THE ARTISTIC HYBRIDITY OF THE CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO (ARAP CAMİİ): MIRRORING THE MULTICULTURAL MILIEU OF GALATA FROM BYZANTINE TO OTTOMAN TIMES

by

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To My Husband and Son,

Çağdaş and Mert Yenikler

ABSTRACT

The settlement of the Genoese in Galata during the thirteenth century constitutes a turning point in the history of Constantinople that generated the prosperity and fame of Galata. Despite its growing social, economic and cultural significance during late medieval period, Genoese Galata has not attracted the scholarly attention it deserves, particularly in the field of art history, and its major monuments are still understudied. The aim of this thesis is to fill this void and to contribute to a better understanding of Galata, by studying one of the foremost extant edifices of the Genoese colony: The Church of San Domenico, transformed into the Arap Camii during the Ottoman era.

Originally a church, part of a Dominican convent constructed in the Genoese colony of Galata in Constantinople during the Palaiologan period, San Domenico incorporates, in a singular way, elements of Italian Gothic and mendicant, but also Byzantine architecture and art. The mixture of these different artistic traditions and features produces a distinct hybrid artistic character of the building, which mirrors the multicultural milieu of Galata. The thesis explores the nature of this hybridity in a holistic approach that examines the architecture, architectural sculpture, funerary monuments, painted decoration and interior furnishing of the building. Thus, the thesis aims to demonstrate how the physiognomy of San Domenico reflects the cultural interactions and artistic exchanges between the Latins and the Byzantines during Late Byzantine period.

The thesis also studies the impact of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople on Genoese Galata with the focus on the conversion of the church of San Domenico into the Arap Camii. The subsequent architectural and cultural transformations of the building during the Ottoman era are analyzed against the backdrop of political and religious context of that time. By examining the ensuing processes of Ottomanization and Islamization of Galata and the Arap Camii, the thesis seeks to complete the cultural biography of the building and to bring together all the phases in the life of that exceptional monument.

Once a mendicant church and convent in the Genoese colony during the Byzantine age, then a prominent mosque during the Ottoman era, the Arap Camii reflects the cultural diversity of Galata through centuries. By examining the mixed artistic and architectural characteristics of the building, this thesis reveals a significant case of artistic hybridity, and enriches the studies of cultural exchanges between the Byzantines and the Latins, particularly Italians. It also brings to light multiple transformations of a monument that acquired different cultural meanings in the ever-changing sociopolitical and religious contexts of the Byzantine and Ottoman worlds.

Keywords: The Church of San Domenico, the Arap Camii, Genoese Galata, Palaiologan Constantinople, Italian Gothic, mendicant architecture, Byzantine art and architecture, Dominicans, Byzantium and Italians, artistic hybridity, cultural biography of monuments, Ottomanization of Galata, Islamization of Galata, transformation of churches into mosques.

ÖZET

Cenevizlilerin on üçüncü yüzyılda Galata'ya yerleşmesi, Galata'ya refah ve ün getirmesi sebebiyle, Konstantinopolis tarihinde bir dönüm noktasıdır. Galata'daki Ceneviz kolonisi, geç orta çağ döneminde artan sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel önemine rağmen, özellikle sanat tarihi alanında hak ettiği bilimsel ilgiyi çekmemiştir. Koloninin başlıca yapıları hala az çalışılmış durumdadır. Bu tezin amacı, Ceneviz kolonisinin en önde gelen yapılarından biri olan San Domenico Kilisesi'ni inceleyerek, bu boşluğu doldurmak ve Galata'nın daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkı sağlamaktır. Bu yapı, Osmanlı döneminde Arap Camii'ye dönüştürülmüş olup hala ayaktadır.

Aslen Palaiologoslar Dönemi Konstantinopolisi'nde, Galata kolonisinde inşa edilen bir Dominiken manastırına ait olan San Domenico Kilisesi, olağan dışı bir şekilde, İtalyan Gotik ve dilenci tarikatına ait unsurlarla beraber, aynı zamanda Bizans mimarisinin ve sanatının özelliklerini de içermektedir. Bu farklı sanatsal geleneklerin ve özelliklerin karışımı, binaya, Galata'nın çok kültürlü ortamını yansıtan melez (hibrit) bir sanatsal karakter kazandırmıştır. Tez, bütünsel bir yaklaşımla, binanın mimarisini, mimari heykellerini, mezar anıtlarını, fresklerini ve iç dekorasyonunu inceleyerek, bu melezliğin mahiyetini araştırmaktadır. Böylece, tez, San Domenico'nun fizyonomisinin, geç Bizans döneminde Latinler ile Bizanslılar arasındaki kültürel etkileşimi ve sanatsal alışverişi, nasıl yansıttığını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Tez, ayrıca, Konstantinopolis'in Osmanlılar tarafından fethinin, Cenevizlilerin Galata'sı üzerindeki etkisini, San Domenico Kilisesi'nin Arap Camii'ye dönüştürülmesine odaklanarak, incelemektedir. Osmanlı döneminde, binadaki müteakip mimari ve kültürel dönüşümleri, dönemin siyasi ve dini koşulları bağlamında analiz eder. Tez, Galata ve Arap Camii'nin Osmanlılaşma ve İslâmlaşma sürecini inceleyerek, binanın kültürel biyografisini tamamlamayı ve bu istisnai anıtın hayatındaki tüm aşamaları bir araya getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Önceden Bizans döneminde Ceneviz kolonisine ait, bir dilenci tarikatı kilisesi ve manastırı olan, ardından Osmanlı döneminde bölgenin önemli bir camisi haline gelen Arap Camii, Galata'nın yüzyıllar boyunca süren kültürel çeşitliliğini yansıtmaktadır. Bu tez, yapının sanatsal ve mimari karma özelliklerini inceleyerek, önemli bir sanatsal melezlik vakasını ortaya koymaktadır ve Bizanslılar ile Latinler (özellikle de İtalyanlar) arasındaki kültürel alışveriş çalışmalarını zenginleştirmektedir. Ayrıca, tez, Bizans ve Osmanlı dünyasının sürekli değişen sosyopolitik ve dinsel koşulları bağlamında, farklı kültürel anlamlar edinen bir anıtın çoklu dönüşümlerini aydınlatmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: San Domenico Kilisesi, Arap Camii, Cenevizli Galata, Palaiologoslar Dönemi Konstantinopolisi, İtalyan Gotik, dilenci tarikatı mimarisi, Bizans sanatı ve mimarisi, Dominikenler, Bizans ve İtalyanlar, sanatsal melezlik, anıtların kültürel biyografisi, Galata'nın Osmanlılaşması, Galata'nın İslamlaşması, kiliselerin camiye dönüştürülmesi.

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I am indebted to Koç University for the financial support, which allowed me to take a new career path, and realize my dream to pursue a life-long profession with spirit and passion. I am also grateful for the funding of my trips to Genoa for research and conference purposes, whose experience significantly contributed to my studies. I would also like to thank to the GSSH faculty and staff, especially Nina Ergin for her inspiring seminar that led me to incorporate an Ottoman part in my thesis, Engin Akyürek for introducing me to the Byzantine artistic world, and his help with my questions about the Arap Camii, Lucienne Şenocak for her support in the cultural heritage management dimension of my survey, Christiane Luke for preparing us to the process of thesis writing, and Suzan Yalman for channeling me to the right direction in my initial pursuit of the thesis subject and advisor.

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INTRODUCTION

Objectives, Methodologies and Theoretical Frameworks

The Galata quarter in Constantinople became a trade colony of the Italian maritime state of Genoa during the Late Byzantine Period (1261-1453). The settlement of the Genoese constitutes a turning point in the history of Constantinople that generated the prosperity and fame of Galata. Alfons Maria Schneider states that "the Golden Age of Galata begins with the settlement of the Genoese."[1] Doğan Kuban asserts that "Galata's importance in the history of Constantinople dates from the thirteenth century onwards. … [it] eventually became the foremost example of the Levantine culture of the Eastern Mediterranean."[2] The Genoese colony resembled a medieval Italian town with its fortified walls, towers, numerous churches, shops, taverns, market-places and houses. Although it increasingly acquired a semi-autonomous character, it comprised of a mixed population who was in constant dialogue and contact with the inhabitants of Byzantine Constantinople. All these cultural interactions between the diverse communities, particularly the Latins and the Byzantines, evinced their traits in the architectural structures of Genoese Galata. The Church of San Domenico (early fourteenth century), which is the main subject of this thesis, mirrors the cultural diversity of Galata by displaying both Western and Byzantine architectural and artistic features.

After the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453, the Genoese sustained their commercial quarter and pursued their daily lives and affairs. However, significant changes came about by the transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman rule. Galata ceased to be a quasi-

[1] A. M. Schneider and M.I. Nomidis, *Galata. Topographischarchäologischer Plan mit erläuterndem Text* (Istanbul, 1944), 2.
[2] Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010), 211.

autonomous Genoese colony, as the Ottomans imposed a substantial authority over the area, which increased throughout the centuries. These political changes were expectedly reflected in the built environment of the region, including the Church of San Domenico, which was converted into the Arap Camii by the Ottomans in the late fifteenth century.[3]

The scholarship on medieval Constantinople has largely focused on the historical peninsula.[4] The Byzantine capital has been exhaustively studied from political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. The artistic, architectural and urban components of the city proper have also been thoroughly examined. However, the region across the Golden Horn, known as Galata or Pera, has not received the same attention, despite its growing social and economic importance during late medieval period. The studies that examine Genoese Galata mainly concentrate on the commercial aspect of the trade colony. Few scholars have hitherto worked on its social and cultural dimensions; and even fewer have examined its built environment, and inferred its artistic and cultural significance. The scarcity of both primary sources and archaeological evidence also played a role in the lack of the scholarship, but sources on Ottoman Galata are more abundant, shedding light on both Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods in the history of the region.

Moreover, regarding the studies about the Italian maritime states settled in Constantinople, Genoa, yet again, has attracted less attention when compared to its major rival, Venice. Venice has probably been perceived as a more compelling actor, due to its dominant role in the Eastern Mediterranean, and intense political, economic and cultural encounters with the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire. That said, without sufficient examination of Genoa, which was indeed a

[3] When the church was transformed into a mosque, it first took the name of the Galata Camii. Then, it eventually began to be called the Arap Camii, due to the settlement of the Andalusian Arabs in the neighborhood.
[4] For the studies in the scholarship, please see the section of literature review.

powerful state and regional force as well, we lack a full understanding of the Italian presence in Constantinople and the Eastern Mediterranean at large.

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to fill some of these voids in the scholarship by exploring Genoese Galata in the late Byzantine period, and analyzing one of its foremost extant structures, the Church of San Domenico. It also surveys their transformation process during the Ottoman period, seeks to depict a fuller picture of that region and building. In this scope, the thesis is divided into two parts. While the first part is dedicated to the Byzantine era, the second one is allocated to the Ottoman period. The first part mainly examines the establishment and development of the Genoese colony in Galata during the late Byzantine period, and analyses the architectural and artistic characteristics of the Church of San Domenico. It aims to unearth the motives behind these artistic choices and point to their cultural significance. It seeks to discover the reflections of the surrounding multicultural milieu on the building. The second part investigates the cultural transformation of Genoese Galata from the Byzantine to the Ottoman rule by discussing the elements of disruption and continuity. It aims to survey how the Ottomanization process affected the edifice that was converted into the Arap Camii.

In the thesis, I recourse to formalist methodology to analyze the architectural and artistic characteristics of the Church of San Domenico. I conduct an extensive comparative analysis with the contemporaneous buildings that belong to the mendicant, Italian Gothic and Byzantine architecture. Among these, I mostly focus on the Dominican religious buildings in North Italy and Byzantine edifices in Constantinople, as they betray more analogous features with San Domenico in Galata. In addition to this formalist approach, I also examine the building in light of the political, social and economic context of Galata and Constantinople (and the Eastern Mediterranean at large) during the late medieval period. I seek to ascertain how this specific historical and cultural setting

contributed to shape the architectural and artistic features of the Church of San Domenico. I also survey the political, social and religious backdrop during the early centuries of the Ottoman era to understand their effect on the transformation of the church, and determine how the subsequent modifications added new layers of cultural significance to the building.

In order to implement these methodologies, I visited many monuments *in situ*. I conducted several study trips in Galata, where I observed and noted various Genoese and Ottoman structures, in addition to the Arap Camii. These sites comprised of the other extant churches from the Genoese time, the Galata Tower, the remains from the Genoese walls and the gates, the palace of the *podesta*, mosques (both converted from the Genoese churches and constructed by the Ottomans), *hans*, *bedesten* and houses. My exploration was not limited to Galata; I itinerated through the traces of Constantinople to examine numerous Byzantine heritage sites, such as the monastery of Christ of the Chora (Kariye Museum), St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) and Constantine Lips (Feneri İsa Camii). Moreover, I had recurrent visits to Istanbul Archaeological Museums to scrutinize the section called "Istanbul through the ages," which contains important architectural finds both from Genoese Galata and the associated Byzantine sites in the city.

Besides my surveys in Istanbul, I had the chance to have multiple trips to Genoa, thanks to the support of the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities. I was able to assess to what extent the built environment of Genoese Galata was related with its mother city, Genoa, by examining its urban fabric and numerous late medieval sites. This evaluation greatly helped me to formulate central arguments of this thesis. During my trips, I visited numerous churches, museums, public buildings, *piazza*s and *palazzi*, in addition to taking several tours that enabled me to observe the cityscape and topography of Genoa. I also attended to a conference called "Multi-Ethnic Cities in the Mediterranean World: History, Culture, Heritage," organized by the University of Genoa. I

presented my paper called “The Cultural Transformation of Genoese Galata from the Byzantine to the Ottoman Rule and its Reflection on the Church of San Domenico,” that sprung from the content of my thesis, which had been in working progress at the time. This participation brought me together with various scholars of similar interest areas, and they contributed to my research with their valuable inputs. In sum, my experience in Genoa nourished my observations that I have been collecting in Istanbul. All these accounts significantly cultivated my line of argument throughout the thesis.

In addition to the examination of the sites in person, I have studied various primary and secondary sources about Genoese Galata, regarding the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. The following section with the literature review provides details about all these sources. I also extensively investigated Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople to comprehend the underlying historical context at large. On top of these subjects, I have also taken into consideration numerous academic studies about the history and architecture of the mendicant orders, particularly the architectural principles and practices of the Dominicans. In this scope, I have also examined various mendicant ecclesiastical structures through open access sources.

In order to expand my knowledge about the Dominican presence in Istanbul, I have also become acquainted with the Dominican friar of the convent of San Pietro e Paolo in Galata, Fr. Claudio Monge O.P., thanks to the initiative of my advisor, Ivana Jevtić. We had several meetings with Padre Monge, who has been greatly supportive by providing information and filling in the blanks about the Dominican history and architecture in Istanbul. He also accompanied me to the church and the convent, along with the exhibition, called “Domenicani a Costantinopoli e in Asia

Minore. Storia, immagini e documenti dall'Archivio domenicano dei SS. Pietro e Paolo."[5] Moreover, I had the chance to study at the library of the convent, which enabled me to access the rarely found Dominican sources. These experiences considerably enhanced my understanding of the Dominican mendicant order, which I have incorporated into my analysis. In sum, I fused all the learnings from these sources with my own observations and interpretations, and advanced my main arguments and suggestions in the thesis.

The resulting study can fit into the following theoretical frameworks. First and foremost, the thesis explores the notion of "artistic hybridity[6]," as the building displays both Western and Byzantine architectural and artistic features. The thesis seeks to ascertain the nature of this hybridization, and the reasons why such an amalgamation of these different artistic idioms[7] occurred. It contributes to the studies that deal with the cultural exchanges between the Byzantines and Latins (mainly Italians) in the Eastern Mediterranean sphere, particularly through the agency of mendicant orders. It paves the way for further comparative analysis among the related ecclesiastical structures within this broader network.

[5] The exhibition proceeded the conference of the same name that had been held in Italian Cultural Institute on 08.12.2016.

[6] The term "hybridity" is imported from the field of biology, denoting to the crossbreeding of different animal or botanic species. Peter Burke, who is the Professor Emeritus of Cultural History at Cambridge University, introduced the concept into artistic and architectural studies. See Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009) for a better understanding of the terminology, and Michele Bacci, "Veneto-Byzantine 'Hybrids': Towards a Reassessment, *Studies in Iconography* 35 (2014): 73-106 for a related case study.

[7] "Amalgamation" is a borrowed term from alchemy, which means the combination or blending of diverse things to unite one structure, in its broader sense. As Burke highlights in his work, it can be consciously used as a metaphor to describe the nature of hybridization. I think it is a suiting metaphor to describe the eclectic character of the Church of San Domenico, as the building incorporates a mixture of Western and Byzantine artistic and architectural features. These characteristics from different artistic idioms are deliberately integrated into the building, rather than being juxtaposed. In the thesis, I will elaborate on why the patrons and the friars selected and combined such various artistic features to build their church.

Secondly, the thesis also constructs a "biography of a monument[8]" by surveying its various historical layers throughout time. During my master's degree, the phenomenon of "transformation" against the backdrop of constantly changing contexts particularly captured my interest.[9] Thus, although I initially started out to study solely the Church of San Domenico in Genoese Galata, I wanted to pursue its ensuing Ottoman life as the Arap Camii, and incorporate it into my thesis. In this respect, the thesis attempts to portray the biography of this edifice by demonstrating its cultural and architectural transformation, after the significant transition of Constantinople from the Byzantine to the Ottoman rule.

Thirdly, this study takes into account the theoretical framework of "reuse," i.e. *spoliation*[10], as the building possesses various Byzantine *spolia* and some sculptural pieces that can be considered as *pseudo-spolia*.[11] The concept of *spolia* can also be considered within the larger framework of "hybridity," as a sign of the cultural and artistic exchange between the Latins and Byzantines. The notion of *spolia* would also be pertinent to the biographical context of the

[8] There are various studies that construct a biography of a monument, which examine its cultural, artistic, and architectural transformation against the background of a changing sociopolitical and religious context. For exemplary works, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the age of Justinian to the present*, ed. Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195-225, and Paul Stephenson, *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography*, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[9] The studies of Robert Ousterhout about the appropriation of Byzantine sites in early Ottoman period particularly captured my interest. See Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43.2 (2004): 165-76, and idem., "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 48-62.

[10] For an enhanced understanding of the concept of *spolia*, see Ivana Jevtić, "Introduction," in *Spolia Reincarnated. Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era*, ed. Ivana Jevtić and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: Anamed, 2018), 3-21. For another study that deals with Byzantine *spolia* in Constantinople, see Zeki Boleken, "Byzantine Spolia in the Ottoman Capital in the Light of New Evidence," in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Belgrade 22-27 August 2016, (Thematic Sessions of Free Communications)* (2016), 881.

[11] The building has various Palaiologan sculptural pieces, which are deliberately designed with typical Middle Byzantine ornamentations. I examine them in detail in the thesis.

monument[12], as its *spoliated* pieces acquired new lives throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman eras.

In sum, the thesis mainly aims to contribute to the scholarship on the built environment of Genoese Galata, by examining the architectural and artistic features of its extant former church, San Domenico. The thesis also portrays the second phase of life of the monument, as the Arap Camii during the Ottoman era, to depict a more comprehensive biography of the building. It seeks to attain an enhanced understanding of the structure, by studying it against the backdrop of the changing political, social and economic context of Genoese and Ottoman Galata. I hope that the thesis will also broaden one's vision by considering the edifice in the larger theoretical frameworks discussed above, and prompt further research in these scopes.

[12] For exemplary studies, see the papers in the "biographies of monuments" section of the book *Spolia Reincarnated*.

Literature Review

This section will present the literature review, including primary and secondary sources. I divide the secondary sources into two parts. The first part will review the studies that examine Genoese Galata during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. I will follow a chronological order as much as possible, according to their content and year of publication. The second part will review the several studies that have been conducted about the Church of San Domenico/Arap Camii. My aim is to compile a concise review of the major studies that were most beneficial for my thesis.

Primary Sources

One of the major primary sources for my thesis include the sites that I have explored in Istanbul and Genoa, as noted above. I have examined many structures, and also numerous relevant buildings through online means. In addition to these, I have utilized various other primary sources. The traveler accounts constitute a major part of them. Among these, the *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354* describes the narratives of the Muslim, Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta. Ruy González de Clavijo was another traveler, who was in the embassy of Henry III of Castile to the court of Timur, the founder and ruler of the Timurid Empire. His journal notes are published later as the *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand AD 1403-6.* Also, Pero Tafur, who was a Castilian traveler like Clavijo, wrote about Galata during his journeys, which are published as *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures 1435-1439.* All these narratives are helpful to retrieve information and insights about Genoese Galata during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Moreover, there are also traveler accounts that depict Galata during the Ottoman rule. One of them is the chronicle of the French natural scientist and topographer, Pierre Gilles. His stay in Constantinople between 1544 and 1547 corresponds to the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.

The Antiquities of Constantinople includes his observations about Galata, as well, where he examines its topography, and ancient and contemporary monuments. There is also an account by the French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Galata in the early 1700's. His chronicle has been translated into Turkish as called *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi* in 2005. Lastly, the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi also describes Galata in his narratives, which are compiled under the title as *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Istanbul*.

In addition to the traveler accounts, the Byzantine and Ottoman historians also provide knowledge about their contemporary periods through their records. Among these, I mostly benefited from the chronicles of George Pachymeres (1242 – c. 1310), Nikephoros Gregoras (1295-1360), Michael Kritoboulos (1410-1470), Tursun Beg (1420-1499) and Aşıkpaşazade (1400–1484).[13]

Another group of primary sources consist of the various maps and illustrations of the Galata region, which are crucial to determine its urban landscape and physiognomy. These include the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* of Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who depicted Galata and Constantinople in 1420s. Other major illustrations of Galata include a later engraving by the Venetian cartographer G.A.Vavassore in 1530, and a miniature by the Ottoman mathematician, historian and cartographer Matrakçı Nasuh in 1535.

Finally, there are also various documents, registers and surveys that concern Genoese Galata during the Byzantine and Ottoman era. These include the Genoese notarial documents

[13] I studied these accounts through their translated books into English, where possible, or through secondary sources that referred to them in their analyses.

(1453-1490)[14], various other Genoese records[15], the *ahd-name* between the Genoese and Mehmed II (June 1, 1453), the Ottoman surveys of 1455 and 1519, the *wakfiyye*s (endowment deeds) of Mehmet II circa 1472s and 1481, and the *Djabi* register of 1489.[16] I was able to examine the associated documents and maps through secondary sources, which I have already either reviewed above, or cited in the footnotes of the thesis.

Secondary Sources on Genoese Galata

First, the multitude of sources on Constantinople constitute a starting point for research about Galata. There are numerous studies that provide extensive information, particularly about the commercial relations between Byzantium and Genoa, such as the works of the leading Byzantinist scholars like Angeliki Laiou, David Jacoby and Paul Magdalino. In addition, there are important studies about the urban context of the late Byzantine Constantinople, which help to understand the built environment of Genoese Galata, as both regions were in constant dialogue and open to the artistic idioms of each other. Alice-Mary Talbot, Paul Magdalino, Klaus-Peter Matschke and Vassilios Kidonopoulos are among the foremost scholars, who examined the urban physiognomy and the building activities of the city. While I acknowledge the contribution of these scholars and their works to comprehend the development of Genoese Galata, they are not included in the literature review, as they would be too exhaustive and rather circuitous around the main topic, but I repeatedly refer to these sources in the historical background chapter. Thus, one can

[14] For the publication of the original documents, see A. Roccatagliata, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti Rogati a Pera e Mitilene*, 1, Pera, 1408-1490, ed. G. Pistarino, Collana Storica di fonti et studi, 34, 1 (Genoa, 1982).
[15] These records include the registers about the items that were moved out of the churches in Pera and sent to Genoa in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest. I mention them both in the literature review and the thesis.
[16] I describe all these documents in detail, in the thesis.

see the associated bibliographic information in the footnotes of this section. Here, I will review the literature that focuses most specifically on the Genoese Galata and San Domenico.

I will encompass the contemporary studies that have been realized as of the twentieth century. Yet, I should first remark on several older surveys that have significantly contributed to the scholarship. Despite carrying the risk of becoming outdated, they are noteworthy. These works include L. Sauli's *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata* written in 1831, V. Promis's *Statuti della Colonia Genovese di Pera* in 1872, M.D. Launay's *Notice sur le Vieux Galata (Pera) des Genois* in 1875, L.T. Belgrano's *Documenti Riguardanti la Colonia Genovese di Pera* in 1888, and M. Belin's *Historie de la Latinité de Constantinople* in 1894. Particularly Sauli and Belin are commonly cited in the modern studies, which I review below.

Celal Esad Arseven's book, *Eski Galata ve Binaları* is, to my knowledge, the first Turkish academic study (1913) that examines Genoese Galata. Arseven provides plentiful information about its history; he divides the book into several chapters, such as the churches, walls, gates, towers and inscriptions of the region. Among these, he devotes a separate chapter to the Arap Camii. It is a valuable study for his time, but some of his arguments now became outdated and inaccurate, such as the foundation legend of the Arap Camii.[17]

The French orientalist and historian Jean Sauvaget describes Galata in his study, "Notes sur la Colonie Génoise de Péra," published in 1934. His illustrations of the region are particularly useful to determine the location of the main urban components, such as its *piazza*, *loggia*, the main churches, and their relation to the topography.

[17] This foundation legend alleges that the structure was originally built as a mosque by the Umayyads during their siege in the early eighth century. I will describe this myth in more detail in the thesis.

One of the prominent studies on Galata includes the book *Galata. Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan mit Erläuterndem Text*, produced by the German archaeologist and Byzantinist Alfons Maria Schneider and M.I. Nomidis in 1944. It describes the historical layers of Galata, and portrays its walls, gates, towers, churches, mosques, synagogues, bazaars, avenues, bridge and public fountain, with an illustrated map. It encompasses the monuments that belong to both Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

Semavi Eyice, the leading Turkish Byzantinist, has prolifically surveyed Galata and its monuments, including the Arap Camii, *Palazzo Comunale*, Pierre Han, as well as the Genoese heritage sites throughout Turkey. His book *Galata and Its Tower* (1969) provides comprehensive information about the history of Galata, and its evolution from the early Byzantine to the modern Turkish republic period. Even though Eyice focuses on the Galata tower among the monuments, he simultaneously supplies extensive information about the whole Genoese built environment, and its later transformation during the Ottoman times. His overview of Galata constitutes a good starting point for further studies of the region and its other monuments.

The American scholars John Freely and Brandon Freely present a more recent and comprehensive study in their book *Galata, Pera, Beyoğlu: A Biography* in 2000. The book resembles a guide book, where the authors accompany the readers through the streets by informing them about the buildings they pass through. It has a smoothly flowing language. Even so, these features do not devalue the scholarliness of the book, which supplies succinct academic knowledge about the political, social and economic history of Galata, and describes all the major monuments. John Freely has another short book *Galata: A Guide to Istanbul's Old Genoese quarter*, which mainly includes the same content focusing on the Genoese heritage sites.

Moreover, the Turkish art historian Özkan Eroğlu neatly brings together most of the academic research hitherto conducted on Galata in his book *Suriçi Galata*. He filters the whole literature and briefly delineates each important monument in Galata. It could be counted as an abridged version of Brandon and John Freely's book in providing an academic guide to the enthusiasts of Galata.

There is also a recent doctoral dissertation by Sercan Sağlam titled "Urban Palimpsest at Galata & an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor," conducted in 2018 at the Politecnico di Milano. Sağlam carries out an in-depth analysis of the urban development and built environment of the Genoese colony in Galata, including its foremost monuments. In this scope, he examines the Church of San Domenico, along with other churches and architectural structures.

Lastly, there are also noteworthy projects about Genoese Galata that are work-in-progress. One of them belongs to Mabi Angar, a Byzantinist scholar at the University of Cologne. She works on the topography and urban development of the Genoese settlement in Galata in the late Byzantine period, and primarily aims to depict a GIS-based, detailed map of the Genoese colony. Another one belongs to Nevra Necipoğlu, professor of history at the Boğaziçi University, with an expertise area in Late Byzantine social and economic history. One of her current studies include the social topography of Genoese Galata during the late Byzantine period.

In addition to these studies that are solely about Galata, there are also notable books about Istanbul, which dedicate a considerable part to Galata, as well. The leading French Byzantinist Raymond Janin offers extensive knowledge about the formation of the Genoese colony and the ecclesiastical structures in Pera in his seminal book, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de L'Empire*

Byzantin: Premiére Partie, le Siége de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. Tome III, Les Églises et les Monastéres, published in 1969.

The German architecture historian, archaeologist and Byzantinist Wolfgang Müller-Wiener conducts another comprehensive study about Istanbul, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhundert*, in 1977. Also translated into Turkish as *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası* in 2016, the book describes the evolution of the city from the ancient to the modern times through detailed maps, and provides descriptive information about each key monument in Istanbul with their photographs and illustrations. Regarding Galata, the author describes its history, and depicts its map, including the major monuments. He specially reviews the Arap Camii, the Church of Saint Benoit, the *Palazzo Comunale* and the Galata walls.

The Italian scholar Claudia Barsanti also discusses the appearance of Genoese Galata and its monuments by examining the maps of the Italian Franciscan priest and traveler, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who had illustrated the region in his studies *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* in 1420s. Her papers include "Un Panorama di Constantinapoli dal 'Liber Insularum Archipelaghi'di Cristoforo Buondelmonti" (1999) and "Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti e le Chiese Latine di Constantinopoli" (2017). It is possible to detect several cues about the physiognomy of the Church of San Domenico, as well as other monuments, through these studies.

The Turkish architectural historian Doğan Kuban also describes Galata in his prominent book *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis,* as well. In the chapter "Galata, The Levantine City," he supplies concise information on the historical background of Genoese Galata, and delineates its appearance through maps and traveler accounts.

Lastly, I should point out another relevant study about the Genoese in the late Middle Ages. It is the seminal book *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, written by Michel Balard, the Emeritus Professor of the History of the Middle Ages, in 1977. He examines the political and economic history of "Genoese Romania," the term he uses for the lands under the control of Genoa in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In this scope, he analyzes Pera, as well, by mainly examining its commercial affairs through the notarial documents and account books of treasury.[18] It is a prominent work, but since it mostly focuses on the economic aspect, it does not directly contribute to the aim of this thesis.

I will now proceed with the academic studies that examine how Genoese Galata was affected by the Ottoman rule. As noted above, they shed light on the Byzantine era, as well, since they include comparative analysis. Among these studies, the Ottomanist Turkish historian Halil İnalcık has a seminal work "Ottoman Galata. 1453-1553," which is so influential that it constitutes the foundation of numerous other secondary sources. In this article, İnalcık thoroughly examines the *ahd-name*, the agreement conducted between the Genoese of Galata and Mehmet II after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. He draws attention to the often overlooked, yet, central distinction between the permanent and temporary Genoese inhabitants, by demonstrating their different political and legal status. He scrutinizes numerous important primary sources to ascertain how Galata changed through the early centuries of Ottoman rule, and its impact on the Genoese community. These primary sources include the 1455 survey of Istanbul, the 1472 *vakfiye* (endowment deed) of Mehmet II, the second vakfiye of Mehmet II circa 1481, the *Djabi* register of 1489, the survey of 1519, and the Genoese notarial documents covering the period 1453-1490.

[18] He examines the reasons why the Genoese merchants were such successful in trade by analyzing the nature of their trade merchandise, commercial commodities, financial investments, means of transport and expansion policy.

He describes how the region gradually became Islamized, while still maintaining its multicultural composition. Moreover, İnalcık criticizes the arguments of the aforementioned scholars Belin and Sauli, who advocated that the status of the Genoese was not any different from that of the other foreign communities. İnalcık solidly contradicts this view by demonstrating their differences. He also brings new insights about the extent of the Genoese autonomy under the Ottoman authority. He advances a more reserved interpretation, regarding the autonomy of the Genoese, which heavily depended on their status, as whether permanent or temporary. In sum, İnalcık's article is a fundamental study in this topic, with his meticulous examination of copious primary sources and insightful arguments. İnalcık also has a publication that concentrates on the survey of Istanbul in 1455, called *The Survey of Istanbul 1455. The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents.* As the title suggests, he analyses this survey, and filters this exhaustive data into meaningful insights and deductions.

Another fundamental article is "The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682," written by Louis Mitler, the American scholar with a special interest in Near Eastern languages and cultures. In this article, he examines how the Ottoman rule affected Genoese Galata through the period between their conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and their abolition of the *Magnifica Communita di Pera*[19] in 1682. Mitler argues that, while the Genoese considerably lost their autonomy after the conquest, they still enjoyed a degree of independence, thanks to the presence of the *Magnifica Communita*. He asserts that their settlement area retained a medieval Italian character with its built environment. Mitler acknowledges the process of Ottoman assimilation, but his reading of the degree of the Genoese autonomy in the aftermath of the conquest is more than what İnalcık argues.

[19] The *Magnifica Communita di Pera* was the Christian organization that administered the Latin churches, and run their internal affairs in Pera.

There is also a foremost study called “The Genoese in Pera - Turkish Galata” by the Italian historian Geo Pistarino, who analyses the Genoese notarial documents of Pera of the fifteenth century. These documents constitute a crucial primary source that shed light on to the impact of the Ottoman conquest on the daily lives of the Genoese. Pistarino demonstrates that the Genoese sustained their daily business affairs under normal conditions as before during the Ottoman era.

Moreover, Fariba Zarinebaf, the Iranian historian with an expertise on Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, has recently published a book *Mediterranean Encounters: Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* in 2018. This study has been helpful to my research since it examines the transformation of Galata from the Genoese to the Ottoman rule. Although it mostly focuses on the commercial affairs, it is possible to obtain insights about the social and cultural changes in the early modern period.

Regarding the books about Istanbul that involve considerable information about Ottoman Galata, Doğan Kuban again dedicates another chapter “The Case of Galata” in his book *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis*, to describe Ottoman Galata. He examines the impact of the Ottoman conquest on Galata and the Genoese community. He emphasizes the multi-cultural character of Galata, which maintained its mixed population, despite significant political and social changes.

The Turkish scholar Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, whose expertise is on the urban, architectural and visual culture of the Ottomans, also discusses Galata in her prominent book *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital*. She brings out valuable insights about its urban landscape by comparing the nature and pace of its transformation process to those of the city proper, during the early centuries of Ottoman rule.

In addition, Marc David Baer, professor of international history at the London School of Economics, whose research area focuses on the shared histories of Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Europe and the Middle East, has a relevant article called "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Istanbul," published in 2014. This study is useful for the survey of Galata because it encompasses its Ottomanization process in the seventeenth century, in the light of the larger political and religious context in Istanbul.

Lastly, there is a book called *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923*, written by the American scholar Charles A. Frazee in 1983. Being an expert on Catholic history, Frazee examines the political and cultural relations between the Catholic society and the Ottoman court within the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it includes extensive information and insights about the impact of the Ottoman rule on the Catholic community and its ecclesiastical structures in Galata.

Secondary Sources on the Church of San Domenico / Arap Camii

Most of the sources above refer to the Church of San Domenico/Arap Camii, but they provide a broad overview of the building. Here, I will review the academic studies that analyze the structure in detail. Semavi Eyice wrote a brief account of the Arap Camii in Tarih Vakfı's *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* and a comprehensive one in Reşad Ekrem Koçu's *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. In the latter study, he describes the architectural characteristics of the original structure, and supplies extensive information about the later changes it went through the Ottoman rule, including its transformation into a mosque and the additional modifications in the subsequent restorations.

Benedetto Palazzo, the Father of the Church of San Pietro in Galata between 1938 and 1945, composed a monograph called the *Arap Camii veya Galata Saint Paul Kilisesi*. His main

aim was to reveal the accurate history of the building by negating the foundation legend, which alleged that the structure was originally built as a mosque by the Umayyads in the early eighth century. He demonstrates that, in contrast, it was built as a Roman Catholic Gothic church by the Dominicans in the early fourteenth century. Although it might be expected that the Father would arrive at such a conclusion, I found his analysis unbiased and scholarly, based on solid evidence and reasonable arguments.

There are various crucial studies about the fresco paintings in the interior decoration of the building. The first one belongs to Stephan Westphalen, the Byzantinist archaeologist and art historian, and professor at Heidelberg University, whom I am honored to have in the jury of my thesis. He had the chance to examine the frescoes[20], which were exposed after the pilasters of the building fell off during the earthquake of 1999. He published his observations in two articles, one in Italian "Pittori Greci nella Chiesa Domenicana dei Genovesi a Pera (Arap Camii). Per la Genesi di una Cultura Figurativa Levantina nel Trecento" in 2007, and other in German "Die Dominikanerkirche der Genuesen von Pera (Arap Camii) Griechische Maler-Lateinische Auftraggeber" in 2008. In these articles, he first describes Pera, and the history, architecture and tombstones of the building. He provides a reconstruction of the original structure[21], which has been particularly helpful for my thesis. Then, he focuses on the newly discovered frescoes, and delineates the painting program by examining their iconography and style in detail. He astutely demonstrates the hybrid character of the frescoes by discerning both their Western and Byzantine artistic elements.

[20] Stephan Westphalen cooperated with Haluk Çetinkaya in this work, which was supported by the grant that was awarded by Adolf Hoffmann for 2004-05 to the Istanbul Department of the German Archaeological Institute.
[21] This reconstruction is illustrated by Timm Radt, who collaborated on the article.

