THE *HAN*

IN EIGHTEENTH- AND EARLY NINETEENTH- CENTURY ISTANBUL:

A SPATIAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL ANALYSIS

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BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

The *Han* in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century Istanbul:

A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis

This thesis aims to examine the *han* in Ottoman Istanbul in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By thinking on history in its spatial dimensions, it attempts to analyze early modern Istanbul *han*s within the framework of four main concepts: space, construction, conviviality, and surveillance. Through the focus on urban *han*s, this thesis endeavours to offer new perspectives on a number of issues regarding the city. These issues include the spatial topography of the urban *han*s within the city, the construction of the urban commercial infrastructure, everyday interaction in public spaces, and the morality-centered surveillance mechanisms of the political power over these spaces.

This thesis argues that the commercial spaces of the early modern Ottoman capital took their ultimate form in the eighteenth century. This process started with the closing of the market region with a roof in 1701, quickened by the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Complex near the *Bedestan* in 1755, and continued with the construction of Büyük Yeni Han in 1763 and multitude of others in the commercial district. By focusing on the new *han* projects in the eighteenth century with their transformative consequence on the landscape of Istanbul and their revitalized role, this thesis claims that the Ottoman sultan, by getting involved in the economic and spatial realms, reestablished the presence of the dynasty in the commercial district of the Ottoman capital.

This thesis also attempts to make new contributions to the study of Istanbul *han*s particularly focusing on their use and the political authority's control over them. In this manner, it spatializes the public realm within the context of early modern Istanbul, as a domain where conviviality, sociality, and theatricality are embedded. By analyzing the Ottoman political language that dealt with the public manifestations shaped in and around the *han* as *mefasid* (evils), it also examines the surveillance mechanisms of the political authority over the *han*s in the context of public order.

ÖZET

On Sekizinci ve Erken On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıllarda İstanbul Hanları: Mekânsal, Topoğrafik ve Toplumsal Bir Analiz

Bu doktora tezi on sekizinci ve erken on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı İstanbulu hanlarını incelemektedir. Tarihi mekânsal dinamiklerle birlikte düşünerek, erken modern İstanbul hanlarını, mekân, inşa, biraradalık ve gözetim kavramları çerçevesinde analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, şehir hanlarına odaklanarak, İstanbul hanlarının mekânsal topoğrafyası, şehrin ticari altyapısının inşası, kamu mekânlarında gündelik etkileşimler ve siyasi iktidarın kamu mekânı üzerindeki ahlak merkezli gözetim mekanizmaları gibi mevzuları ele almaktadır.

Bu doktora tez çalışması erken modern Osmanlı başkentinin ticari mekânlarının on sekizinci yüzyılda nihai biçimine ulaştığını ileri sürmektedir. Bu süreç 1701 yılında çarşı bölgesinin üstünün kapatılması ile başlamış olup 1755 tarihinde Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi'nin bedesten yakınında inşası ile hızlanmış ve 1763'te Büyük Yeni Han'ın ve ticari bölgede diğer çok sayıdaki hanın inşasıyla devam etmiştir. Bu bağlamda on sekizinci yüzyıl İstanbul'unda şehir mekânındaki dönüştürücü etkileri ve canlandırıcı rolleriyle yeni han projelerine odaklanarak, bu tez çalışması Osmanlı sultanının başkentin ticari bölgesinde, ekonomik ve ticaret alanına müdahil olarak mevcudiyetini yeniden tesis ettiğini ileri sürmektedir.

Bu doktora tez çalışması özellikle hanların kullanımı ve hanlar üzerindeki siyasi iktidarın kontrol meselelerini merkeze alarak İstanbul han çalışmalarına yeni katkılarda bulunmayı da amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda erken modern İstanbul'u kamu alanını, biraradalığın, sosyalleşmenin ve teatralliğin alanı olarak mekânsallaştırmaktadır. Ayrıca hanların içinde ve etrafında gerçekleşen kamusal dışavurumları *mefasid* olarak gören Osmanlı siyasi söylemini inceleyerek, siyasi iktidarın kamu düzeni bağlamında hanlar üzerindeki gözetim mekanizmalarını analiz etmektedir.

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Yaslandın mı çınar gibidir onlar sardın mı umut gibi.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.DVN.d	Bab-ı Asafi Divan-ı Hümayun (Beylikçi) Kalemi
A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d	İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri
A.DVNS.MHM.d	Mühimme Defterleri
A.DVNS.ŞKT.d	Atik Şikayet Defterleri
A.DVNS.TZEİ.d	Bab-ı Asafi Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri Tevziat, Zehair, Esnaf ve İhtisab Defterleri
A.MKT.MHM	Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı
AKD	Askeri Kassam Defterleri
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C.AS	Cevdet Askeriye
C.BLD	Cevdet Belediye
C.DH	Cevdet Dâhiliye
C.EV	Cevdet Evkaf
C.ML	Cevdet Maliye
C.SM	Cevdet Saray
D.BŞM.BNE.d	Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Bina Eminliği Defterleri
D.BŞM.d	Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi Defterleri
D.BŞM.ŞHE.d	Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Şehremini Defterleri
D.BŞM.TRE.d	Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Tersane Emini Defterleri
D.BŞM.ZCR.d	Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Zecriye Kalemi Defterleri
EV.d	Evkaf Defterleri
EV.HMH.d	Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği Defterleri
GIS	Geographic Information System
HAT	Hatt-ı Hümayun
KK.d	Kamil Kepeci Müteferrik Defterleri
MAD	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri
ML.MSF.d	Maliye Masarıfat Defterleri
NFS.d	Nüfus Defterleri
ŞS	Şeriyye Sicilleri
TS.MA.d	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defterleri
VGMA	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü
Y.A.HUS	Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat Evrakı

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history...
The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space.

M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces"[1]

A growing number of historians have turned their interest to space as a means to understand historical, social, cultural processes by focusing on built, perceived, imagined and experienced spaces. This thesis falls within this trend in its attempt to analyze the urban *han*s of early modern Ottoman Istanbul by focusing on the themes of setting, constructing, experiencing and controlling space.

This thesis focuses on the eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century Istanbul, a period that displays differences from both the previous and later eras. This time period, especially in terms of the commercial spaces of the Ottoman capital, starts with the construction of a roof over the market region to create the covered bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı*) and the return of the sultan's residence permanently to Istanbul following the *Edirne Incident* in 1703 and continues up until the beginning of the *Tanzimat* reforms. As demonstrated in the following chapters of the thesis, this is the period in which Mehmed the Conqueror's project of building an 'imperial capital' takes its ultimate form in terms of commercial structures.[2] In other words, the process that starts with the creation of the covered bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı*) in 1701, that speeds up with the construction of the sultanic complex (*külliye*) near the *Bedestan* in

[1] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 46.

[2] For discussion of the constructing vision of imperial capital by Mehmed II, see. Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*.

1755, and that continues with the construction of a multitude of *han*s, carries the pre-modern project of building an imperial Ottoman capital to its completion. At the same time, these commercial infrastructure buildings had a profound and transformative effect on the landscape of Istanbul, spreading the new style along the capital's thoroughfares and market areas.

Urban *han*s are arguably the most instrumental construction type for those interested in understanding this process. To discuss urban *han*s that were similar to building complexes due to the diversity of its elements such as rooms, courtyards, small mosque, coffee shop, stables, shops, and vaults, requires discussion of many issues. These issues range from commerce, construction activities, rebellions and waves of migration into the city to consumption substances, addictive habits, urban control mechanisms, and socialization dynamics. In this context, the *han* buildings with their revitalized role in the eighteenth century, confront us as a comprehensive microcosm of what was happening in the architectural, social, economic and political milieu of the capital during this period. The intense documentational activity that commenced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the new types of archival documents that emerge in this period are also important factors that rendered this study feasible.

In general, the terminology used in relation to *han*-type structures in the Ottoman world is not very definite. In Ottoman Turkish, the term *han* was used in many cases interchangeably with the term caravanserai (*kervansaray*) which comes from Persian. Even in archival documents we see these two terms used interchangeably for similar structures. However, in general usage, the term *caravanserai* is used for a building on travel routes, "a building for the lodging of individual wayfarers and travelling groups, including pilgrims, trade caravans, and

military contingents."[3] Whereas *han* is used for an urban structure which functions as "a depot, a place for commercial transactions and brief stay."[4] The most basic distinction in this definition is that, even though both terms refer to buildings with similar functions, *caravanserai* was located on travel routes between cities while *han*s were located in the urban centers.[5]

However, this definition is not completely clear and many examples seem to contradict this distinction. For example, in the context of Ottoman Istanbul, some urban structures (such as *Atîk Valide Kervansarayı* located at edge of Üsküdar and designed as part of a *menzil külliyesi*) had similar functions to the ones located on travel routes. Similarly, the term *caravanserai* was also used for urban structures as the one located within the Süleymaniye Complex, which provided accommodation for travellers and their animals.[6] Archival documents from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries generally refer to such buildings sometimes as *han* and sometimes as *caravanserai* (as in 'Han-ı Bodrum' and 'Molla Gürani Kervansarayı') even though these documents make no distinction between these structures in terms of their architectural appearance or their functions. Writing in the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi categorizes these structures into two as *hacegan hanları* and

[3] Kleiss, "Caravanserai, Iranian."

[4] Elisséeff, "Han."

[5] At the same time, the vocabulary used for this type of commercial buildings geographically differ due to the use of different languages and very different realities. For example, in the Arab provinces, especially in Cairo, *funduq, qaysariyya, wakala* have been used instead of the term *han*. In Egypt, *funduq* is synonymous with *han*. The term seems to have gone to the Italian, see *Fondaco dei Turchi* in Venice. For the urban *han*s in Arabian provinces, see. Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*; Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; Wolf, "The Construction of Ottoman Aleppo: Modes and Meanings of Urban (re-) Organization." For the pre-Ottoman antecedents of Ottoman *han*s, see. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World* and Concina, *Fondaci. Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*.

[6] For a discussion of the distinction between caravanserais and *han*s, see Pinon-Demircivi, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs: formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIe s. et le milieu du XIXe s," 44-54; Ersoy, "Façade Compositions of Ottoman City-Hans," 297-303.

kervansaray, however he creates a third category by using both terms together for the same building: *Kurşunlu Han Kervansarayı, Vefa Hanı Kervansarayı, Atpazarı Hanı Kervansarayı.*[7] These *han*s probably served the double function of being commercial spaces for merchants and accommodation spaces for caravans. In the same vein, as Kuran points out, Rustem Pasha Han in Edirne combines a merchant's *han* with a caravanserai. The *han* section consists of rooms on two floors in a vast rectangular courtyard, the adjoining caravanserai section stands on its own courtyard with stable and kitchen in ground floor and guest rooms on the upper room.[8] As seen in these examples, in archival documents of fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these two terms are used as equivalents of each other. However, with the beginning of the eighteenth century, the term *caravanserai* was abandoned in favor of the term *han* to describe the structures in the Ottoman capital. In fact, starting from the middle of the eighteenth century, we do not encounter the use of the term *caravanserai* for Istanbul's commercial buildings. In this manner, the term *han* used in this thesis can be defined as referring to 'semi-public and semi-private urban spaces that were open to (generally) men and used by merchants, artisans, soldiers, travellers and the city residents for trade, production, accommodation, and socialization.' The functional and architectural qualities of urban *han*s as well as issues of scale, will be discussed in relevant parts of the rest of this thesis.

1.1 Thinking with space

The approach that puts space in the foreground has had an important place in the last three decades in social sciences, particularly in historical studies. A renewed interest

[7] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi /1. kitap*.
[8] Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," 121.

for studies of space emerged in 1991 with the publication of the English translation of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, which he originally published in French in 1974.[9] In his work, Lefebvre challenges the conventional imagination of space as an abstract concept and as a passive carrier, and offers an approach that socially contextualizes space and puts it in the center of production processes. Lefebvre uses three important categories of the inseparable moments of spatial production as "lived space, perceived space, and conceived space" and discusses these three dimensions of space as corresponding to physical, mental, and social spaces in practice. In addition to Lefebvre's work, the works of two other French social scientists, Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau, have closely affected the studies of space. The common point of these three social scientists is that they free space from Cartesian philosophy and Euclidian geometry, and present a perspective that is based on the interaction between space and actors, whether collective or individual. In this context, Foucault's concept of *heterotopia*,[10] Lefebvre's three-way dialectic of lived, perceived, and conceived space[11] and de Certeau's approach on the practice of everyday life[12] offer important insights in the area of spatial studies.

The approaches developed by Lefebvre, Foucault, de Certeau and other thinkers (David Harvey[13], Georg Simmel, Pierre Bourdieu, Edward W. Said, Edward W. Soja[14]) have greatly influenced later social scientists and researchers in the area.[15]

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[9] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. As two years ago, in 1989, the publishing of English translation of Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* which was originally written in 1964 in German language, and after, the emerging interest on the question of the "public sphere" is a parallel issue.

[10] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias."

[11] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

[12] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

[13] Harvey, "Space as a Keyword," 270-94.

[14] Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*.

[15] Hubbard and Kitchin (Eds), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*; Crang, "Spaces in Theory, Spaces in History and Spatial Historiographies," 249-266.

In recent years many works have been published in the form of special journal issues, conference proceedings and essay collections that prioritize space, thereby bringing about a form of "spatial turn". This spatial turn, like many other earlier turns such as the linguistic and material ones, is not a fashion but a "new departure for a discipline that has long sought to broaden its scope".[16]

The main concern of this thesis is not this "spatial turn" or the historiography of the concept of space; rather, it aims to understand its chosen subject matter of early modern Istanbul *han*s "by using the analytical opportunities offered by such conceptual developments".[17] Therefore, going beyond the discussions around the spatial turn, it is more important to focus on its contribution to historiography and the studies of Ottoman urban spaces.

One of the main contributions of the spatial turn to historians is the introduction of new concepts into the literature regarding the use of space. In terms of the study of people's use of space as an aspect of culture, new concepts like "social space", "lived space", and "public space" come to mind.[18] One area that has been highlighted by the spatial turn in Ottoman studies, also as a part of Habermas's "public sphere" conceptualization, is urban public spaces.[19] In this context, urban spaces such as coffee houses,[20] bathhouses,[21] libraries,[22] streets,[23] public square

[16] Kümin and Usborne (Eds), "At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the Spatial Turn," 306.
[17] Kafadar, "Tarih Yazıcılığında Kamu Alanı Kavramı Tartışmaları ve Osmanlı Örneği," 65- 86.
[18] Kingston, "Mind over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn," 111-121.
[19] Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," 153-182.
[20] Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780-1845."; Ahmet Yaşar (Ed), *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekân, Sosyalleşme, İktidar.*
[21] Ergin, "Mapping Istanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees," 108-135.
[22] Sezer, "Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries".
[23] Çelik at al., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*.

fountains,[24] and taverns[25] have become the subject matter of research work on the relationship between physical space and everyday practice, the social and cultural practices in spaces, the use of spaces, the control over spaces, and the construction of spaces. The conference titled "Ottoman Topologies: A Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond", hosted by Stanford University in May 2014, presents abundant support that Ottoman historians employ space and its related issues like spatiality and territoriality, as meaningful analytical categories in various ways.[26] The first five of the six panels of the conference were entitled "Imagining Space," "Mapping Space," "Building Space," "Experiencing Space," and "Administering Space." In these panels, themes such as the imaginations of space by early modern Ottoman subjects, the world of map-makers and geographers in the Ottoman world, the construction of space/spaces, and the individual's experience of spaces around them in the Ottoman world were dealt with. The sixth and last panel entitled "Digitizing Space" was about the new tools employed by Ottoman historians in their spatial research.

Another contribution of the spatial turn to history writing is the employment of new technology in historical research studies. Particularly with the help of GIS that render the processing of multi-layered datasets possible, historians can now create dynamic and interactive visualizations of spatial and temporal changes. The use of GIS has been an innovation especially for Ottoman studies. The workshop conducted by Amy Singer at Princeton University in 2015 titled "the Digital

[24] Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," 123-48.
[25] Yılmaz, "Boş Vaktiniz Var mı? veya 16. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Şarap, Eğlence ve Suç," 11-49.
[26] The conference, "Ottoman Topologies: A Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond", Stanford University, May 2014.

Ottoman Project" is a good example of such an innovative work.[27] Nina Ergin, a participant of this workshop, based on data from a register named *İstanbul Hammamları Defteri* from 1752, provides analyses of 177 bathhouses and the people employed in them accompanied by digital visualizations created through GIS.[28] Similarly, Yunus Uğur in his doctoral thesis titled *Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* interprets data collected from *avârız* and *kefâlet* (surety) registers through the application of mapping tools such as GIS.[29]

Thinking history with space has opened up new ground for the study of early modern Ottoman cities; however, urban studies that bring in the perspectives of scholars and thinkers working on socio-spatial questions is still a relatively new area. In this regard, this doctoral thesis has been an attempt to contribute to the studies on eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul and *han* spaces.

1.2 The studies on Istanbul in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

In Karen Barkey's words, Ottoman history of the eighteenth century was wedged between classical greatness and renewed centralized vigor.[30] Until recently, this century was seen either as a period of decentralization and decline of the Ottoman Empire or as the precursor of the nineteenth century westernization reforms.[31] The common approaches of westernization / modernization that have attempted to

[27] Singer, "Creating a Digital Ottoman Platform (DOP), 8–12 June 2015, Princeton, NJ, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton University)," 451–456.

[28] Ergin, "Mapping Istanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees."

[29] Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries."

[30] Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 197.

[31] On the question of Ottoman decline, see. Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," 30-71; Quataert, "Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of "Decline"," 1-8; Hathaway, "Problems of Periodization in Ottoman History: The Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries," 25-31. For a new contribution for the analyzing this issue, see Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents, and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," 1–40.

explain the development of non-western societies only in terms of external factors and western influence tended to ignore local dynamics and the dynamics of the historical period. However, especially in the last twenty to thirty years, with an increased emphasis on the study of archival records, historians have, to a large extent, abandoned meta-narratives in their revisionist works.[32] Historians explore interdisciplinary methods more rigorously in approaching their research and they have introduced multidimensional interpretations for historical questions. As in other areas of historical study, Ottoman historians question the textual dimension of the documentation, and move away from monolithic and one-sided explanations of historical processes. In other words, this approach describes historical issues as a complex set of relationships and makes more systematic use of a variety of theories and perspectives.

This change and transformation in Ottoman historiography can also be observed in the historiography of Istanbul. Up until the last decade, most of the architectural history of the eighteenth century, which emerged in the late 1970s and the 1980s, were by and large descriptive studies and historical presentations of buildings and gardens in this period.[33] In the same vein, the role of European influence as a main impetus for architectural change has been common among modern historians.[34] On the one hand, historians generally emphasized the secular inclinations and the westernizing trends of the eighteenth century and on the other

[32] For a discussion about the studies on eighteenth century Ottoman history, see. Hathaway, Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History," 29 - 53.

[33] Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri*.; Eldem, *Sa'dabad*.; Aynur and Karateke (Eds)., *III. Ahmet Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri.*; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme*.

[34] Arel, *18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci.*; Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim Nedenleri*.; Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," 167–81; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," 153–78.

hand, they constructed their historical narrative in the paradigm of the "Tulip Period" and the predominance of personalities like Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha. In this manner, the "Tulip Period" was characterized as "an era of worldliness, pleasure pursuits, secularist and westernizing aspirations" and the urban developments were assessed from the point of view of the grand-vizier's personal ambitions and inclinations.[35]

In recent years, the emphasis on "westernization" and such modern constructs of the "Tulip Period" have been abandoned and the complex and dynamic socio-cultural setting of the eighteenth century has been taken into consideration by Ottoman historians.[36] In this manner, Tülay Artan's thesis, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" is one of the first systematic studies exploring the transformation of the city's topography in the eighteenth century.[37] It mainly deals with the social and spatial transformation of Bosphorus settlements and the housing types of the waterfront residences that flourished with the development of the suburban shores of the Bosphorus in this period. In addition to Artan's work, Maurice M. Cerasi's study on urban open spaces highlights the importance of public spaces in eighteenth-century Istanbul and the formation of gardens in this period.[38]

[35] For revisionist studies on 'Tulip Period', see. Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West: The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey.*; Karahasanoglu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718--1730)."

[36] Hamadeh, "Expressions of Early Modernity in Ottoman Architecture and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization," 32–51.

[37] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus."

[38] Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the 18th - 19th Centuries," 36-50.

Another important study is Shirine Hamadeh's book, *The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth Century Istanbul*.[39] Hamadeh, in her study mainly focuses on the formation of a new architectural sensibility in Istanbul between 1703, the return of the Ottoman court to the capital city and 1790s, when the first architectural commissions were granted to European architects. By taking into account, "the continuous dynamics between changing aspirations and practices of Ottoman society and the state's efforts to proclaim its presence in the city in the face of these new realities", Hamadeh emphasizes the examination of urban and architectural developments in eighteenth-century Istanbul. Within this general framework, through the use of the concept of *décloisonnement* (opening up), she explores first the development of suburban waterfront, the evolution of gardens, and proliferation of public fountains; secondly by looking at the poetry, she explores the garden culture of the period and the architectural vocabulary. The concept of "opening up" in Hamadeh's reading of the period refers "to increasingly permeable social and professional boundaries and gradually eroding signs of distinction".[40] Tülay Artan, on the other hand, underlines the elite and imperial dimension of the transformation, pointing out that over the course of the eighteenth century, "as the empire made several and wide-ranging attempts towards reconciliation and consolidation, Istanbul, repeatedly renewed itself and continued to offer yet another characteristic of its imperial nature".[41]

In a new study, Unver Rustem redirects attention to royal actors and to the role of the west in eighteenth-century dynamics. In his work on the study of the

[39] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*. (*Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*.)
[40] Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order*, 17.
[41] Artan, "Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century: Days of Reconciliation and Consolidation," 312.

eighteenth century sultanic mosques of Istanbul, he analyzes two separate yet related developments; “the revival of the imperial mosque as a building type, and the creation of a new architectural style--the so-called Ottoman Baroque.” Rustem claims that in the eighteenth century, the study of which is often restricted to the approaches of decline or westernization, that “imperial mosques were powerful symbols of sultanic authority designed to reassert and redefine the empire's standing on a changing world stage.” [42]

In addition to architectural studies of the eighteenth century Ottoman capital, there have also been recent works of high quality on the everyday life of the city and urban spaces. Fariba Zarinebaf's work titled *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800,* studies acts that were defined as crime in this century-long period in Istanbul and how the political power attempted to control and punish these transgressions.[43] The author lends her ear to the voices of ordinary people such as men who were accused of robbery in the streets, *han*s and homes of the city and women who were accused of prostitution, and argues that these practices of the period in Istanbul display similarities to practices in other metropolitan cities of the period. Similarly, Hamadeh investigates the surveillance mechanisms over beggars, bachelors and prostitutes who lived in the 'mean streets' of Ottoman Istanbul between 1720 and 1840. In this work, she claims that the language of the urban order, which targeted these groups, is based on the assumption that “the regulation of space could produce a desired social and moral order in the city”.[44]

[42] Rustem, “Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul.”
[43] Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800*.
[44] Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul,” 249-277.

Many studies that I refer to in relevant sections of my thesis are both the subject and object of the changing and transforming literature on the eighteenth century. Some of the most prominent ones among these works can be counted as Ergin's "Mapping Istanbul's hamams of 1752 and their employees"[45], Başaran's *Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century*[46], Kırlı and Başaran's "Study on the inspection registers in late eighteenth century"[47], Akarlı's "Maslaha in the experience of İstanbul artisans, 1730-1840"[48], and Karahasanoğlu's "Consumer behavior and material culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)"[49].

1.3 The studies on Istanbul's urban *han*s

There are not many studies and researches on the urban *han*s of Ottoman Istanbul. However, the few existing studies, research articles and theses are referenced frequently. Except for a few recent works, there have not been works of note until now that are based on archival sources of the period and that take current historiographical discussions into account. Therefore, some pioneering works in the literature still maintain their prominence. Ceyhan Güran's work titled *Türk Hanlarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul Hanları Mimarisi* (The Development of Turkish *Han*s and the Architecture of Istanbul *Han*s) published in 1976 is considered to be

[45] Ergin, "Mapping Istanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees."

[46] Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order*.

[47] Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808)," 259-277.

[48] Akarlı, "Maslaha: From 'Common Good' to 'Raison D'état' in the Experience of Istanbul Artisans, 1730-1840," 63-79. ("İstanbul Esnafı Örneğinde 'Kamu Yararı'ndan 'Devlet Çıkarı'na Maslaha, 1730-1840, 8-99.)

[49] Karahasanoglu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718--1730)."

the first comprehensive study on the subject of Istanbul *han*s.[50] In this work, Güran conducted an architectural analysis of Istanbul's currently and formerly existing *han*s, dealing with plans and façades, the materials and techniques used in their construction, and their load-bearing systems as well as creating a catalogue for some of the more prominent *han*s. Moreover, Güran attempted to create two categories of Istanbul *han*s, one in terms of functionality and other one in terms of their plan and spatial features. Mustafa Cezar's study titled *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System*, published in 1983, contributes significantly to the study of commercial structures in terms of the position of commercial buildings in the Ottoman city, and the processes that created these buildings.[51] Cezar approaches the subject from a wider perspective in which he not only analyzes terms like arasta, bedestan, *han*, and shop which constitute the terminology of the infrastructure of the marketplace, but also establishes the necessary connection between them and the underlying public development system that created and maintained this infrastructure.

In the last twenty years, some studies have also appeared that focus on *han*s as the main elements of the commercial region in Ottoman Istanbul. The first study to be named from this perspective was Nursel Gülenaz's doctoral thesis, which analyzes nineteenth century Istanbul *han*s stylistically and functionally.[52] Gülenaz evaluates the *han*s of Ottoman Istanbul in three categories as "classical commercial *han*s", "transitional *han*s", and "bureau *han*s". This categorization is an important contribution to *han* studies. Moreover, she carries out a comprehensive cataloguing

[50] Güran, *Türk Hanlarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul Hanları Mimarisi*.

[51] Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System.*

[52] Gülenaz, "İstanbul'daki 19. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Osmanlı Ticaret Han ve Pasajlarının Stil ve Fonksiyon Bakımından İncelenmesi."; *Batılılaşma Dönemi İstanbul'unda Hanlar ve Pasajlar*.

work on “bureau *han*s” and “passages” which are two forms of commercial space in nineteenth century Ottoman commercial infrastructure. However, Gülenaz’s attempt to read the newly emerging forms of structures as a development under the influence of westernization leaves continuities and local authenticities in *han* architecture and functions in the dark.

Another study on the nineteenth century Istanbul *han*s is the doctoral thesis work of Bünyamin Demir, which analyzes the economic aspects of Istanbul's *han*s.[53] Starting from a register that was prepared to ascertain the non-Muslim tradesmen in Istanbul *han*s during the 1821 Greek Rebellion and the weapons they owned, Demir compiles quantitative data about 168 *han*s and the non-Muslim tradesmen who conducted business in these *han*s, using data from several relevant census registers. In Demir's words, the thesis which “presents data such as the types of artisans found in the registers, the names of *han*s, and how many tradesmen were present in each *han* without neglecting difference between historical periods and the reasons for the preparation of these registers,”[54] can be considered as an important contribution to the area in terms of highlighting artisans inspections and population censuses.[55]

Lorans Tanatar-Baruh, who studies the transformation of the urban space in Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and the role of the elites in this transformation in her thesis, presents important insights particularly regarding the construction of bureau *han*s and their position in the urban space.[56] She presents the power dynamics that shaped the

[53] Demir, “XIX. Yüzyılda Tarihi Yarımada Hanlarının Ekonomik Yönü.”

[54] Ibid.,7.

[55] As a matter of fact, in my study, I used a different version of the 1821 register which contains information about 178 *han*s and their residents, in order to examine the surveillance mechanisms of the political authority over these *han*s.

[56] Tanatar-Baruh, “The Transformation of the ‘Modern’ Axis of Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Property, Investments and Elites from Taksim Square to Sirkeci Station.”

transformation of urban space through an analysis of the investments of the capitalist elite, which consisted of the Ottoman government officers and upper layers of the bourgeoisie. Tanatar-Baruh makes these investments visible through the help of insurance plans and relevant archival documents.

Similar to Tanatar-Baruh's work, another important work on the relationships of capital in the context of the bureau *han*s was carried out by Başak Ergüder.[57] Ergüder analyzes money and capital relations in bureau *han*s that operated in Galata as a new form of *han*s between 1848 and 1945 as reflected in *Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları* (Oriental Trade Almanacs). In this work, the financial data from the bureau *han*s of Galata is analyzed in terms of "the degree of internationalization of the capital, its relationship with the state, and its integration into the capitalist system." The data presented from *Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları* in both Tanatar-Baruh's and Ergüder's works reveals important information about the use of the rooms of bureau *han*s. In addition, the Goad[58] and Pervititch Insurance maps[59] used in Tanatar-Baruh's and Ergüder's work make an important contribution to our understanding of the transformation of the urban space. The lack of such documents and visual material regarding the pre-nineteenth century *han*s - 'classical commercial *han*s' in Gülenaz's terminology- has restricted interest to the *han*s of this earlier period.

Perhaps the first work that chooses 'classical commercial *han*s' or 'transitional *han*s' as its object of study is Mathilde Pinon-Demircivi's doctoral thesis.[60] In this work, Pinon-Demircivi analyzes the shape, function, and transformation of the *han*s

[57] Ergüder, "İstanbul'un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868- 1945)."; *Galata Hanları: Paranın Serüveni (1838-1945).*

[58] Dağdelen (Ed), *Charles Edouard Goad'ın İstanbul Sigorta Haritaları.*

[59] *Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında Istanbul / Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch*.

[60] Pinon-Demircivi, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs: formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIe s. et le milieu du XIXe s."

that were built in and around the Kapalıçarşı from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. In this thesis in four sections, after touching upon the historical formation of the market region of Ottoman Istanbul, she analyzes the construction processes, architectural properties, and historical transformation of "Astarcı Han, Çuhacı Han, Kızlarağası Han, Hasan Pasha Han, Küçük Yeni Han, Büyük Yeni Han and Taş Han" which were built around the Kapalıçarşı in the eighteenth century and "Büyük Yıldız Han and Zincirli Han" which were built in the early nineteenth century. Pinon-Demircivi undertakes this analysis in light of Ottoman archival documents, historical maps and plans, restoration projects, photographs, and secondary literature. Monographic essays for each of the nine *han*s found in the second section of the thesis are an important novelty in the area of Istanbul *han* studies. In addition, Pinon-Demircivi's analyses of the ornamentations found on the walls and ceilings of Büyük Yeni Han, the fact that she reads this *han*'s ornamentations as a part of the visual conventions of the period is an important contribution in terms of revealing *han* aesthetics.[61] In the last two sections, Pinon-Demircivi architecturally analyzes the *han*s in terms of the materials and techniques used in the construction and ornamentation of these *han*s and the plans of these *han*s, and finally she uses a socio-historical perspective to evaluate such topics as the *han* construction processes, preservation and repair work, *han* administrators and *han* architects. Pinon-Demircivi in general focuses on the architectural aspects of the *han*s and attempts to show the transformation of the properties of the nine chosen *han*s through time. This work's use of archival documents such as the plan of Taş Han from the middle of the nineteenth century and the construction registers of two *han*s from the early eighteenth century, as well as its

[61] Pinon-Demirçivi, "Un exemple de peintures murales dans le Büyük Yeni Han a Istanbul," 157-170.

analysis of the wall and ceiling ornamentation of Büyük Yeni Han has deepened our knowledge of *han*s from this period.

Rhoads Murphey's article on the construction of new *han*s and the renovation of existing *han*s within the framework of the expansion of Istanbul's commercial capacity between 1700 and 1765 makes a significant contribution to *han* studies.[62] Murphey first examines the role of plans, funds, investments and the waqf system with regard to the *han* projects of eighteenth- century Istanbul by the sultans and the viziers who married into the Ottoman dynasty. Following that, he analyzes the relationship of the developing commercial infrastructure including *han*s with macroeconomic developments and urban growth. The points highlighted in Murphey's work, which is based on chronicles, are inspirational for later studies. Işık Tamdoğan-Abel's article titled "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı kentinde yabancı" (*Han*s or the stranger in the Ottoman city), includes *han*s in the community (*cemaat*) and relationship networks, and analyzes the multiplicity of meanings of the *han*s for the strangers of the city who stayed in these *han*s.[63] This article analyzes, through the study of court registers (*sicil*) and travel books, the everyday lives and the relationship networks of the residents of *han*s which were "a kind of dead-end (and therefore private space) located in the most public spaces of the city (tarîk-i âmm, that is, on main roads)."

Another important area of study on Istanbul *han*s is the seniors, masters and doctoral theses written in the Architectural Building Survey and Restoration programs of universities. These types of studies, in general, introduce the historical emergence, development and transformation of the *han* region followed by a focused

[62] Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal," 148-155.
[63] Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı," 387-405.

examination of the architectural, aesthetic, and historical properties of a single *han* chosen as the subject of study, and finally offer preservation strategies for the existing building on the structural and local level. In this context, the work that stands out among the rest is the doctoral thesis of Gülhan Benli on "*Han* structures located in the historical peninsula of Istanbul and questions of preservation for *han*s with courtyards" completed in 2007.[64] In this work, Benli first attempts to locate all the existing and formerly present *han*s on a map through the use of previous studies on the peninsula and the sources about the area and the analysis of E. H. Ayverdi, Goad, German Blues, and Pervititch insurance maps. This well-intentioned attempt produces a general picture of the *han*s, containing a list of approximately 150 *han*s. However, this picture does not represent all the *han*s of the area due to Benli's lack of access to the archival documents of Ottoman Istanbul. In the later sections of the thesis, Benli focuses on a detailed analysis of the *han*s with courtyards and creates catalogues for 23 of these *han*s that have preserved their original architectural features. Benli examines the architectural aspects of these selected *han*s such as the cross-section of their porticoes, their room plans, their load-bearing materials, and other architectural details (windows, projections, ornamentation, etc.). Finally, Benli chooses Cebeci Han and discusses its problems and preservation criteria.

Similar to Benli's work, there have been other studies by many researchers on single *han*s. These include the following *hans;* Metro Han,[65] Galata Ticaret Han,[66] Eminönü Vlora Han,[67] Küçük Çukur Han,[68] Büyük Çukur Han,[69] Arap Han,[70]

[64] Benli, "İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada'da Bulunan Han Yapıları ve Avlulu Hanların Koruma Sorunları."
[65] Kara, "Metro Han ve Cer Binası Koruma Sorunları ve Restorasyon Projesi."
[66] Önsel, "Galata Ticaret Han Restorasyon Projesi."
[67] Kurt, "Eminönü Vlora Han Restorasyon Projesi."
[68] Başer, "16. Yüzyıl Hanları ve Küçük Çukur Han'ın Değerlendirilmesi."
[69] Kara, "İstanbul Büyük Çukur Han ve Çevresi Koruma Projesi."
[70] Boyacıoğlu, "Arap Hanı ve Yapının 18 - 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Hanları İçindeki Yeri," 9-21.

Eminönü Aşir Efendi Han,[71] Çorlulu Ali Pasha Han,[72] Kuveloğlu Han,[73] Büyük Yeni Han,[74] Uzunçarşı Kilit Han,[75] Tahtakale Halil Ağa Han,[76] Hezaren Han,[77] in addition to studies on groups of *han*s such as Eminönü Bureau Hans,[78] Hans with Courtyards,[79] Waqf Hans,[80] Commercial Region of Istanbul[81] that carry out building surveys and offer preservation recommendations. Studies of this kind generally try to construct the histories of these spaces through secondary literature in most cases integrating commonly held wrong assumptions into their work. However, they make significant contributions in terms of their main focus, their architectural analyses of spaces and production of visual materials that reveal the condition of existing *han*s in Istanbul.[82]

In addition to the above mentioned studies, Faroqhi's study on the water rights for Istanbul *han*s,[83] Baykan's study of cultural and historical memory about Büyük Valide Han,[84] Turna's article on *han* administrators in late Ottoman Istanbul,[85] Dığıroğlu's article on the location of Valide Han on the nineteenth century

[71] Bayrakal, "Eminönü Âşir Efendi Hânı," 117-144.
[72] Aksu, "Çorlulu Ali Paşa Hanı'nın Restorasyon Projesi."
[73] Mutlu, "Eminönü-Kantarcılar'da Kuveloğlu-(Yeni) Han Restorasyon Projesi."
[74] Çakmak, "Mahmutpaşa'da Koruma Amaçlı Plan Çalışması ve Büyük Yeni Han."
[75] Kapubağlı, "İstanbul Tarihi Yarımadasında Uzun Çarşı ve Kilit Han."
[76] Eriş, "İstanbul'da Merkezi Ticaret Bölgesi Ticaret Yapılarının Gelişimi ve Tahtakale Halil Ağa Hanı (Cinci Han)."
[77] Altan, "Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Hezaren Han'ın Yapısal Çözümlemesi."
[78] Köroğlu, "XIX. Yüzyıl ve XX. Yüzyıl başı Eminönü'nde Osmanlı Büro Hanları."
[79] Gürpınar, "Tarihi Yarımada Hanlar Bölgesi Avlulu Hanların İncelenmesi."
[80] Erol, "İstanbul Vakıf Hanları ve Koruma Sorunları."
[81] Kösemen, "İstanbul Ticaret Bölgesinin Oluşumunu Etkileyen Çevresel Faktörler ve Hanların Mimari Kurgusu."
[82] The individual plans for each floor of Büyük Yeni *Han* in İsmail Çakmak's work, the map Benli produces reflecting the historical transformation of Istanbul's commercial region, and many other plans of the commercial region found in such works were important resources for my own study.
[83] Faroqhi, "No Business without Water! Operating *Han*s, Baths, and Factories in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul."
[84] Baykan at al., *Tarihi Belleğimiz İçinde Büyük Valide Han*.
[85] Turna, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Han Yöneticileri-Odabaşılar," 195-216.

Istanbul-Tabriz trade route,[86] Ağır's analysis of Balkapanı Hanı as a witness to the commercial continuity from an old Venetian district to Ottoman Istanbul,[87] Fidan's presentation of *han* documents regarding letters, business cards and promos,[88] Çokuğraş's study on the marginality and space regarding bachelor chambers and taverns[89] should be named among Istanbul *han* studies literature.

Within this literature, by focusing on urban *han*s, that fall into Gülenaz's category of 'classical commercial *han*s', my thesis goes into detail about the position of these *han*s in the network of relationships in the urban public space, their functions in commerce and accommodation, and their roles within public dynamics. Similar to Baruh's study, I attempt to investigate *han* investments within the framework of the eighteenth century by analyzing the construction processes of Büyük Yeni Han that was built by Mustafa III between 1761 and 1763 as an example, and its transformation of the urban space. In the same vein, I build upon Murphey's conception of *han*s being both the subject and the object of urban growth in the light of archival documents, in the context of the discussions of the period regarding masonry versus timber building, new building construction and renovation practices, and the details of *han* projects through the specific example of Büyük Yeni Han. In addition, I attempt to go into more detail about such issues highlighted by Tamdoğan-Abel's work as the intimacy of living arrangements of *han* residents, the shaping influence of *han* architecture on everyday life practices, and addition I focus on the common areas and especially the *han* courtyard as a space for public expression and socialization. Moreover, I have tried to address some of the

[86] Dığıroğlu, "İstanbul-Tebriz Ticaret Hattında Valide Han (XIX-XX. Yüzyıl)," 69-112.
[87] Ağır, "İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Mahallesi'nde Ticaretin Sürekliliğine Tanıklığı Tartışılan Bir Yapı: Balkapanı Hanı," 91-97.
[88] Fidan, *Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Hanları*.
[89] Çokuğraş, "İstanbul'da Marjinalite ve Mekân (1789-1839): Bekâr Odaları ve Meyhaneler."

suggestions for future study presented in the conclusion section of Pinon-Demirçivi's work. Such matters as the use of *han*s for both commercial and residential purposes, the socialization opportunities *han*s offered for their residents, and the fact that *han*s were spaces for cultural events are addressed in my thesis in more detail.

As noted earlier, my thesis attempts to analyze early modern Istanbul *han*s within the framework of four main concepts: space, construction, conviviality, and surveillance. This framework allows me to touch upon a number of broader questions regarding the early modern Ottoman city and Istanbul studies in particular questions regarding urban public space. Through the focus on urban *han*s, this thesis hopes to offer new perspectives on a number of issues regarding the city: Istanbul's urban development in the early modern period, the construction of the urban infrastructure, the perception of migration to the capital and crimes in the city, everyday interaction in urban public spaces, and the morality-centered surveillance mechanisms of the political power over these spaces.

1.4 On sources: Possibilities and limitations

This thesis is built upon sources that contain relevant information about early modern Istanbul *han*s. In addition to the sources from the Ottoman archives that form the backbone of the thesis,[90] such other sources as chronicles, travel narratives, and various visual materials like engravings, drawings and plans are also utilized.

The thesis engages a range of unexplored primary sources. As I tried to point out above, Istanbul *han*s have not been the subject of detailed studies, except for a few recent works, focusing on the Ottoman archival sources. I have conducted

[90] Archival documents from Istanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul Şeriyye Sicilleri, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. See bibliography.

extensive research in archives in order to determine the dynamics of *han* construction and use in the Ottoman capital and accessed numerous documents and registers. Availability of serial data from the last quarter of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has made this study feasible.

The primary sources from these archives offer opportunities to expand our knowledge on the four concepts of space, construction, conviviality, and surveillance that constitute the structure of this thesis. By using archival sources, this thesis first presents a comprehensive list and mapping of early modern Istanbul *han*s particularly through the use of data from the early nineteenth century artisan's inspections and *han* surveys (*han tahriri*). It has become possible to reconstruct *han* renovations and constructions in eighteenth- century Istanbul, and the construction processes of Büyük Yeni Han as an example based on information from many different archival documents. In addition, the *gedik* registers of *han*s, and the registers that show the annual revenues and expenses of *han*s reveal information about the residents of *han*s. As a special case study, this thesis reconstructs the material culture of a typical *han* room through the study of the property left behind by those who died while living in *han* rooms as reflected in *Kassam* registers (*Askeri Kassam Defterleri*). In the following pages of my study, the methods for utilizing these sources and their possibilities will be discussed in relation to particular issues.

Even though they offer many such opportunities, working with Ottoman archival documents has many restrictions as well. For example, when approaching historical records for the first time after a long period of no access, there is the danger of applying the content of a specific decree issued for a particular case to a whole period if the document is not evaluated within its own particular context and approached as part of a whole. As a case in point, especially some researchers who

use archival documents through secondary sources, state that Mahmud I abolished the construction of *han*s in the Ottoman capital in 1732. Moreover, other researchers, based on this reference have made such extreme claims as stating that *han* construction was abolished during Mahmud I's period due to the high number of *han*s.[91] In fact, expressions similar to those found in Mahmud I's decree are present in many royal decrees of that century. Again similarly, a royal decree sent to the qadi of Istanbul in 1766 states that the entry of women into the *han*s was banned. However, this and other royal decrees show that the political power generally attempted to prevent the entry of women into the *han*s rather than being a proof of the prohibition of women's entry into the *han*s from that moment on.

In *han* studies some mistakes have been repeated due to the use of archival documents through secondary literature or the use of carelessly transcribed documents. As in the example of the renovation of the Simkeşhane in 1707, sometimes the name of the commissioner of a building is wrongly identified due to similarities in names. This building was not commissioned by Ahmed III's mother Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan as claimed by many researchers, but by Ahmed III's *başkadın* Emetullah Sultan.[92] Similarly, many researchers name Mustafa III as the commissioner of Taş Han which belonged to the Laleli Waqf because Mustafa III commissioned the construction of the Laleli Complex. Nevertheless, careful study of archival documents reveals that the construction of Taş Han was commissioned by the administration of the Laleli Waqf 15 years after Mustafa III's death.[93]

In addition to the documents preserved at the Ottoman Archives, Vakıf registers are also used since urban *han*s were built as part of pious foundations.

[91] It is possible to see this way of analyzing in numerous above mentioned MA theses.
[92] Özgüleş, "Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın İmar Faaliyetleri," 447.
[93] See chapter 3 of this thesis.

These registers that provide information on toponymy, topography, and architectural features of *han*s are found in the General Directorate of Pious foundations in Ankara.

As another important source, travel narratives contain valuable information for city and *han* studies despite the presence of abundant literary and political rhetoric in them. Travellers generally feel the need to write about things that attract their attention in a new city or about the architecture, everyday life and administration of monumental or small-scale *han*s that they stay in. Therefore, they offer many instances of tracing personal experiences that are not found in archival documents. In this respect, the written narratives of travellers such as Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, Charles MacFarlane, Antoine Ignace Melling, J. Thévenot, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Jacques Dallaway and Charles White are worthy of attention. Moreover, chronicles of the period that either talk about a specific event or contain general information such as the chronicles of Silahtar Fındıklılı Mehmed Aga, Suphi, Câbî Târihi have also been used in my thesis study.

In terms of visual materials, in order to ascertain the distribution and visibility of the *han*s on the city plane, maps and engravings of Istanbul that were prepared for various purposes were used in this work. These included the following; (Waterway Maps, Kauffer, Moltke and Stolpe), panoramas of the city (Barker's Istanbul Panorama, the panorama of Melchior Lorichs), insurance plans (plans of Charles Goad and Jacques Pervititch), and engravings such as William Henry Bartlett's public *han* engraving as visual representation of *han*s. Despite the fact that using visual materials of this kind present problems of their own, they make very important contributions in terms of visualizing the discussions on *han*s. Moreover, the masters and doctoral theses completed in restoration departments present the plans and

building surveys of the significant *han*s in Istanbul. In my own study, I have particularly made use of such studies that include the plans of Büyük Yeni Han.

1.5 Chapter plans

This thesis, which aims to understand the urban *han*s of early modern Istanbul, consists of four chapters, in addition to the introductory part (first chapter) and the concluding part (sixth chapter). The second chapter will cover the transformation of the commercial area of Ottoman Istanbul (from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries) and the spatial topography of Istanbul's *han*s. After introducing the establishment of the infrastructure of the commercial district and its transformation, it will try to reconstruct the number and the locations of *han*s in the urban setting of Ottoman Istanbul by focusing on *han* surveys from the early nineteenth century.

The third chapter will cover the processes of construction (*müceddeden inşa*) and renovation (*tecdîd*) of *han*s in the eighteenth- century Istanbul. After discussing the dilemma between timber construction (*ahşap*) and masonry construction (*kârgir*) and the commercial investments of sultanic and vizirial initiative, the *Büyük Yeni Han* will be examined as an example of a newly built han representing the court's interventions in the capital city's commercial space during the eighteenth century. This will be achieved by focusing on its construction process, functions, physical structure and layout, revenue producing capacity and visibility in the city, in the light of its *waqfiyya* and other registers.

After situating the *han*s in the commercial area and discussing issues related to patronage, the last two chapters will examine where they stand in the public and private domain of Istanbul. The discussion presented here aims to go beyond the strictly formulated definitions of public and private and focuses on the specific ways

frequenters used particular places. After discussing the frequenters of *han*s, such as merchants, soldiers, travellers, etc., the fourth chapter will focus on issues of sociability and convivial living in the public domain of the *han*s. In this manner, it presents analyses of use of space in the *han* and of the building's inhabitants with respect to their occupational and confessional identities. Also, the various performative practices that took place in the courtyards and galleries, which constitute the public spaces of the *han*, will be evaluated in terms of publicity, playfulness and convivial living.

The last chapter, before the conclusion, will look at the surveillance mechanisms of the political authority over the *han*s in the context of public order. After analyzing the Ottoman political language that dealt with the public manifestations shaped in and around the *han* as *mefâsid*, for instance the *han*s as accommodation places for unidentifiable persons, as a gathering place for potential rebels, and the existence of the taverns within the *han*s, it will attempt to examine what kind of surveillance mechanisms the political power developed against these *mefâsid*.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPATIAL SETTING: THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ISTANBUL'S *HAN*S

The second chapter explores the transformation of the commercial area of Ottoman Istanbul from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and then lays out the topography of Istanbul's *han*s as they stood in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. I will first examine the establishment of the infrastructure of the commercial district and its transformations through this period. Then, by focusing on the inspection and shop registers from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, I will try to reconstruct numbers and locations of *han*s in Ottoman Istanbul's urban setting. The aim of this chapter is not to examine all the *han*s that operated in 450 years in question, but to elucidate the locations and functions of the main *han*s and their contributions to urban patterns in the commercial district of Ottoman Istanbul. Current studies and our knowledge are unfortunately not sufficient to undertake the drawing up of an exhaustive list of *han*s for each century Despite this, particular archival documents provide us with the opportunity to recreate a list of urban *han*s operating in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and to map out their spatial distribution.

2.1 A survey of the establishment of the infrastructure of the commercial district and its transformation (Fifteenth - early nineteenth centuries)

C. Carbognano, who visited Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century, designates porticoed structures with square or rectangular courtyards surrounded by arches as '*han*s' and describes them as follows: "Behind the arches, there are many identical chambers in each of which there is a fireplace to cook, and these arches also support a second level of arched structure, that is, the gallery where there are further

chambers. These chambers, like the ones below them, are reserved for the merchants of the country because the shops of foreign merchants are located in Galata under the protection of their own country's ambassadors. Most of these *han*s are strongly built stone structures. In terms of size, the most notable ones are Valide Han, Vezir Han and Yeni Han which was built by Mustafa III..."[94] The urban *han*s that Carbognano writes about constitute significant public spaces of Ottoman Istanbul through approximately four and a half centuries. The construction of these structures, which offered various commercial opportunities and boarding to its frequenters started during the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481). While the specifics of *han* construction took different forms over time, they continued to be built until the beginning of the twentieth century, when waqf *han*s, constructed by the *Evkaf Nezâreti* were founded.[95]

One of the Ottoman interventions in the city just after the conquest was the establishment of a commercial infrastructure through the revitalization of old Byzantine structures and new constructions. Kritovoulos's chronicle presents the initial endeavors of the conqueror in city. Among many such things as orders for the repair of bridges and roads, the construction of "splendid and costly baths", restoration of aqueducts, Mehmed II (1451-1481) also ordered the construction of "caravanserais and halting places for travelers approaching the city".[96]

The Ottoman commercial area had a bifocal layout: the port area on the Golden Horn and the newly created bedestan area. The first area was more heavily inclined towards wholesale trade and artisanal activity, while the new area was a

[94] Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, *18. Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul,* 67.
[95] For waqf *han*s, see. Erol, "İstanbul Vakıf Hanları ve Koruma Sorunları."
[96] "Bezzâzistân ve çarsûlar ve bâzârgâhlar ve âyende ve râvende için vâsi' kervânsaraylar yaptırdı", Tursun Bey, *Târih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 67.

center of commerce in precious metals, textiles and arms. Geographically *Uzunçarşı* connected these two cores of district (see Appendix E, Figure 71). The port area as a perfectly protected area from natural interferences continued to be used as a port of arrival for the provisioning of the city after the conquest of Constantinople, as it did in the previous centuries.[97] The Venetian trading colony, located at the center of port area, was reshaped and inhabited mostly by the newcomers to the city, like Jews and Muslims rather than the area's former residents.[98]

Constructing a bedestan on the second hill of Istanbul extended the main geographical location of commercial and artisanal activities beyond the port region to the south. Mehmed II, after the autumn of 1455, probably in the spring of 1456, ordered the construction of *Cevahir* Bedestan, a new, strong, stone building, and the market place surrounding it.[99] The first building constructed here is *Cevahir* Bedestan which was completed in 1457.[100] Kritovolos describes the original bedestan as "a very large and very fine market place near the center of the city near the Palace….. protected by very strong walls on the outside and divided on the inside into very beautiful and spacious colonnades".[101] With its capacity of providing the city's wealthiest merchants with housing shops, it functioned as a space for financial transactions, trade in valuable imported goods and storage of money and precious materials.[102] This monumental commercial space, more or less a kind of adaptation

[97] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 30. For the port area see also. Müller-Wiener, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanı*.

[98] Ağır, "İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Mahallesi'nde Ticaretin Sürekliliğine Tanıklığı Tartışılan Bir Yapı: Balkapanı Hanı."

[99] Kritovulos, *İstanbul'un Fethi,* 129, 157, 158. For the details of the construction of bedestan, see Baş, "İstanbul Kapalıçarsısı XV-XVII. Yüzyıl."

[100] Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi,* 210.

[101] Kritovulos, *İstanbul'un Fethi,* 129, 157, 158.

[102] İnalcık, "The Hub of City: the Bedestan of Istanbul," 1-17.

of the *kaysariyya* of medieval Middle East or Roman commercial *basilica*, was architecturally and urbanistically a novel building.[103]

Just after the construction of the bedestan, groups of adjacent shops surrounding it were built. According to the waqfiyya of ca. 883 / 1478-79, the shops surrounding the bedestan numbered a total of 849, which housed cloth merchants, turban makers, and tailors. Two *han*s at a short distance from the bedestan area, the Sultan Hanı and Bodrum Caravanserai were built probably during the same years as the bedestan. The *Han al-Sultan* known as Beglik Kervansarayı, close to the Mahmud Pasha complex was a two-story building with 98 rooms and 42 shops around it.[104] The latter one was a smaller two-story building, with 31 rooms and 14 shops.[105]

This two centered commercial structure, with the Tahtakale at the center of the port area and the bedestan located on the second hill, and the *Uzunçarşı* linking the two, shaped the center of all later developments of infrastructure for mercantile activity and crafts. Just after the initial endeavor of Mehmed II, the grandvizier Mahmud Pasha extended commercial district eastward by constructing a market, namely Kürkçü Han, specialized in the sale of textiles.[106] In a similar vein, the vizier Has Murad Pasha expanded the port area westward with the construction of a *han* and several shops in the adjacent coppersmiths market. The architectural patronage

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[103] For the discussion of urban and architectural novelty of bedestan, see. Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 30.

[104] BOA MAD. 19, vrk. 14a, 1489-91. Quoted from Baş, "İstanbul Kapalıçarsısı XV-XVII. Yüzyıl."

[105] "*Eski Saray adı ile tanınmış Dâru'l-Âmireti's-Sultâniye civârında Hoca Pirî Mahallesi'ndedir. Altlı üstlü otuz bir hücre, ön taraf duvarına bitişik on beş dükkân ve onlarla birlikte dış tarafına bitişik alanda dokuz dükkân bulunmaktadır. Kıblesi ve doğusu, Bâyezîd en-Geccâr ve Hoca Bahsi mülkü; batısı, umumi yol; kuzeyi, Yûsuf el-Ulûfî mülkü ve yine umumi yoldur."*
BOA MAD. 19, vrk. 14a, 1489-91. Quoted from Baş, "İstanbul Kapalıçarsısı XV-XVII. Yüzyıl."

[106] Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*, 83-85.

of the new ruling elite, along with their small and medium sized complexes, created an array of spaces of commerce, accommodation and crafting exchange. For Kafescioğlu, creating new or restoring old commercial spaces underlines "the integrity of Mehmed's vision concerning the status of Constantinople as imperial capital".[107]

During the reign of Mehmed II, along with the royal urban *han*s, numerous other *han*s, probably wooden buildings, were constructed, but they have not survived to today. Although we cannot see them in the contemporary urban scene, it is possible to trace their names in many archival documents and in the secondary literature. We can especially list among them Deve Han, Esir Pazarı Han (Süleyman Pasha Odaları), Mercan Ağa Han, Molla Gürani Han, Katır Han, Şeyh Davud Han, Han-ı Sultaniye, Öküz Mehmed Han, Hacı Murad Pasha Han, Dursun Han, Papazoğlu Han, Balkapanı Han.[108]

According to the list presented, it seems that only four *han*s, namely Bodrum Caravanserai, Bey Caravanserai, Esir Pazarı *Han* and Mercan Ağa *Han* were in the immediate vicinity of the bedestan area, the others were almost all located in the neighborhood of Tahtakale, port region. This means that during the reign of Mehmed II, the urban *han*s had not yet formed a significant component of the bedestan area. On the contrary, the southern shore of the Golden Horn, the port area included a high number of *han*s used as warehouses and for the landing and distribution of goods. The continued use of the Balkapanı Han, which probably originated from Byzantine times can be considered to be one of the signs of the transformation of the old

[107] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 30.

[108] For details see, Baş, "İstanbul Kapalıçarsısı XV-XVII. Yüzyıl," 62-72; Pinon-Demirçivi, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs: formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIe s. et le milieu du XIXe s," 72-112.

Venetian quarter into the Ottoman commercial district.[109] The Tahtakale commercial area was further developed with the construction of the complex of Rüstem Pasha, which included two *han*s and a mosque, in 1561 and the Yeni Valide Mosque flanked by an L-shaped arasta (the Egyptian Bazaar) in the middle of the seventeenth century.[110]

The construction of 54 new *han*s during the reign of the successor of Mehmed II, Beyazıd II, is indicative of the dynamism in the commercial district of the new imperial capital.[111] This is true with particular reference to the Elçi Han, part of the Atîk Ali Pasha foundation, which was constructed on the historical *Mese*, near the Çemberlitaş Column, and served foreign ambassadors and visitors.[112]

Following the reigns of two successive sultans, Mehmed II and Beyazıd II, the new capital witnessed its second major construction boom, led by Süleyman I, which endowed the city with its "classical" features. The great architect Mimar Sinan with members of the imperial corps of architects realized many royal projects including Suleymaniye Complex, Şehzade Complex, and projects for ruling elites including Rustem Pasha Complex, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Complexes. Besides these big projects they constructed numerous urban *han*s and caravanserais both in the commercial district extending from the port region to the bedestan area and in other parts of greater Istanbul. The patronage of Rustem Pasha, in particular, gave rise to the establishment of new commercial *han*s like Kebeci Han next to Mercan, Büyük

[109] Ağır, "İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Mahallesi'nde Ticaretin Sürekliliğine Tanıklığı Tartışılan Bir Yapı: Balkapanı Hanı." 91-97

[110] Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Reasons for Building: The Cases of Rüstem Paşa and Yeni Valide Mosques," 268.

[111] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimârîsinde II. Bâyezid Yavuz Selim Devri (886-926/1481-1520)*.

[112] Eyice, "Elçi Han," 93-129.

Çukur Han and Küçük Çukur Han next to Uzunçarşı and Kurşunlu Han at Galata.[113] In addition, Pertev Pasha's Pertevpaşa Han in Uzunçarşı and Vefa Caravanserai in Vefa, Piri Mehmed Pasha's Mehmed Pasha Han built near the bedestan in Hallaçlar Carşısı, were outstanding new constructions in Istanbul. This particularly dynamic period covering 150 years provided the city with new infrastructure to meet the needs of trade, commercial and manufacturing activities (Figure 1).

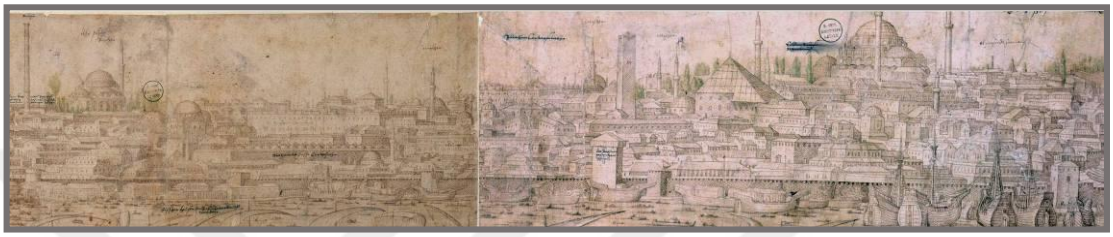


Figure 1. The commercial district, detail from the panorama of Istanbul by Melchior Lorichs, 1559.[114]

With the turn of seventeenth century, the recently constructed imperial capital faced a slowdown in terms of new projects. This transformation is apparent in the paucity of royal architectural projects in the city. In addition, fires also played an important role in the development of commercial areas.[115] During the second half of the seventeenth century Istanbul's commercial district was home to three major projects completed respectively in 1650, 1659 and 1663. The first project, sponsored by the queen mother, Kösem Mahpeyker Sultan, was constructed around the remains of Cerrah Mehmed Pasha's palace.[116] Its geographical location, which would become the favorite location for the eighteenth- century hans, was just a block west of covered bazaar and opposite of Mahmud Paşa ramp. This *han*, with its three

[113] For the Rustem Pasha's patronage, see Arslantürk, "Bir Bürokrat ve Yatırımcı Olarak Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Veziriazamı Rüstem Paşa."; Atçıl, "State and Government in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Grand Vizierates of Rustem Pasha (1544-1561)."

[114] Westbrook at al., "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's 'Panorama of Constantinople'," 62-87.

[115] Cerasi, "Istanbul 1620–1750: Change and Tradition," 465-489; Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*.

[116] For the pious endowments founded by Kösem Sultan, see Kocaaslan, *Kösem Sultan: Hayatı, Vakıfları, Hayır İşleri ve Üsküdar'daki Külliyesi*, 118-19.

courtyards, has an exceptional place among Istanbul's *han* buildings. As stated in the foundation document, this *han*, which was a new, two-story construction, built in the Atîk İbrahim Pasha neighborhood, was surrounded by a small mosque, madrasa, waqfs and public roads, and had 227 rooms, shops, a masjid in its center and a tower at one of its corners (see Appendix F, Figure 81).[117] Again, as reported by the testimony of Evliya Çelebi who was a contemporary, Valide Han was built upon the remnants of Cerrah Mehmed Pasha's palace as a two-story building that contained 300 *'hane-i şeddadi'* rooms. Evliya Çelebi probably includes the shops outside the *han* and cites the figure as 300. Moreover, he cites this *han* as one of the two biggest *han*s of the city together with Mahmut Pasha Han (Kürkçü Han).[118] Visiting Istanbul about ten years after the completion of Valide Han, Thevenot stayed there. He presents it as the most beautiful *han* of Istanbul and states that *han*s like this one, which was built by the mother of the sultan, bring great profits to their owners.[119] Around the same time, in an album prepared by 'market artists'[120] of Istanbul, the newly completed Valide Han was visually and textually represented. *The Cicogna Codex* not only describes the patron of this newly constructed *han*, but also adds that "it is built of marble with great skill and expenditure; inside are many rooms, to keep the belongings of merchants; in the center, a mosque for prayer, and a fountain for washing and drinking."[121] It details the ritual and public functions of the components of the *han* including the mosque, rooms and fountains in the text and visually

[117] VGMA, M5 Vakfiyesi, 28. Quoted from Kocaaslan, *Kösem Sultan: Hayatı, Vakıfları, Hayır İşleri ve Üsküdar'daki Külliyesi*, 295.

[118] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi*, 154.

[119] Jean Thévenot, *Thevenot Seyahatnamesi*.

[120] For market artists, see. And, "17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları," 40-45.

[121] Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album," 57.

illustrates the clientele at the gate, demonstrating the social importance of this great *han* as a node of Istanbul urban life (Figure 2).

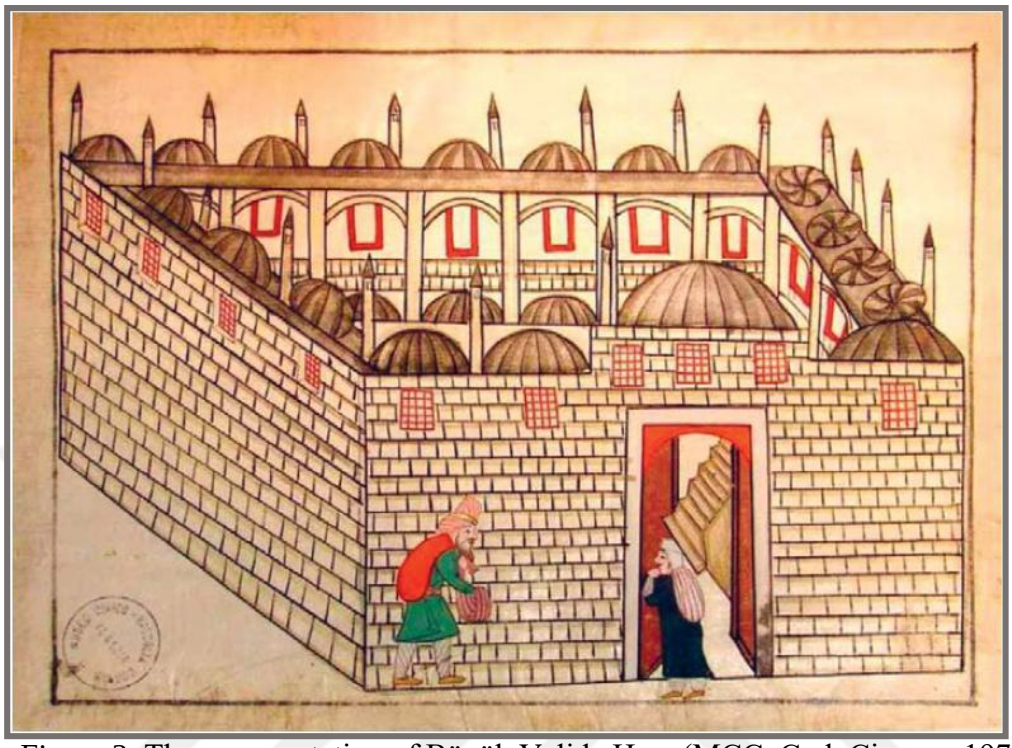


Figure 2. The representation of Büyük Valide Han. (MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 22r).

Büyük Valide Han, which was designed with two floors and three courtyards, introduced novelties to Istanbul's *han*s both in terms of the area it covered and in terms of its plan. Even though it does not present a perfectly symmetrical plan due to the need to adapt to the peculiarities of the ground, particularly its second courtyard reveals the intention for a quadrangular plan. At the center of the courtyard, which is surrounded by porticos, a small mosque is located, a feature frequently encountered in Seljuk caravanserais but less common among Ottoman urban *han*s. As a matter of fact, a Shia-centered religious, symbolic and ceremonial social interaction space was created in later years around this mosque by the resident Persian merchants of the

han.[122] Moreover, the third courtyard and the division of the basement space under this courtyard into stables are viewed as important novelties in *han* architecture. In previous *han*s, as seen in Kürkçü Han, stables were placed in the basement of the main courtyard while in Valide Han the stables were placed in the basement of an additional courtyard, thus completely separating them from the living quarters. So much so that in later years, the anomalous structure of the third courtyard caused people to consider it as separate from Valide Han and to call it with the new name of '*sağir han*' (little *han*). Another important novelty found in Valide Han is its monumental gate. Above the gate, which is located on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, seven corbels each of which is made up of four parallel cantilever stones support an overhang. This *'cumba'* shaped structure, which gives the gate of the *han* a monumental appearance was to become an almost characteristic feature of all large urban *han*s in Istanbul built in later years.[123]

Of the two other commercial buildings of this period, Vezir Han near Çemberlitaş was completed under the sponsorship of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and the Egyptian Bazaar, part of Turhan Valide's foundation, and was situated at the northern end of commercial district at the port.[124] Vezir Han, according to the restoration inscription on the gate dated 1321 / 1903, was commissioned by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. Indeed, Mehmed Pasha's foundation document dating from 1070 / 1661 confirms this information.[125] The foundation document does not give details

[122] Dığıroğlu, "İstanbul-Tebriz Ticaret Hattında Valide Han (XIX-XX. Yüzyıl)," 69-112; Duranti, "A Caravanserai on the Route to Modernity: The Case of the Valide Han of Istanbul," 229-250.

[123] For a recent study about this *han*, see Baykal at al., *Tarihi belleğimiz içinde Büyük Valide Han*.

[124] For Yeni Valide Complex, see Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü," 58–70; Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597-1665): Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture," 69–89.

[125] "…ve zikr olunan kapunun haricinde tarîk-i âmm sırasında hamam-ı merkumun (Valide Hamamı) haddi olan köşeye varınca mebni 22 bâb mahzenli dekâkini ve fevklerinde mebni 20 bâb odaları şamil-ü havı olan hân-ı kebîri cevânib-i erba'sında ikişer zirâ' damlalık ve cümle-i mülhakât ve terâiki ile…"

about its physical features such as the number of floors and courtyards. While the *han* maintains its activity today as a two-story building with two courtyards, it is portrayed with a single courtyard on the Köprülü Waterways Map prepared soon after its construction in 1672.[126] According to this portrayal, as shown in Figure 3, the *han* is a two-story building with an almost square shaped courtyard, which is surrounded by rooms with porticoed galleries. It has a total of 44 domed rooms, 15 each on both the side of its monumental gate near the Chicken market (*Tavukpazarı*), located on the former Forum of Constantine, and on the opposite side. There are seven domed rooms each on the side of Valide Hamam and across from it. Each room has one door and one window opening to the porticoed gallery inside the courtyard while they have only one window each on the outside of the *han*. In addition, as observed in Valide Han, a small mosque is located near the center of the courtyard, with fountains below. This portrayal of the *han*, even though it is not a realistic representation, is important in terms of the space it occupied within the city during the time of the making of this map.

Evliya Çelebi draws attention to the strength of the building which was built in his lifetime and states that it had 220 rooms. He attempts to place Vezir Han on a par with Valide Han in terms of beauty.[127] Corneille Le Bruyn's (1652-1727) description of Constantinopolis elucidates the monumentality of these two outstanding *han*s, namely Vezir Han and Valide Han, in Istanbul's urban setting. As shown in Figure 4, Le Bruyn's depiction portrays the historical peninsula from around Galata Tower by extending the peninsula from the Sarayburnu to the

Köprülü Kütüphanesi, *Vakfiyeler*, 3/2446, 21a. Quoted from Topçu, "17. Yüzyıl İkinci Yarısında Etkin Bir Bani Ailesi: Köprülüler."

[126] Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Su Yolları*.

[127] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 280.

Ayvansaray Gate. In addition to the classical silhouette of the historical peninsula including royal mosques on each hill, the Topkapı Palace, the Valens aqueduct, new urban elements like urban *han*s were added to the urban scene. Valide Han and Vezir Han were visible from the other side of the Golden Horn, and were portrayed as prominent elements of the cityscape.[128]

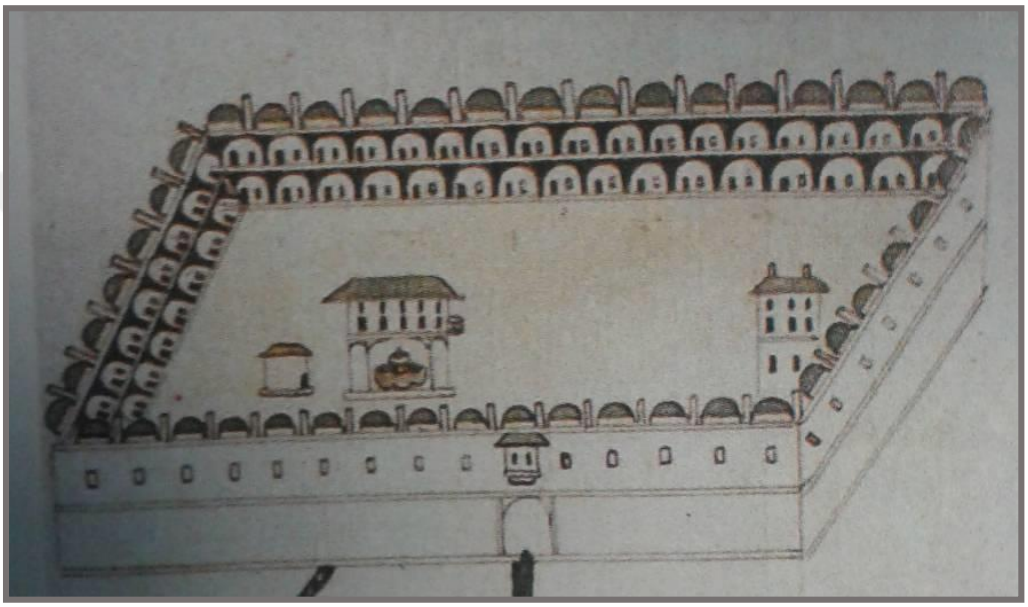


Figure 3. The representation of Vezir Han in Köprülü Waterways Map in 1672 (Çeçen, 1999)

At the turn of the century, two significant developments gave rise to the expansion of the commercial district. First, the fire of 1701 resulted in the covering of the main commercial area around the bedestans with a vaulted roof system.[129] Secondly, following the Edirne incident in 1703, the Ottoman court returned to the capital city. "The continuous dynamics between changing aspirations and practices of Ottoman society and the state's efforts to proclaim its presence in the city in the

[128] Corneille Le Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant: or Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor*.
[129] Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, 87.

face of these new realities"[130], gave rise to a set of new urban and architectural developments in eighteenth-century Istanbul.



Figure 4. The visibility of Vezir Han and Valide Han in Istanbul's urban setting in Corneille Le Bruyn's (1652-1727) panorama of Constantinopolis.

From the urban space perspective, eighteenth-century Istanbul differed from earlier eras in terms of the intensity of urban life, the introduction of certain new building types, and the spreading out of the city's commercial areas. These accompanied the expansion of the city's urban public spaces at large, namely the growing significance of its outdoor spaces, public baths, coffeehouses, and gardens.[131] During that time, the number of *han*s in the city reached its apex, new types of *han*s including three-story structures, like Büyük Yeni Han, appeared, and guest houses, like Hasan Pasha Han, emerged as a new type of *han.* Architectural

[130] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the eighteenth century.*

[131] For the developments of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*; Artan, "Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century: Days of Reconciliation and Consolidation," 300–312

articulation of the exteriors developed as never seen before. I will revisit the developments in *han* constructions in eighteenth-century Istanbul in the next chapter.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Istanbul's commercial life and structures went through profound changes. Instead of the traditional *han*s that offered space for merchant shops and boarding, changes in the type of businesses and the scarcity of construction space led to the building of new 'bureau *han*s'.[132] Due to growing commerce with Europe, commercial buildings expanded beyond the central commercial area of the city and many bureau *han*s, passages and alley *han*s were built particularly on the opposite side of Haliç in Galata and Karaköy. Urban spaces such as *han*s with guestrooms, commercial *han*s, bureau *han*s, caravanserais, and bachelor's chambers constituted the magnificent infrastructure for the gradually developing commercial practices and boarding and socializing opportunities in various locations spread around Ottoman Istanbul for four and half centuries.

2.2 The *han*s and their locations in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century

Up to this point, we have briefly sketched out a general outline of the historical process of the construction of Istanbul *han*s from the project of Mehmed II to build an imperial capital out of the city to the bureau *han*s in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this section of the chapter, I will attempt to analyze the spatial distribution of Istanbul *han*s in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as reflected in archival documents. To obtain reliable figures for the numbers of *han*s operating in greater Istanbul is difficult due to the absence of direct sources, especially before the eighteenth century. However, towards the end of the eighteenth

[132] Gülenaz, *Batılılaşma Dönemi İstanbul'unda Hanlar ve Pasajlar*.

century, the emergence of inspection and shop registers give us the opportunity to chart Istanbul *han*s and their spatial distribution within the urban landscape. Based on information in various registers from three particular dates within this historical period, I will suggest a comprehensive list of the *han*s, where they were located, how many rooms they had, whether they were waqf or private property and who were using them. With the help of GIS (Geographic Information Systems), I will also try to locate them on the map. As shown in Table 1, the first group of documents dates from 1791-1793 and contains information about 284 *han*s in Istanbul. The second register, from 1821, contains information about 178 *han*s while the last group of registers, most probably from early nineteenth century, presents information about 593 *han*s (including 175 bachelor chambers) that operated in different parts of Istanbul.

Table 1. The Registers Recording Istanbul *Han*s in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

	Registers	Number of Registers	Date	Number of *Han*s
1	Registers recording tradesmen and vagrants (*Esnaf Yoklaması*)	~ 20	1791-1793	284
2	Register recording tradesmen (*Esnaf Yoklaması*)	1	1821	178
3	Registers recording *han*s and their places	2	~ Early nineteenth century	593 (418 *han*s and 175 bachelor chambers)

Among these archival documents, the first group of registers dating from 1791-1793 offer valuable information in attaining the number of *han*s and their locations in Istanbul's urban setting. These documents, which were produced as a result of the inspections ordered by Selim III in the aftermath of the Ayasofya

incident, contain abundant information that allows us to locate the marketplaces like markets, *han*s and artisanal workshops within the context of the topography of Istanbul. These inspection records were produced to identify the potential mischief-makers including vagrants, unemployed bachelors, beggars and others who did not have legitimate business in Istanbul according to government officials.[133] In addition, they contain information in the form of lists of *han*s and the number of their rooms, the names and, if any, the titles, of shopkeepers, their origins and place of residence, and the employees of each room or shop (see Appendix A, Figure 40).

Among the first group of documents, I have located about 20 registers that were prepared from the end of 1791 to the August of 1793.[134] Out of these registers, especially the register numbered ADVN 836 is most beneficial for my research because of its detailed depiction of the *han*s of the commercial district of Istanbul. It is dated as June 10, 1793, hence is one of the later ones in the group (see Appendix

[133] In order to see the analyzing of these registers, see the works of Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran. Betül Başaran, "Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control, and Migration in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century, 1789 – 1793."; Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808),"; Kırlı, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı," 7-20; Kırlı, "Devlet ve İstatistik: Esnaf Kefalet Defterleri Işığında III. Selim İktidarı," 183-212.

[134] BOA A.DVN.d. 830, 1206/1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 831, 25 S - 25 R 1207 / October 12 - December 10 1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 832, 10 S 1208 / September 17, 1793.
BOA A.DVN.d. 833, 11 R 1207 / November 26, 1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 834, 13 R 1207 / November 28, 1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.
BOA A.DVN.d. 837, 15 Z 1207 – 3 M 1208 / July 24, 1793 – August 11, 1793.
BOA A.DVN.d. 852, 1220/1805.
BOA A.DVN.d. 881, undated. Probably 1207 / 1792.
BOA A.DVN.d. 899-L, 19 M - 7 R 1207 / September 6 - November 23, 1792.
BOA D.BŞM.TRE.d. 15233, 15 CA 1206 / January 10, 1792.
BOA D.BŞM.TRE.d. 15257.00018, 11 S 1208 / September 18, 1793.
BOA NFS.d. 00003, undated. Probably 1792/3.
BOA NFS.d. 00004, undated. Probably 1792/3.
BOA NFS.d. 00006, undated. Probably 1792/3.
BOA NFS.d. 00007, undated. Probably 1792/3.

A, Figure 41).[135] It covers the region from the district of Bayezıd Mosque to Osmaniye, Mahmud Paşa, Bahçekapısı, Kazğancılar, Çarşı-yı Kebir derunu, Ketancılar, Kantarcılar within Zindan Kapısı, Ayazma and Odunkapısı, Vefa Meydanı, to the Süleymaniye Mosque. It lists a total number of 119 *han*s in the areas described. However, together with the other aforementioned registers, this group of registers records 284 *han*s and 280 bachelor chambers, a total of 564 units, operating in greater Istanbul, as shown in Table 2. These numbers show that, in spite of the fact that the area between the Istanbul port and the Bedestan area was the main commercial zone; the other parts of greater Istanbul also took part in commercial and artisanal activity and housed *han* complexes.

These registers have recently been utilized by historians in the context of inquiries on social control, new administrative mentalities and the transitioning into a statistics-keeping state.[136] On the other hand, these registers contain lists of *han*s that have not been analyzed until now in terms of the opportunity they provide for preparing a comprehensive list of *han*s of the period and for examining them within urban space.

The second register I used in this study was prepared in the context of the Greek rebellion of 1821.[137] This register also provides valuable information about the number of Istanbul *han*s, their distribution in the city and the types of merchants and artisans they housed. This document was prepared with the aim of identifying the non-Muslim shopkeepers who occupied *han*s without suretyship, to catalogue the weapons they held, to purchase these weapons from them at their real values, and to

[135] BOA ADVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.

[136] See the works of Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran.

[137] For the effects of the 1821 Greek rebellion to İstanbul, see Ilıcak, A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826."

appoint new keepers to the *han*s. According to this register, there were 178 *han*s within the walls in Istanbul that maintained different commercial and artisanal activities.[138]

Table 2. The Regional Distribution of Istanbul *Han*s in 1791-1793 from *Kefâlet* Registers

Region	Number of *han*s
From Bayezid Mosque, Osmaniye, Mahmud Paşa to Bahçekapı, from there to inside the coveredbazaar, Ketancılar, Zindan Kapısı, Ayazmakapı and Süleymaniye Mosque, Northern region	119[139]
From Bayezid to Edirnekapı, from there to Eğrikapı and further on through Fener, Balat to Unkapanı, Northwestern region	50[140]
Within the walls, starting from Divanyolu to Silivrikapı and from there southward to Yedikule and along the coast to Kumkapı and Kadırga and then going back north to Divanyolu, Southern region	
Outside the walls in the peninsula (Starting in the north from Bahçekapı and Eminönü through Haliç, Kara Surları and along the Marmara coast till Ahırkapı)	59[141]
Kasımpaşa Beyoğlu	6[142]
Galata	6[143]
The Two sides of the Bosphorus (from Kadıköy to Taş İskele in Beşiktaş)	43[144]
Total	284

Sources: BOA A.DVN.d. 836, BOA AVDN.d. 837, BOA A.DVN.d. 831, BOA A.DVN.d. 833, BOA A.DVN.d. 832, BOA ADVN.d. 881

Even though the document was prepared after the 1821 Greek rebellion in order to determine the number of Greeks in Istanbul and to register the weapons they

[138] In order to see the list of İstanbul *Han*s in 1821, see Appendix C, Table 20. BOA NFS.d. 0008, 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821. Another version of this register is located in Başmuhasebe defterleri. BOA A.DVNS.TZEİ.d. 29, 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821. For a work for the second register, see Demir, "XIX. Yüzyılda Tarihi Yarımada Hanlarının Ekonomik Yönü."

