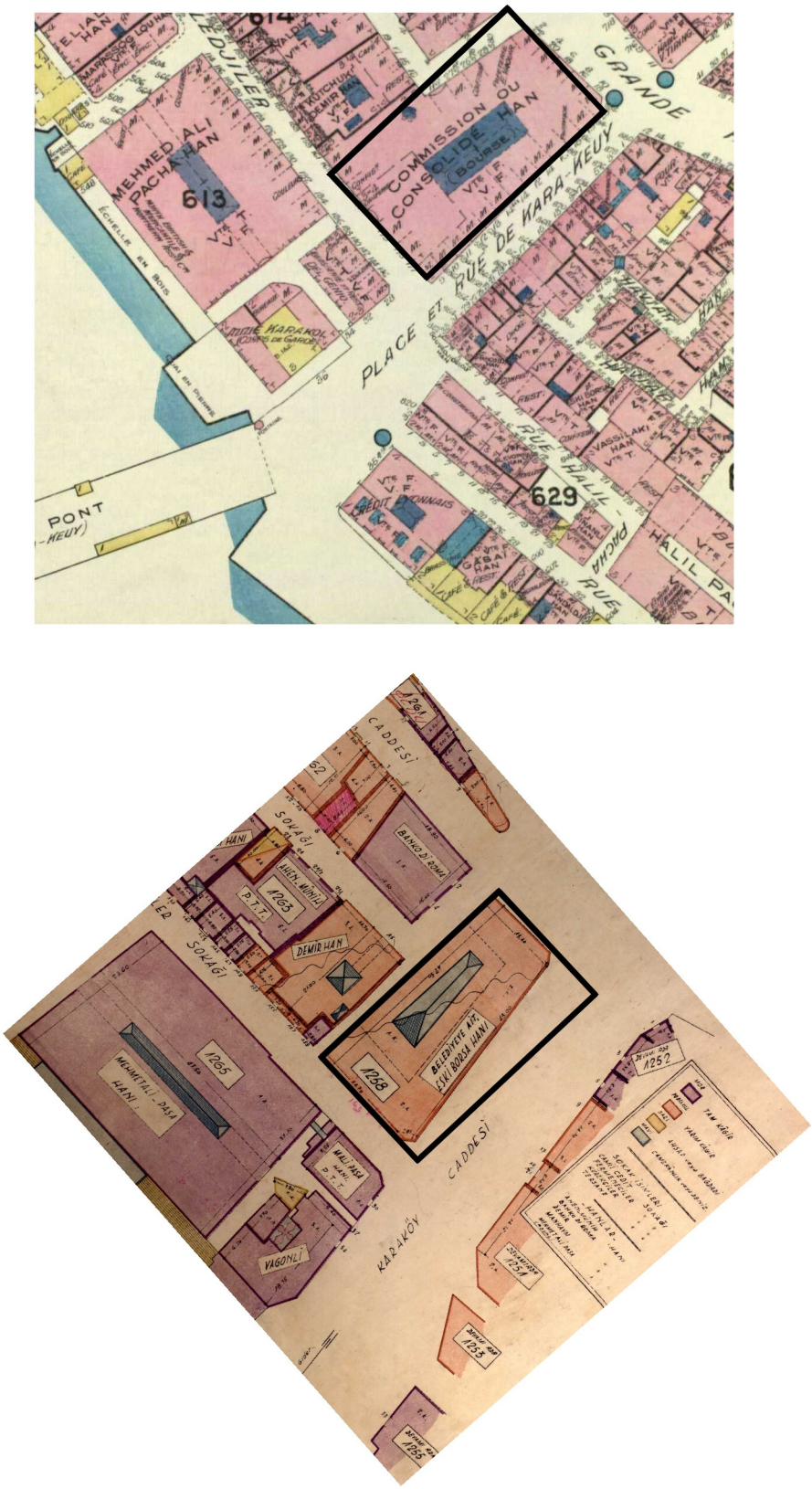
Source: *Revue technique d'Orient,* No: 7, March 15, 1911, p. 5.

Appendix Q: Vacant plots of Talimhane, from the 1925 Pervititch map



Source: Axa-Oyak Collection

Appendix R: Commission Han before and after its façade cut on the Goad and Nirven maps.



Sources: Goad, Pera-Galata, no. 28, 1905 and Nirven, Karaköy, no. 42, 1947.

Appendix S: List of real estate owners and investors in Pera, Galata and Stamboul between 1868 and 1914

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ABBOUD EFFENDI	# of buildings	1	1		2		4
	Total area	0	3.825		1.200		5.025
ABED	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ABID HAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ABOUAF	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.068					1.068
ACHIR EFFENDI	# of buildings				2		2
	Total area				3.300		3.300
ADAMOPOULOS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
AGENCE DE LLOYD AUSTRO-HONGROIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	810					810
AGIMAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
AGOPIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.040		1.040
AGOSTINI	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.025			1.025
AHMED AGHA	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
AHMED BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
AHMED CHERIF BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
AHMED EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1,00
	Total area		300				300,00
AHMED PACHA	# of buildings		1				1,00
	Total area		0				0,00
AIVA	# of buildings		1				1,00
	Total area		0				0,00
AKESTORIDES	# of buildings		1				1,00
	Total area		0				0,00
ALEVROPOULOS	# of buildings	1					1,00
	Total area	140					140
ALEXANDRIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ALEXIADI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	680					680
ALEXIADIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ALI BEHDJED	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			575			575
ALI BEY	# of buildings	2	2				4
	Total area	457	0				457
ALI EFFENDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ALI HAIDAR BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ALI PACHA	# of buildings				3		3
	Total area				615		615
ALI RIZA EFFENDI	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
ALLAHVERDI	# of buildings		1		2		3
	Total area		0		13.020		13.020

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ALLALEMDJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.600		1.600
ALMALEH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ALTIPARMAK	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				690		690
ALYANAKIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.775		1.775
AMANCHICH	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		0	0			0
AMANCIELI	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.128			1.128
AMBRAMOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
AMERICAN BIBLE HOUSE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				9.000		9.000
AMON	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		791				791
AMRAM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		558				558
ANAGNOSTOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ANANIADI	# of buildings		1		2		3
	Total area		0		1.980		1.980
ANASTASE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ANASTASSIADIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ANDON BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ANDON CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ANDONAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ANERBAH	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
ANTHOUSSIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
APERGHI	# of buildings		1	2			3
	Total area		540	1.875			2.415
APOSTOLIDES	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		0				0
APOSTOLIDIS	# of buildings	2	4				6
	Total area	0	3.880				3.880
APOSTOLOS (HADJI)	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ARABIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	465					465
AREVIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ARIEN BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		625				625
ARIF BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ARNOPOULOS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ARON	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ARVANITIDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ASLAN	# of buildings		1		2		3
	Total area		0		0		0
ASLANIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		618				618
ASLANIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		750				750
ASSAF BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ASSAF PACHA	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	264	0				264
ASSEO	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		630	2.400			3.030
ASSICURAZIONI GENERALI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ASTARDJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.335		1.335
ATECHOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ATLAS FRERES	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		2.655				2.655
AZARIAN	# of buildings	1	6				7
	Total area	246	10.408				10.654
AZNAVOUR	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
AZZOPARDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
AZZOPARDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	700					700
BABIKIAN	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
BAGDADIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BAGDADLIAN	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		568	1.025			1.593
BAKER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BALIKLI RUM HASTANESİ (EPHORIE DES HOPITAUX GRECS)	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	6.140					6.140
BALSAMO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		725				725
BALTAZZI	# of buildings	1	4		5		10
	Total area	2.857	0		2.585		5.442
BAREKAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BARNATHAN	# of buildings	2		3	1		6
	Total area	399		3.190	2.060		5.649
BARZILAI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
BASMADJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				300		300
BAUDOUY	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		2.035				2.035
BAVA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BAYRAM BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BAZBAZIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
BECHE ZADE MEHMED EMIN BEY	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				765		765

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
BEHAR	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
BEHMOIRAS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
BELFANTI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BELLIS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			780			780
BERBERIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BERBEROGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BERLANT	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
BIO	# of buildings	1	1		1		3
	Total area	9.940	5.532		960		16.432
BLATCHI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BOGHOS CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BOSSY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BOTTARO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BOTTER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		550				550
BOUCHET	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BOYADJIOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
BRATOVICH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
BRAUNSTEIN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.440			1.440
BRINDISI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.350				1.350
BROD	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
CACOULIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CALFOPOULOS FRERES	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
CALIFIDIS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				180		180
CALLINICOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CALOGHEROS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CAMHI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CAMHI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CAMLEON	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		810				810
CAMONDO	# of buildings	12	4	1	1		18
	Total area	14.265	7.005	3.600	3.080		27.950
CANTAROGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CANZUCH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
CAPOZZI	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.055			1.055
CAPSALI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CAPSALIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
CARACO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARACOUCH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARAVASSILOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARAYANNIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARAYANNOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARDERINIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARDIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CARTALI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CASARETTO	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.200			1.200
CASTORIDES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		560				560
CASTRO	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
CAVAFIAN	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	588	0				588

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
CHAHBAZ	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
CHAHZADELER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		720				720
CHAKIR BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
CHAKIR PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHEFKET BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	978					978
CHEFKI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHEFKI PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHEH DAOUD	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
CHEHTALET EFF	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	721					721
CHERIF PACHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				3.300		3.300
CHIRINIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
CHIRVANI ALİ BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	319					319
CHIRVANI ARİF BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	523					523
CHRISSAFIDES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHRISSOSTOMOS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			360			360

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
CHRISSOVERGHI	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	3.290				3.290
CHRISTO CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHRISTODOULO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHRISTODOULOS	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	0		0			0
CHRYSSOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHRYSSOVERGHI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CHUKRI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		462				462
CHUKRI PACHA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
CINGRIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		570				570
COHEN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				480		480
COHEN - AIVAZ A	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
COMBES	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
COMBOTHECRA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
COMVOPOULOS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
CONSTANT	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
CONSTANTINIDIS	# of buildings		5		1		6
	Total area		1.560		0		1.560
CONVOPOULOS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			400			400
CORPI	# of buildings	1	1		1		3
	Total area	0	1.335		0		1.335
COSTAKI CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
COTOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
COULOUTROS	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		0				0
COURBAN	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	1.360					1.360
COUREMENOS	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	0					0
COUTALIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
COUTEAUX	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	800	1.450				2.250
CREDIT LYONAIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	320					320
CRESPI	# of buildings	1	3				4
	Total area	0	738				738
CRESPIN	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	572	1.590				2.162
CRESTOVITCH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
CRISPI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.338				1.338

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
CRITICO	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
CUPPA	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.300			1.300
DALANTIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		180				180
DANASIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DANDORIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		660				660
D'ANDRIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.410				1.410
DAPOLA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
DAVODOVICH	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	406					406
DAVOUD (HADJI)	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
DAYANTY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DELLAGRAMMATICA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DEMIRDJIBACHIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	170					170
DEROUNIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DERSAADET RIHTIM DOK VE ANTREPO ŞİRKETİ	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.380					1.380
DERVICHE BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
DESSIPRIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DEVEAUX	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		4.626				4.626
DEVLET BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DIACO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DIAMANDIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DIKEOS	# of buildings			5			5
	Total area			2.628			2.628
DIKRANIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.110		1.110
DILBER EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DILBER HANOUM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DIMAKIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DIMITRIADES	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	2.958					2.958
DIMITRIADIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DJADJOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DJAMDJIZADE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
DJANIMIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		315				315

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
DJELAL BEY	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				2.750		2.750
DJEMAL BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DJEMILOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
DJILADJIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	675					675
DJINGUIROGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				530		530
DONIZETTI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		450				450
DURONI	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		0	290			290
EBEYAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ECKERT	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ECONOMIDES	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.367				1.367
EDWARD	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			400			400
EDWARDS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
EFTHIME CALFA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
EKMEKDJOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ELEFTRIADES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ELIAS BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ELIAS PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		510				510
ELKIATIB	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.880		1.880
ELLIADI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	871					871
EMIN BEY	# of buildings	1	2		1		4
	Total area	3.215	675		900		4.790
EMIN PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ENOMOTARCHES	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
EPELSTEIN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
EPHORIE DE NEW-CHEHIR???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				875		875
ESKENAZİ	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	330					330
ESSAD EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ESSAYAN	# of buildings		2	1	1		4
	Total area		1.680	610	1.060		3.350
ESTHER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ETHEM BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
EUMER EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
EUSTRATIADES	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				345		345
EUSTRATIADI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
FAHRI BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
FAIK BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.581					1.581
FAKIR EFFENDI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
FARRA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.750				1.750
FATMA HANOUM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FELDMAN	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	501					501
FEROUH BEY	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
FETHI PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FILIPUCCI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FLEHI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FOLTZ	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.500				1.500
FOSCOLO	# of buildings		1		1		2
	Total area		1.428		0		1.428
FOUAD BEY	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
FOUAT BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FOUNDOUCO ZADE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
FOUNDOUKLIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				900		900
FRANCESCO	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
FRANCHINI	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	836					836
FRATELLI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		870				870
FREDERICI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		3.240				3.240
FREIGE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FRENGHIAN	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	457		470			927
FRESCO	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		2.950				2.950
FREUND	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
FRIEDMANN	# of buildings	1	2	2			5
	Total area	208	2.950	1.680			4.838
FRINGHIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0,00
GABAI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	425					425
GALATIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
GALIMITES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GALLERINI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	675					675
GAMBETTA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		432				432
GARABED AGHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GAZNOLI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
GEORGHAKI CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GEORGI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GEORGIADES	# of buildings				2		2
	Total area				1.630		1.630
GEORGIADIS	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		0				0
GHEORGHOPOULOS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
GHIKAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GHLIGOR	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GIUSTINIANI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GLAVANY	# of buildings	1	2				3
	Total area	0	3.600				3.600
GLIGORI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
GNIALLOVICH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GODJAMAOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				580		580
GONIDAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GONIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
GOTTMANN	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	749					749
GRAVIER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GRIGORIADIS???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				280		280
GRIMA	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
GRISCTI	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		0				0
GRISETI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GROSS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
GRUNBERG	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GUERMANI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GUIRIS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
GULBEKIAN FRERES ET CIE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.455		1.455

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
GULBENKIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GULZADE	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
GUMUCHIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				520		520
GUREKIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
GUSELOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HABIB BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HACAR	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		3.318				3.318
HACIYANOPULOS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	271					271
HADJI EYOUP EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
HADJI MAHMOUD BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	725					725
HADJI NASSIR BEY ZADE ET CIE ???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.020		1.020
HADJI REDJEB	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	762					762
HADJIBIAR	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		700				700
HADJOPOULO	# of buildings		1		1		2
	Total area		0		0		0
HAIDAR PACHA	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	212					212

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
HAIRI BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	425					425
HAKKI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HALAGIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
HALIL	# of buildings				1,00		1
	Total area				825,00		825
HALIL BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HALIL PASHA	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	181					181
HAMDI BEY	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
HAMDI EFFENDI (TENU PAR) (1909)	# of buildings				1,00		1
	Total area				0,00		0
HAMDI PACHA	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	942	235				1.177
HAMID BEY	# of buildings		2	1,00			3
	Total area		0	0,00			0
HAMPARTZOUMIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.200					1.200
HANSON	# of buildings	1	2				3
	Total area	0	1.500				1.500
HANSON - COULOUTHROS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
HARAKOPOULOS	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	0					0
HARALAMBO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
HARRI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HASSAN BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HASSAN EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HASSAN PACHA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
HAVA	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	1.960				1.960
HAYGAZOUNI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
HAYON	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HAZZOPOULO	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				2.440		2.440
HAZZOPOULO	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		4.765				4.765
HECHT ???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
HELBIG	# of buildings	3		1			4
	Total area	5.447		8.575			14.022
HERZOVITZ	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HIDIROGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
HIONAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HOLSTEIN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
HOURESSERIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HOURMANN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HUBSCH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HUKMET BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
HUSNI EFFENDI	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
HUSSEIN BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
HUSSEIN EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
HUSSEIN PACHA	# of buildings		5				5
	Total area		0				0
HUSSEIN PACHA (HADJI)	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		0				0
IBRAHIM BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
IBRAHIM EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
IBRAHIM PACHA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		2.360				2.360
IBRAHIM RIFAAT	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	4.075					4.075
IHSAN BEY	# of buildings			1	1		2
	Total area			0	0		0
IMAM ALI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
IOAKIMOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
IOANNIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ISMAIL BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ISMAIL PACHA	# of buildings		2		2		4
	Total area		0		2.565		2.565
ISMET HANOUM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ISMIRLIOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ISSAK PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		840				840
IVRAKIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
IZMIRLIOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.300					1.300
IZZEDDIN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
IZZET BEY	# of buildings	2			1		3
	Total area	1.550			330		1.880
IZZET PACHA	# of buildings	1,00					1
	Total area	377					377
JAGLIN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
JEREMIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
JOANNIDES	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
JOANNIDIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
JONES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
JOSSIFIDIS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
KAHREMANZADE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
KAISERLIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		825				825
KAMADJIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	363					363
KANAGHINI	# of buildings	1	6				7
	Total area	549	720				1.269
KANAVALOFF	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		940				940
KANTAROGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		870				870
KAPAMADJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		540				540
KAPRIELIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KARA YORGHI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
KARAGUESIAN	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		2.980				2.980
KARAHISSARLIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KARAKACHOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
KARAKAS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
KARAYORDANOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KASSAPIAN	# of buildings	1			1		2
	Total area	420			240		660
KASTRO	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			835			835
KATIRDJIOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				5.250		5.250
KAYLONDJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KEHAYOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KELSEN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	203					203
KENADJIAN	# of buildings	1			1		2
	Total area	232			0		232
KENAN BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KENDROS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				620		620
KERESTEDJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KEUSSEYAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KEUTCHEOGLOU	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	480	1.925				2.405
KEUTCHEOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	5.080					5.080

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
KEVORK	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KHORASSANDJI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KIERKIRA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KIEVORK BEY	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	5.269					5.269
KILAIDITIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
KIOSSEOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KIRICO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KIRITLI MOUSTAPHA PACHA	# of buildings				2		2
	Total area				3.195		3.195
KITCHEDJIZADE	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
KOPP	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		900				900
KORASSANDJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.400		1.400
KOUROUKAHVEDJI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
KRIMIZAKIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KRITICOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
KULEYAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
KURKDJIBACHIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
KUTUKIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		990				990
KYRIACOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LAGOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LALAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		840				840
LAMBIKI EFF	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LAMBRINIDES	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		450				450
LANGAS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
LAPARDAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LAZARIDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
LAZARIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LECLERCQ	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		625				625
LEONIDAS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.855			1.855
LEONIDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LEVY	# of buildings	1		4			5
	Total area	0		0			0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
LICATA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LIVADA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LORANDO	# of buildings	2	2				4
	Total area	1.400	0				1.400
LORANDO/PETRIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		2.400				2.400
LOUIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LOUKIANOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LOUTFI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
LOUTFIAN	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		450				450
MAATER	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	520					520
MACRI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	627					627
MADELENY	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
MADENDJIDIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
MAHMOUD BEY	# of buildings		2		1		3
	Total area		0		0		0
MAHMOUD BEY (HADJI)	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	699					699
MAHMOUD PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
MAKARADJI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MAKRIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
MALIAKAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		360				360
MALLINOPOULO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MAMIK PACHA	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			550			550
MANIOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
MANOLAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MANOUKIAN	# of buildings	3					3
	Total area	508					508
MARASSOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	557					557
MARKETTO	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		0	750			750
MARTIN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MATCOVICH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MATHEO	# of buildings		1		1		2
	Total area		0		1.290		1.290
MAVRIDES	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			405			405
MAVRIDIS FRERES	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
MAVROGORDATO	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		3.900				3.900
MAVROMMATIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.175				1.175
MAVROUDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MAYER	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	0		0			0
MAZLOUMIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MAZZA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.800				1.800
MEGHAKLIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
MEHMED ALI BEY	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
MEHMED ALI PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MEHMED BEY	# of buildings	1	1	3			5
	Total area	210	330	840			1.380
MEHMED IRFAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MEHMED MIRAT	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
MEHMED PACHA	# of buildings		2		1		3
	Total area		0		780		780
MEHMET PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.060				1.060
MEIMARIDES	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	3.201					3.201

