

Byzantium in the Sixteenth Century: Constantinople and its Afterlife

Topography, Institutions, Reception

Nicholas Melvani (ed.)



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Byzantium in the Sixteenth Century: An Introduction

This volume brings together the papers presented at the international workshop »Byzantium in the Sixteenth Century« held at the Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz in May 2022, with the addition of texts submitted by scholars who did not participate. The preparation of the Mainz workshop was an unusually long process for a one-day event: it was originally planned for May 2020 as part of the activities of the Leibniz WissenschaftsCampus »Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident«, Mainz/Frankfurt, with the participation of experts from Germany, Turkey, Greece, France and Austria, but the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, which hindered international travel and gatherings, forced us to postpone it indefinitely. Despite efforts to reschedule for the 2020-2021 academic year, which were unsuccessful due to continuing restrictions, the project was revived at the earliest in early 2022, when it finally became clear that the time was ripe for the workshop to be held in the spring of that year. Unfortunately, despite everyone's commitment to the original idea, the new date did not suit everyone, and some colleagues were sadly forced to withdraw. However, new volunteers eagerly joined us and the workshop was successfully held at the University of Mainz.

The papers read at the workshop offered fresh perspectives on the topic to an engaged audience and sparked lively discussions among the participants, who included, in addition to the speakers, various members of the departments of Eastern European History, Byzantine Studies and Early Modern History at the University of Mainz. The WissenschaftsCampus »Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident«, which had endorsed the idea from the very first planning stages, showed great interest in publishing the papers presented at the workshop and making them available to a wider audience through its series of publications; the result is the present collection of papers on one of the most important cities of late antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early modern period, which played a decisive role in world history throughout its historical development. For this publication, the original participants have been joined by other specialists working on similar topics, most of whom are associated with the workshop or with the broad pool of Byzantinists in Mainz.

The workshop and this edited volume have benefited greatly from the continuous support and efforts of Benjamin

Fourlas of the Leibniz Zentrum für Archäologie (LEIZA) and of the Leibniz WissenschaftsCampus. Professors Jan Kusber (East European History, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, [JGU]), Johannes Pahlitzsch (Byzantine Studies, JGU), and Christian Maner (East European History, JGU) were major factors in the organization and success of the Workshop. Zachary Chitwood, also at Mainz University at the time, as well as Natalia Kupermann, Sabine Reichert, Michael Ober, Semjon Kaul, and Dennis Wambolt generously offered assistance in various practical matters. The meticulous work of Stefan Albrecht (LEIZA) was crucial for the completion of the publication. To all of these friends and colleagues I owe special thanks.

The title of this volume might strike the reader as an oxymoron. If it is generally agreed that the Byzantine Empire ended in 1453, how can we speak of Byzantium in the sixteenth century? Of course, it could refer to the early stages of the discipline of Byzantine Studies, which are usually connected with the rise of humanism in Italy and north of the Alps – indeed, an important issue that is currently debated among Byzantinists of recent years¹; this is not completely irrelevant here (the reception of Byzantium by sixteenth century-century audiences is a recurring theme in many of the contributions), but the subtitle »Constantinople and its Afterlife« makes it clear that the project is about the city itself and how the former capital of the Byzantine empire continued to preserve elements of its pre-Ottoman past even when it became the seat of the Ottoman sultans. The idea that the term Byzantium can still be used to describe phenomena after 1453 is by no means a novelty: Nicolae Iorga's classic study of the Greek and Romanian circles revolving around the Patriarchate of Constantinople, »Byzance après Byzance«, has demonstrated that this is a legitimate approach². That Constantinople/Kostantiniyye is an appropriate place to focus on for tracing survivals of Byzantium has also been made evident on numerous occasions.

There is certainly no lack of scholarship on the rich history of Constantinople or on the multiple layers of its urban development through the Byzantine and Ottoman periods – and there is no doubt that the historic metropolis will continue to inspire scholars of the two respective disciplines (Byzantine and Ottoman studies) and invite new approaches to its

1 See for example the various essays in the volume Aschenbrenner/Ransohoff, *The Invention of Byzantium*.

past. The idea for the workshop described above and for the present volume was born out of the need to fill the gaps that emerge in the study of the intersection between the two phases. The disciplinary boundaries between Ottoman and Byzantine studies and the awkward stance classicists and early modern historians adopt toward the East Roman Empire and toward the Islamic Near East aggravate the difficulties and hinder a holistic approach to the transitional years that saw the metamorphosis of the city that served as the capital of the two respective empires. However, experts of both fields (Byzantinists and Ottomanists) have always been well aware of the necessity for a synergy as the best solution to clarify key questions regarding the landscape of Constantinople/Istanbul and Byzantinists (to which group the editor of the present volume belongs) have inevitably relied on later evidence to elucidate facts about Byzantine buildings and their uses; the monumental *Bildlexikon* on the topography of the city by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, published in 1977, stressed the validity of treating both periods (as well as the Greek and Roman layers) together. Scholars such as the pioneer of Constantinopolitan studies Cyril Mango have consistently relied on evidence from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century as a methodological tool to shed light on the history of Byzantine Constantinople, its monuments, and its urban physiognomy³.

Because a city such as Constantinople requires the implementation of multiple methodological approaches and of an interdisciplinary point of view, edited volumes dealing with various aspects of the Byzantine capital, its urban layout, its monuments, institutions, cultural and economic activity, and religious life have appeared on previous occasions⁴. They usually concentrate on the Byzantine phases of the city, but the book edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, contains an important contribution by Peter Schreiner, which demonstrates the vitality of sixteenth-century Constantinople for Byzantium and for Byzantine studies in general: in his article on John Malaxos's work on the «Antiquities of Constantinople», a topic he and several other scholars have worked on for decades, he was able to shed light on the activity of Patriarchal circles studying Byzantine monuments and manuscripts in Istanbul⁵.

Of course, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was the institution that embodied the continuation of religious and social life in the city during the transitional years that followed the Ottoman conquest. Although it was reconstituted, reorganized, and forced to relocate to a new site in 1454, the internal organization of the Church reflected that of the Late Byzantine patriarchate, which it aspired to continue. The patriarchs of the first Ottoman decades were prominent figures within the Byzantine monastic and ecclesiastical elites and the seat of the Church, albeit far from the Hagia Sophia that had been its headquarters for more than a millennium,

was a Byzantine monastery adorned with Byzantine mosaics and portraits of Byzantine emperors. Dimitris Apostolopoulos has shown that scholars and hierarchs of the Patriarchate systematically relied on and perpetuated the Byzantine legal tradition, whereas the codices once used for the Palaiologan Patriarchal Register were preserved and consulted by churchmen and administrators until the sixteenth century⁶.

