

SAINT PIERRE HAN IN GALATA DISTRICT:
URBAN AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES OF A BUILDING FROM THE LATE
OTTOMAN TO THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

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OTTOMAN TO THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

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ABSTRACT

SAINT PIERRE HAN IN GALATA DISTRICT: URBAN AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES OF A BUILDING FROM THE LATE OTTOMAN TO THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

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This thesis aims to make a socio-spatial analysis of Saint Pierre Han, an eighteenth-century commercial building in Istanbul's Galata district, by examining its transformation in resident profile, function, and architecture from 1860s to 1950s. Galata's shifting urban identity draws a framework for this analysis, as the district transitioned from a rapidly developing commercial hub in the Ottoman rule to a designated port district in the early Republican period. The study employs a multifaceted methodology to trace the han's changing social and spatial identities by utilizing various archival sources that include rental contracts, letters, maps, and church records. The cross-examination of these sources highlights how Saint Pierre Han's changing functions and residents both reflected and responded to wider socio-economic and political transformations in Galata, particularly amid the contested urban contexts of the 19th-century developments and the following regime change in 1923. By focusing on the plural local contexts of the han that do not conform to conventional typologies, this thesis addresses a fragmented case overlooked in the literature. In doing so, it narrates an architectural microhistory that extends beyond

conventional spatial analysis by situating Saint Pierre Han within a complex context of negotiations and interventions.

Keywords: Galata, Saint Pierre Han, Levantine Architecture, Architecture and Identity, Microhistory

ÖZ

GALATA'DAKİ SAINT PIERRE HAN: GEÇ OSMANLI'DAN ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNE BİR YAPININ KENTSEL VE TOPLUMSAL KİMLİKLERİ

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Bu tez, İstanbul'un Galata semtinde on sekizinci yüzyılda inşa edilmiş bir ticaret yapısı olan Saint Pierre Han'ın, 1860'lardan 1950'lere kadar kullanıcı profiline göre, işlevsel ve mimari açıdan geçirdiği dönüşümler üzerinden sosyo-mekânsal bir analizini gerçekleştirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Galata'nın Osmanlı yönetiminde hızla gelişen bir ticaret merkeziyken, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde tanınmış bir liman bölgesine dönüşen kent kimliği bu analiz için tarihsel çerçeve oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma, hanın değişen sosyal ve mekânsal kimliklerini inceleyebilmek amacıyla kira sözleşmeleri, mektuplar, haritalar ve kilise kayıtları gibi çeşitli arşiv kaynaklarına dayanan çok katmanlı bir metodoloji benimsemektedir. Bu kaynakların incelenmesi, Saint Pierre Han'ın işlevlerindeki ve kullanıcılarındaki değişimlerin, özellikle 19. yüzyılın gelişmeleri ve takip eden 1923'teki rejim değişikliğinin tartışmalı kentsel bağlamlarında Galata'da yaşanan daha geniş sosyo-ekonomik ve siyasi dönüşümleri nasıl hem yansıttığını hem de bu dönüşümlere yanıt verdiğini ortaya koyar. Geleneksel tipolojilere uymayan çoğul yerel bağlamları odağına alan bu tez, literatürde göz ardı edilmiş parçalı bir örneği ele almaktadır. Saint Pierre Han'ı müzakereler ve müdahalelerle şekillenmiş karmaşık bir bağlama yerleştirerek

geleneksel mekânsal analizlerin ötesine geçen bir mimari mikrotarih anlatısı sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Galata, Saint Pierre Han, Levanten Mimarlık, Mimarlık ve Kimlik, Mikrotarih

To my parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and Scope

This thesis investigates the spatial and socio-economic identities of Saint Pierre Han from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period to examine its role within the broader transformation of Galata district during this critical period of transformations in the late 19th and early 20th century. The thesis focuses on the interval between 1863 and the 1950s in order to understand the changing identities of the *han*, from the establishment of the Imperial Ottoman Bank that was located in the building to the end of the single party period in Turkey when the social identity of the district where the building is located started to radically transform. This time frame covers Saint Pierre Han's most active years in Galata's commercial scene and the primary sources are the most consistent for this period.



Figure 1: Saint Pierre Han, prior to the start of the ongoing restoration project in the early 2000s.

Source: Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

Saint Pierre Han, an 18th-century commercial building, is integrated into the Dominican Catholic Saints Peter and Paul Church premises (Figure 1). As a church-owned establishment, Saint Pierre Han was at the intersection of various local and global interactions involving diverse actors and institutions. The *han* is not only one of the oldest surviving buildings of Galata but is also a part of an even older ecclesiastical community of the district. Given its origin, generalized interpretations of the late Ottoman Galata and conventional typologies of commercial buildings prove lacking to understand Saint Pierre Han, which makes it a particularly interesting case.

The objective of the study is thus to evaluate the urban and social identities of Saint Pierre Han as a unique exemplar of Galata's "*han*" buildings from the late Ottoman to the early Republican periods, by exploring its changing functions and spaces as well as residents amid frequent contestations and negotiations in the socio-economic and urban context.

This evaluation focuses on four interrelated components that structure discussion: the socio-economic and urban setting of Galata; the church Saints Pierre and Paul as the property owner and representative of the *han*; Saint Pierre Han itself as the main case; and the various actors and institutions that contributed to the *han*'s socio-spatial identities. These components and their interrelations are continuously resituated in response to shifting social, political, economic, urban, and spatial contexts. Such contexts include, but are not limited to, regime change, diplomatic conflict and alliances, commercial networks and economic policies, demographic shifts, legal status, and urban transformation. This thesis does not only discuss Saint Pierre Han solely as an architectural example, but also approaches its socio-political contexts as both determinants and outcomes of its architecture. Whereas numerous questions can be raised at the intersection of such dynamic contexts, this thesis addresses three comprehensive ones. First, how was Saint Pierre Han's spatial and social transformations related to the socio-economic and political change in Galata from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period? Second, how did the interactions between local, foreign, diplomatic, and religious actors shape the spatial and social identities of Saint Pierre Han? And last, how did the diverse residents and

connections within Saint Pierre Han contribute to its position in Galata's plural urban identity?

In the late Ottoman context, the discussion follows Saint Pierre Han's changing position in Galata's socio-spatial fabric, from its initial establishment under French patronage to its integration into the financial scene in the mid-19th century. Then it proceeds to tackle mirroring questions in the contexts of the Republican period. This period encapsulates rapid turnovers in Galata's history; the case of Saint Pierre Han is situated in the center of complex dialogues among various actors.

1.2 Literature Review

This thesis discusses Saint Pierre Han in close relation to Galata and its local community. Thus, it requires not only a detailed evaluation of the secondary sources focusing on the *han*, but also a critical study of how Galata was historicized. Given the fact that earliest examples in literature date back to the 19th century¹ and the numerous studies followed in the following decades, this review will situate the thesis by following significant turnovers in the scholarly discourse.

The scholarly interest in Galata that started to intensify in the 20th century grew hand in hand with a similar interest in the district's Genoese past, and Levantine historians were involved in its discussions that also shed light on the local Christian communities and churches, including the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul.² The district's Christian past and collective memory were central to these works, yet these

¹ L. T. Belgrano, "Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Genovese Di Pera," *Atti Della Società Ligure Di Storia Patria* 13 (1887): 99–417, 932–1003.

² Régis Delbeuf, "Les Origines d'André Chénier" (Conférence faite à la Société littéraire de Constantinople, İstanbul: Société Littéraire, 1904); Benedetto Palazzo and P. A. Raineri, *La Chiesa Di S. Pietro in Galata* (İstanbul: Harti ve Şki, 1943); Benedetto Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint Paul à Galata* (İstanbul: Hachette, 1946); Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, "Les Origines Dominicaines Du Couvent Des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Galata : Un Texte Décisif," *Revue Des Études Byzantines*, 1930, 459–74; Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Le couvent et l'église des Saints Pierre et Paul a Galata* (İstanbul: Milli Neşriyat Yurdu, 1935); Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier* (Athens, 1963).

works also focused on the microhistories of certain nodes as was the case with Dallegio D'Alessio's studies on the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul, as well as Saint Pierre Han itself. Galata and its memory attracted increasingly more scholars, both local and international, in the following decades.³ While they offered valuable insights on Galata's layered history, these sources also identified it as the "European" or "Frank" quarter of Istanbul. As the literature on the late Ottoman period of Istanbul expanded, and some of the well-received studies were published, such as Zeynep Çelik's *The Remaking of Istanbul*,⁴ towards the end of 20th century, the "Europeanness" or Galata was being cemented in discourse. In fact, Galata shares many connections with European cultures and histories; this oversaturated identification triggered critical reactions in the literature. Edhem Eldem was one of the first to criticize this "European" identity. He argued that such "nostalgic" identifications were vaguely based on fragmented histories and results of the unbalanced nature of the available sources that scholars rely on. Throughout several studies Eldem focused on *not so Frank* past of Galata, and further elaborated on the challenging nature of the Ottoman sources.⁵ The emergence of revisionary and subversive critiques was accompanied by other scholars who started to discuss Galata and Istanbul in the broader context of Mediterranean connectivity and global histories.⁶ After this critical turn, the literature visibly reoriented towards

³ Louis Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," *Cambridge University Press* 10, no. 1 (1979): 71-91; Paolo Cuneo, "Galata e Pera: Introduzione Allo Studio Dei Quartieri 'Latini' Di Istanbul," *Quaderni Dell'Istituto Di Storia Dell'Architettura*, n.s., 1-10 (1987 1983): 113-22; Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve kulesi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1969).

⁴ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1993).

⁵ Edhem Eldem, "Galata'nın Etnik Yapısı," *İstanbul* 1 (1992): 58-63; Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman Galata and Pera between Myth and Reality," in *From "Milieu de Mémoire" to "Lieu de Mémoire": The Cultural Memory of Istanbul in the 20th Century*, ed. Ulrike Tischler (München: M. Meidenbauer, 2006), 19-36; Edhem Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," *Cogito* 19 (1999): 189-99; Edhem Eldem, "Kontrolü Kaybetmek: 18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Doğu Akdeniz'de Osmanlı Varlığı," in *Bir İmparatorluğun Çöküşü: Osmanlı'nın Akdeniz'deki Hakimiyetinin Sonu*, ed. Halil İnalcık (İş Bankası Yayınları, 2006), 89-105; Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire*, Studies in Art Historiography (Farnham Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).

⁶ Çağlar Keyder, *Istanbul : Between the Global and the Local* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Patricia M. E. Lorcin and Todd Shepard, eds., *French Mediterraneans: Transnational and Imperial Histories*, France Overseas Studies in Empire and Decolonization (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Maurice Cerasi et al., eds., *Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern*

microhistorical cases of Galata. This shift revealed various previously overlooked contexts in Galata's history. In the scope of this thesis, which leans more into the Catholic past of the district, Paolo Girardelli's studies proved invaluable to understand the Catholic community's and Italian architects' position in local contexts.⁷

The secondary literature expands further as the discussion proceeds to the early Republican context. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey transforms the social, political, and urban trajectory in Galata and the scholars raise new questions on this transition, as well as its aftermath.⁸ This period unfolds new economic development plans and policies to recover from the First World War and the recession of 1929.⁹ These policies favored the "national" identity, which referred to the Turkish-Muslim population. As the following years brought social unrest, dispossession, and even violence, the issues of identity and nationalism gained significance for the actors and communities in the center of this thesis.¹⁰ On the other hand, the formation of the national identity and its reflection on

Mediterranean, Beiruter Texte Und Studien, Band 102 (Multicultural urban fabric and types in the south and eastern Mediterranean, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2007); Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (Seattle: University of Washington press, 2008).

⁷ Paolo Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Muqarnas Online* 22, no. 1 (2005): 233–64; Paolo Girardelli, "Sheltering Diversity: Levantine Architecture in Late Ottoman Istanbul," in *Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Maurice Cerasi et al., Beiruter Texte Und Studien, Band 102 (Multicultural urban fabric and types in the south and eastern Mediterranean, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2007); Paolo Girardelli, "Italian Architects in an Ottoman Context: Perspectives and Assessments," *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 1, no. 1 (2012): 101–22; Paolo Girardelli and Ezio Godoli, eds., *Italian Architects and Builders in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Design across Borders* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017); Paolo Girardelli and Mert Pekdoğan, "Architecture for a Plural Environment - the Fossati Brothers and W.J. Smith in Istanbul, 1837-1849," *Zeitschrift Für Schweizerische Archäologie Und Kunstgeschichte* 80, no. 4 (2023): 219–40.

⁸ Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak, eds., *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, Belge yayınları (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2006).

⁹ Oktay Yenal, *Cumhuriyet'in İktisat Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010); Yahya Sezai Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015).

¹⁰ Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve "Türkleştirme" Politikaları*, Tarih Dizisi 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Ausma Cimdina and Jonathan Osmond, eds., *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation.*, 2 (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007); Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet dönemi azınlık politikaları bağlamında: 6-7 Eylül olayları*, 1. basım, Tarih Vakfı yurt yayınları 149 (İstanbul: Tarih

the socio-spatial contexts have been extensively discussed in the literature, and the state-led replanning of the Galata quay, as examined in this thesis, represents only one fragment of this discourse.¹¹

This thesis focuses on its main case, Saint Pierre Han, by initially examining the broader typology of *hans*. The secondary literature offers a broad range of sources on *hans*, spanning from their Roman iterations to examples in North Africa,¹² from Seljuk caravanserais to the *bureau hans* of Galata.¹³ Furthermore, the recent studies of Yaşar¹⁴ and Ergüder¹⁵ have been particularly valuable to this thesis, as they concentrate on the understudied social and economic aspects of *hans* in the Ottoman and early Republican periods, respectively. However, including their studies, Saint Pierre Han is consistently missing in the given literature. The reason for this may be that Saint Pierre Han does not appear in commonly used sources in the literature on *han* buildings in the Ottoman period, such as *waqf* registers. Nonetheless, these sources helped this thesis comparatively discuss Saint Pierre Han in relation to this broader typology. The most comprehensive and recent works on this building predominantly scrutinize the building group within the issues and frameworks of

Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005); Bedross Der Matossian, “The Taboo within the Taboo: The Fate of ‘Armenian Capital’ at the End of the Ottoman Empire,” *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. Complete List (2011); Şule Eskenazi, “Galata-Beyoğlu-Şişli Bölgelerinin Gelişiminde Gayrimüslimlerin Rolü, 1910-1966 Döneminde İstanbul’da Etnik İş Bölümü ve Ticari Coğrafya” (Master’s Thesis, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012); Bedia Ayşegül Tansen Gümüş, “Türkiye’de Katolik Kilisesi’nin Mülkiyet Hakkı” (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Galatasaray Üniversitesi, 2024).

¹¹ For more see Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, eds., *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 55 (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998); Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve ulusun inşası : erken cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde mimari kültür*, trans. Tuncay Birkan (İstanbul: Metis, 2002); Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion books, 2012).

¹² Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹³ Nursel Gülenaz, “İstanbul’daki 19. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Osmanlı Ticaret Han ve Pasajlarının Stil ve Fonksiyon Bakımından İncelenmesi” (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, İstanbul Technical University, 1998); Öze Uluengin, “Bankalar Caddesi’nin Tarihsel Değişimi ve Büro Binalarının İşlevsel, Fiziksel Yönden İrdelenmesi” (Master’s Thesis, İstanbul, Yıldız Technical University, 2008).

¹⁴ Ahmet Yaşar, “The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis” (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2016).

¹⁵ Başak Ergüder, “İstanbul’un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868-1945)” (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011).

restoration and conservation. These studies also do not cover Saint Pierre Han's history in the Republican period eloquently, leaving gaps regarding the *han*'s architecture. In contrast, this thesis takes an alternative perspective by intertwining Saint Pierre Han with the development of *han* buildings in Galata and deals with the socio-spatial contexts.

The lack of secondary literature becomes even more evident in the case of studies particularly focusing on Saint Pierre Han. Among the few sources, Dalleggio D'Alessio's 1963 book *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier* is the earliest example.¹⁶ This book bears importance as it depicts the building's condition in the 18th century, based on an inventory survey recorded by Father Vincenzo Salvi between 1782 and 1798. Dalleggio D'Alessio's work mostly focuses on the *han*'s collective memory and heritage. The most comprehensive study on Saint Pierre Han is Yonca Kösebay's 1996 master's thesis, *Galata St. Pierre Hanı ve Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi*.¹⁷ Kösebay's thesis provides survey drawings and structural analyses of the building's accessible sections. It concentrates on the *han*'s structural properties and predominantly scrutinizes the building group with the issues and frameworks of restoration and conservation.

While Kösebay's thesis and the survey drawings make a significant contribution to the methodology of this thesis, the two works differ in various aspects. In 1996, when Kösebay conducted her research, a few residents were still engaged in production activities in the *han*, and her drawings indicate that certain spaces were inaccessible. Today, the ongoing restoration project has removed many later additions and has partially restored the original structure. Thus, it can be argued that the building is now in a different state than it was almost thirty years ago. The second major difference lies in methodology. Kösebay's thesis dates the *han* building, which consists of five adjacent houses, based on structural analysis. With that analysis Kösebay also expands upon Dalleggio D'Alessio's earlier chronology. In contrast, this thesis approaches Saint Pierre Han from an architectural history perspective and

¹⁶ Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier*.

¹⁷ Yonca Kösebay, "Galata St. Pierre Hanı ve Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi" (Master's Thesis, İstanbul, Yıldız Technical University, 1996).

traces its transformation mainly through a cross-examination of various archival sources.

1.3 Methodology and Structure of the Study

This thesis employs a multifaceted methodology, drawing on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include the public and private archives of the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul, sources from SALT Research, DOST-I (Dominican Study Institute Istanbul), and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi*) Atatürk Library. Additionally, the discussion occasionally feeds on European archives such as Biblioteca della Società Ligure di Storia Patria due to Galata's shared historical connections with Italian communities. Furthermore, the ongoing restoration project led by the Istanbul Municipality exposed structural layers of the buildings and provided a valuable opportunity for a field survey. These archives provide primary and secondary sources in various media and their processing and interpretation requires inquiring into different disciplines such as architectural, political, and economic history, cultural studies, and sociology. Provided by various archives listed above, primary sources of this thesis can be thematically grouped. In the context of visual sources, alongside photographs, maps from D'Ostoya (1858), Huber (1887-91) Charles Eduard Goard (1905), Jacques Pervititch (1927), Henri Prost (1940), and Suat Nirven (1948) are extensive sources for analyzing the urban setting. Furthermore, private archives of the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul include valuable plans of the church premises, including the han. However, the extent of these maps and plans proved lacking for a more detailed analysis of Saint Pierre Han, especially for the upper floors and vertical section. This thesis addresses these gaps by crafting supplementary architectural diagrams intended both to enable spatial analysis and to support its narrative. While it was not feasible to prepare technical survey drawings of Saint Pierre Han, I was able to sketch layout diagrams to represent its current spatial configuration. These diagrams are not intended to depict exact precision or detail but rather to visualize the building's existing form. During the diagramming process, arbitrary interventions

and undocumented additions were already being removed as part of an ongoing restoration project which allowed the original form of the *han* to be more clearly identified. However, safety accessibility and issues challenged this diagramming process from time to time. As a solution, I superimposed the diagrams with Yonca Kösebay's survey drawings of 1999. Whereas Kösebay's survey had its own limitations and challenges and of the time, it was an invaluable source of this process. The diagrams compartmentalize the complex structure of Saint Pierre Han into separate blocks, and it individually codes the interior spaces for referencing. In addition to their crucial role within this thesis, it is hoped that these diagrams will also serve as a useful resource for other scholars working on the topic.

Written primary sources such as contracts, permits, letters, firmans and financial documentations, present another major component of this thesis. These sources are compiled in different archives, some of them are accessible at SALT Research upon approval, and some others are kept in the private archives of the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul. The church archives are managed by the Dominican friar's research institute DOST-I, located in the new monastery within the church premises. DOST-I supports and promotes related research projects, and their consistent support provided this thesis with invaluable primary sources.

Having this complex set of available primary sources raises the question of how this thesis study will utilize and process the given data to inquire the history of Saint Pierre Han. To answer this question in the context of the thesis' aim and scope, archival materials can be categorized considering the extent of the archives' meta-data. Based on a preliminary overview of the archives, this research suggests that relevant archival material can be split into two sets.

The first set consists of rental contracts. These contracts provide details on Saint Pierre Han's past occupants including but not limited to dates, identities of associated individuals and institutions, purposes of rent, and rooms. Although this grouping samples a set of actors in the common ground of conducting business in Saint Pierre Han, each occupant possesses unique profiles unfit for generalizations. For instance, there is available biographical information of some well-known occupants such as the Ottoman Bank, the Bank a la Nation Française, Giulio

Monger, Alexandre Vallaur, and Muhteşem Kot; most occupants lack biographical specificity beyond the contracts' content. Therefore, this asymmetric sample of the user profiles need to be structured accordingly. In that context, this thesis intends to cross examine the occupants who have biographies with the associated physical evidence and secondary sources. On the other hand, the remaining occupants will be subject to a prosopographic approach. As a methodological tool, prosopography aims to structure and analyze biographical details of a sample group. Despite feeding on biographical data, prosopography does not focus on individual profiles. Instead, this approach deals with demographic profiles, financial activity, social groups, and involvement to analyze a group of everyday people.¹⁸ Regarding the case of Saint Pierre Han, prosopography allows this study to structure, allocate, and analyze changing economic activity, social connections, and common patterns. The analysis of the rental contracts focuses on the contracts signed between 1912 and 1950. Earlier contracts were not documented in a consistent manner that allows a structured analysis. Nonetheless, the available contracts provide exemplary cases from the late Ottoman and Republican contexts. These examples are far more scattered over the archives and even attempting to structure them requires a dedicated further project. On the other hand, the structured rental contracts were scanned and digitally archived by SALT Research with the church's permission. SALT Research holds the digital scans of 1761 documents from the monastery archives issued between 1499 and 1983, and 23 parish records comprising birth, death, and baptism records. 901 of these documents, out of 1784 in total, are rental contracts. However, SALT Research's archiving method is inconsistent, as some consecutive contracts belonging to the same individuals are grouped together, while others are archived individually. As a result, the actual number of individual one-year contracts significantly exceeds the recorded total of 901. Furthermore, not all of these contracts belonged to the *han*'s residents, a sizable amount of them were rental contracts regarding other church properties such as Saint Pierre Apartment. Ultimately, all rental contracts from the given period had to be manually processed

¹⁸ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, Occasional Publications of the Oxford Unit for Prosopographical Research; v. 13 (Oxford: Occasional Publications UPR Oxford, 2007); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies (OUP Oxford, 2005).

to structure the dataset of this thesis. The final dataset records 71 unique residents comprising individual professionals, companies, and institutions from 1912 to 1923. This number rises to 135 unique residents for the period from 1924 to 1950. This dataset not only enables the prosopographic analyses discussed above but also helps the interpretation of other primary sources, such as letters, through cross-examination. The second set of archival materials compiles qualitative data like construction and repair contracts, administrative documents, and church manuscripts related to the *han*. These documents are crucial components that enable this study to understand and situate Saint Pierre Han's social and spatial transformations and reveal links between the remaining architectural evidence, previous occupants, and Galata district. On the other hand, these sources are less structured in format and a significant portion of them are held in the private section of the church archives. The friars generously helped me with relative materials from this private section, such as the 19th century chronicles *Liber Consiliorum*, and plan drawings.

This thesis builds its arguments through the cross-examination of such various primary sources, both qualitative and quantitative, ranging from cadastral maps to personal letters, using each to address the gaps or limitations of the others. However, it is important to note that the discussed archival documents also entail some limitations and possible errors. For instance, some rental contracts may have been lost, there may be overlooked inconsistencies in their content, the stated functions may have changed in practice, or some contracts might have been cancelled and not implemented. On the other hand, letters and chronicles are subjective sources with their own limitations, and their reliability can vary. While cross-examining sources can increase reliability in certain cases, it is important to acknowledge that the analyses involve a degree of informed speculation. Another limitation of the primary sources was the language factor. Until the 1930s, the church records were documented in French, Italian, and Ottoman. Whereas typescript French and Italian documents were easier to translate, understanding manuscripts took substantial time and effort.¹⁹ The rental contracts were also written in a mix of French and Ottoman from 1912 to the 1930s, as well as plans of the church premises from the 19th

¹⁹ For the French manuscripts, the digital humanity tool Transkribus was utilized. On the other hand, Luca Refatti of DOST-I kindly helped me through Italian ones.

century.²⁰ Despite this variety in language poses a challenge, the mentioned archival material can potentially reveal more in the future, to the scholars equipped with necessary skills.

This thesis also feeds on a broad range of secondary sources. These sources set the historical framework for the discussions' broader structure by contextualizing social, political, economic, and urban trajectories. The secondary sources not only contributed to the base of this discussion, but also revealed various critical approaches and supported this thesis' argumentation process with qualitative and quantitative evidence.

The thesis comprises two chronological periods of the late Ottoman and the early Republican contexts, and the corresponding sub-themes link the Galata district, *hans*, and the case of Saint Pierre Han, respectively. Whereas the first part will deal with the contexts of the 18th and 19th century economic and urban transformation of Galata and increasing prominence of Saint Pierre Han as a commercial center during the late Ottoman period, the second part will discuss the shifting socio-economic identity of Galata and the *han*'s changing functions and residents amid the post-First World War economic recession and the early Republican policies. The rental contracts and the written archival sources contribute to both chapters in methodologically similar ways, yet the outcomes of their contribution differ depending on varying contexts.

Focusing on the two chronological periods of the late Ottoman and the early Republican contexts, the corresponding sub-themes link the Galata district, *han* buildings, and the case of Saint Pierre Han, respectively. The two main chapters of the study will analyze these two periods: Chapter 2 will examine the contexts of post-industrial socio-economic and urban formation of Galata as a financial center with plural identities, and the increasing prominence of Saint Pierre Han during the late Ottoman period, analyzing its functional and spatial configurations and its residents to evaluate its social and Urban/architectural identity. Chapter 3 will

²⁰ While I was able to process the rental contracts, fellow historians from the Department of History at METU, İrem Nur Özkan, Bora Tolga Türksoy, and Ayça Tilki provided valuable assistance with the plans where my proficiency in Ottoman proved insufficient.

examine the transforming socio-economic identity of Galata and Saint Pierre Han's changing functions and spaces amid the post-First World War recession and the later Second World War context of the early Republican period, analyzing the subsequent changes in its functions and spaces as well as residents.

CHAPTER 2

SAINT PIERRE HAN IN THE LATE OTTOMAN CONTEXT

This chapter studies the development of *hans* in the Galata district and focuses on Saint Pierre Han from the eighteenth to nineteenth century, i.e. the late Ottoman period. In the context of the rapidly shifting social, economic, cultural, and urban identity of Galata, this chapter examines the financial district's diverse localities and narrates how it became the Empire's trade epicenter. Saint Pierre Han presents a prominent case of how the plural identities reflected on the local social and spatial settings of the district.

2.1 Formation of Galata District

Given the fact that the urban history of the district is an immensely extensive topic, this chapter aims to frame it within the trajectory of political dialogue and negotiation. This trajectory focuses on Galata's highly socially, diplomatically, and economically contested past to parallelly narrate its urban development. Unique and often discontinuous interactions within a heterogeneous cultural scene shaped the urban fabric of Galata from the Roman Empire to the contemporary Republican period. Thereby, what I attempt in this part of the chapter is not to formulate a generic cosmopolitanism but to highlight the district's complexities in order to understand its formation during the late Ottoman period as a financial district with plural identities.

2.1.1 Early History of Galata



Figure 2: An illustration of Palazzo Comunale.
Source: Belgrano, 1887.

The long history of Galata district dates back to the early centuries of the Roman Empire, when it was known as Sycae, a commercial town of Thrace. The area further developed during the reign of Justinian I (r. 527-565) and was called Justinianopolis. The area developed into a port city as various Latin communities from the Mediterranean coast inhabited the town. Some of these Latin communities with influence over the city were Genoese, Venetians, Amalfitans, and Pisans.²¹ The convergence of these rival maritime republics exacerbated a protracted political contestation following the Venetian Republic's alliance with the Fourth Crusade forces in 1204, its support of the siege of Constantinople, and the subsequent sacking of the city. However, the Latin Empire of Constantinople was short-lived. In 1261 the Nicaean emperor Michael Palaiologos, allied with Genoa, reconquered Constantinople and was crowned as the emperor of the restored Byzantine Empire. Following Palaiologos' victory, the alliance between him and Genoa that ensured the city's reconquest expectedly turned the tide against Venetians over Galata's control as Genoese acquired crucial privileges. Paolo Cuneo defines four phases of consequent urban development in Galata that secured the Genoese domination not

²¹ Among them, Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans also brought administrative officers acting as rulers to the community and as ambassadors to Constantinople. They respectively had the titles of *podestà*, *bailo*, and *esarca* (exarch). *Podestà* and *bailo* remained as diplomatic and administrative positions through the Ottoman period and will be re-visited in the upcoming chapters. Cuneo, "Galata e Pera: Introduzione Allo Studio Dei Quartieri 'Latini' Di Istanbul."

only in the political sphere but also in the urban environment between 1267 and 1303. The first phase (1267-1303) introduced a trapezoidal urban layout that intersected the emphasized coastline, known as Platealonga, with perpendicular angles. The second phase (1303–1352) followed a previous agreement with Emperor Andronikos and entailed a comprehensive reconstruction of the city after the fire of 1315.²² This phase also included the construction of the first set of fortification walls to replace the surrounding moats. Built in 1316, *Palazzo Comunale*²³ (Figure 2) sits on the slope descending from *Christea Turris* (now Galata Tower²⁴, built in 1348) along the street²⁵ to the coastline.

The third phase (1352–1387) and fourth phase (1404–1448) expanded the initial fortification walls on the west-east axis, annexing the surrounding villages of Spiga and Lagorio.²⁶ Despite Cuneo's phasing of Galata's urbanization process depicts a rather straightforward development, a recent study Sercan Sağlam conducted demonstrates that the Genoese colony expanded their territory and strengthened their defense systems during a period of Byzantine instability and conflict. Sağlam states that according to the agreement of 1303 between the Genoese and Byzantine Empire, the area granted to the Genoese was definitive, and neither expansion nor

²² Cuneo's study claims that the fire happened in 1312, yet Sağlam refers to the Byzantine historian Jacobus da Varagine chronicles to state that in fact this happened in 1315. Sercan Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata & an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor" (PhD Dissertation, Milano, Politecnico di Milano, 2018), 19.

²³ In some sources it is named *Palazzo Podestà*. Cuneo states that by that time the Genoese *podestà* was holding considerable power in Galata's administration and that the district was practically half-autonomous. He also adds that new religious and public buildings (including *loggia*) were established around *Palazzo Comunale*, further materializing his political power over the urban fabric.

²⁴ Although *Christea Turris* (Tower of Christ) is arguably the most popular Genoese tower from the Byzantine period with its striking monumentality, it was not the only one. *Sancte Crucis* (Holy Cross) near *Castrum Sanctae Crucis* (The Castle of Holy Cross, today known as the Castle of Galata) was a part of Constantinople's defense system, with the fort being mentioned in the Byzantine sources since the early ninth century alongside the famous chain it holds to deny access to the Golden Horn. For a detailed discussion on the Castle of Galata, see Namık Erkal, "The Corner of the Horn: An Architectural Review of the Leaded Magazine in Galata İstanbul," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 28, no. 1 (2011): 197–227.

²⁵ In 1603, Church of Saint Pierre and Paul and its subsequent building complex including Saint Pierre Han was built on the parcel across the street facing *Palazzo Comunale*. Today, the street is named *Kuledibi Sokak*, and *Palazzo Comunale* partially remains as *Bereket Han*, whereas the church complex has been untouched since the eighteenth century.

²⁶ Cuneo, "Galata e Pera: Introduzione Allo Studio Dei Quartieri 'Latini' Di Istanbul," 114–15.

fortification was allowed. However, the Empire's diminished power to enforce regulation, followed by the unfortunate fire of 1315, allowed the Genoese to build the first fortifications. In the upcoming years, the illegal annexations progressed towards the outskirts of Galata while the Empire dealt with consecutive wars that took almost three decades. The last war in this period broke out between the Genoese and Byzantine Empire between 1348 and 1349, destroying the Empire's royal navy and a portion of Galata. In 1352, *Castrum Sanctae Crucis* (The Castle of Holy Cross, the Castle of Galata) was granted to the Genoese who managed to expand the city walls throughout five phases²⁷²⁸ (Figures 3-5).

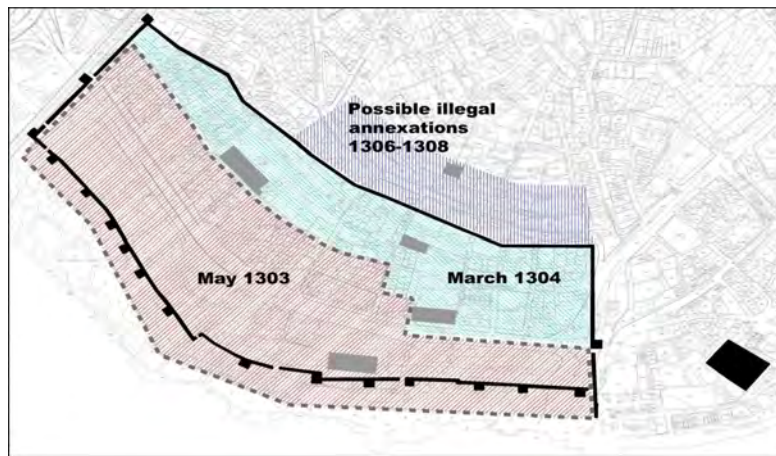


Figure 3: The borders of the initial concession zone set in 1303 with the course of the earliest enclosing walls, which followed the March 1304 boundaries and was completed by the late 1320s and early 1330s.

Source: Sercan Sağlam, 2018.

During the final decade of the fourteenth century, the walls went through repairs and reinforcement as a precaution against potential Ottoman sieges.²⁹ Their overall layout remained unchanged, and the city continued to grow within the areas defined by these fortifications.

²⁷ The 1330s annexation towards the east also included the Armenian quarter.

²⁸ Sağlam's research is one of the most recent and precise works on the topic. The author utilizes the fiscal reports of *Massaria di Pera* from *Archivio di Statodi Genova* in addition to slabs of Galata, chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine (c. 1230-1298), and sources from the Byzantine historian Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310) to cross-reference the construction timeline. Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata," 19–37. For more on the topic,

²⁹ Indeed, Ottomans unsuccessfully besieged the city in 1399, 1411, and 1422. For more on the defensive reinforcements and Ottoman attack to the city walls, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, trans. Ülker Sayın (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001).

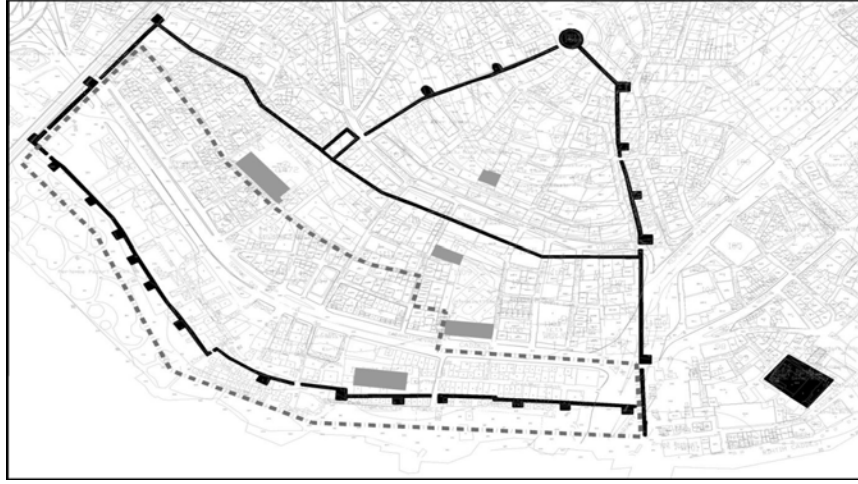


Figure 4: The second phase of the Galata Walls expanded northward and eastward, bordering Galata Tower, built between 1335 and 1349.
Source: Sağlam, 2018.

After the last phase of expansion, Galata's city walls became integral to its identity. Today, including this thesis, most studies on Galata assume these walls are the borders of the area since the city developed within the quarters and boroughs defined by them. Although most of the city walls were demolished in 1864, followed by another demolition of the remaining parts in the 1950s, roads and alignment of buildings still expose the wall's projection. Galata is currently a part of the Beyoğlu district and is bordered to the north by Şişli and Kağıthane and to the northeast by Beşiktaş. The area is defined as the significant streets of Refik Saydam (northwest), Büyük Hendek and Lüleci Hendek (from north to northeast), and Boğazkesen (northeast). The southern edge meets the Golden Horn, while Tersane, Kemeraltı, and Kemankeş streets parallel the coastline. The area has a sloped topography, ascending towards Şişhane.

From the early Roman settlement of Sycae to the fortified city of Galata numerous religious buildings were established in the area. Sağlam enumerates 18 churches gathered from different sources. Having some churches being known lesser than others, three unnamed Greek Orthodox churches,³⁰ Surp Krikor Lusavorich

³⁰ Sağlam speculates that the three unnamed Greek Orthodox Churches might be *Hagioi Anargyroi*, *Hagios Nikolaos*, and *Hagia Irene* of Sycae. Among them, *Hagia Irene* is the most known as a second century Byzantine church that was later converted and used as a burial ground by Catholic Genoese. The church of the Dominican order *San Domenico*, which was converted into *Arap Camii* after Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, was built on the ruins of *Hagia Irene* in the 14th century Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata," 115–16.

Armenian Church³¹, and Catholic churches of *Santa Maria*, *San Michele*, *San Domenico*³², and *San Francesco*³³ recur in various sources.³⁴

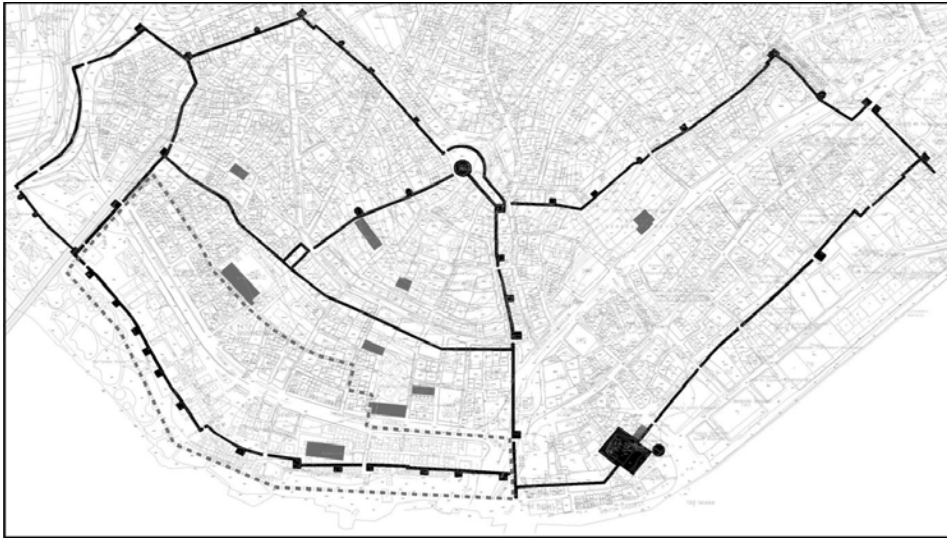


Figure 5: The third, fourth and fifth phases of Galata Walls.
Source: Sağlam, 2018.

Another characteristic urban element of the Genoese Galata was *loggia*. Loggia was a covered, porticoed structure, either part of a building or standing alone. It was a central space for civic, commercial, and social activities. Its main uses included facilitating trade, administrative negotiations, and public gatherings. In the

³¹ Surp Krikor Lusavorich Armenian church, the earliest known Armenian church of Galata, dating back to 1360, was located in the eastern part of the city.

