

**PERA/GALATA: NEIGHBOURHOODS AND
CHURCHES OF A LATE MEDIEVAL GENOESE CITY**

by

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**PERA/GALATA: NEIGHBOURHOODS AND CHURCHES OF A LATE
MEDIEVAL GENOESE CITY**

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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To Sophie Arya and Teo Efe

ABSTRACT

During nearly two hundred years, from 1267 to 1453, the Genoese ruled over the Pera/Galata quarter of Istanbul. The Galata Tower stands as a reminder of this period. Although there is little public awareness about this heritage, in reality, an abundance of publications has been produced since the middle of the nineteenth century. The thesis aims to understand the characteristics of the Genoese settlement Pera, how it came to exist, function, survive over the years and how this is reflected to its monuments. It seeks to discover the communities that composed Pera, how they coexisted, how the neighbourhoods were organized, and how the Byzantine space was transformed. The methodology employed is the study of texts. The thesis aims to compile existing research about the Genoese city of Pera, its history, topography and urban life. The Genoese notary archives have been the main source for the scholarship. They are scanned with a particular focus on churches and neighbourhoods. Propositions are made for possible locations of San Antonio, San Giovanni Battista, and San Costantino. In addition, an Ottoman source, the Galata section of the 1455 Survey of Istanbul is thoroughly examined to detect information about the topography of Pera/Galata before its Ottomanization began. The findings of the Survey are compared with those of the Genoese sources with particular attention given to churches, neighbourhoods and communities.

Keywords: Pera, Galata, Pera/Galata, Genoese colony, Genoese concession, Genoese enclave, Galata Latin churches, Galata Greek Orthodox churches, Galata Armenian churches, Galata synagogues, 1455 Survey of Istanbul, Genoese notary archives, Galata neighbourhoods

ÖZETÇE

1267-1453 yılları arasında, yaklaşık iki yüzyıl boyunca, Cenevizliler İstanbul'un Pera/Galata bölgesinin hakimi oldular. Galata Kulesi o dönemin hatırası olarak ayakta durmaktadır. Bu miras konusunda kısıtlı kamusal farkındalık olmasına karşın, aslında ondokuzuncu yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren bol miktarda yayın üretilmiştir. Bu tezin amacı Ceneviz Yerleşimi Pera'nın özelliklerini, nasıl ortaya çıktığını, işlev gördüğünü ve varlığını devam ettirdiğini, ve bunun anıtlarına nasıl yansıdığını anlamaktır. Tez, Pera'yı oluşturan toplulukların hangileri olduğunu, nasıl beraber yaşadıklarını, mahallelerin nasıl organize olduklarını ve Bizans alanlarının nasıl dönüştürüldüklerini keşfetmeyi amaçlar. Uygulanan metod yazılı kaynakların incelenmesidir. Tez, Ceneviz şehri Pera, tarihi, topoğrafyası ve kentsel yaşamını irdeleyen araştırmaları biraraya getirmeyi hedefler. Ceneviz noter arşivleri bilimsel araştırmaların ana kaynağını oluşturmuştur. Bunlar, özellikle mahalleler ve kiliselere odaklanarak taranmıştır. San Antonio, San Giovanni Battista ve San Costantino kiliselerinin olası konumları ile ilgili öneriler yapılmıştır. Ek olarak, bir Osmanlı kaynağı, 1455 İstanbul Tahririnin Galata bölümü, ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmiş, ve Osmanlılaşma öncesi Pera'nın topoğrafyası ile ilgili bilgiler aranmıştır. Tahrir'den elde edilen bilgiler, kiliseler, mahalleler ve topluluklara özellikle odaklanarak, Ceneviz kaynakları ile karşılaştırılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Pera, Galata, Pera/Galata, Ceneviz kolonisi, Ceneviz imtiyazlı bölgesi, Ceneviz anklavı, Galata Latin kiliseleri, Galata Rum Ortodoks kiliseleri, Galata Ermeni kiliseleri, Galata sinagogları, 1455 İstanbul tahriri, Ceneviz noter arşivleri, Ceneviz mahalleleri

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INTRODUCTION

“Il ne reste plus que quelques pans de mur et le caractère altier de la tour du Christ pour rappeler qu’y résiderent pendant deux siècles de domination exclusive les “maitres de la mer”. ”¹

One of the most prominent landmarks of Istanbul, on postcards, souvenirs, and various promotion materials, is neither Byzantine, nor Ottoman, but Genoese (Fig. 1). The iconic Galata Tower, stands as a reminder of the Genoese colony that lived there for nearly two centuries, starting from 1267. It was the highest tower of the fortifications that surrounded the Genoese territory which had been granted as a concession, by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. With time, this city that the Genoese called Pera, assumed a quasi-autonomous status within the Byzantine capital. The Genoese controlled most of the trade from the Black Sea to the Aegean. They built churches, market places, a palace and ruled the city following the standards set by Genoa. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, brought an end to their independent status, although they continued to be present and active for a few more decades. In a city that has been the capital of two illustrious empires, the history of the Genoese enclave of two centuries was condemned to remain in the shadow. Genoese Pera attracted the attention of scholars only after the middle of the nineteenth century. My curiosity was triggered when I came across a Buondelmonti map (c. 1422), and soon after a Nasuh Al Matraki (c. 1533) map, where Pera is depicted as a separate walled city, almost the same size as Constantinople (Fig. 2-3). I wanted to know more about the Genoese and their settlement in Pera.

Mango states in 1992 that having largely reached the limit of what can be learned from topography and textual evidence about Byzantine Constantinople, further addition will come from other sources, namely archaeological discovery or the study of Ottoman sources.² As far as Pera/Galata is concerned, very little remains from the

¹ Michel Balard, ‘La Société Pérote Au XIVE-XVe Siecles: Autour Des Demerode et Des Draperio’, in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), 311. There only remains a few sections of walls and the proud character of the tower of Christ to remind that during two centuries of exclusive domination, the “masters of the sea” lived there. (translated by author)

² Nevra Necipoğlu, ed., *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), 13. Necipoğlu cites C. Mango in the Preface of *Studies on Constantinople* (1993).

Genoese period, apart from the Galata Tower, Arap Camii, the bell tower and a chapel in Saint Benoit, the Podesta Palace, two towers, a gate and fragments of walls. In terms of archaeology, little progress has been made since the publication of the slabs ornamenting the Genoese walls of Pera/Galata that were documented during their demolition in 1864, the study of the San Domenico church/Arap Camii gravestones in 1917, and of its frescoes around 2010, each time during restoration work. After long years of neglect, there has been a recent effort to preserve a portion of the deteriorating Genoese walls. Whether there will be new discoveries remains to be seen. Conversely, in terms of textual evidence, there are abundant sources in the rich Genoese archives. The notary registers, in particular, have been an invaluable source revealing information about all aspects of the Genoese community, including the built environment of Pera. They have been the object of many publications, mostly by historians, like Michel Balard, focusing on historical events, urban life, and Late Medieval Black Sea and Mediterranean economy. Traveller accounts, maps, studies on religious landscape, and recent research by architects on the fortifications and specific monuments contributed to a better understanding of the topography. A complete inventory of the Genoese built heritage, which had been missing, was provided through Sercan Sağlam's unpublished dissertation, that is mostly based on Genoese and other Italian archives. As far as Ottoman sources are concerned, a very important document, for both the history of the Genovese colony of Pera and its topography in the Late Medieval period, the 1455 survey of Istanbul, including a section on Galata, has been published by Halil İnalçık in 2012.³ It has been studied by Padraic Rohan who focused on the identity of the Genoese residents, by Zarinebaf and Bulunur for the history of Ottoman Galata. However, it remains largely understudied in terms of information it can provide on the urban life and topography of Genoese Pera.

Objective and Methodology

This thesis aims to understand the characteristics of the Genoese settlement Pera, how it came to exist, function, survive over the years and how this is reflected to its monuments. It seeks to discover the communities that composed Pera, how they

³ Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012).

coexisted, how the neighbourhoods were organized, and how the Byzantine space was transformed.

The methodology put in place for the investigation of these questions is through the study of texts. Smith suggests that in the archaeological study of urban neighbourhoods, spatial organization and zones are considered first, before tackling neighbourhood and related concepts. In this thesis, the opposite is done. Textual evidence is used to identify Late Medieval neighbourhoods in a modern urban environment.⁴ A complete picture of the topography of Late Medieval Genoese Pera, using published materials is put together, attempting to bring additional information in areas where there are still uncertainties or gaps, such as churches, and the layout and names of neighbourhoods. However, as most of the scholarship is based on the Genoese sources, there tends to be a one-sided vision of Pera. The Byzantine sources are scarce and focus on the Genoese rather than their city. Ottoman sources before 1453 have not been identified while the later ones reflect a picture of Pera/Galata that has already begun its transformation into an Ottoman city. The 1455 Survey of Galata is therefore a unique source, since it gives a picture before Ottomanization started. It is an Ottoman source but it describes the Genoese city. The Survey differs from the western sources, since it unveils the neighbourhoods and monuments of the non-Genoese residents as well. By analysing the content of the Survey and juxtaposing the findings with the information gathered from Genoese and other western sources, I aim to provide a more complete vision of the topography of Pera, its neighbourhoods and churches.

Rather than a plain description of the urban surroundings, the thesis seeks to understand how the Genoese came to this geography, their motivations, skills and characteristics, how they interacted with the Byzantines, Venetians and Ottomans, how Pera was created, administered, and the role it played in the history of Constantinople. This part is intended to help the contextualization of the information retrieved from the archival documents, and is covered in chapter one. The following chapter aims to scrutinize a maximum number of publications related to Pera/ Galata, in order to provide a complete description of its topography and the way it functioned. The Genoese notary records are thoroughly examined in order to determine references to urban surroundings. A special focus is given to churches and propositions are made

⁴ Michael E. Smith, 'The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29, no. 2 (2010): 138.

about the potential locations for some of them. The third chapter is a thorough analysis of the Galata section of the *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, with the same approach as with Genoese sources, seeking clues about the topography of Pera/Galata in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest. Churches are the object of particular attention. The fourth and final chapter is a synthesis of the information of the Genoese sources combined with the findings of the 1455 Survey, confirming some existing knowledge and revealing new information, about churches, neighbourhoods and coexistence in multiethnic Pera.

All the published Genoese notary records of Pera from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century have been scanned and information on neighbourhoods, streets, shops, houses, administrative buildings, markets, monasteries, churches, hospitals, as well as professions and references to noble families have been collected. This data was completed with information gathered from traveller accounts and maps which have been scrupulously examined with a magnifying glass. The main focus was on churches because it was an area where there were still some unknowns. One of the objectives was to develop the concept of continuity of sacred places of Galata introduced by Sağlam. The 1455 Survey of Galata is a mine of information that has yet to be exploited. I have approached it in two ways. First by identifying the names of the residents, and matching them with the Genoese sources, seeking clues about the neighbourhoods. Second by identifying the churches cited in the survey and their associated neighbourhood. I have transferred all the information in the survey into Excel tables to facilitate searches and classifications. It is possible to have a comprehensive view about the occupation and maintenance level of the city two years after the conquest, making the necessary allowances for the surveyor's omissions and mistakes. A synthesis of churches and neighbourhoods was performed bringing together the information revealed in the 1455 survey and the Genoese archival sources, also presented in the form of tables.

The Genoese continued to live and trade in Pera/Galata after 1453 for several decades. Many remained attached to this city they considered their home, and adapted to the new conditions. The period after 1455, the date of the Survey, is not included in the scope of this thesis since I have chosen to focus on pre-Ottoman Pera/Galata. Similarly, the earlier Komnenian concessions of the Genoese are not included in the scope, as they were located in Constantinople, whereas I only focus on Pera/Galata. In the historical overview, I have not elaborated on the relations of the Perotes with the Ottomans or Venetians, or the religious disputes within Byzantium, but chose to rather

focus on the events that impacted the existence or topography of Pera. As there have been extensive publications on Pera/Galata since the nineteenth century, I have not repeated well-known information on the tower, fortifications, inscriptions, San Domenico and other published monuments, but provided the relevant sources for further reading.

Literature review

I have covered a wide range of primary and secondary sources related to the history and topography of Genoese Pera from the Late Medieval period to present day. Within these sources I have sought clues related to the urban life within the walled Genoese city of Pera.

Primary Sources

Maps, panoramas, photographs

The only contemporary representation of Genoese Pera is from *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, c.1422. Buondelmonti is a Franciscan priest and traveller, author of a series of maps and descriptions of the Aegean Islands and Constantinople. The original manuscript has not been found. However, it has been copied many times over the years, and many copies have survived, although they are not all complete and the Constantinople map is often missing. The copies that were mostly used in this research are from Rome (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Rossiano 702, f. 32v), Venice (Venezia Marciano Ms Lat. XIV.45, f. 43v), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383), and Dusseldorf (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek of Dusseldorf, Ms. G 13, f. 54r, part.). Apart from my personal observations, I have also benefited from publications related to the interpretation of Buondelmonti maps from Gerola (1931), Manners (1997), and particularly Barsanti (2001) who focuses on Pera more extensively. Other panoramas of Pera from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as the woodcut maps of Constantinople from Nuremberg Chronicles (H. Schedel, 1493), the woodcut map of Constantinople (G.A. Vavassore, c. 1535), and a miniature (Nasuh Al-Matraki- c.1550) provide an insight into the walled Genoese city. Scaled plans of Pera, starting from the eighteenth century were useful for detecting the locations of monuments and walls that have disappeared. Those were *Plan de la ville de Constantinople et des faubourgs* (Fr. Kauffer, 1776),

Plan Général Galata, Pera et Pancaldi (G. d'Ostoya, 1858-1860), *Plan des Faubourgs de Galata, Pera et Pancaldi* (C. Stolpe, 1858-1861), *Panorama of Constantinople and Environs* (H.A. Barker and T. Palser, 1813), *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople* (C. Goad, 1906), *Galata Topographisch Archaologischer Plan* (A.M. Schneider & IS Nomidis, 1944), and *La carte Peyrae-Galata et ses divers agrandissements* (E. Mamboury, 1951). Various nineteenth century photographs, particularly those of Galata Tower at the time of the demolition of the walls were examined.

Genoese administrative and notary archives

The *Archivio di Stato di Genova* possesses a very rich archive starting from the eleventh century, with manuscripts of official and semi-official chronicles, until the eighteenth century, albeit with some interruptions. There are communal annals, administrative records, expense registries (*Massaria di Pera*), and an exceptional collection of notary acts, from Genoa, Pera and other Genoese colonies.⁵ These documents, written in Latin, have been progressively published since the middle of the nineteenth century by scholars that will be presented in the secondary sources section of this review.

Archaeological evidence

The extant monuments and ruins in Galata are the Galata Tower, Palazzo Comunale, fortification segments (wall, gate, tower), San Domenico (Arap Camii), and the bell tower of San Benedetto. I have examined them in-situ.

Epigraphic evidence (honorific, official, funerary)

Inscriptions from Galata fortifications and tombstones from San Domenico were displayed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. However, at the time of my research, the relevant section was under restoration and not open to visit. Three inscriptions were visible in the Galata Tower Museum. Fortunately, the Galata inscriptions are well documented and published through secondary sources.

⁵ Sandra Macchiavello and Antonella Rovere, 'The Written Sources', in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, vol. 15, Brill's Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, n.d.).

Traveller accounts

The accounts of thirteenth to seventeenth century travellers to Constantinople provide valuable descriptions and observations related to Pera, although their main destination and interest lies with the Byzantine capital. The ones that I have found most relevant to my research are *Les voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, 1334, *Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, 1403-1406, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, 1432, and *Pero Tafur Travels and Adventures*, 1435-1439.

The Ottoman sources date from the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname*, 1640- 1660, provides a detailed account of the Ottoman Pera, which has preserved its Genoese layout. More of a historian than a traveller, Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan (1637-1695) wrote descriptions of all Istanbul neighbourhoods in the seventeenth century, collected in *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, which can also be classified in this category.

There are two very valuable sources, *Du Bosphore de Thrace* and *De la topographie de Constantinople*, written by Pierre Gilles (1490-1555) and published posthumously in 1561. Pierre Gilles was sent to Istanbul by François I, during the reign of Suleyman I, in order to collect manuscripts for the King's library. He was in Istanbul from 1544 to 1547, and then from 1551 to 1552. A humanist and natural scientist, Gilles had command of Greek and Latin, and was familiar with classical works. While he was mainly interested in tracing monuments of antiquity, his observations on the present state of the city reveal information about the late medieval city as well. The book *Du Bosphore de Thrace* follows the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, while *De la topographie de Constantinople* follows the footsteps of the *Anaplous Bosporu* of Dionysos Byzantios. The 2007 translation of these books contains valuable notes by the author, Jean-Pierre Grémois.

Finally, the compilation of all fourteenth and fifteenth century traveller notes, made by Stéphane Yerasimos (1942-2005) in 1991, *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIVe – XVIe siècles)* and his paper *Galata, à travers les récits du voyage*, were good sources, for the churches in particular.

Contemporary Historians

Byzantine historians relating Byzantine-Genoese political and commercial relations, are mainly Georgios Pachymeres (1242- c.1310), Nikephoros Gregoras (c.1295-1360), and John VI Kantakouzenos (1292-1383). Their observations about the Genoese have been studied through secondary sources presented in the next section. They are mostly related to historical events, wars, sieges, with some resentment for their privileged status, and domination of the economy, but descriptions of Pera are rare. There is an abundance of primary sources related to the siege and fall of Constantinople that have been compiled and published in 2016, by Vincent Déroche and Nicolas Vatin, entitled *Constantinople 1453, des Byzantins aux Ottomans*, where both first-hand accounts as well as contemporary reactions by various nations, contain references to the role of the Genoese of Pera during and after the siege.

Trading records and manuals

There are two major reference works related to medieval trade in the Mediterranean and Black Sea. Those are: *La Pratica della Mercatura* (Pegolotti, c.1340) and *Account book* (Badoer, 1436-1440). I mainly focused on Badoer's client list.

Ottoman archives

In the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II granted an *Ahdname* to the Genoese of Pera on June 1st, 1453. The terms of this document have been studied through the translation provided by Halil İnalcık. Similarly, one of the main sources of this research, *the Survey of Istanbul 1455*, is revealed through İnalcık's translation, as described in the secondary sources section. Mehmed II's *Vakfiye* (pious foundation) documents contain references to Genoese neighbourhoods and churches after 1453. I have been able to study them through *Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi*, published by Osman Ergin in 1945, and *Fatih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu*, by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, published in 1958.

Newspapers, journals

I have looked-up *Journal de Constantinople*, and *L'Univers*, nineteenth century French newspaper and journal, printed in Istanbul for articles related to the demolition of the Galata walls, by Victor Marie de Launay (1822-18...?).

Secondary sources

I have used secondary sources related to Pera/Galata specializing in the fields of history (Byzantine, Genoese, Ottoman and Venetian), medieval trade history, religious history, archaeology, urban history, architecture, cultural identity, and heritage. The sources are classified chronologically, as the nineteenth century, and twentieth and twenty-first century, by order of publication date. Within this chronology, a thematic classification is attempted.

Nineteenth Century

The first historical account dedicated to the Genoese colony of Galata that I have been able to identify is from Lodovico Sauli (1787-1874). He was an Italian politician, diplomat and writer who published his *Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, in two volumes, in 1826, in Torino. He had served as minister plenipotentiary in Istanbul in 1824-25. It is fair to say that all succeeding publications about Genoese Galata/Pera have built on this first landmark book. Sauli's sources were Byzantine historians, Pachymeres, Gregoras, Kantakouzenos, and also Doukas (1400-after 1462), Georgios Sphrantzes (c.1401-c.1478), Genoese chroniclers, Agostino Giustiniani (1470-1536), Oberto Foglietta (1518-81), and Lodovico A. Muratori (1672-1750), historian and archivist who compiled manuscripts of official and semi-official chroniclers, the most famous ones being Giorgio Stella (c.1365-1420), and Bartolomeo Senarega (c.1440-1514). He also had access to manuscripts from the private collection of Giorgio Ambrogio Molino; eight volumes of *Memoria della Citta di Genovese e di tutto il suo Dominio*, written by Giovanni Battista Cicala (1510-1570). Those were later purchased by Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova, where they are currently held. Lastly, Sauli refers to more recent international historians such as Charles du Fresne sieur Du Cange (1610-88), Claude Fleury, Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), Hammer (1774-1856), and Georges Depping (1784-1853), among others. Sauli's book focuses mainly on the historical aspects. Although he has lived in Constantinople, he does not refer to the architectural remains of the Genoese district. In addition, he refers to it as Galata, as the Ottomans do, rather than Pera, which is used by most of his successors, and, as it is referred to, in the Genoese archives. Sauli's work is very valuable because it reveals the texts of important treaties related to the urban history of Pera, between the Byzantine

emperors and the Genoese community, regulating the boundaries of the city and the rights of its citizens.

The first detailed description of the Pera fortifications that I have encountered, is in French archaeologist Louis de Mas-Latrie's 1846 report about his travels, in *Notes d'un voyage archéologique en Orient*. His only reference is Sauli. Walking in Galata, he provides a very detailed description of the walls, towers, and gates, as they stood in the beginning of the nineteenth century. An important event that impacts the scholarship on Genoese Pera/Galata is the demolition of the fortifications and the simultaneous retrieval and study of the inscriptions, which occurs in 1864. This event not only attracted the interest of scholars and the public at large but it also revealed new information about the topography and history of the city. Victor Marie de Launay, a French engineer, savant, working in the Sixth District Municipality of Pera, published a series of articles on the fortifications and inscriptions, in a local daily newspaper in French, *Journal de Constantinople*. Launay had arrived to Istanbul around the time of the Crimean War (1853-1856).⁶ He moved in the same circles as Osman Hamdi and Dethier, successive directors of the Imperial Museum. This period corresponded with the early days of Turkish Archaeology, but until then, the medieval Galata district had not attracted the attention of neither the international nor the local historians or archaeologists. Ten years later, Launay continued to publish about his 1864 findings, in a journal, *L'Univers*. His efforts and publications significantly contributed to the writing of the medieval history of Galata/Pera. His articles are somewhat repetitive but they have been enriched through his communication with the Ligurian scholars. All subsequent literature in the field of Genoese Pera integrates his work. In 1871, Vincenzo Promis (1839-1889) published *Statuti della Colonia Genovese di Pera*, the set of rules and regulations for the administrators of the city of Pera. The French orientalist diplomat, François A. Belin (1817-1877) published *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, in 1872, in Paris. His book focuses on the history of the Latin churches, and the mendicant order monasteries, almost all of which are located in Pera, starting from the thirteenth century. It is a valuable source for my research since it reveals clues about the location and architecture of disappeared churches, as well as the demographics of the Latin community, based on church records. In 1876, Desimoni,

⁶ Mehmet Kentel, 'Assembling "Cosmopolitan" Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul' (Ph.D., Seattle, University of Washington, 2018), 70.

published his paper, *I Genovesi ed il loro quartieri in Costantinopoli nel secolo XIII*, based on the information from Belin, de Launay and the contribution of the Greek scholar, Alexandre Paspatis. It was a valuable attempt to establish the topography of Genoese Pera.

One of the most prolific Ligurian historians, Luigi Tommaso Belgrano (1838-1895)'s *Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera*, published in 1877, consists of two volumes. It incorporates many acts related to state affairs with foreign counterparts but also some legal documents related to marriages, successions and other civil matters, in the *Documenti* section. The texts are in Latin with no interpretation. De Launay's information related to the Pera inscriptions are also included. Belgrano also published *Massaria di Pera* expense registries and other miscellaneous documents.

In 1885, Wilhelm Heyd (1823-1906) published *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, a very detailed study of the Latin trade in the Levant. Depping had published a similar study in 1834, but Heyd benefited from the recent Genoese scholarship and achieved a major reference book for that period.

Turkish scholars

The first Turkish scholar to study Pera is Celal Esat Arseven (1875 – 1971). He published his book *Eski Galata ve Binaları*. in 1913. This monograph covers the history of Galata and its monuments. The main source is Belin. However, the book is also enriched by his personal observations and his different perspective, stemming from Ottoman historiography rather than archival work. Arseven also refers to some works dedicated to Constantinople, such as Pierre Gilles's sixteenth century books on Constantinople, and Scarlatos Byzantios' 1861 *Constantinople: A Topographical, Archaeological and Historical Description*, which provide a contemporary view of Galata, at the time of their publication. There are a few inaccuracies in Arseven's book, such as the origin of Arap Camii and the dating of the first Genoese settlement in Galata.

Following Arseven, the next Turkish scholar dedicating research to Galata and particularly to Galata Tower, is Semavi Eyice (1922-2018), a prominent and prolific Turkish Byzantinist. He published *Galata and its Tower*, in 1969, at the time of the restoration of the Tower. To this day, this remains the reference book for the history of

the Tower. A more recent book by Eyice, published shortly before his death, *Yabancıların Gözüyle Bizans İstanbulu*, provides a comprehensive compilation of travelogues for Byzantine Constantinople. Eyice provides a brief description of the traveller, his itinerary, and important observations related to the people and monuments of both Constantinople and Pera. This book proved to be a valuable reference directing me to the travelogues that could be useful for my research.

An orientalist perspective

Jean Sauvaget (1901-1950), French historian and orientalist, published an article about Genoese Galata, *Notes sur la colonie Génoise de Péra*, in 1934. Although heavily tinted with an orientalist and colonialist tone, the article is a good synthesis of the existing scholarship on Galata at the time of its publishing, and is enriched with interesting photographs and drawings of the suggested topography of Genoese Pera with its market place and trading area, made by the author.

A landmark plan of Galata

A major reference book for Galata is the monograph *Galata, Topographisch-Archaeologischer Plan*, published in 1944 by archaeologists A.M. Schneider (1896 – 1952) and M. IS Nomidis (1884 – 1959). It provides a catalogue of all monuments of Galata from the Byzantine to Ottoman periods and incorporates a map that is still used by scholars working on Galata.

Further research on Genoa and the Genoese

A Companion to Medieval Genoa, edited by Carrie E. Benes, published in 2018 is an invaluable source to understand the history of late medieval Genoa, and the development of colonization, with contributions from Antonio Musarra, Sandra Origone, Denise Bezzina, George L. Gorse, Luca Filangieri, among others. In addition, Antonio Musarra's paper *Economic Migrants or Commuters? A note on the Crews of Genoese Galleys in the Medieval Mediterranean, 14th-15th Centuries*, in the 2021 book he edited together with Marco Folin, *Cultures and Practices of Coexistence from the Thirteenth Through the Seventeenth Centuries* provides valuable information on the crew of Genoese vessels, who represented a significant part of the residents of Pera and contributed to its urban life, as in all port cities.

Further research on trade

The activity of sailors and traders is an essential part of everyday life in this very important commercial hub of the Late Medieval period. Publications on medieval trade in the Mediterranean, Aegean and Black Sea are abundant. Robert Sabatino Lopez (1910 -1986), Italian-born American historian, has numerous publications about the Middle Age Mediterranean trade, the Genoese and their colonies, among which *Le marchand Génois: Un profil collectif*, in 1958, and *Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa* in 1964 were relevant to my research. Several Byzantinists have focused on the presence of Italian merchants and their impact on the economy, during the last centuries of Byzantium. *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, published in 2001, by Angeliki E. Laiou (1941–2008) is a major source, particularly the sections on the thirteenth and fifteenth century written by Klaus-Peter Matschke. Laiou's previous publications *The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in 1981 and *Italy and the Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines (14th Century)* in 1995, provided valuable information about the Italian traders active in Constantinople and Pera and their relations with the Greeks. *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* by Nicolas Oikonomides (1934-2000), published in 1979, is another source dwelling on this subject. In 2001, Kate Fleet published a thorough research on *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* which chronologically completes the sources by the Byzantinists. Finally, publications by David Jacoby (1928-2018), on trade and the Jewish settlements, *The Jews of Constantinople*, in 1997, *Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center, Tenth to Mid-Fifteenth Century*, in 2013, have contributed to my understanding of the dynamics of this period.

Further research on the historical background and Constantinople

For the historical background, my main sources were, *The last Centuries of Byzantium*, by Donald M. Nicol (1923 – 2003) published in 1993, and *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* by Nevra Necipoğlu published in 2009. Before settling in Pera, the Genoese had a concession in Constantinople, around present day Sirkeci and Eminönü. Research on this area and about contemporary Byzantine neighbourhoods and architecture was published by

Robert Ousterhout (1950-2023), *Secular Architecture* in the 1997 catalogue of the Glory of Byzantium Exhibition and by prominent Byzantinist Paul Magdalino, in *The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries*, a 2000 paper, which was part of his 2007 book *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*. A conference paper dated 2016, by Magdalino, *Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople* compares administrative and social neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods have been the focus of more recent research. A 2022 publication *The Byzantine Neighbourhood Urban Space and Political Action*, edited by Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson, collects papers on the material and textual evidence related to Byzantine neighbourhoods, investigating the particular aspects that determined how a particular space could be defined as a neighbourhood. One section of the book, by Albrecht Berger, entitled *The View from Byzantine Texts* refers to the Genoese concession in Constantinople. Finally, a book about the Venetian settlement neighbouring the initial Genoese concession in Eminönü provides a helpful insight about the way the Italian concessions of Constantinople functioned, although the Venetians left even less traces than the Genoese. It is *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi ve Dönüşümü*, published in 2013, by Aygül Ağır.

Further research on the Genoese archives

In 1928, Romanian scholar, Gheorghe Bratianu, published a group of notary registers of the thirteenth century, in *Actes des notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)*. The book starts with a glossary of Latin words, a valuable tool facilitating the comprehension of the various notary acts in other publications, as well.

In the late 1970's, we observe a revival in Genoese scholarship. Michel Balard's seminal book *La Romanie Génoise*, based on his dissertation and published in 1978, marks a turning point in the Late Medieval Genoese colonies research, because not only it introduces new archival sources such as the notary records of Donato di Chiavari for the years 1389-90, but more importantly, because Balard's analysis extends to demographics, cultural exchanges, trade and urban life. These records were published in full in 1987, in *Péra au XIVe siècle. Documents notariés des archives de Gênes*, in the book *Les Italiens à Byzance*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Catherine Otten-Froux, where Balard also included some additional notary acts of the fourteenth century,

published by Laura Balletto, in *Genova Mediterraneo, Mar Nero*, in 1976. Balard dedicated a major part of his academic life to research related to the history of the colonies of the merchant Republic of Genoa. Another Balard book from which I have benefited, is *La mer Noire et la Romanie Génoise, XIIIe – XVe siècles*, a book published in 1989, focusing on the Genoese trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, for which Pera played the role of a hub. The varying intensity of this trading activity and the rivalry with Venice are factors that have influenced the daily life in Pera. Balard's paper *La Société Pérote aux XIVe-XVe siècles*, which he presented in the Byzantine Constantinople workshop in Istanbul in 1999, published in 2001, in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, provides a valuable insight into the family institution of the Genoese, their migration patterns and their professional activities in Pera. Two papers by Balard, *L'organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'Empire byzantin (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, in 2006, in his monograph, *La Méditerranée Médiévale: espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs*, and *Colonisation et mouvements de population en Méditerranée au Moyen Age*, in 2012, in *Les échanges en Méditerranée médiévale*, published by Elisabeth Malamut and Mohammed Ouerfelli, revealed the characteristics of late medieval Genoese colonization.

In *La Romanie Génoise*, Balard restricted his studies of the Pera notary documents to the end of the fourteenth century but fortunately he was followed by Ausilia Roccatagliata who published in 1982, *Notai genovesi in oltremare: Atti rogati a Pera (1408-1490) e Mitilene (1454-60)*, covering notary documents of the whole fifteenth century, extending also to the Ottoman period after 1453, and thus completing a coverage of the whole Genoese period of Pera. The book is well organized with the full texts of the notary acts in Latin, preceded by a brief explanation of the context in Italian. Finally, this book includes a very useful annex listing all the publications related to the Genoese archival sources related to my topic, at the time of its publishing. Based mainly on these notary records, Geo Pistarino (1917 – 2018) has published an important paper in 1986, relating the Genoese presence in Pera, in the initial years of the Ottoman period, *The Genoese in Pera-Turkish Galata*. Laura Balletto and Thierry Ganchou are other prominent historians who have worked on the Genoese notary archives.

Further research on inscriptions

F. W. Hasluck's 1905 article, *Dr. Covel's Notes on Galata*, introduced a new Latin inscription which had been identified in a seventeenth century journal, belonging to Dr. Covel, Chaplain of the British Embassy in Istanbul. This inscription had since then disappeared since it was not recorded by de Launay, in 1864. In 1926, Eugene Dalleggio d'Alessio (1888 – 1983), a Levantine scholar, discovered another inscription in Pera, which he published in 1928. Dalleggio d'Alessio is a very prolific scholar. His works in other fields related to Galata will be further listed in this review. Ettore Rossi's 1928 booklet, *Le lapide Genovesi delle Mura di Galata*, provides a snapshot of the status of the inscriptions, in terms of their locations and interpretation at the time of publication. As some slabs have disappeared after the demolition of the walls in 1864, this is a useful study. A very recent and comprehensive study of the Latin inscriptions of Istanbul, is a booklet published by Ida Toth and Andreas Rhoby, about the findings of a program in Byzantine epigraphy conducted in 2018.

Further research on churches

Les Établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople, a paper published by R. Loenertz (1900-1976) in 1935, relates the establishment of the Dominican order in Pera. Dalleggio d'Alessio's seminal work, *Recherches sur la Latinité de Constantinople*, published in 1926, provides an inventory of all the churches and monasteries in Galata. He relates the history of each one; those that no longer exist, as well as those that have been converted to mosques or rebuilt after fires or earthquakes. As churches play a crucial role in the urban life of the city, and are extensively referred to in the Genoese archives, this article is a very valuable source.

French Byzantinist, Reverend Raymond Janin's *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin: Eglises et Monastères*, published in 1969 builds on the work initiated by Belin and Dalleggio d'Alessio and continues to be a major reference to this day. Other publications covering the Latin churches of Galata are *Osmanlı Başkentinde bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera* by Rinaldo Marmara, published in Turkish in 2021, and an enlightening paper by Mattia Ceracchi, published in 2016, entitled *La comunità latino-cattolica di Istanbul nella prima età ottomana (1453-1696). Spazi sacri, luoghi di culto*.

San Domenico / Arap Camii, has been well studied, both for its architecture, its frescoes and its tombstones. P. Benedetto Palazzo O.P.'s book *l'Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, published in 1946, brought a conclusion to the debates around the origin of this monument. The gravestones revealed during a restoration in 1917, were published by Dalleggio *Le Pietre Sepolcrali di Arab Giami*, in 1942. The frescoes were revealed after the 1999 earthquake and published by Engin Akyürek, in 2011, in his paper *Dominican Painting in Palaiologan Constantinople: The Frescoes of the Arap Camii, (Church of S. Domenico) in Galata*, which remains the main reference to this date. Haluk Çetinkaya, who was scientific advisor during the restoration of Arap Camii, has published a paper entitled *Arap Camii in Istanbul: Its Architecture and Frescoes*, in 2010. Rafał Quirini-Popławski is another author who published an article entitled *Greek Painters for the Dominicans or Trecento at the Bosphorus? Once again about the Style and Iconography of the Wall Paintings in the Former Dominican Church of St. Paul in Pera*, in 2019. Finally, Seda Sicimoğlu Yenikler's 2019 thesis, *The Artistic Hybridity of the Church of San Domenico (Arap Camii): Mirroring the Multicultural Milieu of Galata from Byzantine to Ottoman Times*, not only gathers all recent scholarship on Arap Camii but also provides a fresh perspective on cultural exchanges between the Genoese and their Byzantine neighbours, further developed in her 2021 paper, *The Cultural Transformation of Genoese Galata From the Byzantine to the Ottoman Rule and Its Reflection on the Church of San Domenico*.

Other churches have been less studied. Çınarıılmaz and Ar's 2020 paper, *San Michele church of Genoese Galata (Pera): Historic records and material evidence on its chronology*, is the only publication that I have been able to identify, dedicated to this important church which disappeared in the late fifteenth century. In 2017, Muzaffer Özgüles published an article entitled *A missing royal mosque in Istanbul that islamized a catholic space* about the San Francesco convent and church, which was replaced by Yeni Camii of Galata, in the seventeenth century, and later a hardware market (Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı) in the twentieth century. The main source for the description of San Francesco is based on the reports of visiting monks collected by Matteucci Gualberto in his 1967 book, *Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo, il S. Francesco di Galata in Costantinopoli, c. 1230–1697*. Dalleggio has published a very thorough article on San Benedetto in 1934, *Le monastère de Sainte-Marie de la Miséricorde de la Citerne de Péra ou de Saint Benoit*.

Des origines à l'occupation du monastère par les Jésuites (12 Mai 1427 - 18 Novembre 1583), using the Dominican archives and covering both the Byzantine and Ottoman era of Galata. I have also benefited from Philipp Niewöhner's 2010 paper *Saint Benoit in Galata. Der Byzantinische Ursprungsbau*, to identify the sections that date from the Genoese era. For San Pietro and Paolo my sources were a 1930 paper by Dallegio, *Les origines dominicaines du couvent des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Galata: un texte décisif*. The main reference for this church remains the monograph written by the reverends P. Benedetto Palazzo and P.A. Raineri in 1943, *La chiesa di S. Pietro in Galata*.

For Greek Orthodox churches, a book published by Zafer Karaca in 2018, *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri*, along with Schneider and Nomidis' book on Galata have been my main references. They both use sixteen and seventeenth century lists of Karabeinikov and Paterakis as their sources.

Further research on monuments and public spaces

Publications on other Genoese monuments are scarce. In 2011, Namik Erkal published an article, *The Corner of the Horn: An Architectural Review of the Leaded Magazine in Galata Istanbul*, dedicated to the Galata fort, present day Kurşunlu Camii. The Palazzo Comunale, attracts even less interest. Ela Akyol published an article in 1997, highlighting the similarities between this building and the San Giorgio Palace in Genoa. The article concludes with an appeal to developers and authorities, to preserve what remains of this rare medieval building. *İstanbul Limanı*, by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1923-1991), published posthumously in 1998, was a good source for the history of the Galata port and shipyard during the Byzantine, Genoese and Ottoman periods. It is very rich in illustrations (gravures, paintings, postcards, photos, and maps) of the coastline, harbour and vessels which did not significantly change until the mid-nineteenth century.

Finally, two landmark books, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası. 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul*, by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener and *İstanbul bir kent tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* by Doğan Kuban have provided descriptions of Genoese Galata.

Research on Ottoman Galata

An important paper by Louis Mitler, *The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682*, published in 1979, marks the beginning of the integration of the early Ottoman period in the Genoese Pera/Galata research. Mitler did not work with the Ottoman archives but he used Ottoman historians and traveller sources, to extend his research to the seventeenth century, until the time when the treaty between the Genoa Republic and the Ottomans was no longer renewed.

A major breakthrough in Late Medieval- Early Modern scholarship on Galata, came with the publications of prominent Ottoman historian, Halil İnalçık (1916-2016). İnalçık studied essential primary sources related to post-1453 İstanbul. These are census, tax survey documents, as well as Imperial decrees, such as the *Ahdname* of 1453, granting privileges to the Genoese population of Pera. İnalçık's publications provide invaluable insight into the demographics of Pera and the Ottoman-Genoese relationship. The most important publications for my research were *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600* in 1973, *Ottoman Galata 1453-1553* in 1991, *The Ottoman Survey of Istanbul* in 2008, and finally, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents* in 2012.

The 1455 survey has also been studied by Kerim Ilker Bulunur in his 2013 Ph.D. dissertation, *Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)*, a detailed examination of the Ottoman archives related to the early centuries of Ottoman rule. It was a useful source to understand the lay-out and the neighbourhoods of Pera/Galata before their transformation. Bulunur was the first to raise questions about the order of the pages of the survey manuscript. The subject was further developed in 2020, in Feridun E. Emecen's paper, *1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları*. Padraic Rohan has also used the 1455 survey extensively, to identify the Genoese names that appear in the document, in his 2021 Ph.D. dissertation, *Transforming Empire: The Genoese from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1282-1492*, as well as related papers, *From the Bosphorus to the Atlantic: Genoese Responses to the Ottoman Conquest*, in 2019 and *From Master to Minority: The Genoese of Pera-Galata across the Byzantine-Ottoman Boundary*, in 2022.

Kenan Yıldız's 2014 conference paper *Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma: 1660 Yangını İstanbul'un İslâmlaşmasına Etki Etti mi?* about the great fire of 1660, was

a useful source, where I was able to find references to the disappeared churches of Galata, in the Ottoman archives. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu published a landmark book, *Constantinopolis / İstanbul* in 2009, which is based on her PhD dissertation and focuses on the transition of Constantinople from being the Byzantine Empire capital to becoming the Ottoman Empire capital. While scrutinizing the architectural and urban program of Mehmed II, Kafesçioğlu also introduces information about the population and urban life of Galata. The book provides a valuable snapshot of Galata before the start of its Ottomanization. Kafesçioğlu uses Greek, Latin and Ottoman sources. Faride Zarinebaf's 2018 book, *Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* focuses also on the early days of Ottoman Galata.

Recent research on topography, urban history, and cultural heritage

Recent research on Galata's topography is mainly conducted by architects, more particularly conservation architects. Batuhan B. Erdoğan's 2001 thesis on Galata walls and conservation proposals, *Galata Kent Surları ve Koruma Önerileri*, is a very detailed example of such research. Esra Okur Coşkunçay's 2018 article, *Galata Surlarının Yıkım Süreci*, describes the demolition process of the Galata walls in 1864. I have found this research most useful since it matches the description of the process by western scholars with the records in the Ottoman archives. The maps and bibliography of this article have been very helpful. A very recent, 2023 paper by Selin Sur and Ufuk Serin, *A Reappraisal of the Genoese Walls of Galata (Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries) in Terms of Medieval Building Techniques and Masonry Traditions*, provides an up-to-date catalogue of the remaining parts of the Genoese fortifications of Galata.

The most important contribution to my research came from Sercan Sağlam's unpublished 2018 PhD dissertation in Politecnico di Milano, *Urban Palimpsest at Galata and an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor*. This most comprehensive study, brings together the most up-to-date information on the Genoese presence, not only in Pera but also other cities, along the Aegean and the Black Sea. Sağlam is an architect. He examines the Genoese monuments and remains with a critical eye, comparing them with other contemporary examples in Constantinople and Italy. He also performs an in-depth study of the Genoese heraldry observed on the inscriptions. Sağlam continues to publish papers that complement his PhD research, which has yet to be turned into a book. I have

particularly benefited from his paper about Galata churches with a perspective of continuity between Byzantine, Genoese, and Muslim sacred spaces, *Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata*, published in 2020. His papers, *An interdisciplinary experiment for the urban morphology of Galata (Istanbul) and its surroundings during the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages on Galata Tower*, and *Galata Kulesi'nin Ceneviz Dönemine Yönelik Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme*, about the Galata Tower, both published in 2020 were also very enlightening.

Mehmet Kentel's 2018 unpublished PhD dissertation, *Assembling "Cosmopolitan" Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul*, is a very original study, from which I have benefited extensively. Kentel specializes in nineteenth century Ottoman history. However, by analysing the major infrastructure works conducted in Galata and Pera in the second half of the nineteenth century, for the sake of modernisation, he reveals valuable information on the Genoese Pera topography and shares interesting views on heritage.

Finally, I had the opportunity to make my own in situ observations related to the current status of the monuments of Galata, and the representation of the Genoese heritage in the displays of museums, as well as the information panels of the monuments. I visited the Tower of Galata several times, to see the monument itself and also to observe Pera/Galata from this vantage point. I have followed the path of the fortifications and observed the remaining towers and wall fragments. I have strolled along the streets of the Perşembe Pazarı and Karaköy neighbourhoods where the street layout has been preserved. I visited Arap Camii and San Pietro and Paolo, where I was shown a wall fragment running along the church, hidden from the street. I also had the occasion during my research to visit Genoa, where I observed the San Giorgio Palace and other late medieval monuments. I have documented all these trips with photographs. In Genoa, I visited the Archivio di Stato di Genova and Societa Ligure di Storia Patria, where I inquired about sources relevant to my research. I had contacts with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to inquire about the status of the UNESCO application for the Genoese trading posts and fortifications, which includes Galata Tower.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE GENOESE

“... et Péra est devenu un Etat dans l’Etat”⁷

1.1. Introduction

The development of Pera/Galata in terms of its demography, economy, administration, and more relevantly for this research, its topography, was closely impacted by the events of the Palaiologan period of the Byzantine Empire (1261-1453). The first section of this chapter provides an overview of these two centuries. The main feature of this period was the decline of the Byzantine Empire and its increasing reliance on the Italian republics for its food supply, trade, and maritime security. There was a relentless competition between Venice and Genoa to control the trade of Constantinople, the Black Sea and the Aegean islands. Furthermore, the empire was weakened by successive civil wars, as well as religious divisions between those in favour of a union of the churches and those that resisted it. The Byzantines had to face the rising dominance of the Ottomans and the consequent loss of land, while in the West, some powers were still longing to reestablish the lost Latin Empire. The Papacy’s efforts to unite the Catholic powers under one flag for a crusade against the rising Turkish threat was not successful. Furthermore, the Republic of Genoa had its own internal conflicts between Guelfs and Ghibellines, *nobiles* and *populares*, where the interests of the Genoese of Pera (Perotes), were not always aligned with the metropole.⁸ Among the events of this tumultuous period, I only highlight those that impacted the Genoese population of Pera/Galata. (see Appendix A for the Palaiologan dynasty). In the second section of this chapter, I focus on the identity of the Genoese, starting with a brief summary of their history and the events that preceded the colonization of Pera, and the domination of the Black Sea trade. This section seeks to determine the circumstances that contributed to the creation of this exceptional enclave within the capital of the Byzantine empire, and what should be understood by the term Genoese colony. Pera is often called a state within a state. During two centuries it was

⁷ Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe-Début Du XVe Siecle)* (Rome: Atti della Societa Ligure di Storia Patria, 1978), 82. ... and Pera has become a state within a state.

⁸ “**Guelf and Ghibelline**, members of two opposing factions in German and Italian politics during the Middle Ages. The split between the Guelfs, who were sympathetic to the papacy, and the Ghibellines, who were sympathetic to the German (Holy Roman) emperors, contributed to chronic strife within the cities of northern Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries.”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. “Guelf and Ghibelline”, accessed November 20, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Guelf-and-Ghibelline>.

administered according to the rules of the metropole, Genoa. The Podesta was the ruler of the city. His role, as well as the other offices of the administration are described in this chapter, seeking to illustrate the level of autonomy enjoyed by the Genoese on one hand, and the way they were able to transpose their institutions and way of life on the other. This section is concluded by a commentary on the skills of the Genoese, mainly in the fields of trade, finance, and navigation, which are essential factors that made the existence of Genoese Pera possible.

1.2. Historical Background

1.2.1. *The reign of Michael VIII, Pera granted as a concession*

In August 1261, Michael, Emperor of Nicaea, was coronated as the first Palaiologan Emperor of Byzantium, Michael VIII, thus ending the Latin Empire (1204 – 1261) which had been established after the fourth crusade. A short while before the recovery of Constantinople, Michael, then Emperor of Nicaea, had concluded a treaty with the Republic of Genoa, at Nymphaion, in March 1261. He had been in search of an ally with a strong fleet to help him reconquer Constantinople from the Latins, while the Genoese had been looking for new markets as well as a means of revenge against the Venetians, following their humiliating expulsion from Acre in 1258.⁹ According to the terms of the treaty, the Genoese were to benefit from a total custom duty (*kommerkion*) exemption in all Byzantine territory and have the right to establish Genoese quarters with loggia, churches, baths, bakeries, shops, warehouses, palaces, and houses in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and other ports. They would also acquire total possession of Smyrna. The Venetians would lose their quarter in Constantinople and be banned from trading in the Black Sea. In exchange, the Genoese committed to help fight the common enemy, the Venetian fleet, with fifty vessels, arms, and men.¹⁰ Ultimately, Michael VIII repossessed Constantinople and the throne without the intervention of the Genoese but regardless, he decided to honour his promise, since he still needed their support.¹¹ The Genoese took over the Venetian quarter of Constantinople with a lot of

⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 42; Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire Du Commerce Du Levant Au Moyen-Âge*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1885), 427; Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 34–35.

¹⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 44; Heyd, *Histoire I*, 1:428–30; G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIII^e Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929), 82.

¹¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 34–37; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 45–46.

celebration, partly demolishing the Venetian palace and sending some of its stones to Genoa where they were symbolically used in the construction of the new palace, which later became the headquarter of San Giorgio bank. This was an act of revenge against the Venetians, who had done the same to the Genoese settlement in Acre, a few years before.¹²

Before the Latin Empire, the Genoese had already been present in the Constantinople market, and in 1160, Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) had granted them the right to establish an *embolos*.¹³ The Genoese were the last Italian merchants to establish a trading post in Constantinople, following Amalfi, Pisa and Venice. This first embolos named S. Cruce was destroyed during an attack led by Pisans and supported by Greeks and Venetians in 1162. In 1170, they obtained a new concession in Koparion, where the ancient Byzantine harbours of Bosporion and Neorion were located, present day Eminönü.¹⁴ Soon after they were attacked, this time by the Venetians. In 1180, all the Italians were attacked during the Latin Massacre conducted by the angry Byzantine population.¹⁵ In 1192, Isaac II issued a chrysobull granting an extension to the Genoese quarter Koparion, which included the Botaneiates Palace, an *oikos* with churches, courtyards, a granary, stables, a bath complex, and many houses enclosed within walls. This quarter was significantly enlarged again in 1202.¹⁶ It included three landing stages outside the walls and was the largest quarter granted to any Italians.¹⁷ However, the Genoese presence in Constantinople came to an end with the arrival of the fourth crusade.¹⁸ Genoa had not taken part in this crusade which ended in 1204, with the

¹² Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:429.

¹³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 25.

¹⁴ Albrecht Berger, 'The View from Byzantine Texts', in *The Byzantine Neighbourhood: Urban Space and Political Action*, ed. Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 35–36.

¹⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 106–12.

¹⁶ R. G. Ousterhout, 'Secular Architecture', in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 198.

¹⁷ Michel Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siècles)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 180.

¹⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 25–38; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:204–40. The first quarter, was pillaged by Pisans, two years later. In 1170, the concession was renewed; they received the Koparion district, but it was again pillaged and burnt, this time by the Venetians. The Pisans and the Genoese were victims of the Latin massacre perpetrated by the people of Constantinople, in 1182, during the reign of Alexis II Komnenos (1180-1183). In 1192, a new act was granted by Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195), for the Koparion district again, with a *kommerkion* of 4%. During the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), the privileges were first suspended but granted again by a chrysobull in 1201.

crusaders overthrowing the emperor, in collaboration with the Venetians, who became masters of the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean trade for the following sixty years.¹⁹

After 1261, Michael VIII needed the support of the Genoese while building his own fleet, in order to reconquer the lost territory in the Aegean and to defend the capital from the Latins who wanted to reestablish their rule.²⁰ However, the Genoese naval support was disappointing and the emperor thought that they were more interested in defeating their archenemy the Venetians, than pursuing Byzantine interests.²¹ The last stroke was the discovery of a conspiracy of the podesta of Constantinople, Guglielmo Guercio, with Manfred of Sicily which led to their expulsion to Heraclea.²² It took the Genoese six years to renegotiate a return to Constantinople. Finally, in 1267, they were allowed to come back, but this time they were placed in the northern shore of the Golden Horn, in Galata. Both sides were happy with this arrangement. Galata was very close to Constantinople, but presented more independence as well as room to expand, and its port was equally convenient. Michael VIII preferred to keep the Genoese at a distance, since they were quite numerous and he wanted to avoid skirmishes with other merchants, particularly the Venetians.²³ He took the precaution of tearing down the sea walls and requested that the Genoese ship salute the Imperial palace when passing by.²⁴ This was the beginning of the Genoese colony of Pera/Galata. No other events were to upset the Genoese of Pera during the rest of the reign of Michael VIII which ended by his death in 1282. Other Genoese citizens who gained advantages during his reign, were the Zaccaria brothers, who were granted Phocaea as a fief in 1275, and it came along with a very profitable business of alum extraction.²⁵

1.2.2. The reign of Andronikos II, first Genoese-Venetian conflict in the Golden Horn, first civil war, Pera concession perimeter extended and defined

Michael VIII was succeeded by Andronikos II, his son, who maintained excellent relations with the Genoese. One of the measures taken by Andronikos II in

¹⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 21–38.

²⁰ Balard, 46; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 42.

²¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 48; Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 180.

²² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 49; Heyd, *Histoire I*, 1:431.

²³ Cornelio Desimoni, 'I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII', *Giornale Ligustico Di Archeologia Storia e Belle Arti* 1874, 1876, 235–37.

²⁴ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 51.

²⁵ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 60.

order to reduce the strain on the empire's distressed economy, was to dispense with the navy altogether. Consequently, the empire's dependency on the Genoese and their fleet for its security as well as its food supply was significantly increased.²⁶ Meanwhile the Venetians were relentlessly trying to regain their share in the Byzantine trade and were particularly envious of Genoa's dominant position in the Black Sea. In 1296, a Venetian fleet of seventy-five ships arrived in the Golden Horn and attacked Galata. However, the Genoese had been warned and, as their settlement had no defensive walls, they had taken refuge across the water, in Constantinople, with all the women and children, as well as all their goods. The Greeks of Galata had done the same. As they found nothing to plunder, the Venetians burned the Genoese warehouses and harbour, and tried to attack Constantinople as well, but they were pushed back by the Genoese and the imperial forces. Eventually, the Venetian fleet had to retreat, not without first burning the houses of the Greeks of Galata as well.²⁷ In retaliation, the Byzantines arrested the Venetian merchants of Constantinople, seized their goods, but then released them. However, the Genoese who had lost their houses, were not satisfied with these measures, and proceeded to a bloodshed, killing the Venetian *bailo* of Constantinople and other leading Venetians.²⁸ The Byzantines were thus dragged into the Genoese – Venetian conflict that had been going on in the Mediterranean since 1292.²⁹ Venetians continued their attacks in the Black Sea coasts, the Aegean islands and in Constantinople. During this time, Genoa had been the scene of Guelf-Ghibelline conflicts and had not been able to send help to its colony.³⁰ Finally, Venice signed a truce with Genoa in 1299, and with Byzantium in 1302.³¹ At the end of this long conflict, the Genoese had suffered serious damages in Pera, Phocaea and the Black Sea outposts, but they had managed to keep their domination of the Black Sea, and were going to receive a larger concession.³² In 1303, the exact borders of the Galata concession were measured and delivered to the Genoese. The following year,

²⁶ Michel Balard, 'L'organisation Des Colonies Étrangères Dans l'Empire Byzantin (XIIIe-XVe Siècles)', in *La Méditerranée Médiévale: Espaces, Itinéraires, Comptoirs*, cairn.info, 2006, 57; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 58.

²⁷ Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:445–47; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 60; Lodovico Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, vol. 1 (Torino: Cassone, Marzorati e Vercellotti, 1831), 108–11.

²⁸ Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIIIè Siècle*, 270; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 60; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 110.

²⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 58.

³⁰ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:114.

³¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 61; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 112.

³² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 60–61; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*,

Andronikos II issued a chrysobull, confirming the old agreements and granting new privileges to the Genoese of Galata. The texts of these two important acts have been published by Belgrano.³³ (see Appendix B) The destruction of Pera in 1296, had demonstrated the need for the Genoese to protect themselves. The 1304 chrysobull did not allow for a wall, but the Genoese were granted the right to dig a moat around their settlement, and to fortify their houses. There are no known records about the exact perimeter of the first settlement granted in 1267, however the 1303 document is very detailed. The Galata castle remained outside the concession zone and was controlled by the Byzantines. Three unnamed Greek churches were within the concession limits but would continue to be operated by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. No construction was allowed between the Galata castle and the city.³⁴ As will be demonstrated in chapter two, the 1303 document is the most valuable source for the understanding of the topography of Genoese Pera, through references to landmarks such as the arsenal, various churches, monasteries, vineyards, and the Galata castle. According to the 1304 chrysobull, the Genoese were free to circulate everywhere within the Byzantine Empire, to have a butcher, churches, a loggia, a public bath, to use their own weights and measures, to have full custom duty exemption, to trade all kinds of goods, except salt, wheat, and mastic, and to be tried only by their own courts.³⁵

Meanwhile the Turkish threat was growing. In 1303, Andronikos II hired the Spanish mercenaries, the Catalan Grand Company, to defend against attacks from the Turks.³⁶ Their leader Roger de Flor arrived in Constantinople and married Andronikos II's niece. The Catalans had hired some Genoese ships to travel to Constantinople and as soon as they came, they were involved in a street fight with the Genoese over the payment of the ships. The Genoese were concerned by the presence of the Catalans and their worries were justified the following year when the Catalans took control of the Dardanelles. Fearing an attack to Galata, the Genoese widened their moat, filled it with sea water, transformed windows into loopholes, and installed war machines.³⁷ At first, the Catalans had successfully fought the Turks but they were soon out of control. As a

³³ L. T. Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, vol. XIII, Atti Della Societa Ligure Di Storia Patria (Genoa: Societa Ligure di Storia Patria, 1877), 103.

³⁴ Belgrano, XIII:103; Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIIIè Siècle*, 277–78.

³⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 63; Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:105.

³⁶ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 128.

³⁷ Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIIIè Siècle*, 279.

hostile state in the Dardanelles, they were conducting raids and massacres in Thrace. Eventually, Andronikos II managed to get rid of them by destroying all the crop and not allowing farming in Thrace. However, the Greek population suffered also from this measure, and the famine that ensued. There was resentment against the emperor and the Genoese who were accused of stockpiling Black Sea grain and speculating.³⁸

In 1315, an accidental fire burnt down most of Pera including the communal palace. In 1316, the loggia, houses, streets and a new palace were built.³⁹ A new treaty was signed in 1317 with the Byzantines whereby the Genoese agreed not to construct outside the concession area, not to deliver Genoese citizenship to foreigners, and to enforce taxation of the non-Genoese imports.⁴⁰ By that time, they had already constructed fortified houses all along the limits of the concession zone.⁴¹ In 1318, the Guelfs took over power in Genoa under the protection of Robert of Naples, and the Ghibelline families such as the Doria and Spinola were expelled. However, these were influent families in Pera, and they supported a Ghibelline alliance, together with Andronikos II.⁴² Exiled Ghibellines flocked to Pera. Together with the Byzantine forces, they were able to stop a fleet of ten ships sent by Genoa, to force its colony to obedience, in 1323.⁴³

1321 marked the beginning of a civil war in Byzantium. Andronicus III, grandson of Andronicus II, supported by noblemen of his generation, started a rebellion. He was imprisoned by his grand-father but escaped with, presumably, the help of his friends in Galata. The war lasted many years, with periods of co-ruling, when the old emperor finally ceded the power in 1328. The Genoese were successful in maintaining relations with both rivals.⁴⁴ In the same year, Galata had to resist another siege, with the Venetian fleet blocking the Golden Horn for several weeks, plundering Genoese ships,

³⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 64; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 133.

³⁹ Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:116; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 66.

⁴⁰ Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:116–23; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 66.

⁴¹ Sercan Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata and an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor' (Ph.D., Milano, Politecnico di Milano, 2018), 56.

⁴² Elisabeth Malamut, 'Byzance Colonisée: Politique et Commerce Sous Le Règne d'Andronic II (1282-1328)', in *Les Échanges En Méditerranée Médiévale*, ed. Elisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012), 18.

⁴³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 67; Gustave Léon Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1878), 449, <http://archive.org/details/numismatiquedelo00schl>.

⁴⁴ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 66–68; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 155–61.

and preventing free passage of Greek ships as well.⁴⁵ Eventually the Genoese and Venetians reached an agreement but this siege was another proof to the empire, of the importance of Genoese commerce for the survival of Constantinople.⁴⁶ By this time, the Catalan and Turkish wars had turned Thrace into a desert, and having dispensed of their own navy, the Byzantines depended on the Black Sea maritime commerce of the Genoese for vital food supply.⁴⁷

1.2.3 The reign of Andronikos III, strong houses of Pera connected with walls

During the reign of Andronikos III (1328-1341), the Republic of Genoa had many internal problems and did not intervene in Byzantine affairs.⁴⁸ The Genoese of Galata, on the other hand, were very much involved in the empire's internal politics as well as the struggle to control the Aegean islands. The first conflict was in Chios, where the concession granted to the Genoese Zaccaria family was about to expire. The elder of the two Zaccaria brothers, Martino, was the ruler of the island. He was very unpopular with the local Greek community who rebelled against him. He was also betrayed by his brother Benedetto who helped Andronikos III recover the island. Martino was captured and brought to Constantinople as a prisoner.⁴⁹ Benedetto was offered the governorship of Chios but he refused. He wanted to conquer the island just for himself, and was helped by the Genoese of Galata who gave him additional ships. But he failed and Chios thus returned to the empire in 1329. In 1335, the Genoese of Galata were once more involved in the Chios affairs when they helped Martino Zaccaria escape from Constantinople and lent him some ships to reconquer the island, but he also failed.⁵⁰

During the same year, another Genoese, Domenico, of the Cattaneo family, took over Lesbos.⁵¹ The Genoese of Galata were thrilled by this strategic move and became more daring in their efforts to expand and fortify Pera. In the earlier years of Andronikos III's reign, the strong houses had been linked by walls.⁵² They also acquired

⁴⁵ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:235–37.

⁴⁶ Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, 449.

⁴⁷ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:235.

⁴⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 73.