It is becoming increasingly common to transcend periodization in the historical disciplines and stopping abruptly at any specific date – no matter how crucial its importance for world history – makes little sense in a city with such a long continuous life and with such a rich urban stratigraphy. Thus, although it is rather obvious that any account of Byzantine Constantinople should end with the Ottoman conquest in 1453, studying the transition to Ottoman Istanbul is equally important for understanding the Byzantine city as the two phases blended organically to create the mixed cityscape which continues to fascinate scholars, locals, and visitors until the present day (albeit filtered through the modernization processes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). The sixteenth century, considered by many experts as the apogee of Ottoman power and the pinnacle of Ottoman architecture and urban planning, presents multiple challenges, as – it will be shown – the Byzantine layer of the city was still alive and often made its presence felt.

From the point of view of the urban landscape, it is certainly legitimate to ask questions about the afterlife of Byzantine Constantinople: several key monuments and landmarks inherited from the late antique and medieval city continued to be used and reused during Ottoman times and were infused with new life under the new regime: the Hagia Sophia became the chief sultanic mosque of the Ottoman capital, several former monastic complexes were populated by dervish communities, the Hippodrome was once again the center of public life hosting official ceremonies and sporting events, the aqueduct became the core of the Ottoman water supply system, and the Byzantine fortifications continued to delineate the Ottoman city, with their gates functioning as points of entry into the capital of the Ottoman empire. Thus, despite important changes in the urban layout due to the establishment of the New Palace (what is now known as the Topkapi Saray) on the site of the acropolis and the abandonment of both Byzantine palatial complexes (the Great Palace and the Blachernai), the replacement of the Holy Apostles by the Fatih mosque, the development of the Grand Bazaar in the center of the peninsula, and the establishment of new mosque complexes, medreses (theological schools), imarets (soup kitchens), and hamams (bathhouses) as parts of pious foundations, the Ottoman city inherited several components from Byzantium. Elements of the street system, the water

2 Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*.

3 For example, in his analysis of some of the images in the so-called Freshfield Album: Mango, *Constantinopolitana* and his monograph on the mosaics of the Hagia Sophia: Mango, *Materials*.

4 For example, Mango/Dagron, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*; Necipoğlu, *Byzantine Constantinople*.

5 Schreiner, John Malaxos.

6 Apostolopoulos, *Puiseur*.

supply, and the harbor facilities were integrated into the new Ottoman framework and the domes and minarets of the new buildings rhythmically conversed with the domes of the pre-existing Byzantine buildings and the columns of the late antique *fora* to create a new imperial landscape in the powerful city.

Aside from the refoundation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the human geography of Constantinople during the first decades after the Ottoman Conquest was dependent on the repopulation projects initiated by Mehmed II, which resulted in the influx of new inhabitants – Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Armenians, and Jews – from diverse parts of the empire⁷. Thus, the demography of Ottoman Istanbul is different from that of Palaiologan Constantinople, but some old families and Christian social groups were able to resettle and to develop their activity around the revived Patriarchate and accordingly laid claims to Byzantine ancestry; in most cases, these claims were based on some seeds of truth. Indeed, Greek scholarly circles were actively researching the Byzantine past by observing its built environment, recording inscriptions, and studying the wealth of manuscripts still preserved in the patriarchal library and in private collections of wealthy Greeks. This activity shows that some elements of Byzantium were still alive in sixteenth-century Constantinople. The Levantine and European-orientated communities in the former Genoese colony of Pera/Galata (especially the mercantile families and the great religious orders) likewise present several direct links with the pre-Conquest period.

Agustino Pertusi, in his detailed study on the role of humanism in the development of Byzantine studies, discerned three main reasons that triggered the rise in the interest in Byzantium⁸: curiosity about the Ottomans and their predecessors (i.e., the East Roman Empire), fascination with the past and with antiquity (traces of which could be seen in Byzantine manuscripts transmitting classical texts), and the attempts to establish religious dialog with the Orthodox Church, especially from the part of Protestants seeking an anti-Catholic alliance, which revitalized the study of Greek fathers, Greek ecclesiastical history, and Eastern Christianity in general. The city of Constantinople played an important role in all three directions, thanks to the travels of learned scholars to the city and their first-hand encounter with the physical space of the former Byzantine capital. Information about the Ottomans and manuscripts containing works of Byzantine and Ottoman history were acquired thanks to the activity of travelers such as Nicolas de Nicolay and Hans Dernschwam, details about the antiquities and classical texts were obtained by scholars such as Pierre Gilles and Ogier de Busbecq, whereas facts about the Byzantine monuments and the Greek Church were relayed to Vienna and Tübingen by

theologians such as Stephan Gerlach and Salomon Schweigger. In addition to texts, images also played an important role in relaying information on Istanbul and its Byzantine aspects to audiences in the West. Picture books, such as the Costume Books of Lambert de Vos and the so-called Freshfield Album, and panoramic views, such as the well-known Prospect of Constantinople by Melchior Lorck, have traditionally served as crucial evidence for the study of the city, its people, and its monuments; contextualizing them against the backdrop of contemporary realities is vital for distilling even more information about multiple aspects of the Ottoman and Byzantine worlds⁹.

Manifestations of the survival of Byzantine Constantinople within the context of early Ottoman Istanbul were explored in the one-day workshop held on 20 May 2022 in Mainz. The nature of the city's mutations and the degree to which the Byzantine background affected sixteenth-century realities were studied based on an array of narrative and archival texts, careful examination of the material remains still visible in modern Istanbul, and a close focus on the diverse institutions active in Ottoman Istanbul; the participants of the workshop analyzed the dissemination of texts and images on sixteenth-century Istanbul in the West and how it influenced scholars during the following centuries, as well as the ways the continuous transformation and subsequent survival of the Byzantine monuments affected the urban growth and layout of Istanbul in the longue durée up to the nineteenth century.

In the workshop the participants investigated diverse aspects of the urban physiognomy of Constantinople/Istanbul during its early Ottoman phase: they focused on aspects of the Ottoman urban and institutional framework, the theological, humanist, and political interests of scholars and diplomats active in the city, the identity and organization of the local Christians under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the appearance, use, and re-use of the Byzantine monuments and public spaces, and the ways the image of the city was captured by artists and mapmakers for use among western European audiences. By combining these approaches, we addressed more complex issues, such as the ways Ottoman-Habsburg relationships were affected by the familiarization of westerners with the physical space of the Ottoman capital and its Byzantine background and the ways the Patriarchate assumed a leading role in the organization of Christians in the Ottoman Empire, as well as on an international scale, through its discussions with the Orthodox world and other Christian denominations beyond the Ottoman empire, even the importance of the city's material remains for the development of classical and Byzantine studies on a world-wide basis.