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
MELIDES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MELIKIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				375		375
MELKONIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	420					420
MEMDOUH BEY	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
MERDJAN AGHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
MERTZANOFF	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				575		575
METHIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
METRITICAS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			690			690
METZIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
MEZADOURIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	417					417
MEZIKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.200				1.200
MICHAILIDIS	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		0				0
MICHEL PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MIGUIR	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MILIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
MILLE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MIMICOPOULO	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	0		1.300			1.300
MISITRA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MISKDJIAN	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
MIZZI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		960				960
MONNIER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		375				375
MORDAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MOUHTAR BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
MOURADIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		208				208
MOURADIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				915		915
MOUSSAT	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		5.520				5.520
MOUSTA BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
MOUSTAFA BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	488					488
MOUSTAPHA LUTFI PROPRIETAIRE (1914)	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				770		770
MOUSTAPHA PACHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
MULLATIER	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
MUNIR PACHA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
NAHID BEY	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
NAIB BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NAIL BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NAMIK PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NAOUM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NAOUM PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		780				780
NAZARETH DE CONSTANTINOPLE DE LA REGIE DES TABACS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.020		1.020
NAZIR PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NECHAD BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
NEDJIB BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
NEMLI ZADE ZIHNI BEY ???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				153		153
NEOLOGOS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
NERSESIAN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			792			792

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
NESSETIN BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NIAZI BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
NICHANDJIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
NICOLAIDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
NICOLAIDI, PIERRE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.070		1.070
NICOLIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NIKIFORIADIS ?	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NIKITIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
NOMICOS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	750					750
NON AVAILABLE	# of buildings	81	67	5	161		314
	Total area	39.857	23.091	4.060	131.506		198.514
NORADOUNGHIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.300				1.300
NOURI BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
NOURIAN EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		800				800
NOURIDJIAN	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
NURADUNGYAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	396					396

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
OHANNES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		860				860
OLIVO	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		5.410				5.410
OMBRELADJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
OMER RUCHDI PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ONIK EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		272				272
ORHAN BEY	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ORIENTAL CARPET MANUFACTURERS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
OROSDI-BACK	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				8.100		8.100
OSMAN EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				480		480
OSMANLI BANKASI / HAMDI BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	274					274
OSTROROG	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
OTTONI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		900				900
OUGHOURLIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
OUNDJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
OVADIA	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	330	0				330

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
PANAIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.200				1.200
PANTAZOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PAPADOPOULOS	# of buildings		5				5
	Total area		500				500
PAPATHANASSIADIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PAPAYANNOPOULO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PAPAZIAN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			550			550
PAPAZOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
PAPAZOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
PAPO	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
PAPPADOPOULO FRERES	# of buildings	2					2
	Total area	0					0
PAPPADOPOULOS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
PARAPANDOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PARASKEVA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PARISSE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		375				375
PARLAKIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
PARMA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		525				525
PASTOURMADJI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				2.090		2.090
PATRIKIADIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	540					540
PEARS	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			585			585
PEDEMONTE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PEDRELLI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		675				675
PEKMEZ	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
PEKMEZIAN	# of buildings		5	1			6
	Total area		1.948	871			2.819
PERPIGNANI	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		2.275				2.275
PETRAKI CALFA	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		1.062	1.450			2.512
PETRAKI EFFENDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PETRO CALFA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
PHILOSOPH	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	680					680
PHOTIADES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PICKET	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	159					159

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
PINGOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PINTO	# of buildings	1			1		2
	Total area	486			930		1.416
PISANI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PLOUMBIS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
PLYTAS	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	157	0				157
POULISSI-CALOGHERA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
POYRAZOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PRELORENZO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PSALTY	# of buildings	1	2				3
	Total area	0	0				0
PSILIARI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
PYRPIGNIAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RACHEL	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
RACTIVAND	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
RAFTOPOULOS	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
RAGHIB BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.170				1.170

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
RAGHIB BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	540					540
RAGIB PACHA	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		16.065				16.065
RAIF PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RALLI	# of buildings		1		1		2
	Total area		0		1.220		1.220
RALLI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
RAOUF BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	2.613					2.613
RASSIM BEY	# of buildings	1					1,00
	Total area	930					930
RASSIM PACHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				800		800
RAVOUNA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		475				475
RECCHIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RECHAD PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RECHID MOUSTA BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RECHID PACHA	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	264	0				264
RIGAUDIAS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.140				1.140
RIGO	# of buildings	2		2,00			4
	Total area	1.860		2.452,00			4.312

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
RISAPHE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RIZA BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RIZA PACHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				740		740
RIZVAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				625		625
RIZZO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
RODITTI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		420				420
RODOLPHE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ROSENHAUS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
ROSENTHAL	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
ROSETTO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.200				1.200
ROSSI	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	0				0
ROSSOLATO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ROSSOLIMOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ROSTOMIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ROUBIE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ROY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		760				760
ROZA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				540		540
RUCHDI PACHA	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
S.A.O. D'ELECTRICITE	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	642					642
SABIT BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SABRI PACHA	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SADIK BEY	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			495			495
SADIK PACHA	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	1.742		1.742			3.484
SADIKIE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.740		1.740
SADOCH	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	0		0			0
SAFET BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	942					942
SAGREDO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SAID (HADJI)	# of buildings	1		1			2
	Total area	180		0			180
SAID (HADJI)	# of buildings	1	2	1			4
	Total area	0	1.440	540			1.980
SAID PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		2.400				2.400

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
SAIDIE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				2.910		2.910
SALEM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SALIH EFFENDI	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				240		240
SALORIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SALVATORI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SAMARDJIDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SAMIH BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SANASSAR	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
SARANTIS-PAPADOPOULO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SARAPHMIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SAROGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	180					180
SARRIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
SAVERIO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		840				840
SCARLATO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SCHAUB	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
SCHEMBRI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SCHNITTER	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SCHOR	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.303					1.303
SCLAVOUNOS	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SEBOUHIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
SELAMI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SELIM BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SELIM EFFENDI	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		0	525			525
SELIM PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		540				540
SEMPRINI	# of buildings		1	1			2
	Total area		0	0			0
SEMPRINI/LEONIDAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SERPOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SERVITCHEN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				520		520
SETIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
SEVADJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
SEVASTOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SIDERIDES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SIGALAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SIMONIAN	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	405	0				405
SIMPATHIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		550				550
SINAPIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		385				385
SINASSON	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SINATOR	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		304				304
SINGER	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	185					185
SINIOSSOGLOU	# of buildings	1	1				2
	Total area	0	3.550				3.550
SIVADJIAN	# of buildings				1,00		1
	Total area				0,00		0
SOCIETE GENERALE D'ASSURANCES OTTOMANE	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	616					616
SOLOMOVITCH	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	822					822
SOLOMOVITZ	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SOPHIE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
SOPHIE CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SOUROUNIAN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
SOUVADJIOGLOU	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	148					148
SOUVAZOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SOUYOLDJIOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SPADARO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SPADARO PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		348				348
SPONEK	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STAMATIADIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
STAMBOULIAN	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
STAMBOULLOUIAN	# of buildings		1		1		2
	Total area		0		250		250
STARK	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STEIN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
STELIANIDI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STELLIO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
STERIO CALFA	# of buildings		6				6
	Total area		0				0
STIROPOULOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STRATI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STRATI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
STRATIGHAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
SUBHI BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	0					0
SUREYA BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.500				1.500
SUREYA PACHA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		4.773				4.773
TACHDJIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TAHIR BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TAHSIN PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TAHTABOUROUNIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	593					593
TALAREWITZ	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TALAT EFFENDI (CHEIKH)	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	968					968
TAMBOURIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
TANNENBAUM	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TANTAVIZADE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
TCHAMITCHIAN (1914)	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	260					260
TCHAOUSSI	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
TCHERADJIAN ET MANOUKIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				2.750		2.750
TCHETCHEYAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	488					488
TCHIPITCHIS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
TCHIRADJIAN	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		2.910				2.910
TCHOHADJIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
TCHOLKAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TCHONGAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TCHOUCHLOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TESTA	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.225				1.225
TEVFIK BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
TEVFIK PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
THEOCHARIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
THEODORIDOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		780				780
THOMAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TIANO	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			930			930
TIMONI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		420				420
TINGHIR	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	708					708
TOLEDO	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
TOPALIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				3.540		3.540
TOPTACHE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TOPTACHE-ARTIN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TORCHIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TREL	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		990				990
TRIANDAFILIDES	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.620			1.620
TSITOURIS	# of buildings		3	1			4
	Total area		0	0			0
TSONGAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.120				1.120

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
TUBINI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.648				1.648
TZANGOPOULOS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TZILIANI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
TZOUMAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
URBACH	# of buildings	3					3
	Total area	1.219					1.219
VACALIS	# of buildings	2	1				3
	Total area	0	0				0
VAFIK BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VAHID BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VAHRATOGLOU	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VANGHELI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VARTANIAN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	247					247
VASSILAKI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	990					990
VASSILIDIS/PANAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VERDOUNAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.200				1.200
VITALIS	# of buildings	1	2				3
	Total area	327	1.225				1.552

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
VITCHEN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VITTORIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VLADICA	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		0				0
VLASTARI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VOLTO	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
VOUCOULAVAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VOULIOTIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VOURLACAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VOUSSIKIDIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
VUCCINO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		520				520
WAIT PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		250				250
WEHAGE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
WHITTALL	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				1.360		1.360
WIDMANN ET CIE ???	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				490		490
XANTHOPOULO	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				580		580

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
XENAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YACOUBIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YANCO BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		0				0
YANNISSOPOULO	# of buildings	1	2	2			5
	Total area	475	0	1.075			1.550
YAVER PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		1.525				1.525
YAZIDJIZADE	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YENIDOUNIA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YORDAN EFFENDI	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	300					300
YORGHI CALFA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YORGHIADIS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YORGHOPOULO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YOUSSOF IZZEDDIN	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			2.040			2.040
YOUSSOUFIAN	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				3.320		3.320
YOUVANAKI	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
YUSUF IZZEDDIN	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	1.061					1.061

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ZACHARIADES	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ZACHAROFF	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			1.633			1.633
ZAHOPOULOS (1909-14) / ATHANASSOPOULOS	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				0		0
ZARICO	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ZEBOUNI BEY	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ZEKI PACHA	# of buildings		3	1			4
	Total area		2.880	441			3.321
ZELLICH	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			0			0
ZENOVITCH	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ZIA BEY	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		1.105				1.105
ZIFLI PACHA	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0
ZILPOCHIAN	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		516				516
ZIVER BEY	# of buildings	1					1
	Total area	566					566
ZOGRAPHOS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		4.620				4.620
ZOHRAB	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		450				450
ZOURAS	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		0				0

NAME OF OWNERS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ZUHDI PACHA	# of buildings			1			1
	Total area			475			475
Total # of buildings		306	750	93	299		1.448
Total area		164.361	239.599	65.507	253.644		723.111

Sources: *Annuaire oriental*, 1868, 1881, 1895, 1899, 1905, 1909, 1914 and Goad, 1904, 1905.

Appendix T: List of most important investors in urban property (1868-1914)

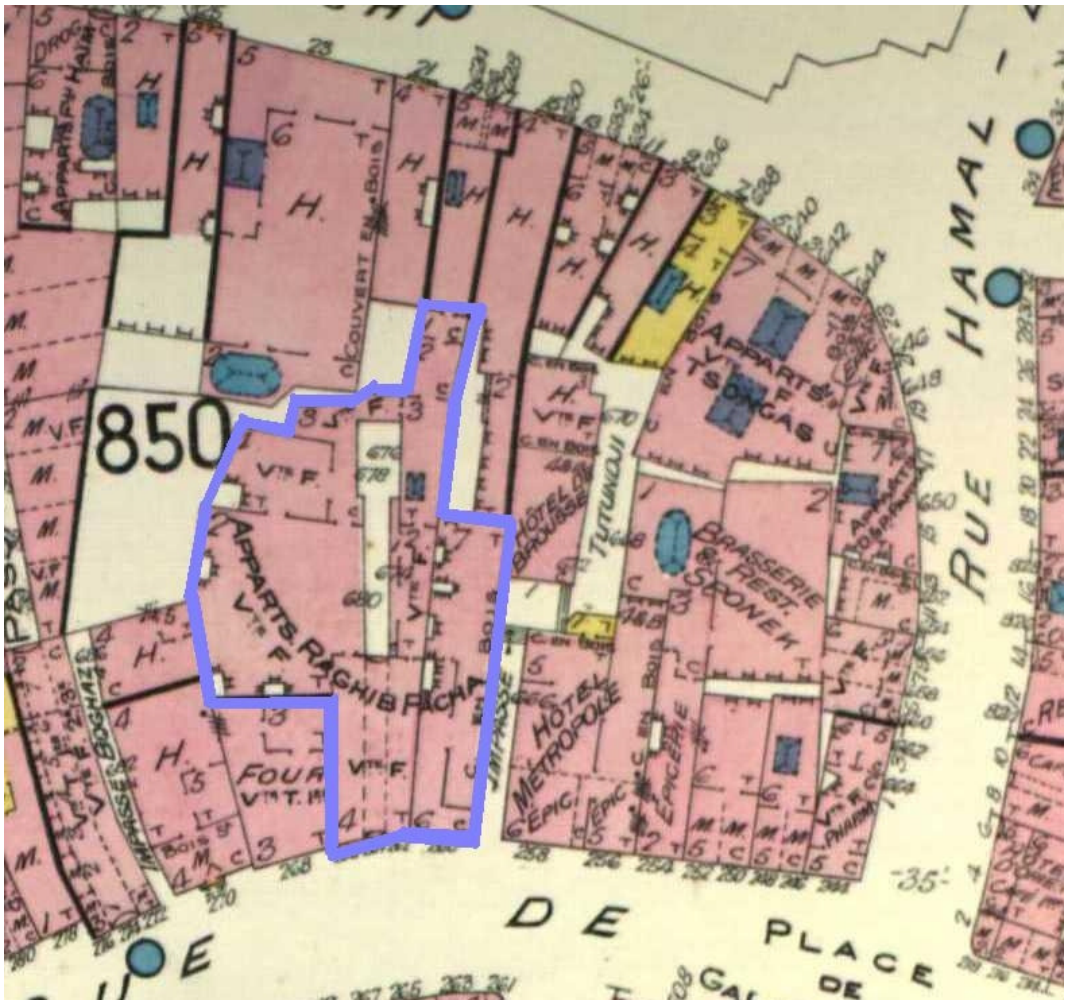
NAME OF INVESTORS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
ABBOUD EFFENDI	# of buildings	1	3		2		6
	Total area	0	3.825		1.200		5.025
ALLAHVERDI	# of buildings		1		2		3
	Total area		0		13.020		13.020
AMERICAN BIBLE HOUSE	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				9.000		9.000
BALTAZZI	# of buildings	1	4		5		10
	Total area	2.857	0		2.585		5.442
BARNATHAN	# of buildings	2		3	1		6
	Total area	399		3.190	2.060		5.649
CAMONDO	# of buildings	12	4	1	1		18
	Total area	14.265	7.005	3.600	3.080		27.950
DEVEAUX	# of buildings		3				3
	Total area		4.626				4.626
FRIEDMANN	# of buildings	1	2	2			5
	Total area	208	2.950	1.680			4.838
HAZZOPOULO	# of buildings		3		1		4
	Total area		4.765		2.440		7.205
HELBIG	# of buildings	3		1			4
	Total area	5.447		8.575			14.022
KATIRDJIOGLOU	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				5.250		5.250
KEUTCHEOGLOU	# of buildings	2	1				2
	Total area	5.560	1.925				7.485
MOUSSAT	# of buildings		1				1
	Total area		5.520				5.520

NAME OF INVESTORS		REGIONS					TOTALS
		G	P	PG	S		
OLIVO	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		5.410				5.410
OROSDI-BACK	# of buildings				1		1
	Total area				8.100		8.100
RAGIB PACHA	# of buildings		4				4
	Total area		16.065				16.065
ZOGRAPHOS	# of buildings		2				2
	Total area		4.620				4.620

Sources: *Annuaire oriental*, 1868, 1881, 1895, 1899, 1905, 1909, 1914, Huber 1895 and Goad, 1904, 1905.

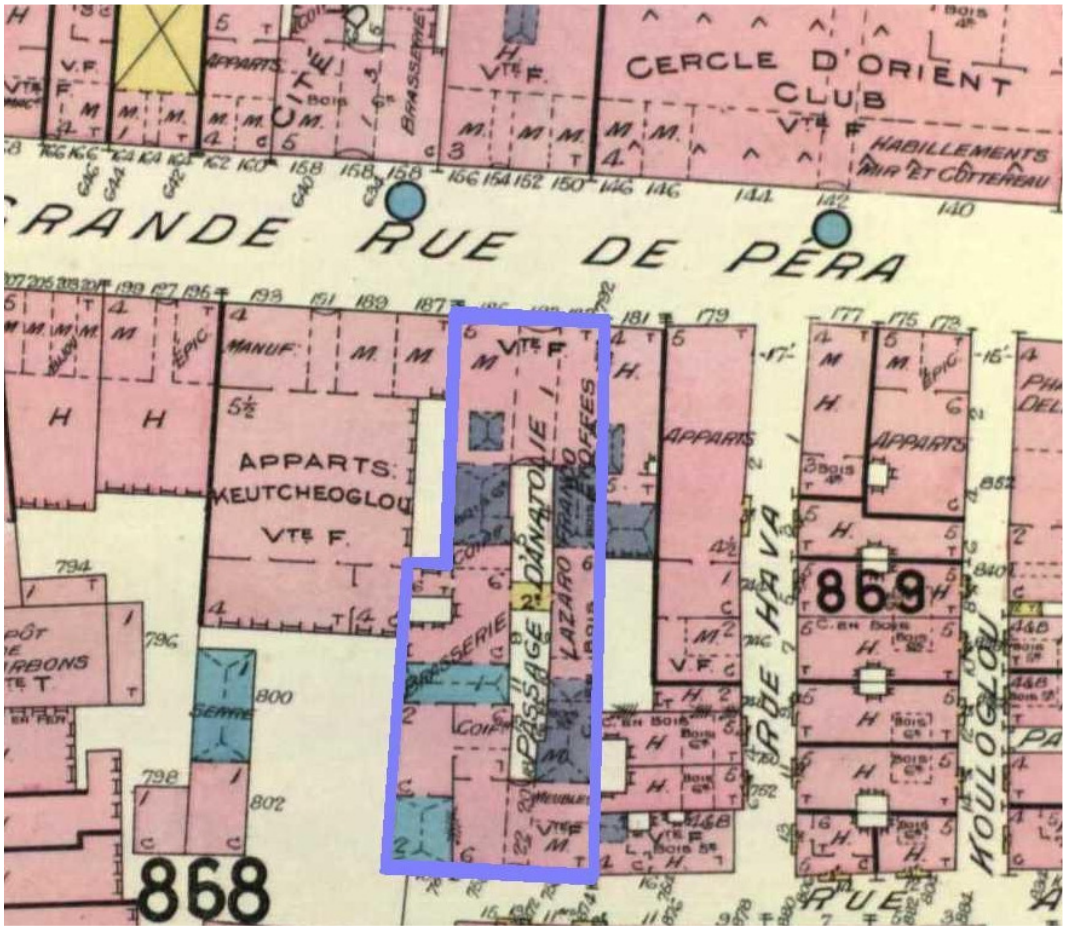
Appendix U: Sarıcazâde Ragıb Pasha property: plans and photos

