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**URBAN PALIMPSEST AT GALATA & AN ARCHITECTURAL INVENTORY
STUDY FOR THE GENOESE COLONIAL TERRITORIES IN ASIA MINOR**

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III- Abbreviations

A.X.Y: Construction slab from Appendix 1 that *X* indicates the settlement and *Y* indicates the chronological number

ASG: *Archivio di Stato di Genova* (The State Archive of Genoa)

CSHB: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Corpus of Byzantine history writers)

Not. ign.: Unknown notary

Car: Cartulary / Folder

fol: Folio

doc: Document

Pp: *Hyperpyra* (Byzantine coins)

IV- Summary

The Republic of Genoa has established many commercial colonies all along from the Mediterranean Sea to the Black Sea during the Late Medieval Period after some concessions. At the same time, the noble Genoese family of Gattilusio has acquired the control of significant possessions in the North Aegean from the Byzantines, established two family lordships there and slightly expanded their lands over time. Correspondingly, both periods have left some traces with different characteristics on palimpsests of the built heritage in those possessions.

Existing buildings and urban patterns from older periods together with local construction materials and techniques in those areas can be counted as the most significant factors during the Genoese constructions, which can be revealed through historical documents, architectural investigations and comparisons between different built heritage.

In fact, the nature of the architectural heritage in Turkey and specifically Istanbul, being the former Constantinople was already consisted of many historical layers from different civilizations and cultures. Like how the Genoese have took control of the aforementioned colonial territories and family possessions from a former civilization, their presence was not everlasting as well, so architectural layers added during the Genoese period have also become a part of the palimpsest and started to remain behind the ones coming afterwards. Yet, they did not remain the same through centuries and either completely disappeared or heavily altered until modern times by successor civilizations, mainly the Ottomans. The overlapping of several different urban and architectural layers can be interpreted as an enriched built heritage but the exact contribution of the Genoese in between is an issue needs to be explained in greater detail. A possible influence of the Genoese on later period buildings is another important issue, which was already questioned in some studies.

When the Aegean and Euxine possessions gradually fell into the Ottoman hands in the 15th century, the Genoese colonial period has come to an end together with family lordships of Gattilusio. Much later, when the Ottoman Empire has continued to dissolve in the 19th century, those former Genoese settlements were also started to remain inside the borders of different countries one by one. For the ones in Asia Minor and Thrace, basically being the geographical and political limits of the modern day Turkey, it can be said that there is a disconnection between their identity and where they originally belong to. Furthermore, devastations of modern times slowly and ultimately covered them together with other parts of

palimpsests, due to either necessities of growing cities or potential ideological reasons. Thus, an inventory study with an architectural point of view but naturally supported by other disciplines is necessary. The main reason of it can be explained that available sources about the built heritage of the Genoese in their former colonies remaining inside Turkey lack such a perspective and detailed study.

Galata (*Pera*) in Constantinople, now Istanbul was one of the most prominent colonial possessions of the Genoese, which mainly had consecutive Byzantine, Genoese and Ottoman / Turkish periods, respectively. For this reason, apart from other possible Genoese architectural heritage in the Aegean and Black Sea coasts of Turkey, it was handled with a greater depth and comparisons for their physical characteristics to demonstrate hybrid constructions with noteworthy traces from the Genoese. Multilayered character of the city needs to be observed and displayed in detail for a true identity despite the difficulties of taking any actions in terms of preservation of the architectural heritage.

After giving a brief overview in the first chapter, the second chapter of this study specifically deals with Galata and its built heritage from the Genoese, supported with related details from other eras. The third chapter focuses on all the former colonial settlements of the Genoese remaining inside Turkey, together with their brief histories and the Genoese constructions there. In the last chapter, conservation problems of some case studies in Galata were handled with respect to national and international perspectives in terms of identity, legislation and the way of approach. Recent attempts in order to designate some fortified settlements on commercial routes of the Genoese, now remaining inside Turkey as world heritage were also criticized through the study.

V- Aims and Objectives

Available sources about the architectural heritage of the Genoese in Turkey either have a weak Genoese perspective in terms of identity or separately focused on specific aspects that most of the monuments were defined mainly with their Byzantine or Ottoman periods in general, so the exact Genoese architectural contribution was usually ignored together with an urban scale. Interestingly, many buildings within Anatolia were allegedly and overall named as "Genoese" by locals or in several secondary sources without any solid evidences, which shows the obscurity of what is Genoese or not. At the same time, it also underlines the necessity of describing to what extent the remained buildings could be Genoese by providing historical background, outcomes of onsite investigations and the opinions of specialists to such subjects. Hence, not only a historical study but mainly an urban and architectural research was aimed, backed by historical accounts whenever appropriate.

The interest of western scholars to Galata and other former colonial destinations was occurred especially in the 19-20th centuries and they were heavily focused on historical aspects, such as main incidents, commerce and important people rather than urban or architectural analyses. Therefore, available resources with a similar aim were considered during the preparation of this study but it can also be stated that a significant number of sources lack of necessary spatial or architectural explanations with visuals as a part of comprehensive deductions about the Genoese buildings. It is also apparent that national studies, which remain slightly modern were prepared as a result of conservation and restoration concerns of modern times, so their approaches can be considered more technical rather than precisely defining the Genoese architectural contribution. These works have mainly dealt with later period material aspects, which were not fully supported with spread historical resources for outcomes yet to be revealed in terms of putting forward the Genoese constructions. Hence, there is also a disconnection between old and new works that especially an important number of national studies are not more than a repetition of each other to a large extent. Yet, there are still very precise studies as well, which focus on some buildings in particular with very original approaches and they could only be put together in this study with their contributions.

It is important to be clarified in the beginning that the Genoese constructions in the Eastern Mediterranean part of Turkey were handled relatively brief in this study because the Genoese period in this region was related to a different and earlier historical era, focused on the Holy Land rather than Asia Minor itself. The Genoese colonial and territorial expansion in Anatolia

was also weakly linked to this period. In addition, the presence of architectural heritage there is not as strong as the ones in the Aegean and Black Sea coasts. In contrast, Crimea and many Aegean islands, being parts of Ukraine and Greece were included in this study with more details because their Genoese periods were directly connected to the possessions in Asia Minor and Thrace, which constitute modern-day Turkey.

It is also an important point to be stated in the beginning that in Turkey, real origins of few buildings said to be remained from the "Genoese" are clear and the buildings known to be erected with a direct involvement of the Genoese are not very much. Partial repairs by the Genoese to existing buildings from the Byzantines or only using them without any major changes are also significant possibilities to be considered for the buildings said to be Genoese. Therefore, it is important to display these differences and possibilities wherever possible, with respect to reliable primary sources or evidential proofs. The participation of local workforces in colonial territories and the usage of available materials there are very likely possibilities, which is another important point to be underlined. As a result, it is expected that the Genoese architectural heritage in Turkey could not be displayed only with a single feature, so the topic remains rather complex and sometimes needs particular research in each case study, which should lead further specific studies in future.

The first aim of this study is composing an inventory work to cover all the existing and if possible also disappeared Genoese and said to be Genoese built heritage inside their former colonial settlements and family lordships in Asia Minor and Thrace. Their supposed Genoese character will be assessed with the expectation of strengthening from detailed resources to form a historical background in the beginning. With this reason, their original, limited, altered or perhaps suspicious Genoese characters can be interpreted in a monographic way. A connection might also be set between these monuments and the ones in other colonial possessions nearby; not only historically but also architecturally in order to show possible traces of their Genoese roots. At this point, buildings apparently from the Genoese or other civilizations are important examples, which provide references during comparisons because some buildings with possible Genoese origins were not handled in detail yet.

Finally, alterations and demolitions of Genoese buildings during Ottoman and Turkish periods is an issue needs to be clarified. In fact, this process is still ongoing and there are numerous recent and upcoming risks with respect to conservation of the architectural heritage. These circumstances can be handled in order to point out existing problems and effects of local,

national and international conservation policy. A critique for the current preservation approaches and interventions of the Turkish officials to the Genoese monuments is necessary to display the actual situation of those buildings. Therefore, it is also important to indicate the most recent architectural and urban layer above the Genoese period, in addition to the ancient ones coming from the Roman and Byzantine periods below.

It was aimed that this study will provide a thorough overview of the Genoese built heritage in their former possessions in Asia Minor and Thrace, put forward to what extent and how they have or might have Genoese origins and also fill some gaps between unclear points to describe the Genoese identity of the related buildings. The subject keeps its popularity due to several related UNESCO Tentative Listings in 2010s, so it was also aimed that it will become a basis inventory study to display the architectural heritage contributed by the Genoese for further conservation steps in near future.

VI- Methodology

A historical research method was preferred and the first step of this research was formed by a thorough desktop survey. Within the scope of the subject, available written, drawn and physical primary sources were obtained through libraries, archives and online wherever possible. For this reason, it was aimed to reach the most original primary sources and solid proofs like historical registries and construction slabs with inscriptions and coat of arms. Nevertheless, a large number of secondary sources were also considered, which are published versions of archival records by specialized scholars but without interpretations. In this case, cartography, epigraphy, heraldry and paleography from related specialists have formed a backbone to many case studies for deductions. Studies with interpretations and syntheses were considered as tertiary sources but parts of the primary or secondary sources they refer were controlled for verification and the possibility of receiving more information. Thus, some tertiary sources have guided the analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Afterwards, a classification was made for organizing obtained sources with different characteristics and usually about specific subjects. In order to obtain the most accurate data from them, the sources were grouped and matched with respect to their type, period and the geography, settlement or building they refer to. This listing process helped to avoid confusions or the loss of information during their transfer between sources about similar subjects. Moreover, the classification has also conducted the research for a systematical quotation while forming a background.

An analysis has followed the aforementioned steps in order to control the sufficiency of the obtained materials in terms of source and information. With the help of this process, contradicting sources, interpretations lack of evidences and missing critical information were noticed to predict possible original contributions and detect the focal point of the research in each case study. The second part of this process was carried out by onsite surveys to relevant destinations for material characteristics, architectural investigations, measurements and measured drawings, as the subject has a strong urban and architectural character. Archive and museum visits were also done for not relying on only secondary or tertiary sources. The analysis has strengthened previous steps as well and the built matter was investigated not only with separate written resources but also with comparisons and onsite surveys.

Then, a criticism was done to see obtained and pre-classified sources are strengthened or weakened by comparisons and onsite surveys. This step also includes a critical consultation to

professionals specialized on related subjects. Historical, urban and architectural connections were set between different sources, destinations and outcomes in order to reveal the most accurate information and conduct the research into the aspects detected before as original contributions. Detecting common and different points of related buildings in terms of historical usage, architectural style, material and function with possible reasons behind has formed another comparison, supported with explanatory mapping and predictions. Being one of the most important former colonies, Galata was examined in depth, so the relevant section includes more discoveries than the other ones.

Finally, a comprehensive synthesis with outcomes from previous steps has formed a final conclusion for a better defined Genoese architectural heritage in their former colonial territories, which now remain inside the modern-day Turkey. Some parts also have their own and detailed section assessments, so the ultimate conclusion stresses the major outcomes after the synthesis of existing studies and the original contributions detected during the research, which were generally independent from each other but not always. In this case, a two phased result was appeared, where specific outcomes were displayed individually but also put together and compared with each other in the end. The attempt of UNESCO while designating some coastal fortifications as a potential world heritage by adding them to the tentative list with a Genoese concept was also handled and interpreted with respect to discoveries coming from previous steps. Due to the significance of Galata and the actuality of its monuments in terms of conservation controversies, more detailed critiques were made about the recent risks, conservation practices and policy issues in national and international level about it.

VII- Literature Review

The first group of the used resources can be defined as the primary ones like authentic portolan charts, historical panoramas and illustrations, treaties, construction slabs, notary records, official documents and contemporary historians and travelers. However, to process all the primary resources in detail would be impossible without the assistance of professionals from other disciplines. Therefore, secondary sources were also considered, which are basically translations and modernized publications of some primary resources without any synthesis from the related scholars. Those records were published all together by several scholars but mostly yet to be interpreted with an architectural perspective, which increases the possibility of further original contributions from them.

Apart from slabs, also in some of those treaties, notary records and official documents, Genoese buildings and new constructions were mentioned with significant details. With consideration of the years, mentioned buildings and given geographical descriptions of the documents and discovery locations and contents of the slabs, details about the Genoese constructions or repairs can be revealed. The Ottoman sources are also important in this point especially to show the situation in Galata just after its conquest in 1453, so the compatibility between sources from different periods can be checked.

Drawn materials were considered to show the situation of colonies in a large scale during their Genoese periods and the ones from much later periods are helpful to trace back altered or disappeared Genoese buildings inside the urban fabric. In order to display modern alterations on buildings and detect final conditions of the demolished ones, old photographs have provided visual proofs.

Another group of significant resources can be indicated as direct accounts from contemporary or slightly later period historians and travelers, where they have personally witnessed some colonial possessions of the Genoese and provided mostly historical but sometimes also architectural information about them. Much later period works are important to show conditions of former colonies and their known buildings, so their transformations until modern times can be tracked and then displayed in a chronological and detailed way to point out the results of recorded alterations.

Unpublished academic theses and some published works were useful especially in technical aspects of buildings, such as providing detailed surveys, complete analyses and scientific data

for comparisons after further onsite investigations to other buildings during this study. These studies can also be considered as primary resources but in the field of technical aspects. Scientific studies directly concerning those issues were taken as references and quoted wherever appropriate, so the main effort was spent especially for the unstudied subjects about the Genoese architectural heritage in Turkey.

The last group of used publications were books and theses, which can be considered as tertiary sources and naturally form the majority of existing studies by number. In case of not being able to obtain a primary source directly, it was mainly intended to use books prepared with direct quotations from primary resources like the ones mentioned above. Some other tertiary sources briefly deal with technical and/or historical aspects of several Genoese buildings together.

The most significant used resources with respect to the classification done above can be listed as follows;

VII.I- Primary Sources and Transferring Secondary Sources:

VII.I.I- Medieval Portolan Charts:

- Original copies of Vesconte (1321), Dulcert (1339), Soler (1380), de Vallseca (1447), de Canepa (1489) and Aguiar (1492) portolan charts¹ were used for detecting names of settlements during their Genoese periods.
- Again for the aforementioned purpose, detailed geographical and historical analysis of place names used on 299 portolan charts from 1296-1709 by Gordeev (2015) only for Black Sea coasts (including interpretation) and the study² of a limited number of them for the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts were used.

VII.I.II- Historical Panoramas and Illustrations

- For building analysis and comparisons, online copies of visual materials from many travelers were used, such as different versions of the famous Buondelmonti (c. 1422)

¹ The used Vesconte (1321) (from Vatican Apostolic Library), Dulcert (1339), Soler (1380), de Vallseca (1447) (all from Bibliothèque Nationale de France), de Canepa (1489) (from James Ford Bell Library / University of Minnesota) and Aguiar (1492) (from Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library / University of Yale) portolan charts were available online.

² Maphistory (2017) by T. Campbell, former Map Librarian of the British Library.

panorama³; panoramas of Matrakçı Nasuh (1533), Lorichs (1559), Braun & Hogenberg (1572), Pinargenti (1573), an anonymous Austrian artist (c. 1590), van der Keere (1616), de Isaac (1650), Barker & Tomkins (1813), J. Robertson & F. Beato (1857) and G. Berggren (1875) and the illustrations of Jérôme Maurand (1544), Covel (c. 1670-1677) and Romualdo Tecco (1850s).

VII.I.III- Treaties

- The Treaty of Nymphaeum, signed between the Empire of Nicaea and the Republic of Genoa and ratified by the latter in 10 July 1261 is important for the names of settlements promised to be given as concession to the Genoese and their rights within. Its content was summarized by Lisciandrelli (1960, p. 75) and Balard (1978, p. 44)⁴.
- The Latin text of the treaty signed between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa in May 1303 was provided by Sauli (1831, pp. 209-211) and later Belgrano (1877, pp. 103-104)⁵. It was partially interpreted by Desimoni (1876) and Palazzo (1946). The document is very important because of providing precise borders of the Genoese concession zone in Galata, which were based on metric data with respect to geographical features and some significant buildings in the area.
- The Latin text of the treaty signed between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa in March 1304 was provided by Sauli (1831, p. 211-216) and later Belgrano (1877, pp. 105-110)⁶. It is important for imposing a kind of construction law to the Genoese within their quarter in Galata and determining its final borders.
- The Latin text of the treaty between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa, signed in 6 May 1352 was provided by Sauli (1831, p. 216-222). It is important to formalize the expansion of the Genoese to east, until the Castle of Galata⁷.
- Texts of two copies in Greek and Ottoman and two edited 17th c. Ottoman versions of the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Genoa, which was signed in 1 June 1453 and provided by Şakiroğlu (1982) and İnalçık (1998)⁸. Both studies

³ Eight different copies from Greenwich National Maritime Museum, Michigan University Library, the copy of 1729 by Gyllius, British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (2), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and Biblioteca Marciana were used.

⁴ The authentic document is kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova* (ASG).

⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Fol. VIII (doc. IX).

⁶ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, March 1304, Fol. VIII (doc. X).

⁷ The document was provided from the private archive of the Marquess Massimiliano Spinola (1780-1857) (doc. XI).

⁸ The copies were from *Archivio di Stato di Genova*, *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (Istanbul), Bibliothèque Nationale de France and British Library.

include translations and very detailed interpretations. The treaty is important because of including a promise of Mehmed II about Galata Walls.

VII.IV- Construction Slabs (with subsidiary sources)

- Galata: Belin (1894), Belgrano (1877), Covel (1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905), Gottwald (1911), Dalleggio d'Alessio (1928), Rossi (1928); Istanbul Archaeological Museum (5) and *in situ* (2) pieces. Published works include translations and mostly historical interpretations but the slabs were not evaluated all together in relation with each other; also with consideration of archive registries and field surveys for a more detailed history of construction.
- Amasra: Hasluck (1911), Eyice (1987); Amasra Archaeological Museum (5), *in situ* (5) and *ex situ* (1) pieces. Architectural investigations of Hill and Crow (1992) for the castles of Amasra partially includes the consideration of slabs. Published works provide translations and historical interpretations but there are still some slabs yet to be studied.
- Foça and Enez: Hasluck (1909), Efthimiadis and Mazarakis (2008), Mamaloukos and Perrakis (2011); *in situ* (2) and *ex situ* (1) pieces. Published works include translations and historical interpretations but they were not considered together with the masonry of the related castles that especially the former was investigated by Özyiğit (2012).
- Crimea: Skrzinska (1928; 2006) (including interpretations). Used for comparisons.
- Chios: Hasluck (1910) (including interpretation). Used for comparisons.
- Heraldry and the Genoese coat of arms: Fox-Davies (1909) and Scorza (1920; 1924).
- Resources for Latin abbreviations⁹.
- Latin and Medieval Greek dictionaries for verifications and short translations.

VII.IV- Notary Records and Official Documents

- Notary records of Donato di Chiavari (1389-1390)¹⁰ were partially interpreted by Balard (1978) and then published by him (Balard, 1987) as a whole but as translations in French. They are mainly about judicial issues but a few of them have contents about neighborhoods and buildings in Galata. Signing locations of those records are especially important, which were always stated in the beginning.

⁹ Heimann, D., Kay, R., (1982). *Lexicon Abbraviaturarum*, Kansas; Cappelli, A., (1982). *The elements of abbreviation in medieval Latin paleography* (D. Heimann & R. Kay trans.), University of Kansas Libraries, Kansas.

¹⁰ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32.

- A very important part of *Massaria di Pera* expense registries¹¹ in Latin from 1390, 1391 and 1392 were published by Belgrano (1877) without interpretation. Expenses for many significant constructions were listed together with other expenditures on these records. They were partially interpreted by Balard (1978), mainly historically and not considered in relation with slabs and other related documents all together.
- *Massaria di Pera* (1402-1403) and *Sindacamenti di Pera* (1402 and 1403-1404) registries¹² were partially published and interpreted by Desimoni (1876), Belgrano (1877) and Balard (1978) for a few, important buildings inside and near Galata.
- *Officium Provisionis Romanie* registries¹³ from 1424-1428 were partially published by Belgrano (1877) and then completely published by Balletto (2000) as original texts in Latin with short summaries in Italian. They are mostly about juridical issues but some churches were mentioned and especially one of them has a historical and architectural significance for Galata fortifications.
- *Officium Provisionis Romanie* registries¹⁴ from 1447-1448 were partially interpreted by Desimoni (1876) and published Belgrano (1877). There are mentions of some churches and boroughs together with the repair of Galata Walls.
- Other notary acts for Galata from 1408-1490¹⁵ were published by Roccatagliata (1982) as original texts in Latin with short summaries in Italian. They are about juridical issues to a large extent but also important to provide precise signing locations with mentions of other buildings, especially a disappeared church (*San Costantino*).
- Other 14-15th c. documents¹⁶ were published by Belgrano (1877) and Balard (1987) as original texts in Latin for the former and translations into French for the latter, respectively. It is possible to find mentions of several main churches in some of them.
- Limited interpretations of Stello (2011) and Quirini-Poplowski (2016; 2017) for the Genoese castle of Samsun by using *Massaria di Caffa* registries¹⁷ from 1423-1424 are

¹¹ *Massarie Comunis Ianue* (17 October 1390 - 18 October 1391, 17 October 1390 - 10 March 1393 and 20 June - 1 October 1390, 20 June 1390 - 31 March 1394) registries as two parts are kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova*.

¹² *Massarie Comunis Ianue* (18 May 1402 - 23 August 1403), *Diversorum Cancellarie* (28 October 1402 - 21 November 1402) and *Diversorum Cancellarie* (10 November 1403 - 15 March 1404) registries are kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova*.

¹³ Kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ From various archives, mainly *Archivio di Stato di Genova*.

¹⁷ *Caffae Massaria* registries from 1374-1500 are kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova*. Original registries of 1374, 1381 and 1424 in Latin were published online by Moscow State University (2007).

a novelty. These documents were not studied as a whole yet but might provide further information in future about the Genoese constructions in Amasra and Samsun.

VII.I.VI- Ottoman Archival Sources

- The tax survey of 1455, trust registries (*vakfiye*) of Mehmed II from c. 1472 and c. 1481, trust tax collector (*câbi*) register of 1489 and trust tax collection (*cibayet*) survey of 1519¹⁸ by the Ottomans were translated and interpreted by İnalçık (1998) for Galata with many details. The study of Ayverdi (1958) is also important to indicate the neighborhoods of Galata by using the aforementioned late 15th c. trust registries of Mehmed II. In comparison with other primary sources, both studies are helpful to narrow down the supposed locations of some Genoese buildings and their conditions during the Ottoman period of Galata.
- Numerous late 16th c. registries¹⁹ about the *loggia* and *bedesten* of Galata were interpreted by Bulunur (2013). The study is helpful to identify the disappeared Genoese *loggia* of Galata in comparison with the architectural details provided by the Genoese notary acts.
- Some registries from 1661-1662²⁰ are about the fire of 1660, which caused the loss of several former Genoese churches. They were translated and interpreted by Yıldız (2014).
- The full list of disappeared and existing Ottoman mosques were published by Ayvansarâyî (1864) and Öz (1965). It has been mentioned for some of them that they were converted from churches, which have the possibility of formerly belonging to the Genoese.

VII.I.VII- Archivio Storico “De Propaganda Fide” in Rome

- Copies from original documents and plans about the fires of 1639 and 1660, which were also published by Matteucci (1967) and Quirini-Poplowski (2017) were obtained

¹⁸ According to İnalçık (1998), the registry of c. 1472 is kept in the archive of Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, the registry of c. 1481 is kept in the archive of Topkapı Palace Museum and the registry of 1519 is kept in the archival collection of Muallim Cevdet in the Municipal Library of Istanbul. The survey of 1455 was provided from Prof. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara University) and the registry of 1489 was prepared by Yusuf b. Halil in August-July 1489 on the basis of older registries yet to be discovered.

¹⁹ Sharia registries of Galata (*Galata şer'iyye sicilleri*), kept in Sharia Registries Archive (*Şer'iye Sicilleri Arşivi*) of Istanbul Office of Mufti (*İstanbul Müftülüğü*).

²⁰ Sharia registries of Istanbul (*İstanbul şer'iyye sicilleri*), kept in the same archive mentioned above.

and used for new urban and architectural analyses for the disappeared churches of Galata in comparison with the treaty of May 1303.

VII.I.VIII- Contemporary Historians

- Direct accounts from Georgios Pachymeres (1835; 1835), Nicephorus Gregoras (1829; 1830), John VI Kantakouzenos (1832), Doukas (1834) and continued 14th c. Jacobus da Varagine chronicles (Promis, 1874) and related quotations of Cousin (1685), Du Cange (1729), Sauli (1831), Palazzo (1946) and Eyice (1969) with translations and interpretations include various details about the Genoese constructions of Galata.

VII.I.IX- Travelers

- Likewise the previous group, direct accounts from 14-16th c. travelers, such as Schiltberger (1879), de Clavijo (1859), Buondelmonti (2005), de la Broquière (1807), Tafur (1926) and Gyllius (1562; 1729) were published as translations.

VII.II- Technical Studies

VII.II.I- Technical studies for the Genoese architecture in the Aegean coasts

- The studies of Müller-Wiener (1961; 1962; 1975), Arel (1989; 1990) and Özyiğit (1995; 2012) include analyses and interpretations for the castles of Çandarlı, Kuşadası and Yenifoça, tower houses and the Castle of Foça, respectively.

VII.II.II- Technical studies for some Genoese castles in the Black Sea coasts

- The studies of Bryer and Winfield (1985), Hill (1989; 1990), Hill and Crow (1991; 1992; 1995) and Tekin and Kurugöl (2010; 2013) include analyses and interpretations for the castles of Sinop, Amasra and Yoros, respectively.

VII.II.III- Technical studies for the Genoese buildings in Galata

- The studies of Anadol (1964; 1965), Anadol and Arioğlu (1979), Zakar (2010), Erdoğan (2011), Okur (2011), Sur (2015) include analyses for Galata Tower, Bereket Han and Galata Walls, respectively.

VII.II.IV- Official conservation plans, maps and surveys for Galata

- Relevant data were obtained from the Municipality of Beyoğlu.

VIII- Main Discoveries and Preliminary Presentations & Publications

In the hope of not failing to notice already published studies about related topics, main contributions of this study about the subject of the research can be listed as follows;

- In general terms and with respect to existing sources, an architectural inventory of the Genoese constructions and the full list of construction slabs remaining inside Turkey, in comparison to all the ones discovered in other territories (Crimea, Chios, Lesbos, Samothrace, Thasos and Famagusta) for the latter with detailed historical and heraldic explanations and inscription translations.
- A mapping attempt for the Genoese, partially Genoese, probably Genoese and the so called Genoese castles inside Turkey.
- A more precise mapping attempt to the first concession zone of the Genoese in Galata with respect to the act of May 1303 and the referred buildings.
- A more detailed indication of the main construction phases of Galata Walls with respect to architectural investigations, construction slabs and notary acts.
- Locating the Tower of St. Christopher.
- Further *spolia* usage of the Genoese on Galata Walls and identifying those artifacts.
- Construction details of the Tower of Holy Cross next to the Castle of Holy Cross.
- Additional minor deductions for walled boroughs and the *loggia* of Galata after several notary acts and urban inference.
- With the help of a basic stratification attempt after some measurements and comparisons with the Byzantine constructions of the same period, indicating the possible Genoese masonry of Arap Mosque, the former *San Domenico* and later period alterations. Possible involvement of a Genoese labor force with the usage of materials obtained from the Byzantines, who executed more quality interior and ornamental works according to some existing sources. Raising the possibility of further, external frescoes on Arap Mosque, which were covered by bricking up.
- Architectural deductions to Bereket Han, the former *Palazzo Comunale* and its approximate appearance during the Genoese period of Galata after some old notary acts and visual resources showing its former state.
- Detecting bicolored semicircular arch pattern on the former palace and Galata Walls as a probable Genoese architectural characteristics.

- Detecting precise or possible locations of nine (out of eighteen) disappeared Genoese churches in Galata and matching some of their former positions with the earlier period Byzantine and later period Ottoman shrines to display an urban continuity in terms of position, function and ownership status; mainly *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna*.
- The possibility of the involvement of local Greek labor forces to the 14-15th century additions of Enez and Foça castles during Gattilusio rule, as slabs with their coat of arms on walls with a Byzantine masonry characteristics commemorate those constructions; a fact already appears on some Gattilusio slabs, where the name of a Greek master was mentioned.
- Possible 13-14th century commercial establishments of the Genoese in Adramytteion (Ören, Burhaniye).
- An alternative scenario for the attribution of the so called Genoese castles in the Black Sea coasts of Turkey due to wide commercial activities and a collaborative manner of the latter within Asia Minor, which led to a relatively less enmity with the Ottomans.
- *Lercha* Tower as a probable Genoese outpost in Bosphorus and possible reasons of the contradiction between the Byzantine masonry of Yoros Castle and its disappeared Genoese slab.
- Mainly three unstudied slabs of Amasra with French coat of arms (incidentally coming across to the study of Quirini-Poplawski, 2017 in some measure) and a more precise dating to slabs from occupation periods with respect to comparisons and changing positions of shields bearing the ruler's coat of arms, in order to better indicate construction years of defensive wall sections where they were placed.
- Additional minor interpretations to already studied slabs discovered in several former colonial settlements, mainly Galata and Amasra.
- Possible roots of the so called Genoese slabs of Sinop Castle and Adramytteion, which are important to describe a false Genoese identification by some sources.
- Identity problem of Arap Mosque, recent risks to Galata Walls and improper applications on the former *Palazzo Comunale*, followed by a critique to the selection of UNESCO Tentative List to some fortifications in Turkey with a Genoese concept.

During the preparation process of this research, the sections A.1-A.9 from "Appendix 1: The Genoese Mural Slabs Discovered within Modern-day Turkey" were presented as *Anadolu'daki Armalı Ceneviz Yazıtları* (Crested Genoese Inscriptions in Anatolia) in the symposium of "Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period: The Italians in

Anatolia During 12th-15th Centuries" and organized by VEKAM in Ankara, Turkey in 13 May 2016. Furthermore, the section "3- Recent Conservation Problems of the Genoese Architectural Heritage in Turkey" was published inside the collaborative work as follows: Saglam, H. S., Veprytska, K., (2016). Preservation Problems of the Genoese Architectural Heritage at Black Sea Coasts: Turkey and Ukraine, *Науковий вісник будівництва* (Kharkiv National University of Construction and Architecture, Scientific Bulletin of Construction) (Vol. 86, Issue: 4, 2016, pp. 5-19), Kharkiv / Ukraine (ISSN 2311-7257). Finally, some outcomes of sections "2.3- First Delimitation of the Genoese Quarter" and "2.9- Churches" were presented as a paper in 2017 Byzantine Studies Conference (5-8 October, Minnesota) with the title of "A Cartographic Experiment to Locate the Disappeared Byzantine Churches of Galata Mentioned in the Act of May 1303 Signed with the Republic of Genoa".

1- Background

1.1- Rise and Fall of Genoa and the Genoese Colonization

The Republic of Genoa (*Repubblica di Genova*) was one of the four main Italian former maritime republics¹. After receiving a legal concession from the king Berengar II in 958, Genoa *de facto* became an independent state from *Regnum Italicum*² (Bocchi and Fasoli, 2008). With the establishment of *companion communis*, a territorial organization of the medieval Genoa, the state officially became independent during the last decade of the 11th century. First, it was only a city state and the Genoese expansion has started through Liguria (Britannica, 2015; Treccani, 2015). They have acquired some territories following the First Crusade (1096-1099) in the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea but these possessions were captured by the Mamluks in the 13-14th centuries.

The second half of the 13th century witnessed the establishments of many important Genoese colonies along the Aegean Sea, Constantinople and the Black Sea, which will be held in depth during this study. In 1266, the Genoese have established several commercial colonies in Crimea, which were mainly settled at Feodosia (*Caffa*), Sudak (*Soldaia*), Kerch (*Cerco*) and Balaklava (*Cembalo*). The majority of these possessions were captured by the Ottomans until 1475, excluding Chios (1566). Significant Genoese colonies in the western part of the Mediterranean Sea were Sardinia (1259-1325), Corsica (1284-1768) and Tabarca (1540-1742) (Freeman-Grenville and Munro-Hay, 2006, pp. 84-87; Treccani, 2015).

The country had several invasions from the Duchy of Milan (1353-1356, 1421-1435) and the Kingdom of France (1396-1413, 1499-1505) in two main periods each (Gallotta, 1993, p. 363; Kirk, 2012, p. 17). The first French and the second Milanese invasions were corresponding with significant defensive constructions of the Genoese especially in the Black Sea coasts, whose characteristic architectural elements and heraldic traces with dates can still be found.

The republic has lived for almost 700 years until the foundation of the French client state (*républiques sœurs*) Ligurian Republic in 1797, which was then annexed by the First French Empire in 1805 and formed the department of *Gênes*. After the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte in the War of the Sixth Coalition, the Republic of Genoa is founded again in April 1814 for a

¹ Along with Amalfi (839-1131), Pisa (11th c.-1406) and Venice (697-1797) that other notable ones were Ancona (11th c.-1532), Gaeta (839-1140), Noli (1192-1797) and Ragusa (11th c.-1808).

² A constituent Italian kingdom of the Holy Roman Empire.

short time but finally annexed by the Kingdom of Sardinia in January 1815 (Benvenuti, 1977, p. 120; Costantini, 1988, p. 40).

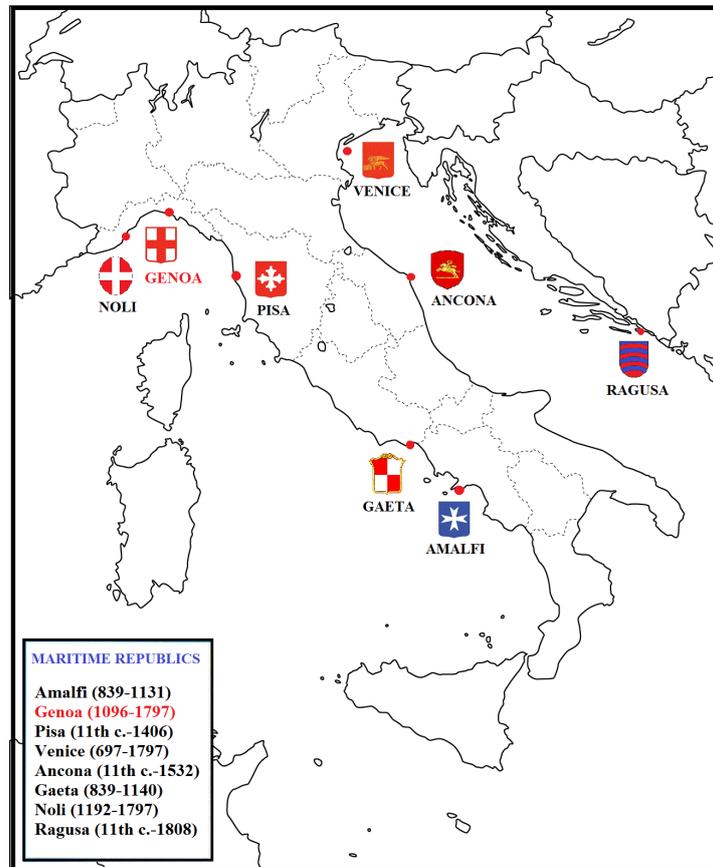


Fig. 1: Italian former maritime republics (Author, 2015)

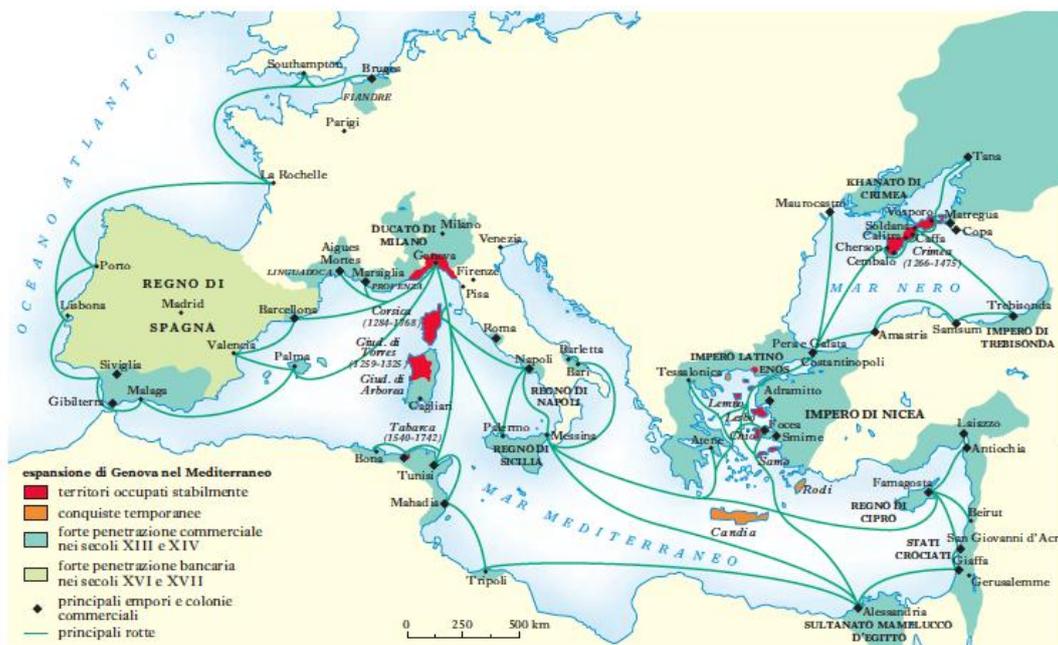


Fig. 2: Colonial expansion of the Republic of Genoa (Treccani, 2015)

1.2.1- Genoese Colonial Expansion to the Eastern Mediterranean Coasts

During the First Crusade (1096-1099)³, the first Crusader states were founded in 1098, being the County of Edessa and Principality of Antioch that during the Siege of Antioch (21 October 1097 - 2 June 1098), Baldwin of Boulogne was invited with his troops by the Armenian count of Edessa (Şanlıurfa) Thoros to the city for an alliance against Seljuk Turks to consolidate his reign⁴. In June 1098, Antioch was captured by Muslim forces with the aid of the Genoese reinforcements from thirteen ships and it then became the capital of the Principality of Antioch, where Bohemond I was crowned as the first prince. The involvement of the Genoese was much significant during the Siege of Jerusalem (7 June - 15 July 1099). A Genoese naval squadron commanded by Guglielmo Embriaco arrived to Jaffa and captured the city in June 1099⁵. By dismantling their galleys and constructing siege towers with the received timber and ropes, he assisted the successful siege, resulting with the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099. Guglielmo Embriaco has also involved in with his men the final major conflict of the First Crusade in order to secure Jerusalem that the Fatimid army was defeated in the Battle of Ascalon. He and his brother have then returned to Genoa as heroes (Asbridge, 2012; Edgington, 2004; Lock, 2013; Runciman, 1992).

Embriaco family has played another important role during the establishment period (1102-1109) of the last Crusader state, the County of Tripoli. As a result of the military aid led by Ugo I Embriaco, they were awarded by the count Bertrand with a quarter in Tripoli, seized in 1109 and also the city of Byblos (*Gibelletto*). An Embriaco lordship was established there around 1110 and Ugo I became the first lord of *Gibelletto*. The lordship, vassal to the County of Tripoli was ended in 1282 because of a conflict between the lord Guido II Embriaco and the count Bohemond VII. The power vacuum occurred due to the execution of Guido II in 1282 and the death of Bohemond VII in 1287 have dissolved the County of Tripoli, which was conquered by the Mamluk Sultanate in 1289. During this period, famous Genoese admiral and merchant Benedetto I Zaccaria (see 3.2.5.4) was invited to *Gibelletto* by its noble residents to take over the control but he refused this offer (Burgtorf, 2008, pp. 500-502; Folda, 2005, pp. 383-384; Kennedy, 2001, pp. 63-65; Venning and Frankopan, 2015, p. 67).

³ In which several Frankish and Italo-Norman states were involved together with the Kingdom of England and the Republic of Genoa, the participant states were also allied with the Byzantine Empire and the Barony of Cilician Armenia against the Fatimid Caliphate, Abbasid Caliphate, Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and Danishmends in order to capture the Holy Lands.

⁴ However, Thoros had a suspicious death and then succeeded by Baldwin of Boulogne, who founded the County of Edessa there.

⁵ His brother Primo di Castello was also along with him during the campaign.

The aftermath of the First Crusade has made the Genoese a partial authority in many important cities in the northern coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, within the modern-day Turkey, where they were involved with commercial activities. The most significant of them inside the Barony and later the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia were Adana, Kozan (*Sis*), Misis (*Mamistra*), Tarsus (*Tarso*) and Yumurtalık (*Laiazzo*) in the Cilicia region. The Armenians made an alliance during the First Crusade with other Crusader states including the Genoese against Seljuk Turks to secure their lands there. Afterwards, the Genoese were allowed to make trade within the Armenian Cilicia and in the beginning of the 13th century, the right of having their own lands in *Mamistra*, *Sis* and *Tarso* was also given by the kingdom together with constructing warehouses and churches. King Leo I has exempted the Genoese merchants from all types of taxes with a concession given in March 1201, which allowed them to build courthouses for judging their citizens in the kingdom. It is also known that the Genoese have constructed a church in *Sis* but probably existing buildings were used within other locations. In *Laiazzo*, apart from operating the harbor, the Genoese were also having a church called *San Lorenzo*; several warehouses and a lodge, where a consul and viscount were in charge with the assistance of arbitrators. All of the aforementioned settlements were conquered by the Mamluk Sultanate between 1360-1369, which ended the Genoese periods of those cities (Der Nersessian, 1970, p. 69; Hovannisian and Payaslian, 2008, pp. 158-162; Stringa, 1982, pp. 266-339).

Antakya (*Antiochia*), Iskenderun (*Alexandretta*), Payas and Samandağ (*Soldino*) were main cities where the Genoese have settled in the Principality of Antioch. The help of the Genoese during the Siege of Antioch has provided some concessions in return, such as the church of *San Giovanni*, a marketplace, thirty houses and a well in the city and perpetual exemption of all taxes. The Genoese were also allowed to use the port of *San Simeon* in *Soldino*. This act was promulgated in 14 July 1098, which became one of the key dates for the establishment of warehouses network in the Eastern Mediterranean coasts; inspiring similar concessions made by the Crusader states in favor of other Italian maritime republics. The ownership of these properties were then transferred from the state of Genoa to Embriaco family in *Gibelletto*, who kept them despite Ayyubid campaigns led by Saladin, until the final conquest of the Principality of Antioch by the Mamluk Sultanate in 1268 (Cheyette, 2004, pp. 88-90; Laiou and Mottahedeh, 2001, p. 151; Stringa, pp. 266-339).



Fig. 3: The Crusader States after the First Crusade (Exploret themed, 2015)

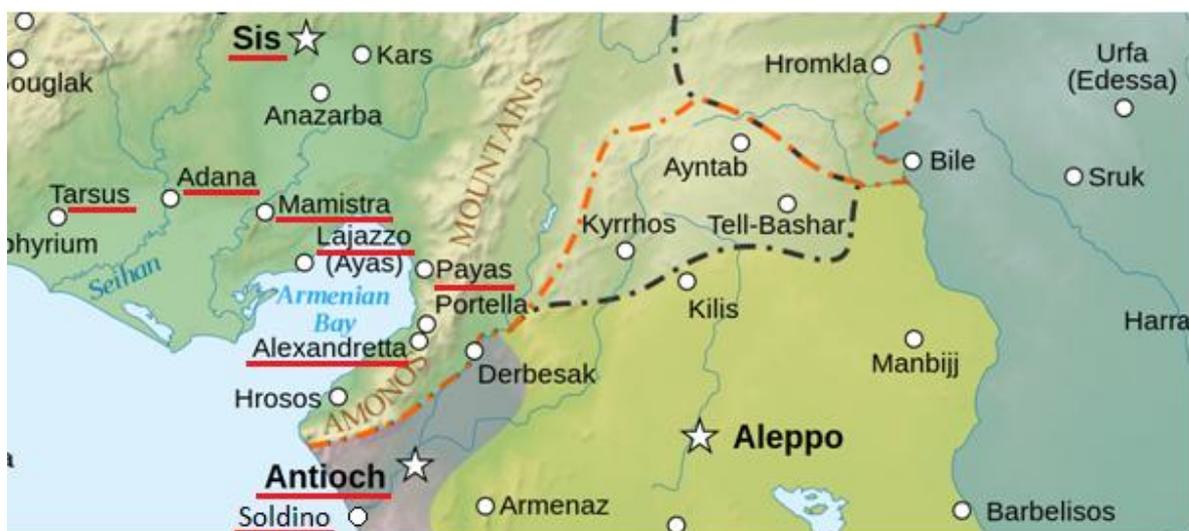


Fig. 4: Main Eastern Mediterranean cities of Anatolia, where the Genoese settled and involved with commercial activities (after Wikimedia, 2015)

1.2.2- Genoese Buildings in the Eastern Mediterranean Coasts of Modern-day Turkey

A detailed study for detecting possible Genoese buildings in the Eastern Mediterranean coasts of Turkey is necessary, as a resource to this issue does not exist. In addition, exact locations and fates of the Genoese buildings stated in historical sources are unknown that no Genoese buildings were clearly identified in the area yet. However, a few later period buildings were allegedly named as "Genoese" without any solid proofs and it is possible to come up with such buildings nearly everywhere in Turkey. Speaking for the Eastern Mediterranean part, for instance the so called "Genoese" *Cin Kule* (The Tower of Genie) in Payas is definitely an Ottoman fortification with its recent structure, which was built in 1577 (Işık, 2004, p. 112). Presumably due to long term commercial and partially architectural activities of the Genoese in many regions of Anatolia, some forgotten buildings from other periods were inaccurately renamed as "Genoese" by locals, which also took the attention of some scholars in other parts. Phonetical similarity between the Turkish words of "*Cin*" (spirit) and "*Ceneviz*" (Genoese) is also noteworthy (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 18; Eyice, 1979, p. 61).

The Genoese have used Attaleia (Antalya) in the 12-14th centuries as a commercial harbor in connection with Cyprus and mainly to export alum of Cotyaeum (*Coltai* / Kütahya), which was having a 15-day distance (see 3.4.6) (Ersan, 2000, pp. 55-62; Stringa, 1982, pp. 266-267). Stringa (1982, pp. 266-267) also claims that a building near the old port resembles some Genoese or Pisan *fondaco* (warehouse) characteristics with its tall, arched and bicolored appearance. This house is the only known example with such type in Antalya at the moment.



Fig. 5-6: The so called Genoese "*Cin Kule*" in Payas (Doğan, 2014) and the probable "Genoese" house in Antalya (Stringa, 1982, p. 267)

2- Galata

2.1- Early History of Galata

Galata is a northern district of Istanbul, which is located outside the historical peninsula and on the other side of the Golden Horn. It has coastal access to Golden Horn at west and south, and also to the Bosphorus at east, so Galata has natural quays from its three sides. The topography of Galata is irregular that just after an almost plain coastal band with a depth of approximately 250 meters, it starts to rise sharply until reaching a hilltop after roughly 200 meters, where Galata Tower is now located. The dominant position of the hilltop has a clear view of the Golden Horn, Bosphorus and the former Constantinople, together with the rest of Galata.

The district appears as a small settlement with the names of "*Sykai*" or "*Peran en Sykais*"⁶ in the Late Antiquity due to abundance of fig trees in the area and being located on the other side of Byzantium, which was colonized in c. 657 BC by Greeks from Megara. In the "Histories" (c. 440 BC) of Herodotus (c. 484-425 BC), "*Sykai*" was mentioned as a small settlement, in the north of Byzantium and the opposite side of the Golden Horn. Strabo (c. 64-63 BC - c. AD 24) also mentions of "*Sykai Harbor*" with a temple dedicated to Amphiaraus. It has been said that the aforementioned "*Peran*" (other side) later evolved into "*Pera*", the alternative name of medieval Galata and also modern Beyoğlu (Arseven, 1913; Eyice, 1969, pp. 9-10; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1946, pp. 218-238; Palazzo, 2014, pp. 66-69).

In AD 196, Dionysius Periegetes (c. 2nd century) describes the main sections around and in Galata as "*Krinides*" (Kasımpaşa), the river of "*Meizon*" (Kasımpaşa Brook) and its relatively deep and navigable bay, "*Bathy*" and "*Choiragia*" (Haliç Shipyards), "*Sykai*" (Arap Cami Quarter), "*Avletes*", "*Bolos*", "*Ostreodes*" and "*Metopon*" (SW, central and NE parts of Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Quarter) and finally "*Aiantion*" and "*Palinormikon*" (SW and NE parts of Kılıçalipaşa Quarter) from northwest to northeast through south, respectively. In addition, the recent position of Galata Tower was called as "*Ierion*", "*Gerion*" or "*Eleon*". Dionysius Periegetes also mentions of several temples in the area erected by Megarans or their descendants, in order to honor their heroes and gods. For instance, the Tomb of Hipposthenes from Megara was placed near the western border of "*Sykai*" at coast and temples of Amphiaraus (or Schiniclou) and Saint Irene were probably located inside this

⁶ Which mean "The Fig Grove" or "The Fig Grove on the Other Side", respectively.

section. Temples of Diana the Lucifer (*Phosphorus*) and Venus the Placid (*Placidus*) were in *Bolos* and the Temple of Apollo was in *Metopon* (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1946, pp. 218-238).

No significant archaeological traces have remained from the ancient periods of Galata, apart from a large cistern, probably from the 5th century and with roughly shaped pillars and a collapsed dome or vault ceiling. It was discovered during the construction works for the building of Turkish Cancer Society in Kasımpaşa. In addition, the open-sky water reservoir of Saint Benoit, which was formerly a giant cistern with 300 pillars, underground water canals near Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı (the former church of *San Michele*) and the ruins of Honorius Baths near Karaköy Square were other mentioned infrastructural remains as of 1540s, probably from the ancient times of Galata but all of them were then disappeared. The necropolis of *Sykai* was located in Kalafat Yeri, the coastal part of Galata near Azap Kapısı. Several ancient artifacts were discovered as *spolia* inside later period constructions, such as marble statues, pillars and inscriptions from the 1st - 4th centuries (Eyice, 1969, pp. 9-10; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1946, pp. 218-238; Gyllius, 1729, p. 275).

Sykai was said to be surrounded with defensive walls during the period of Constantine the Great (r. 306-337). The exact route of these walls are unknown, as they were demolished in the 13th century but it can be claimed that they were surrounding Galata and protecting it from the land side. Then, during the regional arrangements of Constantinople by Theodosius II (r. 408-450), *Sykai* was included to the city and formed the 13th region. According to *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a mid-5th century regional inventory of the capital, "*Regio XIII*" (*tertiadecima regio, Sycæna*) was having one church; the Baths of Honorius; the Forum of Honorius; a theatre; a dockyard; 431 houses; a large portico; five private baths; one public and four private mills (Alciato, 1552; Eyice, 1969, pp. 9-10; Müller-Wiener, 2001, p. 320).

Justinian I (r. 527-565) has enlarged *Sykai*, renewed the walls and constructed further public baths, cisterns and a new theatre building in 528⁷. He also restored the church of *Hagia Irene* (see 2.9.1) in 552, which was built by Pertinax, the Bishop of Byzantium (r. 169-187). Therefore, the emperor changed the name to "*Justinianopolis*" but it did not last for a long time and *Sykai* was continued to be used again, which was soon and ultimately replaced by "Galata" (Eyice, 1969, pp. 9-10; Palazzo, 2014, pp. 66-69). Quoting from Skarlatos Bizantinos (1798-1878), Dalleggio d'Alessio (1926, p. 27), mentions another church of *Sykai*

⁷ Indeed, the Byzantine historian Procopius (c. 500-554) indicates that during the Plague of Justinian (541-542), available burial plots were not enough for victims, so the towers of the fortifications in *Sykai* were entirely filled with corpses after being their roofs removed and then covered with them again (Procopius, 1914, pp. 467-469).

called *Hagia Thekla*. Founded by Justinian I (r. 527-565) and restored by Justin II (r. 565-574), it was near the Golden Horn and became a Catholic church during the Latin Empire period (1204-1261) (see 2.9.3).

The exact etymological root of "Galata" is unclear⁸ but this name first appears after a castle, which was said to be constructed during the period of Tiberius II Constantine (r. 574-582) in order to control the entrance of the Golden Horn. When Theophanes the Confessor (c. 758-817)⁹ was speaking about the Siege of Constantinople (717–718) by Arabs, he mentions the aforementioned fortress as "*kastellion tou Galatou*" (the castle of the Galatian's neighborhood), where a chain was extending between this castle and the coast of the imperial palace (Sarayburnu), in order to blockade the Golden Horn. Therefore, it was claimed that the castle was located where a Galatian was formerly living in the neighborhood (*vici*) of the castle, which was named after him and it then became also the name of the 13th region (*regio*) of Constantinople (Eyice, 1969, p. 10; Schneider and Nomidis, 1944, p. 1).

With a treaty dated May 1082, the Venetians had many commercial concessions from the Byzantines, including three wharfs in Galata but it is unknown whether they have settled to Galata or not. According to Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Jews were living in the eastern part of Galata, in a prosperous quarter called "*Estanor*". In July 1203 during the Fourth Crusade, "*Tor des Galathas*" (The Tower of Galata) and the naval chain were captured by the Crusader forces with a fierce battle, apparently the castle was being referred. It was then started to be called "*Castrum Sanctae Crucis*" (The Castle of Holy Cross) by the Latins (Ostrogorsky, 1981, p. 331; Villehardouin, 1908, pp. 38-39) (see 2.6).

During the Siege of Constantinople (1260), the Nicaean troops have also intended to attack Galata and seize its castle from the Latins. However, the siege has failed and lifted, which was then followed by a one-year armistice, until August 1261 (Geanakoplos, 1959, pp. 76-79).

⁸ Quoting from John Tzetzes (c. 1110-1180), Petrus Gyllius says that a Gaul commander in chief called Brennus has arrived to *Sykai* and therefore the area was started be called with the Greek name for Gauls: Galata (Gyllius, 1729, pp. 270-271). If the mentioned commander is the one who led the invasion of Greece, it should be noted that he lived in 3rd century BC, being a much earlier period for *Sykai*. Mordtmann and Wiegand (1907, p. 16) claim that the Thracians have named several similar peninsulas in Thrace with the word of "Galata" but its meaning is unknown. Other theories for the root of "Galata" are "*galaktos*" (Greek, milk) by de Clavijo from the beginning of 15th century (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 48), also repeated by Evliya Çelebi in 17th century (Parlaz, 2011, p. 111), "*calata*" (Italian, slope) by Glavany (Eyice, 1965, pp. 206-207) and "*kal'at / kal'a*" (Arabic, fortress) by De Launay (1874, pp. 27-28), which address to famous dairies, steep topography and the castle of the area, respectively (Arseven, 1913, pp. 26-27; Eyice, 1969, pp. 9-10).

⁹ Theophanes the Confessor (1883, p. 396): "... οι δε εις τα της Θραχης μερη από του χαστελλιου των Γαλατων και εως του Κλειδιού προδωρμίδαν..."

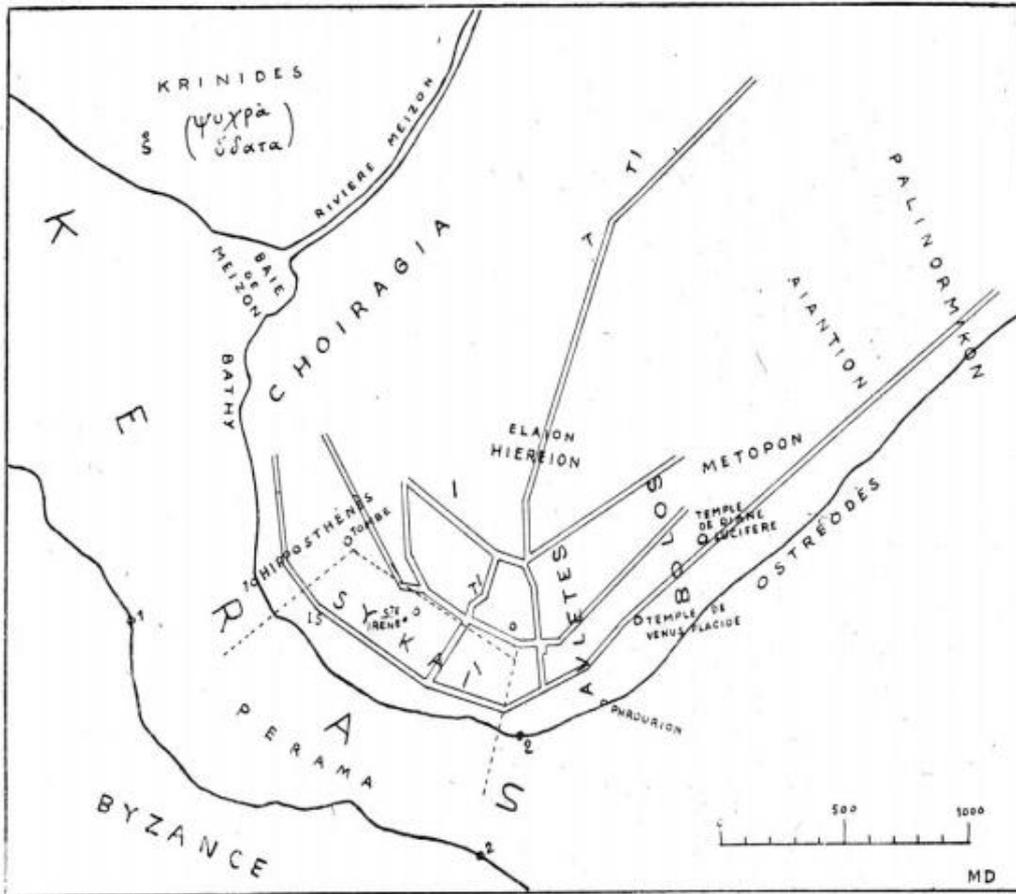


Fig. 7: Galata (Sykai) in ancient times (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1946)



Fig. 8: Galata (Sykai), shown as the 13th region of Constantinople (Gyllius, 1729)



Fig. 9: Galata in "Tabula Peutingeriana" (a 13th c. copy of a 4-5th c. *itinerarium* / road map), which was shown as "Thimea XII Sycas" (Bibliotheca Augustana, 2015)

2.2- Genoese in Constantinople and Their Arrival to Galata

The Genoese have established commercial activities in Constantinople from 1130-1140s without any special concessions¹⁰. Galata was demanded by them at least since 1154 but the agreement of 12 October 1155, done with a Byzantine envoy and including the right of having a commercial quarter (*embolos*) in the capital was not ratified by Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180) (Cassidy, 2004, p. 353; Penna, 2012, p. 142; Sauli, 1831, pp. 181-182)¹¹. In 1162, they were attacked by Pisans, backed by Venetians and Greeks. The Genoese community of roughly 300 citizens have escaped and left their commodities behind (Hendy, 2008, pp. 595).

The Genoese have obtained a quarter called Koparion and a landing stage (*scala*) with the first imperial chrysobull of 1170, which were around the Neorion Harbor (modern-day Eminönü Square) (Penna, 2012, p. 150). This quarter was soon attacked by the Venetians, which caused serious losses in 1170-1171 (Hendy, 2008, pp. 595)¹².

¹⁰ Which were present for the Venetians since 992 and Pisans since 1111 at that time. The chrysobull of 1169 was not including the grant of a commercial quarter to the Genoese (Penna, 2012, p. 134).

¹¹ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 12 October 1155, Car. n/a (doc. I).

¹² The Venetian, Amalfitan, Pisan and Genoese quarters were lying next to each other along the southern coast of the Golden Horn and from west to east, respectively (Müller-Wiener, 2001, p. 59). As a result of the Byzantine-Venetian War of 1171, all the Venetians within the empire were arrested and their goods were confiscated in 1171. The Genoese and Pisans have continued their commercial activities within their quarters inside Constantinople.

Anti-Latin movements inside the Byzantine Empire were resulted with the Massacre of the Latins in April 1182. The remained Genoese and Pisan quarters were sacked and the whole Roman Catholic population of Constantinople was eradicated; approximately 60.000 people (Fossier, 1997, p. 508). Negotiations of 1187-1188 and 1191 were not concluded due to diplomatic restraints and heavy Genoese demands, which were then renounced. The Genoese were allowed to return with the chrysobull of Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185-1195) in 1192 and their quarter was extended, where the Palace of Botaneiates (or Kalamanos)¹³ and some houses were included. The chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195-1203) has brought further grants to the Genoese in 1201; such as a church, a pier and several buildings more (Penna, 2012, pp. 157, 164-166, 195-197). In fact, that Genoese quarter was having two unfamed churches in total as of 1201; the one between *embolos* and the Palace of Kalamanos, and one of two former Kalamanos' churches. The first one was enlarged in 1170 by acquiring land near the harbor and might be dedicated to Saint George with respect to accounts from 1199. The second one, perhaps the former *Hagios Dimitrios* was taken in 1192 and then restored. The aforementioned palace, used as the consular office was also having a bath, a cistern and some lodges (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1924, pp. 453-454; Sauli, 1831, pp. 195-196)¹⁴.

Following the Fourth Crusade, the Genoese have lost all the privileges inside the empire for a while, including their quarter in Constantinople¹⁵. The Byzantines have continued to exist in the territories which were not occupied by the Crusaders and Nicaea (İzник) became the new capital. In 1261, the Empire of Nicaea and the Republic of Genoa have signed an alliance treaty in Nymphaeum (Kemalpaşa) against the Latin Empire, in order to take Constantinople back. Many concession were promised by the Nicaeans to the Genoese, including commercial quarters in several cities that Constantinople was also one of them, if the mutual military campaign succeeds. However, just after two weeks from the ratification of the treaty, the city was recaptured by the Nicaeans in 25 July 1261 without any military involvement of the Genoese¹⁶. The Venetian palace¹⁷ was demolished and some of its pieces were placed on

¹³ Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078-1081). The noble family of Kalamanos, flourished in the 12th c.

¹⁴ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 4 May 1201, Car. n/a (doc. VI).

¹⁵ The crusade was led by Venice, being the archrival of Genoa. It was resulted with the successful siege and sack of Constantinople in 8-13 April 1204. Then, the Latin Empire (1204-1261) was established. The Venetians have allowed the Genoese to possess their old quarter in 1218 and also gave their former privileges back. They had peaceful relations until the War of Saint Sabas (1256-1270), a Genoese defeat (Cassidy, 2004, p. 352).

¹⁶ Following these, the Byzantine Empire was restored, Michael VIII Palaiologos became the emperor in 15 August 1261 and the Genoese were awarded as how it was promised, in spite of not involving in the recapture.

¹⁷ It is known that the Venetian *podestà* was using Pantokrator Monastery as an office during the Latin Empire period (1204-1261), which still exists and in use as Zeyrek Mosque. Some private palaces in the Venetian settlement of Constantinople and belonging to Despot Angelo, Nicolò Querini and Ramundus Bello were also

Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo (later *Palazzo San Giorgio*) in Genoa. The new duty of the Genoese was to defend Constantinople against the Venetian attacks but they performed badly between 1262-1264 and a bigger diplomatic crisis has broken their ties with the Byzantines. Then, according to Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)¹⁸ and Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295-1360)¹⁹, the Genoese were expelled to Heraclea (*Recrea*, Marmara Ereğlisi) in 1264 and only in 1267 they were allowed to return to the capital but this time to Galata, being its formerly mentioned fortifications torn down except for the castle. They have also gained the promised privileges back with the promulgated treaty (see 3.1) (Balard, 1978, pp. 43-51; Eyice, 1969, pp. 11-22; Gregory, 2011, p. 335; Lisciandrelli, 1960, p. 75; Ostrogorsky, 1981, pp. 415-420).



Fig. 10: The first Genoese quarter in Constantinople (after Plakidas, 2008)

mentioned in documents dated 1204, 1252 and 1277, respectively. After the dissolution of the Latin Empire, a palatial house (*mansione Baiuli*) for the Venetian *bailio* (resident ambassador) was given by the Byzantines in 1277 (Ağır, 2013, p. 73). Another fortified palace (*palacium latum et amplum ad formam castris*) was at east and beside the marketplace, perhaps the Spice Bazaar of today. Thus, the identity of the demolished Venetian palace by the Genoese in 1261 is unclear but the last building seems more probable (Cassidy, 2004, p. 355).

¹⁸ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 168), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. I), *De Michaele Palaeologo*, Book II, Chapter XXXV (A.C. 1267), P. 108: "... ac principio quidem Heracleam Thraciae ipsos transtulerat. deinde tamen securius existimavit collocare illos e regione Peraeae, et sua intra solam arcem Galatae habere domicilia iubere... inde ad omne periculum certius, quantum in ipso erat, praevertendum dirui et solo funditus aequari iussit munitiones tum intra urbem arcis extractae ad maritimam fori partem, tum extra suburbii Galatae. in quo sic propugnaculis nudato habitare Genuenses ex aduerso oppositae ipsi ab occasu Peraeae, extensa quam maxime in longum domorum serie, praecepit..."

¹⁹ CSHB, Nicephorus Gregoras (1829, p. 97), *Byzantina Historia* (Vol. I), Book IV, Chapter VI, A.M. 6768-6791 (A.C. 1259-1282), Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, V. 49: "... etiam Genuenses in Urbem recipere: eaque de causa e regione in Galatae territorio locum eis assignavit Imperator ad habitandum, etiam mercium immunitatem promissam iisdem gratificatus..."



Fig. 11-13: Marble fragments with animal figures on *Palazzo San Giorgio* in Genoa, which were brought from the unknown Venetian palace of Constantinople, demolished in 1261 that the year 1260 (*M / CC / L +*) was inscribed on one of the pieces at right (Author, 2015) and the inscription above another one on the left is about the construction of *Palazzo San Giorgio*, being: "(+ *IN MI*)LLENO *BIS C(ENTUM) DEC(IES QUOQUE SENO) / URBIS P(RE)SENTIS CAPITANE(US) ENS BVCANIGRA / GVILLELM(US)! FIERI ME IVSSIT POSTM(OD)O PIGRA / NO(N) CVRA! IVSSV(M)! ME TRA(N)STVLIT E(N)TIS IN VSV(M) / FR(RATER) OLIVERI(M) VIR ME(N)TIS ACUMINE DIUS", and means: "In 1260, the captain of this city Guglielmo Boccanegra ordered me to construct. Afterwards, since I was ordained, I adapted with great care for the use (of who is in charge of the captaincy). Friar Oliverio, divine man for the acuteness of mind." (Remondini, 1874, p. 93)*

2.3- First Delimitation of the Genoese Quarter

In 1267, the Genoese have settled to Galata, mostly called "*Pera*" by them, but the exact borders of their quarter were not precisely described. During the Byzantine-Venetian War of 1296-1302, the Venetian fleet under the command of Ruggiero Morosini, also known as "*Malabranca*" (The Evil Claw) has attacked and burned several Genoese possessions along the Aegean Sea, including *Foglia Vecchia*. Then, the fleet continued through Marmara Sea and also sacked defenseless Galata in 22 July 1296. The Genoese and Greek inhabitants of

Galata have tried to escape inside Constantinople. Abandoned Genoese houses, ships and commercial buildings of Galata were set to fire together with Greek houses outside the walls of Constantinople by the Venetian forces (Nicol, 1992, pp. 217-218)²⁰. As a result, the Genoese demanded to secure their settlement in Galata but even its exact limits were clarified by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos with an imperial act dated May 1303.

According to the act of May 1303, the border of the Genoese quarter in Galata starts in a distance of 25 paces (≈ 43 m) that each of them is 7 palms ($0.248 \text{ m} \times 7 = 1.736 \text{ m}$) (Cardarelli, 2012, p. 70), from "*vetus Tarsana*" (old dock) at west and just next to the coast. From this point, it starts to climb through northeast, with a distance of 3 paces (≈ 5 m) from the church of *Hagios Ioannis* at left and a total length of 90 paces (≈ 156 m) until reaching the vineyard called *Perdicarius* and entering into its ditch. Then, it turns to east and with a distance of 4 paces (≈ 7 m) from the aforementioned vineyard, continues straight ahead until leaving *Hagios Theodoros* 24 paces (≈ 42 m) at left and reaching the vineyard of the monastery of *Lipsos*. Afterwards, with a route of 54 paces (≈ 94 m), passes this vineyard, also known as "*Macropita*". Then, it passes over the well of *Hagia Irene*, which was used as a cemetery by the Genoese at that time. After passing the wall of the vineyard owned by the former "*Logothete*" (a Byzantine state official) Kinnamos with a distance of 3 paces (≈ 5 m), it reaches to the walls of another vineyard owned by him, located in front of the gate of *Hagios Georgios*, which has a distance of 28 paces (≈ 49 m) to the borderline. The distance between the ditch of *Perdicarius* Vineyard and the wall of the second vineyard of *Logothete* Kinnamos is 217 paces (≈ 376 m). From this point, it turns to south by leaving *Hagioi Anargyroi* at left that the corner of this church has a distance of 10 paces (≈ 17 m) to the border. Then, without any measures, it turns to east by leaving the aforementioned church again at left and reaches to a distance of 14 paces (≈ 24 m) to the vineyard house of *Logothete* Kinnamos. By leaving *Hagios Nikolaos* 6 paces (≈ 10 m) at left, it turns to south again and by leaving this church 8 paces (≈ 14 m) at left once again, continues 30 paces (≈ 52 m) to east. Finally, by continuing through south, it reaches to shore with a right angle and a distance of 70 paces (≈ 121 m) to the Castle of Galata. The distance between the wall of *Logothete* Kinnamos' vineyard and the shore is 75 paces (≈ 130 m). The distance between the start point at west and the ending point at east is 339 paces (≈ 588 m) from the waterfront. It was also stated that a distance of 60 cubits ($\approx 37,5$ meters) around the defined quarter will be left unoccupied and the area between

²⁰ CS HB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, pp. 237-241), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book III, Chapter XVIII (A.C. 1296), P. 162-164.

the castle and sea will also be remained completely empty (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 103-104; Belin, 1894, pp. 128-129; Desimoni, 1876, pp. 248-250; Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)²¹.

Among the ones mentioned in the act of May 1303, partially remained buildings are the church dedicated to Saint George and the former Castle of Galata, which is now *Yeraltı Camii* (Underground Mosque) (see 2.6) that coastline should also be considered as a geographical reference. The study of Palazzo (1946) proves that the church mentioned as *Hagia Irene* appears in the recent location of *Arap Camii* (Arab Mosque), the former Genoese church of *San Domenico* (see 2.9.1). However, probably due to topographical or positional changes during 7 centuries, insufficient metric details about the eastern part and application of the given measurements with a non-scientific way to the site, it is not possible to perfectly match the distances with each other and also existing structures.

For instance, the distance between the current gate of *Sankt Georg* (the former *Hagios Georgios*) and the hypothetical position of the wall of *Logothete* Kinnamos' vineyard was given as approximately 49 meters. Then, it has been stated that the distance between this position and the shore is approximately 130 meters. Yet, a total distance of 179 meters from the gate through coast almost reaches to Rüstem Paşa Hanı (the former *San Michele*) (see 2.9.3) and remains inside the former walls. It is known that *Hagios Georgios* has burned and rebuilt several times, being its plot sold one year after the great fire of 1660 and recently north oriented, so its former position and dimensions should be slightly different than the ones of nowadays (see 2.9.4).

Moreover, a total distance of 709 meters (121+588) from the former Castle of Galata through the former coastal walls still remains approximately 60 meters short when considered the still existing Genoese walls at west, which were reaching to the Golden Horn with a right angle. For the eastern part, former precise positions of three disappeared Genoese churches, zigzag movement of the border to skip two mentioned Greek Orthodox churches but still leaving the vineyard house of *Logothete* Kinnamos in between are very conspicuous details (see 2.9.2 and 2.9.10). It should also be considered that when the mentioned vineyards in the act of May 1303 and the recent densely built, almost plain urban character of Galata are compared with each other, differences between surface lengths of 1303 and modern times are inevitable at same locations. Therefore, while applying the given measurements of May 1303 into the recent urban layout of Galata, a tolerance until a certain percent is unavoidable (see 2.4.1).

²¹ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX).

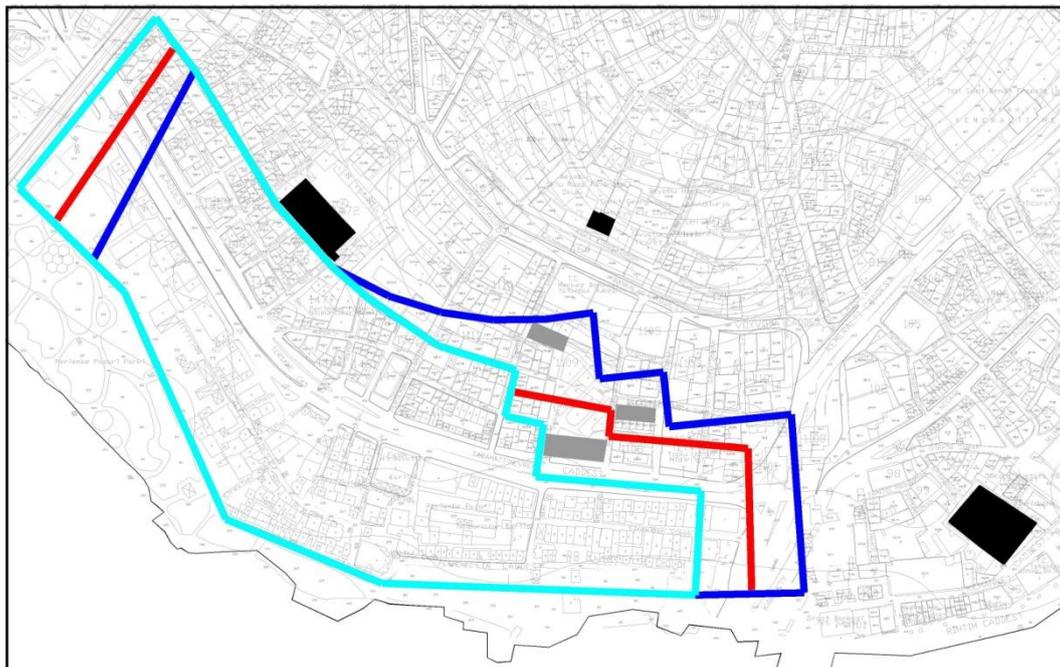
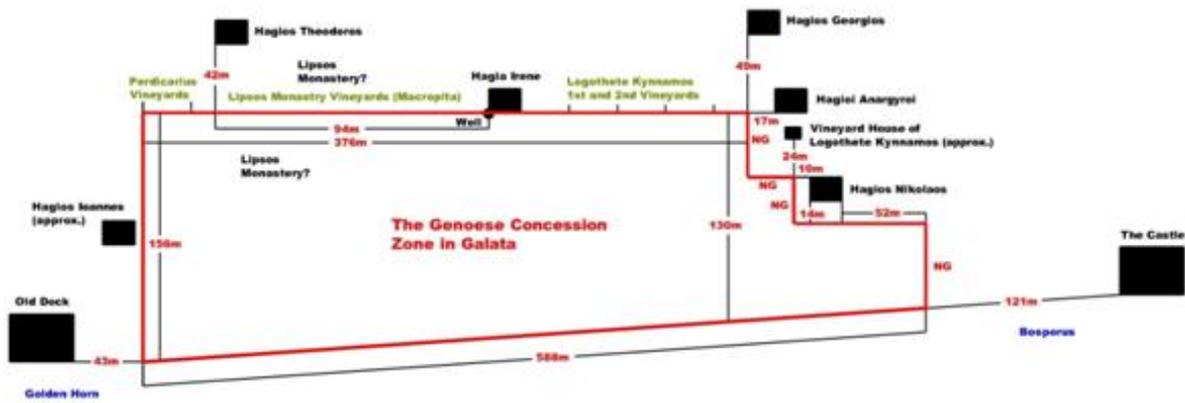


Fig. 14-15: Measured experiments in order to detect borders of the first Genoese concession zone in Galata, which were explained inside the act of May 1303 that slightly different results occur when the given parameters like distances (total widths and depths from coast), existing buildings (*Arap Mosque*, *Sankt Georg*, *Yeraltı Mosque*) and disappeared but detected ones by location in the area (the former *Sant'Anna*, *San Francesco* and *San Sebastiano*) were considered all together (see 2.6 and 2.9). **Cyan** borderline is based on the western walls, *Sant'Anna*, *San Francesco*, the given depth from coast and traceable urban orientation. **Red** borderline is based on *San Sebastiano* instead of *San Francesco*. **Blue** borderline is based on *Sankt Georg*, former eastern walls and *Yeraltı Mosque*. Other parameters have remained almost the same. A mismatch between the eastern and western parts are obvious, so given distances can slightly be stretched especially for not precisely explained sections at east to a certain percent of tolerance by using reasonable parts of the measured experiments, with consideration of still existing parameters (Author, 2016)

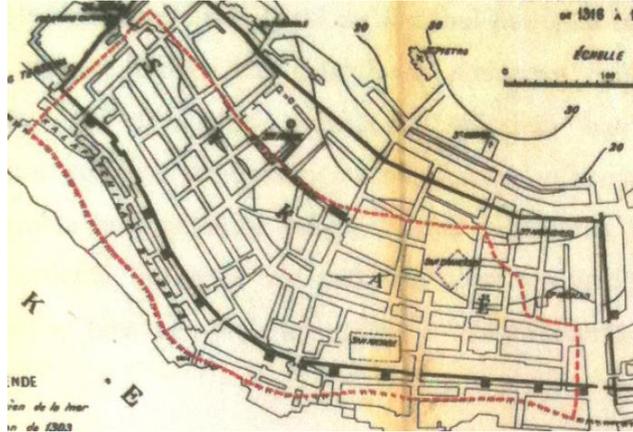


Fig. 16: One of the most detailed and well known mapping attempt for the borders of the first Genoese concession zone in Galata was prepared by Palazzo (1946) to match *Hagia Irene* and Arap Mosque, where the map was drawn by Miltiadis Nomidis (MISN) and the supposed border was being shown with a red, dashed line inside the walled area

The Catalan Company had a bloody clash with the Genoese of Galata in September 1303, who then had further demands. In March 1304, another agreement has been signed in the Palace of Blachernae between the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and the Genoese ambassadors Guido Embriaco and Accursio Ferrari. The granted quarter was determined in a rectangular form, as it has been required and a surrounding moat could also be dug. Adjacent areas with a depth of 60 cubits ($\approx 37,5$ meters) and the land between the quarter and the Castle of Galata without any kind of dwellings were strictly emphasized once again. The Genoese were having the right of constructing houses or buildings with necessary solidity and security inside their quarters but to build any kind of wall or a castle were not allowed. In addition, they were also permitted to have their own slaughterhouses, meat sellers, provision markets, *loggia*, bath, churches and scales. It was also stated that three unnamed churches remaining inside the quarter (most probably newly included *Hagia Irene*, *Hagioi Anargyroi* and *Hagios Nikolaos*) would remain subjected to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (see 2.9.1 and 2.9.2). Further administrative and juridical statements, especially the ones for the Genoese quarter in Smyrna (Izmir) were mentioned through the end of the treaty (Belgrano (1877, pp. 105-110; Belin, 1984, pp. 129-131; Sauli, 1831, pp. 211-216)²².

²² ASG, *Materie Politiche*, March 1304, Car. VIII (doc. X): "... Primo quidem quod habere debeant ianuenses in loco Galathe locum quem requisiverunt in formam quadrangulatam terminatum et assignatum secundum quod locus ille ambitus est per factam foveam circum circa... .. libertatem et mandatum faciendi mansiones et structuram et alias firmitates et omnem aliam securitatem ad eorum voluntatem praeter tantum modo murum castrum quod quidem construere in ipso loco volumus non licere... .. Item cum in eodem loco sint ecclesie tres grecorum super quibus omnimodam potestatem sanctissimus dominus generalis Patriarcha..."

2.4- Galata Walls

2.4.1- First Phase

The exact year for the construction of Galata Walls by the Genoese for the first time is unknown. According to the acts of May 1303 and March 1304, any type of fortification was strictly prohibited but a moat and strong civil constructions were permitted. Correspondingly, the Byzantine historian Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)^{23 24} states for 1306 that the Genoese have built magnificent houses and significantly extended their lands beyond the granted quarter in Galata. They have gradually exceeded the border with foundations secured through fortified walls and encircling moats. The deep moat dug by the Genoese was filled with sea water that they have also placed siege engines and fortified their houses in peripheral parts for more security (Balard, 1978, p. 186; Palazzo, 2014, pp. 80-81).

A written convention by Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) from 22 March 1308 and stipulated to Genoa accuses the Genoese community of Galata because of purchasing Greek lands outside the moat of their quarter, constructing houses there and causing clashes and offenses every day. Then, it has been requested by the emperor that the Genoese shall return within the borders of the area, which was granted by himself (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 110-115)²⁵.

According to the continued chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine (c. 1230-1298)²⁶, an accidental fire has burned nearly the whole Pera (Galata) and the communal palace in 1315. It was then rebuilt in 1316 together with the communal scale, *loggia* square and walls towards the land, when Lord Montano de Marini was in charge as *podestà* (Promis, 1874, pp. 496-500).

²³ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 489), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book VI, Chapter VI (A.C. 1306), P. 340: "... *Inter haec Genuenses qui Constantinopoli degunt, in urbi obiecto ultra fretum suburbio domicilia habentes (et splendida quidem domicilia: nam ex quo illic sedes obtinuerant, aedificia erant sane magnifica moliti, dilatatis haud modice soli ipsis initio concessi terminis, dum sensim substructionibus excedunt pomeriaque promovent, non sine securo per circuitum munitione valli ac fossae perpetuae)*..."

²⁴ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 495), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book VI, Chapter IX (A.C. 1306), P. 344: "... *ac nunc quidem fossas suo Galatae suburbio circumdatas altius excavabant, quo in eas aqua derivari e mari posset munitioque securior ista ratione reddi; nunc ballistas et machinas saxi telisque longe iaculandis moliebantur, et fenestras domuum, ad splendorem prius et magnificentiam e latere ac gypso speciose concinnatas, in metuendas hostibus pinnae et securo propugnacula vertebant*..."

²⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 22 March 1308, Car. VI (doc. XII).

²⁶ *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine dal MCCXCVII al MCCCXXXII*: "... *Anno domini MCCCIII rehedificata fuit peyra per concessionem factam per serenissimum principem dominum andronichum paleologum imperatorem grecorum. Et MCCCXV accessit quod igne accidentali quasi tota Peyra combusta est et palatium comunis et MCCCXVI palatium comunis redifficatum et pondus comunis et platea logie et muri de versus terram facti sunt tempore potestatis domini Montani de Marini*..."

On the other side, the slab A.11.1 from 1316²⁷ mentions nearly the same things but with some important differences by content. The inscription on that slab says that the half of Pera was burnt and there is no mention of any wall construction that only a moat around Pera was underlined again, which was already granted in the treaty of March 1304 by Andronikos II Palaiologos. Finally, houses next to moats around Pera (*domos iuxta fossata circa terram Peyre*) were permitted by the emperor as a favor. Hence, apart from old chronicles, with respect to statements on an *in situ* artifact, it can be claimed that any type of defensive construction was still forbidden as of 1316. Therefore, tower-shaped houses formerly described by Georgius Pachymeres and subsequently described by Nicephorus Gregoras are probably those mentioned buildings on the slab A.11.1, which were allowed to be constructed in March 1304 and specifically adjacent to moats in 1316. Additionally, new colonial regulations introduced on 14 February 1317 still emphasize not to construct any fortifications and buildings outside the quarter but already constructed ones were left to the discretion of the imperial administration (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 116-123)²⁸.

A deed from the notary Paolo de Pace and dated 18 November 1331 was signed "*ante turrim populi Peyre*" (in front of the people's tower of Pera) (Balard, 1987, p. 22)²⁹; most likely referring to one of the aforementioned vertical structures.

Thereafter, according to the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295-1360)³⁰, more and bigger insults against the Byzantines in Galata were committed with a daring manner by the Genoese, who gained courage after the occupation of Mytilene by Domenico Cattaneo della Volta in 1335 and they have become even wealthier in the area while the Byzantines were becoming poorer. Meanwhile, after digging a deeper moat, the Genoese have hiddenly constructed strong towers with the appearance of houses along their quarter (see 3.2.5.3).

²⁷ Which was copied with a fine sketch by John Covell around 1670-1677 and then published by Frederick William Hasluck (1905, pp. 61-62).

²⁸ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 14 February 1317, Car. VI (doc. XIV).

²⁹ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 18 November 1331, Car. 144, fol. 141 r (doc. 23).

³⁰ CSHB, Nicephorus Gregoras (1829, pp. 526-527), *Byzantina Historia* (Vol. I), Book XI, Chapter I, A.M. 6836-6849 (A.C. 1328-1341), Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, V. 262: "... *Hoc rerum statu Genuenses, qui Galatam tenebant, cum antea audaces, tum illo Catanis successu audaciores facti (nam et is Genuensis erat), pluribus maioribusque iniuriis et contumeliis Romanos onerabant. Nam propter immunitatem, quam primum a Michaele Palaeologo impetraverant, ut supra diximus, maxima pars Romanae classis ad illos se contulerat, eorumque habitum assumpserat. Unde Latinorum opes auctae, Romanorum vero imminutae sunt. Quae sane res eoa asperiores contra Romanos atque etiam superbos et contumaces effecit. Proinde et fossam circumductam profundiorum fecerunt, et firmas turres clanculum per speciem aedium extruxerunt. Tum iidem largitione corruptis iis, qui Imperii administrationi praeerant, omnem licentiam nacti sunt et vineas emendi, et aedes in vicino colle splendidis muris ac velut propugnaculis munitas aedificandi; adeo ut si bellum cum Byzantiis gerendum esset, nihil esset, quod eos aut terreret, aut impediret...*"

Then, as the chance of buying adjacent vineyards was given to the Genoese by the imperial administration, buildings and magnificent walls like fortified ramparts were continued to be constructed through the nearby hill, so much that as if there was a war with the Byzantines but nothing happened (Arseven, 1913, pp. 37-38; Eyice, 1969, p. 12; Sauli, 1831, pp. 252-253).

As the Genoese were already allowed to build strong houses inside their quarter in March 1304 and next to surrounding moats in 1316 by Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328), constructions have most probably continued through the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos (r. 1328-1341). Yet, it is still unclear that the slab A.11.1 from 1316 allows houses next to moats for the first time or justifying the ones already constructed there after March 1304.

Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295-1360)³¹ also mentions that due to violated articles, Andronikos III Palaiologos (r. 1328-1341) has ordered the fortified buildings of the Genoese in Galata through the hill to be burned in 1336, just before his campaign to Lesbos, which was recaptured in the same year (Belin, 1894, p. 131; Nicol, 1993, pp. 174-175). With respect to further accounts from the same historian, it appears that the Genoese were having encircling and safe city walls around the first concession zone as of 1336, which was obviously formed by linking those "towers" to each other, a process already concluded during the occupation of Mytilene by Domenico Cattaneo della Volta and falls around the Byzantine subjugation of the Lordship of Chios in 1329. However, with respect to the year, discovery position and 19th century presence of the slab A.11.6 from 1335 on a tower, it also appears that the aforementioned imperial precautions were not enough, therefore some fortifications remained and constructions were then continued again by the Genoese through the hill³².

The possibility of tower and wall constructions in different times by the Genoese in Galata, which appears after the statements of Nicephorus Gregoras and some more documents needs to be checked architecturally. When the layout of walls around the first concession zone is

³¹ CSHB, Nicephorus Gregoras (1829, pp. 527-528), *Byzantina Historia* (Vol. I), Book XI, Chapter I, A.M. 6836-6849 (A.C. 1328-1341), Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, P. 324: "... *Imperator autem, cum primum Mitylenen esse captam audisset, et hos in vicinia plus satis insolescere cerneret et pacta conventa pleraque violare; iis subito circumventis magnas illas et munitas aedes in colle exstructas incendit... .. Sed cum Latini Galataei ad septem integros dies moenibus suis inclusi mansissent...*"

³² According to Balard (1978, p. 186), during a conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in 1324, a Guelph fleet has left Genoa in order to launch a demonstration attack to Galata, which remained Ghibelline but the commander Carlo Grimaldi has refused to engage. Similarly, Admiral Giustiniano Giustiniani obtained indemnity from the Genoese community of Galata in 1328 by not attacking on their quarter but the Genoese in the Bosphorus were arrested. Thus, it has been claimed by him that the construction of walls around the first concession has occurred prior to 1324, as the quarter was probably walled at that time and discouraged the enemy to attack. However, strong tower houses and a surrounding moat were expectedly present at that time as mediocre defences, so also having the walls still remains uncertain.

considered, it can be seen that there were rectangular towers with regular distances at west, south and east; being the only ones with such form when compared with later period extensions, which generally have long wall courses and fewer towers with irregular layouts. In addition, among the remained ones, defensive walls adjoining to a tower of the first zone, being located near Harip Gate were in fact attached to this tower from outside and their masonry do not merge in joints at southern and eastern façades. The same adjacency between a tower and walls is also visible on a photograph dated 1969, which shows another remained coastal fortifications. This section still exists but the joint was then covered with modern additions. This characteristic situation is the same also for a third, half-demolished nearby tower with its adjacent defensive walls. These three case studies give the impression of the construction of "towers" following March 1304 (or 1316) first and the addition of walls between them afterwards in order to form a fortified enclosure (see 2.4.5).

Therefore, according to the treaty of March 1304, the contents of the slabs A.11.1-A.11.6 and relevant historical accounts from that period, it can be claimed that Galata was encircled with walls for the first time by the Genoese in a period between 1316-1335; most probably late 1320s or early 1330s³³.

When the defined borders of the first concession zone and the route of encircling walls were considered together, it can be seen that the irregular shape of the granted quarter was completed to a kind of rectangle, apparently due to the treaty of March 1304 and three formerly mentioned churches were also included, which appear in the act of May 1303 with their names. Thus, it has been intended by the Genoese to also include newly granted lands of March 1304 to the very first quarter of May 1303 and defending them all together. Yet, a piece of land at coast was still left outside, probably to provide necessary space for commercial activities along the quays.

As they apparently do not appear on the northern side, the rectangular towers were aimed to secure the granted quarter primarily against attacks from sea, like the Venetian one happened in July 1296. Thus, with respect to the lust of the Genoese in Galata for further expansion, the unknown northern land walls without casemates or towers were also giving signals of more annexations towards the hilly part in the first future possibility. Contingently, those weak

³³ It should also be noted that the Byzantine Civil War of 1321-1328 between Andronikos II Palaiologos and his grandson Andronikos III Palaiologos was happened beforehand (Ostrogorsky, 1981, pp. 460-463). Thus, in addition to the wars happened in Chios (1329) and Lesbos (1336), it was perhaps an even more difficult period for the empire to avert illegal expansions in Galata effectively.

northern land walls through the hill might be the ones mentioned as "*muri de versus terram*" inside the continued chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine for 1316 but it is a doubtful assertion.

The slabs A.11.3-A.11.5 on the western part of this section honor the Byzantine authority and show the Genoese in a secondary position, so it can be claimed that they were quasi justifications for the walls. The slab A.11.26 shows that a repair or alteration was done in 1438 to the location of K rk  Gate, which was on the coastal walls from the first phase.

Nevertheless, exact construction years and stages for the fortifications of the first zone are still unclear, so more proofs are necessary in order to display them with greater detail. It is only known that they have first appeared after 1304, significantly modified around late 1320s and early 1330s and the known final form of this section was not constructed at once.

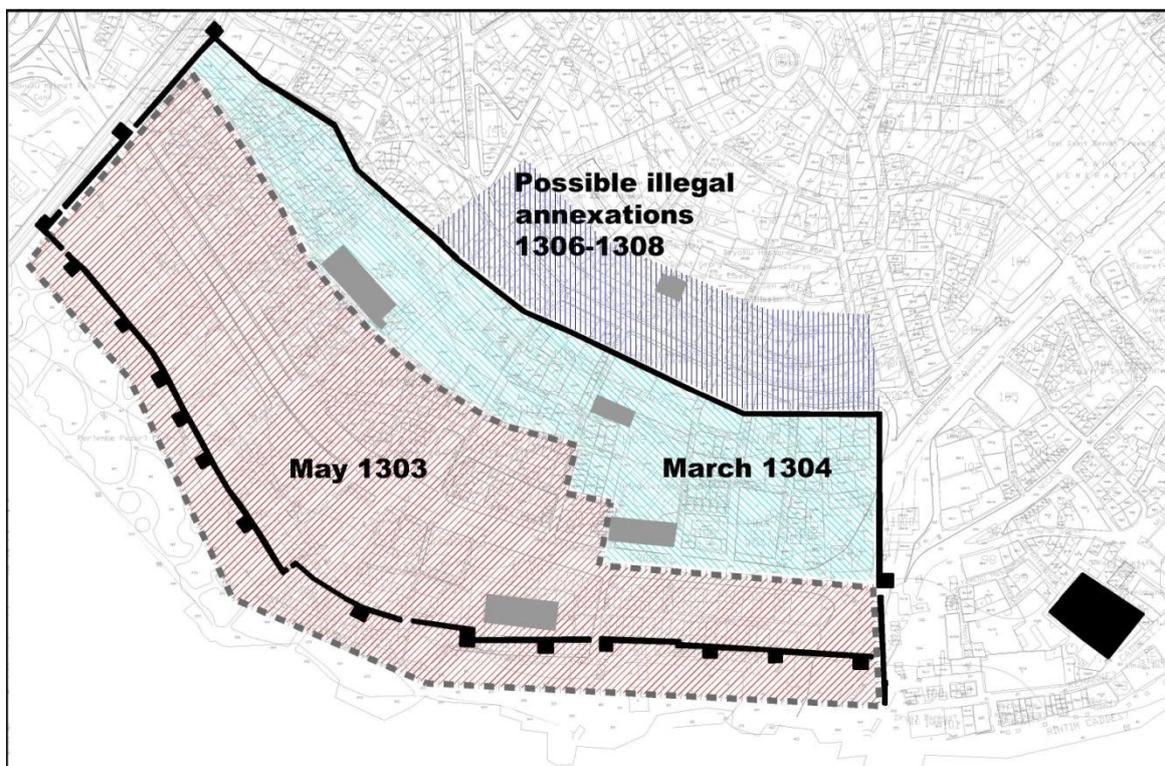


Fig. 17: Superimpose of possible borders for the first concession zone (May 1303) in Galata with the route of first walls surrounding this area, which were possibly following the borders of March 1304 and completed around late 1320s and early 1330s (Author, 2016)

2.4.2- Second Phase

After securing the first concession zone and including some more areas nearby, the Genoese have intended to extend their lands through further north. When considered the position of the former *Palazzo Comunale* and its construction year mentioned in the slab A.11.1 as 1316 (see 2.8), it can be said that the Genoese have already started to occupy this triangular section as of 1306-1308 with formerly mentioned illegal annexations. However, the earliest construction year for walls appears as 1335 on the slab A.11.6, which is consistent with the statements of Nicephorus Gregoras for the period after the occupation of Mytilene in 1335 (see 2.4.1)

Subsequently, constructions were continued through north and reached the recent position of Galata Tower in 1348 (see 2.5). The walls and the tower were linked in 1349, a year appears on the slab A.11.8, which was placed on a tower dedicated to Saint Nicholas. A rectangular small castle very close to *Palazzo Comunale* for defending its western flank was another significant addition of this section. Due to differences between square-shaped eastern (similar to coastal ones) and semicircular western towers, they might not constructed at the same time. The second phase of Galata Walls made the majority of the unknown northern walls from the first phase relatively functionless, which were represented without any towers or casemates.

It must be stated that the existence of the aforementioned walls between the consequent first granted quarter and the second phase are still unclear. If so, apart from becoming functionless after the construction of the latter, any gate is also unknown on this section despite the high commercial traffic between those areas through many major axes. Yet, they were shown on many mapping attempts but in fact do not clearly appear on any primary resources. Thus, it is probable that they were either not constructed or demolished by the Genoese afterwards.

The second phase of the Genoese walls and the construction of Galata Tower correspond with another struggling state of the empire at that time due to the Byzantine Civil War of 1341-1347 between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos. Furthermore, the Byzantine-Genoese War of 1348-1349 because of customs duties has resulted with destruction of the imperial navy and partial burn of the Genoese Galata. After this war, the belligerents made an agreement in 1349, where the Genoese have promised to pay a compensation to the Byzantines, not to attack Constantinople again and evacuate the illegally occupied part behind Galata (Norwich, 1997, pp. 345-347; Ostrogorsky, 1981, pp. 470-486). The agreement justifies the Genoese progress until 1349 but it is uncertain that these conditions were put into practice or not, as the Genoese annexations and wall constructions have continued.

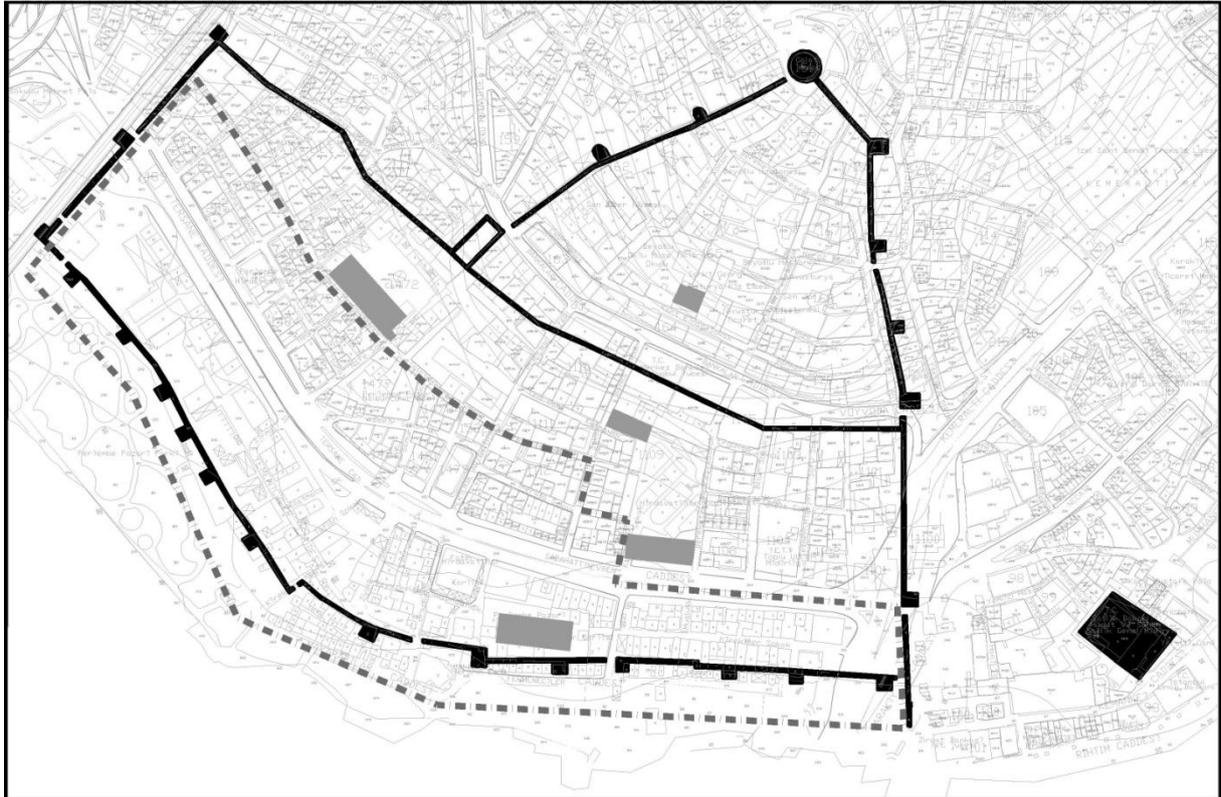


Fig 18: The second phase of Galata Walls through north that its eastern section until Galata Tower was built between c. 1335-1349 (Author, 2016)

2.4.3- Third, Fourth and Fifth Phases

Before the third construction phase of the walls, a significant war³⁴ was occurred and resulted with a further territorial loss for the Byzantines in Galata. The Byzantine fleet was defeated by the Genoese in July 1351 and a treaty was signed between them in 1352.

According to the agreement signed on 6 May 1352, the area with a moat from the eastern border of the granted quarter until the Castle of Galata (*Castrum Sanctae Crucis*) was given to the Genoese. In this area, it was prohibited for the Greeks and the Genoese to build any kind of new constructions by 100 cubits ($\approx 62,5$ meters) beyond the moat (Sauli, 1831, p. 217)³⁵.

³⁴ In 1351, a Venetian fleet has attacked to Galata and the war has started. Both republics demanded the Byzantines to join their sides but John VI Kantakouzenos decided to remain neutral until a hasty attack by the Genoese to Constantinople. While the Byzantines have prepared and joined the war in the Venetian side, they were soon being left alone, as the Venetians have decided to retreat because of their losses (Bartusis, 1997, p. 99).

³⁵ The document was provided from the private archive of the Marquess Massimiliano Spinola (1780-1857) (doc. XI): "... *item per pactum imperium nostrum de gratia donationem facit communi lanue de Gallata cum terreno prout fossatum tendit usque ad castrum sancte Crucis, et ultradictum fossatum cubitorum centum infra*

Afterwards, the Byzantines have found themselves in another devastating civil war, lasted between 1352-1357 and ended with the throne of John V Palaiologos (Bartusis, 1997, p. 86).

It has been usually accepted that the Genoese have first extended their lands through northwest in 1387 and further to west in 1397, because of the slabs A.11.11 and A.11.13, respectively. Then, they have started to fortify the lands at east by 1400s, most probably due to the slab A.11.14 from 1404 or the wrong interpretation of the slab A.11.20 by De Launay (1864) and Belin (1894, pp. 143-144) as 1400. In fact, the period of *Podestà* Filippo De Franchi was already being displayed correctly from the slab A.11.19 as of 1846 by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 494), which was 1430-1431.

Nevertheless, a forgotten slab (A.11.9)³⁶ was possibly overlooked and was not considered with its details. Being discovered even farther from the slab A.11.14, the slab was possibly from c. 1350-1360s due to having the imperial Palaiologos arms, which was not used on the Genoese slabs since then. Therefore, it can be claimed that the walls of the eastern part was started to be constructed before the western ones. The agreement dated 6 May 1352 about the concession of a portion of land in the east until the castle and the construction of Surp Krikor Lusavorich Armenian church in 1360 are also contemporary and chronologically sequential with this hypothesis. In addition, a record of *Massaria di Pera* from 16 March 1391 and published by Belgrano (1877, p. 161)³⁷ indicates that 100 *hyperpyra* (Byzantine coins) were spent for 13 bells placed inside the towers of *Spiga* and *Lagirio* boroughs that their locations were detected by Desimoni (1876, pp. 253-254) as the westernmost and eastern sections of Galata, respectively. Thus, an unknown number of Genoese towers in the eastern part were already there in 1391. Perhaps the tower of the slab A.11.9 located next to Saint Benoit was one of those mentioned towers improved with bells. Without any details, İnalçık (1998, pp. 299-300) briefly mentions that the eastern annexation was started around 1330 through the Armenian quarter; being a slightly early date with respect to available evidences.

Following a very unsteady period for the empire due to continuous conflicts between the members of Palaiologos dynasty for the rulership, the castle was being held by the Genoese as

quod non possit hedificium Latinum vel Grecum nec aliqua alia novitas fieri. Itaque cubitus centum ist sint in facie incipiendo a capite Gallata usque ad castrum sancte Crucis recta linea et a castro sancte Crucis usque ad turrem Trauerii..."

³⁶ Recorded by Covell (c. 1670-1677) and then published by Hasluck (1905, p. 56) for the first time.

³⁷ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 16 March 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 36 r (doc. XXXVI): "Pro campanelas XIII positas in turribus burgorum Spiga et de Lagirio, Pp. 100".

of 1385, with respect to statements of the French-speaking historian Jean Froissart (c. 1337-1405) (Du Cange, 1729, p. 60).

There are many primary resources which indicate the Genoese constructions in Galata³⁸. Quoting from the expenditure deeds of *Massaria di Pera* from 1390-1391 and 1402, kept in *Archivio di Stato di Genova*, Balard (1978, pp. 186-198) mentions some Genoese civil and military constructions in Galata that very few of them survived until modern times. A notary record dated 12 November 1389 is about the expropriation of a house and vineyard near the Tower of Saint Christopher and outside the existing walls at that time, in order to build new walls (Balard, 1987, p. 34)³⁹. According to two *Massaria di Pera* records from 1390, defensive works were continued in that year by digging a moat (Balard, 1978, p. 190)⁴⁰. When considered the constructions slabs A.11.12 and A.11.13 from c. 1386-1387 and 1397, it can be claimed that the rectangular tower with a concave position between these pieces might be the one dedicated to Saint Christopher and probably built just before 1389. Then, the walls were possibly continued through further outside, until the tower with the slab from 1397. Nearby vineyards, namely *Perdicarius* and *Macropita* (the one of the monastery of *Lipsos*) as of 1303 were also mentioned in the imperial act of the same year about the delimitation of the granted area in Galata by the Byzantines to the Genoese for the first time. Moreover, as the walls of northwestern and eastern annexations were hardly completed during 1440s, perhaps moats were first dug to surround these areas in 1390-1391, which were then extended through more distant positions. Some versions of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's panoramas of Constantinople (c. 1422) show a higher tower in the supposed position of Saint Christopher Tower, in the junction of three wall courses.

³⁸ Other than the mural slabs, the accounts of *Massaria di Pera* (1390-1392, 1402-1403), *Sindicamenti di Pera* (1402-1404) and *Officium Provisionis Romanie* (1424-1428, 1447-1448) are significant written sources for the Genoese military and civil constructions in Galata but most of these registries are missing (ASMM, 2015). They were mentioned and partially used by Desimoni (1876, pp. 217-274) in order to describe Galata. Some records of 1390-1392 were and a selection of brief registries from the other sources mentioned above were then published by Belgrano (1877, pp. 151-174) together with other relevant letters in the State Archive of Genoa (*Archivio di Stato di Genova*). Later on, Balard (1978, pp. 179-198) have briefly summarized and interpreted a significant number of records from 1390-1391 and 1402, including the acts of notary Donato di Chiavari from 1389-1390. He then published full records with further 14th century notary records of Pera from various sources in Genoa (Balard, 1987, pp. 9-78). The Genoese overseas notary deeds of 1408-1490 from Pera and Mytilene and the accounts of *Officium Provisionis Romanie* from 1424-1428 form the detailed books of Roccatagliata (1982) and Balletto (2000) respectively, which are mainly about juridical and commercial issues. Other primary documents about Galata, studied by several scholars were listed again by Balletto (2016, pp. 197-222).

³⁹ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 12 November 1389 (doc. 71).

⁴⁰ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1390, fol. 25 r, 39 r.

With respect to further *Massaria di Pera* accounts from 1390, Balard (1978, p. 191)⁴¹ also mentions that the towers spaced around thirty meters to each other (most probably the ones around the first concession zone) were carrying conical roofs covered with leaden plates, which were protecting the bells placed there to give alarm.

Accounts of *Massaria di Pera* from 3 December 1390 and 21 August 1391 also show that the walls, towers, brattices and boroughs of Pera were repaired by *Officio Provisionis terre Peyre* (The Provision Office of Pera Lands) with a sum of 500+784 *hyperpyra* in total (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 155, 165)^{42 43}.

Müller-Wiener (2001, p. 320) briefly claims that the repairs of 1390-1391 were for a possible Ottoman attack and the siege of 1399 by Bayezid I with the usage of cannons halted defensive constructions until 1435. Details of a late 14th century unsuccessful Ottoman siege to Galata, which lasted for 6 months and had two assaults with a blockade from sea and also the usage of siege engine missiles from the hill behind Galata Tower were mentioned by de Clavijo (1859, p. 47) in the beginning of the 15th century. Later periods have witnessed two other unsuccessful Ottoman sieges to Constantinople, being in 1411 and 1422. In fact, no documented slabs of Galata correspond with 1390-1391 but within a period of approximately 30 years between 1400-1430, only two certainly and one possible slabs (A.11.14-A.11.16) about defensive constructions were remained out of more than 30 mural slabs. This situation shows the works were perhaps not abandoned but slowed down due to continuous Ottoman threats. Furthermore, a great military expenditure of 3681 *hyperpyra* in 18 October 1392, including 60 cannons and thousands of cannon balls (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 174)⁴⁴ shows the start of a defensive preparation by the Genoese, as previously claimed by Müller-Wiener.

According to a letter from Genoa, written by the ducal governor Francesco Bussone to the *podestà* of Galata Tommaso Promontorio and dated 15 April 1424, the donation of 300 *hyperpyra* with formerly extracted blocks and lime by the Sultan Murad II (r. 1421-1444,

⁴¹ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1390, fol. 36 r, 68 v, 69 r.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 34 r (doc. XXXIII): "*Officio Provisionis terre Peyre, et sunt quos domini Massarii assignaverunt dicto Officio prò expendendis in reparacione murorum, turrium et burgorum terre Peyre, pro ut moris est., Pp. 500*".

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1391, Car. II (1390), 38 v (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro Officio Provisionis terre Peyre, et sunt pro ipsis solvendis et distribuendis circa reparacionem murorum et bertescarum opidi Peyre, Pp 784*".

⁴⁴ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 18 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 38 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Janoto Besacia et Nicolao Portonario officialibus ellectis ad emendum millium et bombardas pro Comuni, et sunt pro... modiis... Lacuna millii repositi per eos, ut asserunt, in turribus Comunis Peyre pro salute loci Peyre, et pro bombardis LX repositis in domo Comunis ubi reponuntur armature Comunis, et pro certa quantitate lapidum a tronis et sanitri et ferrorum a sagitis que sunt reposita in dicta domo Comunis, Pp. 3681*".

1446-1451) for the construction of a high and strong tower in Galata in return for painting his coat of arms (*tuğra*) above has caused a great displeasure in the capital. Consequently, the request was ordered to be rejected and sufficient funds of the republic were underlined for that work (Balletto, 2000, pp. 31-32; Belgrano, 1877, pp. 187-188)⁴⁵. The mentioned location near the main trade area with scales (*iuxta pondus et comerihium Peyre*) points a stronger coastal tower for the first concession zone but as such a structure did not exist, the project was apparently abandoned. Nevertheless, this part still had some alterations in 1430s (see A.11.21 and A.11.26) and retarded defensive constructions during 1420s can be linked to early stages of the Milanese occupation (1421-1435) that only the tower of the slab A.11.16 probably belongs to this period. Similarly, the slab A.11.43 from 1452 points another aid but this time by Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447-1455). This section was consisted of semicircular and then straight walls around Galata Tower and a through the Tower of Saint Nicholas; therefore creating a rectangular courtyard in between and the leaving the walls from c. 1349 behind.

With respect to the rest of Galata slabs, which give a detailed chronology of late construction phases, all parts of Galata Walls were continued to be heightened and strengthened with additional towers and walls until early 1450s and within a time frame of approximately two decades (see A.11). Especially the inscription of the slab A.11.38 from 1445, which was inscribed by Cyriacus of Ancona (c. 1391-1452) mentions significant alterations on walls. They were also mentioned inside a letter of him written to the *Podestà* Baldassare Maruffo (r. 1445-1446) with same details (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 979-986)⁴⁶.

Inside a letter of *Officium Provisionis Romanie* from 1 September 1448, it has been ordered to the *Podestà* Benedetto Vivaldi by the authority of Genoa to repair ruined walls of *Lagirio* borough in the eastern part of Galata as soon as possible (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 216-217)⁴⁷.

Late period constructions were mainly focused on northwestern land and southeastern coastal parts but according to the slab A.11.43, the final recorded defensive construction was the semi circular external wall of Galata Tower in 1452. During those final construction phases, sections with somehow regular towers and long wall courses without many towers were built

⁴⁵ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romanie*, 15 April 1424 (doc. 25; LIX): "... dominus Morath bey, Teucrorum princeps, donata prius tracta lapidum et calcis, tricenta etiam perpera donet comunitati Peyre, ex quibus iuxta pondus et comerihium Peyre turris fabricetur fortis et alta, hac etiam adiecta lege quod sit in voluntate Comunitatis Peyre super ipsam turrim pingi facere ipsius principis teucrorum insignia..."

⁴⁶ Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, *Codice Palatino*, no. 49, in the 1st, 15th c., entitled: *Cyriaci Anconitani Epistolae*, 1445, Car. 53 (doc. XVIII).

⁴⁷ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romanie*, 1 September 1448 (doc. CXXXIV).

in a relatively short period of time, respectively. Moreover, especially the slabs of eastern fortifications give the impression that relatively lower walls (see A.11.15, A.11.19 and A.11.20) with corner towers as landmarks (see A.11.28) were constructed first and then it has been intended by the Genoese to heighten them (see A.11.38 and A.11.42) through a south-east-north direction and add some towers (see A.11.36) for more security because the slab A.11.19 from 1430 indicates that coastal walls were already linked to the rest of the city and alterations were continued until late 1440s. This process was perhaps accelerated due to the forthcoming Ottoman conquest happened in 1453. However, it probably could not be fully completed because of the same reason, in addition to possible financial difficulties of the Genoese about funding defensive constructions in Galata, which were also mentioned by Eyice (1969, p. 23).

Overlaps of the first period walls (c. 1320-30s) with the slab A.11.26 (1438) on K rk  Gate, the slabs A.11.9 (c. 1350-1360) and A.11.27 (1438) near Hasana a Gate, and the slabs A.11.16 (1420s) and A.11.35 (1443) on the third tower to the northwest of Galata Tower also show that already existing parts were continued to be altered by the Genoese also in other parts when necessary.

Another significant outcome from the construction slabs of the third, fourth and fifth phases is the possibility constructions from end to beginning in some parts, like a reverse progress partially happened in the second phase, where Galata Tower was hastily constructed in the prelude of the Byzantine-Genoese War of 1348-1349 and a moat was also dug (see 2.5) but as there were already some walls climbing from the first concession zone through the position of the tower as of 1335 (see A.11.6), the slab A.11.8 from 1349 points that those walls were being linked to Galata Tower soon after its construction.

The first example appears for the eastern part that the slab A.11.9 most probably commemorates a tower construction near Saint Benoit during roughly around 1350-1360s but according to the slab A.11.14, walls between this tower and the one dedicated to Saint Nicholas in 1349 with the slab A.11.8 was strengthened with another tower in 1404. Therefore, it can be claimed that the first tower was constructed like a defensive outpost near the church in the beginning but then further additions were done through backwards.

Secondly, according to the slabs of A.11.11 and A.11.12, it can be supposed that inclusion of the part at northwest was started from western corners of the first and second parts around 1386-1387. Then, it appears from the slab A.11.13 (1397) that the Genoese lands have

reached to further west with a single tower, possibly a defensive outpost for the nearby dock, which was also mentioned in the act of May 1303. Whereas, with respect to the slab group of A.11.16, A.11.29-A.11.33 and A.11.35, the area from the distant slab A.11.13 (1397) to the slab A.11.11 (1387) near Galata Tower was being fortified during 1420-1440s, or only towers were added to existing walls in this period that all the aforementioned pieces are about tower constructions; an issue which needs further clarification.

The third example conspicuously shows a similarity to the first one, as the walls mentioned by the slabs A.11.19 from 1430 and A.11.20 from 1431 appear next to two distant Greek churches (*Hagios Nikolaos* and *Panagia Kafatiani*) (see 2.9.11) but the parts between their location and the first concession zone were continued to be modified until 1440s.

The last example was noticed in the westernmost section that Azap Gate was said to be erected in 1433, which can be derived from the slab A.11.23. Then, with a tower and wall section, this gate was linked to the western corner of fortifications around the first concession zone in 1435 that the slabs A.11.24 and A.11.25 bring out. Relatively lower position of the second one on walls indicates a new construction instead of an alteration or heightening.

As a result, it can only be assumed that the Genoese have started to quickly occupy lands outside the first concession zone in the beginning, perhaps soon erected some outpost and dug surrounding moats until completely fortifying them with several minor or major stages.

Another type of adverseness was noticed on the positional priority of towers during the first two and last three main construction phases. It has been noticed that in the former, towers were positioned with a clear consideration of a potential naval threat, most probably from the Venetians and the Byzantines. However, mainly land walls were being strengthened with towers in the latter and coastal fortifications were mostly remained as long wall courses. An attack from the Ottomans was perhaps expected from land, as the empire was a dominant power of that era apart from an interregnum (1402-1413) but still on its way for becoming a naval supremacy, which reached a peak during the siege of Constantinople in 1453.

After the surrender of Galata to the Ottomans without a war, it has been promised by Mehmed II⁴⁸ in the 10th line of the edict of 1 June 1453 that: "... *ben dahi üzerine asker ile varub kal'alarını yıkub harab etmiyem...*" (even I myself will not assault to them with soldiers and will not demolish or damage their castles) (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1940, p. 169; Şakiroğlu,

⁴⁸ Also known as Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481).

1983, p. 218). However, according to the Byzantine historian Doukas (c. 1400-1462)⁴⁹, city walls of Galata were ordered to be partially demolished by the Ottoman soldiers from their tops and obtained materials were spared for repairs on the main body of walls (Eyice, 1969, p. 24; 1996, p. 314).

A letter of the former *podestà* Angelo Giovanni Lomellini (r. 1452) from 23 June 1453 and written to his brother with slightly exaggerative statements when considered the warless surrender is also about the demolition of walls and the Tower of Holy Cross (see 2.6) (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 229-233)⁵⁰. Another letter from 11 March 1454, which includes instructions to ambassadors sent to Mehmed II is about the repair of walls and towers in Galata (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 261-270)⁵¹. In any case, what exactly happened to the walls is unclear. It is only known that Galata Tower was demolished to a large extent during the earthquake of 1509, therefore the walls were also severely damaged (Eyice, 1996, p. 314).

Galata then had many destructive fires and other earthquakes together with the city of Istanbul but their destructive effects on Galata Walls were not recorded until their demolition in 1864 (see 4.3).

The former route of Galata Walls, almost completely demolished is a thoroughly studied subject⁵². Being a very distinctive characteristics of Galata for centuries together with its tower, the walls naturally appear in many historical maps and panoramic works.

It is possible to detect the Walls of Galata in at least three well known sources from the 15th century. One of the most famous works for Constantinople is the panorama of Cristoforo Buondelmonti in his *Liber insularum Archipelagi*. Dated c. 1422, the work not only displays Constantinople but also Galata. However, different handwritten copies of this work have significant mismatches with each other. Although an important number of land towers were

⁴⁹ CSHB, Doukas (1834, p. 312), *Historia Byzantina*, Chapter XLII (A.C. 1453), P. 177: "... ubi vero dies cessisset, fisco suo caducas addixit. muros quoque Galatae, qua continentem spectant, a milite suo dirui iussit, relictis qui ad portam sunt. ad moenium ruinam reficiendam..."

⁵⁰ *Notices et extraits des mss. (manuscripts) de la Bibl. du Roi* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), 23 June 1453, Vol. XI, pp. 75-79 (doc. CXLIX): "... dirui fecit omnia; burgos et partem fossorum de castro dirui fecit; turrim sancte Crucis dirui fecit; partim unius cortine intra barbacanetam et partem barbacane, omnia menia maris restari; cepit omnes bombardas, et intendit capere omnes munitiones et omnia arma burgensium..."

⁵¹ ASG, Car. *Instructiones et Relationes ann. 1396 in 1464*, 11 March 1454 (doc. CLIV).

⁵² Especially the mapping attempts of De Launay (1864), Belgrano (1877), Belin (1894), Gottwald (1907), Arseven (1913), Schneider and Nomidis (1944), Palazzo (1946), Janin (1950), Mamboury (1953), Eyice (1969) and Müller-Wiener (1977) display them in great detail. Before their demolition to a large extent in 1864, the study of De Launay (1864) recall their state as of that year and sets a basis to future studies. The map of G. D'Ostoya, dated 1858-1860 is another measured and detailed reference for Galata Walls before their fate. Remained but later demolished parts are visible in Goad's fire insurance map (1905).

erected after 1420s with regard to construction slabs (see A.11), they exist all together on those panoramas. Thus, the artist might have used his imagination and completed the missing land walls, which were still under construction at that time and their routes were perhaps already revealed by defensive moats or some preliminary works. Yet, missing coastal walls of eastern and western annexations are consistent, as their constructions were started in 1430s.

The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 was drawn inside a manuscript by Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1455, where Galata Walls were briefly shown without any significant details apart from the castle. Hartmann Schedel's Constantinople panorama, dated 1493 also includes a small portion of Galata and its walls, probably with a generic illustration.

Then, the Walls of Galata start to appear in a series of Ottoman and western panoramas in the 16th century, being the ones of Piri Reis (some 16th century works), Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) and Nakkaş Osman (1584) for the former and Jérôme Maurand (1544), Sebastian Münster (1550), Melchior Lorichs (1559), Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1572), Giovanni Francesco Camocio (1572) and Simon Pinargenti (1573) for the latter. Apart from Jérôme Maurand's sketch and Melchior Lorichs' panorama, the remaining western examples have used the same scheme, which was continued to be used in later period works. It can be said that works of Piri Reis, Matrakçı Nasuh and Melchior Lorichs provide valuable architectural details, especially for Galata Tower, defensive walls and buildings inside the walled area.

During the 17-18th centuries, Galata was depicted mainly in panoramas from distant views and without specific details apart from main landmarks. The work of Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (1680) can be counted as well known example, which was usually mentioned in modern sources. From the same period, panoramas of Pieter van der Keere (1616) and Jaspard de Isaac (1650) from reverse angle provide noteworthy information about Galata.

With the help of technological advances, panoramas were replaced with scaled maps starting from the 18th century but due to their relatively small scales, few of them were able to clearly show Galata and its walls before their demolition. Hence, the map of D'Ostoya (1858-1860) is unique in this case. In addition, photographs have provided another opportunity to show architectural details of fortifications but apart from the panoramic ones, they were mostly focused on Galata Tower (see 2.5). The drawing of Henry Aston Barker & Charles Tomkins (1813) with an exceptional quality, paintings of Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm (c. 1824-1827) and photographic contributions of Abdullah Frères, James Robertson & Felice Beato, Pascal Sébah & Polycarpe Joaillier from 19th century show Galata Walls with many of their details.

Significant contributions of these visual materials are showing the exact shapes of demolished towers; illustration of battlements, some very characteristic machicolations and triangular roofs above towers that none of them survived on Galata Walls.

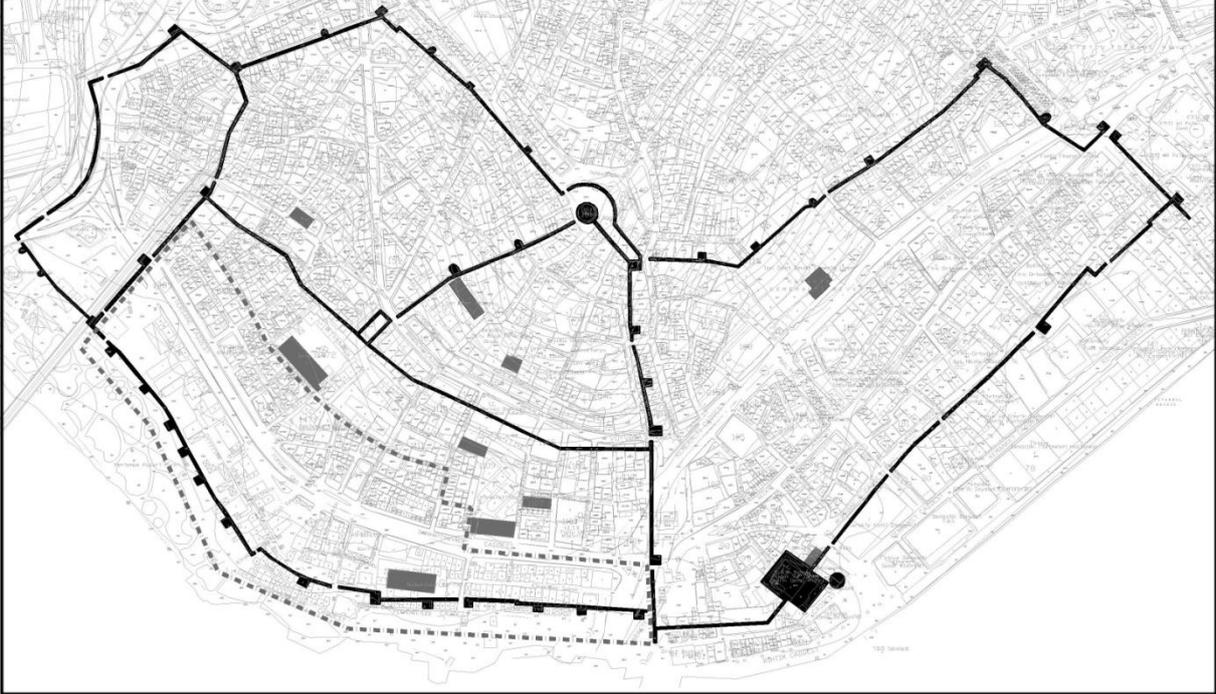


Fig. 19: Galata Walls after its third, fourth and fifth phases (Author, 2016)

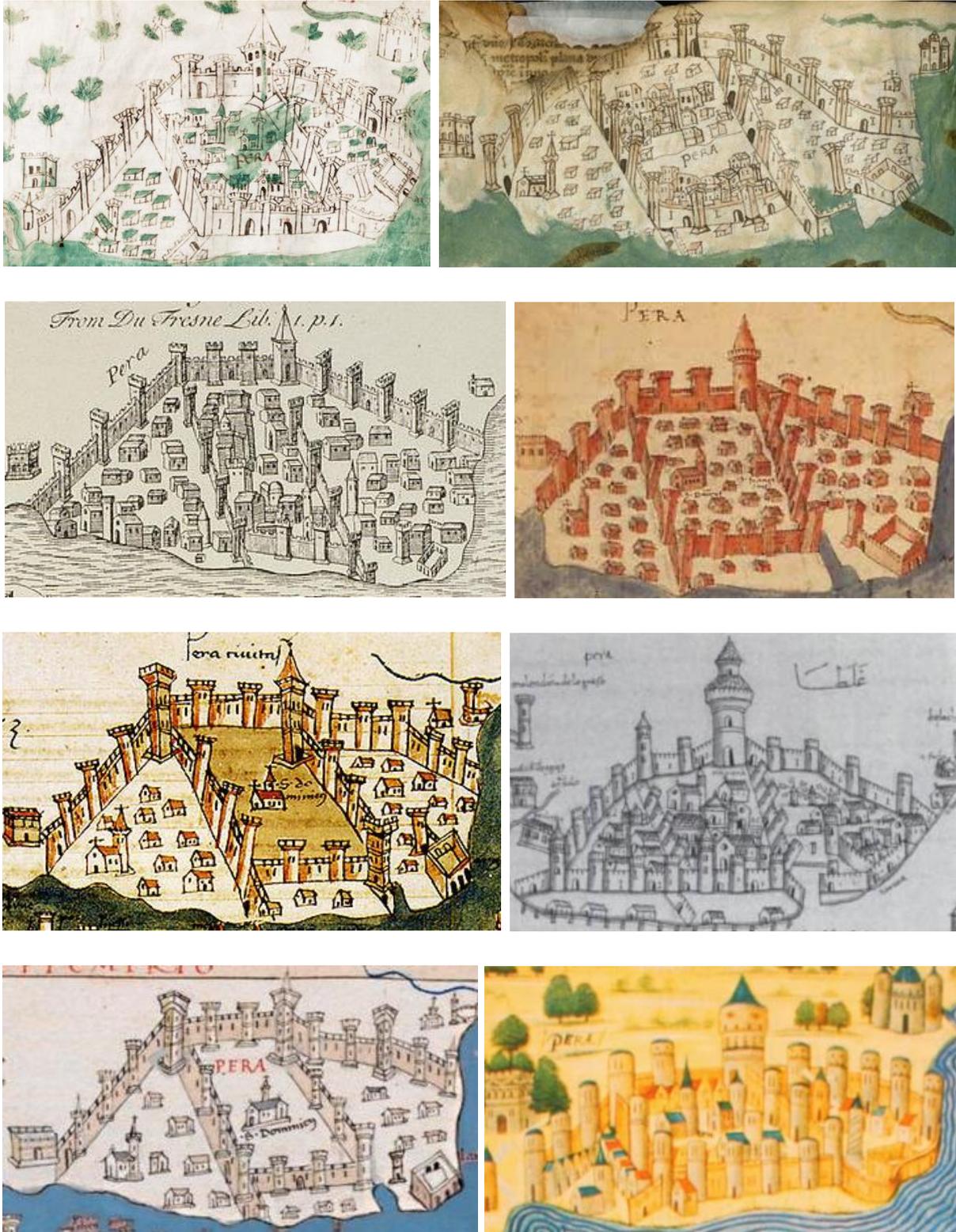


Fig. 20-27: Galata on various copies of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), being the ones from the collections of Greenwich National Maritime Museum (2015), Michigan University Library (2015), an 18th century copy (Gyllius, 1729), British Museum (Medievalists, 2015), two Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Wikimedia, 2015), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Pearse, 2015) and Biblioteca Marciana (Istanbul Guide, 2015), respectively

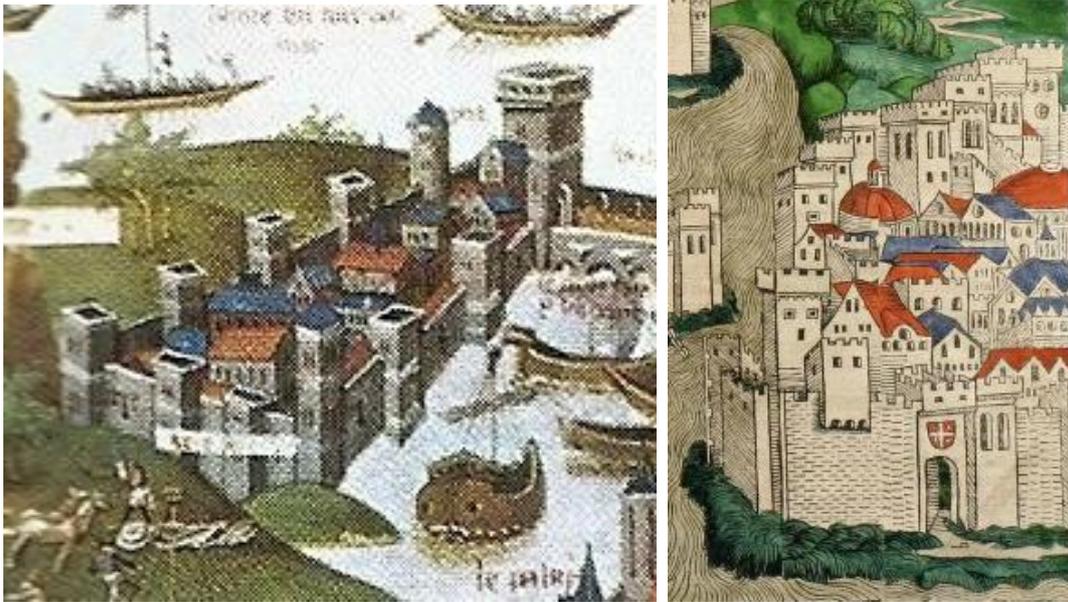


Fig. 28-29: Galata in Bertrandon de la Broquière (1455) (Getty Images, 2015) and Hartmann Schedel (1493) (Vintage-Maps, 2015) panoramas



Fig 30: A view of Galata from Istanbul, drawn by Jérôme Maurand (1544), where fortifications with rectangular coastal towers, battlements and triangular roofs can be seen together with an unnamed gate in the center and "Il Portal de le Bonbarde" (Tophane Gate) at east (Wikimedia, 2015)

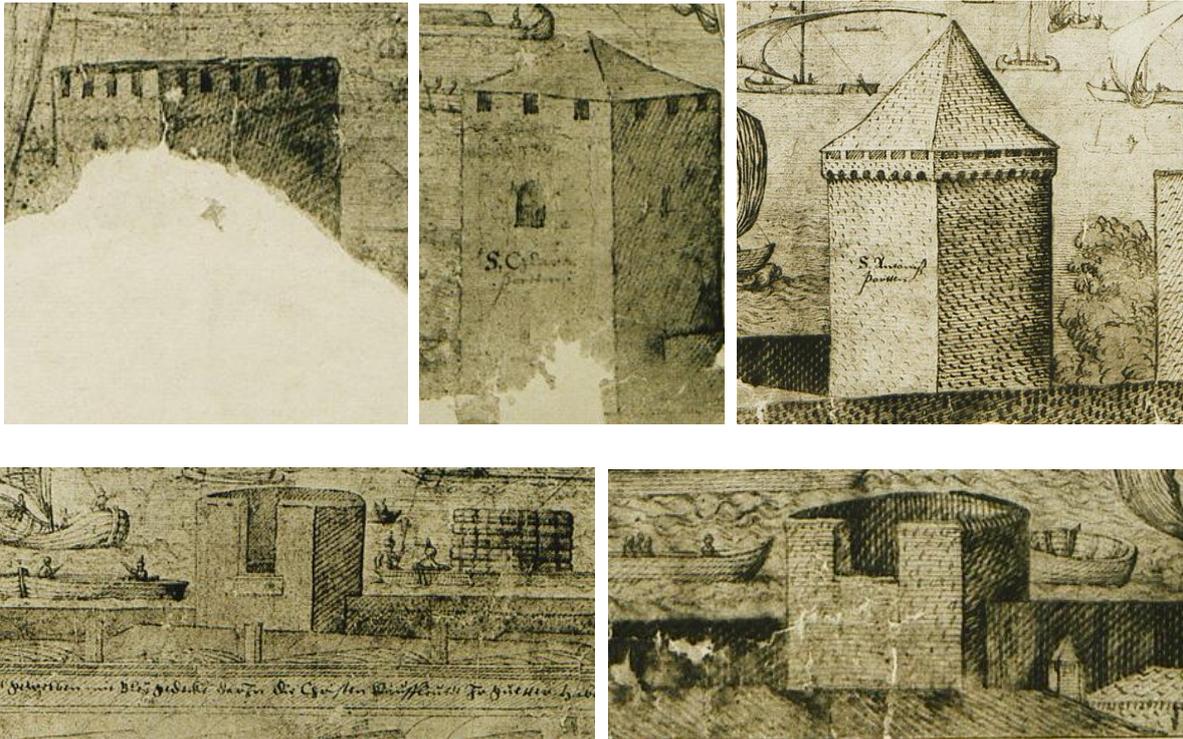


Fig. 31: Rectangular and semicircular coastal towers of Galata Walls from Galata Tower in Melchior Lorichs panorama, where battlements, machicolations and roofs are visible that none of these architectural details were survived. The ones next to the gates of *S. Chiara* and *S. Antonio* were also marked with these names (Lorichs, 1559). Different viewpoints belonging to 21 sub sections of the panorama were displayed by Westbrook *et. al.* (2010, pp. 62-87) in detail, so probable locations of those gates were revealed



Fig. 32-33: Galata and four of its coastal gates in Braun & Hogenberg (1572) and Pinargenti (1573) maps (HUJI, 2015)



Fig 34: Galata and a land gate of it on Jaspar de Isaac panorama (1650) (HUJI, 2015)

2.4.4- Gates

According to Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), there were 17 gates in Galata that 8 of them were located at seaside and while speaking of 17th century Istanbul, Kömürçiyân (1988) verifies 8 maritime gates but mentions only 3 land gates of Galata (Okur, 2011, p. 20).

John Covell's notes (c. 1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905) can be considered as the earliest mapping attempt mentioning the gates of Galata during the Ottoman period, where he gives names and locations of 12 external gates but at least 5 unnamed partition gates are also visible on his sketch. Petrus Gyllius says that there were 6 maritime walls in Galata that 3 of them have wharves (Gyllius, 1729, p. 273). Ayvansarayî Hüseyîn Efendi speaks of 13 external and 6 partition gates of Galata with their names in his famous 18th century study about the mosques of Istanbul (Ayvansarayî, 2001). The gates were then mentioned as 42 in total by De Launay but 23 of them were showed on map and only 11 by names (De Launay, 1864).

25 gates and posterns in total were ever recorded with their exact locations and names from the Ottoman times of Galata Walls. However, some 15-16th century illustrations like the ones of Jérôme Maurand (1544), Melchior Lorichs (1559), Braun & Hogenberg (1572), Pinargenti (1573) and Jaspar de Isaac (1650) show at least five gates with their former names; *Porta S. Antonio* (Azap Gate), *Porta Comego* (Yağkapanı Gate), *Porta S. Chiara* (Karaköy or Kireç Gate), *Porta delle Bombarde* (Tophane Gate) and *Porta S. Pierre* (Küçük Kule Gate). When considered the pivotal position of Yağkapanı Gate from *Palazzo Comunale* to coast through the main commercial axis and the uniqueness of Azap Gate on its fortified position at coast, those names were probably referring to these gates. The rest were identified with respect to positional similarities and known priority.

