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THE URBAN HISTORY OF ISTANBUL JEWRY  
AS REFLECTED IN THE RABBINIC COURT REGISTERS,  
HASKÖY AND PİRİ PAŞA QUARTERS, 1833 -1841

In the following discussion, we shall examine a historical source of a legal nature, written in Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> that sheds light on the history of two quarters to north of the Golden Horn of Istanbul, namely, Hasköy and Piri Paşa. In view of this and supplementary sources, we shall sketch an outline of the geographic history of the two quarters in the first half of the nineteenth century, the places in the quarters where the Jewish population resided, the legal status of their property, their quality of life, and the socioeconomic disparities that separated them. We shall also demonstrate how Hebrew legal sources enable us to depict the urban realities of Ottoman Jews with a level of detail hitherto unknown.

### The register

The historical source is one of a series of protocol registers kept by the supreme rabbinic court of Greater Istanbul<sup>2</sup> from 1833 to 1920. The

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1. Hebrew terms in this paper are transliterated according to the general guidelines of the Encyclopedia Judaica, except that aleph (א) is indicated within a word, ayin (ע) always is indicated, tzadi is rendered as tz, and qoph as q.

2. The term Greater Istanbul is used here not in the modern administrative sense (Büyük Şehir), but in the sense of the Hebrew term Kolelut Qushta (literally: the entirety of Constantinople), by which the capital's Jews referred to their community. This usage encompassed the Jewish judicial and administrative units of Hasköy (including Piri Paşa and Galata), Kuzguncuk, Balat, Ortaköy, and Üsküdar. See e.g.

content of the registers is not consistent throughout the period, but varies to reflect significant changes in the function and functioning of the court. From 1833 to 1913, most matter recorded in the registers belonged to a limited range of subjects broadly consisting of real property rights, occupation rights, inheritance law, and family law. Court records from the years 1876-1908 also document decisions and temporary regulations touching on any number of aspects of life in the Jewish community, as well as significant events in the life of the city of Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire writ large.<sup>3</sup> During the First World War, which in Turkey continued to rage until 1923, the register was used for recording the court protocol, ritual and financial regulations, and the minutes of the executive committee of the community (Turkish: *Meclîs-i cismânî*). Use of the registers appears to have been discontinued in 1920 against the background of the political turmoil that gripped Istanbul as the city was occupied by the forces of the Entente Powers, which sought to partition the empire, even as Kemalist forces did all that was in their power to preserve what remained of it. With government institutions crumbling, and the city wracked by famine and shortages as waves of refugees and returning soldiers arrived, the function of communal institutions too was impaired by the chaos all around.<sup>4</sup>

Together, the court registers contain information about all of the Jews of Greater Istanbul, who lived in a metropolitan area encompassing the following districts:

- Hasköy,<sup>5</sup>
- Piri Paşa,<sup>6</sup>

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Printed Documents; Accounting Register; Register of Income and Expenses; Treasury Register.

3. Rozen, "Hamidian Era."

4. Istanbul Rabbinic Court Registers, hereafter Registers, no. 6 (1912-1919); no. 7 (1917-1920).

5. Hasköy is Turkish for "Private Village." The name denotes the fact that the entire quarter was an imperial property, i.e., revenues from it went to the imperial treasury.

6. Named for Piri Mehmet Paşa, grand vizier from 1518 to 1523. After conquering Egypt and the Middle East, Selim I ordered him to enlarge the shipyards in neighboring KasımPaşa for the creation of a naval arsenal (Emirlioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 18-19). He constructed in the neighborhood a mosque and hamam (public bath)

- Kuzguncuk,<sup>7</sup>
- Balat,<sup>8</sup>
- Ortaköy,<sup>9</sup>
- Üsküdar.<sup>10</sup>

This essay, however, will focus on the earliest volume, whose pages were filled in the years 1833-1841. Auxiliary sources from the next volume, which spans the years 1841-1850, will be used as necessary to further illuminate the historical picture.

The choice of the earliest register as the subject for our study stemmed from two factors: the paucity of research on the social history of Istanbul Jewry during the first half (as opposed to the second half) of the nineteenth century, and the fact that this volume is the first of the series of consecutive registers, representing the beginning of the tradition of preserving the community's legal documentation.

The onset of this tradition may be linked to the attempt by the Jewish community to ameliorate its deteriorating political and legal standing in the Ottoman Empire in comparison to other minorities and raise its standing to match the Christian community. This effort included the community's request that the Ottoman authorities elevate the office of the chief rabbi of the community of Istanbul by converting it into the office of *haham başı*, which was granted in 1835.<sup>11</sup>

A few words about Ottoman Jewish courts of law are in order. Over the generations, the Jewish courts in the Ottoman Empire, whether they served an entire community, an individual congregation, or a neighborhood within a community, heard only disputes that arose within the bounds of the Jewish population. The scope of their authority encompassed mainly the subjects noted above in connection with the

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that bore his name. The mosque no longer exists (Kiel, "Quatrefoil Plan," p. 120, n. 10). The hamam remains in what is today 8A Boduroğlu Street, Piri Paşa Mahallesi.

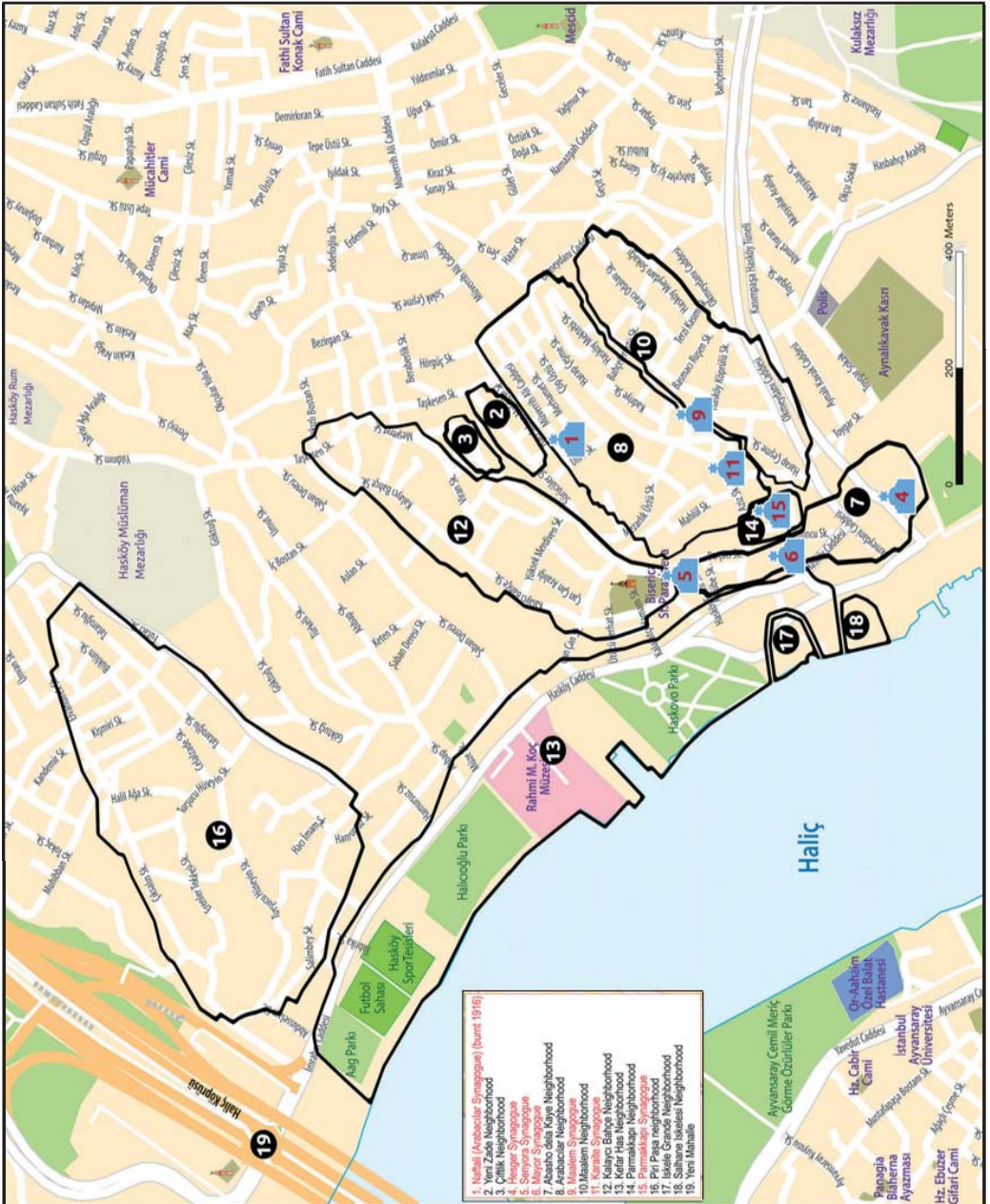
7. Kuzguncuk means "Little Raven" (*Hürel, Semtleri*, p. 216).

