

Approaching Constantinople and Wandering through Ottoman Istanbul

At sunrise on July 11, 1587, the Habsburg envoy to the Ottoman Porte Bartholomaeus Pezzen and his populous entourage of secretaries, artisans, and servants set out from Küçükçekmece, the site of the ancient settlement of Rhegion about fifteen kilometers west of Istanbul, and headed toward Constantinople, the former capital of the Byzantine Empire¹. The group included the learned apothecary Reinhold Lubenau from Königsberg and the humanist scholar Jacob Fürer von Haimendorff from Nürnberg, both of whom left written accounts of their journey which had begun in Vienna two months earlier (although neither published the text of their journals during their lifetime)². Early in the morning the same day they were formally greeted outside the city by the outgoing ambassador Paul von Eytzinger, a group of Ottoman chiaus cavalymen, the Venetian bailo (serving as the representative of the Serenissima in Istanbul), and the resident French ambassador in Istanbul. The incoming travelers were provided with horses and carts and, after riding through the extramural cemeteries in the shadow of the formidable Theodosian Land Walls, proceeded to enter the imperial city in pomp, watched by the noisy crowds gathered to catch a glimpse of the exotic visitors from central Europe.

Entering sixteenth-century Constantinople/Kostantiniyye was a stimulating first-hand experience charged with anti-quarian curiosity and anti-Ottoman animosity; it gave diplomats and their retinues the chance to familiarize themselves with a city well known as the historic capital of the East Roman Empire and frequently talked about as the headquarters of Europe's most dangerous adversary at the time. Indeed, humanist approaches to Byzantium and Constantinople are illustrated (in the literal sense of the word *approach*) by the journeys of learned envoys dispatched from Habsburg Vienna to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul following the first siege of Vienna in 1529 and up to the conclusion of the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok, signed in 1606³. As a rule, these delegations crossed the border via the checkpoint at the small town of

Gran/Esztergom, continued escorted by up to two hundred Ottoman cavalymen along the Danube to Buda, and headed south toward Belgrade (part of the trip was occasionally taken by boat), from where they followed the ancient Roman military road connecting Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica) and Thrace⁴. This route would lead the group through the historic Balkan cities of Niš, Sofia, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Edirne/Adrianople and the Thracian towns of Çorlu (Byzantine Tzouroulon) and Silivri/Selymbria, exactly where the remnants of the Anastasian Long Wall were still to be seen⁵. Their next stops were the stone bridges of Büyükçekmece (ancient and Byzantine Athyra) and Küçükçekmece (Rhegion in Greek), Ottoman structures that had replaced Byzantine predecessors (**fig. 1; map 1**)⁶. After spending a night at a caravanserai in the latter town, it was time for the final leg of the journey through the marshland toward their final destination, the legendary city of New Rome, ruled at the time by the dreaded archenemy, the Ottomans. Approaching the former capital of the East Roman Empire from the West (again, literally), was the culmination of the trip and made a deep impression on the travelers, as well as on the locals who witnessed the arrival of the foreign visitors and gathered around their carriages⁷.

After entering through the gate known as Silivrikapı or Gate of the Zoodochos Pege (**fig. 2; map 2**) of the Byzantine Land Walls, a colorful palimpsest opened up before the travelers as they moved eastwards with the sea visible to the east and south: the Bosphorus straight ahead at the end of the peninsula and the Marmara/Propontis Sea on their right⁸. The first landmark they encountered was the Hadım Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, a work of the great architect Sinan completed in the year 1551, which occupies an extensive plot of land next to the Byzantine gate⁹. As the procession advanced, the envoys would come across the spiral historiated Column of Arcadius decorated with reliefs representing Roman imperial victories standing on its tall pedestal, once the center of the

1 Sahn, Lubenau vol. 1, 130-132; Fürer, Reise 376. For Küçükçekmece, see Külzer, Ostthrakien 615-618.

2 Yerasimos, Voyageurs 385-390; Vingopoulou, Le monde grec 76-78. For Lubenau, see Koder, Early modern times travellers. On Pezzen and his retinue, see Müller, Prosopographie 7. 173-193; Müller, Franken im Osten 182-188; Radway, Portraits 26-27. On the diplomatic and military context, see Strohmeyer, Die habsburgisch-osmanische Freundschaft 223-238; Agoston, The Last Muslim Conquest.

3 For the framework, see Niederkorn, Die europäischen Mächte. For the diplomatic missions, see Nehring, Herberstein.

4 Yerasimos, Voyageurs 43-53; Jireček, Heerstrasse; Popovic, Von Budapest nach Istanbul; Vingopoulou, Routes et logements 308-315. The travel accounts give detailed descriptions of these retinues, for example, Sahn, Lubenau vol. 1, 130-132; Busbecq, Epistolae 6^v.

5 Crow/Ricci, Investigating the Hinterland; Busbecq, Epistolae 18.

6 Külzer, Ostthrakien 270-273. 615-618.

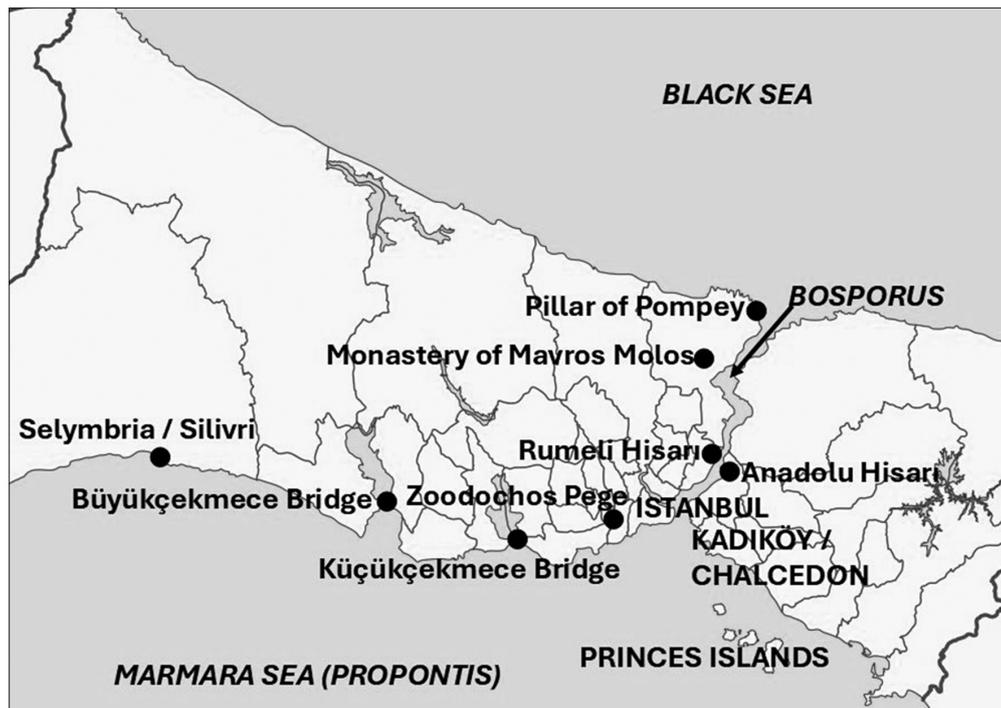
7 Sahn, Lubenau vol. 1, 130-132.

8 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 73. 213-214.

9 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan 392-394.



Fig. 1 Büyükçekmece. View of the bridge from the south. – (Photo N. Melvani).