³² Church of the Dominican order in Galata. Dominican friars were active in the Byzantine Empire since the late 13th century and had a small chapel dedicated to *San Paolo* near *Azapkapı* before *San Domenico*. Approximately a century after, when *San Domenico* was converted to *Arap Camii* in the 15th century, the order moved towards the Galata Tower and established the church of *Santi Pietro e Paolo* (Saint Pierre and Paul). Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint Paul à Galata*. Semavi Eyice, "Arap Camii," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (TDV), 1991), 326–27.

³³ *San Francesco* was another Catholic church built on a previous Byzantine church and it served the Franciscan order. Earliest records mentioning the Franciscans' presence in the city are from the 13th century. The church and convent were rebuilt twice following the fires of 1639 and 1660. However, a final fire in 1696 destroyed both *San Francesco* and the nearby *Sant'Anna*. This marked the definitive end of the church in Galata, as the burnt church was razed soon after and replaced by the *Yeni Camii*. The Franciscans moved to Pera, where they established the Church of Saint Anthony in 1763. Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata," 133–48.

³⁴ Additionally, Sağlam also mentions the eastern quarters of *Fabya* and *Samona* were inhabited by Jews, who had synagogues. However, the names and numbers of these synagogues are unknown. Sağlam, 113–68. For further reading on the Jewish population and the quarters of *Fabya* and *Samona* see Halil İnalcık, *Essays in Ottoman History* (İstanbul: Eren, 1998).

commercial epicenter, loggia was simple yet crucial to the city.³⁵ Unlike the grandeur architecture of Roman forums or basilicas, it was smaller and built to meet the public's everyday needs. In the context of Galata scholars agree that the *loggia* was spanning from *Porta Comego*³⁶ to *Palazzo Comunale* covering the neighborhood that would later be known as *Lonca* quarter during the Ottoman period.

Galata surrendered to the Ottoman Empire following the fall of Constantinople on May 29, 1453. This decision prevented the city from potential damage during a siege and allowed it to maintain its commercial identity as a port city.³⁷

2.1.2 Socio-Economic and Urban Context: Plural Identities of Galata as a Financial District

Following the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire's new population and settlement policies on the historical peninsula were also similarly applied in Galata. Although Galata's Genoese population did not experience plundering as Constantinople, new taxes (*cizye*) and laws imposed on non-Muslim population led some families to leave the city. Despite some following property and tax privileges granted by Mehmed II in an *ahdname*³⁸ to encourage the return of wealthy Genoese families who left, the 1455 Ottoman population survey demonstrates that approximately 9% of the Genoese population emigrated.³⁹ Furthermore, the

³⁵ Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise: XIIIe-Début Du XVe Siècle*, Atti Della Società Ligure Di Storia Patria (École française de Rome, 1978), 182; Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," 83; Cuneo, "Galata e Pera: Introduzione Allo Studio Dei Quartieri 'Latini' Di Istanbul," 115; İlber Ortaylı and Semavi Eyice, "Galata," in *TDV DV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (TDV), 1996), 307–13.

³⁶ A Genoese gate on the coastline, *Yağkaparı Kapısı* in Turkish.

³⁷ For more details on the transition from Genoese Galata to Ottoman rule, see Eugène Dallegio D'Alessio, "Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II," *Échos d'Orient* 39, no. 197–198 (1940): 161–75.

³⁸ *Ahdname* is a type of political agreement signed between the Ottoman Empire and foreign (mostly European) states and it frames specific privileges granted by the Empire.

³⁹ It should be noted that the 1455 population survey does not provide a fully accurate data set. The

remaining families assumed varying stances during Ottoman rule. A recent study of Rohan highlights that there was an intense negotiation process between Galata, Genoa, and the Empire in the decades following the conquest. Whereas some Genoese families accepted Ottoman authority quickly, in 1455 a group of Genoese from Galata sought assistance from Genoa to fund an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Galata, resulting in an unsuccessful siege in 1457.⁴⁰ As the Empire secured its absolute control over Galata, the city's demographic structure and the built environment began to shift. In addition to the 1455 population survey, two more surveys were conducted during the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566) reveal that some of the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Muslim population from newly conquered territories in Rumelia and Anatolia were relocated to Galata. This relocation not only diversified Galata's Genoese social identity but also transformed its urban fabric.⁴¹ Having developed as a dense city inside fortified walls, the Ottomanization of the urban fabric was a long and slow process. However, the settlement of the relocated communities in the area, the construction of public and religious buildings to serve the growing Muslim population, and the re-functioning of properties left by the departing Genoese accelerated this transformation from the 16th to the 19th century. At the first glance, the distinct transformation of the urban landscape quickly reflected on the church buildings. The church of *San Domenico* was converted into the district's first mosque in 1475. Despite being named as *Galata Camii* in the *waqf*⁴² registers, it was called *Arap Camii* (Figure 6) after Moorish migrants were

presence of missing pages and unregistered families complicates the reliability of the non-Muslim population figures. Kerim İlker Bulunur, "Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)" (PhD Dissertation, Sakarya, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2013), 129; Eldem, "Galata'nın Etnik Yapısı."

⁴⁰ In response, Mehmed II accused Genoese of waging war and sieged the remaining Genoese colonies such as Amasra and Trebizond in the north and Mytilene in the Aegean Sea. However, some Genoese retained ties to the Ottoman court, such as Gianettino (or Giancesino) Salvago, who worked as a translator in the Ottoman chancery during the 1540s. After the Ottomans captured Chios in 1566, many Genoese were relocated to Caffa and Istanbul. By the 1590s, Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, a member of the Genoese Cigalla family who converted to Islam, became an Ottoman admiral and later a grand vizier. Padraic Rohan, "From Master to Minority: The Genoese of Pera-Galata Across the Byzantine-Ottoman Boundary," in *Latin Catholicism in Ottoman Istanbul: Properties, People & Missions*, ed. Vanessa R. de Obaldía and Claudio Monge (The Isis Press, 2022), 71–74.

⁴¹ The fading Genoese dominance in Galata challenged their previously unrivaled economic power in the region, causing even more families to leave. Bulunur, "Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)," 145.

⁴² *Waqf* refers to Islamic charitable endowments, where property, land, or assets are utilized for religious, educational, or social purposes.

located around the mosque in 1492.⁴³ The previous defense fort *Castrum Sanctae Crucis* (the Castle of Galata) lost its tower after the conquest and turned into a military warehouse until its conversion to *Yeraltı Camii* in the 18th century.⁴⁴ The churches of *Sant'Antonio* and *San Francesco* shared the same fate as *San Dominico* and were converted into *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Camii* in the 17th century and *Yeni Camii* in the 18th century respectively. Galata Tower underwent a major reconstruction after the 1509 earthquake and was then used by the Ottomans as an armory, prison, and later a watch tower.



Figure 6: The minaret of *Arap Camii*, converted from the bell tower of *San Domenico*.
Source: Photograph by the author.

The earliest *han* built in the Ottoman period of Galata, *Rüstem Paşa Hanı*,⁴⁵ was also located on a former lot of *San Michele* between 1544 and 1550, near *Yağkapanı*. In 1585, Murad III (r. 1574-1595) ordered the construction of a *bedesten*⁴⁶ in Galata. The *bedesten* and *Rüstem Paşa Hanı* (Figure 7) undoubtedly defined the commercial center of Galata. However, despite these two buildings being the pioneering additions of the Ottoman period, Ottoman records from 1519 demonstrate that prior

⁴³ Eyice, “Arap Camii.”

⁴⁴ Ortaylı and Eyice, “Galata.”

⁴⁵ Süleyman I ordered this han complex in the name of vizier Rüstem Paşa.

⁴⁶ *Bedesten* is a marketplace covered with a roof. The *bedesten* of Galata functioned similarly to its counterpart from the historical peninsula.

to the construction of the *han* and the *bedesten* of Galata, there was an existing commercial complex composed of 25 shops and four cellars on the ground floor and 16 cells on the upper floor known as *Lonca-yı Atık*.⁴⁷ Historians agree that the axis⁴⁸ spanning from the *Yağkapanı* to *Arap Camii* and the *Palazzo Comunale* corresponds to the former *loggia* area from Galata's Genoese past. The 1546 *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri*⁴⁹ reveals that various *waqfs*, not only the Rüstem Pasha Endowment, acquired properties in the Galata district. Based on the same register, Bulunur identifies 51 commercial establishments belonging to 16 different *waqfs* in Galata.⁵⁰



Figure 7: Rüstem Pasha Hanı, also known as Kurşunlu Han near *Yağkapanı*.
Source: SALT Research

Galata considerably expanded beyond the area bordered by city walls in the second half of the 17th century. The Greeks⁵¹ kept residing downtown near the *bedesten* area and around the Orthodox churches in Tophane, while the Armenians⁵² settled in the city's eastern part near the Surp Krikor Lusavorich Armenian Church. In the west, scattered Jewish⁵³ neighborhoods emerged along the line from Kasımpaşa to Hasköy.

⁴⁷ However, the building that is assumed as the *bedesten* of Galata today does not match with neither *Lonca-yı Atık* nor the *bedesten* described in Murad III's related edict. It is not certain whether the building has undergone significant changes over time or if the structure that survives today is the same one mentioned in Sultan Murad III's edict. Bulunur, "Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)," 87.

⁴⁸ This axis is known as *Perşembepazarı*.

⁴⁹ Istanbul Endowment Survey Register.

⁵⁰ Bulunur, "Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)," 90.

⁵¹ Bulunur, 148; Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," 78.

⁵² Bulunur, "Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)," 149.

⁵³ Bulunur, 151–53.

Meanwhile, the Latin community, including the Genoese⁵⁴, moved northward to the Galata Tower and Pera. On the other hand, Muslims, who had settled in the outskirts of Kasımpaşa and Tophane in the 15th century, began to spread toward the city center and along the coastline⁵⁵. Although Ottoman sources do not offer precise data on Galata's population, they are sufficient to say that the Muslim population grew rapidly in the region until the 18th century.

As the Muslim population in Galata increased, the agency of non-Muslim communities in local governance and their urban presence began to weaken. In 1682, the imperial authorities abolished the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*,⁵⁶ which allowed local residents to have a voice in the administration of the area. Mitler associates this situation with the declining relations between the Genoese and the Ottoman Empire, attributing it to the Empire's diminished need to maintain a balance of power with Genoa after Venice lost its previous power in the East.⁵⁷ However, the urbanization policies implemented following the catastrophic fire of 1660⁵⁸ demonstrate that the Empire's aggressive stance was not directed solely at the Genoese. The fire, which destroyed more than half of the city, was followed by a reconstruction process shaped by the political and religious rhetoric of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and Vani Mehmed Efendi. This process began with the confiscation of Jewish properties destroyed in Eminönü and 25 burned churches in Galata by the imperial authorities. It continued to prohibit building new religious structures on the properties after their auctioning. As a result, Jewish neighborhoods in Eminönü were appropriated with the construction of the Valide Sultan Mosque, commissioned by Hatice Turhan Sultan, and the displaced Jewish population were relocated to Hasköy. In Galata, the

⁵⁴ Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," 78.

⁵⁵ İnalçık, *Essays in Ottoman History*, 53–54.

⁵⁶ *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* was a local council of Galata that partially replaced the role of the *podestà* after 1453. Despite the district's administrative and legal units such as the *kethüda* and the *kadi* were still bound to the central authority, *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* granted locals a limited agency over choosing the *kethüda*.

⁵⁷ Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," 79–80.

⁵⁸ The fire of 1660 was one of the most destructive in Galata's history but it was not the only one. Numerous other fires occurred in Galata and Beyoğlu, including those in 1639, 1676, 1678, 1731, 1756, 1790, 1822, 1831, 1850, and 1870.

fire destroyed six of the seven Catholic churches, including *San Francesco*, *Santa Maria*, and *Santi Pietro e Paolo*. A mosque replaced the razed *San Francesco* (Figure 8), while *Santa Maria* was relocated to Pera. Meanwhile, *Santi Pietro e Paolo* was rebuilt at its original site.⁵⁹ Although this confiscation policy appears to have primarily targeted the non-Muslim community, the situation becomes more complex when considering the differing social positions of the Jewish, Orthodox, and Catholic communities affected by these policies. In the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Jews held *millet* status that granted them official recognition and rendered their religious leaders, patriarch and the chief rabbi as mediators between them and the palace. In contrast, Catholics did not have this status as they were under direct protection of European states and bound to the Pope.⁶⁰ Despite this distinction, the seemingly uniform policy which these communities were subjected to confiscation suggests that the *millet* status⁶¹ was losing its practical relevance. On the other hand, not having *millet* status further complicated the situation for Catholics as their public presence diminished.

The construction of Christian buildings, which was already strictly regulated, was even more challenging for Catholics, who were not recognized under the *millet* status and were often regarded as political agents of Western missionary activities. Although no official codification existed for constructing Catholic buildings, Girardelli identifies six common limitations based on documented cases.

First, Catholic buildings required special permission from the central government for repair and reconstruction because these Latin sanctuaries relied on foreign protection rather than an associated millet. Permissions entailed bureaucratic negotiations and

⁵⁹ Marc David Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Spaces in Istanbul," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 2 (2004): 159–81.

⁶⁰ In the context of Catholic's status Girardelli notes that Catholic nations' efforts to protect Istanbul's churches were primarily driven by political motives. However, until the 19th century, they viewed the city as inherently Catholic and saw Oriental Christians as potential converts. Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality," 239.https://doi.org/10.1163/22118993_02201011Girardelli, 239.

⁶¹ In fact, the *millet* status should not be considered as a well-defined system to begin with. The boundaries and extent of this concept is variable and inconsistent depending on shifting political context. For more on this topic, see Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1 (Holmes & Meier, 1982), 437–49.

were officialized through firmans. Second, obtaining permission to build a new church on a site without an existing Christian structure was nearly impossible. Third, churches could not be enlarged or altered. *Mimar ağa* ensured compliance with these restrictions. Fourth, since domes and vaults were architectural symbols reserved for Islamic identity, non-Muslim buildings were generally not allowed to feature them. Thus, timber roofs with *bağdadi* ceilings became popular in churches. Fifth, pre-existing churches, such as Saint Benedict and Saint Francis, were permitted to keep or even rebuild bell towers. However, using these bells was prohibited. Finally, ecclesiastical processions were prohibited except during Easter, and churches often featured modest façades to reduce visibility, with processions typically conducted in their courtyards.⁶²

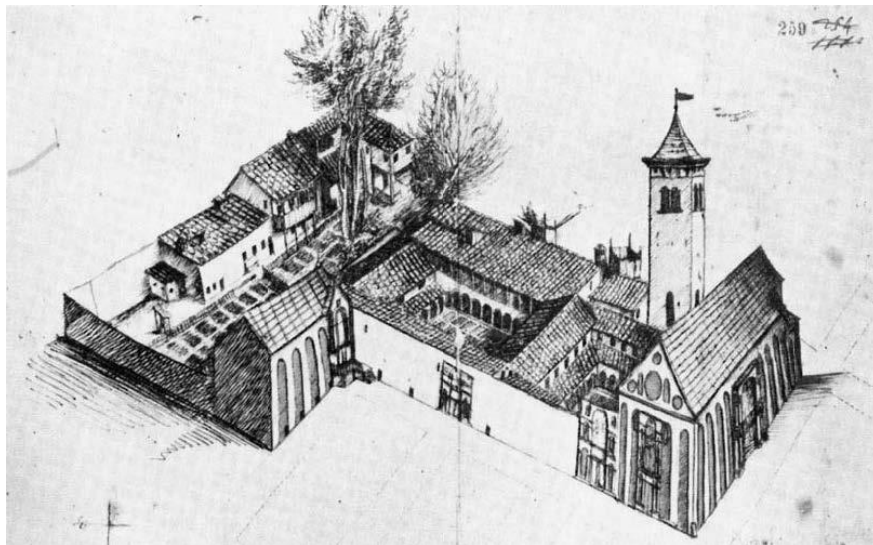


Figure 8: An illustration of the Church of San Francesco.
Source: G. Matteucci cited in Girardelli, 2005.

In conventional literature of Ottoman studies, the 18th century is often highlighted for *Lale Devri*, capitulations, Janissary revolts, and the beginning of "westernization." In this context, the 18th century is frequently portrayed as either the tragic end of the empire's "classical" period or as a precursor to the Tanzimat reforms, and often accompanied by exaggerated narratives. In contrast to such interpretations, Edhem Eldem, for example, characterizes the changes of the 18th

⁶² After some of the prominent churches, their congregations, and embassies moved to Pera in the 17th century, only a handful of Latin establishments were left behind in Galata. These churches were the Church of Saint Benedict, the Church and Convent of Saint Pierre and Paul, and the Church of Saint George. Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality," 240.

century as "continuous" and "normal." Eldem builds his argument on a center-periphery relationship within the context of 18th-century European developments and their reflection on the Ottoman Empire.⁶³ Rather than defining the 18th century as a transformative milestone for the Ottomans, this framework emphasizes an Ottoman spectacle that observes and interacts with advancing Europe.⁶⁴ Galata, in social and urban contexts, gained more of a prominence as a central node of this interaction as the lower section bordering the Golden Horn rapidly developed as a commercial district and the non-Muslim population of Galata acted as the intermediaries⁶⁵ in contemporary social and commercial dialogue with Europe. The transformation of Galata's identity emerges through various contexts, including increasing trade volume,⁶⁶ newly formed communities,⁶⁷ cultural trends,⁶⁸ and architectural forms.

However, it is hard, and often misleading, to narrate the transformation of Galata during the late Ottoman period within a linear and continuous framework. This era, where international and local contexts intertwined to create a unique configuration in the district, is often generalized in conventional literature through superficial

⁶³ Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," 195.

⁶⁴ Europe's advancement is fairly associated with the Age of Enlightenment followed by the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. For an extensive study of Europe's advancement since the 18th century see Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: New American Library, 1962); Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975); Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).

⁶⁵ Eldem specifically highlights the merchants as a connecting point Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," 198.

⁶⁶ For instance, French merchants of Galata profited from the Empire's fading power and presence in Mediterranean maritime trade. For more on the Ottoman Empire's maritime trade in the 18th century, see Eldem, "Kontrolü Kaybetmek: 18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Doğu Akdeniz'de Osmanlı Varlığı."

⁶⁷ The emergence of the Catholic Armenians is an outstanding example of these communities. For more on how the emergence of this new community affected the social and architectural scene see Kemal Beydilli, *Recognition of the Armenian Catholic community and the Church in the reign of Mahmud II. (1830)* (Harvard University Press, 1995); Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality."

⁶⁸ One of these cultural trends was *Turquerie* in the 17th and 18th centuries. This trend evolved around imitating Ottoman culture, art, and fashion for a mostly European audience. It influenced architecture, design, music, and clothing while portraying a romanticized version of the Ottoman Empire. For more on *Turquerie* see Gizem Tongo Overfield Shaw and Cemil Irvin Schick, "Turquerie," *Pera Museum Blog*, 2019.

narratives of "Westernization." Summarizing the late Ottoman period with such vague concepts also entails the danger of suddenly defining Galata as the "cosmopolitan" or "European" town of the Empire's capital. While some arguments partially hold merit, given the urban expansion towards the Pera and the strengthening trade connections with Europe signaling the drastic transformations of the 19th century, significant ruptures such as the maturation of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution divided the 18th and 19th centuries. Even if the intricacies of this rupture exceed the scope of this thesis, Edhem Eldem's book, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, offers a discussion closely related to the upcoming analysis of this thesis, as the actors involved in this trade had close connections to the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul which was by the 18th century the parish church of French. In his book, Eldem examines the 18th century commercial activity of French merchants, which mainly occurred in Galata, with a subversive approach using local Ottoman sources⁶⁹ in contrast to previous studies that primarily rely on more accessible French sources. His inquiry into these scattered and unsorted records, which often provide only indirect information, unfolds a comparative critique of the formulaic stereotypes present in earlier scholarship.⁷⁰ Concisely, Eldem argues against the perceived passiveness of the Ottoman economy in its commercial relationship with France, which, by the 18th century, held a leading position⁷¹ in international trade within the Ottoman capital. In fact, he suggests that the Empire was not yet an open market during this period, as French merchants faced various forms of local resistance within Ottoman commercial networks. This resistance was not simply a reactionary outcome but also an indicator of the still competitive role of the Ottoman traders in the local market. Their comparative advantages, particularly in local knowledge and commercial adaptability challenged French trade in the Levant. Moreover, the supposed dominance of French merchants were dependent on varying external factors such as

⁶⁹ These sources include, but not limited to, *ecnebi defterleri*, contracts, letters, and personal journals.

⁷⁰ Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 19, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage* (Brill, 1999), 7–8.

⁷¹ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *Doğu ile batı arasında Osmanlı kenti Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*, trans. Sermet Yalçın (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 216.

French protectionist policies and capitulations the Porte granted rather than an inherent economic superiority, which would be more a more weighted in the 19th century. The intricacy of this standing suggests that French trade in 18th century Istanbul was vulnerable to shifts in legal and political contexts, and the Ottoman economy was neither passive nor entirely subjected by Western powers.⁷² At the urban scale, French merchants, the majority of whom were affiliated with the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce, settled in the Bereketzade neighborhood, in close proximity to two major Catholic churches: Saints Pierre and Paul and Saint Georges. The French trading houses formed a self-sufficient community around Saints Pierre and Paul, meeting various needs, from bakeries to lodging. French commercial activity at Bereketzade was concentrated at Saint Pierre Han after the *han*'s first establishment, which consisted of five masonry houses between 1771 and 1775 on the southwestern border of the church premises. These buildings, which constitute the focal case study of this thesis, housed the Banque de la Nation Française and provided shops and lodging for French merchants in the community. The central role of Saint Pierre in both the French community and local trade will be further examined in the following sections of this thesis.

The 18th century was marked by the expansion of markets and wealth accumulation with the engagements of various local and foreign actors that reshaped the distribution of economic power within the Empire. Towards the 19th century, foreign economic powers accelerated this transformation as the capitalist world economy heavily influenced local markets into its new system. In the broader scheme, the rupture between the 18th and 19th century was associated with broader shifts in the Ottoman economy and its integration into the industrialized and capitalist world. This process was in dialogue with the famous reform era of the Empire, as the institutional changes that followed set the scene where newly emerging economic actors gained more autonomy in the market.⁷³ By the 19th century, this transformation became far more visible in Galata's commercial and urban landscape. *Loncas* and local trade networks failed to maintain their domination over the

⁷² Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, 19:284–88.

⁷³ Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *Doğu ile batı arasında Osmanlı kenti Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*, 238.

expansion of trade, finance, and urbanization. Institutional reforms played a more central role in the new means of commerce and finance amid the rise of banks and insurance companies. These changes turned the conditions into favor of financially and politically strengthened foreign investors and merchants, who previously relied on legal privileges and intermediaries. Galata became more embedded in the global economy, migration patterns changed, and urban reforms followed to accommodate the district's evolving demographic and economic role.

With migration and the new capitalist world system altering the district's social and economic fabric, demographic change became a key factor in Galata's urban transformation process during the late Ottoman period. Seven censuses were carried out between 1831 and 1906, with different parameters, pointing to how the population of that city was changing. Meanwhile, the population of the capital massively grew from 391,000 in 1844, up to 851,527 by 1886 justifying the urban provisions for such growth.⁷⁴ This growth consisted of Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants of territories lost by the empire since the 18th century, and by foreigners for political or economic reasons, who settled in Galata and Pera. Migration was not a uniformed process. It occurred over decades and was influenced by different political and economic factors during its course.⁷⁵ Thus, it can be claimed that generalizations in the context migration in this period often overlook the subject's complexity. Furthermore, the drawbacks of the census methodologies and the gaps of the archival records render quantitative analysis possibly misleading. For instance, despite the data demonstrating an increase in the non-Muslim population of Galata and Pera, the fact that most foreign residents were excluded from the official records renders statistical outcomes unreliable.

In the 19th century the Ottoman Empire underwent a series of reforms in order to adapt to the new capitalist world system. These reforms were not straightforward attempts at "Westernization" or "modernization" but rather reactionary responses

⁷⁴ Standford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 2 (1979): 265–77. Cited in Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 37.

⁷⁵ For an extensive study of population in the late Ottoman period see Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, 133 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003).

shaped by the Empire's interaction with the changing economic and political scene. Whereas many of these reforms occurred simultaneously and occasionally overlapped, their trajectory was not necessarily linear or connected. However, edicts of 1839 (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif*) and 1856 (*Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) had a central role among these reforms as they covered a broad range of changes. The edict of 1839 focused on legal equality, property rights, and fair taxation to modernize administration.⁷⁶ The following edict of 1856 had more of a religious context with reforms for non-Muslim's rights concerning education, property ownership, and military service.⁷⁷ To situate the various reforms and new adaptations in relation to Galata, I intend to categorize⁷⁸ them in the contexts of commerce, urbanization, education.⁷⁹

The Ottoman Empire's presence in global trade diminished as the industrializing West dominated maritime routes and colonized newly charted geographies. Struggling to match the leveraging technological and economic power of countries such as France and England, the Ottoman Empire granted them capitulations to stay relevant in the trade routes. The war of 1768 between the Russian Empire and Ottomans, followed by the Treaty of *Küçük Kaynarca*, the treaties of 1838 and 1861 with England, and the Treaty of Paris of 1856 proved Ottoman's political economy turbulent. However, except for significant losses such as the Treaty of *Küçük Kaynarca*, which hindered Porte's agency over the Bosphorus and the Black Sea,

⁷⁶ Lewis highlights that the edict of 1839 was particularly important as it directly acknowledges the Porte's intention for major reforms. Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, trans. Boğac Babur Turna, 3. (İstanbul: Arkadaş, 2020), 149–52.

⁷⁷ The suggested religious equality disrupted the social and political hierarchy between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. Lewis states that the Porte was actively pressured by European states to take such steps. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 161–65.

⁷⁸ This categorization aims to concentrate on reforms that had the most influence over Galata within the scope of this thesis. Beyond the contexts discussed in this part, the 19th century reforms cover much broader fields including, but not limited to, military, communication, law, and transportation. For a detailed discussion on the Ottoman Empire's age of reform see Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, 104–78.

⁷⁹ The most common aspect of these reforms is their role in defining intermediary dialogues with Galata's social and spatial structure, sometimes intersecting and sometimes operating independently. For more on the liminal role of Galata, and İstanbul in broader sense, see Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *Doğu ile batı arasında Osmanlı kenti Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*; Keyder, *Istanbul : Between the Global and the Local*.

these treaties entailed complex outcomes and defined new political and economic alliances with the West.⁸⁰ Trade and commerce thrived in Galata as its identity as a port city became more prominent. The intensifying commercial activity in the district introduced new manufactured goods and their marketplace, including *bon marché*⁸¹ stores where these newly imported products were sold. These goods, emerging consumption trends, and modern shopping spaces transformed the Ottoman market. Advertisements and commercial directories such as *Annuaire Oriental*⁸² were influential in promoting these commodities and their sellers to the rising bourgeoisie. However, these new modes of consumption transformed not only consumers but also the locals of Galata. The district's increasing trade volume reshaped the professional practices of local merchants, producers, and shopkeepers, engaging them with the new concepts of trade and production.⁸³ Therefore, Galata assumed an intermediary role between local and global economies, and became a central hub for exchanging goods, ideas, and commerce.

In addition to the increasing commercial activity in Galata and Pera, the migration wave following the Crimean War (1853-1856) exhausted the city's infrastructure. The Porte attempted to address the needs of the transforming city with a series of urbanization reforms and prioritized Galata and Pera, where foreign residents, embassies, and business were concentrated. The initial steps of these urban reforms were the establishment of *Şehremaneti* (Istanbul Municipal Administration, 1855) and *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (City Order Commission, 1855). *Şehremaneti* was modeled based on the French "*prefecture de la ville*" and dealt with tax collection,

⁸⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, 96.

⁸¹ A *bon marché* store was an early type of department store that offered a wide variety of modern goods. The pioneering examples of *bon marché* were founded in the 19th century, in Paris.

⁸² *Annuaire Oriental* (*Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları* in Turkish) was a commercial directory published between 1868 and 1948. It provided detailed information about businesses and trade networks in Istanbul and other Ottoman provinces. *Annuaire Oriental* included various information about these businesses and networks, such as names, addresses, and offered services. This directory is a valuable resource for tracing the circulation of Western goods, documenting trade connections, and understanding the professional practices.

⁸³ For more on how the modes of trade and production interacted with the local contexts of the Ottoman Empire see Burcu Yağız and Aygül Ağır, "XIX. Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbulu'nda Batılı Tüketici Ürünlerinin Dolaşıma Girdikleri Kanallar ve Yaratışları Hareketlenmeler: Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları Üzerinden Bir Araştırma," *Tasarım + Kuram* 13, no. 24 (2017): 31–53.

market regulation, and infrastructure projects.⁸⁴ However, the commission was insufficient in executing the long-term plans. The extension of Şehremaneti, *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* worked on street widening, sanitation, and road maintenance. These institutions were significant initial attempts at urban reform but failed to establish the desired governance model due to a lack of experience and financial issues. The failure of Şehremaneti and *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* eventually resulted in the establishment of the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* (Sixth Municipal District, 1858).⁸⁵



Figure 9: Sixth District Municipality in Pera.
Source: SALT Research.

Altıncı Daire-i Belediye (Figure 9) exclusively focused on Pera, Galata, and Tophane. This new unit had more localized agency over the districts' administration than its predecessors, and it focused on urban regularization, lighting, sewage systems, and cadastral surveys. A director, an appointed council of seven, and four foreign advisors operated the Belediye, and the institutional structure was compartmentalized into administrative, technical, and financial units. Çelik states that the main difference between *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* and its predecessor,

⁸⁴ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 44.

⁸⁵ For a more comprehensive study on *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* see N. Işık Demirakın, “A Study of Ottoman Modernisation on the City: The Sixth Municipal District of Istanbul (1858-1877)” (Master’s Thesis, Ankara, Bilkent University, 2006).

Şehremaneti was the newly introduced foreign council members. These foreign members connected the municipality's struggle with the state's budget with foreign financial networks and loans.⁸⁶



Figure 10: Galata on D'Ostoya's map of 1858.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

Another outcome of the urbanization reforms was the cadastral maps. These maps documented the urban layout with properties of different functions and characteristics, streets, lots, and gardens. *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* utilized cadastral plans for modernizing urban planning practices and property taxation. Therefore,

⁸⁶ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 45.

these maps became essential sources for examining Galata's urban transformation from the second half of the 19th century onward.

Georges D'Ostoya drew the first cadastral maps commissioned by the municipality between 1858 and 1860. Titled "Plan général de Galata, Péra et Pancaldi" (Figure 10), this map coded structures based on their material properties and marked various public buildings.⁸⁷ D'Ostoya's map, which also shows the Genoese city walls that would be demolished later in 1864, presents valuable details on the urbanization process of Galata.



Figure 11: Perşembe Pazarı on D'Ostoya's map of 1858.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

To the north, the area defining the commercial axis of the district since the Byzantine period, spanning from the Golden Horn through Perşembe Pazarı to the Galata Tower, mainly consisted of masonry structures. This axis includes significant commercial centers such as Kurşunlu Han (Rüstem Paşa Hanı), the bedesten, Zincirli Han, Bereket Han (formerly *Palazzo Comunale*), and Saint Pierre Han, located at the eastern edge of the Saint Pierre building complex (Figure 11).

Karaköy and Yüksek Kaldırım Streets defined another commercial axis in the south of Perşembe Pazarı. This axis gained more prominence as Karaköy gradually expanded and turned into a square. Commercial buildings such as Karaköy Han and Havyar Han, located near the coastline, were masonry, but wooden buildings partially remained towards Pera (Figure 12). Lastly, by the 19th century, Tophane

⁸⁷ In D'Ostoya's map, hatched areas represent public buildings; pink, masonry structures; brown, timber buildings; beige, undeveloped lots; and green, gardens.

was primarily a Muslim neighborhood to the east along the coastline, where wooden structures were far more common than those in the northern quarters (Figure 13).



Figure 12: Karaköy and Yüksek Kaldırım on D'Ostoya's map of 1858.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.



Figure 13: Tophane in D'Ostoya's map of 1858.
Source: Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

Whereas D'Ostoya's map demonstrates Galata's mid-19th century transformation, it is clear that the given urban development did not progress uniformly. In commercial hubs Karaköy, Yüksek Kaldırım, and Perşembe Pazarı, masonry structures replaced timber buildings. On the other hand, timber buildings were still common in the residential areas such as Tophane and the northern quarters. Given the organic form of this layout, which was still being defined by the city walls, and the challenges of administrative reform and economic hardship, a sudden transformation was not feasible to begin with. However, the pace of urban transformation accelerated in the second half of the century. The demolition of the city walls in 1864, combined with a series of devastating fires, 1860 in Yüksek Kaldırım, 1865 in Kemeraltı, 1870 in

Pera, 1874 in Galata, and 1887 in Büyük Hendek Street, rapidly transformed the urban landscape of the district.⁸⁸



Figure 14: Northwestern quarters of Galata on Huber's map of 1895.

Source: IMM Atatürk Library.



Figure 15: Southeastern quarters of Galata on Huber's map of 1895.

Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

This acceleration of urban transformation is evident in Rudolf Huber's cadastral mapping in 1895, which differs from D'Ostoya's map in several ways. The most significant differences include the demolition of the city walls, the widening of streets that moved away from their earlier organic forms, the elimination of *cul-de-sacs*, and the expansion of commercial areas (Figures 14-15). After the fires, masonry structures replaced many timber buildings, and some previously green

⁸⁸ For a comprehensive study of these fires and their effects based on the cadastral maps, see Merve Özbay Kınacı and Nuran Zeren Gülersoy, "An Evaluation of the Urbanization Process of Galata (İstanbul) in the 19th Century through the Maps of Huber, D'Ostoya and Goad," *International Planning History Society Proceedings* 18, no. 1 (2018): 994–1003.

spaces were built over. More *hans* appeared in Huber's map concentrating on the coastline along the warehouses, through Karaköy Square to *Yüksek Kaldırım*, and Perşembe Pazarı.

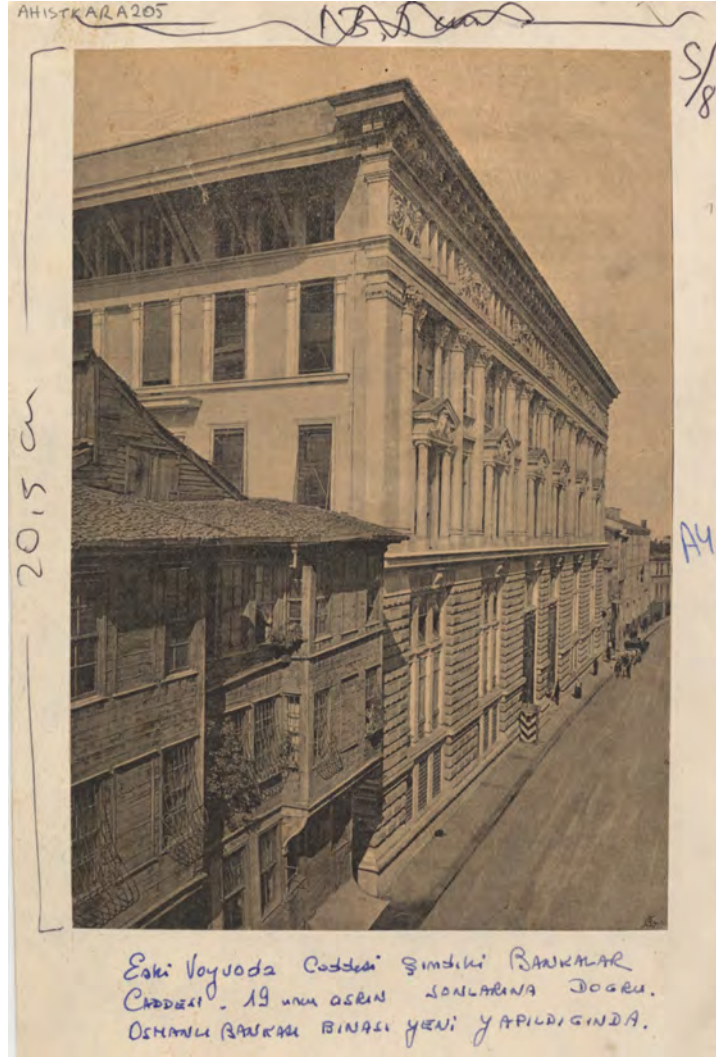


Figure 16: The Imperial Ottoman Bank on Voyvoda Street, late 19th century.
Source: SALT Research.

Voyvoda Street rapidly developed into a commercial axis with the construction of new *hans*, following the increased popularity brought by the Imperial Ottoman Bank's new building there (Figure 16). Wealthy landowners, such as the Camondo family, redeveloped their properties on Voyvoda Street, often hiring prominent architects, and capitalized on the area's rising property values.⁸⁹ In 1875 the

⁸⁹ For more on the development of the Voyvoda Street in the late Ottoman period see Edhem Eldem, ed., *Bankalar Caddesi: Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Voyvoda Caddesi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2000).

underground tram line *Tünel* connected the commercial center of Galata with the *Grande Rue de Pera*.

Educational reforms also reflected on Galata's social and urban structure. Besides the institutions serving the Empire's military units, such as the *Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayûn* (Naval Engineering School, 1773), *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Medical School, 1827), and *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (Military School, 1834), modern civilian schools were also established. These included the *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliye* (School for Diplomatic Staff, 1838) and the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* (Academy of Fine Arts, 1883).⁹⁰

The foundation of these modern educational institutions and increasing professional mobility between the Empire and the West eventually resulted in the professionalization of some civil occupations. Accountants, physicians, bankers, teachers, and architects became integral to the public and private sectors as they found employment in the privatizing finance and service industries. Among these professionals, architects played a significant role in Galata's social and spatial transformation. For architects, professionalization, or the process of privatization, was enabled by the decentralization of the building and crafting practices. This decentralization accelerated as the *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı*⁹¹ (Imperial Architects' Guild) faced increasing administrative challenges from the 18th century onward and was ultimately replaced by the *Nafia Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Works) in 1848.

The professionalization of architecture in the 19th century was a complex process that was locally influenced by the contributions of both formally trained architects and experienced *kalfas*.⁹² This process organically transformed the architectural identity of Galata and composed a pluralistic and unique scene derived from the encounters of various actors and institutions. However, this plural architectural

⁹⁰ Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, 116–21.

⁹¹ *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı* was a royal unit responsible for the Empire's construction and repair works. *Kalfas*, the traditionally trained builders, and crafters, were raised by this unit.

⁹² For an extensive discussion on how this process folded out see Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect" (PhD Dissertation, California, University of California Berkeley, 1989).

identity was often overlooked, misinterpreted, or outright manipulated by Orientalist narratives, either by colonial perspectives⁹³ or romantic historiographies⁹⁴ that labeled Galata and Pera as the “Western” or “European” districts. On the other hand, recent microhistorical studies prove that, similar to Galata's urbanization process, the built environment of the district, and architects' identities, are complex phenomena shaped by political dialogue and negotiation. This architectural production process was an outcome of interconnected variables, including building typologies, layout designs, construction systems, façade treatments, roofing styles, and the roles of patrons and architects.⁹⁵ These variables derived unique combinations of local and foreign elements to different degrees and produced an architectural spectrum between Ottoman vernacular⁹⁶ and neoclassical styles.

The examples of such engagements are numerous in the late Ottoman period. Nonetheless, I will concisely exemplify these engagements with select instances in which intertwined identities and dialogues produced unique outcomes.

In the contexts of architects of diverse backgrounds, Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, known as the Fossati brothers, are prominent examples. Born in Switzerland and trained at the Brera Academy in Milan, they were appointed to Constantinople to rebuild the Russian embassy (Figure 17) and later the Dutch embassy after the 1831

⁹³ A chronicle column published in *La Turquie* on February 8, 1875, presents an example of Eurocentric narrative regarding the architectural identity of the district. The column laments the inadequacy of local architects and heralds the arrival of P. Montoreano, an allegedly “skilled” and “tasteful” architect from *École des Beaux-Arts*, celebrating his anticipated contribution to the city's architectural landscape. The column follows, “[...] For some time now, however, we have seen architects arrive in Pera who are not only skilled builders but also people of taste who have studied extensively at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, who know all the resources of their art, know how to take advantage of a piece of land, distribute it without losing an inch, giving each piece the importance it should have, and cover their facades with decorations that give these buildings the stamp of simplicity, grandeur, or gaiety that they should have.” Anonymous, “Chronique,” *La Turquie*, 1875, SALT Research.