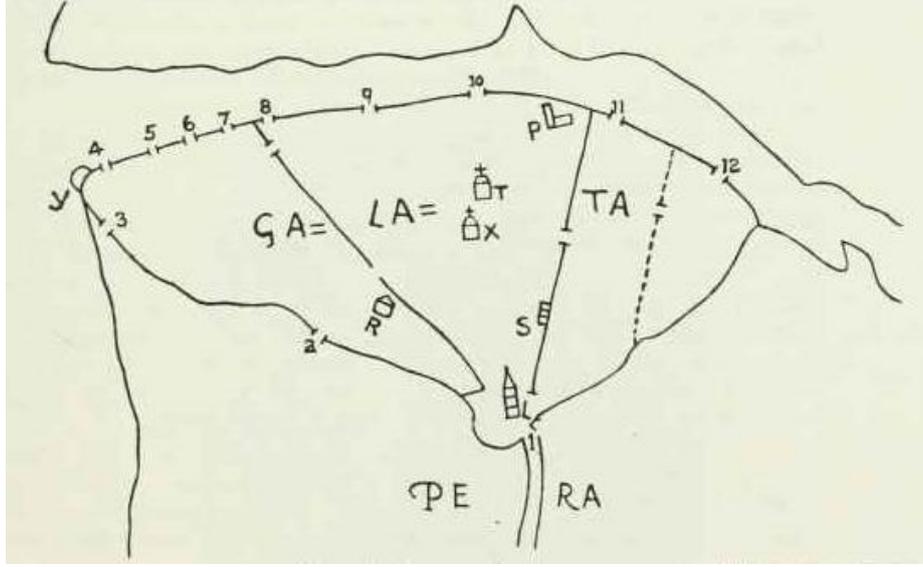


Fig. 35: Covell's sketch with letters for the gates of Galata (Hasluck, 1905, p. 51)

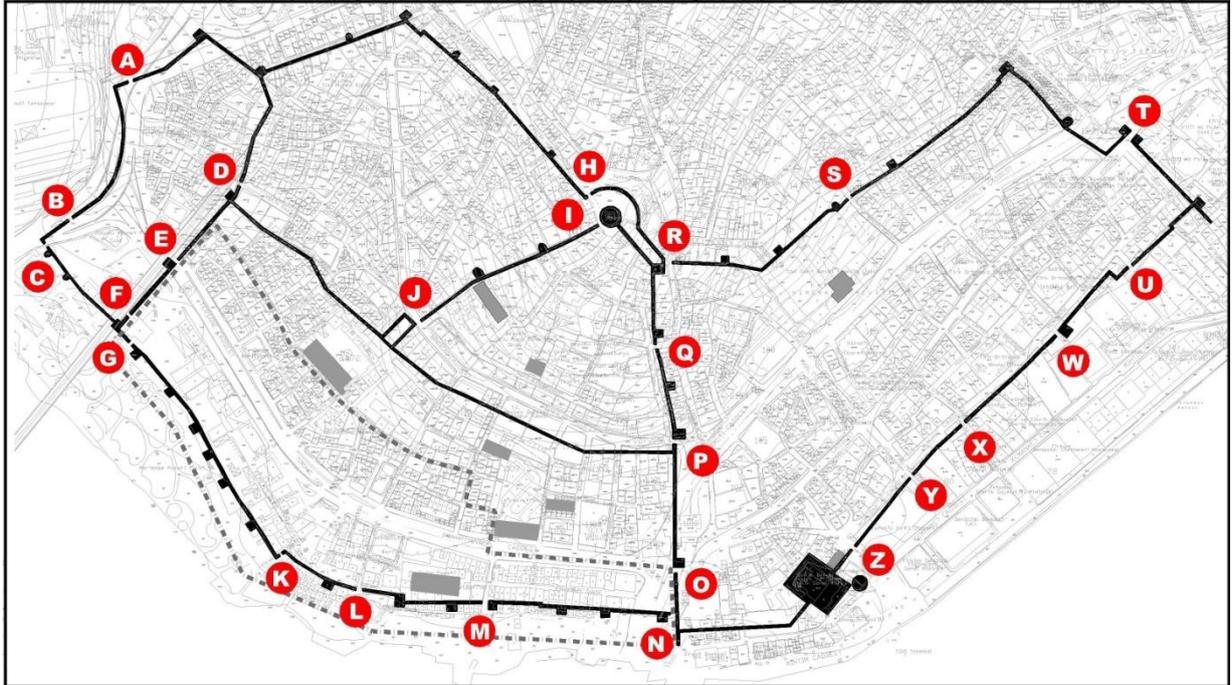


Fig. 36: The gates of Galata Walls and their names during the Ottoman period: **A:** Yeni Azap Gate, **B:** Meyit Gate, **C:** Azap Gate, **D:** Harip Gate, **E:** İç Azap Gate, **F:** Cevahir Postern, **G:** Buğluca Postern, **H:** Büyük Kule Gate, **I:** Kuledibi Gate, **J:** Yanık Gate, **K:** Kürkçü / Kürekçi Gate, **L:** Yağkapanı / İskele / Lonca Gate, **M:** Balıkpazarı Gate, **N:** Karaköy Gate, **O:** İç Karaköy Gate, **P:** Meydancık / Voyvoda Gate, **Q:** Horoz Gate, **R:** Küçük Kule Gate, **S:** Eski Parmak / Meryem / Hasanağa Gate, **T:** Tophane Gate, **U:** Eğri / Domuz Gate, **W:** Kireç / Debbağhane Gate, **X:** Mumhane Gate, **Y:** Yeni Gate, **Z:** Kurşunlu Mahzen Gate (Author, 2016 after Arseven, 1913; Bulunur, 2013; Eyice, 1969)

2.4.5- Remained Parts

Galata Walls have reached to the mid-19th century with an almost complete state but the demolitions of 1864 in order to provide space for new urban development have caused major losses. Then, some more local demolitions were also occurred through the mid-20th century, which can be traced on historical maps. As of 2016, very few parts of Galata city walls were remained, which can be grouped in 10 main sections apart from Galata Tower and Yeraltı Mosque, former *Kastellion tou Galatou / Castrum Sanctae Crucis*. These sections include 7 towers or tower parts and several wall courses with different characteristics. It can be said that remained parts of the walls provide examples from all main construction phases; an important fact for comparisons.

The studies of Erdoğan (2011), Okur (2011), Tan (2014) and Sur (2015) can be counted as the most up to date studies about Galata Walls and its remained parts, which separately focus on conservation proposals, demolition phases, urban interactions and former state before demolitions, respectively. Especially sections 4, 5 and partially 3 were architecturally examined with a great depth by Erdoğan (2011, pp. 262-405) and Sur (2015, pp. 183-197) also with their later period additions but recent demolitions for public works made section 3 more accessible, which needs further study together with sections 1b and 9. In addition, approximate or precise dates of some sections with respect to construction slabs (A.11) can also be compared with architectural characteristics of remained parts. Deductions to these issues will be added after brief introductions of each section.

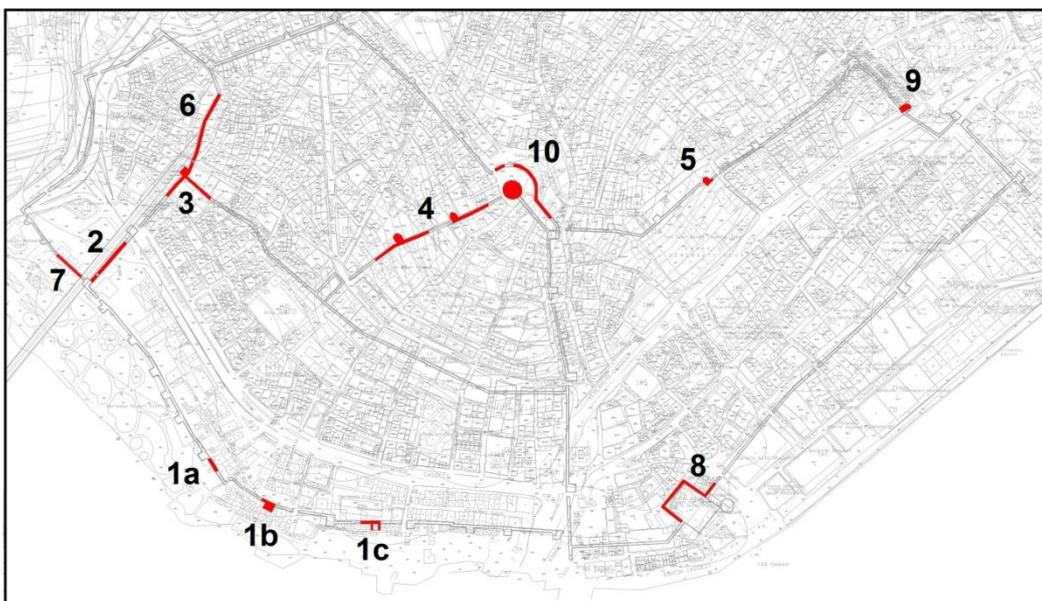


Fig. 37: Remained parts of Galata city walls (see Appendix 8) (Author, 2016)

The section no. 1 is consisted of a wall course of approximately 5 meters long (1a), a rectangular tower (1b) and a damaged tower (1c) with small adjoining wall sections for the last two, being roughly 5 and 10 meters long, respectively. All three remnants are aligned on a pretended curved course, with almost same distances from the coast of Golden Horn. Therefore, there is an apparent offset from the coast and these parts now remained inside dense city blocks (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 51-57; Okur, 2011, pp. 35-37; Sur, 2015, pp. 40-49).

The tower 1b has a cubic form with the approximate floor space dimensions of 9.5 x 9.5 meters and a height of nearly 10 meters. It is made of roughly shaped, light-colored mixed ashlar (mainly limestone) and very few, vertical brick pieces in between. Openings of the tower, being the main entrance and double arrow slits of the upper floor with deep brick arches were all modified that the latter were converted into wider windows or bricked up. A small piece of wall with a large casemate, joining to this tower is visible on a photograph dated 1969. Nowadays, this wall is covered together with lower parts of the tower with modern additions belonging to nearby workshops that the tower also serves as a one (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 52-55; Okur, 2011, p. 35; Sur, 2015, pp. 41-46). Demolished state of upper parts gives the impression of a higher tower once, probably with battlements and a wooden roof. Only the tower is a listed monument since 09.09.1972 (Envanter, 2015).

The damaged tower and its adjoining walls (1c) are hidden in the middle of later period structures, including Rüstem Paşa Han. This part consisted of a wall section with two rows of smoothed away casemates and partial main walls of a severely damaged rectangular tower. An arrow slit of the damaged tower is partially visible next to a building, which seems to be widened and turned into an entrance afterwards. There are partially visible arched sections also inside the damaged tower; probably arrow slits or main entrance (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 56-57; Okur, 2011, p. 36-37; Sur, 2015, pp. 47-49).

The section no. 2 is a wall with casemates, reaching to the coast of Golden Horn with a right angle. Being located in the western border of the first concession zone, it has approximate dimensions of 44 meters length and 2.5 meters thickness together with casemates. However, 7 casemates (30 m) out of 10 in total were smoothed away due to modern additions and demolitions, so these parts are thinner, being around 1.1 meters. The core of the wall is made of rubble and roughly shaped limestone ashlar were used on surfaces together with various spolia and brick pieces. There are two rows of casemates on this wall that the ones below have pointed, brick arches and the ones above have semicircular arches formed by courses of

three bricks and a rectangular stone piece. Casemate rows are divided with a horizontal brick course and walled up Cevahir Postern is still visible, which was opened by the demolition of a casemate (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 46-50; Okur, 2011, pp. 29-32; Sur, 2015, pp. 35-38). This wall section was listed as monument in 09.09.1972 (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 3 is formed by a rectangular tower near Harip Gate and two adjoining wall courses to it, being a 22 meters one from southwest and a 40 meters one from southeast. Due to modern additions and demolitions, both wall courses were partially lowered, thinned out had their original surface lost at some parts. A photo dated 1975 shows two rows of casemates on the southwestern wall, probably continuing from the wall no. 2 until the rectangular tower with a similar form that this part was also constructed with roughly shaped ashlars. The other wall course does not have casemates and made of irregular rubble and brick courses. Its recent height changes between 10 to 4 meters. The tower has a cubic form and has approximate floor space dimensions of 8.5 x 8.5 meters with nearly a same height (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 77-89; Okur, 2011, p. 22-29; Sur, 2015, pp. 29-34). It was constructed with roughly shaped mixed ashlars, being mainly limestone and linked by a white colored mortar with abundant additives. Having two floors, each of them have eight arrow slits in total, being two on every façade, except for the modified entrance of the ground floor. Arrow slits and floor perimeters of the 2nd and an assumed 3rd floors were made of continuous brick courses, which are visible from outside. Holes for the former wooden floor are visible on the brick perimeter. Arrow slits of the ground floor were formed individually and their brick structures are not continuous like the ones of upper parts; creating a contrast between the ground floor and the rest. The tower and southwestern walls are listed monument since 30.01.1986 (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 4 has an approximately 120 meters long wall course with two semicircular towers. There are semicircular stone and brick arches with central arrow slits on this section and towers have different floor space dimensions, being 9.90 x 6.70 for the northern and 9.80 x 7.70 for the southern one. Towers and walls of this section are around 14-17 meters high and constructed with roughly shaped limestone ashlars that the northern tower also has regular brick courses (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 68-76, 109-133; Okur, 2011, p. 38-39; Sur, 2015, pp. 59-72). This section was listed as monument in 08.12.1978 (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 5 is a semicircular tower with 8 meters of adjoining walls inside the garden of Saint Benoit. The tower has floor space dimensions of 7 x 5.8 meters and has a height of 10 meters. There is also a cistern with a depth of 6.4 meters beneath. The tower is constructed

with roughly shaped limestone ashlars and its listing registry could not be found. It has been said that linking walls of this section were having casemates like the previous parts (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 62-64, 90-108; Okur, 2011, p. 41-43; Sur, 2015, pp. 57-59). Erdoğan (2011) also indicates many 16-20th century minor alterations on the aforementioned two towers.

The section no. 6 is consisted of walls ascending from the rectangular tower of section no. 3 through north, which also includes Harip Gate with a slab (A.11.12) above. This section is 95 meters long and 1.6-1.8 meters thick. There are traces of demolished battlements above and the northern section has three arrow slits placed inside their own brick arches, as there is no casemates (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 81-86; Okur, 2011, pp. 22-29; Sur, 2015, pp. 25-29). This section was constructed with mixed, small and schistose rubble. Harip Gate was listed in 12.11.1977 and the walls at north were in 04.12.1988, both as monuments (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 7 is a wall, which runs parallel to the coast of Golden Horn and extends through the section no. 2 with a right angle. It is 25-28 meters long, 1.1-1.5 meters thick and 6 meters high. A Genoese slab (A.11.25) is still located on this wall. It was constructed with mixed rubble and small brick pieces in between. A listing registry for this section could not be found (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 45-46; Okur, 2011, pp. 32-33; Sur, 2015, pp. 38-39).

The section no. 8 includes main walls of the former castle (now Yeraltı Mosque, see 2.6) and a small portion of adjoining walls to this part with a right angle. Both parts are constructed with mixed rubble and brick pieces in between but have many modern alterations and covers. The walls immediately above the mosque are around 10 meters high. The other portion is 11.6 meters long, 7.2 meters high and 1.25 meters thick, which seems to be added afterwards (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 58-60; Okur, 2011, pp. 45-47; Sur, 2015, pp. 50-52). The walls were listed as monument in 19.01.1994 (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 9 is the lower part of a semicircular tower, which was ultimately damaged in 1958 while widening the street that its southeastern façade was completely collapsed. The tower has floor space dimensions of 10 x 6 meters and made of large, mixed and schistose rubble with small brick pieces in between. Its main walls are 1.6 meters wide and there was a slab on this tower (A.11.36) (Erdoğan, 2011, p. 61; Okur, 2011, pp. 43-44; Sur, 2015, pp. 52-55). It was listed as monument in 16.02.1989 (Envanter, 2015).

The section no. 10 includes semicircular and straight walls around Galata Tower. The semicircular section has a wall foundation of nearly 7 meters and then a continuous one of 45

meters. Starting from the latter, the straight course is 26 meters long. Both parts are around 4 meters high and 1.4 meters thick. They are constructed with mixed rubble pieces with two rows of regular brick courses. The semicircular wall also has buttresses and there used to be a Genoese construction slab (A.11.43) on this part. Listing registries could not be found for this section (Erdoğan, 2011, pp. 64-66; Okur, 2011, pp. 40-41; Sur, 2015, pp. 23-25).



Fig. 38-39: The wall 1a from Yelkenciler St. and the backyard of the nearby building (Author, 2015)



Fig. 40-41: Northern façade of the tower 1b from Yemeniciler St. and its arched entrance from inside, which was modified with modern additions afterwards (Author, 2015)



Fig. 42: Western façade of the tower 1b with two bricked up arrow slits and a small entrance in between, probably opened afterwards. Modern coverings and modifications inside both floors avoid the examination of original interior façades and openings (Author, 2015)



Fig. 43-44: The tower 1b and its adjoining defensive wall with a casemate on two photos from 1969 (Sur, 2015, pp. 45-46), where the second one clearly shows the joint between them, strengthening the idea of the addition of walls to already existing towers in a relatively later period



Fig. 45-47: Main walls of the tower 1c, its widened arrow slit and the smoothed away casemate of the adjacent defensive wall (Sur, 2015, pp. 47-49)



Fig. 48-49: The casemate of the adjacent wall to the tower 1c and its relatively better condition as of 1973, only with pillars below the smoothed away arch (Okur, 2011, p. 37; Sur, 2015, p. 48)



Fig. 50-51: The wall of section no. 2 from east and west (Author, 2015)

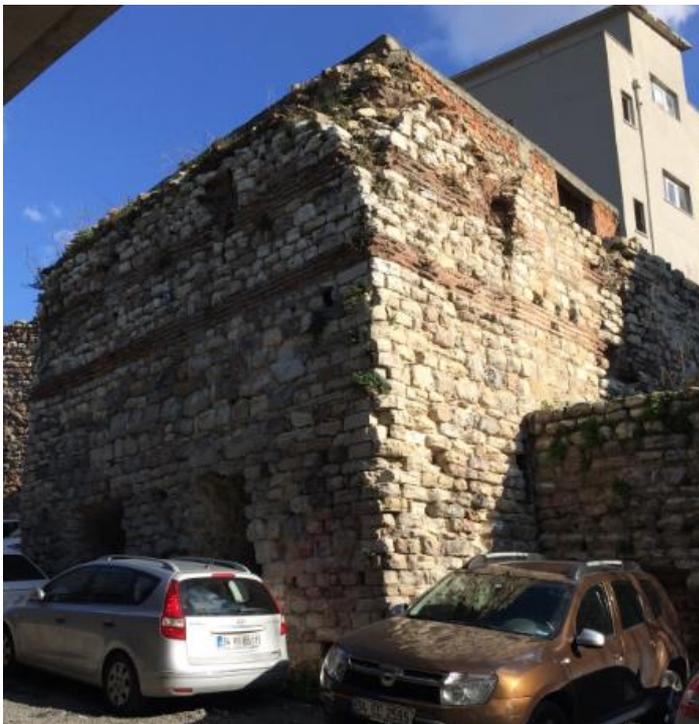


Fig. 52-53: The tower of section no. 3 and wall courses at its SW and SE (Author, 2015)



Fig. 54-56: Interior panoramas from the rectangular tower of section no. 3, being its ground floor from west and first floor from south and north corners, respectively. Separate arrow slits of the ground floor and continuous brick courses for the floor and arrow slits of the second floor are visible, which were heavily modified by demolitions and modern additions (Author, 2015)

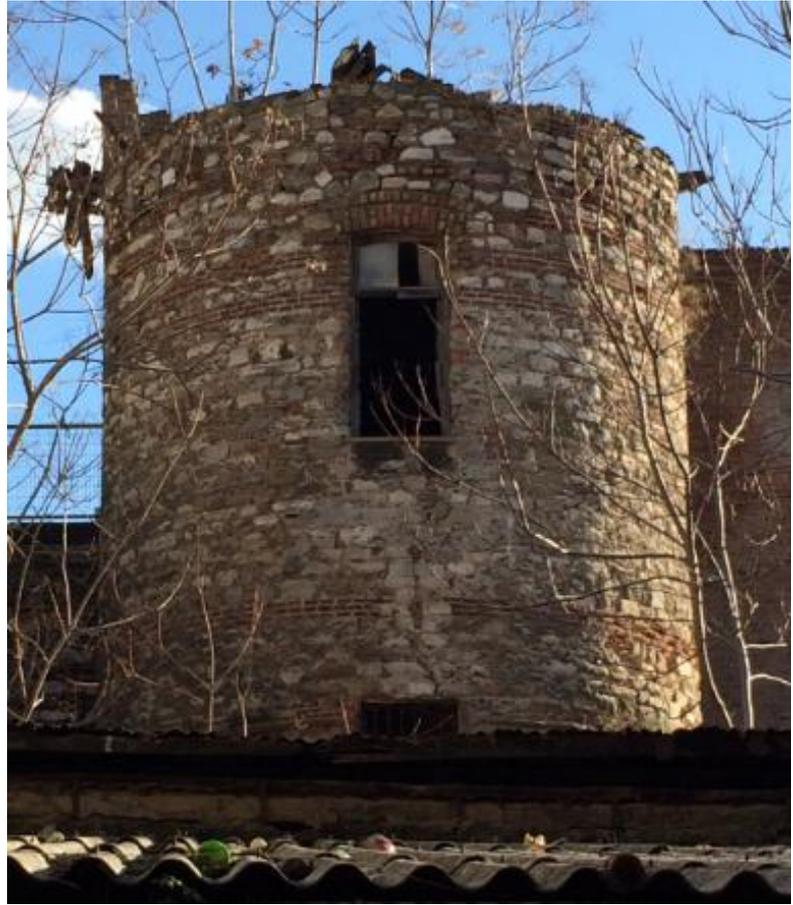


Fig. 57-59: Towers of section no. 4 from Galata Tower and the ones at north and south together with nearby defensive walls, respectively that both towers were heavily modified in modern times (Author, 2015)



Fig. 60-61: The tower of section no. 5 and Harip Gate of section no. 6 (Author, 2015)



Fig. 62: Wall course of section no. 6 at the north of Harip Gate (Author, 2015)



Fig. 63-64: Inner sides of Harip Gate and the wall course at its north (Author, 2015)



Fig. 65-66: The wall of section no. 7 with the slab and walls of the former castle (*Kastellion tou Galatou / Castrum Sanctae Crucis*), now Yeraltı Mosque in section no. 8 (Author, 2015)



Fig. 67-68: The walls adjoining to the former castle (now Yeraltı Mosque) in section no. 8 and the tower of section no. 9 with its severely damaged state (Author, 2015)



Fig. 69: Semicircular walls around Galata Tower of section no. 10 (Author, 2015)



Fig. 70: The small foundation belonging to the semicircular wall around Galata Tower in section no. 10 (Author, 2015)



Fig. 71: The straight wall course near Galata Tower in section no. 10 (Author, 2015)

2.4.6- Detailed Construction History

Coastal fortifications (1a, 1b, 1c) were once protecting the first concession zone from the coastal side. A related historical record for this section can be shown as the slab A.11.26 from 1438, said to be discovered above the demolished K rk  Gate, which was near the wall 1a and possibly added afterwards or had a repair. The joint between the rectangular tower and small wall portion (now covered) of section 1b is clear on an old photograph, which gives the impression of the latter was added to the former afterwards. Partial walls with casemates of section 1c also being linked to the main walls of the other rectangular tower with a clear joint instead of a merged masonry. The relation between the tower of section no. 3 and nearby defensive walls is the most perceivable one nowadays, which is also the same. Thus, there is a consistency between the towers of 1b, 1c and 3 in terms of construction material, rectangular form and adjoining walls, which might be related with their positions on the borders of the first concession zone and the claim of houses as towers by Nicephorus Gregoras.

Section no. 2 with a very characteristic bicolored pattern formed by courses of three bricks and a rectangular stone piece. Resembling similar arches of various medieval buildings in Genoa, this arch pattern was also seen on the 4th section, Harip Gate and former *Palazzo Comunale* in Galata. A horizontal brick course divides the wall into two from the meeting line of casemate rows that the lower and upper parts also seem different. Roughly shaped and relatively large stone pieces were used below, where the upper part has smaller, better shaped pieces with a lighter color (mostly limestone), so it can be claimed that the wall was heightened in two construction phases, like the slab A.11.38 mentions for another part. Upper casemates of the sections 1b and 2 have bicolored (1 stone + 3 bricks) semicircular arches like the ones of the sections 4, 5 and 6, while the lower ones have unique pointed arches made of only brick. Walls of sections after no. 5 were not having any casemates.

Therefore, it can be said that the sections 1-3 belong to the first construction phase (after March 1304 or 1316 for towers and around late 1320s - early 1330s for walls). They might be heightened around 1350-1380s but probably have further sub phases due to small differences between lower and upper parts of towers and adjoining walls. It can be claimed that the usage of casemates was then abandoned around the late 14th century.

The section no. 4 forms the western border of the second main phase of Galata Walls that the eastern part was built c. 1335-1349 with respect to the slabs A.11.6 and A.11.8, which reached to the position of Galata Tower (see 2.5) in the end. Although the eastern border was

having rectangular towers, both sides were having interior casemates. Available similarities between the lower part of the cylindrical Galata Tower and the semicircular towers of sections 4 and 5 are finely shaped limestone ashlars with small brick pieces in between. Yet, especially the usage of bricks shows differences among these structures and forms of towers are also not the same even in between. Nevertheless, with respect to the slab A.11.9, the tower of section no. 5 might have been erected c. 1350-1360s. Defending the eastern part was probably having a priority due to being closer to the Bosphorus and a potential Venetian attack from sea, instead of rather safe land side. Thus, considering available traces and differences / similarities, it can be supposed that the section no. 4 was built during or just after the constructions of Galata Tower and the tower of section no. 5. It also appears from the slab A.11.14 from 1404 that the tower of section no. 5 was fortified through Galata Tower in a later period, so it was probably constructed as an outpost to defend or claim the church of Saint Benoit in the beginning.

The section no. 6 has a relatively darker color and irregular rubble pieces than nearby section no. 3 with rectangular limestone ashlars. They were also being linked to each other with a very distinguishable joint and even the used brick dimensions are not the same, being approximately 30.0 x 3.0-3.5 cm for section no. 6 on arrow slits of climbing walls and roughly 40.0 x 4.5-5.0 cm for section no. 3 on arrow slits of the rectangular tower. When considered deductions done to the section no. 3 and the slab A.11.12 just above Harip Gate, it can be supposed that the northwestern part was started to be fortified c. 1386-1387 that the position and contents of the slab A.11.11 from 1387 is also consistent with this artifact. Remaining defensive structures of this section were constructed during 1420-1440s, according to the slabs A.11.16, A.11.30-A.11.33 and A.11.35 from those years.

The slab A.11.13 points that the Genoese have first occupied the small, westernmost part in 1397 but the slab A.11.25 on the coastal wall of the section no. 7 is dated 1435, like nearby slabs A.11.24 with the same date and A.11.23 from 1433. Therefore, it can be assumed that the tower where the slab A.11.13 used to be located was erected as an outpost like the tower of section no. 5 and this part was continued to be fortified in 1430s. When considered the position and date of the slab A.11.23, the Genoese have probably constructed the western borders in the second place, after coming down from the tower of the slab A.11.13. Finally, the coastal section was completed in 1435. Wall characteristics of the section no. 7 show more similarity to the ones of sections no. 9 and 10 than the previous ones that relatively large, dark grey and roughly shaped rubble were used together with brick pieces in between.

The walls above Yeraltı Mosque in the section no. 8 probably belong to the former castle (*Kastellion tou Galatou*), which was originally a Byzantine building. After linking the castle from west in 1418 (see A.11.15), coastal sections adjoining from east were then added by the Genoese in 1430-1440s with respect to the slabs A.11.19, A.11.20, A.11.37, A.11.38, A.11.40 and A.11.42 from those years but only a small portion from them remained and it was not possible to investigate its characteristics due to modern alterations. Nevertheless, it can only be said that the walls directly above the mosque and the small section adjoining to them with a right angle in section no. 8 look fairly different in terms of general appearance.

The severely damaged semicircular tower of section no. 9 was having a slab (A.11.36) dated 1445, like several more mural artifacts from the northeastern fortifications like A.11.28, A.11.34 and A.11.39 from 1441-1447. Thus, although the first defensive works of this part were done in c. 1350-1360s and 1404, constructions were being accelerated through 1430s and more or less completed during 1440s with several heightenings. The masonry of the tower shows similarity to the ones of the sections 7 and 10 with its relatively large, dark grey and roughly shaped rubble pieces with irregular brick pieces in between.

Section no. 10 was once marked with a slab (A.11.43) from 1452, so it can naturally be claimed that as an ultimate defensive precaution before the Ottoman takeover in 1453, already existing Galata Tower was surrounded by another, semicircular wall course, which forms the final documented defensive construction of the Genoese in Galata. Similarities between sections 7-10 in terms of masonry character are consistent with the supposed chronology and the dates of related mural slabs, which display last construction phases all together.



Fig. 72: Similar 1 stone + 3 bricks semicircular arch examples from Galata (Author, 2015)

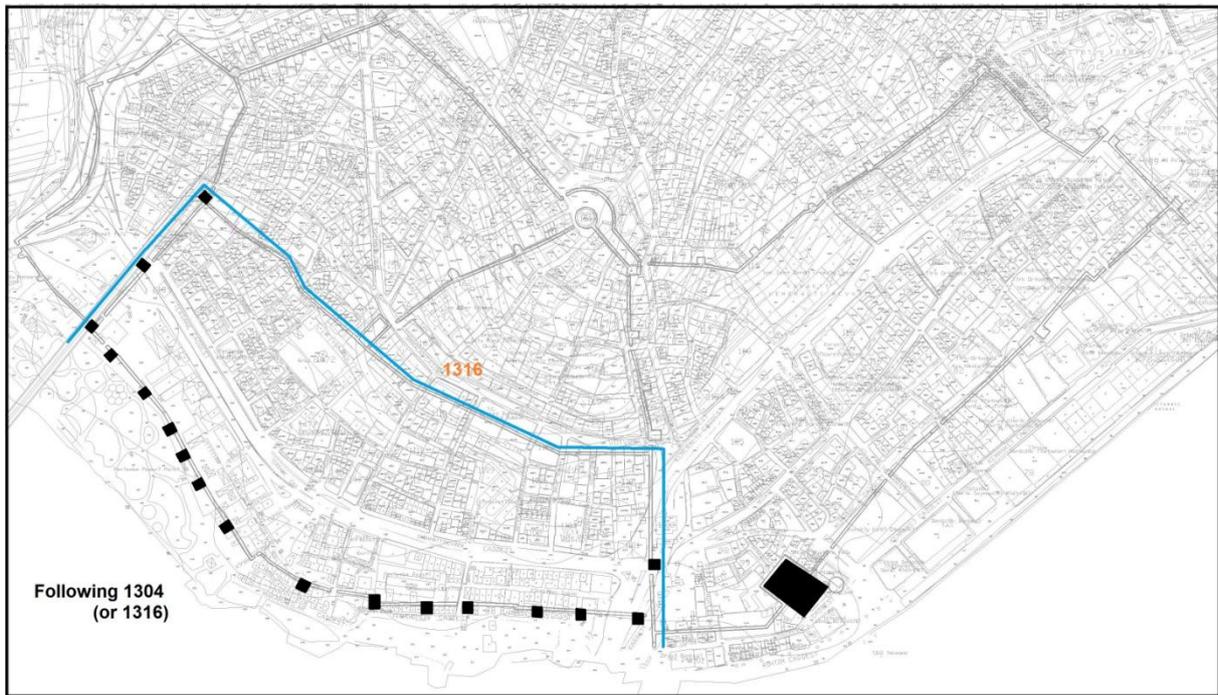


Fig. 73: Rectangular towers around the granted quarter, constructed as "strong houses" with a surrounding moat following either 1304 or 1316, with respect to the agreement of March 1304, the slab A.11.1 from 1316, Georgius Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, a notary registry and architectural evidence (Author, 2016)

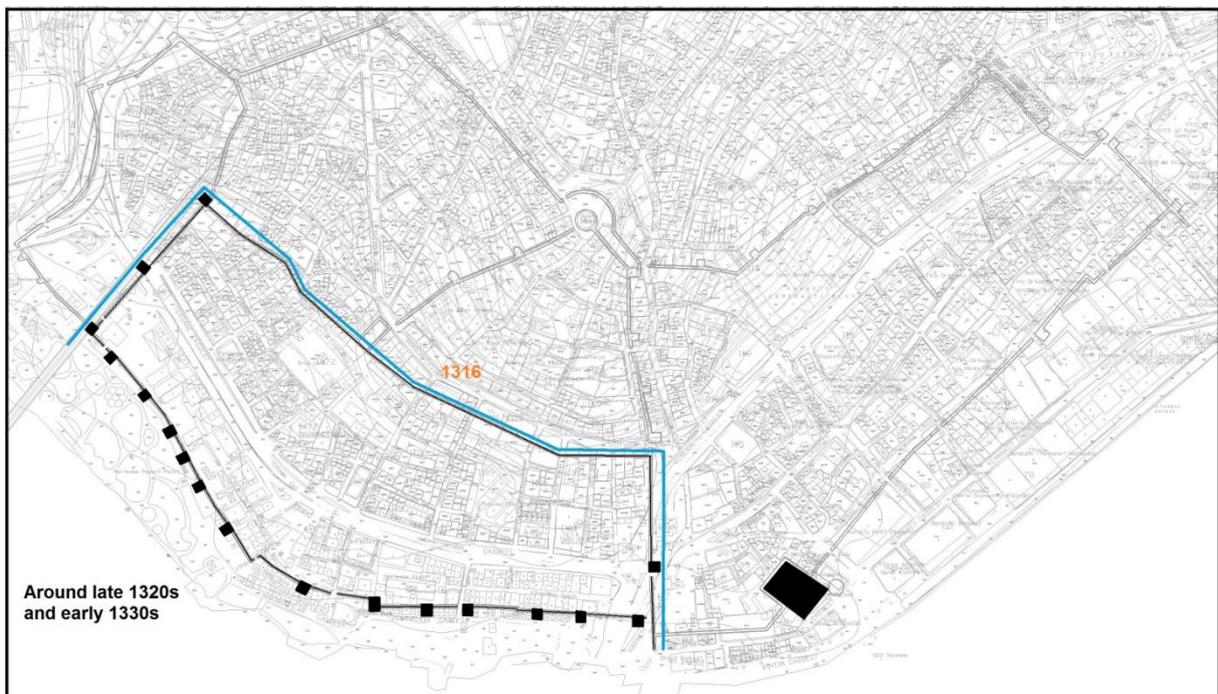


Fig. 74: Linking towers with lower walls around late 1320s and early 1330s, according to the slabs A.11.1 & A.11.6, Nicephorus Gregoras and architectural evidence (Author, 2016)

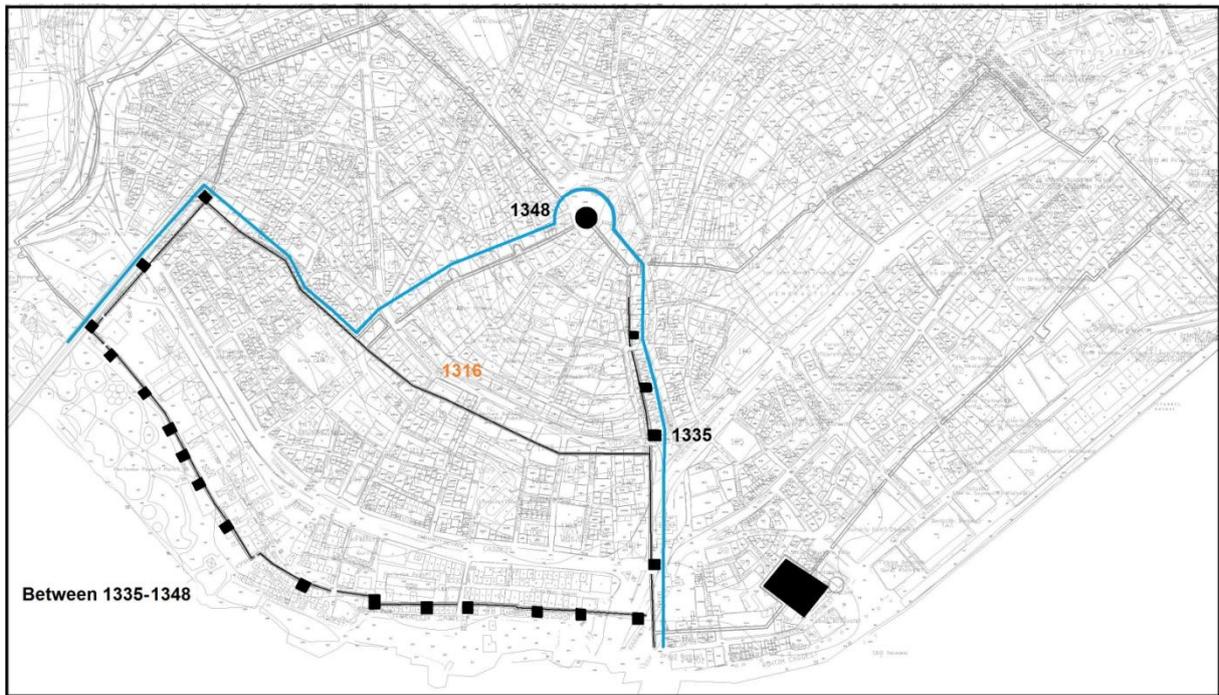


Fig. 75: Northern extensions with a moat and the erection of Galata Tower between 1335-1348, according to the slab A.11.6 and quotations from Nicephorus Gregoras and John VI Kantakouzenos (Author, 2016)

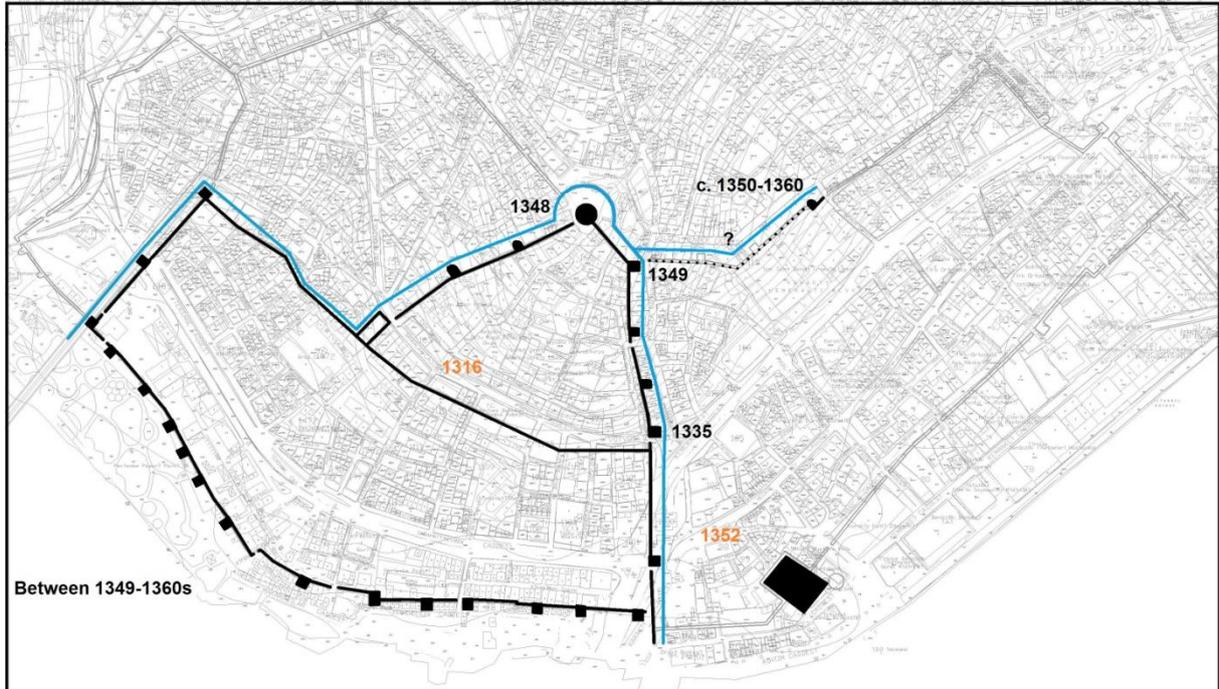


Fig. 76: Securing northern extensions, heightening existing walls and spreading towards east for the first time between 1349-1360s, according to the treaty of 6 May 1352, slabs A.11.8, A.11.9, architectural evidence and similarities between semicircular towers (Author, 2016)

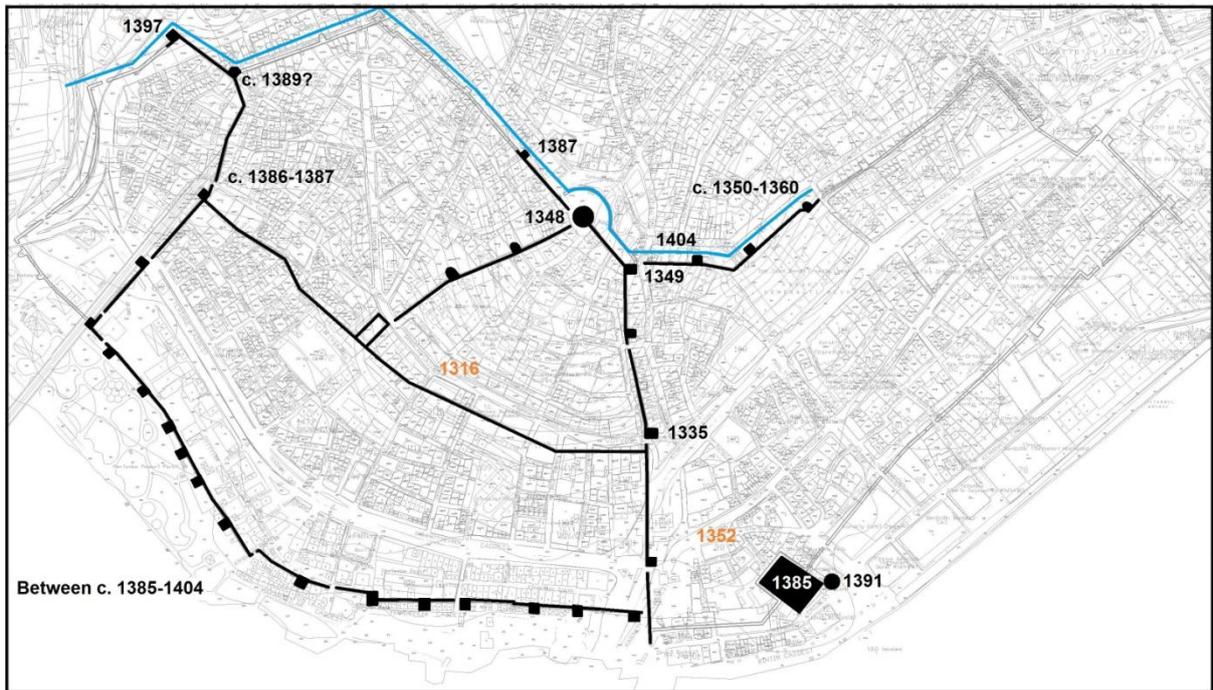


Fig. 77: The capture of the castle, linking the eastern outpost and extensions through west and northwest also with moats between c. 1385-1404, according to Du Cange (1729, p. 60), documents published by Balard (1978, p. 190) and Belgrano (1877, pp. 153-166) and the slabs A.11.11-A.11.14 (Author, 2016)

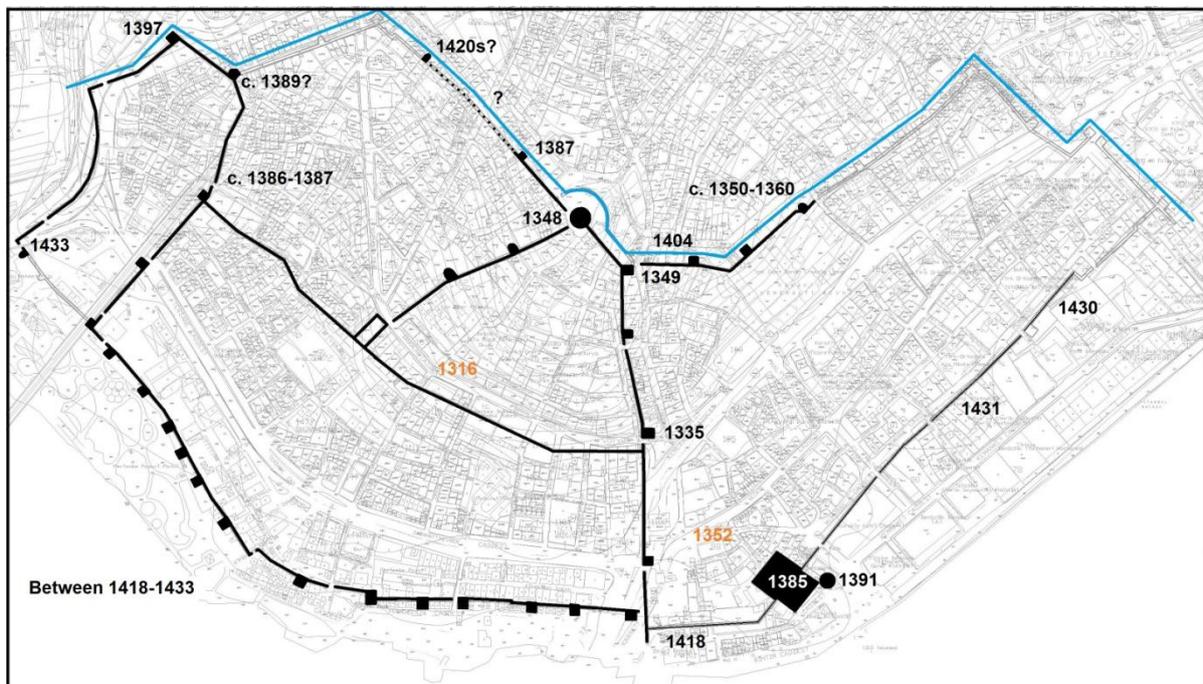


Fig. 78: Almost securing the westernmost part, extension through northwest and constructions of the first coastal walls at east between 1418-1433, according to the slabs A.11.15-A.11.23 (Author, 2016)

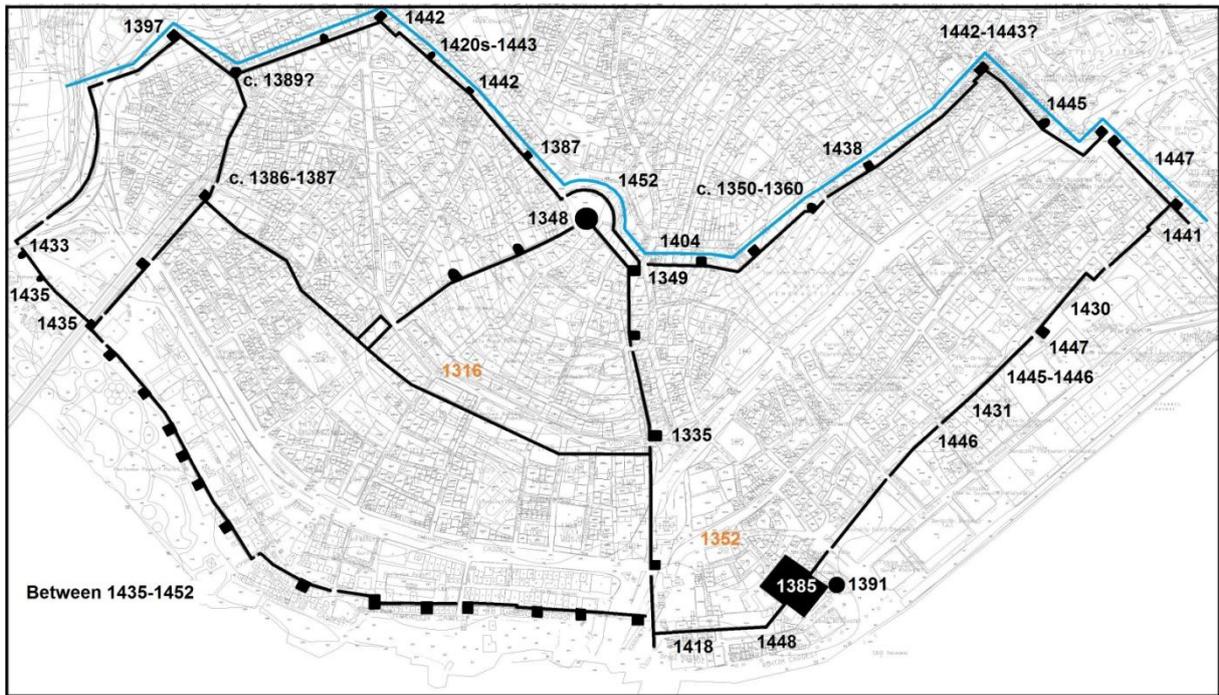


Fig. 79: Securing all the extensions at west and east between 1435-1448, heightening eastern walls during 1440s and finally the addition of a semicircular external wall in front of Galata Tower in 1452, with respect to the slabs A.11.24-A.11.43 (Author, 2016)

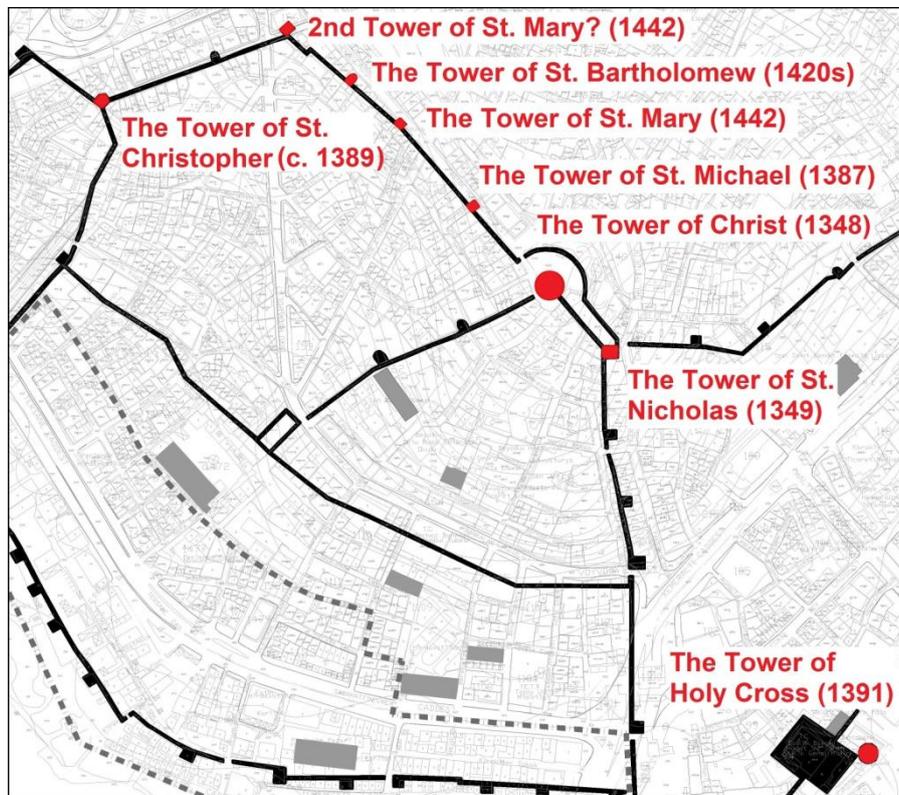


Fig. 80: Dedicated towers with respect to the slabs A.11.16, A.11.30, A.11.32, A.11.33, A.11.38 and documents by Balard (1978, p. 190) and Belgrano (1877, p. 165) (Author, 2016)

2.4.7- *Spolia* Usage

Galata Walls were mainly built of roughly hewn stones presumably obtained from local quarries. Limestone blocks of earlier period structures, perhaps famous *Küfeki Taşı* from Bakırköy-Safraköy can be recognized with their distinctive white color (Ahunbay, 1988, p. 534), which are also relatively better shaped due to being softer than usual stones. Rubbles were used on later period structures with an inferior craftsmanship and it is possible to detect various types of bricks in all parts. In addition, Galata Walls also have a significant *spolia* usage by the Genoese, which was first mentioned by De Launay (1864). The author gives precise locations and details of four marble *spolia* with unclear Ancient Greek inscriptions, being discovered on Galata Walls but most probably disappeared after the demolitions.

It should be mentioned that the first semicircular tower of section no. 4, being the one closer to Galata Tower perhaps bears the most distinguishable and maybe also confusing *spolia* on it, being a rectangular piece of white marble with geometric patterns, which resembles a Genoese mural slab. That artifact is still located on the tower and probably first came into prominence on a photograph in the study of Gottwald (1907, p. 56). Then, it was being shown also by Sur (2015, p. 65) with its recent condition but both studies lack of any description.

In fact, this piece is most probably either a sculpted parapet or an architrave soffit because of an apparent similarity by form. Eight of the former were discovered beneath Arap Mosque (former *San Domenico*) and introduced by Ebersolt (1921, pp. 38-44) as Byzantine artifacts from 5th, 6th and 10-11th centuries that the building has further *spolia* as well (see 2.9.1). The latter was detected near the main gate of Yoros Castle and defined as a unique early Byzantine architectural element that the closest *in situ* examples are on Hagia Sophia (*Ayasofya*) and the Little Hagia Sophia (*Küçük Ayasofya*) in Istanbul (Bilban-Yalçın, 2005, p. 302). A marble piece with elaborate ornaments was photographed by Arseven (1913, p. 84), which looks very similar to the mentioned sculpted parapets. It was discovered on a possible Genoese building in Galata Mahkemesi St. and defined simply as "a stone with Byzantine-style ornaments". That building was formerly near Arap Mosque but later demolished.

A corner fragment, possibly belonging to one of the aforementioned architectural elements was seen as a small lintel above the last arrow slit in the wall of section no. 6 at north. Two marble pieces were also embedded in the third, upper and smoothed away casemate on the wall of section no. 2, which are probably a sculpted balustrade and a flat surface piece just below, being the final noticed *spolia* examples on Galata Walls during this study.



Fig. 81-82: The northern semicircular tower of section no. 4 by Gottwald (1907, p. 56) and Sur (2015, p. 65), where an embedded marble *spolia* is visible

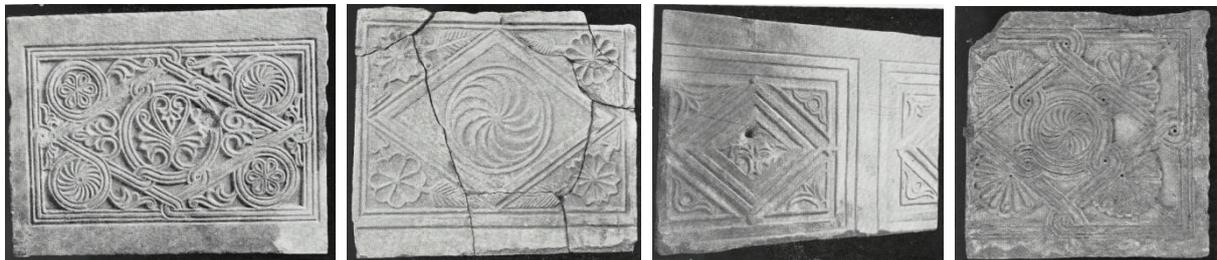


Fig. 83-86: Sculpted parapets discovered beneath Arap Mosque and dated 5-6th and 10-11th centuries (Ebersolt, 1921, Pl. XXXVI-XXXIX)



Fig. 87-88: *Spolia* early Byzantine architrave soffit on late Byzantine Yoros Castle (Author, 2015; Bilban-Yalçın, 2005, p. 308)



Fig. 89-90: "A stone with Byzantine-style ornaments", discovered on a possible but later demolished Genoese building in Galata Mahkemesi St. (Arseven, 1913, p. 84) and a corner fragment of a similar architectural element as a small lintel above the last arrow slit in the wall of section no. 6 at north (Author, 2015)



Fig. 91-92: Two marble *spolia* embedded in a casemate on the wall of section no. 2, which are probably a sculpted balustrade and a flat surface piece just below (Author, 2015)

2.5- Galata Tower

Galata Tower (*Galata Kulesi*) is the main keep (*donjon*) of Galata fortifications. It has a very strategic position on the hill, 35 meters above the sea level. Distances from Golden Horn and Bosphorus to Galata Tower are approximately 420 meters at south and 470 meters at southwest and southeast from the closest coastal points. The cylindrical structure is primarily built of roughly shaped, mixed rubbles but some vertical brick usage can also be seen on exterior masonry. Bricks were especially preferred in the interior passages and window arches. Upper parts of the tower were made of finely hewn limestone blocks.

Galata Tower is 66,90 meters high (62,60 meters until the ornamental roof pole) and has an approximate weight of 10.000 tons. The inner radius of its ground floor is 8,95 meters, while the exterior one is 16,45 meters. Wall thickness is 3,75 meters until the height of 21,09 meters but slightly thinner above, with an inner radius of 10,40 meters. There are two surrounding brick courses around +13,20 meters and +17,17 meters, which can be counted as the only distinctive elements on the plain stone body of the tower (Anadol, 1964, pp. 158-159).

There are eight floors inside that the last one also has a terrace. The tower has only narrow openings until the fifth floor, which are accessible through floors and the passage with stairs, running inside the main walls until the third floor. Starting from this level, connections between different levels were provided with a wooden stair, running through the main interior space of the tower. A modern elevator now serves all floors as well. The fifth and sixth floors have small windows with different sizes, while the circular ones of the former were serving as gun ports for cannons. The last two floors have bigger windows for a better observation. Main entrance and an arched window above are other openings of the tower that the gate is accessible through some external stairs because of having a higher position than ground level. Galata Tower has a conical, lead covered roof with a sharp metal pole on its top.

There are several anonymous accounts about the existence of a Byzantine tower in the recent position of Galata Tower during the period of Emperor Anastasius I Dicorus (r. 491-518). Yet, according to the Byzantine historian Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)⁵³, the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) has demolished fortifications in Galata before

⁵³ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 168), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. I), *De Michaele Palaeologo*, Book II, Chapter XXXV (A.C. 1267), P. 108: "... inde ad omne periculum certius, quantum in ipso erat, praeventendum dirui et solo funditus aequari iussit munitiones tum intra urbem arcis extractae ad maritimam fori partem, tum extra suburbii Galatae. in quo sic propugnaculis nudato habitare Genuenses ex adverso oppositae ipsi ab occasu Peraeae, extensa quam maxime in longum domorum serie, praecepit..."

granting it to the Genoese except for nearby *Kastellion tou Galatou* (Galata Castle - Yeralti Mosque) and no other defensive structure was mentioned inside the acts of May 1303 and March 1304 apart from that castle. Thus, such a tower would not be left to the Genoese and there was probably a confusion between the castle and a supposed tower (Anadol, 1964, p. 150; Eyice, 1969, pp. 11-22).

The Byzantine emperor and historian John VI Kantakouzenos (1292-1383)⁵⁴ himself and also the historian Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295-1360)⁵⁵ mention that Galata Tower was constructed in 1348 by the Genoese right after the Byzantine civil war of 1341-1347 between the former and John V Palaiologos when the Emperor John VI (r. 1347-1354), who will be the victorious one was absent from the capital and in Didymoteicho. The Genoese have first extended their lands through the hill and then inhabitants of Galata have worked round the clock in order to fortify this land with towers and walls. In 1348, which also corresponds to the prelude of the Byzantine-Genoese War of 1348-1349, a high tower was constructed on the hilltop together with enclosing walls and a moat was also dug during that struggling state of the empire (Cousin, 1685, pp. 37-39). The year of the slab A.11.8 from 1349, which was discovered on a nearby tower dedicated to Saint Nicholas is also consistent with the aforementioned construction year of Galata Tower and indicates that walls climbing up the hill were linked to it one year later (see 2.4.2).

The Genoese were calling the tower as *Christea Turris* (The Tower of Christ) (see A.11.38), while it appears in the Byzantine sources as *Megalos Pyrgos* (The Great Tower). After returning to Constantinople, efforts of John VI to punish the Genoese because of that breach have remained inconclusive (Anadol and Arıoğlu, 1979, p. 49; Eyice, 1969, p. 22).

Galata Tower was briefly mentioned inside a testament from 18 September 1373 as a reference point and clearly appears in the vicinity of Galata Castle (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 952-953)⁵⁶, where another significant tower of the colony was added to it in 1391 (see 2.6).

⁵⁴ CSHB, John VI Kantakouzenos (1832, pp. 70-71), *Historiarum* (Vol. III), Book IV, Chapter XI (A.C. 1348), V. 595: "... et egressus populus frequentissimus primum quidem collem, in eius iugo turri excitata, muniebant, omnique in eam rem conatu mulieres iuxta atque viri incumbabant: nec vel illustrissimi ad aedificationem sociare operam dedignabantur..."

⁵⁵ CSHB, Nicephorus Gregoras (1830, pp. 840-842), *Byzantina Historia* (Vol. II), Book XVII, Chapter I, A.M. 6856 (A.C. 1348), Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, V. 429: "... tum maiori spatio per adversum clivum occupato, turres aedificant arduas et expugnata difficiles; murosque et vallorum septa alia atque alia late circumducunt; fossas praeterea et munitiones molintur..."

⁵⁶ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 18 September 1373, Car. XIX (doc. VII): "... Actum in mari maior, videlicet in flumine sive stagnono castrı Peire, prope turrim, super galeota olim communis..."

Available depictions of Galata Tower during its Genoese periods appear in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's panorama of Constantinople (c. 1422) but there are significant mismatches between its different versions. The tower was shown either rectangular or cylindrical and on some versions it is clearly higher, while on the others show nearly the same height of nearby defensive walls. Further architectural differences can also be seen.

The donation of 300 *hyperpyra* by the Sultan Murad II (r. 1421-1444, 1446-1451) to the Genoese of Galata for the construction of a high and strong tower with the promise of putting his *tuğra* on it was rejected by the ducal governor Francesco Bussone with a letter dated 15 April 1424 and written to the *Podestà* Tommaso Promontorio (Balletto, 2000, pp. 31-32; Belgrano, 1877, pp. 187-188)⁵⁷. Also quoted by Eyice (1969, p. 23) briefly, the relevance of this letter to Galata Tower is uncertain. Moreover, according to the slab A.11.38 from 1445-1446, the previous height of defensive walls were doubled from coastline until the "Tower of Christ" but any specific detail about the tower was not given. The slab was also discovered on coastal walls at east, being very distant to the position of Galata Tower, so it is probably only about walls. Therefore, claiming any significant changes on the tower after its construction by the Genoese with respect to the records mentioned above seems difficult.

In this case, it is also unknown that was the tower shorter before 1445-1446 or not, therefore a heightening was reasonable. In addition to the works of Cristoforo Buondelmonti, the panorama of Constantinople by Bertrandon de la Broquière (1455) drags this question into further obscurity due to not having a distinguishable Galata Tower in the correct location but a coastal castle was being shown. When considered the cylindrical form of the tower, which starts from the ground level, similar ones on Cristoforo Buondelmonti panoramas can be considered as the most realistic illustrations of it during the Genoese period.

As the Genoese Galata was surrendered just before the Fall of Constantinople in 29 May 1453 and exhibited a neutral attitude during the conflict, it has been promised by Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) in the 10th line of the edict of 1 June 1453 that: "... *ben dahi üzerine asker ile varub kal'alarını yıkub harab etmiyem...*" (even I myself will not assault to them with soldiers and will not demolish or damage their castles) (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1940, p. 169; Şakiroğlu, 1983, p. 218) but there are some mismatches between different versions of the act. Specifically questioning this confusion, Bulunur (2013, pp. 62-64) put forward that a

⁵⁷ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 15 April 1424 (doc. 25; LIX): "... *ex quibus iuxta pondus et comerchium Peyre turris fabricetur fortis et alta, hac etiam adiecta lege quod sit in voluntate Comunitatis Peyre super ipsam turrim pingi facere ipsius principis teucrorum insignia...*"

translation mistake was occurred in one of the Greek versions of the act, so other translations from this copy have created the confusion and it was always promised that the fortifications *will not* be demolished. In any case, the state of Galata Tower before and after the Ottoman takeover is still unclear. It can only be supposed that as the Ottomans were also needing those fortifications in order to maintain the security of their new conquest, any major demolitions would not be rational. Correspondingly, it has been stated by the Byzantine historian Doukas (c. 1400-1462)⁵⁸ that after the conquest, Galata Walls were ordered to be demolished from their tops for repairs in other parts (Eyice, 1969, p. 24; 1996, p. 314).

The tower was largely demolished in the great earthquake of 1509, also called "The Lesser Judgment Day" (*Küçük Kıyamet / Kıyamet-i Suğra*) by the Turks. With respect to evident architectural differences, it has been stated that the structure below the brick course around +13,20 meters was remained from the Genoese building and the part above is the Ottoman reconstruction of 1510 until the cornice. Among two brick courses of the tower, the first one might indicates a superficial separation and the whole construction was rebuilt by the Ottomans after the second one on +17,17 meters. Architectural differences in the interior also support this claim (Anadol and Arioğlu, 1979, p. 49; Eyice, 1969, p. 25; 1996, p. 314).

Galata Tower then had three important repairs more by the Turks that the first two were major repairs of the upper section above the cornice after the fires of 1794 and 1831. Finally, with the restoration of 1965-1967, especially the former conical roof was restored, which was blown away by a storm in 1875 and many other changes and modernizations were done to the interior. The tower was separated from the walls and left freestanding after the demolition of Galata Walls following 1864. A plenty of visual documents are available for the states of Galata Tower after the earthquake of 1509 and the Ottoman inscription above the gate commemorates the works of 1832 (Anadol and Arioğlu, 1979, pp. 49-55).

The supposed Genoese part of Galata Tower, being until +13,20 meters from surface and +17,17 meters from interior has some significant characteristics despite its plain appearance. First of all, the used material has some similarities to the rectangular towers of sections no. 4 and 5 from c. 1350-1360s on Galata Walls. All of those fortifications were made of light colored, roughly shaped and mixed rubble with small brick pieces in between the stone masonry; therefore separating from earlier period structures with the usage of relatively better

⁵⁸ CSHB, Doukas (1834, p. 312), *Historia Byzantina*, Chapter XLII (A.C. 1453), P. 177: "... ubi vero dies cessisset, fisco suo caducas addixit. muros quoque Galatae, qua continentem spectant, a milite suo dirui iussit, relictis qui ad portam sunt. ad moenium ruinam reficiendam..."

shaped, rectangular and small limestone blocks and later period ones with coarse, dark colored rubbles. In addition, brick arrow slits on the lower portion of Galata Tower have round arches like the ones on sections 4, 5 and also 6 from c. 1386-1387 but the ones inside the rectangular tower of section no. 3 from c. 1304 or 1316 have pointed arches. Moreover, dimensions of bricks on the arrow slit of this tower are $\approx 40 \times 4,5-5$ cm, whereas the ones of section no. 6 are ≈ 30 cm length, $\approx 3-3,5$ cm thickness and $\approx 14-15$ cm depth. Interior bricks of Galata Tower were measured as ≈ 27 cm length, $\approx 3,5-4$ cm thickness and $\approx 12-13$ cm depth, with $\approx 2-3$ cm of mortar gaps in between. Therefore, a similarity by material can be claimed between Galata Tower and the Genoese constructions from the second half of 14th century.

Narrow and arched openings of Galata Tower are reached by its interior passage with stairs, running inside the main walls of its lower part for connecting floors to each other. As these openings are much deeper than the ones of Galata Walls, they were probably opened to provide light to the interior rather than serving as arrow slits. The main entrance might be elevated in order to provide further security. In addition, there is a very small rectangular opening and some stone bulges above the main entrance, so the former connection was probably provided with a wooden drawbridge in relation with those remnants, instead of the recent external stairs. Right above the aforementioned elements, there is another and relatively bigger opening with a semicircular arch. Like a machicolation, it was probably opened to defend the gate during an attack at close range.

It has also been stated that there is not a cistern below the ground floor of Galata Tower, which are usually placed below towers for providing water to guards during sieges, like the one below the tower of section no. 5. However, there is a basement floor with a height of 4,2 meters below the tower and some human skeletons were also found there, which raise the possibility of a dungeon. In addition, a brick vaulted tunnel, running through northwest-southeast direction was discovered during the works of 1965-1967 below the basement floor mentioned above. Being 1,5 meters high and 0,72 meters wide, it was either connecting Galata Tower to another one or providing water to it during long sieges. The basement of the rectangular tower near Saint Benoit, the one of the slab A.11.14 was once being used by a house during 1900s and it has been rumored that a tunnel from it was connecting to Galata Tower. As that tower was demolished and the tunnel of Galata Tower is now inaccessible, checking the accuracy of this rumor is not possible (Anadol, 1964, pp. 158-159; Eyice, 1969, p. 36).



Fig. 93-100: The first phase of Galata Tower (1348-1509) on Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), being the ones from the collections of Greenwich National Maritime Museum (2015), Michigan University Library (2015), an 18th century copy (Gyllius, 1729), British Museum (Medievalists, 2015), two Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Wikimedia, 2015), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Pearse, 2015) and Biblioteca Marciana (Istanbul Guide, 2015), respectively



Fig. 101-107: The second phase of Galata Tower (1510-1794) by Piri Reis (1513) (Piri Reis, 2013), the illustration of Eyice (1969, p. 96) based on his work, Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) (Kumrular, 2007, p. 264), Jaspas de Isaac (1650) (HUJI, 2015), a 17th c. Venetian painting, Paul Lucas (1714) and Baron von Gudenus (1740) (Eyice, 1969, pp. 97-126)

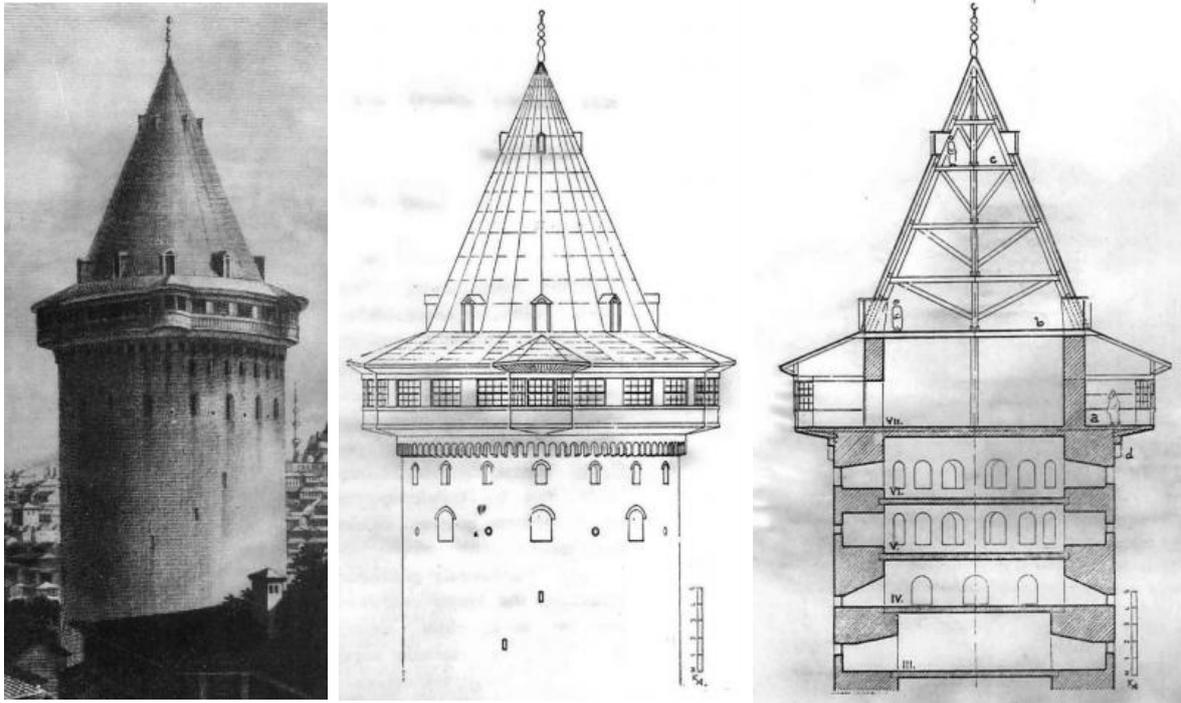


Fig. 108-110: Galata Tower c. 1819 and schematic elevation and vertical section of its third phase (1794-1831) (Anadol, 1964, pp. 152-158)



Fig. 111-112: Galata Tower in 1854-1855 by James Robertson (eski.istanbulium.net, 2015) and a schematic vertical section of its fourth phase (1832-1875) (Anadol, 1964, p. 158)

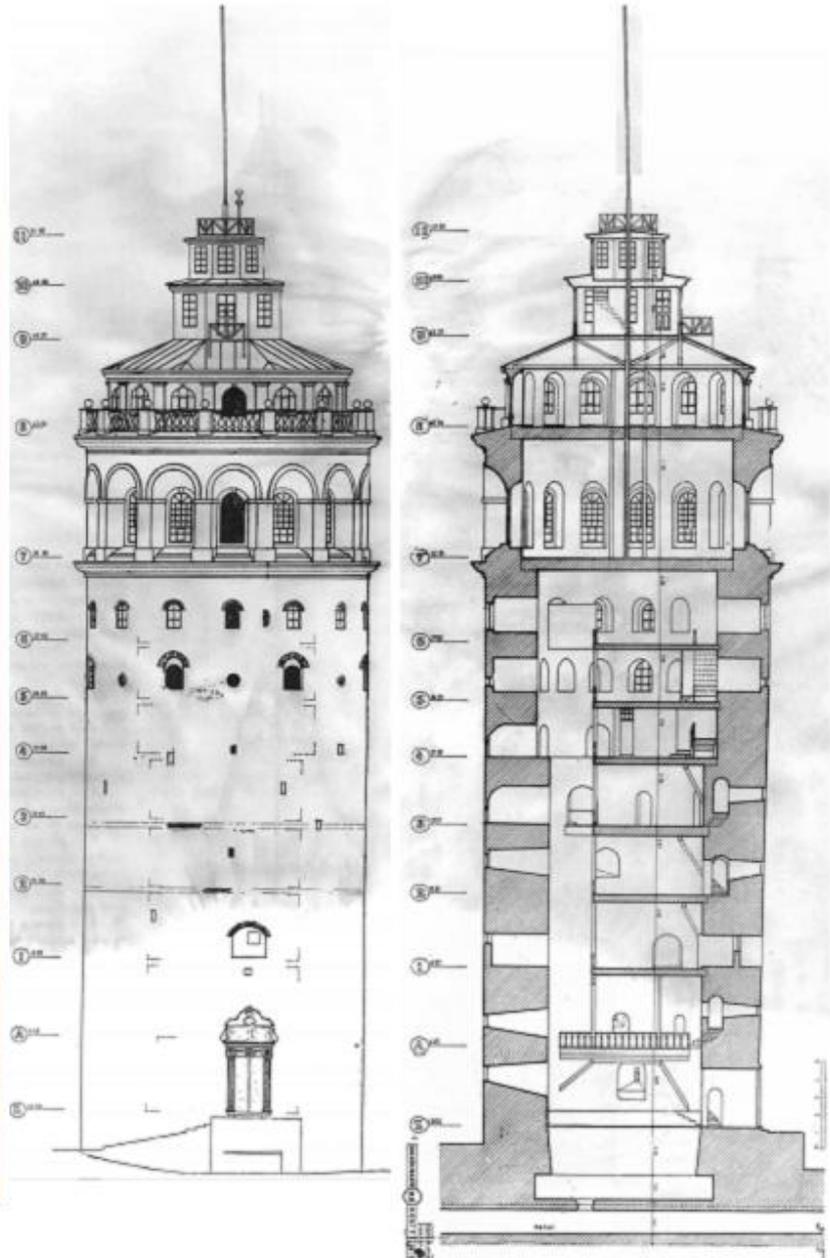


Fig. 113-115: Galata Tower c. 1880-1900 by Abdullah Frères (eski.istanbulium.net, 2015) and elevation and vertical section of its fifth phase (1875-1964) (Anadol, 1964, pp. 156-157)

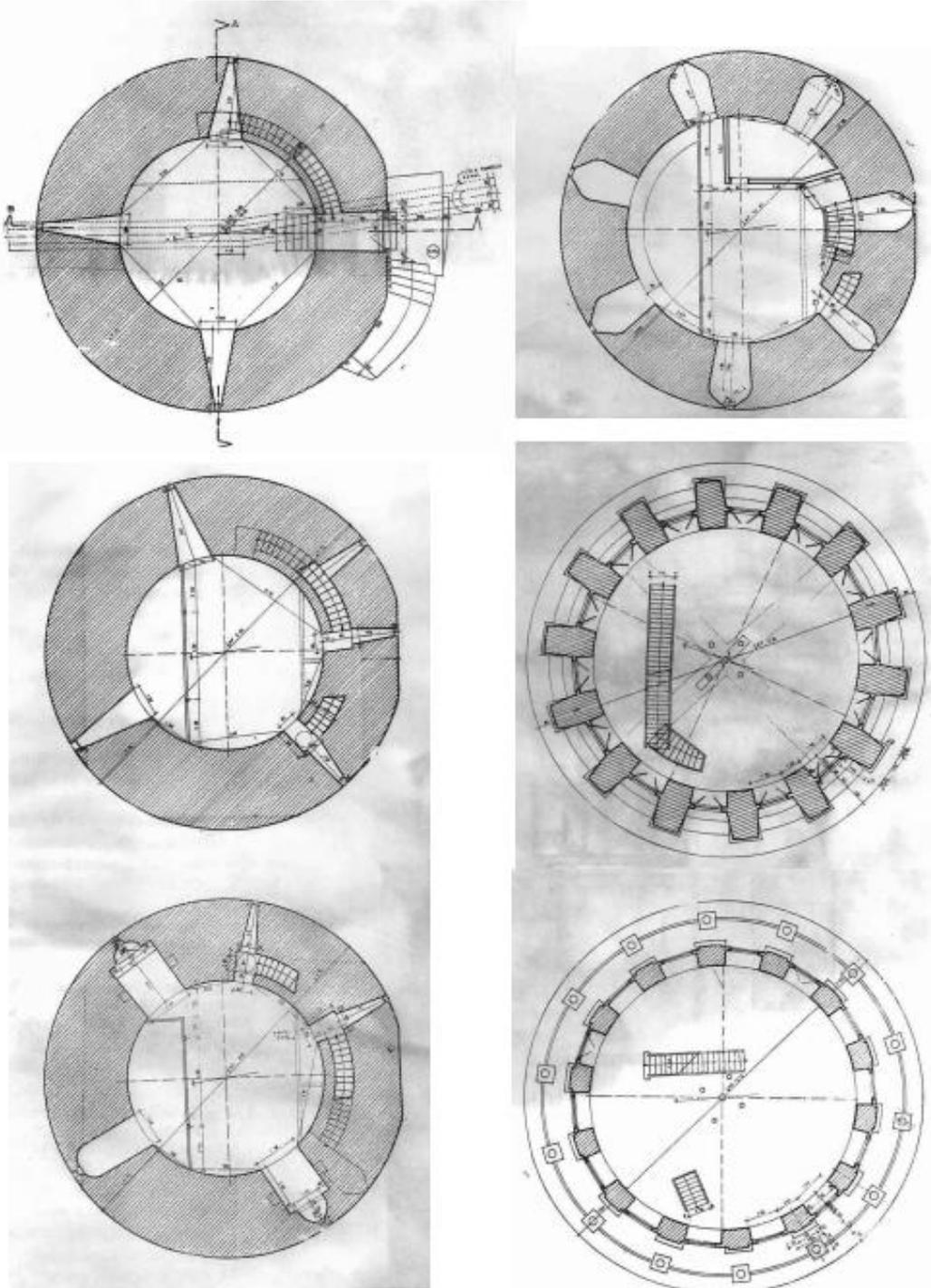


Fig. 116-121: Horizontal sections of Galata Tower, from its lower part at left ($\pm 0,00$ m, +13,20 m and +17,17 m), being the supposed Genoese construction and from its upper part at right (+21,09 m, +32,35 m and +40,04 m), being the Ottoman construction above, from top to down, respectively; that differences between wall thicknesses and the regularity of openings are visible together with the route of the brick vaulted tunnel beneath the ground floor (Scale: $\approx 1/250$) (Anadol, 1964, p. 155)

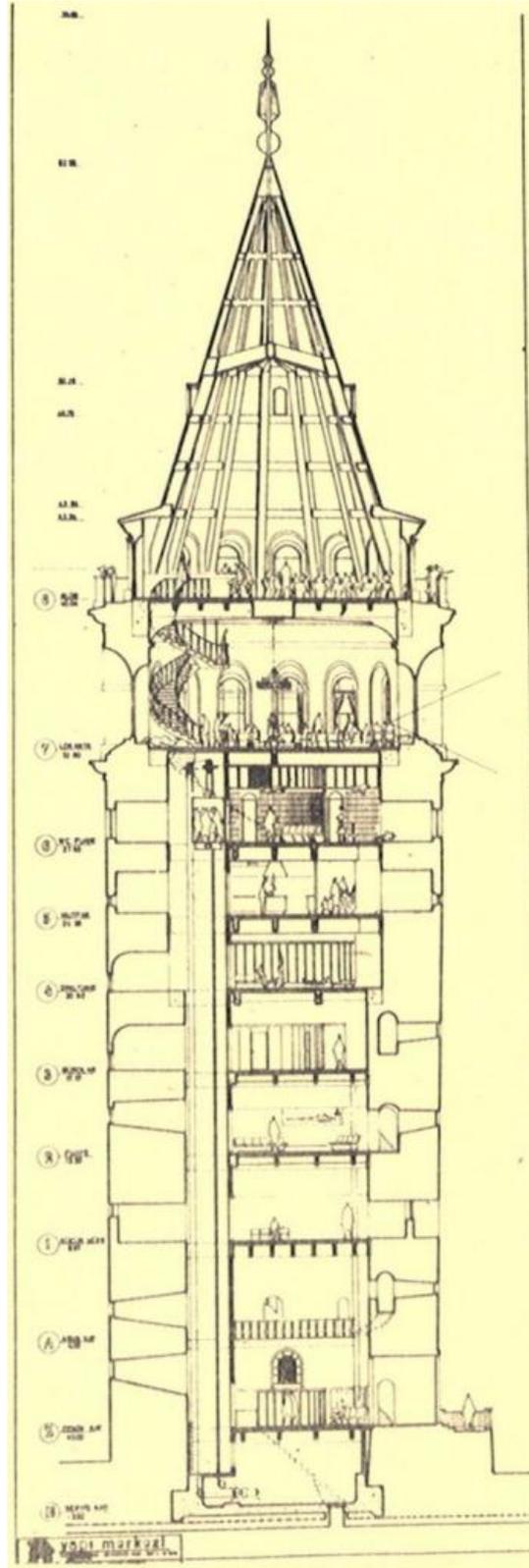


Fig. 122-123: Galata Tower nowadays (Author, 2015) and a vertical section of its recent form (Anadol and Arioğlu, 1979, p. 53)

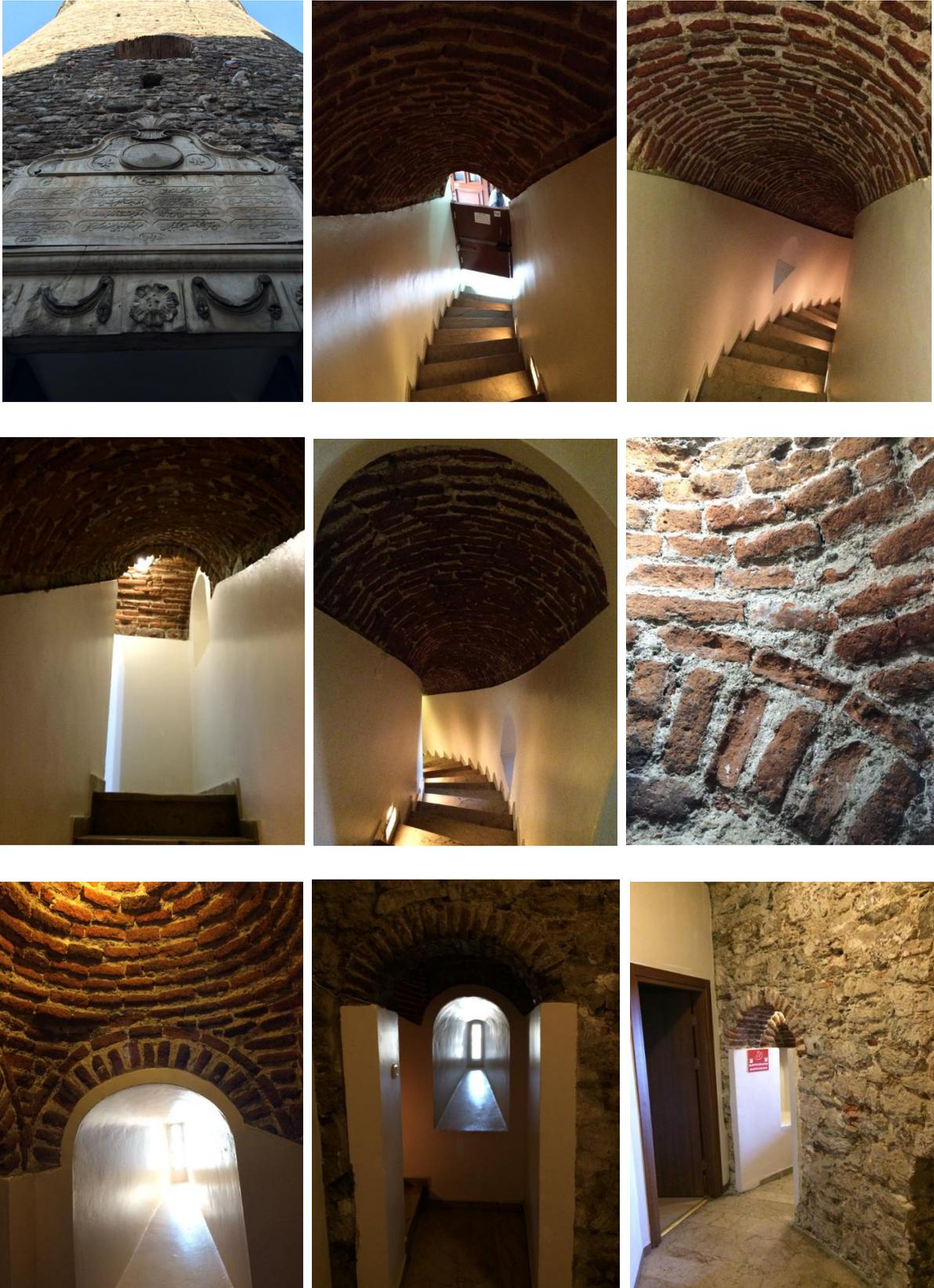


Fig. 124-132: Upper part of the main gate, interior passage with stairs, running inside main walls for connecting floors and its narrow openings and brick masonry (mostly altered and covered), on the lower part (until 13,20 - 17,17 meters) of Galata Tower (Author, 2015)



Fig. 133: A bronze 14th century bell of Galata Tower, like the ones placed inside the Castle of Holy Cross and the towers of *Spiga* and *Lagirio* boroughs (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 153, 161), to give warning during a threat. Due to its damages, it might be obtained after the earthquake of 1509 and now displayed in Istanbul Archeological Museum (inv. no. 5127 M) (Author, 2015)

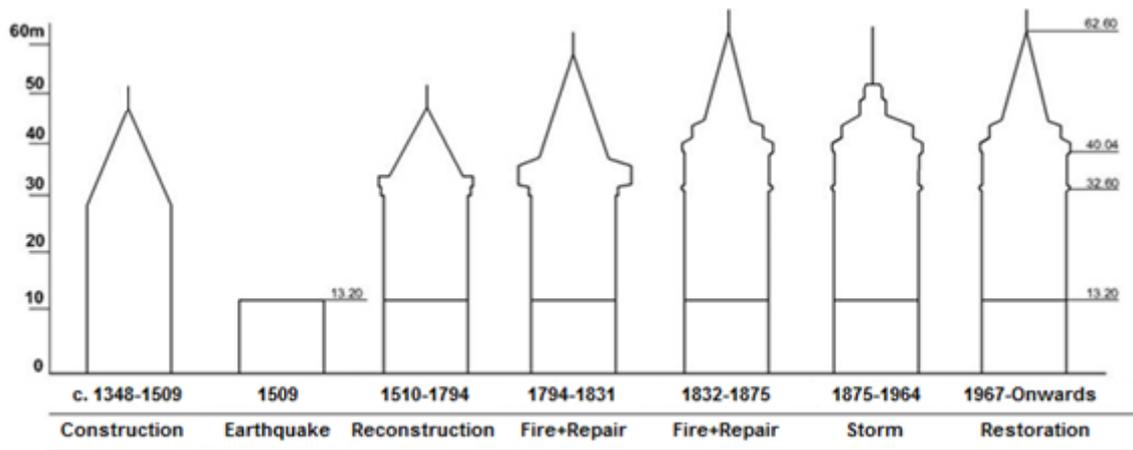


Fig. 134: Main phases of Galata Tower (Author, 2016 after Anadol and Arnoğlu, 1979, p. 52)

in centimeters	Section 3 c. 1304/16	Section 2 1320-30s	G. Tower 1348	Section 4 1350-60s	Section 5 1350-60s	Section 6 c. 1386-87
Length	≈40 cm	≈35 cm	≈27 cm	≈30 cm	≈30 cm	≈30 cm
Thickness	≈4,5-5 cm	≈6 cm	≈3,5-4 cm	≈3,5-4 cm	≈3,5-4 cm	≈3-3,5 cm
Depth	≈15-17 cm	≈13-14 cm	≈12-13 cm	≈14-15 cm	≈14-15 cm	≈14-15 cm
Mortar	≈3-4 cm	≈3-4 cm	≈2-3 cm	≈3-3,5 cm	n/a	Varies

Tab. 1: Comparative chart of bricks used on Galata Tower and Galata Walls (Author, 2016)

- Average Late Byzantine Construction Materials of Constantinople (after Ersen, 1986, p. 22; Kahya, 1992, pp. 100-108; Tunay, 1983, p. 1695; 1984): stone: ≈16.5 cm; brick: ≈3.9 x 33.3 cm, mortar: ≈5.1 cm (Author, 2015) (see 2.9.1 and Appendix 4).

2.6- Yeraltı Mosque - Galata Castle

The building is located in the southeastern coast of Galata, precisely in the neighborhood of Karaköy. With approximate dimensions of 50 x 40 m, it is mainly consisted of an undercroft with some surrounding, higher defensive walls (see 2.4.5).

It has been said that the castle was constructed during the period of Tiberius II Constantine (r. 574-582) to secure the entrance of the Golden Horn (Eyice, 1969, p. 10) but quoting from *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum* (writers on the origins of Constantinople) Erkal (2011, pp. 198-199) points that a fortress or a chain in the entrance of the Golden Horn was not mentioned inside sources about the 7th century Umayyad sieges; occurred in 668-669 and 673-679, respectively. Emperors Tiberios III (r. 698-705) and Anastasios II (r. 713-715) were named as possible founders of the castle, who also strengthened the maritime walls of Constantinople.

Theophanes the Confessor (c. 758-817) mentions that during the Siege of Constantinople (717-718) by the Umayyad Caliphate, a chain was extending between "*Kastellion tou Galatou*" (the castle of the Galatian's neighborhood) and the coast of the Great Palace of Constantinople (Sarayburnu) in order to blockade the Golden Horn, being the first known incident about the chain (Eyice, 1969, p. 10; Schneider and Nomidis, 1944, p. 1). However, although the Byzantine emperor Leo III the Isaurian (r. 717-741) has ordered to release the chain from Galata when the Umayyad navy has reached to the entrance of the Golden Horn, they thought the released chain was a trap, so the Umayyad forces have decided not to enter into the bay. Thus, the earliest recorded date for the castle and its precise location were defined by Theophanes the Confessor (Erkal, 2011, pp. 198-199).

During the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) in July 1203, the castle and the chain were captured by the Crusaders forces that the former was mentioned as "*Tor des Galathas*" (The Tower of Galata) (Villehardouin, 1908, pp. 38-39). The fortress was then called "*Castrum Sanctae Crucis*" (The Castle of Holy Cross) by the Latins.

When Michael VIII Palaiologos has restored the empire in 1261, the Genoese were awarded as how it was promised in the Treaty of Nymphaeum and settled to Constantinople. However, several conflicts during 1262-1264 led to their exile to Heraclea (*Recrea*, Marmara Ereğlisi) and the Genoese were only able to return in 1267 but their commercial quarter was being moved to Galata. Before they settle, the walls were demolished as a precaution by Michael

VIII but the castle was being left with a Byzantine garrison in order to continue protecting the Golden Horn (Balard, 1978, pp. 43-51; Eyice, 1969, p. 11)⁵⁹. However, it is still unclear was the castle formerly attached to the Byzantine walls or not and how was its relation with them that there is no information about those completely disappeared fortifications as well.

The castle was then mentioned in the delimitation act of May 1303, as the defined border was reaching to the Golden Horn with a right angle and a distance of 70 paces (≈ 121 m) to "*castrum Galathe*" (The Castle of Galata) by continuing through south. It has also been stated that the area between the Genoese quarter and the wall of *castrum Galathe* will be left empty, which was strictly emphasized once again in the agreement of March 1304 (Sauli, 1831, pp. 210-211)⁶⁰.

With a treaty dated 6 May 1352, the area with a moat and next to the Genoese quarter until "*castrum sancte Crucis*" at south and "*turrem Trauerii*" (The Tower of Traverios) at north was granted to the Genoese (Sauli, 1831, p. 217)⁶¹. The moat was apparently the one shown in Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), which seems to be filled with sea water but the tower is unknown. It was interpreted as a freestanding tower remained from the former Byzantine fortifications of *Sykai* by Erkal (2011, p. 209) and the easternmost first phase Genoese tower by Schneider and Nomidis (1944). Desimoni (1876, p. 258) claims that it might be constructed by the noble Genoese family of Traverio (Traverso) (Scorza, 1920, XXXVI).

In a testament dated 18 September 1373, the castle appears as *castrum Peire* with the definition of "the great sea, that is to say in the river which stagnates in the castle of Pera near the tower" (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 952-953)⁶². Thus, the Black Sea (*Mare Maggiore*), Bosphorus, Golden Horn and the castle and tower of Galata were mentioned all together.

⁵⁹ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 168), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. I), *De Michaele Palaeologo*, Book II, Chapter XXXV (A.C. 1267), P. 108: "... ac principio quidem Heracleam Thraciae ipsos transtulerat. deinde tamen securius existimavit collocare illos e regione Peraeae, et sua intra solam arcem Galatae habere domicilia iubere... ..inde ad omne periculum certius, quantum in ipso erat, praeventendum dirui et solo funditus aequari iussit munitiones tum intra urbem arcis extractae ad maritimam fori partem, tum extra suburbii Galatae. in quo sic propugnaculis nudato habitare Genuenses ex adverso oppositae ipsi ab occasu Peraeae, extensa quam maxime in longum domorum serie, praecepit..."

⁶⁰ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX).

⁶¹ The document was provided from the private archive of the Marquess Massimiliano Spinola (1780-1857) (doc. XI) "... item per pactum imperium nostrum de gratia donationem facit communi lanue de Gallata cum terreno prout fossatum tendit usque ad castrum sancte Crucis, et ultradictum fossatum cubitorum centum infra quod non possit hedificium Latinum vel Grecum nec aliqua alia novitas fieri. Itaque cubitus centum ist sint in facie incipiendo a capite Gallata usque ad castrum sancte Crucis recta linea et a castro sancte Crucis usque ad turrem Trauerii..."

⁶² ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 18 September 1373, Car. XIX (doc. VII): "... Actum in mari maior, videlicet in flumine sive stagnono castrum Peire, prope turrim, super galeota olim communis..."

Finally, according to Jean Froissart (c. 1337-1405), the castle was captured by the Genoese around 1385 (Du Cange, 1729, p. 60), being a period right after a very struggling state for the Byzantine Empire because of clashes between three members of Palaiologos family for the throne. Correspondingly, in 3 November 1382, an agreement was signed between the Genoese and John V Palaiologos (r. 1341-1376, 1379-1390, 1390-1391) after his reconciling with his son Andronikos IV (r. 1376-1379) (who fled to Galata and stayed there until 1381) and nephew John VII (r. 1390). In this respect, the Republic of Genoa, which formerly supported Andronikos IV during the Byzantine civil war of 1373-1379 has promised that the Genoese residents in Galata, Constantinople and all around the empire will defend John V against any belligerent including his relatives (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 133-140)⁶³. The capture of the castle can be linked to this incident as a concession given to the Genoese in return for an alliance.

It has been mentioned by Erkal (2011, p. 210) that a tall and cylindrical tower was added by the Genoese to the southeastern corner of the Castle of Holy Cross, which then became "The Tower of Holy Cross". It was undoubtedly another landmark of the colony after "*Christea Turris*" (Galata Tower) and having a strategic importance due to sea traffic. However, it is unknown was this tower constructed above already existing corner tower foundations or not.

There are interesting information about the castle and its tower in the accounts of *Massaria di Pera*. For instance, 7 *hyperpyra* (Byzantine coins) were paid in 3 December 1390 to Jane Zuri the master, for putting one bell inside the Castle of Holy Cross, probably to warn the colony during an attack. In 6 April 1391, 13 *hyperpyra* were paid to the masters, who worked for the Tower of Holy Cross. The works for the tower of the castle have cost 1000 *hyperpyra* in 25 August 1391. Finally, in 2 October 1391, 25 *hyperpyra* were paid to a Greek smith called Manoli Menigno for a gilded cross, which was placed above the Tower of the Holy Cross, belonging to the castle (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 153, 162, 165-166)^{64 65 66 67}. Those dates are coherent with the occupation date (1385) given by Du Cange (1729, p. 60) and in this case, it can be assumed that the Tower of Holy Cross was erected in 1391 and completed in that year, just after some necessary upgrades for the castle by the Genoese.

⁶³ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 2 November 1382, Car. X (doc. XXVI).

⁶⁴ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 68 v (doc. XXXII): "*Pro Jane Zuri magistro, pro una campana pro ponendo eam in castro sancte Crucis, Pp. 7*".

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 74 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Ea die. Pro magistris qui laboraverunt ad turrim sancte Crucis, pro eius biberagio, Pp. I. 13*".

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 August 1391, Car. 1391, fol. 33 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro coperiendo turrim de Castello, Pp. 1000*".

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 October 1391, Car. 1391, fol. 146 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Ea die. Manoli Menigno fabro greco... in soluzione unius pomi de ramo cum sua cruce desuper et deauratum per totum, quod poni debet super turrim sancte Crucis de Castro, Pp. 25*".

It was also mentioned that the Tower of Holy Cross was bearing a large sphere made of copper just below its renowned cross. Inside the building, wood, grain, weapons and cannons of the Genoese were stored (Balard, 1978, p. 191)⁶⁸. In 1418, the Genoese have linked the freestanding castle to Galata Walls and it became a part of the defensive system. Linking walls were then strengthened during c. 1446-1448 (see A.11.15, A.11.37 and A.11.42).

A tower near the castle, which was shown on Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422) has a tall, rectangular form with battlements and either attached to the fortress or not on different versions. Although its position looks more likely to be the briefly described one of the Traverios Tower at north, it is in fact probably the Tower of Holy Cross when considered its approximate construction date in 1391, so the former remains even more obscure. In addition, with respect to the exact position of the Tower of Holy Cross seen on later period panoramas, the illustrated ones on Buondelmonti copies have a significant error. They appear as if the castle was seen from Galata Tower at north despite the view of panoramas from south and probably the fact of reverse angle was omitted. Yet, there are still some characteristic details.

It has been mentioned by the former *podestà* Angelo Giovanni Lomellini (r. 1452) in 23 June 1453 that the the Tower of Holy Cross was demolished together with sea walls due to the conquest (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 229-233)⁶⁹. A letter written to Pope Nicholas V in 17 August 1453 also has similar indications for it (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 233-257)⁷⁰. As Mehmed II promised not to demolish or damage Genoese castles in Galata with the edict of 1 June 1453 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1940, p. 169; Şakiroğlu, 1983, p. 218), some damages might occurred on the tower between 29 May - 1 June despite the peaceful surrender (see 2.4.3 and 2.5).

In May 1453, the castle was captured by the Ottomans together with the rest of Galata and then became a gunpowder magazine said to be called "*Mahzen-i Sultani*" (The Imperial Magazine) (see 2.9.3). The castle was struck by a lightning and its tower was damaged due to a great explosion in early 1500. Afterwards, the building was converted into a granary for imported grain and because of its hipped roof covered with lead, added in 1550s, the building was named as "*Kurşunlu Mahzen*" (The Leaded Magazine). Upper parts of the building were

⁶⁸ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1390, fol. 36 r, 68 v, 69 r, 75 v, 146 r; 1391, fol. 113.

⁶⁹ *Notices et extraits des mss. (manuscripts) de la Bibl. du Roi* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), 23 June 1453, Vol. XI, pp. 75-79 (doc. CXLIX): "... dirui fecit omnia; burgos et partem fossorum de castro dirui fecit; turrim sancte Crucis dirui fecit; partim unius cortine intra barbacanetam et partem barbacane, omnia menia maris restari; cepit omnes bombardas, et intendit capere omnes munitiones et omnia arma burgensium..."

⁷⁰ Quoted from Lonicer, P., (1578), *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt am Main, Vol. II, p. 84 et. seq.), 17 August 1453 (doc. CL): "... Turremque in cuius acumine Christi signum crucis, a quo et denominabatur, usque ad fundamenta evertit..."

started to be used as a customhouse in 1676 but a fire has burned the lead roof down and the walls were remained bare in 1683. An imperial kiosk was added to the coastal part of the former castle in 1716, during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730). In 1752, The undercroft was converted into a mosque and became "*Kurşunlu Mahzen Camii*" (The Leaded Magazine Mosque) / "*Yeraltı Camii*" (Underground Mosque). The cylindrical tower was started be used as a minaret but due to the great Istanbul earthquake of 1766, it was collapsed and a new, typical minaret was built afterwards. When Galata Walls were started to be demolished in 1864, the building was freed from adjacent fortifications and became freestanding again. After another fire, the southeast and southwest walls were pulled down and an open place like a platform was created. Two-storied wooden offices of the littoral public health, in relation with the port authority were erected above the mosque in 1871 (Erkal, 2011, pp. 210-219).

As the building is mainly an early Byzantine defensive construction, further Genoese interventions and alterations are unknown apart from some works and the cylindrical tower, which was collapsed in 1766 without leaving any traces behind. This tower is visible on several panoramas from the 16-18th centuries.



Fig. 135-141: The Castle of Holy Cross and the nearby Tower of Holy Cross (probably with an omitted reverse angle) on various copies of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), being the ones from the collections of Greenwich National Maritime Museum (2015), Michigan University Library (2015), an 18th century copy (Gyllius, 1729), British Museum (Medievalists, 2015), Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Wikimedia, 2015), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Pearse, 2015) and Biblioteca Marciana (Istanbul Guide, 2015)



Fig. 142-147: The former castle and tower of Holy Cross in the panoramas of Bertrandon de la Broquière (1455) (Getty Images, 2015), Piri Reis (3) (16th c.) (Piri Reis, 2013), Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) (Kumrular, 2007, p. 264) and Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (1680) (Grelot, 1680)



Fig. 148-149: The castle and tower of the Holy Cross from Galata Tower in the panorama of Melchior Lorichs (1559), when it was covered by a hipped roof with lead slates and in usage as a granary (Lorichs, 1559) and floor plan of the undercroft (Mamboury, 1953, p. 417)

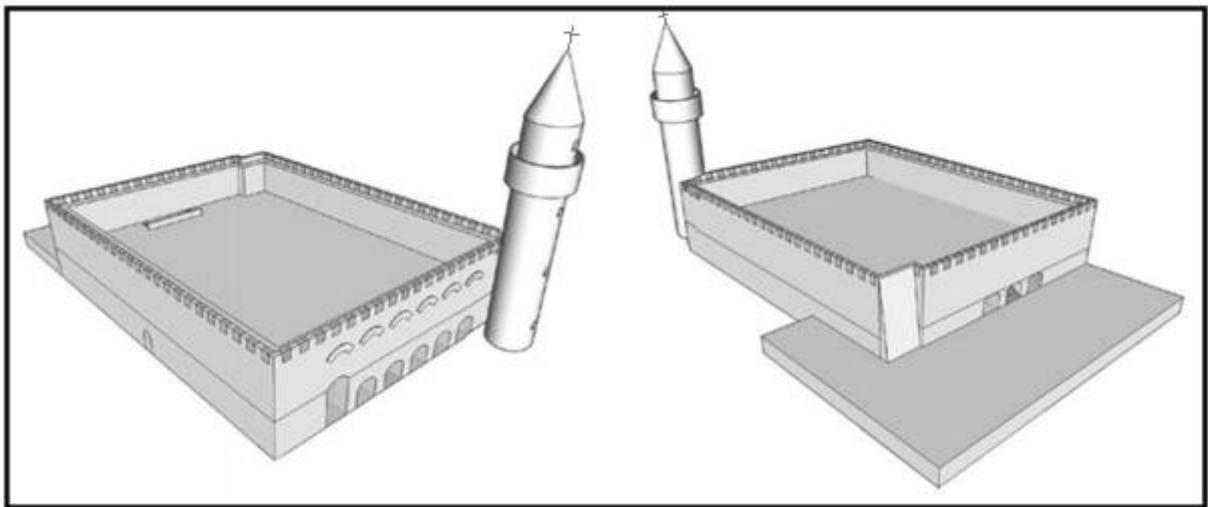


Fig. 150: An approximate view of the castle and tower of Holy Cross during its Genoese times (c. 1385-1453) (see Appendix 8) (after Erkal, 2011, p. 220)



Fig. 151-153: Yeraltı Mosque at the present time (Author, 2015)

2.7- Civil Constructions

2.7.1- Grid Urban Layout

Being surrounded with moats and ramparts, Galata was having the characteristics of a walled medieval city. There were vast orchards and a cemetery outside land walls and sea walls were following the Golden Horn and Bosphorus from west through east. Inside the walls, the city was not having a uniform pattern. Among five main boroughs, especially the central, northern and eastern ones were densely urbanized and the ones at west and northwest were having rather irregular plans with many vineyards. A slight distortion is perceivable in the urban character of the northern and eastern boroughs, when compared with the unique grid pattern inside the central borough. The first concession zone was forming the majority of this section.

Although many demolitions were happened during 19-20th centuries in order to widen streets and bring a modern urban planning to Galata, the aforementioned grid layout is still perceivable in the central neighborhood and it is a very strong reminiscent of the first concession zone, as surrounding Galata Walls were mostly demolished. That "checkerboard fashion" arrangement was especially noticed by Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) and then interpreted as a characteristic of the original Genoese city (İnalçık, 1998, p. 293). On the other hand, Akyol (1998, pp. 26-28) raises the possibility whether this layout might remained from the ancient periods of *Sykai*, which was first established by the Greeks from Megara, known to used grid patterns in their colonies.

It is known that the usage of grid plans dates back to the Ancient Greece and it was continued to be used by the Romans afterwards but can roots of the partial grid plan inside Galata be explained by going back to very early periods of *Sykai*? Comparisons and available traces might be helpful in order to explain the origins of this urban layout.

Being established for the first time by the Genoese as colonial settlements, grid plans of *Scalanova* (Kuşadası) and *Foglia Nuova* (Yenifoça) were interpreted as contributions from them by Müller-Wiener (1975, pp. 399-420). However, the layout of the Franciscan convent with *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* raises the possibility of a Genoese foundation above a much older grid plan in the beginning of 14th century. Coherent orientations of later period churches like *San Michele* (c. 1326) and *San Domenico* (c. 1323-1337) to the grid plan are also noteworthy. In this case, as the Genoese have arrived to an area with an already existing settlement, the grid plan of Galata might be attributed to its *Sykai* period (see 2.10).

2.7.2- Boroughs and Quarters

The walled Galata was divided into several boroughs. In a notary record dated 11 April 1315, a borough called "*Predis*" was mentioned (Balard, 1987, p. 18)⁷¹. At that time, only the central and partially fortified part of Galata was having the character of a borough, so it can be assumed that *Predis* was the borough including the first concession zone. However, in the period following the Ottoman conquest, this part then appears as "*castri*" and "*castellum*" in several Genoese notary documents from 1458-1482, where the *loggia* and *contrada* of *San Francesco*, apparently being in the walled first concession zone were placed inside those places together with a few dwellings (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 156-271)^{72 73 74 75 76 77 78}.

Spiga and *Lagirio* (*Largero*) were other boroughs that their locations were detected by Desimoni (1876, pp. 253-258) as the westernmost and eastern sections of Galata Walls, respectively. Further information about their possible etymological roots were also provided.

Another name of *Spiga* was *Sant'Antonio* due to the nearby coastal gate (Azap Gate) (Buondelmonti, 2005, pp. 54-56). Inside the registries of *Massaria di Pera* from 1390, the location of *Castrum Sanctae Crucis* appears as "*deversus Spigam*", therefore the opposite side of Galata from the viewpoint of the castle was referred as *Spiga* (Desimoni, 1876, p. 253)⁷⁹.

In a letter of *Officium Provisionis Romanie* from 1 September 1448, it has been ordered by the authority of Genoa to *Podestà* Benedetto Vivaldi to immediately restore the ruined walls of *Lagirio* borough. In this case, the discovery position and contents of the slab A.11.42 from 20 December 1448 becomes another proof for the location of *Lagirio* (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 216-217)⁸⁰. A notary registry from 31 January 1453 mentions that there was a bazaar inside the borough of "*Agerii*", which appears in two more notary documents from 4 August 1453 and 1

⁷¹ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 11 April 1315, Car. 209, fol. 158 v (doc. 7).

⁷² ASG, *Notaio Casanova Francesco - filza 3 (1427-1461)*, sc. 6/46, 2 September 1458 (doc. 65): "... *intus menia castris dicti loci, prope logiam*..."

⁷³ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1 (1461-1489)*, sc. 6/91, 28 December 1475 (doc. 101): "... *intus castellum, apud logiam*..."

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 August 1478 (doc. 106): "... *intus castellum, sub porticu olin domus*..."

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 August 1479 (doc. 111): "... *intus castelum, in via publica, iuxta hostium domus habitacionis Bartholomei Bonaventure in contracta Sancti Francischi*..."

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 August 1479 (doc. 116): "... *intus castellum, in logia mercatorum*..."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1480 (doc. 119): "... *intus castellum, sub porticu domus*..."

⁷⁸ ASG, *Notai Cortesia Agostino della Pieve e Lanfranco Piolo da Oneglia e Staliano Davide - filza 1 (1485-1495)*, sc. 6/114, 21 November 1482 (doc. 122): "... *intus castellum, iuxta domum*..."

⁷⁹ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1390, fol. 27, 33, 69, 74, 162; 1391, fol. 75.

⁸⁰ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romanie*, 1 September 1448 (doc. CXXXIV).

December 1469 together with the nearby church of *Santa Chiara* (see 2.9.11) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 96-98, 138-139, 178-179)^{81 82 83}.

Spiga and *Lagirio* boroughs of Galata were also stated in two *Massaria di Pera* documents from 3 December 1390 and 16 March 1391 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 154, 155, 161)^{84 85 86}. Finally, with respect to these sources and further historical documents more, their locations were shown by Balard (1978, pp. 188-190) on a map of Galata.

Filacora (?) was another mentioned borough of Galata but its details are unknown (Buondelmonti, 2005, pp. 54-56).

Referring to several notary documents, it has been said that Galata was divided into several smaller quarters (*contrade*) within the walled main boroughs that some of them were having the names of a rich family or the best represented craft of that area. The fur traders have established theirs not far from *San Michele* and *Santa Maria* churches, near K rk  (fur traders) Gate. The spinners were working in *Spiga* and had their own quarter within, like the families of Octaviani and Draperiis in other parts that the latter were dwelt near the church of *San Francesco* (Balard, 1978, pp. 192-193)^{87 88}. A notary record from 24 July 1332 indicates a *contrada* called *Galinus Galus* (Balard, 1987, p. 26)⁸⁹, most probably in the central part of Galata because of the early date. Two notary acts from September 1468 indicate "*contracta logie*", being the quarter around the *loggia* (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 163-168)^{90 91}.

Other quarters were bearing the name of their parish. Some properties inside "*quarterio sancti Dominici*" were mentioned in deeds from 30 July 1332 and 28 April 1405 (Balard, 1987, p. 26; Belgrano, 1877, pp. 968-969)^{92 93}. This neighborhood continues to appear in notary

⁸¹ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 31 January 1453 (doc. 27): "... domo dicti condam Georgii Iordanini, sita in burgo Agerii, prope bassale..."

⁸² *Ibid.*, 4 August 1453 (doc. 53): "... in bassali, ad apotecam dicti Andree macellarii..."

⁸³ ASG, *Notaio Torriglia Antonio - filza 1 (1450-1480)*, sc. 6/77, 1 December 1469 (doc. 75): "... in bazalli, apud ecclesiam Sancte Clare..."

⁸⁴ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 38 v (doc. XXXIII): "In Andrea Vasilico collectore stabie burgorum de Lagirio... pro anno uno, Pp. 316, 18".

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 34 v (doc. XXXIII): "Chilicus de Ardito collector stabie burgorum de Spiga, pro custodia nocturna, Pp. 88".

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 16 March 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 36 r (doc. XXXVI): "Pro campanelas XIII positas in turribus burgorum Spiga et de Lagirio, Pp. 100".

⁸⁷ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, doc. 12, 24, 61, 66.

⁸⁸ ASG, *Notaio Tomaso Casanova*, 1363, doc. 232, fol. 30 r-v; fol. 213 r.

⁸⁹ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 24 July 1332 (doc. 40).

⁹⁰ ASG, *Notaio Granello Emanuele - filza 1 (1450-1480)*, sc. 6/81, 12 September 1468 (doc. 68).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 15 September 1468 (doc. 69).

⁹² ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 30 July 1332 (doc. 41).

registries; from 20 July 1453 as a quarter and from 20 July 1479 as a *contrada* (see 2.9.1) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 133-134, 233-235)^{94 95}.

The ones of *San Lazaro*, *San Michele* and *Santa Maria* were mentioned together in a registry from 30 October 1389 (see 2.9.9). In addition, a property belonging to the Patriarch of Constantinople was the origin of another *contrada* with vineyards: *Patriarco* (Balard, 1987, p. 33)⁹⁶.

Quarterio sancti Michaelis (the quarter of Saint Michael) was also mentioned in an expense registry of *Massaria di Pera* from 18 March 1391 (see 2.9.3) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 161)⁹⁷. Another registry dated 16 November 1389 was signed in the courtyard of a house inside the *contrada* of *Santa Caterina* chapel (see 2.9.6) (Balard, 1987, p. 35)⁹⁸. The quarter of *San Francesco* appears in a record from 11 April 1390 and some more ones from later periods (see 2.9.2) (Balard, 1987, p. 42)⁹⁹. Finally, a notary registry from 12 December 1466 mentions "*contracta Sancti Georgii*" (see 2.9.4) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 159-160)¹⁰⁰. The quarters with the names of their parishes were most probably consisted of areas immediately around the related churches.

However, a notary registry dated 23 July 1390 indicates an exception. It is about some houses in the *contrada* of *Sant'Antonio* inside *Spiga* borough (Balard, 1987, p. 48)¹⁰¹, a location distant from the church of *Sant'Antonio* near the castle. Thus, it appears that the neighborhood behind *Porta Sant'Antonio* (Azap Gate) was having the same name as well.

With respect to the Ottoman tax survey of 1455 after the conquest, İnalçık (1998, p. 293) states that particular ethnic and religious groups were spread in different parts of Galata. For example, the Italians were the majority within the quarters of the first concession zone and the triangular area until Galata Tower (the Tower of Christ); being the quarters of *Zani Drapoza*, *Zani Dabdan*, *Nikorož Sikay* (*Sykai*), *Nikorož Bonazita*, *Anton di Garzan*, *Zani di Pagani*, *İskinoplok* (*İskinaplok*), *Fabya* and *Pero di Lankashko*. Among these, only the quarter of

⁹³ ASG, *Fogliazzo del notaro Ilario Primo De Benedetti, 1391-1448*, 28 April 1405, 21 (doc. XI).

⁹⁴ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 20 July 1453 (doc. 50).

⁹⁵ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1 (1461-1489)*, sc. 6/91, 20 July 1479 (doc. 107).

⁹⁶ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390, n.g. 476*, sc. 32, 30 October 1389 (doc. 68).

⁹⁷ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 18 March 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 59 v (doc. XXXVI): "*Domus empta pro Comune a Blaxino de Ceva, qui dictus Blaxinus emit a Lucho Cataneo, posita in quarterio sancti Michaelis... pro precio dicte domus etc., Pp. 187*".

⁹⁸ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390, n.g. 476*, sc. 32, 16 November 1389 (doc. 74).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11 April 1390 (doc. 103).

¹⁰⁰ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 12 December 1466 (doc. 66).

¹⁰¹ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390, n.g. 476*, sc. 32, 23 July 1390 (doc. 129).

Fabya around the first concession zone took its name from a building; the church of *San Fabiano*. The Greeks, Jews and Armenians of Galata were mainly living in the east (*Lagirio* borough) but some Greeks were also residing inside eastern half of the triangular section as of 1455. It must be considered that the aforementioned quarter names were hastily put by the Ottomans during the survey and registries are helpful to detect the locations of some former Genoese buildings and the demographics of quarters in 1455 (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 297-301).

2.7.3- Loggia

The word of "*loggia*" has two main meanings. First, it might indicate a spatial element of a building, being arched galleries (portico) in front. Secondly, it might indicate a whole building itself, which mainly has a commercial function like a warehouse (*fondaco*) or an inn for merchants but can also be used as an office for administrative issues (Ağır, 2013, p. 70).

Loggia was the commercial heart of Galata. The Genoese were allowed to have *loggia* inside their commercial colonies when the Treaty of Nymphaeum was ratified in 1261 (Balard, 1978, p. 44). In the agreement of March 1304 about their rights in Galata, having *loggia* was stated once again (Sauli, 1831, p. 211-216)¹⁰². However, the exact state and architecture of that *loggia* were not mentioned with precise details.

A nearby example, the Venetian quarter of Constantinople was also having a similar commercial structure. It has been displayed by Ağır (2013, pp. 62-64) that during the 12-13th centuries, the *embolos* of that quarter was a columned and probably covered main commercial street with stores and workshops behind porticos (*loggia*) at both sides, which appears from numerous documents in the State Archive of Venice (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*). In addition, "*embolo Venetorum*" was sometimes indicating the whole colonial settlement.

Available information about the Genoese *loggia* of Galata is diverse. Inside the acts of the notary Gabriele de Predono, the *loggia* was counted as one of the most important public buildings of Galata in 1281 (Balard, 1978, p. 182)¹⁰³. Yet, with respect to the slab A.11.1, the half of Pera, which was roughly the first concession zone as of 1315 was burned again in that

¹⁰² ASG, *Materie Politiche*, March 1304, Car. VIII (doc. X): "... *Item quod habeant in eodem loco ipsi ianuenses et qui tenentur ianuenses libertatem sine aliquo impedimento, et habeant macellum et macella et macellarios ianuensium, missitas ianuensium, logiam, balneum, ecclesiam propriam sive ecclesias, sacerdotem vel sacerdotes ianuenses et latinos, stateram et ponderatores ianuensium, et scribas, mensuras et omnia alia que voluerint ad voluntatem et placitum eorum...*"

¹⁰³ Quoted from Bratianu, G. I., (1927). *Actes des notaires...*, pp. 73-173 (documents) and 301-326 (registers).

year and then rebuilt by *Podestà* Montano de Marini in 1316. Those works were also including a *loggia* that the rebuilt structure was in fact attributed to an open space (*plateam logie*) on that slab. This information was also mentioned inside the continued chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine (c. 1230-1298) (Promis, 1874, pp. 496-500)¹⁰⁴. Also mentioned as "*plateam Peire*" in 15 September 1468, the latest usage of "*platea logie*" in available Genoese sources appears in 6 August 1479 (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 168-169, 238-241)^{105 106}. After mentioning the Forum of Honorius from the 5th century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, Gyllius (1729, p. 275) states as of 1540s that there was a forum on a relatively plain area near the port and the demolished *San Michele*, being Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı / Kurşunlu Han next to the recent *Bedesten* (see 2.9.3). It was also well supplied with water by an ancient subterranean aqueduct, therefore giving an impression of the Baths of Honorius again from the same ancient resource. The continuous triplet of "*forum - platea - lonca*" was then set by Schneider and Nomidis (1944) on a map for that area. Hence, the commercial *Lonca* quarter of the Ottoman Galata was superposed with the ancient forum through the *loggia* (see 2.10).

It has been stated that the old *loggia* inside the first concession zone was also including the former *Palazzo Comunale* (communal palace) until the fire of 1315 and the new *loggia*, being the vaulted galleries of the new *Palazzo Comunale's* lower part was built in 1316 together with the palace itself at north, just outside the first concession zone (Akyol, 1997, p. 28; İnalçık, 1998, p. 350). Accordingly, the slab A.11.1 indicates that the church and the communal palace were burnt in 1315. As the new palace of 1316 remains clearly outside the borders of the first quarter, it was justified that the first palace was remaining inside the delimitation of 1303 (see 2.8). Therefore, a proximity between the old *loggia* and the first communal palace inside the central part of the first concession zone is very likely. The new palace was indeed another landmark in the end of the main *loggia* axis and there was undoubtedly an urban continuity between those two commercial establishments of Galata through Perşembe Pazarı Street of today, which might be the former *platea*.

On approximately 20 notary acts from 1315-1332, agreement places were stated as "*logiam Ianuensium*" (the Genoese *loggia*), "*logia Communis Peyre*" (the *loggia* of the Commune of

¹⁰⁴ *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine dal MCCXCVII al MCCCXXXII*: "... Anno domini MCCCIII rehedificata fuit peyra per concessionem factam per serenissimum principem dominum andronichum paleologum imperatorem grecorum. Et MCCCXV accessit quod igne accidentali quasi tota Peyra combusta est et palatium comunis et MCCCXVI palatium comunis redifficatum et pondus comunis et platea logie et muri de versus terram facti sunt tempore potestatis domini Montani de Marinis..."

¹⁰⁵ ASG, *Notaio Granello Emanuele - filza 1* (1450-1480), sc. 6/81, 15 September 1468 (doc. 70).

¹⁰⁶ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1* (1461-1489), sc. 6/91, 6 August 1479 (doc. 110).

Pera) or simply "*logia*". When considered precise signing locations of further documents until 1390 like the vaulted council room of the palace, houses of the subjected people or the churches dedicated to Saint Michael and Saint Dominic, those *loggia* statements were most probably indicating a single building. Moreover, a notary act dated 1 February 1331 was signed "*subter logiam comunis Peyre*", so a proper storey of a communal *loggia* building was referred. It then appears as "*Logia Comunis*" in the tax records of *Massaria di Pera* from 3 December 1390 and an expense registry from the same year but "*platea logie Peyre*" (*loggia* square / marketplace of Pera) was also continued to be used; in another notary record from 7 September 1397 (Balard, 1987, pp. 9-78; Belgrano, 1877, p. 154)^{107 108 109 110}.

Correspondingly, after several notary documents of *Archivio di Stato di Genova* and Donato di Chiavari from 1389, it has been stated that the *loggia* was having adjacent shops and storehouses sheltered by porticos all along the way. The notaries were working under those porticos to write demanded acts by merchants. It was also sheltering the customs offices (*coligitur expedicamentum*) and the halls of the court where the *podestà* of Galata was running juridical works (Balard, 1978, pp. 193-194)^{111 112 113}. It appears from further notary registries that the church of *San Michele* near the *loggia* was another hosting space for administrative and juridical affairs (see 2.9.3) (Balard, 1987, pp. 31-49)¹¹⁴.

Apart from brief mentions, there are also interesting informarion about the *loggia* inside Genoese archival sources, which provide some details about its architecture and location. For instance, Saint George's image painted on "*Logia Comunis*" was illuminated, repaired and then illuminated again with candles in 1392 for a religious festival there (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 170, 173, 174)^{115 116 117}. Another record from 27 May 1405 indicates its signing location as

¹⁰⁷ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 1 February 1331, Car. VI, fol. 12 (doc. 14).

¹⁰⁸ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 34 r (doc. XXXIII).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1390-1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 7 v (doc. XXXIV).

¹¹⁰ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 7 September 1397, Car. S (doc. 53).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Car. 144, fol. 143 r, 144 r, 144 v, 211 v, 212 v, 213 r-v, 214 r; Car. 329, fol. 276 v-277 r.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Car. 144, fol. 144 v, 213 v, "... in logia Comunis Peyre ubi colligitur expedicamentum..."

¹¹³ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, doc. 55, 56, 62 etc.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14 October, 13 December 1389; 28 January, 7 May, 1 June, 23 July, 13 August, 27 August 1390 (doc. 61, 79; 84-88, 108-109, 116, 129, 131, 133).

¹¹⁵ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 24 May 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 72 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Pro una candela posita coram sancto Georgio sub Logia in festo suo, more consueto... Pp. 24, 2*".

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 August 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 76 v (doc. XXXVIII): "*Pro quibusdam magistris pictoribus, qui reparaverunt ymaginem sancti Georgii sub Logia Comunis, Pp. 7, 7, 1/2*".

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVIII): "... et pro candelis positis ante ymaginem sancti Georgii in festo suo sub Logia, Pp. 6, 13".

above the new tower near the communal *loggia*, beside the great tower of *San Michele* of Pera (Belgrano, 1877, p. 969)¹¹⁸. Thus, the *loggia* was placed near that former church.

The *loggia* appears in many 15th century Genoese notary acts about Galata as well, which were published by Roccatagliata (1982). Documents from 1408, 1447 and 1453 indicate that the notarial seat (*bancum*) of the Genoese was located in it (*sub logia*) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 44-102)^{119 120 121}. The Spanish traveler Pedro Tafur describes the *loggia* of Pera as a fine, well built and fortified building in 1438 (Tafur, 1926, p. 149).

According to a notary registry from 25 January 1453, the judicial seat (*staziam curie*), which mainly appears as "*banchum curie*" or "*bancum iuris*" in documents from 1408-1454 was related to the *loggia*. Another document from 2 April 1454 mentions them together as "*logie curie*" (the *loggia* of the court) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 46-156)^{122 123}.

It was usually mentioned as simply "*logia*" in documents from 1408-1469 but the name of "*logiam Ianuensium*" (the Genoese *loggia*) was used for the last time in 5 February 1476. Then, it was started to be called with other names, such as "*logia mercatorum*" (merchants' *loggia*) or "*logia publica*" (public *loggia*) in 1479-1482, respectively (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 250-271)^{124 125 126}. This situation can be interpreted as a changed ownership in the Ottoman period, following the conquest of Galata in 1453.

These documents also provide information about the location of the *loggia*. For instance, a notary registry from 8 March 1453 was signed in "*platea Sancti Michaelis, prope logiam*", so the open space of *San Michele* near the *loggia* was referred (Roccatagliata, 1982, p. 107)¹²⁷. It appears that apart from the nearby marketplace (*platea*), further public areas were surrounding the *loggia*, which were mentioned as "*via publica*" (public street) and "*carrubeo*" (crossroads)

¹¹⁸ ASG, *Fogliazzo del notaro Ilario Primo De Benedetti, 1391-1448*, 27 May 1405, no. 22 (doc. XII): "... *super turrim novam sitam prope logiam communis, apud turrim magnam beati Michaelis de Peyra...*"

¹¹⁹ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 1408 (doc. 1): "... [*logiam?*] *comunis, ad bancum mei notarii...*"

¹²⁰ ASG, *Notai Sisto Cristofforo e De Ferrari Giovanni Battista - filza 1 (1452-1463)*, sc. 6/83, 11 December 1447 (doc. 18): "... *bancum dicti Baldasalis, positum sub logia...*"

¹²¹ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 9 February 1453 (doc. 30): "... *sub logia Pere, ad bancum Badasalis de Segnorio notari...*"

¹²² *Ibid.*, 25 January 1453 (doc. 22): "... *sub logia Pere, prope staziam curie Pere...*"

¹²³ ASG, *Notaio De Rapallo Cristoforo seniore - filza 14 (n.d.)*, sc. 6/56, 2 April 1454 (doc. 60).

¹²⁴ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1 (1461-1489)*, sc. 6/91, 5 February 1476 (doc. 105).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 August 1479 (doc. 116).

¹²⁶ ASG, *Notai Cortesia Agostino della Pieve e Lanfranco Piolo da Oneglia e Staliano Davide - filza 1 (1485-1495)*, sc. 6/134, 1 March 1482 (doc. 120).

¹²⁷ ASG, *ASG, Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 8 March 1453 (doc. 34).

in 1454-1476 (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 148-229)^{128 129 130}. A "vico" (lane) was also placed next to the *loggia* in 6 April 1453 and another one was mentioned behind *San Michele* in 3 August 1453, which should also be in the vicinity of the *loggia* (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 111-115, 139-140)^{131 132}. Thus, it can be supposed that the neighboring *loggia* and *San Michele* were both facing relatively busy open spaces in front and rather narrow lanes behind.

Loggia was naturally mentioned inside the Ottoman sources after the conquest. For instance, according to the tax survey of 1455, *Lonca* (*Londja*) quarter of Galata was the main shopping area with the imperial scale, market hall, soap factories and the two *loggias* (old and new one). It also indicates that 41 out of 58 shops were located right behind Yağkapanı Gate and another shopping area was around the church of *San Michele*, therefore strengthening the location and commercial importance of the first, "old *loggia*" (İnalçık, 1998, p. 294)¹³³. The *vakfiye* of c. 1472 also indicates that *Lonca* Quarter was near İskele / Yağ Kapanı Gate (İnalçık, 1998, p. 303). *Lonca Çarşısı* (bazaar) was having 66 shops and 5 magazines in total during Mehmed II's reign (Ayverdi, 1953, pp. 39-40). This area appears as "*contracta logie*" inside Genoese notary sources from the same period (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 163-168)^{134 135}.

A building called *Lonca-yı Atık* (the old *loggia*) appears in the *cibayet* survey of 1519, which was having 4 cellars and 25 surrounding shops in ground floor and 16 cells in the upper one. When the famous *Bedesten* (covered bazaar) of Galata was established with an edict from the official Ottoman registries and dated 3 November 1585, it has also been stated that the building was already a *bedesten* by origin and rented by several non-Muslims at that time. In this case, the possibility of having the same location appears for *Lonca-yı Atık* and the *Bedesten* of Galata. The given architectural details are 20 domes above 16 marble pillars in the edict of 1585 and Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) describes the *Bedesten* of Galata as a building from the late 15th century, probably due to the existence of *Lonca-yı Atık* from an even older period in the same place. "Ebü'l-feth Gâzî bezâzistâni", which means "*Bedesten* of

¹²⁸ ASG, *Notaio De Rapallo Cristoforo seniore - filza 14* (n.d.), sc. 6/56, 2 April 1454 (doc. 60): "... in via publica logie curie..."

¹²⁹ ASG, *Notai Bonavei Battista e Castelasso Teramo - filza 1* (1472-1494), sc. 6/114, 25 October 1475 (doc. 93): "... videlicet in carrubeo retro logiam..."

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1476 (doc. 102): "... videlicet in carrubeo prope logiam..."

¹³¹ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1* (1453-1482), sc. 6/87, 6 April 1453 (doc. 37): "... in domo ... sita in vico recto a logia..."

¹³² *Ibid.*, 3 August 1453, (doc. 54): "... in vico retro ecclesiam Sancti Micaellis, prope domum..."

¹³³ İnalçık (1998) has obtained the Ottoman tax survey of 1455 for Galata from Prof. Bekir Sitki Baykal (Ankara University).

¹³⁴ ASG, *Notaio Granello Emanuele - filza 1* (1450-1480), sc. 6/81, 12 September 1468 (doc. 68).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 September 1468 (doc. 69).

the Father of Conquests" (Mehmed II, r. 1451-1481) was having 12 domes. It appears that both of the architectural details mentioned above clearly mismatch with the recent state of the rectangular *Bedesten* of Galata with 9 domes above 4 piers. In this case, the aforementioned two buildings were perhaps not the *Bedesten* of Galata now, or if so, the building might had many changes over centuries (Bulunur, 2013, pp. 86-87)^{136 137}.

However, Bulunur (2013, pp. 79-88) claims that the *loggia* of Galata was a trading area inside the urban fabric, with a depth between the commercial quays behind *Porta Comego* (Yağkapanı Gate) and the communal palace (*Palazzo Comunale*) through Galata Tower. Its approximate width was between *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque) and *San Francesco* churches at land side. Kürkcü and Balıkpazarı gates were its probable coastal limits. There were no precise borders for the *loggia* but its main axis was the recent Perşembe Pazarı Street.

On the other side, after providing the historical statements about the defined structure with 20 domes, Eyice (1996, p. 310) thinks that the recent *Bedesten* does not belong to the period of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481) and situated above an older building.

Several historical panoramas usually illustrate the area of *loggia* denser than other parts of Galata, including some ships just outside Yağkapanı Gate but especially the work of Pieter van de Keere (1616) clearly shows one street as a wider, main axis. Yet, probably due to a minor confusion, it was marked as *Forum piscarium* with Balıkpazarı Gate (*fori piscarii porta*) in the end that both of them mean "fish market". "*Platea Copora Veniens*" (Necatibey Street) was marked as another main street, which runs behind the castle. Large commercial buildings (*han*) especially along Perşembe Pazarı Street with a possible Genoese character strengthen the assumption of a main trade axis (see 2.10). Those particular buildings were noticed by Arseven (1913) and also shown on the maps of Schneider and Nomidis (1944) and Müller-Wiener (1977) among the oldest existing structures of Galata.

To conclude, it can be claimed that the *loggia* of Galata was not only consisted of a trade area with a central marketplace (*platea*) but also having a main office (*Logia Communis*) with commercial and administrative functions. After the Ottoman conquest of 1453, the former might partially formed the quarter of *Lonca* (also linked to the ancient Forum of Honorius by location) and the latter was named as *Lonca-yı Atik* (the old *loggia*), which was mentioned in 1455 and 1519. Perhaps, the communal funds palace stated on the slab A.11.7 was also in the

¹³⁶ *Ayasofya Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* (926 / 1519).

¹³⁷ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defterleri*, no. 60, p. 86/195 (10 Z. 993 / 3 November 1585).

vicinity of *platea*. Under these circumstances, when considered the supposed construction date and pivotal position of the *Bedesten* near the main trade axis (Perşembe Pazarı Street) until the former palace and the disappeared *San Michele* just behind the demolished *Porta Comego* (Yağkapanı Gate) with the main quay; and also spatial relations of these buildings with each other inside the urban fabric, it can be said that the former commercial establishment in the recent plot of the *Bedesten* was supposedly from the Genoese period, perchance the main *loggia* building itself. In any case, it was naturally a landmark of that shopping area due to having a very central position with many adjacent shops and storehouses. Although the exact location and dimensions of the former *platea* are unclear, it might be placed along the recent Perşembe Pazarı Street and around its *Bedesten* junction, where a significant distortion is still perceivable where the grid urban pattern slightly shifts.

Nevertheless, the commercial function of the vaulted lower half of the second *Palazzo Comunale* in the end of the main trade axis from the port and visible on the famous Baron Tecco illustration of 1850 is still not very clear. With respect to a *Massaria di Pera* registry from 1392, the basement of the palace (mentioned as *domo Communis*) was serving as an armory (Belgrano, 1877, p. 174)¹³⁸. This fact increases the possibility of its commercial usage as the second, "new *loggia*" (*Yeni Lonca*); a name appears in the Ottoman survey of 1455.

Additionally, some more records show that the house of the *massaria* (treasurer) with its stables and offices for the financiers were around the *loggia*. It appears as "*camera massaria veteris comunis Pere*" in records from 1443-1453. A private stable was also to be rented for the cavalry of the *podestà*. The location of the prison is unknown but its works were begun in 1390. The slaughterhouse was in *Spiga* borough and close to the shore (Balard, 1978, p. 194; Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 69-119)^{139 140 141}. The seat of the Provision Office of Pera (*camera officii provisionis Pere*) was probably located just inside *Sant'Antonio* Gate in the borough of *Spiga* as well (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 98-109)^{142 143 144}.

¹³⁸ ASG, *Massarie Communis lanue*, 18 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 38 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Janoto Besacia et Nicolao Portonario officialibus ellectis ad emendum millium et bombardas pro Comuni, et sunt pro... modis... Lacuna millii repositi per eos, ut asserunt, in turribus Communis Peyre pro salute loci Peyre, et pro bombardis LX repositis in domo Communis ubi reponuntur armature Communis, et pro certa quantitate lapidum a tronis et sanitri et ferrorum a sagitis que sunt reposita in dicta domo Communis, Pp. 3681*".

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1390, fol. 66 v, 68 v, 78 v; 1391, fol. 68.

¹⁴⁰ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, no. 25.

¹⁴¹ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 1453 (doc. 24, 26, 29, 32, 36, 38).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 31 January 1453 (doc. 28).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1453 (doc. 31): "... *portam Sancti Antonii, scilicet intra portam ubi solvitur ergatis et mercenariis per officium provisionis...*"

In the district of the *loggia* around *quarterio sancti Michaelis*, some houses were expropriated in order to construct a public granary. Ruined communal mills were repaired and rebuilt in 1391 that some Buondelmonti panoramas show a typical one just outside *Spiga* borough at west (Balard, 1978, p. 194; Belgrano, 1877, pp. 161, 167)^{145 146}.

2.7.4- Houses

Balard (1978, p. 197) mentions that no private edifice from the Genoese period has survived and the Frankish houses located in the junction of Galata Kulesi and Kart Çınar streets are hardly anterior to the 18th century. However, he attributes their horizontal brick and stone courses, which break the monotony of the façades to a Genoese influence in civil architecture (see 2.10). A sole notary document from 6 June 1390 shows the measures of a Genoese house in *San Francesco* quarter of Pera; being 11 *goa* by 10 *goa* 3/4, so approximately 8.17 m by 7.99 m (Balard, 1978, p. 197; 1987, p. 45)¹⁴⁷. Another registry dated 20 June 1390 is about a house with a shop, which was located again inside the quarter of *San Francesco* (Balard, 1987, pp. 46-47)¹⁴⁸. Therefore, it can be assumed that ground floors of some residences around the *loggia* were having a commercial function. The houses of Galata were defined as "good and handsome" in 1403 by de Clavijo (1859, p. 47) and "notable and lofty, like the ones in Genoa" in 1438 by Tafur (1926, p. 149). The existence of unique tower houses of the Genoese in Galata is a very high probability (see 3.2.5.3, 2.4.1 and 2.8).