Map 1 Constantinople and its hinterland. – (Map N. Melvani, under use of NordNordWest, Creative Commons by-sa-3.0).

late antique Forum bearing that emperor's name; in the sixteenth century it was the backdrop of a busy marketplace for tulips and diverse foodstuffs frequented mostly by women especially on Sundays – this was the bazaar known as the Avrat Pazarı¹⁰. All along this route were imposing Ottoman külliyes

and the rhythmically positioned domes of their mosques, medreses, türbes, and hamams, like the fifteenth-century Davud Pasha compound and the sixteenth-century Haseki mosque complex¹¹. The road from Silivrikapı joined the main thoroughfare of Ottoman Istanbul, the successor to the Byz-

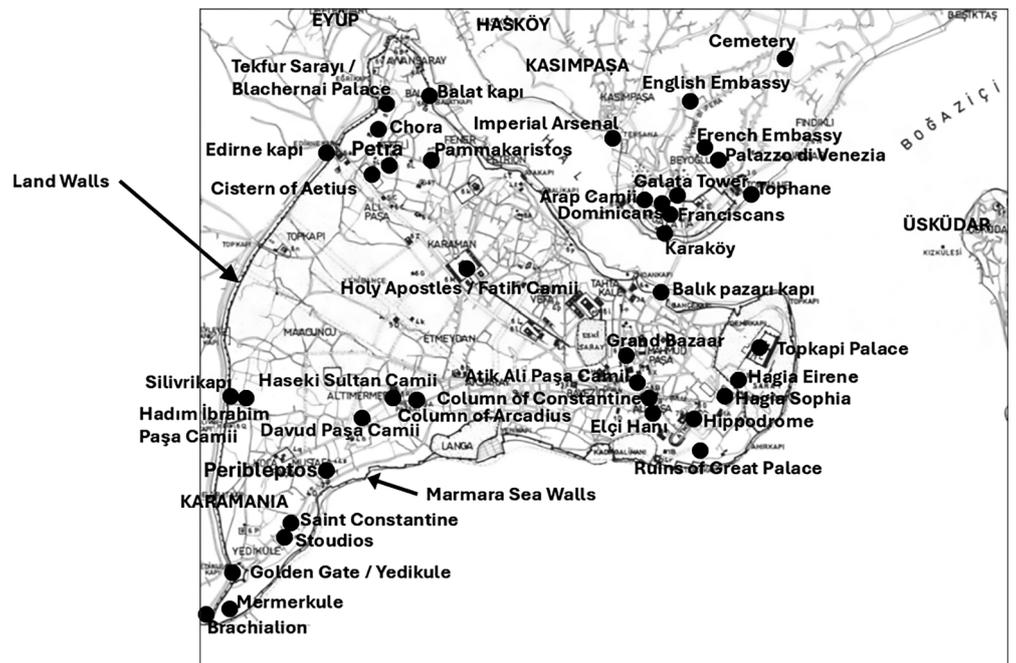
10 Taddei, Colonna di Arcadio; Konrad, Beobachtungen 367-368. For the market, see Özgüven, Market Place.

11 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 395-397; Kuran, Haseki.

Fig. 2 Land Walls, Silivrikapi. View of the gate from the west. – (Photo N. Melvani).



Map 2 Constantinople. Places mentioned in the text. – (Map N. Melvani, based on Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon).



antine Mese avenue, also lined with vizierial mosques and their multi-purpose annexes, like the Atik Ali Paşa Camii (fig. 3)¹². At the end of the journey stood the Elçi Hanı or German House, a typical Ottoman urban caravanserai which housed the staff of the Habsburg delegation to the Sultan at the exact location of the legendary Forum of Constantine, marked by the colossal porphyry column that once supported the sunlike statue of the city's founder¹³. The new residents took to their chambers, which were illuminated by windows facing the symbol of Constantinople's Roman ancestry, the Column of Constantine; to the south, the premises offered

a view toward the Marmara Sea as far as Mount Olympus in Bithynia. This building was the starting point for the various outings of the diplomats and their retinue from where they gained access to the city. It was from here that artists affiliated with the diplomatic missions, such as Melchior Lorck or the painter of the so-called Freshfield Album drew their pictures of the porphyry column and of its surroundings, occasionally perched on the rooftop which gave them a panoramic view of Istanbul (fig. 4)¹⁴.

There were other entrances to the Ottoman capital through the Theodosian walls; merchants arriving from

12 Cerasi, Urban and Architectural Evolution. For the Atik Ali Paşa Camii, see Eyice, Atik Paşa.

13 Eyice, Elçi Hanı; Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 344; Radway, The Captive Self. For the Column of Constantine, see Ousterhout, Life.

14 Mango, Constantinopolitana 306-313; Stichel, Postament; Fischer/Bencard/Rasmussen, Lorck 19.



Fig. 3 Atik Ali Pasha mosque complex. View from the south. – (Photo N. Melvani).



Fig. 4 Melchior Lorck, view over the roofs of Constantinople with the Column of Arcadius in the background. – (Photo National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen).

abroad would enter through the more northerly Edirnekapi. This was the case of Martin Gruneweg from Dantzic (modern Gdansk in Poland) who travelled to the city for business on more than one occasion in the 1580s¹⁵. Together with an Armenian merchant he joined a caravan outside Lemberg (modern Lviv in Ukraine) and embarked for the Ottoman Balkans. After reaching the southern end of the fortification line of Constantinople, the group turned north and rode the distance along the undulating terrain with the Land Walls to their right, behind which they could glimpse at the minarets jutting out from the hills and valleys of the Ottoman capital¹⁶. In the distance they could also discern the peaks of the two imperial columns of the Roman emperors Constantine

and Arcadius, which are depicted behind the fortifications in the sketch drawn by Gruneweg from outside the city in his personal journal¹⁷. After passing through the gate of Adrianople, they would set camp in front of the customs office at Karagümrük in the vicinity of the open-air reservoir of Aetius – an extensive garden at the time¹⁸. Their reception was exceptionally flamboyant in October 1582, as they came across the Bayram festivities, which were animated by celebrating crowds, performing dancers and musicians, even commedia dell'arte troops from Italy¹⁹. The newcomers would spend the night in their wagons stationed at Karagümrük, while waiting for their merchandise to be inspected, and then continued east to their lodgings in one of the caravanserais between

15 Berger, *Die Reisen*.

16 Bues, *Gruneweg* 759-764.

17 Bues, *Gruneweg* 762.

18 Refik, *Gümrük ve Ticaret*; Crow/Bardill/Bayliss, *Water Supply* 129-132. For the Gate of Adrianople (Edirne Kapı), see Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 96-106.

19 For these spectacles and performances, see Kafescioğlu, *Picturing the Square*; Kynan-Wilson, *Play and Performance*.



Fig. 5 Miniature depicting the delivery of the tribute to the sultan. – (Photo Vienna, Austrian National Library, codex 3325, fol. 163).

the Grand Bazaar and the Golden Horn, where they would spend the following ten days²⁰.

Diplomats and businessmen were not the only foreigners who visited Istanbul in the sixteenth century. Although not technically located in the Holy Land, the city was within the network of pilgrimage sites in the Islamic East and was often a convenient stop for pilgrims on their way to and from Jerusalem²¹. Such a trip followed the well-organized sea route connecting Venice and Palestine, which passed through the Dalmatian coast, the Aegean Islands, and Anatolia. In November 1588 Samuel Kiechel, an adventurer from Ulm, made a detour on his way back from the Holy Land and, after stopping at Gallipoli and the island of Kaşık Adası (Pita – Πίτα in Greek), arrived at a small harbor close to the Yedikule fortress, apparently the Brachialion landing stage of Byzantine texts, attested south of the Golden Gate of the Theodosian Land Walls²². Here he could have a view of the Theodosian Walls with their commanding towers and the Mermerkule, a fortress attributed to the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos (1341-1391), located at the junction between the Land Walls and the Marmara Sea Walls²³. Pilgrims like Kiechel did not stay at the German house in the historical peninsula, even though they were often welcomed there and

dined and socialized with the staff of the embassy²⁴. Therefore, the wandering pilgrim disembarked from his galley at Yedikule and proceeded to the Christian neighborhoods of Galata escorted by a Jew on a small boat, a *perma* as the locals called the short-distance ferries. As he circumvented the eastern promontory, he was able to behold the sultan's palace perched on top of the hill of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium, hovering above the towers and curtain walls of the Byzantine Maritime fortifications²⁵. He landed at Karaköy and headed uphill to the house of a German goldsmith whom he had met a few months earlier in Syria and who agreed to host him for the next 45 days²⁶.

