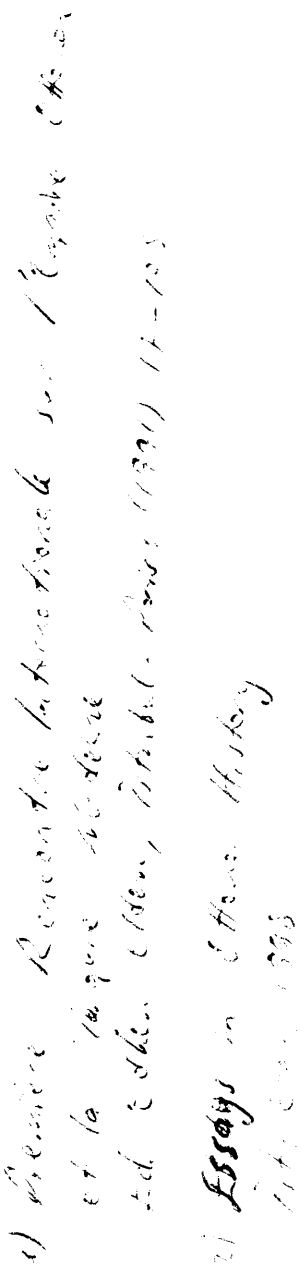


Ottoman Galata, 1453-1553

The 'ahd-nāme of June 1, 1453

The story of how the "treaty" concluded between the Genoese of Pera and Mehmed II in 1453 was discovered is well known.[1] The use of defective French and Italian translations and of J. von Hammer's faulty copy of the Greek original gave rise to a great deal of controversy over the nature and the precise contents of the document until the British Museum acquired the original copy and made it public in 1898.[2] The original document, in Greek, was edited, first, by N. Jorga in 1914[3] and, later, by E. Dallegio d'Alessio whose transcription has been generally accepted.[4] An official translation of the original document into Italian which was made by the Genoese authorities in Pera on August 30, 1453 was widely used and reproduced.[5] The Turkish version, which was evidently a translation from the original in Greek, also exists either as an independent document or inserted in the official renewals of the capitulatory privileges.[6]

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[1] See, E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II (1er Juin 1453), versions et commentaires", *Échos d'Orient,* XXXIX (1940), pp. 161-175; T. C. Skeat, "Two Byzantine Documents", *The British Museum Quarterly,* XVIII (1953), pp. 71-73; and recently Mahmut Şakiroğlu, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Galatalılara verdiği Fermanın Türkçe Metinleri", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi,* (1983), pp. 211-216.

[2] See, Skeat, note 1 above.

[3] N. Iorga, "Le privilège de Mohammet II pour la ville de Pera (1er Juin 1453)", *Bulletin de la Section de l'Académie Roumaine,* 2e année, no 1 (1914), pp. 11-32.

[4] E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "La texte grec du traité conclu par les Génois de Galata avec Mehmet II, le 1er Juin 1453", *Hellenika,* 9 (1939), pp. 115-124; for the original text, see Appendix n° 2.

[5] E. Belgrano, "Documenti riguardanti la colonia genevese di Pera", *Atti della Soc. lig. di Stor. Patria,* XIII (1877-1884), Genoa, 1886, pp. 226-228; E. D. d'Alessio, "Traité...", p. 162; for the Italian and French versions see M. A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople,* second edition, R. P. Arsène de Chatel, Paris, 1894.

[6] The Turkish text has been published by the following: I. İ. Hoci, "Galata'nın Osmanlılara Teslimi", *Tārīkh-i 'Oṣmānī Endjümeni Medjmū'asi,* XXV (1330 H.), pp. 52-53; he says he took it from "an old manuscript" without specifying the source. It is dated *awākhir-i Djumād'al-ūlā,* sene 857/1-10 June 1453; the names of the Genoese envoys are omitted; II. As an independent document, the Turkish text is reproduced in facsimile and translated into French by N. Beldiceanu, *Recherche sur la ville ottomane au XVe siècle,* Paris, 1973, pp. 153-154, facsimile, pp. 423-424; it is taken from a collection of state papers now preserved in *MS fonds turcs ancien* 130, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; it is dated *awākhir-i Djumād'al-ūlā,* sene 857/1-10 June 1453, and it contains the names of the

The following is a translation of the Turkish version of the document as found in a collection of state papers, MS Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see n° II in note 6, *infra* and Appendix 1).

> I, the Great Pādishāh and the Great Shehinshāh Meḥmed Khan, son of Sultan Murād, give my solemn oath unto God, creator of the earth and the heavens, and by the enlightened and pure soul of Mohammad, his messenger and by the seven *muṣḥaf* (the Qur'an) and by the 124 thousand prophets of God and by the souls of my grandfather and my father and by my own life and my sons' lives and by the sword I am wearing, that since, at present, the people of Galata and their noblemen have sent to my Sublime Porte in order to show their friendship, their envoys Babilan Paravazin and Markiz de Franko and the dragoman Nikoroz(o) Papudjo with the keys of the aforesaid fortress and to submit to me as my subjects *(ḳul),* I, in return, agree that they may follow their own customs and rites as were in force before, that I will not go against them and demolish their fortress. So I ordered [and agreed] that their money, provisions, properties, storehouses, vineyards, mills, ships and boats, in short, all their possessions as well as their wives, sons, and slaves, of both sexes, be left in their hands as before and that nothing be done contrary thereof nor to molest them; that they pursue their livelihood, as in other parts of my dominions, and travel by land and by sea in freedom without any hindrance or molestation by anyone and be exempt [from extraordinary impositions]; that I impose upon them the Islamic poll tax *kharādj* which they pay each year as other non-Muslims do, and in return I will give my attention [and protection] as I do to those in other parts of my dominions; that they keep their churches and perform their customary rites in them with the exception of ringing their church bells and rattle *(nāḳūs);* that I do not take away from them their present churches and turn them into mosques, but that they also do not attempt to build new churches; that the Genoese merchants come and go on land and by sea for trade, pay the customs dues as required under the established rules and be free from molestation by anyone. And I, also, ordered that their sons not be taken as janissaries; that no infidel be converted to Islam against his will; that they elect freely someone from among themselves as *ketkhudā,* steward, to look after their own affairs; that no *doghandjı* or *ḳul,* Sultan's men, will come and stay as guests in their houses; that the inhabitants of the fortress as well as the merchants be free from all kinds of forced labor. Let all take notice of this order and trust my imperial seal above. This document is written in the third part of the month of *Djumād' al-ūlā* in the Hidjra year of 857.

envoys; III. The original of Aḥmed I's renewal, made *awāsiṭ-i Muḥarrem* 1022/1-1 March 1610, preserved in the Genoa archives (see M. Şakiroğlu, *art, cit.,* p. 213, se Appendix 3) is reproduced in facsimile for the first time in *Storia maritima dell'Italia* Milano, 1947, p. 653 and then by Şakiroğlu, *art. cit.,* pp. 223-224; Şakiroğlu publishe a copy from a register in the collection *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, Başvekâlet Arşi* (now *Devlet Arşivleri, Osmanlı Arşivi),* Istanbul, no. 6004, p. 96; this particula register contains copies of the outgoing firmans between 1028-1030/1618-162 Şakiroğlu transcribed and compared (p. 216) Aḥmed I's renewal with the text of th renewal by Murād IV; IV. The renewal by Murād IV dated *Rabī'ul-ūlā* 1033/10-2 January 1624 is reproduced by M. Şakiroğlu, *art. cit.,* facsimile text, pp. 220-221. W followed the transliteration system of *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition with th exception of (چ),ç.

The date and the signature of the Greek document is discussed by E. d'Alessio.[7] The Greek text, he observes, gives the exact date as the first of June 1453 which is confirmed by the Arabic dating on the same document as *tahrīran fī awākhir Djumād' al-Awwal sene sab' wa ḥamsīn wa ṣamānamie* or the last part of the month *Djumādā* I, 857 which corresponds to the first ten days of the month of June 1453. The signature of Zaghanos on the bottom of the Greek text can be explained by the fact that Meḥmed II had appointed him to organize the last assault against Constantinople on the 27th of May and from the beginning of the siege he was entrusted to watch the Genoese of Pera. Upon the fall of Constantinople, the Sultan sent him to appease the terrified Genoese in Pera, and to prevent panic and the ruin of this mercantile center, which was so important for the reconstruction of his imperial capital. Upon the arrest of the grand vizir Çandarlı Khalīl on May 30, Zaghanos succeeded him in the grand vizirate.[8] In sum, all these circumstances allowed Zaghanos to assume chief responsibility for an orderly takeover of the Genoese city.

What is surprising is that no one has attempted to examine the document by comparing it with similar contemporary Ottoman documents.[9] E.

[7] E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "Traité...", pp. 165-167.

[8] See H. İnalcık, *Fâtih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar,* Ankara 1954, pp. 127-133.

[9] For early Islamic *'ahd-nāmes* see H. A. R. Gibb, "The Fiscal Rescript of Umar II", *Arabica,* II, pp. 1-16; M. Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State,* Lahore, revised fourth ed., 1961, pp. 75-156; for an Ottoman *'ahd-nāme* text in Greek before 1453, see the *'ahd-nāme* of Joannina dated 1430: C. Amantos, "La reconnaissance par les Mahométans des droits politiques et religieux des Chrétiens et le décret de Sinan Pacha", *Epirotika Kronika* (1930), pp. 197-210; for an English translation of this *'ahd-nāme* see N. J. Pentazopoulos, *Church and Law,* Salonica, 1967, p. 21; the Joannina *'ahd-nāme* of 1430 is of particular interest for a comparison with that of Pera; for the *'ahd-nāmes* given by Meḥmed II after 1453, see V. Boškov, "Pitanje autentičnosti Fojničke *ahd-nāme*

d'Alessio suggests[10] that originally the document must have been drawn up in Turkish in the Ottoman chancery, at least in the form of a draft, and then put into the definitive Greek version. Suspecting that certain turcisms existed in the Greek text, Elizabeth Zachariadou[11] also shared this opinion. However, it is now a well established fact that Greek was used in Ottoman diplomatic correspondence with the Latin states during that period and that Greek scribes were employed in the Ottoman chancery.[12]

As for the authenticity of the Greek version, Paspati's arguments are found to be inadmissible by Lambros and E .d'Alessio.[13] Irrefutable indications of the originality of the Greek document are, first, the *tughra*, the Sultan's seal, which has been proven to be original when compared with the authentic firmans of the same Sultan.[14] The fact that the existing Turkish text is a direct translation from the Greek text can also be substantiated by such awkward grammatical forms as *rendjberlik edeler ghayrı memleketlerim gibi* or *oḳuyalar ayinlerindje,* etc. The introductory sentence in the Turkish translation of the document[15] reads:

> The following is the *'ahd-nāme* of the *dhimmīs* of Galata; Meḥmed the Conqueror granted it when he conquered Istanbul. It is written in Greek and sealed by the Sultan's *tughra.*

By these words, the Ottoman chancery recognized that this was an *'ahd-nāme,* that the Genoese of Galata were given the status of Islamic *dhimmī*

Mehmeda II iz 1463 godine", *Godišnjaka,* XXVIII-XXX (1977-1979), pp. 87-10[illegible] examples of *'ahd-nāmes* given to cities in the sixteenth century are numerous; typical is the *'ahd-nāme* of Andivar (Antivari) given by Pertev Pasha in 1571, edited by M. Grignaschi, "Una raccolta inedita di 'Münşeât': il MS. Veliyüddin ef. 1970 della Biblioteca Beyazit Umumi di Istanbul e gli 'Ahdname' concessi dalla Sublime Porta a Chio *(Muharrem* 927h), a Firenze *(Muharrem* 934) e ad Antivari *(Ramadan* 983)", *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani,* Napoli, 1976, pp. 105-127, and V. Boškov, *"Ahd-nam*[illegible] Murata II stanovnicima Bara iz 1575 godine", *Godišnjaka,* XXVIII-XXX (1977-197[illegible] pp. 279-285; no comparative study has yet been made of the types of *'ahd-nāmes* given to communities and cities.

[10] E. Dallegio d'Alessio "Traité...", p. 168.

[11] Professor E. Zachariadou made this remark to me while we were discussing this text.

[12] See A. Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II", *Byz. Zeitschrift,* 47 (1954).

[13] E. Dallegio d'Alessio "Traité...", pp. 165-167.

[14] For example, see F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts,* Wien 1921.

[15] See the text in *MS fonds turc ancien* 130, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ff. 78 a-b, published and translated into French by N. Beldiceanu, *Recherce sur la ville ottomane au XV[illegible] siècle,* Paris 1973, pp. 153-154; facsimile: p. 423.

subjects, and that the document bearing the Sultan's seal was written originally in Greek.

This Turkish text is the only one which is known thus far. As we described above (see note 6), the same Turkish text came to us, also as an insertion into the capitulations renewed by Ahmed I (1603-1617) and, later, by his successors (see Appendix 3). A critical comparison of the renewals with the earlier translated Turkish text leaves no doubt that the former is a copy of the latter. The main differences between the two Turkish texts are as follows:

MS Paris	The Capitulations of 1022 H.
Line 1: ben	Line 5: ben ki
Line 1: Murādım	Line 5: Murād Khānım
Line 2: Yeri göğü	Line 5: Yerleri
Line 2: resülün	Line 6: resül Moḥammed Muṣṭafā
Line 3: Muṣḥaf ḥaḳḳiyçün	Line 6: Muṣḥaf
Line 4: oghlanlarım	Line 7: oghlandjıḳlarım
Line 5: Babilan	Line 8: elçileri Babilan
Line 10: kharāb etmiyem buyurdum ki	Line 10: kharāb etmiyem
Line 17: oḳuyalar āyinlerindje	Line 14: ayinlerindje oḳuyalar
Line 20: etmeye ve buyurdum ki	Line 14: etmeye
Line 23: olalar shöyle bileler 'alāmet-i sherīfe i'timād ḳılalar taḥrīren	Line 18: olalar deyü

The differences obviously consist of only stylistic changes which the writer of the renewal deemed necessary to make in a capitulation. He omitted the formula *buyurdum ki* and the validation formula at the end, which were both unnecessary in the text of the renewal of a capitulation.

In western literature dealing with this document, it is generally admitted that it is a "treaty concluded between the Genoese of Galata and Mehmed II" or a capitulation.[16] In the Turkish text it is clearly called an *'ahd-nāme.* An *'ahd-nāme* is quite different from our understanding of a treaty as an agreement negotiated and agreed upon bilaterally between two sovereign states. In general an *'ahd-nāme* is not a treaty in the strictest sense; it is a unilateral pledge or privilege granted to a submitted or friendly group. It is an

[16] See for example E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "Traité...", p. 161; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror,* p. 101: "the rights and liberties of the inhabitants of Galata were confirmed in a formal treaty (in *einem förmlichen... Vertrag)";* Şakiroğlu calls it a *ferman* or *'ahd-nāme.* All *'ahd-nāmes* are issued in the particular type of *nishān* or *berāt;* on types of *berāt,* see R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber Mūceb-i 'Örf-i 'Oṣmānī,* Ankara, 1954, Giriş.

amān, the guarantee of life and property.[17] Such an act is related to the Qur'anic notion of reconciliation *(ta'līf al-ḳulūb)* which found expression in the dealings of the Ottoman sultans with various non-Muslim communities and was commonly called *istimālet.*[18] *İstimālet,* reconciliation, manifested itself in various ways according to circumstances, and was formulated in different types of documents. Documents granting a privilege are in general *'ahd-nāme*s, *berāt*s or *nishān*s. The *'ahd-nāme,* a document guaranteeing privileges under oath *('ahd)*, is legally different from the *berāt* granting specific privileges without *'ahd.* The latter category of documents comprises diplomas of the Sultan investing a person or a group with a certain status, ordering third parties to observe the privileges, immunities or delegated authority; thus it is formulated in the form of a *ḥukm (fermān),* order. With an *'ahd-nāme,* the Sultan is bound before God to abide by the pledge given and he cannot change or abolish the contents of the *'ahd* as long as the other party –a government, a nation or community– continue to abide by the conditions of the pledge, which involve primarily "sincere loyalty and friendship" *(ikhlāṣ ile inḳiyād ve dostluḳ).* In practice, the sincerity provision gave the Sultan the discretion to judge whether or not the other party was abiding by the conditions. The *'ahd-nāme* category included the capitulations -- *'ahd-nāme*s given to non-Muslim foreigners acting individually or as a group, or to a state, as well as the *'ahd-nāme*s granted to vassal states or cities enjoying full internal autonomy under their own government.

Our renewal documents are rendered solely to the subjects of Genoa as capitulations without distinguishing the first part concerning the Genoese who, in 1453, expressed their willingness to become the Sultan's subjects *(ḳul)* and, as such, were ready to pay the annual *djizya,* poll tax (see *infra).* In the original document, this group of Genoese and the Genoese citizens residing in Galata under the capitulatory privileges were not yet distinguished, so they were treated in the same *'ahd-nāme.* From 1453 onwards, the Genoese called the document *capituli,*[19] i.e., capitulations. In fact, Islamic *amān* or *'ahd* comprised both situations. But at the time of renewals the two groups should have been distinguished and only the second part of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453 rendered to the non - subject, *ḥarbī*, Genoese. Apparently, like modern authors, the scribes also did not realize the two separate dealings with the Genoese considered *dhimmī* and *ḥarbī* in the

[17] See the literature given in note 9 above; also see *"Imtiyāzāt", EI²,* vol. III.

[18] On *istimālet* see H. Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy,* London: Variorum, 1979, pp. 112-122.

[19] In the letter of Soderini, a Florentine envoy in Genova, dated August 30, 1453, cited by E. d'Alessio, "Traité...", p. 162, note 3.

original document. Or, they preserved the section concerning the first group, apparently in order to avoid the complications of adjusting the document to present conditions, and found no harm in leaving this part in the text.

What actually happened must be recalled here.[20] Upon the conquest of Constantinople, the Sultan's policy actually was aimed at bringing Pera under his direct rule without being obliged to use force. He wanted to avoid disrupting the normal life of the city, which he considered so vitally important for the reconstruction of his new capital and the economy of his empire in general.[21] For their part, the Genoese hoped to preserve their independence as established under the Byzantine Empire[22] and which had, in fact, been guaranteed by the agreement made with Meḥmed II in 1451, and renewed during the siege of Constantinople. But after the conquest of Constantinople, events would take a different turn for them. Mehmed II's candid account of the events in his letter of victory to the Sultan of Egypt[23] clearly illustrates the new situation. In this letter (see Appendix 4) Mehmed said:

> At the time of the siege [of Constantinople] the Genoese of this fortress [Pera] came into our presence and renewed in a strong fashion their oath and agreement with us. In return, we said that you will be [in peace] as before on condition that you not give aid to the enemy and abide by the agreement. They accepted our condition and obeyed the order. But when Constantinople was conquered we discovered among the dead and the captives men of Galata who had fought against us. So it became apparent that they acted ambivalently and violated their sworn agreement *(mīṣāḳ).* We, therefore, decided to do the same with them as we did with the other [enemies]. Meantime they came in supplication and 'begging' and said 'if you don't have mercy on us we will be definitely losers'.[24] Whereupon we pardoned them, for God is the forgiver, and we favored them, and favor is from God the Mighty, the One, the Subduer. And we confirmed them in their dominion *(mulk),* and dominion is from God the Mighty, the Omnipotent, and we have

[20] A principal source on the fall of Genoese Pera is edited and published by A.Pertusi, *La Caduta,* vol. II, p. 549: Pera and bibliography, pp. 492-512; also L.Sauli, *Dalla Colonia,* vol. I; E. Belgrano, *Documenti,* CXLVIII ff.

[21] See H. Inalcik, "Istanbul", *EI²,* p. 225; and "Mehmed II", *İA,* VII, pp. 519-520.

[22] For the character of Byzantine sovereignty over Galata, see E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "Galata et la souveraineté de Byzance", *Revue des Études Byzantines,* 1962, pp. 315-327.

[23] Ferīdūn, *Münshe'āt al-Salāṭīn,* I, 237. I am indebted to Professor Farouk Mustafa for helping me in the translation of the letter from Arabic.

[24] Qur'an: VII-23.

> levelled their fortress in such a way as no crookedness nor refuge can be seen therein. And we seized their land and water and we entered their names in the *djizya* register 'so that they would deliver *djizya* in humility'.[25]

It is clear that the Sultan sought to justify both the abrogation of his previous *mīsāḳ*, a religiously binding sworn agreement, and his decision to reduce the Genoese to *djizya* paying subjects no different from subject peoples in other parts of his domain.

In his famous letter to his brother, dated June 23, 1453,[26] the *Podestà* of Pera Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, confessed that he had been looking forward to an Ottoman defeat with keen anticipation and said:

I sent in defense of the city [of Istanbul] all the mercenaries from Chios and all those sent from Genoa as well as a good many citizens and burgesses from here (Galata). I always recognized that, if Constantinople were lost, this place would be lost.

Upon the fall of Constantinople, Lomellino tells us that the Genoese of Pera attempted to flee, and that the majority of them returned to their families; others were captured on the quay because the sea captains *(patroni)* were in such a terror that they did not wait.[27]

The *Podestà* continues "I immediately sent ambassadors to the Sultan with beautiful gifts saying 'Let us have peace, begging and submitting ourselves", and asked those Genoese who reached the ships to wait another day but they sailed at midnight while the *Podestà*'s ambassadors were still in the Sultan's camp. The *Podestà* wrote:

> When in the morning the Sultan received the news of the departure of the ships, he informed my ambassadors that he wanted *terra libera,* we could scarcely save ourselves and our personal property; for he said that we did everything possible to save Constantinople and that this was the reason why the Turks had not taken the place on the first day.

[25] Qur'an: IX-29.

[26] Pertusi, La Caduta I, p. 45. Upon the unexpected fall of Constantinople, the *Podestà* decided to surrender Galata and the inhabitants of Galata agreed to become the Sultan's subjects. This decision, in general, was criticized by the Genoese: see Lionardo of Chios in his letter of June 23, 1453 to the Pope: Pertusi, pp. 169-178. To justify his decision to surrender the place, the *Podestà* said, he wanted to save Galata from an inevitable sack. The *Podestà*'s visit to the Sultan's camp most probably occurred on the first of June, and the fifth the Sultan entered Galata.

[27] Compare Nicolò Barbarò, "Giornale dell'assiedo di Costantinopoli", ed. Pertusi, *Caduta* I, pp. 35-36.

Kenneth Setton translated *terra libera* as "an unconditional surrender".[28] In fact, the flight of the Genoese made the Sultan angry and led him to treat Galata as "free (abandoned) land". In Islamic law, the land deserted by its population under similar conditions is considered *fay'*, that is, a land belonging to the *bayt al-māl,* state treasury.[29] Our survey of Galata of 1455 leaves no doubt that Galata's land was treated accordingly and that plots and houses were subjected, as state properties, to *muḳāṭa'a,* or rent.[30] As was customary in Ottoman diplomatic practice, the grand vizir, then Zaghanos Pasha, appears to have played a major part in mollifying Galata and in reaching a new agreement with the Genoese. According to Doucas,[31] Zaghanos went in haste to Pera and in an effort to put a stop to the Genoese flight, gave them guarantees, "by the oath of the Sultan's life" and promised "conditions for an agreement better than those made with the Sultan and with the Emperor". Zaghanos added that their flight could only further arouse the anger of the Sultan. Except for those who had already run away, the rest of the Latins now were persuaded to remain in the town. The *Podestà* had the gates of the town shut and permitted no one to leave. The town was occupied by Zaghanos and his troops apparently on the 30th of May and as Critovoulos remarked,[32] "they did them (Perans) no harm". Abandoning all hope of restoring the town's previous status, and threatened with war conditions, the *Podestà* sent his envoys, "Babilan Paraveso and Markeso Drifankis"[33] to offer Pera's surrender and, as apparently suggested by Zaghanos, to submit by asking for peace and amnesty *(amān).* Thus, our document was issued upon the arrival of the second legation. Now the Sultan proceeded according to the prescriptions of the Islamic law concerning submitted populations.

The document is a typical *'ahd-nāme* granting *amān,* many examples of which are to be found in pre-Ottoman and Ottoman collections of state

[28] *The Papacy and the Levant,* Madison 1990. p. 134.

[29] See, F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation,* Copenhagen, 1950, Index: *fay'*.

[30] In Akkermn conquered in 1484, the houses and shops of the deported citizens and the bathhouse were confiscated for the fisc and rented to individuals under the *muḳāṭa'a* system (see the document published by N. Beldiceanu, *Ville,* ff. 238b-239, facsimile, pp. 410-412, dated August 23, 1484).

[31] Trans. H. J. Magoulias, p. 230.

[32] Trans. C. T. Riggs, p. 76.

[33] E.d'Alessio, "Traité", pp. 174-175; in Turkish translation: Babilan Paravazin and Markiz di Franko; Belgrano, *Documenti,* p. 227, identified them as *Babilano Pallavicino* and *Marchesio di Franchi;* in the Ottoman survey of 1455 their names occur as Paravazin and Markiz di Franko; being indigenous citizens they were registered as rich *dhimmīs* in the survey register (see *infra).*

papers.[34] Due to special conditions, this *'ahd-nāme* considered two separate groups in Pera: first, those permanent inhabitants who agreed to pay *kharādj/djizya* and became Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, thereby achieving special status as *dhimmīs* under the *dhimma* law of Islam; and secondly, *ḥarbī*, those "Frank" merchants who were subjects of Genoa and were residing in the city on a temporary basis for business purposes. The stipulations for the first group were made clear by the repeated phrase, *ghayrı memleketlerim gibi,* meaning "as is the case in other parts of my dominion". In return for submission and yearly individual payment of the *djizya,* poll tax, the Sultan enumerated the usual guarantees for the *dhimmīs,* that is, he pledged not to take military action against the city and its inhabitants, recognized their ownership rights of property, and promised security for their people, families, and slaves, free circulation in the Ottoman lands, and the free exercise of their religion in their churches. This first group included Greeks, Jews and Armenians of Galata as well as Genoese.

The second group is distinguished from the first by the term *Djeneviz bāzirgānları,* literally, Genoese merchants, for whom freedom of trade in the Ottoman territories was guaranteed on the condition that they pay customs dues as required by the regulations. Such non-Muslim foreigners were called *musta'min,* literally, those given *amān*, and were subject to the stipulations of capitulation. In the *Podestà's* letter[35] this group is distinguished as *mercanti* from *abitanti.* In fact, the distinction between these two groups is seen in the Ottoman survey of Pera made in 1455, where each individual was to be marked *dhimmī,* payer of the poll tax, or *Frank* or *Djeneviz,* exempt from the poll tax *(bī-djizya).* The western writers did not notice or accept the basic distinction between subjects and foreigners, and this was to become a source of misunderstandings. Though many of the guarantees were shared by both groups, their legal status was absolutely distinct. For the privileges common to both, our document mentioned both groups side by side as *"ḳal'a-i mezbūre khalḳı ve bāzirgānları",* that is "the inhabitants and the merchants of the aforesaid fortress", as was the case in the exemption of both from all kinds of *angarias,* corvées. The exemption from the periodic levy of boys for the janissary corps was one often mentioned in similar documents given to various groups of the population in the Empire. The article "no *doghandjı* or *ḳul* shall come and stay as guests in their households" is also a common stipulation about exemption from the military's quartering of private

[34] H. Inalcik, "Dār al-'Ahd", *EI*^{2}, II, p. 116.