8. The name Balat, derived from the Greek Παλάτιον (palace), refers to the nearby Palace of Blachernae (τὸ ἐν Βλαχέρναις Παλάτιον), a sixth-century imperial Byzantine residence.

9. In Turkish, "the middle village."

10. From the Greek Σκουτάριον.

11. Levy, "Millet Politics."



protocol registers – namely, personal status and family law, the law of obligations (contracts and rights of possession), torts, and public law as it concerned Jewish communal life. However, if one of the Jewish litigants turned to the Shari‘a court in any such case, the other party was obliged to follow him.<sup>12</sup> Lawsuits on account of personal injury and all criminal matters always were outside the jurisdiction of the Jewish courts. This limitation is not explicitly stated, at least in the Jewish sources, but it is obvious from the absence of such cases within them and the existence of such cases between Jews in the Muslim court registers (*sicil*).<sup>13</sup> In case of litigation involving a Jew and a member of any other religion, the case was brought to the Muslim court. The greatest Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire – namely, those of Istanbul and Salonika – maintained communal debtors’ prison.<sup>14</sup> Jews who were accused of criminal charges were incarcerated in the state prison, as were debtors who owed money to non-Jews or the state. In spite of strict intracommunal prohibitions against seeking redress from the Shari‘a court, there is ample evidence that Jews turned to it in a variety of cases, and even congregational *hakhamim* sued one another in the Islamic court.<sup>15</sup> With the development of the secular Ottoman legal system, the appeal of the Jewish courts diminished quickly.

### Jewish population distribution in Hasköy and Piri Paşa

The court register, with accompaniment by a map of the two quarters, contains sufficient material to indicate the main lines of Jewish settlement in Hasköy and Piri Paşa (Map 1).

12. Rozen, “Individual and Community,” p. 237-241.

13. Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam*, p. 117-119; Cohen, Simon Pikali, *Sixteenth Century*, p. 159-172, 177-183; Cohen, Simon Pikali, Salama, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 306-317; Cohen, Simon Pikali, Ginio, *Nineteenth Century*, p. 156-169.

14. These were called casa negra (literally, in Spanish: the black house, i.e., the bad house). Concerning debtors’ prisons in Salonika, see Rozen, “Harabun,” near n. 66. Concerning Istanbul, see Rozen, *A History*, p. 68, n. 12.

15. Rozen, “Individual and Community,” p. 236-241; Hacker, “Jewish Autonomy,” p. 181-185.

◀ Map. 1. A map of Jewish settlement in Hasköy and Piri Paşa. Data from Registers, no. 1 (1833-1844), superimposed by author on contemporary image.

Hasköy Quarter was roughly conceived as having within it several neighborhoods, called *meḥozot* (singular, *maḥoz*) in the original Hebrew. The quarter of Hasköy was divided into Hasköy proper, a neighborhood that extended along the coastal strip, and those neighborhoods enclosed within it that huddled around the wharves of Iskele Grande (Map 1, no. 17)<sup>16</sup> and the Salhane iskelesi (no. 18),<sup>17</sup> as well as several additional strips extending, one beside the next, from northwest to southeast, from Ok Meydanı<sup>18</sup> to modern Hasköy Caddesi. These secondary areas of the quarter, going from north to south, mainly included Kalaycı Bahçe (no. 12),<sup>19</sup> Arabacılar (no. 8),<sup>20</sup> and Maalem (no. 10).<sup>21</sup> In addition to these were various far smaller areas, some inside the above bounds, others adjoining. Among the former were the small neighborhoods of Parmakkapı (no. 14),<sup>22</sup> Sarayiko,<sup>23</sup> Tavan de Oro,<sup>24</sup> Yeni Zade (no. 2),<sup>25</sup> Sieti Guertas,<sup>26</sup> Abasho dela Kaye (no. 7),<sup>27</sup> and Kordova, as well as others, and chief among those areas that lay outside the heart of the region were Yeni Mahalle (no. 19),<sup>28</sup>

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16. Turkish and Judeo-Spanish: The Great Jetty.

17. Turkish: The Slaughterhouse Jetty.

18. "The Ottoman emperors, with their court, often enjoy the diversion of archery in public, and there is an extensive piece of ground allotted to that purpose. This place is upon an eminence in the suburbs of the city of Constantinople and commands an extensive view of the town and harbour. It is called *Ok Meydan*, or the Place of the Arrow. The ground mentioned is covered with marble pillars erected in honour of those archers who have succeeded in shooting arrows to any remarkable distance. Each pillar is inscribed with the name of the person whose dexterity it records" (Payne-Gallwey, *Crossbow*, p. 28).

19. Turkish: Tinsmith Garden.

20. Turkish: [The Place of] the Carriage Drivers.

21. Turkish from Arabic: landmark. The orthography Maalem is the way Istanbul Jews expressed this Arabic/Ottoman word *ma'lem*.

22. Turkish: The Finger's (or Hand's) Gate.

23. Mixed Turkish and Judeo-Spanish: Little Palace.

24. Judeo-Spanish: Gold Refinery.

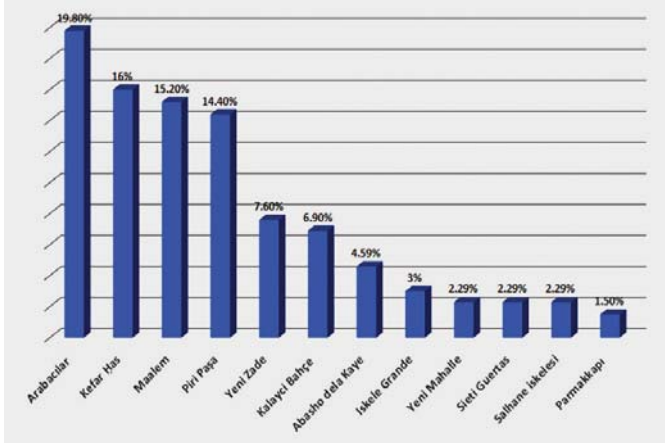
25. Turkish: The New Son.

26. Judeo-Spanish: Seven Gardens.

27. Judeo-Spanish: Down the Street.

28. Turkish: The New Neighborhood.

Chart 1. Distribution in the 1833-1841 rabbinic court register of legal entries concerning immovable assets in the quarters of Hasköy and Piri Paşa. (Neighborhoods for which only one entry was recorded are not shown.)



Çiftlik (no. 3),<sup>29</sup> possibly Ahir,<sup>30</sup> and finally Piri Paşa (no. 16), heading northward in the direction of the Jewish cemetery.

Of 494 entries recorded in the register between 1833 and 1841, a total of 155 (31.3%) concerned transactions and disputes revolving around real estate, and of these, only twenty-four (15.4%) discussed neighborhoods outside of Hasköy and Piri Paşa.<sup>31</sup>

The distribution of the 131 entries on real estate litigation in Hasköy Quarter and Piri Paşa was as portrayed in chart 1.

The greatest number of entries – a total of twenty-six (19.8%) – were for the neighborhood of Arabacılar, a sizable area that today begins with the network of small streets between Okmeydanı Caddesi and Sürücüler Sokak, then extends toward Baçtar Sokak and the neighborhoods of Kordova and Abasho dela Kaye,<sup>32</sup> including Naftali Synagogue (Map 1, no. 1), known also as Arabacılar Synagogue on account of being located in Arabacılar, a neighborhood overlapped by

29. Turkish: Farm.

30. Turkish: Stable.

31. On the significance of the disparity, see below.

32. Concerning Hacı Şaban, see below.

Hacı Şaban,<sup>33</sup> in the bounds of Keçeci Piri Mahallesi of today. Across from the synagogue, which was devastated by a fire in 1916,<sup>34</sup> is a cluster of homes known as Yeni Zade (no. 2),<sup>35</sup> a neighborhood that is the subject of ten entries (7.6%). On the other side of Yeni Zade was a neighborhood known as Çiftlik (no. 3) – Turkish for “the farm” – which was the site of a single transaction preserved in the record. Given its name, the area well may have been only sparsely settled.<sup>36</sup> Ranking second in number of entries is the neighborhood known simply as Hasköy or, in the Jewish vernacular of the source, *Kefar Ḥas*, a literal translation of the Turkish. We believe that this term, in most instances where it appears without the name of a specific neighborhood, refers not to all of Hasköy, but only to the area alongside the Golden Horn and especially those beside and around the Iskele Grande. The location given clearly indicates that the above coastal strip is intended. To differentiate this neighborhood from the quarter as a whole, we shall in the ensuing discussion refer to the neighborhood as it appears in the original Hebrew: Kefar Ḥas (no. 13).

The bulk of this area, from modern Hasköy Caddesi to the local soccer field, ceased to serve any residential purpose during the tenure as mayor of Greater Istanbul of Bedrettin Dalan (1984-1989), who demolished the waterfront streets and planted in their stead the parks crowning the Golden Horn.

