THE HISTORY OF YEDİKULE

AND

ITS PLACE IN MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

by

Oya Koca-Eğrikavuk
B.A. in Faculty of Administrative Sciences,
Department of Economics
Boğaziçi University, 1987

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ABSTRACT

As a fifth century construction Golden Gate has been subject to discussions on the real character of its form; a triumphal arch or a gateway.

Since the end of the last century, scholars have published lengthy discussions, some buiding up their argument on historiography and comparison, others on archeological findings. The main discussion was that the edifice was constructed by Theodosius the Great in 388 A.D. after his victory over Maximus as a free standing arch outside the Constantinian walls. J. Strzygowski represents scholars following this line of thought. While E. Weigand has defended that it was a gateway incorporated in the Theodosian Walls, and built at an unspecific date between 413 and 439. New arguments to either view have been introduced by Millingen, Th. Macridy and S. Casson, A. M. Schneider and Schweinfurth during the course of seventy years. The outcome of these arguments is still indefinite and no new evidence is available to enable authors to cite more specific dates than "5th century."

Examination of the architectural features is attained for a better understanding of the Golden Gate together with its propylaea.

Transformation of Golden Gate to Yedikule is not an immediate development. Similar aims as that of Sultan Mehmed have been pursued during the end of the fourteenth century Byzantium.

In fact, the walls formed by the Golden Gate and its towers were incorporated into a castle during the politically very instable period as a place of refuge by John Cantacuzenus first, and then by John V Palaelogus. But its presence, being against the political interests, was demolished according to Bayezıd's will in 1391.

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II chose this site for his citadel, state treasury and archives. Its construction was completed in 1458. The plan of Yedikule reveals a strictly geometric outline of a pentagon, which is the starting point of an argument about the influence of Renaissance military architecture. A second example, Kilid-ül-Bahir, follows Yedikule to further support this theme.

These are the two castles that are unique in Mehmed II's chain of military defence structures. Their minute geometric details and symmetry, unobserved in earlier Ottoman structures, strongly suggest a correlance in form to the ideal city plans of theorists Alberti and Filarete, especially Filarete who, as is documented, had an indirect corresspondence with İstanbul.

Once security was established within the new capital, Yedikule gradually lost its initial importance and was used first as a prison, as an artillery park and finally as a museum.

ÖZET

Beşinci yüzyıla ait bir yapı olan Yaldızlı Kapı, formu ve işlevi açısından çeşitli tartışmalara konu olmuştur. Gerçekte bir zafer takımı yoksa bir sur geçidi olarak mı inşa edildiği son yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren ele alınmıştır.

Kimi tarihçiler, tarihbilimsel ve karşılaştırmalı yaklaşımı benimserken diğerleri de arkeoljik buluntulardan yola çıkmaktadır. İlk öne sürülen görüş, yapının Theodosius I'in 388'de Maximus'a karşı elde ettiği zaferden sonra Konstantin surları dışında bir zafer takı olarak inşa ettirdiğidir. J. Strzygowski'nin temsil ettiği bu görüşe ilk kez E. Weigand karşı çıkarak, bu yapının Theodosius Surlarının bir parçası olduğunu ve 413 ile 439 arasında belirsiz bir tarihte Theodosius II tarafından yaptırıldığını ileri sürmüştür. Yetmiş yıllık bir dönem boyunca her iki görüşe de katkı da bulunan çeşitli yazarlar olmuştur. Bunların arasında Millingen, Th. Macridy ve S. Casson, A. M. Schneider ve Schweinfurth sayılabilir. Yine de tartışmalar kesin bir sonuca ulaştırılamamış ve "beşinci yüzyıl" ifadesinden daha belirgin bir tarihleme kullanılamamaktadır.

Yaldızlı Kapı ve Ön Kapı'ya ait bir mimari inceleme, bu yapının daha iyi anlaşılabilmesini sağlamaktadır.

Yaldızlı Kapı'nın Yedikule'ye dönüşümü aniden oluşan bir gelişme değidir. Ondördüncü yüzyıl sonu Bizans'ında bu bölgedeki surlar Fatih Sultan Mehmed'inkine benzer amaçlar için kullanılmıştır.

Politik açıdan çalkantılı bu dönemde ilk olarak John Cantacuzenus, daha sonra John V Paleologus, gerektiğinde bir sığınma yeri olarak kullanmak üzere Yaldızlı Kapı ve kulelerini bir kale şeklinde surlarla donatmışlardı. Ancak Bayezid, politik çıkarları için bir engel olarak gördüğü bu kaleyi, 1391 yılında yıkılmasını sağlamıştır.

1453'de İstanbul'un fethinden sonra şehir içinde müstahkem bir iç kale ihtiyacını hisseden Fatih, devlet hazinesi ve arşivi için bu noktayı seçti. Yapımı 1458'de tamamlanan Yedikule'nin planının geometrik özellikleri, bu dönem Rönesans askeri mimarisinden etkilenilmiş olabileceğine dair bir tartışmaya temel teşkil eder. Bu iddiayı destekleyen ikinci örnek Çanakkale Boğazı'da inşa edilen Kilid-ül-Bahir kalesidir.

Bu iki yapı, 2. Mehmet'in askeri mimari eserler zincirinin iki önemli halkasıdır. Planlarındaki geometrik ayrıntılar ve simetri, daha önceki Osmanlı askeri mimari örneklerinde görülmemektedir. Bu da şekil itibariyle Alberti ve Filaret'in ideal şehir planlarını akla getirmektedir. Filareti'nin İstanbul ile yazışmaları olduğu bilinmektedir.

Şehirde güvenlik koşulları sağlandıktan sonra Yedikule bir ölçüde önemini yitirerek zindan, cephane deposu ve son olarak da müze olarak kullanıldı.

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INTRODUCTION

Otlarla örülmüş bir merdivenle batı tarafındaki sur
perdelerinin birinin üstüne çıktım. Buradan bütün kale
görülür: hepsi siyahımsı ve koyu kırmızı renkte olan ve
diri bir yeşillik kümesinin etrafına toplanmış harabe,
kule, mazgal, merdiven, sahanlık kargaşalığı, ötede
İstanbul'un sayısız başka kuleleri ve başka mazgalları,
öyle ki insan gözlerini kısınca semanın ve Marmara
denizinin maviliği üstünde ortaya çıkan terkedilmiş
kocaman tek bir kale gördüğünü sanır.[1]

Edmondo de Amicis visited Yedikule as a young man in 1874. He hastened
to leave, trying to escape from the horrifying reflections carried over from the history
that was literally written on its walls. It evokes similar feelings on modern visitors, its
infamousy caused its name to be cited along with Bastille and Tower of London. Its
repelling history has nevertheless attracted many a visitor through centuries to
either pay a visit or to enquire about it and mention it in their works.

But a dramatical approach to yedikule would remain too superficial in efforts
to understand its historical background and significance. In fact, Yedikule provides a
genuine opportunity for an art historian to trace the interaction between political,
social, historical events and formation of art and more appropriately architecture in
this case.

This paper attempts to disclose the significance of Yedikule in the military
architecture of its time starting with the core, Golden Gate, around which Yedikule
has been built.

In order to shed light into the arguments about the nature of the Golden
Gate, initially elements which constitute its theme are briefly mentioned: the road,
the triumphal arch, the walls and the gate.

Accounts are given on the significance of this structure in the life of the
Byzantines. This leads to discussions on the exact date of construction.

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[1] Edmondo de Amicis, İstanbul, çeviren Beynun Akyavaş (Ankara, 1986), p.317

Architectural features are briefly mentioned, supplemented with recent and old photographs of the general or detailed aspects of the Golden Gate.

Before passing on to the developments during the reign of Mehmed II, the interphase is dealt with, mostly in accounts of travellers as no remains of the construction of this period have reached our day.

In the second part of the paper, Mehmed II's political policies are firstly discussed. Yedikule's significance is inquired through parallels in Renaissance Italian military concepts. The plan is discussed in detail in this context and a concise description of the structural details is given.

Remaining work covers the function of Yedikule as a treasury, as a prison and lastly, as a museum.

GOLDEN GATE OF THE LATE ANTIQUITY

Elements

The Road

All roads in antiquity led to Rome, or rather radiated from Rome through one of the four arterial roads of paramount importance: *Via Appia* and *Flamina* serving the traffic to south and north, *Via Ostiensis* and *Portuensis* connecting Rome with her sea ports.

In New Rome, a similar network was created by developing two existing roads in the Balkan Peninsula; first, the *Via Egnatia* reaching the Adriatic Port of Purazzo and Thrace through Thessalonica, and second, the military road from Byzantium to Belgrade.

The Million, like its namesake in the Roman Forum was the point of departure for these great roads. Here began the *Mése,* or Middle Way, the main thoroughfare of ancient Constantinople, which followed the course of the modern Divan Yolu. The *Mése,* which was flanked for a good part of its length with marble porticoes, led westward to the Forum of Constantine first, then to the Forum of Theodosius to branch into two upon reaching Amastrianum. One of these extended west and the other southwest. The western branch passed through the Gate of Charisius (Porta Polyandrion), where it joined the Roman road to Adrianople. The other branch passed through the Golden Gate (Porta Aurea) and linked up with the *Via Egnatia.*

As a simple study of the city plan[2] would reveal, the main routes are radiating to/from the complex of the powerladen structures at the tip of the city's triangular boundary. Dean Miller investigates the subject from outside in:

> The *Mése,* leading from the Golden Gate eastward to
> the *omphalos* of the world, the Million in the great
> square of Augusteon, was not a continuation of the
> *Via Egnatia,* the Imperial route which ran from the
> Adriatic to the Golden Gate. The *Mése* was a ritual
> way, or more precisely more of a ritual way than *Via
> Egnatia* was; the *Mése* was a boulevard where ritual
> was concentrated and flowed. The ritual was one of
> movement or progression...[3]

The Imperial Way, the Sacred Way, the Triumphal Way are some connotations that may be attached to this Way. Special use and nature of each of the spaces on the Way must have been clear to the citizens of Constantinople.

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[2] See Figs. 1 and 2.

[3] Imperial Constantinople, (New York: Wiley, 1969), p.16.

"The ritual-architectural additions - particularly triumphal arches and columns - were signs of external agency under whose aegis the people gathered and moved."[4]

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[4] Miller, p.17.

The Triumphal Arch

Triumphal processions were of very early origin, and although writers are not agreed as to the precise conqueror by whom they were instituted; most appear to consider that Romulus was the first, who thus celebrated his victory over King Acron.

From this time to that of Vespasian and Titus, "there were no less than a hundred and thirty triumphs; yet so jealous had the Romans been, lest these ceremonies should be too easily decreed, that it was a law, that no triumph should be allowed unless five thousand of the enemy had been slain in one battle, and this was required to be verified on oath by the general."[5] The conquerer obtained the consent of the senate after a scrupulous examination and no one could receive the distinction unless he were dictator, consul or praetor.

Probably the arch of Romulus was of brick, even now some are of stone as that of Gallenus at Rome, but of course the most important are of marble, as those of Septimus Severus and Constantine.

Some presented only one opening, with an attached column at each outer angle; as that at Susa and the one at Aosta. An example of a central archway flanked on each side by two columns is frequent as in the arch of Titus at Rome. Others had two openings of like size, of which there are instances at Verona. Another class consisted of three archways, a central or larger one and two smaller side ones, as in the arches of Septimus Severus and Constantine at Rome[6].

Fourteen triumphal arches are enumerated by topographers as having been at Rome. They were, however, frequent wherever the Roman rule prevailed, they are found in every province: in western Spain, to the south in Egypt, and along the coast of Africa, to the east in Syria and northward in Gaul.

Such arches were adorned with appropriate bas-reliefs and usually carried gilt-bronze statuary on an attic storey, the latter having a dedicatory inscription on its face. The piers were ornamented with Corinthian or Composite pilasters or columns; slightly detached, full columns often were used after the early second century A.D.

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[5] T.L.Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, Ancient Architecture (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1965), p.205.

[6] See figs. 3, 4, 5.

The Gate and the Wall

Vitruvius who treats the walls and gates in the 5th chapter of his 1st book first considers the method of constructing the walls and towers of the city:

> Their foundations should be carried down to a solid bottom, if such can be found, and should be built thereon of such thickness, as may be necessary for the proper support of that part of the wall, which stands above the natural level of the ground. They should be of the soundest workmanship and materials, and of greater thickness than the walls above. The towers must be projected beyond the line of wall, so that an enemy wishing to approach the wall to carry it by assault may be exposed to the fire of missiles on his open flank from the towers on his right and left. Special pains should be taken that there be no easy avenue by which to storm the wall. The roads should be encompassed at steep points, and planned so as to approach the gate not in a straight line, but from the right to the left; for, as a result of this, the right hand side of the assailants, unprotected by their shields, will be next the wall.[7]

At the time, such were the concerns of an Augustan architect. However, according to Ian Richmond, the age of really complicated Roman fortifications had hardly begun in the West, even in the third century[8]. He goes on to state that during the long peace which followed the establishment of *Pax Augusta*, the art of fortification was almost confined to the frontiers of the Empire where it had most to learn. In Arabia and Bosnia, learning from Hellenistic tradition,[9] the Roman builders freed themselves from earthworks, and stone fortress building began early. It has not been, however, until the late second century that free standing masonry became popular for defences.

> Then the disasters of the third century, and the ever increasing military activity of the fourth, gave the requisite impetus to the study of defensive tactics and poliorcetics, and thenceforward knowledge and understanding of such work advanced rapidly,

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[7] The Ten Books on Architecture, trans. M.H.Morgan, (New York: Dover publications, Inc., 1960), p.22.

[8] The City Wall of Imperial Rome (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p.248.

[9] Akşidil Akarca has an extensive study on Greek city and defence in Şehir ve Savunması (Ankara. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987)

> producing mighty gates like the Porta Nigra, fortresses
> like Anderida (Pevensey) or Cardiff, and City Walls like
> the later stages of ...(Rome), or like the threefold
> defences of Constantinople.[10]

When compared with the utalitarian considerations, the aesthetic concerns were secondary. The essential part of the plan was to build a wall which was strong. But at a limited number of places something more elaborate might be expected, namely, at the points where the roads penetrated the wall. The gates are the buildings in which the aesthetic conceptions in the design of the wall can best be distinguished. The elaboration of gates depended on the importance of the roads which they spanned.

In Rome, the restoration of the Aurelian Wall during the reign of Arcadius and Honorius provides for the purpose of this paper an interesting display of taste on such gates. The whole aspect of the structures, sheer and bare is devoid of all but most elementary decoration. To a fortified curtain gateway, this style of building was ideally suited. There is one more feature of this restoration, which was apparently a new and noteworthy artistic undertaking. That was the use of marble towers for decorating a principal entrance. The old notion to build specially ornate gateways for the main entrances of a city was manipulated, to face the severe form of their bastions with gleaming marble, and the design was so successful that Porta *Flaminia* and *Appia*, which were treated in this way, have never ceased to excite admiration.

In the year 328 A.D., Constantine had commenced the transformation of Byzantium into New Rome by widening the boundaries of the ancient town and erecting new fortifications. Very soon, in 378, Goths appeared before the city after the defeat of the Roman arms at Adrianople; after 400's there were the Huns and Atilla. Religious attraction, shelter provided by the fortifications, political reasons and commercial advantages favored an increase in population. Constantinople called for more security as well as more room: Rome had been captured by the Goths; the Huns had crossed the Danube.

Early in the reign of Theodosius II, the enlargement of the city limits was carried into effect:

As the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius, who was at the time head of the government during the minority of Theodosius II, equipped Constantinople with a magnificent land wall, eight years after the new wall of Rome was ready for the triumphal entry of Honorius in 404.

Richmond states "it is interesting that its plan should have very closely resembled that of old Rome's wall with some minor differences and new ideas here and there."[11]

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[10] Richmond, p.249.

[11] Richmond, p.261.

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The new wall was a 20 mt. structure without a gallery and defended by great rectangular towers which were provided with loop-holed windows. Its gates were stone faced structures with single arches and quadrangular towers which had covered upper stories and battlemented tops. The similarity between these gates and Porta Appia, Flamina, Latina or Tiburtina is very striking.[12]

The bulwarks of Anthemius saved the city from attack by Atilla, but in 447, the greater portion of the new walls with fifty seven towers was overthrown by a series of violent earthquakes.

The crisis was, however, met with uncomparable energy and by the 'scourge of God' [13] five miles of wall were built sixty days, under the direction of Praetorian Prefect Constantine[14]. But besides restoration, he remodelled the city fortress. Another wall, with a broad and deep moat before it, was erected in front of the Wall of Anthemius, to place the city behind three lines of defence, a barricade that made Constantinople impregnable behind which it defied the assaults for a thousand years.

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[12] See figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.

[13] Richmond, p.259.

[14] Millingen, van A., Byzantine Constantinople (London: John Murray, 1899), p.45

Porta Aurea

The Golden Gate is the gateway nearest the Sea of Marmara at the southern extremity of Theodosian walls. It is situated between the 8th and 11th towers from the sea, which is 200 meters to the south. Viewed from this quarter, it stands against the wall made up of limestone and brick with its trusting pylons 30 m high and 20 m wide covered with marble slabs of extreme precision of placement.

The pride and awe that the Byzantines felt for their imposing gate is conveyed to our days through the description of John VI Cantacuzenus in his autobiography of fourteenth century. He describes the gate as *autolithos*[15] which means monolith, or formed of a single large block of marble.[16]

The bluish gleam of the Proconnesian marble which hides the limestone core of the Golden Gate, the spatial linear effect created by the curtain wall and pylons contribute to this description.

The gates seemed to be all on fire with the precious metal gilding from which its name originates.

The gate itself had a triple archway, with one large central arch and two smaller side arches of simple design. Upon the two fronts of the central arch was a Latin description in gilt metal letters. The tops of its marble bastions were decorated with various statues, among which was one of Theodosius according to quotations from Theophanes.

Porta Aurea, or *Khrysai Pylai* in Greek, stands apart from the rest of the wall with its awe-inspiring, spatial nature which certainly was not a prerequisite for the architecture of a gate of its age. However, it was intended to set the stage of many historical events and imposing ceremonies.

Besides the complex of the Great Palace buildings, there were other palaces where the Emperor had ceremonial duties. Such was the palace of Hebdemon[17].

> In Hebdemon was the celebrated Byzantine Field of Mars where the European troops assembled before going on campaign. The emperor would be present to encourage them and to take the march by. It was in the Palace of Hebdemon that the Senate and the Patriarch and high ecclasiastics gathered to meet the

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[15] A. Schweinfurth, "İstanbul Suru ve Yaldızlı Kapı." Belleten, 1952 CXVI, s.62 p.264.

[16] See fig. 10.

[17] Hebdomon is the modern Bakırköy area. Pierre Gilles in The Antiquities of Constantinople, trans. John Ball (2nd ed: New York: Halica Press, 1988), p.188 describes the suburbs: "The reason why those suburbs are called the Hebdomon is from the number seven, which was formerly their number." E. Weigand in Neue Untersuchungen Über das Goldene Tor in Konstantinopel (Athens: Mitteilungen XXXIX), p. 11 states Golden Gate is placed on the seventh kilometer of *Via Egnatia* from Hebdomon Palace towards the city.

Emperor returning from campaign and to join in the triumphal procession which followed. This triumphal cortége passed along the coast road, then entered the city by the Golden Gate... It was in the Hebdemon campus that the ceremonial elevation of the Emperor took place almost down to the end of the sixth century. After the elevation, the Emperor was crowned by the Patriarch in the Church of St. John the Baptist which was next to the Palace. The old Roman tradition lived on in the ceremonies connected with the Hebdemon Palace, but there were Christian traditions associated with the ceremonial which took place in ... the Blachernae Palace...[18]

As long as the inauguration of an Emperor upon his accession to the throne was celebrated at the Hebdemon, it was through the Golden Gate that a new sovereign entered his capital. Marcian (450), Leo I (457), Basiliscus (476), Phocas (602), Leo III (717) and Nicephorus Phocas (963) were welcomed as emperors at this gate.[19]

According to Millingen, distinguished visitors to the Byzantine court also were sometimes allowed to enter the city by this gate, as a mark of special honor. During the times of Justin I, Justin II and Basil II, respectively the Legates of Pope Hormisdas, Pope Constantine, and the Legates of Pope Hadrian II were admitted.

During the reign of Romanus Lecapenus, the procession which bore the icon of Christ from Edessa to St. Sophia entered the city through Porta Aurea.

Some historians maintain that this gate was reserved for the state and not open to public use as the other gates. This view has led to discussions on the existence of a second gate north of the 11th tower in the Theodosian Wall, which was to be known as the "Yedikule Kapısı" in the Ottoman period[20]. Some, however, believe that this gate is of Turkish origin.[21]

Schneider[22] asserts that only the central archway was generally closed, but the side archways were left open for the daily traffic - basing his views on Constantinus Porphyrogenitus's Book of Ceremonies and Theophanes Continuatus's chronicle.

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[18] H.W.Hausig, A History of Byzantine Civilization, trans. J.M.Hussey (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p.200.

[19] Van Millingen, p.67. See also B. Tsangodas, The Fortifications and Defence of Constantinople (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), ch III, n.16.

[20] Tsangodas, p.16., Van Millingen, p.72.

[21] A. Gabriel, Chateaux Turcs du Bosphore (Paris: E. De Baccard, 1943), p.90.

[22] B. Meyer and A.M.Schneider, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel (Berlin: Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1933), p.39.

It was, however, on the return of the Emperor to the capital after a victorious campaign that the Porta Aurea fulfilled its highest purpose.

Historians from the end of the last century up to the middle of this one have endeavored to find an answer to the question as to the identity of the first Emperor who passed through the gate in triumphal procession.

A definite answer could not be found through interpretations due to the ambiguity of the Latin inscription over the central archway which in fact was the starting point of the issue.

A group of authors represented by Strzygowski[23] claimed that the first triumphal procession through Porta Aurea was that of Theodosius the Great after his defeat of Maximus in 388 and that the gate was built while he was away on campaign.

Others following the arguments of Weigand accept the theory that it was Theodosius II, the grandson, who had the gate built between 413 and 439. Through this triumphal gate he commerated the victory over Johannes Primicerius in 425.[24]

Subsequent emperors to go through the gate were Constantine V (741-775) after his defeat of the Bulgarians; Theophilus (825-842) on two occasions, after the repulse of the Arabs; Basil I (867-882) after his success at Tephrice and Germanica; Tzimisces (969-976), after his victories against the Russians; Basil II (976-1025) after the slaughter of the Bulgarians; and for the last time by Michael Paleologus (1261-1282) on the restoration of the Greek Empire in 1261.[25]

> An imperial triumphal procession[26] was marshalled on the plain in front of the Golden Gate, and awaited there the arrival of the emperor, either from the Hebdemon or from the Palace of Blachernae. The principal captives, divided into several companies and guarded by bands of soldiers, led the march. Next followed the standards and weapons and other spoils of war. Then, seated on a magnificent white charger, came the emperor himself, arrayed in robes, embroidered with gold and pearls, his crown on his head, his sceptre in his right hand, his victorious sword by his side. Close to him rode his son or the Ceasar of the day. Upon reaching the gate, the victor might, like Theophilus, dismount for a few moments,

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[23] J. Strzygowski, Das Goldene Thor im Konstantinopel (Berlin: Archaologisches Institut des Deutschen Reichs, Jahrbuch, 1894), Bd.VIII.

[24] E.Weigand, Neue Untersuchungen, pp.8-9.

[25] Van Millingen, p.67.; Meyer and Schneider, p.40.

[26] See figs. 11, 12, 13.

and falling thrice upon his face, humbly acknowledge the Divine aid to which he owed the triumph of his arms. At length, the Imperial cortége passed through the archway. The civic authorities came forward and did homage. ...And then the glittering procession wended its way to the Great Palace through the *Mése*. Sometimes, the emperor,as in the case of Heraclius, rode in a chariot instead of horseback; or the occupant of the triumphal car might be, as on the occasion of the triumph of Zimisces, the Icon of the Virgin. Michael Palaelogus entered the city on foot, walking as far as the Church of St. John Studius before he mounted his horse. On the occasion of the second triumph of Theophilus, the beautiful custom was introduced of making children take part in the ceremonial.[27]

Besides serving as a State entrance into the city, the Porta Aurea was one of the strongest positions in the fortifications.

The four towers at its gateways, the deep moat in front and the transverse walls of the propylaea commanding this moat and guarding the approach, formed a veritable citadel.

The Golden Gate, consequently, figures in the military annals of Constantinople: "In the reign of Anastasius I, it was the object of special attack by Vitalian. Repeated attempts were made upon it by the Arabs in their first siege. Krum stood before it and invoked the aid of his gods against the city and in 913 the Bulgarians under Simeon were again arrayed before the entrance."[28]

In 1204, when the crusaders came to Constantinople, mistrusting their intentions, the then emperor Isaac Angelus II ordered the three archways to be walled up. This changed the character of the Gate such that the sources began to mention it as acropolis or citadel.[29]

Anyhow, for a long period there was indeed no victory to celebrate for the Byzantines.

It can thus be inferred that Porta Aurea was an edifice which lived up with the needs of its time and which was adapted to transformations to provide for those changing needs in the course of time in relation with differing policies due to political, social and military concerns.

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[27] Van Millingen, p.68.

[28] Tsangadas, p.182.

[29] Meyer and Schneider, p.41. For a list of the Byzantine sources covering Porta Aurea, see appendix.

Discussions on the Exact Date

The interpretation of the inscription on the central archway led to a series of discussions starting at the beginning of this century, which might constitute a valuable case study for a student of art history.

The Latin inscriptions in gilt metal letters were fixed on both faces over the central arch:

On the western face (on the outside):
"HAECLOCATHEVDOSIVSDECORATPOSTFATATYRANNI"
"Theodosius adorns this place, after the doom of the usurper."

On the eastern face (on the city side):
"AVREASAECLAGERITQUIPORTAMCONSTRVITAVRO"[30]
"He who constructed the Golden Gate brings in the Golden Age."[31]

"The legend is quoted by Sirmondi in the fifteenth century and has recently been confirmed by the discovery of holes in the stones in which the metal letters were fixed by Strzygowski."[32]

Millingen has examined the subject further:

> The history of our knowledge of this description is curious. There is no mention made of the legend by any writer before 1453, unless Radulphus de Diceto alludes to it when he states in 1189 an old resident of the city pointed a Templar to certain words upon the Golden Gate, foretelling the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders. And of all the visitors to the city since the Turkish conquest, Dallaway is the only one who speaks of having seen the inscription in its place.[33]

The inscription is cited for the first time by Sirmondi in his annotations upon Sidonius Apollonius, and by Du Cange in Constantinopolis Christiana.

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[30] Hans Lietzmann, Die Landmauer von Konstantinople (Berlin: Akademie Der Wissenschaften. 1929), p.20, n.9.

[31] Van Millingen, Constantinople (London: A&C Black, 1906), p.40.

[32] J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565) (2nd ed., London, 1923), p.71.

[33] Van Millingen, p.60.

Du Cange was the first to suggest that since the *tyranny* should have been Maximus, the Gate must have been erected by Theodosius the Great as a triumphal arch to honour his victory over this usurper.[34]

Strzygowsky in 1891 realized certain holes in the voussoirs of the central arch on both sides. He concluded that these were the holes in which the metal letters were riveted with bolts. However, as several of the original voussairs had been removed, a one-to-one correspondence with the legend could not be established. Nevertheless, the discovery ascertained that the words "HAEC LOCA THEVDOSIVS DECORAT POST FATA TYRANNI" stood on the western (outer) face of the arch, while "AVREA SAECLA GERIT QUI PORTAM CONSTRVIT AVRO" were on the opposite side.[35]

Strzygowski, in favor of the assertion that Porta Aurea was built between 388 and 391 by Theodosius I, has based his arguments on a regional inventory belonging to the year of 424 -during the reign of Theodosius II- which mentions the existence of a "Porta Aurea in the XIIth region ('continet in se: portam auream...').''[36] Thus, he introduces the central part as a triumphal arch and the towers on each side as pylons, which were later incorporated into the walls by Theodosius II. Accordingly, the circuit of the Theodosian Wall was planned in such a way that the Triumphal Arch was incorporated.

Millingen, accepting that even though the natural inclination is to infer that the emperor extolled in the inscription is Theodosius II, goes on to assert that this view is groundless as Theodosius II was not called to supress the usurption of his imperial authority at any time during his reign.[37] He attempts to explain the inconsistency between the word *'portam'* in the inscription and the concept of a triumphal arch and to find a satisfactory answer to the question "How could an isolated arch be styled as a gateway?"

> ... In the reign of Theodosius the Great, the city had
> spread beyond the Constantinian Wall, and reached
> the line marked by Porta Aurea, so that an arch at that
> point was practically an entrance into the city... that
> suburban district have been protected by slight fortified

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[34] Theodosius the Great crushed two serious attempts to dispute his rule, first in 388 when he defeated Maximus, and again in 395 when he put down the rebellion of Eugenius. After the victory over Maximus, the success was celebrated by one triumphal entry into Rome in the spring of 389, and by another into Constantinople, when he returned to the eastern capital in 391. After the victory over Eugenius, he never returned to Constantinople and died in Milan.

[35] Personal observation: Today only three of the original voussairs have remained on the western side, while on the inner side of the gate they are almost completely present. As Weigang states, the greater loss of the west side is due to the earthquake in August 1912which damaged the upper section of the central arch.

[36] Strzygowski, p.3.

[37] Van Millingen, p.61. This will be mentioned later.

works... it was so named in anticipation that the growth of the city under Theodosius the Great would necessiate the erection of new walls.[38]

Weigand, in 1914 published a study which largely refutes the theories of Strzygowski. He manifests amazement at the fact that his predecessors had not considered Theodosius II as the emperor who fought against the uprising of Johannes Primicerius for two years to crush him in the name of Valentinian, the rightful heir to the throne of the Western Roman Empire. He argues that the structure was originally built as a gate of the Anthemian Wall, but it was gilded in 425 (together with the gate at Antiochia) for which *decorat, construit auro* applies.[39]

Weigand interprets the end of the war in 425 as *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Gate. Elaborating further, he points at three strongholds for dating the construction:[40]

Codex Theodosianus (XV I, 51)[41] belonging to 413

A rescript about the walls of 422

Chronology of Cedrenus written in 439

The first had been assumed to be a decree on the completion of the fortifications in 413. Weigand, however, argues that it was issued for regulating the construction. The rescript of 422 gives directions as to the use of the newly completed towers' storeys by military personnel or private persons. Finally, in 439, Cedrenus mentions a decision taken to complete the land walls in the first stage and start the construction of sea walls.

Using this evidence, he infers that the Golden Gate must have been erected during the perion between 413 and 439 together with the rest of the land walls. He states further that its construction might not have started even in 439, relying on the expression mentioned by Cedrenus.[42]

Weigand expresses that the Golden Gate is incomprehensible as a triumphal arch; according to him, there is not one single occasion where pylons are used on the sides of a triumphal arch.[43] He underlines that this structure could only have been designed as a monumental gateway, and he supports his view with comparative analysis of the architectural elements.

In 1927, the Museum of Antiquities at İstanbul and the members of the mission excavating on behalf of the British Academy published jointly an article on

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[38] Van Millingen, p.64.

[39] Weigand, p.3. He states that the word 'Golden' is not an euphemism, it was employed for gates in Antiochia, Splato, Jerusalem and Thessaloniki.

[40] Weigand, p.7.

[41] Lietzmann, p.27

[42] He regards this as a lesser possibility.

[43] Weigand, p.10.

the results of their excavations at the Golden Gate. In reference to the above discussions, the authors review their findings:

> For the time being we make no attempt to solve this dispute, in view of the lack of absolutely decisive proof. Unfortunately, we were unable to excavate the foundations of the South tower at the point of its junction with the Theodosian Wall owing to the enormous accumulation of earth at this place. The details which could be detected by such a clearance would be sufficient to give a definite decision whether the marble towers were constructed simultaneously with the Theodosian Wall, as Dr. Weigand believes, or whether as Proffessor Strzygowski maintains, the city wall was built against a structure already existing.[44]

In 1933, the Akademie der Wissenschaft entitled archaelogist and historian A.M. Schneider with architect Bruno Meyer to complete the second round of excavations,[45] the aim of which was to furnish a scientific examination which the preceding authors could not provide.[46] The result of their work is the most extensive study on the subject with lengthy architectural descriptions, detailed plans and drawings.[47]

Schneider is not very specific about the exact dating of the construction, but is inclined to assume a date between 422-425 for the completion of the works.[48] His main argument is that the gate and the wall are contemporary. To prove this, he relies on his observations to conclude that the limestone blocks of the curtain-wall bond into the marble blocks of the south tower of the Golden Gate.[49]

> Besser ist der Maueranschluss am Südturm erhalten. Hier werden die von der anstossenden den Hauptmauer verdeckten Turmquader nicht mehr aus Marmor, sondern aus Kalkstein gearbeitet, wie sich

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[44] Theodore Macridy Bey and Stanley Casson, *Excavations at the Golden Gate* (Oxford : John Johnson, 1931) from *Archaelogia* 81, p.67.

[45] F. Krischen was the first to carry out excavations on the walls in 1923. His results were published in *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel, Erster Teil*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1938)

[46] Schneider gives credit to Weigand's arguments, but criticizes the reconstruction of Gurlitt in *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* (1912) as devoid of novelty, the British Academy publication above (1931) as depreciating due to the faulty master plan; and Mamboury's plan as incorrect.

[47] B. Meyer and A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel, Zweiter Teil* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1943).

[48] The rescript of 422 assigning the lower stories of towers to travelling soldiers (also used by Weigand) constitutes the source of such an inferrence.

[49] See fig. 35.

> besonders deutlich an einem kürzeren Marmorquader zeigt, dessen Stossfuge mit dem rechts ansliessenden Kalkstein noch vor der Hauptmauerflucht liegt. Einige der Hauptmauersteine binden in die Turmflanke.[50]

However, O. Davies during his survey of the walls of Constantinople has been led gravely to doubt Schneider's view. Noting that the inner face of the wall is stepped back about a foot near the southern tower while the outer face displays no sign of this change of direction, he concludes that the wall was being alligned on to an already existing gate. Furthermore, from his survey of the junction, he draws conclusions that are in conflict with those of Schneider's. "...it seems much easier to assume that the tower and therefore the gate, is earlier than the curtain-wall; and it is very probable that it should be ascribed to Theodosius I."[51]

In a later article, Schweinfurth,[52] introduces a new element into the discussions by drawing attention to the obelisk erected in 390 to commemorate the victory of Theodosius I over Maximus. The inscription on this obelisk mentions the termination of tyrants Maximus and Victor: *extinctic tyrannis*.[53] He thus claims that, since the inscription in Golden Gate refers to a single tyrant, its erection can not be credited to Theodosius I.

He further points out that the British excavations of 1928 have disclosed the remains of a colossal structure assumed to be part of a triumphal arch of Theodosius I in his forum[55] at modern Beyazıt. He argues that it is barely probable that an Emperor should have two arches of triumph, one in the Forum, the other in the outskirts of the city, both of unusual proportions.

The oscillating ideas over a period of almost seventy years have not led to a decisive conclusion. Recent authors on the history of the Golden Gate generally accept that it is a triumphal gateway belonging to the time of Theodosius II, but avoid to cite an exact date of construction.

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[50] B.Meyer and A.M.Schneider, p.50.

[51] The Date of the Golden Gate at Istanbul (Reprinted from the Journal of Roman Studies published by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1944).

[52] Schweinfurth, "Istanbul Suru ve Yaldızlı Kapı," Belleten, CXVI, no. 62 (Ankara, 1952).

[53] According to Schweinfurth, Theodosius was able to win his campaign over Maximus who in 383 revolted in Britain, announced himself Emperor and his son Victor as Augustus and carried the war to Italy, only in 388.

[55]Schneider does not agree to this identification and to some suggestive reconstructions of the British Archeologists.

Architectural Features

The Gate

The original gate, which consists of two huge square towers flanking a triple entry, appears to have been built in part of solid limestone blocks and in part of mortared rubble, in both cases finished with a skin of finer masonry. Along the exposed outer faces, this facing consists of a single thickness of blocks of Proconnesian marble; on the side facing the city and within the tower chambers, the facing is of limestone.[56]

Regular rectangular blocks of marble (190x37x95 cm) have been so placed as to create a net like effect, reminiscent of Roman 'opus reticulatum'. These have been secured to the wall with iron cramps. From a distance, the gate seems to be made up of a single block of marble.[57]

Use of the same kind of material implies that the pylons and the arched curtain wall is of the same origin. At the point of junction of the city walls with the pylons, the latter make a small projection.

Viewed from the west, each pylon forms a 29.34 m wide and 19.40 m high mass. This structure has a three step base, and as for the cornice,[58]since the original cornice have not wholly survived the remains are not sufficient to exactly determine the style. However, Strzygowski had inferred from a piece of the moulding he found lying in the courtyard in 1889, a new style of decoration characteristic of the fourth century,[59] defying the tradition of Rome.

The central entrance is 8.5 m wide and 15.5 m high. Side arches are 5.75 m wide and 10.88 m high.[60]

F. Krischen points at the symmetry of architectural elements and his calculations[61] reveal that that all measurements are multiples of a Roman foot (29.34 cm) and that the pylons display proportions which are unique among other towers of the wall. He reaches the conclusion that the Golden Ratio (Section) has been successfully applied to the Golden Gate. This accomplishment must have led to the intentional omission of scrupulous decorative details, as the structure establishes its effect not through decoration, but through harmonious use of proportions.

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[56] See figs. 14, 15, 16.

[57] See figs. 17, 18.

[58] B. Meyer and Schneider, p.45.

[59] J. Strzygowski, p.16. He was not able to find the piece in the following year. Only a photograph remains.

[60] See figs. 19, 20.

[61] F. Kirschen, p.16.

The abscence of upper stories in the original plan provides further evidence to Krischen's assertion that the flanking pylons were intended for their powerful cubic form in the first place.

The Golden Gate eventually had its share of the decline of the Byzantine Empire and as the city was transformed into a fortress, the openings were completely walled up.[62] The Byzantine works of this stage have reached our times especially on the western side of the northern archway.[63] The southern arch was cleared of its walling during the restorations.[64] The small opening with a marble framework belongs to the Turkish period.

Millingen suggests that the archways may have been used as chapels in view of the remains of some frescoes on inner walls.[65]

Initially the typanum was not closed as this would obstruct light. Scholars argue that it could not be left open due to security reasons and was fitted with a bronze cage which might have been gilded as well.

The central archway was also closed with a gilded bronze door, from which the gate derives its name. This was not a common practice for arched gateways.

Pilasters were employed on the sides of each arch which, with slight projections of their capitals, carried the lintelns.[66] The capitals in corinthian order are decorated with acanthus leaves.[67]

The gate is decorated with relief crosses in various places. Those over the lintelns attract immediate attention. An additional element is a monogram in the cornice on the central axis of the central arch. Strzygowski interprets this as sacrificing "rich decoration of military architecture" in the name of Christianity, which is very unusual for a military structure.

In any case, the gate must have made a very 'rich' impression with its glittering gates and shimmering white marble towers. Additional decorative elements cited by Millingen include:

- a cross which was down by a hurricane during the reign of Justinian,
- a victory which fell in an earthquake during the reign of Michael III,
- a crowned female figure representing the Fortune of the city,
- a statue of Theodosius the Great which was overthrown by the earthquake at the close of the reign of Leo the Isaurian,

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[62] See figs. 21, 22.

[63] Personal observation: These works include a large chamber entered through a small opening on the west side. Original building blocks and the vault can be observed, along with some Byzantine brick works on the inside of the western wall.

[64] R. Duyuran, "A propos des premiers travaux de reparation de Yedikule" Türk Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni 208-209 (Istanbul: 1959)

[65] Van Millingen, p.65.