Another study belongs to Engin Akyürek, the Byzantinist art historian, and also my professor at Koç University. He also had the chance to examine the frescoes in 2004, and published his observations in an article, called "Dominican Painting in Palaiologan Constantinople: The Frescoes of the Arap Camii (Church of S. Domenico) in Galata" in 2011. After describing the architecture of the building and the renovations it went through, he concentrates on the frescoes, as well. He analyses their form, style and iconography, and compares them with other contemporaneous Byzantine monumental paintings, such as those of the Chora Church and the *parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos. He thoroughly distinguishes their similarities and differences, and advances sharp deductions that reveal the amalgam nature of the frescoes.

Haluk Çetinkaya, the Byzantinist archaeologist and art historian, and professor at Mimar Sinan University, is another foremost scholar to work on the frescoes of the Arap Camii. He was also the academic advisor of the measuring and recording activities of the Arap Camii in 2006, which were conducted for the subsequent restoration in 2010. He published three articles, similar in content, which are "Arap Camii in Istanbul: Its Architecture and Frescoes" in 2010, "Byzantine Masters at the Service of the Catholic Church at Constantinople" in 2011, and "Dünü, Bugünü ve İçindeki Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," Arkeoloji ve Sanat" in 2016. In these studies, he provides brief information about the historical background of Galata and the Genoese settlement in Constantinople, and describes the architecture of the structure. He indicates to the employment of Byzantine artists in the building, due to Byzantine stylistic traits. These articles also present new information about the frescoes that were discovered during the recent restoration. While he describes the ones that he had the chance to observe during his advising, he could only provide limited information about the additional frescoes, which he could not inspect in person since they were found after his incumbency and pilastered over during the restoration. However, all these

new pieces of information are important to know as they give cues to what the building originally contained.

There are also important studies, regarding the Genoese tombstones that were discovered under the floor of the building during the restoration of the early twentieth century. Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, an Italian scholar born and lived in Istanbul, analyzed these tombstones and published them in a book, called *Le Pietre Sepolcrali di Arab Giamí: (Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata)* in 1942. This is a valuable compile of all the tombstones, including their pictures with brief pieces of descriptive information. It is a crucial comprehensive source to examine the formal characteristics of the tombstones, and deduce their cultural and artistic significance.

In addition, Eric A. Ivison, the Byzantine historian and professor at the City University of New York, allocates a concise part to the sepulchral monuments of the Arap Camii in his study "Latin Tomb Monuments in the Levant 1204-ca.1450" in 1996. He advances the study of D'Alessio further by scrutinizing the decoration of the funeral monuments, including the tombstones and *arcosolia*, and comparing them to the contemporaneous Byzantine ones. He brings out insightful conclusions that demonstrate the artistic infiltration of Byzantine culture into the Genoese sepulchral monuments.

Two German scholars, Johannes Cramer and Siegrid Düll, examined the Arap Camii with the support of German Archaeological Institute in 1983, and published their observations in a joint article "Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul" in 1985. Their study concentrates on the architectural sculptures on the belfry and the passageway underneath it. They conduct a thorough analysis of the impost capitals, cornices, *arcosolium*, and *spolia* or the pieces that can be considered as *pseudo-spolia* of the building. Their examination is crucial both to detect the penetration of the Byzantine artistic culture in the structure, and establish the links with the built

environment of the mother city, Genoa, and other comparable Italian structures. In addition to these, they also examine the Genoese tombstones, and advance new arguments about their dates, which have significant implications on the foundation story of the building.

Fabrizio Giordani, the Italian professor at the Department of Architecture at University of Pescara, is another scholar who worked on the building. He published an article called "L'Arap Camii o Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata" in 1995. I think that this study particularly contributes to the scholarship of the edifice, through his comparative analysis of the apse area, in relation to the comparable architectural structures of the mendicant orders. I benefited extensively from this study to ascertain the connection of the founding friars of San Domenico with North Italy, particularly the regions of Lombardy and Piedmont, where there are numerous churches with notably analogous belfries. This article became a departure point for me to further discover comparable structures, and associate the Church of San Domenico in Galata with a larger framework of buildings related to the mendicant orders in Italy.

Moreover, Nicholas Melvani, the Byzantinist archaeologist and art historian, and post-doctoral fellow at the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation /Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies in Istanbul, also published a paper "Dominicans in Byzantium and Byzantine Dominicans: Religious Dialogue and Cultural Interactions" in 2017. This study fills a gap in the scholarship of the building by focusing on its cultural significance as a convent. Melvani describes the role of the monastery in catalyzing the cultural exchange between the Byzantine and Dominican scholars, particularly through their theological discourse. He provides information about the leading religious men in the convent, including some notable Byzantine converts. Moreover, due to his academic expertise on Late Byzantine sculpture, he specially examines the

architectural sculptures of the building, to demonstrate how the cultural interactions between the Byzantines and Latins reflected into the artistic features of the structure.

There are also two studies that significantly helped me to construct the foundation history of the Dominican convent in Galata. These are *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté Grecque aux XlVe et XVe siècles* published by Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, the professor of medieval history at the University of Picardie Jules Verne, in 1997, and *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* published by the Dominican friar Tommaso M. Violante O.P. in 1999. They provide comprehensive knowledge about the history of the Dominican order in Constantinople, the formation of the Dominican convent in Galata, its cultural significance, and its influential religious men.

Furthermore, there is an enlightening study by the Polish scholar Rafał Quirini-Popławski, who is a professor at the Jagiellonian University, with a special interest area about the Genoese heritage sites in the East Mediterranean and the Black Sea. He published a paper "Ex Partibus Orientalibus Translata ad hanc Urbem: The Evacuation of Elements of Church Decoration from Pera to Genoa in 1461" in 2015. As its title suggests, he describes the items that were evacuated from Pera to Genoa in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. It is an extensively helpful study for visualizing the interior furnishing of the Latin churches in Galata. Although the provenance of the items cannot not be specified, the whole record of the decorative artefacts in Pera indicate to the paraphernalia that the Church of San Domenico might similarly have contained.

Lastly, there are additional studies that inspect the structure more as a mosque. One of them is a prominent study about the mosques of Istanbul in general, which is the *Hadikatü'l-Cevami / İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mimari Yapılar*, narrated by the Ottoman writer Ayvansarayi Hüseyin Efendi in 1768. He visited and examined 821 mosques in Istanbul, including the Arap

Camii. His enquiry has been influential in continuing the Islamic Ottoman foundation legend of the Arap Camii. It constitutes the base of the relevant discourses that deal with the history of the structure in the scholarship.

For example, the English antiquarian, historian, and archaeologist F.W. Hasluck further digs this myth in his paper "The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople" in 1916. He questions it with solid and concise arguments, but I think that he mainly contributes by interpreting the associated political, social and cultural context, which facilitated the popular acceptance of this foundation legend.

Finally, there is also a book written by the mosque's *imam* H. Sabri Işık, who served for forty-seven years. Its title is *Arap Camii ve Galata*, published in 2010. I mainly benefited from this book to learn about the phase of the building's life as a mosque. The *imam* provides detailed information about its Islamic cultural and architectural elements, such as *mihrab*, *minber*, *mahfel*s, *şadırvan*, *türbe,* inscriptions and the Quran courses.

In sum, the literature review shows that the majority of the studies about the Genoese Galata and the Arap Camii are not very recent. There are only a few works that were published on these topics in the last two decades, thus, both Genoese Galata and its monuments, including the Arap Camii, need further novel research. Regarding the Arap Camii, the latest studies about the monument mostly concentrate on its frescoes that were newly discovered as of 1999. Moreover, most of the analyses, hitherto conducted, deal with one aspect of the edifice, such as the funerary monuments, paintings, and architectural sculptures. Hence, there is a need for a new, holistic study that brings together all the components of the building, to understand its cultural and artistic significance in the most comprehensive way. This thesis corresponds to such a need, it seeks to

provide a complete portrait of the edifice and to prepare the ground for future research about the monument and Genoese Galata, in the broader context.

PART I

GENOESE GALATA

AND

THE CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO

DURING BYZANTINE ERA

PART I: GENOESE GALATA AND THE CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO DURING BYZANTINE ERA

The first part of the thesis mainly examines the Genoese colony in Galata during the Byzantine period and the Church of San Domenico in the Genoese settlement. It consists of two chapters. While the first one delineates the historical background of Galata and Constantinople during the Byzantine era, the second one studies the Dominican convent in Galata and analyses the architectural and artistic characteristics of the Church of San Domenico.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides in broad lines the historical background of Galata and Constantinople during the Byzantine era. The first sub-chapter encompasses the pre-Palaiologan periods to understand the political and economic conditions that eventually led to the establishment of the Genoese colony in Galata during the Palaiologan dynasty. It, first, briefly portrays the history of Galata from the Late Antiquity to the Middle Byzantine period (300-1204). Then, it describes the earlier settlement of the Genoese in Constantinople, along with the other Italian maritime states, during the Middle Byzantine period (843-1204). Lastly, it illustrates the impact of the Latin rule (1204-1261) on the urban fabric of Constantinople, and how this political change affected the settlement of the Genoese in the city.

The second sub-chapter focuses on the historical background of the Palaiologan period (1261-1453). First, it delineates the Palaiologan Constantinople by concentrating on the political and economic circumstances that led to the prevalence of the Italians, particularly the Genoese, in the commercial life of the city. It also focuses on the building activities in the newly recovered Byzantine capital. It prepares the ground to demonstrate how the Palaiologan Constantinople and Genoese Galata were interconnected and open to artistic exchange, expressed in their built

environments. Then, the chapter describes the establishment and development of the Genoese colony in Galata, against the backdrop of the sociopolitical and economic history of the capital. It illustrates how the Genoese settlement prospered and expanded until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. It also portrays the multicultural milieu of the colony, crucial for the understanding of the hybrid character of the Church of San Domenico, analyzed in the following chapter.

I. 1. a. Pre-Palaiologan Periods (300-1261)

- A Brief History of Galata from Late Antiquity to Middle Byzantine Period (300-1204)

The region of Galata was called *Sykai*, and it occupied a small inhabited area during the Late Antique period.[22] The name *Sykai*, meaning fig in English, was derived from the presence of a fig grove in the area.[23] The district was also called *Peran en sykais*, or shortly *Pera*, meaning the opposite side of the city proper (the historical peninsula of Constantinople).[24] It is plausible that the name Pera, which was given to Beyoğlu and Galata in later centuries, originates from this denomination. When Theodosius II [r. 408-450] restructured the urban configuration of Constantinople by dividing it into fourteen districts, he incorporated *Sykai* into the boundaries of the city as the thirteenth region.[25] According to the *Notitia* of Theodosius II, this region included one church, one forum, one theater, one harbor, public baths and 431 houses.[26]

When Justinian I [r. 527-565] granted *Sykai* a city status and built walls around it, the region began to be called *Iustinianai* or *Justinianopolis* during his reign.[27] He also constructed several churches, including the Church of St Eirene.[28] This church is notable for this thesis, as the Church of San Domenico was later built on the site of this ruined Byzantine church. The building activities continued to develop during the reign of Tiberius II [r. 578-582], who constructed the

[22] Semavi Eyice, *Galata and its Tower* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1969), 45.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Brendan Freely and John Freely, *Galata, Pera, Beyoğlu: A Biography* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2016), 11.
[25] For the *Notitia* of Theodosius II, see *Notitia dignitatum, accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum*, trans. and ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), 229-43. See also Dimitris Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Openness. Studies in honour of Vasiliki Papoulia*, ed. Theodoros Korres et al. (Thessaloniki: Vanias Publishing House, 2012), 153-83.
[26] Drakoulis, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 164.
[27] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211. It is possible that the city had already been fortified in the fifth century against the attacks of the Huns.
[28] Ibid. Brian Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Mass (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60-86.

prominent tower *Kastellion ton Galatou,* to which the renowned chain for safeguarding the entrance of the Golden Horn was attached (Fig. 1).[29]

The Galata quarter was mostly abandoned after an outbreak of plague in the sixth century.[30] It probably remained desolate for a long time until the settlement of the Jewish community during the eleventh century.[31] The Jewish lived in this region until the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The Latins invaded Galata by capturing the *kastellion*, and they destroyed the Jewish quarter.[32] In sum, except for the fifth and sixth centuries of the early Byzantine period, Galata did not occupy a significant role in the urban development of Constantinople until the Late Byzantine Period. It only possessed a strategic geographic position in the Golden Horn across the historical peninsula, which made it an important political base for defensing the city against the foreign attacks and siege of Constantinople.

Regarding the name of "Galata," there are various interpretations of its etymology. It started to be used as of the ninth century.[33] One suggestion is that it originated from the Greek name *Gala* or *Galaktos*, meaning milk, due to the dairies in this area.[34] Another interpretation is that it stems from the Italian word *calata,* meaning quay or slope, as Galata had a topography on a hill by the sea with a harbor, where the loads of ships were carried up and down on its sloping streets.[35] One other explanation is that it was derived from an important man, who came from Galatia and was living in this district.[36]

[29] Eyice, *Galata*, 46. Freely, *Galata*, 11.
[30] Ibid., 23.
[31] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Freely, *Galata*, 11.
[34] Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları* (Istanbul: Şefik Matbaası, 1989), 25.
[35] Eyice, *Galata*, 46.
[36] Ibid.

- The Settlement of the Genoese and other Italian Maritime States in Constantinople during Middle Byzantine Period (843-1204)

The settlement of the Genoese and other Italian maritime republics in Byzantine Constantinople started during the Komnenian Dynasty (1081-1185). The Venetians, Amalfitans, Pisans and the Genoese established their commercial quarters in the Golden Horn area in the historical peninsula of Constantinople (Fig. 2).[37] They enjoyed privileged trade rights, such as the exemption from custom dues.[38] The political and economic context is crucial to understand why the Komnenoi conceded such privileges to Italian maritime republics.

Throughout the eleventh and twelfth century, the Byzantines encountered multifaceted political struggles, which included the attacks of the Seljuks from the East, and the Normans and the Pechenegs from the West.[39] The most detrimental defeat occurred in the decisive Manzikert battle of 1071, where the Byzantines lost a substantial territory in Asia Minor to the Seljuks.[40] The first Komnenian emperor Alexios I [r.1081-1118] felt compelled to seek assistance from the Latins to recover from these losses and counteract the ongoing foreign attacks, particularly from the Muslim Turks in the East. This instigated the first of the Crusades, which occurred between 1095-1099.[41] Despite this alliance, there was an unremitting dispute between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics, who had religiously been separated into two factions, as of the Great Schism in

[37] Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 110.
[38] Ibid., 137-50. The first trade privilege to the Italians was conferred to the Venetians by Basil II in 992 during the Macedonian Dynasty (867-1025) in return for their supply of ships to bring Byzantine soldiers to Italy. See Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 159. Yet, it was during the Komnenian dynasty (1081-1185) that the Italian merchants started to receive extended trade privileges of great importance, such as the exemption from the custom dues and acquisition of their own commercial quarters in Constantinople.
[39] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 158.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Alexander A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453* (Madison and Milwaukee, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 389-412.

1054.[42] Thus, the successive Second Crusade of 1147-1149 constituted an additional threat for the Byzantine Empire. These circumstances put the Byzantines into a tricky position, where they were trapped between two major forces, i.e. the Crusaders and the Sultanate of Rum.[43]

The settlement of the Italian maritime powers in Constantinople corresponds to this challenging context, which prepared the ground for their acquisition of commercial concessions, in return for their military support to Byzantium in overseas. The Italians helped to flourish the international trade of the city, which helped to grow the economy.[44] The first one among the Italians to acquire a commercial quarter in the Golden Horn were the Venetians, who settled in 1082.[45] They increasingly gained dominance in trade through their privileged trade rights. Their rising monopoly began to disturb the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos [r. 1143-1180], who facilitated the settlement of the other Italian maritime states, with an aim to diversify the trade control among different actors. The Pisans started their settlement circa 1111, and the latecomer Genoese began to settle as of 1155.[46]

These Italian quarters stretched along the coastline of the Golden Horn, side by side. The Venetians were placed at the western end between the Gates of Drungarios and Perama, the Amalfitans and the Pisans were located between the Gates of Perama and Neorion, and the Genoese were positioned at the eastern end below the Neorion and Prosphorion Harbours.[47] These commercial quarters became settlement areas for Italians, which did not only comprise of houses

[42] Alexander Kazhdan, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 83-100.
[43] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 417-38.
[44] Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 140-50.
[45] Gerald W. Day, "Manuel and the Genoese: A Reappraisal of Byzantine Commercial Policy in the Late Twelfth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 37, No. 2 (Jun., 1977): 291.
[46] Day, "Manuel and the Genoese," 291.
[47] Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 110.

and storehouses, but also of Latin churches and monasteries.[48] The population of the foreigners, which mostly included Italians, was estimated around 60.000 during the middle twelfth century.[49]

As mentioned above, the Genoese settled in their quarter as of 1155, in scope of the agreement that was conducted with Manuel I Komnenos.[50] The quarter encompassed the forum of Strategion. It also included a church that Manuel I conceded the Genoese to construct.[51] However, it was probably built later, due to the grim conflicts with the Pisans, who eventually attacked the Genoese quarter in 1162.[52] The foundation of the church was mentioned in a document, dating to 1170, which stated that it was located in the district of Neorion.[53] As the Venetians destroyed the Genoese quarter in 1171[54], it is possible that this church also vanished in this assault. Manuel I severely reacted to this event by arresting 10,000 Venetians.[55] After several years of political turmoil in the city, in 1192, the Byzantines also conferred the Genoese the Palace of Botaneiates, which included two churches.[56]

The fierce and hostile rivalry did not solely prevail among the Italians, but also between the Italian and local Byzantine merchants. Despite various discussions in scholarship about the actual extent of the Italian dominance in the commercial sphere of Constantinople during the Komnenian dynasty[57], it is certain that their perceived supremacy caused a significant resentment

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[48] Raymond Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin: Premiére Partie, Le Siége de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. Tome III, Les églises et les Monastéres* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969), 570-79. Aygül Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi ve Dönüşümü* (Istanbul : Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013), 21-93.
[49] Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2016), 24.
[50] Day, "Manuel and the Genoese," 295.
[51] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 574.
[52] Day, "Manuel and the Genoese," 295.
[53] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 574.
[54] Day, "Manuel and the Genoese, 292-94.
[55] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 25.
[56] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 574-75. See also "Palace of Botaneiates," Byzantium 1200, accessed December 9, 2019, https://www.byzantium1200.com/botenai.html.
[57] See Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980/1981): 177-222; David Jacoby, "Constantinople as

among the native community. This outrage eventually led to the disastrous event of the Latin Massacre in 1182, where majority of the Latin inhabitants, i.e. Roman Catholics, were massacred in Constantinople, being forced to flee the city for a several years.[58] This event further impaired the already inimical relation between the Roman Catholics and Byzantine Orthodox populations. Their enmity culminated in the Fourth Crusader attacks in 1204, where the Latins succeeded in seizing Constantinople and founding their own empire in the city.[59]

- The Impact of the Latin Rule on the Urban Fabric of Constantinople (1204-1261)

The Fourth Crusaders established the Latin Empire of Constantinople, after their capture of Constantinople in 1204. Their rule lasted for nearly sixty years. The territory of the Latin Empire and its vassals mainly corresponded to the modern Turkey's Marmara region and parts of modern Greece while the Byzantine Empire was fragmented into three Greek successor states, which included the Empire of Nicaea, the Despotate of Epirus and the Empire of Trebizond (Fig. 3).[60] In scope of the thesis, I will solely remark on the impact of the Latin rule on the urban configuration of Constantinople, and how this change affected the future settlement of the Genoese colony in Galata.

The Latin invasion severely deteriorated the built environment of Constantinople, due to the major fires that were set by the Latins during their siege in 1203-04, and their extensive

Commercial Transit Center Tenth to Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Trade in Byzantium: papers from the third international Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul 24-27 June, 2013*, ed. Paul Magdalino, Nevra Necipoğlu with the assistance of Ivana Jevtić. (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2016), 193-210; Day, "Manuel and the Genoese," 289-301; Paul Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 529-37. All these scholars assert that it was during the Palaiologan period that the Italians became decisively dominant in trade and that their trade concessions during the Komnenian dynasty did not result in such a superior control. Yet, the increasing role of the Latins caused enough incitement to annoy the local merchants.

[58] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası,* 25.

[59] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 450-69.

[60] Ibid., 468-69.

pillaging and vandalism.[61] In addition, the successive earthquakes of 1231 and 1237 escalated the ruinous state of the city.[62] These factors brought about depopulation, which shrank the economy to a graver stage. The lack of resources and revenues caused further neglect to restore the damaged districts and monuments.[63] David Jacoby aptly argues that, the Latin emperors lacked the broader vision to see Constantinople as an imperial capital with symbolic historical value, anyway.[64] Thus, they were preoccupied with their own interests, which entailed building activities mostly in the Venetian quarter that they had settled in. As a result, while the Venetian quarter expanded and enjoyed private and public construction, the other areas of the city suffered from desolation. This led to a "variegated" urban evolution in Constantinople during the Latin Empire.[65]

The Venetian ascendancy weakened the position of its major rival, the Genoese. Even though the Genoese quarter was spared from the fires, it began to wane because of the continuous conflicts with the Venetians. Despite several agreements conducted between the Genoese and Venetians during the years 1218-1251, the Genoese quarter eventually lost its autonomous status.[66] These adverse conditions forced the Genoese to gradually abandon their settlement area.[67]

Meanwhile, Galata became one of the most damaged and desolate regions in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade.[68] As mentioned above, the Crusaders seized and destroyed the *kastellion* and the Jewish quarter in Galata. The district was also heavily deteriorated by the

[61] Vassilios Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557), Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S.T. Brooks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 98-102.
[62] Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople," 101.
[63] David Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople (1204-1261)," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 277-98. Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 243-49.
[64] Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople," 297.
[65] Ibid., 296.
[66] Ibid., 283.
[67] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211.
[68] Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople," 278, 295.

fires. As a result, both the Jewish community and the few Greeks, who had lived there, fled from Galata to the city proper.[69] The Genoese, who had lost their commercial quarter in the historical peninsula, began to settle in this deserted area of Galata as of the thirteenth century.[70] Yet, their disadvantageous and inferior position was to change diametrically with the forthcoming fall of the Latin rule of Constantinople in 1261.

[69] Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople," 282.
[70] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History,* 211.

I. 1. b. Palaiologan Period (1261-1453)

- The Byzantine Recovery of Constantinople and the Prevailing Commercial Role of the Italians

The Latin Empire of Constantinople ended when the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, Palaiologos [r. 1261-1282], who was in exile in Nicaea, recaptured the city in 1261 (Fig. 4). The Palaiologan dynasty ruled the Byzantine Empire until the Ottoman's conquest of Constantinople in 1453. In order to keep focused on the thesis topic, I will describe the political and economic circumstances during the late Byzantine period in a single-minded manner to understand their effect on the restoration of Constantinople and the dominance of the Italians in the commercial sphere.

When Michael VIII recaptured Constantinople, the capital was in a destitute state with its ruined built environment, diminished population and shrunk economy.[71] Michael VIII aimed to reinstate the Byzantine Empire into its old glory by repopulating the city, reviving its economy and restoring its urban prestige. He inaugurated an intense building program, which included numerous reconstruction and restoration projects.[72] He concentrated on repairing the key landmarks of Byzantium, such as the Hagia Sophia, the Blachernai Palace and the walls.[73] His restoration activities even earned him an epithet of the New Constantine.[74]

The succeeding emperor Andronikos II [r.1282-1328] sustained this building program by re/constructing numerous religious and secular structures.[75] During his reign, the rising aristocracy

[71] Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1972), 45-62.
[72] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople," 243-61.
[73] Ibid., 249-55.
[74] Ruth Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople-1261?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 6:1 (1980): 13-41.
[75] Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople," 98-117.

played a leading role through their artistic patronage. They commissioned sumptuous renovation/construction projects for churches and monasteries with lavish decoration programs.[76] The most notable examples include the renovation of the monasteries of Chora (1315-1321) and St. Mary Pammakaristos (1315-1320), which were conducted by leading noble figures, Theodore Metochites and the widow of Michael Glabas, respectively.[77]

However, one should not fall into a delusion of a comprehensive recovery or revival of the total city. While prominent scholars acknowledge these accomplishments, they argue that these artistic and architectural executions should not be overstated.[78] Apart from the city's key sites, the remaining urban areas of the city were mostly desolate or undeveloped that still maintained its "ruralized network of scattered nuclei."[79] Urban and rural spaces were intertwined, where vineyards and wheat fields existed within the city walls, along with the commercial and residential structures.[80] Yet, Klaus-Peter Matschke rightfully contends that, even though the late Byzantine period was not a "golden age of urban construction", it provided its inhabitants a "sense of identity and self-awareness", which fostered their motivation to restore and preserve the former glamour of the capital.[81]

Apart from restoring their devastated city, the Byzantines were struggling with numerous political powers at many fronts. In the West, they were facing a threat of a new crusader attack,

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[76] Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic Production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557), Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S.T. Brooks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 76-97.
[77] Verti, "Patronage and Artistic Production," 79-80.
[78] See Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 315-28; Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," 529-37, and Nevra Necipoğlu, "The Social Topography of Late Byzantine Constantinople: Evidence from the Patriarchal Register," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 36 (2010): 133-43. They all agree that the city was in an overall desolate state where only the key prestigious landmarks were spared. The urban and rural areas of the city were intertwined.
[79] Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," 536.
[80] Necipoğlu, "The Social Topography," 137.
[81] Matschke, "Late Byzantine Constantinople," 315, 328.

aiming at restoring the Latin Kingdom, which was mainly led by Charles of Anjou.[82] In addition, the Serbian and the Bulgarian forces constituted major menaces, as they both sought to establish their own states that jeopardized the territories of the Byzantine Empire.[83] In the East, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum Empire was disintegrating into small *gazi* principalities, but a rising force was emerging among them, the Ottomans. They became an increasingly threating power, as they seized important territories from the Byzantine Empire throughout the fourteenth century.[84]

Michael VIII and the following emperors resorted to foreign aid to confront these various struggles. This is how the Italians entered the picture. Their alliance was crucial in dealing with intricate political conflicts and maintaining balance of power between diverse players.[85] More importantly, they played a central role in reviving the economy of the empire. The Palaiologoi continued to grant them privileged commercial rights, which consisted of free trade, the exemption or reduction from customs and taxes, the acquisition of commercial quarters, the use of their own weights and measurements in trade, and having their own courts for legal matters.[86] As Nevra Necipoğlu demonstrates through the patriarchal register, the Golden Horn sustained to be "the main commercial zone as well as the preferred residential center of the Palaiologan Constantinople, in continuation of a trend that was established during the Komnenian period."[87]

Even though the Italian merchants had received comparable trade rights during the Komnenian dynasty, it was after the Latin occupation and during the subsequent Palaiologan

[82] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 580-656.
[83] Ibid., 599-621. Angeliki E. Laiou, "Byzantium and Neighboring Powers: Small-State Policies and Complexities," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557), Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S.T. Brooks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 42-53. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 194-200.
[84] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phoenix, 1994), 9-17.
[85] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 580-656. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 63-77.
[86] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 213.
[87] Necipoğlu, "The Social Topography," 134.

period that, the Italians became overwhelmingly dominant in the commercial sphere.[88] A sharp imbalance of power eventually ensued between the Italians and local Byzantines, particularly due to the exemption of the Italians from the ten percent custom tax, i.e. the *commercium*, which was in contrast imposed on the local Byzantines. As the foremost Byzantinist historian Angeliki Laiou contends, especially after the 1320's, the Byzantines lost all their competence and control to impede the increasing dominance of the Italians; in her words, "Byzantium became a hinterland to Italian-dominated markets."[89] Until this time, they were at least trying to impose several limitations on their trade, such as restricting or regulating their commercial activities in the Black Sea.

As of the 1320's, the Byzantines were dealing with continuous political and social turmoil, due to various grave events, such as the successive civil wars of 1321-28, 1341-1347 and 1373-1394, the fall of Nicaea and Nicomedia to the Ottomans in 1331 and 1337 respectively, the outbreak of Black Death in 1348, and the major earthquake at Gallipoli in 1354 and its following seizure by the Ottomans (Fig. 5).[90] As a result of these unceasing conflicts, the Byzantines completely lost their sphere of influence in trade. They became totally dependent on the Italians, who ran and dominated the Eastern Mediterranean market, through their control of maritime trade routes and enhanced information mechanism within their wide maritime network.[91] Moreover, the facts that the Byzantine Empire was an exporter of food and raw materials, and an importer of

[88] As noted above in footnote 37, the key leading scholars such as Laiou, Jacoby and Magdalino see the Latin conquest of Constantinople as a major turning point in boosting the control of the Italian influence on the city's trade. During the Komnenian dynasty, the Byzantines managed to maintain the main control of the trade itineraries and revenues through regulations and restrictions, particularly in the Black Sea region. After the Latin regime and the subsequent Palaiologan dynasty, the Italians gained dominance.
[89] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 179.
[90] Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18-38. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 580-656.
[91] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 182.

manufactured goods, and that it lacked the competence to develop its own manufactures led it to an economic stalemate.[92] This situation further augmented the empire's dependency on the West.

However, these adverse circumstances did not affect the whole society. Even though the imperial state and public in general were impoverished, the aristocracy became even more powerful and wealthy than before.[93] They succeeded in enriching themselves by actively participating or investing in commercial enterprises with the Italians. Laiou asserts as such: "Constantinople was a city of contradictions at this time: a relatively small city, with the bulk of its inhabitants impoverished, but with a wealthy minority lined to the Italian trade."[94] Jacoby also highlights the disparity of wealth between the aristocracy and the state, as follows: "The chronic impoverishment of the imperial treasury contrasts with the enrichment of a group of Byzantine individuals, who actively participated in the Black Sea trade and entered into joint ventures with Latin merchants, although they diverted some of their profits to the Genoese and Venetian state funds."[95] Similarly, Paul Magdalino remarks on how the built environment reflected this economic inequality: "In the final decades before the fall, the population numbered seventy thousand, and along the Golden Horn, on the hills above the busy markets, the new three-story houses of a prosperous aristocratic bourgeoisie turned their back on the urban decay behind them, creating a built environment that had much common with the bustling Genoese business center across the water."[96] All these depictions portray the gap between the populace and the aristocracy, who became affluent by taking advantage of the commercial opportunities that the Italian merchants brought about.

[92] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 187.
[93] Ibid., 177-222. Jacoby, "Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center," 193-210.
[94] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 205.
[95] Jacoby, "Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center," 208.
[96] Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," 536.

Nonetheless, the engagement of the aristocracy in commerce was still subordinate, as the main control belonged to the Italians. Magdalino aptly describes the economic relations between the Byzantines and the Italians, as such: "Profits were to be made in commerce, in spite of, but also in association with, the predominant Genoese and the Venetian enterprises."[97] I think, here, "in spite of, but also in association with" accurately portrays the tricky nature of the trade concessions granted to the Italians. They were indispensable in expanding the commercial business of the empire, but they were, at the same time, detrimental to the local Byzantine economy by perpetually binding it to Italian hands.

The fall of Byzantium finally came about when the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453. They had particularly been an intimidating force through the second half of the fourteenth century by annexing important cities, such as Adrianople in 1361, Sofia in 1385 and Thessaloniki in 1387.[98] They had become dominant in the Balkans, Thrace and Asia Minor as of the final decade of the fourteenth century.[99] The end of the Byzantine Empire would have probably come about earlier if the Ottomans were not dealing with the dominant Mongolian power (Fig. 6). Their decisive defeat in the Ankara battle of 1402 had delayed the inevitable fall of Byzantium.[100] Murat II had already sieged Constantinople in 1422; it was, finally, Mehmet II, who conquered it in 1453, ending the era of Byzantine dominion that ruled over than a millennium.

The adverse political and economic context of Palaiologan Constantinople helps us to understand the ascendancy of the Genoese in this era. The multifaceted hardships of the Byzantine Empire facilitated the Genoese to develop an increasingly prospering and autonomous colony in

[97] Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," 536.
[98] İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire,* 9-17. Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990), 15-75.
[99] Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*), 15-75.
[100] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 580-656. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History,* 194-200.

Galata, right across the dwindling historic city. The following section will delineate Genoese Galata at the backdrop of this historical background.

- The Establishment and Development of the Genoese Colony in Galata

While Michael VIII Palaiologos reigned as the co-emperor of the Empire of Nicaea [r.1259-61], he signed a treaty with the Genoese on 13 March 1261 in Nymphaeum, which promised them to acquire Galata as a commercial quarter, in return for their military aid in recapturing Constantinople.[101] When Michael VIII recaptured the city on 25 July 1261, he enacted this agreement and conferred Galata to the Genoese, as promised.[102] The treaty granted them special rights, such as establishing a *loggia*, a palace, churches, baths, bakeries, houses and shops, in addition to the right of free trade.[103] In hindsight, this conferral might seem generous, but one should keep in mind that Galata was a desolate and devastated region when the Byzantines bestowed it to the Genoese.[104] In addition, the Genoese alliance would balance the power against the Venetians, in the face of a potential Crusader attack. However, when Michael VIII discovered a collusion among the Genoese to restore the Latin dominion with the King of Sicily, he expelled them from the capital, and he renewed the former privileged commercial rights of the Venetians as a reprisal.[105] Michael VIII allowed the Genoese to regain their rights only in 1267, as part of his diplomatic plan to counteract the crusader threat, led by Charles of Anjou.[106]

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[101] Eyice, *Galata,* 47. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211. See also Cecily J. Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and eadem., "The Imperial Image at the End of Exile: The Byzantine Embroidered Silk in Genoa and the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2010): 151-99, for a better understanding of the diplomatic exchange between Genoa and Byzantium, in light of the political and cultural climate in the Palaiologan period.

[102] John Freely, *Galata: A Guide to Istanbul's Genoese Quarter* (Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2000), 7.

[103] Eyice, *Galata*, 47. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211.

[104] Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople," 282.

[105] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 591-617.

[106] Ibid., 593.

The unceasing rivalry between the Genoese and the Venetians gave rise to a Venetian attack on the Genoese quarter in Galata in 1296, which severely destroyed the area.[107] After this strike, the Genoese felt the need to fortify their colony for defense. However, the Byzantines only granted them the right to dig a moat around it in 1303.[108] They did not allow them to build walls, but they abolished the limit on the height of their buildings. The Genoese exploited these rights by constructing castle-like high and massive buildings, and they joined them in such a way that they formed a continuous defense structure.[109] In brief, the first phase of the walls in Genoese Galata were constituted around 1303-04. This fortified area consisted of a long narrow rectangle that stretched along the Golden Horn between the current modern bridges of Atatürk and Galata (Fig. 7-9). [110] There are some remains from these walls that survive today around the Azapkapı Mosque (Fig. 10).[111]

The Genoese enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy, as they were governed by the *podesta,* i.e. the governor, who was appointed annually by the Genoese Senate.[112] In 1304, the Genoese government sent to Pera a law of nearly three hundred articles, called the *Statuti di Pera,* which organized her subjects overseas with a special system.[113] Louis Mitler asserts that, "by the *Statuti di Pera*, the colony's status as *imperium in imperio* [state within state] was reconfirmed, and the *podesta* was accredited as a minister, in residence to the Byzantine court."[114] Still, the

[107] Eyice, *Galata*, 47.
[108] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 211-13. Eyice, *Galata*, 47-49.
[109] See footnote above.
[110] See the plans in Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique* and Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*. See also Eyice, *Galata*, 85; Özkan Eroğlu, *Suriçi Galata,* (Istanbul: Tekhne Yayınları: 2015), 29, and Freely, *Galata*, 12.
[111] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 29-30.
[112] Freely, *Galata*, 12.
[113] Eyice, *Galata*, 49.
[114] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 73.