[139] BOA A.DVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.

[140] BOA AVDN.d. 837, 15 Z 1207 – 3 M 1208 / July 24, 1793 – August 11, 1793.

[141] BOA A.DVN.d. 831, 25 S - 25 R 1207 / October 12 - December 10 1792.

[142] BOA A.DVN.d. 833, 11 R 1207 / November 26, 1792.

[143] BOA A.DVN.d. 832, 10 S 1208 / September 17, 1793.

[144] BOA ADVN.d. 881, undated. Probably 1207 / 1792; BOA ADVN.d. 899-L, 19 M - 7 R 1207 / September 6 - November 23, 1792.

held, it also contains valuable information about the 178 *han*s in the walled city and the shopkeepers who occupied these *han*s. Despite the fact that this register does not cover all the *han*s in Istanbul, it covers most of the *han*s in the commercial area, and the major *han*s outside of this district. While this register locates some of the *han*s precisely (at the beginning of Çakmakçılar, in the proximity of Tahmis, in the proximity of Mahmud Paşa), it does not provide any information about the location of others. Moreover, while some are recorded simply as "*Han*", some names are encountered more than once for different buildings, such as the cases for Ali Pasha Han, or Çukur Han.

The information recorded in this register starts with Kürkçü Han in the proximity of Mahmud Paşa, continues with Valide Han and Büyük Yeni Han located on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, a central location for new han construction of in the eighteenth century, passes through Vezir Han in Tavukpazarı, continues on to the *han*s in the area of Tahtakale and Eminönü. It moves on to the *han*s on Uzunçarşı and covering the *han*s inside the Covered Bazaar, it reaches Simkeş Han and Hasan Pasha Han in Bayezid; it moves on from there to Vefa Han in Vefa and finally ends with information regarding *han*s in various regions at some distance to the main commercial center (Yedikule, Davudpaşa, Karagümrük, Fatih).

The names of the shopkeepers who maintained their businesses in the *han*s are given together with their type of trade. It is therefore possible to also acquire significant information regarding the distribution of tradesmen within the walled city. However, since the survey was not a comprehensive one covering the city on the whole, and because of diverse functions the *han*s including trade, artisanal production, and boarding, it is difficult to make generalizations regarding tradesmen

occupying Istanbul *han*s based on this document. In the fifth chapter of this thesis, I will discuss these documents in the context of state control over the *han* frequenters.

As Kırlı astutely emphasizes in his studies, in the period leading up to the *Tanzimat*, the Ottoman state was moving in the direction of becoming a statistics state, as demonstrated in the population census records before and after 1839, the intelligence reports that aimed to compile people's opinions creation of estate and property records in *'temettuat'* registers (1845-48).[145] During the population census collection efforts in this period, the *han*s that offered boarding to bachelors were a particular focus for census officials. In this context, the population census records from 1844 and 1856 show that both Muslim and Armenian bachelors were recorded based on the *han*s where they were staying. As indicated in Table 3, for population census purposes, Istanbul was divided into three main regions, namely, Asitane, Galata, including Tophane, and Üsküdar, including Üsküdar, Beykoz, Anadolufeneri, and other localities. The 1844 census shows Muslim bachelors boarding in 198 *han*s and Armenian bachelors boarding in 254 *han*s within the walled city. The 1856 population census, on the other hand, records Muslim bachelors as boarding in 257 *han*s and Armenian bachelors as boarding in 289 *han*s in the same area.

Statistical information regarding Istanbul in general and Istanbul *han*s in particular abounds in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this context, the lists published in Gürünlü Muallim Manuk's *Hamarod Askharhakrutyun (Abridged*

[145] Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844).*

Geography),[146] the population census of 1885[147] and following that, the statistical information presented in *Istanbul Ihsaiyat Journal*[148] are of particular importance.

Table 3. The Number of *Han*s where Bachelors Boarded According to Census Records of 1844 and 1856

	1260 / 1844		1273 / 1856	
	Muslim bachelors	Armenian bachelors	Muslim bachelors	Armenian bachelors
Asitane	198[149]	254[150]	257[151]	289[152]
Galata District's Tophane region	12[153]	25[154]	14[155]	
Üsküdar District's Üsküdar, Beykoz, Anadolufeneri, etc.	36[156]			

[146] K. Pamukciyan published in Turkish transcription the list of Istanbul's *han*s which was appended to Gürünlü Muallim Manuk's *Hamarod Askharhakrutyun (Abridged Geography)* printed in 1868 in İstanbul at Rupen Kürkciyan (1825-1870) press. This list mentions 197 *han*s, 33 of which are located in Galata and 164 of which are located in the historic peninsula. Out of these, 143 of the *han*s are located in the commercial region that is called the *Han*s Region. Pamukciyan, "1868'de Mevcud İstanbul Hanları," 5-9. Moreover, another study by Kevork Pamukciyan based on a document from the archives of Armenian Patriarchate from July 10, 1787 mentions the names of 56 *han*s in Istanbul. This document is a list of the names of people from Istanbul who donated to the monasteries in Van, classified according to their business addresses. Since their businesses are located inside *han*s, the names of these *han*s are mentioned. Even though the document lists only the names of the 56 *han*s in which Armenians who had donated money to the monasteries in Van had shops, these are some of the most prominent *han*s in Istanbul's commercial district such as Valide *Han*, Büyük Yeni *Han* and Elçi *Han*. Pamukciyan, "18. Yüzyılın Sonlarında İstanbul Hanları," 119-123.

[147] The population census records from 1885 contain information regarding the *han*s that operated in İstanbul and the people, most probably bachelors, who stayed in these *han*s. According to these census records, there were a total of 483 *han*s in Istanbul, 287 of which were located within the walls and their vicinity. Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selasede bulunan hanlarin esamisiyle bulunduklari mahallelerin semt-i meşhuri ve mensup oldukları devair-i belediyyeler ve nüfus-i muharrerelerinin icmailen mikdarini mübeyyin cedveldir. *Dersaadet ve Bilâd-i Selâse Nüfus-ı Umûmiyesine Mahsûs İstatistik Cedveldir*, 59-75.

[148] According to the statistical information provided in *İstanbul İhsaiyat Journal*, 445 old *han*s operated in Istanbul in 1912, and 249 of them are located in the *Han*s Region. In the same year, 260 new *han*s also operated in Istanbul. These new *han*s, on the other hand, were mostly located in the newly developed commercial areas such as Bayezid Laleli area, and in Beyoğlu in the area that stretches from Pera to Taksim and Harbiye. For the list of the old *han*s, see Kal'a, "Tarihi Süreç İçinde Kapalı Çarşı Hanlar Bölgesi Esnaf Üretim Faaliyetleri," 303-320.

[149] BOA NFS.d. 151, 153, 155, 1260 / 1844.

[150] BOA NFS.d. 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 1260 / 1844.

[151] BOA NFS.d. 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 1273 / 1856.

[152] BOA NFS.d. 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 1273 / 1856.

[153] BOA NFS.d. 177, 1260 / 1844.

[154] BOA NFS.d. 540, 1260 / 1844.

[155] BOA NFS.d. 433, 1273 / 1856.

[156] BOA NFS.d. 183, 1260 / 1844.

2.3 Spatial distribution of *han*s in the early nineteenth century

Waqf Registers (*Evkaf Defterleri*) which have recently been made accessible, include two particular documents which contain comprehensive information about 593 *han*s and bachelor chambers that operated within Istanbul.[157] These two registers written by two different scribes, start with the title "Registers that declare the locations and names of *han*s located in the capital city and its three boroughs" (*Dersa'âdet ve Bilâd-ı Selase'de bulunan hânların mahal ü isimlerini mübeyyin defter*). The first register contains 8 folios, with a total of 15 pages of records (see Appendix A, Figure 36). The second register, on the other hand, is made up of 9 folios and contains a total of 18 pages of text (see Appendix A, Figure 37). Out of the two registers written in *rika* script, the second one's scribe has a more legible and clear style of handwriting. Except for a few words, the two registers are identical. The only difference among the two is that the second register mentions 42 *han*s with the name of the waqf each one belonged to. In this register, above the line where these 42 *han*s were written, the names of the waqfs each one belonged to (Laleli Vakfı, Rüstem Pasha ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı, Ayasofya Vakfı) are written in red ink (see Appendix A, Figure 38). We have another register that contributes to the information on which *han* belongs to which waqf. This document, found among the Waqf Registers, contains information regarding the names and ownership of 129 *han*s that operate in Istanbul (see Appendix A, Figure 39).[158] This register, which is similar to the two registers described above, was prepared by the *Hancılar Kethüdası* located in *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezâreti* and lists the names, locations and owners of 129 *han*s in different areas of Istanbul within the walls. 3 of these *han*s are recorded as private

[157] BOA EV.d. 39554, undated. BOA EV.d. 39894, undated.

[158] BOA EV.d. 39524, undated, but for Işıközü, it was probably dated to 1827. For register, see. Işıközü, "İstanbul'un Eski Vakıf Hanları," 421-424.

property (*mülk*) while the remaining 126 are listed as waqf. However, this register does not cover all the *han*s in Istanbul. Even some of the most important *han*s such as Valide Han, Astarcılar Han, Çuhacılar Han, Hasan Pasha Han are warranted inclusion. The information found in this register and the manner in which it is presented suggests that it was prepared in the same period and for the same purpose as the former two registers.

While neither of the first two documents contain a date, it seems possible to determine their dates based on their contents. Both the vocabulary used in the registers and the names and description of the location of *han*s suggest that they were created before the 1850s. Similarly, as far as I can ascertain, out of the *han*s listed, the most recently constructed one is Büyük Yıldız Han built in 1817 according to its original inscription. Given this information, we can assume that the registers were prepared sometime after 1817 and before 1850s. On the other hand, the third register mentioned above, which was published in *Vakıflar Journal* in 1973 by Fazıl Işıközlü, is also undated but the author dates it to 1827. Işıközlü explains that the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* was founded on 13 October 1826, and that the *Kapu Ağalığı* mentioned in the register was terminated in Şevval 1242 (April 28-May 26, 1827), therefore the register should contain information from 1827.[159] Indeed, an imperial decree (*Hatt-ı Hümâyun*) from the era of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) might support this date.[160] This decree states that, even though the construction and renovation of hans and chambers for the boarding of bachelors is not allowed in Istanbul and the three boroughs, their number has been increasing and therefore, from that date on forbids the building or renovation of *han*s or bachelor chambers,

[159] Işıközü, "İstanbul'un Eski Vakıf Hanları," 421.
[160] BOA HAT. 491/24051, 1242 / 1827.

with the exception of extant masonry and timber hans. This imperial decree implies that an inventory of the *han*s and bachelor chambers in Istanbul and the three districts was available at that time. All this evidence leads us to reach the conclusion that the two registers mentioned above were also prepared in the early nineteenth century, and the information they contain about the *han*s that operated in Istanbul within the context of those decades.

In the registers, as shown in Figure 5, first the geographical area or a route (*kol*) is given (Çakmakçılar Civarında, Yanyalı Hanı Kolu), then the names of the *han*s in the mentioned area or route are listed (Valide Han); right under the name of each *han* the number of its rooms is recorded (*Oda*, 248), and in the second register, the waqf some belong to is written in red ink (*Çinili Valide Vakfından*) right above the name of the *han*.

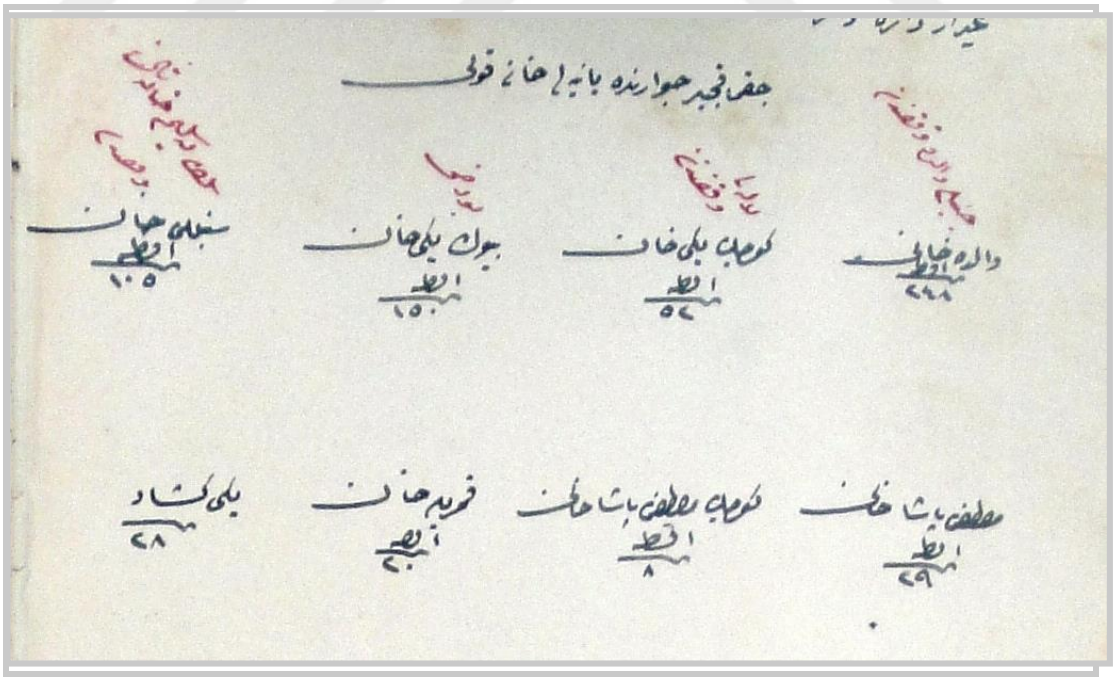


Figure 5. The writing style of a *han* register. (BOA EV.d. 39894)

This style of recording is observed as largely standard for most *han*s located in the Istanbul port and Bedestan area. However, for those away from the commercial center and for almost all small-scale bachelor rooms, their location within the city is given with more precise information. As in examples such as "Bachelor rooms at Balaban Pier, next to Kayıkhane; Hacı Mustafa Agha's Han at the Debbağhane square in the above-mentioned neighborhood; Bachelor rooms in Beşiktaş at the pier above Eşref Bey's Mill; Portman Hacı Ali Agha's Bachelor rooms in Tavukçular, across from the launderer and above the coffeehouse",[161] the locations and the owners of bachelor chambers are clearly recorded.

Of the 593 structures included in the registers, 418 are listed under the name of *han* while 175 are listed as bachelor chambers or simply as 'room'. The term caravanserai, which was at that time abandoned in favour of the term *han*, is not encountered in these documents at all.

These registers record a total of 593 *han*s and bachelor chambers in Istanbul and the three boroughs divided geographically into 26 areas or routes. As shown in Figure 6, the record of the *han*s start with those located in Çakmakçılar and continue with the list of *han*s and bachelor chambers located respectively in Hasırcılar, Asmaaltı, Uzun Çarşı, Alaca Hamam, Mahmud Paşa, Bab-ı Zaptiye, Mercan, Çarşı-yı Kebir, Yorgancılar, Tavuk Pazarı, Kalpakçılar Başı, Dikilitaş, Üsküdar, Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Tahmis, Ayvansaray, Sultan Bayezid, Fatih, Yedikule, Aksaray, Kapan-ı Dakik, Kadırga Port and ended in Hasköy.

[161] "Balaban İskelesinde Kayı*han*e İttisalinde Bekar Odaları; Mahalle-i Mezburede Debbağhane Meydanında Hacı Mustafa Ağanın Hanı; Beşiktaşta İskelede Balmumcuzade Eşref Beyin Degirmeni Üzerinde Bekar Odaları, Tavukçularda Çamaşırcı Karşısında Kahve Üzerinde Kapı Çukadarı Hacı Ali Ağanın Bekar Odaları"

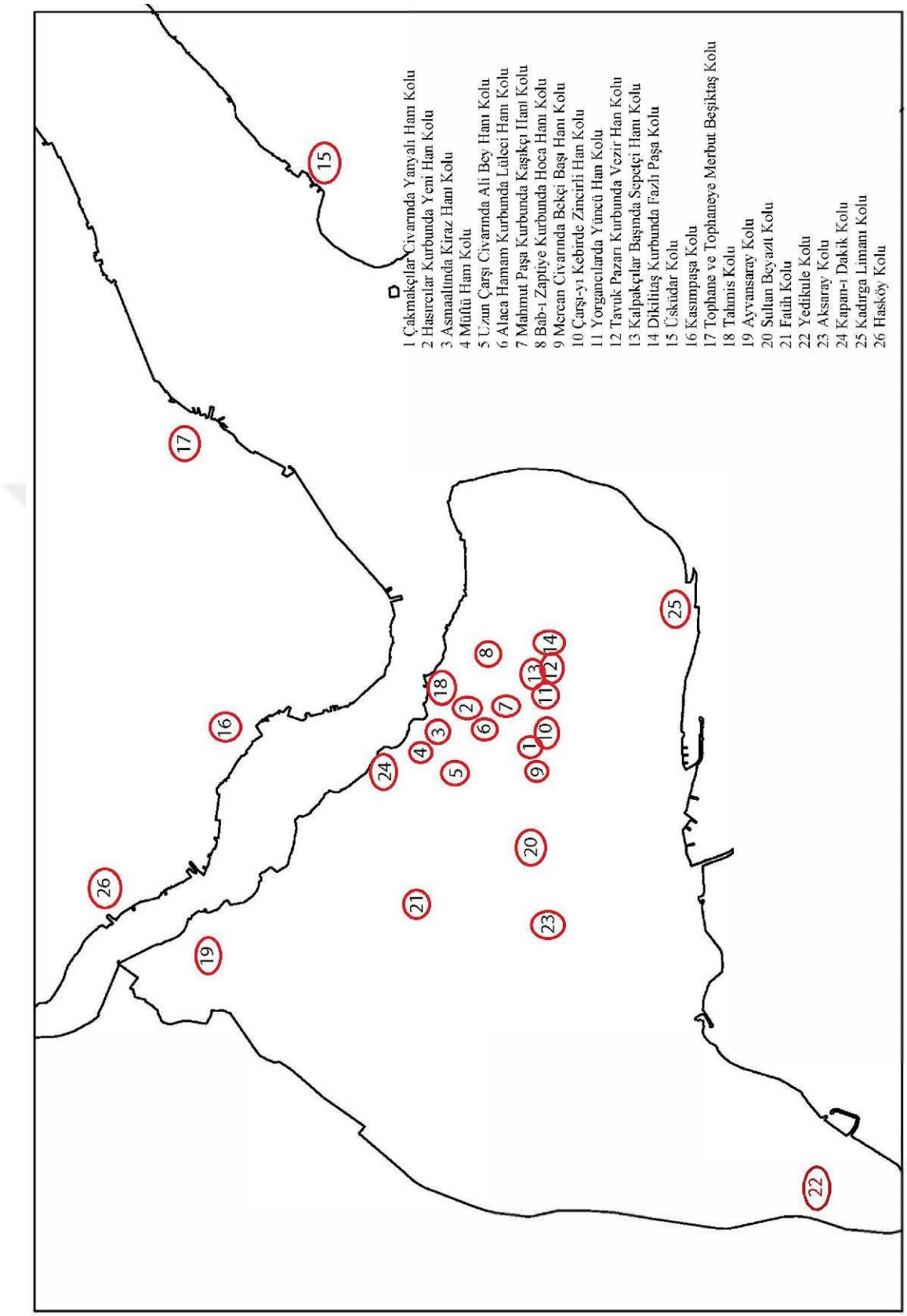


Figure 6. The recording of *han*s and bachelor chambers in 26 areas or routes as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

It can be said that all the *han*s and bachelor chambers located in the imperial capital were recorded in these registers, with the exception of two regions: Galata and the two sides of the Bosphorus from Beşiktaş to Rumelikavağı and from Anadolukavağı to Üsküdar. The exclusion of the *han*s in Galata is particularly noticeable. Interestingly, even in the surety registers from 1791-1793, only 6 of the *han*s located inside the walls of Galata were recorded. Even though it was not as commercially active as the port and the Bedestan areas within the walled city, there was still a quantity of commercial activity around Galata. It therefore interesting that *han*s located in Galata were not recorded. In my surveys of archival documents from the pre-Tanzimat period, the only record I was able to find about the *han*s located inside the walls of Galata was a surety register from 1763.[162] This register contains information about 27 *han*s located in Galata and Kasımpaşa, as well as information about the surety of tradesmen who occupied these *han*s. According to this register, there were 18 *han*s (I assume) located in Galata, which include medium scale *han*s such as Zincirli Han (35 rooms), Arap Fesçi Hacı Han (33 rooms), Yelkenci Han (26 odalı), large scale *han*s such as Kurşunlu Han (60 rooms) and Hasan Pasha Han (Havyar Han) (87 rooms) as well as many small scale *han*s. The data on Galata *han*s included in the maps in the following sections were compiled from this register dating to 1763.

Within the context of this thesis, the records in these two registers provide us with significant data particularly regarding the locations of these *han*s in Istanbul's urban topography, the areas in the urban space where *han*s clustered, the distinction between the term *han* and the term bachelor chamber, number of rooms for each *han* and bachelor chamber, and the waqfs that owned the *han*s. Using Geographical

[162]Atatürk Kitaplığı, M. Cevdet, B0010, 19 N 1176 - 23 M 1177 / April 3, 1763 – August 3, 1763.

Information Systems (GIS), I will attempt to analyze the data provided by the registers. The employment of GIS as a new analytical tool among Ottoman historians has been increasing recently.[163] For example, Nina Ergin, based on data from a register named *İstanbul Hammamları Defteri* from 1752, undertook an analysis of 177 bathhouses and the people employed in them accompanied by digital visualizations created through GIS.[164] As shown in Ergin's study, GIS gives historians the opportunity to render (often numerical) raw data into maps, which help to visualize patterns of spatial distribution and socio-spatial relations.

The process of urban mapping through the program ArcGIS can be divided into several phases:

1. Identifying the locations of the 593 *han*s and bachelor chambers listed in the registers on the map of Greater Istanbul;
2. Showing the density of urban *han*s and bachelor chambers on the map of Greater Istanbul;
3. Entering the data including the number of rooms for each *han* and bachelor chambers into shape-files linked to the respective locations;
4. Demonstrating the locations of listed *han*s in the middle of the nineteenth century on the contemporary map of Istanbul.

The first step of identifying the locations of the 593 *han*s and bachelor chambers proved to be a particularly challenging and multi-layered endeavor. Some of these *han*s (such as Büyük Yeni Han, Valide Han) preserve the name they were given in the registers and still operate in the same location as listed in the registers.

[163] In order to see the recent trends, see the two panel sessions organized by Amy Singer. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Ottoman social and economic history. *XI. international congress of social and economic history of Turkey*. Bilkent University, Ankara, 2008; GIS in Middle East studies: Working local and going global. Annual MESA meeting. 2008 (Washington DC) and 2009 (Boston).
[164] Ergin, "Mapping Istanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees."

Identifying the locations of such structures on the map is relatively easy. I identified the locations of this type of *han*s on the map by using *Goad Maps, Pervititch Insurance Maps, Alman Mavileri, Ayverdi's Nineteenth Century Istanbul Map* as well as my personal topographical visits and the texts from various archival documents that refer to the location of these *han*s. However, nearly all of the small-scale *han*s and bachelor chambers listed in the register have lost the names and even the space they occupied in the urban topography over the two centuries. These structures are described in greater detail in the registers most probably because even at the time of the preparation of the registers the location of these places were not readily recognizable either by the officials who prepared the registers or by the readers the registers were intended for. The concrete information provided such as the names of neighborhoods or streets, or whether it was inside or outside a major gate, or next to a public bath helps us identify the location of these buildings. In the case of the structures whose exact location was not identified at all, their approximate locations were determined based on the information regarding the other *han*s that they were listed with and the name of the main area under which they were recorded. Figure 7 shows the locations of *han*s and bachelor chambers were located in Istanbul as reflected in the registers in the early nineteenth century. According to the map, *han*s generally cluster around the port in Haliç and around the Bedestan near Saray-ı Atîk. The spatial distribution of the *han*s in particular shows that the commercial area of Ottoman Istanbul maintained its development around the same centers into the nineteenth century as it started during the time of Mehmed II. Indeed, as Figure 8 illustrates, in this period, *han*s are found in very high density around the port and the bedestan area, and in relatively less density on Bayezid-Aksaray road and around Saraçhane in Fatih, and around Üsküdar and Tophane.

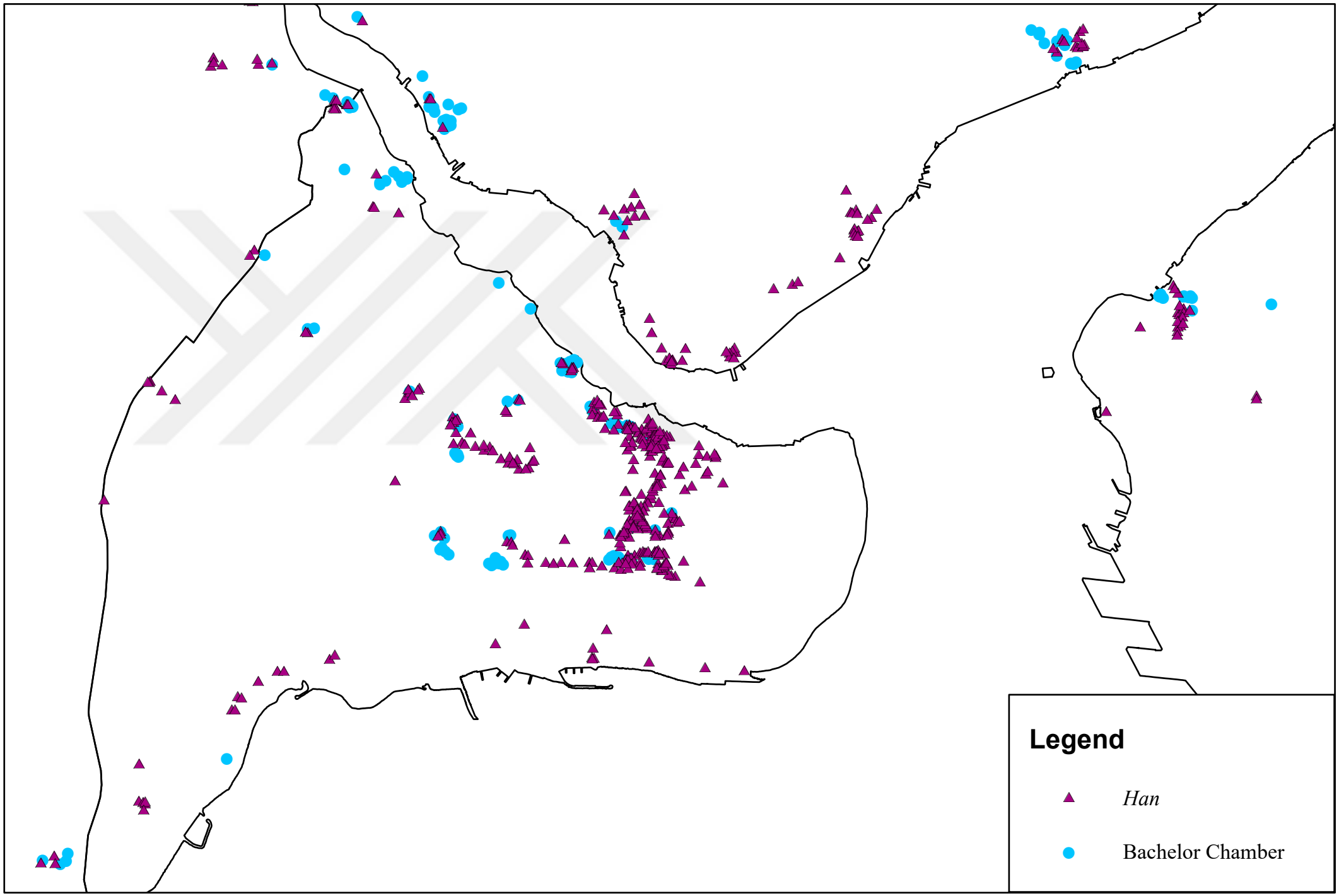


Figure 7. The Locations of the hans and bachelor chambers in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

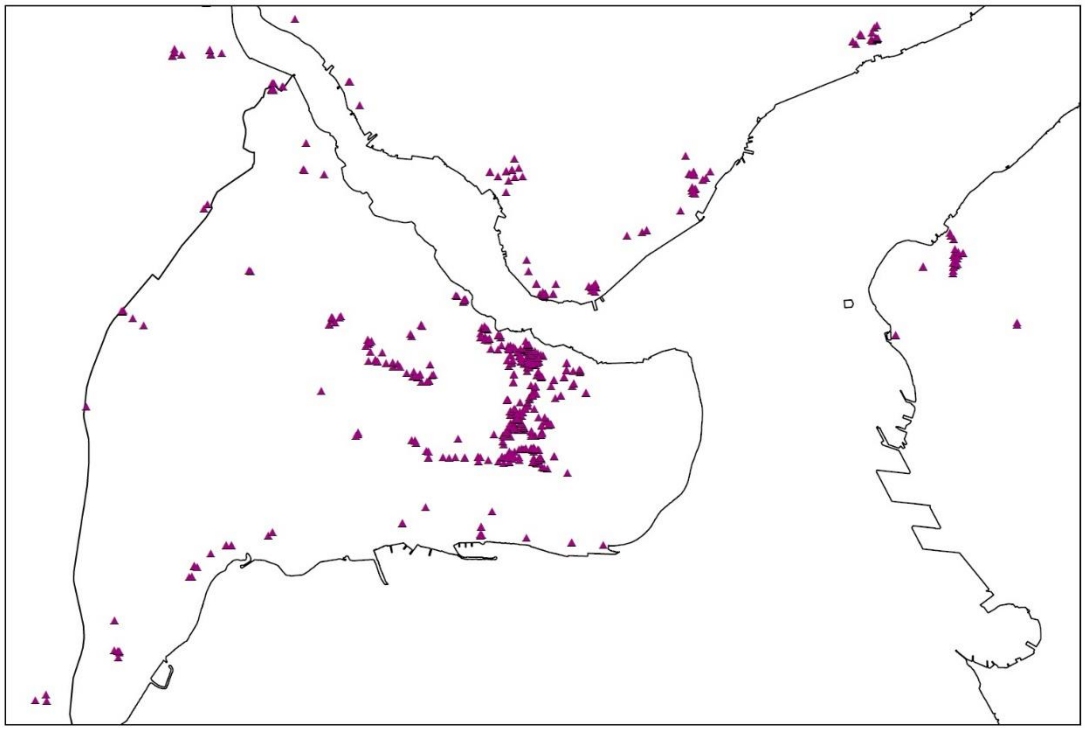


Figure 7a. The locations of the hans in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

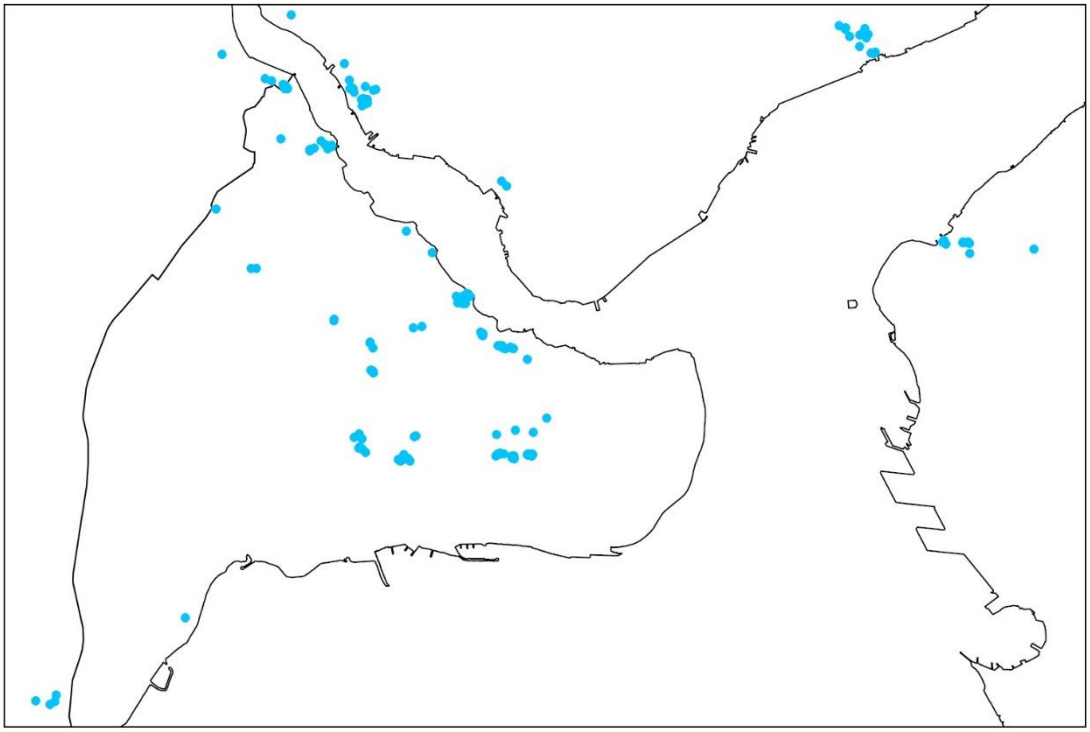


Figure 7b. The locations of the bachelor chambers in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

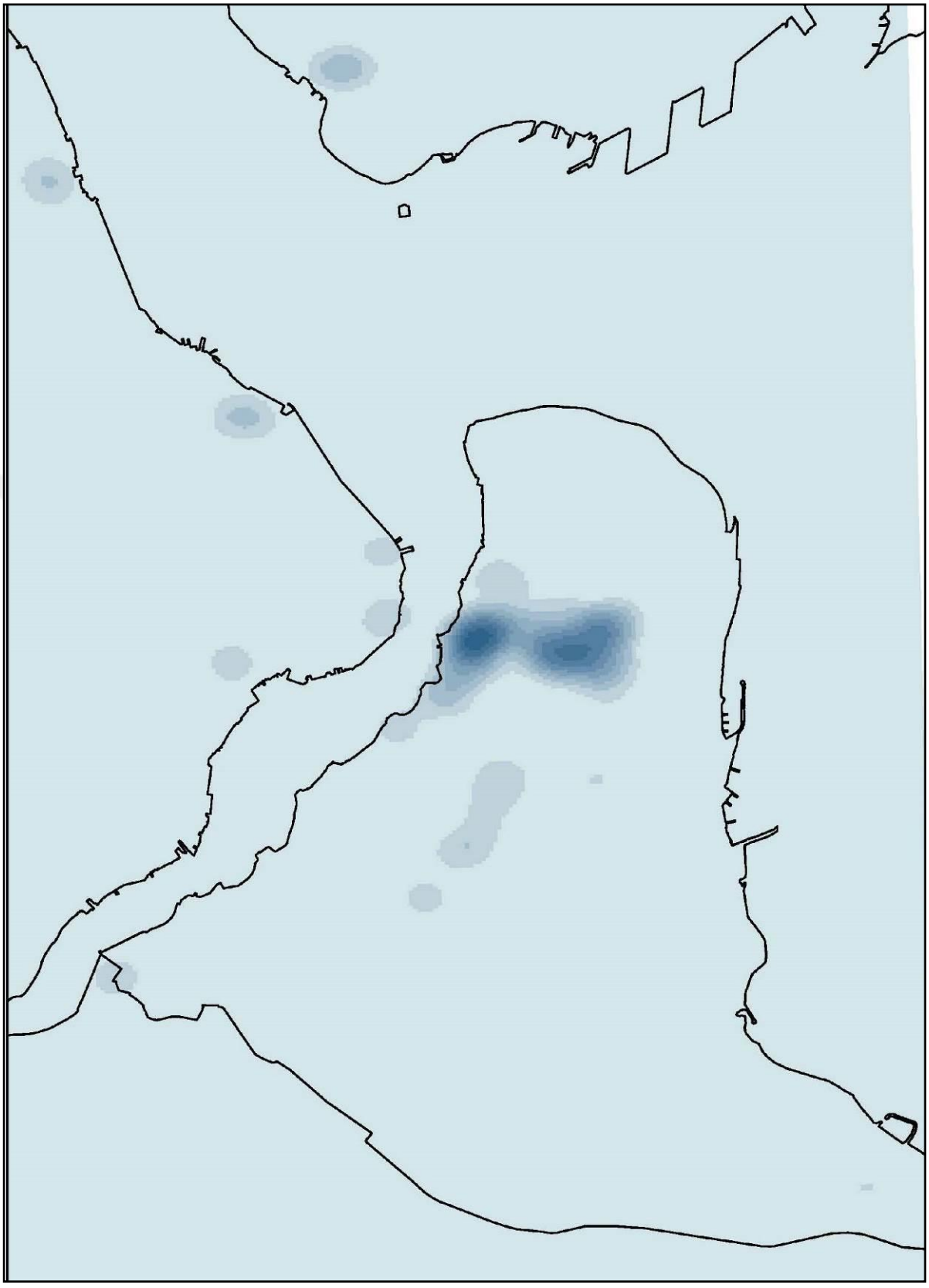
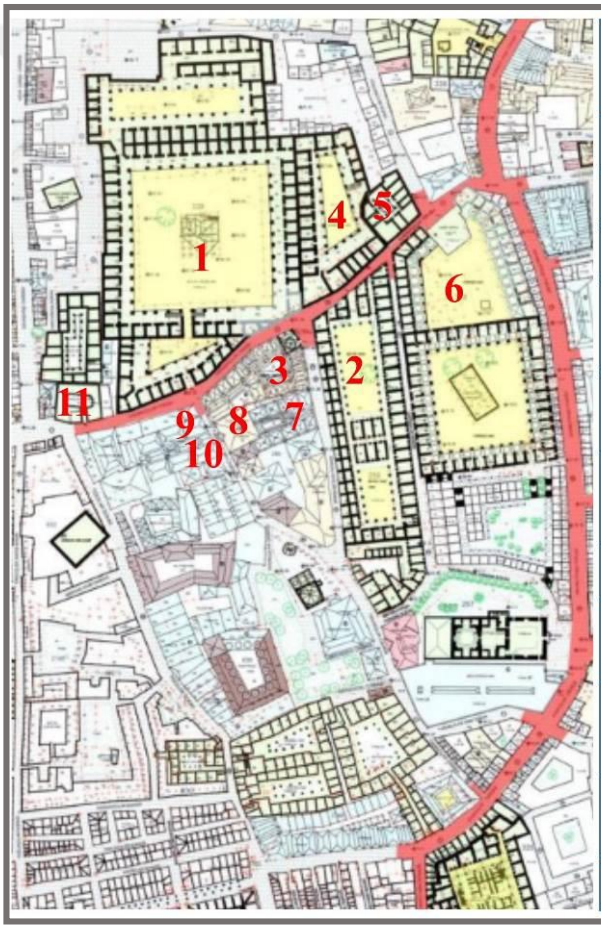


Figure 8. The density map of urban *han*s in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

One of the main areas where *han*s were found in clusters is the area centered around the commercial streets surrounding the bedestans, which were covered with a system of vaults in 1701, and hence referred to as Kapalıçarşı. Not surprisingly, these registers start with the record of *han*s on the Çakmakçılar ramp which is located to the west of Kapalıçarşı. This area started to develop as a popular place for *han*s with Kösem Sultan's construction of Valide Han with three courtyards in 1650, and became even more central with the completion of the Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han construction projects by Mustafa III between 1761 and 1763. In the following period, with the construction of Sünbüllü Han by Selim III, the general limits of this area were set. Even though these three structures are prominent with over 100 rooms each, the smaller scale *han*s built in the eighteenth century such as Mustafa Pasha Han, Kumrulu Han, also contributed to the shaping of the area. The Mercan area, at top of the Çakmakçılar ramp and forming the eastern boundary of Çakmakçılar, has been, a prominent part of Istanbul's commercial area since the time of the conquest and up to our time. This area, centered around the Mercan Agha Mosque, was host to 16 *han*s at the time of the registers, and most of these were medium/large-scale *han*s with approximately 50-60 rooms such as Yıldız Han with 47 rooms, Mercan Agha Han with 66 rooms, İmameli Han with 42 rooms and Ali Pasha Han with 69 rooms.

It is noteworthy that the scribe started with the *han*s located on the Çakmakçılar Ramp for the recording of *han*s included in the survey. The scribe starts recording with Valide Han which is located in the center of the Çakmakçılar district and continues with the other major *han*s of the region such as Büyük Yeni Han and Sünbüllü Han which are located further up the ramp. Similarly, in the register that was prepared on the occasion of the 1821 Greek rebellion, the first record is for

Kürkçü Han which marks the beginning of the Çakmakçılar ramp on the Mahmud Paşa side, and it continues with Çorapçı Han, Sünbüllü Han, and Büyük Yeni Han (Figure 9). The fact that these two registers, which were prepared around the same time period, take the Çakmakçılar ramp as their starting point might be taken as further proof of the commercial and socio-political prominence of this area during this period. Moreover, as will be discussed in the next chapter, this district appears to have become the heart of the financial transactions and commerce, particularly with the arrival of the members of *sarrâf* guild in the early nineteenth century.



#	The Name of Han	The Date of construction
1	Valide Hanı	1650
2	Büyük Yeni Han	1763
3	Küçük Yeni Han	1763
4	Sümbüllü Han	Late 18th Century
5	Mustafa Paşa Hanı	Late 18th Century
6	Kürkçü Han	Late 16th Century
7	Kumrulu Han	18th Century
8	Küçük Ticaret Han	Early 19th Century
9	Büyük Ticaret Han	Early 19th Century
10	Çinili Han	Late 18th Century
11	Boncukçu Han	18th Century

Figure 9. The *han*s located on the Çakmakçılar ramp.

After the Çakmakçılar ramp, the survey registers *han*s in the port region around Haliç. The *han*s and bachelor chambers in this region are listed under the main area headings of Hasırcılar, Asmaaltı, Müftü Han, Tahmis, Bab-ı Zaptiye and

Kapan-ı Dakik. A lot of small and medium-scale *han*s are located especially in the area between Odun Kapısı and Balıkpazarı Kapısı. In the vicinity of Hasırcılar, there are 18 *han*s including most prominently sixteenth century structures Balkapanı Han with 79 rooms (dating to the later fifteenth century with Byzantine sections), Papazoğlu Han with 51 rooms, Büyük Çukur Han with 35 rooms. Next to it, there are smaller *han*s with 10 to 15 rooms, with 17 of them in the vicinity of Asmaaltı and 11 of them around Tahmis. According to the register, fewer *han*-type structures were located to the east of the Yeni Camii Complex in comparison to the area to its west. A total of 14 *han*s listed under the main area heading of the sixteenth century structure Hoca Han near Bab-ı Zaptiye. Some of these, such as Aşir Efendi Han, Hoca Pasha Han, Muhsinzade Han, Nakkaş Han and Taş Han are medium scale buildings with 30-40 rooms each. On the other hand, under the main area heading of Müftü Han located between Ayazma Gate and Zindan Gate, 20 *han*s are shown to operate. Further west of this area is located the main area heading of Kapan-ı Dakik which records the *han*s that fall between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray. Under this main area heading, 69 structures are listed, 19 of which are *han*s and 50 of which are indicated as bachelor rooms. These buildings are observed to cluster around the neighborhoods of Unkapanı, Balat, and Ayvansaray near Haliç.

The commercial region that falls between the Port area and the Bedestan area is presented under two main area headings in the registers (Figures 10-11). In this area, a total of 23 *han*s are recorded, 9 of which are listed under the heading *Uzun Çarşı*, and 14 of them are listed under that of Alaca Hamam. *Uzun Çarşı* is one of the main historical arteries of Istanbul remaining from the Byzantine past, and it functions as a road that connects the two centers of the commercial region. Tahtakale Hamam is located on one side and Rüstem Pasha Complex is located on the other

side of the port end of Uzun Çarşı. At this end, three *han*s are noteworthy: Kilit Han, Sulu Han and Pertev Pasha Han with 84 rooms. In addition, the 108-room, relatively large-scale Fincancı Han, which belonged to the Foundation of Rüstem Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan (mid-sixteenth century), is found further up on the ramp towards Kapalıçarşı. On the upper part of Uzun Çarşı around Mercan and Kapalıçarşı's Örücüler Gate, many important *han* structures are located, as has been mentioned above. The other connection road is the area listed under the heading of Alaca Hamam stretched from Mahmud Paşa Kürkçü Han to the Egyptian Bazaar. This area housed 14 *han*s of varying sizes.

The registers then move inside the Grand Bazaar, and record a total of 24 *han*s, starting with the Zincirli Han area, continues with the Yorgancılar and finally ends in the Kalpakçılar area. Among these *han*s which are mostly large-scale structures such as Zincirli Han, Perdahçı Han, Çukur Han, Astarcı Han, Bodrum Han, one stands out with 184 rooms: Kebeci Han that belonged to the Foundation of Rüstem Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan. The registers show that on the eastern end of Kapalıçarşı, there are 11 *han*s clustered around Mahmud Pasha complex which was built by grand vizier Mahmud Pasha in the fifteenth century. This area constituted the eastern border of the main commercial district and was host to mainly large-scale *han*s such as Büyük Yıldız Han with 54 rooms, Cafer Agha Han with 60 rooms, and Kalçılar Han with 74 rooms.

The Tavukpazarı area located southeast of Kapalıçarşı and occupying part of Forum of Constantine of Byzantine Constantinople was also an important center of *han*s. For example, as mentioned previously in this chapter, Vezir Han which was built by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1659, and which contained 158 rooms, was located in this area. Also present in this area are the Çuhacı Han with 116 rooms,

which was restored by Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Esir Pazarı Han with 172 rooms which belonged to the Foundation of Bayram Pasha (sixteenth century), and Elçi Han with 96 rooms which belonged to the Foundation of Atîk Ali Pasha (early sixteenth century). The presence of these large-scale *han*s together with the other medium-scale *han*s such as Rubiye Han, Hazinedar Agha Han, Yağcı Han, etc, shows how important the Tavukpazarı area was not only in terms of commercial facilities but also in terms of accommodation opportunities. Besides Elçi Han and Esir Pazarı Han, a lot of bachelor chambers are located particularly in the region between Tavukpazarı and Bayezid Square. Especially around Parmakkapı, Kökçüler Kapısı and Türbe Square bachelor chambers were located either above tradesmen's shops or found independently containing approximately 4-5 separate rooms each.

Another important *han* area is the region from Çemberlitaş to Fatih Complex on the Divanyolu, which is represented in the registers under the main area headings of Bayezid, Aksaray and Fatih. The high-density clustering of *han*s and bachelor chambers around Çemberlitaş as shown above continues westward up to Bayezid and Laleli Çeşmesi. Of particular importance are Simkeş Han across from Bayezid Hamam with 150 rooms, a fifteenth century *han* which was rebuilt at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the Başkadın of Ahmed III, and next to it, Hasan Pasha Han/Süpürgeciler Han with 40 rooms, built by the grandvizier Hasan Pasha in the middle of the eighteenth century. Further down the road, we find Taş Han with 86 rooms which was built in the last quarter of eighteenth century as part of Laleli Complex. On the main road from Çemberlitaş to Laleli, many small and medium scale *han*s and bachelor rooms were located. The area that is registered under the main heading of Fatih in the registers contains 49 *han*s and 12 bachelor chambers.

On the main artery of Divanyolu from Şehzadebaşı to Edirnekapı, the registers list *han*s that mainly cluster around Fatih Mosque, Malta Market, Karaman, Saraçhane, At Pazarı and its vicinity.

One of the main implications of these *han* registers for us is that *han*s were not located only in the commercial region between the Bedestan and the Port area, that even though this region had the highest density in terms of the existence of *han*s, there were peripheral centers throughout Istanbul around which *han*s clustered. The existence of *han*s is also observed in areas like Kasımpaşa, Kadırga, Tophane and Üsküdar which were located on main land and sea routes, and which boasted well-developed commercial and transportation elements. The registers show that there were 21 *han*s in Üsküdar, 10 *han*s in Kasımpaşa, 21 *han*s in Tophane, 11 *han*s in Beşiktaş, 12 *han*s in Kadırga, 22 *han*s around Ayvansaray and Eyüp, and 17 *han*s in the vicinity of Yedikule. Some of these, especially the ones around Ayvansaray and Yedikule are small-scale structures with less than 10 rooms. However, a significant part of the *han*s in Kasımpaşa, Kadırga and Üsküdar are blocks of buildings with approximately 30 rooms each.

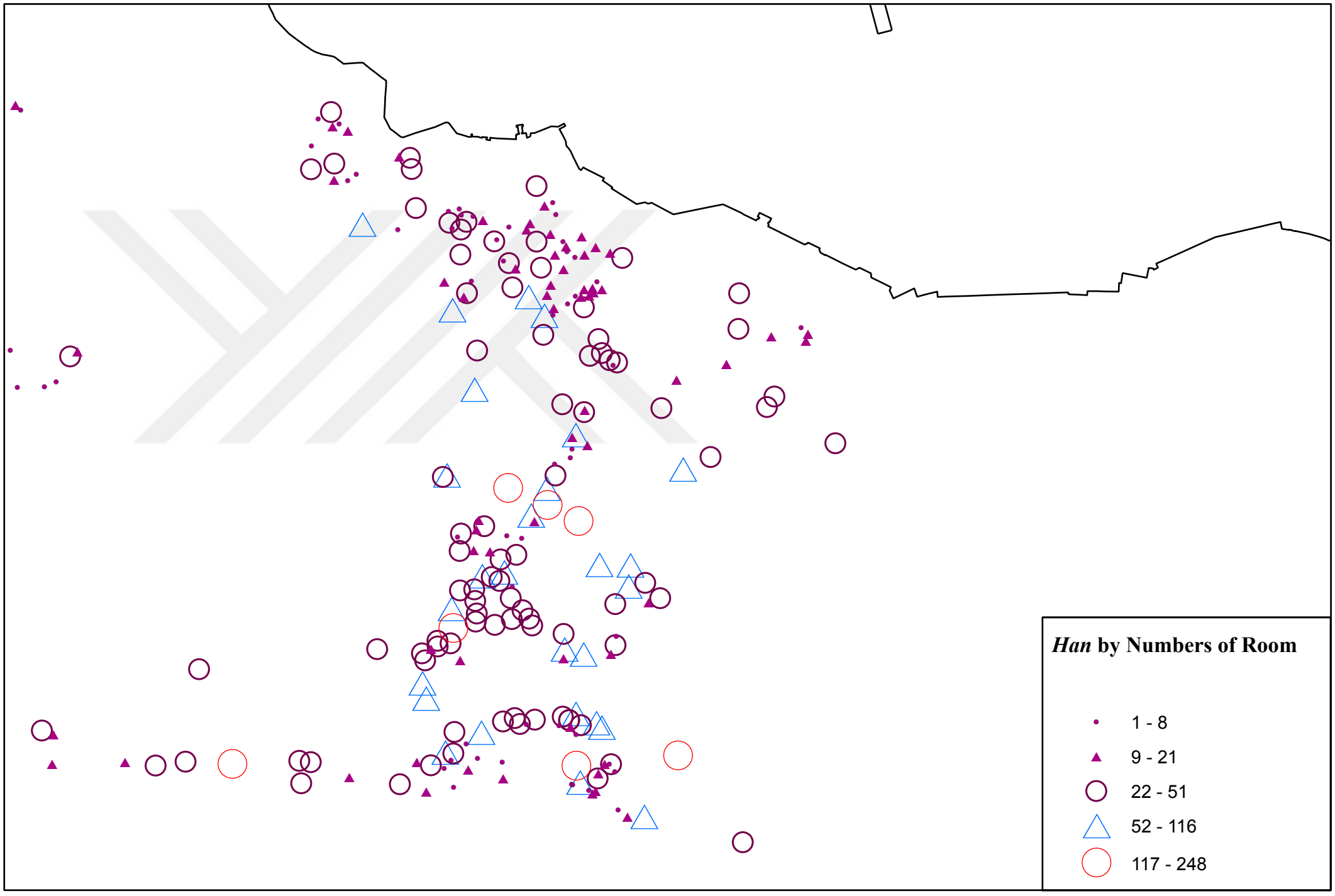


Figure 10. The hans in the commercial district between port and bedestan area as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

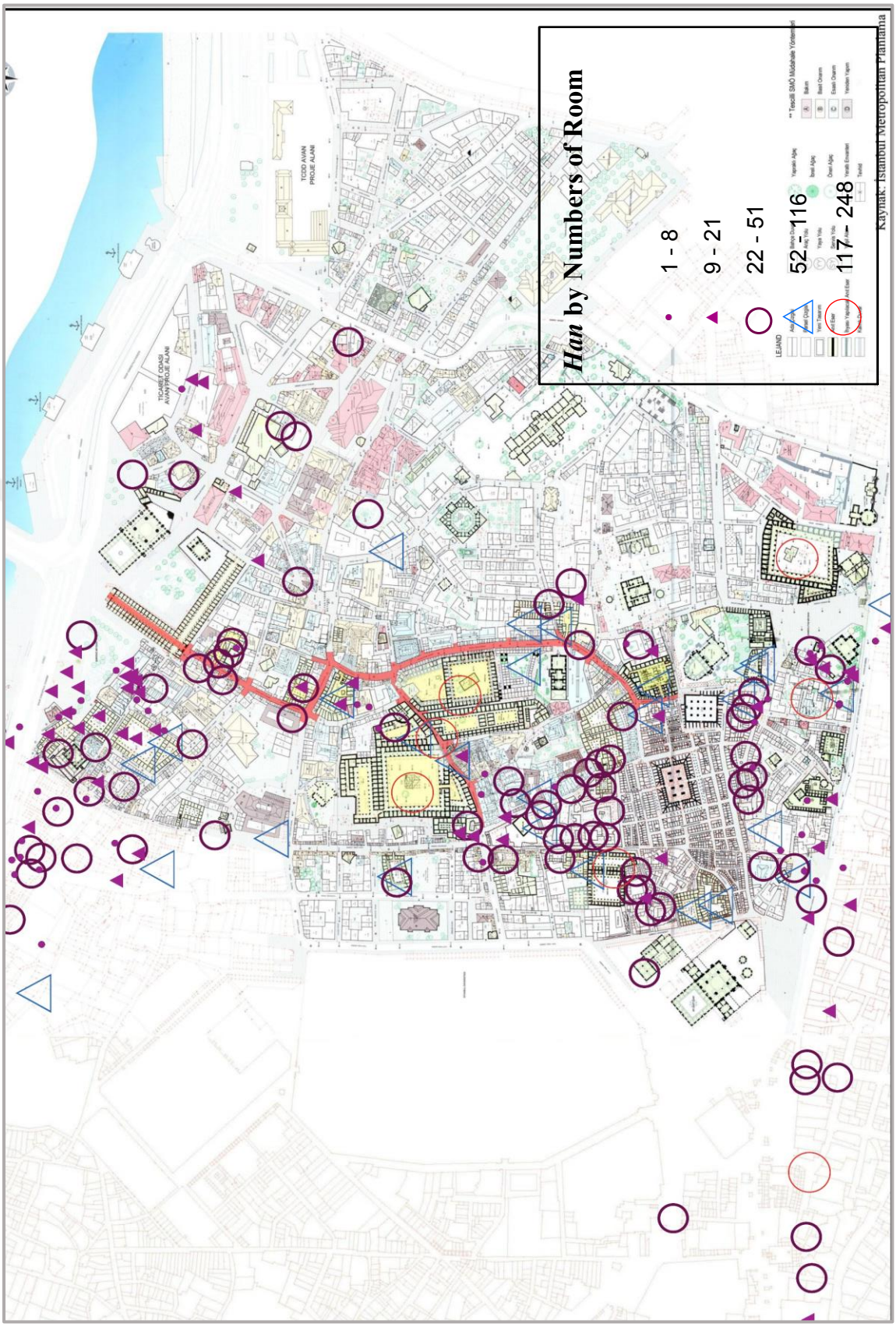


Figure 11. The colliding of the data on *han*s in the commercial district as reflected in early nineteenth century registers (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894) with a contemporary map of same area (Kapıcıoğlu, 169).

Out of the 418 *han*s listed in the registers, the number of rooms is also provided for 395, for 23 of them, this information is not provided. The large majority of buildings for which this information is missing are structures registered as *han*s and located in the peripheral districts of Istanbul. Three were under construction and one *han* was burnt down, so there is no room information for them. A noteworthy exception is Vefa Han in the Vefa area; even though it should be considered among the medium-scale *han*s, information regarding the number of its rooms is also missing. The 395 *han*s that are registered with their numbers of rooms have a total of 9618 rooms; that is, on average 25 rooms per *han*. However, we need to also take into account the limited nature of the accuracy of the information provided in the registers. For instance, the information regarding the number of rooms for some *han*s differs from the information found in their waqfiyya records. The waqfiyya record shows that Valide Han has 227 rooms while these registers list the number of its rooms as 248.[165] Similarly, Büyük Yeni Han appears to have 192 rooms in its waqfiyya,[166] 164 rooms in an archival document from 1780,[167] but the registers list the number as 150. However, the number of rooms given in the registers might be assumed to reflect the numbers that were in use at the time of the preparation of the registers. Despite these considerations, the quantitative information is worthy of our attention as it provides general picture of the *han*s in Istanbul during the early nineteenth century.

[165] Köprülü Kütüphanesi, *Vakfiyeler,* 3/2446, 21a. Quoted from Topçu, "17. YüzyIl İkinci Yarısında Etkin Bir Bani Ailesi: Köprülüler."
[166] VGMA. 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.
[167] BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1 M - 29 Z 1194 / January 8, 1780 - December 26, 1780.

Figure 12 below shows the number of rooms for each of the 418 *han*s in Istanbul. As this chart reveals, 137 of the 418 *han*s had more than the average number of 25 rooms while 281 *han*s had less than 25 rooms each.



Figure 12. The frequency of the numbers of room of *han*s as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

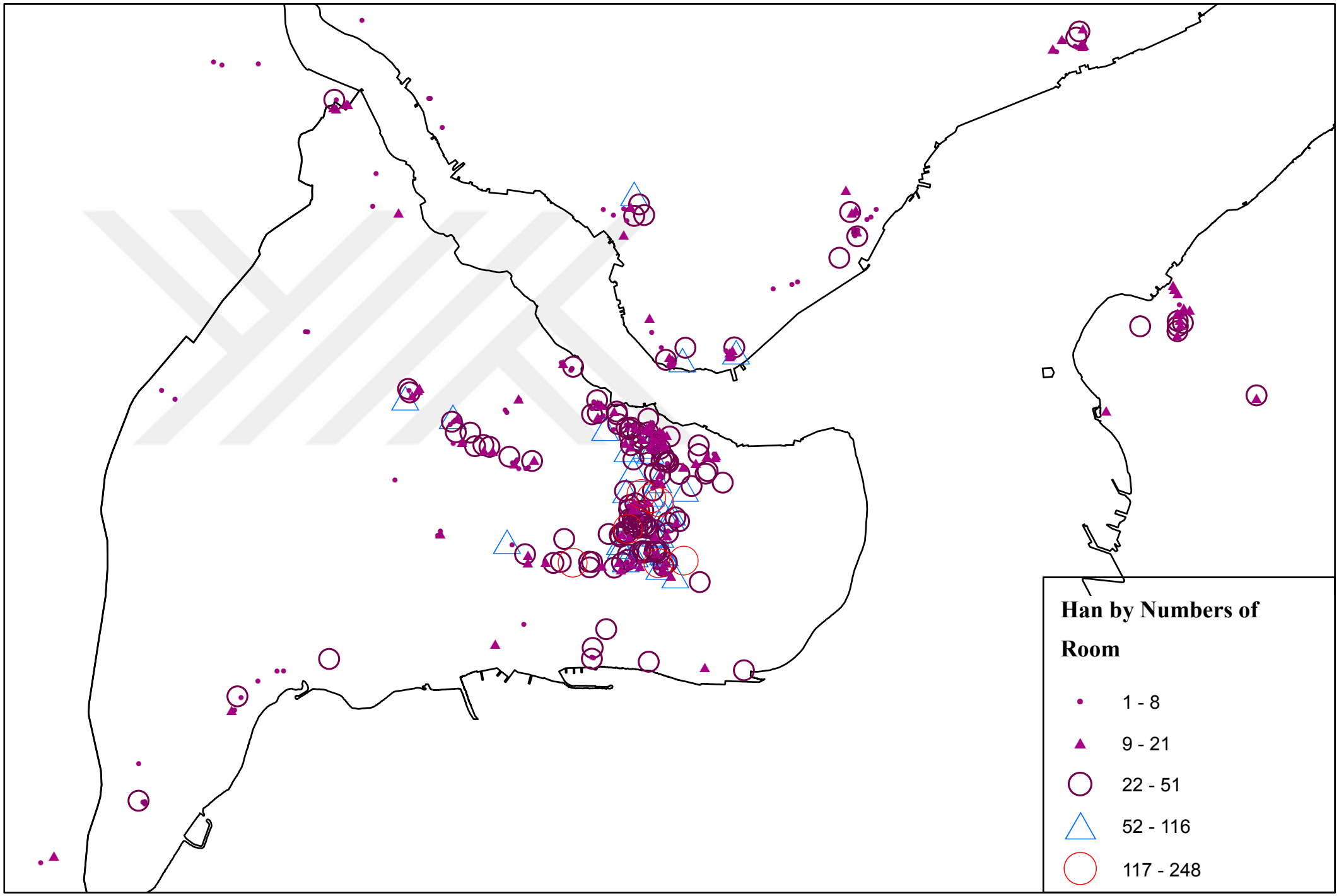


Figure 13. The distribution of the hans by their numbers of rooms in greater Istanbul as reflected in the early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

Since reliable data about the connections of these *han*s with other urban public spaces, the socio-spatial networks of which they were part, the specifics of their commercial and accommodation capabilities and spatial and visual attributes are not available in a comprehensive manner, it is not easy to make a vigorous scaling that includes such information. However, if we take in hand the numbers of room ranging from 1 to 248 as a variable, and the basic specialties of the *han*s listed we can categorize them statistically in five scales – very small, small, medium, large and very large, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The Levels of Scaling *Han*s and their Numbers in Istanbul in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul

Scale	Range	Numbers
Very Large Scale *Han*s	> 116	7
Large Scale *Han*s	52-116	32
Medium Scale *Han*s	22-51	119
Small Scale *Han*s	9-21	111
Very Small Scale *Han*s	1-8	126

The seven very large scale *han*s, having between 150 to 248 rooms as shown in Table 5, possessed a huge physical and commercial capacity. In the urban topography of Istanbul, all of these *han*s are found in or near Kapalıçarşı (Figures 13-15). The fact that they are all located in this region rather than in the port most probably had to do with the fact that obtaining land was easier and that they had higher income potential in this area considering that they were built as part of royal or vizierial waqfs for investment purposes.

Table 5. The List of the Extra-Large *Han*s in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul

	The Name of the *Han*	The Numbers of Room	Owner / Waqf	The date of Construction
1	Valide Han	248	Çinili Valide Vakfı	Seventeenth Century
2	Kebeci Han	184	Rüstem Pasha ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı	Sixteenth Century
3	Kürkçü Han	180	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı	Fifteenth Century
4	Esir Pazarı Han	172	Bayram Pasha Vakfı	Sixteenth Century
5	Vezir Han	158	Köprülü Mehmed Pasha Vakfı	Seventeenth Century
6	Büyük Yeni Han	150	Laleli Vakfı	Eighteenth Century
7	Simkeş Han	150	Ayasofya Vakfı	Fifteenth / Eighteenth Century

A total of 32 *han*s can be categorized as large-scale; 28 among these were located in the commercial district. Only Taş Han in Çukurçeşme, Şekerci Han and Büyük Yeni Han in Fatih and Çıtak Han in Kasımpaşa were placed outside the main commercial area. As shown in Figure 14 below, other medium, small and very small scale *han*s were located in various parts of greater Istanbul.

As seen in Figure 12, when we compare the *han*s in terms of numbers of rooms, we see that approximately one third had more than the average 25 rooms, while two thirds were below average. Indeed, if we put the *han*s on a scale of 5 categories according to numbers of rooms, the larger majority of them fall into the very small and small categories. The fact that the archival document records structures with numbers of rooms ranging from 1 to 248 as *han*s creates an interesting situation for today's researchers. Today, when we refer to *han*s we generally talk about brick and stone buildings with two storeys, a courtyard, porticoed galleries and, on average, 40 to 50 rooms. However, it appears that in the early nineteenth century when these registers were created, even a building with only a few room was accepted as a *han*. Considering that those *han*s registered as buildings with a single room housed one large space in the manner of some inter-city

caravanserais, one still wonders based on what criteria some very-small-scale buildings were classed as *han*s. When looked at from today's perspective, it may be reasonable to name a building with about 10 rooms as a *han*; however, present-day usage of the term *han* mostly applies to a multi-storey structure, some with more than 100 rooms. Its usage in our documents for building with only a few of rooms presents the vagueness of the term and calls attention to the wide scala of structures of different sizes and purposes the word denoted in the early modern period.

If we are to consider both the numbers of rooms and the functions of *han*s as will be discussed in the following sections, we can attempt to give a description of an average urban *han*. A typical urban *han* can be described as a space that has "about 40 to 50 rooms that are lined around a courtyard in two floors, with the second floor rooms opening up to a gallery, which might include a coffee shop, a water reservoir, a toilet, a stable, which might have a couple of shops on the outside, and which employed a *odabaşı* who was in charge of the maters." We should, nonetheless, underline the fact that the greater majority of spaces recorded as hans in our documents were smaller scale structures that housed lesser numbers of rooms than suggested in our description.

The structure that can be defined as an average urban *han* could have different functions based on its location on the urban plane. If this *han* was located around the port, outside city walls, or if it was located in neighborhoods such as Kasımpaşa, Tavukpazarı, and Irgatpazarı where newcomers and bachelors resided in large numbers, it served mainly accommodation purposes whereas if it was located within the commercial center of the city, it was mainly used for commercial transactions and artisanal production.

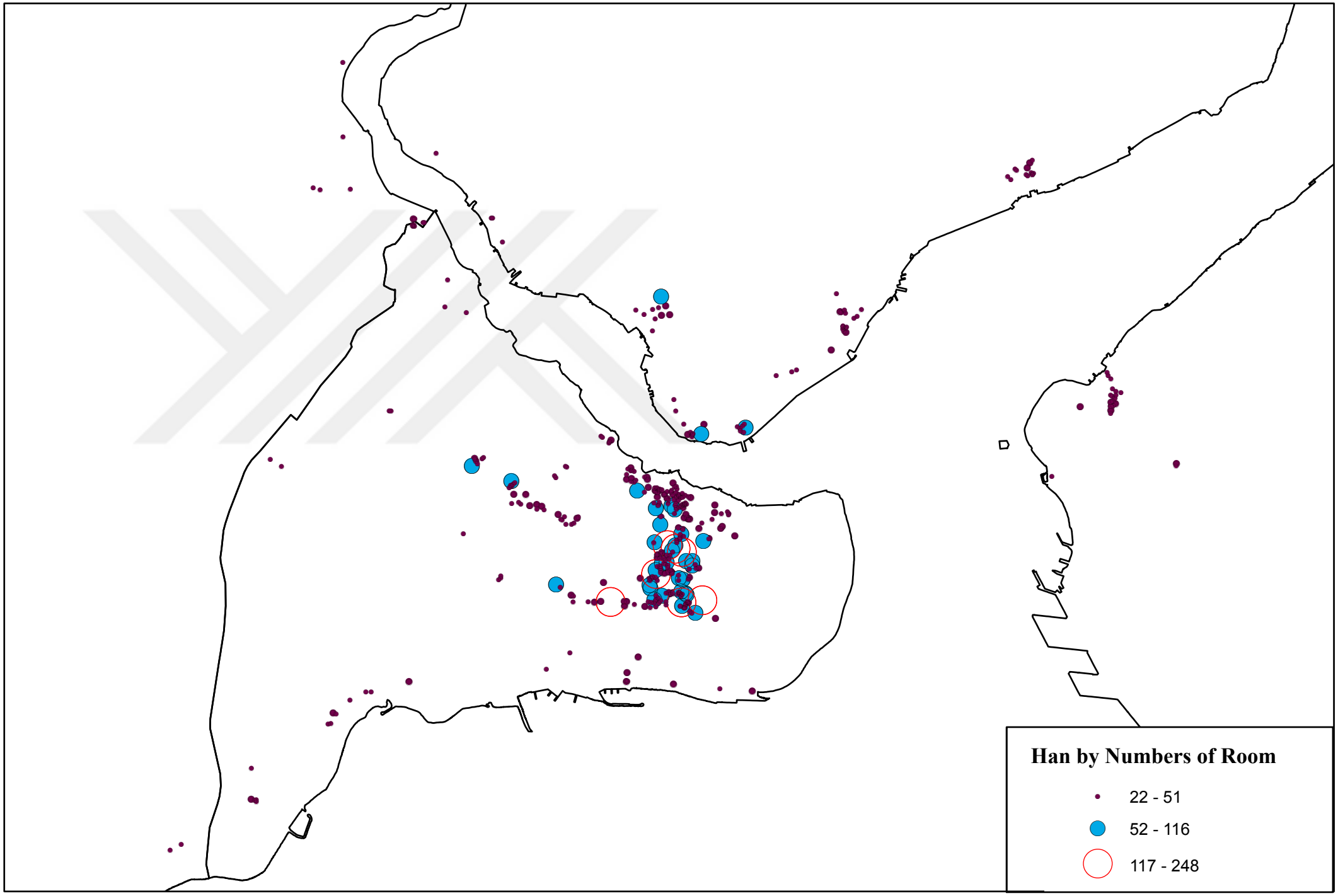


Figure 14. Medium, large and very large-seized hans in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894).

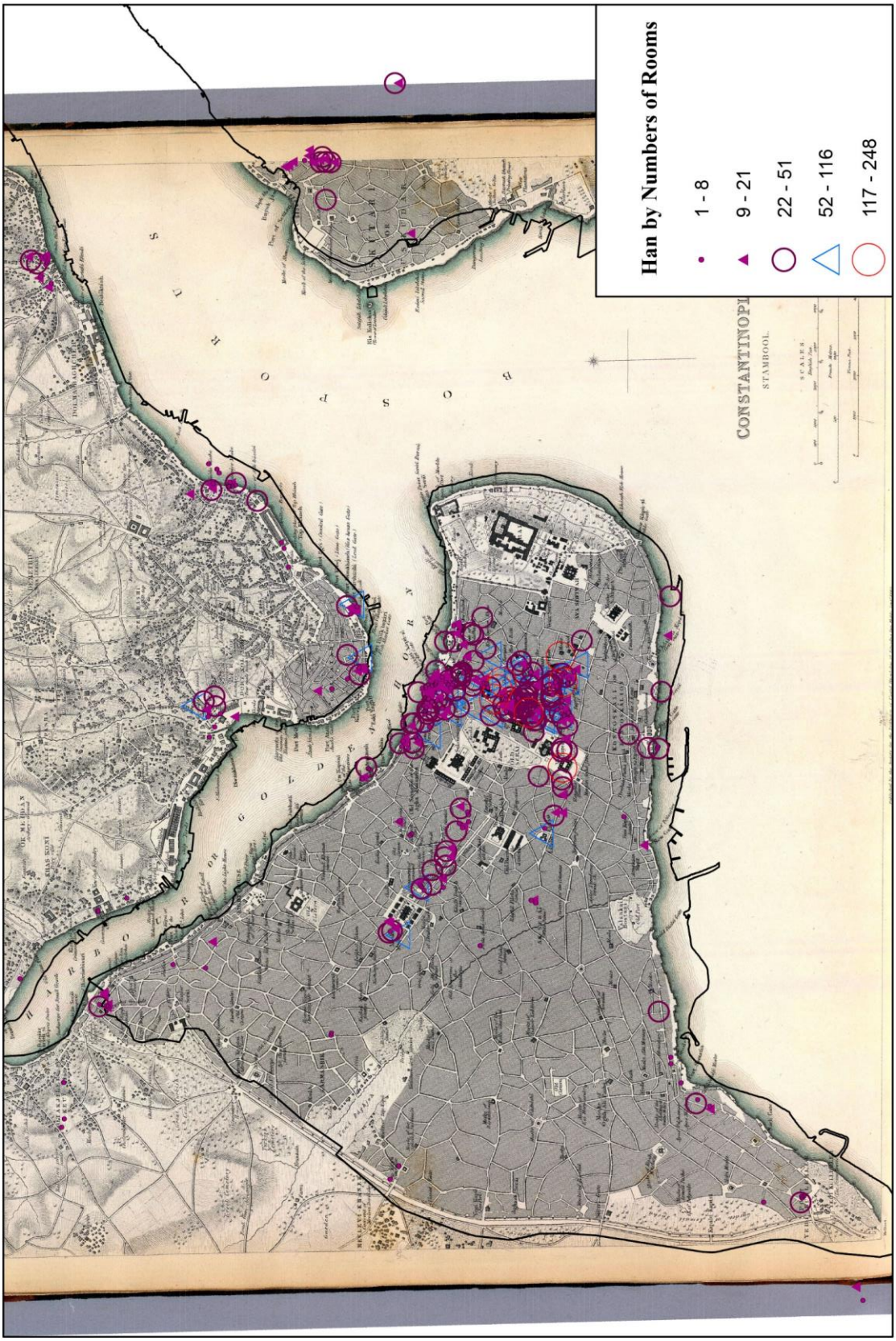


Figure 15. Arranging the early nineteenth-century *han*s as reflected in the registers on the Constantinople Map circa 1853. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894). (B.R. Davies, 1853)

2.4 Bachelor chambers in early nineteenth century

As stated earlier, out of the 593 structures recorded in the registers, 418 of them are listed as *han*s while 175 are listed as bachelor chambers. It is also interesting that even though the title page of the registers states that, 'the names and the neighborhoods of the *han*s in Istanbul are recorded' in the survey the distinction of *han* or bachelor chamber is made for each recorded building. Attempting to determine the distinction between *han*s and bachelor chambers both in these registers and in other archival documents is problematic. When examined in detail, the buildings listed as *han*s are found to be independent structures which have rooms for trade or accommodation while the bachelor chambers are mostly parts of other buildings like shops or coffeehouses, and hence are not necessarily free standing buildings.

Bachelor chambers that offered boarding for single or unattached men who are mostly an isolated group within an urban setting were indispensable spaces to a city like Istanbul that received a constant seasonal migration. The term bachelor should not necessarily be understood as unmarried. It is mostly used to refer to unattached people, who are either single, widowed, or away from home. Bachelor chambers exhibit differences among themselves based on the reason why their clients are in the city and what they do there. They could be either apprentices or skilled workers employed in various artisanal workshops, or they could be soldiers, students or travelers who were in Istanbul on a temporary basis. Nevertheless, in most cases the clients of bachelor chambers or residents of *han*s tend to be boatmen, portmen, or people of similar occupation who had left their families in their hometowns to come and work in Istanbul. Since these people are excluded from the mainstream neighborhood organization and networks centered around the concept of household

(*hane*) which took the family as their primary unit, they could be considered as a 'marginal' group within Ottoman urban society as well as within the urban space. Therefore, their places of residence often tended to be located away from the heavily residential areas, and were mostly within commercial districts and near port areas.[168] I will discuss the lifestyles of bachelors as a marginal group residing in *han*s and bachelor chambers and the control mechanisms of the State over these spaces in the fifth chapter. At this point, it should suffice to say that, as Figure 16 indicates, bachelor chambers were found in largest numbers in the port region centered around Unkapanı and around Çemberlitaş in the region between Tavukpazarı and Bayezid Complex. Additionally, they were clustered in and around Aksaray, Atpazarı in Fatih, Hasköy Aynalıkavak, Balaban Pier in Üsküdar and the Beşiktaş Stone Pier.

According to the registers, these 175 bachelor chambers had a total of 688 rooms, thus on average each one had 4 rooms. Indeed, when we examine the list, we see that except for 5 bachelor chambers, the remaining 170 of them had less than 10 rooms each. The entry with the highest number of rooms in the list is the bachelor chambers of Hacı Hüseyin Efendi, located outside Ayvansaray Gate. The list indicates it had 32 rooms. Following this, the next ones in the list are the bachelor chambers in Kasımpaşa with 17 rooms, Börekçi Said's bachelor chambers in Eyüp Defterdar with 14 rooms, and Kapamacıoğlu bachelor chambers outside Samatya with 12 rooms. These bachelor chambers that had higher number of rooms tended to be free standing buildings. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of bachelor chambers listed as having 3 or less rooms are located above or inside other

[168] For bachelor chambers, see Çokuğraş, "İstanbul'da Marjinalite ve Mekân (1789-1839): Bekâr Odaları ve Meyhaneler."; Çokuğraş, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Bekâr Odaları," 29-35; Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800.*; Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 249-277;

businesses such as coffee houses, vaults, grocery stores, stonemason ateliers, and launderer shops.

To sum up, in the second half of this chapter, I have tried to determine the spatial distribution of *han*s that operated in Ottoman Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century based on information from archival documents prepared for various purposes. Based on the information available in these documents, I have tried to make a comprehensive list of *han*s which were in operation during this period (see Appendix B, Table 19). An analysis of the documents makes it possible to identify the names of principal *han*s, the numbers of rooms in each, areas with larger concentration of *han*s, and the distinction between *han* and bachelor chamber, while the GIS technology makes it possible to map this information and to visualize it within urban space. Another point demonstrated in this section is that even though *han*s clustered heavily around the commercial region with the port area in Haliç forming its northern boundary and Kapalıçarşı centered around Cevahir Bedestan constituting its southern boundary, there were small or medium-scale *han*s operating in many districts of greater Istanbul such as Fatih, Kadırga, Kasımpaşa, and Üsküdar.

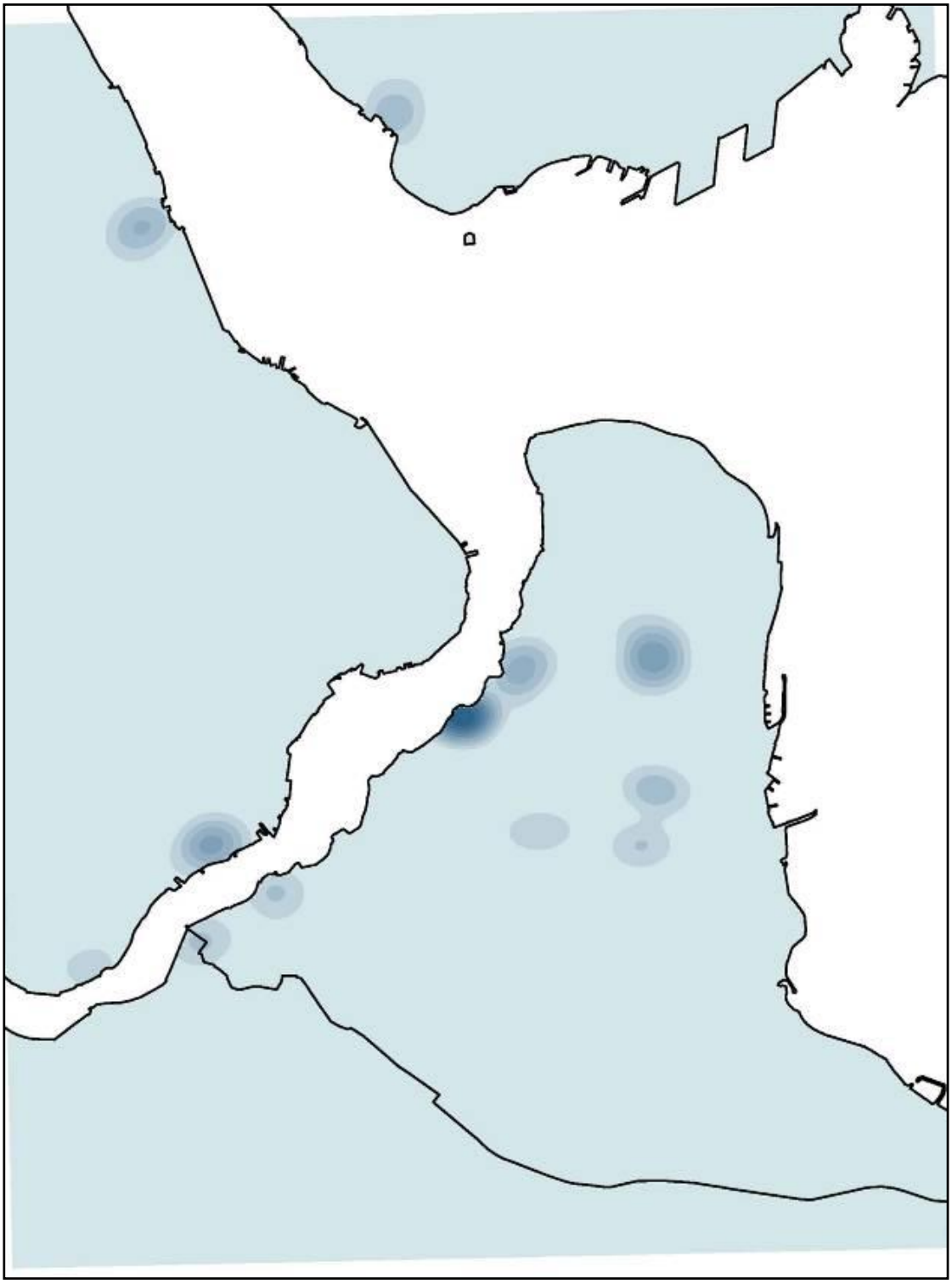


Figure 16. The density map of bachelor chambers in greater Istanbul as reflected in early nineteenth century registers. (BOA EV.d. 39554; BOA EV.d. 39894)

As this chapter discusses in detail, it has been possible to draw the spatial topography of the *han*s in the imperial capital thanks to the data found in early nineteenth century *han* surveys. However, the information available in these documents do not allow us to trace the changes that *han*s underwent over time within the urban landscape. As already expressed in relevant sections of this chapter, the earliest archival records that contain a comprehensive list of Istanbul's *han*s are from the last decade of the eighteenth century, with the exception of the document dated 1763 which gives a list of 27 *han*s located in Galata and Kasımpaşa. Especially surveys of buildings before the nineteenth century were carried out in most cases on the basis of political and social priorities in response to an existing problem. For example, archival records are available for bathhouses which constituted another important public space, and based on bathhouse surveys that were carried out in 1731, 1752, and 1766 for various purposes, it is possible to trace the changes that bathhouses underwent throughout the eighteenth century in the urban landscape. For *han*s, on the other hand, a detailed picture is currently only obtained from early nineteenth century records. I assume that based on information that can be collected from various archival documents, it may be possible to trace the changes that *han* construction and use in the city underwent over time in greater detail

CHAPTER 3

CONSTRUCTING SPACE: THE BUILDING AND RENOVATION OF *HAN*S

The third chapter focuses on the renovation (*tecdîd*) and construction (*müceddeden inşa*) of *han*s in eighteenth-century Istanbul. In this chapter, the commercial investments of sultanic and vizirial initiative, the dilemma between timber construction (*ahşap*) and masonry construction (*kârgir*) and the emergence of new *han* types will be discussed through waqf documents and a set of other archival sources. Examining the construction and restoration dynamics of *han*s from a multi-contextual perspective is central to understanding *han*s and evaluating their roles within urban dynamics. In the second part of the chapter, a newly built *han* representing the court's interventions in the capital city's commercial space during the eighteenth century, namely Büyük Yeni Han built by Mustafa III and completed in ca. 1763 will be examined. The urban context of the building and the builder's possible intentions, its construction process, layout, functions, revenue producing capacity and visibility in the city will be investigated in the light of its waqfiyya and a number of other registers.