7 Inalcik, Policy of Mehmed II; Braude, Foundation Myths.

8 Pertusi, Storiografia umanistica.

9 For these sources, see the contributions by Paribeni, Turquois, and Melvani in the present volume.

By bringing together scholars specializing in Ottoman history and art history, Byzantine and post-Byzantine archives, Greek palaeography and philology, Byzantine architecture and archaeology, Western European travel literature, and Byzantine art history and historical topography from Germany, Austria, France, Greece, and Turkey we attempted to explore these issues from the points of view of a broad variety of disciplines. Indeed, the purpose of this workshop was to compare different approaches to the diverse phenomena that characterize the transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman Empire and the confrontations between Christian West and Islamic East. This topic is relevant within ongoing debates about the relations between East and West and about the place of Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire within these debates. Thus, understanding the role of the capital city of both empires within the international framework is crucial for addressing a series of questions regarding the afterlife of Byzantium and its reception by Ottomans, Greeks, Levantines, Westerners, and Russians. The addition of relevant texts submitted by colleagues who did not participate in the Mainz Workshop has broadened the canvas and has further promoted the discussion inaugurated during the event.

The volume is divided into four sections focusing on the monuments, institutions, and reception of sixteenth-century Istanbul. The first part is the main topographical section and concentrates on emblematic monuments and sites in the historic peninsula of Constantinople which formed an important part of the city's Byzantine heritage in Ottoman times and marked the transition between the two imperial phases: Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger analyzes how the Theodosian Land Walls, together with the maritime fortifications, were maintained in Ottoman times, functioned as the Ottoman city's boundaries, and continued to define the shape of the city, as they had in Byzantine times. Andrea Paribeni follows travelers' footsteps and describes the fate of the famous Hagia Sophia during its first decades as a mosque, as well as its impact on the world of the Renaissance. Bilge Ar directs our gaze slightly to the north and deals with the use of another great church, the Hagia Eirene, as an armory within the Ottoman palace. Elodie Turquois employs the methodological tools of textual analysis to discuss the representation and reception of the Hippodrome by French humanists who sojourned in the city during the time of Francis I (1515-1547) and Henry II (1547-1559). Arne Effenberger turns to

the sixteenth-century evidence to elucidate episodes of the Byzantine phase of the Pammakaristos monastery, the seat of the Patriarchate of Constantinople after the Conquest.

The section on the topography and monuments of sixteenth-century Constantinople is followed by two papers which offer the alternative view from Galata and its Levantine community and appropriately expand the discussion with two sites: Philipp Niewöhner examines the material and textual evidence from Saint Benoit, a former Byzantine building which functioned as the stage for the growing influence of the Kingdom of France and of the Jesuit congregation in the Ottoman Empire; Vanessa de Obaldía focuses on the Dominicans and their properties and sheds light on important aspects of the transition of the Order from Byzantium to the Ottomans. With the papers of Youli Evangelou and Taisiya Leber, the discussion shifts toward the various activities and institutions in sixteenth-century Istanbul, which enhance the spatial aspects of the other papers. The former revisits the crucial issue of the Byzantine identity of the post-1453 Patriarchate of Constantinople by highlighting (with the help of archival material) the Orthodox networks that developed in Ottoman Istanbul; the latter traces the production and circulation of printed books among the various communities claiming the legacy of Byzantium in the Ottoman capital. The last section of the volume explores further aspects of the reception of Byzantium: Nicholas Melvani deals with the movement of travelers from the Holy Roman Empire through the streets of the capital of the East Roman Empire and Roman Shliakhtin questions the real impact of Byzantine Constantinople on Muscovite imagination at a time when the duchy of Moscow was emerging as a major power in eastern Europe.

The papers included in this volume adopt very different approaches with the use of diverse methodologies. However, they all share the idea that studying sixteenth-century Constantinople is less about describing the destruction and death of Byzantium and more about narrating how the city began its new life through co-existence with its older phases and their memories – in other words, how Byzantine Constantinople was integrated into Ottoman Istanbul and European imagination and how aspects of the city's sixteenth-century phase can teach us lessons about the urban and human geography of the capital city of the Byzantine Empire.

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The City Walls of Kostantiniyye/Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century: Collapses, Repairs, and Functions

The main task of the city walls* of Constantinople was, naturally, to protect the city against military offensives¹. However, some sections gained – either soon after their construction or later, from the early 5th century onwards – additional functions: several segments of the wards of the Theodosian Land Walls were used, for example, as graveyards² or for vegetable gardens (in peace times) (fig. 1)³, while certain towers served as depots⁴. The towers with a side gate to the ward were surely more appropriate for this kind of usages (fig. 2). In at least one case, a gateway-tower was decorated with posterior religious paintings (fig. 3)⁵, and a few later towers or edifices acted as belvederes⁶. It has been reasonably suggested that several city gates of the Land Walls were custom points for goods that reached the city *via* overland routes (sketch 1)⁷. Some towers of the Blachernai Walls (the



Fig. 1 Land Walls. General view. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

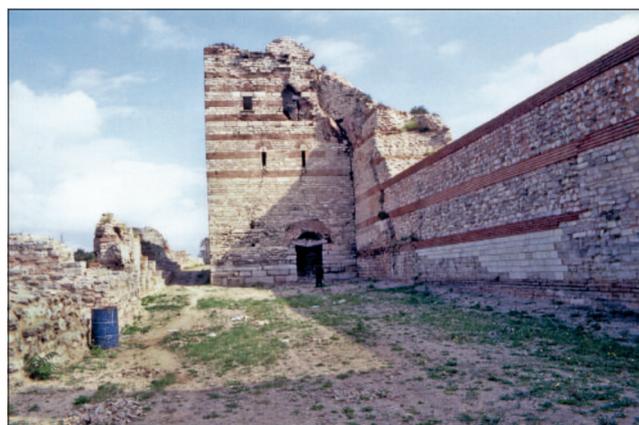


Fig. 2 Land Walls. Tower no. 62. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

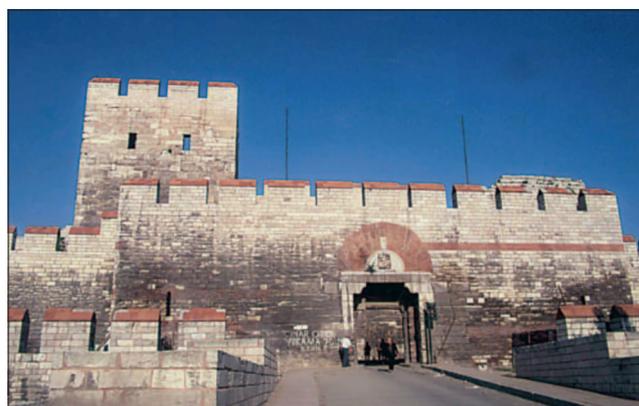


Fig. 3 Land Walls. Mevlvihane Kapı. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