Genoese participated in the ceremonies of the Byzantine court as subjects of the emperor, fulfilling the necessary court protocols, such as performing *proskynesis* before the emperor.[115]

When the Genoese quarter got burnt down in a fire in 1315, the Genoese used this as an opportunity to rebuild their settlement area.[116] They reconstructed the walls, the palace of the *podesta* i.e. *Palazzo Comunale,* the main square, the hospital, the guild and the weigh-house during the restorations of 1316.[117] From then on, the Genoese were able to enlarge and develop their colony by taking advantage of the vulnerability of the Byzantine Empire, which was constantly occupied with its exhaustive civil and foreign problems, as noted above. Particularly as of the 1320's, the Italians became decisively dominant in the economic affairs of the Byzantine Empire.[118]

Among the Italians, the Genoese played a leading role in the commercial sphere of Constantinople, the Black Sea and the larger Eastern Mediterranean area. Their colony at Galata occupied an influential base in their economic success. The Galata harbor was claimed to store merchandise three times greater than the harbors of Constantinople.[119] The Muslim traveler Ibn Battuta, who visited Galata in 1334, highlights the importance of the harbor as such: "Their harbor is one of the largest in the world; I saw there about a hundred galleys and other large ships, and the small ships were too many to count."[120] The Castilian traveler Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople during 1438-39, also praised the harbor: "We … anchored at the quay of Pera,

[115] See Pseudo-Kodinos, *Pseudo-Kodinos, the Constantinopolitan court, offices and ceremonies*, ed. Ruth Macrides, Joe Munitiz and Dimiter Angelov (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 386-87 for details, particularly for the differences between the Genoese and the Venetians in participating the Byzantine court ceremonies.
[116] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 213.
[117] Eyice, *Galata*, 48.
[118] Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy," 177-222.
[119] Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 214.
[120] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325–1354*, trans. and ed. H. A. R. Gibb (Farnham, Surrey: Routledge, 2010),160.

which is one of the finest in the world."[121] The prosperity of the city is also remarked by the chronicle of the Byzantine historian, Nikephoros Gregoras: "The Genoese revenue in Pera amounted to 200,000 gold coins whereas it was 30,000 in the Byzantine imperial treasury around the mid-fourteenth century."[122]

The increasing political and economic power of the Genoese annoyed the Byzantine Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos [r. 1347-54], who started to construct a navy to prepare for a potential conflict with Genoese Galata.[123] The Genoese retaliated by strengthening their defense structures that would provide an entire visual command of their landscape. That is when the Genoese started to build the renowned *Christea Turris* (meaning the Tower of Christ, now the Galata Tower) in 1348. Indeed, the tension between the Byzantines and the Genoese brought about a combat, which ended up in favor of the latter one. The Byzantines had to yield a new zone to the Genoese in Galata. The Genoese built a second fortified area in 1349, in the shape of a triangular wedge that extended above the first enceinte (Fig. 7-9).[124] The *Christea Turris* constituted the apex of this new walled zone (Fig. 11).[125] It still survives, along with some remnants of other towers and walls.[126]

The rising control of the Genoese disturbed her major rival, Venice, as well. The Venetians allied with the King of Aragon to fight against the Genoese, and the Byzantines also supported them in the beginning.[127] However, the cooperation of the Genoese with the Ottomans forced John

[121] Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts (London: Routledge, 2005), 115.
[122] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn: Weber, 1830), 2:841-42; cited from Jacoby, "Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center," 208.
[123] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 625. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 197.
[124] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 31.
[125] Eyice, *Galata*, 48.
[126] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 31-33.
[127] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 625.

VI to relinquish his alliance with the Venetians and yield another zone to the Genoese in Galata.[128] Thus, the Genoese built the third phase of their walls around the area between the *Kastellion ton Galatou* and today's Karaköy caddesi in 1352. There are still some surviving walls along the coastal side from this fortification.[129]

Through the end of the fourteenth century, the Genoese enlarged their colony, at the backdrop of a falling Byzantine Empire. They annexed a new area and fortified it in 1387. This fourth zone extended beyond the west of the Galata Tower towards Şişhane (Fig.7-9).[130] The Genoese colony expanded more by acquiring a fifth area in 1397, which constituted the very western part of their whole settlement area (Fig. 7-9).[131] There are no surviving defense structures from these periods of 1387 and 1397.[132] Finally, the Genoese constructed their last and sixth fortified district in 1400's, which extended beyond the east of Galata Tower and Karaköy caddesi towards Tophane (Fig. 7-9).[133] There are some remnants of the walls and towers from this last zone.[134]

In sum, the final fortified Genoese settlement area comprised of five walled enclosures, and its outer wall was surrounded by a deep moat.[135] The view of the Genoese colony can be observed in several maps of Constantinople, which were depicted by the prominent Italian monk and traveler Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420s (Fig. 12).[136] In these maps, three of the five

[128] Ibid., 627. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 197.
[129] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 32-34.
[130] Ibid., 32.
[131] Freely, *Galata*, 12.
[132] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 32.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 32-34.
[135] Freely, *Galata*, 12.
[136] Claudia Barsanti, "Un Panorama di Constantinapoli dal 'Liber Insularum Archipelaghi'di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," in *L'Arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al Tempo dei Paleologi 1261-1453*, ed. Antonio Iacobini and Mauro Della Valle (Rome: Argos, 1999), 42-44. Eadem, "Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti e le Chiese Latine di Constantinopoli," in *Domenicani a Constantinopoli Prima e Dopo L'impero Ottomano*, ed. Silvia Pedone and Claudio Monge (Firenze: Nerbini, 2017), 51-67.

enceintes are illustrated with houses, churches and the surrounding walls, culminating in the Galata Tower. A later engraving of 1530 by the Venetian cartographer G.A.Vavassore demonstrates all the five enceintes, whose outer walls stretch from today's Azapkapı in the Golden Horn to Tophane in the Bosphorus up to the northern hill with the Galata Tower (Fig. 13).[137]

The Genoese colony included more than fifteen Latin churches or chapels.[138] The cathedral of the Genoese was San Michele (late 13th century), which was dedicated to the archangel Michael, the protector of the colony. The cathedral was the residence of the priest, who was appointed the vicar general of the archbishop of Genoa.[139] Another foremost religious structure was the Franciscan Monastery and Church of San Francesco (late 13th century) (Fig. 14). It included a grandiose Gothic church with a rich decoration of mosaics in the interior, and even in the exterior, with the depiction of the Dormition of the Virgin above the main portal.[140] There was also an adjacent chapel called Sant'Anna, in the enclosure of San Francesco.[141] The subject of this thesis, the Dominican Monastery and Church of San Domenico (early 14th century) stood among the most prominent edifices in the colony, as I will analyze in depth in Chapter II (Fig. 15).

Proceeding with other notable churches, San Pietro e Paolo was bestowed upon the Dominican friars, after the transformation of the Church of San Domenico into a mosque (Fig. 16). Its existence dates back at least to 1413. It was founded by a member of the bourgeoisie, and was later passed to the foremost elite family of Zaccaria.[142] San Giovanni Battista (14th century) was

[137] Freely, *Galata*, 12-13. Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 213.
[138] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 584-93.
[139] Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 25.
[140] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 587-88. For the details of San Francesco see Gualberto Matteucci, *Un Glorioso Convento Francescano sulle Rive del Bosforo; il S. Francesco di Galata in Constantinopoli, c. 1230-1697* (Firenze: Studi francescani, 1967).
[141] Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 22.
[142] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 593-94.

the largest church after San Francesco. There was also a hospital adjacent to it.[143] The Church of San Benedetto was built in 1427 by the Benedictines, on the site of an earlier Byzantine church called Santa Maria della Cisterna (Fig. 17). As the original name suggests, there was a large open-air cistern nearby.[144] The Church of San Giorgio was transformed from an earlier Byzantine church in the fourteenth century. It was named after the patron saint of Genoa, like the hospital adjacent to it.[145] There were some other known churches, including San Antonio that was flanked by a hospice, Santa Catarina that was a Dominican monastery of nuns, Santa Chiara, San Clemente, and San Sebastiano.[146]

As mentioned above, the Genoese settlement also included the palace of the *podesta*, *Palazzo Comunale*, which was built in 1316 (Fig. 18-19). Today, only the rear façade of the original building survives, yet, it stands in a ruinous state (Fig. 20). The architecture of the building is analogous to Palazzo San Giorgio in the mother city, Genoa (Fig. 21).[147] The two structures share an evidently similar architectural design, particularly with their slender and tall windows framed in pointed arches.

The main *piazza* of the Genoese settlement was located in the first walled area. Jean Sauvaget propounds that it occupied a central position between the key sites, such as the Cathedral of San Michele, the Monastery of San Domenico and the Monastery of San Francesco, basing on the old illustrations of Galata that show a non-built space here, where the grid of the streets get

[143] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 87.
[144] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 586. Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 22. Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 87. Built by the Benedictines in 1427, only the bell tower has survived as a part of the original edifice. The rest of the building was reconstructed in 1732 and 1871. See also Philip Niewöhner, *Saint Benoit in Galata, der Byzantinische Ursprungsbau* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 155-241. Here, the author argues that the building was originally constructed as a Byzantine church during the Palaiologan period – pre-1400s –, it was later transformed into a Latin Benedictine Church in 1427 when the surrounding district was included into the Genoese ward.
[145] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 588-89.
[146] Ibid., 584-93; Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 22-28; Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 86-90.
[147] Eyice, *Galata*, 52.

interrupted (Fig. 22).[148] The piazza included the *loggia* and the market place (*platea*).[149] This commercial space was near to the Cathedral of San Michele, with a strategic proximity to the harbor. The *loggia* most probably occupied the place where the *bedesten* stands today, that was built during the Ottoman times.[150] The shopping area possibly extended northwards up till the *Palazzo Comunale*, where numerous shops, storehouses and guilds were situated along the main commercial street (current Perşembe Pazarı) that led to the *Christea Turris* (Fig. 23).[151]

In sum, through the fourteenth century, Galata resembled a fortified Italian medieval town, embellished with its churches, public buildings, houses, hospitals, shops, guilds, warehouses, market places alongside its *loggia* and harbor. It enjoyed its pinnacle of prosperity, thanks to the extensive commercial earnings of the Genoese. Pero Tafur described the thriving colony, as such: "The city of Pera has about 2000 inhabitants. It is very well walled and has a good ditch and rampart. The churches and monasteries are excellent, and there is a fine exchange, well-built and enclosed. The buildings are notable and lofty as in Genoa. The common people are Greeks, but they are governed by the Genoese who hold all the offices. It is a place of much traffic in goods brought from the Black Sea, as well as from the West, and from Syria and Egypt, and the merchants are all wealthy. Pera was formerly called Galata."

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, who was a Spanish ambassador to the court of Tamerlane and visited Galata at the beginning of the fifteenth century during the construction of its last walls, delineated a similar portrayal of Galata: "Pera is a small city, but well peopled and surrounded with a wall, and it contains good and handsome houses. It is inhabited by the Genoese, and is a

[148] Jean Sauvaget, "Notes sur la Colonie génoise de Péra," *Syria*, T. 15, Fasc. 3 (1934): 252-75.
[149] Sauvaget, "Génoise de Péra," 256-67.
[150] Sercan Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata and an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor" (PhD diss., Politecnico di Milano, 2018), 85-95.
[151] Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata," 95.

lordship of Genoa. It is peopled by Genoese and Greeks, and is close to the sea, that between the wall and water there is not sufficient breadth for a carrack to pass. The wall runs along the shore, and then ascends a hill, on the top of which there is a great tower, whence the city is watched. … The Genoese call their town 'Pera', but the Greeks name it 'Galata'."[152]

Last but not least, as can be inferred from the chronicles above, Galata was not comprised of an exclusively Genoese community even though it was a Genoese colony. The population of Galata also included Latins of other ethnicities, native Greeks, Jews and Armenians. Ibn Battuta also remarked on its multicultural composition: "Galata is reserved for the Frankish [European] Christians who dwell there. They are of different kinds, including the Genoese, Venetians, Romans [Byzantines, i.e., Greeks] and Franks."[153] These diverse communities closely interacted with each other. Even, they were in constant dialogue with Constantinople, the city proper, which had been composed of a mixed population for ages. This cultural exchange contributed to shape the built environment of Genoese Galata, which I will thoroughly demonstrate through the case of San Domenico in the next chapter.

[152] Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6*, ed. Clements R. Markham (Surrey: Hakluyt Society, 2010), 47-48.
[153] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, 160.

Conclusion

The recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines in 1261 caused a significant turn of events, in favor of the Genoese. They had been suffering from the adverse circumstances of the Latin Empire that had been dominantly ruled by their major foe, the Venetians. The Genoese had lost their prior commercial privileges and settlement area in Constantinople, which they had acquired during the Komnenian dynasty. However, they obtained an advantageous position when the Byzantines granted them the Galata region, in return for their alliance in seizing the capital. Galata was in a desolate state when the Genoese received it; indeed, it had mostly been a forsaken district for long ages.

The settlement of the Genoese in Galata constituted a milestone in the history of the region and Constantinople at large, as Galata enjoyed the peak of its prosperity under the Genoese rule. The Genoese colony expanded through various phases of annexation of new districts, at the backdrop of the shrinking Byzantine Empire. The Genoese fortified their settlement area, and embellished it with their own secular and religious buildings. They enjoyed a considerable political, social and economic autonomy, as they were governed by their *podesta* and laws. Galata thrived throughout the late Byzantine era, due to the extensive dominance of the Genoese in the commercial sphere of the empire, along with the other maritime Italian states.

Although Galata was a Genoese colony, it was not an isolated and exclusively Genoese settlement. In contrast, it was composed of a multicultural community, who were in constant dialogue with the Byzantine capital. The close cultural interactions, particularly between the Latins and the Byzantines, manifested themselves in the built environment of Genoese Galata. The subject of the thesis, the Church of San Domenico, represents a noteworthy example of a building whose hybrid character mirrors such cultural diversity. As a Roman Catholic mendicant church, it

did not only incorporate Western architectural and artistic characteristics, but it also betrayed numerous Byzantine features. The following chapter analyzes the edifice in this respect by studying its various artistic idioms.

CHAPTER 2: THE CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO

This chapter will examine the original building, the Church of San Domenico, before its transformation into the Arap Camii. A brief overview of its history is striking enough to instigate an in-depth investigation of its architectural and artistic characteristics. It is a Dominican structure built in the Genoese colony in Palaiologan Constantinople. Which of these components weigh more in the architecture of the building? Is it foremost a Dominican edifice that reflects the architectural practices of that mendicant order and its founding friars? Is it a building that resembles the building environment of its mother city, Genoa? To what extent did the Byzantines engage in its artistic and architectural formation? Are these even the apt questions to ask when we consider the multicultural character of Galata?

My research demonstrates that one should not try to classify the building as solely Dominican, Genoese or Byzantine. However, all these questions are essential to comprehend that, as a result of the close cultural interactions between the Latins and the Byzantines, the Church of San Domenico has a hybrid character, through an amalgamation of Italian Gothic, Byzantine, and mendicant architectural and artistic characteristics typical for the Dominican order. Although the hybridity of the building has been discussed before in the scholarship, authors usually concentrated on one component of the structure, such as the frescoes.[154] Here, I will try to employ a holistic approach by analyzing all the facets of the structure, including its architecture, architectural sculptures, funerary monuments, painted decoration and interior furnishing. Also, the Italian Gothic and Byzantine characteristics of the building have been analyzed more in the scholarship. I believe that this study will contribute to show how the convent fits in a wider frame of the

[154] See the literature review in the introduction part of the thesis, for the scholar studies about the Church of San Domenico, later the Arap Camii.

mendicant architecture by tracing the origins of its friars, as well. In total, my analysis will illustrate how the building achieves an artistic hybridity through a co-existence of Dominican, Italian Gothic and Byzantine features, as a reflection of its surrounding multicultural milieu.

This survey will also depict a bigger picture of the structure, where one would avoid conceiving the church as an isolated building, but rather as a part of the monastic complex, which was constantly in dialogue with the topography and built environment in Galata, and the city of Constantinople across the Golden Horn. Even though my architectural and artistic analysis is limited to the Church of San Domenico, I aim to demonstrate the cultural significance of the convent in the relations between the Latins and the Byzantines. In this manner, I hope that this study will constitute a point of departure for further comparable research that analyze a broader network of Italian and Byzantine artistic interactions through the agency of mendicant orders in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I. 2. a. The Mendicant Orders and Their Architecture

My study of the building starts with the investigation of its Dominican origins because the Dominican friars built it as a part of a monastic complex in the early fourteenth century.[155] It is crucial to analyze the Dominican aspect of the edifice in order to understand the peculiarities of its architectural design, construction process and usage of space. Therefore, I will briefly describe the tenets of the mendicant orders and the underlying principles and dynamics of their architectural practices.

The mendicant orders emerged in the thirteenth century, with an aim to preach and disseminate the Catholic faith, as a response to the incompetence of the Catholic Church in dealing with the contemporary religious issues, brought by the economic and social change. The expansion of trade caused a rapid growth in the cities and the urban society bore new questions about how to reconcile their worldly interests, such as their commercial earnings, with the religious realm.[156] The increasingly international nature of commerce fostered an intensive cross-cultural exchange within expansive territories, which constituted a threat for potential heresies. The Christians established urban institutions, called *fondaco,* in the Muslim lands, which served as a safe place to fulfill the lodging, commercial and fiscal needs of the Christian travelers, particularly the merchants.[157] These permanent facilities facilitated the long-term contact of the Christians with

[155] Eyice, *Galata*, 53.

[156] Clifford Hugh Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 1-25. William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1975), 4-14.

[157] The *fondaco* became well-established in the late medieval age. There were already cognate institutions before the establishment of the *fondaco*, such as the *pandocheion* in the classical Greek world and the *funduq* in the early medieval period in the Muslim world. The *funduq* was gradually supplanted by the *khan*. For further information, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-361. Eadem., "Funduq, Fondaco, and Khan in the Wake of Christian Commerce and Crusade," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 145-56.

the Muslims and further intensified their cultural interactions. The Christians, later, founded the *fondaco*s in their own territories, as well, particularly in South France and North Italy[158], where problems with religious heresies already become common.[159] These *fondaco*s catalyzed the city centers in becoming the foci of daily lives.

In addition to the expansion of trade, the spread of literacy among the lay community and the rise of the scholastic movement brought intellectual challenges for the Church, as well.[160] The emerging literate and educated laity bore new theological questions and sought pertinent spiritual assistance, but the secular clergy (i.e. the cathedral and the parish), who were commonly illiterate, were not capable to address these contemporary issues.[161] The Catholic Church needed to cope with these new realities of the socio-economic realm by addressing the arising religious needs of the urban laity.[162] Hence, the mendicant orders were founded to fulfill this void with assertive public outreach, through a more efficient and organized system of preaching in the cities.[163]

In contrast to the existing monasteries that were more commonly isolated in rural areas, the mendicant orders built their ecclesiastical structures in urban centers, where spiritual service was most necessary.[164] Moreover, when compared to the regular parish, the friars, particularly the Dominicans, were commonly scholarly or learnt men, with sophisticated knowledge of theology and foreign languages, so they were more competent in handling the contemporary spiritual issues

[158] Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 107-57.
[159] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 4-14. One of the major religious dissents included the heresy of the Cathars, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, 4-8.
[160] Lawrence, *The Friars*., 1-25.
[161] Ibid. Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 111.
[162] See Lawrence, *The Friars*, 1-25 for an enhanced understanding of "the medieval church in crisis."
[163] Caroline Bruzelius, "Friars in the Medieval City: Preaching, Building and Burying," in *Monastic Architecture and the City*, ed. Catarina Almeida Marado (Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra, 2014), 11-18.
[164] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 3-4.

of the urban Catholic communities and convincing non-Catholic communities for conversion.[165] I should highlight here that the mendicant orders had different principal missions in the West and the East. While the mendicants in the West aimed to combat heresies through inquisition activities, the friars in the East primarily aimed to convince the "schismatic" Orthodox communities to convert back to Catholicism, and restore the union of the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, in the service of the papacy at large.[166] For example, the friars actively engaged in the union negotiations with the Byzantine court during the Palaiologan period.[167] I will discuss later how the convent of San Domenico plays a crucial role within this context. The friars in the East also sought to evangelize non-Catholic communities, particularly the Muslims, but they did not reach a significant success.[168]

The Dominicans and the Franciscans were the two most influential mendicant orders.[169] The Dominican order, called The Friars Preachers or Black Friars, was founded by Saint Dominic in 1216.[170] The Franciscan order, called Friars Minor, was founded by Saint Francis in 1209.[171] Both founding figures became saints, and many churches and monasteries of these orders were named after them as San Domenico or San Francesco, like in the case of Galata. Both orders were committed to apostolic poverty as an allusion to Christ and his apostles in the Gospels.[172] They rejected any source of usual income that the secular clergy accepted, such as the tithes, rents and

[165] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 20-22.
[166] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 152-202.
[167] Ibid., 194-202.
[168] Ibid., 152-202.
[169] Anne Derbes and Amy Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 451.
[170] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 4-10.
[171] For details of the foundation and growth of the Franciscan order, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, 26-64.
[172] Ibid., 26-88.

income from properties.[173] Thus, they were dependent on the donations of their lay communities both for their survival and the construction of their buildings.[174]

Both orders implemented "revolutionary practice for the medieval clergy" by preaching outdoors with portable pulpits in piazzas and visiting their communities in their private spaces of home.[175] The friars' way of living a simple and humble life, due to their wow of apostolic poverty, appealed to the urban laity, particularly to the 'sinful' wealthy merchants, who sought salvation for their souls through penance, confession and donations.[176] The close relations with the lay followers – even to the degree that the friars heard their last confessions besides their dying bed at their houses – helped the friars receive considerable sums of bequests and wills, which became another important source of revenue.[177] In sum, the friar's forceful engagement with the public engendered an exponential growth of their communities and income through their donations and offerings. The mounting success of the mendicant orders caused an increasing resentment and hostility amongst the secular clergy, as the orders seized their lay communities, revenues and religious rights, such as hearing confession and administering sacraments.[178] There was also a comparable rivalry among the mendicant orders themselves, as they contended with each other to carve out spaces for their buildings in the limited zones of the city centers, find patrons, and acquire income through their donations.[179]

All these aspects of the mendicant orders are crucial to comprehend how their religious ideals infiltrated into their churches and convents. At the beginning of their foundation, the

[173] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 4-20. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 112.
[174] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 112.
[175] Eadem., "Friars in the Medieval City," 15.
[176] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 4-14. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 5-8.
[177] Bruzelius, "Friars in the Medieval City," 11-18.
[178] Eadem., "The Architecture of the Mendicant Orders in the Middle Ages: An Overview of Recent Literature," *Perspective* [Online], 2 (2012): 375-79. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 18-20.
[179] Bruzelius, "Recent Literature," 365-86.

Dominicans (along with the Franciscans) were scrupulous in designing simple and humble buildings with an architectural scheme that would be consonant with their religious precept of apostolic poverty.[180] However, as their communities grew exponentially, they had to abandon their strict adherence to apostolic poverty by building large complexes, where they would be able to accommodate their growing mass and preach to them.[181] The orders adopted the monastic model as a multi-purpose architectural complex, which included a cloister, refectory, dormitory, chapter house, study room and liturgical space.[182] The convents also helped the friars overcome the threats of the increasingly hostile secular clergy by providing them their own spaces of "permanence and authority."[183] The Dominicans were particularly renowned for their scholastic studies, solid intellectual and theological training and doctrinal missions.[184] The friars with missionary tasks knew native languages to preach to the urban laity so that they would be able to communicate and convince them to convert.[185] The adoption of the monastic planning became also useful for creating teaching spaces in their buildings.[186]

Another important aspect that shaped the mendicant architecture was the symbiotic, or as Caroline Bruzelius aptly calls "umbilical," relationship between the friars and their patrons and lay followers.[187] The friars used the offerings of the donors as funding for the construction of their buildings. In return, the donors requested various architectural spaces and decorative elements

[180] Bro. John Dominic Redmond O.P., "The Dominican Order and Architecture," *Dominicana* 13, no.3 (1928): 193-200.
[181] Richard A. Sundt, "'Mediocres Domos et Humiles Habeant Fratres Nostri:' Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46, 4 (1987): 394-407.
[182] Bruzelius, "Friars in the Medieval City," 11-18.
[183] Ibid., 16.
[184] For further information, see Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 20-22, where he states that "The Dominicans built an elaborate scholastic organization that provided a network of schools, priory schools, provincial schools of philosophy and theology and a graduate program pursued at general houses of studies, usually associated with universities."
[185] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 31-39.
[186] Bruzelius, "Recent Literature," 372-75.
[187] Ibid., 376.

within the convents, such as fresco cycles, sepulchral monuments, private family altars or chapels, portals, columns, roof beams, spaces for votive paintings, intercessory prayer for the soul of the donor, and sculpted effigies. These "lay interventions" were characteristic in shaping the architectural design and appearance of the mendicant buildings in a continuous course.[188] As Bruzelius states, "the character of mendicant architecture was in part determined by its need to function as a 'hangar' for lay interventions."[189] Thus, the mendicant churches did not only need larger spaces for preaching growing communities, but also to meet the requests of the donors. As the friars were susceptible to their donors' requests, the construction of the mendicant convents was a continuing "process" with ad-hoc additions, rather than a "project" that was implemented at once with a preconceived plan.[190] Due to this construction strategy, Bruzelius aptly delineates the mendicant buildings as "elastic, organic and flexible."[191] While the choir of the mendicant churches were commonly built first, the nave was usually in a somewhat deliberate state of incompletion to accommodate the architectural spaces needed to realize the possible requests of the donors.[192] The archetypal convent of San Domenico in Bologna (13-14th centuries), Sant'Eustorgio in Milan (13th century), Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1279-early 14th century) and Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (1333-late 14th century) are all apt examples with their ongoing construction process. The continuous "incomplete" look of the churches also suited the order's ideology of apostolic poverty and alleviated their challenge to reconcile poverty with large-scale buildings.[193]

[188] Bruzelius, "Friars in the Medieval City," 17.
[189] Eadem., "Recent Literature," 371.
[190] Eadem., *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 1-2.
[191] Ibid., 104.
[192] See Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 50-77 and 89-105 for the mendicant construction strategy and the following examples that illustrate their stages of the expansion process.
[193] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 104.

I. 2. b. The Convent of San Domenico in Galata

- The History of its Foundation

The Dominicans were among the most prominent mendicant orders, together with the Franciscans. Their sphere of influence spread around the whole European continent and extended beyond the lands of Asia Minor, Middle East, Mesopotamia, Holy Land and even Far Eastern Asia.[194] The exponential growth of the Dominican order could be illustrated through their increasing number of provinces and priories, from 12 to 18, and from 404 to 630, respectively, between the years 1277 and 1358.[195] The Dominican friars worked at various mission fields to accomplish their missionary activities, and certain nationalities could prefer to concentrate on specific fields. For example, the French and Italian Dominicans worked mainly in Asia and the Near East while Spanish ones worked hometown to convert Jews and Muslims.[196]

The Dominican friars arrived at the historical peninsula of Constantinople during the period of the Latin Empire (1204-1261) in the scope of the missionary activities of the Grecian province.[197] They built a convent, here[198], but its exact location, name, founder and the provenance of its friars are all unknown.[199] We only know that the first Dominican convent was somewhere in Constantinople, but not yet in Pera.[200] When the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261, that Dominican convent was closed, and its friars were dispersed.[201] There is no document that

[194] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 1-52.
[195] Ibid., 14.
[196] Ibid., 34-36.
[197] Tommaso M. Violante O.P., *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1999), 65-77.
[198] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 577-78.
[199] Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana*, 65-77.
[200] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique,* 577-78. Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté Grecque aux XlVe et XVe Siècles* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1997), 332-39.
[201] Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, 332-39.

testifies the presence of Dominicans from 1261 until 1299.[202] In 1299, Papa Bonifacio VIII (1293-1303) urged the Dominicans to convert the schismatic Christians and non-Christians in the East.[203] That was when the Dominican friars (Fr. Guillame Bernard de Gaillac with his companions) arrived at Constantinople, again, in 1299.[204] Corresponding to this period, the Dominicans founded a new formation called *the Congregation of Pilgrim Friars* between 1300 and 1304 to achieve their missionary activities in the East, and the friars from other missionary fields joined this congregation for this specific task.[205] Fr. Gaillac lived in a residential house in Constantinople (not Pera), and used it also as a convent, which was associated with the *Congregation of Pilgrim Friars.*[206]

The fervent and intense missionary activities of the Dominicans, together with the Franciscans, annoyed the Patriarch Athanasius to such a degree that he convinced the Emperor Andronikos II to expel them from Constantinople.[207] That is when Fr. Gaillac escaped from Constantinople with other friars and took shelter in Galata in 1307.[208] The Genoese allowed them to settle in their colony. They bestowed them space for building their convent, which was on the site of an Early Byzantine church, called Saint Irene, built during the reign of Justinian I (527-565).[209] The Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II had conferred this place to the Genoese to be used

[202] Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, 332-39.
[203] Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,* 145.
[204] Besnier, *Les Dominicains,* 332-39. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique,* 578.
[205] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans,* 37-38. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,* 145-52.
[206] See Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique,* 578; P. Benedetto Palazzo O.P., *Arap Camii veya Galata Saint Paul Kilisesi* (Istanbul: Bilge Karınca Yayınları, 2014), 93-96; Besnier, *Les Dominicains,* 332-39, and Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,* 145-52.
[207] Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 11-28.
[208] Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 94. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,* 150-52. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique,* 578. Janin states that the Dominican convent at Constantinople had to disappear together with the Franciscan convent of Agora in 1307.
[209] Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 93-96. Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople," 79.

as a cemetery, as confirmed in the chrysobull in 1303.[210] Fr. Gaillac established a convent there with twelve friars – a number that is necessary to be admitted in the order.[211] This convent was probably heavily damaged by the fire of 1315, like the building of Palazzo Comunale. Thus, the Dominican friars rebuilt the convent and the church, which constitutes the origin of the building that we see today as Arap Camii.[212] It was constructed between the years of 1323 and 1337 (Fig. 15, 24-25).[213]

I should note here that there are different views on the foundation of the first Dominican church or the convent in Galata. François-Alphonse Belin claims that, the Dominican friar Saint Hyacinth (1183-1257) built a convent in Galata during the Latin Empire, which included a church called San Paolo (that later began to be called San Paolo e Domenico), and that it is the Church of San Domenico that we see today as transformed into the Arap Camii.[214] Numerous scholars, including Dalleggio D'Alessio, Ernest Mamboury, Alfons Maria Schneider and Louis Mitler, share a similar opinion or simply keep this traditional belief.[215] This argument that the original foundation of the building dates back to the period of the Latin Empire was mainly based on the existence of a tombstone, dating to 1260, that was discovered under the floor of the building.[216] However, P. Benedetto Palazzo O.P. questions Belin's view solidly by demonstrating how it was not possible for the friar Hyacinthus to found a convent in Constantinople, as his travel route did

[210] Haluk Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii in Istanbul: Its Architecture and Frescoes," *Anatolia Antiqua* 18 (2010): 171.
[211] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 591.
[212] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 84-96.
[213] Eyice, *Galata*, 53.
[214] François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1894), 216.
[215] See Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali di Arab Giamí: (Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata)* Vol. 5 (Genova: R. Deputazione di storia patria per la Liguria, 1942), 8; Ernest Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul*, trans. Malcolm Burr (Istanbul: Çituri Biraderler Basımevi, 1953), 319-20; Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 25-28, and Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 86.
[216] More than a hundred Genoese tombstones were discovered under the floor of the church during the large-scale restoration between 1913-19. See D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali*, 1-167.

not include this city (or even if it did, his stay was too short to build a convent).[217] He also points out that, the date of all the other tombstones start as of 1323 and continue with frequent intervals until 1475. He highlights the long interval of 63 years between the subsequent tombstones of 1260 and 1323, and argues that the tombstone of 1260 might belong to an earlier period before the construction of San Domenico, or, at least, it does not stand alone as a proof that San Domenico was already built by then.[218] What is more interesting to support his view that, Johannes Cramer and Siegrid Düll proposed a new dating for the Genoese tombstones found in the building, and they re-dated this stone from 1260 to 1325.[219]

Another traditional view is that a Latin church called Saint Paul was built on this very same site - on the ruins of the Early Byzantine church of St. Irene - during the Latin rule, before the Dominicans established their own convent in the early fourteenth century.[220] This view is mostly founded on the existence of this tombstone, as well, but there is no other solid evidence that dates the building of the church to the Latin Empire period.[221] If the Cramer and Düll's modern dating analysis is accurate, I believe that it refutes fundamentally these traditional postulations. Moreover, Palazzo convincingly advances a new opinion to explain the development of the Dominican convent in Galata.[222] He proposes that, when Fr. Gaillac fled to Galata in 1307, he built a small church to serve the immediate needs of his friars, and he might have dedicated it to St. Paul. As the Dominican order grew within the flourishing Genoese colony, the Dominicans needed a larger space, and after the fire of 1315 damaged the building severely, they had to rebuild their edifice,

[217] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 84-96.
[218] Ibid., 88.
[219] Johannes Cramer and Siegrid Düll, "Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 35 (1985): 315-16.
[220] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 79. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 591.
[221] Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, 332-39. Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 86.
[222] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 84-96.

dedicating it this time to their own saint, San Domenico. That is why the building was called by both names.

I find Palazzo's argument very plausible, as rebuilding or enlarging was a common phenomenon in the long process of mendicant construction. It is very reasonable that the Dominicans first started their activities by building a small church, and then rebuilding it in a fashion that suited their architectural schemes in the growing cities. Moreover, the Latin reign was a period of a general neglect and devastation in terms of construction, in the historical peninsula of Constantinople.[223] Some re/building projects mainly took place in the area of Constantinople that Venetians were holding.[224] It seems unlikely to me that the Latins built a new church in Galata towards the end of their rule, which was in a very desolate state when the Byzantines conferred it to the Genoese. In sum, the flimsiness of the archaeological evidence does not let us determine the exact dates of the building's origin. However, I believe that the original building of San Domenico, today's Arap Camii, was most probably built in the early fourteenth century. Regarding its foundation date, I suggest that its construction might have spanned even a longer time than the generally assumed dates between 1323 and 1337. As Düll and Cramer also propose[225], the rebuilding of the Church of San Domenico might have started after the fire of 1315 – like in the case with the Palazzo Communale – and might have extended beyond 1337 as minor changes within the architectural spaces could have taken place due to the "lay interventions" mentioned above.

Apart from these views on the history of the building, there is also a foundation legend with a Muslim origin. This legend alleges that the edifice was originally built as a mosque, during

[223] Jacoby, "The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople," 277-98.
[224] Ibid., 284, 295-97.
[225] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 317.

the Umayyad siege of Constantinople in the early eighth century, to meet the needs of the Arab army, and that is why the building called the Arap Camii, i.e. the Mosque of the Arabs.[226] Numerous modern scholars negate this legend since it is baseless with historical inaccuracies.[227] In brief, the associated mosque was erected in the historical peninsula of Constantinople, not in Galata.[228] I will elaborate on this foundation legend in the next chapter, in scope of the Ottomans' tradition to devise legends to appropriate 'foreign' heritage and Islamize the monuments within the city.

- The Location of the Convent

The convent of San Domenico was built in the first fortified area of the Genoese colony that stretched along the Golden Horn in a long rectangular band between 1303 and 1304 (Fig. 7-9).[229] The church is the only surviving structure of the Dominican convent. It stands as the converted Arap Camii, which is situated in the Galata Mahkemesi Street, near the Tersane Road (Fig. 26). It is unfortunately not possible to reconstruct the convent due to the scarcity of archaeological evidence and archival sources, but one could positively conceive that it served as a typical mendicant convent that comprised of various facilities, such as refectory, dormitory, *studium*, library. We know that it included a cloister, which is still present as the courtyard of the

[226] Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul,* trans. and annot. Howard Crane (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 355-57.
[227] See Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 50-61; 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*, ed. H.A. Klein, R.G. Ousterhout and B. Pitarakis (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2011), 302-03; Semavi Eyice, "Arap Camii" in İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, 2, ed. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, (Istanbul: Istanbul Yayınevi, 1947), 550-59; Freely, *Galata*, 35; F.W. Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 22, (1916): 157-74. They all agree that the structure is originally built by the Dominicans in 1325 as a Roman Catholic church with Gothic style. The legend confuses the events of the two sieges conducted by the Arabs. The associated mosque was built during the first siege in 685, but it was not built in the Galata region, but in the Historical Peninsula.
[228] Palazzo, *Arap Camii* 50-61.
[229] See Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique,* 577-78; Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 25-28; Eyice, *Galata*, 85; Eroğlu, *Galata*, 29; Freely, *Galata*, 12.

mosque. Palazzo asserts that the monastery stretched along the northern courtyard, parallel to the church.[230] It probably occupied the place, where there is now a one-storied rectangular building for the Quran courses. There was an entrance underneath the belfry that lead a way to the monastery through the apsis of the church.[231] It is also highly likely that the eastern wall of the tower passage constituted a part of the monastery complex, the convent probably extended towards the east from this wall.[232] One arch with an opening in the eastern wall strengthens this argument as it might have led to a certain facility of the convent, such as a *studium*, refectory etc.[233]

The location of the convent within the topography of Galata is noteworthy. It was located within the same walled enclosure with the other two foremost ecclesiastical structures, which were the parish church of San Michele that the Genoese considered as their cathedral[234] and the convent of the Franciscan order, San Francesco (Fig. 7-9).[235] The proximity of the parish, Dominican and Franciscan churches within the same zone is striking because of the common rivalry among these religious institutions. As mentioned above, the mendicant orders were in competition with each other for finding space, benefactors and funding for their buildings, and the secular clergy was commonly hostile to the orders since the friars seized its lay communities, donations and religious rights.[236] It was usually hard for the mendicant orders to carve out spaces within the congested zones of the growing cities. For example, the Franciscans had to build their convent significantly far from the fully occupied city center just outside the city walls in Bologna.[237] In Florence, the

[230] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 97.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59.
[233] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 296-319.
[234] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 589-90.
[235] In Figure 9, the Yeni Camii represents the location of San Francesco as the mosque was built on the ruins of the church in the seventeenth century; and Rüstem Paşa Han represents the location of San Michele as the church was demolished to make way for the construction of the han in the sixteenth century.
[236] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 18-20. Caroline Bruzelius, "Recent Literature," 375-79.
[237] Bruzelius, "Recent Literature," 374. Eadem., *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 114.

Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella and The Franciscan convent of Santa Croce are notably distant from each other, positioned outside and at the opposite sides of the city walls.[238] However, the urban condition of Galata was certainly different than these already thriving Italian cities. Galata was in a desolate state when the Genoese were granted the region in 1261, and it began to flourish after their settlement. Indeed, the first fortifications started only in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Therefore, it was to the advantage of the Dominicans that, the built environment of Galata was just beginning to be shaped, thus, the Genoese could provide them the space to erect their convent in the heart of their newly developing fortified zone, near to the already built Franciscan convent (late 13th century) and the parish cathedral (late 13th century). This does not mean that an exclusively friendly environment prevailed in Galata, the typical rivalry among the religious institutions occurred here, too. For instance, the priest of San Michele resorted to the Dominicans to resolve a dispute between his parish and the Franciscans, concerning the execution of the papal bull of 1299, which granted the mendicant orders the rights to preach and hear confessions outside their own churches without the permission of the parish priest.[239] The Dominicans naturally advocated the Franciscans.[240] This incident not only attests to the contest between these institutions, but it also indicates that the friars possibly preached outdoors in Galata, as well, as they did in Europe.