3.1 Istanbul in the eighteenth century: Urban renewal

There were two important developments in Istanbul at the beginning of the eighteenth century that were to have an effect on the *han*-type structures. First, in 1701 it was decided that many commercial buildings in the bedestan region would be covered with a stone and mortar roof structure. As Silahtar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa reports in his *Nusretnâme,* after the fire of December 1701 which brought great devastation to the market region, the Kaymakam of Istanbul, Çerkez Osman Pasha

and a group of community leaders came together and submitted to Sultan Mustafa II the recommendation for covering the market buildings around the bedestan with a masonry roof, similar to the way the Ali Pasha Market in Edirne was covered.[169] Soon afterwards, with the order of the Sultan, most of that market region that has since been called the *Kapalıçarşı*, was covered over with a vaulted roof structure. With this project, approximately 4000 shops, 2 bedestans, about 20 *han*s, mosques and other buildings were transformed into one big structure.[170]

The second important development is that the Sultan and his court whose de facto residence was in Edirne between 1658 and 1703, returned to Istanbul following the "Edirne Incident" of 1703.[171] Mustafa II was dethroned and Ahmed III was brought to his place on the condition that he would remain in Istanbul. Ahmed III started construction projects to meet the essential needs of the city after half a century of absence of the court from the capital while he also organized a series of imperial feasts and ceremonies which enlivened the capital and kept its residents busy. Such events displayed the power of the royal family and made its presence felt in the city.[172] Following the Treaty of Passarowitz in July of 1718, the political and cultural atmosphere of Istanbul significantly changed. Waterfront palaces lining the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus built by the members of the royal family, by the ulema, and by the *nouveau riche* class of tax officers, *sarrâf*s and merchants transformed the two sides of these waterways from beauties of nature to new

[169] Silahtar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, 87-88.

[170] Baş, "İstanbul Kapalıçarşısı XV-XVII. Yüzyıl"; Cezar, *Tipik Yapılarıyla Osmanlı Şehirciliğinde Çarşı ve Klasik Dönem İmar Sistemi*.

[171] Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*.

[172]For the urban developments in the eighteenth- century Istanbul, see. Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*; Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents, and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of İntroduction," 1-40; Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," 189–99; Cerasi, *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi*.

ceremonial settings dotted with varying sizes of waterfront mansions and palaces.[173] After the earthquake of May 1719, Damad İbrahim Pasha embarked upon an intensive construction activity in the capital city. Notably the palaces and excursion places that were built in *Sadabad* at the point where the Kağıthane stream flowed into the Golden Horn became some of the signature structures of the period of from 1718 to 1730 that came to be known as the 'Tulip Era' in literature.[174] İbrahim Pasha's transformative activities on the urban landscape were not limited to festival and ceremonial locations of this kind. Two important construction projects of the grand vizier contributed to the commercial facilities of Istanbul. On the Divanyolu, which had become a ceremonial site with the investments of members of the dynasty and the elite, the grandvizier built his complex including a market street called *'direklerarası'* near Şehzadebaşı. Resembling an *'arasta'* it housed a total of 82 shops in two lines facing each other. These new constructions expanded the limits of the market area to include this district.[175] Moreover, as will be discussed in more detail below, when the reconstruction of Çuhacı Han was completed; it occupied the site of the Beg Caravanserai built during the rule of Mehmed the Conqueror in the Mahmud Paşa district of commercial area.

The eighteenth century was a period when public spaces became more visible in the urban landscape. Throughout this century, coffeehouses became bigger and

[173] For the details of this process, see. Artan, "Architecture as a theatre of life: Profile of the eighteenth century Bosphorus."; Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures. Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century.*

[174] Karahasanoğlu, "İstanbul'un Lale Devri mi?: Tarih ve Tarih Yazımı," 129-144.; Karahasanoğlu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)."; Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?: The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey.*

[175] Cerasi, *Divanyolu*.

more common,[176] the number of public baths reached its highest point,[177] piers developed alongside waterfront palaces and residences along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus,[178] public fountains offered socialization opportunities,[179] the number of excursion and picnic sites increased,[180] numerous public libraries were founded[181] and some districts came to be identified with imperial ceremonies[182] and due to all of these Istanbul residents became more and more visible in the public space.

Whereas, the construction of the Nuriosmaniye Mosque complex, completed in 1755, led to a renewed visibility of imperial mosques with a new architectural style in the urban landscape.[183] Following that, the construction of the Ayazma complex (1757-1760), Laleli complex (1760-1764) by Mustafa III (1757-1774), the construction of Hamidiye complex in Eminönü and Beylerbeyi Mosque (1777-1778) by Abdulhamid I (1774-1789), the construction of Selimiye complex (1801-1805) on the Anatolian side by Selim III (1789-1807), reestablished the presence and legitimacy of the royal family in Istanbul.[184] These blocks of buildings which brought together traditional architectural attitudes with Baroque influence and the new ornamentation elements in the interior spaces offered the public a completely different spectacle. Eighteenth-century Istanbul was revitalized by reconciling earlier

[176] Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780-1845"; Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekân, Sosyalleşme, İktidar.*

[177] Yaşar, "İstanbul Hamamları: 1731-1766," 553-585; Ergin, "Mapping Istanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees," 108-135.

[178] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus".

[179] Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul".

[180] Hamadeh, "Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century," 277–312; Çalış, "Gardens and the Quest for Visibility in the Tulip Period (1718–1730," 239–66.

[181] Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*; Sezer, "Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries," (In progress).

[182] Atıl, *Levni ve Surname: Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü*.

[183] Peker, "Return of the Sultan: Nuruosmânîye Mosque and the Istanbul Bedestan," 139–57; Rustem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul."

[184] Rustem, "Architecture for a New Age: For the Significance of the Imperial Mosques"; Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," 173–243.

trends with the new, which made it possible for the city to maintain its status as an imperial capital.[185]

In the midst of all this expansion, Istanbul had to deal with a wave of migration perhaps more intense than it had ever seen before.[186] This migration flow also coincided with the gradually increasing international trade following the Treaty of Pasarowitz and the increasing internal trade within the Ottoman Empire.[187] The question of how the need for the development of urban infrastructure that was necessitated by the expanding trade capacity and population pressure was met is an important issue that needs to be studied in detail. In this context, this chapter will focus on the study of commercial building investments in the city to meet these demands, particularly the construction of *han*s in the city center, and the role of these construction projects in urban transformation.

3.2 Construction and renovation of *han*s

When studying construction priorities in the eighteenth century, viewing important developments as the fulfillment of a grand scheme or part of a larger project might prevent us from seeing the facts as they are because in this period, changes took place gradually and in most situations they were introduced as a remedy to a calamity. In other cases, construction projects were launched as responses to political

[185] Artan, "Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century: Days of Reconciliation and Consolidation," 300–312.

[186] There have been qualitative studies in recent decades on the migration flow in this period and the efforts of the rulers to curb this population trend. For the migration flow, see. Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century Greater Istanbul as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp," 163-83; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order*.; Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, The Katib Ilyas Mahalle*.; Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800*. However, systematic studies focusing on the transformation of urban infrastructure in order to accommodate for this wave of incoming population within the city are just starting to emerge.

[187] For the international trade, see. Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century.*

or social priorities. In the choices made regarding the construction of commercial infrastructure, compelling reasons such as population pressure, political turmoil, social disorder, fire prevention measures, options for reconstruction after a fire, availability of finances, and the operations of charitable foundations, might have been operative.[188]

It does not appear to be possible to determine the exact date of construction of many of the *han*s existing in Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, for which an inventory has been provided in the previous chapter. However, a significant number among them can be dated to the eighteenth century based on architectural or documentary evidence. In the work on the preservation issues of *han*s with courtyards, Benli documents that a significant portion of the 150 *han*s that either existed in the past or still exist in the historic market region of Istanbul were structures that were built in the eighteenth century. Out of these *han*s, there are 57 that stand out with at least two storeys and a courtyard, and of these 57 *han*s, 41 were built in the eighteenth century (Figure 17).[189] Even though the statistical data Benli presents is not comprehensive, it still draws attention to the intensive masonry construction of *han*s with courtyards through the eighteenth century.

[188] For a discussion about the priorities of political authority relating the renovation dynamics in the eighteenth- century Istanbul, see. Mazlum, *1766 İstanbul Depremi: Belgeler Işığında Yapı Onarımları*. Beside, Rhoads Murphey highlights the renovation/new building dynamics in relation to economic and political concerns and priorities, see. Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal."

[189] Benli, "İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada'da Bulunan Han Yapıları ve Avlulu Hanların Koruma Sorunları," 107.



Figure 17. *Han*s with courtyards in the commercial district, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. (Benli, 113)

There is also a close connection between the economic dynamics of the period and the construction of commercial spaces. As emphasized by Mehmet Genç, the eighteenth-century Ottoman economy can be divided into two periods that significantly differ from each other: a period of expansion and development from the beginning of the century to the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774, and a period of shrinking and depression that starts from that point and lasts for a long time into the nineteenth century. In other words, the trend of expansion and development that dominated all the sectors of the Ottoman economy such as industrial manufacturing, agricultural production and export until the last quarter of the century shifted to a trend of shrinking towards the end of the century due to the budget deficits, uncertainties, and borrowings that were caused by the war economy. Economic development was a positive motivating force in the realization of structural investments that were required by the commercial activities of tradesmen in Istanbul, and in the construction of buildings that offered commercial and accommodation opportunities. These investments in the physical infrastructure continued throughout

the century even though they were more intensive during the period of general economic expansion and development. Even in the period of economic shrinkage, the existence of international and internal trade allowed for the continuation of investments in *han* construction. Mostly under the control of the waqf system, the construction of *han*s for the purposes of manufacture, storage and trade contributed in a significant way to the development of the city's industrial sector. However, as Genç emphasizes, these developments which were governed by the waqf system and the state, did not lead to a change that would have initiated a capitalist type of economic organization; instead, they fed into the already existing system of guild organizations that dominated manufacture and trade.[190]

The intense *han* building activity in the Ottoman capital in the eighteenth century can be read as the state's attempt to participate in and to direct the overland and overseas commercial traffic destined for Istanbul's central market. As will be discussed in more detail in the later sections of this chapter, the strategic investments that also targeted the development of certain parts of the commercial center raises the question of whether these were carefully planned by the imperial power or done randomly. The data presented by Elena Frangakis-Syrett regarding trade between Marseilles and Istanbul in the eighteenth century points to interesting developments. Between 1750 and 1785, export from Istanbul to Marseilles increased 45% while import from Marseilles to Istanbul increased 203%, with an increase of 78% in the total volume of trade between the two cities.[191] The commercial capacity of the Ottoman capital, which increased steadily until the Ottoman-Russian war of 1768-1774, continued to increase, especially in terms of imports due to increasing internal

[190] Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*.

[191] Frangakis-Syrett, "The commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1820." Qouted from Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal," 154.

demand. In this context, imperial *han* investments in Istanbul can be seen as a result of the increasing trade in the Mediterranean, and in connection to the increase in the total volume of trade over land and sea.[192]

It would be meaningful to study the economic investments involving *han*-type buildings in the eighteenth century in two categories: renovation work (*tecdîd*) and new construction (*müceddeden inşa*). Of these two categories of *han* building, renovation work is mostly witnessed in the construction efforts following the return of the royal family to Istanbul and following natural disasters while new construction work is evident in the historical process that starts with the approximately 150 shops surrounding the Nuriosmaniye complex, that reaches its pinnacle with the new *han* constructions of Mustafa III in 1760s and continues till the end of the century.

One of the major issues encountered during the process of both new construction and renovation of *han*s in the eighteenth century is the decision of whether to use timber or masonry material in the construction of these buildings. The decision of using masonry in the construction of commercial buildings in the capital as in other Ottoman cities such as Aleppo and Damascus was made in the last decade of the seventeenth century and this decision made its mark in the following century as one of the most important undertakings in Istanbul.[193] The use of a stone and mortar roof structure built to cover many shops and *han*s in the Bedestan area after the fire of 1701, served as a model in the construction of commercial infrastructure later.

In fact, it is possible to trace the dilemma of using timber versus masonry material in the construction of *han*s and the preference of patrons in favor of

[192] This issue has been introduced by Murphey, see. Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal."
[193] ŞS, İstanbul, 22, 15 Ş 1107 / May 18, 1696, Quoted from Ergin, 991.

masonry in the archival documents throughout the century. Official documents we encounter from the period of more than a hundred years starting from the rule of Ahmed III to that of Mahmud II contain royal decrees aiming to prevent the use of timber in the construction of *han*s and ordering the use of masonry material instead. This creates a situation that makes the job of the researchers difficult and misleading. Not surprisingly, particularly some researches who conduct their studies based on secondary sources that have references to archival material, state that Mahmud I put into effect the royal decree banning new *han* construction within the walls.[194] Based on this reference, other researchers go even further to come up with exaggerated claims such as that of *han* construction being prohibited during the time of Mahmud I because there were too many *han*s.[195] An archival document that is encountered in a narrowly defined time period might appear to the researcher as the first of its kind. However, the fact that it is possible to encounter very similar documents over a long period of time shows us that instead of attempting to locate the beginning of such policies, it might be more appropriate to trace the continuity of such practices and the modifications in attitudes over time regarding them. For example, Sultan Ahmed III strictly ordered that the 25 or so timber *han*s that were destroyed or damaged during the earthquake which hit Istanbul in 1717 should be rebuilt using masonry material.[196] In 1732, Sultan Mahmud I strictly prohibited not only the new construction of *han*s of any type regardless of whether they be timber or masonry construction but also the renovation of the old *han*s that were worn out in the course of time.[197] However, this prohibition appears to be a special one, not related to the

[194] Cerasi, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kenti," 200-215.
[195] See most of the MA theses about the restoration of Istanbul *han*s.
[196] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 62, Evail-i CA 1129 / April 13-22, 1717. Quoted from Ergin, 992.
[197] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 138/759, Evasıt-ı L 1144 / April 6 -15, 1732.

commercial capacity of *han*s or the construction materials and process. Rather, it is seen that the existence of the bachelor crowd that had made these *han*s their residence and the cautionary measures against the rioters of the period were the causes of this prohibition. In the year 1766, Sultan Mustafa III also declared that no new *han* construction would be allowed because the multitude of *han*s in the city was the source of various problems, however it was permitted to rebuild timber *han*s that collapsed during the earthquake using masonry building material. It was further noted that should the economic means of the patron not allow this, at least the walls of the building should be of masonry construction and the roof could be made of timber.[198] This document which was written after the big Istanbul earthquake in May 1766 shows that given the difficult situation of the time, there was some degree of flexibility in the matter of timber versus masonry construction. Needless to say, the commercial infrastructure of the city needed to be urgently rebuilt after the earthquake. In 1811, Sultan Mahmud II decreed that the number of people who resided in *han*s and bachelors chambers had increased, thus no further certificate of permission would be granted for the construction of *han*s be it timber or masonry.[199] Both in the four documents I focus on in this study that cover the period from 1717 to 1811 and in many other archival documents related to the construction of *han*s, we constantly come across the issue of whether to use timber or masonry material. Even though they pursued policies aiming to develop a comprehensive solution against risk factors such as earthquakes and fires, it is understood that the rulers of the city were able to develop solutions only to save the day. As historical sources confirm, more intensive use of masonry material in the construction not only of commercial

[198] ŞS, İstanbul, 25/97, 20 S 1180 / July 28, 1766. Qouted from Pinon, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs: formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIe s. et le milieu du XIXe s", II, 62.

[199] ŞS, Havass-ı Refia Mahkemesi, 345, 27 ZA 1226 / December 13, 1811.

buildings such as *han*s and bachelors chambers but also houses was realized only starting from the middle of the nineteenth century.[200]

The renovation of *han*-type buildings became particularly visible following the return of the royal family to the capital city. At the same time, fires and earthquakes necessitated such renovations. Within this practice, we generally observe that either the existing structure was extensively rebuilt in a new plan and a new style, such as the case of Çuhacı Han and Bodrum Han. In other cases, a timber *han* was rebuilt in masonry. The most important renovation work that was undertaken at the beginning of the century was that commissioned by Emetullah Sultan, the *Başkadın* of Ahmed III, on Simkeşhane located on Divanyolu, a structure dating from the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror.[201] This building underwent a major restoration in 1119 / 1707, during which a significant part of the structure was rebuilt. Standing as a two-storey building with more than 150 rooms, Simkeşhane became a place where goldsmiths and silversmiths maintained their shops particularly after the royal mint moved from here to the Topkapı Palace in 1727.[202]

Another important renovation and rebuilding project was the construction of Çuhacı Han on the site of Beg Caravanserai located to the east of Kapalıçarşı, which was a fifteenth century building and needed extensive repairs by this time (see Appendix F, Figure 82). The project was carried out by the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha, who was married to the sister of the Sultan and was behind many of the projects between 1718 and 1730. Even though there is no information regarding the construction of this *han* in the waqfiyya of İbrahim Pasha, both Ayvansarayi and

[200] Tanyeli, "İstanbul'un Ahşabı: Doğumu ve Ölümü. *İstanbul 1900-2000 Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak*.

[201] Özgüleş, "Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın İmar Faaliyetleri," 447.

[202] Simkeşhane. *DİA*, 37, 211-213. Taşkömür, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Simkeşlik ve Tel Çekme: 15. ve 19. Yüzyıllar Arası."

İnciciyan indicate that this *han* was built by İbrahim Pasha.[203] Moreover, in an archival document from 1754 it is seen that the *han* belongs to grandvizier Damad İbrahim Pasha's waqf.[204] Another document from 1790 also states that the *han* belongs to the waqf of Fatma Sultan and İbrahim Pasha.[205] This *han*, which was built in the form of a two-storey structure with a courtyard, was called Çuhacı Han because baize (*çuha*) manufacture and trade was centered in this place and the *kethüda* (steward) of baize makers' guild was living in this *han*. However, starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, after baize trade had lost its prominence, baize makers left the *han* and they were replaced by jeweler makers who still continue to operate their shops in this *han* in our day.[206]

In addition to the two important commercial *han*s discussed above (Çuhacı Han and Simkeşhane), Bodrum Han, another fifteenth century structure, and Cebeci Han, which was built by the waqf of Rüstem Pasha in the sixteenth century, were also renovated in this period (see Appendix F, Figure 84).[207] Moreover, many *han*s that were either destroyed by disasters such as fires or earthquakes or that fell into disrepair over the course of time were renovated within the framework of the timber versus masonry construction debate. The renovation efforts after the fire of 1717 covered about 25 *han*s that were timber constructions;[208] after the Hocapaşa fire of 1750, Çuhacı Han was renovated;[209] after the 1766 earthquake, the *han*s that were

[203] Ayvansarayi; İnciciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*.
[204] BOA C.EV. 52/2588, 15 ZA 1167 / September 3, 1754.
[205] BOA C.EV. 122/6087, 20 ZA 1204 / August 1, 1790.
[206] Eyice, "Çuhacı Han," 380-381.
[207] For Cebeci Han, see. Benli, "İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada'da Bulunan Han Yapıları ve Avlulu Hanların Koruma Sorunları."
[208] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 62, Evail-i CA 1129 / April 13-22, 1717. Quoted from Ergin, 992.
[209] Vasıf Tarihi, 1246/1830.

damaged, namely, Hasan Pasha Han,[210] Şekerciler Han, Vezir Han, and Esir Pazarı Han were renovated.[211]

Another form of *han* construction witnessed in this period was the new construction of *han*s, which was relatively less common at the beginning of the century but became a lot more frequent starting from 1760s. Generally speaking, these new construction investments were made by the royal family or by the viziers who were married into the royal family. As discussed above, Çuhacı Han by İbrahim Pasha, Ali Pasha Han by Çorlulu Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha Han by grandvizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha are prominent among *han* investments by viziers. In addition, as seen in the case of Hacı Beşir Ağa, new *han* constructions by the Chief Eunuch of the Harem are also documented. On the other hand, in the period starting with Mustafa III, the sultans themselves appear among the chief investors in new *han* constructions. Among the *han* construction projects commissioned by the sultans in this period, Büyük Yeni Han, Küçük Yeni Han and Taş Han in Bahçekapı by Mustafa III, İmaret Han in Bahçekapı by Abdulhamit I, Sünbüllü Han on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, Çinili Han in Tarakçılar and Dülbentçi Han in Gedikpaşa by Selim III stand out. In addition to sultans and bridegrooms (*damad*) of the royal family, many waqf founders and administrators also invested in the construction of new *han*s in the commercially lucrative districts of Istanbul, particularly the central commercial districts.

One of the most important problems in new *han* constructions was to find an available site for the construction. In this period, both the scarcity of land available to build upon in the densely inhabited commercial district and the high prices of available land had a significant impact on the investments in the construction of

[210] BOA C.BLD. 4894, 1180 / 1766.
[211] Mazlum, *1766 İstanbul Depremi: Belgeler Işığında Yapı Onarımları*.

commercial structures. When acquiring property for the construction of Nuriosmaniye Mosque in 1755, the Sultan's waqf paid 5-7 *kuruş* per *zirâ'* of empty land, 7-10 *kuruş* per *zirâ'* of residential land and 10-12.5 *kuruş* per *zirâ'* of commercial land. These figures show that finding vacant land in the commercial district in the middle of the eighteenth century was difficult and it was quite expensive to procure commercial land for construction in that area.[212] The difficulty and expensiveness of obtaining land later became one of the main reasons for the development of new, multi-storey *han* projects in new architectural styles that maximized the value of property.

The first one of the new *han* construction projects started in this century was Ali Pasha Han. Çorlulu Ali Pasha commissioned the construction of a medium-size *han* at the beginning Mercan Ağa Çarşısı, next to Cebeciler Han in 1707.[213] It is a two-storey *han* with the second floor containing, according to its waqfiyya, 22 rooms each one of which has iron barred doors and windows, an anteroom and galleries, and the ground floor containing 17 rooms each of which has iron barred doors and windows, an additional 6 rooms with timber doors. Additionally the two floors had in total 6 vaulted rooms with timber doors, stables, water reservoir, lavatory for ablution, barber shop below the *han*, a total of 6 toilets in the two floors, 4 shops built with stone and mortar, and two water fountains.[214] The record in the waqfiyya

[212] Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal," 153.

[213] Aktepe, "Çorlulu Ali Paşa," 370-371.

[214] VGMA 570, Evail-i ZA 1194 / January 24, – February 2, 1708, 259-260.
…Mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Mercan Ağa Çarşısı başında vâki iki tarafdan ki Cebeciler Hânı dimekle ma'ruf olan hân ve bir tarafdan bâzan Arabacıbaşı vakfı dekâkini ve bâzan yine mezbûr Kürkçübaşı vakıf dükkânlar ve bâzan ahırhâne ve bâzan yine mezbûr Kürkçübaşı vakfından dükkân ve bazen tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd her biri demir kapulu ve demir pencereli fevkâni yirmi iki bâb oda ve dehliz ve sofa ve yine demir kapulu ve demir pencereli on yedi bâb tahtânî odaları ve yine tahta kapulu altı bâb tahtânî oda ve yine tahtânî ve fevkâni altı bâb tahta kapulu kemer odaları ve ahur ve su hazinesi ve abdesthâne ve hân vasatında vâki' kurşun pûşîdeli berber dükkânı ve fevkânî ve tahtânî altı bâb kârgîr kenif ve dört bâb kârgîr dükkân ve kanavât memlûke ile muhrez iki masura mâ-i lezizi müştemil kârgîr hânlarımı.

of the *han* makes an interesting distinction among the rooms of the *han*. Namely, the document distinguishes between rooms with iron barred doors and windows and rooms with timber doors. Moreover, it reveals that rooms with iron doors and windows were more valuable than those with timber doors. All in all, Ali Pasha Han was a large scale *han* that contained, in addition to its rooms, various other constituents such as stables, a water reservoir, lavatories for ablution, a barber shop, toilets and shops. It was a typical type of urban *han* of this period. The record in the waqfiyya of the *han* also provides an interesting point regarding the water right of this *han*. According to the waqfiyya, Ali Pasha Han had a right of two *masura mâ-i lezis* (13 m^3 per day).[215] In various waterways maps of the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries (such as the Köprülü and Bayezid II water distribution system maps), *han*s were also represented because of their rights of water. For instance, Bayezid waterway map lists about 20 *han*s operating in the commercial district of Ottoman capital (see Appendix E, Figure 79-80). In the same vein, a waterway map produced in the middle of the eighteenth century presents two outstanding *han*s, namely the Kaliçeciler Han and the Hasan Pasha Han (Figure 18).[216]

Kızlarağası Han was built under the patronage of Hacı Beşir Agha who was one of the important chief eunuchs of the harem in the eighteenth century. Hacı Beşir Agha, who served as the Chief Eunuch of the Harem for 29 years between 1717 and 1746, became particularly influential during the period of Mahmud I, and made investments for his waqf in various regions, most notably in Istanbul.[217] The

[215] For the discussion of water rights of *han*, see. Faroqhi, "No Business without Water! Operating *Han*s, Baths, and Factories in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul." For the water supply in the eighteenth-century Istanbul, see also. Karakas, "Clay Pipes, Marble Surfaces: The Topographies of Water Supply in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul."

[216] Water rights of *han*s and its use in *han* structure are interesting topics that I would like to examine detail in future.

[217] Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*. (*Hacı Beşir Ağa: Osmanlı Sarayı'nın En Ünlü Harem Ağası.*

Kızlarağası Han that he commissioned is outside of the Kapalıçarşı, near Mercan Mosque; it is a two-storey structure with 15 rooms, 2 toilets and a vaulted room on the top floor and 17 rooms on the ground floor.[218]

The other outstanding *han* from the period of Mahmud I was Hasan Pasha Han, now called Süpürgeciler Han, which was built by the grandvizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha on Divanyolu near Simkeşhane, across from the Hamam of Bayezid II. Hasan Pasha, who was the grand vizier from 1743 to 1746, had this *han* built as part of his complex in Bayezid, which consisted of a madrasa, *sıbyan mektebi*, *sebil*, and drinking fountain.[219] Due to the fact that *han* construction was not allowed during this period due to increasing migration and concerns regarding urban unrest, it is claimed that Hasan Pasha asked for special permission from the Sultan to build a *han* for storage purposes rather than for trade or accommodation. The construction of the *han* covered a land of 2478 *zirâ'*, which was procured through exchange with waqf property. Before the construction of the *han* was completed, Hasan Pasha was removed from the post of grand vizier and sent in exile to Rhodes. The rest of the construction was completed in 1747 by his son Mehmed Said who was the trustee for Hasan Pasha's waqf.[220] The *han* was renovated twice, after receiving damage from both the 1766 and 1894 earthquakes. During the expansion work done on Divanyolu in the 1950s, part of it was demolished.

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[218] Hacı Beşir Ağa Vakfiyesi, 682, 6b-7a, Gurre-i Ş 1151 / November 14, 1738.
Mahmiyye-i mezbûrda Mercan Câmi-i Şerîfî kurbunda etrâf-ı erba'âsı Terlikçiler sûkı ve Tâcirler sûkı ve Nalbur Hânı ile mahdûd arsasının Ayasofya-i Kebîr vakfına senede dört yüz seksen akçe mukâta'ası olan tahtânî on yedi bâb kârgîr oda ve fevkânî on beş bâb kârgîr oda ve iki kenîf ve dehlîzi müştemil müceddeden binâ eylediğim mülk kârgîr hânımı ve ittisâlinde müceddeden binâ ve ihyâ eylediğim su çeşmesi ve sebillere câri kanavât-ı memlûkeye tebâi'yyet ile mülküm olan iki masûra mâ'-i lezîz cârî ve hân-ı mezbûr kapusınun sol tarafında arsasının Mi'mâr Sinan Vakfı'na senede yüz altmış sekiz akçe mukâta'ası olan mülk-i kârgîr tâcir dükkânı.

[219] Fikret Sarıcaoğlu. (1997). Seyyid Hasan Paşa. *DİA*, 6, 339-340.

[220] VGMA, 638, 73, 7 Ş 1159 / August 25, 1746. This project is also discussed by Murphey to support his argument for an 'anti-growth lobby' during these decades. Murphey, "The Growth in Istanbul's Commercial Capacity, 1700-1765: The Role of New Commercial Construction and Renovation in Urban Renewal."



Figure 18. The representation of Hasan Pasha Han in a waterway map (Çeçen, 1999)

In the second half of the century, the *han*-type investments of Sultan Mustafa III, and in particular the completion of Büyük Yeni Han in 1763 on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, became the instigator of an intensive period for construction of *han*s. The increasing commercial potential of the Çakmakçılar Ramp, which was initiated by Büyük Valide Han in 1650, was expanded by the construction of Büyük Yeni Han and later, by the construction of Sünbüllü Han commissioned by Selim III. Indeed, as will be demonstrated later, this street that was reshaped by a number of royal interventions would become a commercial area where rich *sarrâf*s clustered together.

As Gülenaz, who works on nineteenth century bureau-type *han*s of Istanbul emphasizes that the construction of traditional style commercial *han*s continued until the middle of the nineteenth century. After this turning point, high-rise bureau-type *han*s that were used as office spaces started to be built with increasing frequency in Istanbul.[221] Perhaps the last *han* to be built in the traditional style in Ottoman Istanbul was Büyük Yıldız Han, which was completed in 1817.[222] In terms of the placement of the courtyard, existence of porticoed galleries and the number of floors, it was built as a continuation of the architectural style of eighteenth- century *han*s.

Up to this point in this chapter, main issues related to the *han* construction and renovation in eighteenth century Ottoman Istanbul and the prominent *han*s of this period have been presented. In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on the specific example of Büyük Yeni Han as a sultan's intervention to economic realm in the eighteenth century, in order to give a detailed account of its construction, its foundation deed, its physical structure, the possible intentions of its patron and its functions, and its visibility in the urban public arena of eighteenth-century Istanbul.

[221] Gülenaz, *Batılılaşma Dönemi İstanbul'unda Hanlar ve Pasajlar*.

[222] For Büyük Yıldız *Han*, see. Pinon, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs: formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIe s. et le milieu du XIXe s", 212-217.

3.3 Sultan's patronage in *han* architecture: Mustafa III and Büyük Yeni Han

The relatively short three-year reign of Osman III was followed by the longer and more eventful reign of Mustafa III.[223] The son of Ahmed III, Mustafa III ascended the throne on October 30, 1757 and after 17 years of reign; he died on January 21, 1774. When he ascended the throne, the state treasury was in a state of economic adequacy due to the relatively long period of peace that had been in effect since the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739. This long period of stability led to a degree of economic development, an increase in trade particularly around the Mediterranean, and therefore an improvement of the economic condition of the state.[224] However, this state of relative economic prosperity did not last long and with the demands of the war economy precipitated by the Russo-Turkish War that started in 1768, the conditions started to deteriorate.[225]

The atmosphere of economic prosperity at the time of his accession to the throne and the demands of the economy prompted Mustafa III to launch grand mosque projects that would consolidate his authority in the city and to make economic investments necessitated by the increasing volume of trade. Mustafa III continued the sultanic mosque projects that had restarted with Nuriosmaniye Mosque with the construction of Ayazma Mosque in Üsküdar (1757-1760)[226] and Laleli Complex (1760-1764)[227] in the Laleli quarter.[228] Both construction projects in the first years of his reign and the repair and reconstruction work such as Fatih Mosque,

[223] Şakul, "Osman III," 447.

[224] Şakul, "Mustafa III," 411–12.

[225] Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi.*

[226] Bayram and Tüzen, "İstanbul – Üsküdar Ayazma Camii ve Ayazma Camii İnşaat Defteri," 199–288; Bilge, "Üsküdar Ayazma Camii ve Bölgede İmarlaşma," 609–20

[227] Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi İnşaatının Arşiv Kaynakları (1173–1178/1760–1764)."; Neftçi, "Lâleli Külliyesi'nin İnşaat Süreci."

[228] Rustem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul."

carried out in the aftermath of the 1766 earthquake (*zelzele-i azîme*) constituted additions that changed the urban silhouette of Istanbul.[229] Justifying the comment in relation to him that he had "filled the treasury in ten years and emptied it with earthquake and war spending in six years!", the budget surplus that came with financial discipline in the first years of his reign left its place to serious economic difficulties towards the end of his reign.

According to the records of Laleli Sultan Mustafa III waqf dating to 1764, to which an addendum was attached in 1773, Sultan Mustafa III commissioned the construction of three *han*s in different parts of Istanbul. The first two of these *han*s are Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han built in the Daye Hatun Quarter on the Çakmakçılar Ramp near the Saka Fountain. The construction of these two *han*s were completed towards the end of 1763. Of the two, due to its size and architectural style, Büyük Yeni Han has a special place among eighteenth- century *han*s, which will be discussed in detail later on. Küçük Yeni Han, on the other hand, as described in the *waqfiyya*, was built in the form of a three-storey structure upon a land of 1790 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 1028 m^2). This structure is a medium-size commercial *han* that had 14 rooms, a toilet and a vaulted room on each floor with a total of 42 rooms, with 6 additional shops on the Çakmakçılar Ramp.[230] It was probably completed towards the end of 1763; *gediks* for the *han*'s rooms started to be given out in December 1763. According to a register that indicates the *gedik* holders for a total of

[229] Mazlum, *1766 İstanbul Depremi, Belgeler Işığında Yapı Onarımları*.

[230] "kebir hânın mukabilinde ve Valide hânı karşısında ve mezkûr saka çeşmesi üstünde vaki' bazan zaim el-Hac Salih Ağa menzili ve bazan kimesne menzili ve bazan Es-seyyid Mustafa menzili ve bir taraftan bakkal ve şekerci dükkânı ve iki tarafdan tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd terbian iki bin ondört zirâ' arsadan terbii ikiyüz yirmi dört zirâ' arsa üzerine köşede müceddeden binâ olunan sabiku'z-zikr fevkâni cami'i şerif ve saka çeşmesi arsasından maâda terbiân bin yediyüz doksan zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebni üç tabakalı her bir tabakasında on dört bâb odaları ve anlardan dehliz ve kenif ve tarîk-i âmm tarafında olan altı bâb dekakın-i muhtevi müceddeden binâ olunan mülk bir bâb sağır hân", VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.

36 of the *han*'s rooms, mostly non-Muslim tradesmen in the sectors of Pastry store (börekçi), Sherbet store, Kebab store, Herbalist, Cauldron makers (*kazğancı*), jewellers and *sarrâf*s had their shops in the *han*.[231] However around the beginning of the nineteenth century, tradesmen with modest scale businesses were replaced in the *han* by richer tradesmen, mostly *sarrâf*s. In architectural terms, of particular importance is the mosque that is attached to the *han*, as it reflects the intimate existence of sacred and commercial spaces side by side.

The third *han* built by Mustafa III, is Taş Han which was constructed in the Port area of Istanbul, just outside Bahçekapı. According to its waqfiyya, the *han* was built outside Bahçekapı on a land of 970 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 557 m^2) in the form of a two-storey structure with 15 rooms and two small rooms on the top floor, 6 vaulted rooms on the ground floor, 11 shops and a *francala* bakery that open onto the main road.[232] The *han*, which was recorded to have 22 rooms in 1792, housed *sarrâf*s in 8 of these rooms, in addition to 48 carriers in 8 rooms, 9 tobacco merchants in 3 of its rooms, 2 haraççıbaşı merchants in 1 room, 4 greengrocers porters in 1 room, and 3 second-hand articles dealers in 1 room.[233]

Besides these three *han*s, there is the other Taş Han, known also as Çukurçeşme Han, which is presented in secondary sources as belonging to the Laleli Waqf of Mustafa III. Based on existing literature relating to this *han*, the exact date of construction is not known. This *han* is not included in the waqfiyya of 1764 to

[231] BOA. D.BŞM.ŞHE.d. 16526. Gurre-i Z 1178 / May 22, 1764.

[232] "bir taraftan bahçe kapusu iskelesine gider tarîk caddede ve bir taraftan keresteci ve taşçı dükkânları cânibînde olan tarîk-i âmm ve bir tarafdan İstanbul Ağası iskelesine gider tarîk-i âmm ve bir taraftan İstanbul ağası yeri ve Kayıkhaneler zahrı tarafında olan tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd terbiân dokuzyüz yetmiş zirâ' arsada mebnî fevkâni onbeş bâb oda ve def'a sağıra iki bâb oda tahtında altı bâb mahâzın ve tarîk-i âmm câniblerinde on bir bâb dekâkin ve bir bâb fıranceleci fırını müştemil müceddeden binâ olunan bir bâb kârgir hân."
VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.

[233] BOA NFS.d 00004, undated. Probably 1792.

which an addendum was attached in 1773. There is no mention of its name in the list of renovations in the Laleli Complex following the fire of 1782 either.[234] Moreover, some researchers emphasize that there is uncertainty concerning the *han*'s status as an original part of the Laleli Complex.[235] A register from the archives that covers the dates of 1200–1202 / 1786–1788 contains information regarding labor, material and other expenses of the construction of a *han* built next to the Sultan Mustafa Han Mosque in Laleli.[236] Even though the content of the register is not clear about which *han* it is referring to, since there is no other *han* besides Taş Han belonging to Laleli Waqf in this area, we can reach the conclusion that the *han* mentioned in the register is Taş Han. Indeed, another register that contains records from the dates of 1202–1216 / 1788-1802 shows the list of *gedik* holders for the newly built *han*.[237] Moreover, in another register found in *Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği Defterleri* which shows the income and expenses of the Laleli Waqf for the year 1203 / 1789, the same *han* is referred to as "*Laleli Cami-i Şerif kurbunda müceddeden binâ olunan han*" (the new *han* that was built near the Laleli Mosque) and in the incomes a note was added in red ink that says section "*müceddeden binâ olunan han*" (the new *han* building).[238] The construction registers, the register of *gedik* holders, and accounting registers show that the construction of the *han* was completed in 1202 / 1788 and *gedik* holders for its rooms started to be determined within the same year. However, the *han* was not working in full capacity yet; when compared to an annual lease income of 4000 kuruş on average in later years, the lease income of 1000 kuruş for the year 1203 / 1789 is quite low. Another register from 1859 indicates that the

[234] BOA EV.HMH.D. 6461, 1198 / 1783.
[235] Tanyeli, "Laleli Külliyesi," 191-192.
[236] BOA EV.HMH.d. 6589, 1 L 1200 – 29 C 1202 / July 28, 1786 – April 6, 1788
[237] BOA EV.HMH.d. 6714, 1 Ş 1202 – 17 ZA 1216 / July 5, 1788 – March 21, 1802. *İstanbul Laleliçeşme'de Hân-ı Cedid'in gedik defteri.*
[238] BOA EV.HMD.d. 6727, 1 M 1203-29 Z 1203 / October 2, 1788 - September 20, 1789.

owner of the *han* and the names of *gedik* holders for its rooms, the *han* is referred to as the Çukurçeşme Han and is listed as part of the Laleli Complex, part of the waqf of Mustafa III. According to this register which also contains a plan of the *han* (Figure 19), it had three courtyards, a total of 72 units in two floors and a basement (see Appendix A, Figure 54) (see Appendix E, Figure 78) (see Appendix F, Figure 83).[239]

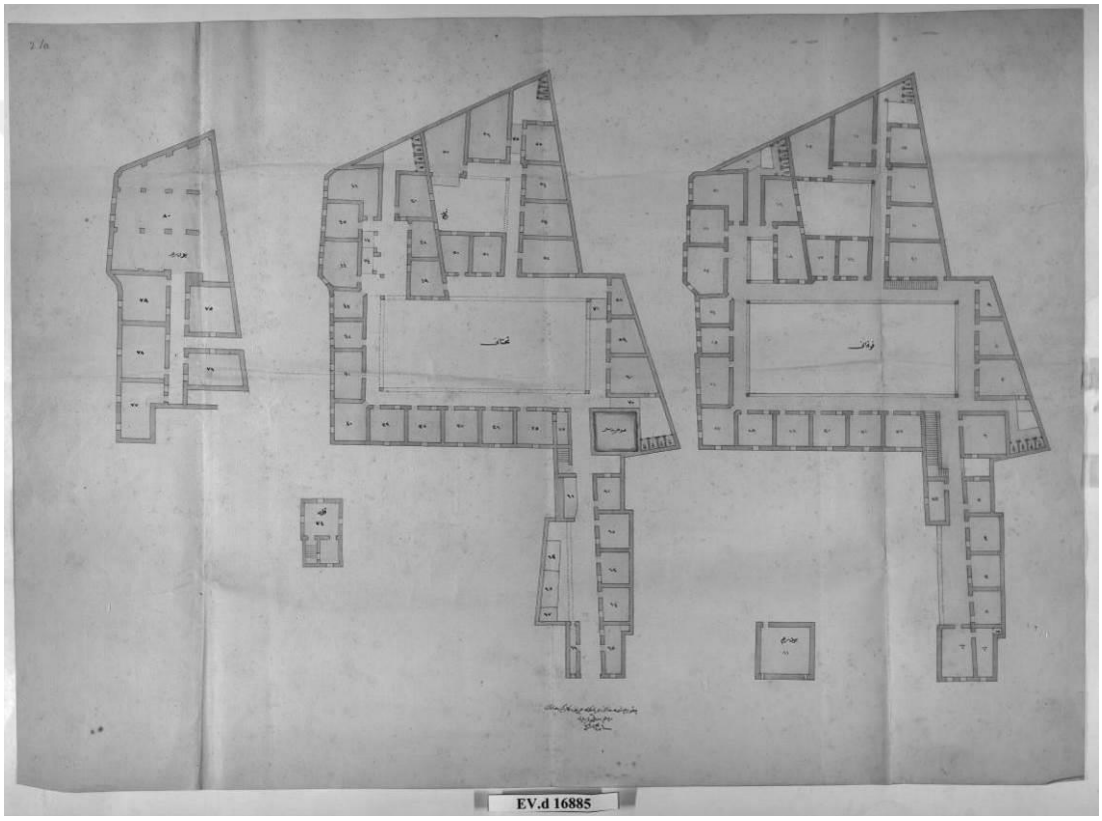


Figure 19. The plan of Taş Han included in the 1859 register (BOA EV.HMH.d. 6714.).

Mostly described in related literature as a *han* built for the use of cavalrymen, this *han* is sometimes also referred to as Sipahiler Han; however, in my archival research I did not come across any record of the relationship between Taş Han and

[239] BOA EV.HMH.d. 16885, 5 S 1276 / September 3, 1859. *Çukurçesme Hânı dimekle arîf kârgîr hânın resm-i müsattahlarıdır.*

the cavalry. Nevertheless it is possible to find notes in documents that give us clues of the accommodation of soldiers particularly in winter months, as in many other sheltered and sturdy *han* structures.[240] I will discuss the active use of *han*s as accommodation places or as gathering places during riots by soldiers in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

3.4 The construction of the Büyük Yeni Han

Among the *han*s included in the waqf of Mustafa III, Büyük Yeni Han, both in terms of its scale and architectural properties and in comparison to other *han*s of Istanbul, has a distinguishing identity of its own. Büyük Yeni Han is located quite close to Kapalıçarşı, up the Çakmakçılar Ramp across the street from Valide Han and next to Küçük Yeni Han. As shown in the previous chapter, the Çakmakcılar Ramp and the Mercan region, especially following the construction of Büyük Valide Han in the middle of the seventeenth century entered a period of intense commercial transformation. Sünbüllü Han, Büyük Yeni Han, Küçük Yeni Han and many other small-scale *han*s were constructed along the ramp especially during the eighteenth century, which improved the commercial potential of this area through the concentration particularly of *sarraf*s and other merchants dealing with precious metals. Büyük Yeni Han was clearly the most central and striking commercial building of this district extending between Mahmud Paşa and Uzun Çarşı.

[240] The Egyptian Military was accommodated at the Laleli Han for about a year in 1841. BOA ML.MSF.d. 2086, 12 M 1257 / March 6, 1841. It was demanded to unload the top floor of Vezir Han, Küçük Han inside this *han* and Çukurçeşme Han for placing the soldiers. BOA A.MKT.MHM. 60/101, 8 S 1271 / October 31, 1854.

3.4.1 The construction process

There no detailed monographic historical study of Büyük Yeni Han exists. Aside from encyclopedic articles on the construction details of this significant eighteenth-century *han*, information on its architectural properties have been documented in a number of studies.[241] However, property exchange documents (*istibdâl*), waqfiyyas and construction registers and other archival documents offer information about the construction process, the chronology of construction, the appropriation of the land on which it was built, the materials used in the construction and on the construction officials. In fact, '*istibdâl*' records found in Istanbul ahkâm registers can give us an idea about the construction dates and how the land was procured.[242] "*Istibdâl*", which means an exchange of properties belonging to individuals and foundations, was one of the methods used for the procurement of land during the construction of Büyük Yeni Han. Three such property exchange decisions issued between August 2, 1761 and October 20, 1761 indicate that the construction of the *Han* began immediately following these dates. In the first property exchange decision that we have, dated August 2-11, 1761, in order to procure construction ground for the Büyük Yeni Han, defined as "*müceddeden binâsına mübâşeret olunan hân*" (the new *han* whose construction is beginning), the land here belonging to Çavuşbaşı Ali Agha waqf, a 911 *zira'-i terbi'*[243] (approximately 523 m^2) plot which contained a stone vault, kitchen and miscellaneous outhouses was exchanged for properties in various places in Istanbul (see Appendix A, Figure 56).[244] While the land was being procured for

[241] For details, see the works of Eyice, Belli, Pinon, Gülenaz.

[242] For a work about the '*istibdâl*' in the eighteenth century İstanbul by using *ahkam* registers. H. Özkaya, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Barınma Kültürü ve Yaşam Koşulları."; Özkaya, "Vakıf İstibdal Kayıtları, İstanbul'da Barınma Kültürü Ve Kent Yapısına Dair Neler Sunar?," 467-488.

[243] 1 zirâ'kare= 0,57416 m^2.

[244] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/29/87, Evâil-i M 1175 / August 2-11, 1761.

the *Han* on the one hand, on the other hand a petition was submitted to the palace for a permit on August 5, 1761 for one thousand kantars of iron from the *Cebehâne-i Âmire* to be used in the foundation and structural framework of the new *Han* (see Appendix A, Figure 47).[245] Also between September 1-10, 1761 "*binâ ve inşâsına mübâşeret olınan hân-ı kebîr hudûdı dâhilinde*" (within the site of the new *han* whose construction is beginning), a house built on a 700 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 402 m^2) land was exchanged for an estate house in Edirnekapı (see Appendix A, Figure 57).[246] In another record dated from October 11-20, 1761, probably because the construction of the *han* had already started, it is referred by the clerk as "*Saka çeşmesi kurbunda Dâye Hâtûn mahallesinde vâkı' hân-ı kebîr*" (the great *han* that is located in the vicinity of Saka Fountain in the Dâye Hâtûn Quarter). In this document, it is also reported that a 1080 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 620 m^2) land was subjected to property exchange in return for many other properties in various parts of Istanbul.[247] We see that the expression "*istibdâli cânib-i vakfa her vechile enfa'u evlâ oldığı*" in relation to these property exchanges was frequently used. This reference gives the impression that the Sultan did not intend to spare any expense and tried to satisfy all the parties involved as much as possible in the procurement of the land on which the *han* was going to be built.

In the waqfiyya, it is explained that some of the land of the Büyük Yeni Han belonged to the Sultan's estates, while the rest was procured through the means of '*istibdâl ve temellük'* (property exchange and seizing) from various foundations.[248]

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[245] BOA C.SM. 652, 04 M 1175 / August 5, 1761. Since 1 kantar equels to 56,450 kg, 1000 kantar equals to 5645 kg.

[246]BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/42/118, Evâil-i S [1]175 / September 1-10, 1761.

[247]BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/45/125, Evâsıt-ı S 1175 / October 11-20, 1761.

[248] "malûmu'l-miktar arsası fi'l-asıl emlâk-ı humâyunlarından ve maâdası olup evkaf-ı müteferrikâ-i malumeden olan malûmu'l-mikdar arsası dahi emlâk-ı hümayunlarından mülk-i menâzil ile istibdâl ve temellük olunmakla bi'l-cümle arsası emlâk-ı humâyunlarından olan", VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.

The three above-mentioned '*istibdâl*' records, as registered in the waqfiyya dating from 1764, reveal that 1545 m^2 of the 8491,5 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 4647 m^2) land on which the *han* was constructed, which is almost one third of the total area, was procured through property exchange.[249] Although we cannot ascertain with certainty how the remaining two thirds of the land were obtained, it is obvious that the construction official spent intensive effort on the procurement of the land.

No information on the architect exists in the secondary literature on the *han*, while archival documents provide us only with a set of names. In one of the documents, it is pointed out that the *han* was being constructed under the auspices of "Şehremini Haşim Ali Bey". Moreover, in all of the three property exchange documents mentioned above "Şehremini es-Seyyid Hâşim Alî Beğ" is designated as the building supervisor (*binâ emini*). During the property exchange processes, he was assisted by the royal architects Yûsuf Halîfe, Mehmed Halîfe and Mehmed Emîn Halîfe.[250] The building supervisor (*binâ emini*) is the person charged with the construction of the structure and he was practically involved in various steps of the process from the construction to the management of the budget. It is a well-known fact that, by the second half of the eighteenth century, the hierarchical dynamics between the chief architect and the building supervisor had started to work more in favor of the latter and a new actor called "kalfa" (the master-builder) started to take over the role of the former.[251] The fact that we come across the name of the construction official more than that of the chief architect in the archival documents can be interpreted as a reflection of this new phenomenon.

[249] VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.
[250] See mentioned 'İstibdal' records.
[251] Şenyurt, "Geç Osmanlı Inşaat Ortamında 'Binâ Emînliği'," 151-169.

These property exchange records document, thanks to the efforts of the construction official, that the issue of where the Büyük Yeni Han would be built had been clarified by the summer of 1761; this was followed by the initiation of the construction towards the fall of the same year. In fact, in another register, the entries regarding the expenses made for imperially-owned or recently purchased revenue-bringing estates, including Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han, the great mosque, the goldsmith (*kuyumcu*) businesses situated in or near the Tekfursaray, start on January 10, 1761 (see Appendix A, Figure 45).[252] At the beginning of the register, the allocations for the project, which were handed out with receipt, are listed with the corresponding dates.

As can be seen in Table 6, the first of the eight allocations, probably as the initiation payment, was made on January 21, 1761. The following four allocations were handed out on August 10, September 2 and 5, and November 30 in 1761. In fact, the total of these four allocations corresponds to 58% of the entire budget. Based on this information, it can be assumed that the expenses made on the procurement of both the land and the materials have intensified during this period. In fact, on November 15, 1761, the construction official of the 'great *han*' wrote to the Sultan saying that the present allocations were not sufficient and asked for increased funds (see Appendix A, Figure 48). [253]

[252] BOA D.BŞM.BNE.d. 15946, 3 C 1174 – 12 CA 1176 / January 10, 1761 – November 29, 1762.
[253] BOA C.SM. 151/7594, 17 R 1175 / November 15, 1761.

Table 6. The Waqf Expenses for Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han, for the Great Mosque… between January 21, 1761 and November 23, 1762.

Date	Amount (Kuruş)
14 C 1174 / 21 January 1761	25000
9 M 1175 / 10 August 1761	50000
2 S 1175 / 2 September 1761	10000
5 S 1175 / 5 September 1761	31500
3 CA 1175 / 30 November 1761	50000
4 ZA 1175/ 27 May 1762	25000
1 RA 1176 / 20 October 1762	14300
6 CA 1176 / 23 November 1762	37500
Total	243300 Kuruş

Source: BOA D.BŞM.BNE.d. 15946.

Whereas, the date of the completion of the *han* remains unknown. The date 1177 (1763-1764) carved next to the "Maşallah" script situated on the northeast corner of the *han* probably indicates the completion date of the construction. It is also possible to establish the same approximate date as to the finalization of the construction based on the entries in the archives that document the *gedik* holders of the rooms of the *han*, and the appointment of its *kethüda* (steward) and *odabaşı*. In a decree from February 27, 1764, it was pronounced that all the revenue from the shops inside and outside the Büyük Han and Küçük Han and the Yeni Han (New *Han*) in Bahçekapısı, all the endowments of Sultan Mustafa III in Istanbul including those outside the Langa Gate; and those in Izmir that were not held as trade privileges were to be allocated for charitable purposes (see Appendix A, Figure 49).[254] This was on the condition that they would be incorporated into the *gedik* system through auctioning, and on the condition that *gedik*s would be inherited by his descendants in case of the holder's death. In fact, it was during this period that an initiative to determine the *gedik* holders of the Büyük Han, then referred to as "*Hân-ı Cedid-i Kebîr*", was underway (see Appendix A, Figure 46).[255] Similarly, through

[254] BOA C.EV. 251/12685, 24 Ş 1177 / February 27, 1764.
[255] BOA D.BŞM.ŞHE.d. 16526. Gurre-i Z 1178 / May 22, 1764. I thank Mathilde Pinon-Demirçivi for her sharing the transcription of this register.

another initiative, the *gedik* holders, *kethüda* (steward), *odabaşı* and master craftsmen of the *han* were assigned (see Appendix A, Figure 44).[256] All these documents indicate that the construction of the *han* began in the middle of 1761 and it was completed towards the end of 1763.

3.4.2 The physical structure

Whether the construction of Büyük Yeni Han, which lasted almost two years, had any pioneering effect on the construction tradition and architectural expression of its era is an important question for discussion. In order to understand this, a physical and spatial portrait of the *han* needs to be drawn. The waqfiyya of the Laleli Foundation which was created after the construction of the *han* throws light on the matter to a great extent.

In fact, in the waqfiyya of Sultan Mustafa III, dated March 13, 1764, the construction is defined as "*müceddeden binâ ve inşa eylediğim ma'lûmu'l-hudud kârgir hân-ı kebîr*" and described as follows:

> "…mahmiyye-i Istanbul'da Daye Hatun Mahallesinde Tarakcılar sûku kurbunda Saka Çeşmesi mukabilinde vaki bir taraftan Ayasofya-i Kebîr Vakfından Mahmud Paşa hânı demekle ma'rûf Kürkçiler hânı canîbinde cedîd tarîk-i âmm ve bir taraftan bazen Fatma Hanım menzili ve bazan merhum Rahiki zâde Halil Efendi Vakfından medrese ve bir taraftan Tarakçılar sukundan saka çeşmesine gider tarîk-i âmm ve bir taraftan yine tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd terbi'an sekiz bin dörtyüz doksan bir buçuk zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebni üç tabakalı her bir tabakası altmış dört bâb oda ve önlerinde dehliz ve her bir tabakada üçer kenif ve derûnu ve birûnu ve etraf-ı selâsesinden seksen bâb dekâkin ve mehâzın-i muhtevi müceddeden binâ buyurulan bir bâb kebîr kârgir hân"[257]

[256] BOA MAD. 21509, 1 R 1178 - B 1179 / September 28, 1764 – December, 1765.
[257] VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.

According to the description in the waqfiyya, the newly-constructed *han* is situated in Istanbul's Daye Hatun Quarter, close to the Tarakçılar Market across the Saka Fountain. On one side of the *han*, there is a public thoroughfare (*tarîk-i âmm*) leading to Kürkçüler Han, and on the other side lies a portion of Fatma Hanım's house, and the madrasa belonging to the Rahikizade Halil Efendi waqf. On another side, a public thoroughfare stretches between the Tarakçılar Market and the Saka Fountain and the front of the building overlooks the wide road of the Çakmakçılar Ramp. The *han* was built on 8491,5 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 4647 m^2) of land on three floors. On each floor, there were 64 rooms and a corridor in front the rooms on each side of the courtyard. On each floor, there were 3 toilets. Also on the interior and exterior areas of each floor, there was a total of 80 shops and vaults of various kinds.

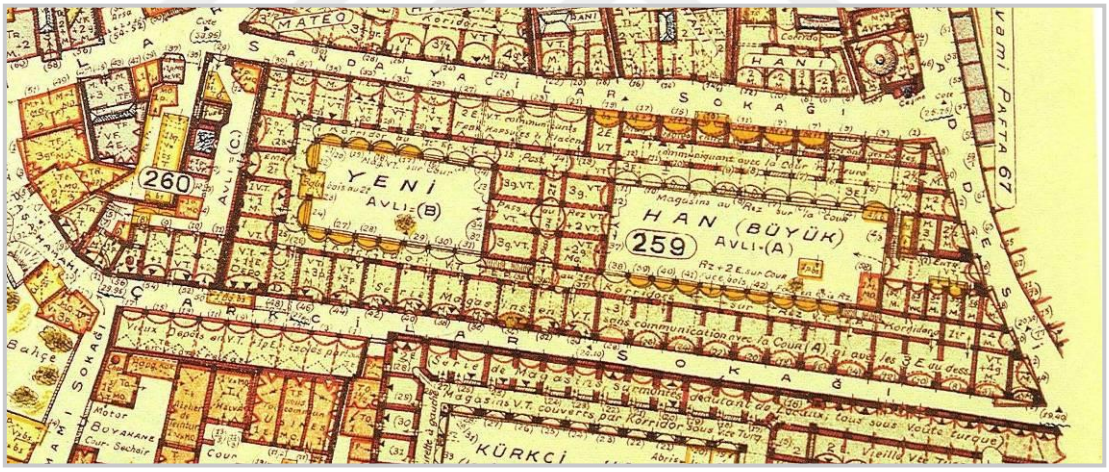


Figure 20. Büyük Yeni Han in the Pervititch Map, 1942. (Pervititch, 149)

The *han*, which was built as a three-storey structure with two courtyards, was designed to be in harmony with its surroundings. The façade stretching parallel to the Çakmakçılar Ramp was cantilevered all along. The first courtyard, behind the main gate on the Çakmakçılar Ramp is 42 meters long, while the second is 25 meters in length (Figures 20-21). The width of the courtyards is not even, ranging between 12

and 15 meters. A vaulted passageway connects the two courtyards. Although some scholars have claimed that originally the *han* was designed around a single big courtyard,[258] both the waqfiyya and the register from 1780, which documents the rooms of the *han,* indicate that there was a passageway between the two courtyards (see Appendix E, Figures 74-75).[259] There are 4 *han* rooms on the ground floor of this passageway and 6 rooms each on the middle and second floors amounting to 16 rooms in total. In fact, as Gülenaz points out "the architectural structure of this area, with respect to its masonry, the materials used in such elements as the windows and the doors and the overlapping placement of the walls on intersecting corners" suggest that this was originally part of the construction plan and not built as a later addition.[260]

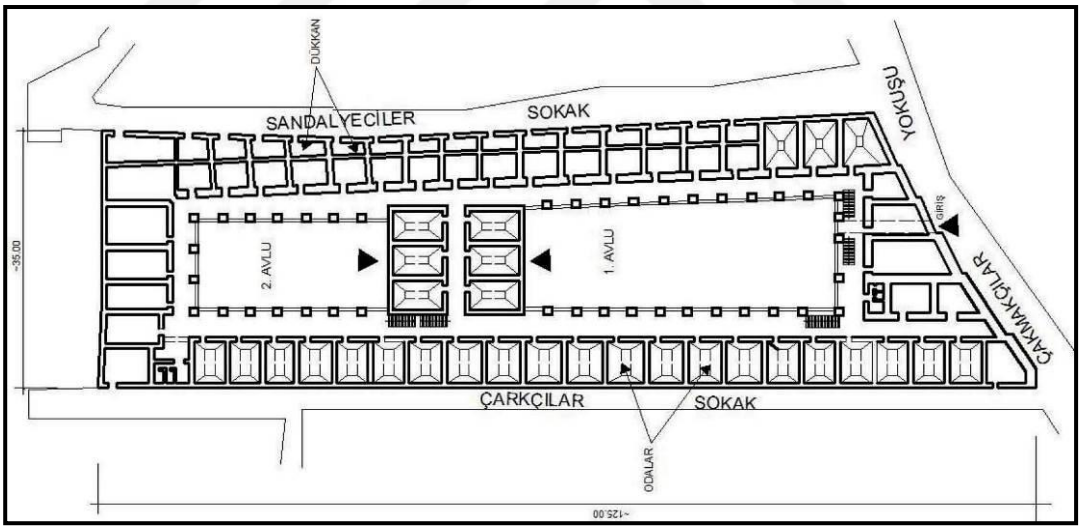


Figure 21. The plan of the second floor of Büyük Yeni Han (Sökmen, 78)

In its current state, Büyük Yeni Han has entrances on three of its façades; there is no entrance on the façade on the Tarakçılar Market. Among these entrances

[258] Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 391.
[259] BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1 M - 29 Z 1194 / January 8, 1780 - December 26, 1780.
[260] Gülenaz, *Batılılaşma Dönemi İstanbul'unda Hanlar ve Pasajlar*, 53-55.

the one on to the Çakmakçılar Ramp is considered the main entrance, and for this reason, the façade on the ramp constitutes the principal front of the *han* (see Appendix E, Figure 76). On this front, which presents a dynamic design, five cantilevers have been integrated into the whole three-storey façade in order to adjust the building to its plot and to the slope of the Çakmakçılar Ramp. The cantilevers on this front side not only enrich the façade with their Baroque style dynamism, but also functionally enable the rooms to receive more sunlight by evening out the curve of the plot.

The two plates with "Maşallah" script written on them, situated on a corner of the upper floor with the presumed date of its completion next to them and the by now almost-effaced birdhouse are probably the most striking aspects of the Sandalyeciler façade, where the second entrance is located (see Appendix E, Figure 77). Both these inscriptions and the birdhouse, and various exterior and interior decorations are in harmony with the Baroque ornamental trends of eighteenth-century Istanbul.[261] As you go further along the street, the three-storey front on the side of the Çakmakçılar Ramp is reduced to two floors due to elevation difference. The other entrance of the *han* is where it intersects with the Tarakçılar street. Due to the slope, this entrance door leads to the third-floor porch of the second courtyard. İnciciyan states that this entrance was used by tradesmen, whereas the main entrance on the Çakmakçılar Ramp side was used more for the traffic of carts and loaded horses.[262]

Furthermore, there is not much of a slope on the Çarkçılar street. With the addition of the vault, the façade on this street rises up to four floors at the beginning of Çakmakçılar Ramp but is reduced to two storeys at the end of the street. On this

[261] For Ottoman baroque, see. Rustem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul."
[262] İnciciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, 24.

side, there is a door that opens to the second porch of the second courtyard. However, both observations from field work and the descriptions in the archival documents confirm that the toilets of the *han* were located where this door stands. For this reason, we understand that the toilets at this location must have been removed to provide room for this gate at an undocumented date.

From the main entrance on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, a long passageway leads to the first courtyard. The floors can be reached through the two sets of staircases facing each other at the two sides of the entrance. With the exception of the middle segment between the two courtyards of the *han*, the courtyards are surrounded with porticoes on each floor. The ceilings of these porticoes are cross vaulted and have been constructed in brick. The rooms are also generally very similar to each other. Each room has two windows overlooking the street, on the side that opens to the gallery, there is a window has a rectangularly-shaped stone jamb whereas the jamb stone of the door is round.

Certain precautionary measures in the waqfiyya seem to have been aimed at preserving the physical space of the *han*. In fact, in order to avoid corrosion and wear, it was advised not to open any other additional windows on the doors of the rooms, or for that matter no timber extensions "such as partitions, anteroom, benches, sofas or atelier" were allowed in the hallways in between the rooms on any of the floors. Only a single exception to the no timber extension rule has been provided, which needed to be made because the 24 ground-floor rooms on the right side of the gate leading to the main street had no windows opening to the street. This situation necessitated the building of benches in front to make these rooms more attractive. However, special attention was paid to avoiding building this kind of timber benches or shops, haylofts, storehouses, cellars in the corresponding sections

of all the three floors, which if detected during special supervisions should be ordered to be dismantled right away. Generally, a certain flexibility was allowed when the timber material prescribed in the waqfiyya was needed for certain extensions to the courtyard or shops. In fact, after the 1894 Istanbul earthquake, because the shops in Kapalıçarşı were destroyed, some timber barracks were built in the courtyard of Büyük Yeni Han thus enabling the merchants and craftsmen to continue their trade or craft there.[263] Precautionary measures for preserving the physical space of the *han* prescribed in the waqfiyya are probably one of the most important factors contributing to the preservation of this large building with few alterations into our day.

Malakari ornaments, which had begun to be used also in *han*s during this period, can be seen on the ceilings of the rooms. As Pinon examines, these Baroque style ornaments on the ceilings of only two rooms have survived until today and they show remarkable similarities to the ornaments painted in other important public buildings and private estates. [264] Koçu states that 'the design of these ornaments were in line with the wealth of the merchants and craftsmen occupying these rooms".[265]

3.4.3 Büyük Yeni Han and its functions

According to the waqfiyya of Mustafa III, there were 64 rooms on each floor of Büyük Yeni Han (192 rooms in total) and there were a total of 80 shops and vaults surrounding the *han*. Following the construction of the *han*, as described in a register that gives an account of the *gedik* holders for the rooms of the *han*, 106 rooms of the

[263] BOA Y.A.HUS. 304/85, 29 M 1312 / August 2, 1894.
[264] Pinon-Demirçivi, "Un exemple de peintures murales dans le Büyük Yeni Han a İstanbul."
[265] Koçu, 48.

han were occupied by tradesmen belonging to different sectors of commerce.[266] In his work, İnciciyan mentions that this *han* had 166 rooms and most of these rooms are used by Armenian tradesmen as their place of business.[267] On the other hand, in the registers that were compiled within the context of *nizâm-ı teftiş-i Istanbul* started by Selim III in 1792, it is mentioned that Büyük Yeni Han had 164 rooms and it is occupied by *sarrâf*s and merchants (*bezirgan*).[268] The most interesting information regarding the number of rooms in the *han* comes from Charles White who spent three years in Istanbul in the 1840s.[269] After giving a descriptive account of the physical properties of the *han*, White says that it had 320 to 350 rooms of varying sizes. This account might lead us to conclude that White exaggerated the number of rooms in the *han* because he was impressed by the massive and ostentatious appearance of the structure. The most accurate and detailed early records about the use of the *han* and the number of its divisions occupied by tradesmen that I have been able to reach in my archival research come from the document dated 1780 that lists the names of tradesmen who occupied the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han and their monthly rents.[270] This register kept a record of the names of the tradesmen categorized by which floor and on which side of the building their rooms were located together with their business sector, and the monthly and annual rent that each was paying. After each room on the ground floor, first floor and second floor on the side of Kürkçüler Han and Saka Fountain, and each room in the middle section of every floor is recorded, the shops and vaults surrounding the *han* are given. According to this register, in 1780 the *han* had a total of 164 rooms with 53 rooms on

[266] BOA. D.BŞM.ŞHE.d. 16526. Gurre-i Z 1178 / May 22, 1764.
[267] İnciciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, 24.
[268] BOA ADVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.
[269] White, *Three Years in Constantinople, or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, 46.
[270] BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1 M - 29 Z 1194 / January 8, 1780 - December 26, 1780.

the ground floor, 56 rooms on the middle floor and 55 rooms on the top floor (see Appendix A, Figure 43). Surrounding the *han* on Tarakçılar, Çakmakçılar Gate and Mahmud Pasha Hamam sides are located 39 shops and 26 vaults that were actively in use. The total number of 229 divisions recorded in this register is 43 short of the total number of 272 given in the waqfiyya.

However, even though the waqfiyya states that it has 64 rooms on each floor, neither this document nor the present physical structure of the *han* verify this claim. From a structural point of view, it does not seem possible for this *han* to have had an equal number of rooms on every floor because of the location of the entrances to the *han*. As also reflected in the current condition of the *han*, 164 seems to be the actual number of rooms in the *han* at the time of its construction, which is indicated in this register as being distributed in three floors as 53, 56, and 55. The waqfiyya probably indicates a case of generalization.

The majority of the residents of Büyük Yeni Han in the register are made up of non-Muslim *sarrâf*s and merchants (*bezirgan*). Out of the 164 rooms in the *han*, 74 were used by *sarrâf*s and 28 were in use by merchants (*bezirgan*). We can also see that *sarrâf*s were clustered together in certain parts of the *han*. For example, all the rooms in the middle section of every floor (4+6+6) in the *han* were occupied by *sarrâf*s. In addition, most of the rooms in the ground floor and top floor were also occupied by *sarrâf*s. Moreover, even the *sarrâf*s' guild room was located in this *han*, on the Saka Fountain side of the top floor.

The *sarrâf*s who also conducted such business as "exchanging money, transporting and safekeeping valuables, giving credit" as important constituents of the Ottoman money and financial system, had important roles as financiers; they acted as guarantors in bids for mining, minting, tax collecting (*iltizam*) and in

malikane contracts.[271] The overwhelming majority of *sarrâf*s belonged to the Armenian community and they mostly had their businesses in the *han*s within or around Kapalıçarşı, the main center of commerce. As Bölükbaşı demonstrates in his work on the inspections on tradesmen to determine *gedik* holders for *sarrâf*s, there was a significant move of *sarrâf*s from Kapalıçarşı area to Büyük Yeni Han after Büyük Yeni Han was completed. In the list of *sarrâf*'s *gedik* holders from 1782, 11 out of the total 73 dealers, in the list from 1820, 43 out of the total 179 dealers, in the list from 1824, 29 out of the total 75, and in the list from 1835, 47 out of the total 100 dealers who had warranty with the Imperial Treasury, had their businesses in Büyük Yeni Han. In 1835, nearly half of all *gedik* holding or licensed *sarrâf*s were gathered in Büyük Yeni Han. When we scrutinize the lists published by Bölükbaşı, over time, especially starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, *sarrâf*s were clustered around Çakmakçılar Ramp in Valide Han, Sünbüllü Han, and Küçük Yeni Han around the center of Büyük Yeni Han.[272]

As seen in the registers of *gedik*s for the rooms of the *han*, out of the 82 tradesmen whose line of trade is indicated, 47 of them are *sarraf*s and the remaining 35 are from various other trades. In addition, according to the register from 1780 which lists the tenants for the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han, out of the *han*'s 164 rooms, 74 were occupied by *sarraf*s and 28 by *bezirgan*s. As discussed earlier, *sarraf*s who had a significant place in Ottoman credit relations, moved from their earlier locations around Kapalıçarşı to Çakmakçılar Ramp after the completion of this *han*. By the time we get to 1835, half of the 100 *sarraf*s who had warranty with the Imperial Treasury were located in Büyük Yeni Han and most of the remaining ones were

[271] Akyıldız, "Sarraflık," 163-165.
[272] Bölükbaşı, "İstanbul sarrafları (1691-1835)," 19-96.

located in other *han*s on Çakmakçılar Ramp such as Valide Han, Küçük Yeni Han and Sünbüllü Han. Based on developments following the completion of the construction of the *han*, we can argue that the Sultan wanted to develop this area into a commercial district to create a space intended for the use of *sarraf*s, and hence to attract this group that was increasingly important for the economy to establish their businesses in the new location.[273] In other words, the construction of this *han* can be considered to be a representation of the sultan's participation in the economy and the commerce of the city at a spatial level.

In addition to *sarrâf*s, almost all rooms, shops and vaults in the *han* with few exceptions, according to these registers, were occupied by tradesmen and artisans.[274] As an exception, two rooms on the Kürkçüler Han side of the ground floor were occupied by *odabaşı* officers, and three rooms on the Saka Fountain side of the ground floor, on the other hand, were used as water reservoir, the *han*'s fire extinguishing system, and as stables. Even though most *han*s had separate quarters for stables either on the ground floor or in the basement, in this *han* only one space functioned as stable.

3.4.4 Büyük Yeni Han as a revenue-producing building

The waqfiyya of Laleli Waqf also clarifies fundamental issues about Büyük Yeni Han such as the conditions of leasing and usage. The rooms, shops and vaults in the *han* would always be rented in the style of "*icâre-i sahîha-ı vâhide*"[275] and never in

[273] For a disscussion about the relation between the evolution of the Ottoman Fiscal System and the guild organization of sarrafs in the eighteenth century, see. Şahiner, "The sarrafs of Istanbul: financiers of the Empire."
[274] I will turn back the occupational use of Büyük Yeni *Han* in next chapter.
[275] Akgündüz, "İcare-i Vahide," 389.

the "*icâreteyn*"[276] style. This policy which aims to guarantee the regular incomes of the waqf, is also observed in the appointment of the *han*keeper. The waqfiyya stipulates that the position of the *han*keeper should not be appointed through "*hazine-mânde mukabili berât*" or "*mütevelli taraflarından temessükile*", and it requires that in case the position was already given, "*berât and temessük*" records should be canceled immediately.[277] The waqfiyya makes a clear point of saying that the *han*keepers should have a guarantor and should be trustworthy regardless of whether they are Muslim or non-Muslim and that the *odabaşı* officers should be trustworthy and hardworking. With respect to both the method of leasing *han* rooms and the policy of appointing trustworthy and profit-chasing *han* managers, the waqfiyya clearly shows that it aims to guarantee the income of this new *han* which had a high potential to be a good investment for the Sultan's waqf.

The register that contains information about the tenants and rent incomes of the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han in 1780 is instrumental in determining the total income of the *han*. This register indicates for how many months each room, shop and vault in the *han* was rented and the monthly rent of each in *kuruş*. Moreover, at the end of the register, the total rent income of the *han* for the whole year is calculated.

Table 7. The Incomes of Rooms, Shops and Vaults in Büyük Yeni Han in 1780

	Upper Floor	Middle Floor	Ground Floor	All Floors	All Floors
	Oda / Room	*Oda / Room*	*Oda / Room*	*Dükkan / Shop*	*Mahzen / Vault*
Number of Rooms / Rented	53	55	44	33	5
Number of Rooms / Untenanted	2	1	9	6	21
Total / Month	394	319	218	159	25
Monthly Average for Each	7.43	5.80	4.95	4.81	5
Yearly Average for Each	89.21	69.60	59.45	57.81	60

Source: BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928.

[276] Akgündüz, "İcareteyn," 389-391.

[277] VGMA 642, 3 ZA 1178 / March 13, 1764.

As seen in Table 7, the *han* had a total of 164 rooms, 39 shops and 26 vaults. 152 of the *han*'s room were rented and only 12 of them did not have tenants. However, of these 12 rooms, only 5 of them remained vacant while 2 were employed as *Dîvan Odası*, 3 as water reservoir, *han*'s fire extinguishing system and stables; two were occupied by the *han*'s *odabaşı* officers. When we look at the average monthly rents of the rented rooms, we see that the rooms on the top floor were rented for 7.43 *kuruş* on average, the rooms on the middle floor were rented for 5.80 *kuruş* and the rooms on the ground floor were rented for 4.95 *kuruş* on average. If we take the average monthly rent of the rooms as an indication of their value, we can reach the conclusion that the rooms on the top floor were the most valuable while the rooms on the ground floor are the least valuable. We see differences in rents not only between floors but also between rooms on different sides of the same floor. While the average monthly rent of the rooms on the Kürkçü Han side of the top floor is 8 *kuruş*, the rent of the ones on the Saka Fountain side is 7.12 *kuruş*. Similarly, the rooms of the middle floor on the Kürkçü Han side have higher rents than the ones on the Saka Fountain side. The difference between the two sides on the middle floor was greater: 7.52 *kuruş* to 4.46 *kuruş*. There was almost no price difference between the rooms on the ground floor. Out of the 164 rooms of the *han*, the room that brought the highest rent income was the room which is used as the Chamber of the *Sarrâf*s Guild (*Sarrâf Esnafı Lonca Odası*) located on the top floor on the Saka Fountain side. This room's monthly rent was 10 *kuruş*. The rooms with the lowest rent were two rooms on the middle floor on the side of Saka Fountain, each bringing in 3.5 *kuruş* of monthly rent. In the same time period, 33 of the 39 existing shops in the *han* were rented and their average monthly rent was 4.81 *kuruş*. As with the rooms in the *han*, the monthly rents of shops surrounding the *han* varied depending on their location and

size. The register from 1780 records the 21 vaults in the *han* as vacant and the 5 vaults as rented. In the last part of the register, the total monthly and yearly revenue of all the rooms on each floor is given. This information has been summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Total Monthly and Yearly Revenue of all the Rooms, Shops and Vaults on each Floor in 1780

Location	Yearly Revenue	Monthly Revenue
Bala katın Kürkçüler Han taraf ve Saka Çeşmesi taraf ma'a bölmesi yekunların cem'idir	4816	400
Bala katın Tarakçılar Kapusu dahilinde iki kapı beyninde vakı' dekakinlerin yekun-ı cem'idir	432	36
Orta katın Kürkçüler taraf ve Saka Çeşmesi taraf ma'a bölmesi yekunların cem'idir	3834	323,5
Zemin katın Kürkçüler Han taraf ve Saka Çeşmesi taraf ma'a bölmesi yekunların cem'idir	2676	223
Taşrasında ve tahtında vakı' dükkanların yekunların cem'idir	546	45,5
Parmak dahilinde kazğancı kuyumcuları dükkanlarının yekunların cem'idir	409	46,5
Orta kat babının ittisalinde vakı' yine parmak kapı dahilinde dekakinlerin yekunlarıdır	204	17
Külhan Sokağı dahilinde Ahmed Bey Konağı ittisalinde vakı' dekakinlerin yekunlarıdır	276	24
TOTAL (Kuruş)	13193	1115,5

Source: BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928.

The second question about the incomes of the *han* regards the place of Büyük Yeni Han's rent income within the total revenue of the Laleli waqf. The most important documents that might provide an answer for this question are the registers that include the incomes and expenses of the Laleli waqf. As also seen in Table 9 below, the seven registers I have been able to access among *Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği Defterleri* archives that cover the years from 1770 to 1816, compile the total annual income of the waqf for the given year and the total annual income of each *han* that belonged to the waqf (see Appendix A, Figures 50-52). According to the table, for the years between 1770 and 1789 about 5 to 6 percent of the total

annual income of the waqf comes from Büyük Yeni Han's rent income. For the same period, about 8 to 9 percent of the total annual income of the waqf comes from the incomes of all four *han*s that belonged to the Waqf. The rent income of Büyük Yeni Han from 1770 to 1816 is generally within the range of 13000 to 14000 *kuruş* annually. It is interesting to note that even though there was an almost five-fold increase in the annual income of the waqf from 1789 to 1811, the annual rent income of Büyük Yeni Han during this period stayed almost the same. While the increase in the annual income of the waqf can be explained with the increasing revenue from customs duties of the Izmir Port, the reason for the relative stability of the annual rent income of Büyük Yeni Han during this period, as Mehmet Genç also explains, is that the dominant form of commerce in Ottoman economic life was the organization of tradesmen's guilds and the state's policies focused on protecting them. However, this gives the impression that the condition of appointing hardworking and profit-chasing *han* keepers in the waqfiyya worked only to make sure that the rooms did not remain vacant and the rents were collected on time. To sum up, it can be stated that even though Büyük Yeni Han was built to bring income to the waqf, the rent income of the *han* remained constant over the years, and therefore, when compared with other sources of income for the Laleli foundation, its relative income-bringing value decreased.