Ragıb Pacha Apartment Building

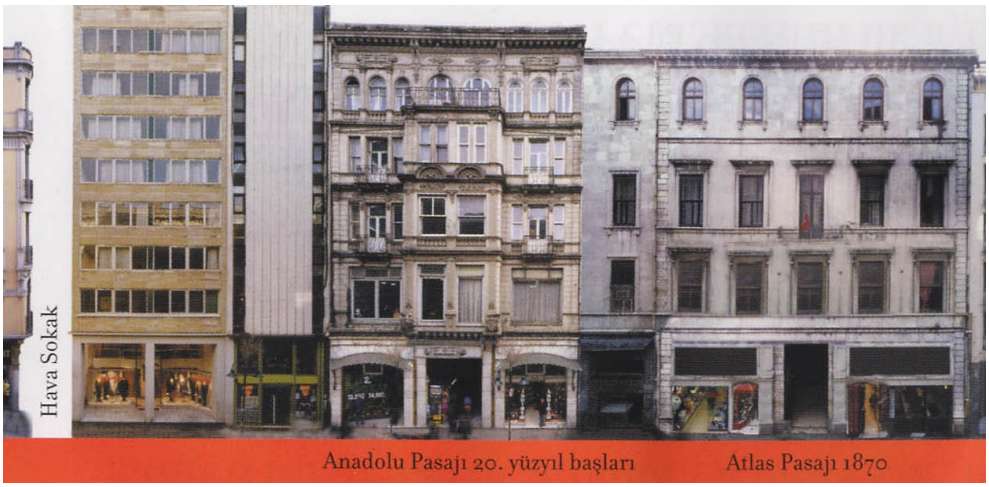


Source: Goad (1905), no. 38, IFEA Collection

Anadolu Han

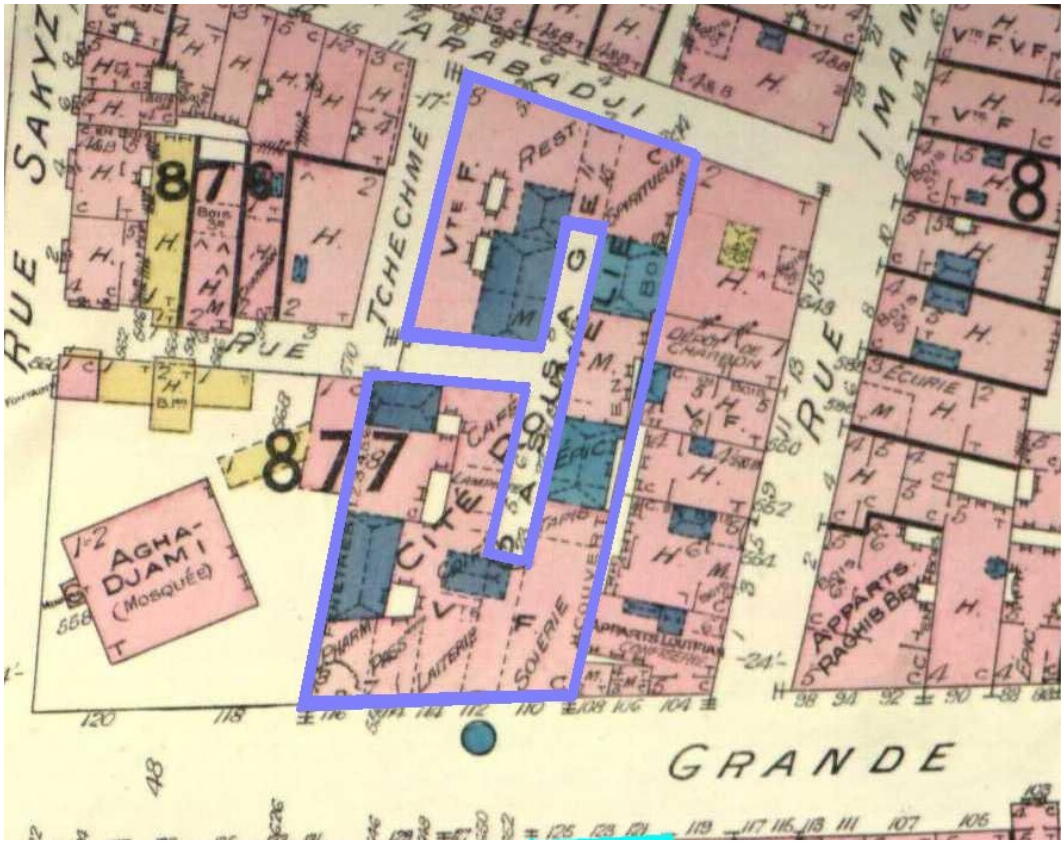


Source: Goad (1905), no. 39, IFEA Collection



Source: Beyoğlu Belelediyesi, 2004

Rumeli Han

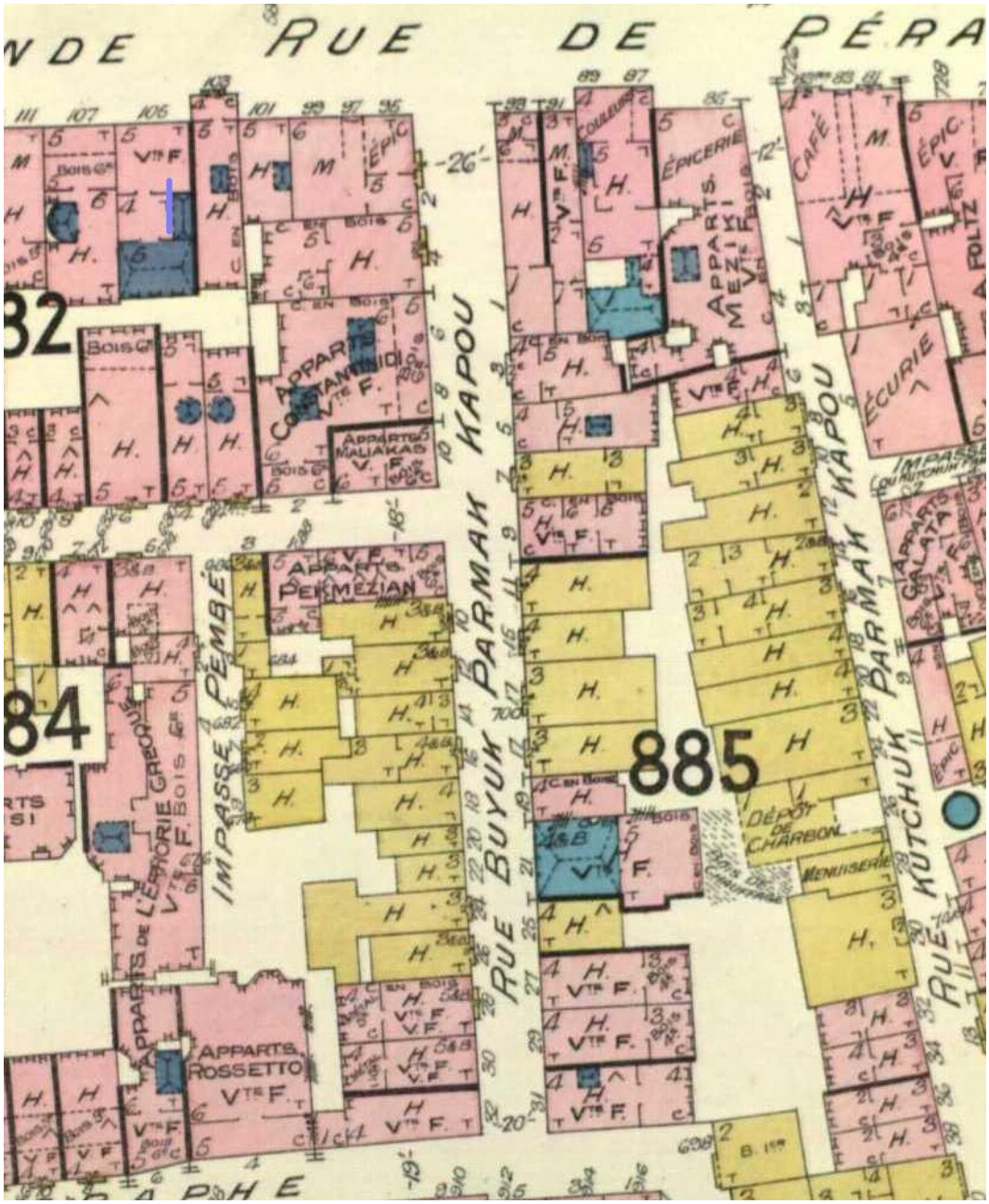


Source: Goad (1905), no. 40, IFEA Collection



Source: Beyoğlu Belediyesi, 2004

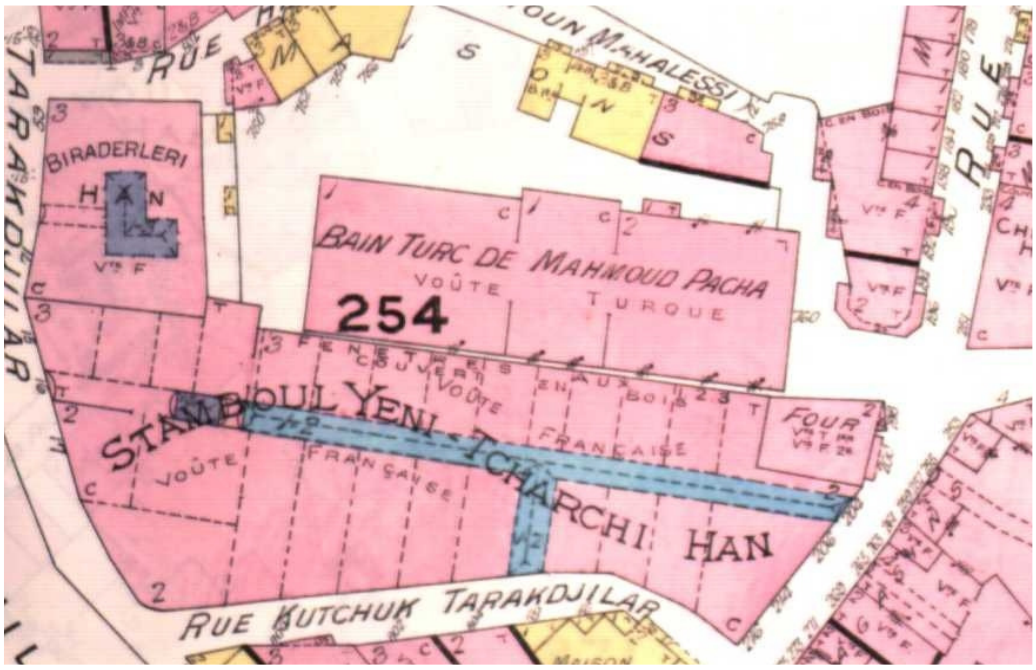
Wooden structures in the area of Afrika Han



Source: Goad (1905), no. 40, IFEA Collection

Appendix V: Abudzâde Brothers property: plans and photos

Büyük Abud Efendi or Biraderler Han

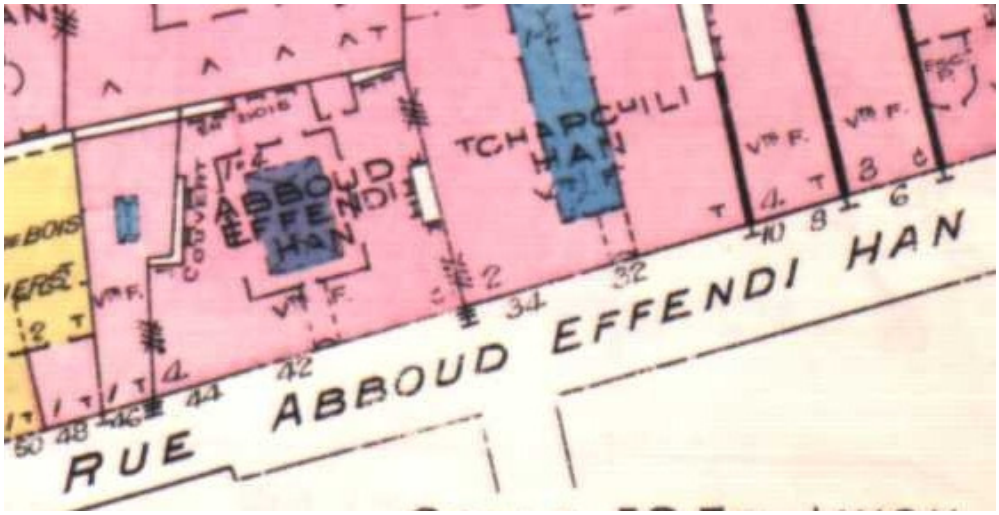


Source: Goad (1904), no. 11, IFEA Collection



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Küçük Abud Efendi Han

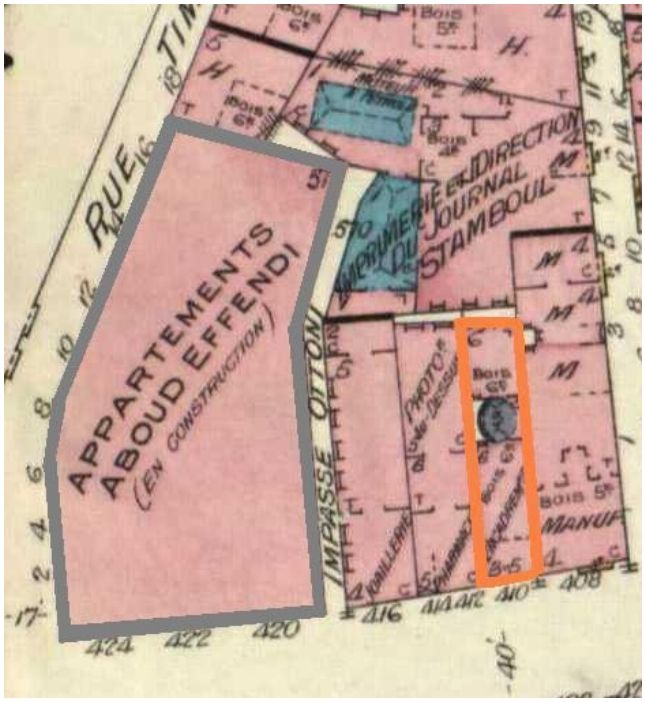


Source: Goad (1904), no. 11, IFEA Collection



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Abud Efendi Apartment Building

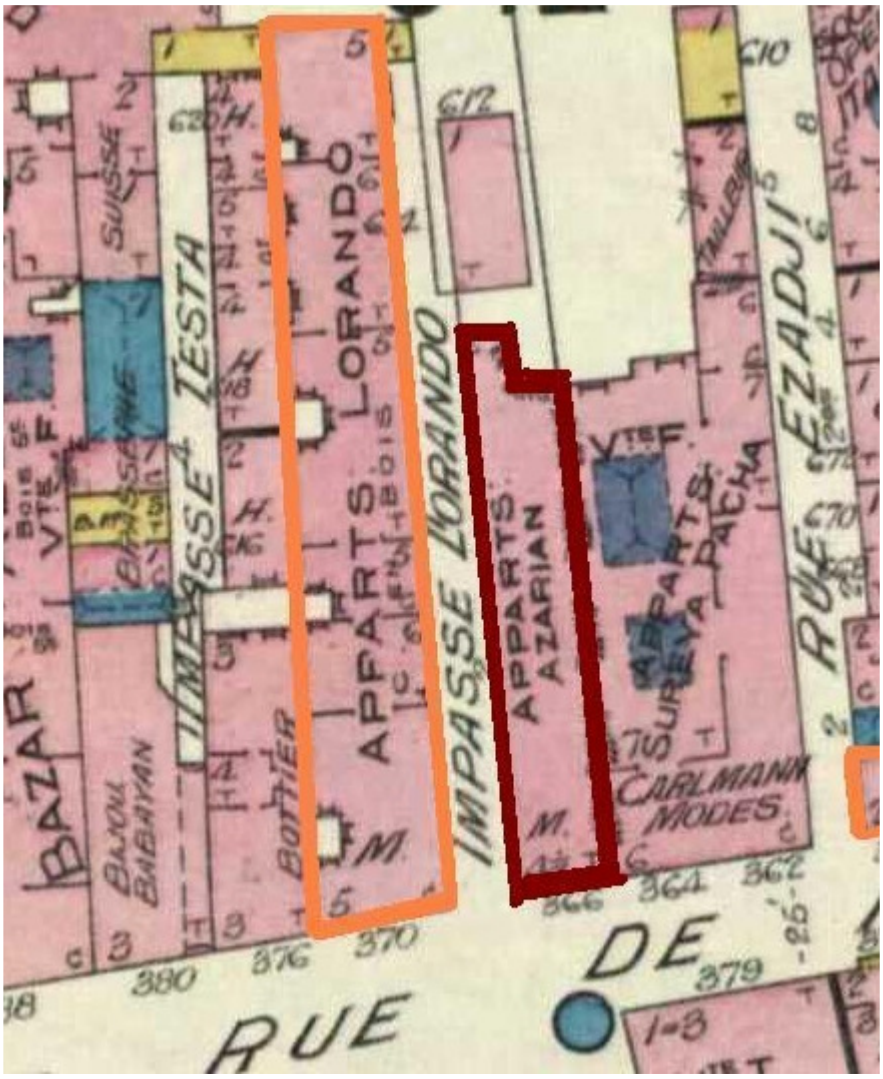


Source: Goad (1904), no. 11, IFEA Collection


Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

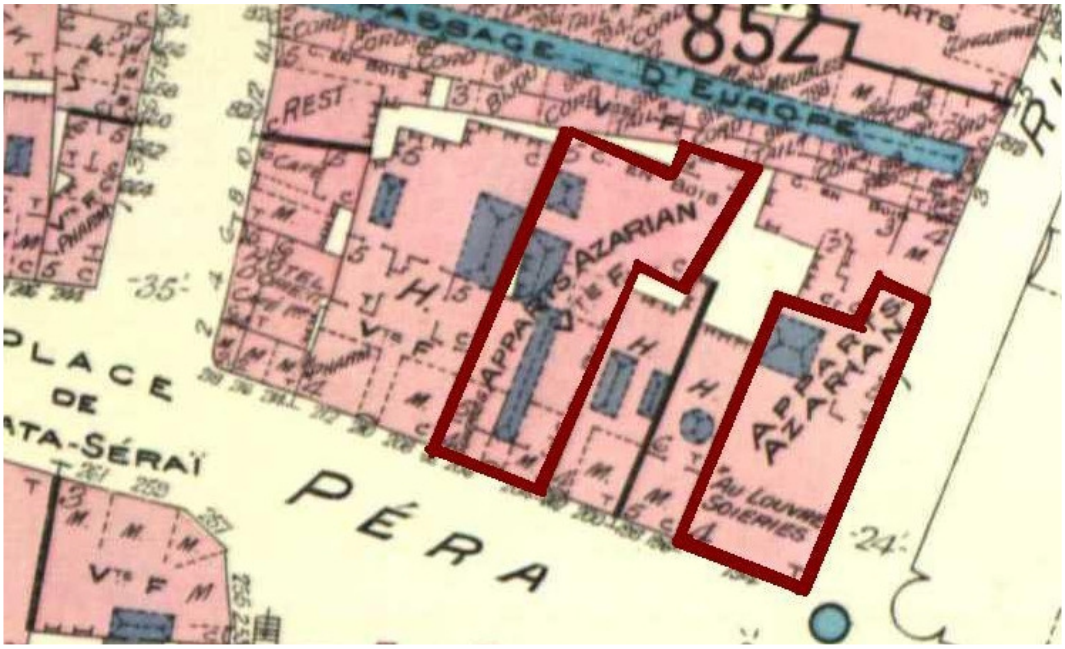
Appendix W: Azarian property: plans and photos