⁹⁴ Edhem Eldem examines how local historians' self-Orientalist and nostalgic perspectives have romanticized the identity of Galata and Pera by analyzing published sources from the Ottoman era to the Republican period to criticize these recurring narratives. For more see Eldem, “Ottoman Galata and Pera between Myth and Reality.”

⁹⁵ Girardelli analyzes the interaction of these diverse variables through the case of Levantine architecture. Girardelli, “Sheltering Diversity: Levantine Architecture in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” 122.

⁹⁶ For more on Ottoman vernacular in Galata see Luca Orlandi, “Reminiscences of Ottoman Vernacular in Galata,” *ISVS E-Journal* 6, no. 3 (2019): 17–32.

fire destroyed much of Pera. Especially the Russian Embassy's monumental design reflected the shifting political dynamics of the time since the embassy symbolized the Russian political power in the Ottoman capital. Between 1841 and 1843, the brothers reconstructed the Church of Saint Pierre and Paul in Galata. This church was the first Catholic sanctuary built after the Tanzimat Edict. The new church blended European architectural styles with local building techniques such as *bağdadi*.⁹⁷

Furthermore, the professional activities of the Fossati brothers were not limited to foreign diplomatic circles and Catholic churches. In 1843, the Sublime Porte commissioned them to design the Empire's first modern university, *Dârülfünun*. A few years later in 1847 Fossati brothers were commissioned once again by the Porte for the restoration of Hagia Sophia. Their involvement in diverse projects across varied contexts and patrons highlights the complex interaction of architecture, politics, and identity.⁹⁸



Figure 17: The Russian Embassy in Pera, designed by the Fossati brothers.
Source: SALT Research.

Unlike the Fossati brothers, who were academically trained architects, the Balyan family emerged from the traditional *kalfa* system and operated primarily within

⁹⁷ Girardelli and Pekdoğdu, “Architecture for a Plural Environment - the Fossati Brothers and W.J. Smith in Istanbul, 1837-1849,” 226.

⁹⁸ Girardelli and Pekdoğdu argue that Gaspare Fossati’s professional affiliations, particularly with Russia, contributed to an ambiguous perception of his identity. Amid the political tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman bureaucracy neglected Fossati’s Swiss subjecthood and Italian training. His professional association with Russian projects became the defining aspect of his identity. Girardelli and Pekdoğdu, 232–33.

imperial patronage networks. They worked on a wide range of public, religious, and royal buildings, including Dolmabahçe Palace, Çırağan Palace, and Yıldız Palace. Known as the royal architects of the palace, the Balyans were close to the Porte. Besides their position in the court, they were influential within the Armenian community and professional architectural circles. This dual position enabled them to navigate both imperial and communal spaces effectively.



Figure 18: Nusretiye Mosque and Tophane Clock Tower.
Source: SALT Research.

Despite their background in the traditional *kalfa* system, Garabet Amira Balyan's sons Nigoğos, Serkis, and Agop received formal education in architecture, fine arts, and engineering in France. This academic background enabled them to integrate neoclassical principles with Ottoman vernacular architecture in the capital. Significant examples of this synthesis can also be seen in Galata, including the Nusretiye Mosque and the Tophane Clock Tower. The Nusretiye Mosque, built between 1822 and 1826, represented the "Ottoman Baroque" style.⁹⁹ Its design layers ornate interiors and expressive fountains with traditional Ottoman construction techniques. A later example is the Tophane Clock Tower, commissioned by Sultan Abdulmecid I in 1848 and displayed this stylistic blend. Designed by the Balyan family and particularly refined by Nigoğos Balyan, the tower's neoclassical ornamentation introduced a new expression of public monumentality to the cityscape

⁹⁹ Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 103–4.

(Figure 18).¹⁰⁰ The Balyan family were central actors¹⁰¹ in defining late Ottoman architectural identity. They acted as interpreters of imperial visions while bridging traditional craftsmanship and emerging architectural practices shaped by the new professionalism.¹⁰²

Another architect with a unique and liminal identity, Giulio Mongeri (1875-1953), was the most prolific during the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. Originally from Milan, his family relocated to Istanbul, where he was born, in the mid-19th century due to the political instability of the First Italian War of Independence.¹⁰³ Mongeri returned to Milan for his architecture degree at Brera Academy of Fine Arts and relocated to İstanbul in 1898.¹⁰⁴ After his return, he became an influential actor in the architectural scene, both as an instructor at the *Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane* (the Academy of Fine Arts) and as a freelance architect who worked in Galata during the last decades of the Empire.

One of his earliest works, the Church of Saint Anthony, was an unprecedented example among the Catholic establishments of the city. Mongeri was commissioned to construct the church between 1906 and 1912 after the Franciscans moved from French to Italian protection. The church's shift in political alliance did not only leverage the Kingdom of Italy's representative position over Istanbul's Catholic community, but also the church's needed reconstruction was an opportunity to

¹⁰⁰ Wharton, 81.

¹⁰¹ Another influential family of the time was Camondo. Although the Camondo family were not builders or crafters themselves, they were wealthy bankers operating in Galata. They had several properties in Galata and they commissioned architects and contractors to build. Camondo Palace, Camondo Apartments, Camondo Stairs and Camondo *Han* are a few examples of many they owned. For an extensive study on the Camondo family, see Nora Seni, "The Camondos and Their Imprint on 19th-Century Istanbul," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26, no. 4 (1994): 663–75.

¹⁰² Wharton argues that the Balyan family lost their powerful position during the construction of Aziziye Mosque led by Sarkis Balyan. According to the author, Sarkis' fall from favor was influenced by several factors: the Ottoman Empire's financial crisis, the lack of effective supervision of projects during the Tanzimat era, and the rise of Armenian separatist movements in the 1880s, with which he was allegedly involved. Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople*, 167.

¹⁰³ Cengiz Can, "İstanbul'da 19. Yüzyıl Batılı ve Levanten Mimarların Yapıları ve Koruma Sorunları" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Yıldız Technical University, 1993), 95.

¹⁰⁴ Damla Çinici, "Başkent Ankara'nın İnşasında Etkin Bir Mimar: Giulio Mongeri ve Yaşam Öyküsü," *Journal of Ankara Studies* 3, no. 1 (2015): 18–20.

display that leverage.¹⁰⁵ As a result, Mongeri designed the largest Catholic church in the city in a Neo-Gothic style and made visible references to the religious national identity of Italy. Building such a monumental and visible Catholic church, on the other hand, would not have been permitted a century ago when the Ottoman Empire was confiscating church sites after fires. Whether this change in policy was a result of the Tanzimat edict or the European states' increasing political power over the Porte, the Church of Saint Anthony is a crucial reflection of the political interplay (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Early design of the Church of Saint Anthony by Giulio Mongeri.
Source: Saint Anthony archives cited in Girardelli, 2005.

In 1909, Mongeri started teaching architecture at *Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane*, but shortly after, his teaching position was suspended in 1911 during the Italo-Turkish

¹⁰⁵Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality," 251–54. In the same study, Girardelli also discusses previous iterations of the Church of Saint Anthony, which was rebuilt three times in Pera. The first iteration of the church was established in Pera after the site of the church of *San Francesco* in Galata was confiscated by the Ottoman state after the previously discussed fire of 1696. This new timber church in Pera burned again in 1762 and was rebuilt in 1763 under the protection of the French ambassador. Girardelli emphasizes the unique locality of this church both in the context of architecture, communal identity, and political negotiation. According to the author's research on *Propaganda Fide* archives, the Church of Saint Anthony of 1763 not only incorporated local *kalfas*, building techniques, and materials its architecture but also challenged the Roman liturgical standards by dedicating specific spaces for Catholic Armenian men and women who were reportedly using the Church of Saint Anthony. This unconventional decision resulted in a conflict between the Franciscan friars and Rome. However, this conflict ultimately displayed the unique locality and intercommunal nature of the church that reached beyond sponsorships or Rome's central authority over Catholicism.

War.¹⁰⁶ In the early 20th century Mongeri designed several buildings in Galata, where his office was also located. His second project, *Assicurazioni Generali Han* (Figure 20), replaced an old timber building, *Vitalis Han*, next to the Imperial Ottoman Bank on Voyvoda Street. The new han's design featured an eclectic incorporation of neoclassical, baroque, and *Art Nouveau* elements on the façade, arguably reflecting Mongeri's educational background and proficiency.



Figure 20: Generali Han on Voyvoda Street, designed by Giulio Mongeri.
Source: Photograph by the author.

However, the stylistic trajectory of his designs took a versatile turn when he was tasked with the Bolulu Habip Bey Mansion (Figure 21) and another mansion for the Sadıkoğlu family. These two projects and several others commissioned by the new Republic of Turkey employed the First National Style,¹⁰⁷ which combined Ottoman

¹⁰⁶Since the beginning of his career, including the war years, Mongeri was an active figure within the Italian community in Istanbul. Through his membership in the *Società Operaia Italiana di Costantinopoli*, he established connections with the city's Italian business networks and engaged in solidarity efforts with those in need. Çinici also states that Mongeri faced a xenophobic reception from Turkish nationalist students upon his return to the academy in 1913. Considering the political atmosphere and the narratives of new, national architectural ideals of the time, such a reception was not unexpected. Çinici, "Başkent Ankara'nın İnşasında Etkin Bir Mimar: Giulio Mongeri ve Yaşam Öyküsü," 37.

¹⁰⁷ Majority of these projects were in the new capital, Ankara. The Ottoman Bank's Ankara branch (1926), Ziraat Bank (1926-1929), and İş Bank (1929) were among Mongeri's pioneering works which defined the early architectural style of the Republic.

and Seljuk visual elements to define a new national identity in architecture.¹⁰⁸

Mongeri's liminal identity presents a unique case of subjecthood, locality, and architecture interrelation. He navigated multiple roles, first as a Levantine architect whose career was interrupted due to his Italian background and later as an architect shaping the visual identity of the early Republic. Much like the previously mentioned Fossati and the Balyan families, his career does not lead to a singular narrative of Galata's architectural history. However, once again, like the previous cases, Mongeri's personal and professional trajectory indicates the contextual complexity of identities and dialogue.



Figure 21: Habip Bey Mansion also known as Bulgur Palas designed by Mongeri.
Source: SALT Research.

Galata underwent a rapid and turbulent transformation during the late Ottoman period. Different actors and institutions contributed to this process and transformed

¹⁰⁸ The search for a national architectural identity was a long process rooting back to the mid 19th century. *Usul-i Mimar-ı Osmanî* (Principles of Ottoman Architecture) was commissioned by Sultan Abdülaziz and authored by a committee led by İbrahim Edhem Pasha of *Nafia Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Works) for the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. The book aimed to establish Ottoman architecture as an authentic national style and opposed European narratives while promoting the Empire's cultural presence internationally. Although it was somewhat efficient in self-fashioning the perception of Ottoman architecture, *Usul* has been critiqued for adopting a Eurocentric framework, romanticizing the past, and ultimately appropriating the Orientalist narratives it claimed to subvert. The critique of this work derived new discussions and discourses on national identity. For instance, Kemaleddin Bey's book *Mimar-i Islam* (Islamic Architecture) replaced *Usul*'s Ottomanist narrative with a Turkish-Islamic one. Kemaleddin Bey's nationalist rhetoric often implied a Turkish architectural superiority over Byzantine, Arab, and Persian architecture. Kemaleddin Bey framed the *kalfa* system and foreign architects for the alleged assimilation of Ottoman architecture and even particularly criticized some actors such as Pietro Montani, a Levantine craftsman and artist who contributed to *Usul-i Mimar-ı Osmanî*. For a comprehensive study on the late Ottoman historical imaginary and *Usul-i Mimar-ı Osmanî*, see Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*. For a comparative examination of *Usul-i Mimar-ı Osmanî* and *Mimar-i Islam* see Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, "Textual Manifestations of Ottoman Architectural Revival and the Search for a National Idiom in the Late Ottoman Period," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 67 (November 2022): 105–25.

urban fabric uniquely and discontinuously. Examining this process's details further unfolds fragmented history and often raises more questions than it answers. However, the often perplexing microhistories of buildings, architects, and patrons lead to an intriguing scene where political dialogues and identities intersect in creating a plural environment.

2.2 *Hans* in Galata District and Saint Pierre Han

This part of the chapter aims to situate Saint Pierre Han within the broader contexts of *hans* in the Ottoman Empire's capital city of İstanbul. In order to do that, the social and spatial development of *hans* is examined in relation to the city's urban transformation, economic development, and political relations. Conventional generalizations fail to comprehend the establishment and transformation of Saint Pierre Han at the intersection of these contexts. This detailed inquiry into Saint Pierre Han's late Ottoman history, therefore, intends to shed light on the unique functional and spatial configuration of the Han shaped by various actors, mainly the Dominican Order as well as the residents, and their negotiations.

2.2.1 Development of *Hans* and *Hans* in Galata

The common understanding of *han*¹⁰⁹ buildings refers to a typology of buildings accommodating commercial activities and production. This typology is historically associated with the medieval caravanserais in Muslim territories with its formal and functional similarities and, to some extent, earlier Byzantine examples of *mitaton* and

¹⁰⁹ The Turkish word "*han*" (originally خان in Persian) is translated into English as "inn." Inn etymologically refers to "an establishment for the lodging and entertaining of travelers." However, this study particularly uses "*han*" to refer to an evolving typology of buildings that host commercial and social activities in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. In contrast to the traditional connotations of "inn," the "*han*" typology frequently transformed over centuries, paralleling architectural, economic, and political developments. For more, see Merriam-Webster, "Inn," in *Merriam-Webster.Com Dictionary*, accessed November 14, 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/inn>.

embolo that accommodated commercial life. There is extensive literature on Ottoman *hans* for both *menzil hans* located along the pilgrimage and military routes, and commercial *hans* in urban centers. These trade routes and commercial spaces often succeeded one another over time across a vast geographic expanse, spanning North Africa, Asia Minor, and Europe. This pattern persisted during the extensive dominance of the Ottoman Empire, when overland trade routes among these regions remained lucrative. Before discussing the arguably more commonly known *hans* in the Ottoman capital, I will briefly elaborate on similar commercial complexes of Roman and Byzantine periods: *mitaton*, *embolon*, and *funduq* to contextualize its development within Mediterranean trade connectivity.

The *mitaton*, *embolon*, *pandocheion*, and *funduq* were central commercial complexes operating on different levels of trade activity. *Mitation* was a Byzantine commercial complex often located along trade routes, borders, and ports. It mainly served as an administrative facility for controlling tax collection and trade mobility but also provided lodging and storage for merchants. The term was used in the church records as early as the sixth century.¹¹⁰ The *embolon* extended the function of *mitaton* in trade epicenters such as Constantinople, and the term referred to commercial districts or marketplaces that include various amenities like warehouses, baths, a church, and residential units. These trade hubs did not only accommodate travelling merchants, but also served settled visitors.¹¹¹ Despite the uncertainty circumventing the possibility of any relationship with these Byzantine examples, *funduq* was a later iteration of commercial complexes developed in North Africa. The rapid expansion of Mediterranean trade and the interest of Western Christian merchants in Muslim trade networks entailed the adaptation of existing institutions for foreign traders. Traders needed security while lodging, storage spaces, and trade facilities whereas Muslim authorities used these facilities, named *funduq*, for surveillance and tax management. Therefore, *funduqs*, which previously functioned as urban trade hubs gradually adapted for Western merchants.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, 147.

¹¹¹ Constable, 150–51.

¹¹² In her book, Constable focuses on the emergence and adaptations of the *funduq* establishments, which by the 12th century developed to primarily serve European commerce, especially in

Byzantine examples of *mitaton* and *embolon*, along with the *funduq*, *han*, and *caravanserai* of Muslim territories, were central to the Mediterranean trade network. The extent of architectural and functional similarities and the possibility of cross-referencing among these typologies remain unclear in the current literature. However, their spatial and administrative characteristics reflect the necessities of accommodating diverse commercial activities during the Middle Ages.

After the rise of the Ottoman Empire as a dominant force in Mediterranean trade, *han* complexes replaced their predecessors while maintaining similar functions with new adaptations. Although these commercial spaces varied in location and scale, this thesis focuses on the development of *hans* in the empire's capital. In this context, examining the economic, administrative, and spatial adaptations of *hans* will shed light on the unique identity of Saint Pierre Han within this typology, particularly regarding its connections to the church.



Figure 22: Kürkçü Han (15th century) and Büyük Yeni Han (18th century) in Pervititch's map of 1942, featuring distinct spatial allocation around central courtyards.

Source: SALT Research.

The typology and examples of *hans* in Ottoman Istanbul have been widely studied by historians in various contexts. Two fundamental studies examining *hans* in Istanbul,

Alexandria. Europeans referred to these locations as *fundicum* in Latin or *fondaco* in Italian. Constable uses *funduq* and *fondaco* to differentiate them functionally: *funduqs* were designated for traders within the Dar al-Islam, whereas *fondacos* were intended for Western Christian merchants. Fondacos facilitated cross-cultural trade by establishing regulated sites for European merchants in towns. Through these complexes, Muslim ports facilitated trade despite religious turmoil. The author suggests that the fondaco system did not signify European hegemony despite exhibiting characteristics of subsequent European commercial colonies. Instead, it represented a regulated trade system governed by Muslim authorities that persisted until the 15th century. Constable, 107–57.

utilizing both Ottoman and foreign archives, are the doctoral dissertations of Nursel Gülenaz (1998) and Ahmet Yaşar (2016).¹¹³ These works analyze the emergence and transformation of *han* buildings in Istanbul from the 15th to the 19th centuries and address political, economic, and architectural contexts through case studies. Although Yaşar and Gülenaz's studies do not include the focal case of this thesis Saint Pierre Han, they provide insights for discussing this *han* within the broader typology.



Figure 23: Büyük Valide Han (17th century) in Pervititch's map of 1942.
Source: SALT Research.

The *hans* examined in the literature, despite some differentiating contexts, share similar characteristics especially the ones in the historical peninsula from the 15th century onward. These *hans*, which were composed of spaces for worship, commerce, and daily activities often included a coffee stall, a small mosque, water wells, storage units, fountains, and stables.¹¹⁴ However, these functions often varied depending on the *han*'s scale, location, their associated *waqfs*, and changing needs. Yaşar categorizes the development of *han* typology into three periods: *hans* built

¹¹³ Gülenaz, "İstanbul'daki 19. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Osmanlı Ticaret Han ve Pasajlarının Stil ve Fonksiyon Bakımından İncelenmesi"; Yaşar, "The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis."

¹¹⁴ Yaşar, "The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis," 210.

before 1701, *hans* constructed between the 18th and early 19th centuries, and the *bureau hans* that emerged in the mid-19th century.

Before 1701, *hans* were concentrated along the commercial axis, stretching from the port to the *Cevahir Bedesteni*.¹¹⁵ Large scale examples, such as Kürkçü Han (Figure 22) from the 15th century and Büyük Valide Han (Figure 23) and Vezir Han (Figure 24) from the 17th century, exemplify the typology of *hans* in the historical peninsula.

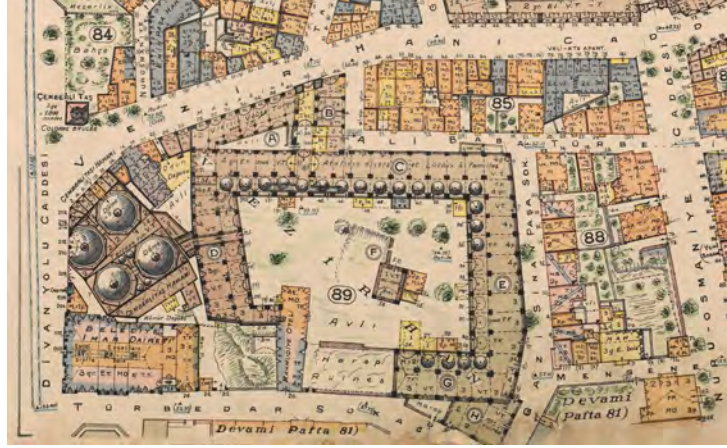


Figure 24: Vezir Han in Pervititch's map of 1942.
Source: SALT Research.

The pioneering examples of Büyük Valide Han, and Vezir Han, as the largest of their kind, also display the diversity in the spatial development of *han* complexes. For instance, although Büyük Valide Han featured the traditional layout centered around three courtyards, the courtyards were practically adapted to fit the area's topography. Unlike other large hans, where stables were typically located in the basement of the main courtyards, the stables in Büyük Valide Han were arranged around the smaller third courtyard. Due to its asymmetrical and partially detached form, this third courtyard was commonly perceived and referred to separately as Sağır Han. Yaşar also emphasizes that Büyük Valide Han introduced an unprecedented main gate with distinctive monumental features, later becoming a characteristic element of other large urban hans built in Istanbul. Vezir Han in Çemberlitaş, funded by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, similarly featured a monumental main gate and a mosque at the

¹¹⁵ The previously mentioned bedesten area in Galata was modeled after Cevahir Bedesteni. To avoid confusion, it should be noted that although this thesis focuses more on Galata's commercial district, it is undeniable that neither the bedesten area nor the port of Galata could surpass the central role of the bedesten in the historical peninsula in trade volume until the 19th century.

center of the courtyard. However, in contrast, this two-story building consisted of 44 rooms surrounding an almost square, single courtyard with porticoed galleries.¹¹⁶ These *hans*, generated revenue for their associated *waqfs* and they typically consisted of porticoed facades surrounding a rectangular courtyard and adjacent vaulted shops. While some exceptions existed, such as the ones without courtyards which adapted to specific settings, most *hans* in the Fatih and Eminönü districts featured this rectangular layout.

In 1701, the area surrounding *Cevahir Bedesteni* was roofed,¹¹⁷ and following the Sultan's return to İstanbul after the 1703 Edirne incident, construction of new *hans* and commercial activity accelerated in the area.¹¹⁸ Examples such as the Büyük Yeni Han (Figure 22), built during this period and maintained traditional layouts while incorporating advancements in construction technology, allowing for masonry structures with three or more storeys. It is unsurprising that the *hans* built in the center of the Ottoman capital from the 15th to 18th centuries differed significantly from those built in Galata in the 19th century. This comparison has been extensively discussed in the literature, thus I do not aim to repeat existing analyses but to establish a framework for discussing these differences in relation to the main case of this thesis. Before examining the case of Galata and Saint Pierre Han, I intend to briefly highlight the political contexts of han buildings, as Ahmet Yaşar's dissertation reveals invaluable details from the Ottoman archives about the relationship between *hans* and the Porte. Yaşar's survey suggests that the Porte's involvement with urban *hans* is not only because of the financial interest of the involved *waqfs*,¹¹⁹ but also because the Ottoman state intended to control and regulate these urban centers. As the number and lodging capacity of hans increased and incidents like the rebellion of Patrona Halil in 1730, followed by the artisan's uprising in 1740, and the Greek

¹¹⁶ Yaşar, "The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis," 36–39.

¹¹⁷ This area is known as *Kapalıçarşı* (Grand Bazaar) today.

¹¹⁸ Yaşar, "The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis," 207.

¹¹⁹ As the names of the given *hans* hint, large urban hans were usually sponsored by *waqfs* owned by the members of the royal family or the high ranking members of the imperial council.

rebellion of 1821 entailed new anxieties in political authority, the Porte took measures to survey the temporary residents of *hans*. *Hans*, which often accommodated the migrants arriving in the city, were subjected to extensive surveillance, starting during the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754). These surveys addressed security concerns caused by anonymous guests staying in the *hans* and the infrastructural insufficiencies exacerbated by rising migration. One of the outcomes of these new measures was the *waqf* register records compiled in 1763 and 1792. These records were used to list merchants and guests utilizing the *hans* and to monitor lodging migrants through the *kefalet* (surety) system.¹²⁰ According to the surety system, *han* guests had to be associated with *odabaşı* (*han* keepers) or artisanal networks. In 1763, the Porte banished 497 people without a surety after surveilling the *waqf* registers.¹²¹ In the aftermath of the Greek rebellion of 1821, the Porte extended the surveillance measures over non-Muslim subjects. These measures included an inspection of *han* residents and the information on surety, as well as the banning of the ownership of guns and bullets in *hans*.¹²² The registers holding the relevant information on *hans* not only demonstrate the authority's attempt to control these urban hubs, but also provide data on their residents, properties, and functions.

Despite the district's commercial identity, in Galata, *hans* did not develop as extensively as its historical peninsula counterpart until the 19th century. According to the 1763 *waqf* registers, there were 27 recorded *hans* in Galata and Kasımpaşa. Prominent examples included the previously mentioned 16th century Rüstem Pasha Hanı (Kurşunlu Han) near the *bedesten* area and the 18th century Zincirli Han in Perşembe Pazarı, and Havyar Han in the Karaköy neighborhood. However, as Ahmet Yaşar also highlights, these *waqf* registers are lacking for the *hans* in Galata and Kasımpaşa.¹²³ These unrecorded *hans* and shops were mostly owned by foreign merchants and protected by their respective ambassadors. Saint Pierre Han's absence

¹²⁰ For more on the surety system and surveillance of *hans*, see Yaşar, "The Han in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth- Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis," 201–4.

¹²¹ Yaşar, 183.

¹²² Yaşar, 192.

¹²³ Yaşar, 54.

from these *waqf* records is reasonable in this context, given its affiliation with the church, which was under French protection at its establishment. The church archives also suggest that the legal status of the *han* differed from that of *waqf hans*, with no mention of an *odabaşı* and, instead, the direct involvement of friars as the representatives of the *han*.

In the 19th century, *bureau hans* emerged and quickly developed in the new financial epicenter Galata. This new typology adapted to the changing needs of commerce as the finance industry and non-commodity trade advanced. Banks, commissioners, contractors, architects, lawyers, and other branches of the service industry inclined to have modern offices, workshops, and depots which rendered some features of the traditional *hans* less desired such as stables, fountains, mosques, and even courtyards. However, spatially *bureau hans* did not emerge as an organic outcome of traditional *hans*' development but rather formed as a result of the dialogue between local and foreign commercial practices and spaces. To better understand this emerging typology, which significantly diverged from the traditional *hans* of the historical peninsula, it is helpful to examine the commercial building typologies that were simultaneously developing in Europe and America, which the Ottoman Empire had close economic relations with.

The development of commercial buildings consisting of modern shops and offices started in industrializing Britain and France in the 18th century as technological and economic development rearranged the urban fabric and layouts of central cities such as London and Paris. The large-scale production facilities and residential neighborhoods relocated from city centers to peripheries, whereas new retail stores, offices, and non-commodity businesses took their place.¹²⁴ The expanding economy and production also bolstered consumption, defined new modes of living, and exponentially increased the market share of new modern businesses. Arcades were the first iteration of central commercial spaces in Europe. They emerged alongside the growing urban populations and rising middle-class during the Industrial Revolution, accommodating retail and leisure activities. While primarily spaces of

¹²⁴ Gülenaz, "İstanbul'daki 19. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Osmanlı Ticaret Han ve Pasajlarının Stil ve Fonksiyon Bakımından İncelenmesi," 123.

consumption and trade, arcades also functioned as social hubs, featuring cafes, bookstores, and theaters. These low-rise passages commonly formed long pedestrian corridors flanked by shops covered with glass ceiling structures.

In 1786, the *Galleries de Bois* (Figure 25) was constructed as one of the first examples of arcades in the *Palais-Royal's* gardens. The complex consisted of 180 timber arcades with various shops. These spaces accommodated merchants offering luxury goods alongside cafes, restaurants, taverns, and entertainment venues. The galleries quickly became a popular social hub where people from different social classes, from bourgeois patrons to lower middle-class shoppers and even swindlers and sex workers, roamed freely.¹²⁵ Despite its timber structure, which was soon to be obsolete in the 19th century, the *Galleries de Bois* rendered the *Palais-Royal* a dynamic center of commerce, and leisure.



Figure 25: A gravure of *Galleries de Bois* by A. P. Martial.
Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Another example of arcades, this time from Hamburg, presented a contrasting scenario which proves even the popular shopping hubs of the rising bourgeois were susceptible to fluctuating economic dynamics and demand. Furnée and Lesger highlight that Sillem's Bazar (Figure 26), Germany's first shopping arcade, initially seemed to resist such vulnerabilities. Founded in Hamburg in 1843, it was home to several establishments by 1848, including stationeries, luxury stores, and antique dealers, in addition to amenities like cafes, barbers, and a public reading room. The upper class in Hamburg was the Bazar's intended audience who were looking for exclusivity and modern consumption. However, Sillem's Bazar failed to sustain long-

¹²⁵ Jan Hein Furnée and Clé Lesger, eds., *The Landscape of Consumption: Shopping Streets and Cultures in Western Europe, 1600-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 186.

term commercial success despite its conspicuous products, services, and early success. Demand eventually declined, and the arcade's operations were limited to occasional periods of high consumption such as Christmas. Only 36 years after it opened, the Bazar was destroyed and rebuilt by an opulent hotel in 1881.¹²⁶

In the second half of the 19th century, when iron, glass, and concrete became more prevalent and accessible in the construction systems, high-rise department stores (*Bon Marché*) gradually replaced arcades and the first skyscrapers emerged in Europe and America. In the context of Galata in the late Ottoman period, as previously discussed, the district's socio-economic and urban scenes were already in dialogue with the industrializing world.



Figure 26: Sillem's Bazar in Hamburg.
Source: J. Gray cited in Furnée and Lesger.

Bureau hans were an outcome of this dialogue, where the landlords, patrons and architects produced unique examples in varying scales. These examples coexisted

¹²⁶ Furnée and Lesger, 144–45.

with the traditional *hans* remaining Perşembe Pazarı. Yet, the modern *hans* dominated the new commercial centers such as Voyvoda Street, Yüksek Kaldırım, and Karaköy Square.

Besides the intertwined socio-political and urban development, *han* buildings also introduced new architectural styles and building technologies. Local and foreign architects with academic training designed *hans* in Galata, incorporating neoclassical styles with nuanced local characteristics on plastered façades. Despite the *hans* in the historical peninsula still utilizing the traditional setting of vaulted units composed around courtyards, the 19th-century *hans* in Galata mostly abandoned these layouts. Instead, *bureau hans* often featured layouts featuring well-lit gallery spaces granting access to units directly from stairways and corridors. Furthermore, many of them utilized the new technology of the time to facilitate modern amenities, such as elevators and heating systems that were sought after by business owners.¹²⁷

2.2.2 Dominican Order in Galata and Establishment of Saint Pierre Han

The history of the Dominican order in Galata dates back to the 13th century. Since then, the Dominican friars and their establishments have dealt with frequent relocations, political negotiations, fire incidents, and reconstructions, while the church and its community have become integral to the district's cultural and architectural history.

Palazzo (1946) and architect Edoardo De Nari (1874–1954) conducted the earliest studies on Dominicans in Galata. According to these studies, Dominican friars arrived in 1299 and settled in Constantinople. The friars established a convent and began their mission in the historical peninsula. However, conflict with the predominant Orthodox Church resulted in their eviction a few years later. The friars subsequently relocated to Galata, where they established a small chapel on a lot donated by Genoese and dedicated it to San Paolo. After the fire of 1315, which

¹²⁷ Gülenaz, “İstanbul’daki 19. Yüzyıl ve Sonrası Osmanlı Ticaret Han ve Pasajlarının Stil ve Fonksiyon Bakımından İncelenmesi,” 448–49.

destroyed the majority of Galata, the chapel was replaced by a church dedicated to *San Domenico*.¹²⁸

Following the fall of Constantinople and Galata's surrender to the Ottomans in 1453, the church was converted into a mosque called *Cami-i Kebir*. Moorish immigrants settled around that mosque in 1492, renaming it *Arap Camii*.¹²⁹ After their displacement, the friars moved to the Church of *San Pietro* upon an agreement with the Zaccaria family. This agreement imposed specific conditions on the friars, including agency restrictions over the premises and ceremonial obligations. Despite these limitations, the Dominicans maintained their religious activities and renewed their agreements with the Zaccarias until 1561.¹³⁰

Massive fires that burned the church and most of Galata in 1660 and 1730 challenged the church complex with repeated hardship. The 1660 fire sparked a particularly concerning sequence of events for the friars, as the Porte confiscated and auctioned the damaged church properties. Baer reports that the Porte confiscated eighteen properties in Galata. Five Catholic churches, including *Santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo*, were confiscated and auctioned, with the condition that no churches could be built on the lots. However, Grand Vizier Fazl Ahmed Pasha asserted that the buyers had not adhered to the agreement, leading to the second seizure of twelve of these properties in 1662.¹³¹ Palazzo's study provides crucial details about this struggle with confiscations in the context of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul. According to the author, the congregation spared no sacrifices to recover the church premises after the

¹²⁸ Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint Paul à Galata*, 93–96; Sağlam, “Urban Palimpsest at Galata,” 114–15.

¹²⁹ Archaeological findings beneath the mosque, including tombstones dating back to 1325, indicate the presence of Genoese burials and connections to the Dominican community. Eyice, “Arap Camii,” 326.

¹³⁰ Hakan Gündoğar, “Galata St. Pierre Kilisesi’nin Tarihi” (Master’s Thesis, İstanbul, Marmara University, 2006), 12.

¹³¹ TThe other confiscated churches were Saint George, Saint Francis (*San Francesco*), Saint Anne (*Sant’Anna*), and *San Sebastiano*. Mosques replaced the churches of Saint Francis, Saint Anne, and San Sebastiano, as discussed previously. The only churches in the neighborhood that were able to restore their properties were Saint Pierre and Paul and Saint George, which are still located in close proximity. Baer, “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Spaces in Istanbul,” 171.

fire. However, the second confiscation required the help of the Venetian *bailo*, who paid to regain the premises. However, Palazzo notes that the re-establishment of the church was only possible after the Muslim population of the neighborhood, who previously supplied water from the convent's cistern, attested that they were hearing the friars' chants and that it was originally a Christian establishment (Figure 27).¹³² Another fire in 1730 caused extensive damage to the church and required another inquiry to Mahmud I to rebuild.¹³³ A more substantial reconstruction occurred in 1838 when the Dominicans received permission from Sultan Mahmud II,¹³⁴ and Gaspare Fossati designed and constructed this new church in 1843 which still stands today.



Figure 27: The well connected to the cistern, which was once used by neighbors. Currently located in the courtyard between the church and old monastery.

Source: Photograph by the author.

The Dominican friars actively participated in the political dialogue between the Porte and the foreign embassies protecting them throughout their history in Galata. The church was initially under the protection of the Venetian ambassador. However, in

¹³² Palazzo also mentions that after the fire of 1660 the friars turned the refectory of the surviving convent building into a chapel. After the reconstruction of the church was ensured, the new establishment was slowly built upon that chapel. Palazzo and Raineri, *La Chiesa Di S. Pietro in Galata*, 16–17.

¹³³ Gündoğar, “Galata St. Pierre Kilisesi’nin Tarihi,” 18.

¹³⁴ SPPCA 02711

1604, Ahmed I released a firman assigning it to the French embassy's prayer and ceremonies.¹³⁵ Eventually, the church shifted to the protection of the French ambassador in 1705.¹³⁶ The French protection significantly contributed to the church's prominence in Galata. As previously shown in Section 2.1.2, French merchants from Marseilles predominated in international trade within the Ottoman Empire during the 18th century, and the Bereketzade neighborhood operated as a self-sufficient French enclave. Edhem Eldem's recent research examines the parish records of Saints Pierre and Paul, titled *Liber I: Baptizatorum, Matrimoniorum et Mortuorum*, and provides significant data about the parishioners from 1740 to 1823.¹³⁷ These documents include details regarding baptisms, marriages, and deaths, not only on the French but also on Greek, Armenian, Eastern, Dalmatian, Italian, and Spanish parishioners.¹³⁸

The data Eldem compiled reveals distinct marriage and occupation patterns with French and Greek communities, which appear as the most represented parishioners.¹³⁹ According to the author's analysis French men frequently married Greek women, arguably to form strategic alliances with local trade networks and integration. In contrast, French women mostly remained endogamous, with 70% marrying French men. On the other hand, both male and female Greek parishioners were cohesively endogamous. Based on this distinction, Eldem argues that French

¹³⁵ SPPCA 02701

¹³⁶ Can, "İstanbul'da 19. Yüzyıl Batılı ve Levanten Mimarların Yapıları ve Koruma Sorunları," 417.

¹³⁷ Edhem Eldem, "The French Nation of Constantinople in the Eighteenth Century as Reflected in the Saints Peter and Paul Parish Records, 1740– 1800," in *French Mediterraneans: Transnational and Imperial Histories*, ed. Patricia M. E. Lorcin and Todd Shepard, France Overseas Studies in Empire and Decolonization (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 131–67.

¹³⁸ The records include 1075 baptisms, 299 marriages, and 898 deaths alongside some less consistent data on parishioners' occupations. Eldem, 134.

¹³⁹ The Greek community was the largest demographic group, and referred to the mostly local Latin Catholics of Greek linguistic and cultural backgrounds, accounting for half to two-thirds of baptism and marriage records and one-third to half of recorded deaths. This density also resulted from migration from the Aegean islands and the lack of official recognition, which forced them to use a limited number of Catholic churches, including Saints Pierre and Paul. Eldem highlights that the parish primarily served two groups: the politically influential French and the demographically dominant Greeks, best defined as the local Latin community. Other groups were much smaller. Among locals, Armenians were the next largest, making up only 5% of the sample. Eldem, 137.

men were more eager for intercommunal marriages,¹⁴⁰ whereas the more established Greek community maintained internal cohesion.¹⁴¹

Occupational data also reinforces this divide. The records document a significant number of transient actors on the French side such as diplomats, merchants, sailors, and soldiers. Meanwhile, Greeks and Armenians were primarily local merchants and artisans.¹⁴² The given distinction in localness is further supported by the baptism and death records, where the French had the most itinerant death records while the Greeks appeared more consistently in both baptismal and death records.¹⁴³

Eldem's analysis supports two key discussions that feed this thesis. First, French trade in 18th century Galata was indeed intertwined with the social dynamics of integration and hybridity. Second, the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul, and by extension Saint Pierre Han, stood at the center of this interaction.



Figure 28: The current premises of the church.

Source: Satellite image by Google Earth, annotated by the author.

Foreign protection was a crucial determinant for the church's operations since Catholics were not a part of the *millet* system, unlike other non-Muslim

¹⁴⁰ Notwithstanding the tendency of French men to engage into exogamous marriage, the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce sought to prevent merchants from establishing themselves in the Levant through a variety of regulatory measures. Nonetheless, Eldem claims that these restrictions often proved unsuccessful in practice, since even the French ambassador circumvented them. Eldem, 146–48.

¹⁴¹ Eldem, 142.

¹⁴² Eldem, 144–45.

¹⁴³ Eldem, 141.

communities. Foreign embassies provided protection and acted as political intermediaries. Similar to the other Catholic churches in Pera, such as Santa Maria Draperis and Saint Anthony, the church needed the funding and negotiation power the embassies provided.¹⁴⁴ The protection of foreign embassies not only provided political and financial support but also assisted the friars in maintaining their properties and religious services, even though these same affiliations might render the church vulnerable to the political conflicts happening between the foreign states and the Porte.



Figure 29: West façade of Saint Pierre Han (left) from Eski Banka Street.
Source: SALT Research.

Saint Pierre Han, associated with the Saints Pierre and Paul Dominican Catholic Church in today's *Bereketzade* neighborhood, is an integral part of the church's historic building complex (Figure 28). The complex includes Saint Pierre Han, a guesthouse, two monastery buildings, the Saint Pierre Apartment, and the church, covering an area of approximately 4000 square meters. It partially sits on the Genoese walls along its northern border. The southwest façade, along with the *han*

¹⁴⁴ Communities officially recognized as *millets* by the empire, historically benefited from a more secure position and negotiation power than the Catholic community, especially before the 19th century. As elaborated in the previous chapter, the Catholic community's status often required intricate and challenging dialogue with the Porte. This thesis will often revisit this political complexity within the context of Saint Pierre Han to inquire into its effects on both Saint Pierre Han and its community.

units, meets the southeast façade at the intersection of *Eski Banka* Street and Galata Kulesi Street, previously known as *Kuledibi* Street (Figure 29).