Table 9. The Incomes of *Han*s and the Total Revenue of the Laleli Foundation between 1770 and 1816

Date	TOTAL Income (Kuruş)	Büyük Yeni Han (Kuruş)	Küçük Yeni Han (Kuruş)	Taş Han (Kuruş)	Laleli Taş Han (Kuruş)
1183 / 1770[278]	268186	13840	3680	1880	
1184 / 1771[279]	204470	13452	3569	1667	
1193 / 1780[280]	233830	12000	3000	2280	
1203 / 1789[281]	221730	13511	3869	2553	1000
1225 / 1811[282]	1015997	13842	4254	2790	3753
1228 / 1813[283]	1279693	13590	3245	2765	3985
1231 / 1816[284]	1296195	13890	4354	2765	3985

3.4.5 Images of Büyük Yeni Han: Visibility and monumentality

As demonstrated above, Büyük Yeni Han immediately became a prominent *han* within the urban space after the completion of its construction due to both its spatial and visual attributes, and its function in the city. Büyük Yeni Han's appearance had fascinated travelers such as White who visited the city in the 1840s. It is important to give an account of how the massive size and grandiosity of the *han* was represented in the maps and engravings that were created during the period under discussion. In this context, maps of Istanbul become an important source of information. First prepared in 1776 and then revised in 1786, the first map of Istanbul drawn to scale by François Kauffer, records Büyük Yeni Han with the name "New *Han*" and portrays it with two courtyards.[285] The physical space Büyük Yeni Han occupies in the map is bigger than that of Valide Han and Vezir Han (Figure 22). In reality, the physical volume of Valide Han, which has three courtyards, is bigger than that of Büyük Yeni

[278] BOA EV.HMD.d. 5704, 1 M 1183 - 29 Z 1183 / May 7, 1769 – April 25, 1770
[279] BOA EV.HMD.d. 5754, 1 M 1184 - 29 Z 1184 / April 27, 1770 – April 15, 1771
[280] BOA EV.HMD.d. 6167, 1 M 1193 - 29 Z 1193 / January 19, 1779 – January 7, 1780
[281] BOA EV.HMD.d. 6727, 1 M 1203 - 29 Z 1203 / October 2, 1788 – September 20, 1789
[282] BOA TS.MA.d. 3767 0002, 29 Z 1225 / January 25, 1811.
[283] BOA EV.HMD.d. 8266, 1 RA 1228 - 29 Z 1228 / March 4, 1813 – December 23, 1813
[284] BOA EV.HMD.d. 8268, 1 RA 1228 - 29 Z 1231 / March 4, 1813 – November 20, 1816
[285] For a discussion about Kauffer's work: *Plan de la ville de Constantinople et de ses faubourgs, tant en Europe qu'en Asie / levé géométriquement en 1776 par Fr. Kauffer; vérifié et augmenté en 1786 par le même Fr. Kauffer et par M. Le Chevalier…* see Pedley, "Enlightenment Cartography at the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople," 29-53.

Han; however, Büyük Yeni Han's grandiose appearance on the Çakmakcılar ramp probably led the map maker to draw it in this manner.

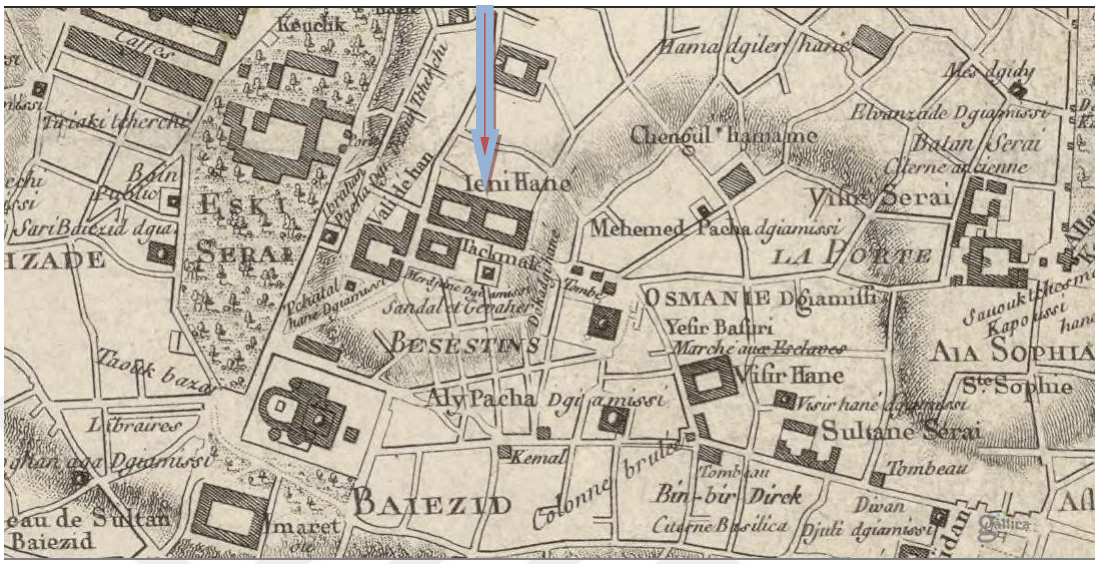


Figure 22. Büyük Yeni Han in the Kauffer map of Istanbul, 1776 (Kauffer, 1776)

Büyük Yeni Han is also recorded with the name of "New *Han*" in the Bayezid Waterways map drawn in 1812 (Figure 23). However, this map does not furnish great detail about the *han*'s physical structure. The most important feature of the representation of the *han* in this map is that the door of the main entrance of the *han* on the Çakmakçılar Ramp is indicated in a prominent way. Moreover, the other door of the *han* on the Sandalyeciler Street side that leads into the top floor of the *han* is also shown on the map.[286]

[286] For an evaluation of the Bayezid waterway map. Çeçen, *II. Bayezid Suyolu Haritaları.*



Figure 23. Büyük Yeni Han in the Bayezid II water distribution system map, 1812-13 (Çeçen, 1999)

The grand appearance of the *han* also made a significant change in the Istanbul cityscape at large. Particularly in the drawing of the view of the peninsula by Barker from the Galata side published in 1813 with the title 'Panorama of Constantinople', the *han* stands out with its massive appearance (Figure 24).[287] Different from the previous representations of Istanbul's "ideal views" and "picturesque" portrayals, this panorama goes a step further in "transforming what is visible to convey information" and "conveying what is visible as it is" and attempts

[287] *Panorama of Constantinople, and environs...* / drawn on the spot by Henry Aston Barker; etched by C. Tomkins & aquatinted by F.C. & G. Lewis. Published by Thos. Palser, Surry Side Westminster Bridge and H.A. Barker, West Square, 1813 Jany. 1st. *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington*, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

For an evaluation of this panorama, see Erkal, "Tam Zamanında Gözlerinizin Önünde: Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri 1," 40-47; Tam Zamanında Gözlerinizin Önünde: Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri 2," 24-31.

Panorama is a concept that is derived from the Greek words 'pan' (whole) and 'horama' (view), which means 'an all encompassing view'. The picture of the 360-degree view from a fixed point of observation and the cylindrically shaped space named 'panorama' which was designed to view such a picture, emerged in England in the eighteenth century. In order to be exhibited in this 'panorama' in England, Henry Barker came to Istanbul in the years 1799-1800 to capture reality in its place and time, and prepared two panoramic views of Istanbul one from the Galata Tower and the other one from the Maiden's Tower.

to give a commanding view of the city from the most advantageous spot in the city.[288] Prepared to present an exhibition of the views of the Ottoman capital to large numbers of audiences, this panorama was exhibited in England in 1801 and drew significant interest. Titled as "View of Constantinople and the surrounding country from the Town of Galata" the panorama was printed in 1813 based on original drawings. In this panorama, with almost photographic precision, Barker produces portrayals of city spaces and structures of which he might or might not have extensive knowledge. While Valide Han, Vezir Han and Balkapanı Han stand out in Von Gudenus's[289] and Le Bruyn's picturesque Istanbul drawings,[290] in Barker's panorama, in addition to these *han*s, Büyük Yeni Han also makes its presence visible in the city's silhouette due to its large size. It is interesting that, even today, despite all the changes that have been made over the past two hundred years, when we look at the walled city from the Galata Tower, we cannot help feeling that Barker portrayed what he saw as it truly was. Particularly the Çakmakçılar Ramp and Kürkçü Han façades of Büyük Yeni Han stand out with their monumental appearance in Barker's panorama.

[288] Erkal, "Tam Zamanında Gözlerinizin Önünde: Londra Panoramalarında İstanbul Sergileri 1."
[289] Hartmuth, "The Panorama of Istanbul ca. 1740 by Gudenus: a Reconsideration of its Date and Authorship," 164-70.
[290] Corneille Le Bruyn, *Description of Constantinopolis*.



Figure 24 . Büyük Yeni Han in Barker's 'Panorama of Constantinople' in 1813 (Barker, 1813)

The visibility and transforming influence of Büyük Yeni Han's presence in the city's silhouette is also witnessed in Hubert Sattler's 1844 Istanbul Panorama as viewed from the courtyard of Suleymaniye Mosque, which puts the market area in its center (Figure 25).[291] In this portrayal, Büyük Yeni Han, together with Balkapanı Han and Valide Han are distinguished from other structures through the use of white paint and special brush strokes. Even a *han* near the Cevahir Bedestan, Cebeci Han, is portrayed using pale colors and partially in ruins like other buildings around it, whereas the representation of the three aforementioned *han*s using lighter shades of color, gives the impression that they were meant to be the focal points of the picture, alongside the sultanic mosques that were also rendered in a similar manner.

[291] *Panorama of Constantinople from the Suleymaniye Camii*, 1844 by Hubert Sattler.

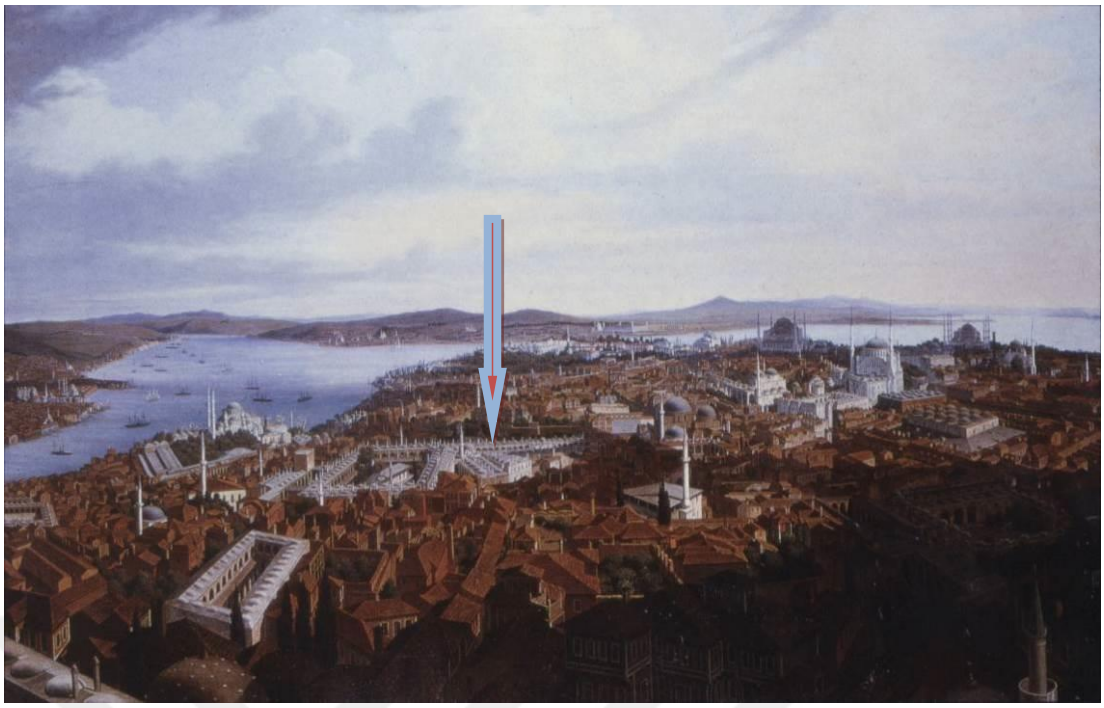


Figure 25. Büyük Yeni Han in the Sattler's 1844 Istanbul Panorama (Sattler, 1844)

The description that is found in Miss Julia Pardoe's *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* under the title of "A Public *Han*" is assumed to be that of Büyük Yeni Han. Prepared by Bartlett who came to Istanbul in 1835 to draw pictures for Miss Pardoe, the book contains in total 87 prints in a romantic style, reflecting realistic portrayals of everyday life in Istanbul. The prints were made from original engravings on steel plates.[292] The print of the particular engraving titled "A Public *Han*" portrays a three-storey structure around a narrow courtyard as seen from a vaulted entrance with a semicircular arch (Figure 26). Both the author and the artist use the general expression of "a public *han*" without pronouncing the name of the *han*. The book contains a total of five prints that portray market places: four of these represent different scenes from Kapalıçarşı (Great Avenue, The Armoury Bazaar, A Scene and Kaymak Shop) while for the fifth one, Büyük Yeni Han was selected.

[292] Julia Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*.

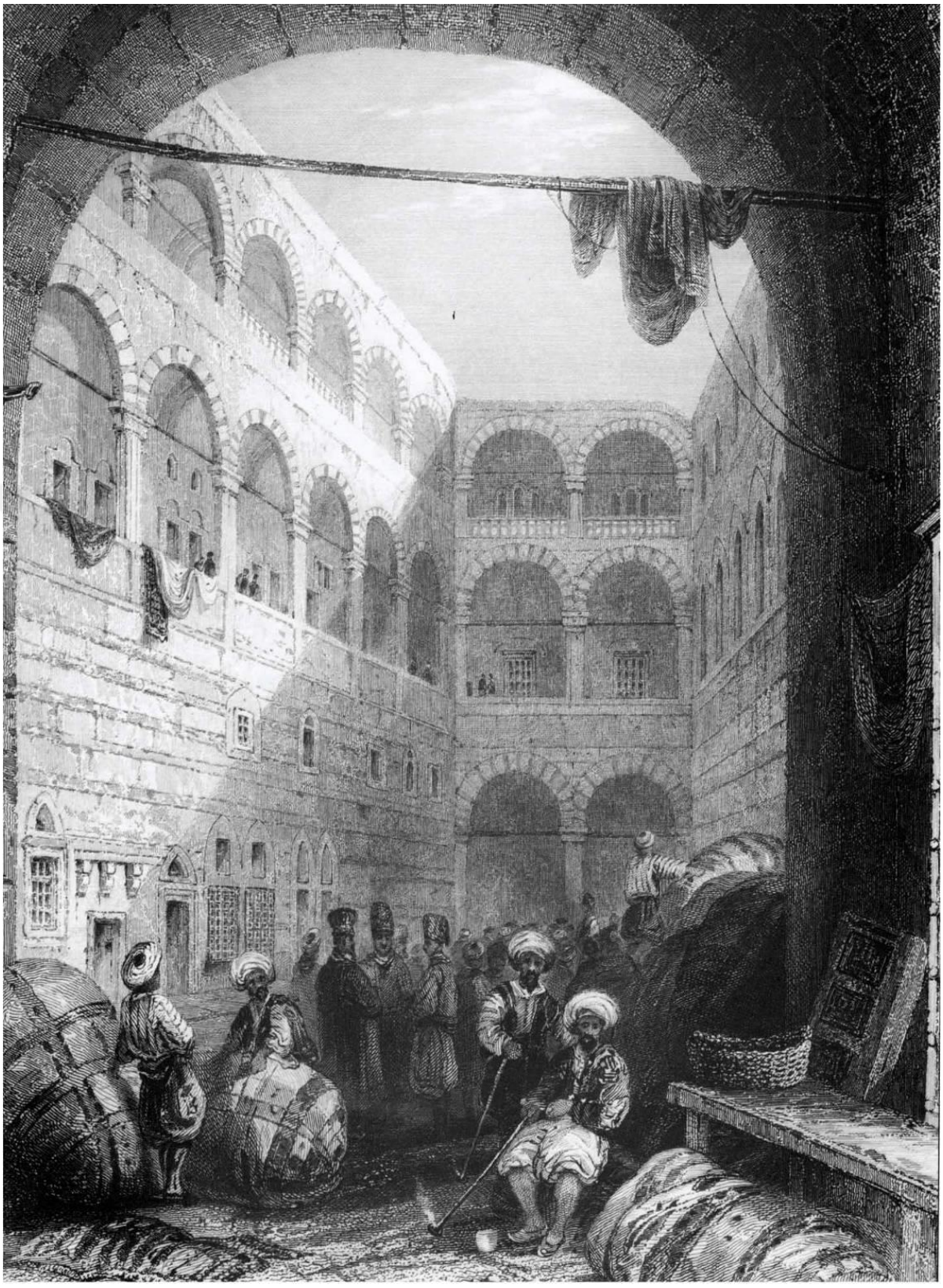


Figure 26. The depiction of Büyük Yeni Han by Bartlet in 1839, (Pardo, 2010)

Similar to White's portrayal which was influenced by the monumental appearance of the *han* as discussed above, those who made the decision regarding the places to be portrayed in Miss Pardoe's book might have been influenced by the impressive appearance of Büyük Yeni Han and therefore, decided to include a picture of this *han* near the Kapalıçarşı.

The engraving reflects the view of the *han* in the direction of the second courtyard as seen from the vaulted passageway with a semicircular arch that connects the two courtyards of the *han*. The inner façade of the *han* that is seen in the center of the engraving has three arches in reality; however, the artist drew two arches probably to convey the narrowness of the courtyard. Different from the other two sides in view, the artist includes the porticoes of all three floors on this side. For the two long sides of the courtyard, the artist included porticoes only for the middle and top floors, while the ground floor is represented only with doors and windows, even though the ground floor also has a porticoed gallery. This gives the impression that the artist wanted to emphasize the size of the courtyard and the ostentation of the porticoes of the middle and top floors while the details of the ground floor were glossed over. The courtyard of the *han* is portrayed as being filled with people and loads, giving an impression of the crowdedness and the busy commercial traffic of the *han*. In the foreground of the engraving, to the right of center, we see two men in Ottoman navy outfits smoking pipe. This in part creates the orientalist image of the East as popularized in the art of this period in Europe. In the middle of the crowd, and perhaps in the center of it, we see people dressed in western style clothing, which might represent either local non-Muslims, perhaps dragomans, or travelers like Bartlett and his friends who visited the *han*. Towards the main entrance, crowds of people are represented in the form of dark shadows, and the picture is in fact made

more dynamic through the addition of silhouettes of people seen through the porticoes. This portrayal of a public *han* by Bartlett reproduces the visibility and prominence of Büyük Yeni Han in the urban space during the period of its construction and later, as I have tried to demonstrate in this section.

As seen in the examples discussed here, Büyük Yeni Han was taken as the main subject of numerous visual representations due to its imposing appearance and its central location in the commercial district. The impact and the public visibility of Büyük Yeni Han might, in part, be a result of the fact that it was built by a sultan. To the extent of our knowledge based on existing records, it was the first *han* construction project commissioned by an Ottoman sultan in Istanbul since Mehmed II. As mentioned in earlier chapters, Mustafa III commissioned the construction of three *han*s in the early 1760s, with two of them located on the Çakmakçılar Ramp and one in Bahçekapı. Out of these *han* projects, particularly Büyük Yeni Han appears to be an investment also in the sultan's reputation. The location of the *han* in a newly vibrant section of the commercial area, its vertical mass and dynamic façade composition, and the ornamentation on its walls can be seen as contributing to the visibility of the sultan's presence in the city's commercial center and exhibiting his power. Furthermore, the fact that the sultan commissioned other works in different parts of the city for this purpose, particularly socio-religious foundations such as the Laleli Complex and the Ayazma Complex may indicate that *han* building had a different motivation than just establishing his legitimacy and visibility. In fact, we do not encounter any record of the construction process or opening of this *han* in Mustafa III's *Ruzname*.[293] If establishing his legitimacy and visibility was his main motivation, it would be expected from him to visit the construction and to be present

[293] Irmak, "III. Mustafa Ruznamesi (H. 1171-1177 / M. 1757-1763)."

at the opening of the *han*. In this regard, the later development of the district in which the *han* was built and the identity of those who occupied its rooms might give us clues about the intention of the *han*'s founder. As discussed earlier, the Çakmakçılar Ramp where the *han* was built started developing with the completion of Kösem Sultan's Büyük Valide Han project in 1650. This development was completed in the second half of the eighteenth century with the construction of such commercial structures as Büyük Yeni Han, Küçük Yeni Han, and Sünbüllü Han, all of them royal projects. We do not know for sure if Mustafa III had the intention of developing this area located between Kapalıçarşı and the port in order to increase the commercial capacity of the city. However, the information on the *gedik* allocation immediately following the construction, and the fact that this area became a center of finance and commerce for a century after the completion of Büyük Yeni Han strengthens the possibility that its commissioning was the result of an imperial intervention aimed at concentrating the finance sector in this area, and attracting *sarraf*s, an increasingly prominent group closely connected to the court.

To summarize, this chapter first took a detailed look at the construction and renovation of *han*s in the eighteenth century Ottoman Istanbul. After a discussion of the role of *han*s in the workings of the city's economy, the chapter presented a detailed study of the construction process and physical structure of Büyük Yeni Han as an example of eighteenth- century *han* construction processes, discussed the motivations for the construction and the functions of the han, and ended with an analysis of the *han*'s visibility in the urban public space. In the following chapter, I will discuss the socialization opportunities in the public sphere that *han*s offered in the context of the use of their courtyards.

CHAPTER 4

USING SPACE: PRIVACY, SOCIALITY AND CONVIVIALITY IN THE *HAN*

The fourth chapter focuses on using space by way of discussing information regarding *han* users and residents, and looking at everyday practices in *han*s, exploring issues of publicity and privacy that were particular to *han*s, as revealed by a range of sources. In this manner, the chapter first looks at the professional and ethno-religious patterns in their use as commercial and residential spaces, then discusses *han* as a private residential space, through inheritance records of those who live and die in a *han* room. Finally, it turns to issues regarding the public spaces of a *han*, namely its common areas, and in particular performative and theatrical practices located in *han*s. Hence the chapter highlights the particular role played by urban *han*s, as spaces of residence, of artisanal production and commercial exchange, and of sociability.

4.1 *Han* residents: Strangers and denizens

Urban *han*s, within the topography of the city, constituted a type of residence particularly for 'strangers'[294], in this sense they have been compared to 'home' (*hane*) as a unit within the context of residential neighborhoods.[295] In contrast to the caravanserais that were located on trade routes and between cities, urban *han*s were not places of accommodation where one could stop for a couple of days; in many cases, they were places that offered long term residence in return for a fee. For those who used *han* rooms for residence, accommodation, and trade, the *han* was also their

[294] In this thesis, the concept of stranger is used as an outsider to the city. Within the context of early modern Ottoman Istanbul, stranger was a kind of person who settled temporarily in capital, such as a merchant, soldier, madrasa student, or a seasonal worker.

[295] Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı," 390.

permanent address, and, although occurring rarely, there were also people who became ill and died in *han* rooms. Who were, then, the residents of these *han*s?

Because of their primarily commercial functions, the first residents of *han*s that come to mind are merchants and artisans. As part of the Ottoman system of guilds and artisan networks, it is possible to see groups of tradesmen of the same guild keeping their shops in clusters in the same location, as well as seeing tradesmen of the same guild scattered in different *han*s.[296] Especially in the *han*s located in the commercial district of Istanbul, it is possible to trace the clustering of tradesmen of the same line of trade in the same *han*s through archival documents. In the register of 1793 containing a list of the *han*s located in the commercial area of Istanbul, after the name of each *han* is mentioned, the register indicates the number of rooms it has and which group of tradesmen or shopkeepers it houses.[297] As seen in Table 10 below, the register indicates the specific names of the tradesmen's groups for some *han*s as these particular lines of trade probably dominated those *han*s. For others, only general designations such as "artisans and merchants" are provided.

Table 10. List of Hans and their Residents in the Commercial District of Istanbul in 1792-3

Name of *Han*	Residents	Name of *Han*	Residents	Name of *Han*	Residents
Sepetçiler Han	Çizmeci Esnafı	Valide Han	*Sarrâf*, Bezirgan ve Tüccar	Çukacı Han	Esnaf
Yarım Han	Terzi Esnafı	Esir Pazarı Han	Esirciler	Astarcılar Han	Esnaf ve Tüccar
Sorgucu Han	Dülbentçi ve Kapamacı Esnafı	Kürkçü Han	*Sarrâf*, Bezirgan ve Tüccar	Kebeciler Han	Esnaf
Çatal Han	Dikici Esnafı	Bostancı Han	Dökümcüler	Zincirli Han	Esnaf
Büyük Yeni Han	*Sarrâf* ve Bezirgan	Papazoğlu Han	Bezirgan	Sultan Odaları Han	Tüccar
Küçük Yeni Han	*Sarrâf* ve Bezirgan	Yarım Han	Sabuncu Esnafı	Yarım Han	Hamallar

Source: BOA ADVN.d. 836.

[296] Yıldırım, "Craft Guilds in the Ottoman Empire (c. 1650-1826): A Survey," 108; Kal'a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi Tahlilleri Istanbul Esnaf Birlikleri ve Nizamlari 1*.

[297] BOA ADVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.

When we inspect various other registers, we see that in Büyük Yeni Han, which had 164 rooms, 74 *sarrâf*s and 28 merchants (*bezirgan*) were resident in 1780;[298] in 1762, fur merchants (Kürkçü) resided in the Mahmud Pasha Han and Kaliçeciler Han;[299] in 1765, *sof* merchants were located in Sofcılar Han which was newly built by Vezîriazam Hüseyin Pasha near *Bezzâzistân-i Cedîd*;[300] in 1783, broom merchants (Süpürgeci) were resident in Şekerciler Han in Fatih Malta Market;[301] in 1796, *aba* makers or *aba* traders (*abacı*) resided in Bodrum Han;[302] in 1807, 40 *kırma* merchants were located in 20 rooms of Yeni Han which was built in Çukurçeşme and belonged to Laleli Waqf.[303] This clustering was largely an outcome of the state's desire and tradesmen were forced to establish their shops in these places. In many examples, it is observed that the state demanded tradesmen of the same line of trade to open their shops in the same location. On the other hand, tradesmen also tried to prevent others from taking advantage of *gedik* privileges, the number and location of which were determined by the state. In December 1762, fur masters representing the fur merchant's resident in the *Bezzâzistân-ı Cedîd*, Mahmud Pasha Han and Kaliçeciler Han, submitted a complaint about four fur makers, claiming that they did not follow the order.[304] The masters state that fur makers whose training was based on certain rules can only set up their business in certain *han*s and spaces, and they demand that these four merchants who did not follow the regulations be removed from commercial activity. In the end, it was decided that these four fur makers should be banned from fur trade. However, it would be too

[298] BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1 M - 29 Z 1194 / January 8, 1780 - December 26, 1780.
[299] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/213/590, Evâhir-i CA 1176 / December 8-17, 1762.
[300] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 7/270/830, Evâsit-i C [1]179 / November 25 – December 4, 1765.
[301] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 10/272/953, Evâil-i Ş [1]197 / July 2 – 11, 1783.
[302] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 13/8/19, Evâhir-i B 1210 / January 31 – February 9, 1796.
[303] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 16/339/762, 21 L [1]222 / December 22, 1807.
[304] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/213/590 Evâhir-i CA 1176 / December 8-17, 1762.

generalized a statement to claim that all or most of the occupants of a *han* engaged in the same line of trade. Even though clusters of merchants from the same line of trade can be observed in many documents, it is also possible to see tradesmen from different lines of trade to have shops in the same *han* or to use the same *han* as their residence (see Appendix E, Figure 73).

As seen in the Table 11 below, tradesmen from different lines of trade could also be resident in the same *han*. The three *han*s mentioned in the table are located in the commercial port region of Istanbul, outside of Bahçekapı walls. Belonging to Laleli Waqf, Taş Han had 22 rooms and 8 of its rooms were taken by *sarrâf*s, each tradesman occupying one room. The remaining 14 rooms were occupied by tradesmen of various other lines of trade, with each room housing two or more men. These people most probably rented the *han* room that they shared in order to show as their official address and to live in it. On average, 6 porters share one room, 3 tobacco merchants share one room and 4 fruit sellers share one room in the *han*. Since they are located in the port region, the other two *han*s were occupied mostly by boatmen, porters, and others who have occupations specific to the port region. From these examples, it can be concluded that in *han*s offering residential facilities 5 or 6 men shared a room.

Table 11. Three Hans in Bahçekapı and their Residents in 1792

Bahçekapı Taş Han[305]			Bahçekapı Yeni Han[306]			Bahçekapı Teşrifat Han[307]		
the Name of Esnaf	# of Room	# of Esnaf	the Name of Esnaf	# of Room	# of Esnaf	the Name of Esnaf	# of Room	# of Esnaf
Sarrâf	8		Kayıkçı	8	40	Sandalcılar	3	11
Hamalan	8	48	At Kayıkçıları	3	12	Salepçi Arnavutlar	1	4
Duhan Tüccarı	3	9	Hatb Yarıcıları	5	25	Vezir Sandalcılar	2	6
Haraççıbaşı Kolcuları	1	6	Kör Hüseyin ve İsmail	3		Arka Hamalları	3	9
Manav Kovacıları	1	4	Arka Hamalları	5	22	Kayıkçı Müslim	1	4
Eskiciler	1	3	Eskiciler	2	3	Odun Yarıcılar	1	3
			Kayıkçılar	12	48	Kayıkçılar Zimmî	1	4
			Odabaşı	1		Sandalcılar	2	9
			Empty	3				
Total	22			42			13	

The case of Büyük Yeni Han in 1780 is a comprehensive representative example for the commercial use of *han* structures. According to the register of 1780, the divisions of Büyük Yeni Han were recorded under three different names: room (*oda*), shop (*dükkan*), and vault (*mahzen*). According to this document, there were 164 rooms, 39 shops and 26 vaults in Büyük Yeni Han. As exemplified in the previous section, most of the rooms of the *han* were occupied by *sarrâf*s and merchants (*bezirgan*) who engaged in such activities as changing money, safe-keeping, and lending money.

[305] BOA NFS.d 00004, undated. Probably 1792.
[306] BOA NFS.d. 00004, undated. Probably 1792.
[307] BOA NFS.d. 00004, undated. Probably 1792.

Table 12. The Occupants of Rooms and Shops of Büyük Yeni Han in 1780

ROOM					SHOP					
	Second Floor	First Floor	Ground Floor	TOTAL		Second Floor	First Floor	Ground Floor	Basement	TOTAL
Sarrâf	27	16	31	74	Kuyumcu				9	9
Bezirgan	12	11	5	28	*Sarrâf*	4		2		6
Tülbentçi	1	5		6	Bıçakçı			3		3
Cevahirci		1	2	3	Berber	1				1
Kapamacı		2		2	Gözlemeci			1		1
İncici	2			2	Camcı			1		1
Divan Odası	2			2	Duhancı			1		1
Odabaşı Odası			2	2	Bakkal			1		1
İplikçi			2	2	Empty	3	1	1	1	6
Karanlık Oda		1		1	Unknown	1	8	1		10
Sofçu		1		1	TOPLAM	9	9	11	10	39
Şerbetçi		1		1						
Saatçi		1		1						
Çukacı	1			1	VAULT					
Kürkçü		1		1		Second Floor	First Floor	Ground Floor	Basement	
Kuyumcu		1		1	Bezirgan				2	2
Bakırcı			1	1	Aktar		1			1
Unknown	10	15	3	28	Unknown		2			2
Empty			7	7	Empty		2	10	9	21
TOTAL	55	56	53	164	TOTAL	0	5	10	11	26

Source: BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928.

As seen in Table 12, out of the 164 rooms in the *han*, 74 were occupied by *sarrâf*s and 28 by merchants (*bezirgan*). Moreover, the *kethüda* (steward) of *sarrâf*s and the chamber of the *sarrâf*s' guild was located on the second floor of this *han*. 6 shops were occupied by *sarrâf*s while 2 vaults were used by merchants (*bezirgan*). As seen in Figures 27 and 28, while these two groups of tradesmen constituted the majority of the *han's* residents, the rest of the rooms were occupied by various other merchants and artisans. In the *han* there were 6 muslin (*tülbentçi*) shops, 5 of them being on the first floor, 3 jewellers (*cevahirci*), 2 thread shops (*iplikçi*), 2 *kapamacı*,

2 pearl sellers (*incici*), and a baize maker, a goldsmith, a woolen fabric maker, a sherbet maker, a clock maker, a fur dealer and a coppersmith each of whom occupied a single room. The fact that *sarrâf*s and merchants (*bezirgan*s) overwhelmingly dominated this *han* provides evidence for the practice of similar artisanal groups and tradesmen clustering in the same *han*. Indeed, after these two groups of tradesmen, the third highest number of rooms in this *han* was occupied by muslin merchants with only 6 rooms. The remaining trade groups appear only sporadically. The same trend in the occupation of rooms is also observed in the occupation of shops in the *han*. Out of the 33 shops which were occupied at the time, 9 were used by goldsmiths, 6 by *sarrâf*s and 3 by knife makers while each of the remaining shops was occupied by a barber, a *gözlemeci*, a glass shop, a tobacco shop and a grocery store.

The document does not provide specific information regarding the use of 28 rooms in the *han*. Of these, 2 were in the use of "Hacı İsmail Ağa Kaim-i Sadrıazam", however the document does not specify for what purposes he used these rooms. More interestingly, 5 of these rooms are recorded under the name of "Halebli Yusuf Usuli". However, we do not know what his occupation was and what the title "Usuli" signifies. In some other examples, words such as "Zimmî, Yahudi, Nasrânî" are attached to a name to indicate the person's religion. We do not know whether "Usulî" was part of Halebli Yusuf's name or an indication of his association with the "usulî" faction of Iranian Shiism.

In terms of the use of the *han*'s rooms, the fact that two rooms on the Kürkçü Han side of the *han* on the second floor were reserved as "Divan room for the board of trustees (*Mütevelli için divan odası*)" presents itself as a special case. The register from January 25, 1811 that shows the revenues and expenses for the Laleli Foundation

might include a clue about the use of these rooms.[308] This register includes an entry for coffee and other expenses in the amount of 973,5 *kuruş* that were used during Divan meetings in the Trustee room of Büyük Yeni Han. It appears that the waqf's board of trustees used these two rooms for their meetings and coffee and other delicacies were served during these meetings. As for the *han* administration, two of the rooms which were located on the left of the entrance area called "*sağir*" on the ground floor were occupied by the *han*'s *odabaşı*. Moreover, the ground floor of the *han* contained a water reservoir, a water pump and a stable. However, at the time of the writing of this archival document, they were not occupied. Since this was mostly a commercial *han*, the rooms were used for commercial activity rather than for residential purposes. Indeed, in general, the *sarrâf*s who occupied the majority of the *han*'s rooms conducted their business in these rooms (Figures 27-28).

[308] BOA TS.MA.d. 3767 0002, 29 Z 1225 / January 25, 1811

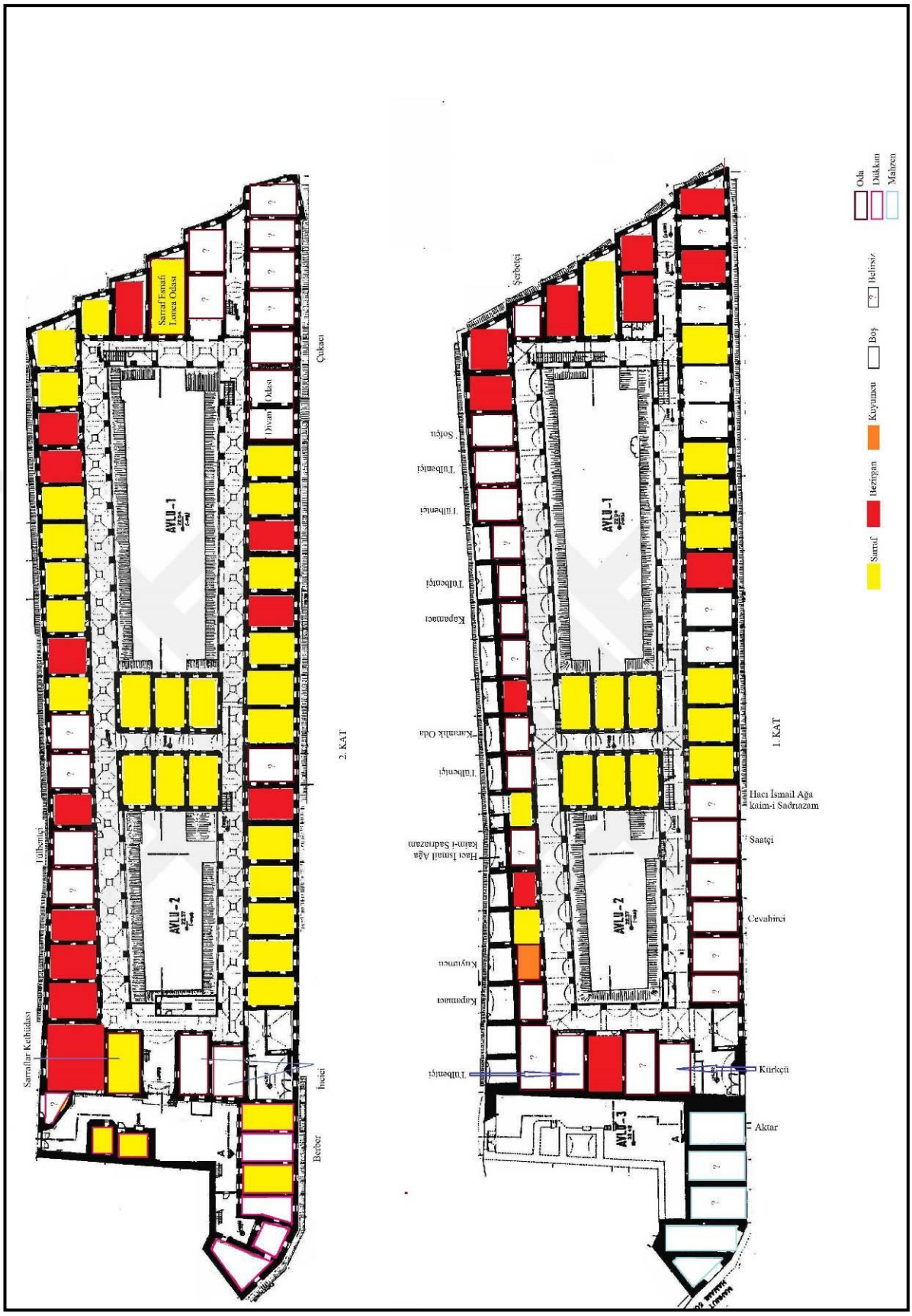


Figure 27. A suggestion for the occupational use of rooms of Büyük Yeni Han based on the 1780 register (First and second floors) (BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928)

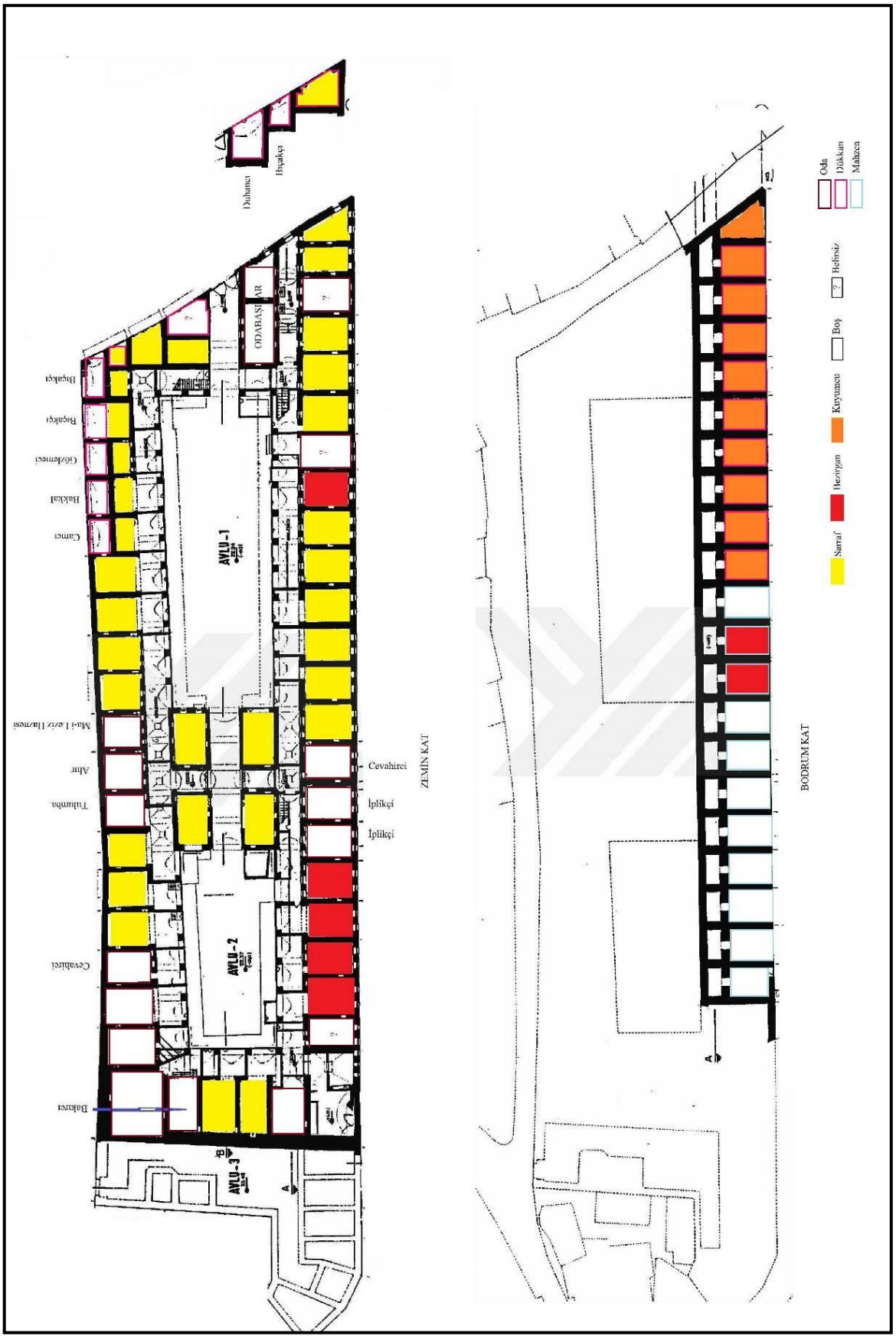


Figure 28. A suggestion for the occupational use of rooms of Büyük Yeni Han based on the 1780 register (Ground floor and basement) (BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928)

On the other hand, urban *han*s are not places dedicated only to commercial activities and the accommodation of tradesmen. It is also possible to see soldiers, travellers, madrasa students and teachers lodging in these *han*s. In 1792, Deve Han in Fatih was completely occupied by "travellers" (seyyarlar); in Bursalı Mehmed Han that had 6 rooms and in Hacı Salih Han that had 13 rooms, "the class of short term guests and renters" (*gelir gider misafir ve kiracı zümresi*) stayed.[309] In 1792, 12 of the 14 rooms of Sefer Agha Han in Üsküdar were registered as vacant and indicated as "specially reserved for travellers" (*yolculara mahsus*). Similarly, 8 of the 27 rooms of Feyzullah Efendi Han were occupied by such tradesmen as *abacı*, *rençper*, *mestçi*, *kabakçı* and *eskici*, while 21 of the *han*'s rooms were indicated as "vacant and reserved for travellers" (*boş olup yolculara mahsus*). Probably travellers rented these *han* rooms for short periods of time.[310] Particularly *han*s like Şekerciler Han in Fatih which were similar to inns, offer a rich world of various lodgers. In 1792, this *han* accommodated 10 persons from *kuzat*, 1 merchant (*bezirgan*), 1 coffee merchant, and 8 tradesmen.[311]

Another group of people who resided in *han*s are soldiers who resided in Istanbul temporarily. Soldiers who stopped in Istanbul on their way back from a military campaign stayed in *han*s and in certain neighborhoods. However, it was important for these soldiers to return to their posts as soon as possible both for the continuation of their work and for the preservation of public order in the capital city.[312] According to a register from May 1835, 580 soldiers from the general staff (*serasker*) were to stay in tents outside of Rami barracks during the summer and to

[309] BOA ADVN.d. 899-L, 19 M - 7 R 1207 / September 6 - November 23, 1792.
[310] BOA ADVN. 881, undated. Probably 1207 / 1792.
[311] BOA ADVN.d. 899-L, 19 M - 7 R 1207 / September 6 - November 23, 1792.
[312] BOA HAT. 190/9189, 29 Z 1203 / September 11, 1789.

be placed in *han*s when winter starts in November.[313] Moreover, as will be discussed later in this chapter, soldiers from the postal service and janissary order were commonly lodged in various *han*s, particularly in Elçi Han and Şekerciler Han.

In terms of accommodation the most important group of clients both for *han*s and for bachelor chambers were single and unattached men who came to Istanbul for work, military service or trade. As discussed in detail in the first chapter, even though the terms *han* and bachelor's chamber could be used interchangeably, it can still be said that *han*s were used for trade and accommodation while bachelor's chambers were used only as residence. Regarding the accommodation of bachelors in *han*s, in a British Consulate Report from December 25, 1869 Watson says: "There were 150 tenants in the first *han*. In a room of 4 meters by 5 meters, five bachelors were staying … The owner of the second *han* is Turkish and it has 350 tenants. Out of the 36 rooms of the *han*, 29 were occupied by Armenian tenants while 7 were occupied by Muslims."[314] The residence of bachelors and unattached men in *han*s will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter.

Another point regarding *han* residents is whether or not men belonging to different ethno-religious groups occupied the same building. As observed in many documents, both in commercial *han*s and in *han*s used for accommodation purposes, people from different religious communities resided and conducted commercial activity together. "Conviviality," in the sense of "living together", also implies the coexistence of different religious and ethnic groups. This aspect of the Ottoman capital's multi-confessional nature reveals itself well in the use of the *han*s through this period. Without ignoring the differences in their functions, it can still be claimed

[313] BOA C.AS. 459/19137, 13 M 1251 / May 11, 1835.
[314] Türkcan, "İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre: 110 Yıl Önce İstanbul'da Çalışma Hayatı," 35-41.

that in many urban *han*s, men belonging to different religious groups shared the same space. For example, in 1792, Vezir Han had 105 rooms and 22 of its rooms were occupied by Muslims while 83 of the rooms were occupied by non-Muslims. Similarly, Süleyman Pasha Han had 70 rooms and Muslims occupied 23 of these rooms while non-Muslims occupied 26. The register of 1780, which contains information about the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han and their occupants, provides an important body of information in this regard (Figures 29-30). This register presents the occupants of the *han*'s rooms in four categories: "Nasrânî", "Zimmî", "Muslim" and "Yahudi". In general, official documents in the Ottoman Empire use the terms "zimmî" and "Nasrânî" for the Christian subjects of the Empire; however, the term "zimmî" was also used to refer to all the non-Muslim subjects in the Ottoman world.[315] In this register, it appears that the term "zimmî" was most likely used to denote Armenian residents while the term "Nasrânî" was used for other Christian groups. As we can also see in Figures 29 and 30, according to this register, out of those occupants of the *han* whose religious affiliation is indicated, 122 were "zimmî", 25 were "Nasrânî", 18 were "Yahudi", and 8 were Muslim.

[315] Kasaba, "Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nation," 205.

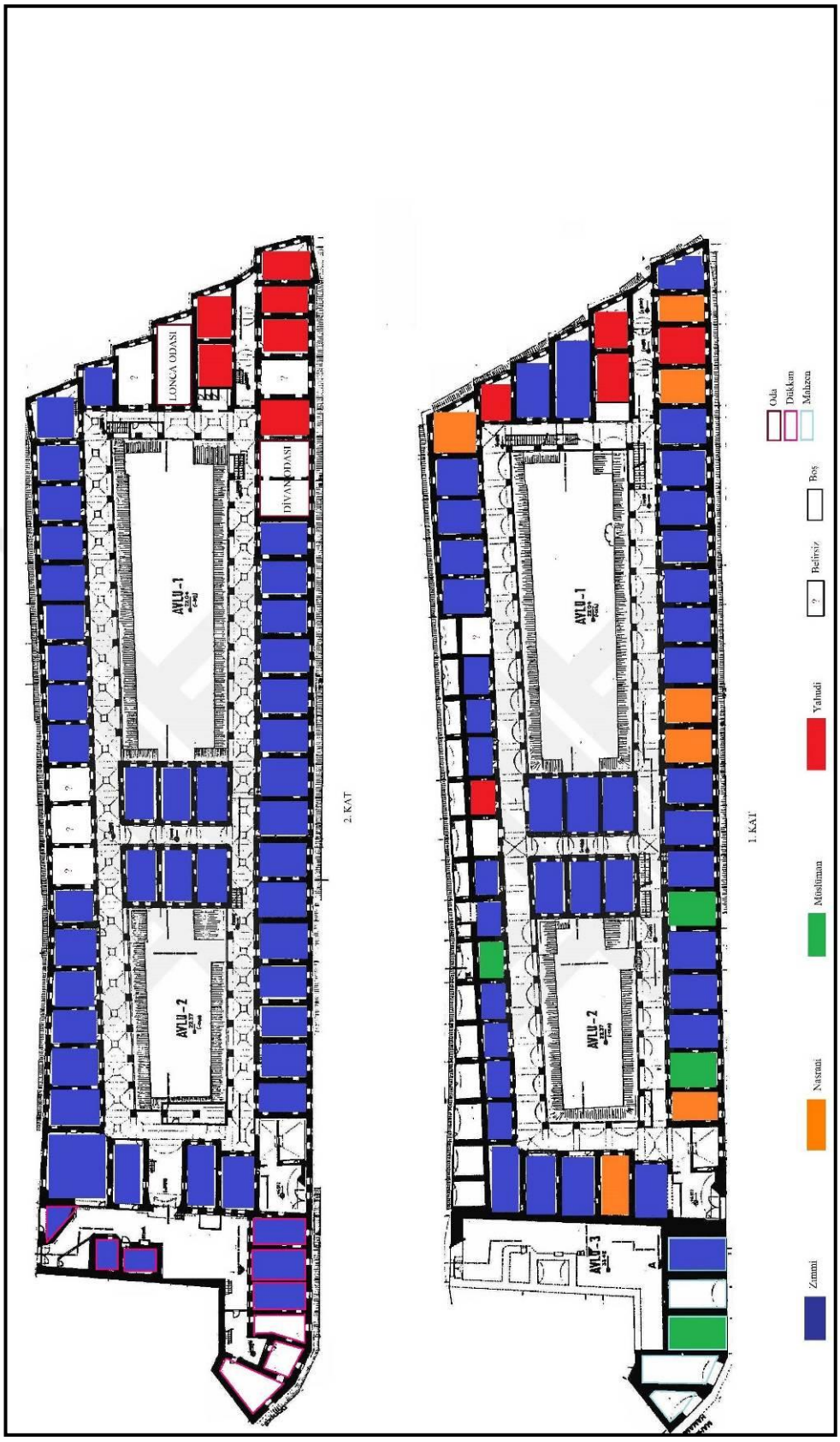


Figure 29. A suggestion for the use of the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han by different religious groups based on the 1780 register (First and second floors) (BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928)

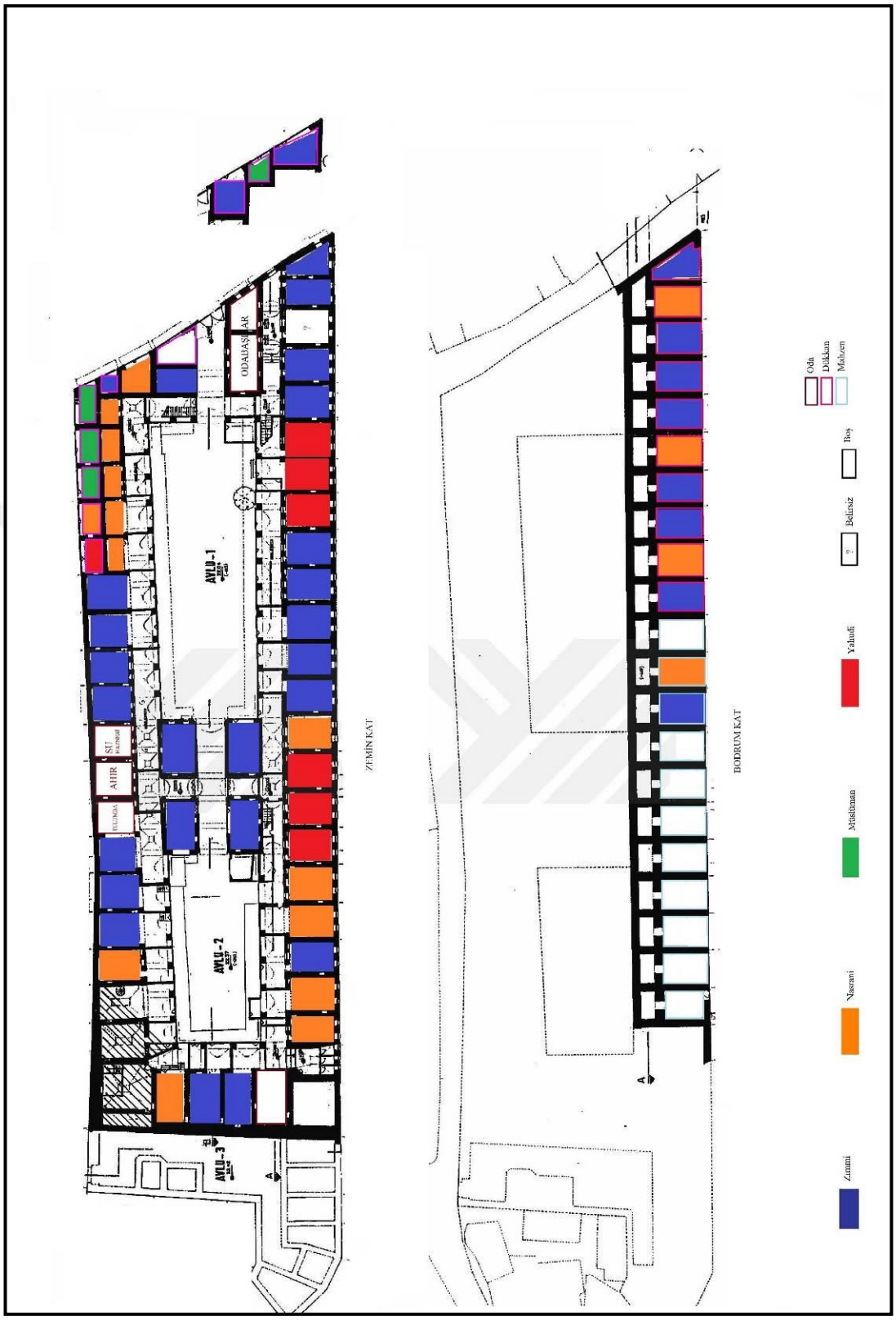


Figure 30. A suggestion for the use of the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han by different religious groups based on the 1780 register (Ground floor and basement) (BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928)

An essential distinction among *han* residents was not based on financial status, being local or foreign, or ethno-religious identity; but it was based on gender identity. As with coffee houses, women were excluded from *han*s; in general, *han*s were places for adult men. Charles White, who was in Istanbul in 1844, assessing the entrance of women into Istanbul's *han*s, says, "no women can pass the night there, even though they may compose the harem of travellers arriving from distant parts. Females entering *han*s during the day ought also to be conducted by one of the guardians".[316] These statements might at first glance be viewed with suspicion as the incomplete and exaggerated attempt of a western man to read a social space that he is not a part of. However, archival documents from the period support his claims. A verdict sent to the Qadi of Istanbul in 1777, notes that women's entrance into *han*s is not allowed, and goes on to order that women's entrance into Vezir Han can be allowed under certain excusable conditions provided that they enter via a particular route. According to this verdict, it is stated that Avanoz and Ohan, two bonesetters (*çıkıkçı*) who had been residing in Vezir Han for some 30-40 years had been engaged in bone setting both in the *han* and in other places. However, recently, the *han*keeper and the *odabaşı* of Vezir Han had been refusing to allow the entrance of women into the *han* on the basis of the decree that prohibits women's entrance into these type of *han*s ("*nisvân tâifesinin o makule hânlara dühûlden men'leri*"). Upon the complaint of these two bonesetters, the Sultan ruled that the decree could be flexible and the verdict explains that women could be treated by these bonesetters in the section of the *han* that is reserved for guests.[317] This record of a special verdict shows that womenfolk were not allowed into *han*s but they could partially be involved in *han*

[316] White, *Three Years in Constantinople, or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, 45.
[317] BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 9/100/365, Evail-i M 1191 / February 9-18, 1777.

activities through special regulations. However, we have to keep in mind that this incident in Vezir *Han* also suggests that this was a matter of control and negotiation, at least in particular cases. Indeed, we rarely encounter women who use *han* spaces in archival surveys and in the secondary literature. Besides this, as seen in the case of Vezir Han, it is possible to see women's partial use of *han*s in special circumstances. Moreover, it is known that women were taken into bachelor's chambers at Balaban Pier for the purpose of prostitution.[318] And, as an area of special use, women were present in Esir Han near in the vicinity of Tavukpazarı, albeit with a different status! (see Appendix E, Figure 72)[319] When all the groups of people who conducted trade, engaged in artisanal activity, or resided in *han*s are considered together, it is seen that *han*s were almost exclusively spaces where adult men from different social, economic and cultural backgrounds gathered together.

4.2 Dying alone in a *han* chamber[320]

*Han*s were not only places of accommodation or trade for their residents; for some, they were also places where their existence in this world ended, alone and far away from their loved ones. A *han* resident who lived in the city as a stranger could possibly die in his *han* room alone. At least some of the residents who died in *han* rooms were recorded through the belongings and property they left behind. Particularly inheritance records of *askeri*s who died in *han*s were drawn up by *askeri kassam*s. However, as witnessed in 1751 in Üsküdar, in the official records prepared

[318] BOA HAT. 11/433, 29 Z 1202 / September 30, 1788. For a discussion about this document, see also Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 259.

[319] For the Esir Hanı and women slave traders, see. Faroqhi, "Quis Custodiet Custodes? Controlling Slave Identities and Slave Traders in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Istanbul," 245-64.

[320] For the title of this section, I was inspired by the study of Anastassiadou, Anastassiadou, *Selanik 1830-1912 (Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri)*.

by state institutions for the funeral and burial expenses of those who died in *han* rooms without property or without family, only the name of the deceased is given.[321]

The inheritance records of those who died in *han* rooms allow us to shift our focus from a broad assessment of *han* users to the private space of the *han* room and its resident. Registering all property, real estate, belongings and money left by the deceased, these records provide glimpses into the resident's social standing, means, and lifestyle, and into the particulars of life in a *han* room. Particularly *Askeri Kassam Registers* that record the inheritance of those belonging to the military contain a wealth of information.[322] In this context, I examined two *kassam* registers from 1770 and 1790 with sequence numbers 336[323] and 615[324] located in Istanbul Müftülüğü Şer'iyye Sicilleri Archives. These two registers contain inheritance records of 570 people in total. Among others, they include information about the property and belongings left behind by 41 *han* residents (15 of them in the former register and 26 in the latter) from different professional and social backgrounds, who died in various Istanbul *han* rooms (see Appendix D, Table 21). The introductory section of each inheritance record states the name of the deceased, where he died, whether the deceased had any inheritors, and identifies the *kassam* who handled the inheritance record keeping. The remainder of the record gives an inventory of all the

[321] BOA. C.BLD. 70/3456, 1161 / 1751.

[322] For the studies on the Ottoman inheritance records, see., Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Âit Tereke Defterleri," 1-479; Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*; Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Istanbul Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil).*; Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası," 49-64; Anastassiadou, *Selanik 1830-1912 (Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri)*; Reyhan, *Osmanlı'da Kapitalizmin Kökenleri (Kent-Kapitalizm İlişkisi Üzerine Tarihsel-Sosyolojik bir Çözümleme)*; Neumann, "Birey Olmanın Alameti Olarak Tüketim Kalıpları: 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Meta Evreninden Örnek Vakalar," 7-47; Bozkurt, "Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 Istanbul Örneği)" ; Bilgin and Bozkurt, "Bir Malî Gelir Kaynağı Olarak Vârissiz Ölenlerin Terekeleri ve Beytülmal Mukataaları," 1-31.

[323] ŞS, AKD. 336, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770. For a study on this register, see., Özdener, "Istanbul 1183-1184 Tarihli 336 No'lu Askeri Kassam Defteri."

[324] ŞS, AKD. 615, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791. For a study on this register, see., Demircioğlu, "615 Numaralı Istanbul Askeri Kassam Defterinin Değerlendirmesi (H. 1205-1206 / M. 1790-1791)."

property left by the deceased, then it assesses all the debts, expenses and all other expenditure, and finally it determines the inheritance that will be transferred to the inheritors or, when none existed, to the state treasury.

Table 13 shows the occupations of the 41 *han* residents whose inheritance records are found in the two kassam registers, a group of mostly tradesmen and soldiers. 18 of these 41 people were active duty soldiers of the Ottoman military system as *tatar*, *sipahi*, *çukadar*, *beşe*, agha, and janissary. In addition, 8 of them were tradesmen registered in the janissary order, including slave traders, leather merchants, and dried nuts and fruits (*kuruyemişçi*) merchants. There are 7 tradesmen classified as *çubukçu*, barber, fez merchant, and porter; four merchants recorded as slave traders and cloth merchants; and there are 2 *monla*s. Out of the 41 men, only three are non-Muslim.

Table 13. The Occupations of Han Residents in Askeri *Kassam* Registers

Type	Description	Number
Soldier	Tatar, Sipahi, Çukadar, Beşe, Ağa, Yeniçeri..	18
Artisan Janissary	Esir Tüccarı, Sahtiyan Tüccarı, Kuruyemişçi	8
Tradesmen	Çubukçu, Berber, Fesçi, Boğasıçı, Hamal	7
Merchant	Esir Tüccarı, Kumaş Tüccarı	4
Monla		2
Unknown		2
Total		41

Based on who their inheritors were, it is possible to a certain degree to determine whether the deceased person was married or not. Out of the 41 recorded cases of inheritance, only 13 indicate a wife among inheritors. That is, with the exception of a few widowers, the remaining 28 are unmarried. Moreover, the registers indicate the birthplace for 28 of the 41 deceased, and these include various Ottoman cities. Those for whom a birthplace is not given are generally the ones whose inheritors have not been yet determined, or those whose inheritance was left

to the state treasury. If these people had relatives in Istanbul, due to physical proximity, they would have most probably come out to claim their rights in the inheritance as seen in many examples. Thus, it can be said that almost all of the people who died in *han* rooms were strangers who had come to Istanbul for various purposes such as military service, trade, education, or work.

These inheritance records also furnish us with information regarding the degree of the wealth of the deceased. We can employ the method of determining the degree of wealth developed by Fatih Bozkurt in his work that analyzes changes in Ottoman material culture through the study of inheritance records in Istanbul between 1785 and 1875.[325] Based on the cost of certain items in 1785, Bozkurt classifies those whose estate was 420 kuruş or less as "poor", those whose estate was between 420 to 1000 kuruş as "middle ground" and those whose estate was over 1000 kuruş as "wealthy". Since the first of the two military *kassam* registers I have examined for this chapter is from 1770 and the second one is from 1790, Bozkurt's classification for 1785 falls in between these two dates, and can be used for comparison. According to this classification, out of the 41 people who died in *han* rooms, 6 would be considered wealthy while 12 were of middle ground and the remaining 23 would be categorized as poor (Figure 31). Among the 6 wealthy ones, 4 were tradesmen belonging to the janissary order (two slave traders, a dried fruits and nuts merchant, and a merchant), one is a merchant and one, a tobacco seller. Most of the people in the middle-ground category are tradesmen and merchants. Those who would be classified as poor were mostly low ranking soldiers in the janissary order, small tradesmen and *monla*s.

[325] Bozkurt, "Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 Istanbul Örneği)," 102.

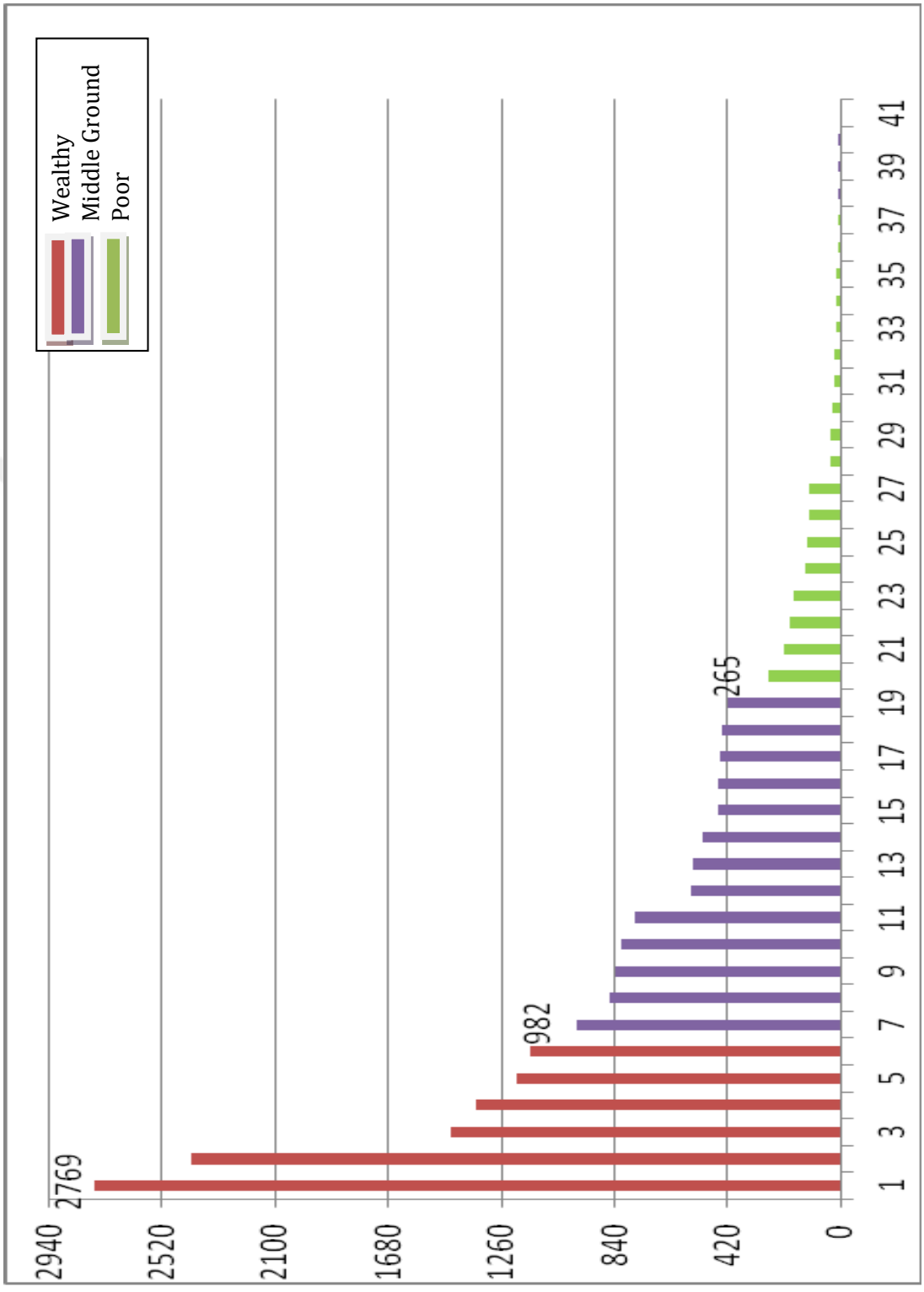


Figure 31. The frequency of the clear value of Terekes of han residents, (Kuruş)

The inheritance records provide different terms for the residential status of those who die in *han*s, namely *sâkin*, *müsafiren sâkin, and mutemekkin.* The use of the term, *mûtemekkin* for non-Muslims (as in the cases of these non-Muslims, Kirkor veled-i Haçedor, Sihak veled-i Mardinos, Ohannes), and use of the terms, *sâkin* and *müsafiren sâkin* for Muslims show consistency with the existing literature.[326] What do the terms "*sâkin*" (resident) and "*müsafiren sâkin*" (resident as a guest) mean? In studies on Ottoman city life, we see that those who reside in neighborhoods are called a city resident, *mütemekkin*, while those who are staying in the city for a definite period of time are called guests, *misafir*. Were those who resided in *han*s considered guests? The fact of the matter is that, in inheritance records, those who resided in *han*s are categorized as either *müsafiren sâkin* or *sâkin*. Should this mean that those who are categorized as *sâkin* resided in *han*s for longer periods of time while those who are categorized as *müsafiren sâkin* stayed for shorter periods?

City residents in the Ottoman world belonged to either of two main legal categories; On the one hand there were the city residents, that is, *mütemekkinler*, on the other hand there were the guests, that is *misafirler*, including travelers, merchants, scholars, soldiers, and bachelors. This legal distinction is important in terms of the method and mentality of the government, because one of the basic tenets of Ottoman taxation is taxing the subject in the city where he was a resident (*mütemekkin*). The guests in the city, if they did not own real estate there, were exempt from some taxes such as *imdadiye*, and they would even not pay *salma* and *öşür* taxes on the condition that they had paid them in the city of their residence.[327] Beyond these administrative divisions, we observe that those who lived in *han*s as

[326] Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," 13.
[327] For a discussion of this issue, see Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı," 400.

residents and those who stayed in *han*s as guests were in close relationships with both other residents of the *han* and the city residents.

Besides the formal procedure of the assessment of the inheritance, the inheritance records also provide important clues regarding the material culture and everyday life of *han* residents. Above all, the archival documents available give us the opportunity to understand the certain aspects of the fortune of *han* residents in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is possible to see in these records that *han* residents owned necessary bedding to be able to live in a *han* room, coffee and tobacco sets that suggest use of mood enhancing substances, items related to one's profession (guns owned by soldiers, rolls of fabric owned by cloth merchants, etc.), clothing items and accessories, cash money in different currencies, and details regarding whom they had lent money to or to whom they owed.

As found in the two registers, the people who died in *han*s were soldiers belonging to the janissary order, artisan janissaries, merchants, tradesmen, scholars, *monla*s and a few non-Muslim merchants. Among these groups, the largest number of inheritance records are for those who were soldiers belonging to the janissary order or those tradesmen who were registered in the janissary order, called "artisan janissaries".[328] While some of these soldiers were relatively rich, others, especially those who died in the Şekerciler Han in Fatih, which was a *han* for accommodation, were janissaries who, judging by their inheritance records, had rather modest living conditions. We can look at some of the inheritance records as examples. Ali Baş Agha ibn-i Abdullah, who was a soldier in the Rikab-ı Hümayun *tatar*s division, died

[328] For the artisan janissaries, see. Sunar, "19. Yüzyıl Başlari Istanbulunda Esnaf Yeniçeriler," 59-87; Yılmaz Diko, "Blurred Boundaries Between Soldiers and Civilians: Artisan Janissaries in Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 175-194; Yılmaz Diko, "The economic and Social Roles of Janissaries in a 17th Century Ottoman City: The Case of Istanbul."; Turna, "Yeniçeri-Esnaf İlişkisi: Bir Analiz," 21-42; Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, Fluidity and Leverage*.; Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade: The Case of Ottoman Cairo," 16-37.

while residing in a room of Elçi Han (see Appendix A, Figure 62).[329] The military *kassam* who is responsible for drawing up the inheritance record of those whose property would be left to the state treasury because they did not have any known relatives came across a man named İbrahim Beşe ibn-i Ali who stated that he would claim the inheritance in the name of Ali Baş Agha's inheritors. Ali Baş Agha's wife Havva Hatun resided in Edirne while his mother Ayişe Hatun and his sister Fatıma Hatun lived in Niğde, Bortek. As required by his work, his weapons (sword, whip, bandoleer, *simli pişтov çit*) and his outfits (jacket, shirt, robe, undergarments, boots, fur, shalwar, gown, etc.) made up a significant portion of Ali Baş Agha's inheritance. The fact that his belongings did not include a lot (only two new pillows) that would be used as bedding in the *han* room might perhaps show that he was staying temporarily in this *han*. Perhaps the most interesting part of the inheritance is that this soldier who lived far away from his family in the capital city requested in his will that a tombstone be made for his grave. With this tombstone, which cost one sixth of the total worth of his inheritance, he perhaps wanted to become permanent in the city where he was not classified as a resident when he was living.

Another soldier of the same order, Tatar Mustafa Agha also died while he was a resident in Elçi Han, but his inheritance was worth six times that of the former soldier.[330] His inheritors, his wife Havva Hatun and his brother Osman Agha lived in the town of Zistor in the Rumeli province. Tatar Mustafa Agha's military equipment and guns were mostly coated in silver (yellow silver *şeşhane* rifle, silver coated pistol, silver coated bandoleer, silver coated dagger, etc.) while his outfits were mostly luxury items that were of considerable value (sable fur gown, baize shalwar,

[329] ŞS, AKD. 615, 89/24, 15 Z 1205 / August 15, 1791.
[330] ŞS, AKD. 615, 128/31, 26 Z 1205 / August 26, 1791.

hama fabric, etc.). Moreover, from the items listed in the inheritance record, it is understood that he was fond of mood enhancing substances. The qadi includes in the records snuff, two *nargile* sets, three smoking pipes, coffee pitcher, coffee pot, tray, cup and zarf. The fact that he owed 4.5 kuruş to tobacco merchant Avanis can also be taken as a reflection of his habits. Tatar Mustafa Agha's wealth shows itself in the bedding he owned as well as in the considerable amount of cash and precious metals (47 Istanbul gold coins, 5 Hungarian gold coins, white Akçe, 5 Fındık gold coins, etc.). Tatar Mustafa Agha's debts were paid off after his inheritance was drawn up. A striking point here is that he had borrowed money from *sarrâf* Papak, probably as a solution to the cash problem to maintain his wealthy way of living. We see that Tatar Mustafa Agha not only used this *han* as his residence, he also entered into direct relationships with the city residents.

The inheritance records of the three janissary soldiers who died while living in the rooms of Şekerciler Han show that they had barely enough money to survive on. Originally from Bosnia, when Ahmed Beşe ibn-i Salih died, according to his inheritance record dated as August 5, 1791, his total wealth of 3090 akçes was reduced to only 450 akçes after record keeping fees, tax and funeral expenses were deducted.[331] His inheritance included belongings such as his sword and pistol as well as shalwar, baize, small lamb fur, vest and raincoat. When Murad Kethüda ibn-i Mustafa died, the military *kassam* encountered a man named Mehmed Alemdar ibn-i Ali residing in the same *han* who stated that he could take the remaining inheritance of the deceased to his inheritors in Bosnia (see Appendix A, Figure 61).[332] However, according to his inheritance record dated as August 21, 1791, Murad Kethuda's

[331] ŞS, AKD. 615, 80/20, 5 Z 1205 / August 5, 1791.
[332] ŞS, AKD. 615, 125/31, 21 Z 1205 / August 21, 1791.

inheritance of 2220 akçes were barely enough to cover the funeral and burial expenses and the tax. Therefore, there was no inheritance left to transfer to his relatives. Other than his gun and essential clothing items, the only noteworthy item in Murad Kethuda's inheritance was "coffee pitcher and coffee pot". He probably used to make coffee for himself and perhaps for his friends in the *han* room that he resided in. Bayram Agha ibn-i Şaban, who died in the same *han*, appears to have been wealthier than Murad Kethuda.[333] After expenses were deducted from his inheritance of 9174 akçes, the remaining worth of his inheritance was 4254 akçes. Even though Bayram Agha had similar outfits and guns, the property he owned was worth more than that of Murad Kethuda. He owned a "*biniş* fur", which alone was worth 2400 akçes, more than the 2220 akçes worth of the total inheritance of Murad Kethuda. In addition to the sets of "tray, basin, coffee pitcher, cup" which allowed him to indulge in his coffee habit, he also owned a tobacco pipe which he perhaps smoked while drinking his coffee, as shown in Figure 32. None of these janissary soldiers who resided in Şekerciler Han owned bedding according to their inheritance records. This *han*, which was only for accommodation, might have provided bedding such as mattress, pillow, and sheets for its residents.

Another group of people who spent the last days of their lives in *han* rooms were merchants.[334] For example, es-Seyyid Mehmed Agha from Kayseri died in Pastırmacı Han near Mercan according to his inheritance record dated as September 24, 1791.[335] Mehmed Agha was registered in the 67th community chamber of the

[333] ŞS, AKD. 615, 126/31, 21 Z 1205 / August 21, 1791.

[334] For the studies on the inheritance records of merchants, see. Kafadar, "Venedik'te Bir Ölüm (1575): Serenissima'da Ticaret Yapan Anadolulu Müslüman Tüccarlar," 73-122; Yılmaz, "İranlı Ermeni Bir Tüccarın Terekesi ve Ticari Etkinliği Üzerine Düşünceler," 191-216; Demirel, "Tereke Defterlerine Göre Kayseri Tüccar ve Esnafının Borç-Alacak İlişkisi," 139-150; Yağcı and Genç, "19. Yüzyılda Balıkesir'de Giyim-Kuşam Zevki ve Bir Kumaş Tüccarı," 227-246; Faroqhi, "18. Yüzyıl Bursa'sında Zengin Olmak: Debbağ Hacı İbrahim'in Serveti," 199-216.

[335] ŞS, AKD, 615, 168/46, 25 M 1206 / September 24, 1791.

Janissaries and he was involved in leather trade in Istanbul as an artisan janissary. He brought *sahtiyan* leather produced in Kayseri to sell in Istanbul. Mehmed Agha's inheritance record includes approximately 100 kıyye (about 130 kg) of *sahtiyan* leather, which he probably intended to sell in Istanbul and return to his hometown where his father Küçük es-Seyyid Mehmed lived.[336] Mehmed Agha owned a copper brazier *(mangal)* and a pot to cook his own meals in the *han*. The 3-piece worth of pastrami he owned probably accompanied his bread. This merchant who owned a *yemeni* and a bedding sheet probably did not have any clothes other than the ones he was wearing (threadbare baize gown, robe of Manisa silk, *alaca* belt, *destar*, fez and turban).

Another record shows that Mehmed Emin Agha, whose mother and sister lived in the town of Konisa in the sanjak of Yanya died in the Süleyman Pasha Han (see Appendix A, Figure 59).[337] From the contents of his inheritance record prepared on September 6, 1791 it is not possible to say what kind of trade he was engaged in. The fact that he owned a lot of bedding and clothing items shows that he was a resident of this *han* for a long time. The cash found in his purse, which constitutes a fifth of the value of his inheritance might be an indication of his being a bachelor working away from his home. He probably reserved some of the money he earned for clothing and his sleeping arrangements in the *han* room while reserving a portion for the livelihood of his mother and sister in Yanya.

According to the inheritance record from August 23, 1791, Hüseyin Agha belonged to the 12th division chamber of the Janissaries and he died in a room of the Haraççı Han located outside Bahçekapı (see Appendix A, Figure 58).[338] In addition

[336] Hülagu, "Kayseri'de Sahtiyan Üretimi," 1-18.
[337] ŞS, AKD. 615, 181/50, 7 M 1206 / September 6, 1791.
[338] ŞS, AKD. 615, 132/32, 23 Z 1205 / August 23, 1791.

to holding the rank of a janissary, Hüseyin Agha was also a sayyid and worked as a dried fruits and nuts merchant. Inheritance records show that he was from the village of Ormane in the county of İbradı in the sanjak of Alanya. The fact that his inheritance went to his brother's sons shows that he was probably single and did not have any other surviving relatives. In contrast to other records in the *kassam* registers, his entry is preceded by the statement: "*hân-ı merkumda odasında olup bey' olunan eşyasıdır ki zikr olunur*". This special statement is a sign of the abundance of his property. This list is also important in terms of the level of comfort of a merchant living in a typical *han* room. In his room in Haraççı Han, which was located near Tahmis outside Bahçekapısı, 4 'beledi pillows', 3 'cushions', 4 pieces of covers, one rug and 3 chests of varying sizes were found. Hüseyin Agha's belongings in his rooms includes four quilts, three of which were *Kıbrısi* style, seven pieces of bed sheets and pillows of various styles. The existence of many quilts and bed sheets might mean that Hüseyin Agha hosted his friends in his *han* room from time to time. The three saucepans, one pan, ten plates, a cooking pan, two basins, one pitcher and a big walnut chest in which all these items were probably stored as well as a copper brazier *(mangal)* found in his room might indicate that Hüseyin Agha cooked and ate his meals in his room. After meals, he also owned equipment to prepare and serve coffee, bought from the nearby Tahmis, using the brazier *(mangal)* that he probably also used to warm up in the winter. There is no information regarding whether Hüseyin Agha was married or not in the inheritance records. His personal outfits show that he had a dressing style of average means. The *kassam* recorded and assessed the value of each of his clothing items (pants, belt, Maghreb shawl, robe, *alaca* vest, baize shalwar, *mest*, fez, conical hat, *destar*). Hüseyin Agha, who owned weapons like many other *han* residents (*şeşhane* rifle, gold handled knife, etc.), also

had a considerable amount of cash. Among his belongings we can also see a couple of items related to his occupation, of trade in dried fruits and nuts. Hüseyin Agha had a dried fruits and nuts store outside of Zindankapı. His inheritance record also shows what are called '*gedik'* that are used in his store where he sold his customers silverberries, various kinds of raisins, figs, hazelnuts, dates, and almonds. The *kassam* calculated a total value of 308,591 akçes for the inheritance of the deceased, which included his belongings in the *han* rooms, his property in the store, a vineyard he owned in a village, and the cash money he owned. After his debts and the expenses for inheritance record keeping were deducted, 144,623 akçes of his considerable fortune remained. The fact that Hüseyin Agha had significant debts shows that he had commercial relationships in the city. He owed 12,000 akçes on bond to another Hüseyin Agha who shared similar attributes to himself (janissary, sayyid and merchant), 11,388 akçes to Yemişçi Hafız Mehmed Sadık, and 3,420 akçes to another artisan janissary, Yemişçi Osman Beşe. We do not know if the people he owed money to were city residents or *han* residents or guests. However, it is obvious that Hüseyin Agha developed commercial relationships, including borrowing money, in conducting his business both with people from his janissary circles and with other merchants.