The Dominican convent was also near to the main piazza, the Palazzo Communale (1306, then 1315) and the Galata Tower (1348).[241] Therefore, the building surely occupied a strategic position, as being close not only to the other leading ecclesiastical structures, but also to the central public forum, the main civic building and the foremost military edifice. The illustrations of Jean

[238] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 117.
[239] Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,* 155. Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 98-99.
[240] See footnote above.
[241] Sauvaget, "Génoise de Péra," 252-75.

Sauvaget strike particular attention to the adjacency of San Domenico to the main piazza (Fig. 22).[242] The passageway under the belfry provides a direct entrance from the piazza to the courtyard of the convent. Indeed, the tower passage might have been deliberately built to lure the lay communities from the piazza to the convent.

The piazza was a crucial integral element of the mendicant architecture. The mendicant convents were either built near to the public squares, or the space for the piazzas were even carved out for the friars to preach near their churches, such as Santa Maria Novella in Florence and San Domenico in Bologna. Bruzelius stresses the importance of the preaching piazza, as such: "We need to consider the architecture of mendicant convents, not only in terms of 'built' structures, but also in relation to the open spaces (*piazze*), which were integral to public outreach."[243] One should be cautious in conceiving a similarly assertive public preaching in the East as in the West, but I believe that it might have occurred to some degree in Galata. The topographical position of San Domenico (together with San Francesco) near to the main piazza, the tower passage of San Domenico that allows direct access from the piazza (or at least from the street) to the courtyard of the convent, and the dispute among the parish and the orders, regarding the friars' rights to preach and hear confession outside their convents, all suggest that the friars preached outdoors in Galata, as well. Thus, the mendicant convents' relation with their topography played an important role in the public outreach of the friars.

[242] See Sauvaget, "Génoise de Péra," 252-75. Sauvaget asserts that the main piazza is placed in this area, as the old illustrations of Galata's topography also show a non-built space here, where the grid of the streets get interrupted. Sauvaget propounds that this area most probably included the market place and the *loggia*s.
[243] Bruzelius, "Friars in the Medieval City," 14.

- The Cultural Significance of the Convent

The evidence about the physiognomy of the whole monastic complex is incredibly meager. This limitation should not steer us into a crude conception of the church as an isolated building. One should always keep in mind that the church was an integral part of the monastery, and even of its urban frame. This wider understanding of the complex is particularly important, considering the role of the Dominican friars and their convent in the cultural exchange between Pera and Constantinople, and the West and Byzantium at large. The archaeological and architectural evidence of the convent might be scarce, but the strenuous deeds of its prominent religious men enable us to define its cultural significance.[244]

The mission of the friars necessitated an intense interaction with the Byzantines and their culture. As noted above, the mendicant orders were mainly concerned with achieving the Union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Thus, the friars thoroughly studied the Orthodox theology and learned Greek to translate the foremost Latin theological texts into Greek and convince the so-called 'schismatic' Orthodox community to convert back to Catholicism. For this end, the Dominican friars engaged with leading Byzantine personages, including the emperor, patriarch, members of the Palaiologan court, scholars, theologians, and the lay community. This close involvement reached a certain degree of success with a several number of converts to Catholicism. Among these converts, there were some notable men that joined the Dominican congregation and resided in the convent of San Domenico, such as Fr. Simon of Constantinople, Philip of Pera, Demetrios Kydones, Fr. Manuel Kalecas, Fr. Maximos Chrysoberges, Fr. Theodore Chrysoberges

[244] For the following part that describes the role of the leading religious men of the convent of San Domenico in catalyzing the cultural and religious dialogue between the Latins and the Byzantines, see Nicholas Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium and Byzantine Dominicans: Religious Dialogue and Cultural Interactions," in *Domenicani a Constantinopoli Prima e Dopo L'impero Ottomano,* ed. Claudio Monge and Silvia Pedone (Firenze: Nerbini, 2017), 33-50; Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 97-116; Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana*,162, and Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, 332-39.

and Fr. Andrew Chrysoberges.[245] These important religious men were mainly scholars, who dedicated themselves to promote the doctrines of Catholic theology. They particularly contributed to the Greek translation and dissemination of the influential theological and philosophical works of the prominent Italian Dominican friar, Thomas Aquinas, who was simultaneously a Doctor of the Church.[246] Demetrios Kydones is particularly noteworthy since he worked as a leading minister in the Palaiologan court and played a crucial role in the various negotiations for the Union of the Churches.[247]

These notable Dominican men catalyzed the cultural interactions between the local Byzantines and Latins in Pera and Constantinople. The convent of San Domenico became a hub for exchanging religious ideas and theological discussions. The *studium* of the convent must have served as crucial spot for providing such an intellectual environment. San Domenico also played a crucial role in a larger network between the Byzantine and Latin worlds, considering the mobility of the friars and merchants, where ideas and cultural elements travelled across a wide span of related territories. Nicholas Melvani aptly asserts that "the Dominican convent of Pera was at the same time a crossroads and entry port for ideas and people coming from the West to Byzantium, as well as the starting point for the dissemination of Latin culture in the Aegean."[248] While the mendicant orders carried out their missionary activities, the friars also acted as agencies to spread the Western artistic elements to the East, particularly in the Genoese and Venetian colonies, where Byzantium ruled or used to rule. However, this interaction occurred in a reciprocal manner; the Latins became receptive to Byzantine culture and adopted their artistic and architectural elements

[245] See footnote above.
[246] Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana,*162.
[247] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 34.
[248] Ibid., 38.

in their ecclesiastical structures, as well. That is why, we see inclusive outcomes like the Church of San Domenico that combines both Western and Byzantine artistic features.

I. 2. c. The Artistic and Architectural Characteristics of the Church

- The Architectural Design

The Church of San Domenico displays elements of the Italian Gothic architectural style.[249] The Genoese patrons must have contributed to the design of the church as they provided both the site and financial resources for the building; yet, it is foremostly the Dominican masters that were responsible for the particular style of the building. Along with the other mendicant orders, the Dominicans were the mediators in spreading the Gothic movement to the East during their missionary activities.[250] They were actively involved in designing the architecture of their ecclesiastical buildings to conform to their ideology of apostolic poverty, and even promulgated architectural and artistic legislations that fundamentally decreed their churches to be simple and humble.[251] Despite their rigidity in humbleness, the orders were compelled to build large churches with spacious naves to accommodate and preach their increasingly growing crowds.[252] While the mendicant orders acquired pre-existing basilicas for their religious deeds at the beginning of their foundations, they deliberately persisted this model for their new constructions, as the basilica form constituted an appropriate adoption that alluded to the apostolic church in Early Christian times and their values.[253]

In this aspect, the employment of the typically grandiose Gothic style might seem an odd choice for the mendicants, who embodied a humble ideology. Nonetheless, the novel ethereal Gothic qualities augmented the spiritual atmosphere in their churches and enhanced their role as

[249] For the Italian Gothic architectural characteristics of the building, please see Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 1-144; Eyice, *Galata,* 85; Akyürek "The Frescoes of the Arap Camii," 301-41, and Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88.
[250] John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1250 to 1400* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), 3-20.
[251] Redmond, "Dominican Order," 193-200.
[252] Ibid., 194.
[253] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 189.

the new intercessors between the divine and the worldly.[254] As Bruzelius explains lucidly, "Rib-vaulted architecture had acquired the connotation of spirituality, as a kind of marker of divinity on earth. As the 'guardians of contemporary spirituality', the friars needed to distinguish themselves from local Romanesque traditions."[255] Besides, the Dominicans restricted the height of the churches and the extent of the vaulting and ornamentation, through their architectural legislations, to meet their norms of simplicity and humility.[256] In this respect, the architectural style of the mendicant buildings could be more aptly delineated as "Reduced Gothic[257]," defining a simple design that avoided splendor and superfluous decoration. It is also a notable concurrence that, the Italian Gothic churches commonly refrained from the flamboyant Île-de-France Gothic style[258], which somewhat matched with the austere architectural precepts of the mendicants' buildings.

The provenance of the Dominican friars of the Galata convent is noteworthy because it played a role in shaping the architectural forms of the edifice. They were associated with the Eastern Mission of the Italian province called Upper Lombardy, which included the congregations of Lombardy, Piedmont and Liguria.[259] Genoa was the center of the province of Upper Lombardy, and certain friars were assigned from this province to the Congregation of Pilgrim Friars to execute their missionary activities in the East.[260] Naturally, these friars used Genoese colonies, such as Galata, Trebizond and Caffa, as the base for accomplishing their missions.[261] This is how the Dominican convent of Galata fits in the bigger framework of the Dominican formation. These

[254] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 189.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Sundt, "Dominican Legislation," 394-407.
[257] For further information on "Reduced Gothic" terminology, see Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 40.
[258] Robert Branner, *Gothic Architecture* (New York: Braziller, 1982), 42-44
[259] Fabrizio Giordani, "L'Arap Camii o Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata," *Opus. Quaderno di Storia dell'Architettura e Restauro* 4, (1995): 286. The province of Lombardy was divided into two as Upper and Lower Lombardy in 1303. Venice was the center of the latter division, which also included Emilia and Venezia Giulia regions.
[260] Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 286.
[261] Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 37-38.

links are crucial as they show their signs in the architectural design of the edifice. Indeed, the Church of San Domenico in Galata owes its Italian Gothic style, not solely due to its construction in the territories of the Genoese colony, but also to the common architectural practices of the Dominican friars in relation with the Upper Lombardy region.[262]

San Domenico befits the Dominican principles with its architectural characteristics. The church possesses a three-aisled basilica plan with a long nave, terminating in a tri-partite sanctuary (Fig. 27).[263] It has a flat timber roof, with vaulting only on the apse area, which corresponds to the original Dominican architectural legislation of 1228-1235.[264] The square-shaped apse and flanking chapels are rib-vaulted in Gothic style (Fig. 28-29).[265] There is a large pointed arch in the entrance of the apse area, which is now concealed between the modern ceiling and the roof (Fig. 28).[266] There is a pointed arch before the southern flanking chapel, as well (Fig. 30)[267]; the northern lateral chapel probably had one, too, but it cannot be observed due to the Ottoman restorations.[268] There are two rectangular chambers behind the flanking chapels, which were reserved for the church's sacristies.[269]

The edifice does not occupy an imposing verticality; thus, its modest scale does not necessitate flying buttresses. Its elevation is unassuming with plain surfaces, eschewing sumptuous decoration and structural intricacy (Fig. 31). However, the nave is large and capacious with a unified and airy interior, like a typical mendicant church (Fig. 32).[270] The gabled roof had a higher

[262] Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 267-92.
[263] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 25-36.
[264] Sundt, "Dominican Legislation," 398.
[265] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 330.
[266] Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 173.
[267] This pointed arch is now blinded, I postulate that it was filled with mortar during the Ottoman restorations.
[268] It was probably altered during the construction of the *hünkar mahfili* in the restoration of 1734-5, or at latest in the restoration of 1913-19, where the north façade was completely moved forth to enlarge the building.
[269] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 31.
[270] Ibid., 3-19.

height in the nave area than the aisles. The ceiling of the nave originally had a height of 16.80 meters, which was nearly double than the height of the aisles with 8.80 meters.[271] The nave was also considerably larger with a width of 6.75 meters when compared to those of the aisles that each measured 3.55 meters.[272] Two set of columns separated the nave from the aisle, which were most probably marble.[273] The northeast one still survives, currently carrying the sultan's pavilion (Fig. 33).[274]

The apse does not protrude outwards, it has a flat termination.[275] The church lacks a narthex and transept.[276] One could conceive a continuous nave, uninterrupted with the rather slender columns and narrow aisles. The main body of the building is shaped in a rectangular form, with a flat ceiling. In this aspect, this basilican mendicant church could also be comparable to the character of a "hall church." Indeed, Eyice likens the building to a large "hangar,[277]" which is also a terminology that Bruzelius uses while depicting the common features of the mendicant buildings.[278] The Dominicans needed the spatial unity that the large nave of the church offered to preach their crowds.[279] Moreover, John White aptly highlights the acoustic-friendly dimension of these hall churches with flat roofs, as "the lack of structural complexity produced bell-like clarity in the acoustics ..., there are none of the confusing reverberations commonly found in vaulted Gothic churches."[280]

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[271] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 32.
[272] Ibid. See also Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un mimari sanatı = Architecture of Constantinople = Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, trans. Rezan Kızıltan (Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 1999), 41-42 and LXIII, fig. 11b for the plan.
[273] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 330.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 557.
[276] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 31.
[277] Eyice, "Arap Camii" (1947), 557.
[278] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 151. Eadem, "Friars in the Medieval City," 18.
[279] Redmond, "Dominican Order," 193-200.
[280] White, *Architecture in Italy*, 12.

There are numerous comparable Dominican hall churches in Italy that resemble large hangars, covered with timber flat roofs, such as the Church of San Domenico in Siena (1226-1465) (Fig. 34), San Domenico in Pistoia (late thirteenth century) and San Domenico in Orvieto (1233).[281] However, these churches do not share the same ground plan with San Domenico as they have a single nave, ending in one apse with no ribbed vaulting. The mendicant architecture in North Italy share more similar plans with their three-aisled basilica models. San Francesco in Pavia (1267-98), San Francesco in Lodi (1252 - ca. 1290) (Fig. 35), San Domenico in Turin (1227- 14th century) and Sant' Anastasia in Verona (1290-1481).[282] However, none of these churches have identical plans with San Domenico in Galata as they differ either with their transepts, or the partition of their apses, or the vaulting of their naves. As the mendicant orders grew remarkably in late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in the Western Europe, the mendicant churches had to sacrifice from their norms of simplicity and enlarged their space either by rebuilding or extension.[283] Therefore, the prominent mendicant churches ended up having more sophisticated structures with more aisles, chapels, polygonal apses and transepts, including San Francesco at Assisi (1228-1253) (Fig. 36), San Francesco at Bologna (1236-1250), Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1279-early 14th century), Santa Croce in Florence (1294-end of the 14th century), SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (1333-late 14th century) (Fig. 37), Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (ca. 1330-1440) and San Domenico in Bologna (13-14th centuries).[284]

I think that is the reason why the plan of San Domenico in Galata – the three-aisled basilica with a flat roof, ending in rib-vaulted tri-partite apses – is more comparable to the Latin churches in the Byzantine sphere and the East. For example, the Dominican church of Saint Sophia at

[281] Ibid., 12-19.
[282] Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 284-92.
[283] Sundt, "Dominican Legislation," 394-407. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 1-256.
[284] See Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 1-256, and White, *Architecture in Italy,* 1-688.

Andravida (13th century) (Fig. 38) in the Principality of Achaea (1205-1430) possesses an identical plan with San Domenico in Galata (Fig. 39).[285] Other Gothic churches in the Peloponnese share a similar scheme, as well, such as the Church of our Lady at Isova and the Cistercian church at Zaraka – the latter one has only one difference with its rib-vaulting throughout the nave.[286] It is noteworthy that, the three-aisled basilica with no transept, ending in three apses without an ambulatory, was also a common model in the Crusader states of the Latin East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the cathedrals of Gaza and Tortosa.[287] This model might have also been an inspiration for the Dominicans in spreading Gothic style during their missionary activities in the East; yet, this is a profound research topic that needs to be investigated in a separate study to ascertain such analogies between the architecture of the crusaders and friars in similar multicultural geographic areas.

I should also remark here that the symbiotic relationship between the friars and the urban laity must also have affected the design of San Domenico, as the wealthy Genoese patrons provided financial resources to the Dominican friars to fund the needs of the church, in return for memorial spaces, such as funerary chapels and monuments.[288] As mentioned above, the naves of the mendicant churches also needed to be large to meet the commemorative requests of the donors, particularly funerary spaces. These sepulchral monuments were integral to the architectural design

[285] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 38. Dimitris Theodossopoulos, "Aspects of Transfer of Gothic Masonry Vaulting Technology to Greece in the Case of Saint Sophia in Andravida," *in Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus, Germany, 20th-24th May 2009,* ed. Karl-Eugen Kurrer, Werner Lorenz and Volker Wetzk (Cottbus: Brandenburg University of Technology, 2009) 1407.

[286] Tassos C. Papacostas, "Gothic in the East: Western Architecture in Byzantine Lands," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006), 510-30. Nicholas Coureas, "The Latin and Greek Churches in Former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule," in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 145-85.

[287] Maria Georgopoulou, "The Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 115-28.

[288] Eric A. Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments in the Levant 1204-ca. 1450," *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (1996): 91-92. D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali*, 1-167.

of the mendicant churches, most commonly as lateral chapels and floor slabs, or in some cases as *avelli*, i.e. niche tombs like in Santa Maria Novella in Florence (Fig. 40).[289] The Church of San Domenico in Galata was no exception. Many noble Genoese family members were buried in this church, including Doria, Salvagio, Spinola, Embriaco, Cattaneo, di Marini and Lercari.[290]

The funerary spaces that most conspicuously affected the building's design were the two funerary chapels that were integrated into the plan of the church.[291] They were most probably situated at the northern facade of the church, annexed to the northern lateral chapel of the apse (Fig. 27).[292] The funerary chapels belonged to the prominent noble Genoese families. While the northern funerary chapel belonged to Antonio de Via and was dedicated to Virgin Blessed Mary, the southern one belonged to Petrus de Persio and was dedicated to Saint Nicholas.[293] In addition to the funerary chapels, the floor of the church comprised of more than a hundred floor slabs that commemorated the Genoese donors (Fig. 41).[294] San Domenico also possessed other types of funerary monuments, such as *arcosolia.* One of them is placed in the western wall of the passageway under the belfry (Fig. 42). According to an anonymous article, published in a popular history journal called NTV Tarih, another *arcosolium* was discovered in the interior during the last restoration of 2010, but it has been concealed by a white board as of the restoration.[295] In sum, San Domenico in Galata demonstrates with its abundance of tombstones and various types of funerary monuments that burial spaces constituted a crucial component of the mendicant architecture.

[289] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying,* 10.
[290] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 17-20. Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)* Vol. 1. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), 257.
[291] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 17-20.
[292] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 31. Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 79.
[293] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 17-20.
[294] See ibid., 1-167 for the Genoese tombstones that were discovered under the floor of the church during the large-scale restoration between 1913-19.
[295] For this anonymous article, see "Rönesans İstanbul'da Başladı," NTV Tarih, sayı 39 (Nisan 2012): 35-46.

Proceeding with the Gothic characteristics of the church, San Domenico possessed various other Gothic elements, such as the Gothic style pointed windows, rose windows, and the tall belfry with lancet windows, in addition to its basilica plan and ribbed vaulted apse.[296] As the Ottomans modified the windows of the building, current windows do not preserve their Gothic appearance[297], but there are various pieces of evidence allowing us to reconstruct their original form. Among the foremost, there is a trace of an original window in the northwestern façade near to the lower part of the belfry, and it reveals the form of the building's original windows as pointed in Gothic style (Fig. 43).[298] There are also several maps of Pera, illustrated by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420s, that depict the Galata region with its churches, towers, walls and houses (Fig. 12).[299] Here, San Domenico is depicted with a clerestory of pointed windows. These windows were filled with stained-glass.[300] The travel account of the French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Galata in the early 1700's, also noted that the building preserved much of its original Gothic form by referring to its stained-glass windows and Gothic inscriptions above the portals.[301] There are also two rose windows on the western and eastern façades; while the eastern one can still be observed (Fig. 44), the western one is blocked by the late comer's porch.[302]

Regarding the portals of the building, there is no evidence to attest to their original form, but there is information about their places. The main entrance of the church was, expectedly, on the western side, which is now blocked by the annexation of the late comers' porch during the

[296] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 25-36. Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-341. Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-188.
[297] Eyice, "Arap Camii," 1947, 550-59. Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 27-30.
[298] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 30.
[299] Barsanti, "Un Panorama di Constantinapoli," 42-44. Eadem, "Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," 51-67.
[300] Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), 36.
[301] Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, 36.
[302] Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 173.

Ottoman era.[303] There were also portals on the northern and southern sides.[304] The western and southern portals can also be observed in Buondelmonti's maps (Fig. 12).[305] These portals were redesigned in Baroque style during the Ottoman era[306], which makes it difficult to reconstruct their original form, but one could naturally presume that they were pointed in accordance with the Gothic style. Due to the Dominican character of this Italian Gothic building that seems to adhere to their humble and simple norms in most aspects, I visualize these portals, devoid of elaborate moldings and lavish sculptural ornamentation. They might have had slightly receding archivolts, without any tympanums, or with ones that bore limited decoration.

One of the most notable Gothic components of San Domenico is its tall square belfry with lancet mullioned windows, topped by a peaked conical roof (Fig. 45). It is attached to the church, projecting from the southern part of the apse (Fig. 25). It confers to the edifice an imposing character with its approximately 23 meters height.[307] The original belfry had four floors, with the top floor being reserved for the bell.[308] The tower does not preserve any original floors as they were completely altered during the Ottoman times.[309] Although only two lancet windows can now be observed in the northern and southern sides of the top floor, one can follow the traces of the original triple mullioned windows, topped with a pointed arch (Fig. 45-46). This floor was illuminated through these windows on all four sides. While there was a triple mullioned window in the northern, eastern and southern sides, there was a twin mullioned one in the western side, all

[303] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 30.
[304] Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 173.
[305] Barsanti, "Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," 51-67.
[306] Eyice, "Arap Camii," 1947, 550-59.
[307] Alex Rodriguez-Suarez, *A Tale of Two Towers: The Bell Towers of Arap Camii (Istanbul) & Ayasofya (Trabzon)*, Paper delivered at the 2016 Anamed Fellows' Symposium, Anamed, Istanbul 2016.
[308] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 33.
[309] Ibid., 33-34. Suarez, *The bell tower of Arap Camii.* The Ottomans transformed the belfry into a minaret by adding a wooden floor at the top and covering the conical roof with a lead sheet.

of which were framed within pointed arches (Fig. 47-48).[310] The lancet windows were separated by octagonal marble columns, which were surmounted by *spoliated* Byzantine capitals that were embellished with an elongated cross (Fig. 49).[311] On the northern side of the belfry, the third floor possibly had two windows with pointed arches, and the second floor probably had a single lancet window, where the traces of the pointed arches can be observed (Fig. 46, 50).[312] There are also original traces of the openings on the first floor that is just above the passageway. These marks indicate that there was a large pointed arch, topped by an oculus window, in the southern side (Fig. 45); and a large pointed arch in the northern side (Fig. 44).[313]

Finally, the very bottom of the belfry comprises of a notable vaulted tower passage with its pointed archway, which leads to the courtyard on the northern part of the church (Fig. 45, 51). At the time of the convent, this passageway provided direct access from the street or piazza to the monastery's cloister.[314] The corridor is covered with two ribbed vaults and one groin vault (Fig. 52).[315] The west wall has a series of niches, of which sixteen are recognizable (Fig. 53).[316] The east wall bears a trace of a single arch with a large opening, which was later reduced in size, and a five-part arcade that were probably supported with columns (Fig. 54).[317] Cramer and Düll suggest that the fourth arch probably served as an entrance to a closed square working space within the monastery (Fig. 55).[318] Semavi Eyice also states that the eastern wall was Byzantine and probably

[310] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 311-13.
[311] Ibid. Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 35.
[312] Stephan Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche der Genuesen von Pera (Arap Camii). Griechische Maler–Lateinische Auftraggeber," in *Austausch und Inspiration. Kulturkontakt als Impuls Architektonischer Innovation* (Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung 9), ed. U. Wulff-Rheidt and F. Pirson (Mainz, 2008), 281.
[313] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 281.
[314] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 296-305.
[315] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 557-58.
[316] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 296-98.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid., 298.

continued as a part of the monastery.[319] Thus, I find it very plausible that this opening might have been a portal to a *studium*. Its easy access through the passageway seems reasonable to me as it might have facilitated the friar's mission to disseminate their scholastic beliefs.

The belfry represents the most characteristic element of the building's North Italian Gothic roots, with its tall square imposing figure, lancet windows, pointed arches, and a pyramidal roof.[320] The belfries of numerous North Italian Dominican Gothic churches share similar stylistic features, such as Sant'Anastasia in Verona (1290-ca.1471) (Fig. 56), San Domenico in Bologna, Sant'Eustorgio in Milan (Fig. 57), Chiesa dei Domenicani in Bolzano (1272-14th century) (Fig. 58) and Santa Corona in Vicenza (1260s). However, this characteristic belfry is not exclusive to Dominican architecture, but also to other mendicants, particularly Franciscans, and other parish churches in the Upper Lombardy region, including Sant' Andrea in Vercelli (1219-27) (Fig. 59), San Lorenzo in Alba (13th century), San Martino in Alessandria (12-14th century) (Fig. 60), San Maurizio in Pinerolo (11-14th century), San Francesco di Moncalvo Asti (13th century) and San Giovanni Battista in Cirie (13th century).[321] Additionally, two North Italian churches have particularly attracted attention in scholarship, due to the close resemblance of their belfries to San Domenico in Galata. These are the churches of San Domenico in Chieri (1326-1388) (Fig. 61) and Santa Caterina, Finale monastery (1359-early 15th century) (Fig. 62) in Finale Ligure. Two prominent scholars, D'Alessio and Mamboury, have highlighted this analogy and many others have cited or built on this suggestion.[322]

[319] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59.
[320] Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 284-92. White, *Architecture in Italy*, 3-20. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 1-256.
[321] Some of these examples are also discussed in Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 267-92.
[322] See D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 20 and Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul,* 320 for their analogy with these two churches. For the comments of other scholars on this particular analogy, see Palazzo, *Arap Camii,* 85; Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 317-19 and Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 284-92.

What is striking is that these comparable belfries were built later than the belfry of San Domenico, so they could not have exerted a direct influence on Galata. However, their evident resemblance demonstrates the recurrence of common architectural characteristics across related territories.[323] Indeed, in addition to these two churches that are often cited, there are more analogous belfries in Upper Lombardy, which were, too, built later than San Domenico, such as Santa Maria Domenicani in Soave (1443) and Santa Maria del Carmine in Pavia (1432-1461) (Fig. 63). Fabrizio Giordani aptly asserts that "[this similarity] costituiva il risultato di una tradizionale architettura locale formata da tempo, che aveva già esportato i suoi caratteri stilistici verso le colonie d'oltremare."[324] In sum, the belfry of San Domenico in Galata exhibits a continuation of an architectural idiom that already became established in Upper Lombardy; the later analogous belfries are, likewise, the yields that grew out of the same root. These comparable designs demonstrate the shared architectural practices of the friars, who traveled across wide spans of territories in scope of their missions. I should remark here that San Domenico was not unique with its belfry in the silhouette of Galata (Fig. 12).[325] The Church of San Francesco also had a comparable tall square belfry with pointed arches and lancet windows, topped by a pyramidal roof (Fig. 14).[326]

The Church of San Domenico bears notable analogies that are linked with the mother city Genoa, as well. For example, the particular stylization of the belfry's mullioned windows is comparable to several Gothic civic buildings of Genoa. The medieval *palazzi* of the prominent Doria family around the piazza of San Matteo (Fig. 64-65) (13th century) and the *palazzo* of San

[323] Giordani also advances a similar argument in his article, see Giordani, "L'Arap Camii," 284-92.
[324] Ibid., 287.
[325] Barsanti, "Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," 51-67.
[326] Matteucci, *il S. Francesco di Galata*, 1-417, as cited from Paolo Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 233-64. Suarez, *The bell tower of Arap Camii.*

Giorgio (c. 1260) (Fig. 21) are apt examples with their pointed arcade windows.[327] Indeed, Palazzo San Giorgio (Fig. 21) most probably served as a model for the *podesta*'s palace in Galata, Palazzo Comunale (Fig. 18-19).[328] As noted earlier, the two structures bear a similar architectural design, particularly with their mullioned windows. Such analogies reveal that there is a dialogue between these civic and ecclesiastical buildings of the motherland and its colony.

Cramer and Düll advance an interesting suggestion about another possible import from Genoa.[329] They assert that San Domenico exhibits an uncommon case with its tower passage that allowed direct access from the street to the cloister of the monastery. Generally, the access to the cloisters was provided only from the monastery, without a direct connection to the public space. Thus, they propose that San Matteo in Genoa might have been an inspiration with its passageway underneath a tower-like building, as it allowed direct access from the piazza to the cloister of the church, as well (Fig. 66). This argument seemed slightly forced to me, at first, since San Matteo is not much comparable with its other aspects of architectural design, and foremostly, it lacks a belfry. However, considering the cultural interactions and numerous analogies across these related geographies, it is not far-fetched that, the Dominican masters or Genoese patrons of the Galata convent referred to San Matteo as a model for equipping a direct access to the cloister. As noted above, the Dominicans in Galata might have equipped such a passageway to lure the lay communities from the nearby piazza directly to the courtyard of the convent during their preaching activities. Even if the Dominican friars were not able to preach outdoors as commonly as in the Catholic places of the West[330], they might have exploited the cloister as an effective preaching area, and devised an easy access to facilitate the local community's entrance to the convent area,

[327] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 318-19.
[328] Eyice, *Galata*, 52.
[329] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 317.
[330] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 111-27.

without an obligation to enter the church. I also postulate that, the passageway might additionally be related with providing a more convenient way for the urban laity to access the funerary spaces in the cloister. Not only noble families were buried in the mendicant churches, the mendicants also "democratized" the funerary practices by burying their benefactors, who belonged to the middle class, as well.[331] The mendicant convents practically became cemeteries[332], and the abundance of the graves, discovered under the floor of the church, demonstrate that San Domenico was no exception. As the noble members were buried in the most holy part of the convent, i.e. church, the less elite donors might have been buried in the cloister. Thus, the direct passageway could have provided an easier access for the lay followers to commemorate their deceased relatives in the cloister.

- The Building Technique

Besides the Italian Gothic and Dominican architectural features of the building, San Domenico is distinguished by simultaneously incorporating various Byzantine traits. The foremost Byzantine characteristic of the edifice is visible in its exterior through its building technique and materials.[333] The wall construction is typically Byzantine with alternating courses of brick and stone, combined with mortar, in an *opus mixtum* technique (Fig. 67).[334] The small ashlar stones and bricks vary in size and shape. The bands of brick and stone do not follow a regular pattern of repetition throughout the wall surfaces, but their variation does not cause a complex appearance. Brick and stone are rather mixed harmoniously, creating integrity throughout the facades. The building's masonry is notably similar to the Constantinopolitan construction practices, employed

[331] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 150.
[332] Ibid., 150-71.
[333] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-41 and Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88.
[334] Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008), 169.

in the contemporaneous Byzantine churches, such as Christ of the Chora (Kariye Museum, 1315-1321) (Fig. 68) and the *parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii, late 13th - early 14th centuries) (Fig. 69). This resemblance strongly suggests that the Dominican masters employed local Byzantine masons for the construction of their church.[335] The Dominicans were open to regional variations in designing their edifices as long as the peculiarities of the regional influences did not compromise their principal tenets.[336] What Robert Ousterhout aptly asserts about Byzantine architecture – "Byzantine religious architecture was, above all, a responsive architecture, easily adapted to the special necessities of location, function, and this responsiveness often led to new formulations."[337] – is also very true for the Dominican architecture that spanned across territories. In the case of San Domenico in Galata, its Byzantine masonry demonstrates their receptiveness to local tastes.

Moreover, I suggest that the Dominicans preferred a particularly simple Byzantine constructional design when compared to the contemporaneous Byzantine churches that mostly bore elaborate surface ornamentation in their exterior design. Although the Byzantine workshops in Constantinople never employed the degree of sophistication as in Greece and the Balkans in wall articulation, the Constantinopolitan Byzantine churches certainly acquired lively decorative brickwork and ornamentation.[338] They embellished their wall surfaces with niches, pilasters, blind arcading or geometric patterns, such as meanders, roundels, zigzag, as we can observe in the South Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips (Feneri İsa Camii, end of the 13th century) (Fig. 70), the funerary chapel of Church of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fig. 69) and the exonarthex of the

[335] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-41 and Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88.
[336] Redmond, "Dominican Order," 193-200. Bruzelius, "Recent Literature," 372-74.
[337] Ousterhout, *Master Builders,* 11.
[338] Ibid., 194-200. See also Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York: Electa / Rizzoli, 1985).

Church of Kilise Camii (14th century).[339] Although San Domenico utilizes the Byzantine construction method, it possesses a relatively unassuming design by applying the standard system of wall construction, with simple alternating bands of brick and stone. It avoids rich architectonic adornment in the treatment of the exterior. In this sense, the most comparable Byzantine church could be the Church of Chora, particularly the south wall of the *parekklesion*, since it features a less decorative patterning in its brickwork with a more tectonic design, as well.[340] In sum, I believe that the Dominicans suitably adopted the Byzantine construction method in a conservative manner to meet their modest architectural ideology and cost-efficient building program.

I also argue that, the openness of the Dominicans to Byzantine architectural features also arose from the need to "accommodate" themselves in Palaiologan Galata and Constantinople, at large.[341] Their mission necessitated the friars to penetrate into the local environment, and become acquainted with the inhabitants, particularly the Byzantine Orthodox community, to succeed in proselytizing them. In this scope, an ecclesiastical building that somewhat looked "familiar" to the local community would facilitate the accommodation of the Dominicans in the region. Thereby, the order would be able to establish itself more strongly, which would also help the friars feel a greater sense of belonging to their new surrounding area.

Moreover, I should finally remark here that, the incorporation of such local features was also an outcome of Genoa's liberal colonial policy.[342] Throughout the East Mediterranean and the

[339] Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 150-220.
[340] Ibid., 153.
[341] See Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 9, where he similarly asserts that "hybridity is often the result of accommodation," while discussing the hybrid nature of Jesuit buildings across the world, which aimed to "accommodate Christianity to local traditions."
[342] For the colonial policy of the Genoese, see Robert Sabatino Lopez, "Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa," *The Journal of Economic History* 24, no. 4 (Dec., 1964): 445-64; William Miller, "The Genoese in Chios, 1336-1566," *The English Historical Review*, 30, No: 119 (Jul., 1915): 418-32; Michel Balard, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204–1566)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 158-74, and idem, "The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries (1995): 23-32.

Black Sea, Genoa was much more concentrated on earning commercial profits through trade colonies without disrupting the social and cultural lives of the local inhabitants in its colonies.[343] The Genoese colonies produced their own unique colonial styles that were open to reciprocal influences among the diverse communities.[344] That is one of the reasons why San Domenico in Genoese Galata does not resemble the typical black-white striped marble medieval Ligurian Gothic buildings, such as San Lorenzo Cathedral (12th century, the Gothic façade in 1307-1312) (Fig. 71) and San Matteo Church (1125, renewed in Gothic style in 1278) in the motherland Genoa (Fig. 72).[345] We do not witness a strict colonial policy, where the architectural structures of the mother city were necessarily replicated in her colonies. We should recall the receptivity of the Genoese colonies to local cultures while discussing the Byzantine components of the building in the following sections, as well.

- The Architectural Sculptures

The Byzantine features of the building are not limited to its masonry and construction technique. The Church of San Domenico possesses various sculptural elements that are either Byzantine *spolia* or bear evident Byzantine imprint.[346] While the Byzantine *spolia* is mostly ascribed as coming from the pre-existing early Byzantine Church of St. Irene that was built on the same site, there are also Middle Byzantine pieces of *spolia* in the building. Among the notable Early Byzantine *spolia* of the church, there are various Ionic capitals, which are reused and gilded

[343] See footnote above.
[344] See Rafał Quirini-Popławski, "Art in the Genoese Colonies on the Black Sea (in the 13-15th c.). Present State of Knowledge and Selected Research Problems," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 74.3-4 (2012): 425-71. In this article, Poplawski provides various examples of hybrid artistic creations in the former Genoese colonies in Crimea. For example, Armenian style infiltrated into the Genoese foundation slabs and other sculptural works, due to the employment of Armenian craftsmen by the Latins. Reciprocally, there was a prevalent usage of rib-vaulting in the Armenian churches. Similarly, the cultural exchange between the Latins and Mongolians evinced itself on the foundation slabs, where the *tamga* motifs and Genoese coat of arms coexisted.
[345] Mons. Luigi Alfonso and Aldo Padovano, *Guida alle Chiese di Genova,* (Genoa: De Ferrari, 2017).
[346] For the Byzantine *spolia* and Byzantine-influenced sculptures in the Arap Camii, see Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 295-321 and Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 33-50.

on the marble column that supports the sultan's pavilion[347] (Fig. 73), and on the marble columns of the southern portal (Fig. 74). The cornice in the upper part of the belfry is a characteristic Middle Byzantine *spolia*, with its vegetal ornamentation (Fig. 75).[348]

The use of *spolia* was a common practice in the concurrent Palaiologan construction.[349] While the Palaiologan patrons used *spolia* for functional reasons due to their availability on site, they also used them deliberately as a means of appreciating their past and reviving their artistic legacy.[350] As Melvani aptly argues, the Genoese patrons and the Dominican masters seemed to have both functional and aesthetic motivations for incorporating Byzantine *spolia* in their church.[351] Indeed, in addition to Byzantine *spolia*, the belfry passage of San Domenico has numerous impost capitals and cornices, which were especially produced for the building, and were adorned with vegetal ornamentation, akin to Middle Byzantine style (Fig. 76).[352] The palmette and lotus friezes of the impost capitals and cornices in San Domenico are notably analogous to the ones employed in the contemporaneous Byzantine churches.[353] The carved impost capitals in the exonarthex and the *parekklesion* of the Chora Church[354] (Fig. 77), the relief ornaments from the South Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips[355] (Fig. 78), and the carved cornices and capital from the North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips (early 10th century) (Fig. 79)[356] bear similar lotus and palmette motifs. Hence, both the Byzantine *spolia* and the Palaiologan

[347] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 311.
[348] Ibid., 311-13.
[349] Nicholas Melvani, "Late, Middle, and Early Byzantine Sculpture in Palaiologan Constantinople," in *Spolia Reincarnated*, ed. Ivana Jevtić and Suzan Yalman (Istanbul: Anamed, 2018), 149-69.
[350] Melvani, "Byzantine Sculpture," 149-69.
[351] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 33-50.
[352] Ibid., 41.
[353] Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 295-321. Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 33-50.
[354] André Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines de Constantinople* (Paris: Dépositaire: A. Maisonneuve, 1963), 131. Melvani, "Byzantine Sculpture," 142-43.
[355] Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines*, 128, see no. 128, pl. CI.
[356] Theodor Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul* with contributions by Arthur H.S. Megaw, Cyril Mango, and Ernest J.W. Hawkins (Harvard University Press, 1964), 253-79, see fig. 45.

sculptures demonstrate the edifice's dialogue with Constantinople and the visual idioms that were present in the historical city. This connection demonstrates that the Latin patrons and friars were receptive to the Byzantine architectural and artistic practices.