[35] Text ed. Pertusi, I, p. 47: "fece fare poi l'inventario di tutti i beni dei *mercanti* e degli abitanti del borgo che sono scappiva". Also Lomellino distinctly refers to "compagnie commerciali".

houses;[36] this has sometimes mistakenly been interpreted as "no Turk or Sultan's official will be allowed to settle in Pera", and the settlement of Turks in Pera was mistakenly interpreted as a breach of promise.

I believe the article "I will not go against them and demolish their fortress" which caused a great deal of debate simply means: "I promise not to declare war against them nor to expose them to the soldiery's looting". In actual fact, he ordered parts of the city's land walls to be demolished while leaving the sea walls[37] intact before he set out for Edirne on June 18, 1453.[38] Attack by a Crusaders' fleet, and the resistance of the Genoese of Galata, were always possibilities.

Before he left, the Sultan appointed Karadja, one of his *ḳuls,* as *subashı* or *voyvoda* over Galata. Mentioned in the survey of 1455, he must have been the first *voyvoda* of Ottoman Galata.

Critique of L. Sauli / M.-A. Belin's Interpretation

According to Sauli, as summarized by M. Belin[39] , immediately after the conquest of Istanbul, Mehmed II sent Zaghanos Pasha to Galata to persuade the Genoese to stay in their homes and assure them of the renewal of the treaties formerly made between them and the Byzantine emperors, which guaranteed the autonomous existence of Pera under the Genoese administration. Then, the Conqueror accusing them of not having abided by the agreement not to aid the Greeks during the siege, changed his initial promise and said to them that from now on they should be content with his decision. The Genoese were now anxious to renew the capitulatory privileges that were previously granted. Therefore, the Genoese envoys presented the Sultan with the texts and asked for the renewal of the capitulations given by Orkhān and Murād I, as well as those given by Mehmed II himself, upon his accession to the Ottoman throne, dated 7 *Ṣafar* 855/March 11, 1451.

[36] For such exemptions see P. Wittek, "Zu einigen...", *WZKM,* vol. 54, pp. 240-255; vol. 57, pp. 102-117.

[37] The *Podestà* Lomellino wrote: *"fece abbattere i borghi e parte dei fossati della fortificazione, fece demolire La Torre di Santa Croce, mentre lasciò in piedi soltanto parte della cortina che si trova tra la zona merlata e parte dei barbacani, e ha intenzione di prendersi tutte le munizioni e tutte le armi degli abitanti del borgo".* For the repairs under Bāyezīd II see Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme,* I, pp. 428-429; Belin, *Latinité,* pp. 158-159; S. Eyice, *Galata and its Tower,* Istanbul, 1969, pp. 43-77.

[38] In Doucas, p. 241, his departure date is given as June 18, 1453; for discussion of this date see Pertusi, *La Caduta,* I, p. 372, note 11.

[39] *Latinité,* p. 155.

Belin believes[40] that the document given by the Sultan is nothing but the renewal of the Ottoman capitulations and the abolition of the autonomy of the Genoese of Pera. "On peut considérer cette capitulation de Mehemmed II, comme l'origine de la communauté dite des Latins", or *millet-i re'āyā-i Latin* as expressed on the seal of the chief of the chancery of the community. In other words, Sauli/Belin believe that the new Genoese status was not different in any way from that of the foreign communities living in the Ottoman Empire under the guarantees of the capitulations.

This interpretation is not correct because, as explained above, the document specifies those Genoese who chose to stay permanently in Pera, and thus became *dhimmī* subjects *(re'āyā)* of the Empire along with the payment of the *kharādj/djizya,* poll-tax while the Genoese merchants, clearly distinguished in the *'ahd-nāme* and the survey of 1455 as remaining the subjects of Genoa, could only enjoy the immunities contained in the capitulations. The failure to understand this essential point has always been the source of misinterpretations concerning this document.

True, the Genoese *re'āyā* had a new organization according to the stipulations of the *'ahd-nāme*, which, Belin himself stresses, had nothing to do with "a corps municipal, civil et religieux".[41] The activities of *la Magnifica Comunità di Pera,* as described by Belin,[42] reveal no political character. In fact, they were not even given the status of a *ṭā'ife* or *millet* - status which the Greeks and Armenians enjoyed. The Latin *re'āyā* of Galata now had a council of twelve which appointed officers exclusively to run the affairs of the churches in the community, including the churches of St Anne, St Benedict, St John, St Sebastian, St Anthony, and St George in Galata, and St Mary and St Nicolas in Istanbul.[43] The community met at the church of St Anne and was called the *confraternity of St Anne.* The officers were responsible in their religious administration to the Roman Catholic Church, specifically to the *Cardinale Protettore di Levante* and the Patriarchal Vicar of Constantinople. Since the Papacy never accepted a peace settlement with the Ottomans and was always the initiator and the force behind the Crusades against the Ottoman Empire, the Sultans, dating back to the fourteenth century, banned the Latin Church from its territory while they recognized and officially supported the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches. However, those Catholics living within the Empire were given a special *amān* in order that they could live in security and exercise their religion freely as a simple

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 167.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-173.
[43] This is based on the statement made in 1583, see Belin, *op.cit.*, pp. 168-169.

religious community *(djemā'at).* In the official Ottoman records, the Latin community of Istanbul is referred to as *Latin Djemā'ati* and its head who was authorized to look after its affairs and represent it with the Ottoman government was called *vekīl,* agent (in the *'ahd-nāme, prôtogeros or ketkhudā;* in the *Podestà*'s letter, *capitano*).[44]

The following imperial order[45] dated January 9, 1907 makes clear the status of the Latins in Istanbul:

Since there is no officially recognized religious head *(re'īs)* or specific Church for the Latin subjects of the Ottoman Empire living in Istanbul, they used to go to the churches belonging to the foreign communities for their religious services, and their religious affairs were dealt with by the foreign priests. The settlement of their daily affairs *(maṣāliḥ-i 'ādiyye)* was entrusted to an agent *(vekīl)* who contacted the Ottoman authorities when need be... and they do not have an organization like the Greek and Armenian Patriarcates... but rather an agency *(Latin Vekāleti)* similar to a district community representative *(mukhtarlıḳ).*

In brief, modern authors, like the contemporary Greek and Latin sources, blame the Sultan for not keeping his promises and for violating his sworn pledges. Obviously, the Conqueror changed his attitude toward the Genoese of Pera as the situation changed, and both the threat of a western Crusade and the Sultan's concern of not causing the ruin of the city influenced the judgement of the Ottoman government. But it should be remembered that the surprise and disappointment of those who submitted might also have been due to the lack of knowledge on their part about the implications of submission in Islamic Law. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the feelings of the underprivileged majority of the population in Galata, including the Greeks, Armenians and Jews might not have been supportive of their Genoese masters who were now completely at the mercy of the Sultan. The social and economic conflict between the "natives" and the privileged Genoese who monopolized the lucrative overseas trade used to create constant disagreement and periodic explosions in the Genoese colonies in the Levant. Also it must be remembered that there was a deep-seated hatred among the Greeks towards the Genoese. During the two centuries long conflict, the Genoese captured all the east Aegean islands and the Black Sea trade from the Greeks; and they made the population of Constantinople dependent upon the Genoese for its wheat and fish supplies from the Northern Black Sea, and ultimately, Pera became an economically dominant

[44] Pertusi, p. 49.
[45] The Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, *İrāde Dosyaları, Djemā'at-i Ghayr-i Müslime,* no. 62.

city in the face of Constantinople.[46] The prominent Greeks who ransomed themselves after the fall of Byzantium came to settle in Galata. Under Mehmed II, the Greek tax farmers of Galata, in collaboration with the Greeks of Istanbul and Trebizond, became the leading financiers of the Empire while the Greek converts assumed as vizirs the highest responsibility in the government.[47]

The Ottomans definitely took advantage of such a hatred and tension. As a matter of fact, with the Ottoman take over of the Genoese colonies in Pera (1453), Caffa (1475), and Kilia and Akkerman (1484), the "natives" soon replaced the Genoese in the trade between Asia Minor and the Northern Black Sea port cities; and along with the Turkish merchants and shipowners, the Armenians, Jews and Greeks acquired a dominant position in commerce with Lithuania, Poland and Muscovy. At Lwów (Lemberg), the emporium of oriental goods, Indian spices, Bursa silk fabrics and Aegean wines, the Armenian colony played a dominant role thanks to their connections with Pera and Bursa.[48] Even the *dhimmī* Genoese of Pera profited from the change since in their new status they benefited from Ottoman protection and a lower rate of customs duties -- 2 percent as against 4 percent. Using the Genoese documents of the Ottoman period, G. Pistarino came to the conclusion that the Genoese of Pera resumed their business activities under normal conditions under the Ottomans (see *infra).*

In the period after the Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683, when the Ottoman government began to seek the diplomatic support of western nations, particularly France, and gave new privileges under the capitulations, the Latin community strengthened its presence at Pera. Also, the Papacy's policy and the activities of the missions in Turkey which were strongly supported by France, were instrumental in the developments of the period. Despite the fact that Galata and Beyoğlu were considered by their lifestyle as part of *Frengistān,* or Europe, by the Ottomans themselves and that the Catholic nations with their embassies and churches achieved[49] a growing

[46] A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins,* Cambridge, Mass., 1972.

[47] H. Inalcik,"Notes on N. Beldiceanu's Translation of the *Ḳānūnnāme* fonds turcs ancien 39, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris", *Der Islam,* vol. 43/1-2 (1967), pp. 153-157.

[48] M. Berindei, "L'Empire ottoman et la 'route moldave' avant la conquête de Chilia et Cetătea-albă (1484)", *Journal of Turkish Studies,* vol. X (1989), pp. 47-72, and the literature therein.

[49] Evliyā Çelebi, I, p. 431, made the remark that there was no tomb of a Muslim saint *(ziyāretgāh)* in Galata. According to an early 19th century document (Topkapı P. Ar., D. 8803), on the waterfront of Galata from Meyyit İskelesi to the Tophane gate "those places where prohibited things took place", the inns *(han)* and cellars *(mağaza)* as well as rooms *(oda)* on the upper floors of the coffee houses, barber shops or groceries were

presence and influence in Galata, no change occurred in the status of the Latin *re'āyā* of Pera. The distorted interpretation of the 'ahdnāme of Mehmed II as a treaty guaranteeing the administrative, and even political autonomy of Pera/Galata has been to this date favored by some Levantines and those westerners who grew into a large community in Galata in the course of the nineteenth century.[50]

I The Ottoman Survey of 1455

While I was conducting research on the history of Istanbul under Ottoman rule, the late Professor Bekir Sıtkı Baykal of Ankara University kindly showed me, and allowed me to use, a photocopy of an Ottoman survey book of Istanbul and Galata. The document, he said, was in the Turkish archives, but is not catalogued. So I had to rely on his photocopy without seeing the original.[51] The survey, which was made two and a half years after the surrender of the city, is a unique document on the population, topography, and economic situation of the city during the first years of Ottoman rule (for sample pages see Appendix 5).

In the *'ahd-nāme (supra)* it was expressly stated:

I impose upon them (the submitted Genoese) Islamic *kharādj* which they pay each year as other non-Muslims [in my dominions] do.

It was Djübbe 'Alī Bey, then the governor of Bursa, who was entrusted with the task of conducting the survey of Istanbul and Galata in 1455. He chose his cousin, Ṭursun Beg, the famous historian of the reign of Mehmed

pulled down by the order of the Sultan. They numbered altogether 469 in Kalkan-Yeri, Çeşme-Meydanı, Yağ-Kapanı, Kürkçüler-Başı, Kara-Köy, Balık-Pazarı, Kurşunlu-Mahzen, Mumhane, Tophane-Kapısı, Kule-Kapısı and Sandık-Başı. An additional 108 rooms *(oda)* in Kasım-Paşa in the quarters of Lonca, Sel-Kuyusu and Yağhane were also pulled down. Galata imported 771 casks *(fuçı)* of wine annually (Topkapı P. Ar., D. 8979).

[50] Louis Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682", *IJMES,* 10 (1979), p. 74: "The merchants immediately surrendered the colony to the Turks and obtained a treaty granting all the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed under the Paleologi".

[51] I am trying to discover the original to prepare an edition of this important document for publication. The non-Turkish names in the survey are transliterated here as they appear in the Turkish text. Since in rendering the names in Arabic letters the scribe did not always put vowels, it is not certain how we should transliterate some names. For example نقروز can be read Nikiroz, Nikeroz or Nikoroz. Also there are inconsistencies in the text for the same name. We find for example the forms اسکنویلوق and اسکنه پلوق. I attempted to identify and render the original form only for a few well known names. It is likely that a Greek helped the Ottoman surveyor in the registration process, as some of the Italian names were apparently grecized. A more systematic effort will be made for the identification of names in the edition of the survey book.

the Conqueror, as scribe *(kātib)* of the survey.[52] In his history, Ṭursun Beg describes[53] the purpose and the general background of the registration.

After the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II declared that anyone, either of upper or lower class, who comes of his own free will and takes possession and resides in a house which has been abandoned by its former non-Muslim resident, will become the proprietor of that house. Thereupon, people rich and poor, flocked into the city and occupied houses and palaces. Thus, the population increased in the city. Later the Sultan issued another edict to the effect that all such houses shall be registered and each charged with a rent *(muḳāṭa'a)* suitable for its conditions. The explanation given for that was that in principle what was granted as freehold *(tamlīk)* was the building; the ground itself belonged to the *waḳf* (for the mosque of Ayasofya). The plot of the building could not be held without a rent.

The actual registration business, Ṭursun tells us,[54] was quite strenuous:

> Going from house to house and visiting each room of all low and high buildings in the city, the houses, gardens and vineyards were written down and a rent for each was determined. Because of this registration many houses changed hands. For instance, a person who was not able to pay the rent on the plot in his possession had to leave the house and get another one suitable for his means. When the register was completed and submitted to the Sultan it became apparent that approximately two thousand *fuçı,* or 100 million akçe in annual revenue was realized. But immediately after, the Sultan, out of his favors, granted the rent to his *ḳul*s and subjects and ordered that certificates, adorned with his *tughra,* be given to them free from any charge of rent *(muḳāṭa'a).*

Ṭursun adds[55] that at an appropriate time, an intimate of the Sultan asked him why in the registration of Istanbul an unnecessary job had been done and why the Sultan had renounced his own promise. The Sultan replied that the real purpose of the registration and imposition of rent was not to collect new revenues but simply to make sure that a big house appropriated by a man of low income should pass to someone who would be able to do all the necessary repairs and prevent the building from falling into disrepair. Ṭursun

[52] See Inalcik, "Tursun Beg, Historian of Mehmed the Conqueror", *WZKM,* 69 (1977). pp. 55-71.

[53] Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror,* eds. H. Inalcik and R. Murphey. Chicago and Minneapolis, 1978, Text: ff. 53b-55b.

[54] *Ibid.,* f. 53b.

[55] *Ibid.,* ff. 54b-55b.

Beg does not give any details of the methods under which Galata was surveyed. But as is clear from the survey itself, the initial purpose was to impose a poll-tax on the non-Muslim *dhimmī* population and a rent on the buildings. These two impositions are separately shown under the terms of *djizya* and *muḳāṭa'a* or *idjār* or *udjra (üdjret)* in the survey book.[56]

Here is the introduction to the survey book (see Appendix 5):

This is a copy of the survey book of the population and the houses of the city of Galata to ascertain who is subject to *djizya* and who is not and who is wealthy and who is poor and which houses are *emīrīye,* i.e. state owned, subject to rent or without rent with their annual or monthly rents. [This survey is made] by the order of Sultan Meḥmed, son of Sultan Murād... in the first days of the month of *Muḥarrem* of the year 860 of Hidjra/11-21 December, 1455.

Unfortunately, parts of the document are missing, especially for the western quarters of Galata (for the parts dealing with Istanbul, see my article "Istanbul", *EI²,* III, 238). The information we are going to give concerns only the central and eastern parts of Galata

[56] The detailed description (Donado da Lezze, pp. 72-80) of how the Ottomans registered the non-Muslim population following the surrender of Caffa in 1475 can give an idea of the case of Galata. The Genoese of Caffa surrendered the city upon an *'ahd-nāme* similar to that of Pera, guaranteeing the security of life and property on condition that all indigenous population had to pay an annual *kharādj.* Since they did not know how such pledges were actually applied in accordance with the *Sharī'a* and Ottoman laws, the Caffans believed they would continue to live in their city without change as before. But immediately after the conclusion of the agreement Aḥmed Pasha occupied the city, captured all those foreign soldiers who had fought against the Ottomans, and sold them as slaves. Then he ordered the registration of all the inhabitants of the city and Franks (Latins), with information on each one's financial condition and possessions, marital status, children, home country and duration of his stay in Caffa. This survey was necessary to apply Ottoman regulations designed for each different group. Distinguished from the native population, all of the Latins were subject to deportation as the ruling elite in the city. In Caffa, contrary to the exemption granted to the Perans, the Ottoman practice of *devshirme,* the levy of children for the Sultan's palace and the janissary corps, was applied and three thousand (?) children between 10 to 20 years of age and 450 selected ones were levied and taken to Istanbul. About 3,000 slaves who were found in the hands of Caffans were also taken away. Then, announcing the completion of the survey, the Ottoman commander asked the citizens to resume their everyday occupation without fear. But immediately after, the Latins learned, in great surprise, the new command of Aḥmed Pasha to the effect that they had to surrender half of their possessions to the Ottoman fisc and carry them aboard the ships to be taken to Istanbul. A contemporary Armenian source (see Cazacu, pp. 514-537) confirms the basic points in the story. According to this source, following the surrender of the fortress upon a sworn pledge of amnesty, the Ottomans registered people, collected arms and imposed "tribute" *(kharādj)* on the indigenous population, i.e., Greeks, Armenians and Jews. All of their possessions were recorded in the registers.

Quarters and Houses in the Survey of 1455

Most of the names of the quarters in the survey book (see Table 1) can be identified as names of persons living in the city at the time. The quarters, *contrade* under the Genoese administration, often bore the name of a Genoese family, and apparently the Ottoman surveying in 1455 followed the Genoese division of the *contrade*. Thus, the Genoese *contrade* of Draperiis, in our survey Drpoza, was named after the rich Peran family of Draperiis. The following persons gave their names to the quarters they lived in:

1. Zani Drapoza who lived in the quarter of Drapoza; a member of a wealthy family (see *infra),* he stayed on under Ottoman rule. Another member of the family, Djan Drapoza, sold a bath house in the quarter of Fabya to Ḥādjī Meḥmed of Ankara, while Pero Drapoza had two houses in the Jewish quarter.

2. Zani Dabdañ, after whose name the second quarter in the survey was called, was a poor man at the time of the survey.

3. Nikoroz Sikay, a man of average means, lived in the quarter named after him.

4. Nikoroz Bonazonda and his brother Zorzo lived in the quarter named Nikoroz Bonazita.

5. Anton di Garzan, a poor man, and his father Rafa di Garzan, lived in the quarter named Anton di Garzan.[57]

6. Kosta and Andrea Iskinaplok lived in the quarter of Kosta İskinaplok.

7. In the quarter of Gargondji lived a certain Gargondji.

8. In the quarter of Papa Yani lived a certain Papa Y_ni.

9. In the quarter of Zani di Pagani lived Zani, Zorzo, and Mekdad di Pagana. In a Genoese notarial document of 1459[58] we find a certain Valentino de Pagano in Chios, probably a relative of our Pagani.

10. Pero di Lankashko who evidently gave his name to the quarter of Pero di Lankashko (Langasco), belonged to a well known wealthy family in Pera and Chios. Zani, Luviz, and Andjelo di Lankashko had several houses in Pera and Chios. Zani and Luviz apparently left Pera while Pero di Langasco lived on in the quarter of Zani Dabdañ. A Benedetto de Langasco

[57] *Il Libro dei Conti di Giacomo Badoer,* ed. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè, Roma, 1956, contains the name of a certain Franceso di Garzoni, doing business in the Levant in 1439.

[58] Ph. P. Argenti, *The occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their administration of the island: 1346-1566,* I, Cambridge 1958, p. 459.

(Langascho) lived in Chios around 1460.[59] The Daryovas, Luviz and Operto, represented another wealthy family who lived in this quarter. Daryovas possessed properties in various quarters in Pera at the time of the survey.

11. In the quarter of Yorgi Argendjelu, a certain Yorgi Arganzele had a house, but he left Pera after the conquest.

12. The quarter of Ayodhkimo Manderino must have been named after Ayodhkimo Manderina, a wealthy man who, with his son Yani Manderina, became an Ottoman subject and stayed on.

13. Yani Vasilikov, a man recorded in the survey book as of average means, lived in the quarter of Yani Vasilikov.

Since many of the quarters bore the names of the persons who lived in Pera as Ottoman subjects at the time of the survey, we can speculate that the Ottoman surveyor named the quarters after the persons who seemed to him as representative of the quarter at that time. The other quarters bear the names of either the religious-ethnic groups, such as *Maḥalle-i Yahūdiyān* or *Asudar Ermeniyān,* or of the chief church in the quarter such as *Maḥalle-i Fabya,* after *the church* of San Fabyan (Plan I, Galata 1455).

Evidently, particular ethnic-religious groups were assembled in different sectors of the city. Italians were to be found in a majority in the quarters within the first Genoese enclosure in Sykai between Azeb-Kapu and Karaköy-Kapu on the slope toward the Galata Kulesi (the Tower of Christ) in the quarters of Zani Drapoza, Zani Dabdañ, Nikoroz Sikay (Sykai), Nikoroz Bonazita, Anton di Garzan, Zani di Pagani, İskinoplok (İskinaplok), Fabya, and Pero di Lankashko. The checkerboard arrangement of streets in this section as against the casual development of the street plan in other sections is noteworthy.[60] The main Latin churches –San Domenigo, San Francesco, Santa Anna, San Michele, Santa Maria and San Fabyan– were all in this sector. Near the market hall, nine adjacent shops, formerly in the hands of *Podestas,*, were made state property and were rented to Italians such as Karlo Konfroti (Confortus?), Domenico Lansavidjo, Zani di Milo, Martin Paravazin

[59] *Ibid.;* a Iohannes de Langascho is referred to in the *cartularium* of 1377 of the Genoese customs, see John Day, *Les Douanes de Gênes, 1376-1377,* II, Paris, 1963, p. 814; the *Podestà* of Pera sent Bartolomeo di Langasco, a resident of Galata, with the envoys from Genoa to Bāyezīd I in September 1391 (Balard, I, p. 98). Evidently, the Langasco family was well known to the Ottomans by 1455. Earlier, we find Bartolomeo as a tax farmer of the customs revenues at Licostomo *(Ibid.,* pp. 146-147).

[60] See Balarad, I, pp. 179-192; Evliyā Çelebi, I, p. 433, noticed this characteristic of the original Genoese city. He says that the part of Galata from the seashore to the tower is occupied by the Genoese buildings and the streets there are arranged "in checkerboard fashion" *(ṣḥaṭrandj-vārī).*

and others. Five shops near the market hall were in the hands of Karadja, the *subashı, or,* governor of Galata in 1455. Also, the business quarter with the market hall, the *Ḳabbān-i Emīrīye* under the Ottomans, the two *Logia,* ancient and new, and several soap factories were located in this section, behind the *Londja (Logia)* gate, later known as *Eski-Yagh-Ḳapanı* gate with the main quay or landing place, *Iskele.*[61] It formed the main shopping area with 41 of the 58 shops in the section of Galata covered by our document.[62] The other shopping area was around San Michele church, already mentioned in 1296 as the cathedral church of the colony, was located in this initial trade center of the Genoese. After the conquest, the trade center behind the *Londja* gate evidently continued its function. Under the Ottomans, later on, the main commercial center of Galata, with the *Bedestān* and Rüstem Pasha caravanserai, was to develop here right behind the *Londja-Kapu.* In scenic views and plans of Istanbul this point is always shown crowded with big round ships. The street leading to the *Bash-Ḥiṣar* (Galata Tower) on the hill, later on called the *Perşenbe-Pazarı* street, was the major thoroughfare of the city with the city's main buildings on either side — the San Michele Church, *Logia* and *Palazzo del Comune.* It continued to be the main street of Galata under the Ottomans until the Karaköy bridge was built in 1845. However, the Karaköy - Pazarı too appears to have been an important business area already in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Ottoman surveys.[63]

Buildings and their Possessors

The buildings are categorized as *khāne* (houses), *dükkān* (shops), *burghāz-i emīrīye* (forts at the city walls), *kenīsā* (church), *zāviye* (convent), and *djumarākhāne* (house endowed for the poor). Houses were also classified as inhabited by people *(mutamakkin* or *sākin)* or uninhabited *(khālī),* or in ruins *(kharāb),* or *waḳf* (endowed to a church or synagogue). In the totals for the houses it is specified how many are *emīrīye,* state-owned, and how many are freehold property, and how many pay rent for the house or the plot belonging to the state *(muḳāṭa'a-i arḍ-i emīrī)* (see Table II). Then, under a separate heading, *ru'ūs* (adult people) are recorded as those who were subject to pay *djizya* and those exempted from it. Those living in the same house are

[61] The old *logia (loggia)* was built in 1316 (Balard, I, p. 193).

[62] In his picture of Galata, Maṭraḳdjı (see View III) showed these two business areas in two blocks of shops with men working in them, one behind the sea wall, the other near the *'Arab Djāmi'i* (San Domenigo). Another such block of shops is shown in his picture near Tophane-Kapı behind the sea wall. Pictures of such blocks of shops are used by the painter as a symbol of bazaar areas throughout his work; for earlier views and plans see Oberhummer, Tafel XXII.

[63] Cf. Pistarino, p. 75: "the bazaar near the Santa Chiara".

referred to as *be-hem,* together. Woman are registered as *dhimmīya, adjūza* (old), *bīwa* (widow).

It should be kept in mind that the survey document has reached us in an incomplete form, covering only 25 quarters in the central part of the city (see Table I). In these 25 quarters, there were 908 houses with a population of 1108 individuals. The Conqueror had declared that those who returned within three months were to keep their properties, so that their houses were sealed and the properties registered in June 1453.[64] Our survey shows that there were indeed people who returned and recovered ownership of their houses. Those who did not return or were captured on the day of the conquest made up about eight percent of the total population recorded. The houses of all those captured or classified as non-returned became the property of the state, as did the houses whose proprietors left no heirs *(bayt al-māl).*

Those who stayed on, or whose wives did so, or who left the city later on with the permission of the Ottoman authorities, retained ownership of their houses. Thus, the great majority of the houses were left in the possession of their former owners. Among those who ran away or were captured, Italians made up about 60% and Greeks 35%. Only two Armenians were on this list, and apparently no Jews. It seems that in order to avoid confiscation, some Genoese left their wives or slaves behind on their properties while they themselves left the city.