[66] See figs. 23, 24.

[67] For a detailed discussion on the subject of capitals, see Weigand.

- a bronze group of elements (which were supposed to represent the elephants attached to the car of Theodosius the Great on the occasion of his triumphal entry to the city),
- the gates of Mompseusta, gilded and placed there by Nicephorus Phocas, as a trophy of his campaign in Cilicia,
- the Roman eagle which still spreads its wings at the southwestern corner of the northern tower[68],
- the laurated monogram "XP" above the central archway on the city side of the gateway,
- several arches scattered over the building.[69]

Additionally, the sun clock on the southern part of the northern tower seems to be the only one in Constantinople belonging to the Byzantine period.[70]

Macridy and Casson relate two groups of inscriptions, identified as *acclamationes*, one painted in black, the others in red, on each side of the central archway. These have been deciphered in 1906 and concluded to be the naming of troops which reinforced Theodosius I in his campaign against Maximus.[71]

The solicitude observed on the western facade seems to be lacking on the city side[72]. Even though later renovations make it difficult to examine the original form, traces of a flight of steps on the side of the towers have been noted.

On the whole, virtually all scholars agree that the builders of the structure have sought the truly impressive effect of their architecture, not in details of decorative elements, but in the skillfully molded colossal mass.

The Propylaic Gateway

The second city wall commanding the moat runs out into a projection to the west, corresponding to the projection formed by the Golden Gate. Here, it is provided with a single gate which is placed almost exactly along the central axis of the Golden Gate itself.[73]

The whole group of fortifications at this point was built to ensure the defence of the city in front of a monumental entrance which was, in fact, defective from a purely military point of view. On the other hand, since a victorious emperor had to

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[68] See fig. 25.

[69] Van Millingen, p.64. Here, the author assumes that the construction belongs to the period of Theodosius II. Schneider, on the other hand, assigns the statue to Theodosius I, and states that the elephants were brought from Athens and were covered with gold. He also mentions the statues of Tyche and Nike (Schneider, p.39)

[70] W.Meyer, İstanbul'daki Güneş Saatleri. See fig. 26.

[71] Th. Macridy and S. Casson, p.72. See fig. 27.

[72] Because of this observation, F. Kirschen maintains that the structure should be accepted as an entrance, not a triumphal arch. See figs. 28,29.

[73] See fig. 30.

pass through this first gateway before the Golden Gate, it was essential to give it as imposing an appearance as was possible.

The propylae with its marble frames that flank it on each side, in each of which were placed a series of ancient marble reliefs, has often been described and discussed.[74]

It consists of two pillars with corinth capitals which have dove figures instead of volutes at the corners, and attic bases- which are surmounted by a masonry arch. The gate itself has a framework of marble fixed into the masonry on the western face. The lintein of the typaneum has a monogram of Christ and two crosses over epheu leaves.[75]

The relieving arch and the typaneum display Turkish traces of colored paste and a Tuğra of Sultan Mahmut II dated 1838.

There are remains of two towers on the north and south of the entrance on the courtyard side of the entrance. Schneider deduces that they had two storeys, the lower ones being domed.

There seems to be a rampart leading to this gate, which is accepted to belong to the date of John V Paleologus.

The former inclination was to assume that the propylae was constructed simultaneously with the second wall during the reign of Theodosius II. It was deducted later on that "the superstructure belongs to a date very much later than the fifth century A.D."[76] F. Krischen's suggests of 1000 A.D. , at which time the moat was dug.[77]

Schneider cites military annals mentioning a "new gate" in this region before the Latins invasion in 1204. He further suggests that the reliefs were brought there during the restoration work of Cantacuzenus in 1347, when the central archway was opened to general traffic.[78] Schneider does not attach any particular importance to the reliefs, and believes they were placed there randomly just for the sake of their being 'antique' without any great concern for aesthetics. Nevertheless, the unsuccessful attempt of Sir Thomas Roe in 1626 to secure four of the reliefs is well known.[79]

There were originally a total of twelve relief plates, attached to T shaped framework of marble base at each side on the western face of the curtain wall. They were arranged in rows of six, one above the other.

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[74] See figs. 31, 32.

[75] See figs. 33, 34.

[76] Th. Macridy and S. Casson, p.74.

[77] F. Krischen, p.13.

[78] Meyer and Schneider, p.57.

[79] Strzygowski, p.33; Van Millingen, p.65; Th. Macridy and S. Cassson, p.78.

The reliefs which originally adorned the panels were mentioned for the first time before the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Manuel Chrysolaras. After this date, they were observed and described by travellers in the subsequent centuries down to 1791 at which date they seem to have disappeared finally.[80]

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[80] P. Gilles, The Antiquities of Constantinople (London:1729); Sir Thomas Roe, The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe; J. Spon and G. Wheeler, Voyage d'Italie et du Levant (Amsterdam: 1679) are some sources of reference that deal with the subject in detail. See also Strzygowski pp.29-35, Macridy and Casson, p.78f. The latter includes a catalogue of fragments found during the 1927 excavation which seem to belong to some of the reliefs destroyed.

GOLDEN GATE UNTIL THE REIGN OF MEHMED II

The maintanence of the bulwarks of Constantinople was naturally a matter of supreme importance. There was little occasion to repair damages sustained in war, for until the invention of gun powder, the engines employed in battering the walls were either not powerful enough, or could not be placed sufficiently close to the fortifications to produce much effect. Most of the damage done to the walls was due to the action of weather, time, fire, and above all, to the violent and frequent earthquakes which rocked Constantinople.

> The frequent shocks of earthquake felt in Constantinople during the reign of Justinian the Great damaged the walls on at least three occasions; in 542 and 554 when the injury was most serious in the neighborhood of the Golden Gate; and again in 558 when ... the Theodosian walls were rudely shaken ... suffering chiefly in the portion between the Golden Gate and Porta Rhousiou.[81]

Another severe earthquake shook Constantinople during the time of Leo III.

There seems to be no written source to indicate the extent of damage caused by the initial disasters. However, we learn from quotations of Theophanes that in 740, the sculpture of Theodosius was overthrown.

> Until the year 1000, no mention is made of any restoration on the Golden Gate.[82]

The first restoration works seem to be undertaken during the reign of Cantacuzenus in 1354. According to Van Millingen,

> Cantacuzenus repaires it, and speaks of it as an almost impregnable acropolis, capable of being provisioned for three years, and strong enough to defy the whole city in time of civil strife. Hence the great difficulty he found in persuading the Latin garrison which held it on his behalf, in 1354, to surrender the place to his rival John V Palaelogus...
>
> John Paleologus upon receiving the surrender of the gate foolishly dismantled the towers, lest they

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[81] Van Millingen, p.96.

[82] Meyer and Schneider, p.41.

should be turned against him ... He did not, however,
carry the work of destruction so far as to be unable to
use the position as an 'acropolis' when besieged in
1376, by his rebellious son Andronicus,[83]

and later on once again in 1390, when attacked by Andronicus' son. An eyewitness of the events of 1390 is Ignatius of Smolensk, A Russian pilgrim who arrived in Constantinople in 1389 and remained there till 1392. His diary[84] reveals a first hand description of the Golden Gate castle and its role in the aftermath. He describes the night when John VII entered the city in April 14, 1390:

> The old Emperor Kalojen (that is John V) locked
> himself in his castle... All summer long he (John VII)
> shelled the castle of the old emperor with fire arms,
> but he was unable to vanquish him.

Manuel, son of John V, came to his father's aid by the sea:

> He penetrated the limén, that is to say, the harbour,
> and entered the castle where his father was (a stone
> wall with high towers extended to the water's edge so
> that the enemy was unable to reach him either by sea
> or by land).[85]

Ignatius later explains that, after the victory over John VII, Manuel went to pay homage to Bayezid but,

> The Turk kept him prisoner and sent a message to
> Manuel's father, saying 'Manuel will not leave hands
> until you destroy yor castle.' And so, unwillingly, he
> ordered the castle to be dismantled and he himself
> returned to the old imperial palace where he died of
> grief.

According to Doukas, the Emperor started building the fortress after he refused Bayezid's demands of payment of tribute and sent one of his sons to campaign with Bayezid:

> ...he began to build two towers on either side of the
> Golden Gate, from pieces of white marble joined
> together, constructing them without the help of stone
> masons and without any expense to himself, by
> despoiling other magnificent dedicatory monuments
> (here he lists the Church of All Saints, the Church of
> the Holy Forty Martyrs and the Church of St Mokios).

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[83] Van Maillingen, pp. 69,70. On the history of events leading to the mentioned, see appendix...

[84] George P. Majeska. "The Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk to Constantinople (1389-1392)," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Indiana University, 1968.

[85] Majeska, p.102.

Behind the fortifications, he enclosed a part of the city
from the Golden Gate to the shore southwards,
reserving this as a naval station for refuge in time of
need.[86]

Th. Macridy and S. Casson claim to have found remains of the foundations of this wall near the Propylaic gateway:

Our excavations revealed the foundations of a
rectangular tower of two stories on the north side, of
which the lower story was surmounted by a cupola
with remains of the pendentives visible. Traces of a
flight of steps led up to the first floor of the tower.
Remains of a second tower were also found on the
south. Both seem to have been the work of John V
Palaelogue.[87]

Millingen suggests that probably after the defeat of Beyazıd by Tamerlane, the defences at Golden Gate were restored, for another Russian pilgrim who was in Constantinople between 1435 and 1453 "speaks of visiting the castle of the Emperor Kalojean."[88]

In fact, Selahattin Tansel states:

1453 kuşatmasından bir kaç yıl önce büyük tamir
görmüş olan surlar üçgen şeklinde idi... üçgenin üç
köşesinde de chateau-fort denilen müstahkem kısımlar
da mevcuttu. Bunlardan biri Sarayburnu'nda, diğeri
Ayvansaray'da, üçüncüsü de Yedikule'de idi.[89]

The fifteenth century French traveller de la Broquiére mentions seeing the ruins of a castle at one end of the land walls; he comments that the Turks had forced an emperor to tear it down.

Thus, it is confirmed by various accounts that "a stone wall with high towers extending to the water's edge" formed an impregnable fortification against the military engines of John VII.

A probable link between this construction and Fatih's Yedikule will be a subject of discussion in the course of this paper.

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[86] Doukas, Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit. Wayne State University Press, 1975), p.81.

[87] Th. Macridy and S. Casson, p.75. Here the issue is uncertain whether the side towers of the propylae is referred or not.

[88] Van Millingen, p.70. Here 'Kalojean' is a reference to John Palaelogus.

[89] Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Askeri Faaliyeti (İstanbul, 1971), p.56.

YEDİKULE OF THE
OTTOMAN PERIOD

Mehmed the Conquerer

> Mehmed regarded himself with good reason as heir
> to the Byzantine Emperor, for from the ruins of the
> Byzantine state he has succeded in forging a unified
> empire, subservient to his will and extending from
> Mesopotamia to the Adriatic... The old dictum of the
> Byzantines, stated as early as the eleventh century in
> the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos, that he who holds
> Byzantium holds the empire, lost none of its validity
> under the Ottomans."[90]

Not the empire only, but also grandiose ideas of world domination seem to
have occupied the corners of the young Sultan's mind right from the very start.

His well preparadness for the siege of Constantinople, his determination in
realizing presumably predetermined plans[91] -best illustrated in his achievement of
transporting the ships over the land into the Golden Horn- all demonstrate
cornerstones of a policy driven by an overthriving power which knew no bounds
and directed to engulf more.

> Bu düşüncelerin ardında doğal başkenti İstanbul olan
> bir dünya imparatorluğu kurma düşleri de yatıyordu.
> Yüzyıllardır Müslümanların dünya egemenliği umutları
> Bizans başkentinin alınmasına ilişkindi. Dokuzuncu
> yüzyıl filozofu al-Hindi, Mehdi'nin 'Müslümanlığı
> yenilemek ve adaleti egemen kılmak için döneceği'
> kehanetinde bulunmuştu. Bu gelen, İspanyol
> yarımadasını fethedecek, Roma'ya girip fethedecek,
> Doğu'yu fethedecek, İstanbul'u fethedecek ve tüm
> dünyayı egemenliği altına alacaktı. Büyük İslam
> tarihçisi İbni Haldun, Peygamber'in kendisinin
> İstanbul'u fethederek Bizans imparatorunu yenen ve
> hazinesini Tanrı adına harcayacak olan Mehdi'dir'

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[90] F.C.H.Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer and His Time, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p.416.

[91] H. İnalcık in his The Ottoman Empire, the Classical Age (1300-1600), trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973) is more reversed: "There is no evidence to support the claim that his conquests followed a predetermined plan, but he did claim to be the legitimate ruler of all the former territories of the Eastern Romen Empire, since he now possessed the Byzantian throne." (p.26).

dediğini nakletmektedir. (..) İstanbul gerçekten de
Müslüman geleneklerinin Kızıl Elma'sıydı.[92]

Babinger, while giving an account of the conquest confirms the above stating how "innumerable mullahs and dervishes of every conceivable order assembled that spring to fire the courage and fanatical faith of the soldiers, to participate in the meritorious project."[93]

In fact, Mehmed II seems to be charged with the Ottoman utopia of conquering Christendom, which after the Conquest came to be perceived as a real possibility among his subjects.

> The Ottoman ideal of world domination was
> expressed in the fifteenth century chronicles through
> the motif of a dream attributed to Osman -the founder
> of the Dynasty- who had a vision of a tree growing
> from his body and filling the whole earth. (..) This
> *Weltbaue* motif and that of the Reichsapfel were
> commonly recognized as symbols of world rule..."[94]

According to the memoirs of konstantin Mihailovic who was a janissary in Mehmed II's time, the conquerer had symbolically used an apple during a council meeting to demonstrate his tactics to conquer Christendom.:

> The Emperor ordered a great rug to be brought as an
> example and to be spread out before them, and in the
> center he had an apple placed, and he gave them the
> following riddle, saying, 'Can any of you pick up that
> apple without stepping on the rug?' And they
> reckoned among themselves, thinking about how that
> could be and none of them could get the trick until the
> Emperor himself, having stepped up to the rug took
> the rug in both hands and rolled it before him,
> proceeding behind it; and so he got the apple and put
> the rug back down as it had been before. And the
> Emperor said to the lords: "it is better to torment the

[92] S. Shaw, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye, trans. M. Harmancı, (İstanbul: E yayınları A.Ş., 1982), pp.90,91.

[93] F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, p.84

[94] Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The formation of an Ottoman Imperial Tradition: The Topkapı Palace in the 15th and 16th Centuries" unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Harvard University Dept. of Fine Arts, 1985

kaury[95] little by little ." And so they all praised his
speech and the Emperor's example.[96]

In an article translated to Turkish, Babinger mentions how Ottoman scholars are at variance on the real designation of the term "kızıl-elma." His comments about a paragraph[97] from Niccolo Sagundina are as follows:

> Fakat II. Sultan Mehmed zamanında bu tabirden (kızıl elma) genel olarak Roma şehrinin kasdedildiğine, Niccolo Sagundino tarafından söylenen bu sözlerin de şimdiye kadar bu hususta ele geçen belgelerin en eskisi kabul olunabileceğine artık inanmak caiz olur."[98]

A letter of Mehmed II, translated by Laudinius, "Knight of Hierusalem," to Latin and then to English in 1607, provides further confirmation for the above assertions.

> ... The Turke to the Pope of Rome:
> We have invaded Corinthus with armes, the most noble citie of Achacia; we have besides set foot in Aetolia, advanced our color in Macedonia, and marched the pace of victorie through all Peloponnesus from end to end; the villages, cornfields, and towns that stood in our way we have spoiled farre and neere by fire, and turned them in smoake to make warre upon Italy and Rome at last to stoupe. All these things do we let thee to understand to the great terrour, and greater lasse of all Christians."[99]

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[95] Kaury means Gavur here.

[96] Konastantin Maihailovic, Memoirs of a Janissary, trans. B. Stolz. (Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan, 1975), p.145

[97] The Turkish translation of this is provided in the text: ".. Kendisine İtalya Krallığını, Roma şehrinin zaptını ve İstanbul'u Tanrı tarafından tayin olunan devlet markezi olarak vaad eden bazı kehanetlere dayanıyor. Bu hükümet merkezi de İstanbul değil, Roma imiş ve kızını zorla aldıktan sonra annesini (Roma'yı) alabilmesi gayet tabii imiş..."

[98] Franz Babinger, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve İtalya," çev. Bekir S. Baykal, Belleten, XVII, 1953, p.59

[99] (Mohammed II) The Turkes Secretorie, London 1607, (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1970), p.5.

As Halil İnalcık phrases: "Thus, to Mehmed II, whose ambition was to establish a worldwide empire, İstanbul provided not merely a strategic center, but also an essential political and legal basis."[100]

However, upon entering the city, he was very much disappointed and deeply sad when he saw a large number of people killed and the ruin of the buildings and destruction of the city.

> Then, with the notable men and his courtiers, he went through the city. First he planned how to repopulate it, not merely as it formerly was but more completely, if possible, so that it should be a worthy capital for him...[101]

On his departure for Edirne about a month after the Conquest, he appointed Karıştıran Süleyman Bey as prefect (subaşı) of the city and left behind a garrison of janissaries. Süleyman Bey was left responsible of defending the city, repairing the damaged walls, adopting the city administration to Turkish ways and especially replenishing the population by bringing back former inhabitants and by newly settling others.

When Mehmed returned to İstanbul in the following year of 1454, the Sultan seems to have decided to build a palace at the former site of Theodosius II's Forum Tauri on which stood a Byzantian Monastery.

Kritovoulos relates among the events of 1454 that the Sultan laid the foundations of a royal palace at the finest location in the city, also ordering the construction of a strong fortress near the Golden Gate where there had formerly been an imperial castle. The Sultan commanded that these buildings should be completed with "all haste." Within the same year, Mehmed came back to İstanbul one more time, "just long enough to examine the buildings that had been constructed there, and gave orders about further work on these and others, stipulating that it be done as quickly as possible." According to Kritovoulos, in the middle of the autumn of the year 6963 (1455) the Sultan went to İstanbul, "on reaching the city, he found the palace brilliantly completed, and the castle at Golden Gate and all the walls of the city well built."[102]

However, H. İnalcık suggests that "the chronology of his activities after the conquest has always been confused."[103] Another contemporary historian Doukas attributes the construction to the year 6966 (1458):

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[100] H. İnalcık, 'The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of İstanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City' in The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy, collected studies, (London: Variorum Reprints. 1978), p.233.

[101] Kritovoulos, History of Mehmed the Conquerer, trans. C.T.Riggs (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), p.83.

[102] Kritovoulos, pp.83,94-95,104.

[103] H. İnalcık, Policy of Mehmed II in İstanbul, p.236.

That winter, the great tyrant began to construct a
fortress at the far end of the city at the Golden Gate.[104]

Still more, in the last pages of his work, Amasyalı Halimi dedicated to
Mehmed II in versification:

Konstantiniyye Sultan Muhammed Han'ın Dar'ül
hilafesi etrafında öyle bir hisardır ki umuma şamildir.

Bu hisarın vasfına mutabık bir tarih kasdederse
muhkem sağlam temelli bir hisar manasına olarak onu
'Hisnu Hasin-ü müessel ü' diye tarihlemelidir.

The last line conveys the date 882 (1477), therefore according to Süheyl A.
Ünver "bu tarih Yedikule'ye ait olabileceği gibi Topkapı etrafına yine Fatih tarafından
883'de itmam edilen iç kale için de söylenmiş olabilir."[105,106]

However, this date is too late for the construction of Yedikule, which must
have been completed at the same time as the 'old palace':

Although the main parts of the palace were completed
by 1455, construction probably went on until 862/1457-
58 as Evliya Çelebi states. (..) Hastily built in the center
of the city, it included a group of buildings in an inner
enclosure, which was surrounded by extensive
gardens enclosed by an outer wall without
battlements.[107]

Here the crucial word is 'without battlements', a palace in the middle of the
city without secure walls necessiated a citadel: Yedikule. Hence the year 1458
should be regarded as the date of construction for the Yedikule castle.

That the Sultan needed security is not a groundless supposition. There
were many factors to be dealt with: repopulation of the city was achieved through
exertion of force for Christians or stern persuation on the part of the Moslems.
"Orders" were issued that Christians, Muslems and Jews should be sent to the city
from every territory of his "domain."[108] Although the state tried to create favorable
conditions for the deportees, Moslems showed no great eagerness to settle in the
city. İnalcık mentions repression of a resistance in Bursa because "the wealthy
citizens of Brusa resisted deportation." All these were brought to İstanbul and given
support as houses or land. "That houses were granted not only to Muslem

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[104] Doukas, p.257.

[105] S.A.Ünver, İstanbul Kalelerinin Tarih İbareleri (İstanbul: Halk Basımevi, 1953), p.28

[106] F. Babinger, in Mehmed the Conquere (p.356) suggests 1477 as the year in which the walls
underwent major repairs for the first time, when danger threatened from the west or northwest.

[107] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, p.15.

[108] On the subject of repopulation, see Kritovoulos, pp. 83, 105, 119, 136, 139, 140, 148, 184,
197-198. People of Triballi, Paeonia, Maesia, Amastris, Adrianople, Philippopolis, Gallipoli, Bursa,
Phocea, Thasos, Samothrace, Lesbos, Mytelene, Argos were deported to İstanbul.

immigrants but also the Christian deportees was one of the difficult relations between the two communities."[109] Such a conflict within the cosmopolitan community might have been the cause for a potential instability.

Another factor, at least at the beginning, could have been the risk of the city falling back to the hands of Latins, through treachery of the Byzantine aristocracy, and Western aid.[110]

And there were the janissaries whom had to be "paid their salary every quarter year without fail." During his first reign, in 1446, the young Sultan (then aged twelve) was faced with a janissary revolt: "Now for two quarters they had been missed. The janissaries, seeing such neglect, having revolted, sacked the houses of the greatest and richest lords and imperial councilors. No lord in Adrianople dared stand in their way... Having assembled, they went to the place where the young emperor was hunting. They sacked the tents of all councilors who were with him, and they all had to flee, except the young emperor..."[111] This must have made a considerable impact on Mehmed and impelled him to be heedful towards political groups.

Still another factor was the threats to the Ottoman power from the West. Mehmed must have considered the possibility of a Crusade after the Conquest. His campaigns during the period from 1454 to 1463 are regarded as securing a strong military front in the Balkans and the Aegean, the Black Sea.[112] In fact, under the terms of a treaty between Uzun Hasan and Venice in 1472, "Uzun Hasan was to acquire all Anatolia... it was even projected that Venice should occupy İstanbul."[113]

Yet another aspect was the threats to his person. "The Signoria of Venice alone ... organized a good dozen attempts on his life. He owed the discovery of these plots to a highly developed secret service, whose ramifications must have extended far beyond the confines of the Ottoman Empire."[114]

In view of the factors outlined above, it would be a naive approach to consider that the motives of Mehmed II in constructing Yedikule was merely the need for a treasury as some commentaries suggest.

Yedikule was a citadel at a strategic location, a stronghold which his grandfather Beyazıd had considered as a hindrance to Ottoman political interests.

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[109] H. İnalcık, Policy of Mehmed II, pp.237-238.

[110] H. İnalcık, Policy of Mehmed II, p.239. Here, the author ascribes the unhappy fate of Notaras to such aspirations

[111] Konstantin Mihailovic, p.71. See also Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, p.45 for some other factors leading to the events of May 1446

[112] S. Shaw, p.99

[113] H. İnalcık, The Ottoman Empire, p.28.

[114] F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, p.422-423.

"This was the fortress that old Emperor John wished to build, but Beyazıd, the tyrant's grandfather, prevented him from doing."[115]

> Ve denize ve kuruya hükm ider bir kuşede bir
> ahmedik yaptı, muhkem burgazlar ile kurşun örtülü.
> İrtifa'i bir mertebededir ki iki günlük yoldan görünür.[116]

The word "kuşe"[117] used in this expression can not be random. Osman Ergin mentions the term "köşe saray" used for Yedikule in 1758 by Haremeyn Musahibi Mehmet Emin Efendi who was the first to write about the vakfs of Ayasofya. According to Ergin, "muharrir bunu vakfiyelerde görmüş ve almış olmalı."[118] S. Eyice suggests further a hypothesis that "köşe saray" might imply an attempt of Mehmed II to build his palace on the site close to the Golden Gate:

> Gerek Piri Reis'in gerek Melling'in resim ve
> planlarında[119] görüldüğü üzere Yedikule'nin sehir
> tarafındaki en güney burcunda surlara paralel olarak
> denize kadar bir duvar uzanmaktadır. Bugün ortada bir
> izi görünmeyen bu duvarın mahiyeti nedir? Acaba
> başlangıçta Fatih sarayını köşe saray olarak da
> adlandırılan Yedikule Hisarı yanında mı kurmak
> istemişti?[120]

However, he does not cite any evidence to support this hypothesis.

E.H.Ayverdi disagrees with both Ergin and Eyice on this issue. He regards the term as "bir muharrir tarafından yakıştırılmış bir zuhul eseri" and notes that "köşe saray tabirinin Yedikule'ye atlı üç asır sonradır ve 16. asır başında köşe saray, Topkapı Sarayı'na verilen isimdir."[121] As for Eyice's suggestion, he has some misgivings about the drawings in question.

Leaving particulars aside, one is inclined to presume that Mehmed was aware of the strategic position of the location and the role it played in the Byzantine history in the 1390's which was not remote past in 1453.

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[115] Doukas, p.257.

[116] Tursun Bey, Tarih-i Ebü'l-Feth, haz. Mertol Tulum (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977), p.75.

[117] Kuşe: köşe: corner

[118] O. Ergin, Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi İstanbul Belediyesi İstanbul Fethinin 500'üncü Yıldönümü Kutlama Yayınlarından, Sayı 1, (İstanbul, 1945), p.37. The mosques constructed up to 1471 (completion of Mehmed II's Great mosque) were all attached to the vakfs of Ayasofya.

[119] See Figs. 40, 41.

[120] S. Eyice, "Yedikule Hisarı ve Avlusundaki Fatih Mescidi," İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı 10 (İstanbul: 1962), p.81.

[121] E.H.Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, pp.662.665.

The motive seems to be to acquire a stronghold easily defendable behind strong walls and within easy reach of the sea.[122]

> Assuming that through some miscalculation a sea attack did take place, the sultan and his court could take refuge at Yedikule. ...which was built to compliment Mehmed's undefended palace at the center of the city, housed the royal treasury and included residential quarters designed as a refuge in case of adversity.
>
> This castle to which Angiolello refers as 'Torre del la Rocca, dove sta il Tesoro del Gran Turca' is described by Menavino as a third palace (terzo Seraglio) complementing the old and new ones. The Sultan could live and hold court there if he desired, and stored in its massive towers the treasures inherited from his ancestors. (..)[123]

Similar descriptions had been made for Rumeli Hisarı by Baron Wratislaw who was imprisoned there in the sixteenth century; "he caused apartments, handsomely floored with marble, to be constructed in that tower, and dwelt there till he took Constantinople."[124]

Perhaps the exaggarated drawing by Vavassore[125] in his engraving of fifteenth century implies the presence of an imperial residence at Yedikule.

Yedikule was also a link in the chain of fortresses along the sea route which ships had to pass to reach İstanbul. Each was unique in form and function: Boğazkesen was built in four and a half months in 1452, in the meantime he seems to have strengthened Güzelce Hisar on the opposite shore by building a barbican. This way he had blockaded the Bosphorus and provided a safe transfer for troops from Asia to Europa. However, even though the islands of the Marmara Sea had been overtaken, two Greek ships succeeded to penetrate into the lines of the Ottoman navy bringing help to the Byzantines. Thus, concludes I. Utkular:

> Herhalde Fatih Rumeli Hisarını yalnız İstanbul'u muhasara ve taarruz düşüncesiyle inşa ettirdi. Fakat Ceneviz yardımı ile ilk muhasara akamete uğrayınca, bu sefer Çanakkale Boğazı'nda hem taarruz kabiliyeti mükemmel hem de İstanbul'un muhasarasına iştirak

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[122] The wall in Eyice's proposal might have been a sheltered passageway from the castle to the sea or the remains of such an extension built by John V as described to be reaching "the water's edge."

[123] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, p.27.

[124] G. Necipoğlu-kafadar, p.63, n42.

[125] See fig. 57.

eden esas kuvvetlerden uzakta, icabında fevkalade müdafaa muharabeleri yapabilecek bir kale inşa etmeyi düşündü ve Kilidbahir kalesini yaptırdı.[126]

However, Kilid ul-Bahreyn (Key of the Two Seas) and its compliment on the oppsite shore, Kale-i Sultaniye (Sultan's Castle) were not built immediately after the conquest. Indeed their construction was begun in 1462 and completed with remarkable speed.

By fortifying Bozcaada (Tenedos) he further strengthened this system of defences which safeguarded İstanbul and the straits from attack and secured communications between Anatolia and Rumelia.[127]

At the same time many ships were built, though it would seem that the greatest efforts in this direction were not undertaken until the winter of 1462-63.

... the Sultan gave orders that triremes should be built everywhere along his shores, knowing that the domination of the sea was essential to him and his rule, especially for expeditions to far countries.[128]

Tursun Bey describes the final situation:

Ve Akdeniz tarafında, Gelibolu altında, Ece ovası dimekle ma'ruf bir kısuk yirde, bu akar denizün iki tarafına birbirine mukabil ki ka'la yaptırdı. Birisine Kilid ül bahr birine Sultniyye ad virdi. Boğazkesen tertibince bunlara da mehib toplar kurdı ki Akdeniz tarafından dahi icazetsüz kuş uçurmazlar. Çün iki taraftan düşman gelecek yol kalmadı, İstanbul dar-ül aman oldı. Ve Ayasofya'yı ve sur'ı Konstantiniyye'yi meremmet idüp binasın tecdid itti. (... Yedikule) ve İstanbul limuni ağzına mukabil Anadolu yakasında deniz içinde dökündi taş arasında[129] bir muhkem kala yaptırdı ve toplar vaz' eyledi ki atıldukça limun içinde gemi turgutmaz."[130]

All these were the preliminary measures taken by Mehmed before an expected war with Venice which actually broke out in 1463 and lasted until 1479.

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[126] İ. Utkular, Çanakkale Boğazında Fatih Kaleleri, (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1953), p.34.

[127] H. İnalcık, The Ottoman Empire, p.26.

[128] Kritovoulos, p.142.

[129] This must be the Maiden Tower.

[130] Tursun Bey, p.75.

At the end of July 1462, Domenico Balbi, the Venetian bailo to the Porte, wrote his government that he had been put to great difficulty and expense in sending his report from İstanbul, for very few persons were permitted to leave the capital either by land or sea route. All dispatches containing news of events in Turkey were forbidden, and the vigilance was so strict that no one dared to smuggle them out.[131]

Mehmed II eventually obtained absolute control of the city and whenever he wished he could tighten his grip on it. As for other cities that passed to his possession through conquests, he attained a similar control. As for.

the other cities that he had taken, both in the interior and on the coast, and the fortresses which he considered essential to him, he repaired and completely armed with garrisons, commandants, food, weapons, arrows and everything necessary. But some of the fortresses which he deemed unsuitable, he demolished entirely.[132]

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[131] F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, p.203.

[132] Kritovoulos, p.135.

Features of Yedikule

As is evident in the preceding accounts, Mehmed II spent most of his life in campaigns and what was left of this was spared to scheming new ones. As a natural consequence, he is the Sultan who built the highest number of military architecture in the Ottoman dynasty.

Yedikule seems to have a special place among these, only comparable to Kilid-ül-Bahir in its ordered line of fortification. Quoting Tursun Bey, authors like Halil Ethem, Ayverdi and Gabriel have described Yedikule as an "ahmedek" which means an inner citadel. Gabriel gives as other examples the citadels in Karaman, Kayseri, Antalya, Konya, Anadolu Kavağı and Rumeli Kavağı.[133] An extensive comparison on this issue is not possible due to the abscence of a categorical work on the numerous castles scattered all over Anatolia.

According to A. Gabriel, the Golden Gate together with the polygonal towers to its north and south constituted the Byzantine wall which was the initial element and starting point of the geometric outline of the Turkish fortress. Even though the presence of a former Byzantine edifice may be accepted, he denies any influence of this fact on the architecture of the newly built fortress.[134]

Ayverdi who has included Yedikule's newly drawn plans in his book which deals with the architecture in Mehmed's reign has been quite critical of previous authors on the subject. He describes the castle as:

> orta yerinde çok geniş bir köşe ile birleşen belinden
> kırık dört kenarın köşelerine konan üç büyük kule ile
> her kolda bir yarım yuvarlak, bir üç köşe burçla takviye
> edilmiş surlardan meydana gelmiştir. Üç köşe çıkmalar
> kırık noktalardadır. Bu suretle kulelerle beraber surun
> bir parçasını eğri atış altına almak mümkündür. Doğu
> tarafındaki kenarın yuvarlak burcunun yerini
> müstahkem Kapı Kulesi almaktadır.[135]

No mention is made in this text of a previous Byzantine castle at the site. But H. Högg declares that the walls of a "kastell" provided the basis and "baumasse" for the three round Turkish towers of Yedikule.[136]

Nevertheless, A. Gabriel makes an apt point when he states that the star shaped polygonal contours of Yedikule leaves no doubt for its contemporary stronghold features.

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[133] A. Gabriel, Monuments Turcs D'anatolie Kayseri-Niğde (Paris: E. de Baccard, 1931), p.30

[134] A. Gabriel, Chateaux Turcs du Bosphore (Paris: E. de Baccard, 1943), pp.87,92. See fig. 38.

[135] E. H. Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, p.666. See also fig. 37.

[136] H. Högg, Türkenburgen an Bosporus und Hellespont (Dresden: Akademie Buchhandlung Focken & Otmansi 1932), p.10.

Plan

The most striking aspect of the construction is its geometrical plan. The symmetry has been mathematically analyzed by Gabriel.[137] He first demonstrates that the north tower within the Theodosian wall (J) and the three round towers (A,B,C) built by Mehmed II are located on a perfect circle and equally distant from each other. To strengthen the defence along the long lines of the curtain wall connecting the towers, each stretch has been withdrawn forming a convex angle exactly at the center point. At these points, projecting triangular bastions have been placed which contribute a perfect stronghold in offensive as well as defensive warfare against heavy artillery. The Golden Gate itself lies on the axis of symmetry.

As can be seen from Gabriel's plan, the only deviation from the perfect geometry (shown by dotted lines) are on the northern and southern stretches of curtain wall. The southern wall has been stretched further to connect with the Byzantian tower south of the Golden Gate.

A unique feature of Yedikule is that it is integrated within the main line of city walls. In order to guard against a possible offensive approach from the extension of the adjacent city walls, semicircular bastions were incorporated into the structure. Thus a complex fortification involving interdependent towers, semicircular and triangular bastions was formed.

The Pattern Set by Renaissance Italy

The star shape of Yedikule reminds one of the ideal city plans of Renaissance theorists.

In architecture and urban design, the foremost early theoretician is Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472). His De Re Aedificatoria, twelve books on architecture and related matters, were presented in manuscript to Nicholas V in 1452.[138] Alberti is chiefly remembered for his ideal cities, star shaped plans with streets radiating from a central point. "Alberti's designs on this theme are as varied as the snowflakes they resemble; but many architects at this time were absorbed with the design possibilities of perfectly symmetrical compositions."[139]

One of the designers was Antonio di Piero Averlino known under his adopted name Filarete (1404-1472) who has credit for producing the first fully planned ideal city of Renaissance. This was described and illustrated in his Trattato d'Architettura written between 1457-1464.[140] Filarete's ideal city was named

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137 Gabriel, Chateaux, p.92. See also Fig. 42.

138 A.E.J. Morris, History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolutions (London: George Goodwin Ltd., 1979), p.134.

139 Paul, D. Spreiregen, The Architecture of Towns and Cities (New York: Mc Graw Hill Book Company, 1965), p.12.

140 Morris, p.134.

Sforzinda,[141] after his patron Francesco Sforza. In his treatise, Filarete was "conforming to one trend of early Renaissance thought, which attempted to find those basic laws that governed the universe. The Augustinian dictum that God had used mathematics to measure, to weigh and to harmonize the universe in the act of creation gave an air of validity to mathematical bent of one large sector of Renaissance society and served to encourage the attempts to find in the simplest forms of mathematics the most perfect and most universally applicable artistic forms.

Since Filarete's taste coincided with that advocated by this very vital group of artistic and literary humanists, he too involves the authority of natural law for the forms he advocates in architecture."[142,143]

Filarete seems to be especially preoccupied with the military possibilities of the star shape, which was found to be advantageous for fortifications.

It is interesting that the contemporary theoretical developments in military architecture of Italian Renaissance are so conspicous in the primary features of Yedikule.

These developments originated from a need to counter the improvement in guns which provided for the first time a hard hitting, long-range horizontal impact on fortifications.

Mehmed's role in the progress of military engineering is an established fact: "its use (cannon) by the Turks when they overwhelmed the city of Constantinople in 1453 led to a new era in the history of military fortifications."[144]

It is no wonder that in his first major fortification project after the Conquest, Mehmed II's main concern would be related to the use of heavy guns in defence and offence.

J. R. Hale maintains that in the new era of cannons, the bastion was "the most radically effective architectural element since the arch."

> Heavy guns were of no use inside towers: they made too much smoke and their arc of fire was too restricted by loops in immensely thick masonry, so they were placed on platforms on the top of the towers. From this moment we are in sight of the bastion, which is not a gun tower but a solid platform, thrust forward to obtain as wide a field of fire as possible, while retaining the tower's role of providing flank cover to the adjacent

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[141] See fig. 43.

[142] Averlino, Antonio di Piero, Filarete's Treatise on Architecture, trans. J.R.Spencer (Nwe Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965). p.XXXII.

[143] See fig. 44.

[144] E.A.J.Morris; p.130

parts of a fortification. The tower was basically a
defensive, the bastion an offensive form.[145]

This seems to be a plausible argument for the function for the triangular
bastions of Yedikule. These massive structures were seemingly built to bear the
weight of heavy guns that would break up the besieger's concentration and
dismount their artillery. The uninterrupted walkway throughout the fortification would
ensure a continous supply of cannon balls, gun powder and other supplies.

This parallel between theoretical developments in military architecture and
Yedikule immediately brings to mind a westerner's influence on the plan which, as
Gabriel[146] suggests, was surely drawn on a parchement and the construction was
carried out accordingly.

Italian influence could have reached Mehmed II in a number of ways.

> Fatih huzurunda bizim alimlerle değil, Türkiye'ye
> getirttiği veya gelen alim, şair ve sanatkarlarla da
> konuşurdu. Yalnız sarayında bunlarla değil, şairlerle
> de toplanır sanatkarları yanına alarak hasbahal eder,
> hatta ecnebilerle mümkün oldukça görüşür. Amirutzes
> ve onun müslüman olan oğlu bunlardandı. Fatih
> esasen ilmi tecessüse malikti. Herşeyi öğrenmek
> isterdi.[147]

His relations with prominent Christians, and particularly Italians, is dealt with
at length by Babinger.[148] His relations must have enabled him to follow closely the
developments in the West. But Babinger in his article states the difficulty in
specifying the visits of foreigners against concrete evidence:

> İtalyan humanistlerinin veya sanatkarlarının daima
> geçici mahiyette olan bu ziyaretlerinin hepsini
> vesikalarla tespit etmek mümkün olmamaktadır.
> Pera'da yaşayan veya Batı Anadolu sahillerinde
> yerleşmiş olup II. Mehmed ile iş hususunda şahsen
> münasebette bulunan İtalyanların iltimas veya
> tavsiyeleri hemen her defasında bu hümanist veya
> sanatkarların gelmeleri için vesile teşkil etmiş
> olabilir.[149]

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[145] J.R.Hale, "The Development of the Bastion: an Italian Chronology," in Europe in the Late
Middle Ages, ed. J.R.Hale, R.Highfield, B.Smalley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press,
1965), p.467.