The complex assumed its current state through several re-constructions and additions, and the *han* component emerged in 1731, after a fire in 1730 destroyed the old church and monastery. From 1731, when the *han* consisted of wooden houses, to its reconstruction with stone buildings between 1771 and 1775, not many sources provide information about the building.

Following the complete replacement of the timber buildings in 1775, the fragmented and complex history of the new stone and masonry *han* complex underwent various transformations to this day. In this chapter, I aim to examine the architectural and social history of the *han* from the 1770s to the early 20th century by using archival records and current physical evidence to trace its development.

The first historical studies specifically focusing on Saint Pierre Han emerged from a discussion about the birthplace of the French poet André Chénier (1762–1794). In 1904, journalist Régis Delbeuf (1854–1911) published a conference paper titled "*Les origines d'André Chénier*," claiming that Chénier was born in Saint Pierre Han and even identified the exact room of his birth.¹⁴⁵

Delbeuf also commissioned Alexandre Vallauray, one of the han's former residents, to inscribe a commemorative plaque that reads: "André Chénier was born in this house on 30 October 1762." However, Delbeuf's claims clearly did not convince Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, a historian and another former resident of the han, who published *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier* in 1963. In this book, Dalleggio D'Alessio examines the archives of the Church of Saint Pierre and Paul to clarify the historical narrative. He reveals that André Chénier was not born in the existing *han* building but in one of the timber houses that preceded it. Furthermore, he sheds light on the early formation of the current *han* complex by referring to an inventory survey conducted by Father Vincenzo Salvi between 1782 and 1798.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Delbeuf, "Les Origines d'André Chénier," 8.

¹⁴⁶ Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier*, 9.

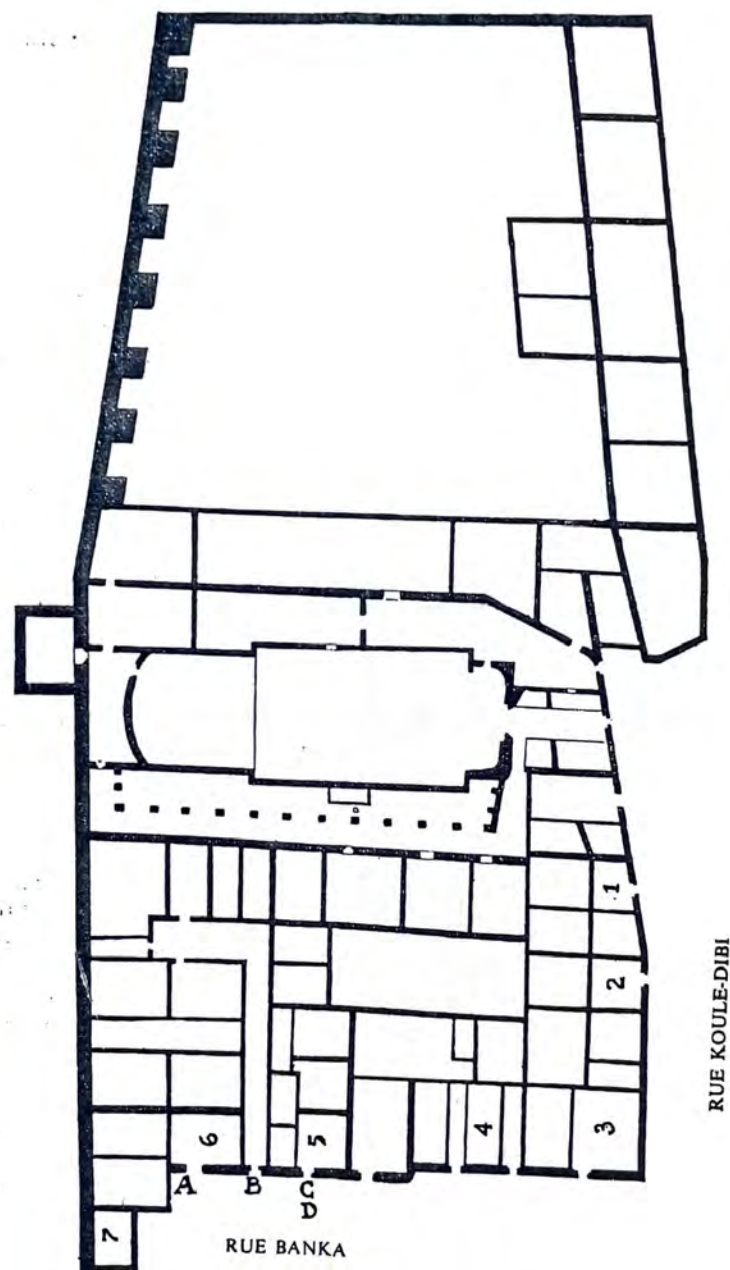


Figure 30: The early formation of the Saint Pierre Han and the adjacent apartments in the late 18th century, based on Vincenzo's inventory.

Source: Dalleggio D'Alessio, 1963.

According to the survey, between 1770 and 1775, the church replaced deteriorating wooden houses along the southwest and southeast borders of its premises. To finance the project, the friars secured loans and received financial support from the French ambassador, Comte de Saint Priest. The han's façade later displayed two plaques, one bearing Comte de Saint Priest's coat of arms and the other the French fleur-de-lis, as a symbol of this support. Dalleggio D'Alessio explains that the current

han complex is composed of five of the seven buildings funded by the ambassador (Figure 30). Vincenzo Salvi's inventory listed these buildings as numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, each serving a distinct purpose:

Houses 1 and 2 were constructed in 1770, located along the border of the lot facing Kuledibi Street. The Rosario Apartment later replaced House No. 2.

House 3 was constructed of stone in 1772 at the intersection of Kuledibi Street and Eski Banka Street. It was intended to accommodate shops.

House 4 was built in 1771, this house served as a branch of the Bank a la Nation Française and provided lodging for its officers. The friars received annual rent payments for its use.

House 5 was built of stone in 1775. It housed merchants and business owners.

House 6 was also constructed from stone in 1775. Yet, Dalleggio D'Alessio provides no further details about this structure.

House 7 was originally made of timber, it was rebuilt in stone alongside house 6 in 1775. This building leans against the remnants of the Genoese city walls on the northwest.¹⁴⁷

The commercial function of the complex from its early formation explains why it was identified as a *han*. However, such identification requires a rather more detailed examination. In addition to the perplexing architectural composition of the building, which will unfold another extensive discussion, Saint Pierre Han stood apart from the traditional *hans* of the historical peninsula, as it was managed by a church, sponsored by an ambassador, and resided in by foreign merchants and companies. In this context, Göksoy associates Saint Pierre Han's commercial identity with "*funduqs*" rather than traditional Ottoman *hans*. Originating in North Africa, *funduqs* functioned as commercial facilities for foreign merchants as they offered secure spaces for commerce, storage, and lodging. Similar to *hans*, *funduqs* arranged themselves around a courtyard, offering practical amenities like storage rooms,

¹⁴⁷ Dalleggio D'Alessio, 9–11.

refractories, and secure gates. Göksoy highlights that Europeans were often employed in these mostly Muslim-owned facilities, which primarily drew international merchants and businesses.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, this initial formation and use of Saint Pierre Han seem to align with Göksoy's observation. However, the subsequent transformations, architectural adaptations, and shifts in social and political contexts resulted in a more complex history.

2.2.3 Functional and Spatial Configuration of Saint Pierre Han

Vincenzo Salvi's records are the only known records depicting the han's initial reconstruction and functions. Whereas it is reasonable to assume that the *han* kept facilitating commercial activity with the protection of the French embassy, details of its history from 1775 to 1863 requires further investigation. D'Alessio's research, however, after a century-long jump in the timeline following the analysis of Vincenzo Salvi's archival records, addresses the architectural alterations applied to Saint Pierre Han by the Imperial Ottoman Bank¹⁴⁹ (*Bank-ı Osmanî-i Şahane*), which started business in 1863. The construction contract signed between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Dominican friars in 1881, during the bank's tenancy from 1863 to 1893, supports D'Alessio's reference (Figure 31). However, the available evidence of the Han's status from the late 18th century, when Vincenzo Salvi recorded it, to 1881 is still limited. This scarcity limits a more comprehensive examination of the transformation that D'Alessio addresses; however, the church

¹⁴⁸ Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*. Cited in Ekin Can Göksoy, "Accommodating Foreign Merchants in a Changing Mediterranean: The Case of Galata," in *Mediterranean Mosaic: History and Art*, ed. Erminio Fonzo and Hilary Haakenson, Mediterranean, Knowledge, Culture and Heritage 6 (ICSR Mediterranean Knowledge, 2019), 33–35.

¹⁴⁹ The Imperial Ottoman Bank is often mistaken for the Ottoman Bank due to the similarity in their names. Peter Pasquali and Stephen Sleight established the Ottoman Bank in 1856 with British capital, and the bank was located in Saint Pierre Han. During its formation, the bank's investors faced challenges stemming from turbulent diplomatic negotiations between Britain and the Porte. In the end, the Ottoman Bank failed to secure its desired success over the Ottoman financial sector, leading to its dissolution in 1863. Its shareholders then moved to the newly established Imperial Ottoman Bank, which subsequently took over the operations of its predecessor in Saint Pierre Han. For a comprehensive study on these two banks and their history see Edhem Eldem, *Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi*, 90 (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi, 1999), 29–88.

The maps of the municipality (Figure 32) and D'Ostoya (Figure 33) demonstrate two major details on the han's layout before the modifications.



Figure 32: The settlement of the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul, including the han, monastery, and the apartments in the 1857–1876 municipality maps.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.



Figure 33: The settlement of the Church of Saint Pierre and Paul, including the han, monastery, and the apartments on D'Ostoya's map of 1858.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

First, both maps indicate an open space, a courtyard or a garden,¹⁵¹ between the *han* and the old monastery, which was built in 1838. Second, both maps show a passage-

first structural implementations appear in a contract of 1872 (see Appendix Figure B. 6-8). For more details on these contracts and further lease negotiations, see Appendix B.

¹⁵¹ Given D'Ostoya's map marks that area with green, it is possible that there might be a garden with vegetation.

like opening in between the houses on the northwestern part of the *han*. This passageway corresponds to the corridor between houses 5 and 6 in D'Alessio's drawing and it defines a smaller courtyard between the houses and the old monastery. Fortunately, a more detailed plan of the entire lot from 1863 sheds more light on these details (Figure 34).¹⁵² The third plan of 1863 clearly defines a courtyard and garden between the *han* and the old monastery. Furthermore, the narrow passage between the houses is also identified as a street (*rue*) leading to another courtyard.



Figure 34: A detailed plan of the church premises from 1863, defining a corridor between the houses, a courtyard, and a garden.

Source: Plan from the Archives of Saints Peter and Paul, annotated by the author.

On the other hand, Goad's map presents a different layout, where the courtyard and the garden between the *han* and the church were covered with the terrace added with the third floor, and the passage between the *han* blocks was not shown (Figure 35).

¹⁵² This plan is kindly provided by the friars from the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul's private archives. Unfortunately, the document does not have an identification number, the referencing will be clarified.

Therefore, assuming there were no other undocumented annexations or reconstructions between the 1770s and 1905, it is evident that the Imperial Ottoman Bank significantly altered the building by adding a new floor, removing a courtyard, and sealing a passage. Having discussed the transformation of the *han's* layout, D'Alessio's claims regarding these modifications become clearer. He states:

[...] on a façade of 58 meters formed by these five houses, two doors were bricked up and two other doors were sealed off. Inside, walls were torn down, and passages were cut to allow free movement from one house to another; finally, a new floor was built. An arched passage giving access to an inner courtyard of the convent was walled up; the entrance to the Han was established there, along with a staircase providing access to all the floors.¹⁵³

The mentioned staircase with entrance is near the main door of Saint Pierre Han, which opens to *Eski Banka* Street between buildings 5 and 6 in Dalleggio D'Alessio's drawing (Figure 36). This entrance corresponds to the passageway that appears on the plans preceding the alterations.



Figure 35: The church premises on Goad's map of 1905.
Source: SALT Research.

¹⁵³ Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier*, 9.



Figure 36: The main entrance (D4) of Saint Pierre Han, where the staircase replaced the previous passage leading to the courtyard.
Source: Photograph by the author.

The final detail that requires attention from D'Alessio's assessment is the four doors: two opened and two sealed. In a building with numerous blocked and added openings, it's difficult to pinpoint which door D'Alessio is referring to, but there are specific connection points that need attention. Two of these connection points are located in the same house. These connections appear to be in building 3 (HD). The first one is at the landing of the staircase¹⁵⁴ leading to the first floor, in the form of an arched opening later closed (C12). Recently, the ongoing restoration project¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Marked as S4 on the first floor diagram, leading from the room G20 to 118.

¹⁵⁵ The ongoing restoration project of Saint Pierre Han aims to adapt the long-neglected building for the use of Bahçeşehir University's conservatory. Led by İBB Miras, the heritage department of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the project involves several phases, including the removal of unsystematic alterations made by residents throughout the 20th century and the restoration of the building to its original form.

removed the second-floor slab on top of this first blocked door. On the wall there are traces of a now-gone staircase leading to the second floor, where the traces of the second blocked door appear (C21). The restoration project also revealed a wall layer with a painted sign reading “*sortie*” in French, which translates into English as “exit” approximately 150 centimeters above the first blocked door, pointing a carved niche on the second floor (Figure 37).



Figure 37: The blocked gates on the first floor and second floors. The exit sign “*sortie*” points to the carved wall niche on the second floor.
Source: Photograph and annotations by the author

Where these marks might be leading is an interesting question since on the other side of the wall stands the Rosario Apartment, which replaced another apartment of the same name in 1955. Although it's unclear when the passage was blocked, the door's

placement suggests either a corridor that leads to the basement rooms of the old monastery, or if the previous Rosairo Apartment had a narrower layout, this door could lead to the courtyard between the han, the old monastery, and the church (Figure 38).

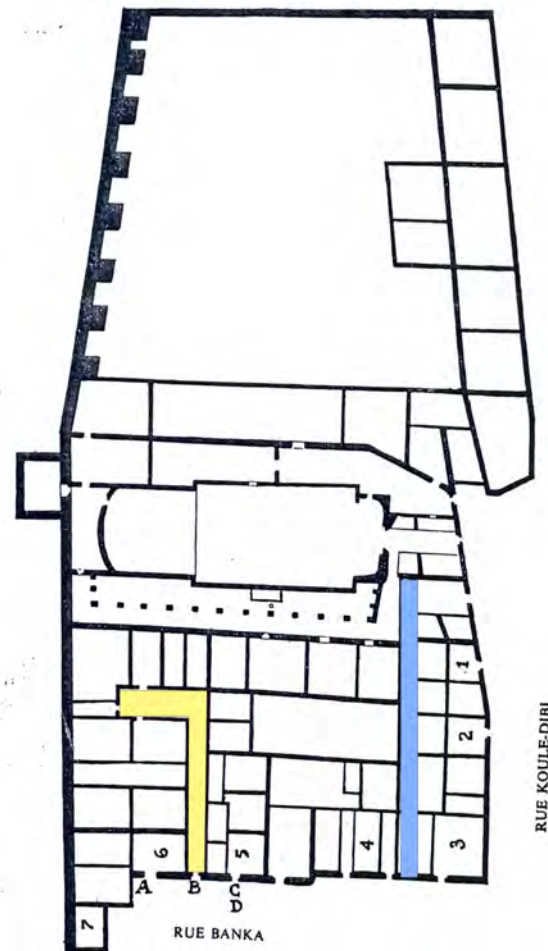


Figure 38: The axis of the blocked doors (blue) and the previous corridor (yellow).

Source: Drawing from Dalleggio D'Alessio, 1963, annotated by the author.

The ambiguous and modified relationship between the Han and the remainder of the building complex is not limited to the covered passageway and the blocked door. On the third floor, there are four connection points between the *han* and the monastery marked with C31, C32, C33, and C34. C31 is located at the end of a third floor corridor (307) and opens to the old monastery. C32 and C33 are two rooms at the intersection of the buildings. C34 marks the retaining wall that separates the *han* and the old monastery. The old monastery (1838) was built against this wall, which displays several vaulted gates, all of which were bricked up. Two of these bricked

gates separate the old monastery's courtyard (Figure 39) from the enclosed space along the *han*'s northeastern side (110) (Figure 50).



Figure 39: Two bricked gates, from the old monastery's courtyard (C34).
Source: Photograph by the author



Figure 40: The bricked gates, from the han's third floor balcony (C34).
Source: Photograph by the author

Additionally, there are more examples of similarly bricked gates on the upper floor of the old monastery, which evidently once worked in cohesion with *Saint Pierre Han* (Figure 41).



Figure 41: Another bricked gate, separating the old monastery's first floor from the han's third floor. Source: Photograph by the author.

Lastly, there is one more passageway (C11) that connects the *han*'s first floor to the old monastery's basement. However, it is unclear if this passageway was still in use during or after the Imperial Ottoman Bank's residency and this basement connection could not be explored further for this thesis, due to safety reasons (Figure 42).

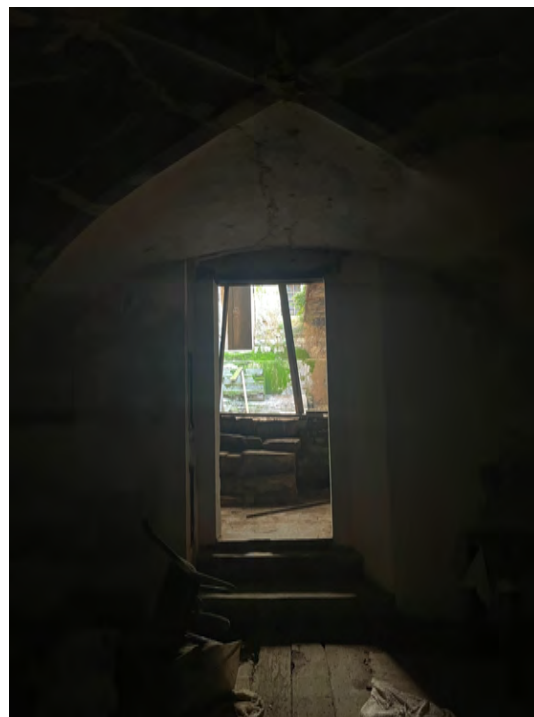


Figure 42: The passageway from Saint Pierre Han's first floor (115) to the old monastery's basement.

Source: Photograph by the author.

The various spatial connections discussed above suggest that when the old monastery was built in 1838, it was intended to function in spatial conjunction with Saint Pierre

Han. Considering the previously mentioned evidence of the eliminated courtyard and the extensive alterations implemented by the bank, it is plausible to claim that Saint Pierre Han was isolated from the old monastery during the adaptations of 1882.

Saint Pierre Han, in its current state, largely preserves the spatial configuration established following the modifications implemented by the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Although tenants made minor interventions to the space over the decades, the ongoing restoration project has identified these alterations and removed the unoriginal elements. Comprehending and analyzing the Han's spatial articulation requires the visualization of the spaces described in this thesis. Due to the current restoration project and the unavailability of the survey plans drawn for the project, the building's layout has been depicted using diagrams that superimpose photographs taken during the field study with partial plans from Kösebay's 1999 thesis. Although these crafted diagrams are not to scale, they will be crucial for understanding the Han (Figure 43).

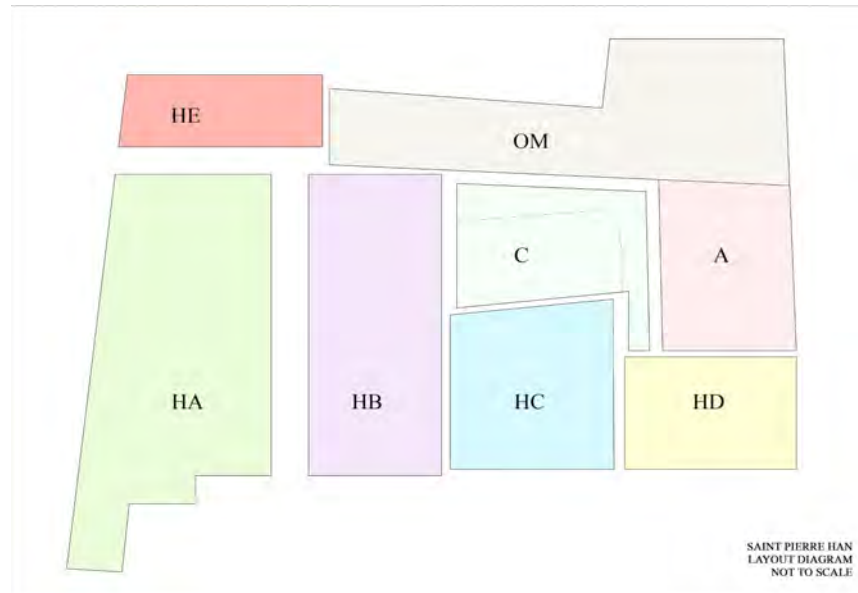


Figure 43: Spatial composition of the *han* and the adjacent building in the premises.
Source: Diagram by the author.

The *han*'s façade reveals its stone structure up to the third floor, added after 1881 using brick. The varying door and window types hint at the individual units on the façade. Furthermore, this individuality of the houses becomes even more evident on the ground floor layout (Figure 44). Although the bank's implementations on ground floor spaces connected the spaces after 1882, they were originally designed to function independently.



Figure 44: The current spatial layout of the ground floor, the spatial articulation is color coded. Source: Diagram by the author

On the first floor (Figure 45), rooms are grouped around short corridors and staircases, forming more significant clusters despite the fragmented nature of the ground floor. HA, HB, and HE blocks merge on this floor, yet HC and HD work within their units. In the case of HD, the first floor is a thin mezzanine layer added later as an extension, presumably for practical needs.



Figure 45: The current spatial layout of the first floor, the spaces of HA, HB, and HE work together, whereas HC and HD remain individual. Source: Diagram by the author.

The second floor (Figure 46) unifies most of the structure, with rectangular rooms arranged along wide corridors extending over the small courtyard between the *han* and the old monastery building.



Figure 46: The current spatial layout of the second floor, the spaces of HA, HB, and HC, HE converges, HD remains individual.
Source: Diagram by the author.



Figure 47: The current spatial layout of the third floor, the rooms are composed around the corridor (321) spanning over the floor. The individuality of the houses is overwritten.
Source: Diagram by the author.

The layout converges fully on the third floor (Figure 47), added after 1882. This floor's layout has a distinct articulation around the central corridor where the office

units were placed. The section diagrams also illustrate the overall spatial articulation from the ground floor to the third floor (Figure 48). The staircase (S5) provides access to this floor, leading to a long corridor that connects the linearly aligned rooms. A terrace and a skylight above the staircase illuminate the second floor (Figures 49-50).



Figure 48: Diagram of the CC section.
Source: Diagram by the author.



Figure 49: Diagram of the AA section, crossing through the main entrance (D4).
Source: Diagram by the author.



Figure 50: Diagram of the BB section.
Source: Diagram by the author.

The spatial composition of the *han* gradually merges the spaces from ground level to the upper ones. The units on the ground floor are composed around smaller clusters. The rooms which do not face Eski Banka Street lack sufficient lighting and ventilation, especially on the HA block. These smaller and enclosed units were most likely utilized as storage units for the offices and workshops located on the upper floors. Third floor unsurprisingly fits the *bureau hans*' typology the most, as the rooms are positioned along a central axis and the vaulted ceilings were replaced by high and flat ones. The traces of the *han*'s previous composition and the trajectory of spatial transformation and, especially after the establishment of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, suggest that the *han* ruptured from the remainder of the church complex. This rupture was not limited to spatial contexts with the elimination of previous passageways and a small courtyard, it also disrupted the previously insular setting of the premises. In contrast to its 18th century state, when the complex mainly served the French embassy and merchants, Saint Pierre Han opened to the financial scene of Galata in the second half of the 19th century.

2.2.4 Residents of Saint Pierre Han

The archival documents and existing literature support the idea that the residency of the Imperial Ottoman Bank was a significant turning point for Saint Pierre Han. The establishment of the bank arguably incorporated the *han* into a broader commercial network and expanded its clientele beyond its former predominantly French network. This transition also reasonably contributed to the *han*'s popularity, which even led to its mention in the British weekly illustrated newspaper, *The Graphic* in 1886 (Figure 51). Additionally, as discussed in Section 2.2.3, the bank substantially modified the *han*'s spatial configuration and adjusted the building's physical properties to facilitate rapidly advancing commercial activities. In this part, I will focus on the *han*'s diverse residents through the archival records of the church of Saints Pierre and Paul to examine Saint Pierre Han with a bottom-up approach by analyzing microhistories to connect nuanced and often overlooked details from the archives. To do so, I will refer to the Dominican friars' chronicles, letters, and rental contracts to shed light on

the relationship between varying actors and commercial activities that took place in Saint Pierre Han during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The discussion will follow a chronological trajectory, starting with the negotiations between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Dominican friars, followed by the key residents who engaged in interesting dialogues and interactions with Saint Pierre Han and the church, and concluding with the prosopographic analysis of rental contracts from 1912 to 1923.

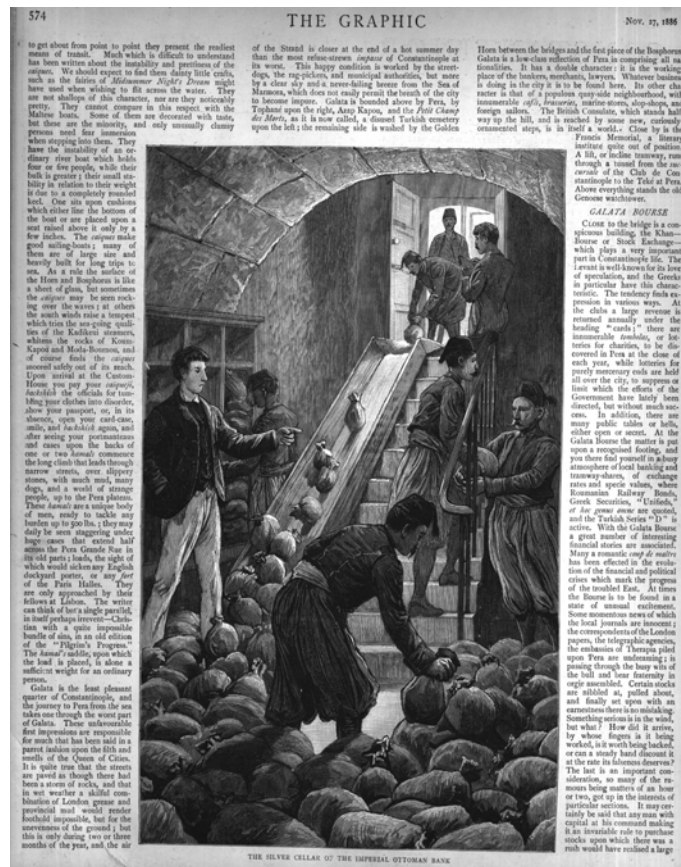


Figure 51: The silver cellar of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Saint Pierre Han, depicted in the British weekly illustrated newspaper, *The Graphic*.
Source: SALT Research.

The Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Dominican friars had a complex history of economic negotiations that extended beyond the alterations to Saint Pierre Han. The church archives include rental contracts signed with the bank and present further insights regarding this negotiation. According to the archival records, two contracts from 1870 and 1872 state that the bank agreed to pay 1,000 liras annually for the *han* in 1870, with the rent increasing to 1,100 liras in 1872.¹⁵⁶ The next rent negotiation

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix B

took place over a decade later in 1884, two years after the construction agreement that transformed Saint Pierre Han.

However, the friars' private chronicles, *Liber Consiliorum*,¹⁵⁷ reveal that the perplexing 1884 contract, which extended for 29 years, was signed under unusual circumstances (Figure 52). According to the chronicles, the friars demanded an increase in annual rent to 1,500 liras due to two reasons: first, the church's rising property tax after the addition of a third floor in 1881, and second, the obstruction of the Golden Horn vista for the rest of the church complex. The documents suggest that a 10-year contract had already been signed in 1882 for 1,100 liras annually, yet no such document is available in the archives.

Negotiations took an unexpected turn when the bank's manager, C. La Fontaine, raised the friars' outstanding debt of 1,690 liras. He offered to settle the debt in exchange for a 20-year rental contract and set the rent at 1,350 liras. Furthermore, La Fontaine requested that this new contract take effect only after the existing one expired in 1892, therefore extending the bank's stay in Saint Pierre Han to 29 years in total. Ultimately, amid financial struggles, the friars accepted La Fontaine's proposal.

In the following years, a dispute arose again between the parties when La Fontaine allegedly excluded the debt settlement from the written contract, and the bank began pressuring the friars.¹⁵⁸ It is uncertain how exactly this conflict was settled. However, it is known that the Imperial Ottoman Bank annulled the 20-year extension as it moved to its new building on Voyvoda Street in 1893.

This intricate dialogue between the friars and the bank unfolds more than solely financial interactions. It provides glimpses of a possible power dynamic in which the bank leveraged the friars' financial struggles to secure control over the Saint Pierre Han. At the same time, this interaction directly contributed to the physical transformation of Saint Pierre Han, as the bank's previously discussed alterations in

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁸ A debt settlement and payment agreement from 1894 confirms this, see Appendix B (Figures 103-104).

the building more or less adapted the over a century old building into Galata's 19th century financial scene.

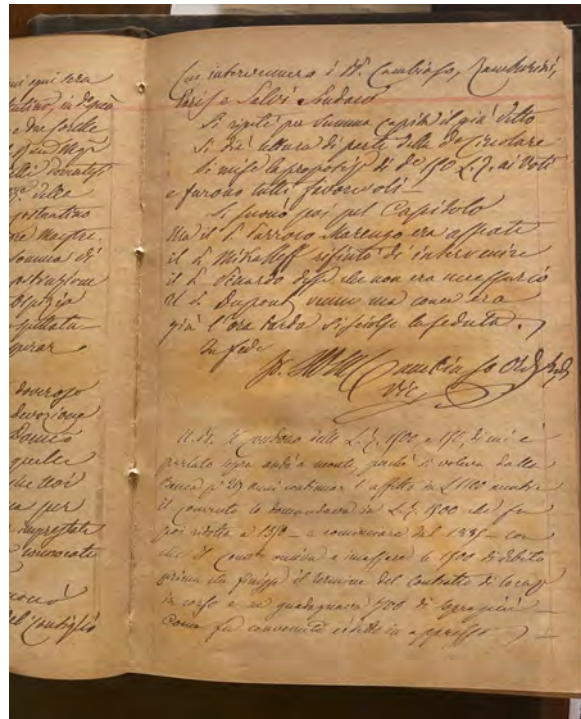


Figure 52: The friars' chronicle, *Liber Consiliorum*, documenting the negotiation with the Imperial Ottoman Bank.

Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

The departure of the Imperial Ottoman Bank opened Saint Pierre Han to a diverse range of new residents at the end of the 19th century. The han's unique layout, which articulated the fragmented lower levels composed of large storage spaces and smaller shops that open to Eski Banka Street articulated into connected high-ceiling offices following axial corridors, attracted various companies and individual professionals. To this day, Saint Pierre Han is known for its architect residents, many of whom established some of Istanbul's first private architecture offices during this period. Ali Değirmenci enumerates 20 architects who had offices in Saint Pierre Han between 1895 and 1932 through *Annuaire Oriental* records.¹⁵⁹ In addition to Değirmenci's list, the rental contracts this thesis deals with reveal two more architect residents from the early 20th century. Nevertheless, it would not be surprising if even more is to be revealed. Besides the quantitative dominance of architects, these actors both spatially

¹⁵⁹ Ali Değirmenci, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde İlk Açılan Mimarlık Büroları ve Dönemin Mimarlık Ortamı" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Yıldız Technical University, 2021), 243–44.

engaged with the *han* and interacted not only among themselves but also with the church.

The architects' presence in Saint Pierre Han is easily visible in the physical evidence they left in their working spaces. The cross-examination of archival documents and physical traces confirm that architecture offices were concentrated on the han's second floor. This becomes evident as the signboards carrying the names of Antoine Perpignani, Marco G. Langas, and Edoardo De Nari immediately appear on the left wall of the entrance hall when visitors take the main staircase (S1) to the second floor. The signboards also show that by then, their offices were in rooms no 5, no 4, and no 7, respectively.



Figure 53: Room 4 (204), opening to the hall (203) on the second floor.
Source: Photograph by the author.

The designated space opens onto a large hall (203) on the second floor of the HA block, surrounded by four rectangular rooms (202, 204, 205, 206) and a narrow corridor leading to restrooms (207). A recently uncovered wall layer marks the location of room 4 (204) (Figure 53). The interior connections between rooms 205

and 206 and a series of openings linking rooms 202, 204, 217, 218, 219, and 220 suggest spatially interconnected work environments.

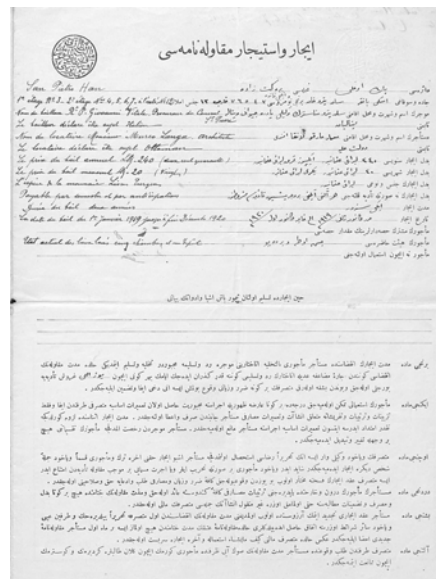


Figure 54: Architect Marco Langas' contract of 1919, documents that he leased room 3 on the first floor and rooms 4, 5, 6, 7, and 12 on the second floor.
Source: SALT Research.

Rental contracts clarify the practical use of these linked spaces. According to Marco Langas' rental contract of 1919, it appears that the architect used several rooms across multiple floors of the han. These rooms were room 3 on the first floor as a depot and rooms 4, 5, 6, and 7 on the second floor alongside room 12 (Figure 54). Later, in 1921, Giulio Mongeri also appeared in Langas' contract as a business partner.



Figure 55: Art nouveau figures painted on the walls of room 4 (204).
Source: Photograph by the author.

Rooms that accommodated architects also exhibit distinct decorative features. room 4 (204) and its adjacent rooms (202, 217) feature polychrome wall paintings with Art

Nouveau patterns, while the consecutive rooms (205, 206, 218, 219, 220) have ornamented ceilings (Figure 55). However, this distinction does not necessarily mean these were the only decorated rooms in Saint Pierre Han, considering the building's current deteriorated condition and the possibility that some wall layers have been lost over time.

On another note, the architects' engagement with the church complex at times extended beyond the *han*. The church archives recorded such an example through letters and contracts regarding a restoration project architect Antoine Perpignani proposed to the friars (Figure 56). The negotiations of this project, carried out between 1894 and 1904, reveal valuable details about the han's physical state by the time and the dialogue between the parties.¹⁶⁰

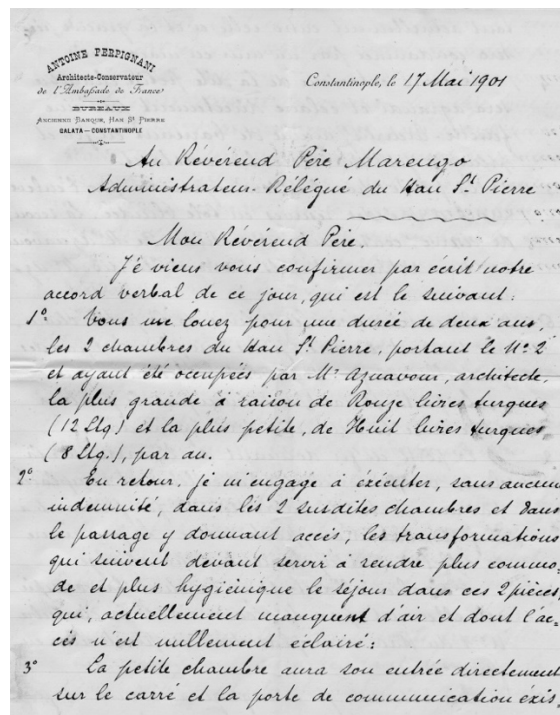


Figure 56: Perpignani's letter of 1904, regarding the restoration project.
Source: SALT Research.

Perpignani proposed the project with a series of letters. In the first letter of 1894, he requested to permanently move his office to a ground-floor room, as he mentioned an earthquake damaging his previous office on the upper floor, possibly room 5 on the second floor. He suggested that the new ground floor room would benefit him with

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix C.

better accessibility. In exchange, Perpignani offered to personally finance and manage a series of renovations and repairs at Saint Pierre Han. These renovations included installing new doors, demolishing a partition, adding glass panels for lighting, adding storage spaces, improving insulation, and reinforcing structural elements. At the end of the letter, the architect requested a five-year lease with a gradual increase in rent.

It is unclear whether this proposal was executed, yet a later proposal he wrote in 1904 extended the project's scope. This new proposal focused on two additional rooms that architect Joseph Aznavour previously occupied. Perpignani was also interested in renting these rooms and was eager to improve the physical conditions. He committed to covering the expenses of the renovations, which prioritized ventilation, hygiene, accessibility improvements, expansion and reorganization of room layouts, addition of structural reinforcements, staircase modifications, and installation of new windows for better lighting. In return, he was to be exempted from rent on room 4 for two years and retained the right to sublet one of the other rooms.¹⁶¹

The budget and payment records of this project confirm the application of this project, yet they do not provide any visual details. There is a single-page partial plan in the archives, which Perpignani drew in 1902 for a renovation project on a building in the church premises. However, this drawing depicts a building adjacent to the friars' school on the northern part of the lot, and neither the school nor the depicted house exists today (Figure 57). It is unclear whether this plan relates to the proposed renovations in the letters, as it may belong to an entirely separate project.

The negotiations between the Ottoman Bank and the Dominican friars and those involving Antoine N. Perpignani reflect two different dynamics in how residents engaged with Saint Pierre Han's physical setting as well as the Dominican friars. The

¹⁶¹ Although the rental contracts analyzed in this thesis do not include those from 1904 for methodological reasons, Değirmenci's analysis of *Annuaire Oriental* issues confirms the stated room numbers. By this period, Antoine Perpignani occupied rooms 3, 4, and 12, while Joseph Aznavour operated in rooms 2, 5, and 7. Değirmenci, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde İlk Açılan Mimarlık Büroları ve Dönemin Mimarlık Ortamı," 243–44.

banks' manager La Fontaine involved power imbalances and financial leverage, as seen in the controversial contract of 1884, where the bank seemingly attempted to take advantage of the friars' economic struggles under disputed terms. Nonetheless, the outcomes of the bank's residency triggered a significant turn in Saint Pierre Han's spatial transformation. In contrast, Perpignani's proposals were framed by professional exchange rather than financial coercion. As an architect and tenant, he sought mutually beneficial agreements by offering to finance renovations in exchange for rent adjustments and workspace improvements. Unlike the bank's top-down approach, Perpignani employed a practical and localized approach to suit his professional needs reasonably. Additionally, there is merit to note that Perpignani was not the only architect who professionally engaged with the church. Although the archives do not contain detailed correspondences like those related to Perpignani, they do include a repair contract for works carried out by Marco Langas at the Italian school in *Bakırköy* in 1920,¹⁶² as well as a survey report by Giulio Mongeri on the girls' school in *Yedikule*, prepared in 1926.¹⁶³

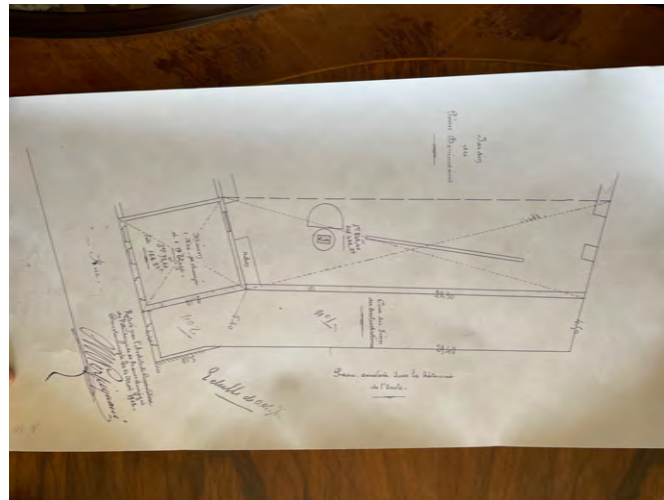


Figure 57: Perpignani's drawing of another restoration project of 1902. The drawn building faces Kuledibi Street on the northeastern border of the church premises. The building was later destroyed and no longer exists.

Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

The church archives also offer quantitative data on the *han's* late Ottoman residents. This data became increasingly more suitable for a methodological analysis as the

¹⁶² SPPCA 039A1100

¹⁶³ SPPCA 039A0800

friars started to utilize a consistent template to document rental contracts in 1912. To understand Saint Pierre Han in its late Ottoman context beyond individual actors and to examine broader patterns of residency and activity in the building, I will conduct a prosopographic analysis based on the dataset I created from these structured rental contracts.

As seen in the previously referenced contract of Marco Langas, the format included sections written in both Ottoman and French. While some contracts were recorded solely in Ottoman or French, the content remained consistent. These standardized templates included details such as the address of the rental unit, the names and subjecthood status of both the tenant and landlord, the annual and monthly rent, the type of currency, the payment plan, the lease duration, the number of owners and their shares, the current condition, and the intended use of the rented premises. Although not all sections were always filled in detail, this thesis primarily focuses on the rented rooms, the tenant's name and subjecthood, the lease duration and dates, and the designated use of the units. With some changes in the format, these contracts compile a detailed list of residents from 1912 until the han's abandonment in the 1970s. The discussion in this section will concentrate on the contracts signed from 1912 to 1923, and the upcoming section on the Republican period will revisit the ones after.

This analysis aims to address three major uncertainties in Saint Pierre Han's history. First, given the diverse commercial identity of the district and the community gathered around the church, the subjecthood information of the residents can provide connections to various local and international networks. Second, the stated usage of rented units reveals different types of commercial activity took place at the building. Third, with some contracts including some specific details on the rooms, such as on the floors they were located, speculating on the spatial allocations of rooms and activities can be possible.

The archive documents a total of 69 unique residents. The contracts were usually signed with individuals or representatives of companies or institutions, except for three companies, and the Portuguese Consulate's chancellor did not indicate an individual name. Regarding the subjecthood of the residents, the largest group

comprised Italians (20), followed by Greeks (11), Ottomans (11), and English (8), while smaller groups of Norwegians (2), Swiss (2), Romanians (1), Russians (1), Serbians (1), and Swedes (1) were also present. (Table 1)

Table 1: Distribution of the residents' "subjecthood" status, 1912-1923.

Subjecthood	Amount
Italian	20
Ottoman	11
Greek	11
English	8
Austrian	3
Norwegian	2
Swiss	2
French	2
Swede	1
Russian	1
Serbian	1
Romanian	1
Not Applicable	4
Unknown	2
Total	69

However, subjecthood should be handled carefully, especially while discussing the late Ottoman period, where identities were often blurred. For two reasons, bold claims on the subjecthood status entail a risk of misconceptions. First, such delicate information is prone to falsification, even at the moment of registration. Secondly, the results of quantitative analyses can lead to an interpretation that confuses subjecthood with ethnicity. For instance, Giulio Mongeri, an architect known for his extensive involvement in the European networks, was born into an Italian family in Istanbul, and his respective rent contract accurately registered him as Ottoman. In other words, while considering residents' possible connections to international networks, such nuances should be considered. Conversely, the numerical

significance of foreign residents implies a potential connection between Saint Pierre Han and international networks.

Among the residents, the most common function for rented spaces was office use, accounting for 37 rentals in total, with Italians (11), Greeks (5), and English (5) being the most frequent office tenants. (Table 2) Additionally, specific professional offices were recorded separately, including seven architect offices, two insurance offices, and one law office. The remaining 27 offices were unspecified but given the sizable number of companies residing in the building, it is safe to assume that different forms of international trade were also present. Depot rentals were the second most common function with 21 rentals, with Greeks (5), Italians (5), and Ottomans (1) renting them. Workshops were rather limited to two, with one Greek and one Ottoman utilizing them.

Table 2: The residents' designated use of rooms, 1912-1923.

Function	Amount
Office (unspecified)	27
Depot	21
Office (architect)	7
Habitation	3
Office (insurance)	2
Workshop	2
Print house	1
Library	1
Vine cellar	2
Office (law)	1
Consulate	1
Unknown	5
Total	73

A small number of spaces were rented for non-commercial purposes. Three tenants used their spaces for habitation, two for vine cellars, and one as a consulate. One print house was operated by an Austrian tenant Jean Gregorie Zellich, and one library was rented by a Russian tenant Emile Deodati. The companies utilized a mix

of office spaces and depots, and they can be listed as B. Muratti et Cie., Near Eastern Import Ltd., Nestlé, Medini Dobro Co., and Société Inis. The rental contracts indicate that companies in Saint Pierre Han were concentrated in specific rooms, particularly rooms 11 and 12 on the second floor. The identification of these rooms was possible through two pieces of archival evidence. First, the wall layer of the area labeled 211 on the second-floor diagram is exposed, with the number "11" written. Second, a minor repairs contract attached to the rental agreement of Wilfred C. de Sain, who used this area as an office from 1922 to 1924, identifies room 12 (212 in) (Figure 58). This large rectangular space was also designated as the cashier's hall of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, as indicated by the sign above the entrance reading "*Bank-ı Osmani Veznesi*" (The Ottoman Bank Cashier) (Figure 59).

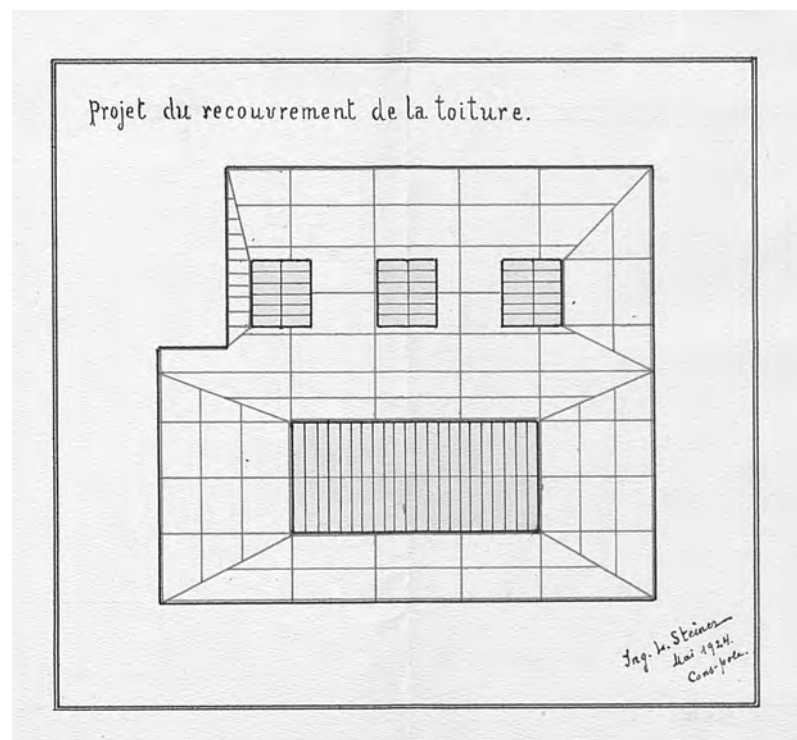


Figure 58: A drawing is attached to Wilfred de Sain's contract of 1923-1924. The report and the attached drawing reveals that room 12 corresponded to 212.
Source: SALT Research.

A closer look at previous tenants reveals that companies and architects frequently used rooms 11 and 12 (211-212). Room 11 was rented by architect Antoine Ananian (office), Hedwig C. Mizzi (office), Constantin Capos (office), Pericles Fotiades (office), and Antoine C. Gerard (office), who also rented room 12 for his workshop. Room 12, in contrast, accommodated some corporate tenants, including the Imperial

Ottoman Bank (cashier hall), Joseph Niego (representing the Caisse des Petits Prêts, known as *Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*), Nestlé, Wilfred C. de Sain, and Marco Langas and Giulio Mongeri for their joint offices.

Before proceeding with a more extensive analysis of room locations across all floors, it is useful to recap the key findings from the discussed evidence. First, it is certain that architecture offices were concentrated on the second floor, spanning from HA Block to HB Block. These interconnected offices (201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 217, 218, 219, 220, and possibly 221) were primarily accessed from the main entrance (D4) and staircase (S1).



Figure 59: The entrance of room 12 (212) marks that the Imperial Ottoman Bank used this space. Later Caisse des Petits Prêts (*Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*) also operated in this room.

Source: Photograph by the author.

Locating these rooms reveals further details on Saint Pierre Han's spatial organization, as rental contracts from 1930 onward include building numbers. According to these records, second-floor offices were located in building no. 7 on Eski Banka Street, with consecutive buildings numbered 9 and 11 also appearing in later contracts. These buildings, and their relevance to the *han*'s commercial setting, will be explored in the following discussion.

A comprehensive analysis and evidence-based speculation on the *han*'s layout is once again possible through rental contracts. As I previously mentioned, several

contracts specify both the designated floors and room numbers. Therefore, it is possible to compile this data to allocate rooms across the floors and inquire into reasonable speculations about the distribution of different functions and activities in the building. In this context, Table 3 groups all the rooms with indicated floors, which presents a consistent and reasonable setting.

Table 3: Allocation of the rooms across floors, based on the rental contracts, 1912-1923.

Floor	Rooms located in the contracts
Ground Floor	None
First Floor	1,2, 3
Second Floor	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Third Floor	13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

Based on the dataset, the ground floor is the least specified level in the rental contracts with no specified room numbers. However, it is possible to address this situation with a cross-examination of the ground floor diagram and some details from the rental contracts. As discussed in 2.2.2, the ground floor features the most fragmented layout with relatively confined, vaulted units. This layout fits Dalleggio D'Alessio's previously referenced description, which identifies HD block as street-level shops (G19, G20, G21) and HB and HC blocks as the designated office and lodging spaces for Bank de la Nation Française (G9, G10, G11, G12, G13, G14, G15, G16, G17, G18).

Available circulation diagrams also show that HB and HC blocks were largely isolated from the upper floors, with limited access to the first floor. The only connection was between G18 and room 115, while there was no access to the second floor. The HD block was even more secluded, with a narrow staircase (S4) leading to a mezzanine first floor and a now-lost staircase to the second floor, which did not connect to HC Block. Although an opening now exists between G18 (HC) and mezzanine floor 117 (HD), it is likely a later modification, considering the original use of HB and HC by the French bank.

Two rental contracts, those of Théof Reppen-Emirzé and Parteny Georges, mention the ground floor twice with both referring to unspecified depots on *rez-de-chaussée*.

Additionally, six contracts specify storage use without indicating specific room numbers. These depots might have been G01, G02, G03, and G04 in the HA block. Considering G02, located at the lowest level of the han, lacked sufficient lighting and ventilation to serve as an office or workshop (Figure 60).¹⁶⁴ The distribution indicates that street-level shops¹⁶⁵ and shared storage spaces primarily occupied the ground floor. Similarly, archival sources provide limited details on the first floor. While it is reasonable to assume that the first floors of HC and HD blocks served as extensions of their ground-floor units, the larger area occupied by HA and HB blocks raises questions, as rental contracts identify only three rooms on this level: rooms 1, 2, and 3.



Figure 60: G02 on the ground floor, one of the designated storage spaces in Saint Pierre Han.

Source: Photograph by the author.

Between 1912 and 1923, room 1 housed Antonie Maniadakis (depot), Ghica Niarko (depot), and Jean Gregorie Zellich (print house). Room 2 appears in three contracts,

¹⁶⁴ See Figure 44.

¹⁶⁵ These street-level shops became more evident after HC and HD blocks appeared with the respective building numbers 11 and 13 in the contracts from 1930 onwards. Furthermore, these contracts often refer to these units directly as shop and workshop. This will be discussed further in the upcoming chapter of this thesis.

with Emilio Gallizi (depot), Max Wohl (depot and office), and Joseph Aznavour, who also occupied rooms 4, 6, and 7 on the second floor. Lastly, room 3 was used by architect Marco Langas (office), architect Aleksandre D. Yenidünya (office), Medini Dobro Co. (office), and Pierre Sagredo (vine cellar). Additionally, one contract records A. J. Aznavour renting a space on the first floor, but the room number is unspecified. The listed functions suggest that the first floor served mixed purposes, accommodating both storage and office spaces. However, considering that Marco Langa, Aleksandre D. Yenidünya, and Joseph Aznavour simultaneously rented offices on the upper floors; they may have used their first-floor units primarily for storage.

In terms of spatial organization, the first-floor layout appears divided into three-room sections, with spaces 101, 102, and 103 on one side and 104, 105, and 106 forming another section in HA block. Similarly, the first floor of HB block may have functioned in a merged layout. Notably, rooms 103, 106, 115, and 116 lack windows and natural lighting, aligning with their storage function.

Additionally, the first floor includes HE block, accessed via a sloped corridor from the han's main entrance (D4). This corridor, a result of the 1882 modifications by the Imperial Ottoman Bank, raises questions about how it functioned within the *han*'s spatial configuration. As seen in the first-floor diagram and AA section, rooms 107, 108, 109, and 110 were narrow, low-ceilinged spaces, confined between the Genoese city wall, the old monastery's retaining wall, and HA block.¹⁶⁶

The current restoration project removed the second-floor slab that previously covered rooms 108, 109, and 110. In room 109, a hearth carved into the city wall, resembling a niche, is known to have functioned as a refectory, though its exact dating exceeds the scope of this thesis. Given the spatial characteristics of the first floor, it is difficult to suggest that the area functioned as anything other than storage. However, further examination of the church archives is necessary to confirm this hypothesis. Following my earlier discussion on the second floor, which covered most of the relevant details, this level can be divided into four sections. The first section consists

¹⁶⁶ See Figure 48.

of office units (201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 217, 218, 219, 220, and 200), which housed prominent architects of the late Ottoman period. The second section, comprising rooms 211, 212, 213, and 214, was a spacious area that accommodated the Imperial Ottoman Bank, foreign companies, and workshops. The third distinct section is the now-lost area that once stood above rooms 107, 108, and 109. This space later became the site of Turkey's first blue jeans production workshop, Muhteşem Kot, in the 1940s.¹⁶⁷



Figure 61: The third floor corridor (321), unifying the office spaces on a central axis.
Source: Photograph by the author.

However, rental contracts from 1912 to 1923 provide little information about its earlier use. Lastly, the second floor of the HD block functioned entirely separately, with no access to adjacent blocks. The third floor, added more than a century after the han's original construction, differs from the lower floors both in layout and function. This architectural contrast is clearly visible in the diagrams.¹⁶⁸ Unlike the clustered rooms on the lower floors, the third floor features a central corridor that

¹⁶⁷ The founder of the workshop, Muhteşem Kot, named the blue jeans brand after himself: Muhteşem Kot. The word '*kot*,' which is the Turkish equivalent of 'blue jeans,' entered the Turkish language through his surname.

¹⁶⁸ See Figures 47-48.

extends from HA block to HD block, therefore effectively connecting all adjacent buildings (Figure 61).

A separate staircase (S5) leads from the second floor to this level, which also provides access to the terrace above room 12 (Figure 62) and connects to the old monastery building through C31, C32, and C33. The rooms on this floor share uniform ceiling heights, and the vaulted ceilings found on the lower levels were replaced with flat ceilings (Figure 63).



Figure 62: The terrace on the third floor, facing the old monastery.
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 63: Room 304 on the third floor.
Source: Photograph by the author.

Rental contracts indicate a relatively uniform function for this floor, with 17 out of 20 tenants using the space as offices. The only exceptions were the Portuguese

Consulate and two contracts lacking usage details. Among the architects who practiced here were Aleksandre D. Yenidünya, Delfo Seminati, and Tito Lauchia. Alessandro Alexanian and Frères Vernazzer were registered insurance offices. The remaining 12 offices were unspecified, but they hosted notable tenants, including Nicola Fotiadi (on behalf of *Chambre de Commerce Hellénique*), the cigarette company B. Muratti et Cie., Joseph Niego (representing *Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*), and Near Eastern Import Ltd. Unfortunately, physical evidence is insufficient to determine the exact locations of these offices. Nonetheless, among all floors, the third floor aligns most closely with the *bureau han* typology, both in its modern layout and its tenant profile, largely engaged in high-profile economic and financial activities.

The contracts examined above demonstrate that, following the departure of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Saint Pierre Han attracted various local and international commercial networks. These contracts, alongside other archival evidence, reveal not only collaborations among residents but also different instances of their dialogues with the Dominican friars. The documented examples of these dialogues confirm that, even as Saint Pierre Han became increasingly integrated into Galata's complex commercial scene in the early twentieth century, it maintained ties with the district's non-Muslim and foreign communities. In spatial context, professionals from similar sectors often clustered together on the upper floors, which implies a contextual distribution of functions. The more articulated second and third floors served as offices, while the more fragmented ground and first floors primarily served as depots.

CHAPTER 3

SAINT PIERRE HAN IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN CONTEXT

The aftermath of World War I and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire transformed the Galata district. This chapter traces the socio-economic, political, and urban changes entailed by the declaration of the Republic, and examines how it affected the port identity of Galata, and Saint Pierre Han. The reconfiguration of Galata Port in parallel to the Republic's early economic and urban development strategies altered the formal financial center, introducing new actors and functions. Accordingly, this chapter examines how this change interacted with the multi-layered identity of Saint Pierre Han including its changing functions, spaces, and the Dominican Order and the Han residents as the main actors.

3.1 Socio-Economic and Urban Transformation: Port Identity of Galata District

Understanding the early Republican period of the Galata district requires a broader examination of Istanbul's socio-political and urban setting from the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. World War I impacted the capital in various contexts and initiated continuous changes spanning from the proclamation of the Republic to the post-World War II period. First and foremost, shortly after the nineteenth-century economic expansion, especially in the context of Istanbul and Galata, the war quickly took its toll on the Empire's economy. The worsening economy triggered stark transformations in Istanbul and escalated hand in hand with the increasing political instability and societal anxieties, which further challenged the city.

Similar to the previous chapter, it is beneficial to begin the discussion with an examination of the demographic transformation of Istanbul during the transition from the Empire to the Republic, specifically in the context of the non-Muslim population.

The demographic transformation of Istanbul's non-Muslim communities in the early Republican period can be situated within the broader trajectory of ideological shifts triggered during the late Ottoman period. Different integrationist policies, first Ottomanism, then Islamism, and later Turkism, emerged as successive responses to external political pressure and increasing land loss in bordering provinces.¹⁶⁹ Although the complex history of these ideologies is beyond the scope of this thesis, the reformist Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress, which dominated Ottoman politics until 1918, marked the rise of Muslim-Turkish identity as a unifying principle. This identity laid the foundation for the establishment of the secular nation-state and redefined ethno-cultural contexts during the early Republican period. In the first half of the 20th century, several turning points triggered drastic changes in the political standing, rights, and urban presence of non-Muslim communities. Within the scope of this thesis, these turning points can be framed within a chronological trajectory of events from 1915 to 1955.

On May 30, 1915, the Council of Ministers signed a decree mandating the relocation of Armenians, framing the decision as a precautionary measure for their own safety. Shortly after, on June 10, a supplementary law was enacted to outline guidelines for registering abandoned properties left behind. Abandoned Properties Administration Commissions (*Emvâli Metrûke İdare Komisyonları*) emerged as a result of these laws, and a complex period of systematic dispossession of not only Armenians but a broader range of non-Muslim communities began.¹⁷⁰ Some scholars highlight the decree of 1915 as a major starting point of nationalist policies targeting ethnic

¹⁶⁹ For a comprehensive examination of the emergence and development of Turkish nationalism, see Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, “Aşırı Milliyetçi Sağ,” in *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, ed. Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak, Belge Yayınları (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2006), 189–236.

¹⁷⁰ Lara Fresko Madra, “6–7 September 1955–Ongoing: Discrimination, Dispossession, and Practices of Memory and Survival,” in *Art and Architecture of Migration and Discrimination: Turkey, Pakistan, and Their European Diasporas*, ed. Esra Akcan and Iftikhar Dadi (London: Routledge, 2023), 45.

minorities, as similar laws regarding the confiscation of non-Muslim properties, such as the Law of Abandoned Properties of 1923, were also passed in the Grand National Assembly.¹⁷¹ The forced relocation and arrests contributed to the weakening of the Armenian presence in Istanbul and disrupted the continuity of its communal infrastructure. The removal of professional and civic figures from the capital marked an early stage in a broader process of minority disengagement from public life.

Following the declaration of the Republic, new legislative and administrative measures continued to challenge the non-Muslim population. Although the 1923 Greco-Turkish Population Exchange excluded the Orthodox Greek population of Istanbul, its broader implications signaled the state's attitude toward minorities. The population exchange set a precedent for demographic engineering as a tool of national consolidation and presented a practical solution to prevent interference from European states in the Republic's internal affairs.¹⁷²

Economic restructuring and new development plans were also central to both late Ottoman and early Republican policies. As mentioned in the previous chapter, by the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman economy and production were dominated by external capitalist powers. In pursuit of forming a national economy, the Committee of Union and Progress unilaterally abolished the capitulations in 1914. The committee argued that tax exemptions granted to foreigners weakened state finances and sovereignty and further exacerbated reliance on foreign loans. By ending these privileges, the government introduced a new protectionist trade regime and subjected foreign companies to Ottoman courts and laws. However, this was only an initial step toward a new economic model. According to Keyder, the political goal of the period was to create a domestic Muslim bourgeoisie modeled after Germany's nationalist economy, as Ottoman nationalists sought to endorse Muslim entrepreneurship and state-led economic development over liberal trade. The author notes that, whereas during the war years, the committee briefly succeeded in this plan with members' direct interference in the new "national" enterprises, this was

¹⁷¹ Der Matossian, "The Taboo within the Taboo: The Fate of 'Armenian Capital' at the End of the Ottoman Empire," 12.

¹⁷² Aktar, Varlık Vergisi ve "Türkleştirme" Politikaları, 43.

soon challenged by the Christian bourgeoisie. Amid this contestation for economic hegemony, Greeks and Armenians were viewed not only as economic rivals but also as internal extensions of imperialism.¹⁷³

Eskenazi argues that, considering Greeks, Armenians, and Jews had held prominent roles in trade since the late Ottoman period, the turbulent political transformation during the war years resulted in the loss of a substantial part of Turkey's commercial class during the Empire's final years.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, this stance toward non-Muslims in national economic policies continued into the early Republican period as the nationalist discourse was openly emphasized in policy. In this context, Kılınçaslan cites the 1924 Istanbul Economic Commission Report as an example, where the issues of economic nationalization and non-Muslims are addressed as follows:

Istanbul has been deprived of all kinds of support and left to wither. In this city, which is well-suited for development, it is necessary for the Turkish element to be revitalized, and for state officials to guide this process. While non-Muslim and foreign merchants accumulated great fortunes in the city under the protection of consuls and ambassadors, Muslim merchants were marginalized. Today, it has become urgent for Turks to receive training in industry and commerce, and for new and modern institutions to be established in place of the abolished artisan guilds.

Kılınçaslan emphasizes that, although Istanbul had partially recovered from the post-war economic crisis by the 1940s, its economic strength had significantly declined compared to the past, and the anticipated transfer of economic activity from minority communities to Muslim Turks had not occurred on the expected mass scale.¹⁷⁵

In 1932, Law No. 2007 introduced additional restrictions on the participation of foreigners in certain professions. It limited access to various professions, including trades and service sector jobs, to only Turkish citizens. Many non-Muslim residents, particularly those with foreign citizenship or uncertain legal status, were effectively

¹⁷³ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de devlet ve sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 82–86.

¹⁷⁴ Eskenazi, "Galata-Beyoğlu-Şişli Bölgelerinin Gelişiminde Gayrimüslimlerin Rolü, 1910-1966 Döneminde İstanbul'da Etnik İş Bölümü ve Ticari Coğrafya," 99.

¹⁷⁵ İsmet Kılınçaslan, *İstanbul: Kentleşme Sürecinde Ekonomik ve Mekansal Yapı İlişkileri* (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi. Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1981), 225–26.

excluded from these fields.¹⁷⁶ The Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*), introduced in 1942 during a period of rising inflation linked to the Second World War, was officially presented as a measure to tax unfair profits. However, it remains one of the most controversial policies of the early Republican period since the implementation disproportionately affected non-Muslim taxpayers. The tax assessment procedures were not standardized, and the amounts levied were significantly higher for non-Muslims than for Muslims.¹⁷⁷ Of the 114,386 taxpayers identified by the Ministry of Finance, 62,575 were based in Istanbul. The amount assessed in Istanbul, 317,275,642 lira, accounted for approximately 68% of the total. Of the total Wealth Tax collected across the country, 221,307,508 lira, or 69.7%, was paid by taxpayers residing in Istanbul.¹⁷⁸ Those who could not pay in due time had their properties confiscated or were sent to labor camps. Aktar's analysis of property records demonstrates that while Muslims accounted for only 0.8% of those who sold real estate to pay the tax, they made up 67.7% of those who acquired these assets. Additionally, various state banks, the Istanbul Municipality, and the General Directorate of Foundations acquired a substantial portion of the confiscated properties.¹⁷⁹

Although the transition to a multi-party system will not be examined in detail, the events of September 6–7, 1955, can be seen as the violent turn of the political and economic tensions that had been building since the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Following reports of a bomb attack on Atatürk's childhood home in Thessaloniki, large-scale riots broke out in Istanbul and Izmir. The groups targeted the properties and religious sites of non-Muslim communities, primarily Greeks but also Armenians and Jews. The events of 1955 caused deep societal fear and anxiety and revived memories of past violence, suppression, and economic struggles. What made this attack particularly alarming was its seemingly spontaneous and chaotic

¹⁷⁶ Eskenazi, "Galata-Beyoğlu-Şişli Bölgelerinin Gelişiminde Gayrimüslimlerin Rolü, 1910-1966 Döneminde İstanbul'da Etnik İş Bölümü ve Ticari Coğrafya," 98.

¹⁷⁷ Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve "Türkleştirme" Politikaları*, 153–61.

¹⁷⁸ Aktar, 221.

¹⁷⁹ Aktar, 229–30.

nature that unfolded on the urban scale. The atmosphere was dominated by collective panic, with homes ransacked and neighborhoods ruined. This ultimately sent a message that personal safety was the next target.¹⁸⁰ The scale and coordination of the attacks, which resulted in the destruction or damage of over 5,000 properties, contributed to the erosion of a sense of security among minorities and accelerated the ongoing waves of emigration.¹⁸¹

The departure of non-Muslims affected the neighborhoods they were concentrated in, particularly Galata, Pera, and Şişli. Furthermore, the impact of their departure on Istanbul's population during the early Republican period is clearly traceable. According to the demographic data Ahmet Kala and Sedat Murat compiled, Christians made up 19.18% of Istanbul's population in 1935. By 1955, this figure had dropped to 9.29%. Similarly, Jews, who accounted for 5.37% of the population in 1935, represented only 2.41% of the city's population in 1955.¹⁸² Given the central role that non-Muslims played in Galata's economic activity, their departure transformed the district's commercial demographics during the early Republican period. In the 1930s, the Republic initiated Istanbul's urban replanning, following a decade in which Ankara had been the primary focus. Although the 1929 economic crisis challenged these efforts, state-led competitions for urban planning projects triggered multilayered changes in Istanbul's urban setting.

In the 1933 İstanbul Port Regulations (*İstanbul Limanı Nizamnamesi*), Galata was officially designated as part of the port zones spanning from Galata Bridge to Fındıklı. This functional redefinition required urban transformation to renovate the district's coastline layout and infrastructure. For the planning efforts, Hermann Ehlgötz was selected following an initial competition held in 1934; however, no contracts were signed to proceed. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Economy commissioned a new quay plan to be prepared by the Factory and Docks

¹⁸⁰ Güven, Cumhuriyet dönemi azınlık politikaları bağlamında: 6-7 Eylül olayları, 14–20.

¹⁸¹ Güven, 34–35.

¹⁸² Ahmet Kal'a and Sedat Murat, *İstanbul Külliyyatı, Cumhuriyet Dönemi İstanbul İstatistikleri, Nüfus ve Demografi (1927-1990)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), 138. Cited in Eskenazi, "Galata-Beyoğlu-Şişli Bölgelerinin Gelişiminde Gayrimüslimlerin Rolü, 1910-1966 Döneminde İstanbul'da Etnik İş Bölümü ve Ticari Coğrafya," 119.

Administration (*Fabrika ve Havuzlar İdaresi*) in Haliç and submitted it to Ankara for approval. The plan proposed allocating excursion ferries to the Fındıklı–Tophane section and passenger ferries to the Tophane-Sarayburnu route.¹⁸³ Soon after, Henri Prost¹⁸⁴ began his work in Istanbul in 1936, and the Galata Passenger Terminal (*Galata Yolcu Salonu*) was one of the first projects in which he participated. The development process of the port began with the demolition of the Mumhane depots in 1938 and the opening of the Galata Passenger Terminal in 1940, continued that same year with a more comprehensive planning phase involving Prost. He became a central figure in the broader redevelopment of the port, which entailed significant urban interventions. Within this redevelopment plan, streets behind the Merkez and Çinili Hans were widened, and warehouses across from the passenger terminal were demolished to construct a parking area. Nearby buildings were expropriated to create a new square connecting the tram line and boulevards. Smaller buildings in front of the former Borsa Han were also demolished to further expand Karaköy Street.¹⁸⁵

The redevelopment of the Galata quay during the early Republican period presents an interesting contrast to the district's identity in the late Ottoman period. This

¹⁸³ Ö. Sıla Durhan, "Erken Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda Kentsel Değişim (1928-1950)" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Yıldız Technical University, 2009), 154.

¹⁸⁴ Prost's work in Istanbul is a complex case in early Republican urban planning, and broad academic literature on this topic already exists. The complexity of the topic stems from the political and financial contexts of the time, as his work was challenged by the state's ambivalence toward urbanization, limited resources, and the city's rapid expansion. Scholars offer different perspectives on his work. For instance, Gül and Lamb (2009) suggest that Prost's plans were at odds with the Republican emphasis on Peasantism. They also note that his planning failed to anticipate rural migration and housing crises in the postwar period. On the other hand, Akpınar's (2014) study approaches Prost's work as an important step toward aligning Istanbul with modern planning principles in parallel with the nation-state's agenda. Bilsel (2007) discusses the ideological contradictions in Prost's approach in the context of preservation. Bilsel argues for a selective engagement with the past influenced by the Republic's desire for historical self-fashioning. These interpretations are a few of many discussions that focus on Prost's work, and scholarly views remain divided on the scope and impact of his contribution. Mehmet Murat Gül and Richard Lamb, "Urban Planning in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period: Henri Prost's Role in Tensions among Beautification, Modernisation and Peasantist Ideology," *Architectural Theory Review* 9, no. 1 (2004): 59–81. İpek Akpınar, "The Rebuilding of İstanbul Revisited: Foreign Planners in the Early Republican Years," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 50 (2014): 59–92. Cânâ Bilsel, "Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: The Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul," in *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation.*, ed. Ausma Cimdina and Jonathan Osmond, 2 (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007).

¹⁸⁵ Durhan, "Erken Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda Kentsel Değişim (1928-1950)," 155–57. Durhan's dissertation presents one of the most detailed studies that examines the development of Galata quay's

contrast stemmed from the transformation of a once fragmented landscape of liberal trade and foreign enterprises into a streamlined port zone supported by state infrastructure and national economy policies. In parallel with broader urban planning trends of the Republic, Galata's transformation into a designated port district was funded and overseen by state institutions, while its design and execution was carried out by foreign experts.

3.2 *Hans* in Galata District and Saint Pierre Han

The political and economic crisis during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire caused a period of economic uncertainty and social unrest among foreign investors and non-Muslim business owners residing in *hans* in Galata. World War I and the following years of exclusionary policies and violence exacerbated the now unfavorable state of the previously dominant agents of the district, leading to a shift in its socio-economic profile. Subsequently, with the sizable departure of international companies and capital owners, the existing *hans* adapted into the district's new configuration centered around the port and national economy policies.

3.2.1 Conversion of *Hans* in Galata

During the early Republican period, *hans* in Galata underwent various transformations in ownership, function, and user profile as the district's sociopolitical and urban setting was reconfigured. As previously discussed, in the late Ottoman period, Galata *hans* attracted foreign banks, insurance companies, and merchants from local and international commercial networks. However, after the declaration of the Republic, these foreign and cosmopolitan institutions were gradually replaced by Turkish banks, state-sponsored companies, and local Muslim businesses. This shift

through newspaper archives. The author's detailed analysis is particularly important to identify the institutional and individual actors involved in the project.

was not merely institutional but reflected a deliberate political-economic change: the new Turkish Republic pursued a “national economy” policy aimed to endorse a native bourgeoisie and reduce dependency on foreign capital. The aimed "nationalization" of the economy did not only entail economic policies that favored Muslim-Turkish identity but also unfolded a series of events and laws that displaced and dispossessed the diminishing non-Muslims.

By the mid-20th century, *hans* were adapted into Galata's new national identity not by rebuilding but by the replacement of residents and functions. On the urban scale, Galata did not witness a prolific construction of new *han* buildings during the early Republican period, as it had been the case in the late Ottoman period. This situation can be attributed to the post-war economic crisis accompanied by inflation in construction materials, the dispossession of former property owners who had lost their economic hegemony, and state-led urban planning efforts being concentrated in the port zone. However, in the 1930s, the government's renewed interest in Galata via the port project triggered a flux of state institutions, "Turkish" businesses, and workshops.

Whereas an encompassing analysis of numerous *hans* and their new residents would exceed the scope of this research, previous microhistorical studies can be traced to underscore the change in resident profiles.¹⁸⁶

Castro and Helbig Hans in Voyvoda Street (Figure 64), later known as Sigorta Han, is one of the cases exemplifying the transfer from foreign residents to a national bank, Türkiye İş Bankası. In the late 19th century it consisted of two adjacent buildings, Helbig Han (1883) and Castro Han (1891), which housed a mix of European and non-Muslim Ottoman commissioners and bankers, such as Cesar & Ant. Vitalis and Helbig & Cie. Helbig Han was sold in 1913 to the Ottoman Insurance Company (*Osmanlı Sigorta Şirket-i Umumiyesi*) (French-owned Société d'Assurances Générales de Constantinople), which merged and rebuilt the site as Sigorta Han in 1918 after the company also bought the adjacent Castro Han. İş

¹⁸⁶ Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi*; Durhan, “Erken Cumhuriyet İstanbul’unda Kentsel Değişim (1928-1950)”; Ergüder, “İstanbul’un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868-1945).”

Bankası, which was founded in 1924 as a national bank, had previously rented space in the nearby *hans* (Ünyon Han and Agopyan Han) and moved its Galata branch into the Sigorta Han after buying the building in 1953.¹⁸⁷

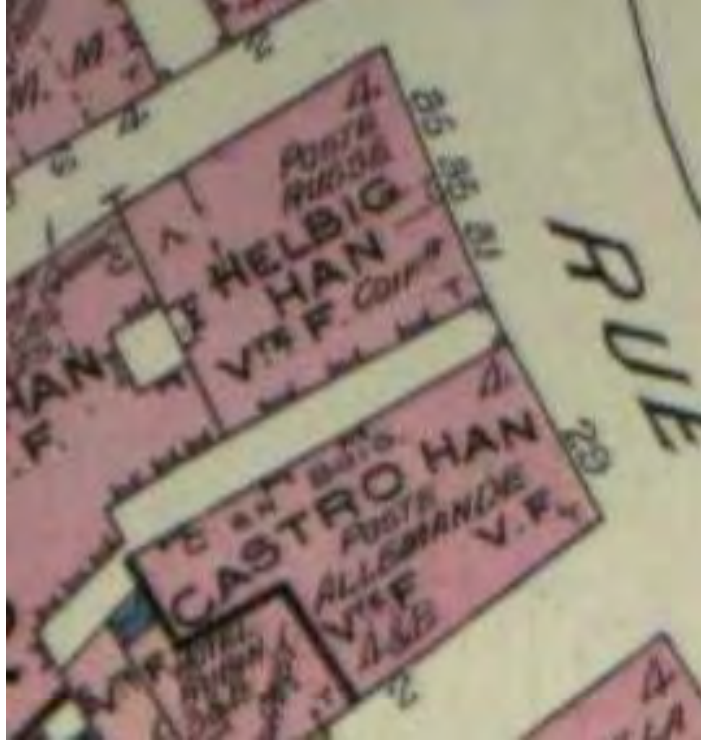


Figure 64: Castro Han and Helbig Han on Goad's map of 1905, before the two buildings were merged and named Sigorta Han.
Source: SALT Research.

Across the street, the Sümerbank Headquarters used to accommodate Crédit Général Ottoman (*İtibar-ı Umumi-i Osmaniye*) until 1899, Deutsche Bank between 1910 and 1922, and Anatolian Railway Company (Chemin de fer d'Anatolie) until 1920. After the withdrawal of these companies during the First World War, the building was acquired by Sümerbank, a state-owned industrial credit bank established in 1933 as part of Turkey's first five-year plan. Therefore, the building's user profile shifted from foreign-owned infrastructure enterprises to a national bank. Minerva Han was built between 1911 and 1913 at the intersection of Voyvoda Street and Yüksek Kaldırım for the Bank of Athens.¹⁸⁸ Between 1942 and 1944, while the building was serving Deutsche Bank, numerous Turkish entrepreneurs also operated import-export

¹⁸⁷ Ergüder, "İstanbul'un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868-1945)," 285.

¹⁸⁸ Eldem, Bankalar Caddesi, 272.

trade companies in Minerva Han. Some of these residents, such as Vehbi Koç, Tahir Akbaş, and Ahmet Tuncer, were to become wealthy business actors of the Turkish bourgeois in the following decades.¹⁸⁹

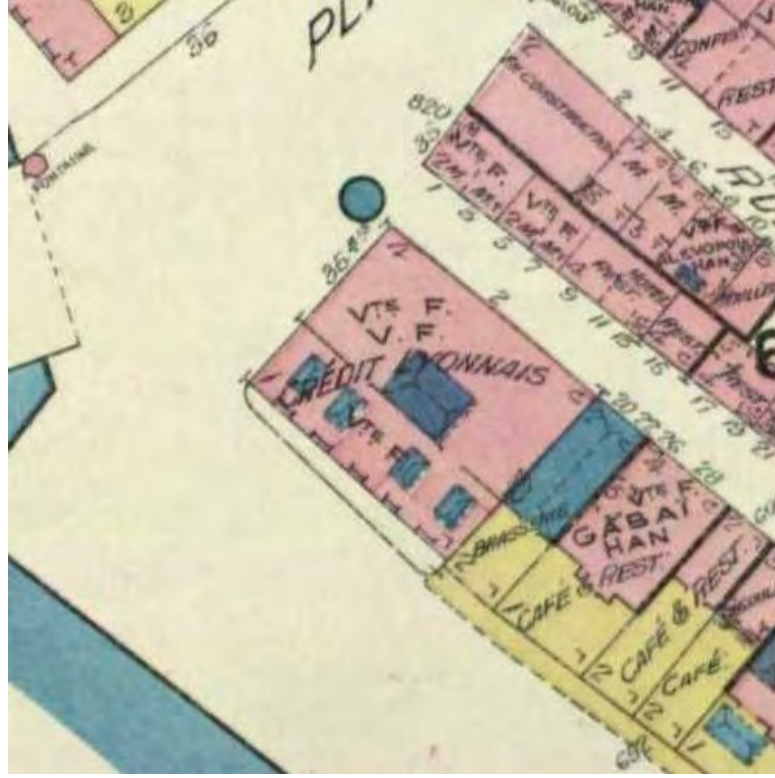


Figure 65: Credit Lyonnais Han at the intersection of Karaköy and Rıhtım Streets on Goad's map of 1905, before the current Ziraat Bankası building replaced it.
Source: SALT Research.