⁴⁹ Balard, 69–72; Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:243–46; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 171.

⁵⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 174.

⁵¹ Nicol, 174; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 72.

⁵² Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 56.

vineyards beyond the granted land, and started to amass arms. The emperor wanted to scare them before embarking on an expedition to recover Lesbos, and he burnt down the houses in the unauthorized zone and confiscated their weapons.⁵³ He returned triumphant from his expedition to Lesbos. In 1340, the population of Phocaea rebelled against the Cattaneo and the city was returned to the Byzantines.⁵⁴ Andronikos III was thus able to recover all the places in the Aegean that his grand-father had granted to the Zaccaria and Cattaneo. Meanwhile, in Genoa, the Ghibellines had come back to power in 1339. The Genoese of Pera were able to reestablish good relations with the Metropole and add to their prosperity.⁵⁵

1.2.4. The reign of John V and John Kantakouzenos, second Genoese-Venetian conflict, battle of the Bosphorus, second civil war, Pera fortifications extended to the North and East

The death of Andronikos III in 1341 marked the beginning of a second civil war. His successor was his eldest son John V, who was only nine at the time. The regency was shared among Andronikos III's wife, the Emperess Anne of Savoy, his nearest friend, the Grand Domestic John Kantakouzenos, the High Admiral Apokaukos, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Kalekas.⁵⁶ However, when Kantakouzenos left Constantinople to reconquer Morea, Apokaukos convinced Anne of Savoy, and supported by Kalekas, they disbanded Kantakouzenos' army, sequestered his supporters, and confiscated his properties.⁵⁷ The fight for the throne turned into a rebellion of people against aristocracy, represented by John Kantakouzenos, and lasted for more than five years. Finally, in 1347, the fighting ended and Kantakouzenos returned to Constantinople, becoming senior emperor along with John V.⁵⁸ During the first part of the civil war, the Genoese had supported Kantakouzenos against Anne who was close to Venice, but when Kantakouzenos returned to Constantinople, the situation was reversed.⁵⁹ Their interest no longer lied with the policies of Kantakouzenos who wished to reestablish a strong economy by attracting merchants of other nationalities,

⁵³ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:253–54.

⁵⁴ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 73.

⁵⁵ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:266.

⁵⁶ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 185–87.

⁵⁷ Nicol, 189.

⁵⁸ Nicol, 189–207.

⁵⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 75.

increasing custom revenues, and reinforcing the Byzantine navy.⁶⁰ This is the time when Gregoras famously stated that while the custom duties collected in Galata amounted to 200,000 *hyperpera*, those of Constantinople barely reached 30,000.⁶¹ Kantakouzenos was supported by the Ottoman bey Orhan, who was married to his daughter. Another daughter of his was married to John V, who remained co-emperor. The enemies of Kantakouzenos had taken refuge in Galata.⁶² 1347 was also the year of the beginning of the Black Death, the ravaging plague epidemy, which is believed to have started in the Genoese colony of Caffa during the Mongol siege of 1346, and carried to Constantinople and Europe by Genoese ships.⁶³

The Genoese of Pera were anxious about the measures taken by Kantakouzenos and were afraid to lose the monopoly they had built over the years. They had requested permission to expand their territory towards the top of the hill of Pera, but Kantakouzenos had denied it. He had also reduced the tariffs paid by the Byzantines, consequently diverting traffic from the port of Pera.⁶⁴ In August 1348, while Kantakouzenos was away from the capital, the Genoese attacked the shores of Constantinople, burnt the cargo ships and warships anchored in the Golden Horn. The Emperess sent her son to Galata, to retaliate by burning the warehouses of the Genoese that were outside the city, and the Byzantine population assembled to defend their walls and send rocks to the houses and ships of the Genoese with catapults. The Genoese received help from Chios but were unable to break the Byzantine defence and had to withdraw. When Kantakouzenos returned, he ordered the construction of new ships and collected taxes for this purpose. Timber for the ships had to come from Thrace, since the Genoese controlled all the sea routes.⁶⁵ Both sides prepared for war. The Genoese started to build a tower towards the top of the hill and reinforced the fortifications. The whole population, men and women, nobles and laymen, worked on the fortifications with whatever material they found, and the Tower of Christ was completed in 1348.⁶⁶ The following spring, in March 1349, the Byzantine navy and army launched an attack.

⁶⁰ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:293; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 78–80; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 220.

⁶¹ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:295; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 221.

⁶² Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 20.

⁶³ Nicol, 216–17.

⁶⁴ Nicol, 220–21.

⁶⁵ Nicol, 122–23.

⁶⁶ Jean Sauvaget, 'Notes Sur La Colonie Génoise de Péra', *Syria* 15, no. 3 (1934): 262.

However, the freshly-built fleet's manoeuvres were so unsuccessful that the ships ended up in front of Galata and the sailors in panic jumped into the water abandoning their ships which were recovered by the Genoese.⁶⁷ The land army retrieved also. The next day the Genoese of Pera sent messengers to Constantinople, asking a settlement based on their own terms. However, the Byzantines were fortunate, since at the same time, ambassadors from Genoa arrived and took the lead for the negotiations. They were more accommodating than the Perotes and they agreed to pay indemnities, to evacuate the land that had been occupied without authorisation and to never attack Constantinople again.⁶⁸ However, Kantakouzenos allowed the Perotes to keep the newly occupied northern area and the tower.⁶⁹ In spite of his recent humiliating defeat Kantakouzenos was still adamant about building a fleet, and he achieved it by raising more taxes for this purpose, which made him quite unpopular.⁷⁰ He negotiated with Genoa to regain the control of Chios which the Genoese had occupied during the civil war, in 1346, and it was agreed that the island would be returned to the Byzantines after ten years.⁷¹

In 1351, the Byzantines were once more dragged into a Venetian-Genoese conflict. The Venetians had formed an alliance with the Spanish against the Genoese, and asked Kantakouzenos to support them, but he had been reluctant.⁷² In May 1351, a twenty-six ship Venetian fleet led by Nicolo Pisani attacked Galata. Both sides solicited help from the Byzantines. Although Kantakouzenos had not committed to any side, the Genoese of Pera started sending rocks with catapults across the water, into Constantinople, thereby causing Kantakouzenos to change his mind and declare war to the Genoese. However, in the meantime, news of a sixty-ship fleet that had sailed from Genoa, arrived to Constantinople and caused the immediate departure of the Venetians, leaving the Byzantines to fight alone. The Byzantine fleet was defeated in the summer of 1351.⁷³ The Genoese fleet led by Paganino Doria arrived in October, took shelter in Galata, and started to wait for the enemy. The reinforced Venetian-Spanish fleet led by Pisani arrived to Constantinople in February 1352 and this was the beginning of the

⁶⁷ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 223–24; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 79; Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 1:310–12.

⁶⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 225.

⁶⁹ Sauvaget, 'Notes Sur La Colonie Génoise de Péra', 262.

⁷⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 225–26.

⁷¹ Nicol, 226.

⁷² Nicol, 235.

⁷³ Nicol, 235–36; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 81.

fierce battle of the Bosphorus which took place in front of present-day Beşiktaş. Fighting lasted until the night and the sea was covered with corpses the next morning. The Spanish suffered heavy losses. The Venetians lingered a while, but did not attempt to continue and left.⁷⁴ The Byzantines were once more left alone. Meanwhile, the Genoese made an alliance with the Ottoman bey, Orhan, for the defence of Galata. Under these circumstances, Kantakouzenos was left with no other choice but to make a treaty with Paganino Doria.⁷⁵ According to the terms of the 1352 treaty, the previous agreements between the Byzantine and the Genoese were confirmed, the Venetians and the Spanish were not to be allowed to visit Greek ports and vice versa.⁷⁶ The concession perimeter was now extended to the Galata castle. According to Balard, by this time, Pera had become “a state within a state”.⁷⁷

During the following two years, the civil war continued. John V was helped by the Venetians in his struggle to gain sole power but having not been successful he took refuge in Tenedos. Helped by his Genoese friends, and particularly Francesco Gattilusio, he finally came back to Constantinople in 1354, and shortly after, Kantakouzenos abdicated in his favour.⁷⁸ In 1355, John V showed his gratitude to Gattilusio by making him Lord of Lesbos, and by giving him his sister Maria’s hand in marriage. The same year, he formally gave the island of Chios to the Genoese, who administered it through a company known as the Maona.⁷⁹ Laiou notes that in the fourteenth century the Byzantine court had become familiar with Westerners and Italians in particular, not only as a consequence of emperors marrying Western princesses who brought their entourage, culture and forms of entertainment but also due to the presence of Italian merchants, such as Giovanni Spinola, a friend of Kantakouzenos, or three Genovese of Pera, namely Raffo Doria, Federico Spinola and Raffo Mari, who were confidants of Andronikos III.⁸⁰ These were members of noble families of Genoa, who had provided numerous podestas to Pera over the years.⁸¹ Laiou

⁷⁴ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 236; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:507.

⁷⁵ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 237.

⁷⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 82; Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:124–25; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:507.

⁷⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 82.

⁷⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 246.

⁷⁹ Nicol, 256–57.

⁸⁰ Angeliki E. Laiou, ‘Italy and the Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines (14th Century)’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49, no. Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians 13th-15th Centuries (1995): 81.

⁸¹ Laiou, 86.

suggests that the importance of the Genoese for the Byzantines is further illustrated by the fact that historians like Pachymeres, Kantakouzenos and Gregoras were very knowledgeable of Genoese internal and external politics, and she sees this as an indication of a shift of the center of gravity of the Mediterranean world, where the Italian republics had become the major actors.⁸²

1.2.5. The reign of John V and Andronikos IV, third Genoese-Venetian conflict, third civil war, walls of Pera built in the north, west, and east of initial concession zone

The next major conflict in which the Genoese of Pera were involved, occurred in 1370. John V had travelled to Italy to meet the Pope and make a declaration of faith to the Catholic church. He also visited Venice to negotiate the settlement of the empire's accumulated debts.⁸³ He made an attractive offer to the Venetians, proposing to hand over the island of Tenedos to them, in exchange for the crown jewels that were held in pawn in Venice, additional cash and warships. Tenedos is located at the entrance of the Dardanelles, a very strategic location to control the commerce. In addition, it provided a safe haven for sailors, away from the Turks who were now in control of both sides of North Aegean.⁸⁴ The Venetians had requested the island from the Byzantine emperors several times, on previous occasions and were now happy to accept the proposal. The Genoese already controlled Galata, the Bosphorus, Chios and Lesbos, and the Venetians were keen to avoid them taking over Tenedos as well.⁸⁵ John V sent instructions to his son Andronikos IV, who was acting as regent in Constantinople, during his absence. But Andronikos IV refused to deliver Tenedos to the Venetians.⁸⁶ John V was left in a humiliating position and held hostage in Venice until he was rescued by his other son Manuel who settled the debt. Defiance from Andronikos IV continued after his father's return to Constantinople. In 1373, Andronikos gave support to a rebellion of Sultan Murad's son Savcı against his father, and started his own rebellion against John V.

⁸² Laiou, 96–98.

⁸³ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 272. Anne of Savoy, in 1343, had pledged the Byzantine crown jewels against a new debt and they were held in the Treasury of Saint Mark, while the Venetians were threatening to sell them.

⁸⁴ Heyd, *Histoire I*, 1:517.

⁸⁵ Lodovico Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, vol. 2 (Torino: Cassone, Marzorati e Vercellotti, 1831), 42.

⁸⁶ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 273.

When he finally surrendered, he was partially blinded and imprisoned along with his son John VII, disinherited, and Manuel II was crowned as John V's heir.⁸⁷

During the following years the Genoese, Venetians, and Turks took advantage of these conflicts within the Palaiologan family, in order to achieve their own objectives.⁸⁸ Genoa's strategy was to keep the family feud alive in order to keep its privileges, and to maintain good relations with the Turks, while the Venetians chose to support John V.⁸⁹ In 1376, the Venetians arrived to Constantinople to finalize the deal that had been negotiated in 1370 in Venice, and to finally take control of Tenedos. Discovering what was at stake, the Genoese helped Andronikos IV escape from prison and took him to Galata. With the help of Genoese and Turkish armed forces, he laid siege to Constantinople.⁹⁰ Within a few weeks he entered the city triumphantly, put his father and brothers in prison and became emperor. He was full of gratitude to the Genoese and immediately granted them Tenedos.⁹¹ The same island had been granted to two different nations by two different emperors in the same year.⁹² The Byzantine governor of Tenedos was loyal to John V and did not surrender the island to the Genoese. He cooperated with the Venetians who took over Tenedos and fortified it. The Genoese requested the help of Andronikos IV, and once again the Byzantines found themselves involved in a Genoese-Venetian conflict, which became a full-scale war in the rest of the Mediterranean.⁹³

In 1379, John V and his sons managed to escape from prison. They went to Scutari and from there to meet the Sultan Murad with whom they reached an agreement, by promising to pay more tribute, and giving away the last Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor.⁹⁴ With the help of a Turkish army and Venetian ships, John V and Manuel entered Constantinople. Andronikos IV managed to escape to Galata, taking as hostage his mother, with her sisters, and her father, the old emperor John Kantakouzenos. The

⁸⁷ Nicol, 277.

⁸⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 87; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 278.

⁸⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 88.

⁹⁰ Balard, 88; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 279; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:518.

⁹¹ Natale Battilana, 'Genealogie delle Famiglie Nobili di Genova', Online books, 23 October 2023, 131; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 89; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:519; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, 279.

⁹² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 89.

⁹³ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 280; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 89.

⁹⁴ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 281.

patriarch Makarios was deposed and also took refuge in Galata.⁹⁵ John V kept a siege in front of Galata for more than a year. He was helped by the Turks and the Venetians, while the Genoese supported Andronikos IV. Food became scarce.⁹⁶ Finally in 1381, John V agreed to end the conflict and sign an agreement with Andronikos IV, making him and his son heirs again, instead of Manuel.⁹⁷ Around the same time Genoa and Venice signed a treaty in Turin, ending a decade long war. In 1382, Genoese ambassadors came to Constantinople and signed a treaty with the two emperors, whereby all parties agreed to help each other against all enemies except the Ottomans.⁹⁸ In 1387, the podesta of Pera, instructed by the Commune, reached an agreement with the Ottomans. Accordingly, the Genoese were allowed to trade in Turkish territory and be subject to the same duties as the Venetians and Greeks, while the taxes paid by the Turks in Pera were diminished.⁹⁹

Andronikos IV, who was governor of Thrace, made a final attempt against his father in 1385 but was defeated by him in Melintias. However, when John V returned to Constantinople, the Genoese of Pera refused to honour him.¹⁰⁰ As the tension rose, John V decided to make Manuel II his heir again. Meanwhile Andronikos II had died. John V complained to Genoa that the Perotes were acclaiming John VII as if he was the emperor.¹⁰¹ John VII tried to find support from Genoa and the Ottomans, to overthrow his grandfather.¹⁰² Eventually, Sultan Bayezid, helped him enter the capital in 1390. John V barricaded himself in the Golden Gate fortress and resisted until Manuel came to rescue him. John VII had been emperor for four months only. He escaped and took refuge in Bayezid's camp.¹⁰³ The Constantinopolitans who had supported John VII, flocked to Pera, formed a community there and continued their activity against the emperor.¹⁰⁴ During the last years of the fourteenth century, Pera was also a destination

⁹⁵ George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984), 391.

⁹⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 90; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 282.

⁹⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 92; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 282.

⁹⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 283–84; Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 130.

⁹⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 93; Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:146.

¹⁰⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 94.

¹⁰¹ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 131.

¹⁰² Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 294.

¹⁰³ Nicol, 292.

¹⁰⁴ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 136.

for the Greeks who wanted to convert to Catholicism, and who became monks in the Dominican monastery.¹⁰⁵ San Domenico monks were actively working for the union of churches. They translated Latin texts into Greek and engaged in theological discussions with the Byzantines.¹⁰⁶ John V died in 1391 and Manuel II's reign started.¹⁰⁷ The walls to the west and northwest, as well as to the east, of Pera started to be constructed after 1385.¹⁰⁸

1.2.6. The reign of Manuel II and John VIII, Turkish threat, repair and construction of sea and land walls of Pera

In the following years, Genoa and Pera took diverging positions. While Genoa and Venice joined an anti-Turkish league, Pera maintained diplomatic relations with Bayezid, renewing agreements and exchanging gifts. During that time the relationship with the basileus was also excellent.¹⁰⁹ However, peace did not last long and in 1394 Bayezid started a blockade of Constantinople.¹¹⁰ No one could enter or leave the city; everything outside the walls was destroyed; fields could not be cultivated, and famine started. The only access was by sea, but Ottoman patrol ships guarded the ports of Constantinople.¹¹¹ The Venetians sent a few shipments of grain.¹¹² The siege continued with varying intensity. Some people took refuge in Pera to avoid starvation.¹¹³ Circulation of the Genoese ships was evidently unhindered, since there are accounts of partnerships between Byzantine and Genoese merchants involved in traffic of merchandise unloaded in Pera, with the help of officials of both sides.¹¹⁴ At some stage, catapults were thrown into Pera as well.¹¹⁵ In 1396, both the Venetians and the Genoese provided ships to protect the city.¹¹⁶ The French king Charles VI had become overlord of Genoa in 1396. As the siege was putting Pera in danger also, he sent an army of 1200

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 66.

¹⁰⁶ Seda Sicimoğlu Yenikler, 'The Cultural Transformation of Genoese Galata From the Byzantine to the Ottoman Rule and Its Reflection on the Church of San Domenico', in *Cultures and Practices of Coexistence from the Thirteenth through the Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Marco Folin and Antonio Musarra (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 83.

¹⁰⁷ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 292–93.

¹⁰⁸ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 26–27.

¹⁰⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 98.

¹¹⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 302.

¹¹¹ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 149.

¹¹² Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 302.

¹¹³ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 150.

¹¹⁴ Necipoğlu, 159.

¹¹⁵ Harris, *The End of Byzantium*, 34.

¹¹⁶ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 306.

soldiers to help Constantinople, led by the governor of Genoa, Boucicaut. However, this was not enough and Manuel's efforts to obtain additional support from Christian sovereigns, by meeting them in Europe, remained fruitless. The starving population was fleeing Constantinople either to Pera or the Ottomans.¹¹⁷ In 1402, as the Constantinopolitans were about to surrender, an unexpected development happened in the East, which brought the eight-year siege to an end. Bayezid was defeated and captured in Ankara by the Mongol king Timur.¹¹⁸

In the following ten years of Ottoman interregnum after the Ankara defeat, the Byzantines interfered with and benefited from the rivalry among Bayezid's sons, and managed to recover some of their lost possessions.¹¹⁹ The remaining years of Manuel II's reign, and the reign of his son John VIII appear quite uneventful for Pera, or at least not much is reported by historians. Constantinople resisted two sieges, in 1411 and 1422, by Musa and Murad, respectively.¹²⁰ Pera was not involved in neither of them. However, an armed conflict triggered by a disagreement on tax rates occurred in 1434. Constantinople was attacked by Carlo Lomellino's fleet, supported by the Genoese of Pera. The attack from the sea was repelled but the two cities across the Golden Horn continued bombarding each other.¹²¹ Eventually, the Byzantines won the battle, and the Genoese had to pay for the damages done to a tower and some shops.¹²² During 1400 and 1435, and then 1441 to 1448, the external land walls of Pera and its suburbs, as well as the sea walls, were repaired and some constructed anew.¹²³

1.2.7. The reign of Constantine XI – May 29th 1453, Pera surrendered to Ottomans

John VIII died in 1448 and his son Constantine XI became emperor. On the Ottoman side, Mehmed II took the succession of Murad, following his death in 1451. Although he kindly received all delegations from Constantinople, Galata, Chios, Lesbos, Rhodes, and Serbia, and renewed previous agreements, his intention to attack Constantinople was evident to all.¹²⁴ The last addition to the Pera walls was a barbican

¹¹⁷ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 150.

¹¹⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 101; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 314.

¹¹⁹ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 318–327.

¹²⁰ Nicol, 326–32.

¹²¹ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 190–91; Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, 452; Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:124.

¹²² Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:124; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and Latins*, 190–91.

¹²³ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 28–29.

¹²⁴ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:142.

around the Galata Tower, built in 1452, with a view to protect the city from land attacks.¹²⁵ In the same year, Mehmed completed the construction of a fortress on the European coast of the Bosphorus, facing the one that had been built by Bayezid on the Asian side, thus controlling all traffic to and from the Black Sea.¹²⁶ All passing ships were to pay a tribute.¹²⁷ Constantine XI made desperate appeals to the Christian world, in vain.¹²⁸ The Genoese of Pera were in a difficult situation, and “behaved with the same cautious ambiguity as the Venetians”.¹²⁹ As related by Doukas, they sent ambassadors to Mehmed in Edirne, renewed their previous agreement, committing not to take arms against the Turks and Mehmed promised not to attack them in exchange. Neither side was being truthful.¹³⁰ Much has been said about the conduct of the Genoese during the siege and fall of Constantinople. They had instructions from the Metropole to stay neutral and not to take arms, however, many Genoese ship and men came to help. Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, a renowned Genoese commander, expert in siege warfare, arrived in January 1453 with 700 men recruited in Genoa and Chios.¹³¹ At the end, the only ones to defend Constantinople, apart from the Greeks, were the Genoese, both those who came with Giustiniani, and those of Pera, the Venetians of Constantinople and those of a few Venetian ships that remained to help. Leonardo of Chios, estimates the number of Greek defenders to 6,000, the Venetians and the Genoese to 3,000, including the Perotes who were secretly coming to join them.¹³²

On April 2nd, the chain blocking the entrance of the Golden Horn was placed. The Ottomans arrived in front of the Constantinople land walls on April 4th. Zaganos Paşa was in charge of a detachment posted on the hills above Galata where he was able to observe the Genoese colony and the Golden Horn, and guard the Bosphorus side.¹³³ A widely known achievement of Mehmed II was to bring up and down the hill sixty to

¹²⁵ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 59.

¹²⁶ *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 375.

¹²⁷ Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire Du Commerce Du Levant Au Moyen-Âge*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1885), 303.

¹²⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 374.

¹²⁹ Nicol, 376.

¹³⁰ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:148; Vincent Déroche and Nicolas Vatin, eds., *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, Famagouste (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2016), 143.

¹³¹ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 379; Geo Pistarino, ‘La Caduta Di Costantinopoli: Da Pera Genovese a Galata Turca’, 1984, 18.

¹³² Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 709.

¹³³ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 382; Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 275–76.

eighty Ottoman ships, behind Galata into the Golden Horn, on April 22nd. The podesta immediately sent a representative to the sultan, and received assurance that Pera was not in danger.¹³⁴ There are, however, doubts that such a feat could have been achieved without the knowledge of the Genoese of Galata.¹³⁵ In their defence, Sauli states that while the best armed men were fighting in Constantinople, there were few men left in Pera, and they were terrified by the 70,000 horsemen parked on the hill above them.¹³⁶

The Venetians and Genoese agreed on a plan on the night of the 24th of April, to put fire to the Turkish vessels that descended in the Golden Horn. Nicolo Pagliuzzo, the official translator of the curia of Pera, seems to be the name of the Genoese traitor who left Galata the next morning, to go to the Turkish camp and divulge the plan. Consequently, the Turks were ready for the attack, and averted it by sinking two of the Venetian vessels that approached them on the night of the 28th.¹³⁷ On May 5th, Mehmed II ordered to place a large cannon on the top of the hill over Galata, with the intention to sink enemy ships in the port, by shooting over the sea-walls. The bullets flew over the rooftops of the Galata houses. One Genoese vessel belonging to Barnaba Centurione was hit and sank immediately.¹³⁸

Two days before the final assault, Mehmed II issued a last call to all Christians, asking them to surrender, by exiting via Pera.¹³⁹ The emperor and the council replied that they would rather die than surrender.¹⁴⁰ On the 28th of May, the Genoese of Pera were warned by Mehmed II, to respect their neutrality.¹⁴¹ Sphrantzes and Leonardo of Chios reported that in a final speech for encouragement, the emperor addressed the Genoese as brothers, adding that the city was as much theirs as his, as they had helped it and saved it from enemies, on numerous occasions.¹⁴² On the 29th of May, after hours of fierce fighting, the hero of the resistance, Giovanni Giustiniani, was wounded and left his post. According to most accounts, this was the turning point, after which defeat

¹³⁴ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 49.

¹³⁵ Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, 401.

¹³⁶ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:159.

¹³⁷ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 839–44; Nicolo Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453*, trans. J.R. Jones (New York: Exposition Press, 1969), 39. Barbaro names the traitor as Faiuzo, but further studies identify him as Nicolo Pagliuzzo.

¹³⁸ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 377–78; Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453*, 45.

¹³⁹ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 567.

¹⁴⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 385–86.

¹⁴¹ Nicol, 386.

¹⁴² Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:165.

came quickly.¹⁴³ Once the Ottomans were inside the walls, plundering and massacre started. Many people, including the emperor, died. Those who were caught alive were taken prisoner, while some managed to escape to Galata. The crew of the Turkish ships, those that were inside the Golden Horn as well as those that stayed outside, went on land to join the pillage. Consequently, some ships filled with refugees managed to escape immediately by breaking the chain and not encountering any blockade.¹⁴⁴

There was panic among Galata residents as well. The podesta tried to keep people inside the gates while negotiating with the Ottomans.¹⁴⁵ People jumped in the water to swim to the overloaded ships that were leaving hurriedly. Preserving the Genoese population and their trade was important for the sultan. For that reason, Zaganos went to Pera to give reassurance to the Genoese that they would be granted the same rights they had previously enjoyed with the Byzantines.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, those who could manage to board the ships preferred to escape. On the same day, senior officials of the colony convened to discuss the situation and agreed to deliver the keys of the city to the sultan.¹⁴⁷ They did not really have a choice. Seventeen ships carrying Italians had managed to leave. It was not possible to defend Pera with the remaining six hundred men.¹⁴⁸ However, when a Genoese delegation went to negotiate the terms of a new pact, they were not well received. Many Genoese had been found among the dead and the prisoners, including the nephew of the podesta. Mehmed II blamed them for delaying his victory.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, renouncing his previous promise, but still willing to preserve Pera and its trade, he agreed to deliver a privilege, an *Ahdname*, according to which they could keep their houses, vineyards, windmills, ships, warehouses, and all their business.¹⁵⁰ They could continue practicing their rite in their churches, have their own court, and elect a *kethuda* (*protogerus*) among themselves to settle their affairs and quarrels. They would become non-Muslim Ottoman subjects (*zımmi*), would be required

¹⁴³ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 158,298,497. Accounts of Doukas, Kritoboulos, and Chalkokondyles respectively.

¹⁴⁴ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261 - 1453*, 388.

¹⁴⁵ Heyd, *Histoire 2*, 2:309.

¹⁴⁶ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:171.

¹⁴⁷ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 167.

¹⁴⁸ Pistarino, 'La Caduta Di Costantinopoli: Da Pera Genovese a Galata Turca', 18.

¹⁴⁹ Pistarino, 18.

¹⁵⁰ Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Traité Entre Les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II (1er Juin 1453)', *Echos d'Orient* 39, no. 197–198 (1940): 161–67; Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 513–14. Thierry Ganchou notes that there have been multiple translations based on original documents in Turkish, Greek, and Italian. The Greek version is kept in the British Library and bears Mehmed II's *tuğra* and Zaganos' signature.

to pay an annual poll tax (*cizye*), and would have to tear down the walls of Pera.¹⁵¹ The full text is translated by İnalçık (see appendix C).¹⁵² Lomellino, the podesta, preferred not to be involved in the negotiations. As the representative of the Republic of Genoa, he preferred not to make a commitment without instructions. He therefore sent two ambassadors representing the people of Pera; Babilano Pallavicino and Marchisio de Franchi, accompanied by their *drogman* Nicolo Pagliuzzi.¹⁵³ The *Ahdname* was delivered to them on June 1st.

The events that followed are best explained by İnalçık, based on Islamic rules and Ottoman practices, and are in accordance with the way they have been related in original letters of both Mehmed II and the podesta Lomellini.¹⁵⁴ Constantinople and Pera were treated differently after the 29th of May. The Ottomans had been at war with the Byzantines, while Pera kept its neutral status. Following the Islamic tradition Mehmed II had made a call to surrender before the final assault. As Constantine had rejected it, the conquered land became property of the sultan and pillage was allowed. Pera, in contrast, had surrendered without resistance and was therefore spared. As explained by İnalçık, the *Ahdname* is not a bilateral agreement, it is a unilateral pledge or privilege granted by the sultan, as well as a guarantee of life and property.¹⁵⁵ The faith of the Genoese who left on May 29th, and of those who stayed was going to differ, as related in chapter three.

On June 2nd, the sultan went to Pera and ordered the destruction of the walls. According to contemporary accounts, the demolition was limited. Lomellino related in a letter to his brother that the fortifications were demolished upon Mehmed II's orders. He wrote that everything was torn down; the villages, part of the fortress' moat, and the tower of the Holy Cross, leaving a part of the curtain wall under the barbican, the barbican itself, and all the sea walls.¹⁵⁶ Isidore of Kiev reported that the cross on the

¹⁵¹ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:171–72.

¹⁵² Halil İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', ed. Edhem Eldem (Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne: Institut National des langues et civilisations orientales, Maison des sciences et de l'homme, 18-22 Janvier 1985, Istanbul: Isis, 1991), 18–19.

¹⁵³ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 516. Presumably the drogman and the traitor of April 24th are the same person.

¹⁵⁴ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 17–27.

¹⁵⁵ İnalçık, 21–22.

¹⁵⁶ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 529.

“tall tower” and the tower itself had been torn down.¹⁵⁷ All weapons and cannons were confiscated.¹⁵⁸

On the same day, the sultan ordered that the property of those who left during the conflict be counted and sealed, warning that if the owners did not return within three months, all would be confiscated.¹⁵⁹ The podesta sent an envoy to Chios, in order to inform the fugitives, of the sultan’s intention.¹⁶⁰ Some returned, at least for a short while, in order to settle their business, but many remained in Chios where they were able to start a new life. A governor, Karaca Bey, was appointed. Lomellini was no longer podesta but *kethuda*. Pera was no longer the autonomous “state within a state”. However, after the initial shock, everyday activity slowly started to pick up, as attested by notary acts, as early as July 1453.¹⁶¹ The first acts were related to slaves being freed by their Genoese masters to become free Ottoman subjects. Pera was now also a haven for prisoners of all nationalities who had paid their ransoms.¹⁶²

The demography of Pera changed progressively after 1453. Venetians and a large number of Florentines started residing in Pera.¹⁶³ Mehmed II encouraged the population to stay and invited new settlers to come, through various incentives. There were migratory movements toward the end of the fifteenth century bringing Arabs and Jews. Although there are records of the descendants of the famous Genoese families even in the seventeenth century, the neighbourhoods changed.¹⁶⁴ New Ottoman, Muslim, and Armenian neighbourhoods developed. While all the Aegean islands that belonged to the Genoese were progressively conquered by the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century, only the Maona of Chios resisted until 1566. In 1475, Caffa was conquered by Mehmed II, and a flow of refugees came and settled, mainly in İstanbul, but also in Pera. Following the loss of the Black Sea trade, the nature of business changed. The Genoese became more focused on business with Spain, England,

¹⁵⁷ Déroche and Vatin, 609.

¹⁵⁸ Heyd, *Histoire* 2, 2:312.

¹⁵⁹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 467.

¹⁶⁰ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:173.

¹⁶¹ Ausilia Roccatagliata, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti Rogati a Pera e Mitilene*, vol. 1 (Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di paleografia e storia medievale, 1982), 133.

¹⁶² Geo Pistarino, ‘The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1, no. 1 (1986): 63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518968608569502>.

¹⁶³ Pistarino, 317.

¹⁶⁴ Rinaldo Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021), 43–44.

and Flanders.¹⁶⁵ By the end of the fifteenth century, Pera functioned differently. However, throughout the Ottoman period, Galata maintained a multi-ethnic population that consisted of Latins (not only Genovese, but also Florentines and Venetians), Jews, Armenians, Greek and Muslims, who lived in mixed quarters. The arsenal and shipyard in Kasımpaşa contributed to an increase in the Turkish population. Merchants, sailors, and all artisans related to ship building gathered in Galata, while the port continued to be the main port of İstanbul.¹⁶⁶ Mitler states that “the physical appearance of Galata before the conquest and several centuries thereafter remained that of a typical, fortified, north Italian medieval town with castles, walls, narrow circuitous streets, Gothic churches and convents, stepped alleys, and solid masonry houses”.¹⁶⁷ However, while the general appearance of the city with its grid plan and its multicultural population must have been very distinct from Istanbul proper, there was a steady Ottomanization throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth century

In this overview of the history of the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire, I have particularly chosen to provide the details every time Galata/Pera played a role, sometimes as a battle field, sometimes as a place of exile or hide-out, sometimes as a convenient ally to supply food during sieges, and most of the times as an escape route from Constantinople. The next section of this chapter focuses on the identity, organization and characteristics of the Genoese Pera, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century.

1.3. Who were the Genoese?

Genoa’s history in the late medieval period is marked by a succession of internal conflicts, government changes, and appeals to external authorities to solve factional wars.¹⁶⁸ The city was successively ruled by a *consul*, *capitano del popolo*, *podesta*, *doge*, or by representatives of external rulers such as the Duke of Lombardy, the duke of Naples, and a French governor.¹⁶⁹ Sauli remarks that this was the perpetual situation in

¹⁶⁵ Carrie E. Benes, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, Brill’s Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 6.

¹⁶⁶ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 270.

¹⁶⁷ Louis Mitler, ‘The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 1 (1979): 80.

¹⁶⁸ Antonio Musarra, ‘Political Alliance and Conflict’, in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, ed. Carrie E. Benes, Brill’s Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 121.

¹⁶⁹ Luca Filangieri, ‘The Commune’, in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, Brill’s Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 103–18.

Genoa; brought to the bottom by internal conflicts, the city resorted to the governance of foreigners, and once peace was restored, the foreigners were banished, and as soon as freedom was established, internal brawls started again.¹⁷⁰

1.3.1 Before Pera

Balard remarks that the Genoese have become merchants by necessity and colonisers by accident.¹⁷¹ Until the tenth century, Genoa was a small settlement of fishermen, with a bishop and few noblemen.¹⁷² Agriculture was very limited because of its difficult geography. Genoa, and the rest of Liguria, stand on a narrow strip of land, trapped between the sea and the Apennine mountains. The trigger that pushed the Genoese to sail longer distances happened in 935, when they suffered raids from the Saracens, who had already taken over Sicily. If the Saracens took control of Sardinia too, Genoa would completely lose its mobility on the sea side. Therefore, they joined forces with the Pisans and made expeditions against the Muslims of North Africa, to evade this risk.¹⁷³ These were their first voyages and battles in foreign territory. Once Sicily fell under Norman rule, the Genoese were able to establish trading posts there, but more importantly, the traffic from the west to the east Mediterranean was now open to Christian nations. The Pisans and the Genoese started trade relations with the Byzantines later than the Amalfitans and Venetians who had remained attached to the Eastern Roman Empire, while Liguria and Tuscany had been under the dominance of Goths, Lombards, and Franks.¹⁷⁴ The development of communal autonomy occurred shortly before the beginning of the crusades. Until then, the influence of the counts, and the feudal lords had prevailed. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the free bourgeoisie of Genoa established a political association, *Compagna*, governed by six consuls elected annually.¹⁷⁵

The noble families of Genoa were separated into two groups, based on their allegiance to the Papacy (Guelfs) or the Holy Roman emperors (Ghibellines). There was also a hierarchy among these families. The four leading families were the Doria and

¹⁷⁰ Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, 1831, 2:51.

¹⁷¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 6.

¹⁷² Robert Sabatino Lopez, 'Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa', *The Journal of Economic History* 24, no. 4 (1964): 446.

¹⁷³ Benes, *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, 4; Heyd, *Histoire* 2, 2:123.

¹⁷⁴ Heyd, *Histoire* 1, 1:120.

¹⁷⁵ Heyd, 1:132; Benes, *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, 6.

Spinola of the Ghibelline party, and the Fieschi and Grimaldi of the Guelf party.¹⁷⁶ The noble families were grouped into *alberghi*, a Genoese institution. Members of an *albergo* typically lived in the same fortified neighbourhood, shared the same name, and pledged allegiance in economic, social, political, military affairs and all other aspects of life.¹⁷⁷ The neighbourhoods, *contrada*, bore the name of the relevant *albergo*.¹⁷⁸ According to the hierarchical order, the four leading families mentioned above were followed by the *alberghi grandi*, such as the Cattaneo, Gentile, Lomellini, Salvago, and Pinelli, the *alberghi medi*, such as the Centurione, Grillo, Imperiale, Italiano, Lercari, Marini, Negro, Cibo, Vivaldi, and Negroni and finally, the *alberghi piccoli*, such as the Mari, Cicala, Calvi, Squarciafico, Usodimare, and others.¹⁷⁹

By the time the first crusade started, Genoa had become an important maritime force and took up an important role by carrying food, arms, and other supplies on its ships, while the armies moved by land. In 1097, however, the Genoese took up arms as well. Starting with Antioch, each time they helped crusader states, they were able to establish trading posts and privileges. Acre, Jerusalem, Gibelet, Jaffa, Tripoli, Beirut were other locations, which contributed to the enrichment of Genoa.¹⁸⁰ During this time, the Genoese traded with Constantinople only occasionally. Between 1160 and 1203 they were intermittently granted an embolos near the Pisan and Venetian ones on the southern shore of the Golden Horn, but it was still a secondary market for them. However, following a long conflict with the Venetians, known as the war of Saint-Sabas, in 1258, the Genoese encountered a humiliating defeat and lost Acre, their pivotal trading post in the Levant.¹⁸¹ Starting from 1267, the main market for the Genoese became Constantinople and the Black Sea.

1.3.2. Colonization

Genoese colony is a generic term given to a form of Genoese presence in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Bosphorus, and the Black Sea

¹⁷⁶ Emile Vincens, *Histoire de La République de Gênes* (Bruxelles: Wouters, Raspoet et Ce, 1843), 149.

¹⁷⁷ George L. Gorse, 'Architecture and Urban Topography', in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, ed. Carrie E. Benes, Brill's Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 232.

¹⁷⁸ Jacques Heers, *Le Clan Familial Au Moyen Age; Étude Sur Les Structures Politiques et Sociales Des Milieux Urbains* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 160.

¹⁷⁹ Edoardo Grendi, 'Profilo Storico Degli Alberghi Genovesi', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps Modernes* 87, no. 1 (1975): 251.

¹⁸⁰ Benes, *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, 4; Heyd, *Histoire 1*, 1:134–41.

¹⁸¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 42.

between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries. Colonies can be simple trading outposts (*fondaco*),¹⁸² or a larger quarter (*embolo* or *castro*),¹⁸³ or settlements with long term residents, such as Pera, Caffa or Chios. They can be autonomous, semi-autonomous or under a sovereign authority. In some cases, rulers of the colonies can be associations, such as the *Mahona* of Chios, or Genoese families appointed by Byzantine emperors, such as the Gattilusio in Lesbos, Ainos and Lemnos, the Cattaneo and Adorno in New Phocaea, or the Zaccaria in Phocaea and Chios.¹⁸⁴ The main activity was always trading but there could be other sources of income, such as cultivation of mastic (Chios), exploitation of mines (alum in Phocaea), management of mint (Trebizond), tax farming, banking, and investing in trade partnerships or real estate.¹⁸⁵ Regardless of the status of the colonies, Genoa maintained control over them through central offices, *Officium Gazarie* and *Officium Provisionis Romaniae*, and ensured their safety.¹⁸⁶ Origone states that the Genoese colonisation process did not follow a central plan, it was not linear but rather, a result of responses to concrete situations, often by private individuals, adding that individualism and pragmatism were two aspects of the Genoese society.¹⁸⁷ “Through their navigational skills, the Genoese acquired the inclination to colonize, and through their colonial dominions they tried to surpass the limits of their *districtus* - both the narrowness of its territory and its scarcity of resources.”¹⁸⁸ Colonies in Spain, in Sardinia, in the Maghreb, in the crusader states, in Crimea, and in each Aegean island developed in very different forms. Each had its own character and the Genoese adapted to different circumstances.¹⁸⁹ Pera was not obtained by military force. It was a concession, which became an enclave. The motivation was not territorial expansion, nor resource exploitation, but mainly control of trade routes. The Genoese migration took three forms; migration of individuals, recruitment by merchants, or

¹⁸² Benes, *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, XXII. “A building for the collective storage and sale of goods, a warehouse, generally belonging to a merchant community abroad. An Italianisation of the Arabic *Funduq*.”

¹⁸³ Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 148. “Embolo probably refers to a colonnaded street or portico. Later, it would become the normal term for a city quarter assigned to a foreign merchant community in Constantinople” as cited in Kerim İlker Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’ (Ph.D., Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2013), 80.

¹⁸⁴ Sandra Origone, ‘Colonies and Colonization’, in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, ed. Carrie E. Benes, Brill’s Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 509.

¹⁸⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 339; Origone, ‘Colonies and Colonization’, 512.

¹⁸⁶ Origone, ‘Colonies and Colonization’, 510; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 478.

¹⁸⁷ Origone, ‘Colonies and Colonization’, 499.

¹⁸⁸ Origone, 516.

¹⁸⁹ Origone, 512.

movement of large groups organized by the authorities.¹⁹⁰ In Pera, the origin of most of the settlers was Genoa, and the coastal villages of Liguria. While the continuous emigration on temporary or permanent basis caused a lot of fluctuation, the population of Genoa in the fourteenth century is estimated to consist of 50,000 to 100,000 individuals.¹⁹¹

1.3.3. Administration

The Genoese had a well-established administration model for their trading colonies. The governing laws, *Statuti di Pera*, were issued in 1304. In fact, they were copied after the statutes of Genoa, with the addition of some specific clauses for Pera. The governor of Pera was the podesta who was chosen by the Genoa Commune, for a period of one year. He left Genoa at the end of the summer and took his functions in October. He was accompanied by a group of mercenaries, forming an entourage, in line with the prestige of his position. When he arrived, he first appeared in front of the whole community (*parlamentum*) where he presented his credentials and swore to respect the governing laws and to administer them fairly. The *parlamentum* had no other function in the administration of the city. The first thing the podesta had to do within three days of his election was to elect a small council of six, with an equal representation of nobles and *populares*. The small council then elected a grand council of twenty-four, again with equal representation of nobles and *populares*. However, this procedure changed after 1317. The grand council elected the small council, which was now a group of eight (the ancients), thus significantly reducing the role of the podesta in electing the administration. He could not oppose a decision taken by two thirds of his advisors. In time, the role of the grand council also became limited to the election of the small council.¹⁹² The podesta was responsible of the tax collection, implementation of custom rules and duties, provisioning and budget management. Two treasurers, *massarii*, were in charge of the financial affairs.¹⁹³ The podesta had also a legal role whereby he had to sit on specific days and hours to listen to the legal problems of the community and administer justice, according to Genoese statutes. He was assisted by a

¹⁹⁰ Michel Balard, 'Colonisation et Mouvements de Population En Méditerranée Au Moyen Age', in *Les Échanges En Méditerranée Médiévale*, ed. Elisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012), 1, <http://books.openedition.org/pup/13852>.

¹⁹¹ Denise Bezzina, 'Social Landscapes', in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, ed. Carrie E. Benes, Brill's Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2018), 167.

¹⁹² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 360–62.

¹⁹³ Balard, 392.

vicario, well-trained in legal affairs.¹⁹⁴ Other officials were chancellors, notaries, translators, bailiffs, and clerks.¹⁹⁵

The responsibilities of the podesta being very diverse and numerous, as the community expanded and gained importance, special commissions were created to discharge the workload and involve others in the decision-making and governance. The most important commissions were *Officium Monete*, for financial matters, *Officium Mercancie*, acting like a port authority, checking vessels, their loads and merchants, *Officium Victualium* for provision of grains and other food products, and *Officium Guerre* for defence matters.¹⁹⁶ The military unit was mainly composed of the guards, archers, sailors and armed men serving under the Podesta and the council. The colony relied on the Genoese Commune fleet, for extraordinary crisis situations.¹⁹⁷

The podestas were members of the *alberghi* of the Genoa commune, who shared different functions, according to tradition and balance of power. Therefore, authority was not only in the hands of the podesta but also of the interest group he represented. Podestas were elected among prestigious people, capable of handling diplomacy and politics along with trade interests. They were rich, cultivated, and occupied a high place in society. In Pera, until 1350, out of thirty-seven podestas, thirty-two belonged to noble *alberghi*, of which two thirds were either Doria or Spinola.¹⁹⁸ The podesta was sworn in by the Byzantine emperor, who had the right to refuse his investiture. He appeared in court on Sundays, holidays, receptions and could be invited to the imperial table, where his rank was after the grand admiral. The Venetian bailo appeared in court also but he never had the same number of privileges, as the podesta.¹⁹⁹ The sole purpose of the administrators of the colony was to protect and extend the commercial network, to create the best conditions for the citizens to buy goods from neighbouring regions and to store and export them. Diplomacy and military force were mere tools to serve this ultimate strategy.²⁰⁰ The podesta governed the Genoese community of Pera, but he also acted as a resident minister of the Genoa Commune, and received complaints and other issues raised by the imperial authorities. He usually transmitted such matters to Genoa

¹⁹⁴ Balard, 362–63.

¹⁹⁵ Balard, 368.

¹⁹⁶ Balard, 387–90.

¹⁹⁷ Balard, 441–45.

¹⁹⁸ Balard, 899–900.

¹⁹⁹ Balard, 359.

²⁰⁰ Balard, 357.

but at times of crisis, when pressed by time, the podesta could take decisions on his own. He was expected to defend the interests of the Genoa Commune and the Empire impartially.²⁰¹

1.3.4. *Masters of trade, finance, and navigation*

Between the years 1260 to 1475, the Black Sea became a major hub for the trade route that extended from the Far East to the end of the Mediterranean and further north (Fig. 4). The circumstances that allowed this traffic were the stability of the Turkic nations under the *Pax Mongolica*, allowing a secure route, on one hand, and the commercial and nautical skills of the Genoese, combined with the privileges granted to them by the Byzantines, on the other. The Venetians were also a player in the Black Sea market, but to a lesser extent.²⁰² Genoa was in the central position of this long-distance orient – occident trade axis that extended to Spain, Flanders, England, and France.²⁰³ With the establishment of the Black Sea outposts in Caffa, and Tana, the Genoese were able to receive goods through the Danube and the Don, as well as the Far East. Spices, silk, wax, leather, fur were the main import items. Caffa also became a center of slave exports, of mainly Tatar origin, destined to the Egyptian market.²⁰⁴ Some were sold in Constantinople and Pera also. In the opposite direction, the items that were exported from the occident to the Black Sea were wine and oil from various Mediterranean and Aegean producers, woollens, mainly from Flanders, France and Northern Italy, linen from Champagne, Lombardy, Genoa.²⁰⁵ Pera, like Constantinople, was a transit place rather than a consumer market for Genoese traders.

The golden years of the Genoese trade in the Black Sea are generally accepted to be until 1350, around which time Caffa and Tana came under Mongolian attack, the Eastern trade route from Tabriz to Trabzon switched south to Alexandria and Beyrouth while the conflicts with Venice were exacerbated.²⁰⁶ Towards the end of the fourteenth century, spices and silk were no longer the main imports from the Black Sea or Asia Minor.²⁰⁷ However, the regional Black Sea production continued to be exported through Pera. In addition to wax, leather, and fur, wheat was a very important item. Wheat trade

²⁰¹ Balard, 364.

²⁰² Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siecles)*, 209–11.

²⁰³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 849.

²⁰⁴ Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siecles)*, 45.

²⁰⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 834–39.

²⁰⁶ Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siecles)*, 37.

²⁰⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 733.

was controlled by the Byzantines who wanted to protect the Thracian wheat production and prices. Therefore, Black Sea wheat was not sold to the Byzantine market. The Genoese themselves, however, were in demand for wheat for their Commune.²⁰⁸ Alum was a very important item extracted mainly in Phocaea and exported through Genoa to England and Flanders. It had many uses among which color fixing for textiles was the most important one, and it was in high demand in the fabric producing countries.²⁰⁹ Copper extracted in Kastamonu was another item exported through Pera.

With the advance of the Ottomans, and the loss of Byzantine territory, regional trade with Asia Minor started to disappear. In 1398, trade volumes in Pera were a tenth of what they were in 1342.²¹⁰ Chios became the main hub for Genoese trade, with the export of mastic and other agricultural items, as well as the important alum traffic to Flanders.²¹¹ As stated by Balard, by exchanging a raw material import like alum, with a finished good such as woollens, the Genoese established a colonial traffic. The transport of large amounts of alum also initiated the development of high tonnage vessels for this purpose.²¹² Around the same time, Bursa became a major center for the caravan trade coming from Iran and Syria and silks and spices were now exported in the reverse direction.²¹³ After 1350, the number of small investors and merchants in the oriental trade business declined. The majority of the transactions were realized by the big merchant families of Genoa.²¹⁴ In the final decades of the Byzantine Empire, some Byzantine aristocrats were also involved with trade, in partnership with the Genoese.²¹⁵ After 1453, Pera continued to play an important role but it was no longer the first stop on the Black Sea route. Chios became the center of the oriental trade.²¹⁶ Pera remained an important stop for the Genoese traders on their way to purchase goods from the Bursa market.

²⁰⁸ Balard, 750.

²⁰⁹ Marie-Louise Heers, 'Les Génois et Le Commerce de l'alun à La Fin Du Moyen-Âge', *Revue d'histoire Économique et Sociale* 32, no. 1 (1954): 31.

²¹⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 683.

²¹¹ Balard, 868.

²¹² Balard, 782.

²¹³ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 56.

²¹⁴ Balard, 'Colonisation et Mouvements de Population En Méditerranée Au Moyen Age', 698.

²¹⁵ Klaus-Peter Matschke, 'Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, vol. 2 (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 803.

²¹⁶ Ausilia Roccatagliata, 'Con Un Notaio Genovese Tra Pera e Chio Nel 1453-1454', *Revue Des Études Sud-Est Européennes* XVII, no. 2 (1979): 239.

The Genoese colony of Pera had never been granted the right to mint coins. The acts of 1304 and 1317 granted them the right to use their own weights but there was no mention of minting. In fact, the *Statuti of Pera* included a clause forbidding it.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, two ducats of Pera were discovered and published by Lambros in 1872, and by Schlumberger in 1878 (Fig. 5). They are imitations of the Venetian ducat, very similar to the imitations that were minted in Chios in the same period, the only difference being the initial P for Pera instead of sii for Chios.²¹⁸ In one coin, Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan and lord of the Genoa Commune, is represented kneeling in front of a saint while in the other Tommaso di Campofregoso, doge of Genoa, is kneeling in front of San Lorenzo. The latter weighs half a Venetian ducat. The first one is dated between 1421 and 1436, the second between 1415 and 1421.²¹⁹ Morrisson identified a mention of these imitation ducats in Badoer's *Libro dei Conti* where they were mixed in a purse with Turkish ducats, but recognized as defective and estimated to be eleven percent less than the Turkish ducats, and less than two-thirds of the Venetian one.²²⁰

The Genoese used varied instruments to finance their trade. The commenda, *accomendacio*, was a type of contract made in the presence of a notary, where there was an investor entering an association with a merchant. The merchant used the funds to travel and trade, and shared the proceeds with the investor. This method was widely used from the twelfth century onwards. There could be multiple investors, and/or multiple merchants but the contract was for one trip only.²²¹ The letter of exchange, *cambium*, was another important instrument developed, around the same time. One party recognized the receipt of a sum and agreed to reimburse it in another location by converting it to another currency. Most of the time, interest was hidden in the exchange rate that was applied.²²² The merchants had correspondents in all the important trading locations.²²³ La Casa delle compere e dei banchi di San Giorgio, founded in 1407, one

²¹⁷ G. Lunardi, 'Le Monete Delle Colonie Genovesi', *Atti Della Societa Ligure Di Storia Patria*, Nuova Serie, XX, no. 1 (1980): 24, <https://core.ac.uk/reader/362206710>.

²¹⁸ Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, 453.

²¹⁹ Lunardi, 'Le Monete Delle Colonie Genovesi', 25; Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, 453–54.

²²⁰ Cécile Morrisson, 'Coin Usage and Exchange Rates in Badoer's "Libro Dei Conti"', *Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* 55 (2001): 230.

²²¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 600–603.

²²² G. I. Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de La Fin Du Treizieme Sicle (1281-1290)*, Cultura Nationala (Bucarest, 1927), 47–48.

²²³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 615–20.

of the first European banks, was the most renowned Genoese institution for four hundred years.

In the late medieval period, double entry accounting, bank loans, and many financial instruments began to be used by the Genoese, Venetian, and Florentines and it is hard to determine who invented them first. According to Lopez, two things that were undeniably first invented by the Genoese were the portolan map and the maritime insurance.²²⁴ The “Carta Pisana” is considered the oldest known portolan map, a tool to help navigation. It is of Genoese origin, and dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.²²⁵ Bratianu states that, among the Italian republics of the middle age, Venice shone with its monuments and diplomatic skills, Florence with its industrial and social development as well as its artistical renaissance, while Genoa devoted all its activity to the formation of capitalism.²²⁶ He further adds that, nowhere else, during the middle-ages did the financial and commercial techniques achieve such progress, nor did the banking and maritime institutions achieve such degree of perfection.

1.4. Summary

During two centuries, the Genoese had a quasi-autonomous, “state within a state” presence in Galata. Starting from 1261, the Byzantines relied on them for the defence of Constantinople, from their enemies from the east and from the west. They obtained privileges that made them master of the Black Sea. Their rivalry with the Venetians led to numerous armed conflicts, into which the Byzantines were also dragged. They did not hesitate to interfere in the Byzantine civil wars, always with a view to obtain new privileges for themselves or to prevent their archenemy the Venetians from getting any. As pragmatic traders, they managed to make alliances with the Ottomans as well. Although their presence continued for a while after 1453, the golden years of Genoese Pera/Galata were during the fourteenth century. The Genoese dominated the Aegean coast, through Chios and Lesbos, the Bosphorus through Pera, and the Black Sea through Caffa, and other outposts. They were remarkably skillful

²²⁴ Robert Sabatino Lopez, ‘Le Marchand Génois: Un Profil Collectif’, *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, no. 3 (1958): 514.

²²⁵ Mehmet Kahyaoğlu, ‘Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor towards the End of the Byzantine Empire’, in *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul 24-27 June, 2013*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu with the assistance of Ivana Jevtic (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2016), 268.

²²⁶ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*, 15.

sailors, traders, and bankers. Although they did not have a steady regime in the metropole Genoa, their colony in Pera was a well administered city, with its podesta and other institutions. Starting from a defenceless and small concession area, the Genoese managed to obtain new rights after each conflict and eventually, Pera grew into a fortified city with two suburbs, numerous churches, occupied by a well-established population of Genoese and other Ligurians. The survival of the prosperous Pera community was ensured by continuous power games and peaceful periods were rare. The Golden Horn, separating Pera and Constantinople was the scene of many battles, but at the same time, the fate of the two cities was united against common enemies.



CHAPTER 2: PERA/GALATA

*“E tanti son li Zenoexi
E per lo mondo si destexi
Che unde li van e stan
Un atra Zenoa ge fan.*

Anonimo genovese”²²⁷

2.1. Introduction

When the Genoese received their concession in Galata in 1267, they did not inherit a virgin piece of land. The northern shore of the Golden Horn had been occupied since Antiquity. Therefore, they presumably first settled in existing houses and used existing temples and public buildings before they started to build around these oriental structures in their own Ligurian style.²²⁸ Wherever they went, they created another Genoa, as the anonymous poet says, and as attested by the various traveller accounts.

This chapter starts with a section about Sykai and its history until the arrival of the Genoese in 1267. The next sections cover the various sources that are available to gather evidence about the topography of Pera/Galata, the Genoese colony across Constantinople during nearly two hundred years. The first sources are the published Genoese notary records by Bratianu for the thirteenth century, by Balard for the fourteenth century and by Roccatagliata for the fifteenth century.²²⁹ For each period, references to streets, neighbourhoods, churches, official buildings, houses, as well as any clues about the activities of the inhabitants are collected. Maps and traveller accounts are two other important sources. Based on the existing scholarship, an attempt to describe how the city functioned is made. The walls of the city, its donjon, the Galata tower, Castrum Galata, the Palazzo Comunale are briefly described. The main emphasis in this chapter has been given to the seventeen churches mentioned in the Genoese sources. A significant effort has been made to gather all the available information about them. I have proposed locations for Santa Chiara/San Antonio Abbate, for San Antonio

²²⁷ Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIIIè Siècle*.

Bratianu cites F.-L. Manucci, *L'anonimo genovese e la sua raccolta di rime (sec. XIII-XIV)*, (Genova, 1904). The Genoese spread around the world and wherever they go, they create a Genoa.

²²⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 179.

²²⁹ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*; Michel Balard, ‘Péra au XIVe siècle. Documents notariés des archives de Gênes’, in *Les italiens à Byzance: Edition et présentations de documents par Michel Balard*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Catherine Otten-Froux, Byzantina Sorbonensia (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1987), 9–63, <http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/81654>; Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*; Ausilia Roccatagliata, ‘Notai Genovesi in Oltremare Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)’, *Atti Della Societa Ligure Di Storia Patria* 39, no. 113 (1999): 101–60.

di Padova church and hospital, San Giovanni Battista church and hospital and challenged a few suggestions in Sercan Sağlam's recent paper *Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul)*, derived from his PhD dissertation.²³⁰ The church names in the various sources I have read were in French, Latin, Italian and English. I have chosen to use Italian names for the sake of uniformity, except when I quote from the source.

2.2. Sykai-Galata-Pera

The origin of Pera/Galata, or Sykai, as it was called in Antiquity, dates back to approximately the same time as the Megarian colony Byzantion that preceded Constantinople, 695 BCE.²³¹ It is first mentioned by Herodotos in his Histories (c. 440 BCE) and later by Strabon (c. 64 BCE – c. CE 24), and Stephanos Byzantios (sixth century CE).²³² The name Sykai means fig grove and reflects the abundance of fig trees.²³³ Strabon described a port below a forest of fig trees.²³⁴ Little is known about the years preceding the Byzantine era. The settlement is said to be surrounded with land walls under Constantine I (306-337).²³⁵ During the reign of Theodosios II (408-450) Sykai is cited as the thirteenth region among the fourteen regions of Constantinople described in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*.²³⁶ It is said to contain the forum of Honorius, the baths of Honorius, a church, five private baths, a theatre, a large portico, one public mill or bakery, four private mills or bakeries, dockyards, and 431 houses.²³⁷

²³⁰ Hasan Sercan Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul)', *Idealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Urban Studies)* 11, no. 31 (March 2020): 1834–55.

²³¹ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 13–14.

²³² Celal Esat Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve şürekası Matbaası, 1913), 25.

²³³ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 13.

²³⁴ Ernest Mamboury, *Istanbul Touristique 1951* (İstanbul: Çituri Biraderler, 1951), 75.

²³⁵ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası. 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 320.

²³⁶ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 321; Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Galata et Ses Environs Dans l'antiquité', *Revue Des Études Byzantines* 4 (1946): 223; Marie Havaux, 'Théodose II, Constantinople et l'Empire: Une Nouvelle Lecture de La Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae', *Revue Historique*, no. 681 (January 2017): 38; Pierre Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, trans. Jean-Pierre Grélois (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007), 457.

²³⁷ "... Tertiadecima regio Sycena est, quae sinu maris angusto diuisa societatem urbis nauigiis frequentibus promeretur; tota lateri montis adfixa praeter unius plateae tractum, quam subiacentium eidem monti litorum tantum praestat aequalitas. Continet in se: Ecclesiam. Thermas Honorianas. Forum Honorianum. Theatrum. Naualia. Domos quadringentas triginta unam. Porticum maiorem unam. Balneas priuatas quinque. Pistrinum publicum unum. Pistrina priuata quattuor..." as cited in Havaux, 'Théodose II, Constantinople et l'Empire: Une Nouvelle Lecture de La Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae', 38.

It is built on the side of the hill, except for a large and flat area next to the shore.²³⁸ In 528, Justinian I undertook a vast reconstruction of Sykai. He built the church of Hagia Irene, a theatre, and walls, raised the district to city status and named it Justinianopolis, after himself.²³⁹ The name did not survive beyond his reign. According to Kuban, in the sixth century, the boats that operated between the Perama Gate and Galata were called *Transitus Sycarum* or *Transitus Justinianorum*. This location continued to be used as the crossing place during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. In fact, the first Galata bridge was built there as well.²⁴⁰ Tiberius I (578-582) built a castle at the east extremity of the settlement, *Castrum Galathae* or *Kastellion ton Galatou*, as part of the defence system of Constantinople.²⁴¹ At times of war, a chain starting from this tower and ending in the Eugenios Tower of Constantinople would protect the entrance of the Golden Horn.²⁴² The presence of the castle is mentioned by Theophanes the Confessor, during the siege of Constantinople by the Umayyad Caliphate (717 – 718).²⁴³ As noted by d’Alessio, there are very few remains of Sykai. The walls built by the Genoese made use of a lot of spolia. The marble fragments and graves from this early period are listed by d’Alessio.²⁴⁴ Apart from the foundations of the *Castrum* (Yeraltı Camii) and parts of Saint Benoit church which are believed to be Byzantine, Sağlam also mentions remains of a cistern and various inscriptions, statues and pillars used by the Genoese, as spolia.²⁴⁵

The name Sykai was gradually replaced by Galata. As every author who wrote about Galata since the sixteenth century, I will briefly summarize the diverging theories about the origin of this name. According to Gilles, the inhabitants of Galata in the sixteenth century believed that Galata was derived from a Greek word meaning milk, *gala*, because milk was sold there.²⁴⁶ Gilles claims that a more founded explanation is that Galata derives from Galatae, a name given to Gauls, who, according to Johannes

²³⁸ Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. John Ball (New York: Italica Press, 1988), 211.