[146] Gabriel, Chateaux, p.93.

[147] Ü. Süheyl, İlim ve Sanat Tarihimizde Fatih Sultan Mehmed (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası,
1953), p.11.

[148] Babinger, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve İtalya"

[149] Babinger, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve İtalya," p.62.

In a search for European architectural contribution in the construction of the New Palace, G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar states:

> references by both Tursun and Kemalpaşazade to the towers in the palace which were built in European mode (frengi) suggests possible involvement of European architects. Mehmed invited the Bolognese architect and engineer Aristotile Fioravante, and his subsequent invitations in 1480 to interior decorators and a master builder form Florence and Venice are documented. Moreover, a letter of Francesco Filelfo to Amirutzes on July 30, 1465 reveals that Filarete was setting out to İstanbul in the summer of that year.[150]

Babinger introduces Filelfo as an exploiter who "büyük bir maharetle geçimini sağlamak için Sforza hanedanını sömürmek yolunu tutmuştu."[151] It is also documented that Francesco Filelfo has wrote a letter to Mehmed from Milan on March 11, 1454 on a personal matter. Filarete too was at the time in Milan where he worked from 1451 to 1465 for the Sforza family on the Castello Sforzesco, the Cathedral and the Ospedale Maggiore.[152]

Thus a link seems to be established between a prominent theoretician of Italian architecture and Mehmed, if not in person, at least in ideas. Chronology makes it difficult to defend that Filarete himself was present during the construction of Yedikule. However, Filelfo may have constituted the media through which Filarete's ideas filtrated to the Sultan.

Mehmed may well have wished to utilize the experience and ideas of prominent contemporary architects like Filarete who must have been introduced to him as an important theorist and performer who materialized religious, public and military edifices for his patron in Milan.

It is worthwhile, at this point, to note that Ayverdi disagrees strongly with such conclusions:

> Ecnebi bir memleketten sanatkar getirtmenin 'şark zihniyeti' ile ne alakası olabileceğinden kat'ı nazar, o devrin Türk Osmanlı camiası kendi yapısını kendi yapardı; kendi usulu ve uslubu vardı; ecnebi bir mimara ihtiyacı olmadıktan başka getirse de işine yaramazdı.[153]

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[150] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, p.34. See also Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, pp.246,465.

[151] Babinger, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve İtalya," pp.49,79-80.

[152] Filarete, p.11.

[153] E. H. Ayverdi, "Prof. F. Babinger'in Fatih Devri Mimarisi Hakkında Mütalaaları," İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi 1(İstanbul, 1955)

A close examination of other works of military architecture undertaken during the reign of Mehmed II is useful to elaborate the issue. We will limit this comparison to Rumeli Hisarı and Kilid Bahir, the one immediately preceeding and the other following Yedikule.

Rumeli Hisarı

A brief examination of the architectural plan of Rumeli Hisarı[154] -the construction of which immediately proceeded Yedikule- reveals a different taste and use of distinctly new elements.

The plan of Yedikule is roughly oblong, though the curtain walls taking advantage of the natural ridges pursue a devious course from tower to tower. Where severe attack was to be expected as along the level of the sea shore and on the land side west of the castle, the walls are thick and the wall towers are strong and numerous. On the two other sides, defended naturally by precipices on the north and south, the walls are of a lesser thickness, besides, there is only one tower on the north and two small ones on the south.

In order to isolate an attack the walk is not continous throughout the wall but is divided by the towers. The Zağanos tower is one of the biggest towers among its likes in the world.[155] J. R. Hale provides a functional description: "A traditional feature ... was the keep. Too high to be an effective gun platform, it was retained on grounds of prestige, to provide suitably splendid apartments for the prince or castellan, and as a place of refuge."[156]

It is stated in many sources that Mehmed II planned this castle himself.[157] The architect was Muslihuddin.[158]

Kilid-ül-Bahir

The outline of this fortress resembles a triangle whose longer side is parallel to the sea shore[159]. Two massive round towers were flanking the end points of this side on the north and south. Only the southern one is standing today. Alternating polygonal and triangular bastions were incorporated into the curtain wall. Arched opennings along the sea side wall were left for projecting guns.

The southern round tower has almost a modern appearance with its perfect masonry; its rounded embrasures are designed to deflect the attacker's cannon balls.

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154 See fig. 46.

155 E.H.Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, p 631.

156 J.R.Hale, p.476

157 Kritovoulos, p.20; Babinger, Mehmed the Conquerer, p.76.

158 E.H.Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, p.630.

159 See fig. 45.

Almost surprising is the design of the inner wall. The striking symmetry of this construction is most conspicous in the formation of the inner triangular tower. Here, the mid-points of the walls coincide exactly with the point where the walls of the three large circular towers would intercede.[160] On this symmetry, İ. Utkular comments:

> Demek ki bu kale planı büyük bir hendese bilgisiyle ve büyük bir mimar tarafından deri üzerine veya arsaya çizerek hazırlandı. Ve inşaata bundan sonra başlandı. Fatih tarafından inşa edilen Yedi Kule planının da hendesi bir esasa dayandığını ve planın önceden çizildiğini A. Gabriel kitabında isbat etmektedir.[161]

The partitioning resulting from this interlacing structure was utilized to create an ingeneous labyrinthine path of last refuge in time of need.

> İç kulenin girişi dışarıya kapısı olmayan, kuzeydeki daire avluya açılmıştır. Düşman, merkezdeki kule kapısına gelebilmesi için dış akle duvarlarından itibaren en az üç tane gayet muhkem kapıyı aşması icap ediyor. Demek ki Kilid Bahir kalesi yalnız boğazdan geçecek düşman gemilerine taarruz etmek için yapılmamıştır. Aynı zamanda denizden ve karadan gelebilecek düşman kuvvetlerine karşı bulunduğu çok kıymetli mevkii boğazın nöbet mahallini asla teslim etmemek maksadiyle yapılmıştır.[162]

This immediately brings to mind a point made by J. M. Hale on similar designs.

> Political instability within a state led to an emphasis on points of retreat within the walls, a preoccupation which reached an extreme in the labyrinthine fantasies of Filarete and Leonardo.[163]

İ. Utkular indicates that the Rumeli Hisarı did not have such a character.

> Rumeli Hisar Kalesinde de düşman dıştan merkeze doğru Kilid Bahir Kalesinde olduğu gibi bir müdafaa sistemi düşünülmemiştir. ...Planda doğu ve batıya isabet eden dış kale duvarlarında taarruzla iki delik açılsa, avluya girilse, kale ikiye ayrılmış olacak ve

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See fig. ....

[161] İ. Utkular, Çanakkale Boğazında Fatih Kaleleri, (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1953), p.34.

[162] İ. Utkular, p.34

[163] J.M.Hale, p.476.

> kulelerin birbiriyle olan irtibatları kesilerek ayrı ayrı
> müdafaa muharebeleri verecektir.[164]

Thus, Kilid ül Bahir represents an outstanding improvement and a new understanding in the concept of military defence on the part of the Ottoman builders occurring within a period of ten years. It is unlikely that this major accomplishment would have been realized completely independent of similar proceedings in the West. Thus, we may safely infer that Kilid ül Bahir represents the second stage in the new understanding of fortifications follwing Yedikule.

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[164] İ. Utkular, p.34.

Architecture

The Walls

Citing Kritovoulos, Gabriel suggests that most probably captive foreign masters and workers were used in the construction of Yedikule.[165] Even though the masonry seems to have a haphazard and hasty appearance with mortar and bricks inserted to fill in the gaps and to maintain the horizontal course of the blocks, the ability of the whole structure to withstand earthquakes indicates that the construction is more stable than Rumeli Hisarı.

The curtain wall is 5 m. wide and 12 m. high. These dimensions are uniform and apply for all sides. The reason for this uniformity is that the land is almost flat on all sides, which have equal defensive importance.[166]

The Towers

The Byzantine pylons are the first of the seven towers.

> Güney kuleye sonradan eklenen bir "istinad divanı"ndan girilir. Bir dehlizle geçilen iç tarafda karanlık ve yüksek bir bölme vardır. Burada Türklerin zamanından kalma bir takım ahşap inşaat[167] vardır ki üst üste gelen oda ve hücreleri taşımak içindi. Zeminin ortasında da susuz bir derin kuyu bulunup buna eskiden beri 'kanlı kuyu' adı verilmektedir. Onyedinci yüzyıl sonlarından beri bu isme rastlanmaktadır.[168]

The northern pylon is similar with remains of wooden construction used for carrying the platform floor of residences.

The northern tower (J) on the Theodosian wall is octagonal. It does not have an entrance from the inner courtyard of the castle but can only be reached from the walkway on the rampart. In an inscription carved on a marble plate and placed on the western face of this tower a date 1168 (1758) and "Maşallahi Taala" is legable.[169]

> Bu kulenin inşa tarzı Türk eseri olduğunu gösteriyor. Ahmet III zamanında başlandığı rivayet edilir. Kitabedeki tarih Mahmut I'in son ve Osman III'ün ilk senesine işaret eder. Belki Fatih zamanında orada Bizans'tan kalma bir kule varken bilinmeyen bir

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[165] Gabriel, Chateaux, p.108; Kritovoulos, p.93.

[166] See fig. 47.

[167] See fig. 55.

[168] Halil Ethem, p.17.

[169] Halil Ethem, p.18; Gabriel, Chateaux, p.97; Ayverdi. Osmanlı Devrinde, p.675. See fig. 49.

47

zamanda yıkılmış ve Türkler tarafından yeniden inşa edilmiştir. [170]

Ayverdi further elaborates:

> Yedikule Kapı 1724-25'de yapıldığına göre aynı duvarın devamına yaslanan bu kulenin o zaman hiç olmazsa kısmen inşa edildiğini, otuz sene sonra bir tamirde bu levhanın konduğunu tahmin ederiz.[171]

An engraving belonging to the seventeenth century provides a valuable document[172] for proving that originally a square Byzantine tower existed. Ayverdi concludes that:

> Fatih devrine ait olmayan sekiz köşeli kule yerindeki dört köşe Bizans kulesinin kısmen mermer olan taşlarından yararlanılarak yapılmıştır. 1.5 metrelik duvarlar aslında çok incedir, yalnızca geçmişe ait bir anı olarak, savunma için değil, yaptırılmıştır.[173]

In the plan, (A) and (C) are the symmetrical cylindirical towers on the north and south. The eastern tower (B) is prismatic.[174] However, in spite of this difference in style, they all have been built according to similar principles and comprise a mass of equal quantity.[175] The wall width is uniform in all, approximately five meters. The radii are likewise similar, 9 to 9.5 meters. The cores were built to house the storeys whose floors were supported by wall to wall wooden beams of which only the holes in the wall have remained to our day. A winding ramp walk climbs all the way up in these towers. To provide a comfortable habitation, toilets and air shafts have been provided.

The Byzantine square tower which had been located to the south of the Golden Gate was destroyed in an earthquake in 1466. Only the steps reaching it from the rampart have remained.

A point which should be noted is that the incorporation of the towers into the curtain walls have not obstructed the walkway throughout the ramparts. This is a different approach than the one employed in Rumeli Hisarı as had been pointed out earlier.

The towers beared conical caps up to the middle of the nineteenth century.[176]

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[170] Halil Ethem, p. 21; Gabriel, Chateaux, p.96.

[171] Ayverdi, Osmanlı Devri, p.675

[172] See fig. 56

[173] Ayverdi, Osmanlı Devrinde, p.675.

[174] See fig. 48. For detailed plans see figs. 51, 52, 53.

[175] See figs. 48, 50.

[176] See figs. 56, 58, 59.

The Bastions

The four prismatic bastions of solid masonry are in the form of isosceles triangles with 6 meter long sides. The flat platform on top of the bastions is 3 meters above the walkway and is reached through a flight of steps adjacent to its back wall.

The two round bastions are twins. These bastions are not fully solid, but house domed spaces reached only from the courtyard but which do not communicate with the walkway.

The function of the bastions have already been dealt with in previous paragraphs.

The Gates

The main entrance to Yedikule is on the east -the city side- through a square gate tower.[177] All by itself, it has a castellated appearance. Contrary to the other towers, this gate tower does block the walk way. It contains three stories and used to bear a conical cap as well. Its facade below the arched gateway is decorated with a brick design durrounding a marble plate mounted there to display an inscription which, for some obscure reason, has never been engraved.

The reduced central archway of the Golden Gate constituted the second entrance. The pointed arch is of Ottoman construction. The smaller northern archway was concealed behind the butress built to strengthen the walls. The southern was completely walled up.

E. H. Ayverdi indicates a third 'entrance' which he claims have been missed by other observers:

> Bir üçüncü kapı da koltuk girişi olup kuzey surundadır.
> İçerden ahşap başlığı ve dar dehlizi bellidir. Bunun
> önü dış yüzeyde ince bir duvarla örülmüş ve yerine bir
> çeşme yapılmıştır.[178]

The Mosque

Today, the only visible remains of the cami founded by Mehmed is the shaft of the minaret. Contrary to the general attitude, Eyice terms it as a mescid and notes "Yedikule Hisarı arkasındaki mescidin Fatih tarafından hisar ile yaptırılarak Ayasofya vakfına bağlanmıştır."

The structure which survived until 1905 seems to have perished at this time. The general features, therefore, can only be gathered from old engravings.

> Piri Reisin kitabının bazı yazmalarındaki İstanbul
> resminde[179] bu mescidin çift meyilli çatılı bir bina

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[177] See fig. 50.

[178] Ayverdi, Osmanlı Devrinde, p.672. See fig. 54.

[179] See fig. 40.

olduğu açık olarak belirtilmiştir. Venedik'deki resimde ise mescidin esas binadan daha geniş bir son cemaat yerine sahip ahşap çatılı bir bina olduğu görülmektedir.[180]

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[180] S. Eyice, "Yedikule Hisarı ve Avlusundaki Fatih Mescidi"

The Changing Role of
Yedikule

As stated above, the primary aim of Yedikule was to have a place of refuge in case of adversary. Therefore, it was only natural to keep the royal treasury and archives in this stronghold rather than the vulnerable "Eski Saray," or even the "Yeni Saray."

> According to Angiolello, this tower (Tower of Justice in Topkapı Sarayı) served as a transitional treasury for depositing imperial revenues, before this money was transported to the permanent treasury at Yedikule Fortress.[181]

Konstantin Mihailovic who relates the events of the period after Mehmed II's death and the struggle for power between Beyazıd and Cem provides interesting details.

> When two brothers are left after an emperor and carry on a struggle between them, the one who first takes refuge at the court of the janissaries will gain the imperial throne. And therefore, since one of the standing treasures is five Italian miles above Constantinople at that fortress which is called Geniassar -in our language 'New Castle'- whichever of these brothers comes wanting to have some of the treasure, they will not give anything to anyone, for the fortress is securely closed and guarded in all thigs as if against enemies, and they will give them the following answer if one of them should come: 'Fortunate Lord, as long as the two of you are carrying on a struggle, nothing will be given to anyone."
>
> But when one already sits securely on the throne without hindrance of the other, then the man to whom the fortress is entrusted, having taken the keys, will bring them to the emperor, submitting the fortress and all the treasures. The Emperor, having rewarded him, entrusts the keys to him again so that he can administer as before as it was of old.[182]

Although the term "Yeni Hisar" seems to refer to Anadolu Hisarı in this context, it could just as well be applied to Yedikule, which was also "new" and far from the city center. Mihailovic goes on to explain the garrisoning and supply of fortresses, which should be applicable to all.

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[181] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, p.93.
[182] Mihailovic, p.149.

The organization in the fortress is as follows: there is
one who commands all the others who is called the
dyzdar; the second official after him ia called the
kethaya, after him are the *bulukbasse.* As in any
fortress, the larger the fortress, the greater the number
of courtiers in it.[183]

He goes on to relate how strictly the fortresses were guarded night and day
allowing very few people to enter inside in cases of emergency only.

Yedikule housed the state treasury and the archives up to the reign of Murat
III during whose time the treasury was transferred to the Topkapı palace. On this
subject, authors consult the work of Domenico who was Doctor in chief to the
Palace from 1576 to 1582. In virtue of his profession, he had access to Yedikule
which a stranger could not even approach. "The removal of the treasury to the old
Serai seems to have taken place while Domenico was actually at Constantinople,
for he gives circumstantial details about the various objects of the treasury which
were kept in the several towers.[184]

Yedikule, from this time on, while remaining also an artillery park, was used
more and more as a prison for prominent foreigners, but also for Turks, and
especially political figures.

This function originated during the reign of Mehmed II, who for the first time
imprisoned his grandvizier Mahmud Paşa in Yedi Kule and had him killed there in
July 18, 1474. Yedikule was not the only fortress to be used for this purpose,
Rumeli Hisarı served a similar purpose as well. Yedikule owes its infamous
reputation to several such unfortunate incidents, among which the best known is
the murder of Osman II in 1622.

For more than two centuries, Yedikule served as a prison for hundreds of
people, Turkish and Foreign. What remains behind are hardly legible inscriptions
on the walls of the towers. In fact, one of the towers (B) is named "Kitabeli Kule" due
to the marble plates containing Latin inscriptions carved by prisoners kept in this
tower.[185]

The engravings or sketches giving a reliable idea about Yedikule are very
scarce. Most of the documents show views of Yedikule that are exaggerated and
largely imaginary.

The drawing by an Italian prisoner of the seventeenth century has been
mentioned above.

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[183] Mihailovic, p.150.

[184] Th. Macridy and S. Casson, p.65

[185] For further reference, Gottwald has a detailed account of these inscriptions.
Personal observation: there exist some Ottoman scripts on the inner walls of the southern tower of
the Golden Gate. See fig. 55.

Desegno del Castello delle Sette Torre di Constantinopel başlığı ile ... resimde külahlar bütün mimarileri ile göründükten başka Türk devrindeki değişiklikler de farkedilir.[186]

On the upper right hand corner of this very successful engraving, the particular names given to each tower can be read:

Southern tower of the Golden Gate	Hazne Kulesi
Northern tower of the Golden Gate	Cephane Kulesi
Ahmet III Tower	Pastırma Kulesi
Northeastern tower (A)	Darı Kulesi (or Barut Kulesi)
The tower of inscriptions (B)	Zindan Kulesi
Southeastern tower	Kız Kulesi
Now extinct Byzantine tower	Küçük Kule

Desegno depicts the courtyard as full of houses forming a small community.

We owe an extensively detailed literary description of Yedikule to Pouqueville who had been taken prisoner by pirates on his way from Egypt. He has written his impressions of this imprisonment in his book Voyage en Moree.

The custom of imprisoning ambassadors of foreign states with whom Turkey was at war was abandoned at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the reign of Mahmut II.

Yedikule was restored and steps were taken to open the gate of the Propylea. On this gate, is still the tuğra of Sultan Mahmut II with the date 1838.

This was probably a part of the project which Mahmut II commissioned to Von Moltke for improvement of street pattern. Von Moltke's main goal was to provide an uninterrupted communication network (which recalled that of the Byzantine city) throughout the İstanbul peninsula connecting the heart of the city to the old Byzantine gates.

For a short time, the towers of Yedikule served as a powder magazine and in the interior court were kept various animals that were tranfered from the 'Aslanhane' in the Sultan Ahmet Square.

After 1850 powder magazines were removed outside the city and ancient artillery with its stone balls were also sent to St. Eirene Museum. In 1878, Yedikule was placed under the Ministry of Education because since 1869 Hıristiyan İnas Mekteb-i Sanayii, a girls school of arts, was giving education inside the city walls.[187]

Later on, the interior court has been transformed into a market garden, and the towers were used as hay barns by the army until 1895.

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[186] S. Eyice, Yedikule Hisarı, p.81.

[187] See the map of İstanbul in E.H.Ayverdi's 19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası (İstanbul, 1958) for the exact location of this "mekteb."

By this date, the fortress came into control of the Museum authorities. A few archeological excavations were carried out within the first decades of this century, which were mentioned above.

In 1959, first the Golden Gate, and then the towers were restored.

CONCLUSION

Golden Gate had a very significant and honored place in the history of the Byzantine city. In its function and form, the synthesis of relgious predominance and military traditions is reflected. Hence the silent grandeur, the humble decoration of scattered crosses and monograms but still the sculptures of Victory and Tyche.

Victory is won over time as well as against the hostile. The destructive force of the years is counteracted through another victory actualized in the stone. The act of building is a verification of timeless rule as well.

> The most sacred of the ten gates piercing the Great Walls, the Golden Gate which concentrated in itself the most potent threshhold magic and divinizing power, bore Theodosius's words: "Who builds the gate of gold refounds the Age of Gold." The Golden Age was in fact refounded whereever and whenever an imperial figure caused stones to take shape, for whatever use.[188]

And it was Mehmed II a thousand years later to stand right there and decide to build his "Age of Gold."

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[188] Miller, p.27.

APPENDIX A

The dynastic controversies of the late fourteenth century are quite complicated. John V Palaelogus, succeeded his father Andronicus III, on the throne of Constantinople in 1341. In 1347 he was overthrown by John VI Cantacuzenus, but was reinstated in 1354 with the aid of the Genoese. While John V was in Italy seeking western aid against the Turks in 1369-71, his eldest son, Andronicus IV, ruled as his viceroy. When Andronicus refused to vacate the throne on hid father's return, Emperor John was forced to seek the aid of the Turkish Sultan, Murad. Because of Andronicus' behavior, John disinherited him and in 1373 crowned his second son, Manuel, as coemperor and heir apparent. Andronicus then revolted and with Genoese support reoccupied Constantinople in 1376 and imprisoned his father and brother. The Venetians helped John and Manuel to escape from prison in 1379, and with the support of Murad they retook Constantinople in July of the same year. Among the pledges extracted from John by Murad as a price for Turkish aid in retaking the city was an agreement that Andronicus and his son, John (VII), be declared heirs to the Byzantine throne in place of Manuel. This agreement was officially sanctioned by the Church in May, 1381.

Annoyed by such recompense for his filial loyalty, Manuel went to Salonika; when this city fell to the Turks in 1387, he moved to Lemnos. He was reconciled with his father in 1388, but was sent back to Lemnos where he apparently remained until coming to his father's aid during John VII's siege of Constantinople in 1390.

When Andronicus died in 1385, John V, with Murad's concurrence, appointed Andronicus' son, John VII, to rule in Solymbria. After a trip to Genoa, however, and with the aid of the new Sultan Bayezid and the Genoese, John VII laid siege to Constantinople and forced his grandfather to take refuge in the fortress at the Golden Gate. John VII entered the city in April 14, 1390, as the common people opened a city gate for him. After this, Manuel started to gather forces in the Mediterranean to recapture the city. Meanwhile the old emperor fled to the castle of Golden Gate. Then, Manuel came to Constantinople, penetrated the harbor and succeeded in getting his forces into the Golden Gate castle most probably in August 25, 1390. Manuel left the fortress with his men and unexpectedly fell on John VII and drove him out of the city in September 1390.

John V reinforced his fortification and extended its protective walls down to the beach during the absence of Manuel and John VII on campaign with Bayezid against Sinope. However, Bayezid threatened John V with blinding his son Manuel, so the old Emperor ordered the castle to be dismantled and he died of grief in February 1391.

APPENDIX B

ANCIENT AUTHORS AND BOOKS ON GOLDEN GATE

Cantacuzenus, Autobiography
Cedrenus
Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Book of Ceremonies
Leo Diaconus
Malalas, Chronologia
Nicephorus Gregoras
Procopius of Caesarea, De Aedificiis
Theophanes
Theophanes Continuatus
Zonaras
Zosimus

Chronicon Paschale
Patria
Synaxaria 900

APPENDIX C

TRAVELLERS MENTIONING YEDİKULE

Cornelius von den Drisch
Dallaway
De Montconys
Du Loir
Gilles
Jehannot
Lubenau
Melling
Mordtmann
Pouqueville
Schweigger
Thevenot
Von Harff

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fig 1

Mesoteichion

Stavrodromion

GALATA

Chaine

P. Charisii
P. Polyandrii
Edirne Kapoussi

mur de Theodose II
Palaea Petra
mon. Chorae
Kahrie Dj.

Eglise Armén.

Porta imperialis (Basilica)
Balat Kapoussi

Aed. St Georgii

COLLIS VI

Porta Pempti
s. Stae Cyriacae

Cisterna
Aetii

Dogdan Seraj, Kosme Kaja
Djami

Fethie Dji.
Aed. Pammacaristae

Tractus Phanarus.

Deip. Muguliotissa

Porta Phanaru

Porta St Romani
Top Kapou

Cisterna Asparis

St John Trullo

Castron Petri
Petrium

St Conon
Hôpital de la Marine

Porta Petri Sideroporta
Petri Kapoussi

Xerokionion

Palatium
Boni
Boni Chr.Evergetes
Mugulion
de la Porte
Strobylus

COLLIS V

Porta Stae Theodosiae
S. Dexiocratis
Aja Kapou

Suburbium Pigae
(Krenides, Psychra,
Hydata)
Kassim Pacha

Monastir Djami
Aed. Menodorae

Stadiliana

Cisterna
Pulcheriae

P. Militaire No 4

Lizadia

Pulcheriana

Tract. Dexiocratis

St. Laurentius
Cheikh Murad Mesdj

St. Ezaia
Pour Kuyon Dj.

Porta Ispiis
Ayoubli Kapoussi

Denit Abdal

Exokionion

m. Pantepopte
Eski Imaret Dj.

Porta Rhegii, M.
Jeni Mevlane Kapou

Lycus

Sultan Mehemed
Fatih

COLLIS IV

Tractus Harmatii
Platea

Porta Platea, mesa
Oun Kapan Kapoussi

GALATA

Aedes Pantocratoris

St Theophano

Cisterna
XL Martyr.

Columna Marciani
Kiztachi

Tr. Constantiniana

REGIO X
Mon Kyr Marthae
Vela Melani

Villa
Tractus Vigilentii.

COLLIS III

Odoun Kapoussi

Porta Sti Joh. de Cornibus
Ouin dar Kapoussi

Coemeterium
St Isaie?

Sigma
Porte militaire No 3

Exokionion

Cist. St Mocii

Porta Itali

mon Libis
Fenari Isa Mesdj

REGIO XI

Tr. Olybrii

St Anastasia

REGIO VI

Jura Venetorum

Pisamatis
Zindan Kapoussi

Takhta Kalé

Porta Ebraika

Aedes Deiparae Pegae
Palatium Peganum

Balykli

Silivri Kapou
Selymbriae porta
Zoodoka Pegui

mur de Constantin

A. Deip. Gorgopicoos

Tract Aureliana

Xerolophus

Porta Aurea antiqua

Xenodochium
Theophili

Scala Chalcedonia
PProsforius (Scala Timasi)

St. Philippus
Periodus Sti Onesimi

mon Dalmatou

Tractus Helenian.

REGIO VII

Dom. Botan.

REGIO V

REGIO IV

Devteron

A. St. Andreas
in Crisi
Kodja Moustapha Dj.

Porticus Troadenses

Mehterhane Furun Oski Dj.

St Theodorus
Chaudi

Anemodulium

Ouzoun Teurchi
Makron Embolon

COLLIS II

Cist. Theodos.

Porta Stae Barbarae
Top Kapou

Porta
militaire No 2

mon. Gastria
Sandjakdar Dj.

Panagia
de Belgrad

mon Peribleptii
Solu Monastir

REGIO XII

Portus Vlanga

REGIO IX

St Pantalimon

Tractus Narusis

Forum

REGIO VIII

Stratiginon

REGIO I

Hodegetria

St Katerina

Chrysobol
Porta Rusa

Jedikoule

Porta Psamatheae
Samatia Kapou

Tr. Psamatheae
Samatia

Porta Sti Joh. Studii

Portus Eleutherii

Vlanga Jeni Kapou
Porta
Vlanga

St Accacius

Panagia Elpis

XL mart Cist Philozeni

St Antiochi

REGIO III

Hippodromus

Pharus

St Catarin.

Topoi

Cyclobion Strongylon
Carcer St Diomedis
Venator Rusii mon Sti Diomed

Narli Kapou

St Joh. Studii

Porta Pege Kapoussi

St Thomas

Peridromus
Cist. Basilica

Bain Dogbater Sta Euphemi
St Anastasii

Domus Justiniani

Bucoleon
Portus Bucoleontis

Map of
BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE.

Drawn by F. K. von Hubner for and under the direction of Professor A. van Millingen.

Scale of 1:30,000

English Miles

B O S P O R U S

CHRYSOPOLIS
Scutari

Damalis, Arcla
Ara Κρδι.σι.

Pera

Tophane

Tower of Galata
Galata
Region XIII.
Syke

PERA
Genoese Castle

Pera
Castle Vecchio

G O L D E N   H O R N

K E R A S

Region I.
Region II.
Region III.
Region IV.
Region V.
Region VI.
Region VII.
Region VIII.
Region IX.
Region X.
Region XI.
Region XII.

Acropolis

Gate of S. Barbara
Ch. of S. Barbara
Column, Claudius Gothicus
Ch. S. George Mangana
Port of the Mangana
Ch. S. Mary Hodegetria
Ch. S. Sophia
Ch. of S. Irene

The Great Palace
Hippodrome

Ch. of S.S. Sergius
and Bacchus
Harbour of Sophia

Forum of Constantine
Forum of Theodosius
Forum Tauri
Forum of the Bous
Forum of Arcadius

Column of Marcian

Ch. of the Holy Apostles
Ch. of Christ Pantocrator
Ch. of Christ Pantepoptes
Ch. of S. Theodosia
Ch. of S. Theodore
Ch. of Kyr Martha
Ch. of S. Mary Panachrantos
Monastery of S. Myrelaion
Ch. of S. Mary of the Mongolians

Cistern of Mocius
Exokionion

Column of Marcian

Monastery of Manuel

Gate of the Diplophanarion
Gate of the Platea
Gate of Chalum

Lycus

Monastir Dj.

Ch. of S. Andrew in Krisei

Ch. of S. John Studius
Ch. of S. Diomed

Ch. of S. Anna

Monastery of Gastria

3rd Military Gate
4th Military Gate
5th Military Gate

P R O P O N T I S

M A R M O R A

ARCUS SEPTIMII SEVERI. This triple arch at the western end of the Forum Romanum was erected in 203 A. D. in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. A flight of steps led up to it from the Forum. After his murder (211 A. D.) Geta's name was chiselled away from the dedicatory inscription (CIL VI, 1033) and replaced by additional titles of the two remaining Augusti. The reliefs decorating the arch represent the emperor's victorious campaigns against the Parthians and the Arabs. Coins show the statues of Septimius Severus and his sons in a six-horse chariot on top of the arch.

A. NIBBY, RomAnt I, pp. 476–487; F. REBER, Ruinen, pp. 102–107; R. LANCIANI, Ruins, pp. 282–285; TH. ASHBY, CR XIII, 1899, p. 233 f.; CH. Hülsen, RM XVII, 1902, p. 21 f.; id., FR, pp. 78–83; C. D. CURTIS, Arches, p. 69 f., No. 60; E. DE RUGGIERO, pp. 454–462; H. THÉDENAT, FR, pp. 161 f., 234–238; E. STRONG, SR, pp. 303–305; P-A, p. 43 f.; G. BENDINELLI, Atti 3 CStR I, pp. 227–232; H. KÄHLER, RE, Triumphbogen, 1939, p. 392 f., No. 34; F. ALTHEIM, Die Soldatenkaiser, 1939, p. 170 f.; W. TECHNAU, Die Kunst der Römer, 1940, p. 247; G. LUGLI, Centro, p. 139 f.; P. G. HAMBERG, Studies in Roman Imperial Art, 1947, pp. 145–149; H. KÄHLER, Wandlungen der antiken Form, 1949, pp. 66–68; G. M. HANFMANN, The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks, 1951, pp. 174, 217 f.; U. SCERRATO, AC VII, 1955, pp. 199–206; G. ZORZI, Palladio, p. 56 f., figg. 44–48; L. CREMA, ArchRom, p. 550 f.
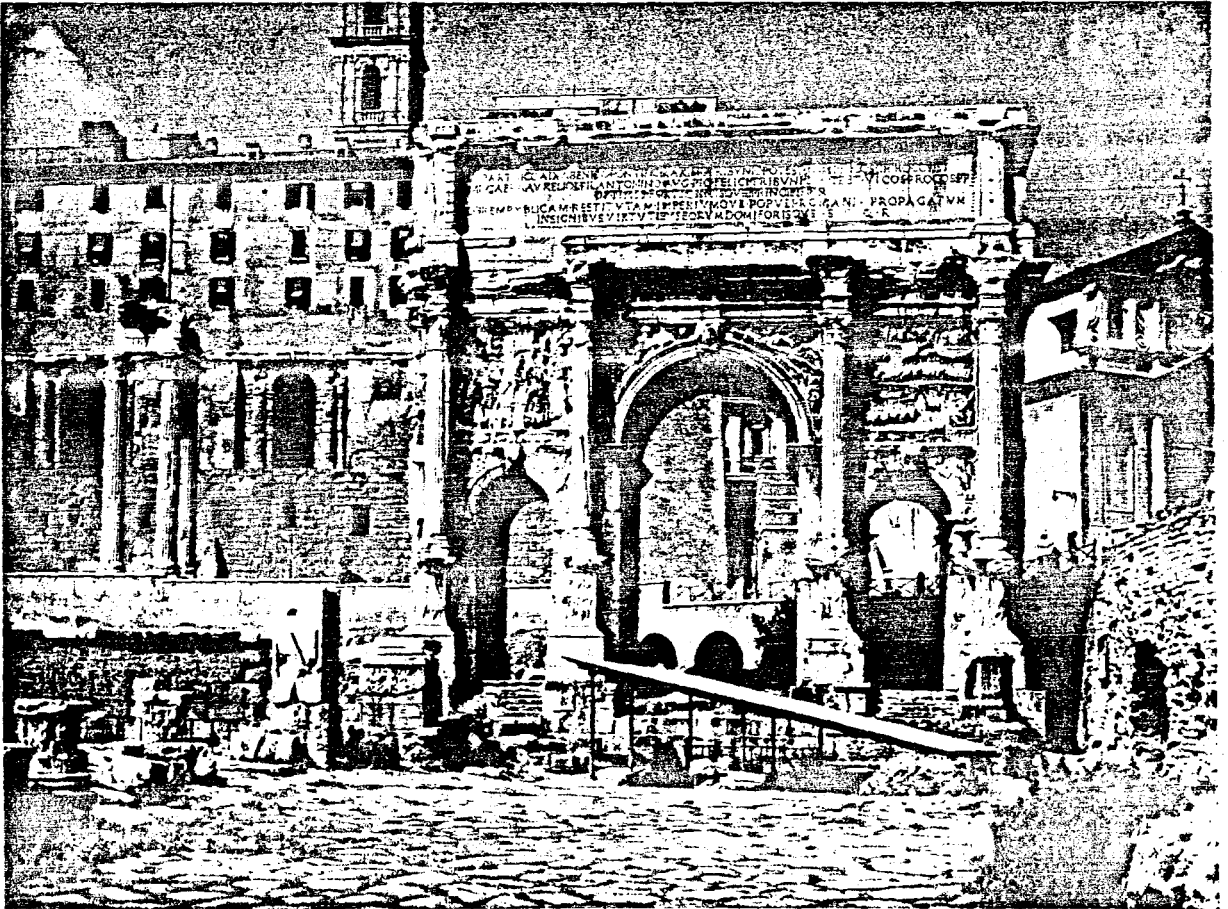
The Arch of Septimius Severus seen from the Forum.

3

ARCUS GALLIENI

Arcus Drusi et Germanici

ARCUS GALLIENI. The Arch of Gallienus was originally a triple gate, erected in the time of Augustus to replace the former Porta Esquilina of the Servian Wall. In 262 A. D., one M. Aurelius Victor dedicated the arch to the Emperor Gallienus and his consort Salonina (CIL VI, 1106). Only the middle arch and traces of the northern side passage still exist in the Via di S. Vito.

L. ROSSINI, Archi, p. 10, Tav. 65, 66; A. NIBBY, RomAnt I, pp. 463-467; R. LANCIANI, BCom III, 1875, Tav. XX; id., BCom IV, 1876, p. 208; H. JORDAN, Top I, 3, p. 343; C. D. CURTIS, Arches, p. 76 f., No. 71; L. CANTARELLI, BCom XLVIII, 1920, p. 170; P-A, pp. 39, 407; G. SÄFLUND, Mura, pp. 43 f., 202; G. LUGLI, L'Urbe II, 1937, 4, pp. 16–26; id., Mon III, pp. 421–424; H. KÄHLER, RE, Triumphbogen, 1939, p. 394, No. 36; A. DEGRASSI, BCom LXVII, 1939, p. 177 f.; id., Doxa II, 1949, p. 82; M. E. BLAKE I, p. 45; L. CREMA, ArchRom, p. 216 f.
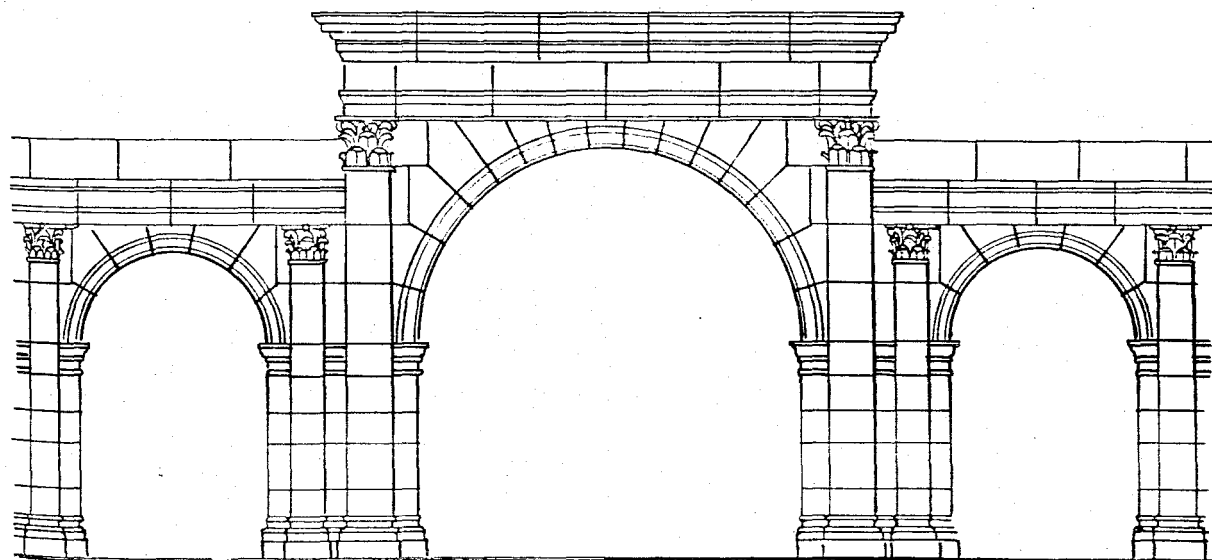
A reconstruction of the Arch of Gallienus by Guglielmo Gatti (L'Urbe II, 1937).

ARCUS CONSTANTINI. This arch was erected in honour of Constantine to commemorate his victory over Maxentius in 312. It was completed in 315. The sculptures and reliefs decorating the arch were, for the greater part, taken from monuments of the times of Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The only sculptures from the time of Constantine are the friezes above the side arches and on the ends of the arch, the reliefs at the bases of the columns, the two medallions of the ends and the reliefs of the spandrels.