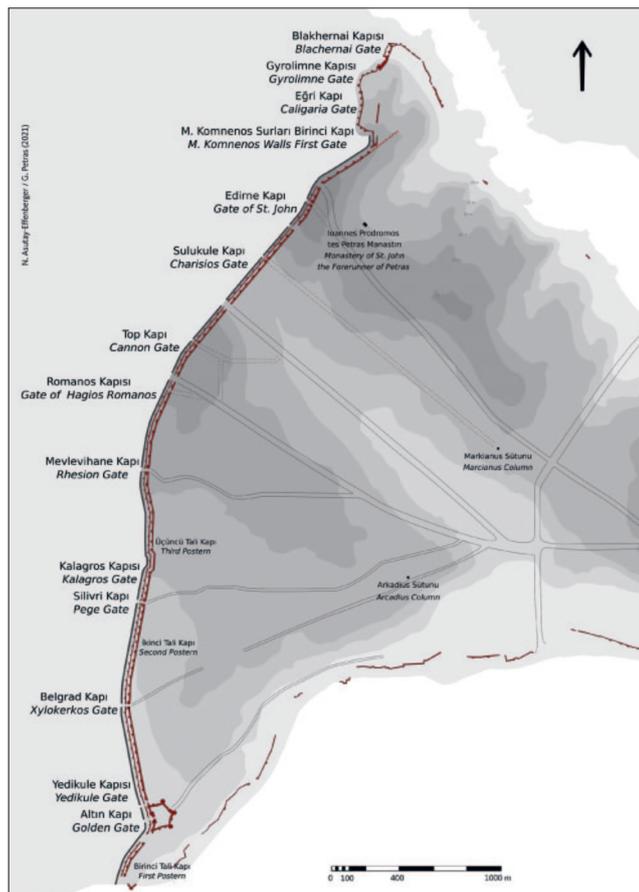
* When I use the singulars »bulwerk«, »fortification«, »fortress«, »defensive line« or the plural »city walls« I am referring to the whole defence system, including the land walls and both sea walls (Marmara and Golden Horn).

- 1 Here can only be mentioned a limited number of studies on this subject: for the Land Walls, see Meyer-Plath/Schneider, Landmauer. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer (with sources and secondary literature). – Asutay-Effenberger, Delineating 72-88. – For a short essay, see N. Asutay-Effenberger, Theodosian Walls. Koç University, Istanbul City Walls Project/Turkish and English (online) (in following will be cited as KU-Project) <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/54/theodosian-walls> (21.06.2024). – For the Blachernai Walls, see Asutay-Effenberger, Blachernai 253-276 (with sources and secondary literature). – See also N. Semiz, Sea Walls. KU-Project: <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/60/sea-walls> (21.02.2025). – For a short essay about the entire fortification in Turkish, see Asutay-Effenberger, Surlar ve Kapılar 69-100 (with sources and secondary literature).
- 2 Cod. Theod. XV.1.51 (4. April 413). – Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 51-53. 110. – Asutay-Effenberger, Delineating 74.
- 3 Cod. Theod. XV.1.51 (4. April 413). – Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 2. – Asutay-Effenberger, Delineating 74. – For a compilation of the secondary literature, see Ricci, Resilient Landscape 125-138.
- 4 Cf. Van Millingen, Walls 52.
- 5 Meyer-Plath/Schneider, Landmauer 68, registered on the second floor of the northern gateway-tower of Mevlvihane Kapı (tower no. 51) some remnants of paintings over a white ground. Schneider identified some of them as the tips of shoes and halos of saints and suggested that they belong to a later painting: »Stuck- und Farbreste an den Pfeilern und Nischen lassen erkennen, daß das Obergeschoß in späterer Zeit einmal verputzt und nach den erhaltenen Schuhspitzen und Nimben mit Heiligenfiguren auf weißem Grund bemalt war«. These remains were reconstructed by Krischen, Landmauer 8 and plate 10. It can be that this floor had at one point an additional sacral function. It is also possible that these images were put there to protect the gateway in the Late Byzantine era. However, I would prefer not to speculate as we do not have any substantial details or knowledge about these paintings.
- 6 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 110-117.
- 7 Cf. Matschke, Tore 189-222 esp. 200-204 (with further literature).



Fig. 4 Blachernai Walls. Northern section with towers no. 15, 16, 18. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

northern extension of the Land Walls) seem to have served as prisons (fig. 4)⁸ or as belvederes as well (sketch 1)⁹. It appears that the above-mentioned tasks were also applicable to the defensive line of the shore (fig. 5); this one possessed also edifices integrated later, like palaces or belvederes¹⁰, and the trade harbours, jetties, customs, commercial buildings, shops, markets, money-changers, depots, etc., stood here¹¹.



Sketch 1 Land Walls and gates. – (Drawing N. Asutay-Effenberger / Guido Petras).

In the Middle Byzantine period, in particular, after the foundation of Italian quarters – especially from the 11th century –, the area of modern Eminönü was the main witness of the intensive international maritime trade traffic (sketch 2; fig. 6)¹². Various towers in this vicinity were apparently depots as well¹³, while some others of the shore were probably used as lighthouses¹⁴ or as fastening points for the chains that blocked the entrance of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn¹⁵. Anyway the fortification of the city held further important roles beyond its basic military function; it contributed also to the civil and commercial aspects of the Byzantine city over time.

- 8 According to Meyer-Plath/Schneider, Landmauer 102 footnote 1, tower no. 15 at Blachernai was the Anemas Dungeon. – Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, Blachernai 261, fig. 10. – For further discussion and a new revised map of the region, see N. Asutay-Effenberger, Blachernai Palace and the so-called Anemas Dungeon. KU-Project: <https://istanbulcitywalls.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/72/blachernai-palace-and-the-so-called-anemas-dungeon> (21.06.2024).
- 9 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 131-134. – Asutay-Effenberger, Lebensstil 169-188. – Asutay-Effenberger, Blachernai 253-276 esp. 271-272.
- 10 For example the Bukoleon Palace, see most recently Heher, Bukoleon Palace 109-132. – See also Asutay-Effenberger, Mermer-Kule 270-274. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 110-117.
- 11 See Asutay-Effenberger, Die »porta veteris rectoris« 129-141. – Necipoğlu, Social Topography 133-143 esp. 134. – Cf. footnote 12, below.
- 12 Here can only be mentioned a limited number of works (with sources) on this subject: Schreiner, Kaufleute 175-191. – Maltézou, Il quartiere veneziano 30-61. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 6-31. – Berger, Ufergegend 149-165. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 209-226. – Jacoby, Venetian Quarter 153-170. – Frankopan, Trade 135-160. – Magdalino, Constantinople 80-102. – Ağır, Venedik. – Kisliger, Old Harbours 133-139. – Schreiner, Landing Stages 151-160. – See also the contributions in Kisliger/Koder/Külzer, Handelsgüter.
- 13 See Maltézou, Il quartiere veneziano 30-61 esp. 53 no. 38 (*turris cum volta que est subtus ipsam turrem*).
- 14 For a discussion and literature about the tower at the eastern boundary of the Bukoleon Palace, see Heher, Bukoleon 109-132 esp. 126-128.
- 15 See Mango, Triumphal Way 173-186. – Effenberger, Buondelmonti 24-25. – Magdalino, Acropolis Gate 147-156. – Kisliger, Eugenios-Tor 725-731. – Kisliger, Superharbour 171-178.