I encountered only two *monla*s in the *kassam* records I examined. The title of monla was given to teachers and students of madrasas who engaged in higher learning.[339] The first of these two, Monla İbrahim ibn-i Abdullah is from Arapkir and he died in Horasancı Han in Istanbul (see Appendix A, Figure 60).[340] According to the list prepared by the *kassam* on September 25, 1791, his belongings were quite

[339] Algar, "Molla," 238-239

[340] ŞS, AKD. 615, 199/54, 26 M 1206 / September 25, 1791.

modest. Other than basic clothing items and a set of bedding, he only had a tobacco pouch and a sword. After the expenses were deducted only 2,618 akçes were left to his mother and two sisters in Arapkir. The second is Monla Ali bin Abdullah who died in Mikrasçılar Han. According to the inheritance record dated October 25, 1791, he did not have inheritors at the time of the preparation of the records and he left behind only 1,351 akçes.[341]

From the examination of the inheritance records of the people who died while residing in *han* rooms, the *han* and its various parts emerge as places where everyday life practices were carried out and performed. Most *han* residents had to procure the necessary bedding themselves. Especially those residents who lived in *han*s for a long time, as in the above-mentioned case of Hüseyin Agha, had a wide-ranging array of bedding and they probably had the freedom to host guests in their rooms. In *han*s that are only for accommodation, such as Şekerciler Han in Fatih, bedding was provided by the *han* management. *Han* residents could also use the fireplaces found in the rooms to cook meals in order to meet the basic need of eating, and they used the pots and pans they owned to prepare these meals. These fireplaces were also used, as seen in many examples, to prepare coffee and the residents owned various materials to enjoy coffee accompanied by tobacco smoking. Even though almost all residents owned tools required by their trade, the presence of weapons in almost all inheritance records of middle-ground or wealthy residents presents another issue.

[341] ŞS, AKD. 615, 297/78, 27 S 1206 / October 26, 1791.



Figure 32. Halt of Caravaniers at a Serai, in 1836. (Allom, 1838).[342]

[342] Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor: Illustrated, Robert Walsh*, 85.

4.3 *Han* courtyard: More than a physical space

The previous section of this chapter focused on aspects of the private spaces of the *han*, through a study of tereke registers belonging to han residents. This section turns to those aspects of the *han* that underline its public uses and functions. Although its gates were open to main roads or busy urban areas, the *han* has in fact been likened to a kind of "tarîk-i hâss", a closed space within the confines of a greater bazaar area.[343] With their safely locked doors at night, *han*s were home for the strangers in the city. Situated within the commercial district of the city, the *han* can at the same time be readily categorized as a public space.[344] As a matter of fact, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, in his *Mevâ'ıdü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'ıdi'l-Mecalis*, includes the *han*s and caravanserais among the public spaces (*büyût-ı bîgâne*), in addition to bathhouses, taverns, boza houses, coffeehouses and the chambers in mosques and dervish lodges.[345] It may in fact be apt to define the *han* as a semi-public space encompassing private and public sections, where sleeping and residential quarters constituted private spaces, whereas the common areas such as the gallery and the courtyard can be considered as public areas.

The architecture of *han*s had the potential of structuring the daily practices of their residents. In fact, in a typical han building, rooms are not aligned along closed corridors but are situated so that they face the common courtyard, which may be in the shape of a square or a rectangle. Therefore, the presence of a gallery in front of the rooms and this specific alignment of the *han* rooms enable the residents to have more intimate contact with each other. An engraving of a *han* on a road in Western

[343] Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı," 398.
[344] Raymond, "The Spatial Organization of the City," 47-70; Raymond, "The Economy of the Traditional City," 731-751.
[345] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevâ'ıdü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'ıdi'l-Mecalis*, 375

Anatolia, that was commissioned by Choiseul Gouffier, portrays a two-floor structure with a square courtyard surrounded by rooms (Figure 33).[346]



Figure 33. The Courtyard of a han on a road in Western Anatolia in 1809 (Choiseul-Gouffier, 57).

In the engraving, around the fountain in the courtyard some people are resting, some sipping their coffee or smoking their tobacco while others are tending to their animals. There are still some others portrayed on the upper right side of the engraving, especially in the balcony above the entrance gate and the gallery in front of the rooms, engaged in heated conversation. This engraving does in fact give insight into the intimate lives of people essentially different from each other and represents a space that caters to the needs of them all. In fact, in the 1840's, when White visited the *han*s in Istanbul, seeing the liveliness of the courtyard, he could not

[346] M. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, 57.

help but note: “nothing can be more animated and original than the great hall of these buildings”.[347] Both in the engraving and in the narrative, the courtyard in the center of the *han* seems to strike the observer as a space where daily life takes its course and finds its expression in carnivalesque forms and performative acts. What stands out in the engraving is how people who were most likely of different economic and cultural groups utilized this common space and performed their daily practices.

We can interpret the life in the *han*, with all the vivacity of its frequenters and the vibrancy of their exchanges, to be a form of convivial living. In recent years, in some studies, *convivialism*, has emerged as an analytical tool in understanding the co-existence of differences and “the human modes of togetherness”.[348] Although the term conviviality conveys the multiplicity of uses and understandings in various disciplines, in this thesis I will try to approach its meanings of togetherness and interrelatedness of persons in the context of the *han* courtyard. The literal meaning of the word *convivial,* defined in English as “having a good time in the company of others: i.e. a jovial, festive, companionable state, occasion or atmosphere” is delimiting in certain aspects. Instead, it may make more sense to use *convivencia* (a joint/shared life), which is the Spanish derivative of the verb *convivir* (to live together). In this sense, conviviality, that is, “people’s daily interactions while living together in a place” can capture the workings of these dynamics “not only during harmonious times but also during tensions, conflicts, and disputes”.[349] In fact, in his comparative study of these two terms, cosmopolitanism and conviviality, used to

[347] White, *Three Years in Constantinople, or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844,* 47.

[348] For a discussion about the growing concern with conviviality in different disciplines, see. Nowicka and Vertovec, “Comparing Convivialities: Dreams and Realities of Living-with-Difference,” 341–356.

[349] For the different usages of the concept, conviviality, see. Duru, “From Mosaic to Ebru: Conviviality in Multi-Ethnic, Multi-Faith Burgazadası, Istanbul,” 243-263; Duru, “Coexistence and Conviviality in Multi-Faith, Multi-Ethnic Burgazadası, The Princes' Islands of Istanbul.”

refer to cases of living together in the Late Ottoman Empire, Freitag associates cosmopolitanism with "elite interactions and an aspirational discourse" while her definition of *conviviality* as the daily exchanges of people independent of their social class, ethnic origin or religious affiliations.[350] From this perspective, it would be more apt to define the life and experiences of the people and their daily exchanges in the *han* courtyard as one of *conviviality.*

In the context of this discussion, the *han* was not just a place for these people only "to be present in". The *han*s, with *aşık* performances, ram-fight scenes, acrobatic shows and the gatherings around coffee service, were spaces of a very lively public life. MacFarlane recounts his first-hand experience of the *han* courtyard during a visit to Istanbul in 1828 as follows:

> In the middle of the square, the open kiosk by the fountain's side, was occupied by Turks, from whose crowded group a loud laugh burst at intervals. My dragoman, with more local knowledge and better eyes, saw there, one of the professional Turkish story-tellers, whose talents are in great request during the long, gay nights of the Ramazan. We lit our chibouks and repaired to the circle, which admitted us, civilly enough, to partake in their amusement; a gigantic *devidji*, who was sitting before me, removing himself that I might see better, and an old Turk, with a venerable beard, making room for me on the low broad bench which ran round the kiosk.[351]

The depiction by MacFarlane portrays the *han* as a public space that has multiple meanings for its residents, a space enjoyed by the public that lends itself to alternative forms of organization and where new experiences are enjoyed. When MacFarlane wanted to mingle with these people he saw for the very first time in his life, he was immediately welcomed by the others and became an active subject of this collective. In this line of thought, it can be argued that *han*s were places where

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[350] Freitag, "'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Conviviality'? Some Conceptual Considerations Concerning the Late Ottoman Empire," 375–391.

[351] Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828: A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces: With an Account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power, and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire*, 352.

people, or groups composed of these people with no previous affiliations could come together and form an order of contact based on mutual trust. This sense of trust and co-existence were the natural outcome of a friendly social life, that is, "conviviality".

The use of space and the daily life practices taking place in the space of the *han* help us make better sense of the specific manifestations of social behavior performed in the *han*s. Through this specific formation, the public space of the *han*s can be explained as spaces of playfulness, heterotopia and theatricality.[352]

In the 1866 edition of *The Illustrated London News*, the news with the headline "Ram-Fight in the Persian Han Constantinople" talks about how the *han* courtyard played host to a ram-fight.[353] The *han* referred to in this description in Figure 34 is probably Büyük Valide Han on the Çakmakçılar ramp, which had a dense Persian population. This *han*, whose construction was commissioned by Kösem Sultan in 1650, is the biggest *han* in terms of the area it covers in the Ottoman capital. It was actively used by Persian merchants through the nineteenth century.[354] In the figure, where the *han* is depicted as architecturally similar to those in Persia, a ram-fight takes place in the middle of the *han* courtyard while the onlookers sip their coffee sitting or standing and enjoying the games. The big courtyard of the *han* was prepared as a "temporary world" in which the ram fight took place.[355]

[352] For the discussion about the public nature of Ottoman coffeehouses, see. Kömeçoğlu, "Homo Ludens ve Homo Sapiens Arasında Kamusallık ve Toplumsallık: Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri," 49-84.
[353] "Ram Fighting in the Persian *Han* Constantinople," 829.
[354] Dığıroğlu, "Istanbul-Tebriz Ticaret Hattında Valide Han (XIX-XX. Yüzyıl)," 69-112; Duranti, "A Caravanserai on the Route to Modernity: the Case of the Valide Han of Istanbul," 229-250.
[355] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, 10.



Figure 34. Ram-fight in the Persian Han in Constantinople, 1866 (The Illustrated London News, 829).

In addition to the ram fight, which is more of a symbolic representation, the big courtyard of this *han* was used as a stage for the Muharrem Ceremonies by the Persian population who resided here.[356] Starting with the Treaty of Erzurum signed in 1823 and the renewal of the commercial road connecting Tabriz-Trabzon-Istanbul in 1830; and gaining momentum with the agreement signed in 1847 to improve the commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia, the traffic of Azeri merchants from Persia in Istanbul peaked during the last quarter of the century. In this period, 16,000 Persian merchants dealing in precious rugs, silk and books are documented to have resided in Istanbul.[357] Valide Han, close to the commercial

[356] Glassen, "Muharram-Ceremonies (Azadari) in Istanbul at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century," 113-122.
[357] Duranti, "A Caravanserai on the Route to Modernity: the Case of the Valide Han of Istanbul," 237.

center of the city became also the cultural center for the Shiite Persian population. Especially after the Wahhabi sack of Karbala in 1802 and the plunder and destruction of the shrine of Imam Huseyn, *amphitheaters* were built in Iran for *taziya* ceremonies which were also an aspect of national identity formation in Iran. The Shiites in Istanbul did not build such constructions, but performed their Muharrem Ceremonies in the courtyard of the biggest *han* in the city. Two activities related with the Muharrem Ceremonies come to the fore. The first is the reciting of the elegies (*mersiye*) commemorating the martyrs and the tortures they had to endure in the mosque located in the middle of the courtyard. The second is the flagellation procession, which became more of a public spectacle in the courtyard. On those days, Valide Han was adorned not only with religious calligraphic posters and symbols but also with the portrait and flag of the Qajar Sultan. Persian merchants would invite their customers, prepare the rooms and shops they used in the *han* for their guests, serve them tea, cake and tobacco. At the end of the nineteenth century, advertisements for these ceremonies started to appear in tourist guidebooks as well and some tourist groups came to watch this performance.[358] Moreover, the Sultan decreed the necessary cautions be taken to make sure these ceremonies of mourning would be kept within the walls of the *han* and not spill into the streets. According to a document of September 29, 1887, the Persians in Istanbul were banned from the streets during the third day of Muharrem due to the mourning ceremonies. They were only allowed to perform their rituals in the *han*s and were instructed not do anything that called for government intervention.[359]

[358] Glassen, "Muharram-Ceremonies (Azadari) in Istanbul at the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century," 121.
[359] BOA Y.A.HUS. 207/15, 11 M 1305 / September 29, 1887.



Figure 35. An acrobatic show in a *han* courtyard (undated) (Göncüoğlu, 69).

The machinery in the picture introduced in Figure 35 was built in a *han* courtyard for the acrobats to show their skills and transformed the courtyard to a performance space, hence in its theatrical aspect recalls the flagellation ritual. In the photograph, the audience is depicted enjoying the performance from the galleries in front of the rooms on the second floor of the *han*, looking down through the porticoes. In all of these instances, the courtyard, which is the public space of the *han*, is turned into a stage. Especially, the porches in front of the rooms on the second floor resemble theater seats.

Through carnivalesque events, this informal social and cultural space acts as an intermediary between daily life experiences and political authority. The celebrations, shows, festivities performed in the *han* courtyard take on the additional function of reconciling the social with the political. In a sense, *han* residents could exist and act within the limits set by the ruling body, while still formulating

alternative spatial practices that could turn the foundation of this power-subject dynamic upside down. The meddah stories or the *aşık*'s songs would entertain people on the one hand while on the other hand they would express that which could not be said and laid bare the taboos, thus becoming the voice of its frequenters.

*Han*s acted as social thresholds allowing users to give vent to different experiences. They offered various facilities to accommodate the differing expectations, desires and tastes of both their residents and frequenters. When needed, urban *han*s were simultaneously coffee houses with the amount of coffee consumption within their premises,[360] theater stages for the *aşık* and their shows,[361] political clubs as locales for popular political gossip and inciting ground for city riots,[362] "show venues" hosting ceremonies like the flagellation and the elections of the patriarchate,[363] spiritual and religious ritual grounds with their prayer rooms allocated to different confessional groups,[364] home to *aşure* festivities and home also to taverns where alcoholic beverages were served.[365] So in a sense, the *han* is a "heterogeneous space" that brings together a heterogeneous blend of social practices, spatialities and instances that would otherwise be deemed incompatible in a "real space" while involving all of its residents. In a similar sense, the *han* courtyard is a

[360] For the coffee stall below stairs of Sultan Odaları Han, see. BOA C.EV. 207/10335, 07 L 1205 / June 9, 1791.

[361] For the story teller, Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828: A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces: With an Account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power, and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire*, 352.

[362] For the accommodation of Albanians in *han*s in 1730, see. BOA MD, 138, 1144 / 1731. For the gossips in Istanbul *han*s in 1840s, Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanli Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" 1840-1844*.

[363] Two meetings, one in Büyük Yeni Han in April 11, 1800 and other in Vezir Han in April 26, 1800 were held for the election of the patriarchate. Pamukciyan, "1868'de Mevcud İstanbul Hanları," 5-9.

[364] In addition to many small mosques in *han* courtyards, it is possible to see a prayer room used by jewish community in Çorapçı Han in 1851. BOA C.ADL. 39/2350, 26 CA 1267 / March 29, 1851.

[365] For Armenian tavern in Süleyman Han, see. BOA HAT. 17/734, 29 Z 1180 / May 28, 1767; For a tavern in Süleymanpaşa Han, see. BOA HAT. 19/871, 29 Z 1202 / September 30, 1788; For Vasil's şerbethane in Taş Han, see. BOA HAT. 120/4866, 29 Z 1221 / March 9, 1807; For a *Koltuk* tavern in Kambur Han, see. BOA C.BLD. 39/1944, 29 R 1233 / March 8, 1818.

playground surrounded, limited and segregated by walls as Huizinga puts it. These "all are temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart."[366]

In summary, in the first part of this chapter, after establishing the residents of the *han* rooms and shops, the lives, daily practices and interpersonal relationships of *han* users were discussed. The inheritance records of people who drew their last breaths in these *han*s allowed a focus on the private spaces of the han as well as the social connections of *han* residents. In the second part of the chapter, various performative practices taking place in the courtyards and galleries, which constitute the public spaces of the *han*, were evaluated in terms of publicity, playfulness and convivial living. The following chapter will turn to the controlling mechanisms of the political power over the *han* space.

[366] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, 10.

CHAPTER 5

CONTROLLING SPACE: STATE SUPERVISION OVER *HAN*S

The fifth chapter spatializes, in the particular context of the *han*, a set of questions regarding public order and disorder that bore on urban life and urban government during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In this manner, the chapter first takes in hand the phenomena of migration, increasing number of bachelors and unidentifiable persons in the city and the various problems central authority associated with their presence, by focusing on *han*s as loci that offered them accommodation. After discussing the various surveillance mechanisms developed with regard to these populations, again, in the particular context of *han*s, it looks at the specific instance of the Greek rebellion, to follow how *han*s became spaces of inspection by the city authorities and at taverns within *han*s, in order to explore a broader notion of public order based on social norms that also shaped the state's attitude towards *han*s and their residents. Finally, it discusses aspects of the political language that legitimize the state's acts of surveillance over *han*s and their residents.

5.1 "The density of *han*s causes a plenitude of evils"[367]

Approximately two months after the "great earthquake" (*zelzele-i azîme*) that happened on May 22, 1766, a decree was sent addressing the qadi of Istanbul, regarding the reconstruction of *han*s that were either demolished or in need of repair (see Appendix A, Figure 63).[368] In the decree, it was stated that timber or masonry *han*s that were damaged during the earth quake should definitely be reconstructed

[367] "Hânların kesreti mefâsid-i kesireyi mûcib olduğuna binâen", ŞS, İstanbul, 25/97, 20 S 1180 / July 28, 1766.
[368] ŞS, İstanbul, 25/97, 20 S 1180 / July 28, 1766.

with masonry material. However, an expression found in the opening part of the text renders this decree more important for this work. The expression, "*Âsitâne-i Sa'adet'te hânların kesreti mefâsid-i kesireyi mûcib olduğu"* (the density of *han*s in the capital city causes a plenitude of evils) shows that the high number of *han*s in the Ottoman capital was assumed to be the cause of various evils (*mefâsid*). What were the evils mentioned in the decree that were attributed to the multiplicity of *han*s in the city? What did the political power consider as evil and according to what, what was the attitude towards the things it considered as evils? When archival documents are inspected, possible sources of "evil" during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries regarding the *han*s in the city are the fact that they were places of accommodation for unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl)* in Istanbul. *Han*s at times functioned as headquarters for rebels or potential rebels during periods of urban unrest, and that they were home to taverns, which were potential sources of disruption of public order. Throughout this section, these three phenomena, which were seen as main sources of evil and threats to public order, will be analyzed in the context of *han*s, and the surveillance mechanisms developed by the political authority to prevent these will be discussed. The literature on the policing and controlling of urban spaces in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Istanbul generally takes the efforts of political authority as a route to modern state[369] and the regulation of space in order to produce a desired social and moral order in the city.[370] In this chapter, I will try to deepen this discussion by analyzing the language and practices of the political power in relation to public order or disorder in the

[369] See works of Kırlı, Başaran, Levy.

[370] See Works of Hamadeh, Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 249-277.

particular context of *han*s. In this context I will also explore the meanings of the terms "*mefâsid"* and "*maslaha"*.

5.2 Migration and public order: An urban milieu full of unidentifiable persons (*Mechûlü'l-Ahvâl*)

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman capital came face to face with a series of migration waves. Especially eighteenth-century Istanbul attracted people from the countryside who were in search of better social and economic opportunities. Merchants, artisans, *madrasa* students, dervishes, crowds of vagrants, or soldiers who had to stay in the capital temporarily sought to become a part of the city generally on their own and less frequently, with their families.[371]

Particularly during the reigns of Mahmud I (1730-1754) and Mustafa III (1757-1774), the political power generally saw these people who were trying to make it in the capital city mostly as the reason for the increasing demand for food and water in Istanbul and the decreasing revenues of the government in the countryside. Indeed, in August of 1742, a royal decree by Sultan Mahmud I explains that people who come from the surrounding regions and stay in *han*s and bachelor's chambers were causing shortages in basic necessities such as food and water for the resident population of Istanbul; it therefore bans the reconstruction or expansion of *han*s and bachelors' chambers and orders city authorities to do the necessary inspections in

[371] About the migration to Istanbul in the eighteenth century, see. Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century Greater Istanbul as Reflected in the Kadı Registers of Eyüp," 163-83; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order*.; Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, The Katib Ilyas Mahalle*; Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800*. The obsession with the urban poor as "dangerous classes" was also widespread in Paris around 1800, see Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes: In Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*.

this regard (see Appendix A, Figure 66).[372] What is interesting about this decree is that it contains within it a reference to another decree from seven years earlier (29 Safer 1148 / 21 July 1735). And perhaps more interesting is that the decree from 1742 was written using almost the same expressions as another decree from ten years earlier, written in 1732 (see Appendix A, Figure 65).[373] This archival information reveals that the political power tried to exercise control over the construction of urban structures for the accommodation of strangers who come to the city while maintaining the same textual framework in almost copy-paste fashion in this 12-year period. A decree addressing the janissary officer (*zâbit*) of Iznik in 1743, states that despite earlier decrees ordering the prevention of migration unidentifiable persons to Istanbul, authorities in regions surrounding Istanbul do not exercise necessary caution. It orders the prevention of further migration of such people to Istanbul henceforth (see Appendix A, Figure 67).[374]

For similar reasons, Mustafa III (1757-1774) also issued multiple decrees ordering the prevention of the move of single men or families to Istanbul. A decree dating from February 23, 1762, addressing the governor of Kocaeli, Mısıri Ahmed Pasha, says that due to hardships in Istanbul, families should not be allowed to move to Istanbul and only soldiers and those who are engaged in trade should be allowed.[375] In June 1764, notification was sent to the township of Gemlik stating that there is housing shortage in Istanbul due to the recent fires, therefore families should not be allowed to move to Istanbul from the countryside.[376] In another decree from

[372] "..Mahmiye-i Kostantıniyye'ye etrâf ve eknâfdan gelüp hanlarda ve bekar odalarında meks ve ikâmet eden ecnâs-ı muhtelifenin kesreti ekser-i ahyânda kıllet-i nân ve luhûm ve sâ'ir zahâire bâ'is ve bâdî ve İstanbul ahâlîsinin zarûret ü muzâyakalarına mü'eddî olduğından.."
BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/162, 1 C 1155 / August 3, 1742.

[373] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 138/ 759, Evasıt-ı L 1144 / April 6 -15, 1732.

[374] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370, 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743.

[375] BOA C.BLD. 138/6872, 29 B 1175 / February 23, 1762

[376] BOA C.DH. 10/453, 29 Z 1177 / June 29, 1764.

March 1773, it is stated that migration of families to Istanbul should be prevented, and nobody including vagrants except for tradesmen and those who have a real business in the city, should be allowed into the city through the piers (see Appendix A, Figure 53).[377] Similar decrees are encountered among those issued by Mahmud II approximately 40 years later. For instance, a decree dating from July 1811, addressing the governor of Kocaeli, Hüsrev Mehmed Pasha, states that Istanbul's population has been increasing and due to food shortage, further migration of families to Istanbul should be prevented.[378]

However, Mahmud II (1808-1839) and his predecessor Selim III (1789-1807), devised policies and practices against people moving to Istanbul that differ from sultans who preceded them. During both reigns mechanisms of greater control over the urban population were put in place, parallel to efforts towards greater centralization. As a case in point, during the reign of Mahmud II and starting in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, frequency of surveys regarding urban population and urban space increased. Such surveys were carried out in Istanbul on a variety of occasions. It has been noted that the *Bostancıbaşı registers* conducted to put the buildings and urban spaces along the Bosphorus under record, *Temettüat registers* kept for tax collection purposes, *Havadis registers* that were used to collect information through intelligence reports, and *Tahaffuz registers* intended for the maintenance of public health turned the Ottoman State into a statistics state, like many of its contemporaries.[379] The sultans were no longer interested simply in solving the city's problems of shortages. In addition, they also wanted to know who

[377] BOA C.DH. 160/7978, 29 Z 1186 / March 23, 1773.
[378] BOA C.DH. 122/6081, 29 RA 1226 / July 21, 1811.
[379] Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808)," 260.

was coming to the city and what they were doing, in a way these surveys aimed to make the city population transparent.

In all these registers, *han*s occupied an important place because they offered accommodation opportunities to unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl*). And the most significant function of the political power's surveillance over the *han*s was to determine who was staying in *han*s and to demand proof of surety from those who were staying without surety. Within this framework, similar work was carried out in different periods through population surveys, various details regarding *han* residents were entered into registers alongside the identities of their surety.

As an important elements of social control, suretyship (*kefâlet)* is a part of the pre-modern Ottoman system. Through the system of suretyship, the individual enters into the state's field of vision not as a person but as a part of the group that he belongs to, and becomes subject to the political power's surveillance.[380] For example, in Ottoman Istanbul, a chain of suretyship is established within artisanal networks in which the master acted as the surety of his assistant masters and apprentices, neighboring tradesmen became each other's surety, the resident coffeehouse owner became the surety of a newcomer to the city, or the *han* keeper acted as the surety of someone who was staying in the *han* as a guest. As one of the effective practices of pre-modern Ottoman world, the system of suretyship presents us with two interesting applications in the context of Istanbul *han*s. The first of these is the inspection of tradesmen and suretyship in Galata and Kasımpaşa in 1763, while the second one is a city-wide inspection of tradesmen and suretyship in the years 1792 and 1793.

[380] Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808)"; Ertuğ, "Osmanlı Kefalet Sistemi ve Esnaf Birlikleri Uygulaması," 31-44.

Table 14. The *Han*s Located in Galata and Kasımpaşa in 1763.

	The Name of *Han*	# of Rooms	Empty	Store	# of Settlers	Surety
1	Han-ı Mehmed Emin Ağazade	17				
2	Han-ı İshak Ağa	24				
3	Han-ı Merhum Hekimbaşı	12				
4	Han-ı Hasekizade Ahmed Ağa	4				
5	Han-ı Merhum İshak Ağa	5				
6	Han-ı Mûsâ Yahudi	6				
7	Han-ı Arab Fesci Hacı Mehmed	33	12			Hancı
8	Han-ı Yelkenci Vakf-ı Kara Mustafa Paşa	26				Hancı
9	Han-ı Mustafa Bey Süleyman Paşazade	9	5			Hancı
10	Han-ı Zincirli derun-ı Galata Yeğen Efendizade'nin	35	5		74	Hancı
11	Han-ı Tulumba Mustafa Bey	5	4			Hancı
12	Han-ı Vekilharc-ı Sabık Ali Efendi	6	5			Hancı
13	Han-ı Taş Tersaneli Abraham/İbrahim (?) odasının (?)	9	5			Hancı
14	Han-ı Ahmed Ağa'nın yetimleri kurb-ı Zindan	3				Hancı
15	Han-ı Na'l oğlu Hanı kurb-ı Karaköy Hanı Hacı Molla	30	4		115	Hancı
16	Han-ı Karakız kurb-ı Zindan	10	6		6	Hancı
17	Han-ı Pusul[a]cı Ahmed Efendi ve Tophaneli Hacı Mustafa Hanı	9			32	Esnaf Kethüdaları
18	Han-ı Aynalı Han Ruşen Beyzadeler	11	5		14	Hancı
19	Han-ı Kurşunlu Cağaloğlu Beyleri	60				Hancı
20	Han-ı Çorbacı Kemankeş Mustafa Ağa'nın yetimleri	17			60	Esnaf Kethüdaları ve Hancı
21	Han-ı Kula Ali Aynalı Mustafa Ağa	8	2		16	Hancı
22	Han-ı Endaze oğlu Abraham Zimmi	3	1	1	5	Hancı
23	Han-ı Hasan Paşa merhum derun-ı Galata kurb-ı Karaköy	87	3	5	193	Esnaf Kethüdaları, Yiğitbaşı ve Hancı
24	Han-ı Yeniçeri Ağası sabık Mustafa Paşa'nın ehli hanım	9			50	Hancı ve Odabaşı
25	Han-ı Cağalzadeler kurb-ı Eski Yağ Kapanı	10			26	Odabaşı
26	Han-ı Kasımpaşa kurb-ı Cami-i Kebir sahibi Ömer Efendi	30	14		51	
27	Han-ı Tahta kurb-ı Tersane-i Amire sahibi Hacı Hüseyin Ağa	30	14			

Source: Atatürk Kitaplığı, M. Cevdet, B0010.

In 1763, an inspection and survey of tradesmen in the districts of Galata and Kasımpaşa was carried out (see Appendix A, Figure 42).[381] Based on these inspections, 5156 masters, assistant masters and apprentices working in various areas of artisanship were recorded, and 497 people who were working among them without surety were expelled from the districts.

In this inspection, as seen Table 14, a total of 27 *han*s were inspected, a survey of the residents of these *han*s was carried out and the suretyship information for these residents was taken under record. This inspection record contains the oldest (as far as I know) existing list of *han*s that were located in the Galata region. In addition to containing information about many small-scale *han*s in the Galata region, the records also give information about such major *han*s as Zincirli Han, Kurşunlu Han, Yelkenci Han, and Hasan Pasha Han, together with the names of tradesmen who occupied their rooms. According to the survey records, within the walls of Galata, located in Karaköy, Hasan Pasha Han, also called Havyar Han, had 87 rooms and vaults (*mahzen*), three of which were vacant, and 5 shops. *Kethüda*s (stewards) and *yiğitbaşı* of artisans and the *han* keeper were recorded as the surety of the 193 people registered in this *han*. While the *han* keeper was the surety for the residents in most of the *han*s recorded in the list, in three of the *han*s the *kethüda*s of artisans and in two *han*s *odabaşı*s were recorded as the surety.

Inspections in the Ottoman world, which were carried out under certain conditions, particularly for the purposes of military recruitment, tax collection and during times of potential rebellion gained special meaning in the years 1792-1793. Following the incident attempt against Selim III on December 17, 1791 in Ayasofya Mosque, a comprehensive inspection, referred to as the *nizâm-ı teftiş-i Istanbul*, was

[381] Atatürk Kitaplığı, M. Cevdet, B0010, 19 N 1176 - 23 M 1177 / April 3, 1763 – August 3, 1763.

carried out in order to determine all potential criminals such as vagrants, the crowd of unemployed and unmarried people and those who were staying without surety in all districts of Istanbul.[382] The inspection registers compiled through this comprehensive work contain information regarding the names of *han*s and shops that such people used for accommodation and trade, their locations, the number of rooms in each one, the names of the residents of each room, any titles they had and their hometowns. The registers that were compiled based on the inspections aiming to turn "*mechûlü'l-ahvâl"* individuals into "*mefûlü'l-ahval*" have recently been analyzed by Kırlı and Başaran within the framework of arguments regarding social surveillance mechanisms, new governmentality, and the transformation into a statistics state.[383] Within the context of my study, the most important aspect of these inspection surveys is the attempt of the political authority over the *han*s that offered accommodation opportunities to those individuals who were considered as "*mechûlü'l-ahvâl".* As discussed in the first chapter as well, these registers recorded individuals staying in a total of 8889 rooms of 284 *han*s and 280 bachelor's chambers included in the inspections every six months and those who were staying without surety were expelled from the city.[384]

In these suretyship registers, after the name of each *han* is mentioned, the number of rooms for the *han* structure, which group of tradesmen occupied its rooms, (for some *han*s) how many residents it had, and lastly the suretyship

[382] "Başıboş ve serseri ve kefili olmayan eşhâs-ı mechulü… ve bu misillü adamları suhûletle memleketlerine tard ü def ve Âsitâneyi tathîre dikkat ve ziyâde ihtimâm eyleyesin."
BOA HAT 9428, Quoted from Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order*, 1.

[383] In order to see the analyzing of these registers, see the works of Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran. Başaran, "Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control, and Migration in Istanbul at the end of the Eighteenth Century, 1789 – 1793."; Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans during the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808)"; Kırlı, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı"; Kırlı, "Devlet ve İstatistik: Esnaf Kefalet Defterleri Işığında III. Selim İktidarı," 183-212.

[384] Kırlı, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı."

information for the people who were either residents or temporary guests (*müsafiren sâkin*) is given. However, the information is not uniform for all 284 *han*s recorded in the registers. While they provide detailed information regarding the residents of *han*s that were located outside the city walls (Bahçekapı, Eminönü, Zindankapısı, etc), not much detail is given for the residents of those that were located in the commercial district between the port and the Bedestan. For example, while for Valide Han, all it states is "Valide Han, 320 rooms, occupied by *sarrâf*s, *bezirgan*s and tradesmen, *han* keeper and *odabaşı* are the surety for all of them", Teşrifat Han in Bahçekapı with 13 rooms is described as follows: "11 boatmen in 3 of its rooms, 4 Albanian *salep* salesmen in 1 of its rooms, 6 Vizirial boatmen (*Vezir Sandalcısı*) in 2 of its rooms, 9 back porters (*arka hamalı*) in 2 of its rooms, 4 Muslim boatmen in 1 of its rooms, 3 Muslim lumberjacks (*odun yarıcı*) in 1 of its rooms, 4 non-Muslim boatmen in 1 of its rooms, 4 boatmen in 2 of its rooms are resident, and the *odabaşı* of the above-mentioned *han* is the surety for all these renters."[385] This system of record keeping might have been connected to the desire to establish surveillance mechanisms over places that were considered as the periphery of the city and the people staying in these places were generally considered as strangers or marginal people. For instance, the register records for the 56-room Tevekkül Han located in Irgat Pazarı contain similar information. Irgat Pazarı was a district that was mostly home to laborers and like a port region, it housed marginals. As seen in Table 15 below, this *han* housed 211 residents who were *çizmeci, lağımcı, rençber, çuka, neccar, hamamcı,* and *taşçı*. Of those whose religion is indicated, one third is Muslim and two thirds non-Muslim. While the surety of the *çizmeci* crowd was their master Terkov, the surety of both Muslim and non-Muslim *lağımcı* was a Muslim named Seyyid Halil Beşe. Similarly,

[385]BOA NFD.d. 4, undated. Probably from 1792.

the surety of the non-Muslim *hamamcı* and *taşçı* workers was another Muslim man named Ömer Beşe. In this *han*, each class of artisans was assigned one person as surety.

Table 15. The Suretyship of the Residents of Tevekkül Han in Irgad Bazaar[386]

The Types of Esnaf	Religion	Surety	# of Rooms	# of Persons
Çizmeci esnafı	-	Ustaları Terkov kefildir	5	20
Lağımcı esnafı	Ehl-i İslam	Kethüdaları Seyyid Halil cümlesine kefildir	10	50
Lağımcı	Zimmî	Bunlara dahi merkum Halil Beşe kefildir	5	17
Eskici Esnafı	-	Sıvacıbaşı R. Zimmî cümlesine kefildir.	7	30
Mahalle sakası		-	1	8
Rençberan	Zimmî	H? Zimmî kefildir.	5	30
Neccaran	Zimmî	-	2	10
Çukacı Manol	-	-	1	3
Hamamcı	Zimmî	Ömer Beşe kefildir	5	25
Taşçı	Zimmî	Bunlara dahi merkum Ömer kefildir.	6	18
Hali			5	
		TOTAL	56	211

On the other hand, suretyship assignment in other *han*s differs from the way it is recorded in this *han*. As seen in Table 16, in general either the *han* keeper or the *odabaşı* acts as the surety for all the residents of the *han*. In 1792, for all the 380 Muslim and non-Muslim residents of Vezir Han, which had 105 rooms, the *han* keeper Seyyid İsmail Agha and the *odabaşı* Old Artin were registered as surety. Similarly, the 233 non-Muslim residents of the 53 rooms of Sofçular Han were registered as each other's surety and the *odabaşı* Avanos was the surety of all of them. Similarly, in Büyük Yeni Han on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, which had 164 rooms, the *han* keeper and the *odabaşı* were recorded as the surety of all the *sarrâf*s and (*bezirgan*) merchants' resident in the *han*.

[386] BOA ADVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792.

Table 16. The Surety for *Han* Residents in 1792.

The Name of *Han*	The Type of Esnaf	# of Rooms	# of Persons	Kefil
Elçi Hanı[387]	30 odada Tataran, 4 odada Arabacılar, 7 odada Rençberan-ı İslam, 20 odada Rençberan-ı ehl-i Zimmî	61	105 + tataran	Hancı Hasan Ağa ve Çelebi Ağa cümlesine kefildir.
Süleyman Paşa Hanı[388]	23 odada İslam, 26 odada zimmî ve 21 oda ise hali olup, bazılarında eşya vardır.	70	65	Hancı Hacı Mehmed Ağa cümlesine kefildir.
Vezir Hanı[389]	22 odada İslam, 83 odada zimmî	105	380	Hancı Seyyid İsmail Ağa ve Odabaşı ihtiyar Artin cümlesine kefildir.
Sofçular Hanı[390]	53 odada ehl-i zimmet	53	233	Birbirlerine kefil ve han odabaşısı Avanos zimmî cümlesine kefildir.
Han-ı Kebir-i Cedid[391]	*Sarrâf* ve Bezirgan sâkin	164		Hancı ve odabaşı cümlesine kefildir.
Taş Han[392]	20 odada zimmî rençberan, 4 odasında nakkaş ve çukadar, geri kalanı boş	72		Hancı Seyyid Mustafa Ağa kefil

As seen in the examples above, the political power established an interlinked system in the *han*s of the city where the tradesmen were each other's surety, the master was his assistant's and apprentice's surety, some people holding military titles were the surety of some artisans as a guardianship policy, the *han* keeper or the *odabaşı* was the surety of the temporary residents of the *han*.

5.3 The *han* as home to potential rebels

One of the major reasons for the political power's attempts to prevent or control the migration of people to the Ottoman capital is the perception that these people who were staying as guests (*müsafiren sâkin)* in the city actively contributed to crimes. A

[387] BOA ADVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792
[388] BOA ADVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792
[389] BOA ADVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792
[390] BOA ADVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792
[391] BOA ADVN.d. 836, 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793.
[392] BOA AVDN.d. 837, 15 Z 1207 – 3 M 1208 / July 24, 1793 – August 11, 1793.

decree sent to the officer (zâbit) of İznik janissary order in 1743 makes the following case:

> Anadolu cânibinde vâki‘ ba‘zı kasabât ve kurâ ahâlî ve re‘âyâsından Âsitâne-i aliyye'me vusûl ve vürûd ve hânlar ve bekâr odaları ve evkāf-ı selâtin-i ızâm tâbhâneleri ve ba‘zı hamâm külhânlarına duhûl ile bast-i pür-bâr-ı ku‘ûd eden mechûlü'l-ahvâl ve bekâr eşhâs ve erâzil ve envâ’-ı tezvîrâta tasaddî ile ta’cîze cesâret eyleyen eşirrâ ve esfel makūleleri bulundukları mahallerden ihrâc ve İstanbul Gümrüğü emîni ma‘rifetiyle giden sefâyîne vaz‘ ve İznikmid İskelesi'ne nakl ve ednan vilâyetlerine tesyîr olunmak üzre fermânım olmuşiken, ol tarafdaki zâbitânın adem-i ihtimâmlarından nâşî içlerinden ba‘zıları birkaç eyyâm mahall-i mezbûrda meks ü ikāmet ve hâfî ve âşikâre beren ve bahren yine Âsitâne tarafına avdete cesâret eyledikleri haber verildiği cihetden alâ vechi'l-ihtimâm men‘leri muktezî olmağla imdi ber-vech-i muharrer sefâyîn ile iskele-i mezkûreden nakl olunan ol makūle eşhâs ve esfelin mahall-i merkūmede meks ve tevakkuflarına ve hafî ve âşikâre berren ve bahren gerü İstanbul tarafına mürûrlarına kat‘an ruhsat gösterilmeyüp men‘ ve sedd ile vilâyetleri cânibine ircâ‘ ve tesyîrlerine ihtimâm ve dikkat ve hılâf-ı fermân-ı âlî hareketden ihtirâz ile yine bu tarafa ric‘at murâd edenleri olur ise ahz ve te’dîb ve alâ eyyi-hâl vilâyetlerine sevk ve irsâle bezl ü sa‘y ü kudret eylemek bâbında fermân-ı âlî-şân sâdır olmuşdur. [393]

The decree states that subjects of the sultan from around Istanbul come to the capital city, they find accommodation in *han*s, bachelor's chambers, guesthouses of royal foundations *(tabhanes)*, and bathhouse furnaces, and they live in the city a vagrant's life. Even though this decree employs a cliché expression to accuse these people who are described as "*envâ’-ı tezvîrâta tasaddî ile ta’cîze cesâret eyleyen*" (those intruding in the public order through the engagement in of all sorts of scandals), this is still slightly different from other royal decrees mentioned earlier, in which the reason for the order to expulge them was stated as food and water shortage in the city. What is suggested in this decree is the participation or potential participation of *han* residents in rebellions that took place in Istanbul such as the rebellion of Patrona Halil in 1730, the uprising of artisans in 1740, and almost a century later, the Greek rebellion of 1821. During and following such rebellions, the

[393] BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370, 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743.

political authority attempted to take potential rebels under control through various inspections.

Particularly during and in the aftermath of the rebellions of 1730 and 1740, these temporary residents of the city (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl ve bekâr eşhâs ve erâzil*) were seen as the cause of public disorder and increase in the crimes, and they were designated as destructive to public order.[394] Due to their role in the rebellion of 1730, Mahmud I issued a decree in which he ordered the recording of Albanians working in the bathhouses in the city in order to keep a close eye on them.[395] Numbering approximately 12,000 in Istanbul, Albanian subjects generally found employment in bathhouses and in other trades.[396] Unmarried and unaffiliated Albanians generally stayed in either bathhouse furnaces or *han* rooms. In the period from 1731 to 1752, censuses of Albanians working in bathhouses were carried out in order to keep track of beginning and end of their employment. Approximately two years after the rebellion of 1730, on November 3, 1732 a list of employees of bathhouses within the walled city was made and information on each employee's surety was recorded. The same list also determined the employees who were Albanians. According to this survey, there were 1223 employees working in bathhouses within the walled city and 862 of them, approximately 70% were of Albanian origin.[397] A similar survey was

[394] For the 1730 rebellion, see. Karahasanoğlu, "İstanbul'un Lale Devri mi?: Tarih ve Tarih Yazımı."; Karahasanoğlu, "A Tulip Age: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)"; Aktepe, *1730 İsyanı*.; Olson, "The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics," 329-44.

[395] For the summary of the imperial firman, see. ABK Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, No: B.6, 1 Z 1147 / April 24, 1735.

[396] "Amma askeri ve levendat tayifesi olmayup re'aya oğlı olanlar ekseriyya bu şehirden (Berat) İslambol'a gidüp hammamlarda üstad-ı kâmil olup dellaklık ederler", Evliya Çelebi. Anastasopoulos, "Albanians in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans," 37-47; Aktepe, *1730 İsyanı*, 170.

[397] BOA EV.HMH.d.3496, 15 CA 1145 / November 3, 1732.

carried out in 1752.[398] It included bathhouses both within and outside the walled city, and it indicates that there were a total of 2254 men employed in bathhouses in Istanbul. Even though this survey does not specify those who were Albanian, we can use the record of the hometowns of employees to assume that a significant majority of them were of Albanian origin. Out of the total number of 2254 employees, 71% were from Rumelia and they mostly came from heavily Albanian populated towns such as Avlonya, Istarova, and Görice. It is interesting to note that the percentage of Albanians working in bathhouses in Istanbul did not change during the twenty years following the 1732 survey. This shows that even though the political power exercised a form of surveillance on the Albanians who formed one of the groups of the *han* residents of the city through censuses, it did not follow a policy that forcefully pushed Albanians outside the society or the city.

According to the historian Suphi, in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1740,[399] the political power carried out an inspection to determine and record the people who had arrived in the city in the preceding 10 years.[400] Inspection of *han*s and other accommodation places in and around the city was carried out, based on the claim that the subjects of the sultan evaded taxation by leaving their land in their hometowns, they came to Istanbul in search of easy money and profit and they stayed in shops and *han*s, thus causing extra burden on the food supplies of city residents and loss of imperial tax revenues, in addition to (and more importantly) creating havoc and mischief in the market region of the city. What is even more interesting in this decree is what is requested of the Janissary Agha. The Janissary Agha was requested to raid

[398] BOA KK.d. 7437, 1-25 N 1165 / July 13, – August 6, 1752. For an analysis of this register, see. Ergin, "The Albanian Tellâk Connection: Labor Migration to the Hammams of 18th-Century Istanbul, based on the 1752 İstanbul Hamâmları Defteri," 231-256.

[399] For 1740 Rebellion, see Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire," 185–207.

[400] Ibid., 189.

several *han*s around the Bedestan together with armed officers to find men who fit this description and to send them back to their hometowns. The decree also orders the agha to re-establish the public order among city residents and to meet their needs.[401] This order here may also have been a case of exemplary punishment, a way of warning to the others (*ibreten li'l ğayr*), which the political power exercised often over the coffee shops in the eighteenth century.[402] In terms of setting an example for the other *han*s, the fact that the *han*s located around the Bedestan were targeted supports this assumption because these *han*s were the commercial headquarters for the artisans who were in leading positions during the 1740 rebellion.

Perception of the existence of unidentifiable persons as responsible for the increasing urban crimes is regularly witnessed among the political power's reactions to many events in the city in the following decades. In the aftermath of the Ayasofya incident plot of December 17, 1791, this social group was targeted again. Taking place few decades later, the Greek rebellion was a completely different event, and this time Greeks, as a whole community of Ottoman subjects were the target. Even though Russian citizens during the Ottoman-Russian War[403] and French citizens during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt were subject to similar surveillance,[404] the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire became more obvious targets due to their large numbers and their prominence in Ottoman society, economy and politics.

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[401] ….sadrıa'zam ve Dergâh-ı âli Yeniçerileri Ağası Hasan Paşa hazerâtı kol ile Bezzâzistan kurbunda ba'zı mahallerde birkaç aded hânları basup, ol makûle kimesnelerden bulduklarını ihrâc ve derhâl kayıklarına vaz' ve Üsküdar ve İznikmid'e irsâl ve andan dahi herkes vilâyetlerine gitmek üzre tenbîh ü te'kîd olunup,…
Subhî Mehmed Efendi (Vak'anüvis), *Subhî Tarihi*, 631.

[402] For the policy over İstanbul coffeehouses in early modern period, see. Yaşar, "Külliyen ref'ten "İbreten li'l-ğayr"e: Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Kahvehane Yasaklamaları," 36-44.

[403] Emecen, *İstanbul'un Uzun Dört Yılı (1784-1789), Taylesanizâde Hâfiz Abdullah Efendi Tarihi*, 215.

[404] Gümüş, "Napolyon'un Mısır'ı İşgali Sırasında Osmanlı Topraklarındaki Fransızlar," 249-278.

4.3.1. 1821 The Greek Rebellion and the Inspection of Tradesmen

After the beginning of the Greek rebellion in 1821, one of the first and important operations of the Sublime Porte was to increase surveillance over non-Muslim subjects, particularly Greeks, mainly in Istanbul and in other areas. In order to achieve this, two comprehensive inspections were carried within a month after the start of the rebellion. The first of these was conducted in order to determine the names of subjects who were staying in *han*s in Istanbul, to establish the information of suretyship for every one of them and to expel them who did not have surety; to buy the guns they owned at their market value and to prohibit the ownership of guns, gunpowder and bullets in *han*s in the future; to make sure that no unidentifiable persons or people without surety stayed in *han*s, and to appoint new *han* keepers who were to be chosen from among Muslim subjects (see Appendix A, Figures 69-70).[405] The second inspection aimed to determine the number of Greek residents in each home and neighborhood. It was emphasized that each Greek subject in Istanbul needed to have a surety that would guarantee his reliability and stated that those who did not have a surety should be banished from the city.[406] For this purpose, all Greeks living in the Galata, Tatavla, Kasımpaşa, Hasköy, Yeniköy, İstinye, Çengelköy, Kuzguncuk, Tophane-i Amire, Üsküdar, Kadıköy and Fazlı Pasha districts were taken under record and were kept under surveillance with respect to the above-

[405] "mahmiye-i İstanbul'da kâin mecmu' hânlar derûnlarında mütemekkin olan reâyânın esâmi ve şöhretleri tahrîr ve kefile rabt olunarak kefili olmayanların ihrâçları ve eslihâlarının değer behâlarıyla devşirilmesi ve bundan sonra hânlara kat'a eslihâ ve barut ve kurşun girmemek ve mechûlü'l-ahvâl kefilsiz bir ferd reâyâ iskân ettirilmemek içün hâriçden ve mutlaka ehl-i islâmdan her bir hâna birer nâzır ta'yin ve ikâmesi"

BOA NFS.d. 0008, 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821.

Another version of this register is located among the Başmuhasebe defterleri. BOA A.DVNS.TZEİ.d. 29, 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821. For a new study about this register, see. Demir, "XIX. Yüzyılda Tarihi Yarımada Hanlarının Ekonomik Yönü".

[406] BOA HAT. 51301, undated. BOA HAT. 51281, undated.

mentioned criteria.[407] In addition to these, the political power enacted and followed such other policies as sending Moreans in Istanbul to work in the mines in Sivas, keeping a tight control on the entry and exit of Greeks into and out of Istanbul, and confiscating the property of those Greeks who were involved in the rebellion.[408]

Among these, the policy that is most relevant to our research is the survey and inspection of Greek tradesmen in Istanbul's *han*s and the guns they owned. As part of this policy, in the period following the rebellion, 178 *han*s in Istanbul were inspected and a survey of all non-Muslim tradesmen working or staying in them was carried out together with a list of guns they owned. The work for this inspection and survey was conducted by Ali Agha of the *Dergâh-ı Âli Kapıçıbaşıları, Kâtip* Mehmed Rıfat Efendi, İsmail Efendi of the *Hâcegân-ı Divân-ı Hümâyûn*, Hasan Çavuşağazade Mehmed Bey of the *Dergâh-ı Âli Gediklileri*, Hüseyin Agha the *başçukadar* of Ahmet Paşa. The date March 26, 1821 that appears at the beginning of the register probably shows the beginning of the work. The survey was concluded on April 28, 1821 and the register was entered into the Divan-ı Humayun records on May 14, 1821.

As part of the inspection and survey, located mostly in and around the commercial region of Istanbul, all non-Muslim tradesmen residing in a total of 178 *han*s were recorded together with the guns they owned. Even though the beginning of the register gives the impression that the purpose for the inspection was to determine the guns owned by Greek tradesmen, we observe that Armenian and Jewish tradesmen were also included in the inspection and survey. The register

[407] BOA A.DVNS.TZEİ.d. 29, 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821.

[408] For the measures of political power against the Greek War of Independence, see. Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826," 190-195. On the conflicts and troubles resulting to Ottoman Orthodox reaya because of the Greek uprising see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*.

shows records for a total of 3275 tradesmen, and it indicates that 49 among them owned guns, gunpowder and bullets.

As also seen in Table 17, out of the 178 *han*s, only in 14 of them, and within these 14 *han*s, only in 49 rooms, the existence of guns was recorded. Very few of the *han* residents, approximately 7% of them owned guns. As we have seen in the previous section, the inheritance records of most people who died in *han* rooms showed the existence of guns among their belongings. This relatively lower number of gun ownership is probably due to the fact that the non-Muslim tradesmen and residents of *han*s hid their guns in some way from the surveyors during those days.

Out of the 49 *han* rooms where gun ownership was recorded, 13 were in Sünbüllü Han, 8 in Valide Han, 7 in Büyük Yeni Han, and 6 in Çorapçı Han. In the rest of the *han*s only in one or two rooms gun ownership was recorded. The most important among these is the record of 391 swords made of European steel (*Frenk namlulu kılıç*), that were found in three chests in the rooms of three non-Muslim merchants of European origin staying in Küçük Yeni Han. These swords, which were found in almost no other *han* rooms might either belong to sword merchants, or they might be weaponry to be transported from Istanbul during the Greek rebellion. However, it does not seem possible for us to make a legitimate guess on this issue. It is worth noting that among the weapons collected from *han* residents, firearms were in the majority. There were 35 guns of various types, 22 rifles, 4 flintlocks (*filinta*) and 6 pistols among them. On the other hand, many swords, knives, and *meç* are also encountered in the list.

Table 17. *Han*s where Guns were Found in 1821

		Kılıç	Kılıç	Kılıç	Kılıç	Balta	Bıçak	Bıçak	Kama	Meç	Hançer	Barut	Tüfenk	Tabanca	Tabanca	Palaska	Silahlık	Filinta	Piştov
The Name of Han	Numbers of Rooms	Köhne		Frenk Namlulu	Simli	Simli	Simli				Simli			Tek	Çifte				
Kürkçü Han	1		1											1					
Çorapçı Han	6	1						1	1			1	4			1			
Sünbüllü Han	13		5		3		1	3		2			2	8	6	1	2	3	1
Büyük Yeni Han	7				1			2					1	4	1		1	1	2
Çinili Han	4									2			7	1	5				
Valide Han	8		5			1	1	2		1			4						2
Küçük Yeni Han	2		1	391															
Boncukçu Hanı	2		1										1						
Vezir Hanı	1										1			1					
Kutucu Han	1							1					2						
Kadı Hanı	1																		1
İsmail Efendi Hanı	1							1						1					
Pertev Paşa Hanı	1													2					
Haraççı Han	1						2	1					1	1	4				
TOTAL	49	1	13	391	4	1	4	11	1	5	1	1	22	19	16	2	3	4	6

Source: BOA NFS.d. 0008.

In addition to collecting the guns owned by *han* residents, another purpose of the survey was to appoint external custodians (*hancı*) to all *han*s, who were selected from among Muslim people. Accordingly, after recording the non-Muslim residents of each *han* and the guns they owned, the surety information for *han* residents was given (generally *han* residents were each other's surety, and the *han* agha or *han* keeper or the *odabaşı* was surety for them as well) and finally, the name of the appointed *han* custodian (*nâzır*) is indicated. These newly appointed *han* custodians are present in the registers only as names, no other information about them is provided. The questions of who they were, the wages they were receiving for these appointments, what their position in the management of *han* affairs was, and for how long they stayed in these positions remain to be answered.[409]

5.4 *Han* taverns

The existence of *han* taverns put these spaces within the scope of policies of the political power that aimed to maintain 'public order'. Taverns, which can be defined as places where alcoholic drinks were served and consumed, were essential elements of the everyday life and public spaces of Istanbul as a port city. The taverns that were mostly located in the Eminönü and Galata districts and hence near the ports of Istanbul, offered banter and socializing opportunities accompanied by *meze*s and drinks to both Istanbul residents and the crowds who arrived here with some money and free time.

[409] For a study about the *han* managers in late Ottoman İstanbul, see. Turna, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Han Yöneticileri-Odabaşılar," 195-216.

However, unable to find a legitimate ground for themselves in the city, the taverns were a constant focus of attention on the part of the political authority. In the imperial history of the Ottomans, particularly starting with the period of Selim II, almost each new sultan prohibited the operation of taverns as one of the first actions they took after they were enthroned. However, following every prohibition, taverns returned to the everyday life of the city after they functioning as "*koltuk*" for some time. It is possible to explain the attitude of the political authority towards taverns with reference to two realities: one is that the tax rate applied on alcoholic drinks was very high; the other is that taverns were regarded hothouses of moral degeneration. Even though taverns were frequently prohibited from functioning and closed down from the later sixteenth century onwards on grounds that they were destructive to the public order, they were reopened, in part due to the high amount of tax revenue coming from the sale of alcoholic drinks.[410]

It is possible to see the spatial topography of Istanbul's taverns based on an archival document that shows records of the taverns that existed in Istanbul both ın the walled city and in the three extramural districts (*Bilâd-ı Selâse*) in the year 1827 (see Appendix A, Figure 64).[411] This document indicates the location of 560 taverns (placing each in a neighborhood, street, *han*, or by its proximity to a landmark) that existed in the aforementioned districts of Istanbul, and provides the name of the owner for each tavern. According to this document, taverns were mostly located outside the city walls and in neighborhoods that were generally dominated by non-

[410] "Lâkin Al-i Osmân'ın esbâb-ı ihtişâmı çok olmağile masârîf dahi ziyâde olup emr-i Hudâ üzre bu şarâbı men' etmeyüp senevî (—) kîse hâsıl olur başka emânet-i kübrâdır, kim bâlâda tahrîr olunan otuz üçüncü emînin biri dahi budur. Galata'da Domuzkapusu'nda sâkin olur, emîn-i bî-dîn hâneleri vardır. Üç yüz tevâbi'e mâlik büyük emânetdir." Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, I, 355.
"Devletin en büyük vâridatından dolayı zecriye resmini inzibât altına almak üzere..." bk. BOA C.ML. 25227, 8 M 1208/August 16, 1793.

[411] BOA D.BŞM.ZCR.d. 20446, 29 Z 1242 / July 24, 1827.

Muslim populations. According to another register dated to 1829 preserved among the records of Chief Accountant, there were 554 taverns in Istanbul that held *gediks*. These taverns were operated by Greek, Armenian or Jewish tradesmen.[412]

According to the register from 1827, out of the 560 taverns recorded, 14 operated within *han*s, some of which were located within the walled city. As seen in Table 18, *han* taverns were located in the commercial district of Istanbul. 12 of the 14 were recorded as "*koltuk*", while two were recorded as "*şerbethane*". The term "koltuk" here was generally used for small-scale taverns or for secretly operated businesses that emerged during the periods of prohibition. The meaning of the word used in this register most probably refers to its size as *han* shops and rooms were generally small building units.[413]

Table 18. The Taverns that were Located in Istanbul's *Han*s in 1827

Number	The Name of *Han*	Type of Tavern
1	Katır Han in Kantarcılar	Koltuk
2	Çorapçı Han	Koltuk
3	Baklacı Han	Koltuk
4	Vezir Han	Koltuk
5	Yağlıkçı Han	Koltuk
6	Sarraç Han	Şerbethane
7	Taş Han	Şerbethane
8	Çizmeci Han	Koltuk
9	Valide Han	Koltuk
10	Börekçi Han	Koltuk
11	Yeni Han in Ketenciler	Koltuk
12	Çavuşbaşı Han in Hasırcılar	Koltuk
13	Tahta Han	Koltuk
14	Süleyman Paşa Han	Koltuk

Source: BOA D.BŞM.ZCR.d. 20446.

[412] BOA C.BLD, 4431, 19 C 1245 / December 16, 1829. Quoted from Hezarfen, "Hicri 1245'te (1829) Başmuhasebeye Gedik Olarak Kayıtlı İstanbul Meyhaneleri," 36-39.

[413] Neumann, "A contribution to the social geography of alcohol in mid-nineteenth century Istanbul," 173-84.

According to the inspection records from 1829, there were 10 taverns located within *han*s in the walled city, which had been granted trade privileges and were allowed to operate.[414] These 10 taverns that were located in Baklacı Han, Vezir Han, Yağlıkçı Han, Saraç Han, Taş Han, Çizmeci Han, Valide Han, Kürkçü Han, Sabuncu Han and Çarşıbaşı Han were also designated as *'koltuk'*. Therefore, we can see *han* taverns as small-scale businesses that mostly served *han* residents and people who lived or worked nearby. However, the appearance of these small-scale businesses in official documents grants them a larger identity than their actual physical presence.

In 1694, the Muslim residents of Mahmud Pasha Han (Kürkçü Han) complained to the court of justice that the prayers they performed five times a day in the small mosque located in the courtyard of the *han* were negatively affected by the crowd of infidels who drank alcohol in *han* rooms, and therefore they demanded the prevention of this.[415] Accordingly, the sultan's royal decree to *İstanbul kāimmakāmı* and *müfettiş i evkāf vekîli* ordered the conflict between Muslim residents and non-Muslim to be resolved in qadı court. In 1718 residents of the Yedikule neighborhood filed a complaint about the tavern that was opened in Kör Ali Agha Han located outside of Yedikule.[416] Their main complaint was that two non-Muslims came and opened a tavern in the *han* where they were serving alcohol and that some thugs who drank in this tavern were attacking and assaulting children of the neighborhood who passed through the street of the *han* (*mahallelerinden mürûr u ubûr eden evlâdlarına taarruz ve teaddî*). Upon this, the sultan issued a decree ordering the prevention of alcohol consumption, followed by a note on the protection of the residents of the neighborhood against harm from consumers of alcoholic beverages.

[414] BOA C.BLD. 4431, 19 C 1245 / December 16, 1829.
[415] BOA A.DVNS.ŞKT.d. 18/178/845, Evail-i M 1106 / August 22-31, 1694.
[416] BOA A.DVNS.ŞKT.d. 72/544/3, Evasıt-ı RA 1130 / February, 12-21 1718.

In 1741, the court issued a decree ordering that no youths be employed as servants in taverns that were located in and around Kumkapı, Yenikapı, Samatya and in some *han*s in order to prevent harmful practices.[417] According to another royal decree from 1767, on the other hand, it is noted that the keeper of Süleyman Pasha Han on Fazlıpaşa Street was Armenian and that even though it had been prohibited on two occasions, a tavern was opened in the *han* again, making it impossible for families and children to go about their business on the street. The decree therefore ordered this tavern to be shut down.[418] Another decree from 1818 states that a *şerbethane* in Kanbur Han, in Sarı Demir neighborhood located in the commercial district, formerly designated as "*koltuk*", was turned into a tavern. The decree ordered it to be turned back into its former function.[419] This last decree in a way clarifies the use of the term "*koltuk*" that was often used to describe the taverns located inside *han*s. That is, the decree indicates that this space that was designated as "*koltuk*" used to function as a "*şerbethane*", but the owners turned it into a tavern (meyhane) by perhaps expanding its physical size. In all the examples above, we observe that a control mechanism was established over taverns that were located inside *han*s and designated as "*koltuk*". Archival records state that these places were frequented by "the mobs of unruly and depraved men" (*eşkıyâ, kalyoncu, and levandât tâifesi*), that they "gathered in these places and were immoral" (*cem'iyyet ve fisk üzre olup*), that they get intoxicated by "drinking alcoholic beverages" (*şürb-i hamr*) and in some cases they kept Muslims "from performing their prayers" (*müslimân tâyifesi edâ yı salâtda küllî müteezzîler olmalarıyla*), and in other cases they "attack and harrass men and women arriving at or leaving the neighborhood" (*mahallelerinden mürûr u*

[417] BOA C.BLD. 96/4786, 29 Z 1153 / March 17, 1741.
[418] BOA HAT. 17/734, 29 Z 1180 / May 28, 1767.
[419] BOA C.BLD. 39/1944, 29 R 1233 / March 8, 1818.

ubûr eden evlâdlarına taarruz ve teaddî). The vocabulary used in these prohibition decrees reveals the exclusion of spaces and practices of alcohol consumption, including those in *han*s, from the imagined ideal public order centered on particular moral values.

5.5 The political power and its discourse over *han*s

Within the framework of the historical practices discussed above, people who resided in *han*s and bachelor's chambers were described as, "unidentifiable persons" (*eşhâs-ı mechûlü'l-ahvâl)*[420], "unidentifiable persons, bachelors and despicable people" (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl ve bekâr eşhâs ve erâzil*)[421], "unruly and depraved persons" (*eşirrâ ve esfel makûleleri*)[422], "bachelors, *levend*, and the mobs of unruly men" (*mücerredîn ve levendât vesair eşkıyâ makūlesi*)[423] in official documents. These people were doing "intruded in the public order through their engagement in of all sorts of scandals" (*envâ'-ı tezvîrâta tasaddî ile ta'cîze cesâret*[424]), and "engaged publicly and shamelessly in all sorts of indecent activities and debauchery " (*bilâ tehâşî alanen envâ'-ı fısk u fesâd*)[425], in some particular circumstances they used *han* rooms to "bring together the crowds of evil men" (*nice mütelebbis eşirrâyı başına cem*)[426], some of them "came together immorally every evening" (*her ahşâm cem'iyyet ve fısk üzre*)[427], and because of these people, "men and women from the

[420]BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/162, 1 C 1155 / August 3, 1742.
[421]BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370, 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743.
[422]BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370, 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743.
[423]BOA A.DVNS.ŞKT.d. 29/140/645 Evâil-i S 1110 / August 9-18, 1698.
[424]BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370, 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743.
[425] BOA C.ZB. 1675. Quoted from Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 259.
[426]BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 174/143/2, Evâhir-i R 1164 / 19-27 March, 1751.
[427]BOA A.DVNS.ŞKT.d. 29/140/645 Evâil-i S 1110 / 9-18 August, 1698.

neighborhood could do not walk around the area" (*mahall-i mezburden ricâl ve nisvân murûr ve ubûra mütecâsir olamayıp*)[428].

The political discourse employed in these documents in reference to both people who resided in *han*s and their actions in and around *han*s show us how public order and disorder were perceived by the political power in early modern Istanbul. The language of urban order in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, dealing with unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl*), show how the residents of *han*s and what took place in the *han* as a public space were perceived by the political power.[429]

Hamadeh analyzes the surveillance mechanisms over beggars, bachelors, and prostitutes who lived in 'mean streets' in the Istanbul of the period between ca. 1720 and 1840. In this study, Hamadeh claims that the language of urban order that targeted these groups operated with the assumption that "the regulation of space could produce a desired social and moral order in the city".[430] It might be possible to analyze the language and practices of the political power in relation to public order or disorder around the concepts of "*mefâsid"* and "*maslaha"*.

The concept of *mefâsid* which was referred to at the beginning of this chapter, can contribute significantly to our understanding of early modern period surveillance of the public sphere and the envisaged public order centered around moral norms. *Mefâsid* is the plural of the word *mefsede*, which means "causing degeneracy, containing corruption and harm". In Ottoman practice, *mefsede* was used as the corruption or degeneration of social harmony either within a social group or in

[428] BOA C.ZB. 1675. Quoted from Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 260.

[429]For a discussion about the relation betweeen space and moral order, see. Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul."

[430]Ibid., 254.

society as a whole, resulting in verbal or physical harm to others.[431] With regard to this meaning, the conceptual framework that was employed in reference to the actions of the unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl*) in *han*s, defines these people as those whose actions were wrong and contradictory to the general principles of society, those who did not listen to advice and for whom nobody would stand as surety. The actions of these people both in *han* rooms and around *han* spaces were perceived as destructive to the order of the permanent residents of these neighborhoods, who are named in legal documents in reference to normative society as "servants of God" (*ibadullah*), "men, women and children" (*ricâl, nisvân ve evlâd*), "honorable and respectful people" (*zurâfa, ehl-i ırz kulları*).[432] In fiqh literature, the concept of *mefsede* is generally mentioned together with the concept of *maslaha*, which means the "redressing of wrongs".[433] In this sense, *mefsede* is included among the universal principles of the *Mecelle* where it is formulated as "*def-i mefâsid celb-i menâfiden evlâdır*" (The elimination of evils precedes the attainment of the goods).[434] Indeed, this formulation reminds us that the elimination of things that are harmful to society for public good should be a priority among the political power's duties. In this context, the political power acted with the presupposition that the high number of *han*s in the Ottoman capital in the eighteenth century led to an increase in criminal activity and attempted to take necessary steps to eliminate the occurrence of these harmful acts. The fact that *han*s offered accommodation to unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl)*, that *han*s were used as headquarters in potential rebellions, and the existence of taverns in *han* buildings led

[431]Akarlı, "Maslaha: From 'Common Good' to 'Raison D'état' in the Experience of Istanbul Artisans, 1730-1840," 63-79. ("İstanbul Esnafı Örneğinde 'Kamu Yararı'ndan 'Devlet Çıkarı'na Maslaha, 1730-1840, 8-99.)

[432] Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Urban Order and Moral Space in Early Modern Istanbul," 254.

[433] Dönmez, "Maslahat," 79-94.

[434] Koca, "Mefsedet," 356-358.

to the perception of *han* spaces as hothouses of *mefsede*. Accordingly, the political power, as discussed throughout this chapter, attempted to develop surveillance mechanisms over these spaces and the residents of these spaces through various forms of inspection of artisans and a system of suretyship. As in the case of Albanians and their presumed role in the rebellion of 1730, these inspections were carried out not as a way of pushing certain groups out of the city and urban society but to take them under surveillance. Indeed, even though the instructions for the inspections of the unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl*) include sending those without suretyship out of the city, the practice gives the impression that instead of the application of this instruction, they followed the policy of making these people a part of the system by turning them into the identifiable persons (*mefûlü'l-ahvâl*).

In conclusion, in this chapter I tried to analyze the attempts of the political power to take the urban public space under surveillance, following from the assumption that the existence of a high number of *han*s caused various *mefsede*. In particular, the chapter first focused on the analysis of such issues which stand out in archival documents as the fact that the *han*s provided accommodation for the unidentifiable persons (*mechûlü'l-ahvâl)*, that they were gathering places for potential rebels, and the existence of the taverns designated as "koltuk" within *han*s, which had the potential to cause harm to the public order centered around moral norms, and then it analyzed what kind of the surveillance mechanisms the political power developed against these *mefâsid*.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis, which focuses on urban *han*s, has been conducted to understand the dynamics of urban spaces in early modern Ottoman Istanbul. The different chapters analyze the spatial distribution of the *han*s within the city in the early nineteenth century, their construction processes, the socialization patterns of their users, and the state's mechanisms of surveillance over them.

The building of *han*s and commercial spaces which was an integral part of the project of constructing an 'imperial capital' that was initiated by the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmed II in 1459 was intensified especially in the second half of the sixteenth century with the construction boom under the leadership of Mimar Sinan. After a relatively slow period of *han* construction in the seventeenth century (with the notable exceptions of Valide Han in 1650 and Vezir Han in 1659), *han* construction intensified again with the ascension of the new sultan to throne in Istanbul in 1703. This brought with it a new wave of masonry construction. The *han* architecture in Istanbul took a modern shape in the second half of the nineteenth century with the start of the construction of bureau *han*s. The historical process outlined here lasted approximately 450 years; the period that was chosen as the subject of this thesis is the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The new *han* projects in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries with their transformative consequence on the landscape of Istanbul and their revitalized role come to the forefront in this study.

This thesis argues that Mehmed II's project of the construction of an imperial capital took its ultimate form in terms of commercial spaces in the eighteenth century. This process started with the closing of the market region with a roof in

1701, quickened with the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Complex near the *Bedestan* from 1749 to 1755, and continued with the construction of Büyük Yeni Han and multitude of others in commercial district. Urban *han*s were debatably the most instrumental construction type in understanding this process. In fact, the *han*s of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Istanbul can be distinguished from both the *han*s prior to 1701 and the bureau *han*s of the second half of the nineteenth century. The innovations in *han* construction during this period, the visibly increasing number of *han*s, the masonry construction styles, and their expanded functions within urban space set the *han*s of this period apart. These *han*s with their increasing number and innovative styles, shaped in general terms the development of the commercial region of the Ottoman capital in the eighteenth century.

Determining the spatial distribution of *han*s in Istanbul in general and in particular in the commercial district was crucial in order to be able to sustain discussions about these spaces. For this purpose, this thesis attempted to reproduce a map of the spatial settings of *han*s that were in operation in Ottoman Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century as reflected in certain archival documents. Based on the records of a *han* survey that was carried out in the early nineteenth century, such issues as the districts where *han*s were found in clusters, the names of major *han*s, the numbers of rooms in each *han*, and the differences between *han*s and bachelor's chambers were presented by way of GIS technology and discussed. An important point that is presented by this study is that even though in terms of number and activity, the commercial area between the port region and the grand bazaar region centered around the Bedestan, was the main region for *han*s, many small and medium scale *han*s operated in other districts of Istanbul as well such as Fatih, Kadırga, Kasımpaşa, and Üsküdar.

Moreover, thanks to the information on the numbers of rooms found in archival documents, it was possible to determine the size and spatial distribution of *han*s in the city. Of 418 *han*s that were recorded, 395 whose numbers of rooms are indicated have a total of 9618 rooms; that is, on average 25 rooms per *han*. By accepting the numbers of rooms ranging from 1 to 248 as a variable, and considering the basic specialties of the *han*s listed, I categorized *han*s statistically in five scales – very small, small, medium, large and very large. Seven extra-scale *han*s and 28 *han*s out of a total of 32 *han*s categorized as large-scale, were located in commercial district, only Taş Han in Cukurçeşme, Şekerci Han and Büyük Yeni Han in Fatih and Çıtak Han in Kasımpaşa (large-scale *han*s) were placed outside the main commercial area. Other medium (119), small (111) and very small scale (126) *han*s were located in various parts of greater Istanbul. In a similar vein, by considering both the numbers of rooms and the functions of *han*s, I have reached a description for a typical urban *han* as being "about 40 to 50 rooms that are lined around a courtyard in two floors, with the second floor rooms opening up to a gallery, which might include a coffee shop, a water reservoir, toilets, a stable, which might have a couple of shops on the outside, and which employed an *odabaşı* who was in charge of everyday matters".

After determining the distribution, locality and size of *han*s in the urban space, the construction dynamics of *han*s in the eighteenth century were scrutinized as one of the main concerns of this thesis. After the covering of the market region around the Bedestan with a brick and stone roof in 1701, and the move of the sultan's main residence back to the capital in 1703, an intense construction activity started in Istanbul. The construction (*müceddeden inşâ*) and renovation (*tecdîd*) of *han*s were part of this dynamic. Throughout the eighteenth century the debate on timber versus

masonry construction continued. In the first half of the century, *han*s were built or renovated with masonry construction particularly under the patronage of the bridegrooms (*damad*) of the imperial family. The visibility of the sultan's presence in the urban space was established with the completion of the Nuruosmaniye Complex in 1755, and the same trend continued with the construction of royal mosques and *han* projects during the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). In this context, Mustafa III's construction of Büyük Yeni Han between 1761 and 1763 is sufficiently representative of Sultan's and dynasty's presence and intervention in the capital city's commercial space during the period that this thesis deals with. Büyük Yeni Han, which was a sultanic enterprise, was built on the western side of the Grand Bazaar, in the area called the Çakmakçılar Ramp in Mercan. This ramp constitutes an important part of the commercial region, which started to develop with the construction of Büyük Valide Han in the middle of the seventeenth century and acquired greater prominence with the construction of Büyük Yeni Han and many other han buildings that followed it. With the relocation of *sarrâf*s to this area at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the heart of commerce and money expanded from the Grand Bazaar centered around the Bedestan to include Çakmakçılar Ramp. In other words, researching the construction process of Büyük Yeni Han and the relocation of *sarrâf*s to this area allows us to see the issues of spatial control of the financial exchange mechanisms.

In addition to revealing the possible symbolic meanings of the construction, research on the building process of Büyük Yeni Han contributed to our knowledge about the material culture of *han* construction in eighteenth-century Istanbul. This sultanic architectural enterprise is exceptionally well-documented. To my knowledge, such documentation does not exist for any other han project of the

period. The particular aspects of the construction process including the procurement of the land for the construction, the appointment of the building supervisor (*bina emini*), obtaining funds for the construction expenses, the establishment of the foundation (*waqf*) for the *han*, and its incorporation into the *gedik* system are studied in detail. By way of examining the innovative architecture of the *han*, its functions in economic sphere, and its visibility in the public space of the city, this thesis claims that the court intervened in the capital city's commercial space and tried to control the spatial and economic dynamics in it.

Another aspect of these discussions is whether the intense *han* construction activity in the eighteenth century was the outcome of the economic growth during this period or an instigator for this economic growth. As seen in the example of Büyük Yeni Han, on the one hand, these elements of commercial infrastructure were built in the city as a result of the increase in both domestic and international trade and the growing economy; while on the other hand, the construction of these new masonry structures in the capital stimulated economic and commercial development. In other words, the construction of *han*s was both the object and the agent of urban development. In this manner, these imperial *han* investments in Istanbul can be seen as a result of the increasing trade in the Mediterranean, as well as a cause of the increase in the total volume of trade over land and sea.

The *han*s of early modern Ottoman Istanbul functioned both as commercial spaces for tradesmen and artisans and as residential spaces for those who were staying in the city as temporary guests. We encounter *han*s of this period as spaces where various people (tradesmen, soldiers, travelers, bachelors, different religious groups, etc.) lived together through conflict and compromise. As seen in the inheritance records of people who died in the capital city while residing in *han*

rooms, different aspects of life such as work, worship, trade existed together in *han* spaces that were used for such residential purposes as sleeping, eating, resting and socializing. Reflected in *han* architecture, the fact that *han*s contained many sections (coffee stall, small mosque, fountain, stables, water well, storage, vaults, etc.) both reinforced and reproduced this multifaceted nature of life in the *han*s. In other words, this dissertation displays that the han, with the array of functions it housed, was a self-sufficient spatial unity.

Various performative practices that were carried out in the *han* courtyard and galleries, which constitute the public sections of *han*s, offer the possibility of assessing *han*s in terms of publicity, sociability, and performativity. Particularly ram fights, performances by poet-singers, and various other spectacles that took place in *han* courtyards turn *han*s into spaces of public expression. *Han*s as social thresholds functioned in Ottoman Istanbul as spaces where people from different religious communities, and different social statuses coexisted, utilized the same spaces while maintaining and performing their own identities. The focus of this thesis on conviviality, sociality, and theatricality as integral aspects of the uses of *han*s, thus aims to spatialize the public realm within a particular context of early modern Istanbul.

In the final chapter of the thesis, the surveillance mechanisms of the political power over *han* space within the framework of a morality-centered conception of public order were addressed. The political power made attempts to keep the public domain under control through surveillance of *han* spaces based on the premise that the increasing number of *han*s in Istanbul was the cause of various evils (*Hânların kesreti mefâsid-i kesireyi mûcib olduğu*). Particularly the fact that *han*s offered accommodation to unidentifiable persons and potential rebels, and that the taverns

(called *koltuk*) located inside *han*s, which had a disruptive potential to the morality-centered public order, made the *han*s a particular target for the political power. As this thesis has shown, the state actors attempted to keep these social and spatial practices that were seen as sources of evil under surveillance through various surveys of artisans and bans that were implemented on grounds that they were for the common good (*maslaha*).

This thesis has tried to make contributions to the study of Istanbul *han*s particularly through the use of new archival documents, and has brought to light the specifics of a set of processes regarding their construction and use. The evaluation of the spatial topography and density map of *han*s through the study of early nineteenth century *han* survey, the process of a *han*'s construction from the procurement of land through the appointment of *gedik*s based on the specific example of Büyük Yeni Han, the emergence of Çakmakçılar Ramp as a locus for *sarraf*s in particular can be counted among the contributions of this thesis to the literature on *han*s in terms of spatial and topographic issues. In terms of the use and control mechanisms, the use of *han* rooms both as commercial and residential spaces, the study of the material culture of those who died while residing in *han* rooms as reflected in Military *Kassam* Registers, the performative public expressions and the practices of convivial living established around them in *han* courtyards, *han*s as accommodation places for potential rebels, and the surveillance mechanisms of the political power over *han* spaces through *han* surveys can also be considered among the contributions of this thesis.

As the focus has been on space, construction, conviviality, and surveillance, other aspects regarding the *han* in the eighteenth-century Istanbul have not been addressed. Future work on *han*s can focus on such topics as the mapping of spatial

transformation of Istanbul throughout the eighteenth century through the comparison of early nineteenth century census records with earlier census records if available, the use of *han*s as commercial spaces by different artisanal and trade networks through an in-depth study, *han* investments other than the sultan, his retinue, and members of the dynasty, the relation between the rise of *gedik* system and visibility of hans in early modern period, cross-cultural interactions as played out in *han* spaces. Moreover, our knowledge of the relationship of *han*s with other physical structures such as public baths, coffeehouses, dervish lodges, mosque courtyards, and taverns that constitute the urban public space can only be increased after our knowledge about each of these spaces is expanded.

This thesis is a step towards understanding the early modern Istanbul's *han* scene through the study of archival documents, contemporary chronicles, and secondary literature, but it is not a final account of it.