In view of the fact that half the state-owned houses could not find a renter and many houses were unoccupied or fell in ruin, the situation must still have

[64] The *Podestà* of Galata, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino and Doucas concur in observing that Sultan wanted the Genoese merchants and citizens of Galata *(mercanti e abitanti)* who had fled to come back and recover their possessions. Lomellino says" *fece fare poi l'inventario di tutti i beni dei mercanti e degli abitanti del borgo che sono scappivia, dicendo: 'Se torneranno, saranno loro restituti; se non torneranno, rimarranno di proprieta del signore'. Per questa ragione abbiamo ottenuto dal signore una lettera assieme ad un messaggero da inviare a Chio, per far presente a tutti mercanti ed abitanti del borgo fuggiti di qui che possono tornare e che ritornando rientreranno in possesso dei loro beni; e abbiamo avvisato tutti i mercanti che i veneziani hanno abbandonato qui tutti i loro magazzeni pieni di merci. Quanto agli abitanti del borgo che se n'erano andati con le loro famiglie... con i loro familiari, ho fatto loro sapere con lo stesso messagio che tutti i genovesi potevano* [riprendere] *navigare in questo zone* (ed. Pertusi, *La Caduta,* pp. 47 and 373 note 14). And Doucas says: "On the fifth day Mehmed visited Galata ordering a census taken of all the inhabitants and he found that many of the homes had been bolted because the Latins had fled in the ships. He ordered that the homes be opened and an inventory be taken of their belongings. He stipulated that should the owners return within a period of three months, they would be allowed to repossess their possessions but if they failed to return all would then be confiscated by the ruler. Afterwards, he commanded the entire army with the assistance of the outlying villages to demolish the walls of Galata. [...] the land walls were overthrown but the walls along the harbor were allowed to stand" (trans. H. J. Magoulias, pp. 240-241).

been quite unstable two and a half years after the Ottoman occupation. In the meantime, some of those who returned to become subjects of the Sultan by paying the *djizya* left the city again. The abandoned and unoccupied houses numbered about one tenth of the total. Thirty one houses were endowed to the churches or were made into shelters for the poor *(djumarā)*. The houses converted into state property were leased out to anyone ready to pay the rent. As a rule, the occupants at the moment of the survey were subjected to the rent estimated by the surveyor. Rents varied from 1 to 10 gold ducats. The houses left in the possession of their former owners were charged only a land tax, *muḳāṭa'a-i arḍ*. This tax or rent, estimated for each case individually by the surveyor varied between 1/2 to 7 gold pieces. Many houses once in the possession of Genoese were now rented to poor people or to Jews, Greeks, or Armenians by the treasury. This situation considerably altered the social and ethnic character of the Italian quarters after the Ottoman occupation. In the survey, *khāne,* residence, was entered as a single unit even though it sometimes included more than one house or even shops.[65] To most of the churches were annexed several houses in which priests or religious servants usually lived. Sixteen houses of this character are recorded in the survey. An interesting sample is the church and abbey of San Benito.[66] Located in the Armenian neighborhood, the church, *kenīsā,* had as its annex three houses occupied by Nikola, the Armenian priest, and two other Armenians. In the church itself there were eight monks, all free from *djizya.* But a big house near the church was the subject of a dispute between a certain Armenian Gülshā Khātūn and Franks.

Many buildings fell into ruin after the conquest as a result of being neglected or left unoccupied. Repairs in the state-owned houses were the responsibility of the treasury; but by a special agreement the lessee undertook repairs in return for a reduction in the original rent.

In the big houses, several families often lived together. An interesting example is the house of Festodjon, in the quarter of Zani Dabdañ, which housed several wealthy Genoese merchants. Festodjon, a wealthy man, agreed to pay the *djizya,* and thus became a subject of the Sultan, while his wife left the city. Later on he followed his wife. Also in the same house lived Karyaba (?) Saraviko, a wealthy *dhimmī,* Markiz di Franko, recorded as a wealthy *dhimmī,* evidently the same person who was sent by the *Podestà* to

[65] We translated *khāne (hāne)* as house, not as family, because the shops and *khānes*, were added together. *Khāne* here must mean a residence, housing a nuclear or extended family. On the other hand, as observed in Galata, a large building housed several families.

[66] See Belin, *La Latinité,* pp. 232-270; E. d'Alessio, "Recherches", *Échos d'Orient,* vol. XXIV, pp. 32-33; Schneider, *op.cit.,* pp. 22-23.

the Sultan in 1453; his brother Lujad, a wealthy *dhimmī;* three wealthy Genoese merchants — Akostin Larka, Djorma Masura, Djorma di Frank—, Yani Konori, of average means and free of *djizya;* and Zani Das, a wealthy merchant and an unmarried *dhimmī.* In the same quarter lived many other wealthy Italians such as Kristofa Paravazin probably a relative of Babilan Paravazin, the envoy sent to Meḥmed II in 1453, Luviz Darva, Anton Gara, Angelo di Lankasko, and Amperto Bavilana, who were all Ottoman subjects paying the poll tax. Also in the quarter were endowed houses in which monks lived together.

Population

Composed of four main groups, namely Genoese, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, the population of Galata prior to the Ottoman occupation was analogous to that of Caffa (see Table I and Plan of Galata, 1455). These two most important Genoese cities in the Levant were in close contact with each other, people shifting from one to the other.

Franks

In our survey book, the Genoese of Galata formed three groups under a different status according to Islamic Law. The first group was composed of those Genoese classified as non-Muslims from the *Dār al-Ḥarb,* the Abode of War, who lived in the Islamic territory under the capitulatory guarantees. These Genoese were not subject to *djizya* so long as their stay did not exceed one year.[67] They were entered into the survey book under the term *Djeneviz* (Genoese) *tādjiri,* or simply *Frenk,* or *Efrendjī* and no *djizya* was imposed upon them *(bī-djizya).* At the time of the survey, a group of them stayed together in the house of Festodjon in the quarter of Zani Dabdañ. Also in the quarter of Anton di Garzan, the Genoese merchant Duka Kanata (Caneto?) and the Venetian Manakka, both free from *djizya,* rented a house belonging to Anton Karantiya, although the house was later made state property. In the same quarter, the wealthy Genoese Anton di Rotori (Retori), Zano Bisuda and Anton Drizide, all free from *djizya,* rented for 200 akça (about 5 Venetian ducats) a year, a house and three shops that formerly belonged to Toma Miso who was living in Genoa at the time of the survey. The quarter of Zani di Pagani was another quarter chosen by the Genoese merchants to live in. In this quarter Leonardo Waldjo and Operto Penlo were both registered as wealthy Genoese free from *djizya* (see also Table II).

[67] See H. İnalcık, "Imtiyāzāt", *EI²,* III, pp. 1179-1189.

The second group was composed of those who stayed on in Pera and, by paying the Islamic poll tax, *djizya,* became *dhimmī,* subjects of the Ottoman state. These constituted by far the greater part of the Genoese in Ottoman Galata. As *djizya*-payers they were classified into three categories, wealthy *(ghanī),* of average means *(avsaṭ),* and poor *(faḳīr),* since the rate of the poll tax differed for each category in Islamic Law.[68] There was only one example of a Genoese adopting Islam. Zenato Borselo, evidently a rich man who ran away on the day of the conquest and then returned, adopted Islam and disappeared again. His house with five shops in the quarter Zani di Pagani were confiscated. As noted earlier, these two groups, *muste'min*s under the capitulatory regime, and *dhimmīs,* non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state, were distinguished in the firman issued at the time of surrender on June 1, 1453. In his letter of June 23, 1453 the *Podestà* Lomellino distinguished them as *mercanti* and *abitanti.* Evidently, *abitanti* were the Genoese who settled in Galata as indigenous inhabitants.

Captives, whether Italian, Greek or Armenian, made up the third group who were also treated according to the strict stipulations of Islamic Law. Those persons who were captured in their attempt to run away at the time of surrender were either freed upon payment of ransom or made *mukāteb,*[69] that is, set free under contract in order to make enough money to pay their ransom within a defined period of time. *Mukātebs* were all free from *djizya.* The following are examples of the third group: Zani Messina, who was captured but paid his ransom and left for Italy; Yorgi Poskinos, who with his wife was made *mukāteb,* lived in a house belonging to the church Iplakhosa. Likewise, Praskoya registered his wife as *mukāteb* and lived in a house endowed to the monastery San Zani. The slave Theodoros Sankato lived with his wife in a house of which she retained proprietorship. Marya and his son, both *mukāteb,* lived in the house of Manul, a shoemaker in the quarter of Nikoroz Sikay. Zani Russo, captured the day of the surrender, still kept his slave status at the time of the survey. That he was allowed to stay in his house must

[68] See "Djizya" *EI²;* the rate of the *djizya* was to be determined by the Imam/Sultan according to the rate stipulated by Islamic Law. For practical reasons, the Ottomans in general collected *djizya* at the rate of one gold piece per household since submitted Christian masses in the Balkans used to pay a similer hearth tax in the pre-Ottoman era. According to Benedetto Dei (Belgrano, p. 227, note 2) "Maometto II obbligò tutti gli abitanti di Pera a paghare ogni anno un duchato per ocha, cosi povero chome richo". Despite the fact that non-Muslims were specified as wealthy, of average means, and poor, Dei's testimony must be true. A Genoese source (Sauli, p. 172 cited by Mitler, p. 75) tells us that "Mehmed imposed a 2-5 percent capital tax upon the non-Muslims". This must refer to the rent *(muḳāṭa'a)* imposed on the houses.

[69] For *mukātaba* in Islamic Law and Ottoman practice see İnalcık, "Servile Labor" in the Bibliography.

be due to an agreement with his master or to the Sultan's special order. *Mukātebs* and slaves permitted to live in Galata numbered fifteen persons, mostly Latins.

Greeks

In 1455, the Greek population was concentrated in the quarters around the first Genoese city, namely in those of Dhraperyo, Gargandji, Papa Yani, Pero di Lankashko, Varto Khristo, Kosta Lupadji, Ayodhkimo Manderino, and Yani Visilikov. And the main Greek churches, Kasteliutissa (Gennisis Theotokhu), Ayios Nikolas, and Papa Yani, were located in the eastern section of Galata towards the Tophane-Kapı between the Jewish and Armenian quarters (see Plan I). There was another concentration of Greeks in the quarter of Iskinoplok, to the north of the first Genoese city, around the former Byzantine church of Aya Yorgi. Located in the eastern part of the second sector and enclosed by the Genoese walls, the quarter encompassed the *palazzo del comune* and the San Pietro Church. But, in the western section of the main street near the Tower of Christ, Genoese seem to have been in the majority. Most of the Greeks living in the quarter were poor people, shoemakers or porters. I counted twelve porters out of 31 residents of the quarter. A large residence with a garden was comprised of eight houses belonging to Andon di Liko before the conquest, but subsequently it was converted into state property. Its occupants included five Greek porters and their relatives. In the same quarter lived Pero Spinora, a wealthy Italian who left for Europe before the conquest but whose wife stayed on and paid the *djizya* for him. The residence of the monk Francesco with two shops and two storehouses was turned into state property and rented by an Armenian. Zorzi and Luviz de Kanya and Luviz Daryo owned houses in the same quarter.

The Greek quarter where the wealthy Greeks lived was that of Varto Khristo. In the quarter, Kosta Istasno (Stasinos), Kosta Hovaru (Khovaras), Yorgi Hovaru, Kosta Melonlahti (Melanolokhti), Yorgi Proskoga, Mikhal Mazulu, Yani Hovaru, Yani Istimad, Manoli Darpatu, Mikhal Djimorti, Sutyani Lipodhyani, Ditrano Likofas were all recorded as wealthy *dhimmīs.* Greeks were engaged primarily in trades or crafts as shoemakers, bakers, tailors, weavers, porters, *boza* makers, or keepers of wine shops. Among the Greeks of Galata at least seven persons were identified as being of Caffan origin, including one bearing a Turkish name, Asil Beg.

Armenians

Armenians made up Galata's third largest population group after the Greeks and the Franks (Latins) in 1455. They lived in majority in the borough of

Lagirio to the east, annexed by the Genoese around 1330.[70] Clustering around San Benito and Aya Khorkhoro (St Gregor) churches, these quarters included Asudar Ermeniyān, Nurbeg-Kosta, Iskinoplok, Papa Yani, and the so-called quarter of Jews. Armenians who mingled with Greeks and Italians were also to be found in the quarters of Yorgi Argandjelu (six names), Dhraperyo and Gargandji (four names and two names respectively). That they were concentrated in the quarters farthest from the early Genoese nucleus of the city can be taken as an indication that they came late to settle around the city. In fact, the oldest Armenian church, Aya Khorkhoro or Surp Grigor Lussavoritsch, founded in 1436, was reported to have been built by Armenian settlers coming from Caffa in 1391.[71]

Our survey confirms the Caffan origin of the Armenians of Pera, at least for an important part of them. The majority of the Armenians in the quarter of Nurbeg Kosta and Iskinoplok bear such Turkish names as Shīrīn, Djevher Khātūn, Tādjī Khātūn, Sürme Khātūn and Melek Khātūn for women, and Orkhān, Murād, Tanrıvermish, Yūnus, Pul Beg, Eyne Beg, Shādī Beg, and Çolpan for men. The last two names indicate origins in the Kiptchak-Kuman region of the northern Black Sea. A customs book of Caffa dated 1478[72] contains similar Turkish names for Armenians. The individual who gave his name to the principal Armenian quarter of Nurbeg must also have been an Armenian from Caffa. In the quarter called *Maḥalle-i Yahūdiyān,* "Quarter of Jews", near the church of San Benito, Armenians were in the majority and Greeks were the second largest group, while only a few Jews —a wealthy Jewish physician by the name of Istvri (?) with his three sons along with a wealthy Jew and his two sons and another Jew — were to be found there at the time of the survey.

[70] Balard, pp. 189-190; by the early years of the 15th century these eastern quarters were surrounded by the walls which completed the fortifications of Pera as a fortified city.

[71] İncicyan, cited by Schneider, p. 26; the majority of the population in Caffa was Armenian in 1475. An exodus to the Crimea of Armenians from Eastern Anatolia occured during Timur's invasions in 1400 and 1402 (for the Armenian literature see M. Cazacu et K. Kévonian, "La chute de Caffa en 1475", *CMRS,* XVII (1976), p. 497; E. Schutz, "Armeno-Kiptschakische Ehe Kontrakte und Testamente", *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), vol. XXIV (1971), pp. 265-300; Idem., "An Armeno-Kiptchak Document of 1640 from Lwów and its background in Armenia and the Diaspora", *Between the Danube and the Caucasus,* ed. G. Kara, Budapest, 1987, pp. 247-330; Berindei, *art. cit.*

[72] H. İnalcık, *Sources and Studies on the Black Sea, I. The Customs Register of Caffa* (1487-1490), Cambridge, 1995.(1487-1490).

Jews

The Jews lived in large numbers in the quarters of Fabya and Samona. The synagogue *(kenīsā-i Yahūdiyān)* stood in the quarter of Samona near Karaköy, but there too, only a few Jews were to be found (six Jews as against seventy-one Greeks and six Franks). A Jew by the name of Samarya owned three houses there. The only Jewish quarter in the Byzantine capital since the eleventh century was located in this area until it was burnt down by the Crusaders in 1203. The quarter which can be properly called Jewish was that of Fabya, around the Church of San Fabyan, near the business center. In this quarter, there were 44 Jews as against 24 Franks, three Greeks and one Armenian. For the purpose of the poll tax, an unusually large number of Jews, exactly 18 in number, were designated as wealthy, including two physicians, Ilyās and Suleymān. Three of them –Mūsā, son of Ilyās, Mūsā, son of Aslan, and Ismāīl, son of Aslan– were designated as very rich. One of the wealthy Jews, Aslan, son of Sha'bān lived in Istanbul although he maintained a house in Pera. Since 29 out of 39 houses were listed as belonging to the Jews, Jews were evidently in the majority in this quarter even before the Ottoman occupation. There was also a house endowed to the Jewish religious men. The fact that Jewish names were rendered in Turkish forms and that a Jew even bore the typical Turkish name Arslan/Aslan may indicate that like the Armenians, they were immigrants from places under Kipchak-Tatar rule, Crimea or other Ottoman dominions. It appears that on the day of the surrender, the Jews remained while many of the Franks in the quarters in the port area abandoned their houses and fled.

Muslims

At the time of the survey, a few Muslims lived in Galata. They numbered twenty; five of them owning houses in different quarters, Karadja, *subashı* or governor of Galata lived in the quarter of Pero di Lankashko in a house owned before the surrender by Thodorkho Eflak. The *subashı* also held a lease on another house in the same quarter and on a shop in the quarter Yorgi Argandjelu. Most of the Muslim inhabitants had non-Muslim wives, either Armenian or Greek. A Muslim child named Muṣṭafā lived in his own house with his mother, a Christian woman named Theodora. Hādjī Meḥmed of Ankara had a bathhouse in the fashionable quarter of Fabya which he had bought from Djan Drapoza, a well-known Peran. Meḥmed was married to Shekire or Shikra, a Christian woman who owned a house in the quarter of Anton di Garzan. Muṣṭafā, another Muslim, rented a house to use as a *bashkhāne* or eating house. An Arab, by the name of 'Arab-oghlu Ḥādjī

leased from the treasury a shop in the trade center of Galata. In the Varto Khristo quarter of rich Greeks, Süleymān Beg, most probably the Karıshtıran Süleymān Beg who was then the Governor of Istanbul, owned a complex of two bathhouses for men and women.

II Meḥmed II's *Waḳfiyye* of ca. 1472

The second important document on Galata is the Arabic *waḳfiyye* of Meḥmed II,[73] drawn up for his mosque and complex of buildings which was completed in Istanbul on *radjab* 875/December 1470. The *waḳfiyye* (no. I) records the state owned buildings in Galata the revenues of which were endowed to his mosque. This original *waḳfiyye* of Meḥmed II must have been written anywhere between 1470 and 1474. Maḥmūd Pasha (d. July 18, 1474) is referred to as living. I believe this text, published in facsimile by Osman Ergin, has a gap between pages 50 and 51; page 50 ends with يد قوست ، and the next page begins with يدى اودو كه. The missing area is between the *Baluk -Pazarı* Gate and the quarter of Karaköy. In describing the endowed buildings, the *waḳfiyye* refers to the adjacent buildings belonging to individuals as their freehold properties. Thus, the document gives us information on not only the renters of the public buildings, but also of the other buildings and their possessors living in Galata at that time.

Our *waḳfiyye* refers to the survey of 1455 by Djübbe 'Alī, which was used as the basis for the new survey. Each public building, whether a tower *(al-Burghāz al-Sulṭānī),* a shop *(khānūt),* a home *(bayt),* or a room *(hudjra),* is described and delimited with the adjacent buildings in the quarter, and the name of its possessor-renter *(fī-yad* so and so) is given.

The document ends with a note (facsimile ed. p. 52) saying:

In sum, in Galata there are 286 buildings which were registered as public properties under rent as determined by Djübbe 'Alī in his survey *(min al-amlāk wa'l-muḳāṭa'āt Djübbe 'Alī).*

Here the word *amlāk* refers to the buildings while *muḳāṭa'a* refers to the rent as determined *(mawḍū')* by Djübbe 'Alī.

The following quarters are included in this waḳfiyye:

1. Hādjī Ḥamza Quarter (see facsimile, p. 45). This quarter was adjacent to that of Londja and the Köke Gate. It must have been named after either Ḥamza Beg b. 'Abdullāh, the commander of the *Boghaz-Kesen*

[73] Published in facsimile by. O. N. Ergin, *Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi,* Istanbul 1945, pp. 1-68; taken from the mausoleum of Meḥmed II, the original is now preserved in *Türk-İslam Eserleri Müzesi,* Istanbul, no. 667.

(Rumeli) *Ḥiṣār,* apparently a convert who had properties and was living there, or a grocer from Edirne by the name of Ḥādjī Ḥamza. There was a tower, *burghāz al-Sulṭānī,* in this quarter. A shop was rented to a certain blacksmith *(ḥaddād)* by the name of Meḥmed. Sunḳur Agha, evidently a member of the ruling elite held three state-owned shops. In the same quarter lived Hādjī of Ankara, Barlo (or Maryo) the Jew and, near the gate of Londja, 'Abdī, the sea captain, as well as other Muslims by the names of Karagöz, Turgut, Seyyidī Maḥmūd, Ḥādjī and Dervīsh Aḥmed. In the same quarter lived Angeloy, an Italian, Asbara (or Isbata), a soap manufacturer, amid the Greeks Yorgi Komninos who was a dyer and Dhijanoz. Near the gate, there was a Muslim convent *(zāviye)* and on the side of Londja there was an olive oil press. The *waḳfiyye* mentions a *sūḳ,* bazaar, in this quarter located near the tower while most of the shops are to be found around the Gate of Londja, Next to the quarter of Ḥādjī Ḥamza, there were forty one state owned rooms *(ḥudjra)* between the quarter of Usta Sinān and the Limon Gate, some of which were set up against the city walls.

2. The Londja Quarter (facs. 46-48), evidently named after the (old) *Logia (Londja)* referred to as "near the *İskele -Ḳapusı"* (later *Yagh -Kapanı).* The gate and *İskele,* landing, are clearly shown in the Matraḳdjı plan (1537) (see Plan III in Appendix). This quarter was connected with that of Ḥamza to the north and Karaköy to the east. *Baluk-Pazarı -Kapusı (Bāb al-Semek)* to the sea was also in this quarter.

Muslims with properties in this quarter included the cadi of Şili (Şile) by the name of Kemāl al-Dīn, Çakır Agha, the governor of Istanbul (see *infra)* and the sea captain İskender. Also, Ḳapıdjı 'Alī held in rent a tower, *al-burghāz al-sulṭānī,* on the upper part of the Londja Gate. Hādjī of Ankara and 'Abdī of Ankara were apparently merchants from this city. A certain Ḥādjī Ḳaraman possessed a state owned shop used as a *boza-khāne,* boza drinking house, which had the same social function as a coffee house before the introduction of coffee in the mid-sixteenth century. Muslim scribes and a designer *(naḳḳāsh)* named Yūsuf also lived in this prosperous quarter.

The non-Muslims living in this quarter included many Italians who were designated as *al-efrendj* or only by name. These were Andoni Foka, Duka, Luviz, Ambroz, Anton, Zorzo, Fransa (a woman), Bernardo Ovanis, Toma, Zani, Talashdari, Masturi Klano (a physician), Andrea Parvik, Karaby Bredano, Yakomi Djidji, Nikoroz Davya. Those Italians who were not specified as *al-efrendj* must have been Genoese Ottoman subjects *(dhimmī).*

In the Londja Quarter, which was the business center of the city, were also mentioned Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The Greek community included Mikhal, a *boza* maker, Manul, Kolovyani Aleksi, another Mihal, a

ship caulker Toma, Anamami, Preshkova, Yakomi, children of Khristo Parvavandi, Yorgi, a bow maker, Yorgi, a pulley maker, and Mihal, a barber. Greeks appear to have made up the majority of the inhabitants of this quarter. The name of an Armenian Uveys or Ovanis is also mentioned in the Londja Quarter. Evidently, this cosmopolitan business area was predominantly settled by wealthy Italians and Greeks in this time.

According to the *waḳfiyye* in front of the Londja building there were eight state owned shops, evidently abandoned by the Genoese during the Ottoman takeover, and a prison; Çaḳır Agha's house was also in the same area. On its east side, there were five other state-owned shops reaching the *Baluḳ* gate *(Bāb al-Semek).* Three towers, *al-burhgāz al-sulṭānīs*, at the walls were rented to private persons ('Alī, Anerlo and Kolovyani, a Greek) apparently to be used as depots. This area appears to have functioned, as it had before the Ottomans, as the main port area where the Genoese merchants used to do business, but which they had partly deserted upon the fall of Constantinople. Other buildings to be noted in this quarter were oil-presses, the office of the public scales *(ḳapan)* and the *kilīsā al-Efrendjiyīn,* or the cathedral church of the Latins, evidently S. Michele.

3. The quarter of Esbihar (facs. 48-49). Esbihar Bortoyora lived in this quarter where Genoese were apparently in the majority. Duka Verdi, Mandona Thomay, Manderina (woman), Karlo, Andosh, Kapolonya Raziti, Padeshti di Shavati, Musina (woman), Ludj di Gadjan, Marya di Bakarto (woman), Ovanis, Zor Dabliko, Borto Daryo, Ludja Dhugaya, Luviz Boriz, Angelozi, Latkash, Dhomeniko di Kurina, Andoni, Andjele di Lankashko, Kora and Thoma; most of them registered as *al-efrendj,* that is subjects of the Republic of Genoa, lived in this quarter. Only the names of three Muslims, Yūsuf, a painter, İskender, a sea captain, and Muṣṭafā, a scribe, are mentioned. Only one Jew, İbrāhīm, is mentioned.

The quarters briefly referred to in the *waḳfiyye* after the Londja are those of Dhano Bagano (Pagano), Zani Dabdañ and 'Azebler. These quarters must have been situated on the shore along with those of Londja and Eshibar. Further to the east, the quarter of Usta Sinān, apparently between the quarter of Ḥādjī Ḥamza and the *Limon* (port) Gate, formed part of the Karaköy complex.

4. The quarters in the district of Karaköy were that of Limon Kapı, situated outside the walls of Galata, and those of Andjele Pagamino, Yani Gonadova, Manul Ḳalafatdjı-Bashı, Laviz Laberda, Torodh, Shemseddīn Kürkdjü. According to the *waḳfiyye* "the quarters comprised in the district of Karaköy *(Ḳarye Sawdā)* contained altogether 199 public properties under rent as investigated and written down by Djübbe 'Alī upon the Sultan's order.

The four quarters in the port area appear to have been the main commercial center of Galata. Under the Ottomans, the Genoese population and the Genoese properties which were converted to state properties were found concentrated in this area, in particular in the Londja *(Logia)* and Esbihar quarters.[74]

Our *waḳfiyye* also describes the presence of Muslims as residents or landlords in the same quarters. The Muslims who lived in this area included people from Anatolian cities such as Ankara and Karaman, who apparently were engaged in trade and had settled in the city. Ankara mohairs and cotton goods of Karaman were in great demand by the Italians. Also, apparently to secure extra income, members of the Ottoman ruling class are seen as renters of the state owned properties including storehouses, towers and houses in the economically recovering Galata. Among these were Çaḳır Agha, governor of Istanbul, cadis, *ḳapıdjıs*, secretaries and a painter-designer *(naḳḳāsh).* Apparently some of these people were actually living in Galata itself, while the others seem to have been absentee landlords. In any event, during the period 1453-1472, the Italians, either *ḥarbī,* as foreigners, or *dhimmī,* constituted the majority of the population in the area.

III The second Waḳfiyye of Meḥmed II, ca. 1481

The second *waḳfiyye* which was written presumably toward the end of his reign, came down to us in a copy made on 2 *Dhūlḳa'da* 901/19 August 1496. It is a faithful copy of the original bearing the *tuhgra* of Bāyezīd II.[75] This second *waḳfiyye* (no. II) can be considered a document reflecting the situation in Galata toward the end of Meḥmed's reign. An important difference in the arrangement of the *waḳfiyye* II is the lack of names of the renters or possessors so that no information can be inferred about the population living in the quarters mentioned.