2.7.5- Naval Settlements

The dockyard was another important naval settlement of Galata other than its busy commercial quays. When considered the defined position of *vetus Tarsana* (Old Dock) in 1303 and still existing Haliç Shipyards from the Ottoman period, which were in usage right

¹⁴⁴ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 13 March 1453 (doc. 35).

¹⁴⁵ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 18 March 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 59 v (doc. XXXVI): "... *Que quidem supradicta omnia facta sunt de mandato domini et sui Consilii, et ex deliberatione Officii Monete quod expendi debeat in emendo supradictas domos et insulam dictarum pro construendo unum granarium pro Comune...*"

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 144 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Manoli Milocaracti magistro molendiorum... in solucione perperum XIII quos habere debet si aptabat molendium Comunis, et si non aptabat tenetur redere, Pp. 5*"; 18 October 1391, Car. 1391, fol. 66 v (doc. XXXVI): "*Ea die. Expense facte in construendo et fabricando quendam molendinum Comunis in viridario Andrioli Mayrane, et qui postea dirruptus fuit et repositus intus Peyram, Pp. 93, 17*".

¹⁴⁷ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 6 June 1390 (doc. 117).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 June 1390 (doc. 122).

after the conquest and visible on several later period panoramas as well, it can be assumed that the shipyards of Galata were also in the same place during the Genoese period, being just outside *Spiga* borough. With respect to this, it can also be claimed that the naval arsenal mentioned in the 5th century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was also there.

With regard to four registries of *Massaria di Pera* from 1390 and 1391, Balard (1978, p. 195)¹⁴⁹ states that the maritime arsenal of Galata was sheltering the galleys of the *Commune*, protected by a rampart and having two large and one small gates for access. Ordered new ships were constructed there and a second dockyard was located in *Lagirio* borough, close to the Tower of Holy Cross.

2.7.6- Surrounding Areas

Surrounding moats in front of Galata Walls all along the land side were setting a border between the walled Galata and nearby areas. In the Genoese notarial records, the last mention of those moats was in 24 November 1469, briefly as "*passonatam*" (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 173-174)¹⁵⁰.

From the 15th century to the Ottoman era, the rich "Franks" (Latin Catholics) of Galata have sought more space and built their villas on the hills beyond Galata Tower, through the modern district now called "Pera" (Beyoğlu). Owned by the Genoese inhabitants, monasteries and the patriarch of Constantinople, those slopes were covered with vineyards in the 14th century. Other than cultivated lands, there was also a cemetery. A *Sindacamenti di Pera* record from 1402 with statements of the *Podestà* Lodisio Bavirusio (r. 1401-1402) indicates that the Turks have occupied lands outside Galata Walls, where the Jews were buried. Thus, there was a contrast between relatively empty hills and old quarters with the busy port in the walled area (Balard, 1978, p. 198)¹⁵¹.

The aforementioned cemetery was recalled by the same function also in the Ottoman period (*Küçük Mezaristan*) together with the nearby Meyit (Death) Gate (Eyice, 1996, p. 311). Moats have also existed to a large extent until the demolition of Galata Walls in the 19th century.

¹⁴⁹ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 1390, fol. 70 r; 1391, fol. 15, 105, 108.

¹⁵⁰ ASG, *Notaio Torriglia Antonio - filza 1* (1448-1465), sc. 6/77, 24 November 1469 (doc. 73).

¹⁵¹ ASG, *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 1402, fol. 72 v.



Fig. 154: Regular urban layout and grid pattern of the first concession zone is distinctive when compared with surrounding parts (Author, 2017, after D'Ostoya map of 1858-1860)

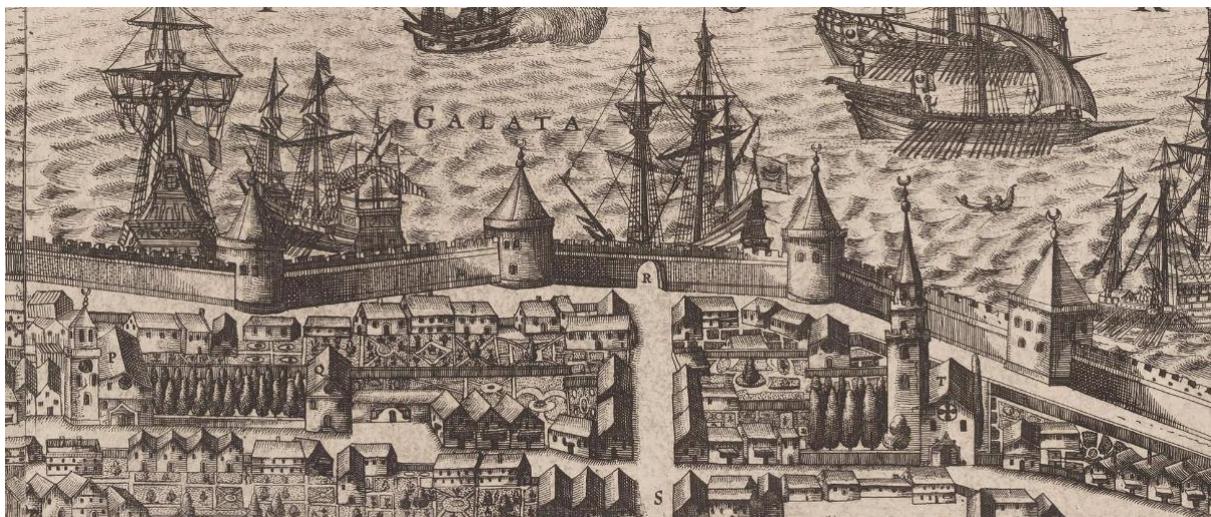


Fig. 155: The former *loggia* of Galata between the churches of *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* at left (P & Q) and Arap Mosque (former *San Domenico*) at right (T), on the panorama of Pieter van der Keere (1616) that the main commercial street was marked with Balıkpazarı Gate (*fori piscarii porta*) (R) and *Forum piscarium* (S); both mean "fish market"

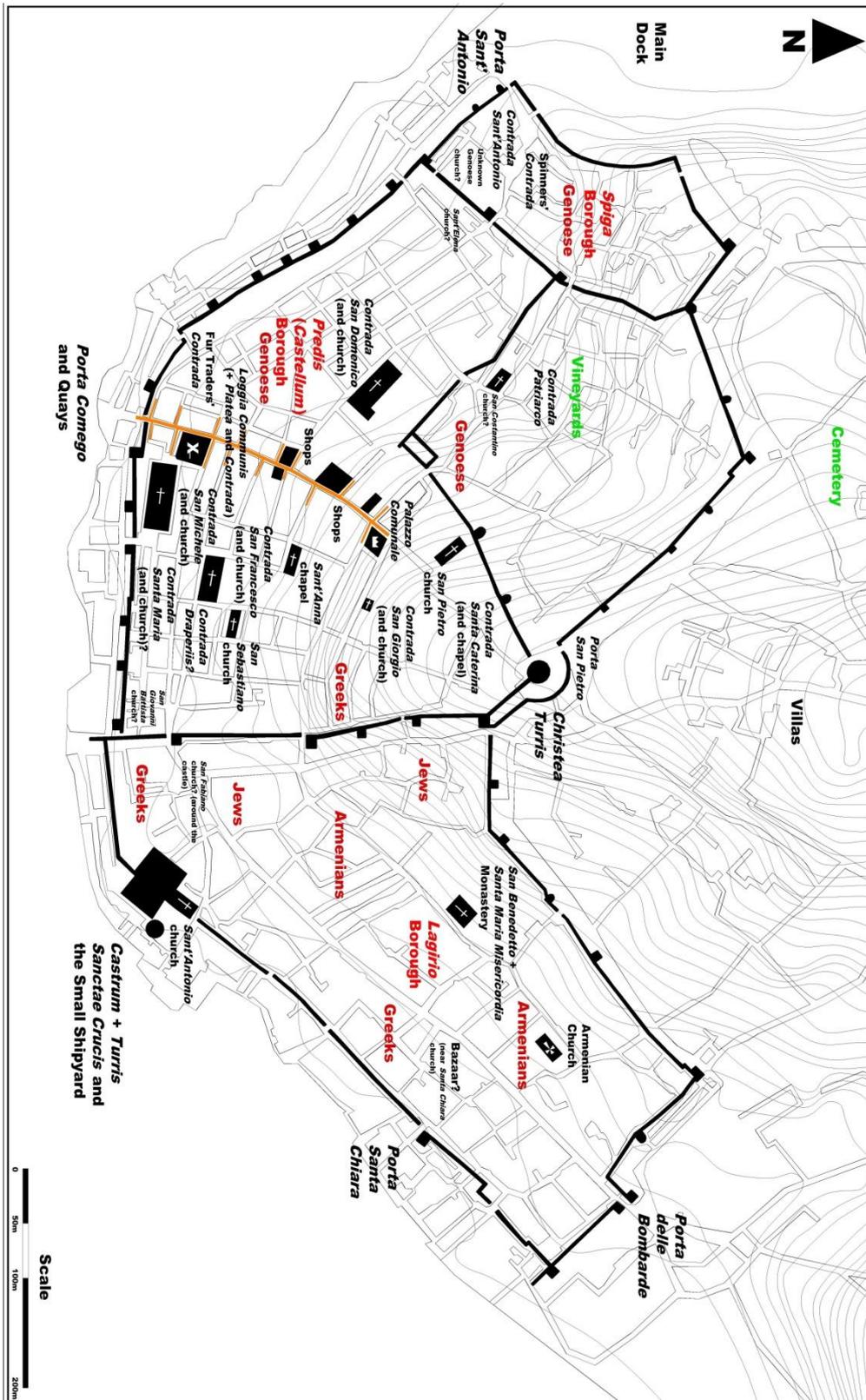


Fig. 156: Possible extension of *platea loggia* with its main axis as Perşembe Pazarı Street between *Porta Comego* (Yağkapanı Gate) and *Palazzo Comunale* (the communal palace) through the *Bedesten*, probably the former *loggia*, together with other landmarks of Galata during its late Genoese period (see 2.9) (Author, 2017, after D'Ostoya map of 1858-1860)

2.8- *Palazzo Comunale* - Bereket Han

The former *Palazzo Comunale* (or *Palazzo del Comune*) of the Genoese Galata lies inside the Bereketzade Quarter of Beyoğlu district and more precisely in the junction of Bankalar (former Voyvoda), Galata Kulesi and Kart Çınar streets. It was the administrative center of the colony and the seat of *podestà*, being the local Genoese authority and representative of the colony. The building is a listed monument since 07.12.1989 (Envanter, 2015). The rectangular building is 12 x 18 meters from its exterior and has 4 floors in total.

According to the slab A.11.1, seen by John Covel around 1670-1677 and supported with the chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine as well, Galata (Pera) was struck by a destructive fire and had its communal palace burnt in 1315. One year later, many public buildings were reconstructed including a new communal palace by Montano de Marini, the *podestà* of Galata at that time (Hasluck, 1905, pp. 61-62; Promis, 1874, pp. 496-500)¹⁵². The commemorative slab of A.11.2 was bearing Genoa and de Marini arms, which was the only slab discovered on the palace, more precisely above its main entrance but then disappeared (De Launay, 1874, pp. 106-107; Eyice, 1982, p. 176). When also considered the distinctive architecture of the building, it shows similarity to several medieval *broletto* buildings in the northern Italy and particularly to *Palazzo San Giorgio* in Genoa. In this case, its identity was secured and the partially existing structure should be the one erected in 1316.

Additionally, the slab A.11.1 also reveals the existence of an older communal palace in Galata before 1315. The notary acts of Gabriele de Predono from 1281 indicates that there were still few public buildings in Galata at that time and the most important one was the *loggia*. It was also including the court of the *podestà*, where juridical issues were prosecuted. By using the neighboring warehouse (*fondaco*), notaries were running their works for numerous clients from merchants (Balard, 1978, p. 182)¹⁵³. As of the late 13th century, the Genoese neighborhood in Galata should have consisted of a relatively small and narrow area near the coast of the Golden Horn, roughly forming Arap Cami Quarter of nowadays. Besides, when the concession zone was defined for the first time in 1303, it was strictly prohibited for the Genoese by the Byzantines to construct buildings outside this area.

¹⁵² *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine dal MCCXCVII al MCCCXXXII*: "... Anno domini MCCCIII rehedificata fuit peyra per concessionem factam per serenissimum principem dominum andronichum paleologum imperatorem grecorum. Et MCCCXV accessit quod igne accidentali quasi tota Peyra combusta est et palatium comunis et MCCCXVI palatium comunis redifficatum et pondus comunis et platea logie et muri de versus terram facti sunt tempore potestatis domini Montani de Marinis..."

¹⁵³ Quoted from Bratianu, G. I., (1927). *Actes des notaires...*, pp. 75, 68.

Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)¹⁵⁴ states that the Genoese have extended their lands beyond the granted quarter zone starting from 1306 (Palazzo, 2014, pp. 80-81). In addition, a convention stipulated by Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) in 22 March 1308 accuses the Genoese of purchasing lands outside the granted area and constructing houses there, which were then demolished (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 110-115)¹⁵⁵. Yet, as the position of the recent *Palazzo Comunale* from 1316 remains clearly outside the first concession zone and the commercial and juridical heart of Galata was already remaining inside this area in late 13th century, it can also be assumed that the former communal palace, being the administrative center was also there (probably in the vicinity of the first *loggia*) until burning in 1315.

Colonial regulations introduced on 14 February 1317 prescribe to the Genoese to not construct any fortifications and buildings out of the determined quarter but fates of formerly erected ones remaining outside were left to the discretion of the emperor and the council (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 116-123)¹⁵⁶. Thus, it is probable that an exemption was given to *Palazzo Comunale* at that time.

The article of Akyol (1997, pp. 25-33) can be counted as one of the most detailed analysis and interpretation for the position of the new *Palazzo Comunale* inside the urban layout of Galata. The study also compares it with the one of *Palazzo San Giorgio* in Genoa, built in 1260 by Guglielmo Boccanegra to establish a civil headquarter for politics by separating the secular authority of the Genoese government from the ecclesiastical dominance of the clergy and putting it forward. It has been stated that the reverse urban positions of *Palazzo Comunale* and *Palazzo San Giorgio* have a similar relationship with the cities where they belong to.

The Genoese were allowed to extend their lands through east until the castle only in 1352 and before that time, Galata was still vulnerable from coasts due to the Byzantine presence on the other side and also the Venetian and Catalan attacks, so the western lands were not safe to extend as well. Thus, spreading through north was considered as a better option, perhaps also due to the location of the church dedicated to Saint George, being the patron saint of Genoa since the 12th century. As a result, the Genoese have constructed the new *Palazzo Comunale*

¹⁵⁴ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 489), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book VI, Chapter VI (A.C. 1306), P. 340: "*Inter haec Genuenses qui Constantinopoli degunt, in urbi obiecto ultra fretum suburbio domicilia habentes (et splendida quidem domicilia: nam ex quo illic sedes obtinuerant, aedificia erant sane magna moliti, dilatatis haud modice soli ipsis initio concessi terminis, dum sensim substructionibus excedunt pomeriaque promovent, non sine securae per circuitum munitione valli ac fossae perpetuae)...*"

¹⁵⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 22 March 1308, Car. VI (doc. XII).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 February 1317, Car. VI (doc. XIV).

through north, a safer zone than coasts and also closer to the church of their patron saint, so probably appealing to his protection.

On the contrary, *Palazzo San Giorgio* was constructed just next to the Ligurian coast and also bulging from the historical city center because Genoa was more vulnerable from land side but thanks to its mighty naval power, safer in sea. Even so, both buildings were separated from city centers and built outside during their construction period. However, *Palazzo San Giorgio* was still maintaining an urban continuity with *Sottoripa*, the medieval center of Genoa, so does *Palazzo Comunale* through the main commercial axis (Perşembe Pazarı Street) of the colony as well. Yet, a significant difference is the illegal position of *Palazzo Comunale* with regard to the permission given by the Byzantines. Hence, it also indicates the strong will of the Genoese to extend their lands in Galata, somewhat like the assertive purpose of *Palazzo San Giorgio* when it was built.

Having access from both sides through arcades, *Palazzo Comunale* faces to the first concession zone but also further Byzantine lands at north, which will be occupied until 1348-1349 with the construction of Galata Tower and encircling defensive walls. Due to its obvious similarity to *Palazzo San Giorgio*, the new *Palazzo Comunale* of Galata was most probably a landmark for the Genoese, which was recalling their home (Akyol, 1997, pp. 25-33).

Palazzo Comunale then remained in the heart of Galata, when the main phases of the Genoese expansion in Galata were concluded. The building was well linked to the main trade area (*plateam loggia*) with other official and commercial buildings. The palace was forming the northern border of this zone and all along Perşembe Pazarı Street, it was also having a direct access from the main quays around *Porta Comego* (Yağkapanı Gate) and the church of *San Michele*, being another important center of the colony with its religious and administrative functions. Thus, *Palazzo Comunale* still maintained a strategic position despite its relatively distant position from the busy *loggia*.

It appears from stated signing locations of numerous notary acts of Donato di Chiavari from 1389-1390, which were published by Balard (1987, pp. 30-50)¹⁵⁷, "*Palacio Communis*" was having a council chamber also used by the *podestà* (*camera consiliorum palacii dicti domini podestatis*), a large main hall where the *podestà* stood (*salla prima / salla magna palacii dicti domini podestatis*), a room where the vicar stood (*camera palacii dicti domini vicarii*) and the

¹⁵⁷ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 1 October 1389-1 September 1390 (doc. 55-137).

apartments of the *podestà (aulla secunda / aulla parva - habitacionis - dicti domini podestatis)*, and his vicar (*camera cubiculari dicti domini vicarii*). The *podestà* was having a private dwelling too, separately mentioned as *palacio habitacionis dicti domini podestatis* in 1318 and 1389. A document from 7 July 1391 includes a similar statement and some *Massaria di Pera* registries from 25 December 1390, 27 May 1391 and 24 May 1392 mention a private palace and also a residential tower of *podestà* (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 153, 159-160, 163, 171)^{158 159 160 161} (see 3.2.5.3 and 2.4.1).

Main rooms of the palace similarly appear on two 15th century notary documents as well, such as "*haua secunda palacii comunis, residencie dicti domini potestatis*" in October 1408 and "*sala prima palacii*" in 3 April 1444 (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 44-46, 75-76)^{162 163}.

With respect to a *Massaria di Pera* expense registry from 25 December 1390, there was a square near the palace (*platea Palacii*), where Christmas was celebrated (Belgrano, 1877, p. 153)¹⁶⁴. Other *Massaria di Pera* registries from 1390-1392 published by Belgrano (1877, pp. 152-174) include some works for "*Palacio Comunis*" with details, which were constantly underway. For instance, a large bench was installed inside the palace in 20 October 1390 for the use of the council. Two days later, fittings were repaired and lanterns were installed. Finally in 28 October, the arms of the Doge was painted inside (Belgrano, 1877, p. 152)^{165 166}¹⁶⁷, who was Giacomo Fregoso (r. Aug. 1390-Apr. 1391) at that time. On 10 April 1391, a master has painted an image of Saint George on the façade of *Palazzo Comunale* for 10

¹⁵⁸ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII): "... *Palacio domini Potestatis...*"

¹⁵⁹ ASG, Order to reimburse damages suffered in Pera by the *Podestà* Antonio Leardo, 7 July 1391, Car. 1391, fol. 175 r (doc. XXXV): "... *Palacio Peyre ubi tunc residenciam faciebat...*"

¹⁶⁰ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 27 May 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 75 r (doc. XXXVI): "... *super turrim ubi erat dominus Potestas cum sua societate... .. in turri ubi erat dominus Potestas...*"

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 24 May 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 72 v (doc. XXXVIII): "... *ad turrim pro domino Potestate... .. dominos ad turrim...*"

¹⁶² ASG, *Not. ign.*, October 1408 (doc. 2).

¹⁶³ ASG, *Notai Sisto Cristofforo e De Ferrari Giovanni Battista - filza 1* (1452-1463), sc. 6/83, 3 April 1444 (doc. 17).

¹⁶⁴ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 October 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 66 v (doc. XXXII): "*Pro una bancha magna posita in Palacio Comunis, pro sedere quando fit consilium, Pp. 1, 3*".

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 October 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 66 v (doc. XXXII): "*Pro expensis minutis factis in Palacio Comunis in reparando clavaraturas, et in stamegna alba et stachetis pro facere duas lanternas que pependunt in palascio, et in ferrario pro aulis positis in dictis lanternis, Pp. 4, 3, 1/2*".

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 October 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 66 v (doc. XXXII): "*Pro pingendo arma domini Ducis in Palacio, Pp. 4, 1/2*".

hyperpera (Belgrano, 1877, p. 162)¹⁶⁸. On 11 October 1391, during the rule of Nicolo de Zoagli as *podestà*, weapons purchased by the former *podestà* Domenico Doria were placed inside *Palazzo Comunale* with a sum of 45 *hyperpyra* (Belgrano, 1877, p. 166)¹⁶⁹. On 27 November 1391, a furniture was repaired for the *podestà*, who was living in the palace (Belgrano, 1877, p. 167)¹⁷⁰. Then, the arms of the *Podestà* Dorino Usodimare was put in 6 October 1392. Lastly, 2 *hyperpyra* was paid to a Greek master for the window glasses of *Palazzo Comunale* in 16 October 1392 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 173-174)^{171 172}. In addition, according to a *Massaria di Pera* registry from 18 October 1392 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 174)¹⁷³, the basement of the public house (*domo Communis*) was serving as an armory (*armature Communis*), which was then interpreted as "the new *loggia*" (*Yeni Lonca*) by Akyol (1997, p. 28); a name briefly mentioned in the Ottoman survey of 1455 together with the "old *loggia*" (*Lonca-yı Atık*) (İnalçık, 1998, p. 294).

The arms of the doge, *podestà* and treasurers (*massarius*) were known to be painted on the walls of *Palazzo Comunale* but another notary document from 1402 indicates that they were then replaced by the arms of the King of France (Charles VI, r. 1380-1422) and Marshal Boucicault (Governor of Genoa, r. 1401-1409) due to the French invasion of Genoa between 1396-1413 (Balard, 1978, p. 193)¹⁷⁴.

Another slab (A.11.41), actually a single coat of arms with some surrounding ornaments is located on *Palazzo Comunale*'s rear façade. The piece does not have any inscription or date and looks similar to the arms of De Fazio and Franchini. Eyice (1982, p. 179) claims that this stone artifact is a later period copy of an older one. Having an unusual form and small size when compared with the rest of Galata slabs, it probably belongs to *Podestà* Luchino De

¹⁶⁸ ASG, *Massarie Communis lanue*, 10 April 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 74 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Magistro pictori qui pingit sanctum Georgium ad Musicam ad faciem Palatii Communis, Pp. 10*".

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 11 October 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 39 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro domino Dominicho de Auria, et sunt pro armis emptis per ipsum pro Comune, et quas dimissit in Palacio Communis... Et hoc de mandato domini Nicolai de Zoalio honorabilis Potestatis Peyre, Pp. 45*".

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 27 November 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 68 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro uncia 1/2 argenti, pro reparacione trape domini Potestatis que semper remanet in Palacio Communis, Pp. 2, 10, 1/2*".

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 6 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 76 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Pro pictore baculorum placeriorum ad arma Ususmari, Pp. 1, 12*".

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 16 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Pro magistro greco, pro vitris pro Palacio Communis, Pp. 2*".

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 38 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Janoto Besacia et Nicolao Portonario officialibus ellectis ad emendum millium et bombardas pro Comuni, et sunt pro... modiis... Lacuna millii repositi per eos, ut asserunt, in turribus Communis Peyre pro salute loci Peyre, et pro bombardis LX repositis in domo Communis ubi reponuntur armature Communis, et pro certa quantitate lapidum a tronis et sanitri et ferorum a sagitis que sunt reposita in dicta domo Communis, Pp. 3681*".

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1402, fol. 54 v.

Fazio (r. 1446-1447) or Franchini family (19th c.) and indicates either a repair or just dominance. A large portion of the arms is missing due to the damage of a modern iron beam.

The history of *Palazzo Comunale* after the Ottoman conquest is vague but when the position of *podestà* was abolished in 1453, the building was most probably continued to be the seat of *Magnifica Communità di Pera* until 1682 (Eyice, 1982, p. 167).

De Launay (1874, pp. 106-107) emphasizes the ruined condition of *Palazzo Comunale* in terms of historical and artistic value. He also recognizes the chamber of council and mentions a splendid monumental stairs. Because of hampering the traffic, they were demolished together with the frontal half of the building during widening Voyvoda Street and installation of a tram line. The aforementioned architectural elements were most probably the ones mentioned in 14th century notary acts.

Visually, the palace first appears on Henry Aston Barker & Charles Tomkins panorama of 1812 with its back façade and by having a white color. One of the most clear illustrations of the building before its partial demolition was ordered in 1850s by the representative of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in Istanbul, Baron Romualdo Tecco and this work was published by Belgrano (1877, Pl. IV) afterwards. *Palazzo Comunale* also appears on James Robertson & F. Beato (1857) and Guillaume Berggren (1875) panoramas with different façades, which give the approximate demolition period of its frontal half during public works (Eyice, 1969, p. 16; 1982, p. 172-175) (see 4.4).

Palazzo Comunale was called as Franchini Han in the 19th century and owned by this Levantine family at that time. The building was also subjected to memoirs of several foreign travelers in the 19-20th centuries, notably Eugène Jouve (1855), Edmondo de Amicis (1894), Michel Noë (1895) and G. Primi (1948) that its visible exterior architectural features were briefly described. Only Michel Noë provides some more interior details like the vaults and strong iron gates of chambers. The mention of an inappropriate whitewash by Eugène Jouve is also significant, which is visible on the aforementioned panorama from 1857 (Eyice, 1982, pp. 167-172). The palace was mainly mentioned in the studies of Beylie (1903) (inaccurately), Arseven (1913), Schneider and Nomidis (1944) and Müller-Wiener (1977) but the work of Eyice (1982, pp. 165-179) can be counted as the most comprehensive compilation of relevant sources about its history and architecture, which only lacks notary registries.

The remained part of *Palazzo Comunale* appears with a plaster cover in the early 1980s (Eyice, 1982, Pl. VII-VIII; Stringa, 1982, p. 364), which exists only on the ground floor at the moment. The building was illegally whitewashed in 1989 (Eroğlu, 1992, p. 24) and its traces are still visible on upper parts of the back façade. Another pink colored modern paint on the building inappropriately gives a uniform look to the pattern of mixed masonry.

The building was used as Bereket Han in modern times until being purchased in 2010 by a private owner for a conversion into a boutique hotel. However, the project was abandoned after some superficial interior works and Bereket Han is on sale as of 2017.

Palazzo Comunale was a building made of mixed masonry but limestone was especially used on its blind arches and openings. Bryer and Winfield (1985, p. 196) describe *Palazzo Comunale* as having a hybrid Byzantine-Ottoman masonry apart from its distinctive similarity to *Palazzo San Giorgio* by appearance. It is true that different from the uniform brick façades of the palace in Genoa, the façades of *Palazzo Comunale* were made of two types of materials with different sizes, like contemporary Byzantine or later period Ottoman buildings nearby.

Palazzo Comunale shows similarity to Tekfur Palace and Laskaris Palace in terms of the masonry technique and used materials. Partially visible local limestone for blocks on arches were common materials in their supposed construction date like bricks. The masonry of the palace also looks similar to late period Byzantine masonry of Constantinople in terms of average brick dimensions and the recurrence ratio but does not perfectly matches. These circumstances raise the possibility of an involvement by local Greeks during the construction but still not enough to prove. A similarity between window arches of the palace and several others on Galata Walls in terms of bicolored form is also noteworthy. The study of Eslami (2016, pp. 164-194) about the appropriation and usage of ablaq as an international architectural style by the medieval Mediterranean countries, including the Republic of Genoa is an important and comparative resource to this issue.

Public works of the second half of the 19th century have caused the complete destroy of the frontal half and interior spaces, so only the bearing walls of the back façade are partially remained. Moreover, characteristic twin and triple windows with fine columns were modified as vertical rectangular windows with stone frames. The original height of the remained part was irregularly lowered and then elevated with modern bricks until the recent level roof eaves as well. Therefore, the recent frontal half, interior parts and the roof of the former *Palazzo Comunale* are 19th century structures. Hence, main construction periods of the palace appears

as the groundbreaking in 1316 after the fire of 1315 and alterations between 1857-1875. The former appears as the limestone arches at lower parts with a limited visibility and the masonry with a ratio of 1 stone + 3 bricks, while the latter were made of only modern bricks. It should also be mentioned that the line which was separating the frontal and rear parts was perhaps indicating two sub construction phases for the original palace but this claim needs more evidence for being proved.

Nevertheless, illustrations and historical descriptions are helpful to construct the approximate former state of *Palazzo Comunale* as a whole. With respect to three frontal arches below, visible on the illustration of Romualdo Tecco from 1850s and the panorama of 1857, it can be assumed that three perpendicular barrel vaults were covering the ceiling of the ground floor, which was having a commercial function as a warehouse mainly for arms and also interpreted as the new *loggia*. The illustration from 1850s also displays that a continuous line divides the frontal and rear parts of the palace roughly as 3/5 and 2/5, respectively. This line then set a limit to the demolition, so the rear part was approximately 2/5 of the former *Palazzo Comunale* by depth. Moreover, the panorama of 1813 shows that these sections were having their own hipped roofs. Therefore, a parallel single barrel vault can be supposed for the ground floor of the rear part, which almost remains subterranean due to the steep topography. The side entrance of the ground floor, visible on the panorama from 1850s was probably serving to this supposed single barrel vault from its western end. One of the buildings in Galata with a possible Genoese construction, Saksı Han has a similar structure by having two perpendicular barrel vaults in front and a parallel one just behind (see 2.10).

The building was accessible from front and rear but one of its main difference from similar examples in Italy is having closed arcades at lower parts, possibly a defensive precaution when it was built. It has been mentioned that the building was having a monumental staircase in front, probably connecting the ground floor to the first one. In addition, the eastern end of the palace remains irregular in the rear façade and the recent staircase is also running through this part. In this case, a connection between floors might be provided from this part also before the demolition.

The blind arches with a continuous profile just above and the central entrance with the small coat of arms point a trough vault with nine lunettes for the rear part of the first floor. Yet, three arches (one rear and two side) in the eastern part remain not functional because of the assumed stairs. The first floor was not having any structural arches in front but four twin

windows and the distance between these windows and the much bigger, triple ones of the second floor is relatively small. Therefore, it is possible that the first floor was having a wooden ceiling, which was forming the floor of the second one. A similar wooden structure can be supposed also for the third floor. As a result, it can be said that those blind arches were not functional and having an ornamental purpose. Due to their appearance from the interior, vertical windows of the first floor were probably smaller like the ones once located near the entrances of the frontal half. Altered masonry of the rear façade points four large (twin or triple) and two small windows with semicircular arches in the second floor.

The mentioned council chamber and the offices of *podestà* and his vicar were probably located in the second floor and the rear part of the first floor, with regard to large windows and the space with surrounding blind arches. Thus, it can be supposed that smaller windows in the first and last floors were belonging to rooms for merchants and the officials of the colony. The rear façade was lowered a bit more in a certain part at east, so with respect to the mention of a balcony and the panorama of 1813, an oriel was located there. This oriel was probably serving to one of the residing officials in the third floor.

In any case, it must be stated that as a result of numerous modern interventions, the interior of Bereket Han appears smoothed away and covered in many parts; a state which prevents to notice clear traces of the aforementioned hypotheses. In addition, Galata had many fires in its history that more than 10 the most destructive ones from 17-19th centuries were recorded. It is also known that nearby churches to *Palazzo Comunale*, such as *San Pietro*, *San Giorgio*, *San Domenico*, *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco* were burnt several times. Therefore, considering *Palazzo Comunale* as an intact building until its partial demolition would be a very optimistic assumption and without a more detailed structural analysis, it is only possible to bring back its appearance in the second half of the 19th century.

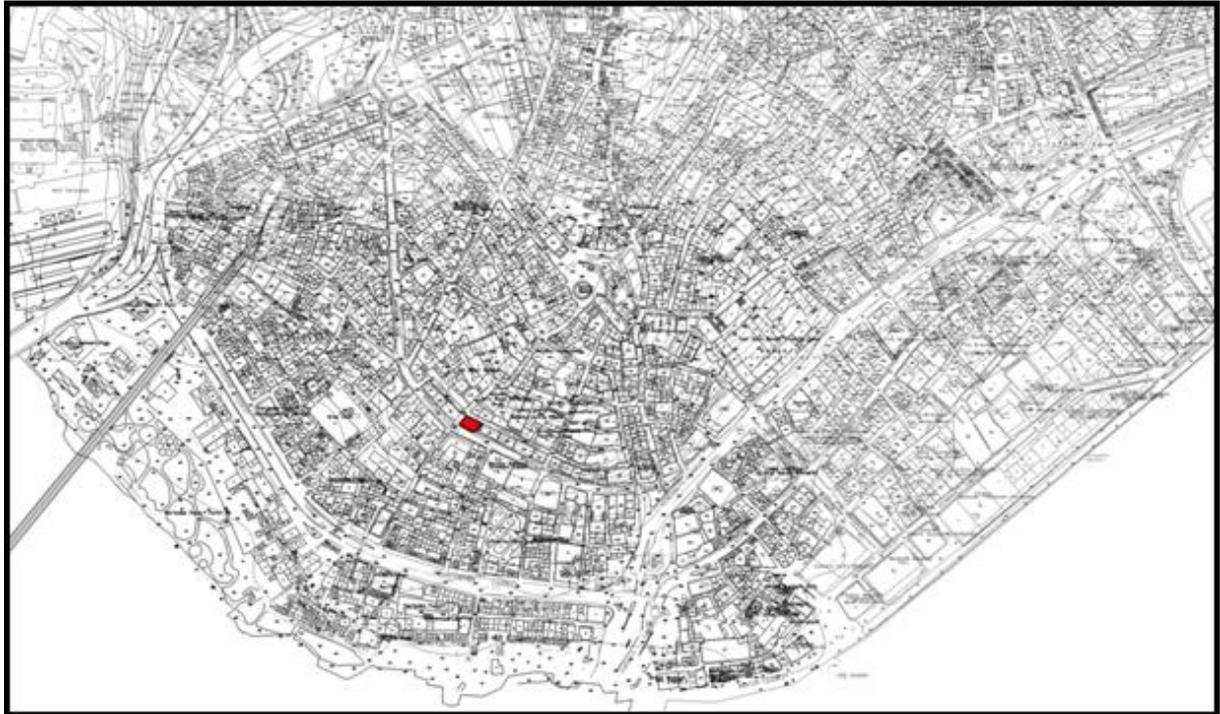


Fig. 157: The location of Bereket Han in Galata, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale* (see Appendix 8) (Author, 2015)

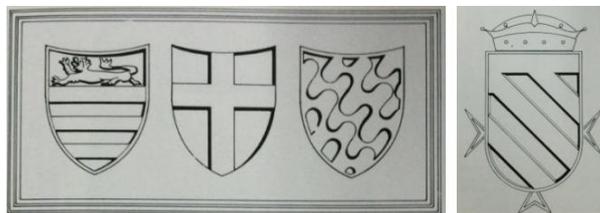


Fig. 158-159: Illustrations of the disappeared slab (A.11.2) from the former main entrance of *Palazzo Comunale* with De Merude, Genoa and De Marini arms and the existing single coat of arms (A.11.41) on the rear façade, probably bearing the one of De Fazio family (Luchino de Fazio was *podestà* in 1446-1447) (De Launay, 1874, pp. 106-107; Eyice, 1982, pp. 176-178, Pl. III)



Fig. 160: *Palazzo Comunale* on H. A. Barker & C. Tomkins (1813) panorama with its two hipped roofs and rear façade, which was having an oriel and two twin windows (Istanbul | Constantinople, 2015)



Fig. 161: The frontal and western façades of *Palazzo Comunale* on an illustration from 1850s, ordered by Romualdo Tecco (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. IV)



Fig. 162-163: *Palazzo Comunale* on D'Ostoya map of 1858-60 and partially at the present time as Bereket Han, respectively (Envanter, 2015; Google Maps, 2015)

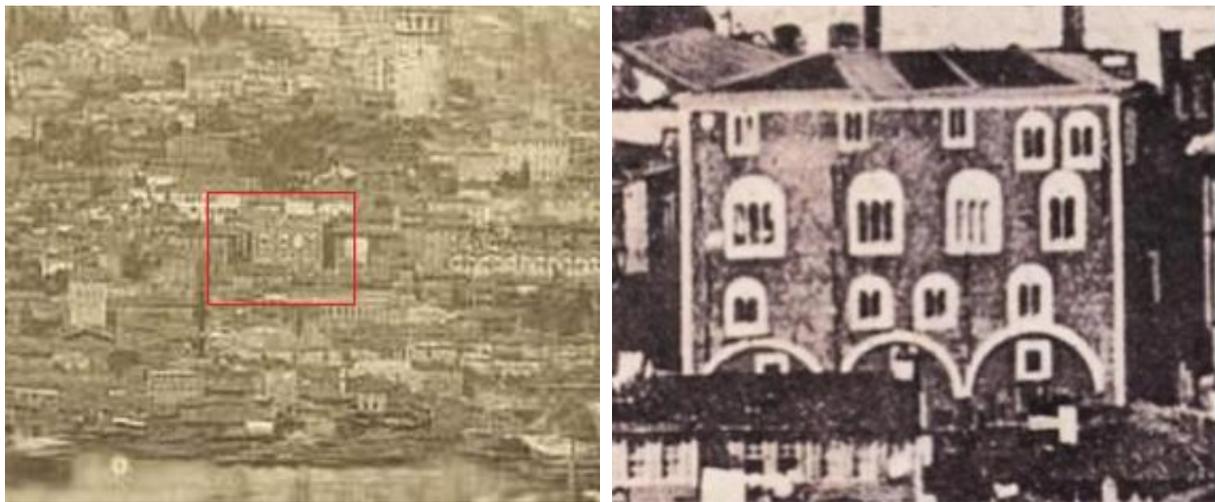


Fig. 164-166: *Palazzo Comunale* on J. Robertson & F. Beato (1857) (Sotheby's, 2015) and G. Berggren (1875) (eski.istanbulium, 2015) panoramas with different front façades, which gives the approximate demolition period of its frontal half (Eyice, 1969, p. 92)



Fig. 167: Southern, eastern, northern and western views of Bereket Han, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale*, respectively (Zakar, 2010)

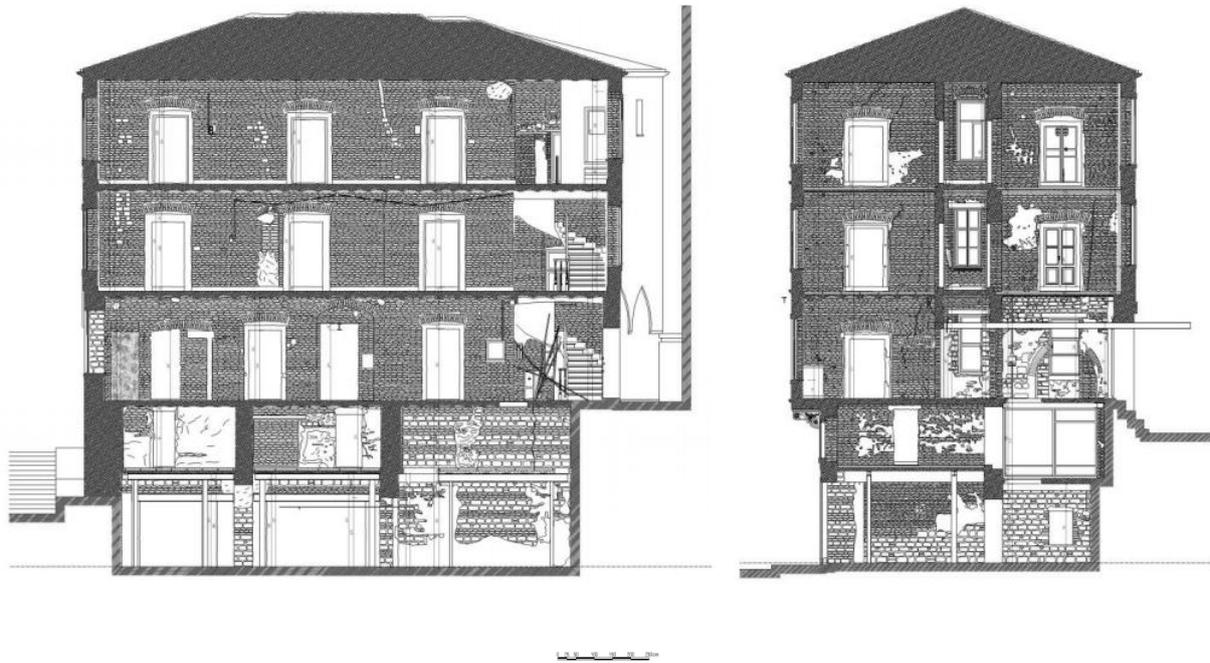


Fig. 168: Longitudinal and transversal sections of Bereket Han, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale*, respectively (Zakar, 2010)

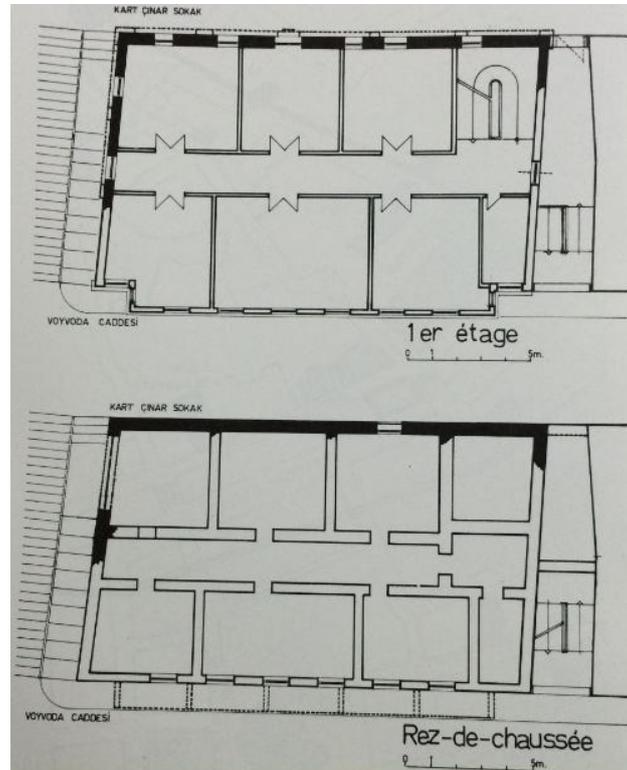


Fig. 169: Schematic ground and first floor plans of Bereket Han to indicate the remained bearing walls of *Palazzo Comunale* after the demolition (Eyice, 1982, Pl. II)

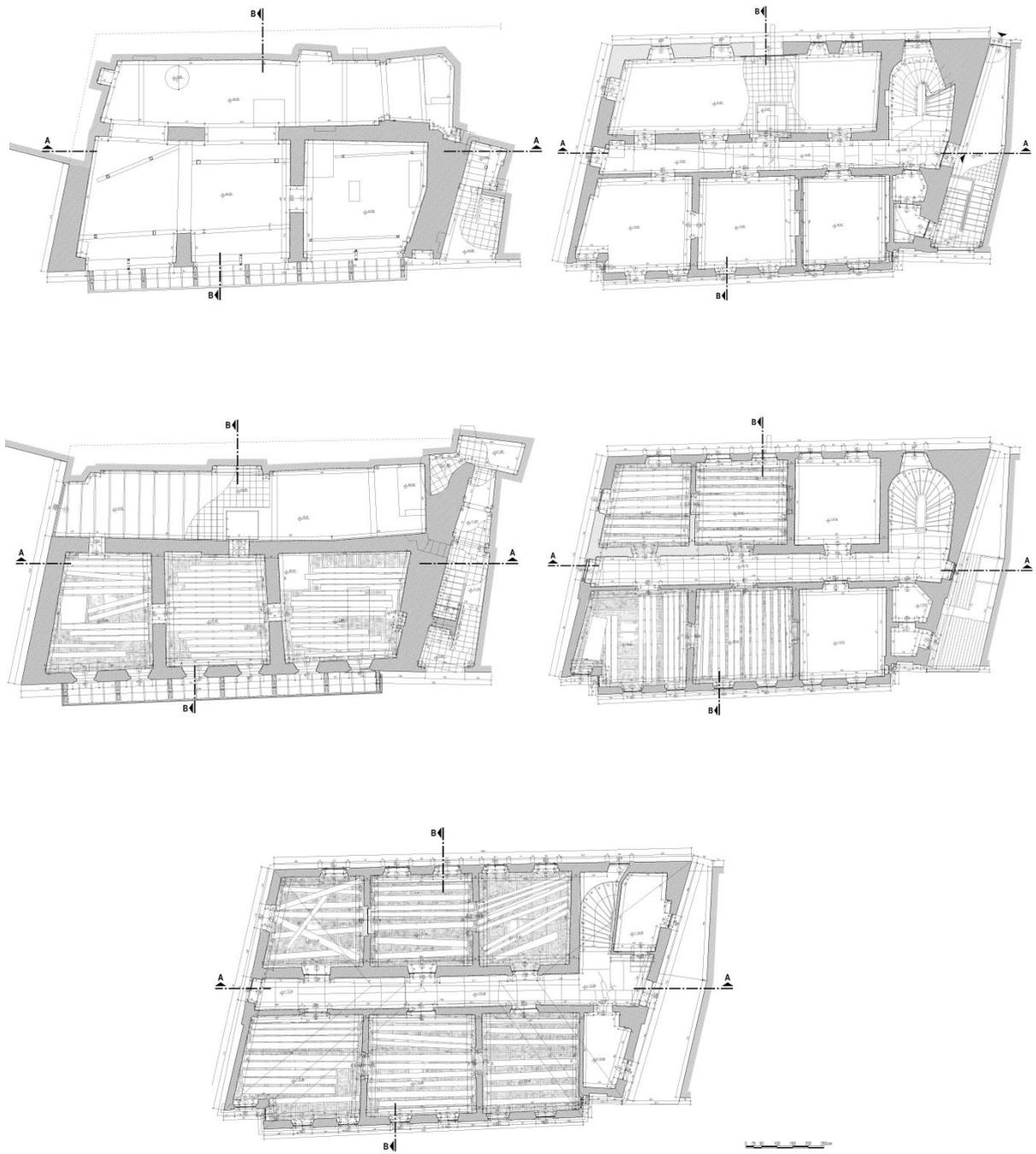


Fig. 170: Ground, mezzanine, first, second and third floor plans of Bereket Han, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale*, respectively (Zakar, 2010)

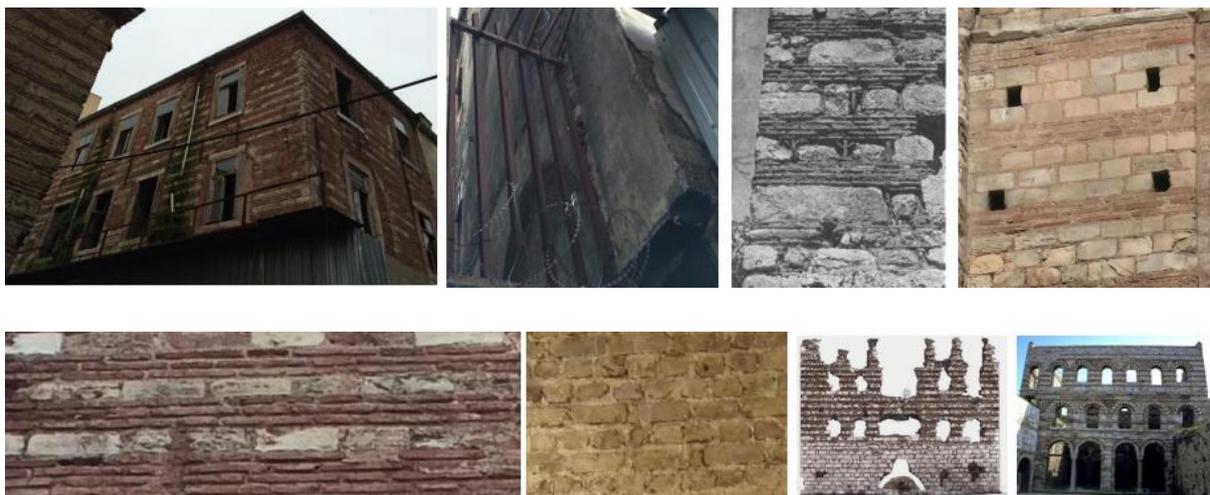


Fig. 171-178: Masonry of *Palazzo Comunale* (1316), Laskaris Palace in Kemalpaşa (early 13th c.) and the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus in Istanbul (13-14th c.), respectively (Author, 2015; Eyice, 1961, p. 16; YD Mimarlık, 2015)

	1 st period stone	1 st period brick	2 nd period modern
Dimensions	~10-12 x 30-35 cm	~4 x 30-32 cm	~6 x 25 cm
Mortar Thickness	~3.0-3.5 cm	~3.0-3.5 cm	~2 cm

Tab. 2: Dimensions of materials used on the masonry (used as 1 stone + 3 bricks in the 1st period) of Bereket Han, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale* (Author, 2015) and for comparison;

1- Arap Mosque (13th or 14th c.): 2 stones + 3 bricks. stone: 15.0-20.0 x 25.0-50.0 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 30.0-35.0 cm; mortar: 3.0-3.5 cm (Author, 2015) (see 2.9.1).

2- Tekfur Sarayı (The Palace of the Porphyrogenitus, 13-14th c.): 3 stones + 3 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 32.0; mortar: 4.7 cm (western façade); brick: 4.0 x 30.0 cm (southern façade); brick: 5.0 x 34.0 cm (northern façade) (Tunay, 1984, pp. 261-262). brick: 4.0-4.5 x 30.0-33.0 cm (Kahya, 1992, pp. 104-108).

3- Laskarisler Sarayı (Laskaris Palace, early 13th c.): 1 stone + 4 bricks. brick: 3.5 x 23.0-33.0 cm; 4.5; mortar: 6.7-7.0 cm (Eyice, 1961, p. 5). stone: 40.0 x 80-100.0 cm; brick: 4.0-5.0 x 32.0 cm; mortar: 4.5 cm Tunay, 1984, p. 268).

4- Average Late Byzantine Construction Materials of Constantinople (after Ersen, 1986, p. 22; Kahya, 1992, pp. 100-108; Tunay, 1983, p. 1695; 1984): stone: ≈16.5 cm; brick: ≈3.9 x 33.3 cm, mortar: ≈5.1 cm (Author, 2015) (see Appendix 4).

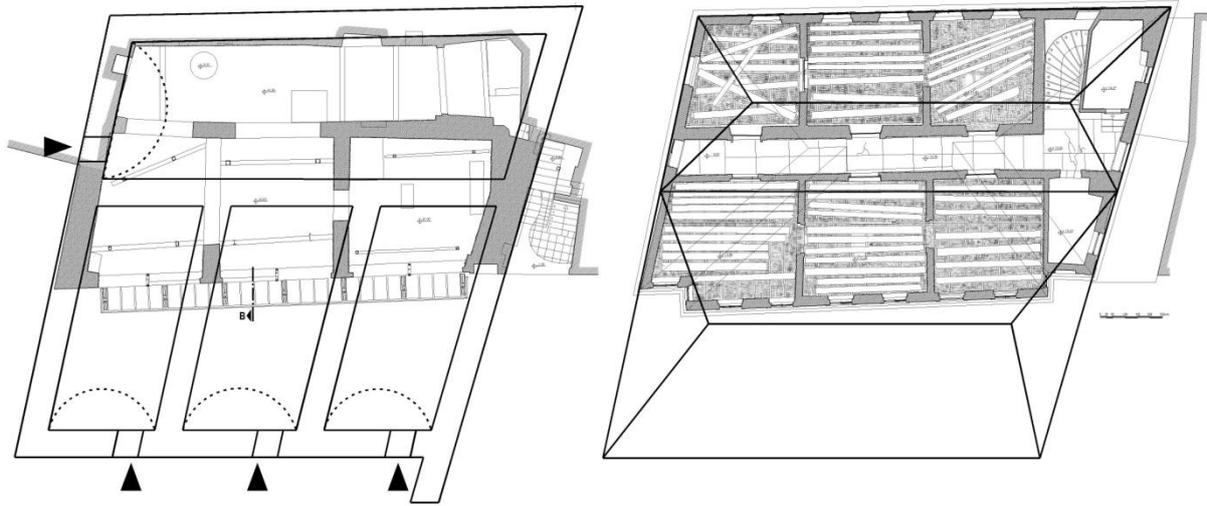


Fig. 179: Sketches for *Palazzo Comunale* before the demolition with respect to available traces; basement floor and roof structure (Author, 2017)

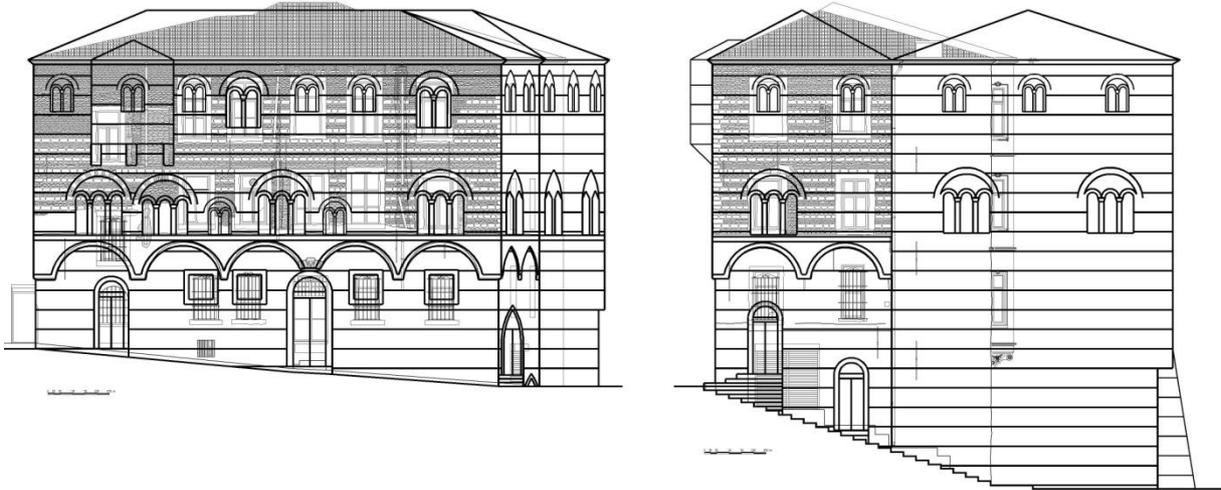


Fig. 180: Sketches for *Palazzo Comunale* before the demolition with respect to available traces; rear and side façades (Author, 2017)

2.9- Churches

Other important buildings of Galata were churches that 12 of them (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, pp. 28-38) can be considered as the most well known or relatively better documented ones. Names of them and the lesser known ones, being 18 in total were: *Sant'Anna*, *Sant'Antonio*, *San Benedetto*, *Santa Chiara*, *San Clemente* (Desimoni, 1876, p. 270), *San Costantino* (Roccatagliata, 1982, p. 77), *Sant'Elena* (Belgrano, 1877, p. 933), *San Fabiano* (İnalçık, 1998, p. 301), *San Francesco*, *San Giorgio*, *San Giovanni Battista*, *San Lazaro* (?) (Balard, 1987, p. 33), *Santa Maria*, *San Michele*, *San Domenico*, *San Pietro*, *San Sebastiano* and *Ss. Simone e Giuda*.

Within the plots of the main ones mentioned above, there were also chapels dedicated to several saints. Few of those churches were survived by original location but only and partially *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque) is a strongly possible Genoese period construction among the remained ones, while the other were either from older periods and had many later period reconstructions. Nevertheless, some of the demolished ones' positions are known and it is also possible to detect the locations of other disappeared churches with different certainties.

It appears from *Massaria di Pera* expenses that *San Michele* the cathedral, *San Giorgio*, *San Giovanni Battista*, *Santa Caterina*, *Sant'Antonio* and *Ss. Simone e Giuda* were subjected to the Archdiocese of Genoa, while three convents were owned by their Catholic religious orders.

2.9.1- San Domenico - Arap Mosque

Arap Mosque (*Arap Camii*) is located in the quarter of the same name inside the district of Beyoğlu and right in the junction of Galata Mahkemesi and Hoca Hanım streets. The building is the former church of *San Domenico* (also known as *Ss. Paolo e Domenico*) to a large extent and still functional without any listing registry (Envanter, 2015).

The rectangular building is approximately 52 meters long and 26 meters wide from its exterior. A quadrant belfry with external dimensions of 5 x 5 meters is located to the southeast of it, where a vaulted passageway is running under and links Galata Mahkemesi Street to the garden with a monumental fountain for ablution. A gate with a horseshoe arch provides another entrance to the garden from Hoca Hanım Street in the northwest. The mosque itself has three entrances but only the ones on sides are recently functional and the main gate from Hoca Hanım Street remains behind the modern narthex with a covered well, perhaps the one mentioned in 1303 (see 2.3). Arap Mosque has a four sided hipped roof with tiles, carried by massive wooden pillars. Two wooden stairs from northwestern corners connect the ground floor to the upper gallery, which surrounds the interior excluding the apse. The apse has three naves with ribbed cross vaults and a small former chapel is located next to this section, which has two more cross vaults and now used as a reading room. Sacristies with barrel vaults behind side naves are not functional and the southern one provide a direct access from interior to the former belfry with wooden stairs. Further stairs provide access to the upper part of the belfry, now a minaret. The additional timber floor of the belfry is covered with a conical roof. Most of the original openings, being characteristic triple windows with elaborate columns were bricked up in the original last floor of the belfry together with some more arched windows on lower parts. The mosque has three series of different windows but traces of one rose window and three point arched ones are especially noteworthy on the apse and next to the belfry, which were all altered. The common masonry with sequential stone and brick courses, rounded corners, external buttresses, cross vaults, the former belfry and apse can be counted as the most significant architectural elements of Arap Mosque from its church period.

The study of Palazzo (1946) is the first and one of the most important detailed investigations about the written history and architecture of the building, where the latter was especially provided with the help of a report by the Italian architect Edoardo De Nari (1874-1954). After several primary historical resources, it has been indicated that a Dominican friar called P. Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac has departed from Toulouse in 1298 and arrived to

Constantinople in 1299 together with some more friars in order to spread the Catholicism in the capital of the Orthodoxy. Soon after, he established a convent there and started missionary activities but because of disquieting the Ecumenical Patriarchate, they were exiled from Constantinople c. 1307 by Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) after the efforts of the Patriarch Athanasius I (r. 1289-1293, 1303-1309). Later on, de Gaillac and other friars were settled to Galata and established a small chapel called *San Paolo* on a land donated by the Genoese; an unknown location possibly closer to the recent location of Arap Mosque. The chapel, most probably burned during the fire of 1315 was then replaced by a bigger sanctuary dedicated to Saint Dominic but both names were continued to be used by locals for the new church (Palazzo, 2014, pp. 93-96).

The exact construction year of the church is unknown but with respect to 106 tombstones discovered beneath the wooden floor of Arap Mosque during the works of 1913-1919 and then published by Dalleggio d'Alessio (1942) with detailed descriptions and their inscriptions, it appears that the works were started c. 1323. This year was inscribed on a tombstone, which sets a milestone to a large group of later period ones with relatively close years through the 14th century (Palazzo, 2014, pp. 77-89). The church of *San Domenico* appears as the signing location of two *Archivio di Stato di Genova* acts from 22 January 1332 (Balard, 1987, pp. 22-23)¹⁷⁵, so its construction was probably completed around 1330s.

A few tombstones with earlier dates were first interpreted as the usage of an already existing building by the Genoese for funerals but dates of all the slabs prior to 1323 were then carefully corrected by Cramer and Düll (1985, p. 315) as much later periods. These include a very confusing tombstone allegedly dated to 1260 in the beginning and set the earliest example. However, this slab is still on display inside Istanbul Archeological Museum (inv. 2891 T) and in fact bears the year of 1360 (*M CCC LX*).

A given brief description and measurements stated in the act of May 1303 point the final conditions of the church before the Dominican takeover. It has been stated that *Hagia Irene* was used as a cemetery by the Genoese at that time and it was also setting a limit to the northern border of the first concession zone in Galata (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)¹⁷⁶. After some metric calculations for this building, Palazzo (2014, pp. 77-89) reveals that *Hagia Irene* falls into the current location of Arap Mosque, which verifies the usage of this Byzantine

¹⁷⁵ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 22 January 1332, Car. 144, fol. 141 v-142 r (doc. 24-25): "... in ecclesia beati Dominici".

¹⁷⁶ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX): "... Transit postea per puteum quod est in templo sancte Erine quod prius habebant ianuenses pro cimiterio..."

edifice for the Genoese funerals before the construction of a Catholic church above. However, after the corrections of Cramer and Düll (1985, p. 315), no discovered tombstone falls into this earlier period. Moreover, although *Hagia Irene* was probably among three unnamed churches remaining inside the Genoese quarter, which would remain subjected to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate according to the agreement of March 1304, it was soon taken by the Catholic Genoese (see 2.3).

Hagia Irene of *Sykai* was first constructed in the 2nd century by Pertinax, Bishop of Byzantium (r. 169-187). Then, it was reconstructed in 552 by Justinian I (r. 527-565) and Menas (r. 536-552), the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, the unnamed sole church of *Sykai* in the 5th century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* should be this one. It has also been claimed that a Byzantine ivory artifact, now kept inside the Cathedral of Trier commemorates the aforementioned second consecration (Ebersolt, 1921, pp. 13-15) but Cutler and Niewöhner (2016, pp. 93-98) indicate that it is about the renovation of *Hagia Eufemia* (Saint Euphemia) church by the Empress Irene (r. 797-802), which was in front of the Hippodrome and near the Chalke Gate of Constantinople. Thus, the architecture of *Hagia Irene* remains unclear but some 5th, 6th, and 10-11th century Byzantine *spolia* discovered during the works of 1913-1919 and studied by Ebersolt (1921, pp. 38-44), *in situ* column base beneath the passageway, circular white marble piece in the northwestern external corner and the partially visible northern marble column of the apse vault can be attributed to the disappeared building.

The church was with a Dominican convent, which appears as *conventus de Pera* in documents until 1390 (Palazzo, 2014, pp. 94-95). Expense registries of *Massaria di Pera* from 25 December 1390 includes it as *conventui sancti Dominici* (Belgrano, 1877, p. 153)¹⁷⁷. A call from the Pope Gregory XII (r. 1406-1415) was done in 1407 for maintenance of the church, who also visited it in that year (Palazzo, 2014, p. 91) and in his testament dated 25 September 1416, Antonio de Via wishes to bury in a tomb built by himself in a chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary, which was inside the church (Belgrano, 1877, p. 970)¹⁷⁸. An attached chapel structure with two cross vaults and a different masonry than the main building is still present in Arap Mosque, which then became the limit of the 18th century Ottoman enlargement. The mention of the convent and the church in a document from 5 July 1448 as "*conventu et*

¹⁷⁷ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

¹⁷⁸ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 25 September 1416, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. XIV): "... *Corpus autem suum sepelliri iubsit apud ecclesiam beati sancti Dominici de Peyra, in monumento per ipsum testatorem constructo in capella beate Virginis Marie...*"

ecclesia sancti Dominici predicti loci Pere" (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 215-216)¹⁷⁹ is one of the last records before the Ottoman conquest.

It has been said that after the surrender of Galata, the church was converted into a mosque by Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) around 1475 as "*Cami-i Kebir*" (The Grand Mosque), while the other major ones were remained as churches (Eyice, 1991, p. 326). However, some 15th century Genoese notary documents continue to mention the church with a nearby crossroads and its neighborhood (*contrada*) with the name of "*Sancti Dominici*" as of 9 November 1475 and 20 July 1479, respectively (see 2.7.2) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 210-211, 233-235)^{180 181}. Thus, it can be claimed that the conversion was not happened precisely in 1475 but through the last years of Mehmed II's reign.

In an Ottoman document from the second half of the 16th century, the building was inside the quarter of *Hacı Hamza* near *İskele Kapısı* (*Porta Comego*) and mentioned as *Mesa Domenko* before the conversion (İnalçık, 1998, p. 349)¹⁸². As *San Domenico* was not the most significant church of Galata when compared with *San Michele* and *San Francesco* in terms of size and functional importance but still a significant one, Akyol (1998, p. 26) claims that this selection for conversion by the Ottomans was related with relatively better orientation of its apse to Mecca, an essential architectural feature for Muslim shrines. Therefore, the usual Ottoman practice of converting the biggest or the most important church of a conquered non Muslim settlement right after the conquest was not occurred in Galata and a more practical selection was done.

Following the annihilation of the Emirate of Granada by the union of Castile and Aragon in 1492, a significant number of the Moors have fled from the Iberian Peninsula and immigrated to other states including the Ottoman Empire. The ones arrived to the new capital were settled to the evacuated possessions by the Genoese of Galata around the former church. After a while, the denomination of "*Cami-i Kebir*" was occurred due to the dominant inhabitants of the quarter by population; literally being "The Mosque of the Arabs" (Eyice, 1991, p. 326).

An anonymous folk rumor attributes the mosque and its name to the Second Arab Siege of Constantinople (717-718) and the commander Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik (685-738). Palazzo

¹⁷⁹ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 5 July 1448 (doc. CXXXII).

¹⁸⁰ ASG, *Notai Bonavei Battista e Castelasso Teramo - filza 1* (1472-1494), sc. 6/114, 9 November 1475 (doc. 94): "... in carrubeo prope ecclesiam Sancti Dominici..."

¹⁸¹ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1* (1461-1489), sc. 6/91, 20 July 1479 (doc. 107).

¹⁸² A third trust registry (*vakfiye*) of Mehmed II from the second half of the 16th c. , in fact the Turkish translation of the previous one in Arabic from c. 1481 was also studied by İnalçık (1998).

(2014, p. 55) claims that this tale was probably first derived by the historian Kâtip Çelebi (1609-1657) after a misinterpretation of Karamani Mehmet Pasha (1458-1481) accounts about the mosque inside Constantinople during the conquest of 1453. The story was mainly quoted by Ayvansarâyî (1864, p. 34) in 1781 and then inscribed on a marble slab by Hacı Emin Efendi in 1807, which was placed inside the mosque. However, the tale was clearly denied by Hasluck (1918, pp. 158-160), Palazzo (2014, pp. 50-61) and Eyice (1991, p. 326) with respect to historical and architectural proofs but it is still recognized by locals and some responsible authorities as well, in order to strengthen the Islamic character of the building (see 4.5).

Arap Mosque then had many alterations until modern times, mainly due to destructive fires. Minor repairs with unknown details were done to the building during the period of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 26) and it was described as having a single nave with a width of 35 steps and a length of 100 steps by Giovanni Mauri della Fratta in 1631 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1925, p. 40). When also considered its appearance with three naves on the panorama of Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) but with a single one on the works of Pieter van der Keere (1616) and Jaspar de Isaac (1650), it can be claimed that probably after a fire, the wooden interior was organized again during the works of c. 1595-1603, in order to provide a wider worship area for Muslims inside a relatively narrow Christian shrine.

During the late 17th century, surrounding timber houses were demolished due to fire threat (Eyice, 1991, p. 326) and in the early 1700s, the building was described as still having its original windows, Gothic inscriptions above doors and a quadrate belfry, which was converted into a minaret (de Tournafort, 1717, pp. 221-222). Therefore, it can be assumed that bearing walls of the former Dominican church have reached the first half of the 18th century.

In 1734-1735, major repairs were done to Arap Mosque by Saliha Sultan (1680-1739) after the great fire of 1731, such as enlargement of size, conversion of Gothic elements into Islamic ones, addition of a third window row, constructions of fountains and the recent courtyard gate. The enlargement of the former interior space was mentioned on an Ottoman inscription on the old fountain inside the garden but it was then disappeared (Ayvansarayî, 1864, p. 34; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1942, p. 17). The northern façade of the mosque was shifted until the end of side chapel during the reconstruction and presumably because of having a bigger interior as a result, three naves separated with wooden pillars were formed again to support the widened roof and also provide upper galleries as additional worship spaces.

The complete renewal of Arap Mosque's structural wooden parts and additions of the recent Islamic elements inside were completed a year after the great fire of July 1807 and the mosque had some minor repairs in 1854-1855 (Palazzo, 2014, p. 26), apparently including an additional minaret floor and its conical roof, with respect to two 19th century panoramas. Construction of the nearby open cistern and the repair of main fountain inside the garden were done in 1868-1869 (Eyice, 1991, pp. 326-327).

Arap Mosque had its final major repairs in 1913-1919 like the addition of a new narthex, connecting upper galleries above the main entrance, complete renewal of the roof with a reduced height and demolitions of adjacent small corner fountain and wooden imam's house. Those works have revealed the Byzantine *spolia* together with 106 tombstones and elaborate frescoes from the Genoese period of the building (Ebersolt, 1921, pp. 38-44; Eyice, 1991, pp. 326-327; Palazzo, 2014, p. 26). Arap Mosque appears with a same width on 1905 Charles E. Goad and 1913 fire insurance maps, therefore the only spatial enlargement was occurred in 1734-1735.

Finally, some minor interventions were done between 2010-2012, which include the cover of frescoed cross vaults with timber frames, removal of modern additions, restoration of paintings, the repair of timber parts and thoroughly cleaning all the façades.

Arap Mosque was mainly built of brick and limestone but its masonry shows different characteristics, which are separated by perceivable joints. However, a complete stratigraphic analysis does not exist for the building but some parts of it were studied by several scholars. For instance, a portion of wall made of brickwork with rubble courses and forms the eastern side of the passageway, which is running under the belfry was described as a Justinian period early Byzantine structure by several related specialists like Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 25) and Eyice (1991, p. 327).

On the other side, detailed structural investigations including comparisons with contemporary examples from Italy by Cramer and Düll (1985, pp. 295-321) for the passageway indicate that 1320s were the period of the Dominican takeover and significant reconstructions on the building, supposed to have a wooden ceiling after the cross vaults to cover the main worship space. Yet, the belfry and apse wall mainly belong to the first half of 13th century, which falls into the Latin Empire period. Basically, the 2 stones + 3 bricks masonry of the building was dated to the 13th century by them and the wall, defined as a Byzantine structure by the scholars mentioned above was a 14th century construction. The latter also includes the upper,

only brick parts of the belfry, modifications on the passageway and the nearby chapel as a whole, which is made of irregular courses (roughly as 1-3 bricks + 1-3 stones).

Therefore, different views for the date of the passageway create a contradiction and perhaps a more comprehensive and detailed survey is necessary for the structural chronology of the building. However, it should be noticed that no major constructions were known from the Latin period (1204-1261) in its capital, Constantinople, which was already full of churches in all shapes and sizes. It is also significant to notice that all of the known medieval church buildings with distinctive Gothic elements, like *San Domenico*, *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* (see 2.9.2) were located in the Genoese Galata, originally being only a suburb of the city on the other side of the Golden Horn. Nevertheless, different masonries of Arap Mosque can be grouped, measured and compared with nearby examples as a reference for further investigations.

Three characteristic masonries more were detected on Arap Mosque apart from the controversial eastern wall of the passageway, the characteristic masonry of 2 stones + 3 bricks and the irregular masonry of the chapel; being the sole brickwork of the former belfry on its upper parts, bearing walls with 1 stone + 2 bricks and a repaired relatively small section with the usage of modern bricks.

The fundamental masonry of 2 stones + 3 bricks appears on the belfry until its only brick parts, the apse, a portion of southern façade with a window and all along lower parts excluding the northeastern and roughly half of the northwestern façades of Arap Mosque. Hence, the 2 stones + 3 bricks one can be considered as the main masonry of the former church. Therefore, it should be remained from either the first half of 13th century, with respect to Cramer and Düll (1985, pp. 295-321) or the first half of 14th century, with respect to Dalleggio d'Alessio (1942) and Palazzo (1946).

Constantinople has witnessed many loots by the Latin crusaders during the first half of 13th century and fell into a ruinous state until 1261 (Eyice, 1980, pp. 95-103). Although the exact states of churches are unclear in this period, it can be considered rather destructive than constructive and no Latin buildings were identified inside Constantinople. In this case, any nearby buildings do not exist for a comparison in order to support the claim of Cramer and Düll (1985, pp. 295-321) but another comparison can be done for the characteristic Arap Mosque masonry of 2 stones + 3 bricks with some Late Byzantine Period buildings of

Constantinople to demonstrate a compatibility for this possible construction period around 1320s, which appears after Dalleggio d'Alessio (1942) and Palazzo (1946).

First of all, it is important to mention that the main masonry of Arap Mosque is unique with its mostly regular stone and brick ratio (2 stones + 3 bricks) from the bottom to up because the late Byzantine buildings of Constantinople have clearly different masonry ratios and it is also possible to detect many irregular series on them. Yet, materials are the same as limestone and brick. In addition, the common 14th c. Byzantine mortar, defined as dark grey, strong and granular with the aggregates of sand, lime and large brick and stone pieces by Tunay (1983, p. 1695) is also visually very similar to the mortar used on the fundamental masonry of Arap Mosque but this hypothesis needs further chemical analysis for being proven.

Dimensions of 12 stone, 28 brick and 25 mortar examples on 12 late Byzantine buildings in Istanbul (see Appendix 4) and their comparison with the main masonry of Arap Mosque are as follows;

- Average Late Byzantine Construction Materials of Constantinople (after Ersen, 1986, p. 22; Kahya, 1992, pp. 100-108; Tunay, 1983, p. 1695; 1984): stone: ≈16.5 cm; brick: ≈3.9 x 33.3 cm, mortar: ≈5.1 cm (Author, 2015).

- Arap Mosque (13th or 14th c.): 2 stones + 3 bricks. stone: 15.0-20.0 x 25.0-50.0 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 30.0-35.0 cm; mortar: 3.0-3.5 cm (Author, 2015).

Therefore, it can be claimed that the 2 stones + 3 bricks masonry of Arap Mosque does not shows similarity to the late Byzantine ones of Istanbul only by material type (brick + limestone) and the technique (consecutive regular courses) but also by material dimensions. However, the used mortar significantly differs with its relatively low thickness but it slightly matches with the one of *Palazzo Comunale*. In this case, perhaps the construction materials were provided from the local Byzantines but then used by the Genoese of Galata during the construction of the church's (and also palace's) bearing walls, like how the inhabitants were mobilized for the construction of Galata Tower in 1348 (see 2.5).

The regular masonry of 1 stone + 2 bricks is one of the most used styles in the Ottoman architecture around 16-18th centuries (Ahunbay, 1988, p. 534; Köşklü, 1999) but it is possible to detect this combination only partially on late period additions of two former Byzantine churches, being Church-Mosque of Vefa and Fenari İsa Mosque (*Libos*). Hence, this widely used masonry on Arap Mosque, which always appears above the one with 2 stones + 3 bricks

can undoubtedly be dated to its Ottoman periods and most probably to the major works of 1734-1735, as the northern façade was completely constructed with this combination and it also indicates the spatial enlargement happened in those years, until the side chapel.

Firebricks were only used on the northeastern part of the building, where the wooden imam's house was formerly located together with a stone addition, so presumably after their demolition during the works of 1913-1919, this part was repaired with modern materials and irregular rubble courses.

The covered frescoes of Arap Mosque, which were first mentioned by Ebersolt (1921, p. 40) and the possibility of more covered frescoes are other noteworthy issues about the building. Frescoes on three ribbed vaults and the arched façade of the central one looking through the interior were studied in detail by Çetinkaya (2010, pp. 53-65; 2011, pp. 169-188), Akyürek (2011, pp. 301-341) and Westphalen (2008, pp. 276-291). The most significant outcome of these studies is the hypothesis about Greek Orthodox artisan(s), who were employed by the Genoese in order to paint these frescoes for a Catholic church, being the former *San Domenico*, as the Byzantine style of those paintings inside a Catholic shrine brought out this possibility. The semicircular arched section of Arap Mosque on its former belfry and just above the passageway entrance, which is later bricked up is often considered as an opening by some scholars. However, the view from the interior shows a continuous masonry, so this element is actually an external niche. Moreover, when considered the niches with elaborate frescoes above main gates of the demolished *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches in Galata, which are visible on drawings from *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"* and dated 1639, it is highly probable that more and perhaps intact frescoes are located behind the brick cover of the niche, which were once embellishing the entrance of *San Domenico*. It is also known that images of St. George were painted on the *loggia* and *Palazzo Comunale* and the image of St. Michael was painted on *San Michele* (see 2.7.3, 2.8, 2.9.2 and 2.9.3).

Marble ornaments and the discovered Genoese tombstones from Arap Mosque were other carefully studied parts of the building in detail and due to stylistic similarities, it has been claimed that the Byzantine artisans were employed during their production as well (Düll, 1983, pp. 101-118; 1983, pp. 225-238; 1986, pp. 245-256; 1987, pp. 257-280).

Ornamental blind arches, which are present on the western part of the passageway were defined as a characteristic element of the middle and late period Byzantine architecture (Ersen, 1986, p. 50; Eyice, 1980, p. 126). Triple windows of the former belfry were then

bricked up and narrowed down into slits but traces of previous forms are still perceivable from inside. Similar windows were also used on late period Byzantine churches of Constantinople (Ersen, 1986, p. 67) but the ones of Arap Mosque differ by form. It is also possible to see the traces of removed wooden floors inside the belfry, which was having 4 in total but two of them were removed and continuous stairs were provided by the Ottomans.

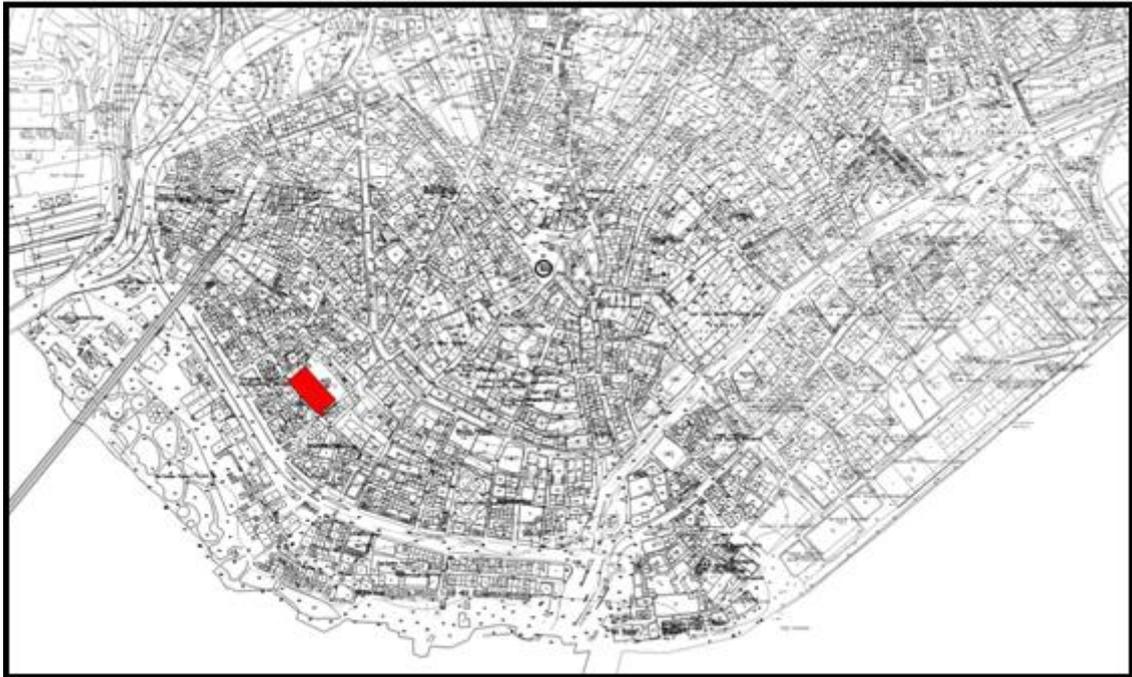


Fig. 182: The location of Arap Mosque, the former *San Domenico* in Galata (see Appendix 8)
(Author, 2015)

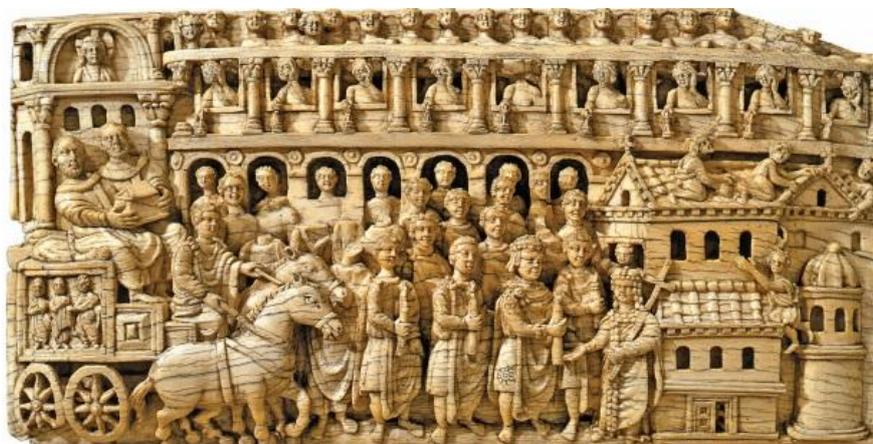


Fig. 181: The ivory relic kept inside Trier Cathedral (Cutler and Niewöhner, 2016, p. 93)

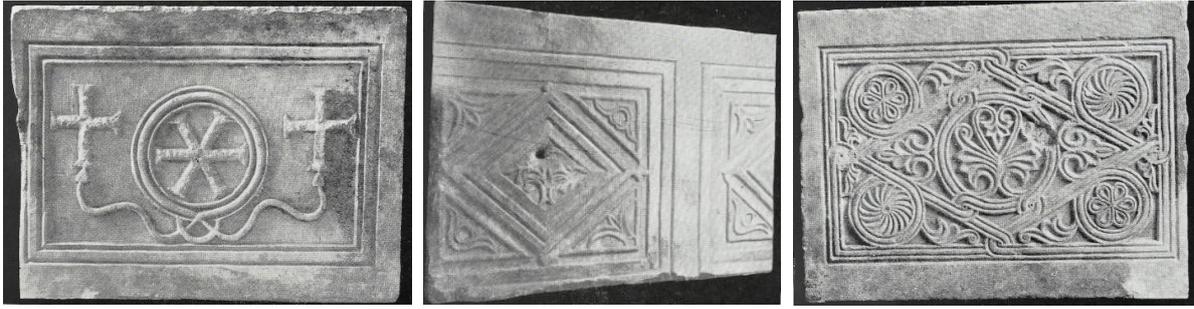


Fig 183-185: 5th, 6th and 10-11th century Byzantine construction materials from *Hagia Irene*, respectively, which were discovered in Arap Mosque (Ebersolt, 1921, Pl. XXXV-XXXIX)



Fig. 186-191: "*San Domenico*" on different versions of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), being the ones from Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Pearse, 2015), British Museum (Medievalists, 2015), Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Wikimedia, 2015), Michigan University Library (2015), Greenwich National Maritime Museum (2015) and Biblioteca Marciana (Istanbul Guide, 2015), respectively



Fig. 192-194: Arap Mosque in Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) (Kumrular, 2007, p. 264), Pieter van der Keere (1616) and Jaspar de Isaac panoramas (1650) (as *San Paolo*) with three naves and then a single one (HUJI, 2015)



Fig. 195-196: Arap Mosque in H. A. Barker & C. Tomkins (1813) and G. Berggren (1875) panoramas with different minaret roofs and an extra floor (Istanbul | Constantinople, 2015)

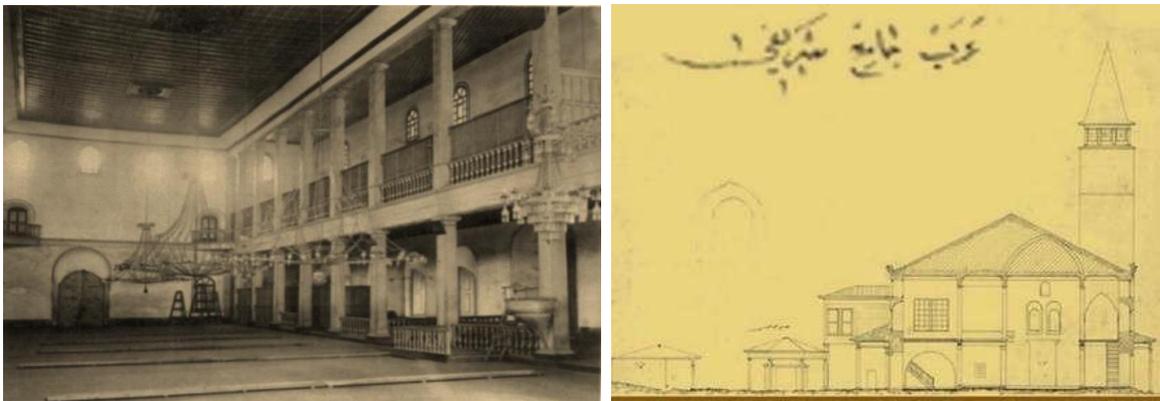


Fig. 197-198: Arap Mosque in the late 19th century (LOC, 2015) and before 1913-1919 works (Batur *et. al.*, 2009), where separate wooden galleries and adjacent buildings are visible



Fig. 199-200: Arap Mosque before and during the works of 1913-1919 with a two sided hipped roof in the former (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1942, pp. 15-18)



Fig. 201-202: Arap Mosque on 1905 Charles E. Goad (Envanter, 2015) and 1913-1914 fire insurance maps (Dağdelen, 2006), where the corner fountain, wooden imam's house and its stone annex were demolished in between



Fig. 203-207: Arap Mosque, nowadays and possible parts from *Hagia Irene* (Author, 2015)

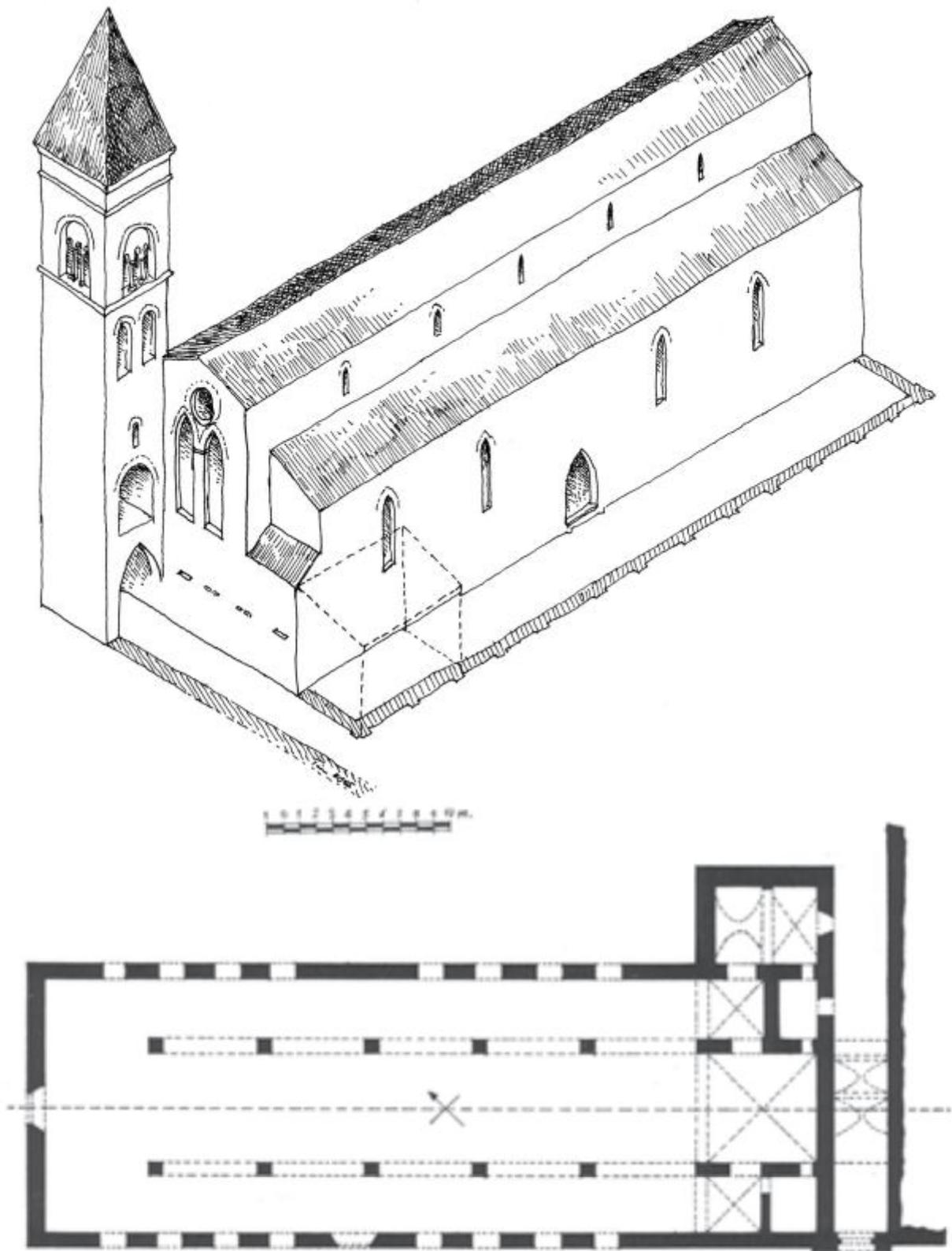


Fig 208-209: Possible view (Westphalen, 2008, p. 281) and floor plan of *San Domenico* before being converted into a mosque (Palazzo, 2014, p. 31)

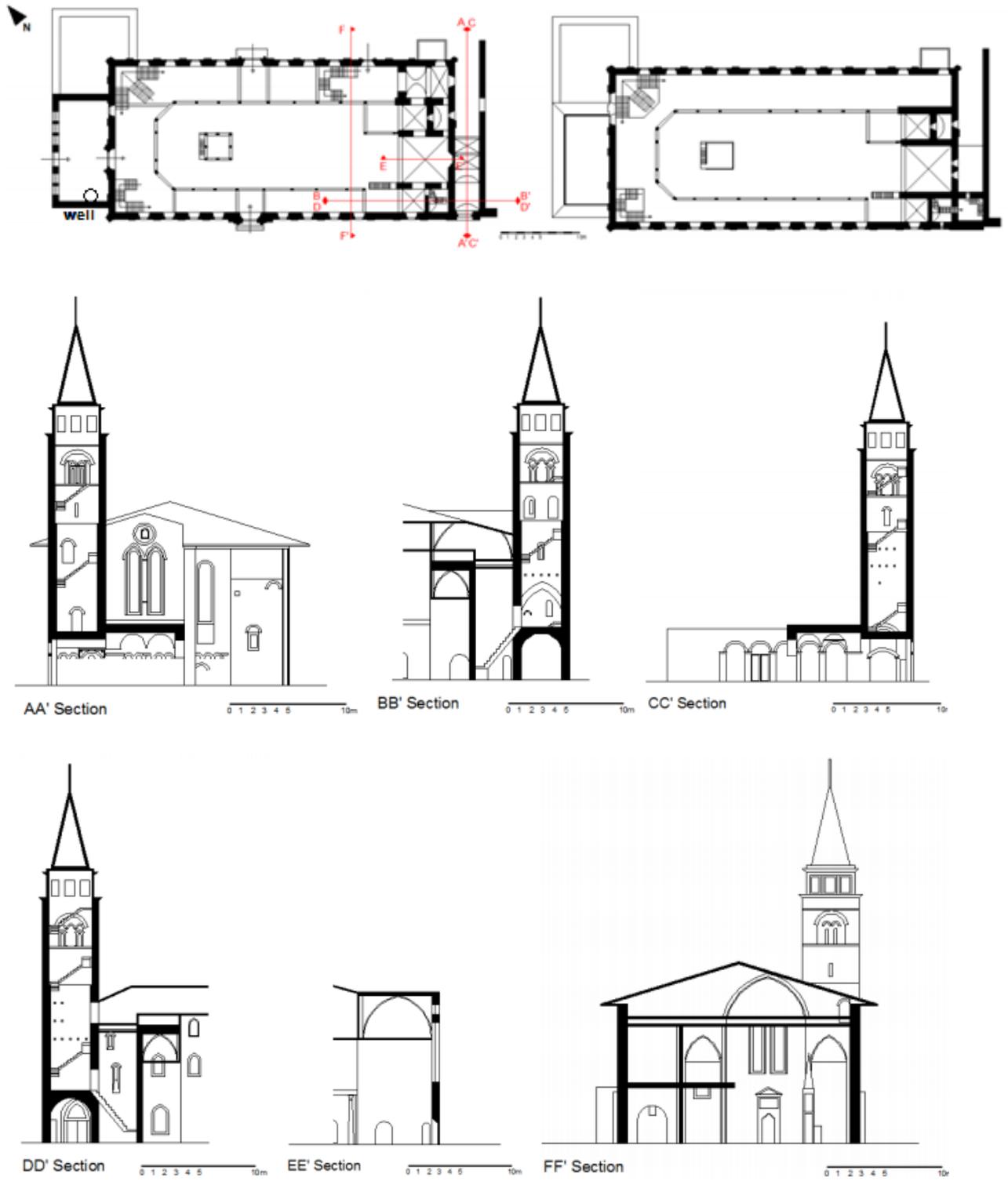


Fig. 210: Schematic floor plans and sections of Arap Mosque (Author, 2015)

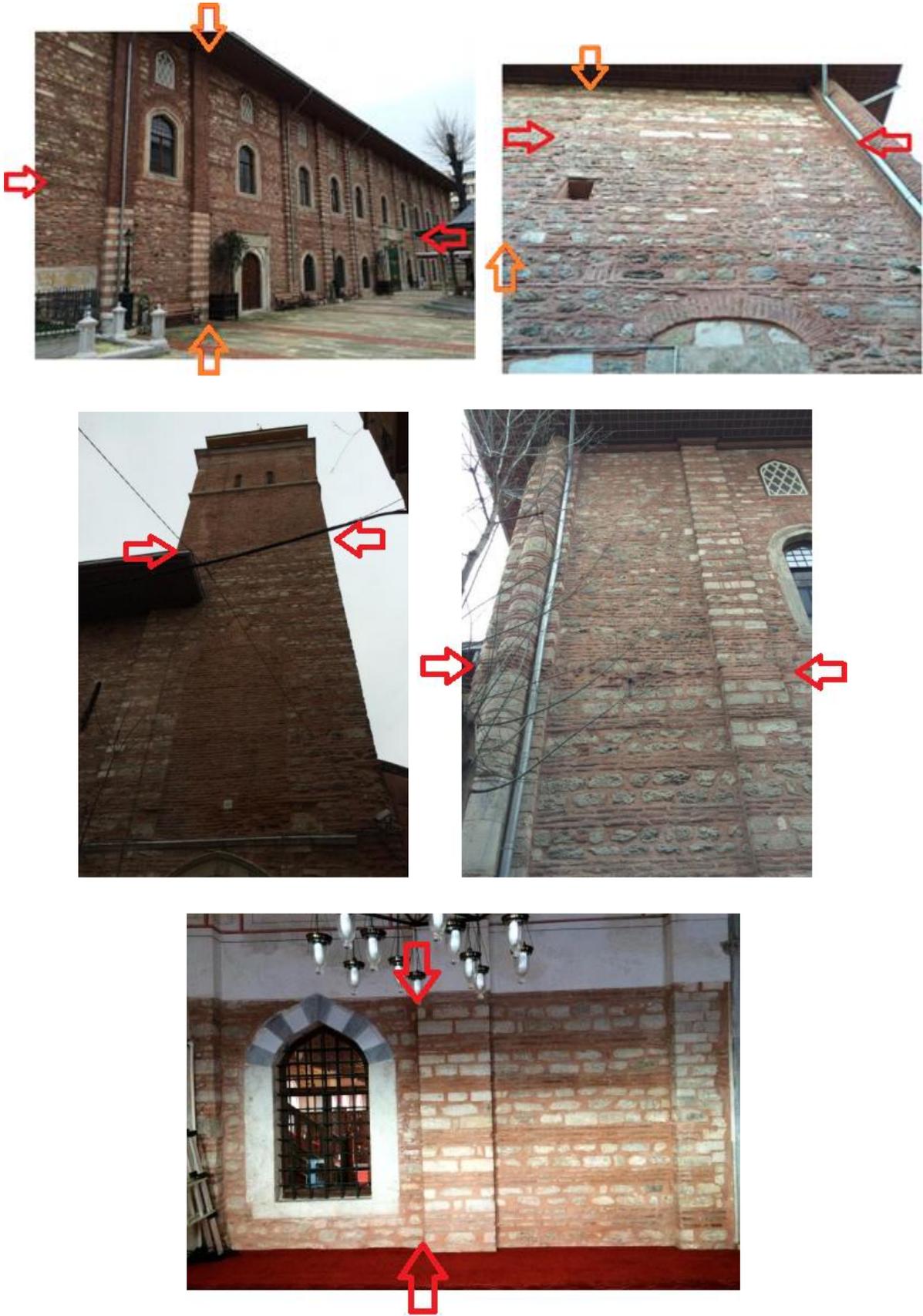


Fig. 211-215: Joints of different masonries on Arap Mosque, shown between the arrows
(Author, 2015)

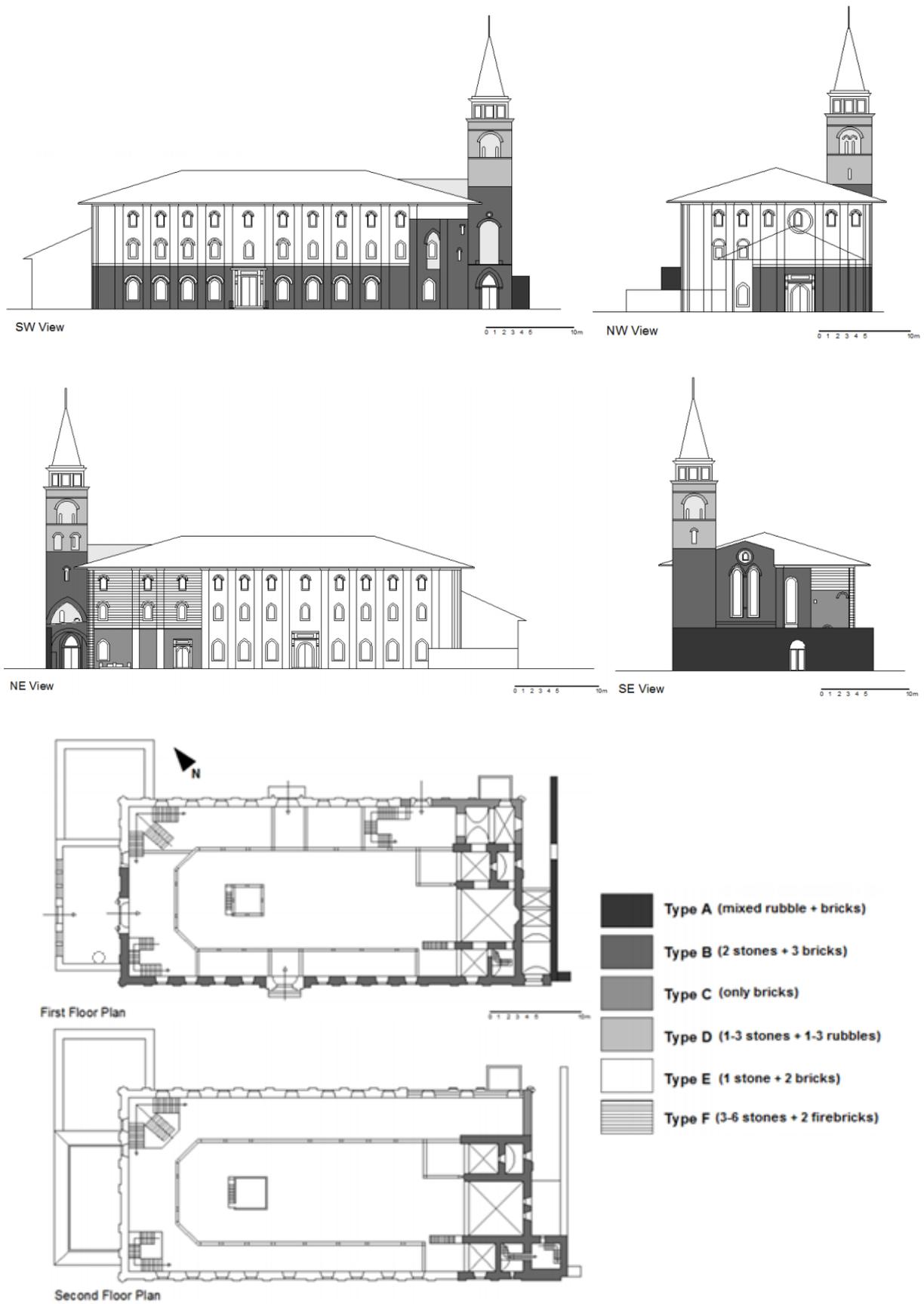


Fig. 216: Schematic views and floor plans of Arap Mosque with its different masonries (Author, 2015)

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Type F
	mixed rubble + bricks (eastern part of the passageway)	2 stones + 3 bricks (hewn limestone, main masonry)	only bricks (upper parts of the belfry)	1-3 stones + 1-3 bricks (rubble, side chapel)	1 stone + 2 bricks (hewn mixed stone, enlargements)	3-6 stones + 2 firebricks (hewn rubble, local repairs)
Stone Dimensions	Varies	15.0-20.0 x 25.0-50.0 cm	-	Varies	Varies, bigger than Type B	Varies
Brick Dimensions	Varies	3.5-4.0 x 30.0-35.0 x 10.0-12.0 cm	3.5-4.0 x 30.0-35.0 cm	3.5-4.0 x 30.0-35.0 cm	2.0-2.5 or 4.0-4.5 x 30.0-35.0 cm	6.0 x 25.0 cm
Mortar Thickness	Varies	3.0-3.5 cm	3.0-3.5 cm	3.0-3.5 cm (between bricks)	4.0-5.0 cm	1.5 cm








Tab. 3: Material dimensions of the main masonry types of Arap Mosque that the ones used on the supposed authentic parts of *San Domenico* were shown as bold (Author, 2015)

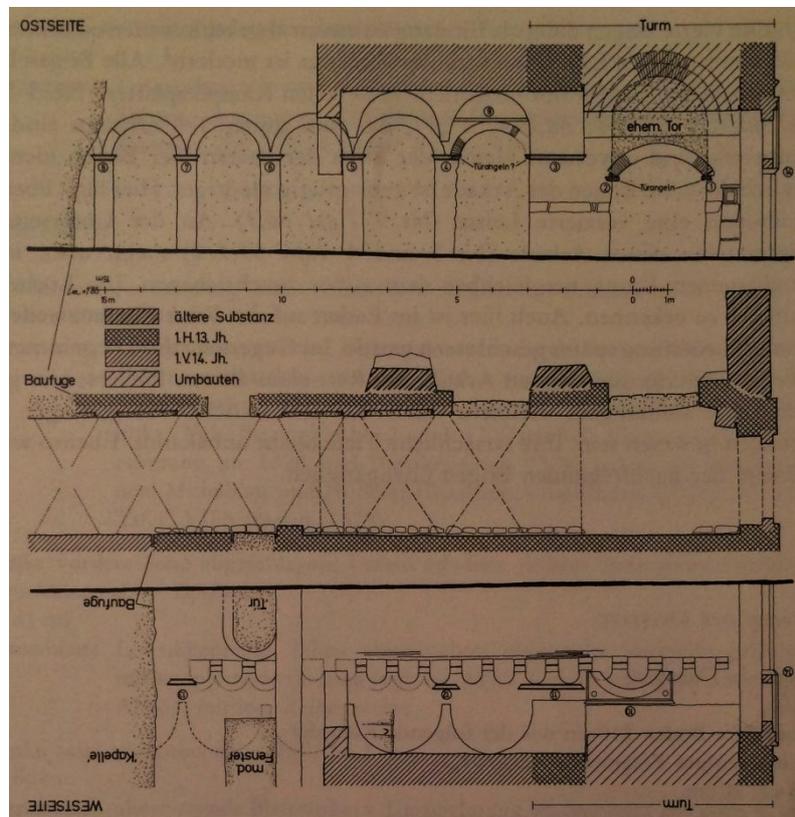


Fig. 217: The survey of Cramer and Düll (1985, p. 297) for the passageway

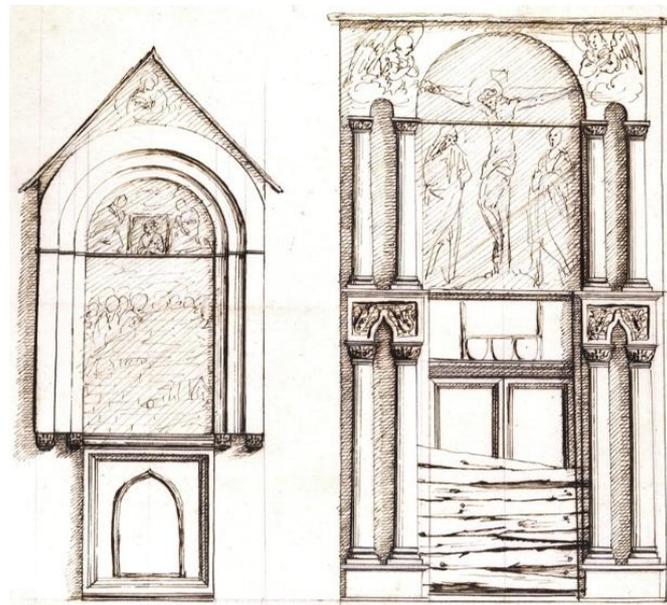
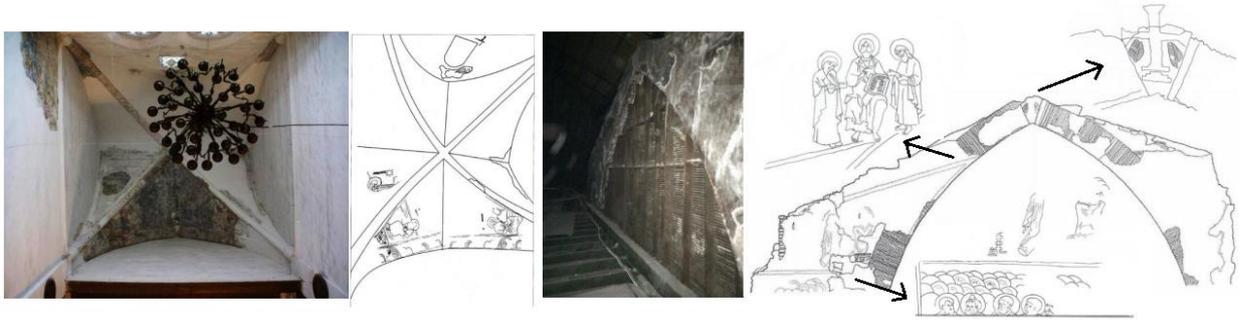


Fig. 218-224: Covered frescoes of Arap Mosque on its cross vaults (Çetinkaya, 2010, pp. 163-188) and the possibility of more covered frescoes inside the niche of its belfry (Author, 2015) when compared with the main gates of demolished *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco* churches in Galata (Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide", 1639, SOCG Vol. 163, p. 262 r.)

2.9.2- *San Francesco and Sant'Anna - Yeni Mosque*

The church of *San Francesco* with *Sant'Antonio*, *La Pietà* and *San Rocco* chapels, the church of *Sant'Anna* and the Franciscan (The Order of Friars Minor) convent with *Maria Maddalena*, *Loreto* and *San Giuseppe* chapels were forming a very important religious complex of the Genoese Galata.

According to Wolff (1944, pp. 213-237), the Franciscans were one of the most active orders within Constantinople during the Latin Empire period (1204-1261), probably exiled after 1261 but returned to the capital before 1296 and had a monastery again until 1307, when they were forced to leave again. The written history of the Franciscan convent in Galata with the aforementioned shrines was thoroughly put together by Matteucci (1967) and although discovered tombstones from *San Francesco* start from June 1304 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1932, p. 192), which chronologically corresponds with the delimitation act of May 1303, Matteucci (1967, pp. 51-52) has dated the establishment of the convent to c. 1230 with respect to some questionable assumptions and a historical account from the reign of John of Brienne (r. 1229-1237) in the Latin Empire. For this issue, it must be stated that as there was already a Franciscan convent in Constantinople during the Latin period, a confusion between this building and the supposed Franciscan convent of Galata is a possibility.

Darnault (2004, p. 61) states that other possible years for the establishment of the convent were mentioned as 1227 and 1272 and the church was allegedly defined as the cathedral of Galata as well. Another very significant contribution of Matteucci (1967) was the publication of several 17th century drawings and plans of the disappeared convent from *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"* for the first time, which mainly lack a detailed and very crucial positional analysis inside Galata.

Other significant proofs for the existence of a Franciscan convent in Galata before 1304 are a mention from 1292 about two Franciscan friars, who studied there and even more precisely, a testament dated 19 February 1297, where a lady called Maria wishes to be buried inside the church dedicated to Saint Francis in Pera (Belgrano, 1877, p. 933; Matteucci, 1967, p. 50)¹⁸³.

Historical documents and other discovered tombstones provide little information about the architecture of the Franciscan convent, which was mainly subjected to ultimate wills in

¹⁸³ ASG, *Liber Francisci Moratii et aliorum, a. 1277-1310*, 19 February 1297, fol. 62 r (doc. I): "... *In primis, sepulcrum meum eligo apud ecclesiam sancti Francisci de Peyra...*"

testaments and numerous donations. For example, some notes from 1366-1367 about Galata, which were extracted from the treasury account of Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy (r. 1343-1383) mentions three burials done inside "*ecclesia fratrum minorum Pera*" (the church of the Order of Friars Minor in Pera) (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 129-131)¹⁸⁴. In a testament from 3 February 1371, the church was mentioned with a similar name again, which was chosen by a resident of Pera as his burial place (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 948-952)¹⁸⁵.

Moreover, a notary registry dated 14 March 1390 mentions a chapel inside the church of *San Francesco*, built by Iohannes and Benedictus Demerode, sons of famous Philippus Demerode (Balard, 1987, p. 41)¹⁸⁶. An expense registry of *Massaria di Pera* from 25 December 1390 includes the monastery as *conventui sancti Francisci* (Belgrano, 1877, p. 153)¹⁸⁷. In his testament dated 25 September 1416, Antonio de Via makes a donation to the church (Belgrano, 1877, p. 970)¹⁸⁸. The slabs A.11.17 and A.11.44 are about works done to the church in 1426 and 1513. The name of *San Francesco* among the Ottomans after the conquest was said to be "*Münakkaş Kilise*" (the decorated church) due to its frescoes (Eyice, 1996, p. 308; İnalçık, 1998, p. 309). However, it is not very clear for which building this definition was used (see 2.9.3).

San Francesco was having its own neighborhood, which was mentioned for the final time in 17 August 1479 as a "*contrada*" (see 2.7.2) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 241-243)¹⁸⁹. Further 15th century notary documents continue to briefly mention the church within a time period of 1453-1479 but they do not provide any architectural details apart from the mention of a public street (*via publica*) next to the church and its cloister (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 152-153, 243-249)^{190 191 192 193 194}.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted from Datta, P. L., (1826). *Spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI Conte di Savoia*, pp. 188, 191, 196 201, 205 (doc. XXIII).

¹⁸⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 3 February 1371, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. VI): "... *In primis suam elegit sepulturam apud ecclesiam sancti Francisci fratrum minorum de Peyra...*"

¹⁸⁶ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 14 March 1390 (doc. 98).

¹⁸⁷ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

¹⁸⁸ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 25 September 1416, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. XIV): "*Item legavit ecclesie beati sancti Francisci de Peyra perperos quinque ad dictum sagium...*"

¹⁸⁹ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1 (1461-1489)*, sc. 6/91, 17 August 1479 (doc. 111): "... *intus castelum, in via publica, iuxta hostium domus habitacionis Bartholomei Bonaventure in contracta Sancti Francischi...*"

¹⁹⁰ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 17 April 1453 (doc. 38).

¹⁹¹ ASG, *Notaio Torriglia Antonio - filza 1 (1448-1465)*, sc. 6/77, 1469 (doc. 72, 83-88).

¹⁹² ASG, *Notai Bonavei Battista e Castelasso Teramo - filza 1 (1472-1494)*, sc. 6/114, 18 November 1475 (doc. 97).

When describing discovery positions of some tombstones from 1390, 1430-1432, 1497 and 1579 found in the convent, Luke Wadding (1588-1657) mentions the gate of the church passing through the cloister, the baptistery and the chapels of *Maria Maddalena* and *Sant'Anna*, respectively (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 325-328; Wadding, 1733, pp. 55).

Sant'Anna was a smaller building inside the Franciscan convent and a source from 1672 dates it back to the late 13th century together with the main church. It was probably named after the relic of Saint Anne once kept inside the nearby *San Francesco* (Matteucci, 1967, pp. 50-242; Quirini-Poplowski, 2016, pp. 63-81). The chapel was mentioned as "*capelle Verberatorum Sancte Ane de Pera*" in a notary registry from 17 April 1453 (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 115-119)¹⁹⁵. Correspondingly, it has also been stated that the church was established inside an already existing older building of the Franciscan convent just before the Ottoman conquest in 1453 (Marmara, 2006, p. 30).

According to a visitor called Pietro Demarchis, *Sant'Anna* was 34 steps long and 13 steps wide as of 1622. In 1633, P. Giovanni Mauri della Frata mentions the church as beautiful, comfortable, wide and having two rows of wooden seats and a marble table inside. It was also having a leaded roof and two gates; one from the convent and the other one was reached from outside. The latter was also next to the secondary gate of the monastery and accessed through a stairs with 15-20 steps above the magazines under the slightly elevated church building (Marmara, 2006, p. 30). The 17th century drawings verify most of those given architectural details about *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* in the convent.

The convent was completely burnt in 1639 and the churches were then rebuilt, being 1650s for *San Francesco* and 1674 for *Sant'Anna*. However, the monastery was burnt once again in 1660 and restored one more time in 1670 (see Appendix 5). The convent was having a slightly different form and a smaller plot after the first reconstruction. An Ottoman registry interpreted by Yıldız (2014, p. 226)¹⁹⁶ and from 19 January 1662 indicates that a piece of land obtained from the plot of *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* was sold to 7 people, a fact also justifies the shrinkage of the convent by area following the fires. After burning for a last time in 1696, it was demolished in 1697 and *Yeni Camii* (The New Mosque) was soon built on its plot. The

¹⁹³ ASG, *Notaio De Rapallo Cristoforo seniore - filza 14* (n.d.), sc. 6/56, 3 June 1354 (doc. 62): "... videlicet apud ecclesiam Sancti Francischi, in via publica..."

¹⁹⁴ ASG, *Notai De Algario Domenico e Torriglia Nicola - filza 1* (1461-1489), sc. 6/91, 21 August 1479 (doc. 112, 113, 115).

¹⁹⁵ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1* (1453-1482), sc. 6/87, 17 April 1453 (doc. 38).

¹⁹⁶ *İstanbul Müftülüğü, Şer'iyeye Sicilleri Arşivi, İstanbul Şer'iyeye Sicilleri*, 9, 247b/1 (28 Ca. 1072 / 19 January 1662).

mosque was also demolished in 1940s and the area was designated as "*Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı*" (The Bazaar of Ironmongers) in 1959, which still functions at the present time (Eyice, 1996, p. 308; Marmara, 2006, pp. 30-33).

Architecturally, no significant constructions were known undoubtedly from the Latin Empire period (1204-1261) in Constantinople and on the contrary, the capital had destructive pillages and gradually ruined in this period. It is known that existing Greek Orthodox edifices of the Byzantines were converted into Catholic churches and used by the Latin Crusaders. The Franciscans were one of the active orders within Constantinople and have used the church of *Theotokos Kyriotissa* (now Kalenderhane Mosque). The mosque, originally being a Middle Byzantine period building perhaps has the most significant Latin Empire survivals, when it has been used by the Franciscans during that period; the frescoes depicting the life of Saint Francis of Assisi, painted inside the southeastern chapel of the former church.

A specialist to this issue, Prof. Semavi Eyice also states that large scaled constructions in the Latin period (1204-1261) Constantinople is very unlikely (S. Eyice, personal communication, March 15, 2017). Therefore, presumably an existing Byzantine church in Galata was used by the Franciscans during that period and named as *San Francesco* but the exact construction year of the convent with a similar architecture to *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque) is unknown, which is visible on visible on the 17th century drawings.

Available information for the Latin Galata is scarce and during the beginning of the Genoese period, its main parts can be assumed as a weakly populated and mostly ruined settlement like the whole Constantinople; the castle (*Castrum Sanctae Crucis*), a nearby Jewish quarter (*Estanor*), some churches around the first concession zone, being *Hagios Ioannes*, *Lipsos*, *Hagios Theodoros*, *Hagia Irene*, *Hagios Georgios*, *Hagioi Anargyroi* and *Hagios Nikolaos* and also vineyards near them (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210; Villehardouin, 1908, pp. 38-39)¹⁹⁷. Although the Crusaders have mainly focused on Constantinople itself, some of these buildings (at least one of them with a higher degree of probability, being *San Francesco*) were converted into Catholic churches with different dedications, partially like the example of Kalenderhane Mosque, the former *Theotokos Kyriotissa* with elaborate early 13th century frescoes of Saint Francis of the Assisi. When the Latin Empire has collapsed, the usage of both names were probably continued among the Orthodox and Catholic inhabitants separately for indicating the same building.

¹⁹⁷ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX).

Although the plot arrangement of the Franciscan convent with two churches is well displayed on the 17th century drawings published by Matteucci (1967), proportions of the demolished Yeni Mosque was repeatedly used on map attempts except for one, which does not provide further information other than only a correct positioning. Hence, *San Francesco* was usually identified with the mosque by form. Yet, a much older resource, being the panorama of Pieter van der Keere (1616) also verifies those drawings. Moreover, after revealing the former positions of the churches inside the convent and the urban layout of Galata, they can also be linked with the act of May 1303, like how Palazzo (1946) did for *San Domenico* and *Hagia Irene*.

Exact positions of the demolished *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches and the postulated approximate locations of the defined *Hagioi Anargyroi* and *Hagios Nikolaos* churches in the act of May 1303 (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)¹⁹⁸ show a remarkable overlapping but do not perfectly match. Yet, approximate margin of error is less than 10% (~30 m) in comparison with the given metric data in the act of May 1303. It should also be noted that the area was mainly consisted of vineyards rather than a densely urbanized quarter, which were mentioned inside the aforementioned act, namely *Perdicarius*, *Macropita* (the one of the monastery of *Lipsos*) and the ones of *Logothete* Kinnamos were all next to the delimitation border.

As another possibility, the former *Hagios Nikolaos* can also be the nearby *San Sebastiano* by position but 14-15th centuries of this Catholic church is vague, therefore hypotheses were made upon the renowned *San Francesco* in relation with the neighboring *Sant'Anna* during this study (see 2.3 and 2.9.10).

Hereby, it can be assumed that the mentioned *Hagios Nikolaos* is originally a much older Byzantine building than *San Francesco*, like the nearby *Hagia Irene*. Then, with respect to the claim of Matteucci (1967, p. 52), it was started to be used by the Franciscans around 1230s during the Latin Empire period (1204-1261) and renamed. It can also be supposed that although the church has been last used by the Franciscans as of 1261, it was probably started to be called with its original Byzantine name again when the Latin period has finished. Hence, Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) mentions the building as *Hagios Nikolaos* inside the

¹⁹⁸ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX): "... Postea declinat ipse terminus versus meridiem dimittendo in sinistris divinum et venerandum templum sanctorum Anargirorum; distat porta ipsius templi ab huiusmodi terminato loco passus decem. Postea declinat inde modicum versus orientem reliquendo rursus a sinistris idem templum perveniens ad curiam hospicii quondam Logotheti stratiothico distando ab huiusmodi hospicio per passus quatuordecim. Postea iterum vertitur versus meridiem reliquendo a sinistris divinum et reverendum templum sancti et beatissimi Nicolai quod distat ab huiusmodi terminato loco passus sex..."

act of May 1303 but the testament of 1297 still calls it *San Francesco*, most probably due to a continuity of the Catholic tradition there and a person old enough to write a testament should have witnessed the usage of that name roughly 35 years before.

The church was normally remaining just outside the first concession zone in Galata when there were no walls as of May 1303. In this case, *Hagioi Anargyroi* and *Hagios Nikolaos* were probably among three unnamed churches remaining inside the Genoese quarter when its borders were completed to a rectangle with the treaty of March 1304. Although it has been stated in the treaty that they would remain subjected to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the churches were soon occupied by the Catholic Genoese (see 2.3), where the tombstone found in *San Francesco* and dated 4 June 1304 also corresponds (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1932, p. 192).

During the Genoese period, the convent might had a major reconstruction like the nearby *San Domenico* and had its known Romanesque form, which is the one visible on the 17th century drawings. Four tombstones were discovered in *San Francesco* as two from 1314 and two more from 1318 and 1319 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1932, pp. 192-194). Thus, the one of 1304 is probably a single burial but major works were perhaps done in 1310s. It also appears from the 17th century drawings that the reconstructed *San Francesco* in 1650s was having a slightly different and simpler form than the burned one in 1639. Yeni Mosque was having nothing to do with the former churches by proportion and the position inside the distinctive, upside down L shaped plot.

The continuity of public functions on the expropriated plot of the former Franciscan convent is a significant outcome from its case. As of the 19th century, the plot was serving to a mosque, a military caserne and the headquarters of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, like how the former convent of the Dominicans has also become a mosque (*Arap Camii*) with annexes for further religious services.