Twenty-one entries (16%) revolve around property in this area. A tributary of Kefar Ḥas was a neighborhood known to us only by its Judeo-Spanish name: Abasho dela Kaye, i.e., Street Slope, which merited six (4.6%) of the entries on real estate. The precise location of this area can be divined only thanks to a statement that one of the properties discussed shared a border with Hesger Synagogue (Map 1,

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33. *Kalendario Israelita*, p. 73-74.

34. See “Fires in Istanbul.”

35. One register entry addressed property in Yeni Zade across from “the Holy Congregation of Naftali.” Registers, no. 1, p. 45, sec. 10 (27 Sivan 5599/June 9, 1839).

36. In the record of a transaction in Yeni Zade, the neighborhood is identified as located “across from the Çiftlik.” Registers, no. 1, p. 42, sec. 4 (4 Elul 5597/September 4, 1837).





Photos 1-2. The entryway of Mayor Synagogue.  
(Photograph by author, 1991)

no. 4),<sup>37</sup> which records of the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey from the 1960s situate at 1 Hasköy Caddesi (in 1989, no. 22), a bit to the right of the main jetty of Hasköy Quarter. The Jews of this neighborhood were served by Hesger Synagogue and three others, namely, Geveret (Sinyora) (no. 5),<sup>38</sup> Mayor (no. 6) (Photos 1-2),<sup>39</sup> and Hamon.<sup>40</sup>

Between Abasho dela Kaye and Arabacılar was another neighborhood, known as Parmakkapı, which gave rise to only two register entries. The remnants of its synagogue are extant to this day (Map 1, no. 15).<sup>41</sup>

37. Registers, no. 1, p. 55, sec. 9 (4 Kislev 5600/November 11, 1839). Hesger Synagogue, today at the intersection of Aynalı Kavak and Hasköy Street. As of 2003, the building was in use as a café and restaurant. Source: “Hasköy Esgher Sinagogu – Kapanmis.”

38. See Sinyora Synagogue, intersection of Baçtar and Parçacı Street. The structure served various industrial purposes beginning in 1948. It has been vacant since 2012. Source: “Hasköy Sinyora Sinagogu – Kapanmis.”

39. On the restoration of Mayor Synagogue, see Ojalvo, “Istanbul’s Jewish Past.”

40. *Kalendario Israelita*, p. 70.

41. See photo “Hasköy Parmakkapı Sinagogu – Kapanmis.”



Photo 3. The entryway of Maalem Synagogue.  
(Photograph by author, 1991)

The main jetty of Hasköy Quarter, known to the Jews as Iskele Grande (Map 1, no. 17), comprised a discrete neighborhood within Kefar Ḥas, and properties within it were the subject of four entries (nearly 3%). Another enclave regarded as separate within Kefar Ḥas was the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse jetty, known as Ha-Iskele shel ha-Salḥaneh (Hebrew: Salhane Jetty) or in Turkish as Salhane İskelesi (no. 18), which bordered on the Jewish slaughterhouse (*Yahudilerin sığır zebh olunan salhanesi*).<sup>42</sup> Properties in this neighborhood were the cause of only three register entries (2.3%).

In third place for recorded real estate activity, with a total of twenty entries (15.2%), is the neighborhood of Maalem (Map 1, no. 10). The courtyards of the neighborhood synagogue, which shared its name, are located at the intersection of Harap Çesmesi sokak (Dilapidated Fountain Street) and Basmacı Ruşen sokak (Ruşen the Printer Street).<sup>43</sup>

42. Kayra, Üyepazarıcı, *İkinci Mahmut'un İstanbul'u Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri*, p. 108.

43. In October 2019, the City of Istanbul restored the name of Basmacı Ruşen sokak, along with several other old streets whose names attested to the area's Jewish past (Altaras, "Hasköy'ün Yahudi Sokak Adları Geri Getirilsin").



Photo 4. The ark of Maalem Synagogue.  
(Photograph by author, 1991)

The synagogue was restored in the late nineteenth century and has endured to the present (Photos 3-4).

Across from Maalem Synagogue (Map 1, no. 9), on Mahlul Street, are the synagogue and courtyard of the Karaites. Properties in other neighborhoods merited far fewer entries. Nine (6.9%) treated of assets in the neighborhood known in the register as Kalayliji Bahtche (a corruption of its Turkish name, Kalaycı Bahçe). As of 1991, the structures that once housed the institutions of the community remained standing beside Hacı Şaban Cami,<sup>44</sup> at 29-31 Kalaycı Bahçe, and both these and the adjacent building that had served the Tif'eret Yisra'el School had become workshops.<sup>45</sup> Behind them were the Sarayiko Synagogue and its neighborhood, where a single transaction

44. Today at Piri Paşa Mahallesi, 56 Hacı Şaban Cami Street.

45. The addresses of buildings that served communal institutions are correct as of 1991 and may not be current as of this writing. Today, the buildings described occupy an empty, enclosed lot, identified by Google Maps as no. 37-41. See also *Kalendario Israelita*, p. 74-75.

was recorded.<sup>46</sup> From there, Kalaycı Bahçe Street descends toward the Golden Horn, passing the courtyard of the Orthodox Greek church and interfacing with Baçtar Sokak and the area of Arabacılar. Immediately adjacent to the Armenian Quarter were Yeni Mahalle and its synagogue,<sup>47</sup> neither of which has survived. The register contains three entries (2.3%) about properties there. There is one entry about real estate in each of three neighborhoods that I have been unable to identify: Ahir, Tavan de oro, and Barmajis.

Abutting Hasköy Quarter to the northwest is Piri Paşa,<sup>48</sup> on which there are nineteen entries (14.5%). Like Hasköy, this quarter was subdivided into neighborhoods, but I have been unable to identify their boundaries. Of the nineteen entries, twelve refer to Piri Paşa in general. The others address sub-neighborhoods within the quarter, with one for each of Jadrakli,<sup>49</sup> Karanfil,<sup>50</sup> and Diri<sup>51</sup> and two for each of Sevilla (named for the city in Spain) and Aripol.<sup>52</sup>

### Approaches to assessing the content of the register

There are several questions that can provide direction in assessing material from the entries on real estate affairs that are preserved in the register. First, is the distribution of entries representative of the distribution of the Jewish population of Istanbul in general? Second, is the distribution of entries representative of the distribution of the Jewish population in Hasköy and Piri Paşa taken alone? Finally, is the

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46. *Kalendario Israelita*, p. 75.

47. Gülerüz, “Yine Hasköy’deyiz.”

48. This quarter, it must be remembered, is not identical to the modern quarter of the same name, which includes much of what was known in the early nineteenth century as Hasköy.

49. Apparently, a corruption of the Turkish name Çardaklı (with a *çardak*). The *çardak*, a type of closed balcony overhanging a street, is a characteristic feature of Ottoman urban architecture. See photo 5 below.

50. Turkish: Carnation.

51. Turkish: Alive, Youthful. The neighborhood was adjacent to Maalem (Registers, no. 1, p. 32, sec. 3).

52. Aripolis is the Greek name of Ingolstadt, Bavaria. Some of the Jews of Bavaria found refuge in Istanbul after the 1470 expulsion from that state.

distribution of entries representative of the magnitude of socioeconomic disparities in the various areas within each quarter?

The first approach demands an explanation of the enormous difference between the number of entries involving Hasköy and Piri Paşa and those regarding all other parts of Greater Istanbul together. Is the discrepancy between these numbers necessarily illustrative of a comparable discrepancy in the respective Jewish populations of the different quarters of Istanbul? Unfortunately, we have no precise estimates from this period of the distribution of Jewish residents among the quarters of Greater Istanbul. In fact, a precise figure is lacking even for the total number of Jews in all of Istanbul at the time. A French tourist who visited the city in the time of Selim III (1789-1808) gave the number of Jews living in the city as 50,000.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, Ludwig August Frankl, who visited in 1859, described a total of 52,400 Jews, Ottoman subjects or otherwise, in the city.<sup>54</sup> According to Abraham Galanté, the total number of Jews in Hasköy and Piri Paşa in the mid-nineteenth century was 25,000.<sup>55</sup> Galanté was unable to estimate how many Jews there were in Balat, but noted the existence in that quarter of seven *hashgahot*, or administrative neighborhoods, to Hasköy's ten (including Piri Paşa), and gave the number of *hakhamim* (certified rabbinic authorities) in Balat and Hasköy as 102 and 142, respectively.<sup>56</sup> For the other quarters of Istanbul, he provided neither hard numbers nor estimates. Stanford Shaw, who studied the nineteenth-century censuses of Istanbul, establishes that there were 213,992 residents of the city, including only men, in 1844, and that 12,555 of these were Jews.<sup>57</sup> This would represent roughly 60,000 individuals, taking into account the number of unmarried males among the 12,555 counted. The 1882 census data were segmented according to areas within the city, and although this segmentation does not precisely coincide with the quarters traditionally envisioned by the Jews of the city, the numbers are of

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53. Kara, "Spatial Distribution," p. 596.