Meeting the Sultan

The members of the Habsburg delegation would have to wait for a few days in their lodgings at the Elçi Hanı before they were granted an audience at the Saray. The ambassador Ogier de Busbecq used this time in 1555 to discover the wonders of the Hagia Sophia and its surroundings (*interim verò dum responsum expectatur, urbis Constantinopolis per otium inspiciendae facultas fuit. In primis divae Sophiae*

20 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 342-343.

21 Yerasimos, *Voyageurs* 66-69; Müller, *Franken im Osten* 189-195; Clark, *Protestants*.

22 Yerasimos, *Voyageurs* 390-392. For the Brachialion, see Simeonov, *Brachialion-Anlegestelle* 139-146.

23 Peschlow, *Befestigte Residenz; Asutay, Mermer-Kule*.

24 Radway, *Portraits* 202-209.

25 On the ancient and early Byzantine phases of the Acropolis, see Magdalino, *From Byzantium* 226-231 and for the archaeological remains in the area: Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı*. For the transformation of the hill into the Topkapı Sarayı (New Palace), see Necipoğlu, *Architecture* 4-15.

26 Kiechel, *Reisen* 408.

templum adire placuit)²⁷. As soon as the formalities had been completed, the delegation was received in the Saray following a strict protocol²⁸. In September 1567 the envoys sent by Maximilian II to Selim II to negotiate a peace treaty between the two empires were pompously collected by a group of chiaus cavalymen headed by the chiaus pasha in front of the German house, at the plaza between the residence, the Atik Ali Pasha mosque and the Column of Constantine²⁹. The procession consisting of two carts flanked by the mounted officers followed the course of the Divan Yolu eastwards, carrying cash, silverware, and clocks for the sultan, along with an official letter from the Holy Roman Emperor. The accounts of the analogous procession in 1587 mention a corps of two hundred mounted chiauses³⁰. The route, which overlapped with the Byzantine thoroughfare of the Mese, drove them past the Hagia Sophia and to the Imperial Gate of the Palace complex; as they continued toward the inner courtyards, they noticed the Hagia Eirene on their left, which was being used as the imperial armory at the time³¹. The company would then dismount before entering the second courtyard through the towered Middle Gate. While at the court, the delegates were impressed by the sheer numbers and discipline of the palace guards and were able to appreciate the marble colonnades of the buildings' façades, the fountains, the idyllic gardens, and the carpeted interiors (clad in »hübsche Türkische Tepich«, according to Schweigger)³², as well as savor the rice-based dishes and sweet beverages offered to them³³. The impact of the reception at the Saray is illustrated in the miniature of folio 164r in manuscript Vienna, cod. 3325 containing the journal of the envoy Lambert de Wyts who was present in Istanbul and witnessed the ceremony in 1572 (fig. 5)³⁴.

Exploring the Capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires

Apart from their official business, the travelers occasionally found time to wander off through the streets and explore the antiquities, tourist attractions, and hidden wonders of Byzantine Constantinople in Ottoman Istanbul, despite the restrictions normally imposed on them by the authorities. They often visited sites and monuments in groups, escorted by

janissaries who guaranteed their safety and monitored their movement³⁵. Reinhold Lubenau, an apothecary from Königsberg found numerous opportunities to satisfy his curiosity and tour the oriental megacity in 1587 and 1588. In his diary he describes how he would start his excursions joined by a few companions before dawn (»des morgens umb 3 oder 4 Uhr aus unser Sarai, so in foro Constantini stundt«), take a quick look at the column of Constantine (»columna Constantini« in the text) under the dim light, and then proceed north toward the Golden Horn and the Fish Market at the eponymous gate of the fortifications (Balık Pazarı or »Paluk Passar«, as Lubenau calls it), not far from the ancient and Byzantine agora of the Strategion – roughly the area between modern Eminönü and Sirkeci, one of the busiest hubs of the city, as in medieval and classical times; in the sixteenth century it was populated by a thriving Jewish community revolving around a central Synagogue³⁶. The company would board a small boat at the harbor, travel northwest toward the quarter of Ayvansaray, and disembark at the harbor west of Balatkapi, where the last remains of the Blachernai Palace, the building known as the Palace of Constantine or Tekfur Sarayı (»palatinum Constantini« in Lubenau's text), appeared at a short distance³⁷. After a quick meal at a local diner (»in einer Gahrkuchen«), they would walk southwards through the meandering sokaks and densely built mahalles down to Yedikule where they would arrive at around dinnertime. For the return trip, they would take a ferry from the landing stage south of the fortress of the Seven Towers, perhaps the Byzantine Brachialion harbor³⁸, and navigate along the Marmara coast, around the Topkapi Saray, up to Balıkpazarı. They would conclude their tour late in the evening by following the streets up to the Forum of Constantine and the Elçi Hanı³⁹.

These wanderings fascinated the travelers, as they offered them the chance to engage with the locals, Muslims, Christians, and Jews, witness aspects of everyday life, and discover overlooked monuments of Byzantine Constantinople. The learned Tübingen theologian Stephan Gerlach, who served as chaplain of the German house from 1573 to 1578, was in frequent contact with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and a regular visitor to the patriarchal building complex, then based at the Pammakaristos monastery in the north-western district⁴⁰. He befriended the prominent Church official

27 Busbecq, *Epistolae* 25.

28 Described in detail by several travelers who attended the meetings: for example, Sprinzenstein, *Bericht* 12-14 (in 1537); Laski, *Tagebuch* 8-11 (in 1540); Praun, *Reise* 62 (in 1569); Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 447 (in 1578); Stainach, *Beschreibung* 222-224 (in 1583); Nehring, *Herberstein* 124-127 (in 1608).

29 Pigafetta, *Itinerario* 30-34.

30 Fürer, *Reise* 379.

31 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 77. 128; Ar, *Aya Irini*.

32 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung* 147.

33 For these reception ceremonies, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture* 61-69; Petritsch, *Zeremoniell*.

34 Radway, *Portraits* 199-201; Stichel, *Bremer* 52.

35 Sahm, *Lubenau* vol. 1, 137: »ich bin aber offermahls zu Wasser umb die Stadt mit vornehmen Herren«. Stephan Gerlach also mentions that he was accompanied by friends and other members of the Habsburg delegation on numerous

occasions when he explored the neighborhoods of Istanbul. For example, when he covered the area from the Fatih Camii to Eyüp Sultan and then to the Pammakaristos on 16 October 1577, he was accompanied by two members of the Habsburg delegation, Schmeissen and Wolzogen (Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 392).

36 For the topography of the Strategion, see Westbrook, *Strategion* 3-38. For the harbor and the gate of the Fishmarket respectively, see Kislinger, *Neorion*; Asutay-Effenberger, *Porta* 134-135; Semiz, *Istanbul* 96-97. 143-148.

37 For the harbor at Ayvansaray, see Asutay-Effenberger, *Kynegion*. For the Tekfur Saray palace, see Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 135-142.

38 For the Brachialion harbor, see: Simeonov, *Brachialion-Anlegestelle* 199-207.

39 Sahm, *Lubenau* vol. 1, 137.

40 Cazacu, *Patriarcat* 369-386; Grélois, *Patriarcat* 49-60; Melvani, *Approaching Orthodox sacred space* 47-78. For the Pammakaristos in the 16th c., see also Mango, *Monument* 25-41; Schreiner, *Unbekannte Beschreibung*; Hallensleben, *Pammakaristos* 139-140.

Theodosios Zygomalas, who guided him to the wider area west of the Pammakaristos, where the patriarchal officials and the Greek elites gravitating toward the Patriarchate had their residences⁴¹. In February 1578 Gerlach's promenades brought Zygomalas and his German guest to the historic Byzantine monasteries of Saint John of Petra, then functioning as a nunnery, and of Christ of the Chora, which had been converted into a mosque in the early sixteenth century. This guided tour was enhanced by the narration of stories circulating orally at the time about the sights in the area: Zygomalas showed Gerlach a spot close to the Chora where the last emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos was allegedly killed on the day the city was captured by the assailing Ottoman army⁴². Salomon Schweigger, who followed similar paths also drew pictures of what he saw, some of which were later transformed into woodcuts that illustrated the publication of his travel account⁴³.