Fig. 5 Sea Walls and the Topkapı Sarayı. – (Photo Devrim Sezer).



Fig. 6 Vicinity of Eminönü (former Balıkpazarı Kapısı) with Yeni Camii. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).



Sketch 2 Eminönü and vicinity. – (Drawing N. Asutay-Effenberger / Guido Petras, modified after Schneider, Mauern und Tore 104 Plan IV).

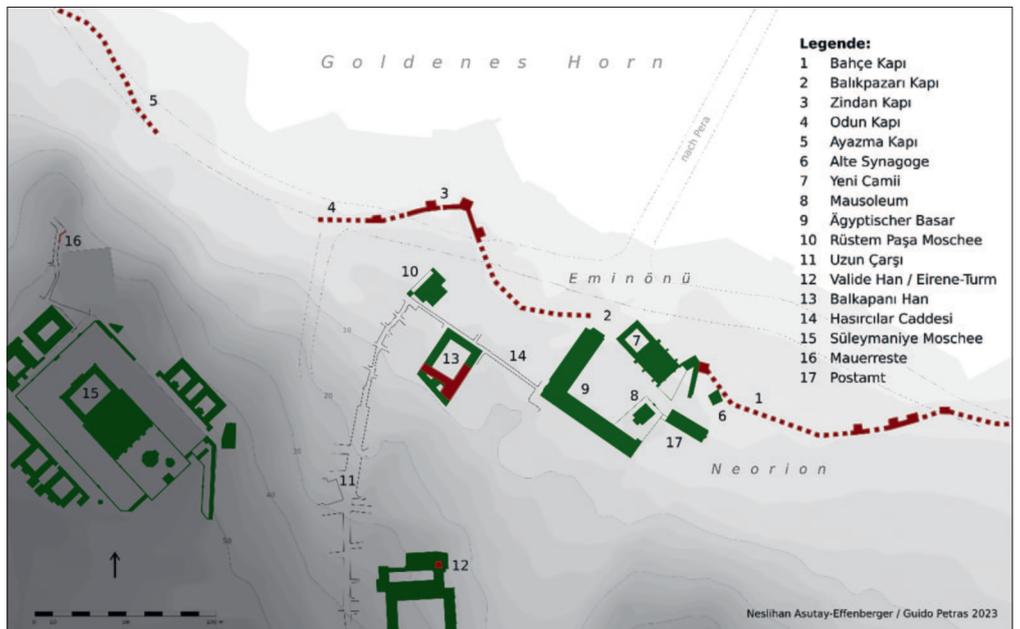




Fig. 7 Sea Walls. Tower with inscription bands. – (Photo Görkem Kızılkayak).

During the entire Byzantine era, both the city and its bulwark were repeatedly affected by natural disasters and needed to be repaired as rapidly as possible¹⁶. Written sources and preserved inscriptions tell us about these restorations (fig. 7)¹⁷, and traces on the masonry confirm such activities (fig. 1)¹⁸. Several sieges also contributed to the cycles of collapse and repair, with the last one culminating in the conquest of the city on May 29, 1453. After this point, the maintenance of the fortress was under the purview of the Ottoman sultans. As recently noted in a related short report¹⁹: »... despite the existence of rich archival material, there is no detailed study so far from the point of view of the scholars who deal with Ottoman art or history that investigates the state of city walls after 1453 by examining the sources and considering the repairs and the walls' relationship with the city«. The lack of research into or discussion of Ottoman repair activities during the sixteenth century is especially prob-

lematic. The following essay can in no sense fill this gap; rather, I intend to compare some Ottoman sources with contemporary traveller accounts plus with physical remains and to deal with the question of what role(s) the city walls played for the Ottoman capital, particularly in the sixteenth century²⁰.

The First Ottoman Repairs

Let us start in the fifteenth century: Kritoboulos from Imbros wrote about the first Ottoman repairs, noting: »Then he [Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1446/1451-1481)] ordered the sections of the Walls that had collapsed from the canons to be completely rebuilt in safety and to reinforce them wherever they had suffered damage from time, both on land and at the sea«²¹. Another contemporary witness, Tursun Bey, gives comparable information²²: »He [Sultan Mehmed II]

16 See, for example, Guidoboni, *Earthquakes*, passim. – Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 35-51 and 174 footnote 733 (with further literature).

17 Meyer-Plath/Schneider, *Landmauer* 157-166. – Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 148-173. – Dirimtekin, *Marmara Surları* 61-70 (with further literature). – Dirimtekin, *Haliç Surları* 67-76 (with further literature).

18 Meyer-Plath/Schneider, *Landmauer*, passim. – Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 173-181. – Dirimtekin, *Marmara Surları*, passim. – Dirimtekin, *Haliç Surları*, passim.

19 A. Han, *City Walls in Ottoman Sources*. KU-Project: <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/27/city-walls-in-ottoman-sources> (21.06.2024).

20 It is not possible to give all sources and occurrences within this short essay. The aim is to demonstrate the general situation of the walls by citing some selected accounts and events.

21 Kritobulos II, 1, 10-12 (p. 90): ἔπειτα κελεύει τὰ κατετριφθέντα τοῦ τείχους παρά τῶν μηχανῶν τειχίζειν τε ἀσφαλῶς πάντα καί, ὅτι ἄλλη πεπονηκός ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ κατά τε γῆν καί θάλασσαν, ἀνορθοῦν. – For a German translation, see Reinsch, *Mehmet II*, 143 (»Dann befahl er [Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1446/1451-1481)], die von den Geschützen niedergerissenen Abschnitte der Mauer sämtlich sicher wiederaufzubauen und sie auch dort, wo sie sonst durch die Zeit Schaden genommen hatten, sowohl auf der Land- als auch auf der Seeseite auszubessern«). – See also Kritobulos II, 10, 25-27 (p. 100). – Reinsch, *Mehmet II*, 157 (statement after the completion of the repair works); for a contemporary statement about the city and the walls, see also Angiolello, *Viaggio* 24-39.