However, judging from the number and names of the quarters in the *waḳfiyye* II, it can be said that Galata experienced spectacular growth and was transformed into a strongly turkicized city in population during the last ten years of Meḥmed's Sultanate. It is apparent that the quarters changed in structure, were repopulated, divided into new quarters and renamed, and that completely new Muslim-Turkish quarters came into being. E. H. Ayverdi's

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[74] Cf. Balard, pp. 192-194.

[75] See Bibliography: *waḳfiyye* II.

comparison,[76] however, cannot reflect the real transformation because the *waḳfiyye* I is not complete. According to Ayverdi, only 5 quarter names from the *waḳfiyye* I occur in the *waḳfiyye* II and apparently 53 new quarters were added in the latter. Only two quarters kept their names from 1455 in the *waḳfiyye* I, Zani Pagano and Vasiliko, and only one (Vasiliko) in the *waḳfiyye* II.

In the *waḳfiyye* II there were:

20 quarters with Turkish names
13 quarters with Italian names
8 quarters with Greek names
6 quarters with Armenian names
11 quarters with neutral names
Total: 58

The striking fact is that all of the Galata quarters as found in the mid-sixteenth century *(waḳfiyye* III) appear to have been already in existence by the date of the *waḳfiyye* II. Apparently, earlier quarters were divided into new ones when they became crowded mainly as a result of the arrival of new Muslim settlers. These new quarters came into being with Muslim names. The names were connected with a craft ('Abāyīci [felt maker] Ḥādjī İlyās. Bashdjı Akhī, Ḥamāmdjı Ḥādjī Mubārek, Kürkdjü Khızır, Süleymān Naḥḥās, Usta Sinān) or with a religious person ('Abdī Faḳīh), or with a military-administrative function (Ḳaptan İbrāhīm Pasha, Bali Re'īs, İsḳandil Ḳāsım Re'īs, Kemāl Re'īs, 'Ases Meḥmed, İskender Ketkhudā, Ḳapıdjı İlyās, Okdju Mūsā, Tañrıvermish Agha) or with a building (Djāmi', Kal'a-i Djedīde). Some of these names — İlyās, Tañrıvermish, Khızır can be traced back to the survey of 1455, while many of them occur as simple inhabitants in the quarters, otherwise named in the *waḳfiyye* I. A quarter *(maḥalle)* in the Ottoman society was named after a prominent person in the neighborhood. either a craftsmen or religious man or an official. Usually this person agreed to build a *mesdjid,* small quarter mosque, or a fountain, etc. for the quarter[77] community. In Galata, the quarters of 'Abdī Faḳīh Anḳaravī, Bereket-zāde, Oḳdju Mūsā, Hādjī A'ver, Shehsüvār were named after the *mesdjid*s they had built.

In the period 1470-1481, many of the non-Muslim quarters too were re-named following the same pattern. Some took the name of a professional such as Ermeni Ekmekdji (baker), Ermeni Khodja (merchant) Ker, Ḳalafatdjılar re'īsi (head caulker) Deli Mikhal, Frenk Kuyumdju (Italian

[76] See E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mahalleleri,* in the Bibliography.
[77] See H. İnalcık, "İstanbul", *EI*², pp. 234-237.

Jeweller) Domeniko, Frenk Ḳapānī (Italian tax farmer of the public scales) Fikron, Meykhānedji (keeper of wine house) Manul. Some quarters were named after its economic function such as Urgandjılar (rope-makers for the navy, formerly İskinoplok), Londja *(Logia)* or Eski Londja.

IV The *Djābī* Register of 1489

Each *waḳfiyye* is coupled with a detailed survey used for the collection of revenues, the so-called *djibāyet* (collection), where each estate with its exact revenue as well as special conditions, exemptions, etc., were recorded. The *djibāyet* survey for the *waḳfiyye* I has not come down to us. But such a survey exists for the *waḳf*s of the Ayasofya mosque. It is dated *Shawwāl* 894/August 1489.[78]

We learn from this register that the status of some buildings was modified after Djübbe 'Alī's survey by order of the Sultan and was granted as freehold property mostly to soldiers and members of the ruling elite. Such properties were taken out of the new *waḳf* surveys. Our Ayasofya *djibāyet* book, however, records all buildings with their location and owner, thus providing a complete list. So, by 1489, 145 such houses in Istanbul and Galata were left out of the *waḳfiyye* and the rents cancelled because they had been granted as freehold property by the Sultan. In Galata, in the quarter of Ḥādjī Ḥamza, 27 houses were given as freehold property to Muslims or bought by non-Muslims by the years 861/1456-57 and 863/1458-59. For example, we learn that Çaḳır Agha, the governor of Istanbul, was granted a house in this quarter in *Sha'bān* 862/June 1458. Another house was granted to Ḥamza Beg, the Commander of the Boghaz-Kesen (Rumeli-Ḥiṣār) fortress, while the sons of the Greek Manul bought a house in the same quarter from the Ottoman fisc, which formerly used to pay 500 *akça* (about 11 gold pieces) a year as rent to the public treasury. In Galata, in the quarter of *Kumiyān* or *Kumiler,*[79] many Muslims from Gelibolu (Gallipoli) and Bursa came to settle and were granted houses as freehold properties. Also, the house of Pavlo was granted to a Muslim woman by the name of Dilshād; and the house of the Greek Angeline was granted to a shoemaker by the name of Dāvūd. A big house belonging to Pandelyo Koris was confirmed as his freehold property. Other Greeks, such as İstimad, the son of Nikefor, for instance, acquired the ownership rights to abandoned houses in the quarter of Kumiyān.

[78] See Bibliography: Djibāyet register of 894/1489.
[79] Kumi, from Latin *Comes,* was the officer in charge of the galley-slaves, see Tietze and Kahane, no. 789; the district *Kumiler* must have been the one where *Kumis* resided. In Ayverdi's plan the *Kumiler* district is shown to the North of the *Ḥādjī Ḥamza* and *Djāmi'* (Mosque) districts. The church of San Francesco was in the *Kumiler* district.

In the quarter of Londja, the *Efrendjiyīn,* i.e., foreign Italians, included Zorzo d'Ambligo, Zandjan, Ludj Sakiba, Lankoshko, and a glass seller Efrendj. The *dhimmī* Italians were Batashtiya, the dyer Bastiyan, Batishto, Atadja, the sons of Danyal, the broker Zani and Servago Luviz. Among the Greeks in the same quarter were the barber Yani, Nikola, Andronika, Andriya, Thodhora of Galata and Nikola of Galata. There were a few Muslims, namely 'Abdī Faḳīh of Ankara, Khodja Uveys and Ya'ḳūb, the son of 'Alī. The church Françeshḳo (San Francesco) (See *infra)* was mentioned in this quarter.

The next quarter was the Batishto quarter which was all Italian, while those of San Benito and Aghabi, near the gate of the fishermen *(Bāb al-Sammākīn),* were both Greek. The church of Sampero was in the quarter of Aghabi. The quarter of Pars had a mixed population of Greeks, Armenians and Muslims. The quarters of Limon and Vizal were predominantly Greek. Other quarters mentioned in our register were the quarter of Dimitri, the quarter of Panamenoz, the quarter of the church of Khristod (Khristot), the quarter of Leshkeri, the quarter of Ḳapudan Meḥmed Beg, the quarter of Santo Marya, the quarter of San Yanko, and the quarter of the Greek Mikhal, the head of the caulkers (we assume that ship caulkers were Greek). An interesting person in the quarter was Ḳaragöz Ḥayālī, evidently a performer of the Karagöz shadow theatre. The majority of the population in these quarters were Greek. In several of the 33 houses in the quarter of Kumiler, persons were exempted from the payment of rent to the fisc. We learn that the church of Santa Fabyan was in the quarter of Petro, which had a mixed population of Greeks, Italians (sons of Batishto) and Muslims (sons of Khodja Ḳāsım and the surgeon Ḥamza). Apparently, this quarter was still inhabited by wealthy merchants.

The next quarter was that of Limon (port)-Kapı in the district of Karaköy. The population of the quarter was almost completely Greek. A Muslim named 'Alī was the owner of a storehouse, while eight shops were rented by a Greek named Manul. A state-owned *boza*-house was also in this quarter. In the quarter of Tophane there were seven shops outside the city walls along the shore which are called *silāḥ-hāne.* This note indicates that a foundry existed here by the year 1489; and that, in addition, there were seven shops making or storing "weapons", *silāḥ* (muskets?). In the quarter of San Yanko or Niko which was inhabited by both Greeks and Armenians, there were 21 houses, all serving as rental property since pre-Ottoman times.

The imperial edict dated January 1493, copied in the same survey book, exempted from rent all of the soldiers on the Sultan's payroll *('alūfe)* who actually resided in the houses belonging to the fisc. It is a well known fact that, prior to the edict, the janissaries who were permitted to live in the houses which were abandoned by their non-Muslim owners were required to pay rent to the fisc.[80] Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) who felt insecure on the throne as long as Djem Sultan was alive, tried to please the soldiery by making such exemptions. It is of interest to point out that a number of salaried *ḳul*s and their relatives had lived in Galata since Meḥmed II's time and were among the first Muslim settlers in the city. The survey of 1489 informs us that originally there were 178 such houses in Istanbul and Galata. In 1489 there were 139 houses exempt from rent.

In brief, by 1489 we find that in Galata the Muslim population increased in the quarters of *Kumiler, Ḳapudan Meḥmed Beg, Bali Re'īs, Mesdjid-i Ḥādjī 'Abdī.* In the quarter of *Kumiler* or *Kumiyān* lived two Arabs, a public crier *(dellāl)* by the name of İskender, and persons connected with sea navigation including captains Muṣṭafā, Ḥamza and Ṣafā, as well as craftsmen such as a baker, a cook, a porter and a saddler. There, non-Muslims, mostly Greeks, also were to be found. *Kenīsā al-Munaḳḳasha,* the church of San Francesco which in 1697 was converted to a mosque (see Appendix 6), was situated in this quarter. In the quarters of Ḳapudan Meḥmed Beg and Bali Re'īs, near the 'Azeb Kapı on the western end of Galata, many sea captains, including Baraḳ Re'īs, Murād Re'īs, and Atmadja Re'īs had their own houses. These famous captains of the Ottoman navy were, at the same time, actively engaged in the commercial traffic between Galata and the Black Sea ports, in particular Caffa.[81] In other words, the *Tersāne* shipyard, though not yet replacing that of Gelibolu in importance, had already become a factor in the settlement of the Muslim population in the western quarters of the city.

V. Vavassore's Plan of ca. 1490

Vavassore's original view of Istanbul and Galata (Plan II) belongs to this period. It is dated around 1490 and has come to us through several copies made during the sixteenth century.[82] In this plan, before the *İskele* (later *Yagh-Ḳapanı)* and the *Limon* or *Baluḳ-Pazarı* gates there are two boats indicating that they were centers of traffic. There is no trace of the Rüstem Pasha *bedestanı* and *hanı* in this plan; instead, there is a building with a dome which could be the church of San Michele. This port area is separated by a large street (Tersane street) from the block in the heart of the city where the towers of San Francesco and San Domenico at either end of the *Forum Platea* are visible.

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[80] İnalcık, "The Policy", pp. 231-249.

[81] See İnalcık, *Sources and Studies on the Ottoman Black Sea,* 113-116.

[82] Mordtmann, *Ancien Plan,* p. 2, believes the original plan goes back to Meḥmed II's time, cf. Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel,* pp. 21-22; Schneider and Nomidis, p. 48.

At the west side of the sea walls, the *Porta di San Antonio* is identified as *'Azeb-Ḳapı* or *'Azebler Ḳapısı.*[83] Inside this gate, as well as behind the Porta S. Chiara (Karaköy), there are large open spaces. Another large open space lay in the north-western part of the city, towards the land walls. All of these squares were later shown as densely filled with blocks of buildings in the views of the city from the late sixteenth century (see the views in the copies of Pīrī Re'īs' *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*:[84] Plan IV).

The latter open space, comprising the area from Galata Kulesi down to the Arab Camii (the triangle between Oḳcu Musa and Galata Kulesi streets today), was later occupied by the Turks and the Moriscos. According to the map based on the *waḳfiyyes*, including the sixteenth century ones,[85] this area comprised the quarters of Oḳcu Musa, Şehsüvar, 'Ases Meḥmed, Arta-Bilmez and Ḳal'a-i Djedīde. Next to this district, the quarters to the west were all Muslim — Silāḥī Meḥmed, Ḳapıdjı İlyās, Tañrıvermish, Melek Khātūn, Ḳaptan İbrāhīm Pasha, Bashdjı 'Alī, Kemāl Re'īs, Bali Re'īs and Ḥādjī A'ver. In other words, the garrison and military stores placed in the Galata Kulesi on the one hand, and the naval installations on the western side on the other, were from the outset the centers of Muslim settlement which appear to have been mostly of military personnel. One of the earliest quarters in this part of the city was *'Azebler* (marines), which gave its name to the *'Azeb* Gate. Our *waḳfiyyes* and surveys do not include the west side of the city, apparently because already under the Genoese, this western area of the fortress was sparsely inhabited. Vavassore's view of 1490 attests to this fact.

The Ottoman colonization of the cities which were peacefully occupied through an agreement followed the same pattern of settlement in other regions, namely that the first settlers usually consisted of military and administrative personnel.

As Vavassore's plan shows, the Ottoman *Tersāne* in Galata did not have its impressive rows of arcades for galley construction and shelter at this time. Selīm I (1512-1520) started to expand the *Tersāne* by constructing a number of arcades to strengthen the navy. However, the Matraḳdjı plan of 1537 (Plan III in the Appendix) still shows only a few arcades on the 'Azeb-Ḳapı side of Ḳāsım Pasha bay which was used for the shelter and repair of galleys already under Meḥmed II, as confirmed by the existence of the 'Azebs, the caulkers (ḳalafatdjı) and the sea captains in the western quarters of Galata at that time.

[83] Schneider and Nomidis, p. 15.
[84] See in Oberhummer, *op.cit.*
[85] See Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mahalleleri.*

VI. The Survey of 1519

The *djibāyet* register of the Ayasofya mosque *waḳfs* written in *Muḥarrem* 926/December 1519 contains a detailed chapter on Galata (see Bibliography and sample pages in Appendix No. 7). In general, rents in this survey were determined in accordance with the original *waḳf* deed and the previous register of revenues. At the time of the new survey, rents, when put at auction, went up substantially, sometimes doubled. The striking fact emerging from this register is that by 1519, Galata had fully developed Muslim quarters (see Appendix No. 9: Population), economic activities intensified, and more members of the Ottoman elite invested money in renting or purchasing real properties in Galata for their *waḳfs*. Many old Genoese buildings were now made part of the *waḳfs* founded by pashas and aghas. The state-owned properties were acquired by them either through the grants made by the Sultan, or simply rented from the fisc to be exploited in the economically thriving city.

Apparently, the surveyor began with the description of the Muslim quarters, each-having its own *mesdjid,* mosque. The main Muslim quarter was that of *Djāmi'* near the *Iskele* and the old Genoese *logia* (in Turkish *londja)* at the busy port area where we find many warehouses *(makhzen).* Other Muslim quarters were Kör Ḥādjī (Ḥādjī A'ver), Hüsām Beg, Oḳdju Mūsā, Bereket-zāde and the newly established Sulṭān Bāyezīd Djāmi'i quarter near the Tophane gate. In the Muslim quarters, however, we find also houses belonging to the non-Muslims, mostly Greek *dhimmīs.* The general trend is that such houses were passing into the possession of Muslims as time went by. Many sea captains resided in the quarters of Kör Ḥādjī (near the *'Azebler* gate), Hüsām Beg and Oḳdju Mūsā. Already by this date, there lived in Galata many Arabs — Ḥādjī 'Alī from the Maghreb, Meḥmed son of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 'Abdullāh, a mosque servant, and others. They lived mostly in the quarter of Djāmi'. An Arab sea captain, *re'īs,* by the name of 'Alī was from Alexandria in Egypt. Another Arab sea captain called Manṣūr lived in the quarter of Hüsām Beg. Among the Arabs living in Galata, we find also a looking-glass maker or seller *(mir'ātī).*

A great number of Muslim men of Galata were registered as sons of 'Abdullāh which refers, in most cases, to being a convert. Likewise, many of the wives of Muslims were daughters of 'Abdullāh. In the new Muslim quarter of Sulṭān Bāyezīd Djāmi'i, a public bathhouse was built as part of the Ḳāsım Pasha *waḳfs.* Additionally, in the same quarter lived many Greeks engaged in small trades.

By 1519, the following men endowed properties for their *waḳf* in Galata: Ṭopdju Bashı, Kürkdjü Bashı Shemseddīn, Çaḳır Agha, Mawlānā Yārḥiṣārī,

'Alī Pasha, Dizdār-oghlu Meḥmed, Ḥüseyn Agha, Muftī 'Alī Djemālī, Kātib Ferhād Beg, Yoldju-oghlu 'Ömer, and Emīn Khayreddīn.

In the heart of Galata, in the quarter of San "Françeshḳa" (San Francesco) lived wealthy Italians and Greeks, including the famous tax farmer Yani Palologoz (Palaeologos) who owned several houses in Galata. Italians, however, constituted the majority of the inhabitants in this quarter as well as in those of Aya Yorgi, and the church of San Bashtiyan (San Bastiano). Among the Latins, we find a Catalan by the name of Pero. Greeks appear to have been in majority in the quarters of Karaköy, the church of Panaya (Panagia), the church of Kastelyut (Kasteliutissa), Aya Yorgi (this particular church was situated near the Tophane gate), and the church of Khristod (the church of *Likosta,* apparently *Ekosieletsa,* was in the same quarter). Greeks were also to be found in the predominantly Latin quarters and there were instances in which Greeks replaced Italians in the possession of the houses and stores. Some Greeks were immigrants from the Aegean — for instance Yani from Euboea (Agriboz). Most of the Greeks were engaged in trades and crafts as shopkeepers, coppersmiths, builders, silk weavers, basket makers or barbers. Many were fishermen. The main Armenian quarter was that of the church of the Armenians. In the quarter of the church of San Benito, Armenians, Greeks, Muslims and Italians lived together.

The general impression we have from this survey is that Galata had recovered economically and, next to the rapidly growing Ottoman Istanbul, became a thriving city. Reference to the construction of new storehouses in the port area and rising prices in real estate can be interpreted as signs of growing trade and business activity in parallel to population increase. Galata's indigenous industries appear to have been flourishing, particularly in soap manufacturing and dyeing, mostly practiced by the Latins. Zani and his sons were known as watch-makers. There were many Greek coppersmiths in Galata. The city was apparently a center of fur trade probably because of its connection by sea with Caffa which was visited by Muscovite merchants since the 1490's, if not earlier. Several Muslim fur merchants, Ḳāsım, Khızır and İskender, mentioned in our register of 1519, had residence in Galata. And one of the earliest Muslim quarters was named after the Kürkdjü-Bashı Shemseddīn.

Our register yields important topographical data, too. In 1519, many houses in Galata, particularly in the new Muslim quarters, were situated in gardens.

Economic Conditions, 1453-1500

The impression that we get from the 1455 survey is that the first years after the conquest were difficult for Galata. Many of the wealthy Genoese had left the city on the day of the conquest and they preferred to live in Chios. But the number of fugitives does not justify our speaking of a real exodus of the Latins from the city, as is often asserted. The majority of the Genoese chose to stay on as Ottoman *dhimmī* subjects. Among them were wealthy families such as the Gara, Langasco, Francesco, and Daryova. Also, we learn from the register that the rich Jews, Armenians and Greeks whose numbers exceeded the Genoese also remained in Pera. The houses of those who left were confiscated. Their new tenants were mostly poor, aged people, and many of the buildings remained unoccupied and went to ruin. In the business district, out of 33 shops, 15 remained in the hands of their original owners, while 18 were confiscated. Fifteen of those remaining found renters. Some of the soap workshops remained idle. In fact, all evidence points to a picture of a decaying city.

The Sultan was having difficulty repopulating Istanbul since the deportees from Rumelia and Anatolia were returning home.[86] Thus, with the depopulated city on the other side, Galata's own chances for recovery seemed to be slim.

Actually, Pera's decline had started from the middle of the fourteenth century. Professor Roberto Lopez observes[87] that in the fifteenth century, Pera's commercial activity was reduced to one seventh of what it had been in the previous century. On the other hand the rise of Bursa as an emporium for the caravan trade of Iran and Syria and the revival of the traffic in luxury goods, especially, silk and spices, which now operated in the reverse direction, from Bursa to the northern countries, became a new source of prosperity for the Genoese and partly compensated for the decrease in the benefits of the inner Asian trade.[88] In the words of Heers[89]

En fait c'est la proximité de Brousse qui, à cette époque, explique la fortune de Pera. On vient de toutes parts se ravitailler à Brousse en produits de luxe et l'on passe par Pera, évitant soigneusement, semble-t-il, un séjour à Constantinople. Au point de vue économique, Pera dépend davantage de l'Empire turc que de Constantinople.

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86 H. İnalcık, "Istanbul", *EI*², p. 225.

87 Discussed by R. Lopez, "Market Expansion"; Idem, *Storia,* p. 405.

88 Heers, *Gênes,* Index: Pera; also İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant", pp. 131-147.

89 Heers, *op. cit.,* p. 382.

One could find quite convincing data for this statement in *Il Libro de Conti* of Giacomo Badoer, of the period 1436-1440, where Iranian and Caucasian silk and European cloth appear to be the subject of a lively exchange.[90]

In point of fact, Galata's ill-fortune in the first years of the Ottoman occupation was only of short duration. After the Ottoman occupation, Pera's dependence on the Bursa market increased and trade expanded appreciably as the cadi records of Bursa for the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the correspondence of J. Maringhi,[91] a Florentine agent residing in Galata at the turn of the century, fully demonstrate. Now, Ottoman subjects, Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, began to supplant the Genoese in this inter-regional trade, especially after the fall of the Genoese ports in the Crimea as the trade of the Black Sea became vitally important for the growing capital of the Ottoman Empire. Also, under Meḥmed the Conqueror, the Florentines were favored at the expense of the other Italian nations in Pera (see *infra*). The Florentines and the Genoese now specialized in the trade of Iranian silk which was to a large extent bartered for European cloth on the Bursa market. Maringhi noted in 1501[92] that every year several silk caravans arrived in Bursa from Iran, and his letters reflect the impatience with which the Italian merchants awaited the arrival of the caravans, their rush to buy the goods and the fierce competition that ensued. The rewards were substantial, for in Italy each *fardello* –about 150 kg– yielded a profit of seventy to eighty ducats. The price of silk rose constantly. An average caravan brought about two hundred *fardelli* of silk. The value of the customs receipts from silk in Bursa was 40,000 gold ducats in 1487, 33,000 in 1507 and 43,000 in 1512.[93] It should also be remembered that the second half of the fifteenth century was marked by considerable expansion of the silk industry in Genoa.

VII. Genoese Notarial Documents of Galata, 1453-1490

An important source on the Genoese in Galata after the surrender in 1453 is the collection of notarial documents covering the period 1453-1490.[94] Analyzed by Geo Pistarino, the documents not only provide us with

[90] Eds. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè, in *Il Nuovo Ramusio III*, Venice, 1956.

[91] See İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant", *JESHO*, 3 (1960), 131-167, and "Bursa", *Belleten*, vol. XXIV (1960), pp. 45-102; G. R. B. Richards, *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932.

[92] Richards, *Florentine Merchants*, Index: *setta, seta, silk.*

[93] See H. İnalcık, *"Ḥarīr"*, *EI*^{2}, III, 213.

[94] A. Roccatagliata, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene, 1: Pera, 1408-1490*, Collanca Storica di fonti et studi, ed. G. Pistarino, 34, I, Genoa, 1982.

information on the legal aspects of Genoese life, which completely adhered to the practices and procedures of the Genoese period, but they also shed light on the social and economic conditions, trade and navigation and life in Ottoman Pera in general in that period. "A persistent", Pistarino notes,[95] "Genoese presence and activity in Pera" is confirmed by the documents for the period.

For Pistarino the "charter", i.e. *'ahd-nāme*, is a document guaranteeing "local self-government and the right of the Latins of Pera to elect a *protogerus*". He admits that the Latins of Pera being subject to the *kharādj* became "non-Muslim subjects of the Porte" and that once "the Porte's sovereignty" was established it was no more "the Genoese city it used to be", an entity separate from Constantinople. Considering the fact that the Genoese administrative framework and institutions with a community head (but now only a *protogerus* instead of a *podestà)* and the Council of Pera, the Genoese *cives* and *burgenses Pere* continued to be called as such and the relations with Genoa and the Genoese colonies in the Levant took their normal course, giving the impression that nothing had happened.[96] However, one must not forget that Galata was now under an Ottoman cadi and a *voyvoda*, representing all civil and political authority in the name of the Sultan. The kind of communal autonomy established under an *'ahd-nāme* should not be exaggerated (see *supra).* Pistarino also underlines the fact[97] that "the names of important Genoese families and noblemen were prominent in Turkish Galata". As the Genoese documents as well as the Ottoman survey attest, after the surrender in 1453, a great number of Genoese stayed on in Galata under the status of *dhimmī* or *ḥarbī/musta'min* while others who had left the city to take refuge in the Genoese Chios or elsewhere came back to stay either temporarily or permanently. On the other hand, there came in Pera Latins from other cities or areas. The Ottoman survey of 1455 distinguished these as *Sakızlu* (from Chios), *Drabizonlu* (from Trebizond), *Djeneviz* (the Genoese citizen) or *Venetik* (Venetian).

In the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Caffa, in 1475, the Latins of Caffa were deported *en masse* to Istanbul to give rise to the *Kefeli* district, near Edirne Kapı. We are told[98] that most of these deportees, subjects to the *sürgün* regulation,[99] paying a tax *(avaria),* managed to move to Pera and

[95] Pistarino, "The Genoese in Pera" (see Bibliography).

[96] Pistarino, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[99] On *sürgün* see H. Inalcik "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, vol. II (1954), pp. 122-129.

formed another group of the Peran Latins, distinguished as *Kefeli* or *burgenses Caffe*. The *Kefelis* of Pera, organized as a separate *djemā'at* appear to have had their own *protogerus (prôtogeros)*.