²³⁹ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 60; Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 208.

²⁴⁰ Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 60.

²⁴¹ Semavi Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower* (İstanbul: Türkiye Otomobil ve Turing Kulübü, 1969), 10.

²⁴² Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 59; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası. 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Bizantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul*, 306.

²⁴³ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 10.

²⁴⁴ Dallegio d’Alessio, ‘Galata et Ses Environs Dans l’antiquité’, 231–37.

²⁴⁵ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 6.

²⁴⁶ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 449.

Tzetses crossed the sea from there, and therefore the place was named after them.²⁴⁷ Eyice mentions that *Kal'a*, or *Kal'at*, meaning castle in Arabic and Turkish, as well as *calata*, an Italian word, meaning ladder or dock, were also proposed as the origin of the name Galata.²⁴⁸

After the Arab siege of the eighth century, there is no information about Galata until the twelfth century when Benjamin Tudele visited the settlement and indicated the presence of a Jewish community of tanners and silk workers, who were presumably expelled from Constantinople in the eleventh century.²⁴⁹ Pera Jews came from various locations. An important influx from Syria took place in the beginning of the eleventh century.²⁵⁰ There is also evidence of a Jewish cemetery next to Galata.²⁵¹

According to Balard, the first concession zone that had been granted to the Genoese in 1160 and demolished by the Pisans in 1162, S. Cruce, was presumably next to Castrum Galathae which the Genoese called Santa Croce.²⁵² In 1203, the fourth crusade arrived in front of Constantinople. As the entrance of the Golden Horn was blocked by a chain, the crusaders took control of Tor de Galathos and settled in the north bank of the Golden Horn to negotiate with the emperor. Geoffroy de Villehardouin mentions both the tower and the Jewish quarter, that he names Estanor, and describes it as a rich and beautiful city.²⁵³ In July 1203, the Jewish quarter of Galata, was completely burnt down by the crusaders.²⁵⁴ The successive fires led the Jews to flee to Constantinople, abandoning Galata, along with the other inhabitants. There is no evidence of Jews in Galata during the Latin Empire and they are not mentioned in the initial notary acts of the Genoese after 1267. During the huge fire of Constantinople, started by the crusaders in the summer of 1203, all the commercial quarters, except the Venetian ones, were greatly damaged. At the end of the conflict, 15.000 people who had lost their houses, are reported to have crossed the water and taken refuge in Galata.²⁵⁵ According to Desimoni, Bratianu, and Mamboury, it is highly

²⁴⁷ Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 212.

²⁴⁸ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 48.

²⁴⁹ David Jacoby, 'Les Quartiers Juifs de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine', *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 175; Cyril Mango, 'La Banlieu de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen-Age* 108, no. 1 (1996): 364.

²⁵⁰ Jacoby, 'Les Quartiers Juifs de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine', 226.

²⁵¹ Heyd, *Histoire I*, 1:250.

²⁵² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 107.

²⁵³ Jacoby, 'Les Quartiers Juifs de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine', 176.

²⁵⁴ Jacoby, 188.

²⁵⁵ Heyd, *Histoire I*, 1:268.

probable that some Genoese resided in Galata during the Latin Empire period.²⁵⁶ However, when Galata was given to them as a concession in 1267, it was scarcely populated.²⁵⁷ According to Pachymeres, the Emperor had ordered the walls of Galata to be torn down and requested that the Greeks living outside the Constantinople walls return to the city. Nevertheless, some of them seem to have remained in Galata.²⁵⁸

The Genoese called their concession Pera, presumably derived from Peran, meaning the other side (of Constantinople), while the Greeks continued to call the area Galata. Pera/Peyre appears in all Genoese notary records and other official documents, except in the treaties signed with the Byzantines, where Galata is used instead.²⁵⁹ It should be noted that the name Pera was used differently after the sixteenth century to indicate the area at the top of the hill of Galata (present day Beyoğlu), outside the Genoese walls, which had been covered only by vineyards and a few monasteries during the Byzantine period.

The 1303 concession act granted by Andronikos II to the Genoese, which included precise measurements of the concession area, followed by another complementary act in 1304, are the main sources describing the first borders of Pera.²⁶⁰ (see Appendix B) The 1303 act mentions an old shipyard, *vetus Darsana*, the castle on the shore, *castrum Galathe*, some monasteries, churches, and vineyards that remain outside the zone, while the 1304 act, enlarges the perimeter, including three unnamed Byzantine churches. Sağlam's 2020 publication provides the latest interpretation of the measurements by matching them with the present-day plan of Galata (Fig. 6).

2.3. Sources for the topography of Pera

2.3.1 Genoese notary records

There is little information about the topography of the Genoese settlement, particularly in the early years before the 1303-1304 acts. The notary records that have been kept in the Genoese archives are an invaluable source. These acts reveal the

²⁵⁶ Desimoni, 'I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII', 236; Bratianu, *Recherches Sur Le Commerce Génois Dans La Mer Noire Au XIIIè Siècle*, 90; Mamboury, *Istanbul Touristique 1951*, 77.

²⁵⁷ David Jacoby, 'The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), 282.

²⁵⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 182.

²⁵⁹ Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:103.

²⁶⁰ Belgrano, XIII:103–16.

names, origins and often the professions of the involved parties and their witnesses, and always indicate a signature location. They mainly treat matters related to trade, partnerships, finance, delegation, and employment, but also, and more interestingly for this research, testaments, house purchases and rentals. Most of the notary clients are merchants, members of noble Genoese families, and mainly men, but it is possible to see also women, smaller artisans, shop-keepers, and even slaves. Testaments have references to churches with burial and donation instructions. Real estate transactions always contain references to the district, street or other landmarks such as a church, hospital, public building or a vineyard and sometimes a precise enumeration of the neighbours on the four sides. The family names, as recorded in the notary acts, can have different meanings. They can belong to a noble family of Genoa, like *de Auria*, or indicate the origin of the person, like *di Chiavari*, or the profession of the person, like *Draperiis*, drape-maker which has evolved to become the family name of a well-known family of Pera.²⁶¹

According to Bratianu, notaries in the colonies mostly held their offices in the loggia where their client came to find them. The office would probably just be a desk.²⁶² They could also go to people's house, or to a church, or wherever they were called. Notaries working for the podesta, or other public officers operated in official buildings. They could be scribes in the courtroom. There were also notaries or scribes working on the ships. Bratianu mentions nineteen private notaries exercising in Pera, in 1281, without counting the official ones.²⁶³

Notary records of the thirteenth century

Bratianu published the notary records of Gabriele di Predono, enacted in Pera, pertaining to 1281 (from June 27th to October 9th) and 1284.²⁶⁴ There are 151 acts in total, 149 from 1281 and two from 1284. Among the 151, 104 are enacted in the loggia, "*Actum in Peira ante Constantinopolim sub logia Januensium*" and one in a church, "*Actum in Peira ante Constantinopolim in ecclesia Sancti Michaelis de Peira*".²⁶⁵ The

²⁶¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 231–32.

²⁶² Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*, 32.

²⁶³ Bratianu, 34.

²⁶⁴ Bratianu, 13–71.

²⁶⁵ Bratianu, 73, 90.

remaining forty are concluded in private properties, customarily the home of one of the clients, or the notary's own home, while six have unspecified locations in Pera

Although there is no record of the exact boundaries of the first Genoese quarter in 1267, acts of sale of houses and land clearly differentiate between the concession area, “*terram Communis*” and Byzantine land “*terram Imperatoris in Peira*”.²⁶⁶ However, the Genoese seemed to be able to acquire land also outside the concession area, where they could have Greek or Italian neighbours.²⁶⁷ There seems to be no segregation, as seen in the case of a Greek woman, Kali, widow of Teodoro de Clarenzia, buying a house in the concession zone from Dondedeo de Imola.²⁶⁸ Houses appear to be adjacent on a single row, with streets (*via* or *carubius*),²⁶⁹ on at least two sides, front and back, or front and one lateral side, suggesting a grid layout. There are vacant plots in the concession zone, as well as, a vineyard.²⁷⁰

Santa Elena Hospital and church are within the concession zone.²⁷¹ San Michele and Elena are the only churches of Pera mentioned in Bratianu. The Genoese wish to be buried in San Michele and have masses for their souls read there, and in nearly all cases, they also provide for donations to Santa Elena Hospital. As highlighted by Bratianu, they also never forget to provide for the institutions of their native city and villages.²⁷²

Pera, as Genoa and other Genoese colonies, was divided into *contradas*. A *contrada* was a small neighbourhood, constituted of houses within a few narrow streets, that were grouped around a church, a public building, or any other landmark. They were named after these buildings, or a rich family living there, or a particular profession dominating the neighbourhood²⁷³. Only one *contrada* is mentioned in Bratianu; it is named *Preri*, presumably after a family.²⁷⁴ One noteworthy transaction is about the sale of two bath houses, an empty lot with two wells, and a house in Pera.²⁷⁵ Ovens or bakeries (*furnus*) are mentioned as well as bakers (*fornarius*).²⁷⁶ Other professions

²⁶⁶ Bratianu, 97.

²⁶⁷ Bratianu, 96, 105, 111, 159.

²⁶⁸ Bratianu, 149.

²⁶⁹ Bratianu, 25. *Carubius* is a narrow street in Genoese dialect.

²⁷⁰ Bratianu, 97, 101.

²⁷¹ Bratianu, 84, 149, 150, 158.

²⁷² Bratianu, 67.

²⁷³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 192, 224.

²⁷⁴ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*, 139.

²⁷⁵ Bratianu, 97.

²⁷⁶ Bratianu, 84, 111, 127.

mentioned in Bratianu are tailor (*taliator, sartor*),²⁷⁷ cobbler (*calegorius*),²⁷⁸ furrier (*peliparius*),²⁷⁹ grocer (*speciarius* or *specialis*),²⁸⁰ banker (*bancherius*), blacksmith (*faber*),²⁸¹ surgeon (*medicus chirurgie*),²⁸² caulker (*calafatus*),²⁸³ tanner (*coraterius*),²⁸⁴ trumpet player (*trombatoris*),²⁸⁵ as well as officials such as podesta and his sergeant (*potestatis* and *serviens*),²⁸⁶ notary (*notarius*),²⁸⁷ judge (*judici*),²⁸⁸ clerk (*placarius*),²⁸⁹ translator (*turchimanus*),²⁹⁰ and crossbowman (*balistarius*).²⁹¹ There is no particular designation for the counterparties of commercial transactions, such as merchant or trader. Does it imply that everyone in Pera was a potential trader or merchant or investor? In the case of notaries for instance, Bratianu states that, quite frequently, their names appear as partners or investors in trade contracts.²⁹²

The names of some people present in Pera in the summer of 1281 were those of well-known Genoese noble families, such as Langasco,²⁹³ Mari,²⁹⁴ Squarsifico,²⁹⁵ Spinola,²⁹⁶ Lercario,²⁹⁷ and Conforto,²⁹⁸ which were still found in Pera after 1453, as will be seen in the next chapter. Giacomo Squarsifico was the podesta of Pera, in 1281.

Notary records of the fourteenth century

As far as the fourteenth century is concerned, the published notary records are more dispersed. Balard has regrouped them within one publication.²⁹⁹ There are 137 records, dated from 1309 to 1399, coming from separate cartularies. The most

²⁷⁷ Bratianu, 150.

²⁷⁸ Bratianu, 91.

²⁷⁹ Bratianu, 76, 164.

²⁸⁰ Bratianu, 94, 151.

²⁸¹ Bratianu, 77.

²⁸² Bratianu, 127.

²⁸³ Bratianu, 138.

²⁸⁴ Bratianu, 77.

²⁸⁵ Bratianu, 139.

²⁸⁶ Bratianu, 105.

²⁸⁷ Bratianu, 73.

²⁸⁸ Bratianu, 100.

²⁸⁹ Bratianu, 97.

²⁹⁰ Bratianu, 95.

²⁹¹ Bratianu, 106.

²⁹² Bratianu, 34–35.

²⁹³ Bratianu, 87.

²⁹⁴ Bratianu, 86–87.

²⁹⁵ Bratianu, 82, 94, 105.

²⁹⁶ Bratianu, 100.

²⁹⁷ Bratianu, 135.

²⁹⁸ Bratianu, 96.

²⁹⁹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 2–5. Some of the acts had been previously published in Laura Balletto, *Genova Mediterraneo, Mar Nero (sec. XIII-XV)*, (Genova: Civico istituto Colombiano, 1976).

representative series of acts are twenty-nine from 1331-1332 and eighty-three from 1389 to 1390, among which are the acts of Donato di Chiavari, official notary of the podesta. The rest are widely spread over the years.

The signature locations for the fourteenth century are more varied than in the thirteenth century. A vast majority, eighty-five acts, were signed in various locations of the loggia, such as the courtroom, *staciam ubi ius reditur*,³⁰⁰ *curia*,³⁰¹ *bancum curie consuetum*,³⁰² in notary benches, *in bancho in quo scribit notarius infrascriptus*,³⁰³ in the finance office, *banchis ubi coligitur officium expensarum* or *logia comunis Peyre ubi regitur officium expendicamentum*,³⁰⁴ or simply *logia comunis Peyre*.³⁰⁵ The *curia* was the courtroom.³⁰⁶

Sixteen acts were signed in the San Michele church, and two in San Domenico. The fact that all of those involved women counterparts, is noteworthy and may need to be researched further. Nineteen acts were signed in private homes, two in shops. In 1331, one act was signed *ante turrim populi Peyre*.³⁰⁷ There is no additional information indicating which tower it can be. The rest of the acts were signed in the communal palace where the podesta resided and where various offices and meeting halls were located. *Pallacio habitacionis dicti domini potestatis*,³⁰⁸ *Aulla secunda palacii dicti domini potestatis*,³⁰⁹ *salla prima palacii dicti domini potestatis*,³¹⁰ *salla magna palacii dicti domini potestatis*,³¹¹ *aulla parva palacii coinunis habitacionis sicti domini potestatis*,³¹² indicate halls of various sizes. Special function rooms are *camera consiliorum palacii dicti domini potestatis*,³¹³ *camera palacii dicti domini vicarii*.³¹⁴ The high number of acts signed in the courtroom and the palace is an expected consequence of the notary Donato di Chiavari's post as official scribe of Pera.

³⁰⁰ Balard, app. 76.

³⁰¹ Balard, app. 8.

³⁰² Balard, app. 51.

³⁰³ Balard, app. 46.

³⁰⁴ Balard, app. 15,27.

³⁰⁵ Balard, app. 34.

³⁰⁶ Aygül Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi ve Dönüşümü* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013), 71.

³⁰⁷ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 23.

³⁰⁸ Balard, app. 9.

³⁰⁹ Balard, app. 57.

³¹⁰ Balard, app. 59.

³¹¹ Balard, app. 101.

³¹² Balard, app. 107.

³¹³ Balard, app. 71.

³¹⁴ Balard, app. 97.

Other significant information gathered from the acts are references to the neighbouring districts, Lagirio and Spiga and a *valle columpnatis* outside the city walls. In Spiga, a piece of land is sold in 1389, followed by an orchard with little houses in *contracta* San Antonio sold in 1390.³¹⁵ In 1389, the podesta receives a complaint about Constantinus Arconi, presented as a resident of Lagirio.³¹⁶ In 1390, a vineyard located outside the walls of Pera, in *valle columpnatis* is sold in an auction.³¹⁷ *Valle columpnatis* may be today's Beşiktaş area where historically there were two columns, *diplokiônion*,³¹⁸ also visible in the Buondelmonti maps, or the act may also be referring to the columns of the open air cistern in the western part of Pera, near San Benedetto, which were still visible when Gilles visited Pera in the middle of the sixteenth century.³¹⁹ Barbaro also, names the Beşiktaş area where the Turkish fleet had dropped anchor in 1453, "the Columns".³²⁰

The neighbourhoods mentioned in the notary acts published by Balard are *contracta Galinus Galus* and San Domenico quarter in 1332,³²¹ *contratte S Lazare*, *Patriarce*, San Michele, Santa Maria, and *Sancta Cataline* in 1389,³²² San Francesco quarter and *contracta* San Antonio in Spiga in 1390.³²³ A narrow street of furriers, *carrubeo peliparie* is situated in the San Francesco quarter.³²⁴ Thus, we have examples here of a *contrada* named after a person, Galinus Galus, after a landmark, San Francesco, and a street named after a profession, *carrubeo peliparie*. In addition, Balard mentions a *contrada* named after the Draperiis family, and one after the Octaviani family as well as a *contrada* in the Spiga district, named after spinners.³²⁵ In front of the loggia, there is a flat area, *platea logie Peyre*, a square, or maybe a market place.³²⁶

As the city had evolved over the years, with different extensions of the city wall, it is challenging to know what is meant exactly when a place is described as

³¹⁵ Balard, apps. 80, 129.

³¹⁶ Balard, app. 56.

³¹⁷ Balard, app. 133.

³¹⁸ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 145; Claudia Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo: La Testimonianza Di Cristoforo Buondelmonti', *Rivista Dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia Dell'Arte* 56 (III Serie, XXIV) (2001): 237–38.

³¹⁹ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 130.

³²⁰ Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453*, 31.

³²¹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', apps. 40, 41.

³²² Balard, apps. 68, 74.

³²³ Balard, apps. 117, 129.

³²⁴ Balard, app. 122.

³²⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 192.

³²⁶ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', app. 53.

“outside the walls”, in the years 1389-1390. According to Balard, those were the years during which Spiga and Lagirio were annexed and another wall encircling the city was built.³²⁷ There is an act, dated 1389, referring to the purchase by the community of Pera, of a vineyard and a house located outside the city walls, near the tower of San Christoforus, as part of its plan to expand the fortifications.³²⁸ In order to sign this important transaction, all the senior officials are gathered and we thus have an invaluable source illustrating the governing body of Pera, with the podesta, the council of eight, the treasurers, the *officiales monete* and the *officiales provisionis*.

The shops mentioned in Balard, are a tavern (*taberna*), a spice merchant (*speciarii*), and a furrier (*peliparius*).³²⁹ The home and shop could be in the same building, as in the case of a furrier leasing his house and shop to a barber.³³⁰ However, the owner of the house could also be living there but renting his shop (*apotheca*) to another.³³¹ A soap factory is mentioned as a landmark, in the vicinity of two houses belonging to the Demerode family. The same document reveals that the Demerode family had constructed a chapel and a sacristy in the church of San Francesco.³³²

In the fourteenth century, there were still vacant plots both inside and outside the initial walls. There are references to a vineyard, an orchard, and an empty plot in Spiga, two vineyards outside the walls and one inside.³³³ In 1389, there is an exchange of several houses and plots located in *contracte S Lazare, Patriarce, San Michele, Santa Maria* and within the *castrum*, against a vineyard in *contracta Patriarce*.³³⁴

Regrettably, the published texts of house purchases in the fourteenth century do not include a description of the borders on the four sides, as in the acts published by Bratianu for the thirteenth century, which were full of clues for the topography. There is, however, an act that gives the exact dimensions of a house in the San Francesco quarter, as 11 *goa* by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *goa*, which according to Balard is equivalent to 8.17 m by

³²⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 190.

³²⁸ Balard, ‘Pera au XIVe siècle’, app. 71.

³²⁹ Balard, apps. 4, 26, 122.

³³⁰ Balard, app. 122.

³³¹ Balard, app. 4.

³³² Balard, app. 98.

³³³ Balard, apps. 68, 71, 80, 129, 133.

³³⁴ Balard, app. 68.

7.99 m.³³⁵ But, as highlighted by himself, this is probably a modest house, not comparable to the residences of the rich families of Pera.³³⁶

The professions mentioned in the fourteenth century notary acts are tavern keeper (*tabernarius*),³³⁷ furrier (*peliparius*),³³⁸ physician (*cirurgicus, medicus, phisicus*),³³⁹ tailor (*taliator*),³⁴⁰ military (*miles*),³⁴¹ banker (*bancherius*),³⁴² butcher,³⁴³ barber,³⁴⁴ blacksmith,³⁴⁵ judge (*iudex*),³⁴⁶ and the entourage of the podesta, *milites*,³⁴⁷ *serviens*.³⁴⁸ Most people who dealt with the notaries were Genoese. The Greeks and Jews seldom appear in the acts. However, based on *massaria* records, Balard provides an indication of the professions of the Greeks; blacksmith, caulker, miller, baker, butcher, fruit-seller, fish-seller, furrier, tavern-keeper.³⁴⁹ Three Jews were in the medical profession.³⁵⁰

The churches mentioned in the fourteenth century acts are San Michele,³⁵¹ Santa Maria,³⁵² San Francesco and the convent of the Order of Friars Minor,³⁵³ San Domenico,³⁵⁴ and the convent of the Order of Preachers.³⁵⁵ San Francesco appears in testaments as a preferred burial place, and is also frequently used as a landmark for addresses. *Sancta Cataline* is only mentioned as a *contrada* in the published acts,³⁵⁶ but Balard refers also to *massaria* records revealing a generous annual donation to the monastery of *Sancta Cataline*.³⁵⁷ Similarly San Antonio is only mentioned as a *contrada* in Spiga,³⁵⁸ however Balard cites a *massaria* record listing San Antonio

³³⁵ Balard, 117.

³³⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 197.

³³⁷ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', app. 4.

³³⁸ Balard, apps. 6, 37, 105.

³³⁹ Balard, apps. 8, 31, 75.

³⁴⁰ Balard, app. 22.

³⁴¹ Balard, apps. 21, 82.

³⁴² Balard, app. 47.

³⁴³ Balard, app. 81.

³⁴⁴ Balard, app. 122.

³⁴⁵ Balard, app. 78.

³⁴⁶ Balard, app. 12.

³⁴⁷ Balard, app. 112.

³⁴⁸ Balard, app. 38.

³⁴⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 271.

³⁵⁰ Balard, 278.

³⁵¹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', app. 45.

³⁵² Balard, app. 73.

³⁵³ Balard, app. 3.

³⁵⁴ Balard, app. 24.

³⁵⁵ Balard, app. 48.

³⁵⁶ Balard, app. 74.

³⁵⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196.

³⁵⁸ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', app. 129.

(*Sancti Anthonii*) as well as San Giovanni (*Sancti Johannis*) hospitals among the institutions that receive a donation at Christmas.³⁵⁹ According to Balard, Santa Maria is located in the *contrada* of the Draperiis, close to San Francesco.³⁶⁰ There is also a Santa Maria, in Lagirio, which is a Greek Orthodox church.³⁶¹ There is no longer any mention of Santa Elena church and hospital in the fourteenth century acts.

At least sixty-five residents of Pera named in the published records are classified as *burgensis de Peyra*.³⁶² According to Balard, those were from Genoese families established in Pera for many generations.³⁶³ The notaries throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were careful to differentiate between the *civis Ianuensis*, the Genoese merchants temporarily staying in Pera, and the *burgense Peyre*. It should be noted however that the *burgense Peyre* remained citizens of the Republic of Genoa and were protected by the agreements signed between the Republic and the Byzantine Empire.³⁶⁴ According to the acts published by Balard, some of the names residing in Pera in the fourteenth century are de Marinis, de Nigro, Salvaygus, Draperiis, de Campis, Spinulla, de Mari, Demerode, de Auria, Cattaneus, Bonazunta, di Langasco, de Carmadino, Palavicinus, which will be encountered again in the following chapter.³⁶⁵

Notary records of the fifteenth century

The notary records published by Roccatagliata, that cover a period from 1408 to 1490 are an invaluable source of information.³⁶⁶ There are 124 acts, three from 1408, seventeen between 1442 and 1452, nineteen between January and April 1453, eight from May 30th 1453, which were actually written on one of the ships taking away the fugitives after the fall of Constantinople, then fifteen from July 1453 to June 1454, twenty-seven between 1458 and 1469, and the remaining twenty-four between 1472 and 1490. In addition to those, Roccatagliata later discovered and published a set of fourteen acts that had been misplaced, which are specific to the historical period, from February to August 1453.³⁶⁷ There are acts from various notaries, the most important being

³⁵⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196; Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:153.

³⁶⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196.

³⁶¹ Balard, 196.

³⁶² Balard, 'Pera au XIVE siecle', sec. Index, 28.

³⁶³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 258.

³⁶⁴ Balard, 465.

³⁶⁵ Balard, 'Pera au XIVE siecle', sec. Index.

³⁶⁶ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*.

³⁶⁷ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)'.

Lorenzo de Calvi, who was in Pera between 1450 and 1453 as an official scribe.³⁶⁸ The importance of these records for historiography is evident, however, they also contain valuable information about the topography of Genoese Pera before the Ottomanization started.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the published fourteenth century acts, only one of the fifteenth century acts published by Roccatagliata was signed in the Palazzo Comunale in 1444. Six acts were signed *in camera massarie veteris* and one *super scala que ascenditur ad cameram officii provisionis*.³⁶⁹ *Massaria* is the Treasury, which, according to Balard was situated in the vicinity of the *loggia*, together with offices for finance officials as well as stables.³⁷⁰ The *officii provisionis*, housed the commission which was in charge of all kinds of supplies, starting from the import, storage and distribution of grain, and other food, as well as wood, construction material, and arms. This commission was also responsible for the infrastructure work, such as the maintenance of the city fortification, palaces, public offices, fountains and cisterns, as well as the acquisition of land if required.³⁷¹ Its location in Pera is unknown, except that it was reached by stairs. The Galata hill is so steep that stairs have been used in some streets to ease the climb, such as the ones that were in Galata Kulesi and Yüksek Kaldırım streets until recent years.³⁷² After May 1453, the *loggia* was still active but offices are no longer mentioned in the published notary records. Most of the acts were signed in the streets or in private houses and shops. It is thus possible to discover some characteristics of the houses and of the city through the signing locations. Streets are *via publica*,³⁷³ *vico*,³⁷⁴ *carrubeo*³⁷⁵, depending on their size, and *platea* is a square, or very large street.

The squares mentioned in the fifteenth century records are *platea Sanctis Micahelis*,³⁷⁶ *platea logie*,³⁷⁷ and *plateam Perie*³⁷⁸. It is possible that these three refer to

³⁶⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:8.

³⁶⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:91, 95, 100, 105, 109, 111, 118; Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 118, 121, 128, 130, 134.

³⁷⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 194.

³⁷¹ Balard, 389–90.

³⁷² Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 450.

³⁷³ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:150.

³⁷⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:140.

³⁷⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:210.

³⁷⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:107.

³⁷⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:238.

³⁷⁸ Roccatagliata, 1:169.

the same place, as one address specifies *platea Sanctis Micahelis, prope logiam*³⁷⁹. The topography of Pera is such that only a narrow strip along the coast is flat, it is therefore likely that the major square/market/loggia area would be there. There is a clue about a columnated area in the loggia, where notaries, bankers and other officials had their desks, in a 1453 act, signed at *platea Sancti Micahelis prope logiam, ad primam columnam, versus bancum Antonii et Iohannis Garre*.³⁸⁰ Another 1453 act informs us about a column under the loggia where announcements were posted, *sub logia Pere, prope columnam ad quam mandata et preconia affiguntur*.³⁸¹ *Sub* may imply that the loggia area extends to the hill of Galata.

The streets have no particular name, and are defined through nearby landmarks, such as *carrubeo prope ecclesiam Sancti Dominici*,³⁸² *via publica iuxta logia*,³⁸³ *vico retro ecclesiam Sancti Micaellis*.³⁸⁴ The neighbourhoods are *quarterio* or *contracta Sancti Dominici*,³⁸⁵ *contracta Sancti Georgii*³⁸⁶, *contracta Sancti Francischi*,³⁸⁷ *contracta logie*.³⁸⁸

The churches mentioned in the notary records published by Roccatagliata are *ecclesia Sancti Michaelis*,³⁸⁹ *ecclesia Sancti Francischi*,³⁹⁰ *ecclesia Sancti Dominici*,³⁹¹ *ecclesia Sancte Clare*,³⁹² *ecclesia Sancti Constantini*,³⁹³ the chapels are *capella Verberatorum Sancte Crucis de Pera*,³⁹⁴ and *capella Verberatorum Sancte Ane de Pera*,³⁹⁵ and the monasteries are *monasterium Sancti Benedicti de Pera*,³⁹⁶ and *monasterium Sancte Maria Misericordie de Siserna*.³⁹⁷ In addition, a city gate, *Porta*

³⁷⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:107.

³⁸⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:107.

³⁸¹ Roccatagliata, 1:136.

³⁸² Roccatagliata, 1:211.

³⁸³ Roccatagliata, 1:229.

³⁸⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:140.

³⁸⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:134, 235.

³⁸⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:160.

³⁸⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:242.

³⁸⁸ Roccatagliata, 1:165.

³⁸⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:76.

³⁹⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:153.

³⁹¹ Roccatagliata, 1:211.

³⁹² Roccatagliata, 1:179.

³⁹³ Roccatagliata, 1:77.

³⁹⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:112.

³⁹⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:116.

³⁹⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:112.

³⁹⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:220.

Sancti Antonii,³⁹⁸ may refer to a church with the same name in the vicinity. For San Francesco, there is a reference to its cloister, *claustrum ecclesie Santi Francischi*.³⁹⁹

There are three testaments in the Roccatagliata records, two of which were recorded at the beginning of the siege of Constantinople, in April 1453. Antonio Pellerano from Genova, wished to be buried in *capella Verberatorum Sancte Crucis de Pera*, and to leave some funds to *monasterio Sancti Benedicti de Pera* and *Sancti Gregorii* for prayers for his soul.⁴⁰⁰ It is not clear whether the latter is a misspelling of *Sancti Georgii*, a Latin church, or the Armenian church Saint Gregory Lusarovich, next to San Benedetto, which will be introduced in the following chapter. Lorenzo Gatellusio, olim de Porta, also prepared a testament because of the danger of the war between the Greeks and the Turks, in which he expressed his wish to be buried in San Francesco church. He also wished to leave to *capella Verberatorum Sancte Ane* some funds for prayers for his soul.⁴⁰¹ In the third testament dated 1475, *Antoniotto di Caballa, civis Ianue* wished to be buried in *Sancti Francischi*.⁴⁰² There are no longer donations for the hometown churches of Liguria, as there were in the examples of past centuries.

In the fifteenth century, notary acts could be signed virtually anywhere. Some were signed outside private houses, *super porta introitus domus*⁴⁰³, *iuxta hostium domus*,⁴⁰⁴ *sub portica domus*⁴⁰⁵, *sub archivoto domus*⁴⁰⁶, *ante portam domus*,⁴⁰⁷ and some inside, sometimes specifically in the living room or parlour, in *caminata dicte domus*,⁴⁰⁸ or in *camera caminate*.⁴⁰⁹ There were acts signed outside various shops, such as a butcher, *ad apotecam dictii Andree macellaria*,⁴¹⁰ a spice merchant, *ad apotecam Petri de Lavania speciarii*,⁴¹¹ a builder, *ad apotecam Antonii de Lastrego fabri*,⁴¹² a

³⁹⁸ Roccatagliata, 1:103.

³⁹⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:245.

⁴⁰⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:112.

⁴⁰¹ Roccatagliata, 1:116.

⁴⁰² Roccatagliata, 1:216.

⁴⁰³ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 123.

⁴⁰⁴ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:278. *Hostium* may be read as *ostium*, meaning front door.

⁴⁰⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:260.

⁴⁰⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:253.

⁴⁰⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:145.

⁴⁰⁸ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 150.

⁴⁰⁹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:136.

⁴¹⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:138.

⁴¹¹ Roccatagliata, 1:132.

⁴¹² Roccatagliata, 1:132.

cutter/tailor, *apoteca Antoni Vegini acimatoris*,⁴¹³ a drapery seller, *ad apotecam Baptiste de Ripa draperio*,⁴¹⁴ and a cobbler, *apotecam Luca de Vultabio calsoiario*.⁴¹⁵ Other professions encountered in Roccatagliata are barrel-maker (*botarius*),⁴¹⁶ baker (*fornarius*),⁴¹⁷ miller (*molinarium*),⁴¹⁸ tailor (*sartor*),⁴¹⁹ barber (*barberius*),⁴²⁰ vessel-owner (*patronus navis*),⁴²¹ skipper (*nauclerius navis*),⁴²² banker (*bancherius*),⁴²³ and officials such as *magister*,⁴²⁴ *notarium et scriba*,⁴²⁵ mediator (*censarius*),⁴²⁶ translator (*interpres*).⁴²⁷ It is also possible to notice the change of regime after 1453; a *potesta* appears in a 1402 act, while a *protogerus* is mentioned in a 1454 act.⁴²⁸ Monks (*monachus*) can also appear in these notary acts.⁴²⁹ There were no real estate transactions for Pera in the Roccatagliata records, apart from a dowry list dated 1447, where there is a description of a house with a tavern near *Sancti Michaelis* church, and a vineyard near *Sancti Constantini* church.⁴³⁰

Some of the well-known Genoese names found in Roccatagliata were, Gattilusio, de Langasco, de Carmadino, de Lastrego, de Ponia, Salvaigo, Squarsifico, de Auria, de Campofregoso, Bonazointa, Conforti, Draperiis, de Flisco, Spinule, Lomellini, de Mari, de Marini, Lercario, and Pallavicino.⁴³¹

There are still unpublished notary acts in the Genoa State Archives and further information about Pera will become available in the future, as they are revealed. Some of them are mentioned by Balletto.⁴³²

⁴¹³ Roccatagliata, 1:185.

⁴¹⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:212.

⁴¹⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:226.

⁴¹⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:226.

⁴¹⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:244.

⁴¹⁸ Roccatagliata, 1:131.

⁴¹⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:143.

⁴²⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:128.

⁴²¹ Roccatagliata, 1:202.

⁴²² Roccatagliata, 1:173.

⁴²³ Roccatagliata, 1:106.

⁴²⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:177.

⁴²⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:50.

⁴²⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:139.

⁴²⁷ Roccatagliata, 1:139.

⁴²⁸ Roccatagliata, 1:44, 154.

⁴²⁹ Roccatagliata, 1:220.

⁴³⁰ Roccatagliata, 1:76.

⁴³¹ Roccatagliata, 1:281–308.

⁴³² Laura Balletto, 'Brevi Note Su Pera Genovese a Metà Del XIV Secolo', in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean - Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (London - New York: Routledge, 2016), 197–200.

2.3.2 Maps

Pera was fortunate to be situated across one of the most important and greatly admired cities of the Late Medieval period, Constantinople. Consequently, it appeared in all early representations such as the map of Constantinople in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, dated around 1422, and described by Barsanti as the first and last image of the Byzantine capital.⁴³³ It is a bird-eye view from the south-west of the Constantinople promontory, highlighting the main monuments of the city and of Pera, across the Golden Horn (Fig. 7). Many versions exist, albeit with some omissions, arbitrary enrichments and fantasies of the copyists and have been amply researched and published.⁴³⁴

In all Buondelmonti maps, Pera is clearly represented as a separate city, rather than a district of Constantinople, and always identified with a caption, *Pera* (even *Pera Bella*).⁴³⁵ In the text, it is described as "*Januensium pulcherrima civitas*".⁴³⁶ The walls are clearly depicted, with some variations in the number, shape and sizes of the towers, and their roofs, always displaying three clear sections; Pera in the middle, with the Lagirio suburb in the east, and Spiga in the west. The overall size of Pera is approximately one third of Constantinople, even larger in the earliest versions, and the fortifications look similar in size and form. San Domenico church is present in all maps, in the central part, with maybe one exception where a church with an S.D. caption, is seen in the Spiga part, but it may be a mistake of the copier.⁴³⁷ San Francesco is also often represented in the central part, east of San Domenico. A third church in the Spiga section is also present in most maps, without a name, except in one case where the caption reads *San Antonius*. The Latin churches are represented in a standard format, with a bell tower that differentiates them from the domed Greek churches. Some maps display more churches, often unnamed, except in the Paris map, where there are captions as initials for S.

⁴³³ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 171.

⁴³⁴ Giuseppe Gerola, 'Le Vedute Di Costantinopoli Di Cristoforo Buondelmonti', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1931): 249–79; Ian R. Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 73–102; Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo'; Aikaterini Delaporta and Flora Karagianni, 'Depictions of the Byzantine Harbours of Constantinople in Early Maps and Engravings', in *Seasides of Byzantium. Harbours and Anchorages of a Mediterranean Empire*, ed. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Falko Daim, and G. Kolias Taxiarchis (Mainz/Frankfurt: Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident, 2021).

⁴³⁵ Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*', 85.

⁴³⁶ Manners, 83.

⁴³⁷ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 245.

Dominicus, S. Francesco, S. Antonio, S. Johannes, S. Benedetto, S. Maria, and S. Chiara. Houses seem to be randomly distributed in the three sections. In the Lagirio section, *Castrum Galathe* or *Santa Crucis* is very clearly represented as a square-shaped fortification, with the caption *Sarana*, along with the marina next to it. A windmill is also often seen in Lagirio.

Outside the city walls, to the east, one or two Greek churches are represented nearby, and two columns, presumably *diplokiônion*, in the distance. In the west, *Molendino de lo graffo* is a paper mill (Fig. 8). The Kağıthane river's name (Kydaris) comes from this mill.⁴³⁸ A sumptuous house is present immediately outside Spiga, which has been identified as the house of the prominent Genoese merchant and tax-farmer Francesco Draperiis, who continued to be present in Pera after 1453.⁴³⁹

The level of details in the Buondelmonti maps varies with the copyist's knowledge of the city, and differs with its date of execution. For instance, the Dusseldorf map was clearly made after 1453, as it is possible to see some Ottoman structures (Fig 9). Among all the published Buondelmonti maps, the ones which provided the most details for my research other than the Dusseldorf map, were the Rome, Paris, and Venice maps which I have named after the location of the manuscripts (Fig. 10-12).⁴⁴⁰

Among the post-Byzantine maps, Vavassore's woodcut map, dated c. 1535, reveals the open spaces within the city, the maritime walls which were not displayed in the Buondelmonti maps, and the names of the maritime gates, as *S. Antonio*, *Porta Comego*, *Porta S. Chiara*, and *Porta de le Bonbarde* (Tophane) (Fig. 13).⁴⁴¹

In the Nasuh al-Mahrûki map of c.1550, drawn a century after the conquest, San Domenico, already converted to Arap Camii, is clearly visible with its lead roof, along with San Francesco with its tile roof and bell tower, in the central part of the city. The original concession area with its extension north to the Galata Tower can be clearly distinguished from the eastern and western suburbs. The wide columnated structures

⁴³⁸ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 115.

⁴³⁹ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 235.

⁴⁴⁰ Barsanti, 244-46.

⁴⁴¹ Delaporta and Karagianni, 'Depictions of the Byzantine Harbours of Constantinople in Early Maps and Engravings', 55.

presumably represent the loggia or storehouses. Other churches and mosques are visible but it is not possible to identify them. There is no urbanisation outside the walls of Pera.

The scaled Galata plans of the nineteenth century, reflect the unchanged layout and names of the streets. The Goad map of 1905, in particular, includes all remaining fragments of the city walls, revealing even those that have been embedded within later-built structures (Fig. 14).

2.3.3 Traveller Accounts

Descriptions of Galata/Pera take up a relatively small part in the narratives of Constantinople. However, Pera is almost always mentioned since most visitors to Constantinople arrive first to the port of Pera with Latin ships, and take up their lodgings there.

Ibn Battuta, an Islamic scholar and traveller, came to Constantinople in 1335, along with a Byzantine princess and her retinue. Unlike Christian travellers, he is not interested in churches, but is very impressed by the size of the port of Pera and the number of ships. He also admires the markets, but criticizes the dirtiness of the city. He mentions a small and filthy stream crossing Pera.⁴⁴² Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo was an ambassador of Castille and Leon, travelling to Central Asia in 1403 to meet Timur. He stayed in Pera, which he describes as a small crowded city, encircled with strong walls. He mentions beautifully constructed houses that are very close to the sea and the walls that follow the shore and then meet at the top with a very tall tower guarded by sentinels. He observes the very little space between the walls and the sea, and briefly mentions San Francesco and San Paolo monasteries.⁴⁴³ Bertrandon de la Broquiere, pilgrim, and spy of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, came to Pera in 1432-1433. He observes a very large city with many Genoese, who are mostly merchants, governed by a podesta and remarks that the fortifications on the land side are not very strong.⁴⁴⁴ Pero Tafur, a Spanish noble traveller and merchant, also arrived directly to Pera, in 1436-1439. He gives a population estimate of 2000 people. "It is very well walled and has a good ditch and rampart. The churches and monasteries are excellent, and there is a fine

⁴⁴² Ebu Abdullah Muhammed Ibn Battuta et-Tanci, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Mümin Çevik (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 1983), 264,265; Semavi Eyice, *Yabancıların Gözüyle Bizans İstanbulu* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2017), 108.

⁴⁴³ Eyice, *Yabancıların Gözüyle Bizans İstanbulu*, 144.

⁴⁴⁴ Bertrandon Broquiere de la, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 140-41.

exchange, well built and enclosed. The buildings are notable and lofty, as in Genoa.”⁴⁴⁵ At the time Pero Tafur visited Genoa, it was a city with high tower houses. However, there is no evidence of houses higher than two or three floors in Pera.⁴⁴⁶

According to Gilles who visited Galata twice between 1544 and 1551, Galata is of such steepness that if all the houses were of equal height, the upper rooms would have a full view of the sea and of all the ships sailing up and down in it”.⁴⁴⁷ At the highest point of the city, he sees a very tall tower. Gilles makes two important observations regarding Galata, that have been very helpful for people studying its topography. First, he remarks that during his previous stay, he had seen a forum supplied with water by an aqueduct, near the shore, where the ruins of San Michele stood and where a caravanserai, *xenodochium*, was now built. Second, he mentions the cistern next to San Benedetto, with three hundred pillars, and no roof.⁴⁴⁸

Evliya Çelebi, Ottoman traveller, close to the court, wrote during the seventeenth century. It is possible to detect valuable details among the inflated numbers and fantastic stories he wrote, and his description of the Galata gates, streets, and monuments has been a significant source for scholars. At the time of his writing, two hundred years had passed since the end of the autonomy of Genoese Pera, and the city’s population and monuments were Ottomanized, but the general layout of the walled city remained intact. Evliya estimates the walk from the sea gates to the top of the hill where the Galata Tower stands, as one hour. He mentions Genoese made stone buildings, all along the roads which are disposed like a chessboard. The main crowded streets are the large one along the shore, outside the sea walls, and four streets inside the walls, namely Voyvoda Street, Arab Mosque Street, Harbi street, and Kulekapısı Street.⁴⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi describes Fatih Bedesten as being with 12 leaded domes.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁵ Pero Tafur, *Pero Tafur Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, trans. Malcolm Letts (London: George Routledge, 1926), 149.

⁴⁴⁶ Mabi Angar, ‘Pera Ianuensium Pulcherrima Civitas Est. Creating a Genoese Identity on the Golden Horn (1261-1453)’, in *Routledge Handbook of the Byzantine City, from Justinian to Mehmet II (ca. 500 - ca. 1500)*, ed. Nikolas Bakirtzis and Luca Zavagno (London and New York: Routledge, 2024), 469.

⁴⁴⁷ Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 213–14.

⁴⁴⁸ Gilles, 216.

⁴⁴⁹ Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, eds., *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnamesi: İstanbul 1. Cilt 2. Kitap*, 5th ed. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 393.

⁴⁵⁰ Kahraman and Dağlı, 392.

2.4. The port

Undoubtedly, the first thing that raised the attention and admiration of travellers was the port of Pera. In 1335, Ibn Battouta claims that the port of Galata is one of the greatest ports, where he has seen a hundred big ships and countless small ones.⁴⁵¹ Clavijo writes about the Golden Horn, the port of both Constantinople and Pera, and the safest and best one in the world. He observes that the water is very clear and deep, so that the largest ship can come close to the walls.⁴⁵² For Bertrandon de la Broquiere, Pera is the most beautiful harbour that he has seen, and he also confirms that even the largest Genoese ships could come and put their planks directly to the shore.⁴⁵³ He is joined by Tafur a few years later, claiming that “any ship, however great, can lie in clear, deep water, with its bowsprit on land, so that better anchorage could not be had”.⁴⁵⁴ More than a century later, Gilles mentions that the Galata shore, as a whole, is accessible to ships, that can easily come to a touching distance and remarks on the abundance of taverns and shops on the stretch of shore between the walls and the sea, where the ships load and unload.⁴⁵⁵ He observes that the shore has widened due to the “filth and nastiness cast around it”, and “to make it sink to the bottom the inhabitants have fixed wooden troughs on piles that they drive into the earth with an engine, much like a ram”.⁴⁵⁶ In two notary records of the fifteenth century, there are references to a *passionata*, once to indicate the location of a ship, *ad passionatem Pere*, and once as a signature location, *apud passonatom*.⁴⁵⁷ *Passonata* is the name given to a construction that uses *passone*, wooden pillars, to stop sediments and compact the soil, similar to the pillars described by Gilles in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵⁸ However, it is probable that Perotes used this name for the landing platforms supported by pillars, along the shore. Pistarino cites the *passionata* as the place where, during the final confusion after the fall of Constantinople, the Genoese gathered, looking for places on the departing ships.⁴⁵⁹ As further proof, the Paris Buondelmonti map depicts such pillars on the seafront (Fig.

⁴⁵¹ Ibn Battuta et-Tanci, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, 264.

⁴⁵² Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 6.

⁴⁵³ Broquiere de la, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 141.

⁴⁵⁴ Tafur, *Pero Tafur Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, 115.

⁴⁵⁵ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 450; Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 214.

⁴⁵⁶ Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 211.

⁴⁵⁷ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:161, 174.

⁴⁵⁸ “**passone** s. m. [lat. **paxo -ōnis*, affine al lat. *paxillus* dim. di *palus* «palo»]. - Palo di legno, impiegato soprattutto nelle opere di costipamento dei terreni di fondazione”. Treccani, s.v. “passone”, accessed January 19, 2024, <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/passone>.

⁴⁵⁹ Pistarino, ‘La Caduta Di Costantinopoli: Da Pera Genovese a Galata Turca’, 68.

15).⁴⁶⁰ Evliya Çelebi describes the Galata harbour as “being an extremely fine one, protected from the eight winds, and in winter time 1000 ships lay anchor here without fear”.⁴⁶¹

From all the descriptions, it is possible to understand that the whole shore was like a harbour. In the fourteenth century, the Genoese started using very large and high ships, *cocha*, with a better manoeuvring ability. The deep waters of the Golden Horn allowed them to enter the port and unload their goods directly on the shore. The smaller *navilis* continued to be used for shorter distances.⁴⁶² As explained in the preceding chapter, Pera was a transit place, the ships coming from Genoa did not stay in the harbour for long. They unloaded the goods that had been ordered for Pera or Constantinople, and continued towards the Black Sea ports. After selling the remaining goods, they came back with new goods destined to Genoa, sometimes without even stopping at Pera.⁴⁶³ However the ships did not only stop for trade, they also came for repairs, in which case they stayed for months, usually in the winter months. The Genoese were not respectful of the sailing rules, unlike the Venetians who always returned to their port of origin in November-December.⁴⁶⁴

The 1303 act names *Vetus Darsana*, presumably the Byzantine *Exartysis*, to define the western border of the Genoese concession. Balard mentions that this location was used by the Genoese, for ship repairs and also to build new ones for the Commune.⁴⁶⁵ The Buondelmonti Düsseldorf map displays also a harbour or shipyard towards the eastern end of Pera, next to the Galata castle, named as *Sarana*, which is also mentioned by Balard, as a second shipyard.⁴⁶⁶ Müller-Wiener estimates that around 250 people worked in the port, customs office, shipyards, as well as caulkers, suppliers for ship material, sails, iron structure.⁴⁶⁷ The local Greek population was employed as well. Balard cites the example of a vessel stopping over in Pera for 112 days, in 1369, for a complete refit, where thirty-two caulkers and carpenters were employed, twenty-

⁴⁶⁰ Barsanti, ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 231. (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris f. 34v).

⁴⁶¹ Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (London: Eland Publishing Limited, 2010), 21.

⁴⁶² Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bizans ’tan Osmanlı ’ya Istanbul Limanı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 38–39.

⁴⁶³ Müller-Wiener, 40.

⁴⁶⁴ Müller-Wiener, 40.

⁴⁶⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 195.

⁴⁶⁶ Balard, 195.

⁴⁶⁷ Müller-Wiener, *Bizans ’tan Osmanlı ’ya Istanbul Limanı*, 38.

nine Ligurians and three Greeks.⁴⁶⁸ The crew of the Genoese vessels came from various geographic origins. Many from the Italian riviera but also from other Genoese colonies, like Corsica, Chios, Cyprus, Sicily, Black Sea ports, and Spain, forming a multi-ethnic group.⁴⁶⁹ The long cohabitation on narrow spaces and the experiences and dangers they faced taught them means of communicating and sharing in harmony. There was a lot of mobility among the crew of the vessels on the eastern trade route. They could disembark, stay with their family and join another vessel in another port, where they could also stay on land for a while. Musarra calls them commuters rather than migrants.⁴⁷⁰

2.5. Urban layout and circulation

In 1334, Ibn Battuta mentions that no one is allowed into Constantinople without permission, neither by sea, nor by land.⁴⁷¹ However, in 1403, Clavijo seems to circulate freely between the two cities, crossing by boat and visiting Constantinople sites every day. He also tells that the most crowded area in Constantinople is the shore right across Pera, where ships unload and where Perotes come by boat to meet Constantinopolitans, to shop and trade.⁴⁷² The account book of the Venetian merchant Badoer, who did business in the Constantinople side in 1436-1440, also demonstrates that the Genoese merchants he dealt with, had no problem crossing the Golden Horn.⁴⁷³ In his description of Constantinople during the last centuries of Byzantium, Magdalino mentions that the imperial and administrative cluster of Constantinople was in the northern part near the Blachernae Palace, the religious center between the Acropolis and Hagia Sophia, while the commercial center was in the middle, right across Pera, “the true center of the Black Sea and Mediterranean trade”.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁸ Balard, ‘L’organisation Des Colonies Étrangères Dans l’Empire Byzantin (XIIe-XVe Siècles)’, 109.

⁴⁶⁹ Antonio Musarra, ‘Economic Migrants or Commuters? A Note on the Crews of Genoese Galleys in the Medieval Mediterranean, 14th-15th Centuries’, in *Cultures and Practices of Coexistence from the Thirteenth through the Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Marco Folin and Antonio Musarra (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 62.

⁴⁷⁰ Musarra, 67.

⁴⁷¹ Ibn Battuta et-Tanci, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, 264.

⁴⁷² Eyice, *Yabancıların Gözüyle Bizans İstanbulu*, 138,143.

⁴⁷³ Giacomo Badoer, *Il Libro Dei Conti Di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440)*, ed. Umberto Dorini and Tommaso Bertele (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956).

⁴⁷⁴ Paul Magdalino, ‘Medieval Constantinople’, in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 76.

On the Pera side, Gilles observes six maritime gates of which three provide frequent crossings to Constantinople. Those are Yağkapanı İskelesi, Balıkpazarı İskelesi, and Karaköy İskelesi.⁴⁷⁵ Yağkapanı İskelesi is the *Comego* gate, represented in the Vavassore map (Fig. 16). It was the most important maritime gate in the Genoese period where the customs office and scale were located. Considering the initial concession zone, this is the south end of the *Cardo Maximus*, as suggested by Sağlam, which went through Perşembepazarı street, along which the loggia and markets were located, reached the Palazzo Comunale, and continued through Galata Kulesi sokak, all the way up to Galata Tower.⁴⁷⁶ San Michele, the cathedral of the Genoese, was next to the *Comego* gate. Moving up, San Francesco Monastery was situated to the east of the main street, San Domenico Monastery to its west, with an open space between them where the commercial activity took place. The street became steeper after this, reaching the podesta's seat, the Palazzo Comunale, and San Giorgio church to the east and San Pietro Monastery to the west. The *Decumanus Maximus* was likely to be Tersane street as suggested by Sağlam, on the flat area by the shore, or Galata Mahkemesi sokak parallel to it. (Fig. 17).⁴⁷⁷ Evliya Çelebi names eleven outside gates, of which eight are opening to the sea, and six inside gates connecting neighbourhoods, of which three are on the main street, present day Bankalar Caddesi, along the northern wall of the first concession zone.⁴⁷⁸ There was one gate in the east, west and north of the walls. The gates for which the Italian names are known, are San Antonio, Comego, and Santa Chiara (Fig. 18).

Rowboats were the common means of transport between the two cities, which are separated by a stretch of water of less than half a mile, crossed in a few minutes. As mentioned by the sixteenth century traveller, Nicolas de Nicolay, the alternative was to walk for twelve miles.⁴⁷⁹ The *massaria* records mention the cost of the visits of the podesta to the emperor, where the horses were transported by boat also.⁴⁸⁰ According to Byzantine sources, the Genoese officials went to the Byzantine court every Sunday to

⁴⁷⁵ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 451.

⁴⁷⁶ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 169.

⁴⁷⁷ Sercan Sağlam, 'An Interdisciplinary Experiment for the Urban Morphology of Galata (Istanbul) and Its Surrounding during the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages', *ITU / A/Z* 17, no. 3 (2020): 18–19.

⁴⁷⁸ Kahraman and Dağlı, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnamesi: İstanbul 1.Cilt 2. Kitap*, 389–90.

⁴⁷⁹ Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, ed. Kevork Pamukciyan, trans. Hrand Andreasyan, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık ve Kitapçılık, 1988), 231.

⁴⁸⁰ Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:152.

perform *proskynesis*.⁴⁸¹ The presence of a stone bridge between *Blahernai* (Ayvansaray) and *Pegai* (Kasımpaşa), in 1204, during the fourth crusade, is mentioned by Villehardouin. However, it had presumably been demolished during the thirteenth century since Ibn Battuta who came to Constantinople in 1334, saw the ruins of the bridge.⁴⁸²

2.6. Neighbourhoods

The names of the suburbs of Pera, Lagirio to the east, and Spiga to the west, were derived from their ancient names, Argyroupolis, and Pegai, respectively.⁴⁸³ Based on the locations of the loggia, the communal palace, and the known Latin churches and monasteries of the Genoese period, it is possible to determine the Genoese neighbourhoods. The Genoese lived mainly in the first concession zone, which was later extended north to the Galata Tower, and once Lagirio was annexed they must have occupied the empty land west and north of the castle. San Benedetto must have been an outlier. Considering the number of Greek churches in Lagirio, some of which date to the pre-Ottoman period, it is possible to conclude that this suburb was predominantly inhabited by Greeks, with a small community of Armenians.⁴⁸⁴ There is no evidence of continuity between the Jewish quarter of Galata that existed before 1204 and the presence of Jews in Pera, as attested in the Genoese notary records of the fourteenth century.⁴⁸⁵ According to Jacoby, during the Genoese period of Galata, Jews of Genoa and its colonies migrated to Pera, where they had more freedom.⁴⁸⁶ In addition, he suggests that the Byzantine Jews may have taken the Genoese nationality to benefit from the tax and jurisdiction exemption granted to Genoese subjects. Balard mentions a *contratta judeorum* close to the Santa Maria church, located *intra castrum*, noting that it is not a ghetto since the notary acts reveal Jews also living near San Antonio, or Santa

⁴⁸¹ Ruth Macrides, J.A. Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Routledge, 2013), 153, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xww&AN=608902&site=eds-live&authtype=sso&custid=s4601812>.

⁴⁸² Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 130.

⁴⁸³ Sağlam, 'An Interdisciplinary Experiment for the Urban Morphology of Galata (Istanbul) and Its Surrounding during the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages', 19.

⁴⁸⁴ Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siecles)*, 269–85; İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 54–55.

⁴⁸⁵ Jacoby, 'Les Quartiers Juifs de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine', 215.

⁴⁸⁶ Jacoby, 215.

Caterina, where Christians live.⁴⁸⁷ The name of the *judeorum* quarter probably remained from a previous period although it did not carry the same meaning anymore.

The loggia was undoubtedly the heart of Pera. The courtroom was there, along with the finance office, as attested in the fourteenth century notary records.⁴⁸⁸ The notaries had their *bancum* there, as well as the bankers, and merchants. The loggia was close to the customs office, the harbour, and the San Michele cathedral, where some administrative affairs were also conducted. There is evidence that the loggia was a columnated area, and a fifteenth century notary act mentions also a column, where the public announcements were posted.⁴⁸⁹ Presumably the loggia, and in its continuation, the Perşembe Pazarı street, were also the area where markets were held. Sauvaget draws attention to the name of the street, which means Thursday Market, as it was in Ottoman times, and maybe before.⁴⁹⁰ Another shopping area, *bazalli*, is mentioned next to Santa Chiara.⁴⁹¹

2.7. City walls

The city walls of Pera built by the Genoese during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, as depicted in the old panoramas of Buondelmonti, Vavassore, and Nasuh Al-Matraki, were still standing in the middle of the nineteenth century, in an almost intact way, at least for the external walls. Throughout the Ottoman period, the walls had no longer a defensive role but retained a function of urban security. The gates were guarded, shut down at midnight and re-opened in the morning, under the responsibility of the Janissary corps. Shops and houses were built within the walls using the existing structures.⁴⁹² The city had substantially grown by then, particularly towards the north, where the merchants had moved their residences, in the area called “the vineyards of Pera”, and ultimately “Pera”, as opposed to “Galata”, the Genoese walled city. However, the port area and the old Genoese quarters still kept their commercial activity, which had increased with the arrival of many western traders, following the Tanzimat

⁴⁸⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 278, 312.

⁴⁸⁸ Balard, app. 8,15,27,46,76.

⁴⁸⁹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:107.

⁴⁹⁰ Sauvaget, ‘Notes Sur La Colonie Génoise de Péra’, 259.

⁴⁹¹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:179.

⁴⁹² Kentel, ‘Assembling “Cosmopolitan” Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul’, 56.

reforms of 1839.⁴⁹³ In 1864, the newly formed municipality (Altıncı Daire-i Belediye), took the decision to demolish the walls, in order to facilitate circulation, and make room for new real estate developments.⁴⁹⁴ Thanks to a French engineer working for the municipality, named de Launay, the five-hundred-year-old walls did not disappear without a trace. Possibly as a result of de Launay's suggestion, the decision was taken to rescue the slabs that had been placed on these walls over the years, as marks of their construction or repair. Those inscriptions were first stored in the municipality building, then taken to the Galata Tower, and finally ended up in the newly founded Imperial Archaeological Museum. The date and conditions of the transfer are not known. The first time they appeared in a catalogue was in 1882.⁴⁹⁵ De Launay also took notes of the measures of the walls, the number, shape and name of the towers and gates, drafted a map and published this information in several newspaper articles.⁴⁹⁶ He also took contact with the recently founded *Societa Ligure di Storia Patria* in Genoa, who contributed to the deciphering of the inscriptions.⁴⁹⁷ This marked the beginning of the scholarship on the topography of Pera, which is still continuing to this date.⁴⁹⁸ As stated

⁴⁹³ Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul*, trans. Selim Deringil (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 46–61, 93–95.

⁴⁹⁴ Esra Okur Coşkunçay, 'Galata Surlarının Yıkım Süreci', *Tasarım + Kuram*, no. 25 (2018): 37–43.

⁴⁹⁵ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 27; Kentel, 'Assembling "Cosmopolitan" Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul', 68–69.

⁴⁹⁶ Victor Marie de Launay, 'Notice Sur Les Fortifications de Galata', *Journal de Constantinople*, 1 December 1864, 4538, 4539, 4541 edition; Victor Marie de Launay, 'Notice Sur Le Vieux Galata (Péra Des Génois)', *L'Univers: Revue Orientale, Politique, Scientifique*, no. 1,2,3,4 (1875 1874).

⁴⁹⁷ Kentel, 'Assembling "Cosmopolitan" Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul', 49–98.

⁴⁹⁸ de Launay, 'Notice Sur Les Fortifications de Galata'; de Launay, 'Notice Sur Le Vieux Galata (Péra Des Génois)'; L. T. Belgrano, *Seconda Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, vol. XIII (Genova: Atti della Societa Ligure di Storia Patria, 1877); François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1894); F. W. Hasluck, 'Dr. Covell's Notes on Galata', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 11 (1905 1904): 50–62; J. Gottwald, *Die Stadtmauern von Galata* (Istanbul: Otto Keil, 1907); J. Gottwald, 'Une Inscription Latine à Galata de 1418', *Echos d'Orient* 14, no. 90 (1911): 270–72; Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları*; Ettore Rossi, *Le Lapide Genovesi Delle Mura Di Galata* (Genoa: Societa Ligure di Storia Patria, 1928); A. M. Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text* (İstanbul, 1944); Batuhan B. Erdoğan, 'Galata Surları' (İstanbul, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011); Okur Coşkunçay, 'Galata Surlarının Yıkım Süreci'; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata'; Sercan Sağlam, 'Galata'da İhmal Edilmiş Ceneviz Yapılarına Dair Bazı Keşifler' (ICAR 4. Uluslararası Akademik Araştırmalar Kongresi, İstanbul: Asos, 2020), 544–53; Selin Sur and Ufuk Serin, 'A Reappraisal of the Genoese Walls of Galata (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries) in Terms of Medieval Building Techniques and Masonry Traditions', *YILLIK Annual of Istanbul Studies* 5 (2023): 95–122.

by Kentel, “writing the history of Genoese Pera in the moment of its destruction”, the demolition of the walls meant in a way the revival of the forgotten Genoese city.⁴⁹⁹

The construction slabs typically bear a construction date, along with the arms of the Republic of Genoa, of its ruling family and of the current podesta of Pera (Fig. 19). Earlier ones, dating from a period when Pera was less autonomous, bear also the arms of Byzantium (Fig. 20). The names of some towers are known. Those are Saint Michael, Saint Mary, Saint Bartolomew, Saint Christopher, Saint Nicolas, in the outer northern walls, as illustrated by Sağlam, and Traveris close to the Castrum, inside the city.⁵⁰⁰ The inscriptions represent a very rich source of information and have been used extensively in the dating process of the different segments of the fortifications. Sağlam provides a comprehensive catalogue of these slabs, including a map of the locations where they were discovered, as well as their current status (Fig. 21).⁵⁰¹ The construction of new walls signified each time a further expansion of the Genoese. Sağlam has produced a map showing the dates of each segment (Fig. 22).⁵⁰² The map clearly reflects the historical events which have triggered the construction of new sections, as exposed in chapter one.