A. NIBBY, RomAnt I, pp. 443–457; E. PETERSEN, RM IV, 1889, pp. 314–339; CH. HÜLSEN, RM VI, 1891, p. 92 f.; A. MONACI, BCom XXVIII, 1900, pp. 75–116; R. LANCIANI, Ruins, p. 191 (Bibl: p. 192); A. MONACI, DissPont Acc 2, VIII, 1903, pp. 105–134; id., DissPontAcc 2, IX, 1907, pp. 1–23; H. ST. JONES, BSR III, 1906, pp. 229–271; A. J. B. WACE, BSR IV, 1907, pp. 270–276; I. SIEVEKING, RM XXII, 1907, pp. 345–360; C. D. CURTIS, Arches, pp. 80–82, No. 78; H. JORDAN, Top I, 3, pp. 25–28; S. REINACH, RA 4, XV, 1910, pp. 118–129; M. BIEBER, RM XXVI 1911, pp. 214–237 (Bibl: p. 214 f.); A. L. FRONTINGHAM, AJA XVI, 1912, pp. 368–386; XVII, 1913, pp. 487–503; XIX, 1915, pp. 1–12, 367–384; F. GROSSI GONDI, L'Arco di Costantino (2), 1913; K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, RM XXXV, 1920, pp. 143–151; G. RODENWALDT, RM XXXVI, XXXVII, 1921/22, pp. 75–79; H. BULLE, JdI XXXIV, 1919, pp. 144–172; E. STRONG, SR, pp. 142–148, 217–224, 331–342; G. WILPERT, BCom L, 1922, pp. 13–57; A. WALTON, MAARome IV, 1924, pp. 170–180; P-A, pp. 36–38; CH. HÜLSEN, Atti 2 CStR I, pp. 260–266; H. P. L'ORANGE, AA, 1936, pp. 595–607; id., Roma XIV, 1936, pp. 217–222; M. WEGNER, AA, 1938, pp. 155–195; M. PALLOTTINO, BCom LXVI, 1938, pp. 17–55; H. KÄHLER, RM LIV, 1939, pp. 265–269; id., RE, Triumphbogen, 1939, pp. 396–399, No. 40; H. P. L'ORANGE – A. v. GERKAN, Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens, 1939 (Bibl: pp. VIII–XII); G. BECATTI, Crd'A V, 1940, I, pp. 41–48; P. G. HAMBERG, Studies in Roman Imperial Art, 1945, pp. 56–63, 78–103; G. LUGLI, Centro, pp. 313–317 (Bibl: p. 316 f.); A. J. B. WACE, Mélanges Picard II, 1949, pp. 1091–1096; B. BERENSON, L'Arco di Costantino, 1952; Röm Gebälke II; A. GIULIANO, Arco di Costantino, 1955 (Bibl: p. 5); F. MAGI, RendPontAcc XXIX, 1958, pp. 83–110. R. CALZA, RendPontAcc XXXII, 1959/60, pp. 133–161. C. D'ONOFRIO, Capitolium XXXVI, 1961, 2, p. 24 f.
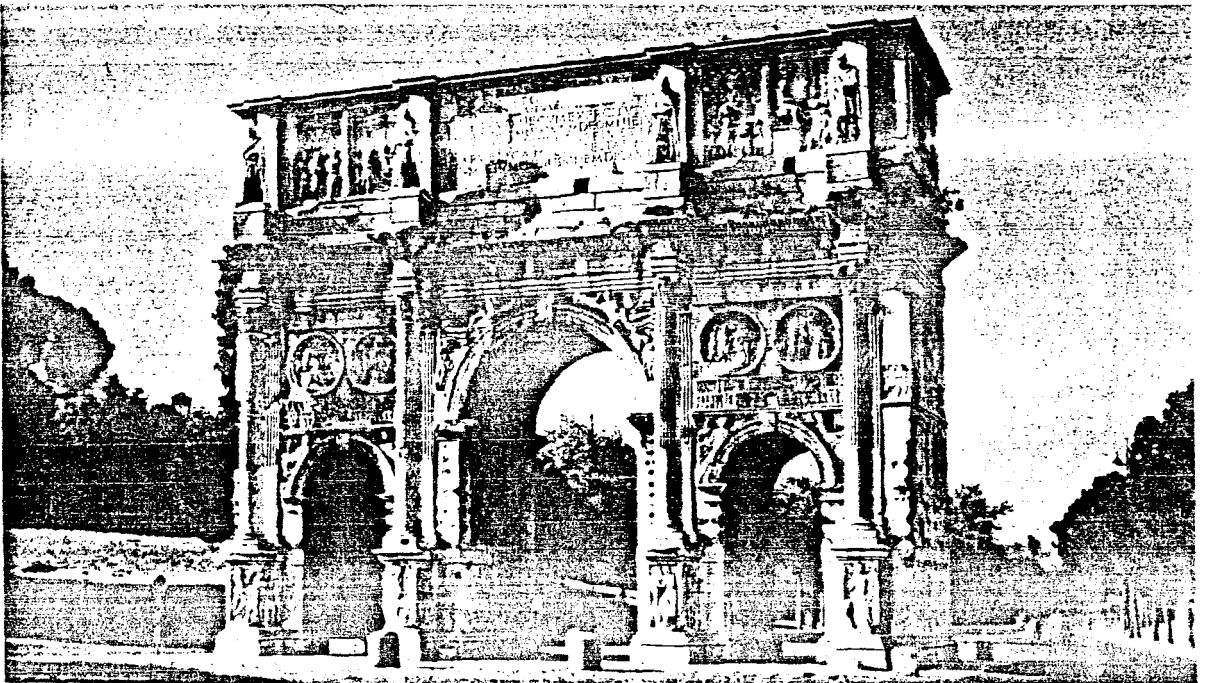
North side of the arch of Constantine.

PORTA APPIA. The original gateway in the Aurelian Wall, through which the Via Appia left the city, had two arches; the remains of the western arch are still visible on the inner side of the gate. The Porta Appia took its name, as did most of the other gateways, from the road which passed through it. In the middle ages it was known as Porta d'Accia, Datia or Dazza, but never quite lost its original name (CodTop IV, p. 112). The modern name of Porta S. Sebastiano comes from the church of S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura, and appears for the first time as "Porta San Bastiano" on the occasion of Charles V's entrance into Rome in 1536. The present gateway is a restoration by Honorius and Arcadius (401-402 A. D.). Later, incorporating the so-called Arco di Druso (q. v.), a vantage-court was built; but apparently it was never used for defence, since there are no traces of hinges, doors or any other means of shutting the rear gate of the court.

A. NIBBY, RomAnt I, p. 149 f.; H. JORDAN, Top I, 1, p. 366; F. REBER, Ruinen, p. 538; R. LANCIANI, Storia II, p. 59; R. SCHULTZE, Bonner Jahrbücher CXVIII, 1909, p. 343; G. TOMASSETTI, La Campagna Romana II, 1910, pp. 32–36; I. A. RICHMOND, BCom LV, 1927, pp. 59–63; P-A, p. 402 f.; G. B. GIOVENALE, BCom LVII, 1929, pp. 183–214; LIX, 1931, pp. 106–115; I. A. RICHMOND, Wall, pp. 121–142; G. LUGLI, Mon II, pp. 223–235; id., Tecnica II, Tav. LIII, 2; G. C. GUIDI, Roma XXI, 1943, pp. 14–17.
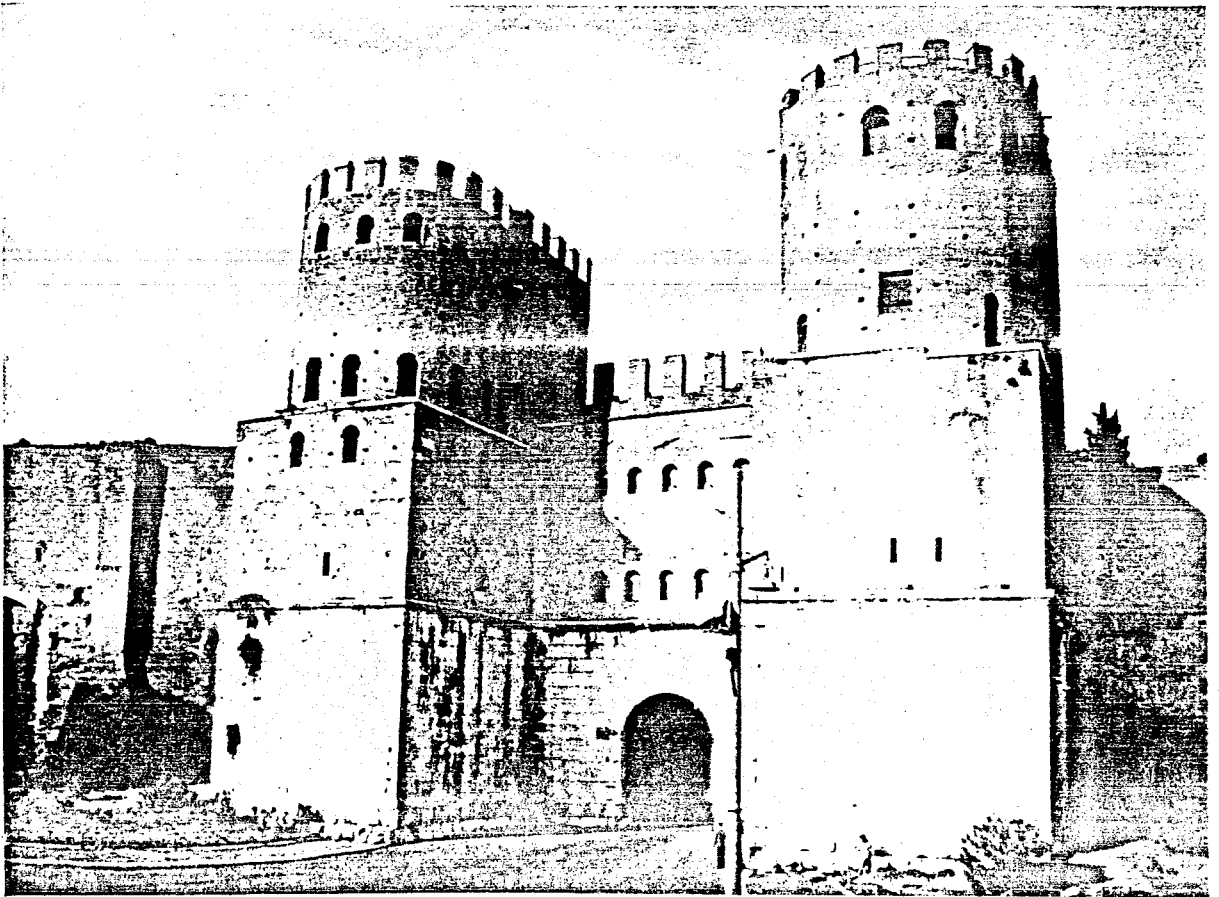
Porta Appia, outer side.
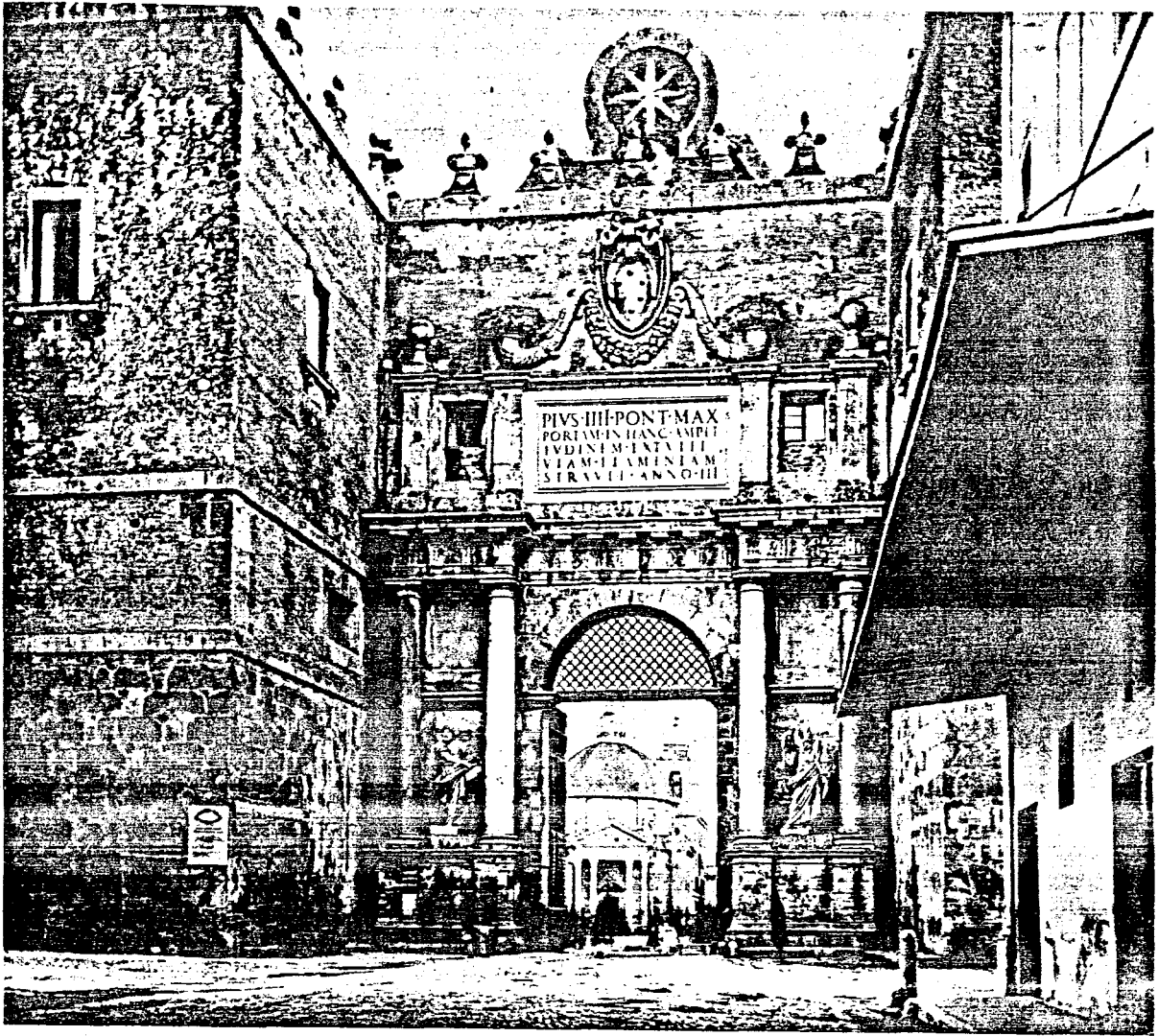
The outer side of the Porta Flaminia before the towers were pulled down in 1877.

PORTA LATINA. The plan of this gateway, with its two semicircular towers, belongs to the first period of Aurelian's Wall, but the arch with its row of windows above the gateway, dates from the time of Honorius. The gateway had a vantage-court with an inner gate, which can be seen on pictorial plans of the 16th and 17th century, and in pictures up to the 18th century (s. H. Egger, Römische Veduten I, Taf. 82). In the course of its history, the gateway was walled up several times; in May 1408 it was closed by King Ladislaus of Naples (s. a. Porta Asinaria II, p. 204), but it was opened again in September 1409. From 1656 to 1669 it was closed to prevent the plague from spreading. At the beginning of the 19th century, owing to the abandonment of the Via Latina, the gateway became superfluous, and in 1808 it was again walled up. It has remained closed, except for a short period in 1827, until 1911, when it was finally reopened.

s. a. Muri Aureliani II, 789.

A. NIBBY, RomAnt I, p. 148 f.; H. JORDAN, Top I, 1, p. 366; TH. ASHBY, BSR IV, 1907, p. 13; H. GRISAR, Roma alla fine del mondo antico, 1908, p. 544 f.; G. e F. TOMASSETTI, La Campagna Romana IV, 1926, pp. 6–9; I. A. RICHMOND, BCom LV, 1927, p. 57; id., Wall, pp. 100–109; P-A, p. 408 f.; G. B. GIOVENALE, BCom LIX, 1931, pp. 91–96; G. LUGLI, Mon II, pp. 220–222; id., Tecnica II, Tav. LXXIV, 4.
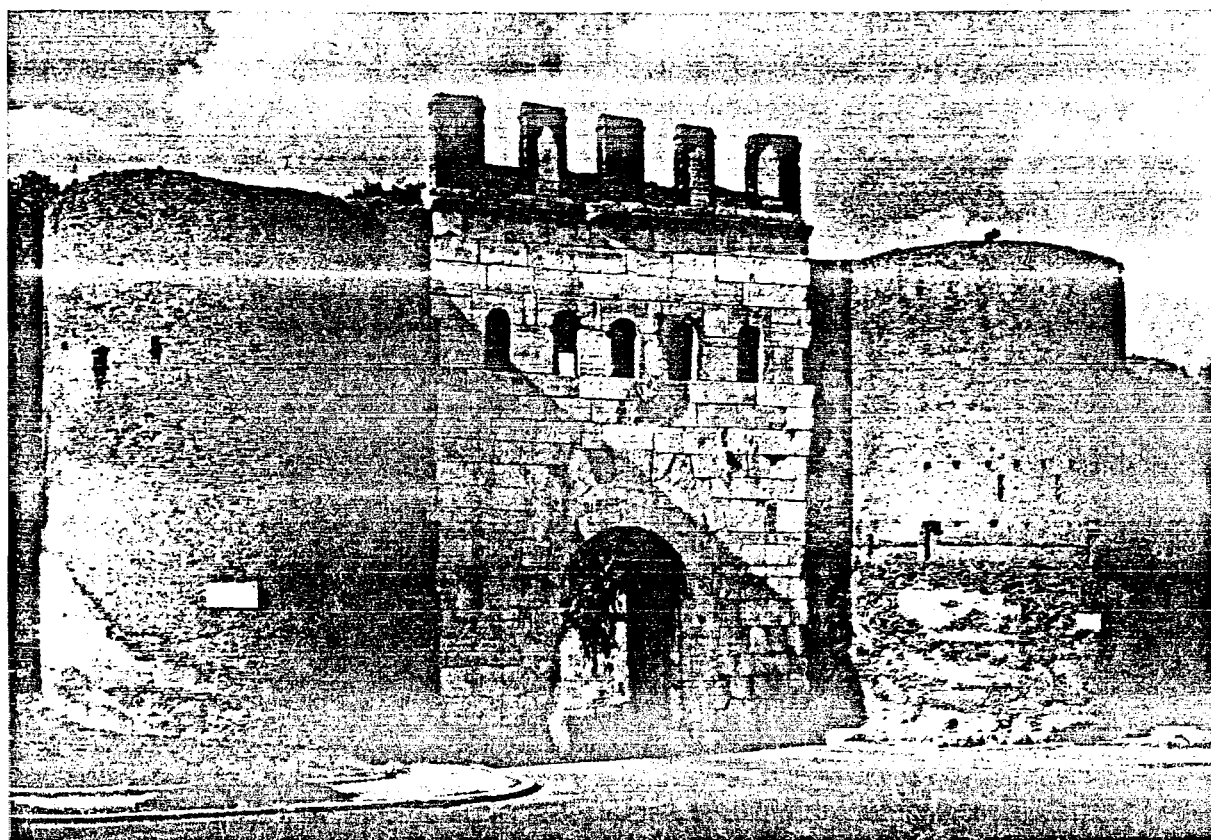
Porta Latina, outer side.
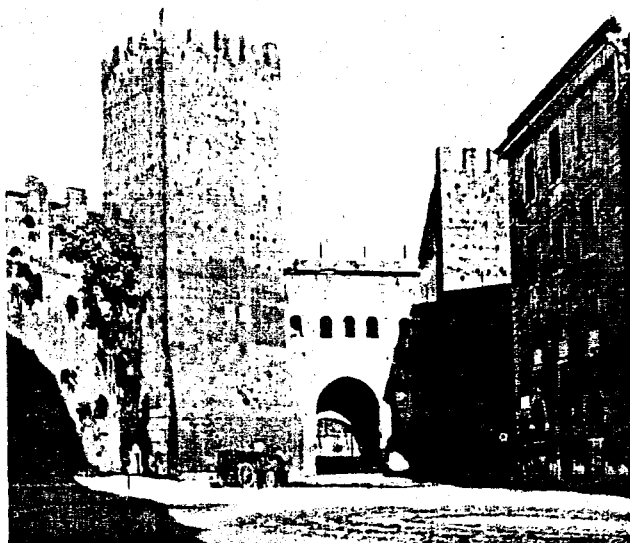
a. PORTA TIBURTINA. FRONT VIEW
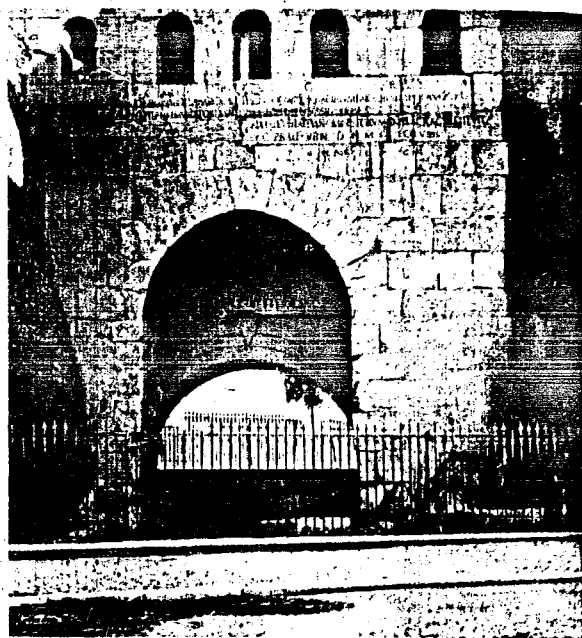
b. PORTA TIBURTINA. INSCRIPTION OF
HONORIUS AND ARCADIUS
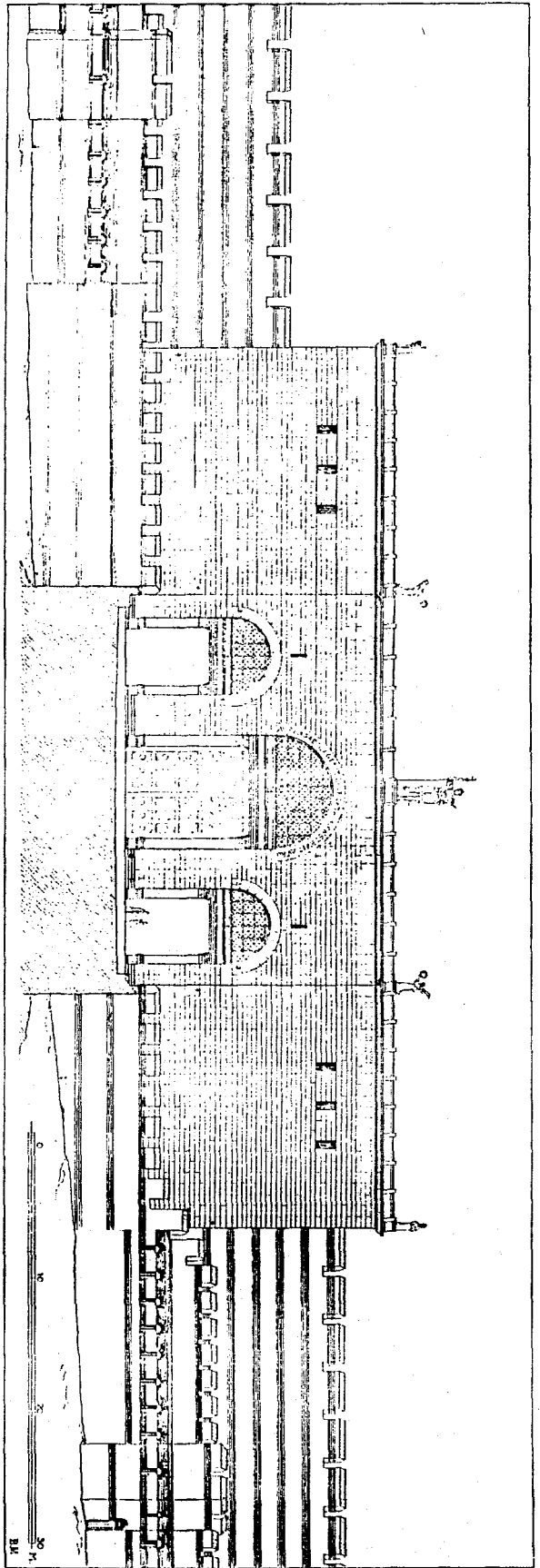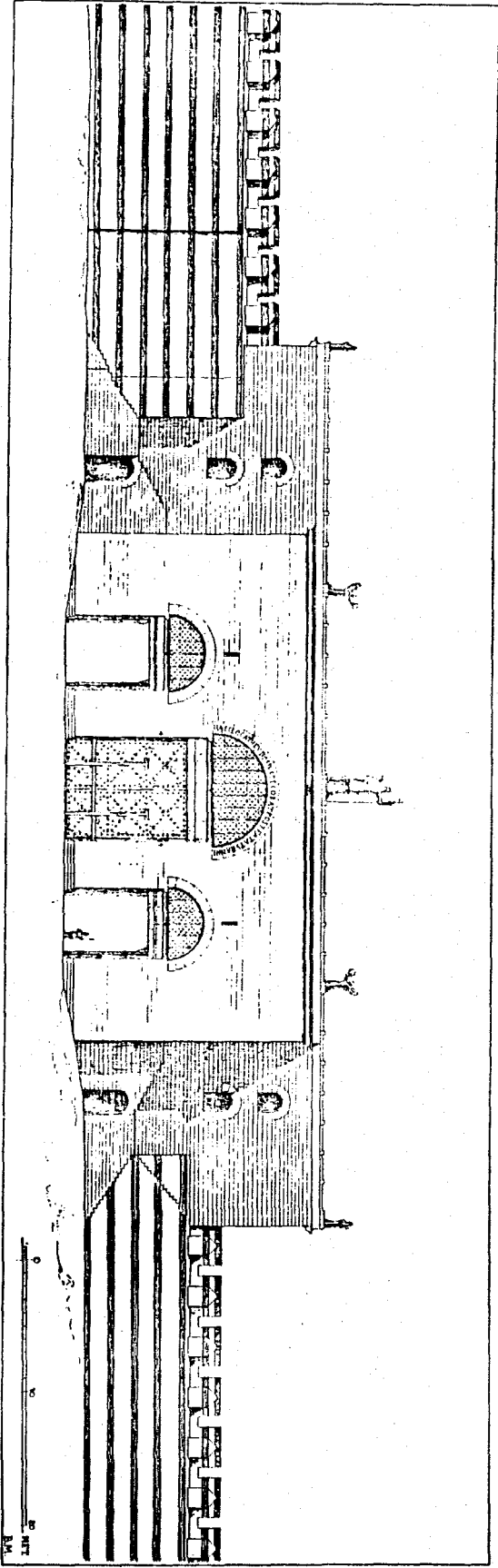
b. Stadtseite

Goldenes Tor
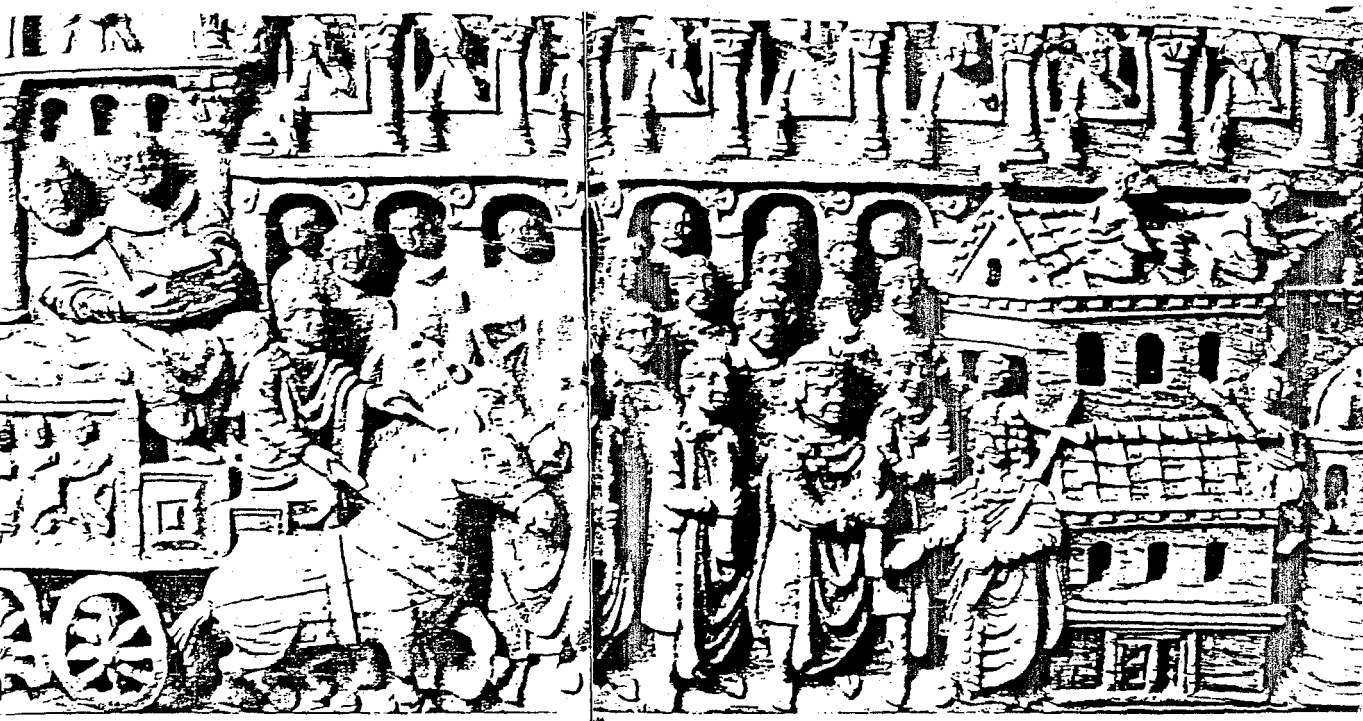
a. Feldseite

11
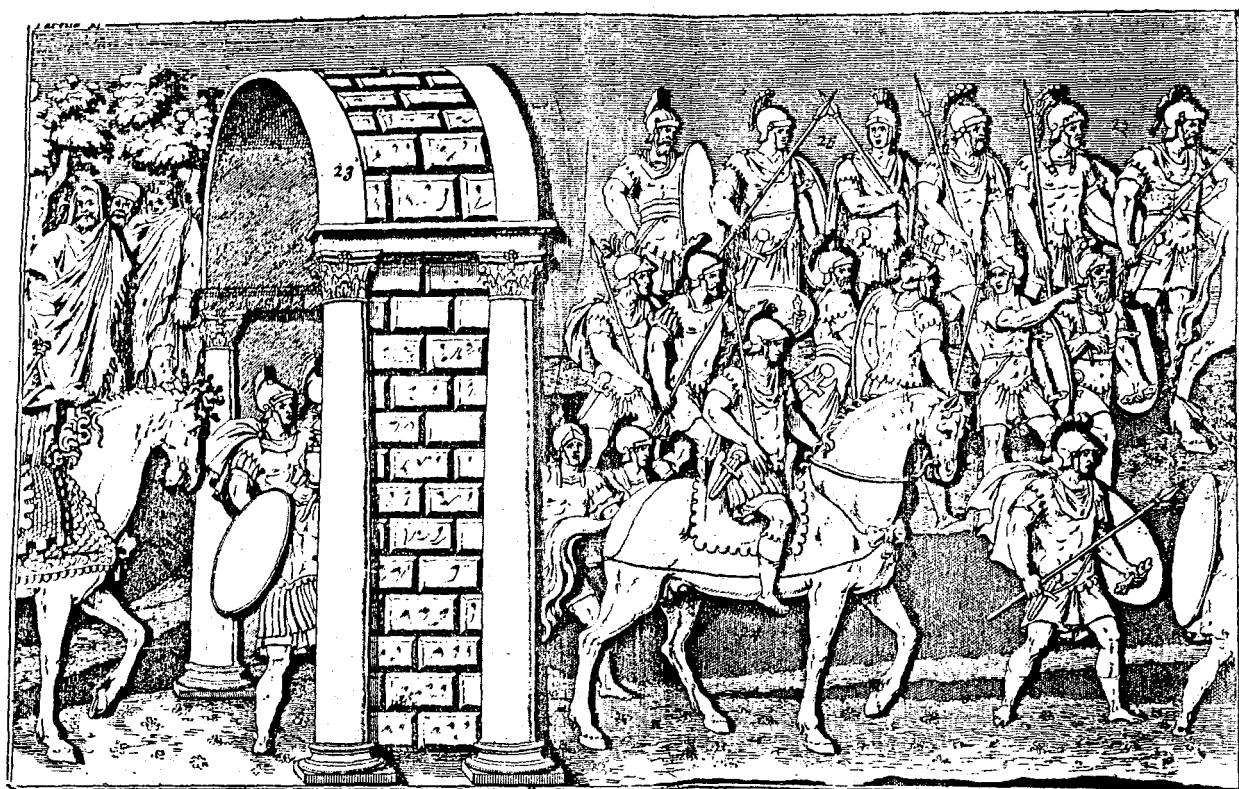
TRIUMPHUS THEODOSII.
(From Bandusi's *Imperium Orientale*.)

12

Elevation of the emperor on the shield; miniature, c. 1300

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18

G R A B E N

B.M. 1935
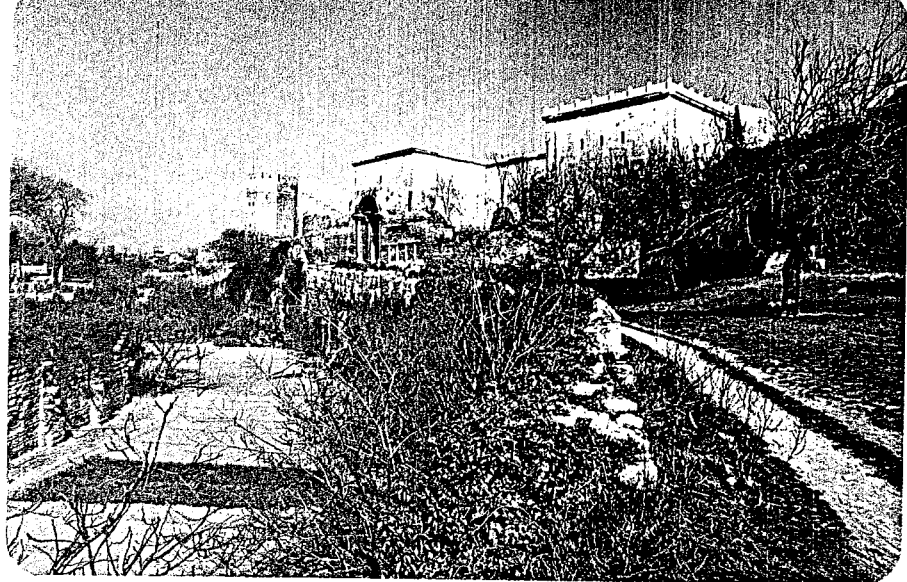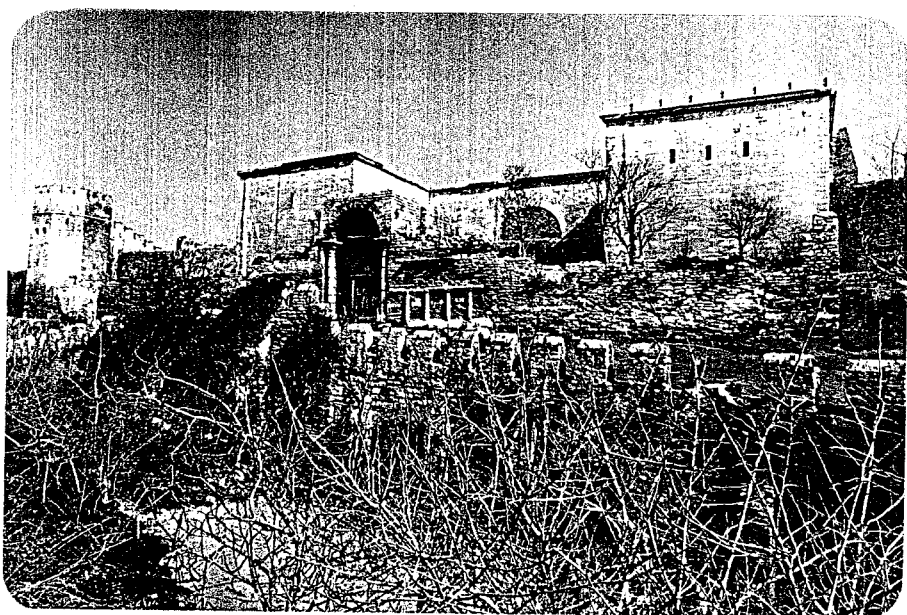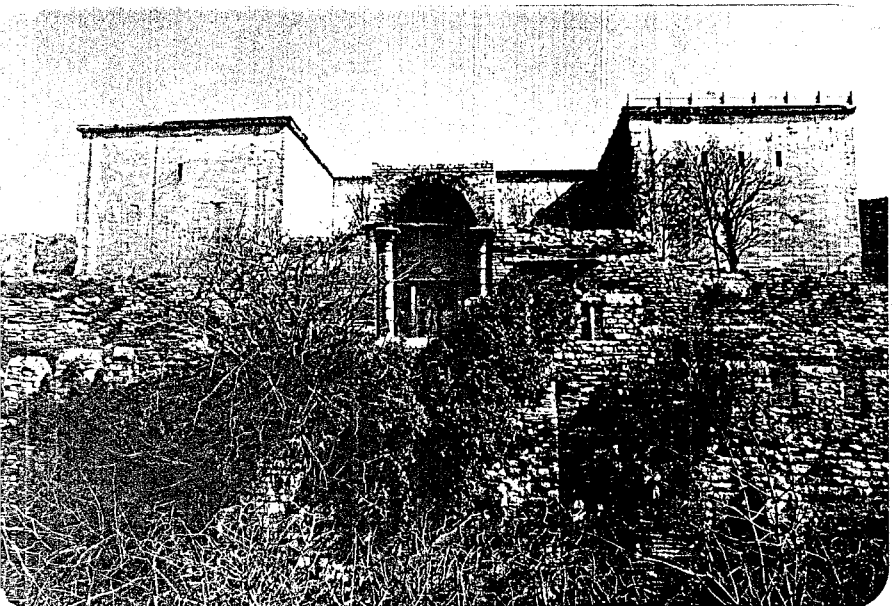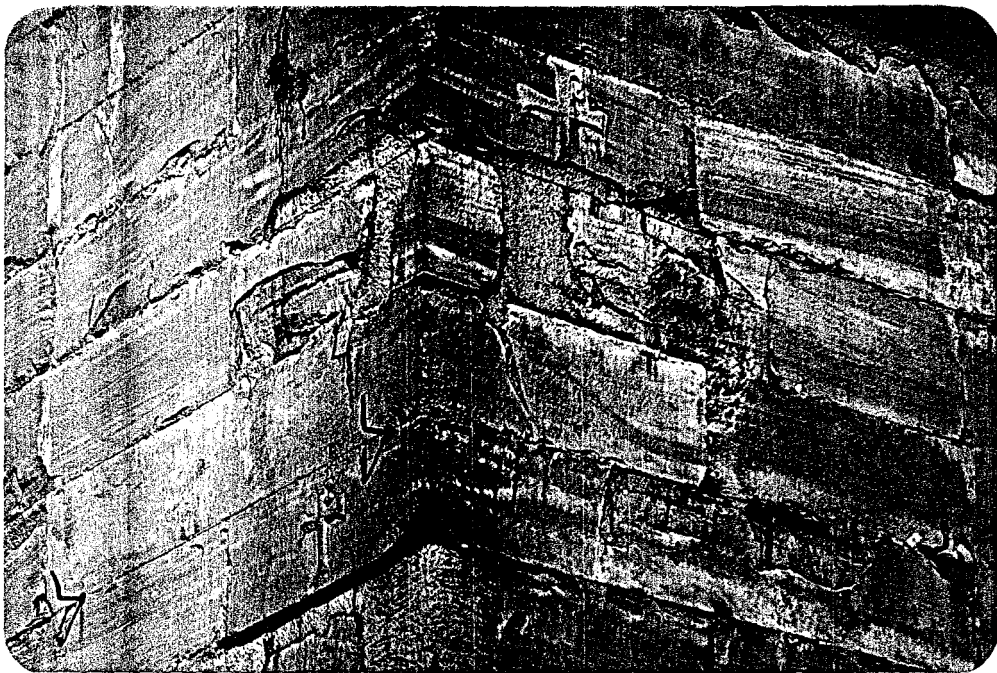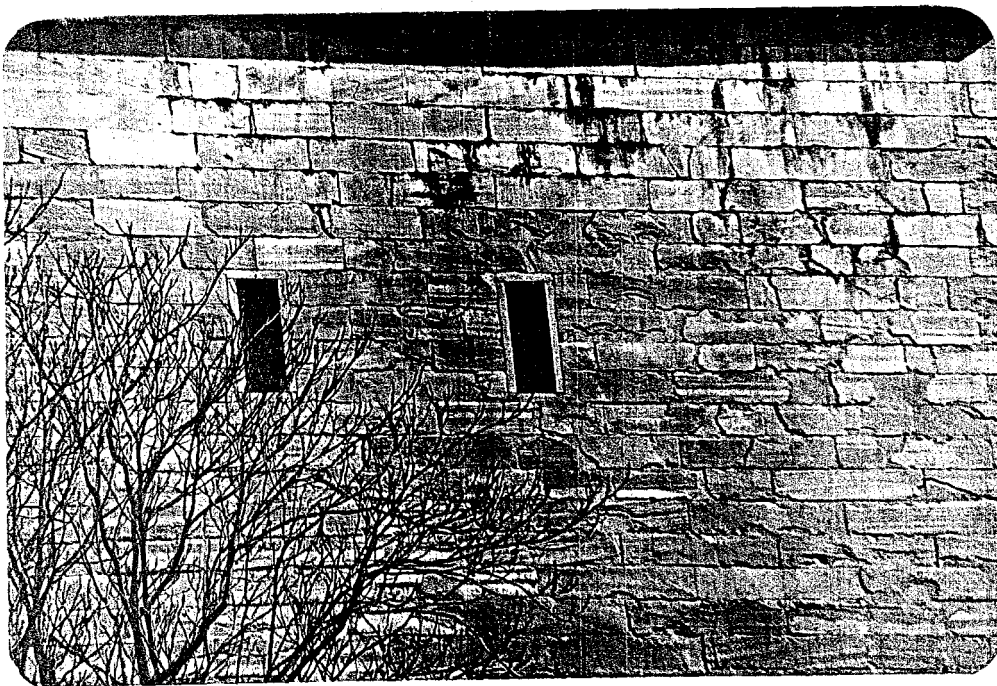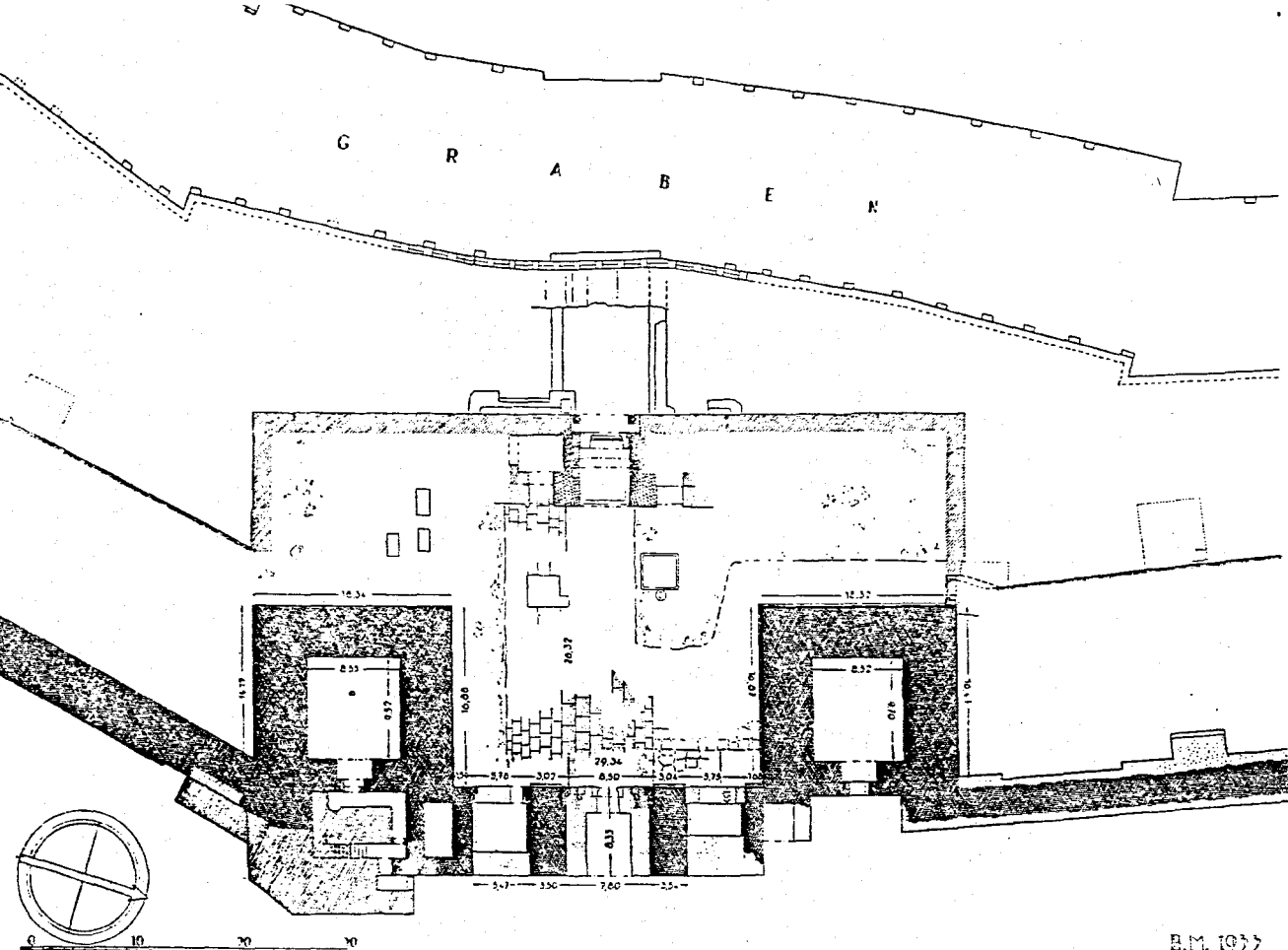
Goldenes Tor, Grundriß