Fig. 225-229: The church of *San Francesco* on the British Museum copy of Buondelmonti maps (c. 1422) (Medievalists, 2015) and panoramas of Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) (Kumrular, 2007, p. 264) and an anonymous Austrian artist (c. 1590) (Necipoğlu, 2005, p. 108); together with *Sant'Anna* church on Pieter van der Keere (1616) and alone on Jaspas de Isaac (1650) panoramas, respectively (HUJI, 2015)

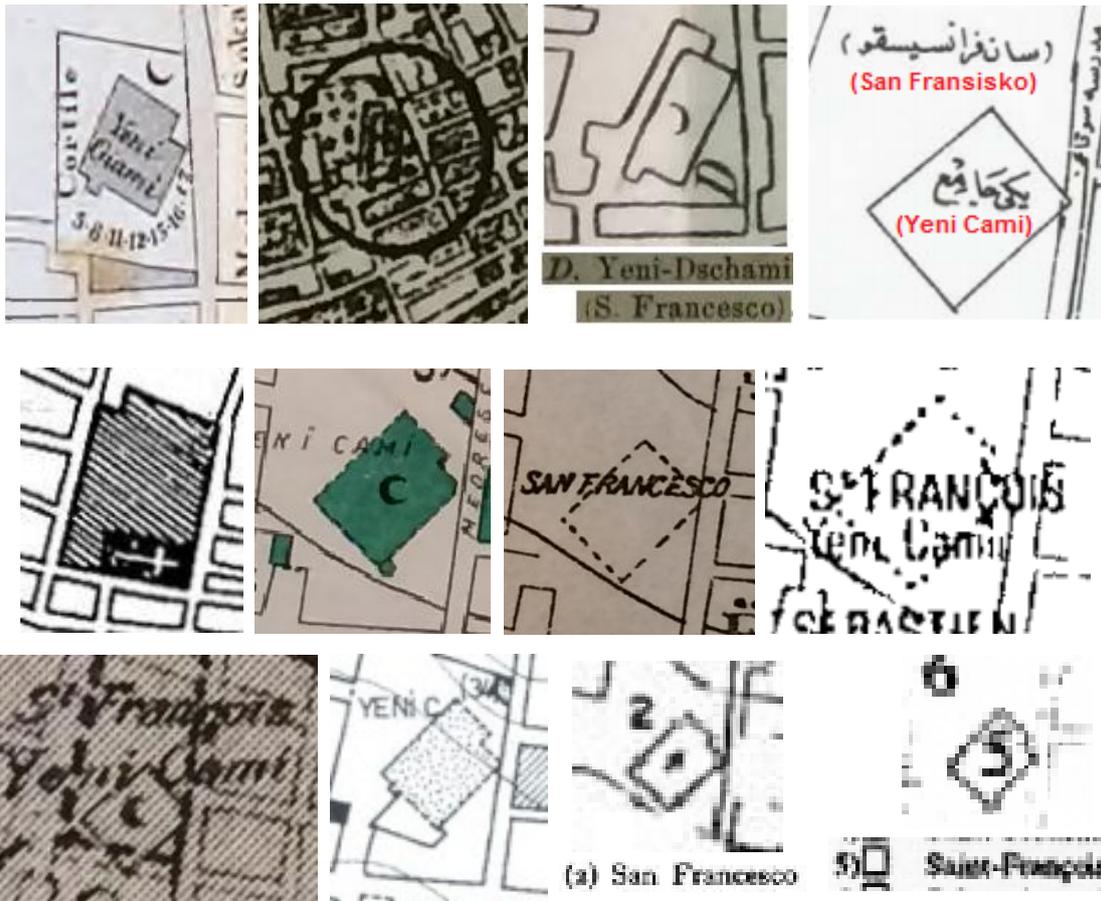


Fig. 230-241: Yeni Mosque, sometimes also as *San Francesco* on the maps of Belgrano (1877) (after De Launay, 1864), Belin (1894), Gottwald (1907), Arseven (1913), Sauvaget (1934) (the only correct one), Schneider and Nomidis (1944), Palazzo (1946), Janin (1950), Mamboury (1951), Müller-Wiener (1977), Mitler (1979) and Borromeo (2005), respectively



Fig. 242-244: Yeni Mosque on C. E. Goad fire insurance maps (1905) & a 19th c. photograph by V. Kargopulo (Envanter, 2015) and the recent Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı (Google Maps, 2015)

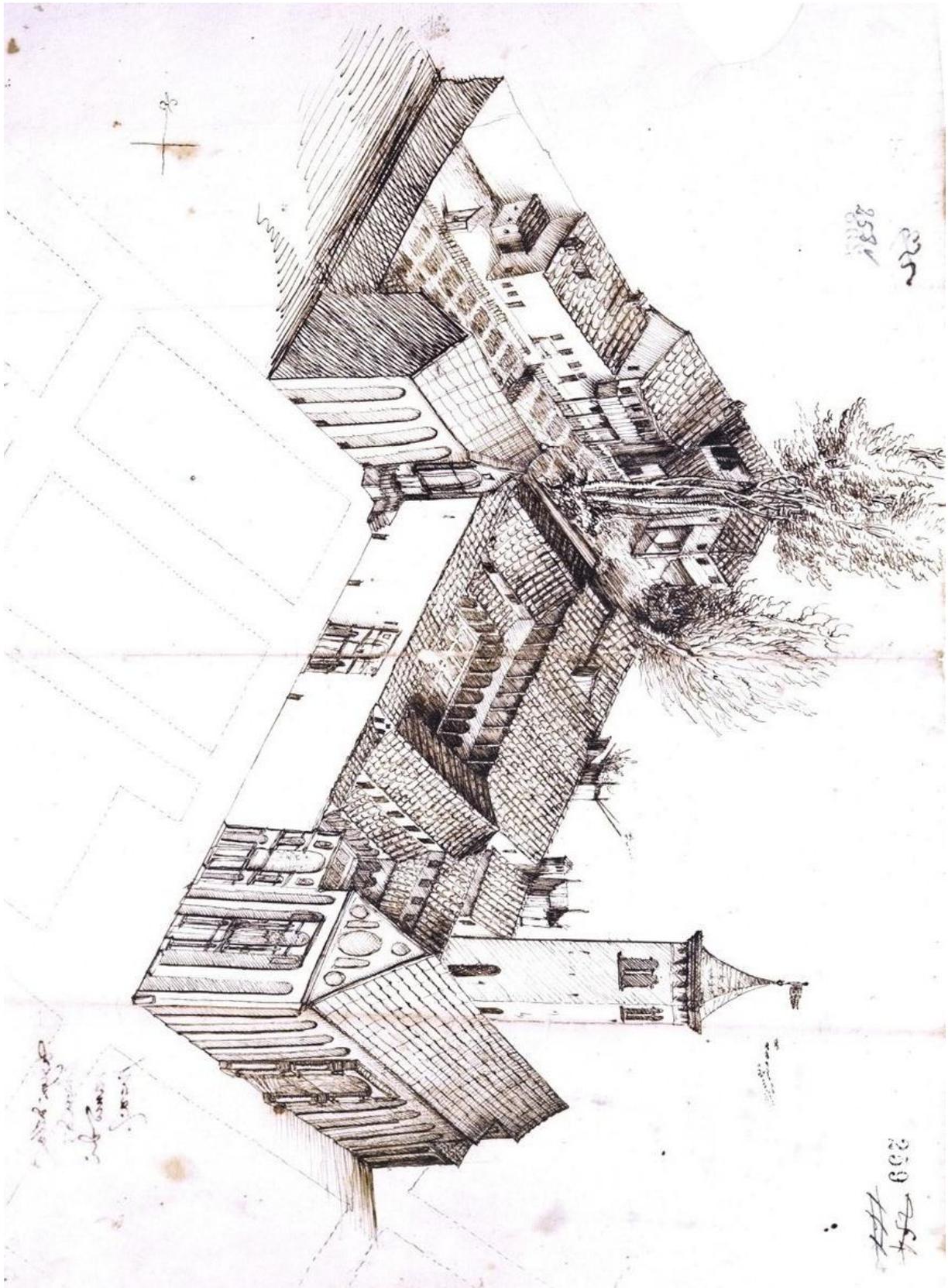


Fig. 245: A view of *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches inside the Franciscan convent as of 1639 (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG (*Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*) (1622-1892), Vol. 163, p. 258 v. - 259 r., 1639)

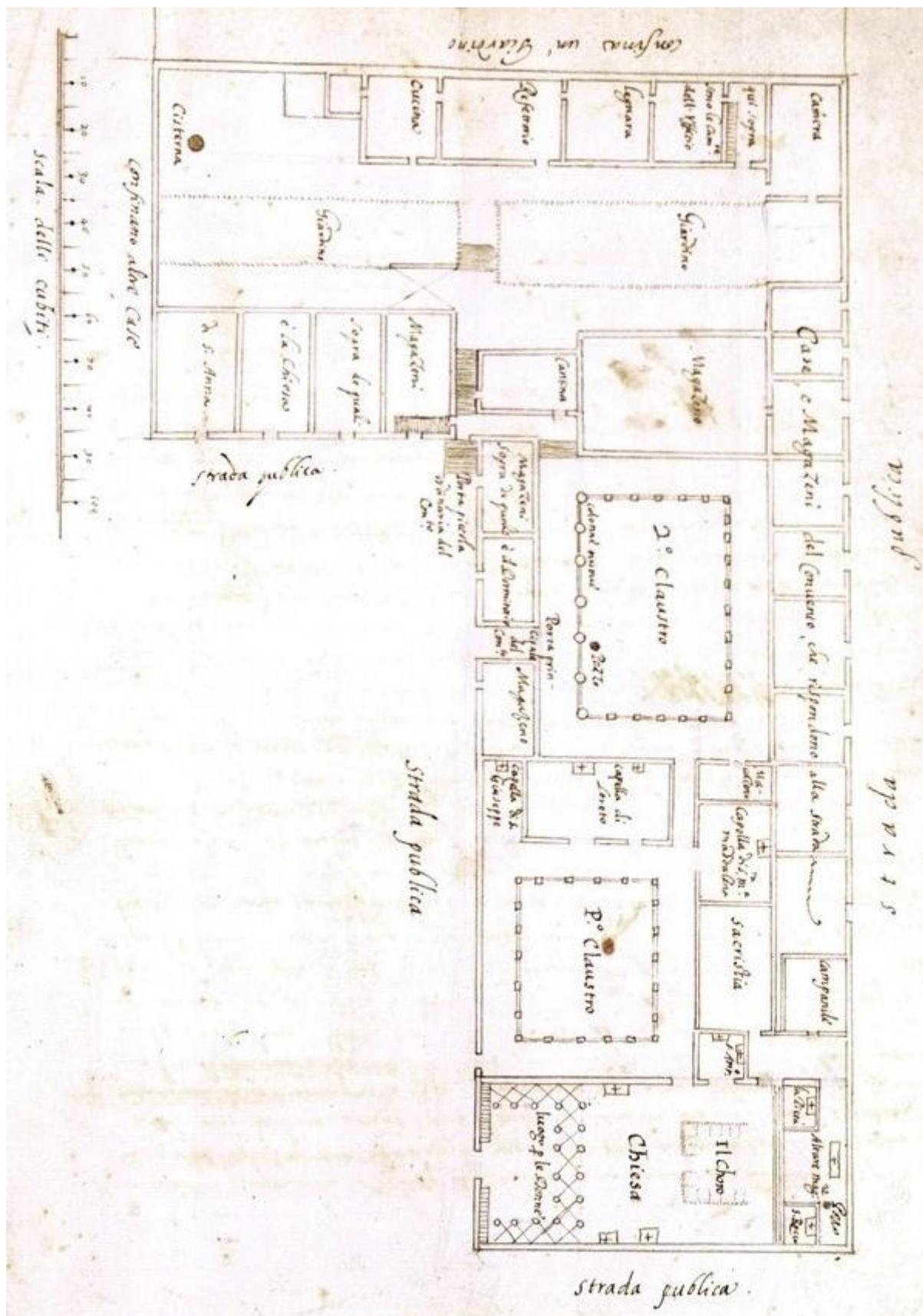


Fig. 246: Floor plans of the buildings inside the Franciscan convent as of 1639 (Archivio Storico “De Propaganda Fide”, SOCG Vol. 163, p. 263 v., 1639) (1 Cubit = ~ 0.45 m)

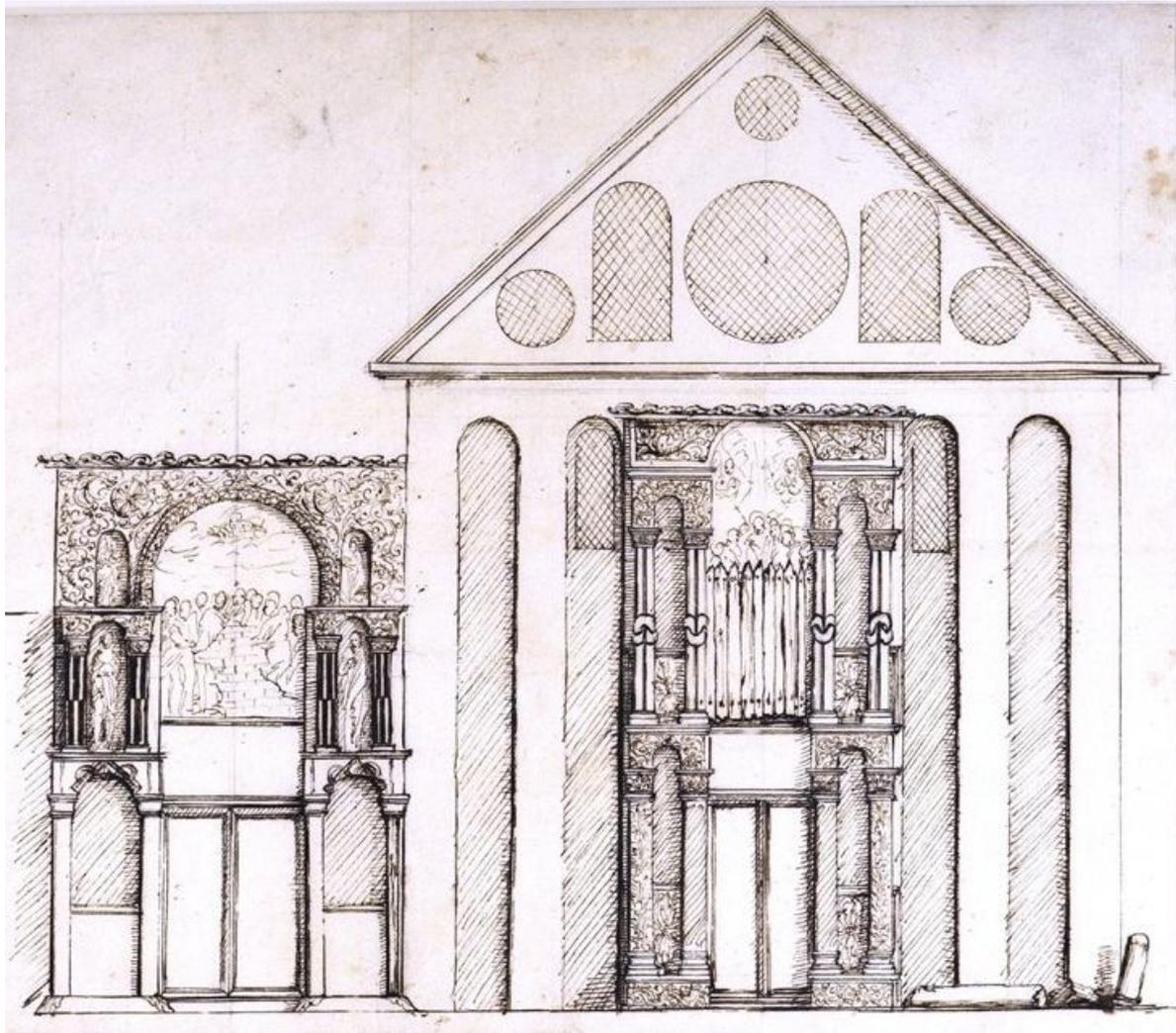


Fig. 247: Views of the second gate of the Franciscan convent and the front gate of *San Francesco* church in 1639, respectively (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 163, p. 290 r., 1639)

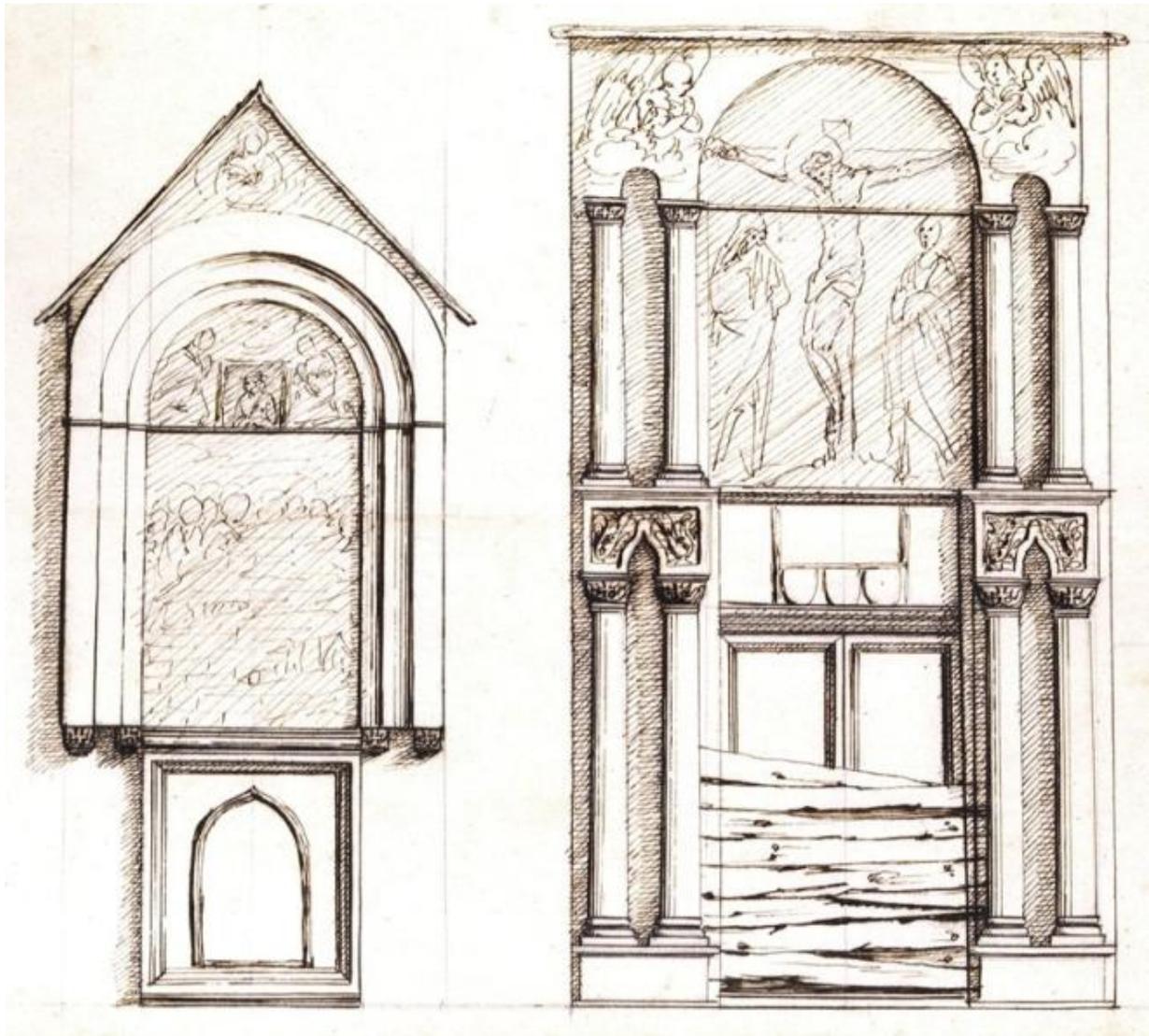


Fig. 248: Views of the external gate of *Sant'Anna* church and the side gate of *San Francesco* church in 1639, respectively (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 163, p. 262 r., 1639)

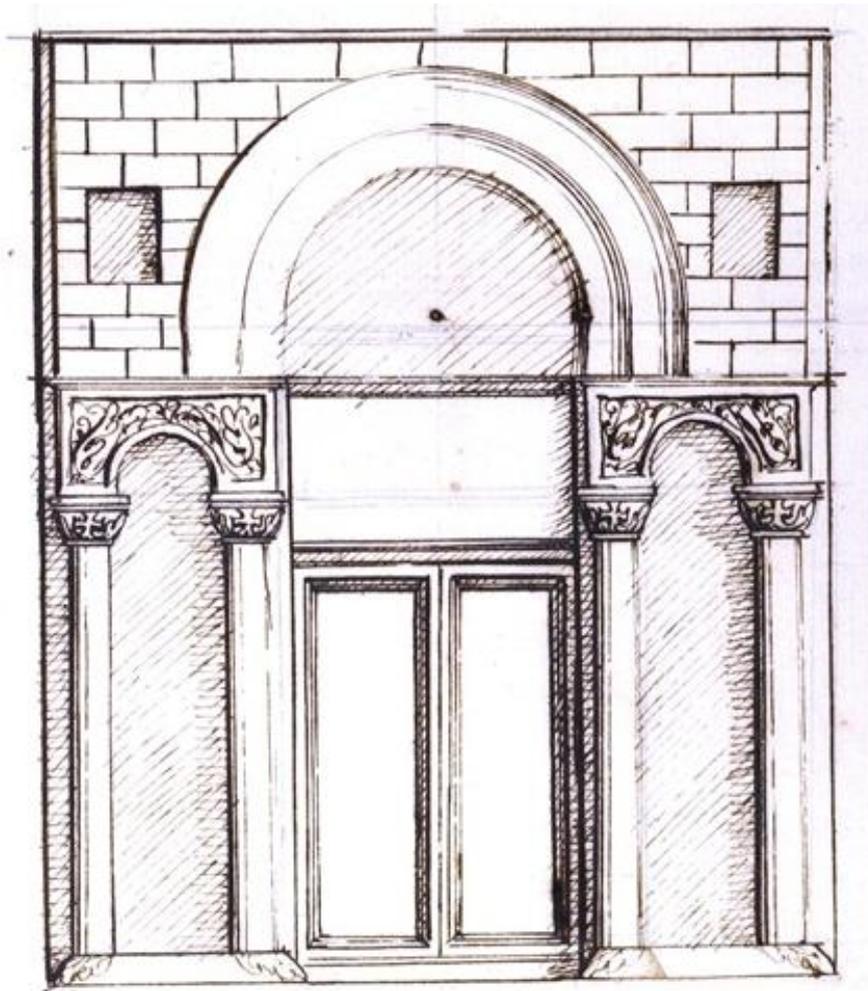


Fig. 249: The view of the main gate of the Franciscan convent in 1639 (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 163, p. 256 r., 1639)

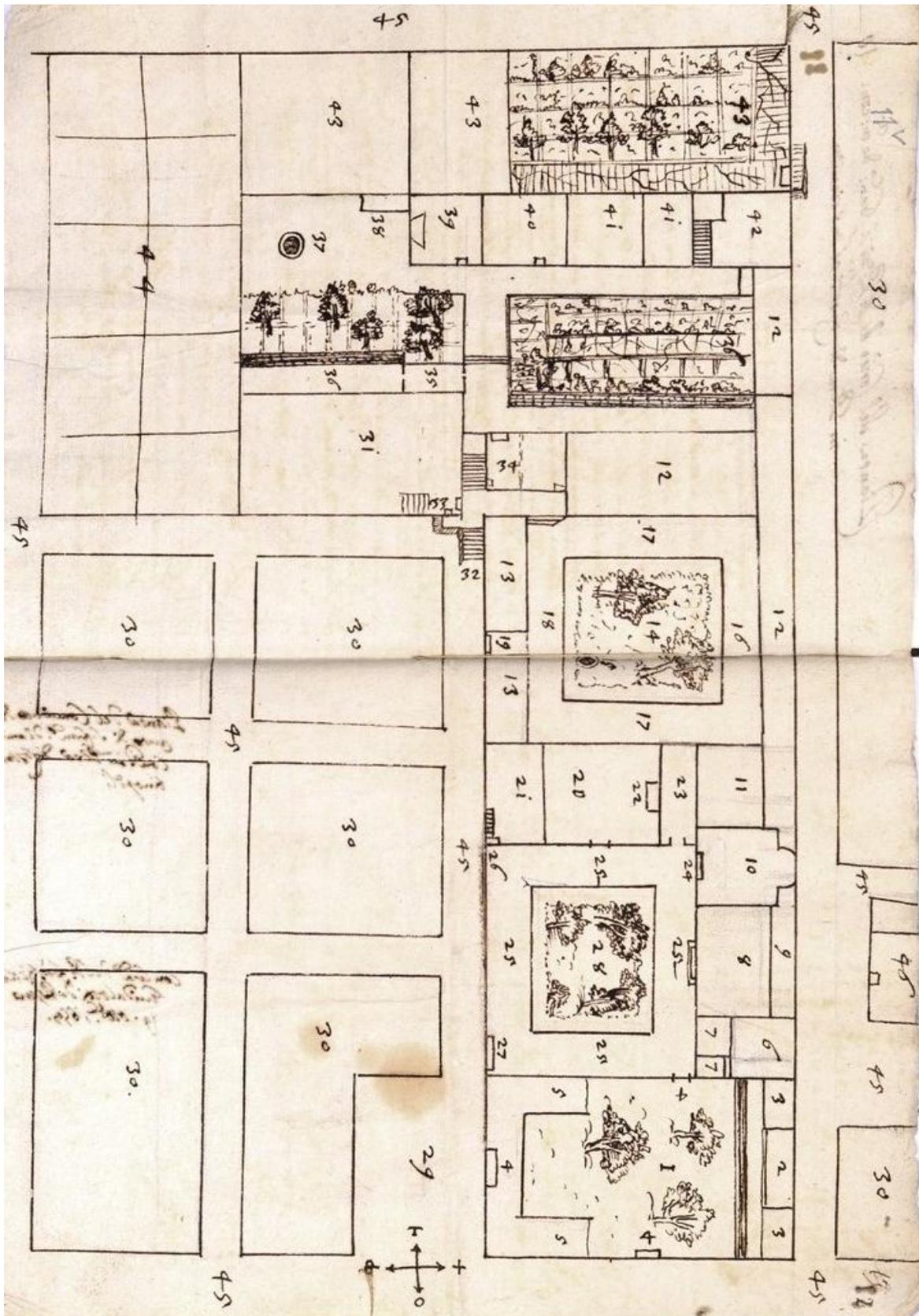


Fig. 250: A sketch of the Franciscan convent with *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches in 1653, after the fire of 1639 (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 290, p. 11 v. – 12 r., 1653) (see notes in the following page)

Notes for the previous sketch: 1- Ruined church of *San Francesco* with grown trees on its plot, 2- Ruined main altar, 3- Chapels, intact, 4- Gates of the church, all intact, 5- Arches and vaults of the gallery for women, supported by columns, 6- Belfry, 7- Chapel of *Sant'Anna* (*Santa Lucia*, *Sant'Antonio*) and some deposits behind, 8- Sacristy and altar dedicated to *Madonna della Salute*, 9- Hovels, 10- Little church of *San Sepolcro la Settimana Santa*, 11- Uninhabited rooms, 12- Houses for rent, 13- Shops for rent below the dormitory of priests, 14- Garden of the cloister, 15- Well, 16- Cloister with a *loggia* above, 17- Cloister with only a roof, 18- Cloister with rooms of priests above, 19- Main gate of the convent, 20- Church of *Compagnia del Santissimo*, used by the Franciscans after the fire, 21- Separated place for women above, 22- Main altar, 23- Corridor between cloisters, 24- Gate of the small church (10), 25- Cloister, 26- Stairs of the place for women, 27- Main gate to enter the church, 28- Garden, 29- Large public square, 30- Houses, mostly rented by the convent, 31- The church of *Sant'Anna* with the winery of the convent below, 32- Stairs for the small gate of the convent, 33- The gate and stairs of *Sant'Anna*, 34- Cellar for priests, a room above for a monk and the gateway of dorm entrance, 35- Corridor, 36- Vegetable garden with pergola, 37- Cistern, 38- Communal place, 39- Kitchen, 40- Refectory, 41- Upper rooms with a good view, 42- Priest rooms of the house, 43- Garden with a house, 44- Houses of the master of the convent, 45- Public streets, 46- The church of *San Sebastiano*, used by the Franciscans (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 290, pp. 13-14 v., 1653)

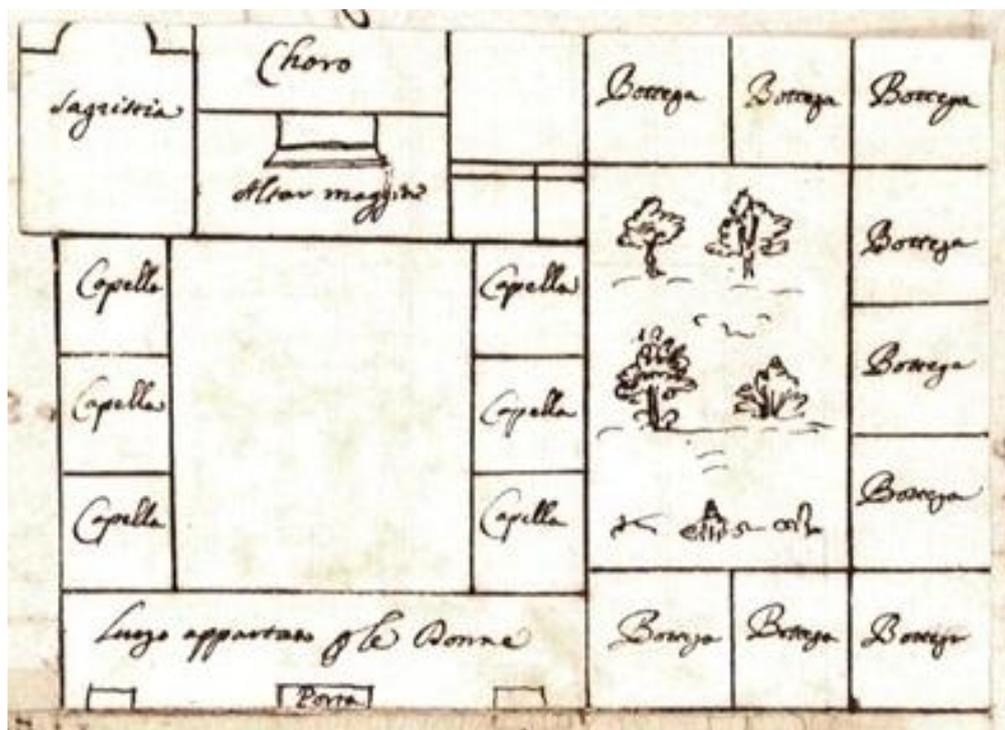


Fig. 251: After burning during the fire of 1639, a reconstruction plan was prepared as a sketch in 1653 for the church of *San Francesco* with a completely new form, where the adjacent cloister was converted into a church with side chapels and the former position of *San Francesco* became a row of shops (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 290, p. 12 v., 1653)

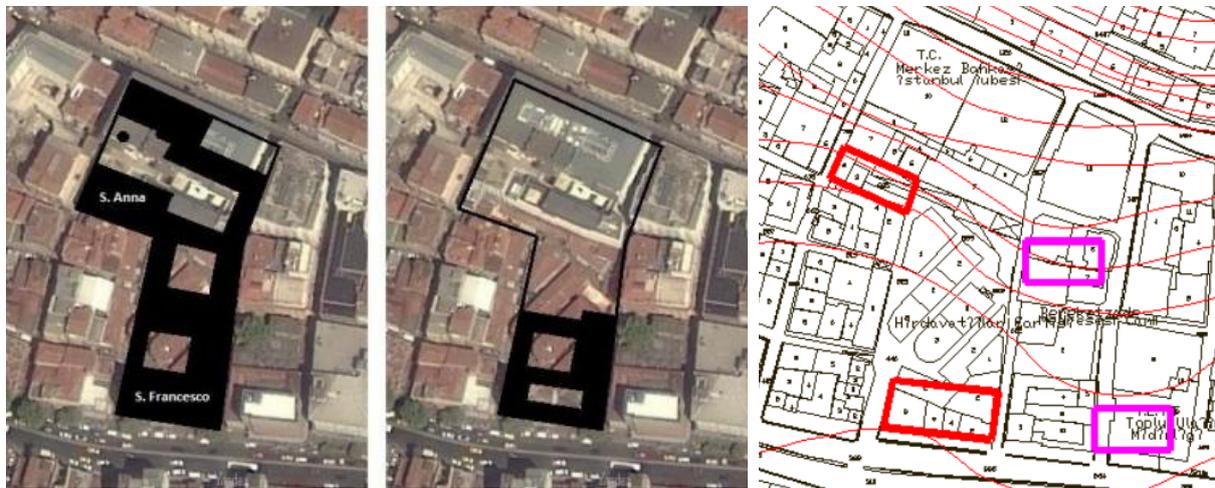
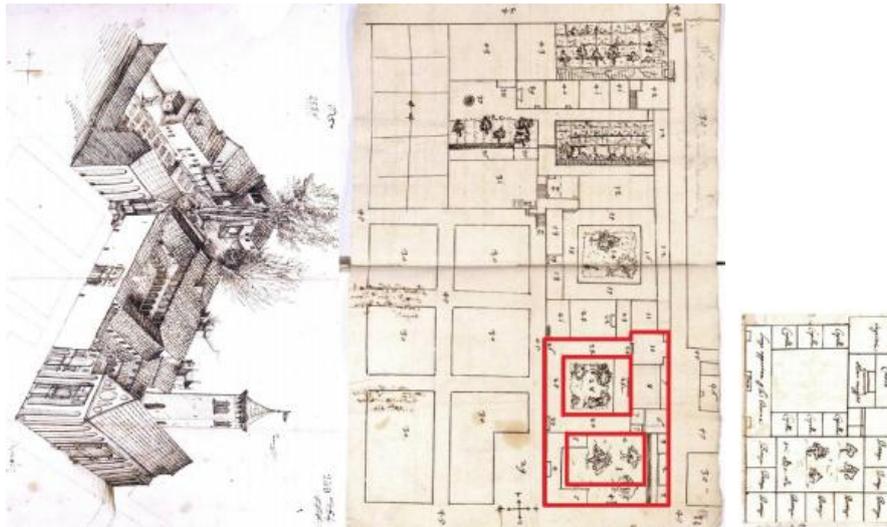


Fig. 252: The Franciscan convent before and after the fire of 1639, the position of the restored section in 1650s on the former arrangement, their superimpose with the recent urban layout in Galata (Google Maps, 2015) and the exact positions of the demolished *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches and approximate locations of the Byzantine *Hagioi Anargyroi* and *Hagios Nikolaos* churches, which were defined in the act of May 1303 (Author, 2015)

2.9.3- *San Michele* - Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı / Kurşunlu Han

Different from the majority of Galata churches with only religious functions and belonging to several Catholic religious orders, *San Michele* was the cathedral of the Genoese in the colony and it was also an administrative center. The former location of the church is known but its history has some disconnections until the demolition.

The first construction year of *San Michele* is not clear. However, its unique location inside the first concession zone, the former *Sykai* next to the coast of Golden Horn and the port shows a proximity to a Byzantine church mentioned by Skarlatos Bizantinos (1798-1878) and Du Cange (1729, p. 133) based on the ecclesiastical historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (c. 1320-1330). *Hagia Thekla* of *Sykai* was near the port in the Golden Horn and first initiated by Fravitta of Constantinople the patriarch (r. 489-490). It was then constructed by Justinian I (r. 527-565), restored by Justin II (r. 565-574) and converted into a Catholic church during the Latin Empire period (1204-1261) (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 27).

The earliest stories for *San Michele* were documented for the late 13th century. The priest Pagano di Caranza was responsible from the church, who was appointed for three years by the archbishop of Genoa, Jacobus da Varagine (r. 1292-1298). Yet, he could not be able to complete his term, as the church was burnt during the Venetian attack of July 1296 to Galata, which was commanded by Ruggiero Morosini. Afterwards, it has been resolved to reconstruct the church in the same place. According to a document dated 22 January 1297, Aldobrando di Corvara became the priest of *San Michele*, who was described as "*capellanus ecclesie Januensis*" (the chaplain of the Genoese church) and "*rector and administrator ipsius ecclesie de novo edificandæ*" (rector and administrator of the new constructed church). The next priest of the church was Gualterio de Vezzano, being "*prepositus ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Peyra, et in dicto loco pro Domino archiepiscopo Januensi, in spiritualibus vicarius generalis*" (the provost of the church of Saint Michael in Pera and the spiritual vicar general on behalf of the lord archbishop of Genoa), who also participated in the delimitation act of May 1303 but the church was not stated inside this act (Belin, 1894, pp. 322-323). The church mentioned on the slab A.11.1, which was burnt together with the half of Pera and the communal palace in 1315 might be *San Michele*.

The church was also used by merchants for judicial affairs, where the vicar of *podestà* usually stood to sanction decisions. Moreover, with respect to *Sindacamenti di Pera* registries from 1402, investigators sent by Marshal Boucicaut (r. 1401-1409) during his governorship of

Genoa have stood in the *San Michele* to receive the complaints of residents against the local authority and also for the testimonies of the summoned witnesses (Balard, 1978, p. 195)¹⁹⁹. The church was also having its own quarter inside the Genoese Galata (see 2.7.2).

San Michele appears on notary acts from 1326, 1343, 1362, 1371, 1389, 1390, 1405, 1416, 1427 and 1448 (Balard, 1987, p. 27; Belgrano, 1877, pp. 195-972)^{200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207} as the signing location or a subjected place about several issues but they do not provide any architectural information. Only a notary record from 27 May 1405 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 969)²⁰⁸ mentions the great tower of the church near the *loggia* that they were very close to each other (see 2.7.3). There are few statements about *San Michele* also in the expense registries of *Massaria di Pera*. For instance, it briefly appears as "*ecclesie sancti Micaelis*" in four records from 25 December 1390, 9 May 1391, 26 June 1391 and 2 October 1391 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 153, 162, 164, 165)^{209 210 211 212}. Its campanile had a small repair in 8 April 1391 and a pole was added on it in 26 October 1391. Then, a repair was done to it by a weaver in 17 May 1392, in return for 9 and 17 *hyperpyra*, respectively (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 162, 167, 170)^{213 214}²¹⁵. A final registry of *Massaria di Pera* from 17 October 1392 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 174)²¹⁶ is

¹⁹⁹ ASG, *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 1402, fol. 14 r, 17 r.

²⁰⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*, 6 October 1326, par. I, fol. 155 r (doc. II): "... *Gualterium de Vezano, rectorem ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Peyra...*"

²⁰¹ ASG, *Notaio Chirichus Isnardus*, 27 March 1343, Car. 110, fol. 226 r-227 r (doc. 45): "... *in ecclesia S. Micaelis...*"

²⁰² *Archivio capitolare di S. Lorenzo* (Genoa), 28 October 1362, no. 265 (doc. V): "... *Minister seu rector ecclesie curate sancti Michaelis de Peyra...*"

²⁰³ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 3 February 1371, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. VI): "*Actum Peyre, in ecclesia sancti Michaelis...*"

²⁰⁴ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 14 October, 13 December 1389; 28 January, 7 May, 1 June, 23 July, 13 August, 27 August 1390 (doc. 61, 79; 84-88, 108-109, 116, 129, 131, 133).

²⁰⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 25 September 1416, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. XIV): "*Actum Peyre, in ecclesia beati sancti Michaelis de Peyra...*"

²⁰⁶ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romanie*, 5 November 1427 (doc. LXXXI): "*Vicarium in terra illa ecclesie sancti Michaelis...*"

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5 July 1448 (doc. CXXXII): "... *et administratio ecclesiarum sanctorum Michaelis et Antonii...*"

²⁰⁸ ASG, *Fogliazzo del notaro Ilario Primo De Benedetti, 1391-1448*, 27 May 1405, no. 22 (doc. XII): "... *super turrim novam sitam prope logiam communis, apud turrim magnam beati Michaelis de Peyra...*"

²⁰⁹ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9 May 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 74 r (doc. XXXVI).

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVI).

²¹² *Ibid.*, 2 October 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 78 v (doc. XXXVI).

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 74 r (doc. XXXVI): "... *et pro aliquibus expensis factis in campana sancti Micaelis, Pp. 1*".

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 October 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 67 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro una asta pro stantali turris sancti Michaelis, Pp. 9*".

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 May 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 72 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Antonio de Massa seaterio... pro reparacione stantalis turris sancti Michaelis, Pp. 17*".

about a Michaelmas celebrated inside the church and it also appears that the image of St. Michael was painted somewhere on it. As a standard defensive tower, being the one dedicated to Saint Michael would not need such elaborated interventions right after its construction in 25 March 1387 (see A.11.11) near Galata Tower, the aforementioned registries were interpreted for the bell tower of *San Michele*.

The church of *San Michele* continues to appear in some 15th century notary acts from Galata published by Roccatagliata (1982) as a reference point to some properties or a subjected place for judicial issues but without further details about its appearance. It was only stated that being next to the *loggia*, there were also an open space (*platea*) in front of the church with the same name and a lane (*vico*) just behind (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 107, 139-140)^{217 218}.

The third church in the central part of Galata and just behind the coastal walls, which appears on just two versions of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422) should be the one of *San Michele*. In the Ottoman *vakfiye* from c. 1472, "*kilisâ al-Efrençiyîn*" (the church of the Europeans) was mentioned inside the quarter of "*Lonca*", which is evidently *San Michele*, the cathedral of the Latin population (İnalçık, 1998, p. 304). İnalçık (1998, pp. 349-350) also claims that the attribution of "*Münakkaş Kilise*" (the decorated church) to *San Francesco* might not be true because the statement of « الخزن السلطاني المعروف بالكنيسة المنقشة المتصل بالجامع » (*al-mahzen al-sultaniye al-maaruf bel-keniset al-münakaşet al-mutasıl bel-camî* / the imperial magazine, being the famous decorated church near the mosque) inside the *cibayet* survey from 1519 was apparently changed as « كنيسة سلطانية ديدكلرى منقش كنيسه » (*kenise-i sultaniye dedikleri münakkaş kenise* / decorated church, also called as the imperial church) in another Ottoman registry from the second half of the 16th century, which might caused a confusion. A third Ottoman registry from the same period indicates « اغزن السلطاني الذي كان كنيسة النصارى سابقا » (*al-mahzen al-sultaniye al-lazî ken kenise-i el-nasari sabeka* / the imperial magazine, which was a Christian church before) inside the quarter of *Cami* (mosque), which was apparently around Arap Mosque, being the only mosque at that time. Thus, there should be an abandoned church somewhere between Arap Mosque and Yağkapanı Gate, which was then converted into a storehouse belonging to the state. Perhaps the former *San Michele* was this building.

²¹⁶ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 17 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVIII): "*Ea die. Pro brandonis IIII oblatis in ecclesia sancti Michaelis in festo suo de mense septembris, et pro candelis positis ante eius ymaginem in festo suo more soncueto... Pp. 7, 12*".

²¹⁷ ASG, ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1* (1453-1482), sc. 6/87, 8 March 1453 (doc. 34): "... *platea Sancti Michaelis, prope logiam, ad primam collumnam...*"

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 August 1453, (doc. 54): "... *in vico retro ecclesiam Sancti Micaellis, prope domum...*"

A longitudinal building without a tower was located just behind Yağkapanı Gate (*Porta Comego*) on the panorama of Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) but its identity is unclear, which can be either the ruined *San Michele* or the former *loggia*.

Petrus Gyllius has visited Galata in 1540s and he states that a caravanserai near the port was built on the ruins of a church dedicated to Saint Michael (Gyllius, 1729, p. 275). It is true that the Caravanserai of Rüstem Pasha (Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı), also called as "Kurşunlu Han" was constructed between 1544-1550 by Mimar Sinan (Eyice, 1996, p. 310). However, no parts of this recent commercial building might be attributed to the former Genoese church because of having a typical Ottoman *han* architecture and a uniform masonry. A *spolia* white marble column capital, now used as a well brim inside the courtyard of Kurşunlu Han perhaps remained from the former *San Michele*.



Fig. 253-254: A third church and a longitudinal structure behind the coastal walls of Galata on the panoramas of Buondelmonti (c. 1422) (Greenwich National Maritime Museum version) (Istanbul Guide, 2015), and Matrakçı Nasuh (1533) (Kumrular, 2007, p. 264), respectively

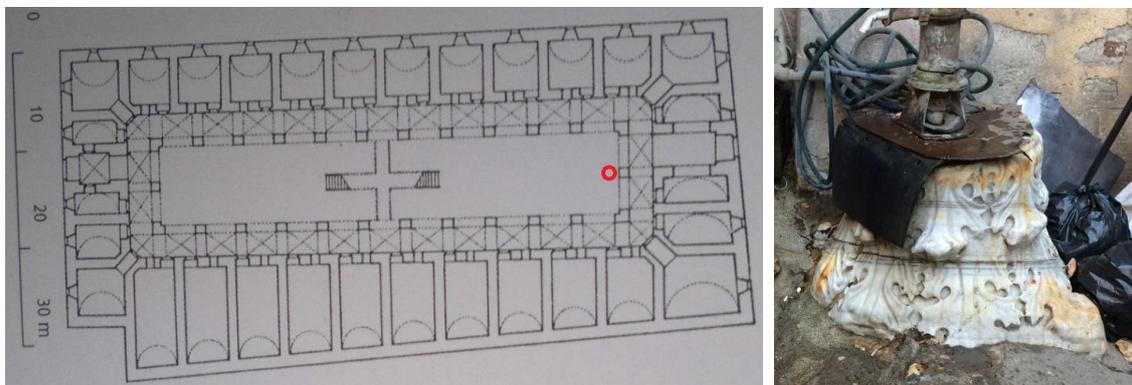


Fig. 255-256: Floor plan of Kurşunlu Han (Günay, 2002) and a *spolia* white marble column capital, now used as a well brim (shown with the red dot) inside the courtyard (Author, 2015)

2.9.4- *San Giorgio* - Sankt Georg

The church of *Hagios Georgios* first appears in the delimitation act of May 1303 near the northern border of the first concession zone (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)²¹⁹. It was then given to the Genoese by John V Palaiologos and renamed as *San Giorgio* (Marmara, 2006, p. 41). Akyol (1997, pp. 31-32) claims that the church was having a symbolical importance for the Genoese due to being dedicated to Saint George, who was the patron saint of Genoa. Thus, *Palazzo Comunale* is probably positioned in 1316 with consideration of the nearby church for a divine protection from the patron saint as well. Expense registries of *Massaria di Pera* from 26 April 1391, 26 June 1391, 6 November 1391 and 17 October 1392 are about illumination, celebrations including Saint George's Day, and funerals done inside "*ecclesia sancti Georgii*" (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 162, 164, 167, 174)^{220 221 222 223}. It has also been stated that *podestàs* and important citizens of Galata were buried inside *San Giorgio* (Mitler, 1979, p. 87). The church was naming a neighborhood in Galata around the building (see 2.7.2).

Following the conquest of 1453, the ownership of the church has changed several times between different Catholic religious orders until its final purchase by the Austrian Lazarists in 1882, where they have established the recent institute (*St. Georgs-Kolleg*) located in Kart Çınar Street, close Bereket Han, the former *Palazzo Comunale* (Marmara, 2006, pp. 40-43).

The church of "*Aya Yorgi*" was remaining inside the quarter of "*İskinoplok*" as of 1455 and it also appears in the *cibayet* survey of 1519 with the same name (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 299-312). *San Giorgio* was defined as a middle sized building with a length of 16 steps (≈ 12 m) and three naves by Pietro Demarchis in 1622. The church was burnt in the great fire of 1660 and completely rebuilt in 1677 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 31; Marmara, 2006, pp. 40-43) (see Appendix 5). However, an Ottoman document from 17 August 1661 states that the plot of a burnt Catholic church called "*Aya Yorgi*" was being sold to someone with the permission of only constructing a house (Yıldız, 2014, p. 226)²²⁴. In addition, the defined *Hagios Georgios* of 1303 does not exactly fall into the same location of the existing one dedicated to the same saint. The recent church is also north oriented, so its apse remains underground due to the steep topography, while all the others nearby look through east. Yet, the given length of *San*

²¹⁹ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX): "... *templi sancti et magni martiris beati Georgii*..."

²²⁰ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 26 April 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 74 r (doc. XXXVI).

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVI).

²²² *Ibid.*, 6 November 1391, Car. 1391, fol. 67 r (doc. XXXVI).

²²³ *Ibid.*, 17 October 1392, Car. 1391, fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVIII).

²²⁴ *İstanbul Müftülüğü, Şer'iyeciler Arşivi, İstanbul Şer'iyeciler Sicilleri*, 9, 97a/1 (21 Z. 1071 / 17 August 1661).

Giorgio in 1622 is almost the same with the width of the recent church's front façade. Thus, it can be assumed that the former Byzantine church, which was then occupied and used by the Genoese was not having exactly the same position and orientation with the recent building.

2.9.5- *San Benedetto and Santa Maria Misericordia - Saint Benoit*

The slab A.11.18 from 1427 indicates the establishment of *San Benedetto* monastery by the Benedictines from Monte Cassino but the building was formerly mentioned as a Greek Orthodox church dedicated to Saint Mary by Covell (c. 1670-1677) with the name of *Chrysopege*, which was then provided as *Panagia Chrysopege* by Hasluck (1905, p. 52). The detailed study of Niewöhner (2011, pp. 155-241) shows that the church was a late Byzantine building (late 13th - early 14th c.) with a cross shaped plan but only the belfry and a part near the apse were remained from the original structure. Main gate of the monastery was another significant element, presumably from the Byzantine or Genoese period of the building but it was demolished during the public works of 1958 to widen Kemeraltı Street (see 4.2).

Being occupied by the Catholics in 1427, the majority of the recent church structure is from 1687, 1697 and especially 1732 (Niewöhner, 2011, p. 166). The mentioned chapel of *Santa Maria della Misericordia della Cisterna* inside the enclosure, said to be established during the reign of Pope Urban V (r. 1362-1370) but later disappeared together with the cistern might be a double denomination for one convent, says Dalleggio d'Alessio (1926, p. 33; 1934, p. 60).

The neighboring monasteries probably inside the same area appear as "*monasterio Sancti Benedicti de Pera*" in 6 April 1453 and "*monachus ordinis Sancti Benedicti, prior monasterii Sancte Marie Misericordie de Sisarna Pere*" (monks of the order of Saint Benedict, formerly the monastery of Saint Mary the Misericordia of the Cistern of Pera) in 1 December 1475, respectively. It can be supposed that the mentioned chapel of "*capella Verberatorum Sancte Crucis de Pera*" was also inside this religious complex (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 111-115, 219-221)^{225 226}. The monasteries were then mentioned as "*monasterii sancti Benedicti de Pera*" and "*monasterio sancte Marie Misericordie ordinis sancti Benedicti*" in two letters from 1478 and 1481 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 994-997)²²⁷. An anonymous letter mentions that the

²²⁵ ASG, *Notaio Calvi Lorenzo - filza 1 (1453-1482)*, sc. 6/87, 6 April 1453 (doc. 37).

²²⁶ ASG, *Notai Bonavei Battista e Castelasso Teramo - filza 1 (1472-1494)*, sc. 6/114, 1 December 1475 (doc. 99).

²²⁷ ASG, *Monastero di San Girolamo della Cervara*, 28 August 1478, Car. V (doc. XXIV); *Codice Litterarum (1480-1482)*, 30 January 1481, no. 30, X. 131 (doc. XXV).

monasteries of *Santa Maria della Misericordia* and *San Benedetto* were both given to the Cassinese Congregation by Pope Nicolaus V (r. 1447-1455) in 1449 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 1000-1002)²²⁸.

As of 1540s, the cistern of Saint Benedict was described as having three hundred pillars with a collapsed roof and used to water gardens of priests by Gyllius (1729, p. 275). Some *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"* documents from 1660-1663 indicate that Saint Benoit of the Jesuits was the only remained church after the great fire of 1660 (see Appendix 5).

The ownership of the building was changed between several Catholic religious orders until 1783, when the recent educational institute has been founded by the Lazarists.

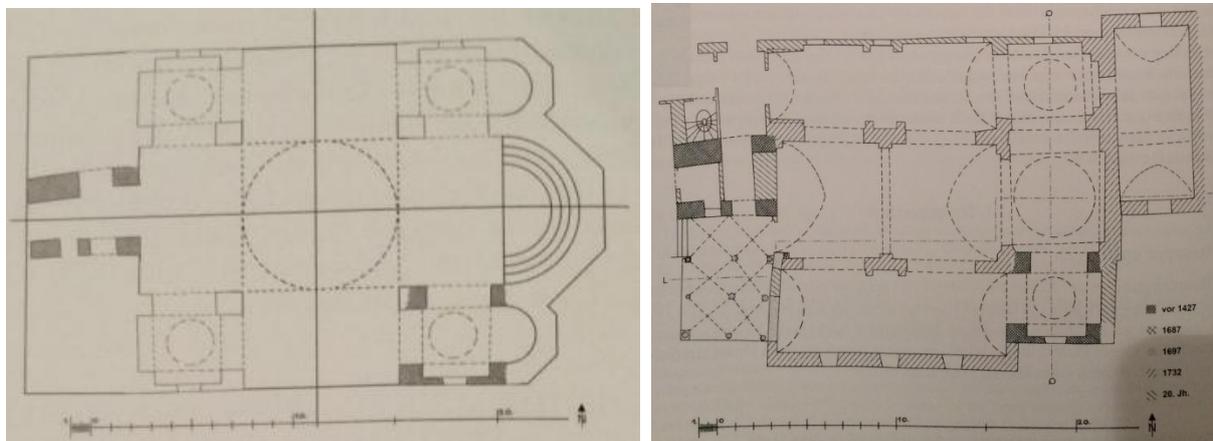


Fig. 257-258: The supposed original form and structural chronology of St. Benoit, where the oldest parts were shown darker (see Appendix 8) (Niewöhner, 2011, pp. 166-220)

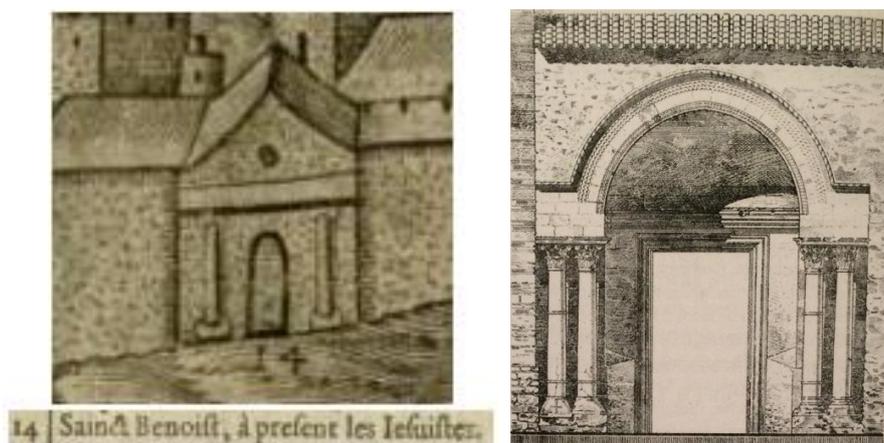


Fig. 259-260: St. Benoit in Jaspas de Isaac panorama (1650) (HUJI, 2015) and the main gate of the convent (demolished in 1958) in 1912 by Cornelius Gurlitt (Niewöhner, 2011, p. 194)

²²⁸ *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* in Rome, n. d., *Codice cartaceo*, Car. 5 (doc. XXVIII).

2.9.6- *San Pietro (Ss. Pietro e Paolo) and Santa Caterina*

The church is located between Galata Kulesi Street and the Genoese walls from the 14th century. *San Pietro* was first constructed in 1414 by Giananetto de Bisticca, being one of the Genoese residents of Galata. Yet, an older monastery with a chapel called *Santa Caterina* was already located there, which was founded by P. Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac before 1330s. Benedetto Palazzo claims that *Santa Caterina* was not inside the plot of *San Pietro* but near *San Giorgio*, with respect to definitions of Pietro Cedulini in 1580 (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 36; Gündoğar, 2006, pp. 10-11; Marmara, 2006, pp. 31-32; Palazzo and Raineri, 1943). A notary record from 16 November 1389 indicates its signing location as a house inside the *contrada* of *Santa Caterina* chapel (see 2.7.2) (Balard, 1987, p. 35)²²⁹. The monastery was also mentioned in the gabelle contract of 3 December 1390 and an expense registry of *Massaria di Pera* from 25 December 1390 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 153)^{230 231}.

Around 1480, the Dominican priests have moved to *San Pietro* after the conversion of *Ss. Paolo e Domenico*, which gave the name of a second saint to the church (see 2.9.1). As of 1580, Pietro Cedulini has described the first building of *San Pietro* as a church with three main sections; the women's part near the entrance, men's part in the center and the final part was consisted of the main worship space with a choir and a great altar. A devastating fire has completely burned this building in 1603 and it was reconstructed in 1603-1604 by a Venetian called Andrea Carga. The church then had three main fires and restorations more that the final complete reconstruction was done in 1843 by Fossati brothers (Gaspare and Giuseppe) after the fire of 1831 (Gündoğar, 2006, pp. 10-20; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1935) (see Appendix 5).

The former plot of the convent was probably until Galata Tower, as a small gate called "*La porta de faint Pierre*" appears on land walls, just next to Galata Tower on Jaspar de Isaac panorama (1650) (see 2.4.4). According to an Ottoman registry interpreted by Yıldız (2014, p. 226)²³² and from 17 August 1661, the plot of the Catholic church "*Aya Petro*" was sold to someone with the condition of not constructing a church there, so as this building still exists, the aforementioned plot was probably obtained from its northern part near the tower, which is recently occupied by private residences and can also be the former location of *Santa Caterina*.

²²⁹ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 16 November 1389 (doc. 74).

²³⁰ ASG, *Cabelle Comunis Janue in Peyra*, 3 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 7 r (doc. XXXIII): "... *monasterii sancte Caterine de Peyra, et sunt qui assignati sunt dicto monasterio annuatim pro ut consuetum est, Pp. 305.*"

²³¹ ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII): "... *monasterio sancte Catarine perpero l...*"

²³² *İstanbul Müftülüğü, Şer'iyeciler Arşivi, İstanbul Şer'iyeciler Arşivi*, 9, 96b/3 (21 Z. 1071 / 17 August 1661).

2.9.7- *Sant'Antonio* - Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Mosque

The church and hospital of *Sant'Antonio* was first mentioned in a registry of *Massaria di Pera* from 25 December 1390 as "*hospitali sancti Anthonii*" (Belgrano, 1877, p. 153)²³³ and another document quoted by Darnault (2004, p. 69) and from 14 July 1437 is about a donation to the complex. The mention of the church together with *San Michele* in a document from 5 July 1448 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 215-216)²³⁴ is one of the last records before the Ottoman conquest. It has been stated that the church was sealed either in 1606 or 1636 due to rumors of a religious propaganda about the usage of its curative water by some women from the imperial harem (Atabinen, 1949, p. 4; Darnault, 2004, p. 69; Eyice, 1996, p. 308; Marmara, 2006, p. 31). Historical accounts mentioned below clarify this confusion.

Pietro Demarchis has visited the complex in 1622 and describes the church as having the dimensions of 18 x 8 steps ($\approx 13.5 \times 6$ m) with two altars dedicated to Saint Anthony and elaborate frescoes about his life. Its hospice was hosting 26 people at that time, who were looking for healing from the holy spring located there (Marmara, 2006, p. 31). According to the descriptions of Giovanni Mauri della Fratta from 1631, *Sant'Antonio* was located in the junction of two city walls in the mouth of port near the sea. The church was small, very old and its hospital was serving to people from all religions. A well with a curative water was also located inside the courtyard (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 34).

Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) states that the church with a type of holy spring and adjacent to Kurşunlu Mahzen was sealed after complaints of the Muslims and then converted into a mosque by Kara Mustafa Paşa in *Hicrî* 1052 (1642-1643). The mosque was probably suffered from the fires of 1660, 1680, 1731, 1865 and had repairs (Atabinen, 1949, pp. 4-5). Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Mosque was briefly described as a two storey building converted from a church and having its own quarter by Ayvansarayî (1864, p. 36). A primary school and fountain were also added to the mosque by Reîsülküttâb İsmâil Efendi, which then had major alterations in the 19th century (Eyice, 1996, p. 308).

The mosque is actually on the second floor and the lower part has a commercial function, while the former also remains inside the courtyard together with the school and the latter can be accessed from street. Remained possible Genoese constructions on recent buildings, which

²³³ ASG, *Massarie Communis Ianue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

²³⁴ ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 5 July 1448 (doc. CXXXII): "... ecclesiarum sanctorum Michaelis et Antonii..."

show a typical Ottoman character are unknown. Floor space of the two storey complex has the dimensions of 17 x 14 meters but the main worship space with a single dome is roughly 11 x 10 meters. Although the adjacent castle and mosque face towards southeast, the church was probably northeast oriented like all the other churches in the eastern part of Galata.

2.9.8- San Giovanni Battista

The oldest document known about the church and hospital of *San Giovanni Battista* is the construction slab A.11.10 from 1372 about a work done inside the building. Expense registries of *Massaria di Pera* from 25 December 1390 and 26 June 1391 include "*hospitali sancti Johannis*" and the illumination of "*sancti Johannis Baptiste*" at night, respectively (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 153, 164)^{235 236}. The testament of Antonio de Via, dated 25 September 1416 includes a donation to "*hospitali sancti Johannis de Peyra*" (Belgrano, 1877, p. 971)²³⁷ and the slab A.11.21 from 1431 was discovered on a tower near the hospital of *San Giovanni Battista* by Covell c. 1670-1677 (Hasluck, 1905, p. 61).

According to the descriptions of Giovanni Mauri della Fratta from 1631, the church was located in the east of the principal road going to Tophane and not very distant from the sea. It was also the second largest church after *San Francesco* at that time and there was a hospital for poor people, which consists of several rooms with a courtyard (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 35). It has also been stated that the church, being 22 *adım* long and 5.5 *adım* wide was having three main altars; Jesus, St. John the Baptist, St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Roch were depicted in the center, St. Nicholas and St. Martin were depicted on the right and St. Anthony, St. Geronimo, St. Basil and St. Peter were depicted on the left. The courtyard was 4 *ayak* wide and 9 *ayak* long (Darnault, 2004, p. 68). The church of *San Giovanni Battista* was burnt in the great fire of 1660 (see Appendix 5). An Ottoman registry interpreted by Yıldız (2014, p. 226)²³⁸ shows that the plot of the church "*Ayayani*" was first sold to a Turk in 31 January 1662 and then passed to two Armenians. There were attempts to reconstruct it in 1669 but could not be succeed. Yet, its hospital continued to function until its disappearance, which was mentioned in 1674, 1675 and finally 1744 (Belin, 1894, pp. 325-326).

²³⁵ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 25 December 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 69 v (doc. XXXII).

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVI).

²³⁷ ASG, *Materie Politiche* (supplement), 25 September 1416, Car. XIX, no. 2737 bis (doc. XIV).

²³⁸ *İstanbul Müftülüğü, Şer'iyeye Sicilleri Arşivi, İstanbul Şer'iyeye Sicilleri*, 9, 253b/2 (10 C. 1072 / 31 January 1662).

In the Ottoman survey of 1455, the church, monastery and hospice of "*San Zani*" was mentioned in two quarters called *Pero di Lankashko* and *San Neferzo*, where *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco* were located in the former and a Greek Orthodox church near the Castle of Galata was located in the latter (İnalçık, 1998, p. 376). Thus, "*San Zani*" was symbolically shown somewhere between these two churches and the castle by İnalçık (1998, p. 370).

The study of Ayverdi (1958, p. 260) about the quarters of Galata during the final years of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481) indicates that the quarter of *İskender Kethüda* was next to the church of "*San Zani*" and limited by a public bath (*hamam*). Moreover, the church of "*San Zani*" was remaining inside the quarter of *Kosta Koperye* (*Nasrani Ekmekçi*), which was also having "*kenise-i sultaniye dedikleri münakkaş kenise*" (decorated church, also called as the imperial church); usually identified as *San Francesco* but can also be *San Michele* due to a misspelling (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 349-350) (see 2.9.3). Karaköy Hamamı is the only public bath in the area defined above, which remains just in the north of the former castle.

Thus, it can be said that the works of İnalçık (2006) and Ayverdi (1958) put *San Giovanni Battista* inside a rectangular area limited by Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı (the former *San Michele*), Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı (the former *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco*), Karaköy Hamamı (public bath) and Yeraltı Mosque (the former castle) but unable to show its precise location.

If the definitions of Giovanni Mauri della Fratta and the discovery position of the slab A.11.21 were considered, it can be said that *San Giovanni Battista* was near the coastal walls, where towers were also located. On the panorama of the anonymous Austrian artist from c. 1590, two buildings with towers are also visible there. Moreover, in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, this location was having one large and state-owned plot with the single block of the stock exchange building called Komisyon Hanı / Consolide Han, formerly *Mekteb-i Sanayi İdaresi* (Directorate of Vocational Schools) until 1869 (IFC, 2015), which was large enough by surface area to include a supposed church with the approximate dimensions of *San Francesco* and some buildings more like the defined hospital with rooms and a courtyard. The stock exchange was demolished in 1913 in order to widen Kemeraltı Street and smaller Eski Borsa Hanı, literally "The Old Stock Exchange Han" was constructed on the plot, which was having shops loaned to tenants by the state. Finally, this building was also demolished during the public works of 1956 (Akşam, 1948; Çoban, 2014, pp. 34-47) and the area is now occupied by streets and public spaces. When considered the transformation of

the main former Genoese churches of Galata with their plots, functions and ownership statuses as a whole, *San Giovanni Battista* was probably once located on that area.

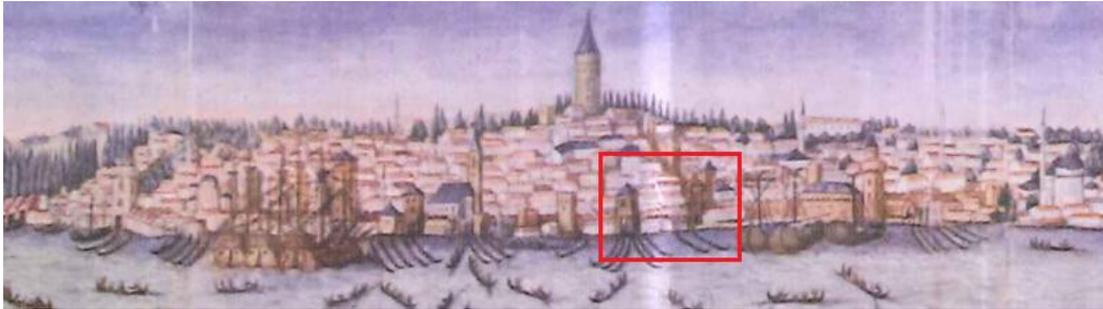


Fig. 261: Buildings with towers in the east of Galata on the panorama of an anonymous Austrian artist from c. 1590 (Necipoglu, 2005, p. 108)



Fig. 262: Possible location of *San Giovanni Battista* in the east of Galata between Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı, the former *San Michele* (34), Yeni Mosque, the former *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco* (36), Karaköy Hamamı (51), Yeraltı Mosque, the former castle (46) and the coastal walls with towers (after Schneider and Nomidis, 1944)

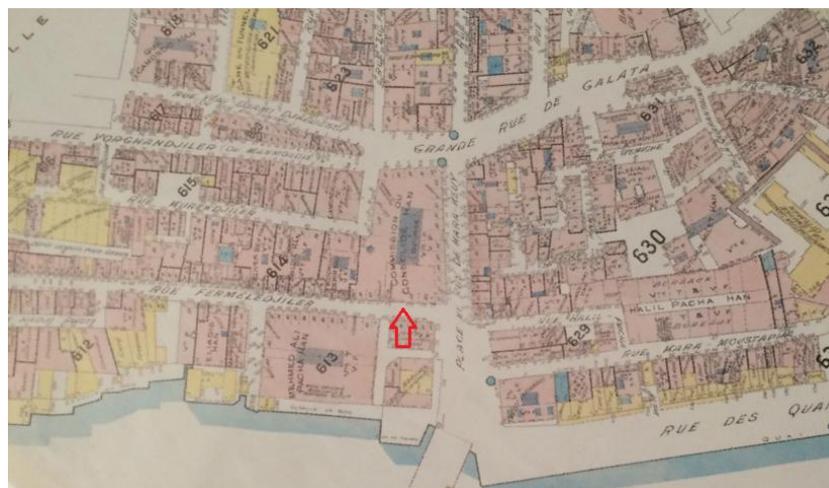


Fig. 263: Komisyon Hanı / Consolide Han with its large and state-owned plot on Charles E. Goad map of 1905 (Dağdelen, 2007, p. 28); a possible place for *San Giovanni Battista*

2.9.9- *Santa Maria*

In a testament dated 19 February 1297, a lady called Maria of Pera makes some donation to the church of *Santa Maria* in Galata (*ecclesie sancte Marie de Galatha*) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 933)²³⁹. A notary record from 15 November 1389 is about the testament of Luchinus de Draperis, who wishes to be buried inside the church of *Santa Maria* (Balard, 1987, pp. 34-35)²⁴⁰. With respect to another notary statement from the same year, Balard (1978, p. 196)²⁴¹ places the church of *Santa Maria* in the *contrada* of Draperis near the church of *San Francesco*, inside the first concession zone. However the church also appears with its own neighborhood (see 2.7.2).

In the Ottoman survey of 1455, the church of *Santa Maria* was remaining inside the quarter of *San Neferzo*, where *San Giovanni Battista* and a Greek Orthodox church near the castle were located (İnalçık, 1998, p. 376). Ayverdi (1958, p. 261) states that the church of *Santa Maria* was inside the quarter of *Yekçeşm Ya'kub* in Galata during the final years of Mehmed II (1451-1481). The quarter and community of « سانتوماریه » (*Santo Marya*) inside Galata were mentioned in the Ottoman tax records of 1489, 1540 and 1545 (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 308-362).

However, a church with a similar name and called *Santa Maria Draperis* appears near Mumhane Gate in 1584, the east of Galata towards Tophane but Giovanni Mauri della Fratta, who visited the church in 1631 still states that this church was located close to *San Francesco* and the sea. In addition, with a similar size of *San Pietro*, the gate of *Santa Maria Draperis* was in the west and the church was having the form of a house, very narrow to wide to be a monastery and limited from each sides, except for the one towards the road from adjacent houses. There was also a small garden with a courtyard (Belin, 1894, pp. 272-275; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 39-40). It is also known that *Santa Maria Draperis* was burnt in 1660 and although there were some efforts for a reconstruction, it was most probably disappeared afterwards (see Appendix 5). The recent church with this name is now in İstiklal Street and constructed in 1678. Therefore, there is a confusion about the location of the older one(s) with the same name, which mainly causes by the descriptions from 1631 but the existence of a *Santa Maria* church in Galata before 1584 and starting from 1297 is evident, which was probably between *San Francesco* and the coastal walls, as how it was described.

²³⁹ ASG, *Liber Francisci Moratii et aliorum, a. 1277-1310*, 19 February 1297, fol. 62 r (doc. I).

²⁴⁰ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390, n.g. 476, sc. 32*, 15 November 1389 (doc. 73).

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, no. 61.

2.9.10- *San Sebastiano* - Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque

The Franciscan church was first mentioned in the Ottoman *cibayet* survey of 1519 as *San Bastiyan* and it was also mentioned in 1583 as one of the Catholic churches in Galata (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 286-312) but its strongly probable Genoese period is uncertain. Pietro Demarchis, who visited *San Sebastiano* in 1622 states that the church was 20 *adim* long and 9 *adim* wide ($\approx 15 \times 6.75$ m). Its main altar was dedicated to St. Sebastian but St. James and St. Roche were also depicted there. The second altar was dedicated to St. Catherine (Darnault, 2004, p. 69). As of 1631, Giovanni Mauri della Fratta states that *San Sebastiano* was very close to *San Francesco* and having a middle size (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, p. 37). The church was burnt in the fire of 1660. The plot of *San Sebastiano* was then purchased by a Greek and it was converted into a Greek Orthodox church in 1663 (see Appendix 5).

Although the exact location of *San Sebastiano* has never been stated, it was clearly shown on one of *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"* documents from 1653. The church used to be located next to the Franciscan convent with *Sant'Anna* and *San Francesco* churches; inside a plot where Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque is now located (see 2.9.2). Being originally a theology school, it was constructed in 1705-1706 (Eyice, 1996, p. 309), so it is very probable that like the nearby convent, this church was burnt for a final time in 1697 and then expropriated by the state. In this case, the fate of *San Sebastiano* shows a particular similarity to *San Domenico*, *Sant'Anna*, *San Francesco* and *Sant'Antonio*, which were turned into mosques; and in terms of the ownership status of an expropriated possession, partially to *San Michele* and *San Giovanni Battista* as well, which continued to have a public building.



Fig. 264-265: *San Sebastiano* on a sketch with notes about the Franciscan convent with *San Francesco* and *Sant'Anna* churches in 1653, after the fire of 1639 (*Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 290, p. 11 v. - 12 r., 13 v. - 14 v., 1653) and the recent location of Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque next to Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı (Google Maps, 2015)

2.9.11- *Santa Chiara*

According to a document from 17 January 1456, the church of *Santa Chiara* (*ecclesie sancte Clare*) in Galata was constructed by a woman called Marietta, the daughter of Gaspare di Pagana (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 272-273)²⁴². It was then mentioned in a notary registry from 1 December 1469 and placed near a bazaar inside *Lagirio* borough at east (see 2.7.2) (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 178-179)²⁴³. The building was usually located around Mumhane Gate due to its supposed former name, being *Porta Santa Chiara* (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1926, pp. 36-37; Mordtmann, 1895, p. 49) but different locations of the church and gate of *Sant'Antonio* put forward that only relying on a name overlap might not be correct. Darnault (2004, p. 68) claims that *Santa Chiara* and *Sant'Antonio* are the same churches but the former was mentioned separately in 1662, while the latter was already a mosque (see Appendix 5).

A direct witness from 1540s, Gyllius (1562, p. 84) states that there were two shrines in Galata very close to each other; being the one dedicated to Saint Claire by the Catholics and the other one dedicated to Saint Photini by the Orthodox Greeks (Belin, 1894, pp. 330-331; Du Cange, 1729; Palazzo, 2014, p. 72)²⁴⁴. These churches were placed in the eastern part of Galata, between Karaköy and Tophane by him (Palazzo, 2014, p. 66)²⁴⁵. Then, the church dedicated to Saint Photini, literally "the luminous one" was linked to the ancient temple of Diana the Lucifer (*Phosphorus*), literally "the light bringer Diana" in *Bolos* by some scholars, due to their defined similar locations in the east of Galata and the etymological coincidence over "light" (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1946, pp. 227-228; de Tournfort, 1717, p. 198; von Hammer, 1822, pp. 79-80).

When considered the earliest mentions of the church said to be dedicated to Saint Photini and located between Karaköy and Tophane, Gyllius (1562, p. 84) and de Tournfort (1717, p. 198) appear as primary sources. However, Tryphon Karabeinikov (1583-1593), Athanasios Papadopoulos-Karameus (for 1604) and Thomas Smith (1669) lists for the Greek Orthodox churches in Galata (Eroğlu, 1992, p. 39; Karaca, 2008, p. 72) for the period in between do not include a church with this name but a noteworthy one in the same location (see Appendix 6).

²⁴² ASG, *Fogliazzo di Oberto Foglietta giuniore* (1455-1456), 17 January 1456 (doc. CLVI).

²⁴³ ASG, *Notaio Torriglia Antonio - filza 1* (1450-1480), sc. 6/77, 1 December 1469 (doc. 75): "... in bazalli, apud ecclesiam Sancte Clare..."

²⁴⁴ Quoted from Gyllius, P., (1562). *De Bosporo Thracio* (Vol. III): "... in quo hodie spectantur duæ ædes sacræ, quarum unam Franci appellant divam Claram, alteram Græci Photinen..."

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: "... vergens ad solis ortum, post Sycoden..."

The church of *Koimesis Theotokou*, with its local and more popular name *Panagia Kafatiani* (shortly *Panagia*) was established after 1475 by the Greeks who brought an icon of Saint Mary from Feodosia (*Keefe / Caffa*), which is the reason of its denomination (Karaca, 2008, p. 329). This church was also mentioned in an Ottoman survey about endowments from 19 July 1496, which was approved by Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) (Eroğlu, 1992, p. 33).

Therefore, it is very likely that those western scholars might have confused due to the unique name of this church (*Panagia Kafatiani*) and attributed this building to Saint Photini (*Hagia Fotini*) by mistake. From this point of view, with respect to the definition of Gyllius (1562, p. 84), *Santa Chiara* was not near the unknown *Hagia Fotini* but most probably near the Greek Orthodox church of *Panagia Kafatiani*. This building now remains in the junction of Akçe, Mumhane and Karaali streets in the quarter of Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa, which is around the demolished Eğri and Kireç gates, so still not very distant from Mumhane Gate, the supposed former *Porta Santa Chiara*. The very late construction year of the church, being just after the Ottoman conquest is also coherent with expansions through further east in 1400s.

The church of *Santa Chiara* was completely burnt in the great fire of 1660 and presumably disappeared afterwards (see Appendix 5).

2.9.12- Other Churches

Apart from the ones mentioned previously, there were some more churches in Galata, which were apparently from its Genoese period; being *San Clemente*, *San Costantino*, *Sant'Elena*, *San Fabiano*, *San Lazaro* (?) and *Ss. Simone e Giuda*. Locations of these buildings are unknown and there are very little information about them, which is basically some brief mentions in some notary documents. However, a few strongly probable positions for them can be assumed in Galata with some urban deductions, after considering the given details in historical accounts.

In a testament dated 19 February 1297, a lady called Maria of Pera makes some donation to the church of *Sant'Elena* (*ecclesie sancte Elene*) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 933)²⁴⁶ and also considering another related testament, Balard (1978, pp. 182-183)²⁴⁷ states that the hospice of

²⁴⁶ ASG, *Liber Francisci Moratii et aliorum*, a. 1277-1310, 19 February 1297, fol. 62 r (doc. I).

²⁴⁷ Quoted from Bratianu, G. I., (1927). *Actes des notaires...*, pp. 84, 103, 149, 151, 158.

Sant'Elena in Pera, near the church of the same name was remaining inside the Genoese concession zone.

Some houses inside the quarter of *San Domenico* were mentioned in a notary deed from 30 July 1332 (Balard, 1987, p. 26)²⁴⁸ and in a notary registry from 30 October 1389, further quarters were mentioned as *San Michele*, *Santa Maria* and *San Lazaro* (Balard, 1987, p. 33)²⁴⁹, so it is possible that the last one was also bearing the name of its parish church in Galata but it is uncertain.

Desimoni (1876, p. 270) states that some documents of the 14th century mention a church called *San Clemente* in Pera but no detailed information were provided about this building. Similarly, *Ss. Simone e Giuda* was also mentioned in several *Massaria di Pera* expense registries but further information is not available (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 161, 164)^{250 251 252}.

A Genoese notary statement from 11 December 1447 indicates a vineyard near the church of *San Costantino* in Pera but nothing more (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 77)²⁵³.

The church of *San Fabiano* was mentioned in the Ottoman survey of 1455. It was near the Castle of Galata and having its own quarter (*Mahalle-i Fabya*) but the *câbi* register of 1489 states that the church was inside the quarter of *Petro* at that time. The quarter of *Fabya* was also near the quarter of *Samona*, where the church of *Sant'Antonio* located and Jews were the majority in both of them, also having their synagogues (İnalçık, 1998, pp. 293-375).

In order to provide possible locations for some churches mentioned above, apart from the disappeared *San Fabiano* around the castle, some indirect assumptions can be made. First of all, *Cami-i Kebir* (later Arap Mosque) was not the only mosque established within Galata Walls by converting a church after the conquest. Another mentioned one was *Manastır Mescidi*, literally "The Monastery Mosque". It was constructed by Molla Gürâni (c. 1410-1488), who was *Şeyhülislam* (Shaykh al-Islām) between 1480-1488 and it has also been said that this mosque was a church before (Ayvansarayî, 1864, p. 34). Although the building was

²⁴⁸ ASG, *Not. ign.*, 30 July 1332 (doc. 41).

²⁴⁹ ASG, *Notaio de Clavaro Donato 1389-1390*, n.g. 476, sc. 32, 30 October 1389 (doc. 68).

²⁵⁰ ASG, *Massarie Communis lanue*, 25 February 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 171 v (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro facere pingendo vexillum sancti Simonis et Jude*, Pp. 7".

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 71 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro stantalle sancti Simonis et Jude*, Pp. 39".

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 26 June 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 77 r (doc. XXXVI): "*Pro confectionibus lib. X datis in Palacio Communis, et ceriotis III ad inluminandum sanctum Georgium et sanctum Micaellem et sanctum Simonem et Judam pro ut moris est facere*, Pp. 11, 5".

²⁵³ ASG, *Notai Sisto Cristofforo e De Ferrari Giovanni Battista - filza 1 (1452-1463)*, sc. 6/83, 11 December 1447 (doc. 18): "... item in quadam vinea, posita prope ecclesiam sancti Constantini..."

disappeared in time without leaving any trace, its location was given around Arap Mosque by Eyice (1996, p. 308) and more precisely as Abdüsselam Street by Öz (1965, p. 45). Hence, the separated rectangular plot between Yanıkkapı and Devedikeni streets might be a probable location, which also shows correspondence to the Byzantine church of *Hagios Theodoros* mentioned in the act of May 1303 (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)²⁵⁴. The nearby ruined fountain of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha from 1568-1569 was possibly in relation with this mosque.

By 1455, all of the main Greek churches in Galata were located in the eastern part through Tophane and the Genoese population were mainly concentrated in the first concession zone and its immediate surroundings (İnalçık, 1998, p. 299). As a result, it is strongly probable that Manastır Mosque was converted from a Genoese church, which was also *Hagios Theodoros* even before like some nearby Genoese churches converted from the Byzantine ones (certainly *Hagia Irene - San Domenico* and *Hagios Georgios - San Giorgio*; probably *Hagioi Anargyroi - Sant'Anna*, *Hagios Nikolaos - San Francesco* and maybe also *Hagia Thekla - San Michele*). When considered the mention of vineyards called *Perdicarius* and *Macropita* (the one of the monastery of *Lipsos*) around *Hagios Theodoros*, the church of *San Costantino* has a higher probability than the others, as a nearby vineyard was also mentioned for it in 1447.

It should also be mentioned that another mosque from the period of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481) and being one of the first ones in Galata, *Hacı A'ver Mescidi* (also known as *Hacı Âmâ / Yekçeşm Hacı Mescidi*) was remaining inside Azap Gate; to the north with its own quarter and still existing as of 1516-1517 (Ayverdi, 1958, p. 259). This building was disappeared in time without leaving any trace and there was not another mosque in this location as well. In fact, the described location of this building (probably in relation with the same period *Yeşildirek Hamamı*) was corresponding with another Byzantine church called *Hagios Ioannes*, which was mentioned in the act of May 1303 (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)²⁵⁵. Moreover, several versions of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422) show a Genoese church in this location. Therefore, it can be assumed that these three buildings were also having the same location.

The church and hospice of *Sant'Elena* was said to be inside the first concession zone (Balard, 1978, pp. 182-183), most probably due to the earliest year for its mention as 1297. Although the borders of the Genoese neighborhood were defined for the first time in 1303, they were

²⁵⁴ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX): "... ecclesiam sancti et magni martiris beati Theodori..."

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: "... venerandum templum honorabilis prophete precursoris Domini beati Johannis..."

present in Galata since 1267 and presumably already concentrated in the central part, as the known pre-1303 buildings like *San Michele* and *loggia* were also there.

Alaca Mescit and the adjacent *Buğuluca Hamamı* were constructed by Shaykh al-Islām Zenbilli Ali Efendi (r. 1503-1526) (Eyice, 1996, pp. 308-311), where the former is the last mosque remaining inside the densely built first concession zone, other than the ones mentioned in previous parts and linked to the former Genoese buildings without any exceptions. The orientation of this disappeared mosque was already corresponding to the grid urban pattern of the first concession zone, so also to Mecca like the former *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque). The former Genoese churches were mainly gathered in the central and eastern parts of the first concession zone but the westernmost part of this area was lacking any churches among the known ones, so where the mosque was once located is significant also because of this reason. The location of *Alaca Mescit* also slightly corresponds to the mentioned *Macropita* vineyards of the monastery of *Lipsos* mentioned inside the act of May 1303 (Sauli, 1831, pp. 209-210)²⁵⁶ but it is not very certain.

Therefore, the location, orientation and function of this building might not only explained with coincidences and a former Genoese, perhaps also a Byzantine church can be supposed. Thus, the mosque and the adjacent public bath can be linked to the defined church and hospice of *Sant'Elena*, with respect to the provided correspondence for these two complexes.

Lastly, as an assumption, after detecting a positional continuity between some Genoese churches and Ottoman mosques in Galata, other small mosques established within Galata Walls right after the conquest and during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481), which are located in peripheral places slightly distant to the center and occupied mainly by Latins before 1453, such as *Yolcuzaade Camii* and *Okçu Musa Camii* (or even *Emekyemez Camii* from the late 16th c. with a very significant *spolia* usage on its main corner) can be possible locations for the remaining, unknown churches of the Genoese.

²⁵⁶ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, May 1303, Car. VIII (doc. IX): "... reverandi monasterii Lipsi..."

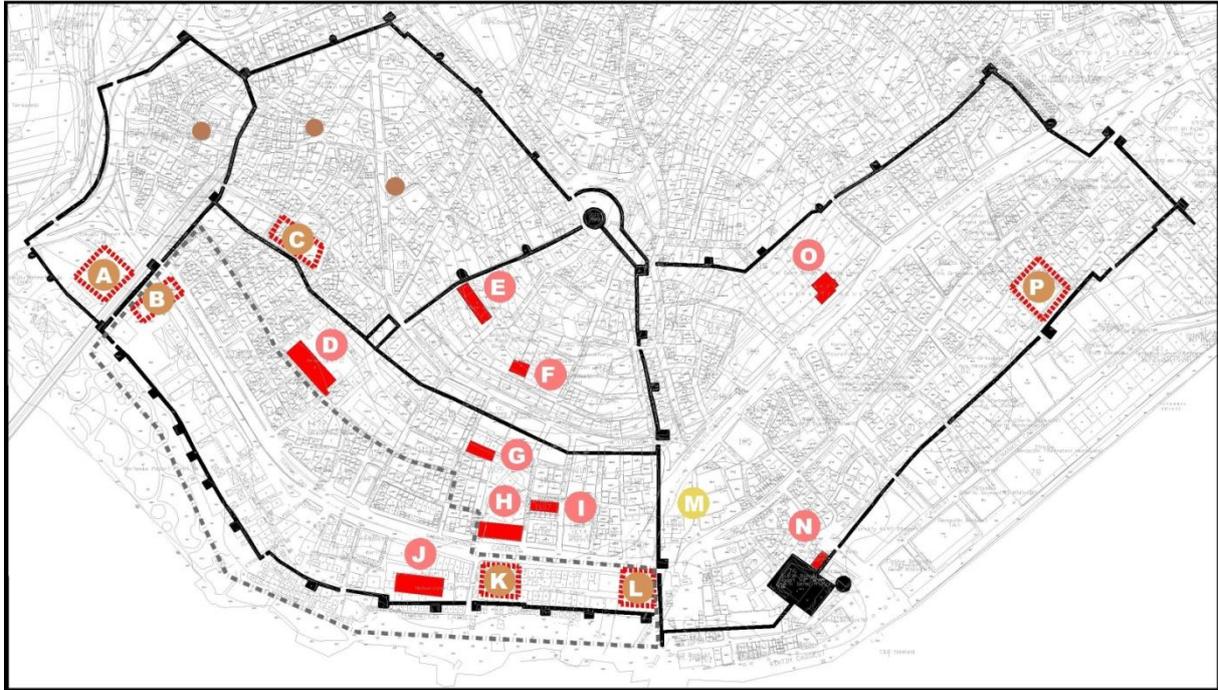


Fig. 266: The Genoese period churches of Galata with their locations and first mentions; being **A**: *Hagios Ioannes* (1303) - Unknown* - *Hacı A'ver Mescidi* (a. 1453), **B**: *Lipsos* (?) (1303) - *Sant'Elena* (?) (1297) - *Alaca Mescit & Buğuluca Hamamı* (a. 1500s), **C**: *Hagios Theodoros* (1303) - *San Costantino* (?) (1447) - *Manastır Mescidi* (1480s), **D**: *Hagia Irene* (1303) - *San Domenico* (1332) - *Cami-i Kebir (Arap Camii)* (c. 1475), **E**: *Santa Caterina & San Pietro* (1389 & 1414), **F**: *Hagios Georgios* (1303) - *San Giorgio* (1391), **G**: *Agioid Anargyroi* (1303) - *Sant'Anna* (1622), **H**: *Hagios Nikolaos* (1303) - *San Francesco* (1297) - *Yeni Camii* (1697), **I**: *San Sebastiano* (1519) - *Bereketzade Medresesi* (c. 1705), **J**: *Hagia Thekla* (?) - *San Michele* (1296) - *Rüstem Paşa Kervansarayı* (1540s), **K**: *Santa Maria* (1297), **L**: *San Giovanni Battista* (1372), **M**: *San Fabiano* (?) (1455), **N**: *Sant'Antonio* (1390) - *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Camii* (c. 1642), **O**: *San Benedetto* (1427), **P**: *Santa Chiara* (1456) & *Yolcuzaade, Emek Yemez* and *Okçu Musa* mosques from west to east, respectively and marked with brown dots as possible locations for unknown* and disappeared Genoese churches [*: perhaps *San Clemente* (14th c.), *San Lazzaro* (1389) or *Ss. Simone e Giuda* (1391)]
(Author, 2017)

2.10- Other Possible Genoese Buildings in Galata

Arseven (1913, p. 80) states that Saksı Han, Ceneviz Han, Serpuş Han and Yelkenciler Han are buildings with the possibility of a Byzantine or Genoese origin due to their different masonry styles and floor plans than the usual Ottoman constructions. These buildings were briefly shown together with the so called "Genoese houses" in Kart Çınar Street as the oldest structures of Galata also by Schneider and Nomidis (1944) and Müller-Wiener (1977) but without any details. Havyar Han, lower part of a timber building next to Arap Mosque and some shops in Bakır Street were other mentioned buildings as possible Genoese structures (Arseven, 1913, p. 80) but because of being demolished in time, it is nearly impossible to make an assessment for them. The study of Güran (1976) can be counted as one of the most comprehensive and detailed work for the Ottoman commercial buildings (*han*) and the examples in Istanbul, which also includes the ones briefly mentioned by Arseven (1913, p. 80). Some of these buildings were clearly in relation with the *loggia* area (see 2.7.3).

According to Güran (1976, p. 131), the lower half of Saksı Han with its main entrance and cellars might be remained from the Genoese period as its upper floors have typical characteristics of the 18th century Ottoman commercial buildings. The first and second floors have the common masonry combination 1 stone + 2 bricks with mixed types of stones; mainly limestone, sandstone and volcanic tuff (Alioğlu, 1992, p. 20). The building was listed as example of civil architecture since 13.10.1970 (Envanter, 2015).

The central, pentagonal group of plots where Saksı Han is located on its northeastern corner appears as a very irregular one inside the apparent grid urban pattern of the first concession zone in Galata, such that even streets of this area do not perfectly meet with surrounding ones, which continuously follow the grid at eastern and western parts. Thus, the aforementioned area seems as a very probable location for the ancient Forum of Honorius, as if Perşembe Pazarı Street and Tersane Street (former Yorgancılar Street) were formerly serving as *Cardo Maximus* and *Decumanus Maximus* by leaving this area in the northwest of their junction. If so, the possible Genoese identity of Saksı Han might indicate that the open space of the supposed forum was started to build up by the Genoese and its commercial function was moved to the nearby *loggia* together with its covered shops and magazines (see 2.7.1, 2.7.3).

The lower part of Saksı Han consisted of three main spaces and the main entrance for upper levels. Subterranean spaces were covered with barrel vaults and the two parallel ones have one entrance each, and the perpendicular one to them has two entrances from both ends. There

are two very significant arches made of ashlar on the northwestern façade of this part, which were altered and bricked up. Two parallel spaces were also altered with new openings by enlarging windows and new spatial arrangements. The perpendicular space had damages more to its vault, in order to locate further shops looking through northeast. These shops were nearly halved the original vault structure. The lower part of Saksı Han has a uniform masonry made of roughly shaped stone but although its style does not show similarity to the typical Ottoman masonry, it is also not possible to match it with the ones of nearby Genoese and Byzantine structures as well. Thus, it is probable that this part is older than the 18th century but the exact period is uncertain. The location of this building and the unique condition of having its own plot surrounded by streets might be related with the former *platea* (see 2.7.3).

It has also been narrated that Ceneviz Han was once the jail of Saksı Han, which was said to be a courthouse and the stable of this complex adjacent to the former was demolished in time (Güran, 1976, p. 131). These buildings look each other across narrow Perşembe Pazarı Street and Ceneviz Han has a uniform Ottoman character by its masonry and material type. Its main entrance corridor is covered with a pointed barrel vault, which can be counted as a significant element of it but needs further research and comparison. Ceneviz Han is a listed example of civil architecture since 07.12.1989 (Envanter, 2015)

Serpuş Han has been described as a possible Genoese building (Arseven, 1913, p. 80; De Beylie, 1903, p. 17), which has characteristic architectural details and masonry of the 18th century Ottoman commercial buildings (Güran, 1976, pp. 131-132). Its vaulted spaces beneath were supported with significant *spolia* columns and capitals, instead of typical massive pillars of the Ottoman commercial buildings.

The main incompatibility of these three buildings to traditional Ottoman *han* architecture is not having a courtyard despite having enough space for it. Hence, when also considered their distinctive architectural elements like the unique stone masonry, the pointed barrel vault and *spolia* columns, they give the impression of being constructed above existing ruins and perhaps remained from the Genoese; a possibility also stated by Güran (1976, pp. 131-132).

Yelkenciler Han was described as a possible Genoese building by Arseven (1913, p. 80) but Güran (1976, pp. 101-102) states that Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa (d. 1644) has constructed it, so the building is from the 17th century. Moreover, although it was built on a narrow and irregular shaped plot, it still has a courtyard unlike the first three *han* structures. It is also located just outside the coastal walls; a vulnerable position for a commercial building.

The so called "Genoese houses" (or "*Frenk* houses") in Kart Çınar Street were defined as Byzantine or Genoese constructions and listed as examples of civil architecture in 08.09.1978 (De Beylie, 1903, p. 18; Envanter, 2015). A white marble modern inscription on them, which blocks a window also strengthens this claim with a short text written in Turkish and English: "This monument was built in 1314 by Genoese - *Bu tarihi eser 1314 yılında Cenevizliler tarafından yapılmıştır*". The exact construction year of these buildings is uncertain and many alterations are visible, such changes on windows and their arches. The final restoration of them were completed in 2006.

The altered twin windows are significant architectural elements of these houses but in terms of masonry technique (the combination of 1 stone + 2 bricks), mortar type (pink colored khorasan) and the style of its openings, they show similarity to nearby Ottoman buildings, usually from the 18th century. The material dimensions correspond especially to "Type E" masonry of Arap Mosque, supposedly from 1734-1735. The mentioned year of 1314 on the modern slab was most probably and in fact inaccurately derived from the slab A.11.1, apparently after an unsupported assumption. It is only known that the corner building was used as a bank in 1903 (De Beylie, 1903, p. 18). These buildings do not have typical characteristics of the Ottoman *han* or house architecture. Thus, their original function is unknown. Because of the neighboring *Palazzo Comunale*, their plots should have been occupied in medieval ages but these "houses" look like Ottoman constructions.

According to Balard (1978, p. 197), no Genoese house has left in Galata and these buildings should have constructed after the 18th century but their horizontal brick and stone courses, which break the monotony of the façades might be influenced from the Genoese architecture.

Masonry characteristics of them as follows: Brick: 2.5 - 3.0 x 30.0-35.0 cm; Stone: 23.0 - 25.0 x 30.0 - 40.0 cm; Mortar: 4.0 - 4.5 cm (Author, 2015) (see 2.9.1 and Appendix 4).

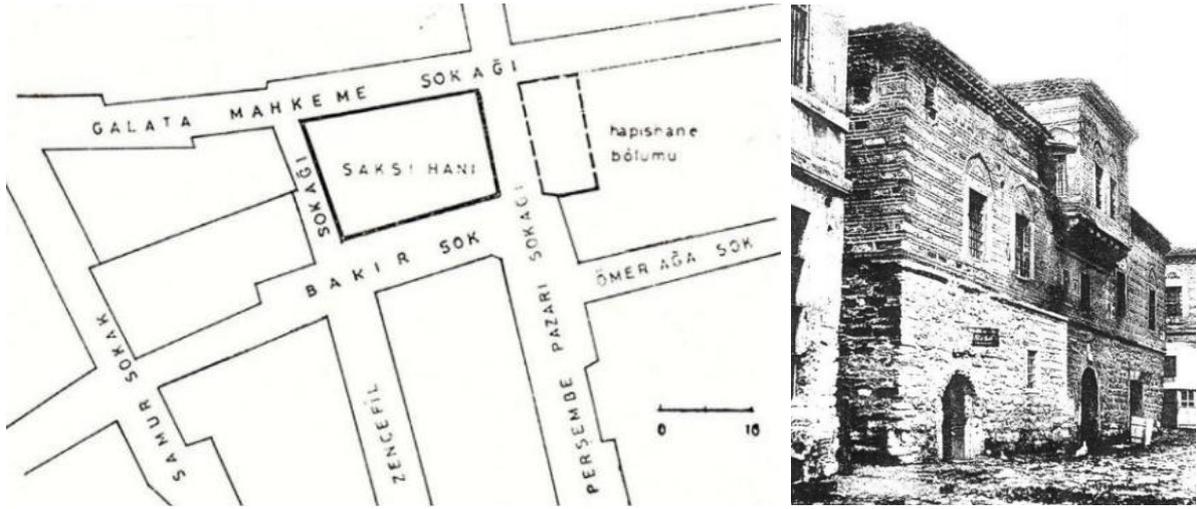


Fig. 267-274: Positions of Saksı Han and nearby Ceneviz Han in Galata (Güran, 1976, p. 230) and the state of the former in 1934 (Sauvaget, 1934) and nowadays (Author, 2015)

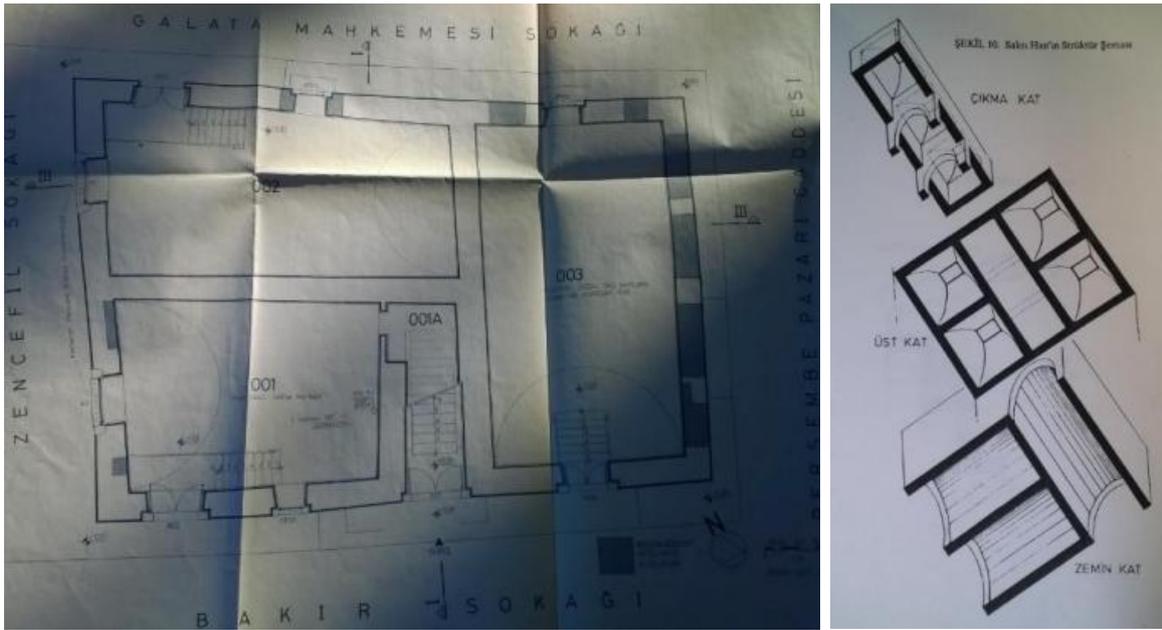


Fig. 275-276: Ground floor plan and the spatial arrangement of Saksı Han (Alioğlu, 1992)



Fig. 277-280: Ceneviz Han at the present time, its entrance corridor with a pointed barrel vault, schematic floor plan and masonry (Author, 2015)



Fig. 281-283: The location of Serpuş Han in Galata (Güran, 1976, p. 237) and its *spolia* columns supporting the vaults of the ground floor (Author, 2015)

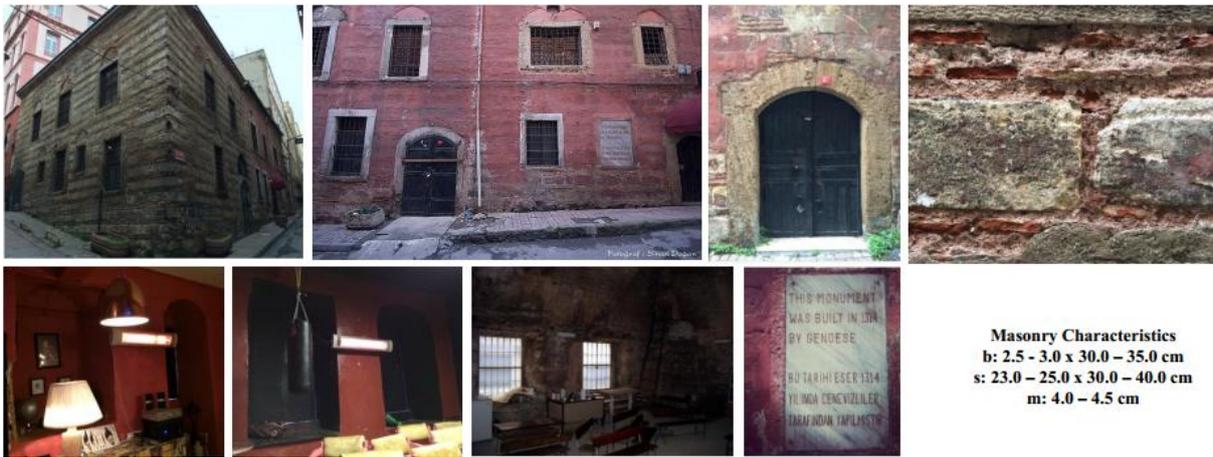


Fig. 284-291: "The Genoese houses" (or *Frenk* houses) in the junction of Kart Çınar and Galata Kulesi Streets (Author, 2015)

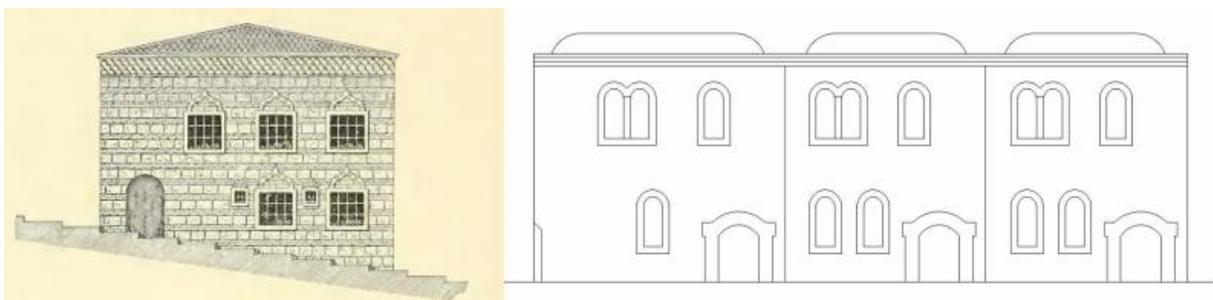


Fig. 292-293: The corner house in 1903 (De Beylie, 1903, p. 18) and the supposed front façades of the houses before visible alterations (Author, 2015)

2.11- Section Assessment

Analyzing existing studies for the Genoese Galata was helpful to detect some missing points and repeated mistakes together with mismatches in between, therefore primary resources were used during the research wherever possible. Multilayered architectural heritage of Turkey and specifically Istanbul, the former Constantinople is a reality which needs to be observed and analyzed well before taking any conservation actions. After getting outcomes from several case studies of Galata, layers of the built heritage palimpsest were separated in order to set a better connection, transition and continuity between them.

With a research concept developed for the middle one, the Byzantine, Genoese and Ottoman / Turkish periods of Galata were embedded to each other smoother, as the nature of a palimpsest requires. Yet, although traces of those three main periods of the settlement are still perceivable to some extent, it has appeared that they did not merge with distinctive borders but when also considered modern developments during the republican period started after 1923, each period coming before has also become the expense of the following one and no monument has survived with completely intact conditions until modern times. Furthermore, new monuments have either constructed on empty areas in the urban fabric or replaced older buildings. Therefore, the layers did not always distinctively overlapped but also partially erased each other. In addition, all the monuments of Galata from its Genoese period had its own building characteristics, so the Genoese effect on the palimpsest was not always the same in each case study and Galata has formed its own, rich identity over time (see Appendix 8).

Correspondingly, as the Genoese architectural heritage is not a separate layer but an organic part of the urban and architectural palimpsest, this situation was detected with a definitely stronger character in the example of Galata when compared with other colonial settlements due to its relatively important commercial and urban identity. Nevertheless, most of the former colonial settlements of the Genoese still have similar and noteworthy traces (See Section 3). Especially the urban continuity between the Byzantine, Genoese and even Ottoman shrines of Galata has displayed a unique example as a direct connection between the aforementioned physical layers.

Old documents, maps and some recent buildings with a probable Genoese period illustrate that the general urban layout, road network and plot shapes of Galata still have significant roots from its previous millennia but the Byzantine urban and architectural influence is not the same on each building from the Genoese period. For instance, *San Domenico*, *Sant'Anna* and

San Francesco were constructed on plots of former Byzantine churches. The Castle of Galata shows that the Genoese have occupied, renamed and altered an existing Byzantine fortress with significant additions like linking defensive walls and a new, coastal tower with alarm bells. Finally, the church of *San Benedetto*, the former *Theotokos Chrysopege* was most probably used by the Genoese without any significant changes after being taken by the Byzantines.

On the other hand, further evidences show that the Genoese built heritage was not always affected by previous periods but also contributed constructions starting from scratch, such as Galata Walls with complex, multilayered phases in an urban scale and some more civil architecture examples as landmark monuments like *Palazzo Comunale*. Nevertheless, their architectural characteristics can still be linked to the place where they belong to because even in those new constructions, the Genoese have widely used local construction materials and *spolia*. In some particular case studies, it is very likely that local workforces were also involved in, as external marble ornaments and internal frescoes of *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque) point out.

Head-to-head comparisons between Galata and Genoa in terms of urban layout and monuments appear in many studies but as Galata remains with its unique urban palimpsest instead of being an *ex novo* Genoese settlement according to the outcomes of this research and while Genoa has its own urban character, this issue remains rather complex with different criterion and needs particular attention rather than direct matchings. The roots of Galata were sought everywhere else other than the settlement itself and its immediate surroundings.

It is unknown that to what extent the Genoese have continued to architecturally influence Galata after its conquest in 1453 but registries of some repairs (see A.11.44) and new constructions like *Santa Chiara* (see 2.9.11) still indicate that this process did not immediately stop. It should also be mentioned that especially a few the partially remained monuments in Galata from its Genoese period, namely Arap Mosque, being the former *San Domenico*, Bereket Han, being the former *Palazzo Comunale* and also some towers and wall courses with bicolored semicircular arches set unique examples with a clear influence of the Northern Italy, which are the sole medieval monuments with such an architectural character in the modern-day Istanbul. Similar but relatively minor architectural traces can also be seen in other former colonies of the Genoese remaining inside Turkey, especially on the castles of Amasra, which used to be called as *Samastro* by the Genoese (see 3.4.3).

3- Genoese in the Aegean and Black Sea Coasts

3.1- Genoese Colonial Expansion to the Aegean Coasts

Starting from the mid-12th century, the Republic of Genoa was having a quarter in Constantinople together with the Venetians, Amalfitans and Pisans (see 2.2). During the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) led by the Venetians under the command of Doge Enrico Dandolo, Constantinople was sacked in 1204 and became the capital of newly founded Latin Empire on territories around the Sea of Marmara (Penna, 2012). The Genoese, the archrival of the Venetians have lost their possession in Constantinople, as they were also not a participant state to the crusade. The Byzantine Empire has continued to live under the name of the Empire of Nicaea²⁵⁷ on areas not occupied by the crusaders (Gregory, 2011, p. 335).

After the personal initiative of the Genoese *capitano del popolo* (the captain of people) Guglielmo Boccanegra for negotiations in 13 March 1261, the Empire of Nicaea and Genoese ambassadors Guglielmo Visconti and Guarnerio Giudice signed an alliance treaty in 27 April in Nymphaeum (Kemalpaşa, formerly Nif), which is then ratified by the Republic of Genoa in 10 July 1261. According to this treaty, the Nicaean emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos promises to battle against the Venetians²⁵⁸; to protect all the Genoese in its territory, where they will be exempt from all taxes and will have quarters in Constantinople (if their campaign will be able to retrieve it from the Latins); Smyrna (Izmir), Thessalonica, Ania (Kuşadası), Cassandria (Kassandra), Adramytteion (Burhaniye), Negroponte (Euboea), Crete, Chios and Lesbos with palaces, homes, *loggias*, churches, baths, ovens, gardens to carry on trade, consuls and courts that these quarters will be under the Genoese authority; not to help the enemies of Genoa except the Pisans; to give the Genoese the church of *Santa Maria* in Constantinople²⁵⁹, in the hands of the Venetians at that time with *loggias* and the adjacent cemetery²⁶⁰. If requested by the empire, Genoese must provide up to fifty galleys with crew under the specified conditions therein. Galleys will fight against enemies of the empire;

²⁵⁷ The capital of the survived empire was *de jure* Nicaea (İznik) and *de facto* Nymphaeum (Kemalpaşa).

²⁵⁸ With whom will not make peace or truce without the consent of the Genoese.

²⁵⁹ The church was *Santa Maria de Embolo* around modern-day Eminönü Square, which first appears in 1148, taken by the Genoese following 1261 and retaken by the Venetians in 1277 (Ağır, 2013, pp. 86-87).

²⁶⁰ He also promises an annual donation of 500 *hyperpyra* (Byzantine coins) and two golden palliums to the commune, 60 *hyperpyra* and an archbishopric pallium to Genoa; the release of all the Genoese from prison immediately after the convention is ratified; and finally it grants the right to export any goods from the empire duty free, excluding gold and silver. On the other side, the Commune of Genoa was not going to make peace with the Venetians without the consent of the empire, who will be defended and respected in Genoese districts and will be able to purchase or sell exempt from all taxes.

however, the Roman Church and all those sovereigns and municipalities that Genoa is linked by special conventions will be excluded (Balard, 1978, pp. 43-44; Lisciandrelli, 1960, p. 75).

Although the Genoese were not able to assist the Nicaeans during the recapture of Constantinople²⁶¹, they were awarded as how it was stated in the Treaty of Nymphaeum. The palace once occupied by the Venetians was demolished by the Genoese in company with trumpet sounds. Some pieces of the building were transported to Genoa and placed on *Palazzo San Giorgio* (see 2.2). The new duty of the Genoese fleet was defending the capital against the Venetian raids (Balard, 1978, p. 46). Following the recapture of Constantinople, Michael VIII Palaiologos was aiming to restore other former territories of the empire but they were having financial problems due to endless battles at that time²⁶². Furthermore, the performance of their Genoese ally was not satisfying (Ostrogorsky, 1981, p. 419).

In summer 1262, the Republic of Venice sent a fleet consisted of 37 warships to the Aegean Sea, which confronted near Thessalonica with the Genoese fleet of 60 galleys. The Genoese have refused to fight and withdrew but Negroponte-Venice fleet continued to move into the Marmara Sea and then overwhelmed by a Byzantine-Genoese flotilla there (Geanakoplos, 1959, p. 151). In the spring of 1263 at *Settepozzi* (Spetses) in the Argolic Gulf, the Venetians have gained a clear victory against rather stronger Byzantine-Genoese fleet. Although most of the Genoese fleet has survived from the war, this defeat has changed the political situation between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa. Michael VIII Palaiologos started to question the alliance with the Genoese, as it was very costly for the empire but brought few advantages. As a result, the Genoese fleet was dismissed by the emperor and galleys were sent

²⁶¹ After two failed sieges in 1235 and 1260, recapture of Constantinople has occurred incidentally and without the military support of the Genoese. In 25 July 1261, just two weeks after the ratification of the Treaty of Nymphaeum by the Republic of Genoa, the Byzantine general Alexios Strategopoulos was sent for a reconnaissance duty to the Second Bulgarian Empire border in Thrace with a small task force formed by *thelematarioi*, volunteers served on the basis of grants of land given by the emperor. He surprised to notice that the entire Latin garrison and the Venetian fleet were absent in order to launch an attack to the Nicaean castle in Daphnousia (Kefken Island) in the western part of the Black Sea. Although a one-year cease fire agreement has been made between the Latin Empire and the Empire of Nicaea in August 1260 after the failed siege of Constantinople, Alexios Strategopoulos decided to capture the defenseless city with a sudden maneuver. The Latin Emperor Baldwin II fled from Constantinople and his empire was collapsed. Venetian galleys returning from the Black Sea have evacuated Latin refugees in haste (Balard, 1978, p. 46; Haldon, 2005, p. 67). As a result, the Byzantine Empire was restored and Michael VIII Palaiologos became the emperor with a coronation after entering the city in 15 August 1261 (Ostrogorsky, 1981, p. 415).

²⁶² Major campaigns against the Despotate of Epirus (one of the successor Byzantine states together with Nicaea and Trebizond) and Latin states in Greece (founded after the Fourth Crusade), such as the Principality of Achaia, the Kingdom of Thessalonica, the Duchy of Athens and the Triarchy of Negroponte have brought devastating defeats and costs to the Byzantines.

back to Genoa (Ostrogorsky, 1981, p. 420). Even worse, Michael VIII Palaiologos has discovered in 1264 that the Genoese *podestà* (chief magistrate) in Constantinople was planning to hand over the city to Manfred, the King of Sicily that the Commune of Genoa just made an agreement with him to protect its commercial interests there. A report from that year also mentions this conspiracy and the interest of the Genoese to Galata (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 99-100)²⁶³. The emperor pretended to see this incident as a personal initiative of Guglielmo Guercio but at the same time considered as an opportunity to keep the Genoese away from the capital. Thus, they were exiled to Heraclea (Marmara Ereğlisi)²⁶⁴. Genoa has protested this situation with two of its ambassadors but the emperor did not change his decision (Balard, 1978, pp. 48-49; Eyice, 1969, p. 11).

After the aforementioned incidents occurred in 1263-1264, the Genoese were naturally struggling to settle in Constantinople and the Aegean coasts, which was promised to them in 1261 with the Treaty of Nymphaeum. Moreover, the emperor intended to restore the diplomacy with the Venetians and an agreement was prepared in 18 June 1265. Although this agreement was promising many concessions to the Venetians, they hesitated to ratify it due to the still existing possibility of getting their former domination back on Constantinople during the Latin Empire period. As the Byzantine Empire was having problems to find a western ally, the emperor personally started negotiations again with the Republic of Genoa. Having defeated by the Venetians once again, this time in 1266 and near Trapani, Sicily, the Genoese have accepted the offer in 1267 and gained the privileges back by enforcing the promises in the Treaty of Nymphaeum with the delegate Franceschino Camilla. The emperor took some precautions before the ratification like sending the Genoese to Galata instead of Constantinople and destroying its fortifications. He also demanded obedience and respect from *podestà* on any ground. However, although the Genoese were allowed to return, it is uncertain that their colonial expansion to the Aegean coasts has started immediately after that agreement or not (Balard, 1978, pp. 49-50; Eyice, 1969, p. 11; Ostrogorsky, 1981, p. 420).

²⁶³ Quoted from Pertz, G. H., (1863). *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Vol. XVIII, p. 249), *Annales Ianuenses* (1249-1265), Chapter VIII (1264-1265) (doc. I).

²⁶⁴ Appears as *Recrea* on Pietro Vesconte map of 1321.

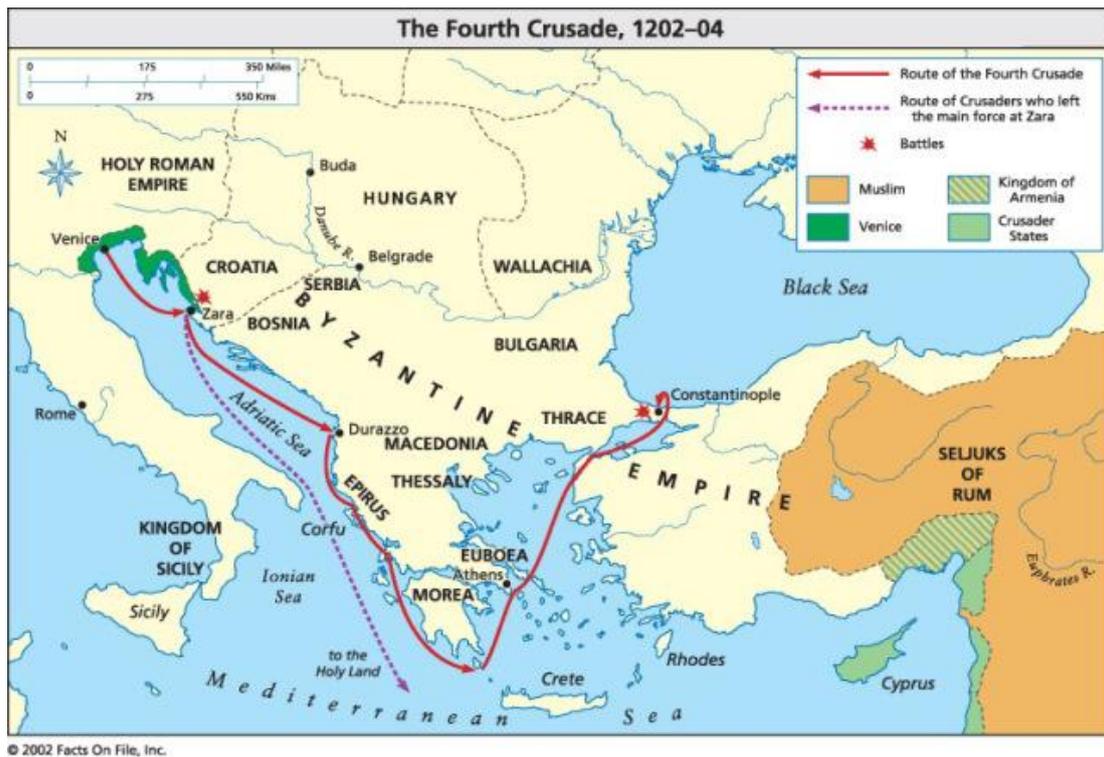


Fig. 294: The route of the Fourth Crusade (Facts on File Inc., 2002)



Fig. 295-296: Enrico Dandolo (Gradale, 2015) and the lower part of his 19th century commemorative tombstone in Hagia Sophia (Istanbul) that its central Latin cross was defaced with the form of adjacent border recesses by the Ottomans as nearly all of the cross figures in the former church were also chiseled out when it was used as a mosque (Author, 2016)



Fig. 297: The overview of former Byzantine territories after the Fourth Crusade (Turkcebilgi, 2015)

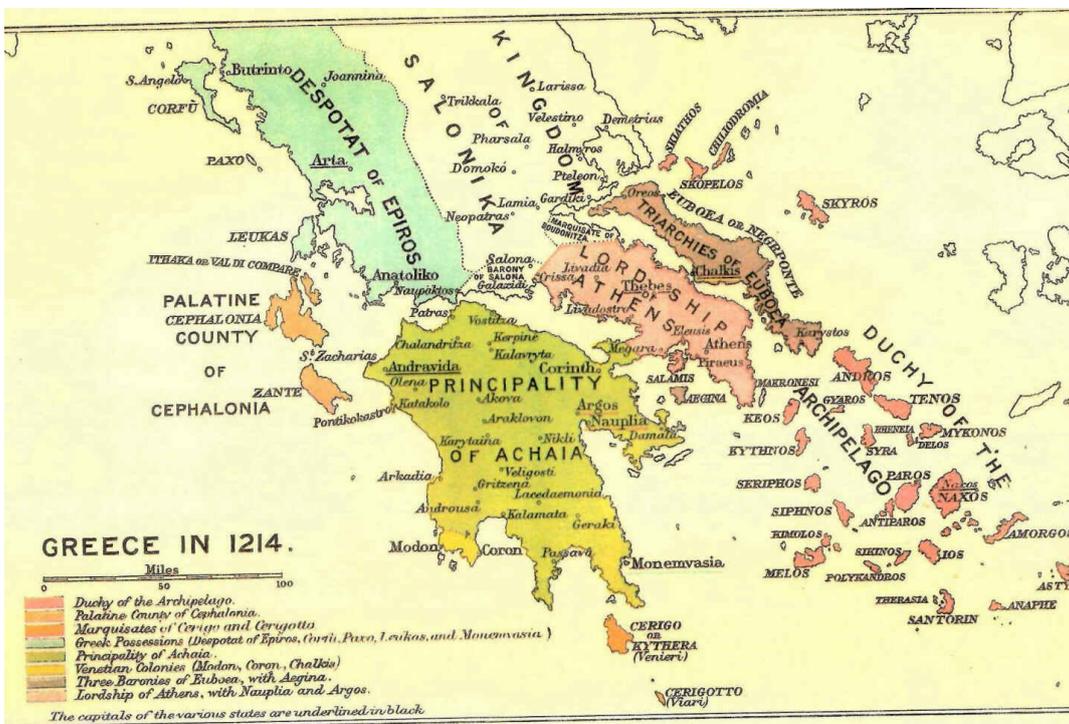


Fig. 298: Latin states in Greece (Wikipedia, 2015)

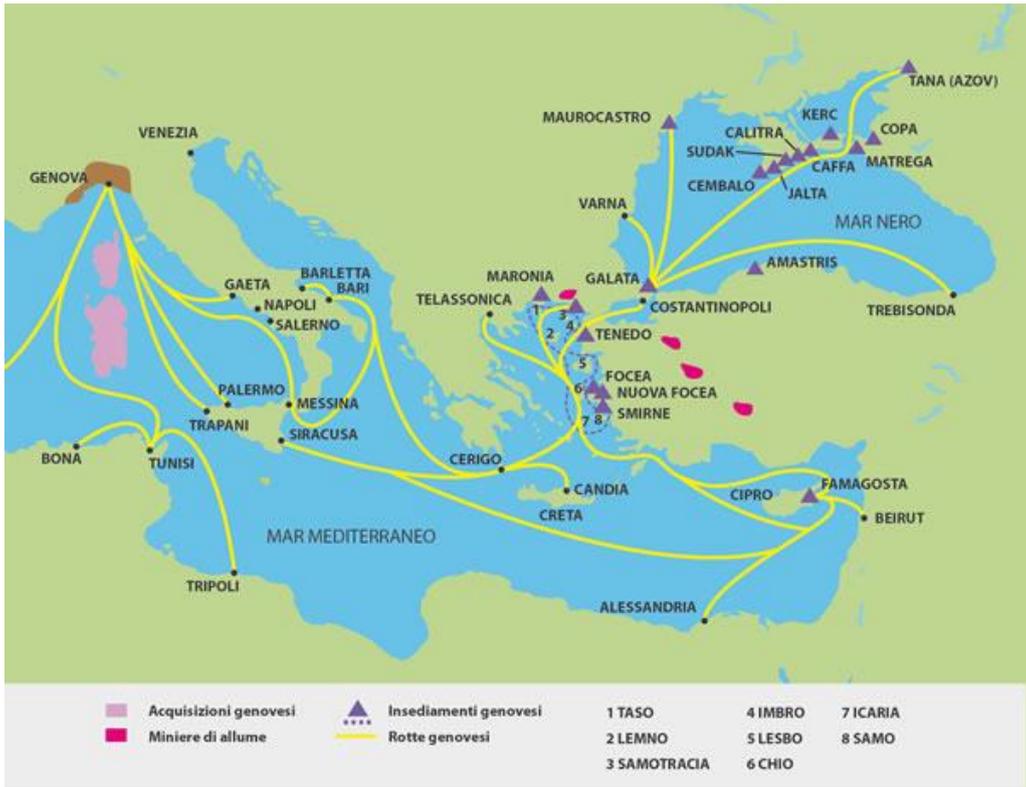


Fig. 299: Main Genoese colonies at Byzantine territories (Venicethefuture, 2015)

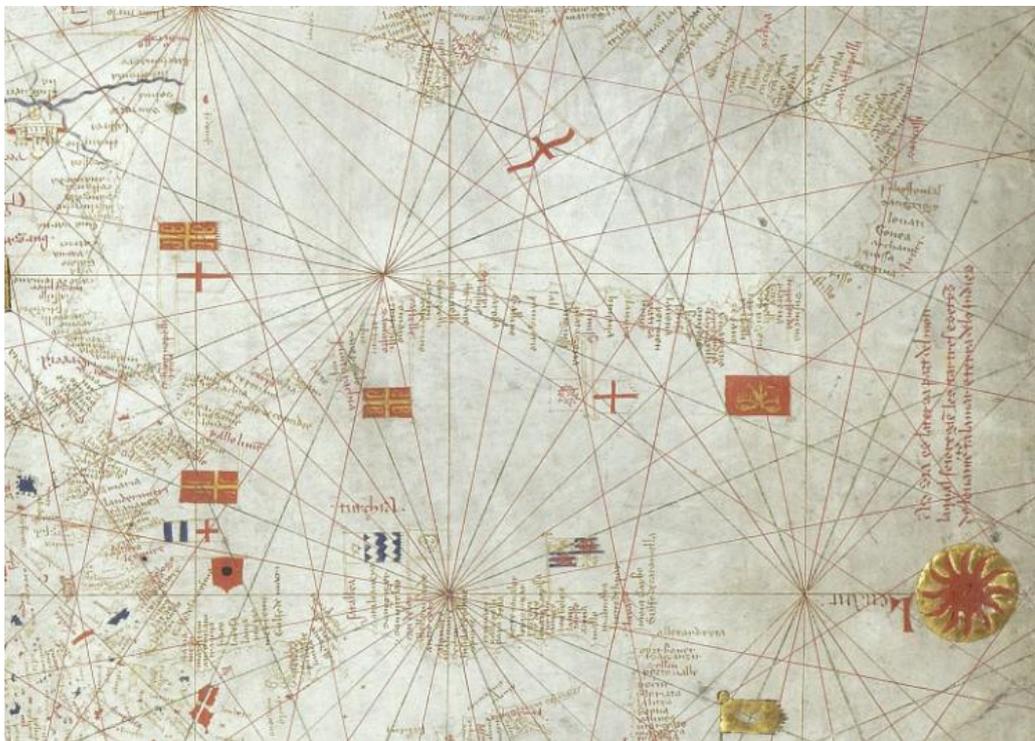


Fig. 300: Portolan chart by Guillem Soler (1380) that Genoese colonies at Galata, Crimea, Samsun and Foça were marked with Genoese flags (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015)

3.2- Former Genoese Possessions within the Aegean Coasts of Modern-day Turkey

The signing of the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261 but especially its second approval in 1267 set a threshold for the Genoese to have territorial gains in addition to their existing commercial activities in the Aegean coasts of the Asia Minor.

The Genoese period in the Aegean coasts can be categorized as three main periods that the noble Zaccaria family was the main actor of the first one, which was predominant generally in the central parts. Having sent from Genoa with diplomatic and commercial missions to the Byzantine lands, Zaccarias have possessed not only the promised cities in the Treaty of Nymphaeum, such as Smyrna (Izmir), Ania (Kuşadası) and Adramytteion (Burhaniye) but also seized Phocaea (Foça), Erythrae (Çeşme), Pitane (Çandarlı) and maybe in minor extents Hagios Theodoros (Selçuk), Teos (Sığacık) and Christopolis (Birgi). Chios was another granted area, where the Lordship of Chios (1304-1329) was founded as a vassal state to the Byzantine Empire. Lesbos, Thasos and Kos were other occupied islands but their Zaccaria periods were much shorter despite the promise of the first one was in the treaty. The Zaccarias did not always occupy existing Byzantine settlements and in some areas founded their own fortified beachheads near to them with harbors as trading posts, such as Yenifoça (*Foglia Nuova*), Kuşadası (*Scalanova*) and Çeşme (*Passaggio*). The Zaccarias were succeeded by the family of Cattaneo della Volta until the Byzantine recovery of most of the occupied settlements by Andronikos III Palaiologos (r. 1328-1341) during the first half of the 14th century (Carr, 2015, pp. 23-25; Miller, 1921). Meanwhile, the Genoese have also intended to seize the Venetian possession (since 1376) of Tenedos (Bozcaada) during the War of Chioggia (1378-1381) but failed. With the Peace of Turin (1381), the island was abandoned, depopulated and being its fortifications demolished (Gertwagen, 2013, pp. 35-41).

Due to administrative instability during the Byzantine civil war of 1341-1347, *Maona* was established in Chios by several Genoese families united under the name of "Giustiniani". The control of mainly the two *Foglias* and the islands of Samos and Ikaria in later periods were also included to this organization for a while. *Maona* rule was ended during the mid-15th century in Asia Minor and 1566 in Chios by the Ottomans (Friedman and Figg, 2013, p. 211).

The third period ran substantially parallel to the second one that Gattilusio family was mainly active in the northern coasts; mainly Ainos and Lesbos. The Gattilusios have involved in the Byzantine civil war of 1352-1357 and backing up the future victors has returned them with many privileges but their relations were even closer to the Byzantine imperial family of

Palaiologos and rather individual than a direct representation of the Republic of Genoa when compared with the Zaccaria period. Gattilusio rule in the Aegean coasts came to an end due to consecutive conquests of the Ottomans in the mid-15th century (Wright, 2014).

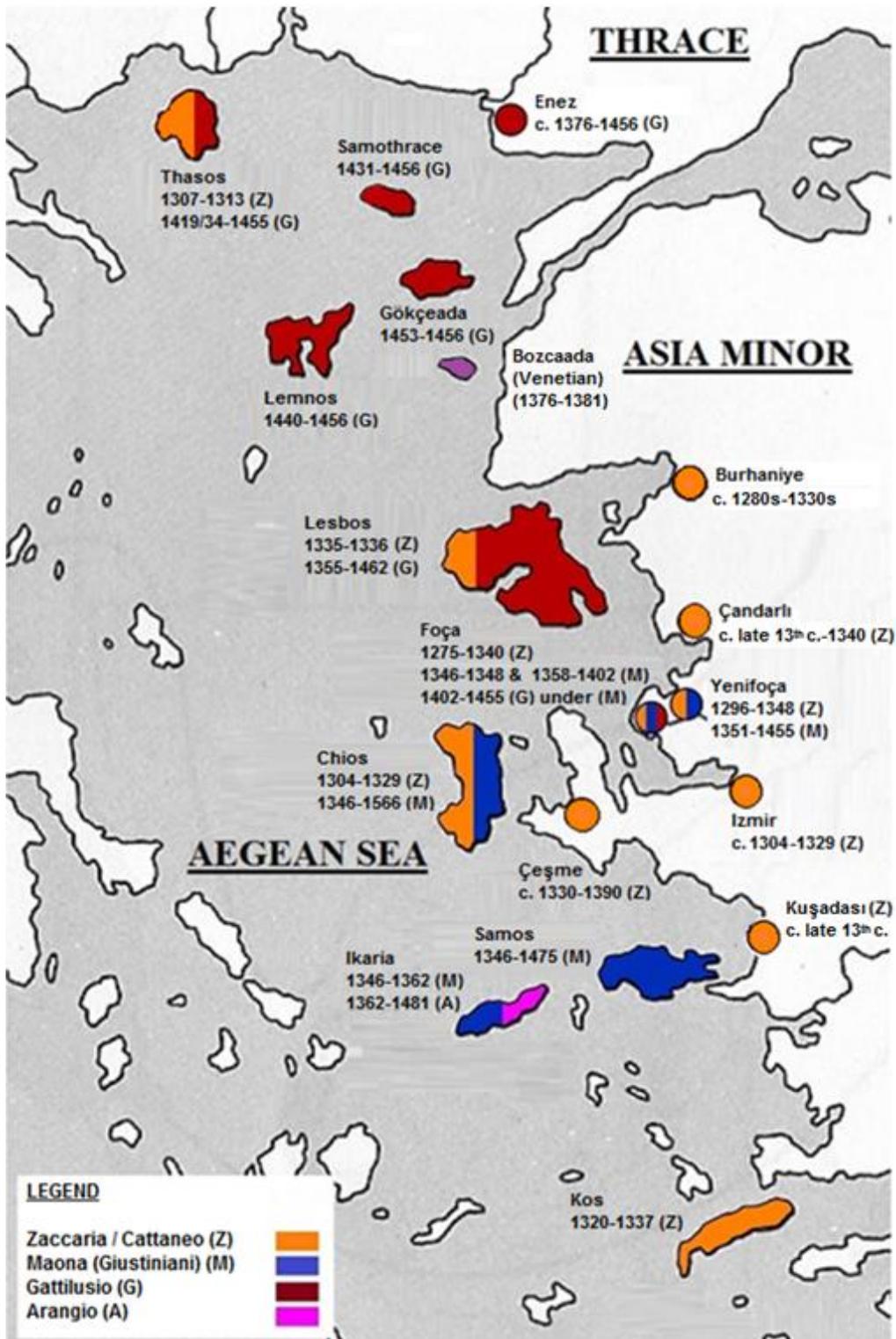


Fig. 301: Main Genoese possessions in the Aegean Coast and their ruling families (see Appendix 8) (Author, 2015, after Miller, 1921, pp. 296-297)

3.2.1- Enez

3.2.1.1- Enez Castle

The castle lies from northwest to southeast with an elliptical shape on a hilly position and located just next to the lagoon, which separates from the Aegean Sea with the barriers of alluvial deposits brought by Meriç River. Enez Castle was built on the ancient acropolis of Ainos that the former settlement was protected with the enceinte. Being a Byzantine fortress, it was also used during Gattilusio and Ottoman periods (Eyice, 1963, pp. 142-150).

The walls of the castle are approximately 25 meters high and 2-3 meters thick. The maximum interior dimensions appear as roughly 260 x 120 meters and the walls are 740 meters long in total, which are supported by 16 rectangular, polygonal or circular towers. The inner castle area is now unoccupied and the modern settlement of Enez is located just outside of it. The main, arched gate of the castle is looking to northeast and surrounded by two towers from each side that the rectangular one on the right reduced to the one third of its former height when compared with the still existing polygonal one on the left, which was entirely restored together with the walls above the main gate. There is also a secondary arched gate at the northwest of the castle, which provides a connection between the inner castle area and the former coastal section, with the help of a series of steep stairs made of large blocks. The coastal part of the castle at west was protected by maritime walls that this section was having another arched entrance from outside at southeast, which is now in ruined conditions.

The walls of the castle were generally built with large, finely shaped local stone blocks below and roughly shaped ashlars with supportive brick and smaller stone pieces above. A significant usage of Hellenistic and Roman *spolia* from ancient ruins nearby can be seen on nearly all around the castle walls. Maritime walls were added to the enceinte that the northern part is 80 and the southern part is 130 meters long. The former has only one, large and rectangular tower in the end, which has the dimensions of 17 x 17 meters and now ruined. It is also wider below and relatively narrow above. The latter has four rectangular and one circular towers that the circular one appears as the second from the castle and the last one is slightly larger than the rest, being approximately 6 x 10 meters. The masonry of the maritime walls were dated to the Hellenistic period at lower parts, where a double technique has been used. In these sections, a core with irregular rubble pieces were covered with finely shaped large and rectangular blocks. The medieval walls are located above them, which have a distinctive masonry with relatively small ashlars and *spolia* (Başaran, 1998, p. 3; 2008, pp. 2-4).

The inner castle area has several important monuments, such as the churches of *Hagia Sophia* (12-14th c.), *Theotokos Chrysopege* (1423) and *Hagios Gregorius* (11th c.). Many Byzantine and earlier period residential, religious and commercial buildings were also discovered mainly in foundation levels, which were studied by Erzen (1972, pp. 235-248; 1974, pp. 138-217; 1976, pp. 6-11) and Bozdağ (1979) in detail.

The exact groundbreaking date of Enez Castle is unknown and a detailed study does not exist for it, like the one prepared by Kalakallas (2014) for the main fortress of the other Gattilusio lordship, the Castle of Mytilene, which can be a reference to the supposed Gattilusio constructions in the Aegean coasts. Any indications about possible Genoese (Gattilusio) additions to the castle were not seen in available sources and archaeological excavations to the inner castle show traces of settlements in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The fortress is mainly a Byzantine structure, which had a major construction phase during the 6th century by Justinian I (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 250-252). Enez Castle then had at least two reconstructions; being in the late 13th century after a "Tataro-Bulgar" incursion and another partial one in the early 14th century, precisely being in 1307-1308 (Ousterhout and Bakirtzis, 2007, p. 21).

Three construction slabs from 1382 (A.2.1), 1413 (A.2.2) and c. 1422 (A.2.4) were discovered on coastal walls of Enez Castle, which probably indicate repairs during the Gattilusio period, to the positions where they are located (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 249-257). Similar Gattilusio slabs, which bear their distinctive arms with a horseshoe pattern were also discovered in other former Aegean possessions of the family (see A.1-A.4).

According to Prof. Özyiğit, Enez Castle has Byzantine wall characteristics, with respect to the Genoese masonry discovered by him on Foça Castle and well explained (see 3.2.5.1). Thus, it can be questioned that the slabs of Enez Castle are indications of Gattilusio suzerainty on *Enos*, rather than structural repairs (Ö. Özyiğit, personal communication, August 25, 2016).

However, it should be taken into account that the Lordship of Phocaea was having a different historical and political conjuncture during its Zaccaria and Cattaneo della Volta rules, also in an earlier period of approximately 100 years. In addition, at least two Greeks were employed for several Gattilusio constructions in 1420s and 1430s; being the master builder Konstantinos for two churches in Enez (A.2.3, A.2.5) and two towers in Samothrace (A.4.13, A.4.14), and the constructor Stroilos for Palaiopoli Castle again in Samothrace (A.4.15). The ones of Samothrace, which were briefly studied by Androudís (2011, pp. 233-247) may provide reference for further comparison, especially for the towers of Enez with slabs that one of them

has very similar stone corbels and narrow slits for archers. Therefore, the Byzantine-looking masonry of some later period parts of the castle, especially its coastal sections and also without any distinctive "Genoese" architectural elements but contrarily bear Gattilusio slabs with precise dates, might be explained.

Two other marble slabs with noteworthy Greek inscriptions are about church constructions that the first one (A.2.3) is about *Hagios Nikolaos*, which was erected in 1420-1421 with the expenses of Augoustarikes Kanavoutzes, during the rule of Palamede Gattilusio (r. 1409-1455) but the location of this church is unknown, as the slab was also discovered in another disappeared church (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 256-257).

The inscription of the second slab (A.2.5) indicates that *Theotokos Chrysopege* was built in 1422-1423. The construction was funded by commissioner Demetrios Xenos and done by the master builder Konstantinos, again under the rule of Palamede Gattilusio. According to another Greek inscription, which gives the names of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425), Empress Helena Dragaš and Patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople (r. 1416-1439), the church had its interior walls painted in 1423-1424. This double referencing about the same building justifies the close family relations of these two families, which is also proved by the usage of "Gattilusio-Palaiologos" as his last name by the Lord Palamede (Hasluck, 1909, p. 254; Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, pp. 503-520).

According to Mamaloukos and Perrakis (2011, pp. 503-520), *Theotokos Chrysopege* was having at least two main construction phases that the final one was carried out during the Ottoman period in the 17th century, presumably after a devastating earthquake. The church was destroyed during World War I and only its northern wall and a part of the apse with an initial wall-painting decoration were remained from the original building. It was basically an aisleless timber-roofed church, a common one among the Byzantine church types. The masonry technique of the walls show similarity to the one attributed to Constantinople, which was having sequential brick and stone courses. However, brick courses do not form the whole thickness of walls in *Theotokos Chrysopege*. It was also seen that roughly shaped small and rectangular ashlar were linked with the same tradition, where horizontal brick pieces were placed in between. In this case, *Theotokos Chrysopege* shows similarity to the Lascarid architecture and several churches in Didymoteicho and Samothrace as well. Therefore, the architecture of the church might being connected with the techniques of other territories nearby, which were under Latin rules at that time, such as Samothrace, Lesbos and perhaps

Chios too. It was finally stated that their techniques have partially derived from the greater architecture of Asia Minor of the 13th century (Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, pp. 503-520).

A last, small church from the Middle Byzantine Period called *Hagios Gregorius* (11th c.) was located in the central part of the fortress, which is also in ruined conditions. Both of the church construction slabs mentioned above were lost together with one of the castle slabs, which was formerly on the western coastal walls. The remaining two pieces still can be seen on two rectangular towers of the maritime walls. The castle was heavily restored in 1994, so its original appearance no longer exists at many parts.

Tower houses also exist in Enez like other former Genoese possessions, such as Foça and Çeşme. These houses were not studied and linked with the Aegean examples yet (see 3.2.5.3).

The Tentative List of UNESCO, called "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" and covers six other fortifications within Turkey (UNESCO, 2013) does not include Enez Castle despite its strong Genoese (Gattilusio) identity, whereas a building with relatively much uncertain Genoese period, Akçakoca Castle was included (see 3.4.2.3).

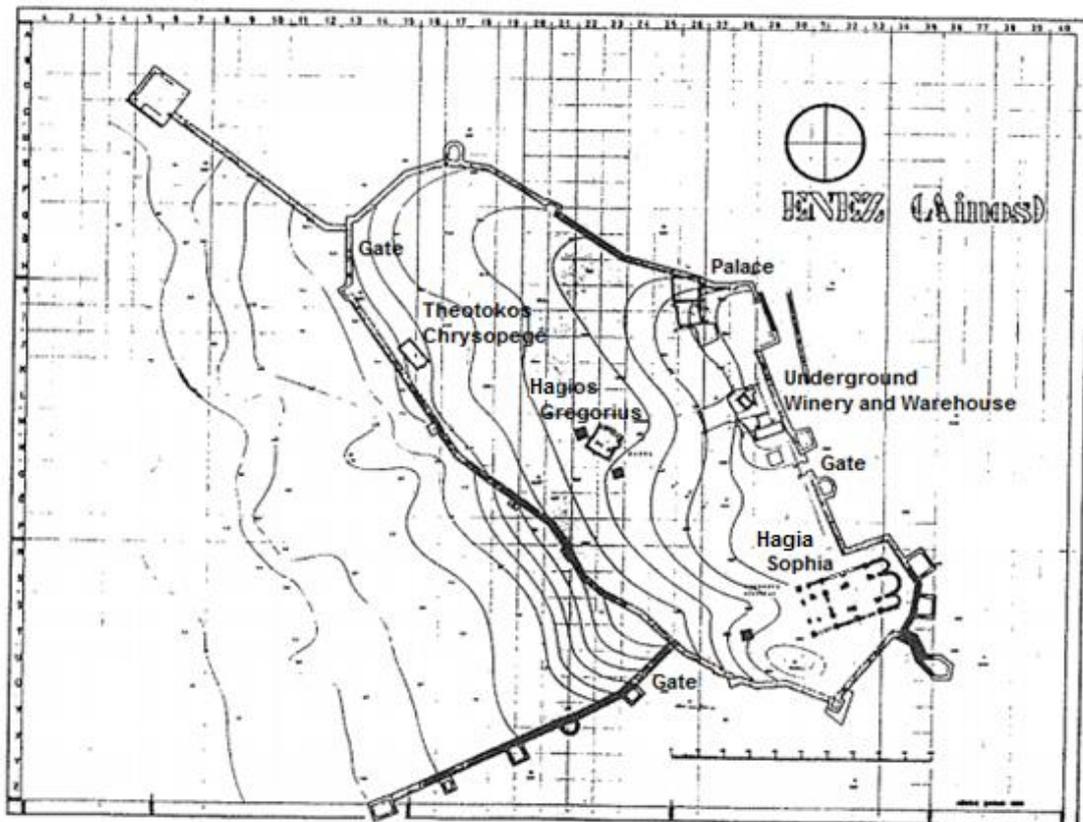


Fig. 302: The plan of Enez Castle (Başaran, 1998, p. 4)



Fig. 303-305: Panoramas of Enez from coast in 1909, 1963 and 2013 that the destruction of 1965 earthquake is visible on the former *Hagia Sophia* (later Fatih Mosque) and walls (Eyice, 1963, p. 159; Hasluck, 1909; Yu-Mu, 2013)



Fig. 306-307: The main gate of Enez Castle and a tower house from the city (Author, 2016)



Fig. 308-309: The large rectangular tower of the northern maritime walls with the slab A.2.1 and the first three towers of the southern maritime walls with a small portion of its collapsed arched gate that the masonries of different periods are also visible (Author, 2016)



Fig. 310: The central tower of the southern maritime walls with a Gattilusio slab (A.2.2) on it, which most probably has different construction phases including a one during the Gattilusio rule at upper parts (Author, 2016)

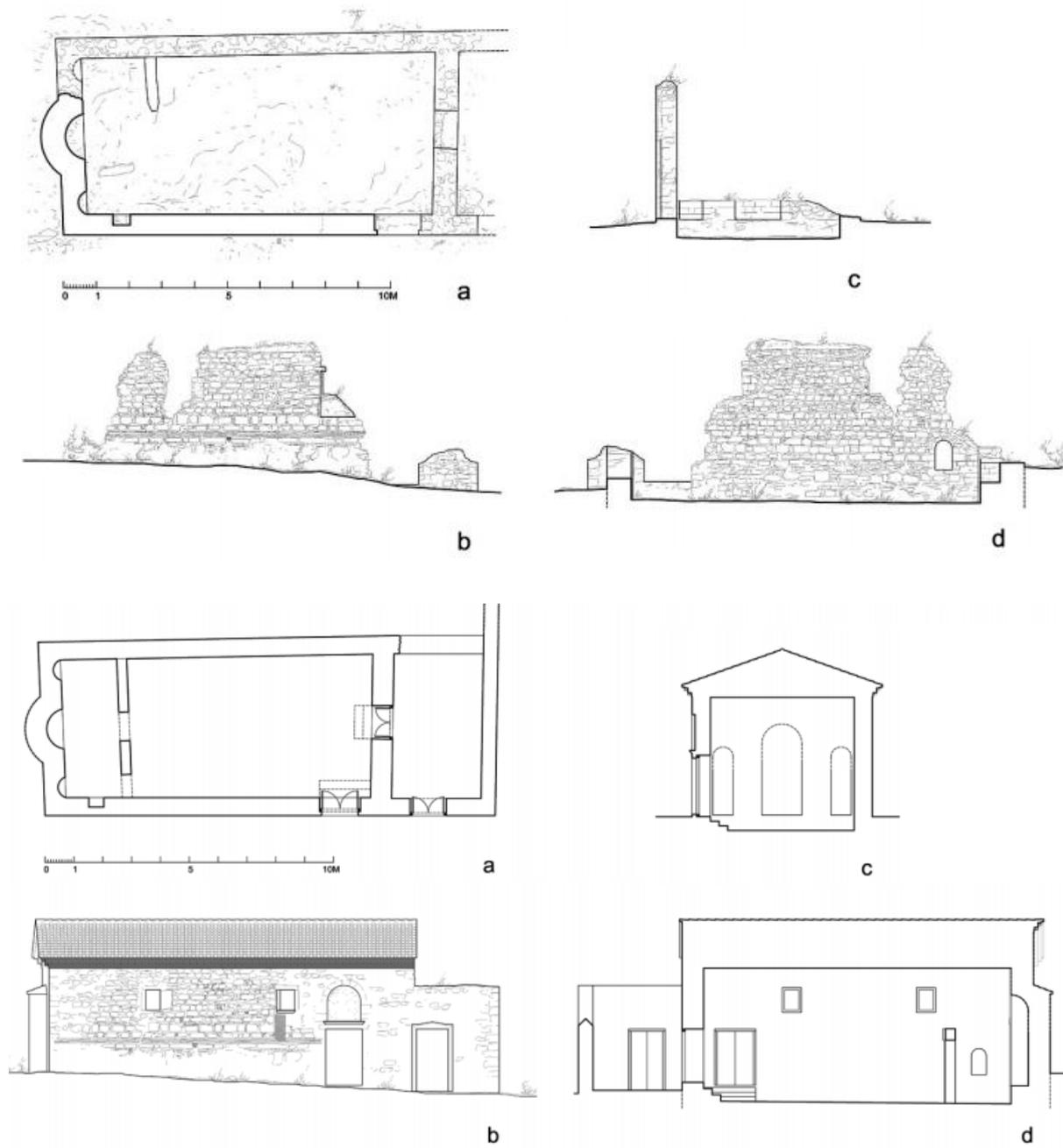


Fig. 311: *Theotokos Chrysopege* in 2007 and its reconstruction as it was in 1902
(Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, pp. 845-846)



Fig. 312-313: *Theotokos Chrysopege* in 1902 and 2016 (Author, 2016; Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, p. 847)

3.2.1.2- History of Enez and its Gattilusio Period

Enez is a town inside the province of Edirne and located just next to the southern end of the Thracian Greek-Turkish border, defined by Meriç (Evros / Maritsa) River. Once a coastal city in the northern Aegean, sea access is now provided through a narrow strait that the former direct connection was blockaded due to alluvial accumulation over centuries and the trapped body of water inside, next to Enez at southwest formed a lagoon (Lake Dalyan). Lake Taşaltı at southeast was another former bay of Enez, which is now a part of Lake Dalyan. Coasts of these lakes used to provide natural harbors to the city, which is located on a rather hilly peninsula when compared with surrounding areas.

Enez was known as Ainos in ancient times and named after a Trojan hero called Aeneas, who was the founder of the city according to several ancient sources, written by Homer (in *Iliad*, c. 760-710 BC, IV, p. 520), Virgil (in *Aeneid*, c. 29-19 BC, III, p. 62) and Pomponius Mela (in *De Chorographia*, c. 43-45, II, p. 28) (Istanbul University Excavation, Archaeology and Research Center of Enez Region, 2015).

With respect to other written resources, Ainos was founded by the Aeolians in the 11th century BC as a Greek colony and then occupied by other colonists from Mytilene and Cyme in the 7th century BC. The city prospered in this period as an Ancient Greek city-state (*polis*). During the European Scythian campaign of Darius I in 513 BC, Ainos was occupied by the Achaemenids for a while but restored as a free city-state afterwards. Before the Second Persian invasion of Greece by Xerxes I in 480-479 BC, the Achaemenids have arrived to Ainos once again and their army passed through. Following the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC, it has joined to the Delian League. After the Wars of the Delian League against the Achaemenid Empire between 477-449 BC, Peace of Callias was secured the independency of Ainos but it was occupied by the Kingdom of Macedonia in 343-342 BC (Ceylan, 2009, p. 411).

After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, the Kingdom of Lysimachus, Seleucid Empire and the Ptolemaic Kingdom have ruled Ainos until its conquest in 196 BC by the Roman Empire. It was then included to the province of Thracia and Via Egnatia was passing 24 kilometers north of Ainos, through its ancient necropolis. Ainos was remained inside the Byzantine Empire after the division of the Roman Empire in 395 and continued to be a very important harbor city, which was also a religious, military and commercial focal point through the Middle Ages under the Byzantine rule. During the Byzantine civil war of 1341-1347,

Ainos was remained loyal to John V Palaiologos and after the defeat of John VI Kantakouzenos by him, the Turkish minority needed evacuate the city and they moved to Izmir in 1344, because of supporting the Kantakouzenos side. In Enez, there are two most significant and still standing Byzantine civil architecture examples. The church of *Hagia Sophia* was constructed in the 12-14th centuries and renamed as Fatih Mosque in 1456. It was partially collapsed and abandoned in 1965 because of a devastating earthquake. A cross-shaped small chapel is located in 370 meters south of the castle, which was converted into a mausoleum dedicated to Has Yunus Bey, who was a leading Ottoman figure during the conquest of *Enos* in 1456 (Başaran and Başaran, 2012, pp. 90-91).