Azarian Apartment Building



Source: Goad (1905), no. 37, IFEA Collection

Azarian Apartment Buildings in Galatasaray



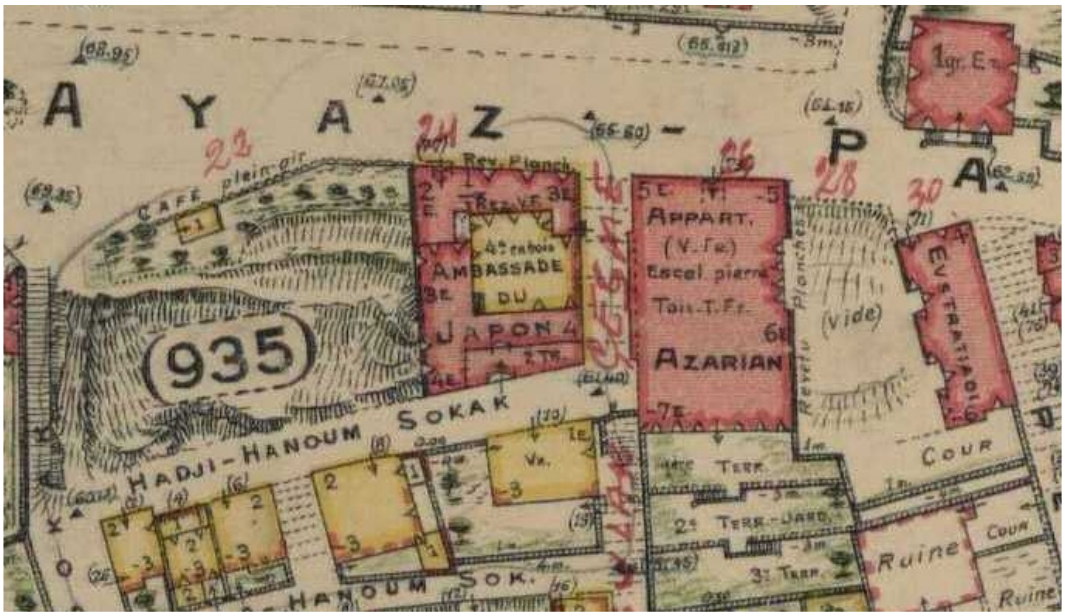
Source: Goad (1905), no. 37, IFEA Collection



Source: Beyoğlu Belediyesi, 2004

One of the Azaryan apartment buildings is still there,
while the other at the corner of Theatre (Sahne) Street was destroyed

Azarian Apartment Building in Ayaspaşa

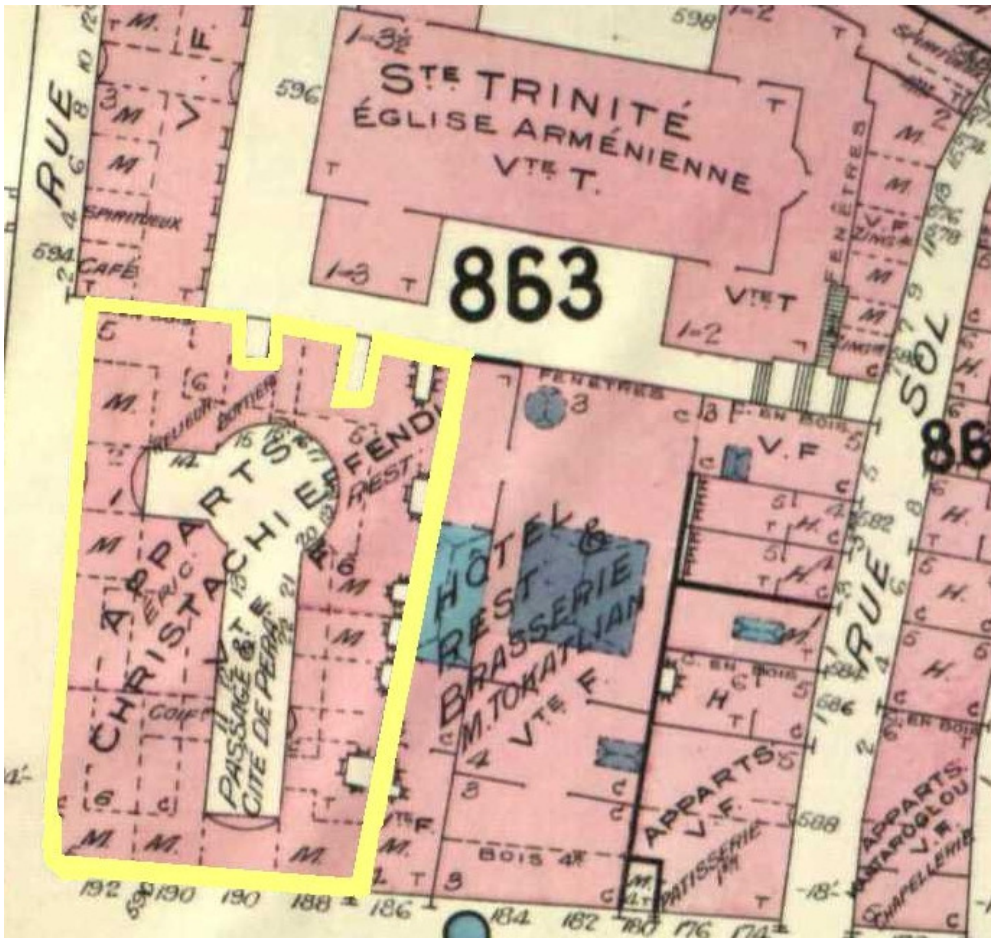


Source: Pervititch, Ayaz-pacha, Kabatache, no. 30, 1926.


Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Appendix X: Christaki Zographos property: plan and photo

Cité de Péra in Galatasaray



Source: Goad (1905), no. 39, IFEA Collection



Source: Beyoğlu Belediyesi, 2004.

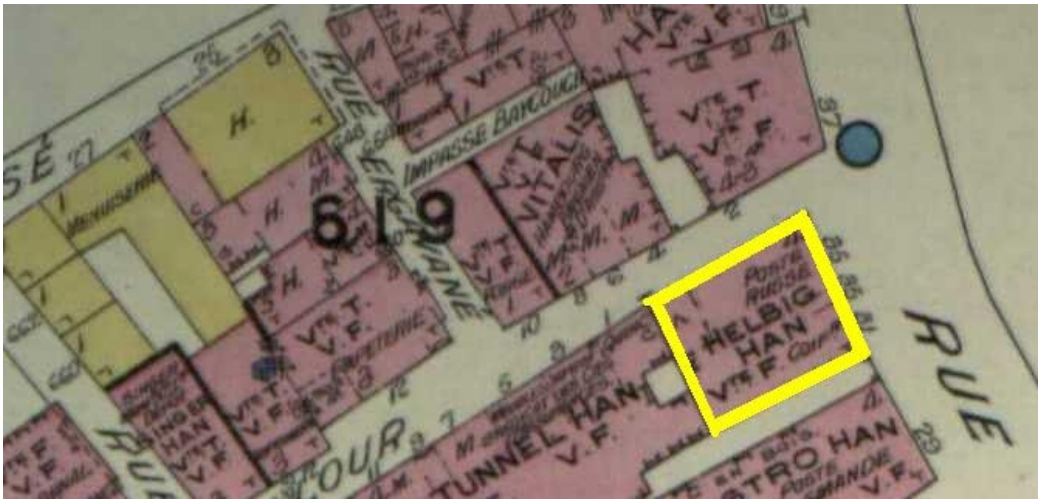
Appendix Y: Helbig property: plans and photo

Helbig Han in Fermeleciler



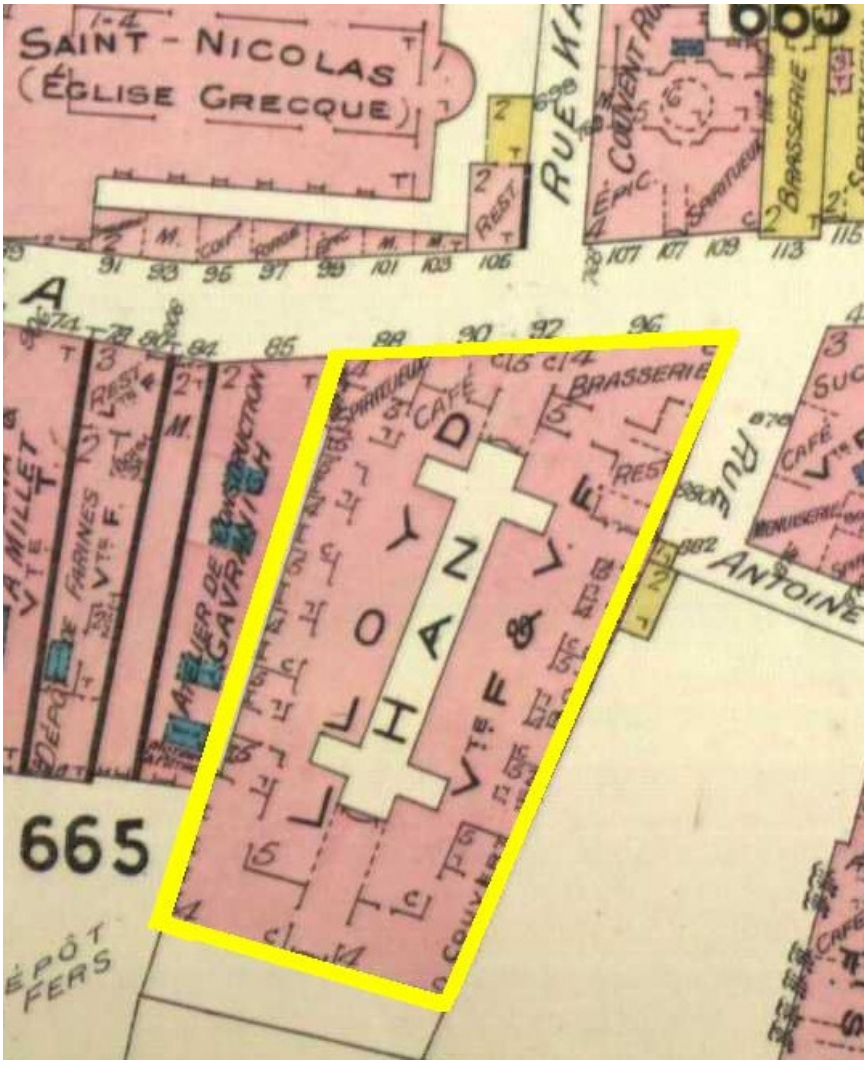
Source: Goad (1905), no. 26, IFEA Collection

Helbig Han in Voyvoda Street



Source: Goad (1905), no. 28, IFEA Collection

Lloyd Han in Kara Mustafa Paşa Street

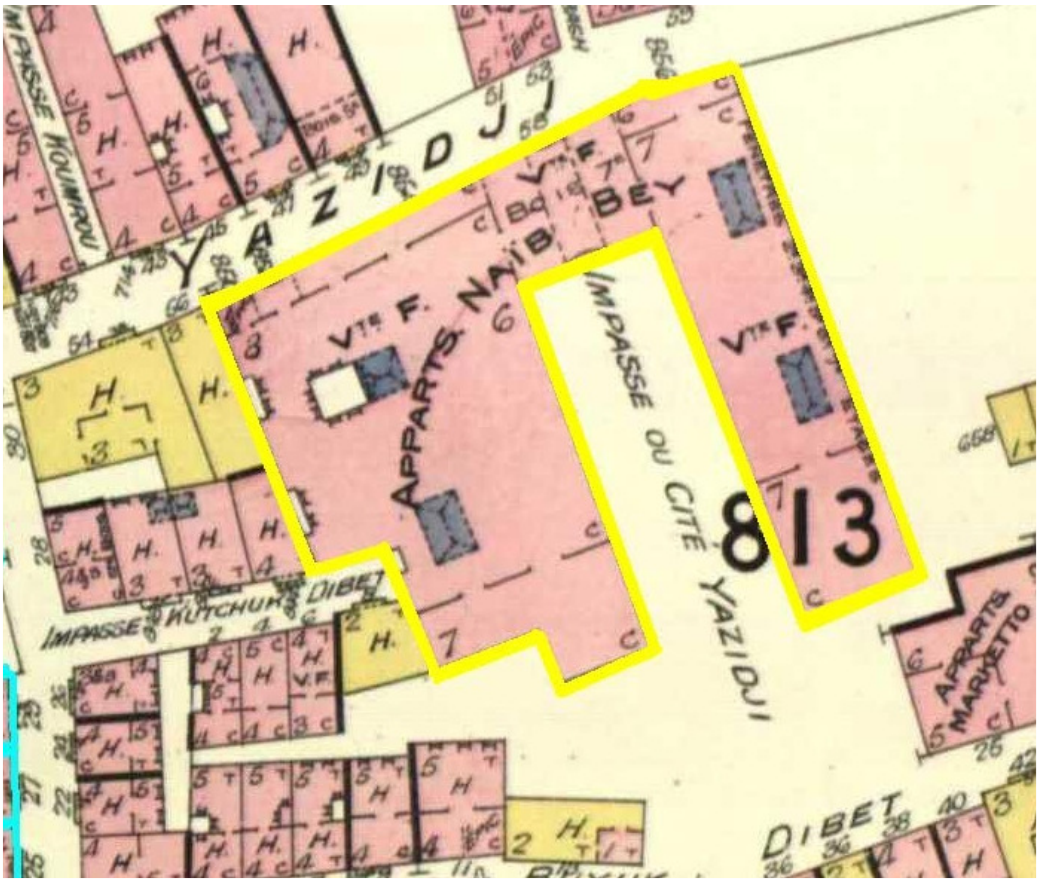


Source: Goad (1905), no. 29, IFEA Collection



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Helbig Apartment Building in Yazıcı Street



Source: Goad (1905), no. 35, IFEA Collection

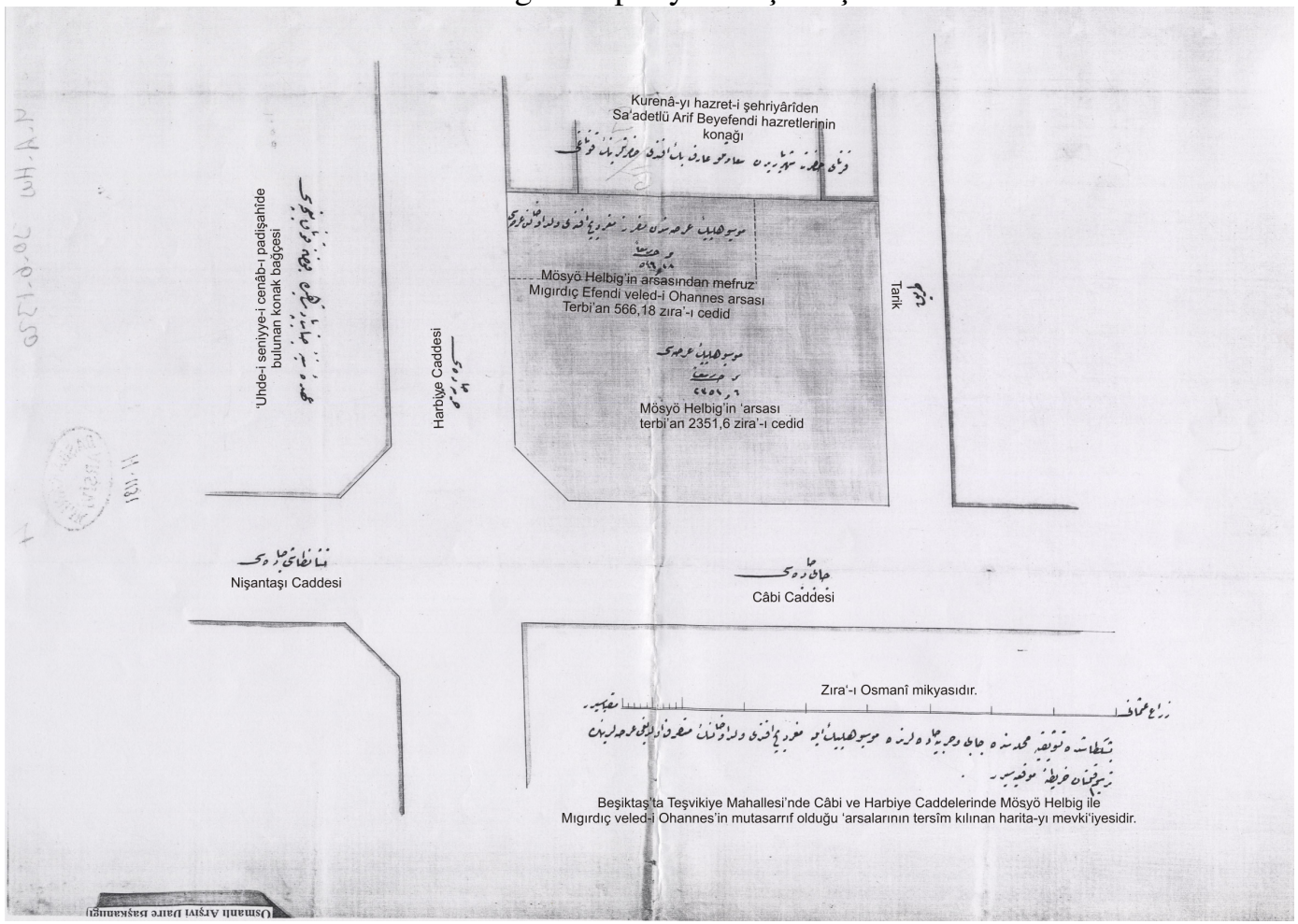


Source: OBA, AHISTKARA090, Rue Yazıdjı. Appartements Helbig, (Max Fruchtermann, no. 355, Constantinople).



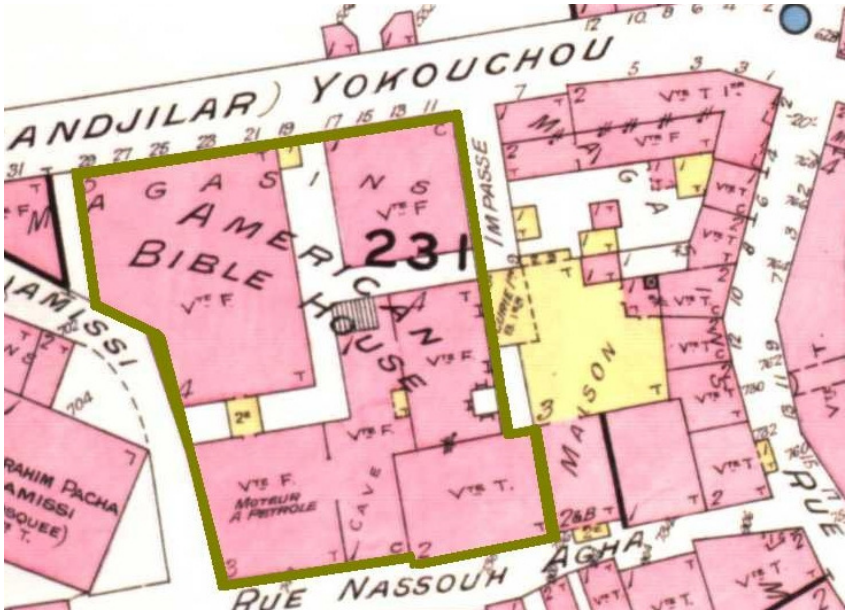
Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Helbig's Property in Nişantaşı



Source: BOA, DH.MKT 558-70, "Belçika teb'alı banker Mösyö Helbig'in tasarrufunda olan Nişantaşı'ndaki…", 1320.Ca.8 (October 3, 1902).