54. Frankl, *Yerushalaimah*, p. 31.

55. Galanté, *Histoire*, I, p. 172.

56. Galanté, *Histoire*, I, p. 172-173.

57. Shaw, "Population," p. 266.

assistance. According to this census, there were 26,585 Jewish men and women in the city according to the following geographic distribution:

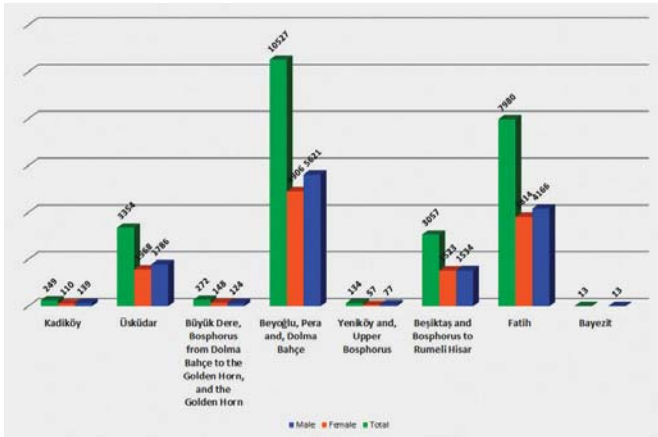
Table 1. The Jews of Istanbul according to the census of 1882. (Source: Shaw, "Population," p. 268.)

District	Male	Female	Total
Bayezit	13		13
Fatih	4166	3814	7980
Beşiktaş and Bosphorus to Rumeli Hisar	1534	1523	3057
Yeniköy and Upper Bosphorus	77	57	134
Beyoğlu, Pera and Dolma Bahçe	5621	4906	10527
Büyük Dere, Bosphorus from Dolma Bahçe to the Golden Horn and Golden Horn	124	148	272
Üsküdar	1786	1568	3354
Kadiköy	139	110	249

The census has its limitations, among them the fact that it was conducted forty years after the period of this study, and the fact that females were not always counted. Yet despite these weaknesses, it is clear from the census that the area of Beyoğlu, Pera, and Dolma Bahçe, the last of which includes Hasköy and Piri Paşa, was home to the greatest number of Jews. Nevertheless, the disparity between it and Fatih, which includes Balat, is insufficient to justify the disparity between the number of legal deliberations on Balat and those having to do with Hasköy and Piri Paşa (see chart 2). We are left to conclude that although the number of register entries on assets in the last two quarters, which may be viewed as a single entity, corresponds to the high rank of the area in terms of Jewish population distribution within the city, it cannot be evidence of a direct relationship between the number of entries and the number of Jewish residents or properties in these areas or others. The difference between the number of entries on properties in Hasköy and Piri Paşa and in the other quarters of Istanbul thus stems not only from the number of Jews who lived there, but from other factors as well.

It emerges from an examination of the types of properties and entries regarding them that of the twenty-six entries on assets outside of Hasköy and Piri Paşa, ten (38.3%) relate to property that can be defined

Chart 2. The geographical distribution of Istanbul Jewry according to the 1882 Ottoman survey. (Source: Shaw, "Population," p. 266.)



as commercial rather than residential.<sup>58</sup> Several of these businesses were located in places where no Jews lived, such as Daut Paşa, Mahmut Paşa, and Alaca Hamamı. Only three of the other properties that were not in Hasköy or Piri Paşa, where most properties mentioned were residential,<sup>59</sup>

58. 1/ Store rental in Ortaköy; Registers, no. 1, p. 42, sec. 1 (4 Elul 5597/September 4, 1837). – 2/ Right to practice the occupation (Turkish: *gedik*) of producing *kiya* (Turkish, a sweet made from barley grains and pressed dried dates; see “Kıya”) in the Sigiri neighborhood of Balat; Registers, no. 1, p. 40, sec. 1 (9 Sivan 5597/June 12, 1837). – 3/ Land and goodwill (Turkish: *hava parası*) of the Oarsmen’s Jetty (Mixed Turkish and Judeo-Spanish: *kayıkjis*); Registers, no. 1, p. 2, sec. 4 (11 Elul 5593/August 26, 1833); see also Rozen, *Studies*, p. 295. – 4/ Fish store in Kuzguncuk; Registers, no. 1, p. 30, sec. 6 (19 Tammuz 5597/July 4, 1836); see Rozen, *Studies*, p. 302-303. – 5/ Right to practice an occupation and operate a butcher shop in Galata; Registers, no. 1, p. 42, sec. 5 (4 Elul 5596/September 4, 1837). – 6/ Store in Balık Pazarı (near Karaköy); Registers, no. 1, p. 43, sec. 9 (6 Kislev 5598/December 8, 1837). – 7/ Half of a store in Mahmut Paşa (next to the Grand Bazaar); Registers, no. 1, p. 36, sec. 4 (20 Marḥeshvan 5597/October 31, 1836). – 8/ Pharmacy in Daut Paşa (below Haseki Hürrem Sultan Caddesi and its intersection with Kızıl Elma Caddesi; Registers, no. 1, p. 4, sec. 6 (9 Sivan 5594/June 16, 1834). – 9/ Storage facility in Nasıp Ağa (not successfully identified by the author); Registers, no. 1, p. 45, sec. 3 (22 Adar 5598/February 17, 1838). – 10/ Right to practice an occupation and a store of unspecified nature in Alaca Hamamı (in Rüstem Paşa Mahallesi); Registers, no. 1, p. 47, sec. 1 (18 Sivan 5598/June 11, 1838).

59. The exception is a single hut in the Dubik neighborhood of Balat; Registers, no. 1, p. 51, sec. 7 (27 Shevat 5599/February 11, 1839).

are described as rentals.<sup>60</sup> All other cases concerned disputes over the inheritance of houses legally categorized as private property (Turkish: *mülk*),<sup>61</sup> disputes between partners over such assets, cases of damage to views and other damages caused by the property of one person to that of another, or labor performed within a property.

Meanwhile, it emerges from a review of the 131 entries relating to Hasköy and Piri Paşa that eighty-eight (67%) of these concerned disputes over house or apartment rentals. Thirty-three (25%) of the remaining entries were about *mülk* properties that changed hands or gave rise to disputes due to blockage of a view or light, or to unreasonable use. Of the final ten entries (8%), two addressed *gedik* (the right to practice an occupation), four concerned store rentals, one the rental of a storage facility, one that of a shed, one an arrangement in which a *meyhane* (Turkish for a bar) was rented out in exchange for a mortgage, and one concerned a dispute over a garden and parcel of land.

A comparison between the neighborhoods of Hasköy and Piri Paşa and those in the rest of Istanbul brings us to two conclusions. First, a Jew who had ownership or possession of an immovable asset anywhere in Greater Istanbul was not quick to sell or rent it, but apparently preferred to find a proper use for it inside the family. Second, most residents of the quarters of Hasköy and Piri Paşa lacked the means to purchase an apartment or house, and thus rented homes. Rental is a condition that naturally produces numerous disputes between tenants and landlords – a condition that is the source of the great disparity between the number of entries focused on Hasköy and Piri Paşa and those on other parts of Istanbul.

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60. 1/ A property in Dağ Hamamı; Registers, no. 1, p. 45, sec. 7 (Tishrei 5599/September-October, 1838). – 2/ A property in Bojo de Sakas, which I have been unable to identify; Registers, no. 1, p. 38, sec. 8 (20 Adar II 5597/March 27, 1837). – 3/ A three-story home in the Ortaköy neighborhood of Guerta (Judeo-Spanish: Garden); Registers, no. 1, p. 57, sec. 12 (5 Tammuz 5600/6 July, 1840).

61. 1/ Extensive and valuable immovables in the Ortaköy neighborhood of Montelchika (Judeo-Spanish: The Little Mountain); Registers, no. 1, p. 44, sec. 7 (24 Shevat 5598/February 19, 1838). – 2/ A three-story *mülk* home in Ortaköy; Registers, no. 1, p. 54, sec. 1 (25 Av 5599/August 5, 1839). – 3/ A dispute over the inheritance of *mülk* houses in the village of Kuzguncuk; Registers, no. 1, p. 44, sec. 9 (24 Shevat 5598/February 19, 1838).



We now have answered the first two questions that we posed to guide our consideration of the register as a historical source. The register can say nothing of a direct numeric relationship between the Jews of Hasköy and Piri Paşa and their counterparts elsewhere in Istanbul, but it does demonstrate that Jews in these two neighborhoods were of lesser socioeconomic status than those in other quarters of the capital.