Starting from the second half of the 14th century, a Genoese noble family called Gattilusio left significant traces to the Aegean coasts. Niccolò and Francesco I brothers from Genoa set close relations with John V Palaiologos, who was one of the three claiming imperial successors at that time, other than John VI Kantakouzenos and his son Matthew Kantakouzenos, who were belligerents against John V during another Byzantine civil war of 1352-1357 for the throne. With the support of Gattilusio brothers, John V Palaiologos became the sole ruler in 1354 and Francesco I also married one of his sisters, Maria Palaiologina. In 1355, the island of Lesbos (*Lesbo*) was given to Francesco I as a dowry and he established a lordship there. Niccolò was rewarded with Ainos (*Enos*) by the emperor c. 1376-1379 and the city has become the capital of another Gattilusio lordship. The territories under the control of the family have expanded over time and in addition to the lordship capitals in *Lesbo* and *Enos*, some more territories were occupied for a while; being Phocaea (*Foglia Vecchia*) (1402-1455), Thasos (*Taso*) (1419/34-1455) and Limnos (*Lemno*) (1453-1456) by *Lesbo* and Samothrace (*Samotraccia*) (1431-1456) and Gökçeada (*Imbros*) (1453-1456) by *Enos*. The lordships were both lasted until the mid-15th century and like the Zaccarias (see 3.2.5.5), the Gattilusios were also involved in alum trade and thrived by exporting it to Europe that salt and agricultural products were other main commodities (Luttrell, 1986, p. 110; Miller, 1921, p. 303; Setton, 1976, pp. 110-238). Thanks to its abundant natural resources, the lordship has most probably secured itself by paying heavy tributes to the Ottomans from 1383, after the Thracian conquests of the empire and continued to exist as a feudal principality under the Byzantine suzerainty (Eyice, 1963, p. 144).

It is very important to clarify that although Niccolò and Francesco I brothers were originally Genoese citizens, the lordships that they have founded were not dependent on the authority of the Republic of Genoa and the family had its own diplomatic and commercial connections.

Nevertheless, the Gattilusio integration into the Aegean trade network, predominantly due to alum export has strengthened their relations with other Genoese. The increasing Ottoman threat in the 1450s has triggered a weak union of Gattilusio lordships and the Republic of Genoa that the Genoese notary deeds from 1450s and early 1460s also include the ones for Lesbos (Jacoby, 2016, pp. 164-166; Roccatagliata, 1982; Wright, 2014, pp. 129-172).

The Lordship of *Enos* lasted from c. 1376 to 1456 and during this period the rulers were Niccolò Gattilusio (r. 1376-1409), the grandson of his brother (Francesco I) Palamede Gattilusio (r. 1409-1455) and Palamede's son Dorino II Gattilusio (r. 1455-1456) (Miller, 1921, p. 298). When Palamede Gattilusio died, a conflict has occurred among the throne regents, which was resulted with the end of the lordship in 1456 by Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1541-1481) and *Kaptan-ı Derya* (Captain of the Sea / Grand Admiral) Has Yunus Bey (r. 1455-1459) after the surrender of *Enos* without resistance (Eyice, 1963, pp. 146-148).

Members of the Gattilusio family made several constructions like castle repairs and churches within the family possessions that five slabs from Enez provide information about their constructions in this city (see A.2). Names of some Gattilusio lords of *Enos* and *Lesbo* can be seen on coins minted by them, being 23 types from the period of 6 rulers with different examples, as of 1980 (Lunardi, 1980, pp. 245-276).

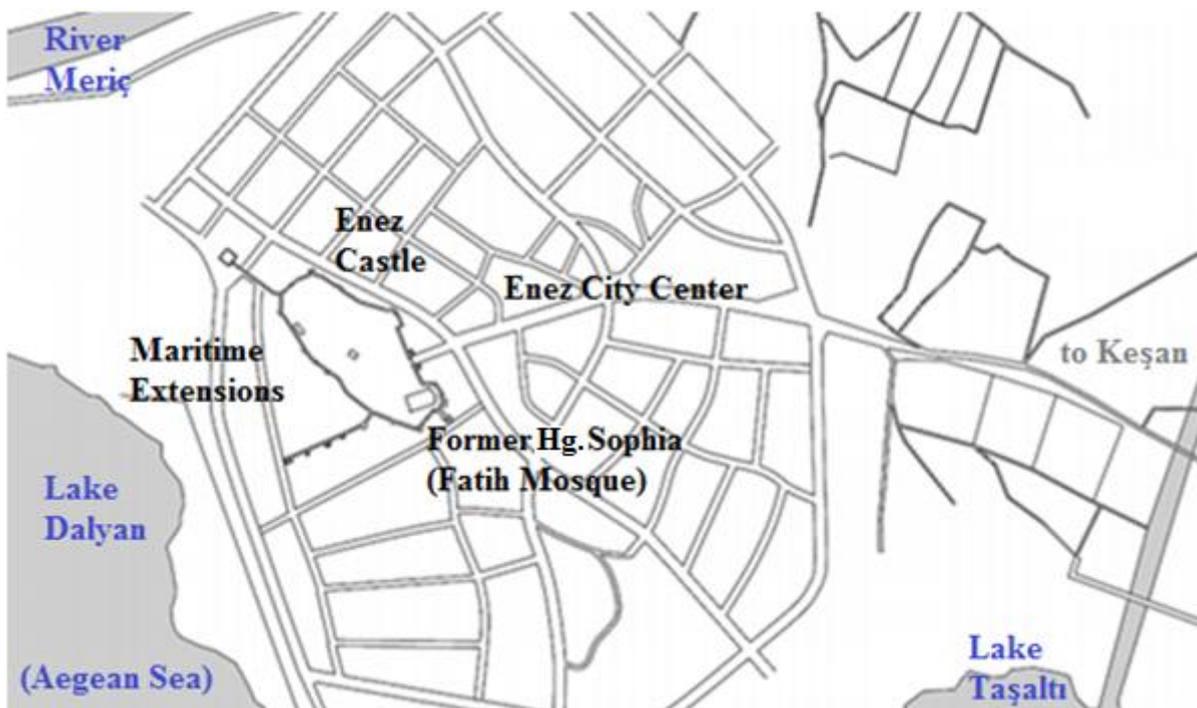


Fig 314: The plan of Enez city center; shown with its most important landmarks
(Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, p. 844)



Fig. 315-316: A denarius example from Francesco I Gattilusio period, which bears "+F·G·DOMINVS" & "+METELINI:" with Palaiologos and Gattilusio coat of arms and a grossetto of Jacopo Gattilusio with the abbreviations of "+IACOBUSGATELUXIVS" & "+IACOB:D:METELINI" with *Agnus Dei* (The Lamb of God) figure and Palaiologos coat of arms, respectively that both coins are from Lesbos (Lunardi, 1980, pp. 247-250)

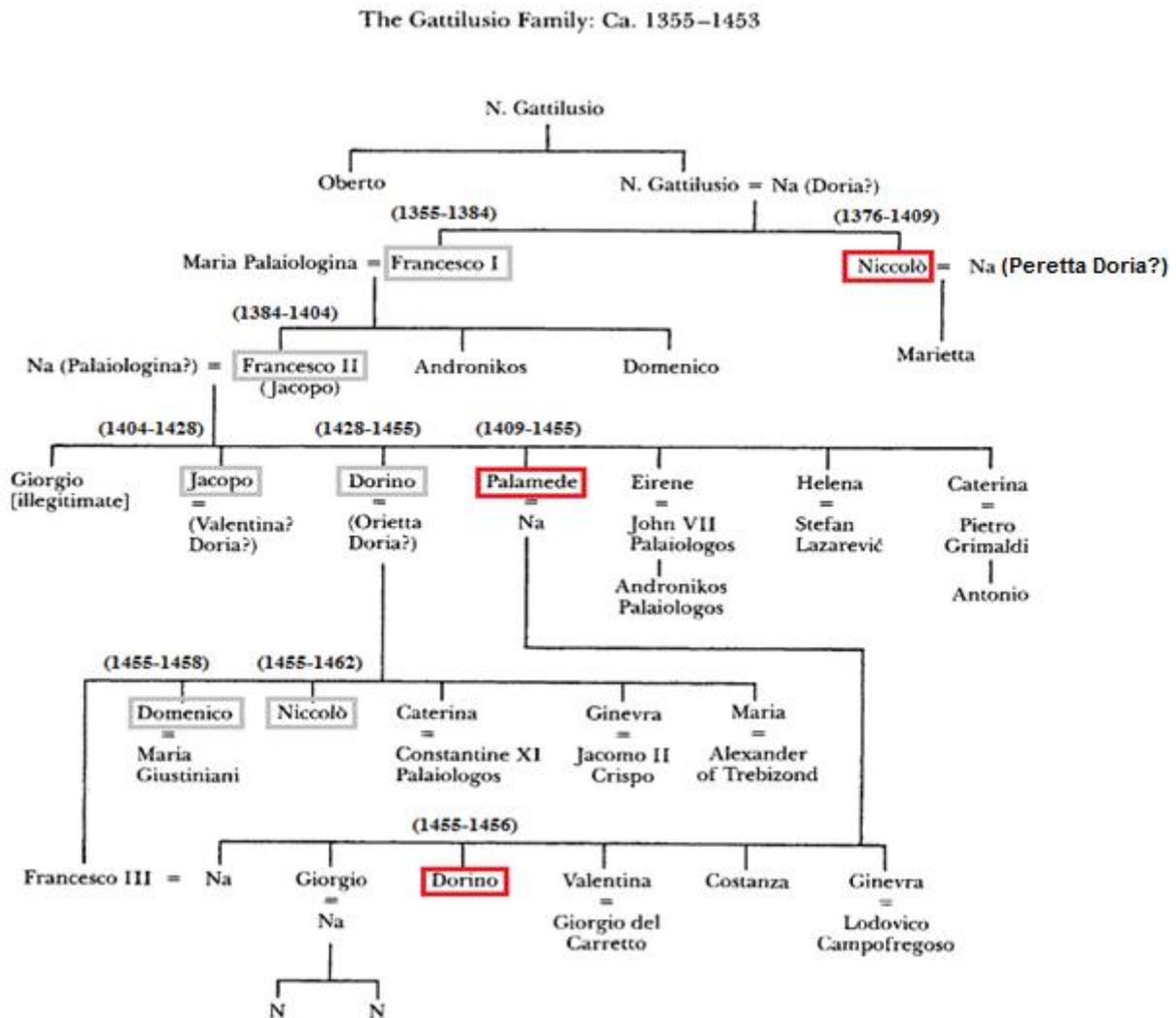


Fig. 317: The family tree of Gattilusio members in the Aegean coasts and their relations with other families that lords of *Lesbo* were marked with grey and lords of *Enos* were marked with red, together with their reigns (after Luttrell, 1986, p. 108)

3.2.2- İskiter Castle in Gökçeada

The island was taken from the Byzantines and added to the Lordship of Ainos in 1453, during the reign of Lord Palamede Gattilusio. The successor Lord Dorino II Gattilusio ruled *Enos* and *Imbros* between 1455-1456 together, until the conquest of *Enos* by the Ottomans and the end of the lordship. During his reign, *Imbros* was ruled by a Greek governor called Ioannes Laskaris Rontakinos, who was formerly the governor of Samothrace and seen by Cyriacus of Ancona in 1444. It is possible to read his name on a monumental marble slab (see A.3) with Gattilusio coat of arms, discovered inside İskiter Castle and dated to 1456 (Conze, 1860, p. 82; Miller, 1921, p. 297; Androudis, 2011, p. 234; Sayar, 1994, pp. 61-65).

İskiter Castle is located in Kaleköy village of Gökçeada island at north. It has a roughly rectangular plan and the main gate is located at east that a secondary gate at west was assumed. The towers of the castle were placed with irregular distances to each other and mainly protecting the land side at south. İskiter Castle was constructed with rubble, roughly hewn stone blocks and mortar that many *spolia* pieces were also used.

The Late Byzantine and Genoese (Gattilusio) times of Gökçeada have brought more importance to the island that the castle possibly belongs to this period. Traces of houses and terrace walls were discovered inside the castle and a marble inscription of good quality from 1442 was discovered on the octagonal southeastern tower, which gives the name of the second to last Byzantine governor of the island, Manouel Asanes Laskaris. This date might indicate the construction or a Late Byzantine restoration to the castle that the work might have continued through 1456 (Conze, 1860, p. 82, Taf. III; Ousterhout and Held, 1996, pp. 55-69). However, the castle might belong to another period and it is also probable that the aforementioned pieces are only indications of suzerainty. Therefore, a more thorough study to the castle is necessary for detecting constructions of different periods and the ones which might be attributed to the short Gattilusio rule on the island.

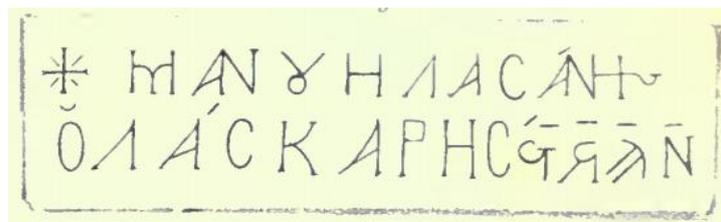


Fig. 318: The inscription on İskiter Castle; "✠ Μανουήλ ὁ Ασάνης | ὁ Λασκάρης. ἔτους ς, ρ ν'", which means: "Manouel Asanes Laskaris. Year 6950 (1442)." (Conze, 1860, p. 82, Pl. III)

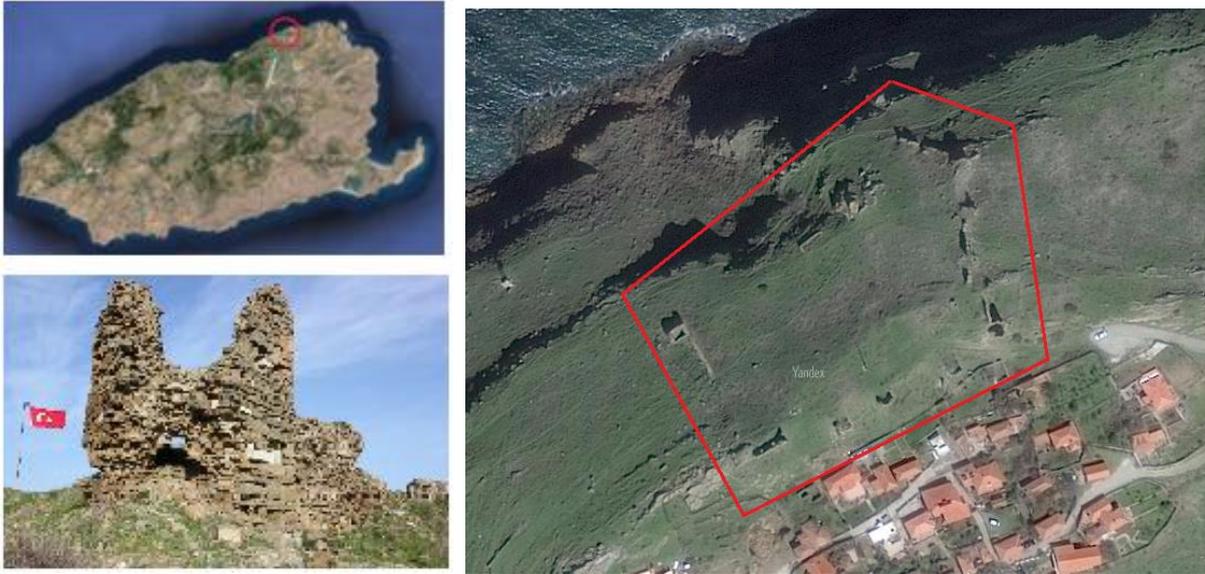


Fig. 319-321: The location and aerial view of İskiter Castle in Gökçeada (Google Maps, 2016; Yandex Maps; 2016) and its ruined octagonal southeastern tower (Çanakkale İli, 2016)

3.2.3- Geyikli, Pordoselene Tower and the Ancient City of Adramytteion in Burhaniye

According to documents from 1384-1409, *Scorpiata* (Geyikli) was a chief Genoese port to export alum extracted there or nearby Genoese mines like Lopadion (Uluabat) and Kyzikos (*Chixico* / Erdek) (Balard, 1978, p. 774; Fleet, 1999, pp. 86-88). Pordoselene Tower of Maden Island (Pyrgos) near Ayvalık was interpreted as a medieval and possibly Genoese building due to its well shaped large blocks similar to Gattilusio structures in Lesbos and brought from somewhere else to the island (Stauber, 1996, p. 225). Being 12 x 12 by floor dimensions with a height of 10-11 m, the solid structure is in a well relation with the Tower of Corci Island in order to defend entrances of Edremit Gulf for Mytilene (see 3.2.4.2). *S(an)c(t)a Ananea* on some Late Middle Ages portolan charts corresponds with it by location (Maphistory, 2017).

Adramytteion is an ancient city which is very often falsely matched with a nearby town called Edremit due to a phonetical similarity. The ruins are actually located inside the city limits of Burhaniye, more precisely in Ören, which is one of its coastal districts. During the foundation of this neighborhood in the 1950s, the archaeologically potential area was heavily damaged due to constructions of modern structures above.

Adramytteion, also called *Landermit(r)i*, *Ladimitri* or *Adramittio* during the late medieval period was promised to the Genoese by Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) after the

Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261, with the concession of having their own trade quarter and civil buildings within. However, there is no resource to indicate that the Genoese have settled down in Adramytteion right after the recapture of Constantinople by the Nicaeans or not.

According to the Byzantine historians Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)²⁶⁵ and Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295-1360)²⁶⁶, a synod was held there in 1284 under the chairmanship of Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) about reconciliation with the followers of Arsenios Autoreianos (r. 1255-59, 1261-65), the deposed Ecumenical Patriarch.

Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)²⁶⁷ states that as of 1307, only the coastal region around Adramytteion was survived from Turkish invasions. The city was once owned by Manuele Zaccaria (d. 1287-88) under the Lordship of Phocaea and bravely defended against intruders. Therefore, it can be supposed that the Genoese period of Adramytteion under the noble Zaccaria family was started during the late 1280s, after the aforementioned synod. Balard (1978, p. 165) claims that conquering Adramytteion was a part of protecting maritime links to Phocaea in relation with the occupation of Smyrna and Chios in 1304 (see 3.2.5.4).

With respect to further accounts from Georgius Pachymeres (c. 1242-1310)²⁶⁸, territories in the east of Adramytteion were entirely occupied and the city was isolated from the empire in 1302-1303. Besides its walls and towers, the city was exposed to enemy like a prey.

It has been stated that following the period when the Battle of Adramytteion was happened in September 1334 in the Gulf of Edremit, the city was taken by the Karasids despite the clear victory of the combined Christian fleet consisted of the Republic of Venice, Knights Hospitaller, Kingdom of Cyprus, Papal States and Kingdom of France, as the landing of Christian forces was prevented (Çoruhlu, 2006, p. 236). The Principality of Karasi was then taken over by the Ottomans in 1361. Hence, the vague Genoese period of Adramytteion was probably ended around 1330s.

The Ottoman city of Burhaniye (formerly Kemer) was founded 4 kilometers inside the coast and the completely abandoned Adramytteion was used as a material resource for new

²⁶⁵ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 83), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book I, Chapter XXXI (A.C. 1284), P. 52.

²⁶⁶ CSHB, Nicephorus Gregoras (1829, p. 162), *Byzantina Historia* (Vol. I), Book VI, Chapter I, A.M. 6791-6836 (A.C. 1282-1328), Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, P. 99.

²⁶⁷ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 558), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book VI, Chapter XXXIV (A.C. 1307), P. 387.

²⁶⁸ CSHB, Georgius Pachymeres (1835, p. 336), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis - Libri Tredecim* (Vol. II), *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Book IV, Chapter XXVI (A.C. 1303), P. 231.

constructions through centuries, until the foundation of Ören in 1950s. The ruins include many Middle and Late Byzantine Period foundations; especially a small church, which was discovered in 2002-2004 (Çoruhlu, 2006, pp. 229-240).

When the following archaeological excavations led by Ass. Prof. H. Murat Özgen (2014, pp. 178-194) have started in 2012, the first chosen site in Ören was the top of the hill on a sharp coastal cliff, with the assumption of unearthing a temple or an acropolis. However, only a warehouse made of mixed stone and marble *spolia*, used until the Late Byzantine Period (c. 13th c.) was found just below the ground level. As the Genoese were chronologically the last owners of the ancient city and had a naval attack from the Venetians in 1296, which was resulted with the pillage of some of their coastal colonies, it can be questioned that the most protected part, which is also close to sea has been used as a secure "*fondaco*" for various commodities in a pragmatic way. There are no archaeological or architectural finds yet to be identified clearly as Genoese. Nevertheless, the ancient city, which is well known with its older periods needs further research on its medieval and Genoese periods.

A yellow basalt slab from Ören and only with a griffon figure was described as "Genoese" by Beksaç and Beksaç (2013, p. 26), which shows no similarity to Genoese slabs by craftsmanship, heraldry and order (see Appendix 1).



Fig. 322: The location of Adramytteion in Ören, Burhaniye (Yandex Maps, 2016)



Fig. 323-324: 13-14th century storage (Adramytteion, 2016) and the basalt slab (Author, 2016)

3.2.4- Çandarlı

3.2.4.1- Çandarlı Castle

Çandarlı (Pitane in ancient times) is a coastal district of Dikili and located on a narrow peninsula looking to south. Around the end of the 13th century, the city was occupied by the Lordship of Phocaea ruled by Manuele Zaccaria (see 3.2.5.4) (Müller-Wiener, 1962, p. 106) and its Genoese period was probably ended in 1340s with the Byzantine recapture of the two *Foglias* by Andronikos III Palaiologos (r. 1328-1341). The location of Çandarlı was marked as "*Stinga(n)*" on several portolan charts from the Late Middle Ages and the Gulf of Çandarlı often named as "*Castro*", most probably due to the castle (Maphistory, 2017).

Çandarlı Castle is a narrow building with an irregular shape and it has five towers, which were connected each other with thick walls. According to Müller-Wiener's (1962, pp. 109-110) analysis, the castle has four main construction periods, where the first one has a rectangular form of a possible Hellenistic period building of reddish andesite that the castle was built on it, and the second one is the main masonry wall structure below, linked with mortar. The last two were carried out by Ottomans in the mid-15th and 19th centuries, with respect to archive sources and the Ottoman inscription on the castle, in addition to architectural findings (Öztürker, 2011, p. 65). Müller-Wiener (1962, pp. 112-113) also states that only guesses are possible for construction periods but it was recognized that after its type and different freestanding forms, the first construction could hardly belong to a period before 13-14th centuries that with its overall appearance, it is a strong reminiscent of tall slender towers on the Italian buildings. Therefore, the historical conditions and the general stresses do not speak against the construction of the building by the Genoese of *Foglia Vecchia* and *Foglia Nuova*. It should also be noted that another Genoese period was started in the area in 1355, centered on Lesbos with a lordship of the same name. Established by Francesco I Gattilusio, it was dissolved following the surrender of Mytilene Castle to the Ottomans after a brief siege in 1462 (Miller, 1921, p. 296).

The castle was added to UNESCO Tentative List of "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" (UNESCO, 2013) (see 4.2).

3.2.4.2- Tower of Corci Island

Corci (Mardaliç / Kız Kulesi) is a small island between Çandarlı and Lesbos. A sole tower is located on its western hilltop with a very dominant sight. Its dimensions are 15 x 15 meters

for floor space and the full height is unclear due to collapses but the recent structure is roughly 15 meters high. Constructed with rubble and various *spolia*, its wall thickness is 3.5 meters. The only opening of the tower is a gate, located 6-7 meters high from the ground and opens to a space covered with four cross vaults below a terrace with battlements. The vaults were collapsed but their main bearing pillar in the center and arches on the interior of side walls are visible. Holes just below vault arches point the existence of a wooden floor. The stairs going up were placed inside walls with a passage form. Arel (1990, pp. 2-3) states that the tower was probably built during the rule of Gattilusio family in the area. After founding a lordship in Lesbos in 1355, which was vassal to the Byzantine imperial family Palaiologos, Francesco I Gattilusio has constructed fortification systems in order to increase the control over the Aegean coasts. As the tower has a strategic position and various Byzantine-period minor findings were also discovered on the island, it is probable that the tower was erected by the Genoese during the Gattilusio rule (Arel, 1990, pp. 2-3). A similar "Gattilusio" tower also exists in Samothrace (Androudīs, 2011, p. 233) and coastal watchtowers (*viglae*) of Chios are well-known. *San Zorzo* on several portolan charts from the Late Middle Ages corresponds with "Corci" (pronounced similar to "*Giorgio*") by location (Maphistory, 2017).

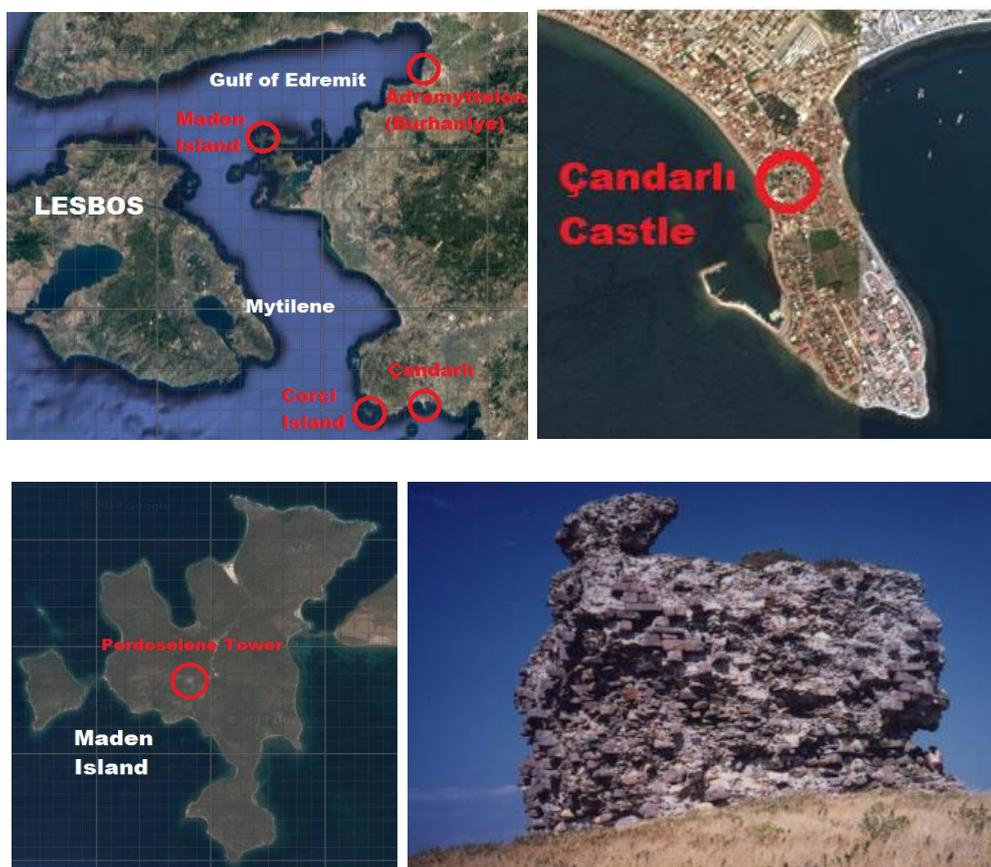


Fig. 325-326: Possibly Genoese Aegean spots and Pordoselene Tower (Google Maps, 2015)

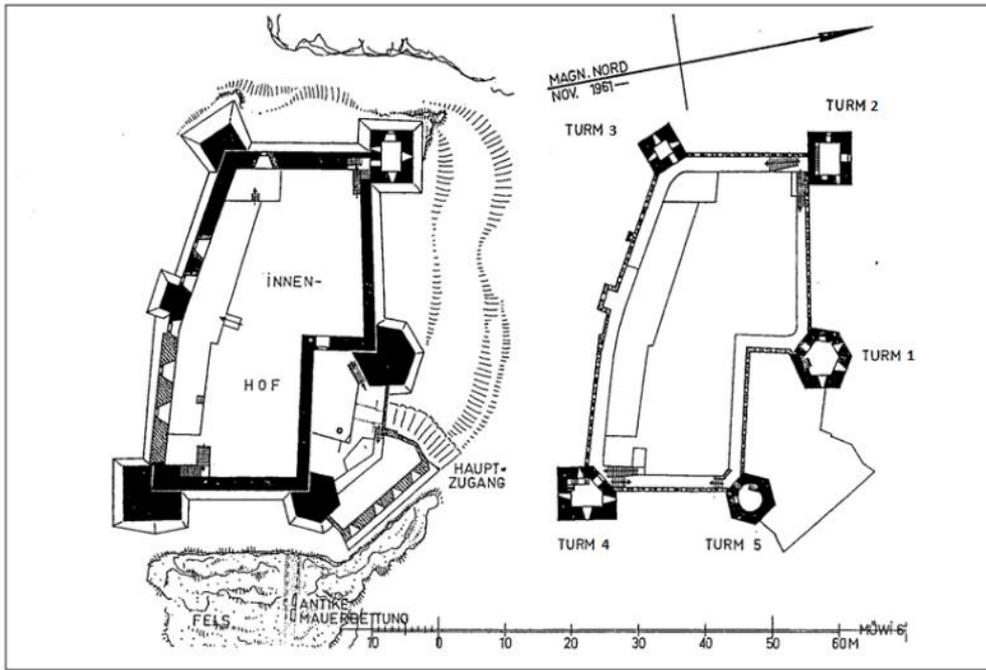


Fig. 327: Floor plans of Çandarlı Castle (Müller-Wiener, 1962, p. 107)

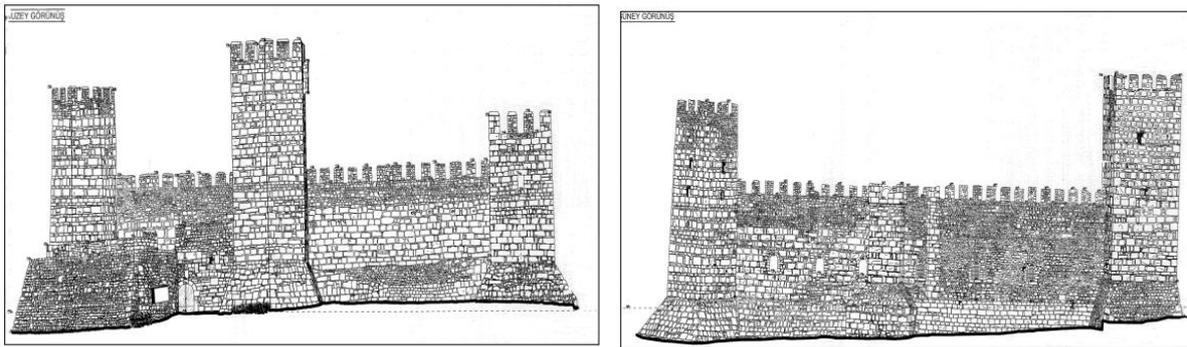


Fig. 328: Northern and southern views of Çandarlı Castle (Öztürker, 2011, pp. 312-313)



Fig. 329-330: The location and plan of Corci tower (Arel, 1990, p. 11; Yandex Maps, 2015)

3.2.5- Foça & Yenifoça

3.2.5.1- Foça Castle

"Beşkapılar Kalesi" (Five Gates Castle) is the main fortress of Foça and located in the historical quarter of the city, also known as "Kaleiçi" (inner part of the fortress). The castle was built on a promontory, which is surrounded by two natural harbors and the bay of Foça. The connection between the castle peninsula and the mainland has a lower level, which is defined by the hypothetical link of small natural harbors' far ends. The castle was once covering the whole peninsula but very few parts of the original structure survived, which are now located in the coastal side. The most authentic part of the recent structure is the Ottoman boathouse section in the center, where denominating five gates are located. Remaining coastal parts were either finely reconstructed (between 2013-2014) or badly restored from their scant foundations (in 1983 and 1993) (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2015). The castle was added to the Tentative List of UNESCO in 2013 with six other settlements in Anatolia as "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" (UNESCO, 2013).

The castle was constructed in 580-590 BC together with Temple of Athena for the first time. The walls were repaired by the Romans in the 1-4th and then in the 5-6th centuries that especially the earthquake of 190 was severely damaged the castle and the temple, which was resulted with a complete rebuild of the latter. The intervention of the Byzantines in the 7-9th centuries set the final repairs before the destructive earthquake of 1040 that very scant remnants of the aforementioned phases have remained as a result. Afterwards, the castle had a major construction by the Byzantines in the 11-12th centuries.

In the beginning of the Byzantine-Venetian War of 1296-1302, the castle was destroyed by a Venetian fleet led by Ruggiero Morosini, who was returning from an attack to Constantinople and Galata. In 1298-1299, remaining fortifications have been strengthened on a large scale during the lordship of Benedetto I Zaccaria, who made a pile of money from alum trade from 1275. The castle had minor repairs around 1336-1360 by the Byzantines but it was almost entirely rebuilt in 1538-1539 by the Ottomans that a marble inscription on the boathouse also commemorates, as follows (Özyiğit, 1995, p. 6; Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 483-491);

"This blessed building was built during the rule of the son of Sultan Selim Shah, the biggest sultan, the master of Arab and Persian rulers, the son of sultan, Sultan Suleiman Shah, may

God makes his state last forever and premises permanent; by the hands of the armorer of Sultan Mustafa, the son of Sultan Suleiman Shah, İskender Ağa, the poor servant (of God).

Year 945 (1538-1539)."

The boathouse was converted into a coastal artillery battery by the Ottomans, possibly in the early 17th century and used against the Venetian fleet during a naval conflict at Foça Bay in 1649, which was a part of the Cretan War (1645-1669) (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 257-258; Sartiaux, 1914). The Venetian fleet bombarded the castle in 1649 and the damages were repaired by the Ottomans in 1671.

The former situation of the castle can be seen in many 18-19th century engravings, where the city consisted of only Kaleiçi Quarter and the whole promontory was encircled by the fortress. Foça Castle was then heavily damaged by the earthquakes of 1709 and 1739 that the former caused major collapses on the eastern section. Buttresses were added by the Ottomans in 1742 for supporting the walls (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, n. d.; Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 495-496). The most of the castle walls were pulled down in 1860, during the extension of the city out of the castle area (Hasluck, 1909, p. 257) and blocks acquired from the demolition were used for the construction of new houses (Sartiaux, 1914).

The head of the most recent restoration works (2012-2014), Prof. Özyiğit states that the restoration team has detected three main and sequent structural layers from different periods; being the one with brown earth mortar for the Byzantines, pink khorasan mortar (consisted of brick material and lime) for the Genoese and white lime mortar for the Ottomans. The Genoese have obtained marble elements of the demolished Temple of Athena and burnt them in kilns to provide lime. Then, they have mixed lime with brick pieces to make pink-colored khorasan mortar that two Genoese lime kilns with abundant remains of burnt marble chips were discovered so far. The middle-sized blocks were obtained from the ruined former periods of the castle and then reused.

The second main construction layer of Foça Castle, detected by the restoration team of Ege University and attributed to the repair of Benedetto I Zaccaria (1298-1299) consisted of two very similar parts. It has been stated in addition to the same local rubble, the used pink-colored khorasan mortar shows two separate characteristics within the same layer that the percentage of mortar additives are big in the first one and relatively small in the second. This difference was indicated with two tones of pink on the analysis, respectively. This difference was coming from the usage of same ingredients by different masters, as mortar was handmade

at that time and naturally shows slight variations (Ö. Özyiğit, personal communication, August 24, 2016).

The research of Sartiaux confirms the wide usage of pink khorasan mortar on the castle that in addition to local limestone blocks, he mentions the usage of marble *spolia* as well, obtained from nearby ancient ruins (Sartiaux, 1914). Hasluck also speaks of an early Doric capital, which was embedded into the northern section of defensive walls (Hasluck, 1909, p. 258). Hereby, different periods of Foça Castle and significant usage of *spolia* for different purposes were put forth by several scholars.

Other evident artifacts from the Genoese period in Foça (*Foglia Vecchia*) apart from the castle structure are two *ex situ* slabs (see A.1.1, A.1.2) with coat of arms, which belong to the governorship of Dorino I Gattilusio (c. 1416-1428). It has been thought that they were once located above the walls of Foça Castle and commemorating suzerainty and a significant work.

Within the most recent restoration of Foça Castle in 2012-2014, led by Prof. Özyiğit with Ege University, the parts identified as Genoese constructions were attributed to the late 13th century (1298-1299), the period of Phocaeen Lord Benedetto I Zaccaria (Municipality of Foça, 2015). However, Foça slabs are dated to the first half of the 15th century, the period of Dorino I Gattilusio, who governed *Foglia Vecchia* between c. 1416-1428 under the rule of Maona. Many similar slabs were discovered, especially in Lesbos with 12 mural and funerary examples but also in Enez, Gökçeada, Samothrace and Thasos with a few mural pieces more, from their Gattilusio periods (Conze, 1860, Taf. III; Hasluck, 1909, pp. 248-269) (see A.2-A.4). It is known that these slabs generally indicate new constructions or repairs to existing structures, with precise dates and sometimes inscriptions too. Therefore, considering the Genoese slabs of Foça, it can be assumed that the castle had further repairs by the Genoese during the governorship of Dorino I Gattilusio, after the ones during the lordship of Benedetto I Zaccaria, again between the main Byzantine and Ottoman epochs of the structure. The year of one of the slabs also falls into sometime within the governorship of Dorino I Gattilusio, being neither its beginning nor the end.

As a first possibility, the small section with the usage of earth mortar, located between the second and third construction layers, which was attributed to the Byzantines and dated to c. 1336-1360 might belong to the repairs of Dorino I Gattilusio. As the financial power of the Byzantines and their suzerainty on Phocaea was not very strong at that time due to the political instability of the empire, caused by many civil wars through the first half of the 14th

century, the area had many handovers but the following Genoese period of Maona was rather wealthy and stable until the Ottoman conquest of 1455. In addition, when the given time period of c. 1336-1360 was considered, the Byzantines were only in possession between 1340-1346 and 1348-1358, within the Lordship of Phocaea and Maona rules (Miller, 1921, p. 296). Yet, assuming that the small section belongs to the period of Dorino I Gattilusio, masters from local Greek population of *Foglia Vecchia* might have been employed by the Genoese for the repair that some constructions of Enez (A.2.3, A.2.5), Samsun (3.4.5) and Samothrace (A.4.13-A.4.15) have examples to this possibility.

Another, and probably the strongest possibility with respect to the detailed structural analysis, the repairs of Dorino I Gattilusio were probably done to other parts of Foça Castle, which were disappeared a long time ago like the upper sections of the remaining parts.

According to Prof. Özyiğit, the usage of earth mortar by the Genoese was not common and Gattilusio slabs of Foça were probably placed on the castle to indicate their suzerainty that no possible structural layers from 1420s were also detected on the original parts of Foça Castle (Ö. Özyiğit, personal communication, July 15, 2016). However, partial repairs to upper, disappeared sections during the period of Dorino I are still a possibility but as the majority of Foça Castle was demolished and disappeared, the subject might continue to remain unknown.

It is already known that Greek builders were employed by Gattilusio family for some of their works in Enez and Samothrace (Wright, 2014, p. 281). Therefore, the Genoese slabs of Foça may still indicate a Gattilusio repair on Foça Castle, which was naturally appeared with a Byzantine masonry style. Probably local Greeks were involved in the work again; a theory also supposed for Enez Castle (see 3.2.1.1). Dates of the aforementioned Enez and Samothrace constructions are also coherent with the Genoese slabs discovered in Foça.

When Dorino I Gattilusio was the lord of Lesbos, he constructed the fortress of Kastro village of Thasos in 1434 according to a slab (A.4.16), which might provide further reference for comparison with the supposed Gattilusio additions to Foça Castle. Gattilusio period masonry of Mytilene Castle from the 14-15th centuries, which were studied by Kalakallas (2014) in detail can be another example as well.

It should also be mentioned that no possible Zaccaria period additions during the rule of the Lordship of Chios (1304-1329) were mentioned for Chios Castle, which is originally a Byzantine fortress from the late 10th century. After some Venetian additions in the early 13th

century, the earliest Genoese intervention to the fortress dates back to 1405 with respect to a mural slab (A.10.1), which falls into the Maona rule (1346-1566) and the castle then had further alterations through the 16th century by the Genoese (Hasluck, 1910, pp. 140-147). When compared with the family lordships of Gattilusio, which were having closer relations with the Byzantine Empire, Chios appears with a slightly different political context as a colonial territory of the Republic of Genoa, under the administration of Maona, formed by collective Giustiniani family. The fortresses of Foça, Mytilene and Chios have discrete historical backgrounds during their Genoese periods, despite being located relatively close to each other. However, tower houses can be seen in all three settlements, which were claimed to have Genoese roots (see 3.2.5.5), so Chios Castle can also be a reference point to Foça Castle with its early 15th century Maona and possible early 14th century Zaccaria period additions.

3.2.5.2- Yenifoça Castle

A castle has also existed in Yenifoça and it was presumably built during the establishment of *Foglia Nuova* by the Zaccarias in the late 13th or early 14th century for operating mines and trading the obtained alum. Piri Reis (d. 1553) states that ships were not able to anchor near Yenifoça Castle due to its shallow shores and they were preferring a cape just at north. He also mentions that the settlement was founded by the Genoese for commercial reasons (Piri Reis, 1973, p. 249). The castle was depicted by Cornelius de Brujin in 1714, where its coastal fortifications are visible. According to Müller-Wiener's reconstruction (1975, pp. 399-420), the castle was having a rectangular shape and strengthened with bastions. It was also encircling the city like *Foglia Vecchia*. However, the castle was demolished in an unknown period and very few parts of it survived by 1976 (Yılmaz, 1991, p. 65). In recent times, the castle seems like entirely disappeared, as no possible part of it was detected as of 2016. Müller-Wiener's reconstruction is visible on the city by three main streets and the coastline as perimeters; two more streets inside as main axes, which intersect in the center, where a more dense urban pattern exists but nothing more.

3.2.5.3- Tower Houses

A unique building typology in the Aegean coasts is tower houses that Foça, especially its Kartdere village and Yenifoça have the most numerous and recent examples, being approximately 200 years old. It is possible to find some tower houses also in Çeşme, Çandarlı and Enez (see 3.2.1.1). Their main characteristics are having rectangular and relatively small floor space dimensions but a taller height, strong masonry structure for providing security,

narrow windows and plain façades; like a residential tower. There are three main types of tower houses in the western parts of Asia Minor; the ones located inside vast agricultural plots to secure these areas and owned by noble families, the ones located closer to shores and built in this way to resist pirate attacks from sea and the ones located inside cities (Yıldırım, 1999, pp. 32-37).

Speaking generally, tower houses of Foça and Yenifoça are not located very close to each other but still in relation to communicate in case of emergency through their terraces and the priority of their architectural design is defense. Their elevated ground floors do not have any doors or windows, accessible from first floors and used as a storage area to survive during short sieges. Minimum spaces were preferred and each floor consisted of one single room without any separation walls. First floor is used as a living space and the house is accessible from here with the help of a wooden ladder or a drawbridge. A second floor or mezzanine was used as bedroom and the terrace of flat ceiling was generally used for observing, which was covered with parapets. Some terrace parapets also have portholes for a more secure lookout. Rubble, roughly shaped ashlar and sometimes even *spolia* were used for bearing walls and finely finished blocks were preferred at corners. Door and window frames were made of single stone blocks and the space under their arches were sometimes decorated with bricks. Mortar was used to link stone materials and the façades were left uncovered. As potential threats were reduced through centuries, the typical function of ground floor transformed into the first floor's but the tower form was kept. Mainly used by the Greek minority within the Ottoman Empire, their names were "*pyrgos*" in Greek and "*kule*" in Turkish languages that both of these words mean "tower" (Arel, 1993, pp. 37-40; Yıldırım, 1999, pp. 32-37).

Although tower houses of Foça and Yenifoça were built during the last two centuries, there are several noteworthy theories for their architectural roots. This type of houses preferred in the classical antiquity and the Middle Ages in Europe by landowners that Strabo (64 BC - AD 24) named them "*katokia*". The study of Weaver (1971, pp. 253-266) links them with similar ones in Balkans and claims that they are a continuity of the Byzantine domestic architecture. On the other side, detailed investigations of Müller-Wiener (1975, p. 399-420) and Arel (1993, pp. 37-40) argue that tower houses in Foça and Yenifoça could have Genoese roots. It is possible to detect the most similar examples of this typology exactly in the former Genoese possessions in the western coasts of Asia Minor (Foça, Yenifoça, Çeşme, Çandarlı) and the Aegean islands (Lesbos, Chios). They were all built with the concept of security, possibly designed against potential loots by the Turks or the Venetians, as their noble owners would

have involved in commercial activities (Arel, 1990, pp. 1-24; Arel, 1992, p. 235; Arel, 1993, pp. 37-40). Quoting from the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras, Eyice (1969, p. 12) states that the Genoese have once constructed tall, fortified houses also in Galata in the early 14th century, before linking and converting them into city walls with towers (see 2.4.1).

The detailed study of Smith (1962) on Chian houses proves strongly possible Genoese effects on them like bicolored stripes and arches, Lombard bands and ornamental consoles that the best examples from the 15-16th centuries can be found in Kampos but it is possible to detect some of these architectural details in Foça and Yenifoça tower houses as well. However, Smith (1962) could not detect a typical tower house but potential lower parts of them in Chios, which were dated to 15-16th centuries by him. Also Giustiniani Palace in Chios (*Palataki Ioustiniani*) shows clear similarities to this architecture, which is in fact a part of Chios fortifications surrounding the town and had alterations in later periods. A defensive relationship between famous freestanding and coastal Genoese watchtowers (*viglae*) of Chios (24 in total) (Ierapetritis, 2013, p. 232) and possible tower houses of the island might also be set by position to link the main purposes of these fortified structures to each other.

This architectural typology, which was supposed to be Genoese continued especially by Chian masons even after the Ottoman conquest of these areas. Having similar geographical and environmental conditions also could be a reason that there were naturally more interactions with sea transportation between the coastal parts of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands rather than the central Anatolia. For this moment, proving the Genoese origins of tower houses in the coastal parts of Asia Minor, especially in Foça and Yenifoça without any doubts seems not likely but there are logical bases with historical and architectural evidences for this argument (Arel, 1990, pp. 1-24; Arel, 1992, p. 235; Arel, 1993, pp. 37-40).

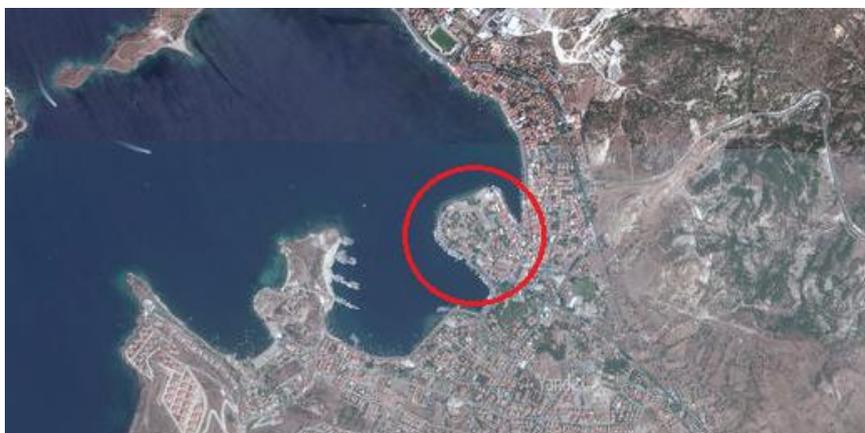


Fig. 331: The location of Foça Castle in the city of Foça (Yandex Maps, 2015)



Fig. 332: Existing and demolished parts of Foça Beşkapılar Castle that its northern walls were restored in 2014, the boathouse part was restored in 1983 and only the southern tower was restored in 1993 (Author, 2015, after Efthimiadis and Mazarakis, 2008, pp. 143-144)



Fig. 333-334: Marble Ottoman inscription above the five gates of the boathouse, dated to 1538-1539 (Author, 2016) and a comparison of 1993 and 2014 restorations to the Ottoman towers (Radikal, 2015)

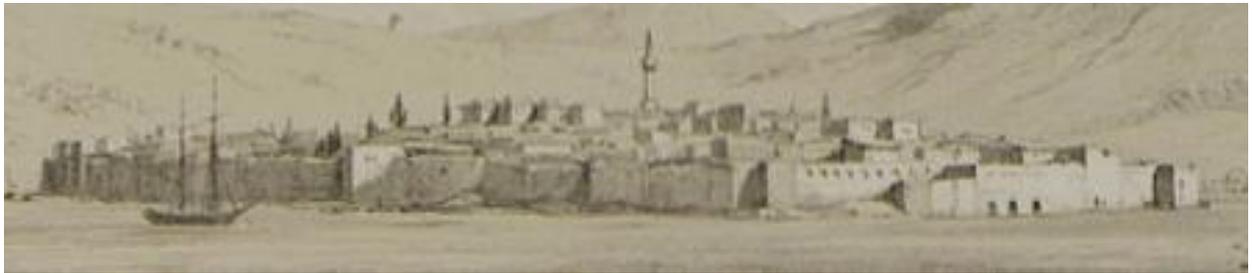


Fig. 335-336: Foça Castle in 1714 from the mainland (de Bruijn, 1714) and in 1838 from the gulf (Laborde, 1838)

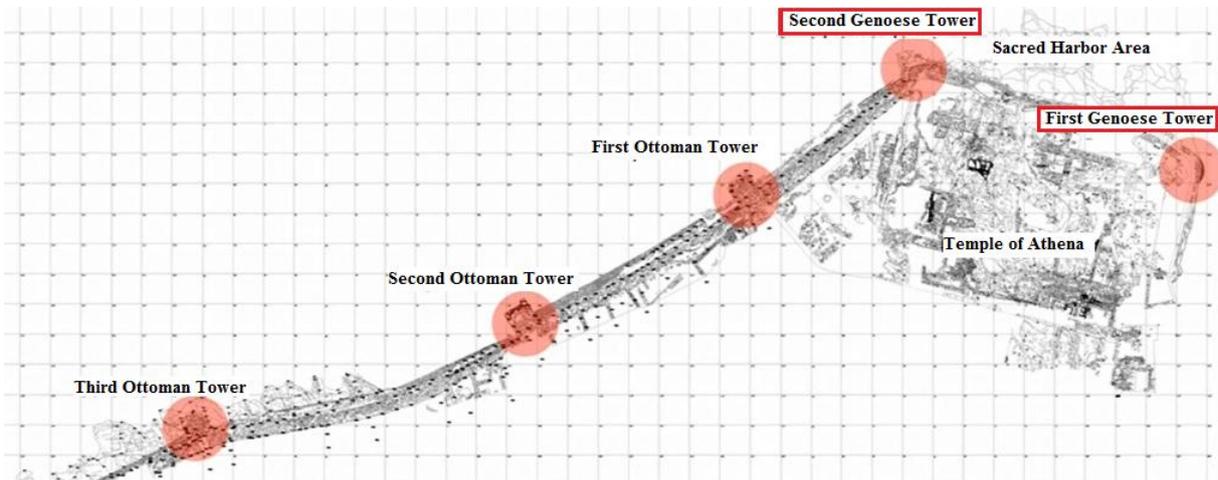


Fig 337: Plan of the restored towers in 2014 (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)

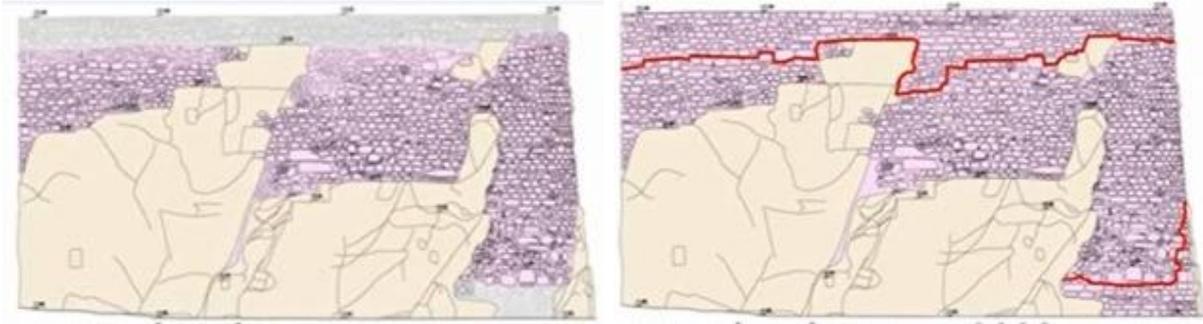


Fig 338: The part until the 1st Genoese tower, before and after the most recent restoration of 2014, led by Prof. Özyiğit with Ege University (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)

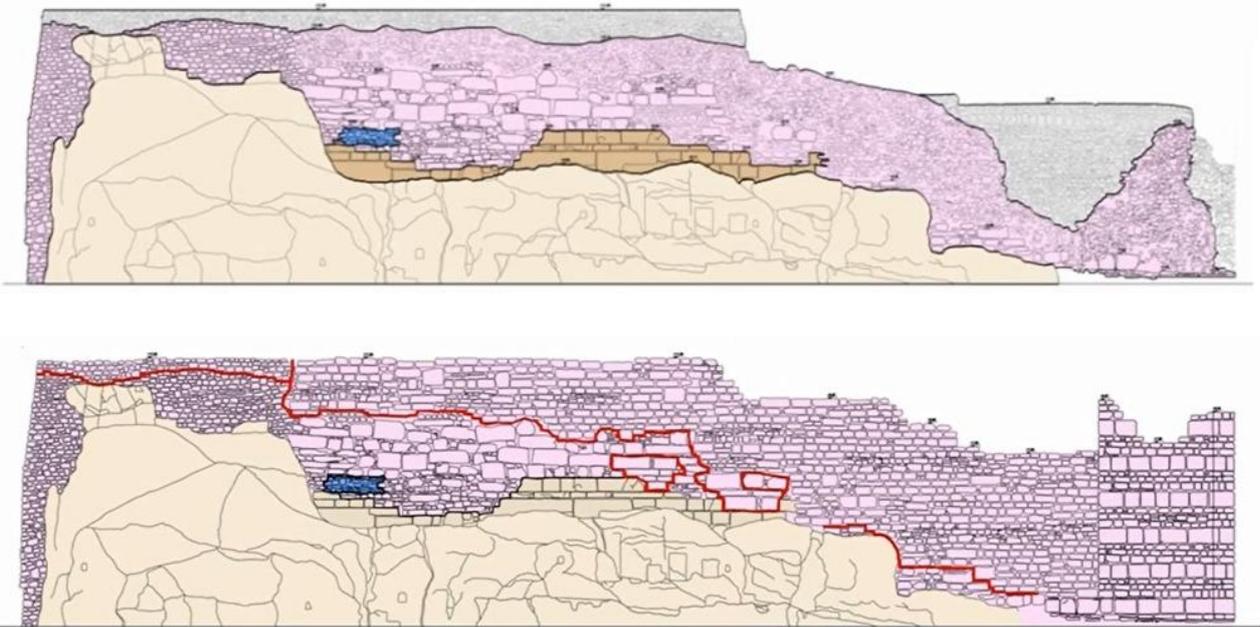


Fig 339: The part between the 1st and 2nd Genoese towers, before and after the restoration of 2014 (**Light Brown**: Bedrock; **Dark Brown**: Archaic, 580-590 BC; **Pink**: Genoese, 1298-1299, pink khorasan mortar; **Dark Blue**: Ottoman, 1538-1539, lime mortar; **Light Grey**: Modern walls) (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)

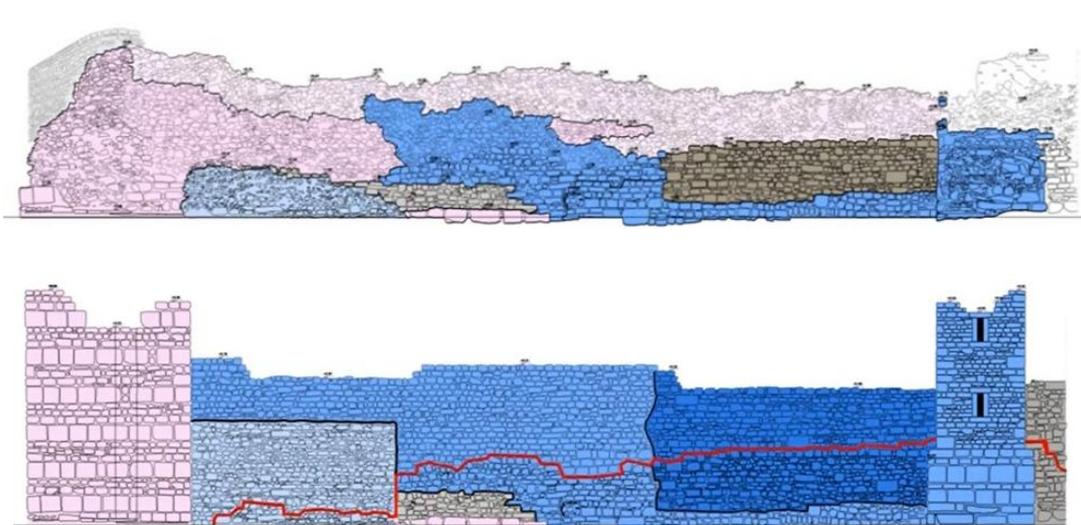


Fig 340: The part between the 2nd Genoese tower and the 1st Ottoman tower, before and after the restoration of 2014 (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)

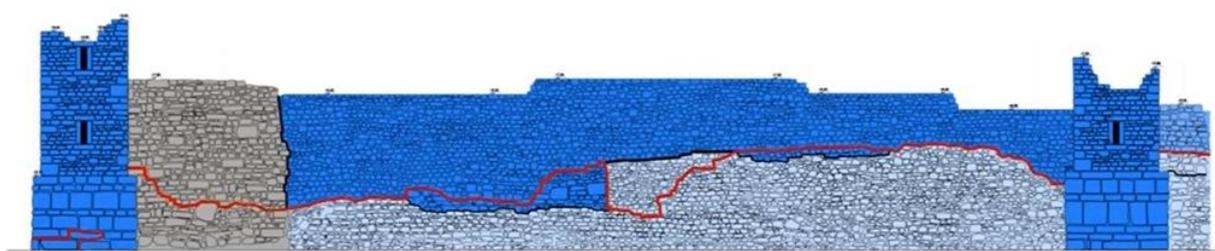


Fig 341: The part between the 1st and 2nd Ottoman towers, after the restoration of 2014 that the analysis of the former situation could not be obtained (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)

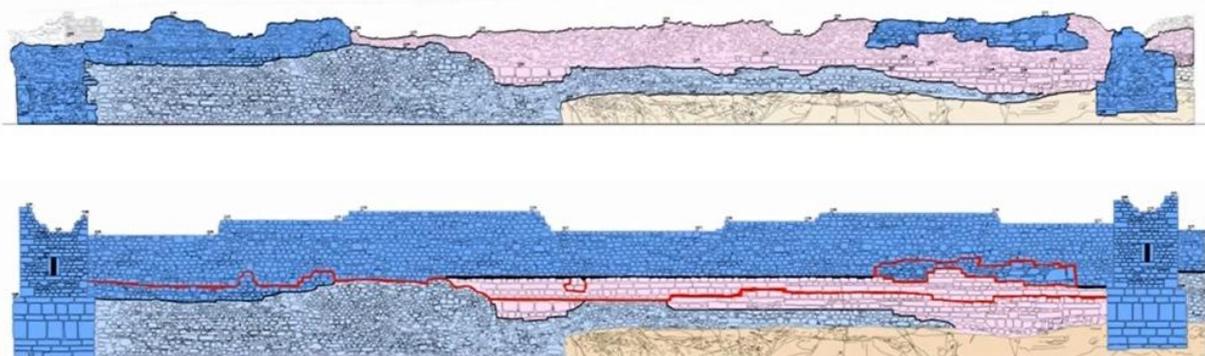


Fig. 342: The part between the 2nd and 3rd Ottoman towers, before and after the restoration of 2014 (**Light Brown**: Bedrock; **Dark Brown**: Archaic, 580-590 BC; **Middle Grey**: Byzantine, 11-12th c.; **Pink**: Genoese, 1298-1299, pink khorasan m.; **Light Grey**: Byzantine, 1336-1360 (?), earth m.; **Dark Blue**: Ottoman, 1538-1539, lime m.; **Dark Grey**: Ottoman, 1671, earth mortar; **Light Blue**: Ottoman, 1742, lime m.) (Özyiğit, 2012, pp. 499-501)



Fig. 343-345: Two kilns just behind the Genoese towers with extracted small marble pieces inside and around them, which were obtained by breaking ancient pieces for making lime (Author, 2016)



Fig. 346: The first Genoese tower resembles the most authentic Genoese tower masonry on the coastal section, which is located between the lower and upper reconstructed parts with a slightly lighter color, also separated with light red curbstones (Author, 2016)



Fig. 347-350: The Genoese masonry of the sections; between the 1st and 2nd Genoese towers, behind the 2nd Genoese tower and the 1st Ottoman tower, between the 2nd and 3rd Ottoman towers and after the 3rd Ottoman tower through the boathouse (Author, 2016)



Fig. 351: Yenifoça Castle in 1714 (de Bruijn, 1714)

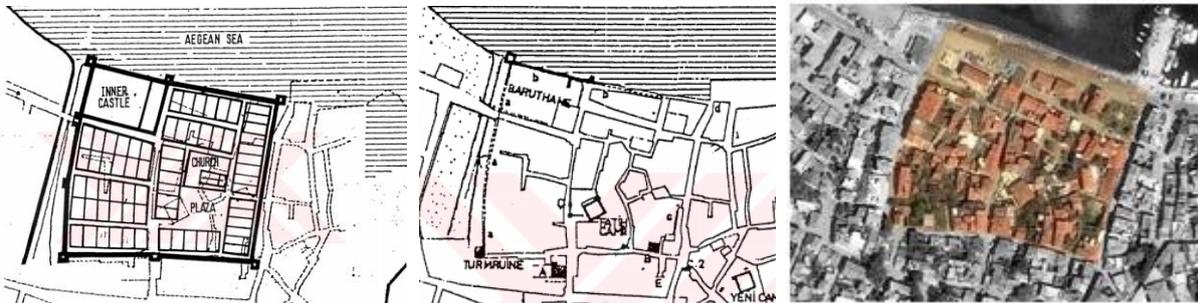


Fig. 352-354: Yenifoça Castle according to Müller-Wiener, its plot with minor remnants in 1975 (Müller-Wiener, 1975, pp. 412, 418), and the castle area nowadays (Author, 2015 after Yandex Maps, 2015)

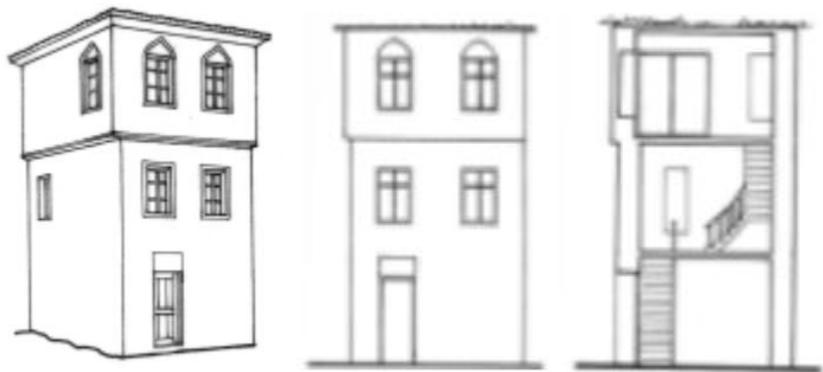
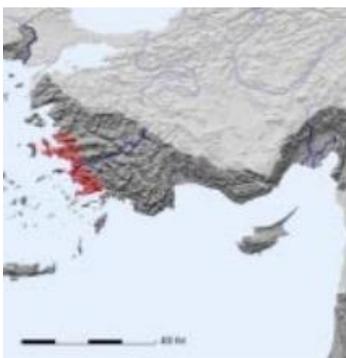


Fig. 355-356: Main location of tower houses in Asia Minor and an example from Çeşme (Euromed Heritage, 2015)

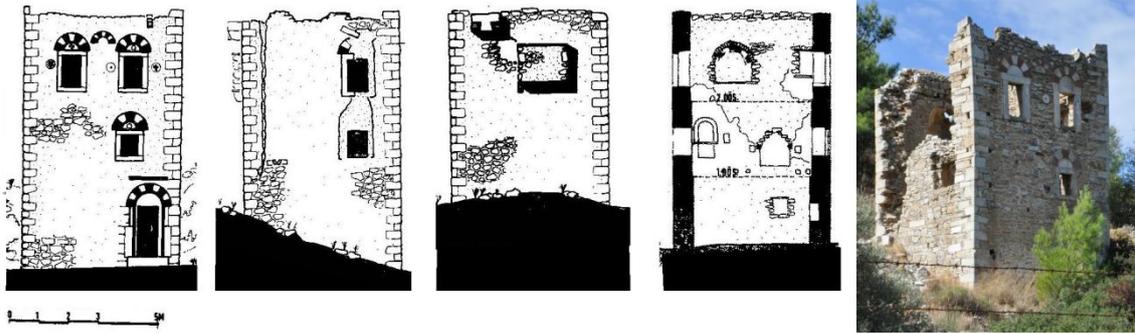


Fig: 357-358: A tower house from Kartdere, Foça (Arel, 1989, pp. 54-57; Haberciniz, 2015)

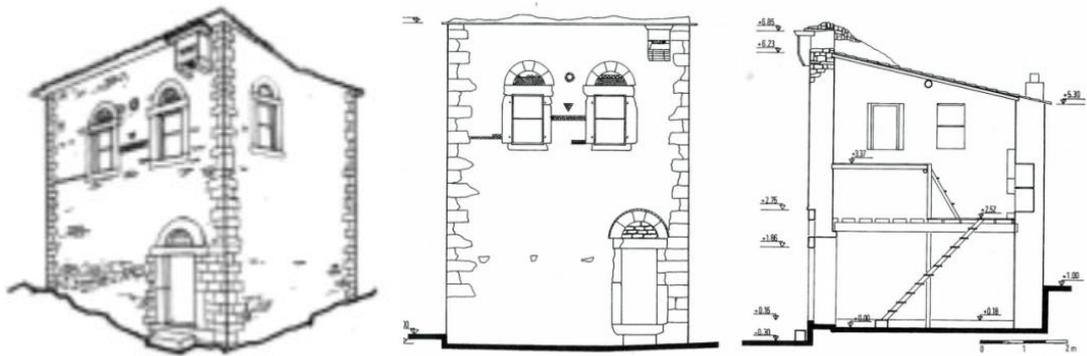


Fig. 359: Another tower house from Kartdere, Foça (Euromed Heritage, 2015; Yıldırım, 1999)



Fig. 360-361: A tower house from Lesbos and Giustiniani Palace in Chios town (Arel, 1989, p. 65; Author, 2016)

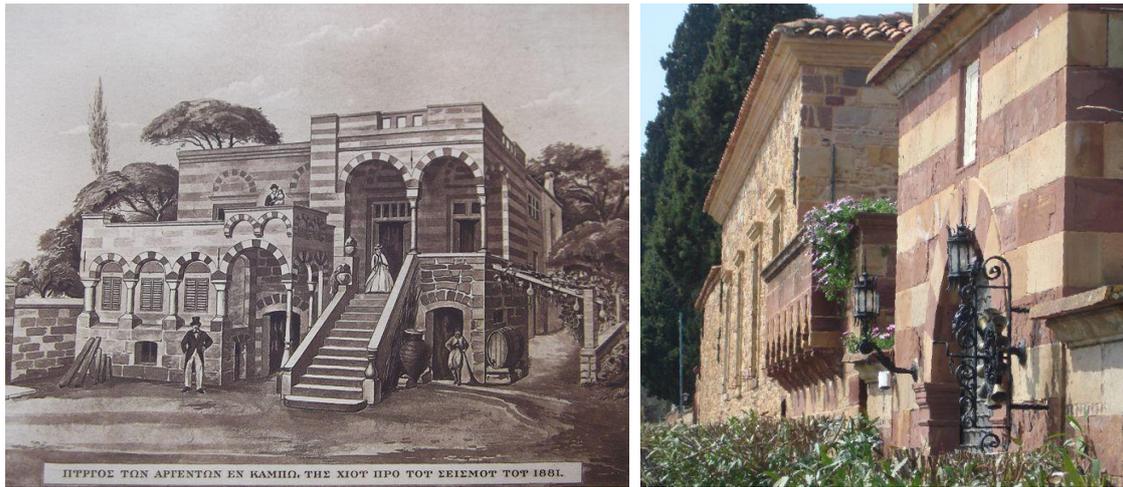


Fig 362-363: Argenti Estate in Kambos, built in the 16th century by the Genoese (Argenti, 1922, p. 220; Argentikon, 2015)

3.2.5.4- History of Foça & Yenifoça and Their Genoese Periods

Foça and Yenifoça are two towns of Izmir in the western coast of Anatolia with an approximate distance of 20 kilometers to each other that the former is the most ancient city of the area and the latter was founded by the Genoese in the late 13th century as a colonial settlement for commercial purposes.

Foça was established as Phocaea in the 11th century BC by the Aeolians and the Ionians were started to settle there in the 9th century BC. The name of the settlement comes from the Mediterranean seals (*Fok*) in the area. Phocaeans were experienced in seamanship and with the help of their naval and engineering skills, they have established many colonies in the Aegean, Mediterranean and Black seas that Massalia (Marseille) was one of the most significant one, founded around 600 BC. Phocaeans were involved with floating trade and it helped them to thrive over time. In the Archaic period, the city was extending outside the Phocaean peninsula until the hills and surrounded by formidable city walls that a few sections of them were unearthed. The Temple of Athena with a sacred area in front and the Temple of Cybele are other important monuments of Phocaea, both dated to the 6th century BC. It was the first Ionian settlement, which was destroyed by the Median general Harpagus in 546 BC and this incident set an end bright period of the city that Phocaea was then largely abandoned. The Medians were succeeded by the Achaemenids and the Persian occupation on Phocaea was continued for almost two centuries. "*Taş Kule*" (The Stone Tower) is a Persian

monumental tomb and erected to commemorate the Median conquest of Phocaea, which is the sole structure remained from the Persians in the region.

When Alexander the Great has defeated the Achaemenids in a series of decisive battles during 330s BC, a new era was started for Phocaea. The lands conquered by Alexander the Great were divided between four rival generals after his death and Phocaea had consecutive Seleucid and Attalid rules within the Hellenistic period, until the bequeathing of the Kingdom of Pergamon to the Roman Empire in 133 BC. The ancient theatre and famous rock tombs of Foça, called "*Şeytan Hamamı*" (Devil's Bath) were remained from the 4th century BC.

During the Roman period, Phocaea was declared as a free city during the reign of Pompey the Great (r. 52-51 BC) and continued its commercial importance, related with the sea trade and fishing. Becoming an Episcopal center in the Early Christianity, the city was then remained inside the Byzantine Empire, after the division of the Roman Empire in 395 and continued its religious importance. It is also known that the concession of using the harbor of Phocaea was given to the Venetians in 1082 by Alexios I Komnenos. A sumptuous villa and many large and small archaeological artifacts form the Roman heritage of Foça. The most significant Roman and Byzantine constructions to the city were repairs on the castle structure on top of each other that the city was gradually shrunk inside the peninsula through the 13th century (Governorship of Foça, 2015; Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2015).

Manuele and Benedetto I brothers from noble Zaccaria family were sent from Genoa to Constantinople in 1264 for negotiations and although they were not able to succeed at that time, they set close personal relations with the Michael VIII Palaiologos. Their second trip to Constantinople in 1275 were much fruitful. In addition to the marriage of Benedetto I with one of the emperor's sisters, Phocaea (also called as *Foglia Vecchia* or *Foceia*) was granted to Manuele in the same year; a city which was very rich in alum mines (Miller, 1921, pp. 84-85).

The elder brother Manuele became the first ruler of the Lordship of Phocaea and settled to the city with his family. He started to process the nearby alum mines with 50 employee and also strengthened fortifications of the city by restoring the existing defensive walls (see 3.4.6). His more adventurous brother Benedetto I continued his exploration, diplomatic and military duties in the Mediterranean Sea, both for the Genoese and Byzantines. After the death of Manuele in 1288, Benedetto I became the new lord of Phocaea but left his position to his nephew Benedetto II in 1304. In the same year, Benedetto I captured the island of Chios and established the Lordship of Chios, a state which was vassal to the Byzantine Empire. His

excuse was to prevent a possible Turkish conquest of the island by protecting it for the Byzantines but although the Andronikos II Palaiologos was not satisfied with this situation, he accepted the result, as the empire was very weak in military at that time. A ten-year lease agreement was made for the island with recurring extensions for five more years (Ersan, 2000, pp. 55-62; Miller, 1921, pp. 284-285; Nicol, 1993, p. 113; Wright, 2014, pp. 34-37).

Benedetto I died in 1307 and his son Paleologo Zaccaria became the new lord of Chios. The island was very fertile due to the mastic production and Zaccaria family made a huge profit from it, in addition to alum. In the end of the 13th century, a new fortified settlement called *Foglia Nuova* (Yenifoça) was founded closer to the alum production site, in the northern part of *Foglia Vecchia* and according to Ramon Muntaner, 3000 Greeks were employed in alum industry there by 1307 (Miller, 1921, pp. 284-285; Nicol, 1993, p. 143).

During this period, for example in 1298, the annual alum production was approximately 37 tons in the two *Foglias*. Then, it soared to 790 tons in the 14th century that alum was a very valuable raw material, which was primarily used in textile and leather industries for dyeing and tanning purposes (Ersan, 2000, pp. 55-62). Alum from the two *Foglias* were brought to Chios in the beginning and exported to the rest of Europe together with mastic products afterwards. Zaccarias were paying an annual tribute to the Byzantine Empire for the right of using alum mines but these fertile lands might have been compensating costs easily with their profits (Nicol, 1993, p. 172). Another significant commodity of the area was grain that very high amounts of it were exported from *Foglia Vecchia* to Genoa in the 13-14th centuries (Çavuşdere, 2009, pp. 284-285). Closer and suitable harbors nearby for loading and unloading goods were making transportation expenses even less (Piri Reis, 1973, p. 249).

Tedisio Zaccaria, the son of Manuel and governor of Phocaea between 1302-1307 had a conflict with Benedetto II and allied with Ramon Muntaner, who sacked *Foglia Vecchia* in 1307 and took the famous "Zaccaria Cross" as a war booty. Being a Byzantine artifact from the late 13th century, it was acquired from Smyrna. The cross has returned to Genoa in 1466 and now on display in the cathedral of *San Lorenzo* (Miller, 1921, p. 501; Ross, 1962, p. 28).

After the conflict with Benedetto II, Tedisio escaped to Thasos and seized the island. He established his own lordship in 1307 but the island was returned to the Byzantine hands in 1313. Benedetto II Zaccaria replaced him with his own father (Nicolino Zaccaria) for the governorship position. Zaccarias had the control of the two *Foglias* until 1314 and it was passed to Cattaneo della Volta family afterwards. The lordship was ruled by Andriolo

Cattaneo della Volta between 1314-1331, who was formerly the governor (r. 1307-1314). The Lordship of Chios existed until 1329, when it was recaptured by Andronikos III Palaiologos. Its final co-rulers were Martino Zaccaria (r. 1314-1329) and Benedetto II Zaccaria (r. 1314-1325) that the latter was the lord of the two *Foglias* before the Cattaneo della Volta takeover. Kos was occupied from the Byzantines for a short period (c. 1320) by Martino and he was also the commander of *San Pietro* Castle in Smyrna at that time. On the other side, Lordship of Phocaea was ended in 1340 by Andronikos III Palaiologos that he wanted to halt the uncontrolled and dangerous Genoese expansion in the Aegean coasts. Domenico Cattaneo della Volta seized Lesbos between 1335-1336, who was the last lord of the two *Foglias* (r. 1331-1340) and his uncle Arrigo Tartaro was the last governor. *Foglia Vecchia* and *Foglia Nuova* appear on historical portolan charts (i.e. 1339, 1380, 1447 and 1489) as a Genoese possession. The area was marked with a Genoese flag and another flag with blue and white stripes just below, which may indicate the Cattaneo della Volta rule, as their coat of arms also has this pattern. There is a historical inconsistency between Cattaneo della Volta rule on Phocaeas and the dates of some portolan charts. Two probable reasons of this situation might be repeated information from older maps without updating or the continuity of dominant commercial or administrative activities of Cattaneo della Volta family even after the end of the lordship. They have minted a variety of coins during their reign that 7 examples from Foça bear their names as lords (Linardi, 1980, pp. 129-132). Yet, all these incidents did not set an end for the Genoese in the two *Foglias*, Chios and other parts of the Aegean coasts (Miller, 1921, pp. 283-298; Nicol, 1993, pp. 171-172).

Byzantine rule over the two *Foglias* (recaptured in 1340) and Chios (recaptured in 1329) lasted only until 1346. Then, another Genoese possession was established when the Byzantine civil war was happening (1341-1347) during the reign of John V Palaiologos. At the same time, there was another conflict between the Republic of Genoa and the noble Grimaldi family. In order to prevent a possible subvert to Genoa by Grimaldis, the 2nd doge of the republic Giovanni I di Murta prepared a fleet in 1346, which was consisted of 29 private war galleys under the command of admiral Simone Vignoso and ordered an attack to Monaco, where the rebels reside. Unexpectedly, Grimaldis refused to engage and fled, so the fleet freed from its main task and returned to Genoa. The doge then decided to send the fleet to the Black Sea for assisting colonies at Crimea, which were under the threat of Golden Horde. When the fleet was on its way, Simone Vignoso decided to change the route to the former colonies of the two *Foglias* and Chios, and capture them before Smyrniote crusaders, as he learnt that

they were in preparation for another attack to these areas. The fleet captured Chios in 13 September and the two *Foglias* in 20 September 1346. After securing these new possessions, the fleet returned to Genoa in 9 November with victory but also great combat expenses, so private owners of galleys were demanding to compensate their costs. However, the Republic of Genoa was not having sufficient funds for these extra expenditures at that time, so a special organization called "Maona" was established (Epstein, 2001, pp. 209-210).

3.2.5.5- Maona

Maona of Chios and the two *Foglias* (*Maona di Chio e di Focea*) was a company, based on shared partnership. As the Republic of Genoa was not able to pay the expenditures of galley owners, the doge proposed giving the administration of new conquests to them for twenty years, in exchange for an annual tax to Genoa and this agreement could be recurring if both sides agree upon. On the other side, galley owners were having the right of making profit by operating mastic and alum resources at Chios and the two *Foglias* for themselves. These possessions were considered as Genoese territories and trading partners, formed by Genoese galley owners, who have set a republican governmental system there. In the meantime, to secure their sovereignty, Maona was also paying tributes to Byzantines, Ottomans, Sarukhanids, etc. in different periods or at the same time, considering whoever was stronger and a potential threat. In 1362, when remained 12 shareholders at that time were making an agreement with doge Simone Boccanegra for a twelve-year extension, they abandoned their family names and collectively formed the "Giustiniani" family, as if were coming from the same ancestry (see A.10.1-A.10.3). Maona briefly possessed the two *Foglias* between 1346-1348 and then, they were restored by the Byzantines; which lasted between 1348-1358 for *Foglia Vecchia* and 1348-1351 for *Foglia Nuova*. Later on, Maona took charge once again; from 1358 for the former and 1351 for the latter, until 1455 (Hattendorf and Unger, 2003, p. 140; Miller, 1921, pp. 303-304; Örenç, 2009, pp. 6-10). During this period, Maona survived its possessions (*Foglia Vecchia*, *Foglia Nuova* and Chios) from devastating campaigns of Timur in Anatolia by paying ransom in 1403 (Bernardini, 2017, pp. 113-114).

The *Podestà* of Maona in *Foglia Nuova*, Giovanni Adorno and his successor Percivalle Pallavicini have helped the Ottoman Sultan Murad II against a bloody rebellion, almost a civil war led by his uncle Mustafa Çelebi (*Düzmece Mustafa* / Impostor Mustafa) in 1422, in return for writing off his debts from the alum mines of Manisa. With the help of significant Genoese support, consisted of a small navy for crossing the Dardanelles and 4000 armored soldiers,

Murad II succeeded and killed his uncle but in addition to deleting the debts of Giovanni Adorno, the Republic of Genoa also obtained a permission to reconstruct the castle of *Simisso* (see 3.4.5) (İnalçık, 2006, pp. 164-172; Kılıç, 2013, pp. 26-32; Turan, 1968, p. 179).

Samos (1346-1475) and Ikaria (1446-1462) were other "Giustiniani" possessions. In 1373, another successful Maona organization was established also in Cyprus by the Genoese (*Maona Vecchia di Cipro*), which lasted until 1447 (see A.12) (Miller, 1921, pp. 303-304).

Members of the noble Gattilusio family, who were more active in Ainos (Enez) and Lesbos (see 3.2.1.2) have governed *Foglia Vecchia* from 1402 to 1455, before its conquest by the Ottomans with *Foglia Nuova*. Dorino I Gattilusio was a governor (r. c. 1416-1428) for Maona, who became the Lord of Lesbos (r. 1428-1455) afterwards. It is possible to read his name on a marble slab (A.1.1) and 21 Foça coins minted by him (Linardi, 1980, pp. 129-136).

Foglia Nuova has become a base of alum trade and governed by Pietro Recanelli (r. 1364-1391), Raffaello Paterio (r. 1391-1395), Tomasso Paterio (r. 1395-1405), Giovanni Adorno (r. 1405-1424), Percivalle Pallavicini (r. 1425-1427), Enrico Giustiniani-Longo (r. 1427-1437), Francesco Drapperio (r. 1437-1447) and Paride Giustiniani-Longo (r. 1447-1455), who served as *podestà* for Maona until the Ottoman conquest (Basso, 2014; Rovere, 1979).

Maona continued to administer Chios by paying tributes to the Ottomans, until its conquest in 1566 with a surrender (Miller, 1921, pp. 284-285).



Fig. 364-365: Two ducats of Andriolo and Domenico Cattaneo Della Volta, respectively that their names were shortened as "ANDRDTAO" and "DCAIEO" (Lunardi, 1980, pp. 131-132)



Fig. 366-367: A ducat & denarius of Dorino I Gattilusio; "DORINUS·GAT..." & "·D·FOLIE" and "+DORINUS·GATELX·" & "+DOMINUSFOLIE..." (Lunardi, 1980, pp. 133-135)



Fig. 368-369: "The Zaccaria Cross" in the cathedral of *San Lorenzo* in Genoa (ARTE.it, 2015) and the Cattaneo coat of arms (Scorza, 1920, Pl. III)

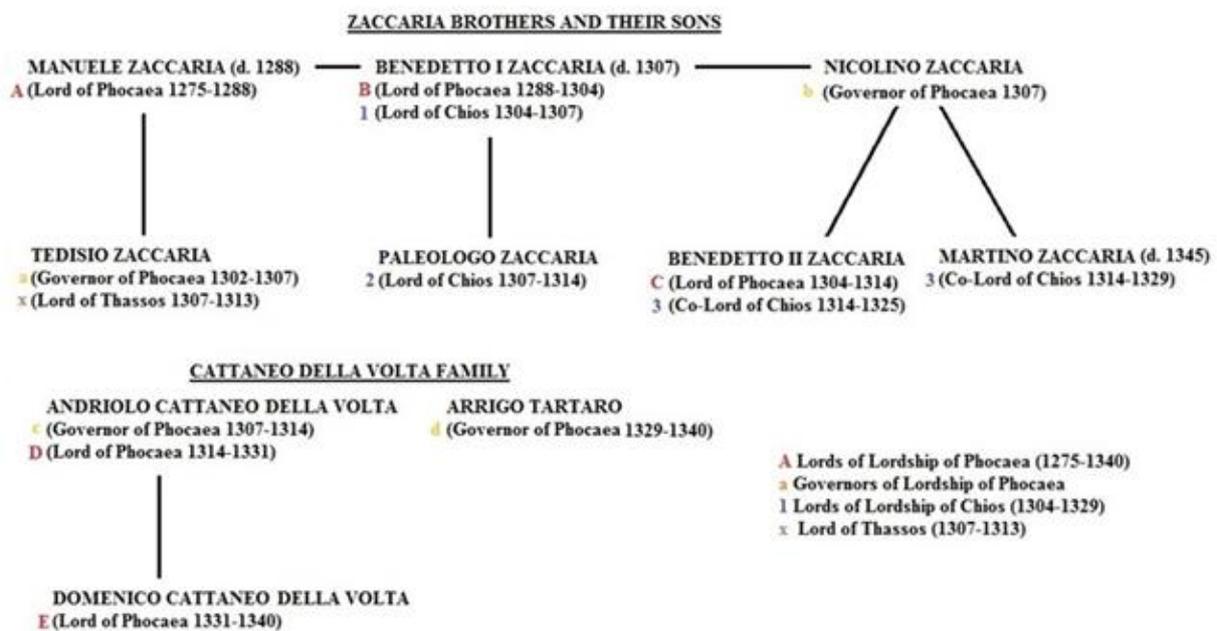


Fig. 370: Zaccaria and Cattaneo della Volta members and their positions in the lordships (Author, 2015 after Miller, 1921, pp. 283-298)

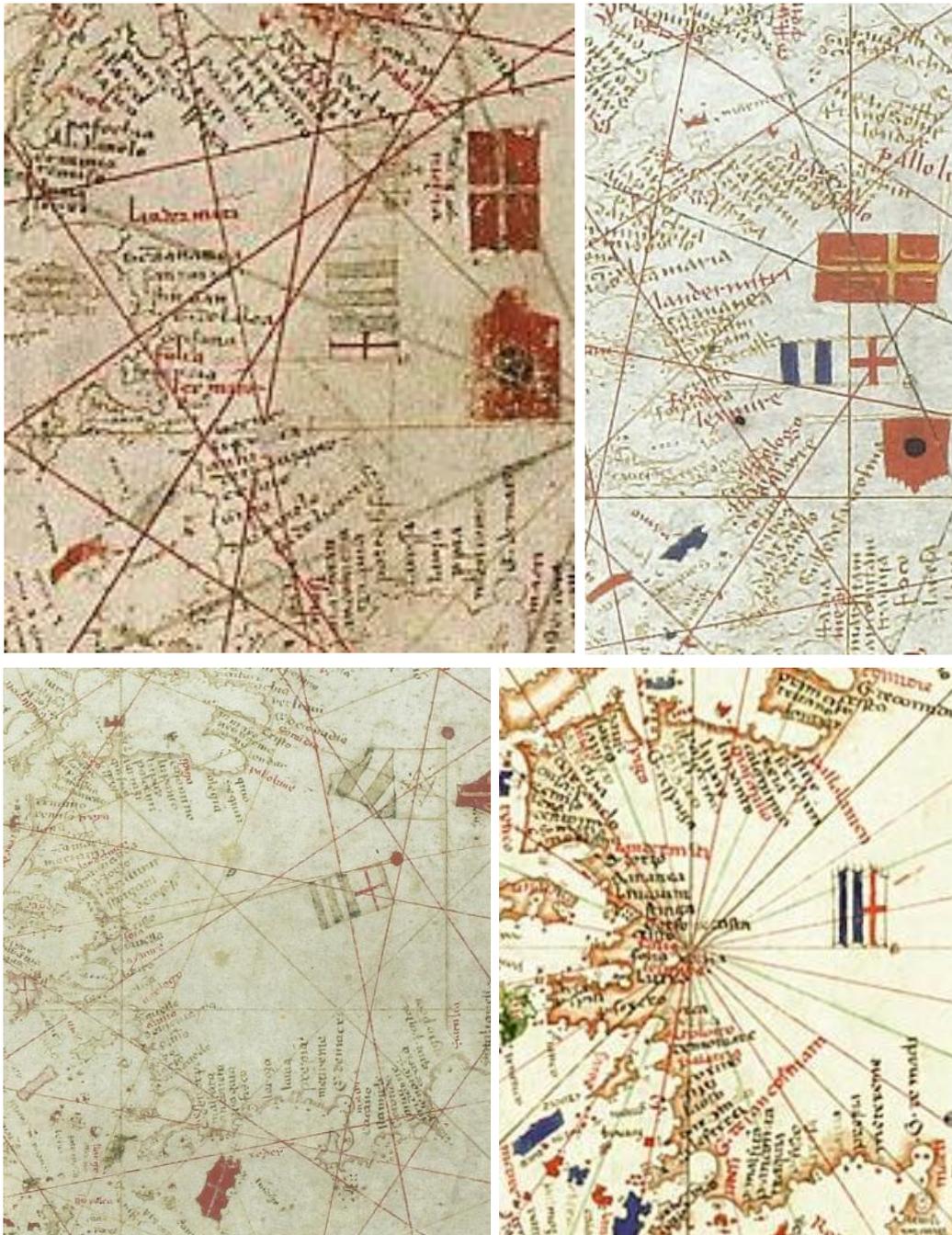


Fig. 371-374: Portolan charts of 1339 (by Angelino Dulcert), 1380 (by Guillem Soler), 1447 (by Gabriel de Vallseca) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015) and 1489 (by Albino de Canepa) (James Ford Bell Library, 2015) respectively, which show the two *Foglias* under Genoese and probably Cattaneo della Volta rule with two different flag patterns located on top of each other (Aydınids, Byzantine and Teke flags are also visible).

3.2.6- Coastal Castle of Izmir

Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) has promised all the necessary rights to the Genoese just before the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in order to make them another authority in Smyrna (Izmir) with the hope of taking their former capital back whatever the cost was (Epstein, 2007, p. 104). The city was important for the Genoese because their ships were constantly under the Venetian threat along the Aegean Sea until reaching Constantinople. Its port was also serving as a hub to export a variety of commodities from the Anatolian mainland. Smyrna was in relation with other strategic nearby ports as well, such as Phocaea and Chios. The Genoese were formally allowed to have their own commercial quarter there in 1261, as it was one of the promised cities in the Treaty of Nymphaeum (Miller, 1921, p. 298). However, there is a confusion for the exact starting year of the Genoese suzerainty in Smyrna.

As of 1263, the Smyrniote silk was already on the markets of Genoa, which was quoted with an even higher price than the Chinese silk (Stringa, 1982, p. 300). The city was a trading place frequented by the Genoese merchants also during the late 13th century that several commercial acts from *Caffa* indicates for 1289-1290. Furthermore, since the Genoese have complained of paying the *kommerkion* (imperial sales tax) in 1294 there, it appears that Smyrna and its revenues obviously did not belong to the Republic of Genoa at that time. Therefore, it has been specifically questioned that the Genoese takeover of some coastal settlements promised in the Treaty of Nymphaeum is uncertain for right after 1261, including Smyrna (Balard, 1978, p. 165).

Furthermore, although the Genoese were already allowed to establish a commercial quarter and construct their own buildings with the aforementioned act, another agreement signed between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa in March 1304 underlines almost the same rights one more time for Smyrna. According to this act, Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328) grants a dwelling place to the Genoese in Smyrna and within this area, they were allowed to have *loggia*, bath, bakery and church together with other objects particularly specified for Galata (see 2.3) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 106)²⁶⁹.

When also considered the conflicts between the Byzantine Empire and the Republic of Genoa in 1262-1264, which were resulted with the expulsion of the Genoese from Constantinople

²⁶⁹ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, March 1304, Car. VIII (doc. X): "... *Item quod concedimus parti ipsorum ianuensium locum habitacionis in terra Smirnarum, et permittemus ipsos habere in eodem loco logiam, balneum, furnum, ecclesiam et alia que specificata sunt particulariter in capitulo de Galatha ut dictum est...*"

(see 3.1), clauses of the former treaty were probably did not go in effect for Smyrna until 1304, a year also significant due to the establishment of the Lordship of Chios (1304-1329) by Benedetto I Zaccaria. Yet, it appears that the Genoese merchants were already using its port much before 1304 and any Genoese construction in Smyrna after this date is also still unclear.

In the beginning of the Genoese period in Smyrna, the Byzantines were controlling the older, upper castle on the hilltop and the Genoese were having the newer, coastal castle. The former was named Pagos, being "*Kadifekale*" (The Velvet Castle) at the present time and still exists to a large extent. The latter has appeared with several names²⁷⁰, which was forming the Genoese colony of *Smirne* and completely demolished in the late 19th century (Ünlü, 2013, p. 95). It has been said that the coastal castle was originally built in the 12-13th centuries by the Byzantines and occupied by the noble Zaccaria family during its Genoese period, who were more active in Phocaea (*Foglia Vecchia* and *Foglia Nuova*) mainly with alum trade between 1275-1314 (see 3.2.5.4) (Hür, 2013).

Between 1310-1317, surrounding areas of Smyrna were started to be occupied by the Aydınids, one of the small Turkish principalities during the pre-Ottoman period called "*beylik*". However, the coastal castle of Smyrna (*San Pietro* at that time) has remained in the Genoese hands until 1329. In this year, Umur of Aydın (Aydinoğlu Umur Bey) has captured the castle of *San Pietro* from the Genoese by attacking from Pagos Hill through the coast and Martino Zaccaria, who was the commander of the castle has fled to Chios. As a result, Smyrniote crusades with the participation of Papal States, Martino Zaccaria under the papal command, Republic of Venice, Kingdom of Cyprus, Dauphiné and Knights Hospitaller were launched by Pope Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) and sent to the city. The coastal part of Smyrna, including the castle of *San Pietro* was retaken from Aydınids in 1344 by the Crusader forces. Although an assault led by Umur of Aydın in 1345 was failed to retake the fortress, it was resulted with the death of Martino Zaccaria (Kütükoğlu, 2001, p. 516; Hür, 2013)²⁷¹.

The Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389-1403) has captured most of the areas around Smyrna until 1390 by annexing Aydınids but could not seize the coastal part of the city. Two marble slabs from the late 14th century with several Crusader coats of arms indicate repairs done to

²⁷⁰ Being *Neo Kastro*, *Castrum Smyrnarum*, *San Pietro*, "*Ok Kalesi*" (Arrow Castle), "*Ceneviz Şatosu*" (The Genoese Château), "*Hisar*" (Citadel), "*Liman Kalesi*" (Harbor Castle) and "*Soğan Kalesi*" (Onion Castle).

²⁷¹ In 1348, Umur of Aydın has launched another attack but hit by an arrow and died, which was said to be the reason of one of its Turkish names (*Ok Kalesi* / Arrow Castle). This attack was also failed and the fortress has remained in the Crusader hands (Kütükoğlu, 2001, p. 517).

the castle (see A.5) after its Genoese period (Goffman, 2000, p. 3)²⁷². The Genoese have continued their trade activities in Izmir also by having an embassy building there, which does not exist anymore but can be seen on some 17th century engravings.

The former castle of *San Pietro* was demolished in 1871 that the building was not coastal anymore during its final centuries due to alluvial deposits and the extension of coastal parts by earth filling for new urban developments. Therefore, the fortress has lost its strategic importance and trapped in the center of urban fabric. A new city hall and mixed use buildings were constructed to its plot (Beyru, 2011, p. 360).

The Genoese interventions to the disappeared coastal castle of Izmir are not known but it can be claimed that the fortress was resembling Çandarlı Castle with its general layout (3.2.4.1).



Fig. 375-376: Former location of the coastal castle in Izmir (Google Maps, 2015) and its layout and floor plans (Beyru, 2011, pp. 22-23)

²⁷² The fortress was then captured by Timur after the Siege of Smyrna in December 1402 during Timurid invasions and he gave the city to the Aydinids back with the castle. Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421) has ended the interregnum and restored the empire despite the intention of Timur to dissolve it. After 1402, the Aydinids have continued to occupy the castle but it was finally captured in 1424 by the Ottomans during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444). The Aydinids were ultimately annexed in 1426, following a final stand by Junayd Bey (r. 1405-1425) in İpsili Castle.

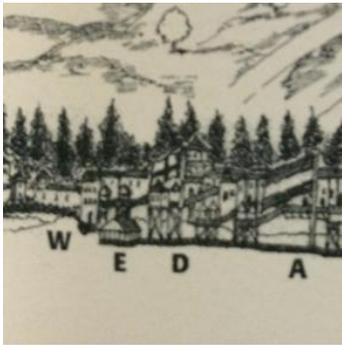


Fig. 377-379: Izmir in 1698 with the Genoese embassy and the castle (de Bruijn, 1698), the Genoese embassy in Izmir, marked with "D" and a Genoese flag on an engraving from 1675 (Beyru, 2011, p. 13) and the coastal castle in 1717 (de Tournefort, 1717, p. 504)

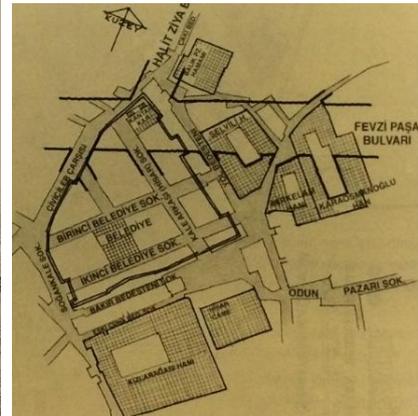


Fig. 380-381: The coastal castle in 1826 with Pagos / Kadifekale behind (Laborde, 1838) and new urban development above its former plot (Beyru, 2011, p. 76)

3.2.7- Çeşme Castle

According to some sources, the arrival of the Genoese to Erythrae (Çeşme) was linked with the development of their commercial activities in Chios island, with a given date of 1330. These two settlements are facing to each other towards the Chios Strait (*Steno tis Chiou*) and the Genoese have first arrived to the island in 1304, as the Lordship of Chios was founded by Benedetto I Zaccaria (see 3.2.5.4). Although the lordship was dissolved in 1329 and the island was then controlled by the Byzantines until the foundation of the Maona in 1346, the Genoese were continued their commercial activities in the region and also held administrative positions. For example Benedetto III Zaccaria was assigned as a governor to Chios in 1329 by the Byzantine Empire. It is also known that a concession was given to the Genoese by Aydınids in 1328 for operating commercial activities in the area. As a result of these circumstances, the settlement of modern Çeşme was founded and its harbor became a significant commercial and strategic point. The capture of Smyrna in 1344 by the Smyrniote crusaders shifted the base of Turkish naval activities from there to Çeşme and this situation also accelerated the development of the city, which was known as "*Passaggio*" (the passage) by the Europeans at that time (İşıpek and Aydemir, 2006, pp. 13-14; Örenç, 2009, pp. 6-10; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2015).

Çeşme was used by the Genoese mainly as a beachhead for trade between Chios and Anatolia. Its harbor was more suitable for the traffic of merchant ships and having a more direct connection with the island as well, when compared with the one at the ancient settlement of Erythrai (İldır), which was mostly abandoned at that time. The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1390 during the reign of Bayezid I but returned to Aydınid hands in 1402 after the invasions of Timur. The second and final Ottoman capture of Çeşme was occurred in 1422 and although the Genoese domination in the city did not last longer as a result of these incidents, their trade activities were somehow continued until the dissolution of Maona of Chios in 1566. The commercial importance of Çeşme harbor was dramatically reduced with the conquest of Chios and the rising of Izmir (Smyrna) again (Aktepe, 1993, p. 287; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2015).

The castle is located in the center of Çeşme and it has a rectangular form. Oriented with a right angle to Chios Strait, the castle has a stepped structure that its western end has sea level and the eastern end is located on the hilltop. Therefore, the castle is watching over the strait from a strategic position. Some sources from the first half of the 19th century allegedly

mention the castle as a "Genoese Castle", without giving any historical or architectural explanations (Allen, 1828, p. 110; Buckingham, 1826, p. 272; MacFarlane, 1829, p. 138).

According to the marble Ottoman inscription of the castle, it was constructed by Mir Haydar in 1508, with the order of Sultan Bayezid II (Baykara, 1990, p. 89). However, a Genoese influence on the outermost parts of the castle can be supposed due to their former presence in the area (especially in Chios) and the unique appearance of two coastal twin towers of Çeşme Castle at west (Stringa, 1982, p. 274). The towers differ from the Ottoman architecture especially with their machicolations (like the ones on nearby Chios Castle) but their masonry are not uniform that even the small arches are either brick or stone. Therefore, they need to be studied particularly for revealing construction phases.



Fig. 382: The position of Çeşme Castle in the city centre (Yandex Maps, 2016)

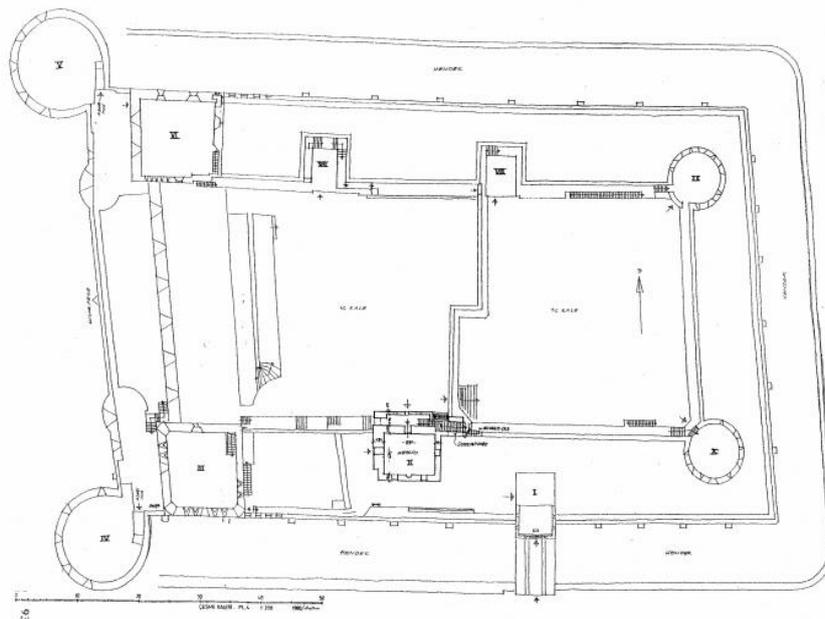


Fig. 383: Floor plan of Çeşme Castle (Öztürker, 2011, p. 314)

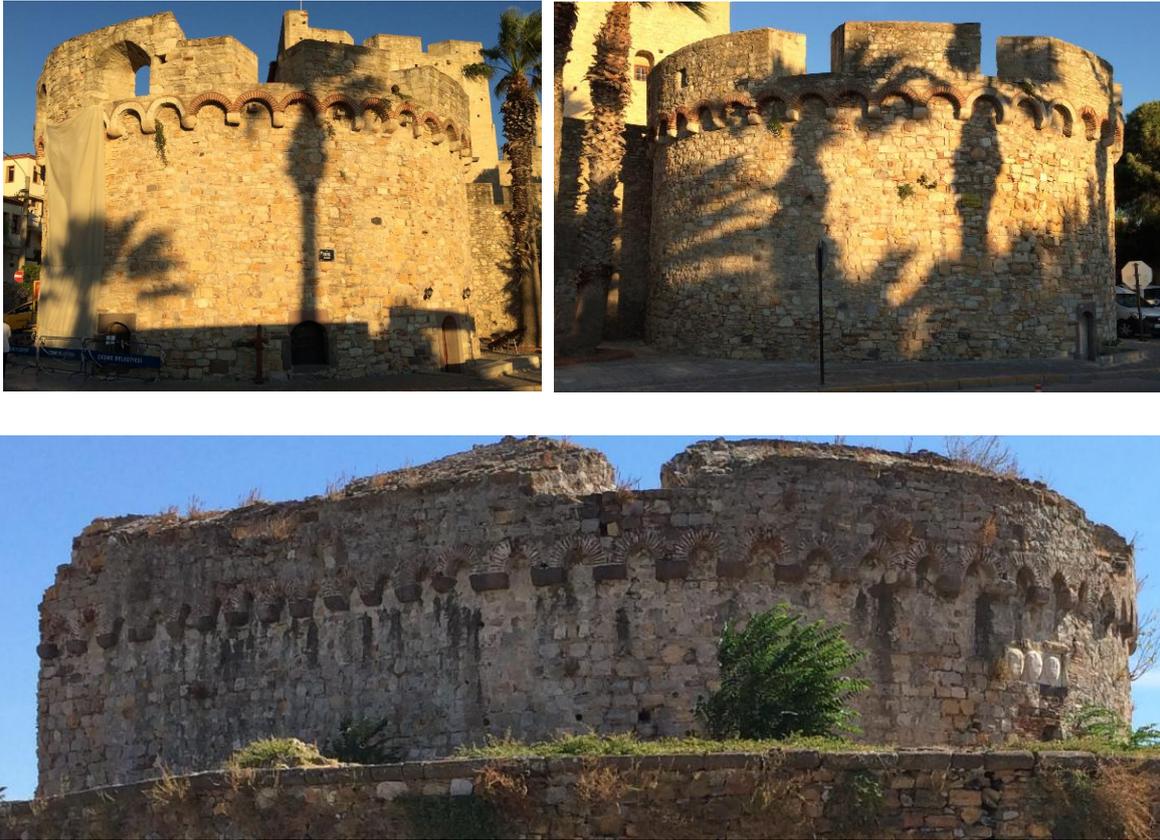


Fig. 384-386: Coastal twin towers of Çeşme Castle with brick and stone machicolations on their upper parts and the northwestern tower of Chios Castle (see A.10.3) (Author, 2016)

3.2.8- Selçuk, Sığacık and Birgi

Selçuk, Sığacık and Birgi are other settlements where a few Genoese commercial buildings were once located according to some sources but any major structures are not discovered yet.

During the Middle Byzantine Period, the center of ancient Ephesus lost its importance and it was gradually abandoned due to the silting harbor. As a result, settlements moved roughly 3 kilometers back, to the outskirts of Ayasuluk (*Hagios Theologos*) citadel. Therefore, the Italian name of *Altologo* appeared that "*alto luogo*" (high place) to define the fortified hill is another etymological claim. By the end of the 1st millennium, ancient Ephesus was no longer inhabited and Hagios Theologos was the focal point that *Scalanova* with a distance of nearly 10 kilometers to Ephesus was serving as the new commercial harbor of the region (Foss, 1979, p. 121). Following the Treaty of Nymphaeum, Genoese merchants were settled to Hagios Theologos and involved with commercial activities during the 13-14th centuries, possibly in relation with *Scalanova*. In 1337, they have received the right to have a strategic

port there (Ağır, 2016, p. 216). A Genoese administrative consul was also present in the city from 1351 to 1394 (Stringa, 1982, p. 289). *Altologo* was used by the Genoese primarily as a port for exporting alum from Kütahya (*Coltai*) (Fleet, 1999, pp. 86-87). Two Genoese tombstones, dated to 1284 and 1293 were discovered inside the church of Saint John in the former Ayasuluk (Keil, 1937, pp. 209-212) that the city was renamed as Selçuk in 1914.

Sığacık is a coastal district of Seferihisar at west, known as Teos in ancient periods. Sığacık Castle is consisted of a triangular-shaped stronghold and fortified city walls, which surround the settlement. The castle was constructed between 1520-1521 by the Ottomans and the recent structure was defined as having an overall Ottoman character (Müller-Wiener, 1962, pp. 98-104). However, Stringa (1982, p. 328) attributes the castle to Genoese due to their presence there for commerce, the triangular shape of the inner castle with three towers and the similarity of their polygonal shape to the ones of Chios Castle; without giving further details. Sığacık was known as *La Cera* during the Genoese domination in the area.

The Byzantine city of Christopolis (formerly Dios Hieron) near Birgi district of Ödemiş was depended on the archbishop of Smyrna and collecting taxes was granted to two Genoese by him in 1354. Also known as *Lo Cristo*, it later became a part of Sarukhanid lands. In 1382, it was subjected to a *devetum* (commercial embargo), issued by the authorities of Genoa, which prohibits all the Genoese to reside, to land from the sea and to perform any type of business there. Used to be a part of a complex commercial system also including *La Cera*, there was an important Genoese *fondaco* (warehouse) (Stringa, 1982, pp. 284, 328). *Lo Cristo* was used by the Genoese especially for exporting alum from Kütahya (*Coltai*) (Fleet, 1999, pp. 86-87). It should also be said that, as a slightly different localization, the port of "*Cristo*" appears in the Gulf of Çandarlı on some Late Middle Ages portolan charts (Maphistory, 2017).

3.2.9- Kuşadası Castle

Ania was one of the promised settlements to Genoese in the Treaty of Nymphaion but Byzantine-period fortified settlement of Ania (Kadıkalesi) is located in a district, approximately 8 kilometers south of modern-day Kuşadası and recent archaeological excavations there show no Genoese traces. That the exact city center of Kuşadası is based on a square-shaped medieval castle, built on a Byzantine coastal settlement called "Ephesus Neapolis", also known as "*Scalanova*" or "*Scala Nuova*". It was used as a commercial harbor

by Genoese and also Venetian merchants, especially during the 13th century, when the noble Zaccarias were dominant trade actors in the area (Müller-Wiener, 1961, pp. 74-78).

The clear rectangular form and grid urban pattern of the inner castle area, like in medieval Italian settlements, show opposition to traditional Byzantine and Ottoman cities. There is another similarity between Kuşadası, Yenifoça and Galata that the medieval urban core of the last two is known to be founded by the Genoese (Müller-Wiener, 1961, pp. 74-78; Müller-Wiener, 1975). Recently, existing parts of the castle are the main gate at its southern corner, northeast walls with bastions and a polygonal corner tower at east. These parts were constructed with local stones with a rubble form that finely finished and relatively larger pieces were used at corners and openings. Due to various construction phases, especially the large scaled Ottoman repairs in the 17th century, the castle displays different structural layers. Therefore, a Genoese background is possible because of historical and scant architectural traces mentioned above but probably nothing more (Müller-Wiener, 1961, pp. 74-82).



Fig. 387-389: Reconstruction and the recent situation of the castle in Kuşadası (Müller-Wiener, 1975, pp. 402, 418; Yandex Maps, 2016)

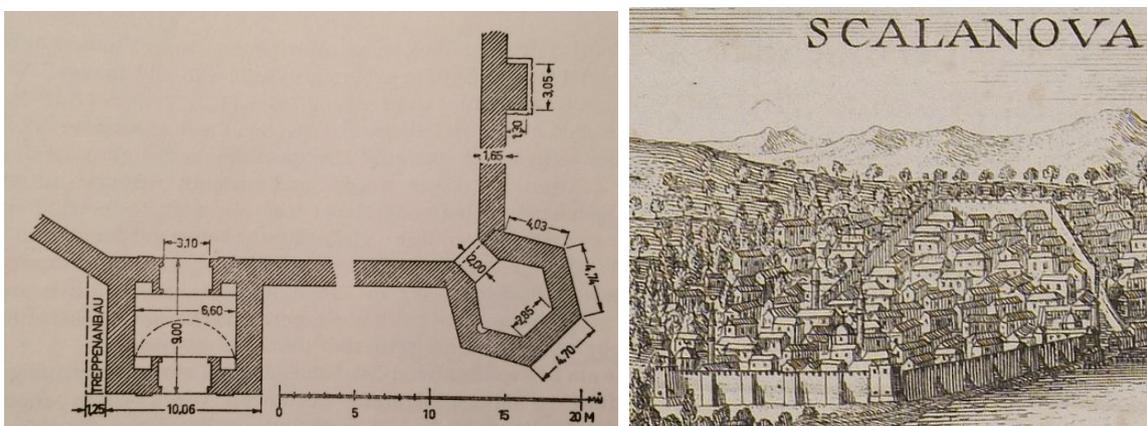


Fig. 390-391: Plans of the remaining parts (Müller-Wiener, 1961, pp. 78-80) and the castle in the early 18th century (de Tournefort, 1717, p. 524)

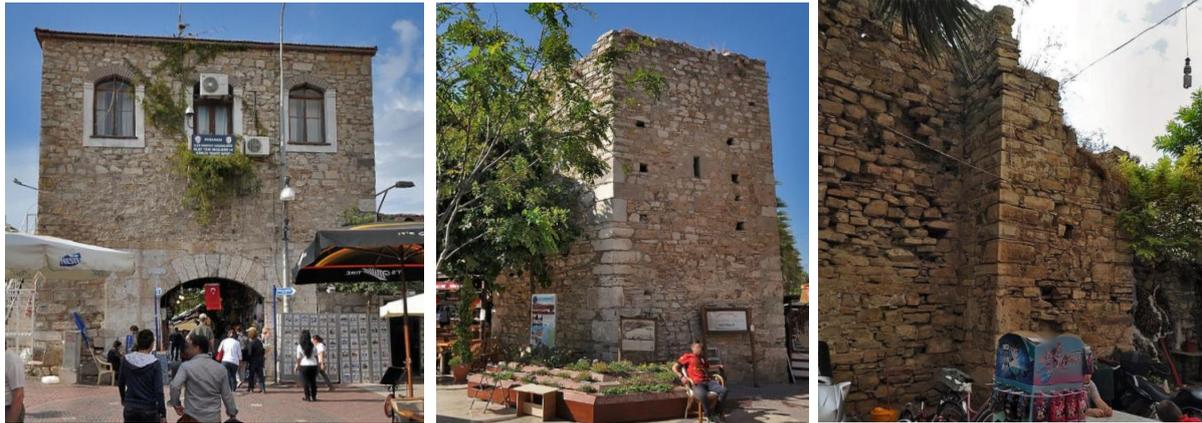


Fig. 392-394: The main gate, polygonal corner tower and a bastion from its northeastern walls of Kuşadası Castle (Yandex Maps, 2016)

3.3- Genoese Colonial Expansion to the Black Sea Coasts

Prior to the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) and its second approval in 1267, the Genoese have lost the control of trade routes to the Venetians in the Mediterranean and Aegean shores (Beihammer and Parani and Schabel, 2008, pp. 28-29)²⁷³.

The continuous unrest in the Eastern Mediterranean, mainly caused by the Mongol invasions of the Levant (starting from 1260) and the conflicts between Ilkhanate and Golden Horde during the division of the Mongol Empire (starting from 1259) has badly affected trade routes and decreased the capacity of the commercial activities in the area. Moreover, these negative effects have reached a peak specifically for the Genoese during the War of Saint Sabas (1256-1270), occurred between the Republic of Genoa and the Republic of Venice that the Genoese were defeated by the Venetians and pushed away from many trade ports in the Eastern Mediterranean that Acre was the most important one. Therefore, alternative routes came into prominence, such as Tabriz-Trabzon in order to reach the Mediterranean Sea through Black Sea and Aegean Sea from a northeast course. The Genoese have noticed the rising strategic importance of the Black Sea and also the commercial potentials of the Crimean lands, which were territories of the Empire of Trebizond (which were separated as the Principality of Theodoro afterwards) and the recently established Golden Horde at that time. Following the

²⁷³ It was a result of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) and consequently rising Venetian dominance within the territories of the Latin Empire and its vassal states in the Aegean Sea that all of them were established after *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae* (partition of the lands of the Byzantine Empire) of 1204 in alliance with the Venetians. In addition, the Republic of Venice has added many important Aegean islands to its territories, such as Euboea, Crete and Rhodes.

Treaty of Nymphaeum and gaining its promised territories in Asia Minor and Greece step by step, the Genoese have aimed to complete this commercial network by linking the Aegean route to Black Sea coasts as well. Correspondingly, they have established their Black Sea colonies starting from 1266, especially in Crimea and around the Taman Peninsula that the former has become the administrative powerhouse. Crimea was also a resource of various raw materials and a loading point for any type of commodities either from the fertile territories around the Sea of Azov or from the far east that *Tana* (Azov) constituted a starting point of the maritime trade (Amitai-Preiss, 2005; Ciociltan, 2012; Epstein, 2007).

In addition to the concessions given by the Crimean Khanate and the Empire of Nicaea just before the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, the Genoese have pursued further diplomatic relations and military campaigns to have their own colonies in the Black Sea coast of Anatolia by benefiting from the weakness of the restored Byzantine Empire and contending with the Empire of Trebizond. Correspondingly, the Genoese colonies within the Empire of Trebizond became an alternative route for the Silk Road, reaching the Mediterranean Sea through several stopovers in the Black Sea coasts and then through the Bosphorus. Moreover, relatively small ports like *Foglia Vecchia* (Foça), *Chio* (Chios) and *Ceresonda* (Giresun) became important outlets specifically for some significant products like alum and mastic. As a result, the Genoese had an extensive group of commercial routes for export or cabotage through the end of the 13th century, including some more possessions within the territories of modern Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Georgia, such as *Varna* (Varna), *Bambola* (possibly Enisala), *Vicina* (around Braila), *Costanta* (Constanta), *Licostomo* (around Kiliya), *Montecastro* (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy), *Sebastopolis* (Sukhumi) and *Lo Vati* (Batumi). During this period, *Ordo de Caffa*, which was a kind of construction law, introduced in order to organize the urban development of *Caffa* (Feodosia) and *Officium Gazariae*, the administrative center of Black Sea colonies, which also has the authorization to mint coins and enact new legislation to order commercial activities are significant novelties of the Genoese (Bocharov, 1998, pp. 82-166; Heyd, 1975; Sakaoglu, 1966, pp. 115-116).

The Genoese colonies in Crimea (*Gazaria*) were founded in 1266 and mainly consisted of Feodosia (*Caffa*), Sudak (*Soldaia*), Kerch (*Cerco / Vosporo*), Balaklava (*Cembalo*), Yalta (*Caulita*) and Alushta (*Lusta*), which were established in different periods through the 14th century. Grain, slaves, cloth and timber were the main commodities of the area and especially the great city walls of Feodosia are the most well known Genoese built heritage in the area. *Gazaria* conquered by the Ottoman Empire in 1475 that its capital *Caffa* was surrendered in 6

June after 4 days of siege, commanded by Gedik Ahmet Paşa. Most of the remaining castles were soon captured without major conflicts (Epstein, 2007, pp. 56-59; İnalçık, 2003, p. 403).

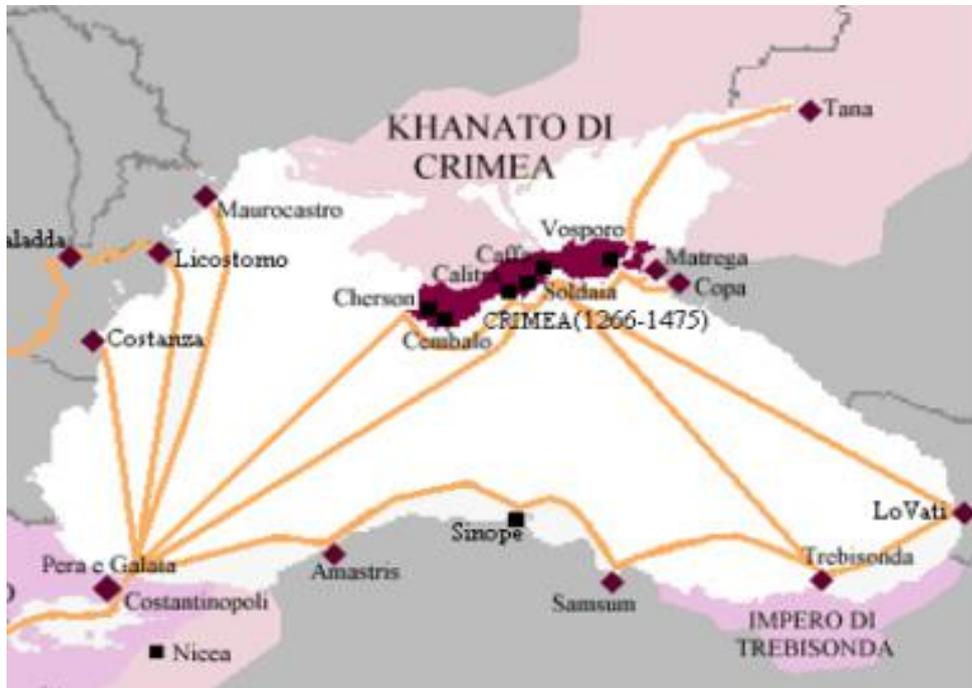


Fig. 395: Main Genoese colonies in the Black Sea (Wikimedia, 2015)

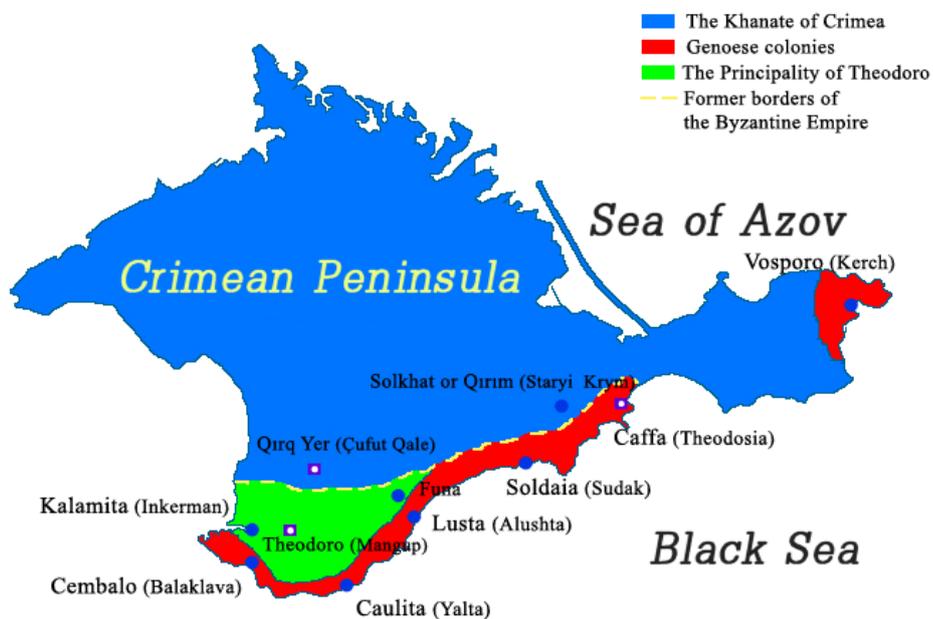


Fig. 396: Genoese colonies in Crimea, the Khanate of Crimea and the Principality of Theodoro (Wikimedia, 2015)

3.4- Former Genoese Possessions within the Black Sea Coasts of Modern-day Turkey

The Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) has allowed the Genoese to trade freely within the imperial territories of the Byzantines but specifically promised coastal cities in the agreement were not including any Euxine settlements. Yet, as a privilege, the Genoese were formally encouraged by Michael VIII Palaiologos to settle down wherever they want in the Black Sea. The Turkish advances weakened the connection and administration of the Byzantine possessions in the Black Sea coasts of Anatolia, so these ports were gradually captured by the Genoese. They have also battled against the Empire of Trebizond and then spread to the Trapezuntine territories. Therefore, they secured safe ports or even their own autonomous quarters all along the Black Sea coasts of Anatolia that these possessions were under the colonial administration of *Officium Gazariae* in *Caffa*, taken with another concession from the Crimean Khanate (Heyd, 1975; Nicol, 1992, p. 181; Ostrogorsky, 1981).

The Genoese merchants were already involved with commercial activities in the Black Sea for many centuries together with the Venetians without significant concessions or territorial sovereignty. After consecutive handovers, Genoese had fortified colonies in the Byzantine territories of Amastris (Amasra), Amisos (Samsun) and Trebizond (Trabzon) like Galata near Constantinople. Furthermore, Serapion (Rumelikavağı Kalesi), Hieron (Yoros Kalesi), Kilia (Şile), Daphnousia (Kefken Island), Diapolis (Akçakoca), Heraclea Pontica (Karadeniz Ereğli), Tios (Hisarönü), Sinope (Sinop), Phadisane (Fatsa) and Kerasus (Giresun) were used as commercial or military outposts according to some sources (Bryer and Winfield, 1985; Gallotta, 1993, pp. 363-365; Marcenaro, 2005, pp. 133-149; Sever, 2008). With respect to some secondary sources and further architectural investigations, Quirini-Poplowski (2017, pp. 257-263) states that the castles of Rumelikavağı, Yoros, Şile, Kefken Island, Akçakoca, Karadeniz Ereğli, Hisarönü, and Giresun are fortresses which are certainly not Genoese structures and either from the Byzantine or Ottoman periods. Kiyıkent Castle in Kiyıköy (formerly Medea / Midye), Kilyos Castle (Kumköy) and Kızlar Castle in Taşköprü were other so called Genoese castles originally belonging to other periods. Yet, it has been briefly claimed that the castles of Tekkeönü in Kurucaşile (Kromna) and Sinop might have some Genoese constructions (Belke, 1992, p. 147; Quirini-Poplowski, 2017, pp. 257-263).

The Genoese previously had clashes or negotiations with several Turkish states especially in the central part of the Black Sea coasts; being Isfendiyarids (Jandarids) (1292-1461) for Amasra, Pervaneoğlu (1277-1322) around Sinop that the latter was conquered by the former;

and Sultanate of Rum (1077-1308), Beyliks of Canik (1300s-1460) and Eretnids (1335-1381) for Samsun. Later on, these powers were all replaced by the Ottomans (Durukan, 2014; Gallotta, 1993, pp. 363-365; Merçil, 1991; Öz, 2009).

The Genoese period in the northern coasts of Anatolia was not started all at the same time, which was divided into several phases beginning from the establishment of *Gazaria* in 1266. The dates were spread into the 13-14th centuries and the precise establishment dates of many colonies are also unknown. It is presumed that the Genoese have used existing Byzantine structures without any significant changes or made some alterations on existing fortifications. It is possible to detect the ones for the castles of Amasra from many construction slabs with a different masonry and works done to the disappeared castle of Samsun appear in several notary documents. Some significant Genoese constructions were also occurred in Trabzon and most of them are either disappeared or weakly studied.

It is not possible to attribute the Black Sea colonies of the Genoese with families like Gattilusio or Zaccaria lordships in the Aegean coasts. However, it can be said that several families might have played important roles in different settlements, so it is possible to encounter with their names in some Black Sea colonies.

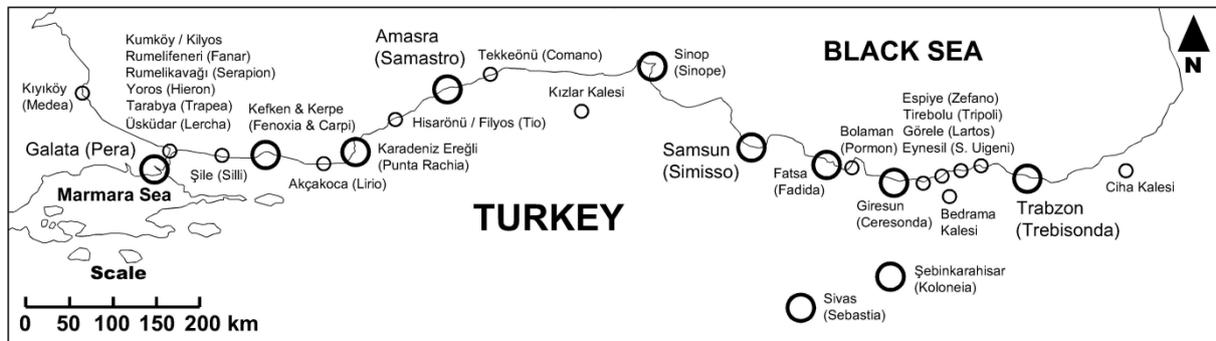


Fig. 397: Black Sea settlements mentioned as Genoese in some sources and with their most used names on medieval portolan charts (see Appendix 8) (Author, 2015 after Gordeev, 2015)

3.4.1- Outposts in Bosphorus: Rumelifeneri, Yoros, Rumelikavađı, Tarabya and Üsküdar

A lighthouse in Rumelifeneri (Phanium / *Fanar*) was known since ancient times but it was first mentioned inside *Theophanes Continuatus* chronicles from 941. It was described as an octagonal structure by Petrus Gyllius in 1561 and an illustration from 1574 shows characteristic Lombard bands, which were interpreted as a Genoese contribution on the medieval lighthouse (Sayar, 2002, pp. 100-101). The recent building on the same location is a 19th century structure.

Anadolukavađı and Rumelikavađı are two historical villages in the northern part of the Bosphorus, which form small districts of Istanbul now. Both of these settlements have very important Byzantine fortifications, which were built to secure the Byzantine suzerainty on the Bosphorus, protect its commercial traffic and collect customs duties. Nowadays, the castle of Rumelikavađı in the European side is called "*Rumelikavađı Kalesi*" (Rumelikavađı Castle) and the one of the Anadolukavađı in the Asian / Anatolian side is called "*Yoros Kalesi*" (Yoros Castle). They have very strategic and dominant positions on two hills near the aforementioned settlements, which look each other through the Bosphorus. There is a big difference between the most recent conditions of those castles, as Yoros Castle is a well known tourist attraction when compared with the neglected, ruinous and forgotten state of Rumelikavađı Castle on the other side²⁷⁴.

According to the Castilian traveller, writer and ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo (1859, p. 50), *El Guirol de la Grecia* (Rumelikavađı Castle) was already ruined and deserted but *El Guirol de la Turquia* (Yoros Castle) was inhabited as of 1403.

Hieron was built in the late 13th century, possibly between 1261-1282, during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos. It is possible to see a variety of marble Byzantine slabs with crosses and monograms, still on the castle or in Istanbul Archaeology Museum, which confirm the name of the emperor and the date of the building, together with its late Byzantine construction materials and techniques (Eyice, 2001, p. 237).

²⁷⁴ In Byzantine times, Yoros Castle was known as "Hieron" and Rumelikavađı Castle was known as "Serapion", "Polychnion" or a lesser known "Hieron", which means "a temple or a sacred place" in Ancient Greek (Arslan, 2010, pp. 465-466; Desimoni, 1874, pp. 362-363). Both castles were built in the late 13th century by the Byzantines above ancient sanctuaries. It has been stated that once a chain was extended between the castles in order to blockade the Bosphorus against intruders and also to check whether ships have paid custom tariffs or not (Arslan, 2010, pp. 465-466; de Clavijo, 1859, p. 50, Gabriel, 1941).

The location of Yoros Castle generally appears as *Giro* on medieval portolan charts (Gordeev, 2015, p. 115). *Giro* and *bucham / canale buche de Giro* (the mouth of Bosphorus from Black Sea until Hieron) were briefly mentioned in Genoese sources from 1317, 1328 and 1403 only by a location (Belgrano, 1877, p. 120; Promis, 1874, p. 507)^{275 276 277} (see Appendix 7).

Giro (Yoros Castle) was captured by the Genoese in 1348 and remained in their control until 1391. The Ottomans had the castle between 1391-1414 and the it was returned to the Genoese hands again, until the final Ottoman domination in the area, resulted with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The buildings was thoroughly studied by many scholars and according to them, Yoros Castle has three main construction phases, being the fortified hilltop, its closure and the rest of the irregular shaped walls through the Bosphorus. These three parts differ from each other with their material characteristics, stone-brick sequences and the used mortars (Bilban Yalçın, 2007, p. 302; Gabriel, 1941; Tekin and Kurugöl, 2013).

In the first part on the hilltop, distinguished with its twin towers, 3-4 rows of finely shaped blocks from mixed types of stones or marble pieces as *spolia* and 6-7 rows of bricks were used on top of each other, which were linked with a light pink mortar. In a limited extent, it is also possible to detect vertical and horizontal bricks around stone blocks. Apart from the hilltop area, which was cut with the closure wall, the first part also includes only one portion of arched walls, running down to hill and end with a similar tower like the ones near the main gate (Gabriel, 1941; Karadağ, 2003; pp. 17-18; Tekin and Kurugöl, 2013).

The second part is the closure wall of the hilltop section and in this part, rubble stone rows, strengthened with vertical and horizontal brick pieces with white or cream colored mortars were used. This technique was also used to heighten the walls and towers of the previous part. Some Greek inscriptions were formed on all along on the closure wall with brick pieces, which are now illegible due to weathering (Gabriel, 1941; Tekin and Kurugöl, 2013).

The third part has much irregular stone and brick rows but somewhat shows similarity to the previous ones. This section includes the rest of the lower and thinner fortification walls when

²⁷⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 14 February 1317, Car. VI (doc. XIV): "... et si causa tempestatis maris aliquod lignum ferens salem veniret usque Giro..."

²⁷⁶ *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine dal MCCXCVII al MCCCXXXII*: "... Et quia multa dampna pirate Januenses intulerant venetis in multis locis volendo de hoc vindictam facere anno domini MCCCXXVIII de mense aprillis venerunt apud peyram galee XXVIII armate et cum illi de peyra paucum de illis curarent ipsi ex improvise euntes ad giro et per bucham multa ligna et bonos homines ceperunt sed non fuerunt ausi se appropinquare ad terram peyre sed manebant tristes circa archam que est in mari..."

²⁷⁷ ASG, *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 22 November 1403, fol. 30: "... se transferre deberet ad bucham sive canale buche de Giro partium Romanie..."; 9 December 1403, fol. 32 r (see Appendix 7).

compared with others, enclosing the greater castle area and extending to sea from the hill. Recent conditions of this part is worse than the rest and more or less the same with the overall situation of Rumelikavağı Castle. Archaeological excavations show traces of settlements in the inner castle area; big enough to cover a small village, so the enclosed, rather small hilltop section was possibly used as a military garrison (Gabriel, 1941; Tekin and Kurugöl, 2013).

All parts of Yoros Castle show strong Byzantine characteristics and it is possible to detect minor Ottoman repairs on them, mostly for filling the crumbled mortars due to weathering and they separate with their brown colored mortar types. However, a disappeared Latin inscription (see A.6) from the castle mentions that a Genoese called Vincenzo Lercari was paid the repair of Yoros Castle and expenditures of its extension to the sea (Sauli, 1831, p. 42). Therefore, it can be claimed that only the costs of the coastal extensions and some repairs of Yoros Castle, possibly the third part were covered by a Genoese from Lercari family. As the castle is a Byzantine building, the Genoese might have financially involved in those interventions. They were using the castle mainly for commercial and strategic reasons through Bosphorus, so the employment of Greeks is a possible circumstance like the reconstruction of the Genoese castle in Samsun by Greek builders (see 3.4.5). There are examples to this issue also in the Aegean coasts (see A.2.3, A.2.5, A.4.13-A.4.15).

Being a Byzantine building, Yoros Castle was added to the UNESCO Tentative List in 2013 as a part of "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea", due to a limited Genoese period (UNESCO, 2013) (see 4.2).

The name of Serapion possibly comes from the ancient temple of Sarapis on its location that another name of Rumelikavağı Castle is "Polychnion" (Arslan, 2010, pp. 465-466), which means "a small, fortified post" (Stephenson, 2004, p. 148). Its construction materials and techniques show a unique similarity to Hieron that 6-7 rows of bricks were used together with rubble stone pieces. Arched walls from behind can also be found in Rumelikavağı Castle, like the extension from the hilltop section of Yoros Castle to the south. The extremely ruined and demolished condition of Serapion can be explained with the fact of its reusage as a material resource for the construction of another castle nearby (Rumelihisarı), which was built in 1452 by the Ottomans (Bilban Yalçın, 2009, pp. 17-18; Yaşa, 2012, p. 19).

The most recent surveys indicate the late Byzantine origins of both castles and no Genoese alterations or additions were detected yet. Although there is no written or evidential resource to this issue, as an assumption, it is strongly probable that the castle was seized by the

Genoese during the 14th century together with Hieron, in order to control the Bosphorus and its trade traffic. Longitudinal and irregular shapes with high positions of Hieron and Serapion castles match with each other and in contrast, these features of them show a clear difference to coastal and much regular shaped Genoese fortifications of the Aegean coasts and Galata.

Rumelikavağı Castle is recently covered with high vegetation and the building is isolated from the environment. Further detailed investigation is necessary in order to detect the main construction phases of the castle. Providing that, possible Genoese period alterations can be assumed, with comparison to the coastal extensions and the lost inscription of Yoros Castle.

According to *Massaria di Pera* expense registries, "*turris della Trapea*" and "*turris della Lercha*" were two Genoese towers from 1391-1402 in the Bosphorus (Balard, 1978, p. 192)²⁷⁸. A record of *Sindicamenti di Pera* from 10 November 1402 indicates that the former, which is apparently Therapia / Tarabya was having Genoese deputies to guard (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 697-698; Desimoni, 1876, pp. 258-259)²⁷⁹. It was located around the middle of Bosphorus in the European side and accessed by boats in 1403 (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 50) (see Appendix 7).

The latter remains without specific details, which most probably took its name from *Lerca* / *Lurca*, an alternative naming for Scutari, being the modern Üsküdar district of Istanbul on the Asian side (Gordeev, 2015, pp. 13-20). Furthermore, it has been claimed that the tower of *Archam* close to Pera and in the sea was also there, which was mentioned by the continued chronicles of Jacobus da Varagine from 1328. Other names of this tower were *Arcona* and *Arcla* among the Genoese and *Damalis* among the Byzantines (Promis, 1874, pp. 507-508)²⁸⁰. Hence, it can be questioned that the free standing tower visible on Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422) with different forms and in the recent position of the famous Maiden's Tower / Leander's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*), off the coast of Üsküdar might be occupied by the Genoese for a while and had some alterations.

Together with the previously mentioned castles, these disappeared towers were serving as Genoese outposts (like the Aegean *viglae*) or customs in the Bosphorus before reaching Galata.

²⁷⁸ ASG, *Massarie Comunis lanue*, 26 June 1403, fol. 54 v; 1 February 1403, fol. 246 v (see Appendix 7).

²⁷⁹ ASG, *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 10 November 1402, fol. n/a.

²⁸⁰ *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine dal MCCXC VII al MCCCXXXII*: "... circa archam que est in mari..."