The well known names of the Genoese residents of Galata occur both in the Ottoman survey and the notary documents of Galata. Françeshḳo referred to as *'āmil*, the tax farmer, in our survey of 1455, is Francesco de Draperiis or Draperio, a resident of Galata who, in the capacity of tax farmer of the Ottoman alum mines since the reign of Murad II (1421-1444, 1446-1451), was a well known figure among the Ottomans.[100] In the summer of 1455, Francesco was aboard the Ottoman fleet under admiral Ḥamza to claim a debt of 40,000 gold ducats which the Genoese of Chios (Sakız) owed to him for alum. Since the sum was ultimately to be delivered to the Sultan's treasury, Meḥmed II had taken the matter into his own hands.[101] The Langascos, another wealthy Genoese family in Galata is also mentioned in both the Ottoman survey of 1455 and the notary documents. On August 17, 1453, Angelo di Langasco (Andjelo di Lanḳashḳo in our survey) assumed a mandate of Lorenzo Gattilusio.[102] Anton Gara, of the embassy which concluded the capitulations with Meḥmed II in Edirne in March 1451, appears in the survey of 1455 as a wealthy Genoese registered as a native of Galata, a *dhimmī*.[103] Anton di Lashtrego mentioned in the Ottoman survey as a poor *dhimmī*, is found in the notary records under the name of Antonio de Lastrego, a blacksmith.[104]

As the Genoese notarial documents demonstrate,[105] the Genoese of Pera under Ottoman sovereignty carried on their communal affairs and civil cases among themselves under their own laws and *protogerus/ketkhudā* as guaranteed in the Conqueror's *'ahd-nāme*. No doubt the Genoese of Pera at the same time had recourse to the cadi of Galata for their legal cases, particularly when one party was a Muslim. In 1475, a textile merchant, Francesco Fieschi, brought his complaint against Spinola, another Genoese, before the cadi of Galata. The court records of Bursa from the 1470's show[106] that Latins from Galata frequently employed the Bursa court even

[100] See Babinger *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[101] Doucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-249; Babinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132.

[102] Pistarino, p. 68.

[103] Antonio Gara was active in the Genoa-Constantinople (Pera) trade arround 1438 (see Giacomo Badoer, pp. 388, 389).

[104] Pistarino, p. 69.

[105] For example, see Pistarino, pp. 78-79.

[106] See İnalcık, "Bursa", *Belleten*, XXIV (1960) pp. 45-102.

for legal matters between themselves because sometimes this could ensure better security.

Under the Ottomans, the first problem for the Peran Genoese was a rebellion of the slaves against their Genoese masters. That was expected because among these slaves there were Muslim Turkish-Tatar slaves (Gingibei, the Circassian Acmet and others).

In general, Pistarino concludes,[107] life for the Genoese of Pera returned to normality and business resumed its normal course. Pera maintained close relations with the Genoese colonies of Caffa (Ottoman after 1475) and of Chios. Ships from Italy or Genoese colonies visited Pera regularly and maintained trade with the Black Sea. Thus, Pera continued its role as a "bridgehead" for Caffa and Chios which Sultan considered among his own dominions since they agreed to pay tribute starting from 1455. All this is to be expected if we remember that most of the Peran Genoese became the subjects of the Sultan as *dhimmīs* (the *burgenses Pere* in the Genoese documents) and were encouraged to carry on their economic activities as before. Now, as the Genoese notary records show, the Genoese ships continued to bring caviar and pickled sturgeon from the Black Sea to Galata which were so important for feeding the expanding imperial city of Istanbul. Also, those *ḥarbī*, foreign Genoese keeping their Genoese citizenship (the *cives Ianue)*, were also protected and encouraged under the capitulatory guarantees.

Florentines in Galata

By the years 1463-1500, the Florentine colony of Pera had become very influential and prosperous thanks to Meḥmed II's deliberate policy. While the Venetians and the Genoese challenged the plans of Meḥmed II to expand his rule over Morea, Albania, Bosnia and the Black Sea, he showed special favor toward the Florentines, the rivals of the Venetians, in order to lessen dependency on the former in the vital trade relations of his empire with the West. The Ottomans were also well aware that fine woolen cloth, the principal export item from the West, was originally made or finished by the *arte della lana* of Florence, and imported to the Ottoman markets through Venice.[108] Despite Venice's attempts to disrupt the Florentine Levantine trade, principally based on the exchange of Iranian silk for woolen cloth at

[107] Pistarino, pp. 66-67, 82.

[108] Heyd, II, 296; H. Hoshino, "Il commercio Fiorentino nell' Impero ottomano: costi e profiti negli anni 1484-1488", *Contributi del Convegno di Studi "Aspetti della vita economica medievale"*, Firenze-Pisa-Prato, 1984, pp. 45-57.

Bursa, the trade levels experienced a spectacular growth in this period.[109] Benedetto Dei, a Florentine agent settled in Galata whose chronicle[110] is one of our best sources on Florentine activities in the Ottoman Empire, became the most trusted advisor to the Sultan in the years 1460-1472. In fact, Meḥmed II's interest in encouraging Florence in the Levantine trade dated back to the days of the conquest of Constantinople. Already by 1455, Florence was grateful to the Sultan for the favors he was extending to the Florentines in his territories. What is indicative of the growth of Florentine trade after 1454 is that the number of Florentine ships visiting Istanbul increased from one to a convoy of three ships in 1461.

Considering the huge benefits they obtained, Florentines gladly paid the annual expense of 5,000 gold pieces to maintain their agents in Galata. In 1461, the Sultan found a pretext to expel the Venetians[111] from their houses and settled Florentines instead (apparently these were state-owned houses in Pera which were rented to foreigners). The following year when Meḥmed conquered Mytilene, three Florentine ships, then anchored at the Golden Horn, joined in the victory celebration to please the Sultan. Again in 1463, on the occasion of the Sultan's victory in Bosnia, the Florentines of Pera decorated their houses and streets and the Sultan himself honored them by visiting and dining at the mansion of the banker Carlo Martelli. Finally, the Consul Mainardo Ubaldini, head of the Florentine colony of Pera, and the Florentine agents and merchants of Pera were actively involved in Meḥmed II's decision to declare war against Venice in 1463.[112]

While at war with the Sultan, the Republic of Venice dispatched a special ambassador to Florence asking that ships not be sent to Istanbul during that particular year.[113] The reaction of the *Signora* is of interest. A great amount of cloth, they said, was already prepared for the Ottoman market, and the ships to be sent may actually protect the large number of Florentines residing there. In fact, political and economic circumstances created a natural alliance between the Sultan and Florence against Venice. The pressure which Venice and the Pope placed on Florence was countered by Meḥmed II who, as a

[109] See G. R. B. Richards (see Bibliography), Index: *Panni;* H. Hashino and M. F. Mazzaoui, "Ottoman Markets for Florentine Woolen Cloth in the Late Fifteenth Century", *International Journal of Turkish Studies,* III-2 (1985-1986), 17-31.

[110] See F. Babinger, "Mehmed II. der Eroberer und Italien", *Byzantion,* 21 (1951), p. 151 ff. and its Italian version with additions and corrections: *Rivista Storica Italiana,* LXIV-4.

[111] The Ottoman survey of 1455 attests a few Venetians residing in Galata by that time.

[112] Heyd, *op. cit,* pp. 339-340; Babinger, *ibid.*

[113] Heyd, *ibid.*

skillful diplomat, demonstrated an unusual friendship toward the Florentines in Galata.

When, in 1467, under pressure from public opinion in Italy, Florence decided to evacuate the city and all the heads of the commercial houses set sail with their wealth for home on Anconitan ships, the Venetians intercepted them and looted everything. Florentine traffic with Galata was halted until 1472. Although Florentines were now able to continue traffic with Galata via the Genoese, in 1467 and 1469, the outbreak of a terrible plague in the Ottoman territories, including Istanbul and Pera, caused another setback to Florentine trade in the Levant. The epidemic began in mid-summer of 1467 and, according to Critovoulos,[114] an eyewitness, there were more than six hundred deaths a day in the Ottoman capital. "Some fled and never returned... the city was emptied of its inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners". Despite these setbacks, in 1469, Mainardo Ubaldini, the Florentine Consul in Pera, calculated that there were fifty Florentine commercial agents still active in Turkey. They were located in Edirne, Istanbul, Gallipoli and Pera. A Florentine source tells us[115] that there was always a flow of new arrivals attracted by the prospects for trade in Turkey.

The first formal *'ahd-nāme* was granted to the Florentines by Meḥmed II, the text of which has not been discovered.[116] Without such an instrument the Florentine colony could not have remained in Galata.

Despite the restitution of peace with Venice in 1479, Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) was no less concerned with encouraging friendship with the Florentines and their continued presence in his capital; perhaps all the more so because of Djem Sultan, the pretender to the Ottoman throne who had been in Europe since 1482.[117] In 1483, through his ambassador to Florence, the new Sultan promised to purchase, annually and exempt from tax, five thousand *pastav* (one *pastav* was about 50 *arshın* or 34 m) of woolen cloth for the Palace.[118] In 1507, Florentine merchants in Galata numbered sixty or seventy whose annual turnover reached five to six hundred thousand gold ducats.[119]

[114] Trans. Riggs, p. 220; Heyd, II, p. 341.

[115] Documents cited by Heyd, II, p. 341.

[116] There was, however, a reference to it in the instructions to the Florentine ambassador to the Porte in 1488 (Heyd, II, p. 342).

[117] H. İnalcık, "A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: The Agreement Between Innocent VII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan", *Journal of Turkish Studies,* 3 (1979-1980), pp. 209-230.

[118] Heyd, *op. cit.,* II, p. 342.

[119] *Ibid.,* p. 344.

The *'ahd-nāmes* (capitulations) granted by Bāyezīd II and Selīm I to the Florentines were renewed by Süleyman I in October 1527[120] (see the Turkish text, Appendix No. 8). It contained the following provisions:

1 The Seigneurs of Florence shall send a *Baylos* to my Porte in order to supervise the affairs of their subjects;

2 The rate of customs dues shall be the same as that paid by the Venetians;[121]

3 If a subject of Florence is in debt (to the Ottoman subjects) the payment of the debt shall be required from the debtor alone and no other subjects of Florence shall be held responsible for it;

4 When a subject of Florence dies in the Ottoman territory his personal property shall be taken by whomever the deceased appointed in his will. If there is no will, it will be taken by the *Baylos* and the Ottoman agent in charge of confiscating such property *(beytülmaldjı)* shall not interfere;

5 The subjects of Florence are to go and conduct business anywhere in the Ottoman territories, and no one shall prevent or hinder them in their visits. Their ships will be free to sail to the Black Sea for trade, buying and selling, and they will pay no extra taxes once they paid the established dues;

6 Their disputes and legal cases among themselves shall be heard and decided by their own *Baylos;*

7 Those ships and subjects (or other nationalities which arrive in the Ottoman territories under the flag of Florence) are free to come and trade once they have paid the established dues;

8 If their ships run aground, their salvaged property shall be delivered to their owners and (if the local people have them) the cadis and *subashis* from that area shall help the owners to recover their property;

9 Every time a Florentine ship arrives, the merchants shall visit the Sultan's palace with substantial gifts;

10 If extraordinary taxes *('awāriḍ)* are levied in a region where the Florentine merchants are present, no such taxes shall be demanded from them;

[120] In a collection of state papers *(munsha'āt)* preserved in the Veliyüddin Efendi Library, Beyazit Genel Library, Istanbul, MS 1970; for the facsimile copy see Appendix, No. 8; also see M. Grignaschi, "Una raccolta inedita di 'Münşeât'", *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani,* Napoli, 1976, pp. 111-116, Text: pp. 119-122.

[121] In 1482 the rate of customs duty for non-Muslim foreigners *(ḥarbī)* was 4 percent, see H. İnalcık, "Notes on N. Beldiceanu's Translation", *Der Islam,* vol. 43 (1967), p. 153.

11 The Sultan is told that when the Florentines have a legal dispute with members of other non-Muslim communities, the plaintiffs used to reject the Florentine witnesses (in Ottoman courts) and create difficulties by insisting on witnesses from among the local non-Muslims. If this is the case, it is ordered that if they have a dispute with a non-Muslim and need witnesses, these witnesses may be from any of the non-Muslim communities after they are legally proven to be acceptable by the cadi. Such witnesses shall be accepted and the cadi will give his decision which will be final and will not be disputed, because according to Islamic Law all non-Muslims are considered part of a single community;

12 The Florentine merchants do not have to pay the brokerage dues *(resm-i simsār)*[122] a second time in Istanbul for the raw silk they buy in Bursa. If they transfer their silk loads by land to Istanbul, the tax-farmers in charge of collecting the brokerage dues *(simsār 'āmilleri)* in Istanbul are ordered not to demand or bother the Florentine merchants in such cases;

13 When Florentine merchants arrive in the Ottoman territories and need to employ non-Muslims to serve and assist them, they may hire such persons with permission, but such (Ottoman subjects) shall not be taken with them to Italy;

14 When a merchant of their nation, being a resident of Galata and having legal disputes with a non-Muslim, appears with him for trial at the court of Istanbul and the case is decided here in Istanbul in accordance with the stipulations of Islamic Law, the decision shall be accepted as final since there is no conflict of jurisdiction in such cases according to the *Sharī'a;* and when a Florentine merchant has a legal case with someone in Istanbul it will be heard and the final decision will be given in the imperial council for which no further hearing shall be demanded; if the imperial council is not held in Istanbul (because of the campaign) then, the case shall be heard and decided by the cadi of Istanbul;

15 (In a legal case) if the Baylos becomes guarantor[123] for Florentine merchants, Ottoman authorities shall not detain or annoy him; no Florentine merchant shall leave the country unless he pays all his debts to individuals and to the customs house;

16 If the Florentine merchants arrive in Avlona (Vlorë) and board a boat to pass to Italy and Venetians, Genoese or other infidels intercept the boat and seize their goods, the Ottoman authorities shall demand all the

[122] For *resm-i simsār* see R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Kānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī Ber Mūceb-i 'Örf-i 'Oṣmānī,* Ankara 1956, pp. 42-43.

[123] *Boyun olmak* means "to become a guarantor or surety", see *Tarama Sözlüğü,* I, Ankara, 1963, p. 652.

captured goods from them when the infidel attackers are found in the Ottoman territories;

17 Sometimes Ottoman authorities take Florentine merchants[124] [who were not found in the houses they had resided in] into custody and injure them even after they have liquidated their debts with the customs agent and have received a document for that. In such situations, the case shall be examined in court and action will be taken according to whatever decision is given; no one shall be injured in contravention with the law.

18 If the merchants bring slave women with them from their own country to use for their own purposes, no one shall hinder their departure back home; but it is required that such women be registered in the cadi's court book upon their arrival, so that they may be examined at the time of departure for an exit permit;

19 If goods and personal possessions of the merchants are stolen from the places they stayed or camped, in town or in the countryside, the case shall be investigated in accordance with the stipulations of the law and properties returned to the owner;

20 Since it is reported that the hired carriers of the Florentine merchants may dispute with or even hinder them, saying that their animals have to be grazed in the countryside, and so they force them to stay in a pasture land in the open country and that as a result sometimes harm occurs to the merchants, the Sultan ordered that the hired carriers shall depend on and follow the merchants and wherever the latter wanted to stay, the carriers would stay also. If the carriers object to the merchants and a loss then occurs, the carriers shall have to make up for the loss in accordance with a court decision.

This document is the decisive proof that Bāyezīd II and Selīm I granted *'ahd-nāmes* to the Florentine *Signora* guaranteeing the establishment of a Florentine community in Galata under a *Baylos* on the same basis as the Venetians.[125] The reason that Meḥmed II's *'ahd-nāme* is not mentioned in this renewal may be that the Florentines were given a community status with a Baylos at the head, like the Venetians, for the first time under Bāyezīd II.

A comparison with the capitulations granted to Venice in 1482[126] shows that the Florentines were granted the same guarantees for freedom of trade

[124] Here a phrase must have been skipped over by the copist.

[125] Heyd, II, p. 342-345, doubts the appointment of a Florentine *baylos*.

[126] Turkish texts of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1482 and that of 1540 are published by T. Gökbilgin, in *Belleten* V-VII (1968-1971) and I (1965), pp. 121-128.

and travel, and had security for the persons and properties of the merchants and the rates of the customs dues were the same.

Already by the time of the negotiations of the formal capitulation in 1488, guarantees concerning the *Baylos'* jurisdiction over the Florentines in civil and criminal matters, free choice of the witnesses, etc. were stressed.

In the instructions to the Florentine envoy at that time, complaints were voiced about the difficulties caused by the local Ottoman authorities at Avlona when the Florentines took the sea route of Lecce-Avlona, as well as the reimposition of the same dues twice or three times on the way from Avlona to Edirne (Adrianople).

The Florentine merchants took the sea route from Ancona or Ragusa to Istanbul usually on Anconitan or Ragusan ships. But in order to avoid corsairs or Venetians, they preferred the overland routes of Ancona - Ragusa - Sarajevo - Novi Bazar - Edirne - Pera, or Lecce (in Apulia) - Avlona - Edirne - Pera. These overland routes, also used by Ragusans and Muslim merchants, became the main trade routes crossing he Balkan peninsula from the Adriatic to Edirne, and contributed to the prosperity of the towns along the route and of the city of Pera. Finally, provision no. 20 tells us what difficulties and hazards the Florentine merchants were exposed to while crossing the Balkans overland.

The Ottoman government was seriously concerned about security along the route to Edirne. In 1500, when some silk bales were stolen in a village in Bosnia, the Sultan ordered an investigation and sent a chaush from Istanbul.[127] The security of the merchants' passage from Avlona to the Italian coasts was also of vital importance for the Florentine merchants, so a special provision (No. 16) guaranteed the security of their property against piracy committed by the Venetians and the Genoese at sea. By implication, the same guarantee was applicable to the corsary acts of the Ottoman privateers *(levends)* at Avlona. The Florentines felt it necessary to enter into the *'ahd-nāme* special provisions concerning double taxation (No. 12), hiring native non-Muslims as aides (No. 13), and the validity of the documents issued in different zones of jurisdiction (No. 14 and 15), because the local authorities often annoyed them in such situations. It was indeed a special favor on the part of the Ottoman government to agree to add such specific provisions in the *'ahd-nāme.*

[127] Richards, *Florentine Merchants,* pp. 121-122, 163.

Arab Immigration to Galata

Among the first Muslim settlers in Galata we find Arabs, as confirmed in the first survey in 1455 (*supra*). In the pre-Ottoman period, Arabs, particularly Syrians, participated in the Genoese North-South trade between Pera, Syria and, Egypt and, using the so-called Moldavian Route via Akkerman, they went as far as Lwów (Lemberg).[128] It is likely that some Arab merchants had already settled in Galata under the Genoese and had stayed on during the Ottoman period. Our register of 1455 contains an 'Arab-oghlu Ḥādjī.

In subsequent surveys there were even more Arabs who had settled in Galata near the church of San Domenico because the Galata port was the terminus for most of the ships coming from the Mediterranean. Thus, a tradition seems to have been established that Arabs could find in this part of the city their compatriots and a place to come and settle. The fact that Meḥmed II converted to a mosque the church of San Domenico (later called *'Arab Djāmi'i)* which was apparently abandoned by the Genoese who had left the city *en masse* on May 29, 1453, also attracted Muslims to settle in that area. Later on when Khayr al-Dīn Pasha became the grand admiral of the Ottoman navy (1533) with the Ḳāsım-Pasha district as his seat, the city became a place for Arab seamen from the Maghreb to come and settle.

Folk traditions emerged,[129] or perhaps were promulgated by the Ottoman authorities, to legitimate the settlement of Muslims and the conversion of the church of San Domenico into a mosque. In any event, as a result of the Genoese flight, this area, which contained large houses, was an ideal place to colonize.

According to these folk traditions[130] the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz built two forts, the *Ḳal'a al-Ḳahr* to the north of Galata and another one on the shore where the *Kurshunlu Makhzen* stood. Obviously these two forts must be the Tower of Christ (Galata Kulesi) on the hill and the Castle of Galata (Castrum Galathe) on the shore. The same traditions also claim that the church of St Paul and St Dominic, known under the Ottomans as *'Arab Djāmi'i,* as originally built as a mosque by Maslama, the son of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik during his blockade of Constantinople in the years 672-79. The legitimation effort is evident in this Ottoman-Islamic tradition. According to Islamic tradition, a place where Muslims once prayed is considered Muslim

[128] See Berindei, *art. cit.*, p. 57.

[129] See Evliyā Çelebi, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

[130] For these traditions cf. Hasluck, II, pp. 717-735; M. Canard, "Les éxpeditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans le légende", *Journal Asiatique*, CCVII (1926), pp. 61-121.

territory forever. Churches were converted into mosques in Istanbul on the other side of the Haliç (Golden Horn) on the assumption that the district was settled by Muslims who were in need of a mosque. Obviously, because of this early Arab settlement, the so-called Moriscos –Arab refugees from Andalusia– also choose to come and settle in the same district of Galata, and thus, reinforced its Arab character.

Distorted from the Arabic *mudadjdjan* (Spanish *mudejar),* meaning "permitted to stay on the land", the Ottoman words *mubtadjal* or *mudadjdjal* designated the Muslims of Spain who immigrated to the Ottoman territories in north Africa and Turkey during the sixteenth century. The persecution which the Muslim population under the Spanish inquisition suffered was indeed a tragic experience.[131] They were compelled to choose between abjuration of their religion or slavery, or expulsion from the country.[132] The attempts of the Andalusian Muslims to attract the attention of the Ottoman Sultan to their plight had started already by 1477 when a delegation visited Meḥmed the Conqueror and solicited his aid and protection. After the Spanish invasion of Granada in 1492, the Algerians, fearing the same fate for themselves, sent the venerated scholar Seyyid Abū al-'Abbās to Istanbul in 1519 and requested the Conqueror of Egypt Selim I to aid and protect them. In particular, they asked him to permit Khayr al-Dīn, the leader of the sea *ghāzīs* in Algeria, to remain with them.[133] In a letter written in the name of the cadi, men of religion, merchants and the population of Algeria, they expressed a desire to become the Ottoman Sultan's "dependents" *(khidmetkār* or *khademe).* Selim I, who was believed to have prepared a large-scale naval expedition in the Mediterranean and to have built shipyards in Galata (Ḳāsım Pasha), died the following year.

The successful counterattack of the Ottomans against the Spanish attempts to continue the *Reconquista* in the Maghreb in the period 1520-1570 resulted in growing suspicion and persecution by the Spaniards of the Andalusian Arabs and a stiffening resistance of the Moriscos. In the year 1529, Khayr al-Dīn evacuated 70,000 Moriscos from Spain in six expeditions. In a letter to Sultan Süleymān dated November 29, 1541,[134] the

[131] Braudel, II, pp. 787-795; A. Hess, *Forgotten Frontier. A History of Ibero-African Frontier,* Chicago, 1978.

[132] On Moriscos in Spain see, *Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous,* ed. A. Temimi, Tunis, 1984; A. Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman et le problème morisque,* Zaghouan, 1989.

[133] A. Temimi, "Lettre de la population algéroise au Sultan Selim I[er] en 1519", *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine,* vol. V (1976). pp. 95-101.

[134] A. Temimi, "Une lettre des Moriscos de Grenade au Sultan Suleiman al-Kanunī en 1541", *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine,* III (1975), pp. 98-106.

Moriscos, numbering they said 364,000 in Andalusia, offered their submission to him and implored him to continue his support of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha. The migration took on the character of an exodus after the dramatic confrontation between the Ottoman and Spanish Empires at Lepanto in 1571. Morisco uprisings in Spain in the years 1569-1570 and in 1589 resulted in deportations, confiscations and a systematic policy of christianizing. Finally, in 1599, the Spanish Council of State reached a decision to expel the Morisco population and confiscate their properties. The operation started in 1609 and affected 300,000 people.[135] A new mass migration into Ottoman territories including Galata occured in 1609-1610. The immigrants, called *Grenatini* by the Christians of Galata, arrived under the protection of the Ottoman Sultan, who sent letters to the King of France and to the Venetian Doge asking them not to hinder their free passage.

For the Arab settlement in Galata during the period 1570-1610, there exist quite detailed accounts. In 1594 the Venetian *bailo* M. Zane reported that *di Spagna concorrono ogni giorne Mori in Constantinople, che si nominano Mondesari, come se uscissero solamente di Granata, ma in effetto tutta La Spagna n'e contaminata, e subito giunti Levano il tolpante.*[136] Hasluck suggests that the Morisco refugees, who were naturally hostile to the Christians, may have heightened anti-Christian feelings among the Turks during that period; and their settlement in the heart of Galata "may have been made to appear as a political necessity at a time when the Turks were concerned about Christian plots".[137] Knolles[138] reports that, in 1612, the Moriscos of Galata drove out the Jews and destroyed their synagogues. Belin[139] and Hasluck[140] believe that the church of Saint Paul and Saint Dominic *('Arab Djāmi'i)* must have been taken over to serve as a mosque for Moriscos at this time.

By 1623, the *Comunità* worried that the Andalusian Arabs were still threatening to take over the Catholic churches to convert them into mosques. As a result of increasing anti-Catholic feelings, many churches were indeed converted into mosques in Istanbul itself during this period. Towards the

[135] See Braudel, II, pp. 780-802.

[136] Cited by Hasluck, p. 724, note 3.

[137] Letter to Henri III dated March 1579 cited by Belin, *La Latinité,* p. 217, note 1.

[138] Cited by Hasluck, p. 726.

[139] *La Latinité,* p. 217; but we know through the *wakfiyye* of Mehmed II that the church was converted into a mosque under Meḥmed II (see Appendix No. 6).

[140] Hasluck, *op. cit.,* p. 724.

mid-seventeenth century Evliyā[141] recognizes the large Arab settlement in Galata:

The people of Galata, consist of several separate groups: seamen, merchants, artisans, carpenters, and caulkers. Most of the (Muslim) population wear clothes in the fashion of Algerians and a great number of them are from Arab lands. Also there are very rich sea captains.

In the district of *Bash-Ḥiṣār* (Galata Kulesi) and in the second *Ḥiṣār* down to the *Arab Djāmi'i* (San Domenico) there is no Christian resident. The Muslim inhabitants of these quarters hold the imperial edict of Meḥmed the Conqueror, and thus they allow no Christian to settle among themselves. The reason is that at this time most of the inhabitants in these quarters consist of those afflicted Muslims of the so-called *Mubtedjel* community who immigrated under Sultan Ahmed I. They take great care of these quarters.

Evliyā[142] adds that these Arabs introduced an exotic taste of their own into the city with their popular *Mubtedjel sherbeti,* a sweet soft drink, and colorful spiced *halva.*

Of the Arabs of Galata, 'Arab Aḥmed Pasha,[143] an Ottoman admiral during the invasion of Cyprus in 1570, distinguished himself first as a money changer, and then a seaman in Galata.[144] Another Arab, by the name of 'Arab Ḳayyūm, gave his name to a busy street in the port area. Finally we find an Arab of Galata occupying the post of the cadiship of the city. The extensive court records of Galata, covering a long period from the middle of the sixteenth down to the twentieth century, currently preserved in the archives of the Istanbul *Müftülük,* contain details on the activities of the Galata Arabs (see Bibliography: Primary Sources: C).

[141] *Seyāhatnāme,* I, p. 434.

[142] *Ibid.,* pp. 433, 434.

[143] The first English ambassador to the Porte, William Harborne, chose to live in Rapamat (Arab Aḥmed) Pasha's house, at the Fındıklı shore (S. Skilliter, *William Harborne and Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582,* London, 1977, pp. 32, 112).

[144] *Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581,* ed., trans., notes by A. Tietze, Wien, 1979, Index; 'Ālī despises him for his mundane origin and early profession of money-changer.