In 1588 the pilgrim Samuel Kiechel accompanied the staff of the Holy Roman Empire's diplomatic mission on a two-hour trip through the entire city to the Tekfur Sarayı to examine the rhinoceroses and elephants housed in the stables of the building, namely the southernmost wing of the former palace of the Blachernai⁴⁴. This itinerary apparently followed the diagonal branch of the ceremonial Divan Yolu that led toward the northwest past the sultan's mosque of the Conqueror (the Fatih Camii), occupying the site of the Byzantine Holy Apostles, up to the Gate of Adrianople and beyond the city walls to the shrine at Eyüp⁴⁵.

Gerlach also ventured toward the southwestern corner of the city: on the feast day of the Zoodochos Pege, in April 1576, he first attended mass in the eponymous church outside Silivri Kapı whose history can be traced back to the time of Justinian⁴⁶ and then re-entered the city from that gate and headed south to explore the quarter of Karamania, populated by Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians, who had been relocated to this part of the quarter of Samatya by Mehmed II from the Anatolian region of Karaman⁴⁷. Gerlach thus had the opportunity to visit Sulu Manastir, then the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, namely the former Byzantine monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos, a foundation of emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034)⁴⁸. A few months later, in June 1576, the German theologian returned

to this corner of the city, when he went looking for the remains – primarily the 5th-century basilica – of the legendary monastery of Stoudios close to Yedikule, then functioning as a mosque with an attached dervish lodge⁴⁹. On his way, he stopped again at Sulu Manastir⁵⁰ and at the church of Saint Constantine, where he attended mass and witnessed the locals worshipping the relics of the eponymous saint. Although Gerlach's trips to the southwestern corner appear to have been an exception, several travelers did follow this direction at least to a certain point to observe and record the column of Arcadius (approximately halfway between the Column of Constantine and the Golden Gate in a southwestern direction), including artists some of whom probably spent considerable time studying the monument, as can be seen in the detailed pictures in the Freshfield album and in Melchior Lorck's works⁵¹.

Beyond Constantinople

The members of the Habsburg delegation would often spend their free time among their compatriots and coreligionists at Galata, the Levantine neighborhood across the Golden Horn which developed from the former Genoese colony of Pera⁵². Thus, they would systematically walk down to the fish-market (Balıkpazarı), outside the eponymous gate of the Maritime walls at the harbor (roughly in the area now occupied by the Egyptian spice market), take a ferry to the other side of the Golden Horn, and ascend to the residential quarters of the former Genoese colony⁵³. The destination was often the suburban area north of the walled district, on the highlands of the so-called Pera vineyards, with its multi-cultural environment consisting of Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Muslims⁵⁴. Remnants of the Genoese past were still prominent, as were the houses of the wealthy non-Muslim elites⁵⁵. The visitors would frequent the quarters of the three major foreign diplomatic missions to Istanbul, the Venetian house (the Palazzo di Venezia), the French Palace (Palais de France), and the residence of the English ambassador, situated where the respective Italian, French, and British consulates are still functioning, north of the Genoese fortifications. Reinhold Lubenau cherished fond memories of his time with the Eng-

41 Gastgeber, Theodosios und Ioannes Zygomalas; Apostolopoulos, Zygomalas.

42 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 453-456; Ousterhout, Sixteenth-Century Visitor 117-124. See also Cassin/Cronier, Petra, for the monastery of Petra in the 16th c. Two buildings north of the Cistern of Aetius, the Odalar Camii and the Kasım Ağa Camii, have been identified as parts of the Petra monastery: Asutay-Effenberger, Odalar. The question of the location of the last Byzantine emperor's death is thoroughly discussed in Philippides/Hanak, Siege 236-288.

43 Radway, Portraits 184-189.

44 Kiechel, Reise 414-415.

45 Cerasi, Urban and Architectural Evolution; Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 213-215.

46 Dark/Özgümüş, Constantinople 111-112; Ousterhout, Water and Healing 73-75. For the history of the monastery, see also Talbot, Epigrams; Efthymiadis, Le monastère de la Source.

47 Grélois, Saint Constantin 229-244.

48 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 184-185.

49 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 217. For the Ottoman phase of the Stoudios monastery, see Okçuoğlu, From Monks 170-186; Clayer/Vatin, Un établissement de derviches.

50 For the Peribleptos in Ottoman times, see Mango, St Mary Peribleptos; Rahn, Entstehung 155-158. For the remains of the building complex, see Dalgıç/Mathews, A New Interpretation.

51 For Lorck's drawing of the Column of Arcadius, see Fischer/Bencard/Rasmussen, Lorck 21.

52 Dalleggio d'Alessio, La communauté latine 309-317; Dalleggio d'Alessio, Traité 161-175; Pistarino, The Genoese in Pera.

53 Sahm, Lubenau vol. 1, 221-222.

54 Yerasimos, Galata 117-137.

55 Sağlam, Transformation and Continuity 1832-1855; Çınarılmaz/Ar, San Michele 15-29.



Fig. 6 Melchior Lorck, Prospect of Constantinople, Sheet 11. – (Photo Leiden University Library).

lish envoy Edward Barton and a goldsmith from Cracow, with whom he promenaded on the outskirts of Pera toward Kasımpaşa (the site of the Imperial Arsenal) and Hasköy⁵⁶.

It was from the hills of Pera overlooking the waters of the Golden Horn that the artists attached to the Habsburg delegation drew their panoramic views of the city: the Prospect of Constantinople, the large-scale cityscape drafted by Melchior Lorck (begun in 1559 during his stay in Istanbul, but continued after the painter's departure from Ottoman territory) was the result of observations and measurements taken from eight different points close to the Galata tower and beyond the Genoese fortifications of the borough toward the heights of Kasımpaşa and Hasköy farther to the west; it therefore shows a detailed view of the historic peninsula from the north⁵⁷. That members of the diplomatic mission explored these extramural districts is well attested in the travel accounts: Stephan Gerlach mentions his outings that brought him to the imperial arsenal at Kasımpaşa and to the

mosque of Piyale Pasha further inland, whereas Reinhold Lubenau would often spend time in the rural area west of the English embassy in the company of his British friends⁵⁸. The Golden Horn facade is naturally the main focus in Lorck's image (fig. 6), with the skyline formed by the sultanic mosques on the hilltops filling the background of the drawing and parts of Galata (primarily the fortifications) also visible in the foreground. The veduta appended to the costume book Vienna, cod. 8626, executed toward the end of the sixteenth century, also presents a view of Constantinople from the north, apparently based on models prepared by a member of the Habsburg delegation at work in Galata (fig. 7)⁵⁹. It is conceivable that the earlier drawings of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, which are less realistic than the later panoramic views, were based on observations made by the painter from Galata during his visit in 1533: the second panel from right consists of a representation of the northern parts of the historic peninsula overlooking the Golden Horn in a fashion similar to

56 Sahm, Lubenau vol. 1, 205. 211.

57 Westbrook/Dark/van Meeuwen, Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama.

58 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 89-90; Sahm, Lubenau vol. 1, 205. 211; vol. 2, 47. For the mosque of Piyale Pasha, see Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 450-452.

59 Babinger, Drei Stadtansichten; Radway, Portraits 236.



Fig. 7 Heinrich Hendrowski (1575-1599), view of Constantinople from the north. – (Photo Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 8626, fol. 160*).

Fig. 8 Piet Coecke van Aelst, The Feast of the Circumcision outside Constantinople. – (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



those by Lorck and the miniaturist of Vienna, cod. 8626 and the locations of at least the sultanic mosques surmounting the hilltops and perhaps some Byzantine-looking monuments reflect the actual sites of these conspicuous domed landmarks (fig. 8)⁶⁰.