Credit Lyonnais Han, later known as Karaköy Yeni Han, took its name from the French bank it hosted from 1909 to 1921. Before Credit Lyonnais, various foreign and non-Muslim Ottoman companies such as Maltass & Cie. (1896-1897), Societe Generale d'Assurances Ottomane (1896-1903), Glamorgan Coal Lmt. (1902-1905), and Aachen & Munich (1903) resided in the building. Local financial actors filled Karaköy Yeni Han's space after the bank exited the market and closed the branch after the war. By 1924–1925 it housed the offices of Nissim Franco & Cie., an İstanbul-based Ottoman-Jewish banking firm, followed by Turkish insurer Mahmut Baler in 1942.¹⁹⁰ Suat Nirven's map of 1948 shows that Karaköy Yeni Han, alongside

¹⁸⁹ Ergüder, "İstanbul'un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868-1945)," 272.

¹⁹⁰ Ergüder, 271.

the adjacent smaller *han*, was later replaced by another building serving as the Karaköy branch of Ziraat Bankası. (Figures 65-66)

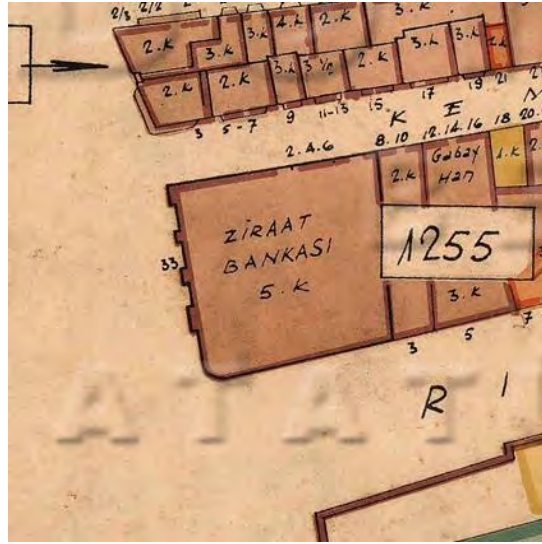


Figure 66: Ziraat Bankası building on 1948 Nirven's map of 1948.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.



Figure 67: Agopyan Han on Voyvoda Street in Goad's map of 1905.
Source: SALT Research.

Agopyan Han, known as Baltazzi Han before 1890, housed numerous non-Muslim bankers, commissioners, and merchants from the 1860s to the 1930s (Figure 67). One of the well-known residents of the building was Deutsche Orientbank, which operated a branch there between until 1913. *Annuaire Oriental* shows that the resident profile of the *han* began to shift in the 1940s as three domestically funded

cement companies occupied the building. At the end of the 1940s, Banca Commerciale Italiana relocated to Agopyan Han from Karaköy Palas and shared the premises with the Galata branch of İş Bankası between 1948 and 1952. In 1978, Akbank purchased the building from Banca Commerciale Italiana and used it as a branch.¹⁹¹ Today, Agopyan Han operates as a hotel.

Each of the above cases indicates that many *hans* formerly occupied by non-Muslim professionals or foreign companies saw their ownership or tenancy transferred to Turkish nationals during the 1940s.¹⁹² The concurrent state policies, such as the Wealth Tax of 1942, and the broader trajectory of dispossession of non-Muslims suggest that the changing resident profile of Galata *hans* was a reflection of a broader Turkification process. However, it is important to note that these particular examples do not imply that non-Muslims and foreigners were completely erased from the district's urban and commercial scene. Whereas these communities' previous demographic and economic dominance was significantly diminished, even after the events of September 6-7, many managed to maintain their businesses in *hans*, albeit under challenging circumstances and to varying extents.

3.2.2 New Status of Dominican Order and Saint Pierre Han

During the Ottoman period, Catholic churches, including the Church of Saints Pierre and Paul, had to navigate their legal status amid a complex web of legal and political negotiations. As discussed in detail in the previous chapter (2.2.2), the Catholic community did not hold *millet* status, unlike the Orthodox Christians or Armenians. Their presence was tolerated through sultanic decrees and the protection of foreign

¹⁹¹ Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi*, 117–25; Ergüder, “İstanbul’un Finans Sermayesi Haritasında Galata Hanları (1868-1945),” 278–81.

¹⁹² Although the 1940s arguably marked the most intense period of capital and property transfer, particularly due to the impact of the Wealth Tax, this was in fact a multilayered process that accelerated since 1915. While some of the former users of the *hans* lost their workplaces due to dispossession, the withdrawal of foreign companies following the war years, and the relocation of remaining businesses to the developing districts of Pera, Nişantaşı, and Şişli also contributed to this shift.

ambassadors, making them vulnerable to any diplomatic crisis between the Porte and these protective powers. In the 19th century, however, the edicts of 1839 and 1856 relatively eased earlier restrictions on Catholic establishments. Furthermore, in the following decades, the Ottoman Empire's diminishing political and economic power vis-à-vis European states and the following capitulations enabled the construction of new churches.

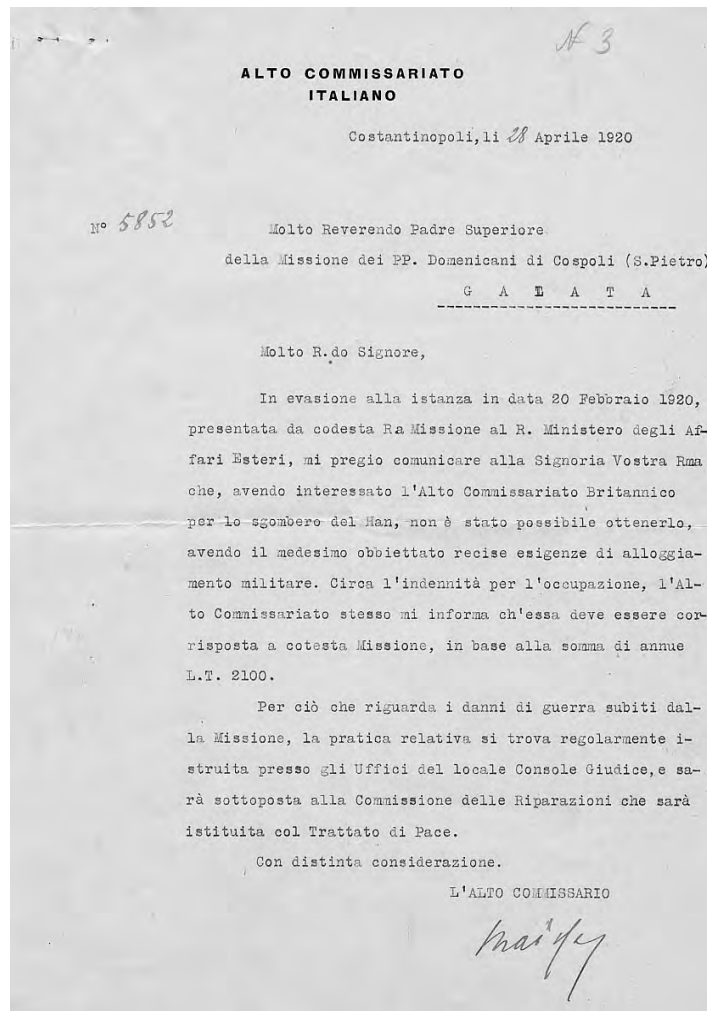


Figure 68: The reply letter from the Italian High Commission to the Dominican friars, regarding the requested evacuation of English soldiers from the new *han*, 1920.
Source: SALT Research.

Significant legal changes began with the 1867 law (*Safer Kanunu*), which allowed foreign nationals to acquire real estate in the Empire, and continued with the 1913 Ottoman-French Agreement (*Agrément de Constantinople*).¹⁹³ This agreement

¹⁹³ Tansen Gümüş, "Türkiye'de Katolik Kilisesi'nin Mülkiyet Hakkı," 73.

formally recognized the property rights of Catholic institutions and documented them province by province. Catholic congregations such as the Dominicans and Franciscans were explicitly listed, allowing their properties to be legally recognized under their community names.¹⁹⁴ Although this agreement was annulled in 1914 with the abolition of capitulations, the documentation it produced served as a legal reference point during and after the Lausanne negotiations.¹⁹⁵

On the other hand, despite the apparent improvement in the legal and political status of Catholic communities during the final decades of the Empire, it is difficult to argue that Catholic establishments had full autonomy over their premises. In this context, a series of letters between the friars and the Italian High Commission reveals telling details about the extent of foreign authority over church property. According to documents dated February 20, 1920, less than a month after the Allied occupation of Istanbul, the Dominican friars petitioned for the evacuation of English soldiers from the *han*.¹⁹⁶ However, the Commission, citing the soldiers' critical need for accommodation, rejected the request. (Figure 68)

The declaration of the Republic in 1923 ultimately abolished the *millet* system and formally separated religion from the state. Under the new secular regime, the 1924 Constitution defined a rather ambiguous legal status for Catholic churches. While the constitution guaranteed religious freedom, it did not recognize religious communities as legal entities (*tüzel kişilik*). Catholic congregations were not officially addressed in Turkish civil law, which only recognized specific types of legal persons such as associations and foundations.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Turkey's commitment to the Treaty of Lausanne effectively allowed the continuation of existing religious institutions and their properties. Through the Lausanne Letters, Turkey acknowledged the property rights of foreign religious and educational institutions. The 1913 lists of Catholic

¹⁹⁴ Tansen Gümüş, 93.

¹⁹⁵ Tansen Gümüş, 87.

¹⁹⁶ The mentioned *han* in this case is not Saint Pierre Han but the residential buildings located on the southeastern border of the church premises, facing Kuledibi Street (A block in diagrams). These residential blocks are referred to as the "new *han*" in the church archives.

¹⁹⁷ Tansen Gümüş, "Türkiye'de Katolik Kilisesi'nin Mülkiyet Hakkı," 92–98.

institutions were once again used to determine which properties would be recognized in the new Republic.¹⁹⁸

Despite lacking legal personality, Catholic churches were able to protect their properties in practice and generate rental income. Their ambiguous status, however, persisted following the change from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Republic. In a title deed cited by Gümüş, the Church of Saints Peter and Paul is referred to as belonging to the “Dominican Fathers under the protection of Italy.”¹⁹⁹ According to church records, the Dominicans shifted to Italian protection in 1905; the continued use of this identification even after the abolition of capitulations and the adoption of a secular constitution also implies the mentioned continuity. This legal ambiguity still remains today.

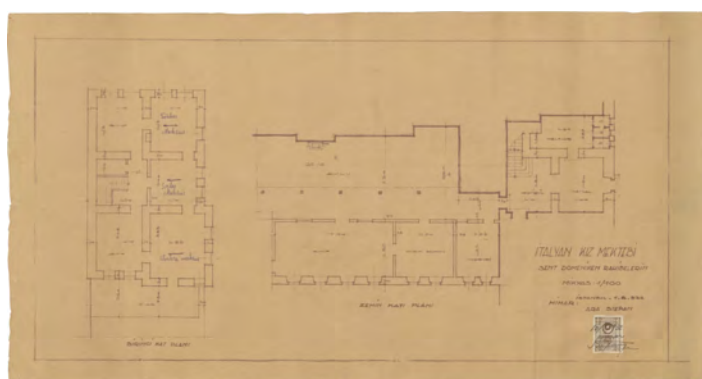


Figure 69: Architect Ara Stepan’s plan drawing of 1932, the Italian girls’ school adapted from the old monastery building.

Source: SALT Research.

In his 1943 book, Palazzo offers more specific details on the Church of Saints Peter and Paul and the condition of its congregation during the early Republican period. While emphasizing that Turkey had become increasingly precarious for foreigners, the author notes that a significant portion of the remaining congregation had already relocated to Pera. From a community of approximately 5,000 to 6,000 in the 19th century, the Catholic population declined to around 2,000 by the early 20th century. By the 1940s, only 40 families remained, comprising 170 individuals.²⁰⁰ As

¹⁹⁸ Tansen Gümüş, 85–89.

¹⁹⁹ Tansen Gümüş, 129.

²⁰⁰ Palazzo and Raineri, *La Chiesa Di S. Pietro in Galata*, 71–72.

discussed previously (see 3.2.1), the rapidly changing political and economic atmosphere contributed to the decline in the Catholic population and the relocation of the remaining families to Pera, which in turn negatively impacted a significant source of the church's income, community donations.

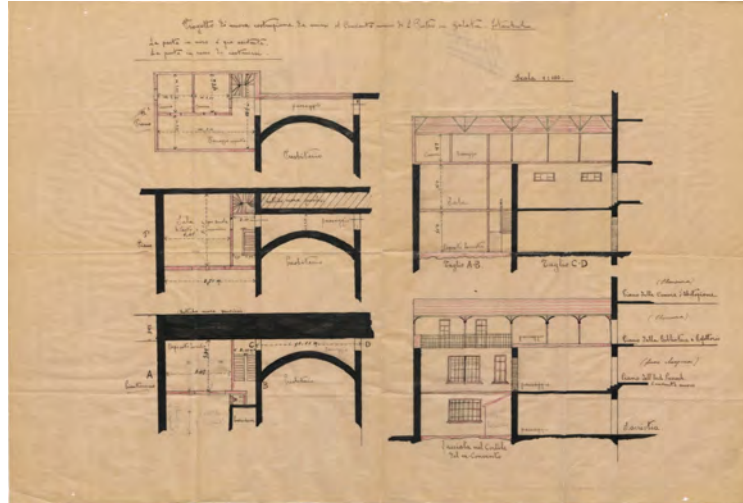


Figure 70: The new monastery designed and built by Alfredo Michellini between 1928 and 1930. The friars moved to this building after the old monastery was assigned to the girls' school.
Source: SALT Research.



Figure 71: Collège des Frères St. Pierre on Goad's map of 1905.
Source: SALT Research

Despite the shrinking Catholic population, the Dominican friars continued their efforts in advancing their mission on the premises. They converted the old monastery

into a girls' school in 1926,²⁰¹ while the friars themselves moved into the new monastery designed by Alfredo Michelini between 1928 and 1930 (Figures 69-70).²⁰² On the other hand, a boys' school labeled as "Collège des Frères St. Pierre" on Goad's 1905 maps was closed, as it no longer appears on Nirven's map of 1949. (Figures 71-72)



Figure 72: Collège des Frères St. Pierre no longer appears on Nirven's map of 1949.
Source: IMM Atatürk Library.

3.2.3 Changing Functions and Spaces in Saint Pierre Han

During the early Republican period, Istanbul maintained its role in Turkey's industrial development efforts. While previously discussed state-led banks and planning projects materialized these efforts in Galata's urban fabric, the proliferation of small-scale production workshops also had a crucial role in the new national economy. In order to establish a self-sustaining economy, new industrial policies and laws, such as the 1927 *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (Law for the Promotion of Industry),

²⁰¹ İrem Güçlü Prifti, "Galata Santi Pietro ve Paolo (Saint Pierre) Kilisesi Koruma Projesi" (Master's Thesis, İstanbul, İstanbul Technical University, 2017), 40.

²⁰² Güçlü Prifti, 45.

favoring private entrepreneurship. In 1924, industrial enterprises were granted various tax exemptions for the import of raw materials, and in 1925, another regulation required the supplies distributed to civil officers working in local administrations to be sourced from domestic products.²⁰³ According to Şahinkaya's dataset compiled from 1927 industrial census, out of 65,245 industrial enterprises and workshops, 8,636 were located in İstanbul. Among these, there were 2,776 enterprises in the agriculture, livestock, hunting, and fishing sector; 1,963 textile workshops; 2,001 mining and machinery businesses; 233 paper and cardboard manufacturers; and 156 chemical industry enterprises, which made Istanbul the city with the highest concentration of production across various sectors.²⁰⁴ Saint Pierre Han was one of the hubs in Galata where such industrial workshops and enterprises were concentrated.

While Saint Pierre Han had hosted almost exclusively offices and financial institutions during the late Ottoman period, its functions in the Republican period reflected the changing commercial identity of both Istanbul and Galata. Rental contracts from 1923 to 1950 demonstrate a significant presence of various workshops and small-scale businesses in the *han*. These workshops, which will be discussed further in the following section, were engaged in various production activities such as textile, leatherworking, paper and packaging manufacturing, printing, metal and mechanical works, electricity and utilities, food processing, and chemical industries.

This change in Saint Pierre Han's function in the early Republican period subsequently reflected on its spatial configuration. Rental contracts, in this context, present some evident traces of spatial change. The contracts identified the buildings comprising Saint Pierre Han with different building numbers. Considering the han was originally constructed as five adjacent "houses" between 1771 and 1775, the contracts' identification with five different entrances, No. 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13, indicates a continued relevance of the han's compartmentalized setting. Although the cadastral maps of the time do not provide the distribution of these numbers across the doors, a closer examination of the rental contracts sheds more light on this

²⁰³ Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi* (1923-1950), 346.

²⁰⁴ Serdar Şahinkaya, "Cumhuriyetimizin İlk Sanayi Sayımı 1927: 'Bir Hesaplaşma Hazırlığı,'" *Çalışma ve Toplum* 1, no. 60 (2019): 193.

numbering. In the contracts, room no. 4 and the subsequent rooms, which were previously identified as office spaces, were exclusively recorded as located in No. 7, whereas the buildings numbered 5, 9, 11, and 13 were often described as shops (*dükkan*), depots (*depo*), or houses (*ev*). Furthermore, the contracts no longer specify room numbers for the units in these buildings; instead, the units were mentioned with vague definitions, such as "the depot above a shop" or "below Saint Pierre Han."



Figure 73: Estimated building numbers based on the rental contracts.
Source: Diagram by the author.

Considering the upper floors, where the spaces built across the five houses gradually unify towards the top, accessed via the han's main entrance, the given entrance was evidently No. 7. In this case, the remaining numbers 5, 9, 11, and 13 reasonably match with the street-level units of HA, HB, HC, and HD blocks, respectively. Furthermore, the relatively isolated ground-level spaces G15, G16, G17, and G18 in HC, with no direct access to the second and third floors, as well as the similarly enclosed setting of HD from ground to the second floor, supports this argument on the spatial allocation. Assuming the main entrance, D4, corresponded to No. 7, it is plausible that No. 5 corresponded to doors D1 and D2 (HA),²⁰⁵ No. 9 to D5 (HB),

²⁰⁵ The house numbered 7 in D'Alessio's book was constructed adjacent to house 6, in 1775. However, in this thesis these two buildings were grouped together as HA in the diagrams since the given buildings are unified across all floors spatially and functionally. Archival sources do not clarify

No. 11 to D6 and D7 (HC), and No. 13 to D8 and D9 (HD) (Figure 73). This interpretation suggests that, based on the given spatial descriptions consistent with over 472 unique contracts signed between 1923 and 1950, despite numerous physical alterations over more than 150 years, Saint Pierre Han retained traces of its original 18th century spatial organization (Figure 74).



Figure 74: Allocation of shops and depots on the ground floor.
Source: Diagram by the author.



Figure 75: Ilda and Çelestino Folya' contract of 1939. It notes that rooms 36, 37, 38, and 39 correspond to the former 16 and 17.
Source: SALT Research.

In addition to revealing how the building was compartmentalized into spaces with different functions, the rental contracts from the early Republican period also

whether these buildings ever operated independently or if they were ever physically separate to begin with. Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier*, 10.

indicate an increase in the number of rooms within Saint Pierre Han. As Table 3 shows, room 27 on the third floor was the last unit documented in the contracts between 1912 and 1923. In contrast, later contracts from 1924 to 1950 enumerated rooms up to 48, almost doubling the total. This was not the result of a structural addition or expansion, but likely a further subdivision of existing units, especially on the upper floors.

This rearrangement was explicitly noted in a rental contract signed by Ilda and Çelestino Folya for their textile workshop in 1939. The contract shows that the Folyas intended to rent rooms 36, 37, 38, and 39, four rooms previously numbered as 16 and 17 (Figure 75). This contract also exemplifies that many tenants continued to rent multiple rooms in the *han*, as they had in the late Ottoman period. Furthermore, these rooms were not always adjacent; in several cases, residents occupied spaces on different floors for separate uses, such as offices, workshops, or storage.



Figure 76: Leon Babok's contract of 1931.
Source: SALT Research.

As discussed above, the significant rise in workshops at Saint Pierre Han was parallel to the new economic development plans that emphasized domestic production and industrialization. While commercial identities have proven adaptable to shifts in political economy, the physical adaptation of office spaces within a building over

150 years old posed a different challenge. Despite the fact that different kinds of industrial production require more complex architectural and infrastructural features, the church archives contain no documentation of any major alterations made to accommodate such conversions. Only a few rental contracts addressed this issue of adaptation, such as Leon Babok's lease from 1931, which limited machinery usage to a predetermined room out of the three he occupied (Figure 76). Regardless, the absence of documentation in the church archives regarding the *han*'s later use as a production space does not necessarily suggest that residents made no changes to their units. Rather, it implies that they may have carried out unauthorized interventions.



Figure 77: The area defined as HE block. The upper slab was recently removed during the ongoing restoration project, the below units are 108 and 109 of the first floor diagram.
Source: Photograph by the author.

While the church archives offer little on these adaptations, they do reveal some details about the space coded as HE, located between HA and the old monastery. This area was accessed through the main entrance and a sloped corridor leading to G08, situated between HA and HB. Due to the inclining topography, the space sat at the same elevation as the second floor. Although its original floor slab was recently removed during the ongoing restoration project, this area once covered the top of the spaces coded 107, 108, and 109. Today, the Dominican friars identify this space as the location where Turkey's first blue jean manufacturer, Muhteşem Kot, operated in the 1940s. (Figure 77) Should the ongoing restoration work confirm this claim, it

would verify that the area comprising the HE block corresponds to rooms 47 and 48 in the contracts (Figure 78).

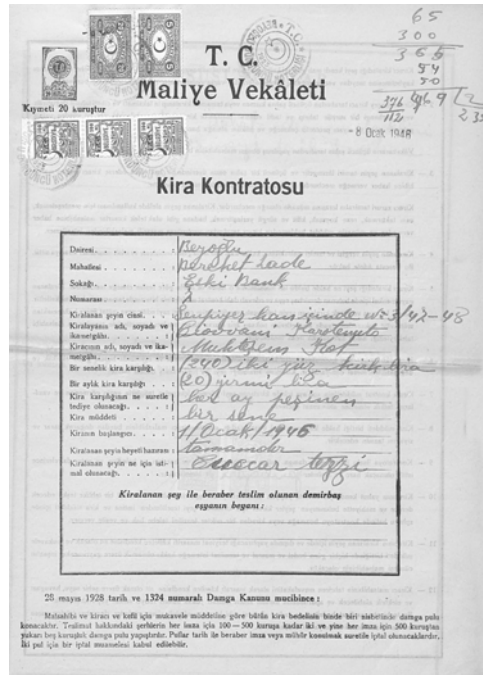


Figure 78: Muhteşem Kot’s contract of 1946. Kot was the first blue jean manufacturer in Turkey. His workshop operated in rooms 47 and 48.

Source: SALT Research.

The ongoing restoration project has also removed numerous minor structural changes made by residents throughout the 20th century. These included irregularly opened or blocked doorways, partition walls, and added wall layers. Although these interventions were undocumented, their cumulative impact is clearly visible in the building’s current condition. No comprehensive restoration, reinforcement, or repair work was carried out after Perpignan’s partial restorations in the early 20th century. Yet, workshops and manufacturers remained active in the building until the 2000s. This prolonged lack of maintenance offers a reasonable explanation for Saint Pierre Han’s present state of disrepair.

3.2.4 New Residents of Saint Pierre Han

The declaration of the Republic and the implications of the new economic development plans introduced new residents to Saint Pierre Han. This shift was part

of a broader set of transformations that occurred during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic, involving previously discussed demographic, political, and economic contexts. The rental contracts show that, after the war years, only eight residents continued their stay in the han. Therefore, the influx of new residents brought with it new commercial activities, such as material production. At the same time, this change diversified the resident profile, which now included individuals engaged in different sectors and networks.

The church archives compile 473 rental contracts signed by 135 unique residents between 1923 and 1950. A quantitative analysis of these contracts requires processing each individual contract before grouping the residents, since, as was the case in the late Ottoman period, many residents signed annual contracts to extend their stay, rented multiple rooms for different functions across floors, and sometimes operated different types of businesses. While these contracts, now issued by the Ministry of Finance, remained relatively similar to their Ottoman predecessors in terms of the consistent data they provided, one major difference was the removal of "citizenship" information. This change complicates comparisons between the two datasets, especially considering the rise of a national economy that distinctly favored Turkish-Muslim identity. Although examining residents' names through common linguistic markers gives the impression that Turkish-Muslim, Jewish, and Greek names appear most frequently in the dataset, such ethno-cultural assumptions can be highly misleading, particularly for the period in question. Nonetheless, compared to the late Ottoman period, the higher visibility of Turkish-Muslim names in the early Republican period contracts and the absence of the previous foreign companies (e.g., Nestlé, Muratti et Cie.) appear plausible considering the economic and political scene of the time.

On the other hand, categorizing the intended functions of rented spaces provides more concrete information. Given that the declared functions span a broad range of commercial activities, they are grouped in two categories: material production and small-scale trade (Table 4), and professional services (Table 5). In this context, material production refers to workshops and repair shops engaged in various forms

of manufacturing and trade, while professional services include offices related to larger scale trade, finance, and the service sector, as well as clinical laboratories.

Table 4: The amount of material production and small scale-trade businesses in the han, based on the rental contracts, 1923-1950.

Material production and small-scale trade	Amount
Workshop (metal, mechanical, repair)	16
Workshop (textile)	11
Workshop (electricity and utilities)	9
Workshop (woodworking and furniture)	8
Workshop (paper and packaging)	5
Printing house	5
Workshop (unspecified)	2
Shop (bicycle)	1
Shop (unspecified)	1
Total	58
Depot	51

Table 5: The amount of professional service businesses in the han, based on the rental contracts, 1923-1950.

Professional services	Amount
Office (unspecified)	18
Office (law)	6
Office (advertisement)	5
Office (architect)	3
Office (contractor)	3
Office (bank)	2
Clinical laboratory	2
Office (engineer)	1
Total	40

Among the workplaces under material production and small-scale trade, metalwork, mechanical repair, and other related services (16) present the most concentrated

street level in 1950. Before him, in 1946, Hanriki Sidi operated an electrical supply shop in the same unit.

Figure 80: Nabi Evcimen's contract of 1943.
Source: SALT Research.

Other examples present similar patterns of functional clustering. In 1926, Germano Perpignani used room 13 in Building No. 7 as a carpentry workshop. In 1945, rooms 14, 15, 16, and 17 were rented by İbrahim Toruk and the Başol brothers for a decoration workshop, which once again indicates that certain activities concentrated on some certain parts of the *han*.

Between 1923 and 1950, textile workshops (11) and printing houses (5) in Saint Pierre Han arguably required more physical space. In 1934, the İbrahimzade brothers operated a bag workshop in rooms 16, 17, 18, and 19 on the third floor of No. 7. İlda and Çelestino Folya's weaving workshop succeeded them in 1939. Their previously mentioned rental contract shows that rooms 16 and 17 were subdivided into four smaller spaces (rooms 36, 37, 38, 39). After the Folya's departure in 1945, Murat Erenler took over the same rooms to run a yarn-spinning workshop. Between 1944 and 1951, Muhteşem Kot operated in two of the "new" rooms, 47 and 48, and later also used room 37 for a year. Previously, these same rooms had accommodated

another textile workshop owned by Murat Balez between 1943 and 1944. These examples show that the textile production clustered in the supposed HE block and along the adjacent third floor units.

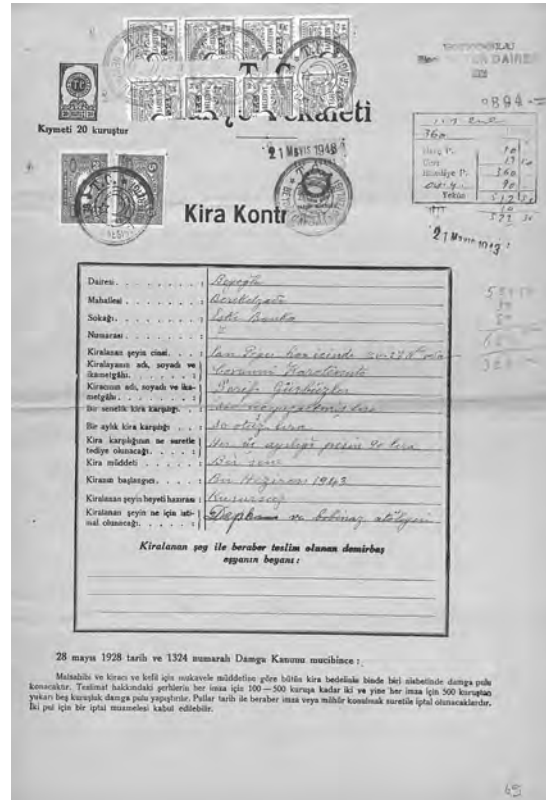


Figure 81: Şerif Gürbüzler's contract of 1943.
Source: SALT Research.

The Babok family operated a printing house between 1931 and 1943. The family used rooms 4, 5, and 6 on the second floor, which were formerly architect offices, and room 13 on the third floor for machinery. Another example is Habib Edib Törehan and Ekrem Mir, who replaced the textile workshop of Toruk and the Başol brothers in rooms 14, 15, 16, and 17 in 1946.

Among box and packaging manufacturers (5), Emilie Promm rented room 8 between 1936 and 1938 under the condition that her workshop would remain “machine-free and silent” (Figure 82). In 1942, partners J. Meneksiadis and D. Zomopulo set up a box production workshop in rooms 45 and 46 on the upper floor.

In total, 51 workshops operated in Saint Pierre Han during the early Republican period across all floors, practically erasing the former dominance of offices. Nevertheless, rental contracts indicate that 40 businesses offered professional

services; 38 of them were offices and 2 were medical laboratories. Among these, law offices were particularly prominent (6). Rental data reveals that in the 1930s, lawyers Celal Sofu, Sıtkı Koral, Konstantin Ralli, Celal Adal, and Celal Akbel shared offices on the second floor (rooms 9, 10, 12) and later moved to consecutive rooms on the upper floor (rooms 22, 23, 24). The evidence suggests that legal professionals may have formed collaborative structures, similar to the architectural offices of the late Ottoman period.

Dairesi	Büyükdere
Mahallesi	Büyükdere
Sokağı	Bağcı
Numarası	4
Kiralanın şeyin cinsi	Sanayiye Han içinde 8. A. E. da
Kiralanın adı, soy ve ikametgâhi	Berhan Y. Y. Y.
Kiralanın adı, soy ve ikametgâhi	Emilie Promm
Bir senelik kira karpığı	100 Y. Y. Y.
Bir aylık kira karpığı	10 Y. Y. Y.
Kira karpığının ne suretle tahsis olacağı	10 Y. Y. Y.
Kira maddesi	10 Y. Y. Y.
Kiralanın başlangıcı	1 Mayıs 1936
Kiralanın şeyin berrak hâzır	10 Y. Y. Y.
Kiralanın şeyin ne için tahsis olacağı	10 Y. Y. Y.

Kiralanın şey ile beraber teslim olunan demirbaş eşyanın beyanı :

28 Mayıs 928 tarih ve 1324 numaralı Damga Kanunu mubhince:

Muhafız ve kiracı ve kefil için mukavele maddesine göre bütün kira bedelinin birde bir taksitinde damga pulu konulacaktır. Teslimat hakkındaki geriborular her taksit için 100-500 kuruş kadar ilâ ve yâne her taksit için 500 kuruşta pulun bu kurşunluk damga pulu yapacaktır. Pulun tarih ile beraber imza veya mühür konulmak suretiler ile tahsis oluncaklardır. Bu pul için bir özel muamelesi kabul edilebilir.

Figure 82: Emilie Promm’s contract of 1936.
Source: SALT Research.

Most architects had by then relocated to newer hans or to northern neighborhoods like Pera, Nişantaşı, and Şişli.²⁰⁶ Only Konstantin Pavlidis, Aleksandr Yenidünya, and Jean Tülbentçiyen remained in Saint Pierre Han. Yenidünya was a long-term resident. He was active in the building from 1919 to 1934, rented Room 8 on the second floor, and occasionally used room 3 on the ground floor as storage. By the 1940s, Jean Tülbentçiyen was the only architect remaining. He worked in room 4,

²⁰⁶ For a comprehensive study on locating the architectural offices in the early Republican period, see Değirmenci, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde İlk Açılan Mimarlık Büroları ve Dönemin Mimarlık Ortamı.”

previously used by Mongeri and Langas in the 1910s, and moved to room 6 during his final contract period in 1951–52.

In 1939, Antoni Apostolu,²⁰⁷ founder of one of Turkey's earliest film production companies, Ceylan Film, operated an advertising office in room 7 (Figure 83). He moved to room 21 on the upper floor in 1940. Han's other advertising firms in the 1940s include Robert Koen and Guido Şialom in room 46 and Emmanuel Psomadis in rooms 29 and 30.

The final occupational group with a distinct spatial pattern was banks. Two banks operated in the *han* during the early Republican period. The first, Caisse des Petits Prêts (*Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*), represented by Joseph Niego,²⁰⁸ (Figure 84) had been in the building since the late Ottoman period. The bank relocated from room 12 to room 28 in 1948. The other was the domestically funded Türkiye Ticaret ve Sanayi Bankası, which used room 3 as a depot between 1937 and 1940 before moving to rooms 22, 23, 24, and 25.

Apart from two medical laboratories in rooms 19 and 20 during the 1940s, the spatial distribution of other offices does not present any consistent patterns. Many were short-term tenants who occupied rooms between longer-standing offices and workshops on the upper floors.

Dark, yet large spaces at the northern edge of the HA and HB ground floors (e.g., G02, G03, G04, G11, G13, G14) continued to function as shared storage areas. Rental records document 51 tenants who leased depot space between 1923 and 1950.

²⁰⁷ Antoni Apostolu, a film producer of Greek descent, was among the founding members of the Society of Turkish Cinematographers, Filmmakers, and Producers (*Sinemacılar, Filmciler, ve Türk Prodüksiyonlar Cemiyeti*) as well as the Association of Film Importers and Producers in Turkey (*Türkiye Sinema İthalatçıları ve Prodüksiyonları Birliği*) Yalçın Lülecı and Alparslan Nas, "Türk Sinemasında Azınlıklar," *Düşünce ve Toplum Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 2 (2020): 8–9.

²⁰⁸ Joseph Niego was a Jewish banker and philanthropist. He played an active role in international and local Jewish welfare and economic initiatives, including the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), and the Caisse des Petits Prêts (*Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*), which supported small-scale credit and economic relief efforts. He was one of the few residents who continued their residency in Saint Pierre Han after the declaration of the Republic. For more on Niego and *Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*, see Rıfat N. Bali, "Bir Yahudi Mali ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Kurumu: Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 160 (1997): 45–54.

[illegible]

Source: SALT Research.

²⁰⁹ Eldem, *Bankalar Caddesi*, 35–36.

tenants in Saint Pierre Han were also absent from commercial periodicals of the period, which implies that they were most probably not among Galata's more "prominent" enterprises.

T. C. Malive Vekâleti
Kira Mukavele

112
No 26
Harc 40
Ucret 10
Belirli 1600
Danga 2
Yılın 1850
1931

Daire	Beyoğlu
Mahalle	Bahçeşade
Sokağı	Bahçeşade
Nispetiye	7
Kiralanın şey'i cinsi	Sanayiye
Kiralanın ad, soy ve ismi	Sanayiye
Kiralanın ad, soy ve ismi	Sanayiye
Her aylık kira karşılığı	500 altın
Her aylık kira karşılığı	500 altın
Kira karşılığına ne surette tahvil olunacağı	Her ay 100 altın
Kira muddeti	1 yıl
Kiralanın başlangıcı	1 Ocak 1931
Kiralanın şey'i bey'eli hususları	Sanayiye
Kiralanın şey'i ne için istenil olacağı	Sanayiye

Kiralanın şey ile beraber teslim alınan demirbaş eşyaları:

28 Mayıs 1928 tarih ve 1324 numaralı Danga Kanunu gereğince:
Malikî ve kira ve kâfi kira mukavele maddelerine göre kira kira bedelinin birde bir altıncısında danga pulu konacaktır. Teslimat hakkındaki peşavir her taraftan 100-200 kuruş kadar bir ve yine her taraftan 500 kuruşluk puldan bir karşılık danga pulu karşılığıdır. Pulun tarih ile beraber veya sonra başka konacak surette pul alınacaktır. Bu pul için bir özel muamele kabul edilebilir.

Figure 84: Joseph Niego's contract of 1931. Nigeo, was a prominent actor in the local Jewish community, represented Caisse des Petits Prêts (*Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*)
Source: SALT Research.

The church archives do not include information about any restoration or infrastructural improvements made to meet the growing demands of production within the *han* during the early Republican period. Given the demographically declining congregation and the church's increasingly vulnerable economic and political position amid the rise of nationalism during the state-building process, this absence is not surprising. Rental contracts, however, indicate that upper floor rooms were subdivided into more rooms, which often served in coordination with adjacent shops at street level (No. 5, 9, 11, 13). While certain production functions clearly clustered in specific parts of the *han*, the spatial use in the early Republican period became significantly more complex and mixed than the case during the late Ottoman period.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis situates Saint Pierre Han's role in the urban-spatial and socio-economic contexts of the Galata district from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period. Whereas this interval remains central to the discussion, the long social and urban history of Galata presents crucial details to define a broader framework. The early history of Galata has been studied in numerous contexts in the literature. However, this thesis emphasizes how the social, economic, and urban identities of Galata were transformed by various political contestations and negotiations. These contestations and negotiations introduced diverse local and foreign actors and often triggered drastic shifts in Galata's historical trajectory.²¹⁰

In the late Ottoman period, Galata's development accelerated as a dynamic financial hub, and the socio-spatial contexts of Saint Pierre Han during this period drew parallels to the district's changing socio-economic and political identity. In a broader perspective, Galata's urban identity, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, was defined by the changing contexts of pluralism and commerce, as local and foreign merchants, diplomats, and religious communities converged in various interactions. Nonetheless, the periodization of the 18th and 19th centuries under the singular label of "the late Ottoman period" entails a risky generalization. For example, the Galata district's rapid development in this period included many ruptures in the 18th and 19th centuries, as in history: pivotal local and global factors such as particular trade policies of France or the Ottoman Empire's reaction to the maturing Industrial

²¹⁰ See 2.1.1.

Revolution repeatedly reoriented the period (see 2.1.2).²¹¹ The history of the Dominican Order in Galata even preceded the Ottomans, having been active first in the historical peninsula and then in Galata since the 13th century. Beyond their religious mission, the Dominican friars were mediators for the city's Catholic population. Throughout history, they were engaged in complex political negotiations to secure their presence to sustain the church and its associated establishments such as Saint Pierre Han. These negotiations bore further importance since the Ottoman Empire did not recognize Catholics as a *millet* (religious community). The lack of this recognition hindered the Catholic community's political and economic agency in various ways, and more importantly required them to seek constant protection from foreign embassies. Whereas the French ambassador provided this protection from the 18th century onwards, this dependency made Catholics vulnerable to political conflicts between their protectors and the Porte. This vulnerability proved a deterministic factor in various instances, such as during the turbulent periods of confiscation and rebuilding after the repeated fire disasters in the 17th century. Nevertheless, the 18th century parish records of the Saints Pierre and Paul Church show a congregation comprising not only French but also Italian, Greek, Armenian, and other ethnic groups, many of whom lived or worked in proximity to the church. The diverse community around the church undoubtedly influenced Saint Pierre Han as well, especially when the historical trajectory of dialogues between the church, the han, and the community is considered.

Saint Pierre Han is an integral part of the Dominican Catholic Saints Pierre and Paul Church complex. As the main case study of this thesis, the *han* presents a nuanced example of Galata's plural urban identity at the intersection of a religious community and a commercial center. Its initial establishment in the 1770s responded directly to Galata's political and commercial scene. Between 1771 and 1775, the Dominican friars commissioned five adjacent masonry houses on the southwestern edge of the church property as the first establishment of the present day *han*.²¹² These houses

²¹¹ Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 19, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage (Brill, 1999).