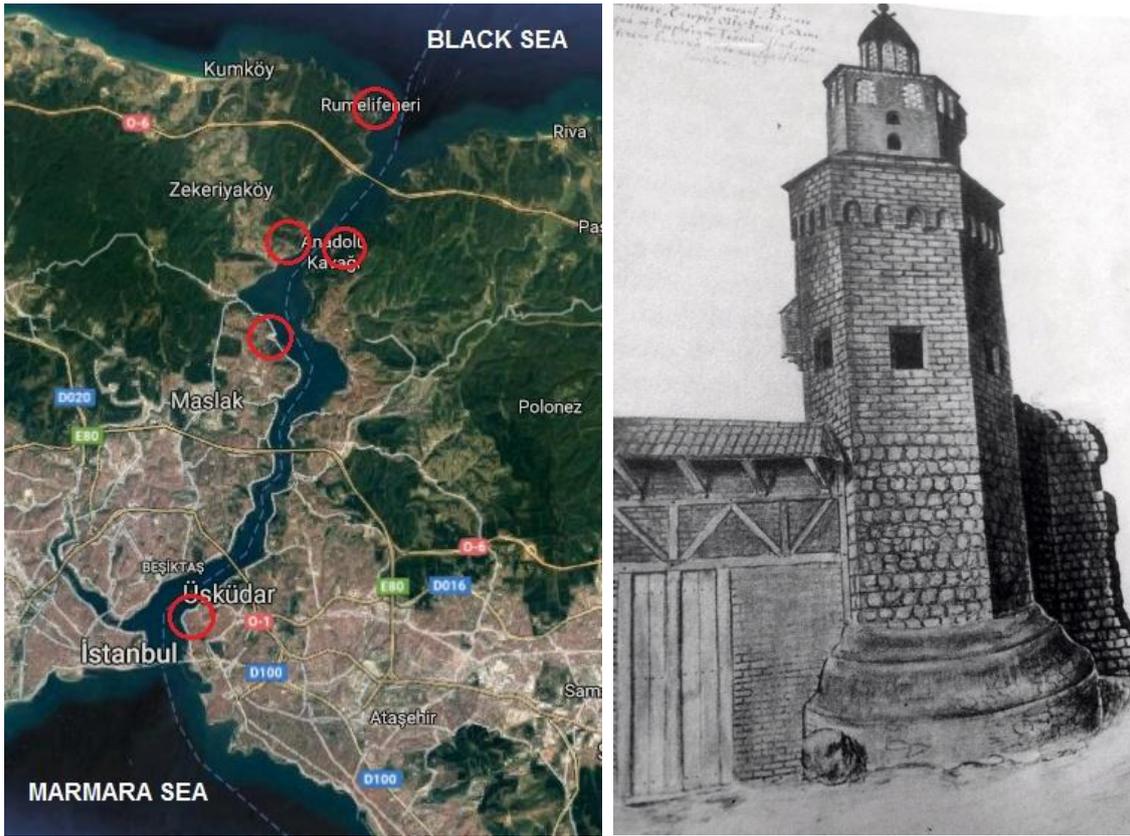


Fig. 398-399: Locations of Rumelifeneri, Rumelikavağı, Anadolu kavağı, Tarabya and Üsküdar from north through south, respectively (Google Maps, 2015) and Rumelifeneri Lighthouse in 1574 (Punto, 2012)



Fig. 400: Depiction of Maiden's Tower / Leander's Tower (*Kız Kulesi*) on various copies of Buondelmonti panoramas (c. 1422), being the ones from the collections of Greenwich National Maritime Museum (2015), an 18th century copy (Gyllius, 1729), British Museum (Medievalists, 2015), two Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Wikimedia, 2015), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Pearse, 2015) and Biblioteca Marciana (Istanbul Guide, 2015), respectively

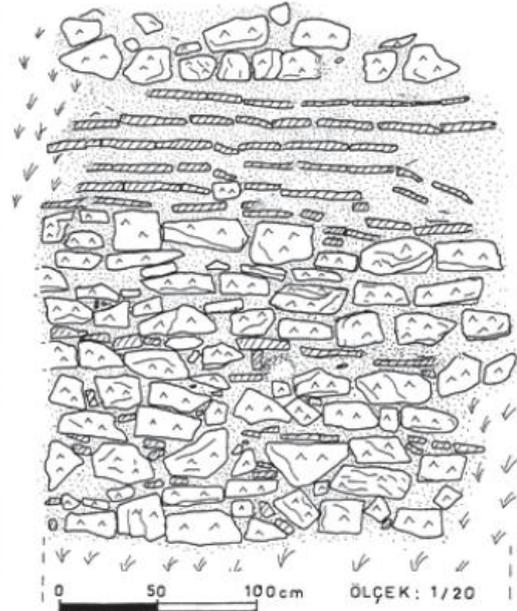


Fig. 401-402: Similar late Byzantine wall patterns from Yoros and Rumelikavağı castles
(Author, 2015; Bilban Yalçın, 2009, p. 19)

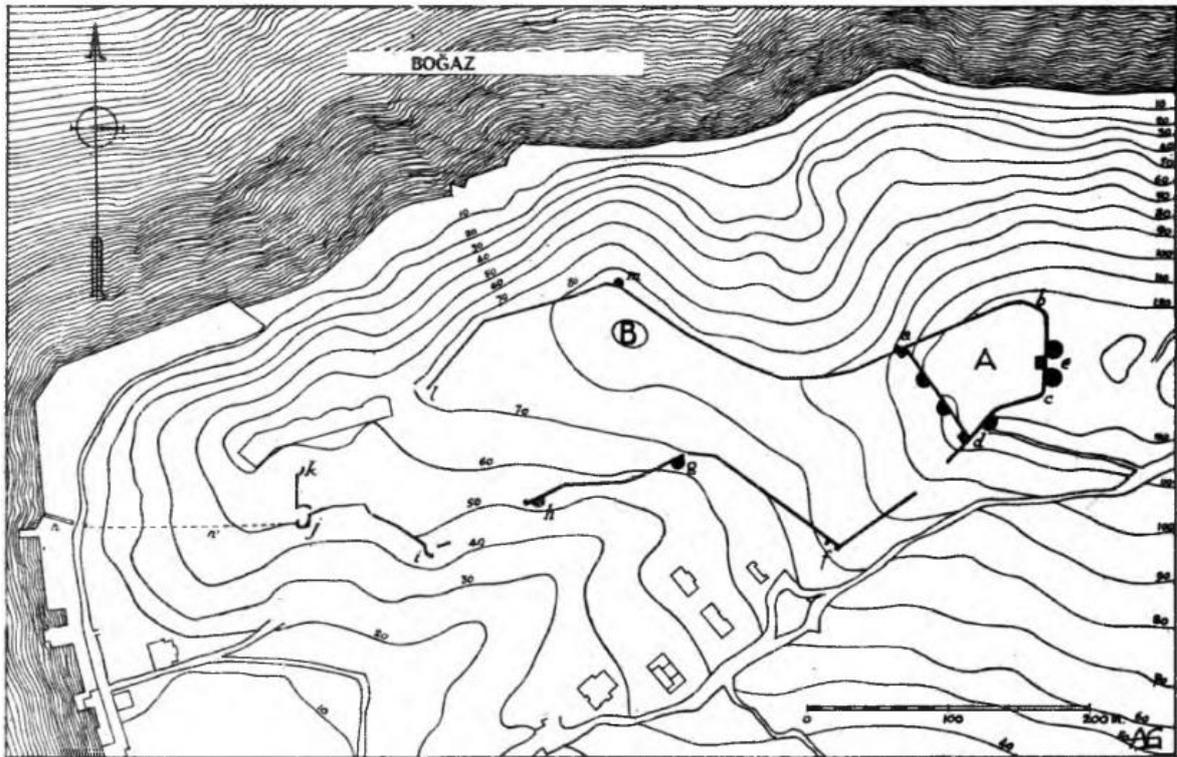


Fig. 403: Plan of Yoros Castle that the first parts are a-b-c-d-f & a-m, second part is a-d & higher parts of the previous, and the third parts are f-g-h-i-j-k-l-m (Gabriel, 1941)

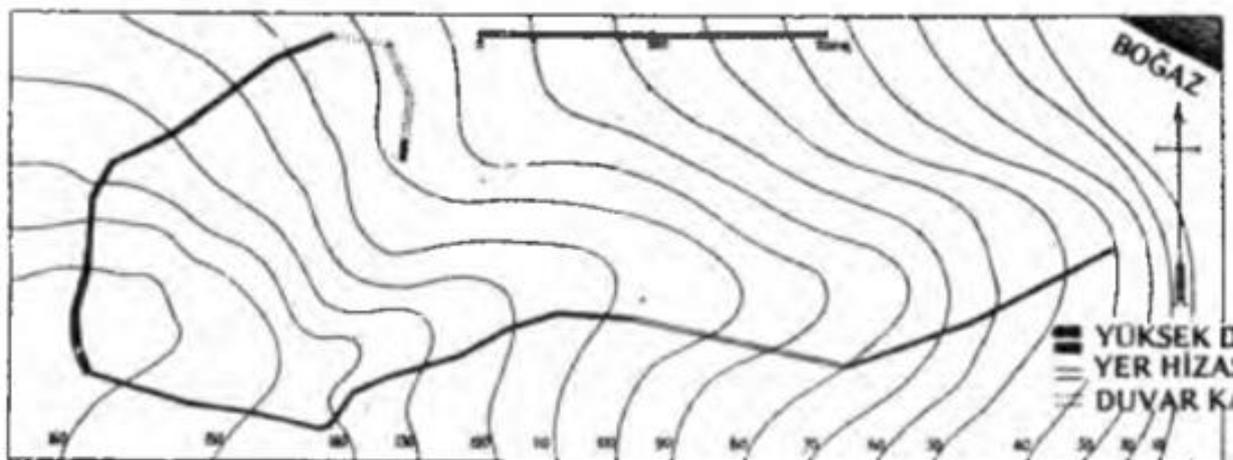


Fig. 404: Plan of Rumelikavağı Castle that dark lines indicate higher defensive walls and the light ones show lower walls (Gabriel, 1941)

3.4.2- "Genoese" Castles in the Western Black Sea Coasts of Anatolia

The castles of Şile, Kefken Island, Akçakoca, Karadeniz Ereğli and Hisarönü / Filyos are the most well known fortresses in the western Black Sea coasts of Anatolia, which were anonymously named as "Genoese Castle" (*Ceneviz Kalesi*). These castles were briefly mentioned as fortified outposts or supply stops of the Genoese for short periods; being somehow supported with historical outlines but without clear details about the Genoese interventions on the buildings.

The settlements, said to be occupied by the Genoese appear with the names of *Silli* (Şile), *Fenoxia* (Kefken Island), *Lirio* (Akçakoca), *Punta Rachia* (Karadeniz Ereğli) and *Tio* (Hisarönü / Filyos) in medieval portolan charts but there are small naming differences between different maps (Vesconte, 1321; Dulcert, 1339; Soler, 1380; de Vallseca, 1447; de Canepa, 1489; Aguiar, 1492).

3.4.2.1- Şile Castle

Şile is located in the eastern part of the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus. The city used to be called as Aschil, Philee, Artene and Kilia in ancient times and its so called "Genoese" castle was described as a Byzantine or an early Ottoman fortress by some scholars (Firatlı, 1952, p. 20; Mamboury, 1934, pp. 23-24). When considered the mention of a fortification in the

settlement during the Ottoman conquest by Bayezid I in 1390-1391 (Fıratlı, 1952, p. 19), an already existing Byzantine castle in Kilia can be supposed.

According to Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412), who visited Timur in Samarkand describes the castle of "*Sequello*" as a small castle on top of a rock in the land of Turkey and almost surrounded by the sea in 1403 (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 51), whose descriptions seem almost identical to the recent building. Nevertheless, the existing castle, in fact being a sole tower with surrounding lower defensive walls was not studied in detail. Canale (1855, p. 367) describes *Carpe* (Kerpe) as the ultimate Black Sea port of the Genoese ships before arriving Pera (Galata), so *Silli* (Şile) was obviously excluded.

The existence of a Genoese outpost in Şile to secure the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus is a possible theory but needs more evidence for being proven. The small castle of Şile was heavily restored in 2015 and lost its original appearance to a large extent.

3.4.2.2- Castles of Kefken Island and Kerpe

Kefken Island (Yeşilada / Green Island) was a Genoese commercial colony, which was formerly known as Daphnousia, *Fenoxia* or *Fenossia* (Belgrano, 1877, p. 698; Gallotta, 1993, pp. 363-365). The location of the island resembles a strategic position within the western part of the Anatolian Black Sea coasts. Scant foundations of defensive walls and water wells on Kefken Island were called as "Genoese" structures by locals but no detailed study exists for them yet.

Daphnousia was a Byzantine Episcopal center and it was having a safe harbor, which was protecting ships against the mighty Black Sea. The island was surrounded by strong defensive walls with various construction phases. For instance, circular towers at west resemble the Byzantine architecture of 11-12th century, where the rectangular ones with large blocks at south and east were constructed without mortar. It is possible to encounter with various castles made of large blocks by the Byzantines, such as the castles of Amasra (see 3.4.3.1). The walls of Kefken Castle were partially demolished and the remained sections have weathered surfaces to a large extent, so almost lost their original façade characteristics. The used large blocks were possibly brought from the quarry in Cape Vizne, the closest point of Anatolian mainland to Kefken Island. There are also several cisterns inside the walls, in order to provide fresh water to the inner castle area, which are now dried up. The Byzantine walls

with mortars were formed with khorasan mortar and the earliest archaeological traces of the island date back to the first half of 4th century BC (Fıratlı, 1953, pp. 15-16).

The island appears as *Phinosia* in a Pisan manuscript dated around 1160-1200 (Nenov, 2011, pp. 134-135). It was mentioned together with a few more settlements from the region in that source, such as *Samastri* (Amasra) and *Eraclea* (Karadeniz Ereğli). *Fenoxia / Fenossia* was also mentioned in a registry of *Sindicamenti di Pera* from 1403 without specific details about its castle (Desimoni, 1876, p. 232)²⁸¹.

Carpi (Kerpe, a coastal commune close to Kefken Island) was another important settlement in the region, which was marked with red color in a series of medieval portolan charts together with other well known Black Sea settlements (Vesconte, 1321; Dulcert, 1339; Soler, 1380; de Vallseca, 1447; de Canepa, 1489; Aguiar, 1492).

There are remains of a castle in the northern part of Kerpe Bay as well, which points an ancient settlement when considered together with funeral artifacts from the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Having a strategic position over the natural harbor of Kerpe Bay, the castle was built on a sharp cliff by the Byzantines that bedrock was also used within the castle structure. The castle shows similarity to Şile and Kefken castles and its settlement was called "Calpes Portus" (Kerpe Harbor) by Xenophon around 400 BC, resembling a midway port of Black Sea commercial route together with Kefken, which was extending from Bosphorus to the eastern coasts of Pontus (Fıratlı, 1953, pp. 18-19).

Ruy González de Clavijo describes "*Finogia*" as a small, uninhabited Genoese island as of 1403, which was 2 miles from the coast and not having a safe port. His ship sustains damage there due to a storm, so he and the crew move to a Genoese ship with their belongings. With that ship, they shelter to nearby *Carpi*, being 6 miles distant, which was also used by the Genoese seamen and having a safer harbor. They wait a good weather there for the next sail off (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 51). Thus, these circumstances can be considered as indications of importance for the area of Kefken Island, especially for the Genoese. Having possible medieval ruins on it, a temporary Genoese occupation on the island during the 14-15th centuries for commercial or strategic purposes seems probable with respect to the aforementioned historical accounts.

²⁸¹ ASG, *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 1403, fol. 32-34.

3.4.2.3- Akçakoca Castle

Thracians and Phrygians were the first settlers who arrived to the area of modern Akçakoca around 1200 BC but the city was first founded as Dia by a Boeotian Greek tribe in 650 BC. Called as Tospolis by the Romans, the city then renamed as Diapolis during its Byzantine period (Prefecture of Akçakoca, 2015). Akçakoca was popularly known as the successor of ancient Diapolis and it was anonymously identified with this name, also in many sources.

In several medieval portolan charts, a coastal city called "*Lirio*" appears as the only settlement in the location of Akçakoca, also with a river mouth (Vesconte, 1321; Dulcert, 1339; Soler, 1380; de Vallseca, 1447; de Canepa, 1489; Aguiar, 1492). According to Marcian of Heraclea (4th c.), Dia was a town and harbor 60 *stadia* from the mouth of Hypius (*Melen Çayı*). Claudius Ptolemy (100-170) and Stephanus of Byzantium (6th c.) mention Dia of Bithynia in Pontus as well. Liliium was an emporium 40 *stadia* east of Dia that Arrian of Nicomedia tells (c. 86-160) (Cramer, 1832, p. 202). Lastly, Lilæus was described as a river of Bithynia, falling into the Black Sea in Lilæum (Hazlitt, 1851, p. 203). When considered an approximate distance of 100 *stadia* (between 15-20 kilometers) from the recent mouth of *Melen Çayı*, which might have been shifted over time, the settlement which was described as Liliium somehow matches with the recent location of Akçakoca. Thus, among the two historical settlements near Akçakoca city center; being Dia / Diapolis and Liliium / Lilæum / *Lirio*, it can be assumed that the former has lost its importance in medieval times, so it was not shown by the maps of the related period and the latter came into prominence in the area that the medieval Akçakoca Castle is the most probable place for it. Altogether, it seems like both of the aforementioned settlements remain in the west of the modern city center, where Akçakoca Castle is located. In this case, the shown river mouths in the portolan charts belong to the river of Lilæus, which must be one of the three brooks in Akçakoca. When the location of Akçakoca Castle has been considered, these rivers are *Sarma*, *Orhanlı* and *Haciz*, from the closest to the farthest, respectively. Exactly the same result has also been stated by Gordeev (2015, pp. 27-28) for *Lirio* and Akçakoca, after a thorough investigation of 299 medieval portolan charts that the name of Dia / Diapolis does not appear in any of them. It should also be noticed that *Lirio* has always been written black among two main colors on those portolan charts for settlement names, where red indicates commercial harbors (Campbell, 2017).

Akçakoca Castle is located around 2.5 kilometers east of Akçakoca city center and it sits on a promontory, looking to the Black Sea over a cliff. The castle was northwest-southeast

oriented and its southwestern, south and partially northeastern sections have slightly better conditions than the rest. Akçakoca Castle has an irregular shape and it was mainly constructed with roughly shaped rubble stone but it is also possible to detect a limited brick usage and clearly larger blocks in the lower sections. Therefore, it can be assumed that the castle has at least two main construction phases. Brick materials were mainly placed between rubble pieces to stabilize them, to provide arched openings and bands for wooden floor beams on the main tower at south. The tower is the most distinctive structure of the castle, which was probably the main landward defensive element but now has a collapsed front façade and severely damaged walls. Its corners have slightly better hewn pieces and the inner castle area has a cistern with interior buttresses. The semicircle eaves on the western wall of the fortress, which UNESCO (2013) mentions could not be seen due to high vegetation. According to Marcenaro (1993, pp. 53-56; 1995, p. 96; 2005, p. 138), the castle was probably built in the 13th century and the Genoese held it for a while, perhaps with the Byzantines that landings were certainly popular and sometimes controlled from Genoa and its merchants. Then, the castle was conquered by renowned Akça Koca in 1323, a military pioneer during the reign of Osman I (r. 1299-1323/24), the founder of the Ottoman Empire. The castle probably had repairs or alterations by the Ottomans through centuries.

The fortress of Akçakoca, which is another "Genoese Castle", separates from the others in the western Black Sea coasts of Anatolia, mentioned in this section. The situation of Akçakoca Castle shows no big difference from them but in fact contains some mystery due to the disappearance of the famous Akçakoca predecessor Diapolis and the emerging of nearby *Lirio* on its location in portolan charts. Even so, the castle was included to the Tentative List of UNESCO in 2013 together with Çandarlı Castle, Foça Castle, Galata Tower, Yoros Castle, Amasra Castle and Sinop Castle under the name of "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" (UNESCO, 2013). Existing and possible Genoese characteristics of the remaining five fortifications are mentioned in this study upon available resources, evidential proofs and deductions.

UNESCO (2013) states that: "The Genoese put their coat of arms on the wall of Yoros Fortress in Istanbul and Amasra Fortress to indicate their adding to the building. Results of some chemical analysis on brick and plaster used in Akçakoca Fortress, show it was built in the same period as the Yoros Fortress and the Amasra Fortress. This result supports the idea that this building was used by the Genoese" (UNESCO, 2013).

Firstly, the Genoese mural slabs of Amasra are famous but no Genoese coat of arms were discovered in Yoros Castle and the only Genoese artifact discovered on the castle is a lost inscription, without any coat of arms (see Appendix 1). However, these facts are completely irrelevant to Akçakoca Castle, as no Genoese artifacts were discovered in it yet. In addition, the stated chemical analysis for the used brick and plaster could not be obtained that is it published or not is also uncertain. The stated buildings (Yoros Castle and Amasra Castle) are Byzantine buildings to a large extent with very limited Genoese alterations, according to available scientific research for them (Hill, 1989, pp. 81-85; Hill, 1990, pp. 311-321; Hill and Crow, 1991, pp. 87-92; Hill and Crow, 1992, pp. 19-25; Hill and Crow, 1995, pp. 251-266; Kurugöl and Tekin, 2010; Marek, 1989, pp. 385-386) and remarks of a senior specialists to this issue, Prof. Eyice (2001, pp. 234-238) (see 3.4.1 and 3.4.3).

Byzantine origins of Akçakoca Castle and specifically the uncertainty of its "Genoese" identity were also mentioned in a few recent studies (Ak, 2010, pp. 73-74; Kalıncı, 2010, p. 106) that the findings from very limited archaeological surveys around the castle match with Hellenistic and Turkish periods (Dörner, 1962). Therefore, the brick and plaster analysis, mentioned by UNESCO (2013) may only prove that Akçakoca Castle is also another Byzantine building, like the castles of Yoros and Amasra. It can also be said that rather early and ambiguous Genoese period of the castle before its Ottoman conquest, and when considered the documented Genoese constructions of the late 14th and early 15th centuries in the Black Sea coasts of Anatolia, the possibility of any significant Genoese alteration on the building seems low.

The conditions mentioned above do not show that Akçakoca Castle was never occupied or used by the Genoese but it can also be said that available sources are not enough to prove its Genoese origins as a building or show its difference from other Byzantine fortresses, which are so called "Genoese". Furthermore, its commercial importance is also obscure with respect to medieval portolan charts. The listing submission was made by the Permanent Delegation of Turkey in 2013 UNESCO and their selection of Akçakoca Castle can also be questioned in this case that reasons for the exclusion of other castles in the western Black Sea coasts of Anatolia and especially an example with a rather strong Genoese identity in the northern Aegean, Enez Castle are unknown (see 4.2).

3.4.2.4- Karadeniz Ereğli Castle

Karadeniz Ereğli²⁸² is a midway between the western and central parts of the Anatolian Black Sea coasts that the city has always been an important harbor city. A very short Genoese period just after the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) followed by the occupation of the Empire of Trebizond until 1214. In that year, the Nicaean emperor Theodore I Laskaris conquered Heraclea Pontica and the city then became a part of the restored Byzantine Empire in 1261 (Tuncel, 1995, p. 289).

The Genoese influence on Heraclea Pontica has increased after the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) and through the 14th century, the city became an important commercial center for the Genoese merchants, during their expansion to the east. Later on, the Genoese have seized Heraclea Pontica, which was also called as "*Punta Rachia*", "*Eraclea*" or "*Penderachi*" by them (Vanzon, 1830, p. 1293; Yaman, 2011, p. 41).

The date of the Ottoman conquest is uncertain that the years of 1327, 1360, 1393 and 1397 were given by several sources (Tuncel, 1995, p. 289; Yaman, 2011, p. 42). Ruy González de Clavijo, who visited Karadeniz Ereğli in 1404 mentions that the city was being sold to the Turks by the Byzantine Empire around 1370s with a very high price (de Clavijo, 1859, pp. 56-57). The Genoese have continued to remain inside Karadeniz Ereğli despite the Ottoman conquest, until the second reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481), who expelled them from the city (Vanzon, 1830, p. 1293).

A pair of engravings from 1717 and 1834 show the situation of the castle before its demolition in modern times. Its walls were extending from the hilltop to the Black Sea with straight sections, which were having square-shaped and regularly placed towers with crenellations that coastal protections for preventing possible enemy landings can also be seen. However, very few parts of the castle have survived.

According to a detailed study of Yaman (2011), especially for the Roman and Byzantine periods of Karadeniz Ereğli, the castle has four main construction phases; being the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman ones. During the first period, the castle was encircling a smaller area when compared with its later periods, and there was an acropolis on

²⁸² The city was established around 550 BC by Megaran and Boeotian settlers as Heraclea, which continued to live as an autonomous state for centuries except for the rules of Clearchus (c. 450-401 BC) and later Lysimachus (c. 360-281 BC). Continuous conflicts between the Kingdom of Pontus and the Roman Empire ruined the city and it was included to *Bithynia et Pontus* province of the Romans afterwards. Being renamed as Heraclea Pontica by them, it remained inside the Byzantine territories after the division of the empire in 395.

the hilltop. The walls were repaired around 302 BC but they have faced a major demolition when the Romans have pillaged Heraclea around 70 BC. Therefore, remnants of the Hellenistic walls are very limited and they can only be found in foundation levels. Then, the city was gradually rebuilt by the Romans, especially during the 3rd and 4th centuries that they have also reconstructed the Hellenistic castle and enlarged it to the northwest, due to a significant population growth in Heraclea Pontica. Wall sections from the Roman period are also few, which are mainly located in the coastal and eastern sections of the castle, including a tower with a fine masonry. The Roman masonry of the castle is distinguished with the usage of large rectangular blocks, which have approximate dimensions of 1 x 1 m. These blocks were attached with opus caementicium and relatively small blocks were placed in between to support larger ones. This technique was dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries .

The Byzantines have kept the enlarged Roman borders of the castle and the majority of its walls were reconstructed by them. A citadel was also added by the Byzantines to the acropolis area on the hilltop. One of the towers on the hilltop was having a residential function that its remains still exist, which were mainly constructed with brick. Most of the remained walls from Karadeniz Ereğli Castle have a Byzantine masonry characteristics, consisted of sequent roughly shaped stone and brick rows, likewise Yoros Castle. The stone type used by the Byzantines is grey-green colored local tuff and the blocks were attached each other with abundant mortar. According to a Greek inscription, the castle was repaired in 1206-1207 by David Komnenos that it was a Trapezuntine outpost at that time. It is possible to find disconnected Byzantine tower, wall and gate remains on the route of the castle through the irregular topography and almost nothing remained from the western section. In a portion of the remained walls at east, it is possible to detect *in situ* Hellenistic blocks below, which were finely hewn and have an approximate size of 3 meters, the Roman masonry above and the Byzantine repairs on top them, which gives the idea of having the same route since the Hellenistic period. The Ottoman repairs are rather minor and only located on top parts of some wall sections (Yaman, 2011, pp. 35-56).

Karadeniz Ereğli Castle was defined as an early 13th century Byzantine building to a large extent due to the masonry technique it has. Similar Byzantine castles from the 12-13th centuries, which were constructed on strategic hills and encircling medieval settlements can be found in Anatolia. These examples also have regular stone and brick rows (Yaman, 2011, pp, 60-61). There are significant uncertainties about the status of Karadeniz Ereğli under the Genoese hands and the exact dates of its Genoese period is also unknown, together with the

year of the Ottoman conquest. It can only be assumed that when the Byzantines have weakened in their isolated Black Sea territories, the Genoese have probably become more dominant in Heraclea Pontica and used its harbor more often until the arrival of the Ottomans but any repair or reconstruction on the castle does not seem very likely, with respect to the available research.

Due to continuous population growth and urban development in Karadeniz Ereğli, the majority of its castle was demolished and very few remnants are present nowadays.

3.4.2.5- Hisarönü / Filyos Castle

Hisarönü is located between Karadeniz Ereğli and Amasra, which is also known as Filyos²⁸³. The city was started to be called as Hisarönü (the front of the castle) by the Turks, probably because of the recent settlement's location in front of the medieval castle. The stream of Billaios (*Filyos Çayı*) gave the other name of the town (Sönmez and Öztürk, 2008, p. 134).

It has been said that with its harbor, Tios has become a thriving commercial emporium for the Byzantines, who also erected a fortress there. Around the 14th century, the castle of Tios was passed into the Genoese hands and the settling of them to the fortified town was probably occurred when it was belonging to the Isfendiyarids (Jandarids), before the conquest of the Ottomans by Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) (Marcenaro, 2005, p. 138). Being located just after "*Ponto Raquia*" (Karadeniz Ereğli), "*Tio*" (Hisarönü / Filyos) was described as an uninhabited Turkish castle with many soldiers as of 1404, which was also having a harbor at the foot of it (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 57).

Recent archaeological excavations show that the medieval Hisarönü Castle was constructed on the ancient acropolis area that the Hellenistic and Roman settlement was located between the acropolis and the current city center. In the Byzantine period, the settlement was moved into the castle and a 10-12th century church was discovered here (Karaca, 2010, p. 26). The acropolis still retains some of its ancient walls in the castle area with some Hellenistic-Roman

²⁸³ The city was established around the 7th century BC by the Milesians and it used to be called as Tios, Tieion and Tieium in ancient times. The Romans have pillaged Tios around 70 BC together with Heraclea and then entirely rebuilt in following periods. Being a fishing and trade city, Tios was also an Episcopal center during its Byzantine period. Its importance has gradually diminished through centuries and Tios was then turned into a small fishing town under the Seljuk and Ottoman rule.

buildings more, such as a ruined defensive tower, which was constructed with massive blocks (Sönmez and Öztürk, 2008, p. 135).

According to Marcenaro (1993, pp. 58-59), *Tio* was indicated in the portolan chart of Pietro Vesconte (1321) among the simple landing ports of the Genoese merchants; not a colony or an emporium. Between the mid-14th century and the conquests of Bayezid I (1389-1402), there were many independent emirates in Anatolia with very unstable boundaries. In this period, *Tio* was probably a part of the Jandarids (Isfendiyarids) and especially because of this instability, the Genoese were probably able to settle in Hisarönü / Filyos (Marcenaro, 1993, pp. 58-59). Stringa (1982, p. 361) claims that the Genoese have probably repaired and extended the existing Byzantine castle and among the subsequent construction layers, one of them can be attributed to the Genoese.

Hisarönü Castle was mainly constructed with massive, rectangular blocks but especially on its towers, it is also possible to detect the usage of rather small, well hewn pieces and roughly shaped rubble together. The blocks are probably *spolia* from nearby ancient buildings. Round and square-shaped towers with linking curtain walls resemble a securely defended set between the inner citadel area and outskirts of the flat promontory but the coastal fortifications were almost disappeared. It can be confirmed that the general appearance of the castle resembles a Byzantine building.

The castle was heavily restored in 2003 that its walls were altered and covered in many parts. Its assumed Genoese repairs can be compared especially with the well defined ones on the castles of Amasra for a better analysis (see 3.4.3.1).

3.4.2.6- Possible Roots of the "Genoese" Castles

It has been noticed that the number of coastal castles, said to be used by the Genoese is more than the ones at the central or eastern parts of the Black Sea. This situation could be handled as following the Treaty of Nymphaeum and the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, the Genoese were spread to the restored Byzantine (former Nicaean) territories; being the promised settlements in the treaty first and then more of them, which were not mentioned in it, especially some coastal settlements in the western Black Sea coasts of Anatolia. However, in the central and eastern coasts, other political powers were in charge and the Genoese were not signed such a generous agreement with them like they had with the Nicaeans (later the Byzantines). Therefore, they might have needed individual campaigns or negotiations for each colony in other areas. Using the Byzantine castles in the western Black Sea coasts and being present there were presumably much easier because of the vast privileges and close diplomatic and commercial relations brought by the Treaty of Nymphaeum in the beginning. Later on, the decaying authority of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia through decades became another important factor. Nevertheless, it must be indicated that structures anonymously called as "Genoese" but without any related evidence exist for the eastern parts of Anatolia and rarely also Aegean coasts, such as several caravanserais from Trabzon to Tebriz and the castles of Sinop, Bolaman (*Hayar Kale*), Giresun, Tirebolu (*Üç Kale*), Trabzon, Bayburt, İspir, Hasankale (Pasinler), Erzurum and Lapseki in the Dardanelles (Hamilton, 1842) (see 3.4.4, 3.4.6 and 3.4.7.1).

According to Eyice (1979, pp. 61-72), the Genoese were involved in the administrations of some major cities or fortified warehouses in the Anatolian coasts of the Black Sea but most of the anonymous "Genoese Castle" (*Ceneviz Kalesi*) attributions are inaccurate. The continuous landings of the Genoese merchants to several possessions in the Black Sea might have created this phenomenon that the Byzantines or the Turks often ruled these fortresses. For instance, the castles of Anadolukavağı (Yoros / Hieron) and the Rumelikavağı (Serapion) are popularly known as "Genoese Castles", despite being Genoese possession for a very little time in the mid-14th century. Even at the present time in the folk tradition, many ancient buildings are generically indicated as "from the Genoese" (*Cenevizlilerden*), although they have never frequented to these places. Some linguists correlate the word "*Ceneviz / Cineviz*" (Genoese) to "*Cin*" (spirit), therefore linking the ruins of walls or castles with the spirits of their former inhabitants (Eyice, 1979, pp. 61-72; Marcenaro, 1993, pp. 54-56). Nevertheless, castles occupied by the Genoese or designated as colonies can be identified through solid evidences

like historical documents, artifacts or slabs like the ones for Yoros, Amasra (*Samastrî*), Sinop (*Sinope*), Samsun (*Simisso*) and Trabzon (*Trebisonda*) that it is also possible to find detailed studies for the physical characteristics of their castles. The critical approach of Quirini-Poplowski (2017, pp. 257-263) to the castles said to be Genoese is also very significant to this issue.

Consequently, it is assumed that due to the rising Genoese dominance in the Black Sea during the 13-15th centuries, apart from the colonial settlements-which were held rather thorough in this study-some more Byzantine castles might have been used by the Genoese for short periods mainly for commercial or strategic reasons and without significant architectural changes, presumably like the castles of Yoros and Sinop. On the contrary, the castles never used by the Genoese could have anonymously named as "Genoese" too, only because of the fame and long-term activities of the Genoese in the Black Sea region.

It was also seen that the major Genoese colonies conquered by the Ottomans were in fact surrendered, such as Galata (1453), Amasra (1461), Crimea (1475), Chios (1566) and interestingly also the Gattilusio lordship capitals of Enez (1456) and Lesbos (1462). During the reign of Orhan Gazi (r. 1323/24-1362), the Ottoman navy assisted the Genoese to defend Galata in 1351-1352 against the Venetian, Byzantine and Aragon forces. The Genoese have helped the Ottoman troops in 1352 to pass the Dardanelles for invading the Byzantine lands in Thrace and a treaty with commercial concessions was signed in 1387 between these nations when Murad I (r. 1362-1389) was in charge. The Genoese have also helped Murad II (r. 1421-1444, 1446-1451) during the rebellion led by Mustafa Çelebi (1393-1422) in 1422. (Setton *et al.*, 1990, p. 231; Harris *et al.*, 2012, p. 331; İnalçık, 2006, p. 165). Thus, perhaps seized castles with unclear identities but the Genoese presence were attributed to this rather "collaborator" nation by the Turks, instead of belligerents like the Byzantines or Venetians.

When all of the related sources were assessed, confusion and uncertainty are inevitable to clearly prove or disprove the claims about the Genoese usage, alteration or construction of those castles. The most accurate information for these castles can be derived through detailed architectural analysis based on a comparative method and the investigation of *Massaria di Caffa* records, which might include the bills of possible repairs or reconstructions.

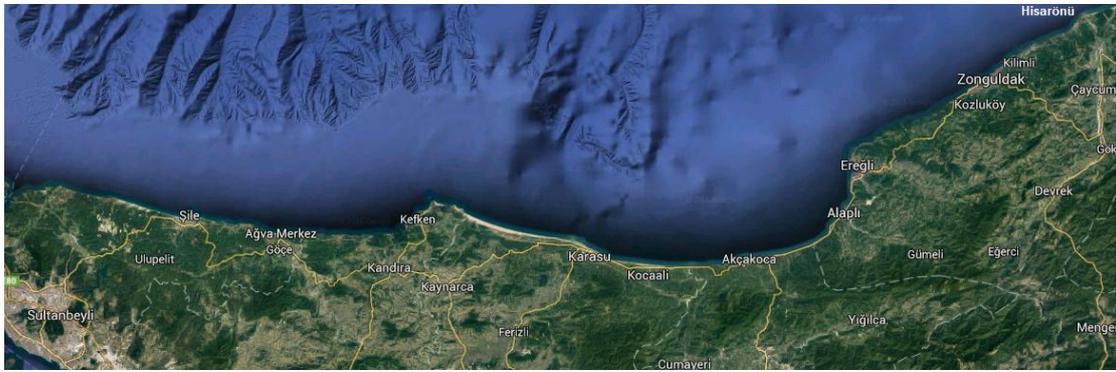


Fig. 405-406: Comparison of the portolan chart of Vesconte (1321) with an aerial view of the region; *Silli* = Şile, *Carpia* = Kerpe, *Fenoxia* = Kefken Island, *Zagari* = Sakarya River, *Lirio* = Akçakoca, *Nipi* = Alaplı, *Punta Rachia* = Karadeniz Ereğli, *Tio* = Hisarönü (Google Maps, 2015; Gordeev, 2015, pp. 12-19)

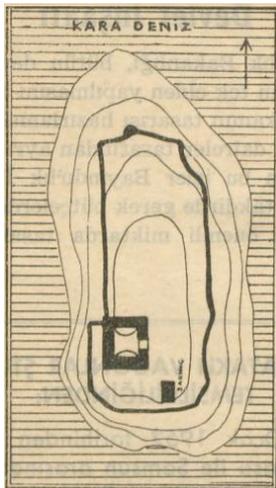


Fig. 407-408: The plan of Şile Castle and its situation before and after the restoration of 2015 (Fıratlı, 1952, p. 18; IHA, 2015)



Fig. 409-410: Locations of Kefken Island and Kerpe, and the aerial view of the island (Google Maps, 2015)

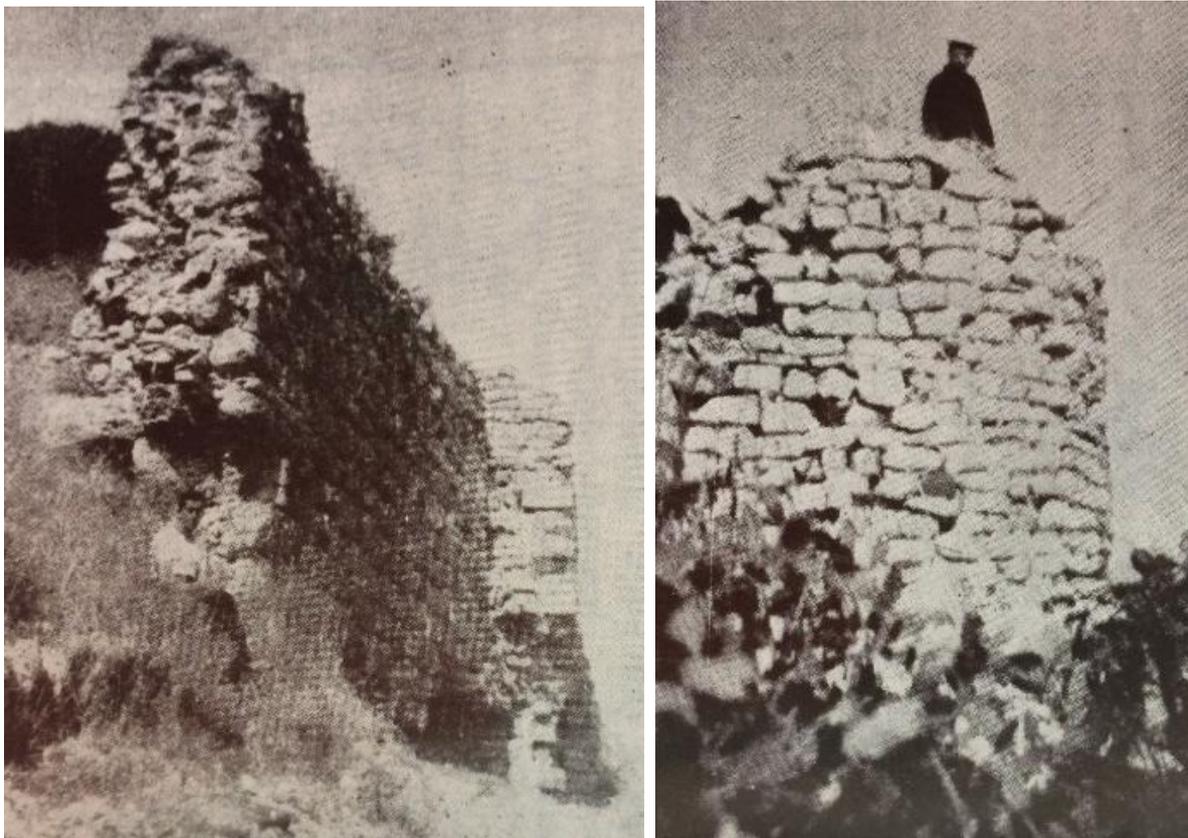


Fig. 411-412: Circular towers and walls of the Byzantine castle in the west of Kefken Island with masonry made of relatively small blocks and khorasan mortar (Fıratlı, 1953)



Fig. 413-414: The masonry of southern and eastern parts of Kefken Island Castle with relatively large blocks and without mortar; and the coastal part of Kerpe Castle (Fıratlı, 1953)



Fig. 415-416: Aerial view and southeastern section of Akçakoca Castle (Google Maps, 2015)



Fig. 417-418: A close up from the eastern walls of Akçakoca Castle, where larger blocks and roughly shaped rubble can be seen together and the southern tower of it with fairly visible brick rows (Google Maps, 2015)



Fig. 419: Southwestern walls of Akçakoca Castle, built with mixed materials (Author, 2015)



Fig. 420: The plan of Karadeniz Ereğli Castle in the Hellenistic period (Yaman, 2011, p. 85)

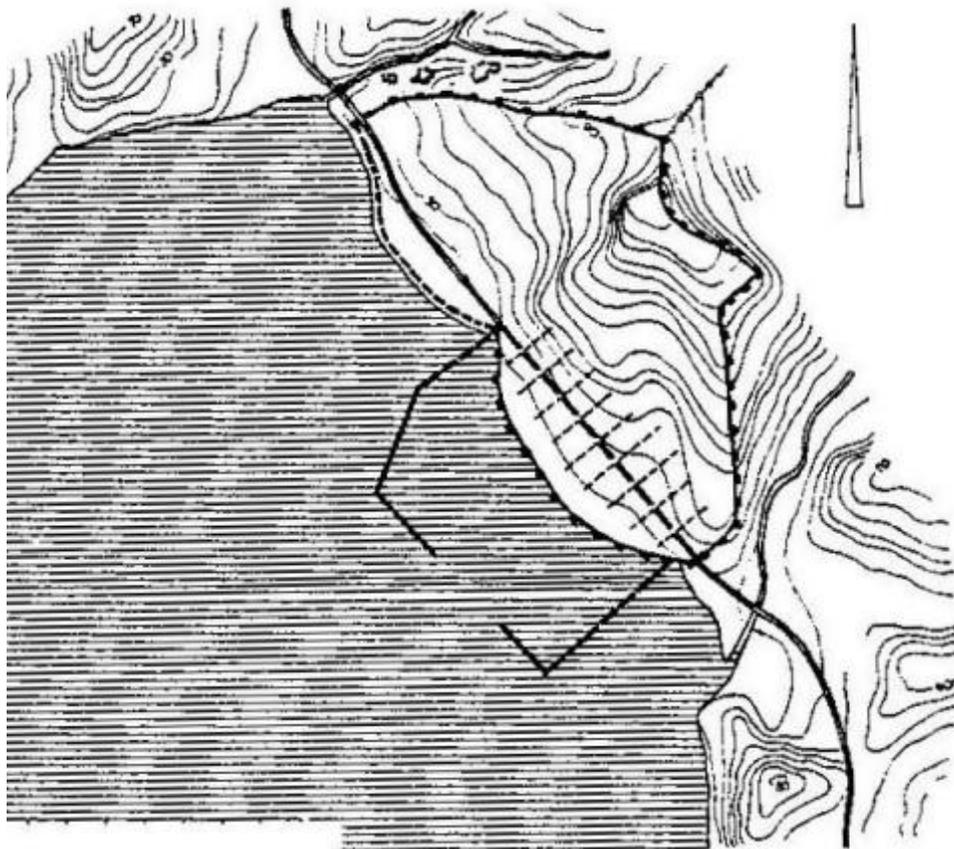


Fig. 421: The plan of Karadeniz Ereğli Castle in the Roman and Byzantine periods (Yaman, 2011, p. 86)



Fig. 422: Karadeniz Ereğli in 1717 (de Tournafort, 1717, p. 184)



Fig. 423: Karadeniz Ereğli in 1834 (Sayger and Desarnod, 1834)

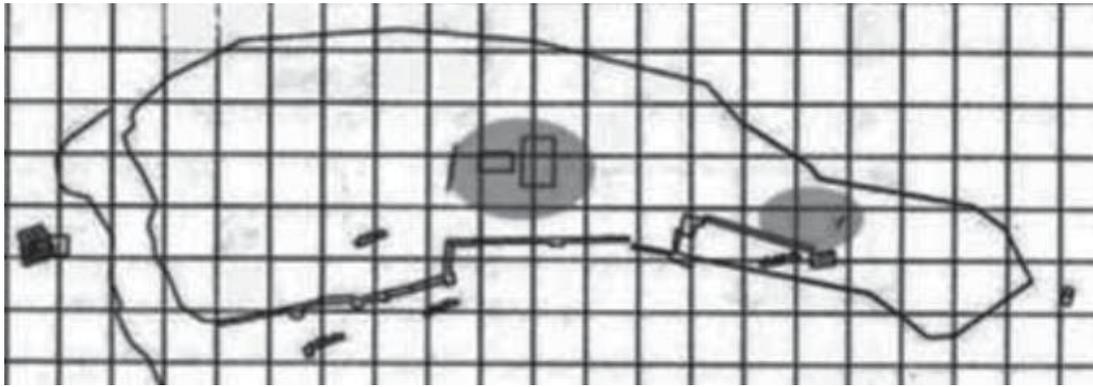


Fig. 424: The plan of Hisarönü / Filyos Castle (Atasoy and Yıldırım, 2011, p. 10)



Fig. 425: The land walls of Hisarönü / Filyos Castle, which were heavily restored in 2003
(Kebabcı, 2014)

3.4.3- Amasra

3.4.3.1- Castles of Amasra

The medieval defensive system of Amasra is consisted of two main parts, being *Zindan Kalesi* (Dungeon Castle) on the mainland peninsula and *Sormagir Kalesi* (Sormagir Castle) on "*Boztepe*" (Grizzle Hill), a former island at north. These fortresses are connected to each other with "*Kemere*" (Deck Beam) Bridge, which stretches over a narrow strait. The bays at each

side of the mainland peninsula called "Küçük Liman" (Small Harbor), "*Batı Limanı*" (West Harbor) or "*Antik Liman*" (Ancient Harbor) and "*Büyük Liman*" (Big Harbor) or "*Doğu Limanı*" (East Harbor). The former was the main harbor of the city in ancient and medieval periods but modern harbor of Amasra is located at east. The islands of Amasra at east of the castles are called as *Büyük Ada* (Big Island) at north and *Küçük Ada* (Small Island) at south. Together with six other fortresses in Turkish coasts, the castles of Amasra were added to UNESCO Tentative List in 2013 as "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" (UNESCO, 2013).

Zindan Castle has a slightly irregular plan due to the topography of the peninsula and it surrounds an area of approximately 500 to 100 meters. The land walls at south are well preserved and have a rather regular alignment but there is a slight shift in the center. Distances between the towers are not the same either, which vary between 10 to 30 meters. The towers have the shape of projecting squares from the land walls, being 6 to 9 meters wide and 4 to 6 meters deep, but only the tower where their alignment slightly shifts, has a broader (23 meters) and less projecting (around 2 meters) structure.

Entrance to Zindan Castle was provided with two bent and double gates, which are located to westernmost and easternmost parts of the land walls. The westernmost double gate (*İç Kapı* and *Dış Kapı* / Interior Gate and Exterior Gate) opens to the main castle area and the northern part of West Harbor, where foundations of a Byzantine lighthouse called *Direkli Kaya* (Pillared Rock) on a mole exists. This double gate also serves as a direct connection to Kemere Bridge, which is a passage between the two castles. The easternmost double gate (*Büyük Liman Kapısı* / Big Harbor Gate) directly opens to the inner castle area. There is also a line of lower, outer walls (*Hisarpeçe*) with bastions and possibly a ditch in front of the main land walls. Bastions of this outer wall were placed between the towers of the main wall line behind. The ditch seems entirely disappeared due to modern development.

Towers of the land walls have solid cores to a large extent and their upper parts were arranged as shooting chambers with arrow slits and open terraces with battlements above them, which continue between towers through the walls as well. Land walls and towers of Zindan Castle were constructed to an area where the topography rises sharply, so there is a significant height difference between their exterior and interior façades. The connection from the inner castle area to terraces above the walls was provided with stairs in some parts.

There is a separate fortified section at east of Zindan Castle, like a small citadel, which sets a midpoint between the main and inner parts of the castle. Names of the citadel and the inner castle are "*Kışla*" (Barracks) or "*Ceneviz Köşkü / Şatosu*" (The Genoese Kiosk / Chateaux) and "*Baruthane*" (Gunpowder Magazine), respectively. The gate between the inner castle and the main castle area (Zindan Gate) skips the citadel. Immediately on the right of it, there is a high opening with a an important Genoese slab (see A.7.1) above, which might be an entrance to the citadel. A modern street runs from the main castle area to the inner castle through the citadel, which caused severe demolitions on walls. Therefore, it is unknown that two destroyed positions on walls due to the street were the locations of former gates or not. A postern with stairs was connecting the citadel to the lower terrace between the outer walls and the main land walls. Well protected citadel part might be occupied by the commander or consul of *Samastri* during the Genoese period.

The seaside walls have an irregular plan and a relatively lighter structure, as rocky cliffs of these parts provide enough defense against intruders. Two small gates are located at north that the western coastal gate is called *Yalı Kapısı* (Shore Gate), which looks to the eastern part of Boztepe and the eastern coastal gate is called *Kuşna Kapısı* (Kuşna Gate), which looks to the Small Island through the northern walls of the inner castle. Coastal walls of Zindan Castle are partially missing in central and western parts that the majority of this section is covered with dense vegetation.

Sormagir Castle also has an irregular shape due to the rocky topography of Boztepe and its whole northern side was left without any fortification due to the impassable, sharp cliff there. The castle has a main entrance called "*Karanlık Yer*" (Dark Place) from Kemere Bridge and Zindan Castle, which has a barbican with slots for a portcullis. A smaller coastal gate nearby (*Küçük Liman Kapısı / Small Harbor Gate*), which is later walled up was providing a secondary entrance from Sormagir Castle to the West Harbor. The western part of the castle has similar towers to the ones on the land walls of Zindan Castle. The former breakwater, now submerged was starting from the western end of Sormagir Castle, in order to protect the West Harbor. Interior façades of the western coastal walls of Sormagir Castle have buttresses, which were possibly carrying a wooden platform above the walls, running through the upper parts of solid towers in this section. The height difference between the exterior and interior façades of these walls is also significant like in Zindan Castle that the lower parts were again built like retaining walls.

The towers in the eastern section of Sormagir Castle are both rectangular and triangular-shaped. This section is also covered with high vegetation like the coastal walls of Zindan Castle. A small gate called *Hacı Denizi Kapısı* (Pilgrim Sea Gate) was placed in the central part and it is directly looking to the Big Island. Through the hilltop, faint traces of further inner wall lines exist behind the coastal walls of Sormagir Castle, together with foundations of two large buildings at east and west, attached to the coastal walls from inside. It seems like the inner walls of Sormagir Castle were also having towers or bastions.

The meaning of Sormagir Castle's Turkish name (literally means "don't ask, come in") was interpreted as "Keep Out" by Alper and Alper (2010, p. 133), so this exceptional phrase possibly related with the strategic importance of the castle also during the Ottoman period.

In Amasra, the medieval fortifications were mainly built with large stone blocks and mortar that bricks were generally used in arched openings and between blocks in some particular areas, especially on the citadel walls. Large stone blocks can be seen on the majority of the castle structure but especially the citadel of Zindan Castle has the usage of smaller and roughly shaped ashlars that some superficial repairs on the upper parts of land walls have this characteristics too. Significant *spolia* usage can easily be noticed and the used pieces have many elaborate human and animal figures, which were carved into white marble. This situation gives the idea of not all of the castle blocks were quarried during the construction but probably recovered from the Hellenistic or Roman ruins nearby.

The castles of Amasra were thoroughly studied by Hill in 1988, 1989 (alone), 1990 and 1991 (together with Crow) and by Marek (1989) and Tekin and Kurugöl (2010) to some extent as well that outlines of the history and main construction phases were revealed with their effort on Zindan and Sormagir castles.

According to the aforementioned surveys, based on a comparative method for the structures and deep historical research for detecting consistency, the buildings are almost entirely Byzantine structures that the majority of their plan layouts and constructions belong to the Early Byzantine Period. The castles of Amasra were erected at the same time and as a single structure that they were first constructed in the late 7th or the early 8th centuries and there is historical evidence for the use of the walls in the 9th century. Being located on late Roman and early Byzantine settlements of the city, nearly the whole construction materials were salvaged from the ruins of ancient Amastris. The location of Zindan Castle was formerly having the ancient acropolis that the outer land walls also cover the walls of the acropolis in some parts.

The construction was presumably funded by Constantinople for a strong "*theme*" (Byzantine province) castle like in Ankara and Amasya, which also protects the port.

Before the 9th century, Amastris was a center of "*katapanikion*" (a large regional command, headed by a senior officer called "*katepánō*"), with an important naval base of a Byzantine Black Sea fleet, commanded by an admiral. Then, the city became an archbishopric and military center of the Paphlagonia province that Gangra (Çankırı) was its administrative capital. The West Harbor has been used for military purposes and its bay was better protected as a result. The defensive plan layout of Sormagir Castle is rather strong and adjacent to its walls, there are also foundations of large buildings made of brick and stone, which were presumably having military functions too. Therefore, Sormagir Castle was possibly occupied by the naval garrison and Zindan Castle was left for the protection of the local population.

The first construction phase of the late 7th or early 8th centuries has four subdivisions, which are represented with large, well hewn and dark colored andesite blocks all around the castles, being taken from the former monuments and used again, directly or with further dressing. The used mortar between these blocks has a darker color with abundant ceramic additives. The third subdivision of the first construction phase has the decorative usage of marble spolia on the blocks and stone dressings of this subdivision is similar to the 8th century masonry works of Nicaea (İznik). For example, the barbican of Sormagir Castle was added in the third subdivision and the inner parts of the gate belong to the first two subdivisions.

The second construction phase of the castles dates to the Middle Byzantine Period, around the late 10th and early 11th centuries. There is a consistency between the mortars and the used *spolia* of the churches inside Zindan Castle and the repairs of this phase. Therefore, it can be assumed that significant ecclesiastical and military improvements were done together to Amastris in the Middle Byzantine Period. The interventions of doubling the westernmost gate of Zindan Castle from outside and repairs on the walls of Sormagir Castle belong to this phase, which is represented with smaller stone blocks and a lighter colored mortar with less ceramic additives by percentage. The brick arch above the outer part of the westernmost gate of Zindan Castle was also added around the 9-11th centuries, according to a scientific analysis done for its bricks (Tekin and Kurugöl, 2010, pp. 769-771).

Apart from very limited modern additions, the final construction phase of the castles was carried out by the Genoese during the 15th century. Especially the inner castle, which is originally a Byzantine structure from the first phase was altered and some parts were added

to, which strengthens the idea of its special usage by the Genoese. A rectangular tower was constructed to the northwest of the citadel, which looks to the inner part of Zindan Castle. The tower is made of small ashlars and has a stone-framed window and machicolations above, together with a white marble construction slab (A.7.12).

Machicolations above the Middle Byzantine brick arch of the westernmost outer gate of Zindan Castle are also Genoese additions that the easternmost gate of Zindan Castle was doubled by the Genoese from outside too, which has another slab (A.7.11) as a lintel. Some arrow slits were modified as gun ports and with respect to the massive pillar inside the tower at east of the broad one, heavy torsion artillery was placed above it. There are various Genoese repairs on upper parts of walls and towers that some of them were also marked with slabs (see A.7.13). These alterations have slightly increased their heights with crenellations.

The Genoese have strengthened the southeastern part of the inner castle (see A.7.9, A.7.14 and A.7.15) and the walls of Sormagir Castle at higher sections, with the usage of small ashlars and a distinctive white mortar. Only two slabs (A.7.3, A.7.16) were detected as *in situ* on Sormagir Castle; on the small postern next to Karanlık Yer Gate and the coastal walls at east, respectively. In addition, the northern side of Karanlık Yer Gate was altered by the Genoese from outside, where an ornamental marble panel was placed above the lintel, which is now broken. In this phase, roughly shaped small ashlars, possibly taken from ancient buildings or another castle were reused and linked with white, strong mortar to each other that some works were marked with various slabs by the Genoese (Hill, 1989, pp. 81-85; Hill, 1990, pp. 311-321; Hill and Crow, 1991, pp. 87-92; Hill and Crow, 1992, pp. 19-25; Hill and Crow, 1995, pp. 251-266; Marek, 1989, pp. 385-386).

With respect to the very detailed studies mentioned above and the investigation of 2016 done by the author, it is supposed for the northern part of the citadel that the corner tower with a series of machicolations on its upper parts and the opening with a marble slab (A.7.1) above were added by the Genoese, due to having almost the same "Genoese" masonry and mentioned distinctive architectural elements. Below the aforementioned slab, there is a high, stone-framed opening with finely carved lintel and jamb supports, which was presumably a postern to the citadel with the help of a wooden drawbridge. There are also holes and gutter-shaped blocks possibly for hinges, at each lower side of the opening. Above the slab, there are remains of a three-legged machicolation to increase the defense that the gate was perhaps an entrance of the Genoese garrison in *Samastri*, formed in the mid-14th century with the order of

the doge. Between the rectangular tower and the corner tower with machicolations, there is a gate with a sumptuous Genoese slab (A.7.8) above, which consisted of two parts.

On the upper sections of the landward part of the citadel, there are some masonry additions with an opening, which are perceivable from both sides and show similarity to the "Genoese" constructions like the rectangular tower. The rest of the citadel, including the interior partition walls, northeastern ruined tower and northern walls of the passage, leading to the inner castle area also have a similar characteristics. Hence, it can be assumed that the inner castle was separated from the main castle area by the Genoese with the addition of the small citadel, which is one of the strongest reminiscents of the defined and further supposed Genoese constructions. Moreover, the newly-formed inner castle area was better secured by doubling the easternmost land gate of Zindan Castle. The citadel and the separated inner castle were presumably having slightly more important military, commercial and civil functions for the Genoese, when compared with Sormagir Castle and the main inner area of Zindan Castle, where the former Byzantine cathedral of Amastris was located.

Many Genoese mural slabs with various coat of arms were discovered on the castles of Amasra, being 21 in total. Eight *in situ* examples were superficially but consistently considered by Hill and Crow (1992, pp. 22-23) for detecting the Genoese constructions on the castles. Very few of these slabs have inscriptions but with respect to similar artifacts found in other Genoese colonies, these pieces show the Genoese repairs on the castles of Amasra during the 14-15th centuries. The majority the slabs were discovered on Zindan Castle and more precisely on its inner castle and the citadel, which supports the idea of its priority for the Genoese. As the castles are mainly Byzantine buildings and the Genoese slabs of Amasra consist the third most important group by quantity among the Black Sea colonies, coming after more than 60 slabs of Crimea (Feodosia, Sudak and Balaklava) and 44 ever-documented ones of Galata (Belgrano, 1877; Rossi, 1928), they show the locations of Genoese alterations on the Byzantine structures and the Genoese suzerainty on Amastris (*Samastri*). With respect to precise dates and supposed periods of Amasra slabs, the Genoese additions were occurred especially from 1400s to 1450s. For a better chronological understanding and detection of these interventions to the castles, the slabs of Amasra can be another guide in addition to thorough structural analysis. Thus, it is important to display all of them with their places and detailed explanations. A couple of recently discovered pieces with noteworthy French connections and the lack of interpretation for some existing ones put forward the necessity for

a newer and more comprehensive study, after the milestone works by Hasluck (1911, pp. 132-144) and Eyice (1953, pp. 27-35; 1965; 1987, pp. 5-27) (see A.7).

Eleven Byzantine churches in total were discovered in Amasra that the most famous two of them located inside Zindan Castle. These shrines belong to the Middle Byzantine Period and both of them were converted into mosques after the Ottoman conquest in 1461. The bigger one, dedicated to Pammakaristos became *Fatih Camii* (Fatih Mosque), which is still functioning and the smaller one became *İçkale Mescidi* (Inner Castle Masjid), which was closed to religious service in 1930 and currently serves as a cultural center. The rest of the Byzantine churches spread to Amasra as follows: three in the location of modern city center, two in Sormagir Castle, three in Tavşan Island and one more inside the easternmost tower of Zindan Castle. Although the castles, which were occupied by the Genoese used to surround five churches and especially two of them still display their original characteristics, any Genoese period usage or alterations on these buildings were not documented yet (Eyice, 1965, pp. 68-70; Hill and Crow, 1991, p. 88).

A Franciscan convent was established in *Samastri* before 1284 and a Latin diocese was also founded there in time. A record of *Massaria di Caffa* from 7 September 1424 and interpreted by Quirini-Poplowski (2017, p. 124)²⁸⁴ indicates that the Genoese have paid to a Franciscan chaplain of a church in *Samastri*, so most probably the former Pammakaristor (c. 1222) (later Fatih Mosque) but it is uncertain.

It was stated that the Genoese have erected a palace and various cisterns in *Samastri* but their locations, fates and current conditions are unknown; an issue which needs architectural evidence (Governorship of Bartın, 2011, p. 5). In addition, although the coins discovered in Amasra, being 375 in total and recently preserved by Amasra Museum are expected to represent the medieval history of the settlement until the Ottoman conquest in 1461, the latest examples of them belong to the end of 11th century (Ireland, 1992, pp. 26-27). Lunardi's (1980) detailed inventory of medieval Genoese coins from their colonial possessions does not have any examples from Amasra too.

Fortresses and some more civil architecture examples were erected during the Genoese periods of their Crimean colonies (especially *Caffa*) and Galata that existing Byzantine structures were also used. In *Samastri*, there were already an advanced defensive system and

²⁸⁴ ASG, *Caffae Massaria* 1423, 7 September 1424, fol. 418 r: "... *frater Antonius de Framura capelanus ecclesie Samastri...*"

an inhabited urban settlement from the Byzantines, which were presumably still functional despite their obsolete conditions at that time. Apparently, no separate building described as Genoese was survived from the city. Therefore, the Genoese constructions in *Samastri* were possibly consisted of partial alterations on the castles and perhaps harbor structures as well, when compared with their relatively large scaled constructions to the aforementioned colonial possessions. The Genoese alterations on the castles of Amasra differ from the Byzantine parts with their masonry and some more distinctive architectural features like machicolations. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Genoese have not only funded these constructions like the ones in Yoros and Samsun (see 3.4.1 and 3.4.5) but also involved in. When considered the main role of Sormagir Castle for the Byzantines as a naval base and successive defensive improvements done to it and the western parts of Zindan Castle by them, such as the addition of a barbican to "Karanlık Yer" and doubling the westernmost land gate, it can be claimed that a functional shift was occurred during the Genoese period from west to east within the castles.

Samastri was undoubtedly a very important but perhaps a rather utilitarian Genoese colony as it seems, also delimited in a small, challenging geography with few population growth. These conditions can be considered as restrictive reasons for large scaled constructions in *Samastri* by the Genoese, apart from the ones for military and commercial purposes.

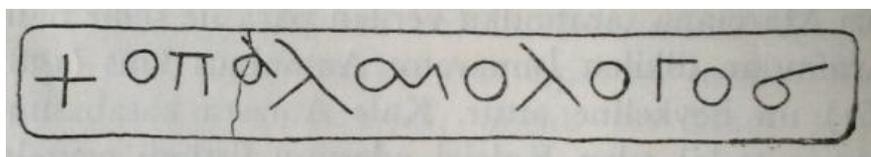


Fig 426: A Byzantine inscription from 13-14th centuries, discovered on the city walls and bears the imperial family name: "+ ο Παλαιολόγος" (o Palaiologos) (Eyice, 1965, p.68)

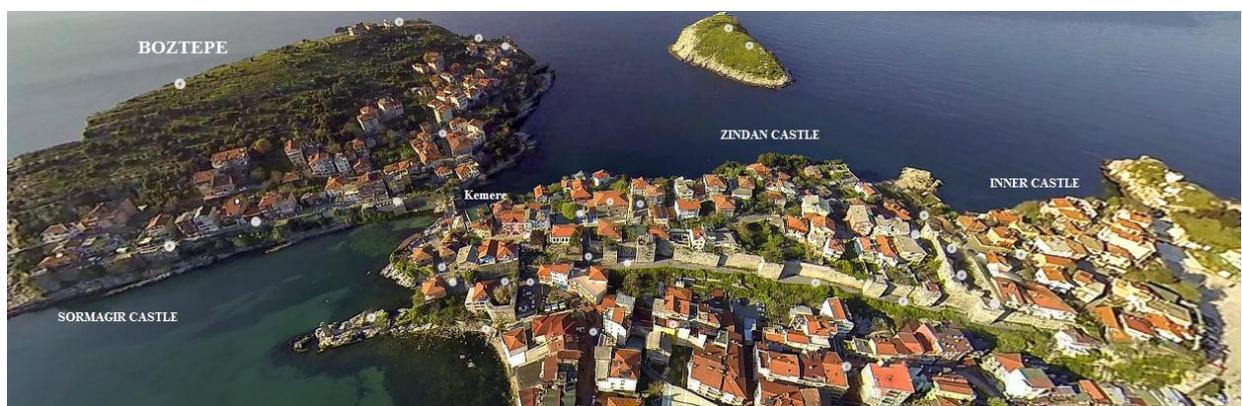


Fig. 427: Aerial view of Amasra and its castles (Amasra Sanal Tur, 2015)

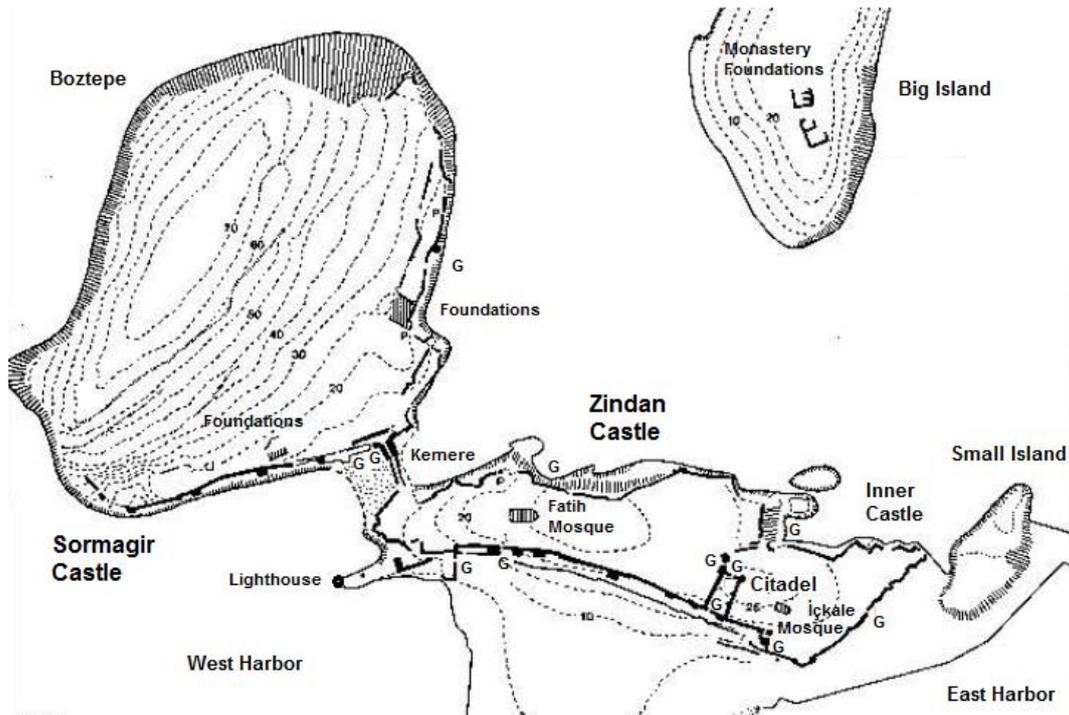


Fig. 428: Plans of the castles of Amasra that "G" indicates the positions of gates and posterns (see Appendix 8) (after Hill and Crow, 1991)



Fig. 429-430: The rectangular Genoese tower with a slab (A.7.12) at northwest of the citadel, next to Inner Castle Gate at left; and the small citadel gate at north with another slab (A.7.1) and machicolations above (Author, 2016)



Fig. 431: Machicolations, the stone-framed window and the white marble construction slab (A.7.12) of the rectangular Genoese tower at northwest of the citadel (Author, 2016)



Fig. 432: Rear views of the rectangular Genoese tower and the small citadel gate next to it at north (Author, 2015)



Fig. 433: Inner Castle Gate with a slab (A.7.8) as lintel, which is located between the rectangular tower and the northwestern corner tower of the citadel with machicolations (Amasra Sanal Tur, 2015)



Fig. 434-435: Different period constructions on the landward interior walls of the citadel, looking to southwest, with remains of an opening and the depth of the postern going down; and the closed postern of the citadel from outside (Amasra Sanal Tur, 2015)



Fig. 436: Different period constructions on the landward exterior walls of the citadel at southwest, with remains of an opening and the closed postern (Amasra.net, 2015)



Fig. 437-438: The westernmost outer gate of Zindan Castle with its early period base, middle period arch and Genoese machicolations above; and the easternmost outer gate of Zindan Castle with a Genoese slab (A.7.11) above that size differences between the used blocks are visible (Author, 2016)



Fig. 439-440: A tower of land walls with a Genoese slab (A.7.13) and modified upper parts; and the northern side of "Karanlık Yer" Gate (Amasra.biz, 2015; Author, 2016)

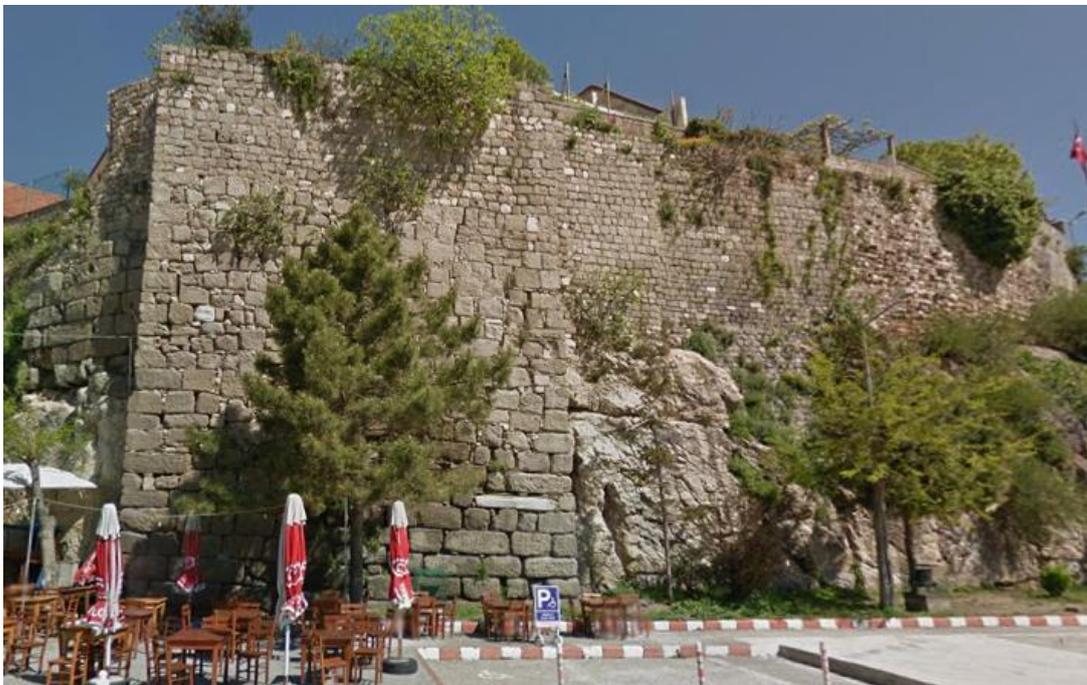


Fig. 441: The southeastern section of the inner castle with different period constructions that two Genoese slabs (A.7.14, A.7.15) were placed on the corner tower (the first one remains behind the tree, the other one is removed and in the museum) (Google Maps, 2016)

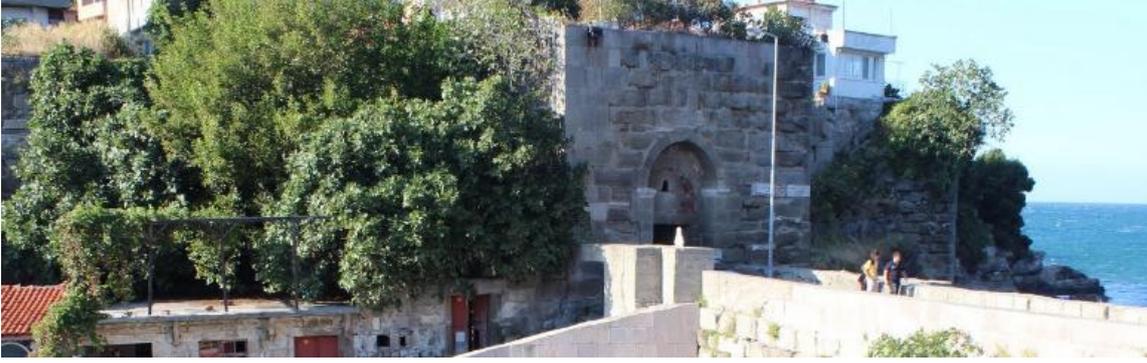


Fig. 442: "Karanlık Yer" Gate of Sormagir Castle from Kemere Bridge and the closed postern at left, behind dense vegetation (see A.7.16) (Author, 2016)



Fig. 443: The coastal walls of Sormagir Castle at east, which are covered with dense vegetation (see A.7.3) (Havadan Fotoğraf Çekimi, 2013)

3.4.3.2- History of Amasra and the Genoese Colony of *Samastri*

The exact foundation date of Amasra is unknown but according to Strabo, the city was established by the Amazons. The city was then occupied by the Kaskians in the 14th century BC and the Hittites in the 13th century BC. Through the end of the 12th century BC, the Phrygians were settled to Bithynia, where the province of Amasra, Bartın now located but Sesamos (Amasra) of Paphlagonia region became a Phoenician colony that Heraclea (Karadeniz Ereğli), Kromna (Kurucaşile), Kytorus (Cide) and Sinope (Sinop) were other colonies of them nearby. In the 9th century BC, the Phoenicians left Sesamos and the settlement then became a part of the Ionian and Milesian colonies in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, respectively (Eyice, 1965; Governorship of Bartın, 2011).

After the Cimmerian and Lydian occupations in the late 7th century BC and 580, the Achaemenid Empire took control of Sesamos in 547. During the final phases of the Achaemenid period of Sesamos in the late 4th century BC, the cities of the area were included to an autonomous structure. When the Achaemenid Empire collapsed after being defeated by

Alexander the Great in the Battle of Gaugamela (331 BC), the nephew of Darius III, princess Amastrine was married with Craterus, a Macedonian general under Alexander the Great. Their marriage does not last for a long time and the divorced princess then moved to Sesamos, where she set up a synoecism together with nearby cities; being Kromna, Kytorus and Tium (Hisarönü). Important constructions of Amastrine during her reign between 302-286 BC in Sesamos, such as an acropolis, an agora, new neighborhoods, altars, temples, fortifications have resulted with the renaming of the city as Amastris (Sakaoğlu, 1966).

The city was conquered by the Kingdom of Pontus in 279 BC and during the Pontic period Amastris became an important fishing base. The next rulers of Amastris became the Romans around 70 BC and it was included to Bithynia et Pontus province of the Roman Empire. The 1st and 2nd centuries have witnessed significant Roman constructions to Amastris; being a monument (*Kuşkayası Yol Anıtı*) to provide fresh water for legionnaires under way, during the reign of Claudius (41-54) and a new theatre, acropolis, necropolis and most probably a council house (now *Bedesten*), during the reign of Trajan (r. 98-117). The remains of these monuments are still visible. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 395, Amastris was remained inside the Byzantine Empire. The 8th century was a bright period for the city that existing Roman roads were repaired together with the castles and the city thrived with commerce. The Crusades have weakened the connection between Constantinople and distant Byzantine provinces, so Amastris fell from grace between the late periods of 9th and 11th centuries but two Middle Byzantine Period churches now constitute the most noteworthy civil architecture heritage from the Byzantines in Amasra. Following the Battle of Manzikert (1071), Turkish migrations have started to the area (Eyice, 1965; Governorship of Bartın, 2011; Sakaoğlu, 1987).

The Genoese were already involved with sea trade in the Black Sea for a long time and this activity was then followed by establishments of many significant colonies in following periods. Starting from the mid-13th century, the Genoese have started to become more dominant in Anatolian coasts due to the weakening authority of the reestablished Byzantine Empire. After successful Turkish conquests inside Anatolia, fortified Byzantine settlements at coasts became isolated from the empire and as a consequence, their administration became even more difficult from Constantinople. On the other side, difficulties of the Byzantines have provided an opportunity to the Genoese and Amastris was loaned to them in 1263 in return for some concessions but only in 1270 the Genoese merchants have started to settle in Amastris (Governorship of Bartın, 2011, p. 5), probably due to the struggles between the Byzantine

Empire and the Republic of Genoa in the mid 1260s (see 3.1). A factory to the nearby *Qitoli* (Cide) was also established by the Genoese in this period (Canale, 1855, p. 367) but a Greek inscription discovered on the city walls of Amasra and bears the imperial family name of "Palaiologos" (*Παλαιολόγος*) shows that Amastris was still a Byzantine territory around the late 13th and early 14th centuries but its administration was passed to the Genoese, until becoming a *de facto* possession of them in the end. Galata and Enez were other example settlements to this issue that there were no official handovers or conquests and the Byzantines have continued to be *de jure* owner of the aforementioned settlements but the Byzantine control on them was completely lost afterwards (Eyice, 1965, pp. 29-30).

Until its conquest by the Ottomans, Amasra remained as a Genoese colony for nearly 100 years and it was called as *Samastri* or *Samastro* by them during this period. The exact date for the start of the Genoese colonial period in Amastris after their tenancy is unknown but it can be assumed upon a Genoese marble slab, which is still on northern citadel walls of Zindan Castle and points the mid-14th century; 1339-1344 or 1356-1363, the reign of Doge Simone Boccanegra in the Republic of Genoa (see A.7.1). While the records of *Massaria di Caffa* of 1381 transcribe the expenses of the Genoese garrison of *Samastri* only since 1378 and the first mention of a consul to the position for directing the *fondaco* there is in 1386 (Stringa, 1982, p. 346). It can be assumed that the Genoese garrison was being formed inside the citadel of Zindan Castle during the second half of the 14th century.

As of 1387, the Greek Orthodox episcopate in the city has become so poor that the archbishop of that time emphasizes the impossibility of administrating the church and continuing the duty without more monetary aid. It is assumed that in order to continue keeping the control of *Samastri* by paying tributes or helping the Ottomans, the Genoese possibly made an agreement with Bayezid I, who conquered Anatolian beyliks (except for the Jandarids) near Black Sea coasts in 1392-1393 but left *Samastri* to the Genoese. Starting from 1398, a consul and clerk were directly sending from Genoa to *Samastri* and then it became an administrative subdivision of *Caffa* based *Officium Gazariae*, which secured its Genoese colonial suzerainty. The settlement outside the castles of *Samastri* were left to local Greeks and the Genoese have almost ignored this area (Eyice, 1965, pp. 31-32). According to Ruy González de Clavijo, who visited *Samastri* in 1404, the city was belonging to the Genoese and consisted of two parts on hills, both surrounded with walls that a bridge with two gates at each end connects them. Outside the walls of the inland part, there are ruins of great buildings like churches, palaces, and houses; perhaps from a brighter past (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 57). Presumably, the

Genoese were only using the harbor for commercial purposes and carefully protecting it with the strengthened fortifications. According to the memoirs of Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian who was captured by the Ottomans in the Battle of Nicopolis (1396), the ship which he used to return home through the Black Sea sheltered to *Samastri* harbor for three days, in order to escape from an aggressor Turkish ship. Therefore, *Samastri* can be considered as a safe Christian outpost in the early 15th century, which was surrounded by Turkish lands (Schiltberger, 1879, p. 100).

Some known Genoese consuls of *Samastri* are Domenico Spinola (1410), Branca Doria (1421) and Teodoro Leardo (1449) (Jorga, 1902, p. 245; Stello, 2011, pp. 88, 90).

In 1449, *Samastri* became an overseas administrative division of Galata (Pera). For instance, a document published by Belgrano (1877, p. 221)²⁸⁵ and dated 15 April 1451 mentions the future *podestà* of Pera Angelo Giovanni Lomellini (r. 1452) and the election of Agostino Usodimare as the consul of *Samastri* together. Yet, administrative relations of Galata with Crimea coexisted for a little more while but when it was finally conquered by the Ottomans together with Constantinople in 1453, Black Sea coasts of the Genoese ran into danger. They have continued to control their Euxine colonies by paying heavy tributes to the Ottomans but at the same time commercially and militarily weakened over time. Following 1453, administrations of the majority of colonies, including the ones in the Black Sea were passed from the Republic of Genoa government to the Bank of Saint George (*Banca di San Giorgio*) in Genoa with full authority. This bank made an aid to Black Sea colonies in 1455, which includes weapons, soldiers and supplies. As of 1459, *Caffa* had a deficit in the budget and more monetary aid has been made, with the given order of cutting down the avoidable costs in Black Sea colonies. In the meantime, the Genoese garrison in *Samastri* was reduced to only 30 guards. Then, the Genoese have understood the impossibility of keeping *Samastri* in their hands for a long time. They have started to evacuate the colony and decided to look for a possibility of negotiation with the Ottomans after surrendering without a resistance, which was happened in 1461 (Eyice, 1965, pp. 33-35; Sakaoglu, 1966, pp. 114-126).

The priority of the Genoese in *Samastri* was trade and they have used this colony as a port on the commercial route between Trebizond and Constantinople. The most profitable business for the Genoese was slave trade that the captured slaves from Crimea were first transported to *Samastri* and then sold to other markets from here (Governorship of Bartın, 2011, p. 5).

²⁸⁵ ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1438-1469), 15 April 1451, no. 9, X. 112 (doc. CXLIII).

3.4.4- Sinop Castle

Sinop is located in the central part of Anatolian Black Sea coasts and the city lies on a narrow isthmus between Boztepe peninsula and the mainland. The history of the city dates back to prehistoric times but the importance of the city has increased during the Hellenistic period, with the establishment of an Ancient Greek colony there. Sinop is surrounded by fertile lands and it was always an important city due to having a busy harbor, which was mostly used for local commercial activities within the Black Sea, as main gateways between western and eastern trade routes were Amisos (Samsun) and Trebizond (Trabzon).

The Kingdom of Pontus ruled the city for nearly 300 years and Sinop Castle was built during this period, in 220 BC, when Mithridates II was the king. Pontic period was followed by the Romans, until the division of the empire and the city always kept its maritime and commercial importance. During the Sultanate of Rum period in Anatolia and their successful campaigns in the 11th century, Sinop was remained in Byzantine hands as a coastal stronghold. The castle was gradually enlarged by the Byzantines, in addition to the existing Pontic and Roman fortifications. However, when the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) resulted with the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of the Latin Empire, Byzantine Empire was divided the into three and Sinop was remained between the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond. Although it was officially a Trapezuntine territory under the reign of the imperial Komnenos family, its distant location made Sinop vulnerable to Turkish attacks. The city was captured by the Sultanate of Rum in 1214 and the castle had a major reconstruction by the Seljuks. The fall of the Sultanate of Rum in 1243 has brought political instability and resulted with the emerge of small Turkish principalities (Anatolian beyliks). Following this period, Sinop was ruled again by Trapezuntines for a short time (1259-1266) but then mainly by mainly Pervaneoğlu (between 1266-1324) and Jandarids / Isfendiyarids (between 1324-1461) respectively, until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1461. Sinop Castle had further repairs and extensions by the Jandarids and Ottomans (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 72-88; Öz, 2009, pp. 252-256).

The Genoese were actively using the harbor of Sinop (*Sinope*) together with other Italian merchant nations like Venetians and Pisans but having their own quarter with a port, they were never able to establish a bigger colony there due to the strong Turkish presence in the city. The Genoese were a powerhouse in the commercial life of Sinop by bringing textile and glass products, soap and jewelry that the main commodity they export from Sinop area was

copper, possibly from the mines they were operating in Küre, Kastamonu area. According to a very detailed scientific study for Sinop Castle, the Genoese were not involved with any defensive construction in the city (Bryer and Winfield, 1985; p. 77).

Personal opinion of another senior specialist to this issue, Prof. Eyice is also consistent that according to his investigations, Sinop Castle is a Byzantine building and the Genoese were rarely involved with major constructions in the Black Sea coasts of Anatolia, except for Galata and partially Amasra (S. Eyice, personal communication, December 5, 2015).

The earliest Genoese traces in Sinop harbor dates to 1280 and they were probably having a consul in the city before 1351 that its existence was only confirmed in 1380-1390 and finally 1449 (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 72-88; Stringa, 1982, pp. 479-480). The date of 1351 comes from a claim that Sinop was marked with a Genoese flag on a portolan chart of that year but apparently famous Genoese colony *Simisso* (Samsun) was clearly marked with a Genoese flag in a sequence of 14-15th century portolan charts that Sinop was not having any individual markings on them, despite the much later conquest of the Ottomans in 1461 (Soler, 1380; de Vallseca, 1447; de Canepa 1489). Therefore, the map of 1351 might be misinterpreted, when considered the limited Genoese identity of Sinop and the existence of a well known Genoese colony nearby, being approximately 150 kilometers at east; a distance easily can be confused in a small-scale medieval map.

The Genoese were having a *fondaco*, *loggia*, consular residence, courthouse and chancellery in their quarter, which were frequently used by the Genoese merchants. It has been recorded that the Genoese warehouse was restored by consul Agostino Ricio in 1402. The possibility of using the existing older structures by the Genoese in Sinop or constructing their own civil buildings is an unclear issue, together with the lack of detailed studies for the remained Genoese built heritage in the city (Stringa, 1982, pp. 479-480).

Sinop Castle was included to UNESCO Tentative List in 2013 under the name of "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" together with six other coastal fortifications in Turkey (UNESCO, 2013) (see 4.2). At the same time, a marble slab found on Sinop Castle was allegedly correlated with the Genoese, by the former director of culture and tourism of Sinop province, possibly to strengthen the Genoese identity (Tosun, 2013). The discovered marble slab has three crosses placed inside upside down shields. Those crosses show no similarity to the Genoese crosses of Crimea, Galata and Amasra slabs that all of them have the same form (see Appendix 1).

In addition, the crosses of Sinop slab exactly match with the one on the Byzantine slab of Yoros Castle by form and shield type, which commemorate the Byzantine periods of both places. It has been quoted by Tekin and Kurugöl (2013, p. 27) from Eyice (1976) that the letters between the arms of the cross on Yoros slab indicate the title and name of Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425) as a monogram. The imperial family of Palaiologos has used a coat of arms where a cross with four "B" letters was placed inside an upside down shield and such examples with this form were seen on a church near the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus (*Tekfur Sarayı*), on a window of that palace and in the courtyard of *Panagia Kafatiani* church in Galata (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1961, pp. 321-322). Yet, the same coat of arms appears inside a western-style escutcheon on early-period Genoese slabs of Galata (see A.11.3-A.11.9).



Fig. 444: Marble slab found on Sinop Castle tower no. 42 (see map in the next page) (Tosun, 2013)

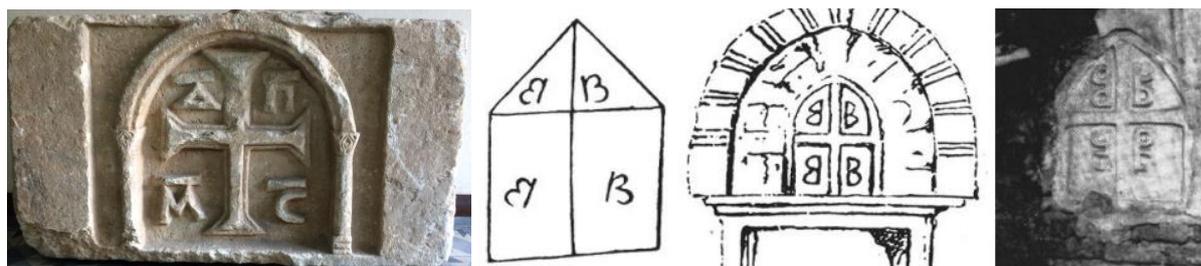
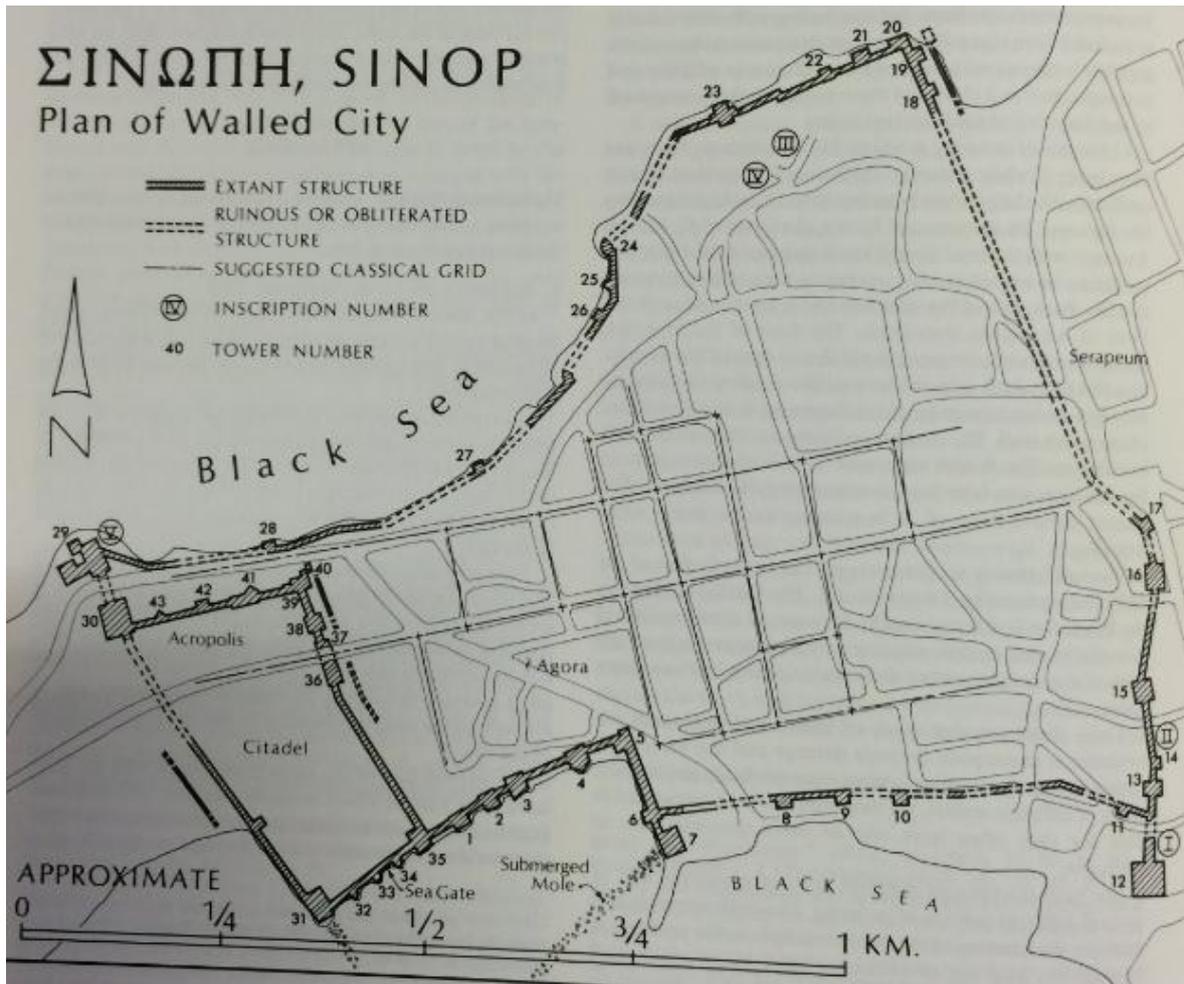


Fig. 445-446: The Byzantine slab of Yoros Castle, now in Istanbul Archaeology Museum (Author, 2015) and Palaiologos coat of arms found on a church near the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus (*Tekfur Sarayı*), on a window of that palace and in the courtyard of *Panagia Suda* church nearby, in Ayvansaray (the last three are perhaps different periods of the same artifact) (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1961, Pl. II)



SINOPE: THE WALLS

CONCORDANCE OF MASONRY TYPES AND TOWERS IN SINOPE

Type Letter:	?	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M
Tower No. 1			B	C									
2			B	C			G						
3			B	C			G						
4			B	C			G						
5			B	C			G						
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Fig. 447: Plan of Sinop Castle and its chronological analysis according to masonry; A: Pontic, B: Pontic or early Roman, C: Roman (5th c.?), D-E-F: Early Byzantine (to 13th c.?), G: Seljuk (1215), H-J-K: Isfendiyyarid (until 1461), L-M: Ottoman (after 1461) (Bryer and Winfield, 1986, pp. 77-88)

3.4.5- Genoese Colony of *Simisso* (Samsun) and its Disappeared Castle

Samsun is located between Sinop and Trabzon, in the central eastern part of the Anatolian Black Sea coasts²⁸⁶. The fertility of the city is related with its position between the river mouths of *Kızılırmak* (The Red River) and *Yeşilirmak* (The Green River) that the sole deltas of the whole narrow coasts of the Black Sea were located nearby (Kılıç, 2013, pp. 26-32)²⁸⁷.

Starting with the 11th century, Amisos had various campaigns from several Turkic states, mainly by the Danishmends but could not be conquered. Following this period, Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate seized the city in 1185 but when Kiliç Arslan II divided the sultanate between his sons the year later, Amisos was taken back by the Byzantines. Although the Anatolian Seljuks took control of the area in the mid 1190s, it appears that they could not conquer Amisos this time, so another settlement called "Samsun" with a triangular fortress was founded by them in the southeastern part of Amisos. This settlement formed "Muslim Samsun" (the modern-day city center) and Amisos was started to be called as "*Gâvur / Kâfir Samsun*" (Infidel Samsun) by Muslim Turks. Due to political instability related with military conflicts to conquer the area for its commercial and strategic potentials, the territory around Amisos, including Muslim Samsun had several handovers between Turkish states like the Seljuks, Anatolian beyliks of Black Sea and Ottomans and also sacked by Tamerlane in 1402. However, Amisos was remained as a Byzantine territory (and Nicaean between 1204-1261) until its occupation by the Genoese in the early 14th century, who were already having commercial activities in the city by having their own station as of 1285 and there are historical documents starting from 1289 (see A.7.4) (Bratianu, 1929; Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 94; Kılıç, 2013, pp. 20-21; Öz, 2009, pp. 83-88).

The existence of two different settlements can be seen in a medieval portolan chart that "*Simisso*" was marked with separate but adjacent Genoese and Jandarids (Isfendiyarids) flags (Soler, 1380).

²⁸⁶ The prehistoric period of Samsun was divided into eleven large and small settlements around but the recent city was founded on one of them called Enetê by the Milesians in the 6th century as Amisos, during the Greek colonization. Amisos was located on the hills of Baruthane and Toraman, in the northern part of Samsun. The city was then had Achaemenid (546-331 BC), Hellenistic (331-255 BC) and Pontic (225-64 BC) periods but its major commercial development and thriving were occurred during the Roman times. After the division of the Roman Empire, Amisos became a part of the Byzantine Empire and remained in their hands despite some wars and a short occupation by the Arabs from the Emirate of Melitene (Malatya) in 863 (Öz, 2009, pp. 83-88).

²⁸⁷ As a result, the region around Samsun does not only has a strategic position in the territory as a port between east and west, but also an exceptional agricultural and fishing potential. The most important commodities of the city were alum, wheat, salt, slaves, timber, beeswax, cannabis, fish, copper, soap, leather, textile products, grapes and wine in medieval ages.

Nicaean Amisos was a distant outpost of the empire and the two cities were commercially benefitting from each other. Yet, Amisos was still having attacks, especially from the Trapezuntine Empire, which was a more dominant former Byzantine power in the area when compared with the Nicaean Empire, the successor state of the Byzantines. Therefore, the city was administratively weakened over time and the Genoese took control, possibly without a hostility but definitely for their own benefit, as they were already allied with the Nicaeans, and later the reestablished Byzantine Empire with the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261). Amisos was started to be called as *Simisso* by the Genoese (Öz, 2009, pp. 83-88).

Following a short Ottoman period between 1398-1402, Muslim Samsun was returned to Anatolian beyliks hands again, after the sack of Tamerlane in 1402 but *Simisso* and Samsun were ultimately captured by the Ottomans in 1420 during the period of Mehmed I that both of them were surrendered without a war (Yılmaz, 2013, pp. 24-25). It is important to distinguish the two settlements of Samsun, which were definitely close to each other but there is an uncertainty about their exact locations. There are two main theories about the location of *Simisso* and its relation with Muslim Samsun, as no castles were fully survived from the city.

According to Bryer and Winfield (1985, p. 93-94), Amisos was completely abandoned during the 12th century and the late Byzantine settlement was moved to approximately 2 kilometers southeast of the hills, where Samsun city center now located on shore. Then, the Turks have captured the Byzantine coastal Amisos in 1214 and erected their own coastal castle on it that the oldest Turkish buildings of the city are also located here, in the northwestern part of Samsun city center (*Pazar Mahallesi* / Bazaar Quarter). The Genoese colony was established later and to the southeastern part of Samsun city center (*Kale Mahallesi* / Castle Quarter) that historical descriptions about the distance between Muslim Samsun and Genoese *Simisso* are like "an arrow's fly" (Schiltberger, 1879, p. 13) but the real distance between Baruthane and Toraman hills of ancient Amisos and Samsun city center is slightly more than these definitions. Therefore, two oldest quarters of recent Samsun may represent neighboring Byzantine (later Turkish) and Genoese fortified settlements. Hamilton (1836) and Smyth (1850) have defined the walls of Samsun Castle as having large, well-hewn and square blocks below and small stones with an inferior style of workmanship above. Thus, lower parts were defined as (late) Byzantine constructions and upper parts as Turkish additions (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 93-94). Another specialist to this issue, Dr. Quirini-Popławski from Jagiellonian University also agrees to this claim but adds that, in fact, there were not really two separate castles but the city walls of Samsun ruled by Muslim rulers and the fortified

colony of *Simisso* within, like a citadel in the southern part of it. According to Samsun city plan of 1856, it seems that there was another small castle inside the walled triangular area of the castle, in its southern part. In the Genoese sources concerning the Crimean colonies, the city walls and its citadel were usually named as "castles" (R. Quirini-Poplowski, personal communication, July 5, 2016).

On the other side, Yılmaz (2013, p. 364; 2015, pp. 20-24), supported by several other Turkish sources claims that the Byzantines have continued to use Amisos on Toraman Hill and its port at east, until the Genoese conquest of this part that the Turks had their relatively distant and triangular-shaped castle at the southeast. When the Genoese were evacuating *Simisso* (former Amisos) just before their surrender to the Ottomans, they set the whole castle fire not to hand it over in useful conditions. When the Ottomans took control in 1420, there were barely any structures left standing. Therefore, the area of former *Simisso* was started to call as "*Kara Samsun*" (Black Samsun) by locals, because of the fire and its trace on the former Genoese settlement. The Ottomans have continued to use Muslim Samsun. Some sources define the aforementioned fire as a devastating accident and the evacuation of the Genoese as a result of it. (Yılmaz, 2013, p. 364; Yılmaz, 2015, pp. 20-24). Toraman Hill of former Amisos is still called as "*Kara Samsun*" by locals and settlements there form "*Cedit Mahallesi*" (The New Quarter), "*Karasamsun Mahallesi*" (Black Samsun Quarter) and "*Kadifekale Mahallesi*" (Velvet Castle Quarter) of the city.

Details about the *Simisso* incident of 1420 were inscribed on a marble Ottoman slab, which was once placed on the coastal gate (*Kumkapı* / Sand Gate) of Samsun Castle. Clear photographs of the Ottoman inscription and the castle before its final demolition were found in the personal album of Sultan Abdul Hamid II but the slab was then disappeared. The meaning of the inscription is (Tüfekçioğlu and Boran, 2004, pp. 286-287);

"During the rule of Mehmed I-may his country last forever by the God-who is the son of the big sultan, ruler of veterans and mujahideen, who devastates polytheists and infidels, Bayezid I; the big emir, the gallant of the hajj, Mecca and Medina, Timurtaş Beg-may his rule be continuous-ordered the destruction of the "Frenk Castle". After the fire and demolition of the castle by the God in 823 (1420), whoever mentions the repair of it and employs someone for its repair, may the whole curse of the God, angels and humans will be on him."

"*Frenk*" is an Ottoman-Turkish word which is used for defining Catholic western Europeans, so the inscription is definitely about *Simisso* Castle. As the castle which inscription refers was

burnt by the Genoese and then demolished on purpose by the Ottomans with a grudge, the slab was therefore placed on another building nearby; Samsun Castle. The latter was also heavily damaged during the great fire of Samsun in 1869 and then demolished except for its inner castle, in order to open more space for modern urban development. Remaining parts of Samsun Castle were demolished between 1909-1918 for further new constructions on their plots (Yazıcı, 2013, p. 26; Sarısakal, 2016). Recently discovered wall sections remained from the castle verify investigations of Hamilton (1836) and Smyth (1850), which were transferred by Bryer and Winfield (1985) but the walls need further and up to date investigations for the origins of their different structural layers. So far, it is seen that the discovered sections have large, finely hewn stone blocks and a rubble core with abundant mortar in between.

The Genoese have started negotiations through ambassadors Giovanni Adorno and Carlo Guarco with the Ottomans in 1421, in order to obtain a permission for the reconstruction of *Simisso*. In the account books of *Massaria di Caffa* from *Archivio di Stato di Genova*, some bills indicate very significant amounts of money paid for the reconstruction of *castrum Simiso* between 1423-1425. Necessary materials and funds for the reconstruction work were directed from *Caffa* to a committee called "*commisarii delegati et ordinati pro redificatione castris Simiso*", consisted of Giovanni Adorno, Carlo Guarco and Battista Airola. Starting from 9 October 1423, there are bills of the first expenses for the workers employed by the Genoese; from 5 November for further people involved in the castle reconstruction and from 14 November precisely for the reconstruction (Quirini-Poplowski, 2016; 2017, p. 33)^{288 289 290}.

Finally, with an imperial firman dated 3 December 1423 by Sultan Murad II, the Genoese were officially allowed to reconstruct the ruined castle of *Simisso*, because of helping the Ottomans against the rebellion of *Düzmece Mustafa* (Impostor Mustafa) in 1421-1422 that Murad II was able to end the rebellion with significant military aids from Giovanni Adorno, *podestà* of Maona in *Foglia Nuova* and his successor Percivalle Pallavicini (see 3.2.5.5) (İnalçık, 2006, pp. 164-172; Kılıç, 2013, pp. 26-32; Turan, 1968, p. 179). As an interesting fact, the permission in the imperial firman for the reconstruction of *Simisso* Castle was opposite to the call on the Ottoman inscription of Samsun Castle, dated 1420.

²⁸⁸ ASG, *Caffae Massaria* 1423, 9 October 1423, fol. 437 r-v: Expenses for "*Parasoius murator*" in *Samastri*.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 5 November 1423, fol. 437 r-v: Expenses for the reconstruction of *Simisso* castle.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14 November 1423, fol. 124 v: "*Johanes Adurnus, Carolus de Goarcho et Baptista Vayrolus*"; "*commisarii delegati et ordinati pro redificatione castris Simiso*"; "*Qui camocati et peliparia dacti et consignati fueret dnis Johani et socijs pro [...] repacione dicti castris*".

Following the imperial firman of 3 December 1423, bigger sums of money were spent in 1424 by the Genoese for the reconstruction of *Simisso* castle (Quirini-Poplowski, 2017, p. 33). In a letter from 1 February 1424, members of the Genoese government express satisfaction due to obtaining permission from the Sultan by their compatriots for rebuilding *Simisso* stronghold of the northern Asia Minor (Ciociltan, 2008, p. 49). Under the supervision of the committee mentioned above, the reconstruction was carried out by a team of Greek builders sent from *Caffa* to *Simisso*; being "*Teodorus Grecus protomastori*" (first-constructor), his son "*Caloiane*", and "*Nicolla de Coihaise murator*" (bricklayer), according to *Massaria di Caffa* bills from 23-24 March 1424 and studied by Quirini-Poplowski (2016; 2017, p. 33)²⁹¹.

With respect to other *Massaria di Caffa* bills, reconstruction works for *Simisso* castle in 4 November 1423 and 9 August 1424 were mentioned by Stello (2011, pp. 61, 127-128)^{292 293}.

As of 1424, Italian sources start to mention a stable Genoese colony of *Simisso* again but presumably it was not as bright as the one before 1420 and diminished over time because there was no mention of a consul in *Simisso* anymore in the regulations for Gazaria of 1449 that *Sinope* was still having one (Schiltberger, 1879, p. 120). According to the Ottoman registries, a 5-people trading community called "*Frenkpazari*" (Frenk Bazaar) exists in Samsun in 1485, which was possibly a descendant of the former Genoese colony. The exact fate of the reestablished *Simisso* is not clear (Kılıç, 2013, pp. 26-32; Öz, 2009, pp. 83-88).

The Genoese constructions in *Simisso* are not fully known, as they have burnt their settlement before evacuating and the fortress had further demolition by the Ottomans, but reconstructed afterwards. Another big destruction has occurred in 1954-1956, during the installation of the US radar station (TUSLOG Detachment 3-2) on Toraman Hill, where Amisos was thought to be succeeded by *Simisso*. Walls of a castle, possibly belonged to Amisos / *Simisso* can be seen in old photographs and even nowadays that during public works some parts of it were unearthed. Although its precise borders are still unknown, the castle was located on the hill and also extending to the Black Sea coast at east by running down the hill, encircling the historical port as well, where the modern harbor is also located (Yılmaz, 2015, pp. 20-24). It

²⁹¹ ASG, *Caffae Massaria* 1423, 23-24 March 1424, fol. 437 v-438 r: "*Teodorus Grecus protomastori murator icturus Simiso*"; "*Nicolla de Coihaise murator h[ab]jitor ad porta[m] Sacharelli sub cem[?]o caloiane Jupareli sartoris / icturus Simisso provisionatus in Simisso*"; "*Caloiane filius Teodori h[ab]jitor ad portam Sacharelli / sub cem[?]o caloiani luparary sartoris / murator icturus Simiso prouisionat[us] Simiso*".

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 4 November 1423, fol. 75 v: "*Exenium unum fiendum dominis Iorisbassa et Subassi Simisso castris turcorum per Baptistum Vayrolum icturum Simisso debet nobis [...] asp. MDCLXXV Et sunt ex summa asperorum deliberatorum posse expendi occasione reparacionis dicti nostri castris Simisso*".

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 9 August 1424, fol. 85 r: "*Expense facte pro redifficacione castris nostri de Simisso debent nobis [...]*"

can be assumed that the Genoese have seized the existing Byzantine castle, which might have had ancient origins but being a profitable and important colony, they very likely repaired it and added more parts, with respect to the bills of *Massaria di Caffa*. Yet, an unstudied marble slab (see A.8) discovered in Samsun Archaeology Museum was possibly carved to commemorate an important Genoese construction or repair to *Simisso* Castle, which gives the date of 10 October 1402 (Quirini-Poplowski, 2017, p. 134).

No other Genoese slabs are known but normally more of them were expected from *Simisso* period like in *Samastri*. The majority of Amasra slabs (A.7) and also more than the two third of Galata slabs (A.11) belong to post-1420 periods that *Simisso* was already conquered by the Ottomans at that time, but the Genoese somehow obtained the permission to reconstruct the castle afterwards. However, they might not had the same opportunity to develop *Simisso* like they did in their independent colonies. All in all, probably all the huge demolitions that *Simisso* faced but *Samastri* and Galata never had resulted with the loss of many Genoese artifacts in Samsun that the traces of Genoese constructions can be found in bills but not on slabs, except for one. The presumed location of *Simisso* at north is still a low dense urban area due to the restrictions of military zones nearby and the importance of Samsun city center, where the new constructions were focused on and continued through centuries by the Turks, which was also resulted with the demolition of Samsun Castle.

It has been stated that in *Simisso*, there was a *fondaco* under the authorization of a consul, opened in 1317 and assisted by a court, notary and his scribe. The *podestà* of *Simisso* was subjected to *Officium Gazariae* in *Caffa*, like in *Samastri*. There was also a Genoese garrison composed of a military commander and mercenaries. The military organization of *Simisso* was having 45 members around 1386-1387 and this number places it just after *Caffa* and *Soldaia* within the whole Black Sea colonies, in terms of the defensive forces. *Officium Ponderis* of *Simisso* was authorized to collect customs taxes and the *ministraria* was responsible for procurement and supervision of the trade guilds. A *loggia* and a church called *San Francesco* with a hospice, reported in 1320, 1334 and 1390 were other Genoese buildings of *Simisso* but presumably all of them were disappeared to a large extent over time (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 94; Kılıç, 2013; p. 22; Stringa, 1982, p. 374).

The castle of Amisos / *Simisso* and the Genoese built heritage of Samsun with their recent conditions need more research in detail. The rediscovery of Samsun Castle is still an ongoing

process that analyzing its physical and architectural characteristics may shed light on the location of *Simisso* with two main theories about its location and history.

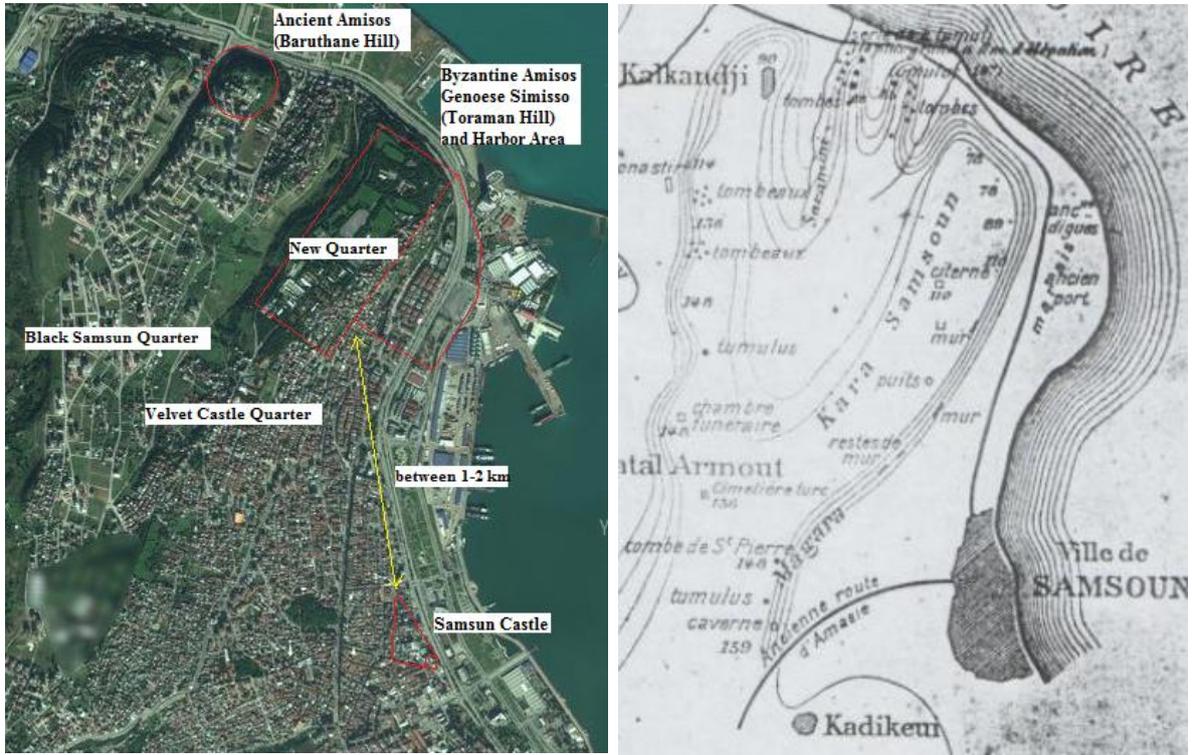


Fig. 448-449: Areas of Amisos / *Simisso* (*Kara* / Black Samsun, *Kafir* / Infidel Samsun) and the former castle of "Muslim Samsun" (Yandex Maps, 2015; Yazıcı, 2013, p. 12)

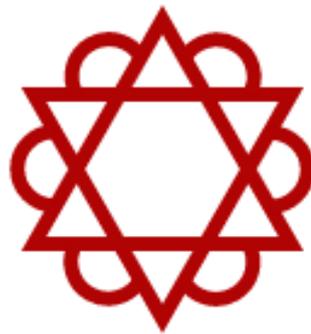


Fig. 450-451: "*Simisso*" in a medieval portolan chart, marked with the Jandarids and Genoese flags (Soler, 1380) and Jandarids flag separately (Wikipedia, 2015)



Fig. 452: Old Samsun and Toraman Hill of Amisos / *Simisso* from south (Anonymous)



Fig. 453-454: Walls of Amisos / *Simisso* Castle of Toraman Hill in a photo from 1950s and its unearthed sections during a recent public work (Yılmaz, 2015, p. 22)

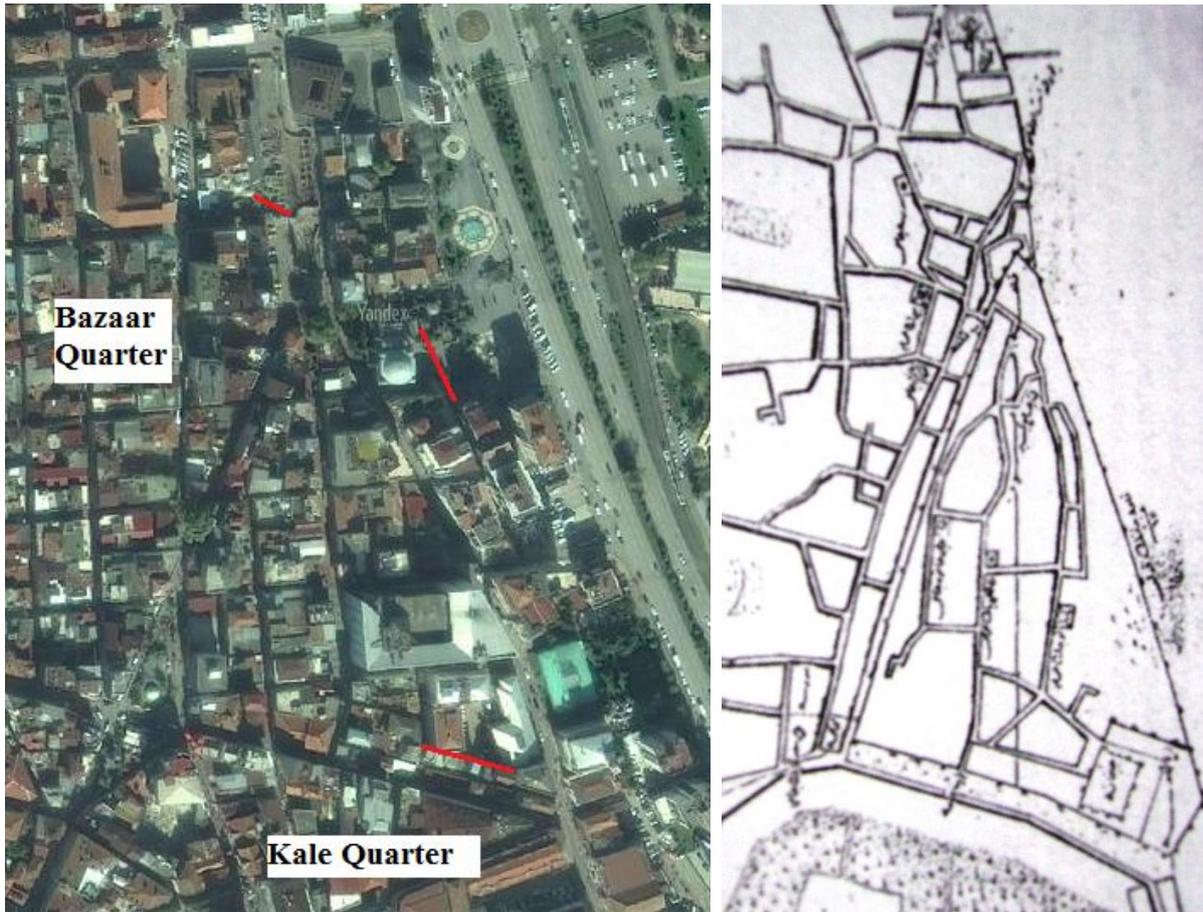


Fig. 455-456: Locations of the two oldest quarters and the former castle of Samsun with its remained / unearthed parts in red and plan as of 1856, which set basis to the claims of Bryer and Winfield (1985) and Quirini-Poplawski (2016) (Wikipedia, 2016; Yandex Maps, 2016)



Fig. 457-458: The walls of the southern section, remained from Samsun Castle and hidden between modern buildings now, detected by senior urban planner Embiya Sancak from Samsun and a portion of coastal wall foundations in the northwestern part, publicly accessible and designated as a historical place of interest (Akasyam, 2015; Samsun Kent Haber, 2015)



Fig. 459: An old photo of Samsun Castle (possibly towers of the inner castle that the mentioned two different construction layers are visible) before the final demolition around 1909-1918 (Istanbul University Archive of Library and Documentation Department, n. d.)

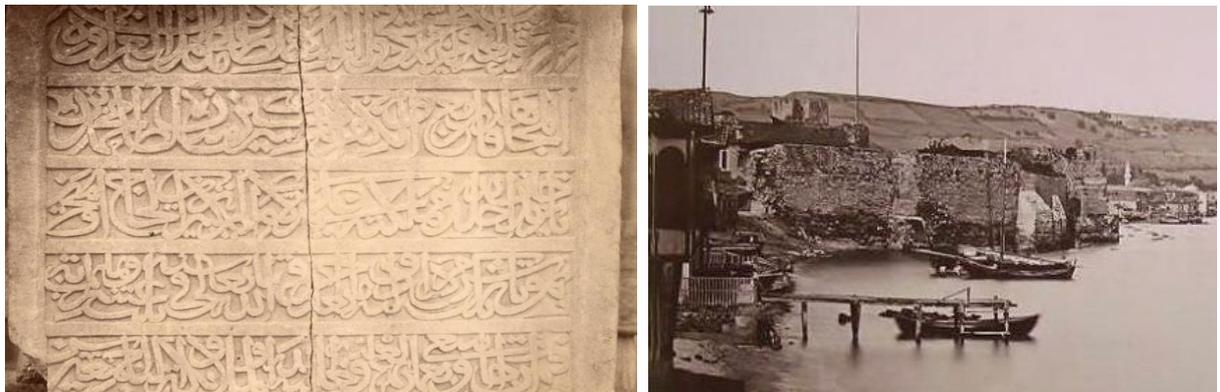


Fig 460-461: Ottoman inscription of Samsun Castle (about the demolition of Amisos / *Simisso* Castle in 1420) and an old photo of it from south that the coastal corners of the inner castle and the towers behind are visible (Istanbul University Archive of Library and Documentation Department, n. d.; Samsun.bel.tr, 2015)

3.4.6- Şebinkarahisar, Fatsa and Giresun

The Genoese were having a monopoly on Anatolian alum mines between the 13-15th centuries that *Foglia Vecchia* and *Foglia Nuova* were their main properties to this issue (see 3.2.5.4). Being located just next to natural harbors, transportation costs of alum from the two *Foglias* were fewer than the others, which the Genoese were started operate following their alliance with the Byzantine Empire. Cotyaeum (*Coltai* / Kütahya) and Lopadion (Uluabat) were other alum resources of the Genoese with less annual productivity, mostly due to their significant distances to the Aegean ports of them, where export was done. Only the two *Foglia* settlements were possessions of a family lordship and for the rest, the Genoese were leaseholders in their alum mines and they were mostly involved with commercial activities in those areas (Ersan, 2000, pp. 55-62).

Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar) was another important alum mine of the Genoese, coming before the two *Foglias* with its quality but just after in terms of transportation convenience. The alum extracted from *Koloneia* were exported from nearby Trapezuntine ports, being Phadisane (Fatsa), Kerasus (Giresun) and Trebizond (Trabzon) (Ersan, 2000, pp. 55-62).

Genoese merchants were present in Phadisane during the late 13th century together with the Venetians, being early as 1274, which is known from commercial activities of a Genoese notary called Federico di Piazzalungo there, who was also seen in *Laiazzo* and *Sebastia / Savastum* (Sivas) near *Koloneia* during the same year. A total number of twelve Genoese merchants were active in Phadisane and their number was not enough to have their own *loggia* or factory but they were pursuing their commercial activities in the house of one of them, called Guglielmo Mastraccio. There is a mention about the house of another Genoese citizen in Phadisane, called Nicoleta d'Albenga. A Genoese ship in Phadisane, described as "*de Savasto*" (of Sebastia?) was pillaged in 1267, which was carrying ginger to France and one Genoese was having another ship called "*San Giovanni*" in the port of Phadisane. The ships there were generally carrying goods from Sebastia to *Caffa*, *Samastri* and Constantinople. There is no mention of Phadisane in Genoese sources after 1290, possibly due to the rising importance of Trebizond port and later establishing a colony there (Bratianu, 1929; Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 111-112). Phadisane was conquered by the Ottomans in 1427-1428 (Municipality of Fatsa, 2015).

The Empire of Trebizond was having constant battles with the Mongols and the Turks but their relations with the Genoese were rather commercial and diplomatic, as they were a

maritime nation with the priority of commercial activities. The limited clashes between the Trapezuntines and the Genoese during the early 14th century were returned to the latter with many privileges within the empire, such as a commercial quarter in Trebizond (Sever, 2009, pp. 108-116).

The fortification in Bolaman, a district of Fatsa in approximately 8 kilometers east of it and named after Polemon I of Pontus, is anonymously said to be a Byzantine or Genoese castle. In fact, available information about the history of Bolaman and the ancient city of Polemonium nearby is very limited. The name of the settlement appears in medieval portolan charts as *Pormon*; neither a Genoese colony nor a Byzantine territory (Gordeev, 2015, p. 85). It has been stated that the uninhabited castle of *Leona* was raided by the Genoese around 1400 and soon after captured by the Turks (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 59). In reality, there are approximately 25 km between these two places but no nearby castle is known. The small fortress has inner and outer parts, also with a small chapel. Resembling a medieval structure, the building has a simple configuration with small, roughly shaped and rectangular stones, which also have local origins and a dark yellow color. The restoration of 2000s has resulted with the loss of its original appearance. A wooden mansion belonged to Haznedaroğlu dynasty was constructed on the inner castle in the 19th century and probably altered the spatial layout of the inner section. Small repairs in the coastal side, which can also be seen in old photographs were presumably done before the Ottoman mansion's addition in order to provide a more stable base for its jettied sections. Bolaman Castle was constructed on a rocky area and the plan of its inner castle can be described as a trapezoid with rounded corners, which form a kind of bastions. It was possibly remained in Genoese hands for a while but as its walls have a uniform structural character and they were probably not involved with any significant construction during a very short rule, Bolaman Castle can be attributed to the Byzantines.

Kerasus was another important harbor, which was used by the Genoese. It was assumed that there was a small Genoese population and a consul in Kerasus, known as *Ceresonda* by them. Koloneian alum and local products, such as wheat, hazelnut and cloth were exported from Kerasus by the Genoese but they were not having a settlement there. The importance of Kerasus harbor for the Genoese was increased especially during Trebizond plague epidemic in 1447. The castle of the city and the settlements around it were continued to be occupied by the local Greek population. However, the excessive privileges of the Genoese in Kerasus sometimes caused protests within the locals against them. A riot during the reign of emperor Michael Megas Komnenos (r. 1341, 1344-1349) in Kerasus was resulted with the massacre of

the Genoese population in the city. Another animosity due to the Trapezuntine insist on the Genoese to leave their quarters in Trebizond was resulted with the fire and sack of Kerasus by the Genoese in 1348. Then, the empire felt into an even more problematic situation after disastrous Genoese attacks to Trebizond. All of these incidents were returned with more privileges to the Genoese within possessions of the Empire of Trebizond (see 3.4.7) (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 128-129; Emecen, 1996, pp. 78-84; Sever, 2009, pp. 108-116; Stringa, 1982, pp. 359-360).

A few towns of Giresun; being Espiye, Tirebolu and Görele (or Eynesil) were anonymously described as former Genoese ports in Middle Ages but these claims all lack of any scientific or architectural study for the mentioned buildings.

In Gülburnu (Zefre) village of Espiye, scant ruins of a coastal masonry structure was allegedly called as a Genoese shipyard. It is known that the Genoese have operated Killik and Karılar mineral deposits in the inner parts of Espiye, being copper-zinc for the former and copper-lead-zinc for the latter, respectively (Kartalkanat, 2007, p. 36). Therefore, a nearby port was necessary for the transportation of the extracted minerals but the coastal ruins of Gülburnu need to be linked with the ores and their medieval usages by the Genoese.

Bedrama Castle in Örenkaya village of Tirebolu is another so called Genoese fortress in the area that this claim also appear in many local sources, without any detail. Similar unfounded claims also exist for the castles of Rize, including Ciha Castle in Yücehisar village of its Pazar town as well but especially unusual positions of Bedrama and Ciha castles, which are very mountainous, distant from coasts and any significant source of raw materials reduce the possibility of the Genoese affiliation. However, it is important to put these buildings together in order to compare the castles with documented Genoese periods (either by usage or by limited constructions) with some unstudied castles in the Black Sea region with Genoese myths.

The castle of Görele was mentioned as a Genoese fortress and this claim dates back to as early as Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) (Dağlı *et al.*, 1999, pp. 46-47). It appears after some archaeological studies that Görele Castle is a 14th century Byzantine building (Municipality of Görele, 2015). The city was also known as "Coralla" but with respect to medieval portolan charts, the settlement with this name was detected as nearby Eynesil (Gordeev, 2015, pp. 102-103). Therefore, a confusion between Görele Castle and Eynesil Castle is also possible. Nevertheless, any usage or alteration of these buildings by the Genoese remains uncertain.

3.4.7- Trabzon

3.4.7.1- Fortress of Güzelhisar and the Genoese Quarter in Trabzon

Following the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261), commercial activities of the Genoese in the Black Sea has increased and their presence in Trebizond might be associated with the establishment of *Caffa* colony in 1266. Correspondingly, Genoese merchants in *Sebastia* (Sivas) in 1270, on the caravan route from the Mediterranean *Laiazzo* to the Euxine *Trebisonda* might be an indirect testimony of the aforementioned assumption. Paolino Doria appears as the first consul in 1290 and a notary act of Tomaso di Sigulfo from 1302 mentions a *loggia* of the Genoese in Trebizond (Stringa, 1982, p. 390).

The fortress of *Leontokastron* (Lion Castle) or *Güzelhisar* (Beautiful Castle) was possessed by the Genoese in the beginning of the 14th century but a conflict with the Trapezuntine about exemption from customs duties (*kommerkion*) was resulted with a war in 1306. Suburbs of the city and its harbor were set fire by the Genoese that they have also suffered damages (Akışık-Karakullukçu, 2016, p. 323; Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 197).

Furthermore, an unpleasant personal quarrel in the Trapezuntine imperial palace between the chief treasurer Andronikos and the Genoese merchant and pirate Megollo (Domenico) Lercari in 1311 turned into another devastating war. The Genoese have burnt coastal settlements, warehouses and arsenals that the Trapezuntine fleet was also destroyed after two consecutive naval attacks. Alexios II Megas Komnenos (r. 1297-1330) could only be able to end the conflict with promising more concessions (Sever, 2008, pp. 111-113; Treccani, 2015).

A peace treaty dated 26 October 1314 and signed between the Empire of Trebizond and the Republic of Genoa has put an end to the war, which was concluded by another treaty dated 24 March 1316. According to this second agreement, "*Leo Castro*" (also called *Castro Majdani*)²⁹⁴ was given back to the Trapezuntine. The Genoese quarter was moved to an area next to Daphnous Harbor (today Trabzon Harbor) at "*Cavo de Majdani*" with a dockyard (*Darsena*), which was also granted to them with the right of fortifying it (Senarega and Desimoni, 1877, pp. 513-533)²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁴ The eastern part of Trabzon is still called "*Meydan*" (square). The word has a Persian origin and many eastern languages still use its variations. This denomination is probably related to Persian merchants once in Trabzon and were having an important position due to their commercial dominance in the city.

²⁹⁵ ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 26 October 1314 & 24 March 1316, Car. VIII (doc. I-II).

In 1319, the concession of having a commercial quarter in Trebizond was given to the Venetians. They have received the same rights with the Genoese, such as having a church, *loggia*, palace and houses. The relatively small Venetian quarter of *Kanitou (Canitu)* was also around "*Meydan*" in the west of *Leontokastron*, together with the warehouse of Saint Eugenios. However, the Venetian trade in Trebizond has stopped in 1345 and conflicts with the Genoese have resulted with a shifting of their quarter in 1363 through further west. The third change in 1367 was ended up with a small Venetian castle, again in the west of *Leontokastron*, which was last mentioned in 1447 (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 197-203).

Privileges given to the Genoese have caused a bloody revolt against them in Kerasus (Giresun) by the locals. In 1348, the city was raided by the Genoese navy and pillaged, where the Trapezuntine fleet was also destroyed. As a result of the hopeless condition for the empire, Michael Megas Komnenos (r. 1344-1349) was constrained to offer more concessions and the Genoese have also started to use *Leontokastron* again in 1349 (Sever, 2008, pp. 114-115). A colony like the one in Galata was established in *Leontokastron* by the Genoese with its own civil and commercial buildings, likewise a free zone. On some late medieval portolan charts, the city was also marked with a Genoese flag, such as the one of Albino de Canepa from 1489. Members of Lercari family were one of the most prominent actors of the Genoese period in the city, who were seen in consular positions between 1316-1456 in *Trebisonda* and between 1404-1473 in *Caffa* (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 222; Hasluck, 1911, p. 142).

As of 1404, *Leontokastron* was defined as a separate Genoese possession with a *loggia* within and outside the city walls of Trebizond (de Clavijo, 1859, p. 60). It is also known that the Genoese have started to infiltrate into the walled Venetian quarter in 1407, which was in a dilapidated condition at that time (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, p. 203). The Genoese have then continued their commercial activities in their harbor, coastal quarter and *Leontokastron* until the Ottoman conquest of Trebizond in 1461.

Güzelhisar was gradually demolished in the early 20th century and it is now a military zone, as a military officer's recreation facility is located on its former plot and especially the southern walls remained from the castle. Therefore, studying the area is difficult because of military restrictions and significant demolitions on its coastal parts. It was only stated that the general masonry of the castle shows similarity to the 14th century ones; squarish blocks with abundant mortar. There are also brick repairs in the northwestern section and well-cut quoins in the southwestern part. In the latter section, there is a small difference between the parts just below

and above the main arch of the gate. The lower part is slightly lighter by color but there is not a distinctive difference between their masonry character. As the Ottomans mainly used and repaired Trabzon Castle in the city center, the lower part of *Güzelhisar* can be dated prior to 1316 and the upper part might be a Genoese repair, added after 1349 (Bryer and Winfield, 1985, pp. 197-198). It is also known that the castle was destroyed in 1416 and then decided to be reconstructed in 1418, whereas the works have continued until 1449 (Quirini-Poplawski, 2017, p. 30). By now, the structural details of the castle, its possible Genoese alterations and the fate of the Genoese buildings within are uncertain.

The former Greek Orthodox church of *Hagios Eleftherios* is located 120 meters south of *Güzelhisar* and just next to Trabzon Harbor. The building (*San Eleuterio?*) was used by the Genoese for a while and most probably indicates the approximate location of their coastal quarter given in 1316. Two slabs (A.9.1 and A.9.2) with some Latin inscriptions and Lercari coat of arms were discovered in the building from 1360 and 1365. The building was described as already ruined as of the mid-19th century (Finlay, 1850). It probably returned to the Greek Orthodox use after 1461 and finally converted into Hüsünü Köktuğ Mosque in 1953 from its neglected state, after being used as a warehouse following 1923. The aforementioned artifacts, providing evidence to the Genoese period of the recent mosque are now disappeared, which were last recorded in 1911 (Hasluck, 1911, pp. 141-142). When considered the modern appearance of Hüsünü Köktuğ Mosque with many inappropriate alterations, it is very likely that through the 20th century, the original barrel-vaulted simple Byzantine church was heavily transformed and presumably lost its original character together with the slabs once it had.



Fig. 464: Trabzon before 1717 that *Güzelhisar* (*Leontokastron*) is located at lower right (de Tournefort, 1717, p. 233)



Fig. 465: Locations of Trabzon Castle, *Güzelhisar* (former *Leontokastron*) and Hüsni Köktuğ Mosque (former *Hagios Eleftherios / San Eleuterio*), respectively (Yandex Maps, 2015)



Fig. 466: The location of *Güzelhisar* at the present time that shadows of the remained southwestern walls of it can be seen and the square shape of former castle can also be perceived (Yandex Maps, 2015)



Fig. 467: *Güzelhisar* (former *Leontokastron*) in 1893 (Anonymous)



Fig. 468: The remained southwestern section of *Güzelhisar*; the border of different masonry parts is visible just above the arch (Bryer and Winfield, 1985) that these parts still exist nowadays but not clearly visible due to the excessive vegetation on them

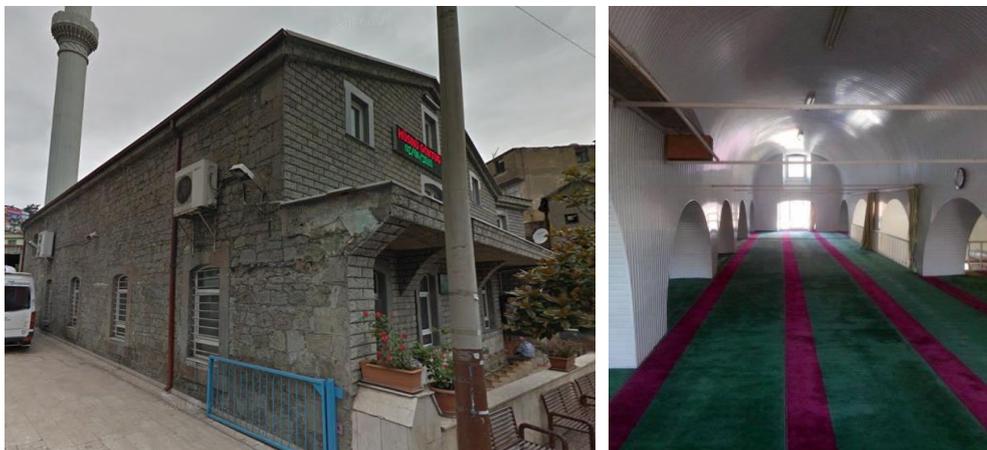


Fig. 469-470: Exterior and interior views of Hüsnü Köktuğ Mosque (Google Maps, 2015)

3.4.7.2- History of Trabzon

The exact foundation date of Trabzon is still unclear but it appears in 756 BC as a Milesian colony. According to historical sources, the city was an administrative division of Sinop and paying tax to it as of 400 BC. Therefore, it can be assumed that the city was founded by the Sinopians as Trapezus. The city then had successive Achaemenid, Hellenistic and Pontic periods like Amisos and more or less between the same given years until 64 BC, which was conquered by the Romans at that time. However, the Roman period of Trapezus was not continuous in the beginning and the sovereignty of the city was returned to the Kingdom of Pontus first, then changed to the status of a neutral city and finally the Romans took control one more time in 63. As a harbor city with a strategic location, the importance of Trapezus was increased during the Roman period and it had significant developments at that time, which shaped its core urban character. Although Trapezus had many destructive attacks from the Goths and the Seljuk Turks, the Roman (in later periods the Byzantine) rule was restored again, with further redevelopments and defensive strengthening for the city. Due to the increasing Seljuk dominance within the whole Anatolia, the Byzantine control on the city was loosened during the 12th century and it was started to rule like an autonomous city by its dukes (Lowry and Emecen, 2012, pp. 296-301).

When the Byzantine Empire was torn during the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), Alexios I Megas Komnenos escaped from Constantinople and founded the Empire of Trebizond under the suzerainty of Komnenos dynasty, which was not joined to the restored Byzantine Empire from the Latins in 1261 and continued to exist as an independent state like the Despotate of Epirus, until its surrender to the Ottomans in 1461. During this period, the city had several sieges by dominant Turkish states in the area but could not be captured. The Genoese and the Venetians were commercially the most active nations of Trebizond but rising Genoese influence in the Black Sea made them the sole commercial authority in the city through the early 14th century. Then, the Genoese had much different diplomatic and commercial relations with the empire within the city of Trebizond (Lowry and Emecen, 2012, pp. 296-301).