VORZWINGER NIVEAU
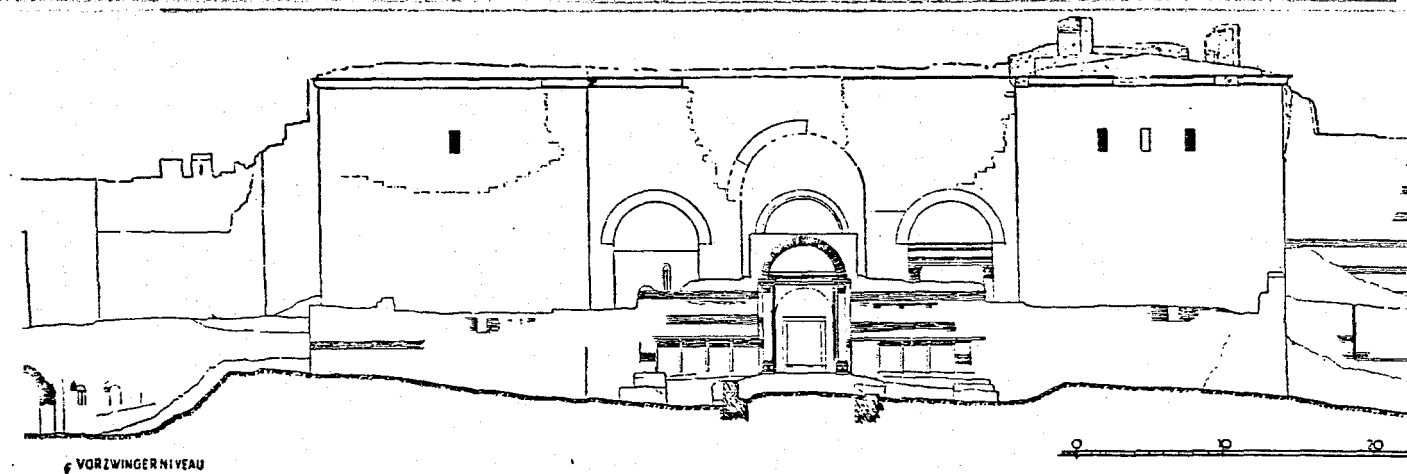
Goldenes Tor, Feldseite, Baubestand
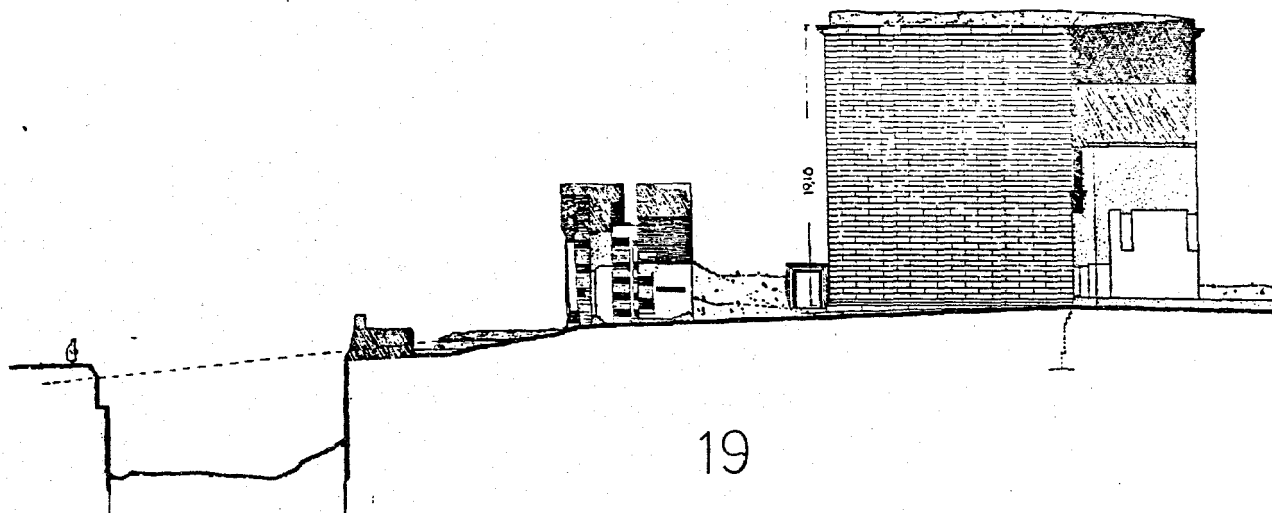
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Goldenes Tor, Schnitt
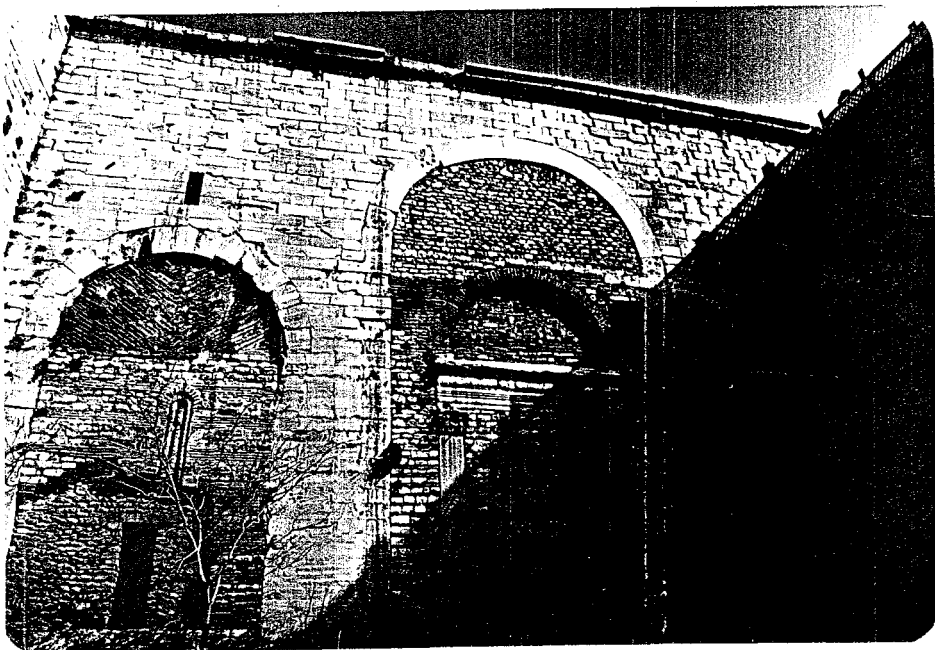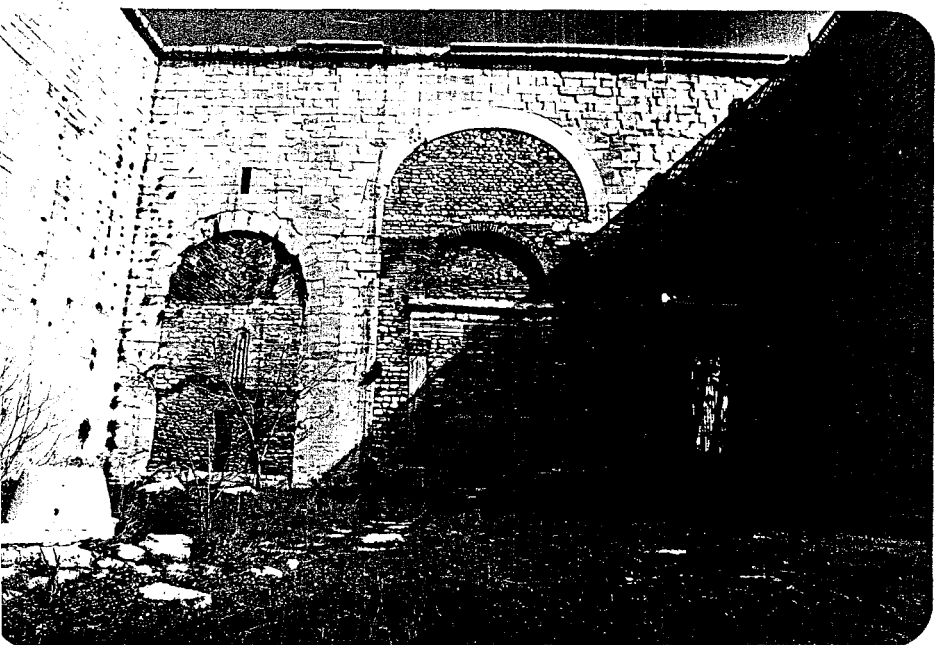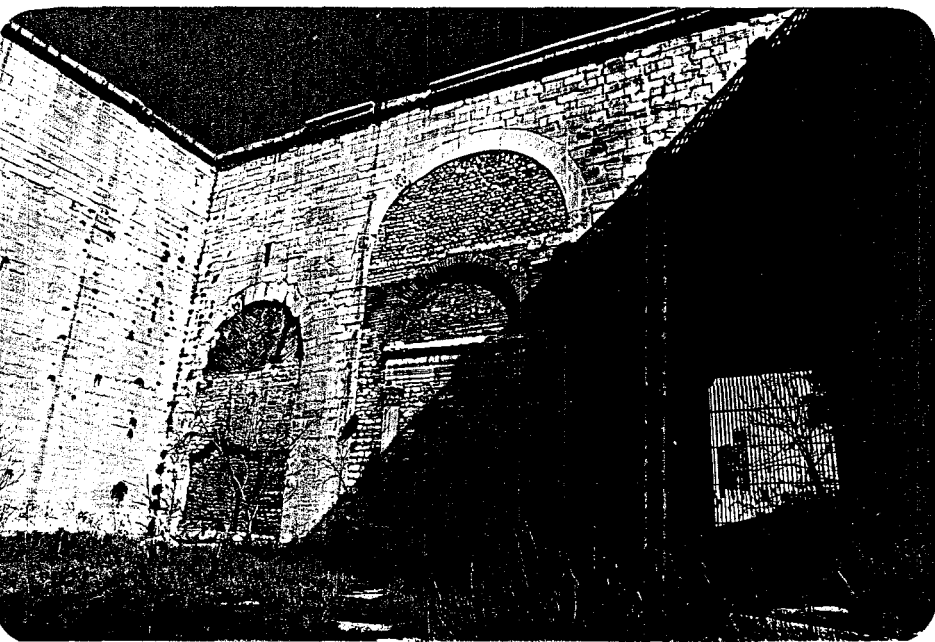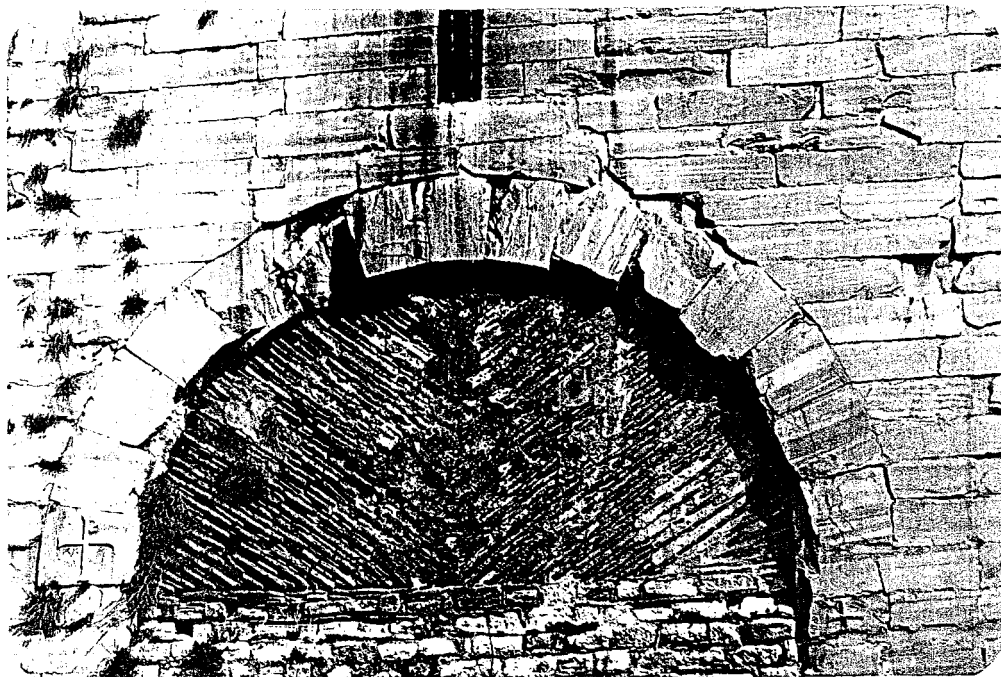
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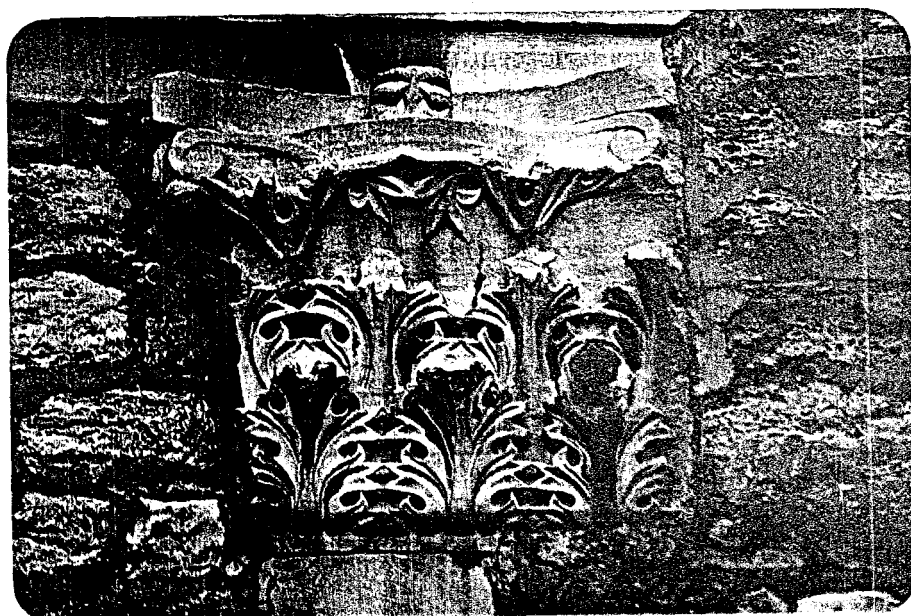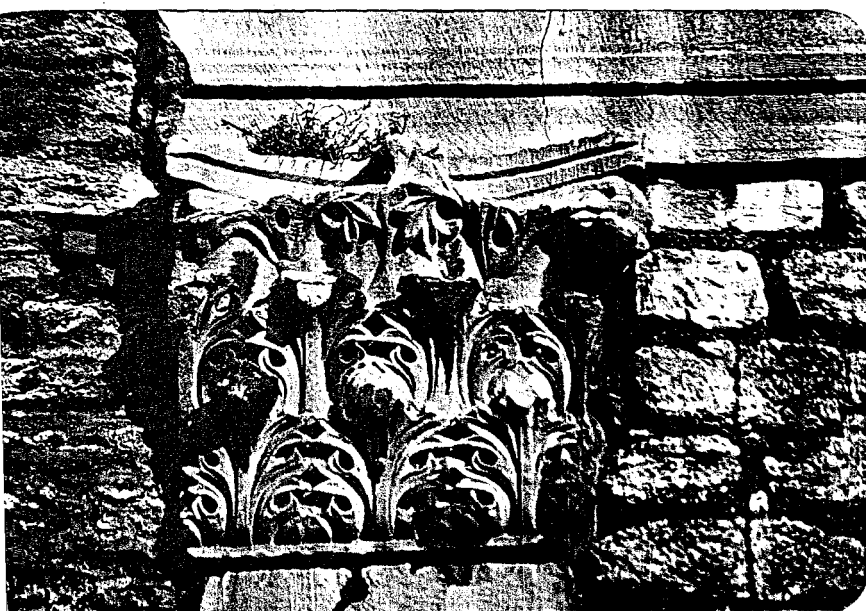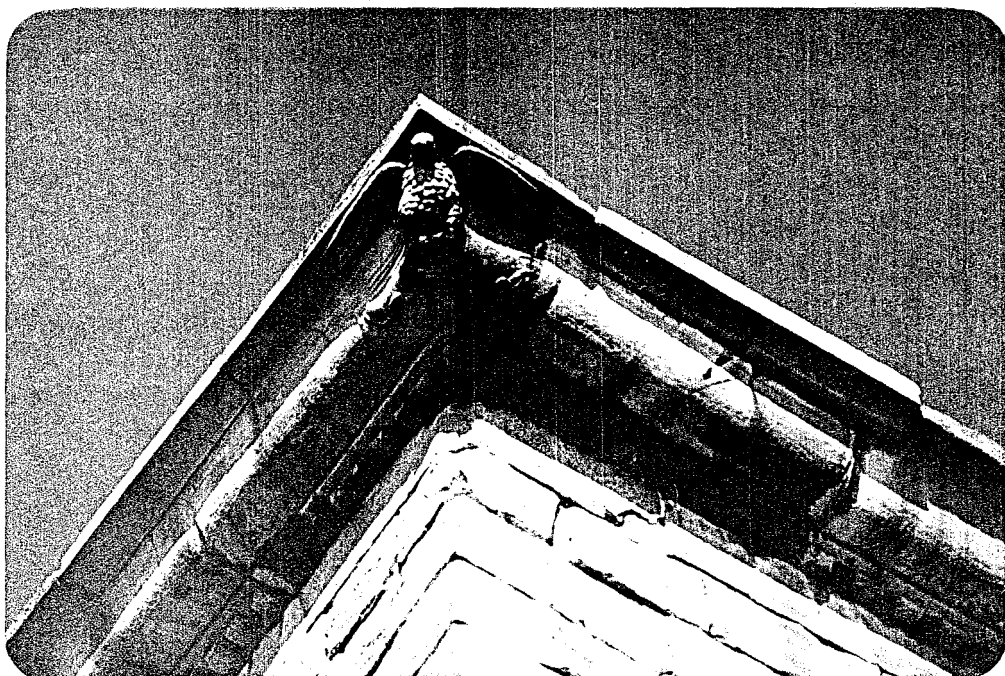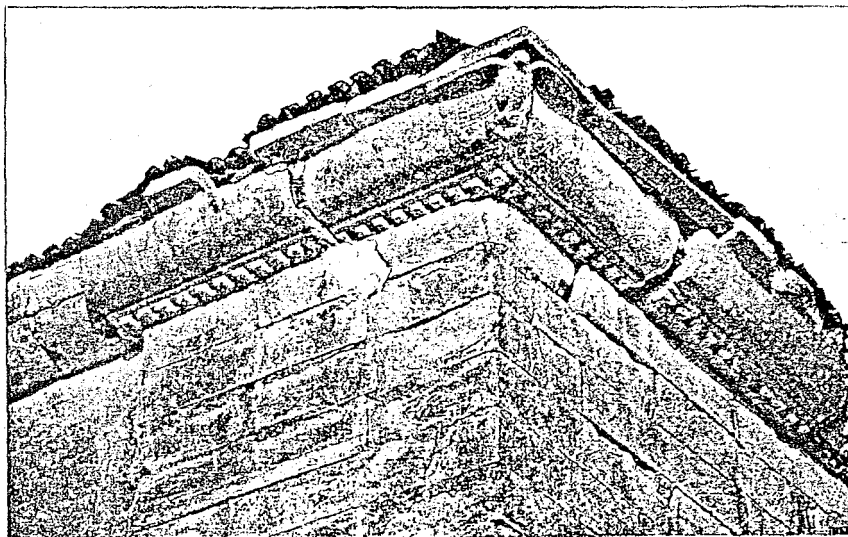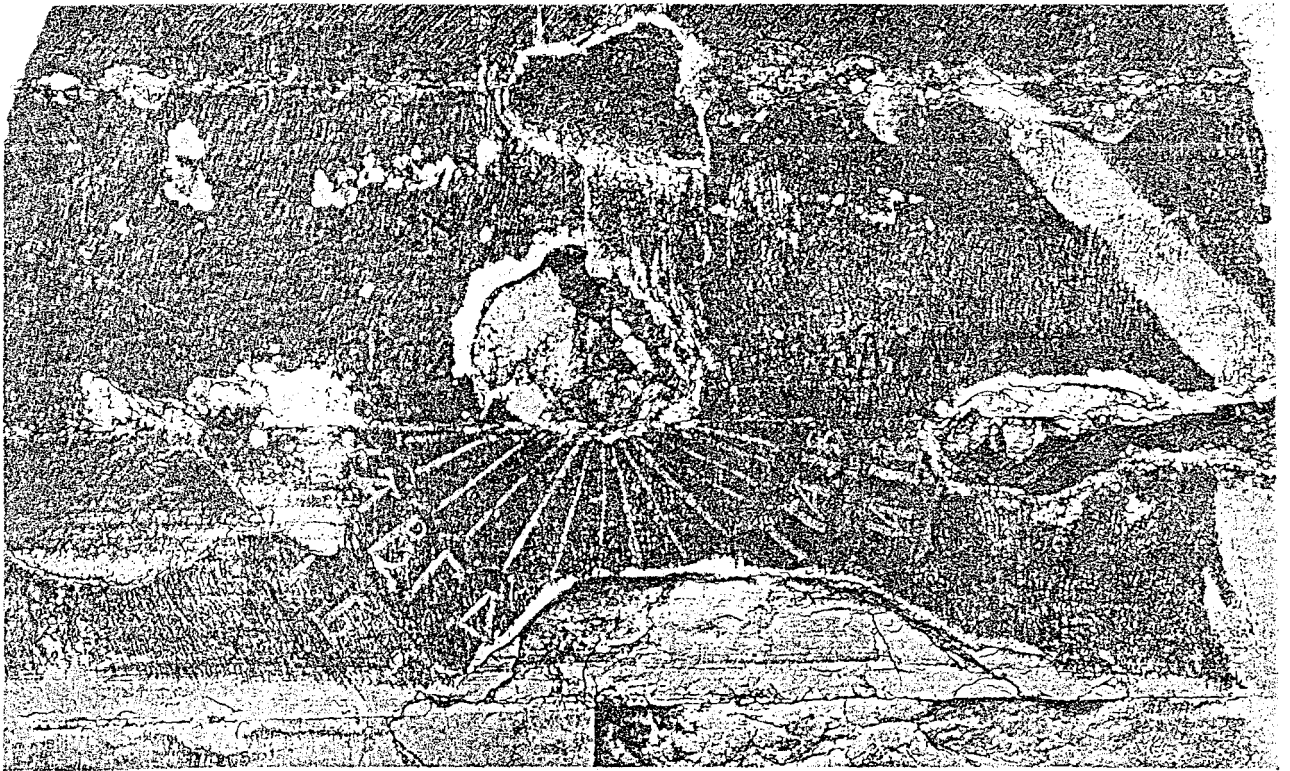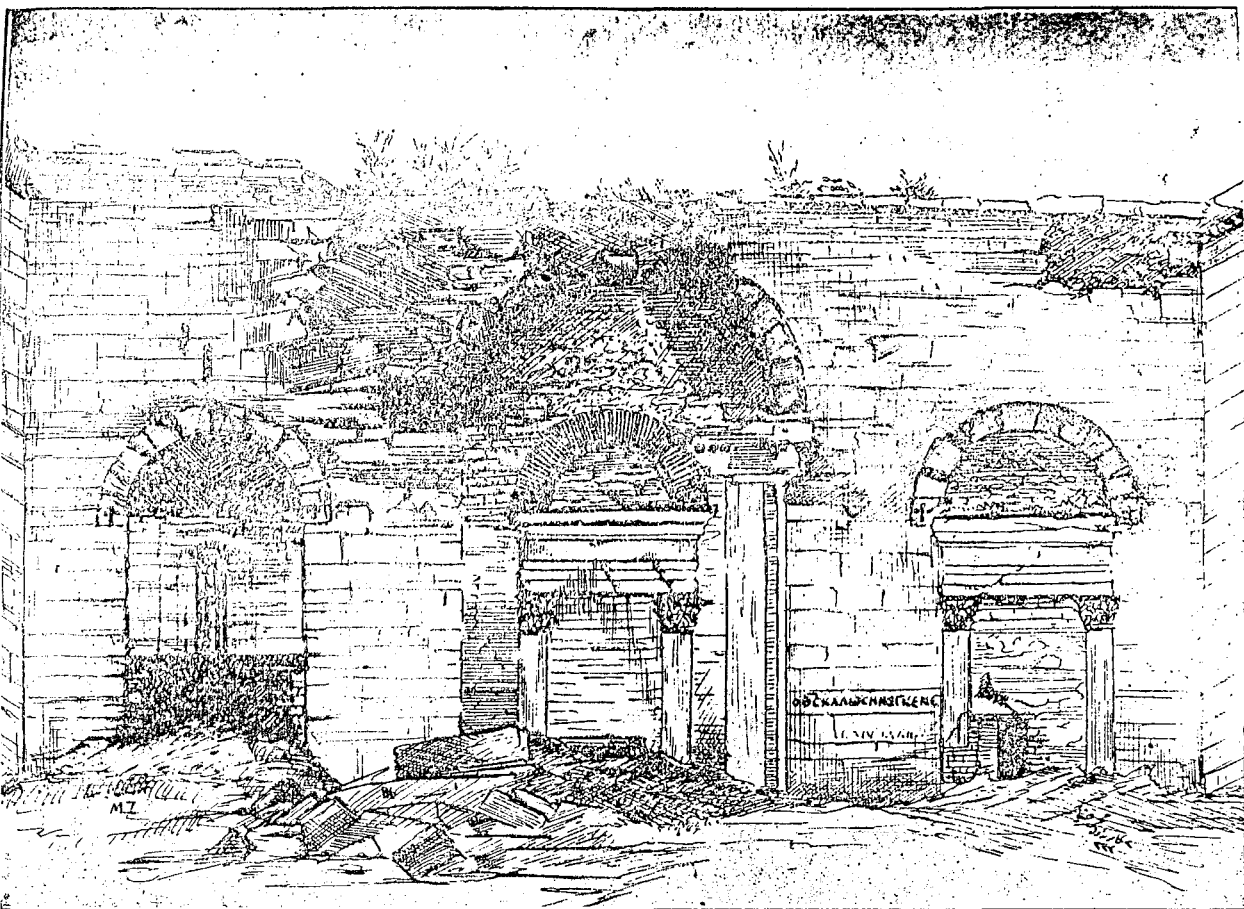
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ОӨC|KΛΛѠC|HNEΓKEN|C

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1007 R. : Yedi Kule iç karesi plânı

Byzantin.

Byzantin détruit, restitué.

Turc XVᵉ s.   Turc XVIIIᵉ s.

Remanié.

0 5   25   50   75 m.

Cimetière

Jardin

Maison
de l'aga

Corps
de
garde

Mosquée

K

M

L   L'