22 Tursun Bey 75: »sür-i Kostantiniyye'yi meremmet idüp, binâsin tecdit itti«.

Fig. 8 Yedikule. Curtain between pylon no. 10 and tower no. 11. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).



revitalized the fortification of Kostantiniyye by repairing«²³. A fifteenth-century document prepared by the first mayor of Istanbul, Hızır Bey, in the summer of 1453 to present to Mehmed II²⁴, confirms the statements of these authors, by writing²⁵: »The first part extending 40 *arşun* (one arshun equals 68cm or *zirâ*) in length and 12 in width, was rebuilt anew from the foundation to the top; Beyond that tower the repair of the part of the wall, which was demolished 54 *zira*' (dhira) long and 12 *zira*' in width, is completed; Beyond that the part demolished 130 *zira*' (dhira) long and 7 *zira*' high, is repaired completely; Beyond that the demolished part, 4 *zira*' (dhira) long and 12 *zira*' high is also rebuilt completely ... In sum, all these rebuilt walls come to 342 *zirâ*' (dhira) long, 82 *zirâ*' high and each one 3 *zirâ*' thick. As to us, we gave up now this work, thanks to your blessed support, let it be known this way. In this business your slaves the *aga* of *adjemi-oghlan*s and *subaşı* of *'ulûfeciler*, who were assigned to this work, performed in perfect cooperation, let it be known in full respect to your majesty. Anyhow, the final decision belongs to the High Porte«.

A few years later, the Yedikule castle was built (1457-1458) at the south-west corner of the city, directly behind the Golden Gate of the Theodosian Land Walls; it included both Byzantine pylons, two further towers (nos. 8 and 11), and the related curtain walls (*sketch 1*)²⁶. Ottoman masonry from several repair campaigns can be recognized in this segment of the walls (*fig. 8*)²⁷. Construction activities in the vicinity of the defensive line continued: in 1478, the New Palace (*Saray-ı Cedid / Topkapı Sarayı*) was erected on the eastern point of the city (Seraglio Point), and a section of the Byzantine sea walls became the seafront fortification line of the palace (*fig. 5*)²⁸. This portion was intensively renewed. Traces of the diverse Ottoman repairs can still be observed at many locations at the sea walls as well (*fig. 9*). The Ottoman renewal of the fifteenth century seemed not only to focus on repairing injury caused by cannons²⁹ but also on repairing damage that had developed over time, especially by seismic movements³⁰. We do not have an accurate picture of the extent of the destruction of the earthquake from January 16, 1489 (H. 13 Safer 894), which may have necessitated

23 Translation by the author.

24 Topkapı Sarayı Archiv No. E. 1175.

25 For the English translation (including the parenthesis and italics), see İnalıcı, *Surveys* 633-634. – For a transcription, see Tunay, *Kara Surları* 338: »...yıkılan burgazın tülü ki kırk arşun ve kaddi on iki arşundur. Külliyyen temelinden yeni olunup tamam olundu ve andan öte bir yerki elli dört zira ve on iki arşun kaddi yıkılmış idi, ol dahi tamam oldu ve andan öte bir yer ki yüz otuz zirâ tülü ve yedi arşun kaddi ile yıkılmış idi, ol dahi tamam oldu ve andan öte dört arşun yer ki, on iki arşun kaddi ile yıkılmış idi, ol dahi tamam olundu ... Bu cümle yapılan bina hesap olunup üç yüz kırk iki zira uzunlu ve seksen iki kaddi ve üçer zirâ arzı olundu ve yine dahi mübârek himmetiniz ile işten ferâgat eyledik. Şöylece malûm oluna ve bina üzerine yoldaşlık için konulan Acemi Oğlanlar Ağası ve Ulufeciler Subaşı olan kullarınızın dahi haylıca yoldaşlukları olmuştur, ayağınız toprağına şöylece mûlum oluna. Baki ferman...«. – This document is related to the repair of the vicinity of the Gate of Saint Romanos in the Land Walls, for a discussion, see Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 93-94.

26 See Kritobulos II, I, 14-15 (p. 90): ἔτι δὲ κελεύει τευχίζειν καὶ φρούριον ἔρμυδον περὶ που τὴν Χρυσέαν, ἧ ποτε τῶν βασιλέων τὸ φρούριον ἦν. –

For the German translation, see Reinsch, *Mehmet II*, 143. – Also, Tursun Bey 75: »Ve denize ve kuruya hükm ider bir küşede bir ahmedek yaptı« («and he built an inner fortress on a corner, which dominates both the land and the sea«. Translation by author). – For some secondary literature, see: Gabriel, *Châteaux* 85-114. – Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri* 662-677. – Meyer-Plath/Schneider, *Landmauer* 42. – Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 339-341. – For more literature, see N. Asutay-Effenberger, *Yedikule Hisarı (Castle of Seven Towers)*. KU-Project: <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/26/yedikule-hisari-castle-of-seven-towers> (21.06.2024).

27 Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 150 (K 10/11).

28 Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace* 4-30 (written and visual sources, secondary literature).

29 Reinsch, *Mehmet II*, 143: »...die von den Geschützen niedergehenden Abschnitte der Mauer«. – For a reconstruction of the cannon of Urban, see Asutay-Effenberger, *Kanonmeister Urban* 211-225.

30 Reinsch, *Mehmet II*, 143: »...wo sie sonst durch die Zeit Schaden genommen hatten«



Fig. 9 Sea Walls. Tower and Curtain with Ottoman repairs. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

extensive restorations³¹. However a German visitor to the city in around 1496, the knight and pilgrim Arnold von Harff, talks about the Theodosian Land Walls, with a certain admiration and does not mention any dilapidation or neglect³²: »So, one side [of the fortification], which lays near the land, is surrounded by strong walls and towers... in front of it lay three filled-up moats [two wards and a moat], in which now some game animals run«³³. It seems that some sections of the wards and of the moat of the Theodosian Land Walls were used as places to keep some wild animals during the stay of von Harff (sketch 1; fig. 1).

Furthermore, a late fifteenth-century copy of the map of Buondelmonti, which was drawn after the Ottoman conquest, presents the whole fortification as intact³⁴. Of course, such depictions, in which the walls serve as an ideal frame for the city, can be interpreted as symbolic³⁵.

Collapse and Repair until the 1560s

The first decade of the sixteenth century in Istanbul ended with a terrible catastrophe, known as the »little apocalypse« (*kıyâmet-i suğra*). A gigantic earthquake occurred in 1509 (H. 915) and destroyed not only almost every building within

the city, including the last remnants of the Constantinian Golden Gate, but also a considerable part of the city walls³⁶. Among others the Ottoman chronicler Rûhî provides detailed information about the consequences of this calamity, noting³⁷: »On Thursday, August 12, 1509 (H. 25 Rebiülâhîr 915), the city was devastated by a huge earthquake. The triple fortified wall of Constantine [i. e., the Theodosian Land Walls] on the land side, from the so-called Eğri Kapı to Yedikule, from here to the İshak Paşa Kapsısı on the shore, from here to the vicinity of the sultan's residence, which looks over sea, from Dilsüz Kapsısı to the Kayıklar Kapsısı, from here to some towers (*kuleler*) and the towers/forts (*burgozlar*) of the sea walls, a route of 140 thousand masons' *zirâ* was completely broken down [...] Five thousand people died«³⁸. The given route or fix points emphasize that both the land and the sea walls were gravely affected. A conversion of the masons' *zirâ* (0.75 or 0.90 m) to meters, as well as the statement about 5000 deaths, clearly shows the dimensions of the disaster. Many other contemporary accounts provide (with some deviations) similar information³⁹. As stated by the same author, Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512) soon ordered a temporary earthquake tax of 22 silver coins (*akçe*) – from each household – to alleviate the financial burden. For the restoration work, 37 000 men from Anatolia and 29 000 men

31 See Sakin, Depremler 32. 68 (with sources).

32 Arnold von Harff, Pilgerfahrt 204, 4-7: »soe is die eyn sijde nae deme lande gar mit stercken muren ind thurnen vmtzoigen, seestzien voesse dick ind dar vur drij vffgefoidert grauen, dae inne mencherley willbraet zo deser tzijt inne leyffen«.