Catholic visitors would also attend mass at Galata, mostly in the Franciscan convent, a building complex dating from pre-Conquest times, which became the main center of Latin worship in the Ottoman city (demolished in 1697 and later replaced by the Yeni Camii, which is likewise no longer extant, having been destroyed in the 1940s – the site is now occupied by a hardware market)⁶¹. The Dominican complex of Saints Peter and Paul, where the order settled after its expulsion from their original home – the building now known as the Arap Camii – was also popular⁶²; even the Greek church of the Virgin Chrysopege attracted scholars interested in the liturgical life of the Orthodox community (for example, Gerlach visited the church four times)⁶³. Lubenau was also

unfortunate to attend a sad event, namely the funeral rites of some of his inmates from the German house who died from the plague in December 1587⁶⁴. The procession began at the Elçi Hanı, whence the dead bodies were taken to the harbor at the Fish-Market, then to Tophane, and up to the Latin section of the cemetery of the Grand Champs des Morts at modern Taksim⁶⁵.

Another favorite excursion in the surroundings of Constantinople consisted in the one-day tour of the Bosphorus up to the Black Sea. For example, the pilgrim Jacob Breuning boarded a small vessel at the harbor opposite Galata on a hot mid-July day in 1579 escorted by a Janissary; the fare was 13 aspers, whereas Breuning's tour guide was paid half a ducat⁶⁶. The first stop was the armory at Tophane⁶⁷ and the trip included stops at various historic sites along the way on both sides of the strait, the main attractions being the fifteenth-century Rumeli Hisarı and its fourteenth-century counterpart on the opposite shore, the Anadolu Hisarı⁶⁸, and

60 Born, Pieter Coecke van Aelst 124-132.

61 Borromeo, *Catholiques* 227-243; Cerrachi, *La comunità latino-cattolica* 30-45; Dursteler, *Education and Identity*. For the building complex of the Franciscan convent, see Matteucci, *Glorioso Convento*; Sağlam, *Urban Palimpsest* 133-148.

62 For the convent, see Palazzo/Raineri, *La chiesa di S. Pietro*; De Obaldia, *French Protectorate*. For the original Dominican church of Galata, now known as the Arap Camii, see Cramer/Düll, *Baubeobachtungen*.

63 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 62-64. 83-85. 167-169. 472-473. See also Melvani, *Approaching Orthodox sacred space* 61. 65.

64 Sahn, *Lubenau* vol. 1, 25.

65 Sahn, *Lubenau* vol. 2, 25. For the German cemetery, see de Groot, *Old Dutch Graves*.

66 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß* 95-96.

67 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 356-357.

68 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 332-333. 335-337; Buora/Lafli/Çağlayan, *Graffiti tardocinquecenteschi* 89-97.



Fig. 9 Image of the Pillar of Pompey at the mouth of the Bosphorus. – (Photo Cambridge University, Wren Library, O.17.2 The »Freshfield Album«, fol. 17; Trinity College, Cambridge).

ended at the so-called Pillar of Pompey and the Rumeli Feneri (the predecessor to the nineteenth-century lighthouse now standing at the northern mouth of the Bosphorus) at the site of the Cyanean Rocks (the Symplegades of Greek mythology)⁶⁹. Other stopovers included historic Byzantine monasteries, which were practically abandoned or barely populated by small-scale communities, such as the monastery of Mavros Molos at modern Sariyer⁷⁰. The travelers were joined by artists during these trips, too: the painter who made the images of the Freshfield album was apparently present during one of these tours and spent some time sketching the surroundings

at the destination, when the group would disembark to rest before heading back to the city. Here they drafted images of the lighthouse and the pillar, which were transformed into colored drawings later (fig. 9). The return leg often included a stop at the Asian borough of Üsküdar (Byzantine Chrysopolis), where the travelers were captivated by the vast horse market and the leisure of the sultanic palace and garden complexes⁷¹. Constantinople also served as the starting point of other adventures toward the Bithynian hinterland, which started at Kadıköy, Byzantine Chalcedon, where the learned scholars would look for legendary sites associated with Saint Euphemia and the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and further eastwards in search of classical antiquities⁷². For example, Dernschwam and Busbecq went as far east as Amasya to meet with Süleyman I and Gerlach traveled to Bandırma (Panormos in Greek) on an excursion in October 1576⁷³.

After being discharged from their duties in the Ottoman capital, the diplomatic missions followed the exact same route on their return trip westwards: the ambassadors and their retinue would cross the stone bridges of Küçük- and Büyükçekmece and pass by Silivri, Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia, Niš, Belgrade, and Buda until they reached Vienna, where they submitted their official reports to the court⁷⁴. Pilgrims who wished to continue their adventures toward the east and the Holy Land, like Salomon Schweigger in 1581, would normally take the sea route past the Princes Islands and Prokonnesos, the site of the quarries that had provided much of the marble that had made Constantinople in late antiquity⁷⁵. From Gallipoli they would sail past the eastern Aegean islands toward their next destination. An alternative was the land route through Anatolia: in July 1588 Lubenau crossed the Marmara Sea on board a ferry to Mudanya and continued on donkeys and camels toward the historic Byzantine and Ottoman city of Bursa, another multi-layered site full of antiquities and resplendent Ottoman monuments⁷⁶. Regardless of whether the travelers headed to new destinations, the journey certainly did not end with the departure from Constantinople: writing, publishing, and distributing their journals in Augsburg, Nürnberg, Frankfurt, and elsewhere was the next stop, this time with their new companions, their readers in the German-speaking world, eager to learn about the Ottoman Empire, Eastern Europe, and perhaps a little bit of Byzantium.

69 Mango, Constantinopolitana 313-315.

70 Sahm, Lubenau vol. 2, 6-7; Köhbach, Das Kloster von Mavromolos am Bosphorus.

71 Necipoğlu, Suburban Landscape 35-38; Breuning, Orientalische Reyß 97; Gerlach, Tage-Buch 170-171; Sahm, Lubenau vol. 1, 162-163. For Byzantine Chrysopolis – Skoutarion, see Belke, Bithynien 504-510.

72 For example, Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung 136; Pigafetta, Itinerario 52; Gerlach, Tage-Buch 171; Breuning, Orientalische Reyß 97. For the church of Saint Euphemia: Plunian, Localisation; Vinogradov, Khram sv. Evfimii 218-227. For the Byzantine monuments of Chalcedon, see Belke, Bithynien 484-496.

73 Babinger, Dernschwam 149-152; Gerlach, Tage-Buch 255.

74 For example, Hans Dernschwam: Babinger, Dernschwam 240-242.

75 Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung 231-238. For the marble quarries of Marmara Island in Byzantine and Ottoman times respectively, see: Asgari, Proconnesian production; Vatin, Notes sur l'exploitation du marbre.

