

HALIÇ EXTRA-MURAL ZONE:
A SPATIO-TEMPORAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING
THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE İSTANBUL CITY FRONTIER

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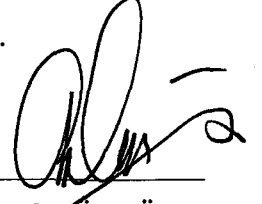
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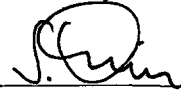
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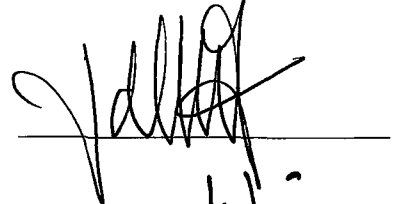
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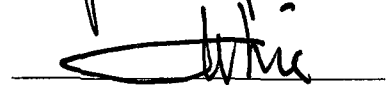
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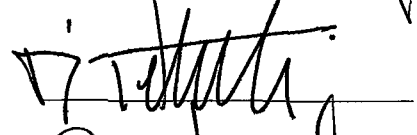
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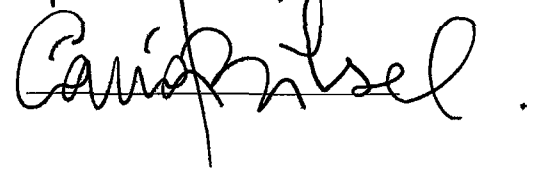
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ABSTRACT

HALIÇ EXTRA-MURAL ZONE: A SPATIO-TEMPORAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE İSTANBUL CITY FRONTIER

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This study investigates the architecture of the city frontier and its transformations from the classical *terminus* to the modern terminals. The city frontier is, here, understood as a space of confrontation between different spatial logics. The study focuses on the architecture of the maritime waterfront, as the boundary between the sea and the city is a historical space of confrontation where the successive transformations of the meaning of the city frontier can be comprehended within a limited spatial frame.

Specifically, the study is on the historical development of a city frontier in the city of İstanbul; that is the Haliç Extra-mural Zone, which was an intermediary boundary zone formed between the city fortifications and the sea. The aim is to represent Haliç Extra-mural Zone as a spatio-temporal framework for understanding the multiple factors generating the architecture of the city frontier, and specifically that of waterfront.

Haliç Extra-mural Zone is, here, observed as an interfacial structure in the sense that it was an extensive boundary zone informed by architectural differentiations which functioned for or against the military, economic and cultural flows. The study interprets the architecture of the Extra-mural Zone on the basis of the flow patterns between the sea and the city.

Haliç Extra-mural Zone is an urban archaeological site in contemporary İstanbul, where the traces of the former historical boundary structures are hardly visible. Thus, the study has searched for the architecture of the Extra-mural Zone in the written and visual historical documents, as well as reviewing the contemporary sources.

Key Words: Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul, Haliç Extra-mural Zone, architecture of the city frontier, waterfront, front, spaces of confrontation, *terminus*-terminal-interface, interfacial boundary condition, extensive boundaries and intensive boundaries.

ÖZ

HALIÇ SURÖNÜ ALANI: İSTANBUL KENT CEPHESİNİN MİMARİSİ ÜZERİNE BİR ZAMAN-MEKANSAL ÇERÇEVE

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Bu çalışma, en genel anlamda, kent sınırı/cephesinin mimarisini ve tarih içinde geçirdiği dönüşümleri araştırmaktadır. Özellikle, liman kentinin kıyı mimarisi üzerine odaklanılmıştır; zira, kent ile deniz arasındaki sınır alanı, kent sınırının/cephesinin anlamının ve geçirdiği çeşitli dönüşümlerin belli bir mekansal çerçevede algılanabileceği, tarihsel bir “yüzleşme mekanı”dır.

Bu çalışma, özellikle, İstanbul’da Tarihi Yarımada’nın kuzey kıyı cephesini oluşturan Haliç Surönü Alanı’nın tarihsel gelişimi üzerinedir. Haliç Surönü Alanı, kentin Haliç cephesinde yer alan savunma duvarları ve deniz arasında uzanan bir ara-sınır mekanı olarak araştırılmış ve tanımlanmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı, Haliç Surönü Alanı’nı kent sınırı-cephesi mimarisini tanımlayan belli başlı koşulların gözlemlenebileceği bir zaman-mekansal çerçeve olarak sunmaktır.

Haliç Surönü Alanı, burada, bir “arayüzeysel sınır yapısı” olarak ortaya konmuştur. Arayüzeysel sınır yapısı kavramından, Haliç Surönü Alanı özelinde, kastedilen yaygın bir sınır yapısı üzerinde askeri, ekonomik ve kültürel akışlara karşı veya onları desteklemek üzere oluşmuş mimari farklılaşmalar ve yoğunlaşmalardır. Bu çalışma Haliç Surönü Alanı’nın mimarisini kent ve deniz arasındaki akış biçimleri temelinde yorumlamaktadır.

Günümüz İstanbul’unda Haliç Surönü Alanı, daha önceki dönemlere ait sınır yapılarının izlerinin güçlükle izlenebildiği bir arkeolojik alandır. Bu çalışma kapsamında Surönü Alanı’nın mimari tarihi orijinal yazılı ve görsel kaynaklardan toplanan bilgiler ile güncel tarih çalışmalarında yer alan yorumlar birleştirilerek oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul, Haliç Surönü Alanı, kent sınırının mimarisi, kıyı, cephe, uç-terminal-arayüz, arayüzeysel sınır yapısı.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the most general terms, this doctorate study has been developed by the investigation of the contemporary theoretical studies on the theme of the city frontiers and their transformations. It has focused on the waterfront of the maritime cities, as the waterfront has been a space where the successive transformations of the city frontiers can be comprehended within the same spatio-temporal frame; that is the boundary between the sea and the city. Specifically, the present study is on the historical development of a city frontier in İstanbul, Haliç Extra-mural Zone, which is the northern waterfront of the Historical Peninsula. The aim is to represent Haliç Extra-mural Zone as a spatio-temporal framework for understanding the boundary conditions generating and transforming the architecture of the city frontier through the ages.

This research on the architecture of Haliç Extra-mural Zone is not a case study, but has been conducted as a very specific embodiment of the contemporary boundary concepts. Nevertheless, these concepts have formed a starting point for the selection of the research area and for the development of the framework which moulds the historical inquiry into a definite representation. The task is to develop an understanding for the spatiality of the boundary, and specifically, the spatiality of the city frontiers on the basis of the specific historical research.

1.1. The City Frontier as a Space of Confrontation

It is in the last decades that the theme of the city frontiers has been re-introduced into the architectural discourse. When one uses the term city frontier in the architectural context, it rather refers to the boundaries of the fortified city; that is a city the macroform of which is defined by architectural boundary structures as the walls, gates, towers and ramparts. The

great architecture of city fortifications has been an ancient technology since the 19th century. As new fortifications were not executed, the older ones have been demolished, or simply became dysfunctional, during the transformation of the cities from a fixed-and-finite to an expanding-and-open macroform after the industrial revolution.¹ Thus, the great architecture of the city frontier is now a historical phenomenon; it can be the study area of the architectural historian, archaeologist or the military historian.² However, the recent interest of the architectural discourse on the theme of the city frontiers should not be understood as a quest for the material history of the fortifications, but rather as an inquiry for understanding the meaning of that structure. The main problematic is, whether the city frontiers have totally disappeared or have re-emerged in new guises, in new forms, which are not necessarily architectural. The task is to search for the “lost frontier” in the contemporary city, after reconsidering the meaning of the city frontier with a critical historical approach.³

P. Virilio, French philosopher-architect, can be noted as the major theoretician who has reinterpreted the meaning of the city frontier in reference to new kinds of fronts, which have emerged after the disappearance of the fortified city.⁴ Virilio distinguishes two orders around

¹ The dysfunctionality of the city fortifications is a reflection of complex technological, territorial transformations, which had been increasingly evident after the 19th century. The fortifications as military devices become useless after the increase in firepower of the canons and finally by war planes and missiles. The pre-industrial city was essentially a territory for safe dwelling and for the accumulation of wealth. When strategies attempted to liberate the flux of goods, people and information had been developed by the 19th century, the socio-economic structure of the cities was transformed and also the model of the fortified city as well. For the transformation of the city frontiers after the 19th century, see, Nijenhuis (1994: 13-17); Frampton (1992:20-28). Sennett (1994: 255-275) states that the idea of the open city has been developed in the age of Enlightenment, analogically, in reference to the human body. As the circulation system, nerve system of the human anatomy was defined in the 17th and 18th centuries, this formed a model for a “healthy” city with “veins” and “arteries”. Thus the idea of “flows” for the city had been developed in reference to the human body. The total implementation of the ideal “city of flows” had to wait the 19th century when the technological means of mobility were developed.

² Hirst (1997a: 13) states that although the city fortifications were as monumental as the other urban structures like the religious buildings, the fortifications have not been a major interest area of the architectural historian until recently. He relates this disinterestedness to the nature of the fortifications, which are not “beautiful” edifices, but functional and rational constructions. Thus they have not been seen as art works which has been the main interest area of the classical architectural historian.

³ The Dutch urban planner Nijenhuis (1994:13) states that the discipline of urban planning has founded on the disappearance of the city frontier: “From its emergence at the beginning of the 19th century, the discipline of urban planning has been founded on the disappearance of the city frontier, that is on the gradual effacement of the self-evident and uncontested city form for which the “gestalt” of the looming fortified city was a model. From the first attempts in the 18th century to control the city (a city that had become licentious) by means of cartographic and cadastral measurements to the actual drafting of regional, master and city plans, urban planning has legitimated its existence in search for the lost form. It is the discipline of the lost frontier which is both its obsession and its motive.”

⁴ P. Virilio has been working on the impacts of speed on the built space and the geo-politics of the city space since the late 1960s on. He is also referred as the “philosopher of speed” and has been influential on the contemporary architectural theory. For an interpretation of Virilio’s position within contemporary architectural theory, see Leich (1995). Virilio’s major works on the impacts of speed on

the city frontier, the order of form characterised by a stability of form and the order of speed, characterised by the fading of form.⁵ In the classical frontier, the finite city territory was formed of homogenous speeds which was based on the pedestrian scale.⁶ It was at the city frontier, city *terminus*,⁷ where the heterogeneous speeds of the outside confronted with the order of the city form. The confrontation was determined by architectural structures, the extreme manifestation of which are the fortifications. The finite and fortified city model was radically transformed after the 19th century by transportation revolution (railways, steamers, cars, highways). The city territory had been transformed from a finite to an open and expanding form. When, the cityspace has been differentiated by the order of speed, the city frontier has been replaced by points of interchange and terminals, such as the railway stations and airports. This is where an architecture of the city frontier was retained, as a gate without fortifications.⁸ By the late 20th century tele-communication revolution, the interface of the tele-vised systems emerges as a new kind of terminal, which is essentially urban as it can be a means of cultural and economic communication. The interface can be anywhere supported by tele-communicational technologies, even on the bodies of the humans, called

space and the built form are: *Speed and Politics* (1980), *The Aesthetics of Disappearance* (1988), *The Lost Dimension* (1991), and *The Open Sky* (1997).

⁵ For an interpretation of the Virilio's concepts on the spatiality of the city frontier, see also, Nijenhuis (1997:13).

⁶ The pedestrian-human scale forms the basis of the classical frontier, which is defined, as a defensible and communicable city periphery in the conditions of the pedestrian speed. The impacts of the pedestrian scale on the formation of the city frontier can be observed in the ancient city foundation rituals where the city-founder draws the limits of the future city by a stick or a plough driven by oxes. The surveying of the city frontier was done in the time of a day after the determination of the city centre and cardinal directions at the speed of the city-founder that is a pedestrian. For the ancient city foundation ceremonies see, Rykwert (1989). Although this is a religious ceremony, it can also be interpreted as a rehearsal of the defensible city periphery in the conditions of the antique city. The concept of the "defensible city periphery" has been developed in anthropology; here it is referred after Toynbee (1971) and Sack (1986).

⁷ The word terminal comes from Latin "*terminalis*": which is used to denote something "that marks a boundary, that marks a conclusion".⁷

Terminalis is formed of the root "*terminus*" and suffix "*alis*". In Latin, *terminus* is:

"1. A post, stone or similar marking the boundary of a property; *b.* (regarded as a *numen*). 2 The remotest limit, furthestmost point (of a century, empire etc) or a natural feature marking it (esp. =frontiers, bounds); *b* the endmost point, extremity (of a line etc.). 3 A point marking the furthest extent of an action, condition, etc. a limit, a bound. 4. The point at which an activity or process stops, the end." *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1982, fascicle VIII).

⁸ The façade typology of the 19th century railway stations is an ironic representation of the displacement of the city gate. Generally, the model for the façade was the Roman ceremonial arch. The railway station carried the gate of the city into its centre while expanding the city-space on the former peripheries.

by Virilio as the “**citizen terminal**”.⁹ Thus, the city frontier has been finally transformed into a technological space which is not architectural; but it may be sheltered.¹⁰

The conceptual framework of Virilio is based on the transformation of the boundary concepts in physical sciences, as it has been actualised in everyday life. He states that the conception of boundary has been transformed from the actual definition of the physical form, from the classical *terminus* to interface:

Since the originary enclosures, the concept of boundary has undergone numerous changes as regards both the façade and the neighbourhood it fronts. From the palisade to the screen, by way of stone ramparts, boundary-surface has recorded innumerable perceptible and imperceptible transformations, of which the latest is probably that of the interface.¹¹

Interface, for Virilio, refers to the televised screen. The screen interface originates from the actualisation of the scientific representation of surfaces, from the new kind of boundary conception developed in the physical sciences. This new representation has transformed the condition of the city frontier from a fixed and defined entrance point- a gate, to a point of commutation, which can theoretically be situated anywhere- interface.¹² This is a latest phase in the transformation of the city frontier.

The city frontier, in the sense Virilio has articulated, can be defined as a space of confrontation between two media that do not communicate with each other in the same way. The only place where two different media can commute is their possible boundary. Then, the question is where the boundary, as a space of confrontation, can be searched for. The finite city was differentiated from the outside, from the country at its terminus, on an architecturally defined perimeter. The industrial city formed spaces of differentiation at the terminals, at an architecturally defined stationary point. The contemporary city has been developed on the interfaces as forming terminals not fixed in space and time, they are not architectural. The forms and technologies defining the city frontier had changed but not the

⁹ Virilio (1997) defines the body of the human as a new terminal that carries the “urban” communications on its body. For a similar definition see, Taylor (1997).

¹⁰ Virilio states that architecture in the urban context has been an ancient technology. Pawley (1998) takes this condition as the basis for a possible transformation of the architectural discipline. He uses the term “terminal architecture” for this “turning point” where architecture can be transformed from a discipline occupied by historical conceptions to a new technological terminal functioning for the free flow of modern networks. Similarly, Sola-Morales (1996) states that the new function of architecture is to facilitate “interchange” between different speed networks, not in the sense of the classical terminals like airport, railway station, but as a terminal for the telecommunication technologies.

¹¹ Virilio (1992: 12).

¹² For the impacts of computer communication on the built space see, Taylor (1997), Mitchell (1996), Baumann & van Thorn (1994).

basics of the condition which generated the boundary, that is the possible space of confrontation between two different spatialities.

When the city frontier is defined as a space of confrontation, similar conceptions can be found in history when the city had been defined by architectural boundaries. Even, the ancient myths can be a reference. The stories on Abel and Cain in the monotheistic religions, Remus and Romulus in Roman mythology, Hermes and Hestia in Greek mythology can be counted as symbols of the mythical-religious representation of the confrontation of two different spatial logics. At the basis they refer to two basic anthropological groups as the nomadic and the sedentary; in other words mobile and fixed, peripheric and urban, boundary-breaker and boundary-maker. The Roman god Janus, the *numen* of all beginnings and gates, can be referred to as the best representation of the spatiality of the frontier and its dialectics from the time of Antiquity. Janus is gate-personified. Especially placed at the keystone of the gates, on bridges, Janus is represented with two faces each facing opposite directions.¹³ “Janus-faced” is a term used for an uncertain character, it refers to the duplicitious.¹⁴ As G. Olsson has remarked, Janus can be defined as the representation of the schizophrenic in contemporary terms.¹⁵

A similar schizophrenic character is now inscribed for the contemporary city where the different spatialities based on differentiation of speed do exist as juxtaposed on different layers. It is the urban sociologist M. Castells, who proposed a new dialectical definition for the two different modes of space in the contemporary urban condition: these are the space of flows and space of places.¹⁶ The space of flows refers to the spaces which are generated by and connected to the global informational technologies. As the information flows are immaterial their site-selection is not dependent on the character of the site, the space of flows is a generic space. Although, hypothetically, the space of flows can be situated at any point that is supplied by information technologies, they tend to be centred around a number of cities. The space of flows juxtaposes with the space of the places where they are situated, these are the traditional spaces conditioned by the local communications. The juxtaposition of these two orders creates a boundary condition which is difficult to comprehend, as these

¹³ Rykwert (1992: 141).

¹⁴ New Webster Dictionary.

¹⁵ Olsson (1991:13-14). Here, we should express our gratitude to Professor Olsson, who shared his insights with us on the concept of interface and specifically Janus.

¹⁶ Castells (1996) interprets the impacts of the new informational technologies on the spatiality of the contemporary human societies, which he refers as the “network society”. The ideas of the voluminous

two spaces do not communicate with each other in the same way. Even if the space of flows tries to front, the space of places in local cultural and historical motives, as manifested in the so called "Post-modern architecture", that is more about the façade than the actual spatial interaction. It is possible to find conceptions similar to the Castells in the recent architectural discourse, such as the "Generic City" of R. Koolhaas.¹⁷ The duplicitious relation of the architecture of the space of flows and the architecture of the space of places is defined by Koolhaas as the generic and the specific. Generic architecture grounds on a site, however, it is not site-specific; it discards the local, although it may sometimes stylistically imitate the culture of that local place or others.

E. Soja, a urban geographer, has commented on the model of Castells, in his recent book "Postmetropolis", where he overviews the historical and conceptual basis of the contemporary city. Soja, states that the dialectics of territorialisation, like the space of places and space of flows, needs a critical thirding.¹⁸ Although two different spatial logics do not front each other as in the classical city, their patterns of confrontation creates a new kind of space, which cannot be named as a synthesis. That means that two spatial logics are not dialectical opposites but do coexist in complex patterns as the result of a possible reterritorialisation following the deterritorialization. The reference for a trilogy of territorialisation can be found in philosophy, that of G. Deleuze and F. Guattari.

It is in the works of the French philosophers G. Deleuze and F. Guattari that the conception of the boundary as a space of confrontation between two different spatial modes can be found in its extreme manifestation that is a trans-historical and trans-disciplinary theory.¹⁹ G.

work can be found also be found in his 1994 book, "the Informational City". For the space of flows, see particularly (1996: 376:428).

¹⁷ Koolhaas (1995: 1248-1264) defined the Generic City as a single city that is juxtaposed on the local cities in fragments. These fragments are connected by high speed and telecommunication networks informing a single "World City". The architecture of the Generic City is also generic as symbolised in international airports, office headquarters, hotel chains, museums. The generic is autonomous, or acts as if it is autonomous from the ground of the specific space, local. In the same time it is dependent on the networks. An example for the independent nature of the generic from the specific can be given from the city of Istanbul: the new business district in 4th Levent, which is surrounded by villas, squatters and manufacturing industry. The passage between these fragments is obscure; although they are neighbouring each other, these fragments are connected only by means of highways and highway passages.

¹⁸ Soja (2000:212-216) gives reference to trans-national anthropology, the concept of "glocalisation". For the necessity of a "critical thirding" he phrases H. Lefebvre who stated, "Two terms are never enough...there is always an Other".

¹⁹ The philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari has been a major reference of the architectural discourse in the last decades. Leich (1997: 308) states that "Too, often Deleuze's sophisticated theory has been appropriated in a simplistic fashion and translated crudely into a manifestation for complex architectural forms".

Deleuze before their collaboration with Guattari, had specifically dwelled on the concept of boundary. In his earlier works, he defines boundary as a space “where difference differentiates”.²⁰ Deleuze, particularly pointed on the “invisible” in the boundary formation, which are the intensive differentiations informing the extensive boundaries.²¹ The world as we comprehend is formed of extensive boundaries; however, as Modern Physics has defined, they are formed of intensive boundaries. Geologic stratifications forming greater geographical forms can be mentioned as example. The intensive boundary structures create the basis of morphogenetic processes informing extensive boundaries. The boundary is not passive but active as a space of in-formation.²²

In “A Thousand Plateaus”, Deleuze and Guattari put forward the morphogenetics of the anthropological space, that is the invisible processes in-forming the anthropological space. First it should be noted that for Deleuze and Guattari, anthropological space cannot be understood without the reference of the physico-chemical and biological layers of the cosmos, the condition is the same for the reverse.²³ Thus, their concepts are cross references which can be used in different contexts as conceptual models. Deleuze and Guattari define two main originary formations for anthropological space: the space-time of the nomad (speeds of nomadic, revolutionary tendency) and the space-time of the State (speeds that are regulated by the State apparatus). The space of the nomad is a smooth space. The space of the State is a striated space. The characteristic of the nomadic life is a mechanism that delays the formation of the State and the State’s conception of space: road, city, boundary. The nomadic trajectory is a space without borders and permanent enclosures. While the sedentary space is striated by walls, enclosures, roads between enclosures, the nomad trajectory is boundless, a smooth space with a continuous (but not homogenous) even surface. As their space is boundless, nomads are always in; they do not depart or arrive. “the nomads have no points, path or land, even though they do by all appearances...they are vectors of deterritorialisation, they act desert to the desert, steppe to the steppe, by series of local operations whose orientation direction endlessly varies.”²⁴ The smooth space of the

²⁰ The concept of extensive and intensive boundary was specifically developed in “Difference and Repetitions”, which was published in 1968, Deleuze (1992).

²¹ For the concepts produced by Deleuze in Difference and Repetition see, Boundas (1993: 39-95).

²² It is W. Nijenhuis (1994: 13-17) who referred to Deleuze’s boundary definition as a model for understanding the city frontiers.

²³ Deleuze & Guattari, unite the physico-chemical, organic and anthropomorphic strata of the cosmos, connecting men and nature, the organic and inorganic, the mechanical and the non-mechanical in a single sphere of interaction. In this new sphere, ‘the Mechanosphere’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), a new form of life emerges from the amalgamation of the physical and the mental, the natural and the artificial. See, Karamüftüoğlu, and Bogue (1989: 126-149).

²⁴ Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 380).

nomad, is the sea, desert, steepe, ice. This does not mean that the smooth space cannot be striated, transformed, territorialised. But it is not nomad's task. It is the task of the State. The State striates space by decomposing, recomposing, transforming movement; it regulates speed. "One of the fundamental tasks of the State is to striate the space over which it reigns, or to utilize the smooth spaces as means of communication in the service fo the striated space."²⁵ The gates of the city, fortresses, roads, channels, are examples for the tools for striating space. Striated space *par excellence* is the city: "the city is the force of striation that ramparts smooth space, puts it back to operation everywhere, on earth and in other elements, inside and outside itself".²⁶ The state also internalizes the nomadic in striating the space.

Making the definitions of the smooth space and striated space, Deleuze and Guattari state that, although they are not of the same nature, they can only exist in mixture. "Smooth space is constantly being translated, traversed into a striated space; striated is constantly being reversed, returned into a smooth space".²⁷ The main difference is that they do not communicate with each other in the same way. Thus, it is only possible to talk about, the smooth and striated. The smooth and striated is a manifestation of the dialectics of territorialisation: territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation whether in the physico-chemical, biological or anthropological strata of the cosmos.²⁸

Deleuze and Guattari propose some models for their likeness to various aspects of the two spaces and the relations between them: the technological model, the musical model, the mathematical model, the physical model, the aesthetic model and the maritime model. The maritime model is particularly important to understand the dialectics of the human territoriality:

The sea is perhaps, the principal among smooth spaces, the hydraulic model, *par excellence*. But, it is also, of all the smooth spaces, the first one attempts were made to striate, to transform into a dependency of the land, with its mixed routes, constant directions, relative movements, a whole counterhydraulic of channels and conduits.²⁹

After the 15th century, the success of the European States to striate the smooth space of the sea resulted in the transformation of the globe into one communicative unit. With the sea being the primordial striated smooth space, there has been other smooth spaces which have

²⁵ Ibid. p. 385.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 481.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 474-475.

²⁸ Sack (1986), in "History of the Human Territoriality" defines the de-territorialised mode as the "non-territorial".

been used as a medium of striation. The air, atmosphere, is the new striated smooth space, where the entire Earth is considered as if a desert or the sea. Modern science has opened the way for the striation of micro smooth spaces. The movement in space before the 20th century was confined by the horizontal planes of the Earth, now as the atmosphere is striated the movement and communication can happen at the vertical direction. In this condition spatial confrontation is not necessarily a face to face interaction, a front, but can be conducted between any point and any place covered by the atmosphere. Here an extreme mode of sedentariness and an extreme mode of nomadism can be mentioned at the same time. Thus, as Virilio has recently stated it is not only the real space but the real time that has to be considered in understanding the contemporary urban condition.³⁰

As Deleuze and Guattari have observed, “the confrontation between the smooth and the striated, the passages, alternations, superpositions, are under way today, running in the most varied directions”.³¹ That is why the history of the waterfront is important as a historical model for the understanding of a space of confrontation between two different spatial logics. It is not a coincidence that the terminology of the computer interface has borrowed terms from the etymology of the maritime world, such as, surfing in the internet, navigator, lighthouse, where, the maritime waterfront had been defined by an architectural term, that is port, gate.³²

The maritime city is a place where the history of the confrontation between two different spatial logics has been manifested, whether it will be defined as smooth spaces-and-striated spaces, or, space of flows and space of places. The place of the confrontation is the boundary between the sea and the city. The front of the maritime city is a boundary between two essentially different media, and a possible place for their interaction. This is hidden in the successive attempts in the striation of the sea into a communicative medium. As F. Braudel, specifically states for the Mediterranean:

The sea is everything that it is said to be: it provides unity, transport, the means of exchange and intercourse, if the man is prepared to make an effort and pay the price. But it has also been the great divider, the obstacle to overcome.³³

²⁹ Deleuze; Guattari (1987:387).

³⁰ Virilio (1997).

³¹ Deleuze and Guattari (1984: 482).

³² The origin of the word port, is Latin *portus* that means both a gate and a harbour.

³³ Braudel (1972:276).

The maritime city has been the force of striation for the sea. The sea was territorialised by the construction of ports on the waterfront. However, the dialectics of territorialisation works both ways. The maritime city is a place which is smoothed by the sea. On the reverse, the sea has been a force of smoothing for the maritime city. As the maritime city can be a model for the contemporary city which striates smooth spaces, it is also a model for a striated space which is smoothed.

I. Tekeli has articulated on the characteristics of coastal settlements as being generated on the basis of their specific positions at the intersection of two different media, the land and the sea. He defines four points of differentiations informing the boundary condition in coastal areas; the sea and land are differentiated as different mediums of life, medium of resources, medium of transport, medium of control and rights. These differences as culturally transformed constitute the basis of the boundary condition on the waterfront. As being based on a natural boundary, these conditions are essentially historical, forming the greater history of the transformation of the sea into a medium, the impacts of which can be observed on the maritime cities.³⁴

The specificity of the maritime city is that, the boundary condition has been preserved in the successive phases of city development from ancient mercantile ports to the post-industrial revitalisation projects.³⁵ The maritime waterfront, a geographical and cultural boundary

³⁴ We express our gratitude to Prof. Dr. I. Tekeli who has presented us his unpublished paper, "The characteristics of Coastal Settlements on the basis of their Specific Positions at the Intersection of Land and the Sea and the Conditions for their Sustainability". I. Tekeli has pointed to the essential historicity of the "coast" as a resource for humans and the condition of boundary generating the spatiality of the waterfront in the 1970s. See, Tekeli (1976:41-47).

³⁵ The retreat of the port from the inner city waterfront is the latest of a series of similar processes in the history of maritime city. With the recent interest developed on the waterfront, a consensus on a common history of urban transformations was formed. The chronography is scaled by two interrelated processes: the economic and social process and the spatial process- expanding and retreating phases of the port. The first stage is the primitive city port- also referred as the mercantile stage (that encompasses the period from the ancient times to the mid 19th century). The second stage is the expanding city port- paleo industrial when the industry began to generate on the waterfront from the inner city port to its neighboring waterfronts (mid 19th century- early 20th century). The third stage namely, modern industrial port- neo-industrial period is characterized by the technological transformations on maritime transportation technologies- especially by containerization. The fourth stage which is the retreat from the waterfront by the 1960s to 1980s - also named as the embryonic post-industrial- is the period when the inner city port areas are abandoned with the related industries to port zones at the fringes of the maritime city or to other maritime cities. The last stage for the time-being is the redevelopment of the waterfront- also categorized as the post industrial period that is theme for the 1990s. The spatial processes can be interpreted by focusing on the physical transformations on the port zone- its building culture and also by considering the changes in the relation of the city and the port. See, P. Hall (1991: 11-20), Torre (1989), Vallega (1991), Breen (1994).

structure, if not totally infilled, preserves its presence; although the meaning, form and function attributed to them within the general structure of the city may change radically. Thus, they form ideal sites for the investigation of the transformation of the city frontier and the architecture generated in this condition within a specific spatio-temporal frame.

The aim of this study is to overview the architectural history of the city frontier, by, particularly, introducing a historical waterfront; that is **Haliç Extra-mural Zone** in İstanbul.

Haliç Extra-mural Zone had emerged as the front of a fortified maritime city, a maritime city which had been the capital city of the Eastern Mediterranean for 1600 years. Constantinople-İstanbul had tried to striate the Mediterranean; how was it smoothed on the reverse? The Extra-mural Zone is a space where the clues of the confrontation between a striated space- a capital city-, and a smooth space can be manifested, as well as the architectures which had evolved on such ground. Here the context of the specific research area can be introduced.

1.2.The Boundary Between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç: The Extra-mural Zone

The selection of the city of İstanbul, and Haliç Extra-mural Zone for a historical survey on the architecture of the waterfront, as a specific kind of city frontier, is not accidental. İstanbul, is a city generated by a geographical boundary structure that is the Bosphorus Strait. The Bosphorus is a sea way which unites the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Uniting the seas, the Bosphorus divides the land; it forms a boundary between two continents, Europe and Asia. However, the Bosphorus is not a great divide; it is one of the points where the separate continents can be communicated. Here, Europe and Asia are as close as the banks of a river. The territorialization of the Bosphorus geography has been achieved by the construction of cultural structures with or against the natural boundaries. From the divide, to the bridgehead and then to the bridge, the Strait was transformed by boundary structures, such as, jetties, ports, tolls, castles, lighthouses, waterfront houses. Inhabiting the history of passage, the Bosphorus is a specific frame for understanding the human territoriality through the ages- and specifically the relation between the sea and the land as it was culturally transformed. İstanbul, the city of the Bosphorus, is the artifice of the boundary condition.

The Bosphorus is not a uniform geographical space. Its depth and width, as well as the character of its waters due to the seacurrents, changes through out its extend. The most distinctive point of geographic differentiations along the Bosphorus Strait is at its South-

western end. Here, the Bosphorus, just before joining the Marmara Sea, penetrates into the land as an inlet for eight kilometers. The inlet has been formed by the interaction of the Bosphorus and two rivers, Alibeyköy and Kağthane. Throughout the inlet, the sea transforms into a deep lagoon and then to a river bed. The divide of the Bosphorus penetrates into the land by the inlet and forms a peninsula. This peninsula is a definite geographical form in between the Marmara Sea, Bosphorus proper and the inlet. It is in the shape of a triangle narrowing towards the Strait. Furthermore, the peninsula is a natural figure; its height reaches to 40-70 meters above sea level. As the inlet is an extremity of the Bosphorus, this peninsula is an annex of land in different scales as Thrace, Balkans and Europe.³⁶

Land as a peninsula and sea in the shape of an inlet formed a specific setting for the first city-founders on the Bosphorus; these were the founders of Byzantium in the 7th century BC. This settlement, which occupied the tip of the peninsula, was extended in the 4th century AD to be the capital city of the Roman Empire, Constantinople. For the following 1600 years, the city on the peninsula continued to be the capital city of the states ruling over the Eastern Mediterranean as the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. Although there were other settlements on the divided geography of the Bosphorus as forming a greater city territory, it was the peninsula where Constantinople-İstanbul proper was settled. As the city of Istanbul was radically transformed in the late fifty years to a great metropolis expanding on the total area of the Bosphorus geography, the peninsula is no longer the core of the city but its historical centre. The site of Byzantine Constantinople- Ottoman İstanbul is now called the “Historical Peninsula” within the greater city of İstanbul.

During the urban development processes from Byzantium to İstanbul, the inlet had been transformed into a main harbour for the city. It was called *Keras*, which means “horn”, in ancient Greek; it is still called the “Golden Horn” in different languages. The Ottomans entitled the inlet with a geographical definition, as “*Haliç-i İstanbul*”, or shortly as “*Haliç*”, which means a “natural harbour”.³⁷ While Constantinople-İstanbul emerged as the greatest city of the Mediterranean, *Keras-Haliç* was transformed into one of the greatest harbours

³⁶ The divide of the inlet continues on the river of valleys that run parallel to the Bosphorus. Thus, the natural paths reaching from Thrace do terminate at the Historical Peninsula. Until the 1950s, the paths reaching the Bosphorus from the West were entering to the Historical Peninsula, and from there they were communicated with the other sectors of the Bosphorus. This can be observed from the national highway maps prior to mid 1950s. After the construction of the Bosphorus bridges and the transfer of the cross-Bosphorus passages to further North, the Historical Peninsula has been by-passed; it is no longer on the itinerary of the transit traffic crossing over the Bosphorus.

³⁷ Develioğlu (1982). The same correlation between a “harbour” and an “inlet” exists in the English Language.

known till the industrial age. Haliç lived the period of industrialization beginning by the mid 19th century, it was by the mid 20th century that it emerged totally as an industrial harbour. The ecology of the natural harbour, which resisted the exposure of a great city for ages, was radically transformed by the industrialisation and urbanisation after the 1950s. By the 1980s, it was no longer sustainable to use the inlet as a harbour. By 1985s, the port functions were removed to a great extent from Haliç. Haliç is no longer “the harbour” of Istanbul.

When the Historical Peninsula had been the main site for the city of Bosphorus and Haliç had been its harbour, their common boundary was defined by a specific architectural articulation, by fortification walls. Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul was a “fortified maritime city”. The land-side and the seashore of the peninsula was fortified in successive stages of the city’s growth from Byzantium to Constantinople. The last of these fortification lines are the Theodosian walls of the early 5th century AD. With minor additions and restorations in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, these walls still define the limits of the Historical Peninsula in fragments.

The fortified maritime city redefined the natural boundaries of the peninsula. The definition changed due to the natural characteristics of the seashore and the relation of that waterfront with the city. Two main variations can be stated; that is for the side of the Marmara Sea and Haliç. Marmara walls, from the land walls to the mouth of Haliç, were constructed directly on the seashore; they contoured the natural boundary.³⁸ The boundary between the city and Haliç was different. Instead of countouring the edge of the sea, Haliç walls were built at a distance to the sea. The land in between was a *foreshore* which formed a space.

The foreshore expanded in time by natural sedimentation, debris of the city and by seahore buildings. While the walls formed a fixed boundary in space and time for a five kilometers, the width of the foreshore changed; it reached up to 250 meters at most. Thus, the boundary between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç was “duplicated” as forming an “extra-mural zone” in between the two extensive limits: sea and the walls. It is for the late Byzantine and Ottoman periods that a continuous foreshore extending along the Haliç walls can certainly be

³⁸ The harbours on the Propontis-Marmara side, which were built and used, in the early Byzantine period were enclosed ports; they were situated within the fortifications. Till the 1960s, when the front of the fortifications were infilled for the construction of motorways, the front of the walls on the Marmara side was the sea as it was transformed by the construction of fortifications.

documented.³⁹ Ironically, it was during the Ottoman period this area was called as “*kal'a-i zemin*” or “*haric-i kal'a*”, in other words “the base of the fortification” or “the exterior of the walls”.⁴⁰ Here, it will be referred as “the Extra-mural Zone”.

The Extra-mural Zone as the boundary between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç, had emerged as one of the most congested urban fabrics of the city by the Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Placed in front of the walls and shaped in relation to intra-mural and maritime flows, it was formed of different sectors. At least, till the 20th century, the Zone was a multi-functional city space which was not solely reserved for the port functions like warehouses, entrepots and customs, but at sections it was mixed or only used as waterfront neighbourhoods. The Extra-mural Zone was a “gateway village”.⁴¹ It was used in sections as the port of the City where the provisions were landed, controlled, priced and taxed. The Extra-mural Zone was also the place where the goods and masses in and out of the city were inspected. It was further used as a space of passage between different sectors of the greater city which was built across Haliç and Bosphorus. Especially in the Ottoman Istanbul these “inner city-maritime” communications were of vital importance when Haliç and Bosphorus turned into avenues of the city.

The Extra-mural Zone went through a radical transformation in the last era. Between 1860 and early 1900s, the walls defining its perimeter were demolished in sections. They can now be seen in fragments. In an increasing tendency, the Zone totally turned into a harbour area after the early 20th century; it became even denser as an industrial port zone like the rest of Haliç. Lately, the Extra-mural fabric disappears during the 1950s and 1980s giving way to parkways along the waterfront. However, unlike the parkways in other places of contemporary Istanbul built on infill land, Haliç parkways were constructed on the site of the former Extra-mural Zone. The Extra-mural Zone still forms the basis of the shoreline along

³⁹ The Extra-mural Zone be observed from the first visual documents of the Ottoman İstanbul to the early 20th century. Although there is no matching visual document for Byzantine Constantinople, it can be extracted from the written sources that such a space was already formed in that period.

⁴⁰ These two terms are generic. They were used for the extra-mural settlements founded on the front of fortifications. There were sites defined by the same name like the Galata front. The word “*haric-i kal'a*”, was used as early as the endowment books of Mehmet II, late 15th century. *Fatih Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri* (1939). The name *kal'a-i zemin* was specifically used in the 19th century, as the name of a municipal institution responsible for the destruction of the walls. Osman Nuri (1999, vol. 3: 1776).

⁴¹ This term was used by Bone (1998: 84-151), specifically for the New York waterfront as it was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It refers to a zone that functions as an elongated gateway on the waterfront where possible means of the interaction between the sea and the city were centred.

present Haliç at the width it had reached before the 20th century demolitions.⁴² With the exception of a finger count monuments, the Extra-mural Zone was totally wiped away with the removal of the harbour functions along the northern side of Historical Peninsula. In the present the Extra-mural Zone, as parkways, is an urban archaeological site which has not been excavated; its upper most stratum had been the industrial port.

The Extra-mural Zone had been part of the lived and experienced city space throughout the ages as one of the most congested, active, multi-layered sites of İstanbul. The geographical, economic, political, administrative, domestic boundary structures determined the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone in parts and in its totality. It had its distinctive character as built on the waterfront and on the front of the fortifications. Being as important as the monuments on the hills or the city fabric inside the walls, the Extra-mural Zone, the base of the Historical Peninsula, requires an inquiry in depth within the architectural and urban history of İstanbul. The aim of this study is to construct the successive historical and spatial layers of the Extra-mural zone as forming a very special illustration of the “spatiality of the boundary” in general with the spatiality of the waterfront, the front of fortification, the frontier in particular.

From a geographical sedimentation zone, to the threshold of a maritime city, to an industrial harbour zone and finally as the “cleansed” fabric of a post-industrial space, the Extra-mural Zone had different meanings within the greater city of İstanbul, where the condition of boundary has been transformed through the successive periods. It is the specificity of the area that its extensive boundary structures do form a spatio-temporal framework to comprehend these changes within the confines of a specific space. Thus, the Extra-mural Zone does also forms a framework for this study in understanding the successive transformations of the meaning of the city frontier and waterfront, particularly in İstanbul. This is a double process; where the space is formed by the impacts of the different conceptions of boundary, it is a space where these meanings can be manifested.

1.3.The Extra-mural Zone as the City/Water-front:

The Interfacial Boundary Structure

The Extra-mural Zone was a space which can be referred to and defined as a front in the most general sense. Front means a face/forehead/façade; head on (face to face); the foremost

⁴² This can be observed on the maps of the Greater İstanbul Municipality, as the demolished buildings

part of anything; the foremost part of anything with a specific function; the line of defense; particularly the front of fortifications; particularly waterfront; frontage, as the space where land fronts the sea or a road; frontier.⁴³

The Extra-mural Zone was the part of the front of Constantinople-İstanbul, in the sense that it was part of its face, façade. It formed the front of the Historical Peninsula when approached from the sea. It was a three-fold front formed of the seashore, the buildings and the city fortifications. The fortifications as the foremost part of the city territory did define the cityspace and its image on the exterior. The wall formed a pre-conceived elevation, it was planned. The urban fabric in front of the fortifications were part of the façade of the city, however, they were not planned as an elevation but emerged as such in time. The Extra-mural Zone was a space where the city was faced; where the city was fronted.

The Extra-mural Zone was the front of the city, in the sense that it was the foremost part of the city, its *terminus*. The Extra-mural Zone was the front of the city with specific functions: the military, economic and cultural front. It was a line of defense for the time of war and a space of controlled and selective passage in times of peace. Specifically, the Extra-mural Zone was the front of the fortifications, a threshold for the selective passage for imports and exports, included and the excluded, the citizens and the marginals.

The Extra-mural Zone was the front of the sea, waterfront.⁴⁴ It formed the front of the sea from the land side, from the city. It was the foremost part of the sea as a different medium from the land. On the Extra-mural Zone the city fronted the sea as a natural medium as it is culturally transformed. It was where the cultural fronted the natural. The Extra-mural Zone was the gate to the maritime world, it was a port.

The Extra-mural Zone was the front of the city and the front of the sea where these essentially different media were interacted on a definite space. The sea and the land as different media do not communicate with each other in the same way; there is the need for an interchange. The cultural means of the possible interchange as ships, jetties, wharves,

are represented as the background of the present condition with dotted lines. See, Fig. 115-119.

⁴³ Front, is etymologically, a word originating from Latin "*frons*". It is an interesting fact that, the multiple meanings of the word *frons* in Latin had been directly passed to the English front without any distortion in the conceptions. Thus, "front" is an antique concept that has been passed to the later ages. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1982).

harbour functions were concentrated along the Extra-mural Zone. It was a front of communications between two different media where landing is essential. The Extra-mural Zone was a terminal space. It was the space where the maritime world, which is a medium of travel with obligatory return to the land, terminates.

Extra-mural Zone, as a city front and a waterfront, was a space of confrontation between the two different media as the sea and the land or the sea and the city. The double front was spatialized on the Extra-mural Zone as a boundary structure. The space of confrontation should here be understood as a space where two different spatialities are fronted either as a preferred communication, or destructive and hostile process. The architecture of the front on the Extra-mural Zone was conditioned according to this confrontation. The buildings on the Extra-mural Zone whatever their function, they were part of the greater boundary structure, as being situated at a space which was a double-front. Either for obstructing or facilitating passage, the architecture of the Extra-mural Zone was a part of the city front.

The boundary condition on the Extra-mural Zone, that of a double front, can be introduced, here, as an interface. Interface, is a word constructed in English; originally, it was a hydrostatic phenomenon developed in Physical Sciences by the late 19th century.⁴⁵ The roots of the composite noun are prefix “inter” and “face”. Inter, for interface refers to “located between”, where face refers to surface/face. From these roots is formed the first meaning of the word as “surface forming a common boundary between two bodies, space or phases”. The second meaning is, “the place where independent systems meet and act on, communicate with each other”; broadly, “an area where diverse things interact”. The third

⁴⁴ Waterfront is defined, in the dictionaries, as the space where land abuts of fronts any body of water. It specifically refers to the space where the city fronts the sea. Thus, it denotes to the seafront as it is faced from the land.

⁴⁵ The first reference can be found in Bottemly (1882) as a hydrostatic phenomenon, which is used as “a face of separation, plane and curved, between two contiguous portions of the same substance. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1933).

Interface has been defined in chemistry dictionaries as: “The area of contact between two immiscible phases of a dispersion, which may involve either the same or different states of matter”. *Dictionary of Chemistry* (1990: 1-3) states that, five types of contact is possible: solid/solid (carbon black/rubber), liquid/liquid (water/oil), solid/gas (smoke/air), solid/liquid (clay/water), liquid/gas (water/air). There is no gas/gas interface; interfacial conditions do not exist in the gas state. Heat and energy transfer that is the subject of thermodynamics is the reason of this commutation and information. Interface can be observed in certain scales of perception. The energy transfer can be sensed but cannot be seen in the real space. On the other hand, interface is not observable in the molecular state. The interface is a boundary of intensive differentiations informing the extensive boundaries. It has replaced the so-called hylomorphic schema that dates back to Aristotles, where the boundary is defined as passive surface (the clay-mould model). Interface was defined as an equilibrium state between the interaction of two matters; recently, it was redefined in model of the far-from-equilibrium thermodynamics where the interface is in constant change.

meaning of the term is rather contemporary; interface is referred as the screen of a tele-vised screen.⁴⁶ What is common in all these different usages is the concept of **interactive boundary**: in physical, virtual or metaphoric sense.

As interface is an intermediary, interactive zone between two entities, its characteristic is the condition of being **in-between**. Here we can stress on two different usages: first, interface can be defined in reference to the two media in between which is formed as a shared area: city-rural interface, man-machine interface, marketing-manufacturing interface, interface between oral and mental representations. However, one can also use the term interface alone, without directly giving reference to the two media in between which is formed, but as a zone **in-forming** the interaction between two entities. That is the description of a special condition: a complex condition where the informed media are represented in reference to interface itself- as the representation of the interaction. The question here is whether two media, spaces or phases sharing the same surface can be autonomous, independent or not. In fact, if the boundary is defined as a condition of the in-between, it marks the only possible area where the relation between two entities can take place. And if these two entities are formed *in reference to that interaction, then interface is the surface of becoming*.

The Extra-mural Zone can be defined as a **sea-city interface**, where the sea and the city meet and act on within the confines of the fortifications and the sea-shore. At the same time, Extra-mural Zone is here represented as an **interface**, a boundary structure which has its own spatiality. The spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone defines the possible interactions between the fortified city and the sea and in return its space is shaped accordingly.

This study is not the first in using the term interface in reference to the waterfront. The waterfronts of maritime cities have been defined as **sea-city interface** or **port-city interface** in the last decades.⁴⁷ Neither, the use of the term interface for a city front is new; the reference to Virilio was given above. The difference, here, is that the Extra-mural Zone is understood in reference to the interfacial boundary model as it was developed in the Physical Sciences. This study does represent the Extra-mural Zone as a classical city frontier which can be understood as an **interfacial boundary structure**.

⁴⁶ This meaning of the term can be found in the recent dictionaries.

⁴⁷ Vallega (1991:21-25).

The interfacial boundary is a space. It is formed of different extensive and intensive boundary structures at different scales. It is formed by the interaction of heat and energy transfer between the two media that it informs. It can only be comprehended at certain scales of perception. The interfacial boundary is not uniform, it is formed of intensive differentiations in space and time.⁴⁸

The interfacial model as it is referred to the Extra-mural Zone can be defined as: the **Extra-mural Zone is a boundary structure that has its spatiality; it is formed of two extensive boundary structures as the city fortifications and the seashore; it is formed for or against the flows between these two extensive structures as the sea and the city; for or against these flows, the Extra-mural fabric is formed as a factor of intensive differentiations. The Extra-mural Zone is not a homogenous space.**

For the Extra-mural Zone it is more the extensive boundaries than the intensive boundaries which are difficult to comprehend. The Extra-mural Zone was formed of different urban sectors which were apparently differentiated in real space. It is difficult to understand the totality of the extensive boundary structures for the Extra-mural Zone. It is on the maps in big scales that the five kilometer boundary structure emerges as an extensive boundary. However, at smaller scales and real space the boundary condition can just be conceived as a section of the greater formation. Thus, the representation of the Extra-mural Zone should concentrate at different scales of perception, the extensive and the intensive, the great architecture of the wall and the architecture of the Extra-mural fabric. The Extra-mural Zone can only be understood in cross-sections as the representations of different spatialities formed within the same boundary condition. Thus, the task is to search for the intensive in the extensive and the extensive in the intensive; that is the boundary conditions generating the architectural forms.

When the Extra-mural Zone is defined as an interfacial boundary between two different media, it is necessary to define what these media refers to. These, for the Extra-mural Zone, are the Historical Peninsula and Haliç, they can also be referred as the interior milieu and the exterior milieu.

The interior milieu of the Extra-mural Zone was the Historical Peninsula: Constantinople-İstanbul, a capital city. As the centre of a geopolitical political unit, the city housed a great

⁴⁸ See, footnote I-45.

number of population which had changed in different epochs till the 20th century. However, the city was not only the interior milieu of the Extra-mural Zone but also was the ground from which it communicated with a greater geography. The Historical Peninsula was the place where the land communications through Thrace and the Balkans terminated. Some of the flows through the city was transferred by way of the Extra-mural Zone to the other spaces of the Bosphorus geography. The means that the Extra-mural Zone communicated with the city were the gates and this will be here referred to as the flows in-and-out of the city.

The exterior milieu of the Extra-mural is the sea, Haliç. As a striated smooth space that is a uniform plane, the flows on Haliç communicated a greater geography with the Extra-mural Zone. Here they can be defined as along-shore, cross-Haliç, cross-Bosphorus, trans-Bosphorus flows. The along-shore flows can be defined as the maritime communications parallel to the seashore of the Extra-mural Zone. The cross-Haliç flows are the maritime passages between two sides of the inlet. This was part of the “inter-sectoral” communications of the city between the Historical Peninsula and Galata. The cross-Bosphorus flows can be defined as the maritime passages between the two sides of the Bosphorus, that means “inter-sectoral” communications with the greater city and the with the Anatolian peninsula. Trans-Bosphorus flows refer to the maritime transportation lines with the other seas that is the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Some these flows terminated and fronted on the Extra-mural Zone, the intensity of which was dependent on the relation of the interior milieu with the exterior milieu, that is Constantinople-İstanbul and the seas. The means that the Extra-mural Zone communicated with the seashore, where all these flows were fronted, was the in-and-off shore passages as landing stages, wharfes, jetties.

The reflection of these flows on the Extra-mural Zone defined its spatiality, which was an intermediary milieu between these communications. The spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone was defined by the in-and-off shore and in-and-out of the city flows. However, there was one specific artery which was solely reserved for the inner communications of the Extra-mural Zone, that is the path along the fortifications which will be referred here as the “Wall Street”. The Wall Street terminated on the point where the Haliç Walls joined the Land-Walls. At this point, a traverse wall from the walls to the seashore was built in the 9th century. There was a gate on this wall which specifically communicated the Zone with the peripheral land of the city. This gate is called Xyloporta- Eyüp Ensari Gate. This gate which was retained till the late 19th century, is specifically important so as to regulate the interior flows of the Extra-mural Zone facilitated by the Wall Street.

The architecture of the Extra-mural Zone was formed for or against the flows between the city and the sea. There was another factor which determined its form; that is the ground of the seashore. The seashore was primarily formed as part of the formation of the Bosphorus geography. The inlet was originally a riverbed, as part of the transgressions of the sea waters in the latest Ice Age (known as the Flandre) it was turned into a deep seashore as a continuation of the geographical figure of the Historical Peninsula. As Haliç is an inlet, its shores were reformed by sedimentation. The sedimentation on the seashore in Haliç can be defined under two different types. The major sedimentation caused by the alluvial deposits of the Alibeyköy and Kağıthane Rivers, and minor sedimentation caused by smaller springs on the Historical Peninsula.⁴⁹

The hydraulic structure of Haliç is complex, it is generated by the currents of the Bosphorus and countercurrents.⁵⁰ As the nature of the inlet changes from a sea to a lagoon and then to a riverbed, the degree of sedimentation, originally, decreases towards the Bosphorus. In fact, at the mouth of the Inlet, the process is reversed; the Bosphorus had molded a small bay at the tip of the Historical Peninsula.⁵¹

The topography of the Historical Peninsula has been active in the formation processes of the seashore. The Historical Peninsula on the Haliç side is formed of six hills forming a continuous ridge. There are five valleys between these hills. The degree of geographic sedimentation increases at these points.

After the construction of the city fortifications which has reformed the seashore in different phases, another important factor shaping the seashore has been the deposits and the city debris. To this should be added a considerable amount of infill which had been made for extending the foreshore of the Extra-mural Zone. Thus, after the construction of the city fortifications, the sedimentary formation of the seashore has continued; the contemporary line of Haliç seashore is formed by both **natural and cultural sedimentation**.

Without the geological tests it is not possible to determine the degree of the natural and cultural sedimentation. There is a number of analysis done for the foundation calculations of

⁴⁹ Sayar (1962), (1977), Tuğrul (1973), *Haliç Master Planı* (1977), Peynircioğlu (1978), M. Avcı. "Akarsular", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (vol. I: 150).

⁵⁰ Çeçen (1976, vol II: 65-78).

the buildings constructed on the seashore after the 1950s. The result derived from these analysis can be summarised as that the northern seashore of the Historical Peninsula has changed in time from 150 to 250 meters. The ground of the Extra-mural Zone is totally a sedimentation area formed of three main layers: the original rock, a layer of silt and clay and the final layer of the cultural sedimentation.

Thus, the ground of the Extra-mural Zone was formed as result of the stratification both in the horizontal and vertical scale. The natural and cultural sedimentation worked in both directions as extending the width of the foreshore and also its “depth”. This study will concentrate on this stratification as forming a now-invisible archaeological site for understanding the transformation of the city frontier on the İstanbul waterfront, and specifically on the cultural sedimentation informing the ground and architecture of the Extra-mural Zone.

1.4. The Architecture of the Extra-mural Zone: the Monumental and the Transitory

Architecture existed within the Extra-mural Zone in two different scales: the great architecture of the fortifications and the particular buildings forming the urban fabric within the area. The city wall was a monumental structure; it was materially designed to resist hostile attacks and thus, was resistant to the destruction of time as well. Being restored in successive ages, it was essential in the formation of an urban memory in Constantinople-İstanbul. Monumentality along the northern shores of Historical Peninsula began and ended by the city fortifications. In contrast to the city wall, the buildings of the Extra-mural Zone were mainly of transitory nature; they were rather jerry-built. The Extra-mural Zone was an “insecure ground” both in the sense that it was a sedimentation zone and also as a space opening to the influence of the outside. Considering the sieges of the Byzantine period, the great fires that started on this area both in the Byzantine and Ottoman period and the weakness of the ground, it is understandable that an investment to the appearance of the building was not common along the Extra-mural Zone. Moreover, most of the buildings in this area were service buildings. There are exceptions to this generalisation like the houses of Phanar of the Ottoman period.

⁵¹ The construction of İstanbul Wharfs in this by the late 19th century and early 20th century was obstructed by the geological structure of the ground on this space. Bilge (1949).

The non-monumentality and transitoriness of the buildings is not specific to the Istanbul waterfront; that is historical image of the waterfront between the Antique and Modern periods.⁵² The Antique enclosed harbours were spaces which were monumentally built and culturally invested as part of the image-making of the city. The enclosed ports were mostly incooperated into the city fortification or were secured in their moles. The breakwaters did not only secured the ships but also the maritime gate of the city, its port as a space of wealth. After the unity of the Mediterranean of the Roman Empire was fragmented between the 5th and 7th centuries, the maritime cities losing part of their wealth as well as their security. The port zone, in general, was temporary by nature as being between the maritime world and the locale of the city, two different worlds which do not always share the peace of a *mare nostrum*. Between the symbols of the earthly or divine power on the silhouette of the city and the rhythms of the ships on the sea, the port was a zone of passage formed of barracks, warehouses, bars, hostels, markets, shipyards- a zone that most of the burghers disliked, keep a distance but profited. In J. Konvitz words: "those who operate the maritime world and those who grant cultural significance to its artefacts ...belonged to two different cultures which have little to say to each other."⁵³ The inner city port zone was a boundary zone between two different cultures and was shaped likely by their interaction. The sea became a space of confrontation between different maritime states. It was after the 19th century that projects for the monumentalization of the waterfront emerged; even this was limited with the considerations of an industrially working harbour. French Algiers, is a best example.⁵⁴ The traditional waterfronts of the maritime cities has been transformed in the last decades as the port functions retreated from the inner city areas. With this a new age of monumentalization begins for the waterfront with the current revitalisation projects in the major maritime cities of the world. The difference for this new development is that it is formed of urban functions which are not necessarily related with the interaction sea and the city, like office towers, museums, molls, etc.⁵⁵ It was by the impact of the contemporary maritime waterfront projects that an interest for the history of the waterfront emerged.

⁵² Kostof (1992:41). See also, footnote I- 36.

⁵³ J. Konvitz, here, quoted after S. Kostof (1992:41).

⁵⁴ For the waterfront planning of Algiers by the French, see, Çelik (1997).

⁵⁵ Some maritime cities were fast in re-using the emergent spatial and functional vacuum. 1980s and 1990s witnessed the worldwide trend for the revitalization of maritime waterfront. Many great scale urban projects were executed and are still in execution in cities like London, Rotterdam, Barcelona, Tokyo, San Fransisco, Oslo, and Bilbao. The regenerating interest to the waterfront- promoted by the factors like the availability of large under-utilised areas in the heart of the cities left by the retreat of the industrial port, the suitability of these areas for service sectors, and the magnetic relation between the waterfront and people- is generic. However, waterfront areas are one of the most difficult and complex cases for urban revitalizations, as different from the suburban redevelopment projects, each has its own problems and characteristics. The waterfront projects are site-specific, and can only be

The architectural history of the extra-mural fringes and maritime ports means an interest in the non-monumental and transitory buildings. Being such, the spatial analysis of these areas has to be focused on the urban fabric rather than the specific buildings. It is striking that, as it can be ascertained for the Ottoman period, in contrast to the transitory nature of the buildings, the Extra-mural fabric was resistant to the impacts of time. That means it was constructed and reconstructed within the same patterns. Even when the buildings changed, the fabric was retained. The Extra-mural fabric was preserved till the beginning of the 19th century and survived in parts till the 1980s. The spatial fixity of the landing stages and the city gates should have been crucial in this resistance and continuity, as well as property relations. This study searches for the continuity of the transitory by studying different periods of the Extra-mural Zone.

The difference between the monumental and transitory, art-work and the practical, has also defined the focus of the studies which were made on the architecture of the Istanbul waterfront. The Extra-mural Zone is no exception in this respect.

The Extra-mural Zone has been an interest area of the architectural historians, archaeologists and urban historians as part of their relation with the city walls. When Pierre Gilles in the 16th century had realised the first archaeological site survey in İstanbul in search for Byzantine Constantinople, the Extra-mural fabric had been already partly covering the walls.⁵⁶ It was only by the end of the 19th century that studies comparable to Gilles' had emerged. Unfortunately, there was no complete survey of the walls until they were began to be demolished. The walls are seen in the panoramas drawn from the Galata side; however, this does not give a complete elevation as in parts the walls were hidden behind the Extra-mural fabric. It can only be defined in its complete circuit as part of the maps of İstanbul produced in the 19th century. By 1899, when van Millingen did make a survey on the walls of Istanbul, Haliç walls had disappeared in parts.⁵⁷ Schneider's "Mauren and Tore" is another important source. Janin should be counted as one of the important researchers, who had related the evidence of the ancient sources with the topography of Istanbul as it was in

realised by the multi-disciplinary studies from environmental engineering to architecture. In most cases these projects do not only transform the waterfront but the structure of the maritime city as well. Burtomesso (1991), Green (1994), Bohigas (1999).

⁵⁶ P. Gilles is accepted as the predecessor of the archaeological studies on Byzantium-Constantinople. Mango (1997:2).

the 1950 and 1960s.⁵⁸ The Haliç Surları of Dirimtekin is the last complete survey on the Haliç Walls before the demolitions of 1960s, where he used the late 19th century wall maps as a base. The Bildlexicon of Müller-Wiener, as it does for the other sites, has collected the material on the Walls and draw their possible circuit.⁵⁹The latest important source on the walls of Constantinople was by Tsangadas where he interpreted the evidence of the earlier surveys with the written documents of the Byzantine period. For most of the researchers, the aim was to document the archaeology of the Byzantine walls, rather than the Ottoman period. In fact, the Extra-mural fabric was an obstacle for them as covering the ancient relics.

The waterfront of the Extra-mural Zone, especially on the harbour zone, has been studied in the works focused on the relation of İstanbul with the sea. These are of three types: which are interested in the building typologies like landing stages, ferry stations, bridges; the maritime culture specifically boats; and the ones which are considered with the general topic of the harbours of İstanbul and Haliç. Eser Tutel is a researcher whose works are recently published on the maritime culture of the city and port buildings.⁶⁰ The work of W. Müller-Wiener on the harbours of Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul, which was edited after his irreplaceable loss, is the most extensive and complete survey on the topic of the harbours.⁶¹

The Extra-mural Zone constituted one side of the Historical Peninsula, as the inner-city was formed of different spaces, with different functions, so did this area. Thus, sectors of the Extra-mural Zone has been studied by different researchers interested in the urban history of the city, especially, an interest for the neighborhood sites between Cibali and Balat can be mentioned.⁶² In some cases some of these sectors are united under a study as forming the non-muslim settlement area in the Ottoman period; thus, sectors of the Extra-mural Zone was studied due to its ethnic and functional differentiations. As the area covers an extensive area from the Topkapı Palace to Ayvansaray, it was studied in relation to what the Zone is related with at that area.⁶³

⁵⁷ Millingen (1899) stated that the Haliç Walls were the most damaged of all the fortifications in İstanbul. He stresses to the fact that this was due to the continuous habitation of the site and its juxtaposition with economic functions.

⁵⁸ Janin (1950).

⁵⁹ Müller-Wiener (1977).

⁶⁰ Tutel (1999), (2000).

⁶¹ Müller-Wiener (1998).

⁶² Works on the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy, or Balat as a Jewish settlement, can be given as references.

⁶³ Like the work of Necipoğlu (1991) on the Topkapı Palace which studies the maritime pavilions in a specific chapter.

Nevertheless, Haliç waterfront is an essential topic for every work on the general urban history of İstanbul whether interested in a special epoch or as an inquiry from Byzantium to İstanbul. Extra-mural Zone was one of the important sites of the city history; it is essential for the Middle and Byzantine period when it had been the main area of confrontations between Byzantine Empire and the outsiders.⁶⁴ The condition is the same for the Ottoman period when sections of the Zone had emerged as the main provisioning harbour of the city. The classical work of R. Mantran on the 17th century İstanbul is a main reference in understanding the economic and social flows passing through the Extra-mural Zone.⁶⁵

There is a considerable increase in the studies and publications on İstanbul in the last decade.⁶⁶ As the number of these works increases the historicity of the city and its spatiality becomes more clear through its successive strata. This city portfolio provides a base for interpreting the spatiality of Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul under certain themes. It is by the richness of this material that this study has attempted such a vast spatial and historical survey in search for the form and meaning of the boundary structures of the Extra-mural Zone.

As this study is a search for the architectural differentiations along the extensive limits of the Extra-mural Zone through successive periods, it has to review the well-known visual and written original sources of the city history as much as it has been possible within the temporal limits and the capabilities of the researcher. At the same time, as the study is concerned with the meaning of the greater boundary structure and its parts, the study has to survey other histories than the architectural, like the economic, social, and military. This is, also an obligation as the non-monumental architecture of the Extra-mural Zone has not been a major interest area, and is not very “visible” within the now unexcavated condition of the archaeological site and within the historical sources.

Here, it should be pointed, that the interfacial is necessarily inter-diciplinary; it has to move in-between the extensive and the intensive, between different scales and different diciplinary territories. The diciplinary transgressions, here, are a search for the spatial evidence of the

⁶⁴ Tsangadas (1980) points to the importance of the Haliç Walls for understanding the general history for the Byzantine Empire; it is specifically important for locating the events mentioned on the wars and economic relations.

⁶⁵ Mantran (1990).

⁶⁶ Specifically, the Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation has published a considerable amount books on İstanbul. The Foundation has realised a number of exhibitions on İstanbul; the most

Extra-mural Zone. And, the possible misinterpretations of the evidence are the faults of the researcher. The differentiations on the Extra-mural Zone, its formative processes as a boundary, cannot be solely, understood by concentrating on the solid forms. Thus, the research has tried to understand the meaning of the solid forms within the geo-politics of the city of which it was part of.

The Extra-mural Zone was a very congested urban fabric in the Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Specifically, this quality has been reflected in its visual representations made in the Ottoman period. Here, a method applied for making the Extra-mural Zone “visible” has been to accentuate the background and the foreground of the Zone. Some of the original visual sources like panoramas and plans (mainly from their duplications in contemporary sources) were transferred to computer environment by scanning. Then, by the use of graphic programs, the walls and the sea were rendered in the transparent mode so as not to discard the original information. As part of the same process the Extra-mural fabric, as it was depicted in the maps was colored as to depict the figure-ground pattern of the Zone. This has meant an “excavation” to the sources in the “pixel scale” where the walls can be differentiated more properly. These renderings has been crucial in understanding the boundary structures of the Extra-mural Zone and the path of the flows between the sea and the city. In fact, the representation of the fortifications as a ground for the Extra-mural Zone had been used by an early 18th century visitor of Ottoman İstanbul, C. Loos. Loos had rendered the walls as a dark background (Fig. 54).

Another method used for the depiction of the Extra-mural Zone in successive periods has been to depict the Extra-mural Zone from the sea starting by the tip of the Peninsula to terminus of the site. In fact, this is an itenary which was followed by the depicors of İstanbul through the ages. It was first, the Dionysius of Byzantium who had followed this path as part of his greater itenary of the Bosphorus. Starting by the 17th century İstanbul, the same path was followed by Eremya Çelebi, Hovannesyan, Melling and the Head Gardener. This historical path, which is hardly now an itenary for the contemporary Haliç will be followed in successive periods, where the possible architectural differentiations will be searched for.

notable can be noted as the exhibition made for the Habitat II conference in 1996. The exhibition represented Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul under the theme of “World City”.

1.5. The Structure of the Study: Historical Framework

This study surveys through the different *strata* of the city of Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul and searches for the changing forms and meanings of the city frontier, by specifically focusing to the Extra-mural Zone. The chapters of the study are represented according to the main stages of İstanbul's urban history and differentiations specific to the survey area. This means a cross-section through the ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and modern *strata* of the cultural sedimentation informing the Extra-mural Zone.

Each chapter can be read separately as a depiction of the boundary between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç for the specific period. At the same time, in their totality, they constitute the main processes in-forming a space as the Extra-mural Zone. The chapters are themselves attempts for the possible reconstructions of the Extra-mural Zone within the specified period. Thus, there has been repetitions in accordance to the continuity of the same patterns in different parts and chapters.

Each chapter tries to overview the cultural definition of the boundary for the mentioned period and the specifically its representation as a military, economic, cultural frontier. Some of the surveyed *stratum* has already been interpreted on the basis of boundary conceptions in the recent studies. This is specifically the case for the Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods, where there is a considerable amount of studies on the conception of economic, cultural and military boundaries. The difference between an already interpreted material and a material which has not been interpreted on the basis of the boundary conceptions can be felt in the different chapters of the study.

The second chapter, which is the first chapter on the specific study area, is on the period of Byzantium, an Antique maritime terminal on the Bosphorus crossroads. Although, the Extra-mural Zone postdates Byzantium, here the ancient Greek city will be represented as the origin of the flows through the Bosphorus geography and the two essential points in the definition of the study area: the harbours on the mouth of inlet and Blahernai (Ayvansaray). At the same time the second chapter searches for the natural conditions of the site. As the evidence for the relation of the sea and the city and its architectural boundary structures, a short comparative survey is represented on the architecture of the enclosed harbours of Antiquity.

The third chapter, which is on the Late Antique Constantinople from the foundation of a capital city on the site of Greek Byzantium to the Heraclian Period. This was when the city on the cross-roads emerged as a geopolitical centre. The chapter specifically dwells on the construction of the fortifications which defines an extra-mural foreshore. The role of the area within the structure of the Late Roman capital will be searched for in relation to the other harbours of the city. The Roman imperial provisioning system, where the harbours functioned as economic frontiers will be summarised, as a background for the Roman service buildings.

The fourth chapter is on the emergence of a medieval harbour on the site of the Extra-mural Zone within the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. As Constantinople was transformed to a defensive capital which had been threatened from the land and the sea, the meaning of the inlet was changed likely. The medieval harbour buildings will be surveyed, as well as the Latin commercial ghettos formed within and without the Extra-mural Zone, known as the Latin Quarters.

The fifth chapter is on the Ottoman capital İstanbul founded on the remains of the Byzantine Constantinople from the Conquest to the early 19th century. The Ottoman İstanbul was an offensive city which developed on the geographical sections of the Bosphorus geography. This is when an Extra-mural Zone can be observed, more in detail, in reference to visual sources. The differentiations along the same boundary condition can be interpreted for the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone. For the early 19th century, a morphological analysis can be possible.

The sixth chapter is on the disappearance and transformation of the traditional boundary structures of the Extra-mural Zone in the process of modern urbanisation from the period of Ottoman reforms to the late 1980s of the Republican era. This is a slow transformation process where first the Extra-mural Zone emerges totally as a site for the harbour functions and then finally is demolished in sections. Thus, for this period, the changing factors will be specifically pointed either as planned or a speculative development.

The seventh chapter includes concluding remarks on the architecture of the city frontiers and specifically of the waterfronts as it was observed from the specific spatio-temporal frame of the Extra-mural Zone.

CHAPTER 2

BEGINNINGS: MARITIME FRONTIERS OF BYZANTIUM

2.1 Introduction: The Guards of Bosphorus Passages

“The guards of the Hellespont”, *hellespontophlakes*, was the epithet of the Antique Greek cities founded on the two sides of the Bosphorus Strait, Byzantium and Chalcedon.¹ The evolution of these maritime cities for a thousand years from the seventh century BC to third century AD, is interrelated to this territorial function; that is to control, supervise and provision the passages from the Bosphorus Strait. The territory of the Strait, to be defined and controlled by Byzantium on the West and Chalcedon on the eastern side, was extensive for the limits of a Greek city. Although the area of their walled cities occupied a small part of the greater geography of Bosphorus, Byzantium and Chalcedon territorialized the strategic points along the Strait. In fact, they were not alone in this geo-political issue. These cities acted as the subcontractors of the greater cities- first of the Greek mainland, then Hellenistic kingdoms and lately the Roman Empire. The “guards” of the Strait had to control the geographic area by holding the nodal points on the passage. This territorial strategy, which was naturally allied by the Bosphorus, left its traces at many points in the later cities of Constantinople- Istanbul. The situation is the same for the Extra-mural Zone- the northern shores of the Historical Peninsula; some of the major points on its extensive limits, originally, were formed in the first thousand years of the city history, that of Byzantium. In addition to this, some of the boundary structures and boundary patterns of the Extra-mural Zone bares the Greek Byzantium’s heritage.

Byzantium occupied the tip of the peninsula at the Southwest of the Bosphorus Strait. The fortified city was shaped around two basic geographic elements: the first hill of the peninsula which directly faced the currents of the Strait from the Black Sea, and a natural bay at the

north-west of the hill. The first hill, today the site of the Topkapı Palace Museum, is at the conjunction of the Marmara Sea (Propontis), the Bosphorus and the inlet. The inlet was called “Keras” in Antiquity that refers to “horn”. The hill and its slopes overruled the junction of the seas, thus had a perfect field of perception, “glacis”.² Especially the Acropolis of the city on the hill forming a citadel had a vast panorama from the depths of Keras to the extending the Propontis (the Marmara Sea). At the same time, it was at the centre of the vanishing points at the south of the Bosphorus geography.

The natural bay, more or less coinciding with the Sirkeci region in present, was the point where the sea-currents of the Bosphorus fronted the Peninsula. It was transformed by the ancient Greeks into an enclosed harbour by the construction of breakwaters. Later called, Proshorion, this enclosed harbour, with the adjacent dockyard area, Neorion, to the west formed the basis of the later Constantinopolitan Extra-mural Zone at this section.

As S. Eyice had remarked, the inlet, in this period, was not used extensively as a natural harbour but, small bays on its shores were used as shelters and fisheries. Ancient Keras was more an inner sea and was seen as an extension of the Bosphorus Strait.³ There were small bays on the Keras waterfront of the Peninsula since the village of Blahernai (Ayvansaray) that marks the suburban periphery of the city. Apart from Blahernai, there was the village of Sycae (Galata) on the other side of Keras, across the enclosed harbour of Byzantium. The extremity of the inlet, where was a sanctuary dedicated to Semestra, was called *Sapra Thalassa*- that means “rotten sea”. In addition to these points forming Byzantium’s peripheral territory- its *chora*-, there was the city of Chalcedon (Kadıköy) on the eastern side of Bosphorus with the harbour-town Chrysopolis (Üsküdar).

When these points are mapped, it can be assumed that, the basic flows patterns on the Bosphorus geography had been already formed in Antiquity. These are the along-shore, cross-Keras, cross-Bosphorus and trans-Bosphorus flows. Although Byzantium, the fortified-city did occupy a small section of the later city Constantinople-Istanbul, the main points of passage and interchange between the sea and the land were determined within the confines of the Bosphorus geography.

¹ Müller-Wiener (1998:3).

² Glacis is the sliding surface of bastions, it is specifically used as an empty field of vision, and the water for the maritime city serves as a glacis, Nijenhuis (1994: 17).

³ Eyice (1976: I-265).

In this part of the study, we will try to define these ancient traces as a base for the later Extra-mural Zone and the boundary structures formed within the area before 324 AD. The historical and archaeological evidence for Greek Byzantium is very limited. The general lines of the city and its periphery, the Greek *chora*, can be drawn as a sketch by the information gathered from the antique sources, from the foundation myths and the historians of Late Antiquity. As almost no archaeological trace survives from the Keras shores of Byzantium, the evidence of the other ancient Greek harbours will be summarised as providing a general frame of comparison.

2.2.The Marriage of the Inlet with the Seas: the Foundation Myths

In this part the foundation of Byzantium as an archaic Greek maritime colony will be mentioned in reference to its site-selection and the role of the inlet Keras in this siting. Byzantium was founded after the geographical formation of the Bosphorus and the inlet at its southwestern end. The city's foundation and its development are relational with the cultural transformation of the Bosphorus into a maritime route between the Black Sea region and the Aegean Sea.

Keras-Haliç was geographically molded as part of the greater morphogenesis of the Bosphorus Strait. The theory that the Bosphorus was formed as a seaway by the transgression of the seawaters is accepted since antiquity, as Strabo referred it. However the process is more complex and long, involving riverine erosions, tectonic faults and volcanic activities, as well as transgressions and regressions in successive ice ages. The formation of Bosphorus is part of the greater "Mediterraneanization" process, which was to be completed in its general lines after the last Ice Age known as Flandre. Within the same process, a number of former river valleys on the Bosphorus were transformed into inlets like the Büyükdere, Göksu and İstinye bays. The most significant of these is the inlet of the Alibeyköy and Kağthane rivers; that is Keras-Haliç forming a natural bay of eight km in length at the south-western end of the Bosphorus.⁴

The successive transgressions and regressions had also affected the pre-historic settlements and migrations on and through the Bosphorus geography. The geological and archaeological evidence of the Yarımburgaz cave constitutes a perfect spatio-temporal scale for the

formation period of the Bosphorus. In times of regression, the Bosphorus worked as a land bridge for the transmigration of pre-historic people.⁵ Another affect of the “Mediterraneanization” was to cover the possible traces of earlier habitations by the riverbeds. When the first Neolithic towns were emerging on the Anatolian peninsula, the Bosphorus geography was living the last transgression, which could have wiped away earlier *strata* of the pre-historic settlement.

Although it has been proved that the eastern side of the Bosphorus was settled as early as the Palaeolithic age- with the evidence of the Fikirtepe tumulus in Kadıköy-, there are lesser archaeological evidence for a pre-archaic settlement on the site of Byzantium proper- that is the site of the Topkapı Museum in the present. H. Tezcan states that the only pre-archaic evidence discovered around the first hill of the promontory are the Phrygian ceramics dating to 18th-13th centuries BC.⁶ For the northern shores of the Historical Peninsula, no corresponding archaeological data was met within the general research of this study. It is only by a reference of Pliny, the Roman historian of the first century AD, to a village called “Lygos” that a pre-Greek settlement on the site of the latter Byzantium can be mentioned.⁷

The formation of the site till the foundation of the city was told in different versions of the ancient Greek mythology. The first myth is a section of the greater story of Io; she was Argos king Inahos' daughter who Zeus felt in love with. Hera becomes jealous of this love and Zeus, in order to protect Io from the anger of the goddess, disguises her into a white ox. Hera took the ox from Zeus and appoints Argus as her guard. Hermes kills Argus with the orders of Zeus. However, this time Hera sends a horsefly to bother Io. Io escapes from the horsefly by swimming to the opposite shore. This event is regarded as the origin of the word “Bosphorus” (Fig.1.). Io before passing to the other side gives birth to a girl called Keroessa on the hill between the rivers Barbyzos and Cydaris. The spring deity, Semestra, takes care of Keroessa who later gets pregnant from the god of the seas and winds, Poseidon. The child

⁴ The general sources for the geographical formation, tectonics and hydraulics of the Bosphorus and Haliç are, Sayar (1962), (1977), Tuğrul (1973), Haliç Master Planı (1977), Peynircioğlu (1978), M. Avcı. “Akarsular”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (vol. I: 150).

⁵ For the pre-historic evidence of the Yarımburgaz cave see, M. Özdoğan. *Tarih Öncesi Dönemde İstanbul*; in, Semavi Eyice Armağanı: İstanbul Yazıları (1992: 39-54).

⁶ These ceramics were discovered in the 1945-50 excavations; H. Tezcan. (1989: 37-38). S. Eyice states that the evidence for the pre-archaic period settlements on the western side of the Bosphorus is to be searched for at the depths of the inlet, at the mouths of the Kağthane and Alibeyköy rivers (Barbyzes and Cydaris) in Silahtarağa of the present city of İstanbul. S. Eyice (1976:277), also, in, *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı: İstanbul Panelleri* (1996: 24); F. Ensari Kara. “Silahtarağa”; in, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul*, vol: VI, p.553.

she gives birth is Byzas who finally founds the city of Byzantium. He fortifies the city with the help of Apollo and Poseidon. The Thracian king Haimos attacks the city but is defeated by Byzas. While he runs after the Thracian king, the Scythians attack the city. They were bursed by Byzas' wife Phidelia and other women who left hundreds of serpents to their camp.

According to another version Byzas is the Thracian king who is the son of the spring deity Semestra. He marries Phidelia who is the daughter of king Barbysos. Byzas founds the city with the help of his father in law.

The third version is connected to the Megerans, the inhabitants of a city on the Greek mainland. Byzas is the leader of the Megerans who founded Byzantium. According to the tradition Byzas asks the Delphic Oracle where to found his new city. The Oracle tells him "to found the city opposite to the country of the blind". Byzas thinks that the Chalcedonians who missed a superior site just opposite their city should be "the blind" that the Oracle had foreseen and thus founds his city on the more preferable site across the Chalcedonians.⁸

These three different versions, apart from the presence of the legendary founder Byzas, are similar in their personification of geographic formations and historic events that revolved around the foundation of a city on the Southwest end of the Bosphorus. The passage of Io, the birth of Keroessa who gives name to the inlet and her relation with Semestra, the river deity, and Poseidon, the god of the seas, can be interpreted as the mythological history of the geographic formation of the inlet.⁹ Byzas whose *raison d'être* is the intercourse of the personified inlet-Keroessa and the seas-Poseidon can be regarded as combining the necessary conditions for the foundation of a city at this area: the natural harbour and its connections with the other seas. The attack of the Thracians and Scythians, as the "barbarian tribes" on the hinterland of the city, is a historical fact that the fortified city had to face from its foundation onwards.¹⁰ In the second version Byzas appears as a Thracian king who is the son of the river deity and Barbysos who is name giver to one of the rivers at the end of the

⁷ This reference is used as an evidence for a pre-Megeran settlement on the site of Byzantium even in the Ottoman sources of the early 19th century, see, Hovhannesyanyan. (1996: 5).

⁸ F. Pekin. "Bizas"; in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul*, (1994: II-260).

⁹ Özdoğan, *İstanbul-World City*. (1996), interprets the myths as the cultural references for the formation of the Bosphorus geography.

¹⁰ The assaults of the Thracians can be taken as a reason for the fortifications of Byzantium, which could have existed, from the very earlier periods. The walls of Byzantium will be mentioned in detail below in this chapter.

inlet. The Thracian references points to the possibility that the city was created as joint venture of the Greeks and natives of the Bosphorus.¹¹

Returning to the third version of the foundation myths, of the Delphic Oracle, a reference of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, of the fifth century AD, should be noted. Herodotus, without any mention of the Oracle or Byzas, writes that it is the Persian king Megabazus of the 5th century who called the Chalcedonians “blind”:

This same Megabazus once made a remark for which people along the Hellespont have never forgotten him: he was in Byzantium, hearing that Chalcedon was settled seventeen years earlier than that city, he said the men of Chalcedon must have been blind at that time; for if they had had any eyes, they would never have chosen an inferior site, when a much finer one lay ready to hand.¹²

As mentioned above, Chalcedon (Kadıköy) was settled as early as the Palaeolithic era, and prior to Megeran foundations, there was already a Phoenician colony on this site called “Harhadon”, around 1000 BC.¹³ However, on the previous colony or not, a Megeran city was founded in Chalcedon by 688 BC, seventeen years earlier than the foundation of Byzantium. The myth of foundation, or the remark of Megabazus, which tries to score the advantages of Byzantium over Chalcedon underestimates one factor, that the two cities were founded by the same mother city, Megara, a Greek city close to Corinth.

Byzantium was founded around 670s BC. It is the last of the four cities that Megara established in the northern Propontis (the Marmara Sea). The first was Astakos (Değirmendere); the second is Chalcedon at the southeastern end of the Bosphorus Strait, across the site of Byzantium. Selymbria (Silivri) was the third to the west of Byzantium on the north Propontis shore. Founded by the Archaic Greek sailors these towns were maritime cities. However, as Boardman states, in the 7th century, the Megarans’ main object in their colony foundations seems to be land rather than the Black Sea trade.¹⁴

The difference of Byzantium from the other three Megaran colonies on the Propontis was that its resources were mainly related with the sea. It was a natural stop and a fishery at the direction of the currents of the Bosphorus. This difference would highlight the city of

¹¹ S. Yerasimos, states that Byzantium was most probably a Greco-Thracian creation. (2000:3).

¹² Herodotus (1996: 355).

¹³ For the Phoenician maritime city of Hardanon see, R. Akbulut. “Kadıköy”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (1994: 4/329-330).

Byzantium from the others with the increasing importance of the Black Sea trade route after the 6th century BC since it was the first city to receive the mariners from the Black Sea.¹⁵ Most of the sources which stress Byzantium's superiority to Chalcedon were written in later ages when the Black Sea had turned into a life-line of grain provisioning for the Greek mainland.

Irak Malkin and Nino Shumeli have reconsidered these Antique interpretations on the siting of Byzantium within the conditions of the north Propontis in the age of the Megeran colony foundations, by studying ancient seafaring and the chronology of the colonies. They state that, as in the later ages, the route of the navigators to the Bosphorus was parallel to the southern shores of the Propontis and this corresponds to the chronology of the Megeran colony foundations. Malkin and Shumeli, by considering the currents of the Bosphorus, think that the antique interpretations for the inferiority of the site of Chalcedon were later comments, like that of Megabazus, which take into consideration the voyage from Pontus through Bosphorus to Propontis. However, for the Megeran colonisers the pattern of colonisation was from Propontis to Pontus and in this conditions it seems most reasonable to settle at Chalcedon first which forms the necessary starting point on the route through Bosphorus. This means that in order to settle in Byzantium, it was necessary first to take control of the site of Chalcedon:

Only after 17 years, when the northern Propontis was theirs, did the Megerans turn to colonise Byzantium, apparently not without difficulties... Chalcedon help may have been needed at first to help the colonists withstand attacks from natives (perhaps Thracians).¹⁶

Byzantium and Chalcedon had to incorporate under similar attacks; the Persian excursion to Scythia was one when Megabazus made his remark. It is after the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks in the battle of Plateia and the re-establishment of the life-line to the Black Sea that we see these Megeran colonies become involved in the politics of the Attic mainland, in which they did not infrequently had to play different parties.

¹⁴ For the Archaic Greek colonies around the Propontis (Marmara) and the Black Sea see, Boardman (1999: 239-255).

¹⁵ Boardman (1999:240) states that, The Greek colonies on the Propontis (the Marmara Sea) and the Pontus (the Black Sea) were mainly of Ionian origins, the cities of Megara constitutes the only Attic colony foundations. The Black Sea colonies of Megara number only four: Heraclea on the Pontus; Mesembria and Callatis, on western Black Sea coast which were founded by the late 6th century, and Chersonesus of the fifth century BC on the north Black Sea coast. The Propontide colonies of Megara are part of the seventh century colonisation and are not directly interrelated to the Black Sea trade. That means the colonisers tried to capture a series of points as stages on the seaboard, which gave access to their hinterland.

In Venice, the ceremony of throwing a gold ring to the lagoon as a symbol of the essential relation of the maritime city and the seas is still annually performed. The Greek Orthodox Church has a similar ritual where a cross is thrown into the sea that is picked up by the young people. Every January, the same ritual is performed in İstanbul. These ceremonies of sacralization can be referred as the reminiscences of the relation of Keras (Kereossa) with Poseidon; the marriage of the seas as it was depicted in the ancient Greek myths. Specifically for the period of the city's foundation these myths refer to the crucial role of the sea and the inlet Keras. The inlet Keras and its communications with other seas were pointed as the reason of being of Byzantium.

Byzantium transformed its waterfront into a boundary structure for controlling and facilitating the Black Sea trade and as it was a bridgehead for cross-Bosporus passages. The Keras waterfront of the Peninsula is particularly important in this respect. In the next part, the Antique meaning of Byzantium's frontiers will be specifically remarked as a background for understanding the architectural boundary structures.

2.3. Byzantium as a Transit Terminal and as the Threshold of Antique Civilisation

Well then, what other people among the nations of our time are said to be fortunate? The people of Byzantium, who enjoy a most fertile land and a sea abounding fruits. But they have neglected the land because of the excellence of the sea. For whereas the land produces its fruits for them only after a long interval of time and toil is required to secure them, the sea yields up its treasures at once without any labour on their part. *Dio Chrysostom*¹⁷

There are three points stressed by the antique sources mentioning Byzantium, the resources of fish, its role in the Black Sea trade and the strength of the walls that encircle the city. The resources of fish and the placement on the trade routes are bound to the same geographic factor, the path of the Bosporus currents, which are directed to the city and its natural harbour Keras. The first hill of the historical peninsula, the site of Byzantium, juts towards the sea at the point where Bosporus joins the Marmara Sea. Here the currents of the strait are separated into two main streams; one passes by the east of the peninsula, the other entering the inlet hits on to the banks of the peninsula between the foot of the first and the second hills. The latter turns as a counter-current towards the north banks of the inlet and rejoins to the currents of the Bosporus.¹⁸ This natural flow of the waters led the parties of fishes

¹⁶ Malkin & Shumeli. (1988: 21-36).

¹⁷ Dio Chrysostom (1988: 415). The Roman author refers to Byzantium in another section of his "Discourses" where he mentions the rich fish resources of the city which are caught directly from the shore. He states that Byzantines can easily catch "the fishes thrown out upon the shore without men's interventions" (1988:297).

¹⁸ K. Çecen. (1976: II-65-78), M. Avcı. "Akıntılar", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (1994: I/157).

passing through Bosphorus into the inlet at specific seasons. Roman writer Strabo describes this “natural trap” as follows:

The Horn (of the Byzantines) is a gulf that extends approximately towards the west for a distance of sixty stadia; it resembles a stag's horn, for it is split into numerous gulfs-branches as it were. The pelamydes rush into these gulfs and are easily caught- *because of their numbers, the force of the current that drives them together, and the narrowness of the gulfs; in fact, because of the narrowness of the area, they are even caught by hand...* when once they (the fishes) touch the Cyaneae and pass by these, the creatures take such a fright at a certain white rock which projects from the Chalcedonian shore¹⁹ that they forthwith turn to the opposite shore. They are caught by the current, since at the same time the region is so formed by nature as to turn the current of the sea there to Byzantium and the Horn at Byzantium, *they naturally are driven together thither and thus afford the Byzantines and the Roman people considerable revenue.*²⁰

The flow of the fishes to Byzantium and its Horn, Keras, was no different then the route of the ships coming from the Black Sea. Byzantium was the “natural stop” for the passage of the Bosphorus from the Black Sea to the Propontis. For the opposite voyage Chalcedon and its annex Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) could be favourable, but the ships with stocks of the Black Sea corn to the Greek mainland would have to face Byzantium in their return. Polybius, who wrote in the 2nd century BC, appraises this point:

The position of Byzantium in relation to the sea affords greater advantages for its security and prosperity than that of any other city in our quarter of the world, but in relation to the land the situation is exactly the opposite. On the seaward side it commands the entry to the Black Sea so completely that *no one can sail in or out without the content of the Byzantines.* The result of this is that *they exercise absolute control over the supply of those numerous products, which the rest of the world requires for its everyday life,* and in which the Pontus is particularly rich. As regards the necessities of life, there is no disputing the fact that the lands which surround the Pontus provide both cattle and slaves in the greatest quantities and of the highest quality; and for luxuries, the same regions not only supply us honey, wax and preserved fish in great abundance, but they also absorb the surplus produce of our own countries, namely olive oil and wine. In the case of corn there is a two-way traffic, whereby they sometimes supply it when we need it, and sometimes import from us. If the Byzantines adopted a deliberately hostile attitude to the Greeks, or if in the past they had allied themselves with the Gauls, or particularly at the present time with the Thracians or again if they had abandoned their city altogether, the Greeks would have been completely shut of from this trade, or else it would have become quite unprofitable for them. The reason for this is that because of the narrowness of the straits, and of the number of barbarians, who live along its shores, it would have been impossible for the Greek ships to sail into the Pontus. It is, no doubt, *the Byzantines themselves who draw the greatest financial benefit from the location of the city,* since they can easily export all their surplus produce and import whatever they need at a profit to themselves, and yet, as I have pointed out, they perform great services to other peoples. And so, they are the common benefactors of all Greece, it is not only

¹⁹ Most probably the rock of *Damalis (Kız Kulesi)* at Chrysopolis (Üsküdar). Chrysopolis was founded as the port of Chalcedon on Bosphorus. In the later ages, Byzantium managed to occupy the site when it was used as a station for the collection of tolls from the ships passing through Bosphorus.

²⁰ Strabo (1980: 279-281). Emphasis mine.

gratitude they ought to receive but the universal support of the Greek peoples whenever they are threatened by the barbarians.²¹

This long quotation from Polybius is an important document to summarise the flow of the goods that pass through Byzantium in the second century BC with its geo-strategic importance for the Aegean. "The necessities of life" that are supplied from the Black Sea region are very much the same with the ones that are known for the later ages till the twentieth century AD: grain, cattle, slaves, wax, fish, etc.²² What Polybius describes is a last period of welfare for Byzantium, as by the total occupation of the Mediterranean by the Romans in the first century AD, the importance of the Black Sea trade for the Greek mainland would decrease with the introduction of the Egyptian resources. This had well started by the Hellenistic age. The strategic position of the city as a transit terminal of the Black Sea surplus to the Aegean had involved the city into the politics of Greek mainland after the defeat of the Persians in the Plataea battle till the period that Polybius described. Byzantium and Chalcedon, gained revenues from the supplies of the ships and services given in their ports. Byzantium also acted as a transit storage place where extra grain was kept for the Greek mainland. It was a free city, which had to cooperate with the Athenians, Spartans and the maritime cities of Asia Minor in alternation according to who was powerful on the seaboard. Economy seems to be the main concern for Byzantium in her decision to choose allies and being a free city with economic power, she had her own mint and struck coins.

By 150 BC Byzantium had made a treaty with Rome, which was to become a long-lasting liaison. The city was officially incorporated into the Roman Empire by Vespasian. In the time of the Romans the balance of the cross-axis of Bosphorus changed to the east-west, rather than the Black Sea passage, by the foundation of Via Egnatia, the imperial way from Adriatic shores of the Balkan Peninsula till Byzantium. This imperial way which became a *circus publicus* in the time of Augustus became important especially after the 2nd century AD.

Although located at important cross-roads, the position of Byzantium as regards the Greek mainland and the Mediterranean, as it is the case for the Black Sea region, was marginal. Polybius criticises this attitude saying that "Now (by the 2nd century BC) the great majority of Greeks are quite unfamiliar with the peculiar advantages of Byzantium's situation, since it lies far away from those parts of the world which are most frequently visited".²³ How

²¹ Polybius, (1998: 282). Emphasis mine.

²² This list of necessities perfectly fits to the Ottoman provisioning items, see below, chapter 5.2.

²³ Polybius (1998: 283).

Byzantium was seen in the antique world is important to understand that it was a “boundary structure” itself between the Greek world and the semi-barbarian Black Sea. Siding the lands of the barbarians it is even sometimes regarded out of the context of the Greek world.²⁴ Plato in his description of the Greek world includes the Black Sea. Euripides interprets it as a “terminus”, an final point. Pausanius of the 2nd century AD considers the Black Sea as essentially barbarous.²⁵ Xenophon, in *Anabasis*, at the course of their voyage on the Black Sea from Trapezus (Trabzon) to the Bosphorus, states that it is only in Byzantium that Hellas begins.²⁶ As Braund summarises, “Byzantium was considered still in the second century AD marginal enough, a place of luxury just outside the Black Sea”. Under these circumstances Byzantium was not regarded as a member of Hadrian’s *Panhellenion*, which was an association founded to link the Greek cities. It was exposed to the impacts of the Barbarians; it was not “Greek enough”.²⁷

Byzantium was not only an economic terminal to the Black Sea but was also regarded as a terminus for Antique culture. It is openly manifested in some of the places in the city having Thracian names or cults, which were semi-Greek, semi-Thracian, like Zeuxippos (Zeus-Hippos). The effects of this marginality for the topography of the city is that, we have few sources which describe the city proper, even Polybius who has criticised the Greeks for not visiting these places, himself had not seen the city.²⁸ Thus, apart from the Late Antique authors who mention Byzantium in very general lines as a background for Constantine’s imperial capital foundation between 324-330 AD, there are very few antique sources which describe the topography of the ancient Greek city. This is a pity as there are virtually no archaeological remains from the city of Byzantium, some parts of which probably exist under the Topkapı Palace of the Ottoman emperors.²⁹

²⁴ Ascherson, an American journalist, has written a book (1996) on the continuity of the marginal position of the Black Sea region through out the ages. He names the area as the birthplace of the confrontation between civilisation and barbarism; that is between sedentariness and nomadism. One of the main references of Ascherson is the “Nomadology” of Deleuze & Guattari.

²⁵ For an interpretation of the marginal position of Byzantium in reference to Antique written sources see, Braund (1990: 121-136).

²⁶ The Ten Thousand had tried to enter Byzantium on their voyage to Greek mainland. As they were not let into the city, they entered the city by force. Xenophon noted Byzantium as the first Greek city on their route from the East in this context, he says although they had not seized the barbarous cities on their way, they had pillaged Byzantium: “For all of them are in the cities which will take the field against us, and will do so justly, if we, after refraining from the seizure of any barbarian city, conquerors though we were, are to take the first Greek city (Byzantium) we have come to and pillage that”. (1985: 549)

²⁷ Braund (1990: 125).

²⁸ The fact that one of the most referred references on Byzantium had not seen the city himself was pointed by Malkin & Shumeli (1988:27).

²⁹ For the archaeology of Greek Byzantium see, Tezcan (1989).

2. 4. Harbours and *Chora* of Byzantium

After the representation of Byzantium as an important terminal on a maritime crossroads, here the topography of the northern waterfront of the Historical Peninsula in Antiquity, as the site of the latter Extra-mural Zone, will be represented. The main concern is how the city had redefined its waterfront. What are the Antique traces that can be referred as a basis for the Extra-mural Zone of the following periods? As Byzantium, the fortified city, did inhabit only a small section of the Historical Peninsula, this means that the research should also be concerned with the periphery of the city, which can be named as *chora* for a Greek city. However, this is not an easy task, as there is very few archaeological remains and as Constantinople- Istanbul had been built over the Greek City. The research can only be based on the original written sources from the Antique and Late Antique period. Thus, here first the antique sources will be overviewed specifically in search of the walls, harbours and the peripheral waterfront. Then the interpretations of these sources by modern scholars will be summarised, and finally a possible interpretation for the relation between Byzantium, its environs and the sea will be attempted.

The first source to give some detailed information on Greek Byzantium, is the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, which covers the events when the Ten Thousand pillaged the city around the fourth century AD.³⁰ The writer, who was also the commander of the Ten Thousand, tells that the city was fortified all around its perimeter. And the walls of the city reached the moles of the port, which should have been the harbour known as Prosfhorion in the later ages.³¹ The enclosed harbour of Byzantium was at the place of a natural bay carved by the currents of the Bosphorus hitting the historical peninsula which corresponds to the Sirkeci railway region at the present city of Istanbul. As the soldiers of Xenophon who tried to enter the city managed to scale over the walls at this point, it can be interpreted that the harbour region of the city was less heavily fortified.³²

Anapulus Bosporu (Bosphorus passages), by Dionysius of Byzantium, describing the shores of the inlet and the Bosphorus at the late third and early second centuries BC, is the most

³⁰ *Anabasis* is the travelogue of Xenophon describing the voyage of the Greek soldiers after joining a campaign with the Persian Army. In the conditions of unrest within the Persian Empire after the death of the Emperor who had rented these Greek soldiers, they had to make a voyage from the Southeastern Anatolia to the Black Sea. When they had reached the Black Sea the Ten Thousand followed the coast till Byzantium from where they returned their homeland. Lloyd (1989: 137-144). A specific source on the Byzantium and the Ten Thousand is Stronk (1995).

³¹ Xenophon (1985:549). Byzantium is mentioned in chapter VII of *Anabasis*.

important source for the ancient Greek city and its environs. The book, which was probably written as a guide for the navigators, was discovered and was translated to Latin by Pierre Gilles.³³ It is an interesting source as it depicts the whole waterfront of Bosphorus from the beginning of Keras to Chalcedon at the opposite shore.³⁴ *Anaplys Bosporu*, here, will be referred after by W. Muller-Wiener and S. Eyice.³⁵

Dionysius noted that the perimeter of Byzantium was 35 stadion and it was fortified with a wall projected by 27 towers (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 3). The connection with the land was with a single gate. There were three maritime ports of the city. The middle one was protected from the winds and was *kleistos ampherothen* that means it was closed on two sides.³⁶ This could have been a port pool that was enclosed by the walls of the city continuing on moles.

What Dionysius describes for the south banks of the inlet siding the peninsula are important as they refer to the later area of the Extra-mural Zone (Fig. 3). Of them the village of Blahernai is especially significant as this, with the port of Prosporion form the two extremities of the latter zone. Blahernai was later to be the fourteenth region of Constantinople, as a district outside the walls and coincides with the Ayvansaray district in contemporary Istanbul. Blahernai was originally a village at a four-kilometre distance to Byzantium; it was marking the suburban periphery of the city on Keras side. W. Müller-Wiener in the map for the Byzantium till 4th century AD in "Bildlexicon von Istanbul", marks a possible path that could have existed on the waterfront from the village of Blahernai to Byzantium. This path is particularly significant to be the first trace of the along-shore land traffic which would later continue via the Wall Street on the Extra-mural Zone. The alongshore flows between Byzantium and Blahernai could had been also supplied by maritime traffic.³⁷

³² Ibid. p. 544.

³³ For, the pioneering role of P. Gilles for studies on the archaeology of Byzantium and Constantinople see, Mango & Dagron (1995: 1-2).

³⁴ A similar path of description will be later used by the Armenian writers, Eremya Çelebi Kōmürçüyan of the 17th century and Sarkis Hovhannesyan of the early 19th century. The same route is also covered by the *Bostañıbaşı Defterleri* (Book of the Head Gardener) of the early 19th century. This maritime route was important in the mapping of the city in the Ottoman period when the path of Dionysius was transformed into the part of the greater city-space.

³⁵ Eyice (1976: I/ 264-265), Eyice (1980: 90), Müller-Wiener (1998: 4-5). For the hypothetical map of the sites mentioned in Dionysius, see Müller-Wiener (1977: Abb.1).

³⁶ Müller-Wiener (1998:4).

³⁷ Müller-Wiener (1977: Abb.1).

Following the path from Byzantium to Blahernai, the first point after the harbours that Dionysius marked was a temple of Pluto and Hera. After this was *Kykla*, the name of the shore at the skirts of Skyros rocks, which most probably is the third hill of the peninsula now corresponding to the area of Süleymaniye Complex. The shore of *Kykla* (the section between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate of the Ottoman İstanbul) was noted to be rich in fishes. A temple of *Athena Skedasla* was situated here. To the West Dionysius pointed a series of small bays. The first was at the end of the valley between the third and the fourth hills called *Melias Kolpos*, where the fish was most abundant. A temple of Zeus was standing on this area. Next was the Bay of *Melapokopsas* (the Hagia Theodosia- Ayakapı region of Constantinople-Istanbul). To its west were the bays of *Kittos* and *Kamara*, (the area west of Fener and Balat proper). Then came Blahernai.

The pattern of the small bays noted by Dionysius corresponds to the valleys between the hills of the historical peninsula, which could have been formed by minor springs pouring into the inlet Keras. It is not known how much these bays entered into the land; especially the antique condition of *Melias Kolpos* (Unkapani) is obscure. By a reference to Zosimos of the 6th century AD who describes the peninsula as an *isthmus* in the pre-Constantinian Byzantium,³⁸ C. Mango hypothesises that there was a large bay at this area, resembling the bay on the Propontis waterfront molded by the Lycus river (Bayrampaşa Deresi).³⁹ However as these bays were incorporated to the land-side, when the Constantinian and Theodosian sea-walls were erected, it is more reasonable to suggest that they were considerably small recesses at the waterfront. Otherwise the Late Antique emperors should have made a very considerable amount of infill. There is a five hundred years between the waterfront that Dionysius depicts and Constantine's city; one hundred years should be added to the time of the Theodosian wall. Changes due to minor sedimentation should not be disregarded during this time span.

The list of the sanctuaries that Dionysius lists through out *Anaplus* fall into the three categories theorised by François de Polignac for the archaic Greek cities in general. As refereed by I. McEwans, these three categories are: urban sanctuaries within the inhabited inner city area; suburban sanctuaries placed at the limit or a short distance from the habitat; and extra-urban sanctuaries, placed at the very limit of the city's territory, its *chora*.⁴⁰

³⁸ Zosimos (1984:37).

³⁹ C. Mango (1997:16). Doğan Kuban (1997:12) disagrees with this hypothesis, saying that such extensive infill cannot be determined from the topographical and geological evidence.

⁴⁰ Mc Ewans (1993:79- 89) bring out the thesis that the Greek city was built from the periphery by the determination of extra-urban sanctuaries. By the rituals conducted on the suburban and extra-urban sites following the foundation of the centre, the city was constantly "remade".

Byzantium possessed inner city shrines like Athena *Ekbasia* and Poseidon at the foot of the Acropolis, or the temple of Apollo on the Acropolis itself. Its extra-urban sanctuaries were at the end of and across the inlet Keras and on the Bosphorus. There was a sanctuary of Semestra on the hill between Barbysos and Cydaros where the two poured into Keras. The sanctuaries on the western banks of the Bosphorus indicate that the *chora* of Byzantium was rather extensive, extending with the strategic stretches of the seaways that lead to it. The sanctuaries between Byzantium and Blahernai that we listed above fall into the category of suburban sanctuaries. Suburban sanctuaries, unlike the extra-urban ones, were part of the daily rituals of the city. Indra Mc Ewans theorises that these kind of sanctuaries were part of the making of the city in the Archaic period and their memory survived in the rituals that were replayed in the later periods as a constant remaking of the city's boundaries.

The archaic polis was an uncertain place that needed to be anchored at the strategic points of centre, middle ground, and outer limit by the new sanctuaries. It was not a vessel with a fixed form, but, like the appearing surface of a woven cloth- of all the traces of material culture one of the most perishable- had continually to be mended or made to reappear.⁴¹

The sanctuaries of the middle ground between Byzantium and the Semestra shrine at the end of the inlet were probably part of this mythical space conception, to which the evidence of the Greek myths mentioned above give support.⁴² The road that Müller-Wiener dotted between Byzantium and Blahernai, most probably, extended to the sanctuary of Semestra. Even the people of Byzantium could have used their ships for visiting the terminal sanctuary of their *chora*; they were passing along by these shrines of the middle ground, which form the only antique reference for the origins of settlements on the later Extra-mural Zone of Constantinople-Istanbul.

Dio Cassius, the Roman historian of the late 2nd century is a major source, which gives some details about the physiognomy of Byzantium. Dio mentions the events that passed during the three years siege of Septimus Severus. By the 190s Byzantium was left to make a choice among the two rival candidates who proclaimed themselves emperor after the death of Commodus: Pessenius Niger, the governor of Syria and Numibian Severus. Byzantium sided Niger, but Severus triumphed. However, Byzantium resisted and was besieged for three

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 83.

⁴² A similar definition of the boundaries of the city, see, A. Waterhouse (1993), specifically chapter IV.

years.⁴³ Dio Cassius, specifically described the walls of the city which survived this long siege:

*...their walls are very strong. The breastwork of the walls was constructed of massive squared stones fastened together by bronze plates, and on the inside they were strengthened with mounds and buildings, so that the whole seemed to be one thick wall on top of which there was a covered passageway easy to defence... The section of the wall on the land-side were raised to a great height, so as to repel any chance assailants from that quarter, but the portions along the sea are lower, for there the rocks on which the walls were built and the dangerous character of Bosphorus proved wonderfully effective allies for the Byzantines... The harbours within the wall had both been closed with chains and their moles carried towers that jutted on either side, making the approach of the enemy impossible...*⁴⁴

Dio also mentions that there were seven towers from the Thracian Gate to the harbour and the Byzantines had a considerable fleet formed of five hundred ships. After the city had surrendered to the forces of Severus, the emperor ordered the destruction of the walls of the city. Dio states he himself witnessed the event, saying that the walls were “looking as if they were captured by some other people rather than the Romans”.⁴⁵ Later, Severus changed his mind, and decided to re-found the city from the start.