APPENDIX A.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES AND THEIR TRANSCRIPTIONS

Dersa'âdet ve Bilâd-ı Selase'de bulunan hânların mahal ü isimlerini mübeyyin defteri

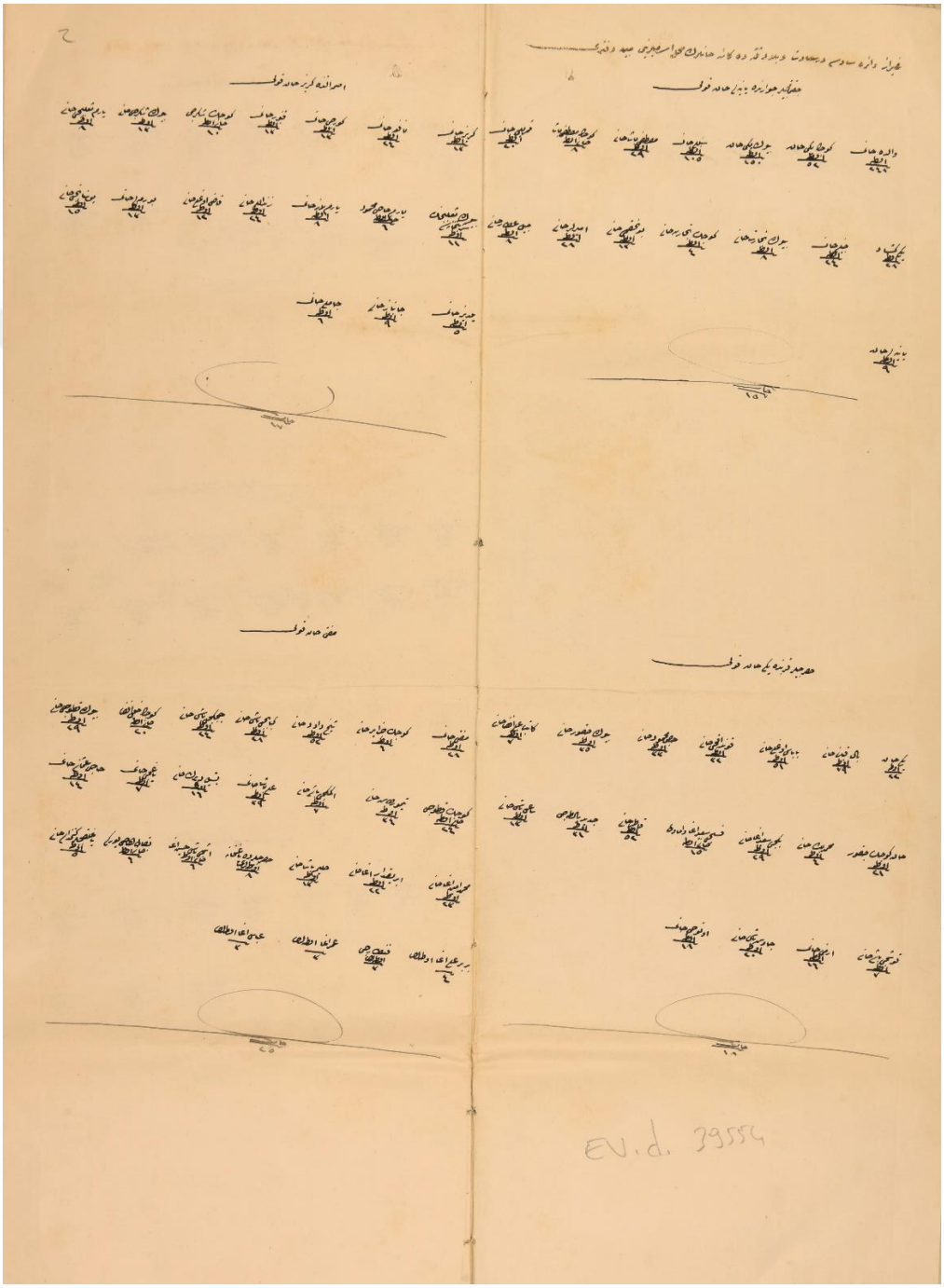


Figure 36. The register containing the locations and names of *han*s located within intramural Istanbul and the three boroughs, undated, probably from early nineteenth century. (First page of 8 pages). (BOA ED.d. 39554).

Dersa’âdet ve Bilâd-ı Selase'de bulunan hânların mahal ü isimlerini mübeyyin defteri

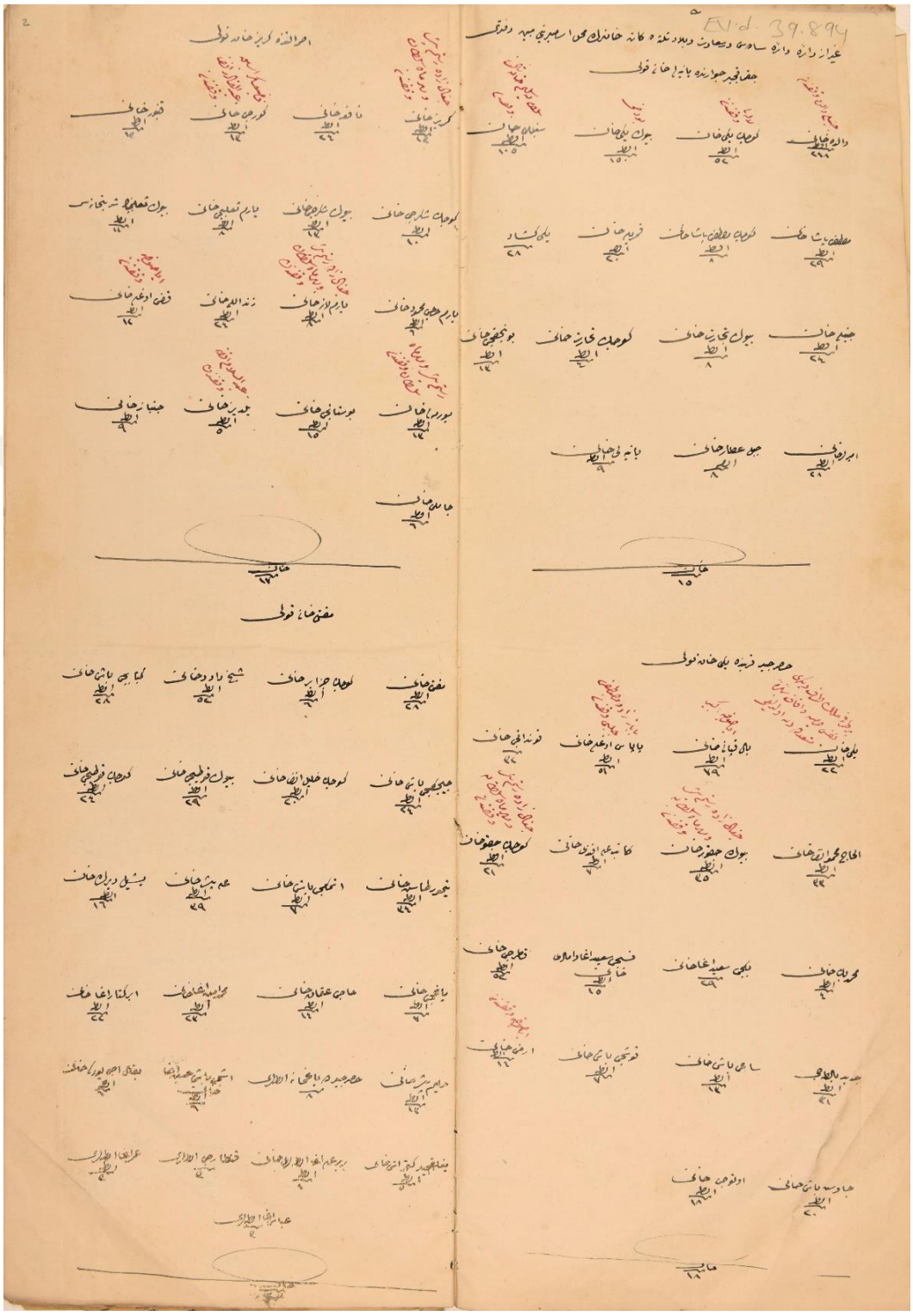


Figure 37. The register containing the locations and names of *han*s located within intramural Istanbul and the three boroughs, undated, probably from early nineteenth century. (First page of 9 pages). (BOA ED.d. 39894).

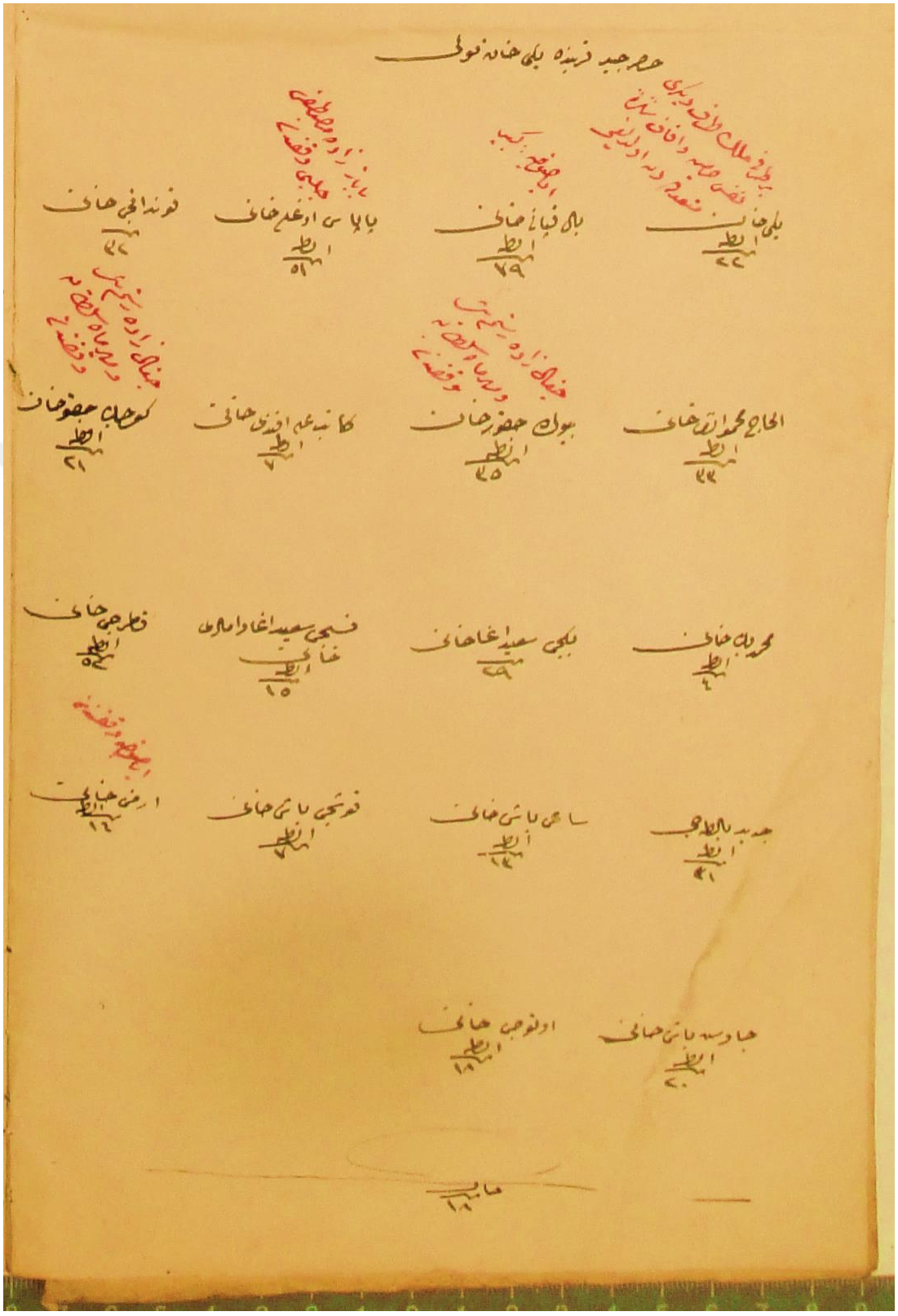


Figure 38. A detail from the register presented in figure 37, with a list of *han*s near Hasırcılar, undated, probably from early nineteenth century. (BOA ED.d. 39894).

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Nezâret-i Evkâf-ı Hümâyûnda bulunan hânlar hâncılar kethüdası ma'rifetiyle tahkik ve terkim olunub isimlerini mübeyyin defteridir.

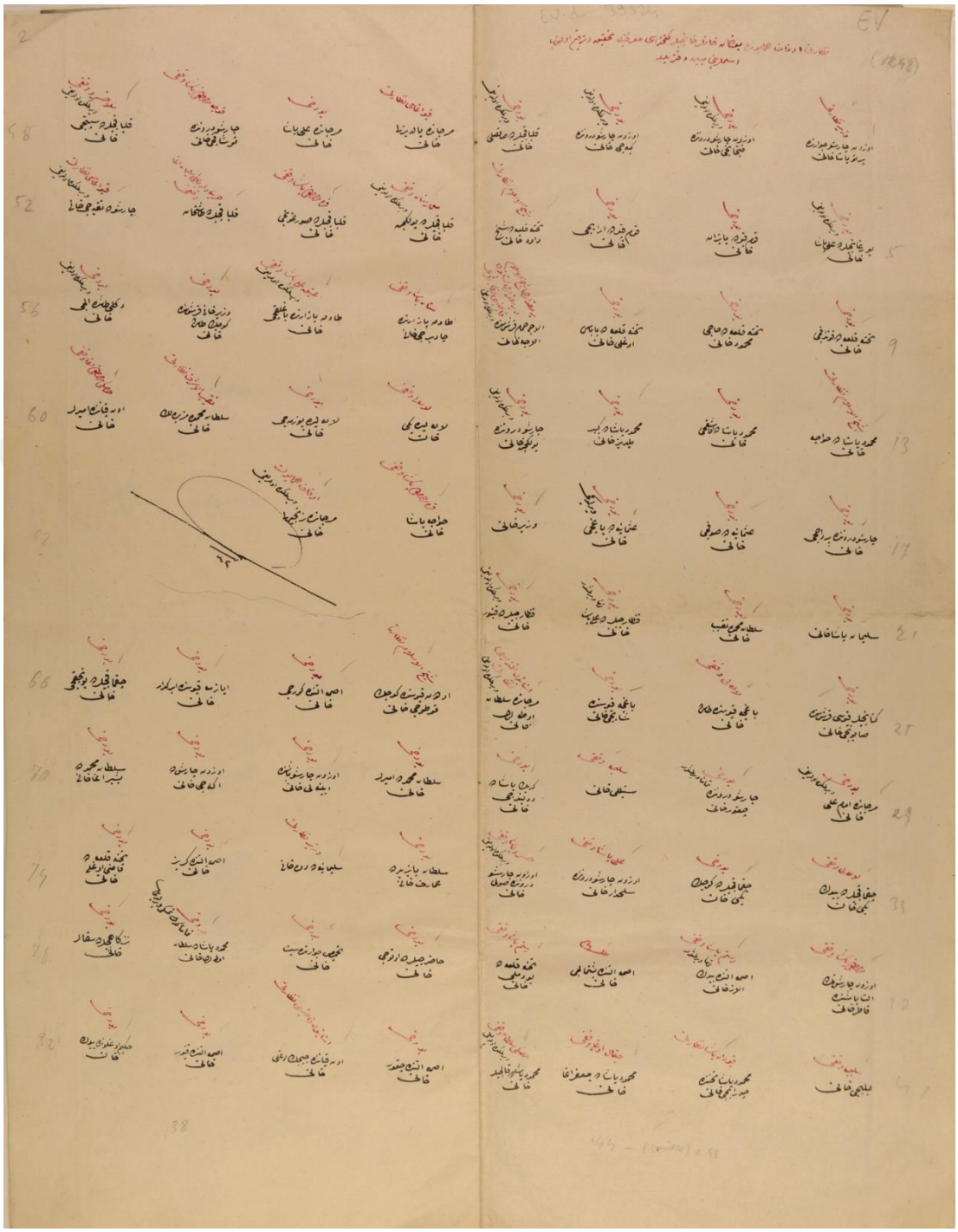


Figure 39. The register containing the names and ownership of 129 *han*s under the Imperial Directorate of Endowments (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun*) prepared by the *Hancılar Kethüdası*, undated, probably from early nineteenth century. (First page of 2 pages) (BOA ED.d. 39524).

Bahçekapısı haricinde olan hân ve dekâkîn ve iskelelerde mevcut kayıklar ve kayıkçıları

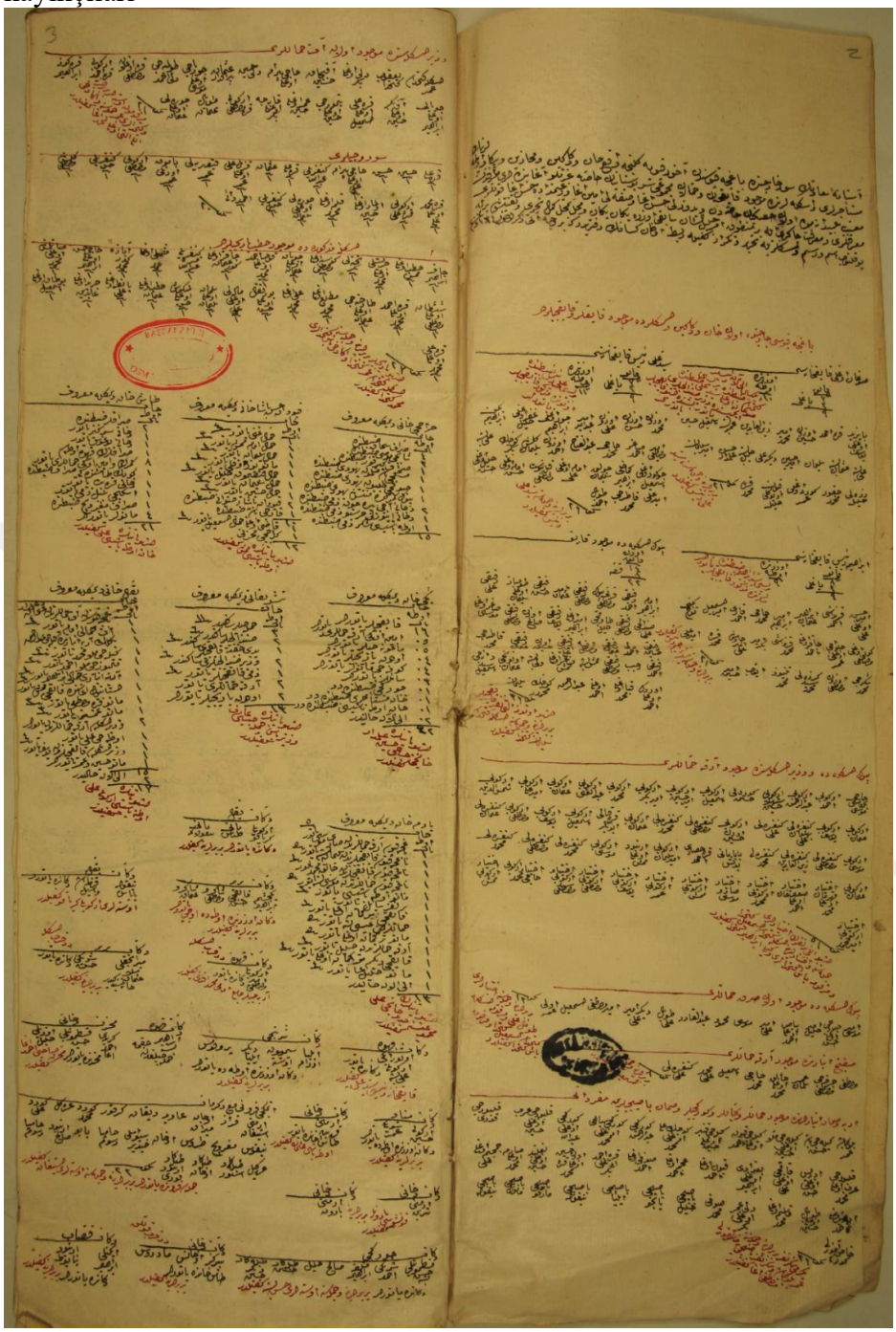


Figure 40. The register containing inspection records identifying oarsmen, porters and others without a legitimate occupation in Istanbul, residing in extramural hans, shops, vaults and bachelor chambers and landings between Bağçekapu and Ahurkapu, dated 13 R 1207 / November 28, 1792. (First page of 37 pages) (BOA A.DVN.d. 834).



Figure 41. The register containing inspection records produced to identify the potential mischief-makers (*bila kefil ve başıbozuk ve serseri geşt ü güzar iden mechulü'l-ahval*) in the hans, shops, bachelor chambers and other such spaces, beginning with the area around the Bayezid Mosque, and contiuning on to the Osmaniye [mosque] and Mahmud Paşa, to Bahçekapı, Kazgancılar, the Great Bazaar, Kitabcılar, the Kazgancılar area within Zindankapu, on to Ayazma and Odunkapusı, Vefa Meydanı and Süleymaniye, encompassing the northeastern section of the walled city, dated 1 ZA 1207 / June 10, 1793. (Fourth page of 12 pages). (BOA A.DVN.d. 836).

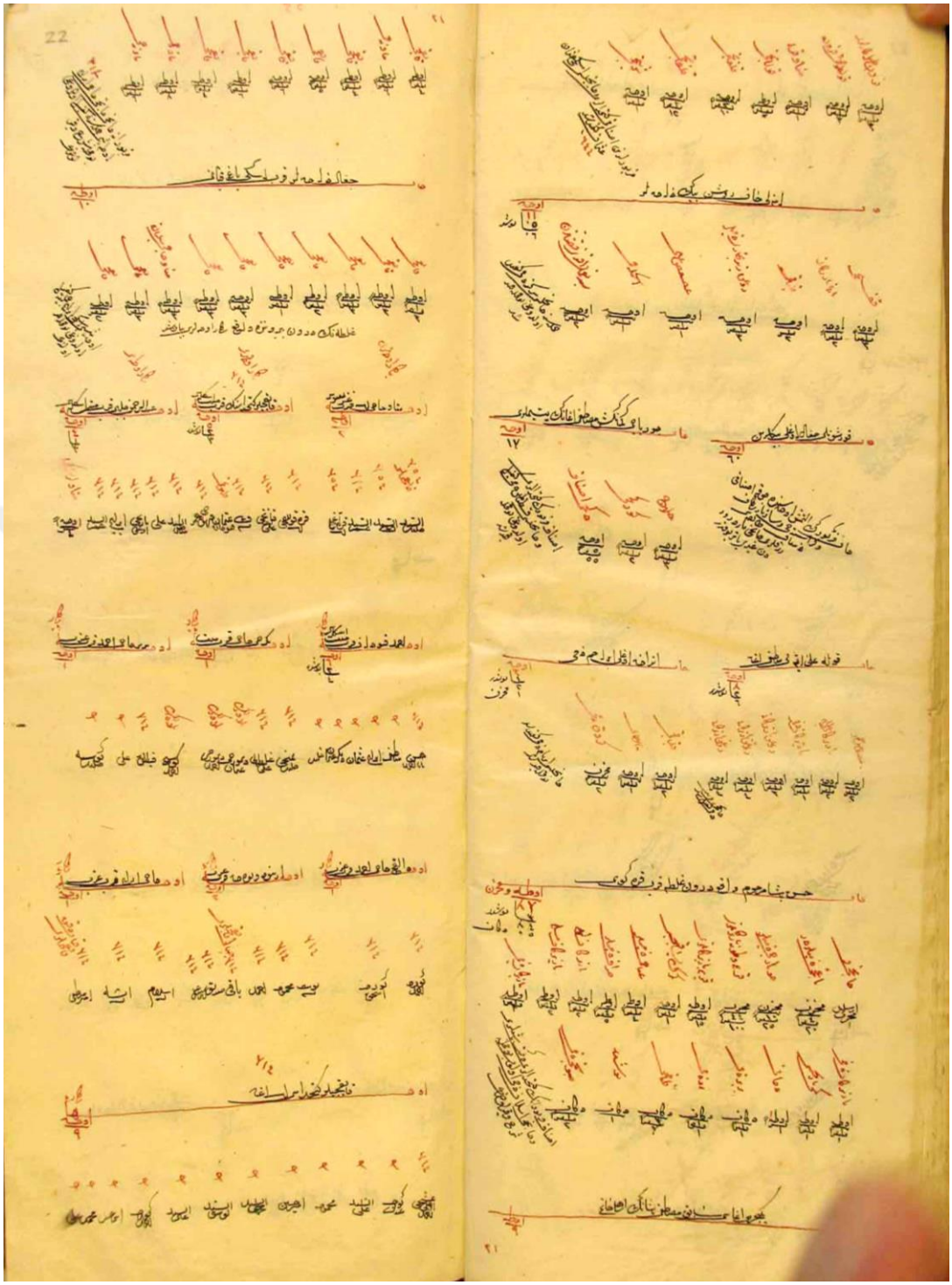


Figure 42. The register containing the inspection and survey of artisans and tradesmen with information on their sureties in the districts of Galata, Kasımpaşa and their environs, dated 19 N 1176 - 23 M 1177 / April 3, 1763 – August 3, 1763. (21th page of 26 pages, the section of the document on the *han*s in Galata and Kasımpaşa). (Atatürk Kitaplığı, M. Cevdet, B0010).

Ya Fettâh Ya Rezzâk
Berây-ı defter hân-ı cedîd-i kebîrin odahahları ve ? ve ashabları resimli teharri te'dât ve müfredât beyân olunur fi an Gurre-i M ila Gâye-i Z 1194



Figure 43. An inventory of the occupants of Büyük Yeni Han and their monthly rents, dated 1194 / 1780. (First page of 16 pages). (BOA DBŞM.d. 04928).

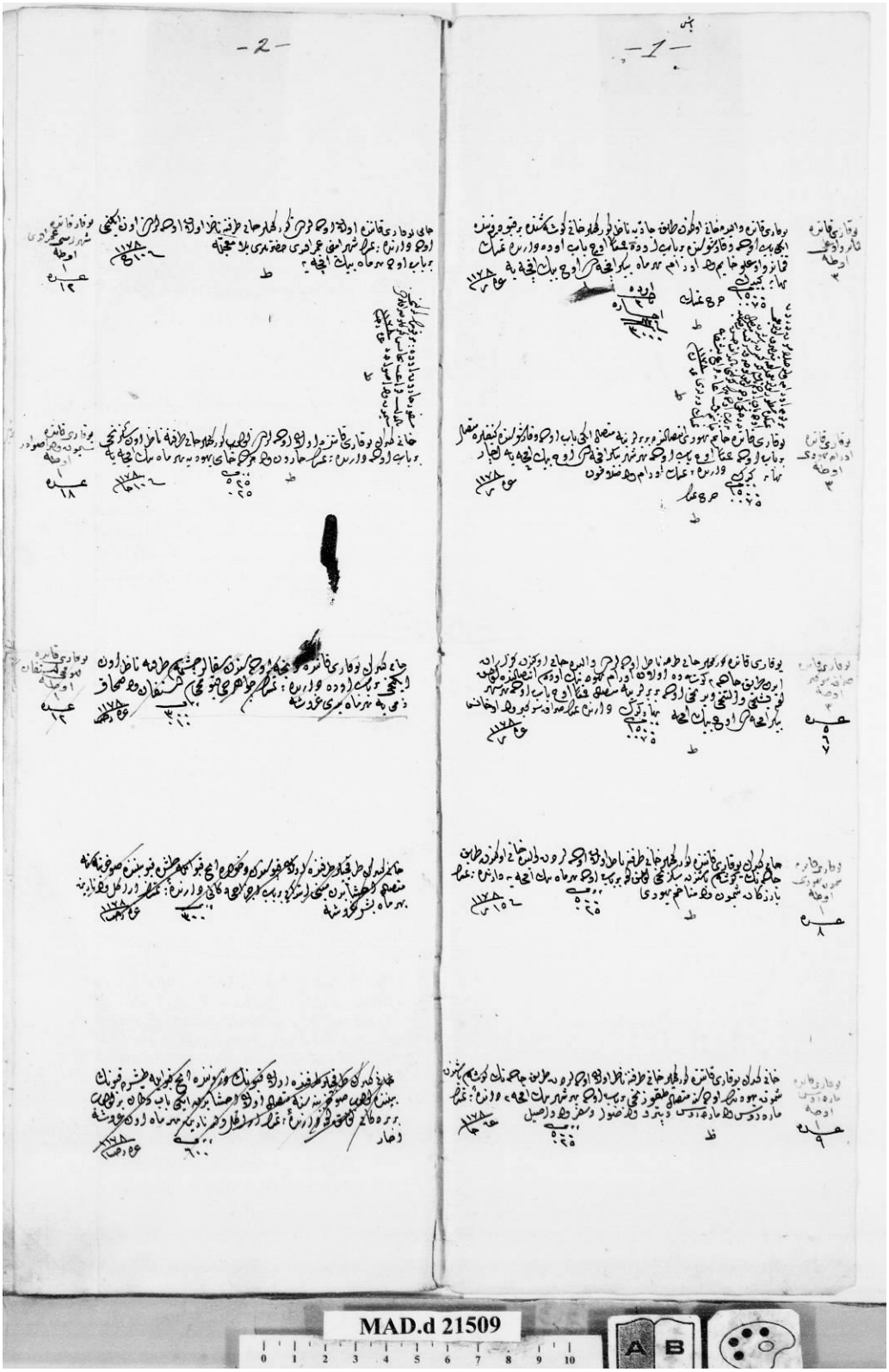


Figure 44. A survey of the Büyük Yeni Han identifying the rooms occupied by the gedik holders, *kethüda*, *odabaşı* and master craftsmen, dated 1 R 1178 - B 1179 / September 28, 1764 – December, 1765. (First page of 15 pages). (BOA MAD. 21509).

Sakalar Çeşmesi kurbunda vâkı’ müceddeden binâ ve inşâları irâde-i ‘aliyye-i mülükâne buyurulan hân-ı kebîr ve hân-ı sağîr ve câmi-i şerîf ve kârhane-i kuyumcıyân-ı hâssa ve Tekfur Sarayı arsalarında binâ olunan ‘akârât-ı hümâyûn ebniyeleri lâzımesi masârifâtı için i’tâ buyurulan ve mübâya’ olunan emlâk ve mühimmât-ı ebniye ve ucûrât ve sâir mesârifâtın defteridir. 3 C 1174 – 12 CA 1176

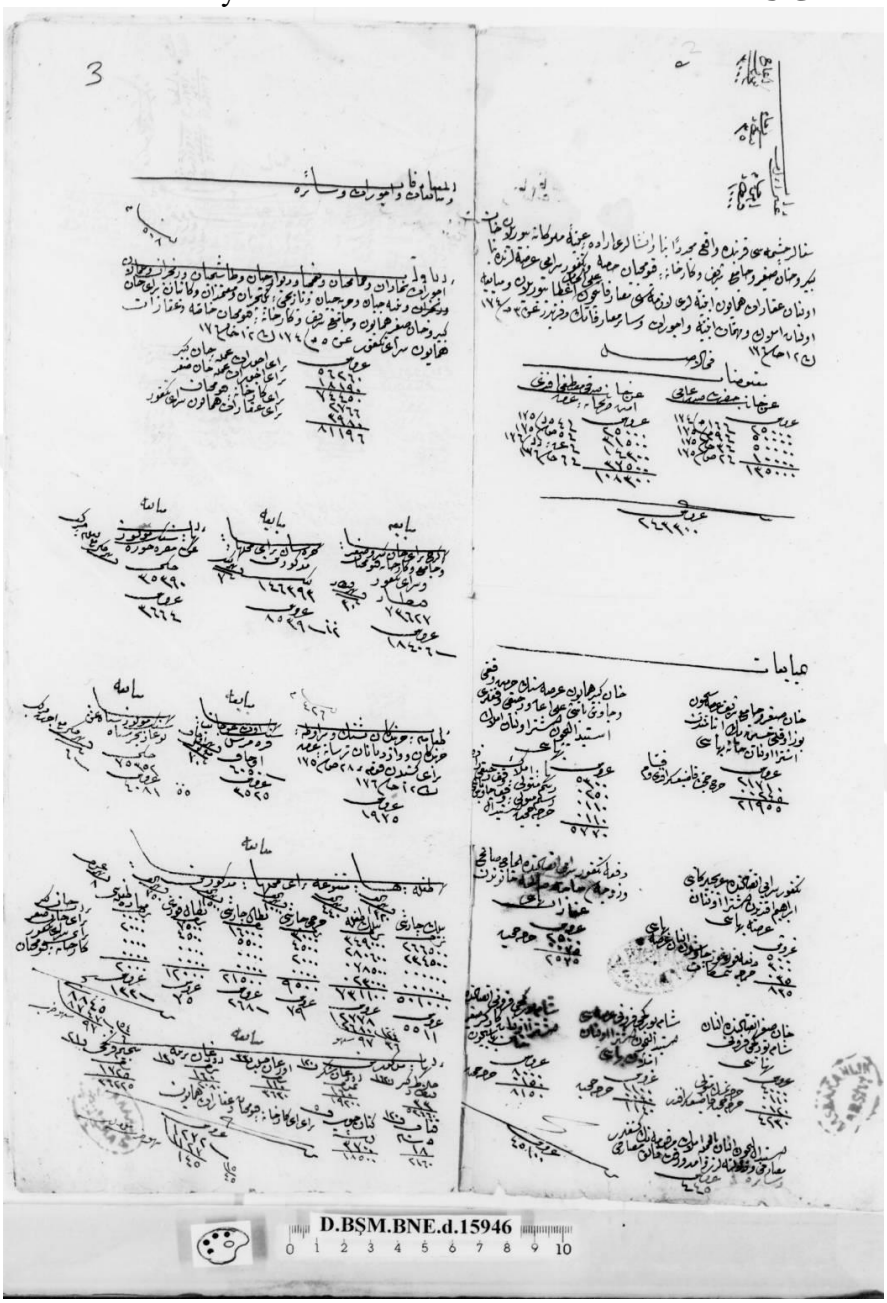


Figure 45. The register containing the expenses made, and the estates purchased for Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han, the holy mosque, royal jewellers’ workshop, and income bringing property in Tekfur Sarayı, dated 3 C 1174 – 12 CA 1176 / January 10, 1761 – November 29, 1762. (First page of 3 pages). (BOA D.BŞM.BNE.d. 15946).

Berâ-yı odahâ-ı hân-ı kebîr-i cedîd der mukâbele-yi Hân-ı Vâlide der kurb-ı Hân-ı Kürkçüler der İstanbul vacib fi Gurre-i Z sene 1178

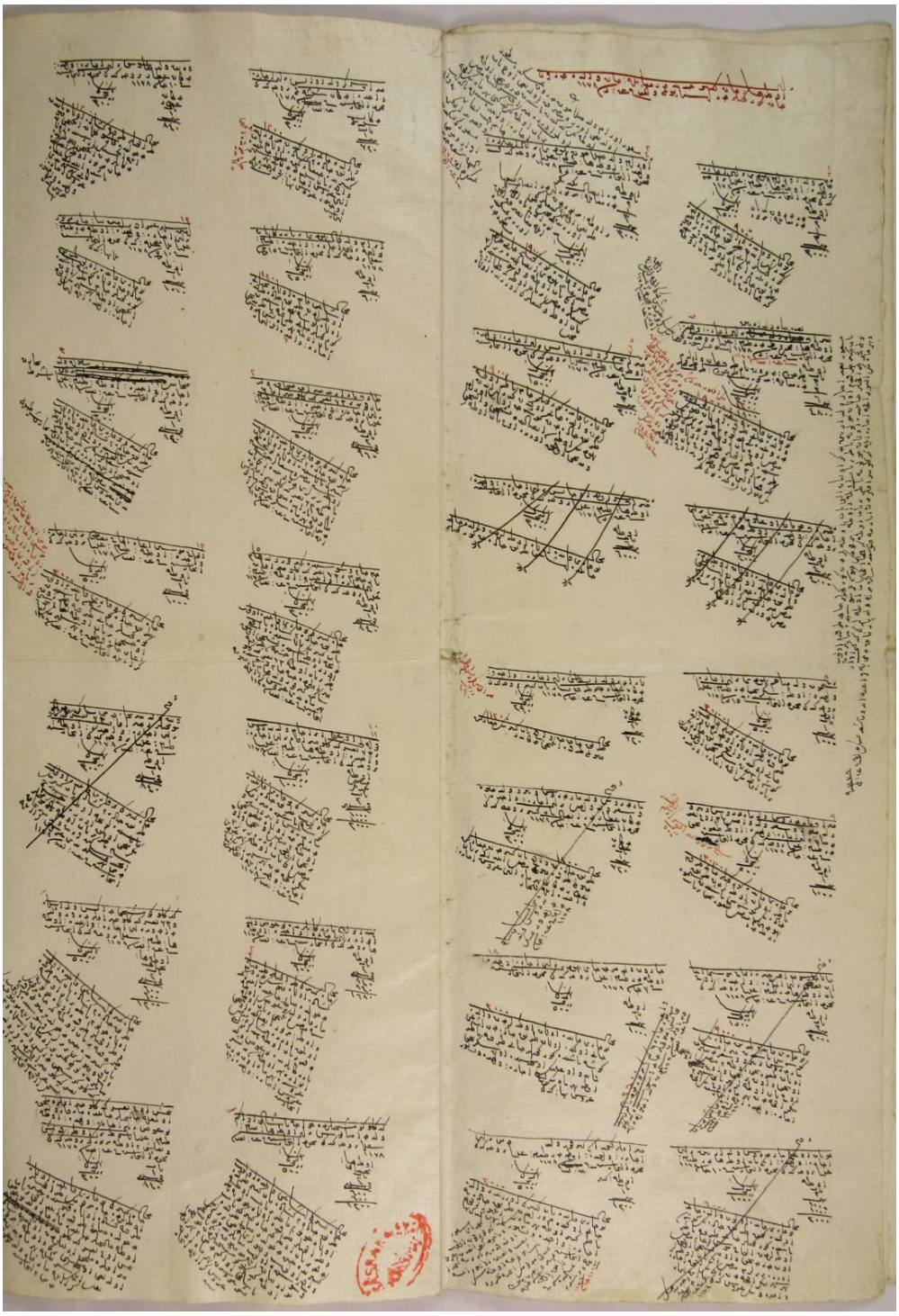


Figure 46. A register of *gedik* holders in the Büyük Yeni Han and the rooms they occupied (Hân-ı Kebîr-i Cedîd), dated Gurre-i Z 1178 / May 22, 1764. (First page of 8 pages). (BOA D.BŞM.ŞHE.d. 16526).

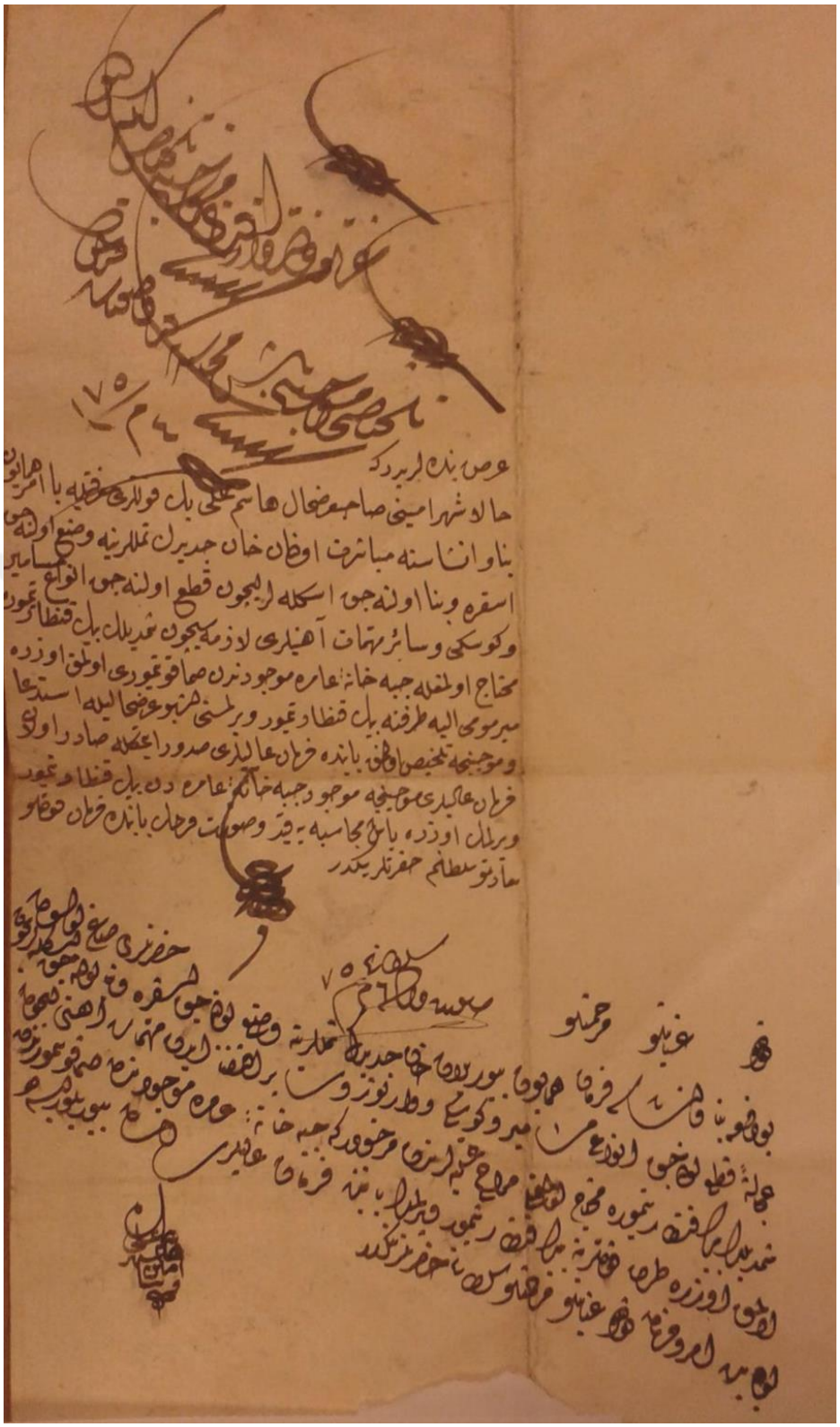


Figure 47. The petition submitted to the palace for a permit for one thousand kantars of iron from the Cebehane-i Amire to be used in the foundation and structural framework of the new *han*, dated 04 M 1175 / August 5, 1761. (BOA C.SM. 652).

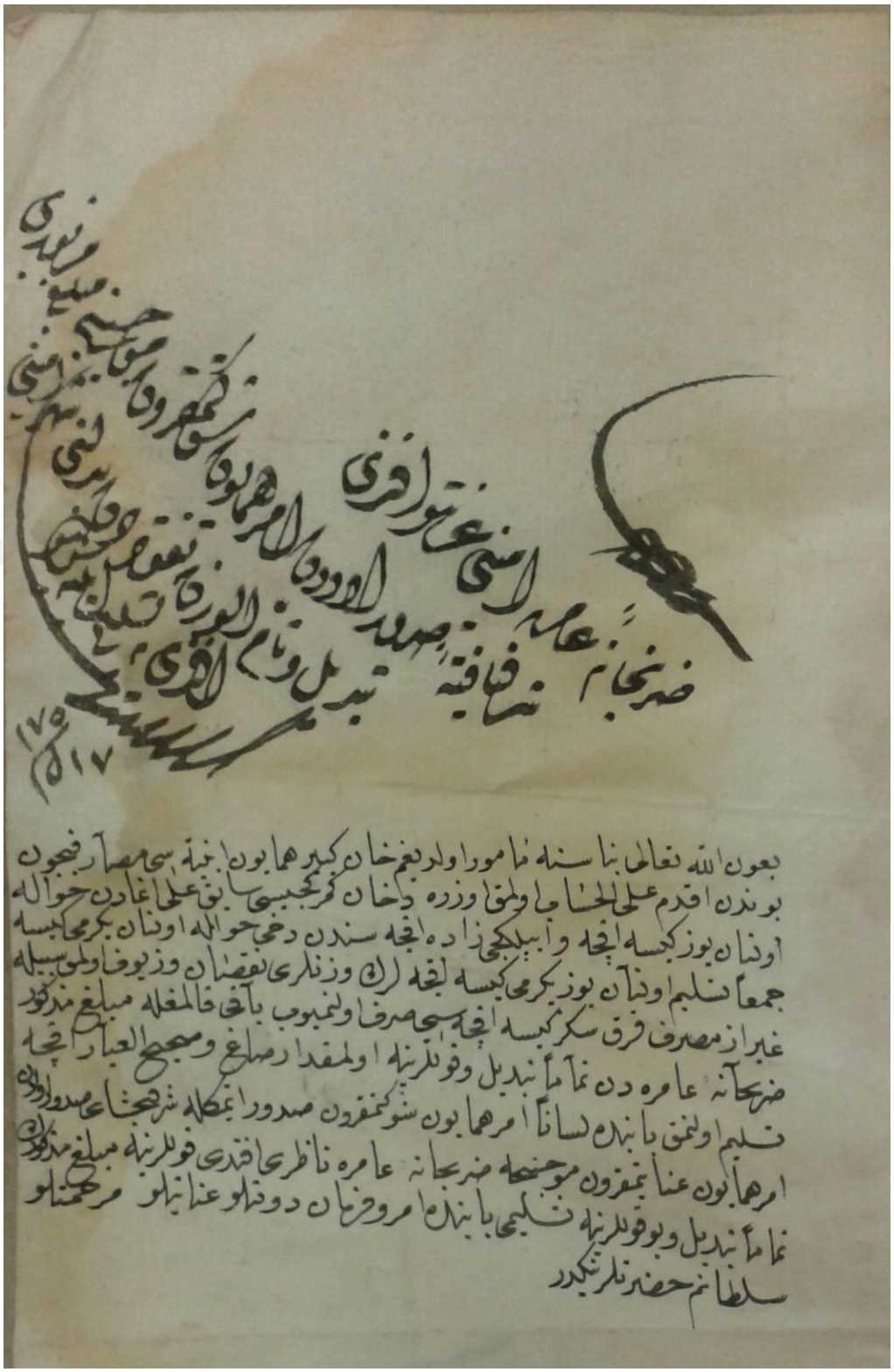


Figure 48. The petition submitted to the Sultan, in which the building supervisor of the Büyük Yeni Han declared that the present allocations are not sufficient and asked for increased allocations, dated 17 R 1175 / November 15, 1761. (BOA C.SM. 151/7594).

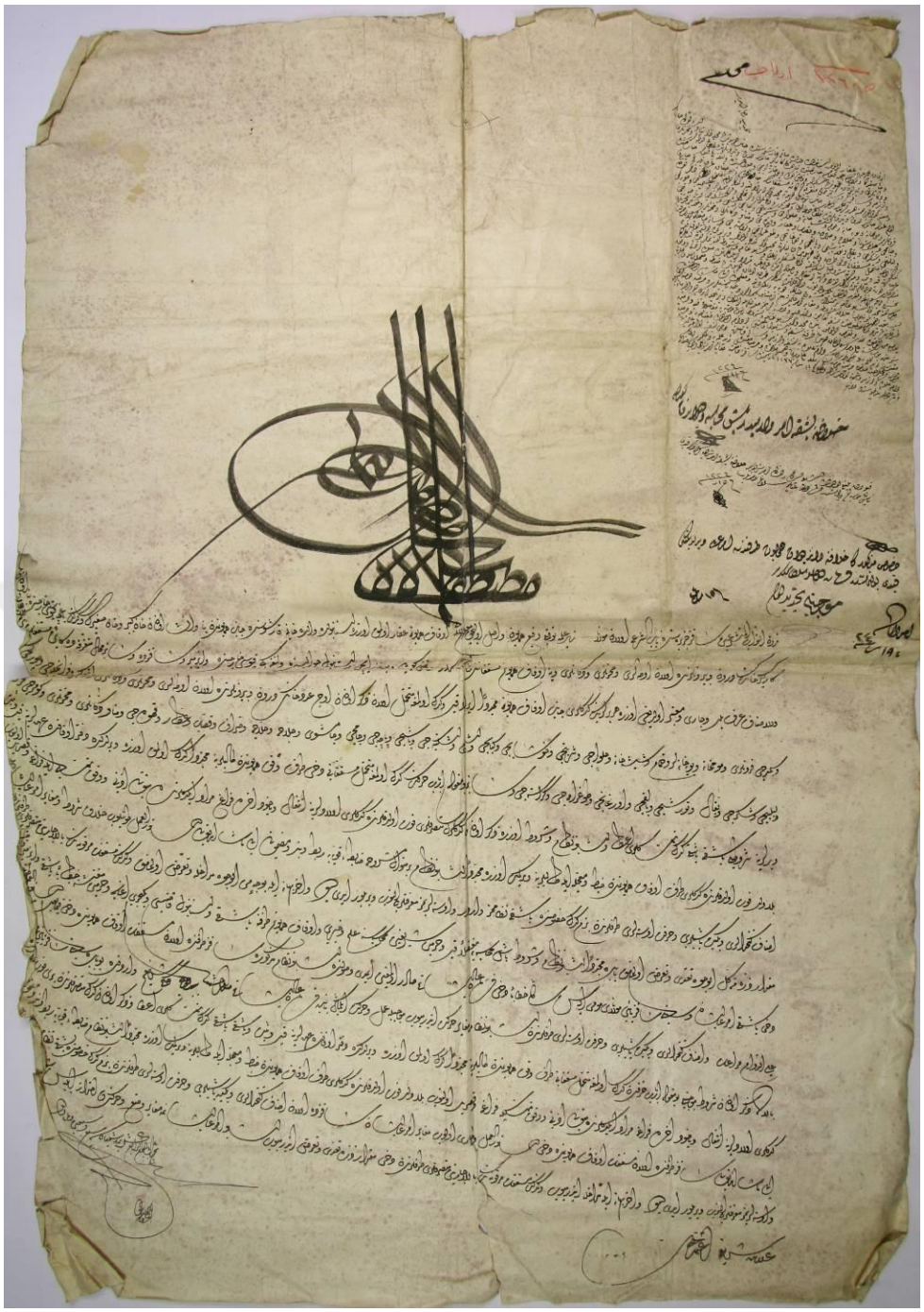


Figure 49. A decree pronouncing that all property belonging to the pious foundations of Sultan Mustafa III be incorporated into the *gedik* system through auctioning among applicants, that the *gedik* would be inherited by the holder's descendants in case of the death, and that all the revenues were to be allocated for charity work, dated 24 Ş 1177 / February 27, 1764. (BOA C.EV. 251/12685).

Hüdâvendigâr-ı esbâk cennetmekân firdevs-‘aşiyân merhûm ve mağfurunleh Sultan Mustafa Hân hazretlerinin İstanbul’da Laleli Çeşme kurbunda kâin câmi-‘i şerîfe ve ‘imâret-i ‘âmire ve hayrât-ı celîleleri vakf-ı şerîfinin bir sene-i kâmile îrâdât-ı muayyeneleridir ki ber vech-i atî zikr ve beyân olunur.

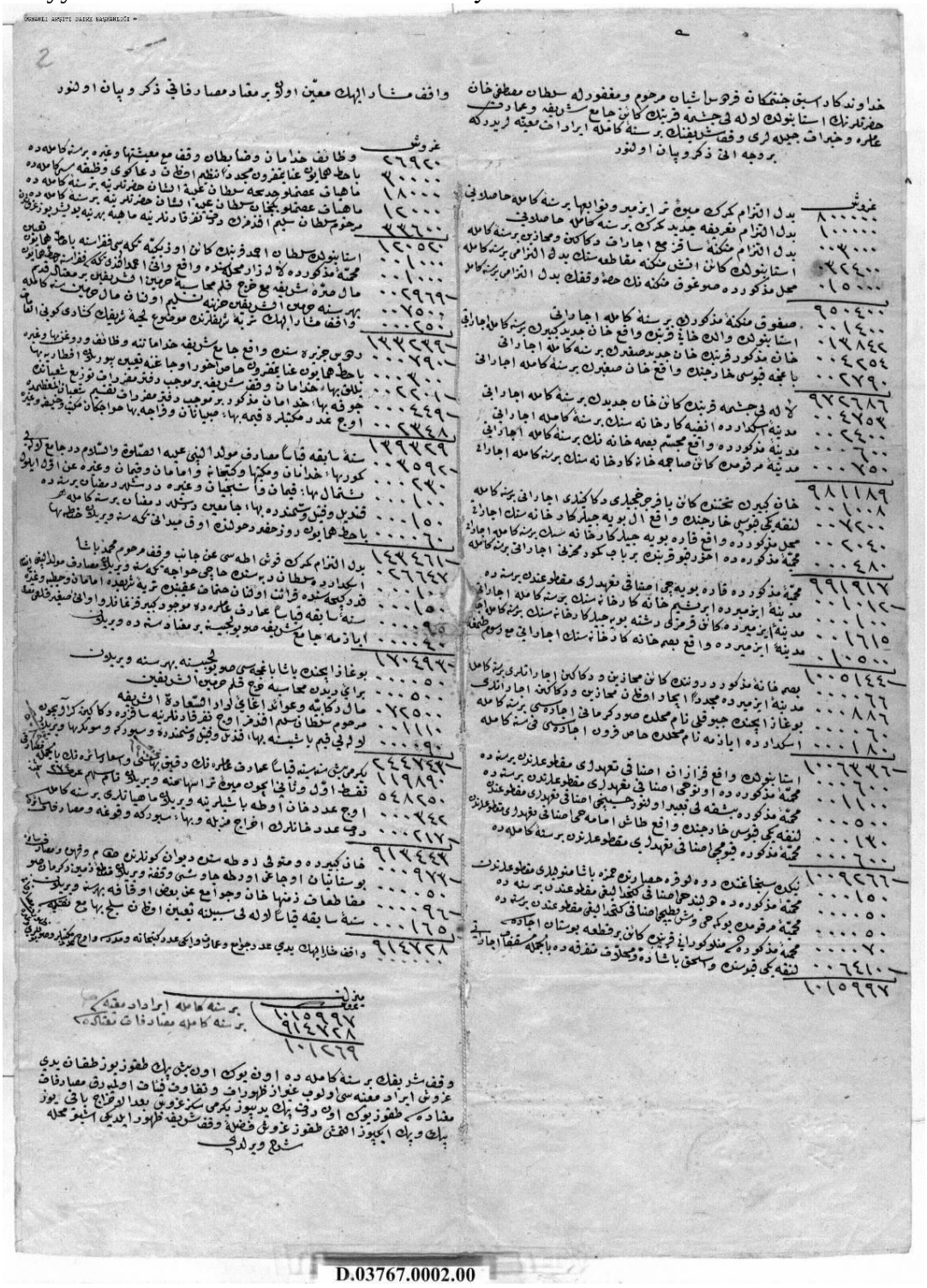
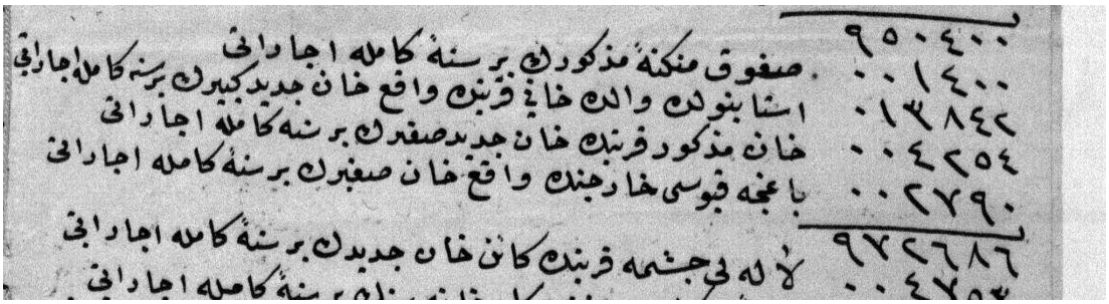


Figure 50. The register containing the yearly income and expenses of the waqf of Mustafa III for the Laleli mosque and its dependencies, dated 29 Z 1225 / January 25, 1811. (BOA TS.MA.d. 3767 0002).



İstanbul’da Valide Hânı kurbunda vakı’ hân-ı cedîd-i kebîrin bir sene-i kâmile icârâtı	13846
Hân-ı mezkur kurbunda hân-ı cedîd-i sağîrin bir sene-i kâmile icârâtı	4254
Bahçekapısı hâricinde vâkı’ hân-ı sağirin bir sene-i kâmile icârâtı	2790
Laleli çeşme kurbunda kâin hân-ı cedîdin bir sene-i kâmile icârâtı	4753

Figure 51. The total annual incomes of the *han*s belonging to the Laleli Waqf in 1811. (BOA TS.MA.d. 3767 0002).

Evkâf-ı hümâyun-ı hazret-i cihândârinin 1183 senesi Muharrem'ül-Harâmı gurresinden Zilhiccesine gelince bir senelik mahsulât ve vezâif ve ihrâcât defteridir ki zikr olunur.

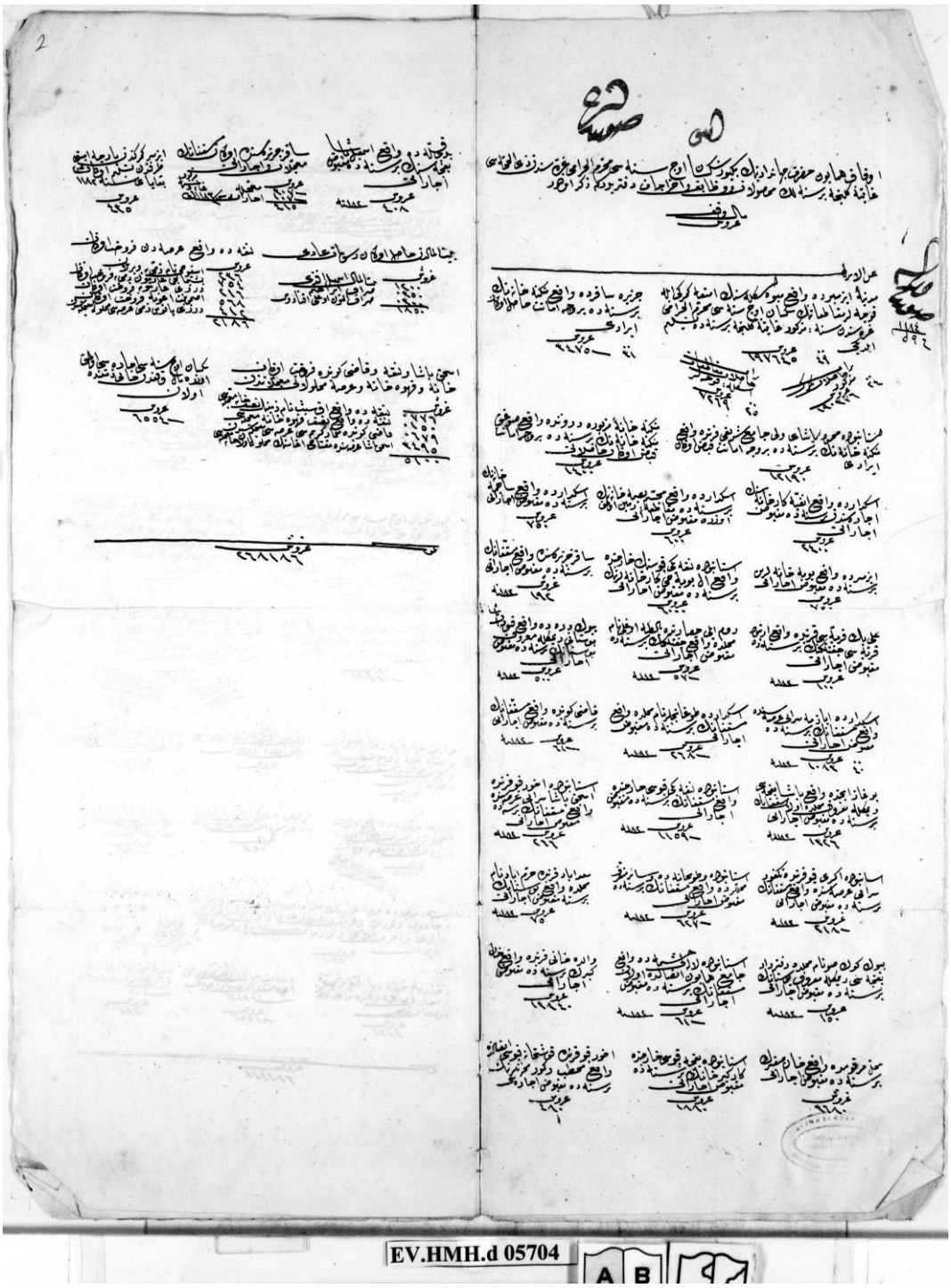


Figure 52. The register containing the incomes and expenses of the Mustafa III Waqf, dated 1 M 1183 - 29 Z 1183 / May 7, 1769 – April 25, 1770. (BOA EV.HMD.d. 5704).

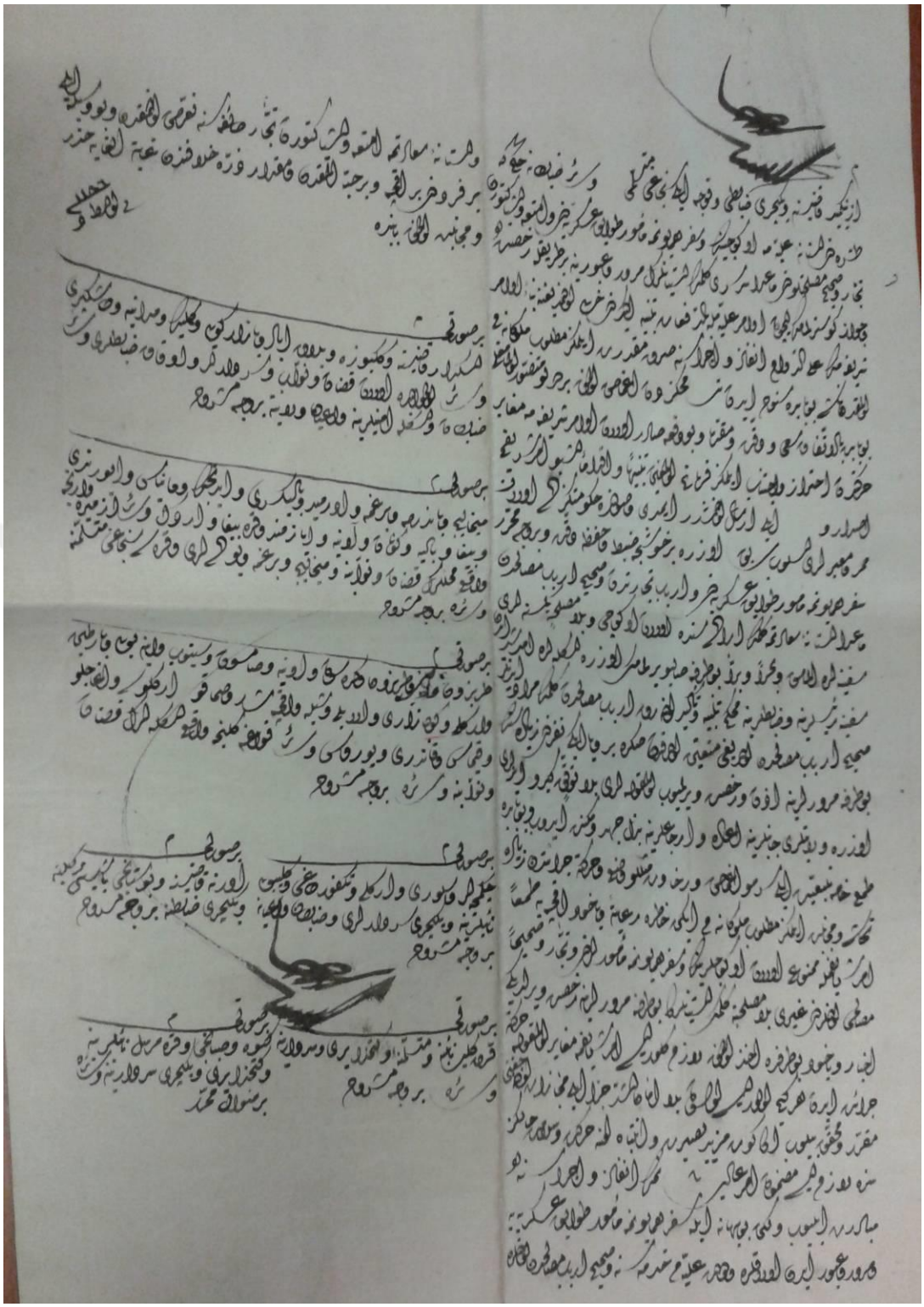


Figure 53. A decree dated 29 Z 1186 / March 23, 1773, addressed to authorities in İznikmid (İzmit) and Kocaeli, ordering the prevention of migration to Istanbul. It states that only merchants and those who have a legitimate business should be allowed to travel to Istanbul. (BOA C.DH. 160/7978).

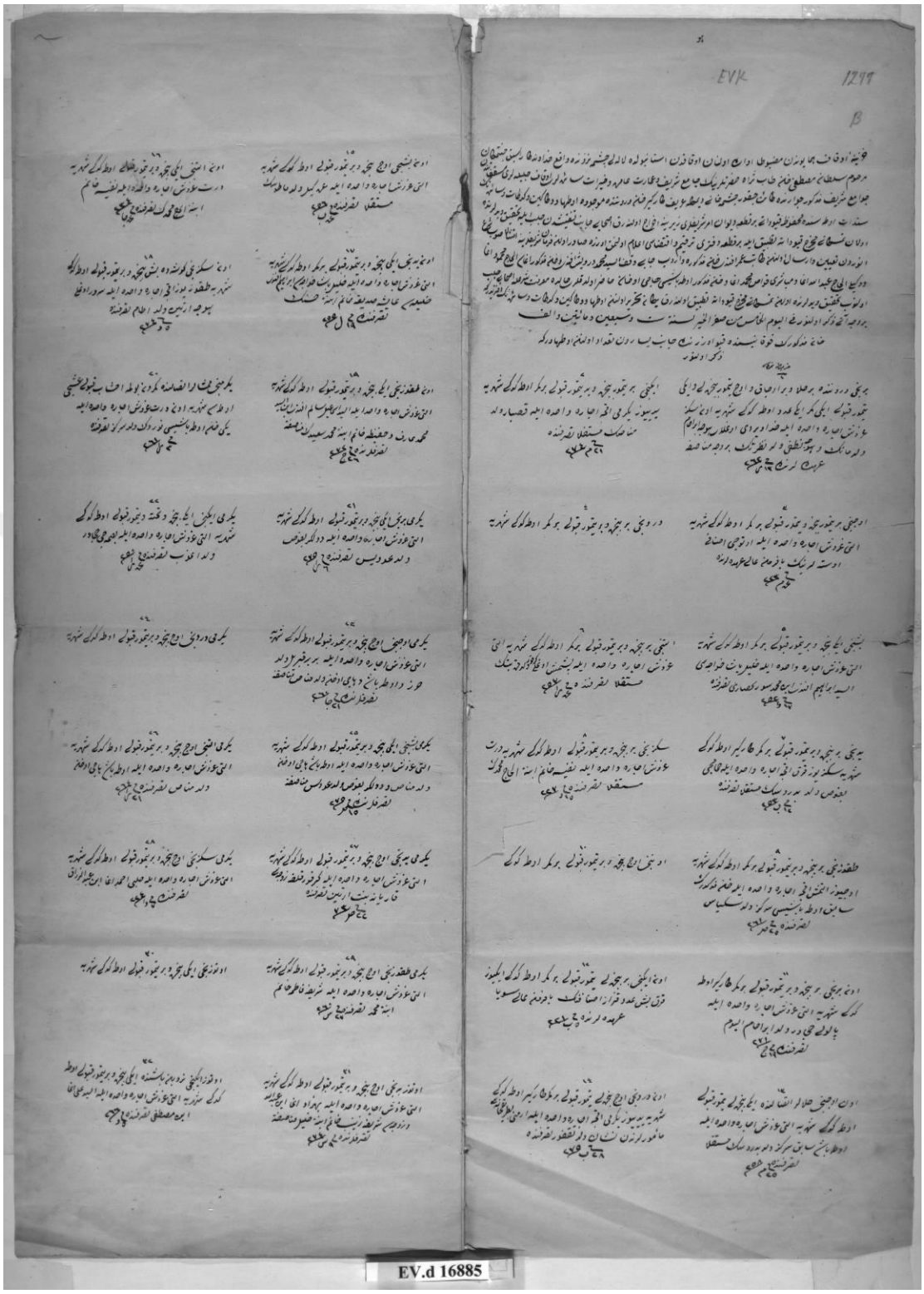


Figure 54. The register dated 5 S 1276 / September 3, 1859, containing the names of *gedik* holders for the rooms and shops of the Çukurçeşme Han near the Laleli Çeşme mosque and complex, which was part of the Mustafa III waqf. This register also contains a plan of the han (see Figure 19). (First page of 4 pages) (BOA EV.HMH.d. 16885).

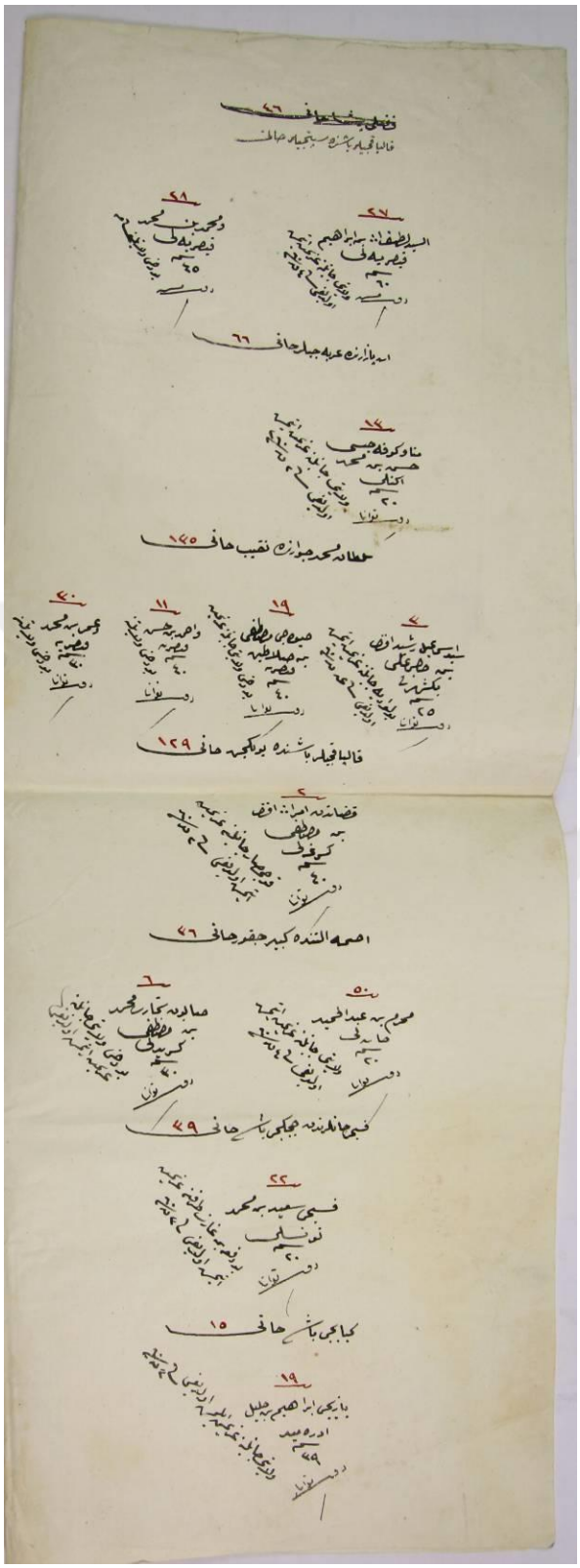


Figure 55. A survey of bachelors' resident in Istanbul *han*s, dated 29 Z 1260 / January 9, 1845. (First page of 5 pages) (BOA C.DH. 174/8668).



Figure 56. The property exchange decision and its transcription dated Evâil-i M 1175 / August 2-11, 1761, documenting the procurement of land from the Çavuşbaşı Ali Agha Waqf for the construction Büyük Yeni Han. This 911 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 523 m^2) plot contained a stone vault, a kitchen and miscellaneous outhouses; it was exchanged for properties in various places in Istanbul. (BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/29/87).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 56. (Kal'a, 1997)

Haremeyn müfettişi Şeyhzâde mevlânâ es-Seyyid Mehmed Refî' zîde ilmuhûya hüküm:
Evkãf-ı hümâyûn-ı şevket-makrûnumdan mahmiyye-i İstanbul'da Tarakcılar sûkında Dâye Hâtûn mahallesinde müceddeden binâsına mübâşeret olınan Hân mahallinde müteveffâ Çâvûşbaşı Alî Ağa dimeğle ma'rûf kimesne vakfından ber mûceb-i temessük tasarruf-ı mülûkânemde olup ma'lûmetü'l-hudûd terbî'an dokuz yüz on bir zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebnî kârgîr mahzen ve matbah ve müştemilât-ı sâireyi muhtevî ayda iki yüz doksan akçe icâre-i müecceleli menâzil arsası ile ber mûceb-i hücec-i şer'iyye emlâk-ı hümâyûnumda olup mahmiyye-i mezbûrede Unkapanı kurbında Elvânzâde mahallesinde vâkı' ma'lûmu'l-hudûd tûlen ve arzen terbî'i sekiz yüz kırk iki buçuk zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebnî harâb hammâm ve bir mahzen ve iki bi'r-i mâ' ve etrâfı taş dîvârı müştemil mülk menzil arsası ve yine ittisâlinde kâin ma'lûmetü'l-hudûd terbî'i yüz elli dokuz zirâ' arsa üzerine iki tarafdan taş dîvârı müştemil arsa ve mahrûse-i Galata muzâfâtından İstinye nâhiyesinde Yeniköy'de Güzelce Alî Paşa mahallesinde vâkı' ma'lûmetü'l-hudûd terbî'i seksen bir zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebnî bir bâb mülk kayıkhâne ile istibdâle irâde-i aliyye-i husrevâneme ta'alluk itmeğin sâdır olan fermân-ı âlîşânuma imtisâlen kıbel-i şer'den irsâl olınan el-Hâcc Süleymân zîde ilmuhû hâssa mi'mârlarından Yûsuf Halîfe ve Mehmed Halîfe ve Mehmed Emîn Halîfe ve taraf-ı hümâyûnumdan hân-ı mezkûre binâsın emîni olup husûs-ı mezkûr me'mûr olan es-Seyyid Hâşim Alî Beğ zîde mecduhû tarafından vekîl-i şer'îsi Hâfız Mehmed bin Halîl zîde kadrûhu ve vakf-ı mezbûr mütevellîsi Mehmed Efendi bin Mustafâ dimeğle arîf kimesne sâir ebniye ve sukúf ahvâline vukúf-ı tâmmı olan bîgaraz müslimîn ile evvelâ hân-ı mezkûr mahallinde vakf olan menâzil arsasına varup cümle muvâcehesinde ba'de'l-mu'âyene merkúmûn mi'mârlar keşf ü misâha ve tahmîn ü takvîm eyledüklerinde vakf üzre menâzil arsası terbî'an dokuz yüz on bir zirâ' olup ve müştemilât-ı mezkûreyi muhtevî oldığı bi'l-müşâhede zâhir ü müte'yyin oldukdan sonra sâniyen sâlifü'z-zikr mülk olan menzileyn-i mezbûreyn arsaları ve kayıkhânenün üzerlerine varup her biri cümle muvâcehesinde ba'de'l-mu'âyene keşf ü misâha ve tahmîn ü takvîm eyledüklerinde mârrü'l-beyân Unkapanı dâhilinde Elvânzâde mahallesinde vâkı' mülk menzil arsası terbî'an sekiz yüz kırk iki buçuk zirâ' ve müştemilât-ı muharrer-i mezkûreyi muhtevî ve ittisâlinde kâin mülk menzil arsası dahi terbî'an yüz elli dokuz zirâ' ve müştemilât-ı muharrer-i

mezkûreyi muhtevî olup ve mezkûr Yeniköy'de Güzelce Alî Paşa mahallesinde kâin kayıkhânenün arsası seksen bir zirâ‘ ve müştemilât-ı muharrer-i mezkûreyi muhtevî olup vakf üzerine menâzil arsası icâre-i müeccelesi ayda iki yüz doksan akçe olup ve mülk olan menzileyn-i mezbûreyn ve kayıkhâne arsalarınun mecmû‘ı ayda üç yüz altmış akçe icâre-i müecceleye mütehammil olup mülk olan menzileyn-i mezbûreyn arsaları ve kayıkhâne vakf olan menâzil-i mezkûre arsasından mahall ü rağbet ü kıymet ü vüs‘at ü ücret cihetleriyle ezyed ü evfer ü ekser olup istibdâli cânib-i vakfa enfa‘ u evlâ oldığını merkûmûn mi‘mârlar ve ehl-i vukúf-ı müslimîn-i mezkûrîn âlâ tarîkı’ş-şehâde haber virdüklerini mevlânâ-yı mezbûr mahallinde ba‘de’t-tahrîr ümenâ-i şer‘-i enver ile meclis-i şer‘a alâ vukú‘ihî inhâ ve takrîr itmeğin ber vech-i meşrûh istibdâli cânib-i vakfa her vechile enfa‘ u evlâ oldığı lede’ş-şer‘i’l-enver zâhir ü müte‘yyin vakf-ı mezbûr mütevellîsi merkúm Mehmed vech-i meşrûh üzre istibdâle izni müş‘ir emr-i âlîşânum istid‘â-yı inâyet eyledüğin sen ki mevlânâ-yı mûmâ ileyhsin i‘lâm itmenle i‘lâmun mûcebince istibdâl olınmak bâbında fermân-ı âlîşânum yazılmışdur.

Fî evâil-i M sene 1175 / [2-11 Ağustos 1761]

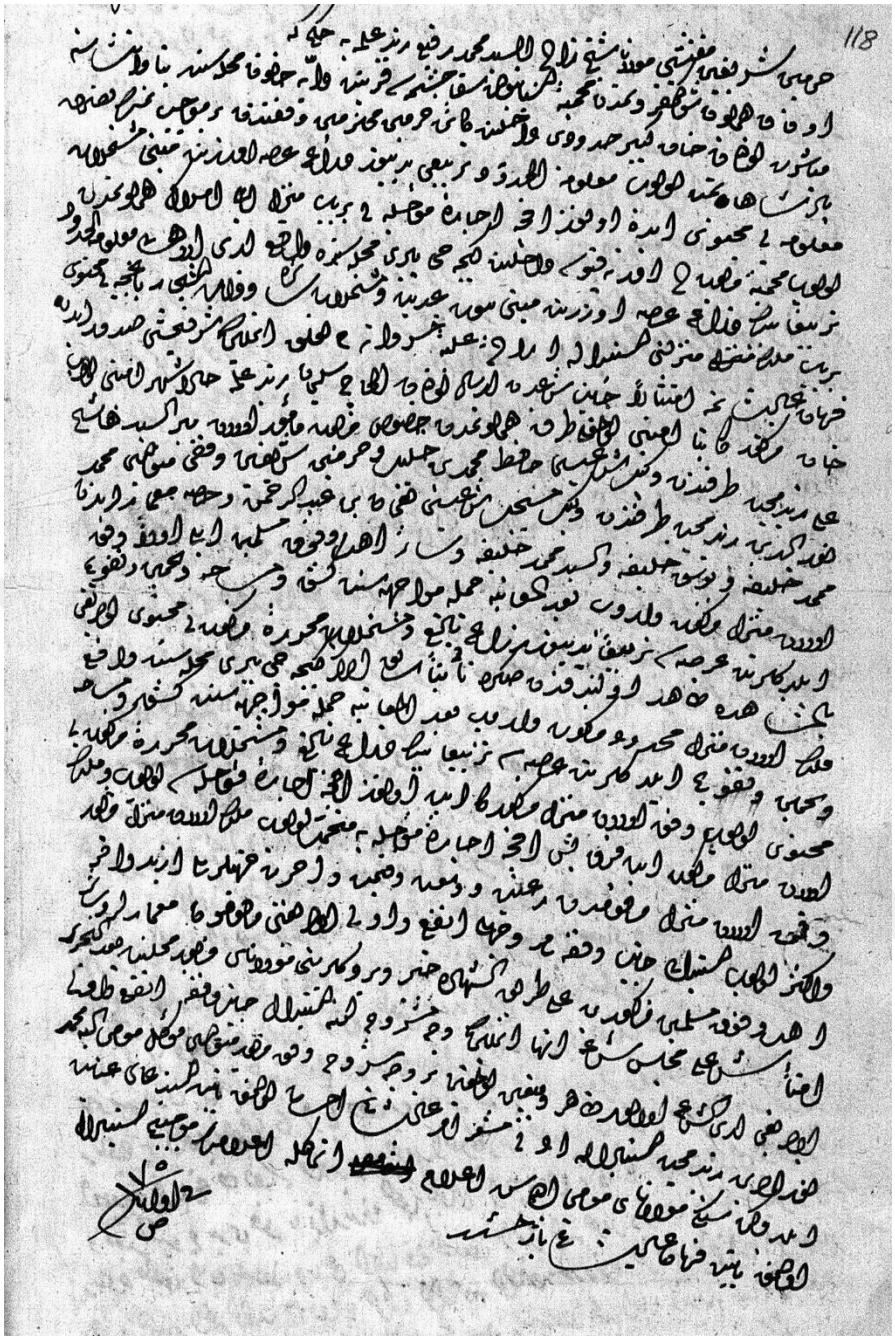


Figure 57. The property exchange decision and its transcription dated Evâil-i S 1175 / September 1-10, 1761, documenting the procurement of land for the construction of Büyük Yeni Han. This 700 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 402m^2) plot belonging to the royal Haremeyn waqf was exchanged for a property near Edirnekapı. (BOA A.DVNS.AHK. İS.d. 6/42/118).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 57. (Kal'a, 1997)

Haremeyn-i şerîfeyn müfettişi mevlânâ Şeyhzâde es-Seyyid Mehmed Refî' zîde ilmuhûya hüküm ki:

Evkãf-ı hümâyûn-ı şevket-makrûnumdan mahmiyye-i İstanbul'da Saka çeşmesi kurbında Dâye Hâtûn mahallesinde binâ ve inşâsına mübâşeret olınan hân-ı kebîr hudûdı dâhilinde kâin Haremeyn-i muhteremeyn vakfından ber mûceb-i temessük tasarruf-ı pâdişâhânemde olup ma'lûmetü'l-hudûd terbî'i yedi yüz zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebnî müştemilât-ı ma'lûmeyi muhtevî ayda otuz akçe icâre-i müecceleli bir bâb menzili ile emlâk-ı hümâyûnumdan olup mahmiyye-i mezbûrede Edirnekapusı dâhilinde Keçeci Pîrî mahallesinde vâkı' lede'l-ahâlî ma'lûmu'l-hudûd terbî'an bin zirâ' arsa üzerinde mebnî büyût-ı adîde ve müştemilât-ı sâire ve zât-ı eşcâr bağçeyi muhtevî bir bâb mülk menzilini istibdâle irâde-i aliyye-i husrevâneme ta'alluk itmeğin şeref-bahşı sudûr iden fermân-ı âlîşânuma imtisâlen cânib-i şer'den irsâl olınan el-Hâcc Süleymân zîde ilmuhû hâlâ şehremîni olup hân-ı mezkûrun binâ emîni olmağla taraf-ı hümâyûnumdan husûs-ı mezbûra me'mûr olan Mîr es-Seyyid Hâşim Alî zîde mecduhû tarafından vekîl-i şer'îsi Hâfız Mehmed bin Halîl ve Haremeyn-i şerîfeyn vakfı mütevellîsi Mehmed Nûreddîn zîde mecduhû tarafından vekîl-i müseccel-i şer'îsi Nu'mân bin Abdurrahmân ve hâssa mi'mârlarından Mehmed Halîfe ve Yûsuf Halîfe ve es-Seyyid Mehmed Halîfe vesâir ehl-i vukúf müslimîn ile evvelen vakf olan menzil-i mezkûra varup ba'de'l-mu'âyene cümle muvâcehesinde keşf ü misâha ve tahmîn ü takvîm eyledüklerinde arsası terbî'an yedi yüz zirâ'a bâliğ ve müştemilât-ı muharrere-i mezkûreyi muhtevî oldığı bi'l-müşâhede zâhir olındukdan sonra sâniyen sâlifü'z-zikr Keçeci Pîrî mahallesinde vâkı' mülk olan menzil-i mahdûd-ı mezkûra varup ba'de'l-mu'âyene cümle muvâcehesinde keşf ü misâha ve tahmîn ü takvîm eyledüklerinde arsası terbî'an bin zirâ'a bâliğ ve müştemilât-ı muharrere-i mezkûreyi muhtevî olup vakf olan menzil-i mezkûrun ayda otuz akçe icâre-i müeccelesi olup ve mülk olan menzil-i mezkûre ayda kırk beş akçe icâre-i müecceleye mütehammil olup mülk olan menzil-i mezbûr vakf olan menzil-i merkúmdan rağbet ü vüs'at ü kıymet ü ücret cihetleriyle ezyed [ve] vâfir ve ekser olup istibdâli cânib-i vakfa her vechile enfa' u evlâ oldığını merkúmûn mi'mârlar vesâir ehl-i vukúf müslimîn-i mezkûrîn âlâ tarîkı'ş-şehâde haber virdüklerini mevlânâ-yı mezbûr mahallinde ba'de't-tahrîr ümenâ-i şer'le meclis-i şer'a inhâ itmeğin vech-i meşrûh üzre istibdâl cânib-i vakfa enfa' u evlâ oldığı lede'ş-şer'i'l-

enver zâhir ü müte‘yyin olmağın ber vech-i meşrûh vakf-ı mezbûr mütevellîsi müvekkil-i mûmâ ileyh Mehmed Nûreddîn zîde mecduhû istibdâle izni müş‘ir emr-i âlîşânum ihsân olınmak bâbında istid‘â-yı inâyet eyledüğin sen ki mevlânâ-yı mûmâ ileyhsin i‘lâm itmenle i‘lâmun mûcebince istibdâl olınmak bâbında fermân-ı âlîşânum yazılmışdur.