76 Sahm, Lubenau vol. 2, 71-75. See also Lowry, Ottoman Bursa 107; Grélois, Hans Dernschwam.

Bibliography

Travel Accounts

- Babinger, Dernschwam: Hans Dernschwam, Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien. Ed. F. Babinger (München, Leipzig 1923).
- Breuning, Orientalische Reyß: Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Besten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach so er selb ander in der Tuerckey under deß Tuerckischen Sultans Jurisdiction und Gebiet so wol in Europa als Asia unnd Africa ohn einig Cuchtum oder FreyGleit benantlich in Griechen Land, Egypten, Arabien, Palestina, das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien nicht ohne sondere grosse Gefahr vor dieser Zeit verrichtet (Strasbourg 1612).
- Bues, Gruneweg: Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562-ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen. Ed. A. Bues (Wiesbaden 2008).
- Busbecq, Epistolae: Augerii Gisleinii Busbequii, D. Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor (Parisiis 1595).
- Fürer, Reise: Christoph Fürers von Haimendorff, Ritters, Desz Eltern geheimen Rahts vordersten Losungers Schultheissen vnd Obristen Kriegshauptmanns der Stadt Nürnberg auch des löblichen Fränkischen Kraises Kriegsrahts Reis=Beschreibung. In Egypten Arabien Palästina Syrien etc. mit beygefügter Landtafel vnd derselben Erklärung: Sambt kurzem Anhang Jacob Fürers von Haimendorff seines Bruders Constantinopolitanischer Reise (Nürnberg 1646).
- Gerlach, Tage-Buch: Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch, der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß, an die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten, und durch den wohlgebohrnen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad... mit würcklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung deß Friedens, zwischen dem Ottomanischen und Römischen Käyserthum... glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft (Frankfurt am Main 1674).
- Kiechel, Reisen: Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel aus drei Handschriften. K. D. Haszler. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 86 (Stuttgart 1866).
- Laski, Tagebuch: Tagebuch des Hieronymus Laski während seiner zweiten Gesandtschaft bei Sultan Suleiman I. Angefagen zu Constantinopel am 31. October 1540. Abgebrochen zu Nissa am 26. Juli 1541. In A. Gevay (ed.), Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungern und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte aus Archiven und Bibliotheken (Wien 1842).
- Nehring, Herberstein: K. Nehring, Adam Freiherr zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Constantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606) (München 1983).
- Pigafetta, Itinerario: Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo Vicentino... (London 1585).
- Praun, Reise: Friedrich von Praun, Was sich auf meiner Reise zugetragen, da ich, Stephan Praun von Nürnbergkh den 20. Jenner bis 31. May, Anno 1569 mit Kaysers Maximilian Pottschaft, dem Herrn Kaspar von Minckwitz von Wien zu Landt nach Constantinopel mit dem Tribut gezogen. Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationamuseum 1916, 45-62; 1917, 49-58.
- Sahm, Lubenau: W. Sahm, Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau (Königsberg i. Pr. 1912-1930).
- Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung: Salomon Schweigger, Ein neue Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem (Nürnberg 1608).
- Sprizenstein, Bericht: Bericht des Freiherrn Franz von Sprizenstein an König Ferdinand I. In: A. Gevay (ed.), Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geshichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungern und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte aus Archiven und Bibliotheken (Wien 1842).
- Stainach, Beschreibung: Beschreibung Oder Verzeichnusz Des Wegs, Der Stätt, Orth Und Fleckhen Von Steinach Aus Dem Enstall Im Lande Styer Auf Constantinopel Zue, Wie Ichs, Wolf Andre Von Stainach, Anno 1583 Geraist Mit Dem Wolgeborenen Herrn Herrn Pauln Freiherrn Von Eytzing. Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter 3/2, 1881, 193-234.
- Vriendt, Reyse: S. de Vriendt, Reyse van Bruussele vut Brabant te Constantinopels in Thracyen en Reyse van Weenen in Hoosteryc te Constantinopels in Thracyen: Twee reisjournaals uit de jaren 1570-1585 (Ghent 1971).

References

- Ágoston, The Last Muslim Conquest: G. Ágoston, The Last Muslim Conquest. The Ottoman Empire and Its Wars in Europe (Princeton 2021).
- Apostolopoulos, Zygomalas: D. Apostolopoulos, Το Πατριαρχείο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και ο νοτάριός του Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς στα χρόνια 1564-1565. In: S. Perentidis / G. Steiris (eds), Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς (Athēna 2009) 187-195.
- Ar, Aya Irini: B. Ar, Aya Irini'de Dâr-ül Eslîha Düzenlemesi«. YILLIK. Annual of Istanbul Studies 3, 2014, 143-150.
- Asgari, Proconnesian production: N. Asgari, The Proconnesian production of architectural elements in Late Antiquity, based on evidence from the marble quarries. In: C. Mango / G. Dagron (eds), Constantinople and its Hinterland (Aldershot 1995) 263-288.
- Asutay, Mermer-Kule: N. Asutay, Wer Erbaute Mermer-Kule? Byzantion 72, 2002, 270-275.
- Asutay-Effenberger, Kynegeion: N. Asutay-Effenberger, Zum Stadtteil Kynegeion und Seinem Hafen in Spätbyzantinischer und Osmanischer Zeit. In: F. Daim (ed.), Die Byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels. BOO 4 (Mainz 2016) 109-118.
- Landmauer: N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Millennium Studies 18 (Berlin 2007).

- Odalar: N. Asutay – Effenberger, Das Kloster des Ioannes Prodomos τῆς Πέτρας in Konstantinopel und seine Beziehung zur Odalar und Kasım Ağa Camii. *Millennium* 5, 2008, 299-325.
- Porta: N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die *porta veteris rectoris* und weitere Tore der Mauer am Goldenen Horn – Zu einer osmanischen Stadtansicht von Istanbul aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. In: A. Boschetti-Maradi / B. Dieterich et alii (eds), *Fund-Stücke / Spuren-Suche* (Berlin 2011) 129-141.
- Babinger, Drei Stadtansichten: F. Babinger, Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel, Galata («Pera») und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. *Denkschriften / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 77.3* (Wien 1959).
- Belke, Bithynien: K. Belke, Bithynien und Hellespont. *TIB 13* (Wien 2020).
- Berger, Die Reisen: A. Berger, Die Reisen in der Türkei 1582-1588. In: A. Bues (ed.), *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562 -ca. 1618)* (Wiesbaden 2008).
- Born, Pieter Coecke van Aelst: A. Born, Pieter Coecke van Aelst as Traveller and Designer. *Italy and the New Rome: Kostantiniyye. Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 87, 2018, 89-141.
- Borromeo, Catholiques: E. Borromeo, Les Catholiques à Constantinople. Galata et les églises de rite latin au XVII^e siècle. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 107-110, 2005, 227-243.
- Buora/Lafli/Çağlayan, Graffiti tardocinquecenteschi: M. Buora / E. Lafli / D. Çağlayan, Graffiti tardocinquecenteschi di prigionieri nella torre meridionale della fortezza di Rumeli Hisarı (Turchia). *Quaderni friuliani di archeologia* 32, 2022, 185-193.
- Cassin/Cronier, Petra: M. Cassin / M. Cronier, Du Prodrome de Pétra à la Sainte-Trinité de Chalki: Jean le Jeûneur, Georges Doukas Nestongos et l'histoire du Prodrome après 1453. *REB* 76, 2018, 5-71.
- Cazacu, Patriarcat: M. Cazacu, Le Patriarcat de Constantinople dans la vision de Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578). In: *Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIV^e-XVI^e siècles: rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5-6-7 décembre 2005 (Paris 2007)* 369-386.
- Cerasi, Urban and Architectural Evolution: M. Cerasi, The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building. *Muqarnas* 22, 2005, 189-232.
- Cerrachi, La comunità latino-cattolica: M. Cerrachi, La comunità latino-cattolica di Istanbul nella prima età ottomana (1453-1696). *Spazi sacri, luoghi di culto. Eurostudium* 3, 2016, 30-45.
- Çınarılmaz/Ar, San Michele: N. Çınarılmaz / B. Ar, San Michele Church of Genoese Galata (Pera): Historic records and material evidence on its chronology. *AZ ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 17/2, 2020, 15-29.
- Clark, Protestants: S. E. Clark, Protestants in Palestine: Reformation of Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (PhD Dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson 2013).
- Clayer/Vatin, Un établissement de derviches: N. Clayer / N. Vatin, Un établissement de derviches stambouliotes. Le tekke d'İmrahor. *Anatolia moderna – Yeni Anadolu* 6, 1996, 31-82.
- Cramer/Düll, Baubeobachtungen: J. Cramer / S. Düll, Baubeobachtungen an der Arap Camii in Istanbul. *IstMitt* 35, 1985, 295-321.
- Crow/Ricci, Investigating the Hinterland: J. Crow / A. Ricci, Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Long Wall. *JRA* 10, 1997, 235-262.
- Crow/Bardill/Bayliss, Water Supply: J. Crow / J. Bardill / R. Bayliss, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (London 2008).
- Dalgıç/Mathews, A New Interpretation: O. Dalgıç / T. Mathews, A New Interpretation of the Church of Peribleptos and its Place in Middle Byzantine Architecture. In: *The First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul 2007 (Istanbul 2010)* 424-431.
- Dalleggio d'Alessio, La communauté latine: E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, La communauté latine de Constantinople au lendemain de la conquête ottoman. *EO* 36, 1937, 309-317.
- Traité: E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II (1^{er} juin 1453). *Versions et commentaires. EO* 39, 1940, 161-175.
- Dark/Özgümüş, Constantinople: K. Dark / F. Özgümüş, Constantinople: Archaeology of a Byzantine Megapolis. *Final Report on the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project 1998-2004* (Oxford 2013).
- De Groot, Old Dutch Graves: H. de Groot, Old Dutch Graves at Istanbul. *AO* 5, 1973, 5-16.
- De Obaldía, French Protectorate: V. De Obaldía, The French Protectorate Through Firmāns of the Conventual Archives of SS. Peter and Paul. In: S. Pedone / C. Monge (eds), *Domenicani a Costantinopoli prima e dopo l'impero ottomano. Storia, immagini e documenti d'archivio* (Florence 2017) 69-85.
- Dursteler, Education and Identity: E. Dursteler, Education and Identity in Constantinople's Latin-rite Community, ca. 1600. *Renaissance Studies* 18, 2004, 287-303.
- Efthymiadis, Le monastère de la Source: S. Efthymiadis, Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople et ses deux recueils de miracles. *Entre hagiographie et patriographie. REB* 64-65, 2006-2007, 283-309.
- Eyice, Atik Paşa: S. Eyice, Atik Paşa Camiinin Türk Mimarî Tarihindeki Yeri. *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 19, 1964.
- Elçihani: S. Eyice, Elçihani. *Tarih Dergisi*, 1970, 93-130.
- Fischer/Bencard/Rasmussen, Lorck: E. Fischer / E. J. Bencard / M. B. Rasmussen, Melchior Lorck (Copenhagen 2009).
- Gastgeber, Theodosios und Ioannes Zygomalas: Ch. Gastgeber, Theodosios und Ioannes Zygomalas – Stephan Gerlach – Martin Crusius. *Der Sammelcodex der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha Chart A 386 zwischen Konstantinopel und Tübingen*. In: S. Perentidis / G. Steires (eds), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς* (Athēna 2009) 39-124.
- Grémois, Hans Dernschwam: J.-P. Grémois, Hans Dernschwam, *Voyage en Asie Mineure (1555)*. In: B. Geyer / J. Lefort (eds), *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge* (Paris 2003) 113-138.
- Saint Constantin: J.-P. Grémois, Saint Constantin, les Caramaniens et les Anasténarédés. In: O. Delouis et al. (eds), *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan* (Paris 2016) 229-244.
- Patriarcat: J.-P. Grémois, Le patriarcat de Constantinople vu par quelques voyageurs occidentaux (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles). In: A. Binggeli / M. Cassin / M. Detoraki (eds), *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman* (Turnhout 2020) 49-60.