Apart from these sources which pre-date Constantine’s foundation, there are Late Antique writers who mention the old city of Byzantium as a background for the fourth century foundation. Zosimos, the fifth century historian is one who draws a larger fortified area for the city of Byzantium, which could have referred to the Severan reconstruction.

Formerly, it (Byzantium) had a gate at the end of the portico built by the emperor Severus and the wall used to run down from the western side of the hill to the temple of Aphrodite and the sea opposite Chrysopolis. On the northern side of the hill the wall ran down to the harbour called Neorion and thence to the sea which lies opposite the channel through which one enters the Black Sea.⁴⁶

⁴³ For the Severan siege see, Erkal (1992: 13-14).

⁴⁴ Dio Cassius (1989: 185-187), emphasis mine.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.195. Dio Cassius does not give details of the destruction of the city walls, but there are other cases in the ancient history mentioning the processes of the “destruction rites”. The destruction rites, as J. Rykwert describes them in “the Idea of a Town”, were the reverse of the construction rites. This custom which is not specific to the Romans was seldom applied when the city resisted the siege. Rykwert tells that: “After the town had been taken and destroyed, its site had to be ploughed, or rather ‘unploughed’. Perhaps the plough was drawn clockwise over the ruins, while the founder’s plough had to be drawn anti-clockwise round the city site” Rykwert (1989: 70-71). The city thus “unploughed” had no further legal existence; so likewise, the unfortified Byzantium was legally connected to Perinthus. No Severan re-construction ceremony is noted but it is known that the Severans named it as “Antonina” but the name did not succeed the ancient name Byzantium.

⁴⁶ Zosimos (1984:37).

In the part about the construction of the Constantine's oval Forum (which occupied the second hill of the Peninsula), Zosimos tells that one of its portals was built in the place of Byzantium's city gate. Formerly it was opening to portico of Severus (*stoa* Regia), located inside the walls of Byzantium. From that point the walls ran down to the harbour of Neorion which is the area of the modern Eminönü district. Hesychius, as he is referred in the Pseudo-Codinos draws a different line: the walls of the city started at the highest point of the hill, by the waterfront reached the Eugenius tower (that is at the point of the Yalı Kiosk of the Ottoman Sultans, at short distance west to the *Sepetçiler Kasrı* in present) and then turns south rising towards Strategion (where there was an arch called *Urbicus* in the Middle Ages), then to the Chalcostrateia district and reached to the Milion of the Roman city.⁴⁷ This could have been the pre-Severan circuit of the Byzantium walls.

The successive circuits of the Byzantium walls- whether they were extended in different centuries till the time of Constantine- and the placement and the naming of the harbours of the city- whether they formed a series of niches under the same pool, or were different ports- have been led to unresolved arguments among the urban historians and the Byzantinists. Different assumptions have been developed in reference to written sources and by surveying possible traces under the topography of the later ages. A. van Millingen, in reference to Zosimos and Hesychius, stated that the walls of Byzantium, certainly, did not exceed the second hill where, later in 330, Constantine's Forum was built. There was no reason for the fortifications to pass from the valley between the second and the third hills, so that it should at most command from the second hill to the Neorion harbour.⁴⁸ R. Janin had defined two circuits for Byzantium, one which he called "wall of Byzas" in reference to the definitions Dio Cassius and Hesychius, and wall of Severus which is described by Zosimos (Fig.2.2).⁴⁹ C. Mango says that Janin's "wall of Byzas" is totally fictitious, and the wall of Severus was not built by that emperor but "shows the extent of the city in the 2nd century AD". He states that there was only one line of defence till the Constantinian enlargement and that was an early Roman (and possibly Greek) creation.⁵⁰ Kuban disagrees Mango's assumption of a single circuit throughout antiquity and states that this circuit would have been very big for the Megeiran colony, so that there should have been two circuit of settlement in Antiquity, whether the Severan one is only an extension of the first or not.⁵¹

⁴⁷ The line depicted by Hesychius is a reference after D. Kuban (1997:19).

⁴⁸ A. van Millingen (1899:15). Van Millingen also gives the line of the walls mentioned in the *Codinus*.

⁴⁹ Janin (1950).

⁵⁰ C. Mango (1997:16-17).

⁵¹ Kuban (1997:19)

From the sources we tried to cover, it can be stated that, at least by the time of Xenophon, in the early fourth century AD, Byzantium was fortified. And these walls included the *Thrakion*, which was most probably the upper Agora of Byzantium, where later in the Roman period the *Tetrastoon* was built.⁵² The walls of the city continued till the harbour with moles but were weaker at this point. By the second century BC the city of Byzantium had three ports of which the middle one was protected with moles. And by the 2nd century AD the walls of the city were whether extending on this moles with towers, forming a harbour pool, which can be closed by a chain; or there were towers at the ends of the moles to secure the entrance of the port. As Müller-Wiener marks the plural use of the “ports” for the area of the closed harbour that Dio Cassius mentioned can be interpreted as a port pool divided into two or more sections.⁵³ Severus partly, or totally, destroyed those walls as a penalty for Byzantium’s resistance to his forces for the three years siege between 193-196 AD. Then the walls of the city were rebuilt or restored till Neorion. If the walls reached Neorion at the time of the Severan extension it is not clear whether they included that harbour, or not.

The most difficult problem is to draw a circuit for the enclosed harbour, Prosfhorion as it was called in the later Byzantine period, and to determine whether it had walls on the moles, or the walls followed the curvature of the port pool, or there were double walls, on the breakers and the harbour pool. As Müller-Wiener states this area, coinciding with the modern Sirkeci district forms the largest area of infill on the shores of the inlet, and the width of the silting can be over 250 meters.⁵⁴ A change of direction at the sea-walls beginning from the tip of the promontory at the point of Eugenius Tower- the later Yalı Kiosk gate of the Topkapı Palace- can be observed at some of the maps drawn before their destruction at the Sirkeci railway construction (1872-1873). The *Mühendishane* map of 1847 (Fig.63) and the Stolpe map of 1868 (Fig.64.) and even some parts in the 1875-1882 map (Fig.65-a) point to that curvature to the south which is accepted as the point where Eugenius tower stood and where the port pool of Prosfhorion starts.⁵⁵ After Yalı Kiosk Gate the wall turns again to the north there joining a rather straight line of walls parallel to the waterfront

⁵² Tetrastoon, means four stoa, this was probably an agora with continuous colonnades.

⁵³ Müller-Wiener (1998:4).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.4.

⁵⁵ In Müller-Wiener’s “*Istanbul Limanları*”, this pool is noted in the chapter about Byzantium as the pool of the enclosed port Prosfhorion, however at the section of the Yalı Kiosk area it is noted that this was the curvature of Neorion (1998:163). As the book was printed as a recollection of his notes after his unfortunate loss, this may be a misinterpretation of the editors. The author elsewhere, in the same source points Neorion as an arsenal at the place of present Bahçekapı.

to which the Topkapı walls of Mehmet II attached.⁵⁶ This portion of the fortifications had been restored, reconstructed or totally constructed anew in different periods. As they were demolished before any archaeological survey it is difficult to ascertain whether the restorations of Theophilus, Michael VIII and other Byzantine emperors were made on the existing line of the ancient fortifications or not.⁵⁷

At the northeast of the Marmara fortifications some sections of the Byzantium walls were recorded by Paspates as unearthened at the railway construction. Although these were not on the site of our research area, the material supports the descriptions of Dio Cassius. These were big cyclopean walls. The biggest stones were often feet length, 2.5 feet width and 1.5 feet height. The width of the wall varies, at some places they were strengthened by buttresses.⁵⁸ These walls were not directly the bases of the later Byzantine and Ottoman walls. We do not have any evidence to determine whether they followed the same circuit or were different than the later walls on the Haliç side.

Known as Prosfhorion in later sources, the enclosed harbour of Byzantium was sedimented and the area in front of its former breakers turned as part of the Extra-mural Zone. In the Greek Byzantium it was the extra-mural port area, Neorion, that extends along the inlet probably siding an alongshore path to Blahernai. There is no evidence how this extra-mural area communicated with the inner city. It maybe functioning as the arsenal of the city as it did in the later Byzantine period.⁵⁹

What did the harbour region side inside the city of Byzantium? Byzantium was formed around the Acropolis on the first hill of the historical promontory, the area coinciding to the Topkapı Palace in present. The hill of the Acropolis was rising over the port area while its south end was on the same level of the city which raised from the port to the west of the first hill. It is generally agreed that, the city had one or two gates to its western side facing the rest of the promontory. As the remains of the Necropolis on the second and the third hills of the promontory, there was a way approaching the city over the ridges. This road entered from the land walls of the city to the level of the Acropolis. There was an agora at this level. The

⁵⁶ Dirimtekin (1957) maps this curvature at the back of Sepetçiler Kiosk, which is not possible as the traces of the sea-walls pass at the centre of the longer direction of the Kiosk and so should have been coming straight until this point.

⁵⁷ The latest general survey of the Keras fortifications is by Tsangadas (1980). However, he does not specifically dwell with the walls of Byzantium, and its traces in the later constructions.

⁵⁸ Paspatis is referred here after Tezcan (1989: 391).

relation of this upper agora with the port area was passing from another public space at the lower level up the port area, later called as Strategion. The place of this square is estimated as the lower side of the present remains of the Ottoman Bab-Ali. As Mango points, the topography of the first valley between the first and the second hills, and the orientation of some Late Antique and Byzantine monuments suggests a north-east/south-east terracing pattern which can be traces of grid-pattern applied on this area (Fig.4.2).⁶⁰

There are three main patterns for a possible placement of the harbours in a fortified maritime city: the harbour can be placed within the fortifications; it can exist outside the fortifications as an extra-mural foreshore; or the city and the harbour can be separated as almost two autonomous cities. Byzantium cannot be interpreted within the third pattern; the city and harbour was united. Byzantium did certainly possess an enclosed harbour; however, the relation of this harbour with the fortifications can not be certainly determined whether it was inside or outside the fortifications as an annex of the city. The condition is the same with the second harbour Neorion. If the fortifications were extended in the Roman period till Neorion, they should have included Prosporon.

It may be speculated that the size of Byzantium could have been smaller when compared to the capacity of its harbour as a transit terminal on the Black Sea trade. As the goods passing through Byzantium were not only reserved for that specific city but for other cities, the extension of the harbour functions outside the fortifications for some distance to the West can be assumed. Thus, although Byzantium as the fortified city did occupy a small section of the Keras waterfront, there could have been structures built along the inlet outside the walls. Neorion, originally was such an extra-mural harbour zone. Then, it can be stated that Byzantium did achieve the two of the patterns, which a fortified maritime city could have, intra-mural and extra-mural harbour zones.

⁵⁹ Müller-Wiener in "*Bildlexicon*" (1977: Abb.1.) marks a small port pool to the east of the Prosporon. However he does not mention this in *Istanbul Limanları* (1998). See, fig.4.

⁶⁰ Mango (1997:2). As this is not testified by archaeological excavations it is not possible to estimate to which period of settlement does this pattern belong. Although the grid-iron plan is historically known as a kind of planning envisaged by the Hippodamus of Miletus by the 5th century BC, it is proved by excavations that most of the Greek colony foundations of the earlier 8th and 7th century BC were built on a grid base pattern. Selinus founded in the late 7th century AD by the Megerans is a well-known example. Built at the waterfront of an existing ancient town by the hill, Selinus was a walled city with two cross axis (Fig.5). The longer axis is from the ancient town to the sea, the short axis joins the two harbours that exist outside the walls on the east and the west. Boardman (1999), McEwans (1993). Thus, being a Megeran colony, there is the possibility that the gridiron plan of Byzantium had originated from its Archaic foundations. However, this hypothesis does not provide us the dimensions of the grids and the main axis on that plan; where and how they did joined the port pool and extra-mural port zone as well.

Byzantium's relation with the sea was not limited with its trading ports. It was also well known for its fisheries. As the fishes passing through Bosphorus could only get free of the current at an inner section of Keras, the city's fishing industry had extended along the inlet till Blahernai as noted by Dionysius. The bays along the waterfront from Neorion to Blahernai were suitable places for these facilities. Further pointed with religious shrines, the seashore till Blahernai could have smaller habitations, or transitory structures used by fishers. As will be mentioned in detail below, even in the Ottoman period, one of the main fish exchanges was at the point of Ancient *Melias Kolpos*, that is contemporary Unkapani district. In addition to this, till the 17th century there were of fishermen houses along the Extra-mural Zone. Thus, the path between was not only a way uniting a village to the city but a waterfront reserved for local fishing industry.

Byzantium was vulnerable to the attacks from the landside, especially to the attacks of the Thracian tribes. Under these circumstances, it had to have a fortified centre. However, the fortified Byzantium could have extended outside the fortifications in search for all the resources, which are brought by the Bosphorus, as fishes and merchant ships. In return it should have provided the necessary services to its visitors.

As there is no definite topographical reference for these speculations, it can, here be useful to search for the "invisible" Byzantium in other maritime cities of the Antiquity. These can provide some evidence for the imagining the invisible antique maritime city and its waterfront.

2. 5. Enclosed Harbour Typology and Monumental Port Buildings of Antiquity

For the relation of Byzantium and its harbour area and for the possible buildings that could have existed there, the evidence of the well-documented Greek and Roman ports of Antiquity may be basically surveyed. In this section reference to Ostia and Portus- the imperial ports of the city of Rome- and Alexandria will not be mentioned, as they were the great imperial maritime centres of the Mediterranean and will be referred to the section about the Late Antique foundations of Constantinople. The references will be of the harbours where the port buildings are fairly documented; like, Pireus, the port of Athens; Delos; Miletus; Rhodes; Ceasaria Maritima; Phaselis; Side and Leptis Magna.⁶¹ It should be

⁶¹ The forerunner of the sources on ancient harbours is Lehmann-Hartleben (1923). Another general source is, Raban (1986) including the proceedings of the First International Symposium on Harbours,

reminded that although Byzantium was not a very big city in the conditions of Antiquity, its harbour was a transit terminal for the transfer of the goods from the Black Sea region, as Polybius had listed, and some of these goods were stored for a transitory period in Byzantium. The city did not only housed the “necessary things” for itself but also the stock of the other cities. Thus, the ports of Byzantium could have been proportionally great for the size of its own habitation.

Most of the Antique maritime cities possessed enclosed harbours whether by the selection of a suitable natural bay or by the construction of an artificial pool achieved by draining or by moles. Blackman states that, the ancient mariners preferred *limen kleistos*; which could mean enclosed within the city fortifications or “closable”.⁶² It is seldom that the ancient maritime cities had double ports, if possible oriented to different directions. Some harbours were reserved for specific purposes like the fishing harbours, military harbours, harbours serving for private houses or religious complexes. There was usually a scant space left between the port pool and the buildings around used for embarkation, which got narrower towards the moles. When the depth was enough the natural shore could be used as a quay. Especially after the Roman period building stone quays around the port pool becomes a common practice. These stone quays could have been stepped into the sea, as were the port pools of Ephesos and Leptis Magna. There were mooring stones and not exclusively bollards.⁶³

The basic element of a port area in Classical Antiquity and Hellenistic period was the *stoa*.⁶⁴ These *stoai* are named as harbour stoas, but were hardly different from the *stoa* proper. They were multi-functional long and thin buildings with open colonnades on one side, used as a shelter area for the people, and for the transitory storage of the goods. The *stoai* most usually obeyed the pattern of the city and the area left between them and the port was used for the debarkation of the goods. Sometimes shops were attached to these buildings which could have been two stories high. There could have been wooden buildings near these monumental edifices; however, by naturally the wooden examples had not survived for a possible documentation (Fig. 8.1).

Port Cities and Coastal Topography, Haifa, 22-29 Sept. 1986. The increase in the number of port revitalization projects throughout the world has created a parallel increase in the historical studies on the ports; whether as part of the general chronology of the maritime cities, or specifically on the archaeology of a defined period. Müller-Wiener's 'Istanbul Limanları' is the latest and major work on similar basis for Istanbul in particular.

⁶² Blackman (1989: 7-20).

⁶³ Ibid. 9-11. The mooring stones were usually placed at 3.4-3.5 m., intervals. This information is helpful in calculating the wharfage capacity of the ports. Bollards could have been in the shape of columns, as they are still in use at the harbour of Assos.

The harbour *stoa* of Miletus at its northern enclosed as an L shaped building with a short side and with regular cells of shops at its back is a well-known example (Fig.5, Fig.5.1.). It is backed by a courtyarded building with shops, and has the north agora to its east. At the west end of the stoa there was an entrance to the north agora and from there a courtyarded building with shops.⁶⁵ The harbour of Delos, which became an important transit port in the Hellenistic period portrays a more irregular pattern than Miletus (Fig.5.2.). Built by different groups of interests, the *stoai* of Delos were irregularly spread around the port area. The *Stoa* of Antigonos with the Agora at its back and the long *stoa* of Philippos with the building called the "Italian Agora" were the most spacious of these buildings. It was a hypostyle building with flat roof at the north of the port area is a specific exchange building recalling the big basilica of the Later Roman period.⁶⁶ There are examples like the Agora of Knidos, which directly were directly adjacent the port pool.⁶⁷ In Ephesus the port is directly linked to the avenue, which was later called Arcadiana and which was sided with colonnades and shops, the agora of the city was at the end of this street, rather far from the port area.⁶⁸

In the Roman period porticoes around the port pool fulfilled the function of the stoas. One of the best preserved examples of the Roman port porticoes are the ones on the north and west side of the Severan harbour in Leptis Magna (Fig.6). These buildings were formed of deep magazines fronted by a colonnade raised on steps forming the quay. They were placed on the breakwaters of the port.⁶⁹ A similar arrangement could have been done as semi-circular porticoes, as the ones in later Constantinople for the Neorion harbour and the Kontoskelion (Sophia) harbour called *Sigma*.⁷⁰

The Roman storage building proper was called *horrea*, which was probably descendant of the Hellenistic arsenal buildings. The *horrea* simply designated buildings where anything could be stored.⁷¹ Although they can be grouped in different patterns the basic feature common to the ground plans of the civic Roman *horrea* was the row of deep narrow rooms.

⁶⁴ Rickman (1971).

⁶⁵ Akurgal (1992: 370-382).

⁶⁶ Wycherly (1962:74)

⁶⁷ Akurgal (1992: 406-410)

⁶⁸ Akture (1994).

⁶⁹ Rickman (1971: 132-136), McDonalds (1984: 123-124, 262).

⁷⁰ See, below chapter III.

⁷¹ Rickman (1971), also see McDonalds (1984: 123-124) under the title of storehouses.

“In the provinces, at least in Asia Minor and Africa, the horrea ground plan consisted of only one row of rooms all opening on the same side but all of great depth”.⁷²

Throughout antiquity the basic pattern for a port area was the enclosed harbour which was secured by moles and which could be secured by entrance towers that acted also as lighthouses. This pattern fits the meaning of the word “portus” in Latin, which means a “gate”. The flow of the navigators were received in one or two points as gates to an “intermediary zone” which acted as a filter with the inner city and the maritime world. The construction of such a mechanism of control, especially of the great ports of the Hellenistic and Roman periods necessitated great engineering works although natural allies, like bays and capes, were incorporated. Thus, the Roman architectural theoretician Vitruvius who wrote in the Augustan era had separated a special section for harbour constructions. In Book V, chapter XII under the title “ports, moles and shipyards” he states that the main function of the port is to secure the ships from storms and the ones founded on a bay with capes were the most advantageous. According to Vitruvius, porticos and arsenals should be built around the ports and from this zone adequate passages should be given to the business quarters; at the both sides of the entrances to the port towers should be erected from which the port can be chained with the service of some machines.⁷³

Antique maritime ports were not only mechanistic creations of arrival and departure but also an area of image making as being the gate of a city. W. McDonald summarises the monumental urbanism of the antique harbours, specifically for the Roman period:

Ports were also fitted out with urban architecture. Moles and jetties were given colonnades (Mothone; Puzzuoli; Sabratha; Ptolemais in Syria) or arcades (Side), as archaeological, numismatic, and pictorial evidence shows. Harbour-side structures were not limited to warehouses and offices, for colonnades were built there also (Aegina; Kenchreai; Vienna). Large temples might provide secondary landfalls as well as suggest the presence beyond of urban amenities (Leptis Magna; Caesarea Maritima, Temple of Rome and Augustus). Honorific arches stood on both moles a shore (Pagai; Pozzuoli). Judging from coins, ports were lavishly furnished with statuary, often of monumental size and sometimes placed atop freestanding columns. Elaborate thoroughfares might lead directly from the quays into the town (Soli-Pompeipolis; Leptis Magna). Each port of consequence had a lighthouse a signal tower, and a harbour quarters, and perhaps a shrine or temple to Portunus as well. A

⁷² Rickman (1971:48).

⁷³ Vitruvius also gives details of the ancient underwater engineering and how the breakers specific to different shore conditions should be built. For the underwater constructions he suggests the use of a special soil found in the Iberian Peninsula and gives the details of its construction. Where this material is not found, he suggests other methods, which resemble the construction of fortification walls. He states if done as he proposes even towers can be built on the gained area. Vitruvius further states that the shipyards should face north and their buildings should be of stone as a precaution against fires. Their dimensions are determined by the dimensions of the ships that would be built. Vitruvius (1960).

reception area for the notables was provided at Portus (the Claudian Portico); others can be assumed for example at Caesarea Maritima, so much used, as Josephus makes clear, by Roman generals and governors. Port buildings, like those of central Dougga and the Pergamon Asklepieion, also faced inward; sailors safe in the roadstead would have been almost surrounded by city-like buildings. Architects and engineers paid much attention to port-building (even giving artificial islands a natural appearance): to build a large port meant creating a specialised suburb with enough features of complete towns to give it an acceptably urban aspect.⁷⁴

It was common to place statues on the end of the moles, as the two lion statues at the entrance to the north port of Miletus. These figures were believed to protect the city as apothropeic objects. The most famous of these apothropeic figures was one of the seven wonders of the antique world, the Colossus of Rhodes.⁷⁵ Higgins gives a list of some of the Roman statues built: at Ostia the port of Rome, Caesaria in Palestine which was built by Herod the Great in 22-20 BC, at Patras, Monthon in Peleponnese, Caesaria Germanica in Bithynia, Soli-Pompeipolis in Cilicia.⁷⁶ (Fig.7.1, Fig.7.2.). The last of the seven wonders of antiquity is certainly built on a mole at the entrance of the eastern harbour of Alexandria, the Pharos. It is one of the most famous and long lasting monuments of the Mediterranean waterfront, which was standing partially in ruins till the 14th century when the antique tradition of monumental port building had long become a memory. As S. Kostof stated the antique tradition of embellishing the waterfront and monumental port building would not be repeated until the 19th century although theorised by the time of the Enlightenment.⁷⁷

What were the general characteristics and dimensions of the ships that sided these harbours? In general, the antique ships of the Mediterranean were designs of the Phoenicians and Greeks. The origins of these designs go back to the pre-archaic periods, as known from the Iliad, Odyssey and Argonautica. Romans did not bring any innovation to the general design of ships, like elsewhere; their achievement is about greatness and size. Ancient ships were powered by sails, rowers or both were used. The boat of Odysseus was a sailboat. The size

⁷⁴ McDonald (1984: 262).

⁷⁵ Until recently it was believed that the statue was situated on the moles of the Mandraki harbour (at the place of the present Fort of St Nicholas) the bronze statue of Helios the sun God was sculpted by Chares of Lindos as a commission of the Rhodians celebrating their victory over Demetrius between 294-282 AD. The height of the statue was 33 meters and was holding a torch in one hand and a spear in the other. However R. Higgins (1988: 124-137) referring to ancient texts states that the Colossus was not built on the mole of Rhodes but was further inland, at the site of the Helios temple. Whether his theory is true or not the myth created around the Colossus has led to the erection of similar monuments on harbour entrances. The myth of the Colossus could only be surpassed by the Statue of Liberty erected in New York harbour by the end of the 19th century.

⁷⁶ Higgins (1988:135)

⁷⁷ Kostof (1991: 39-42).

and the form of the ships varied, but there were two main types: “the long boat” and “the round boat”.⁷⁸

Long boats were devised for swiftness; they were rowboats specifically used in battles. They were extremely narrow; the width was approximately the tenth of the length. The long boats had a *rostrum* on their front. The basic model of these ships was the *pentekonter*, meaning fifty rowers that was approximately 30 m. in length. The speed limit for a *pentekonter* was probably 9.5 sea miles (17.5 km). Another version was the *trireme* that took its name from the three rows of rowers on each side. There were other rowboats called *tetretes* and *penteres*. The greatest battle ships were formed of two bodies carrying a single deck like a catamaran like the *tessarakonteres* of Ptolemy IV, from the second half of the third century BC. which was recorded by a contemporary witness as 130 m in length and 25 m in height.

The round boat was a sailboat. Its width was approximately a quarter of its length. The base was flat and it did not possess a rostrum. Round boats were used for transportation. Their dimensions varied according to the goods transported. A typical merchant ship had a capacity of 120-150 tons and was approximately 18 m. in length and 6-7 meters in width. Grain was stocked in sacks, while liquids were put into amphora. Some of the grain ships had special depots instead of sacks. The colossi of the round boats were the “grain ships”. The main difference of the antique sailboats with the modern yachts was their sails. Throughout antiquity the sails were basically square and were placed at the long axis of the ships. These would be replaced by triangular sails only in the Medieval period.

Antique seafarers travelled by daytime and sailed in specific periods between spring and fall. They preferred to follow the waterfront, and stopped at night in sheltered bays or maritime cities. This sailing pattern is called “tramping” and was applied until the invention of big overseas vessels.⁷⁹ The placement of the maritime cities was parallel to this pattern; they were situated at the strategic terminals on the seaboard.

⁷⁸ For the technology of ship-building in the ancient world, see, Digby (1957: 730:743) for the primordial types of boats and ships in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. For the shipbuilding in Antique Mediterranean see Lethbridge (1957: 563-560).

⁷⁹ Braudel (1972: 125).

2. 6. Conclusion: The Advantages and Disadvantages of Byzantium

The Extra-mural Zone was first outlined in the stage of Constantinople's foundation, in the Late Antiquity. However, then, its site was already formed as part of the maritime frontiers of Byzantium, which is the Antique maritime city occupying the first hill of the peninsula for a thousand years prior to the foundation of Constantinople. The period of Byzantium has been particularly dealt with in this study as the basic flow patterns, terminal points and some original boundary structures which forms the basis of the later frontiers of Constantinople-Istanbul was formed in this first stage of the urban history. The limited data about this now "invisible" stratum, which is not more than a sketch of certain nodes, is crucial for understanding the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone; that is the boundary condition generated between the inlet and the Historical Peninsula. The enclosed harbours of Byzantium at the point where the Bosphorus fronted the Peninsula, the village of Blahernai marking the suburban periphery of the city, the along-shore path between Byzantium and this village, the fishing activities placed on the suburban waterfront and the flow patterns of the Bosphorus passages are the major solid and fluid boundary structures which was developed in Antiquity and retained in the later periods.

Understanding the form and meaning of the frontiers of Byzantium one fact should be specifically pointed; the city was a boundary structure itself. With the city of Chalcedon on the eastern side of the Bosphorus, Byzantium was formed as a bridgehead for cross-Bosphorus flows and a transit maritime terminal on trans-Bosphorus passages to and from the Black Sea. Byzantium was, merely, "passageway" on a maritime crossroads, as S. Yerasimos has remarked. According to the geo-politics of Antique Mediterranean, Byzantium- and Chalcedon- were situated at a peripheral crossroads, at a place where different geo-political fronts were communicated. Byzantium, Chalcedon and their chora was part of the interchange formed on the basis of the natural boundary structures around the Bosphorus in Antiquity. Thus, the frontiers of these cities were not simply lines defining their periphery, but also, they were boundaries of greater political, economic and cultural territories. This fact is important to comprehend the economic, military and socio-cultural function of the maritime frontiers of Byzantium.

The thousand years history of Antique Byzantium and its topography was in accord with the formation of the peripheral crossroads on the Strait. Byzantium was formed from without, not that it was a colonial foundation but as it was structured for or against the natural

and cultural flows patterns on the Bosphorus passages. Situated at a peripheral crossroads the Bosphorus geography was involved in the confrontations between different political powers, the frontiers of Byzantium were insecure. Thus, at least from the fourth century BC on, the area of the city occupying the first hill of Peninsula was heavily fortified. The walls of the city were famous in Antiquity for their strength. Byzantium resisted the various attacks of the neighbouring ferocious Thracian tribes, the siege of Philip the Macedon, the Goths in the 3rd century BC, for three years against the Roman emperor Severus in the late 2nd century AD and finally to Constantine the Great in the 324 AD. The frontiers of Byzantium were constructed, and proved their efficiency, as military structures.

Byzantium was a stronghold, not only in the sense of a fortified place, but also in the sense of a strategic economic frontier. The city had created terminals for the control and servicing of the economic flows through the Bosphorus within and without its fortified perimeter. The inlet of the Bosphorus, called Keras in Antiquity, is particularly important in this respect. Byzantium's main maritime terminals were at the point where the sea currents of the Bosphorus fronted the Peninsula: the enclosed harbour known as Proshporion in Late Antiquity and the dockyards to the west of it, Neorion. The position of the harbours is most suitable for a city which gains its revenues from the control, taxing and servicing of the Black Sea trade, specifically between the 6th and 2nd centuries BC. The ships, naturally, fronted the harbours of Byzantium via sea-currents. The traffic through the harbours of Byzantium was not solely for its necessities, as a transit terminal it functioned for transitory storage of the provisioning items passed from the Black Sea to the Aegean. The wharfage capacity of its harbours should have been greater compared to a city of its size. When the cross-Bosphorus passages gained strategic importance after the construction of the imperial highways in the time of the Roman Empire, while the trans-Bosphorus economic flows declined, the harbours of the Byzantium well functioned for this traffic as being situated at an equally suitable position for cross-Bosphorus passages. The siting of the harbours of Byzantium constitute the oldest maritime terminal of the city of Istanbul which are still in use as inner city ferry terminals.

The lack of evidence for the architecture of Byzantium's harbours can be compensated with the research of the Antique enclosed harbours, which was attempted at a limited extent in this study and can be further developed. The enclosed harbours of Antiquity were not solely heavens for the ships but also military and economic structures. In most of the cases the entrances could be closed by chains and the entrance between the molls was a

proper system for controlling the trade in and out of the harbour. Moreover, the Antique harbours were places of image making as being the gates of the city; they formed part of the city façade its front in the sense of a place where the city was fronted. In many ancient sources **Byzantium is depicted as the front of Ancient Mediterranean civilisation**, as the first or the last Greek city on the threshold of the barbarous Black Sea. How did the city front was architecturally articulated as part of the image making, as the front of the civilised world, cannot be known in its details. But, the vision of the city from a ship sailing down the Bosphorus, with the Acropolis on the first hill and the fortifications by the waterfront floating over the waters of the Bosphorus, can still be experienced to an extend by the effect of the Topkapı Palace constructed at the same spot in the Ottoman period.

The sea-currents of the Bosphorus were not only an important factor in the siting of the maritime terminals of Byzantium but also for the territorialisation of the waterfront of the Historical Peninsula outside the fortifications of the city; that is the site of the later Extra-mural Zone. The fish herds migrating from the Black Sea to the Aegean were partly driven into the inlet of the Bosphorus where they were easily caught from the deep shores. Byzantium was famous in Antiquity for the revenues gained from fishing and there were fisheries along the waterfront of the Peninsula at the small recesses coinciding to the point of the valleys between the hills. The along-shore fishing survived as an important local pattern until the 20th century.

The village of Blahernai (Ayvansaray) at a four kilometres from the harbour zone of Byzantium was marking the sub-urban limits of the city in Antiquity on the Keras side. This point is important as to be the western terminus of the fortified limits of Constantinople-Istanbul, and also of the Extra-mural Zone. There was most probably an along-shore path between Byzantium and Blahernai, which also passed from the shrines and fisheries on the way. This artery can be interpreted as the basis of the Late Antique fortifications and also the Wall Street on the front of the fortifications.

When the points territorialised in Antiquity as part of the striation of the Bosphorus geography are mapped, the significance of the period as the origin of basic flow patterns can be understood. The *choras* of Byzantium and Chalcedon, their periphery, do form the basis of the greater city of Constantinople-Istanbul. Some of these points were settlements, some were strongholds and some were mythological-religious spots. It is most probable that there were along-shore flows between Byzantium and the extra-urban sanctuary of Semestra at the

riverbed of the inlet (Silahtarağa), the village of Blahernai (Ayvansaray) and the fisheries; cross-inlet flows to village of Sycae (Galata); cross-Bosporus flows to Chrysopolis (Usküdar) and Chalcedon (Kadıköy) and trans-Bosporus flows to villages and strongholds on the Bosporus (like Hieria). Local and trans-territorial flows used the same milieu that is the Bosporus.

The Antique Byzantium is not only significant to be the beginnings of the terminal points and flows patterns on the Bosporus geography but it is a specific illustration for a city which forms its frontiers according to the natural and cultural flows. As the city is the outcome of this interaction, it tried to define and control the military and socio-economic flows by constructing architectural boundary structures of which, unfortunately, there is no concrete physical evidence.

With the available evidence, it is not possible to ascertain whether the enclosed port of Byzantium was inside the walls, or whether it was merely a “closable” harbour. It is also not possible to define how this port area was connected to the inner city and the southern shores of Keras. If the supposed placement of the lower agora of the city, Strategion, at the skirts of Ottoman Bab-ı Ali is correct, how was it connected to the port pool? By streets filled with shops as in Ephesus and Leptis Magna? Were the harbour functions extending into the maritime city as in Delos? Were the quays of the port pool of stone? Was it stepped? Were there bollards or mooring stones and columns? Were there apothropeic statues on the moles? Did the port functions extend on the moles? How many stoai and horrea were there? Were there different religious buildings for the various beliefs of the sailors? Was there a specific landing stage for the cross-Bosporus passage, to Chrysopolis and Chalcedon? Where did the path to Blahernai enter the city? At Neorion? Did the harbour functions extended from Neorion to *Kykla*? Were there simple fishing harbours on the bays noted by Dionysius? Were there fisher barracks on the waterfront? What was the pattern of landing stages at *Kykla*, *Melias Kolpos*, and *Kamara*? Wooden jetties, as in the later periods? Did the suburban shrines of Athena and Zeus have specific landing stages? How much did the small bays penetrate into the valleys of the peninsula? Were there ferries to Blahernai, Sycae? Was the inlet used as a shelter in the maritime off-season? How did Via Egnatia, the Roman highway, connect to the harbour region? After entering the city from Strategion? Or by a shortcut along the land-walls to Neorion?

Even without concrete answers to these questions, the heritage of Byzantium for the following centuries are significant. Some of the answers can be existing buried beneath the contemporary city. Although the physical boundary structures do not survive, as far as the patterns of flows are concerned, Byzantium seems to be the origin of many patterns of passage on the Bosphorus geography, and the later extra-mural zone as well. The greatest heritage of Byzantium is that of a real maritime terminal, of a city that had formed a *chora*, a periphery with maritime connections.

Byzantium was a city at the crossroads. After the 6th century BC, it became an important terminal on the conjunction of the north and the south, between the Black Sea and the Aegean. In the time of the Roman Empire the east-west axis, between Balkans and Anatolia gained importance as a terminal on the imperial highways. Although, by a modern point of view, to be on the cross-roads can be interpreted as being very advantageous as forming a centre, it was not the case for the Classical Antiquity, Hellenistic era and the early Roman Empire. The centre of administration and centre of commerce were seen as different phenomena. Although Attic Greeks are known to be founders of maritime colonies, unlike the Phoenicians, their *metropolii*, mother cities, were most frequently placed at a certain distance to the sea. Either they had satellite port cities or simple landing stages on the seashore. Piraeus the port of Athens connection to the mother city by long-walls is a well-known example. Megara, the mother city of Byzantium, was also founded at some distance to the waterfront.

In the ideal political order of Plato, the ruling centre is prospected to be at least eighty *stades* from the sea. It is an interesting fact that most of the Hellenistic capitals fit into his prescriptions with the exception of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Pergamon and Antioch on Orontes were both built at a distance to the sea having satellite port towns. The capital of the Roman Empire, Rome, was no exception. In close reference to the Greek theoreticians, Cicero had commented on the advantages of Rome and the reasons for its success by underscoring the maritime cities:

...As regards the site of his city- a matter which calls for the most careful foresight on the part of one who hopes to plant a commonwealth that will endure- he (Romulus) made an incredibly wise choice. For he did not built it down by the sea, though it would have been very easy for him, with the men and sources at his command...But with remarkable foresight our founder perceived that a site on the sea-coast is not the most desirable for cities founded in the hope of long life and extended dominion, primarily because maritime cities are exposed to dangers which are both manifold and impossible to foresee. For the mainland gives warning of the coming of the foeman, whether this be unexpected or excepted by

means of any signs... But a seafaring ship-born enemy can arrive before anyone is able to suspect that he is coming... Maritime cities also suffer a certain corruption and degeneration of morals; they receive a mixture of strange languages and customs, and import foreign ways as well as foreign merchandise, so that none of their ancestral institutions can possibly remain unchanged... For surrounded as they (Greece and its islands) are by the billows, not only themselves but also the customs and institutions of their cities can be said to be afloat.... But, nevertheless, with all these disadvantages they possess one great advantage- all the products of the world can be brought by water to the city in which you live, and your people in turn can convey or send whatever their own fields produce to any country they like.⁸⁰

What the maritime cities lacked in Greek terms was "*harmonia*", as I.K. McEwans states.⁸¹ It was open to foreign influences and there it was difficult to sustain a harmonious political order. Moreover, it was not a secure site. Its inhabitants may lead to trade, which was most unsuitable for an ancient noble person. However, this theorisation which helped the Romans to define their superiority in the words of the Republican Cicero, began to lose its credibility by the later Empire. The Mediterranean was turned into a Roman lake and within this conditions the disadvantages of the maritime city were not valid any longer. The provisioning of the imperial cities with immense populations was now the main problematic, where a maritime city was most advantageous. Some of the regional capital cities of the late third century AD were maritime cities like Thessalonike and Nicomedia.

This shift in Antique geo-politics is especially important for Byzantium, as in the fourth century AD it would have been selected as a capital city. Until that times it never became an important political centre, but a strategic terminal on crossroads. There is a difference between a city where "all the ways pass from" and a city "where all the roads lead to". If Rome was known to be the city where all the roads lead to, that did not mean it was on the crossroads. The Classical Antique political theory that sees a city on the cross-roads as an unsuitable site for the building of an imperial administrative centre was outmoded by the Late Roman Empire. Constantine the Great, who was also called as a second Romulus, would not think like Plato or Cicero. However, this does not mean that the foresights of these ancient thinkers were wrong.

The city of Byzantium after 324, as Constantinople, would have to face both the disadvantages and advantages of a maritime city. It maybe easily provisioned unlike Rome, but "a seafaring ship-born enemy" could "arrive before anyone is able to suspect that he is coming...".⁸² After 324 AD, the Extra-mural Zone, that is the main topic of this study, was

⁸⁰ Cicero, quoted from Vishnia (1989: 186-187)

⁸¹ Mc Ewans (1993: 84-85).

⁸² Cicero, quoted from Vishnia (1989: 186-187).

formed as the space of confrontation between the advantages and disadvantages of a “maritime capital city”. It is a boundary zone molded by this conflict, which originates in the decision of Constantine the Great for founding a capital city on the waterfront.



CHAPTER 3

AN IMPERIAL CITY FRONTIER: THE FORMATION OF THE EXTRA-MURAL ZONE IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY

3.1. Introduction: the Foundation of Constantinople

The Roman emperor Constantine the Great laid the foundations of a new capital city on the site of Byzantium between 324-337. Constantine's imperial project was completed in a hundred years time by his successors. The specificity of the foundation and the Late Antique period till the 7th century for this study is that, the first sketch of the Extra-mural Zone as a boundary between the city fortifications and Keras-Haliç was made at this stage. The Extra-mural Zone was originally planned as part of Late Antique constructions in Constantinople. This chapter tries to represent the form and meaning of the Late Antique Extra-mural Zone by considering the military, economic and socio-cultural criteria and by comparing the Keras frontier with the other maritime frontiers of the city.

The Late Antique transformations in the geo-politic structure of the Roman Empire, specifically the period of Tetrarchy that predated the foundation of Constantinople, are important to understand Constantine's decision for the construction of a capital city on the site of Byzantium. The foundation of Constantinople was interrelated with the transformation of the territorial and economic frontiers of the Empire.¹

¹ The definition of the *terminus ad quo* and *terminus ad quem* for the Late Antiquity varies with the considerations of the mentioned points of view; "which crisis" and "which restructuring", is the problematic of the historian of Late Antiquity and Early Christianity. The christianisation of the empire/ imperialization of Christianity, that led to a cultural crisis? The increasing absolutism with political, economic and sociological restructurings? The transformation of the military system, as well as the idea of the imperial territory? Or, all of these together as P. Brown (1971) had successfully summarised in his "World of Late Antiquity". For some scholars it is the reign of Diocletian where Late Antiquity starts, for others it has to be searched for in the third even or the second centuries AD, like Jones (1964). The end is sometimes taken as the division of the Empire into two halves by 424, however the Empire was ruled by several emperors already by the third century. Others take the Justinianic period of the 6th century or extend it well into the reign of Heraclius. The situation is more

In the high empire, the frontiers of the Romans, *limes*, were regarded as essential dividing lines between the civilised world and others. It was “a vast linear array, manned by soldiers and strengthened by fortifications”. However, after the third century AD, the secure territorial definition of the Empire began to be threatened by the excursion of “barbarians”: from the north Franks, Allamani, Vandals, Goths, Sarmatians attacked; from the Black Sea there were excursions of the Gothic Vikings into the Mediterranean; the Sassanian Persians pressured in the east; Blemmyes, Libyans and Mauretians invaded territory in the south.² Byzantium would have to face the attack of the Goths by 260s.

The crisis of *limes* generated a crisis of administration where the provincial armies proclaimed emperors among which conflict was never absent. However, in 285 AD one of these soldiers managed to become the sole ruler of the Empire, Diocletian. By the death of Numerian, during a campaign in the East, he was chosen the Emperor of the East, and after the murder of Carinus, he became also the Emperor of the West.

Diocletian tried to restructure the administration of the Empire by decentralising the ruling centre into regional capitals and sharing his sovereignty with three emperors. He formed a coalition of emperors formed of two Augustus and two Caesars. The regional capitals were acting as centres for the provincial armies headed by emperors. The decentralisation of the administration from Rome to provinces was in fact, a form of centralisation where each regional capital acted as the duplication of the centre. The Tetrarchs with their “mobile court” were patrolling from one capital to the other while selecting one of these cities as their main centre of administration. Twelve cities were selected as capitals in advance, near Rome: Antioch on Orontes, Arles, Milan, Nicomedia, Ravenna, Serdica, Sirmium, Thessalonike, Trier, York, another would be Constantinople. Moreover, Diocletian reformed Laws creating a strict bureaucratic and economic system. The imperial system was becoming more absolutist and centralised while this reflected to the spatiality of the empire as the construction of new capital cities. The “resonating centre” of the Empire was changing by increasing the centres of resonance throughout the empire.³

confusing for the architectural historian of the period as what is taken as the origins of decline is one of the most fruitful periods of Roman imperial architecture. The crisis that closely interests this study, and the city of Byzantium, is the “boundary problematic” of the Roman Empire that had started by the third century AD and resulted by the Tetrarchic restructuring. This had fundamentally changed the geographic position of the city of Byzantium, opening a new chapter in its history.

² L'Orange (1965: 40).

³ The term “resonating centre” was used by Deleuze & Guattari (1987) for a centre that affect and is affected from the territorial processes of the larger organism. They specifically exemplified the city of Rome as a ‘resonating centre’ in ‘Micropolitics’, in ‘A Thousand Plateaus’. Rome grew by the larger

The situation of the three Tetrarchic capitals on the threatened territory of the Balkan Peninsula (Serdica, Sirmium, Thessalonike) with the main capital of Diocletian at Nicomedia (Izmit) in Bithynia, consolidated the strategic importance of Byzantium, as being the main point of land passage between the Balkans and Asia. Thessalonike the court of Galerius was connected by the Roman imperial way Via Egnatia to Byzantium from where it lead to Nicomedia (capital of Diocletian, İzmit) on the other side of the Bosphorus. The way to Serdica and Sirmium terminated from Byzantium leading till the capital Trier at Germania.⁴ The strategic role of Byzantium at the crossroads of imperial highways should have increased in the time of the Tetrarchy as an important bridgehead on the restructured network of Roman administration.⁵ This would not have been the sole impact of the Tetrarchy on Byzantium. In 324, it became the site of the confrontation between two Tetrarch emperors Constantine and Licinius.

Constantine was the son of the first Caesar emperor of the West, Constantius, who ruled over the northern frontiers of the Empire in Trier.⁶ Following Constantius' death in 305 AD, he was proclaimed as the emperor in his place by the army. Tetrarchy began to disintegrate after the death of Diocletian again in the same year. Constantine walked over the Augustus of West, Maxentius, and defeated him on the Milvian Bridge, Rome, in 306. He then became the sole ruler of the West and signed a treaty with Galerius the Emperor of the East. Constantine's consensus with the Eastern Augustus did last until 316 when he began to extend his rule to the East. Finally, in 324 he decided to confront Augustus emperor Licinius, who had replaced Galerius.

growth of the Empire, it formed lines of communication between it and the peripheries of the empire. These lines of communication turned later into arrays of barbarians attacks into the hearth of the Empire. The centre resonated by the flows in and out from it.

⁴ For Via Egnatia see, Avrenea (1999:). Via Egnatia, originally was formed in the consulate of Egnatius between 146-143 as a military highway, starting from the Adyatic shores at Dyrrachium and reaching Perinthus and Byzantium in Thrace (Tekirdag). Later it turned into one of the *circus publicus*, formed in the reign of Emperor Augustus that was used for the administrative and economic communication of the Empire. For the communication networks of the Roman Empire see, Lee (1996).

⁵ For the transformation of the geo-political role of Thrace within the Late Roman Empire see, Jones (1964: 1-27). Mango (1993: I/119) points to the significance of this transformation in the foundation of a capital city on the site of Byzantium. He states: "It is also of major note that when, in the period of Tetrarchy, the area of the Straits assumed a new importance, I supposes for largely military purposes, two centres that were upgraded to become imperial centres were Nicomedia to the east and Perinthus/Heraclea to the west".

⁶ Constantine was educated in Nicomedia (Izmit) at the main court of Diocletian as a "voluntary" captive for his father's loyalty to Tetrarchs. This may have been the time when Constantine had first seen the city of Byzantium, on the way from Trier to Nicomedia. Reaching maturity, he returned to Trier and joined his father.

The events of 324 are specifically related with Byzantium and its environs; thus, it can be instructive to give a summary in reference to the sixth century historian Zosimos.⁷ The armies of the two emperors first met at Hadrianopolis where Constantine defeated Licinius. Licinius escaped to Byzantium. Constantine besieged the city with additional navy support from Thessalonike. The siege lasted two months. At the time when the city was falling, Licinius escaped to the opposite shores of the Bosphorus where in Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) he had to face Constantine once more and was defeated and lost his imperial titles with the East of the Empire as well. Constantine had then become the sole ruler of the Roman Empire.⁸

Byzantium opened the gates of the city to the victorious emperor, probably waiting a penalty for once more siding with the wrong emperor. However the plans of Constantine was different. The Roman historians recorded that he realised the dedication ceremony of a new capital city on the site of Byzantium two months after the Chrysopolis battle, in November 324.⁹ The answer to the question why Constantine did decide to built a new capital city on the site of Byzantium while there were two Tetrarch capitals on the region, Thessalonike and Nicomedia- recently embellished with imperial buildings-, is not certain. It is a question: either Constantine thought of constructing the city as another Tetrarch capital or a New or Second Rome as early as the 324, or he later inclined to this direction by the late 320s. The area that is encircled by the walls that Constantine ordered, which will be dealt in detail below, points to the size of a *gross-stadt*, four times that of former Byzantium. Whenever the emperor made his firm decision, the city was consecrated as the “*Duo Romae*” in 330 AD to which the five richest dioceses and the military headquarters of the two praesental armies of the East were assigned.¹⁰

In fact, the name Constantinople is a clue for understanding the meaning of the city for the Emperor. Constructing a city on the site of a city, not politically significant, as Nicomedia and Thessalonike would have served the main aims of Constantine as written in his

⁷ Zosimos (1988: 33-36).

⁸ The administrative division of the Empire between two heirs of Constantine, is not a system like Tetrarchy where the rulers are selected by the army. But it is a division of rule within one ruling imperial family.

⁹ The major stages of the foundation are here refereed after Krautheimer (1983: 42). For the foundation of Constantinople see, Erkal (1995).

¹⁰ Jones (1964).

Triumphal Arch in Rome, *instinctu divinitatis*.¹¹ The dedicatory panel on the Arch of Constantine says:

Through the inspiration of deity (*instinctu divinitatis*) and in the greatness of his mind, took up arms to avenge the commonwealth and one blow defeated both the tyrant and his supporters.¹²

It is Hanfmann who pointed that, “the instinct of divinity” or “the inspiration of deity” is a key in understanding the innovative achievements of Constantine, like his conversion to Christianity by which he finally declared himself as *isapostolos*, equal to the apostles.¹³ The symbolic and strategic role of the War of Chrysopolis for Constantine and for the empire is evident. R. Krautheimer states that in Chrysopolis, Constantine achieved his main aim of unifying the Roman Empire under one ruler; the city that he founded after his name was the dedicative monument of this unification.¹⁴ In a way, Constantinople itself was “the triumphal arch” of Constantine on the Bosphorus. This analogy holds also for the strategic considerations. The point where Constantine reunified the empire was the point where the East and the West were connected, a gate on the imperial highway, at least in the conditions of the 4th century AD.¹⁵

The realisation of the plans of Constantine the Great lasted for six years when he finally consecrated the city as the New Rome in 11 May 330.¹⁶ He died in 337 in Nicomedia, and was buried in the Mausoleum Church called Holy Apostles on the fourth hill of his new capital Constantinople. The conversion of Constantine to Christian religion, with the final act of baptism at his deathbed, is a complex process, which does not directly fall into the interest of this study. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, of the two experiments that Constantine socially engineered, the officialization of christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire and the foundation of a new capital on the site of Byzantium were successfully realised such

¹¹ This was the last and the biggest of the triumphal arches built Rome as reminiscence for the 306 Milvian Victory part of the Constantinian building program in Rome.

¹² Here quoted after, Arnot (1974: 44).

¹³ Hanfmann (1989).

¹⁴ Krautheimer (1983:42).

¹⁵ The symbolic representation of the Chrysopolis Battle would find its place at the *Chalke*, the vestibule of the Great Palace built by Constantine. Through the eyes of the Christian Eusebius: “This, too, he exhibited for everyone to see upon a panel placed high aloft at the vestibule of the imperial palace, having represented in painting the salutary symbol (the cross or the monogram of Christ) above his head, while the enemy, that hostile beast which had laid siege to God’s Church by usurpation of the godless ones (referring probably to Licinius), was in the shape of a dragon, falling from the abyss. Indeed, the books of God’s prophets proclaimed him to be a dragon and a crooked serpent. Wherefore the Emperor, by means of waxen painting, was showing everyone, underneath his own feet and those of his sons, the dragon pierced by a dart in the middle of his body and cast down into the depths of the sea...” here quoted after Mango (1972: 16).

¹⁶ Krautheimer (1983:42-48).

that Constantinople and Christianity would become inseparable pairs for the next thousands years.¹⁷ Constantine laid the foundations of an imperial centre on the site of an already formed crossroads.

The following Late Antique emperors continued the imperial project that Constantine envisaged in Constantinople. The foundation of the city, the continuation of enormous imperial buildings lasted for a hundred years more till the time of Theodosius II. So was formed the final example of the Antique imperial capital city building projects originating well in the Hellenistic period. Constantinople was not known only as the New Rome but also as the New Jerusalem and New Troy where the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions intermingled.¹⁸ For the interest of this study, the title “New Rome” is the most significant as Constantinople inherited the Roman imperial institutions like provisioning and this heritage is directly related with the extra-mural area that we are concerned with.

The construction of Constantinople was realised within the general sketch designed by the planners of Constantine. The extension of the Extra-mural Zone as a strip of land outside the sea walls from the port of Neorion to the west was also realised by the Constantinian walls, which the next part will cover. The circuit of the Constantinian sea walls, the general structure of the intra-mural city till the time of Theodosius II, the role of the extra-mural zone in the Late Antique City and the imperial provisioning system will be mentioned. What is stressed is the use of the city fortifications not as a mere defensive system but as an economic boundary acting as a surveillance point in the imperial provisioning system. In this the natural harbour in Keras was not alone, the Propontis (Marmara) shores of the city were also used; especially at natural bays which could have been converted to enclosed harbours. The tradition of imperial harbour buildings continued in Constantinople and the enclosed harbour typology still dominated.

Although the topic of this study is not “the walls on Keras-Haliç”, they form, as a historical mega-structure, one of the main lines of definition for the Extra-mural Zone. Thus, the formation of the Extra-mural Zone in Late Antiquity is connected with the successive fortifications of the city. This research includes the general points of communication within these lines. However, it is not on the material evidence of the walls. The building materials

¹⁷ Vasiliev (1970:60).

¹⁸ D. Miller (1969:4).

will be generally described when there is concrete evidence and when this evidence provides information for the extensive formation of the zone.

3.2. The Extra-mural Zone Along the Constantinian Fortifications

3.2.1. The First *Pomerium* of Constantinople

Constantinople, the capital that Constantine the Great had founded on the site of Byzantium was a great fortified city. It is in the time of Constantine that the first section of the Extra-mural Zone for the following decades were created. In this part, the extensive limits of the Keras Sea Walls and the possible reasons for the formation of the Extra-mural Zone in the formation will be depicted. However, before getting into the form of the Constantinian city front it may be sufficient to overview the mythico-religious meaning of the city fortifications in Antiquity by considering the Antique city foundation ceremonies; for which Constantinople constitutes the latest example.

...the Etruscan rite had a splendid, grandiose, syncretic finish: when Constantine had attempted to revive the Trojan and Hellenic past of the city of Rome and to lay a new capital near the Tomb of Ajax, on the place where the besieging Achaeans had beached their ships and set up camp, a dream warned him to move away, to found it on the site of Byzantium...Although he had gone some way to Christianity, the foundation ceremony took place in the fifth year of the 276 Olympiad, when the sun was in the constellation of the Bowmen and an hour dominated by the crab. It may well be that the name of the city was triple, as had been that of Rome, and that Constantinople had been given the same secret protective deity. The legend further tells of Constantine, like Romulus (not fratricide, but guilty of his son's blood?) walking behind the plough: it is said that he departed from the previous snaked-out route. When his followers attempted to make him return to the shorter route he said 'I shall go on until he who is walking ahead of me stops. Whom did Constantine claimed to see ahead of him- Christ or an Angel? His genius? Or the Tyche of the new city? or perhaps even Apollo himself, the sun-god, whose incarnation Constantine sometimes thought himself.¹⁹

The Etruscan rite that J. Rykwert refers to as the origin for the foundation ceremonies conducted by Constantine I, on the promontory of Byzantium, was an ancient ritual which continued well into the later Roman periods. Romulus' legendary foundation of the city of Rome, his drawing its future limits with a plough driven by a white ox and a cow is noted as the model for the later foundations. The rite, which was called the making of *mundus* (the sacrosanct territory of the city), was formed of a series of events. Following the selection of the site, the centre of the city (*omphalos*) was determined. From the centre terminated the

¹⁹ Rykwert (1989: 202).

cardinal points as *decumanus* and *cardo*. At a distance from the centre was drawn the *pomerium*, the boundary of the city. *Pomerium* drawn by the plough formed two lines: a line of furrowed earth and a ridge. The furrowed earth virtually corresponded to the moat, while the ridge was the representation of the wall. If a defence wall had existed it was built at some distance to these ritualistic lines. The defence walls fell into the inside or the middle of the *pomerium*, a word that implies not a line but a "zone". Giving references to Roman surveying books Rykwert states that, *pomerium* was "a strip of land which ran outside of the city walls at a given distance from them".²⁰ The defence walls were built within the *pomerium*, which formed the ritualistic sacrosanct boundary.

Romulus had killed his brother Remus for jumping over the line that he had ploughed. To trespass the limits of the city was severely punished, as it stayed the law for the Romans. The *pomerium* could not have been a continuous line of sanctity as the inside- *mundus*, had to be related with the outside. Thus, the surveyor-founder rose the plough at the places where the future gates of the city would be built, the places for the gates was not consecrated. As Rykwert points the gate was not sacrosanct but sacred, guarded by god Janus. The trespassing through the *pomerium* could be done at the points planned for passage, the gates, which joined the main cardinal axis of the city.²¹

The ceremony of drawing the city limits by a surveyor-king-priest walking in the speed of the plough can also be interpreted as the circumscription of a "defensible perimeter". The defensible perimeter for the ancient city was bound to the means of communication within the boundary, along the boundary and with the inner city, its centre.²² The scale of the general lines drawn by the surveyor and his speed predetermined the communicative system of the later city- both economic and defensive.²³ The human-ox scale of the ancient ritual

²⁰ Ibid.p.136.

²¹ For the cult and temples of Janus, see the same source (1989: 137-141).

²² A. Toynbee (1971:5) defines the two main parameters of the pre-industrial fortified city as the defensible perimeter and a periphery, which was determined by the pedestrian scale of a villager who was to go and return to the centre within the limits of daytime. Nijenhuis (1994: 14) states that the notion of the defensible perimeter and periphery is interrelated with the technology of speed. There are changes with the defensible perimeter and periphery of a small town and a capital city where the later had a monopoly on higher means of speed like the cavalry. Both the fortified territory and the trajectory of the capital cities were larger.

²³ An ancient anecdote about the fall of Babylon is instructive. Babylon was such a big city that when the Assyrians had succeeded to enter into the fortifications of the city, the people at the other end of the city were not aware of the fact, they continued their daily routines.

enclosing a certain perimeter in the time limit of a pre-destined day was about the definition of manageable, communicable and defensible territory.²⁴

The Roman cities expanded outside the city walls in the high days of the Empire, outside the limits of the ancient rites, especially along the main thoroughfares reaching the gates. The plan of Timgad, as preserved, is a well-known example.²⁵ However within the conditions of Late Antiquity, well starting by the 3rd century AD, the cities began to be heavily fortified.²⁶ The *pomerium* became once more important, but this time on a greater scale within the limits of the expanded imperial cities. At this phase of Late Antique development, it seems that military considerations were more important than the rituals. Nevertheless, they were still part of the theatricality of the antique city of which Constantine was a perfect actor. In the drawing of the *pomerium* of Constantinople in 324, ancient rites of city foundations were replayed with the military considerations as well. For Constantinople, the line Constantine drew prescribed the scale of an imperial capital city.²⁷

It can be here noted that, during the siege of Byzantium, which lasted for two months, Constantine had a military camp built on the second hill of the promontory outside the land gate of the city opening to the Severan colonnaded street.²⁸ It cannot be known whether this camp suggested a sketch for the future city but, certainly, it did for its new centre, as Constantine selected this point for the building of his imperial forum in Constantinople.²⁹ The consecration ceremony of Constantinople which happened in 330 AD started with an imperial procession from this point to the Hippodrome of the city. This event was celebrated in the later Byzantine periods replaying the ceremony that Constantine had consulted.³⁰

²⁴ It is frequently stated that the Roman camp was a model for the Roman City. Rykwert argues, by references to the Etruscan origins that it is the city, which was a model for the camp. The foundation of the Roman camp and its fortifications shows similarities. Here, reference can be given to one of the last representatives of the Roman treatises on war where the author prospects the construction of the walls around a military camp. He instructs that ditches must bind the boundaries of the camp and "the excavated earth should be thrown inside, forming an embankment behind the ditch three feet high"; here quoted after Dennis (1985:33).

²⁵ For Roman Timgad see, W. McDonalds (1984:25-, 209-210).

²⁶ For Late Antique and Byzantine fortifications, see, Foss & Winfield (1986).

²⁷ Constantinople even had districts outside the limits of Constantine's fortifications like the 13th region Sycae and the 14th Blahernai. Even they were outside the legal terminus of Constantinople; the existence of Chrysopolis and Chalcedon on the other side of the Bosphorus defined a larger city region.

²⁸ Zosimos (1984: 33-36).

²⁹ The monumental porphyry column that he placed at the centre of this oval forum situated on the extension of the Severan colonnaded street is the one of the few relics that survive from the city of Constantine, known in contemporary Istanbul as Çemberlitaş.

The *pomerium* that Constantine had drawn, noted by Zosimos as fifteen *stades* to the west of the old Byzantium walls, cannot be precisely located as there is no surviving archaeological evidence referring to their circuit.³¹ Since the limits of the city was once more extended by the time of Theodosius II, the line of the Constantinian land walls were demolished throughout the Byzantine era.³² However, the fortifications on the inlet Keras (Haliç) were preserved, as the extensions on this side were additions along the same line defined by the waterfront. The Constantinian land-walls are significant for this study as determining the place where the Keras fortifications terminated in the foundation period. The hypothetical circuit of Constantinian land-walls can be approximately defined on the topography of the contemporary İstanbul. The walls, started on the Marmara Sea to the east of Samatya; climbed to Cerrahpaşa district reaching the seventh hill of the promontory; descended to the valley where Vatan and Millet avenues run; climbed up to the fourth hill falling at the west of the Fatih Mosque (the site of the Constantinian Holy Apostles) and from this point descended to the inlet (Fig.10).³³

The circuit after the Church of Holy Apostles, the fourth hill of the peninsula, down to Keras-Haliç has been the subject of unresolved discussions among the Byzantinists, and is important for our survey as it defines the point where the sea-walls built by Constantine on the inlet ended. The Byzantine original sources noted that the walls passed by the Bonus cistern, Churches of Saint Manuel, Sabel and Samuel ending at the Church of Saint Antonius at Hermatiosa. The hypothetical placement of these buildings, with the only concrete evidence of Bonus Cistern concluded with several assumptions, which extend from Unkapanı (Plaetai) to Fener (Castrum Petri). If they had extended from Unkapanı, as one of the assumptions go, the land-walls draws a sudden turn within the arch of the Constantinian circuit into the valley between fourth and fifth hills. However this itinerary seems rather unreasonable for strategic reasons, as then the fortifications would sink into the valley which makes them vulnerable from the fifth hill (outside the Constantinian walls). This hypothesis, which had been supported by van Millingen and Janin, has now been

³⁰ Parastesis Syntomai Chronikai, gives the details of the annual ceremonies conducted in the memory of Constantinople's foundation for the 8th century AD. Cameron & Herrin (1984).

³¹ Zosimos (1984:37).

³² The only concrete reference for the Constantinian Land-walls is a note in the 15th century map of Bondelmonti; *Porta Antiquissima Pulchra*. This was, probably, the Esakapı of the Ottoman İstanbul, which survived as part of the mosque complex with the same title until the 18th century. For this gate which was the Golden Gate of Constantinian City, see, Ötügen (1974).

³³ For the Constantinian Land-walls, see, Erkal (1995).

generally discredited; it is agreed that the Constantinian land walls joined to the Keras Walls at some place present Ayakapı.³⁴

The Theodosian sea walls were latter attached to the existing Constantinian sea walls in the 5th century AD; has this left any trace on the circuit?³⁵ Is there any architectural differentiation? As both the Constantinian and the Theodosian Sea Walls, were restored several times in the later Byzantine period, the changes in the building techniques does not provide much information. It is rather the line of the fortifications, whether there is any differentiation of the circuit, that can be searched as a trace between Unkapanı and Fener. As some of the mentioned section has been demolished in the 20th century, it is by the maps before demolitions and the *in situ* fragments that such a differentiation can be searched for (Fig.12).

The walls between Cibali and Ayakapı, which are still present in some sections, do show differences from the general lines of the walls that follow a rather even line around Unkapanı. A sudden southwards break on the circuit of the walls after the first tower at the west of Cibali Gate can be noticed in the maps drawn since the 19th century. The second point of differentiation is at the section at the back of Saint Nicholas Church, right before Ayakapı. The present Church was built in 1817; originally there was a Byzantine church at that spot which is marked by an angle on the wall.³⁶ To the west of Ayakapı, the wall makes a turn to the north for a short interval and turns back to the west where Yeni Ayakapı was opened in the Ottoman era. The fourth point is the Castrum Petron itself, whose foundation date is not known. This was a section where the walls were double forming a small castle. These are the four points of differentiations along the wall, which may be potential places for the point of combination between the Constantinian and Theodosian sea walls, and the place where the land walls join the sea walls on Keras.

From this area to Neorion, the City was bounded by single sea walls, which would be restored on the same lines for several times in the Byzantine era. The walls were approximately of ten meters high, lower than the Theodosian Land Walls. Dirimtekin states

³⁴ For the various assumptions on the point circuit of the Constantinian Land-walls down to Keras see, Millingen (1899: 15-16), Janin (1950), Dirimtekin (1957: 2-3), Müller-Wiener (1977: 34-35), Tsangadas (1980: 34-35), Mango (1997: 16-17), Kuban (1997: 32-33).

³⁵ The extension of the Theodosian Walls with the Heracleian Walls at Blahernai can be read from the circuit of the fortification lines.

³⁶ For the St Nicholas Church see, Z. Karaca. "Nikolaos Kilisesi", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (VI/76-77).

that the Sea Walls were lower and weaker structures, according to the limits of the sedimented ground on the inlet shore. When higher structures were to be built they would not stand.³⁷

The Constantinian walls could have started by Neorion, at the place where the Severan wall ended. However, the Byzantine sources mention other Constantinian constructions on the line of Byzantium walls. Eugenius Tower by the entrance of the Proosphorion harbour (Yalı Kiosk point in the Ottoman era), which is accepted as a terminal point for the Walls on the inlet, is one of them. When Theophilus rebuilt the tower in the 9th century, it was noted that there was a higher structure build by Constantine in its place. There can be two different assumptions for the site of this construction. Either, Constantine had restored and at some portions rebuilt the Byzantium walls, at the same time consolidating the entrance of Proosphorion harbour; or, the Eugenius Tower is not the tower at the entrance of Proosphorion but is at Neorion. The second fits to the assumption of van Millingen who thought that the Eugenius Tower was at Neorion after the Byzantine source, Nicetas Chonitas. The second assumption is mostly discredited, as the chain enclosing the natural harbour after 8th century was tied to Eugenius Tower. If the tower were on Neorion that would have left the seashore till Neorion vulnerable.³⁸

Within the data provided from the pagan and Christian sources of Late Antiquity, it is not possible to ascertain whether Constantine only drew the line of the land walls or he did walk by the old walls of Byzantium following the waterfront and then turned up to the land. In fact, drawing the line of the sea walls was unnecessary, as the waterfront was an already drawn limit; it was ordained by the “divine” powers, which assisted him. This speculative question is important as the walls of the city on the Propontis (Marmara) and the Bosphorus were built right onto the shore; they were protected from the waves by rocks. While the Sea Walls on Keras, considering the later infill, were built at some distance to the shore, which constitutes the basis for the later extra-mural zone at this section. It has been argued by modern scholars that, this foreshore was left as a service area for the city on the inlet forming a natural harbour,³⁹ or, that it was due to the weakness of the ground that the Walls had to be

³⁷ Dirimtekin (1957: 9). The general construction of the walls at this section was five course of brick-seven courses of stone-four courses of brick-five courses of stone.

³⁸ The chain of Keras will be dealt in detail below, see chapter 4.1.

³⁹ Millingen (1899:9) states that “To accommodate the commerce and the traffic of the city, the wall was built, for the most part, at a short distance to the water”.

built some distance to the waterfront.⁴⁰ Another assumption can be proposed that is the military considerations related with the characteristics of the inlet Keras.

An ancient treatise on military technology that was written by an anonymous general in the time of Justinian may provide us some information about the theory of fortification buildings, which would be built on the waterfront:

In such locations, however, the walls must not be built at the water's edge. That makes it easy for the enemy ships to come in close enough to undermine the walls from below or so to overthrow them by frontal assaults. This is made clear in the books about siegecraft. The walls should be set back from the water's edge no less than eighteen meters. This should prevent the enemy from constructing towers on the ships and employing certain mechanisms to get over onto the wall. Neither should the distance be more than sixty-two meters. Keeping such an open space works to the advantage of the city and the disadvantage of its attackers.⁴¹

The Constantinian Extra-mural Zone fits within the two limits prescribed by this anonymous Justinianic general although the walls on the Propontis-Marmara and Bosphorus did not. The Propontide walls were built regarding the advantage of the southern winds, which makes an assault difficult on this point, while currents on the Bosphorus on the East Side allied them. Keras- Haliç was different; as the sea was calmer, the battle ships could have easily made an assault on the Walls without being threatened by the waves. It is possible that the fortifications were built at a distance to the shore as a defensive zone. Then the Extra-mural Zone, originally, is the *pomerium* of Keras fortifications.⁴²

The sedimented ground of the seashore, the use of the inlet as an extensive natural harbour and the military considerations can be shown as the practical reasoning behind the formation of an Extra-mural Zone in the Constantinian foundations of the city. The Extra-mural Zone constituted a landing, which could have been used for different purposes.

However, the width of the Constantinian Extra-mural Zone cannot be known. Also, it cannot be ascertained how the city used this area to "its advantage" at the foundation period except for the ports of Proosphorion and Neorion. It is most probable that a gate coinciding to the later Plateia Gate (Unkapani) at the axis of a main street on the valley between the third and

⁴⁰ Dirimtekin (1956:9).

⁴¹ Here quoted after, Dennis (1985: 33).

⁴² Here, it should be noted that the closeness of the sea walls at Petrion in the Age of the IV Crusade caused the prophecies of the anonymous Justinianic writer, a frontal assault to the walls, come true. Constantinople fell for the first time from the place where the Extra-mural Zone was most narrow. For the Latin conquest see below, chapter 4.3.

fourth hills was opened at this time, as well as the Drungarios Gate (Zindan Gate) which existed on one of the main traverse axis of the city, *Macros Embolos*.

The Late Antique planners, by leaving an Extra-mural Zone along the inlet, did provided a basis for the preservation of one use pattern which originates from the Antique Byzantium; that is along-shore fishing. As noted above, the fishes led by the currents were caught directly from the shore, the Late Antique landing-*pomerium* did function, even without intent, for the continuation of this pattern.

In order to understand the relation of the inner city with the Constantinian Extra-mural Zone the general structure of the Constantinople of the Late Antiquity must be depicted. Then the economic and military flows through this intermediary boundary structure can be studied which formed the basis of later additions and transformations.

3.2.2. The City Oriented to Propontis

The city of Constantine was formed of fourteen districts, two of them were extra-mural settlements: the thirteenth region Sycae on the opposite shore of Keras and the fourteenth region Blahernai.⁴³ The site of the city within Constantinian Walls, a promontory narrowing towards its tip with a series of ridges, was not suitable for the application of the typical Roman cross-axial plan. It is probable that the two imperial highways terminating on the site of Byzantium, Via Egnatia and the road to Hadrianopolis, were transformed into the main arteries of the city within the limits of the new walls.⁴⁴

The main thoroughfare of Constantinople, called *mese*, started from the ancient upper agora of Byzantium, *Tetrastoon*, which was converted to an imperial plaza called *Augustaeon* after Constantine's mother Helena Augusta. At the western end of Augustaeon, the terminal point of *mese*, the "golden milestone" of the city called the *Milion* was situated. Milion was a

⁴³ Blahernai had been totally involved into the fortified City, only by the beginning of the 7th century. This will be mentioned in detail at the last part of this chapter. Sycae, the 13th district was turned into a city in time of Justinian.

⁴⁴ Originally the two highways were crossing at some place near the third hill continuing as a single way to the Propontis gate of the old city, Byzantium. Till the crossing Via Egnatia followed a parallel path to the Propontis passing from the seventh hill of the promontory down to the valley of Lycus river (*Bayrampaşa Deresi*). The highway to Balkans followed the course of the sixth, fifth and fourth walls. Even, in the maps of 1950s, before the London Highway was constructed, the two main highways approaching from Thrace were entering the Historical Peninsula as their terminal.

domed tetrapylon of which only part of one pier survives in the contemporary Istanbul.⁴⁵ Milion as its terminal, *mese* run straight for a distance of 1800 meters incorporating the Severan portico till the Forum of Constantine- more or less following the path of Ottoman Divan Yolu.⁴⁶ At some point on this avenue, corresponding to the third hill, *mese* formed a second arm to the northwest, at the direction of the fourth hill. After passing by the fourth hill this northwest arm reached the walls of Constantine's city where one of the two main land gates was situated.⁴⁷ The other arm turned towards southeast passing from the Lycus valley and climbed to the seventh hill parallel to the Propontis. Then it reached the Golden Gate opening to Via Egnatia.

These two forking thoroughfares formed the backbone of the city, which was connected to the waterfront on two sides by traverse streets. Only two of these streets may be determined in sketch: the *Macro Embolos* corresponding to *Uzunçarsı* of the Closed Bazaar district in the present city (the second valley) which started at a ceremonial arch called *Modion* where *Artopoleia*, the main bread market stood, till the 9th century AD.⁴⁸ *Macros Embolos*, probably continued on the Propontis side as well to the bay where Julian harbour was built (also named as Sophia and Kontoskelion, Kadirga of the Ottoman İstanbul). The other traverse avenue was on the third valley running from the northwest arm of *mese* to *Zeugma* (Unkapanı). This could have well combined to *Forum Bovis* on the Marmara side.

The pattern of streets may have followed several gridiron patterns connected to the changing directions of *Mese*, some probably were the continuation of the grid of Byzantium⁴⁹ (fig. 2.4). The fifth century *Notitia Constantinopolitanae* gives a number of fifty-four colonnaded streets in Constantinople, which is the highest number noted in any Roman city.⁵⁰ Probably the two arms of *Mese* were formed of two-sided colonnaded streets on its both sides, which were two stories high at some sections like *Regia* (the former Severan portico between Constantine's Forum and Milion) and twenty-seven meters in width at the widest section. Nine meters of this width on each side, were the porticoes for the pedestrians while the middle section was reserved for the vehicular traffic.⁵¹

⁴⁵ For Milion, see Erkal (1995: 93-94).

⁴⁶ Mango (1993: I-124).

⁴⁷ Janin (1950) states that this was probably called Gate of Attale.

⁴⁸ The bread market was transported to *Amanstrion* at the time of Irene. Cameron & Herrin (1984). For the distribution of bread to the masses, see Jones (1964: 693-996).

⁴⁹ For a possible gridiron pattern in Constantinople, see Mango (1997: 16).

⁵⁰ W. McDonalds (1984: 30).

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.32-51. See, specifically the categorisation of street patterns in p.33 and the tables in pp. 41-42. The colonnaded street pattern had originated in the East, most probably after Hellenistic street-side

A difference of Constantinople from Rome was that the imperial *fora* were not congested in one central area but were distributed along the main thoroughfare, *Mese*. The oval Forum of Constantine was the predecessor of this planning, that was on the second hill with a monumental column in the centre and two storeyed colonnades forming its perimeters. Then, both chronologically due to the emperors and the topography, was the Forum of Theodosius on the third hill⁵² and the Forum of Arcadius on the seventh. Between Theodosius' and Arcadius' *fora* were the public squares Philadelphion, Amanstrion and Forum of Bovis. Monumental columns flanked the imperial fora, in the model of Constantine. On these columns were the statues of the emperors, whether as a naked Greek god like Constantine's or as an equestrian statue like that of Theodosius.⁵³ The fourth hill was the site of Holy Apostles built as the Mausoleum of Constantine and served the same purpose for the later Byzantine emperors.⁵⁴

The upper sections of the old city Byzantium around the Augustaeon was converted to an imperial centre, typical to other Tetrarch capitals and the model of Rome. The centre of public ceremonial Hippodrome with the Great Palace adjacent to it, the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the religious centre at the Church of Hagia Sophia forming an episcopate zone with the adjacent Church of Irene were at this area.⁵⁵ This "apsidal" imperial centre was connected to the Strategion of Byzantium which was first embellished by Constantine and then by Theodosius such that it was known as the second Theodosian Forum in Constantinople. The Acropolis of Byzantium with the antique temples were cut from their revenues, but preserved, in Constantine's time. It was Theodosius I who converted the Temples to other uses. The Acropolis never became part of the ceremonial centre of Constantinople and turned into a scant space of meadows where monasteries and additional palaces were built.

stoa. The first example noted is the street of Herod and Tiberius in Antioch on Orontes from the first century AD. The typology spread to the other Roman cities in high Empire and it was especially used in Late Antique cities. The extensive use of colonnaded avenues was one of the characteristics of the Tetrarch capitals, like the evidence of Thessalonike manifests. For the Tetrarchic capitals and the imperial typologies see, Erkal (1995).

⁵² It is Kuban's (1997: 82-84) hypothesis that the Theodosian Forum was a replica of the Trajans Forum in Rome.

⁵³ Justinian did not build a forum for himself but his equestrian statue on a monumental column stood in Augustaeon, in front of Hagia Sophia.

⁵⁴ Holy Apostles was rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian and in present its site is occupied by Fatih Mosque. Mango (1997:), Krautheimer (1983:66)

⁵⁵ For the imperial centre of Constantinople see, C. Mango (1959).

Constantine did not build any additional harbour in Constantinople but made use of the harbours of Byzantium. As the population of the city increased by the addition of new masses, who according to the Roman custom were distributed free breads; the port capacity of Constantinople was to be increased. For this it was not the waterfront of Keras-Haliç but the Marmara side that was used. First it was the harbour of Julian (later called Sophia or Kontoskelion), then the great Theodosian harbour at the mouth of the Lycus River that the wharfage capacity of Constantinople was increased. C. Mango estimates that the total capacity of wharfage after the construction of Theodosian harbour reached to four and a half kilometres of which the 1500 meters was on the Keras side.⁵⁶ This means that the ports on Propontis in the Late Antique City satisfied the majority of Constantinople's provisioning.

If the placement of the imperial *fora* of Constantinople on the path of *mese* directed to Golden Gate is reconsidered, with the placement of the new great harbours on the south side, as well as the situation of the imperial palace, it can be stated that Late Antique Constantinople was relatively oriented to the Propontis-Marmara waterfront than Keras-Haliç (Fig.11). This does not seem to create a differentiation at the section of *mese* till the entrance of the Theodosian Forum from the Milion. *Mese* was more or the less equally accessible from both the Haliç and Marmara sides at this section. However after the main thoroughfare is forked at this point, it becomes evident. The southern arm of *Mese* was the thoroughfare of court ceremonial starting by the Golden Gate of Constantinian walls. The imperial processions began at the Golden Gate and ended at the Hippodrome passing through the Forum of Arcadius, Forum Bovis, Philadelphion, Forum of Theodosius and Forum of Constantine.

Here it can be useful to search for the connections of the imperial fora, which were also the economic centres of Constantinople with the ports of the city. Strategion was the public place of the ancient ports on the side of Keras. It was connected to Augustaeon. The Forum of Constantine was both served by the Julian harbour, probably as well as Neorion on the Keras side. The Forum of Theodosius by Macro Embolos was connected to Keras and the Julian harbours. Forum Bovis was right at the back of Theodosian harbour. While Amanstrion was oriented to the avenue of the third valley leading to Keras but could serve Theodosian harbour. Forum of Arcadius was only connected to Theodosian harbour. Nevertheless the harbour of the Palace was on Propontis.

⁵⁶ Mango (1993: I-120).

It is the increased capacity of wharfage at the closed ports of the Propontis, thus the economic flows of the city that supports the interpretation that the Late Antique City was relatively oriented to the Marmara waterfront, rather than the court ceremonial. By the time of Theodosius the boundary of the city where it was provisioned was more the Marmara waterfront than the Natural harbour at Keras. This is one of the structural differences between Late Antique Constantinople and the periods that followed it. Although the natural harbour, Keras provided extensive area for wharfage, the extensions were done on the Marmara side, preferring enclosed harbours.

The reasons for this can partly be found in the mechanisms of provisioning and the Roman tradition of imperial enclosed harbours, which in Constantinople could have been constructed on the Propontis side. In addition to this to what purposes did the ports serve should be considered. This is particularly important to understand the role of the Extra-mural Zone in the Late Antique City and the structural transformations of the later ages.

3.2.3. The provisioning of Late Antique Constantinople

When Constantine decided to found a capital city on the promontory at the Bosphorus, he was not only constructing a “second Rome” but also a “second Ostia-Portus” at the same time. Rome was a river city founded at the uppermost point of the Tiber River where the ships could sail up the stream from the sea. However as the big ships could not sail by the river, the maritime port of Rome was in Ostia at the mouth of Tiber. By the time of Claudius, in the first century AD, a gigantic engineering work was realised by the construction of new enclosed harbours near Ostia called “Portus”. Trajan added a hexagonal port pool to Portus in the second century AD and further increased the capacity of this colossal sea-terminal. Due to its maritime position Constantinople did not need the support of a maritime city as a prothesis. The ports in New Rome were within the city; Constantinople was Rome and Ostia at the same place.

In order to understand the system behind the provisioning of Roman capitals with the great works of engineering and architecture for this system, it necessary to basically sketch the outlines of the economic flows generated by the antique fiscal economy. As M. Hendy stated “the fundamental and the overwhelming basis of the ancient fiscal economy, and indeed

wealth in general, was the ownership of land and its exploitation by way of agriculture".⁵⁷ The state demanded the surplus of the land as a tax, called *indictio*, which was collected in kind till the time of Justinian. The basic items of *indictio* were cereals, wine, oil, meat and others of the Mediterranean diet. The surplus collected in kind was transported to the cities, which formed the main spaces of consumption. As the tax was collected in kind this necessitated transitory storage at the places of distribution and big storing areas in the main cities.

The cheapest means of transport was navigation in Antiquity (as it is still in present), which meant that the cities were mainly supplied by hinterlands connected to the sea by navigable rivers as in Thrace, Egypt or big islands like Sicily and Cyprus. Nevertheless the main cities should be connected to the sea by the same means. Thus, the Roman Empire was formed of distribution and consumption centres around the Mediterranean where the capital cities, first Rome and then Constantinople in the Late Antiquity were the consumption centres *par excellence* as being administrative and military centres. As Jones states the main industry of these cities was to provision themselves.⁵⁸

The provisioning institutions of Constantinople, like many others, were direct descendants of the ones in the city of Rome. Till the first century of the Roman Empire, the transportation and the storage of the fiscal surplus was not realised but controlled by the State. This is reflected in the early physiognomy of Ostia and Aventine of Rome where there were many private *horrea* along the quays on the riverside. As G. Rickman stated, till the beginning of the first century AD "the Emperor owned no *horrea* and private enterprise was dominant". However after this period the situation changed:

By means of confiscation of important warehouses in Rome and the building of vast warehouses at Ostia, Portus, elsewhere in Italy, for instance at Aquileia, and in the provinces, the situation came about that the Emperor ultimately owned all *horrea* which had any public or imperial purpose and was responsible for their administration and staffing. This led to the situation in the Late Empire.

It is an interesting fact that this change in the system was paralleled with the construction of gigantic closed ports at Portus. The Claudian port pool in Portus, of the first century AD, was enclosing a roughly circular basin measuring 750 000 m². There were warehouses opening to the quay, which were stepped into the sea.⁵⁹ The Hexagonal basin of the Trajanic harbour

⁵⁷ Hendy (1989: I- 4) For the Late Antique imperial economy see, the same source pp. 1-23.

⁵⁸ Jones (1964: 688-689) specifically deals with the trade and economy of the Later Roman Empire.

⁵⁹ For Ostia-Portus, see, Rickmann (1971:123)

was more “modest”, it covered an area of 300 000 m². The state did not only build the harbours but also enormous storage buildings, horrea. They were usually positioned as their entrances facing the docks. The ports of Rome were the greatest spatial representations of the Roman economy (Fig.9.1., 9.2.).

The enclosed ports in Constantinople were smaller, the Theodosian harbour enclosed a basin of approximately 250 000 m², while the Julian harbour had a pool of 200 000 m². The capacity of the Proosphorion harbour was much smaller than these harbours, the exact dimensions cannot be estimated but it can be about two-thirds of the Julian harbour. The comparatively smaller capacity of the ports of Constantinople is natural, as the population of the city was 200 000, or 400 000 people at most compared to the one million inhabitants of Rome.⁶⁰ What is the most important fact that can be derived from this comparison is that the enormous enclosed ports of the Roman Empire was the reflection of the economic system where the state controlled the whole access in and out of the ports and where the provisioning system was a state venture.

One important difference between Constantinople and Rome should not be underestimated. While Ostia and Portus were transit ports to Rome, after the transportation of the necessities to Rome, these could have been stored in private horrea apart from the corn supply. In Constantinople, on the contrary, the ports were the final destination; thus, the private horrea owners could transport the goods directly from the port to their shops. This means that Constantinople could have necessitated lesser space for the state horrea than in Rome.

The enclosed port typology was a device that enabled the State to control and tax the necessities of the city. However, it was an expansive venture to run a monumental enclosed port. The port pools had to be cleaned; there was the need of a great number of slaves to construct them, as many to carry the goods from the ships to the horrea, from the horrea to shops.

The provisioning system was one of the main duties of *Praefectus Urbi* (the head of municipality) and *Praefectus annona* who was the person responsible for the provisioning of corn and the running of the imperial bakeries. The supply of food and drink, which may be

⁶⁰ A. Berger. “Nüfus-Bizans Dönemi”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (VI/107-108) states that till the late fourth century the population of Constantinople was 150 000-200 000. He gives reference to D. Jacoby’s estimation for the Justinianic period as 300 000-400 000. Jones (1968) states that the grain provisioning in the Justinian period was sufficient to supply a population of 600 000 people.

considered under the heads of water, bread, oil, meat and wine, was elaborately organised. A.H.M. Jones state that Constantinople first received a *praefectus urbi* on 11 December 359.⁶¹ However, the grain supply had started in the commemoration of the city by 330 AD. It was Constantine who ordered the transfer of the Egyptian surplus to his new city sufficient to feed a population of 80 000 people.⁶² The Egyptian corn was levied as tax in Egypt and it was the *praetorian* prefect of the East who was responsible for the collection and transportation to Constantinople. A daily free issue of grain to certain categories of population was an old imperial system dating from the Augustan era. It was probably by the time of Aurelius that the early corn dole was converted into bread. In Constantinople, like in Rome, bread was distributed daily from a number of places called “steps” (*annonae populares*).⁶³

Bread policy was directly related with the politics of the capital; the government had to reserve an adequate amount of corn so that the citizens would not be affected from bad harvest and shortages. If the bread was not regularly supplied this could have led to riots. In Justinian’s reign, by the 6th century AD, the annual shipment from Egypt to Constantinople amounted in Justinian’s reign to 27 000 000 *modii* which was enough to feed about 600 000 people. The free bread distribution was cancelled in the time of Heraclius (610-640), necessarily, after the capture of the Egyptian province and the port of Alexandria by the sudden and unexpected excursions of the newly emerging Islamic State.

Till the 7th century Constantinople made use of the natural bays on Keras and Propontis and converted them into enclosed harbours. These were not merely for the shelter of the ships from the winds and waves. The harbours within the walls acted as giant gates, as ports where the flows in and out of the city were strictly controlled. They were monumental devices for controlling the economic flows. As the State preferred the enclosed ports as part of its economical policy, the natural harbour, Keras was not extensively used as an area of imperial provisioning. The use of the Extra-mural Zone in Late Antiquity should be considered as part of this preference.

⁶¹ Jones (1968: 692)

⁶² *Ibid.* p.695.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp.696-697. *Notitia* of the early fifth century numbered 117 steps in Constantinople. It seems that the bread distribution was used as a policy for encouraging the growth of the new capital. Constantine and Constantius granted a bread ration to anyone building a house in the city. Jones states this was part of the immobile property and the right was sold with the house. This policy lasted till the end of fourth century AD until the new Capital had been populated.

3.2.4. Proosphorion, Neorion and the Extra-mural Foreshore

The first section of the Extra-mural foreshore from Neorion to Plateia was planned as a defence zone (pomerium), a landing and a custom zone for the control of socio-economic flows. It is part of the greater maritime frontier of Constantinople and specifically functioned for the cross-inlet, and cross-Bosporus passages. In this section the possible architectural differentiations on the Keras waterfront which can be taken as the evidence for the Late Antique Extra-mural Zone will be analysed. The main reference here are the 19th century maps and the small sections of the walls preserved in the present. Then the information of the written sources will be incorporated to this sketch of the Extra-mural Zone in Antiquity.

As noted above, it is difficult to draw the port pool of the Proosphorion harbour on Keras, which dated from the Greek Byzantium. Proosphorion is an enclosed harbour, however, it is not certain whether the fortifications were constructed on the breakwaters or they were enclosing the south of the port pool on the city side. The traces of a harbour pool had disappeared in the Ottoman period as the Proosphorion harbour had already silted by the 7th century. It is most probable that the line of the fortifications on this section that is known from the Ottoman period was constructed after the silting of the harbour in later Byzantine period. In any case, it can be stated that in the Late Antique foundation period, the Proosphorion harbour area was not part of the Extra-mural Zone.

The fortifications at Neorion, as they are known from the Ottoman sources (Eminönü) provide some topographical information (Fig.13.1.,13.2,13.3). From Sirkeci in the east to the Yeni Cami Sultan's Lodge in the west the fortifications drew a concave curvature. This curvature, which can be perfectly observed in the 19th century maps and the line of which is still preserved in the contemporary city fabric after the demolition of the walls, was probably the curve of the Neorion harbour. As, in the later Byzantine sources the cleansing of the Neorion port pool is mentioned, then the harbour was an enclosed harbour with breakwaters.⁶⁴ The Neorion harbour was outside the fortifications unlike the Proosphorion and the front of the fortifications acted as the landing of the port pool since the harbour silted in the Middle Byzantine period. It is not certain whether Neorion landing did continued towards the west to Perama as part of the Extra-mural Zone, as it did in the later periods.

⁶⁴ Müller- Wiener (1998:15). Neorion harbour pool was cleansed in the time of emperor Leontius (695-698). At this time Proosphorion was already silted.

From these traces, it can be interpreted that in Late Antique Constantinople there were two enclosed harbours at the entrance of the inlet: Prosphorion as a closed port probably in the intra-mural zone and Neorion on its west as an enclosed port outside the walls. The Late Antique Extra-mural Zone started after this section.

In fact, the concavity of the walls at the point coinciding to Neorion is not the only point of differentiation along the line Constantinian fortifications. Right to the west of Neorion there is another concave curvature which can be observed in the Ottoman maps from Yeni Cami to Zindankapı (St John Carnibus Gate). This second concavity of the wall circuit was served in the later ages by a gate called *Peramatis* or *Pisceria*, which was the Ottoman Balıkpazarı Gate. The west end of this space is marked by a significant triangular projection, the corner point of which is marked by a big tower known as the Baba Cafer Prison in the Ottoman times. On the western arm of the projection was a gate known as the St John Carnibus (Zindankapı). At some interval to the west of this gate was another gate called *Drungarios* (Odunkapı). This point coincides to the terminus of *macro embolos*, which was one of the major traverse arteries of Constantinople.⁶⁵ These two gates could have functioned as the entrance to this important thoroughfare of the city. Gate of Drungarios is significant to be place where the city police, that is Vigla forces, were situated. The Extra-mural Zone along the mentioned concave circuit was the landing of the cross-inlet passages, the passage to the 13th district Sycae.

Drungarios Gate also marks the end for the architectural differentiations on the Constantinian fortifications till the hypothetical point where they join with the Land-walls. To the west of Drungarios, the Keras fortifications follow a very large curvature at the line of the waterfront where they become straight towards the third valley and continue as such till the end of fortifications. The origins of the gates at this section are obscure; there was probably a gate on Plateia which opened to the second traverse thoroughfare known in Constantinople that is the street running between the third valley till Valens Aqueduct.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ It can be noted here, as it will be further stressed in the section on the Venetian Quarter, that the line of a street, which follows the grid of Greek Byzantium, can be traced in the intra-mural zone. This line can be followed from the southern arm of Egyptian Bazaar till the Drungarios Gate (Odun Kapı), the Venetian portico (*embolum*). This street parallel to the waterfront seems to connect the various gates opening into the city. (figure) The Drungarios gate where it terminates is the last of these series.

⁶⁶ A gate between Drungarios Gate and Plateia gate was opened in the 16th century; that is the Ottoman Ayazma Gate.

If the listed differentiations are interpreted, the following conclusions can be derived. First, the projection points between the concave lines do not seem to be small capes formed by the lines of the topography which follow a parallel cascading to the waterfront. They could either be formed by minor sedimentation of the second valley, or a descendant of extra-mural facilities in the Greek Byzantium or are part of the design of the walls. However the projections on the waterfront were formed, the walls followed them within a sequential pattern like a gate for each concave section one of which was the port pool of Neorion that could be originally of the Greco-Roman Byzantium. In order to understand these morphological differentiations the functions of these zones in Late Antique City can be listed in reference to Antique sources. After analysing the architectural traces of the Late Antique Extra-mural Zone, here we can introduce the specific functional differentiations on the area as much as they can be known from the original written sources.

Prosporon harbour was within the confines of the V. zone of the city. As quoted by Müller-Wiener, the *Notitia* of the fifth century states that “all the necessities of the city were located here”.⁶⁷ The ports of Keras had served as the main maritime provisioning and custom zone for the city till the building of the larger harbours on the Propontis by the second half of the 4th century. Then, they became part of the greater imperial maritime frontier. A number of *horrea* were noted some of which could have originated from the Greek Byzantium: *horrea Troadensia*, *horrea Olelaria*, *horrea Valentiaca* and *horrea Constantinaca*. No archaeological evidence survives from this *horrea*. Two passages in the Theodosian Edict provide some information about the general design and protection of the Late Antique *horrea*. As quoted below, these are in an order of Constantine to the Governor of Corsica written by 326 and an order of Valentinian and Valens to the Prefect of Rome in 364. Although they are not directly about the protection of the state *horrea* in Constantinople, they may be instructive as the *horrea* in Prosporon mentioned above were built by Constantine and Valens. Moreover, as incorporated to the Theodosian Edict, they were to be obeyed elsewhere.

The whole space of one hundred feet adjacent to State warehouses shall be kept vacant, and if anything should be constructed therein, it shall be torn down, since it has been shown by recent experience that fiscal supplies have suffered from the burning of buildings which are adjacent to State storehouses.⁶⁸

We have learned that fiscal storehouses in the City of Rome and also in the Port have been converted to private uses. You shall take care to restore such storehouses to their former

⁶⁷ Müller-Wiener (1998: 6-7).

⁶⁸ Theodosian Edict (1952: 423)

condition. Grain must not be stored in the lower stories of such storehouses, for it is spoiled by the nature of the place and moisture.⁶⁹

The fiscal storehouses of Prosphorion could have been likely built, most probably of masonry and as two storeyed long buildings where the grain was stored at the upper storey as a precaution against moisture. As for fires, it cannot be known whether the minimum distance prospected by Constantine was obeyed. But it is certainly known that the port area on Keras was a place where great fires had started in the Constantinople history and continued in the Ottoman period as well.⁷⁰

The *scala Halkedonesis*, which is the landing stage of Chalcedon, was within Prosphorion, which indicates that the port served for the cross-Bosporus passage. There was a cattle market in the area that was transferred to Forum Bovis in the time of Constantine V (741-775).

Neorion adjacent to Prosphorion was situated at the VI. District of the city. The quays of Neorion were bounded with a colonnade, which was called *Keratembolin*. The name, as Müller-Wiener states, suggests a semi-circular portico in plan. This typology was mentioned in the former chapter as a dominant building type in Roman ports as the descendant of Greek stoas.⁷¹ It seems that this typology was also used in Constantinople, as another semi-circular colonnade, called Sigma is refereed for the Julian harbours. *Keratembolin* could have been siding the walls of the city, which followed a similar concave curvature in Neorion. The gates into the city could have been at some points under the colonnades. The portico of Neorion is a specific reference as probably being the first evidence for the constructions along the Keras fortifications and are important to show that the harbours was still part of the imperial image-making as embellished by colonnades. The fortifications in Neorion were screened by Roman urban architecture unifying the image of a city entrance.

Neorion had been the port functioning as the shipyards from the time of Byzantium. The *scala Syцена*, the pier to the other side of Keras, was at this point. *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* is an original source that provides partial information.

The so called Neorios (the statue at this harbour), also Arcadius. Conon (Leo III) set up a statue there, finding the place elaborated with many works by Constantine the Great.

⁶⁹ Ibid.p.424.

⁷⁰ Müller-Wiener (1998: 7)

⁷¹ See above, Chapter 2.5.

Formerly the markets concerned with sea trade were here. In the time of Justinian they were moved to the harbour of Julian.⁷²

The statue mentioned in *Parastaseis* was a bronze Ox of enormous size, which was said to be placed here by Constantine. There is no information about what the markets concerned with sea trade resembled. There is no mention of *horrea*; the colonnades could have served as a market in this area. The port of Neorion was a multi-functional space serving for both the city traffic with the Sycae, the provisioning of the city and was a dockyard; it was after the 7th century that it emerged as the navy base of Constantinople.⁷³

The Drungarios Gate also known as Vigla or Basiliki Gates was at the end of Macro Embolos; and so it should have existed in Late Antiquity. There is no evidence for the function of the Extra-mural Zone after this quarter within the limits of the Constantinian City. There could have been a gate at Plateia (Unkapanı), as in later ages. The extra-mural zone after this point narrowed. Probably the Extra-mural area was still used for fishing as mentioned in Dionysius of Byzantium for earlier ages. It is not concretely known whether there were other *scala*, piers, to the gates of the city on this side in Late Antiquity.

3.3. The Defensive Capital: The Theodosian Walls

If the Hadrianople war in 324 was the terminus of the events that led to the foundation of Constantinople, another war at the same spot, fifty years after in 378, was a turning point for the role the new capital would play within the defensive system of the Empire. The war was between Goths who had been received into the Empire from the Danubian frontier while escaping the raids of Huns from the North in 376 and Valens the Emperor of the East. Valens lost the battle as well as his life.⁷⁴ After the Hadrianopolis war of 378, the territory between the Danube and Thrace had emerged as a shifting frontier zone, the Roman Empire was no longer a state with strictly defined boundaries but with extensive boundary zones where the cities emerged as the final frontiers. The capital city was no exception in this respect. This was a process that would lead to the conditions of the 7th century when the

⁷² Cameron & Herrin (1984: 153)

⁷³ Neorion turned into a navy base between the first and second Islamic conquests. The former base was in harbour of Ceasarius on the Propontis. When the Byzantine fleet was burnt in this harbour during the assault of the Islamic navy from the Propontis, the navy base was transferred to Keras which was, then, chained and turned into an enclosable harbour. See, below, chapter 4.1.

⁷⁴ Theodosius

whole territory of the Eastern Roman Empire turned into a defensive territory starting with the reign of Heraclius.⁷⁵

The impacts of an Empire becoming both offensive and defensive, with a capital which was open to the raids from every direction, was seen on the city space of Constantinople itself by a series of restructurings of the city frontiers. This did not happen in a single period but was shaped by the direction of the flows of the hostile armies. The transformation of the defence system of Constantinople can be called a restructuring generated by territorial crisis. Since the 7th century, the maritime frontiers of the Empire, at least on the Eastern Mediterranean, were secure. Thus, if there were transformations on the maritime frontiers of Constantinople these were relational to the transformations on the land frontiers, as it was in the Theodosian extensions of the territory of Constantinople.

The construction of the Land Walls of Theodosius II, which is at one and a half kilometre distance to the Constantinian walls, is the first and the major change in the defensive structure of the city. The extension of the city territory does not seem to be for the congestion of the city within Constantinian limits. The zone between the Constantinian and Theodosian land-walls never turned into congested city areas in the later Byzantine period, with the exception of the sections siding the waterfront.⁷⁶

The land-walls of Theodosius II were built in 413 AD and formed one of the most successful defensive architectures till the 15th century since when new defensive techniques were devised by the engineers of Renaissance.⁷⁷ The Theodosian land frontiers, which are well preserved in contemporary İstanbul, were forming an extensive boundary zone.

⁷⁵ Even in the time of Justinian who had been proud of reaffirming the Danubian frontier with strongholds, Procopius is surprised with the Constantinopolitans who do not dare to possess property on the outskirts of the capital. For the author of the 6th century these areas were vulnerable. Procopius (1961).

⁷⁶ The area between the Constantinian and Theodosian limits can be seen as the green belt of Rome. It was formed of scant lands where big open-air cisterns were built as a precaution for the possible hostile attacks on the water reservoirs outside the city. See, Mango (1997: 5).

⁷⁷ The new circuit of the Land Walls was formed of three lines of defence. The first was a wide moat that was filled with water. Then was a lower fortification wall with small towers. Between the moat and the outer wall the outer terrace was left as a walkway for the defenders. The main line of fortifications was at the back of the outer wall. They were higher than the former with rectangular towers projecting out of the defence. Between the outer and the inner walls was the inner terrace, again as a communication line for the defences. The walls were pierced by gates at regular intervals creating a pattern that half of the gates were service gates for the military purposes. Starting by the Golden Gate on the Propontis side each main gate was followed by a military gate. For Theodosian land-walls see. Millingen (1899), Tsangadas (1980). For the construction technique and materials see, Foss & Winfield (1986).

After the construction of the Land Walls, the section of the waterfront between them and the Constantinian walls were left open. This section was walled in the later years of the Theodosian rule, by 425 AD. It is a question where these walls started in the west, as this section was later extended in Heraclian period incorporating totally the Blahernai district which was left outside the Theodosian walls.

F. Dirimtekin marks a differentiation on the Keras-Haliç fortifications at the point coinciding to the East of the 12th Heraclian tower counting from the west.⁷⁸ The line of the walls are set back at this point with a perpendicular wall without a tower as a connection. (Fig.14). Furthermore on this point there are the marks of a traverse wall which could have been enclosing the Extra-mural zone against attacks from the landside. *Brahialion* was the name used for the traverse wall at the end of the sea walls where they joined the land-walls.⁷⁹ There was a *brahialion* on the Propontis coast. The one on the Keras side is mentioned at the time of the Avar siege in 626. This was not the *brahialion* at the end of Theodosian walls, but was the Pteron of Blahernai. Tsangadas interpreting the material evidence and written sources states that parts of Blahernai was left outside Theodosian walls but there was a traverse wall called Pteron which protects the land-side of the district till the waterfront. Thus the waterfront of Blahernai, where there was a pier specific to the district, was protected between two traverse walls.

The Theodosian Sea Walls were lower than the Land Walls, ten meters high at most, like the other sections of the Keras fortifications. Like the Constantinian walls they were formed of a single line of defensive and were pierced by square towers projecting towards the foreshore. There is an exception to this generalisation, at the place called Petrion where the sea walls are double for a section of 250 meters. This small castle within the sea walls of 120 m depth at the widest area was called Petrion, probably in reference to a the master of ceremonies of Justinian who built a palace there. The construction date of the castle is not known. It could even predate the Theodosian walls. It was noted in Chronicle Paschale that Petrion was the point where Constantine walls ended. If the castle had predated Theodosian extension, then it could have been a castle for the protection of the waterfront. There were two gates to Petrion on the seaside at the two ends of the enclosure. The one on the west is Phanarion Gate

⁷⁸ Dirimtekin (1956: 32-33). This section is still *in situ*.

⁷⁹ A. Berger. "Brahilion", in, *Dünden Büğüne İstanbul*, (vol II).

(Fener), so-called in reference to the high tower to the right of the entrance. The other is the Petri Gate which is the point where Petriion the walls separate to form the castle.⁸⁰

Petriion is the narrowest point of the Extra-mural Zone through the ages. The zone at this point measured less than fifty meters; it is the thinnest section of the Extra-mural Zone even in the present time. It is most probable that the Extra-mural Zone turned into a waterfront path at this point connecting the wider sections on both sides. At a 700 meters to the west of Phanarion Gate was the gate of Kynegos (Balat Gate). This gate could originally be Theodosian but it is not certain whether the small intra-mural harbour called Kynegion to the west of this gate originates from this period or not. This section will be further analysed in the following chapters.⁸¹

The Theodosian section of Keras fortifications were constructed as to leave an extra-mural foreshore like the Constantinian fortifications, probably with same reasons, as a defence zone, as a landing and due to the structural considerations. The degree of the natural sedimentation increased at this point when compared to the other sections of the Keras waterfront, as the sea was calmer. The foreshore between Blahernai (Ayvansaray) and Kynegos (Balat) is one of the widest sections of the Extra-mural Zone. There is not enough historical evidence to point the functional differentiations along the Theodosian Extra-mural for the Late Antique period. An order in the Theodosian Edict provides interesting evidence for the private use of the walls. Although this quoted note can be related with the land walls, it might have been the case for the sea walls.

We command that the towers of the New Wall, which has been constructed for the fortification of this most splendid City, shall, after the completion of the work, be assigned to the use of those persons through whose lands this wall was duly erected by the zeal and foresight of Your Magnitude, pursuant to the decision of Our Serenity. This regulation and condition shall be observed in perpetuity, so that said landholders and those persons the title to these lands may pass shall know that each year they must provide for the repair of the towers at their own expense, that they shall acquire the use of these towers as a special favour from the public, and they shall not doubt the care of repair and the responsibility therefore belong them. Thus the splendour of the work and the fortifications of the City shall be preserved, as well as the use of such fortifications to the advantage of private citizens.⁸²

⁸⁰ The function placed within Petriion, in Middle and Late Byzantine period were religious more than military. There was a monastery and two churches in the later Byzantine period. In present it is the site of the Patriarchy of Greek Orthodox Church, it is one of the most well preserved sections of the Haliç Walls.

⁸¹ See, below, Chapter 4.3.3.

⁸² Theodosian Code (1952: 429).

To what use could the towers of the walls be to the advantage of private citizens? Storage is the most suitable assumption, especially by the waterfront. However, there is no concrete evidence to support this speculation.