Fî evâil-i S sene [1]175 [1-10 September 1761]

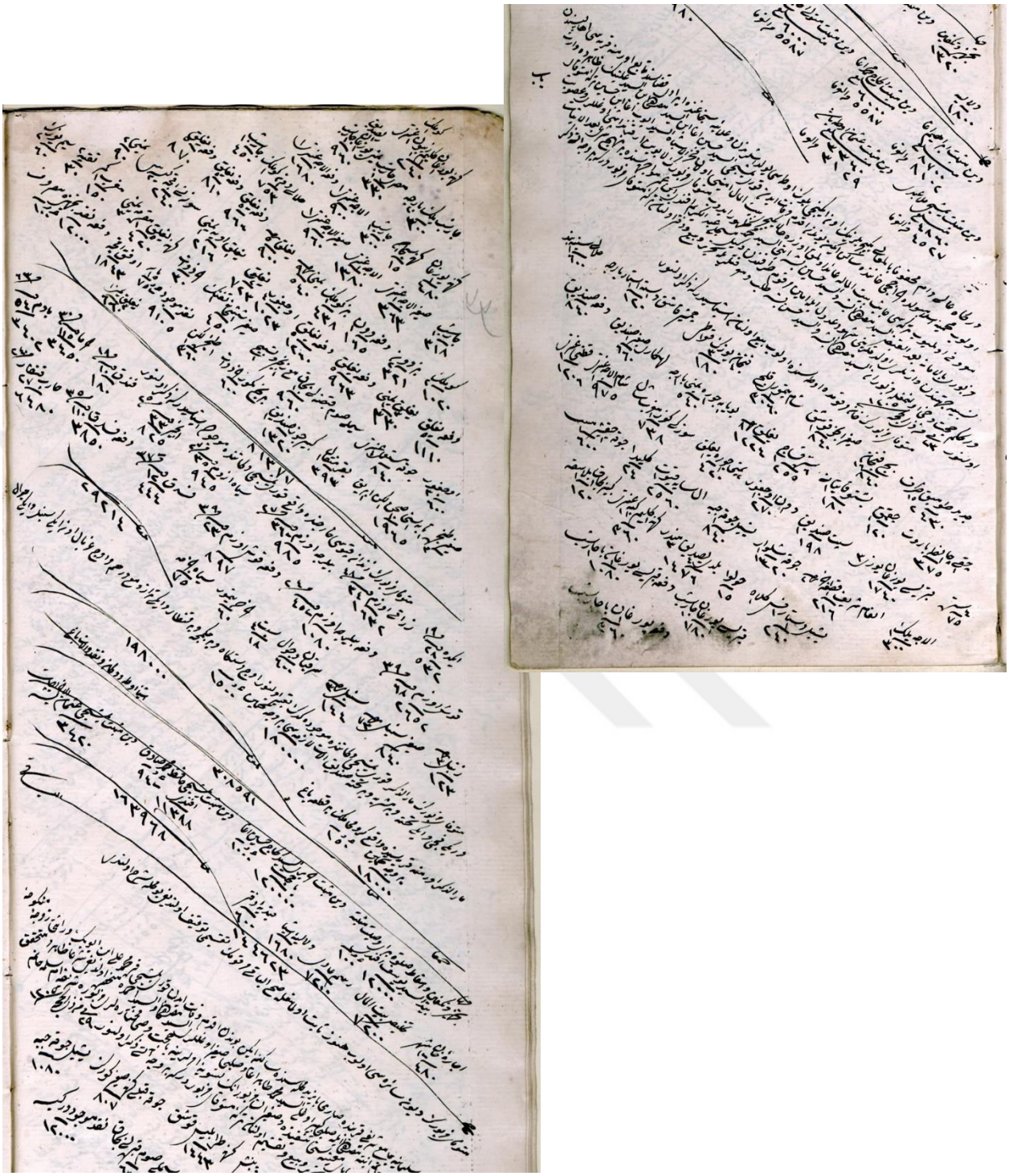


Figure 58. The inheritance record, dated 23 Z 1205 / August 23, 1791, of Hüseyin Agha, a member of the 12th chamber of the Janissary corps. He died in a room of Haraççı Han located outside Bahçekapı. In addition to holding the rank of a janissary, Hüseyin Agha was also a sayyid and a dried fruits and nuts Merchant. (ŞS, AKD. 615, 132/32).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 58.

Dergâh-ı âlî dâme mahfûfen bi'l-me'âli yeniçerilerinin on ikinci bölük odası yoldaşlarından ve Alâiye sancağında İpradı kazâsına tâbî' Ormâne karyesi ahâlîsinden olup mahmiyye-i İslâmbol'da Harâççı Hânı'nda sâkin iken bundan akdem vefât iden Kuruyemişçi es-Seyyid Hüseyin Ağa ibn-i es-Seyyid Mustafâ ibn-i es-Seyyid Alî'nin zâhirde vâris-i ma'rûfı olmayup terekesi cânib-i beytü'l-mâle âid olmak üzre hâlâ yeniçeri beytü'l-mâl emîni olan fahru'l-eşbâh es-Seyyid Eyyûb Ağa ibn-i Hüseyin tereke-i müteveffâ-yı mezbûrı bi'l-emâne ba'de'l-kabz es-Seyyid Mustafâ Beşe ve es-Seyyid Hüseyin Beşe ibnet-i es-Seyyid Mehmed zuhûr idüp müteveffâ-yı bezbûrun li ebeveyn er karındaşı oğulları ve usûbet-i nesebiyye cihetinden vârisleri olduklarını şuhûd-ı udûl ile emîn-i merk'um tarafından vekîl-i müsecceli Abdülkerîm Efendi ibn-i Ömer muvacehesinde ber vech-i şer'î ba'de'l-ısbât ve'l-hükm hüccet dahi olunmağla mezbûrân es-Seyyid Mustafâ Beşe ve es-Seyyid Hasan Beşe taleb ve ma'rifetleriyle tahrîr ve bey' u defter olınan tereke-i müteveffâ-yı mezbûrdur ki ber vech-i âtî zikr olınur. Fî 23 min Zi'l-hicce sene 1205. Müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun hân-ı merkumde odasında bey' olınan eşyasıdır ki zikr olunur.

Item/s	**Value (akçe)**
Cedîd tombak zarf 15	2430
Bec fincân 16	840
Sağîr incü kuşak 1	840
Şâm timüri kılıç 1	3060
Fincân 40 yüzük 3 kutu 1	180
Cemşîr kaşık deste 1 estar 1 parça 1	120
Hilâlî sînebad 1	600
Çakı 1 çanta 1 barut 1	375
Çakmak 1	120
Pişto kaytanı 1	180
….	255
Yağlık 8	1224
Boyama 1 çevre 1 yemenî 1 parça 1	540
Köhnekârî sağîr sandık 1	660

Def'a sandık 1	840
Sütre 4	75
Sepet sandık 1	198
Don 1 uçkur 1	270
Yemeni 2 çevre 1 yağlık 1	420
Süzgî gevz mağrib şâl 1	738
Şâm alaca anteri 1	975
Kutnî anteri 1	1206
Alaca yelek 1	300
En'âm-ı şerîf kadife aded 2	216
Çûka şalvâr 1	1320
Yeşil çûka cübbe 1	840
Âl sâye kaput 1	2560
Kilid 1	24
Çûka çakşır 1 mest 1	600
Yeşil destâr 1 fes 1 külâh 1	240
Havlu 1	15
Beledî yastık 4 minder 3	1476
Köhne Kilim 1 Kebîr Entari 1	360
Kebîr bıçak 1 Palaska 1	120
Kıbrısî yorgan 1 Çârşeb 1	780
Def'a Kıbrısî yorgan 1 bâ çârşeb 1	1080
Def'a yorgan 1 bâ çârşeb 1	360
Gömlek 1 köhne yorgan 1 kilim 1 sibûn 1 anteri 1	240
Çârşeb yelek parça 20	300
Mısrî çârşeb	330
Yemenî yorgan 1 çârşeb 1 yasdık 1	960
Köhne yorgan 1	480
Köhne seccâde 1	15
Çârşeb 1	300
Alaca anteri 1	900
Def'a alaca anteri 1	1680

Çârşeb 1	318
Sağîr alaca anteri 1	363
Alaca anteri 1	1380
Sağîr alaca anteri 1	960
Hilâlî don 1 gömlek 1	753
Çârşeb 1	450
Gömlek 2	1020
Bez don 2	321
Def'a don 1	165
Bez gömlek 1	438
Yemenî 9	540
Yağlık 5	900
Def'a yağlık 5	900
Def'a yağlık 5	966
Def'a yağlık 5	810
Def'a yağlık 5	870
Def'a yağlık 5	1110
Yağlık 3 yemenî 1	330
Def'a yağlık 5	963
Def'a yağlık 5	1260
Uçkur 4	1023
Yağlık 2	723
Yağlık1 oya yemenî 1	216
Suzenî akçe kîsesi 2	240
Yemenî 2	90
Uçkur 3	600
Çûka müsta'mel anteri 1	840
Sîmli som kabzalı bıçak 1 ma'a zencir 1 ve tesbîh	960
Sağîr şişhâne tüfenk 1	450
Hırdavât	30
Köhne yağlık 5 makrama 1 yemenî 3	420
Mağrib kemer 1	150

Takye 2	30
Sîm yüzük 2	60
Sağîr tencere 3 tâbe 1 sahan 10 leğen 1 ibrik 1	1965
Bakır mangâl 1	393
Kebîr ceviz sandık 1	1320
Pirinç kömür hırdevât	600
Tencere 1 leğen 1	360
Nakd-i mevcûd	9105
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	75.5 guruş 15 para
Ufak akçe	1843
Def'a nakd teçhize masruf	12000
Behesâb-ı guruş	100
Yağlık yemeni 1	660
Yekûn	81377

Müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun Zindânkapusı hâricinde vâki' kuruyemişçi dükkânında mevcûde eşyâsıdur ki zikr olınur.

İğde kıyye 19 fiât 28	532
Razâkî üzüm kıyye 34 fiât 48	1632
Beylerce üzüm kıyye 36.5 fiât 27	985
İncir kıyye 33 fiât 25	825
Fındık kıyye 10 fiât 18	180
Hurma kıyye 115 fiât 30	3450
Badem kıyye 54 fiât 63	3402
Kuş üzümü kıyye 68 fiât 39	2652
Def'a beylerce üzüm kıyye 45.5 fiât 24	1080
Def'a kuş üzümü kıyye 23 fiât 39	897
Fısdık kıyye 12 fiât 38	444
Def'a fisdık kıyye 110 fiât 35	3850
Hârib kantar 27 fiât 240	6480
Zenbil 3	123

Sağîr sepetler 75	840
Sepetler 3	144
Serkapan ve çuval	600
Sepet 4	18
Hurda timür	60
Siyâh çizme	75
Yekûn	29214
Müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun mârru'z-zikr ta'bir olınur üç destgâh ve bir çekmece ve bir kantâr ve iki terâzu ma'a dirhem ve üç gurbalı on iki sepetler ve iki çuval ve iki fıçı ve bir tahta ve bir maşrapa ve bir tahta sandık âlât-ı lâzımesi ber vech-i tahmin	180000
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	1500
Mârru'z-zikr Örmine karyesinde vâki'kürûmı mülk bir kıt'a bâğ ber vech-i tahmin	180000
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	150
Yekûn	198000
Eşyâ-yı oda ve dükkân ve nakd ve âlât-ı bâğ cem'an	308591

Minhâ el-ihrâcât	
Tevhîz ve tekfin ve ıskât-ı salât berây-ı vasiyyet-i müsbite bi yed-i es-Seyyid Yusuf Efendi	12000
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	100
Deyn-i müsbit-i harîrî es-Seyyid el-Hâcc Hüseyin ağa bâ hüccet	12000
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	1000
Deyn-i müsbit-i Yemişçi Hâfız Mehmed Sadık Efendi	11388
[Behesâb-ı guruş]	94.5

Deyn-i müsbit-i Yemişçi Osmân Beşe İcâre-ihân şehri1.5	480
Tahlîs-i beyti'l-mâl	7200
Resm-i âdî	7200
Dellâliye-i eşyâ	1680
Kaydiyye-i defter	600
Yekûn	163968
Sahhu'l-bâkî	144623

Müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun duyûn-ı sâiresi olup henüz sâbit olmamağla sahhu'l-bâkî-i merkumun taksimi tevkif olındığı bu mahalle şerh olındı.

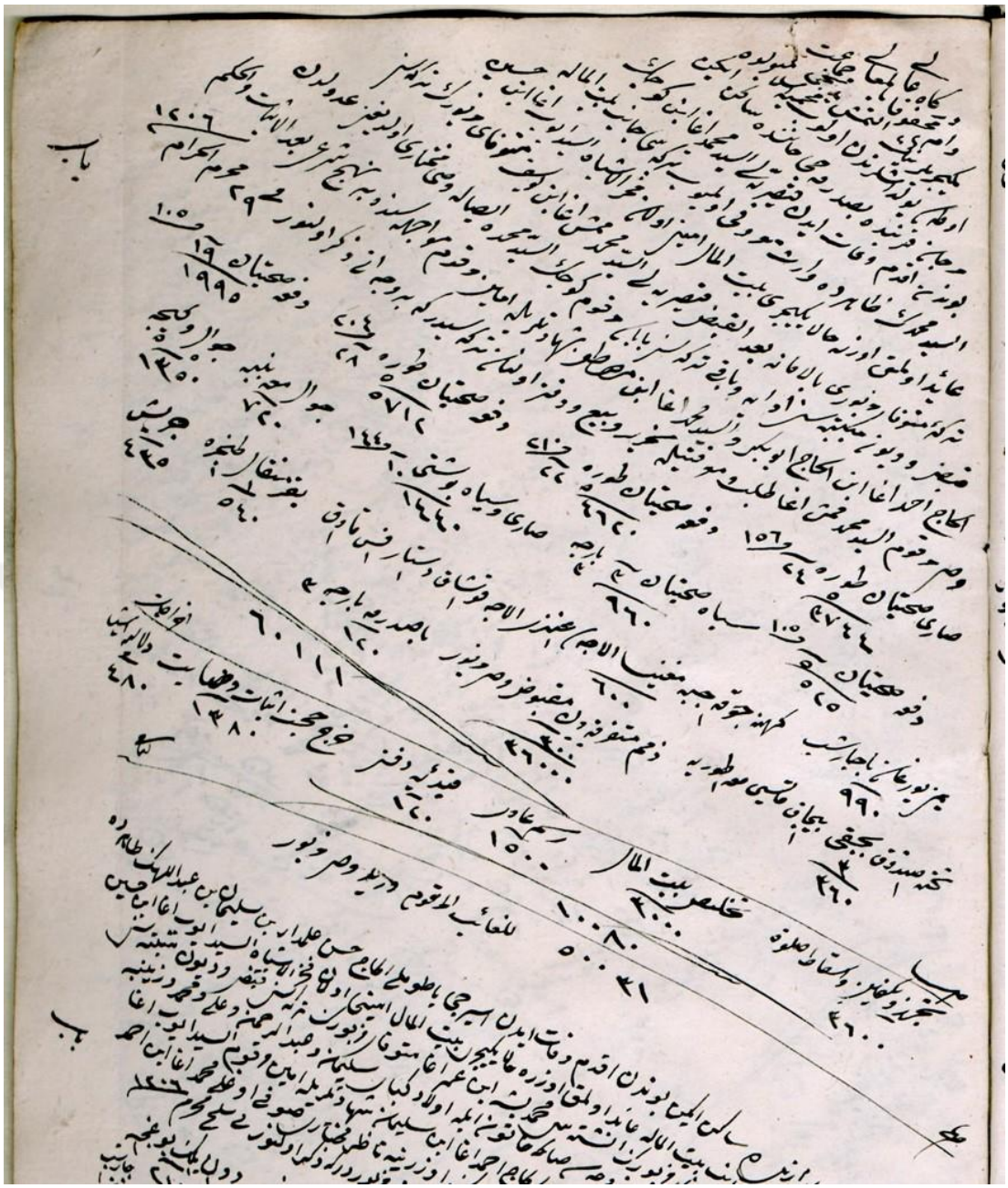


Figure 59. The inheritance record of es-Seyyid Mehmed Agha of Kayseri who died in Pastırmacı Han near Mercan, was a member of the 67th community chamber of the Janissary corps and a leather merchant based in Istanbul, dated 24 M 1206 / September 24, 1791. (ŞS, AKD. 615, 181/50).

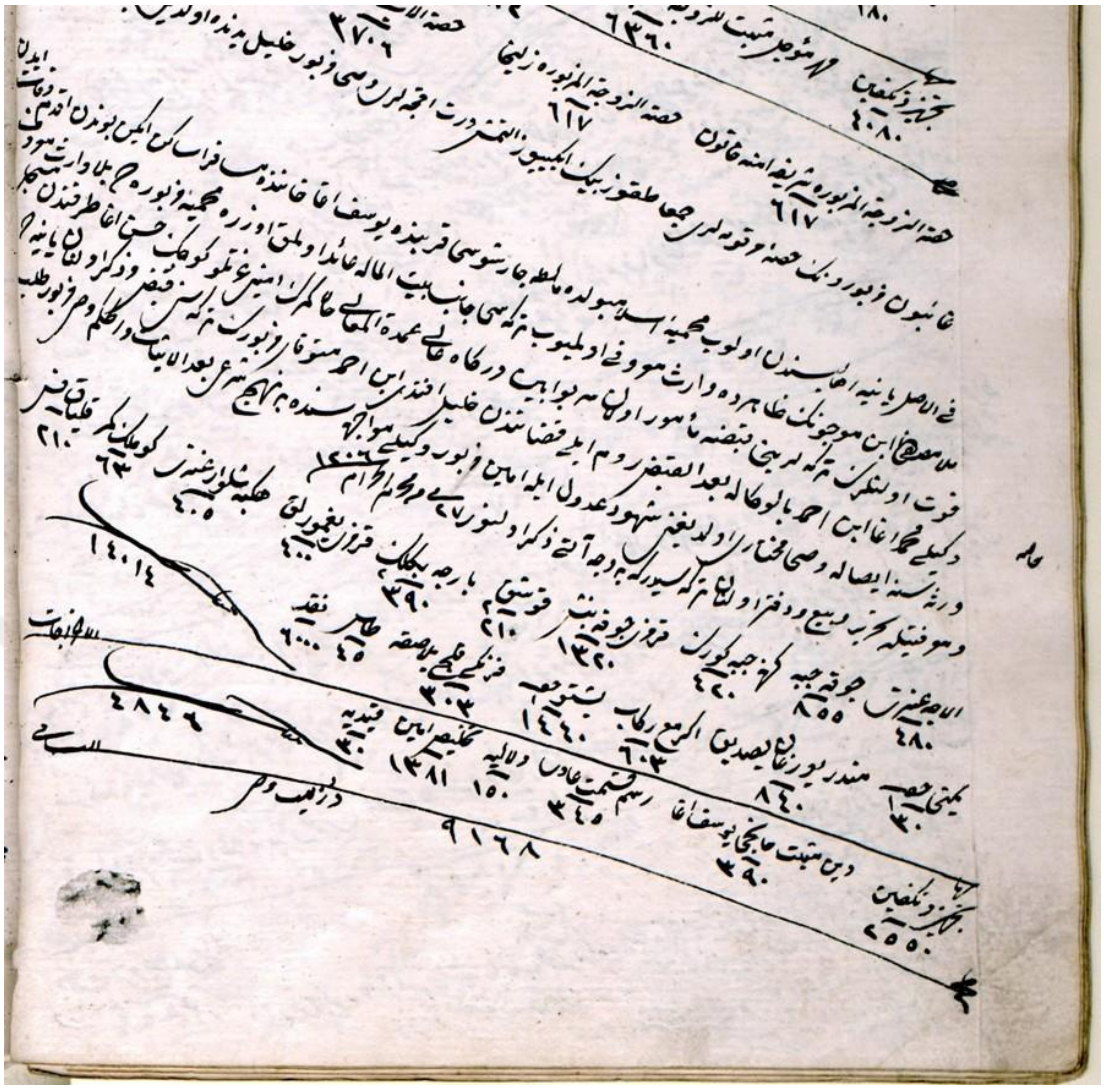


Figure 60. The inheritance record of Monla İbrahim ibn-i Abdullah of Arapkir, who died in Horasancı Han in Istanbul, dated 26 M 1206 / September 25, 1791. (ŞS, AKD. 615, 199/54).

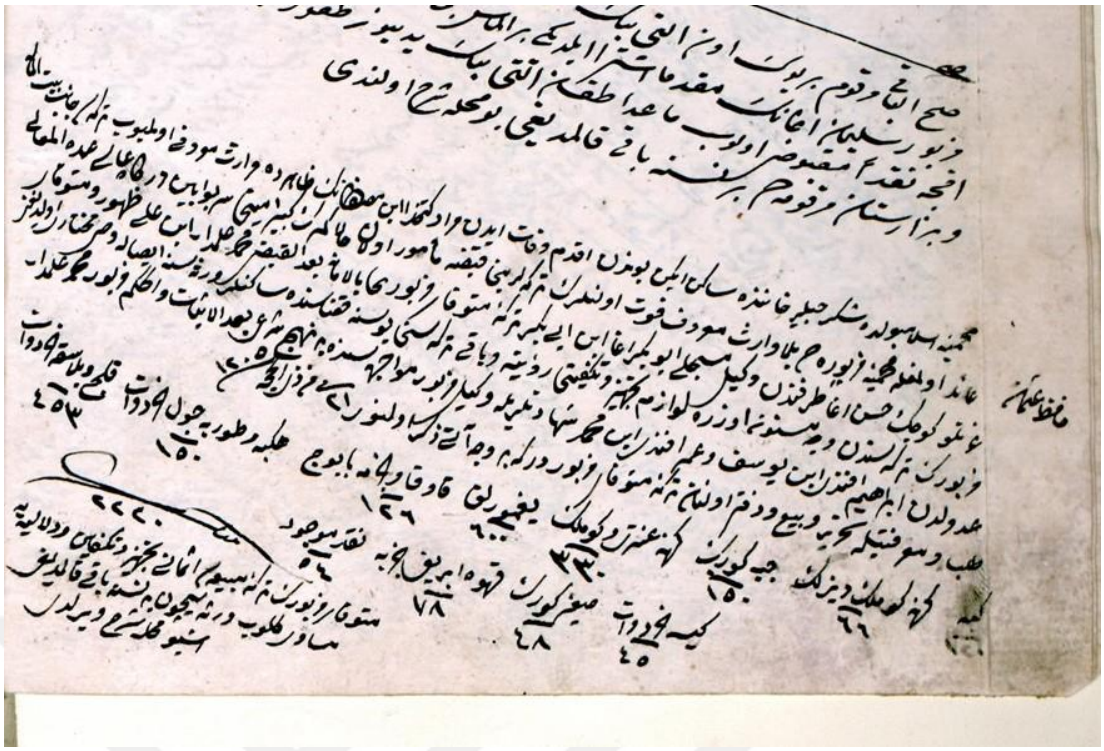


Figure 61. The inheritance record of Murad Kethüda ibn-i Mustafa who died in Şekerciler Han, dated 21 Z 1205 / August 21, 1791. (ŞS, AKD. 615, 125/31).

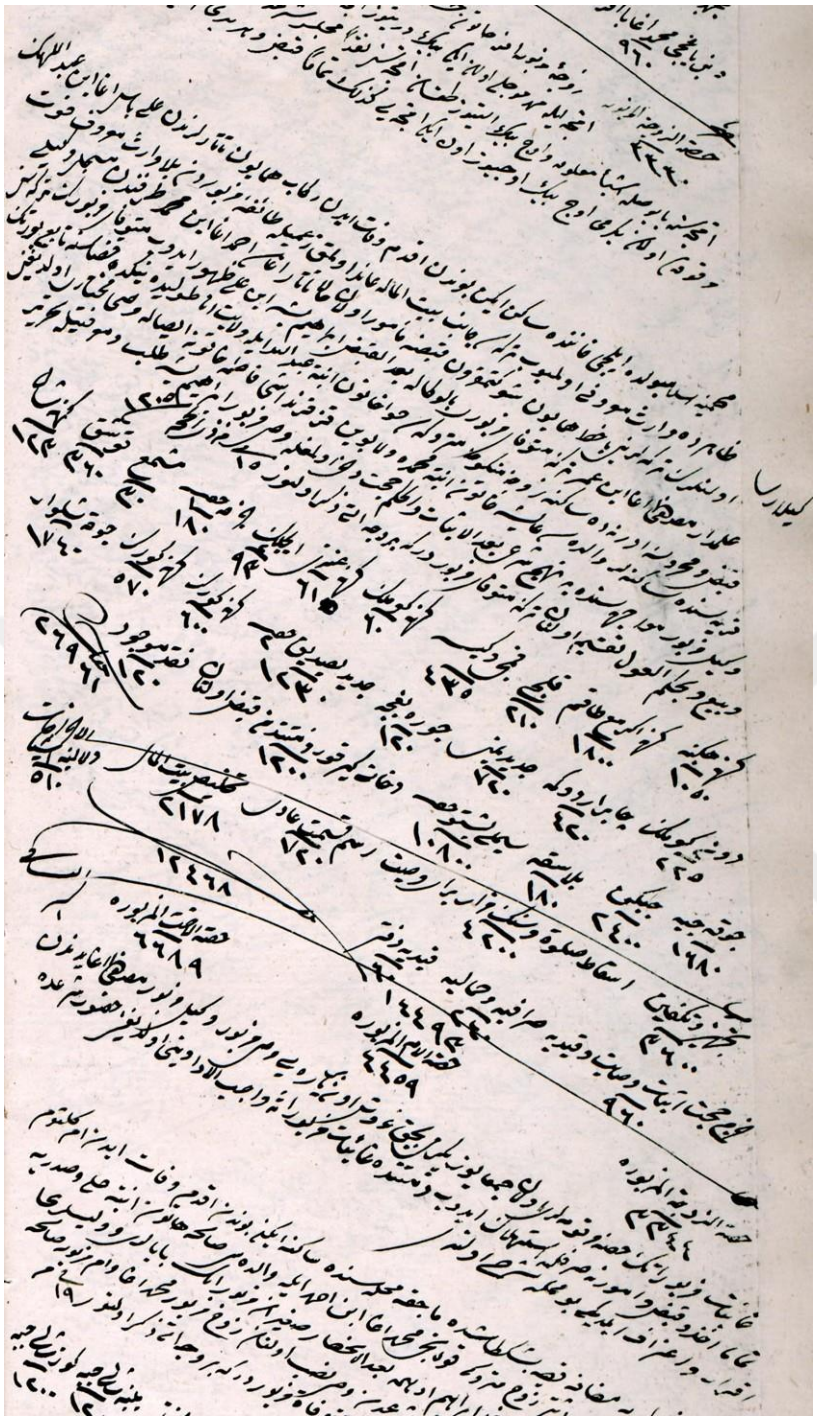


Figure 62. The inheritance record of Ali Baş Agha ibn-i Abdullah, who was a soldier in the tatars division of the *Rikab-ı Hümayun*, and died while residing in a room of Elçi Han, dated 15 Z 1205 / August 15, 1791. (ŞS, AKD. 615, 89/24).

Münhedim olan kârgir hânlar ahşaptan binâ olunmaya [olunmasın] emir.

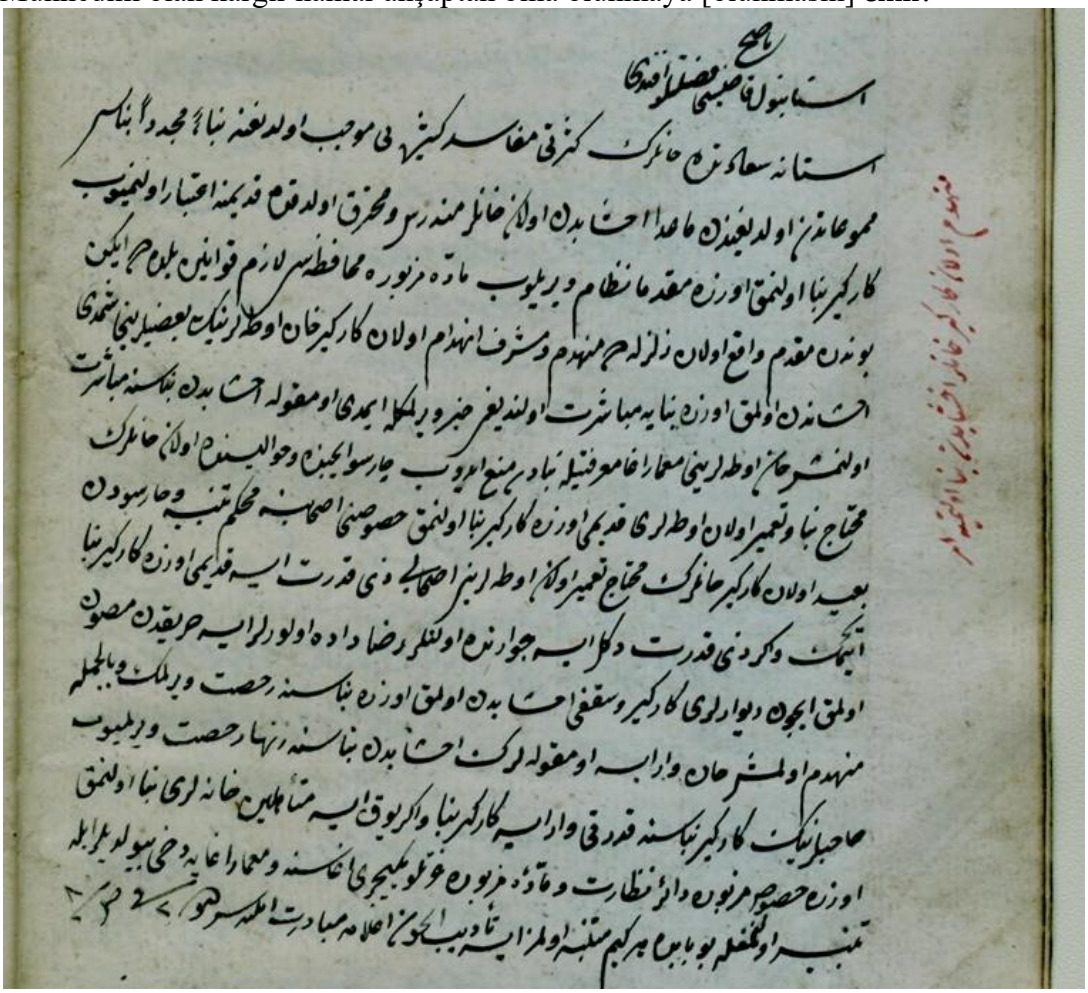


Figure 63. A decree dated 20 S 1180 / July 28, 1766, addressing the qadi of Istanbul, regarding the reconstruction of *han*s that were either demolished or in need of repair. The expression in the opening part of the text, "*Âsitâne-i Sa'âdette hânların kesreti mefâsid-i kesîreyi mûcib olduğuna*" shows that the high number of *han*s in the Ottoman capital was assumed to be the cause of various evils. (ŞS, İstanbul, 25/97).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 63.

İstanbul kadısı fazîletlü efendi

Âsitâne-i Sa’âdette hânların kesreti mefâsid-i kesîreyi mûcib olduğuna binâen müceddeden binâsı memnû’atdan olduğundan mâ’adâ ahşâbdan evânî hânlar münderis ve muhterik oldukta kadîmine i’tibâr olunmayıp kârgîr binâ olunmak üzere mukaddemâ nizâm verilüp madde-i mezbûre muhâfazası lâzım kavânîn beldede iken bundan mukaddem vâki’ olan zelzelede münhedîm ve müşerref-i inhidâm olan kârgîr hân odalarının ba’zılarını şimdi ahşâbdan olmak üzere binâya mübâşeret olunduğu haber verilmekle imdi o makûle ahşâbdan binâsına mübâşeret olunmuş hân odalarını mi’mâr ağa ma’rifetiyle binâdan men’ idüp çarşu içinde ve havlısında olan hânların muhtâc-ı binâ ve ta’mîr olan odaları kadîmi üzere kârgîr binâ olunmak husûsını eshâbına muhkem tenbîh ve çarşudan ba’îd olan kârgîr hânların muhtâc-ı ta’mîr olan odalarını eshâbı zî-kudret ise kadîmi üzere kârgîr binâ etmek ve eğer zî-kudret değil ise civârında olanlar rızâ-dâde olurlar ise harîkten masûn olmak içün duvarlarını kârgîr ve sakfı ahşâbdan olmak üzere binâsına ruhsat verilmek ve bi’l-cümle münhedîm olmuş hân var ise o makûleleri ahşâbdan binâsına zinhâr ruhsat verilmeyüp sahiblerinin kârgîr binâsına kudreti var ise kârgîr binâ ve eğer yok ise müteehhilîn hânları binâ olunmak üzre husûs-ı mezbûre dâir nezâret ve madde-i mezbûre izzetlü yeniçeri ağasına ve mi’mâr ağaya dahî buyuruldular ile tenbîh olunmağla bu bâbda her kim mütenebbih olmaz ise i’lâma mübâderet eyleyesiz deyû fî 20 S sene 1180.



Figure 64. A register of taverns (*şerbethane ve koltuk*) within and outside the gates of Istanbul that were ordered to be closed down, dated 29 Z 1242 / July 24, 1827. (BOA D.BŞM.ZCR.d. 20446).

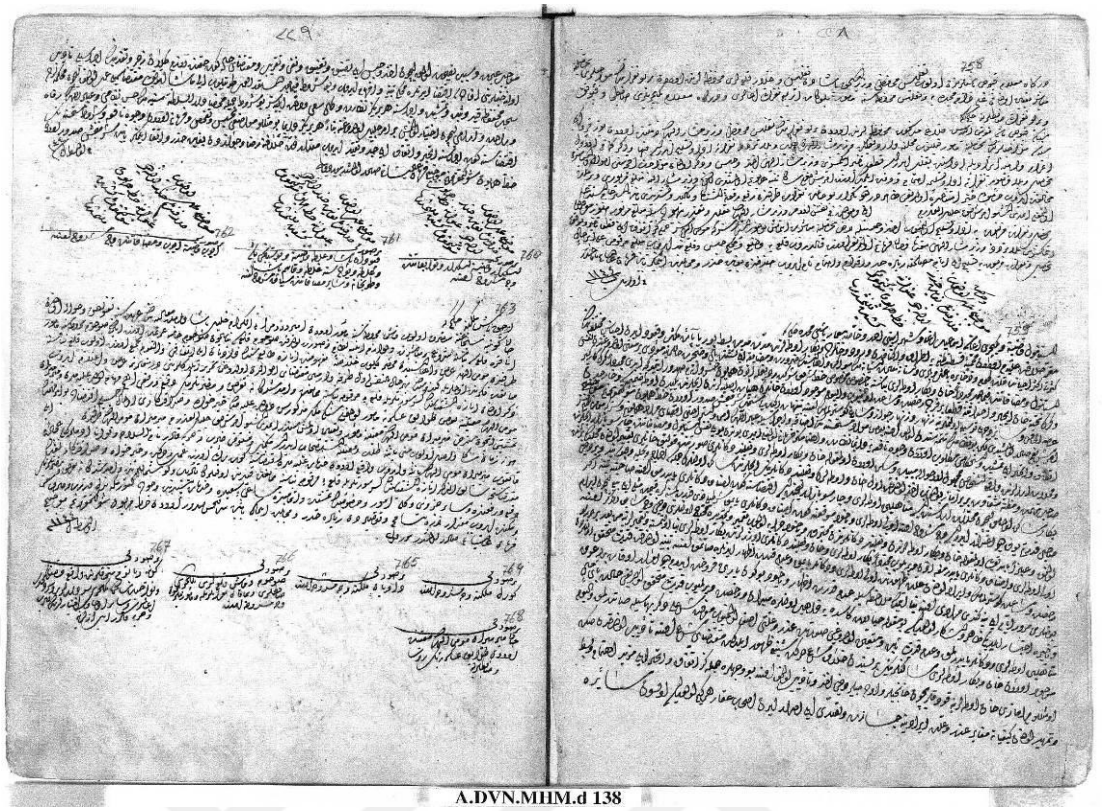


Figure 65. A decree that bans the reconstruction or expansion of *han* structures and orders city authorities to do necessary inspections, on grounds that people who come from the surrounding regions and stay in *han*s and bachelor's chambers cause shortages in basic needs such as food and water for the resident population of Istanbul, dated Evasıt-ı L 1144 / April 6 -15, 1732. (BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 138/759).



Figure 66. The decree dated 1 C 1155 / August 3, 1742 by Mahmud I to the kadi, janissary agha, *şehremini*, and chief architect stating that people who come from the surrounding regions and stay in *han*s and bachelor's chambers cause shortages in basic needs for the resident population of Istanbul. It bans the reconstruction or expansion of *han* structures and orders city authorities to do the necessary inspections. (BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/162).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 66. (Koç, 2011)

Vezâretle bi'l-fi‘l Dergâh-ı âlî yeniçerileri ağası Vezîr Hasan Paşa ve İstanbul kādîsına ve şehremîni ( ) ve hassa mi‘mârbaşı el-hâc Mehmed -zîde mecduhû-mâya hüküm ki,

Makarr-i hılâfet-i aliyyem olan Mahmiye-i Kostantıniyye'ye etrâf ve eknâfdan gelüp hanlarda ve bekar odalarında meks ve ikâmet eden ecnâs-ı muhtelifenin kesreti ekser-i ahyânda kıllet-i nân ve luhûm ve sâ’ir zahâire bâ‘is ve bâdî ve İstanbul ahâlîsinin zarûret ü muzâyakalarına mü’eddî olduğından nefs-i İstanbul ve muzâfâtında fî mâ-ba‘d mücedden hân ve bekâr odaları binâsına ve bâ-husûs mahsûsen hatt-ı hümâyûnum sâdır olmadıkça müceddeden gerek kârgîr ve gerek tahta hân îcâd ve ihdâsına kat‘an bir ferde ruhsat ve müsâ‘ade olunmayup, ve'l-yevm mevcûd olan hânların hey’ât-ı asliyelerinden ziyâde içlerine yekyerden oda zamîmesi ve hâricden arsa ılhâkı ve sâ’ir vechile tevsî‘ olunmalarına zinhâr ve zinhâr cevâz ve mesâğ gösterilmeyüp ve fî mâ-ba‘d nefs-i İstanbul ve muzâfâtında çarşu ve pazar içlerinde ve mahallât aralarında vâkı‘ eşhâs-ı mechûlü'l-ahvâle beyt ve mesken olan ol makūle hân ve bekar odaları ve na‘lbend dükkanları sûretinde Koltuk Hânları ta‘bîr olunan mahallerin yerinde sâhib-i töhmet ve mezânne-i şakāvet bir yaramaz bulunup ahz olundukda, ol han ve odalar ve na‘lbend dükkânlarında sâkin olanların cümlesi ihrâc ve tahlîye ve kapusu bend ve bir dahi bekâr sâkin olmamak içün mahallât arasında ise müte’ehhilîn odaları ve çarşu ve pazar içinde ise iktizâsına göre esnâf dükkânları yapdırmak üzre ashâbına tenbîh olunmak ve eger sâhib-i kadîmi yok diyü i‘tirâz ederse vech-i meşrûh üzre evli odaları veyâhud mevkı‘ına göre esnâf dükkânları yapmak şartıyla zî-kudret kimesnelere kıymet-i misliyesiyle bey‘ içün ibrâm olunmak ve ıyâzenbillahi te‘âlâ o makūle hân ve bekâr odalarından ve na‘lbend dükkânlarından muhterik veyâhud harâb olup ta‘mîr ve tecdîde muhtâc olanlarını dahi vech-i sâbıku'z-zikr üzre evli odaları ve esnâf dükkânları yapdırmaya izn verilüp müceddeden bekâr odaları va hân ve na‘lbend dükkânları üzerlerine bekâr odaları binâ olunmasına ve ta‘mîrlerine min ba‘d bir dürlü ruhsat ve müsâ‘ade gösterilmemek ve îrâde olunan ıllet zuhûrunda evli odaları ve dükkânlar yapmak ve adem-i kudret izhâr edenlere satmak üzre tenbîh olundukda, kudret-i muhakkak olanlardan ba‘zıları mürûr-ı eyyâm ile yine kendü murâdı üzre binâ etmek mülâhazasıyla adem-i kudret izhâr ve yâhûd bu gün yarın füruht ederim diyü imrâr-i evkāt birle avk ve te’hîre ictisâr eylediği zâhir ve aşikâr olur ise bu makūle hayâlât-ı

kâmvereye zâhib olanlara meydân ve ruhsat verilmeyüp, kudreti muhakkak olduğu hâlde bi-eyyi-hâl müte'ehhilîn odaları ve dükkânlar yapdırılmak ve adem-i kudreti sâbit ve müte'ayyin olduğu sûretde özür ve ılleti ısgā olunmayup, ma'rifet-i şer'le değeri bahâsıyla sattırılmak, ve'l-yevm mevcûd olan hân ve bekâr odaları sâkinlerinin birisinden hilaf-i şer' hareket-i şenî'a zuhûr eylediğin muktezâ-i şer' üzre te'dîb olundukdan sonra o misillü yaramazları han ve odalarına koduklarıçün hancılar ve odacılar dahi ahz ve te'dîb olunmak üzre bu vechlere yeniçeri ağası ve İstanbul kādîsi ve şehremîni ve mi'mâr başı bulunanlar ittifâk ve ittihâd ile mezîd-i ihtimâm ve bast ü temhîd olunan keyfiyâta mugāyir özür ve ayb îrâdına cesâret ve tasaddî ile ısrâr eden ashâb-ı akâr her kim olursa olsun sâ'ire mûceb-i ibret ve sebeb-i nasîhat olmak içün ahz ve habs ve tazyîk ve nefy ü tağrîb ve muktezâ-yı hâle göre hakkında lâzım gelan zecr ve ta'zîb icrâsıyla te'dîb olunacakları ifâdesi iktizâ edenlere ifhâm ve bu şurût fî mâ-ba'd düstûrü'l-amel tutulmak içün mahkemelerde sicill-imahfûza kayd ü bend olunmak üzre bin yüz kırk sekiz senesi evâhır-ı saferî târîhiyle mü'erreh ve hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı şevket-makrûnumla mufassal ve meşrûh emr-i şerîfim sâdır ve bu âna dek mazmûn-ı münîfi icrâ ve tenfîz olunmuşidi. Lâkin ba'zı ufak müsekkafâtı ve erâzil ve eytâm makūlelerinin ve sâ'ir ibâdullâhın emlâk ve akārları olan kadîm na'lbend dükkanları ve bekâr odaları ve hanların mürûr-ı eyyâm ile külliyen harâbe müşrif olmayup sekaf ve kiremid ve kepenk ve pencere ve suvâ misillü ta'mîre muhtâc mahallerini ashâbı ta'mîr etmeyüp, gitdikçe dahi ziyâde harâb ve bu takdîrle evkâfa ve ashâb-ı akāra özür ve hasâret vukû'ı iktizâ edüp, ancak zamân-ı meymenet-nişân-ı şâhânemde gerek evkāf ve gerek ibâdullâha mikdâr-ı zerre zarar tertîb olunmasına kat'an rızâ-yı şerîfim olmamağla, zikr olunan hatt-ı hümâyûnumla mu'anven sâdır olan emr-i şerîf-i âlî-şânım Dîvân-ı hümâyûnum kaleminde hıfz olunup, ba'de-izin ol emr-i şerîfde mezkûr ta'mirât maddesi ref' ve imhâ ve müceddeden yine hatt-ı şerîf-i inâyet-rûnümûnla mu'anven şeref-bahşâ-yı sudûr olan işbu fermân-ı âlî-şânımın mazmûn-ı mevhibet-meşhûnı icrâ ve imzâ olunmak bâbında fermân-ı hümâyûnum sâdır olmağla, imdi fî mâ-ba'd ol makūle kādîmî olan hanlar ve bekâr odaları na'lbend dükkanları suvâları ve sakafî kiremidleri ve pencereleri misillü mahalleri ta'mîre muhtâc oldukda ma'rifet-i şer' ve hâssa mi'mârbaşı ma'rifetiyle ba'de'l-keşf vaz'-ı aslîsini tecâvüz etmemek ve bir tarîkle tevsî' ve terfî' olunmamak ve etrâfdan arsa ilhâk ve zamîme kılınmamak velhâsıl ancak ta'mîre muhtâc mahalleri vaz'-ı aslîleri üzre termîm olunmak şartıyla ta'mîrlerine izin verilüp, ba'de't-terkīm yine keşf olunup vaz'-ı aslîsini tecâvüz

etmemiş ise kemâ kân ibkā ve eger tecâvüz etdiği hak ve adl üzre hîn-i keşifde mu‘ayyen olursa ziyâdesi hedm ve ilgā ve vaz‘-ı aslîsine tahvîl ve ircâ‘ olunup ve lâkin bu sebep ile kadîmi olan hanların ve bekâr odaları ve na‘lbend dükkanlarının esâsından hedm ve müceddeden yine ihdâs olunmalarına dahi bir dürlü ruhsat ve cevâz gösterilmeyüp ta‘mîrât mâddesinde işbu şurûta ri‘âyet ve mâdde-i merkūmeden mâ-adâ mukaddemen sâdır olan emr-i şerîfimde zikr ü beyân olunan mevâdd-i sâ’ire dahi yine kemâ fi'l-evvel yerlü yerinde ibkā ve himâyet olunup ve ta‘mîrât keyfiyyetine bu siyâk üzre müsâ‘ade i‘lâm ve erzân kılındığı mehâkimde olan sicillâta tekrâr kayd ü bend ve fî mâ-ba‘d inşâallâhü te‘âlâ düstûru'l-amel tutulup bi'l-ittifâk temşiyet ve icrâsına nezâret ve şurût-ı mezkûrenin edâsına kemâl-i sa‘y ve dikkat eylemek bâbında fermân-ı âlî-şânım sâdır olmuşdur, buyurdum ki, Fî evâ’il-i C[emâziye'l-âhır] sene [1]155

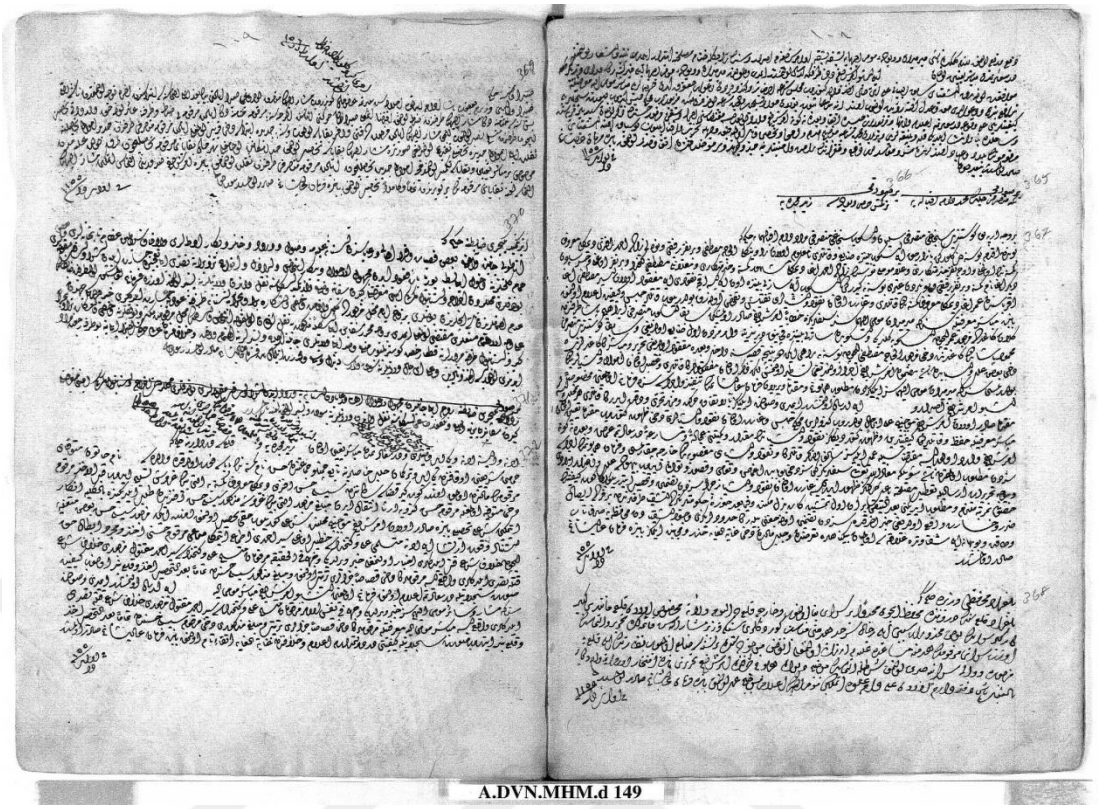


Figure 67. A decree dated 29 ZA 1155 / January 25, 1743, addressing the officer of the İznikmid (Izmit) janissary corps, stating that despite earlier decrees ordering the prevention of migration of bachelors and unidenfiable persons to Istanbul, authorities in the regions surrounding Istanbul do not exercise the necessary caution. It orders the strict control of landings and sea and land routes by which such persons arrive in Istanbul. (BOA A.DVNS.MHM.d. 149/370).

The transcription of Appendix A, Figure 67. (Kal’a, 1997)

İznikmid yeniçeri zâbitine hüküm ki,

Anadolu cânibinde vâkı‘ ba‘zı kasabât ve kurâ ahâlî ve re‘âyâsından Âsitâne-i aliyye'me vusûl ve vürûd ve hânlar ve bekâr odaları ve evkāf-ı selâtin-i ızâm tâbhâneleri ve ba‘zı hamâm külhânlarına duhûl ile bast-i pür-bâr-ı ku‘ûd eden mechûlü'l-ahvâl ve bekâr eşhâs ve erâzil ve envâ’-ı tezvîrâta tasaddî ile ta’cîze cesâret eyleyan eşirrâ ve esfel makūleleri bulundukları mahallerden ihrâc ve İstanbul Gümrüğü emîni ma‘rifetiyle giden sefâyîne vaz‘ ve İznikmid İskelesi'ne nakl ve ednan vilâyetlerine tesyîr olunmak üzre fermânım olmuşiken, ol tarafdaki zâbitânın adem-i ihtimâmlarından nâşî içlerinden ba‘zıları birkaç eyyâm mahall-i mezbûrda meks ü ikāmet ve hâfî ve âşikâre berren ve bahren yine Âsitâne tarafına avdete cesâret eyledikleri haber verildiği cihetden alâ vechi'l-ihtimâm men‘leri muktezî olmağla imdi ber-vech-i muharrer sefâyîn ile iskele-i mezkûreden nakl olunan ol makūle eşhâs ve esfelin mahall-i merkūmede meks ve tevakkuflarına ve hafî ve âşikâre berren ve bahren gerü İstanbul tarafına mürûrlarına kat‘an ruhsat gösterilmeyüp men‘ ve sedd ile vilâyetleri cânibine ircâ‘ ve tesyîrlerine ihtimâm ve dikkat ve hılâf-ı fermân-ı âlî hareketden ihtirâz ile yine bu tarafa ric‘at murâd edenleri olur ise ahz ve te’dîb ve alâ eyyi-hâl vilâyetlerine sevk ve irsâle bezl ü sa‘y ü kudret eylemek bâbında fermân-ı âlî-şân sâdır olmuşdur.

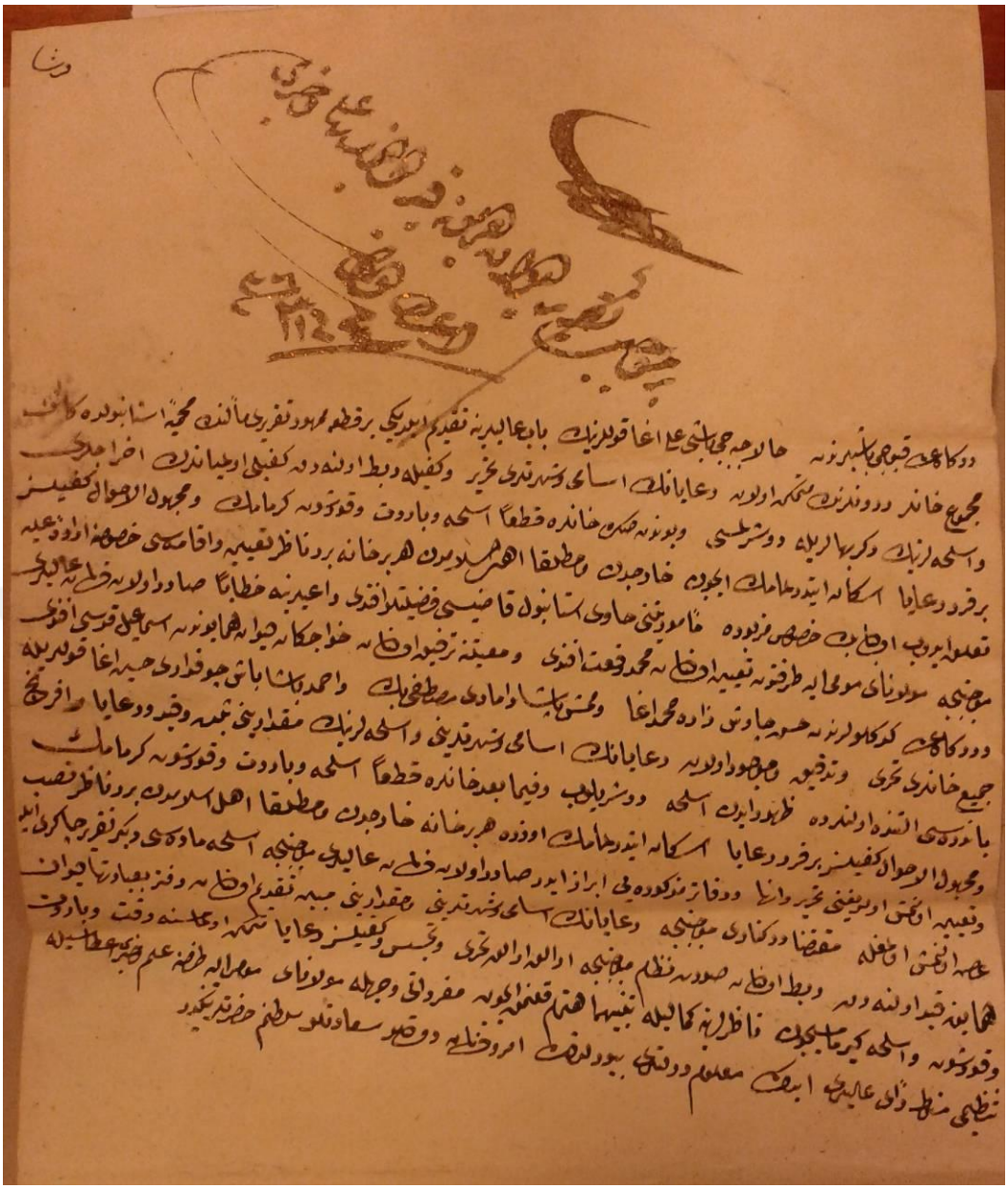


Figure 68. A report to the Sultan on the *takrir* of the chief gatekeeper Cebecibaşı Ali Ağa on the identification of non-Muslim shopkeepers who occupy *han*s, the appointment of sureties for each and the eviction of those without sureties, the purchase of all weapons they possessed at their real values, and the appointment of Muslim custodians to all *han*s, dated 14 N 1236 / June 15, 1821. (BOA C.AS. 5/159).

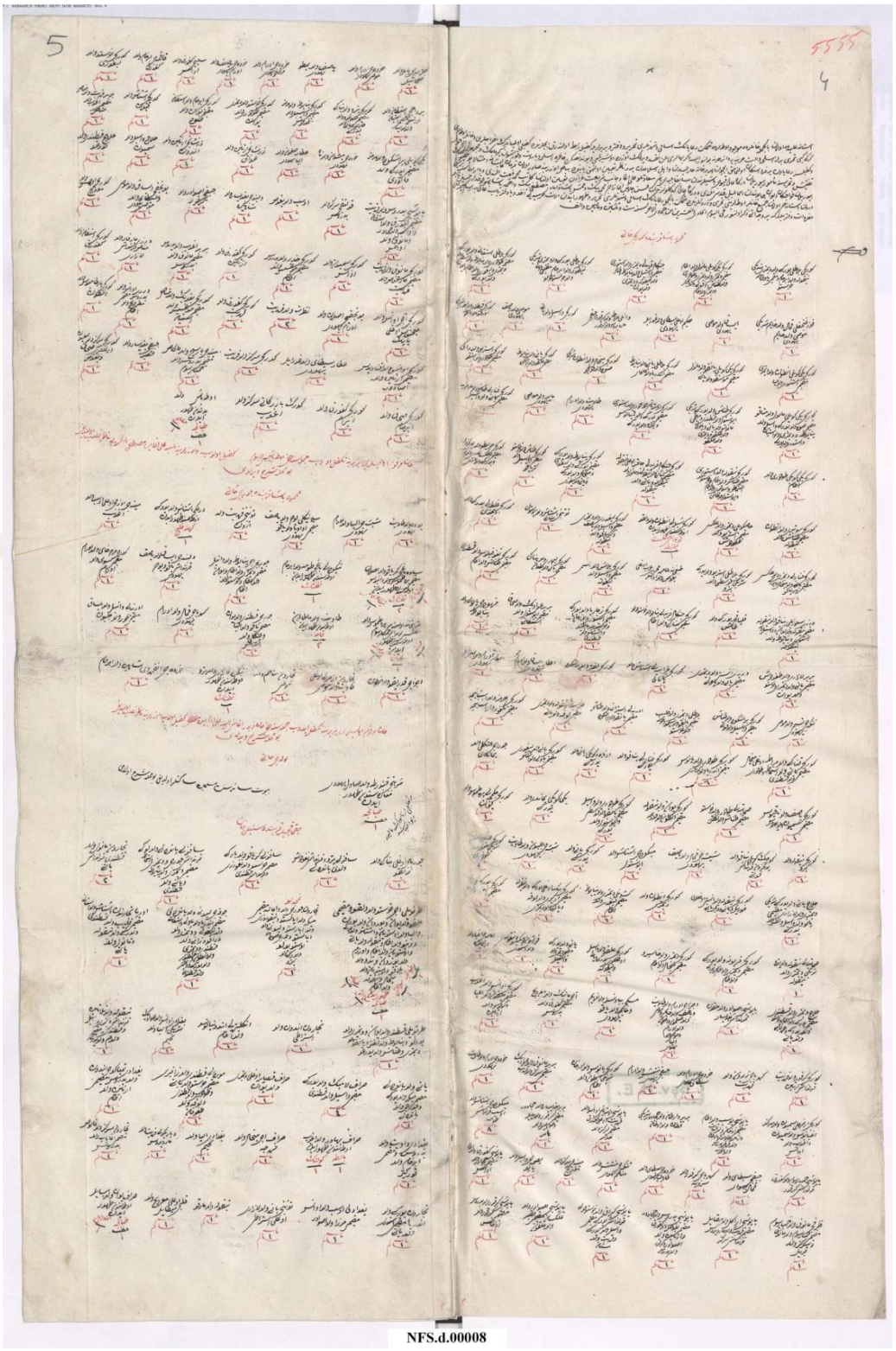


Figure 69. The register identifying non-Muslim shopkeepers in all *han*s of Istanbul and their sureties, containing records of weapons held by non-Muslim shopkeepers that would be purchased from them at their real values, and recording the appointment of Muslim custodians to all Istanbul *han*s, dated 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821. (First page of 27 pages). (BOA NFS.d. 0008).

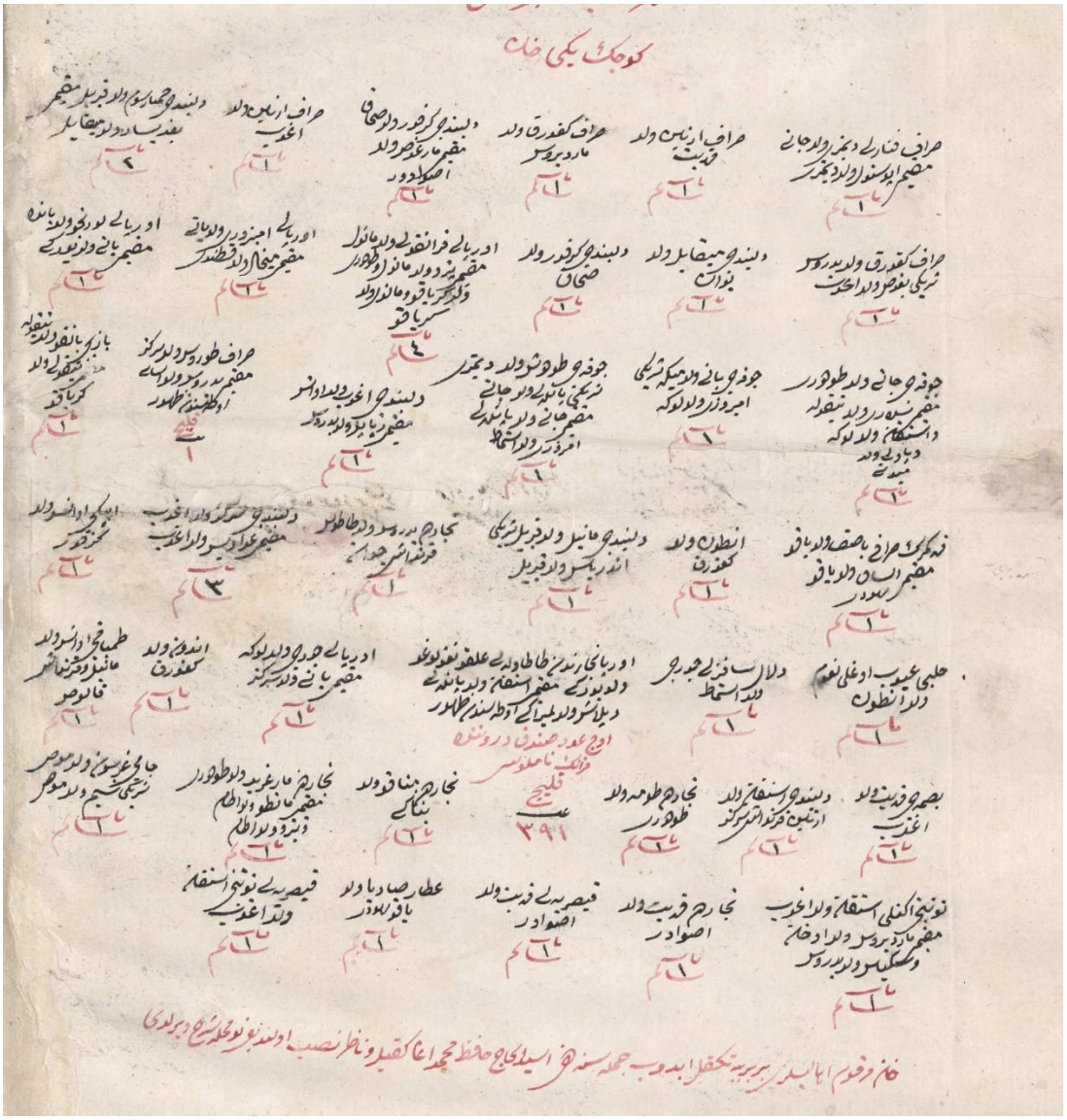


Figure 70. A detail of the document presented in figure 69, including records of the Küçük Yeni Han, dated 21 C 1236 / March 26, 1821. (Sixth of 27 pages). (BOA NFS.d. 0008).

APPENDIX B.

THE LIST OF THE *HAN*S AND BACHELOR CHAMBERS IN GREATER ISTANBUL AS REFLECTED IN TWO EARLY-NINETEENTH CENTURY REGISTERS

Table 19. The List of the *Han*s and Bachelor Chambers in Greater Istanbul as Reflected in the two Early-Nineteenth Century Registers

(H- Han, BO- Bekâr Odası)

#	TYPE	NAME	ROOMS	WAQF / PLACE
Çakmakçılar civarında Yanyalı Hanı Kolu				
1	H	Valide Hanı	248	Çinili Valide Vakfı
2	H	Küçük Yeni Han	52	Laleli Vakfı
3	H	Büyük Yeni Han	150	Laleli Vakfı
4	H	Sünbüllü Han	105	Sultan Selim Han Salis Vakfı
5	H	Mustafa Paşa Hanı	29	
6	H	Küçük Mustafa Paşa Hanı	8	
7	H	Kumrulu Han	20	
8	H	Yeni Küşad	28	
9	H	Çinili Han	24	
10	H	Büyük Ticaret Hanı	8	
11	H	Küçük Ticaret Hanı	4	
12	H	Boncukçu Hanı	13	
13	H	Emirler Hanı	28	
14	H	Cebel-i Attar Hanı	8	
15	H	Yanyalı Hanı	9	
Hasırcılar kurbunda Yeni Han Kolu				
16	H	Yeni Han	22	
17	H	Balkapanı Hanı	79	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
18	H	Papazoğlu Hanı	51	Papazzade Mustafa Çelebi Vakfı
19	H	Kundakçı Hanı	32	
20	H	Elhac Mehmed Efendi Hanı	22	
21	H	Büyük Çukur Han	35	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
22	H	Kâtip Ali Efendi Hanı	7	
23	H	Küçük Çukur Han	21	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
24	H	Mehmed Bey Hanı	4	
25	H	Bekçi Said Ağa Hanı	29	
26	H	Fesçi Said Ağa Damadı Hanı	15	
27	H	Katırcı Hanı	52	

28	H	Cedid Baltacı Hanı	31	
29	H	Saibaşı Hanı	13	
30	H	Kuşçubaşı Hanı	7	
31	H	Ermeni Hanı	14	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
32	H	Çavuşbaşı Hanı	20	
33	H	Ütücü Hanı	18	
Asmaaltı'nda Kiraz Hanı Kolu				
34	H	Giriz Hanı (Kiraz Hanı)	13	Cağalzade Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
35	H	Nafia Hanı	24	
36	H	Gürcü Hanı	13	Kazasker Esbak Abdülkadir Efendi Vakfı
37	H	Kanbur Hanı	13	
38	H	Küçük Şekerci Hanı	10	
39	H	Büyük Şekerci Hanı	13	
40	H	Yarım Salebci Hanı	8	
41	H	Büyük Salebcinin Şerbethanesi	11	
42	H	Yarım Hacı Mahmud Hanı	6	
43	H	Yarım Laz Hanı	8	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
44	H	Zindallı Hanı	24	
45	H	Kadıoğlu Hanı	12	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
46	H	Burmalı Han	13	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
47	H	Bostancı Hanı	15	
48	H	Yıldız Hanı	5	Abdüsselam Efendi Vakfı
49	H	Canbaz Hanı	9	
50	H	Camlı Han	6	
Müftü Hanı Kolu				
51	H	Müftü Hanı	28	
52	H	Küçük Cezayir Hanı	6	
53	H	Şeyh Davud Hanı	52	
54	H	Kebapçıbaşı Hanı	28	
55	H	Çiçekçibaşı Hanı	24	
56	H	Küçük Halil Efendi Hanı	20	
57	H	Büyük Kutucu Hanı	29	
58	H	Küçük Kutucu Hanı	24	
59	H	Timurtaş Hanı	34	
60	H	Ekmekçibaşı Hanı	7	
61	H	Ali Paşa Hanı	39	
62	H	Yeşildirek Hanı	16	
63	H	Yağcı Hanı	7	
64	H	Hacı Osman Hanı	14	

65	H	Mehmed Emin Ağa Hanı	23	
66	H	İbriktar Ağa Hanı	22	
67	H	Halim Paşa Hanı	13	
68	BO	Hasırcılarda Yağhane odaları	8	
69	H	Aşçıbaşı Hüseyin Ağa Hanı	6	
70	H	Bakkal Aci Yorgi Hanı	6	
71	H	Yağlıkçılar Kethüdası Hanı	5	
72	BO	Berber Ali Ağa odaları Hanı	4	
73	BO	Kantarcı odaları	3	
74	BO	Ömer Ağa odaları	3	
75	BO	Abbas Ağa odaları	3	
Uzun Çarşı civarında Ali Bey Hanı Kolu				
76	H	Ali Bey Hanı	42	
77	H	Filcancı Hanı (Fincancı Hanı)	108	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
78	H	Pertev Paşa Hanı	84	Pertev Paşa Vakfı
79	H	Kilid Hanı	58	
80	H	Kilid Hanı derununda Tahta Hanı	46	
81	H	Sulu Han	44	
82	H	İyneli Han	18	
83	H	Arpacı Han	4	
84	H	İyneci Hanı	18	
Alaca Hamam kurbunda Lüleci Hanı				
85	H	Lüleci Hanı	22	Ayasofya Vakfı
86	H	Küçük Hacı Nasuh Hanı	8	Çinili Valide Vakfı
87	H	Büyük Hacı Nasuh Hanı	48	Çinili Valide Vakfı
88	H	Leblebici Hanı	45	
89	H	Sabuncu Hanı	44	
90	H	Küçük Yıldız Hanı	26	
91	H	Çorapçı Hanı	60	
92	H	Şişeci Hanı	20	
93	H	Yarım Şişeci Hanı	23	
94	H	Kürkçü Hanı	180	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
95	H	Küçük Çorapçı Hanı	13	
96	H	Şekerci İsmail Ağa Hanı	9	
97	H	Reşit Paşa Hanı	6	
98	H	Peştemalcıoğlu Hanı	6	
Mahmud Paşa kurbunda Kaşıkçı Hanı Kolu				
99	H	Kaşıkçı Hanı	22	Amca Hüseyin Paşa Vakfı
100	H	Büyük Yıldız Hanı	54	Abdüsselam Vakfı
101	H	Cafer Ağa Hanı	60	

102	H	Baltacı Hanı	25	
103	H	Sıra odaları	36	
104	H	Kalcılar Hanı	74	
105	H	Besteci Hanı?	20	
106	H	Küçük Yıldız Han	8	
107	H	Tahta Han	33	
108	H	Yarım Han	45	
109	H	Sultan odaları	59	
Bab-ı Zaptiye kurbunda Hoca Hanı Kolu				
110	H	Hoca Hanı	60	
111	H	Yusuf Ağa Hanı	30	
112	H	Aşir Efendi Hanı	44	
113	H	Hoca Paşa Hanı	40	Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakfı
114	H	Şapçı Hanı	30	
115	H	Muhsinzade Hanı	33	Muhsinzade Abdullah Paşa Vakfı
116	H	Nakkaş Hanı	30	
117	H	İmaret Hanı	15	Hamidiyye Vakfı
118	H	Taş Hanı	30	Laleli Vakfı
119	H	Boğçaçı Hanı	15	
120	H	Külahçı İbrahim Ağa Hanı	15	
121	H	Tarakçı Mağazası Hanı	15	
122	H	Papazoğlu Hanı	15	
123	H	Hacı İsmail Ağa Hanı	4	
Mercan civarında Bekçi Başı Hanı Kolu				
124	H	İmameli Han	42	
125	H	Kızlarağası Hanı	31	
126	H	Pastırmacı Hanı	8	
127	H	Evli Çıkmaz Hanı	28	
128	H	Evliya Hanı	19	Koca Mustafa Paşa Vakfı
129	H	Kadı Kameri Hanı	46	
130	H	Yıldız Hanı	47	
131	H	Mercan Ağa Hanı	66	
132	H	Çukur Han	29	
133	H	Baltacı Hanı	14	
134	H	Kuşakçı Hanı	28	
135	H	Sultan odaları	48	
136	H	Ali Paşa Hanı	69	
137	H	Bekçi Başı Hanı	32	
Çarşı-yı Kebir'de Zincirli Han Kolu				
138	H	Zincirli Han	48	Ayasofya Vakfı
139	H	Perdahçı Hanı	39	Abdüsselam Vakfı

140	H	Çukur Han	58	
141	H	Yolgeçen Hanı	34	
142	H	Büyük Zaferan Hanı	26	
143	H	Küçük Zaferan Hanı	27	
144	H	Astarcı Hanı	56	Ahmed Şemsettin Vakfı
145	H	Kebeci Hanı	184	Rüstem Paşa ve Mihrimah Sultan Vakfı
Yorgancılar'da Yüncü Han Kolu				
146	H	Yüncü Hanı	43	
147	H	Sarraf Hanı	26	
148	H	Evliya Hanı	29	
149	H	İstanbul Ağası Hanı	40	
150	H	Yarım Taş Han	10	
151	H	Ali Paşa Hanı	90	Ali Paşa Vakfı
152	H	Kellekesen Hanı	35	
153	H	Camili Hanı	25	
Tavuk Pazarı kurbunda Vezir Han Kolu				
154	H	Vezir Han	158	Köprülü Mehmed Paşa Vakfı
155	H	Sofçu Hanı	53	Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Vakfı
156	H	Çukacı Hanı	116	Makbul İbrahim Paşa Vakfı
157	H	Varakçı Hanı	16	
158	H	Taş Hanı	20	
159	H	Yağcı Hanı	59	
160	H	Hazinedar Ağa Hanı	52	
161	H	Elçi Hanı	96	Atik Ali Paşa Vakfı
162	H	Yağlıkçı Hanı	32	Atik Ali Paşa Vakfı
163	H	Esir Pazarı Hanı	172	Bayram Paşa Vakfı
164	H	Cameci Hanı	36	
165	H	Kebapçı Hanı	32	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
166	H	İmaret Hanı	8	Sultan Bayezid Vakfı
167	H	Direklerarası Hanı	6	
168	H	İshak Paşa Hanı	7	
169	H	Rubiye Hanı	34	
Kalpakçılar başında Sepetçi Hanı Kolu				
170	H	Sepetçi Hanı	49	
171	H	Bodrum Hanı	83	Ayasofya-yı Kebir Vakfı
172	H	Sorguççu Hanı	46	Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakfı
173	H	Baltacı Hanı	23	
174	H	Yolgeçen Hanı	75	
175	H	Takyeci Hanı	22	
176	H	Küçük Taş Han	4	
177	H	Kerpiç Hanı	26	

Dikilitaş kurbunda Fazlı Paşa Kolu				
178	H	Zarif Paşa Hanı	35	
179	H	Topal Hacı Ali Efendi Hanı	18	
180	H	Terzibaşı Hanı	6	
181	H	Odlayıcı / Avlayıcı? Hanı	8	
182	H	Pabuçcu Hanı	12	
183	H	Bükücü Hanı	8	
184	H	Papazoğlu Hanı	15	
185	H	Süleyman Paşa Hanı	85	
186	H	Büyük Midillici Hanı	8	
187	H	Küçük Midillici Hanı	4	
188	H	Hüseyin Bey Hanı	30	
189	H	Çamaşırcı Üzeri Hanı	3	
190	H	Hacı Hanım Hanı	18	
191	H	Hisardibi Hanı	15	
192	H	Kahve Üzeri Hanı	6	
Üsküdar Kolu				
193	H	Koltuk Hanı	20	
194	H	Sarraf Hanı	19	
195	H	Feyzullah Molla Hanı	20	
196	H	Zincirli Kapı Hanı	12	
197	H	Balıkçıoğlu Hanı	11	
198	H	Budak Hanı	19	
199	H	Abdullah Ağa Hanı	20	
200	H	Tonbul Ali Ağa Hanı	35	
201	H	Yıldız Hanı	30	
202	H	Çavuşbaşı Hanı	15	
203	H	Coşkun Han	6	
204	H	Berberler Kethüdası Hanı	23	
205	H	Tahir Ağa Hanı	10	
206	H	Âşık Osman Hanı	7	
207	H	Helvacı Hanı	10	
208	H	Çavuş Deresi Hanı	4	
209	H	Hacı Ali Hanı	30	
210	H	Havlı (Avlu) Han	30	
211	H	Ali Efendi Hanı	30	Tuğlacılar'da
212	BO	Bekar odaları	5	Balaban İskelesi'nde Kayıkhane ittisalinde
213	BO	Miralay Hacı Eyyüp Bey'in bekar odaları	4	Mahall-i mezkurde keresteci ittisalinde
214	BO	Ahmed Efendi'nin odaları	2	Mahall-i mezkurde keresteci ittisalinde Tuğlacı Hanı karşısında

215	BO	Kiremitçi İsmail Ağa'nın odaları	2	Mahall-i mezburde İskele başında kahve ittisalinde
216	BO	Ahmed Bey'in odaları	2	Mahalli mezkurde Kayıkhane üzerinde
217	BO	Mumcu Hacı Mehmed'in bekar odaları	7	Mumhane'de
218	H	Muhsin Ağa Hanı	10	Tembel Hacı Mehmed Mahallesi'nde
219	BO	Sabit Ağa'nın bekar odaları	4	Mahall-i mezburde kahve üzerinde
220	BO	Taşçıbaşı'nın bekar odaları	3	Davudpaşa Mahallesi'nde Eski Mahkeme'de kahve üzerinde
221	BO	Abdi Efendi'nin bekar odaları	7	Davudpaşa Mahallesi'nde Hamam Sokağı'nda
222	BO	Azmi Paşa'nın bekar odaları	10	Mahall-i mezkurde
223	H	Miralay Ahmed Bey'in Hanı	10	Salacak'ta
224	BO	Salih Hamlacı'nın bekar odaları	3	Balaban'da Doğramacılar içinde Taşçı ittisalinde
225	BO	Hüsnü Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Mahkeme Altında
226	BO	Bekar odaları	2	Mezkur odalar ittisalinde
Kasımpaşa Kolu				
227	H	Rıza Paşa Hanı	7	Yenişehir'de
228	BO	Ali Bey'in bekar odaları	5	Yenişehir'de
229	H	Usta Petro Hanı	4	Tatavla civarında Dolapderesi'nde
230	H	Kurşunlu Furşeng? Hanı	3	Mahall-i mezkurde
231	H	Çıtak Hanı	59	Tatavla civarında Hacı Ahmed Mahallesi'nde
232	H	Şeyh Osman Efendi'nin Hanı	25	İplikçi Hamamı'nda bahçe derununda
233	H	Balaban Han	33	Mahall-i mezkurde
234	H	Yunus Ağa'nın Hanı	33	Kasımpaşa'da dere boyunda
235	H	Hasan Efendi'nin Hanı	13	Mahall-i mezburde
236	H	İsmail Bey'in Hanı	10	Kasımpaşa'da Kışla Meydanı'nda
237	BO	Fethiye oğlu bekar odaları	17	Kasımpaşa'da
238	H	Hacı Mustafa Ağa'nın Hanı	6	Mahall-i mezburde Debbağhane Meydanı'nda
Tophane ve Tophane'ye merbut Beşiktaş Kolu				
239	H	Yeni Han	12	Salı Pazarı'nda
240	H	Kara Cehennem Hanı	20	Kazğancı Mahallesi'nde
241	H	Hasan Bey'in Hanı	11	Mahall-i mezburde
242	H	Rıza Paşa Hanı	10	Mahall-i mezburde
243	H	Kadri Efendi Hanı	10	Mahall-i mezburde