The main citadel of the city, *Trabzon Kalesi* (Trabzon Castle) is a thoroughly studied building, which is mainly a Byzantine-Trapezuntine fortress from the mid-6th and the first half of the 14th centuries with three main sections, being the lower (*Aşağı Hisar*), middle (*Orta Hisar*) and upper (*Yukarı Hisar*) parts (Tekin and Kurugöl, 2010).

3.5- Section Assessment

When existing studies for some particular Genoese buildings were put together beforehand and remaining ones were tried to be analyzed further in order to form a comprehensive inventory, the difficulty of handling the Genoese architectural heritage in Turkey as a whole because of vast differences between colonial settlements and even buildings inside same possessions was detected. For this reason, the subject has described itself in a bottom up way after numerous investigations to the related former colonies.

It has been put forward that the Genoese architectural heritage remaining inside Turkey is actually more than known but contradictorily also less at the same time, so it is very likely to encounter with unstudied architectural aspects or anonymous misinformation about them. Thus, when compared with the main historical periods of Asia Minor and Thrace under bigger civilizations for centuries, a relatively short and dispersed one was described with brief historical background but especially architectural outputs. With the help of the defined built heritage where the Genoese have involved in, it was seen to some extent that what was once existed, what still exists and finally what might not in future due to threats of modern times; three different layers in terms of fate, which closely related with each other (see Appendix 8).

In addition, although the Genoese architectural heritage remains relatively European by identity in the first place when compared with traces of other nations in Asia Minor and Thrace, it serves as an example from the Late Medieval Period to the concept of colonial architecture, which existed since ancient times, significantly expanded after geographical explorations and evolved in time. Correspondingly, the Byzantine urban and architectural influences were noticed on the distinctive contribution of the Genoese together with later period alterations by the Turks. Hence, a different type of layers were also shown with further details, so in this case the Genoese architectural heritage does not possess a separate layer but becomes a part of the urban and architectural palimpsest of the concerned settlements inside Turkey.

The strength of the Byzantine urban and architectural influence varies between different settlements and buildings of the Genoese. Examples like the castles of Amasra and Foça show that the Genoese have altered existing Byzantine defensive structures with significant additions like new towers, walls and characteristic architectural elements but two churches inside Zindan Castle (Amasra) were most probably used by the Genoese without any significant changes.

Yet, some more existing traces point that the Genoese heritage was not always the one which remained between two main epochs but presumably also initiated new constructions in some areas, such as *Foglia Nuova* (Yenifoça) and *Scalanova* (Kuşadası) in an urban scale. Nevertheless, they can still be linked to characteristic aspects of where they were located because even in new constructions of the Genoese, local materials and *spolia* from older periods were abundantly used. In some particular areas, even local workforces were most probably involved in as well. The castles of Enez, Foça, Samothrace (Chora and Palaiopoli) and perhaps also Yoros and Thasos can be given as examples to this issue with respect to masonry style and inscriptions on slabs. In parallel with this circumstance, architectural similarities in the Genoese and Gattilusio possessions can be seen despite their politically separate constitution but the Byzantine influence on the latter can be described definitely more than the one on the former, somewhat like the close family relations between Gattilusio and Palaiologos families. Thus, the structural character of the republican Genoese architectural heritage in their former colonial possessions can be overall interpreted as hybrid but the reminiscent of a Genoese character on buildings from the Gattilusio period perhaps can only be given as some historical and heraldic details.

The architectural influence of the Genoese after the end of their rule in colonial possessions is unknown but several theories like the tower houses and bicolored masonry pattern on buildings in the Aegean coasts, mainly Foça, Yenifoça, Enez, Lesbos and Chios are the most significant ones.

In any case, the Genoese buildings in Turkey show important connections between many factors and it can be said that this architectural heritage does not only belongs to the Genoese but also to other nations, who influenced them during constructions in their colonies and who continued to own them later on.

Finally, when considered Turkey as a geographical, cultural and political transition between the Asia and Europe, the Genoese architectural heritage within might set an alternative, relatively minor but still interesting bridge between east and west. At first glance, this shared architectural value seems mainly between Turkey and Italy as the successor state of the Republic of Genoa but with respect to other colonial settlements including many other monuments and significant heraldic evidences, even Greece, Ukraine, France and the former Duchy of Milan are also parts of it.

4- Recent Conservation Problems of the Genoese Architectural Heritage in Turkey

4.1- Definitions of Conservation from International and National Perspectives

The concept of conservation has appeared during the 19th century in Europe and developed through the 20th century. It is based on both the preservation of the building itself and the surrounding environment with harmony and authenticity. The 4th article of Venice Charter (1964) declares that it is essential for the monuments to be conserved and maintained on a permanent basis. The environment and a monument which witnessed to history and located in it are inseparable elements. The importance of preserving monuments with their environments by keeping their physical integrity was also stressed in Article 7 (ICOMOS, 1964).

UNESCO has published a document called "Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historical Areas" in 1976 and defined preservation as "Safeguarding shall be taken to mean the identification, protection, conservation, restoration, renovation, maintenance and revitalization of historic or traditional areas and their environment" (UNESCO, 1976).

Both of these documents clearly states that a monument is not only a great piece of art or a historical area, but also any type of modest work that bears cultural significance of humankind and a monument should always be considered with its surroundings. These aspects were also summarized by UNESCO in the selection criterion of World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2005).

In Turkey, the concept of preserving historical monuments and considering them carefully in master plans has appeared during 1930s and in the first phase, 3500 monuments were designated that Ankara Castle was the first one. With "Municipality Revenues Law" of 1948 and numbered 5237, it was aimed to increase sources of local municipalities for the regular maintenance of historical buildings (Tekeli, 1998). After two brief regulations in 1951 and 1956 for the establishment of "Council of Monuments", the first organized act to this issue, "The Act for Old Monuments" was introduced in 1973. According to this law, old monuments are government properties and they can either be a single building or an area. It is also stated that preservation is not only a singular intervention but a continuous process and there are responsible governmental institutions to this issue (Madran, 1990).

Following the Venice Charter of 1964, listing progress of monuments has increased through 1970s by local municipalities (Kejanlı *et. al.*, 2007). The 63rd Article of 1982 Constitution clearly described that the Turkish government is the sole responsible from taking care of all

national monuments and can take decisions in order to support or encourage activities to this issue (Gözler, 2010). This law was upgraded in 1983 and now forms the recent legislative structure. The 6th Article of "The Law for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Properties", numbered 2863 states that cultural properties are all the unique above ground or underground properties which belong to historical times and conservation master plans will be prepared in order to protect them, where necessary (TBMM, 1983).

In 2005, another upgrade was introduced and "The Law for the Conservation of Damaged Historical or Cultural Properties by Restoring and Reusing", numbered 5366 aimed to stimulate the reuse of monuments by triggering social functions individually and surrounding areas, also to provide a continuous preservation in terms of sustainability (TBMM, 2005).

It is seen that since its appearance in 1930s, the idea of preservation has continued to develop until nowadays with numerous laws and regulations in Turkey.

4.2- UNESCO Tentative Listings and the Case of Galata

Istanbul was added to the World Heritage List by UNESCO in 1985. The areas designated as world heritage were the Archaeological Park in the tip of the historical peninsula where Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque were located; Süleymaniye Mosque area, Zeyrek Mosque area and the Byzantine land walls (UNESCO, 2015). In 1995, the whole historical peninsula of Istanbul was designated as an urban protected area by municipality.

In 2013, only Galata Tower was added to UNESCO Tentative List under the name of "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" together with the castles of Foça, Çandarlı, Yoros, Akçakoca, Amasra and Sinop (UNESCO, 2013). Another tentative listing with the same name covers the related castles on the southern shores of Crimea since 2010 (UNESCO, 2010), where Sudak Fortress alone also has its own tentative listing registry since 2007 (UNESCO, 2007). Among the related fortifications in Greece, only the Castle of Mytilene was added to a separate tentative list called "Late Medieval Bastioned Fortifications in Greece" with 10 other castles in 2014 (UNESCO, 2014).

It is seen that there is a mutual effort to define and conserve the Genoese built heritage under a concept but the listing extent is not comprehensive. Separate national attempts and the cumulative value of the fortified Genoese commercial settlements divide the former

integration of this connected heritage and also prevent the inclusion of the ones which remain inside other countries and do not have enough value to be a part of an individual listing submission. As a result, the heritage was separated and disconnected. For instance Chios, being one of the most significant Genoese colonies was eventually excluded due to being a singular example now remains in Greek territories. Moreover, the former Gattilusio possessions, mainly Lesbos, Enez and Samothrace were also excluded from an opportunity for their unique historical identities and the main castle of the latter was evaluated in a different way.

In Turkey, although the Tentative List of UNESCO called "Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea" and covers seven fortifications within the country (UNESCO, 2013) does not include Enez Castle despite its strong Genoese (Gattilusio) identity, castles with relatively vague Genoese identities and usages like Yoros, Akçakoca and Çandarlı castles were included that even their Genoese period names are unclear. Moreover, the castles of Güzelhisar (Trabzon) and Çeşme were excluded despite their commercial importance during the related periods by the Genoese and also significant architecture, which cannot be counted after the aforementioned ones in terms of priority.

Moreover, the easy way out was taken and the related heritage values in danger were apparently shelved. Perhaps intactness was sought, so Sinop Castle was chosen but the remained parts of Galata Walls and Güzelhisar (Trabzon) were excluded. In this case, the urban pattern and civil architecture examples of Galata from the Genoese were also forgotten, probably not being a part of fortifications in terms of the chosen concept and also not having a well known significance like Galata Tower.

It can be stated that although being one of the main historical areas of the city and having a very particular urban character, "Constantinople" was considered as the historical peninsula and Galata was mostly ignored and left outside of national and international protective legislation in a comprehensive way. Many demolitions were happened in the coastal part of Galata between Tersane Street and the Golden Horn, so even the urban character has been lost there. Widening streets and excessive new urban development after further demolitions has caused more damage to the historical urban pattern of Galata in other parts, especially in 19-20th centuries. Gradual demolitions of Galata Walls and also the main gate of Saint Benoit with surrounding walls during widening Kemeraltı Street (including the section no. 9 among

the remained parts of Galata Walls; see 2.4.5) can be counted as well known examples to this issue. Yet, some more threats can also be mentioned for recent times.

In Galata neighborhood of the modern Istanbul, there are still plenty of Genoese architectural heritage from the 14th and 15th centuries that most of them are under different levels of individual risks. The main ones can be counted as the remained parts of Galata Walls, Bereket Han and Arap Mosque.

4.3- Conservation Problems of Galata Walls

Some parts of Galata walls were said to be symbolically demolished after the Ottoman conquest in 1453 as a sign of rule on the city (Eyice, 1969, p. 24). Then, as the city was no longer a front line and having a safe position within the expanding Ottoman Empire, the walls were disused and covered by houses. This situation caused damages on walls and the loss of the original thickness in some parts. In 1864, a new urban project was prepared by Beyoğlu Municipality and the majority of walls were demolished for new urban settlements. The Genoese construction slabs with inscriptions and coat of arms were collected and brought to Istanbul Archaeology Museum after this year (Eyice, 1969, p. 19) (see A.11). It should be underlined that demolitions did not only stop with the one of 1864 and continued even after 1970s that the main phases were carefully displayed by Okur (2011).

Nowadays, very few parts of Genoese walls were survived and most of these remained parts have poor conditions due to neglect and weather conditions. The possibility of another serious risk to Galata Walls emerged in 2009 that they were stood on the route of Golden Horn Metro Bridge, where it connects M2 metro line from Şişhane to Haliç. As the bridge starts from Yavuz Sinan Quarter of Fatih district inside the historical peninsula, it then reaches to land again in the slopes of Galata after passing through Golden Horn. The tunnel where the metro line becomes underground again was consolidated with concrete beams and steel fixings, which were directly inserted to a certain portion of Galata Walls. This part of walls were designated as listed monuments in four phases, being 09.09.1972 for the coastal parts, 12.11.1977 for Harip Gate, 30.01.1986 for the tower and lower walls, and 04.12.1988 for the upper, directly affected walls (Envanter, 2015).

The aforementioned project has severely damaged the wall structure, which is thinner at most parts due to formerly attached houses, which were demolished before the project. Moreover,

the bridge runs too close to city walls, approximately 200 meters and in the end even directly meeting them where the tunnel starts, which all give a visual impropriety to a historical structure by covering a huge part of it with modern structures. The last remained Genoese gate in the end of Yanıkkapı Street, Harip Gate with a marble slab (A.11.12) lost its original shape and function due to demolitions for letting cars pass through and the closely positioned metro bridge. It is also thought that in the long term, remained parts of Galata Walls will have further structural damages due to vibration and shake caused by subways and directly transferred with the tunnel structure. In this case, it can be said that Golden Horn Metro Bridge project was prepared without the consideration of Genoese built heritage in Galata, in addition to its historical disadvantages in terms of protective legislation.



Fig. 471-474: Haliç Metro Bridge project and its effects on Galata Walls, where nonfunctional Harip Gate is also visible (Author, 2015; Arkeolojiahaber, 2014)

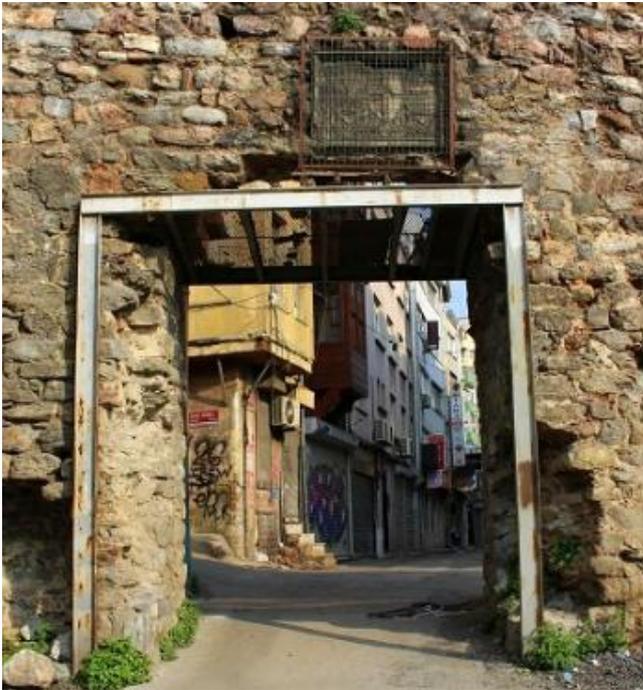


Fig. 475-478: Altered and damaged Harip Gate (Author, 2015; Envanter, 2015)

4.4- Conservation Problems of Bereket Han - *Palazzo Comunale*

In a time between 1857 and 1875, the frontal part of the building was demolished during the widening of Bankalar Street. The building was designated as a listed monument in 07.12.1989 and after long years of commercial use, it was then purchased by a businessman in 2010 to serve as a boutique hotel. In February 2010, the owner gave an interview and described the details of the project, which would be started in 4 months and finished by the end of that year (NTV, 2010). However, in February 2015, it has been stated that the project was still waiting the approval from Council of Monuments (Haberturk, 2015). As of 2017, the project was abandoned after some superficial interior works and Bereket Han is on sale.

Recently, lower parts of the building were covered up with plaster, which prevents the view of the original brickwork. Bereket Han was also surrounded with metal panels since the purchase, which conceal the arches of the former palace. The building has a very pathetic condition due to longtime neglect and overgrown vegetation on its walls. In this case, it is possible to mention two main and potential problems. Firstly, the Council of Monuments might not working efficient and fast enough that fragile structures badly suffer during approval or rejection process of projects. Secondly, the ownership status of one of the oldest and most characteristic buildings, partially being a 700 years old Genoese palace in Galata could be questioned, as its counterparts were expropriated, conserved and designated as museums, such as the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus (Tekfur Palace) and Laskaris Palace (Kemalpaşa) from the 13th century.



Fig. 479-480: Neglected and isolated state of Bereket Han, partially the former *Palazzo Comunale* (Author, 2015)

4.5- Conservation Problems of Arap Mosque - *San Domenico*

Modern information panels around the building and brochures given by the administration of the mosque to visitors still mention the story about the construction of it by Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik and link its architecture with the Umayyad Caliphate and Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. However, the aforementioned legend was clearly disproved both in historical and architectural perspectives by many respectful scholars. In this case, the true history and the architectural identity of the monument remains like a privilege only for scholars and public was kept to be intentionally misinformed.

In addition, when some minor repairs were executed and façades of the building were cleaned between 2010-2012, its three ribbed vaults with frescoes were totally covered with flat wooden panels, which were the only remained ceiling structures of the original naves and formerly exposed with a plaster cover on frescoes, due to the prohibition of images in Islam. This part is inaccessible at the moment and the fate of the frescoes are unknown. A midway might be found in terms of conservation of the former identity instead of this strict imposition. Many former Byzantine churches now used as mosques in Istanbul but also in other cities can be given as examples, where mosaics and frescoes are still visible. Those places were designated as buildings with double functions as a worship place and museum, such as Kalenderhane Mosque (*Theotokos Kyriotissa*), Fethiye Mosque (*Theotokos Pammakaristos*) and the mosques of *Ayasofya* (former *Hagia Sophia*) in Iznik and Trabzon.

It is seen that since the mid-18th century, there were continuous alterations in Arap Mosque, including an Islamization of its architecture until nowadays but speaking for modern times, the last intervention could only be related with an ideological approach to the building that its possible reasons were explained. In this case, it can be said that there were an enforced identity and improper works to a former church, which could be described as notable conservation problems.



Fig. 481-482: Improper information slab and the covered cross vaults with frescoes of Arap Mosque, the former *San Domenico* (Author, 2015)

4.6- Section Assessment

It is seen that in Turkey, the Genoese built heritage has an identity problem and what was Genoese and to what extent could not be distinguished well. In this case, the scientific approach of the Permanent Delegation of Turkey to UNESCO, who did the submission of tentative listing and the selection process to it can also be questioned (see Appendix 8). Valuable chances to designate world heritage lack of being comprehensive and detailed in national and international levels in this example. Some recent projects, which were improperly prepared when considered the related built heritage, it can also be questioned that the selection was not only a result of negligence but perhaps formalized with respect to harmless architectural heritage to be evaluated for a UNESCO label to a city and the ones to be forgotten, which might impede private investments and public works.

Istanbul has many problems related to conservation issues, such as neglect, improper interventions and destructive modern developments. From an urban planning point of view, it can be stated that Galata was mostly ignored both by national and international authorities as a whole quarter and not considered as one of the main historical parts of Constantinople as well. This situation is almost the same nowadays and most precautions were taken separately in building scale. As a result of these circumstances, Galata has faced with significant losses and most of its Genoese architectural heritage was disappeared during previous centuries. Another disadvantage of the area was its hilly topography and densely built historical urban

pattern, especially Genoese city walls, which has also triggered more radical demolition decisions for modern necessities.

Another possible problem for Genoese structures in Galata is their forgotten identity that the lack of recognition and sources might have resulted with the creation of a less important image despite their real historical significance. When recent projects and modern interventions to Galata were not prepared appropriate to its historical layout, this condition might also reduce the understanding of Genoese architectural identity in the city. Being located just next to a unique city, which is full of Byzantine and Ottoman heritage could be stated as a disadvantage that Galata is naturally smaller and relatively less notable when compared with the historical peninsula, in fact not being like this when considered individually.

Finally, it is aimed to preserve historical buildings and provide financial sources for them with many legislations in Turkey with a continuous progress in different periods but their results on Genoese built heritage could not be seen effectively in Istanbul. Having inspected some examples within the city, it can be stated that although having a detailed and comprehensive structure, legal statues for the conservation of monuments could not be implemented efficiently on Genoese buildings due to various reasons presumably like financial insufficiency, lack of preservation consciousness, disconnection between official bodies and immediate necessity for modern developments because of increasing population and traffic, which were generally destructive for the architectural heritage. In these cases, the conservation process of the Genoese architectural heritage in Turkey does not correspond to the Venice Charter of 1964 and UNESCO declaration of 1976 in national and international extents as well.

5- Conclusion

In terms of methodological approach, the importance of cartography, epigraphy, heraldry and paleography from related specialists was seen during the study while describing unknown sides of existing or even disappeared buildings. Partially, material characteristics like type and physical dimensions were also considered during comparisons for chronological interpretation and a very basic stratification for some case studies. Hence, it was hoped that this research might methodologically guide further studies, which will address to other noteworthy places.

As no city was established incidentally, each of them has its own unique story and physical characteristics, especially the ones inside such a country like Turkey, which is consisted of numerous distinctive layers formed during different historical periods under many civilizations. Therefore, outcomes of this research have once again showed the importance of knowing the true urban and architectural identity of a settlement with the usage of primary sources as the fundamental step before putting preservation actions into practice because legislative or technical steps might be improperly structured and further to that, they might address unrelated buildings to a decided concept as well. It should also be mentioned that some well known cities like Istanbul are often put aside due to their global fame and the existence of abundant resources about anything related to them. Yet, it is still possible to make different interpretations or detect small but crucial unstudied aspects for these places, which even contradict with generally accepted superficial information.

With reference to protect the Genoese architectural heritage in Turkey, critical drawbacks were noticed despite the existence of national and international intentions with different motivations. As it has been revealed that already having a complex and hybrid architectural character, they usually failed to identify the architectural significance and the selection process also contains significant uncertainty, which occurred either mistakenly or due to other purposes unrelated to preservation goals. For instance, improper treatments to Galata Walls and Bereket Han in spite of their designation as national monuments and the same situation for Arap Mosque in addition to not being listed can be counted as main problems related to the national legislation for conservation.

Furthermore, the rise of the Ottomanism within the recent sociopolitical conjuncture of Turkey is evident during the past decade of the country. For this reason, monuments or their periods from other civilizations perhaps might not be erased on purpose like an architectural genocide but apparently pushed aside, so the multilayered nature of the architectural heritage

in Turkey was tend to be represented only with its Ottoman period by the state. Even worse, inconsistent identities with an Islamic influence were assigned to some monuments like the former *San Domenico* and the Castle of Galata, which is a clear distortion of the reality. Apart from ideological reasons lying behind the selective, also clumsily improper conservation practices and abandoning monuments to their own fates, invasive modern works also cause a danger to the Genoese architectural heritage together with all the other ones inside the country, which also includes some minor Ottomans buildings not significant enough to represent the recent trend but hindering new constructions. Thus, as a pathetic haplessness, erasing modern developments in historical areas and selective, ignorant preservation practices were still continued to be preferred by some authorities for some reasons despite their vast destructive results.

As of 2017, progressing urban transformation project to Perşembe Pazarı area inside Arapcami Quarter might also be considered as a threat than a solution to Galata with respect to many similar and improper recent practices done in Istanbul, which rather pay regard to income instead of preservation of the architectural heritage itself.

When considered fortifications added to UNESCO Tentative List in 2013, further problems were seen like the inclusion and "Genoesification" of castles with uncertain Genoese periods and the exclusion of buildings with stronger Genoese characters. Castles of Yoros, Akçakoca and Sinop can be counted as cases for the former and remained sections of Galata Walls and castles in Enez, Çesme and Trabzon can be given as examples to the latter. Nonetheless, some castles with clear Genoese periods were included. Therefore, it can be claimed that a historical significance about the Genoese was often represented with insufficient or presumably also inaccurate architectural examples.

Due to the commercial popularity and importance of Galata, which still exists for many centuries, any immediate and radical decision in order to preserve its Genoese heritage altogether in a large scale might not seem as a realistic scenario but it was hoped that this study will form a comprehensive background to future plans not only for it but also for other former colonial possessions of the Genoese now remaining inside Turkey; to some extent perhaps also the ones in other countries. As the country takes strength and identifies itself from the rich history and heritage it has, which are additionally one of its biggest sources of income, they must be preserved and transmitted to future generations as a whole in the cause of a world heritage.

X- Appendixes

Appendix 1: The Genoese Mural Slabs Discovered within Modern-day Turkey

Mural slabs of the Genoese can be counted as one of the most obvious indications of their constructions and apart from their heraldic importance, these artifacts are also significant to display precisely or approximately when and by whom that construction was done, where the related slab is either still located or once discovered but not there anymore. Therefore, it has been thought that a detailed inventory study for the ones which were discovered inside the borders of modern-day Turkey is necessary that such a study does not exist.

Among these pieces, 44 were discovered in Galata, which form the most numerous group of slabs; perhaps also the ones which were studied the most. They are followed by the ones of Amasra, being 21 Genoese slabs in total. Enez (5), Foça (2), Trabzon (2), Gökçeada (1), Samsun (1) and Yoros Castle (1) are other settlements where the Genoese construction slabs were ever documented. For a more comprehensive interpretation, nearby examples like the slabs of Lesbos, Samothrace, Thasos, Chios and Crimea were also included, wherever meaningful. Related unique examples like two Knights Hospitaller slabs of Izmir and the so called Florentine slab of Amasra were also included.

It has been noticed that available slabs are generally from the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th centuries, a time period which is definitely less than whole of the years when the Genoese were present in Anatolia. In addition, no examples exist for some certain periods, like the ones of Zaccaria and Cattaneo della Volta families in the Aegean coasts. However, there are many examples from the period of Gattilusio, who formed family lordships, politically independent from the Republic of Genoa and had closer relations with the Byzantines, which are also visible on their slabs.

The slabs from Black Sea are also important to display the history of the Republic of Genoa during their times, in terms of the Genoese doges and two invasions by the French and Milan.

The family of Doria is the only one whose coat of arms exists on both Euxine and Aegean slabs, a fact undoubtedly shows their effectiveness in medieval times. In this case, they are also in front of the cross of the Republic of Genoa that Gattilusio slabs usually bear their own arms and the ones related to the Byzantine Empire.

A.1- Slabs of Foça

The Lordship of Phocaea was annihilated by the Byzantines in 1340 but due to a general weakness of them, caused by a civil war (1341-1347), the Genoese have captured Phocaea (Foça) in 1346 and made it a part of newly formed Maona organization. *Foglia Vecchia* was then returned to the Byzantine hands in 1348 but Maona took the city once again in 1358 and ruled it until the ultimate conquest of Ottomans in 1455. Between 1402-1455, governors of *Foglia Vecchia* were assigned from the noble Genoese family of Gattilusio with an exceptional grant (Miller, 1921, p. 296; Wright, 2014).

A pair of slabs were found in the city, which belong to the period of Dorino I Gattilusio, who governed *Foglia Vecchia* between c. 1416-1428, just before his lordship in *Lesbo* from 1428 to 1455 (Efthimiadis and Mazarakis, 2008, pp. 143-144). Both of the pieces were presumably placed on Foça Castle to indicate some repairs to it or Gattilusio suzerainty on *Foglia Vecchia*. Similar examples with Gattilusio coat of arms can still be seen mainly on the fortresses of Lesbos, Enez and Samothrace that a few more slabs were also discovered in Gökçeada and Thasos, from their Gattilusio periods (Conze, 1860, Taf. III; Hasluck, 1909, pp. 249-265). There are important common points between some of these slabs that the usage of Greek language instead of Latin and the strong Byzantine, specifically Palaiologian influence rather than the Republic of Genoa are the main ones, which give a brief outline of the Gattilusio lordships.

The castle of Foça had a major demolition in the second half of the 19th century and these slabs were possibly removed on purpose by locals of Foça at that time. Then, they were used again on front façades of two late 19th or early 20th century houses in the city that both of the slabs were discovered at different times but documented by having almost the same situation on local houses as ornamental elements. Only one Genoese slab of Foça is still on its place as a *spolia* and the other one was disappeared after its well examination.

A.1.1- The slab was studied by Hasluck (1909, pp. 258-259) in detail that it was seen and photographed on the front façade of a house, belonging to a local Greek baker called S. Alexopoulos. Hasluck (1909, pp. 258-259) states that the slab was copied by German archaeologist Carl Humann (1839-1896) before but he was unable to find any related publication.

As of 1913, the slab was removed from its former place and put inside the local Greek school in Foça, which was an initiative of the archbishop of Izmir but was still under construction at that time (Sartiaux, 1913). The later fate of the piece is unknown.

The slab was made of white marble and having the dimensions of 0.80 x 0.85 m. There were three main rectangular parts, being a monogram of the Byzantine imperial family Palaiologos (ΠΑΛΓ / PALG), a double-headed eagle of the Byzantine Empire with a Gattilusio coat of arms on its body and the pattern of Gattilusio arms from left to right, respectively. The slab was dated to 1423-1424, during the governorship of Dorino I Gattilusio under the rule of Maona. The two-line Greek inscription below, as follows (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 258-259);

"+ Ντόρις Παλεολόγος ὁ Γατελιού-
ζος κ(αὶ) ἀθένητης Παλε(ας) Φωκέ(ας) ς, ρ λ β' "

"The Lord of Old Phocaea, Dorino Palaiologos Gattilusio, 6932 (1423-1424)."



Fig. 483: The slab A.1.1 of Foça (Hasluck, 1909, p. 258)

A.1.2- The slab is located in Foça city center, precisely on the front façade of the house at N^o 15, 193rd Street. The slab was divided into two pieces and used as an ornamental element that with regard to the first slab, it was possibly having the same order from left to right. The piece below has dimensions of 0.50 x 0.42 m and there are two parts on it, being a very small section of the Palaiologos monogram (the rightmost tips of A and Γ / A and G) and a double-headed eagle of the Byzantine Empire with a Gattilusio coat of arms on its body that the dexter wing is missing. The piece above has dimensions of 0.53 x 0.42 m and it was placed upside down. This rectangular part has the pattern of Gattilusio arms. The pieces do not have any inscriptions and made of a local stone with a yellow color and a softer texture when compared with white marble. Therefore, surfaces of the pieces are slightly worn, most probably due to weathering.

The pieces were not noticed by Hasluck (1909, pp. 248-269) but studied by Schiffer (2006, pp. 7-10) and expectedly dated to 1424. Yet, Efthimiadis and Mazarakis (2008, pp. 143-144) also studied the slab and mention that Dorino I Gattilusio has arrived to *Foglia Vecchia* c. 1416, where he remained as a governor before being the lord of *Lesbo* in 1428. Therefore, as the second slab was made of another material and has the same order with the first one but the figures were chiseled with a slightly different style, the second slab may belong to another period than 1423-1424 of the first slab, but again within the rule of Dorino I Gattilusio in *Foglia Vecchia* between c. 1416-1428 because of apparent similarities.

It should still be considered that the rule of Gattilusio family over *Foglia Vecchia* lasted between 1402-1455, which sets the broadest possible period for the second slab. Therefore, as another but relatively low possibility, the second slab belongs to another governor from Gattilusio family, who governed *Foglia Vecchia* before or after Dorino I Gattilusio.



Fig. 484: The location of the slab A.1.2 of Foça (Google Maps, 2015)



Fig. 485-487: The slab A.1.2 of Foça, in two pieces (Author, 2016)

A.2- Slabs of Enez

Niccolò and Francesco I Gattilusio brothers from Genoa have supported John V Palaiologos against John VI Kantakouzenos and his son Matthew Kantakouzenos during the Byzantine civil war of 1352-1357. When John V Palaiologos captured the throne in 1354, the close relations of Gattilusio brothers returned to them as two family lordships. Lesbos (*Lesbo*) was given to Francesco I in 1355 as a dowry, as he was married one of the sisters of John V Palaiologos. Ainos (*Enos*) was given to Niccolò around 1376-1379 that he established another Gattilusio lordship there. However, the possessions of *Lesbo* and *Enos* lordships were expanded over time; being Phocaea (*Foglia Vecchia*) (1402-1455), Thasos (*Taso*) (1419-1455) and Limnos (*Lemno*) (1453-1456) for the former and Samothrace (*Samotracia*) (1431-1456) and Gökçeada (*Imbros*) (1453-1456) for the latter (Miller, 1921, p. 303). Niccolò Gattilusio (1376-1409), the grandson of his brother (Francesco I) Palamede Gattilusio (1409-1455) and Palamede's son Dorino II Gattilusio (1455-1456) were the rulers of the Lordship of *Enos* (Luttrell, 1986, p. 110; Miller, 1921, p. 298).

Five slabs were discovered in Enez from its Gattilusio period. Three of them possibly indicate castle additions that one of them was lost and the remaining two are still on the walls. Other two slabs were about church constructions that both of them were disappeared. It appears on Enez slabs that the sole usage of Latin became less and Greek was started to be preferred over time that the slabs of Lesbos, Samothrace and Thasos are also examples to this issue.

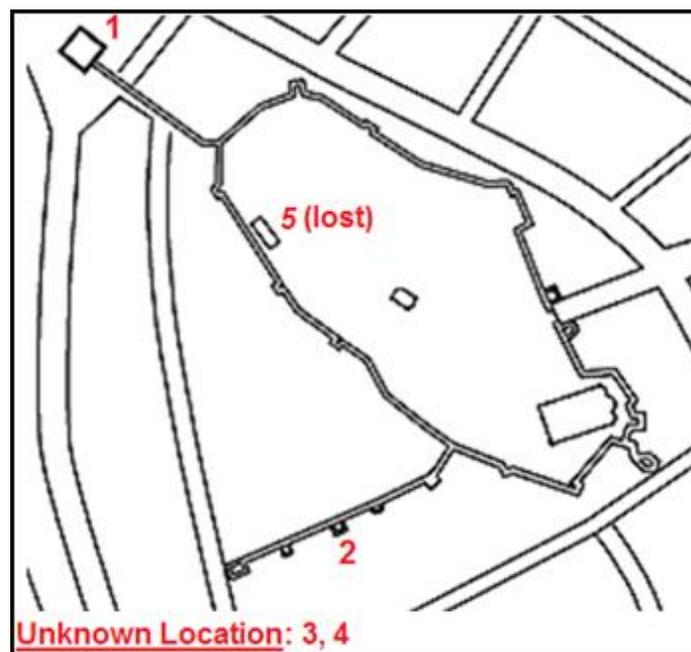


Fig. 488: Locations of Enez slabs (after Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, p. 844)

A.2.1- The slab is located on the sole tower of the northwestern demolished maritime walls and facing to northeast. The walls were once connecting to the enceinte of Enez Castle and the tower is relatively big, square-shaped and recently in a ruined condition apart from its façade which bears the slab.

The slab has two rectangular compartments and it was carved into white marble. There are Gattilusio and Doria arms on it from left to right, respectively. A Latin inscription above gives the date of 1382, so the slab is dated to the rule of the founder and the first lord of *Enos* Lordship, Niccolò Gattilusio (r. 1376-1409). The arms of Doria is presumably related with the maternal roots of the Gattilusio brothers from Genoa (Luttrell, 1986, pp. 103-112), the wife of Niccolò Gattilusio, being Peretta Doria (Eyice, 1963, p. 145) or another member of Doria family as a governor who served under the rule of Lord Niccolò in the city. The existence of Doria arms on a Lesbos slab from the period of Niccolò's brother Francesco I strengthens the first possibility (see A.4.2). The inscription of the slab as follows (Eyice, 1963, p. 145; Hasluck, 1909, p. 255);

" + *MCCC · LXXXII · DIE PRIMO · MADII* "

"1 May 1382."



Fig. 489: The slab A.2.1 of Enez (Author, 2016)

A.2.2- The slab is located on the well preserved, square-shaped central tower of the southwestern maritime walls, which extend from the main defensive circuit of Enez Castle to the former coast. The rectangular piece has the dimensions of 0.75 x 1.05 m and it was carved into yellowish marble. The slab consisted of only a pattern of Gattiludio arms with a Latin inscription above, which gives the year of 1413, so the piece is dated to the period of the second lord of *Enos*, Palamede Gattiludio (r. 1409-1455). The inscription of the slab as follows (Eyice, 1963, p. 145; Hasluck, 1909, p. 256);

"+ *MCCCCXIII : DIE PRIM AGVSTI :*"

"1 August 1413."



Fig. 490: The slab A.2.2 of Enez (Author, 2016)

A.2.3- The slab was discovered on the wall of modern *Hagios Vlasios* church but it was presumed that it was originally belonging to Agios Nikolaos that the *ktetor* (founder) inscription of the slab is about its construction. However, both churches and the slab were disappeared. It was having the dimensions of 0.29 1.08 m and carved into white marble. There were a Gattiludio arms in a heater shield with the symbol of Palaiologos family in chief and a four-line Greek inscription on the right (Hasluck, 1909, p. 256). The symbol of Palaiologos family is the abbreviation of their imperial motto; being four "B" letters between the arms of a cross, which means "*Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Βασιλεύων Βασιλεῦσι*" (Basileus Basileon Basileuon Basileusi = King of Kings, Ruling over Rulers) (Eyice, 1969, p. 13).

The slab is dated to 1420-1421, the period of Palamede Gattiludio and it is about the construction of *Hagios Nikolaos* church, which was built by a master builder called Konstantinos, to an unknown location (see A.2.5, A.4.13 and A.4.14). Although the mother of Palamede, who was also the wife of Francesco II is an unknown woman, it can be assumed that she was a member of Palaiologos family, with respect to the slab (Luttrell, 1986, pp. 103-112). Its inscription as follows (Hasluck, 1909, p. 256);

"+ *Ανηγέρθη εκ βάθρον ο θίος κ(αι) πάνσεπτος*
ναός του μεγάλου Νικολάου δια κόπ-
ου κ(αι) εξόδου Αυγουσταρική του Κα-
ναβούτζι, έτους ς, ρ κ θ' ιδ'. (Ινδικτυωνος)
Κοστ(αντίνος)."

"+ The temple of God and the great Nikolaos, blessed from top to bottom, was erected from its foundations by efforts and expenses of Augoustarikes Kanavoutzes in the year 6929 (1420-1421), indiction. Konstantinos."



Fig. 491: The slab A.2.3 of Enez (Hasluck, 1909, p. 256)

A.2.4- The slab was detected on a tower of the castle, located in the western perimeter walls. It was discovered by Lambakis (1902) and studied by Hasluck (1909, pp. 254-255) but could not be seen in 2016. The western towers of the castle are either ruined or heavily restored, so the piece was presumably disappeared after a collapse due to the earthquake of 1965. It was carved into a circular grey marble, possibly cross section of a reused ancient column, and placed inside a brick niche with a depressed ogival arch.

The slab has a cross with long arms and on the left of the lower one, there was an illegible inscription according to Hasluck (1909, pp. 254-255) and on the right of it, there was a Gattiluso arms in a heater shield with a Palaiologos symbol in chief. Lambakis (1902) was able to read its inscription and according to his evaluation, the slab was dated to 1422, the period of Lord Palamede Gattiluso. The Greek inscription of the slab that its meaning is unknown, as follows (Lambakis, 1902);

" + Παραστεκα

Μενοζδηγητρι

Ανοζοτριμων

έτουζ ζ, ρ λ' "

"... the year 6930 (1422)."

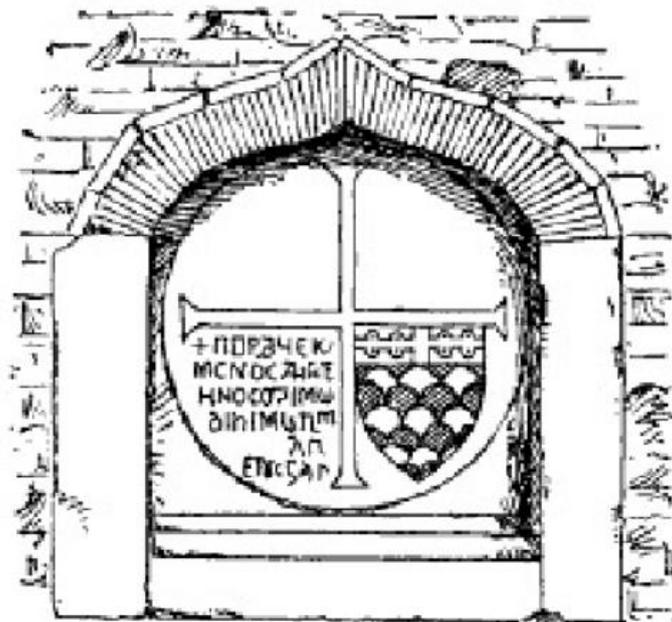


Fig. 492: The slab A.2.4 of Enez (Hasluck, 1909, p. 255)

A.2.5- The slab can be considered as the most impressive example due to the contents of its inscription. Being the *ktetor* slab of *Theotokos Chrysopege* church, it was having the dimensions of 0.48 x 1.11 m and carved into grey marble (Hasluck, 1909, p. 254). Although the slab was destroyed together with the building during World War I, it was thoroughly documented and studied in the early 20th century by George Lambakis (1902), Fredrick William Hasluck (1909) and Gabriel Millet (n. d.), when it was still on the church.

The piece was dated to 1423, which correspond to the period of Palamede Gattilusio, the son of Francesco II, whose parents were Francesco I and Maria Palaiologina. This slab also has the name of master builder Konstantinos, like the slab A.2.3 of Enez. His name appears on two more Gattilusio slabs discovered in Samothrace (see A.2.3, A.4.13 and A.4.14). The slab does not have any coat of arms but a long Greek inscription, which as follows (Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, pp. 507-508);

"+ Πηγὴν σε χρύσειον κόρη τῆς ἀγνείας, οἶδαμεν πάντες τὴν Θεὸν τετοκῆαν.
 ταῖς σαῖς φέρουσα τοίνην ὠλέναις λόγον· καθιλέωσαί μὴ τὸ πᾶν ὅταν κρίνη·
 οὐκοῦν δέχου καὶ τουτονὶ ὄν σου χάριν πόθῳ νεῶν ἡγείρα ὡς ἐδηνάμην.
 Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος πάνσεπτος καὶ περηκαλῆς ναὸς τῆς πανάγνου καὶ θεομήτορος
 Χρυσοπηγῆς ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων παρ' ἐμοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ξένου, τῆνικαῦτα κρατοῦν-
 τος τῆς θεοσώστου πόλεως Αἴνου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν ἀθέντου σὺρ Παλάμιδες
 Φραντζέσκου Γατελιούζου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου· ἐν ἔτει, ς, ρ λ α' (i)ν(δικτιῶνος) α'
 Κοστ(αντῖνος) ὁ Μάστ(ορας)."

"+ Spring of gold daughter of purity, we all have known you are the God bearer, to hold in your hands the Word (The Bible); that he might show mercy and do not judge everything when he judges; thus, receive this temple too, which by your grace I desirably erected as I was able. This divine, all-venerable and sublimely beautiful church of the All-Pure and Mother of God (Theotokos) Golden Spring (Chrysopege) was constructed from the beginning by me Demetrios Xenos, currently in power of the god-saved city of Ainos of our highest master Lord Palamede Francesco Gattilusio-Palaiologos in the year 6931 (1423), 1st indiction.

Konstantinos the master builder."

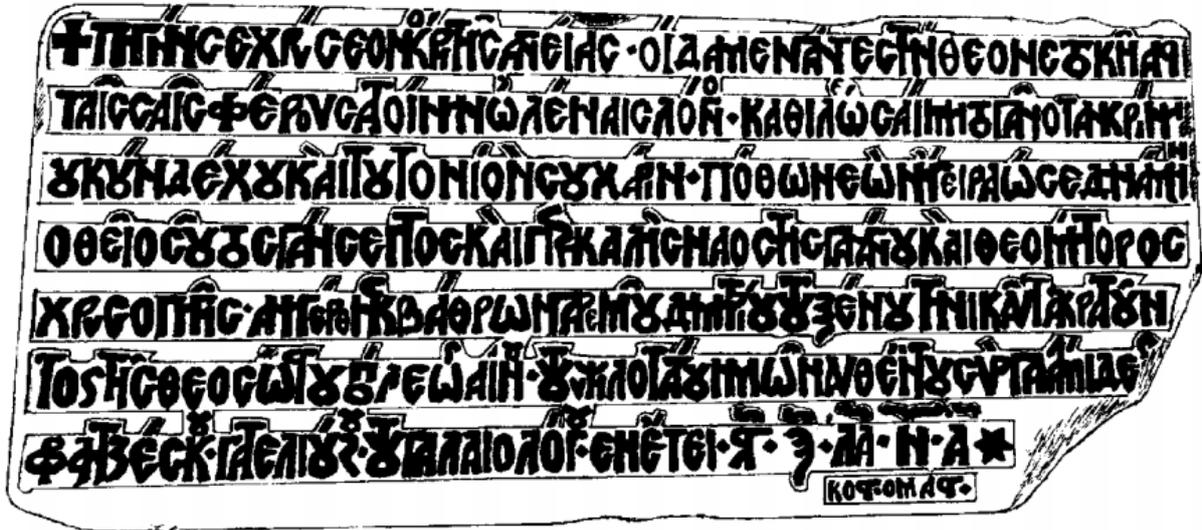
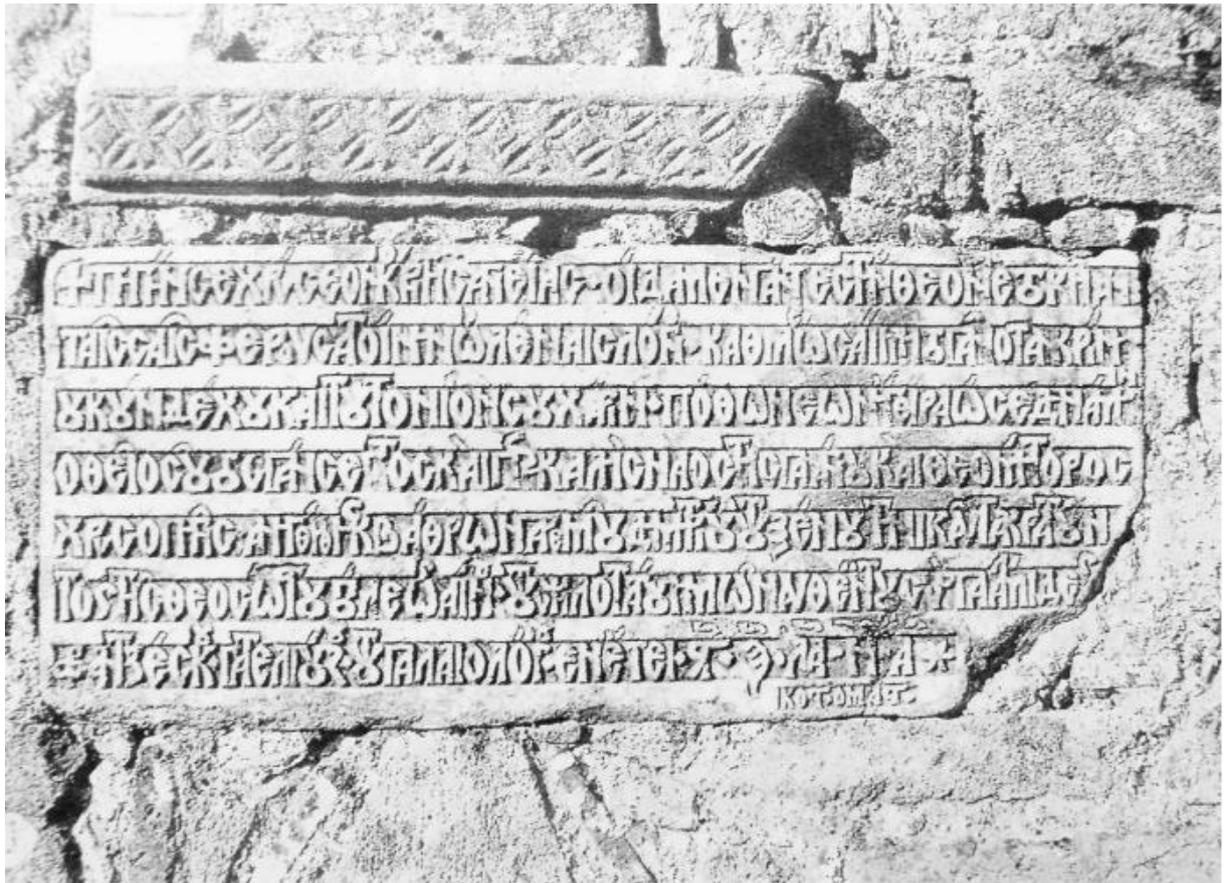


Fig. 493-494: The photograph and a fine drawing of the slab A.2.5 of Enez (Mamaloukos and Perrakis, 2011, pp. 848-849)

A.3- Slab of Gökçeada

The Byzantine island of Imbros that Manouel Asanes Laskaris was a former governor of it by 1442 (see 3.2.2), was taken from the empire and included to the Lordship of *Enos* in 1453 by Palamede Gattilusio. The last lord, Dorino II Gattilusio came into power in 1455 and ruled *Enos* and *Imbros* together, until the conquest of the lordship by the Ottomans in 1456. During this period, *Imbros*' governor was Ioannis Laskaris Rontakinos (Miller, 1921, p. 297).

The slab of Gökçeada was discovered by Conze (1860) in a house just next to the Despot's one that both of them were inside İskiter Castle but their recent locations are unknown. As of 1993, the slab was located in an empty field in Kaleköy village, where the castle is located but the current situation of the slab is unknown (Sayar, 1994, p. 65). The slab, dated to 1456 was carved into a white marble pedestal, possibly a *spolia* and it was having the dimensions of 0.72 m height, 0.53 m width and 0.55 m depth. It was having the shape of a rectangular prism and there were a Gattilusio arms with the symbol of Palaiologos family in chief, and a Greek inscription below, which as follows (Conze, 1860, p. 82);

"Ο δούλ(ος) τού ύψηλοτάτ(ου)

'ημ(ών) αύ(θέντου) 'Ιω(άννης) Λασκάρη(ς)

ό Ροντακίνος.

Έτους ς, ρ ξ δ'

Ν(οέμβριου) δ."

"The servant of our great lord, Ioannis Laskaris Rontakinos. Year 6964 (1456), 4 November."



Fig. 495: The slab of Gökçeada (Conze, 1860, Pl. III)

A.4- Examples - Rest of Gattiluso Period Slabs

A.4.1-



Fig. 496: A blue marble slab on a polygonal tower in the western walls of Mytilene Castle of Lesbos with Gattiluso, Palaiologos and Doria arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.2-



Fig. 497: A blue marble slab above the inner middle gate of Mytilene Castle and with Doria, Palaiologos and Gattiluso arms and a Latin inscription (Author, 2016), as follows (Hasluck, 1909, p. 262): "*+ m·ccc·lxxiii·die | prima·aprilis~ | magnificus·et·pote(n)s·d(omi)n(u)s· | d(omi)n(u)s·(francis)cus·gatelux | ius·d(omi)n(u)s·insule met | elini·et·c(ompletar)·fecit·fieri | hoc·edificium:*" and means: "1 April 1373. Magnificent and powerful master, Lord Francesco Gattiluso, the ruler of Mytilene Island, has made this building complete"

A.4.3-



Fig. 498: A white marble slab fragment near the first middle gate of Mytilene Castle and with Palaiologos and Byzantine Empire arms, and a Latin inscription above (Author, 2016), as follows: "... *LXXIII : DIE* ..." and means: "... (13)73, (month and day) ..."

A.4.4-



Fig. 499: A white marble sarcophagus fragment near the southern gate of Mytilene Castle and with Gattilusio arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.5-



Fig. 500: A blue marble slab fragment near the southern gate of Mytilene Castle and only with Gattilusio arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.6-



Fig. 501: A blue marble slab near the southern gate of Mytilene Castle and with Byzantine Empire-Gattilusio-Palaiologos (upper corners) and Doria arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.7-



Fig. 502: A white marble slab above the tower at right in the citadel entrance of Mytilene Castle and with Doria, Palaiologos and Gattilusio arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.8-



Fig. 503: A blue marble sarcophagus fragment inside the upper castle of Mytilene Castle with Gattilusio (broken) and Doria arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.9-



Fig. 504: A white marble sarcophagus front inside the upper castle of Mytilene Castle and with Gattilusio (broken)-Doria-Palaiologos (in chief) arms, supported by anonymous heraldic lions (Author, 2016)

A.4.10-



Fig. 505: A white marble sarcophagus fragment inside the upper castle of Mytilene Castle and with Gattilusio arms and some missing Greek inscriptions nearby (Author, 2016)

A.4.11-



Fig. 506: Grey marble sarcophagus of Francesco I Gattilusio and Maria Palaiologina (Hasluck, 1911, p. 264) inside the upper castle of Mytilene Castle and with Gattilusio (broken) and Palaiologos (broken) arms (Author, 2016)

A.4.12-

On the inner side of the northern gate of Mytilene Castle, a rectangular white marble slab only with Palaiologos and Gattilusio arms (similar to A.4.1, A.4.7 and A.4.11) was detected by Hasluck (1909, p. 265) that it could not be seen as of 2016 and the most recent condition of the slab is unknown. An exceptional, upside down white marble slab with the arms of the Venetian Bembo family was also discovered by Hasluck (1909, pp. 262-263) on the southwestern walls of the castle and dated around 1456.

In addition, on the information panel near the sarcophagus A.4.11, the slab A.4.1 and an unknown one were used as visual examples. However, the latter appears as a new slab that it could not be seen in the castle and also in any related publication about Gattilusio slabs. It is possibly a recently discovered, visually identified but unpublished slab from Mytilene Castle. The slab has Doria and Gattilusio (broken) arms and an illegible inscription on the left.



Fig. 507: A white marble slab in Mytilene Castle with Bembo arms (Author, 2016)



Fig. 508: The unknown slab on the information panel near A.4.11 (Author, 2016)

A.4.13-

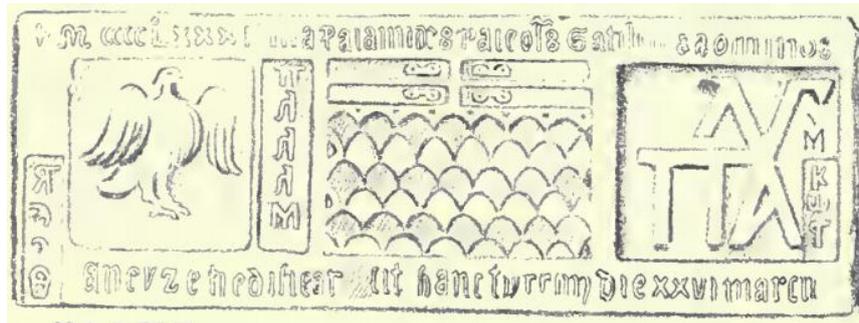


Fig. 509: A marble slab on the central eastern tower of Chora Castle in Samothrace with Doria, Gattilusio-Palaiologos (in chief) and Palaiologos arms (Conze, 1860, Pl. III), surrounded by Latin and Greek inscriptions, as follows (Androudis, 2013, p. 236): "+ m cccc xxxi + (...) Palamides Paleol(ogus) Gatilu(sius) dominus / Enevz ehedificar(i) (fe)cit hanc turrim diē xxvi marcii / ζ, ς λ θ' | Παλαμ(ήδης) | Μα(ῖστωρ) Κωστ(αντῖνος)." and means: "1431 ... Palamede Palaiologos Gattilusio, the Lord of Ainos, has rebuilt this tower in March 26. 6939 (1431). Palamede. Konstantinos, the master builder."

A.4.14-

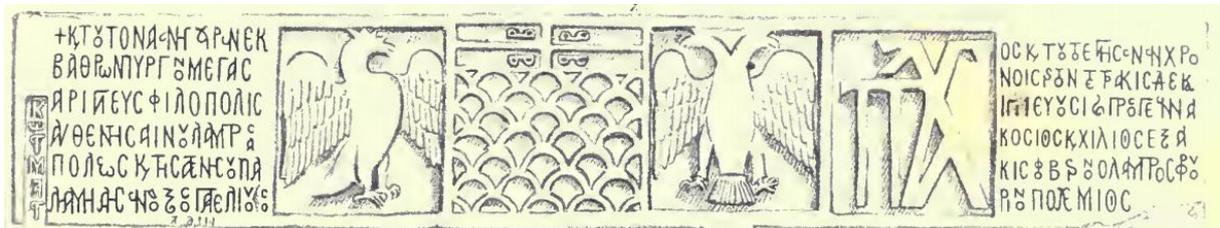


Fig. 510: A white marble slab on the southern façade of the easternmost rectangular tower of Chora Castle in Samothrace with Doria, Gattilusio-Palaiologos (in chief), Byzantine Empire and Palaiologos arms (Conze, 1860, Pl. III) and nearby Greek inscriptions, as follows (Androudis, 2013, p. 235): "Κ(αὶ) τοῦτον ἀνήγειρεν ἐκ / βάθρων πύργον μέγας / ἀριστεὺς φιλόπολις / ἀθέντης Αἴνου λαμπρᾶς / πόλεως κ(αὶ) τῆςδε νήσου Πα- / λαμῆδης ἐνδοξος Γατελιοῦζος / ὃς κ(αὶ) τοῦτο ἔστησεν ἐν χρό- / νοῖς ἔργον τετράκις δέκα / ἱππεύουσι κ(αὶ) πρὸς γε ἔννα- / κοσίοις κ(αὶ) χιλίοις ἑξά- / κισ φοβερὸν ὁ λαμπρὸς φρού- / ριον πολεμίοις / ζ, ς μ α' / Κωστ(αντῖνος) μα(ῖ)στ(ωρ)." and means: "This tower was built again since its foundation by the great, excellent in courage, loving the city, the Lord of the famous city of Ainos and of this island, Palamede the glorious Gattilusio, who erected; as this work illustrates in the year of six thousand nine hundred and forty plus one, tremendous fortress against enemies. 6941 (1433). Konstantinos, the master builder."

A.4.15-

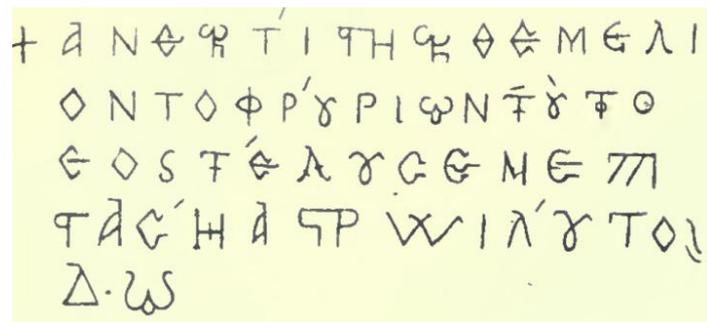


Fig. 511: A marble slab on the southern façade of the southeastern corner tower of Palaiopoli Castle in Samothrace with a Greek inscription (Conze, 1860, Pl. III), as follows (Androudis, 2013, p. 238): "+ 'Ανε(ε)κτίστη ἐκ θεμελί- / ον τὸ φρούριων τοῦτο (ο) / ἔος τέλους ἐν ἐπι- / στασίᾳ Στροῦϊλου τοῦ / δωμήτορος)." and means: "This fortress was built from its foundations until the end under the surveillance of constructor Stroilos." that the slab was dated around 1431-1433 (Androudis, 2013, p. 238)

A.4.16-



Fig. 512: White marble construction slab of Kastro Castle in Thasos (Rinkl, 2014) with Gattilusio-Palaiologos (in chief) (the lord of Lesbos Dorino I Gattilusio, r. 1428-1455) and two surrounding Grimaldi (the governor of Thasos Umberto Grimaldi) arms and inscriptions in Latin and Greek above, as follows (Conze, 1860, p. 37): "+ IN X (=CHRISTUS) NO(M)I(N)E FACTUM EST M CCCC XXX IIII DIE P(RIMA) AP(RI)LLIS | + ΕΤΟΥΣ ς, ρμ β' : | ΜΠΕΡΤΟ ΓΡΙΜΑΛΤΑΟ : " and means: "It is done in the name of Christ, 1 April 1434. Year 6942 (1434). Umberto Grimaldi." (The slab was reused upside down in the walls of Hagios Athanasios church in Kastro)

A.5- Slabs of Izmir

Smyrna was conquered by the Aydinids together with the coastal castle in 1329 and its commander Martino Zaccaria fled to Chios. Smyrniote crusades, led by Pope Clement VI were organized between 1343-1351 and in 1344 the coastal castle (*San Pietro*) of Smyrna was retaken. The castle was remained in the Crusader hands until 1402 that Timur seized and gave it back to the Aydinids in that year. Although the Genoese Martino Zaccaria was in fact commanding the galleys of Papal States and died during a failed Aydinid assault to the castle of *San Pietro* in 1345, it was presumed that the Genoese have continued to be present in the castle like before 1329 together with the citizens of other Crusader states this time; being Papal States, Republic of Venice, Kingdom of Cyprus, Dauphiné and Knights Hospitaller (Kütükoğlu, 2001, pp. 516-517).

Two white marble slabs bearing the Crusader arms are important pieces survived from the demolished castle, which was under the control of Papal States (1344-1374) and the Knights Hospitaller (1374-1402). These slabs indicate the repairs of 1392 and 1398, which were done by the Neapolitan friar and hospital commander Domenico d'Alemagna and funded by the Grand Masters of the Knights Hospitaller, Juan Fernández de Heredia (r. 1377-1396) and Philibert de Naillac (r. 1396-1421), respectively. Both slabs are now on display in Izmir Archaeology Museum and there are de Heredia, Knights Hospitaller, Papacy, d'Alemagna, Baux and possibly Lusignan arms in heater shields on them (Hasluck, 1911, pp. 145-150).

Being hardly related with the Genoese period of Smyrna itself, the slabs are only noteworthy artifacts about a famous former castle of the Genoese, which was under their suzerainty for nearly 25 years (c. 1304 - 1329), had repairs by the Crusaders and then completely demolished in the 19th century. The Genoese interventions on the castle during its Zaccaria period are unknown. The Ottoman alterations on the coastal castle of Izmir until its demolition were also not documented.

A.5.1-



Fig. 513: The slab A.5.1 of Izmir (c. 1392) with de Heredia, Knights Hospitaller (defaced), Papacy, d'Alemagna, Baux and Lusignan (possibly) coat of arms, respectively (Author, 2016)

A.5.2-



Fig. 514: The slab A.5.2 of Izmir (c. 1398) with Papacy, Lusignan (possibly) and d'Alemagna coat of arms, respectively (Author, 2016)

A.6- Slab of Yoros Castle

Yoros Castle (Hieron) was built between 1261-1282, with respect to the Byzantine slabs discovered on its twin towers and main gate. The castle was seized by the Genoese in 1348 and remained in their control until 1391 that the Ottomans conquered it during the reign of Bayezid I. However, the castle has returned to the Genoese hands in 1414, until the ultimate Ottoman take over, which was being secured prior to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 (Eyice, 2001, p. 237).

The castle has three main construction phases; being the fortified hilltop, its closure and the rest of the irregular shaped defensive walls between the hilltop and the Bosphorus. These three parts differ from each other with their material characteristics, stone-brick sequences and the used mortars but all of them show strong Byzantine characteristics. It is only possible to detect some minor Ottoman repairs on the Byzantine constructions (Bilban Yalçın, 2007, p. 302; Gabriel, 1941; Tekin and Kurugöl, 2013).

However, a disappeared slab with a Latin inscription from Yoros Castle, which was copied by Professor Multedo²⁹⁶ and mentioned by Sauli (1831, p. 43) gives the details of an undated, Genoese period extension. As the castle is a Byzantine building and the Genoese were using it mainly for commercial and strategic reasons, the employment of local Greek labor force can be the explanation of the overall Byzantine appearance of Yoros Castle (see 3.2.1.1, 3.4.5, A.2.3, A.2.5, A.4.13, A.4.14 and A.4.15). The Genoese might have involved in the construction only financially, which was mentioned in the Latin inscription, as follows (Sauli, 1831, p. 42);

*"FORTALITIVM PROMONTORII SACRII INIVRIA TEMPORVM DIRVTVM VINC.
LERCARI CIVIS IANVENSIS PROPRIIS EXPENSIS RES...TVIT ET AD MARE VSQVE
PROTRAXIT A... M..."*

"The Fortress of the sacred promontory was damaged and dismantled over time. Vinc(enzo) Lercari, a citizen of Genoa owns the expenses of its rebuilt and extension until the sea ..."

²⁹⁶ Further details were not given for this specialist, who was probably Prof. Ambrogio Multedo (1753-1840) from Genoa; primarily a mathematician and priest but also interested in historical studies.

A.7- Slabs of Amasra

The rising Genoese influence in the Black Sea following the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in the same year have resulted with the takeover of isolated coastal strongholds of the empire that the Genoese have either established colonies at these settlements or used the ports of them for commercial reasons. Amasra (*Samastri*) was one the most important Genoese colonies in the Black Sea, where they have involved in some defensive constructions.

The Genoese have carried out a final construction phase on the Byzantine castles of Amasra, presumably during the first half of the 15th century. In this period, especially Zindan Castle, which is originally a Byzantine building was altered and some parts were added to. The main Genoese constructions the castle were for the citadel with slabs, machicolations on its walls, upper parts of the westernmost outer gate with machicolations and the easternmost outer gate with a slab as the lintel. In addition, some arrow slits were modified as circular gun ports and the southern walls of the castles were heightened and strengthened in some sections, also with crenellations. Roughly shaped and relatively small ashlar were used with a strong, white mortar by the Genoese and the citadel as a focal point of constructions strengthens the idea of its special usage by them, like a military garrison or a fortified residence for the consul of *Samastri* (Hill, 1989, pp. 81-85; Hill, 1990, pp. 311-321; Hill and Crow, 1991, pp. 87-92; Hill and Crow, 1992, pp. 19-25; Hill and Crow, 1995, pp. 251-266).

In Amasra, 21 Genoese slabs in total were discovered by now that eight *in situ* ones correspond with the aforementioned Genoese constructions, which were also superficially but consistently considered by Hill and Crow (1992, pp. 22-23). However, two of them could not be seen as of 2016 due to dense vegetation. Five slabs are on display in Amasra Museum, one slab is *ex situ* in the city and one slab is preserved in Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The fate of the remaining eight slabs that all of them were documented and studied, is unknown.

The slabs of Amasra usually have a triple order with the arms of the doge, Genoa and the consul of *Samastri* (started to be sent from 1398) from left to right, respectively. In this case, they show similarity to the ones of Galata, which usually have the arms of the Doge (or the occupying authority), Genoa and *podestà*. It is possible to find many examples with a similar triple order from the slabs of Sudak and Balaklava as well, whereas a significant number of Feodosia slabs bear the arms of the Doge, Genoa, Golden Horde, two treasurers (*massarius*) and the consul in between with a sextet order (or only the last three with a triple order) that at

least one example from Sudak also has a sextet order with slightly different arms (Rossi, 1928; Skrzinska, 1928; 2006) (see A.10.6-A.10.10).

Another characteristics of Amasra slabs is their lack of inscriptions when compared with Galata and Crimea slabs with abundant ones that only 4 of them out of 22 have.

It appears that the usual positions of arms on the slabs of Amasra had several changes during invasion periods, such as switching their positions with each other; perhaps linked to the political circumstances affecting the Republic of Genoa and their effects on *Samastri*. The arms of doges also do not appear on slabs from (and thought to be from) invasion periods, where they have been replaced by the arms of occupying states. Some exceptional Amasra slabs have double or quadruple orders with have their own unique cases. Three pieces with single arms were most probably once parts of bigger slabs, which were then broken apart.

12 slabs of Amasra were introduced by Hasluck (1911, pp. 132-144) and 7 more by Eyice (1953, pp. 27-35; 1965; 1987, pp. 5-27). 2 slabs of Amasra were not studied yet and will be introduced in this section. A few of Amasra slabs were documented in the second half of the 19th century by Laurens (1847), Hommaire de Hell (1860, Pl. XX) and Avraam (1872, pp. 47-48) but the studies of Hasluck (1911, pp. 132-144) and Eyice (1953, pp. 27-35; 1965; 1987, pp. 5-27) include all of them. A exceptional piece, discovered by Düll (1985, pp. 369-377) and being linked to the Florentines is unique, which was also being shown.

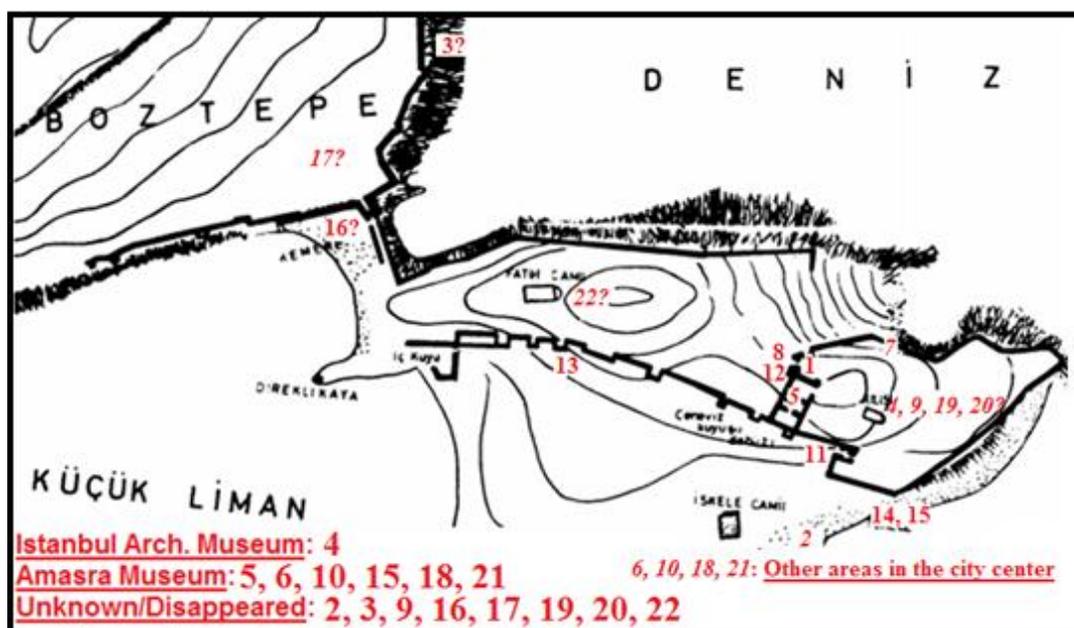


Fig. 515: Discovery (shown on the map) and recent locations (listed below) of 22 Amasra slabs that "1" for *in situ* location and "2" for *ex situ* location (Author, 2016 after Eyice, 1965)

A.7.1- The slab is located on the northern walls of the citadel part inside Zindan Castle, immediately on the right of Zindan Gate, which connects the inner castle and the main castle area from the north of the citadel (see 3.4.3.1).

The white marble slab only has two heater shields, without any inscription. It bears the arms of Genoa and Boccanegra with Genoa in chief (Scorza, 1920, VIII) from left to right, respectively. Simone Boccanegra was the only Doge from this family, who reigned the republic in two periods; 1339-1344 and 1356-1363. Thus, the slab can only be attributed to him and as no possible earlier period Genoese slabs were discovered in Amasra yet, this important piece provides approximate times for the start of the Genoese suzerainty in the Byzantine Amastris. When considered the usual triple orders of Galata and Amasra slabs, which indicate the Doge, the Republic of Genoa and the consul with their arms, having only two escutcheons (Genoa and the Doge) is consistent for the slab, as the consuls of *Samastri* were began to send from 1398. Having the position of greater honor, the flag of the nation was naturally placed at right, from the viewpoint of the bearer (Eyice, 1953, p. 31; Eyice, 1965, pp. 30-31; Eyice, 1987, pp. 16-17; Hasluck, 1911, p. 139).

The possibility of not bearing any doge arms and indicating a consul from the family of Boccanegra was not considered in existing sources for this slab (see A.7.3).

The slab was also noticed by Avraam (1872, Pl. I) and being shown with a basic sketch.



Fig. 516: The slab A.7.1 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.2- The slab piece was seen in 1949 by Eyice (1953, pp. 27-28) as an entrance stair of a building near the harbor and then studied in detail afterwards that it has been claimed that the very basic sketch of a slab, seen on "The Castle of Amasra" by Hommaire de Hell (1860, Pl. XX, no. 2) illustrates the full form of this piece (Eyice, 1987, p. 19). However, the fragment was disappeared together with the mentioned building as of 2016.

The slab was having the arms of Genoa between two Maruffo arms and available colonial traces of this family are from the 14-15th centuries. Baldassare Maruffo was the *podestà* of Galata in 1445-1446 and during his reign, some very significant constructions were done, which can be seen on three slabs of Galata, together with the arms of Genoa and Doge Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447) (see A.11.36-A.11.38). No Maruffo members has served as doge and another *podestà* from them is also not known. In this case, the arms on this slab indicate a consul and the slab belongs to a year later than 1398.

When considered the usage of double arms belonging to a consul or *podestà* together with the arms of Genoa but without any arms of an authority in Genoa, there are similar examples from Galata (see A.11.13 and A.11.14), Feodosia (see Feodosia slab No. 21 in A.10) and Sudak (see A.10.9 and Sudak slabs No. 11 & 18 in A.10) (Belgrano, 1877; Rossi, 1928; Skrzinska 1928; 2006). Especially the slab A.11.13 of Galata from 1397 has a significant similarity to this slab by form. Although all of these slabs are unique, their dates somehow correlate with political instability in Genoa, due to either invasions or consecutive reigns of numerous Genoese rulers for relatively very short periods that the latter did not occur during the representation of the Republic of Genoa in *Samastri* with consuls.

However, the republic had occupations from the Kingdom of France (1396-1413, 1458-1461) and the Duchy of Milan (1421-1435). Apart from these periods, there were usually doges with relatively noteworthy reigns in Genoa that many slabs of Amasra bear their arms. As *Samastri* was having serious financial problems during the second French invasion (Eyice, 1965, pp. 34-35), any defensive constructions in this period might not be possible. It was also seen that indications of the first one appear with a combined arms of King Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) and Marshal Boucicaut, during his governorship of Genoa (r. 1401-1409) (see A.7.5-A.7.7). In addition, the arms of Visconti (removed to a large extent afterwards) on several Amasra slabs from 1420-1430s indicate the Milanese invasion (see A.7.8-A.7.13). Yet, during the first French invasion apart from the governorship of Boucicaut, there were rules of several French governors for relatively short times in Genoa. Thus, 1398-1401 or 1409-1413 seem

appropriate periods for this slab. The arms of the consul Maruffo might have been used twice in a distant colony due to a possible disavowal or still being uninformed about the latest conjuncture of Genoa that Skrzinska (1928, pp. 139-140) also mentions of this possibility for some Crimean slabs (see A.7.3, A.10.3 and A.11.42).

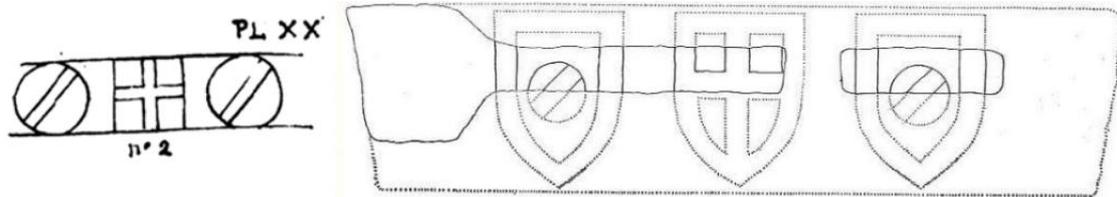


Fig. 517-518: The slab A.7.2 of Amasra (H. de Hell, 1860, Pl. XX, no. 2; Eyice, 1987, p. 19)

A.7.3- The marble slab was discovered on a very high position in the eastern coastal walls of Sormagir Castle by Eyice (1987, p. 22) but its status could not be confirmed as of 2016 due to dense vegetation. Among Amasra slabs, only this one has an exceptional rough craftsmanship and rectangular arms in a double order, which are Genoa and Maruffo (see A.7.2).

According to Eyice (1987, p. 22), the slab possibly belongs to the period of Baldassare Maruffo, the *podestà* of Galata in 1445-1446. However, the administration of *Samastri* was taken from *Caffa* and given to Galata in 1448. In addition, unlike other examples from 1443-1447, the arms of Raffaele Adorno, the doge during that period does not appear on this slab and no Maruffo member served as doge in Genoa. Yet, it is still known that some Maruffo members had administrative positions in Crimea (Stello, 2011, pp. 81, 84; Yarovaya, 2010, pp. 189, 193). A Maruffo tombstone from 1488 was found in Chios (Hasluck, 1910, p. 165).

It can be claimed that this slab belongs to the same period (1398-1401 or 1409-1413) with the slab A.7.2 because of the given reasons but due to its different physical characteristics, their years were presumably not exactly the same. In any case, it should be considered that origins and periods of the slabs A.7.2 and A.7.3 are still uncertain (see A.11.36-A.11.38).

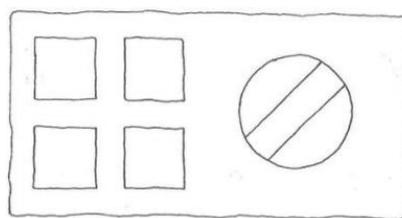


Fig. 519: The slab A.7.3 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 22)

A.7.4- The slab is now preserved in Istanbul Archaeological Museum but not on display (inv. no. 2353) (IAM, 1934, p. 101). It was discovered as a threshold of a house in the inner castle (*Baruthane*) part of Zindan Castle. It was carved into white marble and has dimensions of 0.45 x 1.40 m. Having four arms inside heater shields in total, the ones of Genoa and Fregoso (Campofregoso) (Scorza, 1920, XVIII) are in the center from left to right and surrounded by Doria arms from sides. A Latin inscription runs above and below, as follows;

"+M CCCC VII DIE VII·MARCII·HOC·OPVS·FVIT·REGIMINIS·CONSULATV·NOBILIS·ET
EGREGI·D(OMI)NI· ANSALDI·DE AVRIA"

" 7 March 1407. This was the work from the consulship of noble and distinguished lord
Ansaldi De Auria."

In 1407, there was not a Doge from Fregoso family that the republic was under the French occupation (1396-1413) and Marshal Jean II Le Maingre (Boucicaut) was the governor of Genoa (r. 1401-1409) (see A.7.5-A.7.7). Therefore, it can be questioned that the date might has an error (Eyice, 1953, p. 31; Eyice, 1987, p. 18; Hasluck, 1911, p. 140). It is also known that Ansaldo Doria was the consul of *Simisso* in 1380-1381 before Giovanni de Camillo and then chosen as the *podestà* of Galata for two years in 1435 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 203; Stello, 2011, pp. 90, 127)ⁱ. If an error has been made, the most reasonable presumption with a minimum error can only be: "+M CCCC (X)VII ..." (1417), which will correspond to the first dogeship of Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1415-1421) in Genoa and indicate the consular position of Ansaldo Doria in *Samastri*, who was going to be the *podestà* of Galata within a reasonable time of 18 years. However, if the date on the slab is correct, the arms will need another interpretation, with consideration of Ansaldo Doria on documents through 55 years.



Fig. 520: The slab A.7.4 of Amasra (Quirini-Poplawski, 2017, p. 133, copyright © IAM)

A.7.5- The slab was unearthed in the citadel part of Zindan Castle in 2006 but although being carried to Amasra Museum, it remained unstudied (Amasra.net, 2006). The white marble piece has three arms, without any date or inscription.

The original location of the slab is unknown and being carved into white marble, there are three coat of arms on it, without any inscription. The one on the left represents Genoa and the one on the other side is probably Doria arms (can also be Cicala, see A.10.9). However, the third arms in the center has an exceptional layout, which does not appear in available heraldic records. The shield was vertically divided into halves that on the right half, there is an eagle with outspread wings, different from the eagle of Doria arms and on the left half, there are three lily figures, aligned as 2-1 from top to down.

It is known that no Doge from Doria family was in charge during the Genoese rule in Amasra. When considered the usual triple order of the slabs, which indicates the Doge, Genoa and the consul, Doria arms should belong to a consul of *Samastris* from this family at that time. It is expected that the unidentified arms should indicate the Doge but it does not show similarity to any doge arms. Therefore, the third shield should belong to one of the occupying nations; the Kingdom of France or the Duchy of Milan.

The Milanese were possibly represented with Visconti arms within the colonial possessions of the Genoese during the occupation period that these coat of arms were generally defaced when the occupation was over but only one example survived in Amasra (see A.7.13) that many defaced arms can still be seen both in Amasra and Galata. Heraldic lily (*fleur-de-lis*) was particularly associated with the Kingdom of France and the most significant French occupation of the Republic of Genoa when the Genoese were ruling *Samastris* was occurred between 1396-1413. Thus, the slab most probably belongs to this period.

During the first French occupation of the Republic of Genoa (1396-1413), the dogeship remained vacant and Marshal Jean II Le Maingre (Boucicaut) was the governor of Genoa between 1401-1409, whose arms has an eagle (de Boucicaut, 1408, p. 26; Kibler, 1995, p. 261). As a result, it can be supposed that the slab is dated between 1401-1409 and its central escutcheon indicates Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) (left) and Boucicaut (right), which also have a logical hierarchy in between. The slab of Samsun and one more example from Sudak strengthen this assumption (see A.8 and A.10.10). Hasluck (1910, p. 147) also attributes a chiseled out arms on a Chian slab dated 1405 to France or Boucicaut (see A.10.1). To narrow further down its period, the deduction of Belin (1894, pp. 141-142) for early period Genoese

slabs of Galata can be taken as a reference, where he claims that the position of Palaiologos arms from the viewpoint of the bearer has gradually decreased from the center and right (greater honor) to left (lesser honor), due to the weakening authority of the Byzantines on the Genoese in Galata over time. Marshal Boucicaut has served as governor in Genoa between 1401-1409 and the slab A.8 of Samsun (1402) has almost identical arms also in the center, so when his period was roughly divided into three periods as 1401-1403, 1403-1406 and 1406-1409, it can be claimed that this slab belongs to the first one. During the Ottoman siege of 1394-1402, he assisted Constantinople and raided some Turkish Black Sea settlements of Bithynia in 1399 (Lock, 2013), so it can be assumed that his authority on the colonial possessions of Genoa was stronger in the beginning of his governorship (see A.7.6 and A.7.7).



Fig. 521: The slab A.7.5 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

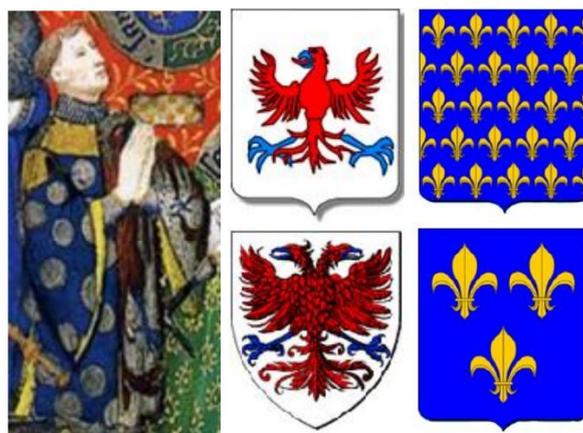


Fig. 522-526: Marshal Jean II Le Maingre (Boucicaut) that the eagle of his arms is visible on the cloth (de Boucicaut, c. 1408, p. 26), two types of his eagled-arms and blazons of the Kingdom of France before and after 1376 (Gallian, 2016; *Heraldique-Europeenne*, 2016)ⁱⁱ

A.7.6- The slab is now on display in Amasra Museum that its original location on walls and discovery place are unknown. There is only a probable Doria arms (see A.10.9), without any date or inscription. Being carved into white marble, the slab appears in at least two sources only with brief explanations (Eyice, 1965; Eyice, 1987, p. 20) and it was not studied in detail. The broken condition of its left surface and the smoothness of the rest indicate that the piece was originally belonging to a bigger slab. Faint traces of a curved outer border, possibly belonging to another escutcheon is also visible at left that the remaining sides have thick and embossed limiting borders. Hence, the piece was the rightmost part of the bigger slab.

Doria arms appear with small differences on the slabs of Galata (A.11.11, A.11.12, A.11.15), Enez (A.2.1), Lesbos (A.4.1, A.4.2, A.4.6, A.4.7, A.4.8), Samothrace (A.4.13, A.4.14), Amasra (A.7.4) and Feodosia (A.10.8) but the eagle figure on this piece is almost identical with the one on the slab of A.7.7, together with surrounding recesses with pointed tips, which were used only on these artifacts. Therefore, the slab was most probably having a similar triple order, belonging to the same period (1401-1409) and also carved by the same craftsman.

However, the arms of Doria in the slab A.7.7 appears on the left end but this piece belongs to the right end, so these slabs were not exactly the same but closely following each other by their periods. When the theory of Belin (1894, pp. 141-142) was also considered together with the slabs A.7.5 of Amasra and A.8 of Samsun, it can be claimed that this slab was having the arms of of Jean II Le Maingre (Boucicaut) & Charles VI of France - Republic of Genoa - Doria from left to right, respectively. The position of the shield belonging to the French was decreased from the center to the right (from the viewpoint of the bearer), which indicates a loss of authority and a gradual decrease like the slabs A.11.3-A.11.6 and A.11.8-A.11.9 of Galata and A.7.8-A.7.13 of Amasra, before falling to the tertiary position in terms of honor on the slab A.7.7 in the end. Therefore, the piece can be dated to the middle of Marshal Boucicaut's governorship in Genoa, being roughly around 1403-1406. For instance, the supposed chiseled out French arms on the slab A.10.1 of Chios (dated 1405) has a secondary position in terms of honor (coming after Genoa), likewise the guessed full form of this slab.

The piece has another interesting detail that the left claw of the eagle has a smaller and pressed form. However, it had to be bigger and the right one had to be smaller due to one-point perspective. This detail reveals that the craftsman was carving the slab from left to right, so the right claw of the eagle was mistakenly chiseled first with a full form and without leaving enough space for the other. In order to not repeat the whole process for a new slab

from the beginning, only because of this irrevocable mistake, the craftsman has possibly found a hasty solution and decided to chisel the other claw smaller.



Fig. 527-528: The slab fragment A.7.6 of Amasra and its possible full form (Author, 2016)

A.7.7- The slab is another unstudied example and it is *ex situ* located inside the garden of a house at coast, which directly looks to the southern cape of Büyük Ada from the inner castle of Zindan Castle. The slab was first noticed by Sakaoğlu (1987, p. 72) and briefly introduced by him but was not studied in detail. The original location of the slab is unknown and being carved into white marble, there are three coat of arms on it, without any inscription. The first two are Doria (?) and Genoa arms from left to right and the third one is Marshal Boucicaut and Charles VI (r. 1380-1422), with respect to the slab A.7.5 of Amasra and A.8 of Samsun. This shield was vertically divided into halves that on the left, there is the eagle and on the right, there are five lily figures, aligned as 2-2-1 from top to down. Thus, the slab belongs to 1401-1409, the governorship of Marshal Boucicaut in Genoa under the French rule.

The former blazon of the Kingdom of France with multiple, golden lilies on an azure shield was simplified as three lilies in 1376 by Charles V (r. 1363-1380) (Fox-Davies, 1909, p. 274), like the one on the slab A.7.5. However, both of them might have being used together for a bit more, especially in a distant colonial territory of an occupied nation.

With respect to deductions done for the slab A.7.6 and when considered the supposed switched places of Doria and French arms with each other, the position of the latter apparently indicates an even more decreased French domination on the Genoese *Samastri*, as this combined arms was located in the center of the slab A.7.5 and thought to be located on the

left of the slab A.7.6, which was gradually declined in terms of honor. Thus, this slab can be dated to the late period of Marshal Boucicaut's governorship in Genoa, around 1406-1409.

Another interesting detail of this slab is the switched positions of the arms of King Charles VI and Marshal Boucicaut in between, when considered the ones on the slab A.7.5. Being pushed to further left from the viewpoint of the bearer, the King has the position of the least honor but being placed to its right (from the viewpoint of the bearer), Marshal Boucicaut was still honored in a minor extent, so he was probably still a respected figure in *Samastri*, despite the supposed rising opposition against the Kingdom of France, which was the occupying power.



Fig. 529: The slab A.7.7 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.8- The slab is located above Zindan Gate and consisted of two pieces that the lower part made of white marble has three arms; being Poggio with Genoa in chief (Scorza, 1920, XXIX), the Republic of Genoa and Malaspina with Genoa in chief (Biblioteca Estense, 2016), from left to right, respectively. The upper, andesite part only bears an extra arms of Genoa. A Roman architrave piece was used as *spolia* below and the curved border stones on top of the upper section are fallen. There is also a white marble slab with a cross on the right of the slab, which is possibly a funerary monument.

According to Hasluck (1911, pp. 138-139), the families of Poggio and Malaspina came into prominence during the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435, which the slab also dated to, so the upper part was a Visconti arms before and it was replaced with another Genoa arms after the occupation. Eyice (1987, pp. 15-16) thinks that the relations of Poggio and Malaspina families with the Milanese need to be explained more. As no doge ruled the Republic of Genoa from these families, their arms should indicate the consul and treasurer (*massarius*) of *Samastri* at

that time. For instance, Cristoforo del Poggio was chosen as the treasurer of Galata in 1427 for one year together with Luchino Grimaldi (Belgrano, 1877, p. 193)ⁱⁱⁱ. In this case, the upper section indicates the authority of Genoa, which was possibly a Visconti arms before and being replaced with another cross of the republic after the Milanese occupation (Hasluck, 1911, pp. 138-139). The crooked, unusual form of Malaspina arms might be explained with the slabs A.7.6 and A.7.11, which have a small mistake and a minor difference, respectively.

In order to provide an even more accurate date for this slab, other slabs of Amasra with chiseled out Milanese arms should be considered. It is seen that the position of Visconti arms was gradually decreased from left end (secondary honor) to right end (tertiary honor) in triple forms, from 1424-1431 through 1435; a situation which shows a noteworthy similarity to the theory of Belin (1894, pp. 141-142) for early period Galata slabs with Palaiologos arms. However, the supposed Visconti arms appears with a position of even greater honor on this slab, being alone in the upper central part. Thus, it can be said that the slab belongs to an early and relatively strong period of the Milanese occupation; roughly between 1421-1424.

Being one of the most well known artifacts of Amasra, it was also noticed by Laurens (1847) (with Hommaire de Hell, 1860) and Avraam (1872, Pl. I) and shown with fine drawings.



Fig. 530: The slab A.7.8 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.9- The slab was discovered in the inner castle area (*Baruthane*) of Zindan Castle, above a high window on walls and carved into a bluish marble block. There were three arms on it; being Genoa, a chiseled out one (most probably Visconti) with "YHS" (a Christogram) in chief and Lusardo from left to right, respectively. Therefore, the piece was dated between 1421-1435 (Hasluck, 1911, p. 140) and perhaps even the same period (1421-1424) with the slab A.7.8, due to the existence of removed Milanese arms in a central position, which has a greater honor than sides. Yet, on the slabs A.7.10-A.7.13, the position of Visconti arms was first changed to the left and then to the right, being the second and third most honored positions in a triple order, respectively; a situation which indicates a gradual decrease of the occupying Milanese authority on this colonial possession of the Genoese over time.

The arms of Lusardo indicates the consular position and it is known that consuls were generally in charge for 1-2 years (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 97-336; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 151-157). Eyice (1987, p. 10) argues that Lusardo arms was identified by Hasluck (1911, p. 138) only because of a similarity by form, without any supportive historical documents. Therefore, this crest might belongs to the almost identical arms of del Carretto family (Scorza, 1920, XII), which differs from Lusardo arms only with colors. A member of them, Corrado di Carlo was the *podestà* of Genoa in 1411, during the French occupation of 1396-1413 (Eyice, 1987, p. 10; Scorza, 1924, n. 182). It is also known that Teodoro Leardo was the consul of *Samastri* in 1449 that the arms of this family is very similar to the one of Lusardo as well (Jorga, 1902, p. 245; Scorza, 1920, XXI). It is only known that Battista de Franchi, the consul of *Caffa* between 1411-1413 was once Lusardo (Yarovaya, 2010, p. 188). Yet, he appears with de Franchi arms (see Feodosia slab No. 15 in A.10).

The slab was already disappeared during the investigation of Eyice (1987, p. 17-18) but a hypothetical sketch was provided by him, with respect to descriptions given by Hasluck (1911, p. 140).

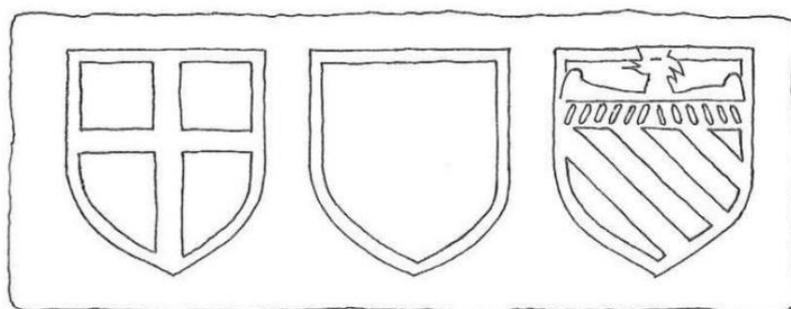


Fig. 531: The slab A.7.9 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 17)

A.7.10- The slab was discovered by Eyice in 1949 in a distant house outside the castles and then brought to the museum, where now being displayed. It was carved into a white marble *spolia*, possibly a cornice, and has the dimensions of 0.69 x 0.55 m but approximately one sixth of the slab from the left is broken and disappeared. The slab has three arms; being a defaced one, Genoa and Zoagli (Scorza, 1920, XXXVIII) from left to right, respectively. It was dated to 1424 by Eyice (1953, pp. 27-35), so its defaced arms was possibly belonging to Visconti that the Duchy of Milan has occupied the Republic of Genoa between 1421-1435. The position of this chiseled out arms at left is also noteworthy, when compared with the slabs A.7.8 and A.7.9 with central, supposed Visconti arms. Therefore, it can be claimed that the Milanese authority on this remote Genoese colony was decreased through 1424.

When the Milanese occupation has finished, Visconti arms were chiseled out from slabs due to condemnation of memory (*damnatio memoriae*). The missing inscription above gives the name of consul Bartolomeo de Zoagli (Eyice, 1953, pp. 27-35; Eyice, 1987, pp. 21-22). He was also the consul of *Cembalo* (Balaklava) in 1450-1453 (Yarovaya, 2010, p. 192). Other Zoagli members were *podestà* in *Caffa* (Goffredo Zoagli - 1352) and Galata (Nicolò Zoagli - 1391-1392, Taddeo de Zoagli - 1426) (see Feodosia slab No. 5-7 in A.10) (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 165-166, 192; Skrzinska, 1928, p. 15)^{iv}. The family of "de Zuailio" appears with a different arms (see A.10.7) The inscription of this slab as follows (Eyice, 1953, pp. 27-35);

"(+ M CCC)C XX IIII : T(EM)P(O)R(E) D(OMI)NI BARTH(OLOMAE)I D(E) ZOAL(IO)"

"(14)24. The time of Lord Bartolomeo de Zoagli"



Fig. 532: The slab A.7.10 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.11- The slab is located on the easternmost outer gate of Zindan Castle, which was defined as a Genoese structure in front of a Byzantine gate (see 3.4.3.1). The slab was carved into a local sandstone block and it has three arms with a partially legible inscription above and below. The first two shields from left were chiseled out but due to different damaging types, they were defaced at different times (see A.7.18). It can be perceived that the chiseled out arms at left was having a centered figure with a chief and the central shield has the cross of Genoa. With respect to the manuscripts of Pasqua (1610), the arms on the right was described as de Montenegro (Hasluck, 1911, p. 137) that a similar arms was also shown as Montenegro by Scorza (1920, XXIV), without any other similar ones. It has been stated in the letter of Dalleggio d'Alessio, dated 9 April 1952 that the arms of noble families may appear with small differences in colonial possessions at east but their main concepts remain the same (Eyice, 1953, p. 34). The inscription of the slab as follows (Hasluck, 1911, p. 137);

"+ *M CCCC XXXI · DIE · P(RI)MA · MADII · HOC · (OPUS FECIT FIERI?) · EGREG(IUS) |*
· D(OMI)N(U)S · BENEDIC(TUS) ..."

"1 May 1431. This (work is done by?) the honorable Lord Benedictus ..."

As the date of the slab coincide with the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435, Hasluck (1911, p. 137) thinks that the responsible of the construction might be Benedetto de Forlino, the ambassador of the Duchy of Milan in Galata and seen in 1432-1433 (de la Broquière, 1807, pp. 216-217). However, when the inscription and the rightmost arms of the slab considered together, the name of a supposed consul, "Benedetto Montenegro" appears. A similar name, being "Benedictus Montanarius" appears in a notary deed of Pera only as a witness of a record dated 6 April 1482 (Roccatagliata, 1982, p. 267)^v, more than 50 years later than the date of the slab. Therefore, the exact origin of the rightmost escutcheon still remains uncertain. The leftmost shield was most probably a Visconti arms with "YHS" in chief (see A.7.9).



Fig. 533: The slab A.7.11 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.12- The slab is located on the rectangular Genoese tower at right of Zindan Gate (see 3.4.3.1). The piece was carved into white marble and it has three arms with some inscriptions below. The arms are Genoa, Lusardo (Scorza, 1920, XXII) with a Christogram (*YHS*) in chief and a chiseled out one from left to right, respectively. The inscriptions are as follows (Eyice, 1987, p. 14; Hasluck, 1911, p. 138);

"petrus · | rex · gen(uen)ff(ium) / MCCCCXXXV " (Pietro | King of Genoa | 1435)

According to Hasluck (1911, p. 138), the chiseled out arms was Visconti because the date of the slab coincides with the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435. As there was no doge at that time, only the name and title of Doge Pietro Fregoso (r. 1450-1458) was added during his reign, after the removal of Visconti arms. There was no other Genoese ruler called "Pietro" during that period and the year of the slab (1435) is also consistent with this scenario. Eyice (1987, p. 14) thinks that due to stylistic similarities, all of the inscriptions were chiseled at the same time, in 1435, which makes the interpretation of the slab more difficult.

Another noteworthy detail on this slab is the central but tertiary position of the consul's arms, which was being provided with an obvious lowering and the name of Jesus was honored inside the obtained rectangular area. However, Visconti arms was pushed to further right with this new arrangement, which can be counted as a heraldic trick because although it still has a secondary position in reality, it looks like as if being in the tertiary position in terms of honor, as the slab still keeps a triple order. When assumed an even more weakened Milanese authority in the last year of the occupation, this situation can be justified.

The slab was also noticed by Avraam (1872, Pl. I) and being shown with a basic sketch.



Fig. 534: The slab A.7.12 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.13- The slab is located on one of the Byzantine land towers of Zindan Castle, which was altered by the Genoese (see 3.4.3.1).

The white marble slab was located just under a weathered Byzantine slab and there are three arms on it, without any date or inscription. The arms are Genoa, a lowered Lusardo with the Christogram of "YHS" above and Visconti from left to right, respectively. The slab is undoubtedly dated to the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435 and most probably the same year (1435) with the slab of A.7.12, as both of them bear the same arms in the same unique order, also with a very similar craftsmanship.

The arms of Visconti was possibly survived due to very high position of this slab on its tower and it is the sole survived example among the removed Visconti arms on the slabs of Amasra (see A.7.8-A.7.12), Galata (see A.11.19-A.11.21, A.11.24 and A.11.25) and Chios (see A.10.2) (Eyice, 1953, p. 32; Eyice, 1987, pp. 12-13; Hasluck, 1910, p. 146, Hasluck, 1911, p. 137).



Fig. 535: The slab A.7.13 of Amasra with a weathered Byzantine slab above (Author, 2016)

A.7.14- The slab is located on a corner tower located in the southeastern part of Zindan Castle, looking to the harbor. There are Fregoso, Genoa and Lusardo arms on it from left to right, respectively. The slab was carved into white marble and there is no inscription on it. According to Hasluck (1911, p. 136), as the slabs of the Milanese period (1421-1435) bear Lusardo arms and the second dogeship of Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1436-1442) was one of the first ones just after the occupation, the slab is possibly dated to c. 1436. Thus, it was assumed that a member of Lusardo family was the consul of *Samastri* c. 1435-1436 that his reign was coincided with the final period of the Milanese occupation (1421-1435) and the beginning of the second dogeship of Tomaso Fregoso (1436-1442).

However, the slab A.7.19 of Amasra with Adorno (as doge) and Lusardo (as consul) arms provides a contrast because the same member of Lusardo family cannot have a single term as consul throughout the Duchy of Milan, Fregoso and Adorno periods in Genoa because consuls generally serve for 1-2 years and there is no period of 1-2 years which coincides with all the periods above. In addition, a second term for a consul in the same colonial settlement is a very rare condition (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 97-336; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 151-157). Therefore, the slab perhaps belongs to another consular period of a Lusardo member in *Samastri*, when a doge from Fregoso family was ruling Genoa. In this case, it is important to mention all members of Fregoso who served as doge during the Genoese rule in Amasra; being Domenico Fregoso (1370-1378), Giacomo Fregoso (1390-1391), Tomaso Fregoso (1415-1421 / 1436-1442), Giano Fregoso (1447-1448), Lodovico Fregoso (1448-1450) and Pietro Fregoso (1450-1458) (Eyice, 1987, pp. 9-10). Yet, as consuls were started to being sent to *Samastri* from 1398 and the slab has a triple order, the first two periods can be excluded.

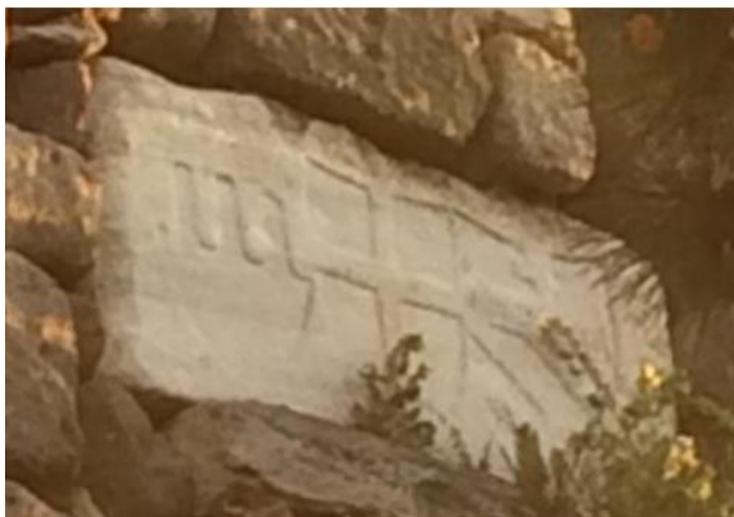


Fig. 536: The slab A.7.14 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.15- The slab was having a position above the slab of A.7.14 on the same tower but it was carried to Amasra Museum in 1950, where still on display. The white marble slab has three arms with German style (*Tartsche*) escutcheons (see A.7.16) without any inscription (Eyice, 1987, pp. 10-11). The arms belong to Fregoso, Genoa and an uncertain family from left to right. The unknown arms has a rampart lion placed inside a diagonal stripe and looking to left.

According to Hasluck (1911, pp. 136-137), the rightmost arms belongs to de Zoagli, with respect to Pasqua (1610) and most probably the slab A.10.7. However, Eyice (1987, pp. 10-11) argues that Hasluck made a spelling mistake and confused between Scaglia and Zoagli, so interpreted the concerning arms inaccurately. The arms of Zoagli was discovered on the slab of A.7.10 in 1949 by Eyice (1953, pp. 27-35) and described in detail. Eyice (1953, p. 34) mentions that a tombstone discovered beneath Arap Mosque bears a very similar arms, which was handled by Dalleggio d'Alessio (1942, pp. 146-147) and interpreted as Costa (see A.10.4, A.10.5 and 2.9.1). Eyice (1953, p. 34; 1987, pp. 10-11) adds that with respect to Scorza (1920), the rightmost arms shows similarity to the ones of Carezza and Rivanegra, which differ only with colors. Therefore, it is unclear that to which noble family the rightmost arms, which indicates the consul of *Samastri* belongs to that Carezza, Costa, Rivanegra or Scaglia are the mentioned possibilities. In fact, the arms of Scaglia has double lines for the stripe of the lion (Scorza, 1920, XXXIII) but the rest look similar except for the colors.

Nevertheless, with respect to its higher position than the slab A.7.14, Fregoso arms and the exceptional shield types of the slab, Hasluck (1911, pp. 136-137) dates it to the second Fregoso period after the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435 that Giano Fregoso (1447-1448), Lodovico Fregoso (1448-1450) and Pietro Fregoso (1450-1458) served as doge in sequence. The deduction of Hasluck (1911, pp. 1936-1937) for the date has a very strong possibility but due to the conditions mentioned for the slab A.7.14, it is not absolutely certain.



Fig. 537: The slab A.7.15 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.16- The slab is said to be located above Küçük Liman Gate of Sormagir Castle, which is next to the gate of "*Karanlık Yer*" (Dark Place) in the northern end of Kemere Bridge. Being seen by Hasluck (1911, p. 138), Eyice (1987, p. 13) and Hill and Crow (1992, pp. 22-23), it could not be detected due to dense vegetation as of 2016.

The white marble slab has three arms without any inscription that the first two with heater shields belong to Fregoso and Genoa from left to right, respectively. Only the rightmost arms has an exceptional German style (*Tartsche*) escutcheon (see A.7.15). Although its sole thick and diagonal stripe forms the arms of several noble Genoese families like Giudice, Malabita, Nepitelli and Sofia (Eyice, 1987, p. 13; Scorza, 1920), it was interpreted as de Ghisolfi by Hasluck (1911, p. 138) that the family was a very dominant one in the Black Sea during the 14-15th centuries and at least one of their members had a consular position in *Caffa* (Calozio de Ghisolfi - 1467) (see Feodosia slab No. 20-21 in A.10) (Skrzinska, 1928, pp. 65-67). However, it should be mentioned that the noble Genoese family of Marchese also has a very similar coat of arms (Scorza, 1920, XXIII). Filippo Marchesano was the consul of *Soldaia* (Sudak) in 1400 (Yarovaya, 2010, p. 191), who was probably a member of the aforementioned family.

The slab most probably belongs to one of the 15th century Fregoso periods, which were mentioned in the Section A.7.14 in detail. However, because of their shields with unique shapes, the slab A.7.15 and this one might belong to the same period.

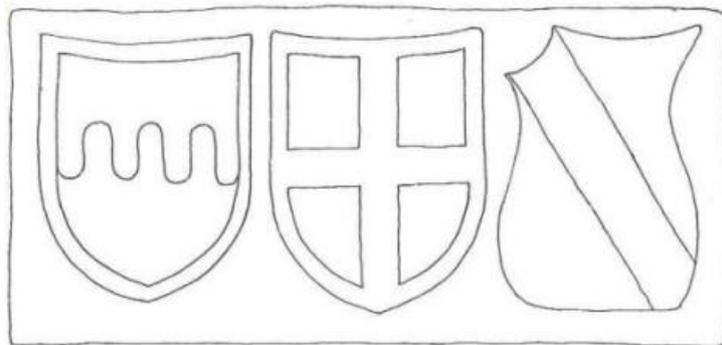


Fig. 538: The slab A.7.16 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 13)

A.7.17- The slab fragment was discovered by Eyice in 1962, which was used as a ledge on the house N^o 29 in Boztepe, just after *Karanlık Yer* (Dark Place) gate of Sormagir Castle. The very missing white marble piece has the traces of Fregoso, Genoa and an unknown arms from left to right, respectively. There rightmost unidentified arms only has the top of a griffon figure, which was used by many noble Genoese families in their arms, such as Bruschi, Castiglione, Da Novi, San Biagio. Therefore, the identity of this arms is uncertain (Eyice, 1987, p. 20; Scorza, 1920). The noble Genoese family of Griffi also has a coat of arms with a single griffon figure (Scorza, 2010, XX). Presumably one of their members, Grifiotto Grifiotti was the consul of *Cembalo* (Balaklava) in 1374 (Yarovaya, 2010, p. 192).

Arms with griffon figures were also detected by Hasluck (1910, pp. 172-174) in the rural parts Chios that he was also unable to identify these Giustiniani (Maona) period artifacts.

The status of the piece as of 2016 could not be confirmed. With respect to its Fregoso arms of the doge, it most probably belongs to one of 14-15th century periods of them, which were mentioned for the slab A.7.14 in detail.

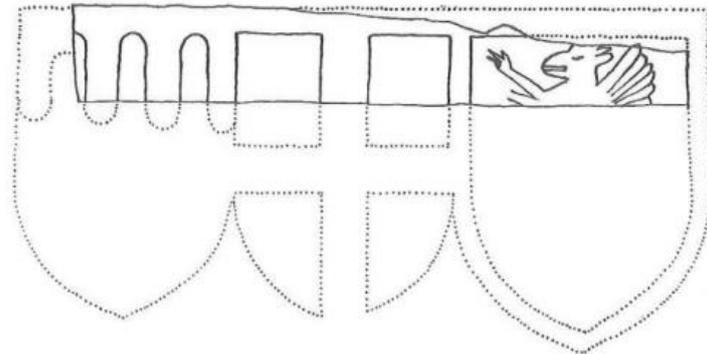


Fig. 539: The slab fragment A.7.17 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 20)

A.7.18- The slab was discovered inside the garden of former military hospital near the Small Harbor and now on display in Amasra Museum. It has the dimensions of 0.37 x 0.85 m and was carved into white marble. There are Adorno, defaced Genoa and an unidentified arms on the slab from left to right, respectively. The arms of Genoa was possibly defaced by the Turks, as an uncommon practice (see A.7.11). The rightmost unknown arms has a crowned rampant lion with a kind of between its claws.

According to Hasluck (1911, p. 136), the rightmost arms belongs to Gazano, with respect to two slabs discovered in Feodosia (Skrzinska, 1928, pp. 49-55) and there is no other information about this family in Genoese colonies (Eyice, 1987, pp. 8-9). However, rampant lions appear also on other Feodosia and Sudak slabs, which belong to de Oliverio and Illioni families (Rossi, 1928, pp. 56, 118). Different from the one on this slab, all of these lions do not have crowns and plants between their claws (see A.10.6, A.10.8 and A.10.10). This type of lions appear on the arms of many noble Genoese families, such as Ascheri, Borzone, Brignole, Carpeneto, Merelli, Pasqua, Rossetti, Salvo, Ughetti and Verrina (Scorza, 1920). Francesco Salvat (Salvo?) was the consul of *Caffa* in 1363 (Yarovaya, 2010, p. 187).

During the Genoese rule in Amasra, five members of Adorno family have served as doge in seven periods in total; being Gabriele Adorno (r. 1363-1370), Antoniotto Adorno (r. 1384-1390, 1391-1392 and 1394-1396), Giorgio Adorno (r. 1413-1415), Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447) and Barnaba Adorno (r. 1447). The slab must belong to one of these periods but as the consuls of *Samastri* were started to being appointed from 1398, the first four periods can be excluded because the unidentified arms most probably indicates a consul, with respect to the common triple order of Galata and Amasra slabs (Eyice, 1987, pp. 8-9). During the rule of Raffaele Adorno, many significant constructions were done in Galata (see A.11.35-A.11.38), so the period of 1443-1447 has a slightly stronger possibility.



Fig. 540: The slab A.7.18 of Amasra (Author, 2016)

A.7.19- The slab was discovered in a house in the inner castle (*Baruthane*) part of Zindan Castle in 1975 but its status as of 2016 could not be confirmed (Eyice, 1987, p. 23). It was having Adorno, Genoa and Lusardo arms from left to right, respectively. In this case, it should belong to one of the last three Adorno periods mentioned in A.7.18 that the dogeship of Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447) has a stronger possibility.

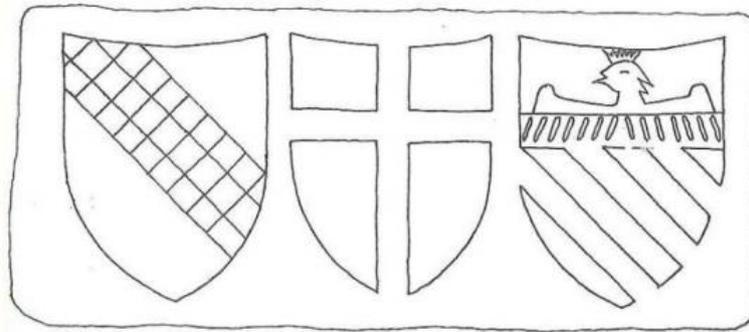


Fig. 541: The slab A.7.19 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 23)

A.7.20- The white marble slab piece was discovered as the uppermost entrance stairs of the house N^o 71 in Zindan Castle but its status as of 2016 could not be confirmed. Being seen by Hasluck (1911, p. 139), the piece was having the dimensions of 0.50 x 0.34 m and bearing a single Adorno arms. With respect to the possibility of having a double or triple order, all of the Adorno periods mentioned in A.7.18 are consistent for this fragment. It was also seen by Eyice in 1949 and then most probably disappeared (Eyice, 1987, p. 17).

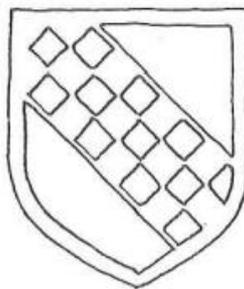


Fig. 542: The slab fragment A.7.20 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 17)

A.7.21- A relatively small white marble slab fragment with a missing eagle or bird figure was associated with the Genoese by Eyice (1987, pp. 23-24). Its figure seems different from the ones of Doria and Sauli arms (see A.11.14). As eagles and birds were being used on the arms of numerous noble Genoese families (Scorza, 1920), it is very difficult to interpret this piece, which is kept in Amasra Museum but separated from the other Genoese slabs.



Fig. 543: The slab fragment A.7.21 of Amasra (Eyice, 1987, p. 23)

A.7.22- A white marble slab discovered by Düll (1985, pp. 369-377) was exceptionally associated with the Florentines. Originally being a Roman architrave and then used as a *spolia*, it was found near Fatih Mosque and then disappeared after being studied. There were three arms on the slab that a lily figure in the center, which is different from the French one is surrounded by two identical family arms from both sides but the majority of the left part was missing. It has been stated that the Florentines have allied with the Genoese in 1450 and then settled to *Samastri*, until the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453. Düll (1985, pp. 369-377) claims that the central figure of the slab is the Florentine lily, the arms might belong to the Florentine families of Cambi del Nero Importuni or da Filicaja (della Vitella) and the piece was dated around 1450-1453.



Fig. 544: The slab A.7.22 of Amasra (Düll, 1985, p. 371)

A.8- Slab of Samsun

The slab was noticed by Quirini-Poplowski in Samsun Archaeological Museum in 2007 and being studied afterwards (Quirini-Poplowski, 2017, p. 134). It is still in the garden of museum on ground and without any information as of 2016. This important artifact is the sole Genoese slab from *Simisso* for now. There are three arms on it, which are a defaced cross of Genoa, a combined arms very similar to the ones on the slabs A.7.5 and A.7.7 of Amasra and Lusardo from left to right, respectively.

The cross of Genoa was probably defaced by the Turks, which is not a common practice (see A.7.11 and A.7.18). The slab bears the year of 1402, so the combined arms most probably belongs to the Kingdom of France / Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) and Marshal Jean II Le Maingre (Boucicaut), the governor of Genoa (r. 1401-1409) (see A.7.5-A.7.7). The arms of Lusardo, which is very common in Amasra indicates the consul of *Simisso* (see A.7.9, A.7.12-A.7.14 and A.7.19). It is though that the slab was once located on the demolished Genoese castle of Samsun that there are several theories for its location (see 3.4.5). The two-line Latin inscription below the arms and with unidentified initials as follows;

"(+ M) :: CCCC :: II :: DIE

: X :: OTUBRIS : · S · R · "

"10 October 1402. S. R."



Fig. 545: The slab of Samsun (Quirini-Poplowski, 2017, p. 134)

A.9- Slabs of Trabzon

A.9.1- The slab was discovered by Finlay (1850) inside the Greek Orthodox church of *Hagios Eleftherios*. Originally being a barrel-vaulted small Byzantine church, it was also used by the Genoese (*San Eleuterio?*) for a while but then converted into Hüsnü Köktuğ Mosque in 1953 from its ruined state.

The slab was placed over the door in the inner side of the arch and studied in detail by Hasluck (1911, p. 142) and later Bryer and Winfield (1985, pp. 221-222). However, the recent status of the lintel is unknown.

It was having a Greek inscription and a Latin year next to it, which might be the beginning of the church's Genoese period. Its one-line inscription as follows (Hasluck, 1911, p. 142);

"Αὐτή ἡ Πύλ(η) τοῦ Κ(υρίου) δίκ(αιοι) ἡσελεύσοντε. MCCCCLX "

"Only the righteous ones shall pass this gate, which belongs to the Lord. 1360"



Fig. 546: The slab A.9.1 of Trabzon (Hasluck, 1911, p. 142)

A.9.2- The slab was also discovered by Finlay (1850) as well, inside the northern wall of *Hagios Eleftherios* Greek Orthodox church, which was also used by the Genoese and then converted into Hüsni Köktuğ Mosque in 1953. Being carved into a marble block, it was having the dimensions of 0.41 x 0.95 m and studied in detail by Hasluck (1911, p. 141) and Bryer and Winfield (1985, pp. 221-222) afterwards, but the later fate of the slab is unknown. It indicates the construction of a sacristy to the church in 1365 by a member of Lercari family, who were very active in the Black Sea during the 14-15th centuries.

Megollo Lercari was an important figure from Genoa within the Empire of the Trebizond (see 3.4.7) and it is possible to see traces of Lercari family also in Yoros Castle (see A.6) and Feodosia, where five members of them have served as the consul of *Caffa* between 1404-1473 (Hasluck, 1911, p. 141).

There were two identical arms of Lercari on the slab and a six-line Latin inscription between them, as follows;

*"MCCCLXV DIE
PRIMO IUNII
HAEC SECRES-
TIAM FECIT FI-
ERI MANFRED-
US LERCARIUS"*

"1 June 1365. This sacristy was built by Manfredo Lercari"

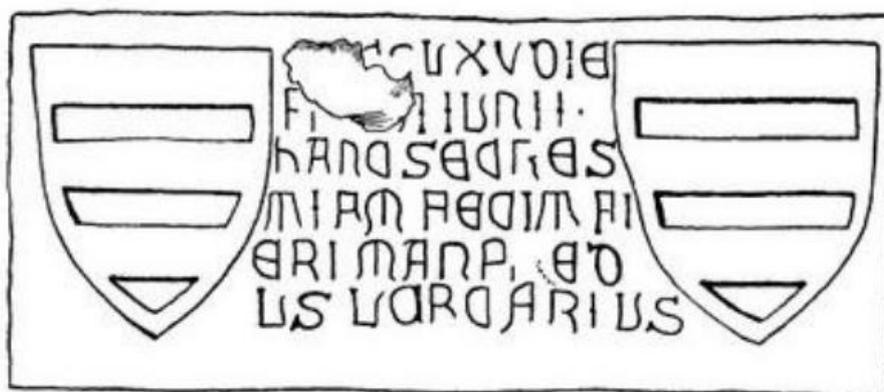


Fig. 547: The slab A.9.2 of Trabzon (Hasluck, 1911, p. 141)

A.10- Examples - Chios, Arap Mosque and Crimea Slabs

Around 60 Genoese period funerary, ecclesiastical or mural slabs were discovered both in Chios and Crimea and approximately 100 tombstones were unearthed in Arap Mosque. 3 construction slabs of Chios were found on its main castle that 2 of them are still located there with relatively better conditions than a few more damaged, illegible and most probably displaced examples. The rest are mainly about works in rural parts of Chios. These slabs usually have Latin inscriptions and Genoa, Giustiniani and various noble families' arms in irregular orders and with unique contents. These were excluded in this study but described by Hasluck (1910, pp. 138-184) in detail. To avoid a redundant lengthiness, unlike Section A.4, the slabs described below in detail provide examples mainly to the slabs of Amasra (A.7) and partially to the ones of Galata (A.11), which are directed to this section wherever relevant. Crimean slabs from Feodosia, Sudak and Balaklava were shown briefly afterwards together with a few more rural examples from Chios.

A.10.1-

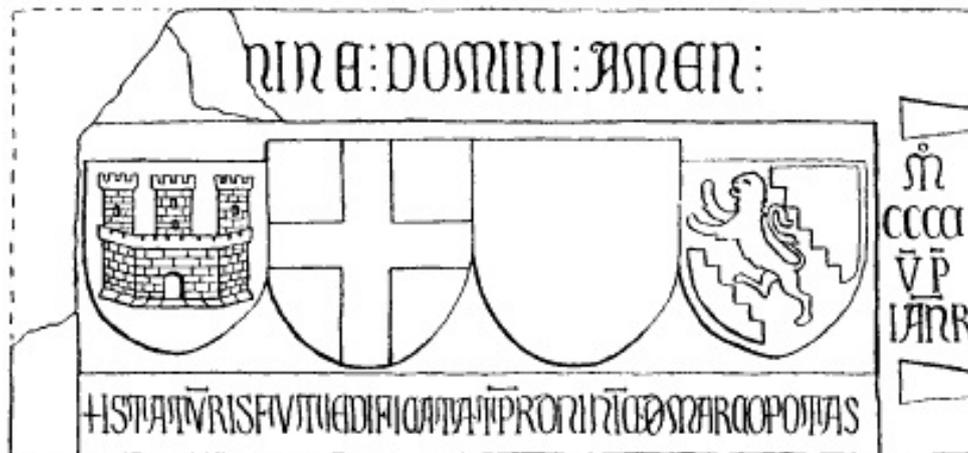


Fig. 548: A disappeared white marble slab from one of the demolished rectangular coastal towers of Chios Castle and with Giustiniani, Genoa, defaced France-Boucicaut and De Marchi arms, and a surrounding Latin inscription, as follows (Hasluck, 1910, p. 147): "*IN NO)MINE : DOMINI : AMEN : / M / CCCC / V (DIE) P(RIMA) / IAN(UA)R(II) / + ISTA TUR(R)IS FUTI(SIC) EDIFICATA T(EM)P(O)R(E) D(OMI)NI NIC(OLAI) D(E) MARCO POT(EST)A(TI)S*" and means: "In the name of the Lord, amen. 1 January 1405. This tower was built in the time of Lord Podestà Nicola De Marchi." He appears on a document of *Annales ianuenses* dated 29 September 1379, which is about his contribution to a naval victory as a captain and some deserved awards as a result (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 131-133)^{vi}

A.10.2-



Fig. 549: A white marble slab above the first tower to the west of Chios Castle's main gate (Author, 2016) and with Giustiniani, defaced Visconti, Genoa and Giustiniani arms inside the Norman style kite shields, and a Latin inscription between the arms below, as follows (Hasluck, 1910, p. 146): "+ *M CCCC XX V*" and means: "1425"

A.10.3-



Fig. 550: A white marble slab above the upper part of the northwestern tower of Chios Castle and with Giustiniani, Genoa and Giustiniani arms inside the Norman style kite shields, which is probably from an invasion period, as there is no doge arms. It is known that the eagle was added to the upper part of Giustiniani arms in 1413 (Hasluck, 1910, p. 147), so the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435 or later ones until 1566 seem appropriate periods (Author, 2016)

A.10.4 & A.10.5-

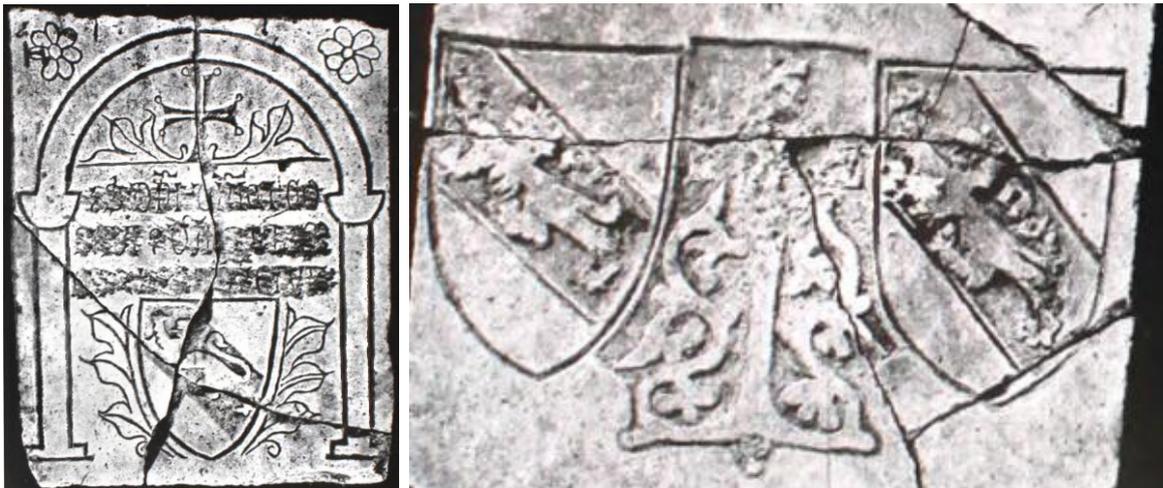


Fig. 551-552: Two tombstones discovered beneath Arap Mosque and have arms with rampant lions, which were identified as the ones of Costa family, because the piece on the right bears the name of Lord Domenico Costa, formerly Guglielmo (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1942, pp. 146-148) (see 2.9.1)

A.10.6-



Fig. 553: The slab of the tower dedicated to St. George in Feodosia (*Caffa*), which is dated 7 October 1384 and has Golden Horde (Khan Tokhtamysh, r. 1379-1395), Genoa, Adorno (Doge Antoniotto, r. 1384-1390), Spinola, Gazano and Grimaldi arms from left to right, respectively (Pietro Gazano was the consul, Iacopo Spinola and Benedetto Grimaldi were the councilors and treasurers / *massarius*' of *Caffa* according to the inscription) (Hasluck, 1911, p. 136; Skrzinska, 1928, p. 49)

A.10.7-



Fig. 554: A slab from Sudak, which is dated 9 July 1389 and has Adorno (Doge Antoniotto, r. 1384-1390), Genoa and "de Zuailio" (de Zoagli?) arms from left to right, respectively (Battista de Zuailio, formerly Andalo, the consul of *Soldaia* according to the inscription) (Skrzinska, 1928, p. 112; 2006, p. 209)

A.10.8-



Fig. 555: A slab from Feodosia, which is dated 1 September 1389 and has Adorno (Doge Antoniotto, r. 1384-1390), Genoa, Golden Horde (Khan Tokhtamysh, r. 1379-1395), de Oliverio, de Vivaldi and Doria arms from left to right, respectively (Goffredo de Vivaldi was the consul, Ambrosio de Oliverio and an unknown member of Doria were the treasurers of *Caffa*, according to the missing inscription) (Skrzinska, 1928, p. 56; Scorza, 1920, XXVI)

A.10.9-

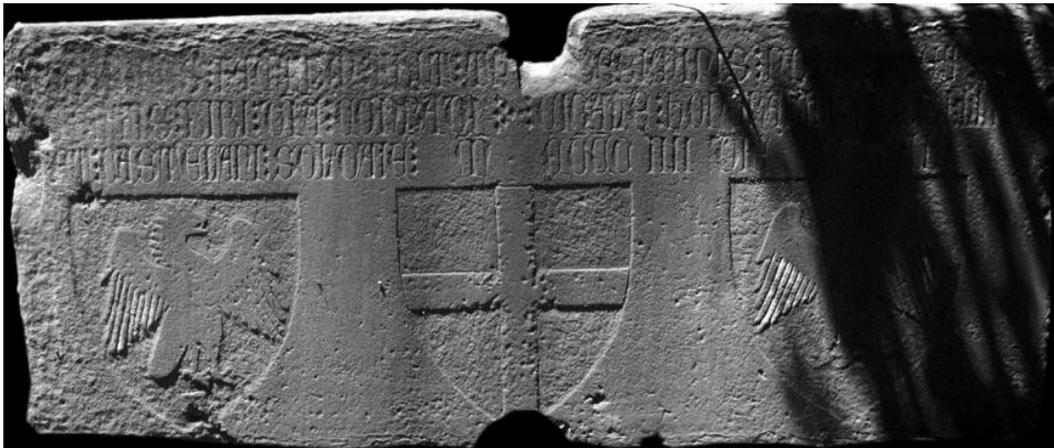


Fig. 556: A slab from Sudak, which is dated 10 May 1404 and has Cicala, Genoa and again Cicala arms from left to right, respectively (Corrado Cicala, the consul and castellan of *Soldaia* according to the inscription) (Skrzinska, 1928, p. 117; 2006, p. 217)

A.10.10-

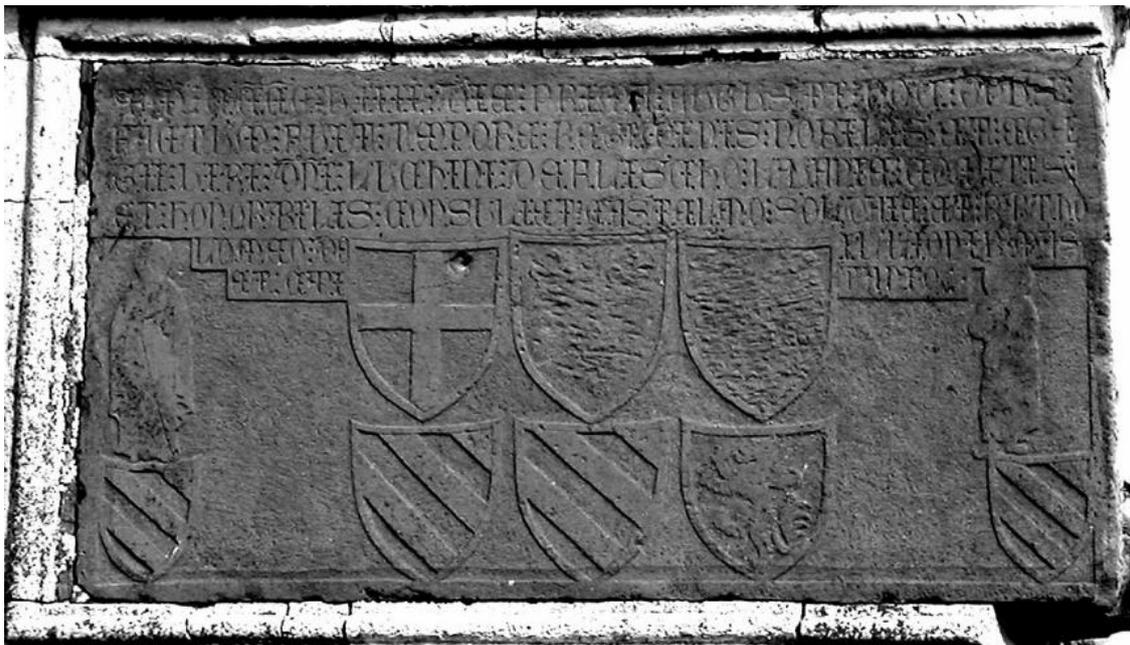


Fig. 557: A slab from Sudak, which is dated 1 August 1409 and has Genoa, defaced France / King Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) (three lilies), defaced governor of Genoa Marshal Boucicaut (r. 1401-1409) (double headed eagle), Fieschi (2) and Illioni arms, respectively (Luchino de Fieschi, the Count of Lavagna was the consul and castellan of *Soldaia*, with the assist of captain and possibly also treasurer Bartolomeo de Illioni, according to the partially missing inscription) (Scorza, 1920, XX; Skrzinska, 1928, p. 118, 140; 2006, p. 221)

Feodosia					
	<p>13... April - Antonius ... 1 (Squarciafico, 1376 - De Marinis, 1399) (consul) (treasurer)</p>		<p>1396, 25 June - Golden Horde - Genoa - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge), Mauri (Antoni) - Centurioni (Eliani, consul) - De Camila (Petri) 13 (treasurers)</p>		
		<p>2 1342 - Genoa - () - Golden Horde - () - (Iohannis De Scaffa, consul)</p>	<p>- 1402 - Rivarolo-Rovereto (Ioanes De Sancto) 14 - 1413, 1 March - Spinola (Antonius) - De Franchi (Batista, consul) - 15 Panzanus (Andreas) (provisor and treasurer)</p>		
	<p>3 1342 - Genoa - () - Golden Horde - () - (Iohannis De Scaffa, consul)</p>				
	<p>4 1348, May - Genoa - Papacy - Pope Clement VI - Golden Horde - Genoa</p>		<p> 16 1421, 1 May - Genoa - (), Sauli (2) (Manfredo, consul) - De Marchi</p>		
			<p>5 - 1352, January - Christ the Saviour 6 - 1352, January - Mary Magdalene 7 - 1352, January - Saint ... (Gotifredi De Zoalio, consul)</p>		<p>17 1423-1441 - Cigara (2) (Grifedus, bishop)</p>
	<p>8 1363 - Genoa (2) - Agnus Dei (Francisci Salvet, nobleman)</p>		<p>- 1462 - Lomellini 18 (Gerardo) - Monterosso (Raffaele, consul) - Doria (...) (treasurers) - 1462, 1 June - a sole, similar Doria (treasurer) arms (no image) 19</p>		
	<p>1383 - Golden Horde - Genoa - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge), Gazano (Petri) - Spinola (Iacobi, consul) - Grimaldi (Benedicti) (provisor, counsellor and treasurer) 9</p>		<p>20 1467 - Cabella (Jean Laurent) - Guisulfus (Kalocius, consul) - () (treasurers)</p>		
	<p>- 1384, 4 November - Golden Horde - Genoa - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge), Spinola (Iacobi) - Gazano (Petri, consul) - Grimaldi (Benedicti) (provisor, counsellor and treasurer) 10</p>				
	<p>- 1384, 7 October - Golden Horde - Genoa - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge), Spinola (Iacobi) - Gazano (Petri, consul) - Grimaldi (Benedicti) (provisor, counsellor and treasurer) 11</p>		<p>- 1467, 1 September - Guisulfis (Calocii, consul) (2) 21 - 1468 - (... Argenti) - De Camilla (Gentilis, consul) - De Auria (Alaone, treasurer) 22</p>		
	<p>1389, 1 September - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - Genoa - Golden Horde, De Oliverio (Ambrosii) - De Vivaldis (Gotifredi, consul) - Doria (...) (treasurers) 12</p>		<p>23 1470 - Lercaro (Yofredus) - Ihauroie (Filipi, consul) - Yustininani (Herastus) (treasurers)</p>		

Fig. 558: First part of Feodosia slabs (Skrzinska, 1928; 2006)



24

1474 - Squarciafico - Iustiniani (Batiste, consul) - Cabella (treasurers)



25

1474 - Squarciafico - Iustiniani (Batiste, consul) - Cabella (treasurers)



26

1474 - Squarciafico - Iustiniani (Batiste, consul) - Cabella (treasurers)

Slabs Without Inscriptions (no images)

In the Museum of Feodosia

- 1- Genoa-Golden Horde-(defaced) (0,65 x 0,89 x 0,27; limestone)
- 2- Genoa-Golden Horde-Adorno (above), Spinola-Gazano-Grimaldi (below) (c. 1383-1384?) (0,67 x 0,94 x 0,20; limestone)
- 3- Genoa-Golden Horde-two family arms (lion, lizard?) and a defaced one (0,77 x 0,94 x 0,14; limestone)
- 4- Genoa-Golden Horde-Genoa (0,72 x 0,78 x 0,20; limestone)
- 5- Genoa-Golden Horde (0,80 x 0,74 x 0,28; limestone)
- 6- Genoa-Golden Horde-(defaced) (0,53 x 0,84 x 0,23; limestone)
- 7- Genoa-Golden Horde-(defaced), 1 line of damaged inscription above (0,64 x 1,12 x 0,12; limestone)
- 8- Blazon-shaped stone fragment (limestone)
- 9- Blazon-shaped stone fragment with a coat of arms (lion, lizard?) (0,25 x 0,62 x 0,30/0,17; limestone)
- 10- Fragment with a crowned crest, under a trefoil arch and between twisted columns (0,45 x 0,68 x 0,07; limestone)
- 11- Stone fragment with a coat of arms (lion or winged serpent?), 3 lines of damaged inscription below (0,51 x 0,59 x 0,11; limestone)
- 12- Left corner of a marble plate with floral ornaments, traces of red color on the shield
- 13- Right angle of a limestone with a blazon
- 14- Limestone fragment with an escutcheon (lion)
- 15- A small, thick stone fragment with the image of a lamb inside a circle

In Situ

- 16- A large stone relief with an equestrian St. George, from the main entrance of Caffa (Caihatory / Atli Kapı)
- 17- A marble fragment with a blazon (the cross of Genoa) on the Armenian Church of St. Sergius in Feodosiya

Fig. 559: Second part of Feodosia slabs (Skrzinska, 1928; 2006)



Fig. 560-562: Some construction slabs of Chios other than the ones from its main castle; dated 1 May 1427 with Bozolo-Genoa-unknown arms (from Sklavia), dated 1 May 1446 with Giustiniani-Genoa arms (from Armolia) and an unknown one surrounded by double Giustiniani arms (*ex situ*, in museum), respectively (Hasluck, 1910, pp. 179-182)

	<p>SUDAK</p> <p>1- 14-15th c., 15 October - (... Eclesie Beate Marie Virginis Ob Leardum Filium Domini Francisci ...)</p> <p>2- 1371, 20 May - Genoa (2) (Leonardi Tartari, consul and castellan)</p>		<p>11</p> <p>1394, 1 July - Genoa - Guarcorum Baldo (2) (consul)</p>
		<p>12</p> <p>1404, 10 May - Genoa - Conradi Cigale (2) (consul and castellan)</p>	
		<p>13</p> <p>1409, 1 August - Genoa - Charles VI (d) - Boucicaut (d) - Luchini de Flischo (2) (consul and castellan) - Bartholomeo de Illionibus (treasurer and captain)</p>	
	<p>3- 1378 - Fregoso (Domenico, doge) - Genoa - De Auria (Rafaelys, consul)</p> <p>4- 1385 - Genoa - Torsello</p> <p>5</p>		<p>14</p>
	<p>1385, 1 August - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - Genoa - Torseli (Iacobi, consul and castellan)</p>		<p>- 1414, 4 June - Adorno (Giorgio, doge) - Genoa - Bernabe de Franchis (consul, treasurer, castellan and captain)</p> <p>15- 1423, 4 January - Catalanus Christus</p>
	<p>6</p> <p>1386, 29 May - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - Genoa - Frederici Astaguera (consul and castellan)</p>		<p>16</p> <p>1451, 1 October - Fregoso (Pietro, doge) - Genoa - (Bartholomeus Yudex) (consul)</p>
	<p>7</p> <p>1387 - (-) - Genoa - Ihoannis Marihonis (consul and castellan)</p>		<p>1461 - 17 Genoa - St. George - Adorno (Prospero, doge)</p>
	<p>8</p> <p>1389, 9 July - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - Genoa - Batiste de Zuailio (formerly Andalo, consul)</p>		<p>18 1469 - Bernardus De Amico (2) (consul)</p>
	<p>9</p> <p>1390, 9 July - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - (-) - (-)</p>	<p>BALAKLAVA</p> <p>1357 - Simonis De Orto (consul and castellan)</p> <p>1</p>	<p>1463 - Barnaba Grilus (consul) - angel figures (2) 2</p>
	<p>10</p> <p>1392, 1 August - Adorno (Antoniotto, doge) - Genoa - Pasqualis Iudicis (consul)</p>		<p>1467 - St. George - Genoa - Baptistae De Oliva (consul)</p> <p>3</p>

Fig. 563: Sudak (18) and Balaklava (3) slabs (Skrzinska, 1928; 2006)

A.11- Slabs of Galata

The Genoese have started to settle in Galata (also called Pera) following the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) but political struggles with the Byzantine Empire halted the process until 1267. The imperial edict of May 1303 was another milestone, which defined the exact borders of the conceded quarter for the first time. However, the Genoese have gradually extended the borders of this granted neighborhood; sometimes with additional edicts from the Byzantines, sometimes by just occupying adjacent territories and then including them with further enclosing city walls.