In spite of the 1864 demolitions, and other successive urban developments, in the 1950’s, and as recently as 2013, there are still some remains of the fortifications. Apart from the conspicuous Galata Tower, three smaller towers, a gate, and numerous wall segments of various periods and sizes are visible (Fig. 23-25). Together with the textual evidence, it is possible to map them with precision. Additionally, street names referring to the walls (Kemeraltı, Hisaryanı), gates (Yanık Kapı, Azapkapı, Kürekçiler Kapısı), and moats (Lüleci Hendek, Büyük Hendek, Küçük Hendek) continue to bear witness to these disappeared structures. The characteristics of the fortifications, the materials, the use of spolia, plans for the restitution and restoration of the remaining parts have been the object of much research by architects in recent years. Sur and Serin’s 2023 paper, provides the most updated information about the Galata walls, including building techniques, materials, and newly discovered fragments (Fig. 26).⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁹ Kentel, ‘Assembling “Cosmopolitan” Pera: An Infrastructure History of Late Ottoman Istanbul’, 49.

⁵⁰⁰ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 59.

⁵⁰¹ Sağlam, 381–421.

⁵⁰² Sağlam, 59.

⁵⁰³ Sur and Serin, ‘A Reappraisal of the Genoese Walls of Galata (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries) in Terms of Medieval Building Techniques and Masonry Traditions’, 95–122.

2.8. Galata Tower

The Tower of Christ (Christea Turris), as the Genoese named it, was built in 1348, as the final stage of the third phase of the extension of the fortifications (Fig. 27).⁵⁰⁴ Many sources mention that it replaced a Byzantine tower, but there is no reliable evidence.⁵⁰⁵ In fact, Sağlam rightly states that the Byzantines had demolished all kinds of fortifications around Pera, except for the Castrum where they kept their own garrison, and if there had been such a tower, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned in the 1303 act.⁵⁰⁶

Galata Tower, located in the Bereketzade neighbourhood of Beyoğlu, encircled by Camekan, Galata Kulesi and Kule Çıkmazı streets, is a museum today. It stands at 35 meters above the sea level, midway through the hill of Galata, measures 66.9 meters today, but its initial height is not known. Only the first 13.2 meters are considered to be of Genoese origin, made of “light colored, roughly shaped and mixed rubble with small brick pieces”.⁵⁰⁷ The tower and its roof have been represented in different shapes in different maps but we can safely assume that it had a cylindrical structure. The courtyard and the gates around the tower were demolished in the 1864 urban restructuring works.⁵⁰⁸ Galata tower has been a vantage point for tourists and artists to contemplate Constantinople, which was always the main object of attraction, rather than Pera. However, some panoramas, and later on photographs let us perceive a glimpse of Pera in the foreground. All architectural and historical details regarding different construction periods of Galata Tower have been gathered by Sağlam.⁵⁰⁹ He published a paper in 2020 about a re-evaluation of the Genoese period of Galata Tower, where he revisits three misconceptions that were based on a misreading or misinterpretation by early scholars, that have been prolonged over the years. The first one relates to its construction date. There is no evidence to confirm that it was built by Anastasios I (491-

⁵⁰⁴ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 22; Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 63; Sercan Sağlam, ‘Galata Kulesinin Ceneviz Dönemine Yönelik Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme’, *YILLIK Annual of Istanbul Studies* 2 (2020): 69. In his 2020 article, Sağlam claims that the Genoese never called this tower *Christea Turris* but Holy Cross, *Sancte Crucis*, as documented by Buondelmonti’s Düsseldorf map. Consequently, there were two towers by that name; present day Galata Tower, and the tower of the Holy Cross located next to *Castrum Sanctae Crucis*, present day Yeraltı Camii in the Kemankeş quarter of Beyoğlu, which caused confusion among scholars.

⁵⁰⁵ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 22; Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 63.

⁵⁰⁶ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 63–64.

⁵⁰⁷ Sağlam, 66.

⁵⁰⁸ Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 33.

⁵⁰⁹ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 63–75.

518), while there is a consensus that the Genoese built it in 1348.⁵¹⁰ Sağlam argues that a second mistake relates to the name given to Galata Tower by the Genoese. He proposes that the Genoese called their tower *Turris Sancte* rather than *Christea Turris* which is the name used in most scholarship.⁵¹¹ A third misconception is based on architectural observations. Sağlam argues that the works conducted to raise the Tower were not done by the Genoese in 1445, but by the Ottomans after the conquest.⁵¹²

2.9. Castrum Galathe or Castrum Sancte Crucis

This is probably the oldest visible monument in Galata, located in present day Kemankeş caddesi, in the Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa neighbourhood of Beyoğlu. As previously mentioned, it is dated to the sixth century. The castle stood just outside the initial concession zone and was guarded by a Byzantine garrison because of its strategic position at the entrance of the port. It contained one end of the chain across the Golden Horn, which according to known sources was used only once during the Genoese era of Galata, in 1453. In his monograph, Erkal relates the different historical layers of this ancient monument.⁵¹³

The Lagirio suburb, east of Galata, where the castrum was located is believed to have become part of the Genoese concession around 1385.⁵¹⁴ The Genoese built a cylindrical tower next to castle around 1390. According to *massaria* records, a gilded cross on a sphere was placed on top of the tower. The tower and castle were named Sancte Crucis.⁵¹⁵ According to Erkal, the castle functioned as a magazine of arms, *arzana*, as early as 1420.

During Ottoman times, the castle was used as a magazine, a customs house, and finally a mosque, Yeraltı camii.⁵¹⁶ There are no visible remains of the Genoese period. The tower has disappeared. According to Erkal, the only thing that remains is the

⁵¹⁰ Sağlam, 'Galata'da İhmal Edilmiş Ceneviz Yapılarına Dair Bazı Keşifler', 54; Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 22.

⁵¹¹ Sağlam, 'Galata Kulesinin Ceneviz Dönemine Yönelik Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme', 55–59.

⁵¹² Sağlam, 59–62.

⁵¹³ Namık Erkal, 'The Corner of the Horn: An Architectural Review of the Leaded Magazine in Galata Istanbul', *METU JFA*, no. 1 (2011).

⁵¹⁴ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 77.

⁵¹⁵ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 191; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 77–78.

⁵¹⁶ Erkal, 'The Corner of the Horn: An Architectural Review of the Leaded Magazine in Galata Istanbul', 197.

foundation of the Byzantine Galata castle, a raised substructure, a vaulted space, within which Arap Camii is located (Fig. 28).⁵¹⁷

2.10. Podesta Palace / Palazzo Comunale and other civil buildings

The Palazzo Comunale, dating from 1316, is partially intact, as present day Bereket Han, which stands in the corner of Bankalar caddesi and Galata Kulesi sokak in the Bereketzade neighbourhood of Beyoğlu. The rear end faces Kart Çınar sokak. Looking at the Goad map, it is possible to see that the adjacent building did not exist in 1905. The Palazzo Comunale was a free-standing building. The administrative affairs of the colony were run in this Palace, which Balard describes as a two-storey building with a large council hall, a smaller hall where the vicar held his office, and the private rooms of the podesta and the vicar with balconies facing a small square.⁵¹⁸ The fourteenth century notary records refer to the various parts of the palace, as signature locations. It is possible to find out from the *massaria* accounts that the palace was painted white with a representation of Saint George, the patron saint of Genoa, that was illuminated with candles during religious holidays.⁵¹⁹ Mas-Latrie, a scholar travelling through Pera in 1846, observes a Saint George and dragon relief on the building.⁵²⁰ As part of his duties, and as evidenced by the *massaria* records, the podesta made sure that religious holidays were celebrated according to Genoese traditions. According to Balard, candles were lit in San Michele and San Giorgio churches on the days of their patron saint. On Christmas eve, donations were made to churches and all employees of the city administration. On Christmas day, fires were lit in the Palace square and, wine and sweets were distributed to all Perotes. Special sweets were made for Mardi-Gras. The main feast of Pera was during Pentecost. Streets were cleaned for the *palio* horse race. Other games were organized along the shore as the podesta and his entourage followed them from a tower of the Palace. The winners received prizes and were invited to receptions in the Palace. Another important celebration happened on Saint John name day, when fires were lit on the walls, on the Tower of the Holy Christ, and on the Palace square, around which Perotes danced and played.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Erkal, 201.

⁵¹⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 193.

⁵¹⁹ Balard, 191.

⁵²⁰ Louis de Mas-Latrie, 'Notes d'un Voyage Archéologique En Orient. Extraits de Rapports Adressés à Mr Le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique.', *Bibliothèque de l'École Des Chartes*, 1846, 496.

⁵²¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 400–401.

Eyice observed the resemblance between the Palazzo Comunale and San Giorgio palace in Genoa (Fig. 29).⁵²² Akyol's article provides a comparison between the two buildings, and also highlights the significance of its location. The fact that it was built immediately outside the concession can be seen as an act of defiance against the Byzantines. Growing Pera towards the top of the hill was important for security reasons. Akyol claims that proximity to the existing Byzantine San Giorgio church was also an important factor, since it was the patron saint of Genoa, and the church was eventually converted to the Latin rite.⁵²³ Finally, the palace was located at the junction of two main axis of the urban plan, in a commercially strategic position, as an extension of the port and loggia. Sağlam provides a thorough study of the Palazzo Comunale with in situ observations and analysis of its architectural characteristics.⁵²⁴ The monumental stairs of the building and the council chamber have been destroyed in nineteenth century roadworks, as reported by de Launay.⁵²⁵ The building is presently unoccupied (Fig. 30).

There are two-storey buildings in the Arap Camii neighbourhood, around present day Perşembe Pazarı street, the main commercial street of the Genoese period, and by the shore, that have previously attracted the attention of architects and historians. They are located in the commercial, presumably loggia, area. The predominant opinion is that they are sixteenth or seventeenth century Ottoman buildings, inspired by, or built over Genoese houses. They are Saksı Han, Serpuş Han, Yelkenciler Han, and the building on Kart Çınar street, which faces the Palazzo Comunale (Fig. 31-34).⁵²⁶ More research is required for these buildings.

2.11. Churches

Only four Latin churches of the Genoese period are still visible today, albeit not in their original form. One is the Arap Camii, initially San Domenico and Paolo, the others are the church of Saint Benoit high school, San Benedetto, the church of Sankt Georg high school, San Giorgio, and lastly the Dominican Church and Monastery of San Pietro and Paolo, still active today. Then comes a group of churches that are no longer there but which have been replaced by mosques or other buildings, and for which

⁵²² Eyice, *Galata and Its Tower*, 52.

⁵²³ Ela Akyol, 'Ortaçağ Galata'sının Kamusal Bir Yapısı Podesta Sarayı', *İstanbul*, 1997, 28–31.

⁵²⁴ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 96–112.

⁵²⁵ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 101.

⁵²⁶ Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları*, 79; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 169; Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 35.

the exact locations are documented. These are San Michele, San Francesco, Sant'Anna, and San Sebastiano. The last category consists of churches which are mentioned in sources but for which the location has not yet been identified with certainty. Those are Santa Chiara, San Antonio church and hospital, Santa Elene church and hospital, San Giovanni Battista church and hospital, Santa Maria (Draperis?), San Costantino, Santa Caterina, and maybe San Lazare and San Clemente. Numerous scholars have focused on this subject for over a century.⁵²⁷ A more recently published and still understudied publication, which will be treated in the following section, the 1455 Survey of Istanbul, has brought additional insight to the subject. For the last category of churches, those with unknown locations, I have benefited particularly from Sağlam's latest work.⁵²⁸

In the aftermath of Pera's surrender to Mehmed II, in 1453, the notables of the city, who had become Ottoman subjects organized themselves to form an entity called the *confraternity of Sant'Anna*, more often referred to as *Magnifica Comunita di Pera*, which was in charge of the administration of the Latin churches and their real estate, as well as their maintenance.⁵²⁹ According to the records of the *Magnifica Comunita*, six Galata churches are mentioned as property of the community in 1583: "Sant'Anna, Sant'Antonio, San Benedetto, San Giorgio, San Giovanni de l'Ospedale, San Sebastiano".⁵³⁰ San Francesco and San Pietro were not properties of the *Magnifica Comunita*. San Michele had disappeared and San Domenico had already been converted to a mosque. Santa Chiara, San Clemente, San Costantino, Santa Elene, Santa Maria, Santa Caterina are other churches mentioned in the Genoese notary records in different periods, bringing the total to seventeen known churches from the Genoese era. San Lazare which was only mentioned as a *contratta* is not included.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ Desimoni, 'I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII'; Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*; Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları*; Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', *Echos d'Orient* 25, no. 141 (1926): 21–41; Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaeologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*; Mamboury, *Istanbul Touristique 1951*; Raymond Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Tome III, Les Églises et Les Monastères* (Paris: Institut Français d'études Byzantines, 1969); Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682'; Sezim Sezer Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul: A Historical Perspective (1839-1923)* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2004); Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata'; Mattia Ceracchi, 'La Comunita Latino-Cattolica Di Istanbul Nella Prima Età Ottomana (1453-1696). Spazi Sacri, Luoghi Di Culto', *Eurostudium3w*, no. 38 (2016): 3–160; Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places'.

⁵²⁸ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 113–68; Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1834–55.

⁵²⁹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 167–68.

⁵³⁰ Belin, 168.

⁵³¹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVE siecle', app. 117.

The Galata churches mentioned in the sixteenth century traveller accounts compiled by Yerasimos are, San Francesco with a beautiful mosaic above its gate, San Pietro, San Benedetto, previously Sainte Marie de la Citerne, San Giorgio, Santa Maria Draperiis in Mumhane street, near Mumhane gate by the sea. San Giovanni Battista church and hospital are said to be located on the street going from Karaköy to Tophane and Santa Chiara next to the customs tower. Sant' Anna is a small church next to San Francesco. Finally, there is a mention of San Paolo next to a fountain decorated with Genoese arms, which could be referring to Arap Camii, or San Pietro and Paulo.⁵³²

In terms of modern-day district names, all the Genoese period monuments were located in the Beyoğlu district, which is divided into twenty neighbourhoods (*mahalle*). The medieval Genoese city Galata/Pera stood on six of them, namely, present day Arap Camii, Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa, Hacı Mimi, Müeyyedzade, Bereketzade, and Emekyemez neighbourhoods of Beyoğlu (Fig. 35-39).

2.11.1. *San Domenico*

San Domenico is present day Arap Camii, located in Kalyon street, in the neighbourhood named after itself, Arapcamii. A more widely used name of this neighbourhood, which is mainly dedicated to hardware stores, is Perşembepazarı (the Thursday Market).

There have been many debates about the origin of this monument, however scholars have now established with certainty that Arap Camii had indeed been converted from San Domenico, which in turn had been built on the location where the Byzantine church Hagia Irene had once stood.⁵³³ This is the best-known church from the Genoese period of Galata, primarily because it is still extant and quite outstanding with its belfry, in a city of domed mosques and churches, but also because its history is still debated.⁵³⁴ Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century, both western and Turkish authors still considered the likelihood of a local legend according to which, the mosque was first built during the 672-79 siege of Constantinople by the Umayyad,

⁵³² Stéphane Yerasimos, 'Galata, à Travers Les Récits de Voyage', ed. Edhem Eldem (Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne: Institut National des langues et civilisations orientales, Maison des sciences et de l'homme, 18-22 Janvier 1985, Istanbul: Isis, 1991), 121-22.

⁵³³ P. Benedetto Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami Ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, trans. I. Burhan Yentürk (Istanbul: Bilge Karınca Yayınları, 2014), 90-95.

⁵³⁴ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 216. The tower is said to be identical to the ones of the Chieri and Finale Dominican convents.

under the command of Maslama ibn Abdal-Malik, and in fact there is still a plate at the entrance of the church relating this story, on the present day, although the facts have been established in Turkish sources as well (Fig. 40).⁵³⁵ The precise date of conversion is not known. According to Belin, the Dominicans kept the Church of Saint Paul until they had to leave, under the pressure applied by Maure immigrants from Spain, around 1535. But this is proved wrong by the Mehmed II foundation document where the Galata church is mentioned as *Mesa Domeniko*.⁵³⁶ According to İnalçık, the *Wakfiyye III* foundation document states that “one of the buildings Mehmed the Conqueror converted into a mosque is the church in the al-Hadj Hamza quarter near the *İskele Kapısı*, which was known as *Mesa Domenko* among the Genoese.⁵³⁷ İnalçık suggests that the convent had already been abandoned by the Genoese, after 1453.⁵³⁸ Loenertz confirms that the Genoese had sent away the relics and precious objects of the church to be ultimately delivered to Genoa, and that the archives were taken to Caffa. In fact, the monks had already settled in San Pietro in 1476.⁵³⁹ However, a Genoese notary record dated July 1479 is signed in *contracta Sancti Dominici*.⁵⁴⁰ It is possible of course that although the building had been abandoned, the conversion had not yet taken place, and even if it had, it might have taken some time for the local population to adapt to the new situation. The mosque was initially named Cami-i Kebir and later Arap Camii, most likely because of the Arab immigrants coming from Spain in 1492, who settled there.⁵⁴¹ The Latin population in the neighbourhood was evacuated. According to İnalçık, this was in line with a movement of Islamification of Galata, of which there are further examples.

The Dominican order founded in 1215 by Saint Dominic (1170 -1221) had been present in Constantinople since its very early days.⁵⁴² The oldest document mentioning a Dominican convent in Constantinople dates from 1233.⁵⁴³ There are no records of the

⁵³⁵ İnalçık argues that such legitimization efforts are part of an Ottoman-Islamic tradition. İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 67.

⁵³⁶ Semavi Eyice, ‘Arap Camii’, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), 326.

⁵³⁷ İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 89.

⁵³⁸ İnalçık, 67.

⁵³⁹ R. Loenertz, ‘Les Établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople (Origines et Fondations)’, *Echos d’Orient* 34, no. 179 (1935): 332–33.

⁵⁴⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:235.

⁵⁴¹ Palazzo, *L’Arap Djami Ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, 43.

⁵⁴² ‘Sen Piyer Dominicans’, Sen Piyer Kilisesi, n.d., <http://senpiyer.org/dominicans/>. He was canonized in 1234.

⁵⁴³ Loenertz, ‘Les Établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople (Origines et Fondations)’, 334; Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*, 576.

fate of the Dominicans during the Latin Empire. Their presence was attested again in 1299, when father Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac acquired houses in order to establish convents, both in Constantinople and in Pera.⁵⁴⁴ In 1307, they were expelled from Constantinople by Andronikos II Palaiologos, along with the Franciscan order.⁵⁴⁵ According to Janin, they took refuge in their Pera convent, which was located near a church named San Paolo that had been established during the Latin Empire, and when they built their new church on the grounds of San Paolo, they added the name of their founder and renamed it San Paolo and Domenico.⁵⁴⁶ In the Genoese archives, San Paolo is not mentioned and Loenertz seriously doubts its existence.⁵⁴⁷ According to Palazzo, there is no doubt that the local community used both San Paolo and San Domenico names, although the official name was San Domenico.⁵⁴⁸ The exact construction date is not known but estimated to be c.1323.⁵⁴⁹

Latest scholarship supports that during the Latin empire, around 1230, San Domenico has replaced *Hagia Irene of Sykai*, a church constructed in the second century CE, by Pertinax, Bishop of Byzantium, and which was mentioned in the 1303 Act where the perimeter of the Genoese concession was defined.⁵⁵⁰ The Act mentions that the Genoese were buried in Hagia Irene and that there is a well in its garden. According to the measurements of Sağlam, this claim is supported; Arap Camii's location does indeed correspond to the place where, according to the 1303 Act, Hagia Irene stood.⁵⁵¹ Sixth century capitals and Middle Byzantine cornices decorated with lotus and palmette friezes have been reused in San Domenico, attesting a shared taste between the Latins of Pera and the Byzantines.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁴ Loenertz, 'Les Établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople (Origines et Fondations)', 336.

⁵⁴⁵ Loenertz, 336.

⁵⁴⁶ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 591.

⁵⁴⁷ Loenertz, 'Les Établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople (Origines et Fondations)', 339–44.

⁵⁴⁸ Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami Ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, 90–96.

⁵⁴⁹ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 115.

⁵⁵⁰ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 573; Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 396; Palazzo, *L'Arap Djami Ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, 77–83.

⁵⁵¹ Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1840.

⁵⁵² Nicholas Melvani, 'Late, Middle, and Early Byzantine Sculpture in Palaiologan Constantinople', in *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, ed. Ivana Jevtic and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018), 161–62.

The Church of San Domenico has been the object of much research and publications.⁵⁵³ The following aspects are highlighted by Sicimoğlu Yenikler. Its architectural style is classified as Italian Gothic. The church has a three-aisled basilica plan and ribbed vaulted apse. Other Gothic elements are rose windows, pointed windows, and the tall square belfry with a conical roof which has been transformed into a minaret (Fig. 41).⁵⁵⁴ The building technique on the other hand is Byzantine, with alternating brick and stone layers.⁵⁵⁵ Other important features displaying artistic hybridity are the frescoes that were discovered during the restoration of the mosque in 1913.⁵⁵⁶ They had been covered during the Ottoman period. More plaster fell during the 1999 earthquake of Istanbul and revealed new frescoes. Finally, during a survey conducted for the restoration of the mosque in 2006, another set of frescoes were discovered. These frescoes have been extensively studied and documented but they are unfortunately not visible, since they have been concealed again. Akyürek states that “the paintings are characterized as Palaiologan in style and artistic taste, but Italian in their pictorial program”.⁵⁵⁷ According to Sicimoğlu Yenikler, other frescoes have been discovered during the 2010 -2012 restoration but have been covered with white board and plaster.⁵⁵⁸

In 1917, during the restoration works of Arap Camii, Dallegio d’Alessio had the opportunity to see and study 106 gravestones that had been concealed by the mats and carpets covering the floor of the mosque. He published a list of the names identified on the stones, with additional attention to a few of them, among which was one that he

⁵⁵³ Eyice, ‘Arap Camii’; Seda Sicimoğlu Yenikler, ‘The Artistic Hybridity of the Church of San Domenico (Arap Camii): Mirroring the Multicultural Milieu of Galata from Byzantine to Ottoman Times’ (Master of Arts, Istanbul, Koç University, 2019); Palazzo, *L’Arap Djami Ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*; Engin Akyürek, ‘Dominican Painting in Palaiologan Constantinople: The Frescoes of the Arap Camii, (Church of S. Domenico) in Galata’, in *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, ed. H. A. Klein, R. G. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis (İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2011), 301–26; Haluk Çetinkaya, ‘Arap Camii in Istanbul: Its Architecture and Frescoes’, *Anatolia Antiqua* XIII (2010): 169–88; Eugène Dallegio d’Alessio, ‘L’établissement Dominicain de Péra (Galata)’, *Echos d’Orient* 35, no. 181 (1936): 83–86; Eugène Dallegio d’Alessio, ‘Inscriptions Latines Funéraires de Constantinople Au Moyen-Âge’, *Echos d’Orient* 32 (1933): 340–47.

⁵⁵⁴ Sicimoğlu Yenikler, ‘The Artistic Hybridity of the Church of San Domenico (Arap Camii)’; 75–85.

⁵⁵⁵ Sicimoğlu Yenikler, 88.

⁵⁵⁶ Sicimoğlu Yenikler, 98–103.

⁵⁵⁷ Akyürek, ‘Dominican Painting in Palaiologan Constantinople: The Frescoes of the Arap Camii, (Church of S. Domenico) in Galata’, 328.

⁵⁵⁸ Sicimoğlu Yenikler, ‘The Artistic Hybridity of the Church of San Domenico (Arap Camii)’; 100.

believed was dated 1260, during the Latin Empire.⁵⁵⁹ However, later studies revealed that the date had been misread and was in fact 1360.⁵⁶⁰ The gravestones were transferred to the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul. In a later publication, Dallegio d'Alessio provided a detailed description of each tombstone, attempting to identify the names and arms, using available sources.⁵⁶¹ Since there have been many published archives after 1942, it may be worthwhile to further study these inscriptions. According to Dallegio d'Alessio, the earlier tombstones date from 1300 and the latest recognized one is from 1458, however Sağlam mentions a study by Cramer J and Dull in 1985, that dates the earliest inscription to 1323.⁵⁶²

2.11.2 San Benedetto and Santa Maria Misericordia della Citerna

San Benedetto is located on present day Kemeraltı caddesi, in the Müeyyedzade quarter of Beyoğlu (Fig. 42). A school and a day-clinic with the same name (Saint Benoit) are still active. Lüleci Hendek (moat) Sokak, which was built on the moat outside the walls of the Lagirio suburb, lies in the north of the school, and one of the remaining towers of the city wall is located in the north east corner of the school garden. Until 1864, the north of the San Benedetto complex was delimited by the city walls. I have noticed that the street to the east of the school, presently named Revani, used to be named Marie, as can be seen in the 1905 Goad Map, reminiscent of the Santa Maria della Misericordia name. Looking at sources, monasterium *Sancti Benedicti de Pera* is mentioned in a 1453 testament, and a Benedictine monk of *monasterium Sancte Maria Misericordie de Siserna* appears in a power of attorney in 1475.⁵⁶³ Based on an inscription described in Dr. Covell's journal, in the second half of seventeenth century, the dedication of the church to both Virgin Mary and Saint Benedict, has been dated to 1427.⁵⁶⁴ Belin cites a source evidencing the coexistence of two distinct monasteries on the same location that were united in 1450, while Dallegio d'Alessio sustains that there

⁵⁵⁹ Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Familles Latines de Péra Au Temps Des Paléologues, d'après Les Inscriptions Funéraires d'Arab-Djami', *Echos d'Orient* 35, no. 184 (1936): 416–20; Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Inscriptions Latines Funéraires de Constantinople Au Moyen-Âge'; Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Inscriptions Latines Funéraires de Constantinople Au Moyen Âge', *Echos d'Orient* 32, no. 171 (1933): 341–42.

⁵⁶⁰ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 115.

⁵⁶¹ Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali Di Arab Giami (Antica Chiesa Di S. Paolo a Galata)* (Genova: Atti della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1942).

⁵⁶² Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 115.

⁵⁶³ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:112, 220.

⁵⁶⁴ Hasluck, 'Dr. Covell's Notes on Galata', 58.

has only been one monastery.⁵⁶⁵ The Benedictines established their monastery within or next to an existing Byzantine one.⁵⁶⁶ The original church burnt down in a fire in 1686.⁵⁶⁷ Based on descriptions before that date, we understand that it was richly decorated with mosaics and inscriptions in Greek.⁵⁶⁸ The bell tower, and a chapel remain from the first building. Up until its demolition in 1958, a courtyard gate was also identified with the original monastery (Fig. 43).⁵⁶⁹ The Greek Orthodox church was probably already dedicated to Virgin Mary.⁵⁷⁰ As related by Niewohner, the architectural details have been studied initially by Ousterhout, and lately by himself. Accordingly, there is no doubt that Byzantine builders had been involved in the construction of the original building.⁵⁷¹ Late Palaiologan characteristics were identified, along with the Latin influenced bell tower.⁵⁷² Balard cites a reference to a Greek orthodox Saint Mary's church in Lagirio, which according to Niewohner provides a terminus ante quem of 1402.⁵⁷³ The reference to a cistern in the name *Sancte Maria Misericordie de Siserna* corresponds to the cistern observed by Gyllius.⁵⁷⁴

2.11.3. San Giorgio

San Giorgio is located in Kart Çınar street, in the Bereketzade quarter of Beyoğlu, within the premises of the Sanct Georg high school, bearing the same name. A church dedicated to Saint George was already mentioned in the 1303 Act, and lied just outside the initial concession area. It was a Greek-rite church, believed to have been given to the Genoese in 1352.⁵⁷⁵ A contracta Sancti Georgii appears in only one published notary record, in 1466.⁵⁷⁶ As highlighted by Sağlam, being the patron saint of Genoa,

⁵⁶⁵ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 234; Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Le Monastère de Sainte-Marie de La Miséricorde de La Citerne de Péra Ou de Saint Benoit. Des Origines à l'occupation Du Monastère Par Les Jésuites (12 Mai 1427 - 18 Novembre 1583)', *Echos d'Orient* 33, no. 173 (1934): 60.

⁵⁶⁶ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Le Monastère de Sainte-Marie de La Miséricorde de La Citerne de Péra Ou de Saint Benoit. Des Origines à l'occupation Du Monastère Par Les Jésuites (12 Mai 1427 - 18 Novembre 1583)', 64; Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 22; Philipp Niewöhner, 'Saint Benoit in Galata. Der Byzantinische Ursprungsbau', *Jahrbuch Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 125 (2011): 157.

⁵⁶⁷ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 261.

⁵⁶⁸ Niewöhner, 'Saint Benoit in Galata. Der Byzantinische Ursprungsbau', 210.

⁵⁶⁹ Niewöhner, 157.

⁵⁷⁰ Niewöhner, 241.

⁵⁷¹ Niewöhner, 159.

⁵⁷² Niewöhner, 222.

⁵⁷³ Niewöhner, 231.

⁵⁷⁴ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 130; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası. 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul*, 100.

⁵⁷⁵ Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul: A Historical Perspective (1839-1923)*, 155.

⁵⁷⁶ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:160.

San Giorgio celebrations took place in this church, in 1391.⁵⁷⁷ San Giorgio was occupied by the Capucine order in 1626 and was reported to have burnt down in the 1660 fire of Galata, but we do not know whether it was the original building, nor do we have any information about its architecture.⁵⁷⁸ Belin and Janin mention the presence of a hagiasma within the church.⁵⁷⁹

2.11.4. *San Pietro and Paolo*

The still active Dominican church and monastery of San Pietro and Paolo is located in Galata Kulesi sokak, in the Bereketzade quarter of Beyoğlu. As mentioned in the church's website, "the friars of the Order of Preachers, commonly known in England as the Black Friars due to the black cape worn over their white robe", founded St Paul church in Galata where they lived for two centuries, until they were evicted in 1475 when their church was converted into a mosque, the Arap Camii. The friars then, took refuge in a smaller building nearby.⁵⁸⁰ It is not clear whether the building was already dedicated San Pietro or whether it became so later.

This church does not appear in the published Genoese archives, neither as Paolo nor Pietro. However, Belin cites a document of the Dominican archives, dated 1390, that refers to the nuns of Saint Catherine, established in Pera, in a San Pietro church.⁵⁸¹ According to a document of the *Magnifica Comunita di Pera*, of the seventeenth century, when Mehmed II seized San Paolo (San Domenico), the community sent away the nuns of Saint Catherine and gave their monastery to the Dominicans.⁵⁸² There is no information about the characteristics of the original building, which has been reconstructed at least five times.⁵⁸³

When in 1475, Caffa was conquered by Mehmed II, the Latins of this colony were transferred to Constantinople, in a neighbourhood which would take the name of Kefeliler. The Dominicans founded two churches there, on the ruins of Byzantine monasteries; San Nicolo, and Santa Maria of Constantinople. An icon of the Virgin

⁵⁷⁷ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 153.

⁵⁷⁸ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 31.

⁵⁷⁹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 286; Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 589.

⁵⁸⁰ 'Sen Piyer Church', Sen Piyer Kilisesi, n.d., <http://senpiyer.org/church/>.

⁵⁸¹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 218.

⁵⁸² Belin, 219.

⁵⁸³ Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 155–56.

brought from Caffa was placed in Santa Maria, which was later taken to San Pietro and Paolo of Pera, and is still exposed there, with a silver casing (Fig. 44).⁵⁸⁴

2.11.5. *San Michele*

San Michele is believed to have been located where present day Kurşunlu Han (Rüstem Paşa Han) stands, on Kardeşim sokak, off Tersane caddesi, in the Arapcamii quarter of Beyoğlu (Fig. 45). The first mention of San Michele in published notary acts of Pera is in 1281.⁵⁸⁵ San Michele was the Cathedral of Pera, where the vicar of the archbishop of Genoa resided.⁵⁸⁶ As highlighted by Çımaryılmaz and Ar, the church did not only have a religious function; administrative and judicial activities also took place there.⁵⁸⁷ Gilles saw the church which was still standing, around 1544, but it was no longer there when he came back in 1550, and had been replaced by a caravanserai.⁵⁸⁸ Initially, scholars believed this place to be Havyar Han which stood in present day Karaköy square, but later research in the Ottoman records confirmed that it was Kurşunlu Han.⁵⁸⁹

San Michele is continuously mentioned in published notary records throughout the fourteenth century and up until 1453.⁵⁹⁰ Its importance for the Genoese community is well established. However, Belin remarks that the archives of the *Magnifica Communita* are totally silent about it.⁵⁹¹ He suggests that maybe after the loss of autonomy in 1453, the patron saint of Genoa, Saint George, and his church, became more important for the community. I may add that, although unlike other colonies, Pera never became property of the bank Casa di San Giorgio, Saint George as the symbol of

⁵⁸⁴ Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur La Latinité de Constantinople: Nomenclature Des Églises Latines de Constantinople (Stamboul) Sous Les Empereurs Byzantins', *Echos d'Orient* 23, no. 136 (1924): 457–58.

⁵⁸⁵ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*, 90.

⁵⁸⁶ Desimoni, 'I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII', 268; Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 322; Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 31; Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 590.

⁵⁸⁷ Naz Ecem Çımaryılmaz and Bilge Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera): Historic Records and Material Evidence on Its Chronology', *A/Z : ITU Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 17, no. 2 (2020): 20.

⁵⁸⁸ Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 216.

⁵⁸⁹ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 31; Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 590.

⁵⁹⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:107; Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 32.

⁵⁹¹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 322; Çımaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 21.

Genoa and its bankers had acquired an increased importance in the fifteenth century.⁵⁹² Moreover, according to travellers in the last years of the fifteenth century, San Michele, the cathedral of the Genoese, had been assigned to the Florentines, who were favoured by Mehmed II.⁵⁹³

Sağlam proposed that San Michele had replaced a Byzantine church by the shore, Hagia Thekla, which had been constructed by Justinian I (r. 527-565), and converted into a Catholic church during the Latin Empire.⁵⁹⁴ Based on the clues gathered by Çinaryılmaz and Ar from the published Genoese archives, San Michele was standing close to the loggia, on a street or square bearing its name, and had a large bell tower.⁵⁹⁵ It was demolished in 1296, following the Venetian attack related in the previous chapter, and was reconstructed.⁵⁹⁶ At that time, there were no maritime walls. However, remains of the maritime walls that were built later can be observed near present day Kurşunlu Han, only two meters away from the building.⁵⁹⁷ The church behind the walls in the Greenwich Museum Buondelmonti map is believed to represent San Michele.⁵⁹⁸ I have also remarked a similar church in a Buondelmonti Vatican map. Finally, as pointed out by Çinaryılmaz and Ar, a domed church is represented in the same location in the later Schedel map (Fig. 46).⁵⁹⁹ A domed structure is unusual for the Pera churches, which tend to display an Italian Gothic style, such as San Domenico and San Francesco. But it could be an indication of the re-use of an existing Byzantine church, with the addition of a bell tower.⁶⁰⁰ Ottoman documents related to the change of ownership of the property, in 1550, when it was transferred to Mihrimah Sultan, and later her husband Rüstem Paşa, who built the caravanserai, reveal a square plan for the church. According to Çinaryılmaz and Ar, this would bring to mind some sixth century Byzantine examples, supporting the suggested Hagia Thekla past.⁶⁰¹ San Michele is referred to as *kilisâ al-Efrençiyîn* (church of the Latins/Franks) in the 1472 *vakfiye*

⁵⁹² Carrie E. Benes, 'Civic Identity', in *A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, ed. Carrie E. Benes, Brill's Companions to European History (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 1974), 205.

⁵⁹³ Yerasimos, 'Galata, à Travers Les Récits de Voyage', 118.

⁵⁹⁴ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 149.

⁵⁹⁵ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 19–20.

⁵⁹⁶ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 19.

⁵⁹⁷ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 19.

⁵⁹⁸ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 18; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 151–52.

⁵⁹⁹ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 52; Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 11.

⁶⁰⁰ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 22.

⁶⁰¹ Çinaryılmaz and Ar, 23.

document.⁶⁰² The same document describes the church as being close to a prison in the loggia neighbourhood. It is interesting to note that to this day, there is a *Zindan* (dungeon) street, next to Kurşunlu Han. There are no identifiable remains of San Michele, only some observations on the substructures described in Çınaryılmaz and Ar are available.⁶⁰³

2.11.6. *San Francesco*

San Francesco church and convent stood where present day Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı (hardware market) is located, between Zincirli Han street and Bereketzade Medresesi street, in the Arap Camii neighbourhood of Beyoğlu. A testament enacted in Genoa in 1297, states the wish of Maria de Peyra de Costantinopoli to be buried in *ecclesiam sancti Francisci de Peyra*.⁶⁰⁴ This is the first written evidence of a Franciscan Minor establishment in Pera. According to Belin, Franciscan presence had been attested in Constantinople as early as 1220, in the early days of the existence of the order.⁶⁰⁵ He suggests that the church in Pera was initially dedicated to Virgin Mary before 1227, since Francesco had not yet been canonized.

There are references to San Francesco in the published notary records of Pera, during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It appears in testaments as a burying place, but is also referenced as a landmark for addresses, and some notary acts are signed in front of the church as late as 1469.⁶⁰⁶ Additional information obtained in the notary records is the presence of a public road next to the church and of a narrow street of furriers in the San Francesco quarter.⁶⁰⁷ The last mention to San Francesco in published notary records is in 1479.⁶⁰⁸ However, we know from the sources of the *Magnifica Communita di Pera*, the traveller accounts and the Ottoman records that, the church was in place until it burnt down in the great fire of 1660, was reconstructed and burnt down again in 1669, after which time it was seized and replaced by a mosque, Yeni Cami or Valide Camii in 1697.⁶⁰⁹ According to Dallegio d'Alessio, between 1453 and 1697, San

⁶⁰² İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 46; Çınaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 21; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 151.

⁶⁰³ Çınaryılmaz and Ar, 'San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)', 24–27.

⁶⁰⁴ Belgrano, *Seconda Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:933.

⁶⁰⁵ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 187.

⁶⁰⁶ Balard, 'Pera au XVe siècle', app. 3; Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:76, 116, 152, 173, 195–201, 214.

⁶⁰⁷ Balard, 'Pera au XVe siècle', app. 122; Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:152.

⁶⁰⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:245.

⁶⁰⁹ Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 27.

Francesco was the main Latin church of Constantinople and Pera, where the patriarchal vicar resided.⁶¹⁰ A funerary inscription dated 1304 and a tombstone from San Francesco cemetery dated 1335 are reported by Belin.⁶¹¹ The names of some persons buried in San Francesco are provided in Marmara.⁶¹²

San Francesco, along with San Domenico, appears in most Buondelmonti maps, and in the sixteenth century Nasuh Al-Matraki miniature (Fig. 47-48). Clavijo described the church as “magnificent and richly ornamented”.⁶¹³ Detailed plans and descriptions of the church and monastery based on the reports of visiting Franciscan monks were published and are reproduced by Sağlam and Özgüleş (Fig. 49).⁶¹⁴ Travellers admired the frescoes or mosaics inside and outside the church. Evliya Çelebi refers to “strange and wonderful images and icons that seem to be alive” (Fig. 50).⁶¹⁵ Ottomans refer to this church as *münakkaş kilise*, ornamented church.⁶¹⁶ The church was situated on flat land while the monastery was halfway up the hill.⁶¹⁷ The bell tower was very high, and the plans reveal two cloisters within the monastery.⁶¹⁸

2.11.7. Sant’Anna

Sant’Anna chapel was actually part of the San Francesco Monastery complex and was located inside one of its cloisters (Fig. 51). It is described as a fairly large church which could be reached by stairs.⁶¹⁹ Seven stairs, as mentioned by Evliya Çelebi who also refers to its organ.⁶²⁰ Although there is no precise information about its date of construction, it is dated to the thirteenth century, like San Francesco.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁰ Dallegio d’Alessio, ‘Recherches Sur l’histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)’, 28.

⁶¹¹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 189–90.

⁶¹² Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 28.

⁶¹³ Muzaffer Özgüleş, ‘A Missing Royal Mosque in Constantinople That Islamized a Catholic Church’, *Muğarnas* 34 (2017): 159.

⁶¹⁴ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 133*148; Özgüleş, ‘A Missing Royal Mosque in Constantinople That Islamized a Catholic Church’, 159–62.

⁶¹⁵ Özgüleş, ‘A Missing Royal Mosque in Constantinople That Islamized a Catholic Church’, 159; Dankoff and Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller*, 19.

⁶¹⁶ Semavi Eyice, ‘Galata’da Türk Eserleri’, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996), 308; Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 134; Çınarıılmaz and Ar, ‘San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)’, 22; İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 89. As highlighted by Sağlam, Çınarıılmaz and Ar, and İnalçık, the name *münakkaş kilise* may also be attributed to San Michele.

⁶¹⁷ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*, 588.

⁶¹⁸ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 141–42; Dankoff and Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller*, 19.

⁶¹⁹ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*, 588.

⁶²⁰ Dankoff and Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller*, 19.

⁶²¹ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 135.

A testament dictated beginning of April 1453, presumably after the siege started, is the only reference to *capella Verberatorum Sancte Ane de Pera* within the published notary records.⁶²² *Verberatorum* presumably refers to flagellants who were active in this period.⁶²³ After 1453, Sant’Anna became the meeting place of the *Magnifica Comunita*, where they also kept their archive.⁶²⁴ The present day Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque is proposed by Dallegio d’Alessio as the location of Sant’Anna chapel which disappeared along with San Francesco in 1697.⁶²⁵

2.11.8. *San Sebastiano*

San Sebastiano is a minor church that is not mentioned in the published Genoese notary archives. However, it appears in Balard’s map of Pera.⁶²⁶ *San Bashtiyan* appears in a 1519 Ottoman survey of Galata and is mentioned in a 1583 communication of the *Magnifica Comunita*.⁶²⁷ San Sebastiano was shown as very close to San Francesco in a seventeenth century “de Propaganda Fide” document which Sağlam suggests corresponds to Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque.⁶²⁸ The sale of a field belonging to *Sabasdiye* church in the Galata Meydancık (little piazza) quarter, after the 1660 fire, is in the Ottoman archives.⁶²⁹ There is no record of its construction date and it must have disappeared along with San Francesco and Sant’Anna in 1697.

2.11.9. *Santa Chiara*

In 1456, Marietta Pagana donated the church ornaments she brought from Pera, to San Domenico church in Genoa, with the condition of them being returned to *ecclesie Sancte Clare* in Pera, if Pera returned under the control of the Genoese one day.⁶³⁰

⁶²² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:115.

⁶²³ “**Flagellants**, medieval religious sects that included public beatings with whips as part of their discipline and devotional practice. Flagellant sects arose in northern Italy and had become large and widespread by about 1260. Groups marched through European towns, whipping each other to atone for their sins and calling on the populace to repent. They gained many new members in the mid-14th century while the Black Death was ravaging Europe. Though periodically suppressed by the authorities, flagellant sects enjoyed sporadic resurgences into the 16th century.”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. “Flagellants”, accessed January 26, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/flagellants>.

⁶²⁴ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 320.

⁶²⁵ Dallegio d’Alessio, ‘Recherches Sur l’histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)’, 38.

⁶²⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 189.

⁶²⁷ İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 55; Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 168.

⁶²⁸ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 162.

⁶²⁹ Kenan Yıldız, ‘Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma:1660 Yangını İstanbul’un İslamlaşmasına Etki Etti Mi?’, in *Osmanlı İstanbullu* (1. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbullu Sempozyumu, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2014), 229. İstanbul Şeriye Sicilleri, 10, 85a/3 (14 L 1072/2 Haziran 1662).

⁶³⁰ Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:272–73.

Marietta Pagana was the founder of the church, however the founding date is not exactly known. Janin mentions 1426, probably misled by a typo in the Belgrano publication, while Ceracchi claims that it must be before 1422, date of the Buondelmonti maps showing a Porta Santa Chiara, as well as a Santa Chiara church, which, I believe, cannot be certain, since Buondelmonti maps have been copied and reproduced over many years, with additions of the copiers, and are difficult to date.⁶³¹

Sancte Clare appears in a 1469 act, as a signature location next to the bazaar, *in bazalli, apud ecclesiam Sancte Clare*.⁶³² In the sixteenth century, Gilles reported the existence of two churches, one that was called Santa Chiara by the Franks, and another called Photini by the Greeks, at the location where the promontory turns north, which corresponds to present day Kemankeş quarter. Gilles interpreted the meaning of these names as a continuation of the pagan temples Artemis Phosphoros and Aphrodite Praeria, light-bearer, that were once located there.⁶³³ D'Alessio, however, claims that Santa Chiara and Photini are the one and the same church, Photini being the translation of Chiara. The church had a miraculous hagiasma and he locates it in the Mumhane district where Kemankeş mosque is situated.⁶³⁴ Yerasimos mentions Santa Chiara as the church that was replaced by Kemankeş Mosque.⁶³⁵ Porta Santa Chiara is seen in the sixteenth century Vavassori map, while Santa Chiara as a church is depicted in the Paris Buondelmonti map, and marked SC (Fig. 52).⁶³⁶ Finally, scholars have stated that the present district name Karaköy is derived from Santa Chiara.⁶³⁷ All findings tend to indicate the Mumhane neighbourhood, and possibly the Kemankeş mosque itself.

Ceracchi cites Matteucci's proposition that, at least in the early years, there was a Poor Clares monastery, but the nuns had abandoned the building after 1453 and the service of the church was carried out by Franciscan friars.⁶³⁸ This would also confirm Belin's suggestion that Santa Chiara was not mentioned in the *Magnifica Comunita* records, since it did not belong to them, but to the San Francesco friars instead.⁶³⁹

⁶³¹ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 587; Ceracchi, 'La Comunita Latino-Cattolica Di Istanbul', 83.

⁶³² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:179.

⁶³³ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 126.

⁶³⁴ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Galata et Ses Environs Dans l'antiquité', 227.

⁶³⁵ Yerasimos, 'Galata, à Travers Les Récits de Voyage', 122.

⁶³⁶ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 245–46.

⁶³⁷ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 16, 23.

⁶³⁸ Ceracchi, 'La Comunita Latino-Cattolica Di Istanbul', 85.

⁶³⁹ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 331.

According to Cedulini, who visited the church around 1580, it was small, frequented by people of different beliefs, who venerated an image of Saint Anthony Abbot, which they believed had a healing power.⁶⁴⁰ The church is believed to have disappeared in one of the city's numerous fires.⁶⁴¹ I would like to add that according to Covel, cited in Schneider-Nomidis, the Greek name for Mumhane gate was *kalogria*, "the gate of the nuns", which may further support the possible presence of a nun monastery in this location.⁶⁴²

2.11.10. San Antonio

The widely accepted view is that San Antonio was located where present day Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa camii stands, at the corner of Kemankeş caddesi and Gümrük sokak, in the Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa neighbourhood of Beyoğlu.⁶⁴³ The patron of the mosque was Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa (death 1644), an Ottoman Grand Vizier. It is located next to the Yeraltı mosque (previously Kurşunlu Mahzen/Castrum), and a portion of the castle walls as well as the adjacent land wall are still visible (Fig.53).⁶⁴⁴

According to Janin, San Antonio was a shelter for the poor of Pera, but also accepted pilgrims and homeless strangers. It possessed a well with a healing power that attracted Christians and Muslims. During Ottoman times, it was served by Franciscans.⁶⁴⁵ According to Ottoman records, a church with a holy spring, next to the Castrum (Kurşunlu Mahzen), was sealed and later converted to a mosque by Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa in 1635.⁶⁴⁶ Evliya Çelebi mentions Kara Mustafa Paşa mosque, as being previously a church and hagiaσμα, without naming them.⁶⁴⁷

However, there are many different and sometimes contradictory indications about this location. In published notary records of 1390, San Antonio was mentioned as

⁶⁴⁰ Ceracchi, 'La Comunita Latino-Cattolica Di Istanbul', 85–86.

⁶⁴¹ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 331; Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 25.

⁶⁴² Hasluck, 'Dr. Covel's Notes on Galata', 58; Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaeologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 17.

⁶⁴³ N. Esra Dişören, 'Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa Camii', in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Ana Basım A.Ş., 1994), 522. Katip Çelebi's *Fezleke* mentions that it was built on the land of Santa Antonia church.

⁶⁴⁴ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 43.

⁶⁴⁵ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, 585–86.

⁶⁴⁶ Reşit Saffet Atabinen, 'Galata'da, Kemankeş Karamustafapaşa Camii Avlusunda T.T.O.K Arşivleri ve Kitaplığı', *TTOK Belleteni*, no. 86 (1949): 4; Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 157; Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 24.

⁶⁴⁷ Kahraman and Dağlı, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnamesi: İstanbul 1.Cilt 2. Kitap*, 391.

a contracta in Spiga, the western suburb, and the hospice bearing the same name received a donation in the same year.⁶⁴⁸ In 1451, Isidoro of Kiev received in command two churches in Pera; San Michele, and San Antonio of the Samona district.⁶⁴⁹ The fact that the district of San Antonio is specified as Samona is relevant as it may imply that there was another San Antonio. In 1453, an act is signed at San Antonio gate, where workers and mercenaries receive their payments from the *officium provisionis*.⁶⁵⁰ In one of the Buondelmonti maps *San Antonius*, is clearly depicted as a church close to the shore in the western end of Pera, that is known as the Spiga suburb (Fig. 54).⁶⁵¹ Most Buondelmonti panoramas display a church in this part of the city but unlike San Domenico or Francesco, it is most of the time an unnamed one. San Antonio, as a gate, appears in the western end of Pera, in the Vavassore map. (Fig.55). During Ottoman times, the *bagne* for Christian slaves which was located in present day Kasımpaşa, had a chapel named San Antonio, but as it was built much later and could not have given its name to the gate in the western end of Pera represented in Buondelmonti's fifteenth century map.⁶⁵²

A logical explanation could be that the San Antonio church and hospice were in Mumhane, while a gate in Spiga had been named San Antonio as well, without necessarily being associated to a nearby church, just as there were towers in the northern walls that were named Saint Michael or Saint Christopher. However, Ceracchi developed another explanation for this ambiguity, which I have found quite convincing. Ceracchi claims that there must have been two distinct San Antonio churches. One with a hospice, which was dedicated to San Antonio of Padua, and another one which was dedicated to San Antonio Abbate, which had previously been named Santa Chiara.⁶⁵³ This information would clarify the reason why travellers gave similar descriptions for Santa Chiara and San Antonio and why they were both suggested as the predecessor of Kemankeş Mosque. Matteucci, Darnault, and Pamukçiyân have already suggested that these were two names given to the same church.⁶⁵⁴ Sağlam argues that a 1662 document in the Propaganda Fide archive specifically states Santa Chiara as a victim of the 1660

⁶⁴⁸ Balard, 'Pera au XVe siècle', app. 129; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196.

⁶⁴⁹ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 582.

⁶⁵⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:103.

⁶⁵¹ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 202.

⁶⁵² Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 40.

⁶⁵³ Ceracchi, 'La Comunità Latino-Cattolica Di Istanbul', 83–88.

⁶⁵⁴ Ceracchi, 83; Darnault, *Latin Catholic Buildings in Istanbul: A Historical Perspective (1839-1923)*, 68–69; Kömürçüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, 225.

fire, which would be in contradiction with the fact that Kemankeş mosque had already replaced Santa Chiara/San Antonio in 1643. Ottoman records do not mention Santa Chiara nor San Antonio among the burnt churches.⁶⁵⁵ According to Belin, all Latin churches, except San Benedetto were affected. He names six churches; San Francesco, Sant'Anna, San Sebastiano, Santa Maria, San Giorgio, and San Pietro and Paolo.⁶⁵⁶ This topic requires more research.

Based on this assumption, I would then like to suggest that the San Antonio of Padua church and hospice were indeed located in the Spiga suburb, next to San Antonio gate. Following Sağlam's example in seeking continuity in sacred places, my proposition could be developed to include the now disappeared fifteenth century Hacı A'ver mosque, as a successor of San Antonio of Padova church and hospice. This would then complete the palimpsest formed by the Byzantine church Hagios Ioannes, the Genoese church and hospice San Antonio, and the Ottoman Hacı A'ver mosque, presumably located where present day Yeşildirek Hamamı stands, in the Emekyemez neighbourhood of Beyoğlu.⁶⁵⁷

As for Santa Chiara/ San Antonio Abbate church that was standing next to the castrum, I have gathered additional information about the healing power attributed to San Antonio water in the Mumhane district. There is a Hagia Antonios hagiaσμα in present day Hagios Nikolaos church located in Mumhane street, in the Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa neighbourhood of Beyoğlu.⁶⁵⁸ Additionally, in the 1905 Goad map, the name of the dead-end street behind the Cité Française, which is across the same Greek church Hagios Nikolaos, is Antoine, presently called Fransız çıkmazı. Arseven cites Evliya Çelebi who writes that Kurşunlu Mahzen (Castrum) gate is called Aya Niko by the Greeks because of the famous hagiaσμα with healing waters.⁶⁵⁹ Lastly, Erkal mentions a former well, potentially a hagiaσμα in the tomb chamber of the Yeraltı Mosque (castrum), by the head of a sarcophagus.⁶⁶⁰ Maybe Gilles was right, there may

⁶⁵⁵ Yıldız, 'Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma:1660 Yangını İstanbul'un İslamlaşmasına Etki Etti Mi?', 219–31.

⁶⁵⁶ Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 257–58.

⁶⁵⁷ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 166.

⁶⁵⁸ Zafer Karaca, *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2018), 339.

⁶⁵⁹ Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları*, 61.

⁶⁶⁰ Erkal, 'The Corner of the Horn: An Architectural Review of the Leaded Magazine in Galata İstanbul', 203–5.

have been one Greek and one Frank Chiara church near the castrum. This subject certainly requires more research.

2.11.11. *San Giovanni Battista Church and Hospital*

San Giovanni appears in published notary records in 1315, and in 1390.⁶⁶¹ It is also seen in post 1453 Ottoman records as San Zani.⁶⁶² The church is among the ones that burnt down in the 1660 fire.⁶⁶³ The hospital was relocated to the new Pera district in 1669 with the same name.⁶⁶⁴ A visitor to Galata in 1631, reports the location of San Giovanni Battista, as being in the eastern side of the city, on the main street that goes to Tophane, not far from the sea. He adds that it is the largest church after San Francesco and owns a hospital for the poor with a courtyard and garden.⁶⁶⁵ İnalçık suggests Karaköy as the probable location of San Giovanni Battista.⁶⁶⁶ Sağlam proposes the location of the now disappeared Konsolide Han/ Komisyon Han seen in in the 1905 Goad Map, in present day Karaköy square.⁶⁶⁷

I would like to propose another alternative, the now-disappeared Hastahane Han or Büyük Millet Han, seen on plot 641 on the 1905 Goad Map next to Karaköy Hamamı. It is a sizeable plot and the building has a courtyard. As highlighted by Sağlam, according to Ottoman records, San Zani was in the vicinity of a *hamam*, most probably the Karaköy Hamam.⁶⁶⁸ The name of the Han and the street next to it, Hastahane (hospital) is worth studying. Today, this Han has been renamed Balıklı Han, and recently converted to a hotel, which is located on the plot surrounded by Kemeraltı caddesi, Aynalı Lokanta, Arşın, and Leblebici Şaban sokak. It is said to have been constructed in 1875, replacing a hospital that had been operational until 1732, which in turn had replaced a wooden hospital burnt in a fire, presumably the 1660 fire.⁶⁶⁹ More research in Ottoman and Latin sources is required to substantiate this proposition.

⁶⁶¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196, 880.

⁶⁶² İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 115.

⁶⁶³ Yıldız, 'Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma: 1660 Yangını İstanbul'un İslamlaşmasına Etki Etti Mi?', 220.

⁶⁶⁴ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 35.

⁶⁶⁵ Dallegio d'Alessio, 35.

⁶⁶⁶ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 115.

⁶⁶⁷ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 158–59.

⁶⁶⁸ Sağlam, 159.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Balıklı Han', kulturenvanteri, accessed 20 January 2024, <https://kulturenvanteri.com>.

2.11.12. Santa Maria

There are records of a Santa Maria church in the Genoese archives, starting from 1297. In her testament Maria de Peyra wishes to donate to *ecclesie Sancte Marie de Galatha* for the singing of masses.⁶⁷⁰ A Santa Maria church is later associated with the name Draperiis, an illustrious family of Pera. According to Balard, during the fourteenth century Santa Maria is mentioned once as being in the contracta Draperiis, once in the testament of Luchinus de Draperiis as a burial place, and once as the name of a contratta itself.⁶⁷¹

According to Belin, in 1584, Clara Barthola Draperis donated a house and an old church that was her private property to the Franciscans. The house and church were in ruins and were used as stables.⁶⁷² This may explain why Santa Maria had not been named as one of the churches of Pera by the *Magnifica Comunita*, in the previous year.⁶⁷³ The church was dedicated to Virgin Mary and possessed a very old and precious Madona icon. It was restored and renamed Santa Maria Draperiis. The location proposed by Belin is in the Mumhane district, where present day Cité de Pera is, while Balard suggested the *contrada Draperiis* close to San Francesco.⁶⁷⁴ Dallegio d'Alessio mentioned a potential location as, next to the marina, not far from San Francesco.⁶⁷⁵ I agree with Sağlam's suggestion that it must be somewhere around modern day Karaköy square.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, the Ottoman land-sale records after the 1660 fire, mention that Santa Maria church's plot was in the *Galata Karaköy Kapısı* area.⁶⁷⁷ Further research into Ottoman records may reveal new clues as to its exact location. The church burnt down in the 1660 fire and was later reconstructed, up the hill, on İstiklal caddesi where it is today. The Madona icon was miraculously saved from fire several times.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁰ Belgrano, *Seconda Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:933.

⁶⁷¹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 196; Balard, 'Pera au XVe siècle', apps. 73, 68.

⁶⁷² Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 272.

⁶⁷³ Belin, 168.

⁶⁷⁴ Belin, 272–73; Balard, *La Mer Noire et La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-XVe Siècles)*, 196.

⁶⁷⁵ Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 39.

⁶⁷⁶ Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1849.

⁶⁷⁷ Yıldız, 'Doğruluğu Tartışmalı Bir Tartışma:1660 Yangını İstanbul'un İslamlaşmasına Etki Etti Mi?', 228.

⁶⁷⁸ Mamboury, *Istanbul Touristique 1951*, 343.

2.11.13. *Santa Catarina*

Balard cites a testament mentioning Saint Catherine Monastery of Pera in 1315.⁶⁷⁹ *Sancta Cataline* appears also in 1389-1390, in the notary acts and account books, both as the name of a contrada and as a church.⁶⁸⁰ It is believed to be a Monastery of the order of Saint Catherine of Sienna, founded as early as 1299.⁶⁸¹ Palazzo suggests that it was located next to San Giorgio.⁶⁸²

As previously mentioned in the San Pietro and Paolo section, Santa Catarina Monastery's church is believed to have been dedicated to San Pietro, and according to a seventeenth century Dominican document, when San Domenico/San Paolo was converted into a mosque, around 1475, the Dominican friars came to replace the nuns of Santa Catarina that were sent away, and added the name of Saint Peter to their church, thus establishing San Pietro and Paolo.⁶⁸³ Dallegio d'Alessio challenged this version of the story, by suggesting that the nuns were not sent away but had probably left immediately after the arrival of the Ottomans in 1453.⁶⁸⁴ There are no known records of Santa Caterina monastery after this date in the Latin archives.

2.11.14 *San Costantino*

Sancti Constantini is mentioned as a landmark next to a vineyard in a 1447 notary act.⁶⁸⁵ No other reference to this church has been identified in the published Genoese sources, or Ottoman sources. As there is a clear continuity among the use of sacred places in various historical periods, Sağlam proposes that Hagios Theodoros church mentioned in the 1303 Act, may have been replaced by San Costantino, which may have then been converted into the now disappeared, fifteenth century Manastır Mescidi (Monastery Mosque).⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁷⁹ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 880.

⁶⁸⁰ Balard, 'Pera au XVe siècle', app. 74.

⁶⁸¹ Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 155; Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Recherches Sur l'histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople (Suite)', 586–87; Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 218–19.

⁶⁸² Marmara, *Osmanlı Başkentinde Bir Levanten Senti Galata-Pera*, 25.

⁶⁸³ Desimoni, 'I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII', 269; Belin, *Histoire de La Latinité de Constantinople*, 218.

⁶⁸⁴ Eugène Dallegio d'Alessio, 'Les Origines Dominicaines Du Couvent Des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Galata: Un Texte Décisif', *Echos d'Orient* 29, no. 160 (1930): 468.

⁶⁸⁵ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:77.

⁶⁸⁶ Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 166.