3.4. *Keras* of the Justinianic Era in Procopius' Buildings

If it were the Ancient Greeks of Byzantium who had defined the *chora* of the city by building shrines along the natural inlet *Keras* and Bosphorus, it was Justinian who defined the Christian *chora* of Constantinople by building churches at the peripheries. Procopius gives the list of the churches built by Justinian in the volume of his Justinianic history called "Buildings". Before the section giving the names and sites of the Churches and other buildings constructed by Justinian around *Keras* and Bosphorus, the historian makes a depiction of the relation between the sea and the city. This long passage is worth quoting; it is not only one of the best descriptions of the natural topography of Constantinople-Istanbul, but is also important for the role of inlet in the Late Antique city:

'Besides the city's other blessings the sea is set most beautifully all about it, forming curving bays, contracting into narrow straits, and spreading into a great open sea; and thus makes the city unexceptionally beautiful, and offers the quite shelters of harbours to navigators, thereby abundantly providing the city with the necessities of life and making it rich in all useful things. For in reality there are two seas embracing it, the Aegean on the other side and the sea called Euxine on the other; these units with each other to the east of the city, and rushing together as they mingle their waves and pushing back the solid land by invasion, they beautify the city as they surround it. So it is encircled by three straits, which open into one another, so disposed that they adorn and serve the city, all of them delightful for sailing, each pleasurable for the eyes, and very commodious for anchorage... The third strait (*Keras*), which branches off from the first (Bosphorus) towards the right, commencing at Sycae, as it is called, extends for a great distance along the side of the city which faces north, and terminates in the bay which forms its end. Thus the sea forms a Garland about the city... This bay is calm, being so fashioned by nature that is roiled, just as if limits were set there for turbulent waters and all billows were excluded from the area so as to do honour to the city. And, in winter, even should violent winds chance to fall upon open spaces of the sea and upon the strait, as soon as ships reach the entrance to the bay, they proceed for the rest of the bay without a pilot and anchored without precautions. For the circuit of the bay extends to a distance of more than forty stades, and furnishes anchorage throughout its whole extent; so that when a ship anchors there the stern rides upon the sea while the prow rests upon the land, as if the two elements contended with each other to see which of them would be able to render the greater service to the city.⁸³

Notwithstanding the enclosed harbours we mentioned above, Procopius gives some interesting details about *Keras*, which would be the pattern in the later eras. The harbour that was protected from the winter winds could have served as an anchorage space for the ships

waiting for the ancient navigation season between April and September. Nevertheless, they anchored the shore from their forepart, prow. This should have eased the down loading of goods to the shore as in the later periods. To which extent did the extra-mural shore serve this function is not stated. As A. Cameron has pointed, this passage describes a city structured on the waterfront. Procopius' Constantinople was laid according to seaways and harbours.⁸⁴

Procopius after writing "the *natura* of the bay" states that "the Emperor Justinian adorned it with buildings on all sides and thus made it still more notable". The most notable was the Church of Mary in Blahernai, outside the walls which the author mentioned elsewhere at the section he devoted to the churches of the "Mother of God". Procopius determines the position of the church, on the waterfront, which should mean, accessible from the waterfront, as the church was constructed at a distance to the sea. It was a stately and well-proportioned church as the other ones built by Justinian.⁸⁵ However, he does not mention the relics of the shrine, for which it was the second important Church of imperial ceremonies after Hagia Sophia. The attraction of this point should have created considerable waterfront traffic on the pier of Blahernai.

On the left of the bay, Justinian restored a church of St Lawrence that was close to Blahernai. After Blahernai, that means outside the walls towards Kosmidion, he established a shrine to St Priscus and St Nicholas which was right on the waterfront. At a distance to this church was the Saint Cosmas and Damian. Across the bay there was the church of Anthimius the foundations of which were built right on the waterfront. This church was built on a court on the beach surrounded by colonnades. Around Sycae was the Church of Martyr Eirene.⁸⁶

Procopius, who had criticised Justinian's passion for erecting buildings by the sea in the Secret History, here states that "for seeking to rival the sea in lending beauty to the land about the gulf, he set all these shrines, as in an encircling necklace, round about it."⁸⁷ However the Extra-mural Zone was not embellished as part of this "necklace", there is no mention of any Justinianic churches on the zone apart from the extra-mural Church of Mary in Blahernai and St Lawrence. This is interesting as Justinian had "a passion for building waterfront churches". The situation would not be different for the later Byzantine period, the

⁸³ Procopius (1961: 61).

⁸⁴ Cameron (1996: 102).

⁸⁵ Procopius (1961:39-41).

⁸⁶ Ibid. pp. 61-65.

number of churches on the Extra-mural Zone was very limited, none of them significant to deserve a complete description in the Byzantine sources.⁸⁷

It is known that Justinian had given Sycae the status of city with the name Justinianopolis. However, there is no evidence in "Buildings" for the possible constructions suitable for this conversion. However it may be speculated that the traffic between the new city and Neorion should have increased as reflecting the lively atmosphere of Procopius' description.

3.5. The Avaro-Persian Siege and the Heraclian Extensions at Blahernai

Constantinople was excellently positioned to act as the command centre of an empire in secure control of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. But once the Danube frontier was breached and hostile powers were established on the empire's inner, maritime facade, that position of vantage was transformed into one of great vulnerability. From the early fifth century, emperors were compelled to take active measures to assure its defence, and periodic thrusts by land or sea, by enemies or rebels, against the great city were to be a leitmotiv of the millennium which was to follow.⁸⁸

The last extension on the Keras fortifications was done in the age of Emperor Heraclius (610-641). The beginning of the Heraclian period is accepted to be *the terminus ad quem* of the Late Antiquity while being the beginning of the 'real' Byzantine Empire. The extension of the walls are the reflection of one of the events which led to this turning point, the Avaro-Persian siege of Constantinople in 626 AD. The siege took place in a time when Heraclius was on a campaign in the East. Persians led by Sahrbaraz, penetrated into the Asian provinces and reached Bosphorus where they sacked the suburbs, specifically, Chalcedon; while Avars, lead by Chagan crossed over the Anastasian walls and reached the Theodosian walls. Tsangadas states that "movements in the East had often before influenced movements on another frontier of the empire, but this was the first time that such an alliance took the form of anything resembling a strict cooperation."⁸⁹ The Byzantines managed to intercept the Persian and Avar envoys, which tried to support each other. The Avars had to attack the city by themselves at several points but were successfully confronted. Constantinople managed to survive this two-sided attack, however with the experience of what a real siege meant.⁹¹ The

⁸⁷ Ibid. 65.

⁸⁸ Cameron (1996)

⁸⁹ Howard-Johnson (1995: 131).

⁹⁰ Tsangadas (180:104)

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 105.

Avaro-Persian alliance could not succeed to take the city, however the peripheries, like Blahernai which was outside the proper defence line of the city, were sacked.

Its citizens believed that the City was saved by the aid of Virgin Mary and a similar divine ordinance had secured the Church dedicated to her name in Blahernai. After the siege, in 630 Heraclius ordered the construction of walls that would incorporate Blahernai within the fortified limits of Constantinople, with this church as well. The last extension of the sea walls was combining the Pteron of Blahernai with Theodosian sea walls (Fig.15). It was flanked by twelve new towers. Between the fourth and fifth towers was the gate to Blahernai and to the Church of Mary that most probably opened into an existing colonnaded street. Theophanes says that this portico called Karianos was built in the time of Maurice (582-602):

Maurice built the Karianos portico at the Blahernai and he had painters depict in it his deeds from his childhood up to his becoming emperor. He also completed the public bath, which is at the portico.⁹²

Leo Grammaticus states that Tiberius (578-582) founded the mentioned bath, “who restored many churches and hospices in this area”.⁹³ The pier of Blahernai that could have originally go back to the Byzantium period was turned into one of the landing stages in front of the gates of the city on the extra-mural zone.

The Late Antique formation of the extra-mural zone from the time of Constantine onwards concludes with the Heracleian additions. This great Late Antique mega-structure forms the basis of the later constructions on the Extra-mural Zone as well as its main connections with the inside.

The Heraclian age is also significant as the distribution of free bread was cancelled in his time. The reason for this is that the Egyptian province was lost to the Persians in 619. Thus the lifeline of Constantinople was cut. Even Heraclius had tried to re-establish the Roman rule on the East by successive excursions. A most unexpected enemy emerged in the south, which would wipe away the Persians; the Islamic conquests had started. Syria fell in 634, and one year after the death of Heraclius, Egypt and Alexandria were gone, this time with no point of return. This would change the patterns of provisioning on the waterfronts of Constantinople radically and the role of the Extra-mural Zone with its morphology as well.

⁹² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, here quoted after Mango (1972:28).

3.6. Conclusion: The First Outline of the Extra-mural Zone

In 324 AD Byzantium was selected by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great as the site for the construction of a new imperial capital city. The foundation of Constantinople can in no means be seen as a regular urban development; it was a great imperial project, which was to be completed by Constantine's successors since the reign of Theodosius II by the early 5th century. The specificity of the Late Antique period for this research is that the **Extra-mural Zone was first planned in this stage as part of the greater foundation of Constantinople.** The study has tried to understand the meaning of the Extra-mural Zone and the major factors, which could have determined its formation by considering the relational patterns between the sea and the "planned" capital city.

The foundation of Constantinople radically transformed the meaning and the form of the **frontiers of Byzantium.** The site was transformed from a peripheral crossroads to a centre, from a transit terminal to an imperial terminus, from the frontier of the Mediterranean culture to the centre of it. The paths which Byzantium hold for the provisioning and communication of the Antique Mediterranean turned into communication and provisioning lines of a new consumption centre. In addition new flow patterns emerged while their intensity increased; **the socio-economic trajectory of the city was expanded over the Mediterranean.** The provinces of the Empire, specifically Egypt, supplied the needs of this new capital city, whose main industry was to provision it. Constantinople was not only planned as a great capital city but also emerged as one of the greatest maritime cities known in the Mediterranean since the 19th century. **Constantinople was the New Rome and New Ostia-Portus at the same place.**

Constantinople, being the last of the Tetrarchic capital foundations, was planned, typically, as a fortified city. The Constantinian circuit of the walls were the first line of fortifications erected in the Late Antiquity; the limits of the city was defining a fortified territory four times the size of Byzantium. Only a hundred years after the Constantinian foundations, the limits of the city was further extended to the West by the construction of a new line of defence in the time of Theodosius. The reason for the erection of the Theodosian fortifications is not the over-congestion of the city within the Constantinian limits but is forming a stronger line of defence against the excursions of barbarian tribes from the Danube through Thrace. **Constantinople was a defensive capital city since its foundation in the**

⁹³ Ibid. p.128.

condition of the 'shifting frontiers' of the Later Roman Empire. In the first three hundred years of Constantinople, since the 7th century, it was the land frontiers of the Empire which were under threat and were constantly shifting. The maritime frontiers were secure and there was no major change in the structure of the Antique Mediterranean; at least its eastern section was still a *Mare Nostrum* from where the great cities of the Empire were provisioned. In these conditions the maritime frontiers of the capital city were constructed by a single line of defence and were weaker structures when compared to the Theodosian fortifications.

The fortifications of Constantinople were not only military structure; they formed a controllable socio-economic frontier. Late Antique Constantinople was a great fortified maritime city which redefined the waterfront of the Historical Peninsula throughout its extend as well as establishing the maritime terminals proper for the provisioning of the consumption centre. However, the Keras (Haliç) side and the Propontis (Marmara) side were different compared to each other. On the Propontis side the fortifications were constructed directly on the shore which were pierced by great imperial enclosed harbours, while the Keras fortifications were built at a distance to the sea with a foreshore left in-between; that constitutes the first sketch of the Extra-mural Zone. The comparison of these two types of frontiers is crucial for understanding the meaning of the Extra-mural Zone in the planned stage of the city's foundation.

The Late Antique planning projected new and great enclosed harbours on the Propontis side while the old harbours on Keras were retained.⁹⁴ As the Land Walls were frontiers pierced by gates at certain intervals, the maritime frontiers of Constantinople were pierced by great harbours. Almost two-thirds of the wharfage capacity of the city was on the Propontis. An explanation for this siting can be the direction of the maritime flows, which provisioned Constantinople. The city's necessities were mainly supplied from the Mediterranean. The ships via the Aegean, the Dardanelles and Propontis were fronting the city from the south side. Another explanation is the inner structure of Late Antique Constantinople. The enclosed harbours were structurally connected with the main public spaces of the city, which were the imperial *fora* placed along the main thoroughfare of the city running parallel to the Propontis. The specificity of the Late Antique Constantinople in regards to its maritime communications was that the city was planned as to receive its provisions mainly from the

⁹⁴ (The Harbours of Propontis were, from the east to the west: the harbour of the imperial palace, the harbour of Julian-Sophia (later called as Kontoskelion), the harbour of Ceasarius (that is a naval harbour used since the 7th century), the great harbour of Theodosius-Eleutharius).

Propontis side of the Historical Peninsula, contrary to the Antique Byzantium, Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul whose main maritime terminal was the inlet Keras-Haliç. Late Antique Constantinople was relatively oriented to the Propontis.

If the Late Antique Constantinople was designed as to relate with the sea by enclosed harbours, what was the function of the Extra-mural foreshore left on the Keras side? To repeat, the fortifications on the Keras side were built at a distance to the shore, even counting the infill of the later ages. Why was such a frontage left? The reasons for the planning of the Extra-mural foreshore in the foundation stage of the city can be three-fold: constructional; military and strategic; and, for providing a landing for city gates specifically at the terminal places for cross-inlet passages.

The constructional reasons can be related with the characteristics of the site's ground. The fortifications on Keras were constructed on the sedimentation zone formed by the alluvial deposits of the Inlet. The fortifications could have been built according to this geological factor, at the line where the ground was stronger which is at a distance to the shore.⁹⁵ The Extra-mural Zone marked the line suitable for the construction of great structures along the waterfront.

The military and strategic factors can also be related with the natural characteristics of the Inlet. The waters of Keras, unlike the waters of Bosphorus and Propontis, were relatively calm. Thus, in the case a hostile fleet entered the inlet they could easily assault on the shore. In addition, the depth of the shore was constantly sharp; after the sedimentation zone the banks sharply dropped which makes it easier for the greater vessels to front directly on the land. It is known that in such sites, the Roman military engineering had prospected to construct the fortifications at a distance to the shore.⁹⁶ The Extra-mural Zone was a *pomerium*, a defence zone on the front of the fortifications.

The third determining factor was the means how the intra-mural city was relating with the sea on the Keras side. The only new enclosed harbour in addition to the harbours of Byzantium was the small Kynegion harbour to east of Blachernai, which could at most be dating from the time of Theodosian extensions. The gates on Keras did necessitated landings

⁹⁵ This assumption was proposed by Dirimtekin (1956:9).

⁹⁶ An anonymous military treatise from the time of Justinian define the proper dimensions as no less than 18 meters and not more than 62 meters. If the front of the fortifications were left as wide areas that could also provide a landing for the construction of siege-machines.

in case there were no enclosed harbours.⁹⁷ For the foundation period, it is known that the section near Neorion harbour, called Perama, did functioned as an Extra-mural ferry landing for Sycae, the 13th region. The Extra-mural Zone formed a landing along the Inlet. The same landing could have been used for the along-shore fishing which was a waterfront pattern originating from the time of Byzantium. By projecting a foreshore on the front of the fortifications the Late Antique planners were also providing a ground for along-shore fishing by projecting a foreshore on the front of the fortifications.

The fortifications which defined the section from the Neorion harbour to Blachernai was constructed in Late Antiquity in three main stages: the section between Neorion harbour and Plateia (Cibali-Ayakapi) in the time of Constantine; the section between Plateia to Blahernai in the time of Theodosius II (425) and finally the small section in Blahernai constructed by Heraclius in 630. These Late Antique structures were restored and reconstructed within the same lines and remained as the major architectural boundary structure along the inlet side since the mid 19th century; they are still preserved in small sections between Cibali and Ayvansaray. Although constructed in different stages of Late Antiquity, these fortifications were structurally and architecturally uniform: they were approximately ten meters high and were constructed of stone and brick courses. At almost uniform intervals square towers were built projecting towards the outside.⁹⁸ The fortifications were constructed of a single defensive line with the exception of the Phanar-section. The section of Phanar was fortified by double walls as forming a small castle called the Petrion. The main architectural differentiations along the Keras fortifications were the intervals of the gates. However, it is not for certain, which of these are originally from the Late Antiquity.

The differentiations on the width of the Extra-mural Zone in the foundation period cannot be defined in accuracy as the shore-line changed in the following centuries. From Neorion

⁹⁷ The problematic here is to ascertain which gates were originally constructed in the period of Late Antiquity and what was the type of flows between the sea and the city. The foreshore across the thirteenth region Sycae (untill it was proclaimed as a town by Justinian) to the west of Neorion harbour should have been an important landing and a major point for cross-inlet passages. The market place noted at this point is the first historical reference for an Extra-mural habitation There should have been a landing at the Gate opening to Plateia (Unkaparı), to castrum Petrion, there was specific landings at Kynegos and Blahernai.

⁹⁸ A round tower, which existed at the site of present Yeni Camii Sultan Lounge, can be seen in the visual documents before the 17th century. This could be the tower called *Gömlikli Kule*. Dirimtekin also marked a round tower to the east of Bahçekapı near Sirkeci (the eastern terminus of Neorion harbour in reference to *Kal'a-i Zemin* maps of the late 19th century. These are the two exceptions to the square planned fortification towers on the Keras frontier. Some of the towers were higher as the

harbour to Perama, the foreshore could have been planned as a landing from the start as the line of the fortifications follows the foreshore at this section. It is most probable that the foreshore get very narrow at the point between Plateia and Petrion Castrum. This point marked the extension of the Constantinian fortifications. From Petrion to Blahernai the foreshore widened, which is the area, coinciding with the Theodosian and Heracleian extensions.

The extensive boundaries of the Extra-mural Zone, which are the fortifications, were laid within Late Antiquity and stayed the same for the next 1500 years. However, the Extra-mural Zone was a frontier opened to changes, as it was expandable on the seaside. By leaving a foreshore on the front of the fortifications the Late Antique planners did formed a ground which can function as a defence zone- a pomerium- and a continuous landing. The Extra-mural Zone was planned as a frontier open to changes by extensions on the inlet side.

The Late Antique Constantinople used its whole maritime frontier as terminals for the provisioning of the capital city. However, in the Middle and Late Byzantine period, the main custom and terminal zone would shift to Keras side, to the Extra-mural Zone. The transformation of the meaning of the Late Antique Maritime frontiers in the Middle and Late Byzantine period is the topic of the next chapter.

two towers in Zindankapı used as prisons in Ottoman period; the Constantinian Eugenius tower, the tower to the East of Phanar Gate.

CHAPTER 4

A MILITARY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRONTIER: EXTRA-MURAL ZONE IN THE MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIODS

4.1. Introduction: The Chain and *Xyloporta*

There is a paradox confronting the defenders of any capital city, and Constantinople in the period between the sixth to the twelfth century is no exception to this. This paradox resides in the simple fact that, as capitals, seats of government or imperial households, centres of social attraction and wealth, such cities usually hold this position because they are well situated via-a-vis communications, accessibility, transport, and, of course, supplies and provisions. Constantinople would not have become an imperial centre had this not been the case. There are some exceptions to this, but the principle holds true. On the other hand, however, this very accessibility makes such centres attractive to aggressors or invaders, both because they are perceived as foci of political and ideological power, and because they can actually be reached, overland or by sea, without too much difficulty. They are big and attractive targets.¹

The seventh century spread of the Islamic armies through the eastern and southern provinces of the Byzantine Empire happened within two decades, in the speed of the nomadic cavalry. The antique Mediterranean structure, which was formed by the Roman Empire and had continued even after the “fall” of the Western half, was to be shaken from its foundations.² The Islamic forces were there to stay and had even formed a considerable navy that consolidated the waterfront of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa by the mid of the seventh century.³ This was the great achievement of the Islamic governor Muawiya, who did not lose time to conquer the terminal points of the Byzantines on the Eastern Mediterranean; first Cyprus, then the islands of Rhodes, Cos, Crete and Sicily. After the first shock, the Byzantine fleet sailed on the Aegean to confront the Arab fleet, which they encountered on

¹ J.F. Haldon (1995:143).

² To exhibit how unaccepted the Islamic invasion was for the Byzantines, one can refer to the fact that Emperor Heraclius was the son of Carthage's governor, and had thought of transferring the capital of the Roman Empire to this city after the crisis of 619. Shortly after his death the North Africa, where he is said to select as the site of an alternative capital, had fallen as well as the provinces that he had regained from the Persians. For the age of emperor Heraclius see, A. Hür. “Heraclius” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (V/52-53).

the Lydian coast. The battle was a complete defeat for the Byzantines with the supremacy of Islamic sea power in the Mediterranean.⁴ After six years, Muawiya's forces reappeared in the Aegean taking Chios, even making raids into the Propontis till Chalcedon. Finally his forces captured Cyzicus at southern Propontis by 670-71, which formed a base point for his forces whose main objective was to take the capital city Constantinople. Two years later the Arabs succeeded in taking Smyrna. This completed the conquest of the main terminals, which once formed the provisioning and communication points of the Empire. The unexpected enemy did flow within the lines formed by the Empire for its own advantage.

The forces of Muavviya attacked the city of Constantinople several times between 674-678, mainly from the Marmara side and also possibly from the land by forces based in Hebdemon.⁵ The end for the series of attacks came with the strife of internal affairs of the Islamic State and the Byzantine capital survived these four years of blockade. In the first Islamic siege the Byzantines experimented with the Greek Fire for the first time. Although the Islamic forces did not attack the city on the Keras side, the strategic importance of the natural harbour, which was protected from the southern attacks, had increased over the Propontis ports of the city which were vulnerable to any navy that had managed to enter from the Dardanelles Strait. Nevertheless, at this period by the decline of provisioning from Mediterranean, the city would have been depending on Thrace and the Black Sea.

The second Islamic siege happened between 717-718 in the reign of Leo III, by forces headed by Maslama, the brother of Caliph Suleiman. As Tsangadas remarks, this second siege proves that the experience of the first Arabic siege had caused the Byzantines to reform their defence system, especially ones concerned with the sea. In the first siege the base for the Byzantine navy is recorded in sources as to be the harbour of Caesarius which was between the Theodosian and Julian harbours. However, in the second siege the Byzantine ships, which used the Greek fire against the hostile fleet, were based in the harbour of Neorion on Keras. Byzantine offensive maritime attacks were now centred within the inlet.

Furthermore another defensive device was designed; "an iron chain" that was stretched between the Eugenius Tower on the Historical Peninsula and the Kentarion on the side of Sycae. The defensive chain protected the bay and the navy from hostile attacks where they

³ Kaegi (2000: 86), see the same source for the transformation of imperial frontiers in the 7th century.

⁴ For the details of the navy battle see, Tsangadas (1980:).

⁵ For the first Islamic siege of Constantinople, see Tsangadas (1980:) The author specifically dwells on the role the city fortifications played within the first and second Islamic sieges.

performed raids whenever necessary passing over the lowered chain. This device would be in use in the successive sieges Constantinople till 1453 (Fig. 16).

It was noted above that chains stretched between towers on breakwaters enclosed the antique harbours.⁶ With the defensive chain of Keras designed between the two Arabic attacks, the Byzantines had realised that the inlet could be turned into a closed harbour itself. The natural harbour of the city was turned into an “enclosable” harbour which could be chained whenever necessary. The increasing strategic importance of the inlet was paralleled with its emergence as the main economic harbour of the city. The reasons for this will be dealt in the following sections.

The Arabic forces were not seen on the waterfront of the City for again. However, the series of sieges that Constantinople had to face continued well into the 9th century: 813/814 Bulgarians, 821/823 by rebel Thomas the Slav, 860 by Russians.⁷ The Russian forms the last of the series of sieges, which started in the 6th century, following this period, the city was safe till the IV Crusade of the 1204. The Russian attacks continued by 904 and 936, but these did not turn into sieges. The only exception is the 959 Hungarian attack, which was not considerable, compared to the others and was concerned with the Land Walls.

The siege of the city by rebel Thomas who had collected a great army in Asian provinces, which is noted to be 80 000 soldiers in some sources, against Emperor Michael II, is important for the walls of Keras. The forces of Thomas had succeeded to force the chain and attacked the sea walls on this side, with the land walls as well. The vulnerability of the walls led the successor of Michael II, Theophilus (829-842) to undertake the complete restoration of the sea walls on Keras. This is well known from the sources and from the inscription panels placed in the towers and gates. The urge of Theophilus for singing his name on the sea walls had been successful, so the sea walls are also known as the Theophilus walls.⁸ Theophanes marked his achievement as:

He (Theophilus) likewise showed his diligence by devoting himself to works of construction. He rebuilt from the foundations (those parts of) the walls (of Constantinople) that were fairly

⁶ As Dio Cassius stated, the enclosed harbour of Byzantium had mechanisms chaining its port. It is not mentioned in sources whether Constantinople's ports on the Propontis (Marmara) had similar devices; they probably could have, as their estimated entrance dimensions prove.

⁷ For the sieges of the 8-9th century see, Tsangadas (1980:).

⁸ For the Theophilus inscriptions on Keras-Haliç fortifications, see, Dirimtekin (1956: 68-76).

low, and having, so to speak, obliterated the effects of age, made them high and beautiful and altogether inaccessible to the enemy. These walls still exhibit his name written upon them.⁹

The restoration seems to be reconstruction at certain sections, especially at the entrance of the inlet. It is noted that Theophilus did rebuild the Eugenius tower, which was a great structure built in the time of Constantine, at a smaller scale. This was the strategic point where the chain was holding on the southern side. It is known that the Prosporon harbour had silted by the time of the seventh century. It is a question what happened to the walls at this quarter after the harbour silted. If not fortified earlier, this section could have to be completed within the restorations of Theophilus at this quarter with the Eugenius tower as well.

The other Theophilus achievement is opening a new gate to the city, however not on the defence line itself, but on a traverse wall at Blahernai. The wall that closed the Extra-mural Zone from the third Heraclian tower to the sea was, possibly built as a new brachileion. A gate called Xyloporta was opened on this traverse wall which provided the communication of the extra-mural zone with the extending waterfront; it most probably opened on to an alongshore way to the suburb Kosmidian (Fig.17). This gate opened to the pier and gate of Blahernai.

The answer to the question how far did the street opening to the Extra-mural Zone continued, is connected with the port of Kynegion. If the hypothesis, first founded by Pierre Gilles, in the 17th century, and widely accepted by the studies on the sea walls, that Kynegion was an intra-mural port right to the East of Balat Gate is reconsidered, then the street from Xyloporta could have at most reached this point. From the archaeological traces that are no longer preserved, Gilles had interpreted the three sections between four towers, to the west of the Balat Gate as the entrances to an intra-mural port which was serving to the district formed around the palace of Blahernai.¹⁰ There is no structure, like a bridge mentioned crossing over this interval. Then, Xyloporta opened to a street on the Extra-mural Zone, which served mainly for the palace, and the Church of Mary in Blahernai as did the imperial

⁹ Theophanes Continatus, here quoted after, Mango (1972:160).

¹⁰ P. Gilles (1988: 190) stated: "In the plain on the shore, situated at the foot of the sixth hill eastward, is the Palatine Gate called Kynegion. Outside the gate is a fine growth of plane trees. Near the gate inside the wall were formerly large arches, now filled up, through which the inhabitants used to sail their three-tiered galleys into a creek inside the city for the convenience of neighbouring palace. The Creek is entirely ruined and turned into a garden." This should be the "Küngöz" gate mentioned in the foundation books of Mehmed II and the "1556 *Tahrir Defteri*". The gate should be closed after the mid 16th century as it is mentioned at these sources as one gate of the city near the Balat Gate.

pier at this point. Kynegion was silted up in the Ottoman period where the along-wall street ended at Xyloporta (Dibedan- Eyüp Ensari Gate) that continued towards the Eyüp district.

The restoration of Theophilus was an important mark on the walls of the city where the Extra-mural Zone was formed as an “enclosed” space for its rights, defined by the Chain and Xyloporta. If it was in the following ages that the Extra-mural Zone had been transformed by the construction of buildings on its site, this was achieved by the clear demarcation of its sides, as a definite intermediary boundary structure in the Middle Byzantine period. Then, the inlet turned into the main port of Constantinople where the ancient closed harbour typology was mainly replaced by alongshore wharfage.

This chapter tries to investigate the transformation processes of the Extra-mural Zone in the Middle and Byzantine period and attempts for a possible reconstruction. The Byzantine Extra-mural Zone is not different from the Antique Byzantium and Late Antique Constantinople as being almost totally rebuilt by the Ottoman structures and as considering the scarcity of the archaeological evidence. First the meaning of the Extra-mural Zone, as an economic and military front, will be searched for within the transformation of the geopolitical structure of the Mediterranean in the Medieval Period, and then some of the typologies, which had been used in the medieval harbours, will be mentioned. Finally the fabric of the Extra-mural Zone will be represented for the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.

4.2. Generation of the Medieval Waterfront Typologies:

4.2.1. Re-territorialization of Mare Nostrum: Economic and Military Confrontations

As the borders ceased to define the extent of Roman authority, the *oikumene* was reduced to a central point from which Romanity radiated. The seventh and early eighth centuries, which witnessed three sieges of Constantinople by Avars and Arabs, not surprisingly also saw a sudden prominence of Constantinople... Constantinople became the defining point of the empire. 'For so long as the head remains, the empire will stand'. The dramatic heightening of a single geographic point of reference must be understood in the context of the collapse of the peripheral definition of the empire. The peripheral boundary that had contained and defined the empire disappeared, to be replaced by the radiating power of Constantinople.¹¹

¹¹ Olster (1996:93)

If the Romans had to turn from “rhetoric of borders to a new geographic self-definition,” where Romanity was indexed to Constantinople from the seventh century on, how did this centre as a gigantic ancient creation survive economically without the surplus of its former provinces?¹² In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Byzantine Empire experienced how a territorialisation network can turn out to be a means of de-territorialization. The ports of Mediterranean that formed terminals providing the necessities of the city turned into paths of hostile attacks. The Roman *Mare Nostrum* had re-turned into a “smooth space,” in the Deleuze-Guattarian terminology that means an undifferentiated space with undetermined flows.¹³ The smooth space now sided the walls of the capital city Constantinople. However, the dialectics of territorialisation constitutes a third stage; that is re-territorialisation. After the first shock of Islamic de-territorialisation, the Byzantines managed to re-territorialise the sea with new military and economic tactics. In this, the Byzantine Empire was not alone; the 7th and 8th centuries are a period when the Mediterranean was transformed from a Roman lake to a space where maritime cities were the sole points of geo-political differentiation. These cities as communication points, as F. Braudel defined, acted as sites where the traditional geographical relations of the Antique World continued with the emergence of new institutions.¹⁴ When the Mediterranean was restructured to become an interface between different emerging States, the notion of the “foreigner merchant” and the “external trade” was, likely, formed. The mechanisms to segregate these populations from the internal politics of the maritime city and to make use of them for the trade were the new challenges. Shores of the Mediterranean re-emerged as a “new frontier” with the cities as its territorial gates. The capital of the Byzantines was no exception.

The Byzantine Empire tried to preserve the ancient fiscal economy by controlling the ports that it could hold. The State was no longer the sole supervisor of the provisioning, unlike in Late Antiquity where the surplus was directly transported, stored and distributed by the imperial institutions. The role of the State had changed to the inspector of the economy within the conditions of a “smooth” geography. As the foreign merchants, like the hostile navies, could reach any point on the waterfront, it was only by controlling the trade in these points that the Empire had a control. However, the spatial mechanisms of surveillance had changed. The monumental ports of the Roman Empire had now become too expensive. It was not possible for the Byzantine State after the 7th century to run great infra-structural projects like imperial ports. The topography of the maritime cities did change with the

¹² *Ibid.* p.93.

¹³ For the Deleuze&Guttarian concepts of “smooth” and “striated” see, Chapter 1.1.

economic system itself. Especially the closed harbours sited, like those of Ephesus and Miletus and these cities could not recover the effects of natural destruction. The islands and cities where geography determined the harbour conditions emerged as important centres, a condition, which would define the geo-politics of the Mediterranean. Within these economic and strategic conditions, Keras emerged as the main harbour of Constantinople, with the Extra-mural Zone becoming an extensive harbour zone along the sea walls.

As Teall notes specifically for the grain trade between the seventh and tenth centuries, the loss of Egypt was compensated by the exploitation of new sources; this time Constantinople could not be dependant to one centre. The trade continued with some of the old provincial cities like Carthage and islands like Sicily, Sardinia and Cyprus.¹⁵ He states that the population decline of this period must not be exaggerated, immigrants escaping from the invaded territories rushed into the cities. Although the activity was concentrated mainly on Keras harbours, there was some traffic to the Marmara harbours.¹⁶

The Empire of Constantinople, in order to survive, devised new mechanisms of provisioning, which gave rise to new typologies. Starting with the 7th century the development of *apotheke*, *mitatia*, the great *oikoi*, and the concession quarters for the foreign traders, continued till the 12th century. The emergence of these typologies, which are important to understand the topography of the Extra-mural Zone in the Middle Byzantine period, are directly related with the dynamics of the Byzantine economy. As for the majority of Byzantine archaeology, the physical evidence for these typologies is very scarce. Mainly the scholars of Byzantine Economy generally sketch them from the evidence of the written sources. In fact, this is by the nature of the material, which is different from the Roman period. The medieval ports did not resemble the monumental Roman harbours. They were composed of more modest barracks and warehouses constructed by more transitory materials like wood. Thus the general sketch of the medieval maritime port typologies were less 'picturesque' than the Roman ports.

The spatial history of the Extra-mural Zone in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods is from a strictly controlled economic boundary to one that was pierced by several privilege mechanisms assigned by the State. The waterfronts were transformed from an internal

¹⁴ F. Braudel (1972).

¹⁵ Teall (1959: 89-139)

¹⁶ Teall notes a slave market in Staurion- Unkapanı which is a proof for the fact that the port activities had extended till this point in the time of Theophilus. Ibid.p.106.

boundary to an external boundary. Likewise the Extra-mural Zone became the battleground of the Byzantine economic policies, an arena of territorial confrontations within the boundary of the capital city Constantinople. This period is not only important for the restructuring of the Extra-mural Zone but also for the role the zone played within the Byzantine political and economic history. The Extra-mural Zone of the Middle and Late Byzantine period emerged as a boundary space differentiated by economic privileges.

4.2.2. *Apothekai*

The economic survival of the Empire and specifically Constantinople within the 7th and 8th century crisis was due to the success of the *naukleroi*, the navigators, when the land communications were cut by successive raids into the Byzantine territory. The maritime trade provided the only link “between the isolated limbs of the Byzantine territory”.¹⁷ The class that gained profit during this period was the sea merchants and captains. So that, for the time in two centuries the *naukleroi* succeeded the landed aristocracy, as Lopez states:

The physical survival of the entire provinces hinged on the success of the seamen in bringing food, weapons and other supplies. Moreover, the seventh century saw the liquidification of the old aristocracy and the breakdown, which the *naukleroi* temporarily filled. For the moment it looked as though the land of Minos and Ulysees was to become once more a *thalassocracy*.¹⁸

Thalassocracy means a political system dominated by the maritime relations, after the Greek word for the sea, *thalassa*. However, it should not be thought that the Byzantine aristocracy was totally converted to navigation. There was a typical negative attitude towards the traders as was the case in Antiquity. As Jacoby states that trade was claimed by the Byzantines as “a lowly occupation involving lying and cheating, which does not benefit the respectable men”.¹⁹

Lopez points to *apothekai ton basilion kommerkion* as a device for the economic surveillance and for the maintenance of the new geographic system based on a number of controlled points. It is within the 7th century that they sprouted in the Byzantine ports.²⁰ *Apothekai* were buildings or barracks, where the tolls were collected and wares of foreign and native traders

¹⁷ Lopez (1978:X-79).

¹⁸ Ibid. p. X-98.

¹⁹ Jacoby (2000: 130). The anecdote telling that Theophilus had sank the merchant ship in the property of his wife, saying that an emperor cannot be called a *naukleroi*, is instructive.

²⁰ Lopez (1978: XIV-347).

were inspected. In origin it was some kind of a state warehouse, the *horrea*, its title dating back to the 6th century. Several of them are known in the maritime cities.²¹ Hendy states that, *apothekai* was more than a simple warehouse, as private merchants could have an agent in it, or more probably attached to, such an institution *Apothekai* was a sales-point for the surplus products- especially the luxury ones.

'It seems *prima facie* clear that the production of luxury goods, and particularly that of silk stuffs, by the state *ergodasia*; their distribution the regions by not entirely certain means, and their sale there in the state *apothekia*; and the collection of state taxation levied upon sales conducted within the warehouses- or customs-depots as they could equally well be termed- by the *kommerkiarioi*; were all intimately connected.'²²

Hendy states that the *apothekai* with the tax *kommerkia* suggest a change in administrative forms and practices of a desperate government searching for economies and unexploited sources of revenue within the conditions of the seventh century. The luxury goods had to carry seals of *kommerkion*, which was stamped in *apothekai* at a particular place, at a particular time by the officials. These were placed at certain places within the Byzantine property and especially at the ports.²³

The specific harbour *apothekai* is the main typology that is known, without details from the 7th century, a kind of a customhouse where goods were stored and certain officials supervised their trade. By the Middle Byzantine period, Constantinople emerged as a production centre of luxury products, as well as being a consumption centre. The state was involved in these industries, especially had a complete monopoly on silk trade. The harbours of the Constantinople should have been the terminal for the *apothekai* through out the Byzantine territory. Müller-Wiener notes the entrepots at Neorion, which had burned in the great fire of 559, called *parathalassiai apothekai*, a rare instance for the *apothekai* in Constantinople without details of its physiognomy.²⁴ These could have been like the courtyarded *horrea* of Antique Ostia, or like the hypostyle exchange buildings that is known from Greek Delos. The Ottoman counterpart for the *apothekai* is *kapans*, which will be mentioned in detailed in the related chapter.

²¹ Hendy (1989) notes the *horrea* in Tyre and Alexandria.

²² *Ibid.* p. 631.

²³ Hendy, noting the placement of *apothekai* at places such as the Balkan border where the population was mainly consisting of poor folks, proposes a second and developed form for the *apothekai*. He says that *apothekai* more than a building was the name of a system where the surplus taxation was supervised and the strategic goods like arms and guns were provisioned.

²⁴ Müller-Wiener (1997:12-13).

4.2.3. *Mitatia* and Concession Quarters:

The thalassocratic character of the Byzantine State lasted till the late 9th century when, the Empire managed to restabilise its territories on the Balkans and Asia. The landed aristocracy regained its power and thus the maritime trade became an unlikely occupation once more. This was the time when the rule that the foreign trades should be kept outside Byzantine territory was revised. As Lopez states:

By the late ninth and early tenth century, if not earlier, the Byzantine government must have realised at long last that it was not enough to quarantine foreign merchants at peripheral places, and that it might be better to invite them to do their business at the very hearth of the Empire, where they could be best watched. This reversal policy produced one of Byzantium's most original institutions, the *mitatia* of Constantinople.²⁵

The agrarian character of the empire after the ninth century could have caused a decline in Greek navigation, which could not follow the technological superiority of the foreign merchants, especially the western European city-states where the state and the church supported the overseas trade. The *mitatia* system encouraged the Byzantine traders to wait for foreign traders. To these were added the Latin city-states beginning by the tenth century.

Mitatia was originally the word used for the lodgings of the foreign ambassadors outside the city. They were denied access to the capital and strictly watched. The *mitatia* of the merchants started with the same principles as buildings in the suburbs of Constantinople where they were let by the agreements signed with their government called *pakton*. D. Jacoby states that the Muslims, Syrians, Bulgarians and Russians were "subject to residential segregation in the *mitatia*, where they and their interactions could be easily supervised."²⁶ Their period of stay and trade were also restricted. Lately, the foreigners were permitted in the City and on the Extra-mural Zone.

The *mitatia* forms one of the main typologies of the medieval ports comprising warehouses and quarters very much like the Arab *hans*. If, there has been any surviving example for the *mitatia* in Constantinople, these had been juxtaposed by the structures of the following periods. Similar types are known in other Mediterranean ports as the Arab *fundaq* and the Latin *fundaco*. It is in Venice that the old *Fundaco* are still preserved. A well-known example is the *Fundaco dei Turchi* (Fig.18). It is said to be originally the *fundaco* of the

²⁵ Lopez (1978: XIV-348).

²⁶ Jacoby (2000:131). For the notion of foreign merchant in Middle Byzantium period see the same source.

Byzantines in Venice. The facade and the column capitals support this thesis.²⁷ *Mitatia* of Constantinople that were constructed for the foreign merchants could have been similar to these examples. The “*Elçi Hani*” of the Ottoman İstanbul, near Çemberlitaş, could be given as another cross-reference. It was a courtyarded building with rooms for the foreign ambassadors. There were other Hans reserved for specific merchants, like the ones for the Iranians.

Mitatia was a kind of *apothekai* specifically reserved for foreign merchants. It seems that the *mitatia* of the later Middle Byzantine period could have existed within walled Constantinople. Muslims, Germans, Franks, Jews and Latins had specific buildings given for their use. According to the capacity of mercantile flows the number of the buildings forming the *mitatia* could have increased. In fact, *mitatia* seems to form the basis of the foreign concession quarters in Constantinople. These were zones for specific groups of merchants whose states were given trading privileges with the exemption from certain taxes.

It is different to draw the line between a *mitatia*, which could well be a quarter of buildings, and a concession quarter proper. For this it is necessary to define what trading privilege and concession means. Byzantine state had let the foreigners to do their trade in *mitatia*, however this does not mean that they were free of taxes, on the contrary, *mitatia* was strictly controlled. The trading concessions were the rights given by the state to merchants; these rights were free trade and a lower tax. Pragmatically, it was necessary to separate the privileged from the taxed, and this could have been only on the waterfront, at the wharfs. The mechanism that the state devised was to assign specific piers called *scala*, to the privileged. These were wooden jetties. Indeed this was not only a mechanism applied in the foreign trade. Byzantines, especially the church, military officials and aristocratic families could have such privileges as will be dealt in the next part.

The first four groups of foreign traders, who were given sectors within the city, were the Amalphians, Lombards, Muslims and the Caraites Jews. Venetians were given the right to trade in the city by the late 10th century. It was by the time of Alexios Komnenos that they signed a chrysobull assigning considerable district on the extra-mural and intra-mural zone. They were followed by the Pisans and lately Genoese. The Latin quarters are better known due to the evidence that can be found in their archives. The quarters in Constantinople were

²⁷ Now converted to a museum, Fundaco dei Turchi is a multi-storeyed building around a courtyard by the Grand Canal. This is not the only fundaco preserved in Venice; there are others like the Fundaco

given to the foreigners by imperial chrysobulls. Within the dynamic of the Byzantine politics they could be extended, revised, or deleted. Thus, it is not possible to suggest very stable limits for these separate concession quarters.

The basic pattern of a concession quarter was a section of the Extra-mural Zone and some areas within the city. These were communicated by special assigned landing stages- *scala* by the waterfront, a gate of the city and a main street. The *scala* were most probably wooden jetties as a short projection to the waterfront, as the waters of the inlet are deep. On the Extra-mural Zone were buildings for storage, services for the ships, sometimes shops and dormitories. One, or a number of gates, which opened to the main arteries of the districts, connected the extra-mural zone to the intra-mural quarter. The evidence of these quarters are important as they give information of the tissue on the extra-mural from the Eugenius Tower to Drungarious gate (Odunkapı) by the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Although Byzantines were generally silent about the details of everyday life, the relations and controversies with these foreigners were mentioned as part of Byzantine political history.

As a result of this each Latin quarters tried to secure their boundaries. It is mentioned that walls were built between the quarters, like the ones that are known to exist in the latter Galata on the opposite shore. However, there is no archaeological evidence to support this theory of internal division lines within the Historical Peninsula. If they existed, they could have been built as transitory structures; or the buildings could have been built in a row with blank walls on one side to form the wall. The system of assigning specific gates to the quarters on the sea walls was in a way such a precaution; however the evidence of the traverse walls is lacking. Nevertheless, the quarters were devised as a mechanism to segregate and quarantine the foreigners in definite sectors. D. Nicol, specifically for the chrysobull signed in 1084 by the Venetians states that:

The establishment of the Venetian quarter in Constantinople in 1082 was initially intended to supply temporary lodgings and storage to visiting merchants between two shipping seasons. Yet shortly afterwards some Venetians began to prolong their residence in the city and over time a growing number of them, both visiting and settled traders, resided outside the original quarter.²⁸

Nicol emphasises that the style of the chrysobull was not that of a total concession but “by which Byzantine emperors were accustomed graciously to confer privileges”. These could be

Tedeschi. See, Tucci (1985: 38-55).

²⁸ Nicol (1994:135).

given for a service in return or simply as “a gesture of good will”.²⁹ In fact, “ghetto” is a more suitable term for the foreign quarters in Constantinople before the Latin Conquest, than the term “colony” which recalls a preferable settlement for the foreigner. There were trials of the Latins to break this pattern by marriages with Byzantine women; in this way they could have property in the other sections of the city. The ghetto pattern in the harbour of Constantinople should not be interpreted as a complete concession of the Empire but as a precaution for the increasing foreign involvement in trade. The boundary was transformed into a greater zone, which sided both fronts of the sea walls. This could be interpreted as the penetration of the boundary condition into the inner territory of the city. Constantinople is not the only medieval city to apply this method, which is an evolved form of *mitatia*, *fundaq*, and *fundaco* in the Mediterranean ports.³⁰

4.2.4. Great *Oikos* and their *Scala*

The *mitatia* should not be taken as an evidence for the dynamics of the internal trade within Byzantine territory. It is true that there was no imperial horrea, imperial ships, imperial officials as had existed in the Roman period; but the Byzantine Middle Ages had devised other means for internal trade. These can be entitled as the “great houses” of Constantinople, *oikoi*. Great houses owned territories on the provinces, their granaries and piers on the transit ports, specific piers in Constantinople. They made exempt from taxes by the State. P. Magdalino states that “in theory, it was possible for a grain of wheat to travel from a field in Thessaly to a dinner table in Constantinople without ever leaving the property of the consumer.”³¹ With the gained privileges it was possible to surpass any “break of bulk.” The monasteries, aristocratic families, poor houses were given these privileges. This was a system of endowment, which resembles the Ottoman “*vakıf*” system. The reflections of this system on the topography of Constantinople are summarised in a unique document, which is referred to by Magdalino, in a paragraph from the history of Michael Attaleiates from the 11th century.

On the seashores which griddle the Queen of Cities there are wooden jetties (*proteichismata*) of many years standing, as it were embracing and enfolding the neighbouring sea or resisting its swirling, and providing arriving ships and merchants of the earth with the facility or anchorage and for the establishment of exchanges. These are called *skalai* in the common dialect. They had various masters, but those who more than any other acquired ownership

²⁹ Ibid. p.40.

³⁰ For the Jewish ghetto in Venice, see, Sennett (1994).

³¹ Magdalino (1995:39).

was the poor-houses and hospitals, and other sacred houses and various monasteries, not only in the reigning city itself, but on certain of its suburban coasts. And quite simply, all the foreshores had as owners those who owned them from the land according to ancestral custom and the imperial decrees, which grant the access to the sea to those who owned the adjoining land.³²

This passage depicts the condition of Constantinople harbours before concessions were given to the Venetians and it is important to note that the wooden piers devoted to private uses, were well developed before this period. Magdalino stresses that this passage “warns us taking too narrow and compartmentalised a view either- again thinking solely in terms designated, strictly localised port areas and commercial quarters. It shows, rather, that maritime traffic and merchandise entered the city at several scattered points along the coast, where much buying and selling was conducted right at the water’s edge.”³³

Another important evidence that this quotation provides is the pattern of ownership on the foreshore. The writer states that according to ancestral custom, the possession of the waterfront was based on the ownership of the adjoining land. This information fills the void of concrete evidence for the sections of Byzantine extra-mural zone apart from the Latin colonies. The *oikoi*, most probably, did not only own the “*scala*” but also the portion of land that sided it as an area of importation. This system seems to predate the Latin Quarter model, as for the *scala* given to the Genoese were originally in the possession of a monastery. These kinds of *scala* could have been spread along the extra-mural zone, especially near the main gates. Or, there were the posterns belonging to the buildings siding the walls inside, there could have been similar *scala* directed to these points as well. Even these could have been seafront buildings, comparable to the Ottoman seashore residence “*yali*”.

The great *oikoi*, *mitatia* and concession quarters constitute the basis of the urban functions within the Extra-mural Zone between the 9th and 12th centuries. The provisioning of Constantinople till the Latin invasion was facilitated by a multiplicity of merchant communities. As the best documented of all the privilege areas were those of the Latins, a false picture of a foreign monopoly appears in the late years of the Middle Byzantine period. Benjamin of Tuleda who visited Constantinople in the eleventh century had remarked “Here is the common city of the world”.³⁴ This simply meant “cosmopolite”. The patterns forming the cosmopolitan maritime city were diffused. The Extra-mural Zone as the threshold of

³² Michael Attaleiates, here, quoted after Magdalino (1995:42).

³³ *Ibid.* pp.39-40.

these flows was different from the other sections of the city; it had begun to take its shape for the following centuries.

4.3. The Extra-Mural Zone Prior to the Fourth Crusade

From across the great harbour of the Golden Horn, the appearance of the City was very different. There, in front of the walls, you see a foreshore, increasing gradually with the centuries, covered with wharves and warehouse and quays at which the merchant ships were moored, and farther up even houses were built on piles over the water. Numerous gates opened into the busy district behind. Here there was little greenery to see. Between was the City's commercial energies, the offices of the shipowners and exporters, the establishment of foreign traders. It was here that the Italian merchants were first allowed to settle.³⁵

After the description of certain typologies on the Keras side of Constantinople, the topography of the Extra-mural Zone before 1204 can be depicted. The description will start by the Tower of Eugenius to Blahernai, from the chain to Xyloporta. However, before that it is necessary to revise the general structure of Constantinople as it evolved in the Middle Ages.

The structures of Late Antiquity still dominated Constantinople of the Middle Byzantine period: the fortification walls, the former imperial fora with the monumental columns of the earlier emperors, two arms of Mese, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene, Holy Apostles. However, although the form has been preserved its meaning had changed. These monuments in the eyes of the citizens were places where myth and history were mixed.³⁶ Not only the *annona*, the distribution of bread, was cancelled but also much of the antique commodities; like the monumental baths, theatre and gladiator games. The hippodrome as the main space of the public ceremonial continued its importance till the Latin invasion. Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene were now the important pilgrim centres of Orthodox Christianity; they were equally important for the Slavs, Russians and Bulgarians. The commercial district was mainly between Augustaeon and Theodosius Forum, which continued down to the harbour zone on Keras. There are three main structural changes from the Late Antique city: the diminishing

³⁴ Benjamin of Tuleda, here, quoted after, J. Ebersolt (1996: 27).

³⁵ Runciman (1964:185).

³⁶ For the transformation of the meaning of the Late Antique monuments in Middle Byzantine period as it can be understood from the evidence of *Parastesis Syntomoi Chronikai*, see Cameron&Herrin (1984).

importance of the harbours on the Propontis, the increasing importance of Blahernai and the increase in the number of churches and monasteries.

The imperial harbours on Propontis were expansive structures, difficult to sustain. The Theodosian harbour was the first one to decline; it silted to turn first into a swamp and then a vegetable garden. The Julian harbour, also known as Kontoscalion was revised in the Late Byzantine period. This did not mean a total abandonment of these harbours; there were probably specific quays for the districts behind the sea-gates on the Propontis. However, the orientation axis of the city was now on the Keras side, towards the natural harbour.

Although the Great Palace was preserved as the ceremonial centre, especially with the Comnenian dynasty, 1081-1204) the palace of Blahernai had turned into the main residence of the imperial family. The Church of Mary in Blahernai, with its most precious relics, was one of the most important pilgrimage sites in Constantinople. The Blahernai Palace- Church of Mary was forming a miniature of the pattern of the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia. Thus, in the later years of the Middle Byzantine period, the environs of Blahernai should have emerged as a point of attraction, especially for the wealthy citizens and the bureaucrats. The impact of Blahernai could have reached till Phanarion. The Blahernai district formed an exception to the general character of the “green belt” between Theodosian walls and the Constantinian limits, which was largely formed of scant spaces and fields and was underpopulated.

Monasteries as an institution did inherit the public services of the Late Antiquity. They were not only religious spots but also were involved in the city economy. As endowments having the privileges of tax exemption, they distributed food and bread for the lower sections of the city's population. There were monasteries within the populated Constantinian limits of the city, on the “green belt” till the Theodosian walls, and on the peripheries. The number of the churches on the Keras side increased in the Middle Byzantine period; they were dominating the northern slopes of the inlet and the views of the visitors.

The city, with its relics, demands, opportunities, attracted many visitors from all the Mediterranean and European world. Giouard states that the experience of the visitors to Constantinople in the Middle ages should have been very much like what the Italian immigrants to New York had by the late 19th century. An unconceivable gigantic city floating over waters:

In the ninth and tenth century, when the Roman settlements of the west had shrink to populations of a few thousand people making do with patched-up corners of their sacked and gutted cities; while the colonnades crumbled, and weeds sprouted from the amphitheatres and temples, Constantinople floated like a vision above the waters of Bosphorus, still inviolate, still powerful, the biggest, richest and the most sophisticated city in the world. Visitors from the west brought home wonderful stories in which truth and fantasy were curiously mixed, for a big city was outside their experience.³⁷

Like the Ghetto of New York, what the Latins would built in Constantinople would be a facsimile of their life in the homeland.

The harbour zone between Eugenius Tower and Zeugma communicated with the intra-mural city by a number of landing stages and gates. The number of the gates on this section, especially between Eugenius Tower and Drungarius Gate (Odunkapı) for a distance of one kilometre, was six or seven. This means approximately a gate for each 140-170 meters. The sea walls were perforated at very short intervals at this section compared to the other parts of the fortification walls. If the Ayazma Gate was opened in the Ottoman period, the distance between Drungarius Gate and Plateia Gate was 600 meters. The short intervals of the gates between Eugenius Gate and Drungarius Gate, naturally, are a proof for the congestion of harbour activities at this zone. However, it is a question whether all of these had existed since Late Antiquity; or whether they were opened in later Byzantine period.

Prosphorion and Neorion, the closed harbours of Byzantium and Late Antique Constantinople form the basis of the harbours on the Keras side. Prosphorion had silted well by the 7th century. However, the port functions could have continued in this area on the strip of land formed in front of the breakwaters with more modest landing stages. The process is not well documented.

At the side of the Eugenius tower forming the eastern limits of the old port was an important landing stage called *Scala Timassius* (Fig.19). The scala served for the Gate of Eugenius to the east of the tower with the same name. This was an imperial landing stage, specifically used for the ascensions to the Church of Hagia Sophia. The Gate probably opened to a path, more or less coinciding with the land walls of the later Topkapı Palace. The imperial scala was traditionally the place where the bride of the emperor was received in the reception ceremony organised for her arrival to the city. It should also be the place noted by the Russian pilgrims, where they landed to reach the main church of Constantinople. In close

vicinity, should have existed a new *scala* for the Chalcedonian landing stage, which originally was within the harbour pool of Proosphorion.

Beginning at Proosphorion till Drungarion Gate were quarters of the Latin city-states, from East to West, the Genoese, Pisans, Amalphians, and Venetians. Between the Pisans and Amalphians was the Quarter of the Jews. These concession quarters placed within the inner and outer limits of the city boundary were areas of continuous conflicts. The Latin city-states were rivals in the Eastern Mediterranean trade and their confrontations were reflected on the quarters in the city of Constantinople. The extensive boundary at this section was divided into internal differentiations, which were like miniature territorial demarcation lines within the Byzantine capital. The Latins, frequently, attacked each other, sometimes forming coalitions. The native Byzantines were sometimes involved in these quarrels, not missing the opportunity to fight with the Latins they dislike, even by siding another Latin. The State was involved in these rivalries punishing a group by assigning some part of their quarter to another Latin State or as a reward on the contrary.

The area, more or less coinciding with the former pool of Proosphorion was assigned as the Genoese Quarter by 1155, in the reign of Manuel Komnenos.³⁸ Genoese were the last of the Latin city-states to possess a quarter in Constantinople and the limits of their ghetto was expanded and limited for several times.

The Genoese quarter started by the Eugenius Gate and extended till the Gate of Veteris Rectoris or *Porta Bomu*. The Gate of Veteris Rectoris was closed in the Ottoman period, its exact placement is not known; it may coincide to the *Sirkeci İskelesi* of the later ages. The Genoese extra-mural zone was served, according to the first concession, by a single landing stage. In the 1192 Chrysobull Isaac added another, and in 1201 Alexius Angelus, a third. C.M. Brand states that these three landing stages where the *scala* of the Monastery of

³⁷ Giouard (1986:3).

³⁸ For the history and topography of Genoese Quarter see, Brand (1997:197-221); Hür, A. "Cenevizliler", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul*, (II/407-408). Shortly after the trade concession of 1155, the Genoese area was sacked by the Venetians, Pisans and the native populace, who were permitted by the State as a penalty for the German-Genoese alliance. In 1169, the Genoese property was restored but was once more attacked by the Venetians in 1171. It is only by 1179 that they managed to anchor to their quarter. In the time of Adronicus they suffered from the "Latin massacre" when the Byzantines pillaged the Latin quarters. After a short interval, they reappeared and finally in 1192, they signed a Chrysobull with Isaac Komnenos, which confirmed the expansion of their quarter. After another period of conflict to which the German mercenaries were involved, the Genoese regained their quarter by extension in 1201.

Manuel³⁹, which had a fourth landing between the Genoese and Pisan quarters. Originally, the Genoese quarter was formed around a porticoed street, *Embolus de St Cruce*, and possessed several buildings (*hospitia*) and a warehouse (*fundicum*).⁴⁰ The Quarter was not a single block of land and expanding into the Koparia district. A monastery and some houses separated it from the wharfs (which could have been inside the walls).⁴¹

The Genoese extra-mural zone, like the Pisan was not as wide as the Venetian. The distance between the sea walls and the shore in the 19th century was not more than 50 meters. From this should be subtracted the sedimentation of the Ottoman period. Müller-Wiener notes that some of the Genoese landing stages were formed of two piers, *lignae scalae duae*. It is not possible to know whether there was an urban tissue, like in the Venetian one on this foreshore. Buildings could have existed but they could not have reached the dimensions of the Venetian zone, as their extra-mural area was at least twice the width of this area.⁴²

The Pisan quarter was between the Genoese district on the East and midway between the Hikanatissa Gate and Neorion Gate on the West. Pisans were invited to Constantinople in 1111, as part of the Comnenian strategy to break the Venetian monopoly.⁴³

The Pisan Quarter falls within the limits of the Neorion port and included the Gate called with the same name. In the 1111 chrysobull two landing stages were given, while in 1192 and 1199 two more were assigned. The Quarter was formed of eighteen houses and twenty-four plots of land. Like the other concessions, the Pisan developed around a colonnaded street or portico, an *embolum* perpendicular to the sea, that most probably was connected to the Gate of Neorion (Bahçekapı)⁴⁴. It included “two churches, a hospital, a cemetery, warehouses, shops, mills, and other appurtenances. The bulk of the revenues of the quarter belonged to the board of works of the Pisan Cathedral”.⁴⁵

³⁹ Probably, the same as the Apolothegon Monastery which is an important reference point for the area.

⁴⁰ Müller-Wiener (1998:23).

⁴¹ Likewise, some houses belonging to the natives separated the Kalamanos Palace, also known as Botaniates, given to the Genoese by the 1192 bull, from the rest. After the 1201 Chrysobull the Genoese gained the houses formerly belonging to the Hypsile Monastery. Brand (1997:218).

⁴² Müller-Wiener (1998: 25).

⁴³ The Pisan quarter flourished after 1162, when Manuel Komnenos forbid their existence inside the city, as a penalty for allying with Frederick Barbarossa. In 1170, Manuel changed his mind, and readmitted them to their former quarter. It was enlarged in the time of Isaac in 1192. Like the Genoese quarter their quarter was damaged by the Latin massacre. In 1199 they received a new wharf and other properties.

⁴⁴ Ayşe Hür. “Pisalılar”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (VI, 253).

⁴⁵ Brand (1997: 218).

The next two quarters originally belong to the Amalfians and Caraites Jews. However, they were included within the Venetian Quarter after the 12th century. What will be mentioned here will be their condition before the Venetian concessions. Amalfians were the first Italian city-state to have a quarter in Constantinople in the late 9th century, which lasted till 1082 Venetian Chrysobull. Their presence in Constantinople after this date was connected to the Venetians. There is not enough information about Amalfian quarter. They first settled between Peramatis Gate (Balıkpazarı Gate) and Hikanatıs Gate⁴⁶ and had a monastery and church inside the walls. They could have had a landing stage, which cannot be properly located.

The district of the Caraites Jews was behind the later, postern of St. Marc (Yeni Camii Gate), to the East of Hikatenissa gate. The Carite Jews had migrated from Asia Minor mainly by the late tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴⁷ They had a Synagogue, probably, at the site of the later Yeni Cami. Their district was part of the Venetian quarter, at its eastern end. The Jews of this area continued to live there with newcomers in the Ottoman period when the Latin quarters had been eradicated. Their settlement forms one of the most continuous patterns on the Extra-mural Zone and will be further studied in the next chapter.

The Venetian quarter in Constantinople is the best documented among the Latin quarters, thanks to the archives in Venice. It is not different from the other quarters, as almost no archaeological remains are available with the exception of the building foundations discovered within the courtyard of Balkapanı.⁴⁸ However, the descriptions in the original sources do show some parallels with the evidence of the Ottoman Istanbul and this also holds for the tissue of the Extra-mural Zone within the confines of the quarter.

It was in 992 that the Venetians had trading rights and facilities within the Byzantine Empire, in the form a Chrysobull issued by Basil II and Constantine VII. In 1084, Alexios I Komnenos extended the privileges by the definition of a Venetian Quarter in Constantinople. As D. Nicol pointed, this was not a total quarter in the sense of ownership at this stage. Venetians were given a number of separate buildings in the market of Perama. This area could be the place where Venetian commercial energies were centred since 992.⁴⁹ In the fifth

⁴⁶ This maybe a postern later transformed to the Yeni Cami Gate.

⁴⁷ Jacoby (2000:225).

⁴⁸ For the Venetian traces in the Balkapanı Han, see Ađır (1999: 91-97).

⁴⁹ Nicol (1994:62-63).

point of the Chrysobull issued by Alexios I, the general lines of the district was drawn, as Nicol summarises:

The Venetians are to be allotted a number of shops, factories, and houses in Constantinople in the market area of Perama, with free access to and egress from all the district stretching from the Jews Gate to Vigla (the Watch Gate) with its warehouses and its three landing stages on the Golden Horn; in addition the church of St Akindynos, which seems already to have been granted to the Venetians, is to enjoy the annual revenue of bakery alongside it...⁵⁰

The number of the wharfs and landing stages was three; the largest of them was *Scala Maior*. It was by the Chrysobull of Manuel Komnenos, in 1148, that the whole area where the former buildings of the Venetians existed was made over to them as a ghetto where they would be confined.⁵¹

The properties which were given to the Venetians in 1082, existed along three gates on Perama district: the Jew's Gate or *Porta Perama* (Balıkpazarı Kapısı); the Gate of St John the Carnibus (Zindan Kapı); and, the Drungarious Gate-Gate of Vigla (Odunkapı). It was formed on the two sides of the Keras walls, on the Extra-mural Zone and the inner city. Inside the walls the centre was the *Embolum* of Perama. Here were some warehouses and business premises of the Venetians. There were a number of churches.⁵² Houses abutted the sea walls on the two sides. In front of the houses attached to the Extra-mural Zone side was a main street running parallel to the shore and combining the three scala of the Venetians. It is not possible to know, whether this continued through the other Latin Quarters as well. The *scala* on the Drungarious Gate was known as the Drungarios pier. Tsangadas states that the name is derived from the title of a Byzantine office. This fits with the title Vigla, the official who was a night guard. There could have been a police station in front of the Gate.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.61. The seventh point of the chrysobull mentions a *practikon* where the Venetian immobile properties were listed. Unfortunately, this list does not survive.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 88. By Manuel's Chrysobull, the Venetians were separated to two categories; the permanent residents, *burgensis*, and the ones who were there for transitory business. As the other Latin city-states were given similar privileges, the Venetians were hostile to them and this caused disturbances as listed above. After the 1170 rights given to Pisans and Genoese, the Venetians attacked and plundered the Genoese quarter. The emperor asked them to pay the causality. As they refused, they were expelled in 1171. By the year 1179, the situation was restored. But at the enthronement of Andronicus, the Byzantine citizens provoked by the clergy attacked the Latin Quarters and realised the famous massacre that the Latins would not forget. The survivors were sold to the Turks.⁵¹ After this crisis the Venetians resettled in the city by 1183, their rights were restored by 1187. The Chrysobull of 1189, the ownership of the French and German 'quarters' with the landing stages that had existed at Perama was passed to the Venetians.

⁵² Buenger Robbert (1995:49). The most significant was St Akindynos, where the standard weights and measures of the commune were kept. This church was also controlling a mill, ovens, taverns and the shore area.

⁵³ Tsangadas (1980:), for Vigla, see A.H.M. Jones (1964: 692).

According to the Russian travellers the Church of St John was within this area, on the extra-mural zone outside the Gate named after this church.⁵⁴

With Manuel's chrysobull, the whole area within these lines were given to Venetians, and the quarter was further extended to the north-west towards Zeugma and towards the east, probably incorporating the former Amalfian quarter. With the extension to the east, the Venetians acquired a new landing stage, *Scala Sancti Marciani*.⁵⁵ The *Embolum* of Perama was now called the Venetian *Embolo* or the Narrow Street. San Akindynos, San Marco of the Embolo, San Nicolo of the Embolo, Sancta Maria of the Embolo were along the main street.⁵⁶ The Venetian Embolo should have been a main street parallel to the walls unlike the *embolo* of the other colonies. This coincides to the axis of the southern arm of the Mısır Carşısı, continuing to the Rüstem Paşa Complex in contemporary Istanbul. Balkapanı Han is also on this street. The trading facilities were run in connection to monasteries in Venice. For example the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore had received the buildings and lands that were granted by Alexius I, in 1090. Among these were storehouses next to Porta Vigla.

The Venetian Extra-mural Zone was not only a dock. Some part of the Venetian property composing of shops, warehouses and houses were in this area. The main landing stages by the waterfront were named according to the gates to which they lead, the building they side, or the monasteries in Venice: *scala Drungario*, *scala S. Nicolai*, *scala S. Marciani*, *scala Ebraiky*, *scala Maggiore*. There was a considerably large street along the sea walls abutted by shops and houses, called *via publica*. It is an interesting detail that the tradition of buildings siding the walls predated Ottoman Istanbul. *Via publica* was crossed by traverse streets where the drains of the buildings flowed. Müller-Wiener points to the notes in Venetian sources saying that "...one side of it faces the street, the other faces the Perama shore".⁵⁷ This is an evidence for a possible urban tissue, which was filled with small houses and warehouses on the Extra-mural Zone. The typical tissue of this area till 1986 destruction was small orthogonal building lots. The possibility of the Venetian origins, if not Byzantine, of this tissue, is more strengthened by the dimensions given by Buenger-Robbert. She notes that the parcels of land within the Venetian quarter were surprisingly small:

⁵⁴ For the church of St John, the travelogues of the Russian travellers in the Middle and Late Byzantine period are major references, specifically, Ignatius of Smolensk (1390s) and Anonymous Description of the 14th century, see, Majeska (1984: 98, 150, 354).

⁵⁵ Nicol (1994:88-89). It is not certain whether the gate of St Mark, bearing the same name was open in this time or after the Latin Conquest.

⁵⁶ Buenger Robbert (1995:47).

⁵⁷ Müller-Wiener (1998:).

The average size of a parcel of land was only 384, ½ US square feet. The average width was 15 feet and the length 24, ½ feet. The buildings upon these lands were designated as houses, structures, wooden building under construction, maison, mansion being built of wood, stone mansion, or shops.⁵⁸

In the maps of the Ottoman period this insula pattern, starts exactly, in Odunkapı (Drungarious gate) by a traverse wall forming the eastern boundaries of *Odun Kapanı* (timber exchange). Then it continues till the *Gümrük Meydanı* (Customs Square) in front of Yeni Cami Complex, which coincides to the Gate of St Marc, which exactly corresponds with the limits of the Venetian Quarter. The pattern of buildings abutting the sea wall also continued in the Ottoman period. In the Venetian extra-mural zone, there were some buildings right on the waterfront, probably on wooden piles.

In fact the “weak ground” of the Extra-mural Zone should not have been foreign to the Venetians whose mother city was built in the same way. It is a possibility that the Venetians could have contributed to the patterns of the Extra-mural Zone with the building techniques they introduced from their homeland. The tissue of the Extra-mural Zone between the Ottoman Odunkapı and Eminönü possibly originated from this pattern. However, it is not certain whether this pattern has Byzantine or Venetian origins. The Venetian extra-mural zone with the foreshores of other Latin colonies should have been the busiest district of the harbour, as depicted by the travellers. Not only the port facilities and houses but also taverns typical to medieval port cities could exist in this area.

The insula pattern on the waterfront provides many parallel communication lines that traverse from the waterfront to the city gate and each street could have led to a specific pier. The parcels left in between these streets were regular but small. Due to the small foundation the buildings could have been multi-storeyed, creating extra areas of storage or space for other functions.

Before continuing to the other section of the Extra-mural Zone as it was before the Fourth Crusade, the presence of a very foreign element on the Venetian extra-mural zone should be noted. This is specifically important for understanding to what extend the Venetians had control on their concession quarter. This is the second mosque in Constantinople, known to be near the Church of St Irene of Perama. Perama is the name of the extra-mural zone, which falls into the Venetian Quarter. The mosque was built by the permit of Isaac Komnenos. In

⁵⁸ Buenger-Robbert (1995:50-51).

short time the Muslim merchants established a business quarter around the mosque. Nicetas Choniates refers to this second mosque as the *mitaton*. As written above, *mitation* was a term for an inn where foreign merchants resided for a certain period, and deposited their wares in the same place. S.W. Reinert interprets the labelling of the Saladin mosque as *mitaton* as:

The Byzantine perception of the Saladin's *mescid* as *mitaton* suggests that the building probably was a typical mosque complex, in which subsidiary buildings radiated about the sanctuary, some being utilised for lodging, and others for storage and/or business transactions. We may imagine, therefore that this assemblage formed a miniature precinct or quarter, and on the eve of the Latin conquest it was the principal locus of the Muslim mercantile activity in the city.⁵⁹

The Perama *mescid* is not only important for exemplifying the quarter from the *mitatia*, it is also significant to show that the emperor could give privileges on the Venetian quarter itself. Caraites were also incorporated within the Venetian district, but they were already there. There is no evidence for the architecture and placement of this mosque. It is noted when the Latins destroyed it, in the time of the IV Crusade. Neither in the following ages, nor in the Ottoman sources a mosque on the extra-mural zone from the Byzantine period is known. As noted before, there were also Byzantine churches like St John the Forerunner and the St Irene of Perama. The answer to the question how all these edifices could exist within the confines of the zone can be found in the tissue of the Ottoman *Yemiş İskelesi* or Zindankapı. The Extra-mural Zone, at this section was a very congested urban fabric where a great number of buildings were squeezed on insular pattern.

The pattern of gates perforating the wall at short distances ended with the Drungarion Gate. The walls run on a straight line till the Plateia Gate (Unkapanı). The Ayazma Gate, midway between these two, is not noted in the Byzantine sources and the traveller accounts till the 16th century. Thus it is accepted as an Ottoman intervention. It is not certain how much did the Venetian zone extended towards this area before the Latin conquest. The intra-mural zone behind this area was called Zeugma from the Plateia Gate to the east. It is F. Dirimtekin who notes a differentiation along this circuit. That is just to the east of the later Ayazma Gate. Dirimtekin notes that in the late 19th Ottoman maps, called, "*Kal'a-i Zemin*", drawn by the municipality to document the walls of Istanbul, a parallel wall to the sea walls was marked. The wall was 16.5 meters in length, 1.5 meters in width and was built at a 15-meter distance to the sea walls. As the height of this wall section was not marked on the *Kal'a-i Zemin* maps, Dirimtekin stated that this could be a parallel fortification wall, or a quay wall

⁵⁹ Reinert (1999:128)

of a harbour that could have existed in this section. During his survey by the 1950s, this wall had disappeared. Dirimtekin further mentions that in the Byzantine and Ottoman sources there is no evidence of a harbour at this spot.⁶⁰

The Plateia Gate opened to the third valley of the Historical Peninsula and took its name after the flat land behind which started by Zeugma and extended towards the west. Boundelmonti calls the gate as *Porta Messe*. This can be interpreted as meaning the middle gate. *Porta Messe* existed more or less at the middle of the sea walls. The plain was connected to the Mese by a main traverse axis. There seems to be commercial activity at this quarter as it is easily accessible to the higher levels of the peninsula and the possibility of building warehouses on the plain. A slave market is known to exist on the area at the time of Theophilus.⁶¹ Runciman noted, in reference to Codinus, that the only brothel in the City was within Zeugma, marked by a statue of Aphrodite.⁶² Here was a landing stage formed of several piers called as Heptaskalon.⁶³ These scala were not assigned to the Latins, the Byzantines should have used them.

Around this district, there could have been the *scala* of the Great Oikoi as most of the Middle Byzantine monasteries were concentrated over the slopes facing Keras. St Saviour Pantocrator (*Zeyrek Cami*) and the monastery attached to it; built in the reign of John Komnenos II (1118-1143) can be noted as an example.⁶⁴ Originally, this was a monastery holding 700 monks, a hospital, a hostelry and almshouses for the religious complexes at lower heights of the fourth hill facing the third valley. This monastery and others like it, in the region were probably serviced from the Plateia Gate. It seems that the house of the Komnenos had realised the construction of many religious buildings around this area like St. Saviour Pantepopte⁶⁵.

In the Ottoman Unkapanı, coinciding to Plateia, the Extra-mural Zone tissue was formed of small insula, like the ones mentioned for the Venetian quarter. Without concrete archaeological evidence, the question whether this could have been originally a Byzantine tissue is open. But here it can be noted that the dimensions of the insula pattern were like the

⁶⁰ Dirimtekin (1956: 49-50).

⁶¹ Teall (1959: 89-139).

⁶² Runciman (1964: 187).

⁶³ Muller-Wiener (1998:13)

⁶⁴ Mamboury (1925: 243-245).

⁶⁵ Also known as *Eski Imaret Cami*, which was built by the mother of Alexius I (1081-1118). Mamboury (1925:242).

ones in the Venetian quarter. If this hypothesis is true, it can consolidate a Byzantine pattern on the Extra-mural Zone formed of insula at the places where the harbour activities were busiest.

The next gate at a five hundred meters distance to the Plateia is referred to in the Italian sources as *Porta Puteae* and *Porta del Pozzo* (Cibali Gate); however it is not mentioned in the Byzantine sources.⁶⁶ This could have been the gate of the point called Ispigas by Anthony of Novograd.⁶⁷ The Cibali Gate is one of the two that had been preserved from the sea walls in the contemporary City, The width of the extra-mural zone from the Plateia Gate to Ispigas Gate decreased and from this section to Phanar it was narrow so that the Venetian Fleet attacked the sea walls from this side in the IV Crusade as it was accessible for the fleet. No details of the section of the Extra-mural Zone between Plateia and Ispigas Gate were found for the Byzantine period.

The next gate was *Porta Divae Theodosia*, which is also known as *Porta Dexiocrates*.⁶⁸ The Church of St Theodosia (*Gül Cami*) marked the area at the close vicinity of the Gate in the intra-mural area. Eyice states that it is a generally accepted view that this church was originally the St Euphemia built in the reign of Basileios I (867-886) serving as a mausoleum for his dynasty.⁶⁹ The Church was constructed on a high cistern. Heightened from the lower ground it was, St Theodosia was visible over the sea walls.⁷⁰ Stephan of Novograd, the Russian visitor of Constantinople in the 14th century, mentions that the feast of St Theodosia was an important event and adds that many people visited the Church on each Wednesday and Friday. There could have been a landing stage in front of the gate serving especially for this important church. The district behind the walls where this church existed was called Dexiokratiarai. There are two important remains from the *Porta Divae Theodosia*, one extra-mural and the other is intra-mural. The first one is the Church of St Nicholas, which exists right at the east of the Gate. Although the present structure is a 18th century construction, there are evidences for the existence of a religious structure at the same point. The second structure is a chapel that exists right at the inside of the Gate of St Theodosia.

⁶⁶ Tsangadas (1980: 40).

⁶⁷ Majeska (1984).

⁶⁸ Tsangadas (1980:40).

⁶⁹ Eyice, "Gül Camii", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (III/434-435).

⁷⁰ See, the panorama of Lorichs (Fig. 45-26).

Next Gate to the west, *Porta Petri* was one of the gates of *Petrion Castrum*. The other gate into this enclosure was the *Porta Phani* (Fener Gate).⁷¹ This was the specific place where the Venetian fleet had attacked the sea walls in 1203 and 1204.⁷² Why did they select the only place where the sea walls were double? It should have been easier to attack at a section of the walls where they were single. The evidence of siege can explain the strategic choice for the attack. The histories of the Fourth Crusade state that the foreshore at this point was so close to the walls that bridges from the ships could have been thrown over the walls (Fig.33). The soldiers of the Fourth Crusade passed from their ships on to the walls. This area, with the walls in front of the old Proosphorion harbour, constitutes the two sites where the extra-mural zone was thinnest in the Ottoman period. The frontal assault of the Venetians is an evidence for the fact that the Extra-mural Zone of *Petrion* was even narrower in the Byzantine period. Being so, it was probably different from the other sections of the Extra-mural Zone, as the besiegers preferred to attack the sea walls at the only section where they were double. As noted above in *Petrion* there were important churches and a monastery; these could have had their own *scalai*.

The Gate of the *Kynegos* or *Basiliki Gate* followed the Gate of *Phani*. *Tsangadas* argues that this was a second *Basilike Pyle*, the imperial gate along the *Keras* waterfront; the first being near *Eugenius Tower*.⁷³ As the *Blahernai Palace* had emerged as the main residence of the *Komnenos* family after the 11th century, the importance of this region could have increased. As noted above, right to the west of the *Kynegos Gate*, there is some evidence to suppose that an intra-mural harbour was situated (Fig.22.1-2). The entrance to the harbour was by three passages between four towers, the most eastern being one of the towers of the *Kynegos Gate*. The harbour, *Kynegion*, was most probably used for the visitors to the *Blahernai Palace*. The significance of this area is proved by the existence of apothropeic figures on the westernmost archway of the harbour. One of these was depicting *Virgin Mary* saluted by an angel. The other was a winged angel holding a date palm leaf. The latter, which is interpreted as a *Nike* or an *Angel of Annunciation* survived, and is now preserved in the *Istanbul Archaeological Museum*.⁷⁴ If such an intra-mural harbour, guarded by apothropeic images had existed, this means that the extra-mural zone was cut at this point. Thus, the zone after the open waterfront of *Petrion* could have extended as a quay serving for the Gate of the *Kynegos* until when it was cut by the entrance of the harbour.

⁷¹ *Tsangadas* (1980).

⁷² For and original description of the Latin Conquest see, *De Clari* (1969).

⁷³ *Tsangadas* (1980: 39, 42-43).

⁷⁴ *Dirimtekin* (1956: 12-13).

If Kynegion harbour was intra-mural, then it may be assumed that the distance from this point to the Xyloporta of Blahernai was a separated foreshore serving specifically for this quarter. The main gate of this area was called Koilliomene. Here was the landing stage mentioned by Nicetas Chonitas as the imperial pier, which most probably was directed to the Gate of Koilliomene and the district housing the Palace and the Church of St Mary.⁷⁵ The extra-mural zone at this quarter was called Bay of Blahernai. On the Bay was a dockyard called Neorion (of Blahernai).⁷⁶ This is an interesting information as the area was used as a dockyard since the 1980s. Between Kynegion and Gate of Koilliomene was a postern specific for the Church of St Demetrius Church.

Xyloporta was the gate of the Extra-mural Zone, on a traverse wall towards the sea, probably particularly of the Blahernai quarter. The only possibility for a connection of the extra-mural zone of Blahernai and other sections, is a bridge like structure spanning the channels of the intra-mural port of Kynegion. Such evidence could not have been found.

Most of the area that we covered in this part as the Extra-mural zone before the IV Crusade, had been the victim of this siege, like the city of Constantinople itself. In fact, some of the evidence, which helps to draw the general lines of the Keras waterfront, is from the histories concerned with the Fourth Crusade. This event, which turned out to be a crusade to Constantinople with the involvement of the Latins in the internal politics of the capital, ended with the fall of the city. In 1203 the Crusaders managed to capture the chain of Keras and entered the inlet. Then they attacked the Blahernai district from the land and the seaside. At the same time they managed to enter the city from the Petrion district. The extra-mural zone turned into a battlefield. Following these events the Byzantines attacked the Latin Quarters. The Latins returned this attack and destroyed some of the area on the waterfront. Within the events of 1203, most of the extra-mural zone was burnt and destroyed. When the negotiations did not work, the Latins reattached the city in 1204, entered it by Petrion and ended the Byzantine rule in Constantinople for the next sixty years. The complex history of the Byzantine relations with foreigners, first in *mitatia* and then in concession quarters had ended with the city becoming a real frontier itself. And this final frontier fell in 1204, for a period, until it was restored in 1261. The Byzantine court had escaped to Niceae where it acted as a government in exile.

⁷⁵ Tsangadas (1980: 38).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p.38.

However, the Extra-mural Zone till the 15th century never became an internal and secured boundary, like the other frontiers of the city. The difference of the Crusaders of 1203 was that for them Constantinople was not a foreign land, as should have been for the Arabs of the 7th and 8th centuries. They knew the city well, its strategically weak points and relics to be spoiled, because of their continuously increasing trading relations. Those who took Constantinople in 1204 were already internal to the Byzantine Empire and this interiority was best reflected on the Extra-mural Zone before the Latin Conquest.

4.4. The Transit Harbour: the Late Byzantine Period

4.4.1. Romania: Whole Extra-Mural Zone as a Venetian Property

The Latins of the IV Crusade shared the city of Constantinople under a partition treaty. The Venetians acquired three-eighths of the city as an extension of their former quarter. Administered by the Venetian Podesta, this area covered the whole Extra-mural Zone till Blahernai and the inner-sections of the city on the slopes connected to this. This was no longer an area graciously granted by the emperor but a maritime colony monopolising the ports of Constantinople on Keras.

Nicol notes that, the first Podesta Marino Zeno had built a new wall separating the Venetian land from the rest of the city as a fortress.⁷⁷ There is no evidence in the contemporary city of Istanbul from this wall, except for the name of the commercial district, Tahtakale. The word originally is “*taht-i kal`a*”, not the “wooden castle” as the present Turkish word suggests, but means “the throne/bottom of the castle”. Tahtakale coincides with the area to the south of the Venetian quarter. It is not certain whether the Venetians fortified the whole area given to their share, or whether they did only form a fortress around their former quarter. The second is more probable, Buenger-Robbert states that this castle was a fortress protecting the Venetian *embolo*. In Galata of the coming decades there were internal walls separating the main castle into five districts. The walls of the Venetians were the predecessors of this pattern in Constantinople. It is not known whether this wall was destroyed after the Byzantines took the city back in 1260. The word preserved in the Ottoman period is a proof for the fact that at least some sections of it stayed well in Istanbul. The Gate of St Mark,

⁷⁷ Nicol (1999:154).

which coincides to the Yeni Cami Kapisi of the Ottomans, was probably called with this title starting with the Latin period.⁷⁸

In the Latin period the quarters of the Pisans and Genoese, which were damaged in the Latin conquest, were under the Venetian authority and their trade was restricted. It was in 1218 that the Genoese quarter was granted by the Venetians to its former owners.⁷⁹

L. Buenger- Robbert, who had studied the Venetian real estate transactions between 1204-1260, points to the fact that there was an economic decline in Constantinople under the Latins. This is natural, as the 'demanding' or 'consumptive' population of the Byzantine capital had fled from the city to Bithynia. The city was deserted. The Venetian *embolo* continued to be the centre of the Venetian business. Monasteries owned the land but the secular buildings on the land were private property. The real estate transactions are concentrated around this area, and there are very few Venetian contracts outside the former Quarter. The system applied here was similar to the Rialto shopping district in Venice. The Venetians used the extra-mural zone for other purposes; for example, the fishing rights on the inlet, specifically in Blahernai, was given to the monastery of San Giorgio in Venice. "These rights included the land on the shore for sinking pilings and tying up and loading and unloading fishing boats."⁸⁰

The Venetian extra-mural zone did not turn into a continuous strip of trade, there was no population to support that. The old quarter, now a *Castrum*, worked as the main area of concentration until, in 1260, when the Byzantines managed to retake their capital. Then, in revenge, the Byzantines burnt the Venetian Quarter.

3.4.2. The Restorations of Michael VIII

The Byzantine emperor in exile, Michael VIII, managed to take back the city of Constantinople in 1260, when the Latins were outside the city at a campaign. The Byzantines entered the city from a secret passage on the land walls opened to them by native Greeks. After the city was totally controlled, the Byzantine emperor made a procession from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia, as a remainder of the past glory of the Empire. In fact,

⁷⁸ Tsangadas (1980:42).

⁷⁹ Nicol (1999:155).

⁸⁰ Buenger-Robberts (1995:48).

Michael VIII who made the triumphal procession was seeing the city for the first time in his life, as he was born in exile.

What he had seen was the remains of Constantinople as stripped and sacked by crusaders, and should have been more or less the same with what Boudelmonti depicted by the early 15th century: a large fortified space which was full with empty lots, some churches, and remains of antique monuments. The second Rome had lately been like the medieval Rome where reminiscences of the past were in ruins. The emperors, beginning with Michael VIII tried to restore the city to an extent and this was successful within the limits of the resources: the restoration of the churches, monasteries and the Blahernai Palace. The main achievement for the harbours was the cleansing of the port pool of Kontoscalion harbour on Marmara as the port of the imperial navy.

One of the main acts of Michael VIII, who tried to restore the city, was to secure its fortifications. The Byzantine sources, as quoted by Mary Talbot, state that after the Latin period “the walls were in such a bad condition that even the gates were closed it was easy to get in and out of the city”.⁸¹ The sea walls of Keras had been especially damaged by the 1204 siege. The emperor ordered that the height of the walls be increased two meters. This was done by temporary materials, by the placement of “wooden screens covered with leather hides” on the existing walls. In 1270, when Michael VIII prepared for an anticipated attack by Charles I of Anjuo, he is said to have a second defence wall built at some distance to the sea-walls on Keras with a ditch in front of them. No trace of these walls survives, which should have been built as a wooden screen, or by transitory materials as a barricade. The ditch could have been a trench, as it should have been difficult to open deep ditches along the waterfront because of the underground water.

If Michael VIII had built a second line of fortification along the Keras sea walls, did they cover the whole distance, or were they built in sections; and were they permanent? Probably they were of wood like the material used for the increase of height on the sea walls. It is a question, whether the second wall mentioned to be constructed by Michael was built in sections, or it was a transitory measure taken for the 1270 attack. The travellers of the 14th and 15th century define the area as the most congested space within Constantinople filled with buildings. The traces that Dirimtekin noted at Ayazma Gate may be a reference for these walls.

⁸¹ Talbot (1993:249).

The well-defined limits of the permanent residential and commercial quarter granted to the Venetians in 1277, by Michael VIII, is more or less the restoration of the original area defined by Alexius I in 1084. The quarter was along the sea walls from the Drungarion gate to Gate of Peramatis (Gate of St John the Forerunner). Three great houses were provided one for the Venetian bailee, one for the councillors and one as a warehouse. Twenty-four houses were rented to Venetian traders; their number could be increased or decreased according to the demand. The Church of Virgin and St Mark were also given to the Catholics. This was not as extensive as the Venetian Quarter before 1204. Although it ran more or less within the same lines, this was a return to the Chrysobull of 1084 where the freehold was maintained at the emperor's expense.⁸²

4.4.3. Perama against Galata

The most radical difference in the Late Byzantine Constantinople is the emergence of Galata as a second city across the inlet, which even became a rival in trade against the capital within the privileges granted to the Genoese. The Genoese presence in Galata started by the time of Michael VIII. This was first a quarter without walls. The Genoese, as they were attacked by the Venetians in 1296, asked for the permission of fortification, but this was not given. Their mechanism to overcome this problem was to construct high and attached houses, which acted as a wall. Although the constructions between this "castrum" and the sea were forbidden, it did not work and a similar extra-mural harbour stripe was formed on the Galata side. The situation continued with an increase in the share of the transit trade through Genoese customs in Galata. It was such that by the time of 1329, the annual revenue of Galata reached seven times that of Constantinople.⁸³ The Genoese supremacy in trade caused the hatred of Venetians and the Byzantines, which let the Keras to become an area of internal conflict.

Angeliki Laiou summarised the love and hate liaison between the Byzantines and Latins in the Late Byzantine Constantinople. Indeed, the city of this epoch, is a capital city without an empire, which does not possess a sufficient hinterland. The Venetians and the Genoese

⁸² The sections outside the harbour area between Zeugma and Xyloporta could have been easily fortified. However, the harbour area could have been problematic. In 1277, Michael restored the Venetian rights in the city, before that by 1268 he had let them the right to rent houses. The Genoese had these rights with the 1261 Nimphaion Treaty, they were expelled later from the city and settled in Galata by 1267, whose walls were destroyed by the Emperor. Thus, it is the Venetian Quarter after 1277 that obstructs Michael's walls. Nicol (1999: 199).

increasingly dominated the grain trade and the provisioning of the city. In the conditions of survival, and the loss of land the aristocrats were also involved in trade. The Genoese supremacy in the balance of this tripartite relation caused the Byzantines to take measures against a monopoly. In 1348, John VI Cantacuzene lowered the taxes payable at the port of Constantinople to two percent. This measure frightened the Genoese and provoked them into a war with the Byzantines in 1349 right in the inlet Keras. They attacked the harbour zone of the city and a counter attack came from the Byzantines to the Genoese ships. The final was a defeat for the Byzantines.⁸⁴ This was the time when the skirmish between the two sides of the inlet turned the extra-mural zone into a constantly threatened inner frontier.

With the final act of lowering the harbour taxes, Byzantine capital had lived a final restructuring from an imperial boundary perforated with privileges to a totally privileged area open to foreign interventions. The picture drawn by the 14th and 15th century travellers reflects that of a busy, transit port. Of these the Catalan Clavijo's description perfectly illustrates the commercial district of two sides of the Inlet and the extra-mural zone as well; it is quoted from A. Laiou:

The trading quarter of the city is down by the gates which open on the strand (of the Golden Horn) and which are facing the opposite gates which pertain the city of Pera; for it is here that the galleys and smaller vessels come to port to discharge their cargoes; and here by the strand that the people of Pera meet those of Constantinople and transact their business and commerce.⁸⁵

Clavijo further pointed the innumerable warehouses and shops for the storage of all sort of goods from abroad. Clavijo is not the only traveller to mention the superiority of the harbour; it is a classical genre of the travelogues. It was Bertrandon de la Broquiere who correctly summarised the harbour on two sides, saying that the Venetians were supreme in Constantinople, as the Genoese in Galata.⁸⁶ There were considerable relations between the two extra-mural zones on the two sides of the Inlet, where most of business was done on the quays as an open bazaar.

The slopes of the historical peninsula and the extra-mural zone were the most populated areas in the city (Fig. 23). Boundelmonti drew trees on the other sides of the city, which was probably full with scant lands turned into gardens, which is seen in some of the facsimiles,

⁸³ Ibid. 264.

⁸⁴ Laiou (1995:194).

⁸⁵ Ibid. p.VII-204.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p.203.

produced from his original. But in his depiction, there is no tree marked on the slopes facing Golden Horn. Unfortunately, as he had drawn the walls projected on the extra-mural zone there is no details of this area except for the cape of Blahernai and the names of four gates: *Porta Judeca*, *Porta Piscaria*, *Porta Messe*, *Porta la Cheine*. *Porta Piscaria* was the place where the fish market of the city had existed, it had survived with the same name in the Ottoman period, and this was also called the Peramatis Gate as being the ferry point to Galata. From the information gathered from the sources, it is generally agreed that *Porta Pescaria- Porta Peramatis* was the same with *Porta Judeca*. However, the map of Bondelmonti points it to the east almost at some point coinciding to the Eugenius Tower.

The Russian travel accounts of the 14th and 15th centuries provide some information about Constantinople, which was called by Stephan of Novograd as a great forest where “it is impossible to get around without a good guide”.⁸⁷ The main point of interest of the Russian travellers on the extra-mural zone were the landing stage to Hagia Sophia, the Perama quarter where the Church of St John the Forerunner existed, the Church of St Theodosia and the Blahernai Palace.⁸⁸ They name the Gate of St John also as the Basiliki Gate that means the imperial gate.

By the 14th century, another rival emerged within the remains of the Byzantine territory: the Ottoman Turks. They were fast to enter the already complex politics of the Bosphorus. In mid 14th century, the fourth Sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, Yıldırım Beyazıd, who had conquered important sections of the Balkans turned his eyes on the city of Constantinople.⁸⁹ Due to the Mongol invasion in Anatolia and the final battle of Ankara where Timur defeated him, Yıldırım could not achieve his goal. It was a hundred years after him that Mehmet the Conqueror would achieve this, in 1453. The documents mentioning the siege of Mehmet II are the last and final evidences for the Byzantine Extra-mural Zone.

⁸⁷ Majeska (1982:44-45).

⁸⁸ Ignitius of Slomenk, Anonymous, Majeska (1982).

⁸⁹ Necipoglu (1992:103-107).

4.5. Conclusion: The Extra-mural Zone as a Military and Socio-economic Frontier

The Extra-mural Zone of Byzantine Constantinople is a specific illustration for understanding the spatiality of the classical city frontier as a defence, terminal and custom zone. At the same time it is a specific example to represent how a classical city frontier can be subject to transformations within the same extensive boundary structures in reference to singular military events, changes in the economic system, changes in the intensity of the flows, changes in the internal functions of the city.

The meaning and function of the maritime frontiers of Constantinople was radically transformed after the 7th century by the greater transformation of the Antique Mediterranean structure. Some of the most important provinces of the Empire- Egypt, Syria and Palestine- were captured by the newly emerging Islamic State with no point of return. With the loss of the provinces the provisioning of the Capital was radically effected. The Islamic State also captured the control of the main maritime routes such that they even sieged Constantinople two times in 674-678 and 717-718. Then, the maritime frontiers of the city emerged as a last imperial frontier. Even after the end of the Islamic assaults, Constantinople faced a number of sieges in the 8th and 9th centuries, the capital was under constant state of siege both from the land and the seaside. While the military significance of the city frontiers increased; the economic role of the maritime frontiers were pertained although the intensity of the flows should have decreased compared to the earlier period.

With the impacts of the military flows the frontiers of Constantinople was transformed from without in the first centuries of the Middle Byzantine period. Likewise, the places where the economic flows fronted the city had changed. The enclosed harbours of the Propontis declined because of economic and military reasons. The Propontis harbours were open to the assaults from the open sea and the State did not have the revenues to sustain the port pools. In these condition the inlet Keras emerged as the main harbour of the city where the Extra-mural constituted its possible landing.

The experience of the first Islamic conquest, when the hostile fleet attacked the city from the Propontis side, seems to be determining in this transformation. In the second siege the Byzantines had carried their navy base to the Inlet, to Neorion, and furthermore designed a new defence system which turned the Inlet into an enclosable harbour; that is the chain of Keras stretched between the Eugenius tower on the Peninsula and Kentarion tower across

Sycae. With the devising of the chain, the walls of Keras had been part of a double defence system for the attacks from the Bosphorus side. Eugenius, the point where the chain was attached on the Peninsula determines the eastern terminus of the Extra-mural Zone in the later Byzantine period. Although the chain was not used by the Ottomans, the point of the chain on the Historical Peninsula continued to be the eastern terminus of the Extra-mural Zone as the Yalı Kiosk Gate until the 19th century.

The experience of another maritime assault in the early 9th century, when the chain was bridged by Thomas the Rebel, caused one of the most considerable restorations on the Keras fortifications, that of Theophilus. Theophilus reconstructions are also significant for being the time when the western terminus of the Extra-mural Zone was defined by the construction of a traverse wall enclosing the foreshore from the landside. The entrance opened on this wall functioned by Theophilus functioned as the land gate of the Extra-mural Zone since the late 19th century.

The military events of the early Middle Byzantine period are significant to understand the transformation of the Extra-mural Zone. In fact, it can be stated that the Extra-mural Zone emerged as a frontier in the all sense of the term in this stage of city history; it emerged as the main gate of the city, as its economic terminal, as part of its military frontier. The Extra-mural Zone gained its duplicitous character incorporating all the conditions of a frontier, which would last since the 15th century since the Ottoman period.

While Keras was turned into the great enclosable harbour of Constantinople, the Extra-mural Zone emerged as its main landing. Thus, the Extra-mural Zone was formed as an intermediary boundary area between the maritime world and the city where customs buildings, some depots, harbour services could have been located. There is no archaeological evidence for these kind of boundary structures within the Extra-mural Zone, however, the main typologies which could have existed on this ground can be known, like the *apothekai* which were customs buildings also functioning for the sales of certain products.

After the re-territorialisation of the Mediterranean structure into a common medium between different States, the notion of the foreign merchant and external trade had emerged. However, Constantinople was opened to foreign traders, particularly, after the 10th century. In an increasing tendency, the Byzantine State gave economic privileges to foreign traders. With the introduction of the foreign traders to the harbours of Constantinople, new

institutions emerged like the *mitation* and Concession Quarter. *Mitation* was a specific building or a group of buildings reserved for the segregation of the foreign merchants. The Concession Quarters, which were specifically assigned to Italian city-states were a developed form of *mitation*; they were sections of city reserved for the Amalphian, Pisan, Venetian and Genosese merchants. The *mitation* could have been within and without the city; the Concession Quarters were placed partly inside the fortifications and partly on the Extra-mural Zone. The basic pattern of a concession quarter is a landing stage and land reserved on the Extra-mural Zone, a gate of the city specifically reserved for the quarter and a street inside the city around which the properties were situated. From the 10th to the late 12th century, the section of the Extra-mural zone between Eugenius Tower and Drungarios Gate emerged as a harbour zone specifically reserved for different Latin merchant groups. However, these Quarters should not be thought as solely reserved for the use of the Latin-states; probably the city still used the gates and the Extra-mural Zone for its traffic.

The Venetian Quarter with three city gates, at least for landing stages and the Perama section of the Extra-mural Zone, was the most developed among the Latin Quarters. The Venetian quarter is the only section of the Byzantine Extra-mural Zone where there is some evidence for a hypothetical morphological pattern. There are evidences to propose that the insular pattern between the Ottoman Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı could have originated from the Venetian Quarter.

The Latin Quarters are a specific illustration of a city frontier zone emerging into the inner sections of the fortified city. At the same time they formed a miniature of the relations and conflicts of the Medieval Mediterranean socio-economic structure within the frontiers of Constantinople. There was constant conflict between the Latin Quarters and the boundaries of these zones were shifting.

In addition to the foreign merchants, there were also trading privileges given for the internal traders, like those given to the pious foundations of the city called as Great Oikos. The economic privileges were differentiated in space by the reservation of certain jetties for the use of a specific local or a foreign group. The Great Oikos did owned some portion of the seashore as their private landing; these were the *skalai* of Great Oikos. It is most probable that the sections of the Extra-mural Zone outside the Latin Quarters were used for the jetties of internal trade. Thus, the Byzantine Extra-mural Zone after the 10th century emerged

as a city frontier differentiated by economic concessions given to natives and the foreigners where the ownership of landing stages was an important investment.

The transformations of the inner structure of the city within the Middle Byzantine period have also been effective on the Byzantine Extra-mural Zone. With the emergence of Keras as the main harbour of Constantinople, the orientation of the main functions of the city shifted to the inlet side, which transformed the Extra-mural Zone from within. The increasing importance of the Blahernai Palace is a specific illustration for these kinds of interaction. In the 12th century, the Palace emerged as the main Court of the Komnenos family. With the increasing importance of Blahernai, its waterfront emerged as a Palace harbour, the influence of which extended till Kynegos.

The Extra-mural Zone of the Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople is also significant as to be the sole open shore within the fortified limits of the city. If there is a continuity of certain waterfront typologies between the Byzantine and the Ottoman period, the Extra-mural Zone was the main ground for the ordinary typologies. In addition to this, the existence of the Venetians almost for a four hundred years at a site, which is very similar to their homeland with respect to the sedimented ground, should have shown its impacts on the architecture of the Extra-mural Zone.

In 1204, Constantinople fell to the Latins of the Fourth Crusade and the Byzantines lost their capital city for a fifty-five years. The city was captured by a maritime assault from the thinnest section of the Extra-mural Zone; that is the Petrion Castrum. During the Latin conquest most of the Extra-mural Zone was burnt. During the period of the Latin State, the Extra-mural Zone was totally part of the Venetian property. However, the Venetian Quarter still functioned as the economic centre. There is not much trace of the Venetian existence on the other sections of the Extra-mural Zone with the exception of the fishing rights gained to the west of Plateia.

The Byzantines recaptured their capital in 1261; however the city never regained its former glory. Late Byzantine Constantinople was a capital city without an Empire. It was a maritime terminal, which had to cope with the other Latin States for the transit trade of the Black Sea.

After the 1261, the Extra-mural Zone was revived mainly in its former lines. Michael VIII restored Keras fortifications. The Venetians were given their former Quarter. The Blahernai Palace emerged as the sole imperial centre. In fact, the most congested area of the Late Byzantine Constantinople is noted by the travellers as the most congested section of the city with the adjacent intra-mural sections.

The most radical intervention within the Late Byzantine period, which effected the Extra-mural Zone, was the displacement of the Genoese Quarter from the Peninsula to the opposite side of Keras, to Sycae. The Genoese Quarter called as Galata emerged as an autonomous harbour across the inlet in the 14th century. With a new city across the inlet the Extra-mural Zone emerged as a frontier which was in economic and military conflict on its immediate waterfront. At the same time, the Ottomans captured the harbour of Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) on the Asian side of the Bosphorus. Thus, the cross-inlet and cross-Bosphorus passages were formed as passages to foreign harbours.

Genoese Galata and Ottoman Üsküdar were to Late Byzantine Constantinople what was Chalcedon for the Antique Byzantium; these were autonomous terminals, which tried to control the Bosphorus passages for their rights. In fact, Late Byzantine Constantinople is a city which had returned to its Antique origins; it was a transit maritime terminal with a limited periphery but mainly oriented to the currents of the Bosphorus. When maritime communications are considered the Ottomans, who captured the city of Constantinople and re-founded it as the centre of a vast Empire constructed their terminals and customs on the basis of the Late Byzantine Bosphorus.

After considering the main historical events and factors, which determined the transformations of the Middle and Late Byzantine Extra-mural Zone, the main spatial differentiations can be noted on the basis of the limited archaeological date. Although the fortifications did form an extensive boundary line, one cannot speak with certainty about an uninterrupted and continuously communicated Extra-mural Zone in the Byzantine period. The basic pattern of traverse communication was the gates and landing stages, called *scala*, in front of them. These were shaped by the intensive differentiations along the circuit, by the codes of relations between the inside and the outside.

The Byzantine Extra-mural Zone can be topographically divided into three sections, although these could have shown differences in themselves: between the Eugenius tower and

Plateia till Porta Ispigas; between Ispigas and Kynegion, between Kynegion and Xyloporta. The two points of differentiation along these three were the narrow shore at Petron and the port of Kynegos. These sections also coincide to functional differentiations.

The first section was the main port area from the Eugenius Tower to Plateia. This section was divided into two segments. The first segment was from the Tower of Eugenius to Drungarion Gate. Here were the remains of the ancient enclosed harbour, which had silted, and this was the centre of trans-Bosporus, trans-Keras and extra regional communications. After the 11th century in the first segment of the first section emerged Latin quarters, which consolidated the condition that forms the two minor segments. Counting from the east were the Genoese, Pisan and Venetian privilege quarters. When after the 13th century the Genoese moved to Galata, its area could have been filled by other functions connected to the port. It is noted for the period that this area was used as a grain port. The quarters were originally devised as zones of segregation, as a kind of great mitatia. They can be taken as a boundary zone extended in width due to the amount of the economic flows on this area.

The second segment of the first section was the foreshore till around Plateia and was probably used by landing stages of the Great Oikos, especially concentrated in front of the Plateia Gate, as there was no other gate between the Venetian quarter and Plateia. This was an area reserved for the internal demands. The effect of this area could have well extended till Ispigas Gate.

The second section from the Castrum Petron to Kynegion can be separated into two areas. The later being a zone which provided the maritime communication of the city with the district formed around the palace in Blahernai. The first was the narrow foreshore, which existed in front of Petron extending towards Gate of St Theodosia. It is not known whether after the lessons of the IV Crusade this area was filled as a precaution for an attack from that side, as in the first Ottoman map drawn after the Conquest of 1453, the extra-mural area from Blahernai till Plateia is full with houses. The natural sedimentation could not have achieved such an infill within 200 years.

The third section is the specific pier of the Imperial Palace and Church of Mary in Blahernai and is the smallest of the sections. Here was the functions related with the Palace, which replaced the Great Palace in the Late Byzantine period.

Specifically the tissue at Perama, an insula pattern formed of very small parcels, seems to be a Byzantine heritage. It was formed in the Venetian quarter, if not earlier. A similar insula pattern can be seen in two other places on the Ottoman extra-mural zone, Unkapanı (Plateia) and Balat pier (Kynegion). Plateia was an important landing stage, like the cape in front of the Koilliomene Gate. There is no written and archaeological evidence to support this. If the tissue here is originally Byzantine, then it forms a typology for the extra-mural zone which could have pre-dated the Venetian quarter.

The spatial logic of an insula pattern on the waterfront seems to form a multi-functional harbour district where shops, warehouses, houses, religious buildings could have been situated as well as providing a filter for the economic flows. The waterfront was an open quay leading to the smaller streets which finally were communicated by the gates of the city from a parallel street along the fortification wall, like the Venetian *via publica*.