²¹² Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, *La Maison Natale d'André Chénier* (Athens, 1963).

were built with a practical purpose in mind: they housed the Banque de la Nation Française and provided shops and lodging for French merchants. This close connection with the French community was not coincidental; it was an outcome of the broader socio-economic context of 18th-century French-Ottoman relations, in which France was particularly interested in the Ottoman market. This interest, however, was not reciprocated by the Porte, and the local market remained resilient to extensive foreign intervention at least until the 19th century. At that point, Saint Pierre Han and the church provided the French a much-needed hub in Galata, in exchange for the political and financial protection upon which the local Catholics were historically dependent. However, this insular, almost self-contained community built around the church and the *han* experienced a drastic shift in the 19th century as Galata's incorporation into the capitalist world system accelerated the transformation of its commercial landscape and urban fabric.²¹³

In the context of architectural and institutional typologies of *han* buildings, Saint Pierre Han does not fit within the conventional classifications. The *han* typologies often discussed in the literature, whether the *funduqs* of Mediterranean trade, the waqf *hans* of the historical peninsula, or the later 19th century *bureau hans* of Galata, tend to follow certain architectural and administrative characteristics which reasonably enable comprehensive analysis of the different typologies. However, given that in its most essential definition the term “*han*” refers to a commercial building that facilitates trade and lodging, atypical cases prove especially interesting. This thesis discusses Saint Pierre Han as one of those atypical cases, considering its formation as a cluster of masonry buildings under church ownership and its relative administrative autonomy from state surveillance during the Ottoman period. Whereas the French community around the *han* in the 18th century reminds the “foreignness” of *funduqs* or *fondacos*, the available evidence is arguably scarce to understand the certain extent of the *han*'s 18th century usage. Furthermore, it neither embodies the socio-spatial patterns of the traditional Ottoman *hans* or caravanserais nor fully matches with the 19th-century typology of the *bureau han*. Instead, Saint Pierre Han has a hybrid character which is ecclesiastical in ownership, commercial in function,

²¹³ See 2.2.2.

and fragmented in architectural setting. Thus, a typological approach falls short in the case of Saint Pierre Han, as it requires a more nuanced discussion that involves its past residents who contributed to its transformation over decades.

Details of Saint Pierre Han's past residents reveal how their interventions influenced its socio-spatial identity. A major milestone was the nearly three-decade residency of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in the *han* during the mid- to late-19th century. This connection between the Dominican friars as landlords and the bank not only altered the building's physical setting but also introduced political and economic dialogues. The bank's foundation came with significant spatial modifications: a new floor was added, a courtyard was removed, and passages were reconfigured to adapt the *han* houses into a more unified commercial building. On one hand Saint Pierre Han's previous spatial connection with the rest of the church premises were weakened, yet on the other hand, the over century old structure was adapted to meet the needs of Galata's 19th century financial scene.²¹⁴

The friars' chronicles *Liber Consiliorum*, reveals that these alterations and their aftermath triggered contentious negotiations between the bank and the friars. The records of these negotiations hint at power dynamics in which the Imperial Ottoman Bank leveraged the friars' financial struggles to assert control over Saint Pierre Han. At the same time, the incorporation of the *han* into the rising financial scene of the 19th century Galata connected it directly into new commercial networks. Saint Pierre Han's social and spatial setting thus expanded beyond its insular 18th century Catholic enclave to become a popular commercial hub in late Ottoman Galata. This stark expansion becomes evident when various primary sources are examined together: the cadastral maps contrasting the layout of the church premises before and after the bank's intervention; remaining physical evidence indicating former spatial connections; and archival sources that describe how these interventions severed Saint Pierre Han from the adjoining monastery and church buildings. When the bank eventually moved to its new headquarters designed by Alexander Vallaury on Voyvoda Street in 1892, it marked another significant turning point: the offices and cellars the bank left behind attracted a broader range of new residents at the end of

²¹⁴ See 2.2.3.

the 19th century. In the aftermath of the bank's departure, Saint Pierre Han experienced an influx of new residents that further diversified its social and functional profile. The *han*'s unique layout, comprising large depots and small shops on the street level and gradually articulating offices along connected corridors on the upper floors, attracted various companies and individual professionals. The concentration of architects who established offices in Saint Pierre Han was particularly noticeable, which made it one of the earliest hubs for private architectural practice in Istanbul.²¹⁵ These architects, including figures such as Antoine Perpignani, Marco G. Langas, Edoardo De Nari, and Giulio Mongeri, were pioneers of professionalizing architecture in late Ottoman Istanbul. Furthermore, these architects left tangible marks on the building: for instance, signboards bearing their names are still present at the entrance hall of the second floor, and decorative interior finishes such as polychrome wall paintings, ornamented ceilings in their offices distinguish their work environment. Beyond only renting space, some of these professionals engaged in collaborative dialogues with the Dominican friars regarding the building's maintenance and improvement. A clear example is the French embassy's designated architect Antoine Perpignani's proposed restoration project at the turn of the 20th century, in which he offered to finance and manage renovations to the han. According to the corresponding letters, Perpignani added doors, partitions, skylights, and structural reinforcements, in exchange for favorable lease terms and a better located office.²¹⁶ Although less detailed in the church archives, Perpignani's fellow neighbors from the *han* Giulio Mongeri and Marco Langas also engaged in other establishments of Dominicans as well. Such interactions display different kinds of dialogue than the friars experienced with the Imperial Ottoman Bank as the collaborations with these architects did not invoke top-down capitalist power dynamics. Through these varying dialogues and interventions, the late 19th and early 20th century residents left their marks on the space.

By the early 20th century, the heterogeneity of Saint Pierre Han's occupants exemplified the plural character of Galata. As the Ottoman period drew to a close,

²¹⁵ See 2.2.4

²¹⁶ See Appendix C.

the *han* accommodated bankers and commissioners, architects, merchants, and even a consulate office and a printing house. The building's rental contracts between 1912 and 1923 record this diversity among its tenants. Italians, Greeks, Ottomans, French, English, and other nationals made use of the han's rooms for various purposes.

The most common usage was as offices for foreign firms, insurance companies, architects, but many spaces also served as depots for merchandise, just a few as workshops. The same contracts also signify possible professional partnerships through the residents' allocation across the floors, proving that the communal identity around the Saint Pierre premises might not have been completely lost after all.

The harsh transition from the Empire to the Republic in the early 20th century brought changes in every context this thesis has discussed so far. Economic hardship and political uncertainty immediately followed the First World War and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the war's aftermath, the Allied occupation of Istanbul directly touched Saint Pierre Han – at one point in 1920 the Dominican friars even petitioned the Italian High Commission to evacuate British soldiers who had been quartered in part of the property.²¹⁷ By the declaration of the Republic in 1923, many of the han's previous residents had already departed due to the combined effects of wartime disruption, post-war economic crisis, and the increasing hostility towards non-Muslims and foreigners.

The church archives show that after the war years only eight residents from the late Ottoman period continued their stay in the han. This turnover was a certain break in continuity, as a new set of residents entered the scene in the early Republican period. The influx of new residents in the 1920s brought with it new commercial activities more or less in line with the Republic's economic priorities, including a rise in material production and small-scale manufacturing on the premises. Whereas newer *bureau* hans of the district started to accommodate state-led banks and institutions after the development of the port area, mechanic and repair shops quickly proliferated in the backstreets. Subsequently, the newly introduced “national,” state-

²¹⁷ See 3.2.2.

directed economy of the Republic inevitably altered the *han*'s socio-spatial composition. Following the early Republican economic and urban development plans, Galata's port area and financial districts were reconfigured to align with the new strategies. Many historic hans in Galata were repurposed or changed ownership during this period.²¹⁸ Saint Pierre Han, while unique in its status as a church property, was no exception to major adaptations. With the abolition of the Ottoman *millet* system and the establishment of a secular nation-state, the Dominican Order's legal and political position was in question again. The 1924 Turkish Constitution promised freedom of religion but did not recognize religious communities as legal entities; Catholic institutions, like others, had to operate without a legal personality (*tüzel kişilik*). Nevertheless, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne and related agreements practically allowed the continuation of foreign religious institutions and helped them keep their properties. Ironically, even as the han's ownership remained with the Dominican Order as it was still identified on documents as "the Dominican Fathers under the protection of Italy" into the Republican period, the social reality of the place had clearly transitioned. The legal ambiguity of the church's status persisted, but in practice the management of the han and its community of users proceeded in cooperation with Turkish authorities and within the bounds of Turkish law.²¹⁹

In Bereketzade neighborhood, the predominant non-Muslim and foreign community around Saints Pierre and Paul had shrunk to a fraction of its former size. From a community of around 5,000–6,000 in the 19th century, the Catholic population of Galata fell to roughly 2,000 by the early 20th century, and by the 1940s only about 40 Catholic families comprising 170 individuals remained in the parish.²²⁰ This dramatic decline in the local Catholic congregation suggests that the church and the han were no longer at the center of their community as they once were. Many of the families who had sustained the church and used the *han*'s rooms had relocated to other parts of the city (such as Pera or beyond) or left Turkey altogether as the

²¹⁸ See 3.2.1.

²¹⁹ Bedia Ayşegül Tansen Gümüş, "Türkiye'de Katolik Kilisesi'nin Mülkiyet Hakkı" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, Galatasaray Üniversitesi, 2024).

²²⁰ See 3.2.2

Republic's social climate grew less hospitable to foreigners. In parallel, many long-established non-Muslim businesses in Galata were taken over by Muslim Turkish owners or simply closed, especially following events like the Wealth Tax of 1942 and the tragic riots of September 6–7, 1955. Thus, the Dominican friars continued to administer Saint Pierre Han and collect rents, though now under a new setting of residents. In the context of their analysis, the newly standardized contracts issued in the Republican period, under the administration of the Ministry of Finance, no longer recorded the nationality of residents. This complicates the prosopographic analysis of these actors, yet, one can discern a change in the resident profile through some clues. Compared to the ethno-cultural mix of the late Ottoman period, Turkish-Muslim names became more noticeable in the early Republican contracts, while the names of foreign companies that had once been common completely disappeared.²²¹ This change coincided with the rise of a national economy that distinctly favored Turkish-Muslim companies and entrepreneurs. In Saint Pierre Han, the departure of most foreigners and non-Muslims expectedly allowed some of these domestically funded Turkish-Muslim enterprises to rent the offices and shop. This resulted in a shift in *han*'s identity: although inhabited by smaller enterprises it was still a busy urban commercial center, but now more heterogeneous and seemingly more “national” than before.

Even with these shifts, Saint Pierre Han remained an active commercial center through the early Republican decades. The church archives include 473 rental contracts of 135 unique residents between 1923 and 1950 which indicated the continuation of commercial use in this period. This thesis conducts a quantitative analysis of these contracts to emphasize that the functions diversified across two categories: material production and small-scale trade, and professional services.²²² On the one hand, numerous workshops, repair shops, and small factories were set up not only in Saint Pierre Han's street-level shops (Nos. 5, 9, 11, 13), but also on the upper floors. On the other hand, many offices in the upper floors continued to serve traders, advertisers, and service providers. In fact, forty businesses offering

²²¹ See 3.2.4.

²²² See 3.2.3.

professional services, ranging from trading offices to finance and legal practices, as well as two medical laboratories, operated in the *han* during the early Republican period. Yet, there were distinct signs of change as well. The previously dominant architects who utilized the *han*'s office spaces in the late Ottoman period, for instance, moved their offices to newer buildings or to northern districts like Pera, Nişantaşı, and Şişli as the city's commercial activity shifted. By the 1940s, only one architect, Jean Tülbentçiyen, still kept an office in Saint Pierre Han, in the rooms once used by Mongeri and Langas. The mix of new residents thus still spanned across the floors, while certain production activities such as textile ateliers and mechanical workshops followed some patterns in their usage of space, some others like offices filled the remaining rooms in between.²²³ Concisely, Saint Pierre Han between 1923 to 1950 continued to encapsulate multiple various commercial activities, much as it had in the past, though the social, economic, and spatial setting of these activities transformed. However, the traces of this transformation such as the dialogues between the friars and the residents, or documentation of architectural adaptation and alterations noticeably disappeared from the records.

In sum, the microhistory of Saint Pierre Han from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period exemplifies how a single building can embody the traces of urban and social transformations of its environment. The han's 18th-century establishment emerged from a unique interplay of a local religious institution seeking support and a foreign mercantile network seeking a foothold. Its transformation through the 19th century included not only the *han*'s but also the church's integration into a new financial scene via the Imperial Ottoman Bank's impact followed by the influx of various professionals. Then, its adaptation in the 20th century to a more nationally oriented and culturally "Turkified" scene drew parallels to the new political and economic policies of the Republic.²²⁴ Throughout these phases, interactions between local and foreign actors, and the Dominican friars were intermediaries in the *han*'s spatial and social transformation. This originally ecclesiastical community remained continuously involved in negotiations, from Ottoman decrees and ambassadors'

²²³ See 3.2.4.

²²⁴ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de devlet ve sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014).

protections to contracts with banks and cooperation with resident architects, to the legal ambiguities and negotiations while the society negotiated the challenges of modernization, imperial collapse, and nation-building.

Ultimately, Saint Pierre Han's ability to adapt while retaining its presence demonstrates that this unassuming building was an active participant in the making and remaking of Galata's complex history from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period.

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APPENDICES

A. LIBER CONSILIORUM (BOOK OF COUNCILS)



Figure 85: *Liber Consiliorum*, the Dominican friars' book of counsels.
Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

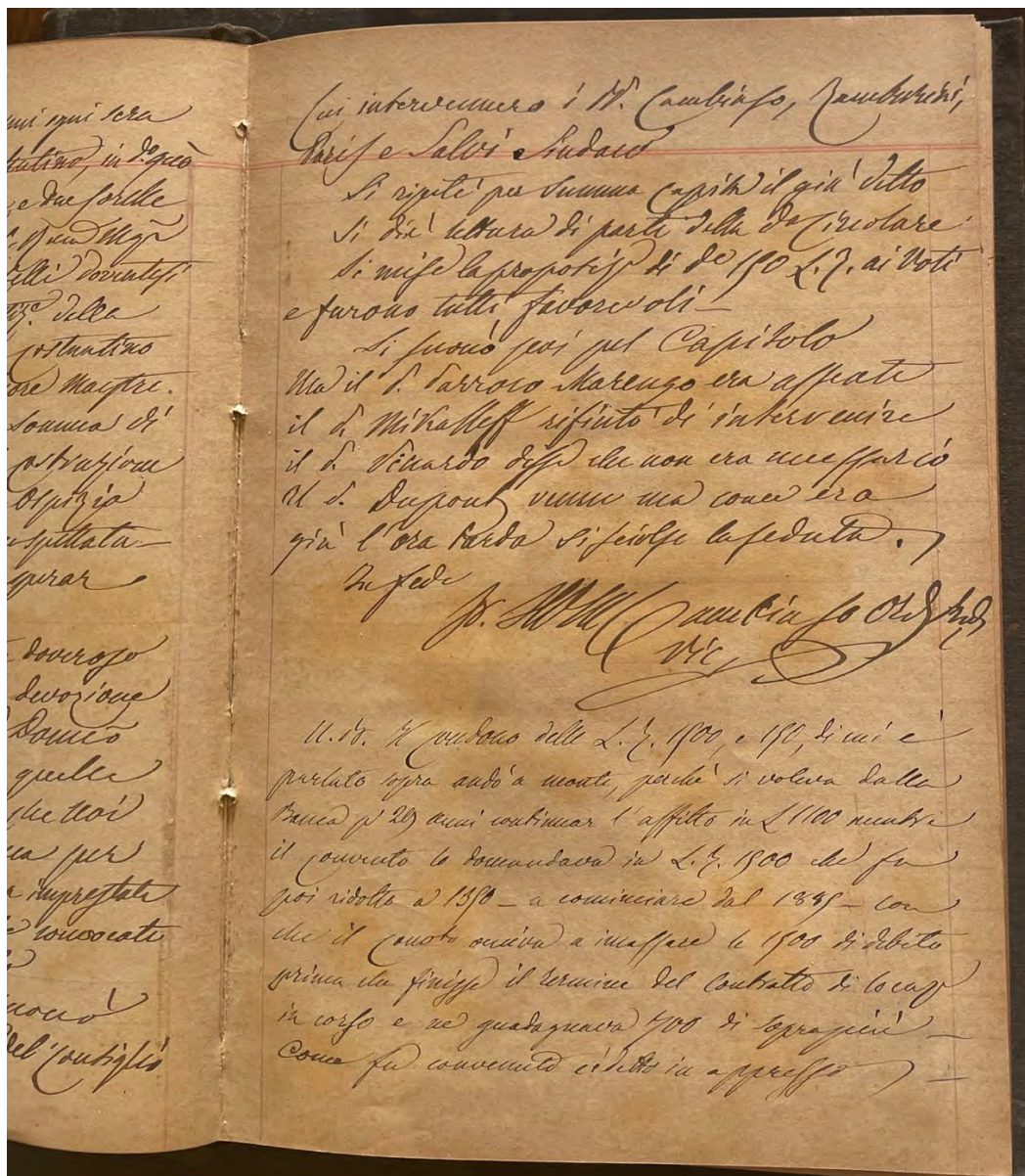


Figure 86: *Liber Consiliorum*, negotiations with the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Includes rent and debt negotiations after the third floor's addition. This section of the book was written by the friars in 1884. The negotiations also can be followed through the contracts and agreements presented in Appendix B.

Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

L'anno 1884 2 Aprile
 Convocato il Consiglio del Conto al fisco del pagamento
 il 1. Vi. Effort ai M. Cambasini; Parigi e Salvi
 che sul principio del 1877 Marzj il 1. Vi. Effort al
 sig. Deveau qual direttore di questa Banca
 Imperiale Ottomana affittuale delle uci case
 da foggj perdonati al contratto il debito che ha
 di L. E. 150 da pagarsi metà adesso e metà l'anno p. v.
 più quello di L. E. 150 da dover pagar al
 termine del contratto corrente di Lora p. v. nel 1882
 e questo condono e rinuovare si domandava in
 vista che per le nuove fabbriche praticate dalla
 Banca a tutte sue spese sulle uci case degli
 affittati noi avevamo perduta l'aria, il sole e
 la vista del Mare e andavamo incontro a più
 gravi tasse che il Municipio ci avrebbe imposto
 Il sig. Deveau ripose subito che concedeva
 tutto purché si rinuovasse il contratto per 20 anni.
 Suonò noi avevamo bisogno di una speciale
 autorizzaz. la Banca per tale rinuovaz. come
 l'avevamo ottenuta per la stipulaz. del contratto
 per 20 anni nel 1862 così si rinuovava
 senza servir nulla e nulla fissare
 Ma intanto si aveva già avuta la parte di profitto
 che tutto era concesso e perdonato

Figure 87: *Liber Consiliorum*, negotiations with the Imperial Ottoman Bank, continued.
 Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

Così si manda al Gode la cambiale di 100 L. e
 alla Nota di M. e per la prima al S. R. e
 Ma restava un dubbio da si presento dopo
 il colloquio col S. R. Devaux cioè: Questa rinnovazione
 della del contratto per 20 anni da quando comincierebbe
 subito col presente 1° aprile o dopo la spirazione
 del contratto contratto nel 1892?
 Si disse al S. R. Gode la Fontaine che
 si disse che da parte del S. R. Devaux ripose
 l'intende che si comincierebbe la rinnovazione
 20 anni dopo il 1892.
 Ma allora restava la difficoltà cioè
 come nel 1894 i S. R. si obbligano nel 1892
 sulla di dare un aumento per prezzo dell'
 attuale pagamento annuo di L. 1100?
 Si disse che si condona la Banca
 la quale L. 1650 fin d'ora, ma non
 si darebbe un follo di più nel 1892 —
 Si ripose al S. R. la Fontaine che
 si sarebbe domandata l'ambasciatore a Roma
 per la rinnovazione del contratto se
 accordasse la Banca fin d'ora non solo
 la remissione delle sudde L. 1650 ma
 si voleva l'annuo affetto salito da 1100
 a L. 1500 pagabile d'accanto il 1° aprile.

Figure 88: *Liber Consiliorum*, negotiations with the Imperial Ottoman Bank, continued.
 Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

Il Sig. Lafontaine portò il 22 aprile
 il suo ultimatum che fu ridotto all'atto
 unita dalla Banca e sottoscritta dal Dr. Nic.
 il quale radunati i N. padri e messa a
 voti la proposta della Banca era stato
 autorizzato
 1.^a Rimuovere il contratto di Locati
 per 20 anni e cominciare il conto d'aprire
 2.^a fissare dell'affitto annuo pagabile
 anticipatamente il 1.^o aprile in L. 1350.
 3.^a Sottoporre l'antico Zerappo sulla nuova
 fabbrica nella parte del Zerappo del 1. 1400
 a spese della Banca
 4.^a Continuare dell'obbligo al conto
 di pagare alla Banca nel 1892 la L. 1500
 come pure la L. 150
 Queste però da già per nulla avrebbero
 dovuto pagarsi quest'anno furono rinviati
 ai 2 anni successivi
 Ma verbalmente il Sig. Lafontaine
 disse al Dr. Nic. che sarebbero stati perdonati
 che
 M. Cambiati
 Dr. Nic.

N. B. nell'aprile 1891 Lafontaine viene di nuovo fatto d'aprire
 il conto d'aprire la Banca L. 1350 - all'atto

Figure 89: *Liber Consiliorum*, negotiations with the Imperial Ottoman Bank, continued.
 Source: The Archives of Saints Peter and Paul.

B. THE IMPERIAL OTTOMAN BANK CONTRACTS

Handwritten contract from the Imperial Ottoman Bank, dated 1867. The document is written in French and is addressed to the Superior of the Mission of the Dominicans in Galata. The text is written in cursive and includes the following details:

Handwritten number: 111
Banque Impériale Ottomane.
Constantinople le 26th 1867
Mon Révérend Père Cambiasso
Supérieur de la Mission des Dominicains
Galata
Mon Révérend,
Nous nous empressons de répondre à la lettre
que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous écrire
le 25 courant au sujet du renouvellement du
bail de la Banque Impériale Ottomane dont le
terme expire le 1^{er} 8th prochain.
Si nous considérons que la valeur locative stricte
des trois maisons que nous occupons, nous croyons
en toute sincérité que le prix actuellement
payé par nous, de P. 56,940 l'an, le quel est
encore notablement augmenté des dépenses de
réparations annuelles que nous sommes obligés
de faire, représente largement le loyer vrai de ces
maisons et nous ne pensons pas que l'on en
pût tirer un prix aussi élevé en les affermant
pour l'habitation; mais, comme les relations
sont agréables que nous avons eues ensemble

Figure 90: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's contract of 1867, a three-year lease for 70,000 piastres turques.

Source: SALT Research.

nous font vivement désirer de répondre à votre
attente autant du moins qu'il dépend de nous,
nous ne voulons certes point traiter avec vous
de locataire à propriétaire et nous venons au
contraire vous soumettre une proposition qui
vous prouvera que nous avons à cœur de faire
tout notre possible dans le sens de vos vues; cette
proposition est la suivante:

Notre bail de vos trois maisons sera renouvelé
pour trois années commençant à courir le 1^{er}
8^{me} prochain;

Le prix de location sera porté de P. 56,940
à P. 70,000 par an payable annuellement
et d'avance comme par le passé.

Enfin, si, pour faire face aux besoins dont
vous nous entretenez, il peut vous convenir
de toucher à la fois le montant de deux
annuités, nous sommes disposés à vous faire
cette anticipation.

Dans l'espoir que les conditions vous agréeront
et en attendant votre réponse, nous vous prions,
Mon Révérend, de croire à l'assurance de notre
considération la plus distinguée.

J. Gilbertson Du Commerce
Charlesveaux Sec^{re} g^{ral}

Figure 91: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's contract of 1867, continued.
Source: SALT Research.

N^o 3
Banque Impériale Ottomane.

Constantinople le 24 sept^{bre} 1868

Mon Révérend Père Cambiasso
Supérieur de la Mission des Dominicains
Galata

Mon Révérend,

En réponse à la demande verbale qui vient de nous être faite en votre nom, nous avons l'honneur de vous informer qu'en vous soldant au 1^{er} 9^{bre} prochain le loyer de nos trois maisons affient à 1868-69, nous vous avançons le montant de la dernière annuité de notre bail (pour 1869-70) sous un escompte de 9 p^oo.

Nous vous prions de vouloir bien nous faire connaître si ces conditions que, dans le but de vous être agréable, nous faisons la plus douce possible sont à votre convenance.

Agreez, mon Révérend, l'assurance nouvelle de notre considération la plus distinguée.

E. Gilbertson Directeur
Em. Percey Directeur.

Figure 92: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's contract of 1868. The bank agrees to pay one year's rent in advance, as requested, but expects a 9% discount in return.

Source: SALT Research.

A 4)

Constantinople, le 30 Septembre 1870.

BANQUE IMPÉRIALE
OTTOMANE

Direction Au Révérend Père Cambindo
Supérieur de la Mission des Dominicains,
Calcutta.

Mon Révérend,

Nous venons de recevoir la lettre que vous nous avez
faite l'honneur de nous adresser en date d'aujourd'hui
au sujet du renouvellement de notre bail dont le terme
expiré le 1^{er} Octobre, et dont vous désirez modifier les
conditions, en fixant notre loyer à L. 1000 pour l'année
1870-71.

Comme vous le savez, nous avons fait à l'immense que
nous occupons de nombreuses réparations qui en
augmentent certainement la valeur, mais ainsi que
vous le reconnaissez vous même, il ne serait pas juste
de profiter de ces améliorations faites à nos frais, pour
nous imposer une augmentation de loyer. Nous croyons
en toute sincérité que le prix de L. 7000 que nous payons
représente largement la valeur locative des maisons
que nous habitons, et nous espérons que vous ne voudrez
pas exiger de nous un chiffre plus élevé.

Cependant afin de vous donner une nouvelle
preuve de bonnes dispositions dont nous sommes animés
à l'égard, et presque une somme de L. 1000 pourrai-
vous être remboursée pour cette année, nous sommes prêts
à vous faire l'avance de la somme de L. 3000. qui

Figure 93: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's letter of 1870. The bank refused a proposed rent price for 1000 livres turques (liras) for the rental of three houses.
Source: SALT Research.

sera ou déduit du loyer de l'année prochaine, ou
rapporté sur les deux années 1871-72 - 1872-73.

Veuillez bien nous dire si cette proposition vous
convient et agréer, Mon Révérend, l'assurance de
nos sentiments distingués.

Em. D. de ...
P. Achard

Figure 94: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's letter of 1870, continued.
Source: SALT Research.

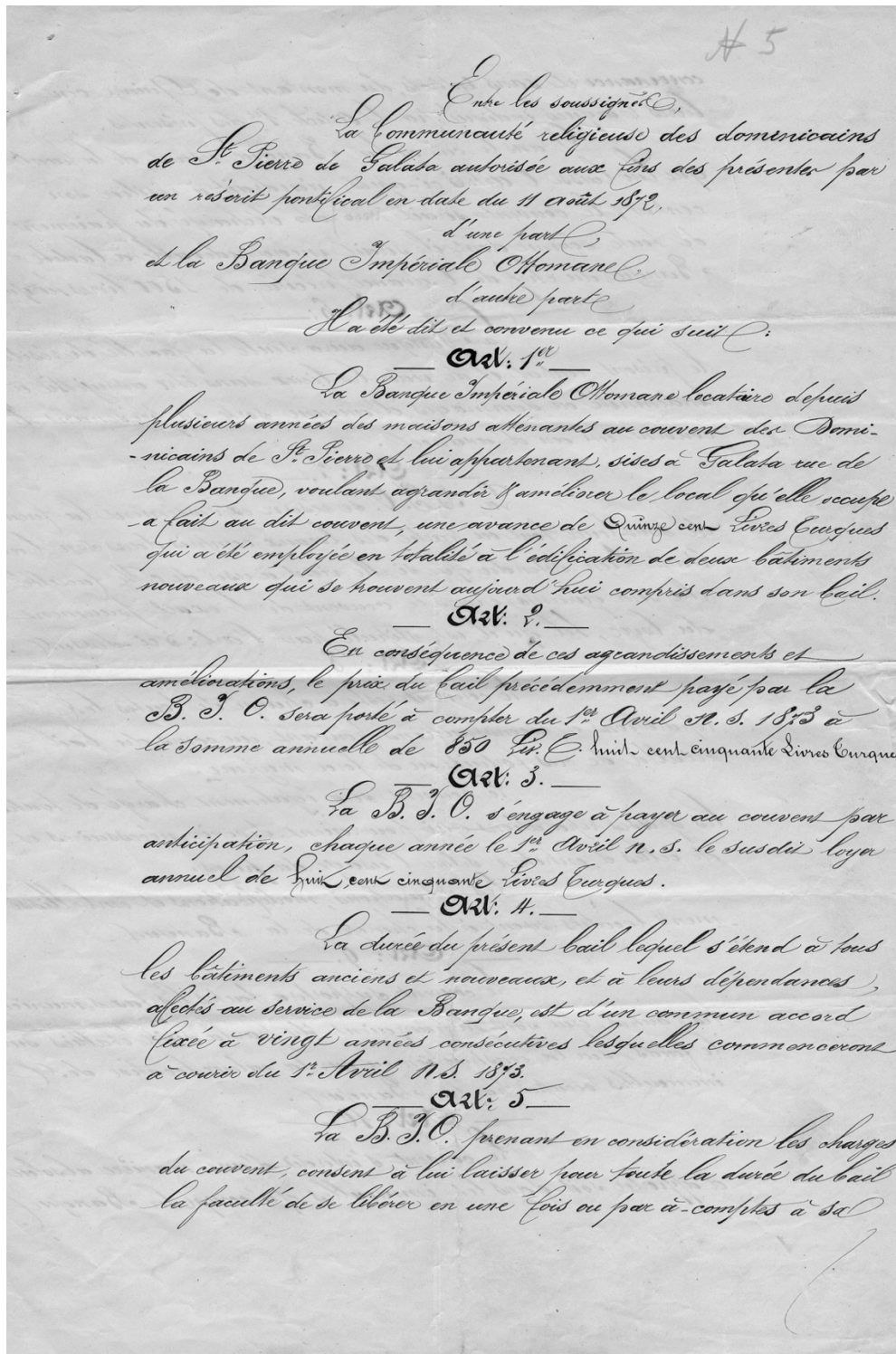


Figure 95: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of 1872. This agreement includes addition of new building to the han, for the bank's use, and a 20 year lease (1873-1893) involving both existing and newly built structures. The bank reserves the right to opt out early.

Source: SALT Research.

convenance et sans intérêts, du montant de Quinze cent
livres Turques indiqué par l'article 1^{er} des présentes.

Dans le cas où la Banque, usant de la faculté
que lui laisse l'art. 6 ci-après, viendrait à résilier son
contrat, le couvent serait ~~M. J. de~~ ^{M. J. de} déchargé du paiement
de toute somme dont il serait encore redevable à l'adite
Banque, du chef de l'avance précitée de 1500 livres Turques.

Art. 6. —

La Banque aura seule la faculté de résilier
le présent contrat et de vider les lieux sans être assujettie à
indemnité ou dommages d'aucune sorte en prévenant le
couvent un an d'avance.

Art. 7. —

La B. T. O. se réserve expressément la faculté
de sous-louer tout ou partie des locaux compris dans son bail,
étant bien entendu que si elle vient à user de cette faculté
elle sera garante envers le couvent de l'exact paiement
du loyer, tel qu'il est stipulé par l'art. 3 ci-dessus.

Art. 8. —

Le couvent restera chargé de toutes les
réparations et reconstructions pouvant, au cours du bail
résulter de vus fortuits ou de force majeure.

Le couvent sera également chargé de toutes
les grosses réparations qui pourraient devenir nécessaires et
de celles d'entretien selon l'usage du pays.

Les réparations, modifications et embellisse-
ments locatifs seront à la charge de la Banque.

Art. 9. —

Le couvent supportera toutes les taxes municipa-
les d'aides, qui sont ou pourraient être par la suite établis sur
le fonds, sur la construction ou sur la valeur locative de
immeubles occupés par la Banque.

Art. 10. —

Le couvent s'interdit d'une manière absolue
d'apporter soit dans les immeubles qui occupent la Banque.

Figure 96: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of 1872, continued.

Source: SALT Research.

soit dans les autres dépendances du couvent, aucune modification
telle que, ouverture de nouvelles fenêtres, exhaussement de murailles
&c. &c. de nature à aggraver les servitudes actuelles ou à en créer
de nouvelles à l'exception de quelques chambres qu'il pourra
édifier à ses frais au dessus des bâtiments déjà occupés par
la comptabilité du côté des anciennes murailles de la ville sur
une longueur totale de 13 mètres & une largeur de 5 m⁵/₁₆.

Ces constructions devront être établies en briques
creuses et disposées de façon à ne apporter aucune restriction à la
jouissance des locaux compris dans le présent.

Fait double à Constantinople, le 25 Octobre 1872.

Ma Giacinto P. Ma Giambiasi Intendant au Palais
P. Anterino Tamburini.

POUR LA BANQUE IMPÉRIALE OTTOMANE

En D^{re} *[Signature]*
[Signature]

P. Vincenzo Gallo Sindaca
P. M. Vito Velombiz
P. Domenico Marengo
P. Domenico M. Pulicchi
P. Vincenzo Nannibelli
P. Vincenzo M. Borg

Aux conditions générales énoncées dans le présent contrat et
pour la même durée, le couvent cède à la Banque Impériale
Ottomane qui l'accepte la maison située à la mort de Anthonse
Buxart, depuis l'angle de la rue de la Banque jusqu'à la maison
attenant à l'Eglise de St Pierre, au prix de Lt. 150 par an payable
conformément à l'art 3 du contrat, ce qui porte à Lt. 1000 le
loyer total du local occupé par la Banque Impériale Ottomane
pour la Banque Impériale Ottomane

En D^{re} *[Signature]*

[Signature]

[Signature]

Aux Conditions générales énoncées dans le présent
contrat et pour la même durée, le couvent cède à la
Banque Impériale Ottomane qui l'accepte la maison
attenant à l'Eglise de Saint Pierre, au prix de Lt. 100. par
an payable conformément à l'art 3 du
contrat

Figure 97: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of 1872, continued.

Source: SALT Research.

Al 6

d'une part ;

d'autre part

d'autre part

d'autre part

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BANQUE IMPÉRIALE
OTTOMANE

Direction

Constantinople, ^{A 18}

le 2 avril 1884.

Au Révérend Père Giacinto Cambiaso,
Préfet du Couvent de la Communauté
religieuse des Dominicains de St. Pierre,
Galata.

Révérend Père,

Nous avons reçu votre lettre en
date d'hier, énumérant les conditions
du renouvellement de notre bail pour
29 ans, à partir du 1^{er} de ce mois.

Nous sommes d'accord avec vous
sur le contenu de ladite lettre, qui
tiendra lieu de contrat jusqu'à
l'obtention de la ratification pontificale.

Agitez, Révérend Père, l'assurance
de nos sentiments respectueux.

POUR LA BANQUE IMPÉRIALE OTTOMANE

M. N. T. T. T. Directeur G. n.
J. M. H. H. H. Directeur

Figure 99: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's proposal of April 2, 1884, for renewing the lease for another 29 years, starting April 1, 1884.

Source: SALT Research.

#9

Entre les soussignés.-

La Communauté religieuse des dominicains de St. Pierre de Galata autorisée aux fins des présentes par un rescrit Pontifical du 18 mai 1884. -

d'une part:

Et la Banque Impériale Ottomane

d'autre part:

Il a été convenu et arrêté ce qui suit:

Article 1.^{er}

La Banque Impériale Ottomane prend à bail le massif entier des maisons attenantes au couvent des Dominicains de St. Pierre et lui appartenant pour la somme de L. C. 1,350.- (Mille trois cent cinquante Livres Turques) par an payable par anticipation le 1^{er} avril de chaque année à partir du 1^{er} avril 1884. n. s.

Art. 2.

La durée du présent bail, lequel s'étend à tous les bâtiments anciens et nouveaux et à leurs dépendances affectés au service de la Banque, est d'un commun accord fixée à (29) vingt neuf années consécutives, lesquelles commenceront à courir du 1^{er} avril 1884. n. s.

Art. 3.

Le couvent s'engage à rembourser à la Banque la somme de 150 L. C. (Cent Cinquante Livres Turques) qu'elle lui a prêtée

Figure 100: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of June 13, 1884. This agreement emphasizes the bank's control over Saint Pierre Han, as it states that the friars were not allowed to make any modifications to the building, which could interfere with the bank's use (article 8). The bank also intends to extend the lease period for 29 years (article 2), starting from 1884. The details of this request were discussed in *Liber Consiliorum*.

Source: SALT Research.

et ce par compensation avec les loyers moitié en 1885 moitié en 1886.

Quant à l'avance de L. 6. 1,500. - (Lires Turques mille cinq cents.) faite par la Banque au couvent et indiquée à l'article 1^{er} du contrat précédent en date du 25 octobre 1872, elle sera remboursée par le dit couvent en 1893 et sans intérêts. -

Art. 4.

La Banque aura seule la faculté de résilier le présent contrat et de vider les lieux sans être assujettie à indemnité ou dommages d'aucune sorte en prévenant le couvent un an d'avance. -

Art. 5.

La Banque Impériale Ottomane se réserve expressément la faculté de sous-louer tout ou partie des locaux compris dans son bail, étant bien entendu que si elle vient à user de cette faculté elle sera garante envers le couvent de l'exact paiement du loyer, tel qu'il est stipulé dans l'article 3 ci-dessus. -

Art. 6. -

Le couvent restera chargé de toutes les réparations et reconstructions pouvant au cours du bail résulter de cas fortuits ou de force majeure. -

Le couvent sera également chargé de toutes les grosses réparations qui pourraient devenir nécessaires et de celles d'entretien selon l'usage du pays. -

Les réparations, modifications et

Figure 101: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of 1884, continued.
Source: SALT Research.

embellissements locatifs seront à la charge
de la Banque. -

Art 7.

Le couvent supportera toutes les taxes municipales et autres qui sont ou pourraient être par la suite établies sur le fonds, sur la construction ou sur la valeur locative des immeubles occupés par la Banque.

Art. 8. —

Le convent s'interdit d'une manière absolue d'apporter soit dans les immeubles qu'occupe la Banque soit dans les autres dépendances du convent, aucune modification telle que, ouverture de nouvelles fenêtres, — exhaussement des murailles etc, etc, etc de nature à aggraver les servitudes actuelles. —

Fait en double à Constantinople, le

13 Juin 1884. —

POUR LA BANQUE IMPÉRIALE OTTOMANE

DIRECTEUR

~~CONTRÔLEUR GÉNÉRAL~~

H. Reynolds Cambridge
Mae Durbin Caping etc. home

P. Antonino Tamburini

F. H. Davis

A. Vin. Salvi.

P. p. Com. Marengo

P. Giordano Micalef

P. Mano Ruado

Figure 102: The Imperial Ottoman Bank's agreement of 1884, continued.

Source: SALT Research.

A8

Entre la Banque Impériale Ottomane, d'une part;
 et le Couvent de St. Pierre, d'autre part;
 Il a été exposé, arrêté et convenu ce qui suit:
 Par la présente convention, sous comp...

La Banque Impériale Ottomane est créancière du
 Couvent de St. Pierre, à ce jour, d'une somme de L.T. 1.500,
 soldes de différentes avances qu'elle lui a faites, sans
 intérêt.

Cette somme étant exigible depuis fort longtemps,
 les parties ont définitivement arrêté le présent mode de
 règlement.

La Banque Impériale Ottomane consent à accorder
 au Couvent de St. Pierre un nouveau terme de deux ans et
 demi, pendant lequel celui-ci paiera intégralement sa dette
 sans intérêt, comme ci-après: 40% du susdit montant seront
 payés dans un terme d'un an à partir du 30 Août 1894, soit
 le 30 Août 1895; autres 40% seront payés dans un terme de
 deux ans à partir de la même date, soit le 30 Août 1896,
 et les derniers 20% seront payés dans un terme de deux ans
 et demi, soit le 28 février 1897. Le Couvent de St. Pierre
 souscrira à la Banque Impériale Ottomane trois bons: le
 premier de L.T. 600 à l'échéance du 30 Août 1895, le deu-
 -xième de L.T. 600 à l'échéance du 30 Août 1896, et le
 troisième de L.T. 300 à l'échéance du 28 février 1897.