33 Translation by the author.

34 Effenberger, Buondelmonti, fig. 32. – For further visual sources, see also Effenberger, Pictorial Sources 19-31.

35 See A. Effenberger, Depicting the City Walls. KU-Project: <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/63/depicting-the-city-walls> (21.06.2024).

36 See Sakin, Depremler 41-49. 97-113. – See also Ambraseys/Finkel, Earthquake 167-174.

37 For the passage of Rûhî, see Sakin, Depremler 97-98: »Ve bu tarihin sene 915 rebî'ul-Âhîr ayınınun yiğirmi beşinci gece şişenbe gecesî zelzele-i 'azîm olub, nefsi-Konstantîn'ün üç kat hisârî, ki kurudan yanıdır, Eğri Kapı demekle ma'rûf kapu[dan] Yedi Kule'ye denli, andan deryâ cânibi ta İshâk Paşa Kapsısı'na varınca, andan Hudâvendigâr'un kendü haremî civârî, ki deryâya muttasıldur, Dilsüz Kapsısı'ndan Kayıklar Kapsusu'na denli, andan deryâ cânibi yer yer kuleler ve burgozlar, bir yerden yüz kırk bin zirâ' bennâ zirâ' iyle yıkılab vıran oldı... beş bin mikdan kişi helak oldı«. Square brackets are Sakin's.

38 Translation (and square brackets) by the author.

39 For further accounts, see Sakin, Depremler 101-113.

Fig. 10 Land Walls. Edirne Kapi. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).



from European territories of the empire were hired – one out of every twenty households –, 3000 masons and carpenters, 3000 cavalymen (*müsellem*), and 8000 foot soldiers (*yaya*) helped with the lime kilns⁴⁰. According to the sources the repair work on the city walls took two months⁴¹. The physical traces of this intervention and the related inscriptions are partially visible today. Two sections of the Land Walls bore repair inscriptions of Sultan Bayezid II: an Arabic written panel at Edirne Kapi (sketch 1; fig. 10)⁴² and the now-lost slab from Silivri Kapi (sketch 1; fig. 11)⁴³.

A comparable disaster is not known until 1556. On May 11, 1556 (H. 1 Receb 963), during the reign of sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), the city and its walls were devastated by a strong seismic movement, and they again required extensive repairs⁴⁴.

But earthquakes were not the only reason the walls collapsed. Fires also threatened the bulwark from time to time⁴⁵. The sea walls or its vicinity, in particular, were very often

affected by infernos⁴⁶. A huge one in 1510 that started in the vicinity of Balat caused a lot of property damage in the area between Balat and Balıkpazarı (the fish market) on the southern shore of the Golden Horn (sketch 2; figs 6. 12)⁴⁷. A similar catastrophe occurred on August 25, 1515 (H. 15 Receb 921) around the Covered Bazaar (*bedesten*)⁴⁸. We do not know exactly to what extent the walls were affected dur-

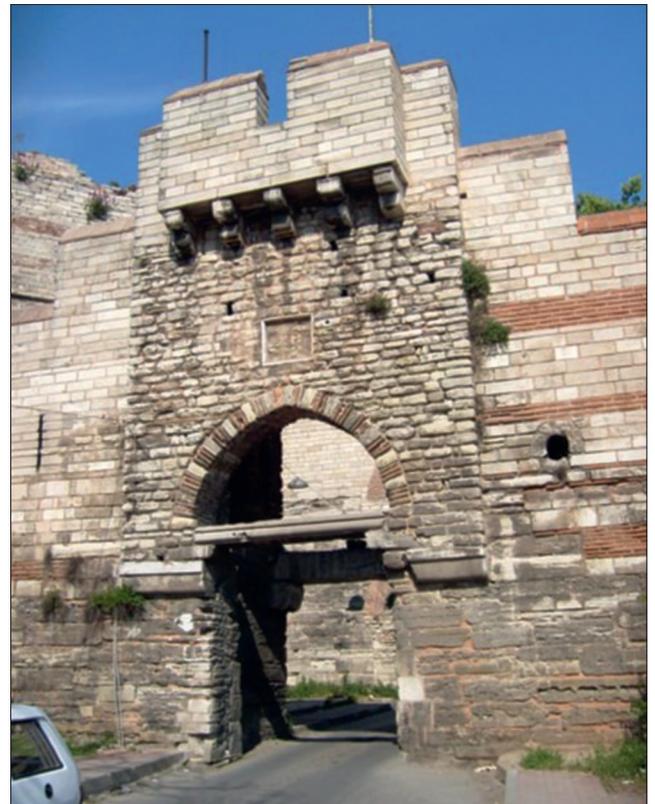


Fig. 11 Land Walls. Silivri Kapi. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

40 For the passage of Rûhî, see Sakin, Depremler 98.

41 Sakin, Depremler 101.

42 Meyer-Plath/Schneider, Landmauer 159 no. 52. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 83-85. 96-106. – Cf. Sakin, Depremler 99. – See also N. Asutay-Effenberger, Edirne Kapi. KU-Project: <https://istanbulsurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/41/edirne-kapi> (21.06.2024).

43 Meyer-Plath/Schneider, Landmauer 159 no. 53. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer fig. 79. – See also N. Asutay-Effenberger, Silivri Kapi. KU-Project: <https://istanbulcitywalls.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/46/silivri-kapi> (21.06.2024). Today only the empty frame is visible.

44 Sakin, Depremler 32. 68.

45 Sakaoğlu, Yangınlar 427-438. – for a recent contribution to some important fires see, Necipoğlu, Mythical Space 197-232. – For some fires in the Byzantine era (and literature), see Asutay-Effenberger, Kyneqion 161-178 esp. 161. – Cf. Schneider, Brände 382-483.

46 One of the earlier fires (after a terrible storm and thunderbolt), which destroyed the vicinity of the Hippodrome took place on July 21, 1489 (H. 22 Şaban 894). See, Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman 128. – Cf. Sakaoğlu, Yangınlar 429.