As Galata was relatively weak populated prior to the arrival of the Genoese and had its fortifications demolished by the emperor as a precaution, all of its late medieval defensive constructions can be attributed to them. There were also new civil constructions inside the walls that a couple of them still exist together with very few and detached mural remnants.

There are mainly two types of slabs among the discovered pieces; the construction slabs and the tombstones that the majority of both types have coat of arms of the concerning noble families, supported with Latin inscriptions and dates. The construction slabs are mainly for the walls but an important group of them refer to civil constructions as well (see Section 2). The tombstones only have contents about individuals, so they will not be held in detail.

In Galata, exactly 43 pre-1453 and 1 post-1453 Genoese construction slabs in total were ever detected and being studied by many scholars, who well documented and listed them, such as Covell (c. 1670-1677), Wadding (1733, pp. 55-56), Burgess (1835, p. 170), De Mas-Latrie (1846, pp. 491-495), De Launay (1864; 1874; 1875), Vigna (1865), Promis (1874, pp. 496-500), Belgrano (1877, pp. 321-336), Belin (1894, pp. 140-151, 192), Gottwald (1907, pp. 1-72; 1911, pp. 270-272), Hasluck (1911, pp. 142-144), Arseven (1913, pp. 73-77), Mendel (1914, pp. 499-501), Dalleggio d'Alessio (1928, pp. 168-174), Rossi (1928, pp. 143-164), Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 7-14) and Eyice (1982, pp. 168-169, 176-179).

In fact, it can be said that the works of Covell (c. 1670-1677), De Launay (1864; 1874; 1875) and partially De Mas-Latrie (1846) form a backbone to all the concerning not mentioned modern studies and they can be considered as primary sources, which were mainly put together by Belgrano (1877), supported with high quality photographs and then extended and better organized by Rossi (1928) for the first time. Then, Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 7-14) have listed nearly all of the inscriptions with their locations and German translations.

It must be stated that the interpretation of Belin (1894) for the changing position of Palaiologos arms on early period Genoese slabs of Galata until their extinction was a very significant contribution. However, later period Milanese occupation of Genoa (1421-1435) has appeared with a stable position on five slabs from 1430-1435, being always in the center. Two slabs falling into the French occupation (1396-1413) display unique conditions with their arms. Other Genoese slabs of Galata usually have a typical triple order, where arms of the doge, Genoa and *podestà* were aligned from left to right, respectively.

It can be claimed that apart from missing interpretations for a few of them, the slabs of Galata only need to put together with translations, explanations, visuals for all of them and a more comprehensive mapping, for a better understanding of the Genoese buildings and displaying the main construction phases of Galata in their period.

22 mural slabs are now being kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum that only six of them are on display as of 2016. Three slabs are still located on separate buildings, most probably *in situ* and two more were formerly being held privately that their recent conditions are unknown. Remaining 17 slabs were disappeared after being recorded. Among these artifacts, seven of them were concerning civil architecture examples, the one with a very long inscription is about a group of mixed constructions and the rest, being 36 in total are mural slabs. These slabs are the primary resource to display the main construction phases of Galata city walls and the dates when more adjacent territories were being included for the expansion, which was also being considered in detail by the majority of aforementioned related works and some more studies, such as the ones of Palazzo (1946), Janin (1950), Mamboury (1951), Eyice (1969), Kural (1972), Müller-Wiener (1977) and Eroğlu (2013).

From the Genoese period of Galata, 110 tombstones were discovered in the former *San Domenico* (Arap Mosque) and 17 more were attributed to the former *San Francesco* (later demolished). Four tombstones of Arap Mosque were separately held in the beginning by Covell (c. 1670-1677), De Launay (1875, p. 109), Dalleggio d'Alessio (1929, p. 408; 1932, pp. 52-54) and a striking study with 106 pieces again by Dalleggio d'Alessio (1942) followed them, which was slightly corrected by Cramer and Düll (1985, pp. 295-321) afterwards.

The funerary monuments of the former *San Francesco* were divided into several sources from *Relatione* (n. d.), Covell (c. 1670-1677), Wadding (1733, pp. 55-56) and Belin (1875, p. 17) but then put together in detail by at least two thorough studies by Dalleggio d'Alessio (1932, pp. 188-206) and Matteucci (1967, pp. 333-379).

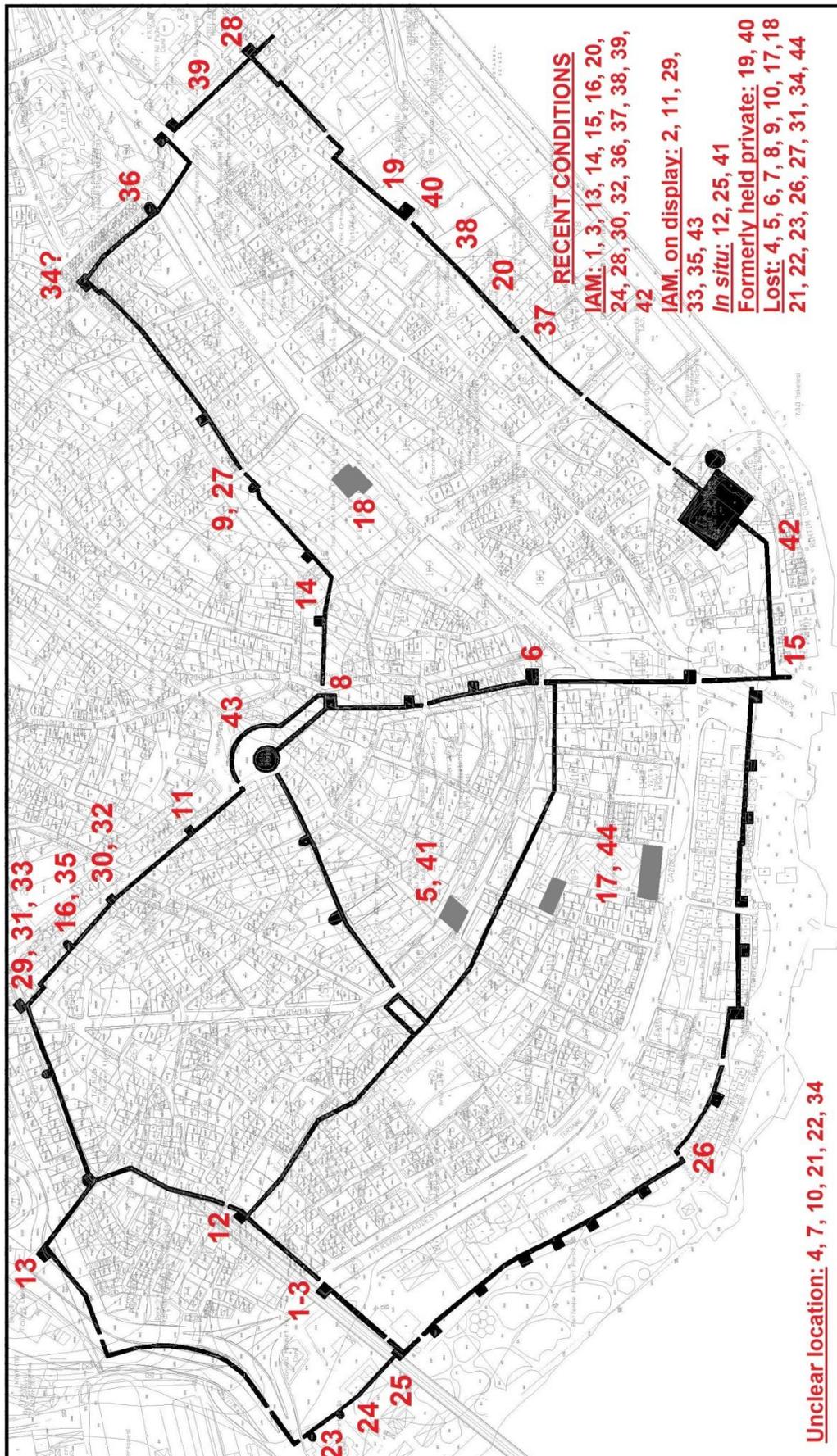


Fig. 564: Locations of the mural slabs of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.1- A slab with a long Latin inscription provides very important information about the history and constructions of Galata. The inscription of the disappeared piece as follows;

*"MEN : IMPERANTE : SERENISSIMO : / D(OMI)NO : D(OMI)NO : ANDRONICO :
 PALEO- / LOGO : DEI : GRA(TIA) : IMPERATORE : RO- / MEORU(M) : M : CCC : III :
 EDIFICATA : FUIT : / PEYRA : ET : M : CCC : XV : CO(M)BUSTA : FUIT : / MEDIETAS :
 PEYRE : CU(M) : ECCL(ES)IA : PALA- / CIO : CO(MMUN)IS : ET : M : CCC : XVI :
 T(EM)P(O)RE : PO- / TESTACIE : D(OMI)NI : MO(N)TANI : D(E) : MARINIS : /
 REDIFICATA : FUIT : PEYRA : QUI : D(OMI)N(U)S : / MONTAN(I) : REDIFICARI :
 FECIT : PALA- / CIUM : PLATEA(M) : LOGIE : HOSPITALE : / ET : DOMU(S) :
 PONDERIS : CO(MMUN)IS : ET : ECI- / AM : EXGRA(TIA) : SIBI : CONCESSA : A DIC- /
 TO : SERENISSIMO : IMP(ERA)TORE : DO- / MOS : IUXTA : FOSSATA : CIRCA :
 TERRA(M) : / PEYRE : DILIGITE : IUSTICIA(M) : QUI : IU- / DICATIS : TERRA(M) :
 AUDI : ADVERSAM : / PARTE(M) : ANTE : QUA(M) : FERAS : SE(N)TE(N)CIAM :"*

"The most serene reigning ruler, Lord Andronikos Palaiologos, by the grace of God, Emperor of Rome has established Pera in 1303. The half of Pera was burnt in 1315 with the church and the communal palace. In 1316, during his podestàship, Lord Montano De Marini has rebuilt Pera that Lord Montano has rebuilt the palace, loggia square, hospital and the communal house of scale. Furthermore, houses next to moats around the land of Pera were granted as a favor by the most serene emperor himself. Love justice, you judges of the earth! Listen to the opposite party before ratifying judgments!"

The inscription starts with referring to the treaty dated May 1303, where the borders of the Genoese quarter in Galata was clearly described for the first time by Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328). The slab was seen by Covell (c. 1670-1677) in a tavern of Galata, whose notes were later published Hasluck (1905, pp. 61-62). Covell (c. 1670-1677) thinks that the upper part of the slab might be missing. If so, it can be an opening oath like "+ IN : NOMINE : DOMINI : A- / MEN ..." (In the name of the Lord, amen), Hasluck (1905, pp. 61-62) claims. A summarized version of the inscription with small changes also appears in the continuation of Jacobus da Varagine's (c. 1230-1298) chronicles, which was published by Promis (1874, pp. 496-500). A fine sketch of the slab was provided by Hasluck (1911, p. 143) afterwards, with respect to Covell's notes. John Covell (1638-1722) was a chaplain to the Levant Company in Istanbul between 1670-1677 and he was also in charge of the British embassy there.

A.11.2- The slab was detected by De Launay (1874, p. 107, 112; 1875, p. 232) on the front façade of Bereket Han, the former *Palazzo Comunale* of the Genoese Galata (see 2.8). Having three arms inside heater shields and without any inscriptions, the slab was briefly mentioned by Belgrano (1877, p. 321) and Rossi (1928, p. 160) but especially studied by Eyice (1982, pp. 168-169, 176-179) with more detail, who also provided an illustration with respect to descriptions of De Launay.

The slab was disappeared, most probably during the widening works for Bankalar (Voyvoda) Street sometime between 1857-1875, which caused severe demolitions including the frontal half of Bereket Han. There were only De Merude, Genoa and De Marini arms from left to right, respectively and the piece was presumably placed on *Palazzo Comunale* for an important commemoration but it is difficult to synchronize the erection of the palace in 1316 by Montano De Marini and the date of this marble slab (see A.11.1). Members of the aforementioned families appear also in much later periods, which can be seen on other mural slabs as well (see A.11.10, A.11.12, A.11.24, A.11.25 and A.11.39). Therefore, the slab can be dated to c. 1316 due to its general appearance and the position of discovery but this attribution is still uncertain (see A.11.41).

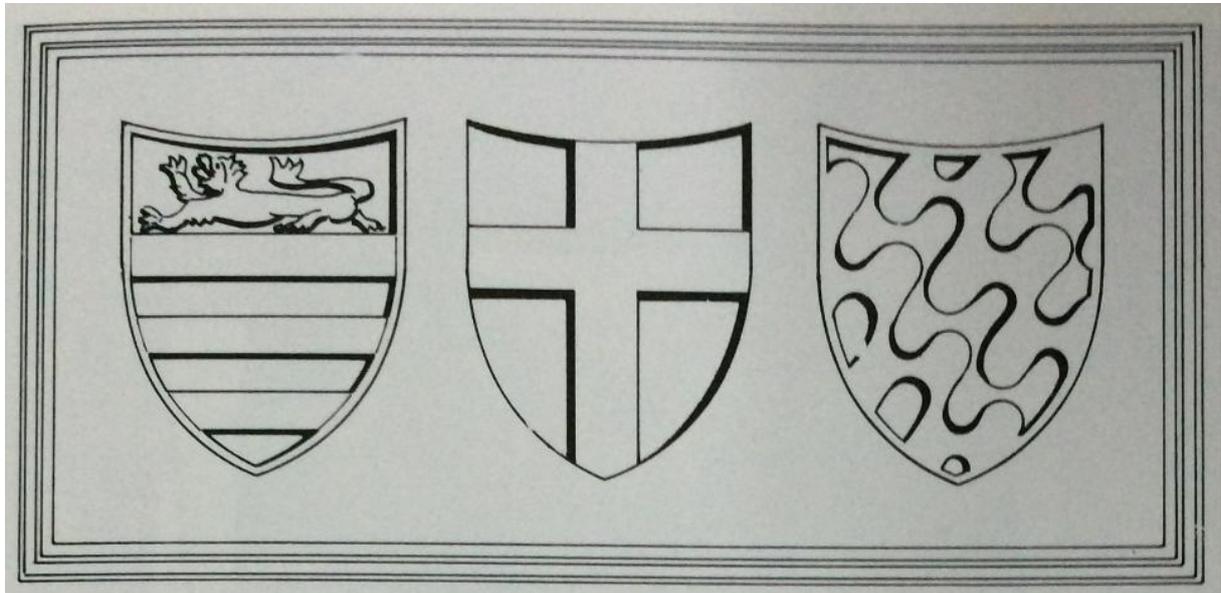


Fig. 566: The slab A.11.2 of Galata (Eyice, 1982, Pl. III)

A.11.3-A.11.4-A.11.5- Three adjacent white marble slabs with the dimensions of 0.72 x 0.55 m were discovered above the later demolished İc Azap Gate. The slabs used to aligned as two slightly different Genoa arms surrounding a central shield with the symbol of Palaiologos family. It is the abbreviation of their imperial motto, which is four "B" letters between the arms of a cross and means "*Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Βασιλεύων Βασιλεῦσι*" (Basileus Basileon Basileuon Basileusi = King of Kings, Ruling over Rulers) (Eyice, 1969, p. 13). The pieces are kept in Istanbul Archaeological Museum with inv. no. 973/a, 973/b and 974, with respect to the order shown below that only the central one is on display inside the hall of Galata.

The central position of Palaiologos arms indicates the Byzantine Empire as the real owner of the autonomous Galata, which was granted to the Genoese and they have started to settle from 1267. The exact borders of the neighborhood was decided in 1303 and the Genoese were not allowed to build walls as of 1304 but digging a moat was permitted. This permission was stressed as a favor from the emperor again in 1316 on the slab A.11.1, so the walls which were encircling the first zone should have been constructed after 1316. According to the slabs of A.11.6 and A.11.8, it was presumed that the expansion to the second, triangular zone has started in 1335 and reached the recent location of Galata Tower in 1348. Moreover, the usage of Palaiologos arms was seen at latest c. 1350-1360 in a farther location (see A.11.9). Thus, it is strongly probable that the slabs belonging to the first zone were dated between 1316-1335.

As the first two shields look similar by form, the one on the right might be added a bit later to centralize the arms of Palaiologos and prevent a kind of diplomatic crisis because its supposed first position was having less honor. The slabs were mainly studied by Coval (c. 1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905, p. 56), Arseven (1913, p. 73), De Launay (1874, no. 19), Belin (1894, p. 141), Gottwald (1907, p. 61), Rossi (1928, p. 158) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7).



Fig. 567-569: The slabs A.11.3-A.11.5 of Galata (Author, 2016; Rossi, 1928, pp. 157-159)

A.11.6- The slab was detected above a rectangular tower in the junction of Yüksek Kaldırım and Bankalar (Voyvoda) streets, where Meydancık / Voyvoda Gate was formerly located. The position of the tower was falling just outside the first concession zone, so the date of the slab gives an idea for the fortification of the annexed part at north for the first time. The tower was later demolished and the slab was also disappeared. There were Palaiologos and Genoa arms from left to right, respectively and only a year in Latin, as follows;

" + M · CCC · XXX · V "

"1335"

The arms of Palaiologos appears on the right (dexter) from the viewpoint of the bearer, which indicates greater honor (Fox-Davies, 1909). Therefore, the Byzantine Empire was still considered as the real owner of Galata. However, although the Genoese were extending their territories out of the official concession zone, they were still honoring the Byzantines, so it can be said that this usage was preferred possibly to provide a political midcourse. The date of the slab was corresponding to the the period of the *Podestà* Andalo de Mari.

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied in detail by De Launay (1874, p. 113), Belin (1894, p. 141), Belgrano (1877, p. 322), Gottwald (1907, p. 61), Arseven (1913, p. 73), Rossi (1928, p. 160) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7).

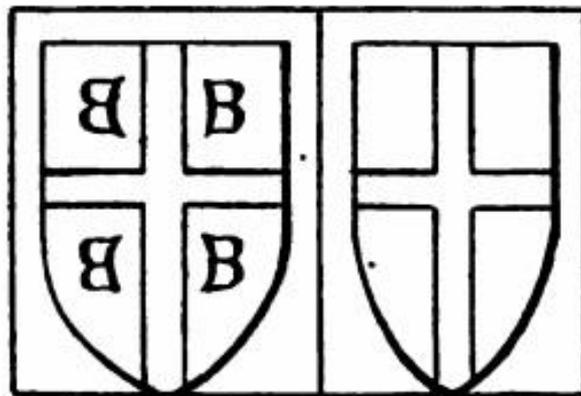


Fig. 570: An illustration of the slab A.11.6 of Galata (Belin, 1894, p. 141)

A.11.7- The slab, which was later disappeared was seen in an unspecified position only by Covell (c. 1670-1677) and dated to 1338. No arms were mentioned and the slab is about the construction of a palace by Lanfranco Brancaloni. Its inscription as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 55);

"+ *D(OMI)N(U)S : LA(N)FRANCUS : BRANCHELEO-*
NIS : ABAS : CO(MMUN)IS : ET : POPULI : PEIRE :
HEDIFICARI : FECIT : PALATIUM : IST-
UD : DE : PECUNIA : CO(MMUN)IS : PEYRE : IN : T(EM)P(O)R(E) :
D(OMI)NI : CO(N)STA(N)TINI : AURIE : POTESTATIS :
PEIRE : ET : TOTIUS : IMPERII : ROMA-
NIE : M · CCC : XXX : VIII · DIE : PRIMA SE-
PTEMBRIS : "

"Lord Lanfranco Brancaloni, public abbot and citizen of Pera has built this palace of communal funds of Pera in the time of Lord Costantino Doria, podestà of Pera and the whole Roman Empire. 1 September 1338."

A.11.8- The slab was detected below the window of a rectangular tower in the end of Yüksek Kaldırım Street, very close to Galata Tower. Thus, the date of the slab is very important to give the date when the Genoese have reached the hilltop, where Galata Tower is now located and secured the annexed triangular zone at north by fortifying it. There were Genoa and Palaiologos arms on the slab from left to right, respectively and the figure of Saint Nicholas in between, together with some surrounding Latin inscriptions, as follows;

"*+ M · CCC · XXXXVIII | S(ANCTUS) NI | COLAU(S) | P(RO) S(ALUTE) R(EIPUBLICAE)*"

"1349. Saint Nicholas. For the welfare of the republic!"

The approximate construction year of Galata Tower (1348) was supported by this disappeared slab (see 2.5). The rectangular tower, apparently dedicated to Saint Nicholas was one of the demolished ones and it should be noted that the position of Palaiologos arms was reduced to the left (sinister) from the viewpoint of the bearer this time, which indicates less honor. Therefore, it can be said that the authority of the Byzantine Empire on Galata was gradually decreasing from 1335 to 1349. The dedication of towers to saints was a common practice in Galata (see A.11.11, A.11.16, A.11.30, A.11.32, A.11.33 and A.11.38).

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied in detail by De Launay (1864, p. 9; 1874, pp. 113-114), Belgrano (1877, p. 324), Belin (1894, p. 142), Gottwald (1907, p. 62), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, p. 161) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7).



Fig. 571: The slab A.11.8 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, p. 324)

A.11.9- The slab was seen above a tower near Hasanağa Gate by Covell (c. 1670-1677) that the piece was later disappeared but it was possibly belonging to the stand alone semi circular tower, which now remains inside the garden of Saint Benoit (see 2.9.5). Like the previous example, there were only Genoa and Palaiologos arms from left to right, respectively but without any date or inscription (Hasluck, 1905, p. 56; Schneider and Nomidis, 1944, p. 11).

The start of the eastern annexation was dated to c. 1400 in many sources, probably due to the misinterpretation of Belin (1894, pp. 143-144) for the slab A.11.20, or the slab A.11.14 (1404) from a close location. Yet, according to the location given by Covell and the extinction of Palaiologos arms on slabs before 1387, the annexation of the eastern section must have been started before, with respect to this slab. When considered the chronological positions of nearby earlier slabs with Palaiologos arms; A.11.6 (1335) and A.11.8 (1349), this slab might be dated roughly around 1350-1360s. The position of Palaiologos arms at left (sinister) from the viewpoint of the bearer is also coherent with the slab A.11.8 (see A.11.3-A.11.6).

It can be claimed that the Genoese have constructed the tower of this slab like an outpost first, possibly with the reason of defending the Greek Orthodox church of *Panagia Chrysopege* against intruders. By linking the sole tower to the main defensive system of Galata Tower in c. 1404, the church was then captured by the Genoese and renamed.

A.11.10- The slab, which was formerly a threshold was seen by Covell (c. 1670-1677) above a stone in *San Giovanni Battista* and about a construction done to the church (see 2.9.8). The inscription was having surrounding arms including the one of De Merude family and dated to 1372. The inscription of the disappeared slab as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 60);

" + AD : HONOREM : DEI : ET : GLO- / RIOXE : BEATE : MARIE : VIRGINIS : (ET?) /
BEATO : IOH(ANN)ES : BATISTA : HOC : OPUS : / FEIERI : FECIT : DISSCRETO :
D(OMI)NO : PH- / ILIPPO : DE : MERUDE : IN M : CCC : LXX : / II : DIE : ULTIMA :
IULII : " (To honor the God and glorious Saint Mary the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist,
this work was done by discreet lord Filippo De Merude in the last day of July, 1372.)

The name of Filippo De Merude appears as a bourgeois of Pera on letters dated 21 March 1356, 5 November 1356 and 20 November 1358. Another document dated 14 April 1386 is about his testament and heirs, so he was probably passed away in that year (see A.11.2, A.11.12 and A.11.39) (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 125-126, 128-129, 140-144)^{vii}.

A.11.11- The slab with the dimensions of 0.80 x 1.10 m was once located above the first tower in the northwest of Galata Tower but the marble piece was then being moved to Istanbul Archaeological Museum after the demolition, where still on display (inv. no. 954). There are Genoa and Doria arms from left to right, respectively and Saint Michael the Archangel in between that the tower of the slab was possibly dedicated to him. The inscription above the arms as follows: "+ M · CCC · LXXX VII · DIE · XXV · MARCII HOC OP(US) / FACT(UM) · FUIT T(EM)P(O)R(E) NOB(I)L(IS) / D(OMI)NUS · RAFAEL · D(E) · AUR(IA) / POT(ESTAS) · PEIRE" (25 March 1387. This work was done during the time of the noble lord Raffaele Doria, podestà of Pera.)

Raffaele Doria appears as the consul of *Soldaia* on a slab from 1378 (Skrzinska, 2006, pp. 248-251). When Eliano De Camilla has died in 1386, he was elected as the *podestà* of Galata. Giovanni de Mezzano became his successor in 27 May 1387, two months after the date of the slab. "Former *podestà*" Raffaele Doria continued to stay in Galata, at least until 1390 (see A.11.12) (see Sudak slab No. 3 in A.10) (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 145-146, 150, 324-325)^{viii}.

The slab is important to provide a time for the start of the northwestern expansion after securing the triangular second zone, which was ended with Galata Tower following 1349. It should also be noted that starting with this slab, the usage of Palaiologos arms was disappeared, which can be interpreted as a complete loss of the Byzantine authority on Galata.

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied in detail by De Mas-Latrie (1846, pp. 491-495), De Launay (1864, p. 4; 1874, p. 114), Vigna (1865, p. 21), Belgrano (1877, pp. 324-325), Belin (1894, p. 143), Gottwald (1907, p. 62), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, p. 146) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7).



Fig. 572: The slab A.11.11 of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.12- The slab was finely carved into white marble and still located just above Harip Gate. There are only Doria, Genoa and De Merude arms on it from left to right, respectively. The arms were surrounded with ornamental floral patterns and there is neither a date nor an inscription (see 2.4.5).

Although no *podestà* from De Merude family has served in Galata, members of them were involved in several important constructions in the colony (see A.11.2, A.11.10 and A.11.40). It is also known that Nicola Doria (1279), Lamba Doria (1286), Costantino Doria (1338), Raffaele Doria (1386-1387), Domenico Doria (1391) Tedisio Doria (1418), Ansaldo Doria (1435) were the only members of Doria who served as *podestà* in Galata (Belgrano, 1877, p. 156; Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 151-157)^{ix}. The position of the slab appears just outside the first concession zone at northwest, in a positional relation with the slab A.11.11. The slabs of Galata start to bear the arms of the doge or occupying nations after 1418. When considered the slabs of A.11.10 and A.11.11, this slab might be dated to c. 1386, the time of *Podestà* Raffaele Doria and last moments of nobleman Filippo De Merude (see A.11.2 and A.11.39).

The slab of Sudak (1378) with the name of Raffaele Doria has a triple order with Fregoso (Doge Domenico, r. 1370-1378), Genoa and Doria arms but the slabs A.11.11 and A.11.12 of Galata from c. 1386-1387 do not have any doge arms that Doge Antoniotto Adorno (r. 1384-1390) was ruling the Republic of Genoa at that time (see Sudak slab No. 3 in A.10). Thus, it might be claimed that Raffaele Doria was in favor of Fregoso among these rival families.

The slab was briefly mentioned by De Launay (1864, p. 6), Hasluck (1905, p. 54; 1911, pp. 142, 144), Gottwald (1907, p. 54), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, p. 160) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7) but a precise dating could not be seen.



Fig. 573: The slab A.11.12 of Galata (Yılmaz, 2016)

A.11.13- The slab was detected on the northern, rectangular tower of the westernmost small annexation of the Genoese, which was later demolished. The slab has the dimensions of 0.58 x 1.13 m and kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 951). There are three arms on it, being the one of Genoa in the center and two surrounding Bonavey arms at both sides. There is only a year in Latin above, as follows: "+ M CCC : LXXX : VII : " (1397)

Luchino de Bonavey and seven other merchants of Maona have established a commercial society to distribute mastic to the east of Rhodes, Egypt and Syria for ten years, according to a document dated 16 December 1393 and signed in Genoa. He appears as a member of *Officium Provisionis Romanie* in 1395-1396 and then elected as the *podestà* of Pera in 31 August 1396 by the Royal Governor and seniors of Genoa. His name appears on another document of Galata, dated 18 April 1397. Luchino de Bonavey was replaced with Gentile Grimaldi by the government of Genoa in 26 October 1397. He has returned to mastic trade under Maona, according to further documents dated 23 October 1405 and 21 October 1410, both signed in Genoa (Argenti, 1958, p. 158; Belgrano, 1877, p. 175; Rovere, 1979, pp. 187, 275-278)^x.

The arms of Bonavey does not appears in Genoese heraldic records (Scorza, 1920), so the slab is an important historical artifact. It is also important for providing an approximate year to the annexation and fortification of the small extension in the west of Galata.

The Republic of Genoa was occupied by the Kingdom of France between 1396-1413 and several governors administered Genoa under the French domination during this period. Instead of carving an arms related to the French authority, the arms of *podestà* might has been used twice, due to a possible disavowal in a distant, colonial territory.

The slab was mainly mentioned by De Launay (1874, p. 115), Belgrano (1877, p. 325), Belin (1894, pp. 143), Gottwald (1907, p. 63), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, pp. 146), Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 7) without the life of Luchino de Bonavey.



Fig. 574: The slab A.11.13 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. VIII)

A.11.14- The slab was discovered on the second tower to the east of Galata Tower. Having the dimensions of 0.75 x 0.75 m, it is kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 965), as its tower was demolished. There are three arms on the slab, being Genoa in the center and two surrounding eagles at both sides. The Latin inscription around the arms as follows: "+
TURRIS : ISTA : FUIT : FACTA : TEM- | PORE : REGIMINIS : EGREGII : VIRI : |
D(OMI)NI : IOHAN(N)IS : SAULI : HONORABILIS : | POTESTATIS : PEYRE : M CCCC
III : | DIE : PRIMA : NOVEMBRIS :" (This tower was done during the governance of nobleman Lord Giovanni Sauli, honorable podestà of Pera. 1 November 1404.)

Giovanni Sauli appears as one of the councilors under Doge Antoniotto Adorno in 10 January 1386. His name was mentioned as one of the two treasurers (*massarius*) of Galata together with Marzocco Cicala in 18 April 1396, during the podestàship of Luchino de Bonavey. Their positions are renewed in 26 October 1397, when podestà Luchino de Bonavey was replaced with Gentile Grimaldi. Giovanni Sauli was mentioned as the *podestà* of Pera in a document dated 28 April 1405, so he served in 1404-1405, with respect to the date on the slab (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 175, 297, 968)^{xi}.

This slab has the possibility of bearing the only remained French arms from 1396-1413 in Galata. It is only known that the arms of the King of France and the Governor of Genoa Marshal Boucicaut were once painted inside *Palazzo Comunale* in 1402 (Balard, 1978, p. 193)^{xii}. All the sources except for one interpret the eagles as the arms of Sauli and in a double form like the previous slab A.11.13; can be said due to the same reason. In fact, the family of Sauli do use an arms with eagle but the famous French commander Jean II Le Maingre (Marshal Boucicaut) too, who served as the governor of Genoa between 1401-1409 under the French rule. Belin (1894, p. 144) shortly claims that the eagle at left might represents Marshal Boucicaut with its position of great honor and the one on the right is for *podestà* Giovanni Sauli; before mentioning the possibility of double *podestà* arms, like other sources.

The usage of double arms for the *podestà*, council or ruling family of that colonial possession can be seen on many Genoese slabs and these pieces bear almost identical arms on both ends (see A.7.2, A.7.4, A.10.3, A.10.9, A.11.13 and A.11.16). However, the eagles appear with distinctive differences on this slab. Although their bodies look slightly similar, their facial expressions are not the same and the one the right is apparently crowned and the one on the left does not. It is known that the family of Sauli and Marshal Boucicaut both have used eagles with or without crowns but the arms of the latter also appears either single headed or

double headed (Araldica Vaticana, 2015; de Boucicaut, c. 1408, p. 26; Gallian, 2016; Heraldique-Europeenne, 2016; Scorza, 1920, XXVI).

Possible arms of Marshal Boucicaut as a crowned and single headed eagle appears with nearby lilies inside a divided shield on three slabs from Amasra and Samsun that the lilies most probably represent the Kingdom of France (see A.7.5, A.7.7 and A.8). However, a slab from Sudak and dated 1409 bears the eagle and lilies inside separate shields; both chiseled out afterwards (see A.10.10). Hereby, the arms of Marshal Boucicaut as an eagle with or without a crown and inside a shared or single shield were displayed in order to provide examples for the claim of Belin (1894, p. 144). The date of the slab (1404) is also another important detail, which directly falls into the governorship of Marshal Boucicaut (r 1401-1409). Nevertheless, the slab can still be interpreted in the same way of the slab A.11.13.

The start of the Genoese eastern annexation in Galata was dated to c. 1400 in many sources, probably due to this slab or the slab A.11.20 that its year was misinterpreted as 1400 by Belin (1894, pp. 143-144). However, the slab A.11.9 should also be considered in this point. This piece is possibly about a later period linkage from the poisiton of Saint Benoit through Galata Tower in 1404. A low quality commemorative replica of this slab was seen on Saint Benoit in 2015, as the demolished tower of the slab was formerly just in the west of the church.

The slab was well mentioned by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 495), De Launay (1874, p. 172), Vigna (1865, p. 12), Belgrano (1877, p. 326), Belin (1894, p. 144), Gottwald (1907, p. 64), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, pp. 146-147) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 8).



Fig. 575-576: The slab A.11.14 of Galata and its eagles with different facial features (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. IX)

A.11.15- The slab was discovered on coastal walls during a demolition in 1910 in the southern part of Galata, between the first concession zone and the castle, next to Havyar Han. It has the dimensions of 0.56 x 2.78 m and being kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 2405). There are three arms on the slab with finely carved floral patterns in between and a Latin inscription below them. The arms appear as Fregoso (Campofregoso), Genoa and Doria from left to right, respectively. The inscription of the slab as follows;

"+ *HIC · MURUS · CONSTRUCT(US) · FUIT · M · CCCC · XVIII · TEMPOR(E)*
POTESTACIE · (SPECTAB)ILI(S) · D(OMI)NI · THEDISII · D(E) · AURIA"

"This wall was constructed in 1418 during the podestàship of admirable lord Tedisio Doria."

The area between the first concession zone and the castle was granted to the Genoese in 1352. However, it appears from this slab that the walls were being connected to the castle in a later period, probably due to the military importance of the castle as a last Byzantine outpost inside the Genoese colony of Galata, which was also occupied in the end. The rightmost arms is the one of Doge Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1415-1421), which has the place of greater honor. His name also appears as "*T·C·DVXIAN(VE)*" on Genoese ducats from Galata (Lunardi, 1980, p. 28). *Podestà* Tedisio Doria should not be confused with the other Tedisio Doria who was the son of Lamba Doria (1245–1323) and mounted an expedition to the Indies in the late 13th century.

The slab is very important due to being the earliest example from Galata with the arms of the doge in Genoa. Although doges were in charge in Genoa since 1339, their arms first appeared on this slab from 1418 in Galata and the earlier examples only bear the arms of Genoa, Palaiologos, *podestà* and other noble families of Galata.

The slab was first introduced by Gottwald (1911, pp. 270-272) and then mentioned by Rossi (1928, p. 147) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 8).



Fig. 577: The slab A.11.15 of Galata (Rossi, 1928, p. 147)

A.11.16- The slab was discovered on the third tower to the northwest of Galata Tower. Being kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 953), it has the dimensions of 1.00 x 0.92 m. The slab bears four arms, which are two Genoa above and two Spinola below that Bartholomew the Apostle was placed in the center. The tower of the slab, possibly dedicated to the aforementioned saint was later demolished. The short Latin inscription on the upper part as follows: "*· :S(ANCTUS) · :BARTOL(OMAEUS)*" (Saint Bartholomew).

When considered the fortification of Galata by the Genoese for the first time, the reigns of Zaccaria Spinola (r. 1423), Giannotto Spinola (r. 1427-1428) and Nicolo Antonio Spinola (r. 1440-1442) are possible periods for the slab (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 151-157). Three slabs from the period of Nicolo Antonio Spinola bear the arms of the doge but this slab does not (see A.11.28, A.11.29 and A.11.30). Therefore, the reigns of two other members are possible but still uncertain periods, as all the *podestàs* of Galata are still not known. The Republic of Genoa was under the Milanese occupation in 1421-1436, so there were no doges but governors dedicated to Visconti, whose probable arms appear on five slabs of Galata from 1431 and 1435; all chiseled out afterwards (see A.11.19-A.11.21, A.11.24 A.11.25). If the slab still belongs to c. 1420s, it can only be supposed that the Milanese arms were not used in Galata until 1431 (see A.10.3). If not, the slab A.11.13 with a kind of similar form is dated 1397, which provides another possible period; 1396-1401 (see A.7.2 and A.11.14).

The slab was mentioned by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 492), De Launay (1864, p. 5), Belgrano (1877, p. 330), Belin (1894, pp. 144-145), Gottwald (1907, p. 64), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, p. 148) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 12); without a dating with reasons.



Fig. 578: The slab A.11.16 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XV)

A.11.17- The slab was discovered in the women's gallery (*Galleria delle Donne*) of *San Francesco* (see 2.9.2). The piece was later disappeared. Its inscription was commemorating an important construction done to the church with the generosity of Bishop Goffredo Cicalla O.F.M., the Bishop of *Caffa* in Crimea (see Feodosia slab No. 17 in A.10), as follows;

*"AD HONOREM DEI · ET BEATE MARIAE VIRGINIS | · ET BEATI FRANCISCI · HOC
OPUS | FIERI FECIT REV(ERENDISSI)MUS D(OMI)N(U)S GIFFREDUS | CICALLA DEI
GRATIA EPISCOPUS CAFFEN(SIS) | · OLIM PROFESSUS IN ORDINE MINORUM | ·
PRO CUIUS AEDIFICII PRAEMIO | DETUR SIBI VITA AETERNA · AMEN | · M · CCCC ·
XX · VI · DIE I AUGUSTI · INDICTIONE III | · SECUNDUM CURSUM JANU(AE) · "*

"To honor the God and Saint Mary the Virgin and Saint Francis, this work was done by the most reverend lord Goffredo Cicalla, by the grace of God, Bishop of Caffa, formerly teacher in the Order of Friars Minor. For whose of the building, let the reward of eternal life be granted, amen. 1 August 1426. 3rd indiction, according to the course of Genoa."

This slab of the demolished *San Francesco* church was mentioned mainly by Wadding (1733, pp. 55-56), Belin (1894, p. 192) and Matteucci (1967, p. 328).

A.11.18- The slab was seen in Saint Benoit by Petricca (1636-1639) and Covell (c. 1670-1677), above the entrance of the monastery and stairs leading up to the chapel, to the left (see 2.9.5). Having no arms, its inscription as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 58);

*" + AD · HONOREM · DEI · ET · SANTISSIME · VISITACIONIS | VIRGINI(S) · MARIE · ET ·
BEATISIMI · PATRIS · NOSTRI · BENE- | DICTI · HOC · MONASTERIU(M) ·
FUNDATU(M) · FUIT · M · CCCC · XX · | VII · DIE · XII · MADII · T(EM)P(O)R(E) ·
BEATISI(MI) · D(OMINI) · D(OMINI) · N(OST)RI · PAPE · M(ARTINUS) · V · + · "*

"To honor the God and the holiest visitation Virgin Mary and the blessed father of us Benedict, this monastery was founded in 12 May 1427, during the time of the blessed lord, our master Pope Martin V."

The church was described as an original late Byzantine building (Niewöhner, 2011), so the lost slab must be about only an institutional foundation. The inscription was also mentioned by *Relatione* (n. d.) in Dalleggio d'Alessio (1925, p. 61), Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 22), Biskupski (1959, p. 87) Müller-Wiener (1977, p. 100) and Niewöhner (2011, p. 158).

A.11.19- The slab was discovered between Kireç and Eğri gates but then moved to a villa in Çengelköy. Its recent condition is unknown. With dimensions of 0.68 x 0.85 m, it was having a defaced Genoa, another completely defaced one and De Franchi arms from left to right, respectively. The inscription below as follows: "*DE · FRA(N)CIS · GALATE · FILIP(PUS) · DIGNE · POT(EST)AS | LITORIA · MENIA · BURGI · CO(M) · URBE · (CON)IUNXIT | TERDENIS · P(OST) · MILLE · LABENTIBUS · ANNIS | ET · QUADRI(N)GE(N)TIS · QUO · XPS (=CHRISTUS) · NOS · REPARAVIT*" (Filippo De Franchi, the worthy podestà of Galata linked shore walls of the borough to the city thirty years after the passing of a thousand and four hundred [1430], where Christ has made us redeemed.)

The name of Filippo De Franchi appears on several sequent slabs and at least two documents from March 1431 that in the 19th, it has been mentioned that he participated into a deliberation of Genoa to fight against Venice and Florence (probably the Battle of Soncino, March 1431), and also energizes to provide safety for Galata (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 197-198)^{xiii}.

The central arms must related to the Duchy of Milan, who occupied the Republic of Genoa in 1421-1435 (see A.7.8-A.7.13, A.10.2, A.11.20-A.11.21 and A.11.24-A.11.25). The Genoese cross was possibly defaced by the Turks afterwards. Different from Amasra slabs, the Milanese arms have a central position on Galata slabs, so perhaps their ambassadors were more frequent in Galata. As of 1432-1433, Benedetto de Forlino was a Milanese ambassador there and assisted by Giovanni Visconti (de la Broquière, 1807, pp. 216-234) (see A.7.11).

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied by Coval (c. 1670-1677), De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 494), De Launay (1864, p. 9), Belgrano (1877, p. 327), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, pp. 154-155) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 8-9).



Fig. 579: The slab A.11.19 of Galata (Rossi, 1928, p. 155)

A.11.20- The slab was discovered between Mumhane and Kireç gates, looking towards the city. All of the coastal walls at east were then demolished. Having the dimensions of 0.45 x 0.52 m, it is kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. n/a). Its three arms can barely be recognized due to vandalism. There were two arms with crosses at left and center, and a completely defaced one at right, respectively. There was an inscription in Latin around the Norman style kite shields (see A.10.2 and A.10.3), as follows: "+ M · CCCC · (XXX · I) | ITALICUM · IUBAR · LUX · Q(UO)R(UM) · DUX · MEDIOLAN(ORUM) | GAUDEAT · ERG(O) · IAN(UA) · Q(UE) · SUB · TA(N)TO · DUCE · GUBE(R)NAT | IUBE(N)TE · P(RE)SIDE · PEIRE · DE · FRA(N)CIS · POT(EST)ATE · FILIPO" (1431. The Duke of Milan, who is the shining light of Italy, therefore rejoiced Genoa, which is governed under such a great duke. Podestà Filippo de Franchi, commanding and governing Pera.)

The first two arms can be attributed to Genoa and Milan, so the slab might provides a case where Milan was not represented with Visconti arms (like the slab A.7.13 of Amasra) but the cross of its flag. Yet, it can also be said that a supposed Visconti arms was defaced and replaced with an incised, extra cross of Genoa, somewhat like the slab A.7.8 of Amasra. The occupying state was ruled by Filippo Maria Visconti (r. 1412-1447) at that time, whose name briefly appears on ducats from Galata as "*F·M·MEDIOL·D·ET·COISIA*" (Lunardi, 1980, p. 27). The last arms should be De Franchi. The missing year can be 1430 or 1431 but Dalleggio d'Alessio (1928, pp. 171-173) proposes 1431 due to the military duty of Filippo (see A.11.19).

The slab was mainly mentioned by De Launay (1874, p. 170), Belgrano (1877, p. 327) (as 1430), Belin (1894, pp. 143-144) (as 1400), Gottwald (1907, p. 63), Dalleggio d'Alessio (1928, pp. 171-173), Rossi (1928, pp. 154-155) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 9).

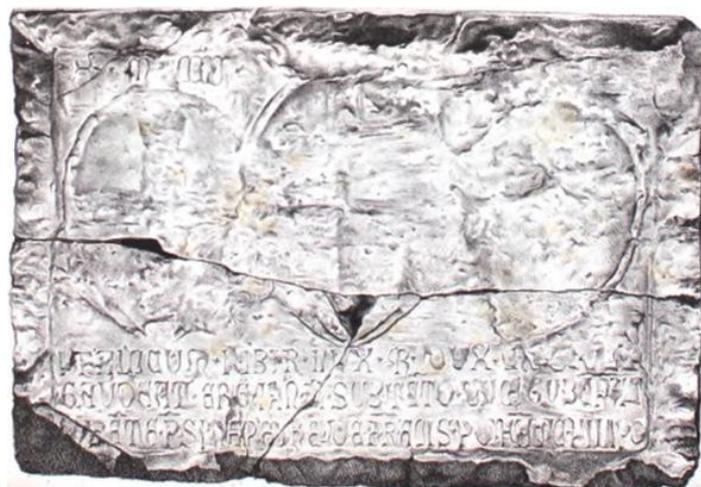


Fig. 580: The slab A.11.20 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. X)

A.11.21- The slab was discovered on an unknown tower near the hospital of *San Giovanni Battista* by Covell (c. 1670-1677) (see 2.9.8). It was having the arms of Genoa, a defaced one and De Franchi from left to right, respectively. The inscription of the slab as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 61);

" + *HAE · TUR(R)I(S) · (CON)STRUCTA · SUB · LUCE · CLARA · A TUTA · | ROTONDA · TOTA · SUPERBA · TENDENS · AD · ALT(US?) · | IUBENTE · DIGNO · D(E) · FRANCIS · POTESTATE · FILIPO · | M · CCCC | XXXI "*

"This tower was constructed under the bright light from the protected sphere and all the superb efforts from the commander in chief, worthy podestà Filippo De Franchi. 1431."

The church and hospital of *San Giovanni Battista* was probably very close to the fortifications of Galata, with respect to the given location of the slab. Its defaced central arms was must belonging to the Duchy of Milan, when the year of this slab and the previous slabs of A.11.19 and A.11.20 were considered as examples. In this case, a Visconti arms is the most suitable option (see A.11.24 and A.11.25). The slab seems disappeared and its fate is unknown.

Apart from the study of Hasluck (1905, pp. 50-62) about the notes of Covell (c. 1670-1677), the slab was mentioned only by Rossi (1928, pp. 161-162) briefly.

A.11.22- A Latin inscription, said to be from 1390 (*M CCC LXXXX*) was noted by Burgess (1835, p. 170) in Galata but without its precise location, as follows;

"*SPECTABIL(IS) · NOBIL(IS) · ILLARIUS · IMPERIALIS · POT(EST)AS · PERE*"

"Admirable and noble podestà of Pera, Ilario Imperiale."

Ilario Imperiale appears as the *podestà* of Galata in 1432-1433 (*M CCCC XXX II - M CCCC XXX III*), with respect to the documents published by Belgrano (1877, pp. 199-203)^{xiv}. Therefore, the date was presumably misread that Hasluck (1905, p. 55) also mentions this mistake and these studies were together mentioned by Rossi (1928, p. 161) afterwards.

The concerned documents published by Belgrano (1877, pp. 199, 203)^{xiv} are briefly mentioning several legal issues and do not provide further information about the *Podestà* Ilario Imperiale.

A.11.23- The slab was seen outside the later demolished Azap Gate by Covel (c. 1670-1677) and consisted of only a year in Latin, as follows: "+ M · CCCC · XXX · III ∴" (1433).

Coastal walls of the small annexation at west was known to be built in 1435 (see A.11.24, A.11.25), so before these works, Azap Gate might has been erected and strengthened as an outpost. The slab was mentioned by Hasluck (1905, p. 54) and Rossi (1928, p. 162).

A.11.24- The slab was discovered on the coastal walls of the small annexation at west. It is kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 971) and has the dimensions of 0.56 x 0.90 m. The slab has three arms, being Genoa, a defaced one and De Marini from left to right, respectively. Its Latin inscription below the arms as follows;

"+ M · CCCC · XXX · V · TE(M)PORE · SPECTA-
BILI(S) · D(OMI)NI · STEPHANI · D(E) · MARINI(S) · POT(EST)AT(IS)"

"1435. The time of the admirable lord Podestà Stefano De Marini."

Stefano De Marini was *podestà* in 1434-1435 (Belgrano, 1877, p. 203)^{xv}. The year of the slab corresponds with the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435, so the defaced central shield must related with them and removed after the liberation of Genoa. In this case, a Visconti arms can be presumed (see A.7.8-A.7.13, A.10.2, A.11.19-A.11.21 and A.11.25).

It was mainly studied and mentioned by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 492), De Launay (1864, p. 6; 1874, pp. 173-174), Vigna (1865, p. 21), Belgrano (1877, p. 328), Belin (1894, p. 145), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Rossi (1928, p. 148) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 9).



Fig. 581: The slab A.11.24 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XI)

A.11.25- The slab is still located on the coastal walls of the small annexation at west (see 2.4.5) with a relatively lower position. Being carved into white marble, there are three arms and a Latin inscription below them. It has the dimensions of 0.98 x 0.89 m and Genoa, a defaced one and De Marini arms, like the slab A.11.24. The inscription as follows;

"+ YHS · IN · M · CCCC · XXXV · PER · SPE-
 CTABILE(M) · DO(M)INU(M) · STEPHANU(M) · D(E) · MA-
 RINI(S) · POT(EST)ATE(M) · (CON)DITU(S) · FUIT · MURU(S) · ISTE"

"Jesus. In 1435, admirable lord Podestà Stefano De Marini has built this wall."

The defaced arms appears as formerly having a central figure, so a Visconti arms can be presumed instead of another cross, when considered the year of the slab and the Milanese occupation of 1421-1435 (see A.7.8-A.7.13, A.10.2 and A.11.19-A.11.21 and A.11.24).

The slab was discovered by Dalleggio d'Alessio (1928, pp. 169-171) and then mentioned by Rossi (1928, pp. 163-164) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 9-10).

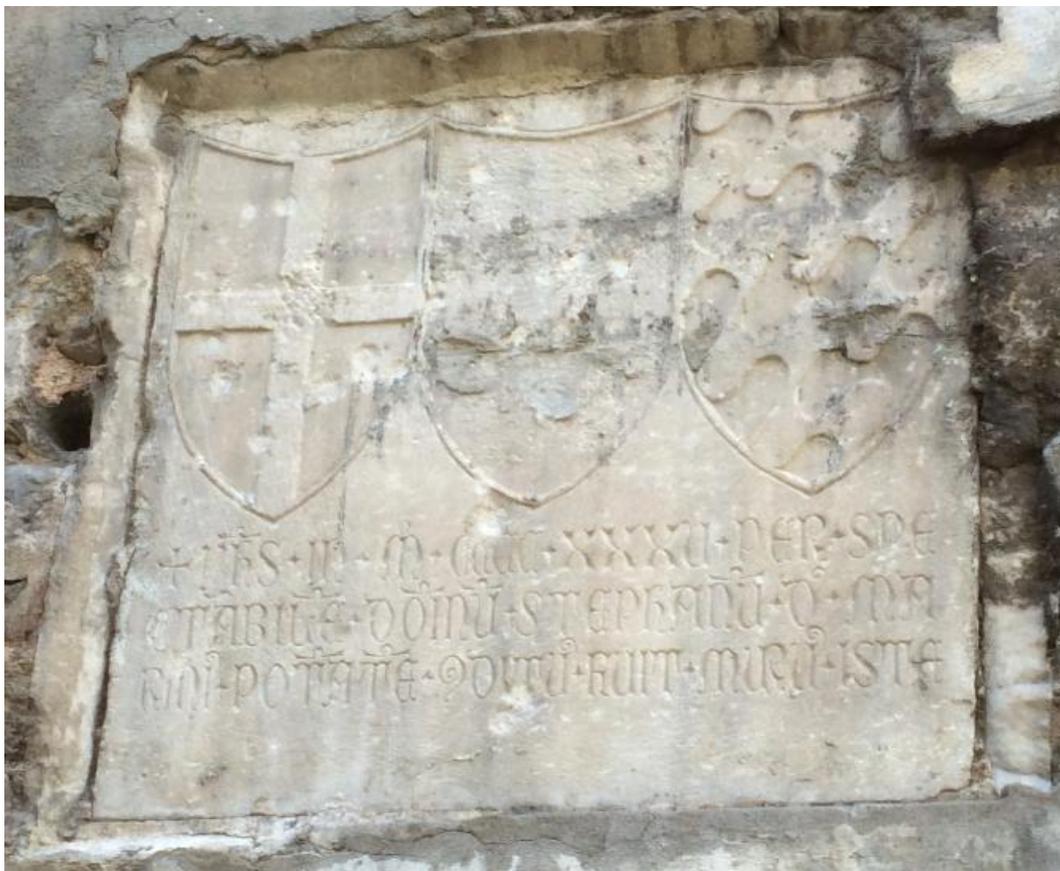


Fig. 582: The slab A.11.25 of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.26- The slab was seen by Covell (c. 1670-1677) above the later demolished Kürkçü Gate. Without arms, only an inscription has been noted, which as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 54);

" + *M · CCCC · XXX · VIII · P(RIMA) · AUGUSTI · (TEMPORE?) ·*

SPECTABILIS · D(OMI)NI · IOHANIS · LEVANTO"

"1 August 1438. The time of the admirable lord Giovanni Levanto."

Giovanni de Levanto appears as the *Podestà* of Galata in a document dated 13 March 1438, which verifies the record of Covell (c. 1670-1677). The document tells that Giovanni de Levanto is to provide the requests of Giacomo Fieschi, the creditor of Pera community, in return for a good sum of *hyperpyron* (Byzantine coin) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 204)^{xvi}.

The slab possibly commemorates an alteration on the existing fortifications of the first concession zone, like a repair or an additional gate. Its fate is unknown and the piece was also mentioned by Rossi (1928, p. 162) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 10).

A.11.27- Above Hasanağa Gate, a slab with Fregoso, Genoa and de Levanto arms was discovered by Covell (c. 1670-1677). The gate was then demolished and the piece was also disappeared. Its inscription as follows (Hasluck, 1905, p. 57);

" · *M · CCCC · XXXXII · TEMPORE · SPECTABI-*

LIS · DOMINI · JOHANIS · DE · LEVANTO · · "

"1442. The time of the admirable lord Giovanni de Levanto."

Nicolo Antonio Spinola was the *podestà* of Galata in 1442 and with respect to the slab A.11.26, the date might be misread by Covell (c. 1670-1677). Thus, the piece should belong to the year 1438 (*M CCCC XXX VIII*). The name of Giovanni de Levanto was mentioned together with his brother Bartolomeo in a letter written by Imperiale Tonso to his brother Cristoforo in 22 June 1433, which is about the political and economical situation of Pera. In this letter, Giovanni de Levanto was described as a good man (Belgrano, 1877, p. 200)^{xvii}.

The slab was also mentioned by Rossi (1928, p. 162) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 11-12).

A.11.28- The slab was discovered on the easternmost corner tower of the eastern annexation, which was later demolished. Having the dimensions of 0.50 x 1.00 m, it is kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 961?). The slab has Fregoso, Genoa and Spinola arms from left to right, respectively. Its Latin inscription below as follows;

*"SPECTABIL(IS) (ET) NOBILIS · D(OMI)N(U)S | NICOLAUS · ANTHONI(US) · SPINUL(A)
 | POT(EST)AS · PERE · HOC · OPUS · FIERI | IUBSIT · M · CCCC · XXXXI · DIE · X | ·
 AUGUST(I) · "*

"Admirable and noble lord Nicolo Antonio Spinola, podestà of Pera, has ordered this work to be done. 10 August 1441."

According to a document dated 11 April 1441, Nicolo Antonio Spinola, podestà of Pera takes action for the youth Luigi, son of Andrea Grimaldi, bourgeois of Pera, to send him Genoa for education under the discipline of fine arts (Belgrano, 1877, p. 206)^{xviii}. The slab has the arms of Doge Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1436-1442) and gives the construction date of the easternmost Genoese fortifications of Galata (see A.11.29-A.11.33).

It was studied mainly by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 494), De Launay (1864, p. 8; 1875, p. 174), Vigna (1865, p. 22), Belgrano (1877, p. 329), Belin (1894, p. 146), Gottwald (1907, p. 65), Arseven (1913, p. 74), Mendel (1914, p. 499), Rossi (1928, p. 151) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 10).



Fig. 583: The slab A.11.28 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XII)

A.11.29- The slab was discovered on the fourth tower to the northwest of Galata Tower, which is later demolished. Being carved into white marble, it is recently on display in Galata section of Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 961). The slab has the dimensions of 0.73 x 0.98 m and bears three arms, being Fregoso, Genoa and Spinola from left to right, respectively. The inscription in Latin below the arms as follows;

"+ *SPECTABIL(IS) · ET · NOBILIS · VIR · DOMINUS / NICOLAUS · ANTONIUS ·
 SPINULLA · Q(UO)NDAM · D(OMI)NI / THOME · POTESTA(S) · PERE · (ET) ·
 IANUENSIU(M) · IN · TO- / TO · IMPERIO · ROMANIE · CONSTRUI · FECIT · HANC /
 TURRI(M) · (ET) IN PAUCI(S) · DIEBU(S) · CO(N)STRUC(IONIS) · M · CCCC · XXXX · II /
 DIE · VIII · MAY "*

"Admirable and noble man Lord Nicolo Antonio Spinola, formerly Lord Tommaso, the podestà of Pera and Genoa in the whole Roman Empire has constructed this tower within a few days. 9 May 1442."

It has the arms of Doge Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1436-1442) and gives the construction date of the northwesternmost corner from Galata Tower. Therefore, it can be said that Nicolo Antonio Spinola intended to secure the corners of the colony, likewise the slab A.11.28.

The slab mentioned and studied mainly by De Launay (1874, p. 175), Belgrano (1877, p. 329), Belin (1894, p. 146), Gottwald (1907, p. 66), Arseven (1913, pp. 74-75), Rossi (1928, pp. 148-149) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 10-11).



Fig. 584: The slab A.11.29 of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.30- The slab was discovered on the second tower to the northwest of Galata Tower, which is later demolished. It is now kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 963) and has the dimensions of 0.65 x 0.65 m. There are three arms on it, being Fregoso, Genoa and Spinola from left to right, respectively. The inscription of the slab in Latin as follows;

"+ *SPECTABIL(IS) (ET) NOBIL(IS) · VIR · D(OMI)N(I)S · NICOLAU(S) | ANTH(ONI)US · SPINULA · POTEST(AS) · PEIR(E) (ET) IANUEN- | SIU(M) · IN TOTO · IMP(ER)IO · ROMANIE · T(EM)P(O)RE · SU(I) | REGIMIN(IS) · ANNI · S(ECON)DI · IUXIT · HANC S(ECON)DAM | TURI(M) · (CON)STRUI · M · CCCC · XXXII · DIE · XX · O- | CT(OBRIS) · MANDAN(S) · VOCHARI · S(ANCTAM) · MARIAM · +"*

"Admirable and noble man Lord Nicolo Antonio Spinola, Podestà of Pera and Genoa in the whole Roman Empire has constructed this second tower during the second year of his governorship. 20 October 1442. Confiding to the invoked Saint Mary."

It appears that the tower was dedicated to Saint Mary that the slab A.11.32 also proves. The slab has the arms of Doge Tomaso Fregoso (r. 1436-1442) and shows that the northwestern section just after Galata Tower was continued to be fortified during the reign of *Podestà* Nicolo Antonio Spinola. It can be said that these parts were started to be fortified following 1387 (see A.11.11, A.11.12 and A.11.13) but more towers were added during 1440s.

The slab was mentioned and studied mainly by De Launay (1874, p. 176), Belgrano (1877, p. 329), Belin (1894, p. 147), Gottwald (1907, p. 67), Arseven (1913, p. 75), Mendel (1914, p. 501), Rossi (1928, p. 149) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 11).



Fig. 585: The slab A.11.30 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XIV)

A.11.31- A single Spinola arms was discovered on the fourth tower to the northwest of Galata Tower, being the same location with the ones of slabs A.11.29 and A.11.33. It was only mentioned by De Launay (1864, p. 175) and Belgrano (1877, p. 329) that the piece is most probably related to the *Podestà* Nicolao Antonio Spinola (r. 1440-1442) and the year 1442. The fate of this piece is unknown.

A.11.32- The slab was discovered on the second tower to the northwest of Galata Tower, being the same location with the one of slab A.11.30. It is being kept in Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 912) and has the dimensions of 0.74 x 0.95 m. The upper left corner of the piece is missing.

The slab bears a relief of Mary with Jesus between her hands and two surrounding saints, which is definitely related with the dedication of the tower to her, which is also mentioned in the inscription of the slab A.11.30. Therefore, the piece can be dated to 1442.

Dedication of towers (or gates) to various saints by the Genoese was mainly documented in *Caffa* (see A.10.6) (Bocharov, 1998; Skrzinska, 1928). However, the closest and only example to Galata and Asia Minor was said to be found in Chios. Hasluck (1910, pp. 149-150) attributes a grey marble *ex situ* relief in Istanbul with Saint Dominic and Giustiniani arms to a tower of Chios Castle and dates the piece to a period after 1413.

The slab was mentioned mainly by Mendel (1914, p. 499) and Rossi (1928, p. 159).

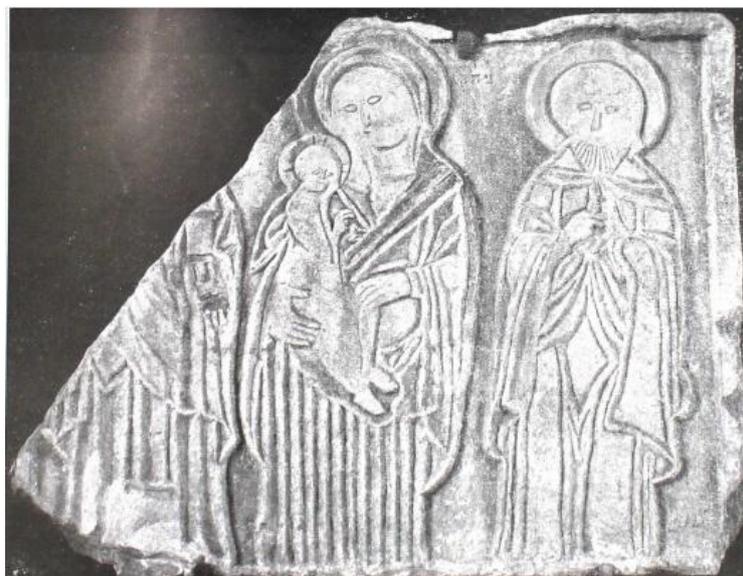


Fig. 586: The slab A.11.32 of Galata (Rossi, 1928, p. 161)

A.11.33- The slab was discovered on the fourth tower to the northwest of Galata Tower, being the same location with ones of slabs A.11.29 and A.11.31. Being carved into white marble, it is being kept in Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 911) and has the dimensions of 0.75 x 0.87 m. It is recently on display in Galata section of the museum.

The slab bears a relief of Mary with Jesus between her hands and two surrounding saints, which might be related with the dedication of this tower to Saint Mary as well, like the one of A.11.32. Therefore, this piece can also be dated to the period of *Podestà* Nicolo Antonio Spinola and 1442, which is also written on the small information panel of the piece.

The slab was mentioned by Mendel (1914, p. 499) and Rossi (1928, p. 159).



Fig. 587: The slab A.11.33 of Galata (Author, 2016)



Fig. 588: Chian (?) slab with St. Dominic and Giustiniani arms (Hasluck, 1910, pp. 149-150)

A.11.34- The slab was seen by Covell (c. 1670-1677) in somewhere between Tophane and Hasanağa gates, being the northeastern part of Galata city walls. It was detected on a high position, so its inscriptions could not be seen but the arms of Adorno, Genoa and Grimaldi (or the first two are perhaps Maruffo) were recognized (Hasluck, 1905, p. 59).

A very similar example, the slab A.11.35 was discovered in a different position, so these pieces can be dated to the same period, which is 1442-1443; the dogeship of Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447) and the podestàship of Boruel Grimaldi (r. 1442-1443).

A.11.35- The slab was said to be discovered on the second tower to the northwest of Galata Tower (see A.11.30 and A.11.32) but photographic evidence shows that it was actually on the third, semicircular one, being the same location with the slab A.11.16. Being carried to Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 962) after the demolition, it is the only example that its former position on fortifications was clearly detected. Being carved into white marble, the slab has the dimensions of 0.65 x 0.65 m and still on display in the museum. There are three arms; Adorno, Genoa and Grimaldi and below them a Latin inscription as follows;

"+ *HEC · TURRIS · FUIT · PERFICTA · TE- | MPORE · SPECTABILI(S) · D(OMI)NI ·
BORUELI(S) | DE · GRIMALDIS · M · CCCC · XXXXIII · "*

"This tower was completed during the time of admirable lord Boruel de Grimaldi, 1443."

The name of Boruel Grimaldi appears as the *podestà* of Galata in three documents dated 3 July 1443, 7 December 1443 and 3 April 1444, which are about several judicial issues (Belgrano, 1877. pp. 208-209; Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 75-76)^{xix}. It is also known that he was formerly an envoy of the Republic of Genoa in the Emirate of Granada in 1437-1438 and then appointed as the consul of *Caffa* in 24 July 1450, where he remained at least until 1454 (Jorga, 1902, pp. 13, 38, 259; Shaw, 2014, p. 159).

It can be supposed that the tower dedicated to Saint Bartholomew was first constructed by *podestàs* Zaccaria Spinola (r. 1423) or Giannotto Spinola (r. 1427-1428) and then either completed or heightened by Boruel Grimaldi in 1443 that the slab was placed above a side entrance of the crenellation level on defensive walls. It bears the arms of Doge Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447).

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 492), De Launay (1875, p. 177), Vigna (1865, p. 22), Belgrano (1877, p. 331), Belin (1894, p. 146), Gottwald (1907, p. 67), Arseven (1913, p. 75), Mendel (1914, p. 501), Rossi (1928, p. 149) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 11).

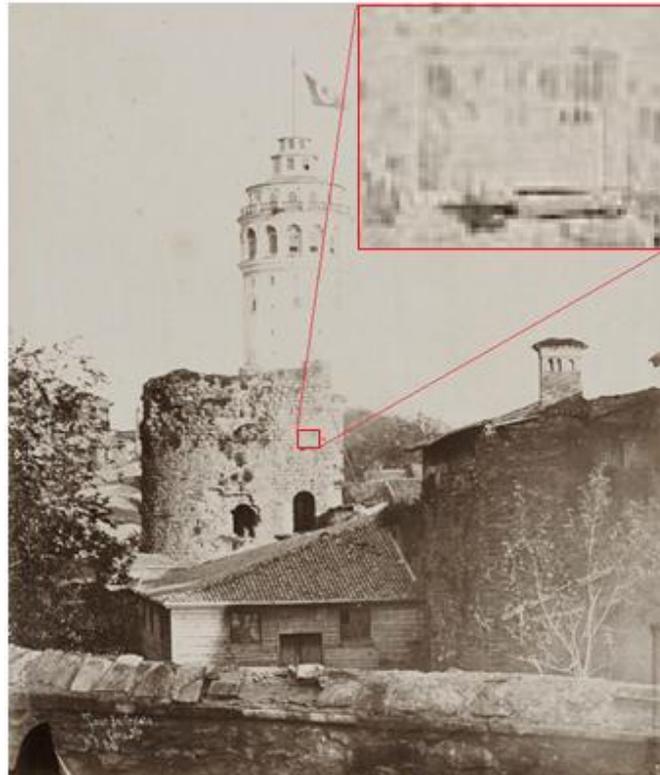


Fig. 589: The slab A.11.35 in a photograph from 1870 by Pascal Sébah, where its former position on the semicircular tower can clearly be seen (after eski.istanbulium.net, 2015)



Fig. 590: The slab A.11.35 of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.36- The slab was discovered on a tower at east, near Tophane Gate. It is kept by Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. n/a), as the tower of the slab was demolished. Having the dimensions of 0.90 x 1.00 m, it has Adorno, Genoa and Maruffo arms from left to right, respectively. The inscription in Latin just above the arms as follows;

" + M · CCCC · XXXV · COMPLETA · EST | HEC · TURRIS · TEMPORE · POTESTAC- /
IE · SPECTABILI(S) · D(OMI)NI · BALDASARIS · M- | ARRUFII · DE · MENSE · MAII · "

"1445. This tower was completed during the podestàship of the admirable lord Baldassare Maruffo in the month of May."

Cyriacus of Ancona has written a long letter to *podestà* of Galata Baldassare Maruffo in 1445, where his inscription on the slab A.11.38 was mentioned (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 979-986)^{xx}. Members of Maruffo family appear as consuls of Amasra as well (see A.7.2 and A.7.3). The slab bears the arms of Doge Raffaele Adorno (r. 1443-1447) (see A.11.37 and A.11.38). Other known Maruffo members with administrative colonial positions are Manuele (captain, 1382), Manfredo (governor, 1410-1411), Antonio (consul, 1420) for *Caffa* and Benedetto (consul, 1446) for *Soldaia* (Stello, 2011, pp. 81, 84) (see A.7.2 and A.7.3).

It was mainly studied by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 495), De Launay (1864, p. 8; 1875, p. 178), Vigna (1865, p. 22), Belgrano (1877, p. 331), Belin (1894, p. 147), Gottwald (1907, p. 68), Arseven (1913, p. 75), Rossi (1928, pp. 151-152) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 12).



Fig. 591: The slab A.11.36 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XVII)

A.11.37- The slab was discovered above Mumhane Gate and then being moved to Istanbul Archaeological Museum after the demolition (inv. no. n/a). It has the dimensions of 1.05 x 1.25 m and Adorno, Genoa and Maruffo arms from left to right, respectively. Its Latin inscription below the arms as follows;

"YHS · · M CCCC · · XXXXVI · · MAY | EREXIT · PRETOR · MARRUFFUS · BALDASAR ·
 ISTA · | MENIA · PLUS · ALIIS · NOBILE · FECIT · OPUS · | GRANDIS · IS · ASPECTU ·
 FORMOSU(S) · HUMAN(US) · HABU(N)DA(NS) | ELOQVIO · INGENIO · IUSTICIAQUE ·
 PARI | HEC · SIBI · SERVABU(N)T · ROMANU(M) · MUNERA · NOMEN | CUNQUE · DIIS
 · DIVVM · CUMQUE · CELEBRE · VIR(IS)" (Jesus. May, 1446. The leader Baldassare Maruffo erected these walls and created a more noble work than others. Being great by sight, beautiful, well-mannered and full of eloquence, ingenuity and even justice, this [work] will keep honor his Roman name with divine deities renowned amongst men.) (see A.7.2, A.7.3, A.11.36 and A.11.38).

Competitive words of the inscription might be for the nearby, *damnatio memoriae* slab A.11.20. The piece was mainly mentioned and studied by Covell (c. 1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905, p. 58), De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 493), De Launay (1864, p. 6; 1875, p. 251), Vigna (1865, p. 22), Belgrano (1877, p. 331), Belin (1894, p. 148), Gottwald (1907, p. 68), Arseven (1913, p. 75), Rossi (1928, p. 152) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 12).



Fig. 592: The slab A.11.37 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XVIII)

A.11.38- The slab was discovered near Kireç Gate and after the demolition of coastal walls, being moved to Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. n/a). It has Adorno, Genoa and Maruffo arms and a Greek / Latin inscription written by Cyriacus of Ancona (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 979-986)^{xx}, as follows: "ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ / BALTASARI · B · F(ILIO) · MARUFO · GALATEAEH · VIVS · BIZAN- / TIANAE · PERAE · THRAE(ICIO) · IN · BOSPHORO · CLARISSIMAE / GENUENSIUM · COLONIAE · B(ENE) · M(ERENTI) · PRAETORI / QUI · MAGISTRATUM · QUEM · SUSCEPERAT · DIGNE · GERENDO / SUBURBANIS · HAC · IN PARTE · MOENIBUS · AMPLIATIS · ET · AD / CHRISTEAM · TURRIM · A NAVISTATIO · PRISCAE · ALTITUDINIS / DUPLO COLLATIS · COLON(IAM) · IPSAM · TUTIOREM · EXIMIE · PROPA- / GATAM EXORNATAMQ(UE) · FORE · CURAVIT / GENUENSES · AC · SUBURBANI · GALATEI CIVES COLONIQVE DEDERE / YHS M (CCCC XXXX V)" (Good fortune! Baldassare Maruffo, the son of B., the meritorious leader of the Byzantine Galata, Pera of Thrace in the Bosphorus, the illustrious Genoese colony, which entrusted him the worthy magistrate has extended the suburb walls in this part and doubled their previous height from the ship anchorage to the Tower of Christ and ensured the colony exceptionally safe, extended and adorned. [This slab] was dedicated to the Genoese, the citizens and colonists of Galata suburbs. Jesus. 1445.) (see A.7.2-A.7.3, A.11.36-A.11.37).

This slab with significant information was mainly studied by Covel (c. 1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905, p. 59), De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 493), De Launay (1864, p. 7; 1875, p. 228), Vigna (1865, p. 23), Belgrano (1877, p. 332), Belin (1894, p. 148), Gottwald (1907, p. 69), Arseven (1913, pp. 75-76), Rossi (1928, pp. 152-153) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 13).



Fig. 593: The slab A.11.38 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 979-981, Pl. XIX)

A.11.39- The slab was discovered on the eastern walls of Galata, near Tophane Gate. It was being carried to Istanbul Archaeological Museum after the demolition (inv. no. n/a). The piece has the dimensions of 0.90 x 1.40 m and bears three arms; Fregoso, Genoa and De Fazio from left to right, respectively. The inscription in Latin below the arms as follows;

"+ *SPECTABILIS · ET · EGREGIUS · DOMI(N)US*
LUCHINUS · DE · FACIO · POT(EST)AS · HOS · MUROS
CONSTRUI · FECIT · M · CCCC · XXXVII "

"Admirable and noble lord Podestà Luchino De Fazio has constructed these walls, 1447."

A letter written by Doge Raffaele Adorno and dated July 11, 1446 mentions Luchino De Fazio with honorific words and as the new *podestà* of Galata (r. 1443-1447). Two more documents dated 31 March 1447 and 10 June 1447 mention Luchino De Fazio as the *Podestà* of Galata and Benedetto Vivaldi as his successor, respectively (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 209-210)^{xxi}. The slab bears the arms of Doge Giano Fregoso (r. 1447-1448) (see A.11.40).

It was mainly mentioned and studied by De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 494), De Launay (1864, p. 8; 1875, p. 226), Vigna (1865, p. 23), Belgrano (1877, p. 332), Belin (1894, pp. 149-150), Gottwald (1907, p. 70), Arseven (1913, p. 76), Rossi (1928, pp. 153-154) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 13-14).



Fig. 594: The slab A.11.39 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XX)

A.11.40- The slab was discovered near Kireç Gate and possibly just after the demolition of coastal walls, it was then being carried to the villa of Ali Rıza Bey in Çengelköy and the recent condition of the slab is unknown. It was having the dimensions of 0.85 x 1.04 m and bearing four arms; Fregoso, Genoa, De Fazio and De Merude, from left through lower right, respectively. The inscription in Latin near the arms as follows;

" + SPECTABILIS · D(OMI)N(I)S · LUCHINUS

DE · FACIO · POTESTAS · PEI(RE)

HEC · MENIA · COMPLERI · FECIT

ANNO · D(OMI)NI · M CCCC XXXX VII "

"Admirable lord Luchino De Fazio, podestà of Pera has completed these walls in the year of the Lord, 1447."

The slab was bearing the arms of Doge Giano Fregoso (r. 1447-1448) and showing that a member of the noble De Merude family has again involved in a construction of Galata (see A.11.2, A.11.10 and A.11.12). Luchino De Fazio appears also on another slab (see A.11.39).

It was mainly mentioned and studied by Covel (c. 1670-1677) in Hasluck (1905, p. 59), De Mas-Latrie (1846, p. 494), Vigna (1865, p. 16), Rossi (1928, pp. 156-157) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 14).



Fig. 595: The slab A.11.40 of Galata (Rossi, 1928, p. 156)

A.11.41- The slab, actually only being a relief with a single coat of arms is still located above the rear entrance of Bereket Han, the former *Palazzo Comunale* of the Genoese Galata (see A.11.2 and 2.8). The arms shows similarity to the ones of De Fazio family but Eyice (1982, p. 179) thinks that this stone fragment is a much later period imitation of an ancient one, due to its uncommon form and relatively small dimensions. There are some heraldic ornaments around the slab, without any year or inscription. If the slab is authentic, it can most probably belong to the period of *Podestà* Luchino De Fazio (r. 1446-1447) and indicates a repair done to the building or only commemorating his governorship (see A.11.39 and A.11.40).

It should also be mentioned that the arms shows no similarity to any arms of the noble Genoese families, whose members served as the *signor* of *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* during the 16-18th centuries that the building has continued to serve as their headquarters (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 156-157).

Bereket Han was known as Franchini Han during the 19th century and the arms does not perfectly match with the ones of the related family as well but shows a similarity by form.

The piece was severely damaged due to modern additions done to the former palace. It was also briefly mentioned by Schneider and Nomidis (1944, pp. 35, 50).

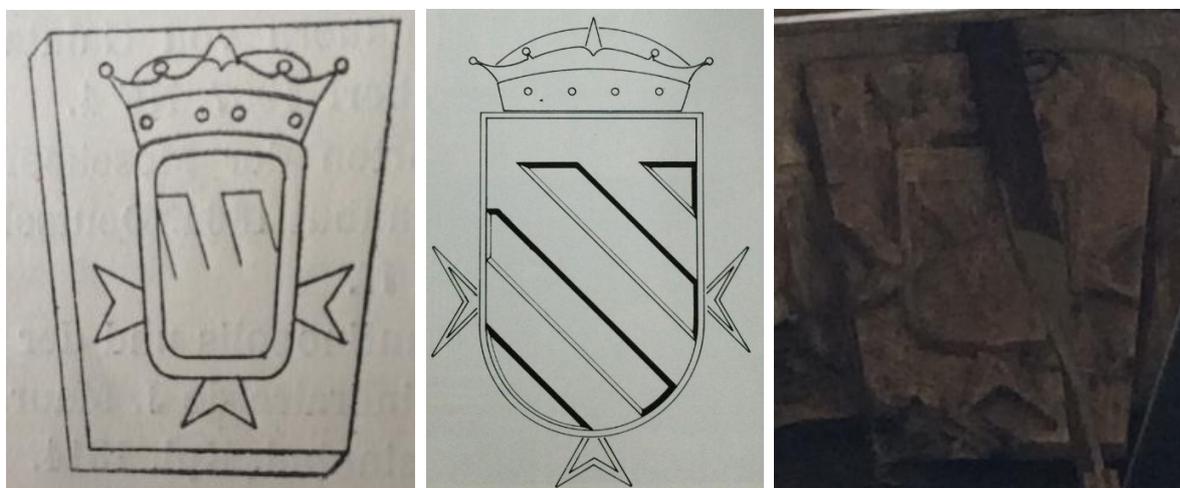


Fig. 596-598: The sketches of the slab A.11.41 (Schneider and Nomidis, 1944, p. 50; Eyice, 1982, Pl. III) and its the most recent condition (Author, 2016)

A.11.42- The slab was discovered near the southern coastal walls of Galata, more precisely inside a magazine of the demolished Havyar Han (see 2.10). The piece was severely damaged during demolitions and only a small fragment of it was survived, which is now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. n/a). It was assumed that the slab was once having Fregoso, Genoa and Vivaldi arms and its very missing but then completed Latin inscription as follows;

"(SUB · FELICI · DOMINIO · I)LL(USTRIS) · D(OMINI) · IANI · D(E) · CAMPOF(REGOSO)

(IANUENSIUM · DUCIS · DIGNIS)SI(MI) · REGENTE · SPECTABIL(I)

(DOMINO · BENEDICTO · DE · VIVAL)DIS POT(EST)ATE · PERE ·

(M · CCCC · XXXX · VIII · DIE) · XX · DECEMBRIS "

"Under the happy reign of the illustrious lord Giano de Campofregoso, the worthiest doge of Genoa and admirable lord Benedetto Vivaldi, podestà of Pera. 20 December 1448."

Benedetto Vivaldi was mentioned as the *podestà* of Galata in many historical documents from 1447-1448 about several legal issues of the colony (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 210-220)^{xxii}. The most interesting point of the slab is the mention of Giano Fregoso as doge in 20 December 1448, who in fact died in 16 December of that year. Therefore, it appears that the officials of the Genoese Galata were being informed about the dogeship of Lodovico Fregoso (r. 1448-1450) much later, who replaced Giano after his death (Eyice, 1969, p. 21).

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied by De Launay (1875, p. 226), Belgrano (1877, p. 333), Belin (1894, p. 150), Gottwald (1907, p. 70), Arseven (1913, p. 76), Rossi (1928, pp. 162-163) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 14).



Fig. 599: The slab A.11.42 of Galata (Belgrano, 1877, Pl. XXI)

A.11.43- The slab was discovered above the circular lower wall in front of Galata Tower and then being carried to Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 950) after the demolition of this section. The white marble piece is recently on display inside the section of Galata. It bears a big Papal coat of arms and below it three more arms, being the ones of Fregoso, Genoa and Lomellini. The inscription in Latin above and below these arms as follows: "+ M CCCC LII + DIE P(RIMA) APRILIS / NICOLAUS PAPA Q(U)INTUS JANUEN(SIS) / TEMPORE · S(PECTABILIS) · D(OMINI) · ANGELI IOH(ANN)IS LOM- / ELINI POTESTATIS PERE SUB DUC(ATU) · ILL(USTRIS) · / · D(OMINI) · D(OMINI) PETRI D(E) CAMPOFR(EGOSO) JAN(UE) · DUCIS ·: (1 April 1452. Pope Nicholas V of Genoa. During the time of admirable lord Angelo Giovanni Lomellini, podestà of Pera under the duchy of the illustrious ruler, Lord Pietro de Campofregoso, the doge of Genoa.)

The inscription refers to the origins of Pope Nicholas V, who was born in Sarzana, a city of the Republic of Genoa at that time. The slab appears as the last Genoese artifact before the conquest of Galata by the Ottomans in 1453, which most probably commemorates a final defensive addition done to Galata Tower. In addition to a letter from 1453, Angelo Giovanni Lomellini was mentioned as the *podestà* of Galata in documents from 1451-1452 (Belgrano, 1877, pp. 221-224, 229-233)^{xxiii}. The slab bears the arms of Pietro Fregoso (r. 1450-1458).

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied by De Launay (1875, p. 227), Belgrano (1877, p. 333), Belin (1894, p. 150), Gottwald (1907, p. 71), Arseven (1913, pp. 76-77), Rossi (1928, p. 150) and Schneider and Nomidis (1944, p. 14).



Fig. 600: The slab A.11.43 of Galata (Author, 2016)

A.11.44- The slab was discovered above the walls of the demolished *San Francesco* church but later disappeared (see 2.9.2). It was the only slab which commemorates a Latin construction done after the conquest of 1453. The slab was bearing the arms of Testa family inside an Italian style horsehead escutcheon (*scudo a testa di cavallo*) and a Latin inscription partially surrounding and just below, as follows;

"M · D · XIII ·
 MENIA · H | ÆC · TERE-
 MOTV · DIRVTA · D(OMI)N(U)S · AN-
 DREAS · TESTA · EX · PROP-
 RIO · ÆRE · REFABRICAVIT."

"1513. The earthquake demolished these walls and Lord Andrea Testa rebuilt them with his own money."

It has been thought that the slab is about a reconstruction done to monastery walls of *San Francesco* church, which was most probably damaged during the catastrophic earthquake of 1509, known as "*Küçük Kıyamet*" or "*Kıyamet-i Suğra*" (The Lesser Judgment Day) in Turkish.

The slab was mainly mentioned and studied by Covell (c. 1670-1677) in (Hasluck, 1905, p. 56), Belgrano (1877, p. 334), Belin (1894, p. 151), Gottwald (1907, p. 21) and Rossi (1928, p. 163).



Fig. 601: A sketch of the slab A.11.43 of Galata (Hasluck, 1905, p. 56)

A.12- Slab of Famagusta

From the Genoese period of Cyprus (*Maona Vecchia di Cipro*) (see 3.2.5.5), lasted between 1373-1447, one slab was ever discovered so far, which was described by de Vaivre (2003, pp. 139-171) in detail. This piece was found in Famagusta.

The slab is on the southern one of the renowned twin churches in Famagusta. It is placed directly above the main gate and being carved into white marble. There are three arms on it without any inscriptions; Genoa, a defaced one and an arms belonging to a noble family, having Genoa in chief. According to de Vaivre, the central arms was belonging to the Kingdom of Cyprus and although the third arms looks very similar to the one of Fregoso, it actually belongs to another, unknown Genoese family. The slab most probably belongs to a period between 1374-1383, where the Genoese have first seized the port of Famagusta but the Kingdom of Cyprus was still the authority, so their arms were used in the central position on this slab. However, the Genoese have increased their predominance on the island following 1383 and the arms of the kingdom was then chiseled out (de Vaivre, 2003, pp. 153-171).

The arms of Genoa alone was seen also on a simple fragment, which was discovered again in Famagusta.



Fig. 602: The slab of Famagusta (de Vaivre, 2003, p. 157)



Fig. 603: The arms of Genoa on a stone fragment from Famagusta (de Vaivre, 2003, p. 171)

i: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1426-1503), 2 August 1435, fol. 42 (doc. CIII); ASG, *Caffae Massaria* 1381-1382, fol. 231 r; ASG, *Caffae Massaria* 1381-1382, fol. 326 r.

ii: This section was prepared with kind contributions of Prof. Clario Di Fabio from the University of Genoa.

iii: ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 20 June 1427 (doc. LXXVII).

iv: ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 22 September 1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 156 r; ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 18 October 1391 Car. 1391, fol. 154 v (doc. XXXVI); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 14 November 1426 (doc. LXXIII).

v: ASG, *Notai Cortesia Agostino della Pieve e Lanfranco Piolo da Oneglia e Staliano Davide* - filza 1 (1450-1480), sc. 6/81, 6 April 1482 (doc. 121).

vi: Georgii Stellae, *Annales ianuenses*, in Muratori *S. R. I.*, XVII, 1113, 29 September 1379 (doc. XXV).

vii: ASG, *Regulae Comperarum Capituli*, 21 March 1356, no. 5, fol. 305 (doc. XVII); 20 November 1358, fol. 303 (doc. XXI); ASG, *Notulario di Antonio Foglietta* (1386), 14 April 1386, fol. 46 v (doc. XXVII).

viii: ASG, *Materie Politiche*, 27 May 1387, Car. X (doc. XXIX); ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 11 April 1390, Car. II (1390), fol. 87 v (doc. XXXI).

ix: ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1390-1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 56 r (doc. XXXIV).

x: ASG, *Instructiones et Relationes* (1396-1464), 31 August 1396 (doc. XXXIX); ASG, *Instructiones et Relationes* (1396-1464); 18 April 1397 (doc. XL); ASG, *Conventiones insule Chii inter comune Ianue et Iustinianos I*, 16 December 1393, fol. 79 r-83 r (doc. 36); 21 October 1410, fol. 115 r-117 v (doc. 81).

xi: ASG, *Instructiones et Relationes* (1396-1464), 18 April 1397 (doc. XL); ASG, *Codice Institutionum cabellarum veterum*, 10 January 1386, fol. 224-231 (Appendix); ASG, *Fogliazzo del notaro Ilario Primo De Benedetti* (1391-1448), 28 April 1405, no. 21 (doc. XI).

xii: ASG, *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1402, fol. 54 v.

xiii: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1427-1431), 19 March 1431, no. 3, X. 106 (doc. XCI).

xiv: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1431-1439), 2 September 1432, no. 6, X. 109 (doc. XCVI); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1431-1434), 27 April 1433, fol. 306 (doc. XCVIII); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1426-1503), 15 September 1434, no. 2, X. 105, fol. 33 (doc. CI).

xv: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1426-1503), 3 December 1434, no. 2, X. 105, fol. 35 (doc. CII).

xvi: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1437-1439), 13 March 1438, no. 8, X. 111 (doc. CV).

xvii: ASG, Roccatagliata, *Miscallanee*, 22 June 1433, Vol. II, p. 183, Cod. no. 65 (doc. XCIX).

xviii: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1440-1441), 11 April 1441 (doc. CXIV).

xix: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1440-1447), 3 July 1443, no. 11, X. 114 (doc. CXVIII); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1440-1447), 7 December 1443, no. 11, X. 114 (doc. CXIX); ASG, *Notai Sisto Cristofforo e De Ferrari Giovanni Battista - filza 1* (1452-1463), sc. 6/83, 3 April 1444 (doc. 17).

xx: Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, *Codice Palatino*, no. 49, in the 1st, 15th c., entitled: *Cyriaci Anconitani Epistolae*, 1445, Car. 53 (doc. XVIII).

xxi: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1446-1450), 11 July 1446, no. 13, X. 16, fol. 35 r (CXX); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 31 March 1447 (doc. CXXII); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 10 June 1447 (doc. CXXIV).

xxii: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1446-1503), 28 June 1447, no. 2, X. 105, fol. 76 v (doc. CXXV); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1446-1450), 14 February 1448, no. 14, X. 117 (doc. CXXVII); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 18 March 1448 (doc. CXXVIII); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 8 May 1448 (doc. CXXXI); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 26 August 1448 (doc. CXXXIII); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 1 September 1448 (doc. CXXXIV); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 4 September 1448 (doc. CXXXVI); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 3 March 1449 (doc. CXXXVII); ASG, *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, 9 June 1449 (doc. CXXXIX).

xxiii: ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1438-1469), 15 April 1451, no. 9, X. 112 (doc. CXLIII); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1426-1503), 17 May 1452, no. 2, X. 105, fol. 235 r (doc. CXLV); ASG, *Codice Litterarum* (1447-1472), 28 June 1452, no. 16, X. 119 (doc. CXLVI); *Notices et extraits des mss. (manuscripts) de la Bibl. du Roi* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), 23 June 1453, Vol. XI, pp. 75-79 (doc. CXLIX).

Appendix 2: Comparative Table of Galata, Amasra, Samsun and Chios Slabs

	GALATA	AMASRA	FEODOSIA	SUDAK	BALAKLAVA	SAMSUN	CHIOS	FAMAGUSTA
c. 1316	2							
1320-1330s	3 4 5							
1335	6 8		2,3,4					
1348-1349	9		8	2				
1350-1370s	11	1						1 1370-1380s?
1386-1387	12							
Invasion by the Kingdom of France 1396-1413	13	2						
	14	3 ?				1		1402
	15	4					1	1405
	16	5						
	17	6						
Invasion by the Duchy of Milan 1421-1435	18	7						
	19	8						
	20	9					3	
	21	10						
	22	11						
1440s	23	12						
	24	13						
	25	14						
	26	15						
	27	16						
1452	28	17						
	29	18						
	30	19						
	31	20						
	32	21						
Invasion by the Duchy of Milan 1464-1477	33	22						
	34	23						
	35	24						
	36	25						
	37	26						
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Tab. 4: Comparative table of Galata, Amasra, Crimea, Samsun, Chios and Famagusta slabs with roughly matched known and supposed periods that the ones with available arms and regular orders were mainly considered, where those can be seen together with appearance, changing positions and disappearance of other nations' arms (Author, 2016)

Appendix 3: List of the *Podestàs* of Galata

Rossi (1928, pp. 165-167) has created a list for the *podestàs* of Galata, derived from the inscriptions on mural slabs and the documents published by Belgrano (1877, pp. 99-417, 932-1003). Later on, Dalleggio d'Alessio (1969, pp. 151-157) has also published a list but for instance Domenico Doria (r. 1391) (Belgrano, 1877, p. 156)ⁱ was overlooked, who created a small alum partnership in 1440s in the Aegean Sea (Fleet, 1999, p. 81). Notary deeds of Pera from 1408-1490 were put together by Roccatagliata (1982) and it includes the name of one more *podestà*, which does not appears in the sources mentioned above. Nicola de Moneglia has served as *podestà* in Galata in 1408 that his name was written with this title in two acts from October and November of that year (Roccatagliata, 1982, pp. 44-47)ⁱⁱ.

LES PODESTATS DE PÉRA (GALATA)	
1264	Guglielmo Guasco, Podestat des Génois de Romanie.
1273	Oberto Sardana, Podestat des Génois « in Imperio Romanie ».
1278	Ausuisio Spinola, Podestat « in imperio Romanie ».
1279	Nicolas Doria, Podestat de Péra et Vicaire « in partibus cismarinis ».
1281	Bonifacio Embriaco, Podestat de Péra.
1281	Giacomo Squarziafico —
1285	Guidetto de Negro, « olim potestatem ».
1285	Alberto Spinola, Podestat de Péra.
1286	Lamba Doria —
1290	Balduino Avogario —
1300	Bernabo Spinola, « Vicario in toto Imperio Romanie ».
1300-02	Gavino Tartaro, « Vicario in toto Imperio Romanie et mari maiori ».
1304	Rosso d'Oria, Podestat de Péra.
1308	Barnabo Spinola —
1315-16	Montano de Marinis —
1335	Andalo de Mari, « Potestates Januensium in Imperio Romanie ».
1338	Costantino Doria, Podestat de Péra.
1348	Benedetto D'Arco —
1356	Lazaroto de Castro —
1357	Bartholomeo Rubeo, « Potestas Ianuensium im Peyra et Imperio Romanie ». Jacobò Grillo « olim potestatem Peyre ».
1367	Tomaso di Iglione Podestat de Péra.
1376	Bartolomeo Pindeben —
1379	Luciano de Nigro —
1380	Antonio de Bracellis —
1382	Lorenzo Gentile —

Fig. 604: *Podestàs* of Galata, first part (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 153-154)

1386	Eliano de Camilla	—
1386-87	Raffaele Doria	—
1387	Giovanni de Mezzano « Potestatis Peyre et ianuensium in Imperio Romanie ».	
1390	Antonio Leardo « Potestas et Masariis nostris Peyre ».	
1390	Leonardo de Rosio « electus nuper loco domini Anthonii Leardi ».	
1391-92	Nicolo de Zoagli « Potestas Peyre et ianuensium in Imperio Romanie ».	
1392	Dorino Usodimare	Podestat de Péra.
1396-97	Luchino de Bonavey	—
1397	Gentile Grimaldi	—
1401-02	Bavosio Lodixio	—
1402-03	Bartolomeo Rubeo	—
1403	Janotto Lomellino « olim »	—
1404	Giovanni Sauli	—
—	Giovanni Botto	—
1405	Napoleone Salvago	—
—	Gianotto Lomellino	—
—	Giovanni Sauli « potestatis Peyre et ianuensium in toto Imperium Romanie ».	
1410-11	Quilioco de Taddei	Podestat de Péra.
1411	Thomaso de Campofregoso	—
1413	Corrado Cigala	—
1418	Thedisio Doria	—
1423	Zaccaria Spinola	—
1425-26	Imperiale Lomellino	—
1426	Taddeo de Zoaglia	—
1427-28	Giannotto Spinola	—
1430-31	Filippo de Franchi	—
1432-33	Ilario Imperiali	—
1433	Francesco Cepollino « elletto ministro in quella città per un anno »	
1434	Agostino di Montaldo,	Podestat de Péra.
1435	Ansaldo Doria	—
1435	Stefano de Marinis	—
1438	Giovanni di Levanto	—
1439	Simone Mascie	—
1440-42	Nicolo Antonio Spinola	—
1443-44	Boruel de Grimaldi	—
1445-46	Baldassarre Maruffo	—
1446-47	Luchino de Facio	—
1447	Pietro de Marci, « futuro podestat ».	
1448-49	Benedetto de Vivladis,	Podestat de Péra
1449	Francesco Cavallo	—
1452	Angelo Giovanni Lomellini	—
1452	Francesco Giustiniani	—
1453	Angelo Zacharia	—

Fig. 605: *Podestàs* of Galata, second part (Dalleggio d'Alessio, 1969, pp. 154-155)

i: ASG, *Massarie Communis lanue*, 1390-1391, Car. II (1390), fol. 56 r (doc. XXXIV).

ii: ASG, *Not. ign.*, October 1408 (doc. 2); ASG, *Not. ign.*, 27 November 1408 (doc. 3).

Appendix 4: Average Late Byzantine Construction Materials of Constantinople

1- Kariye Mosque (Khora):

Main building repairs (14th c.): brick: 4.5 x 35.0 cm; mortar: 5.0 cm (Tunay, 1983, p. 1695).

Side Chapel (*parekklesion*) (14th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. brick: 5.0 x 32.0 cm; mortar: 5.5 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 287).

Buttress (14th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. stone: 16-18 cm; brick: 5.5 x 33.5-36.5 cm; mortar: 5.0-6.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

2- Church-Mosque of Vefa:

Outer Narthex (*exonarthex*) (14th c.): 1 stone + 2 / 3 bricks. brick: 3.5 x 35.0 cm; mortar: 5.5 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 223). stone: 14.0-16.0 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 27.5-28.0 cm; mortar: 5.5 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

3- Fenari İsa Mosque (Libos):

Southern Church (late 13th c.): 1 stone + 1 / 2 / 5 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 35.0 cm; mortar: 5.0 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 211). stone: 14.5-17.0 cm; mortar: 4.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

Exonarthex (14th c.): 1 stone + 1 / 5 / 6 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 35.0 cm; mortar: 5.0 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 212). stone: 14.0 cm; bricks: 4.0-4.5 x 36.0-38.0 cm; mortar: 4.0-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

Parekklesion (14th c.): brick: 4.5 x 35.0 cm; mortar: 5.0 cm (Tunay, 1983, p. 1695).

4- Fethiye Mosque (Theotokos Pammakaristos):

Church (late 13th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. stone: 13.5 cm; brick: 4.0 x 37.0 cm; mortar: 5.0 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 277). stone: 17.0-20.0 cm; brick: 4.0-4.5 x 30.0-35.5 cm; mortar: 4.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

Parekklesion (early 14th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 32.0 cm; mortar: 6.0 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 278). stone: 15.0 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 30.0-33.5 cm; mortar: 3.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

Exonarthex (early 14th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. brick: 4.5 x 32.0 cm; mortar: 4 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 278).

Additional Pillar (13-14th c.): 3 stones + 3 bricks. stone: 15.0-17.0 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 31.0-34.5 cm; mortar: 4.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

5- *Khristor Soteris Philanthropos* (Mangana church):

Late period repairs (14th c.): brick: 4.5 x 35.0 cm, mortar: 10.0 cm (hidden) (Tunay, 1983, p. 1695; 1984, p. 288)

6- Tekfür Sarayı (The Palace of the Porphyrogenitus):

The Palace of the Porphyrogenitus (13-14th c.): 3 stones + 3 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 32.0; mortar: 4.7 cm (western façade); brick: 4.0 x 30.0 cm (southern façade); brick: 5.0 x 34.0 cm (northern façade) (Tunay, 1984, pp. 261-262). brick: 4.0-4.5 x 30.0-33.0 cm (Kahya, 1992, pp. 104-108).

8- Ese Kapı Mosque:

Chapel (14th c.): 3 stones + 3 / 6 bricks. stone: 19 cm; brick: 3.5-4.0 x 36.0-37.0 cm; mortar: 4.0-7.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

9- Sinan Paşa Mosque:

Chapel (14th c.): 3 stones + 4 bricks. stone: 18.0 x 42.0 cm; brick: 4.0 x 28.0 cm; mortar: 6.0 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 286). stone: 16.0 cm; brick: 3.5 x 31.0-32.0 cm; mortar: 7.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

10- Manastır Mosque (*Minodoras, Mitrodoras kai Nimfodoras*):

Monastery (late 13th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. brick: 4.0 x 36.0 cm; mortar: 4.5 cm (Tunay, 1984, p. 276). stone: 17.0 cm; brick: 3.5 x 31.5 cm; mortar: 4.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

11- Boğdan Sarayı:

Chapel (14th c.): 4 stones + 4 bricks. stone: 17.0 cm; brick: 3.5 x 31.5 cm; mortar: 4.5-5.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

12- Sancaktar Hayrettin Mosque:

Late period repair (14th c.): brick: 3.0-4.0 x 37.0-38.0 cm; mortar: 5.0-6.0 cm (Ersen, 1986, p. 22).

Appendix 5: Archivio Storico “De Propaganda Fide” Documents about the Fire of 1660

The related section in the archive is SOCG (*Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*) (1622-1892), which has 1044 volumes in total and consisted of letters and pro memoria from bishops, missionaries and princes, dispatches from nuncios and delegates, acts of synods, apostolic visitations and the opinions of consultors from many parts of the Christian world. The section of “*Romania, Costantinopoli*” has 20 volumes and the corresponding ones (Vol. 277 from 1657-61 and Vol. 279 from 1662-64) were considered in order to find information about the great fire of 1660 happened in Galata.

1- SOCG Vol. 277/74 (26.04.1660): Information about the great fire of Galata (*incendio universale Galata*) and the demand of expenses from the ambassador of France in Galata. “All the churches were demolished except for the altar of the Jesuits (Saint Benoit). Therefore, it is necessary to rebuild San Pietro e Paolo of the Dominicans, San Francesco and Santa Maria Draperis churches”.

2- SOCG Vol. 277/118 (06.08.1660): “Seven churches were burnt in total”.

3- SOCG Vol. 277/131 (14.08.1660): “Only the chapel of the Jesuits was remained. A bridge was set between other communities, so they were also accommodated and using that convent”. Request of permission for the reconstruction of new churches “for all of the Christians and the glory of yours”.

4- SOCG Vol. 279/30-34 (22.06.1662): About the reconstruction of San Francesco church and the burnt churches (19.04.1660) were precisely stated as: “San Francesco, San Pietro e Paolo, San Giorgio, San Giovanni Battista, Sant’Anna, San Sebastiano and Santa Chiara”, respectively.

5- SOCG Vol. 279/34 (22.07.1662): The letter of Santa Maria Draperis friars mention the necessity of the burnt churches’ reconstruction and say “you will find the danger of Constantinople without any church and convent” (*si ritrovano Costantinopoli senza Chiesa e Convento pericolo*) to Rome.

6- SOCG Vol. 279/177 (18.04.1662): With the mention of the second anniversary of the great fire of Galata, Saint Benoit was described as the only survived church “as a result of a miracle” but there were several damages on its additional buildings. The letter also speaks of “the anger of the Turks” (*la rabbia dei Turchi*) to Christians.

7- SOCG Vol. 279/188 (23.01.1663): “San Sebastiano church was purchased by a Greek and converted into a Greek church” (*La Chiesa S. Sebastiano fu comprato da un Greco e fu facta Chiesa Greca*).

8- SOCG Vol. 279/220 (03.07.1663): “Several years have passed from the great fire of Galata and only Saint Benoit of the Jesuits remained. It is necessary to build a new church but it seems impossible for this moment”.

9- SOCG Vol. 279/230 (04.12.1663): The letter speaks about the necessity of providing life and property safety of Christians, reconstruction of the burnt churches and reestablishment of the religious services in Galata.

Appendix 6: Greek Orthodox Churches of Galata in the 15-17th Centuries

Mentioned in the Ottoman survey of 1455: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Hagios Georgios, Kasteliutissa (Genesis Theotokou)

Mentioned in the Ottoman *cibayet* survey of 1519: Panagia, Christos, Hagios Georgios, Kasteliutissa, Likosta / Ekosteletsa (near Christos) (perhaps related to *Licostomo*?)

Mentioned in the Ottoman survey of 1545: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Chrysopege (Panagia?), Hagios Georgios, Kasteliutissa, Alaghosta (Likosta)

(İnalçık, 1998, pp. 299-376)

The list of Tryphon Karabeinikov from 1583-1593: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Panagia Kafatiani (Koimesis Theotokou), Christos Genesis, Hagios Dimitrios, Hagios Georgios, Panagia Genesis (Kasteliutissa), Panagia Evangelismos, Christos Metamorphosis

The list of Antonios Paterakis from 1604: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Panagia Kafatiani, Christos Genesis, Hagios Dimitrios, Hagios Georgios, Panagia Genesis, Panagia Evangelismos, Christos Metamorphosis

The list of Thomas Smith from 1669: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Panagia Kafatiani, Christos Genesis, Hagios Dimitrios, Christos Metamorphosis

(Eroğlu, 1992, p. 39; Karaca, 2008, p. 72)

Modern times: Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Ioannes, Panagia Kafatiani, Christos (demolished in 1958)

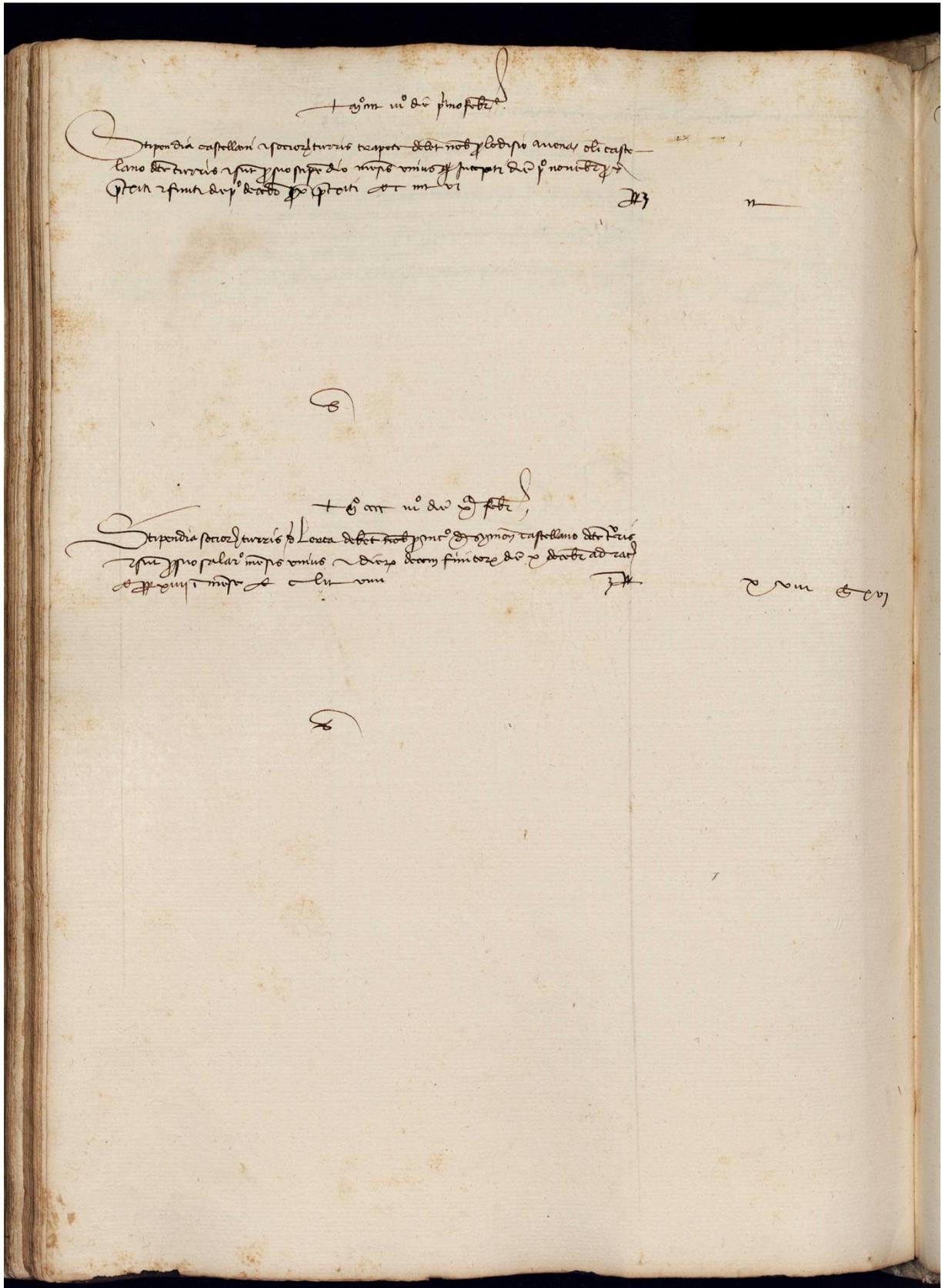


Fig. 607: *Massarie Comunis Ianue*, 1402, 246 v (ASG, No. 18,59046, 1305) ("*turris Trapea*" and "*turris della Lerca*" were mentioned in both registries, respectively)

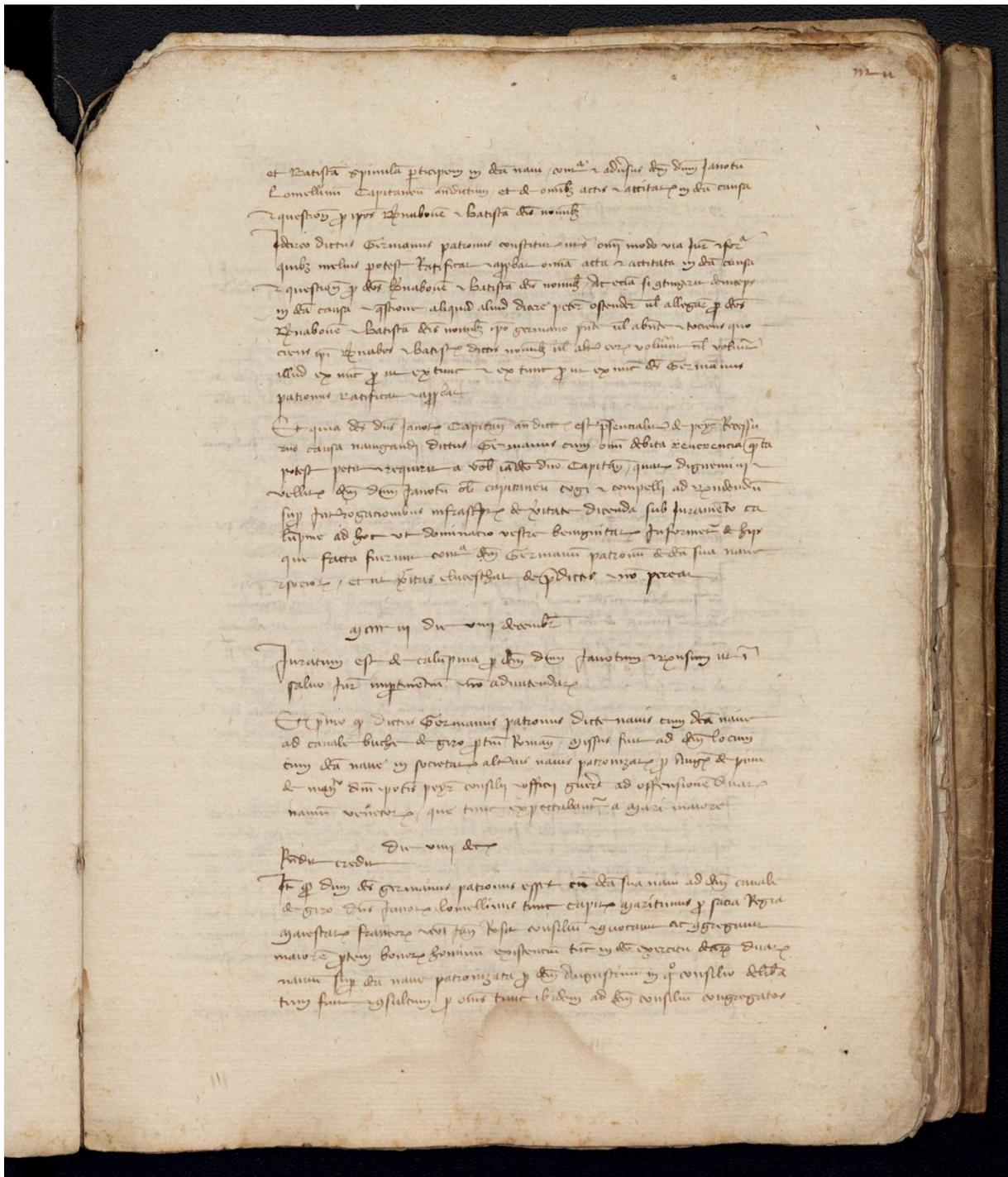
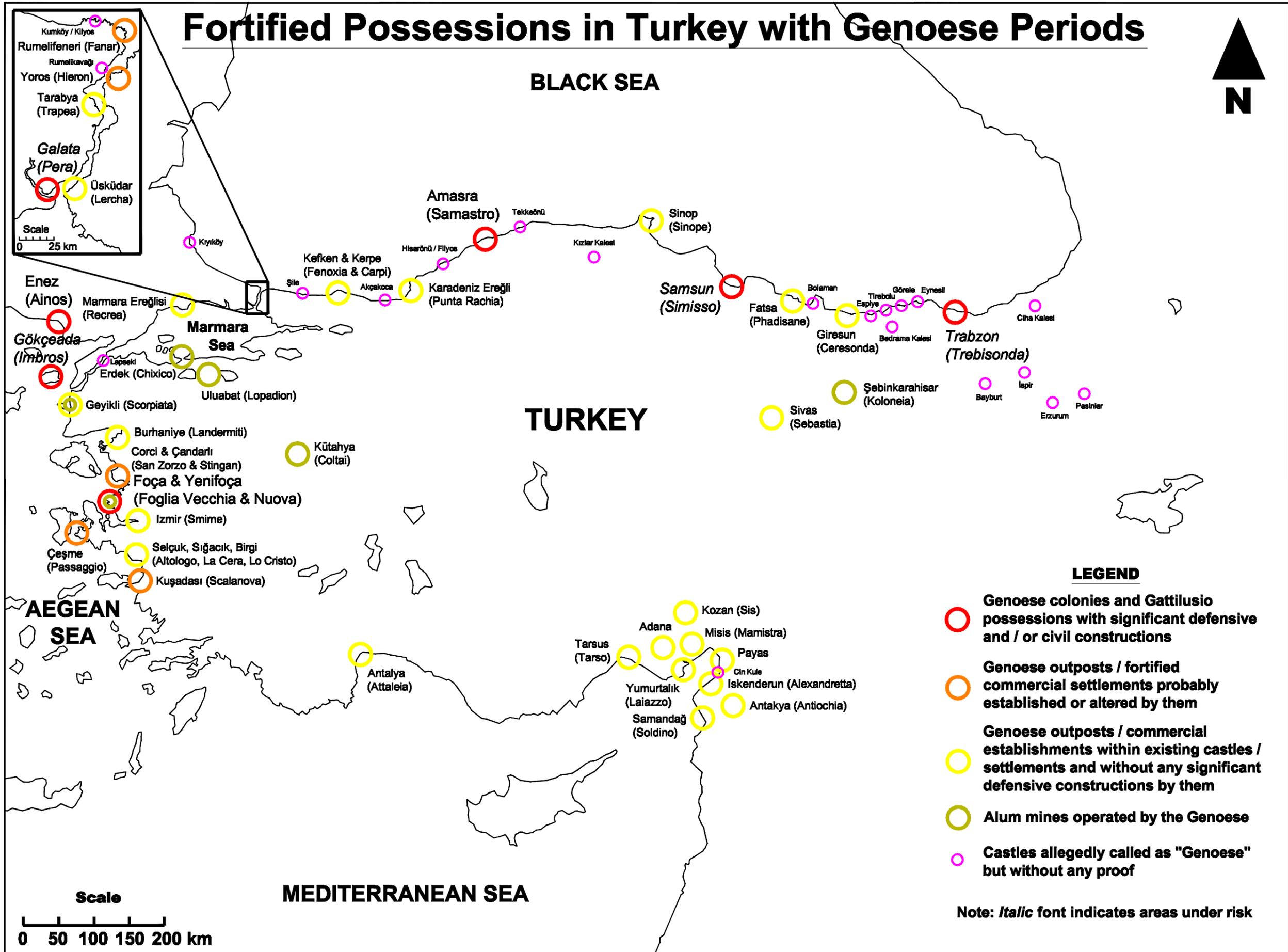


Fig. 608: *Diversorum Cancellarie*, 1403, 32 r (ASG, No. 18,59046, 1307) ("canale buche de Giro" and "canale de Giro" were mentioned in last two parts, respectively)

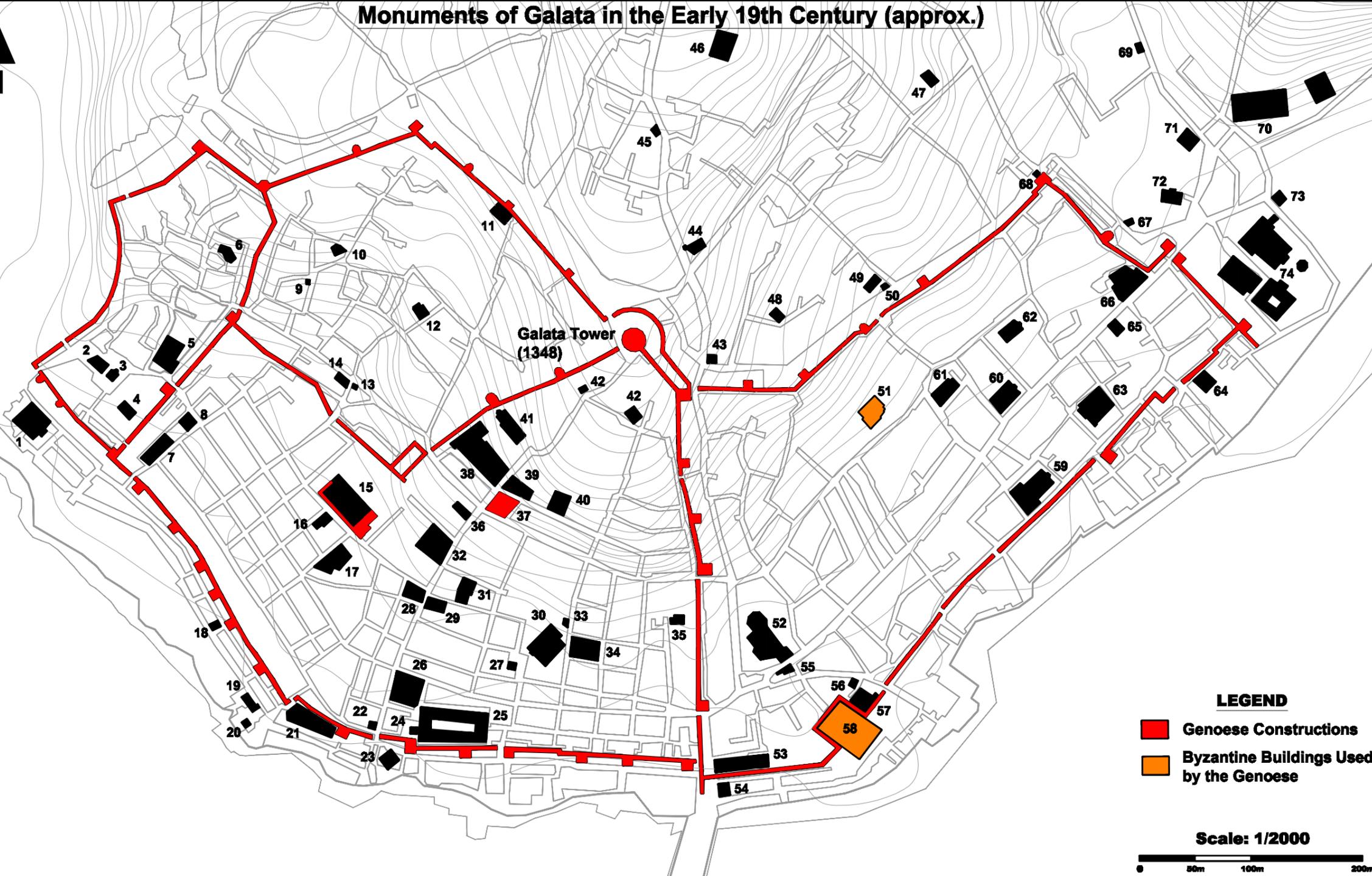
Appendix 8: Plans

- **Fortified Possessions in Turkey with Genoese Periods**
- **Monuments of Galata in the Early 19th Century (approx.)**
- **Monuments of Galata Today**
- **Supposed Genoese Alterations on the Castles of Amasra**

Fortified Possessions in Turkey with Genoese Periods



Monuments of Galata in the Early 19th Century (approx.)



BUILDINGS

- 1- Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Mosque (1578)
- 2- Sallha Sultan School (1733-34)
- 3- Azapkapı Fountain (1732-33)
- 4- Hacı Ağvar Mosque (15th c.)
- 5- Yeğildirek Hammam (15th c.)
- 6- Yolcuzaade Mosque (15th c.)
- 7- Buğuluca Hammam (c. 1520)
- 8- Alaca Mosque (c. 1520)
- 9- Valide Sultan Fountain (1698-99)
- 10- Emekyemez Mosque (1590-91)
- 11- Şahsuvar Bey Mosque (15th c.)
- 12- Okçu Musa Mosque (15th c.)
- 13 Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Fountain (1568-69)
- 14- Manastrı Mosque (15th c.)
- 15- Arap Mosque (former SS Paolo e Domenico) (1320s)
- 16- Old House with Byzantine Spolia
- 17- Yeni Hammam (15th c.)
- 18- Yunus Baba Tomb
- 19- Nişancı Mehmet Paşa Mosque (c. 1590)
- 20- Yahya Ağa Fountain (1732)
- 21- Yelkenci Han (17th c.)
- 22- Verdinaz Kadın Fountain (1732)
- 23- Yağkaparı Mosque (1536)
- 24- Koyun Baba Tomb (1773)
- 25- Rüstem Paşa Han (1540-50)
- 26- Bedesten (16th c.)
- 27- Gülnuş Ematullah Valide Sultan Fountain (1697)
- 28- Sakı Han (18th c.)
- 29- Ceneviz Han (18th c.)
- 30- Yeni (Valide) Mosque (1697)
- 31- Perşembe Pazarı Hammam (?)
- 32- Serpuş Han (18th c.)
- 33- Sultan III. Ahmet Fountain (1706)
- 34- Bereketzade Medresah (1705-06)
- 35- Zülfiaris Synagogue (1671)
- 36- Küçük Taş Han (18th c.)
- 37- Bereket Han (former Palazzo Comunale) (1316)
- 38- St. Pierre Han (1770)
- 39- Old Houses (18th c.)
- 40- Sankt Georg Latin Catholic Church
- 41- SS. Pietro e Paolo Latin Catholic Church (1414)
- 42- Bereketzade Mosque & Fountain (15th c.)
- 43- Hasan Ağa Fountain (1649)
- 44- Yazıcı Mosque (c. 1580)
- 45- Şahkulu Mosque (c. 1770)
- 46- Galata Mevlevi House (1491)
- 47- Karanlık (Hacı Mimi) Mosque (18th c.)
- 48- Makrızade Hüseyin Çelebi Mosque (1709)
- 49- Hendek (Hoca Ali) Mosque (c. 1740)
- 50- Mıhrıcah Kadın Fountain (1732-33)
- 51- St. Benoit Latin Catholic Church (13-14th c.)
- 52- Karaköy Hammam (16th c.)
- 53- Havyar Han
- 54- Karaköy Mosque (c. 1680)
- 55- Bektaş Efendi Mosque (16th c.)
- 56- Reşûlîküttap İsmail Efendi School and Fountain (1732)
- 57- Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Mosque (1642)
- 58- Mahzen-i Sultani (Imperial Magazine) (6th c.)
- 59- Hagios Nikolaos Greek Orthodox Church (1804)
- 60- Hagios Ioannes Greek Orthodox Church (1578)
- 61- Christos Pistanian Greek Orthodox Church
- 62- Surp Krikor Lusavorich Armenian Apostolic Church (1360)
- 63- Theotokos Kafatiani Greek Orthodox Church (15th c.)
- 64- Unknown Han
- 65- Bayezid Mosque (c. 1500)
- 66- Kapıçı Hammam (15th c.)
- 67- Topçubaşı Mehmet Ağa School (18th c.)
- 68- Haznedar Bilal Ağa Fountain (1796-97)
- 69- Hacı Ahmet Ağa Fountain (1732-33)
- 70- Tophane-i Amire (Imperial Arsenal) (15th c.)
- 71- Karabaş Tekkesi Mosque (c. 1530)
- 72- Yamalı Hammam (c. 1490)
- 73- Tophane Fountain (1732-33)
- 74- Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque, Hammam and Madrasah (1580s)

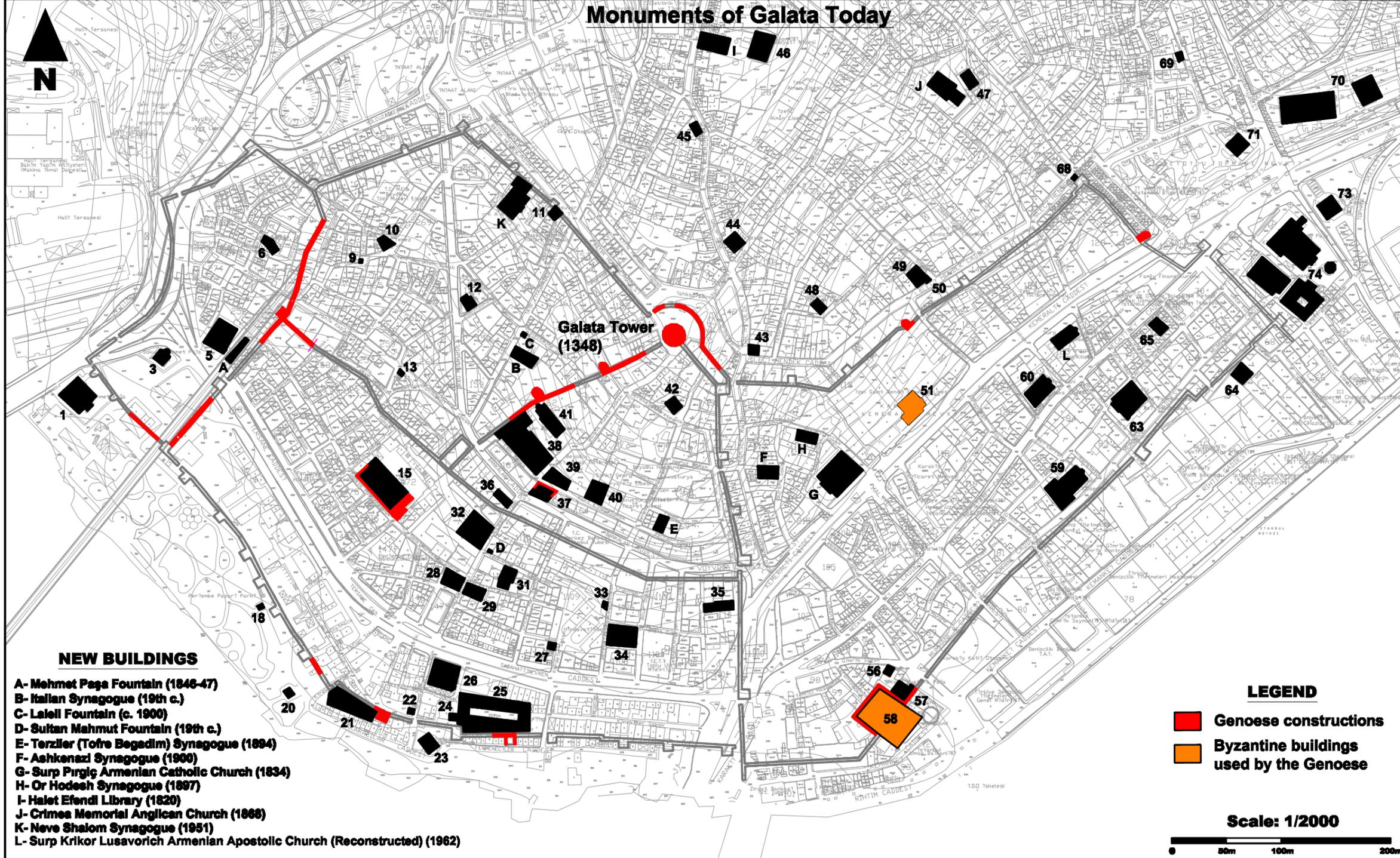
LEGEND

- Genoese Constructions
- Byzantine Buildings Used by the Genoese

Scale: 1/2000



Monuments of Galata Today



BUILDINGS

- 1- Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Mosque (1578)
- 3- Azapkapı Fountain (1732-33)
- 5- Yeşildirek Hammam (15th c.)
- 6- Yoicuzade Mosque (15th c.)
- 9- Valide Sultan Fountain (1698-99)
- 10- Emekyemez Mosque (1590-91)
- 11- Şahsuvar Bey Mosque (15th c.)
- 12- Okçu Musa Mosque (15th c.)
- 13 Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Fountain (1568-69)
- 15- Arap Mosque (former SS Paolo e Domenico) (1320s)
- 18- Yunus Baba Tomb
- 20- Yahya Ağa Fountain (1732)
- 21- Yelkençi Han (17th c.)
- 22- Verdina Kadın Fountain (1732)
- 23- Yağkapı Mosque (1536)
- 24- Koyun Baba Tomb (1773)
- 25- Rüstem Paşa Han (1540-50)
- 26- Bedesten (16th c.)
- 27- Gülneş Ematullah Valide Sultan Fountain (1697)
- 28- Sakı Han (18th c.)
- 29- Ceneviz Han (18th c.)
- 31- Perşembe Pazan Hammam (?)
- 32- Serpuş Han (18th c.)
- 33- Sultan III. Ahmet Fountain (1706)
- 34- Bereketzade Medresah (1705-06)
- 35- Zülfiye Synagogue (1671)
- 36- Kılıçık Taş Han (18th c.)
- 37- Bereket Han (former Palazzo Comunale) (1316)
- 38- St. Pierre Han (1770)
- 39- Old Houses (18th c.)
- 40- Sankt Georg Latin Catholic Church
- 41- SS. Pietro e Paolo Latin Catholic Church (1414)
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- 43- Hasan Ağa Fountain (1649)
- 44- Yazıcı Mosque (c. 1580)
- 45- Şahkulu Mosque (c. 1770)
- 46- Galata Mevlevi House (1491)
- 47- Karanlık (Hacı Mimi) Mosque (18th c.)
- 48- Makrızade Hüseyin Çelebi Mosque (1709)
- 49- Hendek (Hoca Ali) Mosque (c. 1740)
- 50- Mihrişah Kadın Fountain (1732-33)
- 51- St. Benoit Latin Catholic Church (13-14th c.)
- 56- Reisülküttap İsmail Efendi School and Fountain (1732)
- 57- Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Mosque (1642)
- 58- Mahzen-i Sultani (Imperial Magazine) (6th c.)
- 59- Hagios Nikolaos Greek Orthodox Church (1804)
- 60- Hagios Ioannes Greek Orthodox Church (1578)
- 63- Theotokos Kafatiani Greek Orthodox Church (15th c.)
- 64- Unknown Han
- 65- Bayezid Mosque (c. 1500)
- 68- Haznedar Bilal Ağa Fountain (1796-97)
- 69- Hacı Ahmet Ağa Fountain (1732-33)
- 70- Tophane-i Amire (Imperial Arsenal) (15th c.)
- 71- Karabaş Tekkesi Mosque (c. 1530)
- 73- Tophane Fountain (1732-33)
- 74- Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque, Hammam and Madrasah (1580s)

NEW BUILDINGS

- A- Mehmet Paşa Fountain (1846-47)
- B- Italian Synagogue (19th c.)
- C- Laleli Fountain (c. 1900)
- D- Sultan Mahmut Fountain (19th c.)
- E- Terziler (Tofre Begadim) Synagogue (1894)
- F- Ashkenazi Synagogue (1900)
- G- Surp Pırgıç Armenian Catholic Church (1834)
- H- Or Hodesh Synagogue (1897)
- I- Halet Efendi Library (1820)
- J- Crimea Memorial Anglican Church (1868)
- K- Neve Shalom Synagogue (1951)
- L- Surp Krikor Lusavorich Armenian Apostolic Church (Reconstructed) (1962)

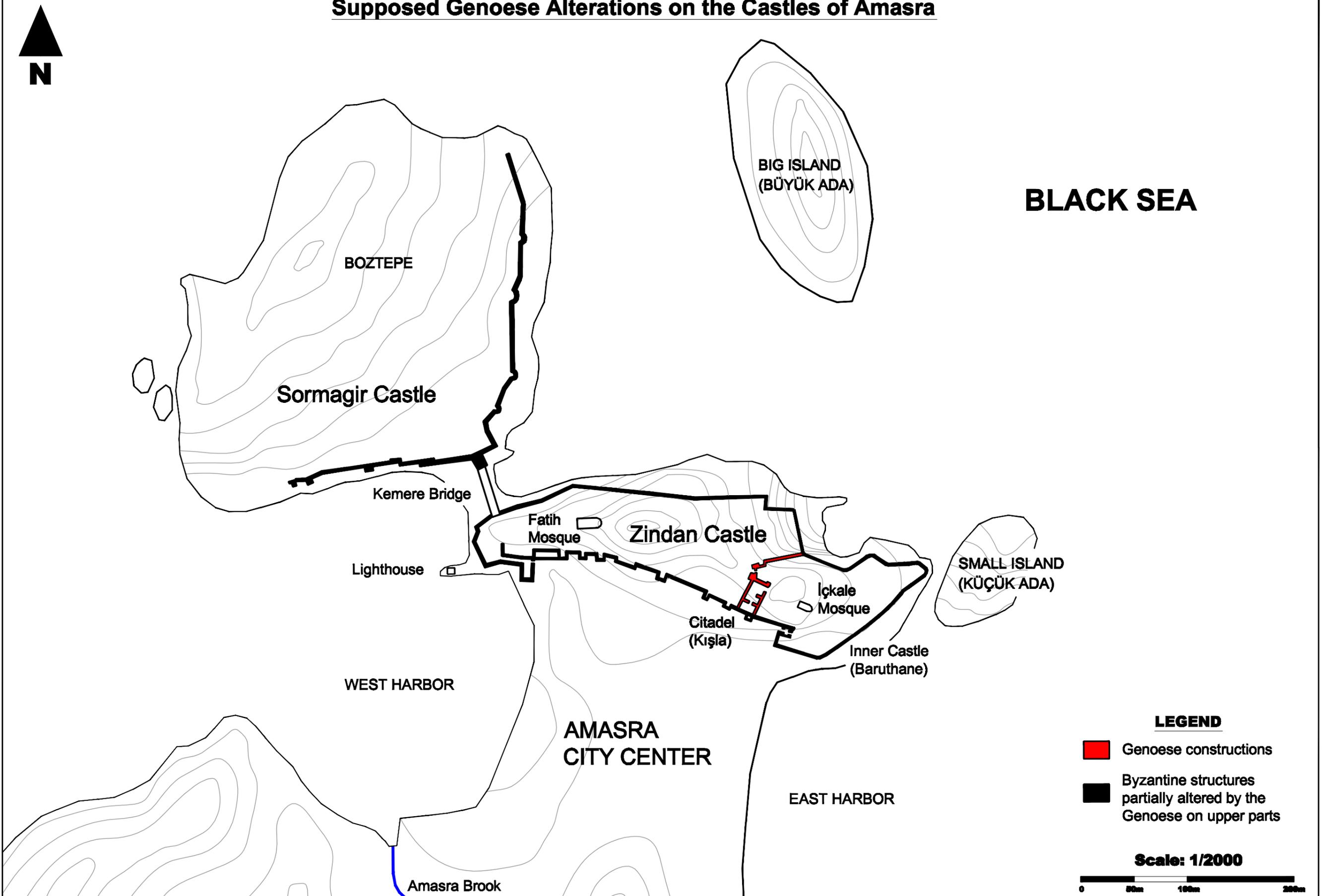
LEGEND

- Genoese constructions
- Byzantine buildings used by the Genoese

Scale: 1/2000



Supposed Genoese Alterations on the Castles of Amasra



BLACK SEA

BOZTEPE

BIG ISLAND
(BÜYÜK ADA)

Sormagir Castle

Kemere Bridge

Fatih Mosque

Zindan Castle

Lighthouse

SMALL ISLAND
(KÜÇÜK ADA)

Citadel
(Kışla)

İçkale Mosque

Inner Castle
(Baruthane)

WEST HARBOR

AMASRA
CITY CENTER

EAST HARBOR

Amasra Brook

LEGEND

-  Genoese constructions
-  Byzantine structures partially altered by the Genoese on upper parts

Scale: 1/2000



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