In an anonymous text, presumably written by a Byzantine in Venice, the ships of Mehmed II, were transported to the Golden Horn, from a place close to San Costantino, across Scutari.⁶⁸⁷ In Pseudo-Sphrantzes' chronicle, during the 1453 siege of Constantinople, the Ottoman fleet anchored "from a little below Diplokiônion, to San Costantino".⁶⁸⁸ These references indicate a location close to Tophane, outside the Pera walls. In the sixteenth century, Gilles referred to Saint Constantin, or rather to the location where Saint Constantin used to stand, and he stated that nothing remained on the surface. However, he mentioned a stone staircase from which the Greeks descended to a vaulted cave to drink from Saint Constantine's *hagiasma*. Based on the distance indicated by Gilles, Grelois suggest that the church and *hagiasma* should be situated near present day Nusretiye mosque, in Tophane.⁶⁸⁹ It is also possible to observe a church named *S. Constantinus Grecus* in a Buondelmonti map (Fig. 56).⁶⁹⁰ In fact, there is a representation of a church around this location in most Buondelmonti maps, without a name indication.

Based on these clues, I would like to propose that San Constantius, in the fifteenth century, was not a Latin church, but a Greek orthodox one with a vineyard next to it. Eyice draws attention to Byzantine ruins across Nusretiye Mosque, possibly the foundations of a church, that were revealed after the demolition of Tophane casern, during road enlargement works in 1955-1956.⁶⁹¹ The area is classified as archaeological.⁶⁹²

2.11.15. Santa Elene

Santa Elene church and hospice appear in 1281 notary records of Pera, shortly after the Genoese settle in the district, both as a burial place and as a landmark. It is also cited in the 1297 testament of Maria di Pera di Costantinopoli, mentioned earlier in the San Francesco and Santa Maria section. Maria wished to donate also to *ecclesie Sancte Elene* for her soul. However, this church is no longer mentioned in any other

⁶⁸⁷ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 948.

⁶⁸⁸ Déroche and Vatin, 1174.

⁶⁸⁹ Gilles, *Pierre Gilles Itinéraires Byzantins*, 125.

⁶⁹⁰ Barsanti, 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 238. The name appears in the map (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris f. 34v).

⁶⁹¹ Semavi Eyice, *Bizans Devrinde Boğaziçi*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2017), 40.

⁶⁹² Zehra Betül Atasoy, 'Tophane'de Bulunan Bizans Kalıntıları', Arkitera, 22 July 2013, <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/tophanede-bulunan-bizans-kalintilari-ve-istanbulda-eski-eserlerin-ihyasi-meselesi/>. Traces of a water-related structure and a sarcophagus have been revealed. However, the area is still not accessible

sources after this date. We know that Pera was almost completely destroyed in the 1296 attack of the Venetians. San Michele was rebuilt but it may not have been the case of Santa Elene. Another possibility is that both the church and hospice were rebuilt with a different name, such as Saint John the Baptist or San Antonio.

Sağlam suggests the possibility that “*Sancte Elene*” could be “a misspelled Latin version” of “*Sancte Erine*” mentioned in the 1303 act, as the Latins were less familiar with Hagia Irene.⁶⁹³ It is certainly a possibility. On the other hand, the existence of a Santa Elena church, possibly of Greek origin, is also very likely. According to Karaca’s catalogue of past and present Greek churches of Istanbul, both Saint Constantin and Elene were church names encountered in Constantinople, dedicated to the first Christian emperor and founder of the city and his mother, Elene.⁶⁹⁴

2.11.16. *Santa Croce*

Capella Verberatorum Sancte Crucis de Pera, mentioned in a 1453 act, along with *Capella Verberatorum Sancte Ane de Pera*, does not appear in any other known source. It may be the name of a chapel inside a church, rather than an independent building. Sağlam suggests that it may be part of the San Benedetto complex. I propose that a chapel connected to the *Castrum Sancte Crucis*, is a possibility to be explored.

2.11.17. *San Clemente, San Lazare, San Simone and Giuda*

San Clemente was mentioned by Desimoni as a church cited in the Genoese Pera archives, but he did not give a reference⁶⁹⁵. It does not appear in any other sources and its location is unknown.⁶⁹⁶ San Lazare appears as the name of a *contratta* in 1389, but there is no other information.⁶⁹⁷ Therefore, it is not possible to state with certainty that it was a church, as it may have been the name of a gate or tower, or a Greek orthodox church. Lastly, Sağlam refers to *Sancti Simonis et Jude*, mentioned in Belgrano, in *massaria* records of 1391.⁶⁹⁸ It is not clear however, whether it alludes to the

⁶⁹³ Sağlam, ‘Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places’, 1843.

⁶⁹⁴ Karaca, *Istanbul’da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri*, 62–65.

⁶⁹⁵ Desimoni, ‘I Genovesi Ed Il Loro Quartieri in Costantinopoli Nel Secolo XIII’, 270.

⁶⁹⁶ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*, 587.

⁶⁹⁷ Balard, ‘Pera au X^{IV}e siècle’, app. 68.

⁶⁹⁸ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 164–65; Belgrano, *Prima Serie Di Documenti Riguardanti La Colonia Di Pera*, XIII:161, 164.

illumination of a church by that name, or the illumination of a representation, such as a flag, statue, or painting in honour of these saints, which were celebrated by Catholics.

2.12. About the possible locations of some churches

Following the proposed examples of continuity of sacred zones such as Hagia Thekla and San Michele, Hagia Irene and San Domenico/Paolo, a Byzantine church dedicated to Virgin Mary and San Benedetto, and based on the directions given in the 1303 act, as well as clues discovered in various Ottoman records, Sağlam developed some suggestions regarding the potential locations of San Francesco, Sant'Anna, San Sebastiano, San Michele, Santa Chiara, San Costantino, and Santa Elena, which he expressed in his dissertation and a subsequent paper.⁶⁹⁹ In addition and in line with the spatial continuity perspective, Sağlam listed the fifteenth century mosques, which may potentially have replaced pre-conquest Latin or Greek churches, some of which have disappeared themselves.

While the approximate location of the San Francesco monastery and church have always been known, as Yeni Valide Camii and subsequently Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı, Sağlam demonstrates strongly that San Francesco and Sant'Anna could have replaced the Byzantine churches Hagia Nikolaos and Hagioi Anargyroi respectively. Those two were mentioned in the 1303 act as remaining outside the first concession borders. In addition, making use of drawings of “De Propaganda Fide” archives, Sağlam places San Francesco, Sant'Anna and San Sebastiano on the plots of Hırdavatçılar Çarşısı and Bereketzade Mosque, in a way that differs from previous representations such as the Schneider-Nomidis map.⁷⁰⁰ Similarly, Sağlam's suggestion that the Genoese cathedral San Michele, which subsequently was replaced by Rüstempaşa/Kurşunlu Han, shared the same location as Hagia Thekla is convincing and has been further developed by Çınarıılmaz and Ar.⁷⁰¹ Sağlam locates San Antonio next to Kurşunlu Mahzen and Santa Chiara, in Mumhane, as it is represented in the Buondelmonti map. My opinion on the subject was discussed in the previous sections. I suggest that Santa Chiara, also named San Antonio Abbate, was next to Kurşunlu Mahzen, where present day Kemankeş

⁶⁹⁹ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 133–67; Sağlam, ‘Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places’, 1832–55.

⁷⁰⁰ Sağlam, ‘Urban Palimpsest at Galata’, 133–48, 162; Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, tit. Map.

⁷⁰¹ Sağlam, ‘Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places’, 1845; Çınarıılmaz and Ar, ‘San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera)’, 19–20.

mosque stands, whereas San Antonio church and monastery were located in the Spiga suburb, close to San Antonio gate, possibly replacing Hagios Ioannis, and followed by Hacı A'ver mosque in the fifteenth century and presently Yeşildirek Hamam. Thus, I propose a name for Sağlam's suggested Hagios Ioannes- unknown church – Hacı A'ver mosque sequence.⁷⁰² For San Giovanni Battista church and hospice location, Sağlam suggests Karaköy square, while, as developed in the previous section, I propose Balıklı Han. I agree with Sağlam about Santa Maria's location in the Karaköy area, probably inside the first concession area, as it is mentioned as a very old church. Finally, for San Costantino, I propose that it is a Greek church located in Tophane, whereas Sağlam proposes a Hagios Theodoros- San Costantino – Manastır Mescidi palimpsest. However, I agree that there may be continuity between Hagios Theodoros and Manastır Mescidi.

I strongly support Sağlam's suggestion that further research into the fifteenth century mosques such as Yolcuzade, Emekyemez, Okçu Musa, Hacı A'ver, Alaca, Manastır mosques may reveal precious information about their possible Christian past.⁷⁰³ I would like to add Yelkenci Han and Yağkapanı/Rüstem Paşa Mosque in Azapkapı, as locations that are worth investigating. Finally, the 1786 Kauffer map needs also to be researched, as it displays a Kilise camii, close to San Benedetto, around the present day nineteenth century Armenian Catholic Surp Pirgiç church, although a conversion from mosque to church would be highly unusual. The Kauffer map also places Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa mosque in an unusual location approximately where present day Bereketzade Medresesi Mosque stands (Fig. 57).

2.13. Summary

Through a detailed study of the published notary records of Pera for the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century, it is possible to determine clues about the urban life of Pera; its churches, streets, neighbourhoods, as well as its artisans, and storekeepers. Maps and traveller accounts provide further information on the way the city functioned through its port and gates. Interest of scholars to Pera's topography starts after the middle of the nineteenth century, following the demolition of the city walls that lasted four years, at the end of which very few remnants of the walls were

⁷⁰² Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1852.

⁷⁰³ Sağlam, 168.

visible, but the Galata Tower was standing tall and decontextualized. It stood alone, disconnected from the rest of the fortifications, as a symbol of the Genoese past of the city (Fig.58). The tower became a landmark of Istanbul and continues to be so in the twenty-first century. It is the symbol of the Municipality of Beyoğlu (Fig.59). The remaining fortifications have been thoroughly studied by architects, and the chronology of the erection of these walls has been determined, thanks to the slabs that have been preserved. As far as the churches are concerned, Arap Camii/San Domenico church has been studied extensively. The two other main churches, Rüstem Paşa Han/San Michele and San Francesco have also been the object of recent publications. However, the other churches of Genoese Pera have hardly been studied. All the churches mentioned in various sources during the Genoese era of Pera and in the earlier centuries of Ottoman rule have been studied. Regarding the location of San Antonio church and hospital, Santa Chiara, San Giovanni Battista church and hospital, and San Costantino, new propositions have been made, as described in the previous section.

CHAPTER 3: THE 1455 SURVEY OF GALATA

“I will give my attention... that they keep their churches and perform their customary rites in them, with the exception of ringing their church bells and rattles (nâkus)...”

Ahd-nâme granted by Mehmed II to the people of Galata⁷⁰⁴

3.1. Introduction

In the days that followed Pera’s surrender, Mehmed II ordered a count of the people and properties of Galata, and sent out a message to those who had abandoned the city on the day of the conquest, that their property would be confiscated if they did not return within the following three months. The Genoese who stayed became non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, *zimmi*. They came under the protection of the sultan, kept their property, were free to travel and trade, to practice their religion and to apply their own laws for their internal affairs. In exchange for these privileges, they had to pay a poll-tax, *cizye*.⁷⁰⁵ The Greek, Armenian, and Jewish residents of Pera shared the same status. A second category was formed by those that had been enslaved during the conquest and had paid for their release. Those were exempt from the poll tax. In a third category, were the Genoese merchants who did not stay for a period longer than a year, *Frenks*. They did not pay the poll-tax but paid a higher import duty (four percent as opposed to two percent) than the *zimmi* Genovese residents.⁷⁰⁶

On the other side of the Golden Horn, the situation was different. As the Byzantine emperor had refused the call to surrender, Constantinople had been pillaged, the population enslaved, and the land and buildings had become property of the Sultan’s treasury.⁷⁰⁷ Mehmed II, was keen to revive Constantinople, both in terms of population and commercial activity and was also interested in keeping the foreign merchants of Pera and their flourishing trade activity.⁷⁰⁸ As stated by Pistarino, the Genoese who stayed, or left and returned, were keen to keep their businesses alive, and not to lose their acquired wealth, by adapting to this new situation. Above all, for many of them, who had been there for generations, Pera was their homeland, and Liguria seemed a far

⁷⁰⁴ İncalcık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 276–77.

⁷⁰⁵ İncalcık, 25–26.

⁷⁰⁶ İncalcık, 30.

⁷⁰⁷ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 6.

⁷⁰⁸ Pistarino, ‘The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata’, 1986, 64; İncalcık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 58–60.

and strange place.⁷⁰⁹ Along with the repopulation and reactivation efforts, Mehmed II started also an important construction activity in the Constantinople side. However, as stated by Kafesçioğlu, the same was not valid for Pera, as the extant buildings were presumably found sufficient.⁷¹⁰ Hence, it can be assumed that the topography had not significantly changed, when in 1455, Mehmet II ordered a survey of the population of both cities.⁷¹¹

In this chapter, a thorough analysis of the Galata section of the 1455 survey, published by Halil İnalçık in 2012, is performed. It begins with an introduction of the type of information that the survey provides, followed by a selection of the parts that are relevant to this research. The focus is on the neighbourhoods with a majority of Genoese population. However, as demonstrated in the following sections, the breakdown of the neighbourhoods presents some issues and raises doubts on the assembly of the survey manuscript's pages. The discrepancies are listed. Nevertheless, as this is the only published version of the document, each neighbourhood is described as it is presented in the İnalçık book. Through the names of the residents that are listed in the Survey, as well as the churches and other landmarks that are mentioned, an attempt is made to match this information with that of the fifteenth century notary records of Pera published by Roccatagliata.⁷¹² Several perfect matches between the Genoese and Ottoman sources are identified. The chapter concludes with a section on churches where the information gathered in the previous chapter through the Genoese sources, is completed with new findings.

3.2. The 1455 Survey register

Initially introduced in Halil İnalçık's paper on Ottoman Galata 1453-1553, in 1991, the full text of the survey, and its translation to Turkish, was published only in

⁷⁰⁹ Pistarino, 'La Caduta Di Costantinopoli: Da Pera Genovese a Galata Turca', 28–29.

⁷¹⁰ Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 44.

⁷¹¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 217. "This is the copy of a Defter ... recording how the situation is concerning the people and houses of the city of Galata: from this detailed report it is to be known those people subject to *cizye* or not, and the degree of their capability or incapability for *cizye* as well as how many houses are *emirriye*, that is confiscated for the imperial treasury subject to pay a rent or no rent, and the rate of the yearly and monthly rent. (This is made) upon the order of Sultan Mehemmed, son of Sultan Murad, son of Mehemmed, the emperor, possessor of fortune, the light of the favouring God, the lord of the universe, the defender of the Muslims, let God favour his caliphate to eternity. This is written in the first (ten) days of the month of Muharrem in the Hidjra year of 860 (December 10-20, 1455)."

⁷¹² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*; Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)'.

2012.⁷¹³ It is an invaluable source of information regarding the population of Istanbul and Galata in 1455, as well as the neighbourhoods, churches, and commercial areas. Additional details regarding the status of the residents of Pera, and their behaviour during the 1453 conflict and on its aftermath provide precious insight into the continuity of the Genoese presence in Pera. I shall refer to it as the Survey, or İnalçık's survey.

The document presented by İnalçık in his 1991 Ottoman Galata paper is a photocopy of a section of register given to him by Bekir Sıtkı Baysal.⁷¹⁴ It was an official copy of the 1455 survey. İnalçık had not been able to locate the original document in the Ottoman archives. Before publishing the text and transliteration of the survey register in 2012, he was informed by İdris Bostan about a missing part of the photocopy which had been inserted into a different financial register in the Topkapı archives and was therefore able to include it as well.⁷¹⁵ The location of the complete original document was revealed in Bulunur's 2013 dissertation.⁷¹⁶ Since then, a paper by Emecen, published in 2020, provided further information about the lost pages of the 1455 survey, as well as a newly discovered version of the survey which includes only the Karaköy district of Galata. I will call it the Karaköy document.⁷¹⁷ A transliteration or analysis of this document has not yet been published. Emecen provides only limited information about the scope of the new Karaköy document. There are only eleven neighbourhoods, compared to İnalçık's twenty-four. A quick verification reveals that the neighbourhoods with Latin majority population were not included in this version. It is quite likely that the Karaköy document corresponds to the Lagirio suburb only. Emecen checked the subtotals by counting the houses and believes the document to be complete.⁷¹⁸ He also observed a slight variation in the names of the districts, compared

⁷¹³ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553'; İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*.

⁷¹⁴ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 4.

⁷¹⁵ İnalçık, 5. BOA 36806.

⁷¹⁶ Bulunur, 'Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)', 5. The original of the photocopy used by İnalçık is located in TSMA D. 2203.

⁷¹⁷ Feridun Emecen, '1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. LVI (2020) (2020): 288–91. The additional part indicated by Professor Baysal is located in BOA, Bab-ı Defteri, Müteferrik D. 36806, 117-132. Emecen suggests that it was included in the financial register because it incorporates mainly confiscated houses which were generating rental revenues. Emecen specifies that the original of the photocopy used by İnalçık is located in pages 276b-340b of TSMA D. 2203. In addition, another survey of the Karaköy district of Galata, entitled "Defter-i haneha-i Karaköy der-Galata" is found in this same register, in pages 258a-276a.

⁷¹⁸ Emecen, 294.

to the İnalçık version.⁷¹⁹ As the two documents mentioned by Emecen and Bulunur have not been transliterated and published, I will only focus on the İnalçık survey's Galata section.

3.3. Information in İnalçık's 1455 Survey

The Survey was conducted by Cübbe Ali Bey, governor of Bursa and he was assisted by his cousin Tursun Beg, as the scribe.⁷²⁰ It was completed in December 1455 and consisted of two separate sections for Istanbul and Galata (Fig. 60). On the Galata side, the survey had two main purposes. The first one was to identify the number of poll tax, *cizye*, payers.⁷²¹ They were ranked as low, middle, rich, and very rich, according to their income category. The second purpose was to record the ownership of the houses and shops, those that retained their owners and those that now belonged to the Treasury, specifying whether they were rented or not, as well as the level of the rent, when applicable. In essence, the purpose was to determine the revenues generated by Galata.

The Galata section consists of twenty-four neighbourhoods, *mahalle*.⁷²² They are listed in the following order, in İnalçık's survey:⁷²³

1. Zani Drapora
2. Zani Dabdan
3. Nikoroz Sikay
4. Bona Zita
5. Anton di Garzan
6. Yahudiyân
7. Nurbek Kosta İskineplok *

⁷¹⁹ Emecen, 295. Kosta Alupedi instead of Kosta Lupaci, Avdaki Momenderino instead of Ayo Dhikemo Dandano, Manol Sanda Kruz instead of San Neferzo, Yorgi Uzgunceli instead of Yorgi Arhancelo, Gorgonze instead of Harhancı, Asana Sodori Ermeni instead of Asuder Ermeniyân.

⁷²⁰ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 5.

⁷²¹ *Cizye* also called *haraç* is a poll tax levied from *zimmi*'s, non-Muslims Ottoman citizens who submitted, according to Islamic law and in exchange for protection. It is collected once, annually. Male *zimmi*'s between the age of 14 and 75 are eligible, while women, children, old people, slaves, freed slaves, clerics, unemployed, sick, insane or invalid people and clerics are exempt. The amount of the tax was determined according to the financial status of the tax payer, and is stated in the register as very rich, rich, medium and very poor. See İnalçık, 215–16, 473–78; Yavuz Ercan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gayrimüslimlerin Ödedikleri Vergiler ve Bu Vergilerin Doğurduğu Sosyal Sonuçlar', *Bellekten* 55, no. 213 (1991): 371. It should be noted that fishermen of the Golden Horn were also exempt from *cizye*, a privilege that they had also enjoyed during the Byzantine era. İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 617.

⁷²² İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 37; İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 370. İnalçık mentions twenty-five quarters in Ottoman Galata, and there are only twenty-three quarters in the summary table of the Survey, but manual count of neighbourhoods adds up to twenty-four.

⁷²³ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 217–93.

8. Dhraperyo
9. Harhancı (Gargancı?) *
10. Papa Yani *
11. Asuder Ermeniyan *
12. Zani di Pagani
13. Unnamed commercial zone
14. Samona
15. İskineplok
16. Fabya
17. Pero di Lankaşko
18. Yorgi Arhancelo *
19. Yani Mavroyani *
20. Varto Hristo *
21. Kosta Lupaci *
22. Ayo Dhikemo Dandano *
23. Yani Vasilikoz *
24. San Neferzo *

The * indicates that these neighbourhoods are the ones that are listed in the Karaköy document.⁷²⁴

İnalçık states that while there appears to be large gaps in the İstanbul part of the document, the Galata section has only a few missing pages at the end.⁷²⁵ The twenty-four *mahalle* are located in the initial concession district and the neighboring Greek, Jewish, Armenian districts to the north and east. The western suburb, Spiga does not seem to have been included in the Survey. In any case, it is believed to have been scarcely populated during the Genoese period.⁷²⁶ Some neighbourhoods present a unified ethnic profile, while some have a mixed population.⁷²⁷ According to İnalçık, the number of people recorded in Galata is 1108, but it is not possible to use the survey for

⁷²⁴ Emecen, '1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları', 295.

⁷²⁵ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 5.

⁷²⁶ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 52.

⁷²⁷ İnalçık, 60, 62, 96–104. A population count in 1478 reveals 535 Muslim households, 592 Greeks, 332 Europeans, 62 Armenians, and no Jews. However, these Europeans now include the Florentines that were very much in favour during Mehmed II's reign, as well as the Venetians, and other nations. In 1545, only thirteen households of the "ancient" Latin community, those that were present at the time of the conquest, remained in Pera. It is also important to note that there was a major plague outbreak between 1467 and 1469, that caused many to abandon the city.

a reliable population count, since the children under fourteen are not included and women are only included if they are the poll-tax payers themselves, in case they are widows, or their husband is absent.⁷²⁸ Moreover, many citizens of Pera departed as a consequence of the Ottoman conquest in 1453 and did not return. As an indication, Pero Tafur who was in Pera sometime around 1436 and 1439 estimates a population of 2000 which seems coherent with the 1455 count.⁷²⁹ Balard suggests 1000 Genoese as a maximum figure, based on *massaria* records.⁷³⁰ The survey is a rich source for other demographic information. First, about the nationality or religious origin of the residents, which can often be guessed through their names, but is also specified in some cases, particularly when the person lives in a neighbourhood where the majority is from a different origin. In case of migrants, their city of origin is indicated. For the *zimmi* Genoese, there is no qualifier, but for the merchants staying for shorter periods, they are called *Frenk*, Genoese, or Venetian. In addition, professions and marital status are mentioned. Old age and infirmities are recorded for tax exemption purposes. Freed slaves, are also indicated. There are close to nine hundred houses listed in the Galata section of the Survey.⁷³¹ Sixteen are described as “in ruins”, while one hundred and four are “unoccupied”, evidencing that Pera had not yet recovered its pre-1453 activity. The register specifies whether the people occupying the houses and shops are owners or tenants. The ownership of houses in these early years after the conquest had not yet changed significantly and therefore the document provides us with a fairly good perspective of Pera before 1453. The properties of those that left and did not return, which corresponds to approximately ten percent of the houses and half of the shops, had been confiscated and became property of the Sultan’s treasury. Some of them were rented, and the rent levels are indicated. According to İnalçık, sixty percent of those that abandoned Pera were Genoese, and thirty-five percent Greeks. Only two Armenians left, and no Jews. He also suggests that in order to avoid confiscation, some of the Genoese left, leaving their wives or slaves behind.⁷³² For each particular case, the Survey specifies whether the person had left before, during, or after the surrender, whether they left on their own or with their family, and whether they had returned. This

⁷²⁸ İnalçık, 37.

⁷²⁹ Tafur, *Pero Tafur Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, 149.

⁷³⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 263.

⁷³¹ It is difficult to give an exact number since there are missing pages, and also because of some ambiguities in the text, related to annexes.

⁷³² İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 37.

level of detail seems to indicate that the surveyors were presumably working with an earlier document, most likely one written in the immediate aftermath of the conquest, possibly on June 3rd, 1453, when Mehmed II ordered that all the property of those that had left be counted and sealed.⁷³³ However, such document has not yet been discovered.

As demonstrated above, the Survey is a very rich source for Ottoman, Genoese, Byzantine historiography, Late Medieval trade, sociology, prosopography, and many other fields. Zarinebaf has benefited from it in her book about early modern Galata.⁷³⁴ In this research, the choice was made to focus only on the kind of information that could provide clues that helped understand the topography of Pera, and identify the neighbourhoods, churches, and other landmarks. The names of the residents were studied carefully in order to find matches within the Genoese sources. In addition, attention was paid to the professions that could reveal indications about specific neighbourhoods, such as boatmen, porters, tavern-owners, caulkers close to the sea shore, or priests, nuns, and monks in the proximity of churches. However, in spite of the abundance of information, it was difficult to reach conclusive results because of the issues detailed below.

3.4. Observations/issues related to the 1455 Survey published by İnalçık

3.4.1 Neighbourhood names not aligned or coherent with the inhabitants

Neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) in Ottoman İstanbul were usually named after a prominent person who built a small mosque or fountain for the community.⁷³⁵ However, in the second year following the conquest, there were no mosques yet in Galata. Therefore, in this survey, neighbourhoods were named after a person or two, with the exception of Yahudiyân (Jewish), Asuder Ermeniyan (Armenian + the name Asador), and Samona. Nevertheless, as previously observed by İnalçık and Bulunur, there were only five Jewish households in the Yahudiyân quarter of thirty-eight-houses.⁷³⁶ Similarly, there was only one Armenian in the Asuder Ermeniyan quarter, far from justifying its name.⁷³⁷ For the rest of the neighbourhoods, the person whose name had

⁷³³ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 468.

⁷³⁴ Fariba Zarinebaf, *Mediterranean Encounters: Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 39–52.

⁷³⁵ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 49.

⁷³⁶ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 232–36; Bulunur, 'Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)', 153–54; İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 43.

⁷³⁷ Bulunur, 'Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)', 149–50.

been given to the neighbourhood, lived there, or held a house there, except for Yani Mavroyani, who appears in another district, and Lupaci of Kosta Lupaci district, where only Kosta Medhyani is found. The location of these unknown characters is not relevant to this research, except that it is an indication that there might be an error in the assembly of the manuscript. The reason for selecting particular people to name the neighbourhoods is not known. They are not the richest of the neighbourhood, nor those with the most houses.⁷³⁸ İnalçık suggests that they may have been the representatives of the neighbourhood, who informed the surveyors.⁷³⁹

3.4.2. Subtotal lines not verified with manual count

The number of houses, shops and churches are indicated in the subtotal section of each neighbourhood (Fig. 61). However, a manual count revealed many discrepancies, suggesting that the subtotal lines had been misplaced as well. In İnalçık's survey, each house is presented in a separate paragraph, with the name of its owner. However, when several houses are mentioned in the same paragraph, or when the house has annexes, it is difficult to know if they are included in the total. Such minor differences could be ignored. Nevertheless, important discrepancies were detected in the sub-totals of houses versus their manual count; in Yahudiyân (thirty-one versus thirty-nine), Dhraperyo (fifty-one versus sixty-seven), İskineplok (sixty-four versus seventy-nine), Fabya (thirty-eight versus sixty), Pero di Lankaşko (one hundred and nine versus fifty-six), Asuder Ermeniyan (fourteen versus eight), and Yani Mavroyani (thirty-one versus four). While the number of houses in each neighbourhood is not relevant to this research, it is another indicator that the pages of the manuscript may have been misplaced. Similarly, there were variations between the subtotal and manual count of churches in several neighbourhoods. In the majority of cases, İnalçık wrote the church names on a separate line, in italic. There are two exceptions where buildings are listed as churches but without any name.⁷⁴⁰ Presumably, they were abandoned churches that were not included in the count. Discrepancies were detected between the subtotals of

⁷³⁸ The *zimmi* category of the people who gave their name to their neighbourhood is as follows: *Zani Dabdan*, *Anton di Garzan*, *Zani di Pagani*, *Nurbek*, *Harhonca*, *Yani Mavroyani*, and *Yorgi Arhancelo* are poor subjects; *Nikoroz Sikay*, *Kosta İskineplok*, *Papa Yani* are medium income subjects; *Fabyan di Fi*, *Nikoroz Bonazunda*, *Ayo Dhikemo*, *Yani Vasilikoz* are rich subjects; *Pero di Lankaşko*, *Zani Drapora*, *Asador* are *zimmi* without qualifier. *Dhraperyo* is the family name of the tax farmer Francesco Draperiis, who appears to be exempt.

⁷³⁹ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 35.

⁷⁴⁰ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 262-263, 285.

churches versus the manual count in Samona (three versus four), İskineplok (one versus two), Fabya (none versus one), Pero di Lankaşko (two versus none), Asuder Ermeniyan (one versus none), Harhancı (none versus one), Varto Hristo (none versus one), Ayo Dhikhemo Dandano (none versus one), and Yani Vasilikoz (none versus one). Such major variations suggest that the churches and the name of their neighbourhood do not match. As one of the purposes of this research is to attempt to locate the Genovese neighbourhoods and their churches, the task is challenging.

3.4.3. Order of the neighbourhoods

The name of some residents is preceded by “aforementioned”, whereas they have not been named before, not in their neighbourhood, nor in the preceding neighbourhoods, and in a few cases, not even in the whole document. This raises the question about the sequence of the pages of the document. Presumably, the survey was performed over several days. Where did the surveyors enter Pera from? Did they follow a single street all along, or did they work in blocks? These are questions without answers. It is also interesting to note the large variation in the number of households for each neighbourhood. There are ten houses in Zani Drapora, as opposed to one hundred and nine in Pero di Lankaşko.⁷⁴¹

3.4.4. Missing pages

İnalçık indicates that there are missing pages in three places. In the first lines of the unnamed commercial district, some lines in the Yani Mavroyani district, and the final lines and subtotal section of the San Neferzo district.⁷⁴² Based on the previous observations, these may also be a consequence of displaced manuscript pages.

Bulunur was the first one to indicate that there was an inconsistency in the information, related to missing or misplaced pages.⁷⁴³ He particularly highlighted the discrepancies in the Fabya and Yahudiyan neighbourhoods. Bulunur worked on the original document himself and he also often referred to İnalçık’s 1991 Ottoman Galata paper. As his dissertation is dated April 2013, he may not have had the opportunity to study the full text’s English translation published by İnalçık in 2012. Fabya and Yahudiyan were not the only neighbourhoods that presented inconsistencies. Table 1

⁷⁴¹ İnalçık, 218, 276.

⁷⁴² İnalçık, 252, 279, 293.

⁷⁴³ Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 116,149, 154.

illustrates the difference between what appears in the subtotal lines of the manuscript and the result of the hand-count. Should the translation and analysis of the two documents found in the Topkapı archives be available one day, they would certainly shed more light on the names and sizes of the Galata neighbourhoods. I have studied the Survey thoroughly and come up with certain findings and suggestions on how the original sequence of the pages may have been. However, it is not possible to come to any conclusion without studying the original document, for which I do not have the competence. (see Appendix D for my notes on this matter)

3.5. Names in the Survey

In the 1455 survey, Italian citizens are mostly listed with their first name and family name. Few of the Greeks also are. However, this is not the case for Jews, Armenians, and Muslims. İncalcık explained the difficulty of identifying names correctly. The scribes who wrote the Survey attempted to reflect the correct pronunciations but due to the particularity of the Arabic alphabet which does not show vowels, there can be alternative ways to read a name.⁷⁴⁴ İncalcık collaborated with several colleagues to identify the possible names in the Greek, Italian, Muslim and Armenian languages.⁷⁴⁵ In this study, I shall focus mainly on the Italian names. In his 1991 Ottoman Galata paper, İncalcık compared names from Pistarino, Badoer, as well as other Ottoman and Italian sources, and successfully identified the names of some well-known Genoese noble families which appear in both the survey and the notary records, such as Angelo di Langasco – *Ancelo di Lankaşko*, Francesco de Draperiis or Draperio, the tax-farmer, *âmil*, - *Franceşko*, Antonio Garra – *Anton Gara* and Antonio de Lastrego – *Anton di Laştergo*.⁷⁴⁶ The correspondence between the names in the Genoese notarial records and those in the 1455 survey is further developed in Rohan's unpublished Master thesis, a journal article, and more recently an unpublished dissertation and a book section.⁷⁴⁷ I have benefited extensively from Rohan's research

⁷⁴⁴ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 398-99.

⁷⁴⁵ İncalcık, 400–458.

⁷⁴⁶ Geo Pistarino, 'The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 2008.

⁷⁴⁷ Padraic Rohan, 'The Genoese Levantine Colonies at the Birth of Ottoman Imperial Power: A Framework for Inquiry' (Master of Arts in History, İstanbul, İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi, 2015); Padraic Rohan, 'From the Bosphorus to the Atlantic: Genoese Responses to the Ottoman Conquest', *The Medieval Globe* 5, no. 1 (2019): 69–107; Padraic Rohan, 'Transforming Empire: The Genoese from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic 1282-1492' (Stanford University, 2021); Padraic Rohan, 'From Master to Minority: The Genoese of Pera-Galata across the Byzantine-Ottoman Boundary', in *Latin Catholicism in*

which confirms most of the assumptions I have made about possible Italian names in the 1455 survey, which were mainly based on the notary records published by Bratianu, Balard, and Roccatagliata, and a few from Badoer's book of account.⁷⁴⁸ Rohan's interest lied in identifying the Genoese individuals and trace their personal story after the conquest. He has used many other sources from the eastern colonies of the Republic of Genoa, Caffa, Chios, and Famagusta as well as archives of Genoa and its Spanish colonies. He was thus able to locate some individuals or their descendants in other parts of the Mediterranean. In addition, Rohan was able to propose alternative readings for some of the names translated by İnalçık. My approach was to focus mainly on the individuals named in the notary acts published by Roccatagliata, who were known to have resided in Pera around the middle of the fifteenth century. Table 2 and Table 3 display the names found in the Genoese sources, as well as suggested names. There is certainly a lot more research to be done for Genoese history specialists, particularly in terms of prosopography. When the notary acts were signed in private homes, there was often some indication about nearby landmarks or *contradas*. I have looked for those individual's names in the Survey, and was fortunate to detect some perfect matches, as shown in Table 4.

3.6. Neighbourhoods in the initial concession zone and its northern extension

In the analysis of the neighbourhoods listed in the Survey, the assumption that the Karaköy document contains only the Lagirio suburb is taken. Therefore, this section describes the thirteen neighbourhoods that are present in the İnalçık Survey, but not in the Karaköy document, which presumably correspond to the initial concession zone as described in the 1303 act, and its northern extension towards the Galata Tower.

*3.6.1. Zani Drapora:*⁷⁴⁹

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are ten houses, of which two have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. The neighbourhood is named after a *zummi*, *Zani Drapora* (Giovanni Draperio?) and his son *Luviz* (Luigi), who live in a house that belonged to *Anton di Poma* (Anton di Pomario?), and has been confiscated,

Ottoman Istanbul: Properties, People and Missions, ed. Vanessa R. Obaldia de and Claudio Monge (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2022).

⁷⁴⁸ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*; Balard, 'Pera au XIVE siecle'; Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)'; Badoer, *Il Libro Dei Conti Di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440)*.

⁷⁴⁹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 217–18.

since he left during the conquest.⁷⁵⁰ The other confiscated house belongs to *Nikoroz Dan*, who died. Three houses, of which one has a baker's oven belong to a widow *Marya Maryana* (de Mari or de Marini?). *Marya di Lankaşko* (Maria di Langasco?) also owns a house in this all-Genoese neighbourhood. One house is unoccupied.

3.6.2. *Zani Dabdan*.⁷⁵¹

According to the subtotal in *İnalcık*, there are forty-four houses, of which six have been confiscated, no churches, and one shop which has been confiscated as well. The neighbourhood is named after a poor *zımmi*, *Zani Dabdan* who owns a house and lives there. Eight people in this neighbourhood have been classified as rich *zımmi*'s. They are *Kristo Parvazi* (Cristoforo Pallavicino), *Martin Parvazi* (Martino Pallavicino), *Markez di Franko* (Marchese di Franchi), *Lujad di Franko* (Luxiardo di Franchi), *Kariba Saravayko* (Gabriele Salvaigo), *Anton Gara* (Antonio Garra), *Ancelo di Lankaşko* (Angelo di Langasco), and *Impertoba di Lana*. Cristoforo Pallavicino lives with his son in law *Anton Saba* (Antonius Ceba de Grimaldi). These two are found in a notary record, dated July 1453.⁷⁵² Cristoforo also appears in a document dated August 1453.⁷⁵³ Martino Pallavicino, Marchese di Franchi and his brother Luxiardo have been identified by Rohan.⁷⁵⁴ Marchese is one of the ambassadors who met Mehmed II, and is cited in the *Ahdnâme* of 1453.⁷⁵⁵ They both live in *Anton de Fistocon*'s house, along with another rich *zımmi* Gabriele Salvaigo, identified by Rohan, and seven merchants. It must have been a very large house. *Anton de Fistocon* left after he accepted to pay the *cizye*. He has not yet been identified in Genoese sources. *Anton Gara* (Antonio Garra) is identified in a notary act signed in March 1453, at his *bancum*, along with Giovanni Garra.⁷⁵⁶ These two are also mentioned as bankers in Badoer.⁷⁵⁷ Antonio owns two houses in this neighbourhood, but doesn't live there. Angelo di Langasco lives in one of his two houses with his mother *Elina*, and his slave, *Arendi*. Angelo's name appears in several notary acts before the conquest, and also in August 1453.⁷⁵⁸ He owns another

⁷⁵⁰ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 387. Rohan suggests that this is Antonio di Pomario

⁷⁵¹ *İnalcık, Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 218–22.

⁷⁵² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:131; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 380.

⁷⁵³ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 145.

⁷⁵⁴ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 380,382.

⁷⁵⁵ *İnalcık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553'*, 18.

⁷⁵⁶ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:107; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 368.

⁷⁵⁷ Badoer, *Il Libro Dei Conti Di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440)*, 388.

⁷⁵⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:90–92, 98–99, 118, 146; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire',

house, which is unoccupied. In fact, there are eight unoccupied houses in this neighbourhood, and two in ruins. The confiscated houses belonged to *Zorzo di Kaza* (di Cassali?) and *Luviza*, who left on the day of the conquest, *Fabyan*, who is still held as a slave, and *Nikoroz Dan*, who is dead. *Luviza*'s horse-mill was also confiscated. *Nikoroz Draporta*, identified as Nicola Gatellusio olim de Porta, by Rohan, was present in Pera, in January 1453, as seen in a notary act witnessed by Angelo di Langasco.⁷⁵⁹ His house, along with a horse-mill, baker's oven and, storehouse have been confiscated, for an unspecified reason. A *zimmi* with medium income, *Anton di Laştergo*, who owns a house which is unoccupied, is identified as Anton di Lastrego, a blacksmith, in a notary act which is signed at his *apoteca*, in July 1453.⁷⁶⁰ *Ancelo di Bevedu*, is very likely to be Angelo de Benevenuto, who appears in a notary act signed in August 1453, and later in November 1466.⁷⁶¹ He is not classified as *zimmi*, though. Rohan has identified *Pero Drapozo*, a poor *zimmi*, as Piero dal Pozzo.⁷⁶² *Mate Limeli* (Matteo Lomellini) is dead, but he was identified in Pera in August 1453.⁷⁶³ Other names in the neighbourhood are *Kaneva* (de Canevali or de Canova?), *Korinka* (de Corinca), *di Franceşko* (de Francischi?). This is an all-Genoese neighbourhood. Eight houses in this neighbourhood are unoccupied, four are in ruins. Six houses have been endowed to the Christian poor, one to the church of *Tenthon*, and one to *Santa Katerina*.

3.6.3. *Nikoroz Sikay*:⁷⁶⁴

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are twenty-five houses, of which five have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. The neighbourhood is named after *Nikoroz Sikay*, a *zimmi* with middle income, who lives with his three sons. His name reminds the ancient name of Pera, Sykai, but he has not been identified in any sources. *Andriya di Kamporforizo* identified by Rohan as Andrea di Campofregoso, has left on the day of the conquest and his house has been confiscated.⁷⁶⁵ The most famous person who owns a house but does not live in this neighbourhood is Franceşko, *âmil* (tax farmer). Francesco Draperio appears without his family name in the 1455 survey.⁷⁶⁶ His

⁷⁵⁹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:89–92; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 387.

⁷⁶⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:132; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 392.

⁷⁶¹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:146, 160; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 392.

⁷⁶² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:390.

⁷⁶³ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 147.

⁷⁶⁴ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 222–24.

⁷⁶⁵ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 379.

⁷⁶⁶ Balard, 'La Société Pérote Au XIVe-XVe Siecles: Autour Des Demerode et Des Draperio', 307–9; İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 59; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 368; Pistarino, 'The

title suffices. Francesco controlled the alum mines of Foça between 1437 and 1447. He was an active client of Badoer. Both a banker and merchant, he also entertained very close ties with the Ottoman sultans, Murad II and, Mehmed II.⁷⁶⁷ Among the rich *cizye* payers of this neighbourhood are Antonio Garra, *Zani* and *Luviz di Lankaşko* (Gianni and Luigi di Langasco?) whose houses are all unoccupied. *Anton di Karman*, a medium *cizye* payer, is identified as Antonio di Carmadino, who appears in two notary acts in August 1453.⁷⁶⁸ Other names in this neighbourhood are *Meke* and *Pretor Sarvayko* identified by Rohan as Michele and Bartolomeo Salvaigo, and *Domenigo Iskarsafigo* (Domenico Squarsafico).⁷⁶⁹ This is an all-Genoese neighbourhood. Seven houses are unoccupied and one in ruins. Two houses are endowed to the church of *Sanda Forza*.

3.6.4. *Bona Zita*.⁷⁷⁰

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-two houses, of which four have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. The neighbourhood is named after the Bonazointa family, of which two members *Zorzo* (Giorgio), medium *zimmi*, and *Nikoroz* (Nicola), rich *zimmi*, own houses there. Giorgio appears in a notary act dated Novembre 1443, and another act attests the presence of the two brothers in Pera in 1458.⁷⁷¹ Three houses have been confiscated. One of them belongs to *Andriya di Koro*, who left on the day of the conquest, came back but refused to pay the poll-tax and left again. Rohan identifies him as Andrea di Cario.⁷⁷² *Luviz Daryova* is a rich *zimmi* of this neighbourhood. He is Lodisius Doria or de Auria, who appears in a notary act in July 1454, as a “*burgense Caffè*”.⁷⁷³ Antonio Garra owns another house in Bona Zita and a soap factory in front of it, which is unoccupied. *Piyer di Lankaşko* (Pietro di Langasco) is identified in two notary acts, in January 1444 and February 1453. Other Genoese names who own houses in this neighbourhood are Angelo di Langasco, *Farulo di Veranda* (Ferrando?), *Asperdo di Kerhado* (Aspertus di Carmadino?), *Berthoma*

Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata’, 1986, 66; F. Ozden Mercan, ‘The Genoese of Pera in the Fifteenth Century: Draperio and Spinola Families’, in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2016), 45–47.

⁷⁶⁷ Pistarino, ‘The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata’, 1986, 66. Mehmed II’s fleet intervened in Chios to recuperate money owed to Francesco Draperio.

⁷⁶⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:143–46; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 392.

⁷⁶⁹ Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 373.

⁷⁷⁰ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 224–26.

⁷⁷¹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:73, 158; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 391.

⁷⁷² Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 384.

⁷⁷³ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:155.

Iskarsifiko, a poor *zımmi*, identified by Rohan as Bartolomeo Squarsafico.⁷⁷⁴ I have identified two other poor *zımmi*'s, *Martini Buto*, as Martineto Boto, *burgense Pere*, in a notary act dated January 1453 and *Zani Baso*, as Iohannes Bassus, in April 1453.⁷⁷⁵ This is an all-Genoese neighbourhood. One person who came to my attention is named simply *Laşkeri*, and he rents a confiscated house. His occupation is *gümrükçü* (customs agent). Could he be Laskaris Kanabes, *protogeros* of Constantinople, as mentioned by Ganchou, or someone from the same family? Four houses in Bona Zita are unoccupied and two in ruins. One house is endowed to *Sanda Fereje*, one to *San Niferoza* and, one to *Santa Katarina*.

3.6.5. *Anton di Garzan*:⁷⁷⁶

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are sixty-nine houses, of which twelve have been confiscated, two churches, and nine shops. The churches are *San Domingo* and *Santa Katarina*. The neighbourhood is named after *Anton di Garzan*, a poor *zımmi*, who lives with his father *Rafa* in the house of *Anaeki di Laporta*. *Anton di Garzan* has not been identified but *Anaeki di Laporta* is presumably from the de Porta family. He is a medium *cizye* payer, and his wife has left on the day of the conquest. Members of the *Daryova* (Doria/di Auria) family, *Luviz* (Lodisius) and *Operto*, own three houses each, in this neighbourhood. Lodisius' three sons, *Anton*, *Benutana*, and *Nikoroz*, all three medium *cizye* payers live in one of the houses. *Operto*, *Yani*, *Adesya Daryova* are all identified by Rohan.⁷⁷⁷ Francesco Draperio, the tax farmer, owns three more houses in this neighbourhood. Anton Draga, "a very old man", is identified as Antonio Drago, *burgense Pere*, as evidenced by two notary acts, in January 1453, and June 1454.⁷⁷⁸ He owns two houses and lives with his son *Nikoroz* (Nicola Drago).⁷⁷⁹ *Benito Sarvayko* (Benedetto Salvaigo) appears as a freed slave, whose house has been confiscated. He is identified in two notary acts in July and August 1453.⁷⁸⁰ The house of another member of this family, *Berkoz Sarvayko*, who has left, has been confiscated. *Zan Franceşko*'s status is unknown. I suggest that this is Iohannes Francisco di Florentia, *burgense Pere*,

⁷⁷⁴ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 385.

⁷⁷⁵ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:98, 119.

⁷⁷⁶ Roccatagliata, 1:74, 103; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 369.

⁷⁷⁷ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 375–77.

⁷⁷⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:99, 154; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 392.

⁷⁷⁹ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 392.

⁷⁸⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:134–36, 139–40; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 374.

mentioned in a notary act, in July 1453.⁷⁸¹ Rohan identified *Berthoma İskarsifiko* (Bartolomeo Squarsafico).⁷⁸² *Domeniko Lansaviç*, rents a store-house in one tower. I suggest that this is Domenico Lancianegia, seen in notary acts in 1453 and 1476.⁷⁸³ The majority of the residents are Genoese, with only a few Greeks. Fourteen houses and five shops are unoccupied, one house is in ruins. Three houses have been endowed to the Christian poors, the church of *San Domingo* and *Fani San Domingo*.

3.6.6. *Yahudiyân*:⁷⁸⁴

According to the subtotal in İncalık, there are thirty-one houses, two churches, and no shops. The churches are *San Benita* and *Aya Horhoro*. The name of the neighbourhood, *Yahudiyân*, means Jewish. However, there are mainly Armenians, few Jews, Greeks, and Italians, namely, Lodisius Doria/de Auria and Piero dal Pozzo. There is a sumptuous, *mükellef*, house next to *San Benita*, which is in dispute between an Armenian woman and the *Frenks*.

3.6.7. *Dhraperyo*:⁷⁸⁵

According to the subtotal in İncalık, there are fifty-one houses, of which five have been confiscated, one church, and no shops. The church is *the church of Vuhani*. The neighbourhood is named after the Draperio family. Notary records of both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention a contrada named Draperiis. Only one fifth of the houses in this neighbourhood are owned by the Genoese. The rest belongs to Greeks. Two houses belong to Francesco Draperio, the tax farmer. *Luviz di Kanya* (di Candia), a rich *zımmi*, owns a house, with a horse-mill.⁷⁸⁶ His brother *Zorzi*'s house is occupied by a rich *zımmi*, *Thoma*, with no surname, but described as the son-in-law of *Franceşko*.⁷⁸⁷ This is Tomasso Spinola, son-in-law of Francesco Draperio. Tomasso and Francesco's house is a landmark in Pera. Notary acts in 1453, 1479, and 1480 are signed in front of their house.⁷⁸⁸ Pietro di Langasco owns another house here. Eight houses are unoccupied, one in ruins.

⁷⁸¹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:134.

⁷⁸² Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 385.

⁷⁸³ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:97, 226, 228.

⁷⁸⁴ İncalık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 232–36.

⁷⁸⁵ İncalık, 239–45.

⁷⁸⁶ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 388.

⁷⁸⁷ Rohan, 388.

⁷⁸⁸ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:145, 233, 253, 254, 260.

3.6.8. *Zani di Pagani*.⁷⁸⁹

According to the subtotal in İncalılık, there are thirty houses, of which six and one share have been confiscated, no churches, and eight shops. The neighbourhood is named after *Zani di Pagana*, a poor *zimmi*. Two other members of the same family *Zorzo di Pogana* (Giorgio di Pagana) and *Mekdad di Pagana* live in this neighbourhood. Giorgio di Pagana is a monk of Santa Maria della Misericordia de Siserna, who appears in a notary act of 1475.⁷⁹⁰ Rohan has identified *Dorya Ispinora* (Teodoro Spinola), and *Dimitri de Lankaşko* (Dimitri di Langasco) who have left on the day of the conquest and whose properties have been confiscated.⁷⁹¹ *Dimitri* is seen in Chios in 1454, where he has settled as a blacksmith.⁷⁹² I have identified *Portomi di Masa* (Bartholomeo de Massa de Ancona) who appears in notary acts in 1443 and July 1453.⁷⁹³ His house is unoccupied. I suggest that the rich merchant, *Operto Penlo*, is Oberto Pinello, who appears in a testament written in April 1453.⁷⁹⁴ *Anton Konforti* (Antonio Confortino) witnesses a notary act in July 1453.⁷⁹⁵ *Nikoroz di Kaza* is Nicolo de Cassali, who has become a rich *cizye* payer, but is now dead. He appeared in notary acts in January and March 1453.⁷⁹⁶ *Luka Katarina*, a merchant, may be *nobilis* Luca Cattaneo who is seen in Pera, where he owns a house, in May and June 1454.⁷⁹⁷ Antonio Garra owns another soap factory here. This is a Genoese-Greek neighbourhood. Four houses are unoccupied.

3.6.9. *Unnamed commercial zone*.⁷⁹⁸

According to the subtotal in İncalılık, there are thirty-three shops, of which eighteen have been confiscated, no churches and no houses. As there is a missing page in the beginning, the name of this neighbourhood is not known. In addition to the shops, that are located both inside the walls and outside on the sea shore, the public scales, *kapan*, is there as well. The type of activity conducted in the shops is not known, except

⁷⁸⁹ İncalılık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 249–52.

⁷⁹⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:220; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 393.

⁷⁹¹ Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 369,371.

⁷⁹² Roccatagliata, ‘Con Un Notaio Genovese Tra Pera e Chio Nel 1453-1454’, 235.

⁷⁹³ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:72, 131–32.

⁷⁹⁴ Roccatagliata, 1:113.

⁷⁹⁵ Roccatagliata, 1:128; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 394.

⁷⁹⁶ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:85, 108; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 395.

⁷⁹⁷ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:150, 155.

⁷⁹⁸ İncalılık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 252–54.

for two that are occupied by *boza* makers.⁷⁹⁹ A building with five shops is endowed to the church of *San Zani*, and one shop to *San Franceşko*. Only two shops are unoccupied. Nine shops which belonged to the Podesta have been confiscated. Possible Genoese names occupying the shops here are *Domenigo Lansavico*, Martino Pallavicino, *Zani di Milo* and, *Karlo Konforti* (Carlo Confortino) who appears in a notary act signed in July 1453.⁸⁰⁰

3.6.10. *Samona*:⁸⁰¹

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are eighty-seven houses, of which one has been confiscated, three churches, and no shops. The churches are *Ayani*, *Arhi Istahores*, *Santa Andoni*, and a fourth one, *the church (kenîsâ) of the Jews*. The meaning of *Samona* is not known.⁸⁰² This is not an Italian neighbourhood; mainly Greeks and some Jews live there, but it must be in the initial concession zone or its northern extension since it is not included in the Karaköy document. One of the exceptions is *Domeniko di Karta* (del Carretto?), who *owns* a building plot and a very large property with thirteen annexed houses. The neighbourhood is close to the city walls. Three vegetable gardens in the moat are rented. Eleven houses are unoccupied, three in ruins. Two houses are endowed to *the church of Santa Andoni*, and one to *the church of Ivan*.

3.6.11. *Iskineplok*:⁸⁰³

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are sixty-four houses, of which two have been confiscated, one church, and two shops. The church is *Aya Yorgi*. The neighbourhood is named after *Iskineplok*, who lives in another neighbourhood, which is also named after him but he does not own a house in this one. As *Samona*, the majority of the residents are Greek, with a small group of Italians, but it must be within the initial concession zone or its northern extension as well. Close to the church is the house of the monk *Franceşko*, who left after the conquest. His house with two shops and two storehouses has been confiscated. Luigi and Giorgio di Candia, Lodisius Doria/de Auria, and *Domenigo Lançdeke* (Domenico Lancianegia) own a house each in *Iskineplok*. A large property consisting of eight houses belonged to *Andan di Liko*, who

⁷⁹⁹ A type of fermented drink made from millet or other grains. It is known as a traditional Turkish drink, although in this case, the shops are occupied by a Greek, Aleksis, and Burluk from Caffa.

⁸⁰⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:134–36; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 394.

⁸⁰¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 255–61.

⁸⁰² Could *Samona* be related to *Samerrya*, who owns three houses there?

⁸⁰³ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 261–66.

left on the day of the conquest. The house has been confiscated. It is noteworthy since there is an unnamed church in its garden. *Andan di Liko* is not identified. I suggest that he is from Chios, while Rohan reads the name as Layako, and suggests he is from Laiazzo.⁸⁰⁴ *Domeno di Bogamo* is identified as Domenico di Bergamo, who appears in a notary act in August 1453, where he is cited as son of Tomasso, *burgense Pere*.⁸⁰⁵ According to the Survey, he went to Caffa, and his house has been confiscated. *Pero Spinora*, defined as “a very rich man”, has left before the conflict for *Frengistan*, and his wife is paying *cizye* on his behalf. This is a member of the Spinola family who is not mentioned in the notary records published by Roccatagliata. However, Rohan identifies him as Paolo Spinola.⁸⁰⁶ Two houses are in ruins, twelve are unoccupied. Two houses are endowed to the church of *Babatya* or *Bebanya*.

3.6.12. *Fabya*:⁸⁰⁷

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-eight houses, no churches, no shops. However, a church named *San Fabyan* is mentioned in the text. The quarter takes its name from the church, or from *Fabyan di Fi*, a rich *zimmi* who lives there. Approximately half of the houses belong to Italians, while the other half is owned by Jews. *Bertoma di Masa* (Bartholomeo de Massa de Ancona), Luigi and Giorgio di Candia, *Isperte di Kermado* (Aspertus de Carmadino) own houses in this neighbourhood. There is also a bath-house which was sold to a Turk by *Efrenc Can Drapora* (Giovanni Draperio?). Seven houses are unoccupied, two in ruins. One house is endowed to the *Jewish poor* (*cümera-yi Yahudiyân*).

3.6.13. *Pero di Lankaşko*:⁸⁰⁸

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are one hundred and nine houses of which ten are confiscated, two churches, no shops. The quarter takes its name from *Pero di Lankaşko* (Pietro di Langasco), a rich *zimmi* who lives there. No churches are named within the text. Most of the residents are Greek, with a few Italian families. The governor (*subaşı*) rents one of the annexes of a confiscated five-house property that

⁸⁰⁴ Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 385.

⁸⁰⁵ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:147; Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 389.

⁸⁰⁶ Rohan, ‘Transforming Empire’, 369.

⁸⁰⁷ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 267–71.

⁸⁰⁸ İnalçık, 271–76.

belonged to *Bahrin (Paskarin?)* and lives in the confiscated house of *Todorko Eflak*.⁸⁰⁹ According to İnalçık, the Sultan appointed Karaca, as governor (*subaşı*) of Pera, in June 1453.⁸¹⁰ The Spinola family is very present in this neighbourhood. *Lorenc Ispirtora* is Lorenzo Spinola, identified in a notary act, in March 1453.⁸¹¹ According to the Survey, he left on the day of the conquest, came back, did not accept the *cizye* and left again. His house was confiscated. He is seen in Pera again in 1479-1480.⁸¹² *Anton Ispinora* and *Irena Ispitore* are identified by Rohan as Antonio and Eliano Spinola.⁸¹³ Their houses have been confiscated as well. Two houses belong to Nicolo di Cassali, who, as mentioned before, is dead, but his wife and son live there. *Domeniko di Franko* is identified by Rohan as *Domenico di Franchi*.⁸¹⁴ *Karlo di Verand* (Ferrando?), *Zorzi Drapo* (Giorgio Draperio?), *Ahosto di Faces* (de Facio?) are other possible house owners. Seven houses are unoccupied. Two houses are endowed to the convent of *San Zani* and half of a house to *San Franceško*.

3.7. Neighbourhoods in Lagirio

The following eleven neighbourhoods are the ones listed in the Karaköy document and are assumed to be all located in the western Lagirio suburb of Pera/Galata. While most of the quarters which are included in both the Survey and the Karaköy document, are mainly Greek or Armenian neighbourhoods, three of them, namely Asuder Ermeniyan, Yani Mavroyani, and San Neferzo, require special attention, since it is highly likely that their content has been misplaced, and also since they contain Genoese families, and more importantly Latin churches. As far as the remaining Karaköy neighbourhoods are concerned, Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok quarter has a majority of Armenian residents, Varto Hristo, Kosta Lupaci, Ayo Dhikemo Dandano, Yani Vasilikoz are Greek neighbourhoods, while Harhancı, Papa Yani and Yorgi Arhancelo have a mixed population of Greeks and Armenians. There are very few Genoese living in these neighbourhoods.

⁸⁰⁹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:127; İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 273,275. Pasqualis Peratus is one of the passengers on a boat that left on the day of the conquest. He may be a suggested name.

⁸¹⁰ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 27.

⁸¹¹ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:109–11; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 372.

⁸¹² Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:235–52.

⁸¹³ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 370–71.

⁸¹⁴ Rohan, 384.

3.7.1. *Asuder Ermeniyan*.⁸¹⁵

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are fourteen houses, of which four have been confiscated, one church, and no shops. However, no church is named within the text. The neighbourhood is named after *Asuder*, who lives in another neighbourhood and *Ermeniyan*, which means Armenians although there is only one Armenian living there. The rest of the residents are Genoese. *Toma Ispindora* (Tommaso Spinola) lived in this neighbourhood in a sumptuous, *mükellef*, house. He left after the conquest, and his house has been confiscated. This is Tommaso Spinola, banker, son of Gaspare Spinola, who is not to be confused with Tommaso Spinola, son of Lanfranco Spinola, son-in-law of Francesco Draperio, who is still in Pera.⁸¹⁶ As mentioned in Balletto's paper on Tommaso Spinola, he is a client of Giacomo Badoer.⁸¹⁷ Tommaso appears in notary records in 1443, in January to March 1453, and again in August 1453. Another member of the family, Irene Ispinora, identified by Rohan as Eliano Spinola, also owned a house in this neighbourhood, which has been confiscated, and in which Nikoroz, the *kethuda* (*protogeros*, steward) of Pera, lives without paying any rent to the Treasury.⁸¹⁸ According to Ganchou, the first *protogeros* of Pera was Pietro de Gravaigo, nominated sometime between June and August 1453, followed by Cristoforo Pallavicino, eminent banker of Pera, who replaced him in October 1453, and presumably retained the position until his death in 1467.⁸¹⁹ Cristoforo Pallavicino appears in the Survey, as a resident of Zani Dabdan. It is difficult to tell whether the *kethuda* was recorded as *Nikoroz*, because of a misunderstanding of the surveyor, or an error in the translation of the document, or whether there was another *protogeros* after Cristoforo Pallavicino. A third interesting person who lives in this neighbourhood with his mother is *Domenigo Nefarto*. This name does not appear in the notary records. Rohan suggests that the name should be read as Domenico di Negrono or Nigro.⁸²⁰ Furthermore, he proposes that *Domeniko Neferto* and *Domeniko di Karta* may be the same person, spelled differently. I do not have the capacity to read ottoman or Arabic,

⁸¹⁵ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 248–49.

⁸¹⁶ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:69–71, 106; Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 122-130, 145-150; Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 370. There is a contradiction between Balletto and Rohan, about the paternity of Tommaso Spinola.

⁸¹⁷ Laura Balletto, 'I Genovesi e La Conquista Turca Di Costantinopoli (1453): Note Su Tommaso Spinola e La Sua Famiglia', n.d., 797.

⁸¹⁸ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 371.

⁸¹⁹ Thierry Ganchou, 'Le Prôtogéros de Constantinople Laskaris Kanabès (1454). A Propos d'une Institution Ottomane Méconnue', *Revue Des Études Byzantines*, no. 71 (2013): 226.

⁸²⁰ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 381.

neither any competence in Genovese genealogy, to comment on this proposal. *Domeniko Neferto* owns eight houses in total, two in Dhraperyo, of which one is in dispute, two in Harhancı, two in Samona, one in Asuder Ermeniyan, and one in İskineplok. *Domeniko di Karta* has a property with thirteen annexes in Samona. Based on İnalçık's translation, I suggest that *Domeniko di Karta*, may belong to the del Carretto family. I find it intriguing that such a powerful person is recorded as a simple *zimmi*, and does not appear in the published Genoese records. One house in this neighbourhood is unoccupied.