- The Funerary Monuments

Even the Genoese funerary monuments of the building show an infiltration of Byzantine artistic taste, despite their distinctive expression of Genoese identity.[357] More than a hundred tomb slabs were discovered under the floor of the church during the restoration of 1913-1919 (Fig. 41).[358] These slabs demonstrate the Genoese pedigree of the deceased by using the coat of arms of Genoa and the relevant families, and the Latin inscriptions that deliver information about the deceased, such as his name, burial space and date of death.[359] The Latin inscriptions are characterized by their Gothic style and brevity, and the use of certain *formulae*.[360] Some slabs contain the motif of *Agnus Dei*, such as the tomb of Guglielmo de Gandolfi.[361] Although the Gothic Latin inscriptions, the Genoese coat of arms and certain motifs assert the Genoese identity, the decoration of the monuments was open to Byzantine models.[362] While the tomb slabs initially had a standard layout with a plain cross and coat of arms, they gradually began to be depicted with a more ornamented style, with foliate and stepped crosses of the Byzantine style, between heraldic devices (Fig. 80-81).[363] Similar foliate crosses were used in the Byzantine artistic idiom since the tenth century, as can be seen in the Monastery of Constantine Lips, in the capital of the column in

[357] Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 91-106.
[358] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 1-167.
[359] Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 91.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid. D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 27.
[362] For the thorough analogies between the funerary architectural sculptures of San Domenico in Galata and the relevant Byzantine churches in Constantinople, see Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 91-106.
[363] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 41-43. D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 46-47.

the apse area of the north church[364] (Fig. 82) and the various carved pieces from the north church (Fig. 83).[365] The design of the foliate cross in a Genoese tombstone of San Domenico (Fig. 84)[366] resembles the patterns of the south arm of the perambulatory of the south church of Monastery of Constantine Lips (Fig. 85).[367]

In addition to the Byzantine motifs in the tomb design, the Genoese also began to use different types of funerary monuments, such as *arcosolia,* that was common in Byzantine sepulchral practices. One example can be observed in the eastern wall of the tower passage, as mentioned previously (Fig. 42).[368] This *arcosolium* has a carved marble facing, where the surviving archivolt and spandrels are decorated with palmette and acanthus leaves.[369] Each spandrel is embellished with a rosette boss. The slightly projecting cornice, which is surmounted above the *arcosolium*, is also adorned with palmette motifs. The armorial shields under the rosette embosses in the spandrels constitute the only Western element in the tomb design.[370] Other recesses in the passage might also have included similar *arcosolia*.[371] As mentioned above, a popular history journal, NTV Tarih, also alleged that an *arcosolium* was discovered in the interior, as well, but it is not safe to fully rely on this article as it is without any authorship and published in a non-academic journal.[372] However, I find it plausible that the Genoese designed *arcosolia* for their interior space, as well. The photograph of the *arcosolium* that the journal published seems real as it matches with the interior design of the Arap Camii (Fig. 86). I think the location of the *arcosolium* is in the southern nave, not on the northern nave as the article claims. The photograph

[364] Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 92. Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-79, see fig. 19 and 20.
[365] Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-79, see fig. 44.
[366] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 148.
[367] Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-79, see fig. 62 and 63. Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 97.
[368] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 44.
[369] Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 92.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Ibid.
[372] "Rönesans İstanbul'da Başladı," 35-46.

of the arcosolium seems to be fitting to the space on the southern wall near to the southern choir (Fig. 86).[373]

Anyhow, it is striking that the currently visible *arcosolium* in the tower passage is embellished with a vegetal ornamentation, that is comparable to the ones in the contemporaneous Byzantine churches in the city, particularly the Church of Chora. The *arcosolia* in the northern and southern wall of the *parekklesion* of Chora, which are respectively labeled as the Tomb A and the Tomb D by Paul Atkins Underwood, bear analogous motifs.[374] The Tomb A has an archivolt with a design of acanthus leaves; a frame with palmette motifs, and spandrels with foliate patterns that resemble trumpet flowers. The cornice above the panel and the imposts that the frame rests on also bear similar palmette motifs (Fig. 87).[375] The Tomb D bears the same vegetal design in its corresponding components, where the plants are rendered in a more natural and lively manner (Fig. 88), as opposed to the static and stiff geometric forms of the Tomb A.[376] I agree with Ivison that the Genoese might have employed Byzantine artists or masons in designing their sepulchral monuments, as well.[377]

At least, the comparability of the decoration of the tomb slabs and *arcosolia* between San Domenico and the contemporaneous Byzantine churches certainly demonstrates the receptiveness of the Genoese patrons and Dominican masters to local Byzantine artistic taste, even in the

[373] The article states that, the *arcosolium* is in the northern nave, and a fresco is painted in its niche, depicting the scene of *The Death of the Virgin*. I think the *arcosolium* is located not in the northern, but the southern nave, since the northern wall was completely rebuilt and was extended further into the courtyard to enlarge the interior space of the mosque during the 1913-1919 restoration. The space on the southern wall near to the southern choir seems to have a fitting scale and dimension to contain an *arcosolium*. In addition, the newly discovered frescoes were covered with white boards after the last restoration of 2010. Naturally, there are no white boards in the northern nave, they are placed on the western and southern walls. In the photograph, it seems that there is a fresco at the left of the *arcosolium*, which again fits to the suggested area in the southern nave, where there is a white board at the left to conceal a fresco.
[374] Paul Atkins Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), 533-37.
[375] Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 533-37. Øystein Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 249-51, see fig. 61.
[376] Hjort, "Kariye Camii," 250-53, see fig. 66.
[377] Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments," 92.

funerary monuments that strongly expressed the Genoese identity, through the use of their coat of arms and the Latin inscription with Gothic style. This hybridity testifies the close cultural interactions between the Genoese and the local Byzantines. Perhaps, the *arcosolia* in the church contained the sarcophagi of Byzantine notables, who later converted to Catholicism and joined the Dominican congregation of the convent. There is indeed one tombstone with Greek inscriptions that belonged to a Byzantine aristocrat, called Anna Doukina Petraleiphina, who was probably married to a member of a noble Genoese family and converted to Catholicism.[378] The presence of such a tomb illustrates how intermarriage between the Genoese and the Byzantine elite families enhanced the cultural exchange between these communities.

The infiltration of Byzantine artistic taste into the Genoese sepulchral monuments is more understandable when we consider the Byzantine's increasing practice of building commemorative funerary chapels and other tomb monuments in their churches during the Palaiologan era, such as the *parekklesion*s of Christ of Chora and St. Mary Pammakaristos. The zeitgeist was ever more preoccupied with death and after life, and the Byzantine state did not have the financial sources to sustain the maintenance of the churches.[379] Thus, the elite Byzantine patrons requested sepulchral spaces for themselves within the convents or churches, in return for their benefactions[380], which somewhat resembled the socio-economic dynamics of the mendicant architecture. The contemporary notable Byzantine funerary monuments, whose design became highly decorated and more elaborate in the Palaiologan period[381], might have facilitated the penetration of Byzantine artistic practices into the Genoese sepulchral monuments.

[378] Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 44.
[379] Sarah Brooks, "Sculpture and the Late Byzantine Tomb," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 95-103.
[380] Brooks, "Late Byzantine Tomb," 95.
[381] Brooks, "Late Byzantine Tomb," 95-103.

- The Frescoes

The frescoes of the building are not visible because they have been covered since the Ottoman age.[382] The first reference to the frescoes is made by Jean Ebersolt, who noted that several frescoes were discovered during the restoration of 1913. However, he was not able to provide a detailed information since he could not observe them in person. He only describes one fresco, based on a photograph taken by Istanbul Archaeology Museum, which delineates three holy figures, probably saints, framed in pointed arches. [383] The main corpus of knowledge about the frescoes could only materialize after the earthquake of 1999 in Istanbul, when several new frescoes came to light in the ribbed vault and south wall of the main choir, due to the collapse of the white plasters that used to cover them.[384] In addition to these paintings, new frescoes were discovered on the large triumphal arch of the main apse during the statistical survey of the building in 2006, which was conducted in scope of the planned restoration in 2010.[385] Since there are several notable

[382] It is not known for certain when the Ottomans covered the frescoes with white plaster. There are no known references to the frescoes before the restoration of the building in 1913. After the restoration, the frescoes were concealed again. During the Turkish Republic era, several frescoes were discovered for the first time in the main apse, after the plasters fell off in the earthquake of 1999. Additional new frescoes were discovered in the scope of the restoration of 2010. However, all of these frescoes were covered by white plaster or white boards after the restoration. The ones in the ribbed vault and the triumphal arch of the mains apse are concealed by the modern wooden ceiling. Today, none of the frescoes are visible in the building.

[383] See Jean Ebersolt, *Mission Archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris: Leroux, 1921), 38–54, pls. 35–39. Jean Ebersolt was not able to observe the frescoes, but he had the chance to see a photograph taken by the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, in scope of the restoration of 1913. In this photograph, there is a fresco of three holy figures. The location of the fresco is not specified, but Engin Akyürek suggests that they are placed on the north side of the east wall. See Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 332.

[384] Stephan Westphalen, "Pittori Greci nella Chiesa Domenicana dei Genovesi a Pera (Arap Camii). Per la Genesi di una Cultura Figurativa Levantina nel Trecento," *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI-XIV)*, ed. A. R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Dufour Bozzo, and G Wolf (Venice, 2007), 51-62; Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 276-91; Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-41; Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88, and Haluk Çetinkaya, "Dünü, Bugünü ve İçindeki Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," Arkeoloji ve Sanat (2016): 199-212.

[385] Haluk Çetinkaya took part in the statistical survey of the building as the academic advisor in 2006, in scope of the planned restoration in 2010. He examined the frescoes in the triumphal arch of the main apse, which is now concealed between the modern ceiling and the roof. He published two articles about the frescoes of the building, which includes the ones discovered both in the earthquake and in the survey. See Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88 and Çetinkaya, "Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," 199-212.

scholar studies that thoroughly examine the frescoes of the building[386], I will not describe the details of the paintings extensively, but I will underscore their hybrid character.

In the ribbed vault of the main apse, two Evangelists, including Saint Mark (Fig. 89) and Saint Matthew, and one church father, Saint Ambrose (Fig. 90), are depicted. Although only these three figures could be observed, it is safe to reconstruct the image program of the choir vault, where each evangelist was coupled with a church father.[387] Hence, the other compartments of the ribbed vault would have included the other evangelists, Saint John and Luke, and doctors of the Latin Church, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory.[388] The frescoes on the southern wall of the choir vault depict the narrative scenes of Nativity and the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 91). Both Westphalen and Akyürek postulate that these scenes are a part of twelve scenes that depict the Life Cycle of Christ, six of which are depicted on the southern wall and the remaining six on the opposite northern wall.[389] Also, there is a painting in the soffit of the triumphal arch in the main apse, where the busts of prophets of the Old Testament are depicted.[390] Regarding the frescoes that were discovered in 2006 during the survey of the building, there are various scenes in the triumphal arch that is now concealed between the modern ceiling and the roof. Çetinkaya asserts that these scenes include the *Deesis* scene and the *Choirs of the Elect*, as part of the *Last Judgement* cycle (Fig. 92).[391]

These frescoes represent one of the most pronounced forms of artistic hybridity in the building. The pictorial program of the Latin church synthetizes Western medieval and Byzantine iconography in the Byzantine artistic style. There are stylistic, iconographical and compositional

[386] See footnote 385.
[387] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 284.
[388] Ibid.
[389] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 337. Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 284.
[390] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 285.
[391] Çetinkaya, "Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," 207-09.

features that are comparable to the other contemporaneous Byzantine monumental paintings, such as those of the Church of Chora (Fig. 93) and the *parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fig. 94).[392] For example, the drapery details of the figures and the treatment of the landscape with rocky and jagged hills have a similar style in their depiction.[393] There are analogous iconographical details, such as the depiction of the bed of the Virgin and the gilded basin in the Nativity scene, and the portrayal of Saint John the Baptist, the divine light and the descending dove in the Baptism scene.[394] Moreover, various compositional details are akin to Palaiologan practices, such as "the layered landscape" that serves as a stage to place the figures on each step to create a spatial depth.[395] All of these Byzantine features allude to the employment of local Byzantine artists for painting the frescoes of the building.[396]

Nonetheless, the Latin patrons simultaneously expressed their religious identity by determining the pictorial program of the church and deciding where the imageries will be depicted. The scheme typical for Byzantine monumental painted programs would have obliged a completely different arrangement, where the figures would be depicted in certain zones of the church, according to their hierarchical order of holiness.[397] For instance, it would definitely not be possible to see the evangelists paired with Church fathers.[398] Moreover, the frescoes simultaneously comprise of Western medieval iconographical elements that are associated with the Catholic faith, such as the depiction of Saint Ambrose, a Latin Church Father, who is not celebrated in the

[392] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-41; Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 276-91, and Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88.
[393] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 338-41.
[394] Ibid., 339-40.
[395] Ibid., 338.
[396] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 276-91; Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 301-41, and Çetinkaya, "Arap Camii," 169-88.
[397] Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, 1947), 1-97. The liturgical and architectural differences of the Byzantine church would also necessitate a different pictorial program. Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 286-87.
[398] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 286-87.

Orthodox calendar.[399] There are also Latin inscriptions in the paintings, which are marked in Gothic majuscules.[400] In sum, the frescoes have a hybrid character by combining both Latin and Byzantine characteristics.[401]

For further research, it is crucial to remark here that new additional frescoes were discovered during the restoration between 2010-12. Regrettably, it is not possible to observe them as they were later concealed with white plasters and white boards, after the restoration.[402] There are also no academic publications about these new frescoes, but only the anonymous article of a non-academic history journal of NTV Tarih, as noted above.[403] This article claims that the new frescoes include the noteworthy scenes of *The Coronation of the Virgin* and *The Death of the Virgin*, i.e. *Dormition of the Theotokos* (Fig. 95), the latter being depicted twice, both in the apse and in the *arcosolium* in the nave area.[404]

There is also a three-dimensional digital modelling of the apse area, which was produced by utilizing three-dimensional laser scanners and photographs, in scope of the restoration that was

[399] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 340.
[400] Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 286-87.
[401] In Constantinople, San Domenico was not alone in combining Byzantine and Western artistic features in its paintings; the Kalenderhane Camii constitutes an earlier known example of a comparable hybrid work of art. The Kalenderhane Camii (in the Fatih region) was a former Middle Byzantine church and part of a monastery called Theotokos Kyriotissa, which was appropriated by the Latins during their rule of Constantinople. That was when the Franciscans took control of the church, and painted the life cycle of San Francesco in a Byzantine *vita icon* format. For detailed information of the fresco cycle in the Kalenderhane Camii, see Şebnem Dönbekci, "Contextualizing the Fresco Cycle of the Life of Saint Francis at the Kalenderhane Mosque in Istanbul," PhD diss., Koç University, 2016. For a broader study that deals with the artistic exchange between the Italians and Byzantines through the mediation of mendicant orders, see Derbes and Neff, "Mendicant Orders," 451-61.
[402] Çetinkaya, "Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," 199-212.
[403] "Rönesans İstanbul'da Başladı," 35-46.
[404] The article states that, *The Coronation of the Virgin* is depicted on one of the walls of the aisles (the exact location is not specified), and *The Death of the Virgin* is depicted both in the niche of the *arcosolium* in the northern nave, and on the northern wall of the apse. As I have noted before, the *arcosolium* cannot be located in the northern nave as the northern wall was completely rebuilt and was extended further into the courtyard to enlarge the interior space of the mosque during the 1913-1919 restoration. It is probably on the southern nave. Moreover, *The Coronation of the Virgin* constitutes another example of a theme that exists in the Western medieval iconography, but not in the Byzantine.

conducted by the Directorate General of Foundations.[405] This digital display corroborates the presence of these scenes, where *The Death of the Virgin* is detected on the southern arch of the vault in the main apse and *The Coronation of the Virgin* is observed on the eastern arch of the vault in the southern flanking apse. While the Coronation of the Virgin is not a scene that is depicted in Byzantine art, the Dormition of the Virgin is noteworthy as it would be the second representation of this scene after the Church of Chora in Constantinople.[406] The modelling also sheds light into the presence of numerous other scenes in the main apse, but their deteriorated conditions make them hard to recognize. However, it validates the academic assumptions that there is a life cycle of Christ with six scenes on the southern wall, and that this cycle continues on the northern wall with six scenes in a symmetrical manner, as well.[407] Since these are not academic publications, one should be wary of making certain assessments.

Anyhow, the hybridity of the frescoes, i.e. in their style and iconography,[408] reflects the close cultural interactions between the Latins and Byzantines. The inclusion of the Byzantine traits represents another testimony to the receptiveness of the Latin patrons to Byzantine culture and their appreciation of Palaiologan art. In this aspect, the employment of the local Byzantine artists is noteworthy. However, one should also bear in mind that there was also a financial motive for this choice. When compared to inviting Italian artists, employing local artists had an economic advantage, which was important for the Dominican masters with cost concerns.

[405] The modelling is created by a surveying technology and services provider company, called Solvotek. It displays the apse area by using three-dimensional laser scanners to measure the area in exact dimensions for accurate documentation. The company colored the high-quality photographs that they received from the Directorate General of Foundations, which implemented the restoration in 2010. See https://vimeo.com/90842860 to display the three-dimensional modelling.
[406] Çetinkaya, "Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," 209-10.
[407] Akyürek, "The Frescoes of Arap Camii," 337. Westphalen, "Die Dominikanerkirche," 284.
[408] Here, I refer to the frescoes that are scholarly examined and published in the academic realm. The newly discovered but unpublished frescoes may share similar characteristics, but it would not be apt to assess them, at this stage.

Moreover, I argue that there was an additional dimension for the Latins to incorporate Byzantine features in the frescoes. Their inclusive nature most probably pursued missionary interests as artistic imagery was an important vehicle for mendicant orders to exalt spiritual transformation and promote their religious doctrine.[409] Considering the convent's crucial role in becoming a hub for Latin Catholic and the local Byzantine Orthodox scholars to exchange scholastic ideas[410], the Latin patrons and friars might have utilized frescoes as a tool to foster their theological beliefs. After all, the Dominican friars mainly aimed to restore the communion of the two Churches. They might have intentionally put together the Catholic and Orthodox iconographical elements in Byzantine artistic style. In this manner, the friars would enhance the spiritual experience of the local visitors by rendering them a more familiar spiritual atmosphere that they feel closely attached to.

Michele Bacci advances a similar argument for the Veneto-Byzantine hybrid artistic creations, he asserts that "the Palaiologan and Venetian forms were not perceived as incommensurate, rather they could be used as communicative strategies enabling the viewer not only to quickly recognize specific subjects but also to feel more deeply involved in the devotional experience associated with them."[411] He argues that different artistic idioms were combined to elevate the sacred devotional component of the building, and concludes that, "hybridization was always the final outcome of a 'selective process' aimed at awarding the viewer the most thorough, efficacious, moving experience possible of a transconfessionally shared repertory of images."[412] I similarly believe that, the patrons and friars of the Church of San Domenico carefully selected

[409] Derbes and Neff, "Mendicant Orders," 451-61.
[410] See Melvani, "Dominicans in Byzantium," 33-50 and Palazo, "Arap Camii," 104-16, for the cultural interactions between the Dominicans and the Byzantines at the convent of San Domenico in Galata.
[411] Bacci, "Veneto-Byzantine 'Hybrids'," 94.
[412] Bacci, "Veneto-Byzantine 'Hybrids'," 102.

their artistic choices, and mixed various Byzantine and Western elements in such a balanced composition that suited their religious interests. They deliberately reached a synthesis in their monumental paintings to "accommodate" Catholicism in the surrounding Byzantine Orthodox environment, and accomplish their missionary ends.

At any rate, it is certain that the amalgam nature of the frescoes mirrors the multicultural milieu of Galata, like the architecture, sculpture and funerary monuments of the building do. Indeed, the close cultural interactions between the Genoese and the Byzantines evince themselves in the mother city, Genoa, as well. The Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa possesses several frescoes that were painted by a Byzantine artist, around 1310, during the building's renovation. The most notable one is the scene of *Last Judgement* in the lunette over the entrance door (Fig. 96). These frescoes bear a Byzantine style and iconography, but their content and theological concerns are derived from Western Christianity.[413] It is striking to witness the wide repercussions of the reciprocal cultural exchange between the Genoese and the Byzantines.

- The Interior Furnishing

Last but not least, the interior decoration of the Church of San Domenico, aside from the frescoes, surely constituted a crucial component of the building's architecture. Despite the lack of any surviving evidence, one could conceive of an interior, fully equipped with typical mendicant furnishings, such as altarpieces, portable panels, choir screens, votive paintings, sculpted effigies and various funerary paraphernalia.[414] These objects commonly bore memorial significations for the patrons or laity, in return for their donations to the church. One should also imagine a wholly spiritual experience by considering intangible commemorative forms that reflect the

[413] Robert S. Nelson, "A Byzantine Painter in Trecento Genoa: The Last Judgement at S. Lorenzo," *The Art Bulletin*, 67, No. 4 (Dec., 1985): 548-66.
[414] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 171.

interdependent relationship of the friars and donors, such as intercessory prayers.[415] Fortunately, there are documentary sources to help us reconstruct a more solid picture, which recorded the shipping details of the items that were evacuated from the churches of Pera, to first Chios, and then Genoa, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1461.[416] Although the archives do not mostly specify the provenance of the items, their totality gives a general idea about the nature of the interior church decoration in the Genoese colony of Pera.

The decorative artefacts included several *Maestà* (either as panel painting or with silver cover or silver dress), numerous precious reliquaries of saints, altars decorated with gold or other precious and artificial gems, silver lamps, chalices with patens, silver plates and cups, silver or gilded crosses, several *navicella*, robes with gold braids and precious stones, such as rubies and pearls.[417] Two noteworthy items survive, and they are currently displayed in Genoese museums, which comprise of the reliquary of Saint Anne (Fig. 97), containing her arm, and the picture of *Madonna di Pera* (Fig. 98) – a prominent Byzantine icon.[418] We do not know if, or which of, these evacuated pieces belonged to the Church of San Domenico in Galata, but it is highly likely that the wealthy Genoese patrons or lay donors bestowed similar artefacts. What is crucial for our main argument is that, even the objects of the church decoration reveal a hybrid character in some cases.

[415] Ibid.
[416] Rafał Quirini-Popławski, "Ex Partibus Orientalibus Translata ad hanc Urbem: The Evacuation of Elements of Church Decoration from Pera to Genoa in 1461," in *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea* (2015): 291-312. For the publication of the original documents, see also Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, "Prima Serie di Documenti Riguardanti la Colonia di Pera," *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria* 13 (1877), and L.T. Belgrano, "Seconda Serie di Documenti Riguardanti la Colonia di Pera," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 20 (1884).
[417] Popławski, "The Evacuation of Elements," 291-312.
[418] Ibid., 304-07. The picture of *Madonna di Pera* or *Eleusa di Pera* is exhibited in the Museo di Sant'Agostino in Genoa. The reliquary arm of St. Anne is displayed in the Museum of Treasury of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa.

There were several items with Greek inscriptions that alluded to Byzantine features.[419] Rafal Quirini-Popławski aptly asserts that, there might be two reasons for the presence of the Greek lettering.[420] First, some might have been brought from the Orthodox churches in Constantinople together with the Latin ones in Galata. Even if this is the case for several items, some might have also been the outcome of the Latins' close cultural engagement with the Byzantines – either the Latins received them as gifts from their Byzantine counterparts, or they especially commissioned or produced such artefacts with Byzantine influence. For example, the archival sources record that, a Genoese noblewoman, called Marietta di Pagana, presented a textile, which bore both Greek inscription and the coat of arms of Genoa and two noble Genoese families of Giustiniani and di Pagana. She also attached a special note, indicating that this item should be returned to Pera in case of the restoration of Genoese power. Popławski rightly points out that, such considerate notes, along with the meticulous care taken for the transportation of all the items, signify the sense of belonging of the Genoese to their settlement in Galata and their emotional attachment to their artefacts.[421]

In addition, other documentary sources, such as the bills of *Masseria di Pera*, corroborate that the Genoese community employed Byzantine artists or craftsmen in numerous cases.[422] Hence, just like the employment of Byzantine artists for the painting of the frescoes and masons for the construction of the edifice, the Genoese also engaged with the Byzantines for adorning their objects for church decoration. The inclusive nature of the artefacts, once again, testifies the close cultural interactions between diverse communities. One should keep in mind that these interactions occurred in a reciprocal manner. Just like the Byzantine infiltration into the decorative artefacts of

[419] Popławski, "The Evacuation of Elements," 307.
[420] Ibid., 308.
[421] Ibid., 307-09.
[422] Ibid., "The Evacuation of Elements," 308.

the Latin churches, there were also Western artistic imprints in the liturgical objects of the Byzantine churches, through the penetration of Gothic forms.[423] The synthesis of Italian and Byzantine elements in the decorative artefacts could also reveal a common taste shared among the urban elites of those times, as a result of their intense cultural exchange.

[423] Gothic forms penetrated into the Byzantine liturgical objects, particularly through the second half of the fourteenth century that corresponded to the increasing dominance of the Italians in the empire. One example would be the chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos with its Gothic turrets. See Anna Ballian, "Liturgical Implements," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 117-25.

Conclusion

The Church of San Domenico represents a noteworthy hybrid creation, resulting from cross-cultural encounters in Genoese Galata, through a mixture of different artistic idioms. The church incorporates Italian Gothic, mendicant and Byzantine architectural and artistic characteristics. Its hybrid character is manifest in all the facets of the building, including its architecture, architectural sculptures, monumental paintings, sepulchral spaces, and interior furnishing. In a nutshell, the building's Italian Gothic architectural style; Byzantine construction technique, building materials, sculptures and *spolia*; frescoes that synthesize Byzantine artistic style and iconography with Western medieval themes; funerary monuments that express Genoese identity with an infiltration of Byzantine practices, and interior furnishings that are linked with the Byzantine community, all attest to its eclecticism. The edifice is simultaneously consonant with the main principles of the Dominican mendicant architecture, and features typical mendicant properties, such as an austere appearance devoid of superfluous ornamentation, a basilican model with a large and capacious nave for preaching, and an abundance of funerary spaces as testimonies to the symbiotic relationship between the donors and friars.

This artistic hybridization occurred as a result of the close cultural encounters between the Latins and the Byzantines. The openness of the Latins to the Palaiologan artistic taste and practices evinced itself through various Byzantine features in the Dominican church. The building reflected its surrounding multicultural milieu through the amalgamation of different artistic idioms, discussed above. Moreover, the mission of the Dominicans must have also led them to familiarize the building through Byzantine features, in order to accommodate Catholicism in the larger Orthodox environment, and intensify the devotional experience of the local visitors. All these

factors brought about a hybrid edifice, where Western and Byzantine artistic and architectural characteristics were mixed through a balanced composition.

One should keep in mind that San Domenico was not isolated in reflecting the cultural diversity of Genoese Galata. The whole built environment was most probably shaped by the practices of different cultures in Galata, and even in the larger context, of Constantinople. I examined the church and convent of San Domenico as a point of departure to reconstruct the architectural setting of Genoese Galata, but further studies could include other extant or vanished monuments to depict a fuller picture and complement our knowledge of this Genoese colony. Moreover, the cultural impact of the convent of San Domenico on Italian and Byzantine relations was certainly not confined to Constantinople, but it was connected to a wider network in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, which encompassed the other Genoese and Venetian colonies in the former or current Byzantine lands. For further studies, the Dominican convent of Galata could be examined in this larger frame, where it is compared with other foremost monuments that were comparably created by the coexistence of the Italian and Byzantine cultures. One could single out the mendicant structures to survey the contribution of the friars in the architectural and artistic development of these geographies, which might include Chios, Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Peloponnese or Crimea. These studies would significantly contribute to the scholarship of Genoese Galata and enhance our conception of its built environment in a wider context.

PART II

OTTOMAN GALATA

AND

THE ARAP CAMİİ

PART II: OTTOMAN GALATA AND THE ARAP CAMİİ

The second part of the thesis will survey the impact of the Ottoman rule on Genoese Galata and the Church of San Domenico that was converted into the Arap Camii. It will demonstrate how the Ottomanization of Genoese Galata was reflected on the cultural and architectural transformation of the building. I seek to render a meticulous study, but one should not expect an analysis as extensive as the prior part, since the main focus of the thesis is to examine the original building as a church, in the light of the development of the Genoese colony during the Byzantine era. That said, this part will certainly help to grasp the edifice more comprehensively by portraying its cultural and architectural biography through a wider spectrum of time.

The Ottoman part consists of two chapters, as well. The first chapter will provide the historical background of Ottoman Galata, and it is divided into two chronological sections. While the first sub-chapter examines the immediate impact of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople on Genoese Galata, the second sub-chapter studies its further repercussions, particularly from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Due to the scope of the thesis, I mostly concentrate on the developments during this span of time, as the Genoese considerably lost their political power and presence in the area by the late seventeenth century. Hence, I do not elaborate on the subsequent centuries (from the eighteenth to the twentieth), but I briefly remark on the significant Ottoman disruptions in the Genoese built environment during these later times.

The second chapter will analyze the changes that the Church of San Domenico and later the Arap Camii went through during the Ottoman rule, in the light of the sociopolitical context described in first chapter. It is similarly divided into two chronological sections: the early and late phase of the cultural and architectural transformation of the building. While the first sub-chapter studies the transformation of the church into the mosque in the fifteenth century, and the

subsequent minor architectural interventions, the second sub-chapter examines the major significant cultural and architectural changes that were implemented in the later centuries. In total, the second part of the thesis will help to understand the stages of the Ottomanization and Islamization both in Galata and the Arap Cami.

II. 1. a. The Immediate Impact of the Ottoman Conquest of Constantinople on Genoese Galata

The Genoese officially held a neutral position during the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1453.[424] Yet, in reality, there were citizens supporting each side. While some of them fought loyally for the Byzantines, others appraised the Ottoman pashas of the military movements inside the Byzantine city.[425] During the siege, the flight of a part of the Genoese community from the city angered Mehmet II [r. 1444-46, 1451-81], who sent Zaghanos Pasha to appease Galata and prevent further escape. Upon the promise of peace and certain rights, the Genoese surrendered their city immediately without any resistance.[426] Thereafter, a treaty was signed between the Genoese of Pera and Mehmet II on June 1, 1453 (Fig. 99). This agreement was called the *ahd-name*, meaning "a unilateral pledge or privilege, granted to a submitted or friendly group, granting an *aman*, the guarantee of life and property."[427] The Genoese called the document *capituli*, i.e. capitulations.[428] The treaty was in accordance with the principles of the *sharia,* which decreed to protect the communities that voluntarily surrendered to the Muslim rule, during a battle.[429]

As its name suggests, the *ahd-name* guaranteed the safety of the lives and the possessions of the Genoese in Galata.[430] Through this treaty, Mehmet II distinguished two groups in Galata, as permanent and temporary inhabitants.[431] He aimed to Ottomanize the permanent community by

[424] Freely, *Galata*, 14.
[425] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 73.
[426] Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata. 1453- 1553," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 283.
[427] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 279-80.
[428] Ibid., 280.
[429] Halil İnalcık, "The Policy of Mehmet II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (1969-70), 229-49.
[430] See İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 276-77 for the whole script of the *ahd-name*, which is translated in English.
[431] See ibid., 284-85 for the following part that describes how Mehmet II treated the Genoese community through the *ahd-name*.

granting them a status of *dhimmi* (*re'aya*) under the *dhimma* law of Islam. As non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, they were obliged to pay the *djizya/kharadj*, the poll tax. He did not interfere much with the temporary group, who resided in Galata for business purposes. They were called the *Djneviz bazirganları* i.e. the Genoese merchants, who were classified as *harbi*. They remained as the subjects of the Genoa republic. In contrary to the permanent inhabitants, the merchants were exempt from the poll tax, but they were liable to pay the custom dues as they could trade freely in the Ottoman territories. In sum, these two groups acquired distinct legal status with different financial obligations. Yet, they shared common privileges, including the exemption from contributing to the janissary forces and the military's lodging in private houses. They were able to pursue their religious practices and custom rites as before, except for ringing their church bells and gongs. Moreover, they were guaranteed that their churches would not be transformed into mosques, but they would not be able to build new ones.

After the conquest, Mehmet II ordered only symbolic destructions to demonstrate that the Ottomans were now the owners of the city, which included the razing of some parts of the land walls, probably the battlements.[432] Houses were not looted, but an inventory was conducted of all houses to impose a two to five percent capital tax upon the non-Muslims.[433] It was also proclaimed that the property of those who had fled would be transferred to the state treasury if they did not return within three months.[434] In 1455, Mehmet II conducted a survey to officially determine which houses should be subject to rent and which inhabitant would be subject to *djizya*.[435] This survey also served as an appropriate allocation of the houses according to the wealth of the inhabitants.

[432] Eyice, *Galata*, 50. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, trans. R. Manheim, ed. W. C Hickman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 101-02.
[433] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 75.
[434] Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 101.
[435] See Halil İnalcık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents*, (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012). İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 289-302.

As Tursun Beg describes, "because of this registration, many houses changed hands. For instance, a person who was not able to pay the rent on the plot in his possession had to leave the house and get another one suitable for his means."[436]

The survey shows that some of the Genoese, who had fled during the conquest, returned and retained the ownership of their houses.[437] The houses that were abandoned were transferred to the state property as proclaimed before by the sultan. Those, who did not return, constituted about eight percent of the total population recorded.[438] The survey also exhibits that Galata maintained its multi-ethnic composition, without becoming Islamized, yet. Muslims did not constitute a considerable population by then, they only numbered twenty. The population mainly consisted of four groups, namely Italians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. It is striking that each community clustered in different quarters (Fig. 100).[439] Italians inhabited the region that corresponded to the first Genoese settlement area between the Azeb gate (Azeb-Kapu) and Karaköy gate (Karaköy-Kapu) on the slope towards the Galata Tower. The major Latin churches, including San Domenico, San Francesco and San Michele, were in this region. The main thoroughfare leading to the Galata Tower, Perşembe Pazarı street, was also here.