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Waḳfiyye I: The oldest *waḳfiyye* of the Fâtih mosque is a copy in Arabic now preserved in the *Türk-İslâm Eserleri* Museum, Istanbul, cod. 667; originally found in the mausoleum of Meḥmed II, the roll pasted to a green satin is 38.85 m. long and 0.28 m. wide with missing parts. The portions bearing the *tughra* at the top and the date at the end are missing; O. N. Ergin, p. 13, dates it as 1472 or 1473. It is an officially certified copy of the missing original. This *waḳfiyye* is published in facsimile by O. N. Ergin, *Fatih İmareti Vakfı,* Istanbul, 1945; but the facsimile in this publication has been reduced so much that it makes reading difficult.'The portion of this *waḳfiyye* belonging to a second copy is preserved in the *Başvekâlet (Osmanlı)* Archives, Istanbul, *Fatih devri vesikaları,* No. 108.

Waḳfiyye II: The second surviving *waḳfiyye* of the Fâtih mosque, an officially certified copy is preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum: Saray 16/1141. It is published in facsimile by Tahsin Öz (in collaboration with Paul Wittek) with an introduction under the title "Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen,* Heft 4, 1935. It is a copy dated 8 *Dhu'lḳa'da* 901/July 19, 1496 bearing Bāyezīd II's *tughra.* It is a faithful copy of the original as attested by the remark "This is copied from the original copy with no additions or omissions". The fact that the copier made no changes at all in the original is confirmed by the phrase which mentioned Mehmed II as living. The only? change is the omission of the date of the original, evidently because this is a copy revalidated by the new Sultan so that we find only the revalidation date.

Waḳfiyye III: A third version of the *waḳfiyye* of Meḥmed II for his mosque is in Turkish and was made in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is published in facsimile: *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri,* Ankara 1938, pp. 13-198, in modern Turkish, pp. 199-284. This *waḳfiyye* III is in essence a translation into Turkish of the Arabic *waḳfiyye* II. The section on Galata is to be found on pages 167-228 in the facsimile publication. A comparison of *waḳfiyyes* II and III reveals, however, some slight omissions (cf. *waḳfiyye* II p. 45, and *waḳfiyye* III, p. 167).

B. Djibāyet Registers

I. The detailed *djibāyet* register of the Ayasofya *waḳfs* in the cities of Istanbul, Galata and Üsküdar by Yūsuf b. Khalīl in *Shawwāl* 894/August-July 1489. This inspection and detailed survey is made on the basis of the survey by ābilī (Küpeli)-zāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed and Fanārī-zāde 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, *kaḍī'asker* of Anadolu sometime between 867/1462 and 872/1468 the period of the *kaḍīi'asker*ship of Kābilī-zāde (see *Shaḳā'iḳ*, p. 215). This latter register or registers have not yet been discovered.

II. The second *djibāyet* register concerns the *waḳfs* of the Ayasofya mosque in Istanbul, Galata and Üsküdar. This register is preserved in the archival collection of Muallim Cevdet, currently making part of the Istanbul *Belediye* Library, n 0.64. The survey was made under the supervision of the well known scholar Meḥmed son of 'Alī al-Fanārī. The survey, written in Arabic, bears the completion date of *Muḥarrem* 926/December 1519. It is a big volume of 223 folios; the section on Galata goes from fol. 159 to the end. This is the most detailed description of the buildings in Galata with valuable supplementary information on the city's topography, inhabitants and social and economic life.

C. The cadi records of Galata in the Archives of the Istanbul Müftülüğü

The archives of the *Istanbul Müftülüğü* contain the Galata court documents. This particular series, the *Galata Mahkemesi Şeriyye Sicilleri,* comprises 1040 registers covering the period 943/1536-1343/1924. This is the most important collection of documents on the history of Galata. In the same archives other collections dealing specifically with Galata include: documents and accounting registers for the religious endowments in Galata (No. 198), court documents and copies of the imperial decrees on Galata (no. 218, 229, 235). In the *ma'rūḍ* collection in the same archives, which contains the cases submitted or reported to the Porte for a government decision or Sultanic order, there are a great number of documents concerning the city and people of Galata (Examples from this series can be seen in Appendix No. 10).

The earliest register of court documents *(sidjillāt)* is a register of 388 pages (first pages missing) containing court documents *(hudjadj)* of all sorts of cases concerning civil law, the property lists of the deceased *(mukhallafāt)* as well as public accountings *(muḥāsabāt)* and other public affairs documents. These records have all the characteristics of the registers of court records of the Empire. But its special interest is due to the fact that a great number of records deal with the navy — sea captains, crews, caulkers, and makers of naval equipment. A number of documents have to do with Hayreddin Barbaros and his men. Also, these registers provide details on the

foreign embassies and people connected with them. They complement the *Ecnebī Defterleri* preserved at the *Başvekâlet* archives which comprise the imperial orders concerning the official correspondence of the embassies with the Sublime Porte. On the other hand, the Galata court records could be considered as the most important collection of documents on Ottoman maritime commerce and its legal aspects such as the commenda *(muḍāraba)* contracts and cases, ship ownership in shares, captains and shipowners, as well as shipments of commodities both imported and exported, and on those people engaged in commercial dealings. Another interesting series of documents in the Galata registers deals with the interrelations between Muslims and non-Muslims, *dhimmī* Greeks, Italians, Armenians and Jews as well as foreign non-Muslims who comprised half of Galata's population. Also, not infrequently, non-Muslims used the cadi's court for dealings among themselves including civil matters such as marriage and the division of inheritance. Thus, the Ottoman society of Galata was unique to the Ottoman Empire in that people of different ethnic, social, religious and cultural backgrounds formed a viable urban society.

Page 1

The following summaries of the documents from the Galata cadi *sidjills* (see Appendix 10) give an idea as to the significance of the court records for the history of the city. The cadi under whom the register was kept was Mawlānā Meḥmed Ḥamīd, son of Neylī Aḥmed (p. 1 no. 1), also known as Neylī-zāde.

Page 2

Doc. 1. Concerning the release of the baker 'Alī from the Boghaz-Kesen prison. He had made and sold bread to the public in violation of the regulations in force. His incarceration, which was a *ta'zīr* punishment, ended upon the Sultan's order when a surety was given by the deputy of the bakers of Galata and two master bakers. Their petition is reported *(ma'rūḍ)* to the grand vizir, dated 6 *Radjab* 1175/January 31, 1762.

Doc. 2. Report to the grand vizir concerning the recording in the cadi register of the election of a trustee *(kethkudā, mu'tamad)* by the merchants holding the monopoly on buying (and selling) imported crystal wares (from Europe), dated 11 *Radjab* 1175/February 5, 1762.

Doc. 3. Report of the release from prison of another baker.

Doc. 4. Report concerning wheat purchased at Isakcı (Isaccea on the Danube) three years previously. Of the 69,064 kile purchased 5,996 kile are missing.

Page 3

Doc. 1. Copy of the Sultan's order to the voyvoda of Galata, dated beginning of *Muḥarrem* 1127 (January 1715), concerning the 4,000 *medre* of wine permitted to be purchased without tax for the domestic use of the Genoese merchants and their employees.

Page 4

Doc. 1. Order of the grand vizir for the illumination of the city of Galata to celebrate the recent success of the imperial army (over the Venetians). Dated 14 *Dhilḥidjdja* 1127 (December 11, 1715).

Page 5

Doc. 1. List of the distribution of the eight *iskemle* in the districts of Galata: Balık Pazarı, Karaköy, Yahudiler Çarşısı, the new grocery *(djedid baḳḳāl)* shop in the Karaköy district, shop of the Jews of Hasköy behind the public bathhouse, shop of the used-cloth dealer Muṣṭafā in the Abadjılar bazaar in Karaköy, shop of Sha'bān across the Çartak, the shop adjacent to the coffee house *(ḳahvekhāne)*, the shop of al-Ḥādj Ḳāsım in Tophane square. In addition there were five *iskemle* at the Ḳurşunlu Makhzen. Signed by the cadi Aḥmed.

Page 6

Record, registered by the cadi, of a transaction which took place in the house of the associates of the French *(Fransız)* merchant Anan (?), residing in the district of Bereket-zāde. The transaction was concluded in the presence of the cadi's agent Mawlānā Muṣṭafā, the dragoman *(tercümān)* Forent (?), the *musta'min* (foreigners under the capitulations) merchants, and 'Alī Agha, residing in the neighborhood of Sultan-Aḥmed. 'Alī Agha stated that the foreign merchants owed him 1,300 groush on he account of the 600 ells *(dhirā')* of variegated French woolen cloth *(elvān Fransız çukası)* which he purchased from them. Arrangement was made for the payment to be made through the agents of the indebted. Dated 5 *Rabī I* 1128/February 28, 1716.

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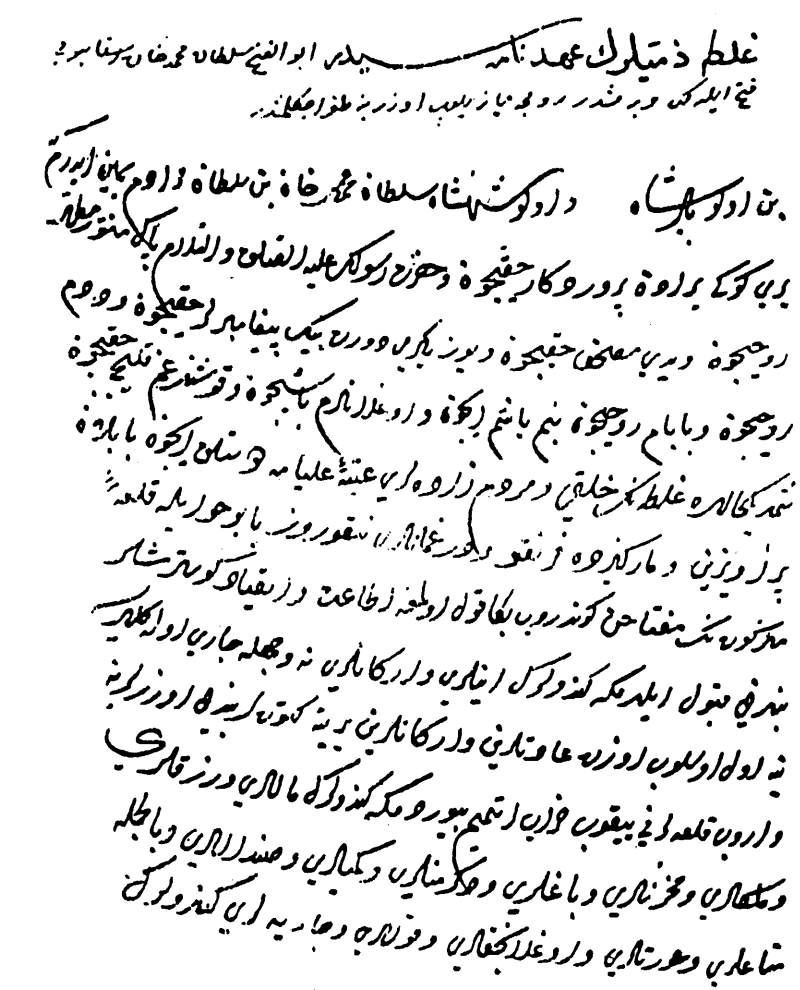
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APPENDICES

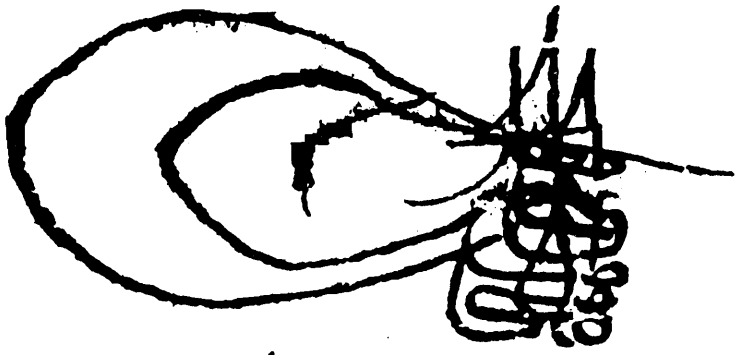
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2. The original Greek text of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453.
3. The 1610 renewal of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453.
4. Section concerning the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453 in Meḥmed the Conqueror's letter to the Sultan of Egypt.
5. Sample pages from the Survey of 1455.
6. Churches, 1455.
7. The *Djibāyet* Register of the Ayasofya Mosque of 1519, sample Pages.
8. The Capitulations granted to the Florentines, the renewal text of 1527.
9. Population of Galata: Documents, I-VII.
10. Sample pages from the Court Records of Galata.
11. Views and Plans of Galata.
12. Tables I and II.

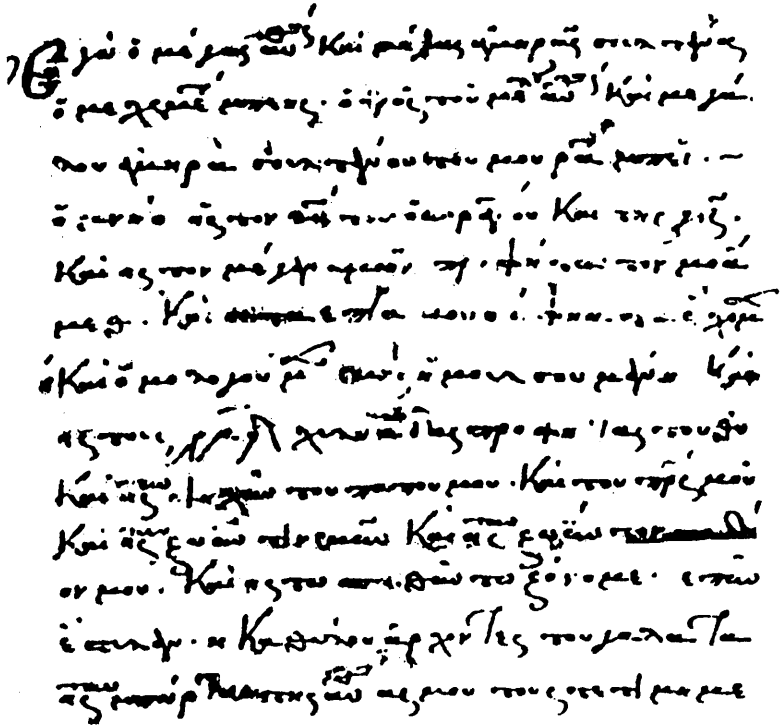
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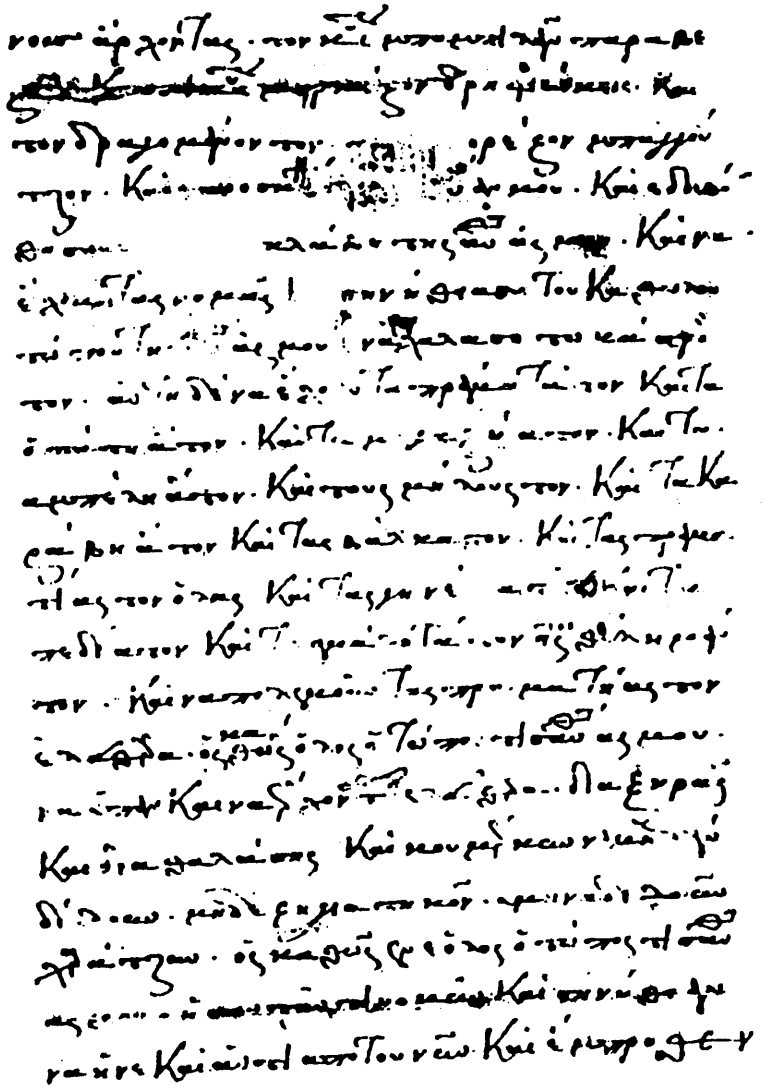


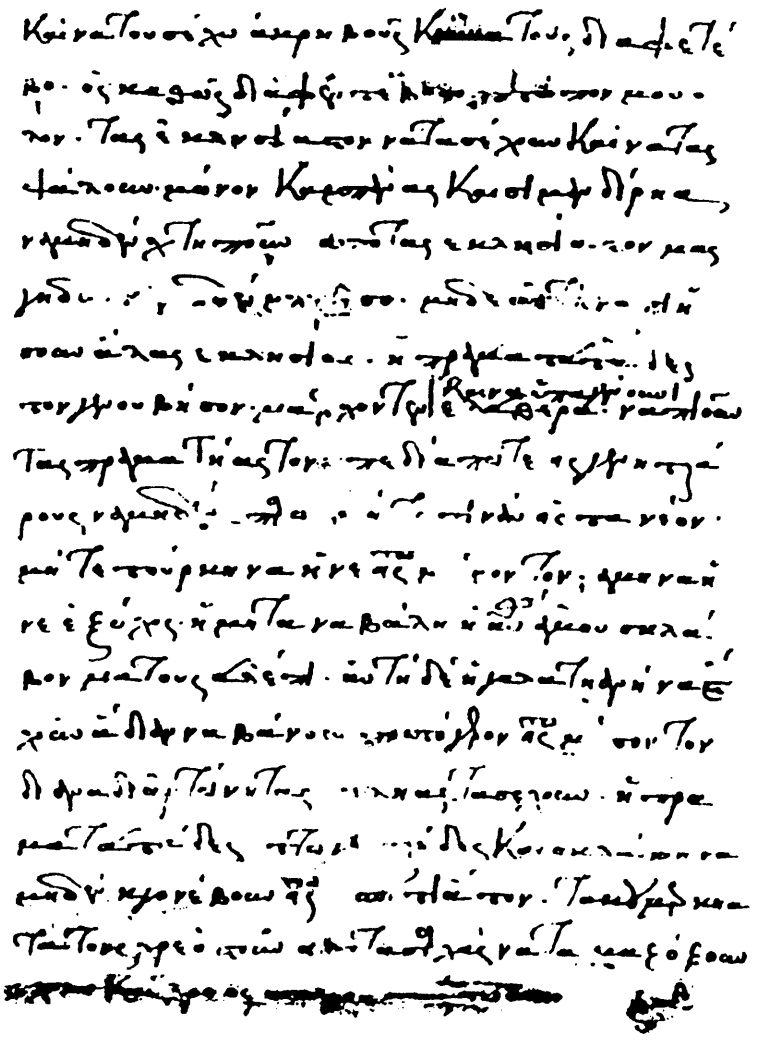
2.
The original Greek text of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453*





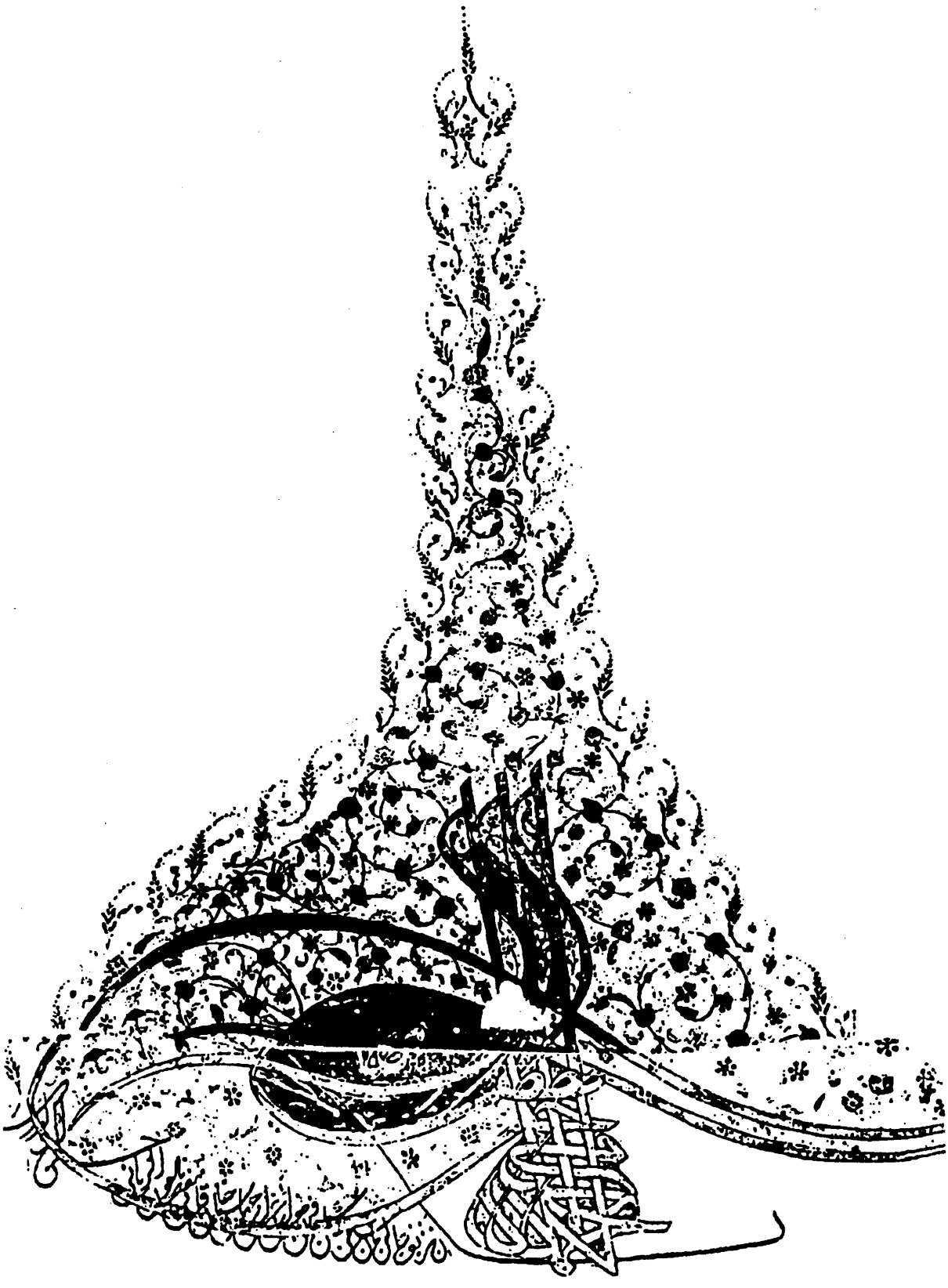
* I am indebted to Michael Rogers for providing this copy for this document.





3.

The 1610 renewal of the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453.