As it will be dealt in detail further in the next chapter, there are continuities between Byzantine and Ottoman Extra-mural Zones due to functions and tissue. This is due to the continuity of functions within the intra-mural city and the flows through the extra-mural zone. The same boundary structures as gates, wooden jetties were used. Thus, it is the Ottoman İstanbul that provides the best comparative case for the Byzantine Extra-mural Zone. The main reasons for the continuities between the Byzantine and Ottoman Extra-mural Zone, can be searched in the persistence of the basic solid and fluid forms which formed the spatiality of the area; these are the fortifications, gates, landings, customs, terminals and socio-economic flows. However, the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone is different as the defensive role of the frontier has decreased and as the greater city expanded on Haliç and the Bosphorus geography.

The markets doubtless occupied the space at the end of the Great Porticoed street of Maurianos, where the major artery leading from Mese midway between the fora of Constantine and Theodosius opened onto Perama and the Galata ferry dock, that is, at the Basilike gate,,. Indeed, in the amazing continuity of land use in Istanbul, this area remains a market place today (called Yemişskelesi kapı, fruit wharf gate), just as the nearby Balıkpazarı kapı (fisher market gate) was called porta piscaria in Byzantine times.⁹⁰

...nothing can be as enduring as local tradition and humble trade.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Majeska (1982)

⁹¹ Lopez (1978:X-79).

CHAPTER 5

**AN INHABITED CITY FRONTIER:
THE EXTRA-MURAL ZONE IN THE CLASSICAL OTTOMAN ISTANBUL**

5.1. Introduction: The Tripartite Boundary Structure

The miniature painting of Matrakçı Nasuh, which shows Ottoman Istanbul fifty years after the Conquest, is the first known illustration representing a specific settlement pattern on the Extra-mural Zone (Fig. 24).¹ The Extra-mural fabric in Matrakçı's work show differences from the overall style of the miniature. First, although the depiction of the intra-mural Istanbul- as buildings drawn in elevation or perspective- is made from west, the Extra-mural Zone and the sea walls are shown as witnessed from the Galata side; that is from the north. A similar change in point of view was made for the Galata side, which was pictured as seen from the Historical Peninsula. However, a second differentiation is only specific to the Extra-mural fabric. Matrakçı Nasuh, who had preferred to show each building as a separate entity on the ground of the map, had drawn the Extra-mural tissue as a compact fabric. Here buildings in elevation do project on each other. The specific rendering of the Extra-mural Zone can be a representation problem where the painter had to show many buildings on a limited site. However, such a technique was not used in similar conditions.² The buildings of the Istanbul Extra-mural Zone are also specific as being white walled buildings with small windows, of a kind that is not seen in other sectors of the miniature.

In Matrakçı's miniature the Extra-mural tissue forming compact neighbourhoods by the waterfront are drawn between Unkapanı Gate and Ayvansaray. They are especially centred

¹ Bondelmonti map does not show the extra-mural zone as it is drawn from the Propontis-Marmara side and the Keras-Haliç walls are projected on it. Vavassore map of the 1520s that originally shows Istanbul in the time of Mehmet II does not depict a fabric but five buildings as symbols. Matrakçı Nasuh was an Ottoman officer who attended the excursions of Selim II and wrote a book about this itinerary. His nickname "Matrakçı", is after a kind of polo game that he designed, *matrak*.

on Petri, Fener and Balat Gates.³ The Extra-mural Zone in front of five gates, from Bahçekapı to Unkapanı Gates, is shown as an empty foreshore. No neighbourhood is marked on that section. The only exception is the Yalı Kiosk of the Topkapı Palace that is represented as a separate pitched roofed building by the entrance of Haliç.⁴

In fact, as early as the time of Mehmet the Conqueror this empty part between Yalı Kiosk and Unkapanı was already formed as the main harbour area of Ottoman Istanbul, as it was in the Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople. On the void of Matrakçı's foreshore were centred the commercial energies of the capital city. With reasons that can not be determined the painter had chosen to show the harbour area as an empty zone with the exception of Unkapanı. Indeed, there is a consistency with the representation and the real waterfront. The void and the fabric point to the main extensive differentiations along the Ottoman extra-mural zone till the middle 19th century: the palace foreshore; the harbour zone with customs (*kapans*), entrepots; and the residential neighbourhoods on the waterfront.⁵

In this part of the study the void of Matrakçı will be tried to be filled with the evidence derived from original sources; that is the import harbour of Ottoman Istanbul. The residential neighbourhoods that he had chosen to show will be dealt with in detail as well. Other intensive differentiations will be searched for within the extensive limits of the zone. For such a task, the Ottoman Istanbul is more "illustrative" than the "invisible" Byzantine Constantinople. The representations of the İstanbul till the age of photography can be categorised under four main types: the areal perspective maps, like the miniature of Matrakçı; the panoramas depicting the elevation of Istanbul from the Galata side; partial elevation and perspective drawings showing the monuments and lately the scaled maps of which the first example is the Kauffer map of 1779.⁶ Apart from the visual information supplied from the panoramas and areal perspective maps, there are original written sources like the edicts, foundation books, chronicles and travelogues. These well known sources will

² It is an interesting fact that Nasuh did not choose to illustrate the similar fabric on the Galata extra-mural zone as he had done on the side of historical peninsula. The buildings on the Galata extra-mural zone are drawn in the style of the overall picture as separate buildings.

³ The author does not give the names of the gates. They number twelve between Yalı Kiosk and Ayvansaray. In the detail given in (Fig. 37) the naming is done by taking into consideration that Ayazma Gate and New Ayakapı was not opened in the period the painting was made.

⁴ This is probably the first kiosk built in the time of Beyazid II. In the time of Murad III, by late 16th century, it was rebuilt on a site to the west of the former.

⁵ However, this mentioned differentiation is not as sharp as it seems. There were houses on the port zone while there were quays in the neighbourhoods as will be mentioned below.

be revisited for the depiction of the boundary structures formed along the Extra-mural Zone. As the picture gets clearer, the confrontation of different flows along the waterfront giving form to different boundary structures will be more easily comprehended. Due to the nature of the sources it is only by the late 18th and 19th century that a morphological and demographic analysis will be possible. Some of these forms were preserved in Istanbul till the 1980s; the continuities do help to visualise the original structures. This chapter covers the period between the restructuring of the Extra-mural Zone by the Ottomans starting by the imperial project of Mehmet II of the 15th century and its culmination by the beginning of the 19th century when plans for its “modernisation” were first projected.

5.2. İstanbul as a Maritime City *Par Excellence*

5.2.1. From a Defensive to an Offensive Capital City

The Ottoman Conquest of 1453 was the last siege and attack that the city on Bosphorus had to face. For the later 470 years of the Ottoman rule, Istanbul was safe from any land or maritime attacks. It was the conqueror of the city, Mehmet II, who succeeded to secure the ways that lead to Istanbul. This was achieved by the territorialisation of the Bosphorus and its annexes. Mehmet II had built castles on the Dardanelles Strait, restored the historical castles at the end of Bosphorus.⁷ Conqueror’s restoration was not limited to the Straits; he captured northern shores on Anatolia, economic relations with Caffa on the western Black Sea were founded and a vassal State in Crimea on the Black Sea was formed⁸. Morea on the Aegean was also captured. Late Byzantine Constantinople was “a capital city without an empire”; Mehmet the Conqueror who turned it into the Ottoman capital re-presented the city its empire. The smooth space around Istanbul was striated.⁹ The successors of Mehmet II, till

⁶ I. Tekeli, in “Haritalar”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (III/556-560) states that the İstanbul maps can be seen as part of an evolution from the ariel perspective to the panoramas and then to the scaled maps. After the scaled maps, panoramas were transformed to mere paintings.

⁷ The maritime passages were secured by the fortification of natural maritime gates of the city, as it was in the age of Justinian. The restored castles are at Anadolu Kavağı and Rumeli Kavağı, which worked as military and economic control, points at the northern extremity of Bosphorus. The Castles of Dardanelles, Kilitbahir and Çanakkale were built after the Conquest. The castles of Bosphorus and Dardanelles were depicted as “gates” of İstanbul by the westerners in the following decades.

⁸ The Khanate of Crimea was allied in. This state had the same territory like the Bosphoran Kingdom of the Roman Period. Like the Romans, Ottomans preferred to form a vassal state at this point, which supervised the economic flows from the steppes of the North Black Sea.

⁹ For the Deleuzoguattarian concepts “smooth and striated”, see Chapter 1.2.

the end of the 16th century, continued to enlarge the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Its largest limits by the 17th century were more or less the same with the Justinianic Empire.

Istanbul became the capital city of an offensive state. The Ottoman offensive policy could have accelerated a new trend of fortifications in the European cities. Especially the cities of East and Middle Europe had to turn defensive by applying the new theories of bastions and ditches designed by the Renaissance engineers suitable for the trajectory of new missiles. Palma Nova and Vienna are well-known examples.¹⁰ Ottomans themselves had projected the limits of the new missiles against Constantinople, however they did not revise but restored the Late Antique fortifications of the city. The offensive capital did not have to play the defensive. Even when the Ottomans began to lose territory after the 18th century, its capital was secure from assaults.¹¹ Thus, the walls of the city in the Ottoman period did not have to function for defensive purposes. They were preserved for administrative functions and for the control of flows in and out of the city under the confines of the centralist empire founded by the Conqueror.

It is known that after the conquest Mehmet II ordered the restoration of the fortification walls. At this time, there were still rumours for a Crusade against the Ottomans. The work was executed by the first major of the city Subaşı Süleyman Bey but probably was limited with the Land Walls.¹² Till the 19th century, the city walls were restored whenever necessary, against the decay of time and earthquakes.¹³ At the time of Eğriboyun Mehmet Paşa, the walls of the city were painted by lime in order to frighten the hostile forces that had reached the Dardanelles Strait.¹⁴ Murat IV, by the 17th and Ahmed III in the 18th centuries carried out notable restorations.¹⁵ The walls were seen as part of the image of the city, and they were well kept as urban monuments. Some of the gates on the walls were closed like the gates of the Byzantines between Yalı Köşkü Kapısı and Bahçekapı; new ones were added like the Ayazma Gate, Yeni Ayakapı. The possible reasons for these transformations will be dealt in detail below.

¹⁰ Hirst (1997a:19)

¹¹ There were exceptional transgressions into the Straits by Russians and British, which never turned into sieges.

¹² O. Nuri (1999, vol.3: 1775) E.H. Ayverdi (1953).

¹³ There were other occasions when restorations were necessary like the icebergs crashing on the Sarayburnu walls.

¹⁴ For the painting of the walls, see İnciciyan (1976:19).

¹⁵ O. Nuri (1999, vol.3: 1775).

Unlike Byzantine Constantinople where the city was the final frontier beginning by the 6th century, the Ottoman frontiers were secured and the capital developed in and out of the fortification lines.¹⁶ Greater Istanbul after the 15th century expanded on the Bosphorus geography. It developed on three different sectors divided by the sea: Historical Peninsula that is İstanbul proper, Galata and Üsküdar. Galata, the Genoese colony, which opened its gates to Mehmet II after the conquest, continued to be the main quay of international trade. It was the city of the foreigners, but, was no longer a privilege quarter. Üsküdar that was captured by the Ottomans well by the 14th century became the main terminal of the East; it was a caravan city mainly with muslim population. Eyüp, founded around the myth of a martyr of the Arabic sieges of the 8th century, was also an important extra-mural settlement itself. Beginning in the late 15th century Bosphorus became a seasonal settlement area. Palaces and waterfront mansions filled its shores around villages.¹⁷

All these different sectors were mainly communicated by maritime lines by *kayıks*, *peremes*, *sandals*.¹⁸ The boatmen were subjects of a special guild and were based on specific landing stages. They could have sailed only between predestinated points with fixed points. It was forbidden for the rowboats to use sails. There were different types for the transportation of goods and people, like the bazaar sandal. The boats used as ferries could have been a Byzantine heritage as the name of some like *pereme* points. *Pereme* was compared by the visitors of the city to the Venetian gondola and was praised for their comparative swiftness. There were also private boats, the number of their rowers were restricted and the type of the boat was the representation of the social status. This structuring around the geographical conditions of the Bosphorus, Ottoman Boğaziçi, is important for the Extra-mural Zone where it acted as one of the main “inter-sectoral” terminals. It was the area of communication between the Historical Peninsula and Galata, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Bosphorus villages. There

¹⁶ Offensive Istanbul was unlike the city of Justinian where Procopius makes fun of the ones living outside of the city walls as not noting to the possibility of a sudden attack.

¹⁷ The expansion of the city outside the fortification walls is a generic characteristic of the Ottoman City. Especially after the 16th century the fortifications lost their importance. Only by the internal upheavals in Anatolia by the 18th century that the cities in this geography retreated to their fortified limits. Istanbul specifically expanded on the Bosphorus geography after the 16th century. The condition by the late 17th century was such that, as Kuban (1997) and (1970: 20-48), states, half of the city population was settled at sectors outside the historical peninsula. This pattern is generated by the maritime communications. The city expanded on shores, which were communicated to the main centre by ferries. Also see, Erzen (1991: 7-8).

¹⁸ *Kayık* is the generic word for a small rowboat in Turkish. The number of rowers determines the type of *kayıks*. *Pereme* is specifically a rowboat with two rows; it was a long and thin boat. *Sandal* is a larger round boat used for the transportation of goods. They could be sailed. For the Ottoman boats see, Orhunlu (1966: 109-138), Gülersoy (1983).

were also alongshore communications within the Extra-mural Zone itself, like the ferries between Balat, Fener and Eminönü.

As will be mentioned below the provisioning of Istanbul was controlled through custom zones between Sirkeci and Unkapanı, the Galata waterfront across the inlet and Üsküdar. These points were formed as autonomous harbours in the Late Byzantine period, after the conquest they all together functioned for the provisioning of the capital. All the goods imported to the capital through maritime ways should have to pass from these points of surveillance. Then they were distributed to the different sectors of the city. In the conditions of a city that had developed in sectors separated by the sea, the harbour was both an import-export quay and also a space of distribution. As a result of the mixtures of the external and internal maritime flows the Ottoman Istanbul emerged as a maritime city *par excellence*. When these different flows juxtaposed, a most lively waterfront was formed around Istanbul and its environs; this is a point perfectly illustrated by its engravers. The Ottomans without fear of a maritime assault created an urban life on the waterfront.

Here credit should be given to the adaptive capacity of the Ottomans, who were originally pastoral nomads, to the Bosphorus geography. Their two former capitals Bursa and Edirne were in-land cities. Till when Mehmet II proclaimed Istanbul as his capital, the Ottomans could not have been labelled as maritime people. The place where the Conqueror built his imperial palaces carries the traces of this adaptation process. Mehmet II had first selected the site of the old Theodosian Forum at the third hill for the imperial palace. After a decade he decided to build a new one at the first hill of the promontory- the old Acropolis of Byzantium- which commanded the sea on three sides. The second palace called Topkapı did become the main court of the Ottoman Sultans till the middle 19th century. Mehmet II 's site selection was perfectly suitable for an absolutist and centralist emperor. The site had a perfect *glacis* over the seas; it had a panoramic view covering the entrance of the Bosphorus, the Marmara Sea, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Galata and Haliç till its depths, as well as the harbour zone. Likewise it was visible from all these places. It was an "acropolis", a high-city, which had visual contact on the flows over the Bosphorus geography.

The Topkapı Palace was a citadel fortified all around; its land walls were laid by the time of Mehmet II. The palace walls reached Haliç at the point of the former Eugenius Tower.¹⁹ The sector from the cape of the peninsula till this point was reserved for the Palace and would be

¹⁹ For the Topkapı Palace walls (*Kal'a-i Cedid*) see, Ayverdi (1953).

segregated from the rest of the Haliç waterfront till the 19th century. On this waterfront were two kiosks, which were built by the 16th and 17th centuries:²⁰ Sepetçiler and the Yalı Kiosks. Yalı Kiosk was a waterfront mansion. It was a pitched roofed single storeyed building with open terraces on four sides. It had extensive overhangs from where curtains could be drawn.

Near the Sepetçiler Kiosk were the boathouses of the palace where the Sultan's rowboats, with 12-20 rowers, were tied.²¹ The Sultans frequently sailed on Haliç and Bosphorus with additional convoys. These excursions were an important part of the court ceremonial where the parading ground were Haliç and the Bosphorus. This was when the rulers had the opportunity to inspect the shores that they viewed from above. The Head Gardener (*Bostancıbaşı*) who was the general of Sultans private guards assisted him during these holding the rudder of the boat at back of his sofa. The control of the accesses to the city and the inspection of the waterfront buildings were among the duties of the Head Gardener.²² He gave the permits for the erection of buildings on the waterfront and was responsible to answer the questions of the Sultan about who inhabited the shores of Istanbul.

"*Istanbul Tarihi*" of Eremya Çelebi Kōmürçüyan is a perfect source, which illustrates the relation between Ottoman Istanbul and the sea specifically for the 17th century.²³ The structure of his text was based on the description of the city from the waterfront. The itinerary started by the sea walls on the Marmara Sea, then continued round the Historical Peninsula, to the depths of Haliç, the Galata side, the European side of Bosphorus and the opposite shores till Kadıköy. In fact, Kōmürçüyan did not only depict the waterfront, in each landing and gate he mentioned the sectors of the inner city connected to the mentioned terminal. As he could have described the city in general lines from the waterfront to the top of the hills where Sultan Mosques were situated, Istanbul was completely communicable by the waterfront. As in his description, the landings and gates opened to different districts of the city; the waterfront formed a greater transportation structure for Istanbul and its environs. The section that he gives the details of the Extra-mural Zone will be mentioned below.

²⁰ For the waterfront pavilions of the Topkapı Palace, see, G. Necipoğlu (1991: 231-241)

²¹ Some of these imperial boats has been preserved and are exhibited in the Besiktaş Maritime Museum.

²² For the Head Gardener, see N. Sakaoğlu. "Bostancı Ocağı", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (II/305-307).

²³ Kōmürçüyan (1952).

In a way, Kōmürçüyan was revisiting the “*Anaplus Bosporu*” of Dionysius after 1900 years.²⁴ He was not alone in following this itinerary dictated by the geography. Sarkis Hovhannesyan revised the same path by the early 1800s.²⁵ The travelogue of Melling is another important document from the early 19th, which provides the visual data for the itinerary that was traced by Kōmürçüyan and Hovhannesyan.²⁶

5.2.2. The Provisioning of İstanbul

Constantinople-İstanbul was not a town; it was an urban monster, a composite metropolis.²⁷

The Ottoman imperial project started by Mehmet the Conqueror did not only mean the territorial expansion of the empire of Istanbul, but also was concerned with the adequate provisioning of the centre. After the Conquest, Istanbul became the centre of a vast territory and the maritime communications of the city with the provinces were secured. In a process well continuing into the reign of Beyazid II, these communication lines re-established the city of Istanbul as the consumption centre of the Eastern Mediterranean. Resembling the Roman-Byzantine model of imperial provisioning based on a fiscal economy; the Ottoman capital became the demanding centre of the surplus of the imperial provinces. When in the 16th century by Selim II and Süleyman I, captured Egypt and North Africa the project was to be completed. Alexandria, once more became the lifeline of the capital through which grain was supplied. However, different from the Late Antique Constantinople, Istanbul did not depend on the surplus of one centre; the whole Black Sea region was its hinterland as well as the Aegean. As S. Faroqui states, in reference to Braudel, “a world economy on its own rights” was formed within the Ottoman territory.²⁸ What is meant by a world economy is economic regions integrated by lively trade, dominated by a single centre.

The similarities of the production centres, distribution centres, means of transportation—mainly maritime—, kinds of the surplus and the consumption centre between the Byzantine and Ottoman empires is evident. This had even led M. Henny to propose the use of the

²⁴ For the *Anaplus Bosporu*, see Chapter 2.4.

²⁵ Hovhannesyan (1996).

²⁶ Melling (1970). Unfortunately Melling omitted the Extra-mural Zone with the exception of the Palace and Sirkeci waterfront and a distant view from the heights of Eyüp which slightly shows the Balat- Ayyansaray district.

²⁷ Braudel (1972:348).

²⁸ Faroqui (1994: 476).

Ottoman empirical evidence as the best comparative case for the Byzantine economy.²⁹ The Ottomans restored the imperial wealth of the city on the Bosphorus and this was the result of the application of a similar administrative model on the same geography. The Ottoman Empire, like the Byzantine, was the empire of Istanbul. One of the main occupations of the State was the provisioning of the capital, which was the seat of the government and the army. Thus, the Ottoman imperial project was a geo-political restoration. To use the terminology of Braudel, “the monumental parasite” of the Mediterranean, Istanbul, was reborn from its ashes.³⁰

The restoration of the geographical territory of the capital and the city itself were closely interconnected. They do form different components of the same absolutist and centralist imperial project. Istanbul developed by the incorporation of new provinces and as it grew it necessitated more surpluses. The only source for the imperial model that the Ottomans applied was not Romano-Byzantine; the Ottomans had inherited the institutions of the Islamic States, especially the Iranian model. Also known as the “Asian”, this model constitutes a welfare state.³¹ The welfare state organises the economy, trade and accumulates as much bullion as possible for the central treasury. Inalcık, in reference to van Klaveren, states that such a regime can be called as “fiscalism”, which is “the endeavour to maximise the public revenues at all times for other than economic purposes”.³²

The trade in the Ottoman Empire was performed within defined geographical territories as regional, inter-regional and international zones.³³ The regions were organised into large custom zones. As in the Roman and Byzantine Empires these were economic units on the main trade routes. Each region was connected to an important port, a frontier zone or an administrative centre. Inalcık states that “the Ottoman customs zones were economical-fiscal units under the *mukataa* or tax-farm system”.³⁴ The tax-farmers collected the taxes of the imports and exports mainly on the centres of the regions, but there could have been sub-units, especially at the ports. Each zone had its own rates, dues and regulations. The taxes in

²⁹ Hendy (1985).

³⁰ Braudel (1972:348).

³¹ Yerasimos (1971: Vol. I)

³² Mantran (1992); Inalcık (1994: 44).

³³ Faroqui (1994:476).

³⁴ Inalcık (1994:201).

one region were collected once; no duty was paid when the same item travelled within the same territory. The customs zone of Istanbul was the centre of these economic territories.³⁵

The trading colonies of the Western European States had passed with the Byzantine Empire; the Ottomans never gave territorial rights and did not permit the establishment of trade colonies. In fact, the Latins and Ottomans had become rivals where they competed for the grain of the Levant. As İnalcık states:

The most important change which occurred with the Ottoman conquest was that Italian predominance was terminated in favour of the native Ottoman non-muslim subjects, Armenians, Jews and Greeks in particular. Greeks replaced Italians in large-scale trade in Caffa, and Pera/ Galata...³⁶

The support of the non-muslim subjects in economic issues started by the time of Mehmet II, who particularly favoured Greeks and made them active in Ottoman finances and politics. Tax-farming, large-scale provisioning and shipping was among the major activities of the Ottoman Greeks. They especially profited from the provisioning of Istanbul.

Here it should be noted that the Ottoman State, unlike the Romans, did not have imperial fleets for provisioning. It was by seasonal contracts that private navigators transferred the surplus. Tax farming was also an issue of contracts by competitive bidding. The State predetermined the revenues and tax-farming rights were sold to the contractors annually. This included commenda (*mudaraba*) in trade enterprises and profits from transportation. In such a system, tax farming became the major means of capital formation in the empire. The non-muslim subjects were the main contractors in tax farming; there were also a considerable number of converts.³⁷ In the 16th century the Jews rivalled Greeks, especially with the newcomers from Andalusia. Dona Gracia Mendes, a Jewish woman who monopolised the customs of Istanbul in the 1550s is a well-known figure. After the middle 17th century there was a decline in the Jewish involvement in tax farming. The non-muslim subjects were also involved in the international trade. Profiting from Ottoman protection

³⁵ In the classical Ottoman period, Istanbul customs zone started from Varna in the Black Sea down to the entrance of the Bosphorus. It continued till the Dardanelles Strait and well ascended till the city of Aydin on the Aegean. Istanbul customs zone was on the transit passage of many trade routes like the south-north trade route between Bursa and Akkerman-Low. So it was also a distribution centre which was not itself productive. The castles of the both Straits were the main places of inspection in and out of the Istanbul region. The Black Sea was a complete reserve of the capital city. The distribution of regions also dictated the source of the revenues, as the regional surplus was cheaper than the inter-regional trade.

³⁶ İnalcık (1994:209).

³⁷ Ibid. p.208.

abroad Armenians, Greeks, Slavs traded in Venice, Ancona, and Llow.³⁸ These traders can be named as the only “capitalists” playing major role in the Empire’s finances in a system where no capitalism was generated.³⁹ The non-muslim subjects involved in maritime trade is particularly important in understanding the socio-economic structure of the Ottoman Extramural Zone, as will be mentioned in detail below the inhabitants of the Zone were mainly these subjects. The reasons for this can be their occupation related with the port region.

Istanbul as a consumptive centre supplied by a vast imperial territory became the greatest city of the Mediterranean and Europe by the 17th century. Its population is estimated some figure between 600 000 – 750 000. The provisioning of this population was an industry itself dominated by the State, which had to ensure the uninterrupted flows of the principal foodstuffs. The capital was mainly supplied from regions which had access to the sea: the Black Sea region from Varna, Akkerman, Caffa; Thrace from Rodosçuk (Tekirdağ); Aegean from Selanik, Izmir; Egypt from Iskenderiye.⁴⁰ As in the ancient times the season of navigation was short, between April and September. The most favourable season for the Black Sea trade was considerably short between August and September. In winters the transportation stopped. Under these circumstances the State had to supervise an efficient system for shipping and storage. This was particularly important as the Ottomans ran a system called *narh* where the prices of the goods were legislated. As the inefficient stock of the necessities would lead to speculations in prices, the State had to provision the adequate reserves.

The *Kadı* of Istanbul, a position comparable to the *Praefectus* of Constantinople, was responsible for the supervision of the provisioning and the control of the legislated price. *Narh* was determined after consultation with the merchants and shipmasters. The provisioning of the city was realised by a vast organisation formed of *emanets*, warehouses, *divanhane*s and shopping districts.⁴¹ The *emanets* were custom institutions provisioning specific goods, their taxation and distribution. *Emin* was the title of the official assigned to the *emanets* by the Sultan. The slaughterhouses, meat, fish, salt, vegetables, sheep, wine, coffee, timber were the main items of separate *emanets*. The fruit imports were specifically controlled by the *Çardak Emaneti*. There was also a specific institution for the slave trade headed by the *Pencik Emni*. *Emins* had offices as *divanhane*s where they consulted with the

³⁸ Ibid. p.189. Armenians were particularly involved in the trade with the East, especially with Iran.

³⁹ Faroqui. (1994:476).

⁴⁰ Mantran (1990).

⁴¹ Inalcık, 'İaşe', in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (IV/116-119).

merchants about the distribution of the imports. Divanhane as a building typology is a free standing pitched roofed kiosk with windows in all sides. The legislative issues were the duties of specific officials called *naib*.

Kadı's assistant in the inspection of the system was *Ihtisab Ağası*. These officials were assigned annually by tax farming (*iltizam*). According to the 1501 *Mahrusa-i İstanbul Kamunnamesi* (Laws of Greater İstanbul) *Ihtisab* organisation was responsible for the inspection of all the imports, for the qualification of the grain and bread, the control of legislated prices. The institution also gave permits for opening shops. In addition they inspected the workers, porters and rowers, the transitory inhabitants of the worker dormitories.⁴² In summary they were responsible for the control of all the flows- people, goods- in and out of the city. *İhtisab Ağası* patrolled the harbour zone and the shopping district daily. After the Wednesday councils on provisioning issues attended by the *Sadrızam* (Prime Minister) and *Kadı*, these officials joined the patrols of *Ihtisab Ağası*. *Ihtisab* officials had the right to punish the outlaws on occasion and police forces were in their charge.⁴³ The office of the *İhtisab Ağası*, known as the *Muhtesib Çardağı* was at the Yemiş Landing stage (fruit wharf) at Zindankapı.

Greater İstanbul was formed of four legislative units headed by *kadı*s: Dersaadet (Historical Peninsula), Galata, Eyüp and Üsküdar. The *kadı*s of the sectors apart from Dersaadet had also assistant officials for controlling the provisioning, who were called *muhtesibs*. Likewise, *Ihtisab Ağası* of Dersaadet is also known as *muhtesib*. These institutions remained unchanged till the beginning of the 19th century and gave form to control mechanisms, which existed on the Extra-mural Zone.

5.2.3. *Kapan- Çardak*: Customs and State-run Exchanges

It is an interesting fact that the Ottomans who realised monumental constructions like Sultan mosque complexes, aqueducts for supplying İstanbul and *menzil* complexes on main routes, comparable to Late Roman structures, did not carry out any infrastructural projects on the harbours of the capital. The centralist Ottoman economic system was realised on the existing natural and antique maritime harbours, which were transformed into medieval ports in the time of the Byzantine Empire. In İstanbul, the last remainder of the antique closed ports,

⁴² O. Nuri (1999, Vol I: 325-347).

Byzantine Kontoscalion (Kadırğa) was used till mid 16th century; it silted after this period. Haliç emerged as the sole harbour of the city and it was used in the general lines defined by geography. The Ottomans inherited the medieval Byzantine and Islamic typologies like *apotheke*, *fundaq* and *qayssariyya* and adopted them to the needs of the Empire.

A major difference from the imperial Roman trade and the Ottoman was that in the latter the State was not itself the transporter and the storekeeper of the goods; it had contractive agents. The goods that were brought to the city were directly distributed to the shop-owners at specific places. These were responsible to store adequate supplies. L. Göçer has specifically studied this condition for the grain import by the 18th century. He stated that the state kept reserves only for the needs of the Palace and the army, which were stored in Sirkeci and the Great Arsenal. The secular provisioning was done directly to the Flour Exchange- Unkapanı and there the goods were sold to the bakers.⁴⁴ The bakers had to keep adequate reserves which were noted to be a months surplus in the time of Mehmet II and later this was increased to four or five months.⁴⁵ Under the conditions of such a system the pressure on State warehouses were reduced. Unlike the Roman ports where the State was the warehouse-keeper, the Ottoman State necessitated lesser space for storage. In fact, there were silos at the distribution ports like Rodosçuk- Tekirdağ from where the capital was supplied in case of emergency.⁴⁶

When the goods were transported from the distribution centres to Istanbul, they reached specific landings where were the state-run exchanges called *kapans*. These were buildings where the weighing, pricing and sales of the goods were realised. They also incorporated private shops, which were also used for storage. Kapans were not necessarily on the waterfront; there were also intra-mural kapans.

In fact kapan is a generic institution which existed on the centres of the regional economic zones. It was where tax farming was done. As in the Byzantine *apotheke*, the goods were weighed and taxed in kapans. The customs dues were paid *ad valorem* which the government agent or the tax-farmer estimated. As Inalcık states:

⁴³ For the *İhtisab* institution see, N. Sakaoglu. "İhtisab Ağa", in, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol. IV: 143-144); Sakaoglu (1997: 81-86).

⁴⁴ Göçer. (1952, 403).

⁴⁵ Murphey (1988: 221).

⁴⁶ For the provisioning system between Tekirdağ and İstanbul, see Faroqui (1979-1980: 138-159).

Common forms of fraud included transporting goods on routes other than customary ones, using the city gates or other points of transshipment outside the officially designated ones, or unloading wares on the seashore outside the ports where customs houses were established. No merchant could load, unload, or leave a port, a caravanserai or a public station without the permit of a tax-farmer, a broker or man in charge of the place.⁴⁷

Kapans were not specific to Istanbul, however, as the capital city delivered all kinds of goods and devised special exchange buildings for each, it housed the richest repertoire. There was no pre-determined typology for the *kapans*. It seems that they were shaped according to the specialities of the goods, which pass from them. Some could be proper *hans* like *Balkapanı*; that is a courtyarded double storeyed stone building with magazines around colonnades.⁴⁸ Some are formed of a group of buildings like the fruit exchange, in other words *Yemiş Kapanı*. The harbour of the Ottoman İstanbul and Bahçekapı –Unkapanı section of the Extra-mural Zone was differentiated according to the import items.

Kapan- kabban, originally *kepan* in Arabic⁴⁹, means "weighing and a device for weighing". It also refers to press, or a clamp. The meaning of the word does not correspond to a specific building typology but to its function. *Kapan* was a wholesale exchange or a customs house where goods were weighed, taxed, stamped, distributed and sold.

Another name used for the same function in Ottoman is *çardak*⁵⁰, which unlike *kapan*, does refer to a specific building typology. *Çardak* comes from Persian "*chahartaq*", which means "four-way arch", a baldachin. As W. Ball states, "chahartaq" is one of the oldest and most ubiquitous "building blocks" of Persian architecture, in both religious and secular buildings".⁵¹ *Chahartaqs* as domed four-way arches were also used as Zoroastrian fire-temples in Sassanian period. The typology is also seen at the crossing of two covered bazaars. The same type was applied for the Roman colonnaded streets. The *Milion* of Constantinople was a domed four-way arch; *Modion* at the crossing of *Mese* and *Macros Embolos* was most probably such a likely structure. The Ottomans had used the same building type at the crossings, usually as an elevated prayer hall. The domed archways in *Sinan's two menzil* complexes in *Lüleburgaz* and *Payas* (İskenderun) can be noted.⁵²

⁴⁷ İnalçık (1994: 202).

⁴⁸ For *Balkapanı Han*, see, Ağır (1999: 91-97).

⁴⁹ Develioğlu (1982: 571) states that *Kabban* is an Arabic word, which was transferred to Ottoman Turkish from Persian "*kepan*".

⁵⁰ O. Nuri (1999, Vol II: 765).

⁵¹ Ball (2000: 273-284). *Chahartaq* can be the origin of the Greek '*tetrapylon*', where the building and the word denoting it are direct translations.

⁵² For the *Lüleburgaz* complex, see, Kuran (1987: 139, 167) and Goodwin (295-300); for *Payas* complex see, Kuran (1987:150-154).

The Ottoman *çardak* in *kapans* and customs is not directly the same with the domed four-way arch. It was rather a *divanhane* reserved for *muhtesibs* and *emins* of customs exchanges. The word in contemporary Turkish simply refers to a light structure consisting of post and a roof of branches, like a “primitive hut”. The Ottoman *çardak* as a *divanhane* was a similar building: a pitched roofed building, sometimes with large overhangs, open on four sides with windows. The *çardak* was also similar to the waterfront coffeehouses of the capital. This was a suitable typology for a customs official that had to have visual access to the whole area of the *kapan*. The difference between *çardak* and *kapan* is that the latter is also used for buildings like *hans*, but the former was specifically used for the waterfront. The *kapans* of the Extra-mural Zone will be studied in detail below.

5.3. The Foundations of Mehmet II

The rise of two successive *cosmopoleis* on the Bosphorus entailed basically a nine-fold integration of the great political power which Constantine and Mehmet had amassed: imperialization, sanctification, mandarinization, literalization, militarization, demographization, thesaurization, monumentalization, sacralization.⁵³

The foundation of Byzantine Constantinople and the foundation of Ottoman Istanbul have common features as listed by S. Vyronis. Not only that they shared the same site but also they were imperial projects, which radically transformed the existing situation. Constantine founded a great city on the site of Greek town Byzantium; Mehmet II re-founded a great imperial city on the void of the former Byzantine Constantinople. Both imperial projects were determined by “the daemonic personalities of the founding genii”. The driving motives of these personalities were similar: “supreme political intelligence and military genius; inexhaustible energy and never-faltering determination; involvement in religion both intellectual and institutional levels; aspiring the sovereignty of the whole world in the model of Alexander; being cosmic architects of world power; and centring in one great city”.⁵⁴ Both projects like C. Mango labelled, were “artificial creations”⁵⁵, which means that they were not the result of the organic growth of the city but were real foundations where the buildings proceeded the population. In this Constantinople-Istanbul is the heir of the Acaemenid and Hellenistic capital foundations; it is the predecessor of St Petersburg, Ankara, Brasilia, Canberra.

⁵³ Vyronis (1991: 21)

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.21.

After the Conquest of Constantinople, Mehmet II declared the city as the new capital of the Ottoman Empire. Istanbul was selected to become the super-city of this centralised, absolutist empire. The aims of the Conqueror was reflected on the projects realised by him in Istanbul: the building of a new ruling centre as the Topkapı Palace, the area of which was as expansive as the Byzantine Great Palace; the erection of a great religious and cultural centre as the Fatih Complex in the site of Holy Apostles with eight medresahs, a caravanserai; the building of a great commercial district on closed bazaars around a Bedesten; the formation of a second commercial district at Galata; the erection of a new fortress at the place of the former Golden Gate- Yedikule which was also Sultan's treasure house; the building of military barracks across the first Palace built on the site of Forum of Theodosius; the erection of the Eyüp complex at the site of the Islamic martyr Eyub-el Ensari; the building of an arsenal in Kasımpaşa; the construction of a arms factory in Tophane; the definition of a drill field in Okmeydanı (the place where the tent of the Sultan was founded during the Conquest). The monumental projects on the Historical Peninsula, Istanbul, were placed on the ridges of the hills overlooking the Haliç side. On the fourth was the Fatih complex, on the third were the Old Palace and army barracks, between the third and the second was the commercial district around Bedesten, on the first was the Hagia Sophia which was converted to a mosque as adorned with minarets and the New Palace, Topkapı, stood on the tip of the promontory.⁵⁶

Less monumental but not less important were the constructions along the Extra-mural Zone, which drew the general lines of the main harbour zone for the next 350 years. The selection of the places of the state run exchanges- *kapans*, like the Flour Exchange (Unkapanı), Lumber Exchange (Odunkapanı)- and the main customs were among the achievements of Mehmet the Second's era. In fact, the thoroughfare on the ridges of the hills was communicated with this area by the valleys between the hills. This area which was the most populated section of the Late Byzantine Constantinople preserved this character in the Ottoman City.⁵⁷ The determination of the populations and neighbourhoods on the area like the Jews of Eminonu, Greeks of Phanar is among other achievements of the Conqueror. The details of Mehmet the Second's Extra-mural Zone is known to an extent from his endowment books, which listed his donations for the *vakıfs* of Ayasofya and Fatih mosques. In fact, sections of the Extra-mural Zone were his donations. Here, the donation books of Mehmet

⁵⁵ Mango (1993). Also see Erkal (1995:1-2).

⁵⁶ For the architecture of the Mehmet the Second's period, see Ayverdi (1953).

⁵⁷ Ayverdi states that the lands along the sea walls were the first to be inhabited (1957).

the Second will be referred as a source for the Extra-mural Zone as it was transformed after the Conquest.

Before getting into the details of the listed properties, it should be noted that Mehmet the Conqueror was not alone erecting new buildings forming a great donation. The great officials and generals took part in the determination of neighbourhoods by erecting mosques, or by converting existing Byzantine churches. The neighbourhoods, as *mahalles* were founded around these religious foundations, each being the donation of the builder, in the typical Ottoman urban development pattern. Some of these buildings were on the Extra-mural Zone. Another important factor is the mythical heritage of the Conquest reflected on the sea walls. Around some of the gates on the sea walls were founded *turbes*, burial places for the notable ones who were said to lose their life in the Conquest. Some of these gave their names to the gates and the districts around. Baba Cafer was in Zindankapı (former St John Carnibus Gate). Cebe Ali was at the former Putea or Ispigas Gate, then called as Cibali. Horoz Dede was by the Unkapanı Gate (former Plateia Gate), also called Horoz.⁵⁸

The construction of the New Palace, Topkapı, on the first hill of the promontory had changed the environs of Byzantine Eugenius Tower and the imperial pier. The land walls of the palace called as the New Castle, *'Kal'a-i Cedid'*, joined the existing sea walls at this point. The Eugenius Gate to the west of the Eugenius Tower, which was later called as Yalı Köşkü Gate, was incorporated to the walls of the palace. The Palace walls joined the sea walls at a hundred meters distance to the west of the Gate, which were originally built on the curvature of the antique, Proosphorion harbour. With this intervention an important gate of Byzantine Constantinople was reserved for the use of the Ottoman Palace. The fortification walls on the seashore turned into citadel walls where the waterfront was used as a landing stage for the necessities of Topkapı. Here was the imperial pier of the Ottomans with boathouses, however unlike the Byzantine imperial pier its use was restricted to the Court.⁵⁹ By the construction of the walls around the first hill forming the territory of the Topkapı Palace in

⁵⁸ Evliya Çelebi, here, referred after Demircanlı (1987).

⁵⁹ The transformation of the Eugenius Gate is important as with this intervention one of the main accesses into the city- from the imperial pier to Ayasofya was erased. The access from the Haliç waterfront to the first hill was then taken six hundred meters to the west, to Gate of Bahçekapı-Neorion.

the time of Mehmet II, the Extra-mural Zone along these lines were converted for the use of the Ottoman court.⁶⁰ This would not change until the lying of the railway by the 19th century.

Here, the buildings and gates noted in the foundation books of Mehmet II will to be listed from the East to the West.⁶¹ After the palace foreshore, there are two gates represented as the Bahçekapı Gate and Oreya Gate. These are generally accepted as to be names given to the same gate, which was known as Neorion in the Byzantine period.⁶² This point forms one of the main sections where the constructions by the Conqueror or by notable Ottomans were concentrated. Some portion on the waterfront of Oreya Gate, was Sultan's property known as the "lumber market".⁶³ Mehmet II also built a mosque at this spot called the *Kireç İskelesi Mescidi*, in other words the Mescid of "Lime Wharf". There could have been a specific landing stage for lime at this section. The timber wharf and the lime wharf existed on this area till the 19th century.⁶⁴

The most important of the endowments of Mehmet II on Bahçekapı was the Great Customs-*Gümrük Kaparı*. The foundation book notes this building as a freestanding structure open to streets on four sides. This was the main stock customs of Istanbul where the goods of traders were taxed and distributed. The document is not only important to show that the place of the main stock customs was determined by Mehmet II but also illustrates how a custom-*kaparı* worked.⁶⁵ Ayverdi notes that there was a mescid built at the Customs name Gümrükönü

⁶⁰ The point where the land walls of the Topkapı Palace and the sea walls intersected was not extended as a traverse wall to close the extra-mural zone of the Court with the harbour. However, in one ariel perspective of Loos, a structure like a palisade is shown to the West of Yalı Kiosk.

⁶¹ The foundation books of Mehmet II were used as sources for the topography of İstanbul in the time of Mehmet II, by Ülgen (1938), Ayverdi (1957). A latest interpretation is made by Yerasimos (1999: 91-97). We are grateful to Professor Yerasimos, who directed us to search for the Extra-mural Zone in the foundation books of Mehmet II.

⁶² After the conquest there is no mention of the Gate of Veteris Rectoris, it was either closed in the Later Byzantine period when the Genoese moved to the Galata side or the Ottomans closed it.

⁶³ "*Haric-i kal'ada Oreya Kapısı hizasında yedi kat'a arazi: Ağaç pazarı demekle maruftur*". *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* (1938: 242). We must here express our gratitude to Prof Dr Ömür Bakrer, who, kindly, gave us her copy of the foundation books and assisted us in their reading.

⁶⁴ Ayverdi states that Kireç İskelesi Mescid was in the place of Mes'adet Han built in the 19th century and Kireç İskelesi mosque was built for the prayers of the sailors who were left outside the city territory when the city gates were closed at night. However, Bahçekapı is noted by the writers of the 18th and early 19th centuries as the gate where the latecomers entered the city at night. This can be the generic explanation of Ayverdi for the erection of mosques on the Extra-mural Zone.

Kireç İskelesi Mescid is also noted in *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 330) as a donation of Mehmet II.

⁶⁵ The foundation book also specifically notes that *emin* was responsible for the negotiations of taxing: "*Haric-i Kal'ada Gümrük Kaparı demekle maruf bir beyit. Dört tarafı tarik-ı amla mahduttur. Mahalle-i mezburu etraf ve aktardan Darussaltanatil'aliyyeye emtia ile gelen tüccardan, musliminden rub-i uşr ve ehl-i zimmetten nisf-i işr ve harbiden uşur alınmak için vakf buyurup şart buyurdular ki beyt-i mezburda emin ve dandar muteaffif ve perhizdar adem taraf-ı saltanattan muteayyin ve cem-i evkatta ol mekanda nekın ve mutemekkın olup musted'asinca mukteza-yi ser-i kavim üzere amel ve*

mescidi. This building was at the side of the later Yeni Cami Gate (Byzantine St Marc Gate) near the fortifications at this section.⁶⁶ The foundation book also notes an entrepot of salt in the area, which was also, a freestanding building opening to streets on all sides.⁶⁷

Mehmet II donated some parts of the extra-mural zone at Bahçekapı to a clergyman called Seyh Mehmed-i Ceylani who constructed a *mescid* at the area called Bursa Tekkesi Cami. This was later called Arpacılar Mescidi and is preserved in contemporary İstanbul. The mescid was built in front of the sea walls to the west of the Bahçekapı.⁶⁸ The building was built on a higher level where the ground floor was reserved for the tomb of the donator and three shops.⁶⁹ Arpacılar Mescid is also significant as being a raised religious building with commercial uses on the ground floor. This typology was used for the mosques built on the harbour area in the coming decades.⁷⁰ If the Bursalı Mescid was originally built as such a structure it is a proof for the congestion of the district with commercial functions in the time of the Conqueror. Another important evidence is that the mescid was built adjacent to the sea walls; this shows that building attached to the walls, was a practice that continued from the Byzantine to the Ottoman times in this area.

The intra-mural zone of Bahçekapı was formed of Bozahane, Edirneli Yahudiler (Jews of Edirne) and Oreyka Kapı districts. The foundation book specifies the donated houses and shops on the area by giving the names of the owners. Most of the property holders around Mehmet the Second's property at intra-mural Bahçekapı were Jews. They had a synagogue and a bath at the area. This is a proof for the fact that the inhabitants of the area till the

lat'ı feyatı ve kıfar edip nice iedait ile ezvadan tehası ve sayg ve fasig olup istimalet-ı ashab-ı ticarete himmet ve izdiyad-ı emvai-i tüccara bez-i kudert eyliye. Zümre-i tüccar dahi emn-ü eman ve ferag-ı bal ve itminanları mukabelesinde sadaka-i mal-ı ticaretlerinin vermekten imtına ve Emin ile hakk-ı muayyen-i şer'iyi vermekte muazara ve niza etmiyeler." Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri (1938: 227).

⁶⁶ Mehmet II organized four foundation books each replacing the other, in the first the area between the walls and the sea at the Customs was called as Halil Paşa Burgusa district. The name did not survive. *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 325-326) notes the Gümrükönü Mescid as the donation of Mehmet II. On the place of Gümrükönü Mescid, Selanik Bonmarş was built by the early 20th century. A.N. Galitekin, the editor of *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001) states in reference to Mehmed Ziya that the corner tower of Selanik Bonmarş was a gesture to the minaret of the mescid that it replaced.

⁶⁷ "*Haric-i kal'ada Tuz anbarı. Dört tarafı tarik-i amme münteheidir."* Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri (1938).

⁶⁸ The neighbourhood of the mosque was also called as Seyh Ceylani in the foundation books.

The mosque still survives as restored several times in the Ottoman and Republican periods. See, also *Hadikat* (2001: 326-327).

⁶⁹ The mescid is important for Ottoman architectural history as it forms the only surviving example for a *mescid* also used as a *tekke*, the centre of a sect .B. Tanman, "Arapçılar Mescidi", in, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol. II: 341).

⁷⁰ Hidayet Camii in Eminönü- Meyit Landing of the 19th century, Süleyman Subaşı Mosque in Unkapanı (16th century), and intra-mural Rüstem Paşa mosque (16th century) are the most well known examples of this type.

construction of Yeni Cami, even after, were Jewish minorities placed there by the Conqueror. The placement of Jews near the Customs is reasonable, as they were involved in maritime trade and tax farming.⁷¹

It cannot be ascertained whether the Stock Customs in Bahçekapı extended till the Balıkpazarı Gate (former *Peramatis*, Piscaria Gate) in the time of the Conqueror, as it was for the later periods.⁷² It is noted in the foundation book that Mehmet II donated some portions of empty land in Balıkpazarı Gate, however, it was not noted whether this was on the Extra-mural Zone like the timber wharf by Bahçekapı or not. No function was specified for this land.⁷³

The second section on the Extra-mural Zone, where the buildings noted in the foundation book are congested, is the area between Bahçekapı, Zindankapı and Odunkapı; this is the area of the old Venetian Quarter.⁷⁴ It seems that the Ottomans inherited some of the Venetian property. The best known is the intra-mural building called Yemiş Kapanı (Fruit Exchange); that is Balkapanı Han.⁷⁵ This building existed between Balıkpazarı and Zindan Gates. However, the document does not mention a specific wharf reserved for the importation of the fruit stocks. In the later periods this was by Zindankapı. There are many shops denoted by Mehmet II in the intra-mural zone near this area.⁷⁶ It seems that the storage functions of the harbour zone and shops had incorporated into the intra-mural zone between Bahçekapı and Odunkapı as it was in the Byzantine period.

At Zindankapı by the Extra-mural Zone, there was a mesjid called Tekneciler. “*Tekneciler*” means boatmen, and Ayverdi, states that this was for their use at night.⁷⁷ Another important structure to the west of the Zindan Kapı was the Ahi Çelebi mosque with the name of its

⁷¹ See, Yerasimos (1996: 101-130). As mentioned for Middle and Late Byzantine periods this was the quarter where Jews (Caraites) were settled. It seems that newcomers joined these old inhabitants.

⁷² In the foundation books Balıkpazarı is mentioned as an intra-mural neighbourhood where there were shops selling fishes. The functional continuation with Byzantine period is striking as the same Gate was called as Fish Market Gate, Piscaria by the Byzantines.

⁷³ “*Cümleden birisi Balık Bazar-ı Kapısında beş kit'a Arz'dir. Evkafı şerifelerindedir*”. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* (1938: 242).

⁷⁴ For Venetian Quarter, see, Chapter 4.3.2.

⁷⁵ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* (1938: 213).

⁷⁶ Another intra-mural Han noted in the foundation was *Han-ı Sultani* which also seems to be an old Byzantine structure. Magazines for making and selling soap were at this area. These were at Odunkapı neighbourhood. There is a large street in this district, which could have been the same with the Venetian embolo.

⁷⁷ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001:325) notes that Tekneciler Mescid was a wooden building which was a donation of Mehmet II. It was later restored by Mustafa Ağa. The building had shops underneath and had no neighbourhood after its name.

donator.⁷⁸ It had a neighbourhood with the same name. This mosque was rebuilt in the 16th century and is said to be the work of Mimar Sinan. Also known as Yogurtçular mosque, this structure survives in ruins in contemporary Istanbul.⁷⁹

As noted only in the first foundation book of Mehmet II, there was a neighbourhood called Hoca Yakub-ul tabib-us Sultani, the physician of the Sultan, on the Extra-mural Zone by Odunkapanı, however, the name did not survive in the later periods. The name Odunkapı - Lumber Gate- is a proof for the fact that already by the time of Mehmet II, the area in front of the Byzantine Drungarious- Basiliki Gate was the wharf of lumber.

Ayazma Kapı, which in the later ages determined the ending point for the lumber exchange in the west, was not yet opened in the time of the Conqueror. Then, the next gate to the west of Odun Kapı was Unkapanı Gate. Unkapanı means flour exchange and its reference in the foundation book notes to the formation of this exchange in the time of Mehmet II. However, there is no donation noted like a building specific for this purpose. There are intra-mural shops and magazines noted in the several neighbourhoods at Unkapanı. *İskele Kapısı* (Gate of Jetty) is the extra-mural neighbourhood at this section that means the gate of the landing stage. The landing stage should have been used specifically for the import of grain as in the later periods. The foundation refers to several shops and magazines denoted by Mehmet II in this quarter. Ayverdi states that some of these named as *hücre*-cells- could have been of Byzantine origins.⁸⁰ Here was the tomb of Horoz Dede, a martyr of the conquest.⁸¹ Adjacent to the tomb of Horoz Dede was also the tomb of Sefer Dede.⁸²

The foundation books of Mehmet II note a neighbourhood called “Debbagiyn” to the East of Unkapanı.⁸³ There is also reference to thirty-five buildings denoted by the Conqueror on the

⁷⁸ This mosque is not mentioned in the foundation books but is known from other sources. *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001 323-324).

⁷⁹ In *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 (1970:106), the mosque is noted as a pious endowment. Of the noted property of the endowment, there are 24 shops near the mosque (*dekakin 24 bab der nezd-i cami-i şerif*) and shops and cellars near the Zindankapı (*dükkan ve mehzen der nezd-i zindan*). It is not certain whether the mentioned shops date from the original structure or the restoration of Sinan.

⁸⁰ “*İskele Kapısı Mahallesiinde muttasıl iki beyit, herbirinin fevkinde birer beyt-i ulvi, Arab oğlu Hacı Mehmet milkine muttasıl. Bes bab hücre, Bursalı Hacı Kemal oğlu Hacı Hamza milkine muttasıl. İskele Kapısı mahallesiinde birbirine muttasıl iki bab-ı süfli, Arab oğlu Hacı Mehmet milkine muttasıl. Beş bab hücre, Bursalı Hacı Kemal milkine muttasıl*”. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* (1938).

⁸¹ In fact, Evliya Çelebi notes that this Gate was also called Horoz that means ‘cock’, and further states that there was a relief of a cock by this gate. Demircanlı (1987:19).

⁸² The Subaşı Süleyman mosque that was next to the Flour Exchange building in Unkapanı is not a donation of the first governor of the city with the same name. This mosque which dominates the illustration so later Ottoman periods belongs to an official of Süleyman I.

⁸³ *Debbagiyn*, from *Debbakhane*, means the neighbourhood of the tanners that could be in this area.

Extra-mural Zone between Cibali Gate and Kunfoz Gate (Balat Gate). These were buildings for fish storage and fishing; these were noted to be on the side of a wide street.⁸⁴ The extensive limits between Cibali Gate and Balat may be referring to the fishing rights on the area denoted by the Conqueror, as it was done by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade.

Mehmet II denoted some shops in Kunfoz Gate that may be either the environs of Balat Gate proper, or may refer to the Byzantine Kynegion harbour. Twenty shops forming a bazaar at this point is noted, with a tannery housing twenty shops on the waterfront and a guns factory with thirty three shops.⁸⁵ There are neighbourhoods refereed with the names of the gates like Balat, Fener, Ayolaherna on the Haliç sea walls. It is not noted whether these were extra-mural or intra-mural.⁸⁶ Fifty mills are noted, half of which were one the Haliç waterfront. There were a number of them around the Flour Exchange. There were two around Bahçekapı, one in Balat, three in Kunfoz, one for each in Ayolaherna (Blachernai-Ayvansaray?) and Fener.⁸⁷

The visual representation of the Extra-mural Zone of Mehmet II had been published in the 16th century by 1530s; it is the plan of Vavassore (Fig.25). In fact, the plan of Vavassore is the generic model for the 16th century areal perspective of Istanbul. However it does not show the Istanbul of 1530s, rather it is the representation of the time of Mehmet II.⁸⁸ Here the 1574 copy of Braun and Hogenberg will be considered specifically for the evidence of the Extra-mural Zone.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ “Evkafl-ı şerifeden biri dahi otuz beş bap beyittir ki sahil-i bahirde bina olunmuştur. Haric-i Kal’adedir. Zikrolunan büyüt Balıklıği demekle maruftur. Cebe Ali Kapısına ve gun Kapısına ve Kunfoz Kapısına mukabildir. Mabeyn-i tarik-i am fasıldır. Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri (1938: 214). It can not be ascertained what ‘Gun’ Gate refers to.

⁸⁵ “Kunfoz Kapısı bazarı ki yirmi bap dükkandır. Evkafl-ı şerifeden biri dahi Debbaghane dedikleri bazardır, yirmi bap dükkandır, sahil-i bahre kariptir, haric-i kal’adadır. Biri dahi Sellahhane demekle maruf bazardır, otuz iki dükkandır; bunlar dahi bahre kariptir” Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri (1938: 211). However, it is not certain whether these are by Balat Gate or were the ones mentioned between Unkapamı and Cibali Gates.

⁸⁶ Probably they were intra-mural as the foundation books noted when the buildings were outside the walls and on the waterfront.

⁸⁷ These were not powered by water but mostly by animal power, where asses were usually used.

⁸⁸ As the Beyazıd mosque is not shown on the map, it has been suggested that the engraving of Vavassore was a copy of the map drawn by Giorgias Amirutzes with the request of Mehmet II; Amirutzes work does not survive. Vavassore map, even after the construction of other monuments like many buildings erected in the time of Süleyman I. was copied through out the 16th century (S. Munster, Zenoi, Braun& Hogenberg). I. Tekeli. “Haritalar”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol. III: 556-560).

⁸⁹ Images of the Earth: F. Muhtar Katırcıoğlu Collection. Exhibition Catalogue. YKY. 2000. pp. 86-87.

The map illustrates two bays (of the former Neorion harbours and Perama) between the point where Topkapı Palace land walls join the sea walls and Unkapanı Gate (named as *Porta de la Farina* in the map). The cape point projecting between these two bays was the Balıkpazarı Gate (*Pescaria* in the map). In front of this Gate is noted the “*Borsia*”, stock exchange or the “*Gümrük Kapanı*” of Mehmet II. The second bay terminates at Zindankapı where a building is placed without a note. Rowers are marked between the foreshore along Balıkpazarı-Zindan Gates, which are ferries to Galata. The map depicts an intra-mural fabric that is parallel to the circuit of the walls following the concave curvature of the two bays.⁹⁰ The impact of the closing of Eugenius Gate to the public use is also depicted where the inner city Street reaching the first peninsula starts by Eminonu and turns to the East.

The walls after Zindan Kapı are shown as almost straight till Fener, which also fits well with the archaeological evidence. Odunkapı and Unkapanı Gates are not shown or named but the point of Flour Exchange is depicted with two buildings and landing sailboats. The centre for the fishers (*casé de pescatori*) is marked.⁹¹ After two gates shown but not labelled probably referring to Cibali Gate and Ayakapı (Church of St Theodosia- Gül Mosque is shown) comes the Petron Castrum. Here the engraver correctly noted the cape before Petron. The Petri gate is named as “*Porta del Chinico*”. There was probably a landing stage since a ferry is symbolically depicted in the Venetian style as a “*gondola*”. After Petron there are two waterfront buildings. The end point of the Extra-mural Zone is noted as the *Porta del Fiume* that refers to Eyüb Ensari Gate (Byzantine Xyloporta). Although the Extra-mural fabric is not shown with the exception of five “symbolic” buildings, the Vavassore map depicts the sea walls and the waterfront in close resemblance to real topographic lines.

As stated by Vyronis, demografication was one of the main issues of the imperial project carried by Mehmet the Conqueror, in Istanbul. It is estimated that the population of Constantinople at the time of Conquest was around 70 000 people. Cristoboluous, the Byzantine chronicler of “the fall of the city” noted that 50- 60 000 inhabitants of the city were sold as slaves. İnalçık states that Mehmet II kept the fifth of the enslaved Greeks- as his share as ruler- settled them along the shores of Haliç. These were settled mainly in Phanar-

⁹⁰ These are blocks uncut by streets between the gates. The pattern of fabric is the same with more accurate representations after the 19th century, even holds at some places within the contemporary city after the disappearance of the walls, see, below Chapter 6.2.2.

⁹¹ This was the fish exchange of the city in Unkapanı, apart from the fish market in Balıkpazarı. Balikhane is mentioned in the sources till early 19th century. This with the evidence of the foundation books of Mehmet II for the fisheries at this point shows the continuity of the along-shore fishing from the time of Greek Byzantium as noted by Dionysius of Byzantium.

Fener district, which was saved from the pillage as the inhabitants of the Quarter had willingly opened the gates to the besiegers when the city was to fall.⁹² As a policy to keep the educated and wealthy Byzantines in the new capital, nobility was granted houses and was resettled. The first settlers apart from these were the soldiers of the Conquest. However, this was not enough to form a world capital. Mehmet II encouraged and forced the settlements in Istanbul especially by granting property. The settled population was multi-ethnic: Turks from Aksaray, Bursa, Edirne, Karaman; Greeks from Amastra, Morea, Limni; Jews from Edirne and Selanik; Armenian inhabitants of Caffa on the Black Sea; Slavs were settled on villages around the city. These were settled in different neighbourhoods, some of which bares the place of their origins. On the neighbourhoods along the sea walls were mainly non-muslims: Jews around Eminonu; Greeks around Fener; Armenians in Balat; the populace of the Unkapanı was mainly of Muslims. The Extra-mural Zone, as seen twenty-five years after Mehmet the Second's death in Matrakçı's miniature was full with houses. The demographic pattern of the Extra-mural Zone as it will be studied below for the early 19th century seems to originate from Mehmet II project like many boundary structures along its extensive limits.

5.4 The Panorama of Loricis: the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent

*My Lord, you dwell in a city whose benefactor is the sea. If the sea is not safe no ships will come, and if no ships come Istanbul perishes.*⁹³

The Ottoman Extra-mural Zone developed according to the sketch of Mehmet II, like the other sectors of the city. His successors continued the construction of imperial mosques on the hills in the model of Fatih mosque. Beyazid's was on the third hill; Yavuz Selim built his modest mosque on the fifth. However it was Süleyman the Magnificent who succeeded to give Istanbul the form and meaning of a real imperial city. If it was in the age of Justinian that the imperial project of Constantine had been completed, the reign of Süleyman is for Ottoman Istanbul what is Justinian for Constantinople. He, the members of his family and his viziers constructed monumental edifices; the Court architect Sinan designed all.⁹⁴ Süleyman's Complex was at the northern end of the third hill, on the rock that rise over Haliç. He had built a former complex for his son Mehmet called Sehzadebaşı at the top of the third valley.

⁹² Ayverdi (1958a); İnalçık (1969-1970).

⁹³ Advice to Selim I, here quoted after, Goodwin (1998: 116).

The most important structure dating from the time of Suleiman the Magnificent along the Haliç fortifications is the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha at the intra-mural section of Zindankapı. Rüstem Pasha, who was one of the many grand viziers Süleyman assigned in his long reign, had a complex built in Tahtakale at the back of Zindankapı over the busiest commercial district of the city completed by 1562. Rüstem's wife and Süleyman's daughter, Mihrimah built two mosques: one in Usküdar, the other by Edirne Kapı on the sixth hill of the promontory. The latter was at the land customs district called Karagümruk. Mihrimah and Rüstem were largely involved in trade and they had dominated the points, which were entrances to the city from Anatolia, from Thrace and from the sea with their donations.

The mosque of Suleiman's son-in-law is the most important structure built along Haliç sea walls in the age of Süleyman the Magnificent. Rüstem Pasha mosque, like many of Sinan's works, was suitable to its context⁹⁵; these were the conditions of a valuable commercial district and the visibility from the waterfront.⁹⁶ Sinan designed an elevated mosque the substructure of which was a cross-vaulted warehouse; shops were built adjacent to the substructure. A staircase from the street, which opened to a roofed courtyard, reached the mosque. That opened to the prayer hall. Kuran states that:

Sinan's reasons for elevating the mosque on a vaulted substructure were twofold: he wanted to give the mosque a better exposure; he wanted to provide a good source of revenue for its endowment through fully exploiting the commercial potential of one of the most valuable properties in the city of Istanbul.⁹⁷

Rüstem Pasha's "elevated" mosque could not take its place in the most remarked illustration of Suleiman the Magnificent's Istanbul, the panorama of Melchior Lorichs (Lorck). Lorichs was in Istanbul between 1555-1559, then the mosque was not finished.⁹⁸ The panorama of

⁹⁴ J. Erzen calls Istanbul of the 16th century as "the city of Sinan". Although the general structure of the city was a Byzantine heritage, it was Sinan who succeeded to give a unified imperial image to Istanbul as the court architect of three successive Sultans (1991: 93-101).

⁹⁵ J. Erzen states that the building typology and siting of Sinan mosques were shaped by the relation of the building with its site. This relation is determined by historical, religious and physical factors intermingled by site-specific characteristics. The heights, mass and the relation of the elements are relational with the function of the building and the status of its donator. (1991: 100).

⁹⁶ Kuran (1998: 139) states that the site was originally occupied by a Byzantine Church which was converted to the mescid of Hacı Halil Ağa after the Conquest. This mescid was pulled down and additional land was supplied by from adjacent properties.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 140. The elevated mosque typology was applied in congested sites. Sinan's Azapkapı mosque on the extra-mural zone of Galata is another example. Sinan also designed elevated building complexes like Mihrimah Mosque in Edirnekapı. However, Azapkapı and Rustem Pasa mosques are specific to be elevated buildings.

⁹⁸ Lorichs (1527-1588) was a Danish noble. He was the court painter of Danish king Christian. He became part of the political mission send by Ferdinand to Suleiman in 1555; Busbeq led the delegation. He stayed in the Ottoman Empire for four years and most of this passed in Istanbul. He

Lorichs is the first known work that documents the Haliç elevation of Istanbul from the Galata side. In fact, an eleven meters roll in the original, it is one of the most detailed and complete depictions of the city facade till the panorama of Barker, 1810. The second visual source from 1580 is the panorama called Vienna Codex, by an anonymous Italian. Rüstem's mosque exists in this second illustration. Here we shall focus on the Extra-mural Zone using Lorichs representation as a basis for the time of Süleyman the Magnificent.⁹⁹ On the basis of the Lorich's panorama the data collected from *Hadikat'ül Cevami*, the Book of the Istanbul Pious Endowments of 1546 (*İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri- 953*), the Map of Nakkaş Osman in *Hünername*, and the travelogues of the some Western visitors of the 16th century will be incorporated as to form a limited reconstruction of the topography of the Extra-mural Zone in the mid 16th century.

Lorichs panorama starts with the towers of the Topkapı Palace Gate at the tip of the promontory (Fig.27.1-det.1). At half the distance of the Topkapı sea walls, from the entrance of Haliç, pitched roofed warehouses are depicted, which could have been the boathouses of the Palace (Fig.27.2-det.4). Till these barracks, the seashore is narrow and empty.¹⁰⁰ From the warehouses to the western limits of the palace foreshore and wharf, Lorichs made a special illustration for the banks, etched walls. These could have referred to stone crab walls and are specific for showing the embellishment of the palace foreshore and wharf (Fig.27.2-3/det. 4-10).¹⁰¹ The most notable structure of the Topkapı Palace foreshore was the first Yalı Kiosk built in the time of Beyazıd II.¹⁰² Beyazıd's Yalı Kiosk as depicted by Lorichs was built on a stone pier projecting towards the sea and had a high pitch roof that projected over the pier (Fig.27.2-det.5).¹⁰³

returned to Vienna in 1559 with hundreds of sketches. The 12 m panorama has not been converted to a wood-print. Its original is in Leiden University, Holland. Some parts of the roll have been damaged.

⁹⁹ The depiction of the monuments (mosques, hans) and the topographic positioning in Lorichs is generally reliable, however, the fabric between the monuments does not seem to be of the Ottoman style. Especially that is for the waterfront fabric between Cibali and Ayvansaray should be critically interpreted more as a source for a typological survey.

¹⁰⁰ The third tower to the right is shown as a special long tower.

¹⁰¹ However as Lorichs depicts wooden shore consolidations in other sections differently, it seems that here it notes stone shore walls. The stone quays are not shown in the panorama of Grelot, however they exist in the panorama of Le Prince and they are shown in the Yalı Kiosk engraving in D'Ohsson's book.

¹⁰² In fact this is the last representation of the building as it was rebuilt in the time Murad III (1574-95) on a site more to the west than this original. The Yalı Kiosk of Murad III, is seen on the Vienna Codex at its new site, which was at the point where the palace walls met sea walls. The new building is depicted as a roofed building with a lantern tower.

The sea walls show some differentiations to the west of Beyazid's Yalı Kiosk; there is a high tower and double walls.¹⁰⁴ The palace foreshore is empty after this point, however the stone quay walls continue. At the point where the land-walls join the sea walls, a very long pitched roofed warehouse is depicted (Fig.27.2-det.7). This place was a specific wharf for the needs of the Palace. Here were the grain and barley entrepots of the Palace.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting that the stone quay walls continue at this point till the first gate of the city. Thus, the section of the Extra-mural Zone reserved for the use of the Palace was not limited with the front of the Palace but it extended to the west till the first gate of the city. After the warehouse Lorichs shows an empty shore with stone quays, he had depicted goods stored on the shore (Fig.27.3-det.8-10). To the west are apparently piles of lumber where the wharf of Lumber donated by Mehmet II should have been. A mescid constructed by the Suleiman the Magnificent on the Palace wharf near the Barracks of Head Gardener Corps is noted in *Hadikat'ül Cevami*; but this building called as *Yeşil Kiremitli Mescid* (Green Tiled Mescid) cannot be observed in the panorama.¹⁰⁶

As noted above in the foundation books of Mehmet II the wharf of Lumber is noted as to be at Oreya Gate; that is usually interpreted as Bahçekapı or Çift Kapı that means Jews Gate (former Neorion). Lorichs notes a gate called *Juden Thor* (Jewish Gate) at the back of timber piles (Fig.27.3-det.10). However, in the panorama this point is at the vertical projection of Hagia Sophia. If the buildings drawn in the intra-mural zone are considered like Hoca Pasha Baths with the orientation of Hagia Sophia, within the confines of present topography, this point is Sirkeci, not Bahçekapı. According to the placement of the timber piles, noting to the Lumber Bazaar, this should have been Oreya Gate (Oraia Gate). Bahçekapı was by Gümrükönü shown in the panorama. Then the Oreya Gate was not the same with Bahçekapı as it is generally assumed. Whether Lorichs was pointing to a gate closed by the Ottomans or there was a Gate at this point till 1560s. If such a gate existed it was closed in the later Ottoman period as it is not noted or shown after 17th century.¹⁰⁷

To the west of this Gate were some entrepots or boathouses and the stone quay walls ends at this point. The part after these warehouses is missing in the original panorama till the Stock

¹⁰³ Matrakci's miniature show Yalı Kiosk on the foreshore. It would have been very difficult to build a projecting stone pier at this point where the water is deep and the strong currents abound. This may be well be a way that Lorich had chosen to show the significance of the building.

¹⁰⁴ This may be the site of Sepetciler Kiosk later constructed in this spot in the 17th century.

¹⁰⁵ The Venetian Codex shows two or three entrepots at this point, as it was in the later ages.

¹⁰⁶ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 330).

Exchange, Bahçekapı. On the missing part of Lorichs, which can be filled from the 16th century by the Venetian Codex, was the *Meydan Iskelesi*, which is the landing stage of the Grand Vezier. This was also used as the landing of the foreign delegates received to the Palace.¹⁰⁸ After the missing part the Lorichs panorama starts with the halves of two cargo ships. They could have been landing from the front as this point makes a projection to the sea. Here the sea walls followed this cape dividing old Neorion from Perama. On this cape was the Stocks Customs and Exchange of Istanbul, *Gümrük-i Kebir*.¹⁰⁹

Lorichs had specifically shown the building of Stocks Customs. This was a building with a pitched roof and a lantern on top (Fig.27.4-det.13).¹¹⁰ Bahçekapı is not shown as it was hidden behind the Extra-mural fabric. The two towers to the west of Customs can be marking this entrance. A mosque is specifically marked by its minaret this could either be the Gümrükönü Cami or Bursalı Mescid (Fig.27.4-det.14). There is an increase in the rowboats, kayıks drawn at this section, as this was also the main ferry stage of İstanbul. The ferries landed to the public square formed between the customs and the sea walls. Here public transportation and the traffic of the city intermingled.¹¹¹ The round tower specifically shown (the only one on the Haliç sea walls noted by Lorichs) can not be seen in later depictions.¹¹² This could be the tower called as *Gömleklî Kule* by the Ottomans.¹¹³

To the west of the Bahçekapı is shown a specific fabric formed of several rows and streets leading to the open wharf. Further to the west Lorichs depicts palisades (wooden) between buildings. These palisades could have been enclosing courtyards for open storage. At the back of this fabric was Balıkpazarı Gate which is not noted (Fig.27.4-det. 15). *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 gives references to shops near Balıkpazarı Gate (noted also as *Bab-ı Semek*) and notes the Fish Bazaar as being situated on the Extra-mural Zone. A street called as Fish Street outside the fortifications are noted as well as a shop on that street which is defined by

¹⁰⁷ In fact this point of the fortifications was pierced later in the late 19th century as opening the landing of Sirkeci to the intra-mural zone.

¹⁰⁸ In this respect it can be a version of the Byzantine imperial piers.

¹⁰⁹ Galata had another stock customs across the one of Istanbul.

¹¹⁰ It could be the building open on four sides denoted by Mehmet II.

¹¹¹ In the Venetian Edict that draws Istanbul several decades after Lorich, a great empty lot is shown at the back of the Gümrükönü. This might be referring to the construction site of Yeni Camii mosque, which started by late 1590s. It did not exist in Lorichs time.

¹¹² This round tower is significant as it is noted by the Byzantine sources as to be the point where the fortifications of the Greek Byzantium terminated. Dirimtekin marks a round tower to the East of Bahçekapı on the base map of the *Kal'ai Zemin* maps of late 19th century. This section is missing in Lorich.

¹¹³ In *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 (1970:31) a horseshoe shop near Bahçekapı is noted, however it is not certain whether it is intra-mural or extra-mural as the donation of Head Gardener İskender Ağa.

streets on all its sides. This is a reference for a street fabric formed of several rows at this point in the 16th century.¹¹⁴

At some distance from the Balıkpazarı Gate Lorichs shows the shore with cargo boats but no buildings. A long and roofed tower noted as “*Kayserin gefangene Thurn*” dominates the waterfront; that means the prison tower of the Sultan (Fig.27.5-det.16). This was probably Subaşı prison with a capacity of seven hundred people at that time.¹¹⁵ At a distance to the prison tower there is another long and roofed tower with a basket hanged from its window (Fig.27.5-det.17). Lorichs noted that the outlaws and homeless caught at night were placed here; there was a tomb belonging to a relative of Eyüb.¹¹⁶ This was the Baba Cafer prison. Next to the prison was a gate named by Lorichs as the “*Obstthor*” which is Zindan Kapısı or the Yemiş Iskelesi Gate (Fig.27.5-det.18). Of the two buildings depicted on the extra-mural zone across the gate the mosque is probably Ahi Çelebi Mosque (Yogurtçular mescidi) built in the time of the Conqueror but was restored in the time of Süleyman after the 1539 fire; the restoration is said to be the work of Mimar Sinan.¹¹⁷ In fact most of the Extra-mural zone between Balıkpazarı Gate and Odunkapı, with many buildings in the inner city was burnt in the fire when the Ahi Çelebi Mosque was demolished. *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 notes 24 shops near Ahi Çelebi Mosque and six cells by Zindankapı as part of the Ahi Çelebi pious endowment.¹¹⁸ From the same source it is learned that there were shops by the landing stage of Zindankapı and some of these were waterfront structures. There were also shops in a row pattern adjacent to the fortifications and to the Wall Street.¹¹⁹ The Book of 1546 depicts a congested fabric around the Zindankapı contrary to the panorama of Lorichs.

¹¹⁴ The reference for the situation of the Fish Bazaar on the Extra-mural Zone is the donation of İskender Paşa Mescid: “*Başhane ma’a alat ve eshab der nezd-i Pazar-i Simek der haric-i kale*” Barkan & Ayverdi (1970). The reference for the Fish Street (*Suk-ı Semek*) is the shop which is a donation of Şuca Yusuf’ul Anbari: “*Dükkan der Suk-ı Semek der haric-i kal’e, mahdud etrafi erba’ada tarik-i am ile, Mukata’a zemin*” (1970: 189). For the other shops in Fish Bazaar, the reference is the endowment of Mehmed Çelebi bin İbrahim (1970: 79). Balıkpazarı İskelesi Mescidi noted in *Hadikat’ül Cevami* (1930: 325) to the east of Balıkpazarı was constructed in the time of Sultan Mustafa and was rebuilt by İzzet Mehmed Paşa. Known also as İzzet Paşa Mosque, the building was in situ since 1930s.

¹¹⁵ 1539 fire is noted by Cezzar (1963).

¹¹⁶ This is the Baba Cafer prison and tomb which are preserved at the back of Zindan Han in contemporary Istanbul. Eyice (1992:132).

¹¹⁷ Eyice questions whether this was Yavuz Ersinan or Sağarcılar mosque, however, this cannot be possible as they both were in Unkapı. The positioning of the mosque near fruit exchange and across Zindankapı points to Ahi Çelebi mosque.

¹¹⁸ Barkan & Ayverdi (1970: 106).

¹¹⁹ The reference for the shops on the waterfront near Zindankapı landing is the endowment of Seyyid Mehmed bin Seyyid and the endowment of Hacı Rüstem Mescid: “*esas’ül beyt der haric-i Konstantinmiye der kurb-i iskele be nezd-i Zindan, Mahdud Bahr ve tarik-i am ve arzı haliyye ile*” (1970: 106); “*Hücerat 6 bab der ned-i iskele be nezd-i Bab-ı Zindan, asiyab der kurb-i iskele be nezd-*

The building to the east of Ahi Çelebi mosque, seen in the Lorichs panorama is most probably the “fruit exchange” inside a courtyard encircled by palisades (wooden?). Called as *Sebzebane* the building was burnt in the 1539 fire. H. Derschwam, who was in Istanbul between 1553-1555, notes a specific building by the waterfront for the selling and storage of fruits.¹²⁰ It seems then that the building was rebuilt after the fire. The fruit exchange noted by Derschwam was probably the building drawn by Lorichs; here all kinds of fruits and vegetables were stored and distributed to the groceries. Furthermore, Derschwam stated that he had seen the fire of 1553.¹²¹ The fire started in the night from a fat oil shop at the foot of “*Baba Czaffer*” prison. In the intra-mural zone “a thousand shops” belonging to the donation of Hagia Sophia, thus were Mehmet the Second's donations, were burnt. He states that “the students of Hagia Sophia medresah were continuing the restoration after damage of the fire”. Baba Cafer Prison and stocks of fat, beans, rice, hemp plant and other goods from Egypt and Black Sea were also burnt.

Here the empty section of Extra-mural zone as depicted by Lorichs between Bahçekapı and Zindankapı can be reconsidered. The Istanbul map in *Hünername*, 1583, shows this section as an empty foreshore (Fig.30). However, in the Vienna Codex it is full with buildings (Fig.28.1-2). The evidence of Vienna codex fits with the panoramas of the later ages (like de Bruyn and van Klee of early 17th century where the area is shown as full with buildings). Eremya Çelebi of the 17th century states that the foreshore of the Zindankapı was like a fruit garden and the area was full with shops. The *çardak* of *müstesib* who controlled the exchange was also here.¹²² An explanation for the empty foreshore in Lorichs can be the 1539 and 1554 (1063) fires themselves. Within the time Lorichs was in the city, in 1558, Süleyman I declared an edict, that strictly forbid any construction adjacent to the walls both on the extra and intra-mural region. The edict noted that shops and timber stocks that were placed adjacent to the walls, which may be dangerous in case of fire, or may themselves be the cause. The Sultan ordered the Kadı and Subaşı of Istanbul to take measures for the destruction of the structures adjacent to the walls. Furthermore, he declared that no structure

i hücerat-i mezbure” (1970: 22). The reference for the row shops adjacent to the fortifications and siding the wall street is the endowment of Hacı Kemal bin Abdullah: “*Dekakin 5 bab der haric-i Bab-ı Meyve der mukabele-i zaviyeyi Seydi Divane Hudud-ı dükkân-ı Yadigar ve dükkânı Hacı Mustafa ve cidar-ı kale ve tarik Mukata'a-i zemin*” (1970: 107). From the same reference it is understood that a religious sect centre was across the building that is the *Zaviye* of Seydi Divane.

¹²⁰ Derschwam (1992: 81). Some of the sales product was cultivated in the gardens of the Sultan around the city by *acemioğlanları*.

¹²¹ Ibid. p.162.

¹²² Eremya (1952:17).

should exist at a four meters distance to the fortifications.¹²³ This is the first known example of the edicts, which declared the prevention, and destruction of any buildings adjacent to the walls as a precaution for fire throughout Ottoman period. As they were not successfully obeyed, such edicts were declared frequently. Lorichs drew the panorama after the damage of the fire and probably at the time when the Sultans orders were executed. Were they executed? That cannot be known; if they had been obeyed, within a decade, they were disobeyed again as shown in the Vienna Edict. A reference in *Tahrir Defteri-1546* notes a shop by the Odunkapı adjacent to the fortifications which was demolished by the order of Sultan. The reasons are not specified and this is only reference that we could meet for the demolition of structures adjacent to the fortifications by the order of Suleiman the Magnificent. However, the same reference states that the near the demolished building there were other shops which means that there were other buildings adjacent to the fortifications.¹²⁴

Lorichs marked a gate at short an interval to the Zindankapı; that was Odunkapı (Fig.27.5-det.18). Buildings on the Extra-mural Zone reappear after this point. There seems to be open-air storage specifically for wood. They are stored on the two sides of the next gate on the sea walls. This was Ayazma Gate, which was opened in the reign of Süleyman(Fig.27.6-det. 20). One of the main reasons for the opening of this gate could have been the construction of the Suleymaniye Complex. As it is shown in Lorichs panorama, the newly consecrated Complex dominated the north hill sharply sloping down to the shore between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate. Ten years before the depiction of Lorichs, the Extra-mural Zone at this sector should have worked as the wharf for the construction materials of the Complex. As listed in the construction books of the Suleymaniye, all kinds of building materials were brought from all

¹²³ “*Istanbul kadısına ve subaşısına hükümdür ki Bundan akdem sene 946 tarihinde hükümü şerif verilüb mahsuresi İstanbul hisarının iç yüzünde divara muttasıl ve divar üzerinde bazı kimselerin evleri ve şehnişinleri olub hususan Yahud taifesi tabkatla ali evler ve çartakları ihdas eyeleyüb ve divara taşra yüzüne dahi hisara muttasıl dükkanlar olub ve ağaçlar divara muttasıl ve divara karib mahallelere ağaçlar ve yığmağla her gah harka kaabiliyet gelub muslumanlara eksüksüz mezarret ve haseret olduğu ecilden minbaad hususları ref idüb bizzat musaberet idüb ol yerlerin üzerine varub göresin...ve divarın iç yüzünde dahi bina arşunile dört arşun mikdari hisara karib yerden evler olmağa emrim yoktur...ve divarın taşra derya tarafında dahi emrim bunun uzinedir ki divara muttasıl minbaad dükkanlar olmayub ve hisar divarına karib mahallere ağac ve tahta cinsinden bir nesne konulmaya... Bilfiil hisar duvarına muttasıl her nemikdar dükkan var ise refidub ve hisara karib yıkılmış ağaçları ve tahtaları giderüb ve gereği gibi tenbih idesin ki yana yerlerde yapılmalu oldukda dahi hisara karib yerde bir ferde dükkan yaptırmıyub ve ağaç ve tahta yığdırmıyub her ne mikdar tevsi ettirmek mümkün ise etdürub bir vechile tedarik eyliyesinki nagah ates oldukda dahi divara uleşmağa kaabiliyet kalmıyub tamam emri serefim vara”, here quoted after, Ahmed Refik (1988c, 58-59).*

over the empire. Likewise the columns of the Baalbek Temple as *spolia* probably landed to Istanbul on the wharf between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate. *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 notes a considerable number of shops (65 gates are noted), a *serhane* and a lumber depot, which are the donations of the Hürrem Sultan endowment, the wife of Süleiman the Magnificent. The lumber depot is specifically noted as being along the seaside. The Sultan had other shops in the intra-mural sections of Odunkapı.¹²⁵ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes a Mescid with the same name of the Odunkapı on the Extra-mural Zone and another with name Ayazma Gate; these are not depicted by Lorichs.¹²⁶

A change of height on the sea walls is marked in the Lorichs panorama after Ayazma Gate covering half the distance till the next opening; that was the Unkapanı Gate (the Gate of Flour Exchange). To the east of the gate on the waterfront is the building of Flour Exchange a large building with a high pitch roof(Fig.27.6-det.22). As noted by Eremya Çelebi this building was called *Kurşunlu Kapan*; its roof should have been covered by lead.¹²⁷ The building is a landmark for the later panoramas; it is even visible in the photographs of early 20th century.¹²⁸ Here the grain coming from Caffa, Crimea, Akkerman, Burgaz and other places on the Black Sea were imported. Hundred-ten bakeries were located in the area. The shore was full with big ships and piles of barley and wheat as Lorichs had shown. Lorichs had marked wooden palisades, which could have protected this transitory open-air storage. Both the intra-mural and extra-mural area was full with magazines of grain.¹²⁹ Lorichs had added a minaret to the Flour Exchange building, however, as seen in the Vienna Edict this was the minaret of a separate mosque at this point, Subaşı Süleyman mosque, that was built in reign of the Süleyman.¹³⁰ A great number of shops, magazines and depots, even some households are noted as donations of different people in *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546; the donation of Hürrem Sultan, Ahi Çelebi are significant. An interesting detail from the *Tahrir Defteri* is

¹²⁴ The reference is a shop belonging to the donation of Hüsam Bey bin Abdurrahman near Odunkapı (called as *Bab-ı Hime* in the book): “*Dükkan der haric-i Bab-ı Hatab Mahdud cidar-ı kala ve dekakin ve tarik-i amla Emr-i Padışah ile yıkılmıştır.*” Barkan& Ayverdi (1970: 12).

¹²⁵ The reference for the Hürrem Sultan’s property around Odunkapı: “*Serhane der haric-i Bab-ı Hime 1 bab; dekakin der etrafi serhane el-mezbur 31 bab; Anbar-ı çub der birun-i Bab-ı Hime der nezd-i sahil-i bahr, 1 bab; Dekakin der daire-i anbar’ül mezbur 34 bab*” Barkan & Ayverdi (1970).

¹²⁶ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 322).

¹²⁷ Eremya (1952: 18-19).

¹²⁸ Then it was the used as the depot of the Ottoman Bank.

¹²⁹ Eremya also noted that the *naib* of the İhtisab Aga stayed at this point. Here was also the Custom officer of fish which controls the fish stocks brought from the Black Sea.

¹³⁰ The mosque is recorded as a work of architect Sinan. Evliya Çelebi notes that the mosque of Sinan was rebuilt Kara Çelebizade and it was a domed mosque elevated on a warehouse by the ground level. Demircanli (1987: 188). *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 321-322) states that originally the mosque was roofed with tiles, later it was covered by lead by Beşir Ağa.

that a group of shops and a stable are noted to be near the Flour Exchange and an arch; this arch could have been a gateway on a street adjacent to the Flour Exchange.¹³¹

The fabric of the Extra-mural Zone after Unkapanı as depicted by Lorichs dramatically changes; from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray the waterfront is occupied by a continuous row of buildings (Fig.27.6-7-8-9-10). For some distance after the Flour Exchange Square, row buildings by the open shore are shown. Then they continue as waterfront mansions, *yalis*. On some of these waterfront buildings gates opening to the sea are shown, which may be marking the private boathouses, *kayikhane* in Turkish. With the exception of landing stages reaching the gates, the buildings on the Extra-mural fabric are depicted as uninterrupted in a row pattern following the walls. This points to a private use of the waterfront typical to the waterfront mansions in Istanbul. Lorichs depicted the waterfront buildings as built on wooden piles consolidating the shore. A book written by an anonymous Spanish author who was in Istanbul in the time of Süleyman gives some details about the everyday life of these waterfront buildings, which were mainly houses:

In addition to this is the Greek fishermen counting ten thousand family holds who live in worn out wooden huts on the Haliç waterfront outside the fortifications...As it is a harbour the waters are still. The huts are altogether on the sea; in times of storms, waters get inside. Each house has a fishing net; for this they pay a ducat each year; however there are occasions when they earn this ducat in one night.¹³²

The waterfront mansions drawn by Lorichs as single or two storeyed buildings resemble the "huts" in the homeland of Lorichs then of Istanbul. However they may be showing the right parcelling and congestion. In fact, if the description of the Spanish author is true (reconsidering the number of ten thousand family holds), the nature of this area can be captured at another place at another time in Istanbul. These are the houses of fishermen in

¹³¹ The references for the buildings in *Tahrir Defteri* 1546, around Flour Exchange are: the donation of Ahi Çelebi, "*dekakin 5 der nezd-i Kapan-ı Dakayk , mehazin 8 kurb-i Kapan-ı Dakayk, mehazni 13 nezd-i Kapan-ı Dakayk*" (1970:106); the donation of Hürrem Sultan, "*Dekakin der birun-i Kapan-ı Dakayk 6 bab*"; the donation of Hac Murad bin Ahmed "*Dükkan-i haşabi der haric-i Bab-ı Kapan-ı Dakayk Mahdud Bozahaneciler Kerhanesi ve Ayasofya Vakfı ve tarik-i'am ile*" (1970:264); the donation of Mevlana Halil bin Mevlana Mahmud "*Dakakin 6 bab ma'a haneha 3 bab der kub-I Kabban-ı Dakayk*" (1970:47); the donation of Ali Paşa "*Mahzen-i habbaz der nezd-i Kapan-ı Dakik 2 bab*" (1970:68); the donation of Mercan Ağa Mescid "*Zemin-i maktu der nezd-i Kapan-ı Dakik*" (1970:84); the donation of Mustafa bin Hac Hasan "*Dekakin 7 bab der nezd-i Kapan-ı Dakayk el ma'ruf bi Sağırcılar*" (1970:392). The reference for the arch near Flour Exchange is the donation of Mustafa Çelebi bin İbrahim Ül-Erzi, "*Hücerat 3 bab ma'a dekakin 3 bab ve ahır der nezd-i Pazar-ı Esb Mahdud Vakf-ı Ayasofya ve Kapan-ı Dakayk ve kemer ve tarik-ı am ile*" (1970: 178).

¹³² Here, quoted and translated after Carım (1964: 181-182).

Kumkapı on the Marmara shore as pictured before their demolition in 1950s by Ara Güler (Fig. 32.1).¹³³

If the differentiations along this undifferentiated fabric are searched for in Lorichs' panorama, they refer to the points where the gates of the sea walls open. The first gate after Unkapanı was opened in the time of Süleyman; that was Tüfenkhane Gate. *Tüfenkhane* means arms factory and refers to the atelier founded by the Sultan.¹³⁴ The painter depicted the landing of the Tüfenkhane as an open shore consolidated with wooden crib walls (Fig.45-det.24). Müller-Wiener states that a similar technique for shore walls was used in Northern European harbours, which generally have inlets like Haliç.¹³⁵ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes the Tüfekhane Mescid at this point built by the order of Suleiman the Magnificent; that is not depicted by Lorichs.¹³⁶

The following gate is Cibali, named after Cebe Ali, a martyr of Crusade whose tomb was by the right tower of the gate. There is no specific landing stage marked by Lorichs (Fig.27.7-det.24). *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes a Mescid by the same name with the Gate on the Extra-mural Zone with its neighbourhood.¹³⁷ In *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546, a bakery is noted at the outside of the Cibali Gate.¹³⁸ Eremya Çelebi notes the landing stage as reserved for the needs of the neighbourhoods; it was a lively place in the 17th century.¹³⁹

The next Gate was Ayakapı as the Gül Cami drawn at its left refers to (Fig.27.7-det.25-26). Lorichs did not note a landing stage.¹⁴⁰ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes a mescid called Ayakapı on

¹³³ This reference is given as the building style of the Haliç extra-mural houses changed throughout the Ottoman period. The latter examples can be different from the ones in Süleyman's Istanbul.

¹³⁴ Here was built a mescid with the same name, entitled by Evliya Çelebi to architect Sinan; however, that is not seen in Lorich.

¹³⁵ The wooden crib walls were widely used in riverine harbours, where the ground is weak, till the 20th century. For example, the New York quay walls were first built in this technique by the 19th century; later they were built as stone quays. See, K. Bone (1997). If it is not the imagination of the painter applying the model of his homeland, a geographically closer reference can be Venice itself. At this part of the extra-mural zone, as noted by the anonymous Spanish author, the waters are still and the character of Bosphorus with its currents changes to that of a real river inlet or the lagoon of Venice.

¹³⁶ The building was an elevated mescid with shops underneath. *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001:321).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 321.

¹³⁸ The reference is the donation of Kasım Paşa: "*Furun-ı Habbazi der haric-i Bab-ı Cebe Ali mukata'a-i zemin*" Barkan& Ayverdi (1970: 263).

¹³⁹ To the west of Cibali Gate before the cape of Petriion Lorich depicted a wooden screen, at its back was a workshop with a crane. The square block might be referring to a stone workshop.

¹⁴⁰ Eremya notes that this gate did not have one (in the latter ages it did). Before Ayakapı was the Church of St Nicholas at the time of Eremya. Lorich does not note it. Neither is the New Gate marked, Yeni Ayakapı that was opened after the construction of Sultan Selim Mosque. Petri Gate the eastern gate of Petriion Castle was not shown.

the Extra-mural Zone.¹⁴¹ The New Ayakapı at a short distance to the west of Ayakapı is not shown by Lorichs. *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 notes a donation at the waterfront adjacent to non-muslim households.¹⁴²

The western Gate of Petrion is specifically marked with the name of Lantern tower; this was Fener Kapısı (Fig.27.8-det.28). The gate is by a high tower. The foreshore is open probably showing the landing stage of Fener. Next gate is the Balat Gate (Fig.27.8-det 30); its landing, which was a big stage on the Extra-mural Zone, is not defined. From the evidence of the Balat mescid and the street named after it, a number of shops and a bath can be noted after *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546. The Küngöz Gate right to the west of Balat Gate that originally refers to Kynegos harbour is noted in the 1546 Book with some shops. Both on the Extra-mural Zone of Balat and Küngöz Gates waterfront houses are noted in the same source.¹⁴³

Then comes the Ayvansaray district, its gate is not marked, for some section to its east is an open shore (Fig.27.9-det.32). The point where the land walls meet the sea walls is obscure. At some section the walls are built right on the waterfront. This may be an indication of the Eyüb Ensari Gate but it is not noted by Lorichs. *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546 a mosque, a bath and a shop which were parts of the endowment of Mustafa Pasha forming a small religious complex by the Gate. The Book of 1546 also notes two storeyed houses around the Eyüb Ensari Gate; the houses are specifically noted with gardens. The point between Ayvansaray and Eyüb Ensari Gate was one of the points where the width of the Extra-mural Zone increases; houses with gardens can be seen in the detailed drawings of the 19th century. *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes a Mescid named Ayvansaray; this was constructed in the 1590s and postdates Lorich's panorama.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ This was an endowment of Ahmet Çelebi. The tomb of Sekbanbaşı Abdurrahman Ağa, who was a martyr of the Conquest, was near this mescid. The Mescid had a neighbourhood with the same name. (2001:320).

¹⁴² The reference is the donation of Hasan bin Abdullah'un Neccar. "*Kerm de mukabele-i Bab-ı Cedid Mahdud Hora Kiti mülkleri ve tarik-i am ile Haliya nabe'dir ve nam ve nişan yoktur*" Barkan& Ayverdi (1970: 313). The Yenikapı İskelesi Mosque noted in *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001:320) was constructed in the 18th century.

¹⁴³ For the Balat street, bath and shops, references are: the donation of Yusuf bin Abdullah; the donation of Sinan Bay bin Abdullah, "*Dükkan der Suk-i Balat Mahdud Paşaoğlu mülki ve Mustafa Paşa Vakfı ve sur-ı Kal'e ve tarik-i am ile*" (1970:129); the donation of Mimar Murat bin Abdullah, "*Dükkan der suk-i Balat der piş-i hamam Hududi tarik ve hamam ve serhane*" (1970:286);

¹⁴⁴ The references for the houses are: the donation of Mustafa Paşa, "*Haneha der enderun-i Bab-ı Eyüb ül Ensari*" (1970:336-337); donation of Ali bin Abdülkerim Reis'ül-rmi'marin, "*Haneha-i tahtani ve fevkani ve hücre ve gurfe ve bi'r-i ma ve bağçe ve kenif der mahalle-i Bab-ı Eyyüb. Mahdud Dimitri ve Yaorgi milkleri ve tarik-i am ile*", "*Haneha-i tahtani ve gurfe ve firun ve asayab-ı feras ve bağçe der mahalle-i Bab-ı Eyyüb. Mahdud Yani ve YorgiSubaşı milkleri ve tarik-i am ile*" (1970: 383). The

In the Lorichs panorama the traffic of the inlet to the west of Unkapanı is shown as quite, without cargo boats, and very few rowboats. In fact, as illustrated in the Hünername map the landing stages of this section could have been busy as forming the only points of public access to the sea in between the continuous rows of waterfront mansions. An edict determining the ferry prices has survived from 1557. Prices and itineraries for private and public ferries are noted from the first and the last terminals: from Zindankapı to Eyüb, Kagithane, Sütlice, Okmeydanı, Yağ Kapanı (Galata) Fındıklı (Bosporus); from Unkapanı to Hasköy and Sütlice; from Fener to Azapkapı (Galata); from Balıkpazarı to Galata, and Bosporus villages. This points to the fact that not only there was cross-Haliç traffic but also alongshore flows between the gates along the Extra-mural Zone already by the 16th century.¹⁴⁵

The Extra-mural Zone in the age of Süleyman was formed of three extensive sections: the place foreshore from the tip of the promontory to Bahçekapı which was reserved for the ceremonial functions and provisioning of the great citadel of the Sultans; the harbour sector between Gümrükönü to Unkapanı, mainly used for the internal trade; the residential neighbourhoods on the waterfront between Tüfenkhane and Ayvansaray. Communication points for the inter-sectoral communication pierced the harbour zone and the residential neighbourhoods.

The gates of the city opened to the landing stages and these wooden jetties were a first threshold for the city from the maritime world. An imperial edict of 1567 notes how the

mosque and bath mentioned in the same source can be the one which was right by the traverse wall where the Eyüp Ensari Gate was on. This bath was in situ till the 1940s as seen in the Pervititch map. Reference for the bath and the shops around are: the donation of Mustafa Paşa, "cami-i şerif der kurb-i Bab-ı Hazret-i Ebi Eyyub-i Ensari", "Hamam der nezd-i Bab-ı Eyüb ül Ensari"; "Dekakin de enderun-i Bab-ı Eyüb"; "Bostan der enderun-i Bab-ı Zemin-ı Maktu der Eyüb ül Ensari" Barkan& Ayverdi (1970: 366-367).

¹⁴⁵ The reference for the price list of 1557: "Muhtesib Çardağından Hazreti Ebu Eyyubu Ensari iskelesine varınca altı küreklü pereme beş akçeye ve dört küreklü dört akçeye iki küreklü üç akçeye. Dolmuş olacak yarımşar akçeye Yemiş iskelesinden Kağıthane caniblerine limanlık olur ise on akçeye deniz yavuz olursa onbeş akçeye Muhtesib çardağından ve Unkapanından Sütliceye üç akçeye Hasköye dört kürek üç akçeye altı kürek dört akçeye Dolmuş yarım akçeye Yemiş iskelesinden Okmeydanı iskelesine meyit alub giden pereme altı kürek dört akçeye Fener kapusundan Azab kapusuna dört kürek bir akçeye Dolmuş birer pula Unkapanından Kasımpaşaya dört küreklü bir akçeye Dolmuş birer pula Azabkapudan Unkapanından at geçürmeye ezelden bir akçeye şimdi iki akçeye Basdırma zamanında bir akçeye Muhtesib Çardağından Yağ kapanına dört kürek yarım akçeye başka olunca ikişer pula Dolmuş ise birer mankara Balıkpazarından Galataya dolmuş iki mankara başka yarım akçeye Fındıkludan Yemiş iskelesine dört kürek iki akçeye ve Balıkpazarından Tophaneye altı kürek iki akçeye dört kürek bir akçeye Balıkpazarından Beşiktaşta dolmuş yarımşar akçeye altı kürek dört kürek üç akçeye..." A. Refik. (1988c: 75-76).

people passing 'to the other side' were inspected on the landings by the 'inspector of jetties'.¹⁴⁶ Like the import items passing from *kapans*, the flows of people were controlled on the jetties and gates. For a visitor it was necessary to show references in the city. However it should have been difficult to devise the surveillance of a city with many gates on the waterfront. Especially that was so for the Extra-mural Zone, where were landing stages both for the internal and external flows. Imperial edicts show that the system was open to transgressions. The waterfront warehouses built right on the waterfront were suitable for outlaw trade. These could be used as a mechanism for transgressing the customs of the city. An edict of 1559 specifically describes the way the extra-mural shops and magazines were used for smuggling.¹⁴⁷

The shops and houses on the Extra-mural Zone as potential places for the initiating fires, laws for their demolition, the smuggling caused by waterfront buildings that act as private gates to the City, the problems of outlaw immigrants and workers, had been the unchanging motive of the everyday life of the Ottoman waterfront. This was the case even in the heyday of the Empire, the age of Süleyman. 16th century was the period when the boundary structures on Ottoman Extra-mural Zone were formed, as well as the problems it created for the city administration. If the Extra-mural Zone was no longer a defence zone, it was then the site of economic confrontations, a terminal and custom zone mixed with residential neighbourhoods, bazaars and shops. Part of the State energy was spent for the "defence" of its economic frontiers. The Extra-mural Zone is where the offensive Ottoman State had to play the defensive in the conditions of its elongated gate of provisioning.

¹⁴⁶ The reference for the control of people at the jetties: "*İskele emini Maksuda hüküm ki Bundan akdem iskeleden öte yakaya iskeleye gecub giden kimseneler iskelede yoklanub nemakule kimesne olub kefil ve sayir ahvali malum olduktan sonra icazaet verilub gecmekle ehli fesad öte yakaya ve berü geçemeye ruhsat bulmayıb zabt olunurdu Haliyen bazı kimneseler Kum ve Çatladi ve Ahur ve Dimitri Kapularından geçub yoklanmamağla ehli fesad mazbut olmaduğı ilam olamgın buyurdum ki vusul buldukta bu babda gereği gibi mukayyed olub adeti kadime üzre geçüb gidenleri iskelede yokliyub kefil alınmak lazım olanları kefilsiz geçmeğe ruhsat virmeyüb ve ahur kapulardan olgelane muhalif ve kanuna mugayir kimenei geçürtmeyub kapularu unat zabt ve hiz eyeleyesin...*" A. Refik. (1988c:106).

¹⁴⁷ The reference for the control of the shops making outlaw trade at the waterfront "*...hisardan taşra dükkanları olan kimsenelerden matrabazlar dükkanlar içinde ve gayrinda mahzenlere vaz ibiub mamurei mezbureye gelen zahireyi zikrolunan mahzenlere sakliyub gicede ve gündüzde hafıyyeten gemiler ile etrafa perakende etmek ile zahirenin kiltine ve nerhin ziyade olmasına bais olurlar..ı*" Ibid. pp.79-80.

5.5. Yeni Cami and Houses of the Phanariots: 17th and mid 18th centuries

Two main structures founded in the early 17th century are important as to be main references for the following years of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone: Yeni Cami in Eminönü and Orthodox Patriarchy in Fener. In fact the first is an intra-mural building and the latter occupied the section where the sea walls were double, in Petrion. However, these two are important to influence the part of Extra-mural Zone that they side; they both dominated the background and transformed the foreground that is the zone itself. Moreover, the construction of Yeni Cami and the transfer of the Patriarchy to Petrion also had impacts on the socio-cultural structure of the Extra-mural Zone.

Selim II son of Süleyman did not built a complex in Istanbul, but had the masterpiece of constructed in Edirne. In Istanbul he restored Ayasofya and was buried in its courtyard. It was not his son Murat III, but his wife Safiye Sultan who decided to build a complex in Istanbul in the reign of their son Mehmet III.¹⁴⁸ The selected area was right between Bahçekapı and Balıkpazarı Gates on the intra-mural zone, where the land formed a small cape. This was part of the main neighbourhoods of Istanbul Jews: the old Caraites; the groups transferred in the time of Mehmet II from Selanik and Edirne, the new-comers from Andalusia after the fall of the Islamic State in Spain.¹⁴⁹ The neighbourhoods of Jews on the site of construction were expropriated and they were settled in Balat and Hasköy.

The foundations of the building was laid in 1597 by the architect Davud Ağa. The area which was just 2-4 meters high from the sea level was a difficult construction site and it was not lately that sea water filled the foundation pit. The architect applied the method used by his master, architect Sinan, in the Büyük Çekmece Bridge; the building was founded on piles carrying a raised platform.¹⁵⁰ After the death of Davud in 1599, the construction was continued by Dalgıç Mehmet and the building were raised till the windows of the ground floor. When Mehmet III died in 1603 his mother's donation was stopped as being too expansive. For the next fifty-eight years there was no construction.¹⁵¹ After the great fire of

¹⁴⁸ For the construction of Yeni Camii see, Tekirdağ. (1975, 166-187).

¹⁴⁹ The quarter was destroyed at the death of Mehmet II by the Janissaries, however, it continued to be the main Jewish neighbourhood by the 16th century till the decision of Safiye to construct an imperial mosque at their quarter. For the Jewish Neighbourhoods of the 16th century, see Yerasimos (1995: 101-130).

¹⁵⁰ Wooden piles were inserted into the ground with metal captions. Stone blocks were placed on these captions, which formed a raised foundation. Mills pumped the underwater.

¹⁵¹ Meanwhile Ahmed I had had constructed his complex on the first hill to the east of Atmeydanı, the site of former Byzantine Great Palace. The revenues of the Great customs, which was originally

1660 which burnt the area between Bahçekapı and Unkapı, Hatice Turhan Sultan, the mother of Mehmet IV, had seen the foundations of the mosque, which had been reoccupied by Jewish houses¹⁵², and ordered the completion of the project with addition of a double closed bazaar, a tomb, a *dar'ül kurra*, a school, two fountains and a sultans Lodge. Court architect Mustafa was appointed. The Jewish houses were once more expropriated. The mosque was completed in 1665, with the name Queen Mother- Valide Sultan. However as it was tradition to call the latest Sultan mosque as the New Mosque- *Cami-i Cedit/ Yeni Cami*-, it was called as such.¹⁵³ Yeni Camii is the most monumental edifice built by the Ottomans on the Haliç waterfront. As it was built on a raised platform it dominated the Extra-mural Zone at this section which was the main Stocks Customs of the city. It is still one of the landmarks of contemporary Istanbul.