As of 1455, Mehmet II employed various officials to impose an Ottoman control over Galata. He appointed a *voyvoda* to govern the Galata district, a *kadı* to execute the legal management, a *subaşı* to maintain safety, a *muhtesib* to inspect the marketplaces, a customs

[436] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 289-90. For the text published in facsimile with English translation, see Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. and trans. Halil İnalcık and Rhoads Murphey (Minneapolis & Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978), ff: 53b-55b.
[437] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 295.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid., 370. İnalcık states that the survey document is in an incomplete form, covering only 25 quarters of the city. In these 25 quarters, there were 908 houses with a population of 1108 individuals. He does not state the number of each population, but just lists the main groups as Italians, Greeks, Armenians and Jews. I have not been able to reach them elsewhere, either. He only gives the total number of the Muslims, which added up to twenty - few when compared with the other communities.

collector, and a military governor to command his garrison, employed in the Galata Tower.[440] The *podesta* was replaced by the *protogerus* as the head of the Latin community, who was called the *vekil,* i.e. agent in the Ottoman records.[441] Even so, the Latin *re'aya* of Galata still possessed a degree of self-autonomy, as they could continue to administer their churches, and run their internal affairs via a Christian body known as the *Magnifica Communita di Pera*.[442] However, this body was under the authority of the *voyvoda* and the *kadı*.[443]

In this sense, the *dhimmi* status of the Latin citizens differed from the other non-Muslim communities since Mehmet II did not assign them any religious heads, as he did to the Orthodox Greeks, Armenians and Jews.[444] Instead, the Catholic community in Galata were ruled by the so-called *Magnifica Communita di Pera.* There is a debate in the scholarship about the implications of this difference, particularly in terms of self-governance. Mitler propounds that the *Magnifica Communita* provided more autonomy to the Genoese than the status of *millet*[445], but they were still less independent than they had been as a colony once under the Byzantine regime.[446] In line with this view, Eyice contends that the *Magnifica Communita* exerted the main control even though Galata was under the control of the *voyvoda*.[447] In contrary to these views, İnalcık believes that the sphere of the *Magnifica Communita*'s control was exaggerated, and he opposes the view that it

[440] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Mediterranean Encounters: Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 37-38. Freely, *Galata*, 15.
[441] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 287.
[442] Freely, *Galata*, 15. Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 76.
[443] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 286-87.
[444] The Greeks and Armenians were headed by their own patriarchs, and the Jews by the chief rabbi. See Karen A. Leal, "The Balat District of Istanbul: Multiethnicity on the Golden Horn," in *The Architecture and Memory of the Minority Quarter in the Muslim Mediterranean City*, ed. SG Miller and M. Betagnin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 181, and Freely, *Galata*, 15.
[445] The *millet* system took shape in the nineteenth century, but various authors use it anachronistically to designate the earlier status of the non-Muslim citizens in the Ottoman empire. In the text, I only use the term *millet* while I am citing or referring to the arguments of these scholars, who use *millet* in such an anachronistic way. For the correct terms that define the status of the non-Muslim communities throughout the Ottoman period, see Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[446] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 76-77.
[447] Eyice, *Galata,* 50-51.

possessed more autonomy than the *millet*s.[448] He asserts that "the activities of the *Magnifica Communita* did not reveal any political character, and they were not even given the status of a *millet* – a status which the Greeks and Armenians enjoyed."[449] He also criticizes the interpretations of the scholars M.A. Belin and L. Sauli, who advocate that the status of the Genoese was not any different from that of the other foreign communities, being granted with capitulations.[450] İnalcık rightfully contradicts this view by underlining that, it was only the temporary merchants, who were enjoying the capitulations, and that the rest of the community was abided by the *ahd-name* as *dhimmi* subjects, who were obliged to pay the *djizya*.

At any rate, it is also helpful here to refer to the fifteenth-century Genoese notarial documents of Pera to ascertain the implications of the Ottoman conquest on the daily lives of the Genoese. Geo Pistarino demonstrates through these records that, the Genoese of Pera sustained their daily business affairs under normal conditions as before, under the Ottomans.[451] İnalcık also agrees with Pistarino that "the Genoese carried on their communal affairs and civil cases among themselves under their own laws and *protogerus* as guaranteed in the *ahd-name*. No doubt the Genoese of Pera at the same time had recourse to the *kadı* of the Galata for their legal cases, particularly when one party was a Muslim."[452] It is striking that these documents reveal that the Genoese preferred to resort to the *kadı* in some cases, even for those among themselves.[453] Pistarino also underscores that, through the second half of the fifteenth century, the documents reveal that the Ottoman institutions and state authorities were increasingly resorted to deal with

[448] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 286.
[449] Ibid.
[450] For İnalcık's critique of Belin and Sauli's interpretations, see İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 285-89. The mentioned works are François Alphonse Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1984) and Lodovico Sauli, *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata* (Torino: G. Bocca, 1831).
[451] Geo Pistarino, "The Genoese in Pera Turkish Galata," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1, (1980): 63-85.
[452] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 316.
[453] Ibid., 316-17.

the commercial affairs, and the dominant currency decisively became the Ottoman asper.[454] He concludes, as such: "It is true that after almost forty years, Pera was no longer the Genoese city it used to be, a clearly distinct entity, separate from the Greek capital. It was the Turkish Galata, passing through a phase of assimilation to the Turkish Constantinople. However, the Genoese, diminishing in number, but like true merchants refusing to leave the market-place, adapted and remained."[455]

Consequently, the treatment of Mehmet II towards the Genoese was in parallel with his main policy towards the non-Muslim communities.[456] As a sultan with political acumen, he knew how to assert his authority and legitimacy over a multi-ethnic territory. He embraced diverse cultures, whose presence was necessary to repopulate and revive the destitute and half-desolate city of Constantinople. He aimed to prevent the flight of the 'foreign' communities, and even bring back the ones, who had fled. The compulsory resettlements, which were carried out to repopulate the city, also included non-Muslim communities. However, the welcoming policy of Mehmet II did not interfere with his main agenda to construct a new imperial Ottoman capital. In his building program, he shrewdly selected what to appropriate or demolish among the inherited Byzantine sites. In conclusion, he succeeded in reviving the city while conferring it an Ottoman identity.

Mehmet II executed a similar inclusionary policy towards the Genoese in Galata. He guaranteed their lives and possessions, not only because they had surrendered, but he also wanted to maintain their presence to sustain the prosperity of the region. The welfare of Galata was also critical for regenerating the city of Constantinople. However, the sultan ensured to establish an Ottoman authority over the area through political and fiscal means. He significantly constrained

[454] Pistarino, "The Genoese in Pera," 82.
[455] Ibid.
[456] İnalcık, "The Policy of Mehmet II," 229-49.

the legal and economic independence of the Genoese, when compared to the Byzantine rule. Yet, he still granted them an extent of autonomy in their social and cultural lives by letting them manage their daily affairs and practice their religion. In conclusion, the Ottomans dominated Genoese Galata through integration, not obliteration, at least in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. The embracing approach of Mehmet II helped the Genoese to adapt themselves into the new Ottoman rule without a grave turmoil. Later, he would invent smart pretexts to breach the *ahd-name*, and accelerate the Ottomanization of the region, like the city of Constantinople, but he would gradually master it in a tactical manner.

II. 1. b. Further Repercussions of the Ottoman Rule on Genoese Galata

The first signs of Ottomanization in Galata began to unfold through the end of the fifteenth century. The successive Ottoman annexations of important Genoese colonies prompted this change, such as the seizure of Lesbos in 1462, Amasra in 1471 and Caffa in 1475.[457] As a result of these events, the Genoese substantially lost their sphere of influence in the Aegean and the Black Sea. Muslim, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish merchants began to replace the Genoese in the Aegean and Black Sea trade.[458] Yet, it is ironically noteworthy that among the ones who benefited from this situation were the local, i.e. *dhimmi*, Genoese of Pera. They enjoyed commercial advantages, such as paying the half of the custom dues rate, when compared to that of the temporary merchants; in addition, they received the protection of the Ottomans.[459]

In the year of Caffa's annexation, the Ottomans transformed the Church of San Domenico into the Galata Camii in 1475 by breaching the *ahd-name*.[460] The macro-political developments within the Mediterranean sphere had a significant effect in shaping the social demography of Galata. When the establishment of the Spanish rule in the Iberia peninsula ended eight centuries of Islamic rule by the unification of Christian kingdoms, the Muslim Arabs were forced to escape from the inquisition as of 1492.[461] The Ottoman authority settled these Arab fugitives, who had fled to Constantinople, in the district of the Galata Camii. The migration of the Muslim Arabs from Spain to Galata continued throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[462] This

[457] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 77.
[458] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 288.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.
[461] Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 239. Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs," 157-60.
[462] İnalcık, Ottoman Galata, 324-27.

resettlement was most probably a strategic move to engineer the social composition of Galata region by increasing its Muslim population.[463]

Several documents that correspond to these events reveal the changing demographics of Galata. The first *vakfiye* of Mehmet II (circa 1472) illustrates that the Muslim inhabitants had already begun to settle in the Hadjı Hamza quarter, which was near to the Church of San Domenico that would be transformed into a mosque three years later.[464] These inhabitants included mainly sea captains, painters and scribes.[465] Another record, the census of 1477, exhibits the account of the households in Istanbul and Galata. It illustrates that, there were 1521 households in total in Galata, of which 35% were Muslims, 39% Greek Orthodox, 22% Europeans (mostly Italians) and 4% Armenians.[466] This composition shows that Galata still maintained its multicultural character, but it simultaneously became significantly Islamized. Yet, Galata was much more culturally diversified and less Islamized, when compared to Istanbul that was mainly comprised of a 60% Muslim, 21.5% Greek Orthodox and 11% Jewish population.[467]

The second *vakfiye* of Mehmet II (circa 1481) states that, out of a total of 58 quarters within the Galata region, twenty of them had Muslim names, thirteen of them had Italian, eight of them

[463] The Ottomans used 'resettlement' as an effective strategy to repopulate and Ottomanize the city. Mostly it was conducted in a compulsory method, where masses were deported from overpopulated to underpopulated areas. Sometimes, this included the resettlement of the subjects from conquered lands, as well. See İnalcık, "Istanbul," 224-49. The welcoming approach towards the Andalusian Arabs should be considered in this wider framework as well. The immigration of the Andalusian Arabs into Galata served both ends – the repopulation and Ottomanization of the city, at large.
[464] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 302.
[465] Freely, *Galata*, 17.
[466] See İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 356-57 for the document that exhibits the population of Istanbul and Galata in 1478. It is kept in Topkapı Palace Archives and is published by S. Ünver, in the Vatan newspaper (July 4, 1948) and by R. M. Meriç in in Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi, III (1957), 133-55.
[467] See İnalcık, "Istanbul," 238-39, and Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 178-79. The remaining population in Istanbul consisted of 2% Caffans (who were deported from Caffa after the Ottomans captured it from the Genoese), 2.6% Armenians of Istanbul, 2.7% from Armenians and Greeks from Karaman and 0.2% gypsies.

had Greek, six of them had Armenian names while the remaining eleven possessed neutral names.[468] İnalcık asserts that "Galata was transformed into a strongly turkicized city in population during the last ten years of Mehmed's Sultanate. The quarters changed in structure, were repopulated, divided into new quarters and renamed, and completely new Muslim-Turkish quarters came into being."[469] The *Djabi* register of 1489, which was conducted for registering the collection of revenues, also shows that the Muslim population increased in various quarters.[470] For example, the newly constructed shipyard *tersane* played a crucial role in the settlement of the Muslims in the region near the Azapkapı, due to employment. Numerous Ottoman navy captains began to inhabit in the area, as they were involved in the increasing commercial traffic between Galata and the Black Sea, particularly the newly annexed Caffa.[471]

A later Ottoman survey, conducted in 1519, demonstrates the increasing Islamization of the region, due to the settlement of the Arab Muslims from Spain in the neighborhood of the Galata Cami.[472] İnalcık indicates as such: "The striking fact emerging from this register is that by 1519, Galata had fully developed Muslim quarters, economic activities intensified, and more members of the Ottoman elite invested money in renting or purchasing real properties in Galata for their *wakf*s. Many old Genoese buildings were now made part of the *wakfs* founded by pashas and aghas."[473]

[468] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 306.
[469] Ibid., 305.
[470] Ibid., 307-09.
[471] Ibid., 309.
[472] Ibid., 311-12.
[473] Ibid., 311. For a broader understanding of the Islamization and Ottomanization of the city of Constantinople, see also Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 178-206. This chapter called "Istanbul Inhabited" describes how the Ottomans conceived the concept of an Ottoman neighborhood (and an Ottoman city, at large) by examining various documents and surveys in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The view of Galata can be seen in the map of Constantinople, depicted by Vavassore in 1530 (Fig. 13). Here, Galata seems denser with houses, when compared to older illustrations; yet, the fortifications and the towers still attract the most attention. Matrakçı Nasuh also delineated Galata in his map of Constantinople circa 1537 (Fig. 101).[474] Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu brings forward a striking interpretation of his map by highlighting a distinction between the portrayal of Galata and Constantinople, the city proper.[475] While Nasuh Matrakçı depicted the city proper with a botanical background, including gardens, trees and blossoming flowers that were laden with an Islamic paradisal metaphor, he avoided delineating any of these vegetal features within the walled area of Galata. Kafesçioğlu suggests that this contrast was a deliberate act to deprive Galata of such Islamic connotations. I find this argument plausible; although Galata was becoming a more Islamized region, it still contained a more diversified social composition, when compared to the city proper. Thus, the Muslims might have perceived Galata as the 'other', due to its Genoese origin and multicultural population.[476]

At any rate, Galata had been gradually becoming Islamized by the development of the Muslim neighborhoods, yet, it was mainly as of the mid-sixteenth century that significant disruptions began to take place in its built environment. The emerging architectural transformations reflected the new state policies that came into effect during the late reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r.1520-1566) when the influential Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (ruled:

[474] İffet Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001), 52-54.
[475] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 211-12.
[476] Edhem Eldem also remarks on how Galata was perceived as the "other" by various Ottoman authors, due to its cultural and religious diversity. Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 147-52.

1544-1553, 1555-1561) and the *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud (ruled: 1545-1574) rose to power.[477] They aimed to create a new imperial Ottoman identity through a strongly controlled, centralized state with Sunni orthodoxy, which would differentiate the empire from its major rivals, i.e. Christian Habsburgs and Shiite Safavids.[478] In order to create a fitting self-image, a new canon for the arts was established through the legislative arrangements of Süleyman and Ebussuud, the patronage of Rüstem Pasha, and the ascendancy of masters from *devşirme*-origin in the royal workshop.[479] The new visual canon produced "classical" Ottoman architecture and art with uniform, standardized and recognizable forms. Monumental architecture became an important vehicle to communicate the new Ottoman imperial image.[480]

The architectural setting of Galata was affected by this political, cultural and religious context, as well. The cathedral of the Genoese, San Michele, was deliberately pulled down by the order of Rüstem Pasha, to build a *han* instead.[481] Rüstem Pasha commissioned the imperial architect Mimar Sinan to design the edifice, called the Kurşunlu Han (1544-50).[482] The shops and warehouses next to the *han* were endowed to the *vakf* of Rüstem Pasha, and their revenue later brought income for the Rüstem Pasha Mosque Complex (1563) that was also designed by Mimar Sinan in Tahtakale/Eminönü, across the Golden Horn.[483] Moreover, the *bedesten* was also most probably built in the late sixteenth century on the site of the Genoese *loggia*.[484] The commercial

[477] Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 195-216.
[478] Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts," 195-202.
[479] Ibid., 195-216.
[480] Ibid., 211-13.
[481] Eyice, *Galata*, 53.
[482] Freely, *Galata*, 30.
[483] Zarinebaf, *Early Modern Galata*, 53.
[484] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 37. The exact date of the *bedesten*'s foundation is not certain. Although some sources date it to Mehmet II's time, none of his endowments include the Galata *bedesten*. Kafesçioğlu refers to it as a sixteenth-century edifice.

space of Galata, which continued to occupy approximately the same area, was now embellished with newly established Ottoman institutions.

During his stay in Constantinople between the years of 1544 and 1547, the French topographer and antiquarian Pierre Gilles describes Galata in his narratives, where he records its changing built environment, as well. He notes: "When I first came to Constantinople, there was a standing forum on level ground near the haven, where a caravansaray is now built on the ruins of a church dedicated to St. Michael."[485] He also remarks on the lively parts of Galata, such as the harbor area and the zone beyond the Galata Tower. He records: "The shore around the town is full of havens. Between the walls and the bay, there is a stretch of shore where there is an abundance of taverns, shops, victual houses, besides several wharfs where they unload their shipping. … Where Galata rises highest there still stands a very lofty tower. Here there is an ascent of about three hundred paces, full of buildings, and beyond that there is the ridge of the hill, which is level, about two hundred paces broad and two thousand paces long. Through its middle runs a broad way full of houses, gardens and vineyards. This is the most pleasant part of the town."[486]

During the second half of the sixteenth century, several other political developments also contributed to change the built environment of Galata. In 1566, the Ottomans annexed the island of Chios, which was another important Genoese colony.[487] This caused a decisive end of the Genoese influence in the Near East, as the Genoese lost their last point of control in the area. Along with other unfavorable political and economic developments that shifted power from the Italian maritime republics to other European forces at large, the Genoese finally went under the protection

[485] Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople* (New York: Italica Press, 1988), 216.
[486] Gilles, *Constantinople,* 214-15.
[487] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 77.

of the French at the end of the sixteenth century.[488] The diminution of the Genoese power in the international arena must have facilitated the Ottomans to take the architectural actions that they sought to implement in the inherited colony.

Moreover, the decisive Ottoman defeat by the Holy League at the battle of Lepanto (1571) caused an anti-Christian sentiment in the zeitgeist of the late sixteenth century. [489] Along with this frustrating loss, the prophecy of Red Apple that foretold the fall of the Muslims began to circulate widely among the Ottoman court and the public. These incidents mostly corresponded to the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-95), who was notoriously superstitious, himself, to believe in such apocalyptic myths to the degree that affected his politics.[490] Also, the Andalusian Arab Muslim community in Galata, who had already felt an animosity towards Christians due to their tragic expulsion from the Spanish inquisition, additionally stirred the hostility against the Catholics in the area.[491]

These events might have furthered the architectural transformation of Galata into a Muslim quarter, which had already begun to occur, due to the Sunni orthodox policy of the Ottoman state, as of the late period of Süleyman's reign. A serial construction of new mosques took place in Galata in the late sixteenth century. Among these, two of them are particularly notable, as they were designed by Mimar Sinan: The Azapkapı Complex (1577), built for Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, and the Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex (1580), built in Tophane for the Grand Admiral Kılıç Ali Pasha, as its name suggests.[492] Simultaneously, there was an aggression against churches,

[488] Ibid., 77. Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 72.
[489] See Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 72-73, and Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs," 160-64 for the following part that describes the anti-Christian sentiment during the late sixteenth-century, particularly the reign of Murad III.
[490] See footnote above.
[491] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 29. Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs," 162-64. İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 324-27.
[492] Eyice, *Galata*, 55.

some of which were transformed into mosques.[493] For instance, the largest Catholic church in the area, San Francesco, was closed in 1585, due to several inimical incidents, but it was reopened in 1597 with the French support.[494] Also, the Church of Sant'Antonio was demolished in 1606, to build the mosque of Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha on its site.[495]

The Islamization of Galata significantly accelerated in the seventeenth century, due to the political and religious climate of the era. The fundamentalist movement, called Kadızadeli, became a dominant political, religious and ideological phenomenon during this century.[496] The Kadızadelis advocated for an "orthodox" and rigid interpretation of Islam, and a strict execution of Islamic law (*sharia*). They opposed to the innovative religious practices (*bida*) that had emerged after the time of the Prophet Muhammed, such as Sufism.[497] The ascendancy of this movement corresponds to a tumultuous period for the Ottoman Empire, which faced multifaceted political and economic problems. These included the absence of the sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648-1687), the political factionalism due to the power struggle between the *valide* sultans[498], various military defeats in the Mediterranean, the shrinkage of financial revenues, and the socioeconomic conflicts between the janissary *agha*s and merchants.[499]

[493] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 72-73. The hostility against the Catholics also caused a negative stance towards the Orthodox community and their churches. Several Orthodox churches in Constantinople were also converted into mosques, most notably the transformation of the Church of Pammakaristos into the Fethiye Camii in 1591, during the reign of Murad III.
[494] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* 72-79.
[495] Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 22.
[496] For further information on the Kadızadeli movement, see Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45, no. 4 (1986): 251-69, and Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadizadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?," in *Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII, a symposium held in Rethymno 9-11 January 2009*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 263-89.
[497] Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 251-69.
[498] The power struggle in the Ottoman court was between Turhan Hatice Sultan and Kösem Sultan.
[499] See Sariyannis, "The Kadizadeli Movement," 263-89.

The Kadızadelis arose in the course of this political and economic turmoil, and their religious upheaval found massive support and popularity.[500] The ideological tenets of the Kadızadelis did not only impair the "innovative" Islamic orders, but the second wave of the movement (mid-seventeenth century) became also detrimental to the non-Muslim communities. As Marc Baer asserts, "commanding right and forbidding wrong [the central tenet of the movement] necessitated reforming Muslim behavior and decreasing the visibility of non-Muslims in Istanbul."[501] The three influential leaders of the period Valide Sultan Hatice Turhan, the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and the Preacher to the Sultan Vani Mehmet Efendi championed the Kadızadeli ideology by promoting Islamization as a means to assert their political authority and legitimacy.[502] This Islamization policy considerably disrupted the built environment of the non-Muslim settlements, including Galata, where new mosques increasingly superseded the non-Muslim spaces.

In addition to this political and religious context, the successive fires of the seventeenth century served as a pretext to Islamize the region. The Ottomans implemented an unprecedented policy by not allowing to rebuild or restore most of the ruined churches after these fires, particularly after the conflagration of 1660.[503] In general, the reconstruction and restoration of the non-Muslim worship spaces were negotiable, where the Ottomans could exercise the Islamic law

[500] Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 251-69.
[501] Marc David Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36.2 (2004), 160.
[502] Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660," 159-81. While Hatice Turhan was mainly involved with Islamizing the Eminönü region, where the Jewish community prevailed, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and Vani Mehmet Efendi were more concerned with the Catholics and the Islamization of Galata. Regarding the Islamization of Eminönü, particularly the building of the Yeni Camii by Hatice Turhan Sultan, see Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), and eadem, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597-1665): Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture," *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: SUNY, 2000): 69-89.
[503] Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660," 159-181.

according to their political and religious interests and contemporary circumstances.[504] However, the religious milieu of this period entailed a strict application of the Islamic law, which significantly restricted or prohibited the reconstruction of non-Muslim ecclesiastical buildings.[505]

In the case of Galata, six of the seven Catholic churches were ruined by these fires.[506] Regarding the rebuilding of these churches, Mitler contends that, "soon after the 1660 fire, the growing disaffection of the Turkish government toward the community began to manifest itself, as a permission to rebuild the ruined churches was repeatedly denied."[507] However, Baer renders the situation more acutely by highlighting the fact that, the Catholics were initially allowed to purchase the properties of their five ruined churches after the fire of 1660, but it was after the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and the Preacher Vani Mehmet Efendi came into power in 1661 that, they changed the policy that permitted the rebuilding of the Christian spaces in Galata.[508] According to the canonical law and imperial decrees, the Ottoman authorities were able to appropriate the burned properties that they had allowed the Christians to repurchase after the fire, and razed the ruined churches.[509]

Sant'Anna, San Giovanni Batista and San Sebastiano were among the demolished churches[510]; yet, the most significant loss came about when a last fire in 1696 swept away the

[504] Ibid., 165. For the procedure of church restoration in the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century, see Rossitsa Gradeva, "From the Bottom Up and Back Again until Who Knows When: Church Restoration Procedures in the Ottoman Empire during the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries," in *Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII, a symposium held in Rethymno 9-11 January 2009*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 135-63. Although the article mainly concentrates on the churches of the Balkan region, it is a very useful study to grasp the procedure of church restoration in the Ottoman empire. For further examples in Istanbul, see also Leal, "The Balat District of Istanbul," 175-209.
[505] Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660," 159-81.
[506] Ibid., 170.
[507] Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 91.
[508] Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660," 170-81.
[509] Ibid., 165-81.
[510] Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 584-93; Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 22-28; Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 86-90.

already damaged church San Francesco, which was the largest Catholic church in Galata at the time.[511] The Ottomans did not permit it to be restored again, and instead, built a new mosque called the Yeni Camii, on the site of the ruined church, in 1696-97.[512] This mosque was commissioned by Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, who was the *valide* sultan of Ahmet III and favorite concubine of Mehmet IV.[513] It is striking that it was namesake with the other Yeni Cami that was newly built by Hatice Turhan in Eminönü.[514] In sum, out of thirteen Catholic churches in Galata at the time of the conquest, only three of them remained by the end of the seventeenth century. These included the churches of San Pietro e Paolo, San Giorgio and San Benedetto.[515] Correspondingly, Galata contained twelve mosques, of which six were situated inside the walls.[516]

It is also a noteworthy concurrence that the Ottomans transformed the two remaining Catholic churches in Istanbul, which both belonged to the Caffan community, into mosques during the seventeenth century. After their annexation of the Genoese colony of Caffa in 1475, the Ottomans had settled its inhabitants, mostly the Genoese and the Armenians, in the neighborhood of the Edirne Gate in Istanbul, which eventually took the name of Kefeli Mahallesi, due to the settlement of the Caffan deportees.[517] The Ottomans had bestowed them two Byzantine churches, called Santa Maria di Costantinopoli and San Nicola, which were both officiated by the

[511] Paolo Girardelli, "Lo Sviluppo Urbano e Architettonico di Galata," in *Domenicani a Constantinopoli Prima e Dopo L'impero Ottomano*, ed. Silvia Pedone and Claudio Monge (Firenze: Nerbini, 2017), 107. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* 154.
[512] Ayvansarayi, *The Muslim Monuments*, 357-58. Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, 23. İnalcık, Ottoman Galata, 309. Girardelli, *Galata*, 107. Eyice, *Galata*, 53. The Yeni Camii was demolished in 1936 to build the Galata Hardware Market instead.
[513] Ayvansarayi, *The Muslim Monuments*, 357-58. Girardelli, *Galata*, 107.
[514] Baer, "The Great Fire of 1660," 171. For further information about the Yeni Camii in Eminönü, see Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders,* 1-101, and eadem "The Yeni Valide Mosque," 69-89.
[515] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,*7-159. In addition to these, there was also a fourth Catholic church, Saint Mary Draperis, that was built in 1584.
[516] Eldem, "Istanbul," 151.
[517] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans,* 16-17.

Dominicans.[518] Yet, after approximately two centuries, the Church of San Nicola was transformed into the Kefeli Camii by the Great Vizier Recep Pasha circa 1630, and Santa Maria was transformed into a mosque by the Grand Vizier Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha in 1640, which later took the name of the Odalar Camii.[519] I think the timing of these conversions are also related with the larger framework, where the Ottomans felt freer to assert a greater authority over the Genoa-related sites, at the backdrop of a diminishing Genoese power in Galata and the international sphere.

Finally, in 1682, the Ottomans revoked the *berāt* that legitimized the *Magnifica Communita di Pera*, which provided a degree of autonomy to the Genoese by administering their churches.[520] The Ottomans had renewed the *ahdname* of 1453 before – at least once in 1610[521] – but I postulate that, the political and religious context of the era, and the decline of Genoese control, at large, led the Ottomans to refuse another renewal, after over two centuries. Moreover, there had been a simultaneous power struggle for the jurisdiction over the control of the Catholic churches in Galata, particularly between the papacy, France and Venice.[522] After a period of uncertainty following the revocation of *Magnifica Communita*, King Louis XIV of France eventually took control of the associated Latin churches.[523] In conclusion, the dissolution of the *Magnifica*

[518] Joseph Ract, "Ricordi Domenicani di Istanbul" in *La Stella di San Domenico, Pubblicazione periodica della Provincia Domenicana di Piemonte e Liguria (S. Pietro Martire)*, 6 (1994), 292-96. The Church of San Nichola was shared by both Latin and Armenian Catholics, who had been deported from Caffa. For the Church of Santa Maria di Costantinopoli, see also Stephan Westphalen, *Die Odalar Camii in Istanbul: Architektur und Malerei einer Mittelbyzantinischen Kirche* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1998).

[519] See Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 166-68 for the Kefeli Mescidi, and 188-89 for the Odalar Camii. The latter mosque took the name of the Odalar Cami, due to the resettlement of the married janissaries in the quarter, when a fire destroyed their barracks near the Şehzade Mosque in 1782.

[520] The *ahdname* of 1453 was renewed at least once in 1610, but the Ottomans finally rejected its renewal in 1682 and revoked the *Magnifica Communita*. See Eldem, "Istanbul," 149, and Mitler, "The Genoese in Galata," 79.

[521] Eldem, "Istanbul," 149.

[522] Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 80-102. See page 102 where Frazee asserts that, "by the late seventeenth century, two important institutions were at work in the Ottoman capital for the advancement of Catholicism: the bishops appointed by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and the French ambassadors." See also Zarinebaf, Early Modern Galata, 49.

[523] Zarinebaf, Early Modern Galata, 49.

Communita di Pera constituted a milestone in the history of Genoese Galata, as the Genoese lost their last remaining facet of self-governance.

Through the seventeenth century, the Muslims occupied an increasingly significant presence in Galata, but the region still preserved its multi-ethnic composition.[524] The seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi describes the pluralistic character of Galata, as such: "In Galata, there are eighteen wards inhabited by Muslims, seventy by Greeks, three by Franks, one by Jews and two by Armenians. In the citadel, there are no infidels at all, indeed there are none until you come to the Mosque of the Arabs. … From the sea shore up to the Galata Tower, there are houses of the Genoese, all built of stone, and the streets regularly laid out... the most frequented are the great road by the sea shore, that of the Mosque of the Arabs, and that of the Galata Tower. The different wards of the town are patrolled day and night by watchmen to prevent disorders of the population, who are of a rebellious disposition, on account of which they have from time to time been chastised by the sword. The inhabitants are either sailors, merchants or craftsmen such as joiners and caulkers. They dress for the most part in Algerine fashion, for a great number of them are Arabs or Moors. The Greeks keep the taverns, most of the Armenians are merchants or money-changers; the Jews are the go-betweens in amorous intrigues."[525]

Galata underwent further significant changes as of the mid-nineteenth century during the Tanzimat era. The newly established municipality called Altıncı Daire-i Belediye inaugurated an active modernization program that included numerous urban renovation projects.[526] It is striking

[524] Eldem, "Istanbul," 143-58.
[525] See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Istanbul*, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, vol.1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 209-13 for Çelebi's description of Galata region. The English translation is cited from Freely, *Galata*, 17-18.
[526] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 42-48, 67-73. Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2002), 87-169.

that the most severe disruption of the Genoese built environment occurred in the late modern age of the nineteenth century. Most of the Genoese defense walls were demolished in 1865 for the development of new modern buildings and arteries. [527] Only a few sections of the walls, the Galata Tower, a few other towers and gates were spared.[528] The palace of the *podesta*, the *Palazzo Comunale* had become the Francini building in the nineteenth century[529]; its front half was later demolished to make way for the tramway that was being constructed in the Voyvoda road, as part of the urban modernization program. After this intervention, a new front façade was built in 1880, and the building took the name of the Bereket Han.[530] Today, only the rear part of the original building survives.

[527] Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 70.
[528] Akın, Galata, 160. Eroğlu, *Galata*, 29-45.
[529] Semavi Eyice, "Testimonianze Genovesi in Turchia," *Il Veltro. Rivistà della Civiltà Italiana* 23, no 2-4 (1979): 66.
[530] Freely, *Galata*, 78.

Conclusion

The transition of Genoese Galata from the Byzantine to the Ottoman rule happened smoothly. The Ottoman sultan Mehmet II executed an inclusive policy towards the Genoese, who surrendered to him. Mehmet II guaranteed their lives and possessions through the *ahdname*, as he aimed to maintain their presence to sustain the prosperity of the region. However, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople certainly constituted the beginning of a new era for Galata, which began to be controlled by the Ottomans. The Ottomans imposed their authority over the area through administrative, legal and fiscal means. The independence of the Genoese severely diminished, when compared to the Byzantine rule. Yet, they still enjoyed an extent of autonomy in their social and cultural lives through the *Magnifica Communita di Pera*, which managed their daily affairs and run their churches. In sum, in the aftermath of the conquest, the Ottomans dominated Genoese Galata through integration, where the Genoese could adapt themselves into the new Ottoman rule without a grave turmoil.

The Islamization of Galata occurred in a gradual pace, but it certainly accelerated through the later centuries. Even though the Ottomans pursued an inclusionary policy towards the Genoese, this did not hinder them to absorb the area. Particularly through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Galata became increasingly Islamized through the construction of numerous mosques, along with the demolition of various churches (either planned or discarded). The immigration of the Muslim Arabs of Spain significantly contributed to change the demographics of the region. In addition, new entities, such as the *tersane, bedesten* and *han*s, promoted the Ottomanization of the district. Moreover, the Ottoman seizure of important Genoese colonies helped them to assert greater authority over the area, at the backdrop of a diminishing Genoese power. Finally, the dissolution of *Magnifica Communita di Pera* in 1682 constituted a milestone in the history of

Genoese Galata, as it completely ended the waning governance of the Genoese. In the later ages, the most severe destruction of the Genoese historical sites came about with the urban modernization program of the nineteenth century.

In sum, the Islamization of Galata started smoothly, due to an integrated approach of the sultan towards the Genoese, but it increasingly intensified through the later centuries, as a reflection of a more determined Islamization policy. The Muslims occupied an increasingly significant presence, but the region always preserved its multicultural composition. The next chapter will analyze the cultural and architectural modifications that the Church of San Domenico/Arap Camii went through, in the light of this changing sociopolitical and religious context.

CHAPTER 2: THE ARAP CAMİİ

II. 2. a. The Transformation of the Church of San Domenico into the Arap Camii

Although the *ahdname* guaranteed that the Genoese would keep their churches, Mehmet II breached it by transforming the Church of San Domenico into the Galata Camii in 1475.[531] The mosque was registered in his foundation deed. His *vakfiye* states the following: "One of the buildings Mehmed the Conqueror converted into a mosque is the church in the al-Hadj Hamza quarter near the İskele-Kapusı, which was known as Mesa Domeniko among the Genoese."[532] Galata Camii is also mentioned with other mosques as such: "Mehmet II endows the following the mosques, namely the Ayasofya Camii, the Molla Zeyrek Camii, the Galata Camii, the Silivri Camii, the Camii Cedit [Yeni Camii], the Vefa Zade Camii [Şeyh Ebu'l Vefa Camii] and the Rumelihisarı Camii to serve as places for both worship and charity."[533] Among these mosques, it is noteworthy that he transformed the Hagia Sophia and Pantokrator immediately after the conquest, while he waited for twenty-two years to transform the Genoese church into a mosque.[534] This lag was obviously due to the *ahdname*.

The *vakfiye* also declares the list of the employees that would work for the Galata Camii, whose salaries would be funded from Mehmet II's endowment deed.[535] It states that the *hatip*, i.e.

[531] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 349. The transformation of San Domenico is recorded in the third version of the *vakfiye* of Mehmet II. Halil İnalcık states that it was written in Turkish and conducted in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is published in facsimile as *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, (Ankara: 1938). See folio 45 in p. 36 in the facsimile part and p. 202 in the Turkish part (Ottoman in modern Turkish letters).
[532] Ibid.
[533] Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, see folio 57 in p.42 in the facsimile part and p. 205 in the Turkish part. I thank Oktay İşbilir for his help in translating the Ottoman text written in Turkish letters to the contemporary Turkish. Regarding the mosques in the list, I have not been able to identify the mosque called Camii Cedit, meaning Yeni Camii. I did not come across a mosque in these names, constructed during Mehmet II's time, in Ayvansarayi's guide to the Muslim monuments of Ottoman Istanbul, as well.
[534] The Dominicans, who lost their religious shrine, were bestowed another church, San Pietro e Paolo, nearby to their old edifice in Galata.
[535] Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, see folio 318-20 in p.172-73 in the facsimile part and p. 258 in the Turkish part. I thank Oktay İşbilir for his help in translating the Ottoman text written in Turkish letters to the contemporary Turkish.

orator holding the sermons, and the *imam* would earn five *akçe*s daily. The *hafız*s employed for reading the *juz* (part of the Quran) would have a daily salary of three *akçe*s whereas the permanently employed *hafız*s would have a daily salary of two *akçe*s. Two *muezzins*, i.e. the caller of the Muslims to the mosque for daily praying, would each earn one *akçe* daily. Two *kayyıms*, i.e. the mosque administrators/caretakers, would have a daily salary of two *akçe*s. Two *akçe*s were allotted daily for the *muarrif*, a salaried worshipper praying for the continuation of the Ottoman dynasty and the *kandilci*, the formerly tender of oil lamps in the mosque.

The reason, why the Ottomans chose particularly the Church of San Domenico for conversion, escapes us. It might be related to the common practice that the Ottomans commonly selected the largest church in an area to transform it into a mosque[536], but San Michele and San Francesco were also large and prominent churches. I think that they might have preferred San Domenico since it occupied a more central position in the settlement area, which would provide a better strategic spot to create a Muslim neighborhood in the region. Another reason might be related to the orientation of the building that was directed towards the *kıble*.[537] At any rate, the Ottomans certainly resorted to Islamic tradition to appropriate the church. According to their belief, the Muslims could seize a sacred space that they worshiped before because they perceived it to be a permanent Muslim territory.[538] The Ottomans adopted this Islamic tradition in reconstructing the imperial image of Constantinople as a Muslim Ottoman capital. They devised foundation legends or myths to legitimize their appropriation of certain churches, such as Hagia Sophia, and building sacred Muslim spaces, such as the religious shrine of Abu Ayyub al-

[536] Eroğlu, *Galata*, 74.
[537] The building was oriented toward the *kıble* direction. See Eyice "Arap Camii," (1947), 556, and Arseven, *Eski Galata*, 46.
[538] İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata," 324-25.

Ansari.[539] Similarly, they constructed a foundation legend of Islamic origin to justify the transformation of the Church of San Domenico into a mosque.