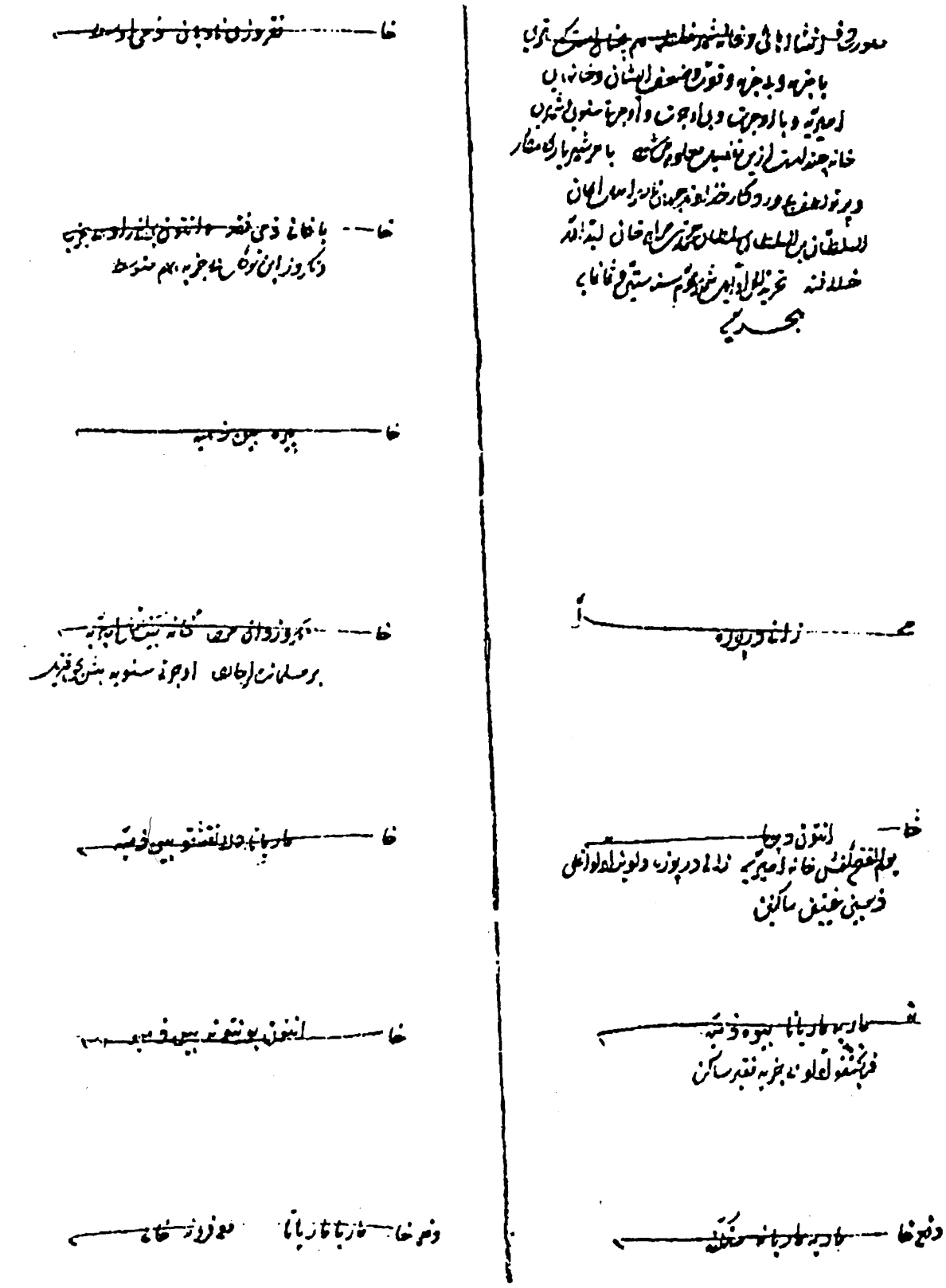


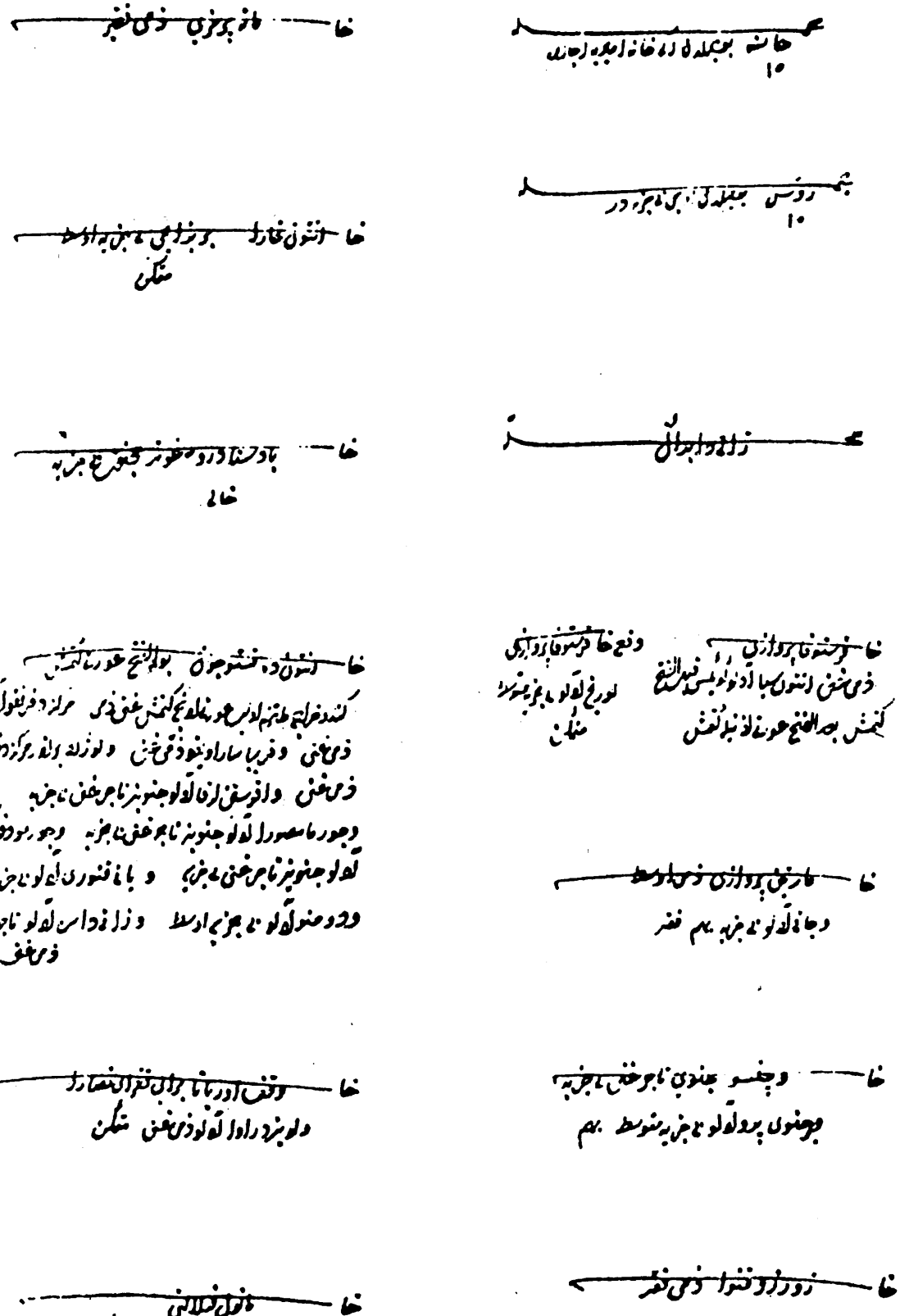
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Section concerning the *'ahd-nāme* of 1453 in Meḥmed the Conqueror's letter to the Sultan of Egypt*

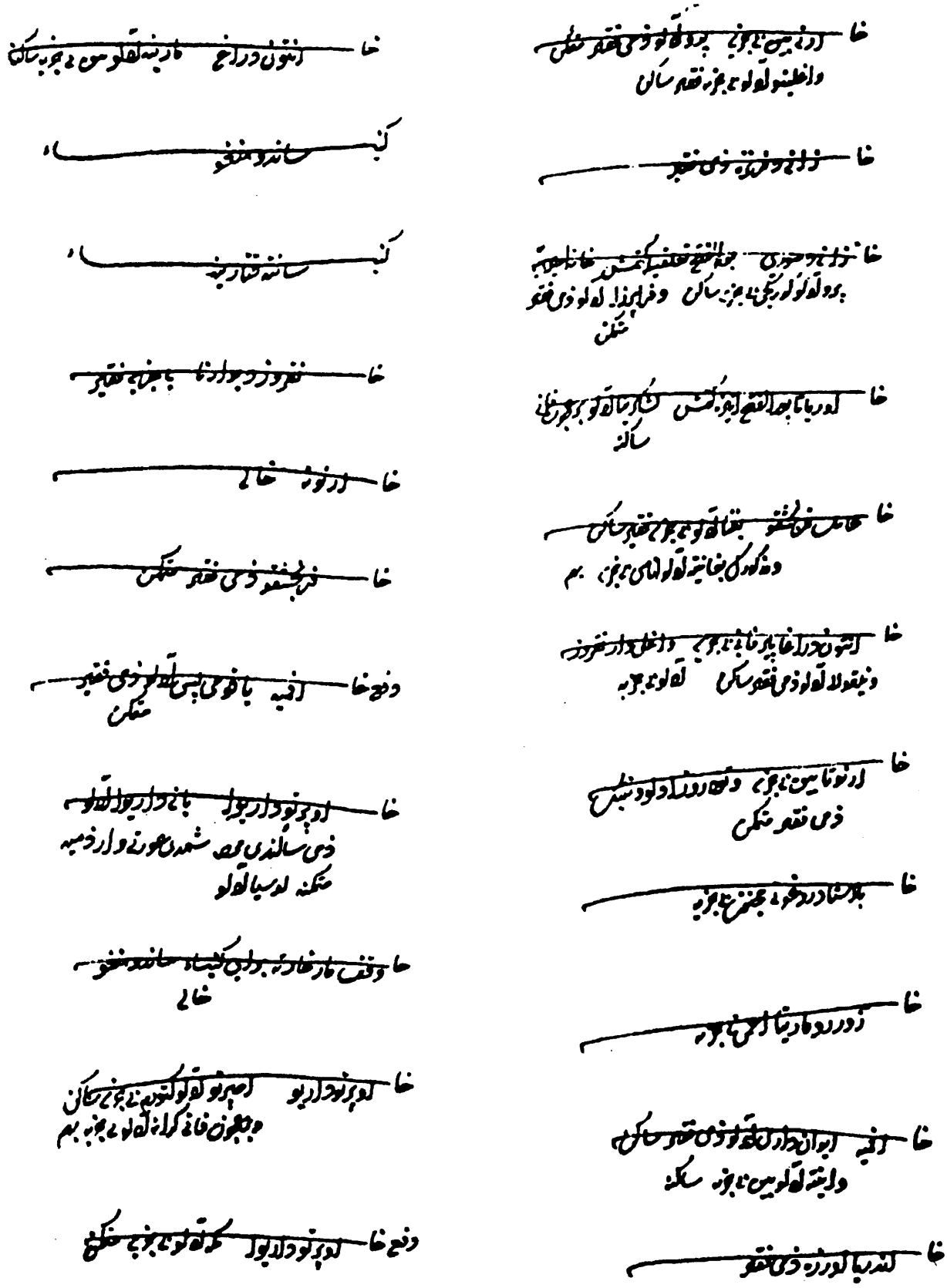
«... فلما حاصرنا قسطنطنية جاءنا اهل تلك القلعة وشدوا بنا ميثاقهم وجددوا معنا وفاقهم وقلنا لهم كونوا كما كنتم واثبتوا على ما أنتم عليه بشرط ان لاتعينو بها فقبلوا شرطنا واطاعوا امرنا فلما وقع ما وقع على قسطنطنية وجد بين القتلى والاسرى من اهل غلطه وهم قد حاربونا وبدأ انهم نقضوا ميثاقهم واظهروا نفاقهم فاردنا ان نفعل بهم مافعلنا بالاخرى فبينما هم جاؤا مبتهلين ومتضرعين وقالوا ان لم ترحمنا لنكونن من الخاسرين فعفونا عنهم أنه هو العفو الغفار ومننا عليهم المنة لله العزيز الواحد القهار وقررنا على ملكهم الملك له العزيز الجبار ولكن جعلنا حصنهم صعيدا جرزا بحيث لا نرى فيها عوجا ولا امنا وملكنا ارضهم وماءهم و كتبنا في جريدة الجزى اسماءهم حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون...».

* Source: Feridūn, *Munsha āt al-Salātīn,* I, İstanbul, 1274, p. 237.

5.
Sample pages from the Survey of 1455.







6.
Churches, 1455

For the topography of Galata and the localization of the quarters, it is essential to determine the exact sites of the churches from the pre-Ottoman period (see Table I and Map).

Meḥmed the Conqueror converted the church of St Paul and St Dominic (San Domenigo) into a mosque after the surrender of Galata. *Waḳfiyye* III states:

"[one of the buildings Meḥmed the Conqueror converted into a mosque] is the church in the al-Ḥādj Ḥamza quarter near the *İskele-Ḳapusı,* which was known as *Mesa Domenko* among the Genoese. The western and northern sides of it overlook the public road, the southern side overlooks a private lane and the eastern side overlooks the property of Khwādja Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Khwādja Shams al-Dīn, also known as Djenderedji-oghlu, the garden known as *Derskhāne* (Lecture Room) and the *Munaḳḳash Kenīse."*

The Mesa Domenko church is identified as the Dominican church called S. Paolo e S. Domenico in the center of the city. Later, this mosque was known as *'Arab Djāmi'i* because the Moriscos, Arab refugees from Spain, came and settled around it during the sixteenth century (see *supra).*

Al-Kenīsā al-Munaḳḳasha, the "Decorated Church", is identified as the Franciscan church of San Francesco[143] in the quarter of Djāmi'. However, the Arabic register of Ayasofya dated 1519 states:

المخزن السلطاني المعروف بالكنيسة المنقشة المتصل بالجامع

In the Turkish *waḳfiyye* III this passage is translated as follows:

كنيسهٔ سلطانيه ديدكلرى منقش كنيسه

Obviously the word *makhzen* was changed to *kenīse.* In fact, the mosque is another building adjacent *(muttaṣıl)* to the *kenīsa al-munaḳḳasha* also known as *al-Makhzen al-Sulṭānī.* In other words, this abandoned church

[143] Schneider, *op. cit.,* pp. 23-24.

must have been converted into a storehouse belonging to the fisc. In the *Djāmi'* quarter there was indeed a church converted to a *makhzen.*

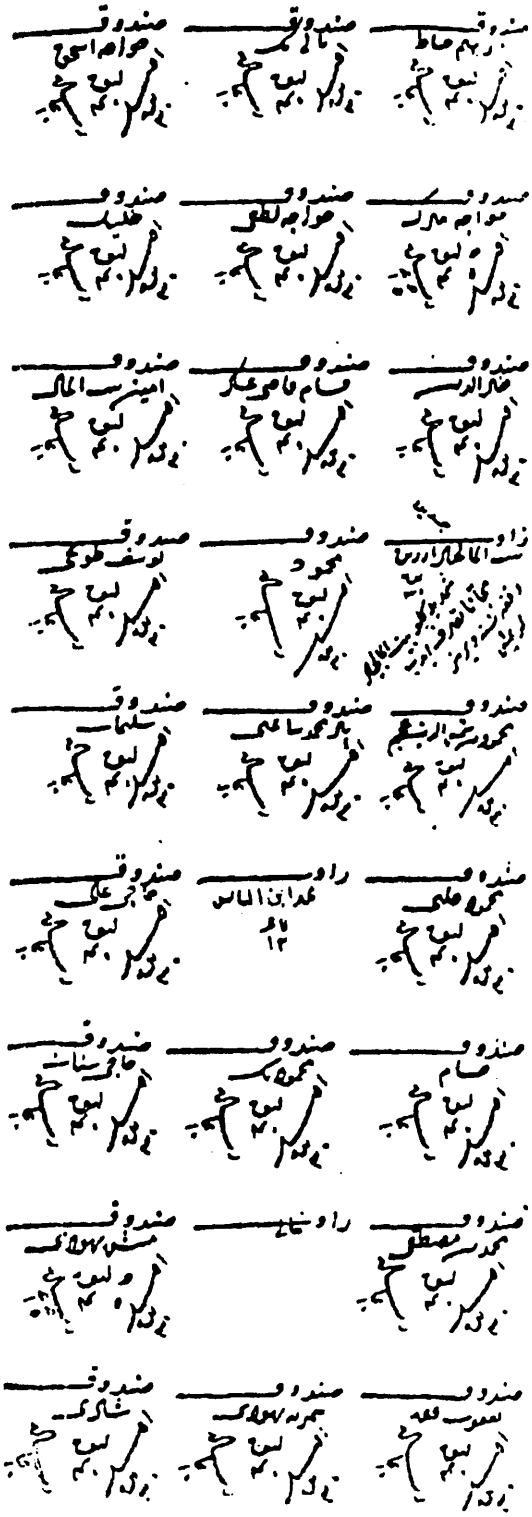
اخزن السلطاني الذي كان كنيسة النصارى سابقا

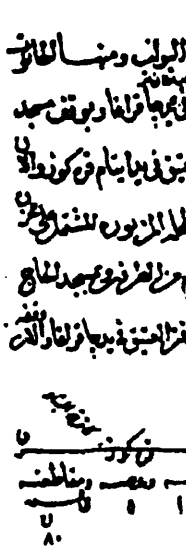
Al-Kenīsa al-efrandjiyīn, the church of the Genoese, in the quarter of *Londja* is evidently San Michele, the cathedral of the Genoese colony of Pera.[144] It was torn down sometime in the years 1544 to 1550 and on its site the caravenserai of Rüstem Pasha was erected. It was situated on the southern end of the Genoese *Piazza.* Therefore, our *Londja* quarter must be situated between the *Piazza* or quarter of *Kumiler (Djami')* and the gate of *İskele* or *Yagh-Ḳapanı.* The Ottoman *waḳfiyye* III refers to an old *Londja* near the *İskele-Ḳapısı,* and the New-Londja *(Yeni-Londja)* was near the church of San Francesco. The New-Londja is evidently the *Palazzo del Comune* which under the Ottomans was known as *Han Franchini* on the Voyvoda Caddesi. For other churches see Table I.

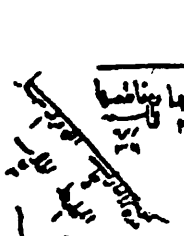
144 *Ibid.,* p. 283.

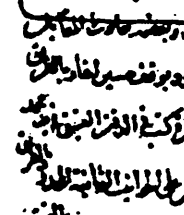
7.

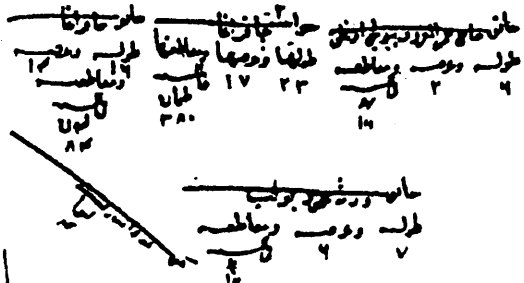
The Djibayet Register of the Ayasofya Mosque dated 1519. Sample pages.











8.

The Capitulations granted to the Florentines, the renewed text of 1527.



9.
Population of Galata

— I —

Population of Istanbul and Galata in 1478

Source : Topkapı Palace Archives, N.D. 9524 *

محاسبهٔ خانهاء مسلمانان ونصرانیان ویهودیان وارمنیان وغیرهم بمعرفة مولانا محي الدين قاضئ استانبول ومحمود زعيم استانبول تحريراً في اوايل ذي الحجة سنة اثنى وثمانين وثمانمائة

در نفس استانبول

خانهاء مسلمانان استانبول	٨٩٥١
خانهاء نصرانیان استانبول	٣١٥١
خانهاء یهودیان استانبول	١٦٤٧
خانهاء کفه لولر	٢٦٧
خانهاء ارمنیان استانبول	٣٧٢
خانهاء قرمانیان با شکل ارمنی	٣٨٤
خانهاء چنکنهٔ استانبول	٣١
جمعاً خانها ودکاکین در استانبول	١٨٤٧٠
خانهاء مسلمانان وغیرهم در استانبول	١٤٨٠٣
دکاکین مسلمانان وغیرهم در استانبول	٣٦٦٧

در نفس غلطه

خانهاء مسلمانان غلطه	٥٣٥
خانهاء نصرانیان غلطه	٥٩٢
خانهاء افرنجیان غلطه	٣٣٢
خانهاء ارمنیان غلطه	٦٢

* This document has been published by S. Ünver, in the *Vatan* newspaper (July 4, 1948) and by R. M. Meriç in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, III (1957), pp. 133-135.

جمعا خانها ودکاکین نفس غلطه المذکور	١٧٨١
خانهاء مسلمانان وغیرهم در غلطه	١٥٢١
دکاکین مسلمانان وغیرهم در غلطه	٢٦٠
الجملتان خانها ودکاکین در استانبول وغلطه	٢١٢٥١
خانهاء استانبول وغلطه	١٦٣٢٤
دکاکین استانبول وغلطه	٣٩٢٧

Translation

The account of the households of Muslims, Greeks, Jews, Armenians and others, written by the cadi of Istanbul Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn and the governor of Istanbul Maḥmūd on the first ten days of the month *Dhū'l-ḥidjdja* in the year of 882/6-16 March, 1478.

In the City of Istanbul	
Households of Muslims	8,951
Households of Greeks	3,151
Households of Jews	1,647
Households of Caffans	267
Households of Armenians	372
Households of Karamānian of Armenian appearance	384
Households of Gypsies	31
Total	14,803
Shops of Muslims and others	3667
Total	18,470
In Galata	
Households of Muslims	535
Households of Greeks	592
Households of Europeans (*Efrendjiyān*)	332
Households of Armenians	62
Total	1,521
Shops of Muslims and others	260
Total	1781
Grand Total of Households (*khāne*) in İstanbul and Galata	16,324
Grand Total of Shops in Istanbul and Galata	3927
Grand Total	20,251 *

* In the text: 21,251

In order to make his capital city the metropolis of a world empire, Meḥmed the Conqueror considered the re-population of Istanbul to be a first priority and took a series of measures. This list of the population of Istanbul and Galata from 1478, just before he set out on a long campaign to the distant Albania against the Venetians, must have been prepared to inform the Sultan of the results of his long efforts. Since Muslims and shops were included in the survey together with the non-Muslims, the purpose seems to be not for taxation, but just for information.

— II —

The Non-Muslim Population of Istanbul and Galata, 894/begins 5 December 1488

Source : *Belediye* Library, Istanbul, M. Cevdet Collection, n° 091, edited by Ö. L. Barkan, "894 (1488/1489) Yılı Cizyesinin Tahsilâtına ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", *Belgeler*, vol. I-1 (1964), p. 39.

	Khāne	Widow	Djizya (in *akça*)
From the non-Muslims of Istanbul together with the Armenians, *Efrendjiyān* (Latin Catholics) of Caffa including the newly found liable for tax without deducting the dead.	4773	630	267,120
From the Jews of Istanbul including the newly found liable for tax without deducting the dead.	2027	464	125,721
From non-Muslims of the city of Galata including the European Latin Catholics and Armenians, including the newly found liable for tax without deducting the dead.	726	87	40,857

Grand Total of the non-Muslims of Istanbul and Galata and the total amount of their *djizya* in the year 894; *khāne* and Widows : 8667 ; *Djizya* : 433,698.

— III —

The Non-Muslim Population of Galata, 947/1540

Source : The *Başvekâlet* (*Osmanlı*) Archives, Istanbul, *Tapu Defterleri*, n° 210.

گبران غلطه

جماعت افرنجیان

	خانه	جزیه
عن جماعت سانتو ماریه	۳	٤۳۲
عن جماعت قدماء غلطه	۲۰	۱۰٥٦
عن جماعت الکسندرو دماوجه زرکو (؟)	٤٦	۳۱٦۸

جماعت رومیان غلطه

محلهٔ انتونموچله	۸	۳۸٤
محلهٔ ماغوله	۱۳	٦۲٤
محلهٔ نیقولا لوز	۱۷	۸۱٦
محلهٔ میرچو	۳	٤۳۲
محلهٔ یانی قوندراتی	۱۳	٦۲٤
محلهٔ یورکی غولیارمو	۳۲	۱٥۳٦
محلهٔ یورکی غوزجیله	۱٥	۷۲۰
محلهٔ اغریبوزلیان غلطه	۱۷	۸۱٦
محلهٔ قره کوی	۷	۳۳٦

جماعت ارمنیان غلطه

خانه ۳۲ جزیه ۱٥۳٦

جماعت بالقجیان غلطه

خانه ۳٤ جزیه ۱۲۲٤

یکون افرنجیان ورومیان وارمنیان غلطه

خانه ۲٦۱ جزیه ۱۳۷۰٤

.. ..

جمعاً گبران رومیان وارمنیان ویهودیان استانبول وافرنجیان ورومیان غلطه

خانه ۳۰۷۷ جزیه ۲۰۰۲٥۲

Translation

Non-Muslims of Galata

A. The community of Latin Catholics	**Households**	***Djizya* (in *akça*)**
1. From the Community of Santo Marya سانتوماریه	3	432
2. From the community of ancient Catholic (*Frendj*) inhabitants of Galata	21	1,056
3. From the community of Alexandro de Mavca Zerko (?)	46	3,168
Total	70	4,656

B. The Community of Greeks	**Households**	**Djizya (in *akça*)**
1. Quarter of Anton Modjila انتونموجله	8	384
2. Quarter of Magula ماغوله	13	624
3. Quarter of Nikola Luviz نیقولا لوز	17	816
4. Quarter of Mirço میرچو	3	432
5. Quarter of Yani Kondurati قوندراتی	13	624
6. Quarter of Yorgi Gulyarmo یو ی غولیارمو	32	1,536
7. Quarter of Yorgi Guzdjile یورکی غوزجیله	15	720
8. Quarter of the Euboeans اغریبوزلیان	17	816
9. Quarter of Karaköy	7	336
Total	125	6,288
C. The community of Armenians	32	1,536
D. The fishermen of Galata	34	1,224
Total of the Latin Catholics, Greeks and Armenians of Galata	261	13,704
Grand Total of non-Muslim Greeks, Armenians, Jews of Istanbul and of Latin Catholics and Greeks of Galata	3,077	200,252

— IV —

The Non-Muslim Population of Galata, 952/1545

Source : *Tapu Defter* n° 240 and n° 210, *Başvekâlet* Archives, Istanbul, pp. 89-96.

جماعت افرنجیان در غلطه	خانه	جزیه
جماعت سانتوماریه	٨	٥٤٤
محلهٔ قدماء غلطه	١٣	١٢٩٦
جماعت الکسندرو دماوجه	٥٣	٣٧٨٩
	٧٤	٥٦٢٩

جماعت رومیان غلطه		
محلهٔ کلیساء قاستیلوت	١٩	١٢٥٦
محلهٔ کلیساء الاغوسته (؟)	١٢	٦٨٦
محلهٔ کلیساء ایویانی	٨	٤٢٤
محلهٔ کلیساء ایونیقولا	١٦	٩٨٦
محلهٔ کلیساء خرثویی (؟)	١٠	٦٠٣
محلهٔ کلیساء ایا یورکی	١٢	٦٤١
	٧٧	٤٥٩٦

جماعت ارمنیان غلطه	خانه	جزیه
محلهٔ کلیساء خرستوس	٣٠	٣٠٠٨
محلهٔ کلیساء خرستوس دیکر	١٤	٧٨٧
محلهٔ کلیساء ایو دیمتری	٢١	١٢٢٣
محلهٔ کلیساء پنایه (؟)	٩	٥٩٠
	١٥	٨٣٠
	٨٩	٦٥٤٨

جماعت بالقجیان غلطة		
جماعت که عن بالقجیان افراز شدند	٢٨	١٣٤٤
	٢٠	١٠٥٠

یکون افرنجیان وارمنیان ورومیان خانه ٢٩٣ جزیه ١٨٠٣٧ جمعاً یهودیان وارمنیان ورومیان استانبول وافرنجیان ورومیان وارمنیان غلطه

خانه	جزیه
٤١٠٢	٢٤٤٥٠٢

Translation

	Households	Djizya
A. Community of Europeans (*Efrendjiyān*) in Galata		
1. Community of Santo Marya سانتوماريه	8	544
2. Quarter (*maḥalle*) of the ancient Catholic (*Frendj*) inhabitants of Galata	13	1,296
3. Community of Alexandro de Mavdja (or di Barca)	53	3,789
Total	74	5,629
B. Community of the Greeks (*Rumiyān*) of Galata		
1. Quarter of the Church of Kastiliutissa قاستليوت	19	1,256
2. Quarter of the Church of Alaghosta ؟ الاغه سته	12	686
3. Quarter of the Church of Ayo Yani ايو يانى	8	424
4. Quarter of the Church of Ayo Nikola نيقولا	16	986
5. Quarter of the Church of Khrisopi ؟ خرثوپى	10	603
6. Quarter of the Church of Aya Yorgi ايو يوركى	12	641
Total	77	4,596
C. Community of Armenians of Galata	30	3,008
1. Quarter of the Church of Khristos خرستوس	14	787
2. Quarter of the Church of Khristos خرستوس	21	1,223
3. Quarter of the Church of Ayo Dimitri ايو دمترى	9	590
4. Quarter of the Church of Panaya ؟ پنايه	15	830
Total	89	6,438
Community of the fishermen of Galata	28	1,344
Community separated from the fishermen	20	1,050
Total of the Europeans, Armenians and Greeks (of Galata)	288	18,037
Grand Total of the Jews, Armenians and Greeks of Istanbul together with the Europeans, Greeks and Armenians of Galata	4,102	244,502

According to this survey there were 74 Latin Catholic, 77 Greek Orthodox and 89 Armenian households or family chiefs paying the poll-tax in Galata in 952/1545. In addition, those non-Muslim fishermen, mostly Greeks, who enjoyed a special tax status were registered in two separate groups numbering 48 households. The grand total amounts to only 288 (293 in the register). The Ottoman survey of 952/1545 shows that, of the Genoese families who were registered in 1453 as Ottoman subjects, only 13 families survived in Galata living in a distinct quarter.

It is also interesting to note that according to the register, there appears to have been no Jews in Galata between 1478 and 1545, while they formed quite a large community in Istanbul itself. 1,647 households in 1478 and 1,491 households by 1545. This situation must be connected with

an earlier deportation. Among the Jews of Istanbul, 19 households are referred to as being from Galata, while in the survey of 1455 there was quite a sizeable Jewish community. In fact, in order to restore the prosperity of the port area of Istanbul, formerly occupied by the Venetians, Meḥmed II ordered the deportation of the Jews of Rumeli, and their settlement there when the settlement of the Muslim-Turkish population proved to be a failure following the conquest.