Yeni Cami complex was an interesting design, which had to fit into the confines of its site bounded on one side by the sea walls and on the other by the main commercial street at this section. This was the cape point between former Neorion harbour and Perama and the sea walls folded at this point. A gate, which is possibly the former postern of St Marc, was converted to the entrance of the court on the extra-mural side; this was called as the Yeni Camii Gate. The Sultan's Lodge, which is reached by a closed ramp building adjacent to the inner side of sea walls, was built on one of the towers. Under the Lodge is an archway into the court of the complex that originally was connected to the gate on the sea walls.

Another interesting feature is placement of the closed bazaar called *Mısır Çarşısı* (Egyptian Bazaar) that is an L shaped building with two closed streets sided by shops. One gate of the bazaar opened to the Bahçekapı on the seaside. The other arm was on the axis of the commercial street starting by Odunkapı and running straight till this point (probably coinciding with the Venetian *embolo*). In this respect the closed bazaar of the Yeni Camii complex can be seen as a restoration of the area in the Byzantine period. Here, in the place of the colonnaded or porticoed avenues of Constantinople, which started well by the gates of the city, was used the oriental '*suq*' pattern that is a closed shopping arcade.¹⁵⁴

donated by Mehmet II for Ayasofya and Fatih mosques, were transitorily used for the construction fees of this mosque.

¹⁵² Evliya Çelebi, here referred after Demircanlı (1987: 113-114).

¹⁵³ As no complex to compete with this latest example of classical Ottoman imperial mosques was built after the 17th century, the name of the mosque survived as Yeni Camii.

¹⁵⁴ The L shaped bazaar was also sided by shops around its perimeter. With its construction there were formed shops with storage magazines that opened to the gate of the customs.

The construction of the Yeni Cami on intra-mural Gümrükönü transformed the area into an impressive city entrance. This point is one of the places, which were frequently depicted by Western travellers. These depictions are helpful to follow the development of this section of the Extra-mural Zone after the 17th century. The drawing in the book of J. Grelot published in 1681 is one of the firsts of such depictions (Fig.36.1).¹⁵⁵

Grelot stated that this mosque and its setting was the perfect reflection of Turhan Sultan's common sense.¹⁵⁶ This monument molded her reminiscence into a symbol difficult to miss by Ottomans and foreigners. He points to buildings close proximity to the Customs and the busiest landing stage of the city. The mosque was part of ceremonial feasts performed in the occasion of the Sultan's victories. Then and in holy feasts the Mosque was adorned by light-works. In his depiction, the Gate of Yeni Camii on the Eminonu side, which was reached by stairs on both sides, can be observed. The extra-mural zone is shown as an empty ground, which was consolidated on the seashore by wooden crib walls. A wooden landing stage is marked as the pier of the Mosque. The customs are noted as buildings by the sea; the one with two boathouses underneath can be the office of *Pencik Emini*, the inspector of slave trade.¹⁵⁷ The author marked shops attached to the sea walls noting several groceries. What does he mean by several is not open, whether they occupied the whole area like drawn in the 18th century book of Carbognano or not.¹⁵⁸ Grelot seems to omit some of the Extra-mural buildings like the Gümrük Mescidi marked in the 18th century picture, which is an endowment of Mehmet II.

Carbognano originally belonged to an Istanbul Armenian family, Kömürcüyan. An evidence of from his relative Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan can be used to correct a stylistic distortion of Grelot. Grelot had shown the entrance of *Mısır Çarşısı* as the Gate into the city as replacing the Balıkpazarı Gate. However, Kömürcüyan openly notes that the gate of *Mısır Çarşısı* was across the Balıkpazarı Gate.¹⁵⁹ This relation is seen in the 19th century maps of

¹⁵⁵ Grelot had also drawn an areal perspective map of Istanbul and the panorama of the Palace foreshore. On the areal map, he had not shown any extra-mural zone, the walls are drawn right on the sea. The Palace panorama is important as it shows the newly constructed Sepetçiler Kiosk, the boathouses, Yalı Kiosk and building on the extending section of the palace foreshore in front of land walls. He has also noted a fountain on the walls that exists in other panoramas, which probably served for the sailors.

¹⁵⁶ J. Grelot. (1998. 223-229).

¹⁵⁷ The main stocks customs building is not seen in the picture as it falls out of Grelot's frame.

¹⁵⁸ C.C. Carbognano (1993: Figure XIV).

¹⁵⁹ "*Balıkpazarı Kapısının karşısında Mısır veya Yeni denilen çarşının Kapısı görülür.*" Eremya (1952:16). Also in Hovhannesyan (1996:19).

the city.¹⁶⁰ It seems that Grelot had omitted the walls and the gate at this section in order to show the facade of the Egyptian Bazaar.

The image making of Yeni Camii is not the only impact of the complex on the Extra-mural zone. It had also demographic effects at a site elsewhere on the zone: the Jews of Balat. There was already a Jewish population in Balat, and it is not the only site where the Jews of Eminönü were moved; they mainly immigrated to Hasköy on the opposite shore of Haliç across Balat. However, the removal of the Jews from the site of Yeni Camii does not mean that their existence around Customs was ridden. An edict from the 18th century notes the demolition of Jew households between Eminonu to Tobacco Customs, which was on the Extra-mural Zone between Balıkpazarı and Zindan gates.¹⁶¹

J. Deleon notes that the settlement pattern of Balat was such that mainly the poorer Jews inhabited the Extra-mural Zone at this section. This socio-economic pattern was not the same in the neighbourhood adjacent to Balat, in Fener. In Fener it was the rich who settled on the waterfront and this is the second change which occurred in the 17th century along the Extra-mural Zone.

The nobles of Fener called Phanariots were settled in this area in the time of Mehmet II and from that time on they took important positions in imperial administration as official translators and tax-farmers in the customs. Nevertheless they were also active in maritime transportation. However two events of the 17th century were specifically important for the restructuring of the Fener district: the first was the final transfer of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy to Petron,¹⁶² the second is the appointment of Gaspari, a Phanariot, as the voivode of Eflak in 1609.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Specifically in the *Su Yolu* map of 1812-1813.

¹⁶¹ The reference for the existence of Jewish residences in Balıkpazarı in the 18th century: “*Istanbul`da vaki merhume ve mağfurun leha Valide-i Cedid camii şerifi kurbinde Balıkpazarı haricinde lebi derya bilcümle Yehudi hane olub içlerinde Yehudi taifesi sakin olmak cihetle camii serif kurbinde nice halati mustehrehe vukuuna bais olduklarından nasi bu mahalden ref olunmaları rutbei vücubda olmağın...Istanbul gümrüğünden dujan gümrüğüne varınca bu mabeyinde olan yehudi haneler eğer ehli islam yedinde olub akaret ise muslimine icar ve eğer Yehud ve ehl zimmet yedlerinde ise değer behalerile ehli islama furuht eylemek için eshabına tefhim ve tenbih olunduktan sonra içlerinde sakin Yehud taifesi varub mecmai Yehud olan mahallerde sakin olmak üzere ihraç... buyurdum ki*”, here quoted after, A. Refik. (1988b: 88-89).

¹⁶² After the conquest, Mehmet II assigned the first Greek Patriarchy in the Church of Holy Apostles. In 1456 it was moved to the Church of Pammakaristos where it stayed till 1586. When Murad III decided to convert this church to a mosque, the patriarch of the time, Timothy began the restoration of St George in Fener- Petron castle as the new seat of the patriarchy. Meanwhile the patriarchy functioned in the churches of Vahsarai and St Demetrius Kassabu in Balat. The Patriarchy around St

The Phanariots, who were called as such after the Phanar- Fener district they settled, played pivotal role in Ottoman foreign politics as being court translators.¹⁶⁴ Gaspari, who was noted as the first official the Ottoman Court, was also the first voivode of Eflak (Romania). However he was dismissed with rumours about his anti-Ottoman relations. In the middle 17th century the role of the Phanariots in Ottoman politics consolidated. Panayotaki Nikosi founded the translators' office in *Bab-ı Ali*.¹⁶⁵ It was Mavrokordato who was assigned as the voivode of Eflak a century after Gaspari. The Phanariots held their positions as court translators and voivode till 1820. There were also Phanar nobles who were majors of the Aegean islands.

By the wealth gained from maritime trade, tax-farming, privileged positions, the Phanariots emerged as one of the most prosperous societies in Istanbul.¹⁶⁶ This was reflected on Haliç waterfront, on the Extra-mural Zone between Cibali and Balat, where they had built houses between the Wall Street and the waterfront. Kömürçüyan notes that the sea walls were open at this section and the houses faced the street on one side and on the other had the view of Hasköy, Okmeydanı and Aynalıkavak palace on the opposite shore.¹⁶⁷ It was by the 17th and 18th centuries that these houses emerged as masonry buildings of several storeys, which were unlike the “wooden huts” described by the anonymous Spanish author of the 16th century.

The houses of Phanariots, specifically on the Extra-mural Zone form a specific typology that is different from the wooden houses of Istanbul. These had survived in the 19th and early 20th centuries and can be witnessed in old photographs (Fig.37.1-2). Their only reminiscence in contemporary Istanbul is three buildings, in ruins on the refuge between two lanes of vehicle traffic. In the original, the Phanariot houses were narrow and long masonry buildings constructed in a row pattern enclosing the waterfront from the Wall Street. They had closed ground levels with large arched gates. Usually two more storeys existed on this ground floor where each floor projected over the other on stone projections. They had arched windows;

George began functioning in 1601 where it still survives in contemporary Istanbul. For the Patriarchy, see, Ortaylı (1986) and Deleon (1992), (1997).

¹⁶³ Eflak is contemporary Romania.

¹⁶⁴ For the Phanariots see Sakaoğlu. “Fenerliler”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (III: 250).

¹⁶⁵ This man and his family gained the privilege of exemption from tax and had the right to ride a horse, which was given only to Ottoman officials.

¹⁶⁶ S. Faroqui (1994) notes them as the only “capitalists” of the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁶⁷ Eremya (1952).

wooden projections as kiosks were also widely used. In the maps and photographs after the 19th century it can be seen that these houses had gardens on the waterfront. ¹⁶⁸

The photographs of the 19th and early 20th century that show the Extra-mural Zone between Cibali and Balat are instructive to understand the fabric created by Phanar houses. Especially the ones showing the sector in front of the fortifications between Petri and Fener Gates are striking. Here there were two walls: Late Antique fortifications proper and the wall formed by row houses closing the access to the waterfront. The only public access, as also seen from the maps of 19th century was the places where the gates opened to the landing stages. In other places the waterfront was reversed for private use, in typical *Yalı* pattern. The Phanar houses were as high as the wall itself and between the two was the Wall Street that connected this fabric with the gates and landing stages of the city. Unlike the *yalı* pattern in the Bosphorus where the road at the back of the waterfront mansions were on the side of meadows, the Haliç Extra-mural Zone between Cibali and Balat was a most dense urban space. The Wall Street was the communication artery inside two extensive boundary structures that seemed as the duplication of the other.

The Phanar houses had been extensively built after the 17th centuries. These buildings, which were like “palaces”, have been interpreted as the descendants of the Byzantine houses; even one of them is known as the house of Venetian Bailie. The origins for the typology is outside the confines of this study; what is notable is that this typology was used extensively after the Phanariots’ accumulation of wealth by the 17th and 18th centuries. In fact, what the Phanariots houses resembles the most, in building technique and façade, are the “*Hanse*”, the typical Ottoman commercial buildings, around the Closed Bazaar like Simkeşhane and Yeni Valide Han. The methods of projection and the arched openings carry the traces of the same style. Were they used for similar purposes? That is for the storage of valuable goods of the Phanariots? If not the goods, the wealth was to be preserved. The placement of these houses on the Extra-mural Zone as enclosing the whole waterfront between the gates can be interpreted on the basis of the occupations of its owners who were wealthy people dealing with maritime trade; these houses could have functioned, more than a residence, as private depots with private landings. In fact it is in this respect that they resemble most the Venetian Palaces.

¹⁶⁸ As long as this research is concerned there is no evidence for other structures which could have been built on these waterfront backyards.

The Phanariot houses were constructed on the Haliç waterfront and were on the major maritime route to Eyüb and Kağıthane- the royal gardens at the end of the inlet, which was partly accessible to the public. Eyüb was an important religious and ceremonial spot, as well as a site where the waterfront mansions of the Ottoman royal family and the elite were built. The Sultan's parade to the tomb of Eyüp Sultan from the Topkapı Palace was one of the most important ceremonies of the court; specifically the Sultans visited Eyüb as part of their enthronement ceremony. Either on their way or back the Sultans used the maritime route through Haliç. Kağıthane was one of the outdoor spaces that the people of İstanbul and the Court regularly visited. The depths of Haliç, Eyüb and Kağıthane, emerged as an urban magnet specifically after the 17th century. In these conditions, the inlet emerged as the main boulevard of the city, a space of appearance. The houses of the Phanariots between Cibali and Balat were forming a continuous chic façade on this main urban thoroughfare. Thus, the Phanariot houses were resembling the Venetian Palazzo, not only in their functions but also in their urban setting. They were forming a continuous façade at the back of waterfront gardens on the great canal of the Ottoman capital. The setting of the Phanariot houses on the Extra-mural Zone should be understood according to the in-and-off-shore and along shore flow patterns on the maritime frontiers of İstanbul.

The masonry structure of the Phanariot houses, which were specifically constructed on the Extra-mural Zone can also be explained as a precaution against one major catastrophe, that is the fires of İstanbul, the greatest of which had started by the waterfront and had many times wiped away the Extra-mural fabric.

Some of the fires that started on the Extra-mural Zone in the 17th and 18th centuries are: 1633 Cibali gate; 1640 Balat; 1653 OdunKapı; 1660 Ayazma gate; 1677 Fener; 1683 OdunKapı; 1693 Ayazma gate; 1718 Great Cibali; 1721 Balat; 1729 Balat; 1739 Patriarchy; 1745 Balat; 1756 Cibali; 1782 Cibali; 1795 Balıkpazarı.¹⁶⁹ The Extra-mural Zone was burnt several times with large parts of the inner city. In fact Eremya Çelebi Kômürcüyan had written a book on the fires of İstanbul where he specifically dwelt with the fires of the 17th century.¹⁷⁰ The fires were starting from the workshops, like the tenners of Cibali, from Yehudhanes- these are apartments of Jews on the harbour zone-or simply from the houses on the waterfront. The Ottoman State had declared a number of edicts prohibiting the construction of structures adjacent to the fortifications, ordering the demolition of buildings at four meters distance to

¹⁶⁹ For the great fires of İstanbul, see, O. Nuri (1999, vol. 3: 1186-1227) and M. Cezzar (1963: 327-414).

them on both sides. This was to prevent the spread of fires starting by the harbour, over the walls into the city. However, these edicts did not seem to be obeyed as one edict followed the other.

It is an interesting fact that although the Extra-mural fabric was burnt several times, it was rebuilt within the same boundary patterns. Even if the buildings themselves changed, like the stone houses of Phanariots of the 17th and 18th centuries, main patterns stayed the same. The foreign visitors continued to produce panoramas which were generally showing the same patterns: the palace foreshore and its annexes as houses and warehouses; open quays with several rows of buildings on the customs zone with some notable buildings like the Flour Exchange; the waterfront mansions forming walls between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray which only had public access at the point of gates. The panorama of de Bruyn of 1679 and van Klee of 1706 are the two well-known examples (Fig.33-34, Fig.35, Fig.39-40). In the panorama of de Bruyn, at the section between Eminonü and Unkapanı, a fabric is depicted which sometimes closes the view of the fortifications. It shows that the congestion of the zone had caused an increase in the height of the buildings, which sometimes reached three stories. It was not even possible to trace the full circuit of the fortifications. The section of the Customs was filled with all kinds of shops, warehouses, workshops, mills, bakeries, coffee-houses, apartments of Jews, apartments of bachelors (workers without a household in Istanbul); the last two filled the upper floors. ¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ The major study on Eremya Çelebi's book of İstanbul fires is, Andreasyan (1973: 59-84).

¹⁷¹ The Istanbul map of Piri Reis existing in the copies of the original 1525 Kitab-i Hayriye cannot be of this author as in the miniature Yeni Camii finished in early 1700s is shown. It cannot be known whether this is remodelling of an original or added later as the 1525 copies are missing.¹⁷¹ The 18th century map existing in the copies of Piri Reis' book, the extra-mural zone is shown with a congested urban fabric. To the west of the Palace foreshore with Yalı Kiosk are shown some buildings and the landing stage of Bahçekapı. In front of Yeni Camii is the landing stage of Great Customs where a specific building with pitch roof is marked. It has a lantern or a second storey and probably is the stock exchange. Wooden jetties marked to its west landing on the Eminonu square. Then are some buildings of several rows between the walls and an open quay. These exist from Eminonu till Zindankapı (marked with Rüstem Pasha mosque) Here exists a stream pouring into the sea, which is probably the place called 'Bokluk'. This was the city canalisation from the second valley probably using an ancient sewage system. After this point the buildings till Unkapanı are shown as waterfront buildings and other siding the walls at the back. Two buildings are specifically marked at Unkapanı. These are the flour exchange building a high building with pitched roof and the Süleyman Subaşı mosque near it. There are other buildings in front of the mosque. The buildings between Unkapanı and Eyüb Ensari Gate, the gate on the western end of the extra-mural zone are shown as waterfront structures, Yalıs. At some places there is a second row of buildings siding the sea walls. The sections

5.6. The Morphology and the Demography of the Extra-Mural Zone:

Early 19th Century

The harbour called the Golden Horn which separates Pera and Constantinople, has a singularity...All the silth and rubbish of both towns are constantly slung into it; custom-houses, barracks, store-houses, the dockyards, all these placed on the border of it; whole dunghills are swept into it; no measures for keeping it clean are taken, no quays are formed by men; yet by the strength and variety of the currents, or some other natural cause, this port is always clean, and deep enough to admit of the entrance of the largest merchantmen; which like us in all the harbours in the canal, may be hooked on, close to the shore.¹⁷²

Since the erection of the Haliç bridges (first one in 1830) and the construction of the railway there seems to be no radical transformation on the boundary structures of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone. Although Ottoman Empire has begun to lose territory, the maritime terminals that provision the capital city and the centres of internal trade were the same till the 19th century. Catastrophes like fires, earthquakes happen, however, the Extra-mural fabric was reconstructed within the same lines, which can be comprehended in elevation and areal perspective drawings.

There are a number of documents from the late 18th and early 19th centuries which provides the information for a partial reconstruction of the boundary patterns on the Extra-mural Zone: the first scaled map of the city by Kauffer, 1779 (Fig.41); the Book of the Head Gardener, 1815 (see appendix B); Beyazıd Su Yolu map, 1812-13; Istanbul Tarihi of S. Hovannesyan; the panorama of Barker 1810.¹⁷³ Here the itinerary from Yalı Kiosk to Eyüb-Ensari Gate can be followed 250 years after Lorichs; that is by the first decades of the 19th century. The classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone can be depicted with its extensive and intensive differentiations before the transformations of the 19th century. It is a last but detailed look to the classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone.

The functions of the buildings on the extension of the Palace foreshore from Yalı Kiosk to the west can now be ascertained. There were stables and the barracks of private guards near

where there is only single row of yalis are marked as the section between Cibali and Ayakapı. There is no indication for Petron.

¹⁷² E. Craven (1789:279-280).

¹⁷³ The 1810 version of the Bostancıbaşı Defteri is quoted from, Kayra & Üyepazarıcı (1992). The total list is given in the Appendix I. The Beyazıd Su Yolu of 1812-1813, drawn by engineer Seyid Hasan is referred after, Ünver (1945) and Çeçen (1997), specifically the translation of the names written on the map from the Ottoman was used after Çeçen. Hovhannesyan (1996). Barker panorama is referred after Eldem (1979).

Yalı Kiosk: *Darussade Ahır* and *Tebdil-i Hümayun Ahır* (The Imperial Stables); *Bostaniyan Ocağı* (The Barracks of Head Gardener Corps). The service functions of the Palace zone were mixed with the households of its “personnel” and some officials. *Bostancıbaşı* Book of 1815, notes the houses of the *Darphane Emiri* (The Director of the Imperial Mint), *Silahtar* (The Imperial Officer of Guns), *Ketenciler Kethudasi*, *Şehriyari Ağa*, *Dellalbaşı*, *Kasapçıbaşı* (The Head Butcher) with twelve more muslim households till the Lumber Wharf (*Hatap Meydanı*). Among these houses were the headquarters of the stone-carvers, knife-men and muralists (*taşçılar*, *bıçakçıyan*, *nakkaş*), the barracks of bargemen, firemen and boatmen (*mavnacılar*, *tulumbacılar* and *sandalcılar*). *Hadikat’ül Cevami* notes a mescid for the firemen constructed in the time of Mahmud I.¹⁷⁴ Another important structure was the boathouses of the Grand Vizier. There was at least a coffee and a mosque with “green tiles” called as the *Yeşil Kiremitli Mescid*.¹⁷⁵ The intra-mural neighbourhoods at the back of these waterfront buildings, mainly known as Hoca Pasha, were full with the houses of the administrators. The Extra-mural Zone between Yalı Kiosk and Eminönü was the site of the Palace “industry”(Fig.42.1). This was a mixed-use zone where storage, small industry and the houses of the Palace personnel existed. The Timber Wharf was sided by the Lime workshops (*Kireçhane-i Hassa*) and entrepots of copper, straw and grain. They were also imperial property. The same fabric can be seen in the photographs of mid 19th century before the construction of the railways on the area.¹⁷⁶ (Fig.72, 73.)

The palace wharf extended till Bahçekapı where it was mixed with other uses. Bahçekapı the first public gate on Haliç from the East was also the main gate to the administrative centre of the city, *Bab-ı Ali*. Here was the landing stage of the Viziers (*Meyit İskelesi*) and boathouses. The bureau of the *Istanbul Kadı* and *Istanbul Ağası* dominated the area. Three mosques are noted in the *Bostancıbaşı Defteri of 1815*, on the Extra-mural Zone at this section: *Kuşçubaşı*, *Selim Paşa* and *Hidayet*. The last was a construction of Mahmud II. Original Hidayet mosque was an elevated wooden mosque with depots on the ground floor.¹⁷⁷ The Hidayet Mosque was built as part of the image making on one of the main terminals of İstanbul; it was originally at the waterfront. Near the office of *Istanbul Ağası* and its landing

¹⁷⁴ *Hadikat’ül Cevami* (2001: 330).

¹⁷⁵ *Hadikat’ül Cevami* notes that this structure was constructed by Suleiman the Magnificent for the use of Head Gardener Corps (2001: 330). This building can be seen in the panorama of Le Prince, see, Fig.

¹⁷⁶ From the photographs it can be seen that the wall was demolished between two towers at the point of Sirkeci landing stage by this time.

¹⁷⁷ *Hadikat’ül Cevami* (2001: 327-329) notes that there were originally boathouses and inns on eth site of Hidayet Mosque. It was constructed in 1814 by the order of Mahmud II. Hidayet mosque was

stage was the wharf of Bursa-Mudanya, where ships from the named places landed. At the back of these landings were the entrepots of timber shown in the *Su Yolu* map as a freestanding structure open on all sides. To its south was the along Wall Street leading to Bahçekapı sided by groceries and fruit shops which were attached to the sea walls.¹⁷⁸ To the west of the Timber entrepots was another quarter with shops and the customs of coffee (Fig.42.2-a, Fig.43.1-a, Fig.44).

Then came the most notable square along the Extra-mural Zone; that was the square of Great Stocks Customs of Istanbul (*Gümrük-u Kebir Emtai Istanbul*). Its wooden landing stage is marked specifically as a greater structure in the *Su Yolu* map. The buildings on the western side of the Eminönü square were built right on the waterfront; thus, it was cutting the access towards the west. The landing stage was equally accessible from the Bahçekapı and Balıkpazarı Gates; it was right across the Gate of Yeni Cami dominating the area. Arpacılar Mescid on the way to Bahçekapı and Gümrükönü Mescid right to the East of Yeni Cami Gate were the religious structures existing on the Extra-mural Zone around Bahçekapı.

The Extra-mural fabric after this point to the west till half the distance between Balıkpazarı Gate and Zindankapı was formed of traverse streets that were opening to the waterfront. Each of these acted like a corridor as they were separated by buildings constructed right on the seashore (Fig.42.1-a, 43.1-a). On the other side they opened to the Wall Street. Like all the circuit from Yeni Camii Gate to Unkapanı, here the fortifications were closed by shops, which were attached to them with the exception of gates. At some sectors these buildings were high enough to close the sea wall totally as seen in the Barkers panorama. The first traverse street from the side of Eminönü opened to the landing stage of Ortaköy-Beşiktaş

reconstructed as a masonry structure in the later 1887 in the reign of Abdülhamid; the architect was Valeury. The same structure is still *in situ* and is an important historical structure in Istanbul.

¹⁷⁸ The editor of the 2001 edition of *Hadikat*, A.N. Galitekin, gives reference to Mehmed Ziya who describes the neighbourhood of the Hidayet Mosque as an area filled with shops and also bachelor houses with inns. "*Bahçekapısı'nda el-yevm (1920 yılında) Gümrük Da'iresinin anbar kısmıyla Hidayet Cami'-i şerifinin bulunduğu yer, bundan yirmibeş-otuz sene evveline gelinceye kadar iskele idi. Boğaziçi'nden, Üsküdar'dan, Marmara sevahilindeki iskelelerden gelen kayıklar, küçük yelkenliler sebze, meyve, kömür, odundan ibaret olan hamulelerini bu iskeleye çıkarırlar idi. Buraya ihraç edilen üzüm ve sebze küfelerinden bırakılan saz, sap ve sa'ir çör çöp ale'l-ekser bu iskele üzerinde bırakılarak, denize ilka edildiğinden, burası adeta bataklık halinde idi. Buramın bu halini gördük, biliriz... El Yevm köprü başında Eminönü'ne yanaşan kayıklar o tarihte Bahçekapısı İskelesi'ne yanaşdığından civarın en işlek ve piyasa yeri yien burası idi... Buradaki kayikhanelerin üzeri bekar odaları idi... Hidayet Cami'nin bulunduğu yerde ka'in bikar odalarına (Melek Girmez) derlerdi. El yevm dahi bu cami'nin kurbünde dar bir sokak vardır ki, sağlı sollu yağ tüccarı mağazaları buradadır. Bu sokağa da Melek Girmez sokağı diyorlar"* (2001: 329).

(Bosporus villages) Here was the mosque of İzzet Mehmet Pasha.¹⁷⁹ The second opened to the landing stage of Balıkpazarı which lead right to the Gate with the same name. Here was also the ferry to Galata. The street was sided by shops selling fish. According to Bostancıbaşı Defteri of 1815, office of Sultans Private Guards- who controlled the entrances of the city- the office of the alcoholic beverages, the office of the manager of bazaars, fruit customs were at the vicinity of Balıkpazarı landing.

To the west of the Balıkpazarı Landing the corridor pattern left its place to the insula pattern, which continued till OdunKapı (Fig.42.3, Fig.43.1). The extra-mural fabric at this section was formed of several building lots in between streets parallel to the wall and traverse streets leading to the quay. The quay was open and full with landing stages reserved for different purposes. The first was the landing stage of *Duhan*, the customs of Tobacco. The Customs building was facing the Wall Street; around were tobacco shops. Then came the landing stages of *Hasır* (Raw mat) and *Limon* (Lemon). Shops selling lemon water-used for the preservation of meat-, fruit shops, shops selling rush mat filled the insula pattern formed of very small parcels. Custom duties, storage, selling were situated all in the same area which intermingled with inter-sectoral transportation of the city like the Hasköy (a village across Haliç) landing stage at this point.

The insula pattern continues across Zindankapı where the office of the *İhtisab Ağa*, called *Çardak* existed. *Çardak* was one of the landmarks of the Extra-mural Zone, a main office inspecting inner trade. *Çardak* can be the pitched roofed kiosk like building marked in the Barker panorama. The police station of Janissaries Guards in order of the *İhtisab Ağa* was attached to the office. This force was connected to the 56th Corps of the Janissaries, which had a specific coffeeshouse near the Customs of Tobacco. They had another coffeeshouse right next to the landing stage of Fruit Exchange, *Zindankapı-Yemiş İskelesi*. The Su Yolu map notes the Baba Cafer prison near the gate. Shops selling fruits, dried fruits, wax, butter and olive oil filled the Extra-mural insula pattern at this section. The main stock exchange for fruits, *Sebzehane-i Hassa* was also here. Next to Yemiş Landing were jetties reserved for Haliç ferries to Kasımpaşa, Balat, Halıcıoğlu. Towards Odunkapı was the landing stage of butter, maybe the *Tulumba İskelesi* noted in *Bostancı Defteri* of 1815. There were two mosques at this section, not noted in Bostancıbaşı or Su Yolu maps but seen in the Barker

¹⁷⁹ This is the mosque constructed on the place of Balıkpazarı Landing Mescid. The Balıkpazarı Mescid was constructed in the time of Sultan Mustafa by a women donator, it was a wooden structure. İzzet Paşa Mosque was octagonal in plan and was a masonry structure; it was demolished in the 1930s. *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001: 325).

panorama: The domed Abi Çelebi Mosque and Soğancılar Mescid to its west. Soğancılar Mescid was near the public square of Odunkapı taking its name from the shops of onion merchants on the area.¹⁸⁰

Odunkapı had its landing stage with the same name (Fig.42.4-a, Fig.43-b). To the west of this landing stage till Ayazma Gate, for a three hundred meters the Extra-mural Zone was occupied by Customs of Lumber (Fig. 42.4-a-b, Fig.43.2-a). Here the Wall Street sided by shops was separated from the Customs. Although they were not marked by Su Yolu map, the lumber exchange was probably separated from the rest of the waterfront by two traverse walls, like the *Brachileion* of the Byzantines. The placement of the walls as seen in later period perfectly fits with the limits of the Lumber Exchange in *Su Yolu* Map of 1812-1813. This seems to be a precaution taken for fires that started in the Lumber exchange.¹⁸¹ The Lumber Exchange occupied an area equal to the half of the distance between Eminönü and Odunkapı where Tobacco, Fruit exchanges and shops were situated. It is specific to be the only closed customs zone within the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone. There were no landing stages other than the lumber wharf at this point. Unlike the other customs zones where inner city traffic was mixed with the control of trade the Lumber Exchange was a wharf with a specific function. By the impressive scenery of the mountains of timber filling the exchange, this part occupied the image of the Extra-mural Zone between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gates at the foot of Süleymaniye mosque.

Next to the Lumber Exchange the Extra-mural fabric turned into the insula pattern once again till to the west of Unkapı landing (Fig.42.4-c, Fig.43.2a) The first landing stage from the east was that of Ayazma Gate, the waterfront was open for some section at this point, as can be seen in the Barker panorama. This was the point noted by Hovhannesyan as *Bokluk İskelesi*, after the city sewage pouring into Haliç at this point. Then came *Tekirdag İskelesi*, the landing for the ships coming from the mentioned city. Before Unkapı there was another landing called *Tahtaboş*. The Su Yolu map does not note the functions of the lots between Ayazma Gate and Unkapı, except the shops by the side of the Wall Street. The

¹⁸⁰ *Hadikat'ül Cevami* notes that Soğancılar Mescid was constructed in 1780 by Mehmed Ağa. In the 1848 fire the Mescid was burnt and Sultan Abdühamid had it restored in late 19th century (2001:323).

¹⁸¹ These walls are perfectly visible in 1847 map and 1861 in the Stolpe map (Fig.93, Fig.94). They are also recognisable in the early photographs of the city, like the one taken in 1878. One of the traverse walls started by Odunkapı, the other was by Ayazma Gate. They were nearly as high as the sea walls as seen in the photographs taken before their demolition in 1930s. The Goad Map specifically notes them as '*muraille de defense*', defence walls (Fig.66.2). Between the walls were piles of lumber stored according to their lengths. By the waterfront there was a large open quay for the importation of lumber.

fortifications are drawn without buildings attached to them; and they are seen as open in Barker. Barker shows a row of waterfront buildings before Unkapanı, which resemble houses. In fact they were houses, as noted in *Bostancıbaşı Defteri*, which lists eight houses and three apartments in this area. These were houses of Jews and apartments for Jewish families called *Yahudhane*.¹⁸² These apartments were endowments of Muslims, as understood from the title Hacı Ali and Hacı Mustafa. In fact all of the *yahudhanes* on the Extra-mural Zone were Muslim endowments. Why did the Muslims denote apartments to the Jews? The simple answer is the rent gained from these properties. Another explanation can be the relation between Jews and Janissaries. The Janissaries used the Jews in trading activities, which was forbidden for them. Jews ran their outlaw business in paravane firms. Whatever the reason the occupation of the waterfront on two sides of the Flour Customs is striking; they also occupied the zone between Unkapanı and Tüfenkhane to the west.¹⁸³

Like in the time of Lorichs, Unkapanı was dominated by the building of Flour Exchange and the adjacent Subaşı Süleyman Mosque (Fig.42.4-d, Fig.43.2-a). The pitched roofed free standing Exchange is seen in the Barker panorama. In front of these at the Wharf Square was the office of the *Kapan Naibi*, the director of Flour Exchange. In *Su Yolu* map, the office is drawn as a pitched roof building with a projection on the side of the sea. There was fountain at the back of the four landing stages marked at this point. Around these were grain shops, mills, coffee shops and coffeeshouses. Here like in Zindankapı an insula pattern can be observed.

To the west of the Unkapanı square were the houses of Jews and *yahudhanes* till the landing stage of Fishermen (Fig.42.5). These were waterfront mansions, *yalis* as some of them had boathouses. One of these was specifically a *Yahudhane* denoted by the head of 56th Corps of Janissaries. After two more Jews houses to the west were the Tüfenkhane and its landing stage with the square for Janissary dervishes (Fig.42.2-a). From Tüfenkhane to Cibali Gate the Wall Street is sided by houses on both sides: the houses as attached to the fortifications and waterfront mansions in a row pattern without any public access to the waterfront. The Jews inhabited all of the waterfront mansions; *Bostancıbaşı Defteri* notes seventeen households, three of which were *yahudhanes*. *Su Yolu* map notes to a large empty lot between these and Tüfenkhane.

¹⁸² For *Yahudhane*, see, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (vol. VII: 398).

¹⁸³ Even by 1905 Goad maps notes to houses on this section.

Then comes the landing stage and gate of Cibali; the landing stage is formed of two wooden jetties (Fig.43.3-a). The public square at the waterfront narrows towards the gate in a wedge form as it was in later ages. The cape formed at this point is marked as the office of boatmen and their coffeehouse. The only shop noted by *Bostancıbaşı Defteri* is a timber shop belonging to a Muslim woman. After three houses belonging to the Jews came three houses belonging to Greeks one with a boathouse. Four Jew houses followed then till Ayakapı the Extra-mural Zone was occupied by waterfront mansions of Greeks- the Phanariots, twenty-two households as noted in *Bostancı Defteri*. The fortifications were also sided by houses by the Wall Street, which separated these from the waterfront mansions. Then came the gate, landing stage and Public Square of Ayakapı, which similar to Cibali was a wedge-shaped square narrowing towards the gate (Fig.43.3-b). No shops were refereed for this area. Right to the east of the Ayakapı was the Church of Metechion. After Ayakapı till Yeni Ayakapı (*Bab-ı Cedid*) the sea walls were marked as open. Twenty Greek houses are noted between the two. The landing square of the *Bab-ı Cedid* was more like a street opening to the wooden jetty. Here was a mosque donated by Durrizade Efendi.¹⁸⁴

The eastern gate of Petriion Castle housing the Patriarchy did not have a specific landing, *Aralık İskelesi* noted in *Bostancıbaşı Defteri* maybe used for this function. Apart from this the whole waterfront between Yeni Ayakapı landing and Fener cape was occupied by Phanariot houses, thirty-four of them are noted. Fener landing opening to the gate with the same name had two wooden jetties. The waterfront square on the cape formed at this point was again a wedge shaped open space narrowing towards the Fener Gate (Fig. 43.3-b). Here were coffeehouses and boathouses. Shops are noted in Su Yolu map on the two sides of the Gate by the Wall Street. The fabric changes between Fener and Balat gates to houses at a distance to the waterfront in Su Yolu map. The buildings on waterfront were the extensions of Fener and Balat capes. *Bostancıbaşı* Book notes thirty-five Greek houses and two Jewish houses and one *Yahudhane* among these. Here was also the Tur-i Sina Church and its boathouses. A boathouse with seven bays is noted; this could have been the access to waterfront before Tur-i Sina.

Balat waterfront square was the biggest landing from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray (Fig.43.3-b). It formed a notable cape and here the square was connected to the gate by several traverse

¹⁸⁴ This could be the mosque named as *Yenikapı İskelesi* in *Hadikat'ül Cevami* (2001:320). The building was constructed in 1765 and did not have a neighbourhood after its name.

streets. Bostancıbaşı Defteri notes a *han* denoted by Esmâ Sultan, a Slaughter house, two coffee houses, a timber shop, two bathhouses and three landing stages called as Balat, Hasköy, Taşçılar. This points to an urban traffic which was generated by the cross-inlet flows between the two Jewish neighbourhoods facing each other Balat and Hasköy. Here the Wall Street was cut by traverse streets opening to the waterfront as in Customs zone between Eminönü and Odunkapı. From this point to Ayvansaray there were twenty-one Jewish houses and one plot for a *Yahudhane*. The distance between Balat and Ayvansaray is same with the distance between Ayakapı and Fener Gates and the lesser number of households in the former points to a decrease in the congestion. In fact this fabric is drawn as pierced by streets in the Su Yolu map and the same can be observed from the later 19th century maps. One of these streets opening to the waterfront pointed to the Arslan landing stage, which was an important jetty before Ayvansaray.

Ayvansaray cape is notable to be the only place where households belonging to the Muslims exist on the Extra-mural Zone with the exception of Topkapı Palace foreshore (Fig.43.4). Here were the tanner yards for ships and boat workshops. The landing was not only reserved for the Ayvansaray Gate but was a small shipyard by itself. Houses belonging to ship builders and tanners were situated at this point; all of them were Muslim households. The foreshore was very large in this section such that between the houses on the along Wall Street and waterfront houses was large common courtyards. This is shown in Su Yolu map in the same pattern as the inner city neighbourhoods of Istanbul. The extra-mural zone concludes with the Gate called *Parmak Kapı* in Su Yolu map; that was the gate of Eyüb el-Ensari where the along wall path continued as a street siding the waterfront mansions of notable Ottomans till Eyüb district.

From this reconstruction of the late 18th and early 19th century Extra-mural Zone following conclusions can be derived for the extensive and intensive boundary formations.

First, the fortifications formed an extensive boundary line which was duplicated by a wall street running parallel to the whole extend of the Extra mural Zone from Bahçekapı to Eyüb Ensari gates. The Palace foreshore from Yalı Kiosk to Bahçekapı, which was reserved for the services of the court, was connected to this horizontal structure, however it seems that from Bahçekapı to east it turns into a wharf. This alongshore path was the only continuous thoroughfare of the city in addition to the main intra-mural thoroughfare, which ran between Edirnekapı and Topkapı Palace.

Second, the fortifications were duplicated by the city fabric; they were covered by buildings forming continuous rows with the exception of Ayazma Gate-Unkapanı, Ayakapı to the East of Fener Gate and some sections of Balat- Ayvansaray Gate. A similar pattern applied for the interior façade of the sea walls. However, there was not a continuous Wall Street parallel to the fortifications in the interior. Between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı there was an interior street parallel to the wall; between Cibali and Ayvansaray the Wall Street drew an irregular circuit, not always in the same lines with the walls. Although the construction of the buildings adjacent to the fortifications was forbidden by the State, this was not obeyed and the fortifications, which lost their defensive role in the Ottoman period, were incorporated within the city fabric. Thus, the fortification was duplicated as an urban fabric, although the gates were pertained as main points of socio-economic control.

Third, the Extra-mural Zone was totally occupied by built fabric, which was functionally differentiated into three main sectors: the palace wharf from Yalı Kiosk to Bahçekapı; the customs between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı; the residential neighbourhoods on the waterfront from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray. Each of these sectors was functionally and architecturally differentiated within themselves. The Extra-mural Zone was a dense settlement where the height of buildings reached three stories, like the customs zone and houses of Fener. In customs zone the buildings were multi-functional; there were shops, depots, apartments for bachelors and workers, official buildings, coffeehouses, few religious buildings.

The Customs zone started with the Eminonu Square where the main Stocks Customs was situated between Bahçekapı and Balıkpazarı Gates. There are five main types of morphological patterns which define different boundary structures: the waterfront square; corridor type from the landing stages to the wall street; insula pattern; enclosed customs zone; waterfront mansions. The examples of waterfront square are Eminönü, Odunkapı, Ayazma Gate, Unkapanı. The insula pattern with traverse streets opening to landing stages on an open wharf and streets parallel to the wall is seen between Tobacco Customs-Odunkapı and Unkapanı. The enclosed custom zone has one example with a specific function: the Lumber Exchange. The waterfront house pattern for the customs zone is seen between Ayazma Gate and Unkapanı, specifically the houses of Jews within shops were noted.

The section of residential neighbourhoods are formed of four major morphological patterns: the waterfront mansions in rows between gates; the wedged waterfront square in front of gates; the waterfront square with insular lots; the waterfront mansions pierced by corridor

like traverse streets. The sections between Unkapanı and Balat Gates are formed of the first type. This is also the part where the Extra mural Zone is very narrow. The waterfront squares like Cibali, Ayakapı, Fener, on this uninterrupted wall like pattern, are wedge type public squares narrowing towards the gates. This seems to be the reflection of a number of landing stages directed to one gate. They are small projections into the sea formed by the debris thrown into the sea through the ages. Balat and Ayvansaray capes are bigger when compared to these and they are more busy squares with commercial functions placed on insular lots. The last pattern, the corridor streets are seen between Balat and Ayvansaray where the Extra mural Zone is larger and less dense compared to the neighbourhoods on the east.

Fourth, the demography of the neighbourhoods on the Haliç extra-mural zone was such that in the waterfront neighbourhoods the vast majority were the non-muslims specifically Jews and Greeks (no Armenian household was noted). The houses of the officials and personnel of the Court on the Palace foreshore and Ayvansaray cape form the exception to the non-muslim settlements on the other parts of the Extra-mural Zone. This maybe the result of several factors: the involvement of non-muslims in maritime trade; their involvement in tax-farming at the customs zone; their relations with the sectors of the city on the opposite shores of Haliç like Galata, Haskoy, Sutluce.

Fifth, the Extra-mural Zone was a dense settlement where the height of buildings reached three stories, like the customs zone and houses of Fener. In customs zone the buildings were multi-functional; there were shops, depots, apartments for bachelors and workers, official buildings, coffeehouses, few religious buildings.

5.7. Conclusion: The Spatiality of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone

The Extra-mural Zone of the Classical Ottoman period from 15th to 19th century can be observed, both in the original visual and textual sources, as a continuous and congested urban fabric on the front of the city between the shore of Topkapı Palace and Eyüb Ensari Gate. It is for this period that the interfaciality of the Extra-mural Zone can be best comprehended on the basis of detailed historical data. **The Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was an extensive boundary structure formed by intensive functional, morphological and sociological differentiations. It was an intermediary boundary zone shaped for or**

against the socio-economic flows between the Historical Peninsula and the maritime world.

To understand the meaning of the intensive spatial differentiations on the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone, it is necessary to consider the major factors determining the boundary condition, in comparison to the Late Byzantine Constantinople on which it was founded. The major structural changes, from the Late Byzantine to the Ottoman city, which showed their impacts on the Extra-mural Zone can be listed as: **the increase in the intensity of the economic flows by the emergence- or better to say re-emergence- of the city as the consumptive imperial centre of the Eastern Mediterranean which was, mainly, provisioned via maritime routes; the increase in the number of the population within and without the Historical Peninsula; the direction of the main city sectors on the Haliç side, in other words the situation of the major administrative and economic functions on Haliç front; the decline in the defensive function of the city frontier with the decreasing possibility of siege; and, the increase in the inter-sectoral maritime flows between the Historical Peninsula and the districts of the greater İstanbul which develops on Haliç and the Bosphorus.** The noted structural changes are interrelated and form the basis of the spatiality of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone with its functional, sociological and morphological differentiations.

Ottoman İstanbul was founded on the site of a capital city without an Empire; Late Byzantine Constantinople was a transit maritime terminal. In this respect, the foundation of the Ottoman capital resembles the foundation of Constantinople on the site of the Antique maritime terminal Byzantium. The Ottomans re-presented the city its empire, even expanding its trajectory over the Eastern Mediterranean. While the city re-emerges as the capital city of an Empire with vast and secured territorial frontiers both on the land and the sea. Thus, **the intensity of the socio-economic flows between the centre and the provinces increased.** The Classical Ottoman State adopted a centralist and fiscal economic system. In the conditions of a centralist economic regime the importance of the city frontiers increased as socio-economic boundary structures, as custom zones, where the flow of the goods and people were strictly controlled. The frontiers of the capital city were no exception; in the Classical Ottoman Period the importance of the Extra-mural Zone as a socio-economic frontier increased.

The increase in the economic flows is also relational with the **increase in the population of the city, which reached 400 000 after a hundred years of the Conquest and 500 000 by late**

17th century. The main industry of Ottoman İstanbul, like Byzantine Constantinople, was to provision itself and this was mainly satisfied via maritime routes; Ottoman İstanbul necessitated extensive spaces for its maritime terminals and customs for the control and facilitation of the provisioning of its population.

The Ottomans acquired the increasing spatial demand for the maritime terminals and customs by uniting the three autonomous harbours on the Bosphorus of the Late Byzantine period under one system; these were: the harbour zone on the Extra-mural Zone, Galata harbour across the inlet and Üsküdar across the Bosphorus. The impacts of the increase in the intensity of economic flows on the Extra-mural Zone was the formation of the area between Bahçekapı (former Neorion) and Unkapanı (former Plateia) as the main custom zone of the city which was mainly reserved for internal trade, the provisioning of the capital. The Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was partly structured as the custom zone of internal trade in relation with the supplementary Galata customs across the inlet.

The Ottoman State did not only control the provisioning of the city but also determined the legislative price for the import items. The Ottoman custom zone was differentiated according to the items imported to the capital; there were specific customs for specific items like flour, fruit, tobacco, wax, etc. The Extra-mural Zone was no exception, the names of the landings and gates on the custom zone is an evidence for this. Most of the custom buildings, *kapans*, which were state-run exchanges were situated, on the Extra-mural Zone like the Great Stocks Customs (*Gümrük-i Kebir*) in Eminönü, the Fruit Exchange (*Sebzehane-i Amire*) in Zindankapı-Yemiş, the Flour Exchange in Unkapanı. The offices of the administrators who controlled the Custom zone were also within the same area like the office of *İstanbul Ağası* in Bahçekapı waterfront, the office of the *İhtisab Ağası* by the Fruit Exchange and the office of the *Kapan Naibi* near Flour Exchange. The Extra-mural Zone of the Customs area was differentiated according to certain import items and the inspectors of the provisioning.

The Ottoman State was the inspector of the provisioning but was not the storekeeper of the items like the Late Antique Roman State. The items of provisioning were directly distributed to the shopkeepers in the Exchanges. Thus, the area around the Exchanges on the Extra-mural Zone was formed as bazaars, which was full with shops selling the specified items. The customs zone was also a market place.

The Ottoman İstanbul, like Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople and unlike the Late Antique City, was mainly oriented to Haliç. The main thoroughfare of the city, from Edirnekapı to the Topkapı Palace, was running over the ridges facing Haliç and the area between the Haliç waterfront and the ridges was the most congested section of the Historical Peninsula. In this respect, the Extra-mural Zone with its landing stages and the gates on the fortifications acted as the terminal zone for the intra-mural functions within the Historical Peninsula and the sea. The inter-relations between the intra-mural functions and the Extra-mural Zone as their terminal can be defined under three main sections: the Topkapı Palace and its foreshore and wharf; the main commercial district and the customs zone between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı; the residential neighbourhoods and the waterfront squares between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray. The Ottomans opened three new gates on the fortifications, which could have been former posterns. Two of these gates were opened as to form the lower terminals for the Sultan Mosque complexes on the hills: Ayazma Gate for the Süleymaniye Complex and Yeni Ayakapı for Sultan Selim Mosque.

There are intensive functional differentiations within the tripartite division due to the intensity and the type of flows between the sea and the city. There are residences in the custom zone and there were commercial functions within residential neighbourhoods. Moreover, the relational patterns should not be understood as forming the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone from within the fortified city, at some sections the intra-mural sectors were formed from without according to their relations with the sea. For example, the residential neighbourhoods between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray were not mere extensions of the interior sectors, but, they were mainly formed of inhabitants related with the maritime world whether as fishermen houses as noted for the 16th century or as the residences of wealthy merchants and tax-farmers like the Phanariots for the 17th and 18th centuries.

The relation between the Topkapı Palace and the Extra-mural Zone is a specific illustration of the impacts of the intra-mural functions on the structure of the Extra-mural Zone. The section of the Extra-mural Zone at the foot of the Topkapı Palace was a “ceremonial front”; it was the maritime gate specifically reserved for the Sultans. The area, which is here referred as the Palace foreshore constituted of boathouses and the Yalı Kiosk that is the main ceremonial building used by the Sultans in the ceremonies conducted at the entrance of Haliç. The impacts of the Palace continued along the fortifications towards Bahçekapı, here was the Palace Wharf where the necessities of the Court were imported. The situation of the Topkapı Palace and its relation with the Custom Zone is striking in respect to the control of

socio-economic flows by a state. If the citadels within the fortified cities were constructed usually at one corner of the fortifications for an easy access to the outside and the control of the flows in an out of the city, like Nijenhuis proposes, then the siting of the Topkapı Palace at the tip of the Promontory with a view of all the maritime customs (İstanbul, Galata, Üsküdar) is a significant example. The site selection of the Ottoman Palace transformed the Extra-mural Zone in two respects. First, part of the Byzantine harbour zone, former Proshorion, was transformed to the wharf of the Palace as an extension of its waterfront along the fortifications. The gates on this section were converted to the Gate of the Palace Citadel or some gates like Veteris Rectoris were closed. Second, the decline of the Late Byzantine Palace was at Blachernai (Ayvansaray) which had used that section of the Extra-mural Zone for its uses, transformed this terminal section of the Extra-mural Zone. As the Ottomans did not use this site as a Palace, the area was transformed to a residential area and the access to this quarter was opened on the main route to Eyüp.

The topography of the Historical Peninsula as seen from the Haliç side constituted the main image of İstanbul; it was the front of the city in the sense of façade. The canonical images of the Classical Ottoman İstanbul are the panoramas drawn by the western travellers from the Galata side. The Extra-mural formed the base of this image; it was the ground of the image of Classical Ottoman İstanbul. The intensity of the flows also determined the view of the Extra-mural Zone; of the parts, which were congested by the ships there, is less pictorial evidence. The flows through the Extra-mural Zone enclosed its image mainly on the Customs Zone.

The major difference of the maritime frontiers of the Ottoman İstanbul from the Byzantine Constantinople is that, the Ottoman capital was secured from maritime assaults. Constantinople from the 5th century on was a defensive capital; its maritime frontiers had emerged as real defensive zones after the 7th century. In the Late Byzantine period, even the enclosable natural harbour Keras had emerged as a military frontier in constant threat of assaults from the Genoese city of Galata across the inlet. When the Ottomans had contested Constantinople and declared it their capital city, their territory was already extensive as to secure the city from any hostile attacks. Ottoman İstanbul was the centre of an offensive state. The security of İstanbul and the decreasing possibility of a siege, had two impacts on the Extra-mural Zone: first the city of İstanbul expanded on extra-mural sectors on Haliç and Bosphorus where the Extra-mural Zone emerged as an inter-sectoral terminal; and second

the Extra-mural Zone, which was no longer a defence zone emerged as a most dense urban settlement that even covered the fortifications.

The Ottoman İstanbul developed outside the Historical Peninsula on the main sectors like Galata, Üsküdar, Eyüp, and suburban settlements like the villages on the Bosphorus. Ayverdi states that %25 of the İstanbul population was living outside the Historical Peninsula in the early 15th century; Kuban notes that this ratio reached to forty percent in the 17th century. As the city developed outside the Peninsula, the Extra-mural Zone emerged as an inner-city terminal between different sectors of the greater city. With the increase in the along-shore, cross-inlet, cross-Bosphorus maritime flows between different sectors of the city, which were generally facilitated by rowboats, Haliç emerged as main urban artery; it was the “grand canal” of İstanbul which had emerged as a maritime city par excellence within the Ottoman period. The Extra-mural Zone as the southern boundary of this canal was both an interior and exterior façade; it was both the frontiers of the city and also a façade on a city thoroughfare. Not only was the neighbourhoods within İstanbul proper did communicated with the greater city through the Extra-mural Zone on the Haliç side, but also, the Zone functioned for the distribution of the imported items to the different sectors of the city. Thus, the import items were checked within the custom zone and then distributed to the city with inner-city maritime communications. İstanbul Tarihi of Eremya Çelebi Kômürcüyan perfectly manifests this characteristics of the city, where the city frontier was both an external and an interior boundary structure.

The cross-inlet passages to the Galata side are particularly significant for the Extra-mural Zone. The functional differentiations within the Extra-mural Zone are not only related with interior functions but also with the functions across the inlet. The customs within the Extra-mural were directly across the Galata customs; the Flour Exchange was across the grain depots of the State in Great Arsenal- Tersane-i Amire- in Kasımpaşa; Balat as a Jewish neighbourhood was across Sütlüce which was also mainly settled by the Jews.

The second impact of the decrease in the defensive function of the fortifications is specifically observed on the Extra-mural Zone and the former harbours of Constantinople on the Marmara side. The Late Antique fortifications on Haliç were covered by buildings almost in a continuous line with the exception of Palace foreshore, the Ayazma Gate-Unkapanı section and some parts at Fener and Balat. Although forbidden by the state as early as the 16th century, this practice was continued throughout the classical Ottoman period. The

condition was such that, by early 19th century, it was hardly possible to see the Haliç fortifications from the Galata tower. The buildings constructed adjacent to the fortifications were mainly shops, depots in the Customs Zone between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı. They were mainly houses on the residential section between Cibali and Ayvansaray. There were even mosques constructed adjacent to the walls, like Arpacılar Mescid and Gümrükönü Mescid. The fortifications were covered, however their line was preserved with the buildings. The decrease in defensive role does not mean a decrease in the socio-economic function of the fortifications that is to control the access of the flows through the gates. The gates on the fortifications were the main places where the socio-economic function of the fortifications were retained; the gates were closed at night and in the daytime they still acted as surveillance points. In this respect the Extra-mural Zone was a duplicitous space, it was both within and without the limits of the city.

The architecture of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was formed for or against the internal and external flow patterns mentioned above. Whatever their function was, every structure on the Zone was a boundary structure forming the intensive morphological differentiations within the extensive frontier. From the detailed visual evidence of the Ottoman period it can be stated that the differentiations along the fortifications as the intervals of the gates, the differentiations along the seashore according to the type of the landings and the differentiations on the morphology of the Extra-mural fabric was relational within themselves and also with the flow patterns between the sea and the city.

The great architecture of the fortifications were the heritage of the Byzantine period; major Ottoman interventions were the opening of new gates and the closing of some older entrances to the city. As it was the case for the Byzantine period, there were gates at short intervals around the Custom Zone, between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı. There was also a relation between the valleys of the Historical Peninsula and the gates. The walls of the fortifications were covered by buildings, the functions of which was related with their setting and their proximity to the gates.

The seashore was differentiated according to the intensity and type of landings. Wooden jetties with short projections formed the basic type of terminals, specifically for rowboats. The number of the landings reserved for trade and inter-sectoral traffic increased in custom zone. Near public landings, each building constructed on the waterfront meant a landing

reserved for private purposes; some warehouses on the custom zone and the waterfront mensioned on the residential sector was of this type. In fact, the whole seashore was a landing which was differentiated by property relations. It seems that the State tried to forbid private landings on the Custom Zone as this provided a basis for out-law trade.

The width of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone differentiated, both on the heritage of Byzantine period and also by the cultural sedimentation caused by the debris of the city. The width of the Zone increased across the gates, such that they formed small capes which were used as waterfront squares, such as in the Cibali, Ayakapı, Fener, Balat, Ayvansaray capes. The amount of sedimentation increased in custom zone between Bahçekapı and Unkapanı; the areas where the Extra-mural Zone was thinnest are majorly residential sectors between Unkapanı and Balat. Balıkpazarı-Odunkapı section was specific as here the width of the Zone was large but was not forming a cape. At this section, the sedimentation regularly followed the line of fortifications. The differentiations on the width of the Extra-mural Zone both refers to the type of the city fabric at the specific area and also is relational with the intensity of the flows between the sea and the city. Whether as a front or a regular projection, the width of the Zone increased at the point where landings and gates were situated. Although the Extra-mural Zone was erased in the 20th century, the shoreline of Haliç by the Historical Peninsula still bares the Ottoman heritage; its capes and projections are formed by natural and cultural sedimentation.

A continuous street ran along the fortifications, or better to say fortifications covered by buildings; here, called as the Wall Street, this was the main line of traffic within the Extra-mural Zone between Bahçekapı and Eyüp-Ensari Gate. With Haliç as a main maritime thoroughfare, a canal, the Wall Street formed the two extensive communication lines on the land and the sea throughout the Extra-mural Zone. Streets and public squares traversed the seashore and the Wall Street. The patterns and the intensity of these traverse arteries were interrelated with the gates on the fortifications, the jetties on the seashore and the width of the Extra-mural Zone as well as being defined with property patterns and urban functions.

In the places of intensive traffic, the Extra-mural fabric was formed as an urban tissue with the parallel streets to the traverse arteries between the sea and the Wall Street, which is observed as an insula pattern. The insula pattern with very small lots can be observed between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı, which can be a Byzantine heritage. Unlike Eminönü, there was no public square at this section; the insular pattern on an open shoreline distributed

the flows from the sea to the Wall Street. A similar insular pattern can be detected around the Flour Exchange, Unkapanı and partially in Balat.

The type of imported items also determined the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone on the custom zone; the Lumber Exchange is a specific example where a closed custom zone as an open-air storage area was formed between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate.

The single row of waterfront mansions enclosing the waterfront between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray with the exception of waterfront squares across gates is a very significant morphological pattern. The row houses can be interpreted as a duplication of the fortification line on the waterfront, which solely left access to the sea in the point of gates. The waterfront squares at the residential sector is also significant as to be formed according to the flow patterns between two or three jetties and the gates. The wedge-shaped plan of these squares narrowing towards the gates illustrates a space shaped according to the movement of people from the sea to the entrances on the fortifications.

Although the Extra-mural Zone was demolished in sections for several times by great fires throughout Classical Period, it was rebuilt on the basis of the same gates, same landings, same custom zones, same property patterns which originate mainly from the first hundred years of the Ottoman İstanbul. The area congested further and new buildings were constructed within the same property patterns. The Extra-mural Zone can be observed in the early 19th century, as a very complex boundary structure where the city frontier is juxtaposed with internal terminals, where the customs intermingle with commercial functions, where the commercial is mixed with the residential, where the fortifications are hardly visible. Till the 19th century Ottoman Extra-mural Zone developed as a gigantic example for a medieval harbour zone. The Haliç waterfront was unlike Roman enclosed harbours where the control was realised by the great imperial architecture. Monumentality was not a feature of the İstanbul maritime frontier, and as observed for the Extra-mural Zone the waterfront was formed of transitory structures. The trials of the modernisation of the Extra-mural Zone began by 1830s and lasted for a hundred and fifty years. The reminiscences of the medieval port well survived in sections till late 20th century. The long process of the “annihilation” of the classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A CLASSICAL CITY FRONTIER: THE EXTRA-MURAL ZONE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND REPUBLICAN PERIOD

1. Introduction: The City that the Ottoman State Imagined

The city is situated at an *interface*, half-way between what is called the *near order* (relations of individuals in groups of variable size, more or less organized and structured and the relations of these groups among themselves), and a *far order*, that of society, regulated by large and powerful institutions (church and state), by a legal code formalised or not, by “culture” and significant emblems endowed with powers, by which the far order projects itself at this “higher” level and imposes itself...*Far order* projects itself into the practico-material reality and becomes visible by writing itself within this reality...

The city is a mediation among mediations. Containing the *near order*, it supports it; it maintains relations of production and property; it is the place of their reproduction. Contained in a *far order*, it supports it; it reincarnates; it projects over a terrain (site) and on a plan, that of immediate life; it inscribes it, prescribes it, writes it.¹

The architecture of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone in the classical period was defined in accordance to the boundary conditions generated between the fortified city and the sea. The Extra-mural fabric, between the pre-determined passages on the fortifications and the open seashore, functioned as a total boundary structure throughout its extend, either obstructing or facilitating the interrelation between the capital city and the maritime world. Here, the economic and cultural fronts existed within the same plane, as a rather chaotic ensemble.

The Extra-mural Zone was an important sector of Ottoman İstanbul as being the inter-sectoral and external terminal of the Capital. However, it was also a problem area for the Ottoman State. The Extra-mural Zone was a frontier suitable for outlaw trade; it was the place where the great fires started and spread due to the congestion of its fabric; its jerry-built structures was forming an unsuitable image on the gate of the Capital of the Eastern Mediterranean. As noted on the preceding chapter, the Ottoman State ordered edicts for the

transformation of this area from the time of Süleyman the Magnificent onwards. However, they were not obeyed, as the Extra-mural Zone appears without much alteration in the visual sources throughout the Classical Ottoman period. On the contrary, the Zone emerged as a denser habitation. More than the metaphoric sense H. Lefebvre uses the term; the Extra-mural was “an interface” where the *far order* of the Ottoman State confronted with the *near order* of the maritime world.

In fact, the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was a space of confrontation between two *far orders*, which generated the spatiality of the Ottoman city in general; that of the institutions of the State and that of religious institutions. S. Yerasimos states that the reasons for the disability of the Ottoman State in realising its prospects for the city-space was the confrontation of the Shari'a (Islamic Law) and consuetudinary laws which formed the basis of the boundary conception in the Islamic city.² The classical Ottoman city was the representation of a continuous conflict between religious communities represented by Shari'a Laws and State which tried to put its consuetudinary laws. The Shari'a laws did not define a public space. The sole definition of city-space was based on private property particularly organised as part of the endowment institutions.³ This conflict was not only reflected within the Ottoman cities but was the basis of the spatiality of the Islamic City. Unlike the Roman laws where the boundary was a virtual property line (*terminus*), the boundary in the Islamic city was defined by hierarchical passage (*finis*) and this was defined by social relations in case. *Coul de suc*, is the best manifestation of this spatial conception where the property holders on one street can transform the street into a private corridor for their interest. In a similar social pattern, a shop-owner by the main street of the city could have extended his shop on the outside. The Islamic state, and so the Ottomans, controlled the city- its gates, periphery and resources- however could not insist on urban schemes that they propose. This was the non-institutionalised confrontation between two law systems. The Extra-mural Zone is one of the city-spaces where the mentioned confrontation can be best manifested: the buildings attached to the fortifications, private warehouses with their own entrances from the seashore, a dense fabric that is difficult to control. Most of the properties on the Extra-mural Zone belonged to the endowments, as that is the case for the majority of the city-space.⁴ Specifically, the properties on the custom zone were profitable investments.

¹ LeFebvre (1996:).

² Yerasimos (1996: 1-18).

³ In this respect the pious endowments can be defined as a *near order* which takes its validity from a *far order*, that is Islamic religion.

⁴ As can be observed from the *Tahrir Defteri* of 1546, the number of endowments based on the Extra-mural Zone was limited (Ahi Çelebi mosque is a notable exception). But the buildings were registered

The Ottoman State edicts for the ordering of the Extra-mural Zone into a manageable city frontier and even prospected the reservation of a scant space on the front of fortifications as a larger artery than the Wall Street. It is in 1839, in the time of Mahmud II, that the Ottoman State declared a new edict on urban issues, in the style of a certificate (*İlmuhaber*) which is very different from the former ones as it was depicting a totally new city-space for İstanbul. This document was based on a master plan for the restructuring of the street network, which was made by H. von Moltke between 1835-1839. The *İlmuhaber* summarised the general structure of the Moltke plan from the words of State authority. The certificate stated that the first thing to be done was to mark the direction and the dimensions of the roads on a map with different colours referring to the hierarchy of the streets. Four major arteries were drawn on the Historical Peninsula, from Topkapı Palace Gate to Edirne Gate, from Çarşamba Market to Eğrikapı, from Kadırga Harbour to Seven Towers, from Bahçekapı to Eyup (intra-mural). These major arteries were to be of 20 *zirah* (15 m) of width including pedestrian ways of 4 *zirah* (3m) on each side. Trees in rows would be planted on two sides. Near these avenues three types of streets were defined according to their width, of 15, 12 and minimum 10 *zirah* (11.25m, 9m and 7.5 m). It was specifically stated that none of these would be *coul de succ*. The certificate of 1839 defines two more arteries on the two sides of Haliç; these were to be built on the Extra-mural sections from Yalı Kiosk to Unkapanı and from Tophane to Azapkapı in Galata. They were defined as 20 *zirah* (15m) width with pedestrian ways and trees as it was projected for the main avenues of the intra-mural city. Stone quays were to be build near these arteries. At proper places on the quays and in the intra-mural Zone public squares were to be build in accordance to monuments surrounding them. All these interventions would be realised according to partial plans.⁵

as the donated properties of the endowments centred in other neighbourhoods of the city. The Sultans and their families had properties on the Extra-mural Zone. The donations of Mehmet II and Hürrem Sultan (the wife of Suleiman the Magnificent) were noted in the proceeding chapter.

⁵ The Certificate in Ottoman states: "... evvel emirde inşa ve tesviyesi (düzeltilmesi) tasdim (tasarlanan) olunan yolların istikamet ve arzları malum olmak için birbirinden farklı elvan (renklerle) ile işaret ve tersim (resmedilen) ve irtifa-i arazi (arazi kotları) yani yokuşlar dahi izah ve terkim olunmak üzere Dersaadet'in bir kat'a haritası tanzim olunduktan sonra Bab-ı Humayun'dan Edirnekapusuna ve Çarşanbapazarından gecilerek Eğrikapı'ya ve Kadırga limanından Yedikule'ye ve dahil-i surda Bahçekapı'dan bede ile Eba Eyyube'l Ensari radiya'l-lahu anhü'l-bari hazretlerinin türbe sarifleri civarına varınca mintehi olacak tarikle yirmişer zira` olarak iki tarafına eşcar garsıyla teyzin olunmak ve dörder zira` vus`atlu yaya kaldırımları yapılarak bargır ve arabaları murur ve uburlarına 12 zira meydan bırakılmak ve maada bicümle tarikler dahi 15 ve 12 ve nihayet 10 zira olmak ve asla çıkmaz sokak olmamak ve haric-i surda Yalıköşkü'nden başlayub Unkapanı'na ve Tophane-i Amire'den Cisir-i Cedid'e varınca taş iskeleler ile kezalık yirmişer zira yollar yapılub dörder arşın yaya kaldırımlarına eşcar gars ettürilmek ve işbu iskelelerin bazı mahallerinde ve dahil-i surda dahi icabına göre munasip yerlerde birer meydan bırakılmak ve bu meydanlar dahi uyabileceği mertebe cevami şerife ve sair ebniye-i cesime etraflarında tesis olunmak üzere bir kit'a resm tanzim olunarak ba`d resm-i mezkura gore inar olunacak..." , here quoted after, Osman Nuri (1999, vol II: 1003) Emphasis mine.

As S. Yerasimos states this certificate is a utopian plan, as the greatest street in Istanbul at that time was narrower than the minimum street the document prescribed. It projected the total transformation of the classical Ottoman İstanbul. The plan was certainly based on the model of the Enlightenment city, with wide streets having tree-lined pedestrian ways and a city form defined by the hierarchy of circulation rather than the built form. When it is considered that the street regulation plans would be realised on the European cities mainly after the mid 19th century and that few examples of the Enlightenment city existed in the period when the certificate was announced, the plan can be seen as a rather radical manifestation.⁶ It can be referred as a document of intent, representing the image of the city that the Ottoman rulers envisaged by the early 19th century; that is an İstanbul modernised according to the Western model.

The time of the Certificate's declaration is not accidental; it was announced in a time when the Ottoman State had began a series of administrative reforms that were attempts in transforming the socio-economic structure of the Empire. The document which made possible the application of such a scheme was declared a few months after the Certificate; that is the 1839 *Tanzimat* Edict, or in other words the Edict of Administrative Reforms. The Ottoman administrative reforms were realised by a number of factors, which were internal and external to the Empire. What, Yerasimos points to, is one of the internal reasons, that is the disability of the classical Ottoman State in defining and controlling the city-space within the existing conflict between the two law systems. It was only by institutionalization of the consuetudary laws that the city-space could have been transformed; and, the basis for this was provided with *Tanzimat*. Not only the spatial but the also cultural model was an import from the West. The Ottoman State of the early 19th century tried to form a single *far order*, contrary to the Classical Ottoman system where there were several *far orders* confronting with each other.⁷

The 1839 Certificate was projecting an Extra-mural Zone with tree-lined avenues, public squares and stone quays. However, the Ottoman State could not realise its plans in its totality since when the Empire terminated by 1923. The Extra-mural Zone was transformed within this period. However, this transformation cannot be defined on the line of the *Tanzimat*

⁶ For the Enlightenment City, see Etlin (1994).

⁷ By the *Tanzimat* Edicts, the citizens of the Empire were declared as equal subjects under law. The reaction of the non-muslim community leaders to the Edict should be understood in this respect as

ideals, rather as a real representation of what change could have been for the Ottoman Empire, a “piecemeal” project. It was only on the Sirkeci area that stone quays could have been built, in other places a more congested fabric emerged on the same lines with the Classical Ottoman period. The Extra-mural Zone with its extensive and intensive boundary patterns survived the Late Ottoman period. It was in the time of the Turkish Republic, which emerged on the remains of the Ottoman Empire, that the Extra-mural Zone had been released. Starting by the 1930s, the Extra-mural fabric was demolished in parts as giving way to an industrial harbour zone. Finally, the fragments of the former Extra-mural Zone were cleared in the 1980s, with the harbour functions as well. Then, almost the whole site was transformed into parkways, that is avenues with four-lanes sided by waterfront parks. Thus, it took a hundred fifty years for the realisation of the *Tanzimat* plan on the Extra-mural Zone, that is it’s the “modernization” of the boundary between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç by regularisation.⁸ During these one hundred fifty years the ideals of city planning has changed with continuous experimentation and the development new approaches academic on the production of city space. Thus, when these “ideals” were finally realised in the 1980s, their application could no longer be defined as “modern”.

This chapter tries to document the last one hundred-fifty years of the Extra-mural Zone. The chapter is formed of two main parts, which cover the Late Ottoman Period and the time of the Turkish Republic till 1980s. What combines these two different periods, here, in one chapter, is the continuation of modernisation processes from the Late Ottoman to Republican periods as they were reflected on the Extra-mural Zone.

6.2. The Extra-mural Zone of the Period of Reforms: 1826-1914

6.2.1. 19th Century Urban Reforms

In fact, when change is mentioned for this Empire, which was a mosaic of religions and languages, this cannot mean a synchronical historical phenomenon covering the whole system.⁹

Beginning by 1820s the Ottoman State began to realise twofold reforms: the liberalization of economy by opening to capitalist relations and the institutionalisation of a new

different religious communities had their own institutions for the running of law affairs within their populace.

⁸ The case of the Haliç waterfront as an illustration for the completion of the Ottoman urban reforms in the Republican period is pointed by S. Yerasimos (1996:1).

administrative system by reforms led by the Ottoman elite. This process had continued till the terminus of the Empire after the I. World War. This was a crisis-generated restructuring; the Ottoman State tried to adapt to the general conditions of worldwide modernisation and capitalism as well as the internal conditions of territorial shrinkage and administrative problems. As, İ. Ortaylı states, the application of a “piecemeal” modernity project by the Ottoman State had originated in the late 18th century before it was named as reforms. This was due to the fact that, the Ottoman Empire was in close proximity and had international relations with the European countries where the project of Modernity originated and developed as a universal project. The results of the reforms were, as İ. Tekeli states: the public and private space began to be differentiated; private rights and property rights were institutionalised; social structure changed; the classical military administration was replaced by a bureaucracy formed of civil servants.¹⁰

The Age of Reforms transformed the structure of the Ottoman cities as well, especially the maritime cities like İzmir, Selanik, Beyrut; these were the places where international economic functions were centred.¹¹ İstanbul, the capital city of the Empire and a harbour experienced a similar process, which likely reshaped the Haliç Extra-mural Zone. It can here be stated that the Ottoman restructuring of the Extra-mural Zone did not led to the disappearance of its traditional boundary structures. Like elsewhere the interventions are piecemeal and were realised when necessary. Before getting into the details of the Extra-mural Zone in the Age of Reforms, it can be instructive to summarise the hallmarks of Ottoman reforms in general and the changes in urban administration specifically. The two are closely related; the Ottoman modernisation project was at the same time a piecemeal urban project.

Küçük Kaynarca Pact in 1774 ended the Black Sea monopoly of the Ottoman State; 1829 *Edirne* Treaty consolidated the case. The trade monopoly within the Empire was bridged with the Anglo-Turkish Trade Treaty (*Baltalimanı* Treaty), which was signed in 1838. Similar privileges of trade and tax exemptions were given to other foreign countries, such that by mid 19th century Ottoman trade emerged as one of the most liberal.¹² Although privileges were assigned for the foreign traders, the rules for the internal trade were preserved. The disadvantageous trading conditions for the subjects of the Empire lasted till

⁹ Ortaylı (1995: 9), translation from Turkish by the author.

¹⁰ Tekeli (1997: 19-30), (1998: 1-4).

¹¹ For the modernisation of the Ottoman maritime cities in 19th and early 20th century, see, Keyder & Quataert (1994).

mid- 19th century. After the Paris Congress in 1856, where Ottoman Empire was declared as a European state, the right to buy and sell properties was given to the foreigners. This played crucial role in the introduction of foreign investments on the Ottoman territory, especially opened the way to the privileges given for the construction and running of investments related with specialised technologies like railways and harbour zones. In 1861, *narh*, the legislated price for internal products, was abolished with the exception of bread and meat.¹³

The abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826 is one of the main events that opened the way to Ottoman administrative reforms. By the *Tanzimat* Edict, in other words the Administrative Reforms of 1839, the Ottoman State declared itself as a centralised modern state where the muslim and the minorities were equal subjects.¹⁴ This meant an attempt of transformation of the classical social structure of the Ottoman Empire based on religious social groups. The Classical Ottoman Empire was an autocratic state with a military administration. The Janissary Corps were active as police forces in cities and also active in the provisioning system. Thus, by its abolition, known as the Auspicious Event (*Vaka-i Hayriye*), new administrative institutions were to be found. The classical Ottoman administrative positions like *İhtisab Ağa*, *Bostancıbaşı*, *Kale Ağası* was revised in the time of Mahmud II, before the foundation of municipal institutions in 1850s. In the sudden void created after the Auspicious Event, these reforms were not always radical but can be seen as the replacement of the older institutions with the new titles. As I. Ortaylı states, the traditional bureaucratic system and modern bureaucratic institutions did exist one side the other and, bureaucratic modernisation was not completed till the end of the Empire. The *İhtisab Nazırı* who replaced *İhtisab Ağası*, as an official responsible for the collection of taxes and the head of the police service, did not lose its medieval despotic character.¹⁵ However, as can be observed in the newly constructed the new police stations, the image of the police institution changed.¹⁶

¹² For the liberalisation of the Ottoman external trade see Quataert (1994).

¹³ The privileges given to foreign traders and the counter-reforms done for the internal traders in the 19th century Ottoman Empire resembles the opening of the Byzantine economy to the foreigners in the Middle Byzantine period. Both restructuring had changed the boundary structures within the Extra-mural Zone.

¹⁴ This meant the secularisation of law and the loss of power of institutions like the Patriarchy. After 1870 the Bulgarians had the right to have their autocephal Church. Likewise Christian missionaries were given the right to open religious foundations and schools within the Empire.

¹⁵ Ortaylı (1995: 41).

¹⁶ A number of police stations were founded on the Extra-mural Zone specifically around the public squares at the gates. The Fener police station is the only example, which has been preserved in the contemporary İstanbul. For the Police Stations founded on the reign of Mahmud II, see Arslan (1996:353-359).

The physical, demographic growth of Istanbul and the vision of reforms bring out the necessity of new urban institutions. In the classical Ottoman system, which depended on the community pattern rather than private rights, the municipal services was left to ethnic foundations and guilds. The provisioning and public services were supervised by a group of officials under the Grand Vezier like *Kadı*, *Mimarbaşı* (Head Architect) and *İhtisab Ağa*. This system was revised, mainly on the model of European institutions. Between 1830 and 1850 the city administration in Istanbul was connected to the imperial authority. In the place of *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı* (Imperial Architects Institution) *Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü* (Imperial Building Office) was founded by 1831. *Naflia Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Works) replaced this institution in 1849. It was in 1855 that the Municipality of Istanbul (*Şehremaneti*- prefecture) was founded.¹⁷ The prefect was supported by a City Council formed of twelve members.¹⁸ *Şehremaneti* did have a very limited budget, it was supported by the State; this limited the activities of the Prefect and City Council.¹⁹ In 1857, the 6th Municipality, Galata, was founded as a pilot area of the proposed fourteen municipal sectors in Greater Istanbul. However, besides Galata, only the 14th Municipality of Adalar (Prince Islands) and Tarabya could have been founded. In 1868, the Ottoman Government united the area of Greater Istanbul under one municipality. This was followed by the reorganisation of the Municipal sectors into twenty areas in 1877. The municipal law was also changed as to increase the revenues. In 1858 the Property Law was got into effect; in 1869 the property ownership was extended for the foreigners.

The partial regularisation of the city fabric was one of the most successful achievements of the period of Reforms has left its traces on İstanbul. Mustafa Reşit Pasha, who was one of the authors of the Tanzimat Edict, had been to European capitals as part of diplomatic missions and had pointed to the European "scientific" plans as a model. According to his notes, the street lay out should be suitable to geometric rules; this would also be a solution to the catastrophic fires, which threatened traditional Istanbul. Mustafa Reşit proposed the assignment of European engineers and architects.²⁰ It was German engineer H. von Moltke who was assigned by the Ottoman State to make the map of Istanbul and to develop the street network between 1835-1839. The 1839 Certificate, which was refereed in the

¹⁷ For the new municipal institutions formed in the 19th century, see, O. Nuri (1999), Çelik (1984: 9), Tekeli (1992: 19-30).

¹⁸ The members could be any Ottoman subject settled in Istanbul and the selected merchants. Çelik (1984:37).

¹⁹ Again in 1855, The City Order Commission (*Intizam- Şehir Komisyonu*) was founded as to supply the municipality with the intellectual and practical issues. The members were to be of the ones who were familiar with the European manner. Ibid. pp.37-38.

introductory section of this chapter, is the first, and maybe the most radical document to showing the will for the regularisation of the city fabric in İstanbul.

1847 *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (Building Legislation) categorised the city streets in three types: big avenues not less than 7.6 meters, standard streets not less than 6 meters and other streets not more than 4.5 meters. The technological advantages of the masonry buildings were mentioned.²¹ 1863 *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (Street and Building Legislation) added two more categories: the largest avenues were extended to 11,5 meters. It proposed orthogonal blocks; rules for expropriations were defined. A Government Edict of 1864 ordered the construction of buildings in masonry; only the non-wealthy citizens would be let to build wooden buildings. 1877 *Dersaadet Belediye Kamunu* (Istanbul Municipal Law) separated the city into two categories as main and side sectors. In main sectors it was forbidden to construct buildings of timber, in side sectors it was permitted with the construction of firewalls.²² 1882 *Ebniye Kamunu* (Building Legislation) states that when adjacent ten properties were diminished, it will be accepted as empty field and planned from start (this was specifically suitable for zones burnt in fire). As Z. Çelik states the aim of the Legislations ordered in the 19th century was to create a city with orthogonal streets and masonry buildings.²³

The great fires of Istanbul prepared the way for the application of the reformation ideals. It was after the fire of Aksaray in 1856, that L. Strozzi executed the first orthogonal plan on the devastated area. The Aksaray fire was followed by one of the greatest fires noted in the history of Istanbul, Hocapaşa fire of 1865 (Fig.71-2).²⁴ In two days time the whole area from Haliç (Zindankapı to Yalı Kiosk) to Marmara Kadırğa was burnt. For the planning of the burnt area a commission called *Islahat-ı Turuk* (Commission of Street Regularisation) worked for the improvement of the streets and sewage system between 1865- 1869. The enlargement of Divan Yolu (Byzantine *mese*), Mahmudiye, Kumkapı, Bali, Cağaloğlu and

²⁰ Here refereed after Çelik (1984:41-42).

²¹ For the building codes and legislations, see, O. Nuri (1999), Denel (1982), Çelik (1993: 49-81), Tekeli (1992: 16-30).

²² The Sirkeci-Unkapanı section of Extra-mural Zone was noted as a main sector, while the rest was on the secondary sections. After 1870s there is an increase in the masonry buildings on the Extra-mural Zone between Sirkeci and Unkapanı. That may be taken as an evidence for the application of the legislation.

²³ Çelik (1993: 52-53).

²⁴ Ibid.p.53.

Aziziye Avenues are among the achievements of this commission.²⁵ The planning of Pera after 1870 great fire was another regularisation project. Apart from these greater plans which were incorporated to the city structure, there were smaller partial plans realised after fires. Along Haliç Ayvansaray, Balat, Fener and Ayakapı intra-mural Zones were planned with orthogonal plots.²⁶

The piece-meal planning of Istanbul in the 19th century, called by I. Tekeli as “troubled planning”, affected Extra-mural Zone but did not transform the boundary structures radically.²⁷ The 15 meters wide avenue with trees on both sides of Moltke plan was never executed. The stone quays were only built between Sirkeci and Eminönü. Haliç fortifications were destroyed in sections but their line was preserved in the property patterns of the buildings, which were adjacent to the walls. The functions of the *kapans* as state-run customs disappeared after 1870s but the exchanges stayed in the same place. Some of the houses between Cibali and Ayvansaray gave way to entrepots and small workshops, however these occupied similar long narrow waterfront plots. The Extra-mural and intra-mural fabric had not been unified by regular streets reaching the waterfront. The flows through boundary structures of the Extra-mural Zone increased; it was further congested. However, near the existing classical public squares like Eminönü and the wedge pattern landing stage plazas, big urban squares was not opened on the waterfront stripe. The overall planning of Extra-mural Zone cannot be mentioned for the Reformation Period. It was shaped by different transformative factors. The following parts are structured likely; the factors of transformations are separately mentioned in different parts, like the Haliç Bridges, railway, the steamboats, and construction of modern quays.

6.2.2. The Speculative Destruction of the Fortifications

The dysfunctionality and the destruction of the antique or medieval fortifications are one of the common processes that the fortified cities lived through their modernisation in the 19th century. The European cities achieved the destruction of the fortifications as part of great planning projects; Vienna, Moscow, Milan, Paris, Madrid, Barcelona are well-known

²⁵ Aziziye Avenue is particularly important for the Extra-mural Zone as this artery terminated on the Haliç waterfront at Sirkeci creating a new city terminal at this point even before the construction of the Sirkeci Railway station.

²⁶ For the regularisation of the city fabric with partial plans, see, Denel (1982). The plans along Haliç did not effect the Extra-mural Zone with the exception of second planning of Balat after the 1912 fire.

references.²⁸ The fortifications and bastions were demolished giving way to great avenues from where the new planned sectors of the city radiated. Monumental buildings embellished the peripheral boulevards. In the fortified maritime cities the aim for the demolition of the fortification was specifically to unite the former intra-mural sectors with the waterfront. In most of the cases the deposits of the destroyed walls were used for filling the waterfront as extra area of wharfage or the construction of breakwaters. Of the fortified maritime cities in the Ottoman Empire Selanik was a successful example, where the existing city fabric was extended on the waterfront as forming communication points with the interior of the city at short intervals.²⁹

In Istanbul, Haliç fortifications were demolished in sections after mid 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century; however, that was not achieved as part of a master plan but as the result of a partial speculative mechanism. The walls were demolished in sections (especially between Sirkeci and Unkapanı), however, the buildings that replaced them formed a similar boundary structure; the line of the fortifications were retained without the unification of the extra-mural and intra-mural sectors. Thus, the Extra-mural Zone was preserved after the partial demolition of the Haliç fortifications. In this part the history of the destruction of Haliç fortifications in the Ottoman period will be studied which produced similar boundary structures to the former Extra-mural Zone. The Ottoman attempt to wipe away the antique fortifications did not create major differentiations on the Extra-mural Zone or the intra-mural fabric. If they had been demolished totally and the area had been planned as restructuring the relation between the sea and the city, this part of the thesis would have been the conclusion.

From the definition of the intra-mural Bahçekapı-Eyüp and the Extra-mural Yalı Kiosk-Unkapanı avenues, it can be said that the 1839 Edict of City Reforms based on the plan of Moltke did not propose the demolition of the fortification walls of Istanbul. In 1859 the Major of Istanbul founded a management office called *Kule-i Zemin*, that means “the base of the fortification”. This office was responsible for the demolition of the fortifications on both sides of Haliç and the sale of the gained property by auction. O. Nuri states that this was part

²⁷ Tekeli (1998:2) uses the term for the Ottoman planning in comparison to the urban planning applications in the republican period.

²⁸ A general summary of the transformation from the enclosed and finite to the open city, and the plans realised after the destruction of city fortifications, is the chapter entitled “Territorial Transformations” in Frampton (1992).

of the city reformation processes, which accentuated after the Crimean War and Paris Pact.³⁰ The commercial district of the city was to be re-organised with proper communications. Nevertheless, the walls of the city were now useless, both as defensive and economic structures and the Ottoman State did not want to spend money for their repair. By 1872 Mithat Pasha proposed the destruction of the Istanbul fortifications. His proposal was cancelled by a public social organisation called *İngiliz Asar-ı Atika Taraftarları* (British Supporters of Antiquities).³¹ In 1884 the functions of the *Kule-i Zemin* commission were sustained and the major asked for the preparation of plans showing the whole fortifications of Istanbul in 1885. From the evidence in these maps called *Kule-i Zemin*, it can be understood that the Haliç walls was preserved in sections even at the commercial Zone.³² In 1912 a new commission for the inspection of the works of *Kule-i Zemin* was formed. And finally by the Edict of 1913, the fortifications were defined as Municipal territory throughout the Empire. Another edict for the preservation of antiquities in 1912 ordered the preservation and documentation of old fortifications. O. Nuri states that the works of the *Kule-i Zemin* commission was one of the most susceptible achievements of the Municipality.³³

The greatest achievement of *Kule-i Zemin* commission was the demolition of the walls in Galata between 1863- 1865. Galata was squeezed in its Genoese fortifications and the communication with the Pera district was obstructed by the wall. By the supervision of the 6th municipality in Galata, the walls and the bastions were demolished and the gained land was used as space for new streets or was sold by auctions. The spoils of the wall were also sold and the revenue was used by the municipality for the construction of new arteries. The selling of the property adjacent to the wall was not an easy task as there were already property holders.³⁴

²⁹ For the maritime cities of the 19th century Ottoman Empire see, Keyder (1994). Specifically for the planning of Selanik in the Ottoman period see. For the transformation of İzmir, see, Bilsel (1999: 91-97).

³⁰ Osman Nuri (1999, vol.3: 1776).

³¹ Çelik (1993: 67n) noted the arguments developed on the destruction of the walls in an article in the *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr* newspaper (28 Ekim 1909). The article stated that the fortifications did not have any historical, architectural and military value, they may be destructed. The construction of the *Ring Strasse* in Vienna on the former line of fortifications was given as an example. Çelik states that this article disregarded the topographic differences between İstanbul and Vienna.

³² These maps were used by Dirimtekin as base maps for his analysis of the fortifications in 1956.

³³ O.Nuri (1999, vol.3: 1783).

³⁴ The Galata fortifications formerly were pierced by nine gates: Azapkapı, Kürkçükapı, Yagkaparı Gate, Balıkpazarı gate, Karaköy Gate, Kurşunlu Mağaza Gate, Mumhane Gate, Eğrikapı, Kireçkapı. As part of the destruction of the walls the section between Azapkapı and Karaköy the five openings on the walls was replaced by six-seven traverse streets; that means the demolition of the wall did not create major differentiations between the former intra-mural section and the waterfront. On the section

The demolition of the Haliç fortifications on the Historical Peninsula was not an organised venture as it was in the 6th municipality. There is no evidence to suppose that the walls were first totally demolished and then the land was sold. Even, it is assumed that the fortifications were demolished for sale, this did not create major differentiations as the walls were already sided by buildings, and their property rights were preserved. Nor there is evidence for the fact that the demolition was realised as part of a plan, which considered the unification of the city fabric with the waterfront. Thus, it is necessary to search for the effect of the fortification destruction that is the works of the *Kule-i Zemin* commission from the maps produced in the 19th century and early 20th century.

The map of 1847 (Fig.63) and the Stolpe map of 1868 (Fig.64) show the Haliç walls intact; at most of the sections buildings on both sides covered the wall. However in the 1875-1882 map the section between Sirkeci and Unkapanı is different from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray, as the walls are not marked in the former (Fig.65). Although the walls are not mapped the plots which are formed by attached buildings on the two sides of them are the same with the indications of the former maps. It seems there is no differentiation in the relation between the former intra-mural section and the waterfront fabric. The Goad maps of 1905 showing the section between Sirkeci and Cibali clearly mark the fortification as mostly disappearing (Fig.66.1-2-3); the fortifications are marked at sections after Odunkapı till Cibali. The trace of the row buildings attached to the former fortifications is clear. There is no new street piercing the line of fortifications with the exception of one in Unkapanı that was opened to unite the city with the waterfront (Fig. 66.1). In Pervititch maps of 1929-1940 some sections of the wall in Goad map is shown as disappeared although in his depiction the plots are more or less the same with 1905 maps.³⁵ Dirimtekin who revisited the Haliç fortifications in 1956 on the base map of *Kule-i Zemin* states that the wall between Unkapanı and Eminönü existed in between buildings at some parts. From these evidence it can be said that Haliç walls disappeared from 1870s to 1912 at the section between Sirkeci and Unkapanı. At the same time their line was retained in the long thin plots in between the former gates of the city. Only at few places new traverse arteries were opened on the line of fortifications. Between

between Karaköy Gate and Kireçkapı where the customs was situated the intra-mural fabric was united with the waterfront with traverse streets as it was in Selanik.

³⁵ Pervititch illustrates square planned buildings in between the two rows of plots replacing the fortifications between Balıkpazarı and Zindankapı; these could have been the remains of fortification towers or buildings constructed on the same foundations. The towers were demolished specifically at the places where the former Wall Street was enlarged. However, as the Zindankapı district is the place

Sirkeci and Unkapanı the fortifications disappeared but its line was preserved. On the section between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray, the walls were preserved, and are still in situ, in fragments (Fig 81).

Nevertheless, it is significant that at very few places the former intra-mural and extra-mural plots adjacent to the walls were united as to form larger plots. Whole of the plots is in row pattern between the former gates of the city; at some places there are backyard courts between the former intra-mural and Extra-mural blocks. It is for certain that most of the buildings on these plots were new constructions. However, the former property rights were mostly preserved. Here the details of the interventions on the fortifications may be noted starting from Yah Kiosk to Ayvansaray.

Haliç walls from *Sepetçiler* Kiosk to Sirkeci were totally demolished at the construction of the railway in 1868-71. As will be dealt in detail, on the part about the railway, the destruction changed the topography of the area; however, the railway acted as a new barrier between the sea and city. The Sirkeci pier at the end of Aziziye Avenue functioned as a new gate between the railway and the closed customs Zone. The trace of the wall between Sirkeci and Bahçekapı with building lots in rows is seen in 1887-82 map. In Goad map a small traverse street is depicted as the only new artery opened on the former line of the walls at this section. The back to back relation of the multi-storeyed entrepots of the Istanbul Harbour built in 1905 and the Vakıf Han is an example for the preservation of the former fortification line. The reasons for the preservation of the fortification line without opening new arteries could have been to segregate the harbour Zone from the city (Fig 66.3). This pattern between Sirkeci and Bahçekapı still exists in contemporary Istanbul (Fig 88.1).

Bahçekapı was demolished in the 1867 earthquake and was never rebuilt.³⁶ The passage in the place of the Gate was enlarged several times till 1920s. This point is still one of the main communication points between the Eminönü square and the inner city. The trace of the line between Bahçekapı and Yeni Camii Gate has been preserved with physical remains of the walls at some sections. The Arpacılar Mescid from the time of Mehmet II, is an important historical monument on this circuit. Fragments of the fortification can still be observed as part of the former fortification tower on which Yeni Camii Sultans Lodge is placed (Fig.

where the width of the building siding the fortifications was largest, the towers could have retained within this section.

82-1). Yeni Camii Gate was demolished by 1870s however it functioned as the sole passage from the Eminönü Square to the exterior courtyard of the Mosque as new buildings in rows were built in place of the former fortifications. The *Selanik Bonmarşe* of early 1900s was the most famous of these Late Ottoman buildings (Fig.57). The buildings on the two sides of the former Yeni Camii Gate from the Sultans Lodge to Balıkpazarı was demolished in the Republican period.

Balıkpazarı Gate was replaced by a larger street; however the relation of the Egyptian Bazaar and waterfront was the same until 1930s. The trace of the walls between former Balıkpazarı Gate and Zindankapı was preserved by rows of buildings. If the existence of ten traverse streets on the Extra-mural Zone at this section and six perpendicular streets to the line of fortifications is considered, it is a strange fact that no new street was opened to combine these two fabrics during the works of *Kule-i Zemin* commission. The trace of the wall preserved by two lines of back-to-back row building points to the possibility that the wall was existing in sections. Dirimtekin in 1956 noted that the walls were existing at that time in some sections in between the buildings. After 1870s new commercial buildings were constructed in this area, they did obey the confines of the same fabric. The wall piece preserved at the back of former Giritli Han in contemporary Istanbul also is a proof for the preservation of walls at this section especially near structures, which predate 19th century (Fig.82-1). The waterfront between Balıkpazarı and Zindankapı was of the busiest sectors of the commercial harbour and the intra-mural fabric at this section was formed of related activities. However, the two fabrics were not united with new communication lines. Older boundary structures dominated this area even after their partial demolition most probably due to property rights.

Zindankapı was demolished in 1891 however it stayed as the main point of communication with the interior sections of the city and the Extra-mural Zone, as an enlargement of the former gate. Remains of the walls supporting the former Zindankapı still exists on the Haliç waterfront between Zindan and Değirmen Han's (Fig.82-2). The section from Zindankapı and Odunkapı was still formed of uninterrupted row of buildings; no traverse street was opened in the Ottoman period. There were seven streets on the Extra-mural Zone and five streets on the intra-mural Zone which were perpendicular to the waterfront. Like in the section between Balıkpazarı Gate and Zindankapı there was no attempt to unite the two

³⁶ Dirimtekin (1957:24) notes the earthquake in reference to Schneider's book "*Mauern und Tore*", he also gives reference to Mehmet Ziya who states that the gate was demolished in the construction of

fabric separated by the line of the wall. Goad map of 1905 did not show any remains of the sea wall in this section but its trace was preserved.

Odunkapı was also demolished and the street passing through was enlarged by the late 19th century. The trace of the wall between former Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate was preserved. Here the fabric replacing the wall was very thin and mainly was formed of a single row of buildings. The Su Yolu map of 1820 did depicted the walls as open on the intra-mural section while shops were shown as adjacent to the Extra-mural side. This pattern was preserved in the later Ottoman period. Goad map depicts a small section remaining from the sea wall open to the street on the intra-mural side. Dirimtekin-1956 noted that remains of the wall were seen among the shops at this area.

Ayazma Gate was preserved till the Republican period, it is seen in 1934 Municipality map.³⁷ From Ayazma Gate to Unkapanı the trace of the wall, with actual remains at some sections, was preserved with small shops in a single or double row pattern. The intra-mural fabric in 1875-1882 map was depicted as regularised in an orthogonal plan pattern however this did not create a differentiation on the walls at Unkapanı with the exception of the demolition of the Unkapanı Gate and the enlargement of the passage. The Goad map marked a new traverse street opened on the trace of the fortifications at short distance to the east of the former Unkapanı Gate; this was the extension of Beylik Street (Fig 66.3).

From Unkapanı to Cibali Gate the trace of the wall with extensive remains was preserved. A new traverse street connecting the Cibali Tobacco Factory to its entrepots on the waterfront was opened probably at short distance to the west of former Tüfenkhane Gate (that was closed at the time). The fragments can be seen in contemporary city. Cibali Gate with the fortification tower to its east was preserved. A Police Station was built in the place of the former western tower with the same plan. Cibali Gate is *in situ* in contemporary İstanbul (Fig.82-6, 82-7).

The remains of the wall were preserved between Cibali and Ayakapı. The intra-mural fabric in Ayakapı was regularised by orthogonal planning in early 1900s after the destruction of fire. At the extension of *Harraçcibaşı* street, the eastern side of Ayakapı was demolished as a new opening. Ayakapı was not erased; it is still present in contemporary İstanbul (Fig.82-8,

the First Galata Bridge prior to the earthquake of 1867.

³⁷ *İstanbul Rehberi*, 1934.

Fig.120-9). Yeni Ayakapı at a short distance to it was demolished and the street was enlarged. From Yeni Ayakapı to Petri Gate the wall retained.

Petri Gate, which after 1600s acted as a gate to the Patriarchy district in the Petriion Castrum, was preserved till the first decade of the 20th century as Mehmet Ziya noted. The fortifications from Petri Gate to Fener Gate are still *in situ*. The Fener Gate was demolished after 1880s and the passage was enlarged. From Fener to Balat Gate the trace of the wall marked by buildings in single or double rows was continued with remains of the wall in sections. The only new opening at this section was a street called *Çicek Bahçesi* to the east of Balat Gate. This street was opened as part of the regularisation plans executed after the Balat fire in 1870s as it was shown in 1875-1882 map (Fig. 65.2). Balat Gate was not touched at the time of this planning. It was after the Balat fire of 1912 that the area to the west of Balat gate was regularised. This final Ottoman planning is important as being the only place on the extra-mural Zone where the intra-mural fabric was united with the pattern of the waterfront. This is clearly shown in 1918 (Fig. 67) and 1934 maps. Both maps show five new streets opened on the former line of fortifications. However, the two of the five streets mapped in the guide of municipality were never opened, they should have referring to a proposed plan.³⁸ The planning of the Balat section was one of the radical interventions on the Extra-mural Zone that was realised in the Ottoman period. The fortifications were totally demolished and with the deposits of the fire, they were used as an infill for the waterfront. With this planning of 1910s the Balat section of fortifications, which originally was formed of a gate and three openings for the Kynegion port in Byzantine period, was likely pierced by several openings.

The fortifications between Balat and Ayvansaray were preserved in parts. The Atik Mustafa Gate and Ayvansaray Gates stayed as the former openings on the walls where adjacent buildings still existed at some sections. Ayvansaray Gate was demolished in 1870. A larger street replaced Atik Mustafa Gate. The ancient Xyloporta, Eyüb Ensari Gate that was the opening on the traverse wall enclosing Extra-mural Zone was also demolished with the wall. R. Ülke and Dirimtekin states that the Gate was demolished by 1868; however, it was still marked in the 1875-1882 map as *'Parmak Kapı'* (Fig. 17).³⁹

³⁸ They are not marked in Pervititch 1929. In contemporary city there is three traverse streets in Balat. The proposal of the municipality was not completely realised.

³⁹ Dirimtekin (1956:11); Ülke (1957:17).

It is ironic that although the Ottoman State in the classical period had tried to destroy and forbid the construction of buildings attached to the Haliç walls, these buildings, which were mostly belonging to pious endowments, persisted in the long run and became the main factor for the preservation of the line of fortifications in the 19th and early 20th century (Fig.66). If the process of the preservation of the fortification line as an extensive boundary is to be summarised, the major stages are as follows. The buildings covered the Haliç fortifications in successive periods in the Classical Ottoman period till the 19th century, as duplicating its circuit in almost an uninterrupted pattern between the gate. One year before the Municipality's decision for the destruction of the fortifications in both sides of Haliç in 1859, the Property Law had been declared; thus the buildings of the Extra-mural fabric could have gained a legal status against new urban legislations. The State did not expropriate the buildings adjacent the fortifications; the property rights were preserved during the demolition of the fortifications. It is most probable that the property of the fortifications were sold to the property-holders or new owners, as it was the case for the destruction of Galata fortifications. New buildings were erected in the place of the former structures, especially on the harbour zone, however, the building lots retained in most sections. In 1882, the activities of the *Kule-i Zemin* commission were sustained and finally in 1912, the fortifications were declared as cultural properties.

Although after the 19th century neglect and by the partial demolitions, the fortification walls were no longer visible, their effect on the city was still dominant. It had been difficult for van Millingen to trace the line of Haliç fortifications in 1899 as they were covered or replaced by buildings. These buildings and the property rights in a very valuable and congested space obstructed the plans for the erasure of the Haliç fortifications between 1860s and 1890s. The condition was such that, until the interventions of 1950s and 1980s, the relation between the interior sections of the city and the waterfront was defined by the trace of the former wall as an extensive boundary structure. In fact, the city fabric between Sirkeci and Yeni Camii, the sections around Cibali, Ayakapı, Fener and Ayvansaray still carry the traces of the former fortifications of Constantinople-İstanbul.

6.2.3. The Bridge Effect: Unkaparı and Eminönü Squares

In this part, the modern bridges on Haliç, which were built in the Late Ottoman period, will be mentioned with their affects on the Extra-mural Zone. The main means of cross-inlet

passages in the Classical Ottoman period was the rowboats; they served for the traffic between different sectors of the city on Haliç and also were used as a means of transportation between the two custom zones on both sides of the harbour. The construction of the Haliç Bridges in the 19th century was a challenge to the traditional system of transportation within the two sides of the inlet. The bridges acted as new arteries of uninterrupted passage; the vehicular traffic- first horses, squid carts, then tramways- was directed at the points of bridgeheads. Thus, the points where the bridges landed were differentiated from the general waterfront where the traditional pattern of jetties and rowboats was retained. The increase of the traffic at the point of the bridgeheads transformed the fabric of these areas. The “bridge effect” would also be felt inside the city as main arteries springing from the landing and commercial functions congested these points of interchange. The bridge effect on the Extra-mural Zone was mainly connected to the type and density of the flows. As the flows increased by the time their place of landing was likely transformed.

Another effect of the construction of the bridges was to fragment the harbour Haliç into three zones. Although this fragmentation more or less coincides with the tripartite structure of the Classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone (the Palace wharf, custom zone and the residential sector); it was further accentuated as the bridges limited the passage of the ships into the interior sections. The big ships had to wait for the opening of the gates at the central section of the bridges, which was usually done in the night time. Thus, as the Haliç bridges united the two sides of Haliç, they divided the harbour into three sections as: the outer harbour from the Bosphorus to Eminönü- Karaköy line, the middle harbour till Unkapanı- Azapkapı line and the interior harbour to which extended to the depths of the inlet. It is notable that, the first bridge on Haliç was constructed between Unkapanı and Azapkapı, which marked the end point of the commercial harbour.⁴⁰ Here, the Haliç bridges will be represented separately by their specific impacts on the Extra-mural Zone.

⁴⁰ Before passing to the Haliç Bridges constructed in the Ottoman period, the history of similar structures till the Late Ottoman period can be summarised. A bridge called Hagios Kallinikos or Hagios Panteleimon is known from the Byzantine period. However the place of this bridge is not ascertained. There was certainly a bridge at the mouth of Cydaris river; the question is whether there was another bridge on the eastern extensions of the inlet. The assumed place for this second structure is between Eyüp (Kosmidion) and Sütlüce. The Byzantine sources of the 1453 Conquest notes that Mehmet II had ordered the construction of a transitory military bridge on Haliç. This was probably built on floating barrels and was between Defterdar and Kumbarahane. It was in time of Beyazid II that the building a bridge on Haliç was first considered, but was not realized. A sketch of Leonardo da Vinci for a Haliç bridge and a letter written by him to Beyazid II survives (1503). Michelangelo Buonarroti was another Renaissance artist who was proposed for designing a stone bridge on Haliç between 1504-1506. These proposals were not realised; The Ottoman sources do not mention the construction of a bridge by Beyazid. The letter states that Leonardo had heard about the will of Beyazid for constructing a bridge on Haliç and he proposes to design a bridge which does not obstruct

Unkapanı Bridges:

The first Ottoman Bridge on Haliç was completed by 3 September 1836 in the late years of Mahmud the Second's reign. Built between Unkapanı and Azapkapı, it was called the "New Bridge" (*Cisr-i Cedid*) or *Hayratiye*. This was a wooden structure on rafts approximately ten meters in width, which was suitable for the traffic of loaded squids and pedestrians. As seen in the pictures of Flandin and Bartlett, the bridge was pierced at two points by arches, these were suitable for the passage of the rowboats while the centre could be opened for the passage of greater vessels. The engineer of the structure is not known; it was built in the Great arsenal under the supervision of the Navy Minister Ahmed Fives Pasha who was responsible for the construction.⁴¹

Azapkapı and Unkapanı passage was active in the former years of the Ottoman reign as the grain entrepots of the Sultan were in the Arsenal. In case of shortage the state supply was transferred to the Flour Exchange in Unkapanı which was the centre of the baker industries.⁴²

The construction of the bridge did not only separate the commercial section of the natural harbour Haliç from the navy harbour but also consolidated the existing differentiations along the Extra-mural Zone. As mentioned above, the area between Eminönü and Unkapanı was the custom zone of the Ottoman İstanbul. The terminal point of this activity was chosen as the place for the construction of the New Bridge; thus, the structure did not obstruct the traffic of the harbour. In fact, this was the point which was noted as the ending place of the stone quays- sided by an along wall thoroughfare- projected in the Edict of 1839. It can be instructive to quote the notes of H. von Moltke who was probably the designer of the plan mentioned in the Edict to understand the impacts of the first bridge on the structure of the "divided city":

The most contemporaneous thing in İstanbul is the construction of a bridge over the harbour by Captain Pasha Ahmed. Since the severe winter by the time of emperor Theodosius, this is the first bridge, which provided the possibility of direct passage between Galata and İstanbul. It is 637 feet in length and 25 feet in width; for the construction of this structure a forest from the trees, which are most suitable as posts, has been planted into the depths of the inlet. From now on it is possible for the Sultan to drive on a chart from his palace in Beşiktaş to the other

the passage of the ships. The sketch is more detailed and is of a great structure built at the intersection of two arches. The arches were crossing a length of 360 meters and were 42 meters in height. The engineering of this sketch was modelled by F. Stussi in the 20th century that states that this was a brave and dangerous experiment. If the height of the first hill, 40 meters from the sea level were considered, the project of Leonardo would have been one of the greatest structures in İstanbul. İlater (1988:71-74).