3.7.2. *Yani Mavroyani*:⁸²¹

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-one houses, of which ten have been confiscated, one church, and no shops. The church is *Aya Yorgi*. The neighbourhood is named after *Yani Mavroyani*, who lives in another neighbourhood. Only five houses are listed, and the rest is indicated as missing pages. Therefore, although the neighbourhood is named after a Greek, there is not enough information to determine its ethnic character.

3.7.3. *San Neferzo*:⁸²²

There is no subtotal line in İnalçık, because of missing pages. The churches named within the document are the convent (*zâviye*) of San Zan, the churches of *Kasteliyutsa*, and *Santa Marya*. The population is mostly Greek. Lodisius Doria/de Auria owns a house there. *Karlo* (Conforti?), a rich *zimmi*, lives there. One house is unoccupied. One house is endowed to the church of *Istavreno* for the Christian poor, one to *Ayi Yanes*, and one to *San Zani*.

3.7.4. *Nurbek Kosta İskineplok*:⁸²³

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-eight houses of which two have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. The neighbourhood is named after *Kosta İskineplok* who owns a house there along with his brother *Andriya*. An individual named *Nurbek* does not appear there but in Dhraperyo. The name of this neighbourhood in the Karaköy document is *Kosta İskineplok ve Ermeni Nurbek*. The majority of the residents are Armenians but there are also some Greeks. The only rich

⁸²¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 279–80.

⁸²² İnalçık, 290–93.

⁸²³ İnalçık, 236.

resident of the neighbourhood is a Greek named *Halektiva*. The rest of the residents are mostly poor. An Armenian woman, *Dhespina*, is not classified as rich but owns a cluster of four houses and a garden. The Survey mentions other Armenian ladies as house owners, namely *Hanumelek*, *Ana Hatun*, and *Melek Hatun*. Based on their names, they are believed to be of Crimean origin. There are three weavers, one tailor, one oarsman, two porters living in this neighbourhood. One Armenian, *Dilsuz Migirdiç*, and one Genoese, *Anton Kable*, have left on the day of the conquest and their houses have been confiscated. *Anton Kable* is Antonio di Cabella who gave a power of attorney to Nicolo Vassalotto, in Chios, in February 1454, to sell his wooden house, *domuncula di legno, sita in Bassali, super darseneta*.⁸²⁴ In Chios, he is introduced as a butcher.⁸²⁵ Other Genoese residents are *Marko Drapozo* (Marco Draperiis or dal Pozzo⁸²⁶), and *Zani Ruso* with his son *Zorzo*. *Zani* left during the conflict but was presumably caught and appears to be still a slave but his house was not confiscated. One house is endowed to the Armenian *Aya Horhoro* church. Only one house is unoccupied.

3.7.5. *Varto Hristo*.⁸²⁷

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-three houses of which one has been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. However, the church of *Hristos* is mentioned in the text and the neighbourhood is probably named after it. The name in the Karaköy document is Vartimo Hristo. This is an all-Greek neighbourhood and a rich one, with eleven residents classified as rich *zimmi* and twelve as medium. One Genoese, *Zani Dabra*, is a spice seller and a freed slave, *Mihal*, is a cobbler. There is also a bath house and a sesame oil factory (*bezîrhâne*) in this neighbourhood. The bath house is a double bath for men and women which is owned by *Suleyman Beg*, who, according to İnalçık, is most likely the governor of Istanbul.⁸²⁸ No priests or nuns appear around the church. All houses are occupied.

3.7.6. *Kosta Lupaci*.⁸²⁹

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are nineteen houses of which two have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. This is an all-Greek neighbourhood

⁸²⁴ Roccatagliata, 'Con Un Notaio Genovese Tra Pera e Chio Nel 1453-1454', 234.

⁸²⁵ Roccatagliata, 235.

⁸²⁶ Rohan, 'Transforming Empire', 390.

⁸²⁷ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 280.

⁸²⁸ İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 44.

⁸²⁹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 282.

as well. Its name in the Karaköy document is Kosta Alupedi. There is a Kosta living in the neighbourhood but the surname does not match. The name Kosta Lupaci is not found in the other neighbourhoods of the Survey either, however it may correspond to Costa Alopagi who is seen in Chios in 1454.⁸³⁰ There is only one rich *zimmi* resident, *Manul* from Selanik. One porter, *iskeleci*, owns a house in this neighbourhood. The rent of one house is endowed to the Christian poor.

3.7.7 *Ayo Dhikemo Dandano*:⁸³¹

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are forty-one houses of which one has been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. However, one house that belongs to *Papa Andoni*, a rich *zimmi*, also has a church. Priests were exempt from *cizye*, and the church has no name. Therefore, we may assume that it is not an active church. The name of this neighbourhood in the Karaköy document is Avdaki Momendarino. There is a rich *zimmi* named *Ayodhikemo* living in the neighbourhood, as well as *Dimitri Mandolini/Mandarina*, also a rich *zimmi*, who owns three houses but does not live there. The neighbourhood must be named after these two and *Papa Andoni*. Nine residents are classified as rich *zimmi*. There is a butcher, a weaver, a grain-seller, a fisherman, a baker and a cobbler. Apart for one Armenian and a Muslim, and a house that belongs to *Luviz Daryova* (de Auria), all the residents appear to have Greek names. This is a wealthy neighbourhood with nine rich *zimmi* taxpayers. One house is unoccupied.

3.7.8 *Yani Vasilikoz*:⁸³²

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-one houses of which two have been confiscated, no churches, and no shops. However, the Church of Ayos Nikolos is named in the text. *Papa Yani* and *Kalogruya* live there but not close to the church. The neighbourhood is named after one of its residents, *Yani Vasilikoz*. *Andriya*, a rich *zimmi* baker lives there, as well as *Yorgi*, a napkin-weaver (*makramacı*) who is exempt from *cizye*. This is an all-Greek neighbourhood. Four houses are unoccupied.

⁸³⁰ Roccatagliata, 'Con Un Notaio Genovese Tra Pera e Chio Nel 1453-1454', 229.

⁸³¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 284.

⁸³² İnalçık, 288.

3.7.9. *Harhancı*:⁸³³

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are eighteen houses, no churches, and no shops. However, the church of *Iplahosa* is named in the text. The church owns three houses. The priest, *Thogohlostos*, lives there, as well as two *kaligruya* who are nearby. This is a mixed neighbourhood, with a Genoese named *Domenigo Neferto* who owns three houses, an Armenian woman *Kelef-Hatun*, who owns a house with a well-kept garden and a horse-mill. The neighbourhood is named after a poor *zimmi*, *Harhonca*, who lives there. A fruiterer (*kelekçi*), a miller, a porter, a wool-carder (*hallâc*) and two tailors live in Harhancı. There are no rich taxpayers among the residents. Two houses are unoccupied.

3.7.10. *Papa Yani*:⁸³⁴

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are nineteen houses, two churches, and no shops. The churches named in the text are the church of *Papa [Yani]* and the church of *Aya Yani*. The church of *Papa Yani* has three annexed houses where *Papa Haçi*, a *kaligruya* *Thodhera*, and *Papa Yani* live. *Papa Melaharto*, another *Papa Yani* (his mother *Cevher Hatun* is Armenian), *Papa Nikola*, another priest named *Yani*, all live in this neighbourhood. One house belongs to the church of *San Benita*. This is a mixed Greek-Armenian neighbourhood. *Luvizdi Barta* is the only Italian name. *Andriya*, a poor *zimmi* butcher lives in this neighbourhood. In August 1453, *Andree Greco*, *macellario* is mentioned in a notary act, that is signed in his *apotecam, in bassali*, which is the bazaar area, near the Castrum.⁸³⁵

3.7.11. *Yorgi Arhancelo*:⁸³⁶

According to the subtotal in İnalçık, there are thirty-two houses, of which four are confiscated, two churches, and two confiscated shops. The neighbourhood is named after *Yorgi Maverengelo*, a poor *zimmi* resident. Although the subtotal reflects two churches, no churches are named in the text and there are five shops, not two. One of the shops is in the Sultan's Tower (Burgazi-emîrriye) and is occupied by *Kiryazi/Kirmazi* a tavern keeper. Another one belongs to the governor(*subaşı*), *Karaca*. There are two tavern-keepers, two porters, and one oarsman, who are all Greeks. The

⁸³³ İnalçık, 245.

⁸³⁴ İnalçık, 247.

⁸³⁵ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:138.

⁸³⁶ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 276.

residents are mostly Greeks and Armenians, with the exception of *Anton, Isperto di Harezo, Luviz Aperde*, and *Yakomi di Kermado* (de Carmadino?). Two houses are unoccupied.

3.8. The Genoese in the 1455 Survey

3.8.1. Families

The Survey reveals the various positions taken by the noble Genoese families after 1453. Starting with the two major Ghibelline families, the Spinola and de Auria/Doria, two approaches are observed. All of the Spinola family members, Tommaso, son of Gaspare, Eliano, Laurencius, Paolo, Antonius, Brancaleone, Teodoro have left Pera, and their properties are confiscated. Some left during the conflict and never came back, while some came and left again, refusing to pay the poll tax. The only exception is Tomasso Spinola, son of Lanfranco, who remains attached to Pera, since he is the son-in-law of the tax farmer Francesco Draperio. On the de Auria side, Lodisius has taken the rich *zimmi* status, and owns many houses in various neighbourhoods. It is not clear in the Survey, where he lives himself, but his three sons, with medium *zimmi* status, live in one of the houses. Oberto de Auria's status is not clear. On the Guelf side, I could not identify any names from the Fieschi family. As for the Grimaldi, Antonio Ceba de Grimaldi, son-in-law of Cristoforo Pallavicino, lives in Pera but is absent.

The Pallavicino family is among those who remained in Pera. Cristoforus is a rich *zimmi*, Carlo, a medium and Mateo a poor one. Martino's status is not clear but he rents two shops. Another important family who remained in Pera is the Langasco family. Angelo, Luigi, and Giovanni have all taken the rich *zimmi* status and live in Pera. Petrus has middle-income status, Maria and Elina are widows. Dimitri di Langasco is the only member of the family who left and had his house confiscated. The only member of the Salvaigo family living in Pera, as a rich poll-tax payer, is Gabriele Salvaigo. Bornoro has left and his house is confiscated. Nicolo Gatellusio olim de Porta, has abandoned Pera, while Anaeki stayed on. Other families that have been identified in the Survey are Garra, Squarsafico, Bonazointa, Pinelli, Lomellini, di Mari/Marini, de Franchi, di Carmadino and, de Cassali. Several names remain to be identified. I have looked for the Cattaneo, Adorno, Fieschi, and Demerode families particularly, since they had been active in the region in previous years, but failed to identify them.

3.8.2. Leading members of the Genoese community

Two important acts were signed in Pera after the conquest. On August 7th 1453, Bartolomeo Gentile, Tommaso Spinola del fu Gaspare, Babilano Pallavicino came together to take a decision about a jewel that they had received as a guarantee against a loan of 9,000 *perperi* that they had granted to the Emperor of Byzantium seven months before.⁸³⁷ The lenders were themselves, as well as Antonio and Giovanni Garra, Cristoforo Pallavicino, Battista Gattilusio, Cassano Salvago and, Barnaba Centurione. Four of these Genoese nobles were identified in the 1455 Survey, namely Tommaso Spinola, Cristoforo Pallavicino, Antonio Garra, as well as one of the witnesses, Mateo Lomellino.⁸³⁸

Another important act was signed on August 8th, 1453 when the ex-podesta Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, six of his eight ex-counsellors, Tommaso Spinola, son of Gaspare, Filippo de Molde, Imperiale Grimaldi, Pietro di Gravago, Raffaele Lomellino and Ambrogio Giudice nominated Pietro di Gravago, *protogeros* of Pera and Giovanni Garra, Oberto Pinello, Tommaso Spinola, son of Lanfranco, and Geronimo di Zoagli his counsellors.⁸³⁹ The act was signed at Iohannis de Mari's house, where the podesta was living, and was witnessed by Paolo Vegio, Barnaba Centurione and Inofio Pinello. When comparing this list of names with those identified in the Survey, I find that both Tomasso Spinola appear, one as an ex-counsellor, one as new, with houses in Asuder Ermeniyan and Dhraperyo, respectively. The ex-counsellor has left Pera, and his sumptuous house has been confiscated, as of 1455. Both Garra brothers are registered as *zimmi*. Antonio lives in Zani Dabdan. They have a *bancum* in the loggia, close to San Michele, where they may be selling soaps from Antonio's soap factory. The *protogeros* Pietro di Gravago has been replaced by *Nikoroz*. Regarding the witnesses, Inofio Pinello is not there, but a member of his family, is a rich *zimmi*, in the Zani di Pagani neighbourhood, Oberto Pinello.⁸⁴⁰ As for Paolo Vegio, although he could not be identified in the Survey, his house has been depicted next to Francesco Draperio's

⁸³⁷ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 145–48; Mercan, 'The Genoese of Pera in the Fifteenth Century: Draperio and Spinola Families'. Mercan mistakenly assumes that Tomasso Spinola in this text is Francesco Draperio's son in law, but it is the rich banker Tommaso Spinola, son of Gaspare.

⁸³⁸ Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 659,662. Notes from Thierry Ganchou: Antonio and Giorgio Garra, banker brothers, lived together in Pera. They seem to have moved to Chios afterwards, but Antonio had registered as *zimmi*, and kept his properties in Pera, as attested by the Survey.

⁸³⁹ Roccatagliata, 'Atti Rogati a Pera (1453)', 148–50.

⁸⁴⁰ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 251.

palace, to the West, outside the city walls, in the Buondelmonti Paris map.⁸⁴¹ Ioannes de Mari does not appear in the survey either but *Marya Maryana* in Zani Drapero may be from his family.⁸⁴²

3.9. Houses in the 1455 Survey

The survey provides interesting details about houses. On one hand, it is possible to observe houses with multiple annexes and gardens, two of them even defined as “sumptuous”.⁸⁴³ On the other hand, some ordinary houses are shared between several households. Nicolaus de Porta in Zani Dabdan, has a horse-mill, baker’s oven and storehouse in his house that have been confiscated. The mill is rented by a baker.⁸⁴⁴ *Luviz di Kanya*’s horse-mill in Dhraperyo is unoccupied.⁸⁴⁵ *Asturi*, the physician in Yahudiyān, has a horse-mill as well as a storehouse in Fabya. A baker lives in the mill.⁸⁴⁶ *Kelef Hatun*, an Armenian lady with multiple properties, has a horse-mill in her house with “a well-kept garden”. A miller operates the mill.⁸⁴⁷ There are seven storehouses (*mahzen*) in total. One of them, in Anton di Garzan, is located inside a “state-owned castle (burgaz-i emirriye)”.⁸⁴⁸ Presumably, it is one of the towers of the city walls. There are very few houses with gardens. However, in the Samona neighbourhood, there are four vegetable gardens. Three of them are located in the fortress moat.⁸⁴⁹

According to Kafesçioğlu, the early Galata buildings consisted of two or three floors made of brick and/or stone that rose above underground store-rooms (*mahzen*), similar to those of Genoa, rather than Constantinople. She provides a description of a house in the loggia quarter of Galata, taken from a non-Muslim foundation document,⁸⁵⁰ which reads as follows: “Possibly because it featured a multicolor façade, Doka’s house

⁸⁴¹ Barsanti, ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 237. Barsanti cites Thierry Ganchou who identified Pauli Vegii.

⁸⁴² Déroche and Vatin, *Constantinople 1453, Des Byzantins Aux Ottomans*, 662–63, 706. Notes from Thierry Ganchou about the other people named in the act: Barnaba Centurione is the merchant whose ship was sunk by the Ottomans during the siege of Constantinople, Bartolomeo Gentile returned to Genoa in 1454, Babilano Pallavicino, one of the ambassadors who met Mehmed II to surrender Pera, also left shortly afterwards, while his brother Cristoforo remained until he died in 1467, Cassano Salvago returned to Genoa in 1454-1455, and Battista Gattilusio lived in Chios.

⁸⁴³ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 236,248.

⁸⁴⁴ İnalçık, 220.

⁸⁴⁵ İnalçık, 240.

⁸⁴⁶ İnalçık, 232.

⁸⁴⁷ İnalçık, 245.

⁸⁴⁸ İnalçık, 232.

⁸⁴⁹ İnalçık, 255.

⁸⁵⁰ Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 262.

was referred to as Alaca Ev. A public street divided its basement level and ground floor in two, one side housing three cellars, three rooms above these, and a toilet; the other side a well and a cellar, with two rooms and two toilets above. The second floor had an anteroom “known as a *şamina* (?) in the founder’s language,” another room called a *şamina*, two kitchens, four other rooms, and three toilets. The third floor also had an anteroom called a *şamina*, five other rooms, and two toilets.”⁸⁵¹ *Şamina* is a word that appears in the notary records published by Roccatagliata, *caminata dicte domus*, or *camera caminate*, as seen in the previous chapter, meaning a large room or a room with a fireplace.⁸⁵²

3.10. Other landmarks in the 1455 Survey

3.10.1. Palazzo Comunale

The Palazzo Comunale is not mentioned in the Survey. There is a possibility that it may be the sumptuous house that used to belong to Tommaso Spinola, in the Asuder Ermeniyan neighbourhood, which appears to be misnamed. The successor of the podesta, the *kethuda* (*protogeros*) Nikoroz, lives in the next house which also belonged to the Spinola family.

3.10.2. Loggia

The loggia area, renamed *Lonca*, is present in all Ottoman sources, referring to a whole neighbourhood. However, there is no mention of a particular, columnated structure, as would be expected from the descriptions of the Genoese sources. Kafesçioğlu draws attention to an edict of Sultan Murad III in 1585, according to which, Galata (Fatih) Bedesten, presently located at the angle of Tersane caddesi and Kuyumcu Tahir sokak, in the Arapcamii quarter of Beyoğlu, was transformed from or built over the foundations of a Byzantine bazaar.⁸⁵³ Presumably this was the loggia, which is mentioned in the 1519 Ayasofya foundation survey, as the ancient loggia (*Lonca-yı Atik*), a structure that consists of four underground store-rooms (*mahzen*), twenty-five shops around the three sides of these store-rooms and a top floor with sixteen units (*hücre*).⁸⁵⁴ The building is described as twenty domes sitting on sixteen marble

⁸⁵¹ Kafesçioğlu, 203.

⁸⁵² <https://www.gdli.it/sala-lettura/vol/2?seq=590>

⁸⁵³ Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 37; Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 86.

⁸⁵⁴ Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 86.

columns. It was probably rebuilt as it bears no resemblance with present day Galata Bedesten with nine domes (Fig. 62).

3.10.3. Mills

According to Sakaoğlu, horse-mills, also named *horos*, were the main type of mills operating in Constantinople during Ottoman times, in continuation with the Byzantine tradition. There are 102 horse-mills recorded in Mehmet II's foundation in the middle of the fifteenth century. The wind-mills in Galata, Eyüp, Kadıköy and Üsküdar were never sufficient to meet the city's needs. It was customary for bakers to have their own horse-mills.⁸⁵⁵ In the various Buondelmonti maps, it is possible to see a wind-mill inside the Lagirio suburb to the east, and one immediately outside the walls, to the west. Balard mentions that in 1391, four houses in Pera were expropriated to construct a granary, and relocate a wind-mill that was in an orchard, outside the city walls.⁸⁵⁶ As the Lagirio walls were constructed at a much later stage, it is possible to assume that the wind-mill mentioned by Balard and the one depicted in Buondelmonti are the same. No wind-mills are mentioned in the 1455 survey. However, I have noted that there is a street named Ali Paşa Değirmeni sokak in Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa quarter of Beyoğlu, previously simply named Değirmen (mill) sokak in the 1905 Goad map.

3.10.4. Baths

There are two public baths mentioned in the Survey. In the Ayasofya foundation documents, only three baths are named in the Galata district. In the west end, there is, *Direkllice Hamamı*, in the Spiga neighbourhood, which is present day *Yeşildirek hamamı*. In the centre, next to San Domenico, is the *Yeni Camii hamamı*, and just inside the eastern Tophane gate, is the *Tophane Kapısı hamamı*.⁸⁵⁷ Kafesçioğlu names four hamams built during the reign of Mehmed II, possibly incorporating extant structures; Direklüce, Galata Karaköy, Yeni Camii, and Tophane baths.⁸⁵⁸ The one next to the congregational mosque was a double-bath.⁸⁵⁹ In the Survey there is a double bath-house

⁸⁵⁵ Necdet Sakaoğlu, 'Değirmenler', in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Ana Basım AŞ, 1993).

⁸⁵⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 194.

⁸⁵⁷ Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası. 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul*, 324.

⁸⁵⁸ Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 103–4.

⁸⁵⁹ Kafesçioğlu, 108.

in the Fabya neighbourhood, and another bath-house in Varto Hristo, where *Aya Hristos* is located, in present-day Tophane. However, as both buildings have disappeared, there is no convincing evidence about the continuity between Genoese (or Byzantine) structures and the Ottoman ones.

3.11. Market places in the 1455 Survey

According to the survey, there are thirty-three shops in the *unnamed commercial zone*. Ten shops are located inside the walls, nine of which are said to have belonged to the Podesta, and to have been confiscated. The other shops are outside the sea-walls, on the beach. The scales, *kapan*, is located there and is operated by the tax-farmers. Next to the *kapan*, there is a building with five shops, which is assigned to Karaca, the governor (*subaşı*). However, the land of the building is endowed to the church of San Giovanni. This is undoubtedly the Comego gate, later named Yağkapanı, the main landing place of ships in the Genovese era. The building that belonged to the Podesta must have been the customs office of the Genoese.

The other two commercial areas are in Anton di Garzan with nine shops and, Zani di Pagani with eight shops. According to the survey, Anton di Garzan is the neighbourhood where San Domenico and Santa Catarina are located, which is along Perşembe Pazarı street, the *Cardo Maximus*, as described in the previous chapter, going through the loggia. Zani di Pagani, may be the other side of the same street.

There are four shops in Yorgi Arhancelo, the Greek neighbourhood in the Lagirio suburb, which is where two tavern-keepers are living. As highlighted by İnalçık, and referring to *domo dicti condam Georgi Iordanini, sita in burgo Agerii, prope bassale*, in 1453, as well as *bazalli, apud ecclesiam Sancte Clare*, in a 1469 record, both mentioned in Roccatagliata, the Karaköy area had started to become a business area in the fifteenth century, although there is no trace of the bazaar in the Survey.⁸⁶⁰ Nevertheless, one of the shops in Yorgi Arhancelo neighbourhood is below the Sultan's Tower (*Burgaz-I emîriyye*), which is believed to be the Tower of the Holy Cross, and therefore close to where Santa Chiara was presumably located.⁸⁶¹ As the Survey predates the reference in Roccatagliata, it is fair to suppose that the neighbourhood further developed to become a second large business zone. Consequently, it is possible

⁸⁶⁰ Roccatagliata, *Atti Rogati a Pera*, 1:98,179; İnalçık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 36.

⁸⁶¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 278.

to conclude that during the Genoese era, the commercial activity was limited to the central concession zone, starting from Comego gate and extending through the loggia, up to the Palazzo Comunale.

3.12. Professions in the 1455 Survey

The professions of the residents of Pera are similar to the Genoese period, except that in 1455, artisans and shopkeepers are mainly Greeks. The Genoese who remained appear to be from the well-known trading nobility. The following professions are mentioned in the İncalcık survey: Thirty porters, six boatmen (*kürekçi*), sixteen cobblers, one miller, six bakers, two boza-shop keepers (*bozacı*), two tavern-keepers (*meyhaneci*), two butchers, three fruiterers (*bazarcı*, *kelekçi*), five grain-sellers (*al'ulûfî*), one rope seller (*urgancı*), two grain and rope sellers (*urgancı* and *al'ulûfî*), one peddler (*çerçi*), two napkin-makers (*makramacı*), two blacksmiths, one caulker (*kalafatçı*), three wool-carders (*hallaç*), one dyer (*sabbag*), five weavers (*çulha*), four tailors, three physicians, one money-changer (*sarraf*), one trumpet player (*borazançı*), eighteen priests, eleven nuns (*kaligorya*), and nine monks (*keşiş*).⁸⁶² The occupations are listed by neighbourhood in Table 5. In addition, the governor (*subaşı*), the steward (*kethuda*), the customs agent (*gümrukçü*), and the tax-farmer (*âmil*) are also named in the Survey.⁸⁶³

The priests are gathered mostly around the Greek churches. There are no priests, nuns, or monks in Anton di Garzan, where *San Domenico* and *Santa Katarina* are located. Next to San Benedetto, there is a house with eight monks, which is presumably the Monastery. It is not possible to tell if the other churches and monasteries had been temporarily abandoned or whether the surveyors did not bother to mention them, since clerics were exempt from the poll tax. Physicians continue to be among the Jewish residents, as in the previous period. As it would be expected in a port city, there are many porters, to load and unload the ships. In addition, considering the steep geography of Pera, they may also have been employed by households. It would be fair to assume that as boatmen, and fishermen, the porters would tend to live near the coast. However, because of the misplaced pages and potential confusion in the neighbourhood names, it

⁸⁶² The priest count includes all people qualified as priests, as well as people whose name is preceded by *papa*.

⁸⁶³ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 217–93. All the professions and their translation are collected from İncalcık's survey.

is difficult to use this information as clues for the topography. It was surprising to see only one fisherman, *Manoli*, in Ayo Dhikemo Dandano, but as fishermen had a privileged status, like in Byzantine times, and were exempt from taxes, the surveyors may not have counted them carefully.⁸⁶⁴ Fishermen are not mentioned in Genoese sources either. Although Genoa is originally a community of fishermen, the Perotes may not have engaged in this activity, which remained a Greek prerogative.

The most senior Genoese person in Pera, during the Ottoman period, was the steward (*kethuda*), who lived in a confiscated house in the Asuder Ermeniyan neighbourhood. The Ottoman governor, *subaşı*, Karaca, also lived in a confiscated house in Pero di Lankaşko and so did the customs agent, *Laşkeri*, who lived in a confiscated house in Bona Zita. The tax farmer Francesco Draperio had one house in Nikoroz Sikay, two in Anton di Garzan, and two in Dhraperyo. Nevertheless, they appear to be simple houses, not resembling in any way, the castle-like structure in the Buondelmonti maps. One house is in ruins, one unoccupied, and “his men” are living in one of them. It is not clear in the Survey, whether he, himself lives in any of them.

Finally, it is interesting to note that no notaries are mentioned among the residents of Pera. Similarly, within the notary records published by Roccatagliata, none are from 1455, while 1453 is a very active year, both before and after the conquest. As a matter of fact, some commercial transactions performed soon after the conquest, led many authors to conclude that business had returned to normal.⁸⁶⁵ However, based on the published records, after these initial months, the activity in Pera diminished. Nevertheless, as stated by Dauverd, the Genoese found a way to reinvent themselves.⁸⁶⁶ In Roccatagliata, the acts of Pera start again around 1469, and there is a lot of activity around 1475, connected to the fall of Caffa. The year of the Survey, 1455, may have

⁸⁶⁴ İnalçık, 617.

⁸⁶⁵ Pitarino, ‘The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata’, 1986, 67; Fatma Özden Mercan, ‘From the Genoese to the Perots: The Genoese Community in Byzantine/Ottoman Constantinople (14th-15thc.)’, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* XXXVI, no. 2 (2021): 603; Pitarino, ‘La Caduta Di Costantinopoli: Da Pera Genovese a Galata Turca’, 30; Céline Dauverd, ‘Cultivating Differences: Genoese Trade Identity in the Constantinople of Sultan Mehmed II, 1453–81’, *Mediterranean Studies* 23, no. 2 (2015): 97–103, <https://doi.org/10.5325/mediterraneanstu.23.2.0094>.

⁸⁶⁶ Dauverd, ‘Cultivating Differences: Genoese Trade Identity in the Constantinople of Sultan Mehmed II, 1453–81’, 98.

been a year when the Perotes were more or less on a standby position, maybe still hoping for a better settlement with Mehmed II, with renewed diplomatic efforts.⁸⁶⁷

3.13. Latin churches in the 1455 Survey

The list of the churches identified in the previous chapter is compared with the findings of the Survey.

3.13.1. *San Domenico*: A church named *San Domenico* is in the Anton di Garzan neighbourhood.⁸⁶⁸ Furthermore, two houses owned in the same neighbourhood have been endowed to the *San Domenico* church.⁸⁶⁹

3.13.2. *San Benedetto and Santa Maria Misericordia della Citerna*: The church of *San Benita* is in the Yahudiyân neighbourhood. There is a house endowed to *San Benita* in each of Yahudiyân, Nurbek Kosta İskineplok, and Papa Yani neighbourhoods.

3.13.3. *San Giorgio*: There is no *San Giorgio* in the Survey, but there are two *Aya Yorgi* churches, in the İskineplok and Yani Mavroyani neighbourhoods respectively.⁸⁷⁰

3.13.4. *San Pietro and Paolo*: Not mentioned in the Survey.

3.13.5. *San Michele*: Not mentioned in the Survey.

3.13.6. *San Francesco*: The church itself does not appear in any of the neighbourhoods. However, there is a shop endowed to *San Françeşko* in the unnamed commercial district, as well as a house in Pero di Lankaşko.⁸⁷¹ In addition, endowments to the church *Sanda Forza*, in Nikoroz Sikay, to *Sanda Ferje* and *San Niferoza* in Bona Zita may be other misspelled names of the same church.⁸⁷² İncalcık situates *San Francesco* in Pero di Lankaşko, without presenting evidence.⁸⁷³

3.13.7. *Sant'Anna*: Not mentioned in the Survey. İncalcık situates it in Pero di Lankaşko.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁶⁷ Mercan, 'From the Genoese to the Perots: The Genoese Community in Byzantine/Ottoman Constantinople (14th-15thc.)', 603.

⁸⁶⁸ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 228.

⁸⁶⁹ İncalcık, 230.

⁸⁷⁰ İncalcık, 265, 279.

⁸⁷¹ İncalcık, 254, 274.

⁸⁷² İncalcık, 223, 224, 226.

⁸⁷³ İncalcık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 115.

⁸⁷⁴ İncalcık, 115.

3.13.8. *San Sebastiano*: This church does not appear in any of the neighbourhoods of the Survey. This is not surprising since it is not named in any of the Genoese sources either. However, there are two endowments in the Iskineplok neighbourhood to a church of *Bebanya*, and a church of *Babatya*, which could be referring San Sebastiano or San Bastiano. It should also be noted that Sağlam suggested that San Sebastiano and the church of *San Fabyan* named in the Survey, in the Fabya neighbourhood, may in fact be the same church. Among the arguments he proposed is that these two saints, Fabian and Sebastian are often associated to each other in the Roman Catholic rite.⁸⁷⁵

3.13.9. *Santa Chiara*: There is no Santa Chiara in the Survey. However, if the proposition made in the previous chapter, of Santa Chiara and San Antonio Abbate being the same church is correct, then there is at least one church of *Santa Andoni* in the Survey, as described below.

3.13.10. *San Antonio*: According to the Survey, the Church of *Santa Andoni* is located in the Samona neighbourhood. In addition, three houses in the same district are endowed to *Santa Andoni*.⁸⁷⁶

3.13.11. *San Giovanni Battista Church and Hospital*: The convent of *San Zan* is located in the San Neferzo district in the Survey.⁸⁷⁷ There are also, a church of *Aya Yani*, and a church of *Papa (Yani)* in the Papa Yani neighbourhood, as well as a Church of *Ayani* in Samona.⁸⁷⁸ Two houses in Pero di Lankaşko are endowed to the convent of *San Zani*, one plot in Samona belongs to the church of *Ayani*, and the plot of five shops in the unnamed commercial zone, and one house in San Neferzo, are endowed to the church of *San Zani*.⁸⁷⁹ Assuming that the surveyors differentiated clearly between the Latin church *San Zani* and the Greek church *Aya Yani*, *San Zani* must refer to San Giovanni Battista while *Aya Yani* refers to Hagios Ioannis Prodromos.

3.13.12. *Santa Maria*: The church of *Santa Marya* is located in San Neferzo in the Survey.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁵ Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1847.

⁸⁷⁶ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 257.

⁸⁷⁷ İncalcık, 291.

⁸⁷⁸ İncalcık, 247, 255.

⁸⁷⁹ İncalcık, 276, 255, 253–54.

⁸⁸⁰ İncalcık, 293.

3.13.13. *Santa Catarina*: The church of *Santa Katarina* is located in Anton di Garzan in the Survey.⁸⁸¹ In addition, a house in Zani Dabdan and a house in Bona Zita, are also endowed to *Santa Katarina*.⁸⁸²

3.13.14. *San Costantino*: San Costantino does not appear in the Survey, as it was most likely out of its range.

3.13.15. *Santa Elene*: Santa Elene does not appear in the Survey, as it had probably disappeared by the end of the thirteenth century.

3.13.16. *Santa Croce*: Santa Croce does not appear in İnalçık's survey. However, Emecen mentions that in the Karaköy document, İnalçık's *San Neferzo* neighbourhood is named *Manol Sanda Kruz*, which may mean Santa Croce.⁸⁸³ In addition, there is also a church of *Kasteliyutsa*, presumably *Castrum Santa Croce* in the San Neferzo neighbourhood, which is further evidence that San Neferzo is the neighbourhood around the *Castrum*, present day Karaköy.⁸⁸⁴

3.13.17. *San Clemente*, *San Lazare*, *San Simone and Giuda*: None of them are mentioned in the Survey.

3.13.18. *San Fabyan*: This church is not mentioned in any Latin sources, before or after 1453. It appears in the Fabya neighbourhood of the Survey.

3.14. Other places of worship mentioned in the 1455 Survey

The only references to the Greek orthodox churches of Galata in the published Genoese archives are through the 1303 act where Hagios Ioannis, Hagios Theodoros, Hagia Irene, Hagios Georgios, Hagioi Anargyroi, and Hagios Nikolaos are named while defining the boundaries of the concession.⁸⁸⁵ As discussed in the previous chapter, most of these churches are believed to have been converted to the Latin rite, shortly after the Genoese took over Pera. Balard admits that the Genoese sources mainly focus on the Genoese population, and since the Greeks had their own scribes and notaries, they seem to be ignored with a few exceptions.⁸⁸⁶ Similarly, the landmarks of the Greek

⁸⁸¹ İnalçık, 228.

⁸⁸² İnalçık, 219, 226.

⁸⁸³ Emecen, '1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları', 295.

⁸⁸⁴ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 290–93.

⁸⁸⁵ Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1839.

⁸⁸⁶ Balard, 'La Société Pérote Au XIVE-XVe Siecles: Autour Des Demerode et Des Draperio', 299–300.

neighbourhoods are not mentioned either. However, as attested by the 1455 Survey, the Greek population of Galata had several churches, mainly in the Lagirio suburb, present day Karaköy to Tophane. A brief summary of the known Galata churches is useful at this stage, in order to be able to identify them within the Survey. Schneider-Nomidis, and Karaca use the same sources to list the early Greek churches of Galata.⁸⁸⁷ Their earliest reference is from 1583. Although, the Survey predates them by more than a hundred years, it is possible to find a continuity in the names. The churches listed in Schneider-Nomidis and Karaca are: Evangelismos/Hrsopigi, Georgios, Eleofsa, Hristos, Nikolaos, Ioannes Prodromos, Panagia, Kasteliyotissa, Hristos Metamorphosis/Kremastos. The names are written phonetically in order to recognize similarities with the names in the Survey. The church of Saint John the Forerunner in Galata is also mentioned in the route of Ignatius of Smolensk in 1389.⁸⁸⁸

3.14.1. Church of Aya Horhoro: This church in the Yahudiyân neighbourhood is the Armenian church of Saint Gregory Lusarovich.⁸⁸⁹ It was founded in 1396 by an Armenian merchant who came from Caffa.⁸⁹⁰ It is still standing in Tophane, Kemeraltı caddesi in the Hacı Mimi quarter of Beyoğlu, although it has been reconstructed several times and slightly displaced during road enlargement works. In the Survey, there are five annexes and one endowed house to the church of *Aya Horhoro*, in the same district.⁸⁹¹

3.14.2. Church of the Jews: This church (*kenise*) is cited in the Samona neighbourhood in the Survey.⁸⁹² It has been suggested that it may have been located where the oldest synagogue in Galata, the Zulfaris synagogue currently stands, in Perçemli sokak, in the Arap Camii neighbourhood of Beyoğlu. However, as Zulfaris has been dated as early as 1671 only, there is no convincing evidence.⁸⁹³ Genoese sources do not mention a synagogue.

⁸⁸⁷ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 20; Karaca, *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri*, 72.

⁸⁸⁸ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 405.

⁸⁸⁹ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 233.

⁸⁹⁰ Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, 220.

⁸⁹¹ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 233–34.

⁸⁹² İncalcık, 253.

⁸⁹³ İncalcık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 115.

3.14.3. *Church of Vuhani*: This church is located in the Dhraperyo neighbourhood in the Survey.⁸⁹⁴ There is a similarity with Ioannes or Giovanni, but as there is already a *San Zan* and an *Aya Yani* church in the Survey, presumably corresponding to San Giovanni Battista and *Hagios Ioannes*, I could not identify it.

3.14.4. *Church of Iplahosa*: This church is located in the Harhancı neighbourhood of the Survey.⁸⁹⁵ I suggest that it may be the Greek *Eleofsa* church.⁸⁹⁶

3.14.5. *Church of Aya Yani and Ayani*: This church is named in both Papa Yani and Samona neighbourhoods of the Survey.⁸⁹⁷ In addition, a plot in the Samona district is also endowed to Ayani. This is the Ioannes Prodomos church, which is still located in the same place in the Kemankeş quarter, albeit after many reconstructions.⁸⁹⁸

3.14.6. *Church of Arhi İstahores*: This church is located in the Samona neighbourhood of the Survey.⁸⁹⁹ I could not identify the name with any of the Greek churches. However, I have coincidentally come across a reference to *Archistraticos* church in Arseven, where he is in fact mentioning Gilles' observations about San Michele church. Archistrategos is the name given to the Archangel Michael in the Greek Orthodox church. Could this be San Michele, the cathedral of the Genoese, which surprisingly does not appear anywhere else in the Survey? Should that be the case, it would not be in the Samona district, where there is an inconsistency in the number of churches, but it may be the missing line in the beginning of the unnamed commercial district, placing San Michele where it is expected to be, next to the Yağkapanı (Comego) gate.

3.14.7. *Church of Aya Yorgi*: Aya Yorgi is mentioned in two neighbourhoods in the Survey.⁹⁰⁰ The one in Iskineplok, which is presumed to be the northern part of the initial concession, is likely to be San Giorgio, while the one in Yani Mavroyani, would be Hagios Georgios, a Greek church, near the Tophane gate, which no longer exists.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁴ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 240.

⁸⁹⁵ İncalcık, 245.

⁸⁹⁶ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 20.

⁸⁹⁷ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 247, 255.

⁸⁹⁸ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erläuterndem Text*, 20–21.

⁸⁹⁹ İncalcık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 256.

⁹⁰⁰ İncalcık, 265, 279.

⁹⁰¹ İncalcık, 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', 55.

Next to *Aya Yorgi* in İskineplok, was the house of the monk Françeško, who abandoned it after the conquest.

3.14.8. *Church of Hristos*: This church is located in the Varto Hristo neighbourhood.⁹⁰² It is Hagios Hristos, which was located near present day Kemeraltı street, where a church bearing the same name still stood until the road enlargement works in 1956-1960.⁹⁰³

3.14.9. *Church of Ayos Nikolos*: This church is located in the Yani Vasilikoz neighbourhood of the Survey.⁹⁰⁴ A Greek church with the same name, constructed in the nineteenth century, is still located in the same place, on Mumhane street, in the Kemankeş quarter.⁹⁰⁵ As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a hagiaσμα named Antonios in this church.

3.14.10. *Church of Kasteliyutsa*: This church is located in the San Neferzo neighbourhood, also named *Manol Sanda Kruz* in Emecen.⁹⁰⁶ It is a Greek church, which no longer exists. As indicated by its name, it must have been within or very close to the Castrum.

3.14.11. *Churches mentioned in endowments*: Other churches that are mentioned as endowments are as follows: One house endowed to the church of *Ivan* in the Samona neighbourhood, one house endowed to the church of *Istavareno* for the Christian poor and one to *Ayi Yanes* in the San Neferzo quarter, and finally, a house endowed to the church of *San Tenthon* in the Zani Dabdan neighbourhood.⁹⁰⁷ *Ayi Yanes* is presumably *Aya Yani*, *San Tenthon* may be *Santa Andoni*. The church of *Ivan* and *Istavareno* could not be identified. Five houses in Zani Dabdan, one in Anton di Garzan, and two in Kosta Lupaci are endowed to the Christian poor.⁹⁰⁸ This may be a fund of the *Magnifica Comunita*, or may refer to the convent of San Giovanni Battista which is described as

⁹⁰² İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 280.

⁹⁰³ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erlauterndem Text*, 20–21.

⁹⁰⁴ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 288.

⁹⁰⁵ Schneider and M. IS. Nomidis, *Galata Topographisch-Archaologischer Plan Mit Erlauterndem Text*, 20–21.

⁹⁰⁶ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 292; Emecen, ‘1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri’nin Kayıp Sayfaları’, 295.

⁹⁰⁷ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 255, 291.

⁹⁰⁸ İnalçık, 219-222,231.

“in the upper storey lives priests (babas) and lower story Christian poors”, in İnalçık’s survey.⁹⁰⁹

3.14.12. *Unnamed churches*: There are two unnamed churches in the Survey. *Andan di Liko* owned a house (in fact, a complex of eight houses), in the Iskineplok neighbourhood, which was confiscated. The house had also a garden, with an unnamed church in it.⁹¹⁰ The description resembles a monastery. Similarly, in the Ayo Dhikemo Dandano neighbourhood, *Papa Andoni*, a rich zimmi, owned a house and an unnamed church.⁹¹¹

Churches identified in the Survey are listed in Table 6 by neighbourhood, showing the discrepancy between the text and the subtotal lines. Table 7 is a list of the endowments identified in the Survey, listed by neighbourhood.

3.15. Other Ottoman sources

İnalçık and Bulunur utilize other Ottoman sources, such as Mehmed II’s foundation document, *vakfiye*, of 1472, his second *vakfiye* of 1481, the tax collection, *cibayet*, register of Ayasofya mosque, of 1489 and 1519.⁹¹² However, these authors focus on Ottoman Galata, whereas my interest lies in Genoese Galata. The neighbourhoods of Galata mentioned in the 1472 *vakfiye* still bear traces of the Genoese neighbourhoods, however the later documents indicate a major transformation. The Genoese quarters have been renamed and new Muslim-Turkish quarters have been created in the last decade of Mehmed II’s reign. Therefore, I only focused on the 1472 *vakfiye*, where references to the same people as the 1455 Survey can be found, and more importantly churches are mentioned. Based on İnalçık’s depiction, it appears that this document is a record of the state-owned buildings which provide revenues to the foundation, and that each property is described, along with information about the neighbouring streets, buildings and their owners. The document has been published but unfortunately, only the summary is in Turkish.⁹¹³ A complete translation would no doubt bring valuable information about the topography of Genoese Galata, before its transformation. In the 1472 *vakfiye*, the unnamed commercial zone of the 1455 Survey

⁹⁰⁹ İnalçık, 291.

⁹¹⁰ İnalçık, 262–63.

⁹¹¹ İnalçık, 285.

⁹¹² İnalçık, ‘Ottoman Galata 1453-1553’, 44–57; Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 6–7.

⁹¹³ Osman Ergin, *Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Belediye Matbaası, 1945).

is named *Lonca* (derived from *loggia*).⁹¹⁴ It is defined as, close to the *İskele* (wharf) gate, while the Karaköy bazaar is mentioned as being next to the harbour, and close to the *Kasteliyutsa* church. San Michele church is also mentioned as close to the *Yağkapanı* gate, as *Kilisa-yı Efrenci*, church of the *Frenks*.⁹¹⁵ In the 1489 registers, although the neighbourhoods have changed, it is still possible to detect church names, as “*Kenise-i sultaniye dedikleri münakkaş kilise*” (the decorated church, San Francesco), *Santo Marya*, *Santane*, *Sanzani*, *Sanbenito*, *Kastilonse*, *Ermeniler* (church of Armenians).⁹¹⁶ San Michele is no longer mentioned, and San Domenico has already been transformed to a mosque. Bulunur has gathered all references to the Galata neighbourhoods in the sixteenth century *Şer’iyye* registers, court records. The non-Muslim neighbourhoods are no longer named after people, but after churches. The neighbourhoods identified by Bulunur are *San Françesco*, *Santa Marka* (Maria?), *Aya Petro* (San Pietro), *Frenk Kenisesi* (San Michele), and *San Basti*.⁹¹⁷ Ayverdi also provides a summary table of neighbourhoods mentioned in three Mehmed II *vakfiye*.⁹¹⁸

3.16. Summary

The 1455 Ottoman tax survey of Galata is an immensely rich but relatively untapped source of information related to Late Medieval Pera/Galata, not only for its topography and urban life but also for various fields of history and sociology. It presents the discrepancies that I have enumerated, most likely due to misplaced or lost pages of the manuscript. The publication of the two other copies of the Survey, would undoubtedly contribute to a better exploitation of this invaluable source. In terms of topography, the map drawn by İnalçık based on the information obtained from the Survey and completed by other sources, reflects fairly the scholarship’s current understanding of Pera in the fifteenth century, with a few exceptions (Fig. 63). San Neferzo which includes *Kasteliyutsa* should be placed outside the walls of the initial concession zone. The population of the northern triangle was probably not all Greek, since the Palazzo Comunale (intriguingly absent from the Survey) was located there. However, it is not possible to draw further conclusions on the exact names and places of

⁹¹⁴ Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 83.

⁹¹⁵ Bulunur, 88.

⁹¹⁶ Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, *Fatih Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri* (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, 1938), 228–38.

⁹¹⁷ Bulunur, ‘Osmanlı Galatası (1453-1600)’, 121–22.

⁹¹⁸ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu* (Ankara: Doğu Limited Şirketi Matbaası, 1958), 67–69.

the neighbourhoods without further publications about the Survey. A satellite view of present-day Galata highlights the locations of the extant Genoese monuments and the locations of those that have been replaced, as well as the Greek and Armenian churches (Fig. 64).

The comparison of the individuals named in the Survey with those of the contemporary Genoese records has proved to be a very successful exercise which can be further improved. As far as the churches of Pera/Galata are concerned, the Survey has revealed valuable findings which have been detailed in this chapter. They complement the propositions of the previous chapter in a satisfactory way. Furthermore, the Greek churches of the Lagirio district, the Armenian church, and the synagogue, which do not appear in Genoese sources were revealed in the Survey. In addition, the Survey provides a clear vision of the ethnic distribution of the Pera/Galata neighbourhoods. An evaluation of the information brought to the surface by the Survey is discussed in the following chapter.

In 1455, there are many unoccupied houses and some are in ruins. However, commercial activity continues as the shops are mostly occupied. The residents who took the *zimmi* status and kept their houses do not appear to be all present. The Genoese noble families have reacted to the loss of their autonomy in Pera, in different ways. Some have left, some stayed, some left and returned. The Greeks, Jews, and Armenians remain in Pera/Galata. There are very few Muslims. Ottomanization has not yet started. The neighbourhoods bear foreign names, and there are no mosques. The past owners of the confiscated houses are still known. There has not been any new construction activity. In a way, the Survey is like a last picture of the Genoese Pera before its transformation.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION IN LIGHT OF THE 1455 SURVEY FINDINGS

“Et sont en ceste ville tous la pluspart de Jennevois marchans, qui gouvernent ladite ville. Il y a ung potestat et aultres officiers à leur manière. Et y demeurent aussi des Grecz et Juifz...”

*Bertrandon de la Broquiere*⁹¹⁹

4.1. Introduction

Although Pera is commonly called a Genoese colony, the term does not exactly reflect the character of this settlement. Pera/Galata was a concession granted to the Genoese in 1267. The territory was separated from the Byzantine capital by a narrow stretch of water. It had previously been part of the city, as reflected in the fifth century *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, where it appears as Sykai, the thirteenth district.⁹²⁰ Starting from the eleventh century, Pera had been inhabited by a Jewish community whose quarter was devastated with the arrival of the fourth crusade. When the Genoese settled in 1267, it was scarcely populated. Some churches and monasteries among vineyards, and houses occupied by Byzantine citizens are the only evidence gathered from the Genoese sources, about the early years of Pera/Galata. However, during two centuries, the Genoese not only expanded their territory, but managed to turn the concession into an enclave, a “state within a state”. The combination of circumstances that made it possible is unique. It happened in the period known as *Pax Mongolica*, a stable interval when the Mongols ruled over the trade routes reviving the ancient Silk Road. During the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the Black Sea and Constantinople/Pera became the center of world trade, an opportunity that was fully exploited by Italian merchants, and mainly the Genoese, who by virtue of their commercial and nautical skills managed to control the traffic of goods arriving from the Pacific coast and going as far as the western Mediterranean and further up to England and Flanders. The weakening Byzantine Empire’s reliance on the Genoese both for their maritime strength as well as their trading activity, secured them a very privileged status. The location of Pera differed from the previous concessions that the Genoese had obtained during the Komnenian period, and from that of the Venetians, situated within

⁹¹⁹ Broquière de la, *Le Voyage d’Outremer*, 141. And there are in this city mostly Genoese merchants who govern the city. There is a podesta and other officers according to their manner. And there are Jews and Greek... (translated by author)

⁹²⁰ Berger, ‘The View from Byzantine Texts’, 30.

Constantinople itself. Pera was conveniently close to the Byzantine capital but at the same time detached enough, allowing a potential for independence and further expansion. By the middle of the fourteenth century, “enclave” was the word that best described the character of Pera. The Genoese did not consider Pera as a mere stop over their trade route. For many of them who settled there and stayed for generations, like the Spinola, it became their home. They brought their culture and administration model, but also successfully transformed and reused existing Byzantine structures. Pera was not just a copy of a Late Medieval Ligurian city, as depicted in panoramas or described by travellers, it was a bustling port city, where Greeks, Armenians, Jewish communities coexisted with the Genoese. The 1455 Survey published by Inalcık is a testimony of the multi-ethnic character of Pera, as evidenced by its population, neighbourhoods, and churches. Two synthetic tables, Table 8 and Table 9 provide a summary of the information retrieved from the Survey.

4.2. Synthesis of Pera/Galata churches in light of new findings

4.2.1. Matching names for Genoese churches in Latin and Ottoman sources

The Genoese churches San Domenico, San Benedetto, San Antonio, Santa Catarina, and Santa Maria, as well as the convent San Giovanni Battista, are clearly identified in the Survey. San Domenico is in the Anton di Garzan quarter. Based on the discussion in the previous chapters, it is surprising that Santa Catarina also appears in the same neighbourhood, since indications from Latin sources placed it further north, outside the initial concession zone, where present day San Pietro and Paolo stands, or close to San Giorgio. As a reminder, according to some scholars, when the monks of San Domenico had to abandon their church in 1475, they moved to a nearby church, which belonged to the nuns of Santa Catarina. The only known reference to Santa Catarina in the Genoese notary records is from 1390. Thanks to the Survey, we have confirmation that Santa Catarina church still existed in 1455, although the nuns may have abandoned it after 1453. San Giovanni Battista (San Zan) in San Neferzo, close to the castrum, is described as a building where the priests occupied the top floor and the Christian poor the lower floor. This is not in contradiction with the location proposed for San Giovanni in chapter two, as Balıklı Han, near Kemeraltı street, in Tophane. In the Survey, San Benedetto and the Armenian Saint Gregory Lusarovich churches are in the same Yahudiyen neighbourhood. This is a perfect match, considering that these two

are extant churches, and that they are still close to each other, in the present day Tophane neighbourhood. The church Santa Maria in the San Neferzo quarter, close to the castrum, is most likely the church that was later donated to the Franciscans, by Clara Barthola Draperis in 1584, and was the original location of Santa Maria Draperis, a church on present day İstiklal caddesi. As far as San Antonio is concerned, reminding my proposition of two churches dedicated to two different saints who bear the same name, I believe that the San Antonio church in the Samona neighbourhood, is San Antonio Abbate, also named Santa Chiara, renowned for its healing source, located close to the castrum, and converted to Karamustafa Paşa mosque at a later date. The information in the Survey is not in contradiction with my earlier proposition. It may even reinforce it. In my proposition, the other San Antonio church is located in Spiga, which is presumably outside the range of the Survey and therefore does not appear in it. Furthermore, according to the Genoese records, the other San Antonio, was a church and a hospice, but there is no such description in the Survey.

4.2.2. *Different names for Genoese churches in Latin and Ottoman sources*

Two of the most important churches of Pera, San Michele and San Francesco, do not appear in the Survey. Their absence may be due to missing pages, poor translation, or simple omission by the surveyors. However, San Francesco is mentioned in endowments. Sant'Anna, which was part of the San Francesco complex, and later the meeting place of the Magnifica Comunita does not appear in the Survey either. İnalçık placed San Francesco and Sant'Anna in Pero di Lankaşko, without providing evidence from the Survey.⁹²¹ Supposing that the endowed properties are in the vicinity of the church, and that *Sanda Forza*, *Sanda Ferje*, and *San Niferoza*, all refer to San Francesco, I suggest that Bona Zita and Nikoroz Sikay may also be likely locations. San Michele does not appear in the Survey, but it should have been next to the unnamed commercial zone which corresponds to Comego/Yağkapanı gate. *Arhi Istahores* may be a reference to San Michele, as suggested in the previous chapter. San Giorgio is not mentioned under this name, but there are two Aya Yorgi churches in the Survey. One in the Yani Mavroyani district of the Lagirio suburb, with a dominant Greek population, and one in İskineplok, presumably north of the original concession zone, with a mixed population. I propose that the one in İskineplok is San Giorgio. The Greek name may

⁹²¹ İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 115.

have been used, either because of old habits, or, because it may have been abandoned after the conquest and reconverted to a Greek church for a while, until the Capucines arrived in the seventeenth century. The absence of San Pietro and Paolo in the Survey, is not unexpected. According to scholarship it was created at a later date, after the disappearance of San Domenico, by replacing either Santa Catarina or an unoccupied church, such as the unnamed church in the İskineplok neighbourhood. As for San Sebastiano, I suspect that this church, which did not appear in the Genoese archives, but was seen in much later-date documents, did not yet exist in 1455, or that it may be the same church as San Fabyan, as suggested by Sağlam. Among the churches that appear in the Survey but not in the Genoese sources, San Fabyan is intriguing. According to its name, it is surely a Latin church, but there is no San Fabiano church mentioned in any of the known Latin sources. Santa Elena is not in the Survey, which is not surprising, as it most likely disappeared at the end of the thirteenth century. San Costantino is not in the Survey either, which supports my proposal that it is a Greek orthodox church, which is located in Tophane, outside the city walls.

4.2.3. *Identified non-Latin churches*

The church of *Aya Yorgi* in Yani Mavroyani, the church of *Hristos* in Varto Hristo, the church of *Ayos Nikolos* in Yani Vasilikos, the church of *Aya Yani* in Papa Yani, and the church of *Kasteliyutsa* in San Neferzo, are Greek churches known from sixteenth century sources. They are all located close to the shore, in the eastern suburb Lagirio, where the majority of the Greeks lived. *Aya Horhoro* is the Armenian church Saint Gregory Lusarovich, which still exists but not in its original form. Finally, the Survey mentions a synagogue, which does not appear in the published Genoese records. The oldest synagogue in Galata is the Zulfaris synagogue, but it is dated back to the seventeenth century only. However as both the Genoese and Ottoman sources indicate the presence of a Jewish community in Pera/Galata, a synagogue is not unexpected.

4.2.4. *Unrecognized names in the Survey*

The church of *İplahosa* (maybe Eleofsa), the church of *Arhi İstahores*, the church of *Ivan*, the church of *Istavareno*, the church of *San Tenthon* (maybe San Antonio), the church of *Ayani*, the church of *Vuhani*, the church of *Bebanya/Babatya* remain unidentified. It is also important to note the presence of two unnamed, presumably abandoned churches.

4.3. Communities

According to the figures presented in the Survey, there are 883 houses in total, of which 596 are in the initial concession zone and its northern extension, and 287 in Lagirio. Roughly half of them belong to Greeks, about a quarter to Genoese, and the rest to Jews and Armenians. It is not possible to provide exact figures since the ethnic origins are not always evident, particularly when there are no family names, as it is the case with all Jewish and Armenian residents and some of the Greeks.

Zani Drapora, Zani Dabdan, Nikoroz Sikay, Bona Zita are all-Genoese neighbourhoods. They are believed to be in the initial concession zone, presumably along the shore, extending from present day Azapkapı to Karaköy. The unnamed commercial zone, identified as Yağkapanı/Comego gate is located next to them, with the public scales, customs office, and shops, both inside the maritime walls, and outside on the beach. Anton di Garzan, where San Domenico is located, was in the second row, parallel to these first neighbourhoods and was also a nearly-all Genoese neighbourhood. Other neighbourhoods which are presumably within the central walls of Pera, extending north to Galata Tower are mixed neighbourhoods. İskineplok, with San Giorgio, Pero di Lankaşko, Zani di Pagani, Dhraperyo have a mixed Genoese-Greek population, while Fabya is a mixed Genoese-Jewish neighbourhood. As related in chapter three, there are inconsistencies in the Fabya and Yahudiyān neighbourhoods. These two, along with Samona are occupied by Jewish individuals, but are by no means ghettos. Armenians, Greeks and Genoese live along with them. San Benedetto and Aya Horhoro which appear in Yahudiyān are evidently not located in this part of the city but in Lagirio.

As far as Lagirio is concerned, there are four all-Greek neighbourhoods, namely Varto Hristo, Kosta Lupaci, Ayo Dhikemo Dandano and Yani Vasilikos, where Aya Nikolos, an unnamed church, and the church of Hristos are located. These are presumably along the shore. San Neferzo, also along the shore, is the neighbourhood where the castrum is located, along with the church of Kasteliyutsa, the Convent of San Zan, and Santa Maria church. The population of San Neferzo is also mainly Greek but a few Genoese live there as well. Yorgi Arhancelo, is a small commercial zone, with a mixed Greek-Armenian population, few shops forming the bassali, and tavern-keepers, presumably on the beach. These are believed to be in the present day Mumhane and Kemankeş districts. The remaining neighbourhoods, which are presumably located

further north, along present day Kemeraltı street, are Harhancı, Papa Yani, Nurbek Kosta İskineplok, Yani Mavroyani, with mixed Greek-Armenian residents. There are no Jewish residents in Lagirio. The last neighbourhood Asuder Ermeniyan, is also one that presents discrepancies, with residents that do not correspond to its name.

The Survey provides evidence that in Genoese Pera, different communities coexisted in the same neighbourhoods and sometimes even shared houses. There was a physical separation in the form of walls between the central area of Pera and its suburbs. We do not have information about the way the gates within Pera functioned and whether circulation between the neighbourhoods of different communities was hindered by the presence of the walls.

4.4. Neighbourhoods

Smith defines a neighbourhood as “a residential zone that has face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics”.⁹²² Based on the Genoese archives, we are able to identify shared spaces where the residents of Pera/Galata from various communities had an opportunity to interact. The first one that comes to mind is the port. The arrival and departure of vessels certainly impacted most residents, from the simple porter to the aristocratic merchant. The commercial zone in Comego gate and the *bassali* in Lagirio are other obvious places of encounter. The scales, the loggia, the cathedral San Michele where administrative business is conducted, the square (*platea*) between San Michele and the loggia, and the column where announcements to the community are posted, are all places of interaction. As stated by Kondyli and Anderson, shared experiences also contribute to the formation of communities.⁹²³ The very particular case of San Antonio Abbate, where Perotes of all origins join together in veneration of the saint and bathe in the healing waters of the hagiaσμα, is an example of such shared experience.

The French pilgrim Bertrandon de la Broquiere, tells an anecdote reflecting the sentiment of the Greeks towards the Latins around 1432, whereby he embarked on a Greek vessel, in order to cross from Üsküdar to Pera, dressed in Turkish clothes, and all the while the Greeks on the ship honoured him, thinking that he was a Turk, but once

⁹²² Smith, ‘The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities’, 140.

⁹²³ Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson, eds., *The Byzantine Neighbourhood: Urban Space and Political Action* (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 9.

they reached Pera and they realized his origin, they were not kind to him at all and tried to ransom him.⁹²⁴ Balard cites the historian Gregoras, the patriarch Athanasios, and the pamphleteer Makrembolites, all expressing their resentment against the Genoese.⁹²⁵ Nevertheless, as it previously transpired from the western sources, and is clearly testified by the 1455 Survey, the Greeks were living together with the Genoese in Pera. In fact, this had already been the case, even in the first decades of the concession. As mentioned in chapter two, Pachymeres relates that when Michael VIII granted Pera to the Genoese as a concession, he had ordered the walls to be torn down and the Greek residents to move to Constantinople. The boundaries of the first concession granted in 1267 are not known but the 1281 notary acts make a clear distinction between houses in the concession zone, *terram Communis*, and those that are outside, in *terram Imperatoris in Peira*. However, it is possible to observe Genoese citizens who own houses in the Empire territory and, vice versa, there is also a case of a Greek woman, widow of an Italian, buying a house in the concession zone.⁹²⁶ In later years, as the concession extended to neighbouring suburbs and the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews all came under Genoese jurisdiction, interaction between the communities became more intense. Greek apprentices trained with Genoese masters.⁹²⁷ Shipbuilders were a mixed crowd of Genoese and Greeks.