A thorough examination of the details of the recorded transactions corroborates the assumption that the Jews of Hasköy and Piri Paşa were of lesser economic standing than those of, for instance, Ortaköy and Kuzguncuk, and even than the Jews of Balat. Almost all rental transactions for the years in question were linked to lawsuits in which landlords sought to evict their tenants. In almost all cases, the landlords entertained the prospect of extending the rental on the condition that a higher rate of rent would be paid. In twenty-one (23.8%) of the entries on rental matters, payment of arrears also was presented as a condition for an extension.<sup>62</sup> The proportion is not an insubstantial one, yet the corollary to this figure is that in approximately 76% of eviction cases, the cause was a landlord's desire to raise the rent, and not complaints about a tenant's conduct. Wherever extension of a rental agreement was conditioned on a higher rate of rent, the rental period was extended by twelve months. Where an eviction suit included a demand for payment of arrears or a need for eviction to facilitate renovation, a briefer extension of one-and-a-half to six months was granted. The great number of eviction suits where increased rent was a condition for extension speaks to bitter competition for places to call home: a landlord's, rather than a tenant's, market.

What more is there to learn from the details of the transactions? As noted above, thirty-three of the assets to which the entries relate were designated *mülk*; however, it cannot be said with certainty that

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62. In Maalem: Registers, no. 1, p. 2, sec. 3; p. 30, sec. 2; p. 36, sec. 2; p. 37, sec. 10; p. 39, sec. 10. Piri Paşa: Registers, no. 1, p. 14, sec. 11 (Aripol); p. 53, sec. 11 (Aripol); p. 5, sec. 5 (Sevillia); p. 7, sec. 11; p. 11, sec. 8. Kefar Hâs: Registers, no. 1, p. 7, sec. 4 (Lombroso Court); p. 32, sec. 4; p. 37, sec. 1; p. 51, sec. 2. Arabacılar: Registers, no. 1, p. 48, sec. 3. Iskele Grande: Registers, no. 1, p. 5, sec. 6; p. 17, sec. 6. Yeni Zade: Registers, no. 1, p. 41, sec. 4; p. 51, sec. 5. Kalaycı Bahçe: Registers, no. 1, p. 8, sec. 9; p. 35, sec. 1.

those not described as *mülk* did not in fact have such a status. In any event, whereas only one of nine properties in Kalaycı Bahçe and three of eighteen in Piri Paşa were described as *mülk*, the same goes for nine of twenty-one in Maalem, eight of twenty-one in Kefar H̄as, and twelve of thirty-one in Arabacılar, albeit the number of described *mülk* properties in the last three neighborhoods may be related to their far greater size than smaller neighborhoods, such as Parmakkapı.

For the purpose of this discussion, we would do well to keep in mind that the whole area was a sultanic *has*, i.e., an estate whose revenues went to the treasury of the sultan, and that parts of it belonged to a *vakıf*, or charitable trust, established by Sultan Bayezid II. Thus even if a property was nominally considered *mülk*, it belonged to its owners only in that they held primary rights to what was in fact the sultan's property. In the case of *vakıf* holdings, the nominal owner of the rights to the land or structure was in reality renting that property from the *vakıf*, which had legally sold him only possession of the property, and not the asset as such. This legal reality is illustrated in such cases as that of a certain woman named Sultana Mizrahi who inherited *mülk* property from her mother and sold it to her brothers for 200 *guruş*, a transfer that the protocol attests was recorded in the register of the *vakıf*.<sup>63</sup> In another case, Yitzḥaq Halevi and Aharon Ashkenazzi bought land and proceeded to build a structure on it, then sold both to Shemu'el Brudo and entered his wife in the *vakıf* register as the holder of the property.<sup>64</sup> The Islamic *vakıf* could have repossessed the property only had it become *mahlul*, the status accorded to such properties if no person can be said to be in possession of them. This danger figures in the entry about a certain parcel of vacant land located in Piri Paşa adjacent to an orchard that separated *mülk* property jointly owned by Shim'on Ashkenazzi and Mosheh Ḥanan'el from the wall of a garden belonging to a certain rich man (*gevir* in Hebrew) by the name of Shelomoh Camondo.<sup>65</sup> After

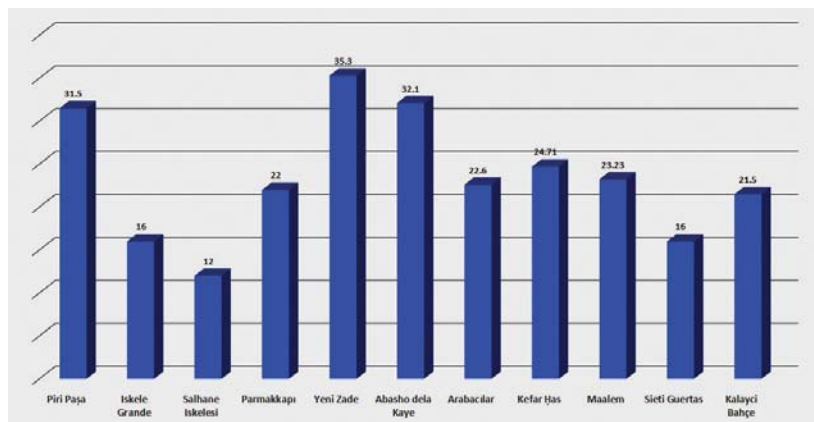
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63. Registers, no. 1, p. 35, sec. 2.

64. Ibid., no. 1, p. 4, sec. 1.

65. Apparently, the father of the noted banker Abraham-Salomon Camondo. The wives of the elder Camondo are buried in the Kuzguncuk cemetery: Estrella (d. September 24, 1794) is interred in lot E-8, stone 24; film \*235 (May 22, 1989); *Computerized Database of Jewish Cemeteries in Turkey*, hereafter *Jewish Cemeteries*.

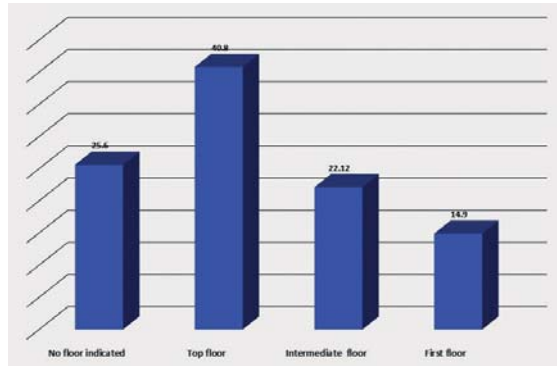
Chart 3. Average monthly rent in *guruş* of apartments in the various neighborhoods of Hasköy and Piri Paşa. (Source: *Registers*, no. 1.)



Ḥanan'el dedicated part of his land to the charitable trust of Yeshivat ha-'Uzzi'elim, an institution of Judaic learning in Ortaköy Quarter, one Refa'el Avraham Ḥayun, presumably a functionary of the *yeshiva*, laid claim to their share of the land. He, Ashkenazzi, and Ḥanan'el were confronted by Yitzḥaq ben Menaḥem Pinto, who presented a bill of purchase showing that his late father, Menaḥem, had bought it from Ḥanan'el. The last claimed in response that the deceased Menaḥem Pinto had been appointed his trustee after he was orphaned as a child, and the sale had been performed – and recorded for good measure in the *vakıf* register – so that the property would not be designated *mahlul* and taken by the custodians of the *vakıf*. However, the property had at a later date been returned to him, and he afterward had sold it to Ashkenazzi. This too had been recorded in the *vakıf* register “in accordance with their law,” i.e., *shari'a*. To buttress his claim, Ḥanan'el stated that he was in possession of all of the title deeds (Turkish: *temessük*) documenting the initial sale, the repurchase, and the final sale to Ashkenazzi. A non-Jew was brought to read these documents before the court, and a Jew who knew Turkish was called to the court to corroborate what the non-Jew had read. It was found that Ḥanan'el's gift to the *yeshiva* and

His second wife, Zinbul (d. July 12, 1804), is buried in lot E-7, stone 77; film \*217 (May 16, 1989); *Jewish Cemeteries*.

Chart 4. Average monthly rent of apartment according to floor in Hasköy and Piri Paşa quarters in *guruş*. (Source: *Registers*, no. 1.)



Ashkenazzi's sale were binding and valid, and Yitzḥaq Pinto had no valid claim.<sup>66</sup>

Rental rates in the various neighborhoods of Hasköy and Piri Paşa were not uniform (see chart 3).

Most structures had two or three levels, and it is evident from a survey of prices in all of the neighborhoods that as the floor of an apartment rose, its rent did the same. The reason is clear: the upper floors were safer and less exposed to the sounds and smells of the street. Nevertheless, there were differences between the different neighborhoods (see chart 4 and table 2, see below p. 189-195).