⁴¹ For the Unkapanı Bridges, see, İlater (1988: 77-79), Kahya & Tanyeli. (1994:120-125); "Unkapanı Köprüleri", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol. VII: 325-326); E. Tütel (2000: 138-140).

⁴² For the relation between Unkapanı and Arsenal in the Classical Ottoman period, see, Güçer (1951-1952: 79-97).

end of the bridge, but he cannot move further from this point. Hüsrev Pasha ordered me to draw the most preferable itinerary for an avenue sufficient to serve for the wheeled traffic from the bridge to Serasker Gate (Beyazıd) and from there to Divanyolu. This was an easy task as the shops, garden walls, houses and coffeeshouses were demolished without mercy and the day before Mahmud became the first sultan to travel by car from Galata to Beyazıd.⁴³

The avenue that Moltke drew should have been the enlargement of the existing arteries, which was opened by demolishment the projecting structures on the way, as large to facilitate the traffic of a wheeled cart. 1847 map and Stolpe map does not depict a large avenue as prospected in the Edict of 1839 from Unkapanı to the ridges of the Historical Peninsula. When the open space where the New Bridge landed on the Extra-mural Zone is considered, it can be observed that the bridge was built on the western extension of the quay of Flour Exchange. Barker depicts this point as an empty spot near the Flour Exchange building and Subaşı Mosque, before the construction of the Bridge (Fig. 43.3-d). Thus, the construction of the first bridge does not seem to have effected the point it landed on the Extra-mural Zone.

The Bridge of Mahmud II was a public work which was free of charge, after that it was called *Hayratiye*, Moltke notes that this was a great present of Sultan for the citizens of Galata and Istanbul, with the exception of the boatmen. After the middle 19th century the maps point to a police station at the foot of the Bridge in Unkapanı. In fact it was by the time of Mahmud II when the police department was founded after the abolition of the Janissary Corps.⁴⁴ The first police station were of wood, then by 1831-1832 an edict for the construction of masonry police stations was ordered. The foot of the New Bridge was one of the strategic places for the control of the passengers. The Unkapanı police station which was a typical Ottoman State House as a two storeyed masonry building with projections on the four sides. (Fig.59.3-a).

Although it has been speculated that the first Unkapanı Bridge had burned in 1862, it is generally, agreed that it was used till 1870s till the construction of the steel bridge on the

⁴³ Translation from Turkish mine; quoted after, Tütel (2000:138-139).

⁴⁴ Till Mahmud II there were four different groups of guards who was responsible for the surveillance of the city: the Janissary guards of *Ihtisab Ağa* for the control of Bazaars; the office of Bostancıbaşı which was responsible from the waterfronts and the strategic points on the ways to the city; Topçu (artillery branch) and Cebeciler (another Janissary branch). Apart from these main institutions, the Admiral of the Navy and the Prefect of the City were also responsible for the police services. After the abolition of Janissary Corps in 1828, the necessity for the foundation of a separate police corps emerged. Even before this event, by 1826 the core of the first police department was formed around the headquarters called *Tomruk*. It was the *Serasker* who was now the head of the police forces however the corps to control the market, waterfront, land was still connected to the different branches of the New Army. Arslan (1997:34-41).

same point. Kahya Tanyeli in reference to newspapers of 1853 state that the bridge was restored on wooden rafts at that time and the roads at the bridgeheads were enlarged. The same structure was restored by 1864 and re-opened by the name Mahmudiye. After this date the passage from the bridge was charged for the wheeled traffic and squids. In 1872 a new steel bridge which was originally ordered for Galata-Eminönü to a French firm was installed in the place of the first bridge.⁴⁵ This bridge was built on 24 pontoons, 18 m in width and had a gate at its centre of 30 meters long for the passage of the ships. This bridge functioned till 1912 when the old Galata Bridge was transferred to Unkapanı as a new one between Eminönü and Karaköy was constructed. The latest structure, which is still in use, was built between 1927-1940 in the place of the steel bridge, which was demolished in a storm by 1926.⁴⁶

Galata Bridges:

The second Ottoman Bridge on Haliç was executed in 1845 between Eminönü and Galata by the bigger son of Mahmud II, Sultan Abdulmecid.⁴⁷ This structure was wooden like the first Unkapanı Bridge and was carried on pontoons. By that time the Bridge of Abdulmecid was called as the New Bridge (*Cisr-i Cedid*) while the older Unkapanı Bridge was renamed as the Old Bridge. Passage tolls were collected from the pedestrians and squids passing from the Bridge. In 1853 the bridge was restored and functioned for 18 years till the execution of a steel bridge in its place.

It was the second son of Mahmud II, Sultan Abdulaziz who carried out the reconstruction of Galata Bridge by 1863. This bridge, the everyday life of which is perfectly summarised by E. de Amicis, functioned for twelve years until the reconstruction of Haliç Bridges in steel. The steel bridge was projected by Abdülmecid but could be completed in 1875 at the reign of Abdülhamid II (Fig.55.1). The bridge of 1875 that was built on twenty-four pontoons each anchored at four corners was also used as a landing stage for the ferries. The central four pontoons were devised as a gate for the ships. The bridge platform at this section could be opened on each side by the help of pulleys working by men-power. A floating sea-bath

⁴⁵ Two bridges were ordered by 1870s on Haliç to replace the existing structures. These were contracted to foreign engineering firms. The Karaköy-Eminonu Bridge was ordered to the French firm 'Forges and Chantiers de la Méditerranée' and Azapkapı-Unkapanı Bridge to a British firm called 'Welles and Taylor'. At the time of completion it was decided that the Bridge of the French firm would be replaced by the British Bridge as the traffic between Eminonu and Galata was more dense.

⁴⁶ For the construction of the Atatürk Bridge, see, below, 6.3.

⁴⁷ The first Galata Bridge which was built by the money lend from the Galata bankers is said to be a showpiece for the visit of Egyptian Major Mehmed Ali Pasha. There was a gateway on the Galata side

building was also attached to it close to the Eminönü Square (Fig.46.2, at the bottom of the picture). The pantoons of the bridge was restored in 1907. When a new bridge was constructed in its place by 1912, the bridge of 1875 was transferred to Unkapanı where it serviced till 1936.

The Galata Bridge of 1912 designed and constructed by a German engineering firm, M.A.N. It was formed of twelve parts and fifty-four pantuns. The central bay, which could be opened, was 67 meters and was powered by engine. Underneath the bridge platform were shops on both sides except the central bay. The width of the bridge including the pedestrian ways was 25 meters. It could have served for a five-lane car traffic until when it was dissembled by the 1990. The 1912 bridge was placed between Balat and Hasköy. But as its pantoons disabled the flow of waters at his section; it was dissembled into two parts where it stays like a “shipwreck” (Fig.82.14).

The “bridge affect” had been considerable in Eminönü when compared to Unkapanı square. The Galata Bridge, which connected Karaköy with Eminönü Square, had become the main point of access between the two commercial districts of Greater Istanbul, which originally worked as separate cities. The flow of people, goods even before the advent of vehicular traffic had turned the Galata Bridge into a “cosmopolitan river” as described by E. de Amicis in 1874:

Standing on the Bridge, whole Istanbul processes in an hour's time. This is a never-ending current formed of people, which without a break and pause confronts and intermingles from the rise of the sun to the dawn. The market places of India, the fairs of Nijni-Novgorod, the feast of Beijing are nothing near this turmoil.

To be able to see something one should select a smaller section of the bridge and should focus constantly at that spot. When looking here and there, the eye losses good sight, the mind perplexes. The crowd passes in giant waves of a thousand colours where each group represents a nation. The human crowd formed of every class and the most strange types, clothes are dreamed of uselessly; at a distance of twenty feet at the time of ten minutes, it is unthinkable to have an idea on the legendary turmoil that is seen there...

...It can be thought that this view is pleasing, indeed, it is not the least. When the first shock is over, the colours of the feast fade away; this is no longer a carnival convoy passing by, but it is the procession of decadent nations and whole races with all their miseries, madness, the disunion of their beliefs and laws... this great turmoil causes melancholy.⁴⁸

The tremendous crowd of people passing across the two sides of Haliç flowed into Eminönü Square on Istanbul side. To this should be added the terminal traffic to Bosphorus villages and

with the inscription of poet Şinasi. For the second Galata Bridge see, İlter (1988), Kahya&Tanyeli (1994: 120-125); E. Tutel (2000: 140).

⁴⁸ Amicis (1993: 21-31), translation from Turkish by the author.

the districts of Haliç, and the traffic of the Customs to the east of the Square. However, these flows do not seem to create a restructuring on the plan of the Eminönü Square on the plan of the Eminönü square through the 19th and the early decades of 20th century. The plan of 1847, of Stolpe 1868, of 1875 and Goad map of 1905 depicts a similar area for the Eminönü Square. The Square, which serviced whole this traffic, was not larger than the building area of Yeni Camii. Even proposals like the plan of Boudin in 1905 were made for the transformation of the Eminönü Square they were never realised.⁴⁹ The bridge affect for Eminönü can be named as an increase in congestion but also a change in the construction and style of buildings in this area.

The pictures of Barlett, Davis and Flandin from the early 19th century do show a congested fabric of wooden buildings around Eminönü. One freestanding building with projections at the waterfront facades is the only atypical building these early travellers depict (Fig.47.1, 47.2). C. Can notes that this building was the Limon Police station built by Fossati in 1843.⁵⁰ However it is visible in the 1838 engravings of Bartlett. The mosque behind this building is the new Hidayet Camii that is still in situ in contemporary İstanbul.

After the construction of the 1875 Galata Bridge, which is well documented by photographs, the buildings around Eminönü Square began to change in style and construction. They emerge as masonry buildings of two three or four-storey height with regular facades to which advertisement panels are placed. The Valide Han defined the western side of the Square between the waterfront and the Wall Street; that was a two-storeyed building around a courtyard with a coffeeshouse in the centre (Fig.57, Fig.82.1-a). This business building did have access to a landing stage on the waterfront. The fortifications in front of Yeni Camii, which in the former periods were sided by shops, were first covered by masonry buildings, then in parts the wall was replaced by new constructions. In the first photographs, the gate of Yeni Camii is clearly seen, then by 1890s it disappears, probably with sections of the wall as well. The process of the demolition of the fortifications was mentioned above. It can be here noted that the demolition did not create a change in the fabric, new ones replaced the buildings attached to the wall and thus the line of the wall as well as its height was preserved till 1930s. When the *Selanik Bonmarse* a building in the “oriental style” was built in the early 1900s, the corner tower of it was reaching the height of the semidomes of Yeni Camii (Fig.57). By the *Selanik Bonmarse* started the old Wall Street to Bahçekapı; the Gate was

⁴⁹ For the plans of Boudin for a new Galata Bridge and new wharfs on both sides of Haliç, see, Çelik (1997: 71-75).

also demolished by late 19th century. The Eminonu square was defined by the Customs on the eastern side; one storeyed barracks used as shops stood between the two.

The contrast between the Galata side, which was reformed with western style buildings, and the Historical Peninsula, which retained its traditional structures, is a general remark made for the physiognomy of the 19th century İstanbul. However, the Eminönü Square connected to Galata by a bridge and the sections of the Extra-mural Zone extending on the two sides of the Square form an exception to this general conception. The contrast between the waterfront and the slopes of the Historical Peninsula is evident in the panoramic photographs taken by late 19th and early 20th century (Fig.59-60). The multi-colours of the 19th century İstanbul did not only inter-mingled on the Galata Bridge as de Amicis had noted, it was also the condition of the Eminönü Square and its environs. As the patterns of trade had changed so did the image of the Extra-mural Zone from Eminönü to Odunkapı. Even de Amicis did state that “a hundred thousand people pass between Eminonu and Galata in one day, however not an idea passes over it in the time of decades”⁵¹, this was an exaggeration of the contrast between Galata and Eminönü. In fact, the building style of the West had passed over the Galata Bridge to Eminönü and the sections of Extra-mural Zone around the Square.

The Ayvansaray Bridge:

A short-lived wooden bridge between Ayvansaray and Piri Pasha of the middle 19th century constitute the only Ottoman bridge on Haliç constructed as a private enterprise. In most of the sources on Haliç Bridges, this is mentioned as the Jewish Bridge built by Migirdic Cezayirliyan in 1863, which was burnt by the boatmen after ten days of its dedication. Kahya and Tanyeli states that this bridge should be dated to an earlier period as it is seen in the photographs of Robertson of 1853-54 and was mentioned by T. Gauttier in 1852.⁵² They state that the Journal de Constantinople dated 19 February 1852 mentions the construction. The bridge was between Ayvansaray and Hasköy. It was built on wooden pontoons and was 380 meters in length, 8 meters in width. The engineer was Vassil Janide and rails separated the pedestrian ways of the bridge. As, the bridge is not depicted in the Stolpe map of 1868, it should have disappeared before this depiction.

⁵⁰ Can (1999:132).

⁵¹ Amicis (1993: 21-31), translation from Turkish by the author.

6.2.4. Construction of Modern Docks: Sirkeci-Eminönü

In this part, the harbour development projects and the construction of the modern docks in İstanbul by the 19th and early 20th century will be represented with their impacts on the Extra-mural Zone, specifically at the section between Eminönü and Sirkeci.

The invention of the steamboats and the construction of great steel ships radically developed maritime communications in the 19th century as well as creating new spatial demands on the maritime cities.⁵³ With increasing international trade relations, the construction of railways, which united greater hinterlands to the port cities, and the increase in the size of the ships, the harbour zones had to be improved. There emerged the necessity for extensive wharfs, entrepôts, quarantine stations, customs and sufficient land communications. The first examples of a modern working harbour with great capacities were executed in Europe; London Docklands, and the modernisation of Hamburg and Marseilles harbours can be noted.⁵⁴ The increasing foreign involvement in the economy and the maritime transportation of the Ottoman Empire brought a similar transformation trend in major Ottoman port cities. A French firm modernised the quays of İzmir between 1867-1875 and increased the port capacity to 3245 meters. Likewise Selanik extended its harbour by the demolition of the fortifications and construction of stone quays.⁵⁵

By 1832, İstanbul was the fourth port city in the number of ships visiting the harbour after London, Liverpool and Marseilles. By 1887 it became second after Liverpool.⁵⁶ Fifteen foreign and three native shipping firms were active in İstanbul by 1870s; six of these were British. İstanbul was not an export harbour like İzmir and Selanik but most of the great tonnage entering its harbour was for the needs of its increasing population. After mid 19th century it began to function as a transit harbour for the Black Sea. The first steamer to visit

⁵² Kahya& Tanyeli. "Ayvansaray Köprüleri", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (vol. I:495-496).

⁵³ Steamships were introduced by experiments in river transportation in France and England by the late 18th century. Clermont of R. Fulton, which worked on the Hudson River, was the first steamer. In Europe Comet of J. Wood began cruises between Glasgow and Greenock by 1812. These were steamers were of wooden skeleton. In 1821-1822, the first steel stem ships were constructed in England. The first steamers had also sails; it was by 1835-1840s that ships that only worked with steam powers were widespread. Müller-Wiener (1998).

⁵⁴ In London docklands were constructed starting by late 18th century, in late century it reached a capacity of fifty kilometres wharfage; Hamburg port was transformed by the mid 19th century from a traditional river port to a modern port with mechanical cranes which had a capacity of nineteen kilometres wharfage by 1900s; Marseilles in Mediterranean achieved a twenty kilometres wharfage capacity.

⁵⁵ For the modernisation of the Ottoman maritime cities see, Keyder and Quataert (1994).

⁵⁶ Müller-Wiener (1998:132).

Istanbul was “Swift”; it was presented to Mahmud II and given the name *Sur`at*. Throughout the 19th century the proportion of the number of the steamer to sailboats increased. The sailboats can be seen in the photographs of 1870s; by late century steamers facilitated most of the maritime traffic.

İstanbul, the second greatest harbour in the world by 1880s, did not have any modern docks; big ships were mooring in front of Galata Bridge and smaller vessels transferred the loads to the shore. The complaints of the foreign navigators for the congestion of the harbour and the services were officially subjected to the Ottoman State in the Paris Congress after Crimean War in 1856.

In fact, the modernisation of Istanbul docks was in agenda till 1840s.⁵⁷ In 1847 part of Galata pier collapsed because of extra weight and after this event Sultan Abdülmecid assigned Fossati Brothers for the planning new quays.⁵⁸ The project proposed the construction of stone quays with 34 meters width on the two sides of Haliç with a total wharfage capacity of 6000 meters.⁵⁹ However, this project was not realised. Meanwhile, the construction of the Second Bridge on Haliç had decreased wharfage capacity. In addition to this the use of steamers in Bosphorus and Haliç had increased the traffic in the harbour. After Fossati Brothers, it was E.H. Gavand (the engineer of the metro tunnel in Galata) who designed a project for the Istanbul harbour. His proposal was concerned with the construction of a new harbour at the place of the former Theodosian port on the Marmara shore.⁶⁰

Till 1870s there was only two Stocks Customs in Istanbul; one was in Eminönü, the other was in Galata. The number of entrepots was increased to eight till 1882. In Sirkeci was the traditional lumber and stock customs. The wharf in front of the Sirkeci customs, which sank in 1871, was repaired by soil infill. In the photographs of 1880s the one storeyed entrepots

⁵⁷ It was by 1846 that Istanbul had a definite “Harbour Legislation”. This Legislation also formed the basis for the rules in other Ottoman ports. It declared that the Ottoman State was responsible for the adequate signalling on its shoreline, for the provisioning of the ships, for the determination of specific areas for wharfage. In return the navigators had to take care for the cleansing of ports, they had to reside in their ships one hour after the sunset. In case of fire they were to help the port authorities. The Port Authority would check the ships at the entrance of the port and list the passengers and the loads. Müller-Wiener (1998:104).

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp. 105-106.

⁵⁹ The total distance of the whole Galata waterfront and from Yalı Kiosk to Unkapanı is four kilometres. Thus the plan envisaged the extension of the quays whether on the Bosphorus or to Balat. The total capacity of stone quays at Haliç and Galata never reached this measure.

⁶⁰ Müller-Wiener (1988:137).

are visible (Fig.50.1-2). In addition there was a multi-storeyed entrepot by Hidayet Cami; that can be also seen from Eminönü Square (Fig.57).

Finally it was Marius Mitchel who was given the privilege to build and run the modern wharfs of Istanbul and founded "Istanbul Wharfs, Docks and Entrepots Company".⁶¹ The shores of the natural harbour Haliç were very deep and there were problems due to sedimentation and currents. So Marius Mitchel had difficulties in financing his project and the protocol could be signed in 1890, fifteen years after the foundation of company. The protocol stated that the construction should start in two years time and the wharfs till Galata Bridge on two sides of Haliç should have been completed in ten years time. The wharfs between Galata and Unkapanı Bridges would be completed at the fourteenth year. The company would build the custom offices, entrepots, quarantine stations and harbour offices. The State was responsible to present the existing buildings on the project area with their land to the Company. The infill land would be the property of the Company. After forty years the State had the right to take over the harbour area by paying for the compensations. The Galata wharf was constructed between 1892 and 1895; Eminonu side was more problematic.

The construction area in Eminönü, which was called İstanbul Customs, was between Sirkeci pier and Galata Bridge. This was the area of the Byzantine Neorion harbour. The 1894 earthquake stopped the constructions. The stone quays, which were built as extensive infill of rocks, collapsed in 1896; 214 artificial blocks and 55 000-m³ infill was wasted. In the same year the Company began the construction from start but the new construction also sank into water. The problems were the result of 50 meters of clay and twenty meters of mud on the rock layer at 65 meters deep. The Company managed to construct the quay by 1898 after new ground tests and calculations. Istanbul wharf was opened partially in 1898. When it was altogether completed in 1900, the total wharf in Istanbul side was 370 meters. The Docks were built but the services buildings and entrepots were not completed (Fig.66.3, the wharf before the construction of buildings). The ships boarded the Istanbul wharf from front and its capacity was twelve ships.⁶²

The major difficulty in the construction of the buildings on Istanbul Wharf was the city traffic around Sirkeci and Eminönü. In the original contract it was stated that the Galata Bridge would be transported to some distance to west. This was not realised and in 1905 the

⁶¹ The main source for the construction of new İstanbul and Galata wharfs is, Bilge (1949).

⁶² The report of C. Leroche, 1930, after Bilge (1949:116).

Company wanted from the State some parts of Eminönü Square. As this was not given, the Company decided to construct the entrepots at the back of the Customs. This was the former Ottoman Extra-mural Zone before the infill of wharfs where Hidayet Mosque and the entrepots of 1870s existed. The Company needed a street parallel to the Customs in order to communicate with the entrepots at the back. Between the Customs and the plots of entrepots a street called Reşadiye of 12-m width was opened (Fig.67, Fig.68.1). This would be in the use of the Company against smuggling. In 1913 the final agreement was reached: the Company would leave 706 m² of Eminönü Square to municipality; the Company would build the entrepots at the site of the old entrepots; the rest of the Eminonu square to east of Galata Bridge would be given to the Company.⁶³

The Goad map of 1905 shows Istanbul Wharf before any buildings were built on it. Later in 1909 the company completed the main Customs building called *Rüsūmat Dairesi*. This building had a 14436-m² floor area, 7000-m² was added to this in few years (Fig 53.1, Fig 69.1). Before the addition of the entrepots on the two sides of the building and the annexes built in front of it, *Rüsūmat Dairesi* was a very impressive building. At an eleven meters distance to the quay wall, it was a masonry building with a neo-classical façade. The waterfront façade was of two stories with a tripartite symmetrical arrangement. A small ornate pediment on the cornice marked the entrance in the middle while triangular pediments accentuated the corners. Arched windows pierced the lower floor at regular intervals. The upper storey windows followed the same pattern, they were large rectangular openings. The entrance in the middle was from a low arch there were also gates next to corners. The central space behind this façade, where the upper floor was reserved for custom and port offices, was a four storey high inner space. This space was roofed by steel trusses and from the exterior it rise over the waterfront façade as a mansard roof with circular windows. Between the offices and the roof were clerestory windows, which illuminated the monumental interior. It is evident that *Rüsūmat Dairesi* was not only a functional building but was also a façade symbolising one of the entrances to Istanbul. Unfortunately already in the Ottoman times this image was shadowed by one storeyed barracks and overhangs build in front of the façade (Fig.53.2).

The multi-storeyed entrepots at the back of the Customs were to be seven buildings but the first one was not build. These were built on radio-general foundations and were of five storeys. Four of them were placed till Hidayet Mosque. The fifth was built on the other side

⁶³ Ibid.p. 21.

of the Mosque while the sixth was the old entrepot build in 1880s. These buildings were built in rows and completely covered the former line of the fortifications. The constructions of Istanbul Wharf, Docks and Entrepots Company as a closed customs Zone acted as a boundary structure between Sirkeci and Eminonu till the destruction of the quayside buildings in 1960s. This point which was selected by Mehmet II as the Great Customs of Istanbul without major extensions functioned for the same purpose after the late 19th century modernisation of the harbour.

The project for the modernisation of the harbour section between Galata and Unkapanı Bridges, which was included in the privilege area of the Company, was never executed. There are several reasons. First although the company asked for the prohibition of the buildings on the area for its use, this was not realised. The Company for its part was thinking that the construction of new wharfs in this area was not efficient. In mutual agreement the part of the contract for this section was delayed. In times when the capacity of the wharfs was not enough the Company used entrepots in other sections of Haliç. There was one entrepot of 2400m² in Ayvansaray; two in Fener by total storage capacity of 2600 m².⁶⁴

6.2.5. Steamers and Ferry Stations:

One of the most successful achievements of the urban reformations in Istanbul was the modernisation of the inter-sectoral maritime transportation. The traditional transportation system of Ottoman Istanbul was rowboats and they serviced well till the middle 19th century. It was by 1850s that steamers began to be used in the inter-sectoral traffic of the city. The number of people inhabiting Bosphorus villages had increased after the 18th century and the introduction of a faster means of communication in İstanbul was a profitable. The foundation of ferry companies for inner city traffic increased the urban flows. In most of the former landing stages ferry terminals were built. In this part the steamer traffic of Istanbul and the ferry terminals as a new typology will be introduced as a transformative factor for the classical boundary structures of the Extra-mural Zone. The topic is two-fold: the trans-Bosphorus ferries and Haliç ferries; both had different impacts.

The forerunner in the introduction of the steamers as ferries in Istanbul was the Ottoman State. *Eser-i Hayır* was the first steamer that was used for the communication between Istanbul and Bosphorus villages; it started excursions by morning and evening till Büyükdere

⁶⁴ Bilge (1949:).

in 1844.⁶⁵ The first steamer between Tophane and Üsküdar was put into schedule by 1845. The foreign steamers tried to enter the ferry business although the use of foreign ships was forbidden for small navigation. In 1850 the steamer named *Peyk-i Sefer* started on the Adalar and Yeşilköy lines. In the same year the inner city Ferry Company called *Sirket-i Hayriye* was founded; this was the first joint-stock company in the Ottoman Empire. Members of the Imperial family and the big bureaucrats were shareholders. The steamers were bought from Britain and new ferry terminals were built at the former landing stages. By the declaration of the government in 1852, to work steamers as ferries in Istanbul was forbidden and *Şirket-i Hayriye* had the monopoly of inner city maritime transportation. By 1870 eleven steamers were working between Istanbul and Bosphorus; the number of the steamers increased to thirty-four by 1872. After 1868 vehicle ferries between Sirkeci and Salacak were started. The central terminal of the urban ferries working to Bosphorus was Galata Bridge itself. As the two sides of Haliç till the Galata Bridge were occupied by Customs, this was a practical solution. Nevertheless the bridge as a pier functioned for the both sides of the inlet.

The ferries, which worked in Haliç, were belonging to a separate company. It was by 1855 that Ahmed Fethi Pasha had founded the first Haliç Ferry Company formed of steamships; it was called *Halic-i Dersaadet Sirket-i Hayriyesi*.⁶⁶ At this stage the company had three side-wheeled steamers. The first itinerary was between Eyüp and Hasköy. Not lately excursions were formed between the Galata Bridge and Eyüp. Boatmen did reacted to their new rivals. They cut the rods of the ships, cut their ways. The company had ten steamers by 1881 and changed hands for several times. At the time, the Company succeeded to delay the plans for the establishment of a horsed tramway line between Eminonu and Eyüp as it was a rival for its share. The original firm changed hands in 1909 by a Company called Haliç that was run by Italian entrepreneurs. The Haliç Ferry Company was not a great success as were the Bosphorus ferries. The boats were still working on Haliç till the 1920s in extensive numbers, although the swift *peremes* where replaced by shallow *sandals* (Fig.54.2).

The ferry terminals in Haliç were built at the former landing stages of the classical Ottoman period. Unlike the wooden jetties of rowboats, the new ferry terminals were wooden buildings with closed and open sections under one roof, which were built on wooden piles. The western side of Galata Bridge was reserved for Haliç ferries. There were ferry terminals

⁶⁵ For the Bosphorus steamers and the ferry companies, see, Çelik (1993); Tütel (1998).

⁶⁶ For the Haliç steamers and Haliç ferry companies, see, Tütel (2000).

at Yemiş or Hal station (corresponding to Zindankapı), Cibali, Ayakapı, Fener, Balat and Ayvansaray. No stations were built for Odunkapı, Ayazma Gate, and Unkapı.

The first ferry station at Yemiş- Zindankapı was a very special building with three eaves and a central room on the second storey. As seen in the photographs of 1870s, it was white washed and ornate with three arched passages (Fig.59.1-b). Later by the beginning of the 20th century, it was replaced by an ordinary station: a single storeyed building of naked wood with colonnades around the deck (Fig.60). Of the Ottoman Haliç ferry stations three are preserved Fener, Balat and Ayvansaray; they were built by 1910s and restored several times (Fig.82-11, 14). These are buildings with small waiting rooms and ticket office. In Istanbul some of the ferry station were incorporated with other functions like coffeehouses or casinos. Except with the old Yemiş station, Haliç piers did not have these facilities. However, the public squares at the back of the ferry stations were filled with this kind of amenities. In Fener and Balat there were taverns on the waterfront squares.

The ferries did not create new landing points within the Extra-mural Zone. The former public squares and the Galata Bridge were used. This was related with the communication patterns between the inside and outside of the city, which was still dominated by the trace of the walls and the gates as the main places of passage. The ferries modernised the maritime communications in İstanbul as being faster and with larger capacity; however, they did not create new terminals. Unlike the Bosphorus, the rowboats were still in use in Haliç, either for public transportation or for the port functions like the importation of the goods from big ships.

6.2.6. Railway Replacing the Wall and a New Terminal

The modern transport technologies, both land and sea, generally were foreign enterprises, capitalised in Europe and built by Western engineers. There are exceptions of this generalisation, but the emergence of steam technology meant increased foreign involvement in the Ottoman economy...On balance, modern transport probably worked against Ottoman industry as it evolved during the period (1812-1914).⁶⁷

The completion of Dolmabahçe Palace in 1856 marks the final stage for the increasing preference of Ottoman Court to reside on the Bosphorus. By the time of Abdülmecid the Topkapı Palace on the first hill of the Historical Peninsula emerged as a symbolic ceremonial centre. When the first railway lines were laid on the Historical Peninsula it was by the will of

⁶⁷ Quataert (1994: 798).

Abdulaziz that they passed through the gardens of the Topkapı Palace and reached Sirkeci, the former Palace foreshore. Some structures of the Palace and some sections of the fortifications were demolished. Especially the section from Sepetçiler Kiosk to Sirkeci had been radically transformed. The railway terminal of Istanbul was constructed, here, between the Palace Garden and Customs. In this part, the impacts of the railway on the general structure of the Extra-mural Zone will be studied and the transformation of the Classical Topkapı Palace foreshore in particular.

Compared to the fast spread of railways in Europe and America by the first half of the 19th century, “the Ottoman Empire came late to the railroad age”.⁶⁸ By 1850, there was not a single track laid anywhere on the Ottoman territory. The railways came to the agenda of the Ottoman State by 1854; the first railway on the Ottoman territory was built between İzmir and Aydın by a concession given to a British firm; it was completed in 1860. As railways and trains were a new and alien technology, the foreign capital and labour played major role in the construction of Ottoman railroads.⁶⁹

The first railway to Istanbul was projected in the time of Abdulaziz as a track connecting the capital to Edirne and Europe by the way of Balkans. The construction concession was given to the Belgian banker Baron Hirsch in 1869; the train came to Sirkeci in 1871. By 1888 İstanbul was connected to the European railway network. In 1873, the first section of a railway network uniting İstanbul with Anatolia were laid between Haydarpaşa and İzmit. The concession of Baron Hirsch also included the suburban trains between Halkalı and Sirkeci, which began operating by 1888.⁷⁰

As pointed in the previous chapter, the classical Ottoman Topkapı Palace foreshore extended towards the customs at Bahçekapı, as a wharf specific to the Court. At the same time some of the land on the Extra-mural Zone at this section was belonging to pious foundations of the Ottoman family. Before the interventions made for the construction of the railway, the area was already in the process of change. The waterfront palace at the tip of the Promontory had burned by the early 19th century and was never rebuilt. By 1855, a factory for the production

⁶⁸ Ibid. 804-809.

⁶⁹ The State used two methods of financing. In the first it raised funds for the foreign contractors or made the construction itself. In the second the State gave concessions to the investors. A recent study on the relation of railway construction in the Ottoman Empire and international politics is B. Can (2000). Can points to the fact that while the Ottoman State was thinking of the railways as a device for the centralisation, for the foreign investors it was a means of transit access to the resources of the Empire.

of steam engines was founded near Yalı Kiosk (Fig.72).⁷¹ The great fire of Hocapaşa in 1865 had swept away the whole intra-mural fabric from the walls of Topkapı Palace to Eminönü (Fig.49).⁷² The project for the modernisation of Istanbul harbour was in agenda since the Paris Congress 1856. Marius Michel made the final agreement for the concession of the docks at Sirkeci in 1876. The railway had to be in connection with the harbour and customs; the Sirkeci connection was inevitable. Hocapaşa fire had opened wasteland for the construction of the railway station and the demolition of the fortifications at this section provided extra area.

After the Hocapaşa fire a main street called Aziziye was opened from Sirkeci pier to Divanyolu. This street would also mark the end point for the railway Zone. The railway till this area was acting as a demarcation Zone between the inner city and the waterfront (Fig.65.1-a). As there was no road build around Topkapı Palace till 1960s, the Palace foreshore as a separate section of the Extra-mural area preserved its character as a specific railway Zone. The radical change was the flows facilitated by the railway to the Sirkeci terminal. This point, which was a *coul de suc* in the classical Ottoman Capital, it turned into a city terminal both acting for international, national and suburban flows.

The railway station of Istanbul called Sirkeci was completed in 1890. It was a design of the German architect A. Jasmund. Sirkeci railway station, which is still in use in contemporary city, is a long building parallel to the railway tracks. Originally it was designed as a façade oriented to the waterfront. The passengers leaving the terminal were witnessing the entrance of Haliç and Galata. The building itself was visible from the waterfront.⁷³ Jasmund had designed the façade in the New Islamic Style. The order and the symmetry were neo-classical but it was embellished by Memlucid and North African features. This style was suitable for the last terminal of the Orient Express and the image of Istanbul in the eyes of Westerners. As Z. Çelik points Jasmund's Islamic style had nothing to do with the Islamic heritage of Istanbul; in this respect it was a new and foreign element.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Çelik (1993).

⁷¹ The foundation of state-run factories on imperial property is a generic feature of the 19th century Istanbul; that will be mentioned in the next part.

⁷² Çelik (1993).

⁷³ An additional building for the suburban trains was later built which faces Aziziye Avenue. For most of the citizens of Istanbul, the interior of Jasmund's building is an unvisited space. Y. Salman "Sirkeci Garı", in, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (vol. VII).

⁷⁴ Çelik (1993: 144-146).

When the İstanbul Harbour Zone was completed as an enclosed waterfront area between Sirkeci and Eminönü, the Sirkeci quay at the end of Aziziye Avenue turned into the only point of public access to the waterfront. On its east the railway, on its west the customs enclosed the former Extra-mural Zone. In this respect the Sirkeci pier became a gate between horizontal demarcation lines replacing the fortifications. The connection of the railway station with Eminönü Square and Galata Bridge was achieved by the streets at the back of the customs, which followed the curve of the former fortifications. It can be said that the flows of masses that the railway brought from abroad and from suburbs did add to the already congested traffic of the area till Eminönü. Until 1950s the modern structures like the railway and harbour zone did acted like the wall and Extra-mural Zone which they had replaced. The Railway Station became an intra-mural gate into the city fabric, which was still demarcated from its waterfront by extensive zones replacing the fortifications.

6.2.7. Industrial Facilities and Depots on the Former Waterfront Mansions:

Unkapani-Ayvansaray

The emergence of industrial facilities on the harbour regions related with railway connections is a generic feature of the maritime cities in the 19th century. The industrial facilities within İstanbul's harbour Haliç was placed at the "interior harbour", from the Unkapani Bridge to the depths of the inlet. The site-selection of the Ottoman industry within the harbour transformed the Extra-mural Zone between Unkapani and Ayvansaray; this part is on the transformation of the residential sector of the Classical Extra-mural Zone with functions related with industry and harbour. Until the middle 19th century, the section of the Extra-mural Zone between Unkapani and Ayvansaray was indirectly related with the harbour functions of the city; it was an area where the neighbourhoods of Jews and Greeks, who were related with maritime trade and tax-farming, were situated. Beginning by the 19th century, the wealthy inhabitants of the Extra-mural Zone, specifically Phanariots moved to Galata and the Bosphorus villages. However, the properties were retained and the area was transformed by the increase in the harbour traffic and the introduction of the industrial facilities within the depths of Haliç; this process continued well in the beginning of the 20th century.

For Ottoman Empire and Istanbul the introduction of new technologies into the industrial sector began after the second half of the 19th century with acceleration towards the beginning of the 20th century. The development and means of industrial development in the Empire is related with the channels by which industrial technology was introduced. Tekeli and Ilkin note these channels as: the government initiative for the industries related with military and

the palace; small manufacturers providing basic processing for agricultural products; the industries developed on the traditional cottage industries and petty manufacturing; machinery manufacturing, repair and maintenance facilities.⁷⁵

Here, the transformation of the Unkapanı-Ayvansaray section of the Extra-mural Zone into a harbour area occupied with factories and private and state depots will be studied in reference to the maps produced in the late 19th and early 20th century. The Goad map of 1905 depicts this transformation for the Unkapanı- Ayakapı segment. For the rest of the Extra-mural Zone, the Pervitch maps of 1929 are taken here as a source although it postdates the Ottoman period. The reasons for this are that the Ottoman capital till 1930s was in a process of change where the patterns of the earlier decades were still dominant. The introduction of industrial plants and depots on the Extra-mural Zone between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray was not a total transformation; at some sections the former residential properties were preserved. The intensity decreases from Unkapanı to Ayvansaray. This was a development pointing to the total transformation of the Extra-mural Zone into a harbour zone.

One of the first victims of the industrialisation on the Extra-mural Zone was its eastern *terminus*, Yalı Kiosk; it was demolished by the construction of the steam engine factory of *Idare-i Mahsusa* in 1850. *Idare-i Mahsusa* was the state-run Steamer Company, which was founded by Sultan Abdülmecid in 1844-45 with the name *Hazine-i Hassa Vapurlari Idaresi*. A factory for the construction and repair of steam engines for the this steamer company was built to the left of Yalı Kiosk on imperial property, in front of the fortifications at this section. Yalı Kiosk and the Factory are visible side by side in the photographs of 1851 (Fig.48).⁷⁶ When the factory was enlarged the Yalı Kiosk was demolished. The factory itself

⁷⁵ Tekeli& Ilkin. (1996: 195-234) The introduction of steam engine is crucial in the development of industry. The industry in Istanbul, and the Empire, can be analysed in two parts as before and after the steam power. The Azadlı water-mill in Küçükçekmece of 1795, gunpowder station in Yeşilköy in the same decade, paper and cloth mills in Beykoz of 1805 are the predecessors of the Ottoman state-run industries prior to steam engine. The demands of the new army founded after the abolition of Janissary Corps accelerated the state-run industries. *Dikimhane-i Amire*, a workshop for the production of army uniforms in 1827 was followed by factories in Üsküdar and Defterdar. It was by 1843 that the fez factory in Defterdar was equipped with steam engines. The first steam wheel built in the Great Arsenal in 1832 by an Armenian called Bagdassar. It was by 1850 and 1857 that the first wheat mills were founded in Istanbul. The industrial complex in Zeytinburnu founded between 1845 and 1847 was one of the most important industrial achievements of the *Tanzimat* period. After the 1850s Ottoman State did not establish any major plant with the exception of Yıldız and Paşabahçe factories.

⁷⁶ James Robertson (1813-1888) was a painter who worked for the Imperial Mint in Istanbul between 1840-1881. He started taking photographs of Istanbul after 1850; he was assisted by F. Beato. The first Istanbul they published was printed in 1853 with the title 'Photographic Views of

was demolished as part of the railway construction around Sirkeci.⁷⁷ As, it is depicted in the map of 1875-1882, it should have been existing after the demolition of the walls by 1871; probably the factory was destructed at the second stage of construction, when Sirkeci Train station was built (Fig.65.1-a). From former Yalı Kiosk to Unkapanı the Extra-mural Zone was still used as the harbour and custom area, there were no industrial facilities within this section. Few petty manufacturing could have existed between Eminönü and Odunkapı, which was mainly the exchange area for fruits and vegetables. There were traditional building industries between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate.

The dominating industrial structure in Unkapanı, at the intra-mural sector was the state-run Flour Mills. Its high chimneys and white masonry buildings are seen in the photographs after 1870s. The construction of modern flour factories did effected the traditional system on Unkapanı Extra-mural Zone where formerly grain was distributed to bakeries and small scale mills from the Flour Exchange. The building of Flour Exchange near Subaşı Süleyman Mosque was preserved but its function changed first to the depot of the military flour mills as named in Goad map, 1905 (Fig.59.3-a, Fig.66.4). Then the property passed to the Ottoman Bank and functioned as its depot till the demolition of the Flour Exchange building with the Subaşı Süleyman Mosque at the construction of Atatürk Bridge in 1930 (Fig.68.2).

The section between Unkapanı and Cibali was transformed into a zone of private entrepots from 1870s to early 1900s. In a photograph of 1878 the left of Unkapanı Bridge there were still houses, where near Cibali Gate pitched entrepots in rows are seen (Fig.59.3-b,c). The transformation of the area to a zone of depots was accentuated by the construction of the greatest industrial factory on the historical peninsula, Cibali Tobacco Factory. The traditional Tobacco Exchange in Istanbul was between Bahçekapı and Zindankapı on the Extra-mural Zone, which probably functioned since the last quarter of the 19th century. Tobacco was an important agricultural product of the Empire; the State tried to have a monopoly on its export throughout the first three-quarters of the 19th century. By 1876, in return of the state debts the monopoly of tobacco is sold to two bankers, Zafiri and Hristaki Zografos. In 1880 the tobacco monopoly was turned over to the international organisation of Ottoman State debts, *Düyun-u Umumiye*. For increasing the revenues of tobacco, the rights of the cultivation and cigarette production was given to a foreign firm called *Reji İdaresi* was founded in 1882, the major shareholder of which was the Ottoman Bank. It was after this date that a building for

Constantinople'. The photograph mentioned in the text is from this first album. See, E. Özendeş. "James Robertson", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol: VI: 338-339).

the storage of tobacco was built adjacent to the interior of fortifications in Cibali. After 1900 with the addition of new buildings a cigarette factory was added to the complex.⁷⁸ The depots seen in the 1878 photographs were taken over to the factory, which formed the extension of the complex on the Extra-mural Zone.

The Goad map notes the depot of Lloyd-Austria Company (one of the major maritime companies in Istanbul), a mill depot, the factory and depots of Foscolo Mango Mills, depots of Tantavizade and Basiliadis from Unkapanı Bridge to the entrepots of Cibali Factory. From here to Cibali waterfront square there were depots of building materials. Around and on the Cibali Square there was a small section formed of retained houses. The wall side was filled with stores and depots in rows. The street between the entrepots filling the waterfront and along-wall buildings called Cibali Avenue had been widened. The section between Unkapanı and Cibali is one of the most radically transformed sectors of the Extra-mural Zone by the 1900s. In the 1878 photograph the area is seen before this transformation. With the exception of the empty section before depots of Cibali Factory, which probably coincides to former Tüfenkhane Square the waterfront, houses of Jews had given way to depots and factories in rows. The quays at this section were rebuilt of masonry probably with an amount of infill which is evident by a comparison with the 1878's image.

Half of the section between Cibali and Ayakapı was occupied with a flour factory and its depots. Called as the Moulin Corporation, this complex of buildings dominated the area. A chimney is seen in 1878 photo while by 1900s a new building with four storeys emerged as the main factory (Fig.59.4-a). Only one Phanariot house was preserved in front of the factory by 1905. The placement of the building as a projection to the street pointed to the original scale of the along Wall Street at this section. This building is still existing on the refuge between the two lanes of car traffic (Fig.82-8). The buildings of Moulin Corporation inhabited the area at least till 1929, as seen in the Pervititch maps. The complex had its stone quays.⁷⁹ From the Moulin Corporation to Ayakapı Waterfront Square there were houses in rows with narrow and long waterfront gardens till the Greek School across St Nicholas Church before Ayakapı. These houses in rows should have been constructed in the 19th century in place of older structures as their placement on the enlarged Wall Street points to.

⁷⁷ Müller-Wiener (1998: 163).

⁷⁸ For the Cibali factory and the tobacco trade in İstanbul, see, Alioglu& Alper (1998: 40-48).

⁷⁹ Some parts of these quays had probably sank as the municipality map of 2001 shows the waterfront inside the dotted line of the former buildings.

The wall side between Cibali Gate and Ayakapı were occupied with houses and shops till the Church of St Nicholas.

From Ayakapı Square to the Yeni Ayakapı landing which opened to a narrow street (as it was in the early periods) there were houses with waterfront gardens. The Pervititch map notes a mill and a depot between these (Fig. 68.3). In a photograph of late 1890s the shore between Yeni Ayakapı and Fener is shown with houses on the waterfront or with waterfront gardens (Fig.61). The photographs of the Wall Street in Fener depict the rows of Phanariot houses in situ. By 1929 most of the buildings have disappeared, empty plots are noted. The process of demolition here depends on the immigration of the non-muslim citizens before or after the foundation of the Republic; however it is for certain that few industrial facilities were built in this section of the Extra-mural Zone before 1929.

The area between Fener and Balat was transformed by the incorporation of some warehouses and depots by the beginning of the 1900s. Right to the row houses defining the western limits of Fener waterfront square, the industrial facilities started. On the plots of some former Phanariot houses were repair-shops, depots and ateliers. Some area of the long and thin warehouses in rows was gained by infill, as the shoreline is different from the 1875-1880 map. These buildings are shown also shown in the 1918 municipality guide in the colour of the imperial property or State factories (Fig.67). It was noted above that Istanbul Wharfs, Docks and Entrepots Company did have extra entrepots in Fener and Balat. The ones in Fener can be these buildings to the west of Fener Cape. These are noted in Pervititch map as the depots Ottoman Bank, and firms of Çukurova, Cihan. These with empty plots continued till the Bulgarian Church. At the time when this Church was built with its stone quay by the end of 1800s the area was still dominated by houses with waterfront gardens (Fig.61). This picture changed by early decade of the 20th century, some of the houses were erased and at places warehouses were built. On the small cape of Arslan landing stage before Tur-i Sina Church there was a workshop with depot.

The Balat cape is tipped with the two rows of warehouses, which can be the entrepots Wharf Company. Between Balat and Ayvansaray on the former fabric with streets opening to the waterfront was effected from the fire of 1912 and few houses are left in this area till Jewish Orhaim Hospital built in late 19th century. This area was filled after the 1934 where stone quays were built. The property of Süreyya Pasha and a Carbonate factory was noted in

Pervitich. In Ayvansaray cape where the traditional shipyards existed was the atelier of Municipal steamers; this occupied the tip of the cape.

It can be concluded that especially after 1880s the Extra-mural fabric from Cibali to Ayvansaray was partially transformed with industrial functions and depots. However, the pattern of the waterfront mensions, which were forming uninterrupted rows between gates, was preserved. The property patterns seems to be influential in this continuation. Probably, the inhabitants of the Extra-mural Zone sold their properties and on these long and narrow parcels industrial facilities and depots were built even before the Prost plan of 1937 which notes the area for the development of small industry. In the places of the houses enclosing the waterfront as a second line of fortifications, depots and industrial facilities were placed within same morphological patterns. The major change was that the property lots were further extended by infill. At some places the depots are inter-related with intra-mural sectors, like Unkapanı and Cibali. But generally, the new functions formed a line of production and storage that was not related with inner-city functions. Thus, the relational pattern between the Extra-mural residential neighbourhoods and the intra-mural neighbourhoods was erased. The waterfront emerged as a continuous harbour and small manufacturing zone, which was related with the city via the narrow Wall Street. This late Ottoman transformation would be completed in the Republican Period.

6.2.8. Modern Structures on Former Insular Pattern:

From Galata Bridge to Odunkapı

It was pointed in the former chapter, that there was a dense urban fabric between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı, which was either pierced by traverse streets opening to the waterfront or by several streets forming an insular pattern. There are evidences to speculate that this pattern is originally from the Byzantine period⁸⁰. 1847 map depicts schematically twenty streets perpendicular to the waterfront and the number of streets parallel to the fortifications changes from one to four (Fig.63.2-a,b). Map of 1875-82 shows twenty perpendicular streets and one to five streets parallel to the sea wall (Fig.65.1.-a,b). The same evidence is given in smaller scale in Goad map of 1905 and Pervitich 1940 (Fig.66.1, 68.1). There seems to be continuity in the morphological patterns in plan, which points to the boundary structures at this section of the Extra-mural Zone. When the use pattern is considered there is also continuity between the earlier periods and the 19th and early 20th century. This was the area

⁸⁰ See chapter, 4.

of fruit, vegetable, fish and cereal exchanges; even after when the economic patterns of exchange had changed. Nevertheless, the area between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı gates was radically transformed after mid 19th century when the building types, materials, styles are considered. First two to three storeyed masonry buildings were built on the existing building blocks; then newer structures up to five stories were built here and there. When photographs taken from the Galata Tower between 1870s and 1920s are compared it is evident that the construction of new structures continued till the end of the Empire. In this part the transformation of the Extra-mural Zone between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı will be depicted in detail.

The transformation of the Extra-mural Zone between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı was realised by the initiative of the property holders within or without the building legislations, which were declared after 1850s. No tramway lines did passed from the area within the Late Ottoman period; it was projected but was never realised. The urban fabric that had emerged within the confines of a pedestrian network was not transformed radically for the vehicle traffic within the Late Ottoman Period. Although streets could have been extended this was limited. There was no attempt to modify the streets in a hierarchical order; even the Wall Street where all these streets opened was not different in width from the rest. In fact, the transformation of the area and the waterfront was in agenda of the State after 1875 when the Istanbul Wharfs, Docks and Entrepots Company were first projected. The Zone between the two Galata Bridges was in the project area of the Company when it began operation after 1890. It was the responsibility of the State to expropriate the area and give it to the use of the company. However, this could not be realised, probably, as the property values were very high in the region. At the time most of the buildings were rebuilt as three storeyed buildings. With the exception of the section between Galata Bridge and Balıkpazarı police station (from the bank of Valide Han to former Tobacco Customs) the shore was never developed as stone quays. By some infill consolidated by wooden piles extra bank could have been gained.

As noted above, the communication of this congested fabric with the inner sections was still facilitated from the former points of the gates, which were demolished within this period. The line of fortification was preserved in the property lots. Between former gates the building lots were formed of two rows back to back. There were very few examples of buildings using both the intra-mural and Extra-mural fabric. Maksudiye Han and Zindan Han are two exceptions (Fig.68.1). Although major bulk of their mass sided the inner wall side street they had annexes connected to the Extra-mural Wall Street (the name of the continuous

Extra-mural street was Balıkpazarı- Taşçılar- Zindankapı avenues throughout the mentioned circuit).⁸¹

It is seen in a photograph of 1878 that most of the buildings in this section of the Extra-mural Zone had increased to three storeys. However the height of these three storeys could differ in the articulation of the building. Most of the buildings had two rows of windows above ground floors with shops. The dome of Ahi Çelebi Mosque- Zindankapı, which was perfectly visible from Galata Tower in the time of Barker (1810) had been lost within buildings in 1878 (Fig.59.1-c). The shops on the waterfront had canvas awnings. The most striking buildings on the waterfront at this time was the *Essyan Han* and the *Balıkhane* (Fish Market) near it (Fig.58 and Fig. 59.1-a). The building of the former Tobacco Customs was still existing as a pitched roofed single storeyed structure. With the first Yemiş Ferry Station dominating the cape across Zindankapı, the 1878 photograph depicts buildings with light colours, which were newly constructed.

When the same view is reconsidered from the photographs of the first decade of 1900s, it is seen that higher structures were built at some points. One of them is the new Fish Market near *Essyan Han* (between *Lüleci* and *Balıkhane* Streets). It was a five storeyed building the upper stories of which were reserved for the Ministry of Public Services as noted in Goad map 1905 (Fig.60). This building was built right on the waterfront and it had its own landing stage. Its upper two stories had balconies as projections and eaves on the ground floor. On the open wharf between *Yağcılar* and *Yemiş İskelesi*, another building with five storeys was built in the place of the former Tobacco Exchange after 1905. This big structure which resemble the multi-storeyed entrepots of the *Sirkeci Wharf* was the depot of *Deutsche-Orient Bank*.⁸² Like the new *Balıkhane*, this was built right on the waterfront with its own quay (Fig.60-a). *Zindan Han* at the back of *Baba Cafer Prison tower* and *Değirmen Han* were the two new structures built at the last decade of the 19th century (Fig.60-b, 66.1). *Değirmen Han* was built on the site of former *Fruit Exchange* near *Ahi Çelebi Mosque*. Another striking building was built on the waterfront, *Limon Han* (fig.66). This building was at plot on the cape of *Yemiş-Zindankapı* and dominated the point from the *Galata Bridge* side. Although it was smaller compared to *Zindan* and *Değirmen Hans* it was an architecturally articulate building painted in yellow, probably after its name which means lemon. The trend of big

⁸¹ From the evidence of the existing *Zindan Han*, it can be seen that the building had rows of windows at the second and third storeys on a high ground floor. The buildings in front of the *Han* should have reached this height the most.

business buildings and entrepots was limited with these named structures; most of the building lots were small and narrow occupied by three storeyed structures. There were few wooden structures preserved from the earlier periods like the fruit shops to the west of Değirmen Han.

There was only one *could de suc* on the Extra-mural Zone between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı, *Demir Tulumba Çıkmaşı*, if there were others in the classical Ottoman period they had been eliminated since 1905. One of the streets from the along Wall Street to waterfront had its gate on the Taşçılar Avenue side, Kemerli Street which means archway street. The most interesting street articulation was by Zindankapı: the two streets around a triangular plot leading to Zindankapı and the cross axes extending from this point were covered by a timber roofs. This was the closed bazaar of Yemiş, which was a typical traditional shopping arcade (Fig.99). Thus for getting into Zindankapı region one had to pass from this covered streets which were sided by shops. The closed bazaar of Yemiş did not have gates it was a section of the street pattern closed on top; thus, it did not create an obstacle for the passages to Zindankapı at night.

From the commercial guide of Istanbul 1925 which did note the commercial companies in Istanbul right after the end of the Empire, the names of major business holders between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı can be detected (see appendix B).⁸² It is seen that even after the immigration of minorities after the Lozannes Pact 1924, a considerable number of the bankers, brokers, commission agents, import and exporters, transport companies, insurance companies were Greeks, Jews and Armenians. The bankers for this area were concentrated on Balıkpazarı Avenue that opened to Eminonu Square. The commission agents were running the traditional import materials of Istanbul's provisioning: cereals, fruits, tobacco, coffee, fat and olive oil. As the commercial guide was mainly concerned with business offices, not shops, it can be stated the property which are not listed were shops selling similar needs of the capital. The traditional pattern of exchange and sales were still continuing although state-run exchanges had disappeared.

Although transformed in the third dimension and the architectural styles, the Extra-mural Zone between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı functioned for similar provisioning activities within

⁸² In the Goad map the Tobacco exchange is existing. It is Pervititch map 1940 that notes the building as the Deutsche Banks property.

⁸³ *Guide Commercial* (1925).

similar building lots as in the classical Ottoman period. The import and sales were done at the same district.

6.2.9. The Wharf of Construction Materials

The most anachronic section of the Extra-mural Zone throughout the Late Ottoman period was the former Lumber Exchange between Odunkapı and Ayazma Gate. The only example of a closed wharf in the classical Ottoman period survived after the 19th century and early 20th century transformations along Extra-mural Zone. Defined between two high walls it was occupying an area as big as the site of Istanbul Wharfs Company in Sirkeci. It is visible in whole maps produced in the 19th century with the trace of the walls enclosing it (Fig. 59.2-a,b; Fig. 66.2).

The Lumber Exchange, then the wharf of building materials, was formed of a big open embarkation area and a section, which was roofed for long-time storage. The pattern of storage is perfectly depicted in the Goad map where the thin long parcels should have been showing piles of different firms. The traverse walls enclosing the wharf of building materials was as high as the new masonry buildings of Zindankapı (Fig. 69.2) and the area is seen as an enormous storage area of forests of wood from Galata Tower. Although masonry structures were spreading in Istanbul, the amount of lumber stored here points to the continuity of wooden structures. Half the area between Ayazma Gate and Unkapanı was occupied by construction material shops and extra depots on the waterfront. It is an interesting thing that the Lumber Exchange could persist at the side of Zindankapı that was one of the most congested fabrics of the city.

6.2.10. Conclusion: Whole Extra-mural Zone as a Harbour Area

The Classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was formed of three parts: the Palace foreshore, the harbour zone and the residential neighbourhoods on the waterfront. This tripartite structure was transformed in the 19th and early 20th century such that, the whole strip emerged mainly as part of the harbour functions. The Zone was still differentiated throughout its extend, however, this was a pattern that had emerged according to the demands of a growing modern harbour. İstanbul by the late 19th century was the second busiest harbour of all the seas.

In fact, this time it was the extended harbour that was divided into three segments by the construction of Haliç Bridges; these were: the section from the Bosphorus till the Galata Bridge, which was the “outer harbour” functioning for the transit trade and as a maritime terminal; the section between the two bridges, which was the port mainly reserved for the “inner” trade, for the provisioning of İstanbul whose population had increased within the period; the “inner harbour” to the west of Unkapanı Bridge, which was reserved for the storage, harbour services and small manufacturing.

For the outer and middle harbour areas, a continuation with the classical functional patterns can be mentioned; the main difference is in the system of trade and the intensity of maritime traffic. The main functional difference can be noted for the section between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray, then part of the inner harbour; the waterfront neighbourhoods gave way to harbour and industrial functions starting by the late 19th century. The non-muslim population of this area had moved to the other sectors of the Greater City, thus, the area was transformed from a residential space to a working-space.

However, as can be read from the maps, the functional transformation did not effect the classical morphological patterns on the Extra-mural Zone, which had developed in the former periods in reference to the fortifications and landings. The persistence of the building blocks can be best observed in the long and thin parcels covering the waterfront in between the former landing squares and the insular pattern between Balıkpazarı and Odunkapı.

The change in the function of these areas means a change in how the boundary worked. In the former times the waterfront houses enclosed the seashore, the relation between the sea was reserved for the household. However, when these houses or their parcels were converted to the use of harbour functions, their use was transferred to the business-holders. Thus, even if the same patterns are observed for the Unkapanı-Ayvansaray section, this can be defined as a more porous boundary, a boundary used by the traders and manufactures for their benefit. In fact, it is an open question whether the householders did use the boundary for similar trading functions or not; this concerns specifically the Phanariot houses.

The architecture of the Extra-mural Zone, as it was transformed in the late Ottoman period, was founded on the same boundary structures; however, changes in the image are notable which differs along the tripartite harbour. The outer harbour zone was embellished by monumental buildings. Whether as terminals like the Sirkeci Station, or service buildings as

the *Rüsumat Ambarı*, these buildings were embellished in the historical styles of the 19th century. These great structures, unlike the classical Ottoman customs and harbour buildings were part of the new image of the city as pointing to its new terminals. The classical Ottoman Custom was at the same time a major urban square. In the 19th century the two were separated. When the New Customs were finished by the early 20th century, the Customs turned into closed harbour zone between two important traffic nodes of the city: Galata Bridge and Sirkeci Terminal. The section between Eminönü and Unkapanı, which was reserved for the trade functions, was constructed from the start with masonry buildings; however, unlike the great buildings of the outer harbour, they were forming a fabric formed of smaller structures on the base of the traditional property patterns on the Extra-mural Zone.

During all these transformations, the ground of the Extra-mural Zone, which was formed according to the flows between a fortified city and its waterfront, was retained. Although, no longer the fortifications were visible, its trace was survived by the buildings built attached to them. There was a few numbers of new arteries opened on its circuit. At the same time the inner-city maritime terminals had stayed the same. Although the vehicles landing to them had been modernised, their landings were in the same points. A change in the shoreline is significant, not only at the İstanbul Customs, but also at the section between Unkapanı and Ayvansaray. The long and thin parcels of the former waterfront mensions extended on the sea in order to gain more area for storage and other facilities.

As, a summary for the period of Ottoman Reforms, it can be said that the image of the Extra-mural Zone changed. New boundary structures like railway terminal, closed customs and bridges were constructed, however, at the same time the former structures was mostly retained. The intensity of the socio-economic flows through the Extra-mural Zone increased. İstanbul of the early 20th century communicated with the sea on the Haliç side within the confines of ancient and medieval structures, although in appearance it was partly modernised. The radical transformation of these patterns did take place after the foundation of the Turkish Republic on the remains of the Ottoman Empire; then İstanbul lost its imperial titles which it carried for a 1600 years. As for most of the modernisation attempts of the Ottoman Empire, the modernisation of the Extra-mural Zone was completed in the Republican period. The modernisation of an antique structure did meant its annihilation at a site which was still of vital importance for a city in continuos development.

6.3. The Demolition of the Extra-mural Zone (1930-1986)

This part of the study covers the important differentiations that occurred on the Extra-mural Zone as part of the urbanisation process of İstanbul from a former capital city to a metropolis between 1920s to 1980s. During this period the scale of the city changed radically, in the sense of settlement area and population. Thus, the role of the boundary between the Historical Peninsula and Haliç was transformed within the Greater City of İstanbul in the time of fifty years. This is a process that resulted with the disappearance of the Extra-mural Zone as it was remade in the Late Ottoman period.

The Extra-mural Zone had emerged as a total harbour zone, pierced at intervals with inner-city maritime terminals and two bridges by the early 20th century, the last years of the Ottoman İstanbul. In the early Republican period, the first major change occurred by the attempts of the new Turkish Parliament to nationalise and municipalise the maritime customs and city transportation companies, which were mostly private enterprises owned by foreign investors.⁸⁴ The process was defined with the contracts of the firms and the resources of the newly founded Republic in paying for the values for these properties. Until the 1930s, İstanbul Wharfs, Docks and Company continued to run the İstanbul harbour facilities, as part of its contracts with the former Ottoman Empire. In fact, the transit traffic through the İstanbul harbours reached to a maximum in the 1929, when the Company had to use extra storage facilities in Balat and Fener in the inner harbour.⁸⁵ The newly founded Republic paid for the Ottoman harbour structures and also for the inner-city transportation systems.

It was in the 1930s, in the municipality of M. Üstündağ,⁸⁶ that there was a number of important attempts for the partial transformation of the Extra-mural Zone: the New Fruit Exchange buildings built between 1930-1940; the new Unkapanı Bridge called as the Atatürk Bridge and the city plan of İstanbul executed by H. Prost.

The Lumber Exchange had been one of the most resistant boundary structures of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone. However, it became the first to disappear in the Republican period, as it was not full with buildings like the rest of the Extra-mural Zone. The Ottoman Lumber Exchange was an open-air storage area. It is in the early 1930s that the municipality had built the New Fruit Exchange on the former site of the Lumber Exchange. The New

⁸⁴ Tekeli (1992: 18-27).

⁸⁵ Bilge (1949).

Fruit Exchange was completed in 1934; it was designed by the Technical Board of the Municipality (*Fenni Heyeti*).⁸⁷ New Fruit Exchange was a great structure that covers almost an area as large as the one fourth of the Yemiş region to its east. The building was formed of a basilical hall perpendicular to the sea and a thinner annex parallel to the Wall Street. The triangular area between the two arms was left as a landing stage for the goods embarking from the ships. The Exchange was structured by reinforced concrete arches and was covered by glass; through the building, the sea and the city was visible on two opposite directions. It was built on a granite-covered wharf following the line of the former Lumber landing (Fig.69.2). The New Fruit Exchange was in the Modern style of the 1920s: it was formed of pure geometrical forms and horizontal lines that showed it lower but even longer (Fig.70.1,1 70.2). The building was to be the first “modern” building on the site of the Extra-mural Zone.

In the early 1940s as can be observed from the Pervitich maps, other additional buildings were constructed near the Fruit Exchange; the one to its west is a rectangular hall, while the ones to its west can be named as ordinary warehouses (Fig.69.2). The constructions of the Istanbul Municipality on the Extra-mural Zone cannot be seen merely as service structures; they seem to be part of a new image inserted on the former Ottoman capital, the new modern style that was applied in the new capital of the Republic Ankara. As the mayor of Istanbul was appointed from the central government in Ankara, this may rather be interpreted as an image that the Republic imagined for the former capital.

By 1943, the whole area of the Lumber Exchange emerged as a Fruit Exchange zone as an extension of the area between Eminönü and Odunkapı. These buildings are important to mark the relation between the sea and the Wall Street even before the planning of the area as part of the city plan executed in the 1937 by H. Prost. However, the access to these modern structures was still facilitated by the narrow Wall Street passing through the Ottoman Fabric on both sides. A flow pattern likely to the image of these buildings would be designed later.

The Atatürk Bridge replacing the former Unkapanı Bridge was built between 1929 and 1938; it was opened in the time of Mayor L. Kırdar.⁸⁶ The difference of this bridge, apart from its wideness as to facilitate four lanes of traffic, was its connection to a new artery opened on the Historical Peninsula running from the Marmara Sea to Haliç; that was the Atatürk Boulevard, which was started in the time of Üstündağ and completed by the next mayor L.

⁸⁶ Z. Toprak. “Mustafa Ustündağ”, in, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* (Vol. VII:).

⁸⁷ *Arkitekt*, 1934.

Kırdar.⁸⁹ The impacts of this new artery on the Extra-mural Zone was the demolition of a number of Ottoman structures, which constituted part of the former Flour Exchange: the Subaşı Süleyman Mosque and the Exchange building which was then the depot of the Tobacco factory.

The attempts for obtaining a master plan for Istanbul started in time of Üstündağ. Three European planners were invited for a limited competition: A.Agache, H.Elgötz and J.H.Lambert. Their proposals were mostly developed on the rationalisation of the traffic and the functional zoning of the city.⁹⁰ Accordingly, the harbour development of Istanbul was an important part of the plan; in fact, it is the second of the eight points which the examination committee searched for. Agache proposed five types of ports for Istanbul: the transit, trade port, free ports and marinas for smaller boats and yachts. The transit port was defined on the former Istanbul customs; the trade port was between Cibali and Eminönü (he was proposing the transfer of the Unkapanı Bridge to Cibali-Kasımpaşa) and the railway would be extended on the shore till this point; for the free port he pointed the former Theodosian harbour-Yenikapı. Elgötz stated that the present port area was narrow and its extension on the sea was not feasible because of the character of the ground and pointed to the fact that the harbour area was far from the railway. On the basis of these points he proposed the construction of the Istanbul harbour in Yenikapı and Haydarpaşa; in addition he stated that if these proposals would not be realised with economic considerations the harbour should be extended towards Sarayburnu.⁹¹ Lambert, after considering possible places for the Istanbul harbour starting from Haliç finally proposed the harbour from Yenikapı to Bakırköy as well as naming the area as the “Port of Turkey”, in the sense of the gate. Agache proposed a business centre between the harbours on the Haliç and the Marmara side. Elgötz defined the Eminönü-Cibali section as a business sector and the Cibali-Ayvansaray section for small manufacturing. In the commission report there is no mention of Lambert’s zoning proposal for the Haliç side. All of the planners proposed the enlargement of the Wall Street as part of the other traffic zones they define. Lambert suggests a limited extension of the existing municipal arteries; Elgötz defined two avenues on the two sides of the former fortification line. The commission found Elgötz proposals for the port area as most reasonable as well as supporting his zoning for the Extra-mural Zone as pointing to the fact that the area had already been formed likely.

⁸⁸ For Atatürk Bridge see, Kahya&Tanyeli, Tütel (2000).

⁸⁹ “Ataturk Bulvarı”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul*.

⁹⁰ The commission report, Arkitekt (1935: 61-68).

⁹¹ Specifically for the report of Elgötz, see, Elgötz (1934).

In fact, the modernisation of the Istanbul harbours, as well as the definition of Haliç, was debated by Turkish engineers in the 1930s as well. A commentary of G. Alnar, who was at the time the director of roads and bridges in the Istanbul Municipality, on the proposals of Elgötz and other proposals made by Turkish authors, can be noted. Alnar, asks whether Haliç is a natural harbour or not in reference to the necessities of a modern port. Counting hydraulic disadvantages as the currents, the change in the sea level, its deep water and the difficulty of entering the harbour, he states that Haliç is not a suitable harbour for a modern port. Alnar in reference to harbour management principles at the time, says that it is no longer feasible to run inner-city harbours as they cannot be properly connected with the land transportation; the harbour should be situated by a vast open ground which is suitable for the settlement of industrial functions; the modern port does not necessitate huge entrepôts, depots but faster means of loading and unloading; the architecture of the port should be functional and economic rather than beautiful; the investment should be done to the machinery like cranes rather than buildings; the harbour should be properly connected to the railways at the same time it should be close to the airports that also needs extensive ground; Alnar criticises Elgotz's proposal. The other proposal Alnar criticises, is of Limancı Hamdi, who planned the demolition of Galata Bridge and the use of the whole area on the two sides of Haliç till Unkapanı as a Harbour zone. Then, Alnar makes his proposal, he states that the place of the Istanbul harbour should be related with the Anatolian peninsula and should be somewhere near Bostancı, but no way in Haliç.⁹²

Following this competition, the Municipality called French planner, H. Prost to Istanbul in 1936. He realised the master plan between 1936-1937 and the plans of the Historical Peninsula and Beyoğlu in two years time.⁹³ In a conference he gave in 1948, Prost defined the planning of Istanbul as a most difficult surgery operation. He pointed to the present disadvantages of Haliç as being "chained" by two bridges, which can be opened only at night; only smaller boats can pass through these structures in the daytime. Haliç had lost from its former grandeur according to the increase in the ship sizes. He states that:

A lot of artists have imagined giving Haliç a new meaning. The reminiscences of Venice, Grand Canal and Giudecca make us imagine that wonderful decor. If it were possible to transfer the useful but uncanny building lots to other places, it would have been possible to construct the main buildings of a modern city on the shores of that beautifully expanding water surface.

⁹² Alnar (1935, 325-326).

⁹³ Prost (1948), Angel (1988).

Municipal Building, Law Court, Museum and Navy Head Quarters, and so... green masses and large promenades surrounding all these buildings. Unfortunately, it is not possible to realise this image in the twentieth century. It is logical and convenient for the structures of everyday life; especially the food stocks with little effort, to be located there. Otherwise, as it is not economically feasible to transfer these to other places, on the other hand it will necessitate an amount of building cost. This last point has attracted my attention. Because the shores of Haliç cannot resist a monumental construction as the ground is weak.

This is why by leaving Haliç as it is, that means to assign it to ship constructions and food stuffs, and by shifting some of the inappropriately placed industries to the more suitable places, it will be possible to give back some of its former characteristics and attraction back to holy Eyüp.⁹⁴

Prost, as part of his city plan was not proposing a new zoning for the Haliç shores but, as it was in the plan of Elgötz; the fruit exchanges were to stay at their former places while the Cibali-Ayvansaray area was left for the small manufacturing. In Prost plan the Wall Street was marked as one of the main arteries of Istanbul; however, the part between Cibali and Ayvansaray never became more than a two-lane street till the 1980s. The major achievement of Prost in Haliç was the planning of a new public square in Eminönü as a traffic terminal, which was opened by the demolition of the buildings on the line of the former fortifications.⁹⁵

All these plans did take into consideration a new element introduced to Istanbul; that is motor vehicles: cars, buses, trucks. The Ottoman Istanbul was a pedestrian city mostly communicated by maritime traffic. The horsed wagons entered the city in the 19th century; however, their use was limited. It was one of the successful achievements of the Ottoman period to modernise the public transportation by steamers and tramways. Until the 1950s private car ownership was limited in Istanbul, it was mainly by public transportation or on foot that the city was communicated. In the 1950s by the policies of the government of the day, the land transportation and car ownership was supported. This found its reflections in Istanbul as changing the spatiality of the city on the basis of land transportation. For the flow of the motored traffic new arteries were constructed in and out of the city.⁹⁶

In time of Menderes government, new vast boulevards were opened on the fabric of the Historical Peninsula while a peripheric boulevard was formed around the seashore on the Marmara side by the construction of motorways on infill land at the foot of former fortifications.⁹⁷ This loop reached Eminönü and continued till Unkapanı. As part of this new system, the section of the Extra-mural Zone between Eminönü and Unkapanı was

⁹⁴ Prost (1948: 169-171).

⁹⁵ Other proposals were made for the section between Eminönü and Unkapanı in the late 1940s.

⁹⁶ Tekeli (1992: 18-27).

demolished (Fig. 71, 75.1, 75.2). Thus, the intra-mural fabric was opened to the seaside, in better to say to the roadside between Eminönü and Unkapanı. The seashore was still used as a trade wharf and a large boulevard replaced the trace of the wall. The section of Yemiş-Zindankapı, as forming a projection on the line of the New Fruit Exchange, was retained.

It was by the 1960s, in the time of major H. İřcan that a traffic interchange was built on the Unkapanı area, which turned the Bridge into a structure that by-passed the Haliç shoreline. After the construction of this interchange new additional Fruit Exchange buildings were constructed from this point to older Exchanges. The area between Eminönü and Unkapanı, which had inhabited all the Customs and Exchanges, like flour, fruit, tobacco exchanges in the Ottoman period, was transformed into a Fruit Exchange due to the demands of the increasing Istanbul population.

ITO- İstanbul Trade Centre was constructed near the New Fruit Exchange in the 1960s.⁹⁷ The project for ITO was the winner of an architectural competition that was opened for the whole area between the New Fruit Exchange and Eminönü, in 1963. The left section of the Yemiş area was to be demolished; however this was not realised. The project completed in the 1968s and is the only building that is not a service building among the new constructions on the Haliç shore. Originally, the project proposed the construction of open terraces cascading towards the Galata panorama as a public space. However, only the main headquarters of ITO was constructed. The Yemiş-Zindankapı region was preserved till 1980s.

In contrast to these redevelopment projects on the section between Eminönü-Unkapanı; the area between Cibali and Ayvansaray was still based on the plots of the Ottoman period. The small manufacturing facilities covered the areas between the former landing squares, which have shrank accordingly. The population of the intra-mural neighbourhoods had changed in accordance to the industrialisation in Haliç. The immigrants from all the parts of Turkey surrounded the industrial areas. As squatters were formed on the former unbuilt sectors of Haliç, the old neighbourhoods were transformed to low income housing areas. However, within all these developments the boundary patterns of the Extra-mural Zone was retained in this area with the exception of a few streets opened through the walls. The two to three

⁹⁷ Kuban. "Menderes ve İstanbul", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul* .

⁹⁸ *Arkitekt* (1964).

storeyed houses build on the front of fortifications were rebuilt as apartment blocks within similar property lots.

As early as a decade after the beginning of rapid industrialisation around Haliç, in 1960s, the waterfront turned into a port area encircled by industry. The public use and access were minimized. The waste of the industry and of the shantytowns was discharged into the estuary. The flow of waters and currents in Haliç were incapable of carrying the toxic elements into the open sea. The result was extensive sedimentation and the smoothening of all sea life in Haliç. The estuary was “transformed into an anaerobic oxidation lagoon which produced large amounts of undesirable gas”.⁹⁹ The accumulation of the industrial port annihilated Haliç, replacing the once preferable conditions with undesirable ones.

Indeed the annihilation of Haliç was not an unexpected event. As early as the time industry invaded the waterfront of Haliç, by 1950s, the port authorities pointed the problems of sedimentation and environmental smoothening.¹⁰⁰ The earliest environmental report in 1958 states that urgent measures should be taken for the sedimentation.¹⁰¹ It was in a second report ordered by the port authorities (1965) that a need for a Haliç master plan was pointed. This was the time when the slopes of the basin, especially on the northern ends began to be filled with squatters of the industrial workers. The drainage of the squatters was added to the wastes poured into Haliç. Authorities kept writing reports but no measure was taken and the problems sustained creating an unsustainable environment in Haliç.

The master plan noted in the reports of the port authorities was commissioned to a group in the Bosphorus University in 1974, and was represented in 1978. The master plan was a multi-disciplinary research based plan. It covered engineering solutions for the cleansing of Haliç by building drainage collectors and the rehabilitation of the waterfront and the basin by the removal of industry from the area- keeping the mercantile port functions and shipyards. The plan divided the Haliç basin into three zones from the Galata Bridge up to Kağıthane and Alibeyköy rivers, two of which involved the Extra-mural Zone.

⁹⁹ *İstanbul-Harbor* (1978:5).

¹⁰⁰ The sedimentation in Haliç is accelerated by the industry, however that is a geographical incident. It is known from the original documents that in the Byzantine and Ottoman times measures were taken against sedimentation from the Alibeyköy and Kağıthane rivers. Eyice states the existence of a dam between Eyüp and Karaağaç, which was used to collect the sediments, and in times when the water level was low worked as a bridge between the two banks. There is no archaeological evidence for the Byzantine bridge-dam. A codex of Fatih is known that restricts the agricultural use and deforestation in the river valleys. The first big scale production in the Haliç basin, which goes back to Byzantine times, was ceramics where the sediment was used as the raw material.

The first zone was the bank between the Galata Bridge and the Unkapanı Bridge, which was interpreted as forming a pedestrian loop including both sides of the inlet. The existing fabric of the loop would be rehabilitated and would house business and touristic functions. The second zone was between the Unkapanı Bridge and the line of the land walls of İstanbul. On the Galata side the shipyards and military base was kept, some industries on the area was to be removed. The southern bank was reserved as the waterfront of the intra mural neighbourhoods and the major focus was the religious buildings like the Orthodox Patriarch in Fener, which is a point of attraction. The plan was proposing a ten years realisation period between 1980 to 1990. ¹⁰² It stayed on the shelf and was never realised but is an important study which, in many respects, is parallel to the multi-disciplinary inner city port revitalization projects of the 1970s in Europe and America which have been mostly implemented in the present.

Haliç was both a port area, that is a public enterprise in the control of port authority and also was the waterfront of the city, a possible interest area of the municipality. The controversial institutional status of the problematic area concluded by the 3030 codex law that changed the authorities of municipalities and their planning rights. Haliç became a milestone in the use of the new municipal authority in İstanbul. Between 1984 and 1988, “the Project for the Cleansing of the Golden Horn and Environmental Rearrangement” was carried out by İstanbul Greater City Municipality. The project developed on two themes under the title “saving green and blue”.¹⁰³ Saving blue was cleansing the waters of Haliç by two interceptors that would discharge the deposits out to the Marmara Sea. Saving green was prohibiting whole business, industry and housing facilities and constructing parks on their place. Except for twenty buildings that were recorded as historical monuments, the existing buildings on the Extra-mural Zone were cleared, and replaced by green zones at the waterfront. Some portions of the cleared area were reserved for the enlargement of the streets, which formed an uninterrupted motorway around the basin.¹⁰⁴ The engineering

¹⁰¹ *Haliç Master Plan (1977)*.

¹⁰² The last portion till the rivers would be cleansed from industrial functions, the sedimented muddy lagoon on the mouth of the rivers was to be turned into a park by land infill. The park would be the recreation area for the squatter areas which would be rehabilitated and for the greater city of İstanbul as well.

¹⁰³ *The Objective (1988)*.

¹⁰⁴ The authority behind the project, the mayor of the time, Dalan, has been labelled as “Haussmann” of the late 20th century İstanbul, however, at least on the waterfronts he resembles more a “Robert Moses”, the mayor of New York between 1930-1950 who has invented the waterfront parkways. Bone (1997:177).

solution to the sedimentation problem did not work and created more severe environmental problems for the Marmara Sea. The Greater Municipality still carries on projects for the cleansing of Haliç.

If, the path of Dionysius, K m rc yan, Hovannesyan and Head Gardener can be followed for a last time in search for the traces of the former Extra-mural Zone in the present, the following points can be observed. The section between the former Yalı Kiosk to Emin n , which corresponds to the “outer harbour”, is still occupied by maritime functions. Till Sirkeci the waterfront is occupied by the wharfs of the national maritime terminal and the ferry terminal to Prince islands. To the back of these is the motorway that reaches this point all the way from the Atak y seashore. The motorway is separated from these harbour facilities by a wall. On the other side of the road is the wall of the railway that extends till Sirkeci. This artery is a boundary structure formed between two walls.

The section between Sirkeci and Eminonu is still one of the most congested areas of the city, it is an inner-city terminal area where the interchange between ferries, railways, tramways, buses take place. The building blocks between Sirkeci and Emin n  follow the former lines of the fortifications. Istanbul Customs were removed from this area by the 1970s and its former wharf is now the terminal of inner-city maritime transportations. Two of the former entrepots of the Istanbul Customs company are in situ, one of them has been transformed into the headquarters of Istanbul Trade Institution recently. The Hidayet Camii to its west, which was originally by the waterfront, is now hidden at the back of these structures. The section of the wall to former Bahekapı is preserved in parts as well as the buildings attached to their trace like the Arpacılar Mescid. The Emin n  Square has been turned into a traffic interchange, to pass from the seashore to Yeni Camii one has to pass from underground pedestrian passages. The new Galata Bridge finished in early 1990s is the new “chain” of Haliç. As the modern hydraulic system for the opening of its central bays has not functioned, the larger ships, which are repaired, on the Arsenal has been trapped in the inlet.

The Galata Bridge as uniting the two sides of the inlet but enclosing the harbour is a point of differentiation for the former Extra-mural Zone. In contrast to the maelstrom of urban flows to the east of the Bridge, the western side increasingly becomes quite till the former Zindankapı. There are a number of private ferry terminals on the shore. Then comes the few

The waterfront parkway is not only the model for the waterfront of Haliç, but for most of İstanbul’s coastal margin, and for many waterfronts in big cities in Turkey today.

preserved fragments of the Yemiş fabric: Baba Cafer Tower, Zindan Han, Değirmen Han, Ahi Çelebi Mosque and a section of the former Zindankapı in ruins. The area is full with car parks till ITO, which has been emptied when the organisation moved to the former entrepots in Sirkeci. It is difficult to imagine how a fabric like Yemiş-Zindankapı as it can be observed in the maps of Goad and Pervititch could had been squeezed in this space.

After ITO the waterfront parks begins. Between the point that was the former Odunkapı to Unkapanı the parks are in a poor condition, they are mostly used by the drivers of the tourist buses who park along the motorway. The seashore is dissolute; few boats front the bank. The motorway now divides the city fabric, which is mainly formed of small business functions, from the parks. The traffic is fast and intense. There is no pedestrian bridge or an underground passage. The modern street forms a wall of speed.

The Unkapanı Bridge divides the continuous parks. However by passing under the traffic interchange, it is possible to reach the other side. Here, the tunnels of the Istanbul underground system are under construction. However, the tunnel has hit to the cultural sedimentation layers of the city. During the constructions remains of Byzantine buildings has been recovered and the tunnel construction has been stopped.

After Unkapanı, the remains of the former fortifications start on the left side of the motorway, while the parks on the waterfront continues. Compared to the section between Zindankapı and Unkapanı, the parks till Ayvansaray are in a better condition as they function as the green zones of the housing areas on the other side of the motorway. The traffic is lesser here compared to the former section, however, it is still an adventure to pass from one side to the other. The Cibali Gate is there, but not the Cibali landing stage. On the refuge dividing the two-way traffic is a Phanariot house in ruins. It is now situated on a frontage, in the sense of the road not the seashore. The former line of the fortifications is preserved. Following new structures St Nicholas Church is seen before the Ayakapı. The Ayakapı is preserved; Ayakapı landing stage does not exist.

In a similar pattern from here to Ayvansaray, the former Extra-mural Zone has been occupied by a motorway and a continuous waterfront park, however the line of the walls is preserved. Three of the former landing stages exist, Fener-Balat and Ayvansaray. The Fener Police Station, Bulgarian Church, Tur-i Sina Church, Haim Hospital are of the few structures

left from the former Extra-mural fabric. Bulgarian Church and Tur-i Sina are situated on a larger refuge between the two direction of traffic.

The Extra-mural Zone was formed of traverse communication points on two extensive boundaries as the fortifications and the sea. The socio-economic flows in between the landings and the gates, as in-and-off shore and in-and-out of the city passages, divided the space of the Zone into minor sections. At the same time these points were connected within the Extra-mural Zone by the Wall Street which ran all the way from Bahçekapı to Ayvansaray and then continued to Eyüp (Byzantine Kosmidion). The Extra-mural Zone was communicated on the inlet by along-shore flows while the cross-inlet, cross-Bosporus and trans-Bosporus flows fronted the Extra-mural Zone in various landing points. The architecture of the Zone was formed within these flows and also by their presence they shaped the flows. The section between Bahçekapı and Odunkapı was a place where the whole shore was used as a wharf. There, the flow patterns from the shore to the gates and the Wall Street passed through an insular pattern. The insular pattern formed of small building lots facilitated the flows between the seashore and the gates at the same time inhabiting necessary functions on this ground. On the contrary, between Cibali and Ayvansaray where the traffic was less intense the waterfront mansions formed a continuous, wall-like, structure in between the landing stages leading to the point of the gates.

In the process of the modernisation of the İstanbul harbour in the 19th and mid 20th century, the flow patterns through the Extra-mural Zone stayed the same while they become more intense. This structure formed of solid and fluid forms was transformed radically after the 1950s when the Wall Street was transformed into a large boulevard replacing the wall itself between Eminönü and Unkapanı. And finally, it was after the 1980s that the in-and-off shore patterns were minimised as the port and port functions retreated from the area between Galata Bridge and Ayvansaray. This was also the time when the architecture of the Extra-mural Zone, as it was restructured in the 20th century, was totally wiped away. It is more than the *tabula rasa*, which cleared away the solid forms of the Haliç waterfront, the disappearance of the classical flow patterns that, has radically transformed the area. The main flow pattern in the present between the Galata Bridge and Ayvansaray is the traffic flow parallel to the waterfront. This traffic has a “wall-like” effect that duplicates the boundary between the sea and the city. To imagine the confrontation of flow patterns parallel and perpendicular to the shore in contemporary city one has to focus on the Sirkeci-Eminönü section which may be counted as the only reminiscence of a “living” waterfront on the line

of the former Extra-mural Zone. This space is the former Neorion harbour that dates back to the time of Greek Byzantium.



CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

İstanbul's site made it a divided city and this was the source of both its greatness and difficulties, certainly of its greatness.¹

As most historical cities of the world, (the Mediterranean cities) are fated to decline, indeed to explode into suburbs and peripheries. Nevertheless, in the Mediterranean historical characteristics appear to persist with extraordinary power than elsewhere. To these persistencies, to this maintenance, the rhythms, historical but also daily, "closer to the lived", are not in our opinion strangers. At least the question dares to be asked...²

This study has tried to investigate the conditions generating the architecture of the city frontier, from Antiquity to the contemporary era, by studying a specific historical maritime frontier; that is the Haliç Extra-mural Zone in İstanbul. Haliç Extra-mural Zone was the intermediary boundary space formed between the fortifications of the Historical Peninsula and the inlet called Keras-Haliç, which functioned as the main harbour of Constantinople-İstanbul, exclusively after the 7th century AD. It is prospected that the historical inquiry on the Extra-mural Zone can provide a basis for understanding the architecture of the İstanbul maritime frontier, and for understanding the spatiality and historicity of the city frontier in general. Specifically, the study has interpreted the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone as an interfacial boundary structure; that is an extensive boundary formed of intensive boundary structures in the smaller scale differentiating according to the intensity and the pattern of the flows between two adjacent milieus. Here, the results of the research on the Extra-mural Zone will be evaluated on the basis of the successive transformations of the meaning of the İstanbul city frontier, the spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone as an interfacial boundary structure and the spatiality of the city frontiers in general.

¹ Braudel (1972: 348).

² Lefebvre (1996: 228).

7. 1. Historicity of the Extra-mural Zone: Different Meanings of the City Frontier

The Extra-mural Zone is a multi-layered historical structure formed in the successive stages of city development from the Antique Byzantium to the İstanbul of the Republican period. The study has been structured, accordingly, in reference to the major historical sections of İstanbul urban history; these are the Antique Byzantium; Late Antique Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople; the Classical and Late Ottoman; and the Republican periods. The structuring of the data collected on the Extra-mural Zone according to the general historiography of İstanbul, is not for convenience; these separate periods are also related with the successive restructurings of the city frontier. The historical inquiry has shown that, this is specifically the case for the Extra-mural Zone. The specificity of the Extra-mural Zone is that it forms a spatio-temporal framework for understanding the successive transformations and the multiple meanings of the İstanbul city frontier.

The site of the Extra-mural Zone was first territorialised from the Archaic period to Classical Antiquity, as the main maritime frontier of the Greek Byzantium on the basis of the geographical differentiations of the Bosphorus geography. Byzantium constructed its maritime frontiers at the crossing of the inlet (called in Antiquity as *Keras*) and the peninsula which existed at the south-western end of the Bosphorus. The city was a fortified stronghold acting as the transit terminal of the Antique Black Sea trade and as the bridgehead between Thrace and Bithynia. The maritime frontiers of Byzantium were part of the peripheral crossroads founded on the Bosphorus according to the structure of the Ancient Mediterranean and were also the boundaries for greater economic, political and cultural territories. The enclosed harbours of the city were placed at the place where the Bosphorus sea-currents fronted the Peninsula; they were, naturally, receiving the economic flows from the Black Sea to the Aegean which and were equally suitable for servicing and controlling of the cross-Bosphorus passages. On the four kilometre coastline from Byzantium to the village of Blahernai, were placed the fishing facilities of the city, the siting of which were related with the routes of the fish herds escaping from the turmoil of the Bosphorus sea-currents. The maritime frontiers of Byzantium which form the basis for the later Extra-mural Zone were partly military and totally socio-economic structures.

The first sketch of the Extra-mural Zone was formed during the foundation of Constantinople as the capital of the Late Roman Empire on the site and the periphery of Byzantium. The fortifications which formed the extensive boundaries of the Extra-mural Zone was constructed at three stages since the end of Late Antique period, as part of the

transformation of the whole area of the Historical Peninsula into a fortified city territory; these sections, in addition to the fortifications of Byzantium were: the Constantinian walls from the enclosed harbours of Byzantium to Plateia-Petron (324-330 AD); the Theodosian extensions till Blahernai (425 AD) and the Heraclian extensions incorporating Blahernai into the fortified limits of the city (640 AD). The fortifications on the Keras side, unlike the other maritime frontiers on the Bosphorus and the Propontis (Marmara), were built at a distance to the sea as forming a foreshore on the front of the fortifications; that is the Extra-mural Zone. Why was such a frontage left? The geology of the coastline on Keras which is a weak ground formed by sedimentation and unsuitable for the constructions, the formation of a defence zone- *pomerium*- against a possible maritime assault from the relatively calm waters of the inlet, the formation of a landing space which could function as a terminal zone for the gates on the fortifications, are the possible reasons for the planning of the Extra-mural Zone in the Late Antique period.

Late Antique Constantinople was planned as a great capital city, which used its whole maritime frontier as an economic frontier from where it was provisioned by the fiscal surplus transported from the provinces. When the main arteries of the city, the construction of great enclosed harbours and the placement of the Court- the Great Palace- on the Propontis side (the Marmara Sea) are considered, it can be stated that Late Antique Constantinople was relatively oriented to the Propontis side. In this respect, it can be observed that by the preservation of the enclosed harbours on Keras side, forming an open coastline from the harbours to Blahernai, the Late Antique planners retained the frontiers of Byzantium as forming a landing mainly reserved for cross-inlet, cross-Bosphorus and trans-Bosphorus passages.

The Extra-mural Zone emerged as the main socio-economic frontier of Constantinople after the 7th century AD. This transformation can be understood as part of the greater restructuring of the maritime frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. It is in the 7th century that, the Empire lost its exclusive rule over the Eastern Mediterranean as well as some of the most important provinces. While the loss of the provinces caused an economic decline in the imperial revenues, the maritime frontiers of the city emerged as military frontiers, which was under constant threat of siege. The imperial harbours on the Propontis declined as being open to assaults from the Propontis and also as being expansive structures to sustain. In these conditions Byzantines transformed the inlet Keras into an enclosable harbour by a devising "a chain" that could be stretched at the entrance from the Bosphorus side. The Extra-mural

Zone, specifically after the silting of the enclosed harbours of the Antique Byzantium emerged as the main landing of Constantinople; it was an economic terminal, along the enclosable natural harbour Keras. As Constantinople faced several maritime assaults since the 10th century, the Extra-mural Zone had to function as an important defence zone as well. With the shift of the maritime terminal on the Keras side, a parallel shift can be observed in the inner structure of the Middle Byzantine Constantinople. In the 11th century, the Palace of Blahernai had emerged as the main imperial residence; the number of the churches and monasteries constructed on the slopes of the Keras side increased. The Extra-mural Zone functioned as a terminal for the inner-city traffic performed on the inlet. The triple meaning of the Extra-mural Zone as both a military frontier, an economic frontier- customs zone- and inner-city terminal, is the most significant characteristics of the Middle and Late Byzantine period.

The Byzantine Extra-mural Zone, as an economic frontier was differentiated by different custom rules for the internal and external trade where both the native and foreign traders could have had trading privileges. The reflection of this economic system on the Zone was the assignment of certain landing stages, probably wooden jetties with short projections, called *scala* to specific persons, groups or institutions. The Great Oikos- these were the pious foundations-, the foreign traders, sometimes the local wealthy did have specific *scala*. The ownership of the waterfront was crucial in this system. The most developed type of an economic zone developed on the basis of the trading privileges was the Concession Quarters of the Latin city-states. The Latin Quarters did occupy a section of the Extra-mural Zone and penetrated for some distance into the fortified city by the assignment of certain gates for their use. The Latin Quarters were specific boundary structures that were in constant conflict with each other. The eastern section of the Extra-mural Zone was transformed into a cosmopolitan harbour, after the 10th century, it was a miniature of the Medieval Mediterranean socio-economic structure.

Late Byzantine period, following the Latin Conquest, is specifically important for the transformation of the maritime frontiers in İstanbul, as, it is in this period that the two sides of the inlet Keras emerged as maritime terminals facing each other. The Genoese founded an almost autonomous maritime terminal in Galata, on the concession quarter assigned by the Byzantines. Galata emerged as a rival of the Byzantine harbours in the Black Sea trade. The Late Byzantine Constantinople was a city without an Empire and it re-emerged as a transit maritime terminal on the Black Sea trade, like the Antique Byzantium. The Extra-

mural Zone was one of the congested sectors of the Late Antique Constantinople, which has shrunk and dispersed within the great-fortified limits of the city.

Constantinople was conquered by the Ottomans in 1453 and was restructured as the capital city of a great Empire, which in a hundred years time reached the limits of the Late Antique Roman Empire in the reign of Justinian. A parallel growth can be observed in the settlement area and the population of the imperial centre; Ottoman İstanbul emerged as one of the greatest city of the Mediterranean. İstanbul was the consumption centre of the Ottoman Empire and was provisioned from the provinces. The Ottomans restructured the maritime terminals and custom zones on the basis of the three harbours inherited from the Late Byzantine period: the harbour section of the Extra-mural Zone, Galata and Üsküdar. Unlike the Byzantine harbours where the maritime terminals were structured according to the privileges given to the external traders, the Ottoman harbour was formed on the basis of import items and the privileges given to the internal traders.

İstanbul was the capital city of an offensive empire and even after the territorial losses following the 17th century, the city did not faced any siege throughout the Ottoman period. Thus, the military significance of the İstanbul frontiers decreased while their role as socio-economic frontiers were retained and further enhanced by the increase in the economic flows, which were mainly formed of the import items provisioning the large population of the capital city. The city expanded on different sectors on Haliç and the Bosphorus, although the main centre was remained as the Historical Peninsula. The decrease in the military function of the frontier, increase in the intensity of the economic flows, the interior urban functions, the development of the city in different sectors which were mainly communicated by maritime terminals are the major factors which formed the spatiality of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone.

The Extra-mural Zone emerges as a total “inhabited city frontier” in the Ottoman period. It is mainly formed of three sections, from the east to the west, as the Place foreshore and wharf, the custom zone and the residential sector. Each zone showed differentiations within itself and was formed of mix-use city sectors situated at the maritime frontier. The Palace foreshore and wharf was a place where the ceremonial functions of the court and the service functions of the Court were situated. The custom sector is mainly differentiated according to the import items. The items imported to İstanbul and where they come from can be detected from the names of the gates, landings and jetties. The custom zone is a

miniature of the Classical Ottoman economic system. At the same time it was the only İstanbul that the ones, who were excluded from the city experienced; it was a space where the inns, taverns for the mariners and bachelors were situated as well as with other amenities. The custom zone also functioned as the inter-sectoral terminal between the commercial section of the city (inside the walls up to the main thoroughfare of the city, known as the Closed Bazaar district) and other sectors of on Galata, Üsküdar, Eyüp and the Bosphorus. It was a place where the imported items were directly distributed to the shops after the inspection; the custom zone of the Extra-mural Zone functioned as a bazaar for the specified imported goods. The residential neighbourhoods on the waterfront were also a reflection of the wealth fronting the İstanbul maritime frontier; the inhabitants of the houses were the non-muslim citizens of the city, Greeks and Jews, who were mainly related with trade, maritime transportation and tax-farming in the customs. The Extra-mural Zone of the Classical Ottoman period was a spatio-temporal framework that incorporated almost all the waterfront typologies and boundary patterns developed in İstanbul, such as: the custom houses and state-run exchanges called *kapan*; the inspector offices called *çardak*; shops, depots and entrepots on the waterfront; inns, taverns and bachelor-houses; waterfront mansions; and waterfront squares.

The Extra-mural Zone of the Classical Ottoman period was a place where the State tried to control the socio-economic flows fronting the city within an inhabited boundary mixed with many other functions. It was a problem area for the Ottoman State and this was related with its spatiality. The Zone was increasingly congested as a city fabric, which almost covered the whole extend of the fortifications and most of the waterfront. The space was the source of the great fires of İstanbul and suitable for outlaw trade. In these conditions, the Ottoman State declared Edicts for the transformation of the Extra-mural Zone by forbidding the construction of buildings adjacent to the walls and the ownership of private depots on the waterfront. The congested fabric of the early 19th century is a proof for the fact that the State was unsuccessful in instructing its rules.

In fact, the Extra-mural Zone proper can only be observed as an extensive boundary zone with intensive architectural differentiations in the original written and visual sources on the Ottoman Period. The complete line of the fortifications and the plot patterns can only be drawn from the reference of the 19th century maps, the Extra-mural fabric can be viewed as the base of the panoramas drawn from the Galata side, the places of the Gates and landings which date from the Byzantine period can only be known by the reference of the

Ottoman period. The Ottoman Extra-mural Zone is the major reference for any study on the northern waterfront of the Historical Peninsula whether it is interested in the Antique, Late Antique, Middle and Late Byzantine period. The reasons for that, is the demolition of most of the historical structures forming the Extra-mural Zone in an extended time span from the mid 19th century to the late 20th century without a complete survey of the historical strata and heritage. The process of the transformation of the classical maritime frontier as the Extra-mural Zone can be understood under two different sections: trials for the reformation of the harbour area in the Late Ottoman period and the planning projects of the Republican period.

The Extra-mural Zone was restructured in the Late Ottoman period- also known as the Period of Reforms- by the territorial, cultural and technological transformations. It can be stated that the Classical Ottoman Extra-mural Zone was mainly retained in respect to the points of terminals, custom zones and the determining role of the fortifications in ordering the relations between the city and the waterfront. Although, the fortifications were partially destroyed, their line was preserved by the properties constructed adjacent to the both sides of the fortifications in the Ottoman period. There are very few new arteries opened on the former circuit of the fortifications, even most of the gates were demolished since the early 20th century, they still functioned as the only places for the traffic between the city and the Extra-mural Zone. Although, modern means of transportation, like steamboats for the trade and steamers for the inter-sectoral traffic, the places of the maritime terminals were retained. This maybe related with the continuing impacts of the openings on the line of fortifications. Although, the Ottoman court moved to other palaces on the Bosphorus and the railway line was placed on the former circuit of the walls at this section, the railway formed a new barrier between the sea and the city. The railway station terminated at a new artery opened on the former line of the walls. Although, the modernisation of the whole custom zone was in agenda of the state only the section at Eminönü was realised which coincided with the former Stocks Customs. The construction of two bridges on Haliç intensified the communication between Galata and eth Extra-mural Zone; however, this did not create a major difference on the point of landings apart from the increase in the height of the buildings because of congestion. Although, side functions of the harbour and some industry functions replaced the residential neighbourhoods, the property patterns were preserved as forming the same wall effect between the waterfront squares. The major difference of the Late Ottoman period was the emergence of the whole Extra-mural Zone as a harbour zone, which functioned within the same boundary patterns. However, the tripartite functional division of the Classical Ottoman City was retained by the construction of bridges, which

divided the harbour into three zones. **The unsuccessful attempt of the Late Ottoman State for the transformation of the Extra-mural Zone is a specific representation of a classical frontier, which survived the first impacts of the 19th century modernisation.**

It is in the Republican period, when the city of İstanbul lost its imperial title but emerged as the main industrial harbour and a great metropolis that the Extra-mural Zone was demolished in sections. The first demolitions were made in the 1950s were for opening a greater artery for car traffic replacing the Wall Street. The last and the radical demolition was done in the 1980s when the whole remains of the Extra-mural fabric was erased with the exception of few buildings counted as historical monuments and the remains of the fortifications which survived the Ottoman period. In the place of the Extra-mural Zone were constructed parkways with the exception of the harbour region to the east of Galata Bridge that is the former place of Byzantium's enclosed harbours.

The maritime frontiers of Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul, as observed here, in reference to the Extra-mural Zone were transformed in successive stages according to the change in the city structure, the demands of the changing population, the mechanisms and intensity of the provisioning, the as well as the technology of transportation. There is a common feature in all these successive stages; the city frontiers of İstanbul have been the frontiers of larger geo-political and socio-economic territories. Even when the city has a control over these larger spatial frames as their centre, the frontiers of İstanbul has been difficult spaces to control and facilitate. This may be simply, the result of its being a maritime city; as the Antique philosophers had observed, the maritime city lacks harmony, it is exposed to the positive and negative impacts of the "outside" which simply means "the sea". The impressive heritage of the boundary architecture on the maritime frontiers of Byzantium-Constantinople-İstanbul can be interpreted on the duplicitous character of a capital city founded on a maritime crossroads.

7.2. Spatiality of the Extra-mural Zone as an Interfacial Boundary Structure

The Extra-mural Zone was a three-fold front which was formed of the fortifications, the sea and the foreshore. The foreshore was the intermediary area between the two extensive boundaries; it was a city/water-front. The fortification was essentially a closed boundary that was pierced at different intervals by gates in order to facilitate the possible communications between the city and the outside. The seashore on the contrary was an open boundary, equally communicable throughout its extend; that means landings could have existed at any

point of the boundary.³ The intermediary milieu between these two different boundary structures, which is the ground of the Extra-mural Zone, did function itself as a boundary by the construction of buildings. Without any buildings the Extra-mural Zone would have functioned as a continuous undifferentiated threshold. However, that was not the case; the Extra-mural Zone was not a uniform space, it was architecturally differentiated along its extent. The buildings constructed on the Zone and landings on the shore were acting for or against the flows between the sea and the city. These are interpreted in the study as intensive differentiations along the same basic boundary condition forming the extensive city/water-front on the Keras-Haliç side of Constantinople-İstanbul.

Throughout the survey it was specifically observed that the differentiations along the fortifications as the intervals of the gates, the differentiations along the seashore according to the type of the landings and the differentiations on the morphology of the Extra-mural fabric was relational within themselves and also with the flow patterns between the sea and the city. The differentiations on the fortifications and the seashore can be observed for both the Middle Byzantine and Ottoman period. However, the functional and morphological differentiations of the Extra-mural fabric can only be surveyed for the Ottoman period within a certain accuracy.

The fortifications on Keras-Haliç were the interior stratum of the three-fold front. Although constructed in different periods throughout the Late Antiquity and restored in the later Byzantine and Ottoman periods; it can be said that these fortifications were structurally uniform. They were approximately of ten meters high and were constructed of courses of stone and brick.⁴ Almost at uniform intervals there were square towers projecting towards the outside (towards the Extra-mural area).⁵ The fortifications were formed of single walls

³ The shores of Keras-Haliç were sharply dropping and thus they were suitable for the direct wharfage on the shore without the necessity of great piers. This has been the case since the great container ships of the middle 20th century.

⁴ There are differences in the patterns of the stone and brick courses.

⁵ There are two known exceptions to the square towers. One is the round tower called "Gömlüklü Kule" by the Ottomans, which existed at the site of the present Yeni Camii Sultans Lodge. The tower can be seen in the panorama of Lorichs before its destruction. The other is marked by Dirimtekin in reference to the fortification maps of the late 19th century (Kal'a-i Zemin) at the east of Bahçekapı. The fourth tower to the east of the gate, he marks another round tower. The reference of round towers at Sirkeci-Eminönü is important it is known from the Antique written sources that the harbour of Neorion was defined by a round tower at its west terminus. This point is a reference to the limits of the Byzantium fortifications.

with two exceptions: Prosfhorion and the Phanar-Fener section. The section of Phanar was fortified by double walls as forming a small castle called the Petrion.⁶

The main architectural differentiations along the Keras-Haliç fortifications were the intervals of the city gates. In fact, the Keras-Haliç fortifications were the most “permeable” among the other frontiers of the city; they were permeable both in the sense of being pierced at short intervals and also as being vulnerable. The number of the gates on Keras-Haliç fortifications were 16-18 from the Middle Byzantine to Ottoman Istanbul periods, which is the highest number among the other frontiers of the Historical Peninsula, which are the Land-walls and the Propontis-Marmara fortifications. The gates are the weakest part of any fortification system; the short intervals of the Keras-Haliç fortifications made them the most vulnerable part of the defence system in Constantinople. However, it should not be under-estimated that after the early 8th century, the walls of Keras did exist within a greater gate system: the chain of Keras which transformed the inlet into an enclosable harbour. Thus, Keras walls were part of a greater defence system developed for the Inlet. The Ottomans did not use the Chain, as the fortifications did not function for defensive purposes.

The intervals of the gates on the fortifications were not uniform. The distance between the gates increased at different sections between 100-700 meters. Although the number of the gates is more or less the same between the Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul, there were differences, as the Ottomans enclosed some of the gates while opening new ones. There are two interrelated factors that effected the site-selection and the intervals of the gates: the siting of the interior functions related with the sea and the intensity of the in-and-out of the city and maritime flows fronting certain sections.