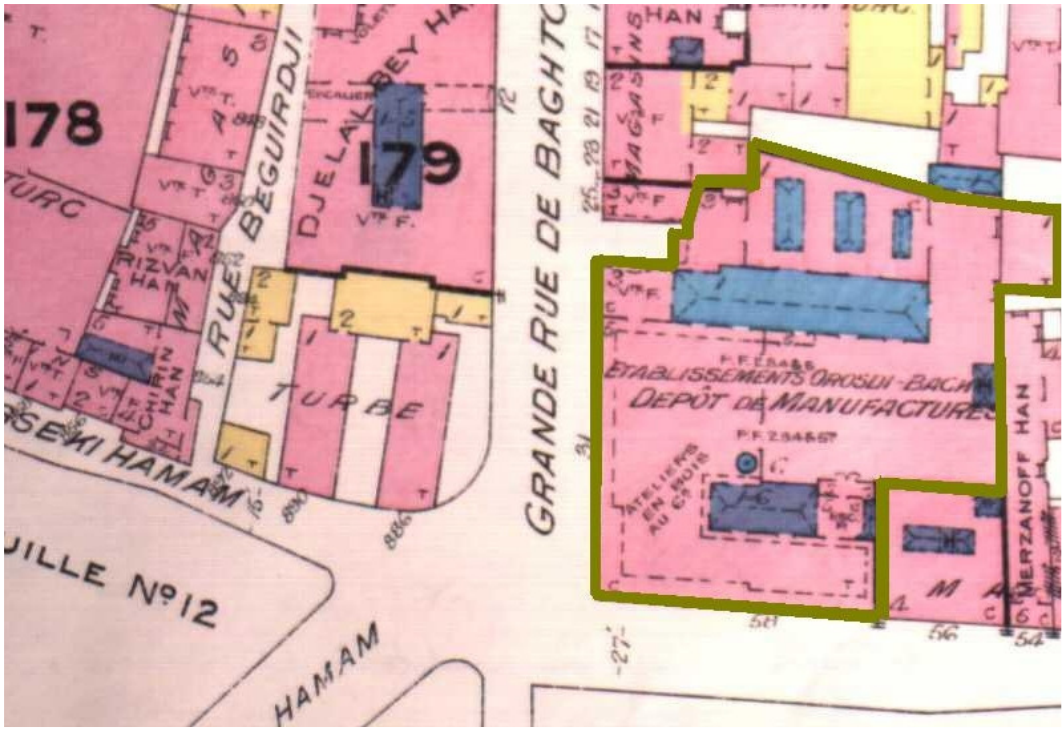
Appendix Z: The American Bible House: plan and photo



Source: Goad (1904), no. 9, IFEA Collection


Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Appendix AA: Orosdi Back Department Store: plan and photo



Source: Goad (1904), no. 6

Note also that The First Vakıf Han will be built in the place of the Turbe.



Photo: İzzet Baruh (October 2008)

Appendix BB: Camondo property: list, plans and photos

REF	DATE OF REF	REGION	ADDRESS	NEIGHBORHOOD	TYPE	NAME OF THE BUILDING	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%
NŞ	1888	PERA	DUVARCI SOK 73		A						
BOA	1866	PERA	GLAVANİ SOK 7		A		EMETULLAH HATUN VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
MC	1884	PERA	GLAVANY SOK 13	ASMALIMESCİD	A		MÜLK	ESTER BINTI NESIM			
NŞ	1881	PERA	GLAVANY SOK 13		A						
MC	1884	PERA	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 123, 125	AĞA CAMİ	S		VAKIF	BUENA ELISA BINTI MICHON			
MC	1889	PERA	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 123, 125, 127	AĞA CAMİ	A						
AO	1881-1914	PERA	GRANDE RUE DE PERA, 125		A	CAMONDO APP.					
AO	1881-1914	PERA	KABRISTAN 55		A	CAMONDO APP.					
NŞ	1881	PERA	YEMENİCİ SOK - KABRİSTAN SOK		A						
MC	1884	PERA	KABRISTAN, YEMENICI SOK	SARI LÜTFÜ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1889	PERA	KABRISTAN, YEMENICI 55, 2 - 8		A						
AO	1881-1914	PERA	YEMENIDJI 4		A	CAMONDO APP					

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NŞ	1881	PERA	KEKLİK SOK 9	AYNALIÇEŞME	A						
MC	1884	PERA	KEKLİK SOK 9	AYNALIÇEŞME	A		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1889	PERA	KEKLİK SOK 9	AYNALIÇEŞME	A						
MC	1884	PERA	KORDELA SOK 39	KAMER HATUN	L		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
NŞ	1888	PERA	KORDELA SOK 39	KAMER HATUN	L						
MC	1889	PERA	KORDELA SOK 39	KAMER HATUN	L						
NŞ	1888	PERA	KÖMÜRCÜ VE SİMİTÇİ SOK		NA						
BOA	1866	PERA	KUMBARACI YOKUŞU		L		ABBAS AĞA VAKFI - İSKENDER PAŞA VAKFI - DERVİŞ MEHMED AĞA VAKFI - CİHAN BEY VAKFI - HASAN AĞA VAKFI	SOLD AT THE NAME OF SAFVET PAŞA			
NŞ	1881	PERA	NANE SOK 6		A						
MC	1884	PERA	NANE SOK 6	AĞA CAMİ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	PERA	NANE 6	AĞA CAMİ	A						
AO	1881-1914	PERA	NANE 6		A	CAMONDO APP.					

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BOA	1866	PERA	KOLONBA (POLONYA?) SOK 3, 4		A		ELHAC MUSTAFA EFENDİ VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
NŞ	1881	PERA	POLONYA SOK 3-5		A						
MC	1884	PERA	POLONYA SOK 13	TOMTOM	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	PERA	POLOGNE 13	TOMTOM	A						
AO	1881-1914	PERA	POLOGNE 13		A	CAMONDO APP.					
MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	HENDEK SOK 61, 63		NA			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
NŞ	1888	PERA-GALATA	LÜLECİ HENDEK SOK		L						
MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	LÜLECİ HENDEK SOK		L						
MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 703, 705, 707		S						
BOA	1866	PERA-GALATA	YAZICI SOK 6	MÜEYYEDZADE	A		CEZAYİRLİ GAZİ HASAN PAŞA VAKFI				
NŞ	1881	PERA-GALATA	YAZICI SOK 42	MÜEYYEDZADE	A						
MC	1884	PERA-GALATA	YAZICI SOK 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 21	YAZICI	A			AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		SENIORA BINTI YASEF	

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MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	YAZICI 36-48	YAZICI	A						
MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	YAZICI SOK 52	YAZICI	A						
AO	1881-1914	PERA-GALATA	YAZIDJI 42		A	CAMONDO APP.					
MC	1889	PERA-GALATA	YAZIDJI 59		NA			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
MC	1889	GALATA	BAKIR SOK 426	ARAP CAMİ	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	BAKIR SOK 6	ARAP CAMİ	A		VAKIF	SENIORU BINTI YASEF			
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	BILLOUR 20	YENİCAMİ	H	GHUL CAMONDO HAN					
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	BİLLUR SOK	YENİCAMİ	H	GÜL HAN					
MC	1884	GALATA	YENİCAMİ, MEDRESE & BILLUR 36, 41, 18, 22	YENİCAMİ	H	GÜL HAN & DEPENDENCES		AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		SENIORU BINTI YASEF	
MC	1889	GALATA	YENİCAMİ, MEDRESE & BILLUR 36, 41, 18, 22	YENİCAMİ	H						
MC	1884	GALATA	BİLLUR & SEVUD SOK 14, 7	YENİCAMİ	S		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			

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AO	1881-1914	GALATA	CAMONDO		A	CAMONDO					
MC	1884	GALATA	CAMONDO & VOYVODA 7, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34	BEREKETZADE	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		AVRAM DE CAMONDO & SENIOROU BINTI YASEF	
MC	1889	GALATA	CAMONDO & VOYVODA 7, 14-34	BEREKETZADE	A						
BOA	1866	GALATA	KAMONDO SOK 3	BEREKETZADE	A		AYASOFYA-I KEBİR VAKFI	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA			
NŞ	1881	GALATA	KAMONDO SOK 5	BEREKETZADE	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	CAMONDO SOK 2,4	BEREKETZADE	L		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO		ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO (JULY 1878), IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889	

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MC	1884	GALATA	CAMONDO SOK 6		A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	GALATA	CAMONDO SOK 2, 4, 6	BEREKETZADE	A			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
MC	1884	PERA-GALATA	CERRAH MUSTAFA 204, 205, 208, 210, 216BIS, 216, 1, 3, 5, 7	BEYAZID	S	ALCAZAR D'AMERIQUE	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON	3	AVRAM DE CAMONDO	2
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	CHICHANE 12		A	CAMONDO					
MC	1884	GALATA	FELEK SOK 2	BEREKETZADE	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		SENIORA BINTI YASEF	
MC	1889	GALATA	FELEK SOK 2	BEREKETZADE	A						
BOA	1866	GALATA	FELEK SOK 2, 4	BEREKETZADE	A		MEHMED MEKKİ EFENDİ VAKFI	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA			
NŞ	1881	GALATA	FELEK SOK 2, 4, 6		A						
NŞ	1881	GALATA	HACI ALİ SOK 16	BEREKETZADE	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	HACI ALİ SOK 16	BEREKETZADE	A		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1889	GALATA	HACI ALİ 16	BEREKETZADE	A						

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AO	1881-1914	GALATA	HADJI ALI 1 - RUE FELEK	BEREKETZADE	A	CAMONDO MAISON / APART.					
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	HADJI ALI 20	BEREKETZADE	A	CAMONDO APP					
MC	1884	GALATA	HOCA ALİ SOK 17, 19,	HOCA ALİ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1889	GALATA	HOCA ALİ 17-21	HOCA ALİ	A						
NŞ	1881	GALATA	HOCA ALİ SOK 17, 19, 21, 23, 27, 31, 33, 35	HOCA ALİ	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	HOCA ALİ SOK 23, 25, 27, 31, 33, 35	HOCA ALİ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	GALATA	HOCA ALİ 23-29	HOCA ALİ	A						
MC	1889	GALATA	HOCA ALİ 31-35	HOCA ALİ	A						
BOA	1866	GALATA	HACI MUSTAFA SOK		A		MEHMED ARİF VE FERTEK ALİ AĞA VAKFI - BERBER GEDİĞİ				
MC	1884	GALATA	KALAFAT YERİ 74, 82	ARAP CAMİ	L		VAKIF	SENİORU BİNTİ YASEF	1	OTTOMAN WOMEN	4
NŞ	1888	GALATA	KALAFAT YERİ		L						
MC	1889	GALATA	KALAFAT YERİ 74	ARAP CAMİ	L						
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	KARAKÖY MEYDANI		H	DİLBER HAN					

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BOA	1866	GALATA	KARAKÖY SOK 1, 3, 5, 25		S	DİLBER HAN?	AYASOFYA-I KEBİR VE ÇAKIRAĞA VAKFINDAN	SENYORO BİNTİ YASEF			
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	YORGANCILAR SOK 1		A	CAMONDO HAN					
MC	1884	GALATA	KUYUMCU & MAHMUDİYE SOK 1, 3, 79, 81, 85, 87, 89	YENİCAMİ	H		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON	8	SENIORU BINTI YASEF	2
MC	1889	GALATA	KUYUMCULAR & MAHMUDİYE SOK 1,3, 79-89	YENİCAMİ	H						
MC	1884	GALATA	KUREKÇİLER & MAHMUDIE 2, 4, 1, 3	YENİCAMİ	H		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		SENIORU BINTI YASEF - ESTER BINTI NESSIM	3, 1
MC	1884	GALATA	KUREKÇİLER 8	YENİCAMİ	S		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO	3	ESTER BINTI NISSIM	1
MC	1889	GALATA	KÜREKÇİLER-MAHMUDİYE 2, 4, 1, 3	YENİCAMİ	S						
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	KUREKDJILER, 1	YENİCAMİ	H	CAMONDO HAN					
MC	1889	GALATA	KÜREKÇİLER 8	YENİCAMİ	S						
BOA	1866	GALATA	KÜREKÇİLER SOK 8	YENİCAMİ	S			ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			

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BOA	1866	GALATA	KÜRKÇÜLER SOK 8	YENİCAMİ	S		HAREMEYN VAKFI MAĞAZA GEDİĞİ - AYASOFYA-I KEBİR VAKFINDAN MÜLKÜ				
MC	1889	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 2, 4, 6, 8	YENİCAMİ	A						
NŞ	1881	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 2, 4, 6, 8	YENİCAMİ	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 2, 4, 6, 8	YENİCAMİ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON		SENIORA BINTI YASEF	
NŞ	1881	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 5	YENİCAMİ	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	MERTEBANİ 5	YENİCAMİ	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
BOA	1866	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 5, 7	YENİCAMİ	A		YUNUS BEY VAKFI	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA			
BOA	1866	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 7, 8	YENİCAMİ	A		YUSUF BEY VAKFI - TACİR ABDULLAH AĞA VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
MC	1884	GALATA	MERTEBANİ 10	YENİCAMİ	H	YAKUT HAN	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	GALATA	MERTEBANİ 10	YENİCAMİ	H	YACOUB HAN					
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK	YENİCAMİ	H	YAKUT HAN					

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AO	1881-1914	GALATA	MERTEBANY 10	YENİCAMİ	H	YACOUD HAN (CAMONDO) YACOUB?					
BOA	1866	GALATA	MERTEBANİ SOK 12, 13, 15	YENİCAMİ	A		ELHAC MEHMED EMİN AĞA VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
BOA	1866	GALATA	MORFELEK SOK 1		A		ELHAC HÜSEYİN AĞA VAKFI - YAVUZ MEHMED AĞA VAKFI - EL HAC İBRAHİM PAŞA VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	PERCHEMBE BAZAR	ARAP CAMİ	H	SAATCHI HAN (CAMONDO)					
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR SOK	ARAP CAMİ	H	SAATÇİ HAN					
MC	1889	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR SOK 38-42	ARAP CAMİ	H						
MC	1884	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR SOK 38, 40, 42	ARAP CAMİ	H	SAATÇİ HAN	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON	13	AVRAM DE CAMONDO	7

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BOA	1866	GALATA	PERŞEMBE SOK 30	ARAP CAMİ	H	SAATÇİ HAN	MOLLA ŞEMSEDDİN GÜRANİ VAKFINDAN	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
BOA	1866	GALATA	PERŞEMBE SOK 22	ARAP CAMİ	S		İBRAHİM PAŞA VAKFI - HARAMİ AHMED PAŞA VAKFI - GALATALI DUKASAKİY ANUS VAKFI	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA			
MC	1884	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR SOK 26	ARAP CAMİ	S	HANSON HAN	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR 34, 36	ARAP CAMİ	NA			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
MC	1889	GALATA	PERŞEMBE PAZAR SOK 27	ARAP CAMİ	H						
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	SEVOUD 5	YENİCAMİ	H	LATIF HAN (CAMONDO)					
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	SEVUD SOK	YENİCAMİ	H	LATİF					
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	SEVUD SOK	YENİCAMİ	H	İBRET HAN					

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MC	1884	GALATA	SEVUD SOK 11, 13	YENİCAMİ	H	İBRET HAN	VAKIF	ESTER BINTI NESIM			
MC	1889	GALATA	SEVUD SOK - ZULFARISSE 11, 13	YENİCAMİ	H						
BOA	1866	GALATA	SEBUT SOK 11	YENİCAMİ	S			ESTER BİNTİ NESİM	20,5	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA	40
BOA	1866	GALATA	SEVUD SOK - ZULFARISSE 15, HARATCHI 31	YENİCAMİ	H	SELANİKLİ HAN	ABDÜLKADİR EFENDİ VAKFI				
MC	1884	GALATA	SEVUD SOK 15	YENİCAMİ	H		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1889	GALATA	SEVUD SOK 15	YENİCAMİ	H						
BOA	1866	GALATA	SİYON SOK 1		S						
MC	1884	GALATA	TOPÇULAR 1, 3, 5	YENİCAMİ	H	DİLBER HAN?	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1889	GALATA	TOPÇULAR 1, 3, 5	YENİCAMİ	H						
MC	1889	GALATA	TOPÇULAR - CERRAH MUSTAFA 204-10, 216, 1-7	YENİCAMİ	NA						
MC	1884	GALATA	VOYVODA SOK 12	BEREKETZADE	S		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
BOA	1866	GALATA	VOYVODA SOK 7, 8	BEREKETZADE	S		İBRAHİM AĞA VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
MC	1889	GALATA	YAŞMAK HAİRAN 29		NA						
NŞ	1881	GALATA	YENİ ŞEHİRLİ SOK	BEYAZID	A						
MC	1884	GALATA	YENİ ŞAERLİ 12	BEYAZID	A			SENIORU BINTI YASEF			
MC	1889	GALATA	YENİ CAMİ 52	YENİCAMİ	S						
MC	1884	GALATA	YENİCAMİ 53	YENİCAMİ	S		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			

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NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	YORGANCILAR SOK 87		H	KUYUMCU HAN					
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	YORGANDJILAR 87		H	COUYOUMDJILER HAN (CAMONDO)					
BOA	1866	GALATA	KONFOMİDİ SOK 1, 2, 10 BEDESTEN KURBÜ - YORGANCILAR 87		H	KUYUMCU HAN	AYASOFYA-I KEBİR VAKFI - İLYAS ÇELEBİ VAKFI - TUTİ ABDÜLLATİF EFENDİ VAKFI - MİMAR ACEM VAKFI - KOCA SİNAN VAKFI	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
MC	1889	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 4, 6	YENİCAMİ	NA			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			

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MC	1884	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 14	YENİCAMİ	S			AVRAM DE CAMONDO	60%	S. MOLHO	40%
MC	1889	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 14	YENİCAMİ	H						
MC	1884	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 15	YENİCAMİ	H	SELANİKLİ HAN	VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON	7		
AO	1881-1914	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 15 ET RUE HARATCHI 31	YENİCAMİ	H	CAMONDO SALONIQUE HAN					
MC	1884	GALATA	ZULFARISSE 17	YENİCAMİ	S			AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON	50%	SUCESSION ESKENAZI	50%
MC	1889	GALATA	ZÜLFARISSE SOK 17	YENİCAMİ	S						
NŞ	1874, 1881	GALATA	ZÜLFARİS SOK	YENİCAMİ	H	LACİVERT HAN					
MC	1889	GALATA	ZÜLFARİS SOK 4, 6	YENİCAMİ	NA						
BOA	1866	GALATA	ZÜLFİYAR SOK 13	YENİCAMİ	H	LACİVERT HAN	BAKKALZADE MEHMED ÇELEBİ VAKFI	KLARA BİNTİ YEHUDA			
BOA	1866	GALATA			H		FERAH KETUDA VAKFI - MEHMED TAHİR AĞA	ESTER BİNTİ NESİM			
MC	1884	STAMBOUL	ABBAS AĞA 2, 4	HOCA PAŞA	L		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
NŞ	1888	STAMBOUL	SALKIM SAÇAK SOK 2, 4 - HOCA PAŞA	HOCA PAŞA	L						

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MC	1889	STAMBOUL	ABBAS AĞA 2, 4	HOCA PAŞA	L						
MC	1884	STAMBOUL	MAHMOUD PAŞA 116	MAHMUD PAŞA	S	LÜLECİ HAN	VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO	1	SENIORU BINTI YASEF	1
MC	1889	STAMBOUL	MAHMUD PAŞA 71/99 - 80/100	MAHMUD PAŞA	H						
BOA	1866	STAMBOUL	MAHMUD PAŞA 75		H	LÜLECİ HAN	AYASOFYA-I KEBİR VAKFI -HACI KÜÇÜK VAKFI - ELHAC ALİ AĞA VAKFI - BERBER GEDİĞİ MAHMUD HAN-I SANİ VAKFI		56 3/4		
NŞ	1874, 1881	STAMBOUL			H	LÜLECİ HAN					
NŞ	1888	FERİKÖY	DUTÇU SOK 48		L						
MC	1884	FERİKÖY		DUTÇU	L		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
MC	1884	BEŞİKTAŞ	NIŞANTAŞI SOK 10	TEŞVİKİYE	L		VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
NŞ	1888	BEŞİKTAŞ	NIŞANTAŞI SOK 10	TEŞVİKİYE	L						
MC	1889	BEŞİKTAŞ	NIŞANTAŞI SOK 10	TEŞVİKİYE	L						
NŞ	1888	ARNAVUTKÖY	AYANUFRI SOK 17		L						