It is obvious from chart 4 and table 2 that those who rented ground-floor apartments were poorer than tenants on higher levels. The number of entries about apartments on the ground floor is of no help in determining what neighborhood was home to more poor individuals, because there were apartments on the ground floor of every building. At the same time, the rent charged for top-floor apartments is of significance. However, as demonstrated in table 2, this information also is unhelpful. Only in Kefar Ḥas, Arabacılar, Yeni Zade, and Piri Paşa were certain apartments described as being on the top floor: two apartments in Kefar Ḥas with an average monthly rent of 46.5 *guruş*; two in Yeni Zade with an average of 33 *guruş*; two in Arabacılar with an average of 25 *guruş*; and finally a single top-floor apartment in Piri

66. *Registers*, no. 1, p. 54, sec. 10 (21 Marḥeshvan 5600/29 October, 1839).

Paşa with monthly rent of 61 *guruş*. To be sure, where the floor was not indicated in the record of a transaction, the amount of rent was in most cases lesser than these, with an overall average of 25.6 *guruş* per month. Nevertheless, the list also includes transactions where the monthly rent was 44 *guruş* (two properties in Maalem), 50 *guruş* (two properties in Arabacılar), 52 *guruş* (a property in Abasho dela Kaye), and 70 *guruş* (a property in Yeni Zade). Average rental rates in Yeni Zade and Abasho dela Kaye were among the highest in the quarter (35.3 and 32.1 *guruş* per month, respectively), while Arabacılar and Maalem had the lowest rates (22.6 and 23.23 *guruş*, respectively). The bottom line is that with the exception of Abasho dela Kaye, Yeni Zade, and Piri Paşa (whose overall monthly average is 31.5 *guruş*), rental rates varied widely in these neighborhoods, and poor and wealthy lived in them side by side. To give these rental levels more concrete meaning, it is worthwhile to note that a comfortable subsistence level per capita in these years was estimated at 25 *guruş* per month.<sup>67</sup> In other words, if the average rent in all of Hasköy and Piri Paşa was about 25.8 *guruş*, it comprised 20.64% of subsistence earnings for a quite wealthy family of five, and far more for a family of average means. In 1851, the subsistence level per capita was 20 *guruş* per week!<sup>68</sup>

The never-ending upward pressure on rent and the steep trajectory of rental prices, as well as the cost of living in general, from 1841 to 1858 (as further demonstrated by an entry from the same year on a lawsuit between an embittered bride and her husband)<sup>69</sup> call out for explanation. Studies of the monetary history of the Ottoman Empire show that the years 1831-1860 stood out for acute devaluation of the *guruş*, triggered by the wars that the empire was compelled to fight.<sup>70</sup> During the reign of Mahmud II (1831-1839), when the register was in use, the Ottomans were made to contend with the ambitions of Muhammad Ali, the vâlî of Egypt, who twice invaded Syria (1831-

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67. Registers, no. 1, p. 49, sec. 3.

68. Registers, no. 3 (1841-1873), p. 6, sec. 1 (8 Adar II 5611/March 12, 1851).

69. See p. 185-186 below.

70. Pamuk, "Prices and Wages"; Pamuk, *Monetary History*, p. 192; Abdullah, "Value of Money," p. 188, 193.

1833, 1839-1841), the second time advancing to a mere 100 miles from the imperial capital of Istanbul, and prevented from taking it only by the intervention of European powers. In any event, revenues from Egypt were lost, because Muhammad Ali became an effectively independent ruler, and revenues from Syria also went to him at least until 1840.<sup>71</sup> Wartime expenses and diminished revenues forced the sultan to devalue the *guruş*, forming the backdrop to the rise in the cost of living in the capital, and in the empire generally. The immense jump in rent between 1841 and 1858 was linked to the Crimean War (1853-1856), whose cost ushered the Ottoman Empire into a financial crisis whose effects it continued to suffer until its demise.<sup>72</sup> Further, Istanbul was overrun due to the war by European soldiers and civilians whose presence caused the price of commodities and especially the cost of rent there to rise.<sup>73</sup>

### On homes and their neighborhoods

The above analysis does little to help us envisage the homes under discussion. Some of the apartments opened into closed courtyards, several of which are named in the register. One of these is Nikojiri Court, the courtyard of two apartments in Maalem (Map 1, no. 10) that are mentioned.<sup>74</sup> Its name appears to indicate that it belonged to a Greek,<sup>75</sup> and in any event it was not Jewish-owned, an instructive fact as to ethnic mixing in Hasköy Quarter, where Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, and Slavs as well as Jews made their homes, notwithstanding the image of the quarter in historical memory as a Jewish one.<sup>76</sup> Other courtyards that appear in the entries include Lombroso Court in Kefar

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71. *Life of Mohammed Ali*, 13,35-36; Tignor, *A Short History of Egypt*, p. 216-217; Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali* (Kindle edition), 717-737, 1018-1019, 1256, 1422, 1432-1440; Kutluoğlu, *The Egyptian Question*, p. 40, 84, 91, 181.

72. Badem, *War*, p. 289-329.

73. Badem, *War*, p. 332.

74. Registers, no. 1, p. 12, sec. 5; p. 30, sec. 9.

75. Apparently, a corruption of "Nikokiri Courtyard," from the Greek Νοικοκύρης (householder).

76. Concerning a gentile-owned millstone adjacent to Jewish homes, see Registers, no. 1, p. 7, sec. 13.



Photo 5. A complex of nineteenth-century homes with *çardaks* facing the street in Balat, Istanbul.  
(Photograph by author, 2012)

Has (no. 13),<sup>77</sup> Ye'udah Kohen Court in Arabacılar (no. 8),<sup>78</sup> and the Gershon Family Court in Yeni Zade (no. 2).<sup>79</sup>

Such courtyards were surrounded by two or three levels of apartments facing inward, and in some cases stores and other businesses facing toward the outside. The courtyard generally had a water cistern and a tree or two, and one even had a chicken coop, which the register documents as the source of great discontent.<sup>80</sup> Most of these complexes were of wooden construction.

The apartment in Lombroso Court was on the top floor and included three rooms, among them a *sala*, Judeo-Spanish for a large room used for receiving guests. The rent demanded for this apartment once the tenant had vacated the guest room was 28 *guruş* per month. The apartment in Ye'udah Kohen Court also was on the top floor and included a *sala*, additional room, kitchen, and *çardak*, the last a kind of balcony protruding from the perimeter of the home toward the street or courtyard that permitted the extension of the abode beyond the borders of the parcel on which it stood (photo 5). This apartment

77. Registers, no. 1, p. 7, sec. 4.

78. Ibid., no. 1, p. 15, sec. 5.

79. Ibid., no. 1, p. 12, sec. 2.

80. Ibid., no. 1, p. 2, sec. 2.

was rented for only 25 *guruş* per month, but for a period of three years with an option for two more. The tenant undertook to make an advance payment of 300 *guruş* and to make no changes to the home or the *çardak*. The sum was a high one, considering that one of the entries involving Nikojiri Courtyard indicates that one party had purchased some of the courtyard's homes, each of two stories, for 300 *guruş*.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to those apartments that were situated around courtyards, there were two- and mainly three-story apartment buildings lining the streets. These too were built of wood. The common choice of roofing was earthenware tiles whose slope obtruded downward past the area of the structure, forming eaves that protected the windows beneath them. The windows were furnished with wooden shutters, and in higher-end homes, panes of glass (in Turkish, *cam*) were installed.<sup>82</sup>

On the main streets (*tarik am*), the first floor typically served as a store or workshop. In Kefar H̄as (Map 1, no. 13), on the border of Abasho dela Kaye (no. 7), adjacent to Hesger Synagogue (no. 4) on one side and to a pharmacy (in Turkish, *eczane*) on the other, and parallel to a main thoroughfare, we find a store held in partnership by two Jews.<sup>83</sup> The pharmacy business seems to have been a profitable one in this neighborhood. In another instance, a landlord in Kefar H̄as attempted to remove a pharmacist from his business only for the pharmacist to respond that he enjoyed the patronage of the chief physician to the sultan (*hekim başı*) and therefore could not be removed for at least the next eight years. Across from the pharmacy was a caulker (in Turkish, *kalafatçı*).<sup>84</sup> Another Kefar H̄as establishment traded in textiles and silk buttons.<sup>85</sup> In a dispute over construction on the main street of Maalem (no. 10), one party undertook not to open a pharmacy at street level and even to refrain from renting space to any other person who would open a pharmacy there, and was to be entitled after a period of five years to rent out the property for the purpose of

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81. Ibid., no. 1, p. 12, sec. 5.