However, in the mid-seventeenth century, Evliyā Çelebi (I, 431-432) mentions one Jewish quarter and two synagogues in Galata adding that here Jews were fearful of the Christians so that gate-keepers at the inner walls of the city were always on guard.

Recapitulation of Galata's Population, 1478-1545

	Households						
	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Latin Catholics	Fishermen	Total
882/1478	535	592	62	—	332	—	1,521
894/1488-1489	—	--	—	—	—	—	813
947/1540	—	125	32	—	70	34	261
952/1545	—	77	89	—	74	48	288

In the table, the striking fact is the constant decline in the non-Muslim population subject to *djizya* in Galata to almost half the previous number within a period of ten years between 1478 and 1488, and then to one third of the population of 1488 in about half a century. This may be due to flight, to conversion, deportation, change of status or simply to a transfer of tax accounts to another register. It should be kept in mind that our figures are taken from *vaḳf* registers. Flight from the poll-tax was frequent ; those who immigrated were entered into the tax registers every few years under the name *nev-yāftegān*, "newly found". What is noteworthy is that in the registers, the decrease appears to have occurred equally with all the communities. The most dramatic fall, from 592 to 77 families, was found with the Greeks despite the fact that a constant immigration of Greeks, particularly from the Aegean islands, was referred to in other sources[1]. The only community which showed an increase in population was that of Armenians which following a fifty percent drop almost tripled between 1540 and 1545.

As for the Latin Catholic community, the number given in the Ottoman registers of the "ancient" Latin Catholic community was 21 in

1 Since in the second half of the sixteenth century immigration into Galata from the Aegean islands caused depopulation, Joseph Nasi, who had the monopoly of Aegean wine exports, asked the government to curb the migration (A. Galanté cited by D. d'Alessio, "La Communauté", p. 311).

1540, but was 13 in 1545. According to the western sources, by the early 17th century, there survived only seventeen families from the group of Genoese from the time of the conquest. In his estimates of the Latin Catholic population in Galata in 1581, Pietro Cedulini[2] obviously exaggerates :

— V —

The Latin Catholic Population of Galata according to the estimates of Pietro Cedulini, 1581

Free subjects of the Sultan	500
Manumitted from Slavery	500
Slaves of various origins	2,000
Foreigners (temporary, mostly from Spain, Sicily and Venice)	500 to 600
Embassies	100
Total	3,600

In the early seventeenth century, the Catholics from Caffa, 700 in number according to an estimate[3], deserted their quarter in Istanbul and came to settle in Galata where embassies of the Catholic nations offered a more favorable environment. In fact, their quarter in Istanbul was surrounded over time by a more dense Muslim population and caused their desertion. Their churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary were converted into mosques, Kefeli Mesdjid at Salma-Tomruk and Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha mosque respectively.

In 1606, the *Comunità* itself wrote to the Catholic authorities that the Latin population numbered no more than fifty houses (Belin, p. 180).

Latin Population of Galata according to the Report of P. Tarillon, March 11, 1714
(Source : Belin, *La Latinité*. pp. 180-181)

	Persons
Those from the Genoese period	300 to 400
Embassies and their merchants	3,000
Galley slaves at the *bagno*.	4,000 to 5,000

Catholics of Galata in 1765 according to the archives of the Church of St. Mary
(Source : Belin, *La Latinité*, p. 280)

Catholics having their own house	60
Catholics	134
Servants, all foreign	67
Total	261

[2] E. d'Alessio, "La communauté", p. 312.
[3] *Ibid.*

In this figure, Perans numbered 73, Germans 17, French 33, Italians 13, Jerosolimitans 4, Ragusans 4, Islanders 50. In 1802, there were 685 Catholics altogether.

According to the Venetian Bailo B. Moro*, Muslims constituted the majority of the population of Galata in 1590. According to Evliyā Çelebi (I, 431) there were 18 Muslim, 70 Greek, 3 *Frenk*, 2 Armenian, and 1 Jewish quarter in the city. The figures he gives on population of 200,000 non-Muslims and 60,000 Muslims are obviously a gross exaggeration. What is interesting is that he claims a non-Muslim majority. Muslims, he notes, occupied the areas all around the Bash-Ḥiṣar, i.e. *Galata Kulesi*, and the way down to the *ʿArab Camīʿi* in the second inner fortress. They do not permit, he says, any non-Muslims to settle in their quarters since they claim Meḥmed II gave them an imperial order to this effect.

— VI —

The definite figures on the population of Galata are available only through the census of 1927.

Population of Beyoğlu (Greater Galata), census of 1927

Muslims	145,140	49.80%
Greeks	63,284	21.72%
Armenians	23,517	8.07%
Jews	32,277	11.08%
Catholics	19,793	6.79%
Christians	6,059	2.08%
Other	1,336	0.46%
Total	291,406	

— VII —

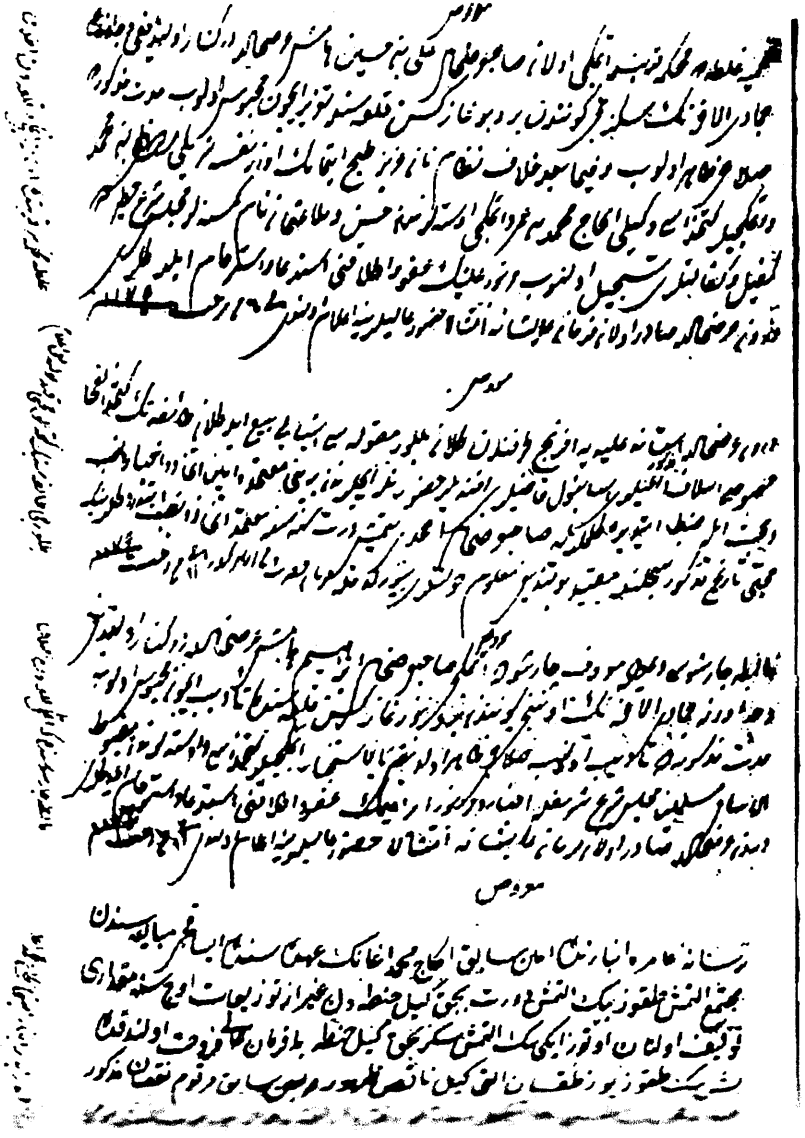
The Number of Houses in Greater Istanbul
(Source : Mayer, *Byzantion, Constantinople, Istanbul*, taken from **Annuaire Statistique de la ville d'Istanbul**, vol. II (1931-1932).

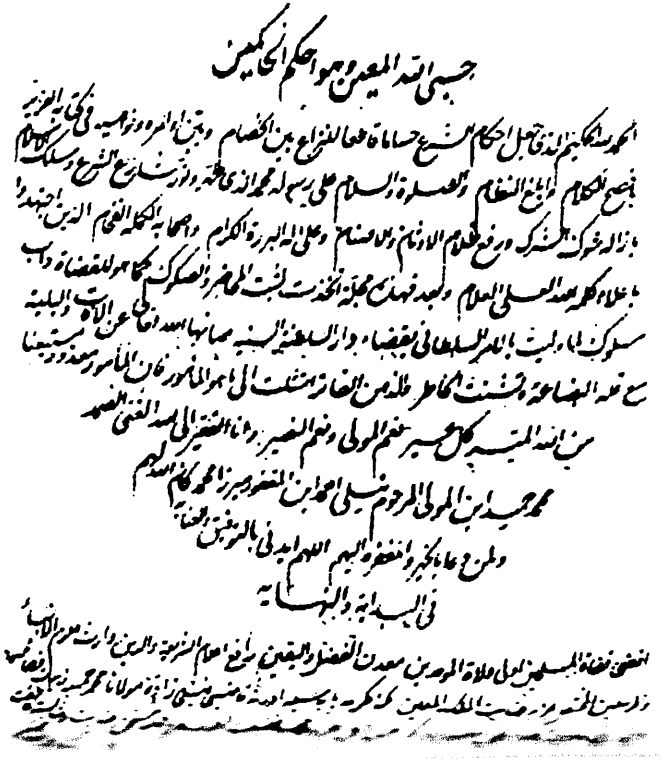
Istanbul	51,442	38%
Galata	41,088	30%
Üsküdar	10,967	8.1%
Kadıköy	10,344	7.6%

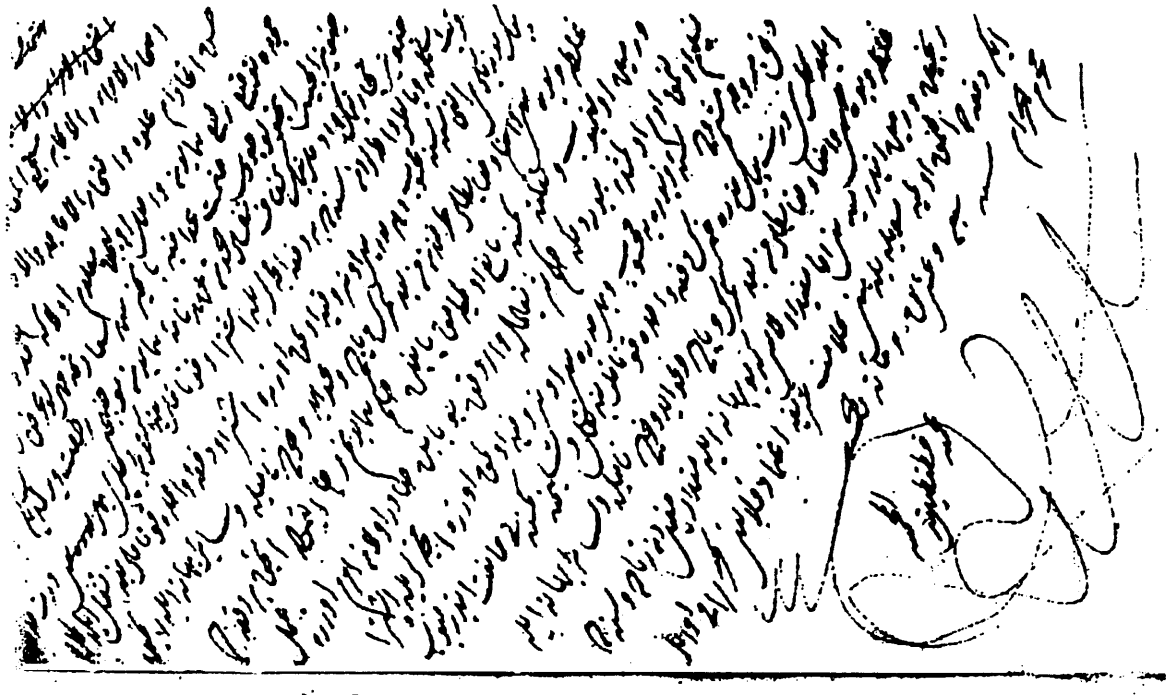
56.13 percent of the houses were built of wood and 38.6 percent of stone.

* *"Galata prima abitato da Cristiani...è occupato al presente per la maggior parte da Turchi, tanto dentro, quanto all'intorno"*. (Sauli, II, 163, cited by Belin, *La Latinité...*, p. 158).

10.
Sample pages from the Court Records of Galata

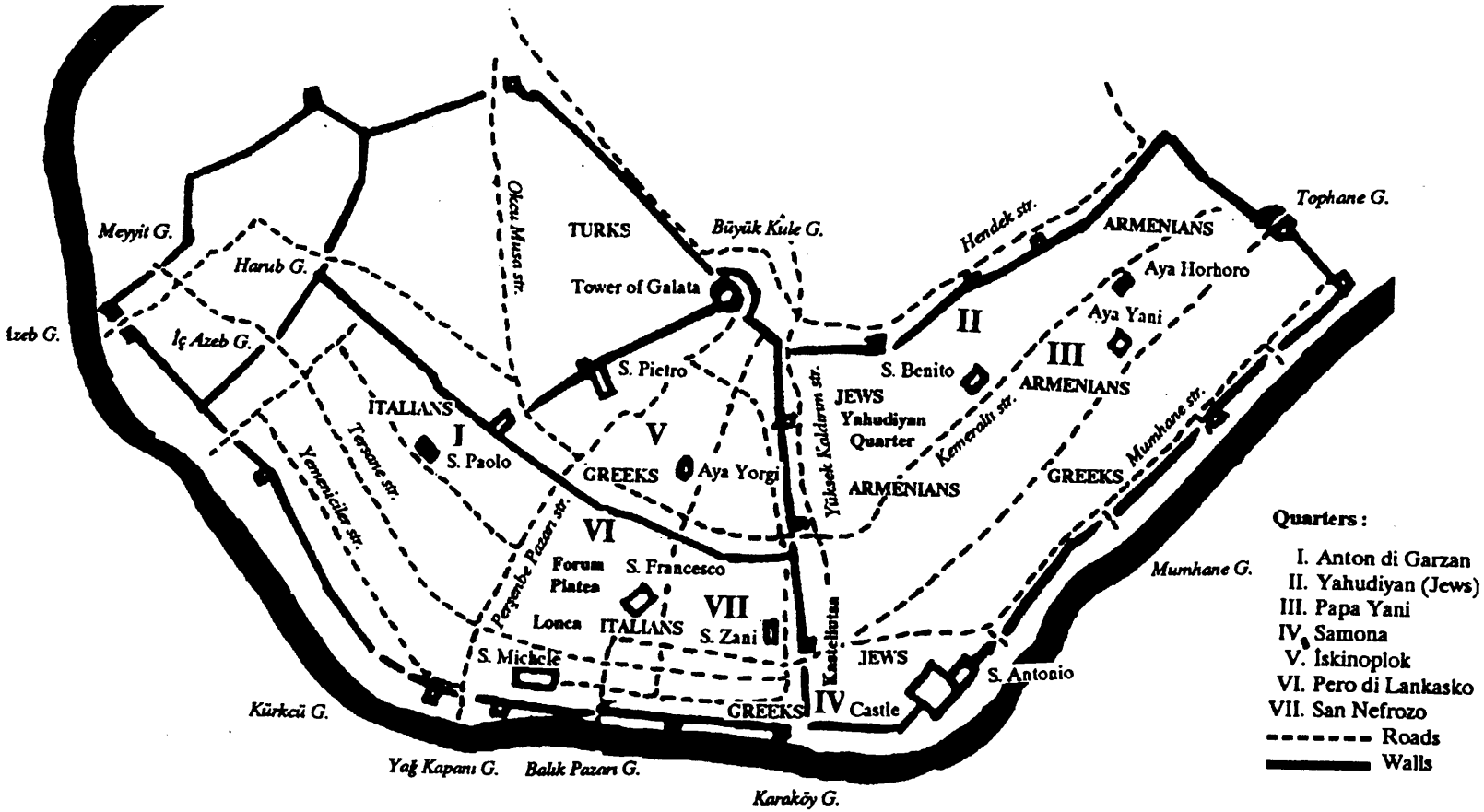






Views and Plans of Galata

I. Galata in 1455, according to the Survey of 1455.
II. Vavassore's view of Galata, *ca.* 1490.
III. Galata in Maṭraḳdjı, 1537.
IV. Galata in the seventeenth century.
V. Galata's plan of 1934.



PLAN I

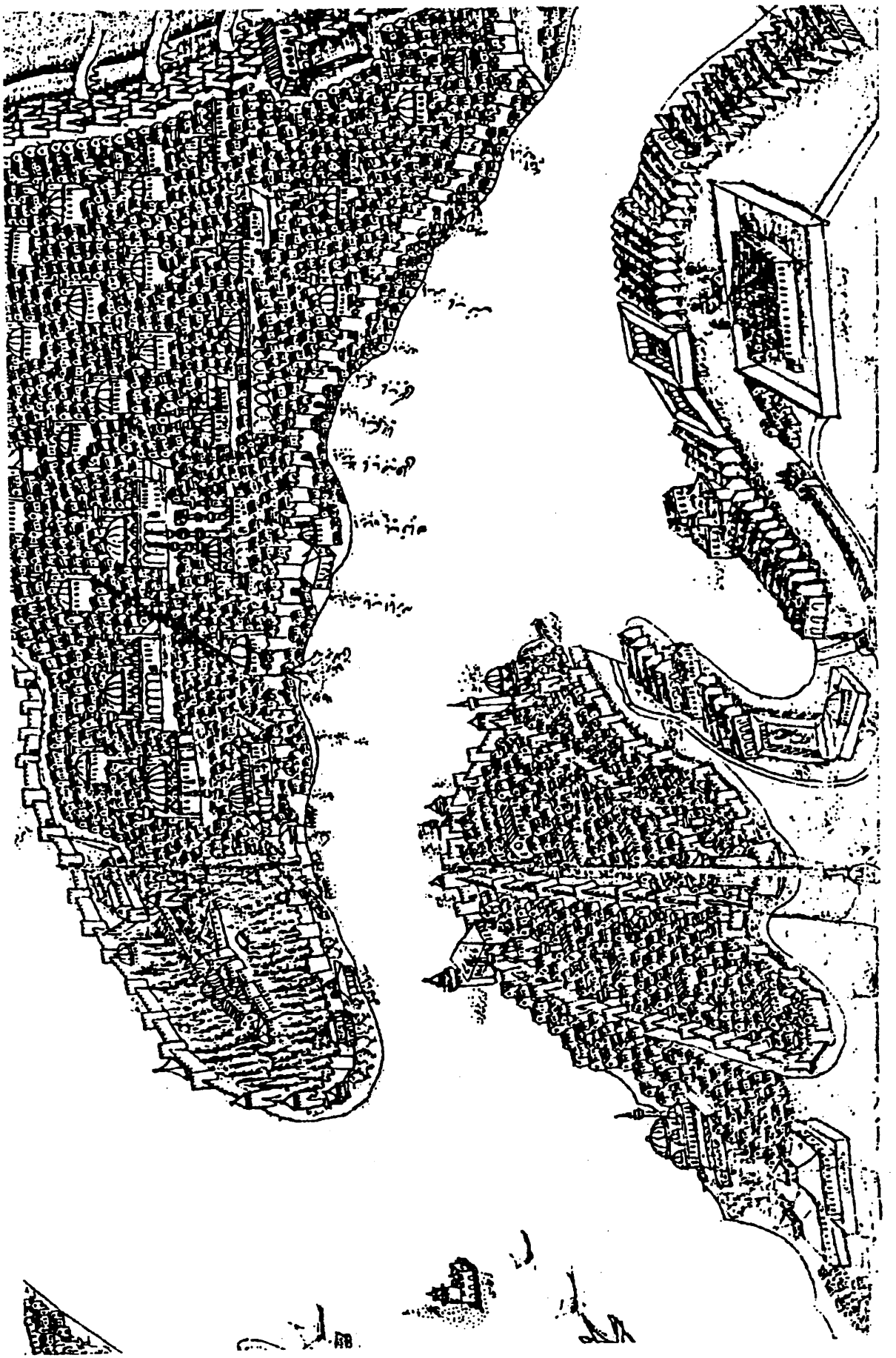
Galata in 1455, according to the Survey of 1455.

PLAN II

Vavassore's view of Galata, ca. 1490.



PLAN IV
Galata in the seventeenth century



PLAN V

Galata's plan of 1934 (*İstanbul Şehir Rehberi*, 1934)

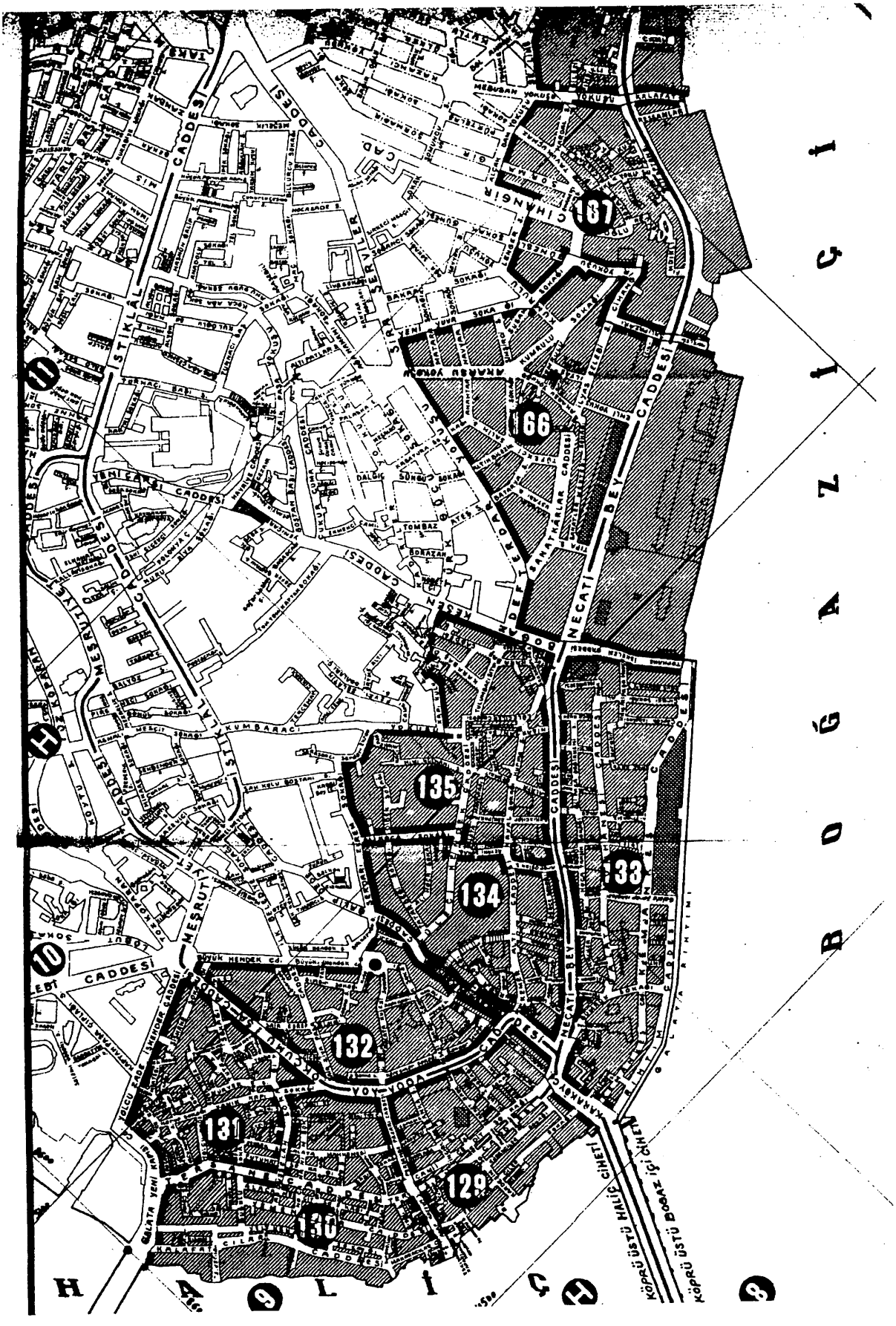


TABLE I
Quarters and Churches of Galata, Survey of 1455

Quarter (Mahalle)	Churches mentioned in the survey	
1. Zani Drapoza		
2. Zani Dabdañ	1. Endowment for the Church of San Tanthon	
3. Nikoroz Sikay	1. Endowment for the Church of Santo Firija (or Foruza)	
4. Nikoroz Bonazita		
5. Anton di Garzan	1. San Domenigo 2. Santa Katarina	San Paolo e San Domenico, later Arab Camii Mosque, built 1225-1230; Latin church of Santa Catarina (Schneider, p. 23)
6. Jews	1. Aya Khorkhoro 2. San Benita	St Gregory Armenian Church-Surp Lussavorich, built 1436; San Benito, Latin monastery founded 1420, Armenian in 1455.
7. Nurbeg Kosta İskinoplok	—	
8. Dhraperyo	1. Vahani or Vuhani	At the time of the survey a *kaligruya* called Françeshko Katarina lived in it
9. Gargandji	1. Iplakhosam	
10. Papa Yani	1. Papa Yani 2. Aya Yani	1. Greek church of Ioannis o Prodromos, exists today (Schneider, p. 21)
11. Asudar Armenians	—	
12. Quarter?	—	
13. Zani di Pagani	—	
14. Business Quarter	—	
15. Samona	1. Synagogue, 2. Ayani, 3. Arkhi Istokhoras, 4. Santa Andoni	1. Saynagogue at Karaköy, Perçemli Sokak (Schneider, p. 34), It was not in use at the time of the survey; 4. Latin church of San Antonio, mentioned in 1390, near the Castle of Galata.
16. Iskinoplok	1. Aya Yorgi	Greek church, later a Latin church (Schneider, p. 22, no. 1)
17. Fabya	1. Home for Jewish Rabbis, 2. San Fabyan	

18. Pero di Lankashko	1. San Françeshko, 2. Santa Anna; monastery San Zani	1. San Francesco, Latin church, 2. Latin church near San Francesco (Schneider, p. 22)
19. Yorgi Argandjelu		
20. Yorgi Mavroyani	1. Aya Yorgi	Greek church
21. Varto Khristo	1. Khristos	Greek church Khristos (Schneider, p. 20)
22. Kosto Lupadji	—	
23. Ayodh Kimo Manderino	—	
24. Yani Vasilikoz	1. Ayos Nikolos	Greek church of Ayios Nikolaos (Schneider, p. 21)
25. San Neferzo	1. Istavrano,	Greek church of Kasteliutissa situated near the Castle of Galata
	2. Kasteliutsa,	Latin church of Santa Maria between San Francesco and the sea (Schneider, pp. 24-25)
	3. Sanda Marya, Monastery San Zani	Latin hospice, later used as a church, mentioned in 1370 at Karaköy (Schneider, p. 24)
Totals	23 churches, 1 synagogue, 2 monasteries	

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