J

N

i

G

H

D

C

F

E

P

B

A

38

13

YEDİKULE
KAPISI

A

TURM
11

P

TURM 10

FATİH CAMİ

PORTA AUREA

TURM 9

C

TURM
8

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100 M
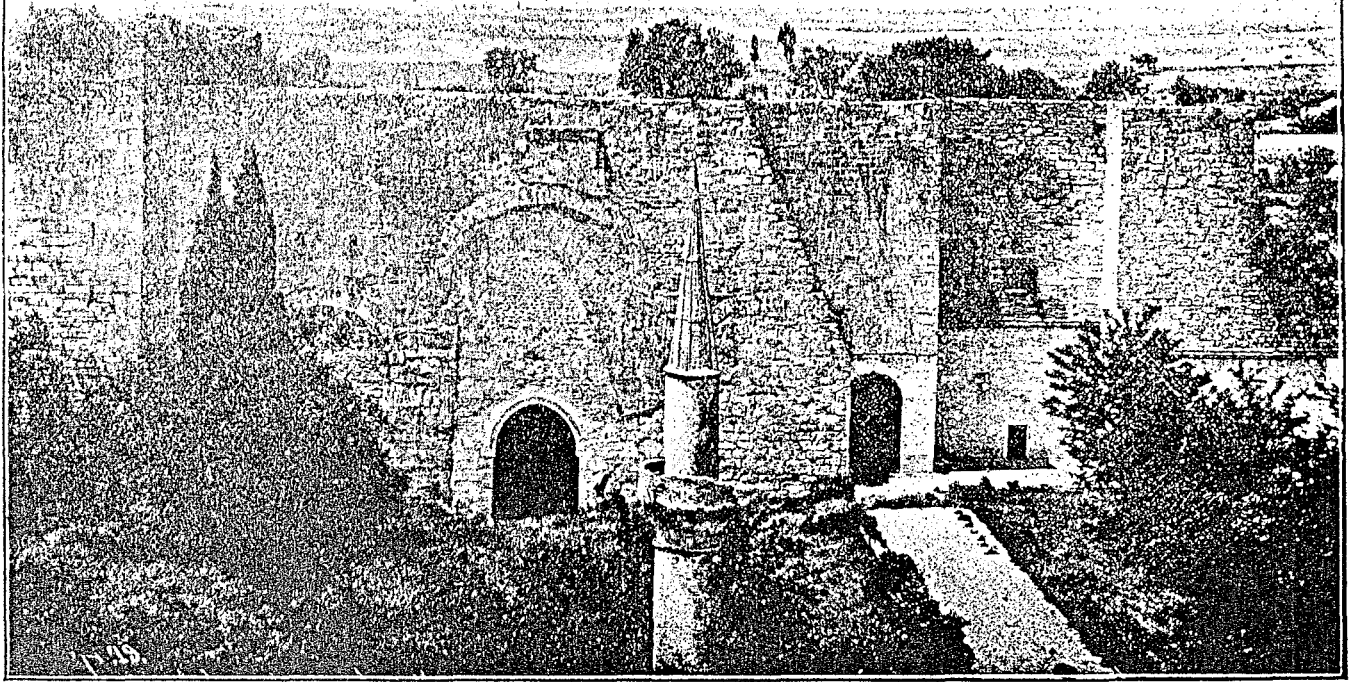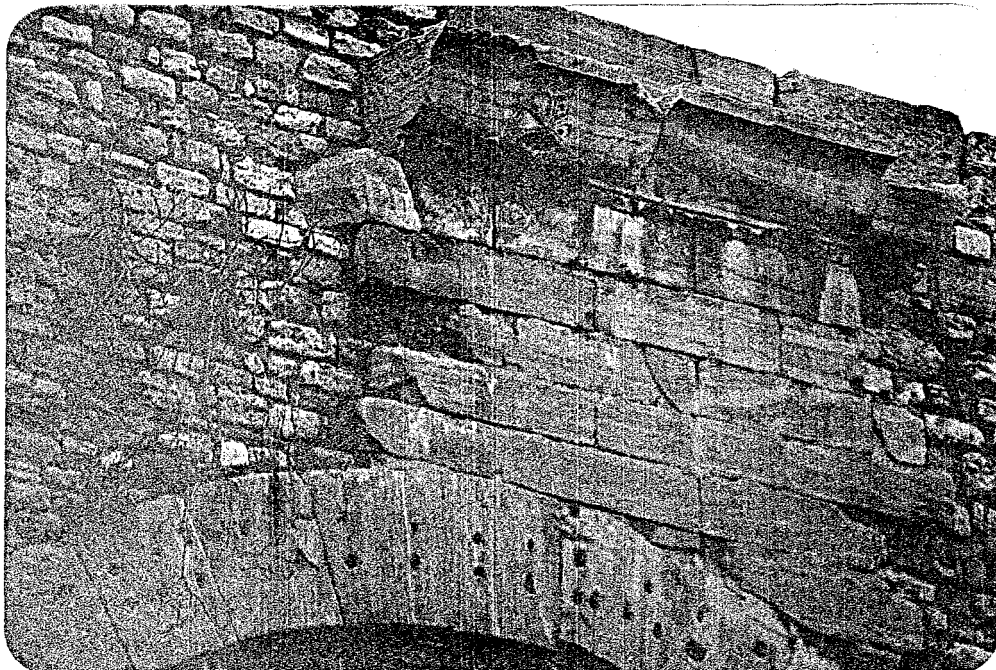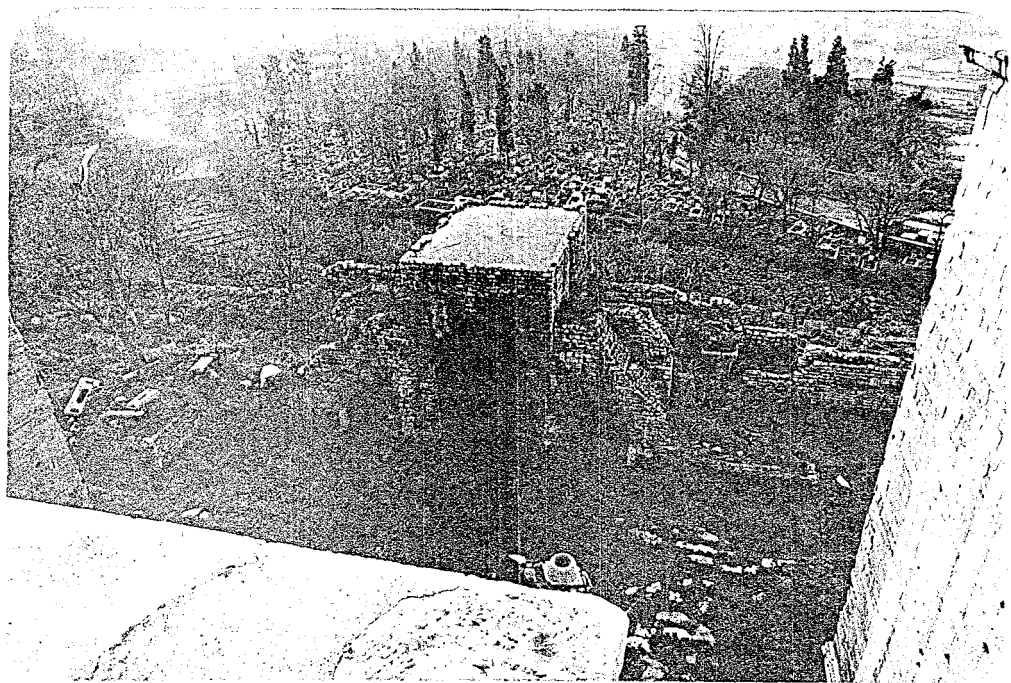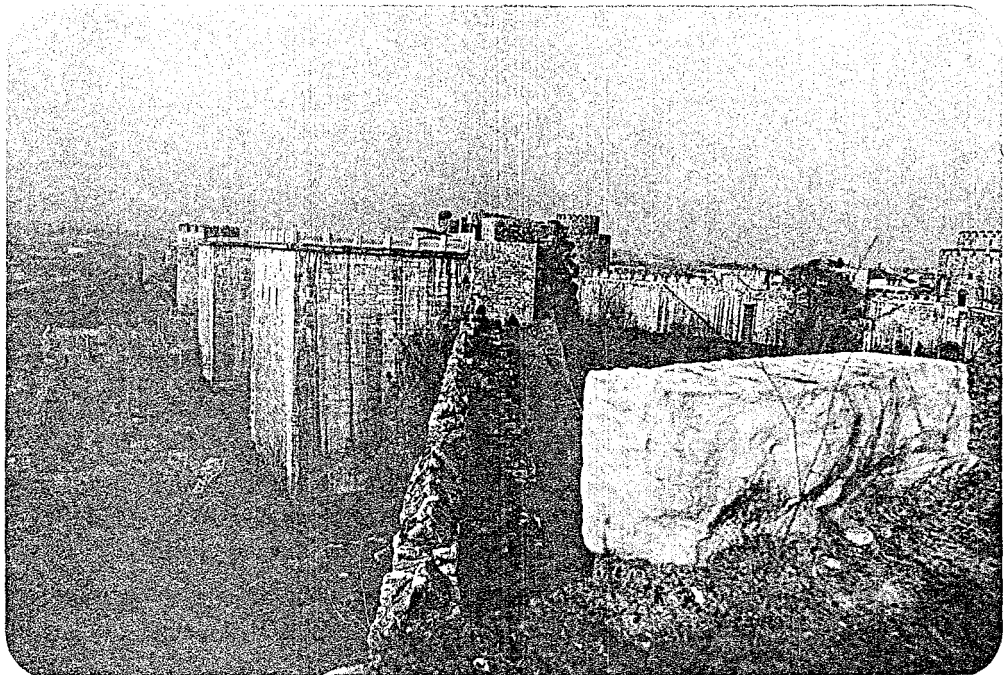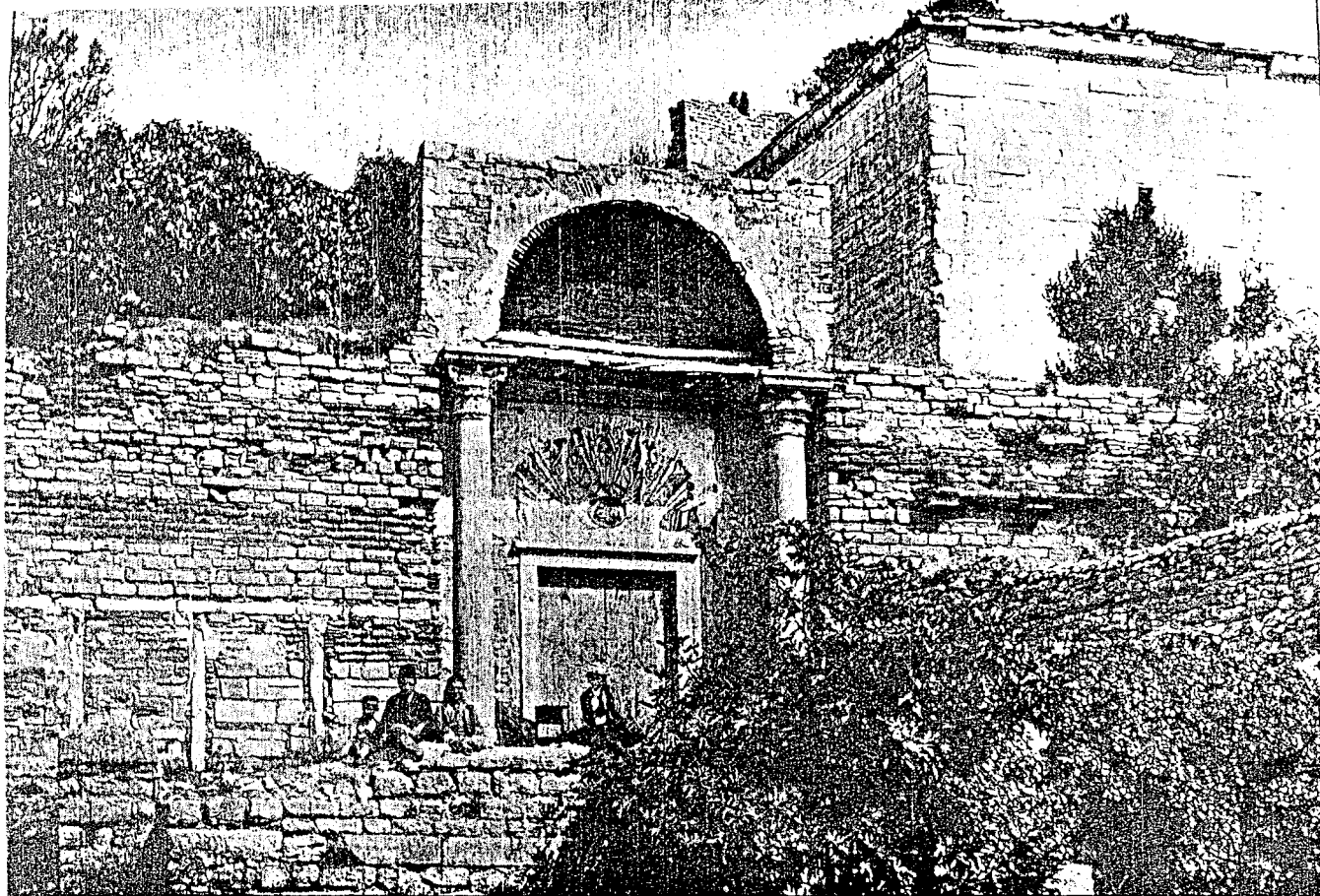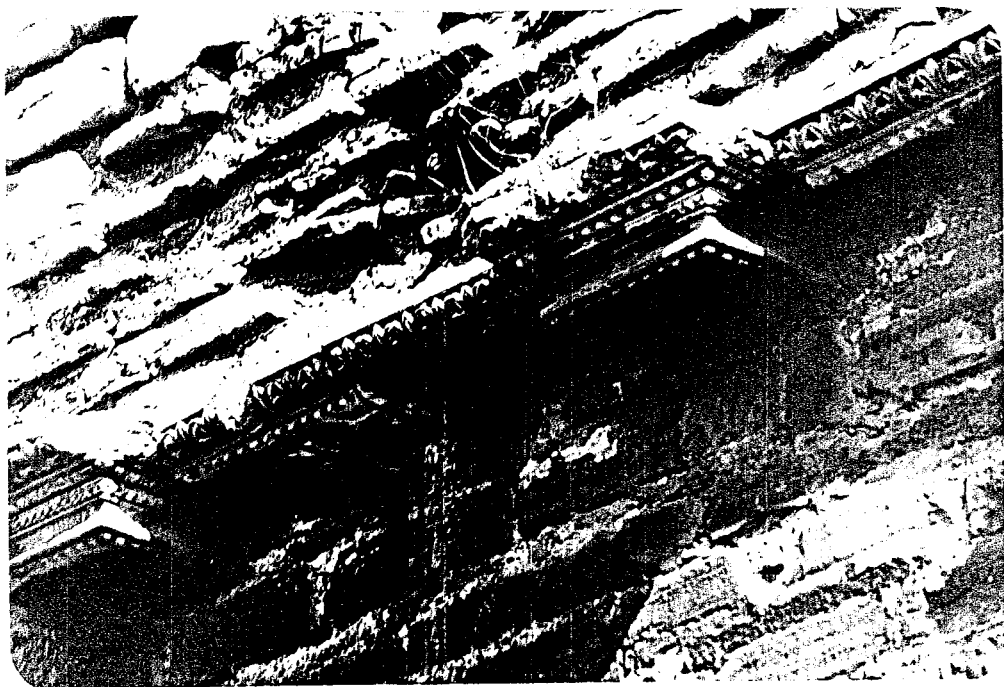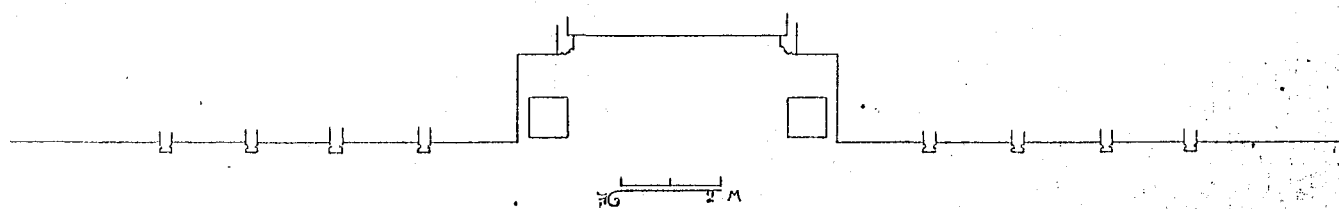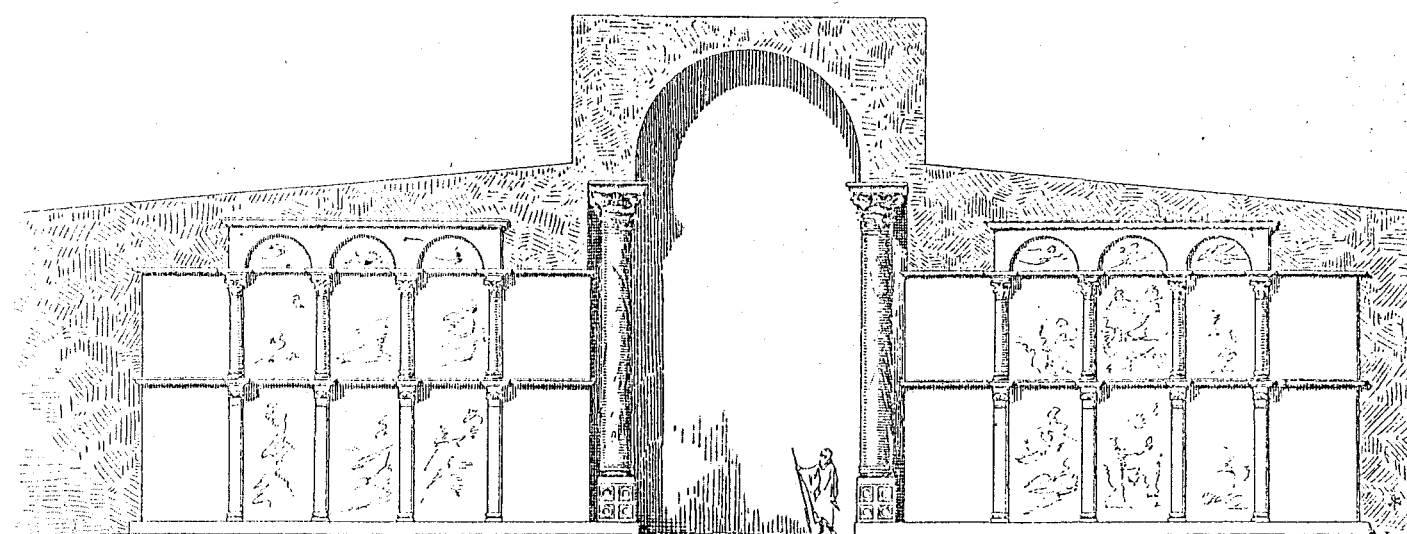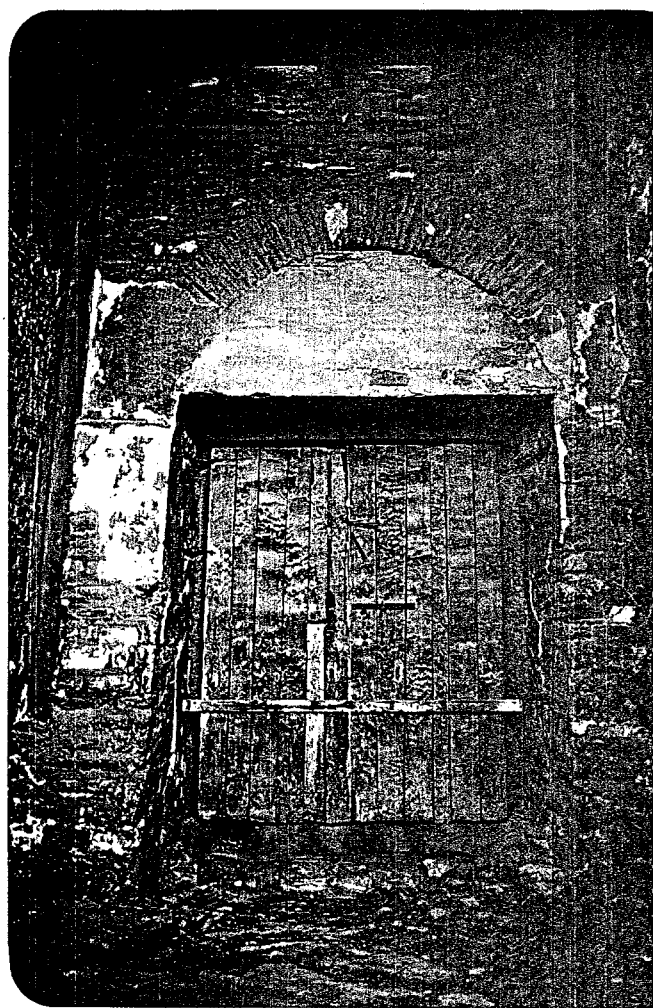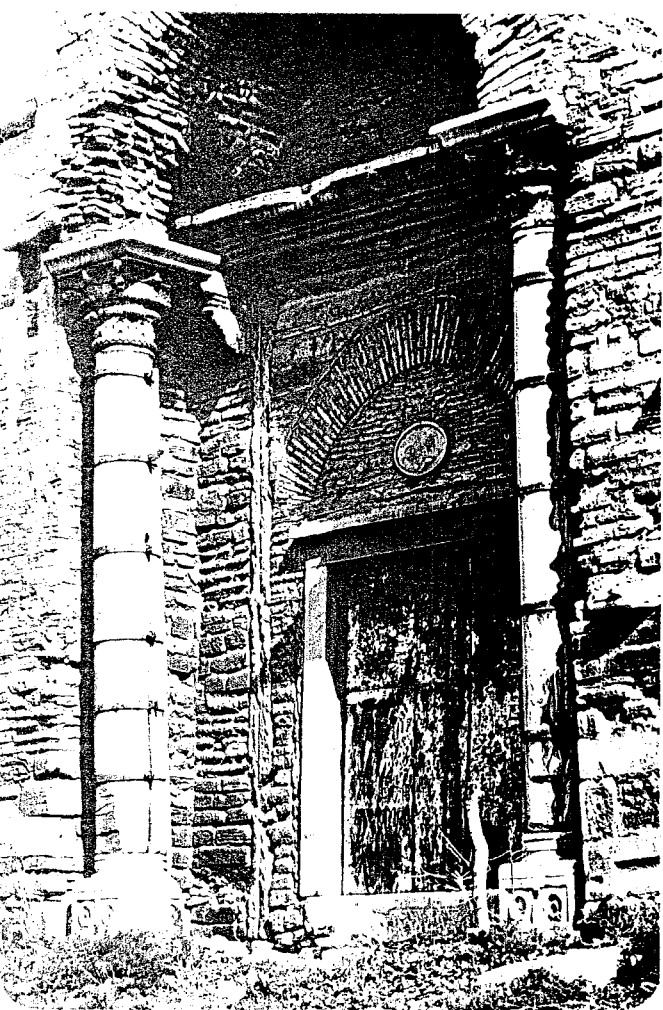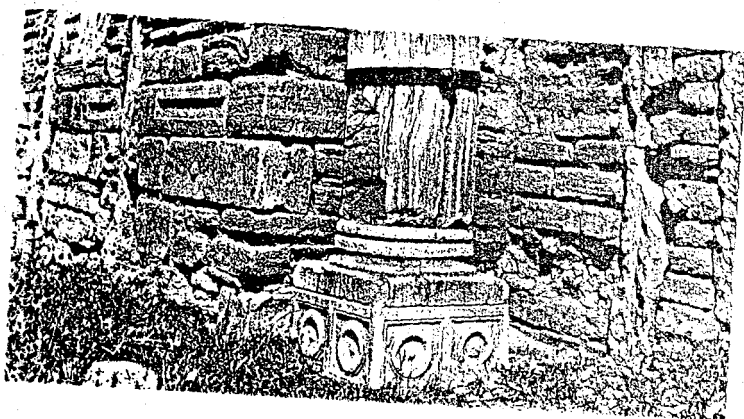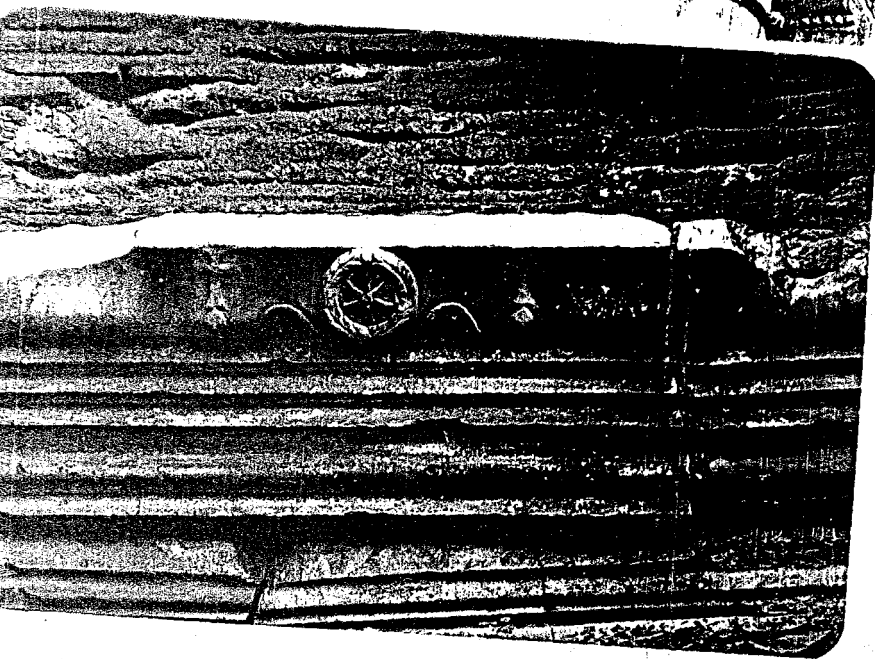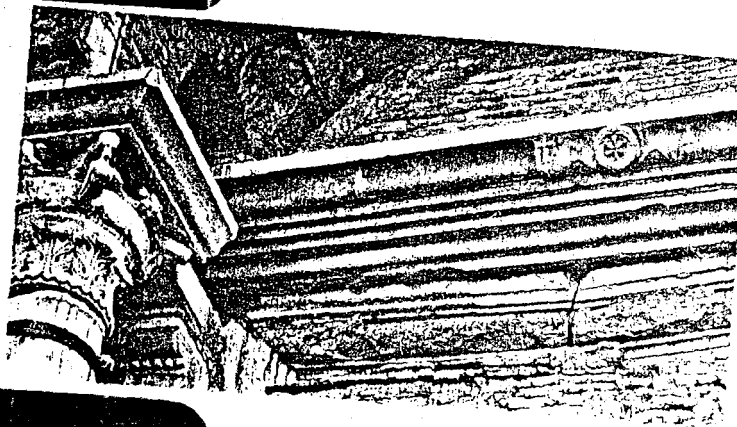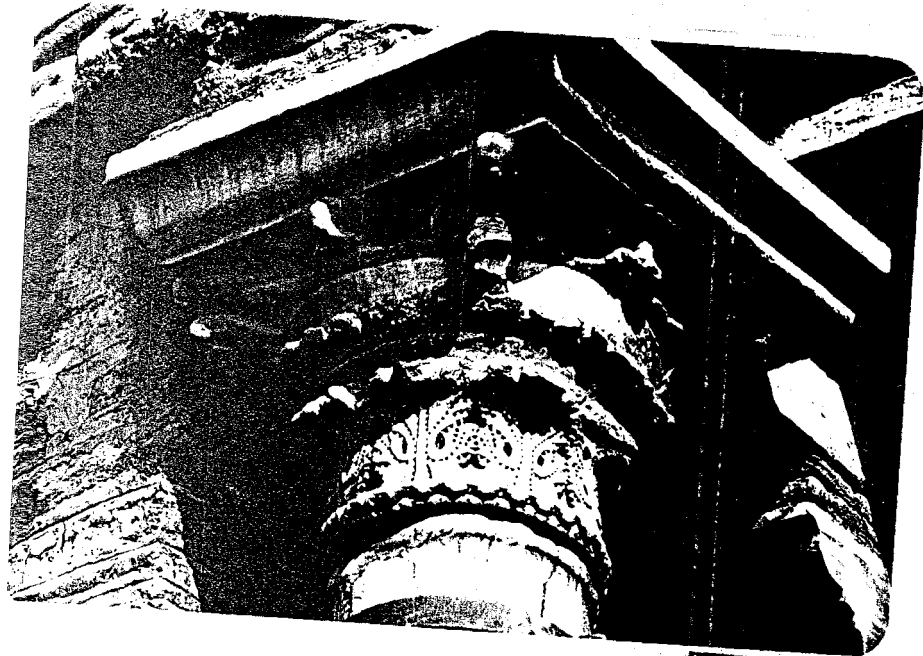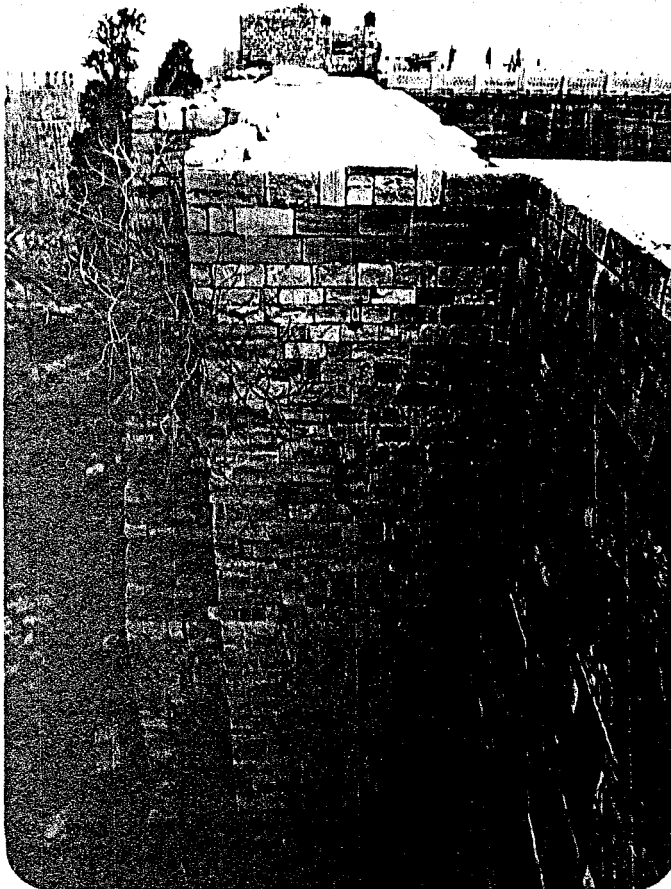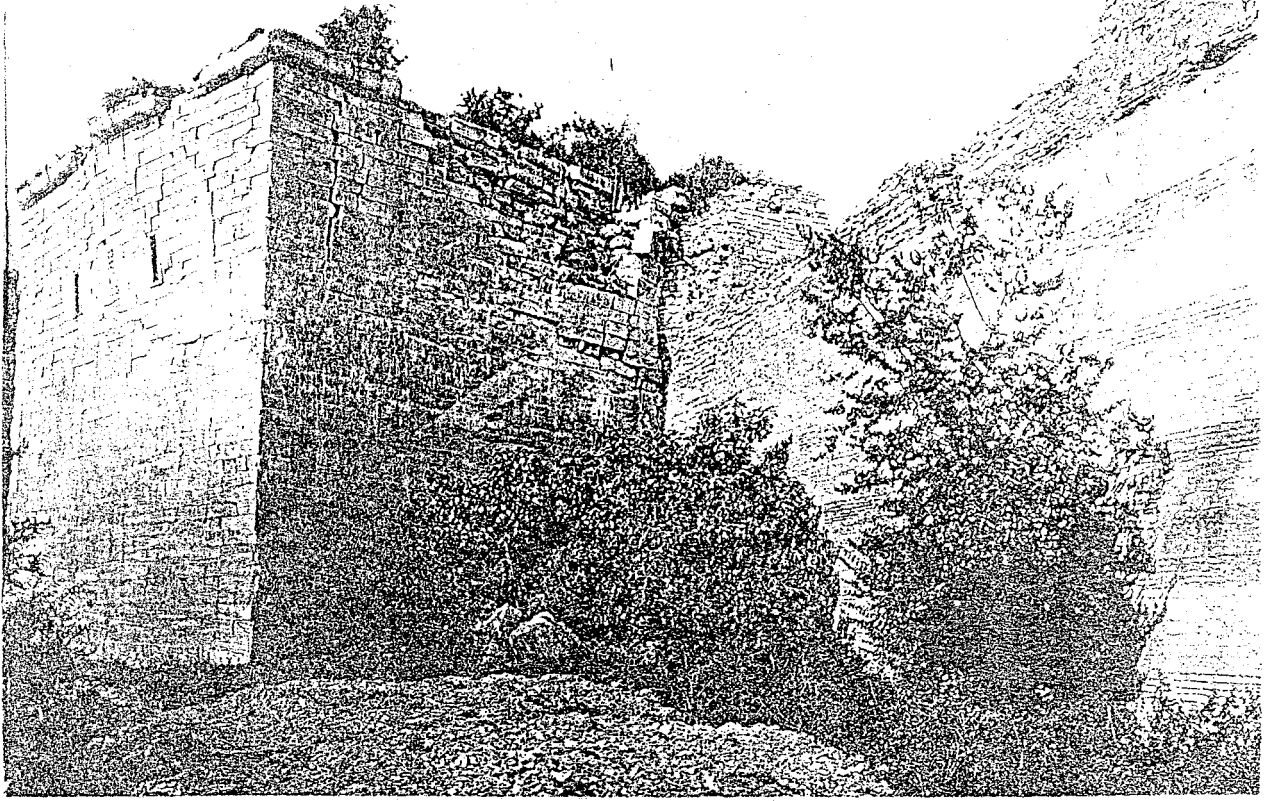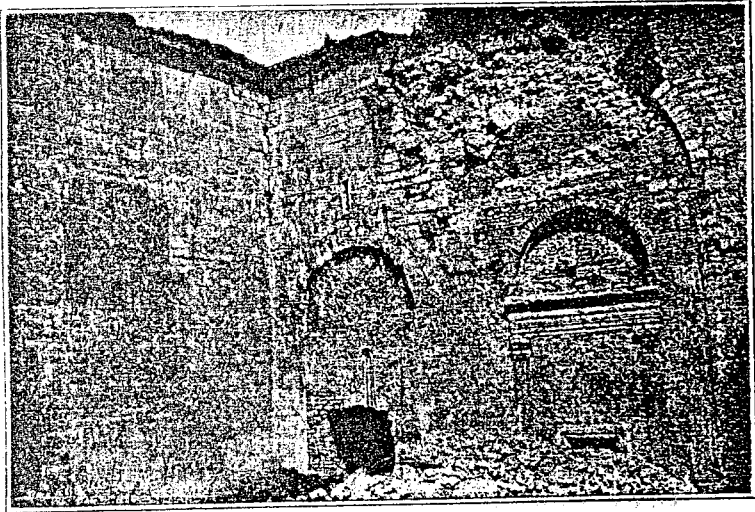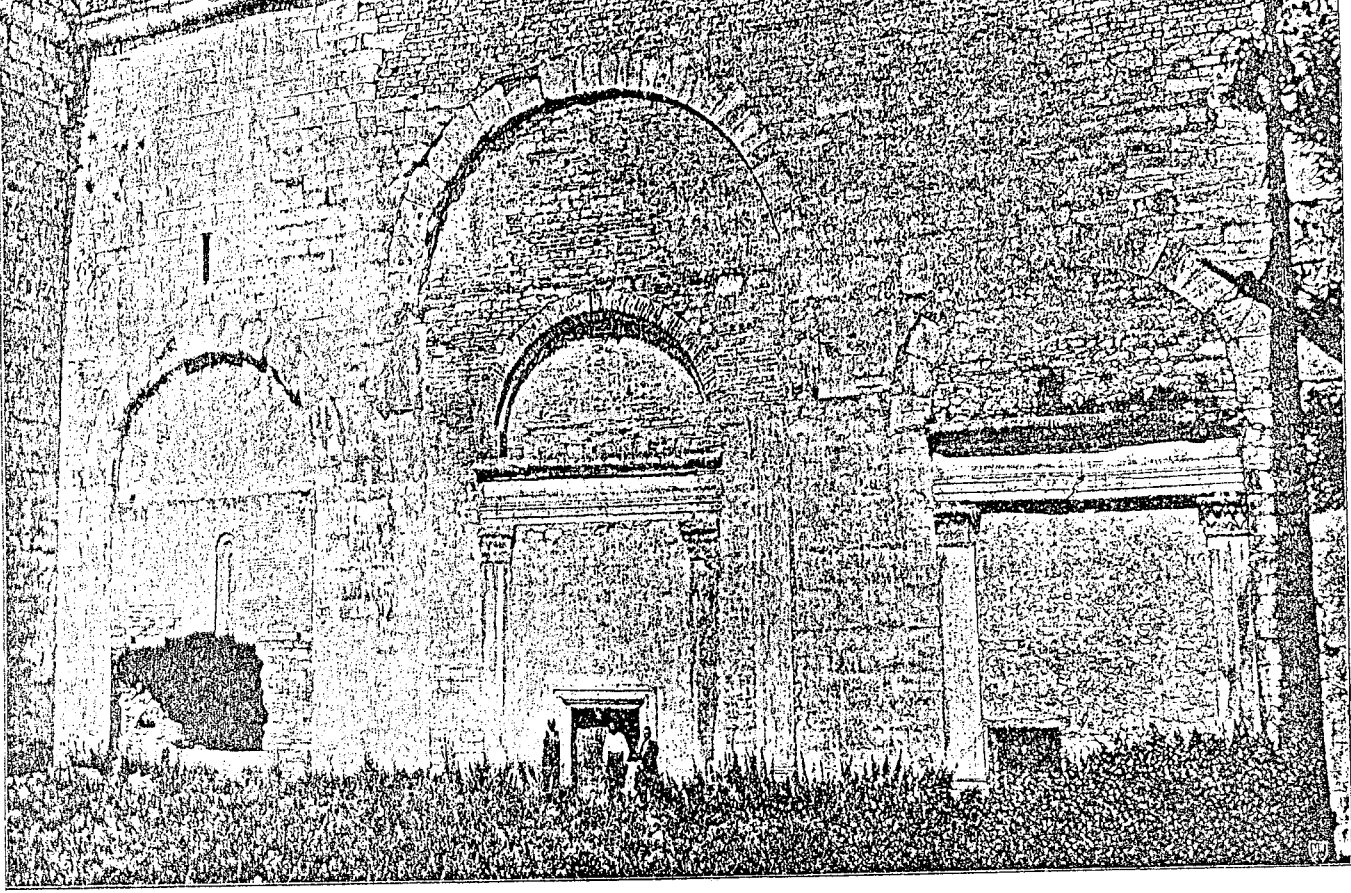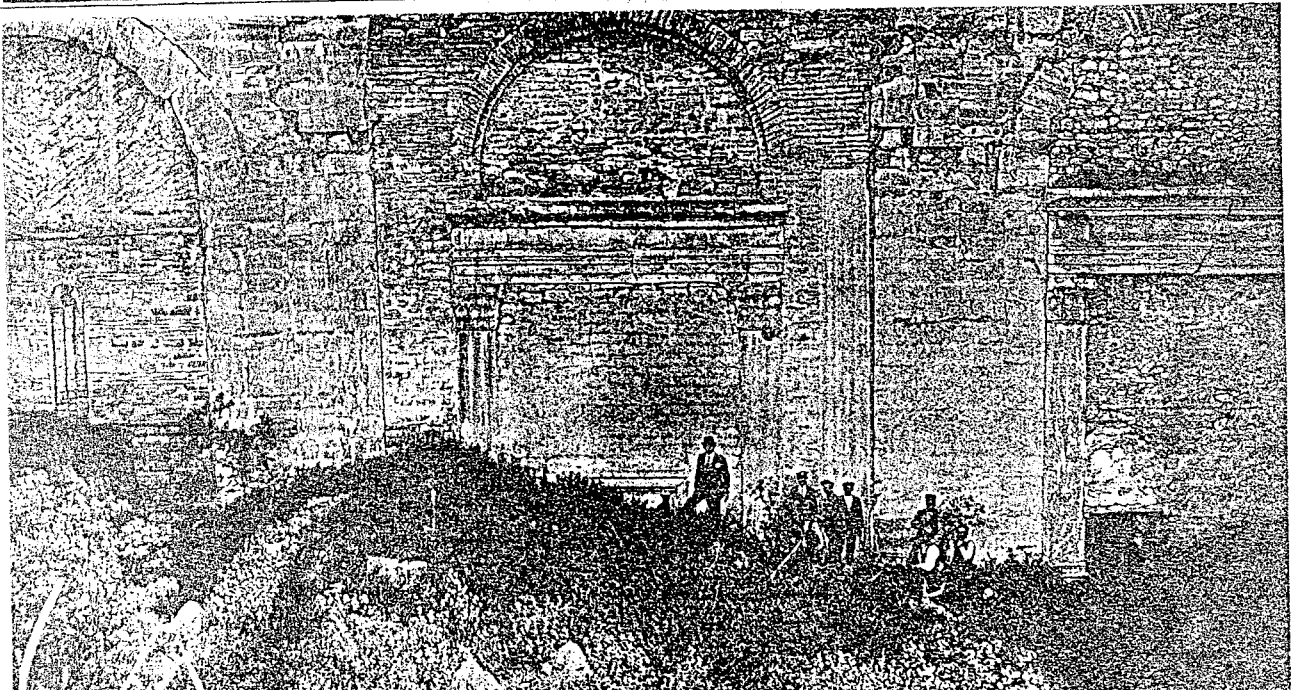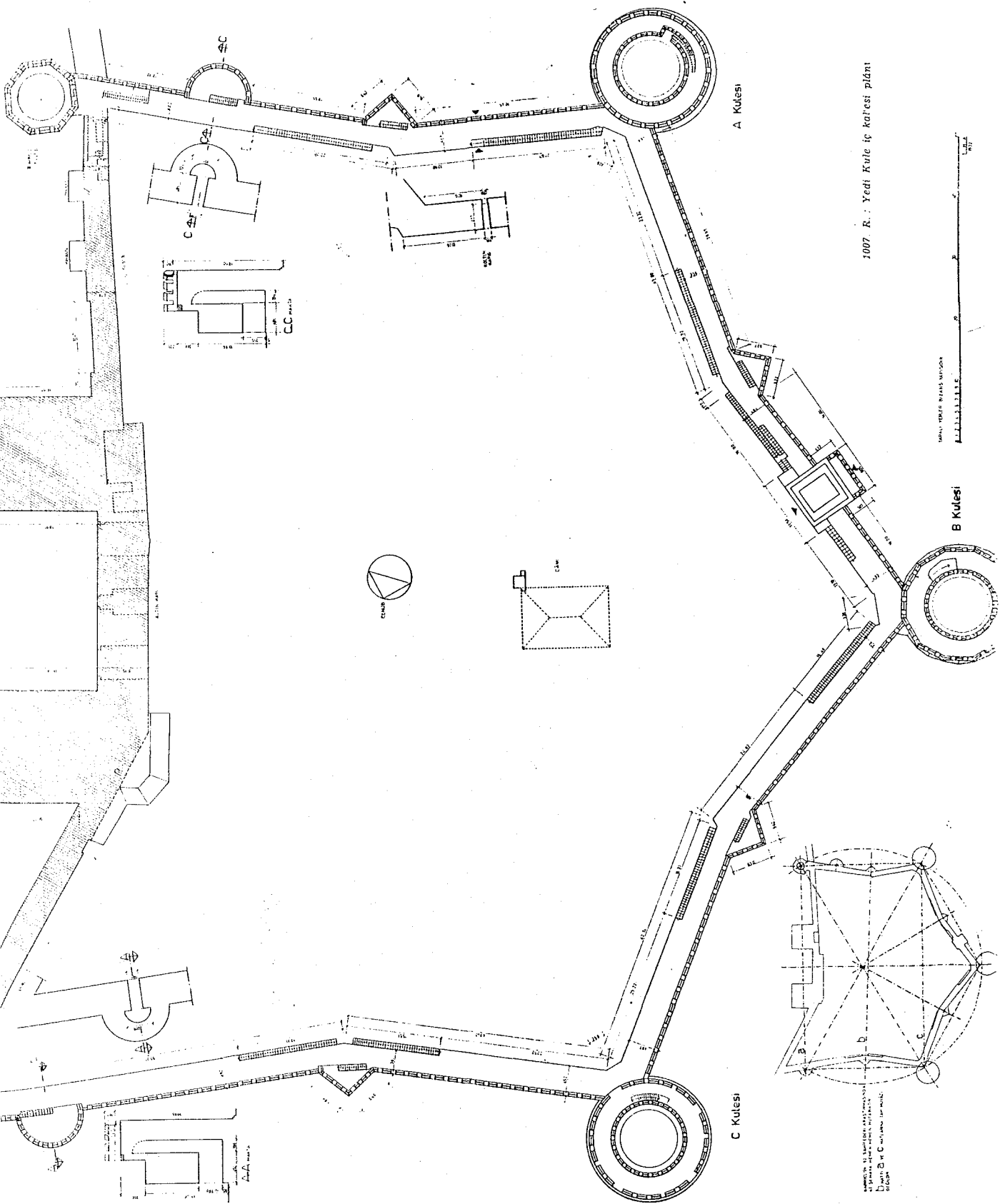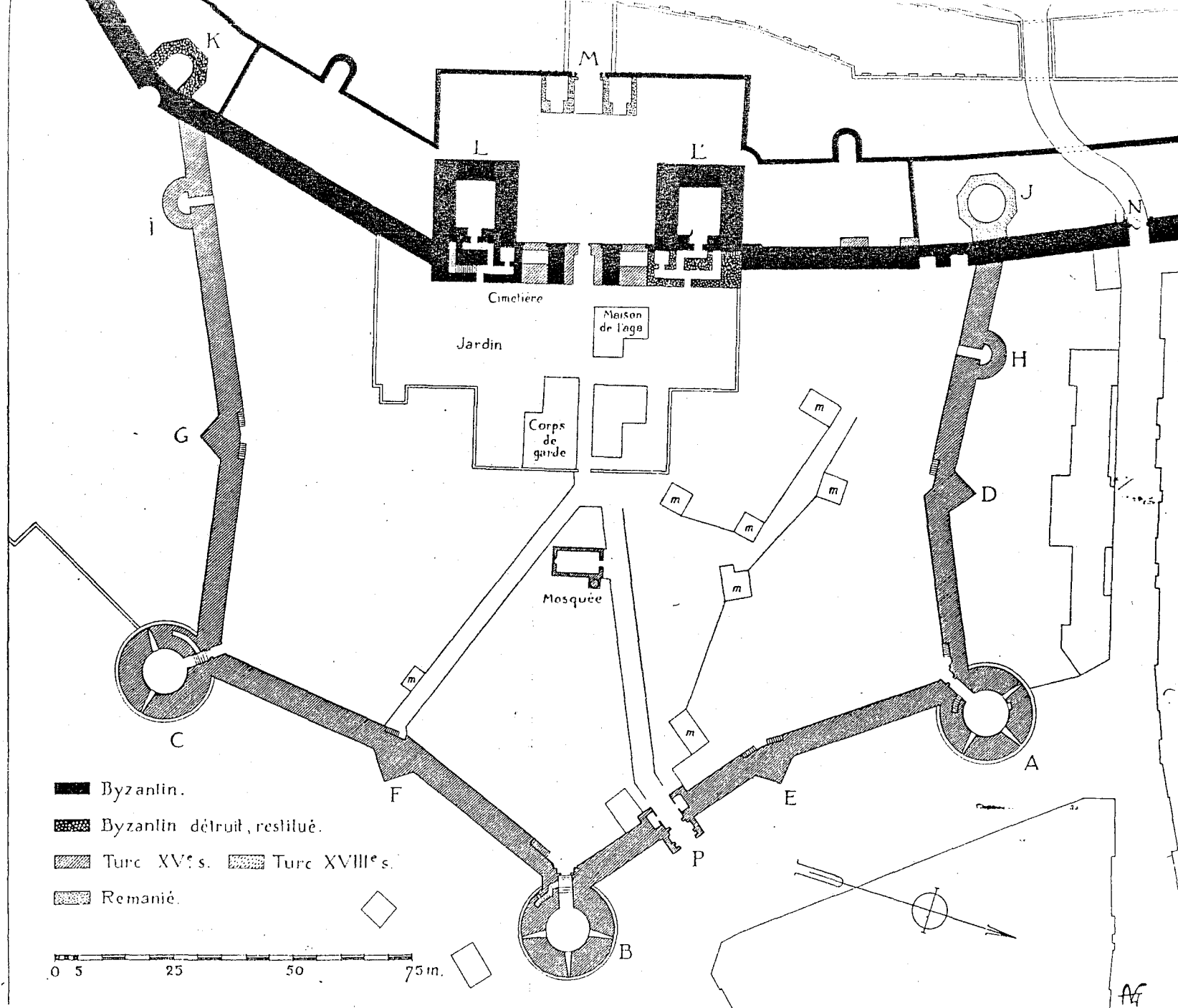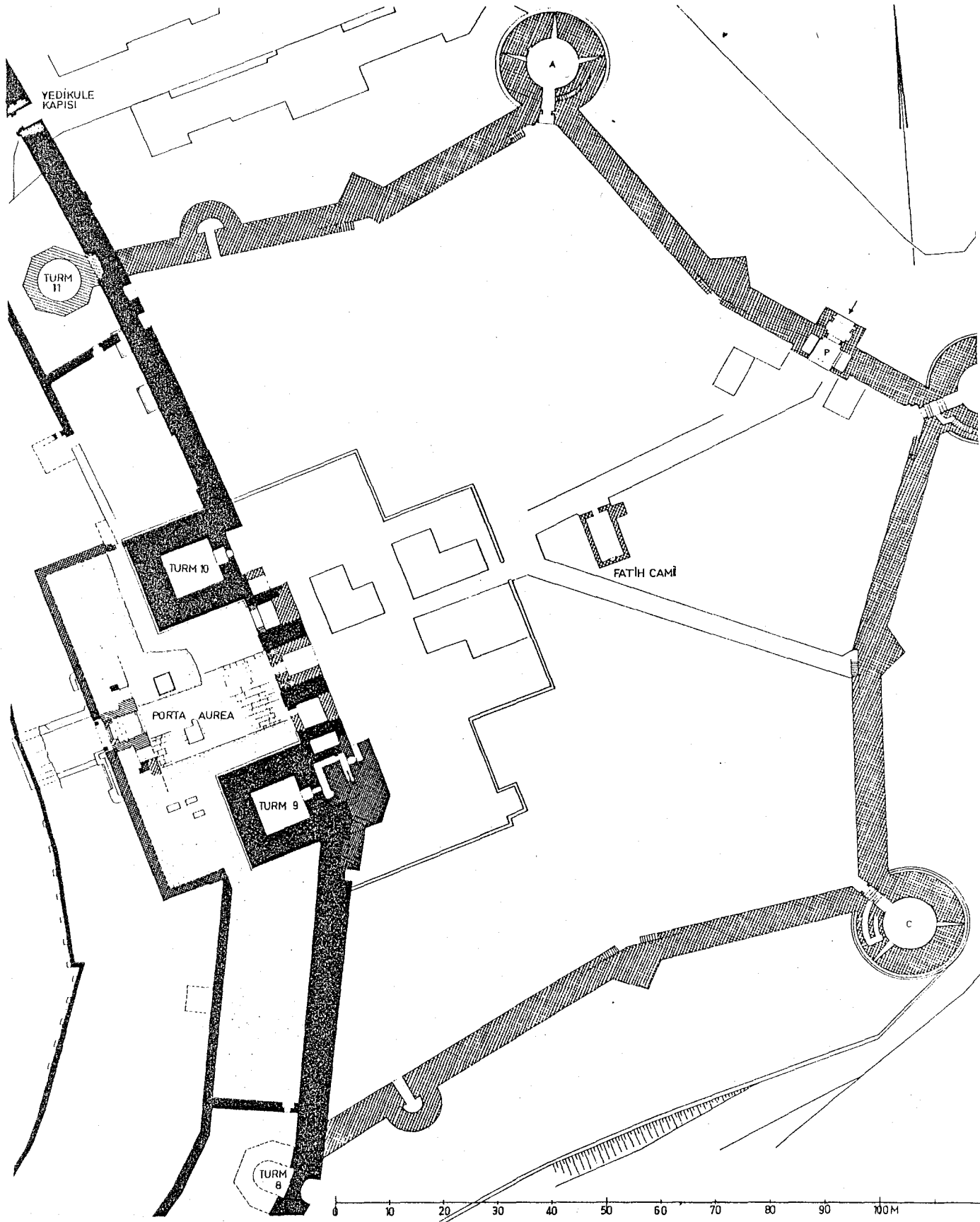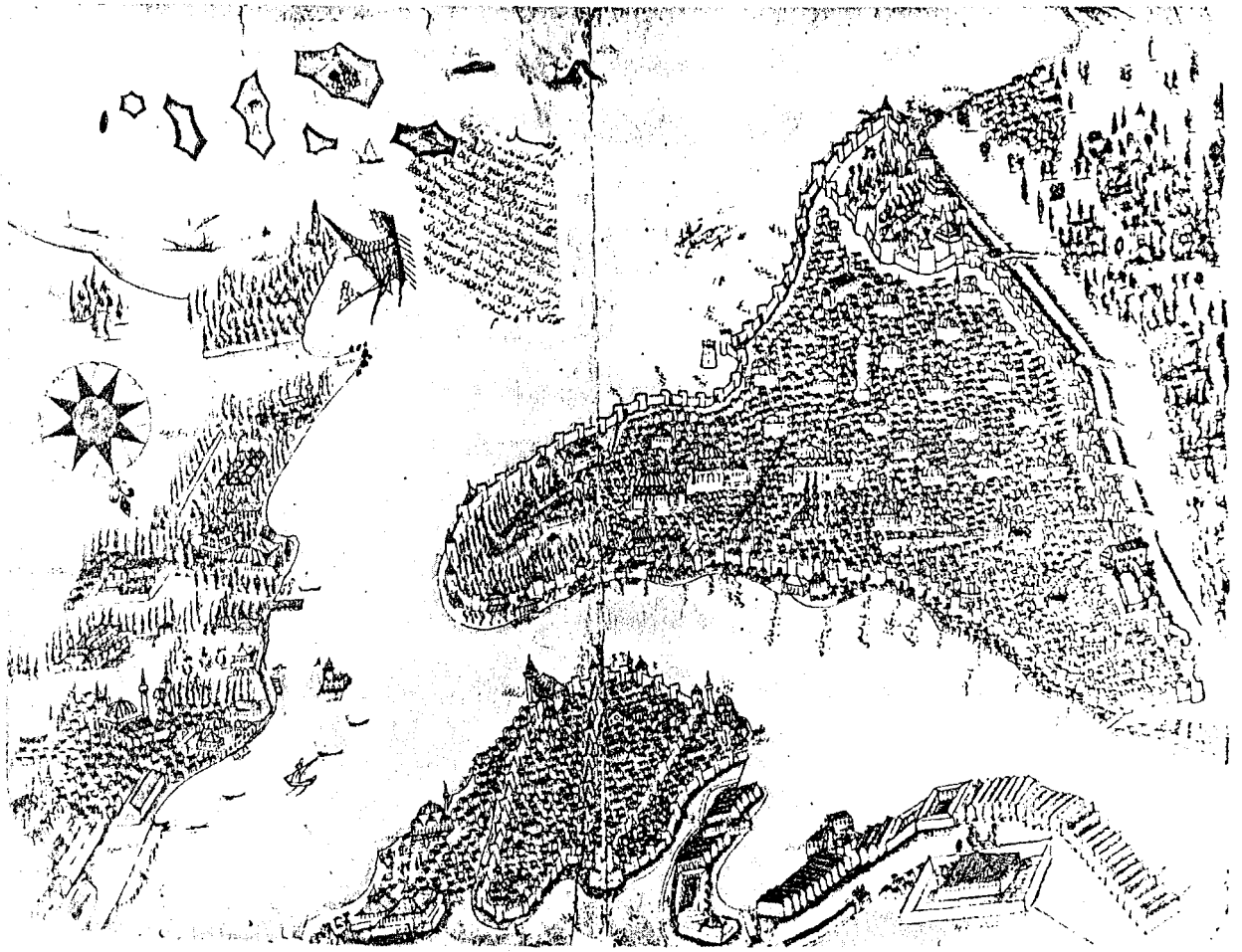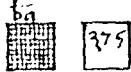
Abb. 10 Stadtansicht in Vogelschau aus der 1.H. 17.Jh. (enthalten in einer Handschrift des Kitâb-i Bahriye des Piri Re'is: W. Pertsch, Verzeichnis der türk. Handschriften Kgl. Bibliothek Berlin 1889, 184) mit Galata und dem Arsenalgebiet rechts und dem Tophane links im Vordergrund, Üsküdar mit den dort gelegenen Palästen links und Stambul im Zentrum samt den unmittelbar vor den Mauern liegenden Vorstädten – jedoch ohne Eyüp.