82. Ibid., no. 1, p. 4, sec. 6 (an apartment in Piri Paşa).

83. Ibid., no. 1, p. 55, sec. 9.

84. Ibid., no. 1, p. 5, sec. 7.

85. Ibid., no. 1, p. 3, sec. 3; p. 39, sec. 11; p. 51, sec. 2.



a store of another kind.<sup>86</sup> The business of the other stores that appear in the register is not specified, but in all cases, the store was part of a residential structure. Two other establishment types mentioned in the register, also in residential buildings, are public ovens and bars. Three ovens are mentioned in Kefar Ғas (no. 13),<sup>87</sup> and one in Piri Paṣa (no. 16).<sup>88</sup> In the latter neighborhood was a bar (*meyhane*) whose mortgage came to 1,300 *guruṣ*.<sup>89</sup> The Gershon Family Court, in Yeni Zade (no. 2), included a large house, a small house, stores, and a bar. These were rented for a term of ten years, the small house for 41 *guruṣ* per month, the large house for 70, and the bar for 24. This property appears to have been particularly valuable, since the rent was quite high for such a long rental period, and the entirety of the property was pledged for 900 *guruṣ*.<sup>90</sup> Two properties in Salhane İskelesi (no. 18) are described with the Turkish word *mahzen*, here apparently denoting a basement in which meat was stored after slaughter or in which some other action entailed in processing the meat or leather was performed. One of these properties was worth 1,125 *guruṣ*, and the other was rented for 20 *guruṣ* per month.<sup>91</sup> They too were part of a complex that included residential apartments.

Places where individuals seeking to rent homes were forced to compete with those who wished to rent stores and with artisans willing to work in their homes were considered inferior locations where “undignified” individuals resided. One example of such a dynamic is to be found in a domestic quarrel that erupted some seventeen years after the final date of our register – in autumn 1858 – between David Ojalvo and his wife, Kadin. The couple lived in Kefar Ғas (Map 1, no. 13), in Hasköy, in what she defined as “a noisome apartment,” quite apart from the fact that her husband’s mother harassed her and he himself subjected her to beatings. She proceeded to leave, refusing to return to them unless they changed their ways and he rented an

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86. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 4, sec. 1.

87. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 14, sec. 3.

88. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 3, sec. 5.

89. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 6, sec. 8.

90. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 12, sec. 2.

91. *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 7, sec. 12; p. 37, sec. 3.

apartment “in another place, in one of the neighborhoods of Hasköy, in a place where individuals with dignity reside.” It emerges from that entry that the couple paid rent of 23 *guruş* per month, an amount that included water for drinking, bathing, cooking, and laundry, and that the neighbors did not care that the husband, a tinsmith (in Turkish, *tenekeci*) by trade, kept at his hammer until the late hours of the night, the apartment serving as his workshop as well. The real value of such an apartment is apparent from the judgment handed down by the court, which required the husband to find an apartment elsewhere in Hasköy Quarter, in a neighborhood of “individuals with dignity,” specifying that the neighbors would agree to his use of the apartment as his workshop and that water would be included in the price of rent – all for a monthly payment of 100 *guruş*!<sup>92</sup> Aside from the glimpse at social stratification afforded by this discussion, it illustrates the steep rise in rental rates over the seventeen years that had passed since the closure of the previous register.

The materials examined for this study suggest that Kefar H̄as itself contained very little in the way of open spaces available for development, and high-rise construction was de rigueur. In other neighborhoods, however, there were occasional gardens or empty lots between residential buildings, and those who lived beside them were prepared to go to court to defend their rights to the air, light, and views that they had enjoyed over the years.<sup>93</sup>

### Afterword: A changing quarter

The preceding characterization depicts Hasköy and Piri Paşa of the 1830s and 1840s. If we look back to the picture of Hasköy painted by Evliya Çelebi in the 1660s, then we can achieve a view from on high of the processes of change that visited Hasköy Quarter, at the least,

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92. Ibid., no. 3 (1841-1873), p. 115, sec. 1 (mid-Marḥeshvan 5619/October 18-28, 1858).

93. Ibid., no. 1, p. 4, sec. 1; p. 7, sec. 13; p. 12, sec. 5; p. 17, sec. 7, 10; p. 30, sec. 3; p. 31, sec. 5; p. 33, sec. 1; p. 45, sec. 9; p. 47, sec. 9.

over the course of the nearly two centuries that passed after Evliya Çelebi wrote his travelogue.

Evliya Çelebi's descriptions, it must be kept in mind, are of Hasköy immediately after the arrival of the Jews who had been forced to abandon their homes in Eminönü and its environs, due to the resumption of construction of Yeni Camii following the Great Fire of 1660. He conjures an exquisite scene of some three thousand residential buildings, each of two or three stories, dotting the slopes of the hills looking out upon the Golden Horn. The homes are enveloped by orchards laden with peaches, pears, and pomegranates, and some adjoined by greenhouses used for the cultivation of lemons and oranges. One of these homes is that of the Hamon family, physicians to the sultan, attesting to an upper-class area. In Evliya Çelebi's telling, the neighborhood encompasses a central mosque, another mosque belonging to the Salhane Jetty, a third mosque for the royal harness room (in Turkish *saraçhane*), eleven Jewish neighborhoods, twenty congregations, twelve synagogues and ritual baths, and a total of eleven thousand Jews. Hasköy, he asserts, is in a class with Salonika and Safed. Also in the quarter, according to him, are seven churches, two Greek neighborhoods, and one of Armenians. The neighborhood has no *bedesten*, or covered market, and commerce is thus conducted in stores scattered throughout: an array of six hundred establishments including fifty painters (apparently hide painters), one hundred bars, and three hundred other stores.<sup>94</sup>

Even if we can agree that Evliya Çelebi was one to exaggerate, it is impossible to miss the internal contradiction in his description of a place that is at once a pastoral paradise of wealth and a high quality of life, and a chaotic jumble of residences, places of commerce, and artisanal workshops. The first part of the picture is omitted by the register containing *jizya* estimates for the Jews of Istanbul for the 1688/1689 tax year, according to which only 4% of Jewish residents were judged wealthy and 80% were poor.<sup>95</sup>

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94. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, p. 175-177.

95. Heyd, "Jewish Communities," p. 306-307.

In other words, even Hasköy of the late seventeenth century was a mixed quarter containing a few extremely wealthy families residing in *köşks* (freestanding wooden houses) surrounded by great, vibrant gardens, as well as ordinary folk, some enjoying a superior quality of life owing much not to lucre, but to the sparsity of the new settlement, and along with these strata were still other individuals teeming between stores, workshops, and bars.

By 1830-1840, Hasköy had changed. The first part of Evliya Çelebi's description no longer held true. Most of the beautiful houses and opulent gardens had disappeared, though the quality of life in certain areas continued to afford space, light, and a view, which residents fought to preserve, and small orchards continued to be tended in some choice locations.<sup>96</sup> One who passes through Hasköy today still can see a few of those houses, which now seem to contemplate the prospect of tumbling into those remaining gardens. In the first half of the nineteenth century, most of the quarter already was quite crowded, the scene far more often than not of a clutter of stores, workshops, and residential units. The average apartment contained two rooms, one of which sometimes served as an artisan's workplace. Sheer density and the prevalence of wood as a building material left little possibility of privacy.

A snapshot of Hasköy and Piri Paşa in the first half of the nineteenth century shows one stage in the geographic evolution of Jewish Istanbul. The characteristics of those neighborhoods as evoked above would in the early sixteenth century have formed an apt description of the area bounded by Eminönü, Sirkeci, Tahtakalle, and Mahmud Paşa, while in the second half of the seventeenth century, Balat and Hasköy would become the unchallenged hub of the Jewish neighborhoods of Istanbul. The streets of these neighborhoods in turn embraced the characteristic crowds, the conflicts between professional need and residential requirement. Those individuals with resources again moved on. They now fixed their gaze on Ortaköy, on Kuzguncuk, and soon the reaches of Galata.

Translated from Hebrew by David B. Greenberg

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96. The register makes mention of three such gardens: in Ahir (p. 17, sec. 7); in Piri Paşa, by the garden of Shelomoh Camondo (p. 54, sec. 10); and in Yeni Mahalle (p. 15, sec. 7). A garden that gave way to a store is described in Maalem (p. 33, sec. 1).

Table 2. Monthly rent in *guruş* for apartments in the neighborhoods of Hasköy and Piri Paşa. (Source: *Registers*, no. 1.)