The interior functional structure of the city is not only important to understand the situation of the gates but also the continuities and differences between the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. The number of the gates increased at the points where the relations between the inner city and the sea increased; the harbour section is an open manifestation for

⁶ The reasons for the existence of a citadel at Phanar should be interpreted within the successive stages of fortification constructions in the Constantinian and Theodosian periods. If the Petrion castle was constructed before the erection of the Theodosian section in 425, then this citadel can be a stronghold for the preservation of the Keras fortifications from the landside (as the Pteron of Blahernai in the later periods). Then after the construction of the Theodosian section of the walls the strategic importance of the castrum should have declined as this area was used as a site for monasteries in the later periods.

that. In the Byzantine era the section between Eugenius tower (Yalı Kiosk) and Drungarios Gate (Odunkapı) functioned as the main trade wharf; the Plateia region was another economic terminal, however it was not directly connected to the eastern harbour region. There was a slight shift on the trade harbour to the west in the Ottoman period as some part of the Byzantine harbour Zone was occupied by the Palace functions. The complete area between Eminönü and Unkapanı emerged as a customs and trade wharf reserved for specific uses while by the opening of a new gate between Odunkapı and Unkapanı compensated the closing of the gates on the eastern side. At the same time there was an increase in the economic flows in the Ottoman period compared to the Middle and Late Byzantine period which increased communications between the sea and the city. Here, the place where the intervals of the gates were shortest in the Ottoman Period can be mentioned as an example: that is the section between Balıkpazarı and Bahçekapı with the Yeni Camii Gate in the middle.

The main type of landing from the Middle Byzantine to the Ottoman period was *scala-iskele*. This refers to a simple wooden jetty with a short projection. The names of the *scala-iskele* provide information about the function of the landing and the maritime flows both for the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. First of all there were *scala-iskele* across each gate in most cases refereed with the name of the gate, like the *Scala San Marci*, *Scala Drungarii*, and *Balıkpazarı İskelesi*, *Cibali İskelesi*. Second there were *scala-iskele* called after the places where the landing ships or boats came from, like *Scala Halcedonensis* (Chalcedon jetty), *Scala Sycaene* (Galata jetty) or *Üsküdar İskelesi*, *Girit İskelesi*, *Tekirdağ İskelesi*. There were *scala-iskele* named after and functioning for ceremonial purposes, like the various Imperial Piers of Byzantine period or *Meyit İskelesi* of the Ottomans. Specifically, for the Byzantine period the scala of the Great Oikos, which were the jetties reserved for the use of pious foundations having exemptions from trade taxes can be observed. Specifically for the Ottoman Period, there were jetties named after the specified goods imported like *Limon İskelesi* (Lemon jetty), *Hasır İskelesi* (Raw Mat jetty).

The seashore, like the fortifications, was differentiated with the intervals of *scala-iskele*. The main factors determining the differentiations were the intervals of the gates, the functions on the Extra-mural Zone and the intensity of the flows between the sea and the city. At the sections where the flows increased, specifically like the customs and trade harbour zone, there were more *scala-iskele* than the gates. Counting that the intervals of the

gates were short at this section, this means that the whole waterfront was used as an open boundary.

However, a main difference between the fortifications and the seashore should not be missed, the seashore can be used for private purposes by the construction of the waterfront structures. This kind of a pattern can certainly be observed for the Ottoman period at the section between Cibali and Ayvansaray; the waterfront was occupied by row houses; the only public access was across the gates. The duplication of the fortifications on the waterfront by row buildings is different from the walls. They could be used for private purposes. Thus, in interpreting the shores of the Extra-mural Zone, the factor that it is originally an open boundary should not be missed.

The relation patterns and the intensity of the flows between the fortifications and the seashore, between the sea and the city, can certainly be observed from the formation of the ground of the Extra-mural Zone. The Extra-mural Zone was a natural sedimentation area and the width of the foreshore increased by the debris of the city and infill in different periods from the Byzantine to the Ottoman period, which constantly transformed the shoreline. Thus, unlike the fortifications, the seashore was not fixed; it expanded towards the sea. The differentiations in the degree of cultural sedimentation are observed in this study as a reference for understanding the interrelation of the flow patterns and the Extra-mural fabric.

The sections of the Extra-mural Zone across the gates were formed as fronts projecting towards Haliç. Ayvansaray, Arslan, Balat, Fener, Ayakapı, Cibali, fronts were across the gates with the same name acting as the landing squares. The landing squares did not only function as minor maritime terminals but also as the places where the damp and debris of the neighbourhoods were thrown to the sea. In the Ayvansaray and Balat sections the width of the front was more compared to the other ones. The reasons for this differentiation can be two-fold: the use of this points as important landings in the Byzantine period which could have increased cultural sedimentation and the degree of natural sedimentation increasing towards the inner sections of the inlet. The Balat section was further extended in the late 19th and early 20th century when the fortifications at this section were demolished and used as extra- infill on the sea. The Extra-mural fabric between the gates from Ayvansaray and Unkapı was row houses enclosing the waterfront.

Across Unkaparı is another big front that functioned as the Flour wharf of the city. The width of the Extra-mural Zone at the section between Odunkapı and Bahçekapı is different as being evenly extended towards the sea without fronts within the Extra-mural Zone. The fronts in this section follow the same circuit with the walls. The reasons for this even infill seem to be the short intervals of the gates and the use of the whole shore as an open wharf filled with jetties.

When the places of the jetties on the seashore and the gates on the walls are pointed and the flow patterns between these are mapped it can be observed that the resultant pattern is in accord with the urban fabric of the Ottoman Extra-mural Zone. The open manifestation is the section around Zindan Gate where was formed an insular fabric. The traverse streets of the insular pattern matches with the point of jetties while there were three to five streets parallel to the fortifications (Plate 2). A similar relation can be observed for the urban tissue of the residential neighbourhoods between Unkaparı and Ayvansaray. The wedge-shaped waterfront squares at Cibali, Ayakapı, Balat and Fener are another example discovered for the relation between the flow patterns and city fabric in this study.

The relation between the flow patterns and differentiations on an extensive boundary zone provides a basis for a possible revitalization of the area in contemporary İstanbul. The former Extra-mural Zone is formed of continuous park-ways which do not have the functional richness, the intensity of in-and-out of the city and cross-inlet flows of the Classical Ottoman period. Although the solid forms of the Extra-mural Zone have disappeared, it is still possible to revitalise the former flow patterns between the sea and the shore, between the shore and the city. For this it is essential to construct suitable "crossings" over the contemporary motorway, which has formed a new line of speed, obstructing the relation between inner sections of the Historical Peninsula and the sea. Another action can be to review the single theme parks with new open-air recreational functions that can differentiate with their relations with the inner city sections. While the extensive definition can be retained it can be differentiated by intensifying the relations between the sea and the peninsula; specifically the former places of the gates and landings can form a basis for this kind of a planning.

7. 3. Spatiality of the City Frontier: Defence, Customs and Terminal Zones

The Extra-mural Zone was an intermediary boundary zone that functioned as a defence zone, a custom zone and a terminal zone. The socio-economic function of the classical city frontier is illustrated in the history of the Extra-mural Zone near the military function. In this respect, the Extra-mural Zone, as a maritime frontier, represents the spatiality of the classical city frontier, which is difficult to observe in the other types of fortified cities. The fortified city was not a line of defence, but it was formed of juxtaposed boundary zones as the defence zone, custom zone and the terminal zone.

The defence zone, *pomerium* as it is conceptualised in Latin, was formed according to the trajectory of the siege-machines; it was a boundary zone for the protection of the fortification, which was the ultimate frontier. The custom zone is the space where the socio-economic flows in and out of the city was controlled; it is a space where the intra-mural and extra-mural masses were differentiated. The terminal zone was the space where the heterogenous speeds of the outside were homogenised to the pedestrian speed of the interior city; it was a space formed by the differentiation of speed.

The defence zone was formed usually as part of the great fortification architecture, which was materialised as ditches, mounds or simply as scant spaces on the front of the fortifications. The terminal and custom zones were not necessarily part of the fortification architecture; they may be formed as annex spaces of the gates on the front of the city walls. The custom zone and the terminal zone are difficult to comprehend as part of the classical frontier in the land cities; these functions could extend on the peripheries, specifically along the main roads reaching the city gates.

The specificity of the fortified maritime city is that the custom zone and terminal zone has to be defined within a limited space. The definition of the custom and terminal zone, which is simply the harbour area, is dependent on the natural characteristics of the coastline. However, two main types can be mentioned: the enclosed harbour which is a greater gate within the fortifications, and an open foreshore on the front of the fortifications. The first type is generally met at the places where the sea is wild and where the fortifications are build right on the sea. This is where the defence zone, *pomerium*, is sea itself. The enclosed harbour can be interpreted as part of the great fortification architecture. With the construction of molls, the entrance towers, the quay walls, the enclosed harbour is a great architectural ensemble as best illustrated in the imperial harbours of the Roman

Mediterranean. In the second type, the foreshore on the front of the fortifications acts as the *pomerium*, the custom zone and the terminal zone. An elongated threshold is formed on the front of the walls servicing as a landing for a series of gates. The architecture of the second type can be autonomous from the great fortification architecture; furthermore, the space can be extended in time when necessary.

The Extra-mural Zone, which this study was concerned with, was the foreshore type maritime frontier. In fact, it is the representation of a transition from the enclosed type to the foreshore. This can be observed in the transformation of the enclosed harbours of Byzantium and Constantinople starting in the 7th century AD and the emergence of the Extra-mural Zone as a complex city frontier which functions both as a defence, terminal and a custom zone.

The understanding of the spatiality of the city frontier on the basis of three different but juxtaposed boundary zones- as the defence, terminal and custom zones- is not only important for the pre-industrial finite and closed city, but also for understanding the persistence of the frontier after the emergence of the open and expanding city replacing the former.

When terminal and custom zone is understood as part of the classical city frontier, the disappearance of the city frontiers after the 19th century can be reconsidered. What disappeared is the defensive purpose of the city frontier. After the increase in the fire-power of the canons and then the invention of ariel warfare whole city-space has emerged as a possible target; thus, the defence of the line has lost its prominence. As the city fortifications has become simply dysfunctional, they disappeared or were preserved as relics of the past.

However, the terminal and custom zones have been retained and these are distributed on the expanding city-space, which replaced the finite and enclosed city. Where the 19th century train station is the first example for the transformation of the site-selection of the terminal space, the 20th century airports are a latest manifestation for the persistence of the city frontier in the contemporary city. Since the custom zones had been carried to the national frontiers after the 19th century, the airports are specific as they relocate the custom zone into the cities; airport is both a terminal and custom zone.

Although the demolition of the city fortifications has been interpreted as the disappearance of the classical city frontier, the frontier has been preserved in new locations on the expanding city as a result of new technological means of mobility which essentially necessitates terminal spaces, spaces of confrontation, for a possible interaction between different spatial modes. The architectural history of the city frontier is not that of a definite typology that had been outmoded; if understood as a space formed of juxtaposed boundary zones, the architectural history of the city frontier is still retained within the ever-expanding city. That is the case, even after the emergence of new means of communications and terminals, which does not necessitate enclosed and fixed spaces. In the contemporary urban condition, the cities are formed of different spatialities, which has their own boundary definitions. The classical forms of the boundary-making are still valid as well as new solid and fluid forms of space definition. In this respect, it can be stated that more than a disappearance of the city frontiers, we can speak of the complexification and multiplication of the terminal and custom zones.

7. 4. Postscript: “September 11th 2001”

After the examination committee of this doctorate study, at the stage of regular corrections, a turning point for the conception of the city frontier has been formed; that is the destruction of the Twin Towers in New York and partial damage on the Pentagon in Washington DC by the assaults of hijacked air-planes on September 11th 2001. The “terrorists” have attacked New York- the capital city of the global economy- and Washington DC- the capital of the single-poled world system- by using the networks and mechanisms of “global capitalism”. The symbolical centres of the economic and political centre of the contemporary world system has not been hit by new weapons but by regular passenger planes; the passenger planes have turned into war-machines. The attacks are a perfect manifestation of the “de-terrorialisation” of a “territorialisation” mechanism, as Deleuze& Guattari have theorised in the “Nomadology”, which has been a major theoretical reference for this study. The “war on terrorism” declared by USA and the Ally States marks a new period where attempts for the “re-territorialisation” of the “de-territorialised” world system will be forthcoming. It seems that in the coming decades, where there will be no openly declared war but a permanent state of war against an “invisible” hostile power, the conception of the city-frontier will be on the agenda; any building and any space can be a target. In the emerging situation, the urban-space will probably be restructured while architecture will reconsider its “defensive” role. Will the “down-towns” be retained? Will the economic and political powers openly manifest their presence? Will the already developing notion of “interface” replace the “face-to-face”

interactions completely? Will extreme “sedentariness” replace extreme “nomadism” as “nomad-guerillas” threaten the means of mass-transportation? The informational technologies of the late 20th century had already bring out the conditions of a radical restructuring; it seems that the “post-September the 11th” conditions will accentuate these attempts of restructuring.

M. Pawley in his 1998 book “Terminal Architecture”, like many other theoreticians, had already prophesied the architecture of the 21st century as a container for the facilitation and protection of the modern informational technologies. Where the terminal zone of the classical city frontier had been transferred to all the city-space, now, it seems that the defence zone of the classical frontier will be incorporated to the buildings; specifically the ones sheltering the strategically important functions. This study was developed by the reconsideration of the theme of the disappearance of the city frontier in reference to recent architectural debate hypothesising the re-emergence of the frontier in new guises. The study has considering the basic conditions generating the architecture of the city frontier. Ironically, the study has to be concluded at a time when the most basic function of the classical city frontier, defence, has been re-introduced into urban debates. Maybe a historical survey on the form and meaning of the city frontier, like this study, can be a contribution in these new attempts of restructuring and re-conceptualisation.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES: Byzantine Emperors From Constantine the Great, Sultans From the Capture of Constantinople

1. Byzantine Emperors:

306-337.	Constantine I. the Great
337-361.	Constantius
361-363.	Julian the Apostate
363-364.	Jovain
364-378.	Valens
378-395.	Theodosius I. the Great
395-408	Arcadius
408-450.	Theodosius II.
450-453.	Pulcheria
453-457.	Marcian
457-474.	Leon I.
474-474	Leon II.
474-475.	Zenon
475-477.	Basilicus
477-491.	Zenon (second time)
491-518	Anastase I.
518-527.	Justin I.
527-565.	Justinian
565-578.	Justin II.
578-582.	Tiberius II.
582-602.	Maurice
602-610.	Phocas
610-641.	Heraclius I.
641-641.	Heraclius II (or Constantine III)

641-641.	Heracloneas
641-668	Constans II.
668-685	Constantine IV
685-695	Justinian II.
695-698	Leontios
698-705	Tiberius III. Absimare
705-711.	Justinian II (second time)
711-713.	Philippicos
713-715.	Anastase II.
715-717.	Theodosius III.
717-741.	Leon III. the Isaurian
741-775	Constantine V. Copronymes
775-780.	Leon IV.
780-797.	Constantine VI.
797-802.	Irene
802-811.	Nicephorus I.
811-811.	Stavrikos
811-813.	Micheal I. Rangabe
813-820.	Leon V. The Armenian
820-829.	Micheal II. The Stammer
829-842.	Theophilus
842-867.	Micheal III.
867-886.	Basileios I.
886-912.	Leon VI.
912-913	Alexandros
913-959.	Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetus
920-944	Romanos I. Lekapenos (co-Emporor)
959-963.	Romanos II.
963-969.	Nicephorus Phocas
969-976.	John I. Zimisces
976-1025.	Basileios II.
1025-1028.	Constantine IX.
1028-1034.	Romanos III. Argyre
1034-1041.	Michael IV.
1041-1042.	Micheal V. Calafate
1042-1042	Zoe
1042-1054	Constantine X. Monomaque
1054-1056	Theodora
1056-1057	Micheal VI. The Soldier

1057-1059	Isaac Comnenus	
1059-1067.	Constantine XI. Ducas	
1067-1071.	Romanos IV. Diogenes	
1071-1078.	Micheal VII Ducas	
1078-1081.	Nicephorus III. Botaniate	
1081-1118.	Alexius I. Komnenos	
1118-1143.	Jean II. Komnenos	
1143-1180.	Manuel II Komnenos	
1180-1183.	Alexius II. Komnenos	
1183-1185.	Andronicus IV. Komnenos	
1185-1195.	Isaac II. Angelos	
1195-1203.	Alexis III. Angelos	
1203-1204.	Isaac II. Angelos (second time)	
1203-1204.	Alexius IV. Angelos	
1204-	Alexius V. Murtzuflos	Latin Conquest
1205-1221	Theodoros I. Laskaris (in Nicea)	
1221-1254	John III. Dukas Vavatzes (in Nicea)	
1254-1258.	Theodoros II. Laskaris (in Nicea)	
1258-1261.	John IV. Laskaris (in Nicea)	
1261-1282.	Micheal VIII. Paleologos	
1282-1328.	Andronicus II. Paleologos	
1328-1341.	Andronicus III. Paleologos	
1341-1376.	John V. Paleologos	
1347-1354.	John VI. Cantacuzene (co-emporor)	
1376-1379.	Andronicus IV. Paleologos	
1379-1391.	John V. Paleologos (second time)	
1390-1390	John VII. Paleologos (co-emporor)	
1391-1425.	Manuel II. Paleologos	
1425-1448.	John VIII. Paleologos	
1448-1453.	Constantine XI. Paleologos	

2. Latin Emperors (1204-1261)

1204-1205	Baudoin I.
1205-1216.	Henry
1216-1219.	Pierre de Courtenai
1219-1228.	Robert
1228-1261.	Baudoin II & Jean de Brienne

3. Ottoman Sultans

1453-1481	Mehmed II. The Conquerer
1481-1512	Beyazıd II.
1512-1520.	Selim I. Yavuz
1520-1566.	Suleiman I. the Legislator, the Magnificent
1566-1574.	Selim II.
1574-1595	Murad III.
1595-1603.	Mehmed III.
1603-1617	Ahmed I.
1617-1618	Mustafa I.
1618-1623.	Osman II.
1623-1640.	Murad IV.
1640-1648.	İbrahim
1648-1687.	Mehmed IV.
1687-1691.	Suleiman II.
1691-1695.	Ahmed II.
1695-1703.	Mustafa II.
1703-1730.	Ahmed III.
1730-1754.	Mahmud I.
1754-1757	Osman III.
1757-1774.	Mustafa III.
1774-1789.	Abdülhamid I.
1789-1807.	Selim III.
1807-1808.	Mustafa IV.
1808-1839.	Mahmud II.
1839-1861.	Abdülmeçid
1861-1876.	Abdülaziz
1876-1909.	Abdülhamid II.
1909-1918.	Mehmed IV.
1918-1922.	Mehmed V.

APPENDIX B

List of the Buildings on the Extra-mural Zone in the *Bostancıbaşı Defteri-1815* (after Kayra, 1992)

Yalı Kasrı	
Bostaniyan Ocağı	
Darphane Emini hanesi	
önünde, Tebdil-i Hümayun ahır	
kurbinde (yakınında), Emin Ağa hanesi	
pişgahında (önünde), Silahtar Abdullah Ağa hanesi	
kurbinde, Ali Ağa kullarının hanesi	
pişgahında, Darüssade Ağası ahır	
kurbinde, Kerteneciler kethüdası hanesi	
Şehriyari Ağa hanesi	
pş, Taşcular ocağı	
Hüseyin haseki hanesi, pişgahında dolap ocağı	
Ahmet Bey hanesi	
Raif Efendi hanesi	
Hüsni Bey kulları hanesi	
pş, Sadrazam kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
Dellalbaş Halil Bey Hatununun hanesi	
pş, Yeşil kiremitli camii şerif	camii
Mehmet Bey hanesi	
pş, bıçakçıyan ve nakkaş ocakları	
Kasapbaşı hanesi	
İsmail Paşa ailesi hanesi, pişgahında kol kayığı	
Arif bey hanesi	
pş, Mavnacılar koğuşu	
Kahve	
İzzet Emin bey hanesi	
pş, Bostancıyan tulumbacıları kışlaları	kışla
Mır-I mumaileyh kulları iki adet hane.	
pş, Kahve ve hatap meydanı (hatap: odun)	meydan
Hayrullah efendi hanesi	
İstanbul Kadısı efendi	
pş, sandalcıyan Sadrali koğuşu	
Hayrullah Efendi hanesi	
pş, Ab-leziz çeşmesi	çeşme
Yahya hanesi, pş, anbarı	
Kuşçubaşı Camii-Şerif	camii
Kurbinde (yakınında) Kireçhane-I hassa	
Vezir iskelesi (Bahçekapı)	iskele
Saman ve şaar ve nuhas (bakır) ambarları	
pş, Selim Paşa camii	camii
Üç çeşm kayıkhanesi (çeşm: göz)	kayıkhanesi
Hidayet Camii şerifi	camii
İstanbul Ağası Kulları dairesi	
pş, İstanbul Ağası iskelesi	iskele
kurbinde, Emlak-I hümayun hatap meydanı	meydan
ku, Bostancı Kara Hasan kahvesi	

Ahmet Ağa Kerimesinin üç adet iradı yemiş dükkanı	
Ömer Yazıcı ve Hacı Yusuf iradı İki adet yemiş dükkanı	
Bursa-Mudanya iskelesi	iskele
serapa, Yemişçi dükkanları ve kahve gümrüğü	
Gümrük-ü kebir Emtai (mal) İstanbul ve meydanı mezbur (adı geçen)	meydan
Silahtar Süleyman Ağa'nın kayıkçı odası	
ku, Keleş Halil kahvesi	
Ortaköy, Beşiktaş iskelesi	iskele
İzzet Mehmet Paşa Camii şerifi	cami
Tophane Balıkpazarı iskelesi	iskele
ku, Seyit Mustafa kullarının kahvesi	
Sabık Zecriye (alkollü içkiler) emini zadelerin odası	
ku, Karaköy iskelesi	iskele
Mütevvefa Bostancıbaşı Mustafa Ağazade Mehmed bey odası	
Pazarbaşı odası ve yaşyemiş gümrüğü	
ku, Hasköy iskelesi	iskele
Başyasakçı kayıkhanesi ve odası	kayıkhanesi
Duhan (tütün) gümrüğü dairesi ve pişgahı iskelesi	iskele
Ellialtı Ömer'in kahvesi	
serapa (baştan aşağı, bütün) duhancı dükkanları	
ku, Hasır iskelesi	iskele
serapa, Limoncu dükkanları	
ku, Çardak iskelesi ve kolluğu	iskele
serapa, Yemiş dükkanları	
ku, Yemişçi iskelesi	iskele
ku, Yemişçi Halil'in Dükkanı	
Emlak-I Hümayun, sebze hane-I hassa	
Serapa, rugan-I zeyt (zeytin) mağazaları	
ku, Tulumba iskelesi	iskele
ku, Ahmet Yazıcı'nın kahvesi	
ku, Hatap kapısı meydanı	meydan-kapı
serapa, Keresteci dükkanları	
Ayazmakapusu iskelesi	iskele-kapı
ku, Tekirdağ iskelesi	iskele
ku, Cevahirci Davut Yahudinin serapa üç adet menzilleri	
ku, Peynirci Hacı Mustafa iradı Yahudhane	
ku, Aslan yahudi'nin hanesi	
ku, Tahtaboş iskelesi	iskele
Mosi yahudinin hanesi	
ku, El hac Ali'nin iradı Yahudhane ve kahvesi	
ku, Terekeci Mişon Yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Moralioğlu İpekçi Yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Cebeioğlu İbrahim iradı yahudhane	
ku, Cevhairci hayım yahudi hanesi	
ku, Hacı veli'nin Odaları, bakkalı ve kahvesi	
ku, Mazburun iradı Yahudhane	
Başyasakçı kahvesi	
ku, serapa, Kahve dükkanları	
ku, serapa, şaracı dükkanları	
ku, Kapan Naibi Naim Efendi dairesi	
ku, Kapan-I Dakik (Unkapamı) iskelesi	iskele
Subaşı Süleyman Ağa Camii Şerifi	cami
ku, Osman Çavuş kahvesi	
ku, Taşçı dükkanı ve bir bab oda	
ku, Yenişehirli Avram yahudinin hanesi	
Emin Ağazade kayıkhanesi ve odası	kayıkhanesi
Ellialtıortasının iradı Yahudhane ve kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Çuhacı yahudinin hanesi	

ku, Miskciođlu Merkado yahudinin kayikhanesi	kayikbane
ku, Efrenç dellalı Yako yahudinin hanesi ve kayikhanesi	kayikbane
basmacılar kethudası karısının iradı yahudhane ve kayikhanesi	kayikbane
Balıkhane iskelesi	iskele
ku, Hayım yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őerbetçi İsak yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Tüfenkhane ve iskelesi	iskele
ku, Yeniçeriyarı-I dergahı Ali, Tomruk meydanı	meydan
ku, Yenişehirli Avram yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Sarraf Manol yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őapcı Bohoraki yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Yahudi merhumun dairesi	
ku, Sarraf Lazar yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Attar İsak yahudi hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Çuhacı bezirgan Sebatay yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Hekimođlu Yuda yahudinin hanesi	
ku, İmam Ahmet Efendi'nin İradı yahudhane	
ku, Attar Yasef Yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Berlizade'nin İradı yahudhane	
ku, Haşım yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Hekimođlu yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Attar Sabetay yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Kınorte yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Sođukçesmeli Ebubekir efendi ve Ömer Ađa iradı Yahudhane	
ku, Cibali iskelesi, kayıkçıların lonca yeri ve kahve	iskele
ku, Mekki Efendi zade iradı Yahudhane ve üç adet kahve	
ku, hacı Mehmed iradı Yahudhane	
ku, Üsküdari Ayşe Hatun'un kereste dükkanı	
ku, Efrenç Hekimin hanesi	
ku, Terzi Monaol zimminin iskelesi	iskele
ku, Saatçiođlu Yorgaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Çuhacı Yorgiođlunun hanesi ve kayikhanesi	kayikbane
ku, Őapcı damadı Kınorte yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őapcı Yako yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őimkeş yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őimkeş Nesim yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Őalçı Apostol zimmi vereslerinin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Dimitriiođlu'nun hanesi	
ku, Abacı Sürmeli zimminin vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, İplikçi Dimitri zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bakkal Hacı Pereşkeve zimminin hanesi	
ku, Direkçi Dimitri zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Hacı Foti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Yemenici Konstanti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Terzibaşı Teodoraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Mihalaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Konstanti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Nikolaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Keresteci Karabet zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Hacı Konstanti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Sofçu Yani zimminin hanesi	
ku, Nikolaki karısının hanesi	
ku, Berber serafından Nedelko zimminin hanesi	
ku, Başıpapazođlu zimminin hanesi	
ku, Halepliođlu zimminin hanesi	
ku, Foti kalfanın vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, Baklaciođlu verselerinin hanesi	

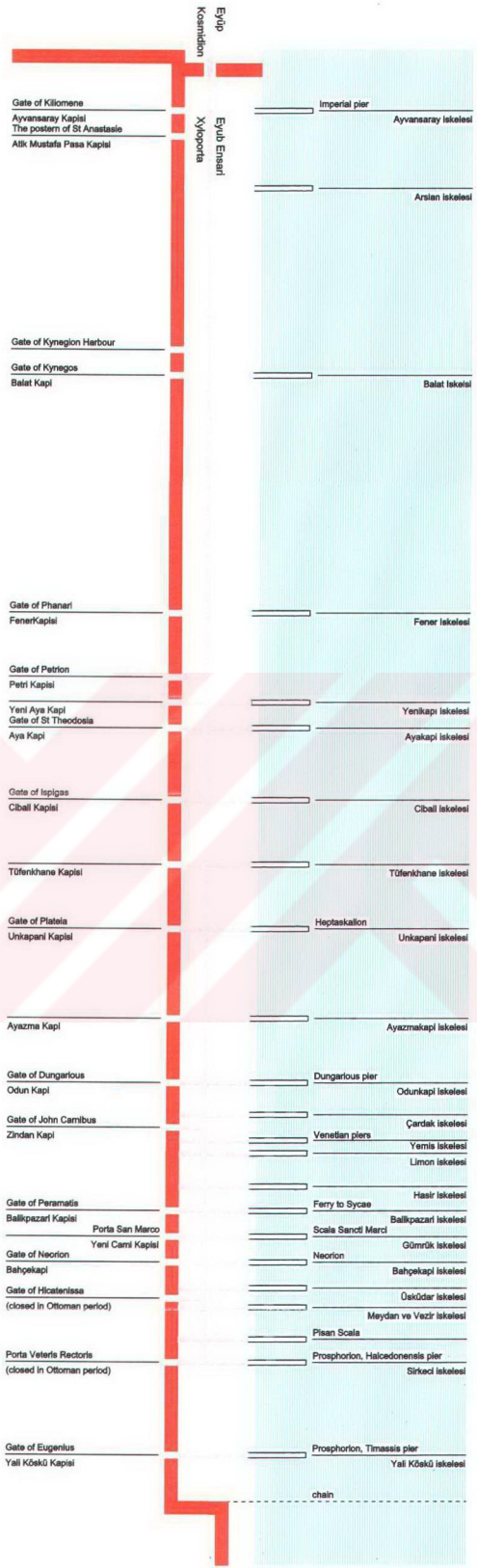
ku, Tamburi Yanaki varislerinin hanesi	
Ayakapu iskelesi ve pişgahında meydan-I mezbur.	İskele, meydan
ku, Kuyumcu Artvin zimminin hanesi	
ku, Abram zimminin hanesi	
ku, Ereğli metropoliti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Halepli Yani zimminin hanesi	
ku, zımmi mesfurun arsası	
ku, Pembeci Toroz zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgani Yani zimminin hanesi	
ku, Sarraf Hacı Mihalaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Hacı Dimitri zimminin hanesi	
ku, Filibeli Dimitraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Urbacı Frenkoğlu'nun hanesi	
ku, Cerrah Dimitri'nin hanesi	
Bab-I cedit İskelesi (yenikapı iskelesi)	iskele
Şeyhülislam Dürrizade Efendi cami	camı
Saatçi Maderos zimminin hanesi	
Sarraf Avanes zimminin hanesi	
ku, Yağcı Nikola zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Konstanti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Sarraf Lambek zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Ligori zimminin hanesi	
ku, Tuğlacı karısının hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Konstanti zimminin karısının hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Yorgi zimminin hanesi	
ku, Cerrah Todari vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, Aralık iskelesi	iskele
ku, Havlucu Dimitraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Yordan vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Yenako zimminin hanesi	
ku, Cevahirci Manol vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, Konstandi zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Hacı Panayot zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Lazraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Nikolalaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Ligoşka zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Oskali zimminin hanesi	
ku, Helvim Arakel oğulları hanesi	
ku, Yazıcı Mamolaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Petraki zimminin kızının hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan İstrati zimminin hanesi	
ku, Mike zimminin oğullarının hanesi	
ku, Çulcu Kosti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Tugodos zimminin hanesi	
ku, Hacı Aslan kızının hanesi	
ku, Sandalcı Anesti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Duloğlu zimminin verselerinin hanesi	
ku, mesfurun diğer hanesi	
ku, Kayseriye Metropoliti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Usturaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kamburoğlu Dimitraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Fener İskelesi	iskele
ku, Meydana nazır kahve dükkanları	
ku, Limoncu Mihal'ın hanesi	
ku, Üç çeşm kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Kamyanos Kalfa kullarının kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Sarraf Konstanti verselerinin hanesi	
ku, Anastas zimminin hanesi	

ku, Moralı Dimitraki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Mihal zimminin hanesi	
ku, Dülger Nikolaki zimminin hanesi	
Diğer Dülger zimminin hanesi	
ku, Boyar taifesinden Elmas zimminin hanesi	
ku, Patri kapı	kapı
Oğlanı İmade zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Yorgaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kürkçü Tanaş zimminin hanesi	
ku, Tohari zimminin kızının hanesi	
ku, Moralı bezirgan zimminin hanesi	
ku, Manolaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Dimitri zimminin hanesi	
ku, İskerlet zimminin hanesi	
ku, Eflak Voyvodası Yani bey hanesi	
ku, Sarraf Simanto Yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Sakızlı Mise Koste zimminin hanesi	
ku, Zımmi nesfurun arsası	
ku, Gavrail yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Kolbaşı Çalık zimminin hanesi	
ku, Boyar taifesinden Yorgaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Plaşaki karısının arsası	
ku, Şerbetçi Kostaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Samurkaşoğlu Yanko zimminin hanesi	
ku, Kuyumcu Manol zimminin arsası	
ku, Kürkçü Margarit zimminin hanesi	
ku, Hekim Yakova zimminin hanesi	
ku, Karaca Nikole zimminin hanesi	
ku, Patrikhane yasakçısı İbiş zimminin hanesi	
Merhum Nazif Efendi varislerin iradı kayıkhanesi (yedi çeşm)	kayıkhanesi
Emin ağanın yahudhane ve kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, İsmail Ağanın iradı bir hane, müsteciri İstefan zimmi	
ku, Terzi Yorgadaki karısı hanesi	
ku, Bezirgan Kosti zimminin hanesi	
ku, Sakızlı Hacı Yani zimminin hanesi	
ku, Margaret zimminin hanesi	
ku, Tanaşaki zimminin hanesi	
ku, Tur-I Sina Kilisesi	
ku, Üç adet kilise kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Bedestan tellağı Emin ağa'nın yahudhanesi	
ku, İstanbullu tabir olunan hanımın birbab iradı Yahudhane arsası	
ku, Hayım yahudhane arsası	
ku, İsmail kahvesi	
ku, Balat iskelesi	iskele
ku, Meydana nazır Hüseyin kahvesi	
ku, Yahudilere ait sığır salhanesi (mezbaha)	
ku, Keresteciler dükkanları arsası	
ku, Esma Sultan hazretlerinin bir babı iradı han	
Kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
bu mahalde, Hasköy iskelesi	iskele
ku, Kayıkhanesi	iskele
sığır salhanesi	
bu mahalde, Taşcılar iskelesi	iskele
ku, Bezirgan Avran yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Ocak bezirganı vereselerinin hanesi	
ku, Çuhacı menteş yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Hayım yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Dişçioğlu Nesim yahudinin hanesi	

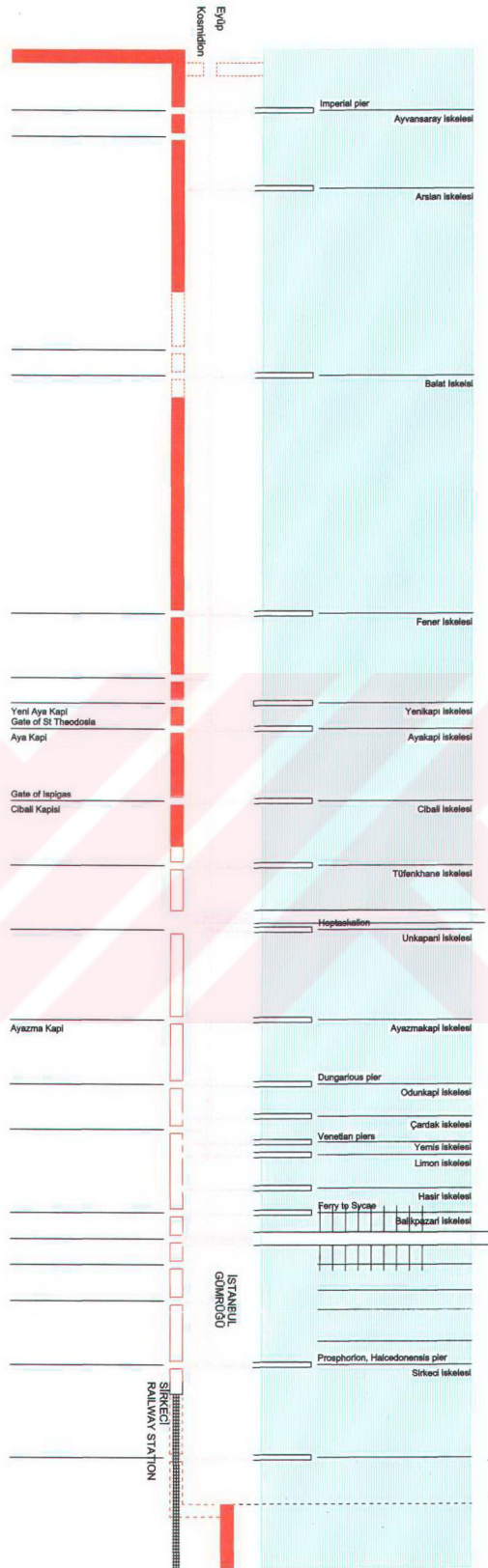
ku, Şerbetçi İsak yahudinin hanesi	
İ ku, brahim Çavuş Yahudhanesinin arsası	
ku, Şerbetçi Yukovaçı yahudinin hane arsası	
ku, Arslan yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Kehhal Kemal yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Sarraf Şamanto yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Çuhacı İsak yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Mosi (İzmirli) yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Dellal Menahem yahudinin arsası	
ku, Çuhacı Yuda yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Gümrük simsarı Yasef yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Attar Avram yahudinin arsası	
ku, Arslan iskelesi	iskele
ku, Şapçı Baharaçiyahudinin arsası	
ku, Efeç Dellal Yuda yahudinin arsası	
ku, Şişeci Menahem yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Attarlar dellalı Yasef yahudinin hanesi	
ku, Hekim Menahem yahudinin hanesi	
Zuamadan İbrahim Ağa hanesi ve dükkanı	
ku, Kumbaracı Mehmet kullarının dairesi	
ku, Kalafatçı Uzun Ali hanesi	
ku, Kuruçşmeli Hüseyin kulları hane ve kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Merhum Hüseyin kullarının kalafat meydanı	meşdan
ku, Portakaloğlu İbrahim'in kayık yapıcı dükkanı	
ku, Arap Hoca Hüseyin Efendi'nin hanesi	
ku, Zuamadan Nuri Ağa iradı beş göz kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Hatice Hatun'un mülkü iradı kayık yapıcı dükkan	
ku, Ayvansaray iskelesi (Elvan saray)	iskele
ku, Köse Mustafa kahvesi	
ku, El hac Kapudan kullarının hanesi	
ku, Sabuk Tersane amiri Vahit efendi Yalısı	
ku, Saray hamamı	
ku, Karaağaç Ustasızade Ahmet hanesi	
ku, Bosna Mollası Efendi yalısı	
ku, Bezcibaşı Salih Efendi kullarının yalı ve kayıkhanesi	
ku, Kasap Mustafa Yalısı	
ku, Yavedut nam iskelesi	iskele
ku, Sadık Ağa Yalısı	
ku, Baltacızade kayıkhanesi	kayıkhanesi
ku, Kasap Ali Yalısı	
ku, Arabacıbaşı Ali ağa yalısı	
ku, Kasap Ömer yalısı	
ku, diğer Ömer'in Yalısı	
ku, Çavuş yalısı	
ku,zevcesi hatunun yalısı	
ku, çamur iskelesi	iskele

Plate I.
The Gates and Landings of Constantinople-Istanbul, on the base map of (Miller-Wiener, 1977)

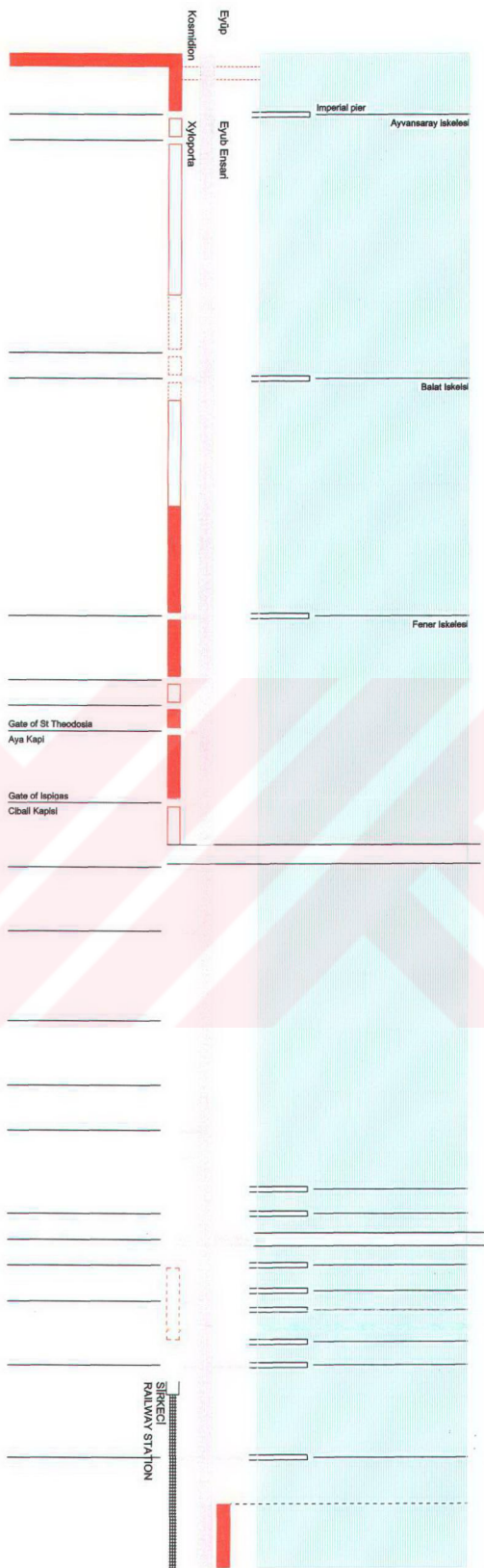




FLOW PATTERNS FROM THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD TO EARLY 19th CENTURY



FLOW-PATTERNS IN 1920'S



FLOW-PATTERNS IN THE PRESENT DAY

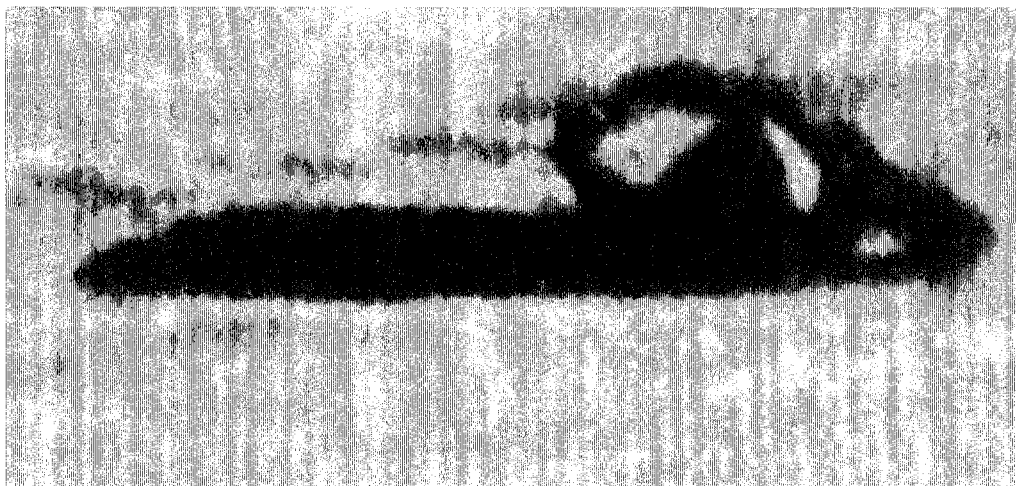
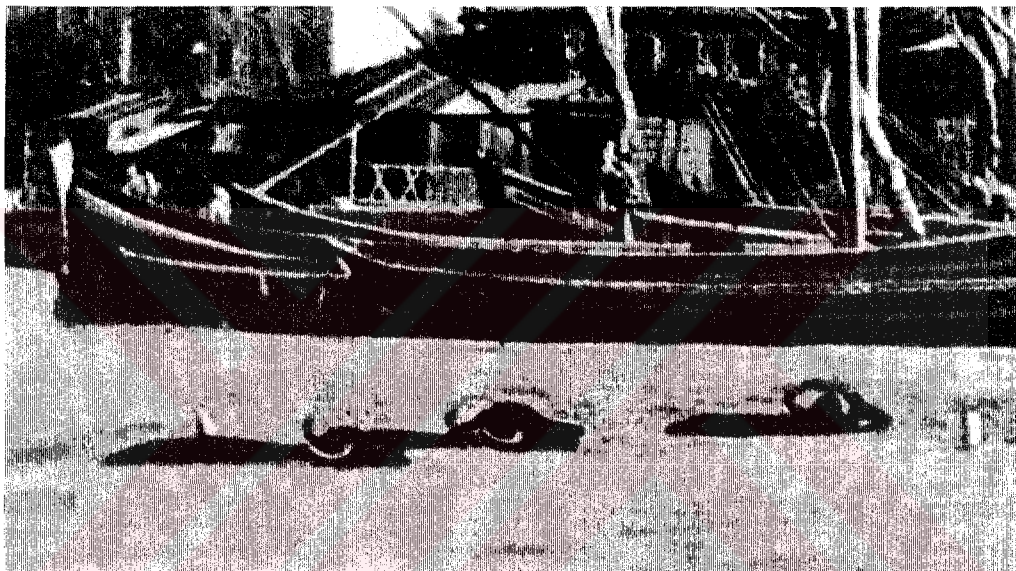


Fig.1. Bosporus: Ox-ford; Oxens on the Uskudar waterfront, photograph, late 19th century (rendering on the original in Eken, 1992)

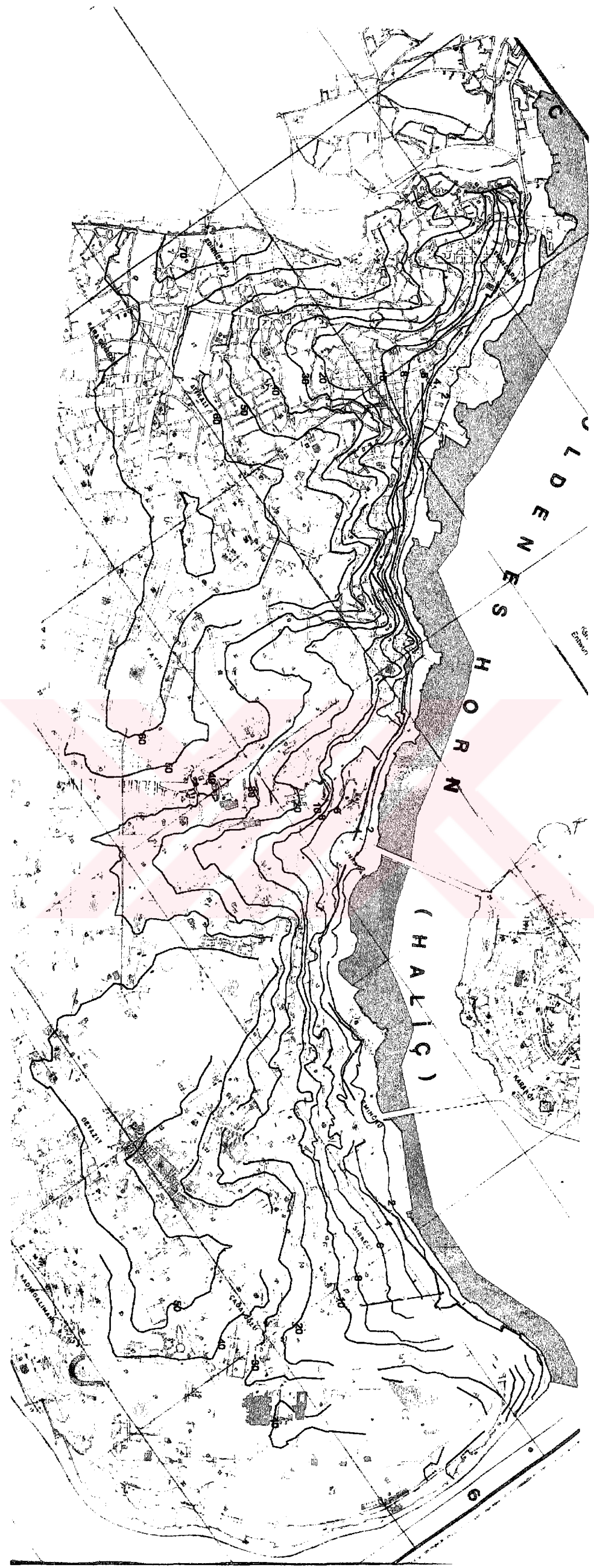


Fig. 2.1. Topography of the Historical Peninsula (base map after Müller-Wiener, 1977)

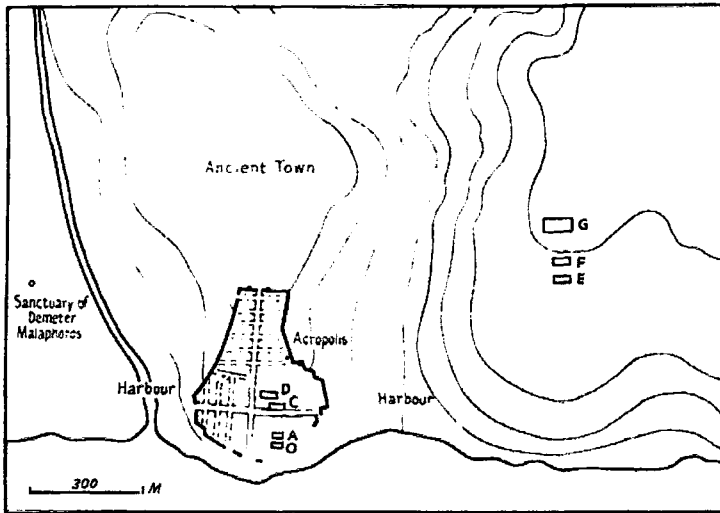


Fig. 4.1. Selinus, Megaran colony, grid-iron plan (Boardman, 1999)

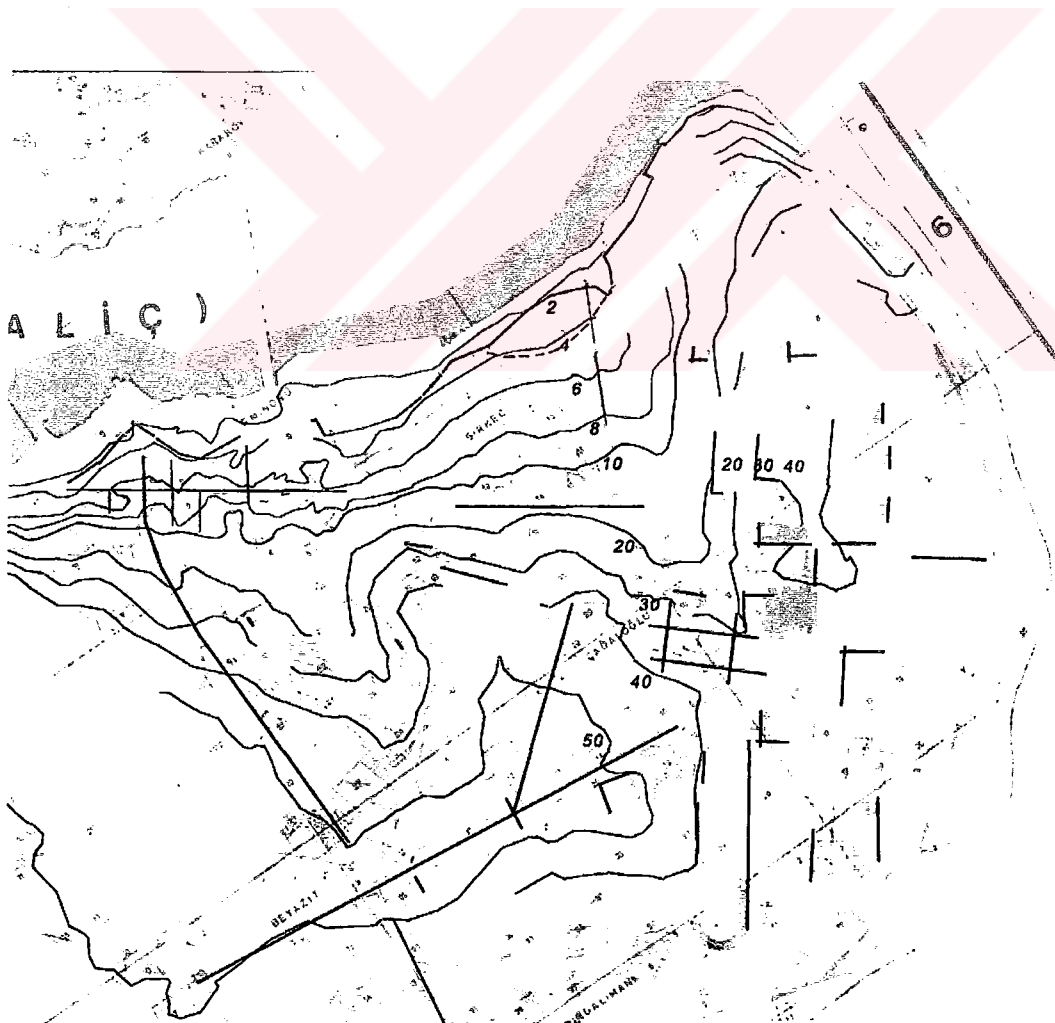
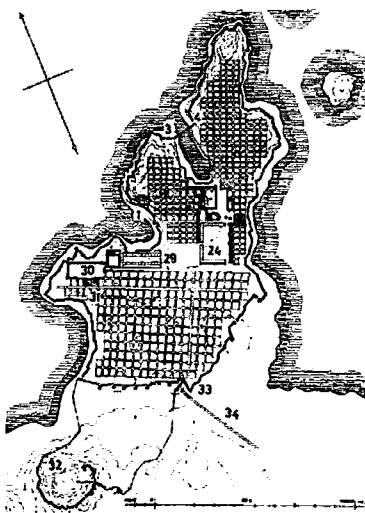
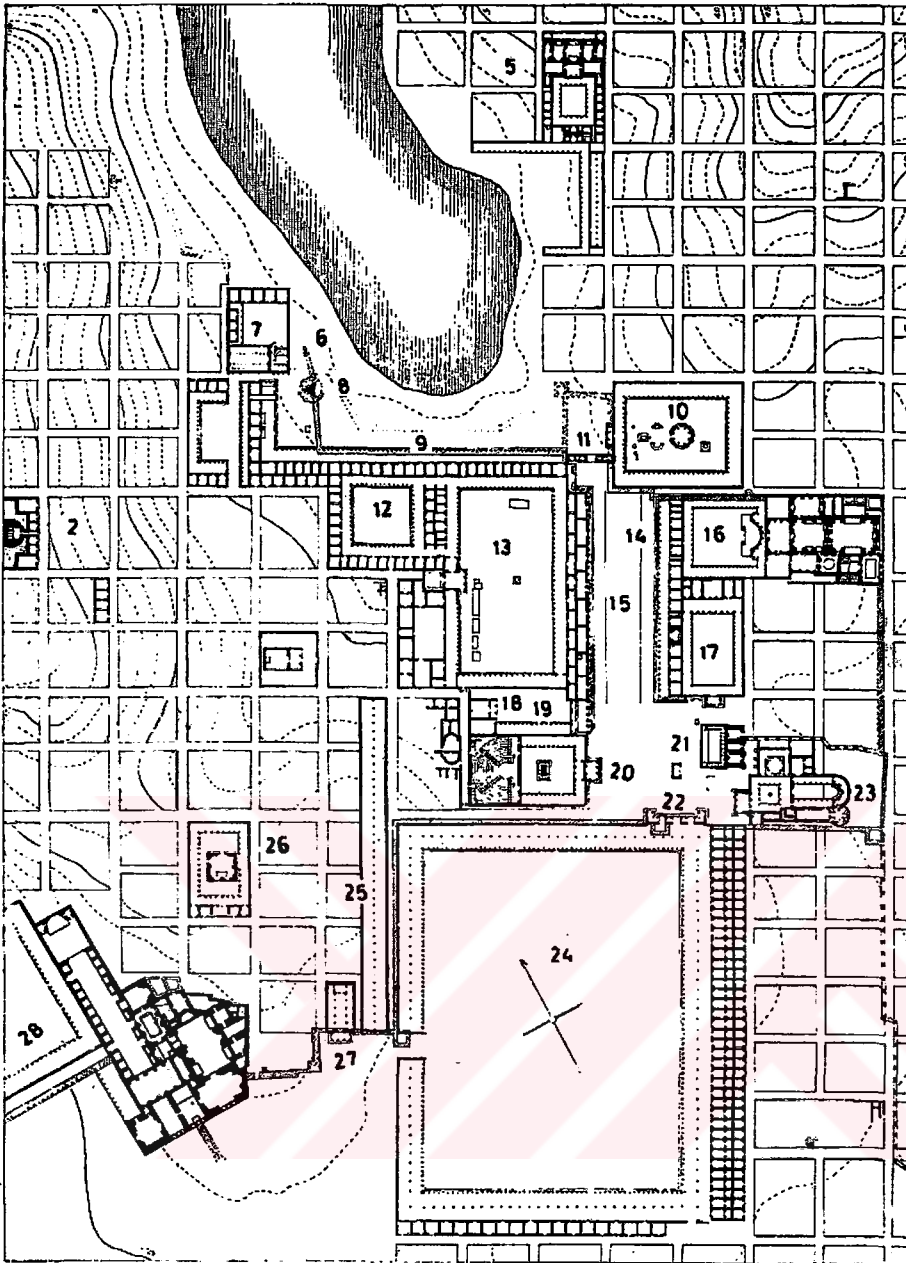
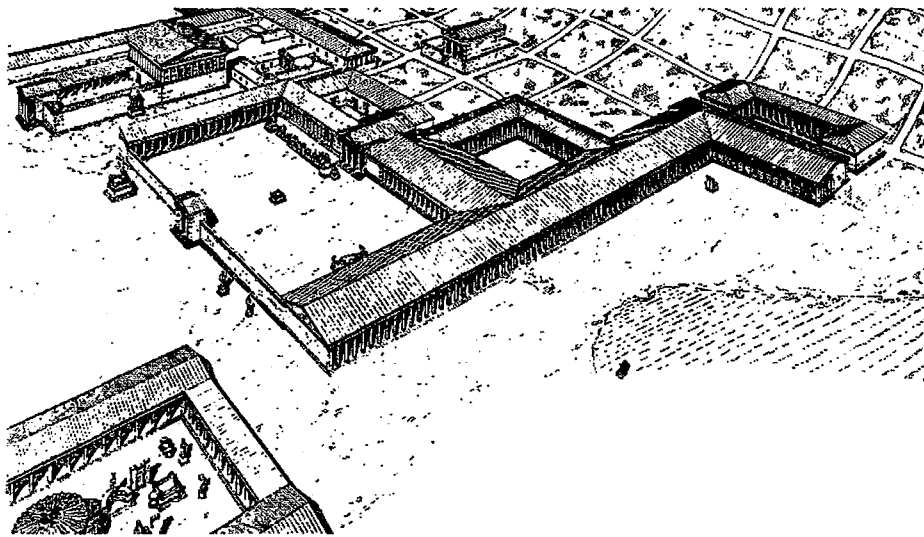


Fig. 4.2. Hypothetical grid-iron patterns of Byzantium (base map after Müller-Wiener, 1977)

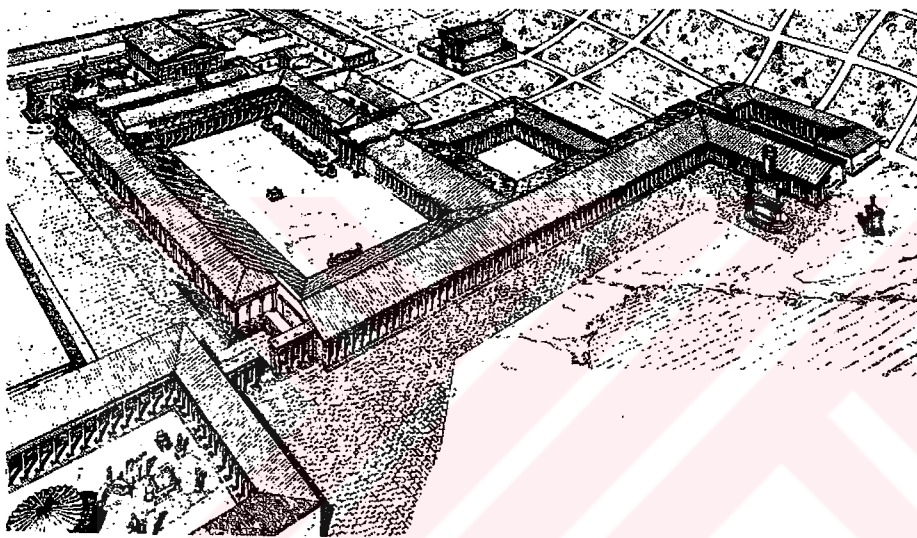


1. west harbour
- 3-4. apotrapeic lion statues
5. roman baths
6. port monument
7. sinagog
8. great port monument
9. harbour stoa
10. delphinion
11. harbour gate
12. small bazaar
13. north agora
14. stoa
15. ceremonial way
16. baths
17. gymnasion
18. temple
19. building for the imperial cult
20. bouleteion
21. nymphaion
22. north gate
23. church
24. south agora
25. horrea

Fig. 5. Miletus, plan of the Northern Harbour area (Akurgal, 1998)

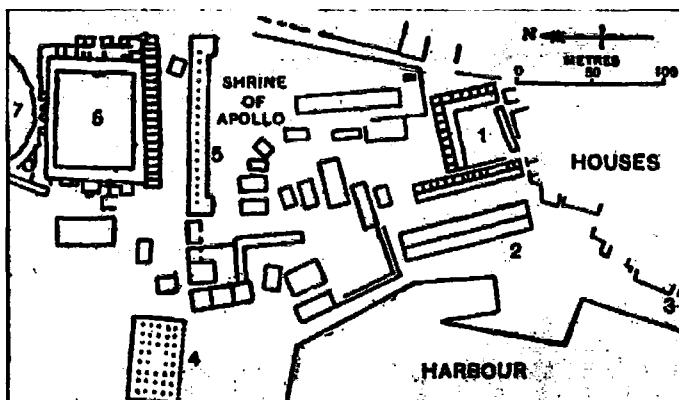


miletus- north harbor, hellenistic period



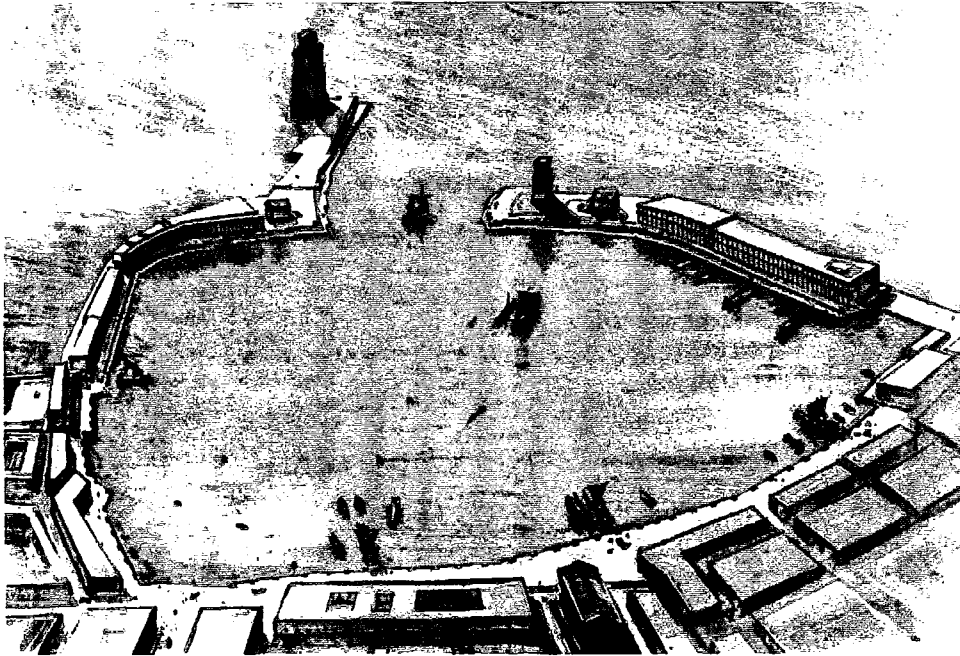
miletus- north harbor, roman period

Fig. 5.1. Miletus, harbour buildings, hypothetical reconstruction (Akurgal, 1998)



1.agora; 2.philippos stoa; 3.grain depots; 4.hypostyle building;
5.antigonos stoa; 6.italian agora; 7.sacred lake

Fig. 5.2. Delos, harbour zone (Wycherly, 1962)



36. Leptis Magna, simplified plan; chiefly first and second centuries

- a lighthouse
- b Severan port
- c to circus and amphitheatre
- d Severan boulevard
- e exedra or fountain
- f old forum
- g street flanking the Severan basilica
- h Severan basilica
- i Severan forum
- j Severan nymphaeum plaza
- k great nymphaeum
- l pre-Severan boulevard
- m Hadrianic baths
- n late antique baths, unfinished
- o markets
- p quadrigions of Trajan
- q Arch of Tiberius
- r chalcidicum
- s theatre
- t quadrigions of Septimius Severus

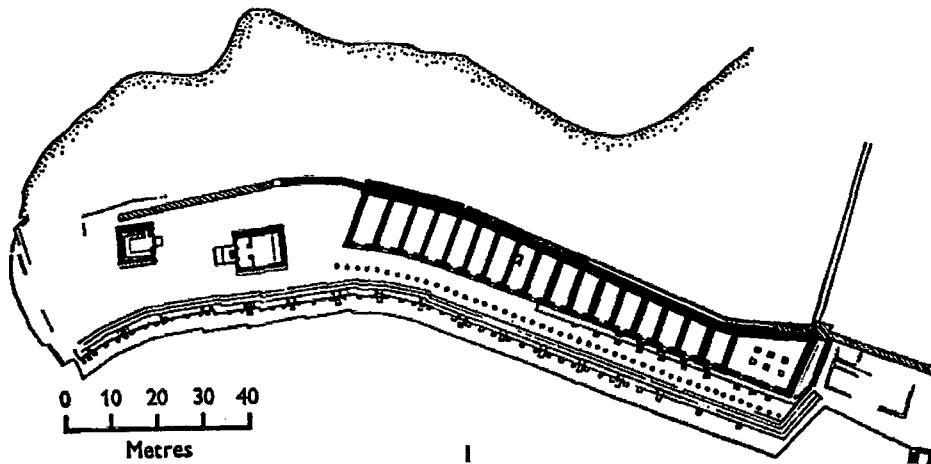
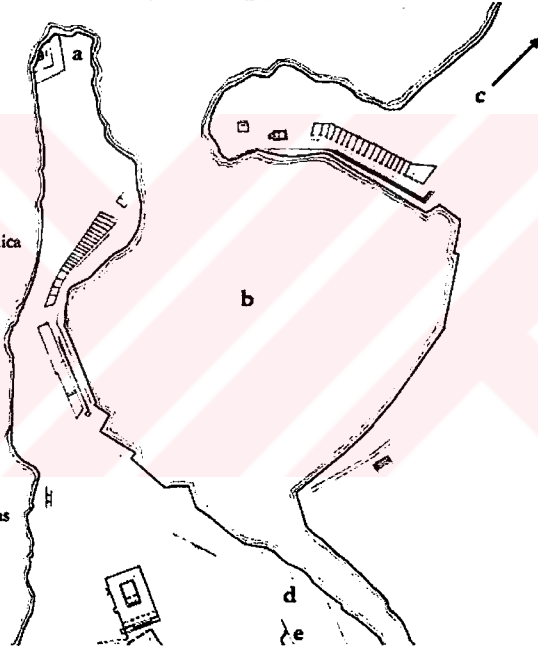


Fig. 6. Leptis Magna, Roman harbour, 1st and 2nd centuries (a. McDonald, 1984; b. Rickman, 1971)



Fig. 7.1. Colossus of Rhodes, 16th century engraving by M. Von Heemskerck

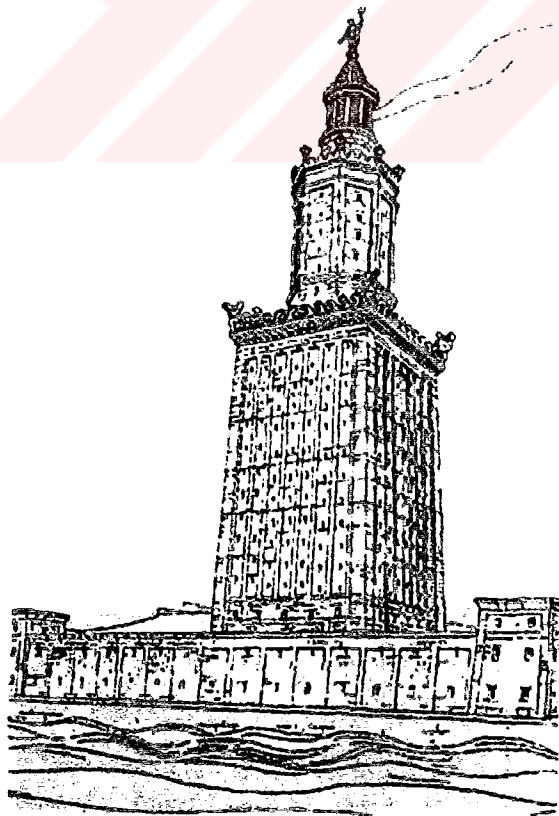
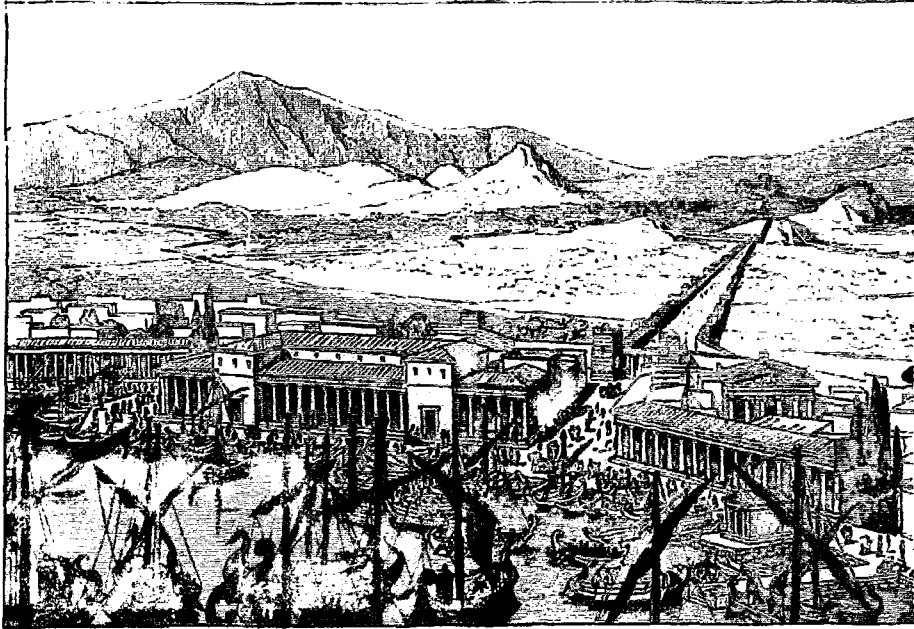


Fig. 7.2. Pharos of Alexandria, hypothetical reconstruction, after Tiersch



PIRÆUS (RESTORED), SHOWING THE LONG WALLS.

Fig. 8.1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Piræus Harbour and the Long Walls



Fig. 8.2. Roman coin from the time of Nero showing a merchant ship, probably a grain ship from Egypt to Rome, courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Halifax (Malkin&Hohlfelder, 1988)

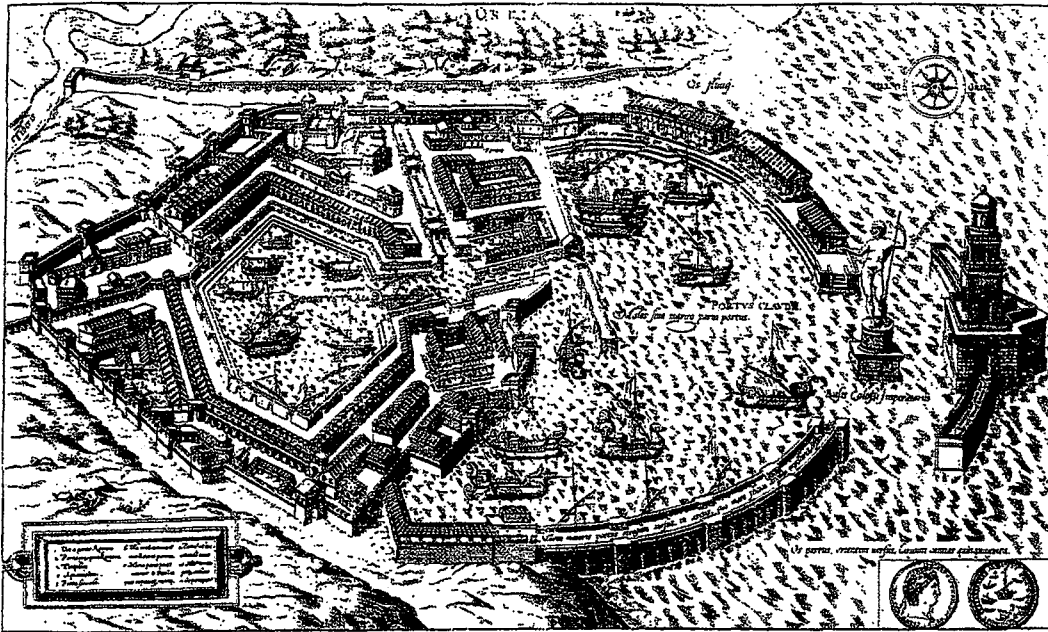
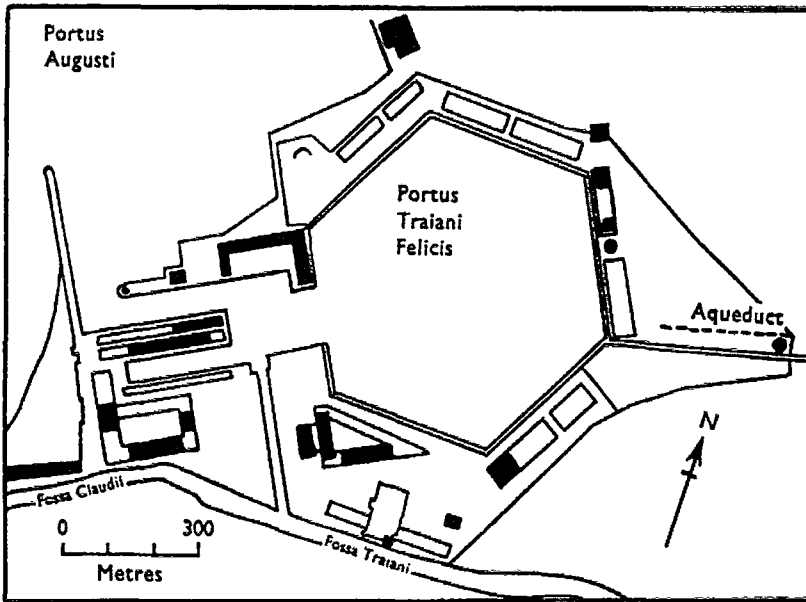
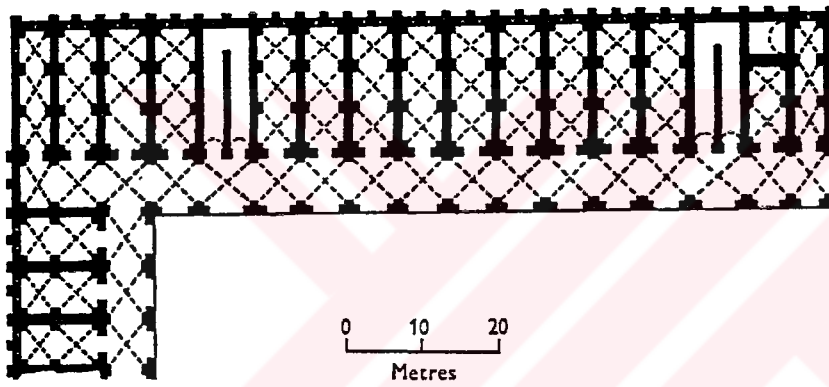


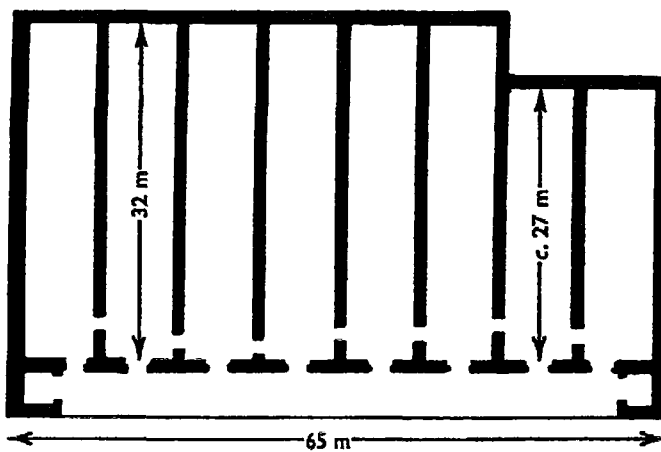
Fig. 9.1. The walled port of Ostia, as somewhat fancifully reconstructed in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* (Kostof, 1992: 43) The harbour of Trajan to the left, that of Cladius on the right.



A. Trajan's Harbour, Portus



B. East wing of warehouse built under Marcus Aurelius, Trajan's Harbour Portus, Ostia.



C. Sketch plan of horrea, Myra

Fig. 9.2. Roman horrea (Rickman, 1971)

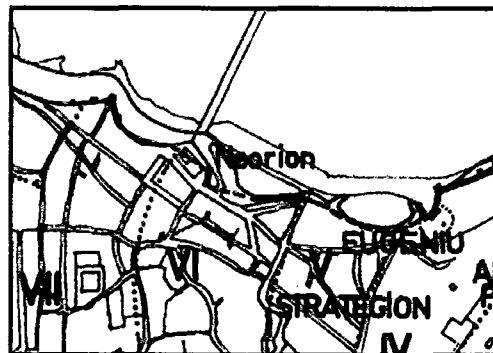
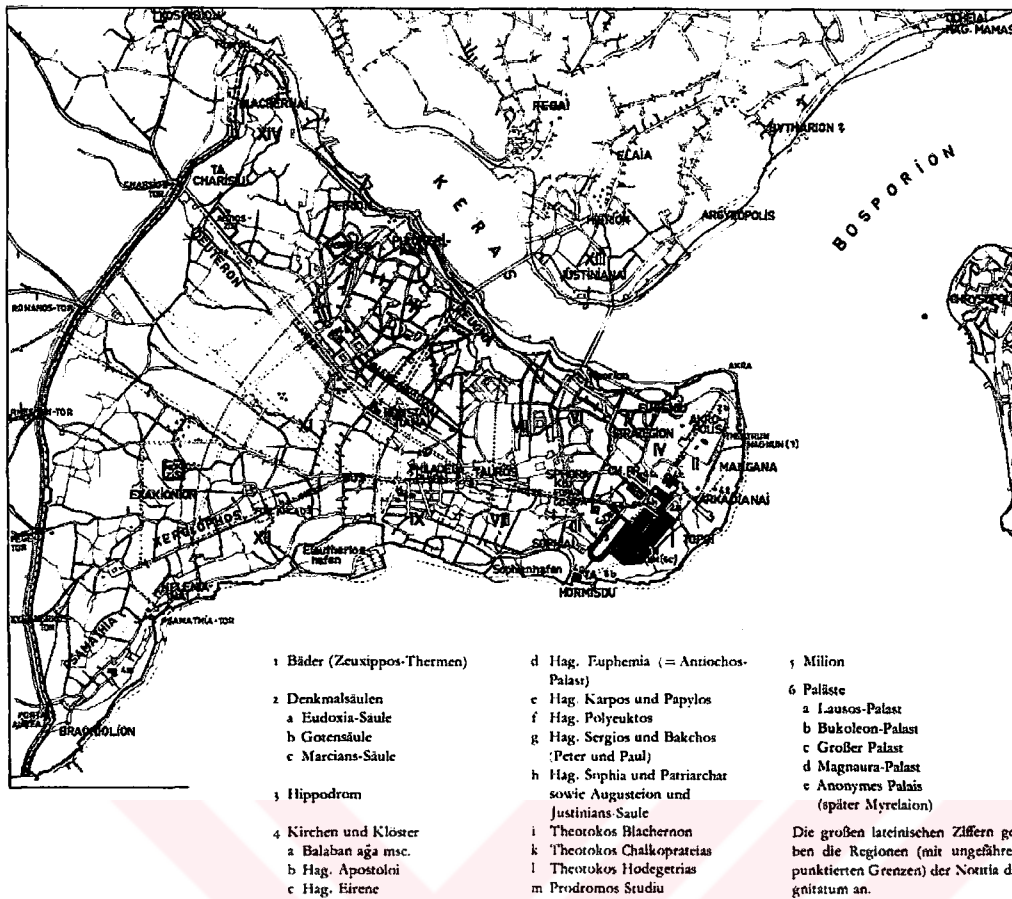
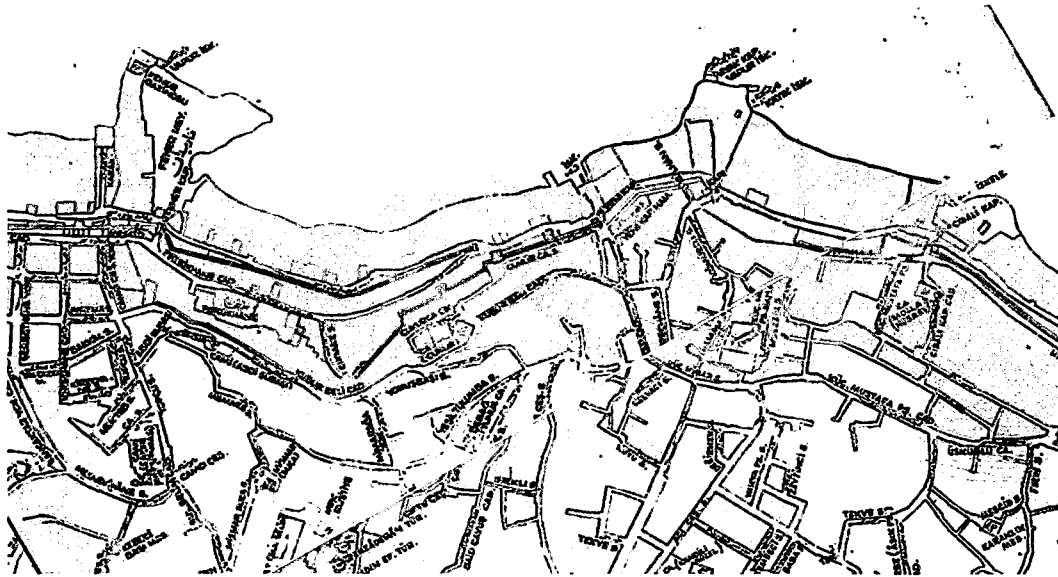


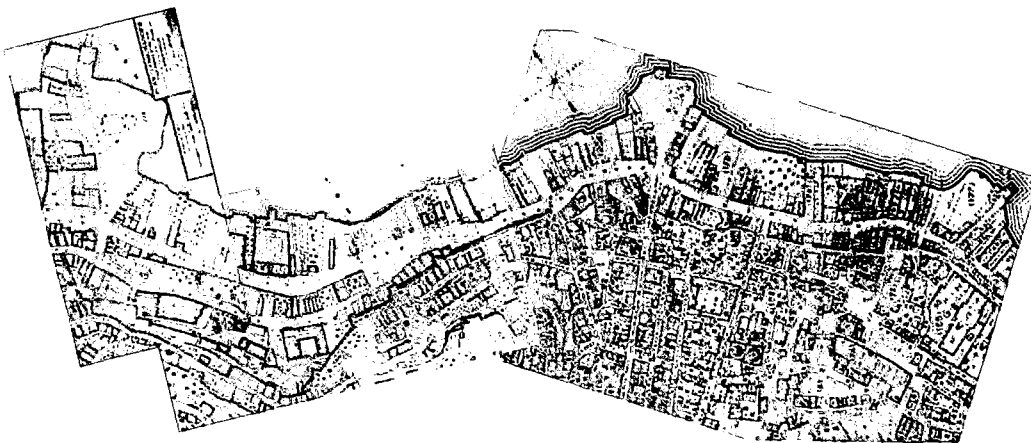
Fig. 10. Constantinople between the 4th and 8th centuries, detail from the point where the land-walls meet Keras and the harbour zone on Keras (after Müller-Wiener, 1977)



Ayverdi, 1882



Müller-Wiener, on 1922 base map



pervititch, 1929

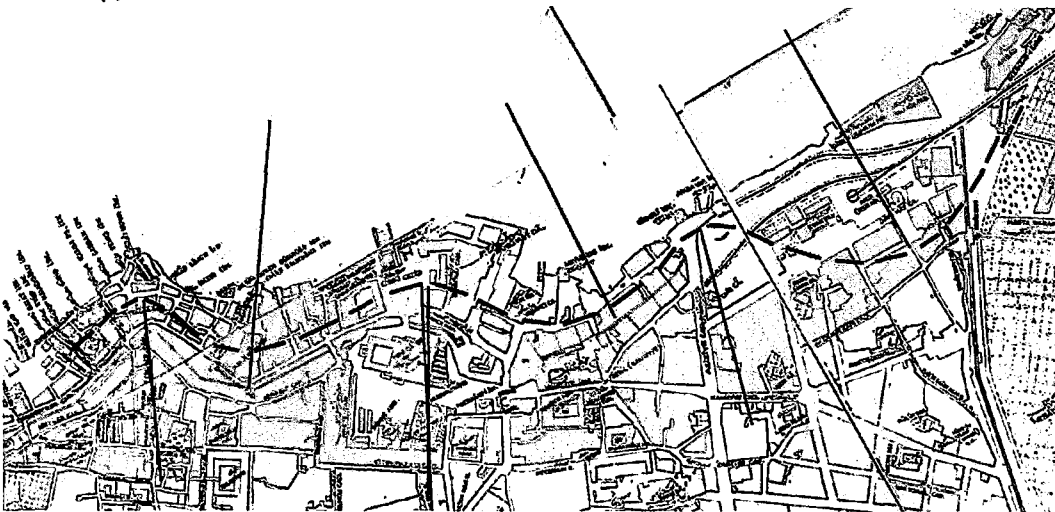
Fig. 12. Hypothetical points for the meeting point of the Cosnstantian land-walls and the Keras walls on the evidence of the 19th and 20th centuries maps



1848 map, detail



1868 map, detail



1882 map, detail

Fig. 13.1. The concavity and convexity of the sea walls between Vigia and Eugénis as derived from the 19th and 20th century maps)

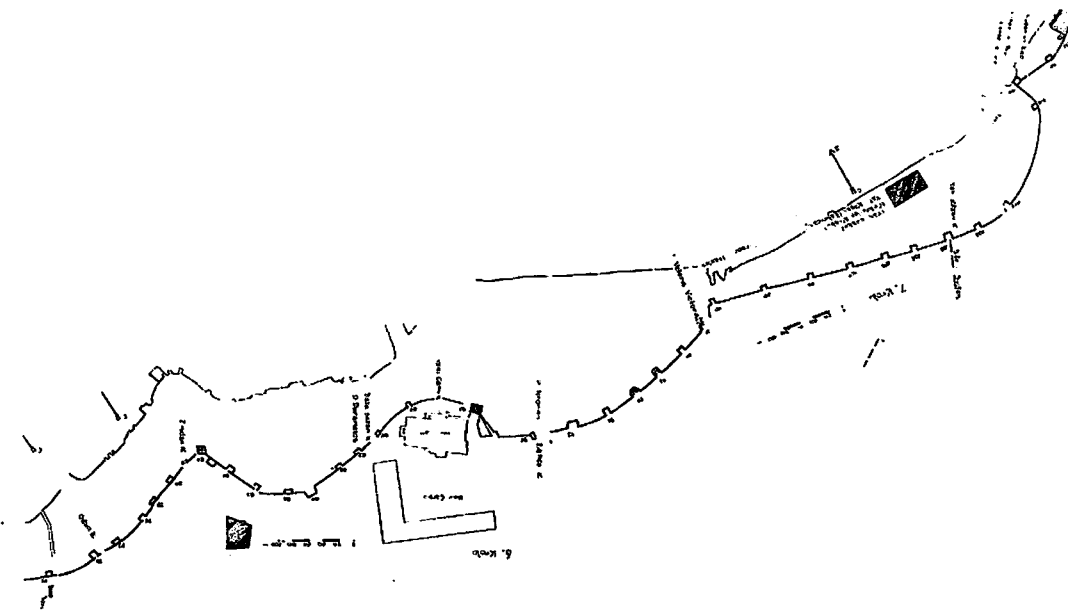


Fig. 13.2. The Keras-Hallç walls between Vigla and Eugenius
 (Dirimtekin, 1957- based on the *Kal'a-i Zemin* maps of late 19th century)

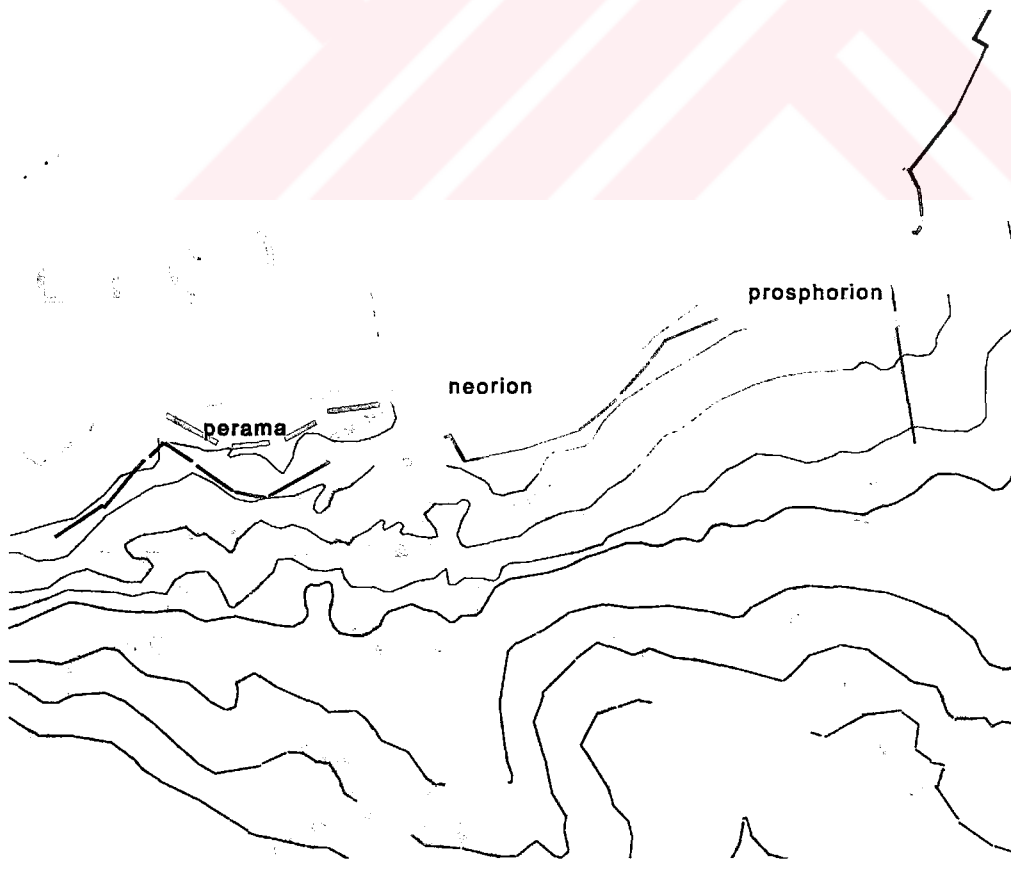
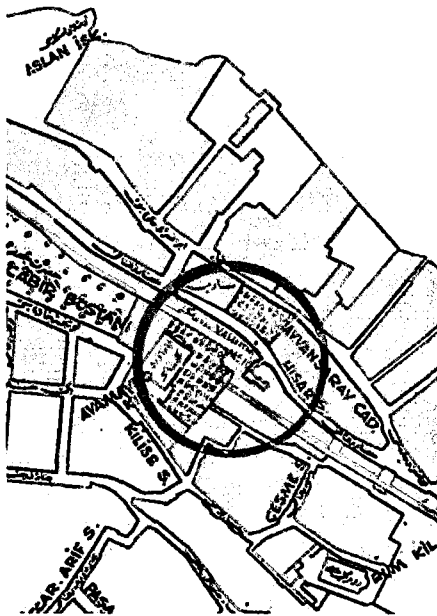


Fig. 13.3. Hypothetical placement of the Keras Harbours in Late Antique Constantinople
 (base map after Müller-Wiener, 1977)

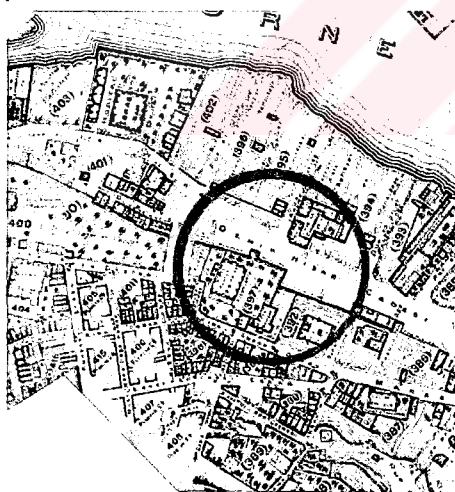


1882 map



müller-wiener (base map 1922)

pervititch- 1929



Istanbul municipality-2001



Fig. 14. Hypothetical point where the Theodosian walls joined the Heracleian walls, on the evidence of the 19th and 20th century maps

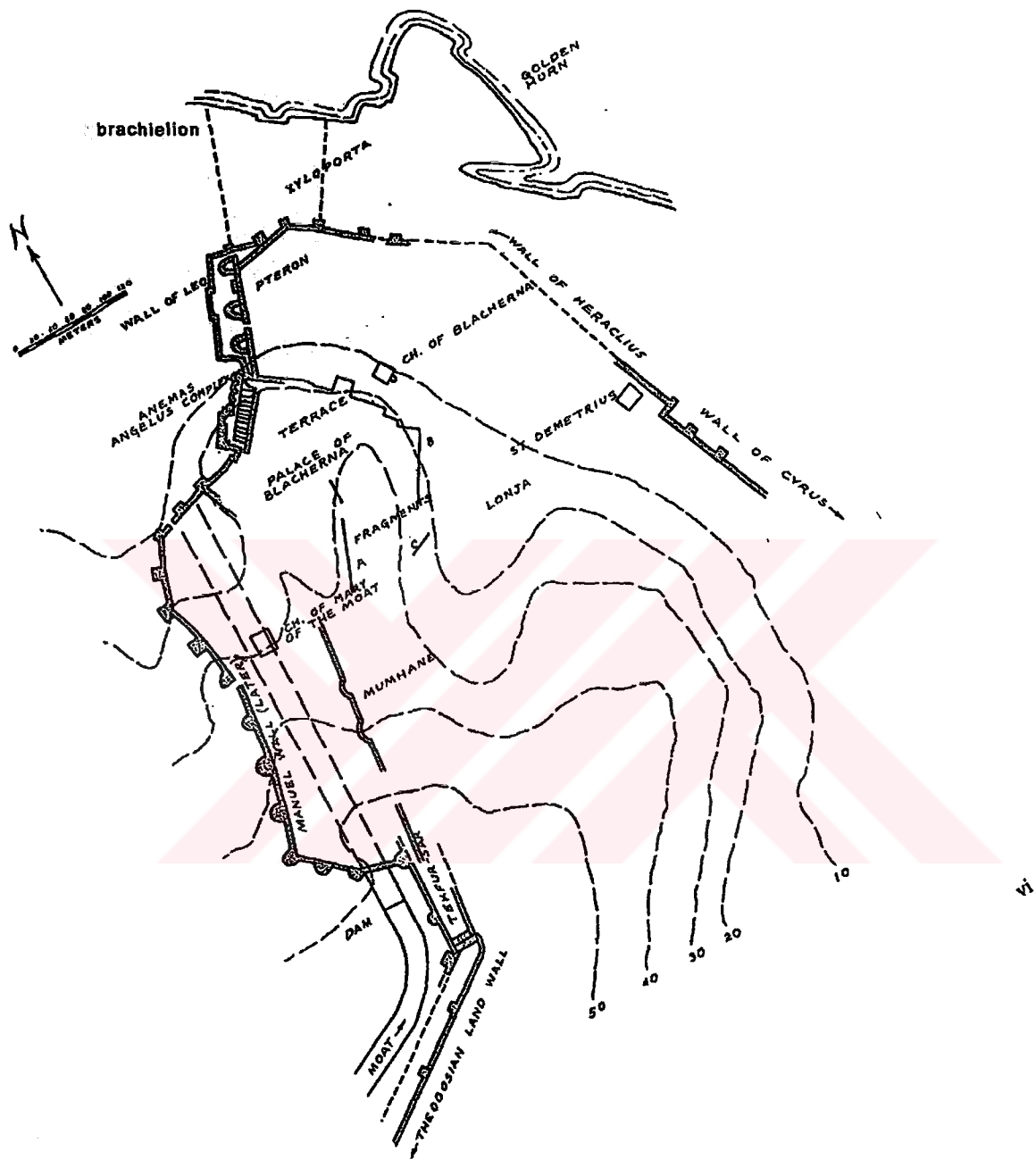
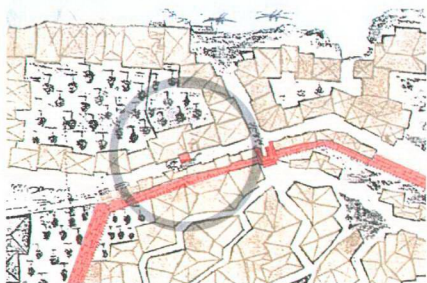
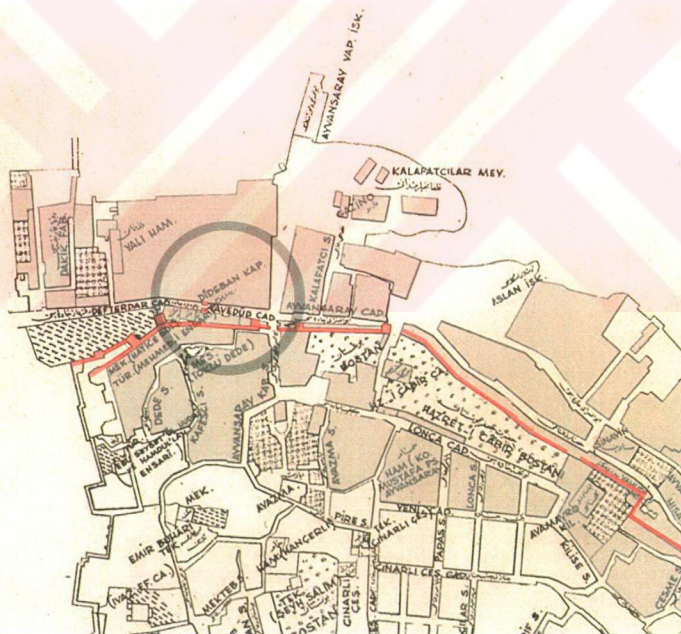


Fig. 16. Pteron and *brachileion* in Blahernal-Ayvansaray (Tsangadas, 1980)



suyulu map, Xyloporta is named as "parmakkapi", not Eyub Ensari Kapisi (the coloring is by the author)



1882 map, Xyloporta, named as Dibedan Kapi (coloring made by the author)

Fig. 17. Xyloporta, on the evidence of the 19th century maps; after,
a. 1812-1813 map (Çeçen, 1997); b. 1875-1882 map (Ayverdi, 1957)

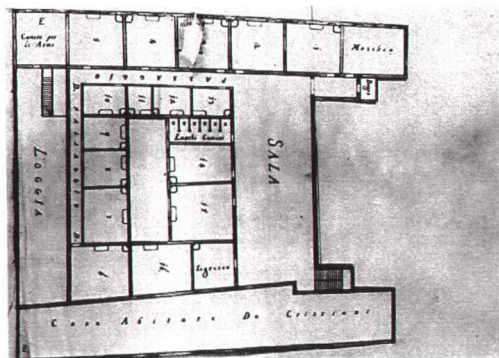
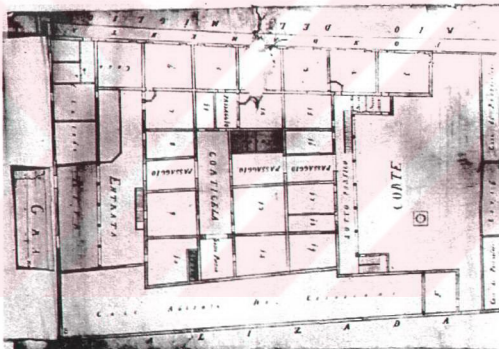


Fig. 18. Fundaco dei Turchi, Venice (Venezia, 1985)



Fig. 19. Hypothetical locations of the Latin Quarters in Constantinople, 10th-15th century (base map after Müller-Wiener, 1977)



Fig. 20.1. Venice, 1500, Schiavoni district, Museo Civico Correr (Venezia, 1985)

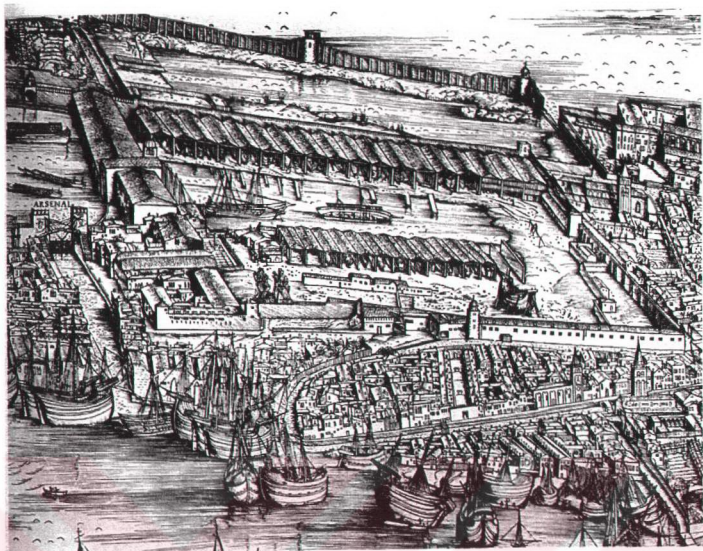


Fig. 20.2. Venice, 1500, Arsenal, Museo Civico Correr (Venezia, 1985)

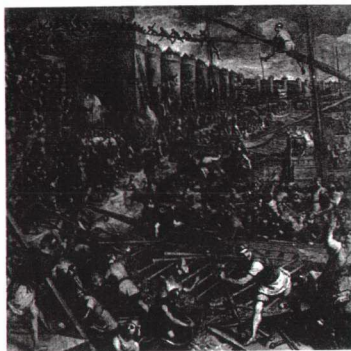
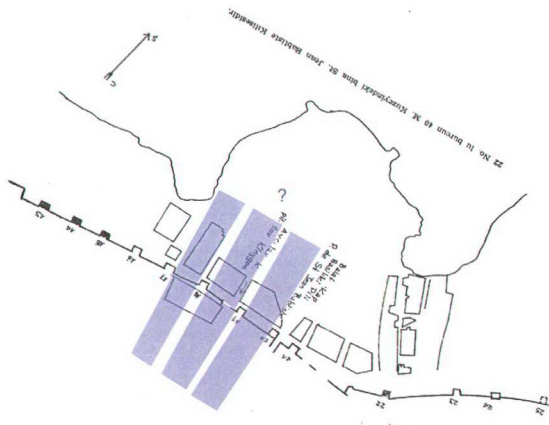
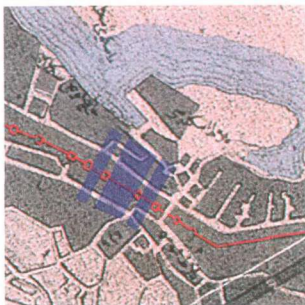


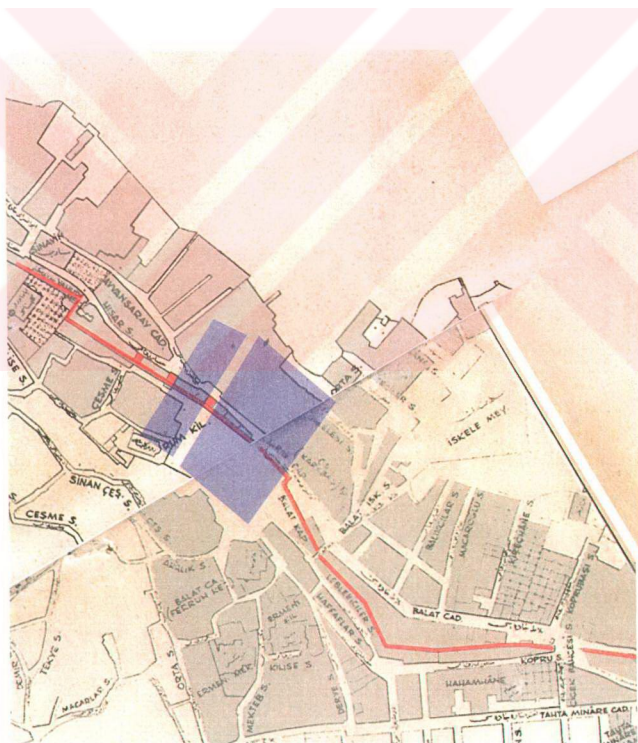
Fig. 21. The Conquest of Constantinople, Tintoretto, Venice- Palazzo Ducale (Venezia, 1985)



**Fig. 22.1. Hypothetical placement of the Kynegion harbour, rendering on
a. (Dirimtekin:1957); b. (Pervittch: 2001)**



the placement of Kynegion according to the twoers in the 1847 map



the possible placement of Kynegion on the 1875-1882 map

Fig. 22.2. Hypothetical placement of the Kynegion harbour, rendering on
 a. 1847 map (Kayra: 1990); b. 1875-1882 map (Ayverdi: 1957)

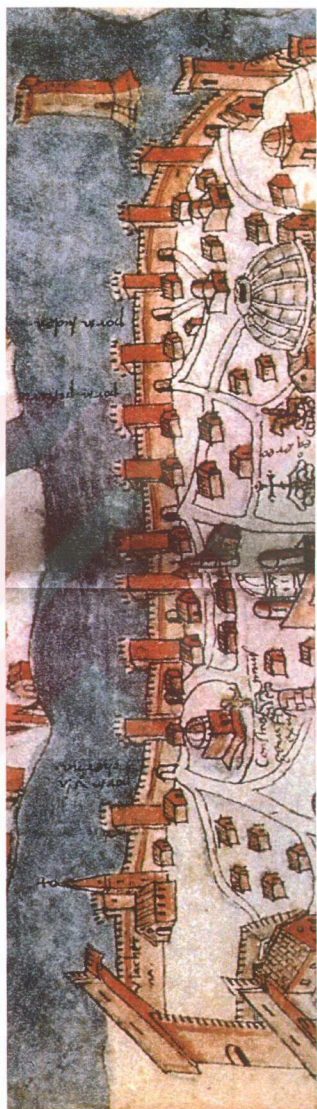


Fig. 23. Detail from two different copies of the Bondelmonti map, 1428 (Yerasimos: 2000)

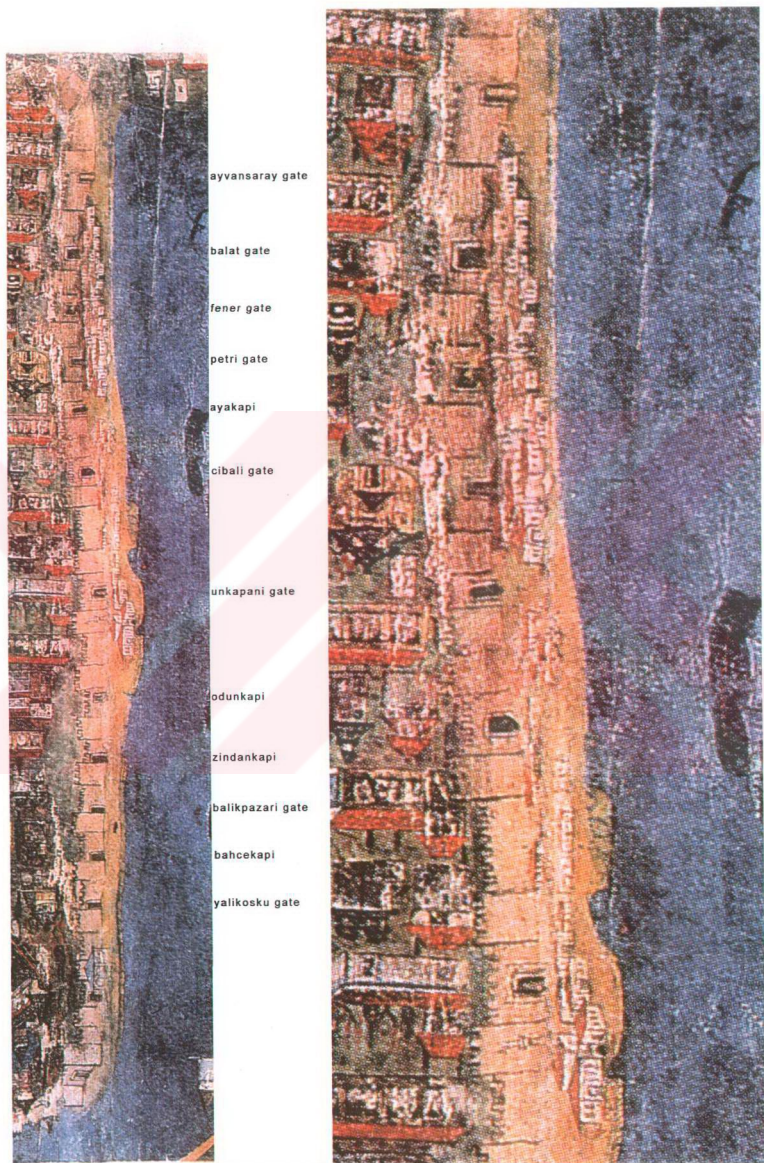


Fig. 24. Detail of the Extra-mural Fabric in Mitrakçı Nasuh's miniature painting, early 16th century (rednering by the author)

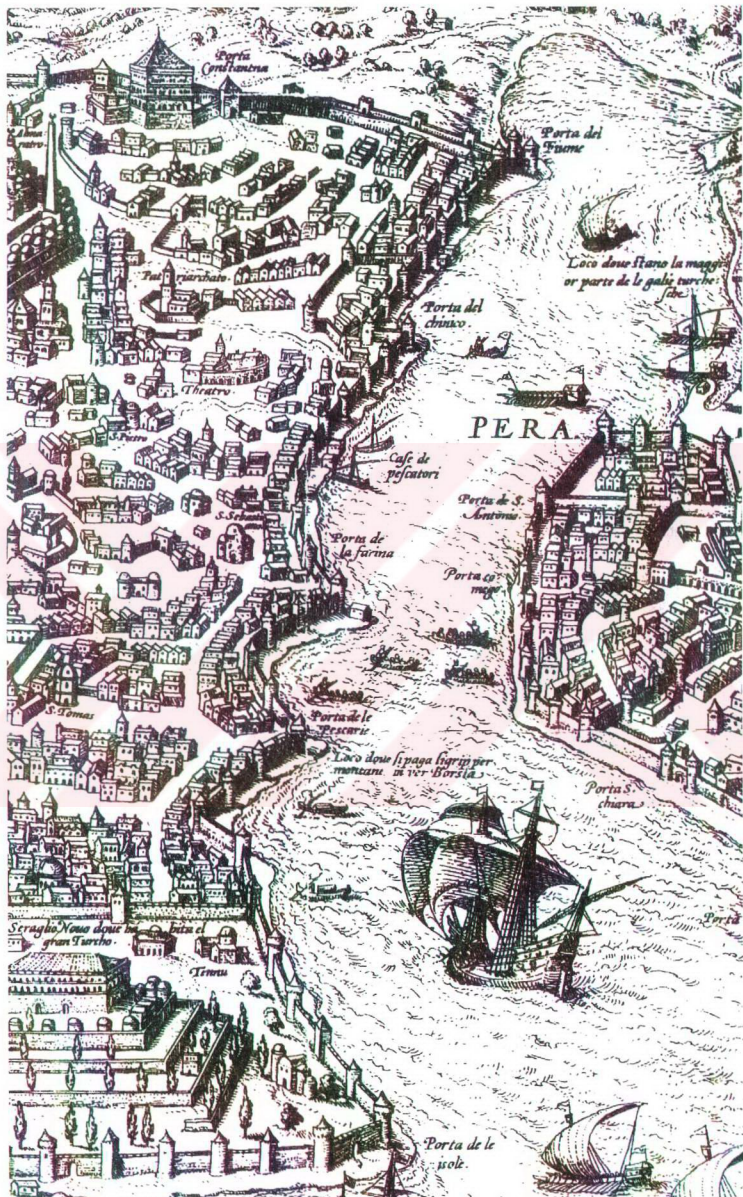
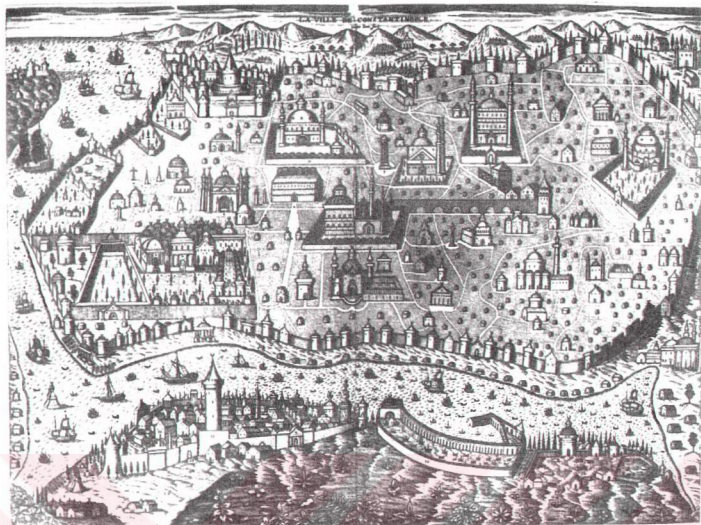


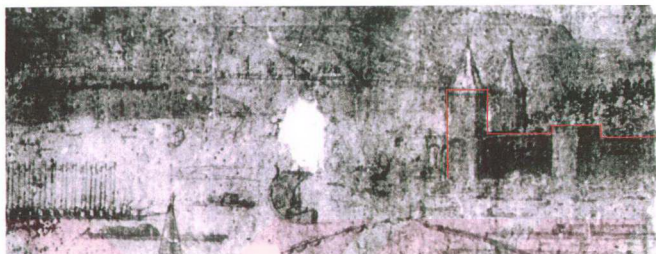
Fig. 25. Detail from the copy of Vavassore map by Braun and Hogenberg, 1574
 (Images of the Earth: 2000; rendering by the author)



Plan of Istanbul, in *Historie des Turcs*, 1662 (Venezian i Turchi)

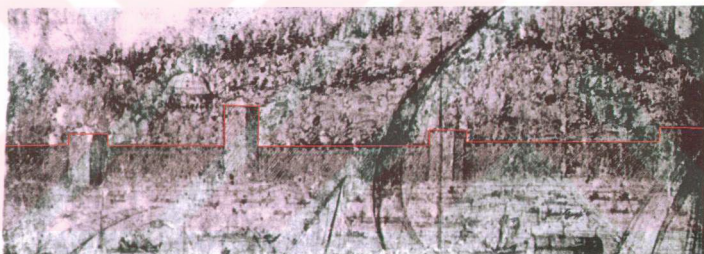


Fig. 26. The Extra-mural Zone represented as an extensive settlement area in the 16th and 17th century arial perspectives, a. plan of Istanbul in *Historie des Turcs*, 1662 (Venezia: 1985); b. map of Schweigger, 16th century (*Dünden Bugüne*)



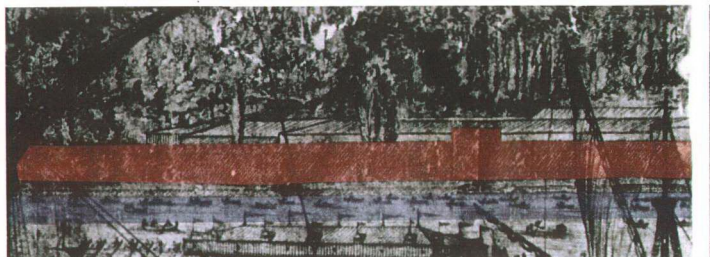
topkapı

walls of the palace



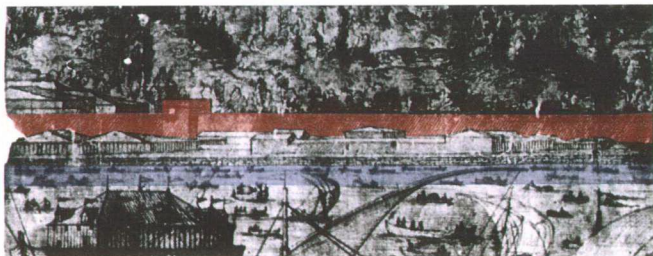
tower ?

walls of the palace



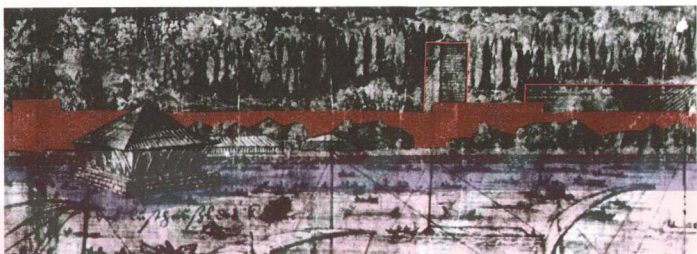
walls of the palace

Fig. 27.1. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 1-3
(archive of German Archaeological Institute, rendering by the author)



boathouses?

palace walls stone quays?