244	H	Kadı Efendi Hanı	3	Çavuşbaşı'nda
245	H	Çamaşırcı Zeynep Hanım Hanı	8	Çamaşırcı
246	H	Hasan Ağa'nın Hanı	10	Hendek başında
247	H	Hafız Hanım'ın Hanı	6	Hendek başında Lüleciler içinde
248	H	Arpacı Hanı	5	Hendek başında
249	H	Abdulmü'min Hanı	7	
250	H	Bakkal Üzeri Hanı	3	
251	H	Fıçıcı Hanı	24	
252	H	İsmail Efendi Hanı	3	Hendek başında
253	H	Çerkesoğlu Hanı	7	
254	H	İnezade Hanı	8	Fındıklı'da
255	H	Börekçi Üzeri Hanı	5	Tophane'de börekçi üzeri
256	H	Anastaş'ın Hanı	8	Kılıç Ali Paşa Camii karşısında taşçı dükkânı derununda
257	H	? Ağa Hanı	8	Tophane'de
258	H	Semerci İbrahim Ağa Hanı	6	Hendek başında
259	H	Bakkalbaşı'nın Hanı	12	Beşiktaş'ta Sinan Paşa Mahallesi'nde
260	BO	Mabeyn-i Hümayun kavaslarından Osman Ağa'nın bekar odaları	6	Mahall-i mezburde
261	BO	Bekar odaları	5	Beşiktaş'ta iskele sırasında Balmumcuzade Eşref Bey'in degirmeni üzerinde
262	BO	Hacı Hasan Ağa'nın bekar odaları	5	Mahall-i mezburde gazino ittisalinde
263	BO	Hacı Salih Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Mahall-i mezburde kahve üzerinde
264	H	Remzi Efendi Hanı	15	Sinan Paşa Mahallesi'nde arpacı üzerinde
265	H	Rıza Paşa Hanı	25	Mahall-i mezburde
266	BO	Hacı Salih Ağa'nın bekar odaları	4	Mahall-i mezburde kalafatçı mağazası üzerinde
267	BO	Sadık Ağa'nın bekar odaları	7	Mahall-i mezburde işkenbeci? ittisalinde
268	BO	Selim Bey'in validesinin bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezburde
269	BO	Ayşe Hanımın bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezburde çamaşırcı üzerinde işkenbeci ittisalinde
270	BO	Mehmed Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Mahall-i mezburde ??? huhancı karşısında kahve üzerinde
271	BO	Naib Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Beşiktaş Caddesi'nde kahve üzerinde
272	H	Bakkalbaşı'nın Hanı	7	Beşiktaş'ta bakkal yanında

273	BO	Bekar odaları	3	Beşiktaş'ta Ketancılar Hamamı külhanı ittisalinde hamam-ı mezkûra merbut
274	BO	Bekar odaları	6	Hasan Paşa Deresi'nde Merkepler Kethüdası Mustafa Ağa'nın bahçe derununda
275	H	Bakkalbaşı'nın Hanı	10	Beşiktaş'ta Hacı Fırını'nda sebzeci ile Yakub Ağa karşusu beyninde sokak içinde
276	H	Sabit Efendi'nin Hanı	10	Hacı Hüseyin Bağı Caddesi'nde Üç Yol ağzında Mısırlı Bağçe derununda
277	H	Ömer Efendi Hanı	6	Yine bağçe-i mezkûr derununda
278	H	Şemdancı İbrahim Efendi'nin Hanı	13	Yine bağçe-i mezkûr ittisalinde
279	H	İbrahim Efendi'nin Hanı	10	Mahall-i mezkûr kurbunda yine muma ileyh
280	H	Darüssade Şerife Ağası Hanı	25	Orta bahçede
281	H	Baltacı Mustafa'nın Hanı	10	Bağçe-i mezkurde
282	H	Köprübaşı Hanı	36	Beşiktaş'ta
283	BO	Remzi Efendi'nin bekar odaları	6	Beşiktaş'ta Sinan Paşa Mahallesi'nde
284	BO	Hamam-ı mezkure Mutasarrıfı Hacı Emin Efendi'nin bekar odaları	8	Köprübaşı Hamamı külhanı ittisalinde
Tahmis Kolu				
285	H	Arslan Hanı	14	
286	H	Mezberelik Hanı	18	
287	H	Süngerci Hanı	4	
288	H	Limoncu Hanı	15	
289	H	Tahmis Hanı	22	
290	H	Cebel-i Attar Hanı	12	
291	H	Şebçi Hanı	9	
292	H	Tunuslu Hanı	12	
293	H	Ağa Hanı	12	
294	H	Kemer Hanı	5	
295	H	Tulumba Hanı		
Ayvansaray Kolu				
296	BO	Şeyh Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Balat haricinde Keresteciler içinde
297	BO	Bekar iskan eden kahve dükkanı	1	Mahall-i mezkurde odalara muttasıl Bab-ı Serasker ketebesinin der[un-ı] handa
298	BO	Gümrük hademesi bekar odaları	3	Balat'ta Keresteciler yanında Halıcıoğlu İskelesi başında

299	BO	Tophane Muhasebecisi Hasan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	6	Balat'ta Taşçılar içinde taşçı üzerinde
300	H	Habip Hanı	9	Balat'ta köprübaşında
301	H	Arabacı Ali Ağa Hanı	5	Balat'ta Kürkçü Çeşmesi'nde
302	BO	Hamallar Kethüdası'nın bekar odaları	2	Balat Kapusu dâhilinde kapı karşısında
303	BO	Duhancı Hacı Tahir Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Mezkûr odalar ittisalinde duhancı üzerinde
304	BO	Hacı Musa Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Balat haricinde börekçi karşısında kahve üzerinde
305	BO	Süleyman Usta'nın bekar odaları	2	Balat İskelesi'nde taşçı üzerinde
306	BO	Yazıcı Hasan'ın bekar odaları	1	Balat İskelesi'nde mahzen üzerinde
307	H	Bakkal Hanı		Kürkçü Çeşmesi'nde kahve karşısında
308	H	Ahmed'in Hanı	5	Mahall-i mezkurde Acı Çeşme ittisalinde
309	H	Sucu Hanı	22	Ayvansaray haricinde
310	BO	Hacı Hüseyin Efendi'nin bekar odaları	32	Ayvansaray Kapısı haricinde
311	H	Muma ileyhin diğer hanı	16	Mahall-i mezkurde
312	H	Hayrullah Ağa'nın Hanı	3	Mahall-i mezkurde
313	H	Osman Efendi'nin Hanı	5	Ayvansaray haricinde
314	H	Semerci Hanı	10	Mahall-i mezburde
315	H	Nalbant Hanı	8	Mahall-i mezburde
316	H	Bakkal Hanı		Defterdar'da
317	BO	Börekçi Said'in bekar odaları	14	Mahall-i mezkurde
318	H	Han-ı Bakkal		Defterdar'da Akarçeşme'de
319	H	Bakkal Hanı		Eyyüp'te Debbağhane'de
320	H	Deveci Bakkal Hanı		Eyyüp'te
321	H	Yalı Hamamı Hanı		Mahall-i mezkurde
322	H	Aşçı Hanı		Bahariye'de
323	H	Bakkal Hanı	6	Fil Köprüsü'nde
324	H	Nikola'nın Bakkal Hanı	6	Topçular'da
325	H	Merkumun diğer hanı		Mahall-i mezkurde
326	H	Vasil'in Zincirli Hanı	3	Mahall-i mezkurde
327	H	Bakkal Hanı	2	????????
328	H	Bakkal Hanı	8	Edirnekapısı haricinde
329	BO	Galip Bey'in bekar odaları	5	Ayvansaray haricinde bakkal üzerinde
Sultan Bayezid Kolu				
330	H	Yolgeçen Hanı	44	

331	H	İmaret Hanı	48	
332	H	Sabuncu Hanı	29	
333	H	Simkeş Hanı	150	
334	H	Kara Kulak Hanı	23	
335	H	Kadri Paşa Hanı	24	
336	H	Ali Paşa Hanı	17	
337	H	Büyük Çinili Han	55	
338	H	Küçük Çinili Han	50	
339	H	Ferhad Paşa Hanı	25	
340	H	Nalbant Hanı	28	
341	H	Uncu Hanı	16	
342	H	Doğramacı Hanı	12	
343	H	Hacı Ali Ağa Hanı	12	
344	H	Yağhane	1	
345	H	Tuzcu Hanı	16	
346	H	Ciğerci Hanı	6	
347	BO	Kapı Çukadarı Hacı Ali Ağa'nın bekar odaları	7	Tavukçular'da çamaşırcı karşısında kahve üzerinde
348	BO	Bab-ı Seraskeri mümeyyizlerinden Abdi Efendi'nin bekar odaları	5	Parmakkapı civarında kahve üzerinde
349	BO	Hacı Tahir Efendi'nin bekar odaları	9	Parmakkapı'da Balmumcular karşısında Haffaflar üzerinde
350	H	Büyük Hanım'ın Hanı		Oduncu Hanı ittisalinde
351	H	Midillici Hanı	1	
352	H	Lekeci Hanı		
353	H	Osman Paşa Hanı	5	
354	BO	Tatar Hacı Kadri'nin bekar odaları	4	Karşısında
355	H	Eşekçi Hacı Halil Hanı	8	
356	BO	Alay Emini İbrahim Efendi'nin odaları	2	Tavukçular'da Çamaşırcı karşısında
357	BO	Yine Muma-ileyhin bekar odaları	4	İttisalinde
358	BO	Haffaf Hacı Süleyman'ın bekar odaları	2	Parmakkapıda leğenci ittisalinde
359	BO	Hacı Ömer Efendi'nin bekar odaları	4	Reşit Paşa Türbesi karşısında kunduracı üzerinde
360	BO	Şam Mollası Halit Efendi'nin Bekar Odası	6	Parmakkapı Caddesi'nde kunduracı üzerinde
361	BO	Bedestani Hacı Abdullah Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Kökçüler Kapusu karşısında tenekeci üzerinde
362	BO	Hristo'nun bekar odaları	2	İttisalinde kaymakçı üzerinde

363	BO	Muğber'in bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezkurde sebil karşısında köşebaşında kahve üzerinde
364	BO	Hacı Mustafa Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Kökçüler Kapısı köşebaşında
365	BO	Tuzcu Feyzullah Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde Duhancı üzerinde
366	BO	Kürkçü Edhem Efendi'nin isticar eylediği bekar odaları	2	Kökçüler Kapısı'nda
367	BO	Tahir Efendi'nin bekar odaları	6	Sultan Bayezid'da Türbe Meydanı'nda
368	BO	Hacı Mehmed Ağa'nın bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde nalbant üzerinde
369	BO	Haydar Ağa'nın bekar odaları	4	İttisalinde
370	BO	Hacı Reşit Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Türbe Meydanı'nda
371	BO	Dikici Ali Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Buğdaycılar Kapısı'nda
372	BO	Haci Eramya'nın bekar odaları	3	İmaret Hanı ittisalinde
Fatih Kolu				
373	H	Kilis Hanı	36	
374	H	Arabacıbaşı Hanı	7	
375	H	Şerbetçioğlu Hanı	6	
376	H	Şekerci Hanı	59	
377	H	Tahta Han	15	
378	H	Çörekçi Hanı	9	
379	H	Pir Hanı	35	
380	H	Emirler Hanı	36	
381	H	Nakip Hanı	39	
382	H	Sucu Ömer Ağa Hanı	7	
383	H	Taş Han	9	
384	H	Nalbant Hanı	17	
385	H	Uzun Han	15	Tımarhane derununda
386	H	Hayrullah Paşa Hanı	33	Derun-ı mezkurde
387	H	Nakkaş Arabacı Hanı	8	Derun-ı mezkurde
388	H	Duhancı Hanı	4	Mıhçılar başında
389	H	Keresteci Hanı	25	
390	H	Tüfenkçiler Kethüdası Ali Bey Hanı	13	
391	H	Sarrafzade Hanı	7	
392	H	Nakkaş Kahraman Hanı	8	
393	H	Yıldız Hanı	40	
394	H	Munyab Hanı	14	

395	H	Yeni Han	42	Kömür karşısında
396	H	Arabacı Hanı	40	
397	H	Sulu Han	38	
398	H	Zarif Paşa Hanı	12	
399	H	Arabacı İbrahim Hanı	35	
400	H	Nalbant Hanı	2	
401	H	Küçük Yıldız Hanı	8	
402	H	İzzet Kovacı Hanı	6	
403	H	Hacı Ahmed Hanı	8	
404	H	Halil Efendi Hanı	4	
405	H	Bahçeli Han	35	
406	H	Tavuk Hanı	11	
407	H	Vefa Hanı		
408	H	Bostan Hanı	7	Ahmediye Meydanı'nda
409	H	Moskovlu Hanı	12	
410	H	Peştemalci Hanı		Üç han itibariyle
411	H	Peştemalci Hanı		Kırkçeşme'de
412	BO	Kapu Kethüdası Mehmed Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Nakib Hanı karşısında
413	H	Kadı Hanı	4	Malta Çarşısı'nda ? ittisalinde
414	BO	Emin Bey'in bekar odaları	3	Çarşı-yı mezburde bakkal karşısında Tahta Han ittisalinde
415	H	Köle Mustafa Hanı	7	Karagümrük karşısında
416	BO	İstrati'nin bekar odaları	3	Karagümrük Meydanı'nda karşı gazino üzerinde
417	H	Eskici Hanı	3	Karagümrük'te Yağhane ittisalinde
418	BO	Ali Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Karaman'da hekim üzerinde kazğancı karşısında
419	BO	Cemal Hasan'ın bekar odaları	3	Karaman'da börekçi karşısında Üç Yol ağzında
420	BO	Keresteci Süleyman Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Karşısında
421	BO	Şakir Efendi'nin bekar odaları	5	Karaman'da Boyacı Kapısı Caddesi'nde kahve üzerinde
422	BO	Doğramacı Eskici Yorgi'nin bekar odaları	4	Tımarhane derununda doğramacı üzerinde
423	BO	Doğramacı Sinan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Karşısında doğramacı üzerinde
424	H	Arabacı Ramazan'ın Hanı	3	Tımarhane derununda Tarakçılar içinde
425	BO	Bir hatunun bekar odaları	3	At Pazarı'nda yemenici üzerinde köşebaşında

426	H	Semerci Agob'un Hanı		Topkapı haricinde Takyeci Caddesi'nde
427	H	Mehmed Usta'nın Nalbant Hanı		Bab-ı mezkûr haricinde semerci ittisalinde
428	H	Semerci Tatyos'un Hanı		İttisalinde
429	H	Hoca Nikoli Kızı Ebe ? Han odası	1	Topkapı dâhilinde sokak içinde yoğurtçu karşısında
430	H	Deve Hanı	2	Topkapı Caddesi'nde Ahmed Paşa Camisi nalbant karşısında
431	BO	Hacı Tahsin Kalfa'nın bekar odaları	2	Orta Kapusu dâhilinde Sarımsak Mahallesi'nde Ayi Dimitri Kilisesi ittisalinde bağcevan derununda
432	BO	Kuzattan Eşref Efendi'nin bekar odaları	8	Karagümrük'te Kömürcü Sokağı'nda
433	H	Büyük Yeni Han	56	Tımarhane derununda
Yedikule Kolu				
434	BO	İbrahim Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Kazlıçeşme ittisalinde
435	H	Taş Han	17	
436	H	Uzun Bakkkal Hanı		
437	BO	Mağaza	1	Açık Bıçak Meygedeli derununda
438	BO	Hristo'nun bekar odaları	3	Kazlıçeşme karşısında köşebaşında kahve üzerinde
439	BO	Bakkal Lazarti'nin bekar odaları	3	Karşısında
440	H	Bakkal Todori'nin Bakkal Hanı	3	Mevlevihane Kapısı haricinde
441	H	Yoğurtçu Vasili'nin Hanı	5	Kazlıçeşme Camii karşısında
442	H	Tombaz Hanı	3	Yedikule dâhilinde Irgat Pazarı'nda
443	H	Usta zimmi ? Hanı	2	Mahall-i mezkurde
444	H	Yeni Han	7	Mahall-i mezkurde
445	H	Divitdar Hanı	18	Kule Meydanı'nda
446	BO	Kapamacıoğlu Serdiye? Ağa'nın bekar odaları	12	Samatya haricinde kalpakçı başında kahve ittisalinde
447	H	Hacı Hüseyin Efendi'nin Hanı	22	Yeni Mahalle'de
448	H	Yeni Han	8	Yeni Mahalle civarında
449	H	Hacı Ömer Hanı	7	Mahall-i mezkurde
450	H	Hacı Ömer Hanı	14	Bekir Camii kurbunda
451	H	Bozacı Hanı	7	Davudpaşa Mahkeme Caddesi'nde
452	H	Kalaycı Üzeri Hanı	6	Cadde-i mezkurde
453	H	Kafesçi? Osmanın Hanı	6	Cadde-i mezkurde

454	H	Resimci Agob'un Hanı		Yedikule derununda
455	H	Saraylı Hanı	5	Hacı Evhad kurbunda Mum Söndüren Mahallesi'nde
Aksaray Kolu				
456	H	Hacı Fevzi Efendi'nin Hanı	8	Aksaray'da Kamil Paşa Hamamı karşısında
457	BO	Hariciye ağalarından Ali Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Hamam-ı mezkûr sırasında kahve üzerinde
458	H	Kamil Paşa Hanı	9	Aksaray'da Midilliciler arkasında iki han itibariyle
459	BO	Hacı Eyyüb'ün bekar odaları	7	Aksaray'da sebil arasında nalbant üzerinde Arabacılar içinde
460	BO	Topsakal Arif'in bekar odaları	4	Aksaray Caddesi'nde duhancı üzerinde
461	H	Midillici Hanı	12	Aksaray'da
462	BO	Emine Hanım'ın bekar odaları	2	Aksaray'da Camcılar Camii ittisalinde kahve üzerinde
463	BO	Nikola'nın bekar odaları	8	Dükkân-ı mezkûr karşısında yorgancı üzerinde
464	BO	Duhancı Hacı Bekir'in bekar odaları	4	İttisalinde duhancı üzerinde
465	BO	Nurullah Bey'in bekar odaları	7	Aksaray Caddesi'nde aşçı ittisalinde kahve üzerinde
466	BO	Osman Bey'in bakkal odaları	6	Karşısında bakkal üzerinde
467	BO	Aşçıbaşı Hacı Osman Ağa'nın bekar odaları	4	Karşısında simitçi fırını üzerinde
468	BO	Rabia Hanım'ın bekar odaları	2	Aksaray Caddesi'nde kahve üzerinde haffaf ittisalinde
469	BO	Mehmed Hafız Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Cadde-i mezkurde manav ittisalinde bakkal üzerinde
470	BO	Bakkal Nikola'nın bekar odaları	8	Aksaray'da Yalıçeşme karşısında bakkal üzerinde
471	BO	Hacı İzzet Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Aksaray Caddesi'nde Reşit Paşazade Konağı karşısında
472	BO	Veznedar Hacı Bekir'in odaları	4	Aksaray Caddesi'nde Laleli Türbe-i Şerifi karşısında meclis üzerinde
473	BO	Kazım Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Laleli Türbe-i Şerifi karşısında
474	BO	Sıvacı esnafının bekar odaları	3	Çukurçeşme'de sokak içinde
475	BO	Bakla oğlu Agob'un bekar odaları	2	İttisalinde
476	H	Peştemalci Hanı	12	İttisalinde

477	H	Taş Han	86	
478	H	Yağcı Hanı	4	
479	H	Ali Bey Hanı	22	
480	H	Hacı Hafız Hanı	9	
481	H	Midillici Hanı	9	
482	H	Hasan Bey Hanı	14	
483	H	Büzmeci ? Hanı	30	
484	H	Hasan Paşa Hanı	40	
Kapan-ı Dakik Kolu				
485	BO	Eyyüp Paşa'nın bekar odaları	6	Kapan-ı Dakik kurbunda Sağrıcılar içinde Gürcüler karşısında doğramacı üzerinde
486	BO	Hasan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	4	Kapan-ı Dakik dâhilinde kale duvarı karşısında tahtadan dört bab barkir ahırı
487	H	Alay Emini Hacı Hüseyin Efendi'nin Hanı	8	Mahall-i mezkurde odalar sırasında
488	H	Yine muma-ileyhin diğer Hanı	6	Mahall-i mezburde han-ı mezburun karşısında
489	BO	Mehmed ve Ali Ağaların bekar odaları	5	Zeyrek'te sebzeci karşısında nalbant karşısında nalbant üzerinde
490	H	Ciyari (?) Ahmedoğlu Hanı ve ahırı	18	İttisalinde
491	H	Han		Sokak-ı mezbur derununda hayriye tüccarından Hacı İbrahim Efendi'nin müceddeden inşa eylediği çim ve kargir han henüz tamam olmadığından mahya tahsis olmağla işbu mahalle işaret kılındı.
492	BO	Kadı Bora'nın bekar odaları	2	Kapan-ı Dakik dâhilinde Helvacı Sokağı içinde kaleye karşı
493	BO	Bekar odaları	1	Haraççı Mahallesi'nde doğramacı karşısında tahta ahırı olan
494	BO	Arpacı Mehmed Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı Olan
495	BO	Bağdadlıoğlu Arpacı Halil Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı olan
496	BO	Arpacı Mehmed Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	Mahall-i mezburde Beden Sokağı'nda tahtında ahırı olan
497	BO	Bektaş Ağa'nın bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı olan
498	BO	Arpacılar Kethüdası Mustafa Ağa'nın bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı Olan

499	BO	Meygedecinin bekar odaları	4	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı olan
500	BO	Becokilik (?) Yusuf Efendi'nin ahır ve bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde
501	BO	Haydar Ağa'nın oğlu Mehmed'in Ahır ve bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde
502	BO	Avşaroğlu Ali Çavuş'un bekar odaları	1	Sokak-ı mezkurde odalar sırasında
503	BO	Hasan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	Mezkûr odalar karşı caddesinde han ittisalinde tahtında ahırı olan
504	BO	Hasan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde tahtında ahırı Olan
505	BO	Hacı'nın bekar odaları	1	İttisalinde ahırı Olan
506	BO	Hatice Hanım'ın bekar odaları	4	Kapan-ı Dakik haricinde iki bab kahve üzerinde
507	BO	Sabık Kileciler Kethüdası İsmail Ağa'nın bekar odaları	6	İttisalinde kahve üzerinde
508	BO	Taşçı Mustafa Ağa'nın bekar odaları	5	İttisalinde taşçı üzerinde
509	H	Emir Hanı	33	Kapan-ı Dakik dâhilinde
510	BO	Halil Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Kapan-ı Dakik Caddesi'nde gazino karşısında duhancı üzerinde
511	BO	Kebecinin bekar odaları	3	Karşısında koltuk üzerinde
512	BO	Salim Bey'in bekar odaları	4	Karşısında aşçı üzerinde
513	H	Kapan-ı Dakik dahilinde vapur değirmeni karşısında Kebeci oğlu İsmail ittisalinde on yedi bab odayı şamil iki bab ve ittisalinde Yağcı Haci Yorgi bir bab kârgir olarak inşa etmekde olub henüz tamam olduğundan mahiye tahsis olunmamışdır.		
514	BO	Lüleciler Kethüdası Murad Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Kapan-ı Dakik Caddesi'nde nalbant karşısında kahve üzerinde
515	BO	Sarı Kâhya oğlu Değirmenci Agna Bey bekar odaları	3	Atlama Taşı Caddesi'nde kahve üzerinde
516	BO	Haci Artin'in bekar odaları	3	Karşısında dükkân üzerinde
517	H	Asım Bey Efendi'nin Ahır ve Hanı	8	Kapan-ı Dakik Caddesi'nde aşçı dükkânı verasında

518	H	Hacı Hasan Efendi'nin Hanı	2	Zeyrek Camii kurbunda
519	H	Han		İnşaat halinde
520	BO	Hacı İsmail Ağa'nın bekar odaları	5	Zeyrek Camii Büyük Kuyu karşısında kahve üzerinde
521	H	Zincirli Han	9	Kapan-ı Dakik dâhilinde
522	H	İkinci Han	8	Kapan-ı Dakik Caddesi'nde kale ittisalinde Cebe Ali Caddesi üzerinde
523	BO	Kaşarcı İsak'ın bekar odaları	1	Cadde-i mezkurde Tulumba ittisalinde kahve üzerinde
524	BO	Hasan Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Cebe Ali İskelesi'nde Nazım Eczacı ittisalinde
525	BO	Yorgi Kalfa'nın bekar odaları	3	Ayakapı dâhilinde kapı ittisalinde
526	H	Ulaşoğlu Hanı	6	Odun Kapısı'nda Keresteciler karşısında
527	H	Mübayaacının Lazari'nin Han	2	Mahall-i mezkurde Keresteciler karşısında
528	BO	Hacı Said Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezkurde Keresteciler karşısında sarraf mağazası üzerinde
529	BO	? Markar Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Yine Keresteciler karşısında zahme mağazası üzerinde
530	H	Damad Agob'un Hanı	6	Yine Keresteciler karşısında bakkal üzerinde
531	H	Arapoğlu Hanı	6	Yine Keresteciler karşısında yemenici üzerinde
532	BO	Bekar odaları	6	Yine Keresteciler karşısında Edirnekapılı Halil'in Mağazası üzerinde
533	BO	Pertevpaşazade Said Bey'in bekar odaları	6	Yine Keresteciler karşısında yemenici dükkânları üzerinde
534	H	Pekçili (?) Yanko'nun Hanı	2	Zindankapısı derununda kahve karşısında duhan mağazası üzerinde
535	BO	Hacı Yani'nin bekar odaları	5	Odunkapısı dâhilinde kapı arasında kahve karşısında koltuk üzerinde
536	BO	Baltacılıktan muhreç Mehmed Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Kule Çeşmesi'nde tönbekici karşısında kahve üzerinde
537	BO	Sarraf'ın bekar odaları	4	Sağrıcılar başında Bakırcılar karşısında duhancı üzerinde kale duvarı ittisalinde
538	BO	Bektaş Ağa'nın bekar odaları	1	Kapan-ı Dakik haricinde Camii odaları arasında abacı üzerinde

539	BO	Tüccardan Emin Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Kapan-ı Dakik haricinde Arabacılar Caddesi'nde kahve üzerinde
540	BO	Ahmed Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Karşısında dakik mağazası üzerinde
541	BO	Hacı Bekir Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Tekfur Sarayı İskelesi Caddesi'nde buğday mağazası üzerinde
542	BO	Raşit Ağa'nın bekar odaları	6	İskele-i mezbur karşısında kahve üzerinde
543	BO	Hacı İbrahim Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	İskele-i mezburde halatçı mağazası üzerinde
544	H	İbrahim Ağaların Hanı	16	İskele-i mezbura çıkar Tulumba Sokağı içinde oduncu mağazası üzerinde
545	BO	Kapan-ı Dakik tüccarlarından Kebecizade Selim Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	İttisalinde
546	BO	Muhzırbaşı Hacı Bekir'in bekar odaları	5	Tekfur Dağı İskelesi'ne çıkar diğer sokak başında
547	H	Kâhyazade Kivork Bey'in Hanı	19	İskele-i mezburde Gümrük ittisalinde
548	BO	Hacı Rıfat Bey'in vereseleri tasarrufunda bekar odaları	6	İskele-i mezburde Gümrük karşısında kahve üzerinde
549	BO	Bakkal Yorgi'nin bekar odaları	2	Ayazma Kapısı Caddesi'nde bakkal ve yemişçi karşısında kahve üzerinde
550	BO	Zahireci Kalmando'nun bekar odaları	4	Cadde-i mezkurde müskirat mağazası üzerinde
551	BO	Saray aşçılarından Hasan Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Cadde-i mezkurde eskici haffafı üzerinde
552	H	Muradoğlu Hanı	7	Ayazma Kapısı ittisalinde
553	BO	Tersane Reisi Mustafa Paşa Hazretlerinin bekar odaları	2	Odunkapısı Caddesi'nde köşebaşında ekserci üzerinde
Kadırga Limanı Kolu				
554	H	Pazvend Hanı	40	Kadırga Limanı'nda
555	H	Esad Efendi Hanı	14	Çatladıkapı haricinde
556	H	Dülbentçi Hanı	40	Kumkapı civarında Saray içinde
557	H	Arayıcı Hanı	35	Bali Paşa'da
558	H	Arabacı Hanı	6	Kumkapı haricinde
559	H	Tuğlacı Hanı	5	Haric-i mezkurde
560	H	Yeni Han	18	Haric-i mezkurde leb-i deryada
561	H	Mestçi Hanı	32	Fener'de
562	H	Taş Han	8	Yenikapı dâhilinde
563	H	Hacı Rüşti Efendi Hanı	28	Davudpaşa'da

564	H	Papuşçu Hanı	8	Nişanca'da
565	H	Kale Üzeri Hanı (Muhterik olduğu)		Davudpaşa'da
Hasköy Kolu				
566	H	Hacı Ahmed Ağa Hanı	5	Aynalıkavak'ta
567	BO	Şükrü Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezkurde kasap karşısında kahve üzeri derununda
568	BO	Caneto (?) Bezirgan'ın bekar odaları	3	İttisalinde kahve üzerinde
569	BO	Bezirgan-ı merkumun diğer bekar odaları	8	İttisalinde gazino ittisalinde
570	BO	Kömürcü Ahmed Ağa'nın bekar odaları	8	İttisalinde kömürcü üzerinde
571	BO	Muhtar Hacı Feyzullah Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	İttisalinde kömürcü üzerinde
572	BO	Kömürcü Ahmed'in bekar odaları	6	İttisalinde kömürcü mağazası üzerinde
573	BO	Hacı Hafız'ın bekar odaları	6	Aynalıkavak'ta cami karşısında keresteci üzerinde
574	BO	Kalafatçı İbrahim Usta'nın bekar odaları	2	Mahall-i mezkurde kahve ittisalinde
575	BO	Mesci Hasan Efendi'nin idaresinde bekar odaları	8	İttisalinde kayıkhane üzerinde
576	BO	Hacı Emin Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Camii Altı İskelesi başında kahve ittisalinde
577	BO	Habip Efendi'nin bekar odaları	1	Hasköy'de Büyük İskele'de Kayıkçılar Kahvesi üzerinde
578	BO	Bekar odaları	2	Mahall-i mezkurde Terzi Hacı Osman'ın oğlu Hacı Ahmed'in kahvesi üzerinde
579	BO	Postabaşı Hüseyin Ağa'nın bekar odaları	2	Hamam İskelesi Sokağı'nda kahve üzerinde
580	BO	Bekar odaları	5	Kızıl Minare Meydanı'na Karşı ?
581	BO	Beylikçi Hacı Mustafa'nın bekar odaları	3	Piri Paşa Camii karşısında İskele Caddesi'nde
582	BO	Bekar odaları	2	Cadde-i mezkurde Piri Paşa Cami-i Şerifi tahtında bakkal-ı ulya duvarında
583	BO	Bekar odaları	9	Piri Paşa Mahallesi'nde eşkici Ahmed'in bostanı derununda
584	H	Mühendis Ahmed Efendi'nin Hanı	3	Piri Paşa Mahallesi'nde Humbarahane karşısında bakırcı ittisalinde
585	H	? Hanım'ın Hanı	4	Piri Paşa İskelesi Meydanı'nda kahve ittisalinde sokak içinde

586	BO	Mühendis Mehmed Raif Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Meydan-ı mezkurde kahve üzerinde
587	H	Solcu / Çuvalcı (?) Sava'nın Hanı	6	Halıcıoğlu'nda Abdüsselam Mahallesi'nde
588	BO	Beylikçi Hacı Mustafa Ağa'nın bekar odaları	8	Mahall-i mezburde Humbarahane Meydanı'nda
589	BO	Binbaşı Hurşid Ağa'nın bekar odaları	3	Sütlüce'de Mahmud Ağa Mahallesi'nde
590	BO	Beylikçi İsmail Ağa'nın bekar odaları	7	Mahall-i mezburde liman üzerinde
591	BO	Ayşe Hanım'ın bekar odaları	5	Mahall-i mezburde
592	BO	Kurşunlu Mahzen başkatibi Feyzullah Efendi'nin bekar odaları	3	Mahall-i mezburde
593	BO	Bahaddin Efendi'nin bekar odaları	2	Mahall-i mezburde

Sources: BOA ED.d. 39554; BOA ED.d. 39894.

APPENDIX C.

THE LIST OF ISTANBUL *HAN*S AS REFLECTED IN A REGISTER OF 1236/1821.

Table 20. The List of Istanbul *Han*s as Reflected in a Register of 1236/1821

#	NAME	PLACE
1	Kürkçü Han	Mahmud Paşa kurbu
2	Çorapçı Han	Mahmud Paşa kurbu
3	Lüleci Hanı	
4	Sünbüllü Han	Çakmakçılar kurbu
5	Büyük Yeni Han	
6	Çinili Han	Çakmakçılar suku
7	Valide Hanı	Çakmakçılar başı
8	Küçük Yeni Han	
9	Kumrulu Han	
10	Tahta Hanı	
11	Emir Han	
12	Boncukçu Han	
13	Çukur Han	Mercan
14	Ali Paşa Hanı	Mercan
15	Yaldızlı Han	Mercan
16	Sultan Odaları Hanı	Mercan
17	Mercan Hanı	
18	Nalbur Hanı	Mercan
19	Kadı Kumru Hanı	
20	Pastırmacı Hanı	
21	İmam Ali Hanı	
22	Kızlarağası Hanı	
23	Zincirli Han	
24	Perdahtçı Hanı	
25	Kaliçeciler Hanı	
26	Varakçı Hanı	
27	Sofçular Hanı	
28	Bağcı Hanı	
29	Hazinedar Hanı	
30	Baklalı Hanı	Tavukpazarı
31	Cedid Rubiyye Hanı	
32	Çadırcı Han	
33	Horoz Ötmez Hanı	Esir Pazarı
34	Saraç Hanı	Tavukpazarı
35	Yağlıkçı Hanı	
36	Vezir Hanı	
37	Küçük Taş Han	Vezir Hanı karşısında

38	Süleyman Paşa Hanı	Divanyolu
39	Yarım Han	Ali Paşa Hanı civarı
40	Hocapaşa Hanı	
41	Muhsinoğlu Hanı	Hocapaşa
42	Şişeci Hanı	Kazğancılar kurbu
43	Alaca Hanı	Kazğancılar kurbu
44	Kilis Hanı	Asmaaltı
45	Laz Hanı	
46	Gürcü Hanı	
47	Yarım Han	
48	Küçük Laz Hanı	
49	Çukur Han	
50	Kurşunlu Hanı	Çukur Han'a bitişik
51	Canbaz Hanı	
52	Emirli Hanı	
53	Kutucu Hanı	Odun Kapısı dâhili
54	Ganbod Hanı	Kantarcılar
55	Ali Paşa Hanı	Kantarcılar
56	İpriktar Hanı	Ayazma Kapısı dâhili
57	Murad Oğlu Hanı	Ayazma Kapısı dâhili, kapı bitişiği
58	Kadı Hanı	Keresteciler karşısı
59	Kutulu Hanı	Keresteciler karşısı
60	Han	Keresteciler karşısı
61	İsmail Efendi Hanı	Keresteciler karşısı
62	Faki Oğlu Hanı	
63	Kettancı Hanı	
64	Han	Keresteciler karşısı
65	Kül Hanı	
66	Tekneci Han	Balıkpazarı kurbu
67	Taşçılar(?) Hanı	
68	Süngerci Hanı	
69	Kule Hanı	Yemişçiler başı
70	Yoflu Hanı ?	Yemişçiler suku
71	Arslan Hanı	
72	Küçük Taş Han	Balıkpazarı
73	Peştemalcı Hanı	Tahmis kurbu
74	Değirmen Hanı	Tahmis kurbu
75	Kundakçı Han	
76	Hacı Mahmud Hanı	Tahtakale kurbu
77	Şeyh Davud Hanı	
78	Katır Hanı	
79	Sulu Han	
80	Silahtar Hanı	Uzun Çarşı kurbu
81	Fincancı Hanı	

82	Pertev Paşa Hanı	Uzun Çarşı başı
83	Aynalı Han	
84	Nasuh Ağa Hanı	
85	Han	Nasuh Ağa Hanı'na bitişik
86	Kilit Hanı	
87	İğneci Han	
88	Baltacı Hanı	Mercan kurbu
89	Astarcı Han	Çarşı
90	Büyük Zağferan Hanı	
91	Çukur Han	Çarşı-yı Kebir
92	Büyük Kebeci Han	
93	İstanbul Ağası Hanı	Yorgancılar suku
94	Yüncü Han	Yorgancılar suku
95	Kellekesen Hanı	
96	Yol Geçen Hanı	Çarşı'da Kebeciler Hanı karşısı
97	Ali Paşa Hanı	Yorgancılar suku
98	Camili İmam Hanı	
99	Yarım Han	Yorgancılar suku
100	Sarraf Hanı	
101	Bodrum Hanı	Bit Pazarı kurbu
102	Yol Geçen Hanı	Kalpakçılar başı
103	Sakallı Hanı	Kalpakçılar başı
104	Sepetçi Hanı	
105	Taş Han	Kalpakçılar başı
106	Sultan Odaları	Mahmud Paşa başı
107	Cafer Ağa Hanı	
108	Hoca Oğlu Hanı	
109	Tahta Han	
110	Yumurtacı Hanı	
111	Yarım Han	Mahmud Paşa başı
112	Yarım Han	Osmaniye Cami-i Şerif altında
113	Kebapçı Hanı	
114	Baltacı Hanı	Kalpakçılar başı
115	Sorguncu Hanı	Kalpakçılar başı
116	Takyeci Hanı	Kalpakçılar
117	Kavafçı Hanı	Kavaflar suku ?
118	Mikrasçılar Hanı	
119	Çatal Han	Parmakkapı kurbu
120	Yarım Han	Testereciler başı
121	Doğramacı Hanı	
122	Simkeş Hanı	Okçularbaşı
123	Hasan Paşa Hanı	
124	Payzen Hanı	Gedikpaşa kurbu
125	Tevekkül Hanı	Irgat Pazarı

126	Sabuncu Hanı	Gedikpaşa kurbu
127	Takyeci Hanı	
128	Viran Han	Gedikpaşa kurbu
129	Küçük Viran Han	
130	Arabacı Hanı	
131	Bahçeli Han	Kumkapı kurbu
132	Sandalcı Hanı	Kumkapı kurbu
133	Mestçi Hanı	Kumkapı kurbu
134	Hoca Hanı	
135	Taş Han	Bahçekapısı harici
136	Haraççı Han	Bahçekapısı harici
137	Han	Hasırcılar suku
138	Kuşçu Başı Hanı	
139	Sabuncu Hanı	Ketancılarkapı kurbu
140	Leblebici Han	
141	Yeni Han	Fark Dört Kapısı
142	Yarım Han	
143	Ömer Ağa Hanı	
144	Vefa Hanı	
145	Orta Kiracılar Hanı	
146	Tavuk Hanı	Şehzadebaşı
147	Bozmacı Hanı	
148	Doğramacı Hanı	
149	Yusuf Ağa Hanı	Merkepçilerkapı
150	Basma Hanı	Langa Yenikapı harici
151	Han	Davudpaşa İskelesi
152	Kolu Kısa Hanı	Samatya
153	Bostancı Hanı	Yedikule
154	Davudpaşa Hanı	Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa
155	Yarım Han	Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, Kolluk bitişiği
156	Bozacı Han	Davudpaşa Mahkemesi karşısı
157	Taşçı Mehmed Ağa Hanı	Karagümrük Meydan
158	Arabacı Başı Hanı	Karagümrük Meydan
159	Arif Ağa Hanı	Karagümrük Meydan
160	Salih Ağa Hanı	
161	Bahçeli Han	
162	Derviş Ağa Hanı	
163	Tütüncü Hanı	
164	Abdi Ağa Hanı	
165	Sulu Han	Sultan Mehmed kurbunda Büyük Karaman
166	Şerbethaneli Han	Sultan Mehmed kurbunda Büyük Karaman
167	Paçacı Hanı	

168	Şekerci Han	Çörekçi Kapısı
169	Yarım Han	Çörekçi Kapısı
170	Umurlu Hanı ?	Çörekçi Kapısı
171	Nakib Hanı	
172	Taşçılar Hanı	Küçük Karaman
173	Taş Han	Boyacı Kapısı
174	Nalbant Hanı	
175	Yeni Han	Büyük Karaman
176	Mustafa Efendi Hanı	Büyük Karaman
177	Kaşıkçı Hanı	
178	Çukacı Hanı (Çuhacı)	

Source: BOA NFS.d. 0008.

APPENDIX D.

THE PERSONS WHO DIED IN *HAN*S, THEIR PROFESSIONS AND RESIDENTIAL STATUS IN TWO AHKÂM REGISTERS

Table 21. The Persons who Died in *Han*s, their Professions and Residential Status in two Ahkâm Registers

Reference	Name	*Han*	Word for Residence	Inheritor	Hometown	Type	Occupation	Clear Value / Akçe	Clear Value / Kuruş
336/46, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	es-Seyyid Hasan Ağa b. Es-Seyyid Ali	Balkapanı Hanı	sâkin	Zevce, Valide, İki Kız Çocuk	Erzurum	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Dergah-ı Ali Yeniçeri Zümresinden	332295	2769,12
615/15, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mehmed Ağa ibn-i Abdullah	Süleymanpaşa Hanı	sâkin	Yeğen		Tüccar	Tüccar	289554	2412,95
615/138, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	el-Hacc Ahmed Beşe ibn-i Kara Hüseyin	Esirpazarı	sâkin	Zevce, Kardeşler	Batum	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Esir Tüccarı / Yeniçerilerin 64 Cemaat Odası Yoldaşı	173641	1447
615/169, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	el-Hacc Hasan Alemdar ibn-i Süleyman bin Abdullah	Esirpazarı	sâkin	Zevce, Beş Çocuk	Batum	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Esir Tüccarı / Yeniçeri Ocağı mensubu	162630	1355,25
615/132, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Kuruyemişçi es-Seyyid Hüseyin Ağa	Haraççı Hanı	sâkin	Yeğenleri	Alanya, İbradı	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Kuruyemişçi / Yeniçerilerin 12. Bölük Odası Yoldaşı	144623	1205,19

336/6, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Ohannes	Mercan Ağa Hanı	mütemekkin	Valide, Yedi Kardeş	Eğin	Esnaf	Duhan	138700	1155,83
615/144, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Ali bin Hüseyin	Istanbul Ağası Hanı	sâkin	Kardeş, İki Kız Kardeş	Kastamonu	Esnaf	Boğasıcı	117808	981,73
615/128, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mustafa Ağa ibn-i Abdullah	Elçi Hanı	sâkin	Zevce, Kardeş	Rumeli'de Zistor	Asker	Tatar	102900	857,5
615/217, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Sihak veled-i Mardiros	Astarcılar Hanı	mütemekkin	Zevce, Valide, Üç Oğul, Bir Kız	Kayseri	Tüccar	Kumaş Tüccarı	100320	836
336/132, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mısırlı Şerif el-Hac Mehmed b. Es-Seyyid Ömer	Balkapanı Hanı	müsafiren sâkin	Zevce, Oğul, Kız	Kahire	Asker	Yeniçerilerin Birinci Bölük Odası Yoldaşı	97971	816,42
615/188, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	el-Hacc Ahmed Beşe ibn-i Kara Hüseyin	Esirpazarı		Zevce, İki Çocuk		Esnaf Yeniçeri	Esir Tüccarı / Yeniçerilerin 64 Cemaat Odası Yoldaşı	91971	766,42
336/142, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	el-Hac Hasan b. Abdullah	Şar'iyye Hanı	sâkin	Zevce, Valide		Esnaf	Berber	66699	555,82
615/201, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Çukadar Ali Ağa ibn-i Hasan	….. Hanı	müsafiren sâkin	Kızkardeş	Karahisar	Asker	Çukadar	65760	548
336/113, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mehni b. Mehmed	Silahtar Hanı	sâkin	Zevce, Valide, Üç Kardeş	Mağrib	Esnaf	Fesçi	61217	510,14

336/13, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mısırlı Kara Ahmed Paşa b. Osman	Münir Paşa Hanı	müsafiren sâkin	Zevce, İki Kardeş	Alaiye	Asker	Yeniçerilerin Birinci Bölük Odası Yoldaşı	54814	456,78
336/26, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mağribi Muhammed b. El-Hac Ömer	Mehmed Emin Hanı	sâkin	Baba	Mağrib	Tüccar	Kumaş Tüccarı	54271	452,25
615/130, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Bostani Mustafa Ağa ibn-i İbrahim	Sofcılar Hanı	sâkin	Amcaoğulları		Asker	Başkadın Etbaı/Kulu	53700	447,5
615/73, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mustafa bin Ali bin Mustafa	Esirpazarı	sâkin	Anne, Oğul	Anadolu'da Atina	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Esir Tüccarı / Yeniçerilerin 64 Cemaat Odası yoldaşı	52575	438,12
615/168, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	es-seyyid Mehmed Ağa ibn-i Küçük es-seyyid Mehmed	Pastırmacı Hanı	sâkin	Baba	Kayseri	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Sahtiyan tüccarı / Yeniçerilerin 67. Cemaat Odası yoldaşı	50031	416,92
336/115, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mehmed b. Süleyman Arab	Müftü Hanı	sâkin	Valide, Üç Kardeş, Bir Kızkardeş	Mağrib	Tüccar	Tüccar	31855	265,45
615/119, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Kirkor veled-i Haçador	Otçu Hanı	mütemekkin			Esnaf	Hammal	25352	211,26
615/87, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Giridi Geylanizade İbrahim Ağa ibn-i Hüseyin	Çukur Han	sâkin	Kızkardeş, Amcaoğlu	Girit	Asker	Yeniçerilerin 101. Cemaat Odası yoldaşı	22242	185,35

615/181, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mehmed Emin ağa ibn-i Zeynelabidin	Süleymanpaşa Hanı	sâkin	Valide, Kızkardeş	Yanya / Konisa	Asker		20598	171,65
336/172, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	El-Hac Ahmed Ağa b. Süleyman	Tahta Han	sâkin	Kardeş	Harput	Asker		15303	127,52
615/89, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Ali Ağa ibn-i Abdullah	Elçi Hanı	sâkin	Zevce, Anne, Kızkardeş	Edirne	Asker	Rikab-ı Hümayun Tatarı	14493	120,77
615/150, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mustafa Beşe ibn-i Tahir	Sailer Hanı	sâkin	Kardeş	Arnavut İskenderiyesi	Asker	Yeniçeri	14190	118,25
615/187, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	el-Hacc Ali Ağa ibn-i el-Hac Halil bin Hüseyin	Kilit Han	müsafiren sâkin	Zevce, Üç Oğlu	Erzurum	Esnaf Yeniçeri	Tüccar / Yeniçerilerin 79. Cemaat Odası yoldaşı	14013	116,77
336/264, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Es-Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed b. Abdullah	Habbaz Han	sâkin		Vodin	Asker	Yeniçerlerin beşinci bölük odası yoldaşlarından	4731	39,42
615/126, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Bayram Ağa ibn-i Şaban	Şekerciler Hanı				Asker	Yeniçeri	4254	35,45
615/127, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Ahmed Ağa ibn-i Salih	Şekerciler Hanı				Asker	Yeniçeri	3900	32,5
615/68, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Es-Seyyid Ahmed	Halil Paşa Hanı						3060	25,5

615/199, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	İbrahim ibn-i Abdullah	Horasancı Hanı	sâkin	Valide, İki Kızkardeş	Arapkir	Molla	Molla	2618	21,81
336/58, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Mehmed Bey b. İsmail	Zincirli Han	müsafiren sâkin	Zevce, Oğlu	Diyarbakır	Esnaf		2190	18,25
336/254, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Ahmed b. Abdullah	Kadı Hanı	sâkin			Esnaf	Çubukçu	1876	15,63
615/165, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Mehmed ibn-i Abdullah	Caferağa Hanı						1674	13,95
615/297, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Ali bin Abdullah	Mikrascılar Hanı				Monla	Monla	1351	11,25
336/24, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Kutoğlu İsmail Beşe b. Musa Neşid	Zincirli Han	sâkin	Kardeşi		Asker	Yeniçerilerin Altmış Dört Cemaat Odası Yoldaşı	1084	9,03
336/231, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Abdullah Ağa b. Abdullah	Elçi Hanı	sâkin		Niksar	Asker	Tatar	993	8,275
336/73, 1183-1184 / 1769-1770	Es-Seyyid Mahmud Sipahi b. Abdullah	Kadı Hanı	müsafiren sâkin	Oğlu		Asker	Sipahi	903	7,52
615/80, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Ahmed Beşe ibn-i Salih	Şekerciler Hanı	sâkin		Bosna	Asker	Yeniçeri	450	3,75

615/125, 1205-1206 / 1790-1791	Murad Kethüda ibn-i Mustafa	Şekerciler Hanı	sâkin		Bosna	Asker	Yeniçeri		0

Source: ŞS, AKD. 336; ŞS, AKD. 615

APPENDIX E

VISUAL MATERIALS ABOUT THE *HAN*S IN ISTANBUL



Figure 71. Yeni Camii and the Port of Istanbul, with a multitude of *han*s, by Jean-Baptiste Hilair, 1809. (Pera Museum, https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/yeni-camii-and-the-port-of-i%CC%87stanbul/AAHTSFqBTtRyMw, March 1, 2016).



Figure 72. The Esir Hanı or Avrat Pazarı, the female slave market near the Nur-i Osmaniye Mosque, by John Frederick Lewis, 1841. (V&A Search the Collections, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1025886/the-esir-hani-or-avrat-watercolour-lewis-john-frederick/, March 1, 2016).

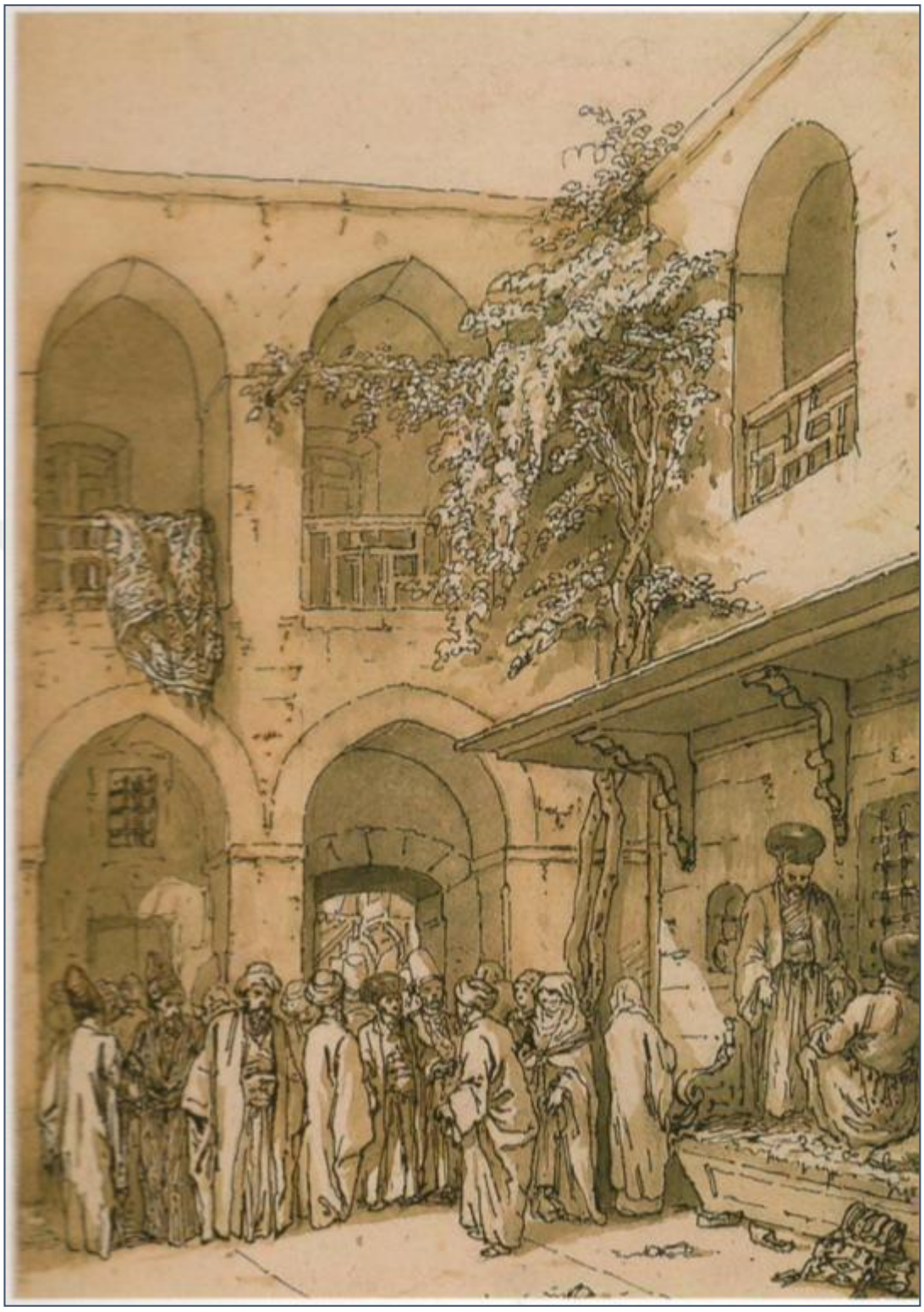


Figure 73. The courtyard of Zincirli Han, Grand Bazaar in Constantinople in 1840-1843. Camille Rogier (1810-1896). (Hitzel, 172).



Figure 74. The second courtyard of Büyük Yeni Han today compared with an engraving by William Henry Bartlett, 1838. (Pardoe, 138). Author's photo (December 2015).



Figure 75. The second courtyard of Büyük Yeni Han in 1936, by Nicholas V. Artamonoff. (Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, http://images.doaks.org/artamonoff/items/show/2112, March 1, 2016).

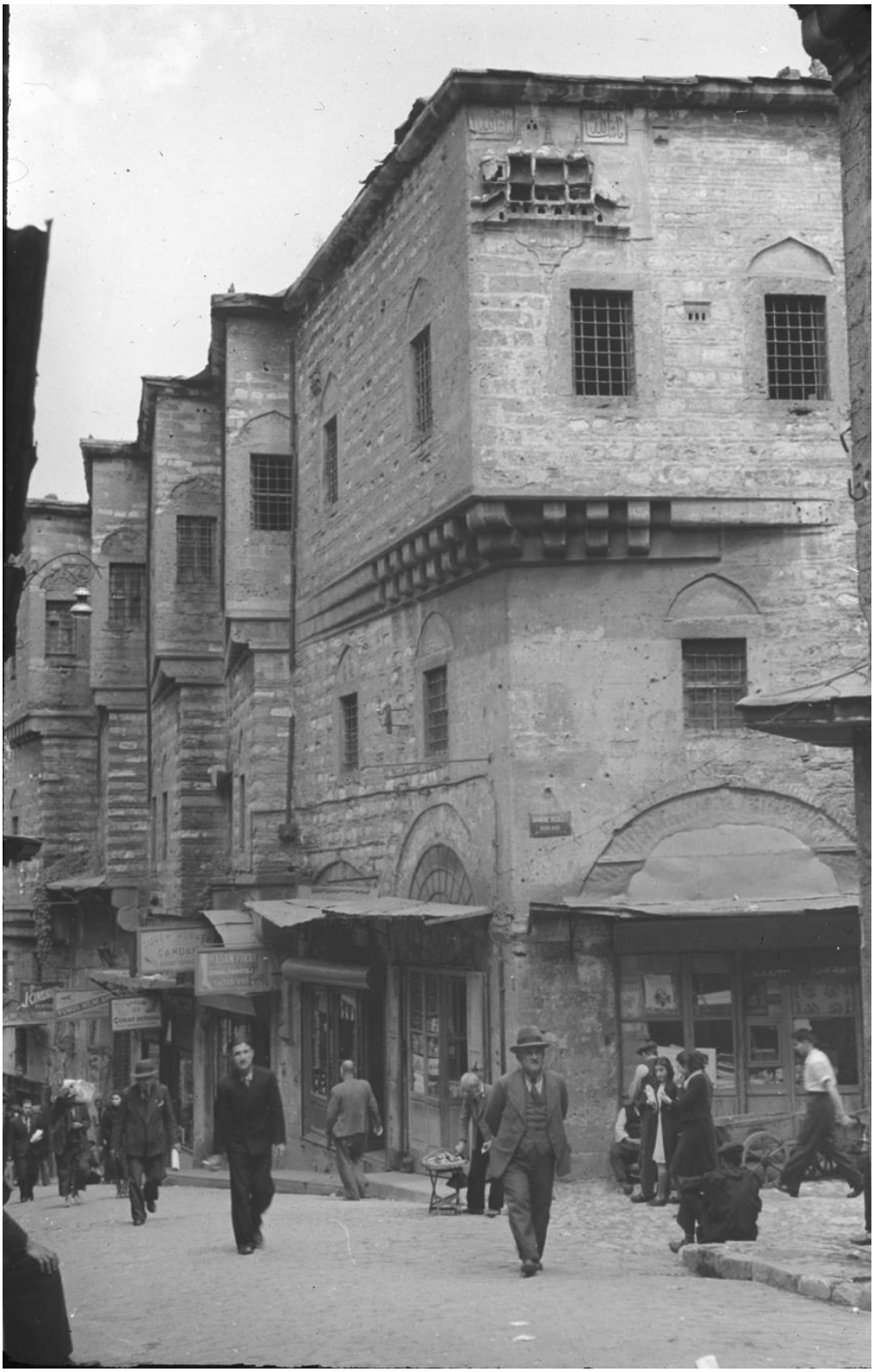


Figure 76. A street view of Çakmakçılar Ramp and Büyük Yeni Han in 1936, by Nicholas V. Artamonoff. (Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, http://images.doaks.org/artamonoff/items/show/734, March 1, 2016).



Figure 77. The birdhouse on the façade of Büyük Yeni Han. (Photograph: Caner Cangül)



Figure 78. Two views of the courtyard of Taş Han in Laleli, 1939 and 2016. (http://www.hayalleme.com/laleli-tashan/, March 1, 2016).

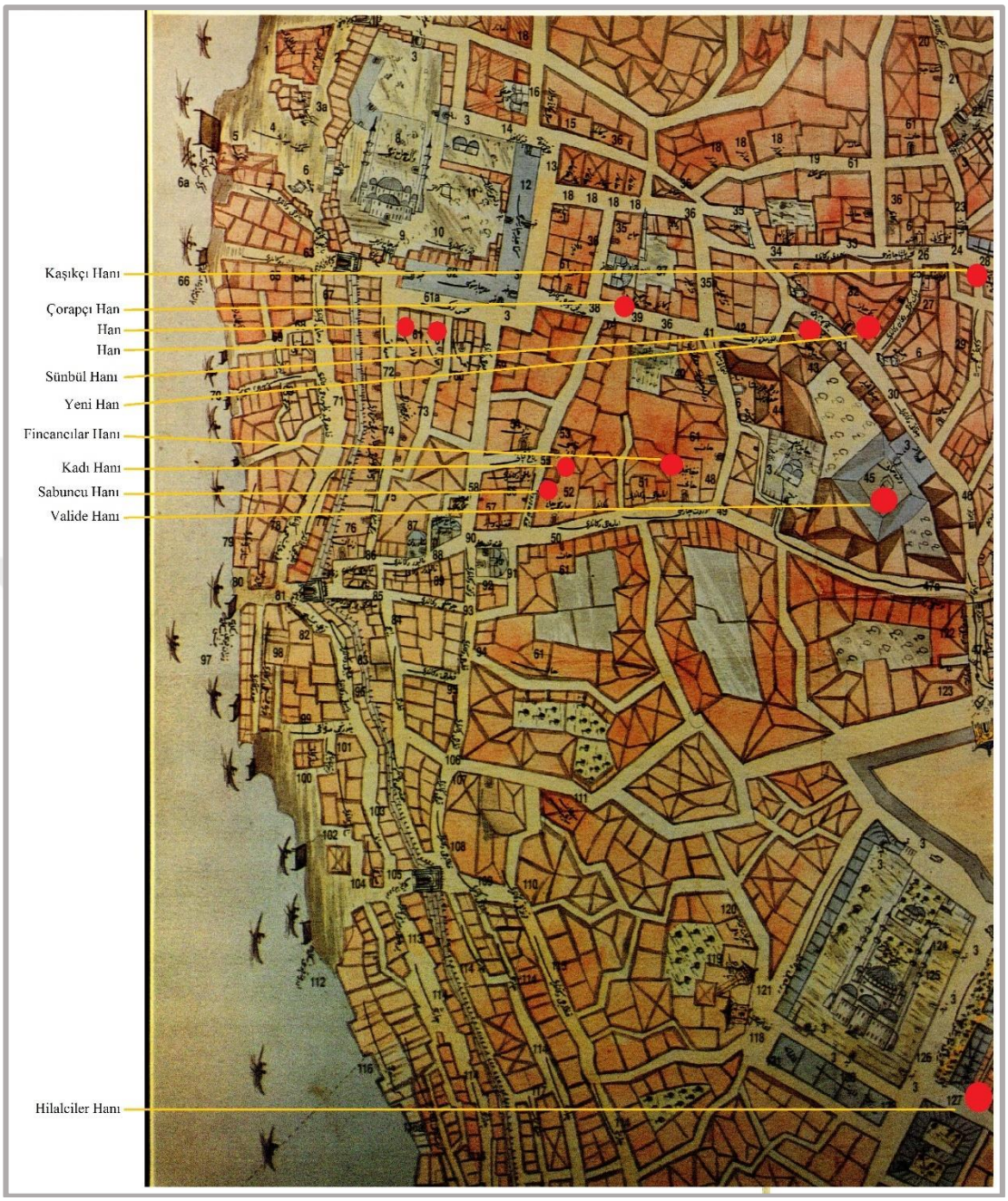


Figure 79. The *han*s in the commercial district in early nineteenth-century Istanbul as reflected in the Bayezid II Water Distribution System Map, 1812-13; northern sections.

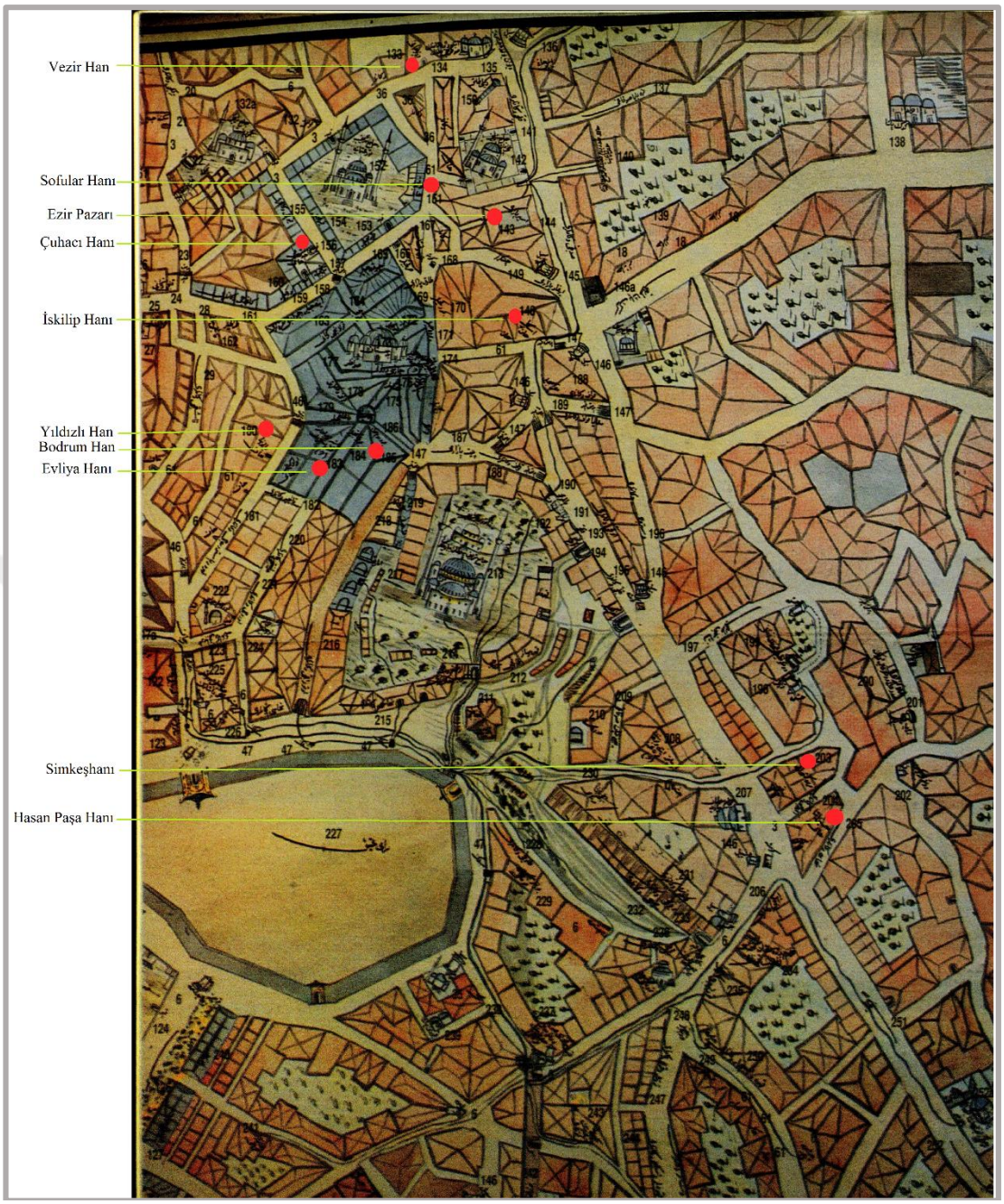


Figure 80. The *han*s in the commercial district in early nineteenth-century Istanbul as reflected in the Bayezid II Water Distribution System Map, 1812-13; the great bazaar and along the Divan Yolu.

APPENDIX F.

PLANS OF THE *HAN*S IN ISTANBUL

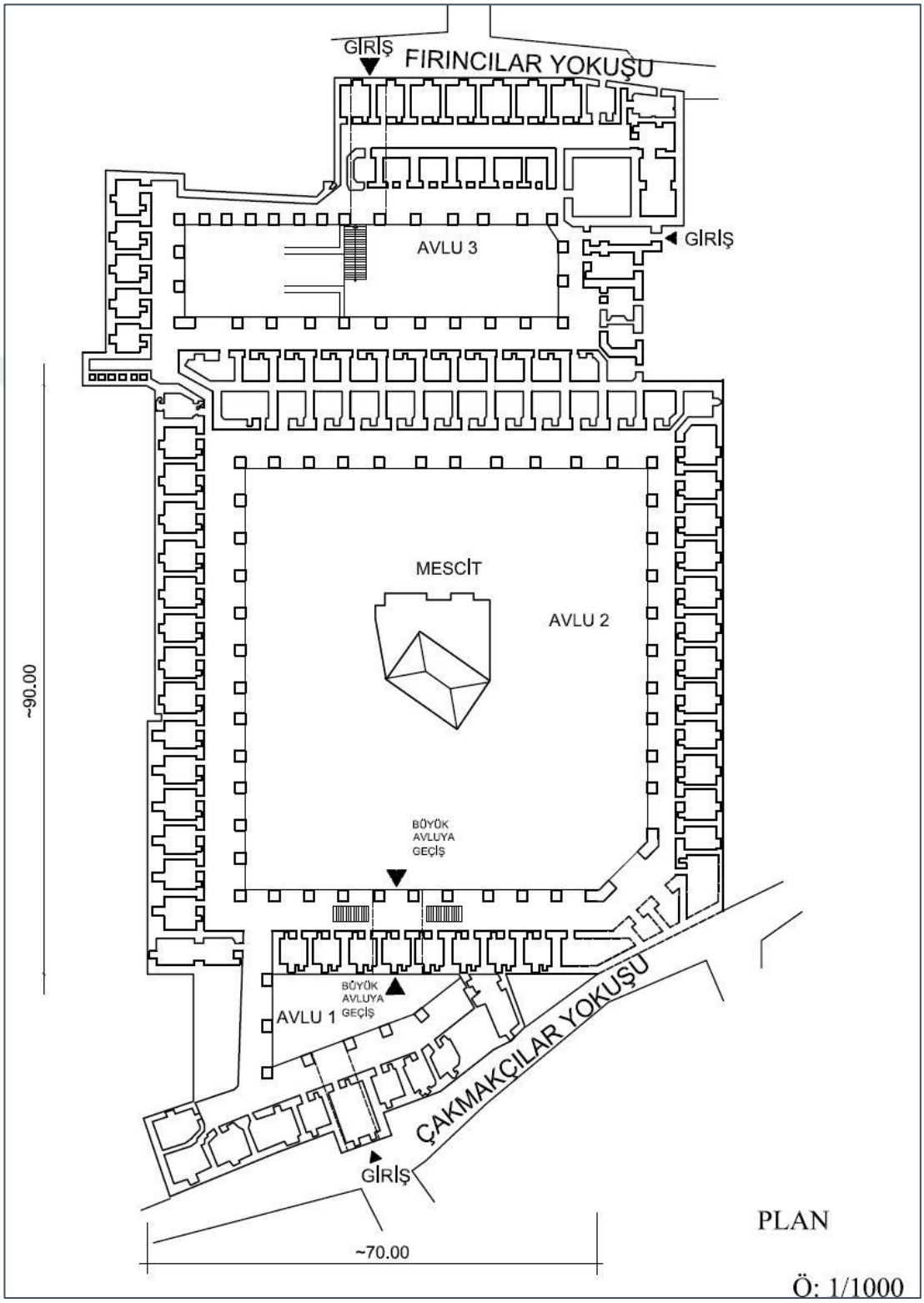


Figure 81. The plan of Valide Han. (Sökmen, 136).

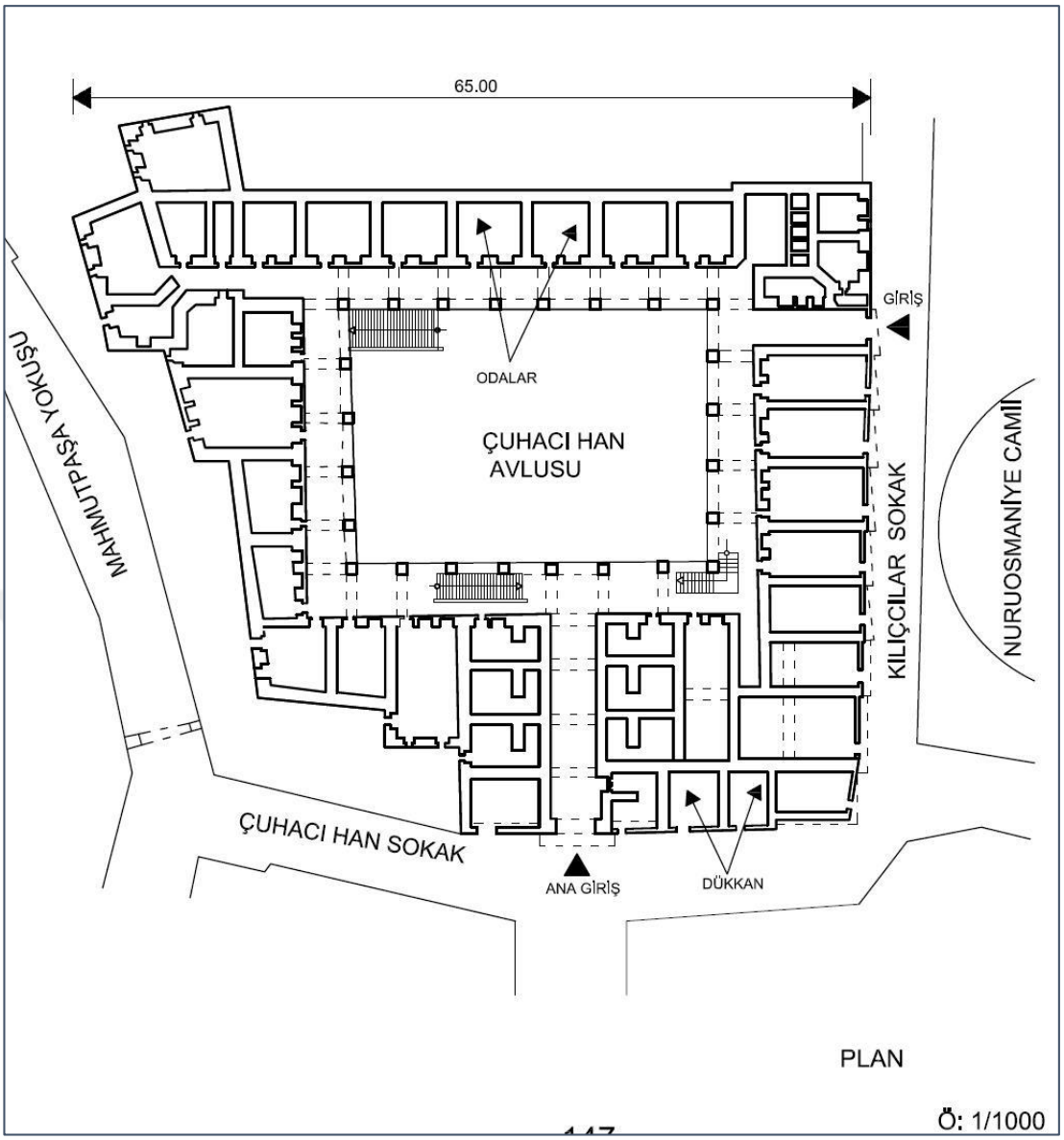


Figure 82. The plan of Çuhacı Han. (Sökmen, 147).

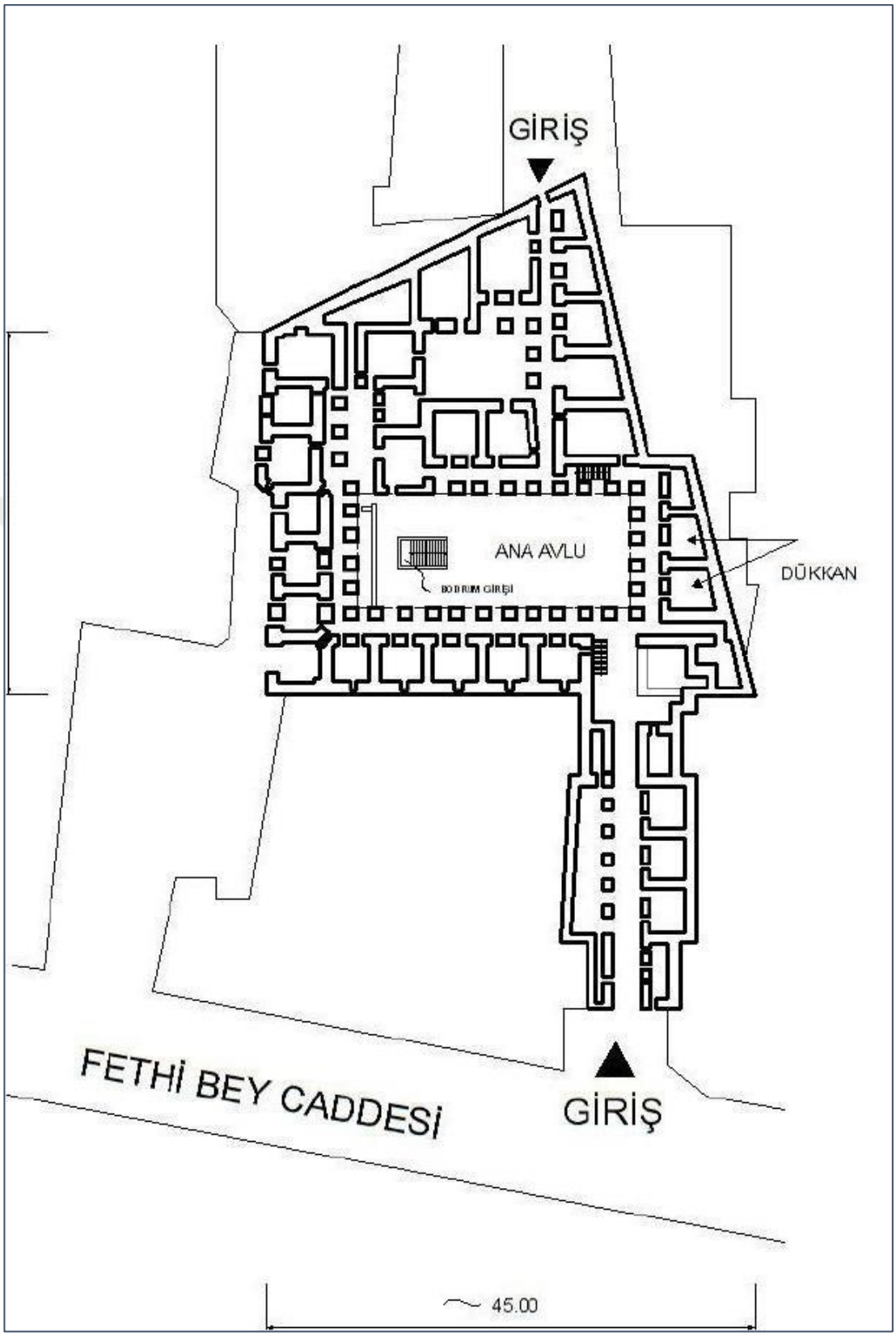


Figure 83. The plan of Taş Han in Laleli. (Sökmen, 98).

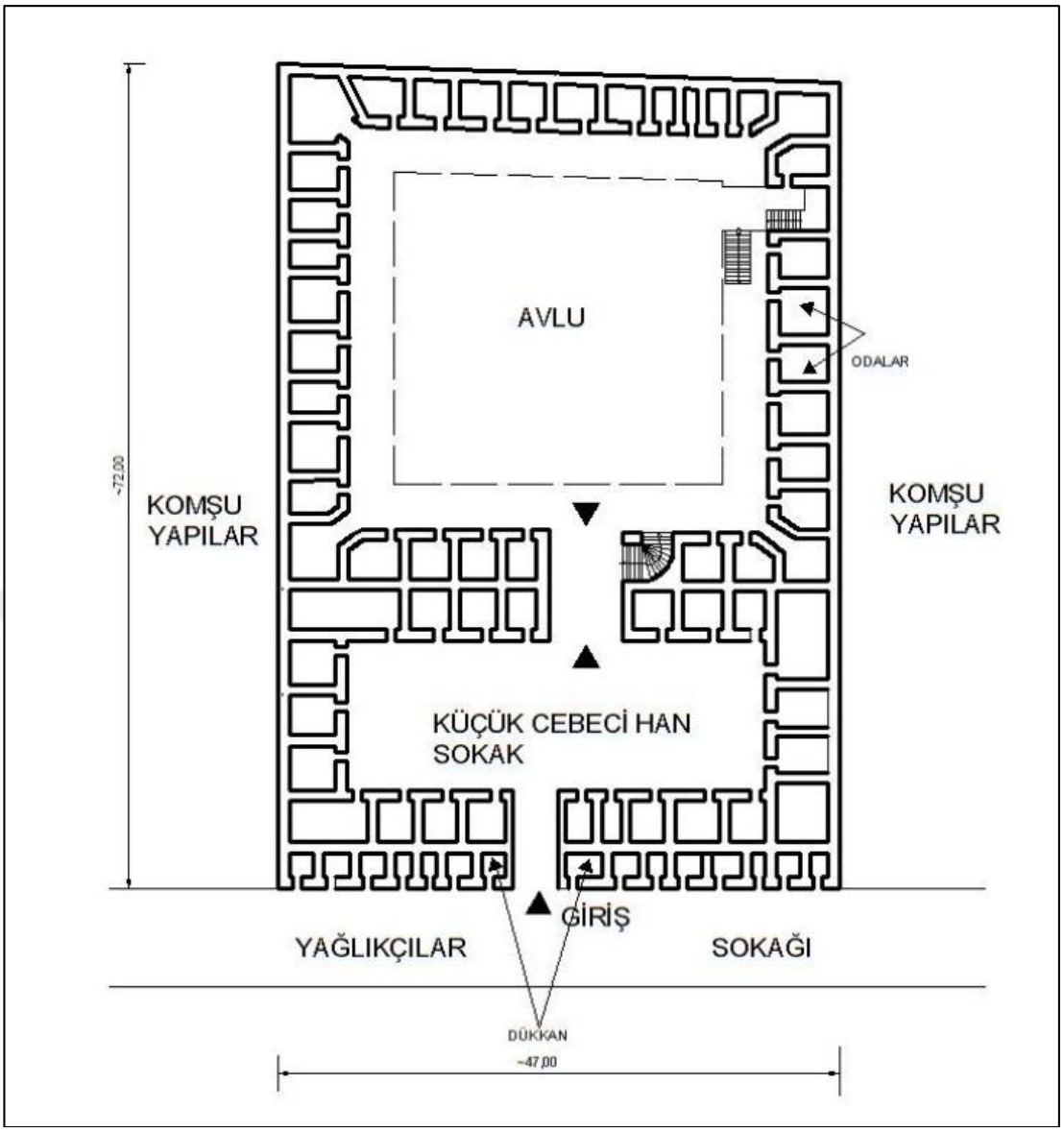


Figure 84. The plan of Cebeci Han. (Sökmen, 83).

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BOA A.DVN.d. 834, 13 R 1207 / November 28, 1792.

BOA A.DVN.d. 835, 23 R 1207 / December 8, 1792.

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BOA C.DH. 122/6081, 29 RA 1226 / July 21, 1811.

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BOA C.SM. 151/7594, 17 R 1175 / November 15, 1761.

BOA C.ZB. 1675, 12 C 1226 / July 4, 1811.

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