- Hallensleben, Pammakaristos: H. Hallensleben, Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul. *IstMitt* 13-14, 1963/1964, 128-193.
- Höfert, Almut, Den Feind beschreiben. »Türkengefahr« und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600 (Frankfurt am Main 2003).
- Jireček, Heerstrasse: K. Jireček, Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe: Eine historisch-geographische Studie (Prag 1877).
- Kafescioğlu, Picturing the Square: Ç. Kafescioğlu, Picturing the square, streets, and denizens of early modern Istanbul: Practices of urban space and shifts in visibility. *Muqarnas* 37, 2020, 139-177.
- Kislinger, Neorion: E. Kislinger, Neorion und Proosphorion – die alten Häfen am Goldenen Horn. In: F. Daim (ed.), *Die Byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels*. BOO 4 (Mainz 2016) 91-97.
- Koder, Early modern times travellers: J. Koder, Early modern times travellers as a source for the historical geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau. In: *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 141-148.
- Konrad, Beobachtungen: C.B. Konrad, Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpaşa – »Arkadiossäule«. *IstMitt* 51 (2001) 319-401.
- Külzer, Ostthrakien: A. Külzer, Ostthrakien. *TIB* 12 (Wien 2007).
- Kuran, Haseki: A. Kuran, Haseki Külliyesi. *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 2, 1974, 57-86.
- Kynan-Wilson, Play and Performance: W. Kynan-Wilson, Play and Performance in Ottoman Costume Albums. In: E. Boyar / K. Fleet (eds), *Entertainment Among the Ottomans* (Leiden 2019) 62-89.
- Lowry, Ottoman Bursa: H. Lowry, Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts (Bloomington 2003).
- Magdalino, From Byzantium: P. Magdalino, From Byzantium to Constantinople. In: E. Key Fowden / S. Çağaptay / E. Zychowicz-Coghill / L. Blanke (eds), *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism* (Oxford 2022) 225-246.
- Mango, Constantinopolitana: C. Mango, Constantinopolitana. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80, 1965, 305-336.
- Monument: C. Mango, The Monument and Its History. In: H. Belting / C. Mango / D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Cambridge MA 1978) 1-42.
- St Mary Peribleptos: C. Mango, The monastery of St Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) at Constantinople revisited. *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 23, 1992, 474-489.
- Matteucci, Glorioso convento: G. Matteucci, Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo; il S. Francesco di Galata in Constantinopoli, c. 1230-1697 (Florence 1967).
- Melvani, Approaching Orthodox sacred space: N. Melvani, Approaching Orthodox sacred space in Ottoman Istanbul: the wanderings of Protestant Humanists through the Byzantine monuments of Constantinople. *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai – Theologia Orthodoxa* 68, 2023, 47-78.
- Müller, Franken im Osten: R. Müller, Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten (Leipzig 2005).
- Prosopographie: R. Müller, Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611) (Leipzig 2006).
- Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon: W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh. (Tübingen 1977).
- Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan: G. Necipoğlu, The age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire (London 2005).
- Architecture: G. Necipoğlu, Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. *The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge MA 1991).
- Suburban Landscape: G. Necipoğlu, The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture. In: A. Petruccioli (ed.), *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design* (Leiden – New York 1997) 32-71.
- Nieder Korn, Die europäischen Mächte: J. P. Nieder Korn, Die europäischen Mächte und der »Lange Türkenkrieg« Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1593-1606 (Wien 1993).
- Okçuoğlu, From Monks to Dervishes: T. Okçuoğlu, From Monks to Dervishes: The İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque and Tekke. In: T. Okçuoğlu / E. Kudde / N. Melvani, *Stoudios Monastery in Istanbul. History, Architecture and Art* (Istanbul 2021) 170-186.
- Ousterhout, Life: R. Ousterhout, The life and afterlife of Constantine's Column. *JRA* 27, 2014, 304-326.
- Sixteenth-century Visitor: R. Ousterhout, A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora. *DOP* 39, 1985, 117-124.
- Water and Healing: R. Ousterhout, Water and Healing in Constantinople. In: B. Pitarakis / G. Tanman (eds), *Life is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium. New Perspectives* (Istanbul 2018) 64-77.
- Özgülven, Market Place: B. Özgülven, A Market Place in the Ottoman Empire: Avrat Pazarı and Its Surroundings. *Kadın / Woman* 2, 2002, 67-85.
- Palazzo/Raineri, La chiesa di S. Pietro: P.B. Palazzo / P.A. Raineri, La chiesa di S. Pietro in Galata: Note storiche illustrative in occasione dei I centenario della Consacrazione (Istanbul 1943).
- Peschlow, Befestigte Residenz: U. Peschlow, Die befestigte Residenz von Mermerkule. Beobachtungen an einem spätbyzantinischen Bau im Verteidigungssystem von Konstantinopel. *JÖB* 51, 2001, 385-404.
- Petritsch, Zeremoniell: E. D. Petritsch, Zeremoniell bei Empfangen habsburgischer Gesandtschaften in Konstantinopel. In: J. P. Nieder Korn / R. Kauz / G. Rota (eds), *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wien 2009).
- Philippides/Hanak, Siege: M. Philippides / W. K. Hanak, The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: *Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies* (Aldershot 2011).
- Pistarino, The Genoese in Pera: G. Pistarino, The Genoese in Pera – Turkish Galata. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1, 1986, 63-85.
- Plunian, Localisation: Y. Plunian, La localisation du sanctuaire de sainte Euphémie à Kadıköy, l'ancienne Chalcedoine. *REB* 73, 2015, 267-291.
- Popovic, Von Budapest nach Istanbul: M. Popovic, Von Budapest nach Istanbul. Die Via Traiana im Spiegel der Reiseliteratur des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig 2010).