Magdalino suggests that neighbourhoods present a sense of solidarity, a neighbourhood mentality, reacting collectively to some events.⁹²⁸ In the case of the Greek residents of Pera/Galata, particularly in the earlier years, when there was a clear distinction between Genoese and Empire territory, when Spiga and Lagirio were not included in Pera and the castrum still hosted a Byzantine garrison, it is difficult to determine how they reacted when there were hostilities between Constantinople and Pera, during Byzantine-Genoese wars. However, as seen in later years, during Ottoman sieges, all the communities of Pera/Galata benefited from the advantages of the Genoese, avoiding blockades and famine. In 1453, they did not share the faith of the

⁹²⁴ Broquière de la, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 148.

⁹²⁵ Balard, 'L'organisation Des Colonies Étrangères Dans l'Empire Byzantin (XIIe-XVe Siècles)', 98.

⁹²⁶ Bratianu, *Actes Des Notaires*, 149.

⁹²⁷ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 269–72.

⁹²⁸ Paul Magdalino, 'Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople', in *Leben in Byzantinischen Reich*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke (Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land, Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Gernischen Zentralmuseums, 2016), 28.

Greeks of Constantinople and were included in the scope of the *Ahdname* granted by Mehmed II to the Genoese.

4.5. Urban layout and reuse of space

Angar points out that the foreign groups who were given an urban territory, such as Pera, endeavoured to turn it into their own distinguishable quarter by different means of branding⁹²⁹. The San Giorgio flags seen on the towers in the panoramas, the representation of San Giorgio and the dragon, the patron saint of Genoa, on the walls of Palazzo Comunale, the construction slabs with the coats of arms of ruling Genoese and Perote families, all contributed to make a statement about the strong dominance of the Genoese in this part of the world. Angar claims also that the disproportionate presentation of Pera across Constantinople in the Buondelmonti maps, is an example of propaganda about the importance of this Genoese settlement.⁹³⁰

The Genoese brought all their institutions to Pera, and the Podestas made sure that the Christian holidays and patron saints were celebrated according to Genoese customs, with illuminations, masses, games and confectionaries. In terms of architecture, the Palazzo Comunale, San Domenico, San Francesco represented the artistic taste of the Genovese, although elements of Byzantine art were incorporated as in the case of San Domenico and San Benedetto.

The 1303 act describing the boundaries of Pera, mentions the old shipyard Exartysis on the west, the Castrum on the east, and the rest are churches and vineyards, except for one house located in a vineyard outside the perimeter. According to the *Notitia*, there were 430 houses in the antique district, Sykai.⁹³¹ We do not know how many remained after the damage caused by the crusaders in 1203. The Genoese transformed most churches that were in the concession area. Hagia Irene became San Domenico, Hagia Thekla became San Michele, Santa Maria in Lagirio became San Benedetto, San Giorgio preserved its name and was converted to the Latin rite and, as

⁹²⁹ Angar, 'Pera Ianuensium Pulcherrima Civitas Est. Creating a Genoese Identity on the Golden Horn (1261-1453)', 472.

⁹³⁰ Angar, 454.

⁹³¹ Berger, 'The View from Byzantine Texts', 27. All other regions of the *Notitia* possess *vici*, in addition to houses. According to Berger, *vicus* is a kind of residential area. There is none in the thirteenth district, Sykai.

suggested by Sağlam, San Francesco and Sant'Anna replaced San Nicola and Anargyroi. The Exartysis and the Castrum were also reused.

The Genoese sources mention *contradas* named after families, like the *contrada Preri* or *Draperiis*, after professions, such as *peliparie*, and more frequently, those that are named after churches in their vicinity, like San Michele, Santa Maria, San Domenico, San Francesco and San Antonio. Balard also mentions a *contratta Judeorum*, which may correspond to the Yahudiyan neighbourhood.⁹³² In the Survey, there is a neighbourhood named Dhraperyo and another one named Zani Drapora. Members of the Draperiis/Draperio family live there, but also in Zani di Pagani, Nikoroz Sikay, Pero di Lankaşko and Anton di Garzan. Evidently, the layout differs from the *contrada* organization in Genoa. All members of a family are not aligned in one street or block. Looking at the example of two prominent Genoese families, the Spinola clan owns houses in Dhraperyo, Zani di Pagani, İskineplok, Pero di Lankaşko and a sumptuous house in Asuder Ermeniyan, while the di Auria clan owns houses in Bona Zita, Anton di Garzan, Fabya, Ayo Dhikemo Dandano, Yahudiyan, San Neferzo, Zani di Pagani, and İskineplok. Studying the distribution of professions by neighbourhood in the Survey, it was not possible to detect a clear trend, except for the porters who gather in İskineplok and Pero di Lankaşko, suggesting that in the later years of Pera, neighbourhoods dedicated to members of a profession, did no longer exist.

The layout in the initial concession zone, as evidenced in later date Ottoman surveys, in the nineteenth century maps, and observed even in present-day, is a grid-like plan, in continuation of the antique Sykai, with houses of various sizes, and two or three floors. As far as the Lagirio suburb is concerned, the grid structure becomes less evident. The neighbourhoods along the shore, like Yani Mavroyani, Varto Hristo, Yani Vasilikos, Papa Yani, appear to be organized around a church. The urban layout of Lagirio does not seem to match the contemporary Constantinopolitan models either. According to Magdalino, the fourteenth century neighbourhoods of Constantinople, *geitoniai*, were not administrative divisions defined in terms of street boundaries but rather clusters of houses and businesses distributed around the city.⁹³³ Although there are vineyards among houses in Lagirio, there seems to be continuity between

⁹³² Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, 278.

⁹³³ Magdalino, 'Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople', 26.

neighbourhoods. Similarly, the *oikos* of Constantinopolis is not found on the north side of the Golden Horn.

Kondyli and Anderson cite Bouras who states that “in many cases the only urban elements suitable for study are the fortification walls and churches”, and therefore the scholarship on Byzantine cities is dominated by military and religious aspects of urban life.⁹³⁴ In the case of Pera as well, the remaining structures are the fortifications and churches, with the addition of the Podesta Palace, an administrative building. The Genoese archives allow glimpses of the urban structures through signing locations and real estate transactions, but the real contribution comes from the Survey, which reveals the neighbourhoods with all their houses, storehouses, shops, and churches, as well as the identities of the communities that occupy them. At present, the Survey presents some inconsistencies, as discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, a reservation needs to be made. The number of neighbourhoods, their size and names, as reported by the surveyors, may not reflect the reality of the Perotes themselves. Nevertheless, the Survey remains a unique source for this unique settlement.

⁹³⁴ Kondyli and Anderson, *The Byzantine Neighbourhood: Urban Space and Political Action*, 1–2.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The iconic Galata Tower stands tall as a major tourist attraction in Istanbul. It is the proud witness of the city of Pera/Galata, a colony of the powerful Merchant Republic of Genoa, that ruled the Black Sea and Mediterranean trade in the Late Medieval period. Pera was a concession zone granted to the Genoese by the Byzantine emperor but it shortly became a quasi-autonomous fortified city. Constantinople and Pera, located on two promontories facing each other across the Golden Horn, shared a common history for two hundred years. Not much remains of Genoese Pera today, apart from the Galata Tower, the San Domenico church, part of the Palazzo Comunale, the bell tower of San Benedetto, three towers, a gate, sections of walls, funerary stones and construction slabs kept in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul and the Galata Tower Museum. Fortunately, the scholarship on Pera is quite advanced. Attention was drawn to Pera/Galata following the demolition of its ancient walls in 1864. The topography of Pera was well studied in successive Italian, French, German, and Turkish publications. It is currently possible to draw an exact plan of the fortified city and locate its major churches and other public spaces. During the twentieth century, the publication of a series of Genoese notary records of Pera dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century by Bratianu, Balard, and Roccatagliata proved to be an invaluable source of information. Furthermore, Michel Balard produced his seminal book *La Romanie Génoise*, and countless other publications, which portray all aspects of Pera and the daily life of its Genoese inhabitants, the Perotes.

Having swept through the scholarship on the subject, there remained some areas of uncertainty regarding the names and locations of some of the Pera churches. I focused my attention on those. Building on the concept of continuity in the sacred places of Pera, developed by Sercan Sağlam, and through additional research I have put forward some propositions. I propose that there were two San Antonio churches in Pera. One was located in the western suburb, had a hospice and was dedicated to San Antonio of Padua. The gate on the sea wall next to it was also named after the church, Porta San Antonio. In terms of continuity, the sequence could be Hagios Ioannes the Byzantine church, followed by San Antonio the Genoese church, followed by Ottoman Hacı A'ver Mosque, now replaced by Yeşildirek Hamamı. The other San Antonio church was located in the eastern suburb, next to castrum Galathe, and was dedicated to San Antonio Abbate. It had a source to which healing powers were attributed by the Greeks

and Latins. The church was also known as Santa Chiara. The gate on the sea wall next to it, was named Porta Santa Chiara. There may have been also a Greek church next to it, benefiting from the same healing source. The church was replaced by Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa mosque in 1635. I also propose an alternative location for San Giovanni Battista church and hospital. Present day Balıklı Han, on Kemeraltı street, appears as Hastane (Hospital) Han in an earlier map and had presumably replaced a wooden hospital burnt in a seventeenth century fire. There are also other indicators but the proposition deserves more research. Finally, I propose that San Costantino, mentioned in a 1447 Genoese notary record is not a Latin church but a Greek Orthodox church, located near Tophane, outside the walls of Pera.

A substantial portion of the research conducted for this thesis was dedicated to the Galata section of the 1455 Survey published by İnalçık, as a still understudied source for the scholarship on the topography of Genoese Pera. All the discrepancies detected in the document were detected and listed. By matching the names encountered in the Survey with those that appear in the notary records around the same period, it was possible to detect perfect matches. For every neighbourhood, all details related to topography and urban life were identified. Depending on the publication of other versions of the survey that have been discovered in the Topkapı archives, it would be possible to draw a complete map of the neighbourhoods and contradas. As with the Genoese sources, particular attention was given to churches. Comparing them with the list of known churches developed in the previous chapter, I have been able to produce a synthesis of the Latin and Ottoman data. The results confirmed the current knowledge about San Michele, San Francesco, San Domenico, San Giorgio, San Benedetto, Santa Maria, brought new perspective to San Pietro and Paolo, did not contradict my propositions about San Antonio Abbate/Santa Chiara, San Antonio of Padua, San Giorgio Battista, and San Costantino. As for San Fabiano and San Bastiano, the enigma continues. This exercise has also brought valuable information about the non-Genoese churches present in 1455, which can be useful for the determination of the urban layout of Pera/Galata.

The Survey provides clear evidence about the multi-ethnic character of Pera. The Genoese lived mainly in the first concession zone, between Azapkapı and Karaköy. The Greeks were concentrated on the Lagirio shore, present day Kemankeş and Mumhane areas, up to Tophane. The Armenians were also in the Lagirio district but

concentrated more on both sides of present day Kemeraltı street, near Saint Benoit. The Jews were north of the Castrum but presumably inside the earlier walls, around Karaköy, since no Jews are identified in the Lagirio neighbourhoods. The mixed Genoese-Greek neighbourhoods are Iskineplok, Pero di Lankaşko, Zani di Pagani and Dhraperyo, which would, in all likelihood, be located north towards Galata Tower and east towards the Castrum. Although most neighbourhoods have a dominant majority of one particular community, the Survey testifies that different communities co-existed, not only in the same neighbourhood but in some cases, even in the same houses. Galata maintained this character throughout the Ottoman period. The Genoese period of Pera/Galata has only been a chapter of the magnificent history of Istanbul. But it had a lasting contribution to the topography and urban character of the Galata area.

Further studies

New archaeological finds may contribute to the scholarship on the topography of Genoese Pera. However, all textual evidence may not have yet been fully explored. Published Venetian and Florentine primary sources before and shortly after 1453, as well as those of other Genoese colonies, such as Chios and Caffa, can be scrutinized with the same methodology, looking for clues about topography and urban life in Pera. Real estate transactions, marriages, testaments, travelling notes can be revealing. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchal archive may also reveal more about Pera, particularly about the churches of the predominantly Greek suburb of Lagirio. Finally, studying the unpublished versions of the 1455 Survey, would provide a clarification for the discrepancies in the İnalçık Survey and most certainly contribute to a better perception of Pera and its neighbourhoods. A comparative study of Pera/Galata with other similar Late Medieval settlements located on trade routes, in different geographies, may also be worth exploring. I hope that my work on the Survey will motivate more research on the Ottoman sources related to Galata and benefit not only art historians and archaeologists but also scholars in sociology and other fields of history.

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TABLES

Table 1. Comparison Between Sub-totals in Text and Hand Count for 1455 Survey

	Sub-totals as they appear in Inalcik				Hand counted totals					
	Houses	Churches	Shops	Confiscated houses	Confiscated shops	Houses	Churches	Shops	Confiscated houses	Confiscated shops
Zani Drapora	10			2		10			2	
Zani Dabdan	44		1	6	1	44		1	5	
Nikoroz Sikay	25			5		24			4	
Bonazita	32			4		31			4	
Anton di Garzan	69	2	9	12	4	69	2	9	11	4
Yahudiyani	31	2				39	2			
Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok	38			2		38			2	
Dhraperyo	51	1		5		67	1		6	
Harhanci/Garganci	18					20	1			
Papa Yani	19	2				22	2			
Asuder Ermeniyan	14	1		4		8			3	
Zani di Pagani	30		8	6 1/3	6	31		8	6 1/3	6
Unnamed commercial			33		18			32		17
Samona	87	3		2		86	4		3	
Iskineplok	64	1	2	2	2	79	2	2	8	2
Fabya	38					60	1		10	
Pero di Lankaško	109	2		10		56			10	
Yorgi Arhancelo	32		2	4	2	32		4	7	1
Yani Mavroyani	31	1		10		4	1			
Varto Hristo	33			1		34	1			
Kosta Lupaci	19			2		20			2	
Ayo Dikhemo	41			1		41	1		1	
Yani Vasilikos	31			2		31	1		2	
San Neferzo						37	3		2	
Total without San Neferzo	866	15	55	80 1/3	33	846	19	56	86 1/3	30
Total with San Neferzo						883	22	56	88 1/3	30

Table 2. Names in the 1455 Survey that Match those in the Notary Records Published by Roccatagliata

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Notary records published by Roccatagliata	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
di Bevedu	Ancelo	Angellus de Benevenuto (RT 58,66)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Lankaşko	Ancelo	Angellus di Langasco (RT 23,24,28,38,58)	Zani Dabdan	owner and lives there	
di Lankaşko	Ancelo	Angellus di Langasco (RT 23,24,28,38,58)	Bona Zita	owner	
di Lankaşko	Ancelo	Angellus di Langasco (RT 23,24,28,38,58)	Bona Zita	owner	
Lankaşko	Ancelo	Angellus di Langasco (RT 23,24,28,38,58)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Saba	Anton	Antonio Ceba de Grimaldi (RT 49)	Zani Dabdan	lives there	left before conflict, absent
di Laştergo	Anton	Antonio de Lastrego (RT 49), faber, apoteca	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Karman	Anton	Antonio di Carmadino (RT 56,58)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
di Karman	Anton	Antonio di Carmadino (RT 56,58)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Kable	Anton	Antoniotto di Cabella (RT 97,98)	Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Konforti	Anton	Antonius Confortinus (RT 47, 68 apotheca)	Zani di Pagani	owner	
Draga	Anton	Antonius Dragus (RT 28,63)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Draga	Anton	Antonius Dragus (RT 28,63)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Gara	Anton	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Gara	Anton	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Gara	Anton	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Bona Zita	owner	
Gara	Anton	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Bona Zita	soap factory	
Gara	Andon	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Zani di Pagani	soap factory	
Gara	Anton	Antonius Garra (RT 34)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Masa	Portomi	Bartholomeus de Massa de Ancona (RT 14,49)	Zani di Pagani	owner	
di Masa	Bertoma	Bartholomeus de Massa de Ancona (RT 14,49)	Fabya	owner	
di Masa	Perto	Bartholomeus de Massa de Ancona (RT 14,49)	Fabya	owner and lives there	
Sarvayko	Benito	Benedictus Salvaigus (RT 51, 54)	Anton di Garzan	owner	Freed Slave, house confiscated
Konfroti	Karlo	Carolus Confortinus (RT 51)	unnamed commercial zone	rents a shop	
Konfroti	Karlo	Carolus Confortinus (RT 51)	unnamed commercial zone	rents a shop	
Parvazi	Kristo	Cristoforus Palavicinus (RT 49)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Parvazi	Kristo	Cristoforus Palavicinus (RT 49)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Bogamo	Domeno	Domenico di Bergamo (RT 59)	İskineplok	owner	house confiscated
di Kaza	Domeno	Dominicus de Cassali (RT 4,9)	Fabya	lives there	
Lançdeke(?)	Domenigo	Dominicus Lancianegia (RT 27)	İskineplok	owner	
Lansaviç	Domeniko	Dominicus Lancianegia (RT 27)	Anton di Garzan	storehouse in state-owned castle (burgaz-i emirriye)	
	Françesko	Franciscus de Draperiis (RT 57)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
	Françesko	Franciscus de Draperiis (RT 57)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
	Françesko	Franciscus de Draperiis (RT 57)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
	Françesko	Franciscus de Draperiis (RT 57)	Dhraperyo	owner	

Table 2 (continued).

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Notary records published by Roccatagliata	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
	Francesko	Franciscus de Draperiis (RT 57)	Dhraperyo	owner	
Bonazindo	Zorzo	Georgius Bonazointa (RT 65)	Bona Zita	owner and lives there	
di Pogana	Zorzo	Georgius de Pagana (RT 99) monk	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
Bokom	Yakob	Iacobus de Boconis (RT 19,30,51)	Zani di Pagani	owner	dead
Baso	Zani	Iohannes Bassus (RT 38)	Bona Zita	owner	
Francesko	Zan	Iohannes Francisco de Florentia (RT50)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Ispirtora	Lorenc	Laurencius Spinola (RT 36)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	left during conflict, came back, did not accept <i>cizye</i> , left again, house confiscated
Darova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Zani di Pagani	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Yahudiyan	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	İskineplok	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Fabya	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Ayo Dikhemo Dandano	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	San Neferzo	owner	
Daryova	Luviz	Lodisius de Auria (RT 64)	Bona Zita	owner	
Katarina	Luka	Lucas Cataneus (RT 61, 64)	Zani di Pagani	owner	
di Franko	Markez	Marchese di Franchi (Rohan, 383)	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Buto	Martini	Martinetus Botus (RT 27)	Bona Zita	lives there	
Limeli	Mate	Mateus Lomellinus (RT1453 12)	Zani Dabdan	owner	dead.
Draporta	Nikoroz	Nicolai Gatellusii olim de Porta (RT 23,24)	Zani Dabdan	owner	house confiscated.
Bonazunda	Nikoroz	Nicolaus Bonazointa (RT 65)	Bona Zita	owner	
di Kaza	Nikoroz	Nicolaus de Cassali (RT 21,35)	Zani di Pagani	owner	dead
di Kaza	Nikoroz	Nicolaus de Cassali (RT 21,35)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	dead
di Kaza	Nikoroz	Nicolaus de Cassali (RT 21,35)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	
Penlo	Operto	Obertus Pinellus (RT 37)	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
di Lankaşko	Pero	Petrus di Langasco (RT 16,31)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	
di Lankaşko	Piyer	Petrus di Langasco (RT 16,31)	Bona Zita	owner	
di Lankaşko	Pero	Petrus di Langasco (RT 16,31)	Dhraperyo	owner	
	Tomamiso	Tommaso Mansor (RT 1453 4,5,6)	Anton di Garzan	owner	he lives in Genoa, the house and 3 shops confiscated
Ispindora	Toma	Tommaso Spinola son of Gaspere (RT13,33)	Asuder Ermeniyan	owner of sumptuous house	left after conquest, house confiscated
	Thoma	Tommaso Spinola son of Lanfranco (RT 57, 106, 108, 117, 118, 119)	Dhraperyo	lives there	

Table 3. Proposed Possible Names for Names in Survey that Do Not Match those in Notary Records Published by Rocagliata

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Proposed possible name	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
Daryova	Adesya	? de Auria	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Codorna	Marya	Adorno	Dhraperyo	lives there	
Atoyan	Nikoroz	Adorno	Bona Zita	owner	
Atoyan	Nikoroz	Adorno	Bona Zita	owner	
Atoyan	Nikoroz	Adorno	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Darva	Anastasya	Anastasia de Auria	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Kamporforizo	Andriya	Andrea Campofregoso (Rohan 379)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Dorya	Andriya	Andrea de Auria	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
di Koro	Andriya	Andrea di Coro	Bona Zita	owner	left during conflict with his family, returned but when cizye imposed, left again. house confiscated
di Koro	Andriya	Andrea di Coro	Bona Zita	owner	Left during conflict, house confiscated
	Gandito	Antonis Guidotus, (sartor) or Antonius Gombete	Zani di Pagani	owner of 2 houses	
	Gandito	Antonis Guidotus, (sartor) or Antonius Gombete	Zani di Pagani	owner	
Daryova	Anton	Antonius de Auria	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Karanita	Anton	Antonius de Carreto	Anton di Garzan	owner	house confiscated.
di Poma	Anton	Antonius de Ponia (RT 64) or Antonio di Pomario (Rohan 387)	Zani Drapora	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Bontone	Anton	Antonius de Ponte (Chios)	Zani Drapora	owner	
Ispinora	Anton	Antonius Spinola (Rohan 370)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner of house with 3 annexes	house confiscated
di Kermado	Isperte	Aspertus de Carmadino	Fabya	owner	
di Kerhado	Asperdo	Aspertus de Carmadino	Bona Zita	lives there	resident
Berdosere	İstilon	Baldasar?	Asuder Ermeniyani	owner and lives there	
Sarvayko	Pretor	Bartolomeo Salvaigus (Rohan 373)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	left before conflict
Iskarsifiko	Berthoma	Bartolomeus Squarcificus (Rohan 385)	Bona Zita	owner	
Iskarsifiko	Berthoma	Bartolomeus Squarcificus (Rohan 385)	Bona Zita	owner	
Dikaz	Badišta	Battista de Casali	unnamed commercial zone	5 SHOPS, plot endowed to Church of San Zani, buildings are assigned to Karaca (subaşı)	dead
Daryova	Benutana	Benedetto de Auria	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Saravayko	Berkoz	Bornoro Salvaigus (Rohan 373)	Anton di Garzan	owner	left during conflict, house is confiscated
Ispinora	Brabka	Brancaleone Spinola (Rohan 372)	unnamed commercial zone	owner of house and 5 SHOPS	he was present before the conquest and the shops were in the possession of the Podesta, now they are confiscated
Buskin	Anton	Buscarino	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Parvazi	Karli	Carlo Pallavicino	Fabya	lives there	
	Luka	Cataneus	Dhraperyo	lives there	
Drapora	Daryo	Dario Draperiis	Zani di Pagani	1/3 owner and lives there	
Bandolina	Zani	de Bandino (Chios)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Kabal	Kaloyani	de Cabella	İskineplok	owner	left during conflict, dead, house confiscated

Table 3 (continued).

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Proposed possible name	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
Gariza	Antondi	de Camezana?	Samona	owner	
di Garzan	Anton	de Camezana?	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
di Garzan	Rafa	de Camezana?	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Kaneva	Zorzo	de Canevali (Rohan 384) or de Canova	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Kermado	wife	de Carmadino	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
di Kermado	Yakomi	de Carmadino	Yorgi Arhancelo	owner of 2 houses	
di Karta	Domeniko	de Carreto	Samona	owner a house with 13 annexe houses	
di Kaza	Zorzo	de Cassali	Zani Dabdan	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated.
Tadyan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Zani Drapora	owner	
Dan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Zani Drapora	owner	dead, house confiscated
Dan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Zani Dabdan	owner	dead, house confiscated
Dan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Anton di Garzan	owner	dead, house confiscated
Dan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Anton di Garzan	owner	dead, house confiscated with 3 annexes and a shop
Dan	Nikoroz	de Diano	Anton di Garzan	SHOP	
Dadyan	Anton	de Diano	Zani Dabdan	house endowed to the Christian poor	dead
Dadyan	Anton	de Diano	Zani Dabdan	house endowed to the Christian poor	dead
di Faces	Ahosto	de Facio	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	dead
di Fendiko	Anton	de Flisco	Zani Dabdan	house endowed to Christian poor	
di Liko	Andan	de Flisco or di Chios	İskineplok	owns 8 houses and a GARDEN with a CHURCH in the garden	left during conflict, houses confiscated
di Franko	Cormo	de Franchis	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
di Franko	Domeniko	de Franchis	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	
di Franceşko	Marteni	de Francischi	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Larka	Akosten	de Larcho (RT 81,84,85,86) or Agostino Lercari (Rohan 383)	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Maryana	Marya	de Marinis or de Mari (Rohan 382)	Zani Drapora	owner and lives there	
Maryana	Marya	de Marinis or de Mari (Rohan 382)	Zani Drapora	owner	
Maryana	Marya	de Marinis or de Mari (Rohan 382)	Zani Drapora	owner	
di Ma	Asadaz	de Massa	Dhraperyo	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
di Pagana	Mekdad	de Pagana	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
Potho	Perdura	de Podio (Chios)	Dhraperyo	owner	wife left during conflict, he was subjected to cizye but then left for Chios
Kanata	Duka	Dexerinus de Caneto	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Konya	Dimitri	di Candia	Anton di Garzan	rents the house	
di Kanya (Fanya?)	Zorzi	di Candia	Dhraperyo	owner	
di Kanya (Fanya?)	Luviz	di Candia	Dhraperyo	owner	
di Kanya	Luviz	di Candia	İskineplok	owner	
di Kanya	Zorzi	di Candia	İskineplok	owner	
di Kanya	Luviz	di Candia	Fabya	owner	
di Kanya	Zorzi	di Candia	Fabya	owner	
di Kanya	Zorze	di Candia	Fabya	owner	
di Kandina	Perto	di Candia	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Diki?	Fabyan	di Chio	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Diki	Fabyan	di Chio	Anton di Garzan	SHOP	
di Ço	Pero	di Chio	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Dhiko	Pertog	di Chio	Samona	endowed to Church of Ivan	
di Fi (Fay?)	Fabyan	di Chios	Fabya	owner and lives there	
Korinka	Domeniko	di Corenca	Zani Dabdan	lives there	

Table 3 (continued).

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Proposed possible name	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
di Korenca	Domeniko	di Corenca	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Lana	İmpertoba	di Lavania	Zani Dabdan	owner	
di Lankaşko	Dimitri	Dimitrius di Langasco (Rohan 369)	Zani di Pagani	owner	his family left on day of conquest, then he left also, house confiscated
Neferto	Domeniko	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Samona	owner	
Neferto	Domeniko	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Dhraperyo	owner	
Neferto	Domeniko	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Harhancı	owner	
Neferto	Domenigo	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Harhancı	owner	
Neferto	Domenigo	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Harhancı	owner	
Neferto	Domenigo	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Asuder Ermeniyen	owner and lives there	
Neferto	Domenigo	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	İskineplok	owner	
di Neferto	Domenigo	Domenico di Negrono or Nigro (Rohan 381)	Samona	owner	
Lansavico	Domenigo	Dominicus Lancianegia (RT 27)	unnamed commercial zone	rents a SHOP	
Lancoyko	Domenigo	Dominicus Lancianegia (RT 27)	Anton di Garzan	2 SHOPS	
Iskarsafigo	Domenigo	Dominicus Squarcificus	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
di Lankaşko	Elina	Elena di Langasco	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Ispitora	Irena	Eliano Spinola (Rohan 371)	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Ispinora	Irene	Eliano Spinola (Rohan 371)	Asuder Ermeniyen	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Femegaşte	Pero	Famagusta	Dhraperyo	owner	
Firendova	Zorzo	Ferrando	Asuder Ermeniyen	owner	left during conflict with permit
di Veranda	Farulo	Ferrando	Bona Zita	owner	
di Verand	Karlo	Ferrando	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	
Saravayko	Kariba	Gabriele Salvaigo (Rohan 373)	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Guro (Haro?)	Andonina	Garra?	Samona	owner and lives there	left during conflict, enslaved, manumitted (<i>mutak</i>)
di Laporta	Anaeki	Gatellusio olim de Porta	Anton di Garzan	owner and lives there	his wife left during conflict
di Laporta	Anaeki	Gatellusio olim de Porta	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Gastadin	Pertoma	Gatellusio?	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Drapora	Yakom	Giacomo Draperiis	Nikoroz Sikay	lives there	
Darva	Zorzo	Giorgio de Auria	Anton di Garzan	owner	dead
Drapo	Zorzi	Giorgio Draperiis	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	
Drapora	Zani Portoma	Giovanni Bartheleomo Draperiis	Zani di Pagani	1/3 owner and lives there	left during conflict, share confiscated
Daryova	Yani	Giovanni de Auria (Rohan 375)	Anton di Garzan	Lived there	dead
di Pagana	Zani	Giovanni de Pagana	Zani di Pagani	owner	
di Lankaşko	Zani	Giovanni di Langasco	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Drapora	Zani	Giovanni Draperiis	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Drapora	Zani	Giovanni Draperiis	Anton di Garzan	endowed to Christian poor	
Drapora	Zani	Giovanni Draperiis	Zani Drapora	lives there	
	Laşkeri	Laskaris	Bona Zita	lives there	

Table 3 (continued).

Surname in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Name in Halil İnalçık 1455 survey	Proposed possible name	Neighborhood of owned houses (1455 survey)	Owner/Lives there	Status
Darpa	Laserto	Lazzaro Doria (Rohan 376)	Dhraperyo	owner	lives in Edirne
Francesko	Lorenzo	Lorenzo di Francisci (Rohan 393)	Zani di Pagani	owner	dead
di Francesko	Lorene	Lorenzo di Francisci (Rohan 393)	Zani di Pagani	owner	dead
di Lankaşko	Luviz	Luigi di Langasco	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
di Lankaşko	Luviz	Luigi di Langasco	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Drapora	Luviz	Luigi Draperiis	Zani Drapora	lives there	
di Franko	Lujad	Luxiardo di Franchi (Rohan 383)	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Drapozo	Marko	Marco dal Pozzo (Rohan 390)	Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok	owner	
Drapora	Marko	Marco Draperiis	Zani di Pagani	1/3 owner and lives there	
Lankaşko	Maryadi	Maria di Langasco	Zani Drapora	owner	
Parvazi	Martin	Martinus Palavicinus	Zani Dabdan	owner and lives there	
Parvazi	Martini	Martinus Palavicinus	unnamed commercial zone	rents a SHOP	
Masura	Corma	Massurus	Zani Dabdan	lives there	
Parmezi	Mate	Mateo Pallavicino	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Sarvayko	Meke	Michele Salvaigus (Rohan 373)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	
Daryova	Nikoroz	Nicolaus de Auria	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
di Karnova	Nikoroz	Nicolaus di Canova?	Asuder Ermeniyan	2 STOREHOUSES (mahzen)	
Draga	Nikoroz	Nicolaus Dragus	Anton di Garzan	lives there	
Notera	Dimitri	Notaras?	Asuder Ermeniyan	lives there	
Daryova	Operto	Oberto de Auria (Rohan 375)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Daryova	Operto	Oberto de Auria (Rohan 375)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Daryova	Operto	Oberto de Auria (Rohan 375)	Anton di Garzan	owner	
Parvazi		Palavicinus	Fabya	lives there	
Spinora	Pero	Paolo Spinola (Rohan 369)	İskineplok	owner	left before conflict for <i>Frengistan</i>
	Bahrin (Paskarin?)	Pasqualis Peratus (RT 45) ?	Pero di Lankaşko	owner of house + 5 annexes	left during conflict, houses confiscated
Drapozo	Pero	Piero dal Pozzo (Rohan 390)	Yahudiyen	owner	
Drapozo	Pero	Piero dal Pozzo (Rohan 390)	Zani Dabdan	owner	
Drapozo	Pero	Piero dal Pozzo (Rohan 390)	Yahudiyen	owner	
Drapora	Pero	Pietro Draperiis	Zani di Pagani	lives there	
Ispinora		Spinola	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	house confiscated
Ispinora	Dorya	Teodoro Spinola (Rohan 371)	Zani di Pagani	owner	left during conflict, returned, paid <i>cizye</i> and left again, house confiscated
Iflaho	Todori	Theodore de Flisco	Bona Zita	owner	
Eflak	Todorko	Theodoro Flisco	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	left during conflict, house confiscated
Eflah	Thoderho	Theodoro Flisco	Pero di Lankaşko	owner	house confiscated
Çujeb	Toma	Thomas Iosep (RT 38)	unnamed commercial zone	SHOP	
Çujarb	Toma	Thomas Iosep (RT 38)	Nikoroz Sikay	owner	

Table 4. Neighbourhoods of Known Houses and Shops in Notary Records Published by Roccatagliata

Houses mentioned in Roccatagliata	Comment in Roccatagliata	Date of notary act	Roccatagliata reference	Neighbourhood in 1455 survey	Comment based on 1455 survey
Antonii de Castilino		1453	49		
Antonii Gombete		1454	61		
Antonii Griffi	in qua habitat Antonius Pelleranus, vico recto a loggia	1453	37		
Antonioti de Cabella		1475	97,98	Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok	Anton Kable. Left on day of conflict, house confiscated. Inalek, p. 239
Bartholomei Bonaventure	contracta San Francesco	1479	111		
Bartholomei de Langasco		1482	122		
Camby Sarviati	contracta San Domenico	1479	107	Anton di Garzan?	
Caracose f.q. Italiani Catanei	f.q. Italiani Catanei, ux.q. Nicolai de Carmadino quarterio Sancti Dominico	1453	50	Anton di Garzan?	Antonio de Carmadino lives in Nikoroz Sikay. Inalek, p.222
Caroli Confortini		1453	51		Has two shops in commercial zone. Inalek p.253
Catarine f.q. Ioannis de Zigeaygo	f.q. Ioannis de Zigeaygo, ux. Badasalis de Segnorio, prope ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis	1447	18		
Francisci de Draperitis	seu Thome Spinule	1453	57		Francesco Draperio has houses in Nikoroz Sikay, Anton di Garzan and Dhraperyo. His son in law Tommasso Spinola lives in Luviz di Kanya's house in Dhraperyo. Inalek p. 239
Georgii Iordanini q.	burgo Agerii, prope Bassale	1453	27		
Guidoti de Barbante	sartoris	1453	56		
Iohannis Spinule	et Baptiste Cibo	1475	100		
Iulianus Spinule q.	vico retro ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis	1453	54		
Laurentii de Calvi	notarius	1453	58		
Limbanie ux. Octaviani Adurni q.		1490	124		
Luce Catanei		1454	64	Dhraperyo?	
Meladucis Spinule	contracta Sancti Georgii	1466	66	Iskineplok?	
Nicolai de Cassali		1453	21	Pero di Lankaško and Zani di Pagani	In 1455 Nicolai de Cassali is dead, however he had become a zimmi subject and classified as rich. He has two houses in Pero di Lankaško. His wife lives in one, his son in another. His son who was previously exempt from the poll tax is now eligible. Cassali had also another house in Zani di Pagani, which is occupied by a rich Genoese merchant. Inalek p. 250 and p.272
Nicolai Bonazointa	prope logiam	1458	65	Bona Zia	Rich cizye payer. Inalek p. 226
Georgii Bonazointa		1458	65	Bona Zia	Medium cizye payer, lives there, along with a widow zimmi. Marina. Inalek p.224
Nicolai Gatellusi olim de Porta Panteli		1453	23	Zani Dabdan	House with horse-mill, baker's oven. Inalek p.220
Thome de Roncho	et sociorum	1469	47		
Thome Spinule q.		1476	80,81,82		
Nicolai de Amingdola	Thoma Spinule's ex house	1479	106	Asuder Ermenyan	If Tommaso Spinola, son of Gaspare, sumptuous house. Inalek p. 248
Luce Soffiano	Thoma Spinule's ex house	1480	108	Asuder Ermenyan	If Tommaso Spinola, son of Gaspare, sumptuous hous. Inalek p.248
			117,118	Asuder Ermenyan	If Tommaso Spinola, son of Gaspare, sumptuous house. Inalek p. 248

Table 4 (continued).

Shops mentioned in Roccatagliata	Comment in Roccatagliata	Date of notary act	Roccatagliata reference	Neighbourhood in 1455 survey	Comment based on 1455 survey
Andree	macellarii, apoteca in bassali (bazaar)	1453	53	Papa Yani, Ayo Dikhemo Dandano	Andrea is a poor zimmi, who lives in Papa Yani, and has an unoccupied house in Ayo Dikhemo Dandano. Inalek p.248 and p. 286
Antonii	de Castilino	1453	49		Inalek p.220
Antonii	de Lastrago	1453	49	Zani Dabdan	
Antonii	de Montali	1453	37		
Antonio	Griffi	1453	59		Loggia
Antonio	Vegni	1468	68	Zani di Pagani	Antonio Confortini's house. Inalek p.251
Baptiste	de Ripa	1475	95		
Francischi	Griffi	1468	69,70,76,78		Loggia
Luce	de Valtabio	1476	103		
Petri	de Eliano	1475	96		
Petri	de Lavania q.	1453	48		
Antonio	Garra	1453	34	Zani Dabdan, Bona Zita, Zani di Pagani	Antonio is a rich zimmi, who owns two houses in Zani Dabdan, an unoccupied house in Nikoroz Sikay, an unoccupied house and soap factory in Bonazia, and another soap factory in Zani di Pagani. The houses in Zani Dabdan are occupied by a boza seller, and a medium cizye payer named Domeniko Korinka. It is not clear whether he lives there. Inalek p. 219, p.226, and p.250
Ioannis	Garra	1453	34		Loggia, same as Antonio Garra
Badasalis	de Segnorio	1447,1453	18,30		Loggia
Thome	Spinule	1453	33		Loggia?
Houses in Roccatagliata 1453		Date of notary act	Roccatagliata reference	Neighbourhood in 1455 survey	Comment based on 1455 survey
Augustini	de Tabia	1453	10		
Conradi	de Pastino q.	1453	4,5,6	Pero di Lankaško	
Antonius	Gatellusius	1453	9		
Iohannis	de Mari	1453	13	Zani Drapora?	Angelo Lomellini, the last podesta moved out of the palace in August 1453. Ioannes de Mari is not in the survey but Marya Maryana has three houses in Zani Drapora. One with an oven is unoccupied. Inalek p.218
Shops in Roccatagliata 1453		Date of notary act	Roccatagliata reference	Neighbourhood in 1455 survey	Comment based on 1455 survey
Petri	de Lavania q.	1453	12		Loggia?
Iacobi	de Boconius	1453	1		Loggia?
Thome	Spinule	1453	7		Loggia?

q.: dead, ux.: wife

Table 5. Occupation by Neighbourhood in the 1455 Survey

	Zani Dapora	Zani Dabdan	Nikorož Sikay	Bonazita	Anton di Garzan	Yahudiyan	Nurbek Kosta	Dhraperyo	Harhanc/ Garganci	Papa Yami	Asuder Ermenyan	Zani di Pagani	Commercial zone	Samona	Iskinplok	Fabya	Pero di Lankaško	Yorgi Arhancelo	Yami Mavroyami	Varto Hristo	Kosta Lupaci	Ayo Dikhemmo	Yami Vasilikos	San Neferzo	TOTAL
Boza shopkeeper		1			1								2			1						1			4
Baker		2				1																1	1		6
Trumpet player		1																							1
Cobbler		1	1					3			3				2	2				1		1			14
Fruiterer (bazarci)			1																						1
Fruiterer (kelekçi)								1	1																2
Money changer (sarraf)			1																						1
Kalogeros, priest, kaligorya, babas, Armenian priest, first name Papa				1	6			1	3	7	1	1		2	3	1			2		1	2	some	30	
Monk (Keşiş)					8									1											9
Non-resident Genoese merchant		5		1	1						4						1								12
Oarsman boatsman (kirekçi)					1		1	2			1							1							6
Blacksmith					1	2										2									3
Physician					1																				3
Porter (hamal, iskeleci)					1		2		1	1				2	12	7	2				1			1	30
Tailor							1		2															1	4
Weaver (sulha)							3	1														1			5
Caulker (Kalafaçi)								1																	1
Wool-carder (hallaç)								2	1																3
Storehouse keeper (anbarci)																									0
Miller									1																1
Butcher										1												1			2
Grain seller (al'alufi)													1	1					1		1		1		5
Peddler (cerci)																									0
Dyer (sabbag)																1									1
Seller of ropes (urganci) and grain (al'-ulufi)															1	1									2
Seller of ropes (urganci)																1									1
Napkin maker (makramacı)																1						1			2
Tavern keeper (meyhaneci)																	2								2
Fisher																						1			1
Potter																									1

Table 6. Churches in the 1455 Survey by Neighbourhood.

Neighbourhoods in the Survey	Churches listed in the Survey	Survey Subtotal	Hand-counted Subtotal
Zani Drapora		none	none
Zani Dabdan		none	none
Nikoroz Sikay		none	none
Bonazita		none	none
Anton di Garzan	Church of Santa Katarina Church of San Domenigo	2	2
Yahudiyani	Church of Aya Horhoro Church of San Benita	2	2
Nurbek Kosta Īskineplok		none	none
Dhraperyo	Church of Vuhani	1	1
Harhancı	Church of Īplahosa	none	1
Papa Yani	Church of Aya Yani Church of Papa (Yani)	2	2
Asuder Ermeniyani		1	none
Zani di Pagani		none	none
Unnamed commercial zone		none	none
Samona	Church of Ayani Church of the Jews Church of Arhi Istahores Church of Santa Andoni	3	4
Īskineplok	Unnamed church in the garden of Andan di Liko's eight confiscated houses Church of Aya Yorgi	1	2
Fabya	Church of San Fabyan	none	1
Pero di Lankaşko		2	2
Yorgi Arhancelo		none	none
Yani Mavroyani	Church of Aya Yorgi	1	1
Varto Hristo	Church of Hristos	none	1
Kosta Lupaci		none	none
Ayo Dikhemo	Unnamed church in Papa Andoni's house	none	1
Yani Vasilikos	Church of Ayos Nikolos	none	1
San Neferzo	Convent of San Zan Church of Kasteliyutsa Church of Santa Marya	none	3
Total		15	24
One additional church cited by Emecen for San Neferzo	Aya Yanes		

Table 7. Endowments in the 1455 Survey by Neighbourhood

Neighbourhoods in the Survey	Properties endowed to ...																			
	Christian poor	Church of Santa Katerina	Church of Tenthon	Church of Sunda Forza	Church of Sunda Ferje	Church of San Niferoza	Church of San Francesko	Church of San Domingo	Church of Aya Horhoro	Church of San Benita	Church of San Zani	Church of Ivan	Church of Ayani	Church of Santa Andoni	Church of Bebanya (Babatay?)	Jewish poor	Convent of San Zani	Church of Isavareno for Christian poor	Church of Ayi Yanes	
Zani Drapora																				
Zani Dabdau	xxxxxx	x	x																	
Nikoroz Sikay				xx																
Bomazita		x			x															
Anton di Garzan	x							xx	x	x										
Yahudiyau																				
Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok																				
Dhraperyo																				
Harhanci																				
Papa Yani										x										
Asuder Ermeniyau																				
Zani di P'agani																				
Unnamed commercial zone											xxxxx									
Samona												x	x	xxx						
Iskineplok															xx					
Fabya																x				
Pero di Lankasko																	xx			
Yorgi Arhancelo																				
Yani Mavroyani																				
Varto Hristo																				
Kosta Lupaci																				
Ayo Dikherno																				
Yani Vasilikos																				
San Neferto																				x
Additional endowment mentioned by Eneken for San Neferto																				x
																				xx

Table 8. Synthesis Table of Pera/Galata Churches

Pera/Galata Churches in Latin Sources	Certain match in the Survey	Comments
San Domenico	San Domenigo in Anton di Garzan	
San Benedetto and Santa Maria della Citerna Church and Monastery	San Benita in Yahudiyan	
San Giorgio		Possibly Church of Aya Yorgi in İskineplok. Back to its original Greek Orthodox name after 1453? May have been abandoned?
San Pietro and Paolo Dominican Church and Monastery		May not yet exist in 1455. It either replaced Santa Catarina or an unoccupied church, maybe the unnamed church in the garden in İskineplok
San Michele Cathedral		Arhi İstahores?
San Francesco Franciscan Church and Monastery		Endowed properties to Sanda Forza, Sanda Ferje, San Niferoza and San Françeško in the Nikoroz Sikay, Bonazita, Pero di Lankaško neighbourhoods and the unnamed commercial zone
Sant'Anna church		
San Sebastiano church		Endowed properties to Church of Bebanya (Babatya) in İskineplok?
Santa Chiara/Santa Andoni church	Church of Santa Andoni in Samona	Assuming that Spiga is not included in the Survey and that San Antonio church and hospital is in Spiga, and also assuming that Samona corresponds to the Karaköy neighbourhood, this must be San Antonio Abbate church, also known as Santa Chiara
San Antonio Church and Hospital		Not included since the Spiga suburb is presumably not in the scope of the survey
San Giovanni Battista Church and Hospital	Convent of San Zan in San Neferzo	Priest on top floor, Christian poor in bottom floor
Santa Maria church	Santa Maria in San Neferzo	Later Santa Maria Draperis?
Santa Catarina Monastery	Santa Katarina in Anton di Garzan	We have evidence that it still existed in 1455
San Costantino		Not included since it is outside the walls, in the Tophane area
Santa Elene Church and Hospital		It had presumably long disappeared by 1455
Santa Croce		May be a chapel in the castrum
San Clemente		No reference
San Lazare		Referenced only as the name of a contrada
San Simone and Giuda		No convincing evidence that it was a church
Pre-Tanzimat Greek churches and first Armenian church in Galata	Certain match in the Survey	Comments
<u>Evangelismos/Hrsopigi</u>		
Georgios	Church of Aya Yorgi in Yani Mavroyani	
Eleofsa		Church of Iplahosa in Harhancı?
Hristos	Church of Hristos in Varto Hristo	
Nikolaos	Church of Ayos Nikolos in Yani Vasilikos	
Ioannes Prodomos	Church of Aya Yani in Papa Yani	Church mentioned twice in the same neighbourhood of the Survey. In addition church of Ayani in Samona and church of Vuhani in Dhraperyo?
Panagia		
Kasteliotissa	Church of Kastelivyutsa in San Neferzo	
Hristos Metamorfosis/Kremastos		
Armenian Church of Saint Gregory Lusaroviç	Church of Aya Horhoro in Yahudiyan	
	Other churches listed in the Survey	Comments
	Church of the Jews in Samona	The oldest known synagogue in Galata is Zulfaris Synagogue
	Church of Arhi İstahores in Samona	San Michele?
	Church of Ayani in Samona	
	Church of San Fabyan in Fabya	
	Church of Vuhani in Dhraperyo	
	Unnamed church in İskineplok	
	Unnamed church in Ayo Dhikemo	
	Other churches appearing in endowments in the Survey	Comments
	Church of San Tenthon	San Antonio?
	Church of Ivan	
	Church of Bebanya/Babatya	San Sebastiano?
	Church of Sanda Forza	San Francesco ?
	Church of Sanda Ferje	San Francesco ?
	Church of San Niferoza	San Francesco ?
	Church of İstavareno	

Table 9. Synthesis Table of Pera/Galata neighbourhoods according to the 1455 Survey

Division	Neighbourhood Name	Residents	Houses	Unocc.	In ruins	Churches
Initial Concession Zone and Northern Extension	Zani Drapora	All Genoese	10	1		
	Zani Dabdan	All Genoese	44	8	4	
	Nikoroz Sikay	All-Genoese	24	7	1	
	Bonazita	All-Genoese	31	4	2	
	Anton di Garzan	Majority Genoese, a few Greeks	69	14	1	Santa Katerina San Domenigo
	Yahudiyani	Jewish, Armenian, Greek, two Genoese	39			Aya Horhoro San Benita
	Dhraperyo	Majority Greek, one fifth Genoese, two Armenians	67	8	1	Church of Yuhani
	Zani di Pagani	Genoese and Greek	31	4		
	Unnamed Commercial Zone	Majority Genoese, except for confiscated shops				
	Samona	Mainly Greek, some Jews, very few Genoese	86	11	3	Church of Ayani Church of the Jews Church of Arhi Istahores Santa Andoni
Lagritio	Iskineplok	Majority Greek, some Genoese	79	12	2	Aya Yorgi Unnamed church San Fabyan
	Fabya	Jewish and Genoese	60	7	2	
	Pero di Lankasko	Mainly Greeks, few Genoese	56	7		
	Yorgi Arhancelo/Yorgi Uzgunceli	Mainly Greeks and Armenians, few Genoese	32	2		
	Yani Mavroyani	Armenian-Greek, too few houses to tell	4			Aya Yorgi
	Varto Hristo/Vartimo Hristo	All Greek	34			Church of Hristos
	Kosta Lupaci/Kosta Alupedi	All-Greek	20			
	Ayo Dikhemo/Avdaki Momendorino	All-Greek	41	1		Unnamed church
	Yani Vasilikos/Yani Vasilikos	All-Greek	31	4		Ayos Nikolos
	San Neferzo/Manol Sanda Kruz	Mainly Greeks, some Genoese	37	1		Convent of San Zan Church of Kastelyutsa Santa Marya
	Nurbek Kosta Iskineplok / Kosta Iskineplok ve Ermeni Nurbek	Majority Armenian, some Greeks	38	1		
	Papa Y ani	Armenian-Greek, one Genoese	22			Church of Aya Y ani Church of Papa Y ani
	Harhanci/Garganci/Gorgonze	Armenian-Greek, one Genoese	20	2		Church of Iplahosa
	Asuder Ermeniyani/Asana Sodori Ermeni	Genoese, one Armenian	8	1		
		883	95	16		

FIGURES

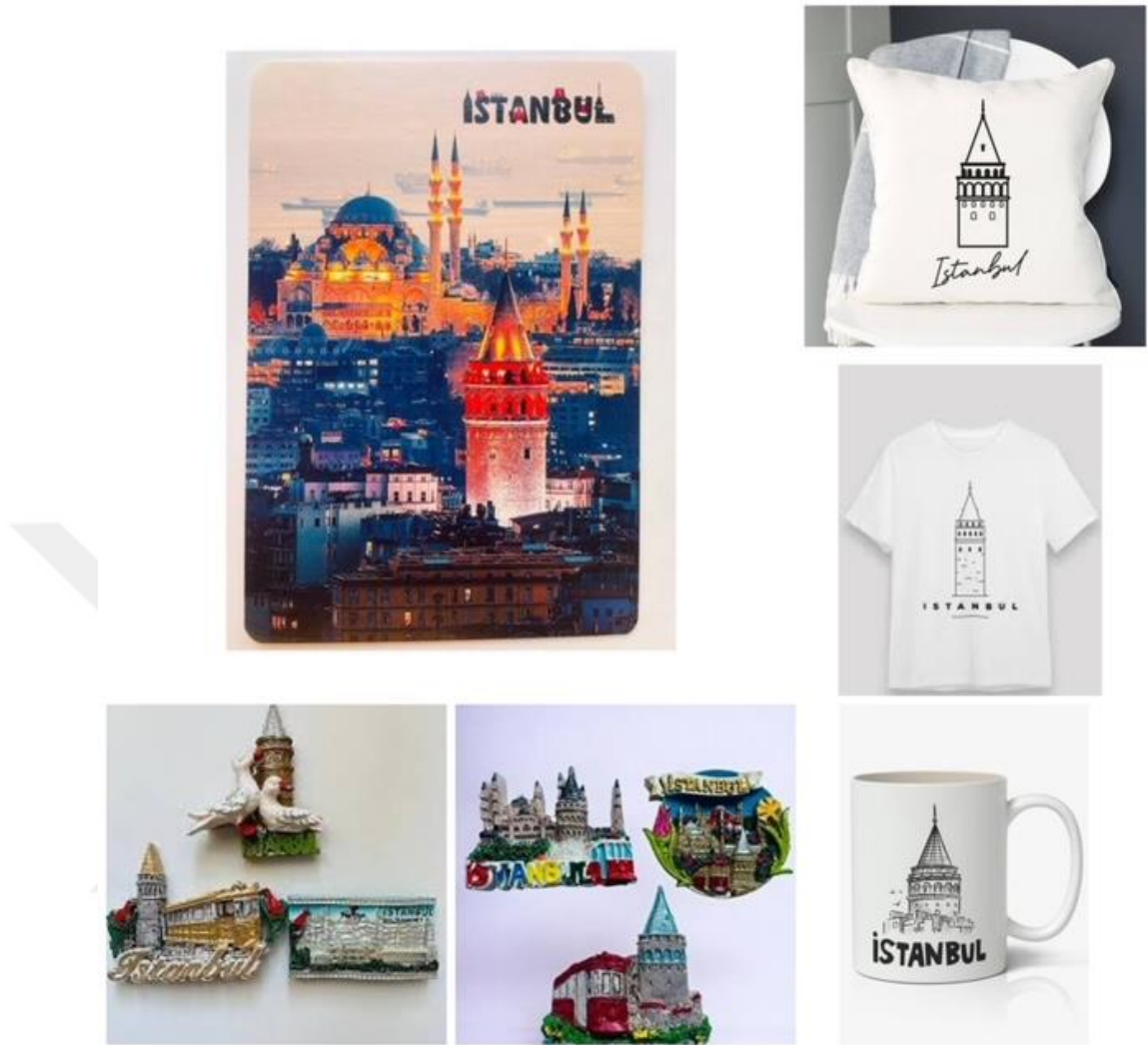


Fig. 1: A sample of postcard and souvenirs. Extracted from the web in 2023



Fig. 2 Constantinople and Pera depicted by Cristoforo Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* in Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Département des Cartes et Plans, Ge FF 9351 Rés., fol. 37r., Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons,



Fig. 3: Galata, depicted by Nasuh Al-Matraki. From Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons

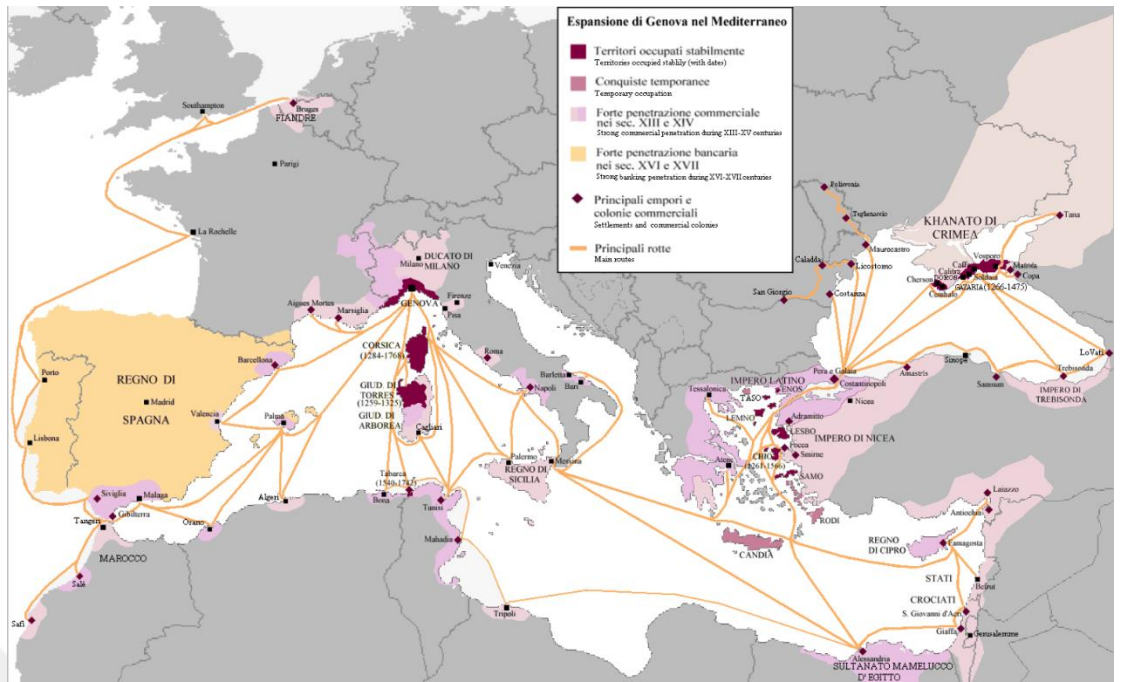


Fig. 4: Expansion of Genoa around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Codex Parisinus latinus (1395) in Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue des manuscrits latins*, pp.95-6, CC BY-SA 3.0, extracted from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12865417>

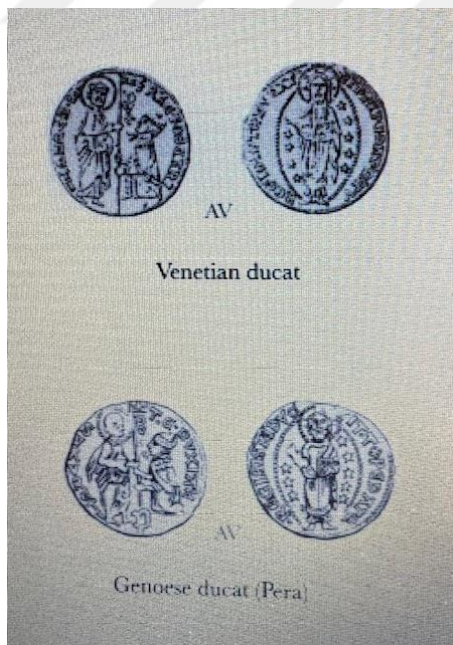


Fig. 5: Imitation Venetian ducat of Pera. Cécile Morrisson, 'Coin Usage and Exchange Rates in Badoer's "Libro dei Conti"', *Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* 55 (2001): 245.

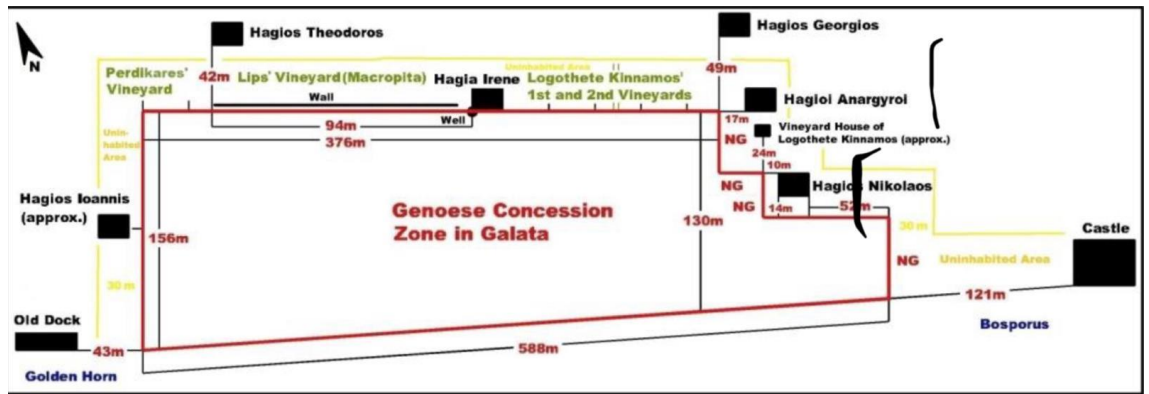


Fig. 6: Representation of the Act of 1303. Sağlam, 'Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places', 1840.



FIG. 48 - Costantinopoli nel *Liber insularum* (Ms. CM 289 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova, f. 18r).

Fig. 7: Constantinople in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. CM 289 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova, f. 18r) cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 170.

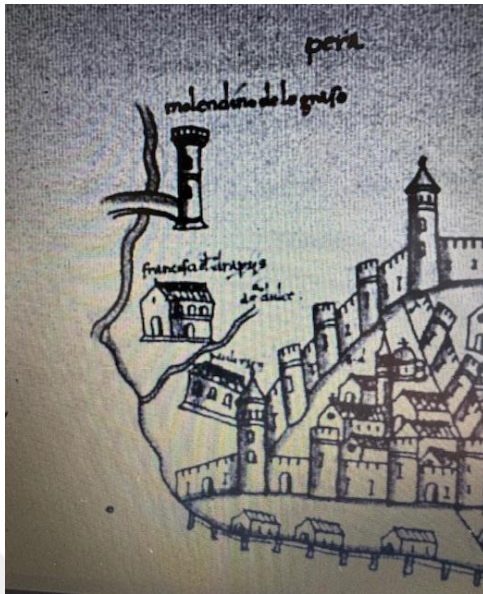


Fig. 8: Western suburb Spiga in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, f. 34v) cited in Barsanti ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 231.



Fig. 9: Buondelmonti Dusseldorf map. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. G 13 della Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek di Diisseldorf, f. 54r), cited in Barsanti ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 181.