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Kalaycı Bahçe	5				8 Marheshvan 5594 October 21, 1833	P. 3, sec. 4
Hasköy	Kalaycı Bahçe				25	10 Shevat 5598 February 5, 1838	P. 44, sec. 3
Hasköy	Kalaycı Bahçe		13.5			8 Marheshvan 5594 October 21, 1833	P. 3, sec. 4
Hasköy	Kalaycı Bahçe				30	7 Tammuz 5597 July 11, 1837	P. 35, sec. 1
Hasköy	Kalaycı Bahçe				32	13 Av 5594 August 18, 1834	P. 8, sec. 9
<b>Overall average, Kalaycı Bahçe</b>							
Hasköy	Sieti Guertas				16	27 Av 5593 August 12, 1833	P. 2, sec. 1
Hasköy	Maalem	10				25 Sivan 5595 June 22, 1835	P. 17, sec. 5
Hasköy	Maalem		12			3 Shevat 5597 January 9, 1837	P. 37, sec. 10
Hasköy	Maalem			36		18 Sivan 5598 June 11, 1838	P. 46, sec. 3
Hasköy	Maalem				22	1 Av 5595 July 27, 1835	P. 19, sec. 3
Hasköy	Maalem				36	1 Av 5595 July 27, 1835	P. 19, sec. 3

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Maalem				13	15 Av 5595 August 10, 1835	P. 19, sec. 5
Hasköy	Maalem				5	19 Tammuz 5596 July 4, 1836	P. 30, sec. 2
Hasköy	Maalem				23	4 Marheshvan 5597 October 15, 1836	P. 36, sec. 2
Hasköy	Maalem				13	14 Tammuz 5594 July 21, 1834	P. 7, sec. 1
Hasköy	Maalem				44	4 Elul 5593 September 8, 1834	P. 2, sec. 2
Hasköy	Maalem				44	1 Av 5595 July 27, 1835	P. 19, sec. 3
Hasköy	Maalem				20	3 Sivan 5597 June 6, 1837	P. 39, sec. 10
Hasköy	Maalem				30	End of Tammuz 5599 Beginning of July 1839	P. 54, sec. 3
<b>Overall average, Maalem</b>							
Hasköy	Kefar Ḥas	17				7 Tammuz 5595 July 4, 1835	P. 6, sec. 9
Hasköy	Kefar Ḥas	15				21 Tammuz 5594 July 28, 1834	P. 7, sec. 6
Hasköy	Kefar Ḥas			65		25 Elul 5594 September 27, 1834	P. 10, sec. 8
Hasköy	Kefar Ḥas			28		21 Tammuz 5594 July 28, 1834	P. 7, sec. 4

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Kefar Həs				17	7 Tammuz 5595 July 4, 1835	P. 6, sec. 9
Hasköy	Kefar Həs				17	7 Av 5595 August 2, 1835	P. 19, sec. 1
Hasköy	Kefar Həs				14	19 Kislev 5597 December 6, 1838	P. 37, sec. 1
<b>Overall average, Kefar Həs</b>							
Hasköy	Arabacılar			11		1 Tevet 5594 December 13, 1833	P. 5, sec. 8
Hasköy	Arabacılar		9			2 Tammuz 5598 June 25, 1838	P. 48, sec. 2
Hasköy	Arabacılar			40		18 Sivan 5598 June 11, 1838	P. 46, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar	14				18 Sivan 5598 June 11, 1838	P. 46, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				20	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				50	6 Av 5594 August 11, 1834	P. 2, sec. 9
Hasköy	Arabacılar				23	10 Av 5594 August 15, 1834	P. 9, sec. 7
Hasköy	Arabacılar				34	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				50	6 Av 5594 August 11, 1834	P. 2, sec. 9

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Arabacılar				20	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				17.5	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				10	28 Av 5596 August 11, 1836	P. 34, sec. 2
Hasköy	Arabacılar				23.5	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				18	1 Tammuz 5594 July 8, 1834	P. 5, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				25	19 Tammuz 5596 July 4, 1836	P. 30, sec. 4
Hasköy	Arabacılar				25	5 Iyyar 5595 May 4, 1835	P. 15, sec. 5
Hasköy	Arabacılar				8	28 Av 5596 August 11, 1836	P. 34, sec. 2
Hasköy	Arabacılar				15	21 Tammuz 5597 July 24, 1837	P. 41, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				20	21 Tammuz 5597 July 24, 1837	P. 41, sec. 10
Hasköy	Arabacılar				10	29 Marheshvan 5598	P. 43, sec. 7
Hasköy	Arabacılar				20	21 Tammuz 5597 July 24, 1837	P. 41, sec. 10



Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Arabacılar				18.5	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
Hasköy	Arabacılar				15.5	25 Av 5594 August 30, 1834	P. 10, sec. 6
<b>Overall average, Arabacılar</b>							
Hasköy	Abasho dela Kaye				24	2 Tevet 5600 December 9, 1839	P. 56, sec. 3
Hasköy	Abasho dela Kaye				52	18 Sivan 5595 June 15, 1835	P. 17, sec. 8
Hasköy	Abasho dela Kaye				30	5 Iyyar 5598 May 4, 1835	P. 45, sec. 5
Hasköy	Abasho dela Kaye				22.5	4 Kislev 5600 October 12, 1839	P. 55, sec. 9
<b>Overall average, Abasho dela Kaye</b>							
Hasköy	Yeni Zade			60		25 Av 5597 August 1837	P. 42, sec. 14
Hasköy	Yeni Zade			26		13 Shevat 5599 January 28, 1839	
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				41	22 Marḥeshvan 5595 November 24, 1834	P. 12, sec. 2
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				70	22 Marḥeshvan 5595 November 24, 1834	P. 12, sec. 2
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				24	22 Marḥeshvan 5595 November 24, 1834	P. 12, sec. 2

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				30	4 Av 5597 August 5, 1837	P. 42, sec. 4
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				20	12 Iyyar 5598 May 7, 1838	P. 45, sec. 10
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				26	13 Shevat 5599 January 28, 1839	P. 51, sec. 5
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				30	27 Sivan 5599 June 9, 1839	P. 53, sec. 8
Hasköy	Yeni Zade				26	1 Tammuz 5599 June 13, 1839	P. 53, sec. 9
<b>Overall average, Yeni Zade</b>							
					<b>35.3</b>		
Hasköy	Parmakkapı				22	12 Kislev 5597 December 1, 1836	P. 36, sec. 13
Hasköy	Salhane iskelesi				<b>12</b>	12 Kislev 5597 December 1, 1836	P. 36, sec. 13
Hasköy	Iskele Grande			18		1 Tammuz 5594 July 8, 1834	P. 5, sec. 6
Hasköy	Iskele Grande			14		25 Sivan 5595 June 22, 1835	P. 17, sec. 6
<b>Overall average, Iskele Grande</b>							
					<b>16</b>		
Piri Paşa		15				27 Av 5594 September 1, 1834	P. 9, sec. 5
Piri Paşa		20				1 Tammuz 5594 July 8, 1834	P. 5, sec. 5

Quarter	Neighborhood	First floor	Inter-mediate floor	Top floor	No floor indicated	Date	Location in register
Piri Paşa		23				18 Elul 5595 September 12, 1835	P. 10, sec. 3
Piri Paşa			54			8 Marḥeshvan 5598 November 8, 1837	P. 43, sec. 3
Piri Paşa				61		1 Adar 5595 March 2, 1835	P. 14, sec. 11
Piri Paşa					37.5	1 Marḥeshvan 5594 October 14, 1833	P. 4, sec. 6
Piri Paşa					23	18 Elul 5595 September 12, 1835	P. 10, sec. 3
Piri Paşa					14	28 Tammuz 5594 August 4, 1834	P. 7, sec. 11
Piri Paşa					25	20 Shevat 5600 January 25, 1840	P. 57, sec. 2
Piri Paşa					38	2 Tevet 5600 December 9, 1839	P. 56, sec. 2
<b>Overall average, Piri Paşa</b>					<b>31.5</b>		
<b>Average rent by floor</b>		<b>14.9</b>	<b>22.12</b>	<b>40.8</b>			
<b>Average rent, no floor indicated</b>					<b>25,6</b>		

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*Minna Rozen, L'histoire urbaine des juifs d'Istanbul telle qu'elle se reflète dans les registres des tribunaux rabbiniques : les quartiers de Haskoy et de Piri Paşa entre 1833 et 1841*

Cet article expose les différents aspects de la réalité urbaine des juifs Ottomans dans ses moindres détails telle qu'elle est représentée dans les protocoles des tribunaux rabbiniques établis par la Cour rabbinique suprême du Grand Istanbul de 1833 à 1920. L'étude du premier volume des protocoles, rédigés entre 1833 et 1841, devrait permettre une meilleure connaissance de l'environnement juif de deux quartiers d'Istanbul, Haskoy et Piri Paşa, durant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le statut légal de leurs biens, leur qualité de vie et les différences socio-économiques seront analysés en profondeur.

*Minna Rozen, The Urban History of Istanbul Jewry as Reflected in the Rabbinic Court Registers, Hasköy and Piri Paşa Quarters, 1833-1841*

In this paper, will be demonstrated the possibilities existing in the rabbinical court protocols kept by the supreme rabbinic court of Greater Istanbul from 1833 to 1920 to depict the urban realities of Ottoman Jews with a level of detail hitherto unknown. Focusing on the earliest volume, whose pages were filled in the years 1833–41, an outline of the Jewish neighborhoods in the two quarters of Greater Istanbul, Hasköy and Piri Paşa, in the first half of the nineteenth century will be sketched. The legal status of their property, their quality of life, and the socioeconomic disparities that separated them will be presented in detail.