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MC	1889	ARNAVUTKÖY	AYANUFRI SOK 17		L						
NŞ	1888	ARNAVUTKÖY	KIR SOK. 45		L						
MC	1889	ARNAVUTKÖY	KIR SOK. 45		L						
MC	1889	KURUÇEŞME			A			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
MC	1889	BEBEK	KİLİSE SOK 9, 11		NA			ALTHOUGH REGISTERED AT THE NAME OF ABRAM DE CAMONDO, IT BELONGED TO A THIRD PARTY IN 1889			
NŞ	1888	EMİRGAN	FISTIKLI SOK		L						
MC	1884	EMİRGAN	FISTIKLI SOK 8	BOYACIKÖY	L		VAKIF	SENIORU BINTI YASEF			
NŞ	1881	YENİKÖY	KÖYBAŞI SOK 41		A						
BOA	1866	YENİKÖY			A		MEHMED EMİN EFENDİ VAKFI	CANİKOĞLU MERZİCAN			
MC	1884	YENİKÖY	FABRİKA SOK 6	AYA NİKOLA	O		MULK	SENIORU BINTI YASEF			

REF	DATE OF REF	REGION	ADDRESS	QUARTER	TYPE	NAME OF THE BUILDING	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%
MC	1884	YENİKÖY	KÖYBAŞI SOK 37, 39, 41	PANAİYA	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1884	YENİKÖY	KÖYBAŞI SOK 6	KÖYBAŞI	A		VAKIF	AVRAM VELED-İ SALAMON			
MC	1884	YENİKÖY	KÖYBAŞI SOK 8	KÖYBAŞI	A		VAKIF	NESSIM CAMONDO VELED-İ AVRAM			
NŞ	1881	BÜYÜKDERE	SÖĞÜTLÜ SOK 5		A						
MC	1884	BÜYÜKDERE	SERVİ & SÖĞÜTLÜ SOK 7, 3, 5, 7, 8	KIRICO	A		MULK	ESTER BINTI NESIM			
MC	1889	BÜYÜKDERE	SERVİ & SÖĞÜTLÜ 1 , 1-7		A						
MC	1884	YALIKÖY	SELVİ BURUN 18, 20	YALIKÖY	O		VAKIF	ESTER BINTI NESIM			
MC	1889	BEYKOZ	SELVİ BURUN 18, 20		O						
MC	1884	ÇAMLICA	BAĞLARBAŞI SOK 19	ALTUNİZADE	A		MULK & VAKIF	AVRAM DE CAMONDO			
NŞ	1888	ÜSKÜDAR	DEBAĞHANE SOK 1		L						
MC	1889	ÜSKÜDAR	DEBAĞHANE SOK 1		L						
MC	1884	ÜSKÜDAR	ŞEMSİ PAŞA SOK 29	RUM M. PAŞA	S		VAKIF	ESTER BINTI NESIM			
MC	1889	ÜSKÜDAR	ŞEMSİ AHMED PAŞA 29		S						
NŞ	1888	ÜSKÜDAR	YUMUK ARACI SOK 16 - BÜLBÜL DERESİ		NA						

REF	DATE OF REF	REGION	ADDRESS	QUARTER	TYPE	NAME OF THE BUILDING	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	%
MC	1884	ÜSKÜDAR			L		VAKIF	AVRAM & NISSIM DE CAMONDO		REGINA DE CAMONDO	
MC	1889	ÜSKÜDAR	GÜMÜŞ ARACI 16		L						
MC	1884	MALTEPE			L		VAKIF	MERCADA REGINA CAMONDO			
MC	1889	MALTEPE			L						
NŞ	1888	MALTEPE	DEMİRYOLU VE DENİZ ARASI		L						

Summary Table of Camondo's Property

	APARTMENT	HAN	SHOP	LAND	OTHERS	NA	TOTAL
PERA	8	0	1	2	0	1	**12**
PERA-GALATA	2	0	4	1	0	2	**9**
GALATA	25	12	9	2	0	4	**52**
STAMBOUL	0	1	0	1	0	0	**2**
OTHERS	8	0	1	10	7	3	**29**
TOTAL	**43**	**13**	**15**	**16**	**7**	**10**	**104**

Sources:

BOA, EV 20150, "Mösyö Kamonto'nun malı olan 23 kalem mahaller ile vakıflarının isimleri ile senedlerin mikdâr ve kayıdları", 1283.Ş.23 – 1283.Za.13 (December 31, 1866 – March 19, 1867).

AMNC, "Recensement des titres de propriété opéré le 8 Avril 1884"

AMNC, Notes of Tedeschi on the properties of Camondos, 1888.

AMNC, Contract related to the foundation of the real estates company, Constantinople, July 1, 1899.

Annuaire oriental, 1881, 1895, 1899, 1909, 1914.

Şeni, Nora, "The Camondos and Their Imprint on 19th Century Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 26, 1994: 663-675.

Contract related to the foundation of the real estate company

Je soussigné Comte Moise de Camondo, sujet Italien, demeurant à Paris 21 rue de Constantine fait ici les déclarations suivantes:

Il a été fournie à la date du premier juillet 1889 une société civile, pour l'exploitation et la vente de divers immeubles et terrains, situés en Turquie, dont la teneur littérale suit:

Entre les soussignés M. Le Comte Abram de Camondo, demeurant à Paris 61 rue de Monceau d'une part

Et Monsieur le comte Moise de Camondo demeurant à Paris 63 rue de Monceau d'autre part

Il a été dit et convenu ce qui suit

Article 1
Il est formé entre des immeubles dont ils sont propriétaires en Turquie ainsi qu'il sera expliqué ci après ainsi que de ceux qu'ils pourraient acquérir par la suite, la construction par la suite, la construction de tous bâtiments sur les terrains leur appartenant, ainsi que toutes opérations dont peuvent être l'objet des propriétés immobilières.

Article 2
Le fond social se composera des immeubles dis en Turquie dont M le comte Abram de Camondo et M le comte Moise de Camondo sont propriétaires indivisément et dont ils font apport à la société civile avec les charges dont ils peuvent être grevés, excepté les deux maisons de campagne situées a Yenikeuy, appartenant en particulier à M les comtes Abram et Moïse de Camondo et les propriétés suivantes.

Rue Camondo 2, 4, 6	à Galata
Rue Yachmac Hairan 29	à Pera
Rue Hendek 61, 63	à Pera
Terrain	à Balat
Maison	à Courouchteshme
Rue Caray 3	à Haskeuy
Rue Zulfarissé 4, 6	à Galata
Rue Kilissé 9, 11	à Bebek
Rue Perchembe Bazar 34, 36	à Galata
Rue Yazıdjı 59	à Pera

Lesquelles quoique inscrites au nom de M le comte Abram de Camondo appartiennent à des tiers.

Article 3
La société civile a son siège à Constantinople, dans les bureaux de la maison de la Banque I. Camondo & Cie et pourra être transféré partout ailleurs en la même ville; sa durée est fixée à 50 années à partir du 1er Juillet 1889, jusqu'au 1er juillet 1939.

Article 4
La gestion de la société sera confiée à M le comte Abram de Camondo, qui aura la faculté de déléguer tout ou partie de ses pouvoir à un mandataire choisi d'accord avec M le Comte Moïse de Camondo.
La gérance en cas de démission ou du décès appartiendra toujours et de droit au plus fort intéressé, comme part sociale, si cette part est représentée par les mineurs, la gérance sera dévolue conjointement à unmandataire unique qu'ils designeront et à un associé majeur.
Les fonctions de gérant seront gratuites.

Article 5
Le gérant de la société civile aura les pouvoirs les plus étendus pour gérer et administrer les affaires sociales, prendre toutes mesures nécéssaires pour l'exploitation et l'entretien des immeubles sus visés, faire tous travaux de réparation, réfection, ou agrandissement, faire tous ? et locations; en cas de non paiement des loyers poursuivre tous locataires débiteurs devant toutes juridictions compétentes, prendre tous jugement et poursuivre leur exécution, prendre toutes inscriptions d'hypothèque conformément aux lois et usages en Turquie, consentir toutes radiations et tous désistement de privilèges avec où sous justifications de paiements, former toutes oppositions ou tous actes qui constitueraient leur équivalent en Turquie, en donner mains-levées, traiter et conclure toutes acquisitions, faire toutes ventes totales ou partielles, tous échanges aux conditions que le gérant jugera convenable; il touchera le prix des ventes et en donnera décharge; ces ventes pourront se faire soit à l'amiable, soit par devant tous officiers publiés compétent.

Article 6
Tous frais d'administration seront les frais généraux de la société, ils comprendront les salaires des employés, les impôts et charges des toutes natures.

Après déduction des frais généraux, des loyers encaissés, le solde net constituera le bénéfice qui sera réparti aux associés au prorata de leur part.

En cas de vente d'un immeuble la répartition de prix entre les associés se fera de même au prorata de leur part.

Article 7
En cas de décès de l'un des associés, la société ne sera pas dissoute, elle continuera avec les héritiers ou ayant droit du précédé; ceux-ci devront le faire représenter soit par l'un d'eux, soit en cas de minorité par un délégué agréé par le gérant.

Article 8
La société sera dissoute:

1. par volonté des associés représentant un intérêt des trois quarts au moins du fond social
2. par suite de la réalisation de sous les immeubles si à l'expiration de la durée la société n'était pas prorogée, les immeubles seraient vendus ou partagés en nature à l'amiable, ou par le tirage au sort des lots en demandant suivant la loi ottomane, un titre de propriété pour chaque chacun des participants pour la part lui revenant dans chaque immeuble. Les présents statuts seront toujours obligatoires comme conventions particulières entre les parties ou leurs héritiers, alors même que sur certains points ils ne seraient pas applicables en Turquie pour l'exploitation ou la vente des immeubles qui font l'objet de la société.

   Fait à Constantinople le 1er juillet 1989
   Lu et approuvé
   Signé M. De Camondo

   Lu et approuvé
   Signé A. De Camondo

   Article supplémentaire

   Il est fait observer que les soussignés sont également propriétaires des immeubles et après désignés
   Magasin rue Yeni Djami 52 (50%)
   Magasin rue Billour & Sevoud 4 et 14
   Magasin rue Kurekchiler 8
   Magasin rue Mahmoud Pasha 116
   Maisons rue Mertebany 2, 4, 6 et 8
   Maison rue Bakır 426
   Selanikli Khan, rue Zulfarisse 15 (80 %)
   Ecole de Haskeui dite "Foundation Camondo"

   Mais les revenus de ces immeubles ayant été affectés par leurs auteurs à des oeuvres pieuses, ils n'ont pas été compris dans les apports, néanmoins ces immeubles en ce qui concerne leur propriété et leur exploitation seront soumis aux règles de gestion établis dans la présente société, et leurs revenus continueront à recevoir les destinations auxquelles ils ont été affectés.

   Lu et approuvé
   Signé M. De Camondo

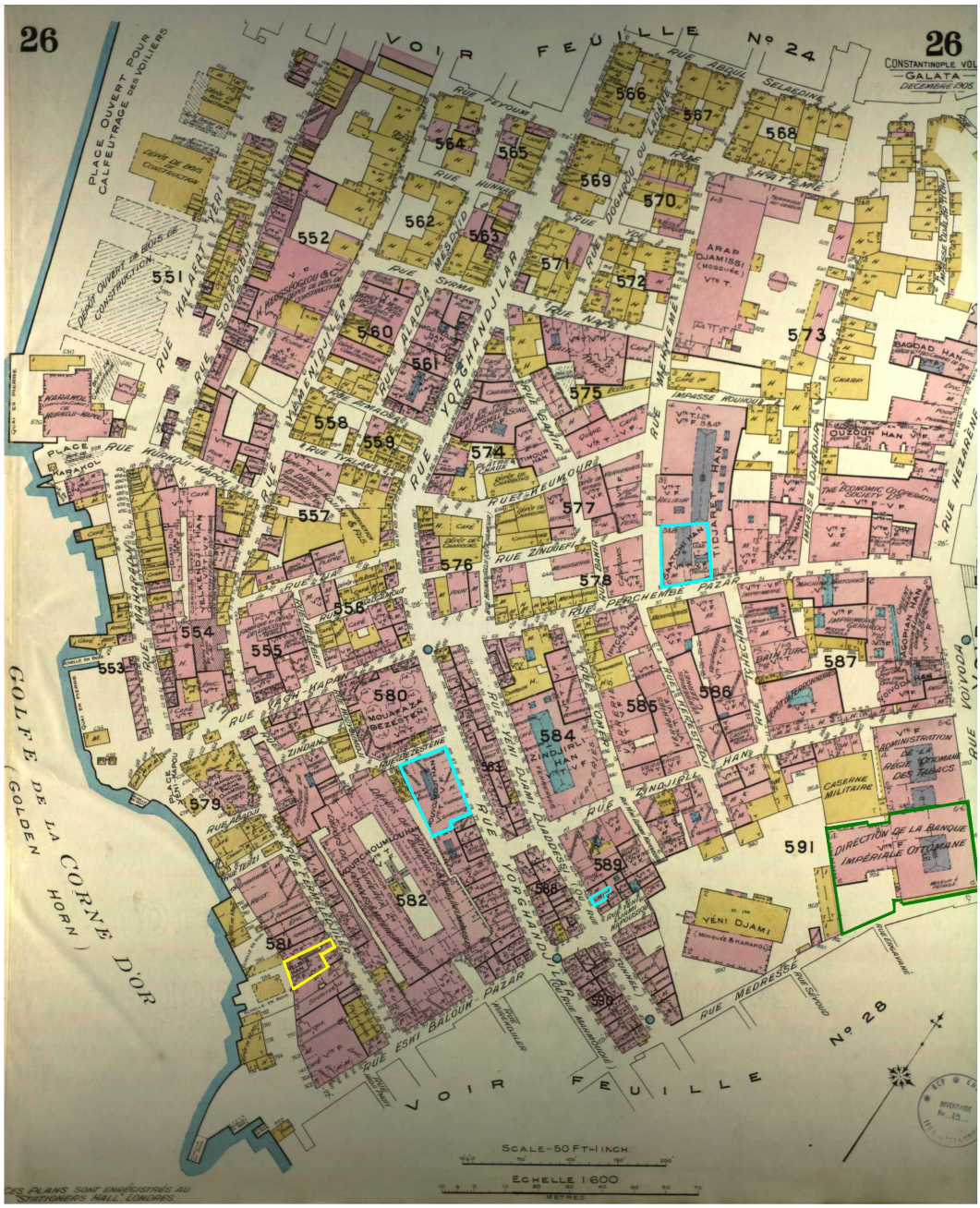
   Lu et approuvé
   Signé A. De Camondo

Les immeubles faisant seule partie de la société civile et constituant l'apport dont il y est fait mention sont les suivants.

....

Quoique les 55 propriétés ci dessus désignées soient inscrites:
Partie au nom du Comte Abram de Camondo
.....de la Comtesse Regina de Camondo
..... Elise de Camondo
La moitié seule de chacune de ces propriétés dépend de la succession de feu comte Abram de Camondo et il appert de l'acte sus énoncé et de documents signés par les susnommés que l'autre moitié est ma propriété personnelle.

Camondo's Poperty in Galata (I): In the Surroundings of Perşembe Pazarı



Source: IFEA Collection

Buildings traced in blue are Camondo's *hân*s; the one in yellow shows the Helbig property.

Saatçı Han in Perşembe Pazarı Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Kuyumcu Han in Tersane Avenue



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo's Property in Galata (II): In the Vicinity of the Bridge



Source: IFEA Collection

Buildings traced in blue are Camondo's *hân*s, that in yellow is the Helbig property.

Gül Kamondo Han in Billur Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Yakut Han in Billur Street. Detail of the Entrance



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Latif Han in Perçemli Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Selanik Han in Perçemli Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Lacivert Han in Perçemli Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo Han in Karaköy Square



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo's Property in Galata (III): Residences



Source: IFEA Collection

Buildings traced in blue are Camondo's buildings; the one in orange is the Helbig's property.

Camondo's apartment building in Felek Street, today used as a hotel



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

The ruined area of the Camondo's apartment building in Banker Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo’s apartment in Hacı Ali Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo's property at the corner of Lüleci Hendek



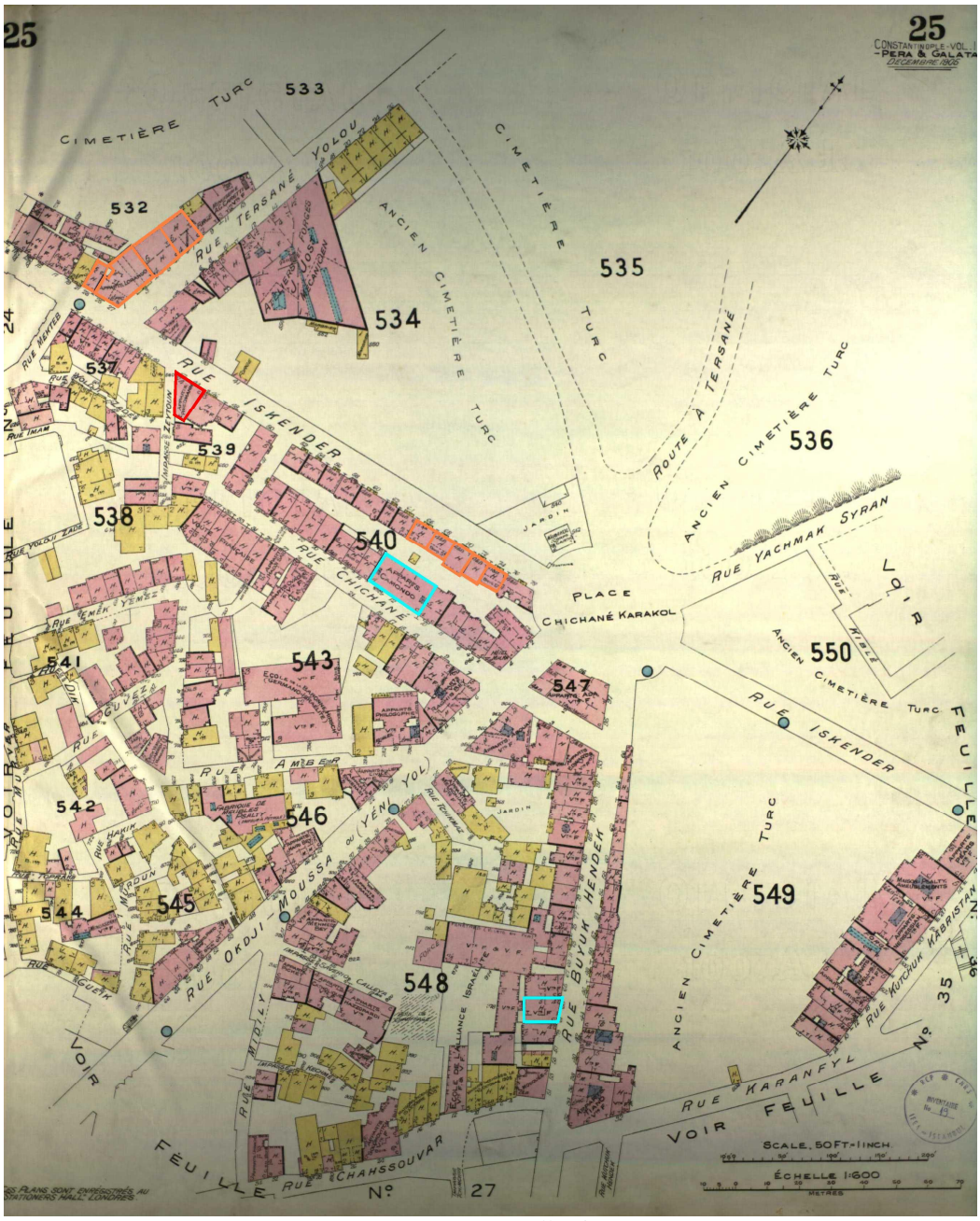
Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo's apartment building in Yazıcı Street, recently reconstructed



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camondo's Property in Galata (IV): In Şişhane



Source: IFEA Collection

Buildings traced in blue are Camondo's buildings; the one in orange is the Lorando's property and in red Friedman's property.