- Radway, The Captive Self: R. D. Radway, The Captive Self: the Art of Intrigue and the Holy Roman Emperor's Resident Ambassador at the Ottoman Court in the Sixteenth Century. *Journal of Early Modern History* 22, 2018, 475-499.
- Portraits: R.D. Radway, Portraits of Empires. Habsburg Albums from the German House in Ottoman Constantinople (Bloomington 2023).
- Rahn, Entstehung: M. Rahn, Die Entstehung des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (Münster, Hamburg, London 2002).
- Refik, Gümrük ve Ticaret: A. Refik [Altınay], On İkinci Asırda İstanbul'da Gümrük ve Ticaret. *Dârülfünûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 1924, 247-252.
- Sağlam, Transformation and Continuity: S. Sağlam, Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul). *İDEALKENT* 11, 2020, 1832-1855.
- Urban Palimpsest: S. Sağlam, Urban Palimpsest at Galata & An Architectural Inventory Study for the Genoese Colonial Territories in Asia Minor (PhD Dissertation, Politecnico di Milano, 2018).
- Schreiner, Unbekannte Beschreibung: P. Schreiner, Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels. *DOP* 25, 1971, 217-248.
- Semiz, Istanbul: N. Semiz, İstanbul Haliç ve Marmara Surları, Belgeleme Çalışmaları, Tarihi ve Peyzaj Değerlerinin Korunmasına Yönelik Öneriler [unpubl. PhD thesis, Istanbul Technical University 2015].
- Simeonov, Brachialion-Anlegestelle: G. Simeonov, Die Brachialion-Anlegestelle. In: F. Daim (ed.), Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels. *BOO* 4 (Mainz 2016) 139-146.
- Stichel, Bremer: R. Stichel, Das Bremer Album und seine Darstellungen innerhalb der orientalischen Trachtenbücher. In: H.-A. Koch (ed.), Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos. Kommentarband (Graz 1991).
- Postament: R. Stichel, Zum Postament der Porphyrsäule Konstantins des Großen in Konstantinopel. *IstMitt* 44, 1994, 317-327.
- Strohmeyer, Die habsburgisch-osmanische Freundschaft: A. Strohmeyer, Die habsburgisch-osmanische Freundschaft (16.-18. Jahrhundert). In: A. Strohmeyer / N. Spannenberger (eds), Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen. Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit. *Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa* Band 45 (Stuttgart 2013) 223-238.
- Taddei, Colonna di Arcadio: A. Taddei, La Colonna di Arcadio a Costantinopoli. Profilo storico di un monumento attraverso le fonti documentarie dalle origini all'età moderna. *Nea Rhômê* 6, 2009, 62-76.
- Talbot, Epigrams: A.-M. Talbot, Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos Tes Peges and Its Art. *DOP* 48, 1994, 135-165.
- Tezcan, Topkapı Sarayı: H. Tezcan, Topkapı Sarayı ve çevresinin Bizans devri arkeolojisi (İstanbul 1989).
- Vatin, Notes sur l'exploitation du marbre: N. Vatin, Notes sur l'exploitation du marbre et l'île de Marmara Adası (Proconnessè) à l'époque ottomane. *Turcica* 32, 2000, 307-362.
- Vingopoulou, Le monde grec: I. Vingopoulou, Le monde grec vu par les voyageurs du XVI^e siècle. Collection Histoire des idées 4; Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques, Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique 86 (Athènes 2004).
- Routes et logements: I. Vingopoulou, Routes et logements des voyageurs dans la région de la Thrace (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles). *La Revue Historique* 7, 2011, 308-315.
- Vinogradov, Khram sv. Evfimii: A. Vinogradov, Храм св. Евфимии в Халкидоне и феномен круглого барабана в средневизантийской архитектуре. *VV* 106, 2022, 218-227.
- Westbrook, Strategion: N. Westbrook, Notes towards the reconstruction of the Forum of the Strategion and its Related Roads in Early Byzantine Constantinople. *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 9, 2013, 3-38.
- Westbrook/Dark/van Meeuwen, Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama: N. Westbrook / K. Dark / R. van Meeuwen, Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69/1, 2010, 62-87.
- Yerasimos, Galata: S. Yerasimos, Galata à travers les récits de voyage (1453-1600). In: E. Eldem (ed.), Première rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie (Istanbul 1991) 117-137.
- Voyageurs: S. Yerasimos, Les Voyageurs dans l'empire Ottoman XIV^e-XVI^e siècles (Istanbul 1991).

Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Approaching Constantinople and Wandering through Ottoman Istanbul

Travelers from the Holy Roman Empire to Istanbul were mostly members of diplomatic delegations to the Ottoman Empire or pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land. The former group would travel by land through the Balkans and stay in the so-called German house opposite the Column of Constantine in the center of Constantinople. Their primary goal was to meet with the sultan in the Palace, but they often found time to visit historic landmarks from Byzantine times, such as the Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome. A group of theologians (e. g. Stephan Gerlach) also explored other parts of the city, especially the northwestern neighborhoods where the Patriarchate was located (at the time based in the Byzantine monastery of the Pammakaristos). On rare occasions, they even ventured toward the rather marginalized parts of the southwest. Pilgrims on the other hand stayed in the Levantine district of Galata, but they, too, spent time visiting antiquities in the historic peninsula. Excursions to the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus and to the Asian side were also popular day trips described in travel accounts written by these humanist scholars.

Annäherungen an Konstantinopel und Streifzüge durch das osmanische Istanbul

Reisende aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, die nach Istanbul kamen, waren meist Mitglieder diplomatischer Delegationen im Osmanischen Reich oder Pilger auf dem Weg ins Heilige Land oder auf dem Rückweg von dort. Die erste Gruppe reiste auf dem Landweg durch den Balkan und übernachtete im sogenannten Deutschen Haus gegenüber der Konstantinssäule im Zentrum von Konstantinopel. Ihr Hauptziel war es, den Sultan im Palast zu treffen, aber sie fanden oft Zeit, historische Sehenswürdigkeiten aus byzantinischer Zeit zu besichtigen, wie die Hagia Sophia und das Hippodrom.

Eine Gruppe von Theologen (z. B. Stephan Gerlach) erkundete auch andere Teile der Stadt, insbesondere die nordwestlichen Stadtviertel, in denen sich das Patriarchat befand (zu dieser Zeit im byzantinischen Kloster Pammakaristos). In seltenen Fällen wagten sie sich sogar in die Randbezirke im Südwesten vor. Pilger hingegen hielten sich im levantinischen Stadtteil Galata auf, besuchten aber auch die antiken Stätten auf der historischen Halbinsel. Ausflüge zur Schwarzmeermündung des Bosphorus und auf die asiatische Seite waren ebenfalls beliebte Tagesausflüge, die in den Reiseberichten dieser humanistischen Gelehrten beschrieben wurden.

À l'approche de Constantinople et à travers l'Istanbul ottomane

Les voyageurs du Saint-Empire-Romain-Germanique à Istanbul étaient pour la plupart des membres de délégations diplomatiques auprès de l'Empire ottoman ou des pèlerins en route vers et depuis la Terre Sainte. Les premiers voyageaient par voie terrestre à travers les Balkans et séjournaient dans la »maison allemande« en face de la colonne de Constantin, au centre de Constantinople. Leur objectif principal était de rencontrer le sultan au palais, mais ils trouvaient souvent le temps de visiter des sites historiques de l'époque byzantine, tels que Sainte-Sophie et l'Hippodrome. Un groupe de théologiens (par exemple Stephan Gerlach) a également exploré d'autres parties de la ville, en particulier les quartiers nord-ouest où se trouvait le patriarcat (alors basé dans le monastère byzantin de la Pammakaristos). En de rares occasions, ils s'aventuraient même vers les quartiers plutôt marginalisés du sud-ouest. Les pèlerins, quant à eux, restaient dans le quartier levantin de Galata, mais ils consacraient également du temps à visiter les antiquités de la péninsule historique. Les excursions à l'embouchure du Bosphore sur la mer Noire et sur la rive asiatique étaient également des excursions d'une journée populaires décrites dans les récits de voyage rédigés par ces érudits humanistes.