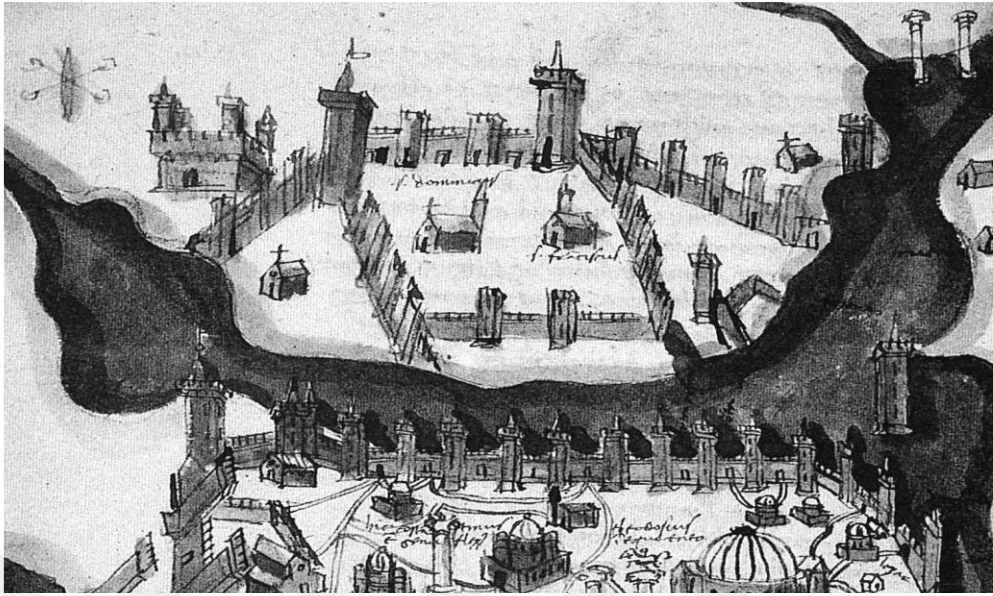


Fig. 10: Buondelmonti Rome map. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. 106 [DV 50] della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma, f. 61v), cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 209.

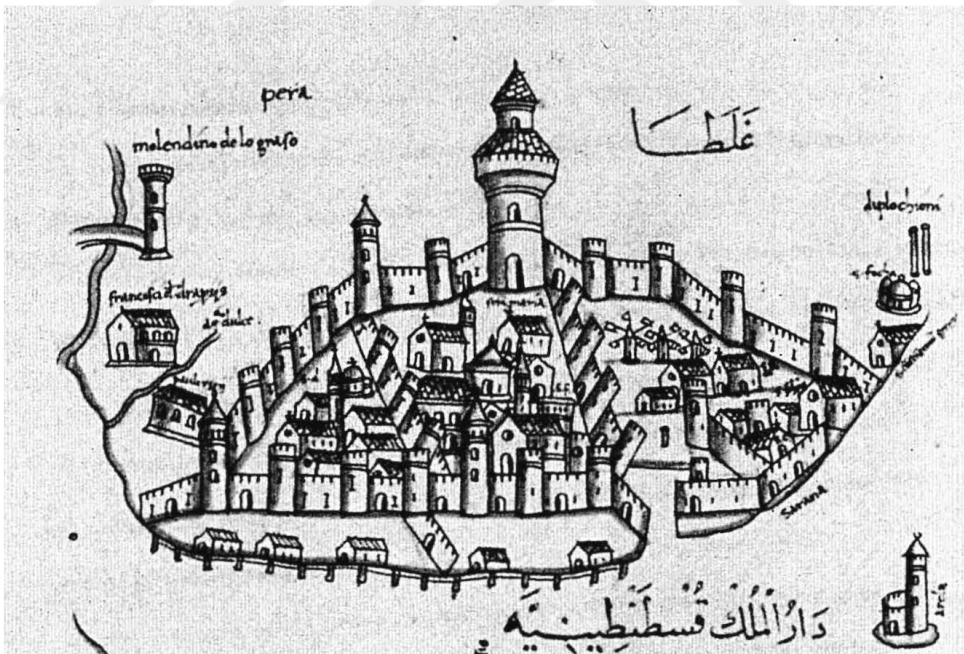


Fig. 11: Buondelmonti Paris map. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, f. 34v), cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 231.



Fig. 12: Buondelmonti Venice map. *Liber Insularum* (Venezia Marciano, MsLat.XIV, 45, f. 43v) from public domain Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 13: Vavassore woodcut map of Constantinople. From public domain via Wikimedia Commons

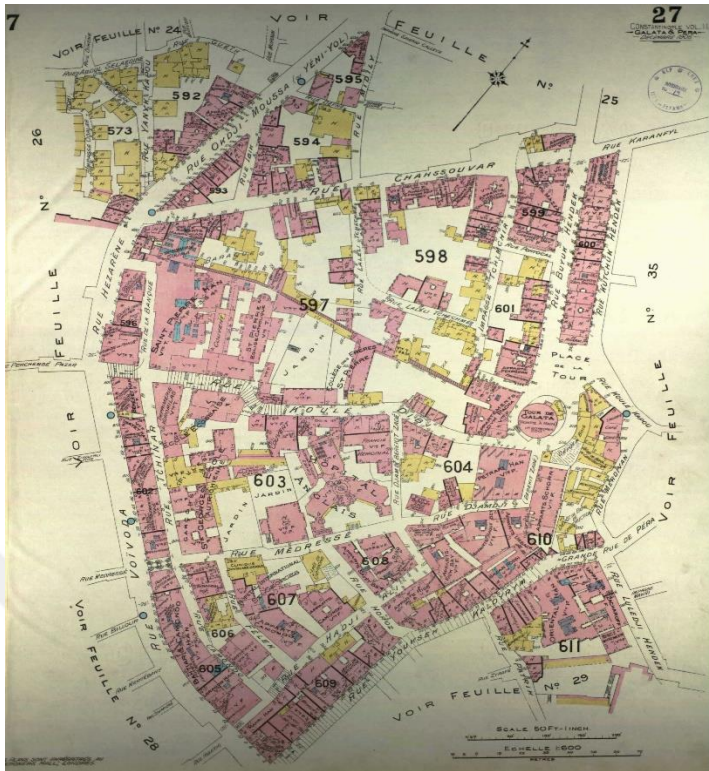


Fig. 14: Goad map revealing hidden walls. Plan d'assurance de Constantinople. Vol. II - Péra & Galata. No: 27, retrieved from <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/107057>



Fig. 15: Buondelmonti Paris map revealing pillars at sea front. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi, f. 34v), cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 231.



Fig. 16: Porta Comego / Yağkapanı Gate. Vavassore woodcut map of Constantinople from public domain via Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 17: Cardo and Decumanus maximus in blue in Galata map. A.M. Schneider and M.I.S. Nomidis. *Galata Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan mit Erläuterndem Text*, modified by author.

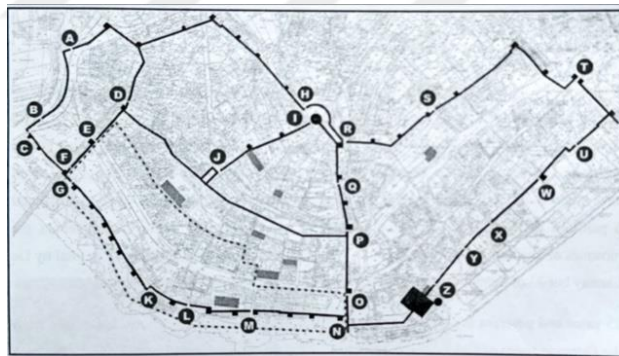


Fig. 36: The gates of Galata Walls and their names during the Ottoman period: A: Yeni Azap Gate, B: Meyit Gate, C: Azap Gate, D: Harip Gate, E: İç Azap Gate, F: Cevahir Postern, G: Buğluca Postern, H: Büyük Kule Gate, I: Kuledibi Gate, J: Yanık Gate, K: Kürkçü / Kürekçi Gate, L: Yağkapanı / İskele / 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 / Debbaghane Gate, X: Mumhane Gate, Y: Yeni Gate, Z: Kurşunlu Mahzen Gate (Author, 2016 after Arseven, 1913; Bulunur, 2013; Eyice, 1969)

Fig. 18: The gates of Galata by Sağlam. Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 39.



Fig. 19: Construction slab displayed in Galata Tower Museum. Photograph by the author, 2021.



Fig. 20: Construction slab with the arms of Byzantium. Photographed by the author, from the exhibition “İstanbul’da bu ne Bizantinizm! Popüler Kültürde Bizans”, Pera Museum, December 2021.

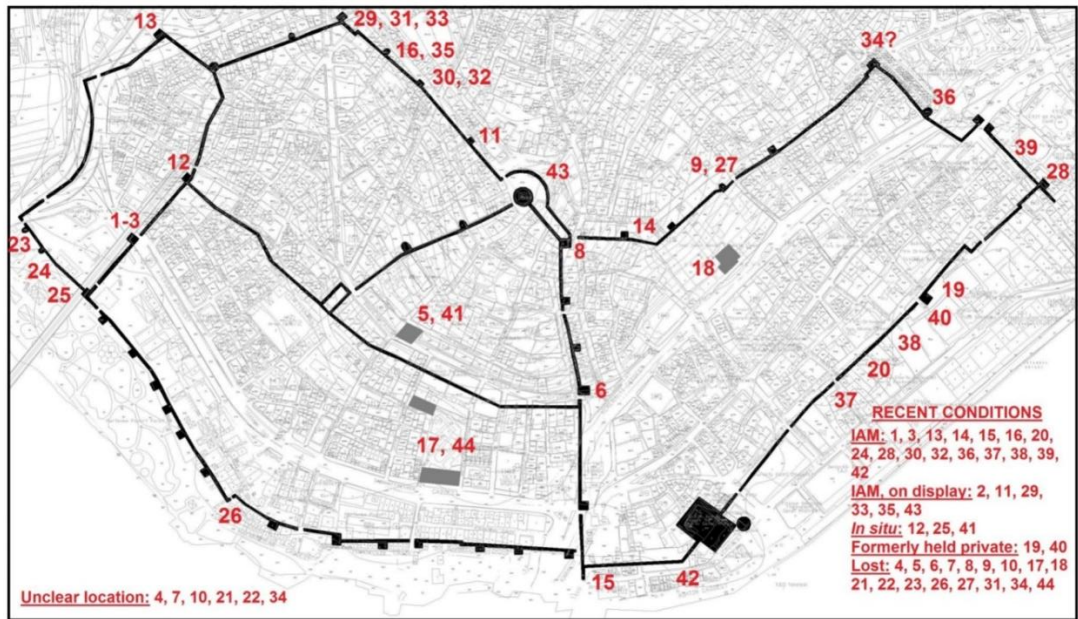


Fig. 21: Map of construction slabs by Sağlam. Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 383.

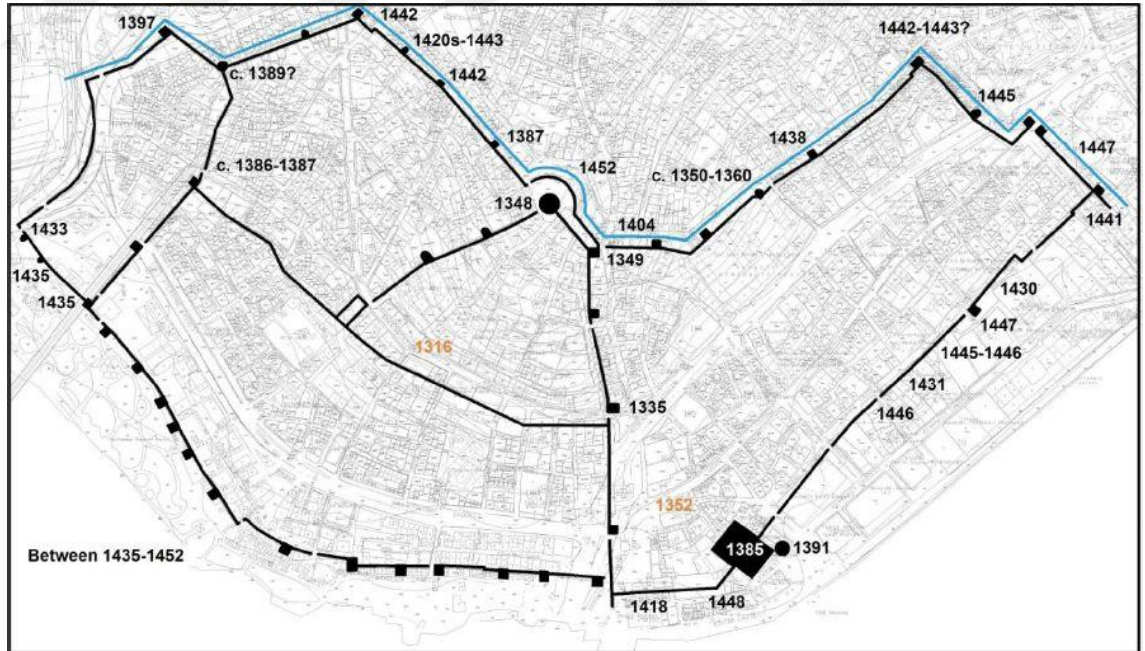


Fig. 22: Map of wall extensions with dates by Sağlam. Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 59.



Fig. 23: Tower adjacent to San Pietro and Paolo. Photographed by author, 2021.



Fig. 24: Harup Gate. Photographed by author, 2023.



Fig. 25: Wall segment Azapkapı. Photographed by Yasin Köroğlu, 2020, extracted from <https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr>

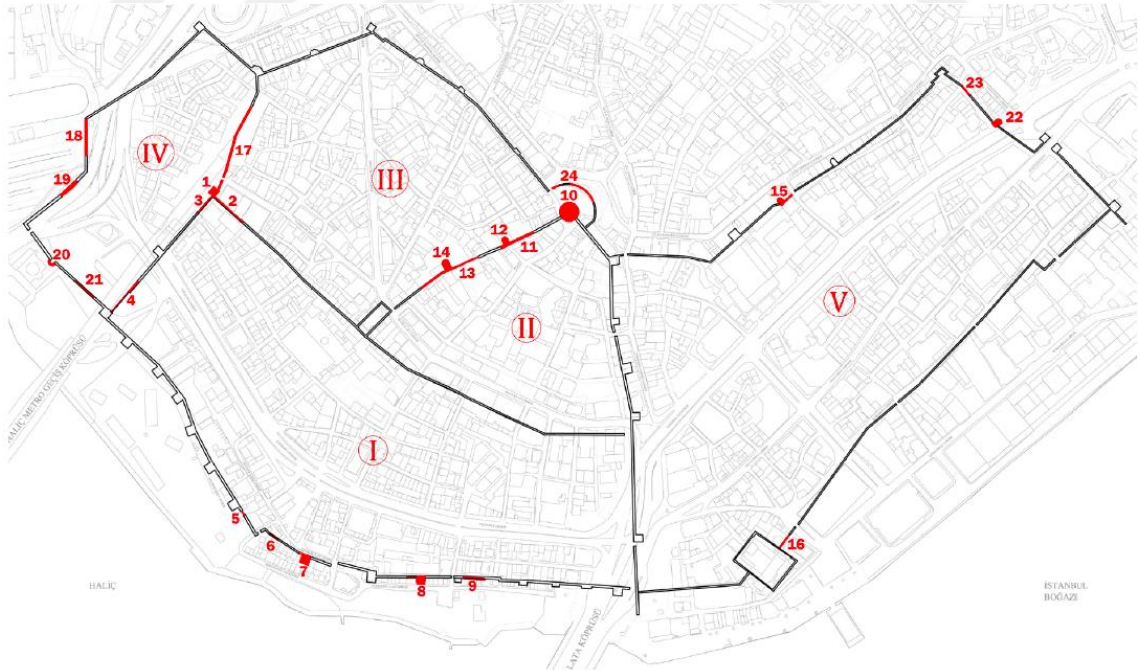


Fig. 26: Remaining wall segments by Sur and Serin. Sur and Serin 'A Reappraisal of the Genoese Walls of Galata (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries) in Terms of Medieval Building Techniques and Masonry Traditions', 95–122, 99.



Fig. 27: Galata Tower. Extracted from <http://envanter.gov.tr/anit/index/galeri/51380?page=3>

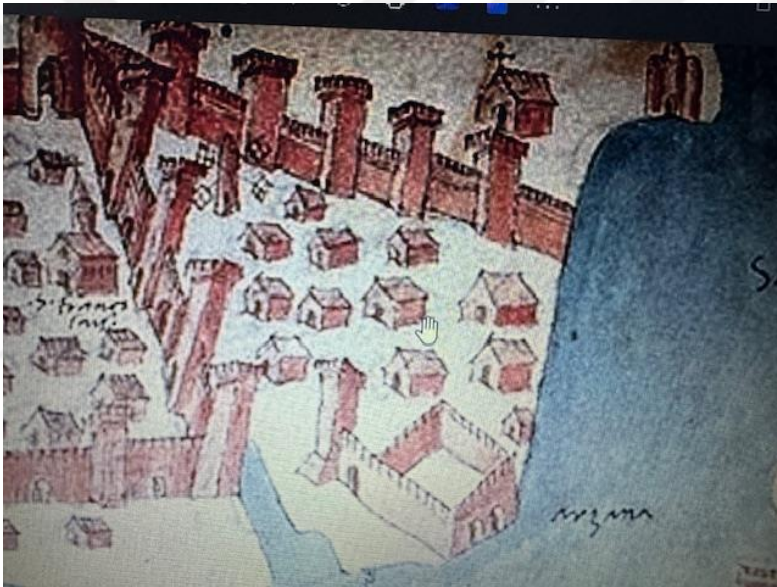
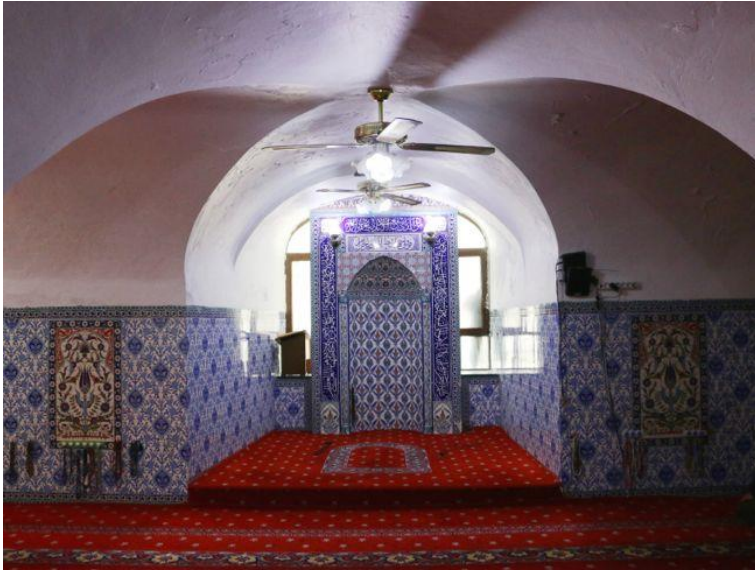


Fig. 28: Yeralti Camii/Castrum. Cornucopia Magazine retrieved from <https://www.cornucopia.net/guide/listings/sights/yeralti-camii/> and “arzana” in *Liber Insularum* (Venezia Marciano, MsLat.XIV, 45, f. 43v) from public domain Wikimedia Commons.

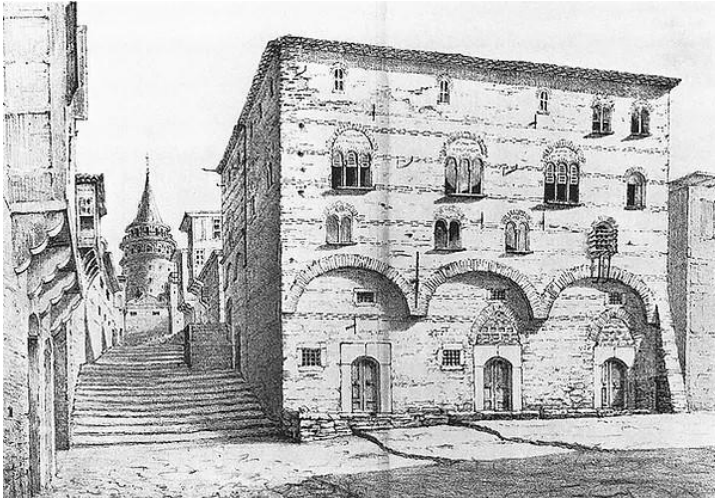


Fig. 29: Palazzo Comunale and San Giorgio Palace in Genoa. Nineteenth century gravure by Romualdo Tecco, retrieved from <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/palazzo-galata> and photograph by the author, 2022.



Fig. 30: Front and rear facades of Bereket Han/Palazzo Comunale. Photographed by author in 2021 and 2023.



Fig. 31: Saksı Han. Photographed by author, 2021.



Fig. 32: Serpuş Han. Photographed by author, 2021



Karaköy Perşembe Pazarı'nın sahil tarafında bulunan İstanbul'un en eski hanlarından Yelkenciler Han bakımsızlıktan yıkılmak üzere.

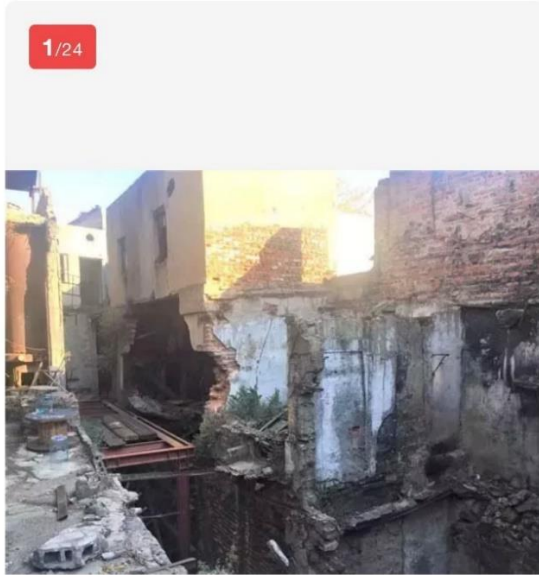


Fig. 33 Yelkenciler Han in 2019. Extracted from <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/galeri-yelkenciler-han-cokuyor-41361751/1>, 2019.



Fig. 34 Building on Kart Çınar street, across Palazzo Comunale. Photographed by author, 2022.

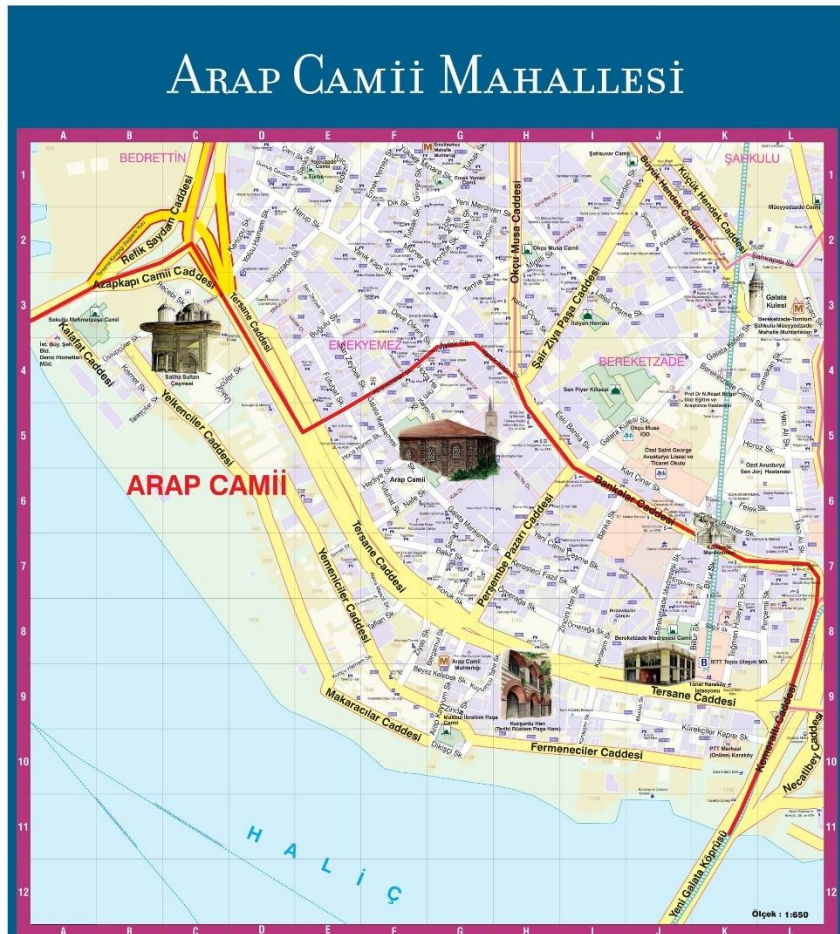


Fig. 35: Arap Camii neighbourhood, Beyoğlu Municipality. Retrieved from <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/beyoglu/mahalleler/>, 2023.

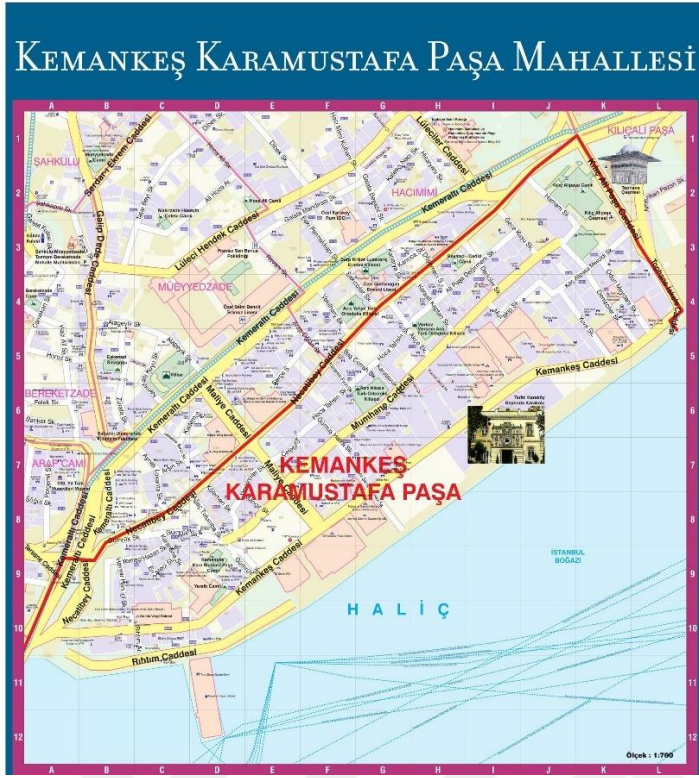


Fig. 36: Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa neighbourhood, Beyoğlu Municipality. Retrieved from <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/beyoglu/mahalleler/>, 2023.

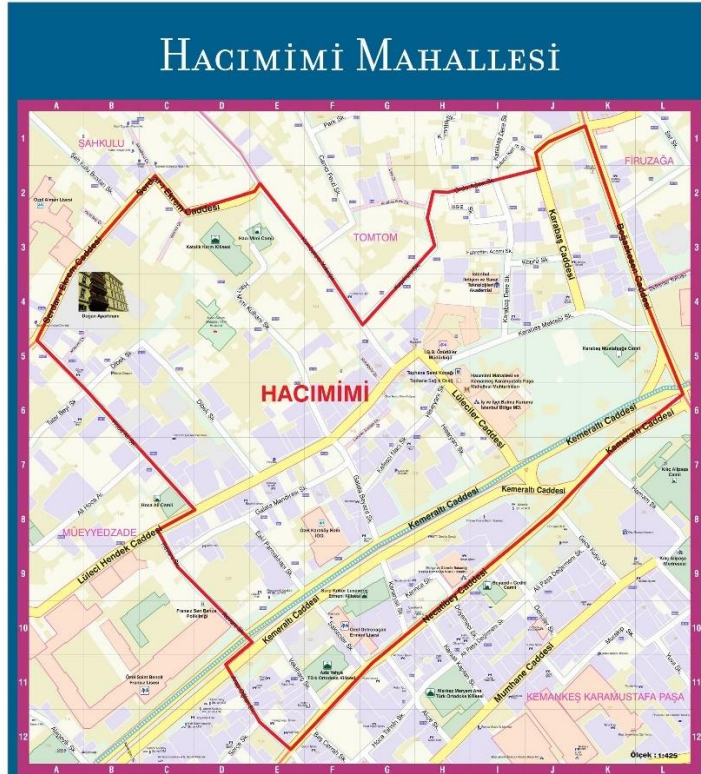


Fig. 37: Hacı Mimi neighbourhood, Beyoğlu Municipality. Retrieved from <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/beyoglu/mahalleler/>, 2023.

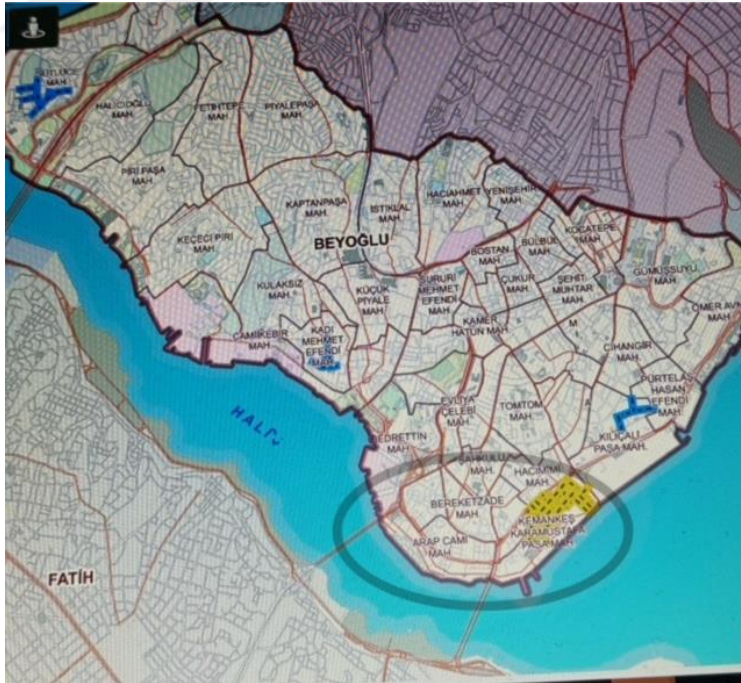
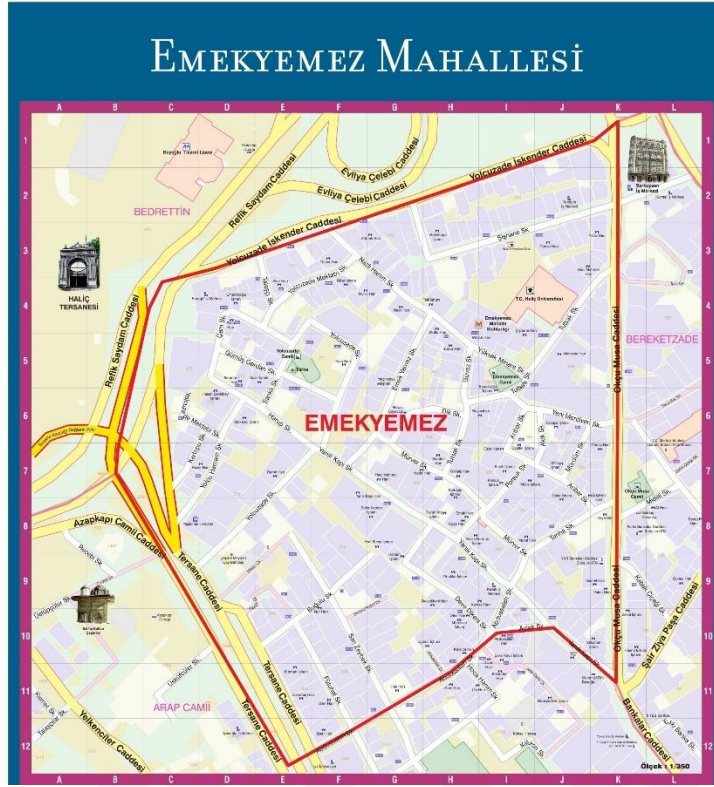


Fig. 39: Emekyemez neighbourhood and general plan, Beyoğlu Municipality. Retrieved from <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/beyoglu/mahalleler/>, 2023.



Fig. 40: IBB signpost outside Arap Camii entrance and information panel of Pious Foundation in front of Arap Camii. Photographed by author, 2023.



Fig. 41: Arap Camii/San Domenico and minaret/belfry. Photographed by author 2021.



Fig. 38: Saint Benoit. Photographed by author, 2023.

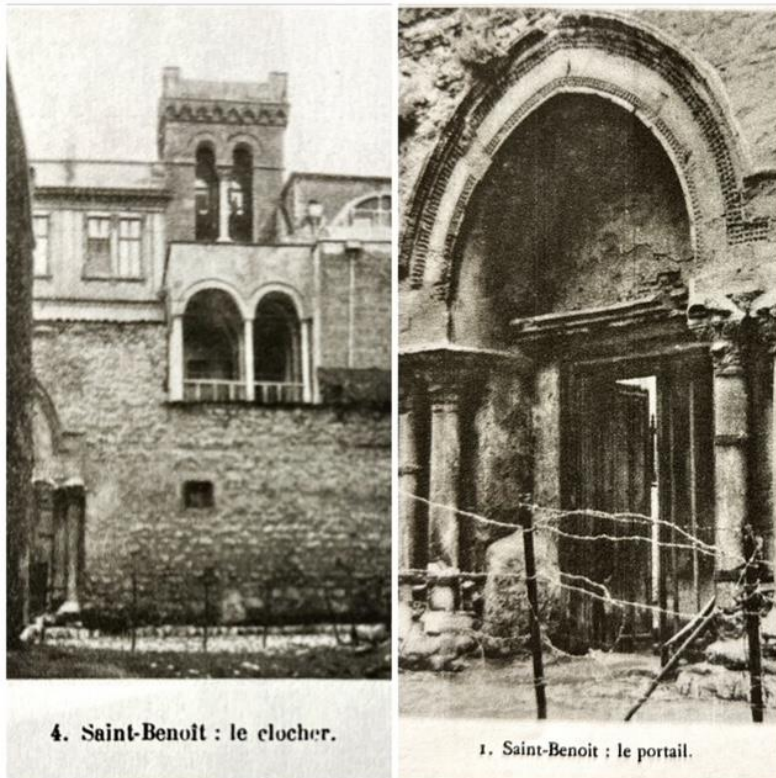


Fig. 43: Saint Benoit bell tower and monumental gate c.1920. Jean Sauvaget, 'Notes Sur La Colonie Génoise de Péra', *Syria* 15, no. 3 (1934): 262.



Fig. 44: Virgin Mary icon in San Pietro and Paolo. Photographed by author, 2023.



Fig. 45: Kurşunlu Han (Rüstem Paşa Han)/San Michele Photographed by author, 2021.

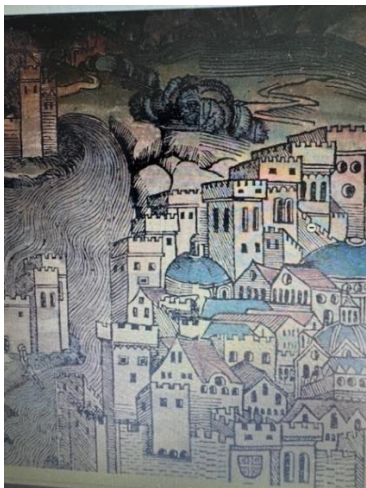
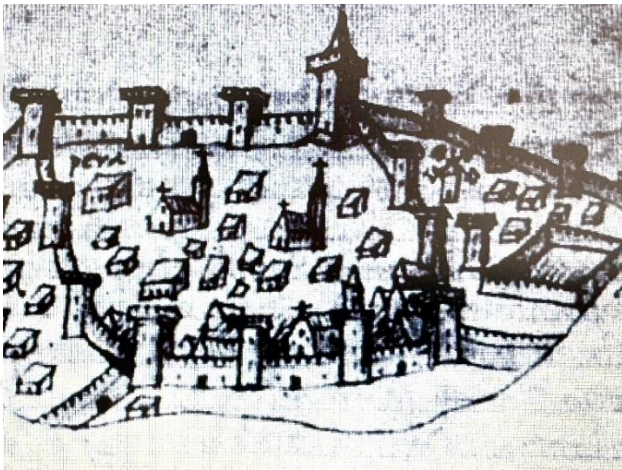


Fig. 46: Presumed San Michele representation in Buondelmonti *Liber Insularum* (P/13(30V); MS 36-9918C of Royal Museums Greenwich), *Liber Insularum* (Ms. Rossiano 702 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, f. 32v), cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 203, and Schedel woodcut map of Constantinople from public domain via Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 47: San Domenico and San Francesco in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Venezia Marciano, MsLat.XIV, 45, f. 43v) from public domain Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 48: San Domenico and San Francesco in Nasuh Al-Matraki (c.1533), from Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons

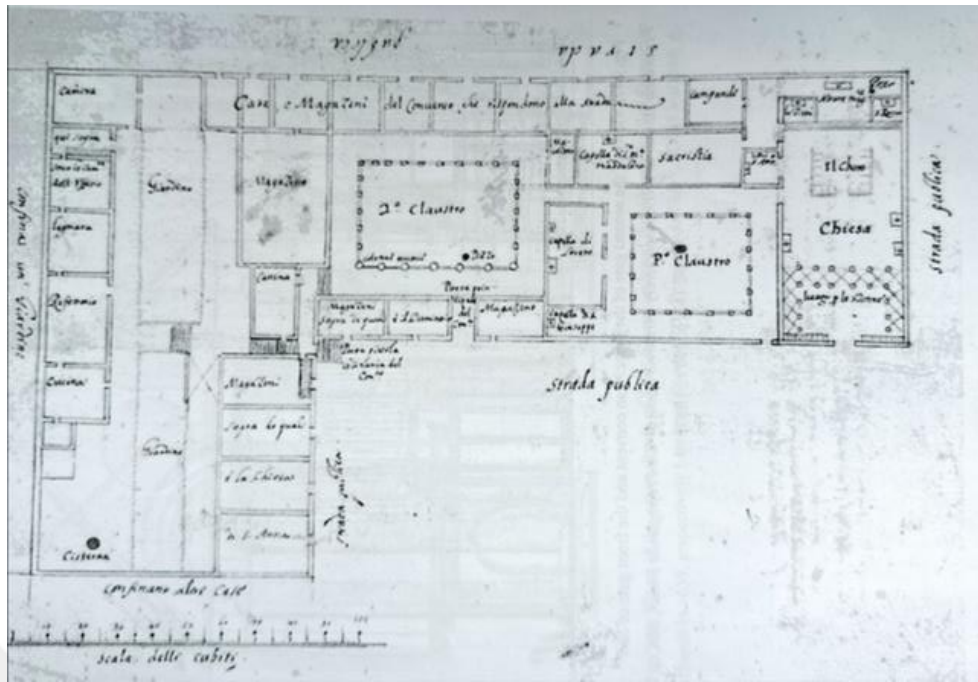


Fig. 49: Floor plans of San Francesco as of 1639. From *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 163, p.263 v.,1639), cited in Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 142.

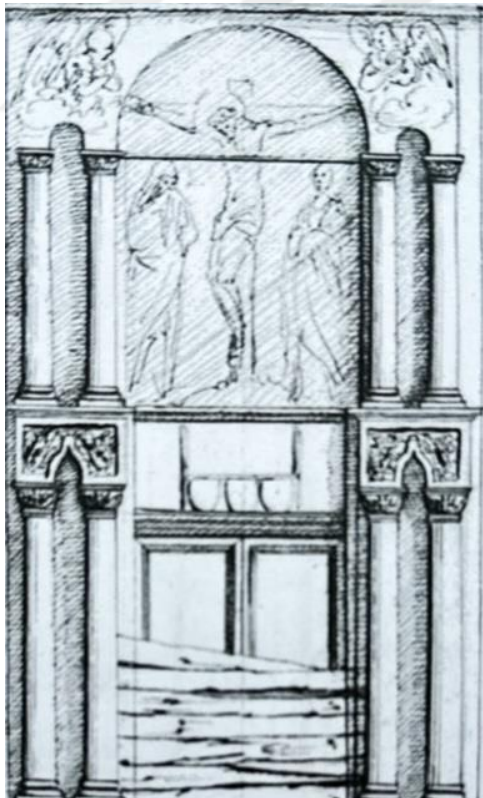


Fig. 50: Gate of San Francesco church as of 1639. From *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG Vol. 163, p.262 r.,1639), cited in Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 144.



Fig. 51: San Francesco and Sant'Anna churches inside the Franciscan convent, on right and left respectively, as of 1639. From *Archivio Storico "De Propaganda Fide"*, SOCG (*Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*) (1622-1892), Vol. 163, p.258 v. – 259 r., 1639), cited in Sağlam, 'Urban Palimpsest at Galata', 141.



Fig. 52: Santa Chiara church in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, f. 34v), cited in Barsanti ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 231.



Fig. 39: Genoese wall segment next to Kemankeş Karamustafa Camii. Photographed by author (2023)

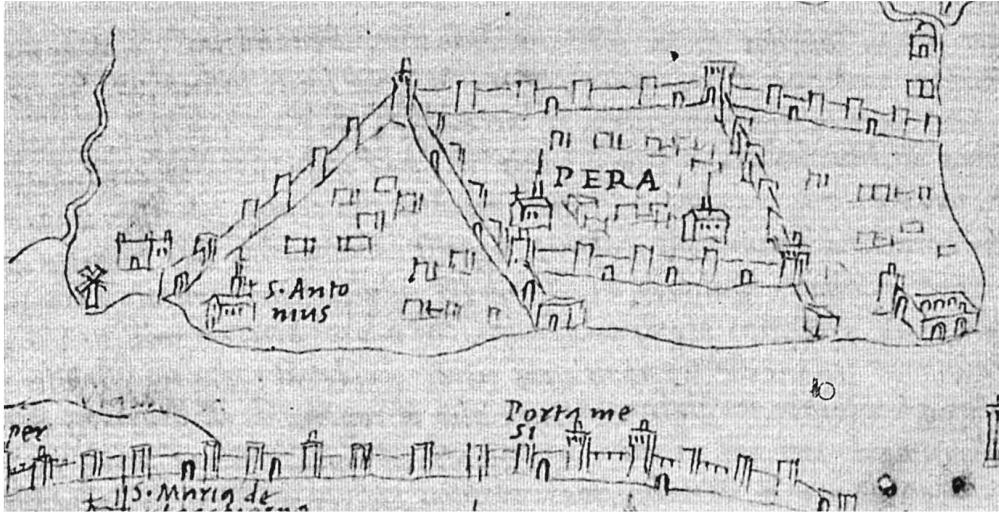


Fig. 54: San Antonius church in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. 15 Fondo Dona delle Rose della Biblioteca Correr di Venezia, f. 37r), cited in Barsanti 'Costantinopoli e l'Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo', 202.



Fig. 55: San Antonio Gate in Vavassore. Woodcut map of Constantinople from public domain via Wikimedia Commons.

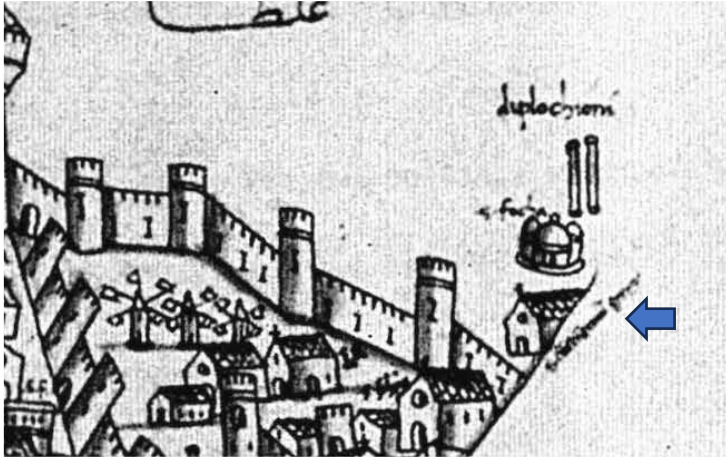


Fig. 56: S. Constantinus Grecus in Buondelmonti. *Liber Insularum* (Ms. N.A. Lat. 2383 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, f. 34v), cited in Barsanti ‘Costantinopoli e l’Egeo Nei Primi Decenni Del XV Secolo’, 231.



Fig. 57: Fr. Kauffer map, 1776, extracted from <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/116051>, in 2023.



Fig. 58: Galata Tower after the demolition of the walls. Sébah & Joaillier, after 1864, and Guillaume Berggren, 1875, extracted from <http://www.eskiistanbul.net/> in 2023.



Fig. 59: Logo of Beyoğlu Municipality. Extracted from <https://beyoglu.bel.tr/>, in 2023.

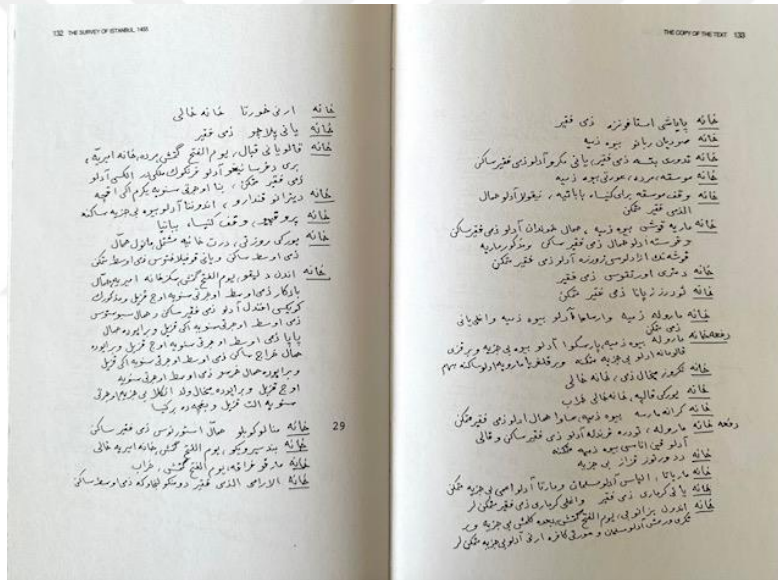


Fig. 60: 1455 Survey pages from deciphered text. İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*.

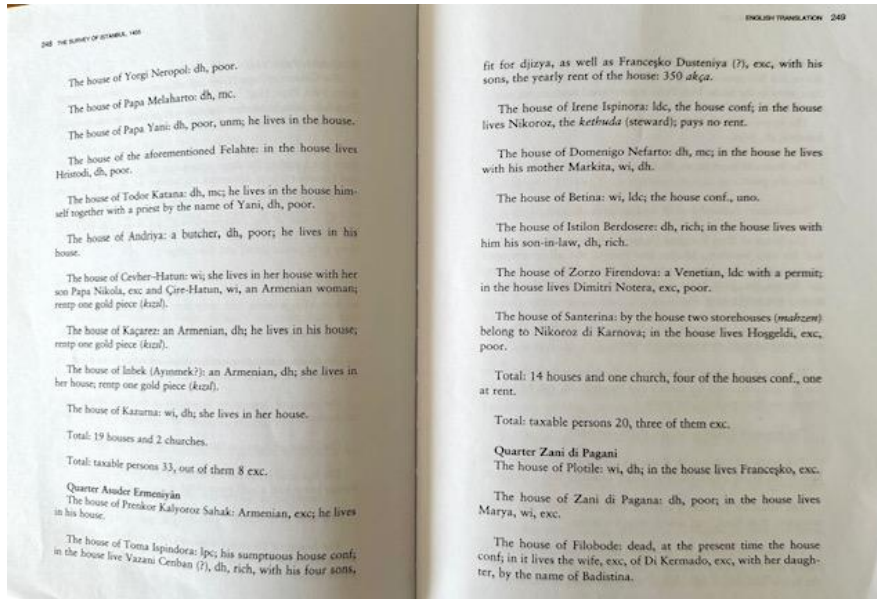


Fig. 61: 1455 Survey, pages from translated text. İnalçık, *Survey of Istanbul 1455*.



Fig. 62: Fatih Bedesteni. Photographed by author, 2022.

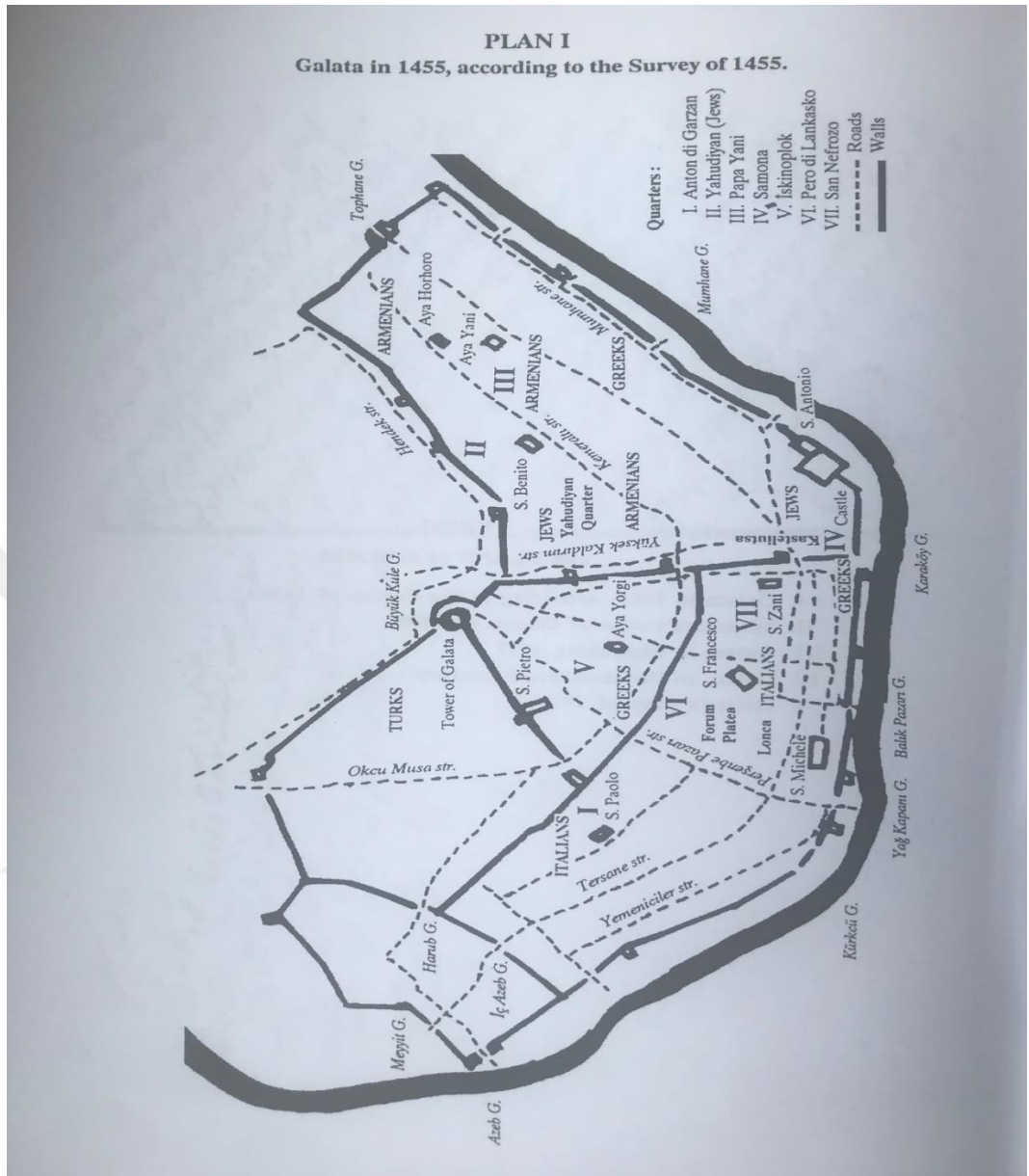


Fig. 63 Galata Map by Halil İnalçık. 'Ottoman Galata 1453-1553', Plan I.



Fig. 64: Satellite map of Galata with locations of Genoese monuments. Google Earth, 2023, modified by author.

APPENDIX A: PALAIOLOGI EMPERORS

Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282)

Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282 – 1328)

Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328 – 1341)

John V Palaiologos (1341 – 1347) (1354 -1376) (1379- 1390) (1390-1391)

John VI Kantakouzenos (1347 – 1354)

Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376- 1379)

John VII Palaiologos (1390) (1399 – 1402)

Manuel II Palaiologos (1391 – 1399) (1402 - 1425)

John VIII Palaiologos (1425 – 1448)

Constantine XI Palaiologos (1448 – 1453)

APPENDIX B: LIMITS OF CONCESSION AREA, 1303 ACT

— 103 —

IX.

1303, maggio. Delimitazione del borgo di Galata concessa ai genovesi da Andrea II Paleologo.

De mandato potentis et sancti domini nostri Imperatoris traditus et donatus locus apud Galatham illustri Comuni Janue habet terminos ut infra. Incipit a marina que est circa scalam nominatam vetus Tarsana distantem ab ipsa passus septem palmorum viginti quinque, et ascendit versus Aquilonem dimittens a sinistris confinium divinum et venerandum templum honorabilis prophete precursoris Domini beati Johannis, et distat ab illis confinibus loci passus tres; postea intrat vineam quondam Perdicarii accipiens de ipsa vinea passus quatuor, perveniens ad fossatum ipsius, et fiunt de marina usque ad illud fossatum vinee passus septem palmorum ut dictum est nonaginta. Ex illa vero parte vadit recto tramite versus orientem accipiens per totum ipsius vinee spacium passus quatuor, et transeundo recte pervenit ad vineam reverendi monasterii Lipsi. Relinquendo a sinistris ecclesiam sancti et magni martiris beati Theodori distantem ab huiusmodi loco terminato passus viginti quatuor. Dividit autem ipsam vineam secedens a muro qui dividit ipsam vineam e macropitam nominatam passus quinquaginta quatuor. Transit postea per puteum quod est in templo sancte Erine quod prius habebant ianuenses pro cimiterio. Transit similiter murum vinee Logotheti stratiothico quondam Kynami, distant ab huiusmodi passus tres, transit per vicinitatem ipsius muri et pervenit ad alium murum alterius vinee prefati Logotheti quondam stratiothico que est ex opposito contra portam divini et reverendi templi sancti et magni martiris beati Georgii, que porta distat ab huiusmodi terminato loco passus viginti et octo. Finit utique a suprascripto fossato vinee Perdicarii usque murum secunde vinee quondam Logotheti stratiothico Kinami passus ducenti decem et septem. 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 relinquendo 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. Et declinat rursus inde versus orientem per passus triginta dimittendo a sinistris idem templum distando ab ipsis terminis per passus octo. Rursus descendit versus meridiem et pervenit recto tramite ad marinam distando a muro castris Galathe per passus septuaginta, et sic finit eciam huiusmodi passus a supradicto muro vinee quondam Logotheti stratiothico Kinami usque ad marinam passus septuaginta quinque; inde venit versus occidentem per marinam faciens finem ad terminos a quibus incepit. Existente in ipsa parte numero passuum trecentorum triginta novem. Est siquidem ut superius dictum est concessus et donatus locus per potentem et sanctum dominum nostrum Imperatorem apud Galatham illustri Comuni Janue habens terminos et metas cognitatas ut hic particulariter distinguitur. Debet similiter inveniri extra huiusmodi locum vacuus et sine habitacione locus distanciam habens ex omni parte ipsorum terminorum cubitorum sexaginta, ita quod preter hospicia in quibus comorantur sacerdotes qui celebrant in superius dictis divinis templis non habeat libertatem aliquis grecus seu alter aliquis habitacionem facere in ipso. Debeat esse similiter ab ipso termino usque ad castrum Galathe perveniens locus a marina vacuus et sine habitacione secundum latitudinem castris sicut et prefactus certus locus qui spacium habet sexaginta cubitorum, prout etiam de hoc mandavit et ordinavit potens et sanctus dominus noster Imperator.

Actum mense maii indicione prima anno sexto milleno octavo et centeno undecimo.

Familiaris et consocer potentissimi sancti domini nostri Imperatoris magnus cancellarius Nichiforus Comnos.

Archivio di Stato. *Materie Politiche*, marzo VIII; SAULI, *Della colonia dei genovesi in Galata*, vol. II, pag. 209; *Liber Juratum Reip. Gen.*, vol. II, col. 435, e Codice dell'Archivio, car. 466 verso.

APPENDIX C: 1453 AHDNAME GIVEN BY MEHMED II,

TRANSLATED BY INALCIK

I, the Great Padishah and the Great Shehinshah Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad, give my solemn oath unto God, creator of the earth and the heavens, and by the enlightened and pure soul of Mohammad, his messenger and by the seven *muṣḥaf* (the Qur'an) and by the 124 thousand prophets of God and by the souls of my grandfather and my father and by my own life and my sons' lives and by the sword I am wearing, that since, at present, the people of Galata and their noblemen have sent to my Sublime Porte in order to show their friendship, their envoys Babilan Paravazin and Markiz de Franko and the dragoman Nikoroz(o) Papudjo with the keys of the aforesaid fortress and to submit to me as my subjects (*kul*),

I, in return, agree that they may follow their own customs and rites as were in force before, that I will not go against them and demolish their fortress. So I ordered [and agreed] that their money, provisions, properties, storehouses, vineyards, mills, ships and boats, in short, all their possessions as well as their wives, sons, and slaves, of both sexes, be left in their hands as before and that nothing be done contrary thereof nor to molest them, that they pursue their livelihood, as in other parts of my dominions, and travel by land and by sea in freedom without any hindrance or molestation by anyone and be exempt [from extraordinary impositions]; that I impose upon them the Islamic poll tax *kharâdj* which they pay each year as other non-Muslims do, and in return I will give my attention [and protection] as I do to those in other parts of my dominions; that they keep their churches and perform their customary rites in them with the exception of ringing their church bells and rattle (*nâkûs*); that I do not take away from them their present churches and turn them into mosques, but that they also do not attempt to build

new churches; that the Genoese merchants come and go on land and by sea for trade, pay the customs dues as required under the established rules and be free from molestation by anyone. And I, also, ordered that their sons not be taken as janissaries; that no infidel be converted to Islam against his will; that they elect freely someone from among themselves as *ketkhuda*, steward, to look after their own affairs; that no *doghandji* or *kul*, Sultan's men, will come and stay as guests in their houses; that the inhabitants of the fortress as well as the merchants be free from all kinds of forced labour. Let all take notice of this order and trust my imperial seal above. This document is written in the third part of the month of *Djumad' al-ula* in the Hidjra year of 857.

APPENDIX D: NOTES ON THE 1455 SURVEY MANUSCRIPT PUBLISHED BY INALCIK

Based on the discrepancies described in chapter three, and the findings listed in Table 1 of this research, I would like to note a few suggestions related to the correct order and name of the neighbourhoods. I focus on six neighbourhoods where the subtotals in the Survey differ widely from the result of my hand count. Those are *Yahudiyān*, *Dhraperyo*, *Iskineplok*, *Fabya*, *Pero di Lankaşko*, *Asuder Ermeniyān*, and *Yani Mavroyani*.

The first five neighbourhoods, namely, *Zani Drapora*, *Zani Dabdan*, *Nikoroz Sikay*, *Bona Zita*, and *Anton di Garzan*, appear to be correct in terms of their subtotals, as well as consistency with the identity of their residents, and being named after a resident. The complication starts with the sixth neighbourhood, *Yahudiyān*.

In the Survey, the subtotal of houses for *Yahudiyān* is thirty-one, whereas I counted thirty-nine houses. More importantly, the only houses belonging to Jews are four out of the first five houses, of this neighbourhood named after Jews. The rest of the houses belong mainly to Armenians, which is coherent with the fact that the two churches mentioned in the neighbourhood, *San Benita* (San Benedetto), and *Aya Horhoro* (Armenian Saint Gregory Lusarovich), both presently standing in Tophane, are known to be located in the Armenian neighbourhood. Therefore, I suggest that only the first five houses, until *Papa Patisto* belong to *Yahudiyān*, and the rest belong to another neighbourhood, most likely *Asuder Ermeniyān*, named after Armenians.

The eleventh neighbourhood in the Survey is *Asuder Ermeniyān*, or *Asana Sodori Ermeni*, as it appears in the Karaköy document, as mentioned by Emecen. However, *Asasdor* is not a resident here, but in *Yahudiyān*, where he lives in an annexe of *Aya Horhoro*. There are eight houses in the sub-total of *Asuder Ermeniyān*, as opposed to a hand count of fourteen, and only one belongs to an Armenian. Tomasso Spinola's sumptuous house is there, and the *protogeros* (*kethuda*) *Nikoroz* lives there. I suggest that the name and sub-totals are wrong, and that these residents belong to a different neighbourhood.

Looking for a neighbourhood with a substantial Jewish population, *Fabya*, sixteenth in order of appearance in the document, seems fitting. In addition, while the

subtotal of houses in *Fabya* is thirty-eight, a hand count reveals that there are sixty instead. The first twenty-eight houses belong to Italians, including the church of San Fabiano. Starting from the twenty-ninth house, which belongs to *Ilyas*, the next twenty-nine houses until the bath house, are almost all owned by Jews, including a person named *Rabina* (a rabbi?) who endowed his house to the Jewish poor.

I propose that the real neighbourhood named *Yahudiyān*, probably consists of the first five houses of *Asuder Ermeniyan* and the last twenty-nine houses of *Fabya*. Similarly, I propose that the real *Asuder Ermeniyan* neighbourhood consists of the houses remaining in *Yahudiyān* after a cut-off starting from Papa *Patisto*. Finally, regarding the synagogue which appears in Samona, and not in *Yahudiyān*, it may not be incoherent since it is known that the old Jewish quarter of Pera/Galata had been demolished by the crusaders in 1203. It is possible that their synagogue remained there, while the newly arrived Jews settled in a nearby neighbourhood.

The other neighbourhoods which need to be scrutinized are *Pero di Lankaşko* (subtotal of houses is one hundred and nine, as opposed to a hand count of fifty-six), *Yani Mavroyani* (subtotal of houses is thirty-one as opposed to a hand count of four), *Iskineplok* (subtotal of houses is sixty-four, as opposed to a hand count of seventy-nine), and *Dhraperyo* (subtotal of houses is fifty-one as opposed to a hand count of sixty-seven). Once the pages are reorganized, it is possible that there may be no missing pages after all.