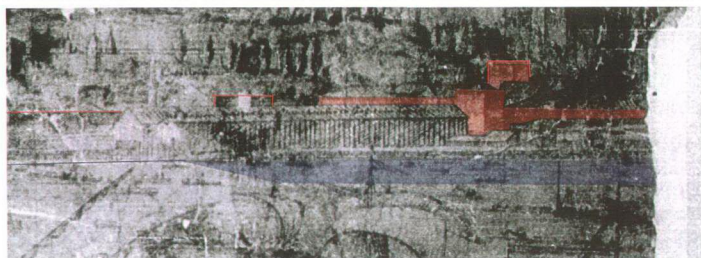
yalı kiosk (old ?)

tower and double fortification?

palace walls stone quays?



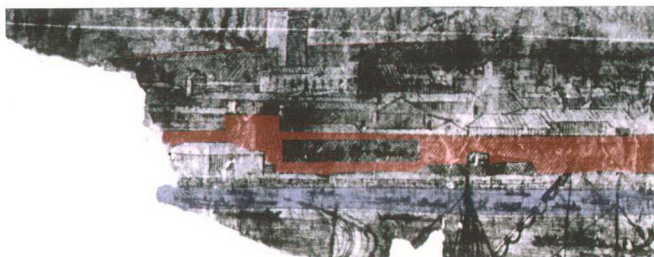
palace walls stone quays?



large entrepots- depots
palace walls stone quays?

palace land walls

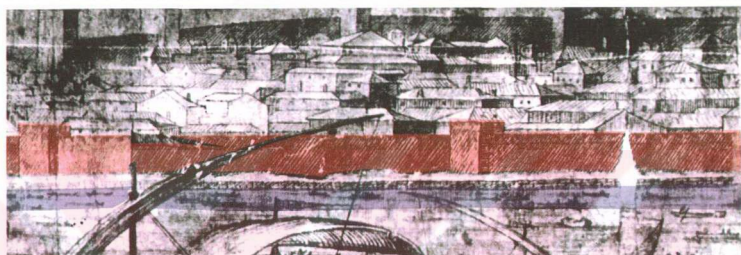
Fig. 27.2. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 4-7



depot?

stone quays ?

open air storage



open air storage



open air storage (sp. timber)

juden thor (orya kapi?)

depots ?

stone quays?



boathouses and entrepots
hocapasa baths (intra-mural)

differentiation in walls

shore

Fig. 27.3. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 8-11

missing part (probably environs of bahçekapi)



missing part (probably eminönü)

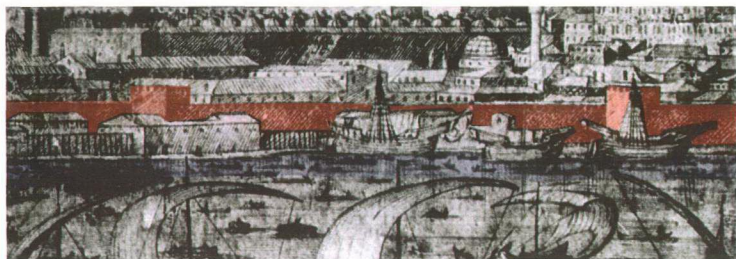
kapan (customs)?



mosque (bursali mescidi ?)

tissue with two storied buildings

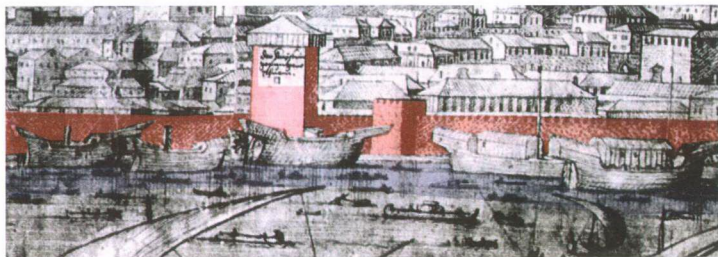
increase in ferry traffic



wooden palisades

? mosque (intra-mural)

Fig. 27.4. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 12-15



tower



baba cafer zindani tahtakale baths
(intra-mural)

increase in the number of cargo ships



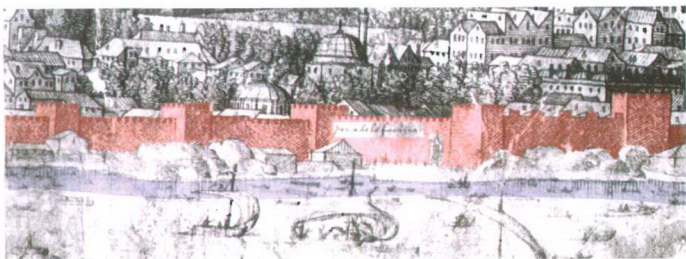
zindankapı/ yemis kapani (fruit exchange)/ahi celebi mosque
wooden palisades

odunkapi



mixed tissue with streets and waterfront buildings

Fig. 27.5 Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 16-19



odunkapani
timber exchange

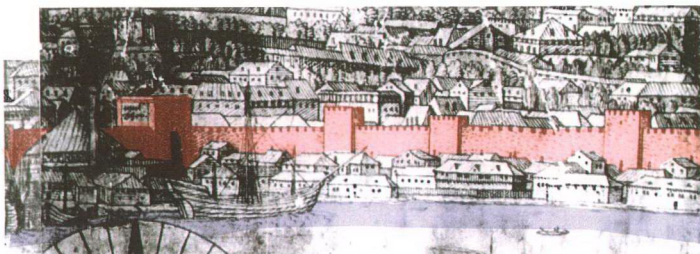
ayazmakapi

open air storage



differentiation in the height of the wall

increase in the number of cargo ships

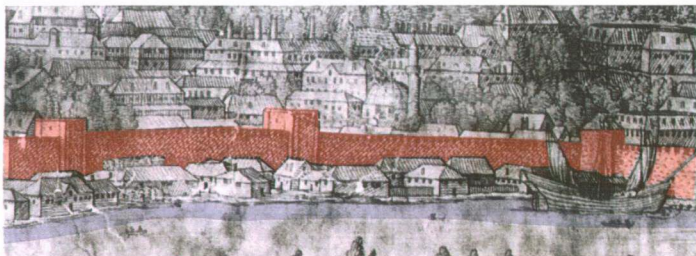


unkapani (pitch roofed building)
(flour exchange)
subasi mosque
tissue in front of the unkapani

unkapani kapisi

tissue with streets, wooden palisades, waterfront mensions?

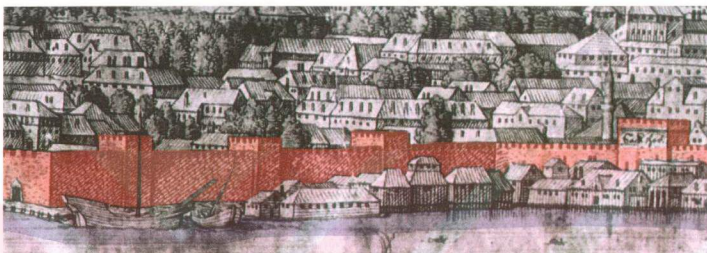
Fig. 27.6. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 20-22



waterfront houses

decrease in the maritime traffic

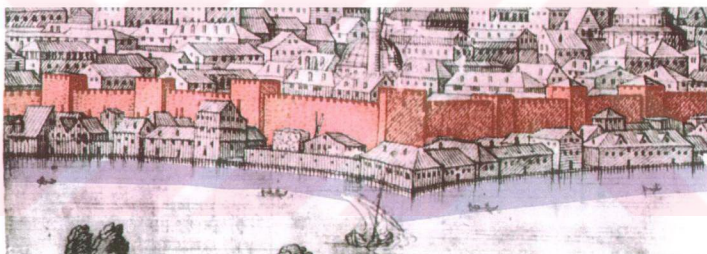
quay with crib walls



tüfenkhane kapisı?
wooden crib walls

yalıs on wooden piles

cibali kapisı
cibali mosque
(intra-mural)



yalıs

wooden screen and a workshop/ yalis

gul mosque
at theodosia
(intra-mural)



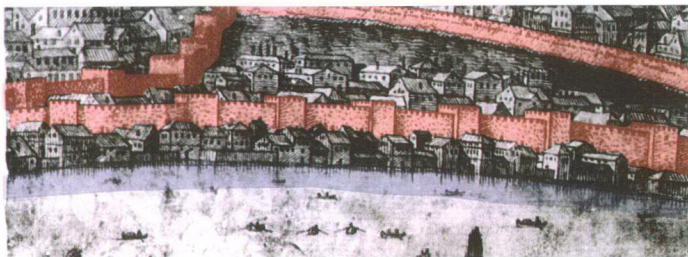
yalıs

ayakapisı

yalıs

petrikapisı

Fig. 27.7. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 23-26



yalis

petron walls

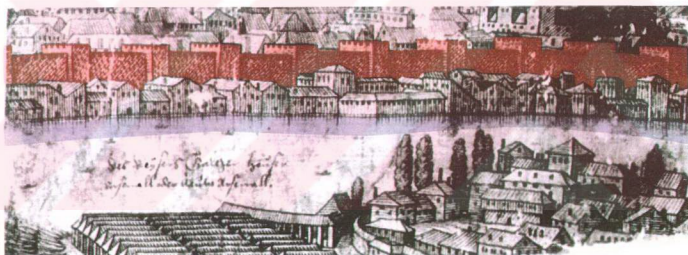
yalis

decrease in maritime traffic

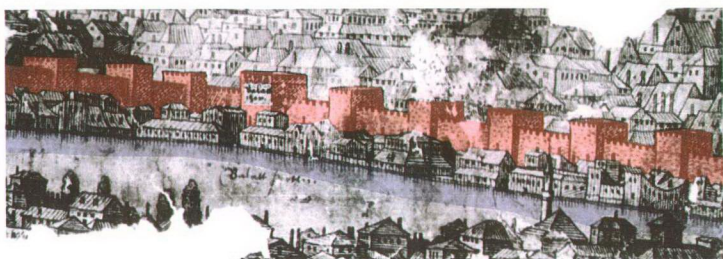


lantern thor/ fener kapisı

yalis



yalis

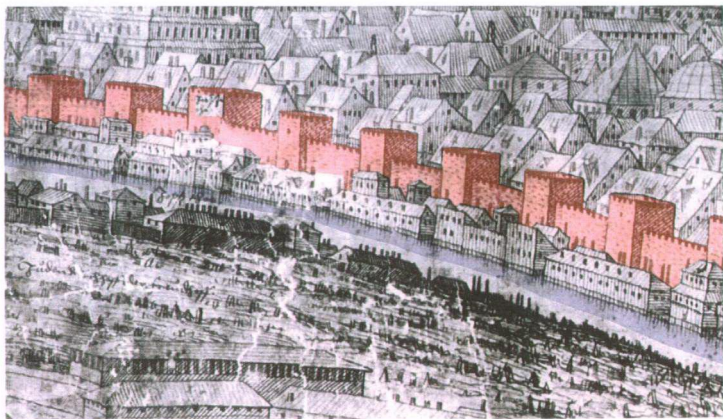


balat kapisı

crib walls

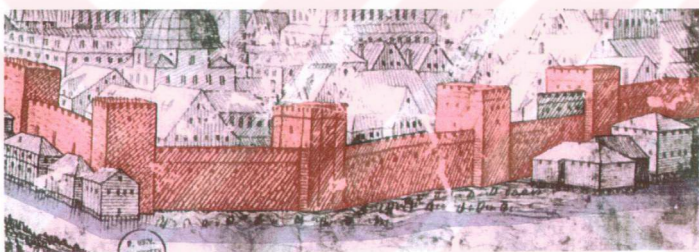
yalis

Fig. 27.8. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 27-30



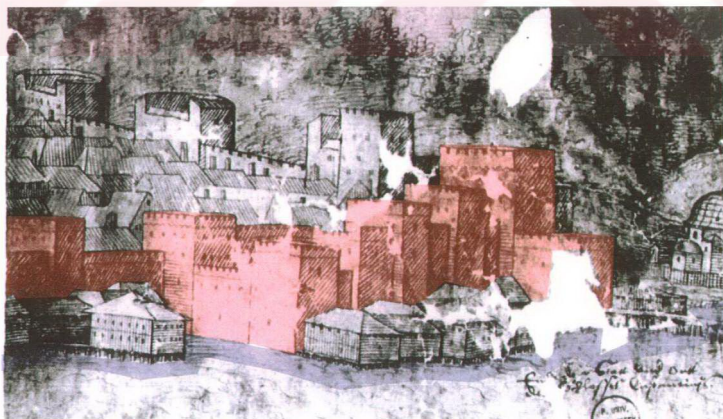
? gate

yalis



open shore

yalis



building on a pier?

walls right on waterfront?

end of sea walls

Fig. 27.9. Panorama of M. Lorichs, detail 31-33



boathouses

yali kiosk of Murad III

entrepôts

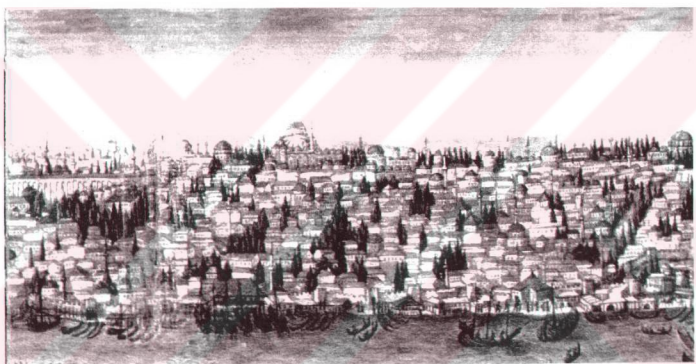


entrepôts

customs

zindankapi

Fig. 28.1. Anonymous panorama, 1580, Vindob (And, 1995)



Zindankapi



Unkapani

Fig. 28.2. Anonymous panorama, 1680, Vindob (And, 1995)

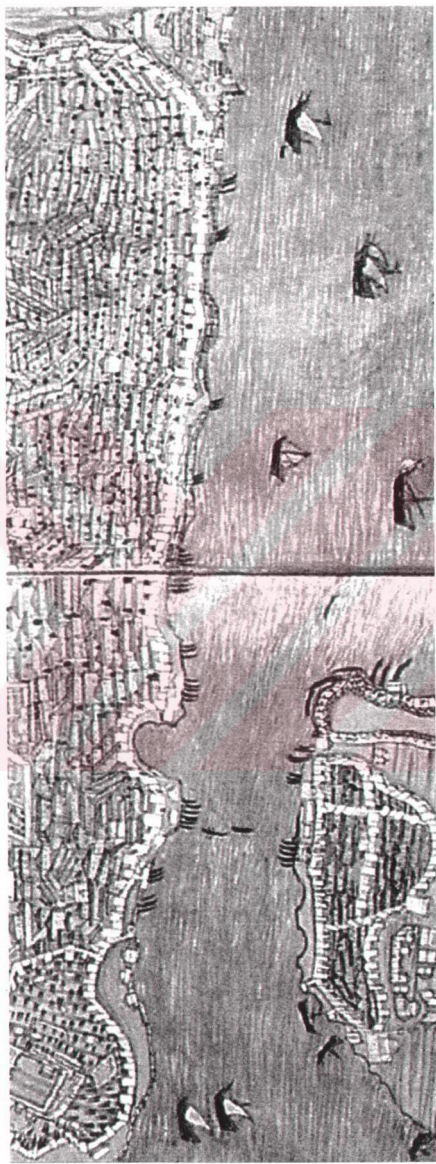


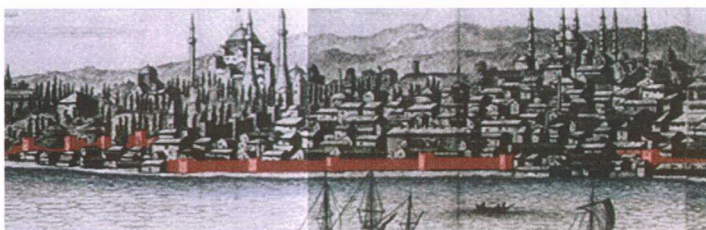
Fig. 30. Detail from the İstanbul map in Hünername, 1583



Fig. 31. The Extra-mural Zone (Cibali-Ayvansaray) in the panorama of Peter Coeck van Aalst, 1533 (Arslan, 1992)



Fig. 32-1. Fishermen houses in Kumkapı (a. late 19th century; b. 1950s, Ara Güler)



palace wharf, depots

lumber wharf

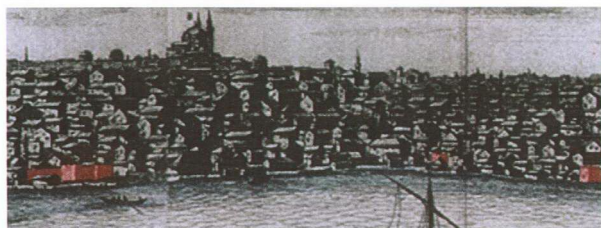


bahçekapi gümrükönü-main custom

fabric formed of
several rows



zindankapi ahi celebi mosque



unkapani

flour exchange/süleyman celebi mosque

Fig. 34. Detail from the pamorama of de Bruyn
(German Archaeological Institute, rendering by the author)

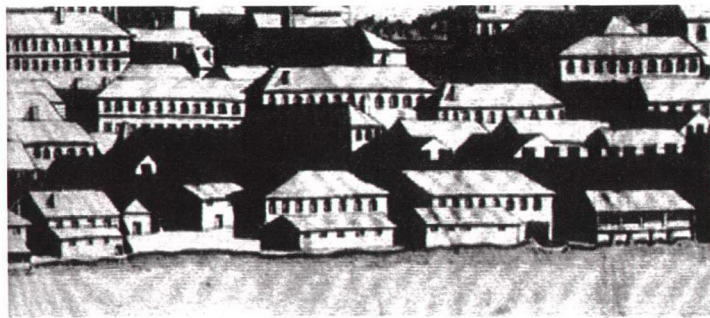
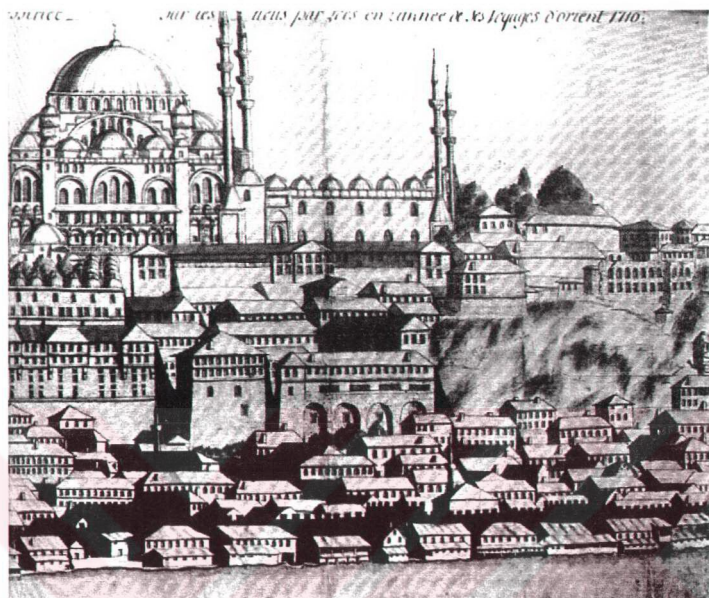


Fig. 35. Odunkapı- Ayazmakapı, in the panorama of Loos, 1710 (Eldem, 1979)

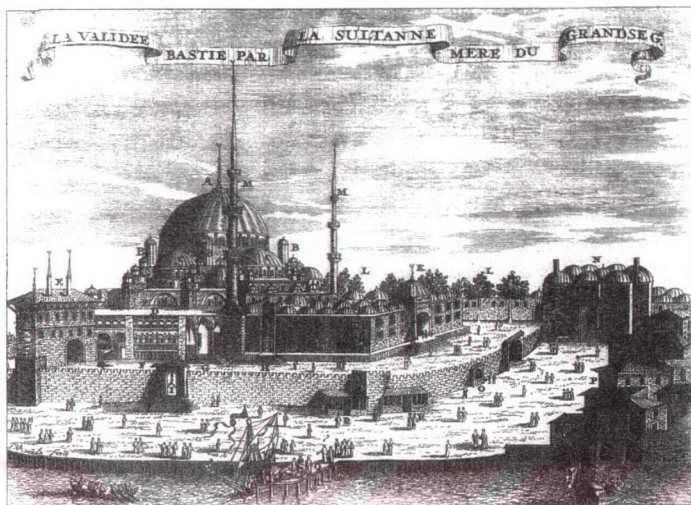


Fig. 36.1. Yeni Camii and Eminönü Square, Grelot, 1681 (Grelot, 1998)

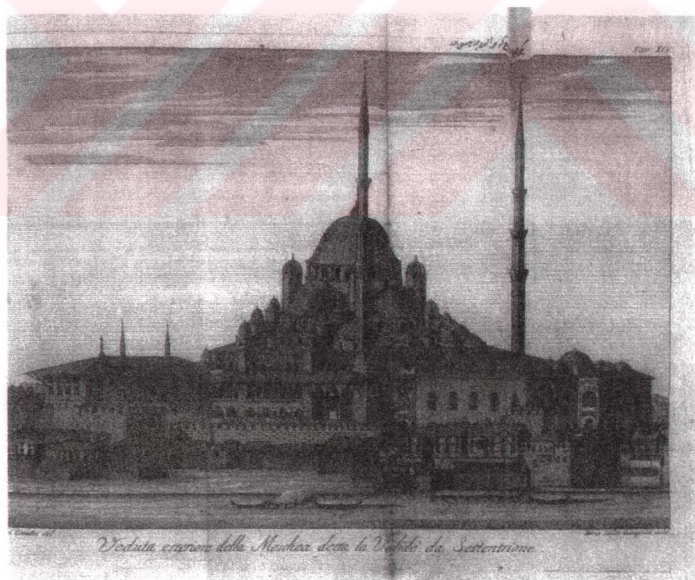


Fig. 36.2. Yeni Camii and Eminönü, C.C. Carbognano, 1794 (Carbognano, 1993)



Fig. 37.1. Phanariot Houses, photograph, late 19th century
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)

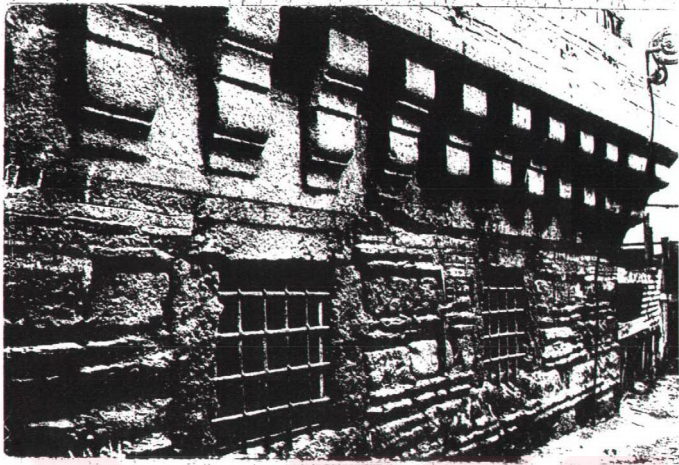


Fig. 38.2. Masonry house in Balat-Köprübaşı, photograph
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)



palace foreshore-bahcekapi



bokluk-unkapani



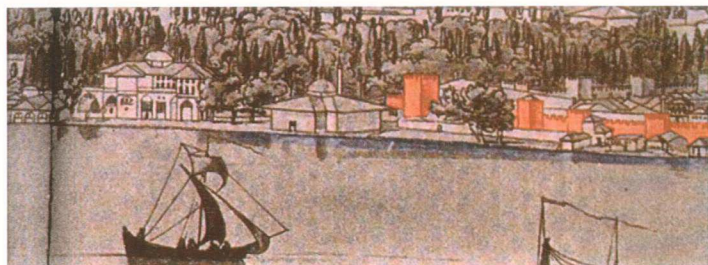
fener-eyup ensari gate



Fig. 39. The map of İstanbul in the 17th century in the copies of Piri Reis' Kitab-ı Bahriye.



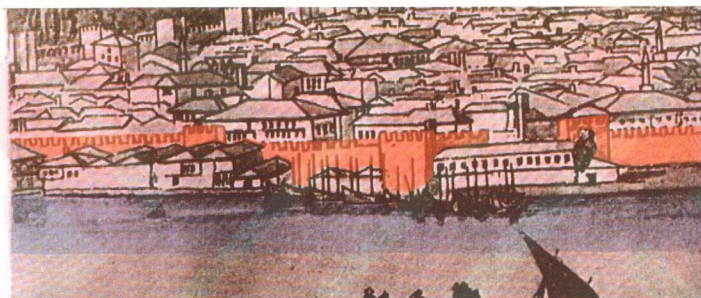
Fig. 40. Detail from K. Kaminar's Istanbul map, 1813 (Kayra,1990)



boathouses sepetçiler kasrı

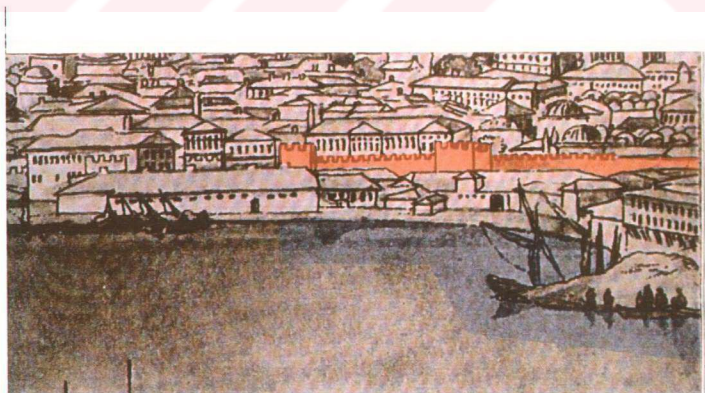
yali kosku

palace services



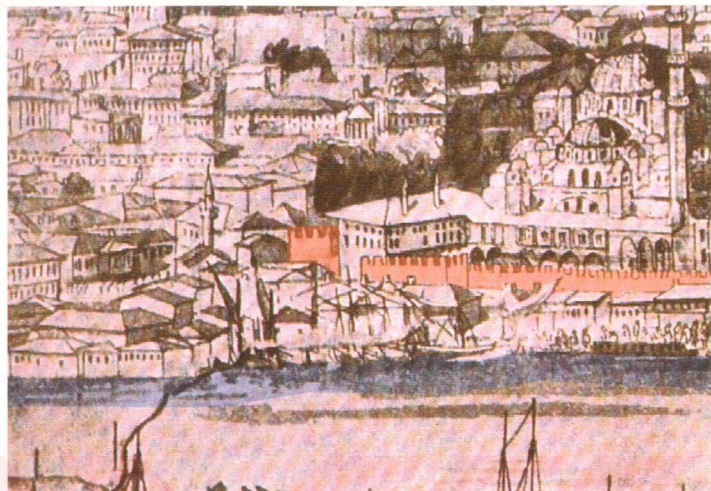
entrepots

barracks or warehouse



entrepot

Fig. 42.1. Barker panorama, 1810, detail 1-3 (rendering after Eldem, 1979)



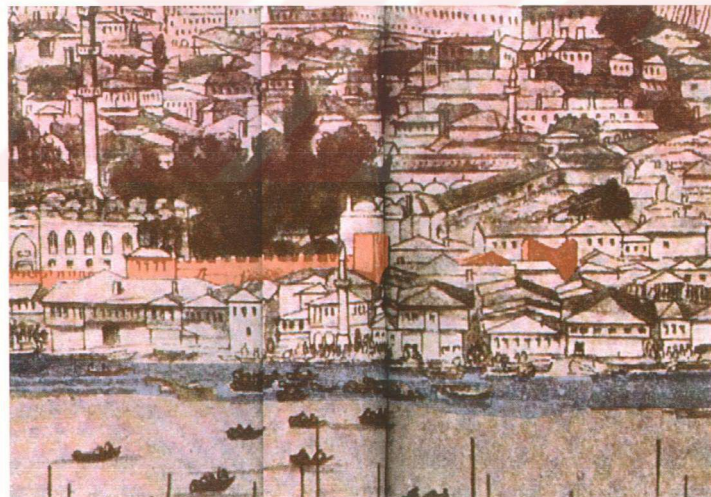
stocks exchange

gumrukunu mescidi

eminonu landing stage
shops

bahcekapi

yeni cami



customs

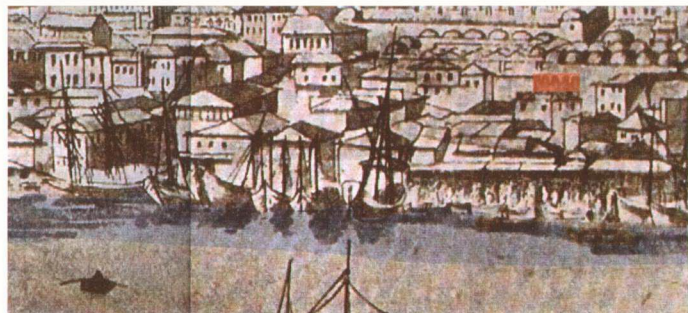
mosque of izzet mehmet pasa

ferry to ortakoy-besiktas-galata

tobacco exchange

balikpazari gate

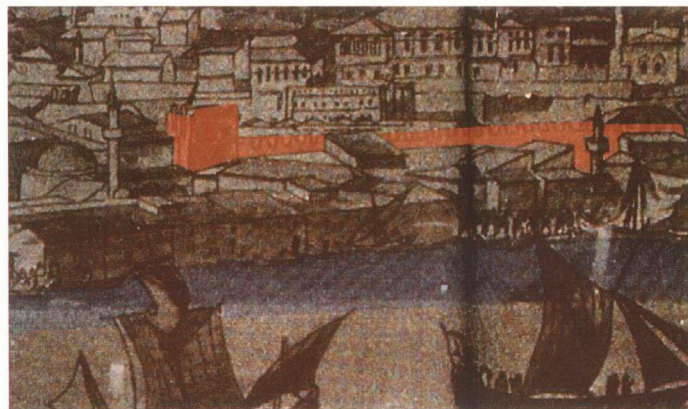
Fig. 42.2. Barker panorama, 1810, detail 4-5



hasir iskelesi limon iskelesi
shops selling fruits, lemon, rush mat



yemis iskelesi- çardak
fruit exchange
baba cafer prison zindankapi



ahi celebi mosque sogancilar mescid
shops selling fruits, fat, wax

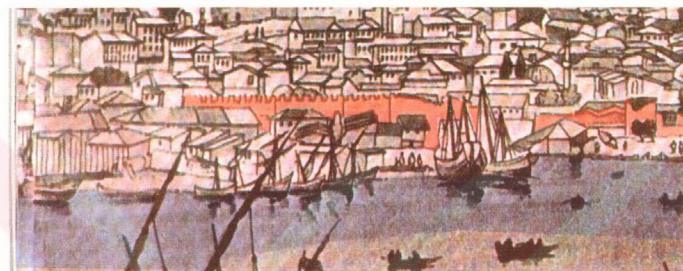
Fig. 42.3. Barker panorama, 1810, detail 6-9



fruit and fat shops

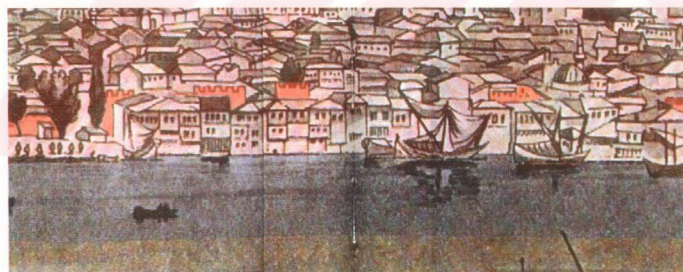
jetty
odunkapi

lumber exchange



lumber exchange

ayazma gate



waterfront houses of jews

tekirdag landing stage

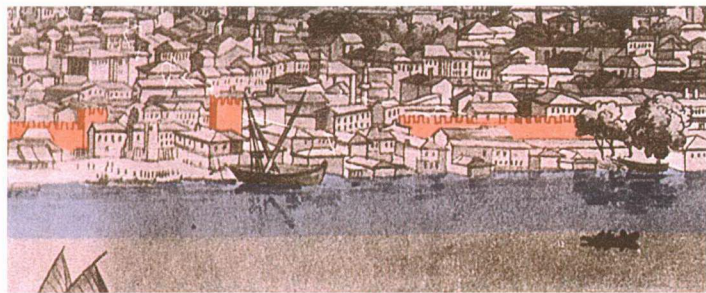


flour exchange

unkapani gate

houses?

Fig. 42.4. Barker panorama, 1810, detail 10-14



unkapani square

fish market

houses of jews

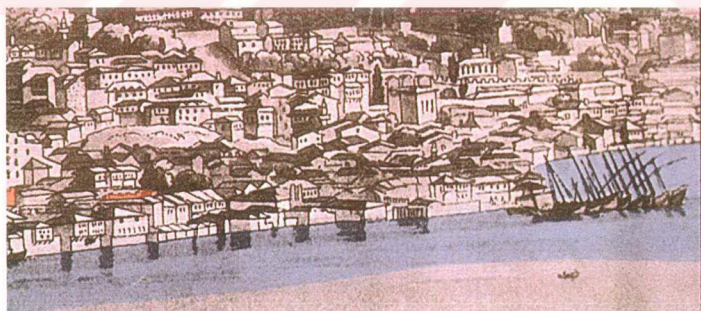


waterfront houses of jews

cibali landing

gul cami

cibali gate

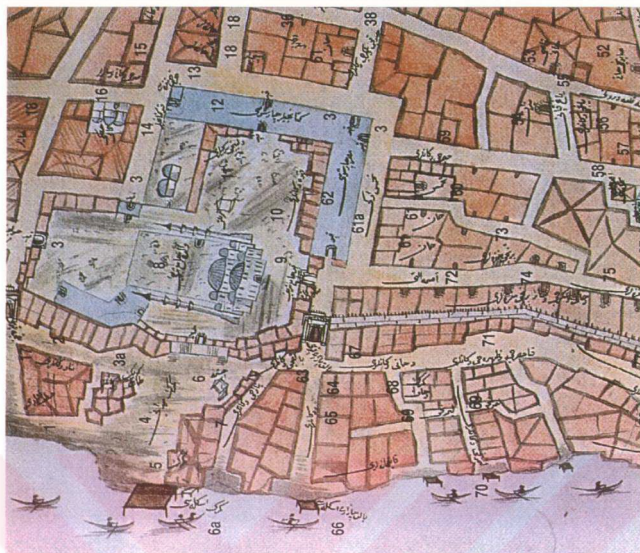


gul cami

houses of greeks
ayakapi

fenar landing

Fig. 42.5. Barker panorama, 1810, detail 15-18



1. lumber entrepot
2. groceries
- 3a. small pasteries
4. customs square
5. customs
6. fountain
6. landing stage of customs
7. ... shops
8. yeni cami
63. shops selling fish
64. balikpazari gate
65. shops
66. landing of balikpazari
67. tobacco shops
68. tobacco customs
69. shops selling lemon
70. shops selling lemon
71. rush mat and grain
76. prison
77. shopsselling wax
78. dried fruits
79. fruit markets
80. cardak
81. zindankapi
82. dried fruit
96. cotton
97. landing of zindankapi
98. fruit and dries fruit
99. yogurtcu street
100. fruit market
101. olive oil
102. fruit market
103. onion
104. onion
105. odunkapi
112. odunkapi landingstage
113. onion and eggs

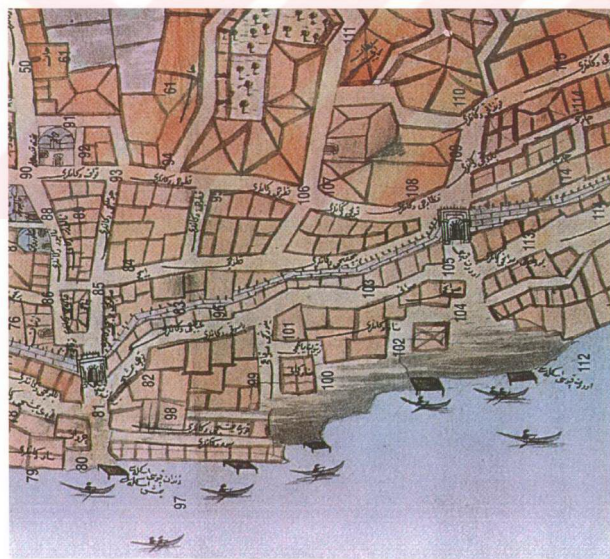
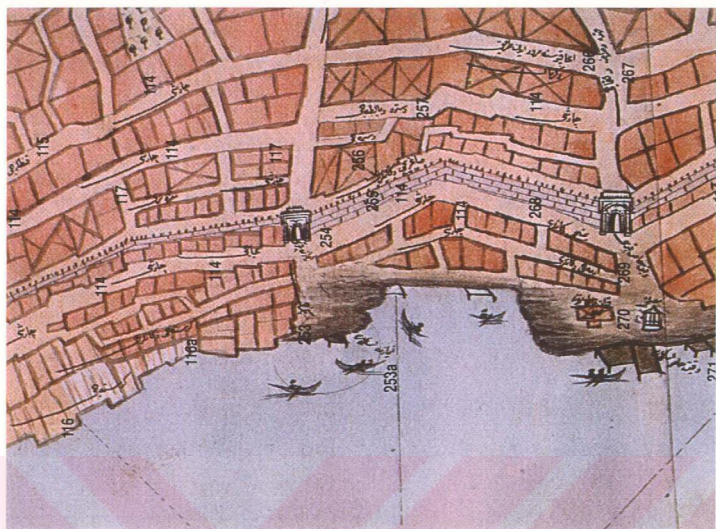


Fig. 43.1. Beyazıd Su Yolu Map, engineer Seyyid Hasan, 1812-1813, detail 1-2 (rendering after Çeçen, 1997)



114.market, 116-118a.timber stores, 253.pekmezci, 253a landing of ayazma, 254. ayazma gate, 265. kalburcu, 268 fruit shops, 269. Dakiki Has gate, 270. the office of Kapan Naibi, 271. the landing stage of Dakiki Has, 281. Tüfenkhane, 282. empty plot

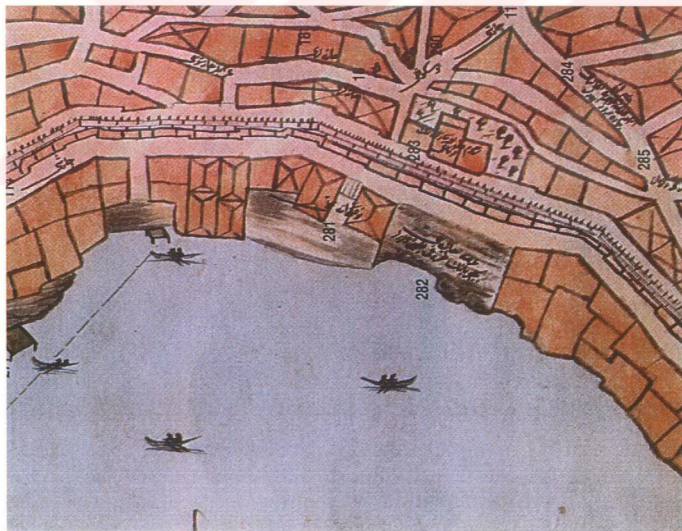
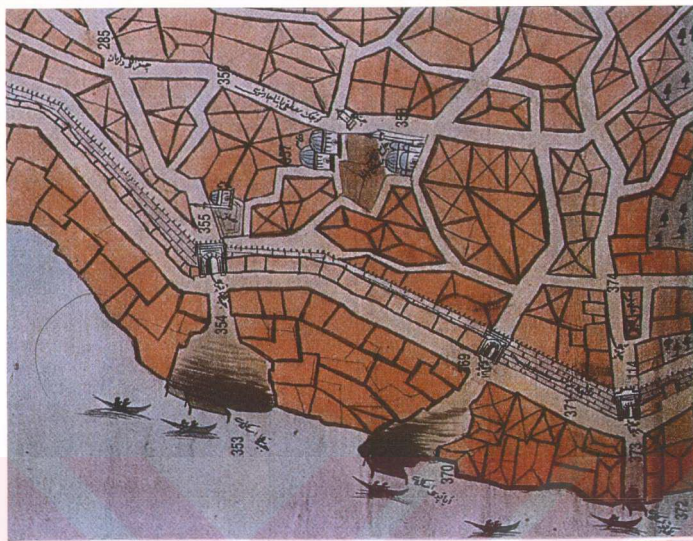


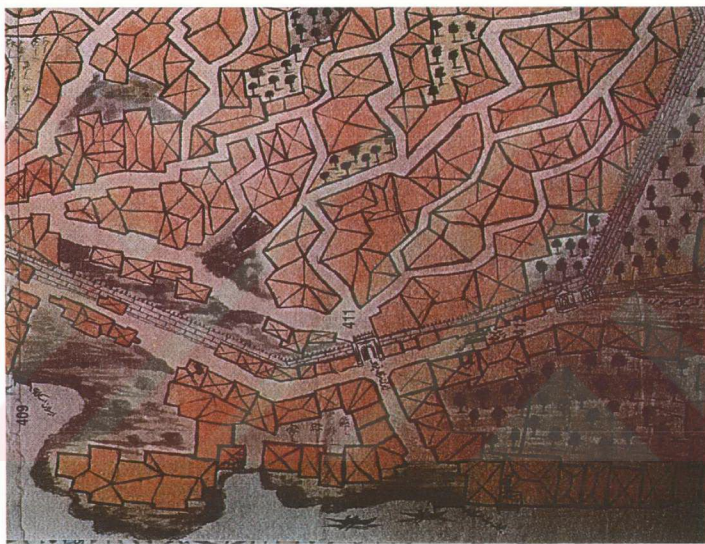
Fig. 43.2. Beyazıd Su Yolu Map, engineer Seyyid Hasan, 1812-1813, detail 3-4



353. cebeali landing stage, 354. cebeali gate, 355. mosque, 369. ayakapi,
 370. landing stage of ayakapi, 371. fortification wall, 372. landing stage of yenikapi,
 373. yenikapi, 375. petra(?)gate, 114. markets, 394. fener gate, 395. landing of fener gate,
 408. balat gate, 409. arslan landing stage.



Fig. 43.3. Beyazıt Su Yolu Map, engineer Seyyid Hasan, 1812-1813, detail 5-6



410. ayvansaray landing, 411. ayvansaray gate, 412. parmakkapi (eyup ensari gate)

Fig. 43.4. Beyazıd Su Yolu Map, engineer Seyyid Hasan, 1812-1813, detail 7



boathouses sepetciler kasrı yalı kiosk

palace foreshore



yesil kiremitli mosque? entrepots

wharf of the palace

Fig. 44. Palace foreshore and Palace wharf, detail from the panorama of Le Prince, early 19th century (Gülersoy: 1983)

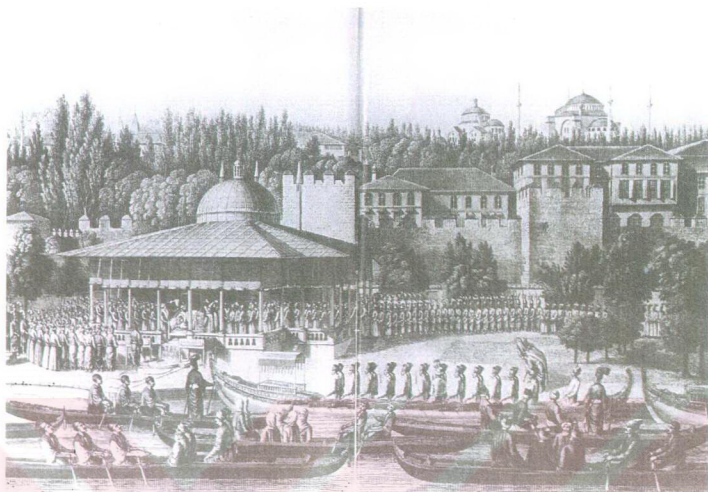


Fig. 45.1. Yalı Kiosk, d'Ohsson (Gülersoy: 1983)

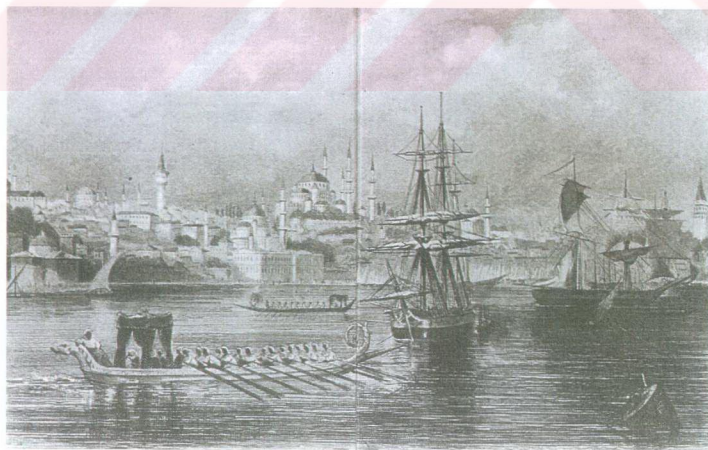


Fig. 45.2. From Yalı Kiosk to Eminönü, detail from Allom, 1838
(Allom & Walsh: 1839)



Fig. 46.1. Eminönü, 1850s, engraving (Arslan: 1992)



Fig. 46.2. Detail from the engraving depicting the Great Hocapaşa fire, 1865, by P. Blanchard (Arslan, 1992)



Fig. 47.1. Zindankapı-Unkapanı, detail from the painting of C. Choleseul- Gauffier (Gülersoy, 1982)

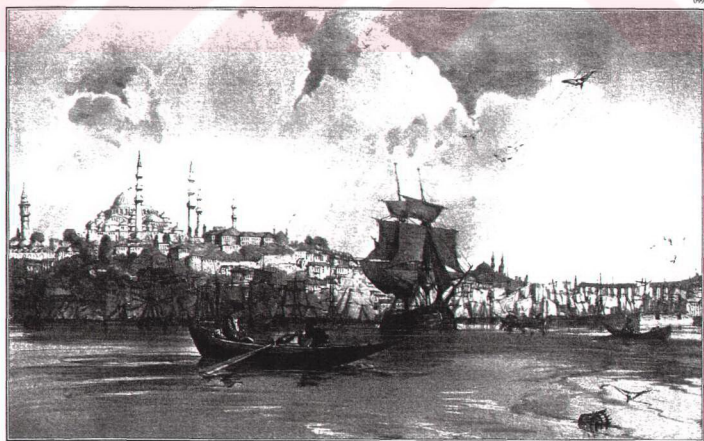


Fig. 47.2. Zindankapı- Unkapanı, detail from the painting of J.F. Lewis (Arslan, 1992)

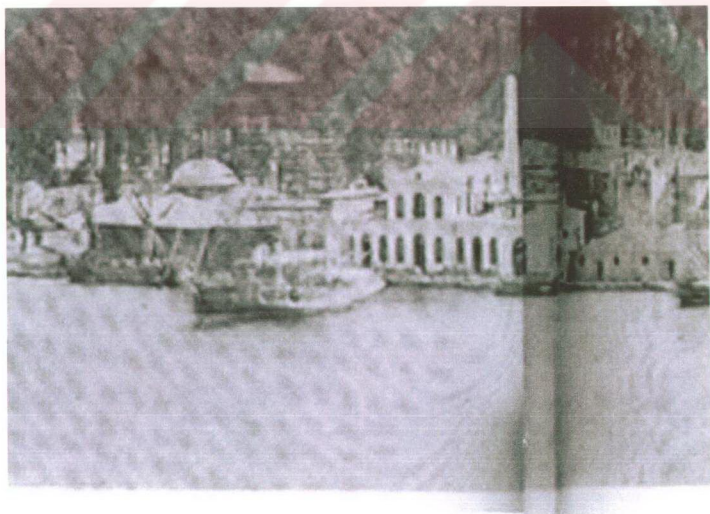
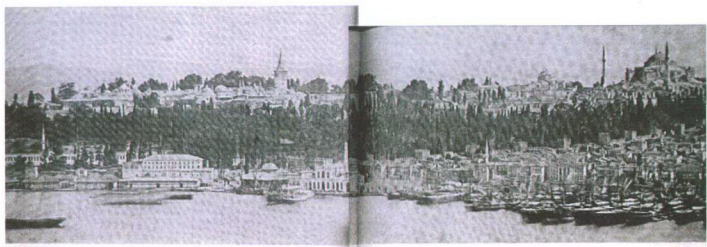


Fig. 48. Yali Kiosk, Palece wharf, photograph, 1850s (Eidem, 19)
the building on the right of Yali Kiosk is teh factory of Idare-i Mahsusa.



open air storage

minaret (yesil kiremitli mosque?)

open air storage

depots and entrepots



sirkeci

depots and entrepots

Fig. 49. Yalı Kiosk-Bahçekapi, late 1850s (rendering on the copy from the Archive of German Archaeological Institute)



**Fig. 50.1. Sirkeci Customs, photograph, late 19th century
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)**



**Fig. 50.2. Sirkeci Square, ferry station, photograph, late 19th century
(Yerasimos, M., 1992)**



Fig. 51-1. Istanbul Customs, photograph, late 19th century (Müller-Wiener, 1997)

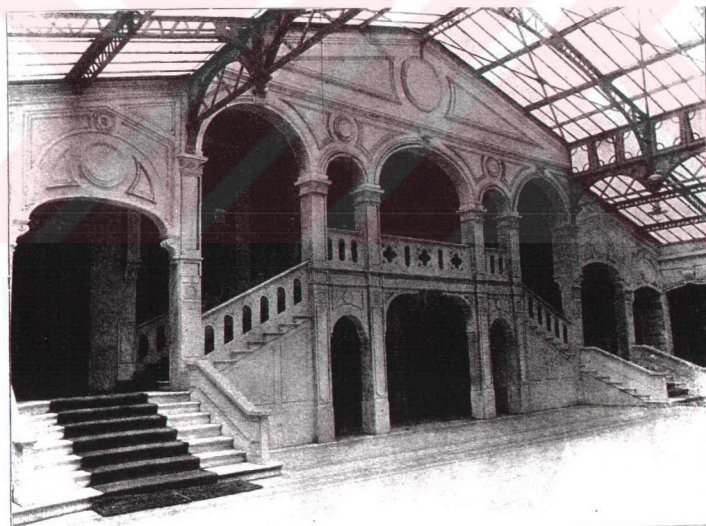


Fig. 51-2. Interior of the Customs building, photograph, late 19th century
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)



Fig. 53.1.. *Rüsumat Dairesi* (Istanbul Stocks Customs), photograph, early 20th century (Müller-Wiener, 1997)

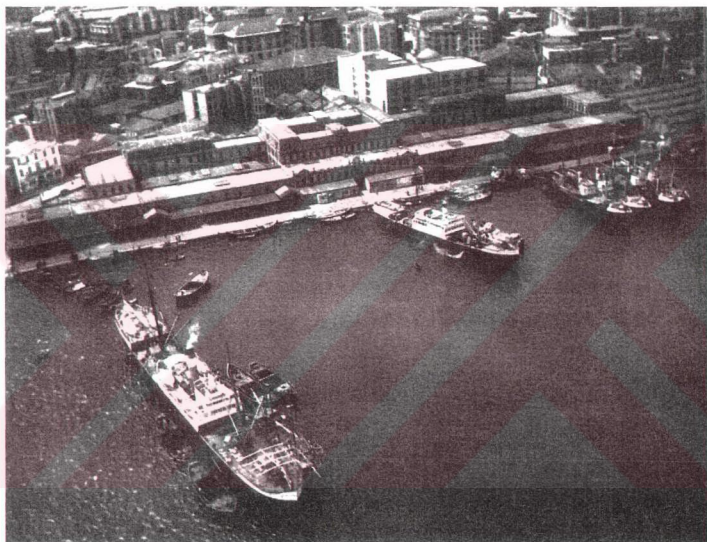


Fig. 53.2. İstanbul Customs, Eminönü, photograph by S. Giz, 1930s (Tütel, 1998)



Fig. 54.1. A jetty on Hallıç, engraving by J. de Mornand, late 19th century
(Gülersoy, 1982)



Fig. 54.2. Boatmen and jetties on Limon landing, photograph, late 19th century
(Yerasimos, M., 1990)



Fig. 55.1. The construction of the second Galata Bridge, photography by Kargopulo, 1875 (Yerasimos, M., 1990)

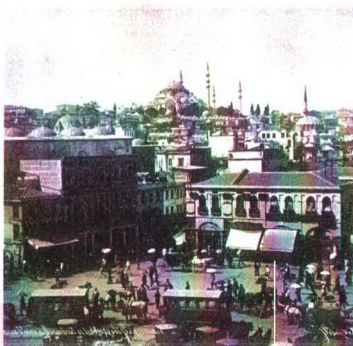


Fig. 56.2. Second Galata Bridge, photograph by Sebah & Joailler, 1890 (Yerasimos, M., 1990)



selanik bonmarseşi

a



valide han

b



customs depot

c



d

Fig. 57. Eminönü Square, late 19th-early 20th century

(a.,b.,d, Sebah & Joailler; c. Iranian; after Yerasimos, M., 1990)



Fig. 58. Balıkpazarı, 1892, C.W.C. Oman (after Arslan: 1992)
the second building from the left is Egoyan Han; to its right is the Fish Exchange
detail from the same source, the front of the Fish Exchange



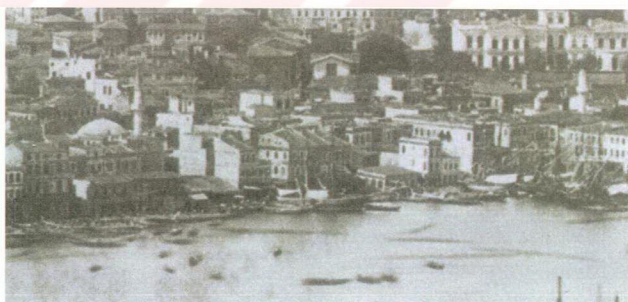
Fig. 69. Panorama from the Galata Tower, late 1870s (archive of German Archaeological Institute)



egoyan han balikpazari duhan gümrüğü
 balikpazari iskelesi hasir iskelesi



limon iskelesi shops/ port offices baba cafer tower yemis iskelesi/cardak



ahi celebi mosque shops/offices sogancilar mescid
 odunkapi iskelesi

Fig. 59.1. photograph from the Galata Tower, late 19th century (archive of German Archeological Institute)
 detail 1-3 (rendering by the author)



wall of lumber wharf

wharf of construction materials



wharf of construction materials

west wall of lumber wharf

ayazma gate landing

houses and shops

tekirdag landing



tekirdag landing

houses and shops

flour factories (intra-mural)

shops, depots,

unkapani landing

Fig. 59.2. photograph from the Galata Tower, late 19th century (archive of German Archaeological Institute) detail 4-7 (rendering by the author)



former flour exchange building

unkapani landing

süleyman subasi mosque

unkapani bridge (2nd)

police station



private entrepots



flour factory

waterfront mansions

cibali landing

Fig. 59.3. photograph from the Galata Tower, late 19th century (archive of German Archaeological Institute)
detail 7-9 (rendering by the author)



waterfront mansions flour factory

waterfront houses

ayakapi landing



fener landing



balat landing

Fig. 59.4.

photograph from the Galata Tower, late 19th century (archive of German Archaeological Institute)
detail 10-12 (rendering by the author)



egoyan han balkpazari-nezaret

ilyod-austriaca enterpots



limon quay

zindan han

degirmen han
yemis ferry station (2nd)



ahi celebi mosque

wall of lumber exchange

Fig. 60. photograph from Galata Tower, early 20th century (archive of German Archaeological Institute)
detail 1-3 (rendering by the author)

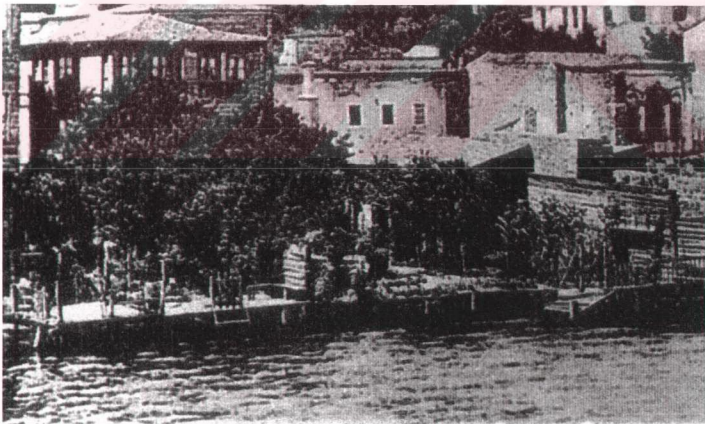


Fig. 61. Fener, waterfront mansions, photograph, late 19th century (Eken, 1992)



Fig. 62.1. Bulgarian Orthodox Christian Church in Fener, photograph, late 19th century (Eken,1992)



Fig. 62.2. Balat landing stage, photograph, late 19th century (Archive of German Archaeological Institute)



fener landing

row-pattern

ayakapi landing

cibali landing

fener kapi

petri

yeniyakapi

ayakapi

rows pattern

rows pattern

cibali kapi



ayvansaray landing

rows pattern with streets

ayvansaray kapi

arslan landing

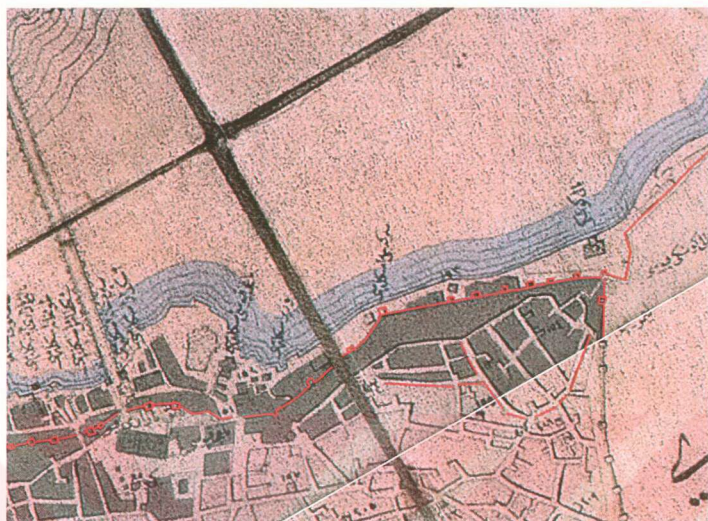
rows pattern with

balat landing

streets

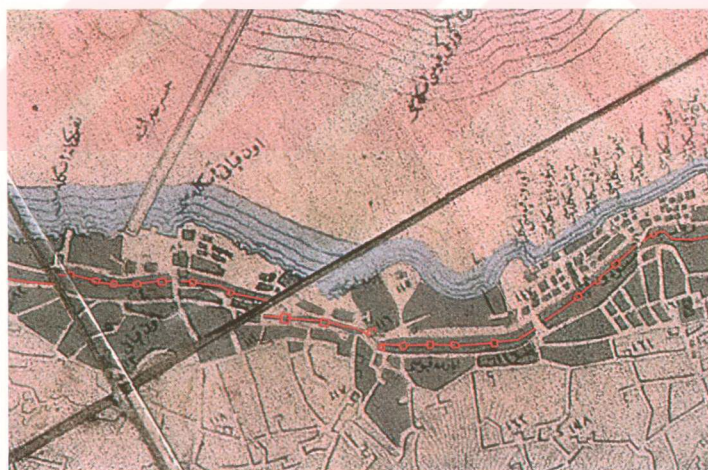
balat kapi

**Fig. 63.1. Ayvansaray-Cibali, detail from 1847 map, detail 1-2
(rendering on the scanned image after Kayra, 1990)**



gümrükönü (main customs)

balıkpazari yeni cami bahcekapi



tüfenkhane

unkapani

lumber exchange

insula pattern

unkapani kapi

ayazma kapi

odunkapi zindankapi

Fig. 63.2. Unkapanı- Sirkeci, detail from 1847 map, detail 3-4.

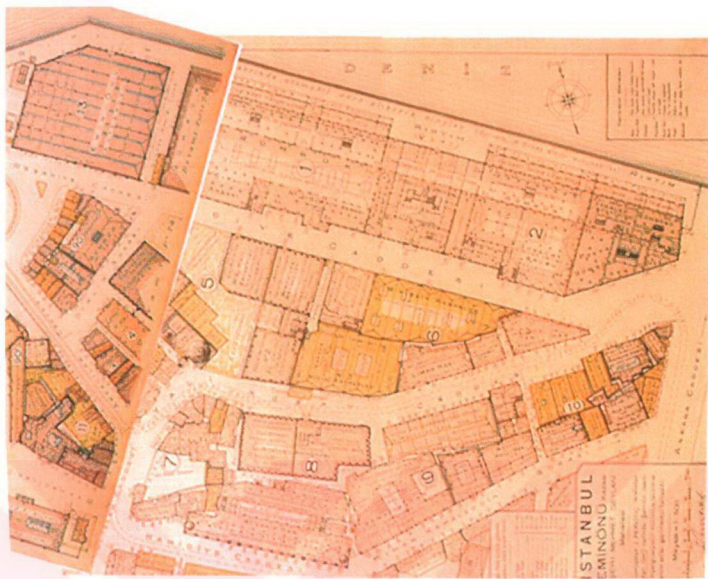


Fig. 69.1. İstanbul Customs, Pervitich maps, 1940
(İstanbul in the Insurance, 2001)

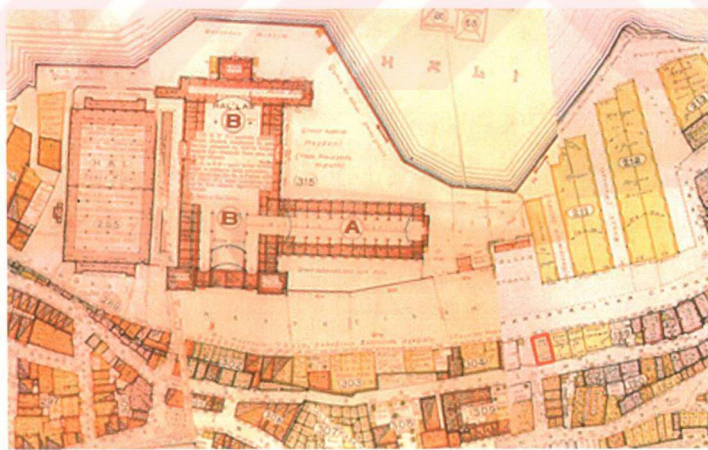


Fig. 69.2. New Fruit Exchange, Pervitich maps, 1943
(İstanbul in the Insurance, 2001)

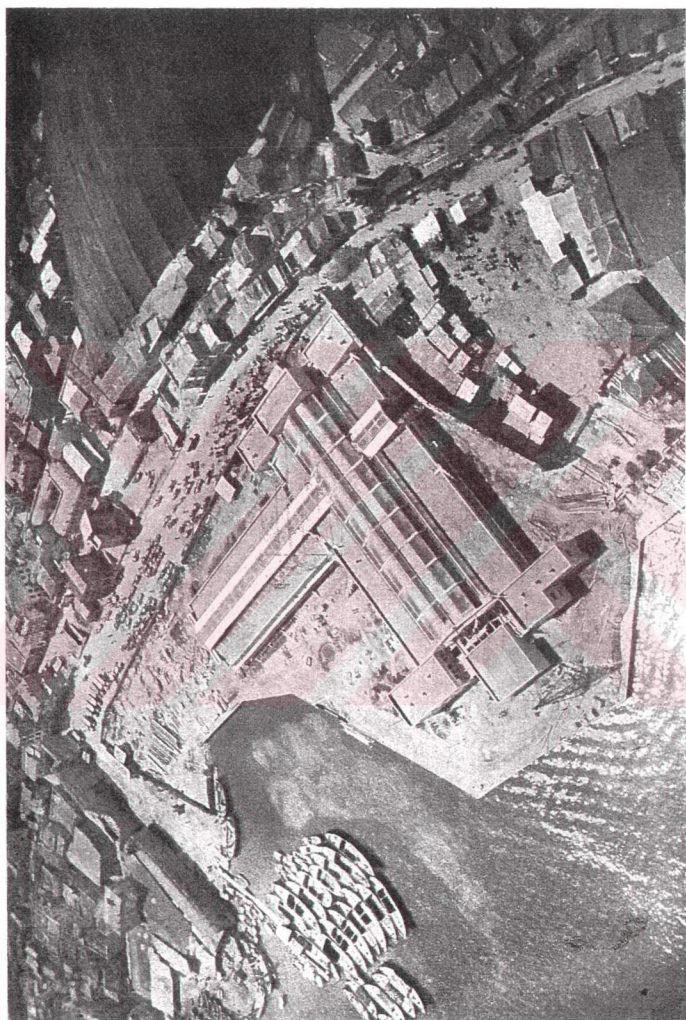


Fig. 70. 1. New Fruit Exchange, constructed by 1930s, photograph taken in 1934, Arkitekt (1934:)
The two walls on the two sides of the Exchange were the fire-walls of the former wharf of building constructions, they were demolished after the construction of the Exchange.

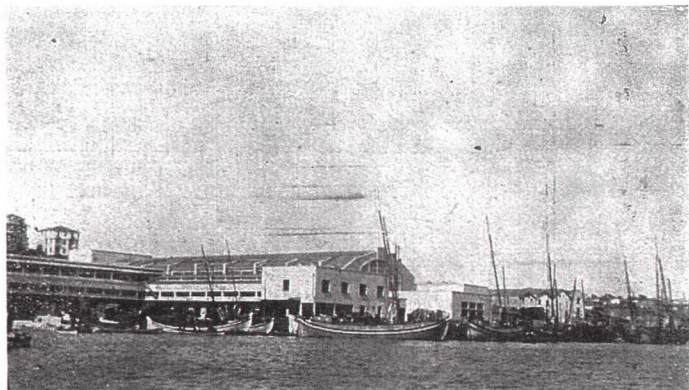


Fig. 70.2. New Fruit Exchange, from the sea and the road construction early 1930s, photograph, 1934 (after, Arkitekt)
The wall at the back is the fire-wall of the former wharf of building constructions.



Fig. 71. Eminönü Square before and after 1950s demolitions
(a. *Arkitekt*; b. *Mimarlık*)

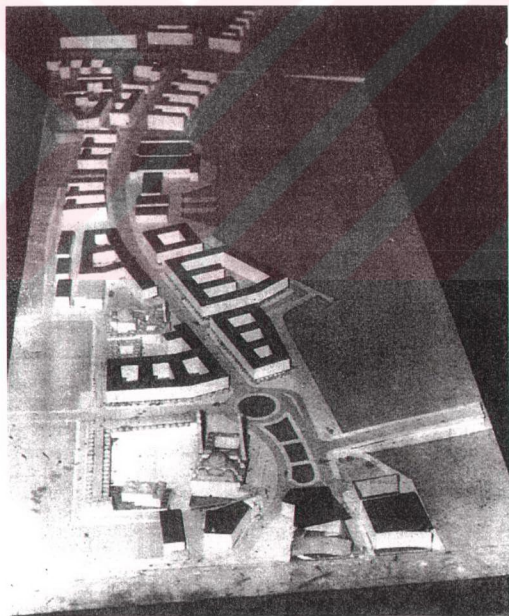
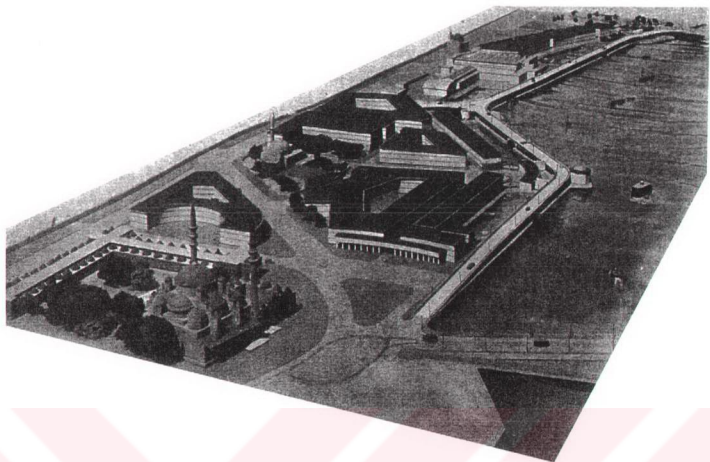


Fig. 72. Two proposals for the redevelopment of the area between Eminönü and Unkapanı (a. *Arkitekt*: 1948; b. *Mimarlık*)

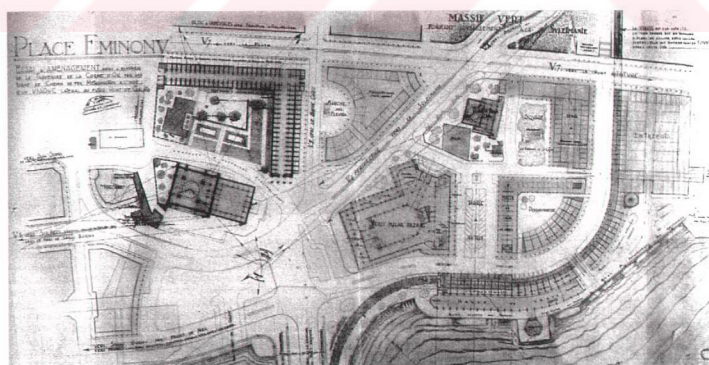


Fig. 73. Project for the Eminönü Square, H. Prost (Pinon, 1997)



Fig. 74. Unkapanı-Cibali avenue, 1950s, photograph (*Mimarlık*)



Fig. 75.1. Eminönü-Odunkapi, demolitions in 1950s
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)

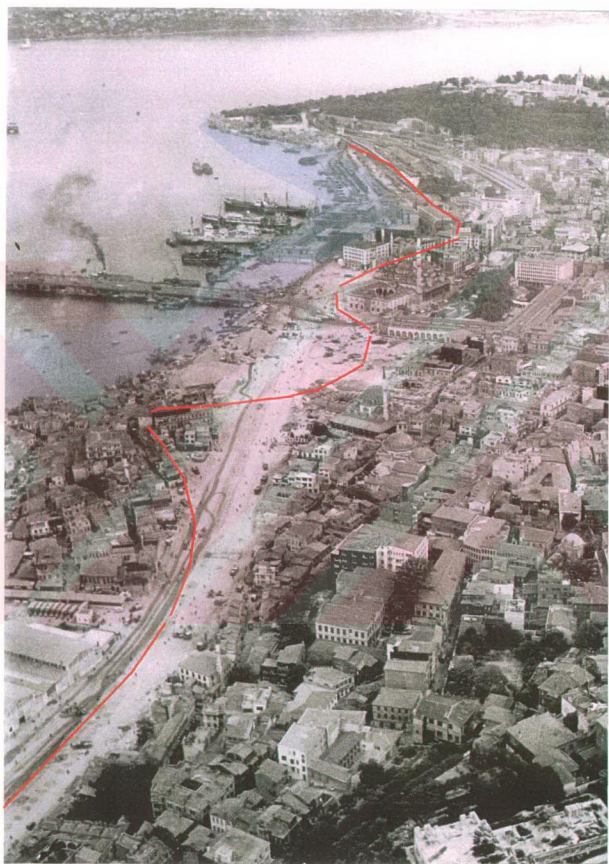
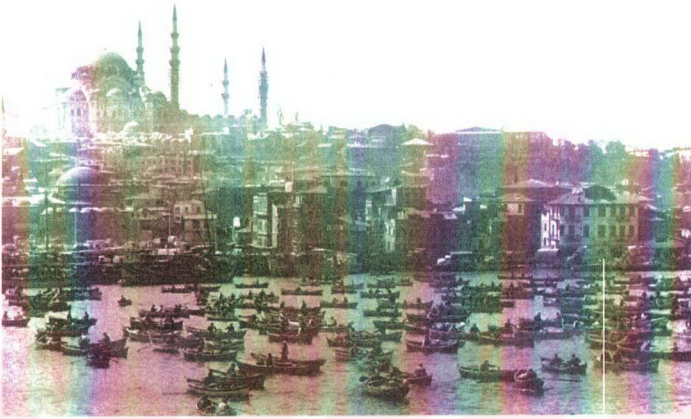


Fig. 75.2. Demolitions for the Unkapanı- Eminönü Avenue (rendering on the scanned images after the Archive of German Archaeological Institute)



limon wharf- yağ iskelesi

limon han

Fig. 76.1. Zindankapı- Yemiş in 1960s, photograph (Yerasimos, M.,1990)

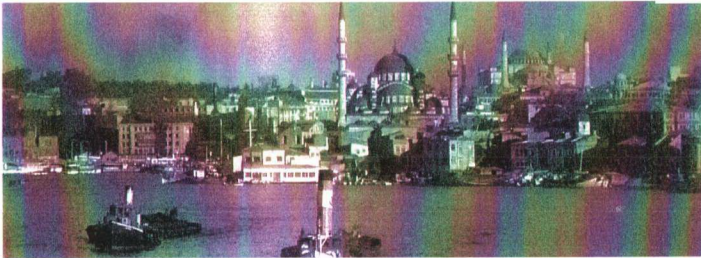


Fig. 76.2. Zindankapı-Yemiş, photograph by A. Güler , 1970s

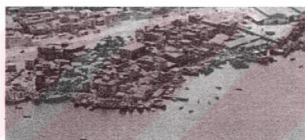


Fig. 77. Photographs of Balık pazarı-Yağ İskelesi, photograph by A. Güler, 1970s

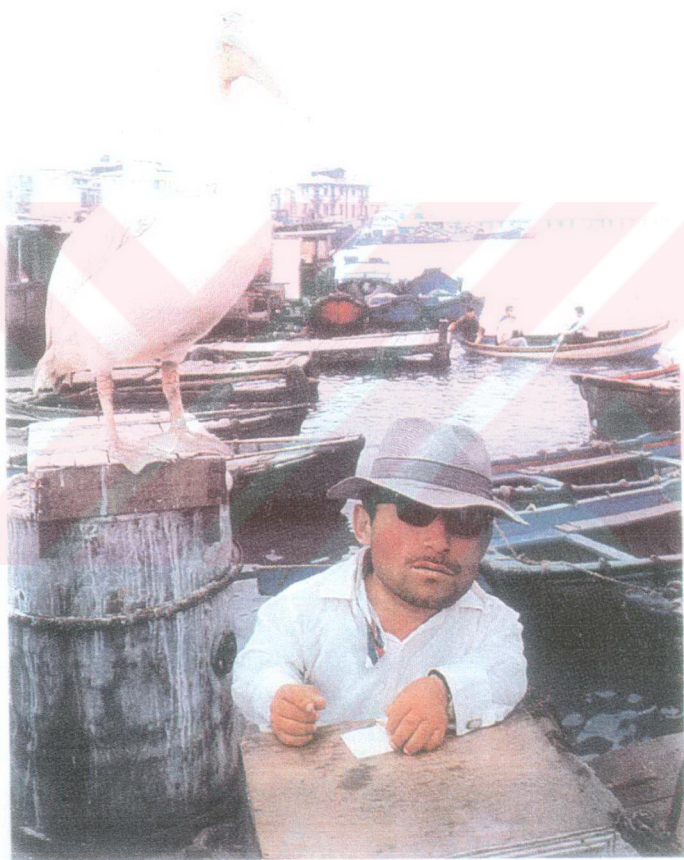
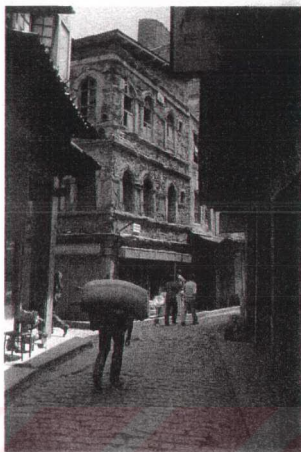


Fig. 78. Limoncu Han, photograph by A. Güler, 1970s



Zindankapi area before 1986 demolitions, Ara Güler ()



Fig. 79. 1986 demolitions in Zindankapi- Yemiş, photograph by A. Güler



Fig. 80. Workshops between Ayakapı and Fener, photograph, 1960s
(Archive of German Archaeological Institute)

Fig. 81. Ayansaray-Sarayburnu, Istanbul Municipality map, 2001





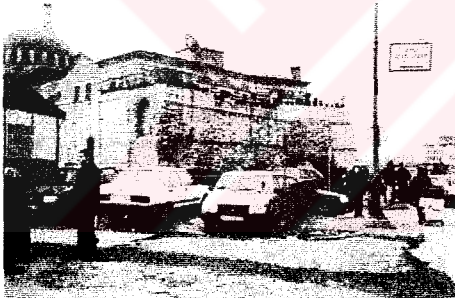
bahçekapi-eminönü fortifications



bahçekapi-eminönü foertifications



former ultra-mural wallstreet



Han & fortifications



section of the fortifications

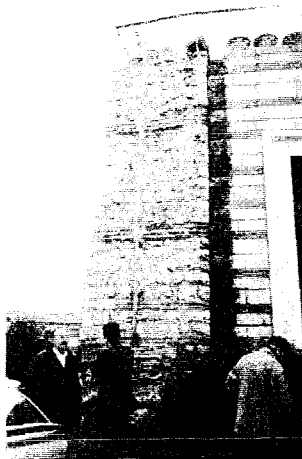
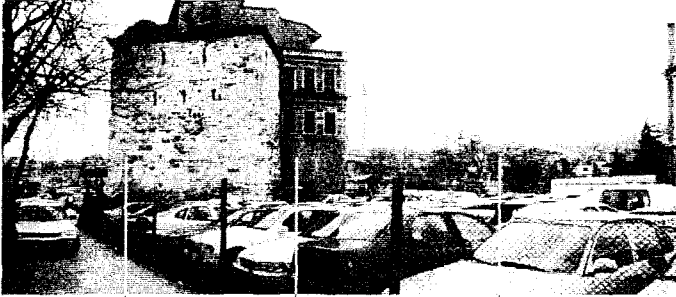


Fig. 82.1 . survey in situ, 2001

T.C. YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİM BAKANLIĞI
DOKÜMAN YAYIN MERKEZİ



Baba Cafer Tower

Zindanhan

Remains of Zindanhan



Remains of Zindankapi



Remains of Zindankapi



Remains of Zindankapi

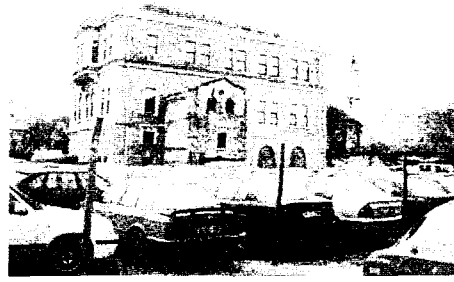


Remains of Zindankapi

Fig. 82.2. in situ survey, 2001.



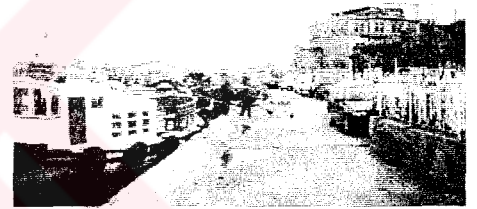
Ahi Çelebi Mosque



Degirmenhan



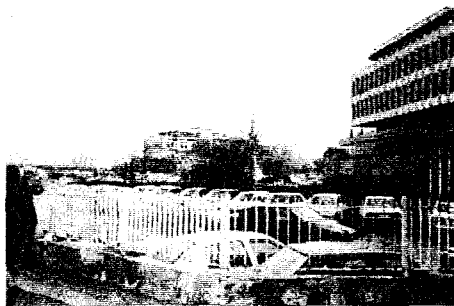
Degirmenhan



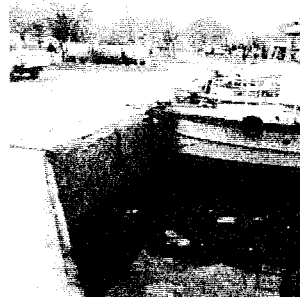
Degirmenhan



ITO



ITO

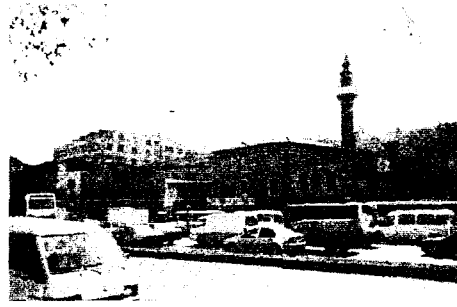


zindankapi-unkapani shoreline

Fig. 82.3. survey in situ (2001)



zindankapi- unkapani



Zindankapi-Unkapani



Zindankapi-Unkapani



Zindankapi-Unkapani



Zindankapi-Unkapani

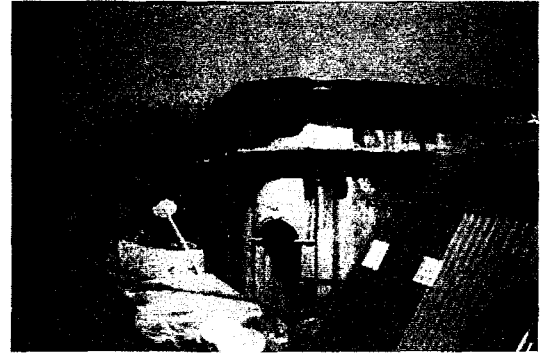


Unkapani

Fig. 82.4. in situ survey (2001)



unkapani shore



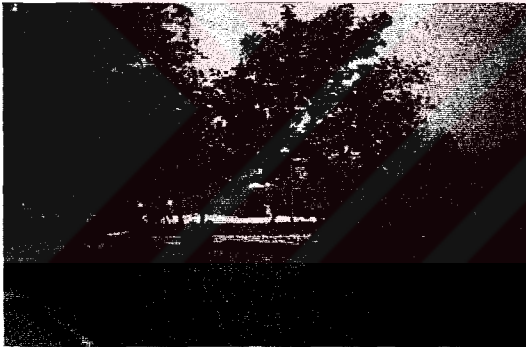
unkapani, late ottoman fountain
originally it was situated in the unkapani square.



unkapani-cibali
trace of the ancient wall
as a retaining wall for the street



unkapani-cibali
trace of the ancient wall



cibali shore



unkapani-cibali
trace of the ancient wall



former cibali tobacco factory
now, a university complex



unkapani bridge from cibali seashore

Fig. 82.5. in-situ survey, 2000



cibali shoreline



former cibali landing



cibali



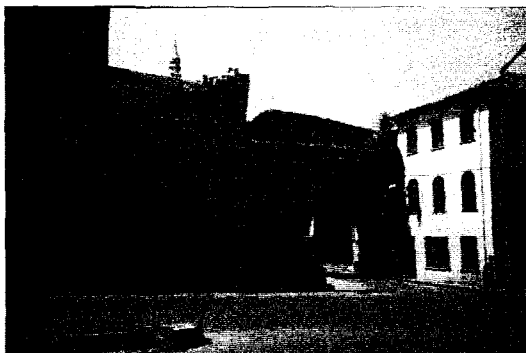
cibali landing



cibali
new buildings on the former
fortification line



cibali gate
the section of the former street



cibali gate



cibali gate

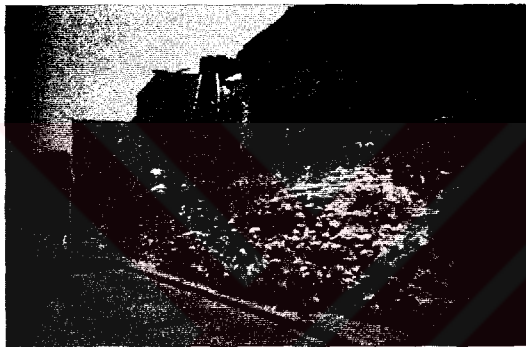
Fig. 82.6. in-situ survey, 2000



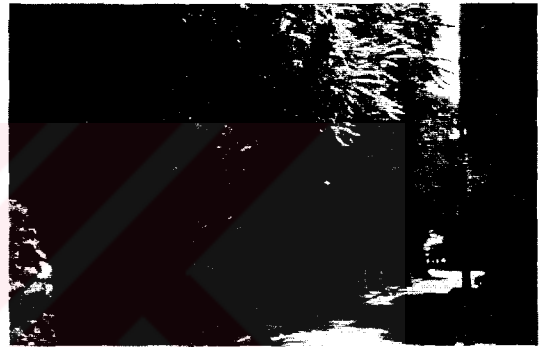
cibali gate



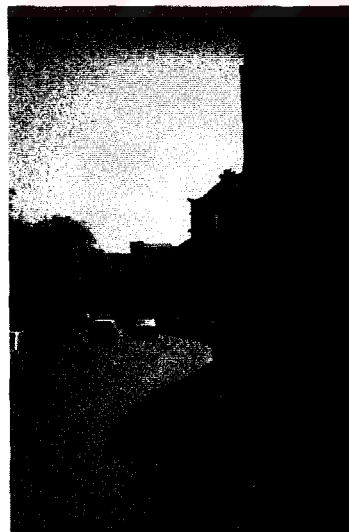
cibali(intra-mural trace of the wall)



cibali (intra-mural trace of the wall)



cibali (intra-mural trace of the wall)

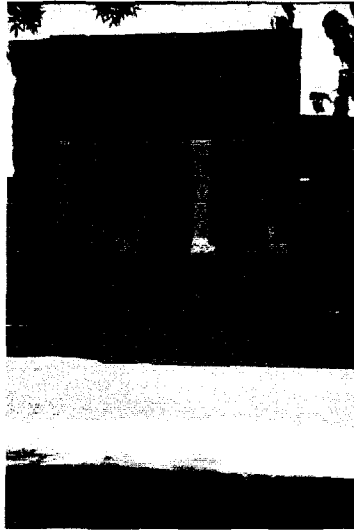


cibali-ayakapi
new buildings on the former
fortification line

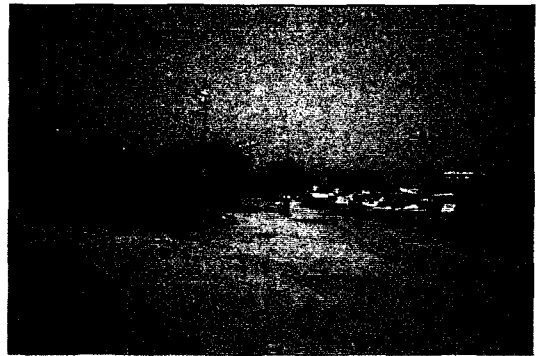


cibali-ayakapi
the section of the former street

Fig. 82.7. in-situ survey, 2000



phanariot house



cibali-ayakapi, shoreline



ayakapi
new buildings on the former
fortification line
st. nicholas (metechion)



cibali-metechion (18th century)



metechion ayakapi



ayakapi

Fig. 82.8. : in-situ survey, 2000



ayakapi



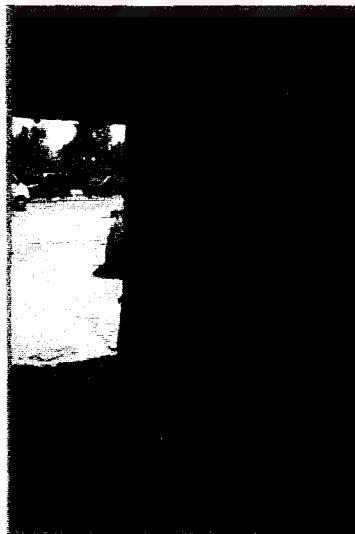
former ayakapi landing



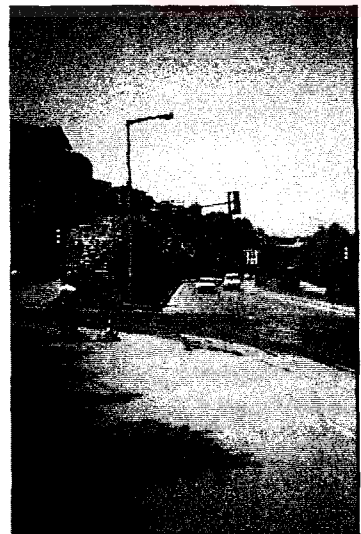
ayakapi



ayakapi (intra-mural)



ayakapi



ayakapi-fener
fortification line

Fig. 82-9. . in-situ survey, 2000



ayakapi-fener
fortification line



ayakapi-fener
fortification line



ayakapi-fener
fortification line



fener-ayakapi
fortification line

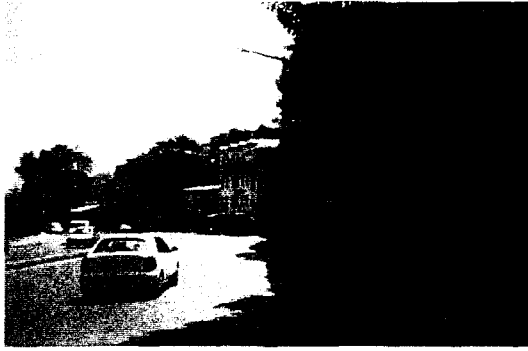


ayakapi-fener



ayakapi-fener
wall & tower

Fig. 82.10.in situ survey (2000)



fener-balat fortifications



fener-balat fortifications



fener shoreline



fener-balat fortifications



fener-balat



fener ferry-station

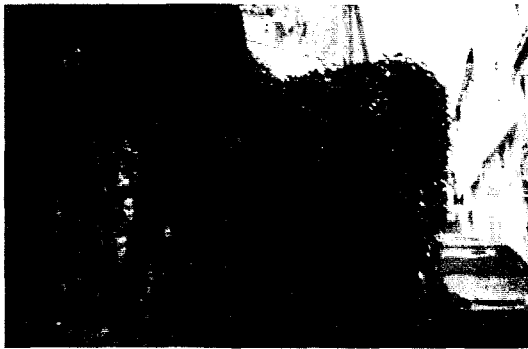
Fig. 82.11. in situ survey (2000)



fener
section of the wall street between
a phanariot house & the long wall-buildings



fener

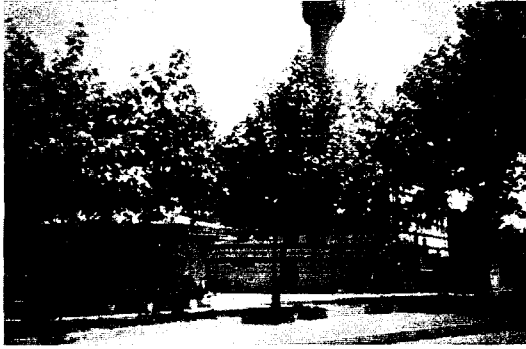


fener-balat (intra-mural)



fener-balat

Fig. 82.12.in situ survey (2000)



ayvansaray



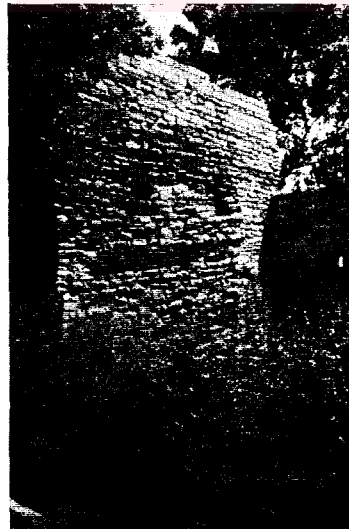
ayvansaray
heracleian walls



ayvansaray



ayvansaray

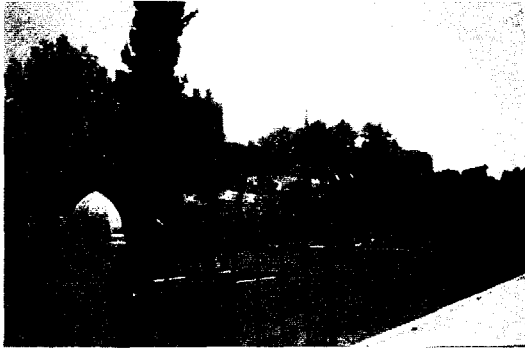


ayvansaray



ayvansaray
heracleian walls

Fig. 82.13. in situ survey (2000)



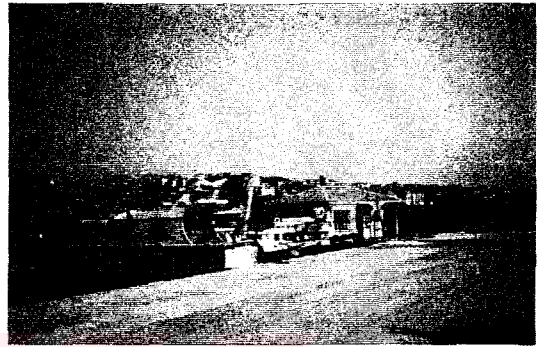
land-walls



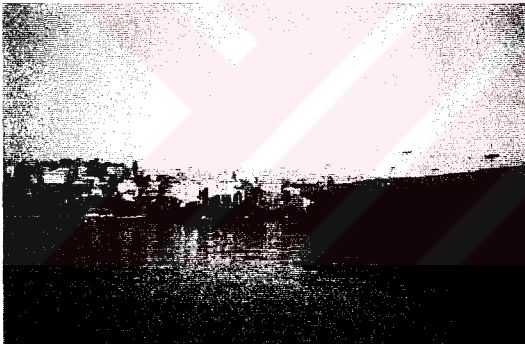
ayvansaray
the point of xyloporta/eyüb ensari-gate



ayvansaray shoreline



ayvansaray landing



old galata bridge
ayvansaray-balat



old galata bridge
ayvansaray-balat



ayvansaray-balat



balat landing

Fig 0.14. in situ survey (2000)

VITA

Namık Erkal was born in Ankara, on July 21, 1969. He received his degree in Architecture from the Middle East Technical University in June 1992. He worked in various design offices between 1992-1995. He has received his M.A. in History of Architecture from the Middle East Technical University in June 1995. His master thesis entitled “Constantinopolis: a Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great’s Imperial Project” has been awarded by *ODTU Prof Dr Mustafa Parlar Eğitim ve Araştırma Vakfı* in 1996. He has attended the Graduate Program entitled “Culture of the Metropolis” in University of Catalonia, Barcelona- Spain between April and June 1996. He has been a research assistant in the Department of Architecture since 1996. He has worked on the editorial board of the “Mimarlık” magazine between 1998-1999. He has honorary mention awards in various national architectural competitions. He has organised student abroad trips to Europe. His major areas of interest are the urban history (specifically İstanbul), architectural history of the city frontier, different conceptions of boundary and the design of museums and exhibitions.