Camondo Han in Şişhane Street



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Camnodo's Property in Pera (I)
The colossal apartment building in blue, today in renovation.



Source: IFEA Collection

In red, Friedman's property

Camondo's Property in Pera (II)



Source: IFEA Collection

In blue, Camondo's property; in orange, Lorando's property; in red, Fridman's property; and in brown Azarian's property.

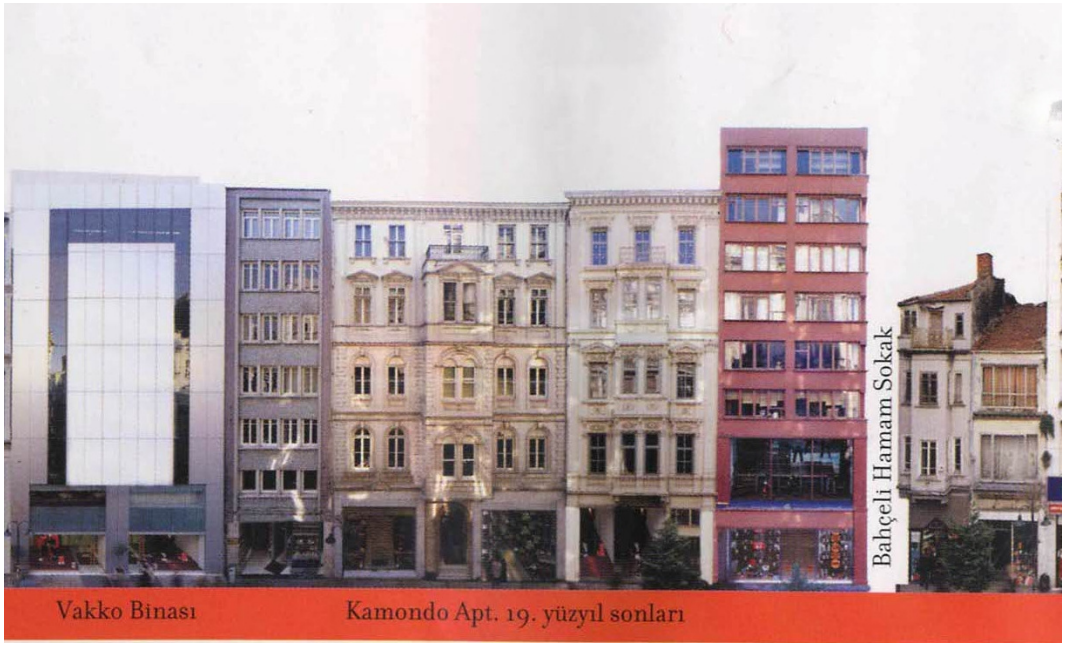
Camondo's Property in Pera (III)



Source: IFEA Collection

In blue, the prestigious apartment building of Camondos; and in purple, Ragıb Pasha's Rumeli Han

Camondo’s apartment in Pera



Source: Beyoğlu Belediyesi, 2004.

Camondo's Property in Stamboul



Source: IFEA Collection

In blue, Camondo Han in Mahmud Paşa Yokuşu; and down the slope the Barnathan Han

Camondo Lüleci Han in Mahmud Paşa Yokuşu



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Appendix CC: Lorando property: list, plan and photo

UNIT	TYPE	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	OWNER
6	DWELLING WITH LAUNDARY (1/2)	RUE ISKENDER 1, 5, 7, 9, 11 ET 3	TERSANE	GALATA	PARTLY MÜLK AND PARTLY VAKIF	MORTGAGE-HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
4	SHOPS AND DWELLINGS (1/2)	RUE ISKENDER 23, 25, 27, 29	TERSANE	GALATA	PARTLY MÜLK AND PARTLY VAKIF	MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
2	DWELLING (1/2)	RUE ISKENDER 66, 68	TERSANE	GALATA	MÜLK	MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
3	DWELLING	RUE ISKENDER 70, 72, 74	TERSANE	GALATA	MÜLK	MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
1	STABLES AND LAND	RUE ISKENDER 79	TERSANE	GALATA	MÜLK	MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
1	SHOP	PERA 332	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	PARTLY VAKIF - KÜÇÜK ALİ PAŞA AND AHMED AĞA OF BOSNIA, PARTLY MÜLK	HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO
1	SHOP	PERA 334	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	PARTLY VAKIF - KÜÇÜK ALİ PAŞA AND AHMED AĞA OF BOSNIA, PARTLY MÜLK	HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO

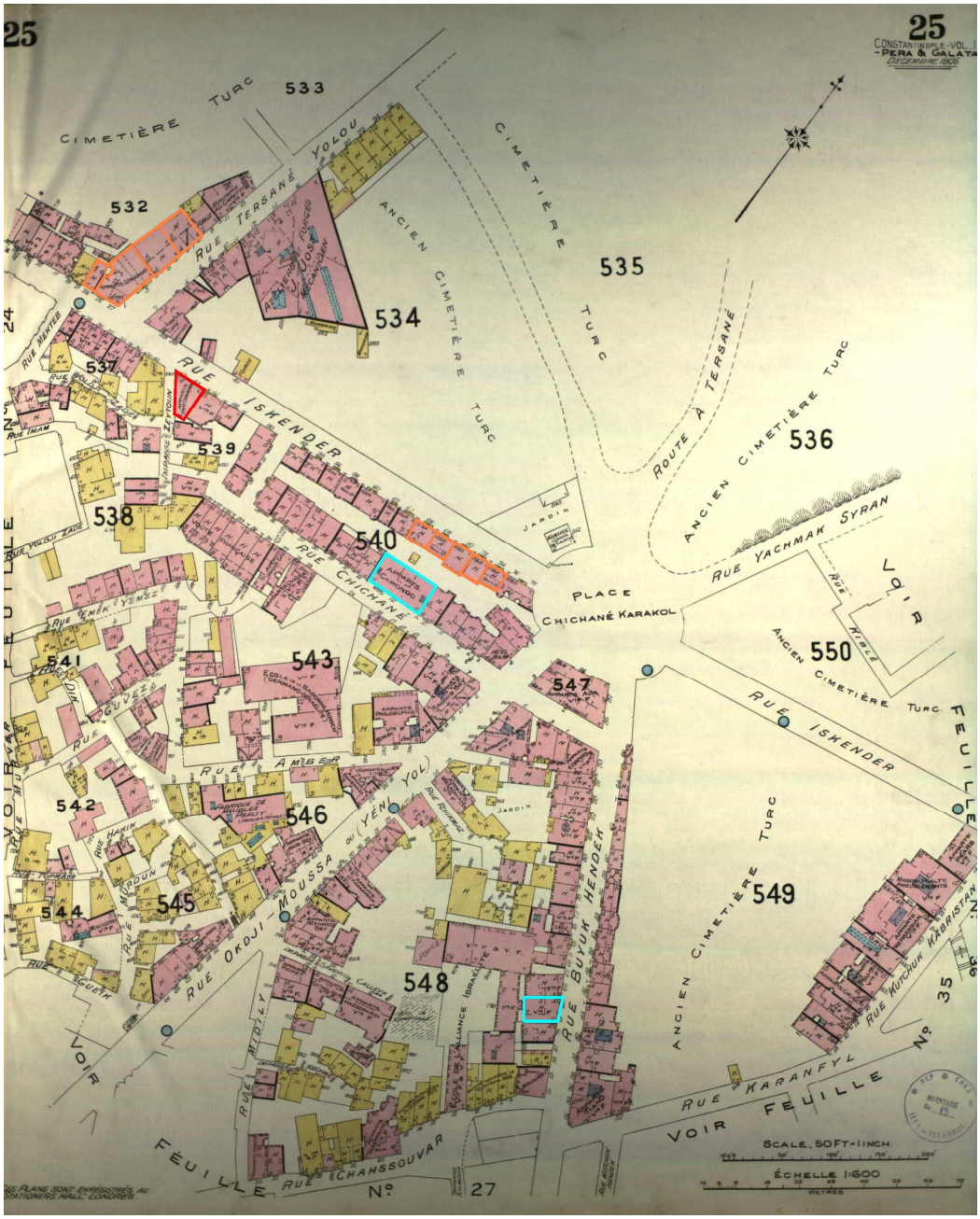
UNIT	TYPE	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	OWNER
1	SHOP	PERA 336	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	PARTLY VAKIF - KÜÇÜK ALİ PAŞA AND AHMED AĞA OF BOSNIA, PARTLY MÜLK	HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO
1	SHOP	PERA 338	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	PARTLY VAKIF - KÜÇÜK ALİ PAŞA AND AHMED AĞA OF BOSNIA, PARTLY MÜLK	HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO
1		PERA 340	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	PARTLY VAKIF - KÜÇÜK ALİ PAŞA AND AHMED AĞA OF BOSNIA, PARTLY MÜLK	MOITIE - JEAN LORANDO
1	APARTMENTS (11)	RUE GLAVANY 1, 3, 5	ASMALIMESCID	PERA		HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO
1	SHOP	RUE GLAVANY 5	ASMALIMESCID	PERA		HALF & HALF - ETIENNE ET JEAN LORANDO
1	SHOP	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 356	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	MÜLK	LOUISE LORANDO
1	SHOP	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 358	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	MÜLK	LOUISE LORANDO
1	SHOP	GRANDE RUE DE PERA 360	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	MÜLK	LOUISE LORANDO
1	DWELLING	IMPASSE LATIN NO:7		PERA		

UNIT	TYPE	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	OWNER
1	DWELLING WITH A SHOP UNDERNEATH	PERA 410	CALAFATÇI BAŞI	PERA	MÜLK	THE HALF OWNED BY JEAN LORANDO
1	DWELLING WITH A SHOP UNDERNEATH	RUE POLOGNE 38, YENI TCHARCHI 18 (78?)	TOM TOM	PERA	SULTAN SELIM III	OWNED ENTIRELY BY ETIENNE LORANDO
1	DWELLING (1/2)	RUE MEZARLIK 25	ASMALIMESCID	PERA	MÜLK	MORTGAGE - HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
1	LAND / CASINO WITH GARDEN	BEKDJI 12	PANCALDI - NIŞANTAŞI	PERA	VAKIF - SULTAN BAYAZID HAN	OWNED ENTIRELY BY ETIENNE LORANDO
1	DWELLING (1/2)	RUE ICADIYE 13	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY	MÜLK	THE HALF OWNED BY JEAN LORANDO
1	DWELLING (1/2)	RUE ICADIYE 17	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY	SULTAN SELIM III	OWNED ENTIRELY BY ETIENNE LORANDO
1	DWELLING / LAND / GARDEN WITH KAYIKHANE	LORANDO 7 - KUTCHUK MODA	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY		OWNED ENTIRELY BY ETIENNE LORANDO
1	VIGNEYARD	RUE MODA 1	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY		MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO

UNIT	TYPE	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	CATEGORY - NAME OF THE VAKIF	OWNER
1	COFFEEHOUSE AND GARDEN	RUE MODA 3	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY		MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
1	DWELLING	RUE MODA 4	CAFER AĞA	KADIKEUY		MORTGAGE -HEIRS OF ETIENNE LORANDO
37						

Source: OBA, XKHY002 00541, “Titres de propriété et d’hypothèque. Successions Etienne et Louise Lorando”, n.d.

Lorando's Property in Galata



Source : IFEA Collection

Lorando's Property in Pera



Source : IFEA Collection

In orange, Lorando's Property; in brown, Azarian's property; in blue Camondo's property; in red Fridman's property.

Lorando's Property at the Corner of Nuru Ziya and Yeni Çarşı Streets



Photo : İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Appendix DD: Deveaux Street and property: plans and photo



Source: IFEA Collection

In blue, Deveaux's Property, in purple Ragıb Pasha's Anadolu Han



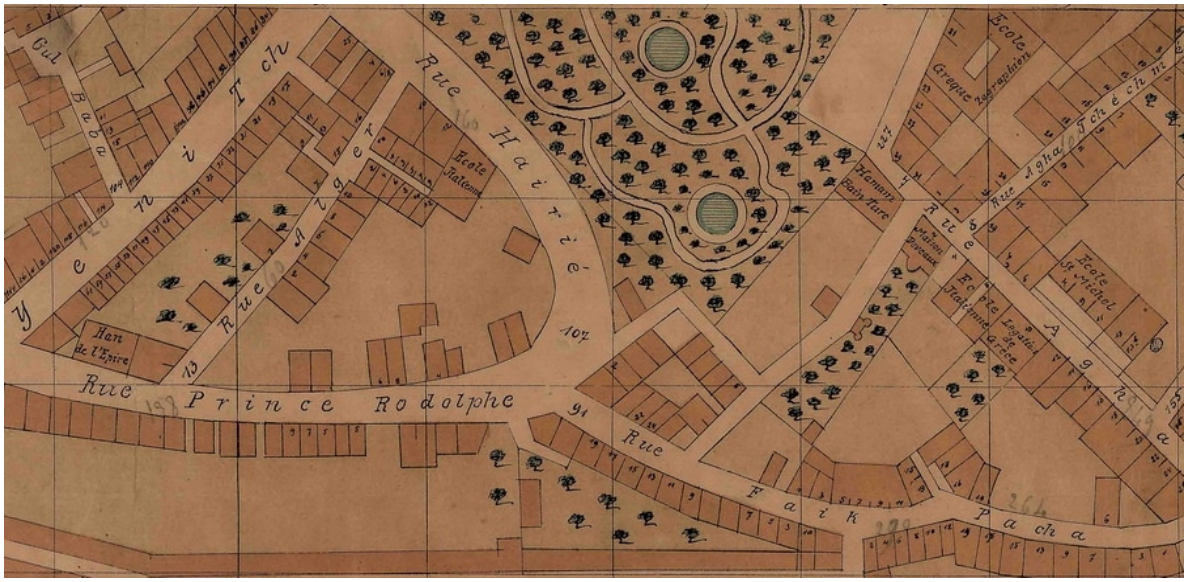
Source: *Beyoğlu 1930, Selâhattin Giz'in Fotoğraflarıyla 1930'larda Beyoğlu* (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayıncılık, Galeri Alfa, n.d.), p. 69.

The wall of the garden belonging to the ruined mansion of Deveaux in Ağa Hamam Street



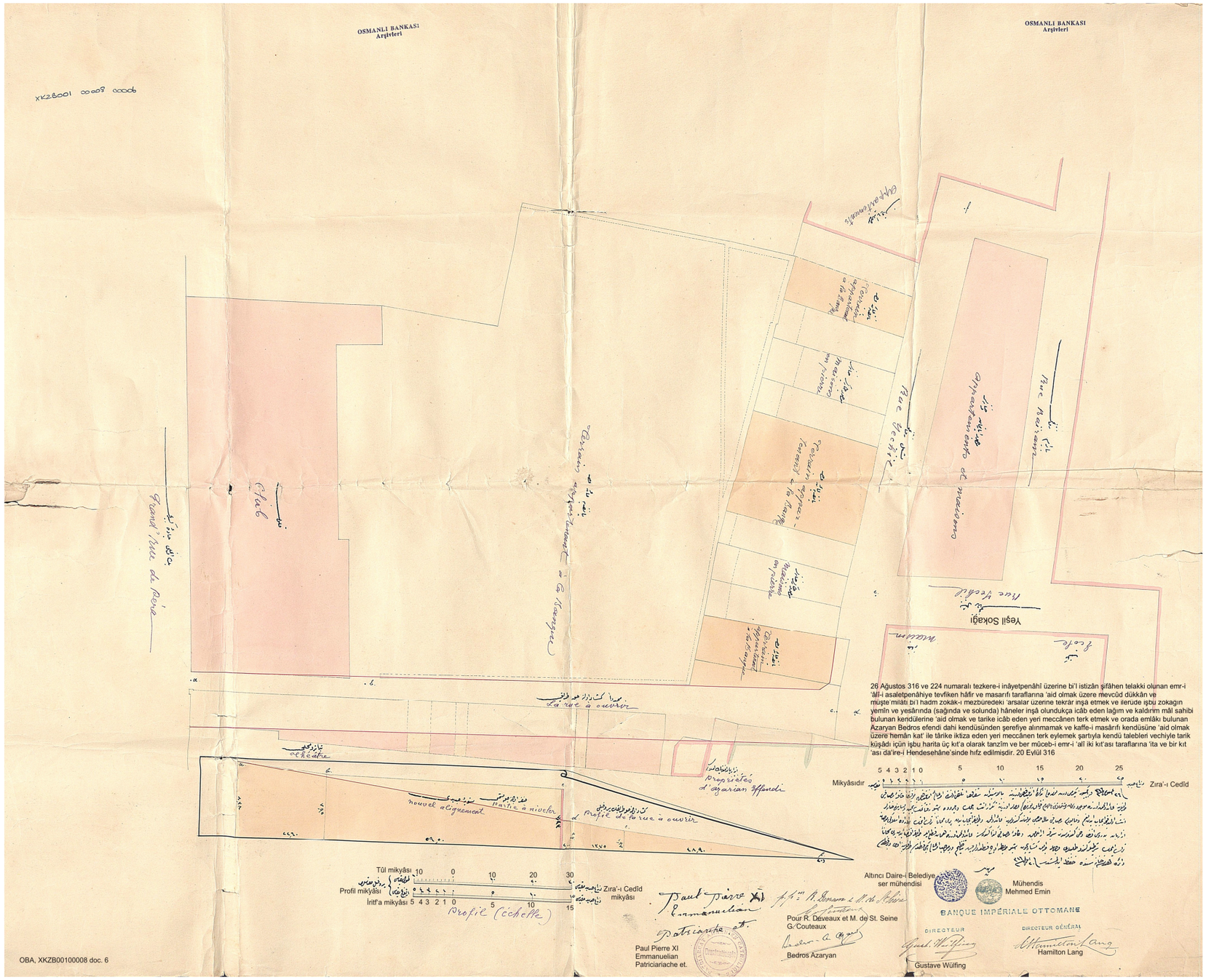
Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

The location of the Deveaux's mansion in the Huber's Plan



Source: Atatürk Library

Plan illustrating the opening of the Deveaux Street in Pera



Source: OBA, XKZB001 00008, “Documents de Zia Bey. Divers”, October 3, 1900.