Pirî Reis'de Yedikule

40

Plan Particulier du CHATEAU DES SEPT-TOURS, appelé par les Turcs IÉDI-KOULLELER, et de la partie des Murs de la Ville qui se prolonge jusqu'à la Mer de Marmara

CHATEAU DES SEPT TOURS

Murans de la Ville

Terres labourées

Pointe des Sept-Tours

Ancien Plan DU CHATEAU DES SEPT TOURS d'après M. MELLING.

Tour qui tombe en ruine

Porte d'entrée dans une Tour quarrée

Iédikoulleler Kapoussi

Salle d'armes et Corps de Garde

Tour à un seul étage

Porte du Kiala

Maisons des Soldats

Tour à deux étages

Mosquée

Maison de l'Aga

Corps de Garde

Cimetière des Martyrs

Ruine antique

Cavalier

Tour ruinée

Tour à deux étages

Pont

Kiosque

Ancienne Porte Dorée bouchée

41

42

I nella testa doriente Io fo lachiesa maggiore & inquella doccidente fo
ilpalazzo reale lequali grandezze alpresente non tocco pche quando la
faremo allora intenderete tutto dalla parte della piazza inuer setten
trione Io fo lapiazza demercatanti laqual fo largha uno quarto dista
dio cioe nouanta tre braccia & tre quarti & lungha mezzo stadio & dalla
parte merediana della piazza fo unaltra piazza oue sara come dire uno
mercato & iui suendera cose damangiare & come e labeccheria & frutte &
herbe & altre simili cose plobisogno della uita delhuomo & questa sara lar
gha unmezzo distadio & lungha due terzi cioe braccia dugento cinquanta a
ppresso diquesta intesta glifo ilpalazzo delcapitano da canto appresso lacor
te che solo lastrada lasparte & inquella demercatanti dauna testa fo ilpa
lazzo delpodesta & dallaltra parte opposita quello doue sitiene laragione di
comune. Dalla parte settentrionale fo laprigione comune laquale uiene aesse
direto alpalazzo della ragione Dalla parte orientale dacanto della pia
zza fo lerario cioe doue sifa & conserua lamoneta & appresso ladoghana.
nella piazza delmercato sara come o detto ilpalazzo delcapitano & dauna

uedrai squadrato questo diquadri piccholi perquesto porrai intendere
lemisure grandi proportionate daqueste picchole: mmmmm e
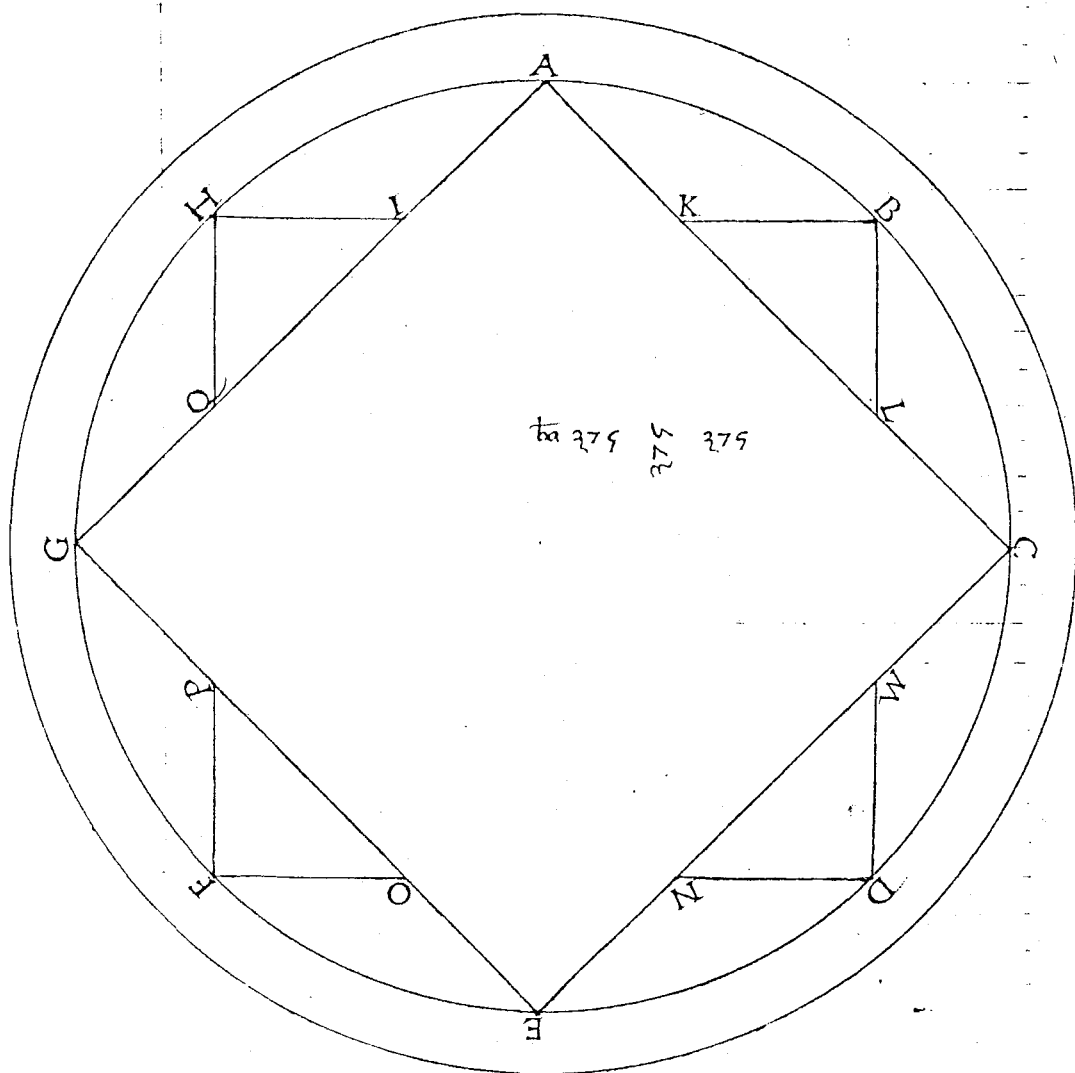
Come to detto. Io timosterro questo plimiamento ilquale e riquadrato in
quadri piccholi tuglipotresti intendere grandi & piccholi atuo senno maio
plintendo diquesta misura aoe diquanro stadij paascheno quadro chefare
bbe almodo nostro mezzo miglio pquadro. Side uedendo questo tupuoi sa
pere quanto uiene aessere grande poi lacurn o uuoi dire miglia, o uuoi
dire stadij ouuoi dire braccia tu sai quanti stadij e uno miglio & su
quante braccia e lostadio moltiprida, & saperrai quanto ella circunda
& quanto elle perogni uerso. Cô cosi allarangione diqueste misure massin

KILIDBAHIR KALESI
BIRINCI KAT PLAN I

ŞIMAL

VIKILAN DUVARLAR

0 5 10   20   30   40   50   60 MTR
      D   E   N   I   Z

45

TOUR A

TOUR B

TOUR C

BOSPHORE

CITERNE
MOSQUÉE
EN
RUINE

100 mètres.

XIII

XII

XI

X

IX

VIII

VII

VI

V

IV

III

II

XIV

47

A

B

C

: Yedi Kule'nin esas kapısı makta'ı

Yedi kulenin esas kapısı

Yedi Kule'nin esas kapısı

: Yedi Kule'nin esas kapısı plânları

: Yedi Kule'nin esas kapısı tezyinâtı

50
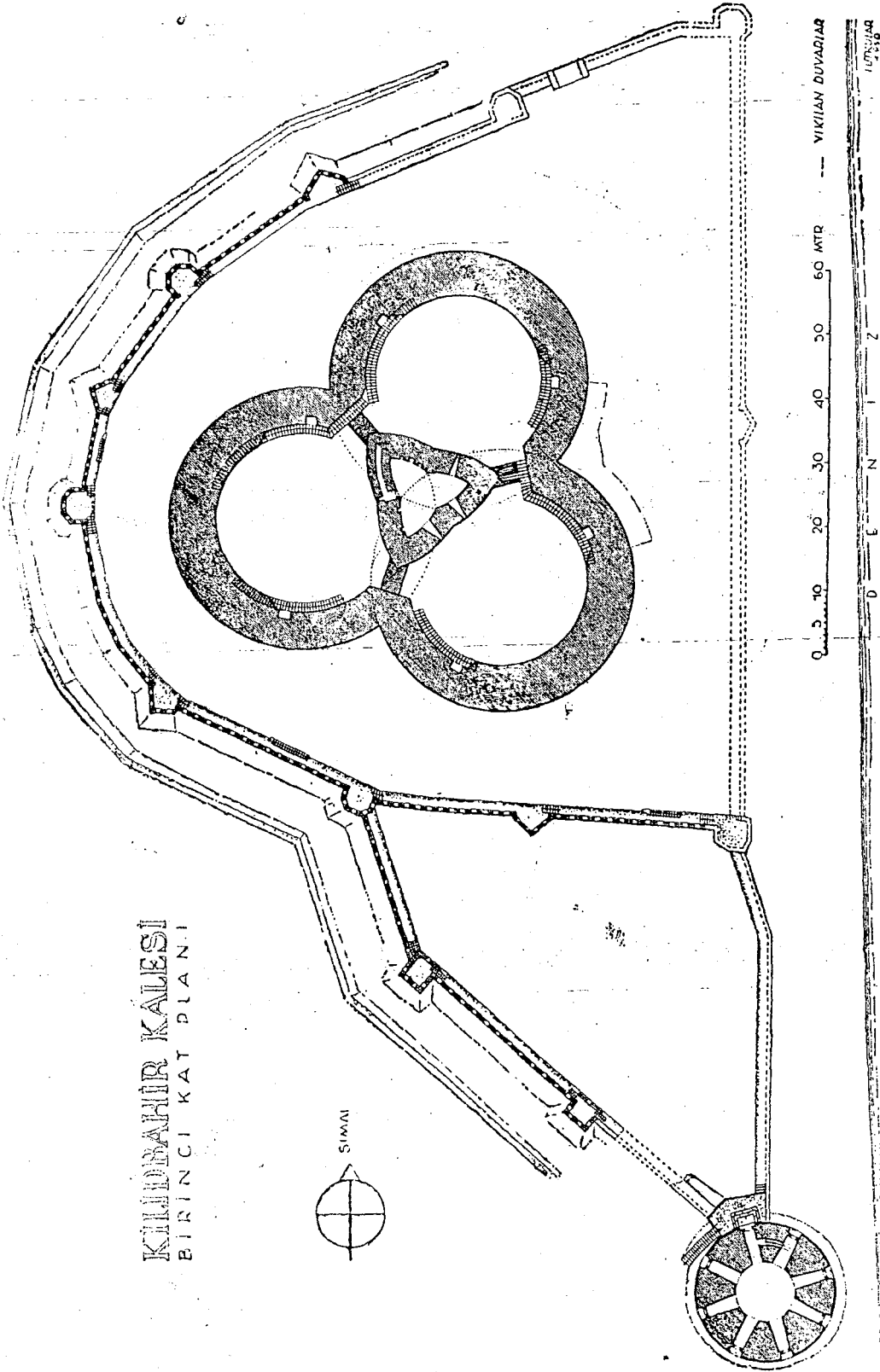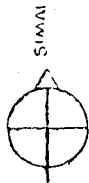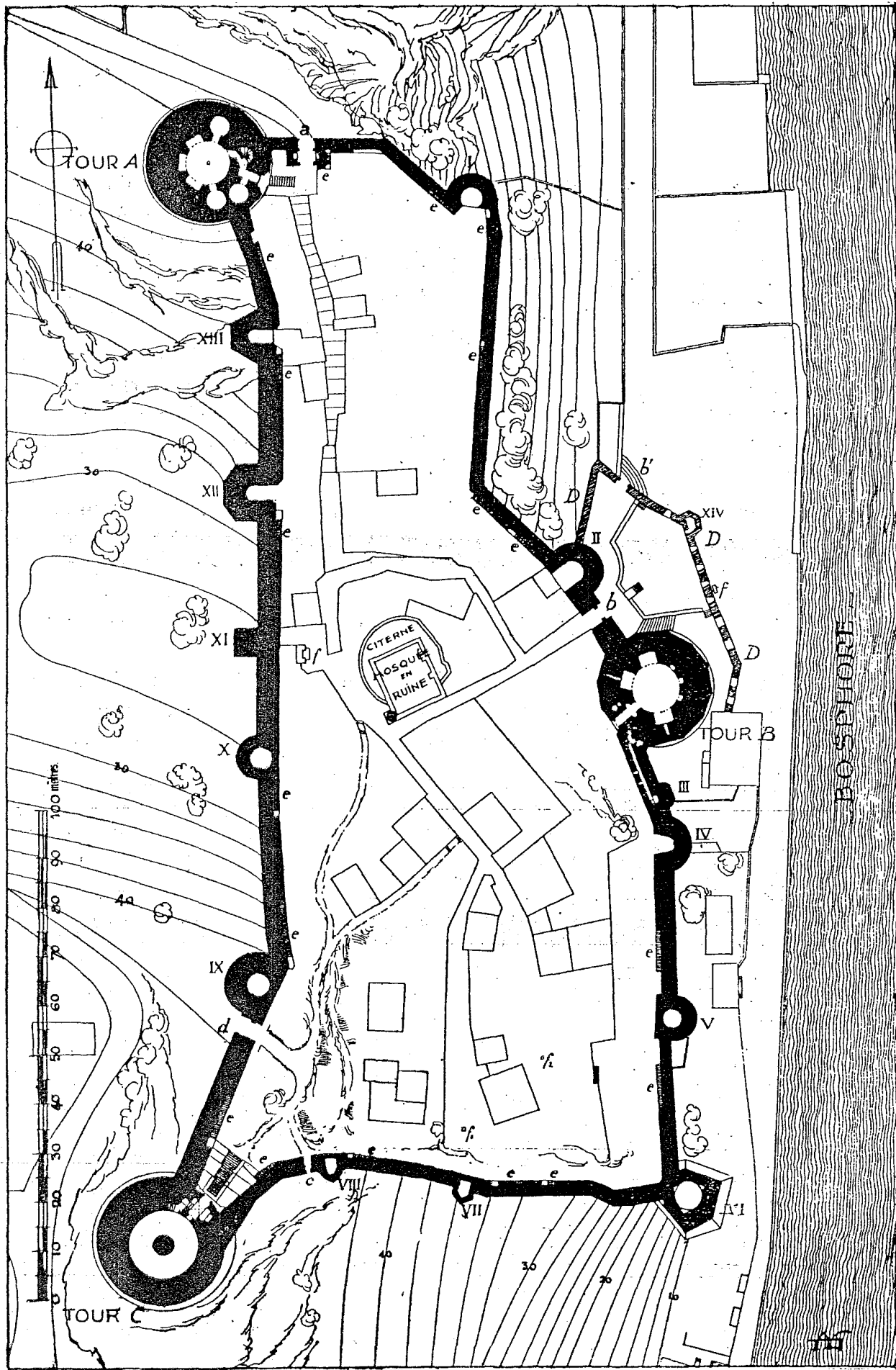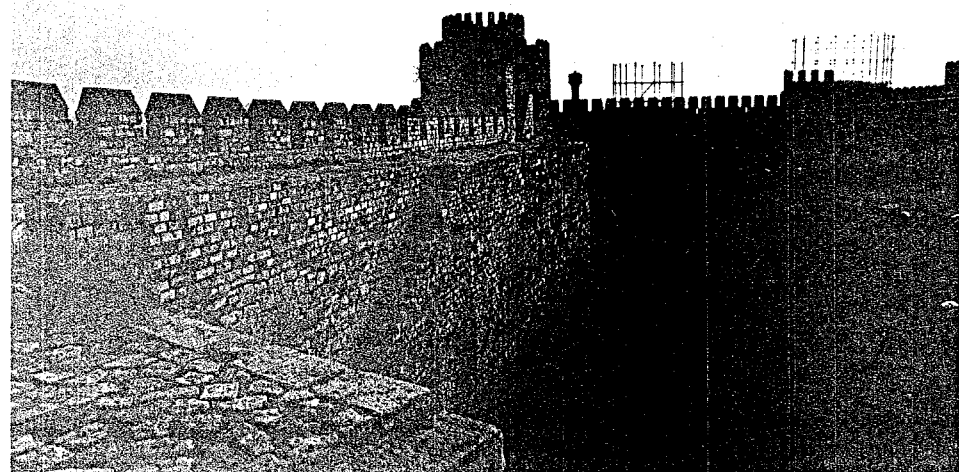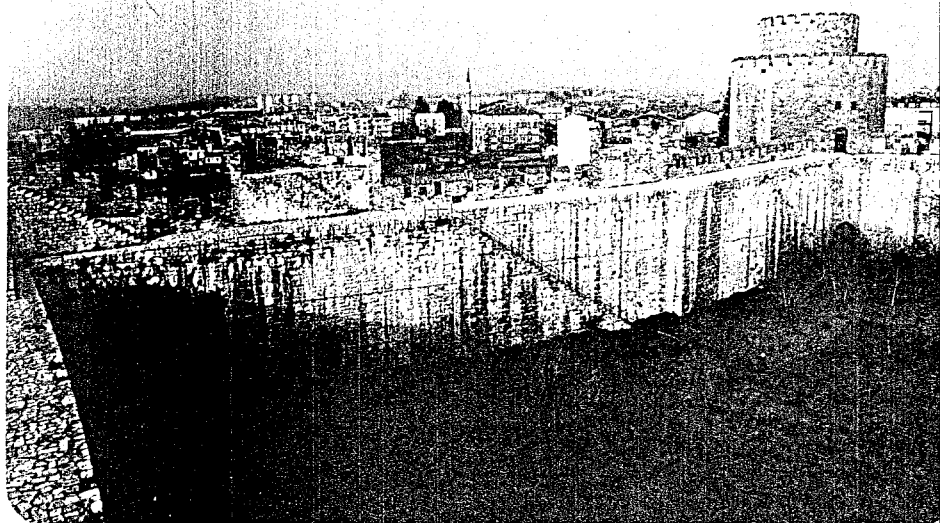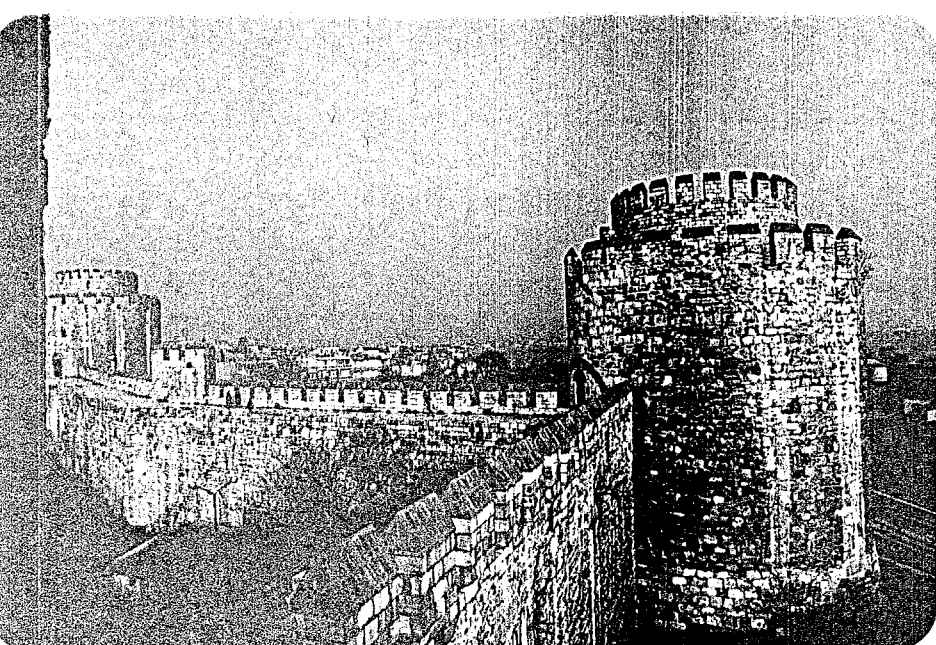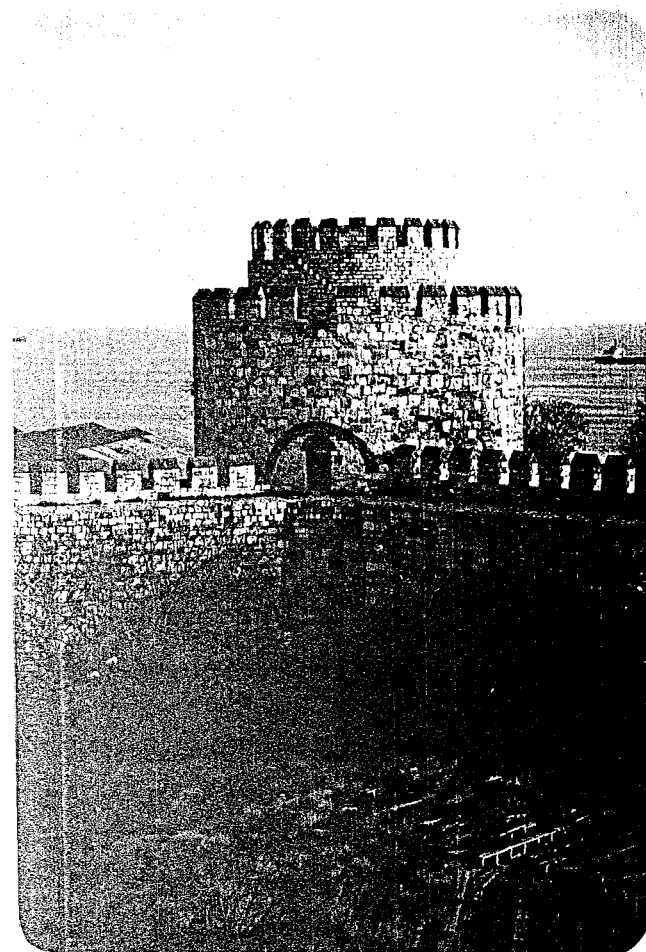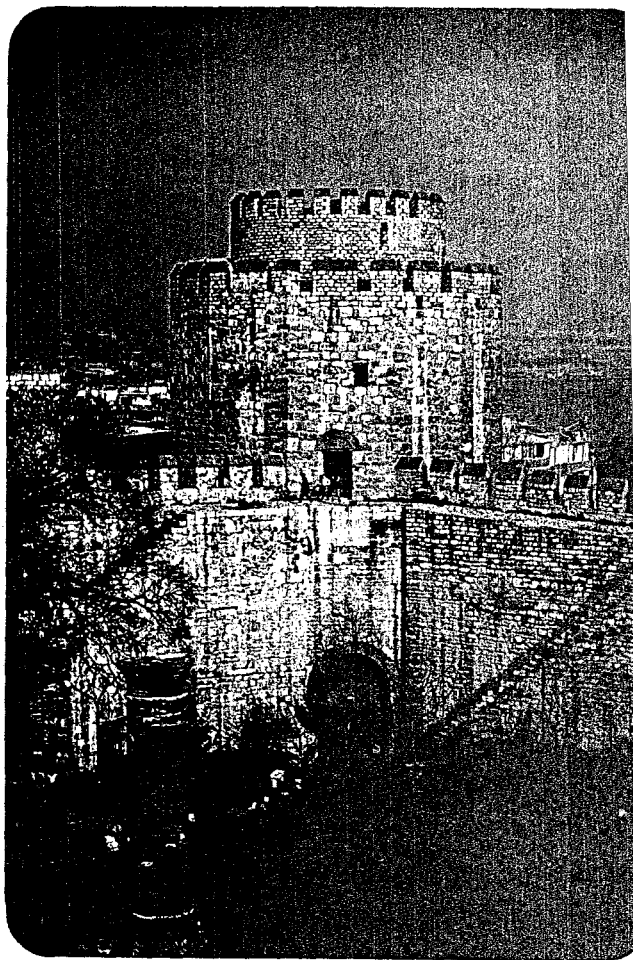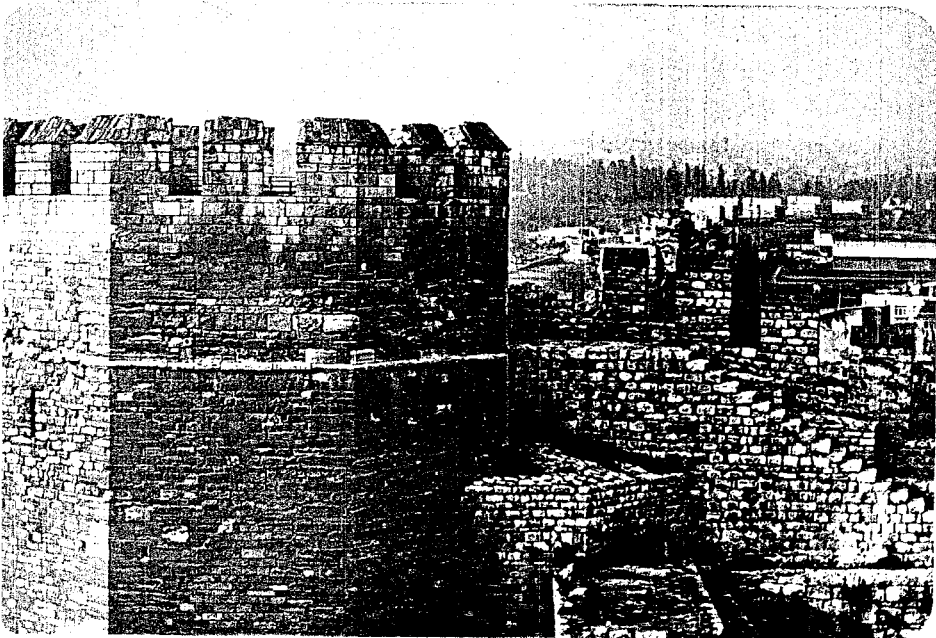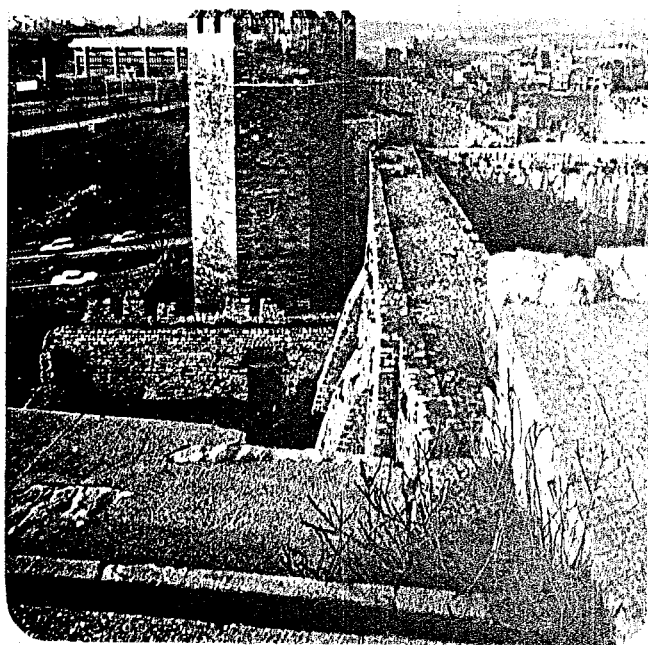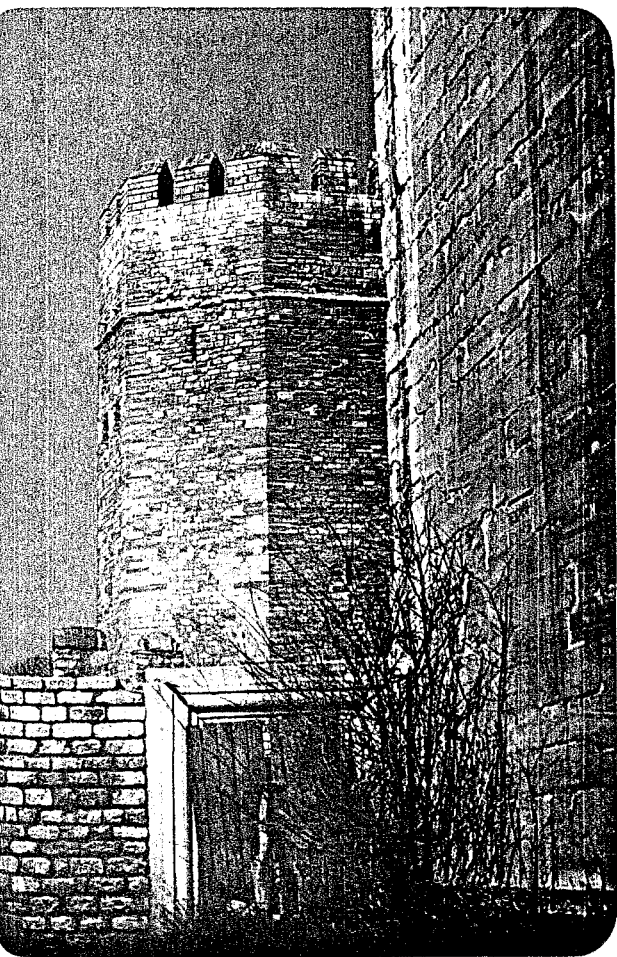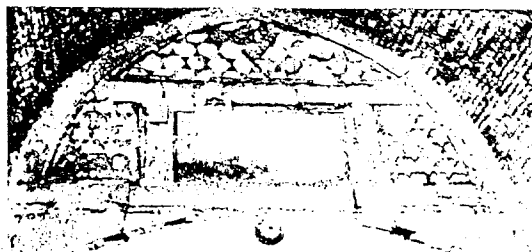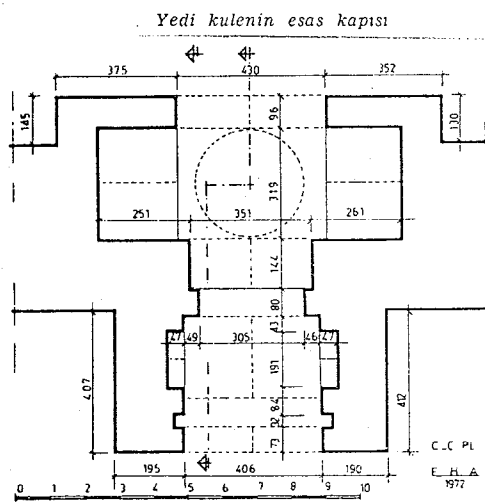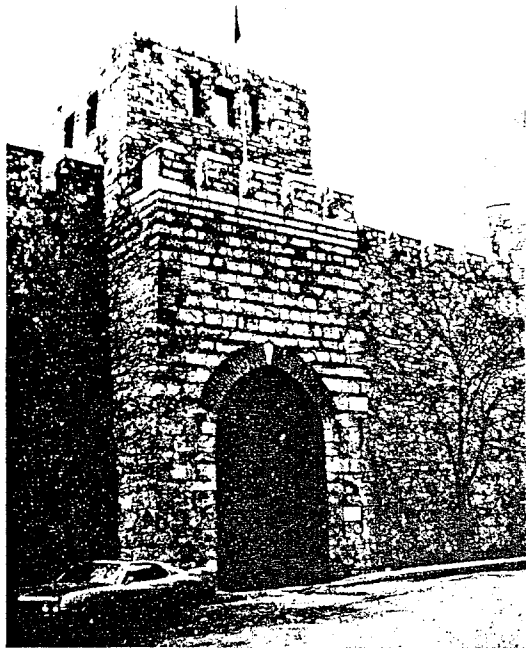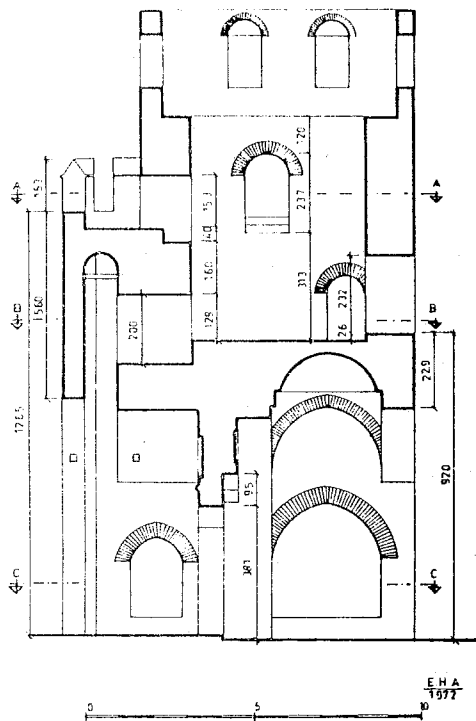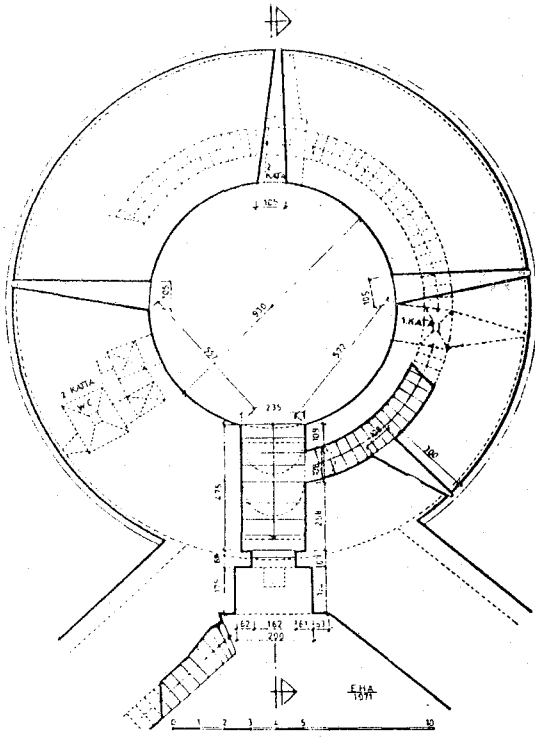
.: Yedi Kule'de A kulesi zemin katı plânı (I. katda
farkeden unsurlar nokta ile işâret edilmiş, ikisi birden bir
levhaya sığdırılmışdır)
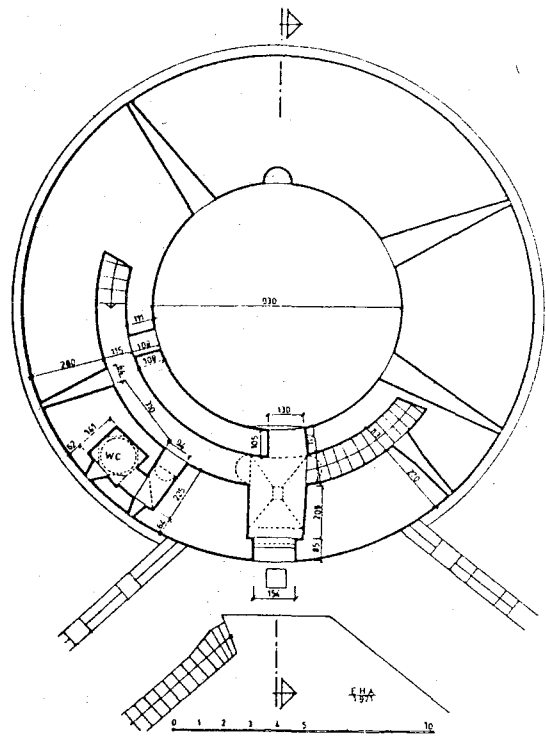
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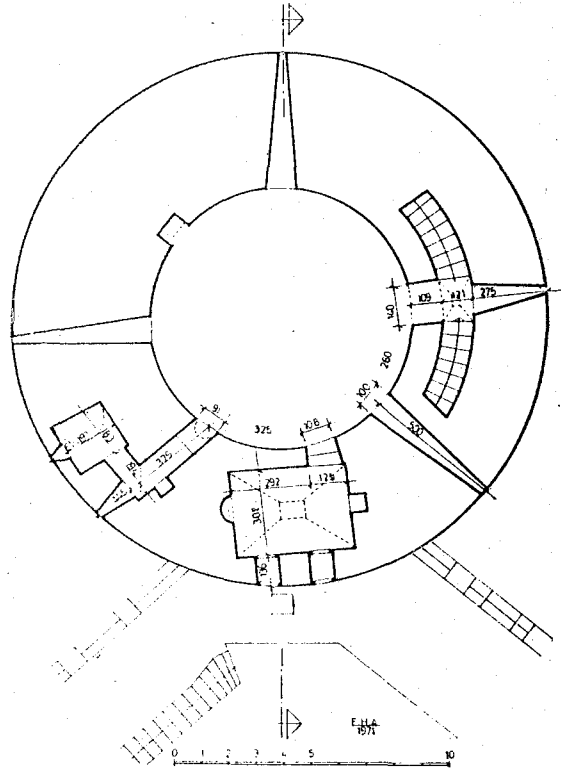
: Yedi Kule'de A kulesi IV. kat plânı