Figure 103: A debt settlement and repayment agreement of 1894, signed between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Dominican friars. Further details of this debt were documented by the friars in *Liber Consiliorum*.

Source: SALT Research.

C. ANTOINE PERPIGNANI'S RESTORATION DOCUMENTS

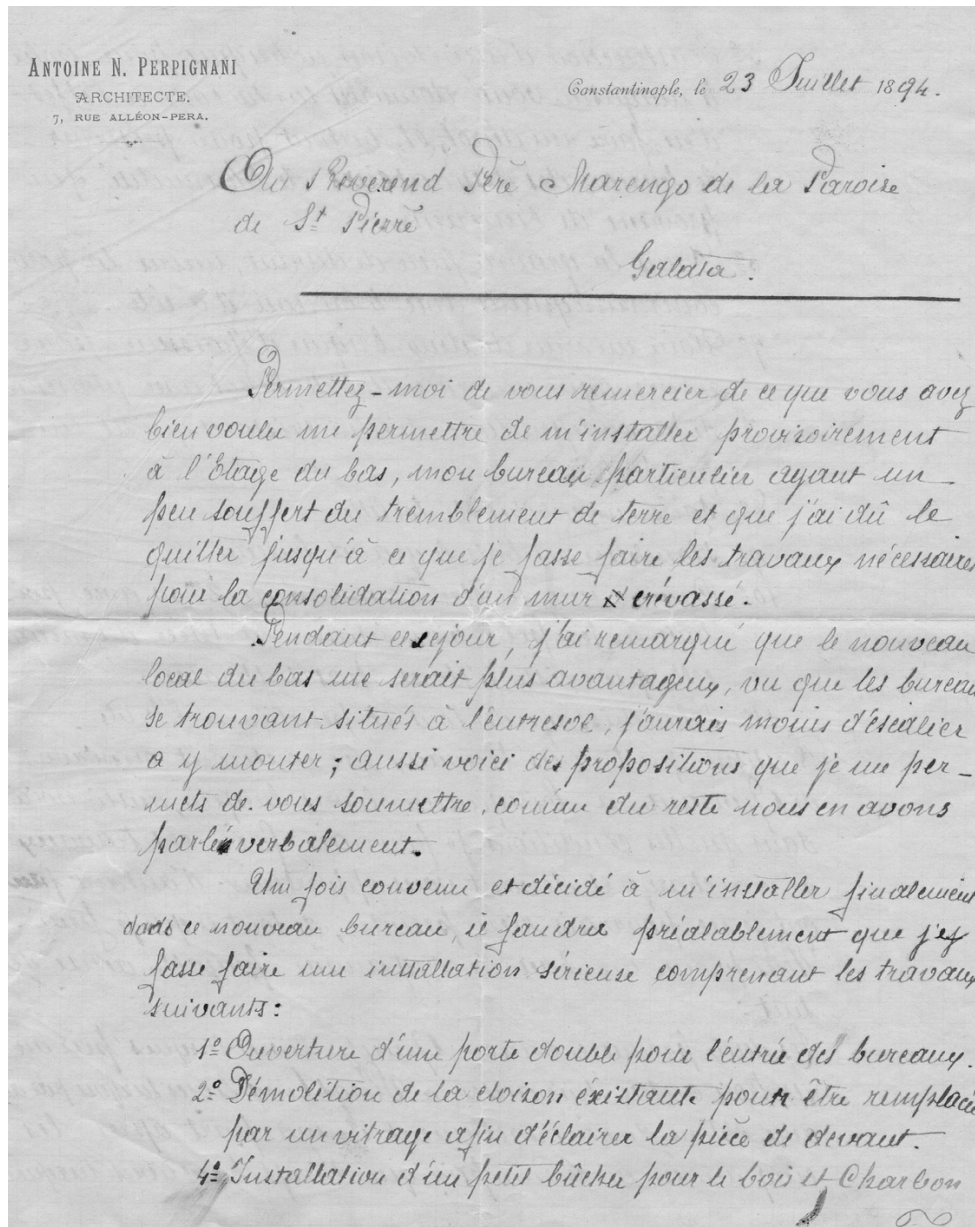


Figure 105: Antoine Perpignani's first comprehensive letter to the Dominican friars regarding the restoration proposal, 1894.

Source: SALT Research.

5^e Construction d'une cloison en briques pour isoler
 le magasin vous donnant sur la cour à l'effet
 d'en faire un dépôt, et surtout pour préserver
 le bureau des dissuadeurs de l'humidité qui
 provient de l'intérieur.
 6^e Dans la grande pièce de devant, ouvrir la porte
 communiquant avec le bureau d'à côté.
 7^e Faire un mur de deux briques d'épaisseur pour
 élever un échafaud de dépôt avec planches
 de fer indépendant de celui existant qui est un
 peu faible.
 8^e Faire un cabinet de toilette.
 9^e Plancher en bois le grand bureau.
 10^e Donner une feuille d'environ de 2^m 50 avec poi-
 trait en fer pour bien éclairer les pièces du milieu,
 celle qui existe n'étant pas suffisante.
 11^e Blanchissage du toit et peinture à l'huile.
 J'estime que tous ces travaux me coûteront environ
 de Quarante à cinquante livres turques, aussi vous
 dans quelles conditions je pourrais faire ces travaux
 à ma charge et devant vous appartenir d'autant plus
 que je ne pourrais rien prendre, de tout ce que j'ai.
 Nous ferons un bon de cinq années payables ainsi que
 suit:
 Les deux premières années Quinze livres turques par an
 les trois autres suivantes à Vingt Cinq livres turques par an
 avec option de renouvellement de ma part après les
 cinq années au même prix que Vingt cinq livres turques

Figure 106: Perpignani's letter of 1894, continued.
 Source: SALT Research.

Je tiens vous informer en même temps que j'ai déjà
 commencé les travaux de consolidation à l'église su-
 périeure comme du reste vous m'en avez fait la de-
 mande.
 Veuillez avoir la bonté de m'envoyer une proposition
 à votre conseil et me faire connaître votre décision
 à l'effet de savoir à quoi m'en tenir.
 Croyez, mon Reverend Père, l'assurance de ma
 considération distinguée.

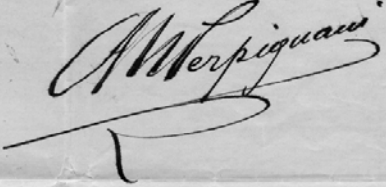


Figure 107: Perpignani's letter of 1894, continued.
 Source: SALT Research.

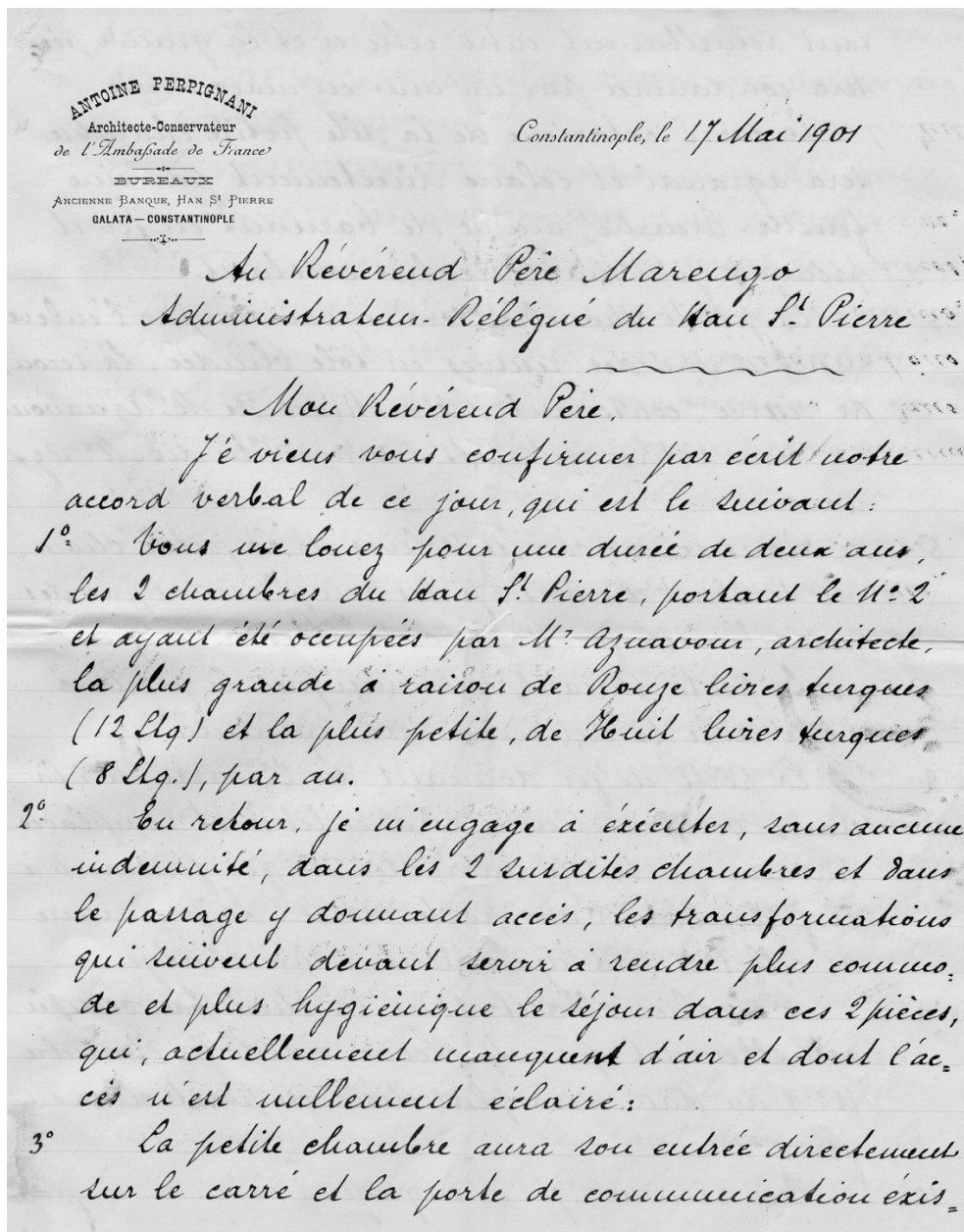


Figure 108: Perpignani's restoration proposal of 1904.

Source: SALT Research.

- tant actuellement entre celle-ci et la grande pièce sera condamné par un mur en maçonnerie.
- 4 Le carré extérieur de la dite petite chambre sera agrandi et éclairé directement par une fenêtre-lucarne munie de barreaux en fer et prenant jour sur l'escalier existant.
 - 5 La petite chambre sera agrandie par l'enlèvement d'une des réserves en toile blindée. La seconde réserve, contenant les archives de M^r Aguavon, ne sera retirée qu'après l'arrivée du dit M^r Aguavon.
 - 6 Dans le cas où les solives de la petite chambre seraient en bois, je les remplacerai par des poutrelles en fer avec votelettes en briques.
 - 7 La porte faisant communiquer le premier carré avec le deuxième sera agrandie.
 - 8 La porte en fer donnant du 2^e carré sur la claire-voie intérieure sera enlevée et remplacée par une porte en barreaux de fer fermant à clef doublée d'une porte vitrée. La fourniture de celles-ci sera également à ma charge.
 - 9 L'escalier allant dans la chambre occupée actuellement par M^r Leoue, c.à.d. la chambre N^o 1 du 1^{er} au, sera planchéié en poutrelles en fer.
 - 10, En résumé, je m'engage à exécuter à mes

Figure 109: Perpignani's restoration proposal of 1904, continued.

Source: SALT Research.

propres frais, tout ce qui sera nécessaire à l'essai-
missement et à l'embellissement des 2 dites pié-
ces N° 2 du Haut.

11- Le carré devant la grande chambre, tout en
continuant à servir de couloir ^{Lib. pour l'usage} pour mener sur la
claire-voie intérieure, ~~pour~~ ^{peut} être employé par moi
à y placer soit un bureau, soit tous autres meu-
bles n'encombrant pas le passage qui appartiendrait

12 Re plus, je pourrai me servir <sup>Nous aurons des ser-
vices</sup> pour les sus-
dits changements, en les déplaçant au besoin,
de tout ce qui se trouve actuellement dans les
2 chambres ainsi que dans les 2 carrés, mais
sans avoir le droit de m'approprier ce qui
existe actuellement et que je ne pourrai pas
employer.

13. Le tout, une fois les réparations terminées,
devra être cédé au chef-odaïgi du Haut,
Garabet, qui, à son tour, les livrera à M^r Aut.
Perpignani lequel en prendra possession à titre
de locataire aux conditions ci-dessus plus haut
c. à d. à raison, pour la totalité, de vingt
lires turques (20 Lg.) par an et pour un bail
de deux années.

14. En compensation des susdits frais, M^r
Aut. Perpignani, aura pendant deux ans, la
jouissance gratuite et sans loyer d'aucune

Figure 110: Perpignani's restoration proposal of 1904, continued.
Source: SALT Research.

sorte, de la pièce occupée actuellement par M^r
Théod. Rigaudias et portant le N° 4. A l'échéan-
ce de ces 2 années la susdite chambre sera louée
à M^r Aut. Perpignani, à raison de huit livres
turques (8 Lg.) par an et pour un bail de trois
années.

15 Quoique le locataire primitif des 2 pièces
N° 2 du Haut soit M^r Aut. Perpignani, celui-ci
aura le droit de les sous-louer à un ou à des tiers
aussitôt la prise de possession, naturellement
sous sa propre responsabilité.

Veuillez me confirmer votre complet accord,
sur tout ce qui précède, le plus tôt possible, car
je compte commencer mes travaux dès le mois
prochain, et agréer, mon Révérend Père, l'assu-
rance de ma considération distinguée.

Aut. Perpignani

Figure 111: Perpignani's restoration proposal of 1904, continued.
Source: SALT Research.

D. ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF SAINT PIERRE HAN



Figure 112: Interiors of G17 and G6 in HC, where the Bank a la Nation Française operated in the late 18th century.
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 113: G18 in HC, accessible from G17. The ongoing resoration project recently removed the upper floor's slab.
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 114: The central hall on the second floor (203). Architects' offices on the right (205, 206) and left (202, 204).
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 115: Wall paintings in 207, on the second floor.
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 116: The ornamented ceiling in 206, on the second floor. One of the offices used by architects.

Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 117: Room 11 (211), on the second floor. Often rented together with the adjacent room 12. The room number, "11," was recently revealed on the wall layer.

Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 118: Interior of room 12 (212), served the Imperial Ottoman Bank's cashier hall, and later *Dersaadet Küçük İstikrazat Sandığı*. The ceiling and skylight were recently restored based on original form. The terrace is located on top.
Source: Photograph by the author.



Figure 119: The wooden staircase (S5) leading to the third floor.
Source: Photograph by the author.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Saint Pierre Han'ın ge Osmanlı'dan erken Cumhuriyet dnemine uzanan tarihi, Galata semtinin kentsel ve toplumsal dnmleriyle i ie gemi ok katmanlı bir kimlik deęiimini yansıtır. Tez, 1860'lardan 1950'lere uzanan dnemde bu tarihi hanın meknsal ve sosyo-ekonomik kimliklerini incelerken, Galata'nın ge 19. yzyıldan erken 20. yzyıla kadar geirdięi dnmdeki roln ortaya koymayı amalar. Saint Pierre Han, 18. yzyılda ina edilmi olmasına raęmen blgenin hala ayakta kalan en eski ticari yapılarından biri olarak, standart Osmanlı han tipolojilerinin dıında kalan zgn bir rnek sunmaktadır. Han, Dominiken Katolik Saints Peter ve Paul Kilisesi kompleksinin bir parası olup, ge Osmanlı Galata'sının oęulcu kent kimlięi iinde hem bir dini kurumun uzantısı hem de canlı bir ticaret meknı olarak dikkat eker. Bu tez, yapıyı sadece mimari bir nesne olarak ele almakla kalmaz aynı zamanda onu ekillendiren toplumsal ve siyasal baęlamları da irdeler. Bu sayede hanın tarihsel geliimi, Galata'da deęien g ilikileri, ekonomik politikalar, demografik hareketler ve kentsel dnmler ekseninde analiz edilmitir.

Tezin yntemi, birincil ariv kaynaklarının ok ynl incelenmesine dayanmaktadır. alıma kapsamında Saints Peter ve Paul Kilisesi'nin zel arivlerindeki kayıtlar, SALT Aratırma arivindeki kira kontratları ve haritalar, DOST-I (Dominiken Aratırma Enstits İstanbul) belgeleri ve ilgili Osmanlı ile Cumhuriyet dnemi kayıtları karılatırmalı olarak deęerlendirilmitir. Ayrıca 19. yzyıl Galata'sına ait haritalar, tapu kayıtları ve kilise kayıt defterleri gibi kaynaklar da hanın fiziki deęiimini ve kullanıcı profilini takip etmek amacıyla kullanılmıtır. Tez boyunca literatrdeki mevcut alımalar tartıılmı; Saint Pierre Han zerine daha nce az sayıda odaklı alıma bulunduęu, mevcut aratırmaların ise genellikle mimari koruma odaklı olup yapının toplumsal tarihini erken Cumhuriyet dnemine dek ayrıntılı incelemedięi vurgulanmıtır. Hanı ele alan ilk alımalardan biri, Dallegio D'Alessio'nun *La Maison Natale d'Andr Chnier* (1963) adlı alıması, yapının 18. yzyıldaki durumunu bir envantere dayanarak aktarsa da daha ok yapı evresindeki

anılara odaklanır. Yonca Kösebay'ın 1996 tarihli yüksek lisans tezinde ise Saint Pierre Han'ın ayrıntılı rölöve çizimleri ve yapısal analizi sunulmuş, ancak yapının Cumhuriyet dönemindeki tarihçesi sınırlı kalmıştır. Bu tez ise Saint Pierre Han'ı, Galata'daki han tipolojilerinin gelişimi ve semtin sosyo-mekânsal bağlamıyla iç içe geçmiş bir mikrotarih örneği olarak ele alarak literatürdeki boşluğu doldurmayı hedefler.

Galata, 13. yüzyıldan itibaren Ceneviz kolonisi mirası üzerinde şekillenen, yüzyıllar boyunca çok kültürlü ve çok inançlı bir ticaret merkezidir. Osmanlı döneminde de Galata, özellikle 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda imparatorluğun finans merkezi konumuna yükselmiştir. Sementin bu dönemlerdeki kimliği, bir yandan geleneksel Osmanlı kent dokusunun parçası olan ancak öte yandan Avrupalı tüccarlar, bankerler ve diplomatlardan oluşan kozmopolit bir topluluğun etkisiyle çeşitlenen çoğulcu bir kimliktir. Özellikle Tanzimat sonrası dönemde Galata, hızlı bir ekonomik büyüme ve finansal kurumsallaşma yaşar; 1863'te Osmanlı Bankası'nın kurulması ve yabancı sermayeli şirketlerin bölgeye yerleşmesiyle Voyvoda Caddesi ve civarı modern finans merkezi haline gelir. Bu gelişmeler, Galata'nın kentsel formunu da etkiler: 19. yüzyılda inşa edilen çok katlı ve batı tarzı "büro hanlar", geleneksel avlulu han tipolojisinden farklı plan şemaları ve yeni teknolojilerle donatılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, Galata'daki ticari yapılar içinde Saint Pierre Han farklı bir konuma sahiptir. Zira mülkiyeti bir Katolik kilisesine ait olan bu yapı, vakıf kayıtlarında görünmediği için klasik Osmanlı han literatüründe uzun süre ihmal edilmiştir. Saint Pierre Han'ın hikayesi, Galata'nın Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e geçiş sürecindeki dönüşümünün küçük ölçekli bir yansıması olarak okunabilir.

Saint Pierre Han'ın kökeni, Galata'daki Dominiken rahiplerinin varlığına dayanır. Dominiken rahipler, 13. yüzyıl sonlarında Konstantinopolis'e gelerek önce tarihi yarımada da faaliyet göstermiş, ancak yerel güçlerle yaşanan anlaşmazlıkların ardından Galata'ya yerleşmişlerdir. Galata'da kurdukları ettikleri Saint Pierre Kilisesi, Osmanlı fethinden sonra da Katolik cemaatine hizmet etmeye devam etmiş, ancak Katolikler Osmanlı tarafından resmî bir millet olarak tanınmadığından, bu rahipler varlıklarını sürdürebilmek için çoğunlukla yabancı devletlerin himayesine ihtiyaç duymuştur. 18. yüzyıldan itibaren

Fransa Krallığı, Galata'daki Latin Katolik cemaatin koruyuculuğunu üstlenmiş; bu siyasi koruma, Dominikenlerin kiliseyi ve ona bağlı mülkleri yönetebilmesinde kritik rol oynamıştır. Saint Pierre Han tam da bu dinî ve siyasi bağlamın ürünü olarak 18. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde ortaya çıkmıştır. 1771-1775 yılları arasında Dominikenler, kilisenin arazisinin güneybatı köşesinde bitişik nizam beş adet kagir evi ardı ardına inşa ettirmiştir. Arşiv belgeleri, bu evlerin inşasının ardındaki motivasyonun Fransız tüccarlarına barınma ve ticaret imkânı sağlamak olduğunu gösterir. Nitekim bu yapı topluluğu kuruluşundan itibaren Banque de la Nation Française (Fransız Ulusal Bankası) olarak anılan bir finans kuruluşuna ev sahipliği yapmış ve Fransız tüccarların konaklaması için odalar sunmuştur. Kilise mülkü üzerinde yükselen bu ticari evler, rahipler için düzenli bir gelir kaynağı oluştururken, Fransız korumasının somut bir karşılığı olarak da görülebilir. 18. yüzyıl sonlarında Osmanlı pazarına ilgisi artan Fransa'nın Galata'da sağlam bir üs elde etmesi, Dominikenlerin himaye ihtiyacıyla örtüşmüş ve Saint Pierre Han adeta yerel bir dinî kurum ile yabancı bir ticari ağı iş birliğinin ürünü olmuştur.

Saint Pierre Han, mülkiyet yapısı ve mimari kurgusu itibariyle alışılmadık bir han tipidir. Klasik anlamda bir "han", genellikle etrafı odalarla çevrili avlulu bir yapı ya da şehirlerarası kervansaray tipolojisini çağrıştırırsa da Saint Pierre Han farklı bir çizgi izlemiştir. Beş ayrı ev biçimindeki özgün mimarisi, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına dek parçalı bir kullanım sunmuş; ancak esas fonksiyonu hep ticaret ve konaklama olmuştur. Bu bakımdan han kavramının temel tanımına uyarken, alışılmış han kategorilerine (örneğin vakıf hanları, *funduq* veya *fondaco* benzeri Akdeniz ticaret hanları ya da 19. yüzyıl büro hanları) tam oturmayan hibrit bir karakter sergiler. 18. yüzyıldaki kullanımına dair ayrıntılı veriler sınırlı olsa da Saint Pierre Han'ın o dönemdeki "yabancılar" bir mekân oluşturması, Akdeniz'deki kolonilere özgü *funduq* tipolojisini andırmaktadır. Bununla birlikte Osmanlı idaresinin görece dışında, kilise mülkiyetinde faaliyet göstermesi ve Fransız elçiliğinin himayesine dayanması, hana belirli bir idari özerklik sağlamıştır. Bu durum, yapının sonraki yüzyıldaki dönüşümlerine dek sürecek önemli bir ayrıcalıktır.

19. yüzyılın ortalarına gelindiğinde Galata, imparatorluğun mali merkezi kimliğini pekiştirmiş ve Saint Pierre Han da bu değişimden etkilenmiştir. 1850'ler sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa finans sistemiyle artan ilişkisi sonucunda Galata'da

banka, sigorta ve diğer ticari şirketlerin sayısı hızla artmıştır. Saint Pierre Han da bu dönemde daha geniş çaplı bir dönüşüme sahne olur. 1860’larda Osmanlı Devleti’nin bankacılık ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere kurulan Osmanlı Bankası, ilk yıllarında faaliyet gösterebileceği uygun bir bina arayışındaydı. Kilise arşivlerindeki belgelere göre, 1863 yılından başlayarak Osmanlı Bankası ile Dominiken rahipleri arasında yoğun kira pazarlıkları yaşanmış ve nihayet hanın önemli bir bölümü bankaya kiralanmıştır. Bankanın yerleşmesiyle beraber hanın fiziksel yapısı da bankanın ihtiyaçlarına göre önemli ölçüde değiştirilmiştir. Örneğin, beş ayrı ev olarak inşa edilen yapılar arasında bütünlük sağlamak amacıyla ara avlulardan biri kapatılarak alan genişletilmiş, evlerden birine bir kat ilavesi yapılarak ofis hacmi artırılmış ve farklı binaları birbirine bağlayan yeni koridorlar açılmıştır. Bu müdahaleler, hanın manastır ve kilise ile olan geleneksel mekânsal bağlarını zayıflatmış ve kompleksi ikiye bölmüştür. Arşiv kayıtları, rahiplerle banka arasında bu tadilatlar sebebiyle ortaya çıkan gerginliklere de ışık tutar. *Liber Consiliorum*’da yer alan müzakereler, Osmanlı Bankası’nın Dominikenlerin mali zafiyetini kullanarak han üzerinde daha fazla söz sahibi olmaya çalıştığını gösterir. Bir yanda asırlık kilise mülkünün bütünlüğü ve rahiplerin otoritesi, diğer yanda imparatorluğun en güçlü finans kuruluşu vardır. Sonuçta, her ne kadar rahipler bankaya bazı tavizler vermek zorunda kalmışsa da Saint Pierre Han bu sayede Galata’nın finans ortamına entegre olmuştur. Bankanın varlığı, hanı 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata’da bankalar sokağı olarak anılan Voyvoda Caddesi çevresindeki ticari ağa doğrudan bağlamıştır.

Osmanlı Bankası’nın Saint Pierre Han’daki yaklaşık otuz yıllık ikameti 1860’ların ortasından 1890’ların başına dek hanın tarihinde belirleyici bir evredir. Bu süre boyunca han, Osmanlı finans kapitalinin merkezlerinden biri haline gelmiş; bankanın işlemleri kadar, bankayla aynı binada yer alan diğer finans şirketleri ve tüccarlar sayesinde yapı, geç Osmanlı Galata’sının en hareketli ticaret noktalarından biri olmuştur. Banka, 1893 yılında ünlü mimar Alexander Vallaury tasarımı kendi binasına taşındığında Saint Pierre Han’da bir devir kapanır. Bankanın ayrılışı, hanın mekânında yeni bir dönüşüm ve kullanıcı profili değişikliğini beraberinde getirir. Kilise arşivi belgeleri, 1890’ların sonunda hanın boşalan ofis ve mahzenlerinin hızla yeni kiracılarla dolduğunu kaydeder. Bu yeni dönem, hanın toplumsal ve işlevsel çeşitliliğinin zirveye ulaştığı dönemdir. 19. yüzyıl sonu ile 20. yüzyıl başında, Saint

Pierre Han'a banka sonrasında taşınanlar arasında özellikle mimarlar dikkat çeker. Galata bölgesinde serbest mimarlık yapan birçok isim, bürolarını bu hana kurmuştur. Örneğin dönemin önde gelen mimarlarından Antoine N. Perpignani, Marco G. Langas, Edoardo De Nari ve Giulio Mongeri gibi isimler 1900'lere doğru Saint Pierre Han'da ofis tutmuşlardır. Bu durum hanı, İstanbul'da özel mimarlık hizmetlerinin erken dönem merkezlerinden biri haline getirmiştir. Söz konusu mimarlar, yalnızca kiracı olmakla kalmamış, hanın fiziksel iyileştirme ve onarımlarında da kiliseyle iş birliği yapmışlardır. Nitekim Fransız elçiliğinin mimarı Antoine Perpignani'nin 1900 yılı civarında han için kapsamlı bir restorasyon teklifi sunduğu, bu kapsamda hanın çatısına ışıklıklar açmak, bazı yapısal takviyeler yapmak ve yeni bölmeler eklemek karşılığında kendisine daha avantajlı kira koşulları sağlandığı arşiv mektuplarından anlaşılmaktadır. Benzer şekilde Mongeri ve Langas'ın da Galata'daki diğer Dominiken yapılarının restorasyon projelerine dahil oldukları, böylece rahiplerle kiracı mimarlar arasında iş birliğine dayalı bir diyalog geliştiği görülür. Bu etkileşimler, Osmanlı Bankası ile yaşanan güç mücadelesinden farklı olarak, ortak çıkar etrafında şekillenen daha eşitlikçi bir ilişki izlenimi vermektedir.

20. yüzyıl başına gelindiğinde Saint Pierre Han, kullanıcı profili bakımından Galata'nın çoğulcu karakterini yansıtan adeta küçük ölçekli bir kent merkezi haline gelmiştir. 1910'lara ait kira defterleri ve sözleşmeler, han bünyesinde aynı anda bankerler, komisyoncular, mimarlar, tüccarlar, bir İtalyan konsolosluk ofisi ve bir matbaa bulunduğunu kayıt altına alır. Bu dönemde han odalarını kiralayanlar arasında İtalyan, Fransız, İngiliz, Rum, Ermeni ve Osmanlı tebaasından kişiler bir arada yer almaktadır. En sık rastlanan kullanım ofis olarak görünse de (yabancı sigorta ve ithalat-ihracat şirketlerinin temsilcilikleri, mimarlık ve mühendislik büroları, hukuk danışmanlıkları vb.), birçok depo ve birkaç küçük imalathane da mevcuttur. Örneğin üst katlardaki odalardan bazılarının kumaş deposu veya atölye, zemin kattakilerin ise dükkân veya küçük imalat atölyesi olarak kullanıldığı belirtilmiştir. Bu heterojen yapı, hanın kurulu bulunduğu Saints Peter ve Paul Kilisesi etrafındaki Katolik cemaatin ötesine geçerek tüm Galata toplumuna hitap eden bir ticari merkez haline geldiğini gösterir. Nitekim bir zamanlar daha çok Fransız-Katolik çevrenin uğrak yeri olan mekân, 1910'lara gelindiğinde çok dilli ve çok

kültürlü Galata nüfusunun bulunduğu, sembolik olarak çoğulcu Galata'yı temsil eden bir ortama dönüşmüştür.

1914'te başlayan I. Dünya Savaşı ve akabinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşü, Galata semti ve Saint Pierre Han için keskin kırılmalar getirir. Savaş sırasında İstanbul'un işgaliyle (1918-1923) Galata'da ticari hayat durma noktasına gelirken, toplumsal dengeler de değişmiştir. Kilise kayıtlarına göre 1920 yılında İngiliz askerî birlikleri bir süreliğine Saint Pierre Han'ın bir bölümünü yatakhane olarak kullanmış, rahipler duruma müdahale edebilmek için İtalyan Yüksek Komiserliği'ne başvurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu olağan dışı durum, hanın tarihinde kısa süreli bir kesinti yaratır. 1923'te Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasıyla Galata'nın sosyo-ekonomik yapısında başlayan millileşme ve merkezîyetçi ekonomi politikaları, Saint Pierre Han'ın kullanıcı profilini de kökten değiştirir. Savaş sonrasındaki ekonomik krizin, azınlıklara yönelik artan toplumsal baskının ve Lozan Antlaşması sonrasında yabancıların mülkiyet ve ikamet rejimindeki belirsizliklerin etkisiyle, hanın geç Osmanlı dönemindeki çoğu sakini 1920'lerin başında İstanbul'dan ayrılmıştır. Kilise arşivlerindeki kira kayıtlarına göre 1923 sonrasında, Osmanlı döneminden kalma kiracılardan sadece sekiz tanesi hanı kullanmaya devam etmiş, diğer tüm odalar yeni kiracılara tahsis edilmiştir. Bu durum, hanın sürekliliğinde büyük bir kırılmaya işaret eder. 1920'lerin ortalarında hanı dolduran yeni kiracılar, büyük ölçüde genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ekonomik öncelikleriyle uyumlu küçük ölçekli sanayici ve tüccarlardır. Örneğin bu dönemde han odalarında terzilik atölyeleri, makine tamirhaneleri, tekstil ve basım imalathaneleri gibi üretime dönük işletmeler hızla çoğalmıştır. Diğer yandan, ticari bürolar tamamen yok olmamış; bazı odalar hala nakliyat komisyoncuları, yerli sigorta şirketleri veya hukuk büroları tarafından kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Ancak yabancı şirket isimleri ve Levanten aile işletmeleri neredeyse tamamen görünmez hale gelirken, Türk ve Müslüman girişimcilerin adları sözleşmelerde ağırlık kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu değişim, erken Cumhuriyet'in milli ekonomi politikalarının Galata'daki yansıması olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında devlet, Galata'nın kentsel dokusunu ve işlevini yeniden düzenleme çabasına girişmiştir. Liman bölgesinin modernleştirilmesi ve İstanbul'un

ekonomik faaliyetlerinin milli bir burjuvazi eliyle yürütülmesi hedefi, Galata'daki tarihi hanların bir kısmının el değiştirmesine veya kamulaştırılmasına yol açmıştır. Saint Pierre Han mülkiyet açısından özel bir duruma sahipti: Lozan Antlaşması'nın sağladığı koruma sayesinde Dominikenlerin mülkiyeti korunmuş, ancak artık tüzel kişiliği tanınmayan bu yabancı dinî kurumun Türkiye'deki varlığı fiilen İtalya himayesinde bir dini cemaat statüsüne indirgenmiştir. 1924 Anayasası din özgürlüğünü tanısa da, Katolik kilisesi ve tarikatlar hukuken tanınmadığından Saint Pierre Han'ın sahipliği resmî belgelerde uzun süre "İtalyan himayesindeki Dominiken Rahipleri" şeklinde anılmaya devam eder. Bu hukuki belirsizliğe rağmen pratikte hanın idaresi Türk makamlarıyla uyum içinde sürdürülmüş; rahipler her kiracı için Maliye Bakanlığı onaylı standart kira kontratları yaparak yasal düzene intibak etmişlerdir. Bu kontratlarda kiracı milliyeti belirtilmemeye başladığından, hanın kullanıcı profilindeki değişimi yalnızca isimlerinden ve faaliyet konularından izlemek mümkündür. 1930'lar ve 40'larda kira kayıtlarında Türkçe ve Müslüman isimlerin belirginleşmesi, bir zamanlar kozmopolit olan han cemaatinin giderek "Türk-millî" bir karakter kazandığını gösterir. Nitekim 1940'lara gelindiğinde han odalarında yabancı şirket isimleri tamamen silinmiş, yerlerini Anadolu kökenli tüccarlar veya küçük işletmeler almıştır. Bu yıllarda Galata genelinde de benzer bir trend görülür: Uzun yıllardır semtte faaliyet gösteren gayrimüslim işletmeler Varlık Vergisi (1942) gibi ekonomik darbelerle el değiştirir veya kapanır, kalanlar ise 6-7 Eylül 1955 olayları gibi travmatik hadiselerle bölgeden çekilir. Kilise'nin Bereketzade mahallesindeki cemaati 19. yüzyıldaki 5-6 bin kişiden 1940'larda ancak 170 kişiye düşmüştür. Bu dramatik küçülme, Saint Pierre Han'ın etrafındaki toplumsal çevrenin de neredeyse tamamen farklılaştığını, han ve kilisenin eski cemaatinin artık yerinde olmadığını ortaya koyar.

Tüm bu değişimlere rağmen Saint Pierre Han, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde de aktif bir ticaret ve üretim merkezi olma özelliğini sürdürmüştür. Tez kapsamında 1923-1950 arası dönem için incelenen 473 kira sözleşmesinden, bu yıllar arasında hanın 135 farklı kiracı tarafından kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu geniş kullanıcı yelpazesi, Cumhuriyet döneminde de hanın işlevsel çeşitliliğini koruduğunu gösterir, bir yandan küçük atölyeler ve tamirhaneler, diğer yandan büro hizmetleri bir aradadır. Analizler, han faaliyetlerinin bu dönemde başlıca iki kategoriye ayrıldığını ortaya

koyar: imalat/retim faaliyetleri ile bro ve hizmet sektr faaliyetleri. Zemin kattaki ve avlu evresindeki birimler genellikle marangozhane, makine tamir atlyesi, terzi atlyesi gibi retime ynelik kullanılırken, st kat koridorlarına aılan odaların nemli bir kısmı nakliye komisyoncuları, yerli sigorta acenteleri, hukuk mşavirlikleri, reklam řirketleri gibi hizmet sektr tarafından tutulmuřtur. rneęin 1930’larda han iinde iki farklı medikal laboratuvarın dahi faaliyet gsterdięi arřiv belgelerine yansımıřtır. Bununla birlikte ge Osmanlı dneminde binaya damga vuran mimarlık ofisleri, Cumhuriyet İstanbul’unda ticari hayatın Beyoęlu’nun kuzeyine kaymasıyla birer birer hanı terk etmiřlerdir. 1940’larda Saint Pierre Han’da brosu kalan tek mimar, bir Osmanlı Ermenisi olan ve Mongeri ile Langas’ın eski ofislerini devralan Jean Tlbentiyan’dır. Bu durum, hanın kltrel evresinin ne denli deęiřtięinin de altını izer: Bir zamanlar İtalyan ve Fransız mimarların ss olan mekn, artık Trk vatandařı atlye sahiplerinin ve esnafının oęunlukta olduęu bir yapıya brnmřtr. Yine de retim atlyeleri ile broların katlar arasında i ie getięi, hareketli ticari faaliyetin srdę bir ortam mevcudiyetini korumuřtur. Ancak 1950’lere yaklařıldıęında rahiplerle kiracılar arasındaki etkileřimlere dair belgelerin seyrekleřtięi, binanın mimari uyarlamalarının kayıt altına alınmadıęı grlmektedir. Bu da Saint Pierre Han’ın artık daha duraęan bir kullanım dzenine getięini veya cemaatin klmesiyle birlikte yapı etrafındaki toplumsal aęın zayıfladıęını dřndrr.

Sonuç olarak, Saint Pierre Han’ın ge Osmanlı’dan erken Cumhuriyet’e uzanan mikrotarih yolculuęu, tek bir binanın evresindeki kentsel ve toplumsal dnřmlerin izlerini nasıl taşıyabileceęine dair arpıcı bir rnek sunmaktadır. Hanın 18. yzyıldaki kuruluřu, yerel bir dinî kurumun (Dominikenler) desteęe duyduęu ihtiya ile yabancı bir ticari aęın (Fransız tccarlar) Galata’da tutunma arzusunun kesiřiminden doęmuřtur. 19. yzyılda yařadıęı dnřm hem hanın hem de baęlı olduęu kilisenin imparatorluęun yeni finans dnyasına entegrasyonunu saęlamıř; Osmanlı Bankası’nın han zerindeki etkisi, sonrasında gelen mimar ve tccar kuřaęının bıraktıęı izlerle birlikte, yapının fiziksel ve sosyal ehresini kkten deęiřtirmiřtir. 20. yzyılda ise han, millileřen ve kltrel olarak “Trkleřen” bir kent sahnesine uyum saęlayarak varlıęını srdrmřtr. Bu  dnm noktası boyunca, yerel ve yabancı aktrlerin etkileřimleri Saint Pierre Han’ın meknsal ve toplumsal

dönüşümünde belirleyici olmuştur: Osmanlı döneminde fermanlar ve elçi himayeleriyle başlayan pazarlıklar, banka ile yapılan kontratlar ve mimar kiracılarla yürütülen iş birlikleri şeklinde devam etmiş, Cumhuriyet döneminde ise yeni hukuki statü ve ekonomik koşullar altında farklı biçimlerde sürmüştür. Bütün bu mücadele, müzakere ve adaptasyon süreçleri sayesinde Saint Pierre Han, Galata'nın karmaşık tarihinin her sayfasında kendine özgü bir rol oynamıştır. Yüzyıllar boyunca defalarca değişen çevresine rağmen ayakta kalan bu mütevazı yapı, kendini yenileyerek varlığını korumuş ve böylece geç Osmanlı'dan erken Cumhuriyet dönemine uzanan süreçte Galata'nın yeniden yaratılmasında aktif bir katılımcı olduğunu kanıtlamıştır.

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