Appendix EE: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's prestige property

	DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	CADASTRAL ESTIMATION (LİRA)	VALAURI'S ESTIMATIO N OR PRICE (LİRA)	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NOTES
1	DWELLING	RUE AYAZ PACHA 19, 15 ET 79	x	P	CHRISTINE PANGIRIS	x			
1	DWELLING IN A GARDEN	RUE AKHOUR 18 ET 20	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	H. FOSTER - LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	1.300	1.881	SULTAN BEYAZID	SOLD TO G. CARTALI
1	DWELLING OF THE MANAGER	RUE AKHOUR 26	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	H. FOSTER - LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	1.500	5.823	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	DWELLING OF THE GENERAL MANAGER	RUE AYAS PACHA, TAXIM - RUE AGHATCH ALTI 44 ET 46	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	H. FOSTER - C.W. MILLS-LONDRES	9.000	24.617	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	LAND	RUE AKHOUR 12	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	280		SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	LAND	RUE MEZARLIK 43	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	200	200	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	WOODEN DWELLING (LAND)	RUE MOUKHTAR 10	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	800	150	SULTAN BEYAZID	1/8 AND 7/8
1	DWELLING (LAND)	RUE MOUKHTAR 12	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	200	120	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	DEMOLISHED DWELLING (LAND)	RUE MOUKHTAR 8	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	300	300		
1	DWELLING AND STABLES	RUE TARLA 11 ET RUE MOUKHTAR 6	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	605	605		

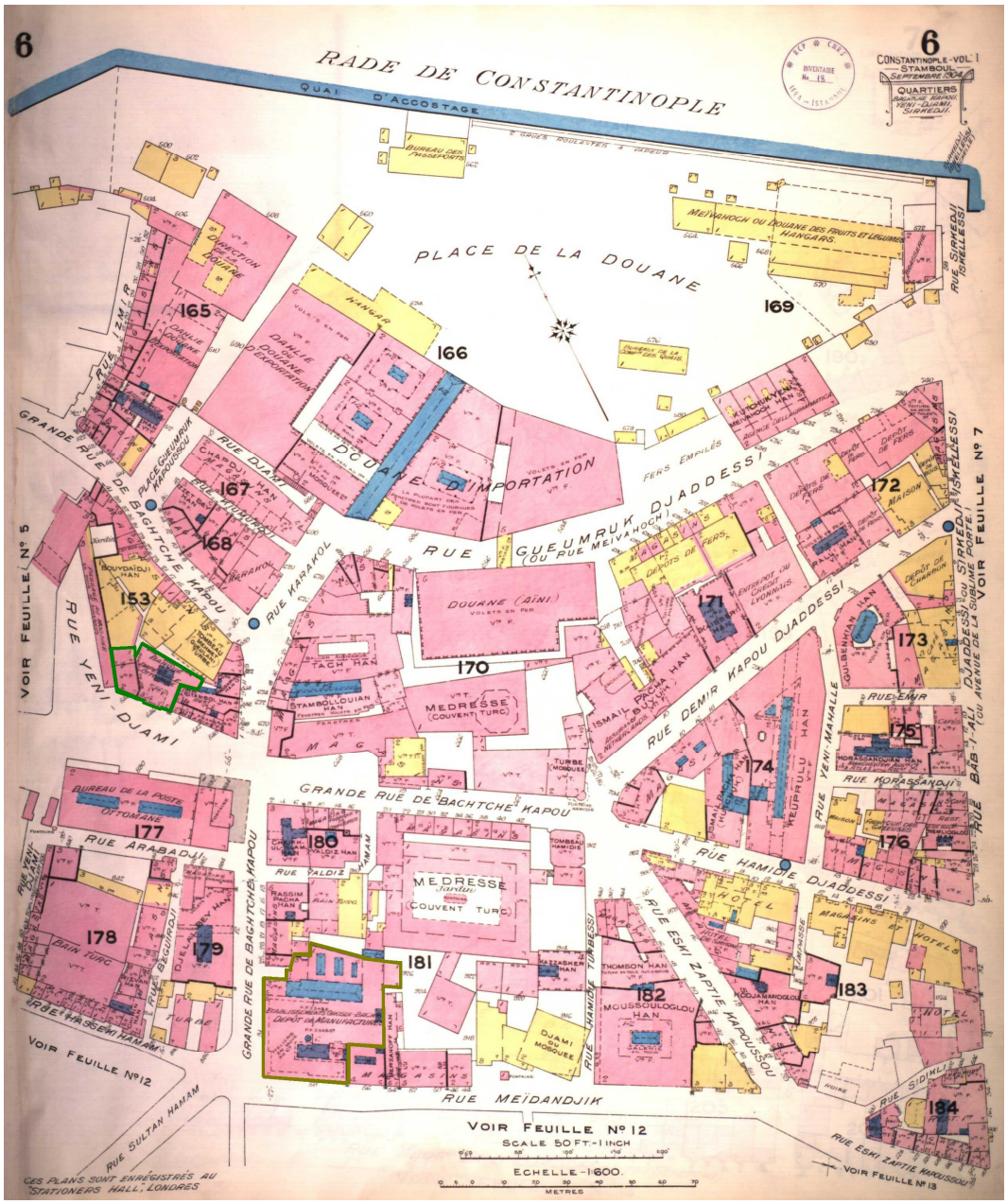
	DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	CADASTRAL ESTIMATION (LİRA)	VALAURI'S ESTIMATIO N OR PRICE (LİRA)	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NOTES
1	DWELLING AND STABLES	RUE TARLA 3-5 (ECURIE) ET MEZARLIK 45 (MAISON)	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	1.000	1.000	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	STONE DWELLING	RUE TARLA 7 ET 9	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	800	650	SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	DWELLINGS (2)	RUE TARLA 8, 10, 12	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	30		VAKIF	THE LAND WAS INCLUDED IN THE GARDEN OF THE DWELLING IN 26 AKHOUR STREET AND THE TENNIS COURT OF THE GENERAL DIRECTOR
1	DEMOLISHED DWELLING (LAND)	RUE TARLA 14	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	G. WÜLFING	300		SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	LAND	RUE AKHOUR 12	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	G. AUBOYNEAU	280		SULTAN BEYAZID	x
1	LAND	RUE TARLA 2, 4, 6	KAZANDJI BACHI	P	F. AUBOYNEAU	680	700	SULTAN BEYAZID	THE LAND WAS INCLUDED IN THE GARDEN OF THE DWELLING IN 26 AKHOUR STREET AND THE TENNIS COURT OF THE GENERAL DIRECTOR

	DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	CADASTRAL ESTIMATION (LİRA)	VALAURI'S ESTIMATIO N OR PRICE (LİRA)	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NOTES
2	DWELLING, ANNEX OF THE HEADQUARTER	IMPASSE BAICOUCH 1	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	400	400	CEDID VALIDE SULTAN	x
2	LAND	IMPASSE BAICOUCH 7	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	260	258	CEDID VALIDE SULTAN	x
2	LAND (2 PLOTS) - GUARDIANS - WOODEN REMISE	IMPASSE BAICOUCHE 5 ET 9	YENİ CAMİ	G	NOURY BEY, CHEF DE BUREAU A LA COMPTABILITE DU MALIE, DETACHE A LA B.I.O	400	500	CEDID VALIDE SULTAN	x
2	DWELLING	RUE AYAZMA 7	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	250			
2	DWELLING AND LAND, ANNEX OF THE HEADQUARTER	RUE BAICOUCH 11	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	214		CEDID VALIDE SULTAN	x
2	DEMOLISHED STONE DWELLING (LAND)	RUE BAICOUCH 13	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	340	620		
2	DEMOLISHED DWELLING, ANNEX TO THE HEADQUARTER	RUE BAICOUCH 3	YENİ CAMİ	G	LA FUENTE - F. AUBOYNEAU	310	340	CEDID VALIDE SULTAN	x
2	HEADQUARTER	RUE VOIVODE	YENİ CAMİ	G	REGIE		61.300		

	DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS	DISTRICT	REGION	REGISTRATION IN THE NAME OF	CADASTRAL ESTIMATION (LİRA)	VALAURI'S ESTIMATIO N OR PRICE (LİRA)	NAME OF THE VAKIF	NOTES
3	2 DWELLINGS IN STAMBOUL (SS)	RUE TCIKMAZ KIRCI NO:10-12	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	LA FUENTE				
3	STONE BUILDING OF THE STAMBOUL BRANCH	RUE YENI CAMİ AVLUSU ET ÇIKMAZ KIRBACI, BAĞÇEKAPU	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	LA FUENTE	3.555	19.350	VAKIF	
3	2 SHOPS IN STAMBOUL (SS)	RUE YENI CAMİ CHERIF AVLUSU NO 7 ET 8	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	LA FUENTE				
3	3 SHOPS IN STAMBOUL (SS)	RUE YENI CAMİ CHERIF AVLUSU NO 9 & 10	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	LA FUENTE				
3		RUE KIRBACI 8	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	J. DEFFES				
3		RUE YENI CAMİ CHERIF AVLUSU 11 ET 11BIS	ÇELEBİOĞLU HOCA ALAEDDİN - ŞEYH MEHMED GEYLANİ	S	J. DEFFES				,,

Sources: BOA, Y.A.RES 146-30 "Bank-ı 'Osmânî'nin teferruğ eylediği emlâkın tashîh-i kaydı", 1325.Ra.22, (5.5.1907); OBA, XKZB001 00004, "Banque Impériale Ottomane. Propriétés", 4.12.1896; OBA, IMRE002, "B.I.O. Immeubles", 4.4.1897-14.12.1907; OBA, XKHY003 00003, " Banque Impériale Ottomane. Immeubles. Hypothèques", June 1894; OBA, XKHY003 00007, "Banque Impériale Ottomane. Immeubles. Hypothèques", 1893.

Location of the Imperial Ottoman Bank Branch in Stamboul



Source: IFEA Collection

Bank's Stamboul branch built by Alexandre Vallauri in 1895



Photo: İzzet Baruh (October 2008)

The Imperial Ottoman Bank in Galata



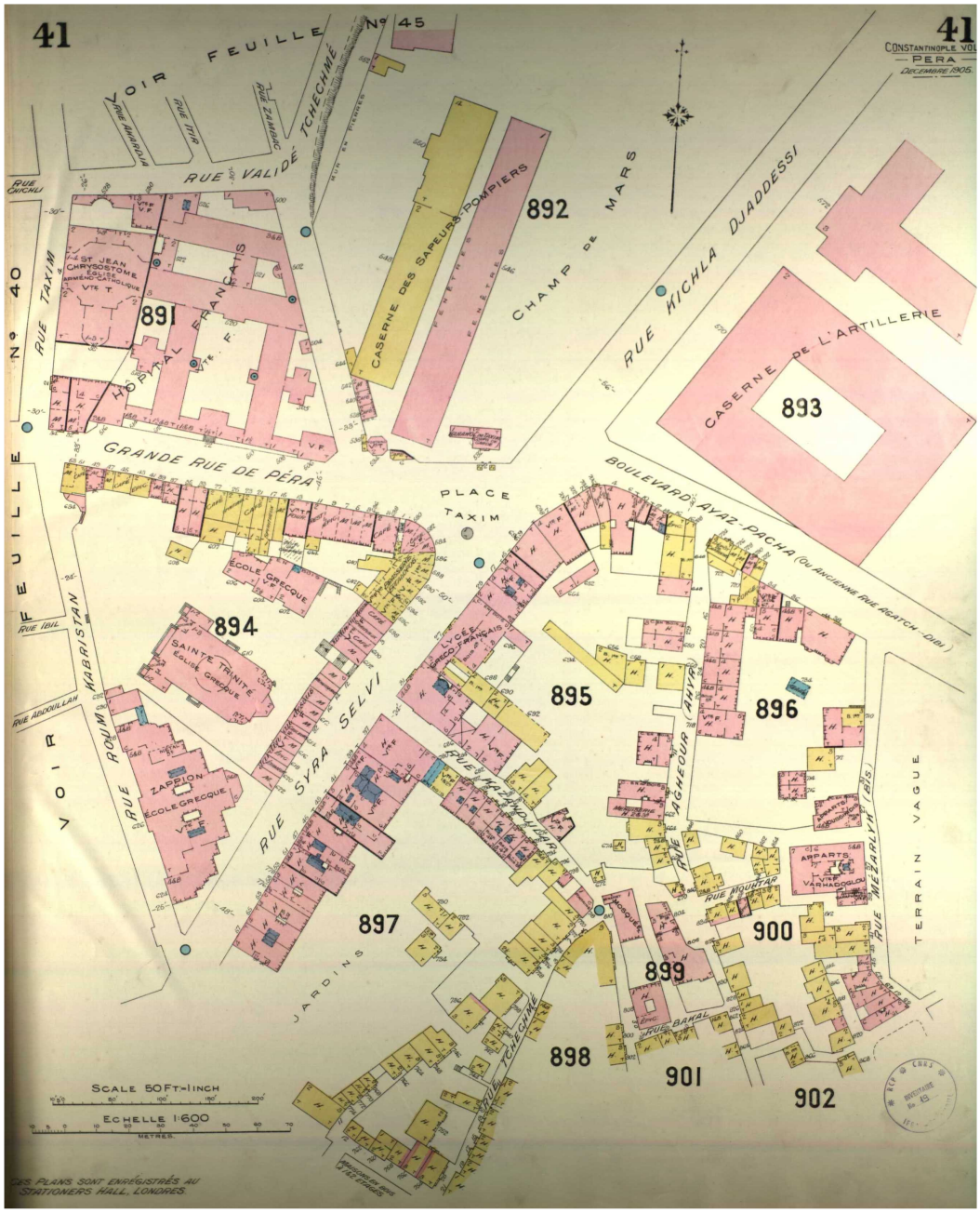
Source: OBA, IMHIST007K, Banque Impériale Ottomane

Annex built in 1896 between Yeni Camii and bank's headquarters in Galata



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

The General Director's mansion and plot of land belonging to the Imperial Ottoman Bank from the plan of Goad



Source: IFEA Collection

The General Director’s mansion in Taksim



Source: OBA, IMHIST001C, Immeubles. Istanbul. Taksim, n.d.

Imperial Ottoman Bank Property in Osmanlı Bankası Street in Taksim



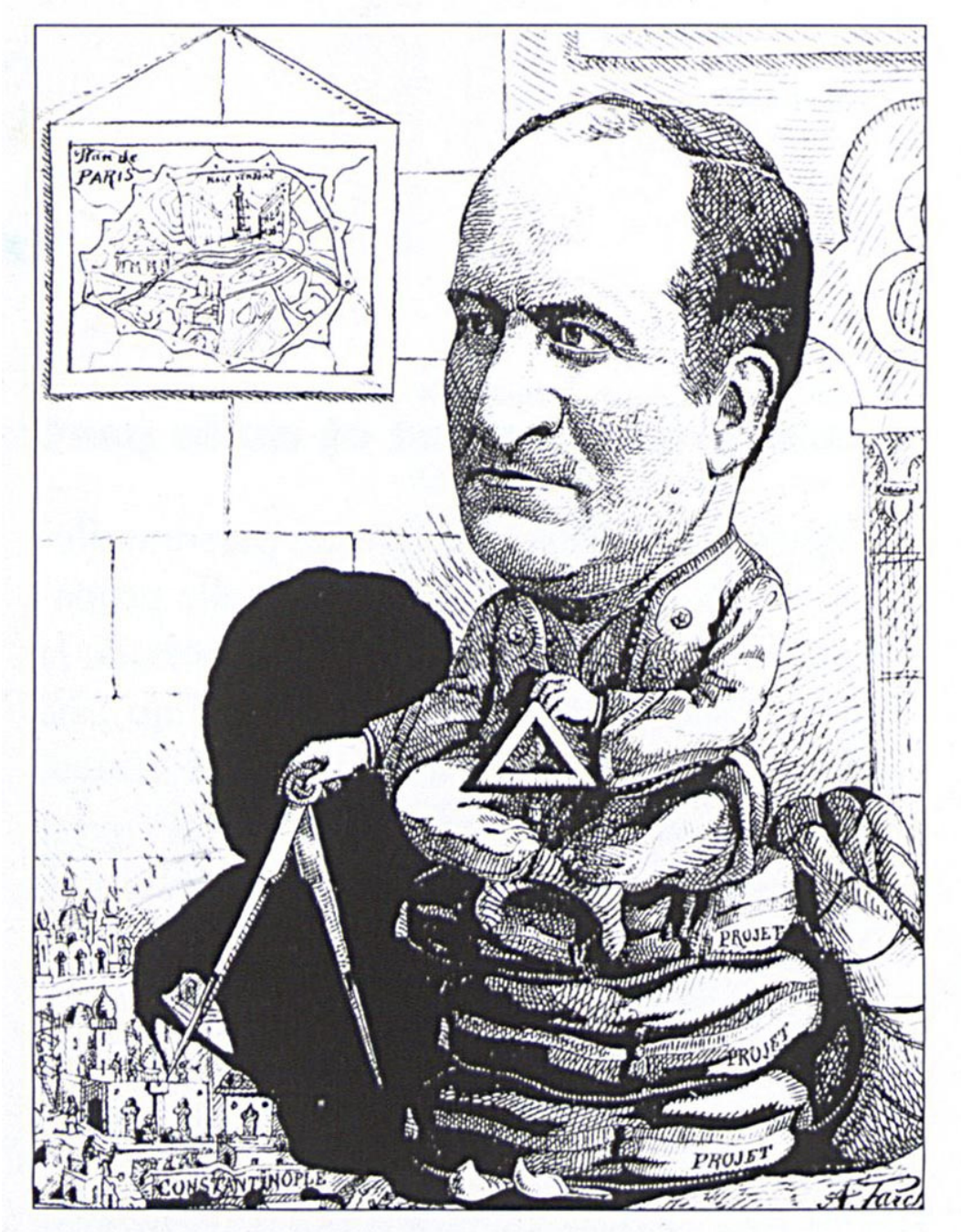
Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Pangiris' mansion in Ayazpaşa Avenue transformed into the Consulate of Japan until it moved a few years ago



Photo: İzzet Baruh (September 2008)

Appendix FF: Caricature of Haussman representing him regulating the urban fabric of Istanbul



Source: Pierre Pinon, *Atlas du Paris haussmanien, la ville en heritage du Second Empire à nos jours*, (Paris: Parigramme, 2002), p. 188.

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A.MKT.NZD, Sadaret, Mektubî Kalemi, Nezaret ve Devâir Evrakı
DH.ID, Dahiliye, İdari Kısım Belgeleri
DH.MKT, Dahiliye, Mektubi Kalemi
DH.MUI, Dahiliye, Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi
DH.UMVM, Dahiliye, Umur-ı Mahalliye ve Vilayat
EV, Evkaf Nezareti
HR.TO, Hariciye Nezareti, Tercüme Odası
İ.DFE, İradeler, Defter-i Hakani
İ.DUİT, İradeler, Dosya Usulü
İ.HR, İradeler, Hariciye
İ.ML, İradeler, Maliye
İ.MMS, İradeler, Meclis-i Mahsus
İ.MVL, İradeler, Meclis-i Vâlâ
MV, Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları
Y.A.HUS, Yıldız, Hususî Maruzat Evrakı
Y.A.RES, Yıldız, Resmî Maruzat Evrakı
Y.EE, Yıldız, Esas Evrakı
Y.PRK.AZJ, Yıldız, Perakende Evrakı, Arzuhal ve Jurnaller
Y.PRK.AZN, Yıldız, Perakende Evrakı, Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti Maruzatı
Y.PRK.ML, Yıldız, Perakende Evrakı, Maliye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y.PRK.SGE, Yıldız, Perakende Evrakı, Mâbeyn Erkânı ve Saray Görevlileri Arîzaları
Y. PRK.TNF, Yıldız, Perakende Evrakı, Ticaret ve Nâfia Nezareti Maruzatı

Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, Karaköy – Istanbul (OBAAM)

CDPV, Comité de direction, procès verbaux
CGVRP, Comité de direction, rapports avec le Gouvernement
IMDIV, Immeubles, divers
IMH, Immeubles, photographies
IMRE, Immeubles, registres
OFT, Operation, fiches des dépôts de titres
PHINP, Personnel, photographies, portraits
PP, Personnel, dossiers
XKAD, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, avances sur garanties diverses
XKCRG, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, créance à régler
XKHY, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, hypothèque
XKLI, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, litige
XKSO, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, successions ottomanes/Turques

XKSE, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, successions étrangères
XKZB, Contentieux, dossiers de clients, documents de Zia Bey

Saint Peter Church Archive, Galata – Istanbul (SP)

SPC, Saint Pierre à Galata, Couvent
SPP, Saint Pierre à Galata, Paroisse

Archives du Musée de Nissim de Camondo, Paris (AMNC)

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