: Yedi Kule'de A kulesi makta'ı
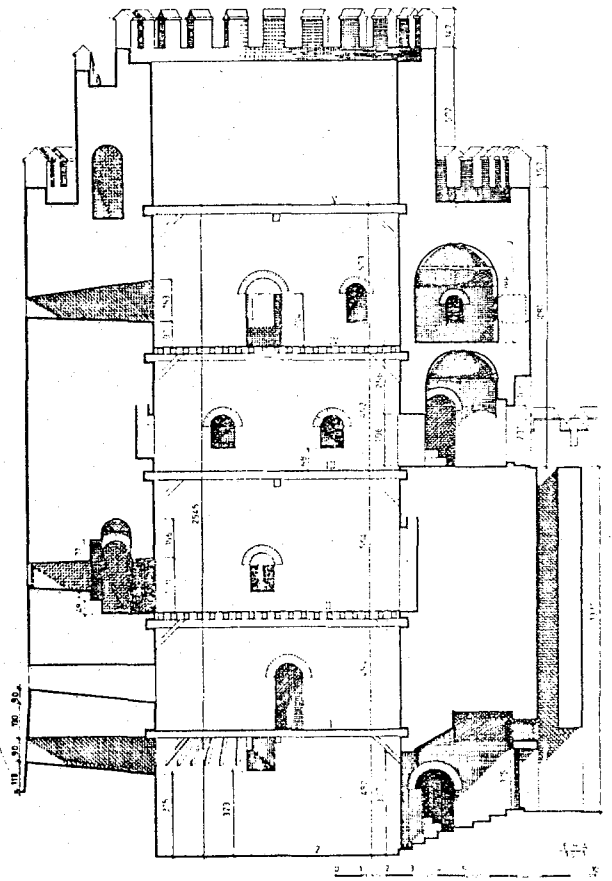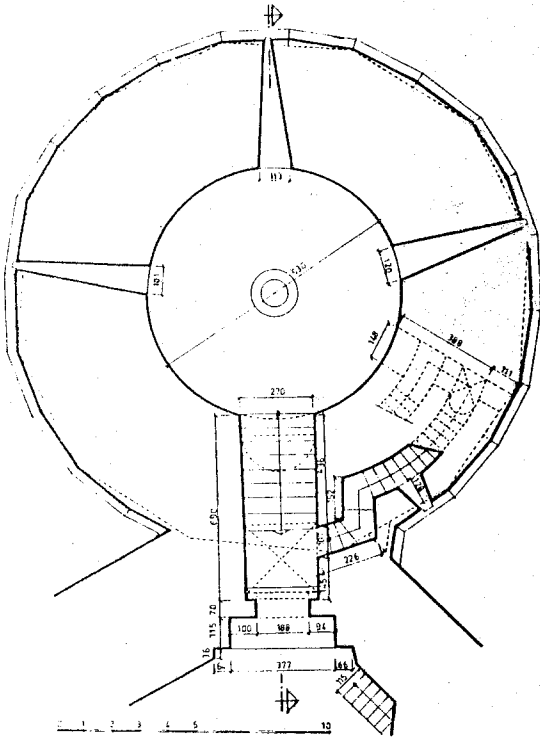
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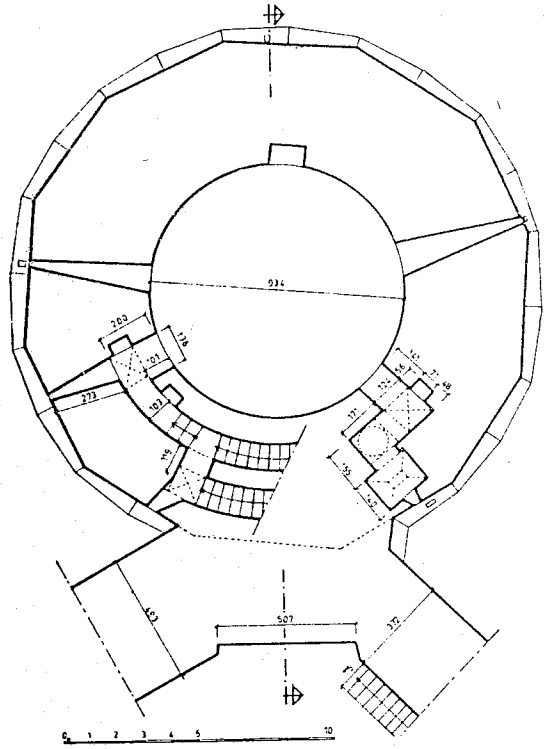
..: Yedi Kule'de B kulesi II. kat plânı
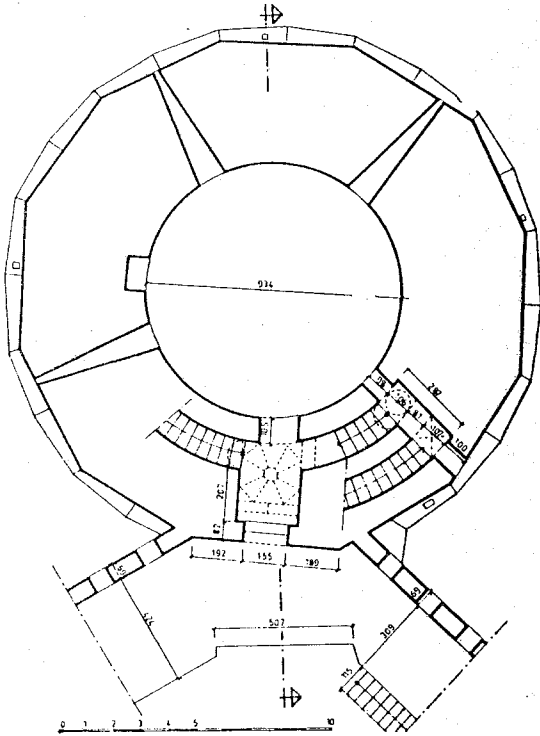
.: Yedi Kule'de B kulesi III. kat plânı
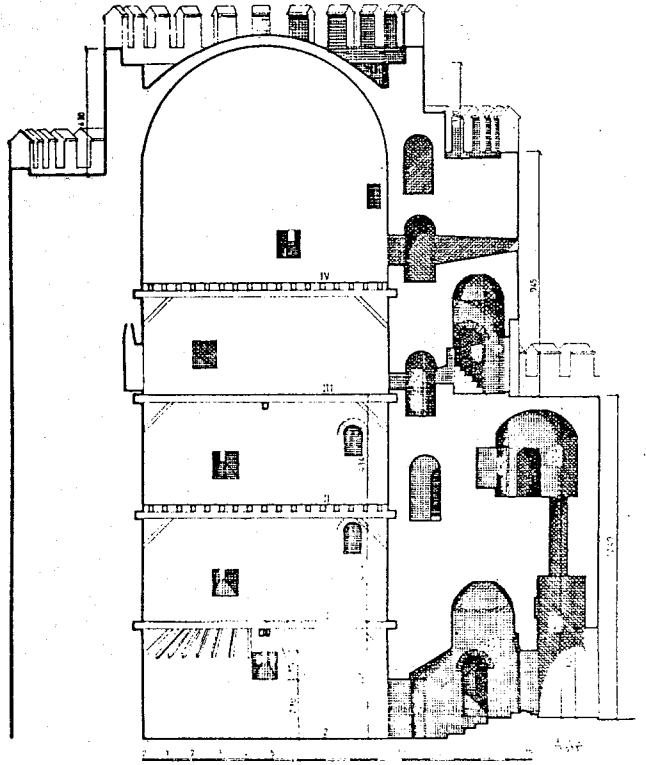
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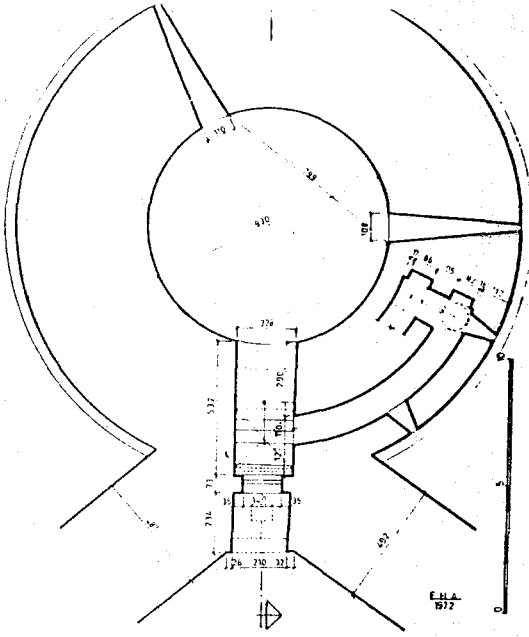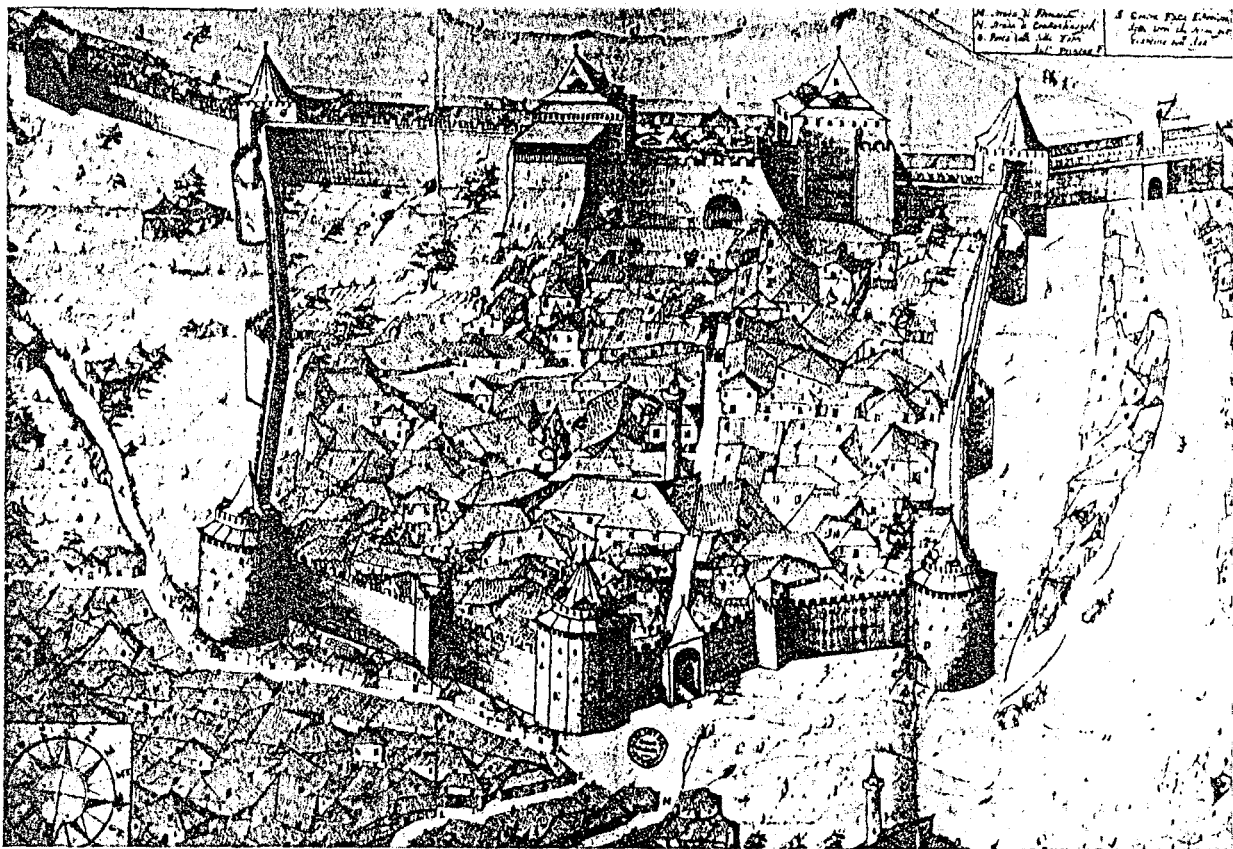
: *Yedi Kule'de C kulesi zemin katı plânı*
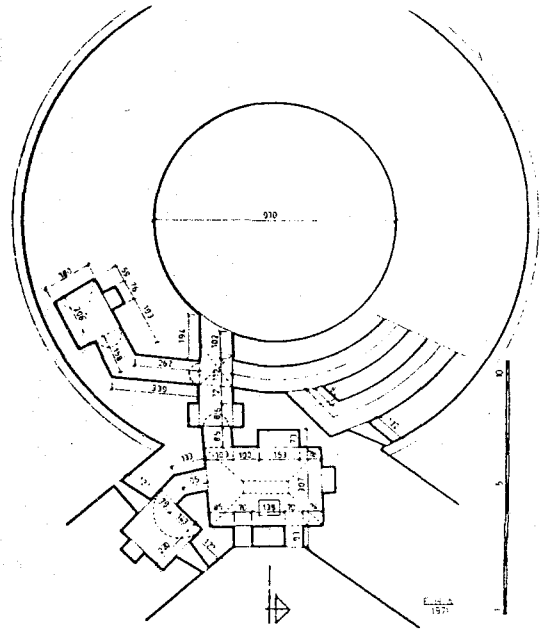
. *R. : Yedi Kule'de C kulesi II. kat plânı*
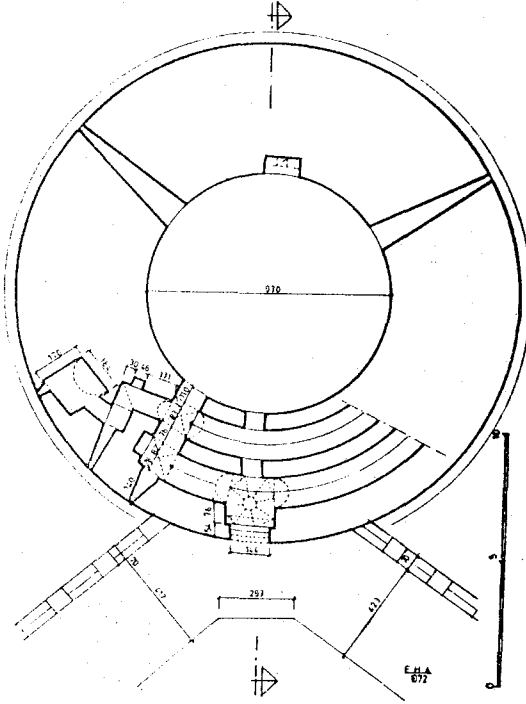
.: *Yedi Kule'de C kulesi III. kat planı*
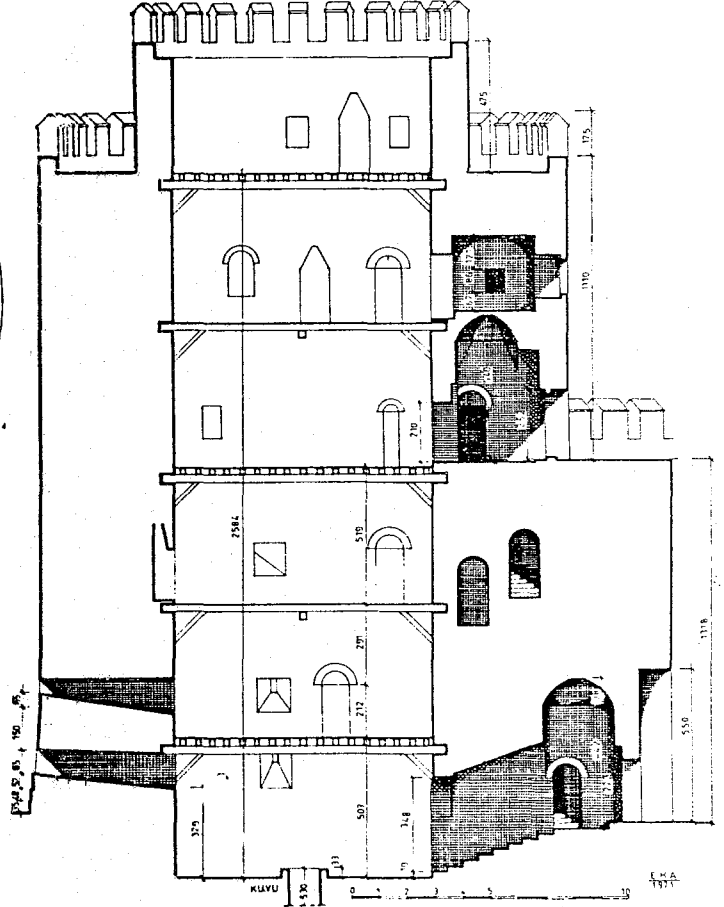
..: *Yedi Kule'de C kulesi makta'ı*

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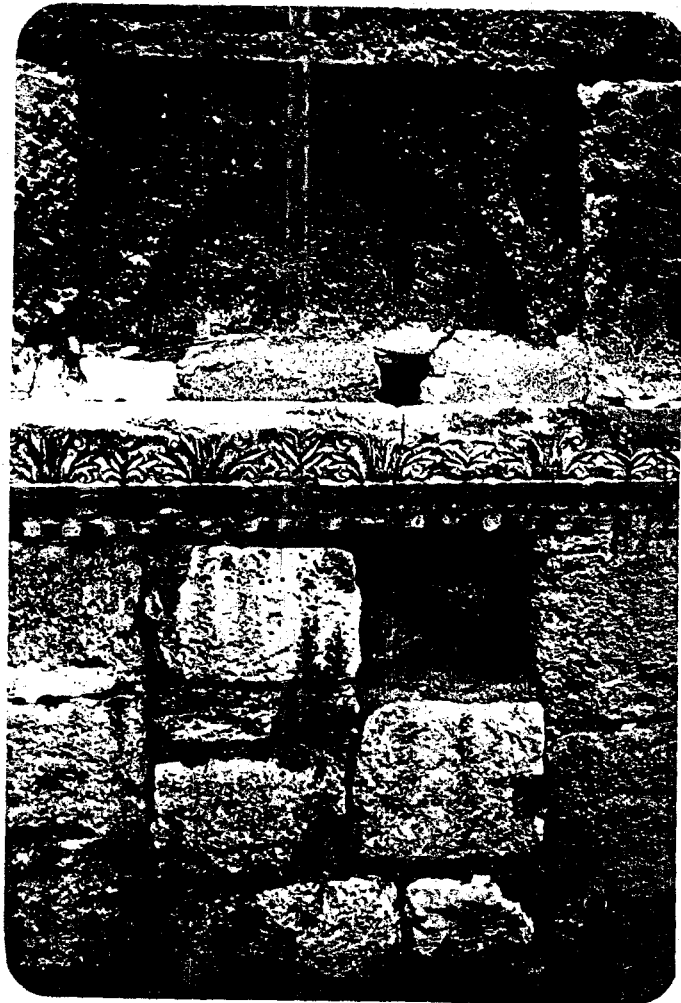
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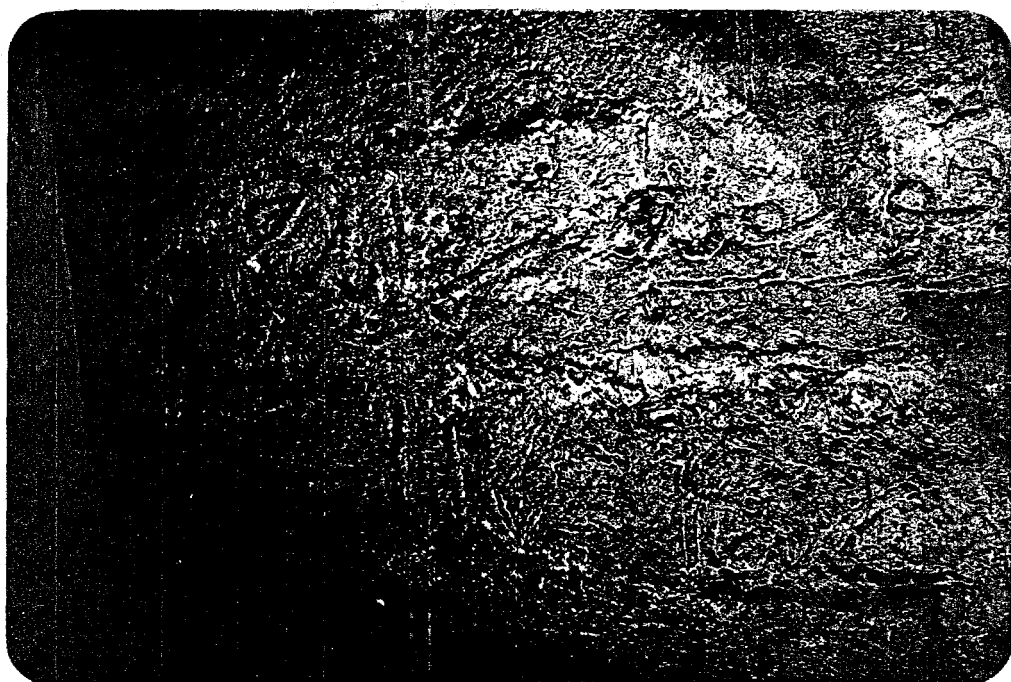
Abb. 389 Vogelschau-Ansicht der Zitadelle in einer Zeichnung des 17.Jhs. (Cod. Cicogna 1971 im Museo Civ. Correr in Venedig) mit Angabe der wichtigsten Bauten in Yedikule (Castello delle Sette torre) und Umgebung (zu den Türmen vgl. Abb. 398): P=Haus des Ağa (dessen Garten im Zwinger vor der Mauer lag); Q=Moschee.
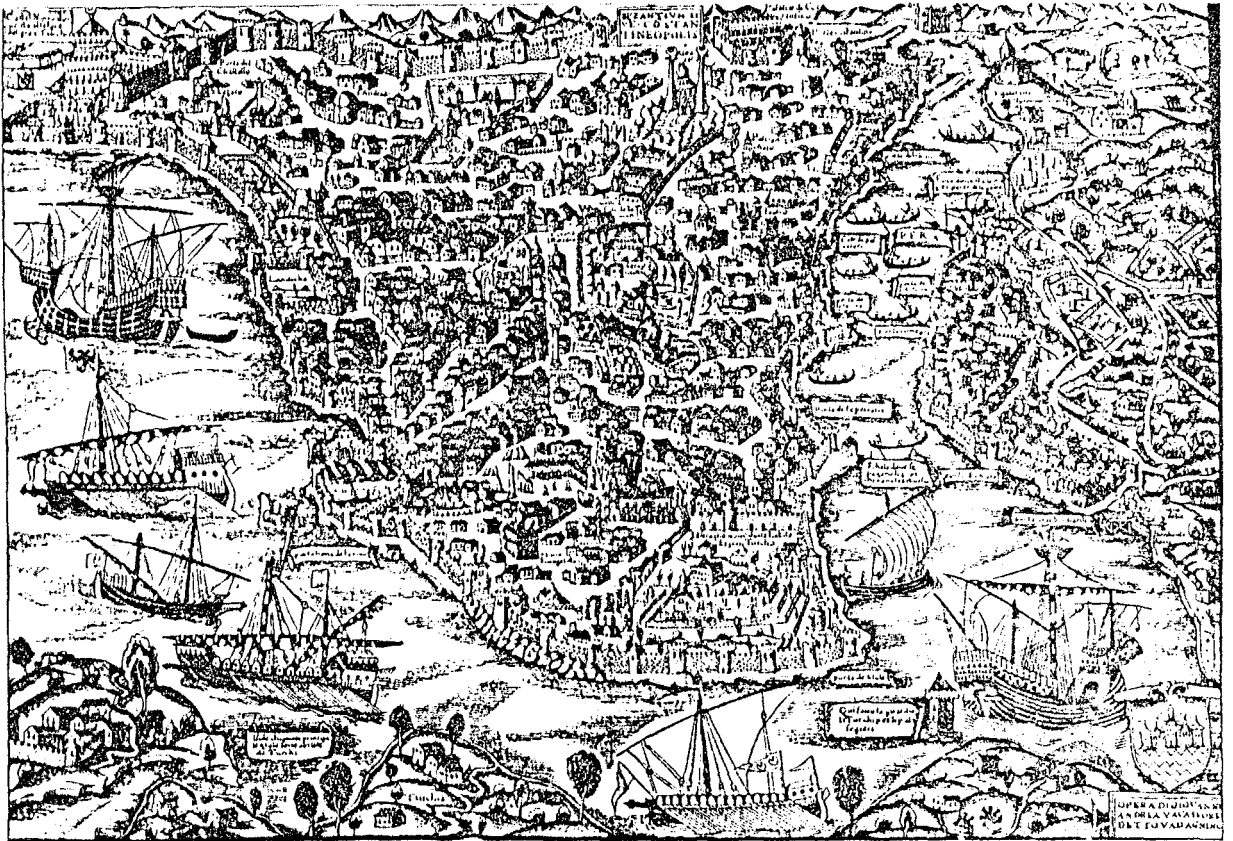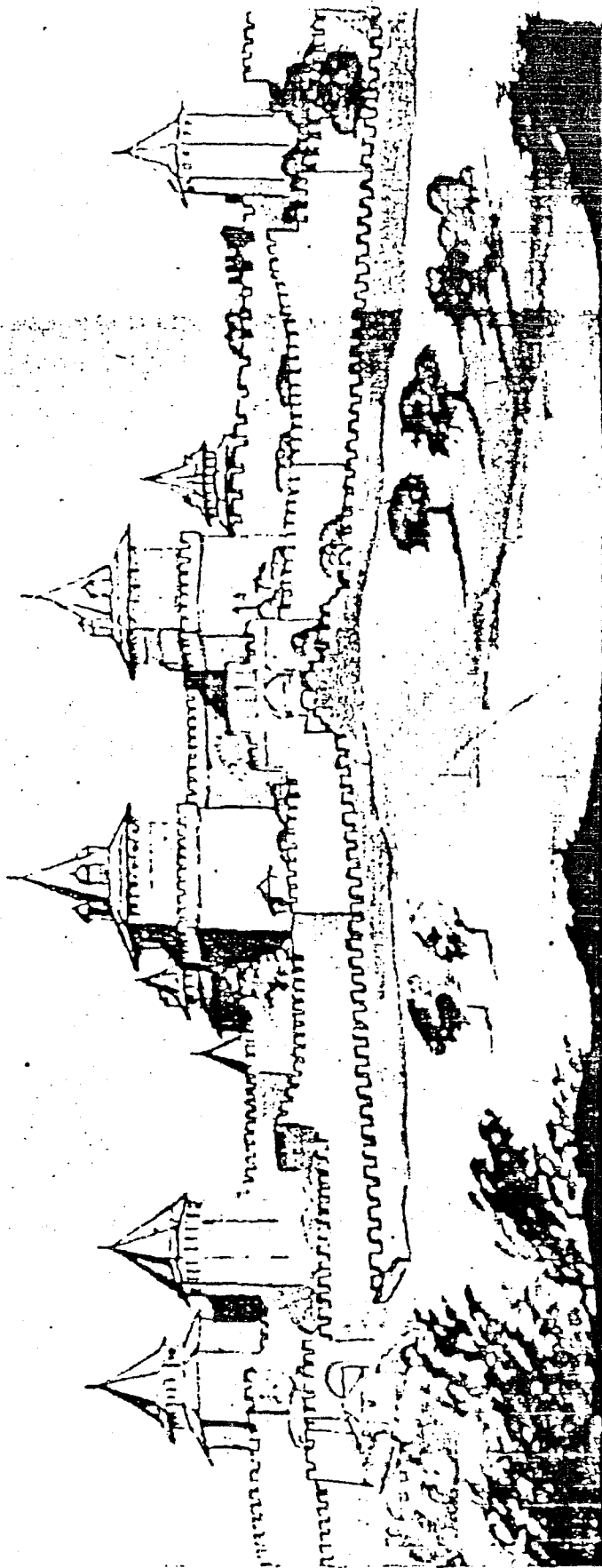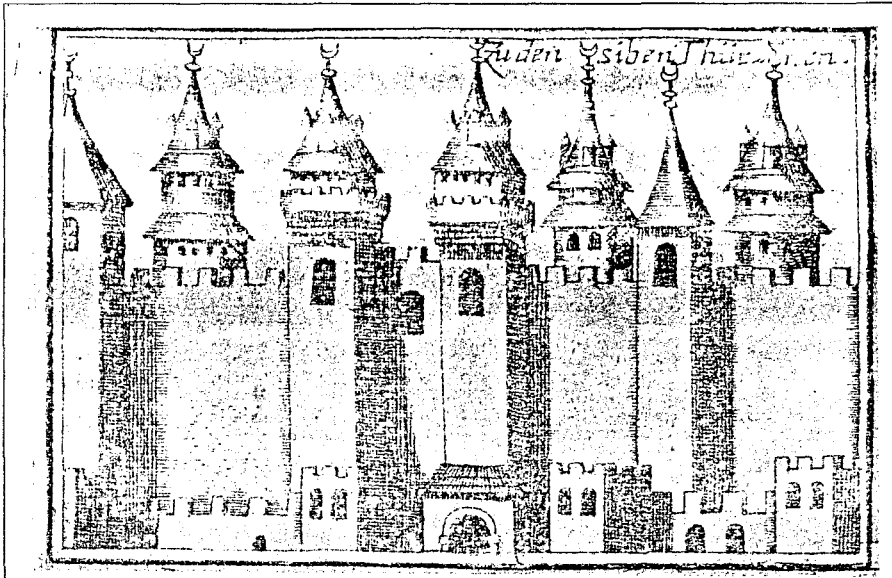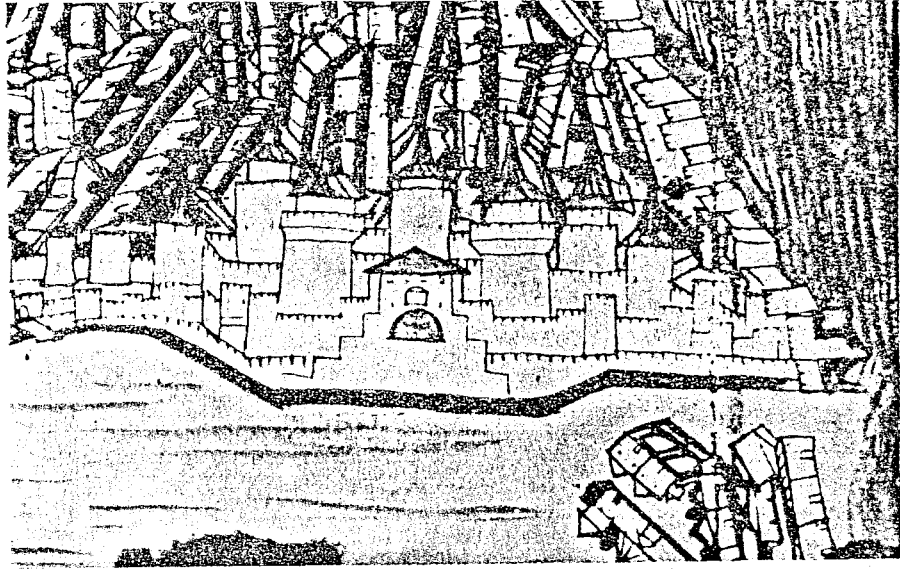
Abb. 9 Stadtansicht aus dem E. 15. Jh. (Stich des venezianischen Buchdruckers und Holzschneiders Giovanni Andrea Vavassore — vielleicht auf der Grundlage einer Zeichnung des Gentile Bellini, der 1479 in K'pel war).

die Sieben Thürme zu Constantinopel, gegen abend.

S. Schweigger'in gravüründe Yedikule.
Yedikule d'après une gravure de S. Schweigger

Seyyid Lokman'da Yedikule (ressamı : Nakkaş Osman)
Yedikule d'après S. Lokman (par Nakkaş Osman)