This foundation legend alleged that the edifice was originally built as a mosque to meet the needs of the Arab army, during the siege of the Umayyad Arabs by Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik in the early eighth century.[540] This baseless myth contains various historical inaccuracies. As noted earlier in the history of the foundation of the building, the alleged mosque was not erected in Galata, but in the historical peninsula of Constantinople.[541] In addition, its erection did not correspond to the siege of Maslama, who was not successful to proclaim such a demand.[542] It is mainly accepted in current modern scholarship that the Church of San Domenico was originally built as a Roman Catholic church by the Dominicans in the fourteenth century.[543]

However, at the time of the transformation, not only did this myth help to justify the conversion of the church, it also legitimized the settlement of the Andalusian Arabs in the neighborhood of the mosque. As noted above, the Muslims started to escape from the Spanish Inquisition in the late fifteenth century, and their flight continued until the early sixteenth century. This resettlement significantly contributed to Islamize the Galata region. Indeed, due to the

[539] See Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument," 195-225, for the various mythical histories that the Ottomans constructed for justifying the appropriation of the Church of Hagia Sophia. These legends construct a pre-Christian history of the building, like the case of San Domenico. The *türbe* of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, who was a companion of the Prophet and warrior during the first Arab siege of Constantinople, has a similar mythical history. The Ottomans miraculously discovered his grave in the Golden Horn and built a religious shrine for him on the alleged site. See also Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 18-22 and 45-52 for details.
[540] Ayvansarayi, *The Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul,* 355-57. Hasluck, "The Mosques of the Arabs," 157-60.
[541] See Part I, Chapter 2.1 "The history of the convent" section in the thesis, and the footnotes 227 and 228 for further information.
[542] Palazzo, *Arap Camii* 50-61.
[543] See footnote 207.

growing Arab presence in the neighborhood, the mosque eventually took the name of the Arap Camii.[544]

Regarding the architectural interventions conducted in the building, it seems that the Ottomans did not modify the building's architectural design significantly in the early centuries. When they converted the church into a mosque, they transformed its belfry into a minaret, like all the other converted churches in Constantinople. They covered the conical roof with lead, and added an extra floor to the belfry, which originally had four floors (Fig. 45).[545] This uppermost floor, called the *şerefe*, was built for the *muezzin* to call Muslims to the prayers. The Ottomans also distorted the interior arrangement of the floors, and covered the triple mullioned windows in the exterior.[546] Apart from the modifications of the *minaret*, there is not much other information about the changes implemented in the immediate transformation. The Ottomans certainly emptied the Christian liturgical furnishings from the building, and they assembled an Islamic ritual setting instead, such as the addition of the *mihrab* and *minber*. Regarding the frescoes, since they were figurative, they were against the aniconism that was entailed by the Islamic cannon of artistic law. Also, they were mostly concentrated in the apse area, and situated within the sight of the congregation, which would disturb the Muslim prayers. That is why, I believe that the Ottomans might have plastered or covered most of the frescoes, particularly the ones in the prayers' field of vision, immediately after the conversion of the church.[547] However, there is no source to confirm when this intervention first took place.

[544] Freely, *Galata*, 35.
[545] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 33-35.
[546] Ibid.
[547] The process of the covering of the frescoes in Hagia Sophia helped me to advance this argument. The frescoes of Hagia Sophia that were situated at lower levels in the congregation's field of vision were immediately plastered over, whereas the ones that were above or beyond their sight remained intact until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Ottomans began to execute a more strict and dogmatic enactment of Sunni Islam. See Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument," 195-225. For the frescoes of the Arap Camii, see the bibliography in footnote 57.

The Ottoman sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) implemented a small-scale restoration, which seemed to be executed for the maintenance of the building after a fire, without evident architectural interventions.[548] There is only one possible change that could be deduced from the account of Mauri della Fratta, who visited the building in 1631. He noted that it was a beautiful edifice with one nave.[549] As the original structure possessed three naves, like all the Gothic buildings with three apses, Palazzo rightfully reckons that this change must have conducted either during this restoration or at the time of the transformation of the church.[550] However, there seems to be no other major architectural changes until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The travel account of the French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Galata in the early 1700's, states that the building preserved its original physiognomy with its Gothic style windows and portals.[551]

[548] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.
[549] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 32.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos and trans. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), 36.

II. 2. b. The Subsequent Major Cultural and Architectural Changes in the Building

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Arap Camii remained as a prominent congregational mosque, among the twelve mosques in Galata. The mosque also had a market called Arap *çarşı*, and they constituted central spots for the Muslim neighborhood that had developed around them.[552] Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) describes the dominance of the Muslim settlement around the Arap Camii, as such: ‘‘No infidels reside in the first castle, and none at all in the second castle as far as the Arab mosque – the inhabitants of the quarter possess a noble rescript from Mehmed the Conqueror, according to which no infidel is allowed in, and if they see an armed Christian, they kill him immediately. The majority of these inhabitants are grief-stricken Mudejars who came from Spain, driven out by infidels, in the time of Sultan Ahmed I.’’[553] His account illustrates how the neighborhood of the Arap Camii became an overwhelmingly Muslim area.

This neighborhood became further Islamized through the eighteenth century.[554] Various disputes were taking place between the Muslims and Christians; one related incident includes the petition of the superintendent of the Arap Camii Al-Hac Muhammed’s. It was created against the settlement of the non-Muslim communities in the area, who had been breaching the law by renting their rooms to foreigners.[555] Subsequently, the Ottoman state banned the settlement of Christians near the mosque in 1700.[556] Moreover, the fires in this century, again, served as a pretext for the

[552] Zarinebaf, *Early Modern Galata*, 53.
[553] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 212. The English translation is cited from Zarinebaf, *Early Modern Galata*, 49-50.
[554] The development of the Muslim neighborhoods led the non-Muslim communities expand towards the North in Pera. See Eldem, “Istanbul,”142-58.
[555] Zarinebaf, *Early Modern Galata*, 55.
[556] Ibid.

Ottomans to further Islamize the region. In scope of the *dhimmi* laws, they ordered the sale of the ruined Christian houses near the mosque to the Muslims.[557]

I infer from these incidents and accounts that the Arap Camii acquired a particular significance as the symbol of the Muslim presence in Galata. What was once a mendicant Roman Catholic church, now, became the stronghold of the Muslim neighborhood as a prominent mosque, which was fervently owned by the surrounding Muslim community. Hence, it is not surprising to see that, the main architectural modifications of the mosque started to take place at the backdrop of this social context in the early 1700s, when the Ottomans forcefully controlled Galata with an increasingly growing Muslim presence. One should also keep in mind that these changes took place after the Genoese lost all their considerable power in Galata and in the international arena.

The first major restoration was implemented by Saliha Sultan, the mother of Mahmud I, in 1734-35.[558] The original Gothic windows were reduced in size, and a second row of small windows in Arabic style were added above them.[559] The current *mihrab* (Fig. 102), *minber* (Fig. 103) and *hünkar mahfili,* i.e. the sultan's pavilion (Fig. 33) and the exterior decoration of the portals (Fig. 104) were most probably incorporated in this restoration, as they all exhibit a Baroque influence.[560] A large door was opened in the northern façade for a private entrance of the sultan, who could directly reach to his pavilion through the stairs.[561] These arrangements for the *hünkar mahfili* are particularly notable because the mosque acquired the status of Selâtin Camii afterward, meaning that it became one of the mosques that, the sultan and his accompanying high officials and military staff saluted, during the official Friday and *bayram* prayers.[562] In addition to these changes, a

[557] Zarinebaf, *Early Modern Galata*, 55.
[558] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.
[559] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 27.
[560] Ibid.
[561] H. Sabri Işık, *Arap Camii ve Galata* (Istanbul: Erkam Matbaası, 2010), 63.
[562] Işık, *Arap Camii*, 63, 67.

fountain for ablution was built, but not the current one that we see today.[563] Also, a large gate was opened to the courtyard from the western entrance. It is designed in Andalusian style with a horse-shoe arch, as if to commemorate the mosque's name and the surrounding Andalusian community (Fig. 105).[564] In sum, it is mainly after this restoration that, the architectural language of the Arap Camii also began to communicate its Islamic significance that it had acquired over the last three centuries.

Another restoration took place in 1807 after a fire. During this restoration, a long inscription, which described the foundation legend of Islamic origin, was placed on the right wall of the *mihrab* (Fig. 106).[565] It was written in verse by the *Divan–ı Humayun* scribe Hacı Emin Efendi. This arrangement is noteworthy since it perpetuates the associated Islamic root of the building. Moreover, a large-scale restoration was also conducted by Adile Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II, in 1868. She constructed the current ablution fountain, i.e. *şadırvan*, in the courtyard of the mosque (Fig. 107).[566] This domed octagon-shaped fountain is embellished with a Baroque design. The drum of the dome contains an inscription, written by Adile Sultan.

Major changes were conducted in the twentieth century during the end of the Ottoman era. The building as we see it today carries its traces to the large-scale restoration implemented by Giritli Hasan Bey, with the contributions of the architect Mimar Kemaleddin, in 1913-1919.[567] The roof was completely removed and rebuilt (Fig. 28). The galleries were rebuilt, which were carried by the wooden columns (Fig. 32).[568] The north façade was moved forth to enlarge the building.

[563] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1993), 295. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1947), 557.
[564] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 27.
[565] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.
[566] See footnote above.
[567] See footnote 563, and *Mimar Kemaleddin Proje Kataloğu*, ed. Afife Batur et.al. (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009).
[568] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.

While the original width of the structure had been 15.60 meters, it became 21 meters.[569] A late comers' porch was annexed to the west side of the building. Its portal and windows were designed in Andalusian style with horse-shoe arches (Fig. 108).[570] It is striking that the Andalusian significance of the building kept alive until the twentieth century. It is still used today as a place of worship during the Friday and *bayram* prayers.[571] Also, the current notable pulpit was brought from the nearby Azapkapı Camii.[572]

During the same restoration between 1913-19, the building's foundation legend of Islamic origin was further emphasized by the placement of a cenotaph for Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik in the courtyard (Fig. 109).[573] This arrangement did not only stem from the foundation myth, but also from a particular dream of various inhabitants of the neighborhood and the employees of the mosque that there was a grave of an Arab Muslim at the northeast of the building.[574] It was also during this restoration that the Genoese tombstones were discovered under the floor of the building.[575] It is an interesting occurrence that the tomb of Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik was built in the same restoration that the earlier graves were found. It constitutes an interesting form of continuity in the building's commemorative function as a sepulchral place. In addition to the cenotaph, the chamber on the left of the mihrab was rearranged as the reclusion cell of Maslama, i.e. *Mesleme'nin çilehanesi*.[576] There is a small *mihrab* in this cell, as well. All these Islamic-related modifications constitute a remarkable way of engineering the historiography of the building as a

[569] Palazzo, *Arap Camii*, 29
[570] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 550-59. Idem., "Arap Camii," (1993), 294-95.
[571] Işık, *Arap Camii*, 65.
[572] Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 557.
[573] Işık, *Arap Camii*, 43.
[574] Ibid., 56-57. Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1947), 556.
[575] D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali*, 1-167.
[576] Işık, *Arap Camii*, 58. Eyice, "Arap Camii," (1993), 295.

treasured mosque with special importance. They demonstrate how the Muslim community strongly continued to own and value their religious shrine over the centuries.

Conclusion

The stages of cultural and architectural transformation of the Arap Camii occurred in a parallel pace with the Islamization of Genoese Galata. After the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottomans transformed the Church of San Domenico into a mosque, despite the *ahdname*. As common in Ottoman Islamic tradition, they constructed a mythical history of the building and invented a foundation legend of Islamic origin to justify their appropriation of the church. However, they avoided conducting any radical architectural changes in the early centuries. Major modifications only began to take place through the eighteenth century, after the Ottomans considerably Islamized the Galata region, and the neighborhood of the mosque became predominantly Muslim. These changes also corresponded to the era, where the Genoese considerably lost their influence both in Galata and international sphere at large.

The Arap Camii eventually became the symbol of the Muslim neighborhood that developed around the mosque. The Islamic architectural features of the building became more pronounced in the later centuries, manifesting its significance among the Muslim community. It is noteworthy that the edifice continued to acquire Andalusian characteristics even in the modern age. All these modifications helped to construct a collective memory that alluded to the Islamic foundation legend of the building. In sum, while the Ottoman architectural interventions were less evident in the aftermath of the conquest, due to a more integrated approach, they became more conspicuous, as a reflection of a more assertive Islamization policy in Galata.

MAIN CONCLUSION

The settlement of the Genoese in Galata constitutes a turning point in the history of the district, and Constantinople, at large. As a trade colony of Genoa, Galata did not only thrive in economic terms, but its social and cultural significance also grew along its prosperity. Through the fourteenth century, the urban fabric of Galata considerably developed with expanding walled areas that were embellished with towers, monasteries, churches, public buildings, market places, houses, ateliers, and hospitals. The Genoese enjoyed an extensive degree of autonomy under the Byzantine rule, as they were governed by their own *podesta* and laws. Despite being a Genoese colony, Galata composed of a multicultural community. It was also closely connected with the historical peninsula of Constantinople, where a cosmopolitan milieu prevailed for ages. The close cultural interactions between the diverse communities, particularly between the Latins and the Byzantines, manifested themselves in the built environment of Genoese Galata.

The Church of San Domenico represents a noteworthy example of an architectural and artistic hybridity, reflecting such a multicultural setting. This hybridity is achieved through an amalgam of Italian Gothic, Byzantine and Dominican architectural and artistic characteristics. All the components of the building display their co-existence. The structure has various architectural characteristics of the Italian Gothic style; yet, it is simultaneously built with a typically Byzantine construction technique and building materials. The edifice incorporates numerous Byzantine sculptures and *spolia*. The frescoes synthesize Byzantine artistic style of the Palaiologan period and iconography, with themes that are characteristic of Western medieval art and pictorial programs. While the funerary monuments express the Genoese identity of the patrons in their inscriptions and coat of arms, such monuments also display the impact of Byzantine sepulchral practices and sculptured decoration. The decorative artefacts of the church, such as altarpieces,

portable panels, chalices, and textiles, were most probably embellished with certain features that were linked with the Byzantine culture, as well. Moreover, the building betrays the common characteristics of the Dominican ecclesiastical structures. Its architectural design is simple and austere, avoiding superfluous ornamentation; yet, its nave is large and capacious to preach the masses. The edifice has numerous commemorative funerary monuments, as a sign of the typical symbiotic relationship between the donors and the friars in mendicant structures.

In sum, the whole building took a hybrid artistic form, as a result of the close cultural interactions between the Latins and the Byzantines. The mixture of Western and Byzantine artistic and architectural characteristics mirrors the cultural diversity of Galata, where the Latin patrons and friars were receptive to incorporate various Byzantine features in their church. Moreover, this hybridity most probably occurred to accommodate Catholicism in the larger Orthodox environment, and intensify the devotional experience of the surrounding multicultural communities. All these factors brought about an eclectic edifice, where Western and Byzantine artistic and architectural characteristics were mixed through a balanced composition.

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople became another turning point in the history of Galata as well as the city. The Ottomans significantly constrained the independence of the Genoese, when compared to the Byzantine rule. They established their authority by controlling the region through administrative, legal and fiscal means. However, the transition of the Genoese colony from the Byzantines to the Ottomans happened smoothly, due to an inclusive Ottoman approach towards the Genoese. They sustained their lives and possessions through the *ahdname,* and continued to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy in their social and cultural lives through the *Magnifica Communita di Pera.* As a reflection of the Ottoman state's policies, Galata became increasingly Ottomanized and Islamized through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Numerous mosques and other Ottoman entities, such as the *tersane, bedesten* and *han*s, were built, along with the disappearance of various churches. The Muslim population significantly increased, but the region continued to preserve its multicultural composition. The dissolution of the *Magnifica Communita di Pera* in 1682 constituted another milestone in the history of Genoese Galata, as it completely ended the waning governance of the Genoese, who also lost their international power in the Mediterranean. In the later centuries, the heritage sites of the Genoese substantially became destroyed, due to the renovations of the urban modernization programs.

The Church of San Domenico went through a course of transformation that is parallel with the process of Islamization in Genoese Galata. The Ottomans converted the church into a mosque, despite the *ahdname*, which indicated the beginning of a new era. However, they refrained from implementing radical architectural changes. In order to justify their appropriation of the church, they resorted to the Ottoman tradition of constructing an Islamic foundation legend that is intertwined with the pre-Christian history of the building. As the Ottomans executed a more assertive policy of Islamization in the later centuries, the Muslims began to occupy a greater portion of the population, particularly in the neighborhood of the mosque. This changing sociopolitical and cultural context augmented the symbolic meaning of the Arap Camii, as a representative of the Muslim community. Through the eighteenth century, it began to acquire a more Islamic character through the associated architectural modifications and additions. These changes did not solely consist of architectural or artistic alterations, but they also included certain adjustments to commemorate the Islamic foundation legend of the building, and perpetuating its cultural significance. In sum, while the church mostly kept its original physiognomy as a mosque in the early centuries of a rather tolerant Ottoman rule, it underwent subsequent modifications that

attributed the building new Islamic architectural and cultural elements in the later centuries, as a manifestation of the growing Islamization in the neighborhood.

In conclusion, the hybrid character of the Arap Camii embodies the various historical layers of Galata, and reflects the cultural diversity of Galata from the Byzantine up to Ottoman times. The edifice, first, contained an amalgamation of different architectural and artistic idioms, that included Italian Gothic, Byzantine and Dominican features. Then, it additionally acquired various Islamic elements during the Ottoman era. Thus, the Arap Camii exemplifies how the same monument evolves to represent different cultural meanings throughout the changing sociopolitical and religious contexts. Once a mendicant church and convent in the Genoese colony during the Byzantine era, it became a prominent mosque that was highly cherished and owned by the Muslim community during the Ottoman times. It is a remarkable monument that should be considered in the studies, which examine the hybrid artistic forms in multicultural environments that involve an intense cultural and artistic exchange between the diverse communities. The edifice also demonstrates an intriguing case for the scholars, who engage in the "biographic studies" of monuments that experience multiple transformations in their history in the light of the changing political and religious contexts. The following final part will elaborate on such further studies that will hopefully be initiated by this thesis.

Further Studies

First, the Church of San Domenico could be further studied in a comparative analysis within the theoretical framework of cultural hybridity. There are several possible geographical areas to conduct such a study. Galata is among the foremost regions since there is still a room to investigate its built environment, particularly the Genoese structures. One could easily conjecture that San Domenico was not isolated in mirroring the multicultural milieu of Galata, but, most

probably, the other monuments similarly bore an amalgamation of different artistic idioms. It is possible to reconstruct a more comprehensive depiction of Genoese Galata by examining other extant or vanished buildings, and deduce more inferences about the inclusive character of its architectural setting.

Other comparable geographical areas could include the Genoese and/or Venetian colonies in the former Byzantine lands in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, such as Crete, Cyprus, Chios, Rhodes, Peloponnese or Crimea.[577] The Church of San Domenico should be examined further in this larger frame, with other comparable structures that were commonly created in the Italian and Byzantine cultural settings. The Dominican or other mendicant structures should be particularly surveyed to determine the contribution of the friars in the architectural and artistic development of these geographies. Such supplementary studies would help to comprehend the built environment of Genoese Galata by discovering its links to related areas in a wider context.

Moreover, the Arap Camii could be examined in comparative biographical analyses that engage with the notion of transformation from the Byzantine to the Ottoman rule. One could enrich the research about the changes the Arap Camii underwent during the Ottoman era, and compare its transformation process with other Genoese structures in Galata. What would even be more interesting is to compare the nature and pace of changes in the Arap Camii with other churches that were transformed into mosques in a similar frame in Constantinople, the city proper. Such studies would help to distinguish the differences or similarities in the Islamization policies of

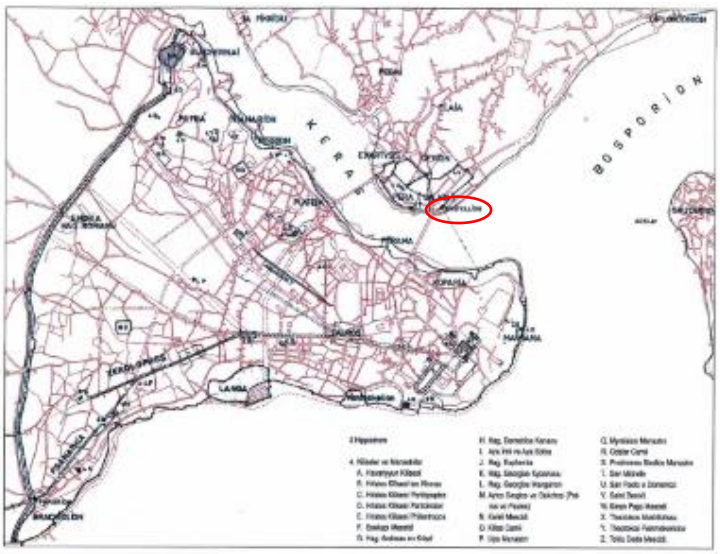
[577] The Church of San Domenico could be taken account in the wider context of the academic realm that deals with the artistic exchange between Byzantine and Western (particularly Italian) worlds. Some associated studies include Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *The Art Bulletin* 77.3 (1995): 479-96; Michalis Olympios, "Networks of Contact in the Architecture of the Latin East: The Carmelite Church in Famagusta, Cyprus and the Cathedral of Rhodes," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162.1 (2009): 29-66.

various regions of the city. These inquiries could also be enhanced by incorporating the studies of phenomena of *spolia*. It would be important to understand how *spolia* acquired different phases of lives, against the backdrop of changing sociopolitical and religious contexts, not only in the Byzantine but also in the Ottoman period.

In sum, the Church of San Domenico / Arap Camii is a significant building that deserves much more of scholarly attention and research. I hope that this thesis will motivate more scholars to pursue the study the building, particularly in the larger theoretical frameworks, discussed above. I, myself, am more inclined to develop this research in the context of artistic hybridity, which is characteristic of the so-called "Italo-Byzantine" style. In the future, I will seek to conduct a comparative in-depth analysis among similar inclusive architectural structures, across a wider span of geographical areas, where Italian and Byzantine communities inhabited together and shared their cultures. I particularly consider focusing on the mendicant buildings, to ascertain the role of the friars in catalyzing the artistic exchange between the two cultures.

FIGURES

Fig. 1.



Map of Constantinople during the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Scale: 1/50,000.

Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2016), 27.

Fig. 2.

The Italian settlements in Constantinople during Middle Byzantine Period.

Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 110.

Fig. 3.

The borders of the Latin Empire and Byzantine Empire after the Fourth Crusade, 1204 (borders are approximate).

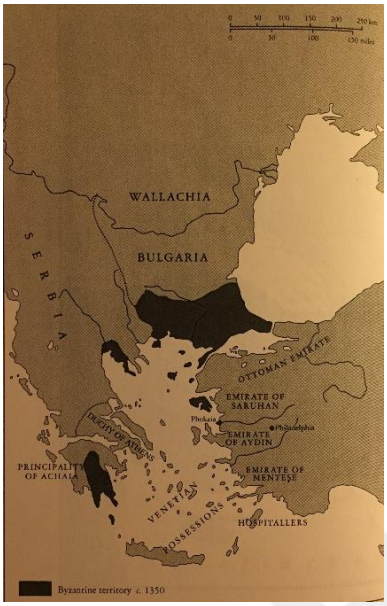
Retrieved from http://www.wikizero.net/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvRmlsZTpMYXRpbkVtcGlyZS5wbmc, accessed on 09.01.2018.

Fig. 4.

The Byzantine Empire, circa 1263.
(Key: Dark Green: Ottoman domain by 1300's, dotted line indicates conquests up to 1326, purple: Byzantine Empire, light green: Turkic lands, blue: Cilicia, red/pink: Latin states).

Retrieved from http://www.wikizero.net/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvQnl6YW50aW5lX0VtcGlyZQ, accessed on 09.01.2018.

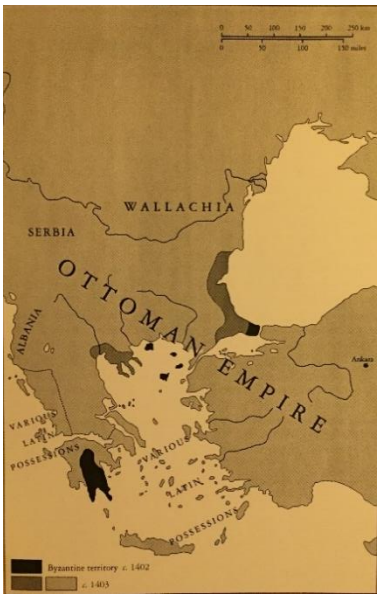
Fig. 5.



Byzantium and its neighbors, circa 1350.

Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), see map 2.

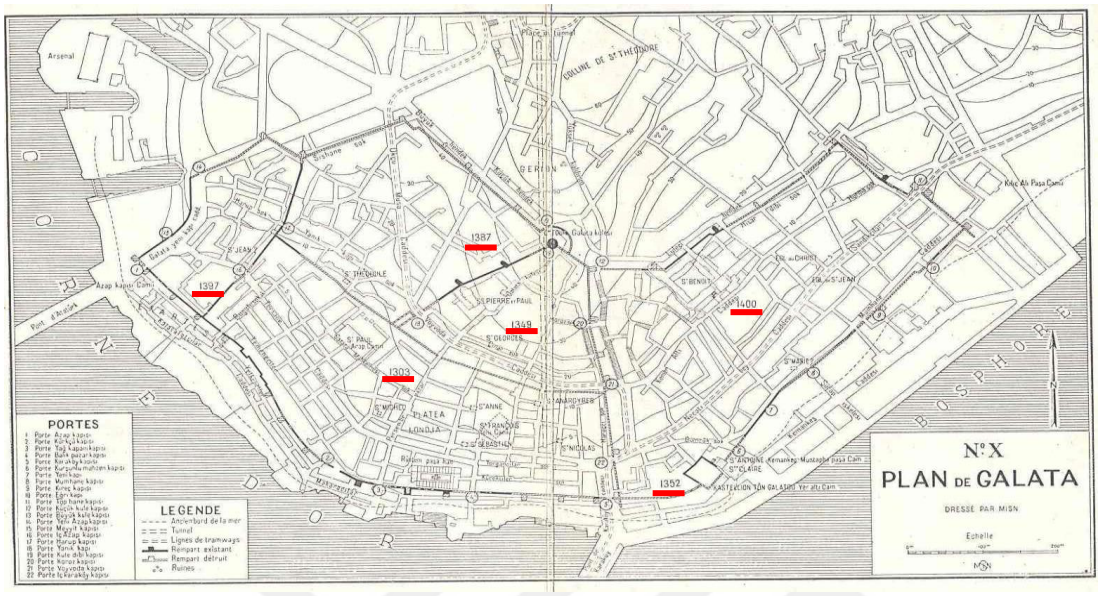
Fig. 6.



Byzantium and its neighbors after 1402.

Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), see map 3.

Fig. 7.



The topographic plan of Galata, illustrating its walls, gates and buildings.

Raymond Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de L'Empire Byzantin: Premiére Partie, Le siége de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. Tome III, Les églises et les Monastéres* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969).

Fig. 8.

The topographic plan of Galata, illustrating its walls, gates and buildings.

A. M. Schneider and M.I. Nomidis. *Galata. Topographischarchäologischer Plan mit Erläuterndem Text* (Istanbul, 1944).

Fig. 9.

The walls, the gates and the main buildings of Galata.

Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1969), 85.

Fig. 10.

The relics of the Galata walls near Azapkapı.

Photograph by the author, 27.10.2017.

Fig. 11.

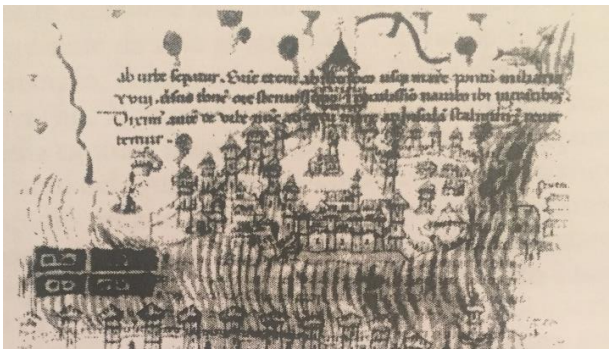
The Galata Tower and the fortifications and moat around its north façade, circa 1875.

Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası,* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2016), 323.

Fig. 12.

The detail of Galata from the map of Constantinople, depicted by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, Venezia Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. XIV, 45 [4595], s. 123.

Cited from *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557),* ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).



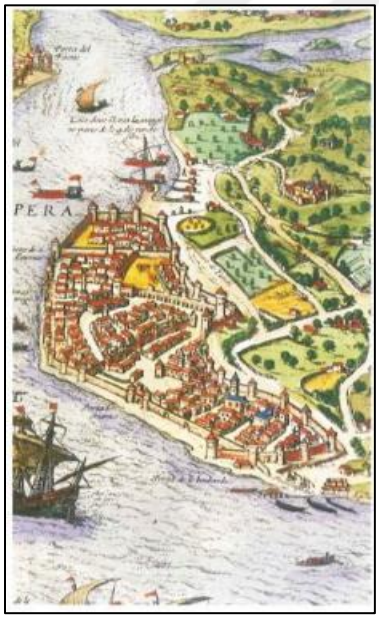
Detail of Galata from the maps of Constantinople, depicted by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420s.

Left: ms. 475 della Holkham Hall Library, f. 47r.

Right: ms. 15 Fondo Don delle Rose della Bibliteca Correr di Venezia, f. 37r.

Claudia Barsanti, “Il Panorama di Cristoforo Buondelmonti e le Chiese Latine di Constantinopoli,” in *Domenicani a Constantinopoli prima e dopo l'impero ottomano*, ed. Silvia Pedone and Claudio Monge (Firenze: Nerbini, 2017), 51-67.

Fig. 13.



The engraving of Galata drawn by G.A. Vavassore in 1530.

Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010), 213.

Fig. 14.

The illustration of San Francesco Church in Galata.

Gualberto Matteucci, *Un Glorioso Convento Francescano sulle Rive del Bosforo; il S. Francesco di Galata in Constantinopoli, c. 1230-1697* (Firenze: Studi francescani, 1967), as cited from Paolo Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 238.

Fig. 15.

The modern view of the Arap Camii (the former Church of San Domenico).

Photograph by the author, 10.03.2019.

Fig. 16.

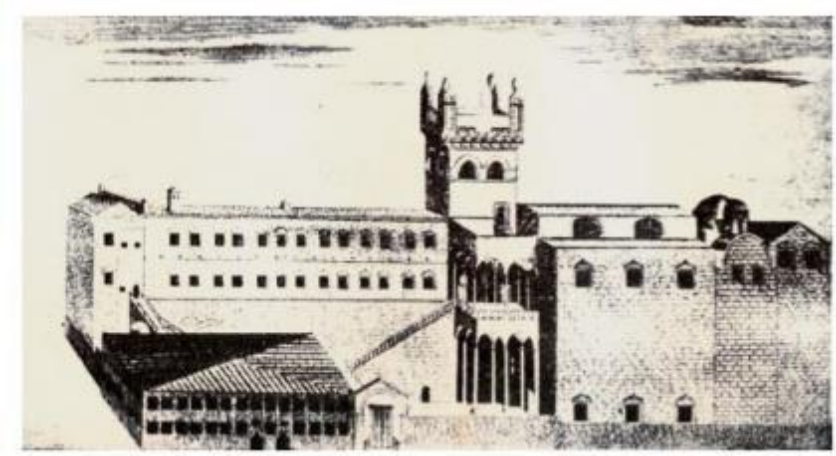

The modern view of the church and monastery of San Pietro e Paolo.

Retrieved from http://www.cornucopia.net/guide/listings/sights/church-of-saints-peter-and-paul/, accessed on 09.01.2018.

Fig. 17.

The modern view of the Church of Saint Benoit.

Philip Niewöhner, *Saint Benoit in Galata, der Byzantinische Ursprungsbau* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 156.



The engraving of St. Benoit by De Carbognano in 1794.

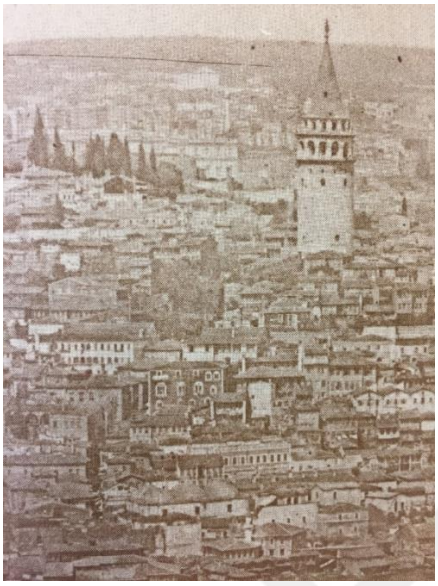
Niewöhner, *Saint Benoit in Galata*, 157.

Fig. 18.

Palazzo Comunale (The Community Palace, i.e. the building of the *podesta*) and the Galata Tower in 1850, drawn for Baron Cecco.

Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1969), 92.

Fig. 19.



General view of Galata, 1853 (Palazzo Comunale can be observed with its front façade, embelished with mullioned windows).

Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *İstanbul anıları = Reminiscences of İstanbul* (Istanbul: Aletaş Alarko Eğitim Sistemleri, 1979), 276-7, fig. 174.

Fig. 20.

The current ruinous state of the building with two facades from different periods:
Left: The rear façade of the original building of Palazzo Comunale, built in 1316.
Right: The front façade of the building of the Bereket Han, built in 1880.

Photograph by the author, 17.02.2017.

Fig. 21.

Palazzo San Giorgio, Genoa.

Photographs by the author, 29.03.2018.

Fig. 22.

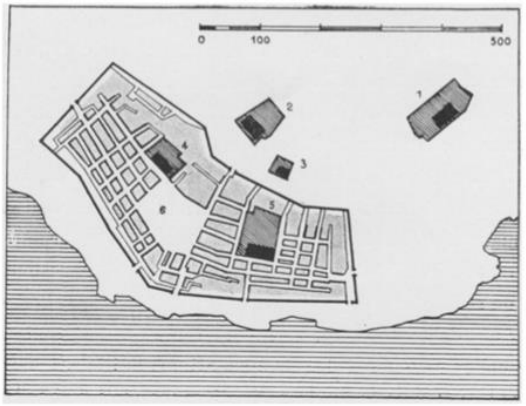


Fig. 2. — Péra en 1301.

Les rues indiquées sont celles de la ville actuelle.

1. Saint-Benoît.
2. Saint-Pierre.
3. Saint-Georges.
4. Saint-Paul.
5. Saint-François.
6. Emplacement présumé de la place du marché et des édifices communaux.

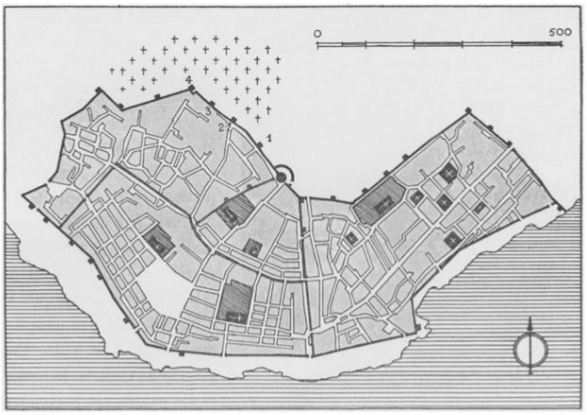


Fig. 9. — Péra au XVe siècle.

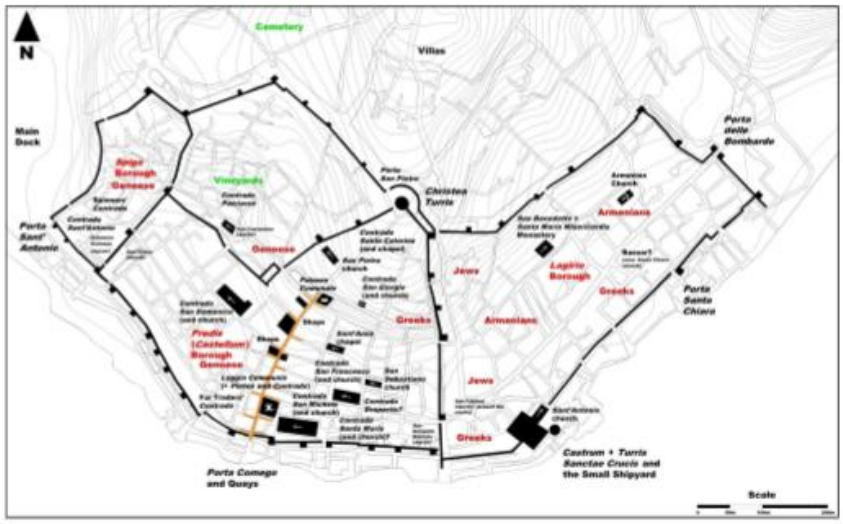
Les rues indiquées sont celles de la ville actuelle.

1. Tour Saint-Michel.
2. Tour Sainte-Marie.
3. Tour Saint-Barthélemy.
4. Tour Saint-..... ?

Left: The illustration of Pera in 1301; Right: The illustration of Pera in the fifteenth century.

Jean Sauvaget, "Notes sur la Colonie génoise de Péra," *Syria*, T. 15, Fasc. 3 (1934): 256, 267.

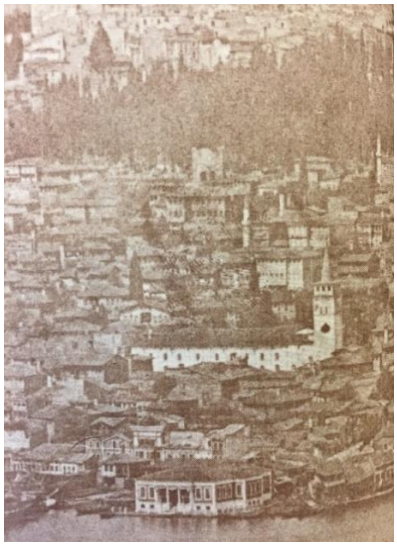
Fig. 23.



"Possible extension of *platea loggia* with its main axis as Perşembe Pazarı Street between Porta Comego (Yağkapanı Gate) and Palazzo Comunale through the *bedesten*, probably the former *loggia*, together with other landmarks of Galata during its late Genoese period," drawn by Sercan Sağlam, after D'Ostoya map of 1858-1860.

Sercan Sağlam, "Urban Palimpsest at Galata and an Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor" (PhD diss., Politecnico di Milano, 2018), 95.

Fig. 24.



The oldest photograph of the Arap Camii, within the overall view of Galata, 1853.

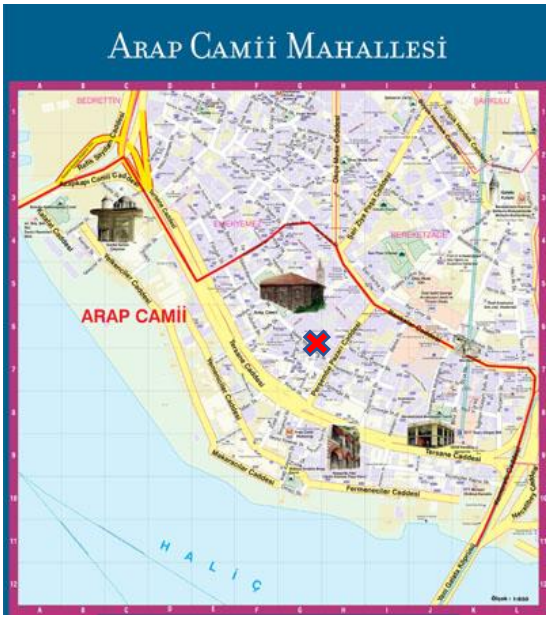
Eldem, *İstanbul anıları*, 276-77, see fig. 174.

Fig. 25.

Photograph of the Arap Camii by Sébah and Joaillier, 1890.

Retrieved from http://eski.istanbulium.net/, accessed on 09.01.2018.

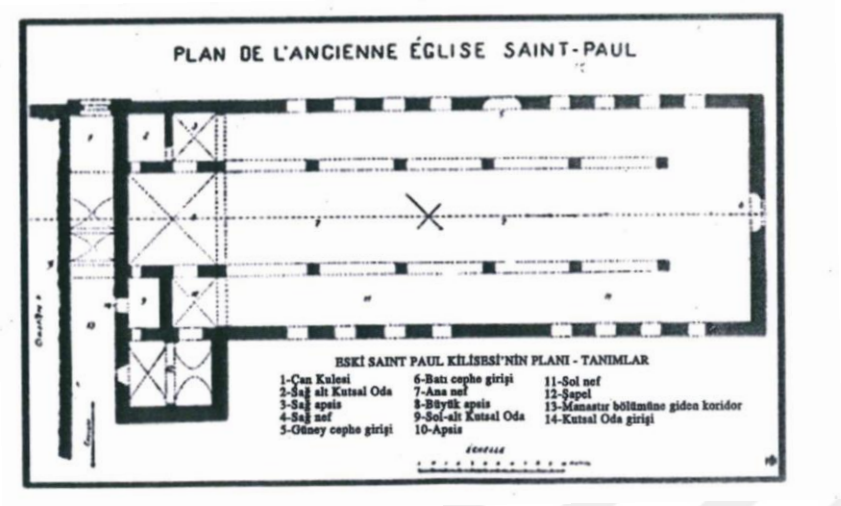
Fig. 26.



The modern map of the neighborhood of Arap Camii.

Retrieved from http://www.beyoglu.net/mahalleler/MAHALLE-ARAPCAMII.jpg, accessed on 06.12.2018.

Fig. 27.



The plan of the original building, as the Church of San Domenico.

P. Benedetto Palazzo, *Arap Camii veya Galata Saint Paul Kilisesi* (Istanbul: Bilge Karınca Yayınları, 2014), 28.

Fig. 28.

Photograph of the 1913 Restoration of the Arap Camii by Istanbul Archaeology Museums.

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,* ed. H.A. Klein, R.G. Ousterhout, B. Pitarakis, (Istanbul: 2011), 316.

Fig. 29.

The ribbed vault of the apse, the Arap Camii, photograph taken after the 1999 earthquake. Akyürek, “The Frescoes of the Arap Camii,” 318.

Fig. 30.

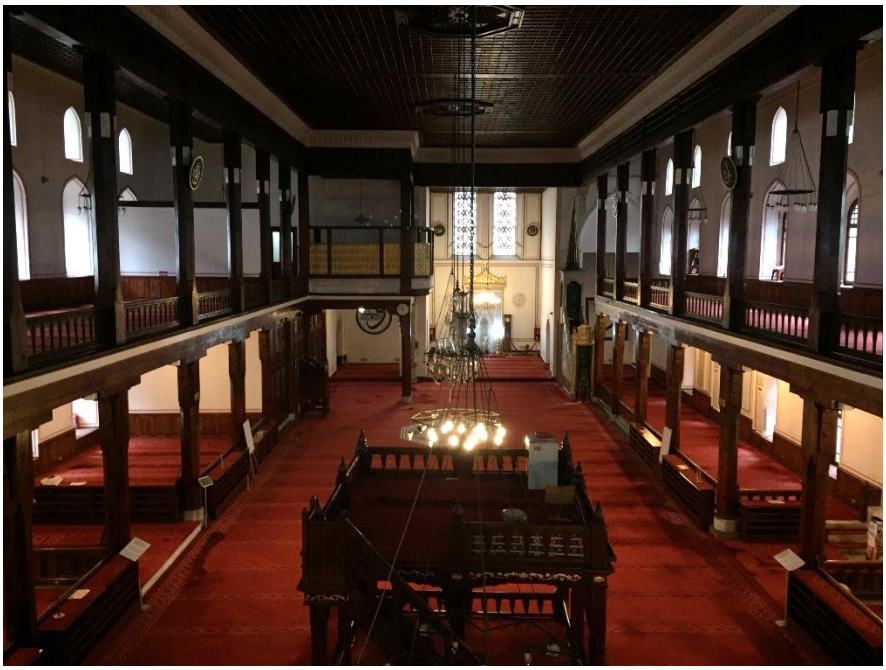
The pointed arch before the southern flanking chapel of the former apse, the Arap Camii. Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 31.

The elevation of the Arap Camii from the northern façade.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018

Fig. 32.



An interior view of the current Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 12.02.2019.

Fig. 33.

The (most probably) original marble column, supporting the former *hunkar mahfili* in the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 18.10.2018.

Fig. 34.

An example for hall churches with wooden flat roofs: The Church of San Domenico in Siena.

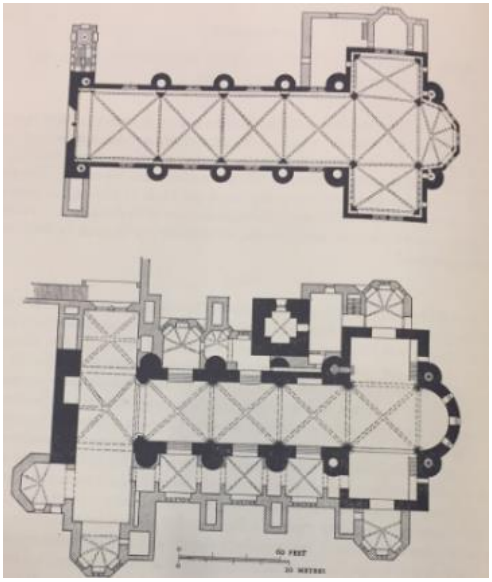
Retrieved from http://www.basilicacateriniana.com/storia_en.htm, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 35.

An example for three-aisled basilica mendicant church: San Francesco in Lodi.

Retrieved from http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/1n040-00083/, accessed on 25.10.2018.

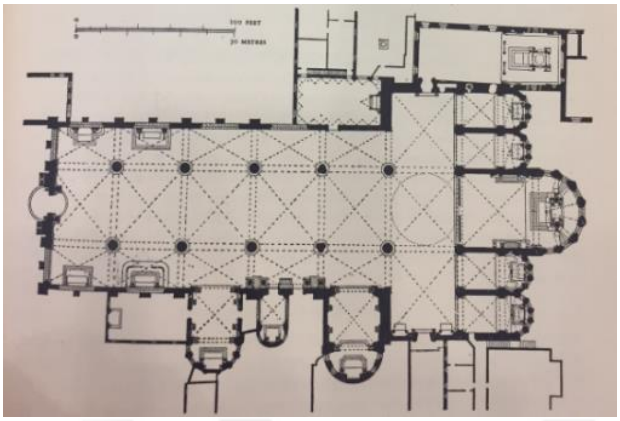
Fig. 36.



The plan of San Francesco at Assisi.

John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1250 to 1400* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), 4.

Fig. 37.



The plan of the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.

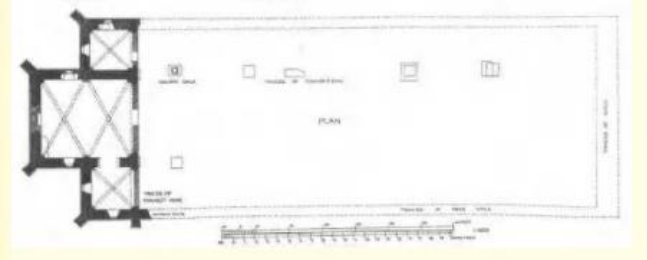
White, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 191.

Fig. 38.

The choir of Saint Sophia at Andravida.

Dimitris Theodossopoulos, "Aspects of Transfer of Gothic Masonry Vaulting Technology to Greece in the Case of Saint Sophia in Andravida," in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Construction History, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus, Germany, 20th-24th May 2009*, ed. Karl-Eugen Kurrer, Werner Lorenz, and Volker Wetzk (Cottbus: Brandenburg University of Technology, 2009), 1407.

Fig. 39.



The Plan of the Church of Saint Sophia at Andravida.

Plan from R. Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece." *Journal of the RIBA* 31 (1923), 34-48 and 73-83, retrieved from https://www.worldhistory.biz/ancient-history/57439-frankish-churches-and-monasteries.html, accessed on 27.10.2018.

Fig. 40.

The *avelli*, i.e. arcaded funerary niches, of the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 96.

Fig. 41.

The Genoese tombstones, discovered under the floor of the Arap Camii, now exhibited in Istanbul Archaeology Museums.

Photographs by the author, 15.05.2017.

Fig. 42.

The *arcosolium* in the western wall of the tower passage, the Arap Camii.

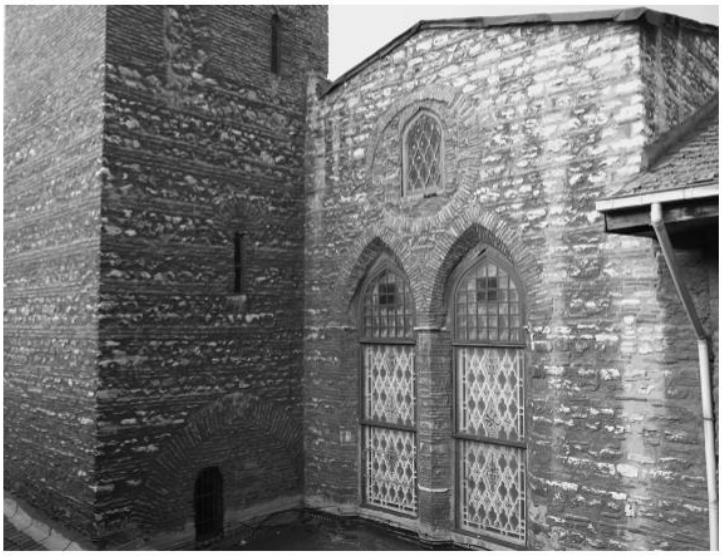
Photograph by the author, 18.10.2018.

Fig. 43.

The trace of the original Gothic window on the southern façade of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07. 2018.

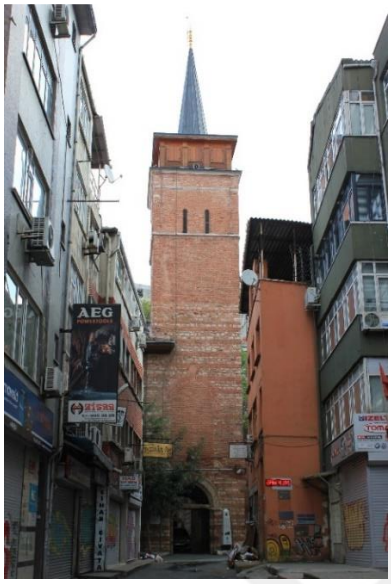
Fig. 44.



The rose window in the eastern façade of the church, now the Arap Camii.

Stephan Westphalen, “Die Dominikanerkirche der Genuesen von Pera (Arap Camii). Griechische Maler–Lateinische Auftraggeber,” in *Austausch und Inspiration. Kulturkontakt als Impuls Architektonischer Innovation* (Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung 9), ed. U. Wulff-Rheidt and F. Pirson (Mainz, 2008), 280.

Fig. 45.



The belfry from the southern side, later converted into the minaret of the Arap Camii.

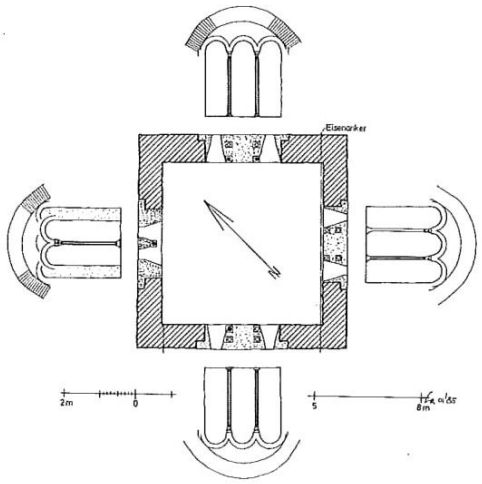
Photograph by the author, 29.07. 2018.

Fig. 46.

The belfry/minaret from the northern side, Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07. 2018.

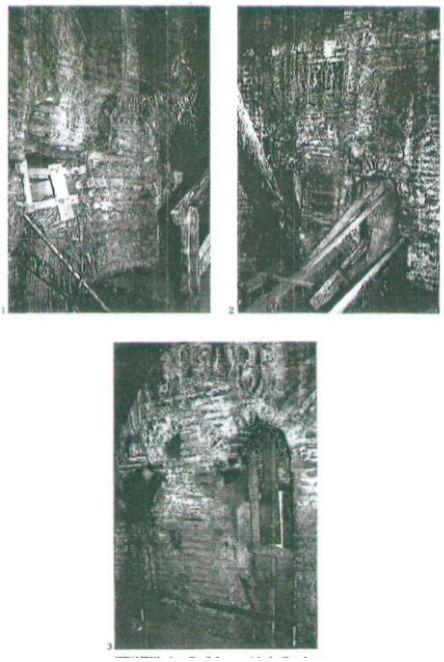
Fig. 47.



The reconstruction of the belfry's original fenestration at the topmost floor, Arap Camii.

Johannes Cramer and Siegrid Düll, "Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 35 (1985), 313.

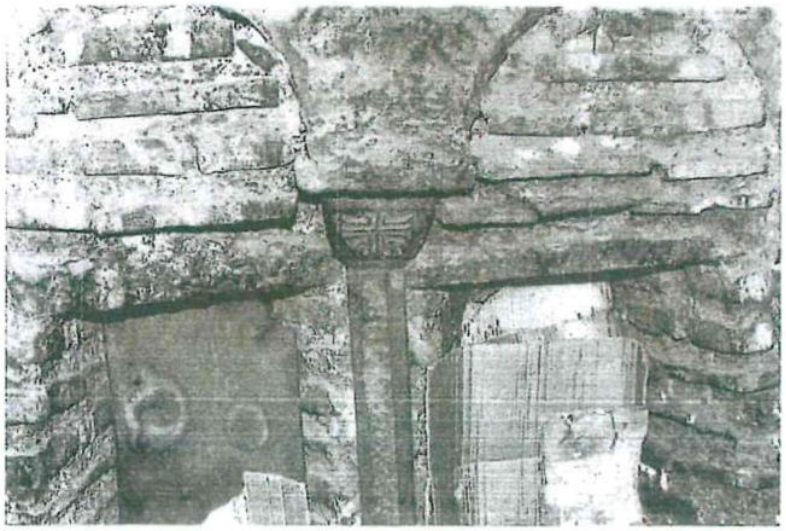
Fig. 48.



Interior view of the tower windows, 1- north windows 2- south windows 3-east windows of the Arap Camii.

Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," Tafel 71.

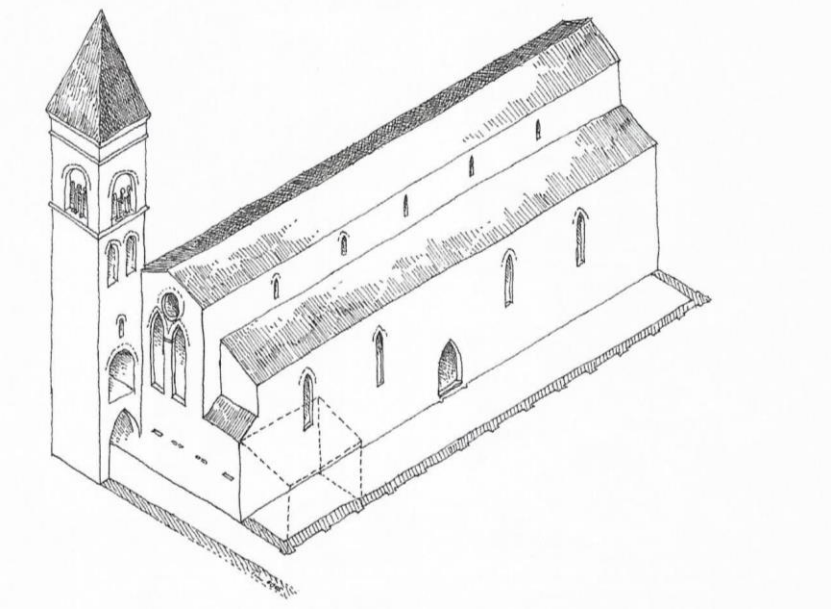
Fig. 49.



Octagonal marble columns that separate the windows of the belfry, surmounted by the *spolia* of Byzantine capitals, Arap Camii.

Cramer and Düll, “Baubeobachtungen,” Tafel 72.

Fig. 50.



The reconstruction of the original building of the Church of San Domenico in Galata, illustrated by Timm Radt.

Westphalen, “Die Dominikanerkirche,” 281.

Fig. 51.

The passageway under the belfry that connects the street to the courtyard of the Arap Camii.

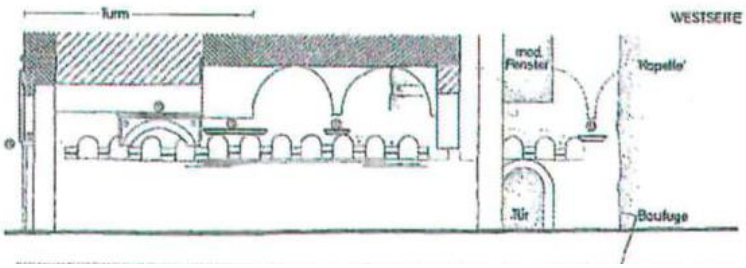
Photograph by the author, 31.08.2018.

Fig. 52.

The vaulting of the passageway of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 31.08.2018.

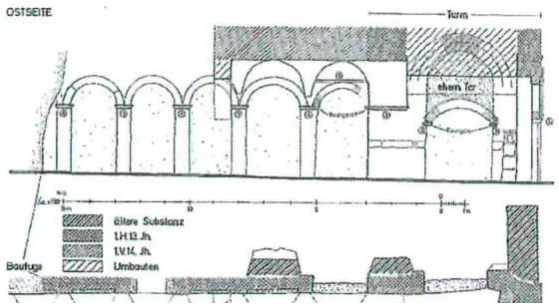
Fig. 53.



The illustration of the passageway's western wall, the Arap Camii.

Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 297.

Fig. 54.



The illustration of the passageway's eastern wall, the Arap Camii.

Cramer and Düll, "Baubeobachtungen," 297.

Fig. 55.

The fourth arch in the eastern side of the passageway, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 56.

The belfry of the Church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona.

Retrieved from http://www.wikizeroo.com/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvU2FudCdBbmFzdGFzaWFfKFZlcm9uYSk, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 57.

The belfry of the Church of St. Eustorigius in Milan.

Photograph by the author, 05.10.2018.

Fig. 58.

The belfry of Chiesa dei Domenicani in Bolzano.

Retrieved from http://www.wikizeroo.com/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9pdC53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvQ2hpZXNhX2RlaV9Eb21lbmljYW5pXyhCb2x6YW5vKQ, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 59.

The belfry of the Church of Sant'Andrea in Vercelli.

Retrieved from http://www.wikizeroo.com/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvQmFzaWxpY2FfZGlfU2FudCdBbmRyZWE, accessed on 25.10 .2018.

Fig. 60.

The belfry of the Church of San Martino in Alessandria.

Retrieved from http://www.cittaecattedrali.it/it/bces/152-san-martino-castellazzo-b-da, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 61.

The belfry of San Domenico Church in Chieri.

Retrieved from https://www.canva.com/photos/tag/san+domenico/ accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 62.

The belfry of Santa Caterina Church, Finale monastery, Finale Ligure.

Retrieved from http://turismo.comunefinaleligure.it/en/monumento/st-catherines-cloisters, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 63.

The belfry of Santa Maria del Carmine in Pavia.

Retrieved from https://www.istockphoto.com/tr/foto%C4%9Fraflar/santa-maria-del-carmine?sort=mostpopular&mediatype=photography&phrase=santa%20maria%20del%20carmine, accessed on 25.10.2018.

Fig. 64.

The Gothic mullioned windows of the medieval palazzo of the Doria family, attached to the Church of San Matteo in Genoa.

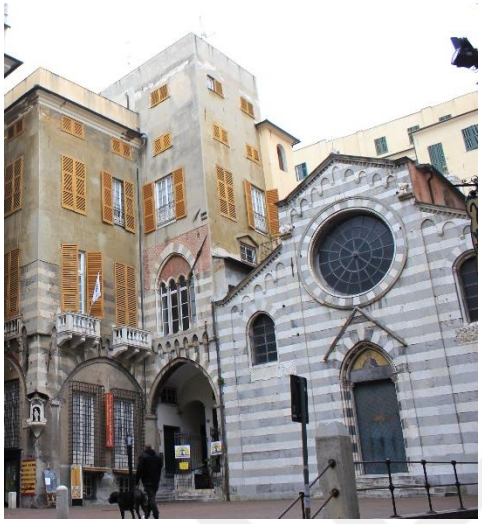
Photographs by the author, 29.03.2018.

Fig. 65.

The Gothic mullioned windows of the original medieval core building of the Doge's palace, called Palazzo Ducale, Genoa.

Photographs by the author, 29.03.2018.

Fig. 66.



The passageway under the tower-like building that leads to the courtyard of the attached Gothic Church of San Matteo in Genoa.

Photographs by the author, 29.03.2018.

Fig. 67.

The brick and stone masonry of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018.

Fig. 68.

The Church of Christ of the Chora (Kariye Museum), exterior from the southeast, Istanbul.

Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York: Electa / Rizzoli, 1985), 153.

Fig. 69.

The *parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii).

Photograph by the author, 07.04.2017.

Fig. 70.

Monastery of Constantine Lips, (Feneri İsa Camii), view of the exterior, Istanbul.

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 150.

Fig. 71.

The Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa.

Photograph by the author, 28.03.2018.

Fig. 72.

The Church of San Matteo, Genoa.

Photograph by the author, 28.03.2018.

Fig. 73.

The gilded Ionic capital on the marble column, supporting the former *hünkar mahfili*, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 74.

The gilded Ionic capital on the marble column in the southern portal, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 75.

The Middle Byzantine cornice in the upper part of the belfry, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 76.

The impost capitals in the tower passage, with lotus and palmette friezes in Middle Byzantine style, the Arap Camii.

Photographs by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 77.

The impost capitals in the exonarthex and the *pareklesion* of the Chora Church, with lotus and palmette motifs.

Photographs by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 78.

The relief ornaments from the South Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips.

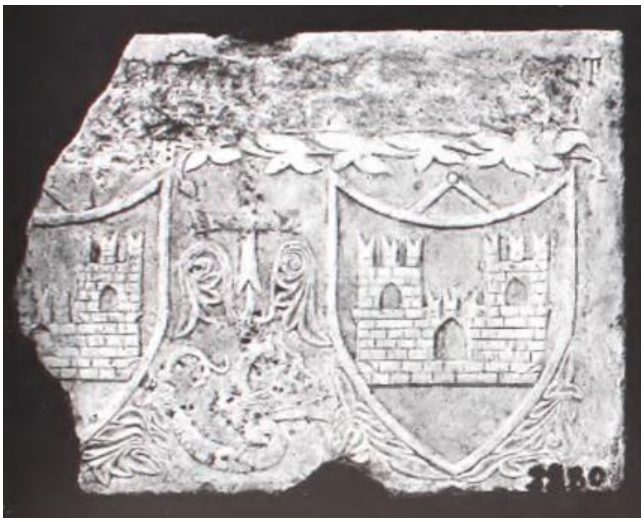
André Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines de Constantinople* (Paris: Dépositaire: A. Maisonneuve, 1963), 128, see no. 128, pl. CI.

Fig. 79.

The carved cornices and capital from the North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips.

Theodor Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul*, with contributions by Arthur H.S. Megaw, Cyril Mango, and Ernest J.W. Hawkins (Harvard University Press, 1964), 253-279, see fig. 45.

Fig. 80.



The Genoese tombstone with coat of arms, dated 1336 by D'Alessio.

Eugène Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali di Arab Giamí: (Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata)* Vol. 5 (Genova: R. Deputazione di storia patria per la Liguria, 1942), 46, no: 15.

Fig. 81.

The Genoese tombstone with the name of Iohannes Moro Iacobi, dated 1338 by D'Alessio.

D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 47, no: 16.

Fig. 82.

The foliate cross, used in the capital of the column in the apse area of the North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips, Istanbul.

Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-279, fig. 19.

Fig. 83.

The foliate cross, used in various carved pieces from the North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips, Istanbul.

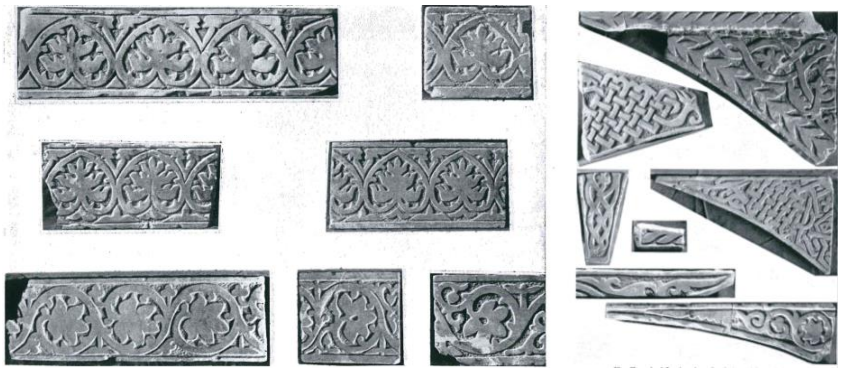
Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-279, fig. 44.

Fig. 84.

A Genoese tombstone with coat of arms, from the Arap Camii.

D'Alessio, *Le Pietre Sepolcrali,* 148, no. 89.

Fig. 85.



Champlevé carvings from the perambulatory of the South Church of Monastery of Constantine Lips, Istanbul.

Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips,* 253-279, fig. 62 and 63.

Fig. 86.

Left: Photograph by NTV Tarih journal, author and photographer unknown. "Rönesans İstanbul'da Başladı," NTV Tarih, sayı 39 (Nisan 2012): 39.

Right: Possible places for the location of the *arcosolium* in the interior. Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 87.

The *arcosolium* in the northern wall of the *parekklesion* of the Chora Church, Istanbul. Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 88.

The *arcosolium* in the southern wall of the *parekklesion* of the Chora Church, Istanbul. Photograph by the author, 16.10.2018.

Fig. 89.

The fresco of *Saint Mark* in the ribbed vault of the apse, the Arap Camii. Photograph by Görkem Kızılkayak, drawing by Engin Akyürek and Robert Ousterhout Akyürek, "The Frescoes of the Arap Camii," 319.

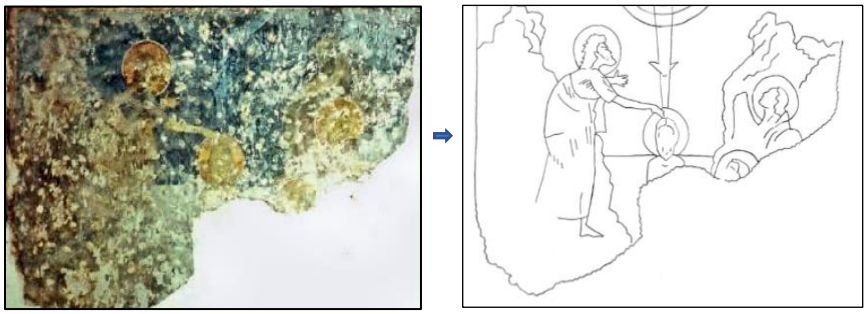
Fig. 90.

The fresco of *Saint Ambrose* in the ribbed vault of the apse, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by Görkem Kızılkayak, drawing by Engin Akyürek and Robert Ousterhout.

Akyürek, "The Frescoes of the Arap Camii," 322.

Fig. 91.



The fresco of the *Baptism of the Christ*, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by Görkem Kızılkayak, drawing by Engin Akyürek and Robert Ousterhout.

Akyürek, "The Frescoes of the Arap Camii," 325.

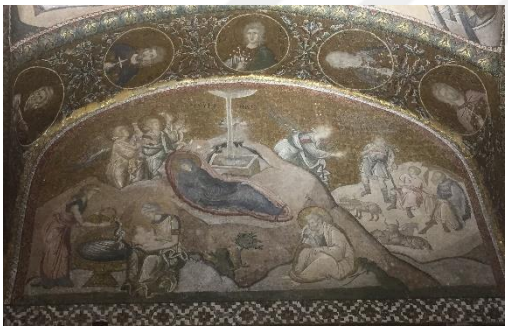
Fig. 92.

The fresco on the large arch that is now concealed between the modern ceiling and the roof, the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the archive of Haluk Çetinkaya.

Haluk Çetinkaya. "Dünü, Bugünü ve İçindeki Sanat Eserleriyle Arap Camii," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* (2016): 208.

Fig. 93.



The mosaic of *Nativity of Christ*, the narthex of the Church of Chora (Kariye Museum), Istanbul.

The fresco of the *Last Judgement* in the *parekklesion* of the Church of Chora, Istanbul.

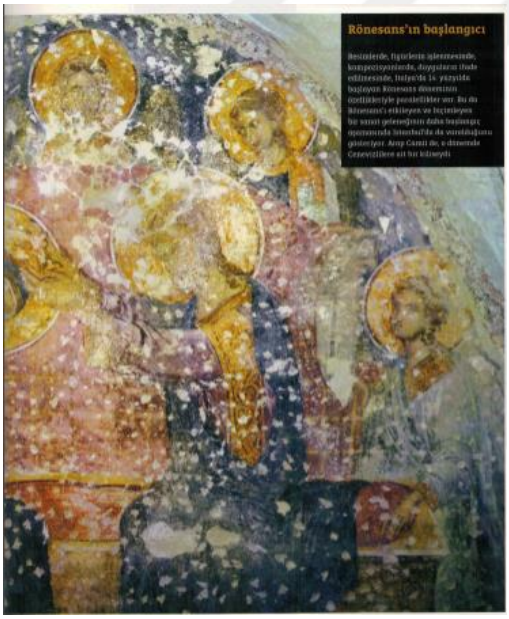
Photographs by the author, 07.04.2017.

Fig. 94.

The mosaic of the *Baptism of Christ* in the *parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos.

Photograph by the author, 07.04.2017.

Fig. 95.



The alleged frescoes of *The Coronation of the Virgin* and *The Death of the Virgin*, at the Arap Camii.

"Rönesans İstanbul'da Başladı," 37-39.

Fig. 96.

The fresco of the *Last Judgement* over the entrance door of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa.

Photograph by the author, 28.03.2018.

Fig. 97.

The reliquary arm of St. Anne, displayed at the Museum of the Treasury of San Lorenzo Cathedral, Genoa.

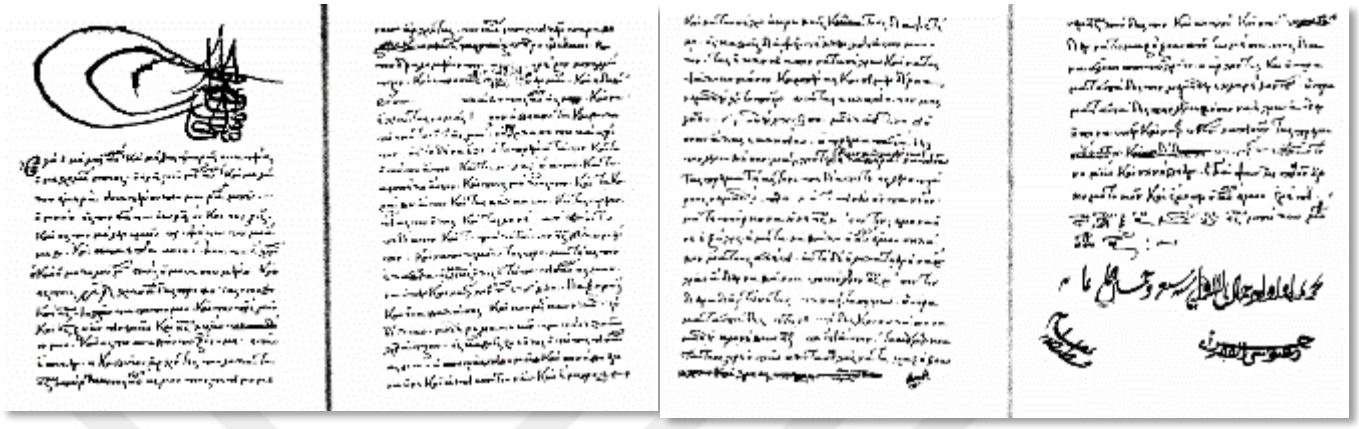
Photograph by the author, 05.06.2018.

Fig. 98.

The picture of the *Madonna di Pera*, i.e. Eleusa di Pera, in the Museo di Sant'Agostino in Genoa.

Rafał Quirini-Popławski, "Art in the Genoese Colonies on the Black Sea (in the 13-15th c.). Present State of Knowledge and Selected Research Problems," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 74.3-4 (2012): 458.

Fig. 99.



The original Greek text of the *ahd-name* of 1453, kept in the British Museum.

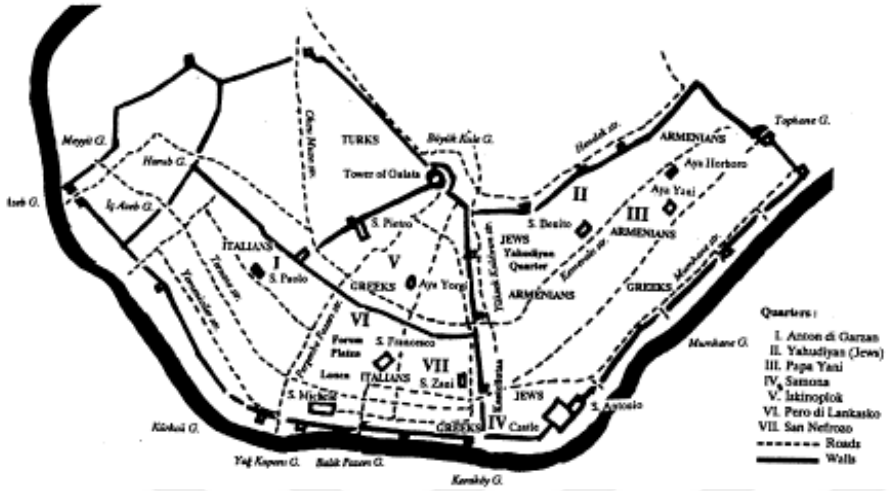
Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata. 1453- 1553," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 338-39.

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

The whole text of the *ahd-name* in English translation.

Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata. 1453- 1553," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 276-77.

Fig. 100.



Galata in 1455, according to the survey of 1455.

Halil İnalcık, “Ottoman Galata,” 370.

Fig. 101.

The map of Istanbul by Matrakçı Nasuh, circa 1535.

Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), plates 7-8.

Fig. 102.

The *mihrab* of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 12.02.2019.

Fig. 103.

The *minber* of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 12.02.2019.

Fig. 104.

The portals of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 12.02.2019.

Fig. 105.

The Andalusian style gate that opens to the courtyard of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018.

Fig. 106.

The inscription by the Divan-ı Humayun scribe Hacı Emin Efendi, placed on the right wall of the *mihrab.*

Photograph by the author, 12.02.2019.

Fig. 107.

The *şadırvan* (ablution fountain) in the courtyard of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018.

Fig. 108.

The late comers' porch with Andalusian style portals and windows.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018.

Fig. 109.

The cenotaph of Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik, in the courtyard of the Arap Camii.

Photograph by the author, 29.07.2018.

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