47 Sakaoğlu, Yangınlar 429.

48 Sakaoğlu, Yangınlar 429. – Ayasofya Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, fol. 25b (for a transcription, see Baş, Tahrir Defteri 81).



Fig. 12 Melchior Lorichs. Panorama of Istanbul (vicinity of Zindan Kapı). Sheet 9. – (Leiden University Libraries BPL 1758).

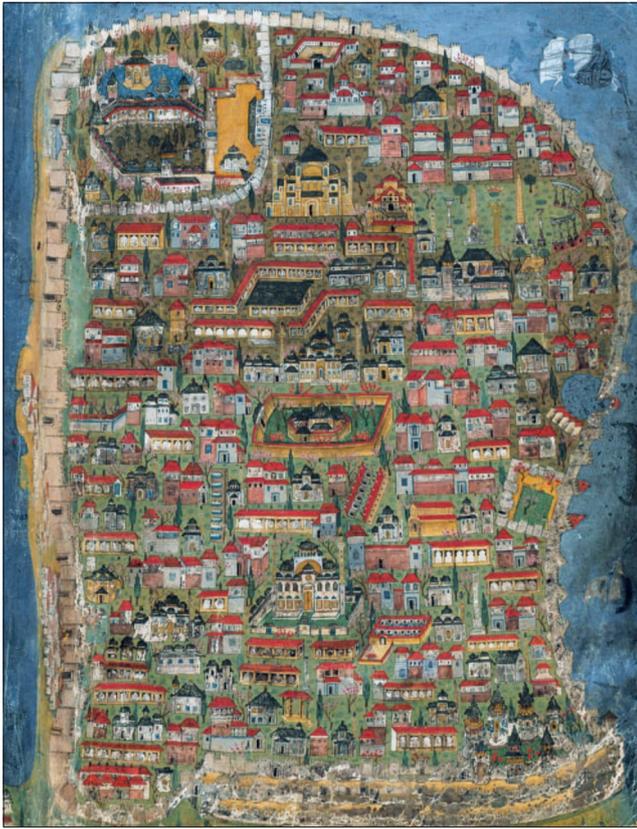


Fig. 13 Matrakçı Nasuh. Map of Istanbul. – (After Beyan-ı Menâzil 8b).

ing both of these calamities, but two other major fires, which began around Zindan Kapı on July 13, 1538 (H. 15 Safer 945) and on August 13, 1554 (H. 14 Ramazan 961), in the time of Süleyman the Magnificent, created serious consequences, especially for the Golden Horn Walls (sketch 2; figs 6. 12). According to the anonymous *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, the fire in 1538 began in the shops of pitch and tar and nearly the whole segment between modern Eminönü and Odun Kapı was burned⁴⁹. It noted that »Even outside of the walls, the depots (*mahzenler*) and shops on the shore from Balıkpazarı to Odun İskelesi [Wood Pier] and Ahi Çelebi Mosque and others were completely burned to ashes«⁵⁰. The fire in 1554 must have been the reason for the significant damage around Zindan Kapı⁵¹ »from Tahtakale to Odun kapı«⁵².

Nevertheless, the injured areas were repaired, and the protection of the sea walls was regulated by a law. The relevant decree issued by the sultan, written on June 29, 1559 (H. 23 Ramazan 966), which gives us information about the existence of an earlier first decree from 1539/1540, reads as follows⁵³: »To the judge (*kadı*) and to the commandant (*subaşı*) of Istanbul...regardless of to whom they belong, remove all houses or bay windows that stand at the city side of the walls [lean against the wall] or on the walls, do not permit the construction of such buildings on the walls. I do not allow for houses, even at the city side, to stand closer to the fortification than four building or architect *arşın* [about

49 Anonim *Tevârih-i Âli Osman* 148: »... Hisardan taşra dahi Balık pazarından Odun iskelesine varınca yalıda olan mahzenler ve dükkânlar ve Ahi Çelebi Câmi î ve gayri külli yandı«.

50 Translation by the author.

51 Anonim *Tevârih-i Âli Osman* 152: »Tahta kal'a dan ta Odun kapusuna varınca ...«

52 Translation by the author.

53 Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî* 58-59 no. 1: »İstanbul kadısına ve subaşısına... hisar divarının iç yüzünde hisara muttasıl ve hisar divarı üzerinde yapılmış eğer evlerdir ve eğer şehnişinlerdir bilcümle her neyse ve her kimin ise külliye ref'idüb giderdüb hisar divarı üzerinde asla anun gibilerden bina eseri komyasın. Ve divarın iç yüzünde dahi bina arşunile dört arşun mikdarı hisara karib yerden evler olmağa emrim yokdur ...«. In transcription the date 966 was mistakenly given as 1558. – Cf. Han, *İstanbul ve Galata* 33.

3 m]«⁵⁴. Some earlier foundation deeds (*vakfiye*) show that many properties stood, indeed, very close to the walls (*cidâr-ı kal'a*)⁵⁵. However a further foundation deed from April 1542 (H. 949 Muharrem'inin evâili)⁵⁶ and the above cited document from 1559 point out that the inhabitants continued to build in the same manner even after the first decree of the sultan. Probably also this situation made it necessary to repeat the first order in 1559.

The well-known Istanbul map by Matrakçı Nasuh, which was drawn in 1537 – one year before the above mentioned first fire – depicts the defensive line as continuous (fig. 13)⁵⁷. In his panorama from 1559 – five years after the second fire and in the same year as the second decree – Melchior Lorichs also presents the Golden Horn wall line as intact (fig. 12)⁵⁸, which can be either because of rapid repairs or because the artist chose to represent them symbolically. Some travel accounts mention the contemporary situation of the city or its fortress too, albeit with some discrepancies: for example Petrus Gyllius (1544-1547) does not tell us about a poor condition of all the walls⁵⁹, however the German visitor Hans Dernschwam notes (1553/1555)⁶⁰: »But the Turks build nothing. They do not want to keep the old beautiful edifices and let them to collapse«⁶¹. We do not know if the statement of the latter includes the city walls as well or if his words should be taken literally, as the above-mentioned repair activities are documented. I will return to this question later.

Collapse and Repair in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century (after the 1560s)

Istanbul hosted many foreign visitors also in the second half of the sixteenth century and many of them left us with important reports (with some deviations) about the city and its fortification. While the German traveller Michael von Saurau in 1567, during the period of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574),

represented the city walls only in an imaginary manner⁶²: »in the circuit walls have one thousand and five hundred towers«⁶³, another German visitor Hans Jacob Breuning von Buchenbach, who was in the city in 1579 – during the reign of sultan Murad III (1574-1595) – describes the fortress in more detail with the following words⁶⁴: »Toward the land is a triple wall (it is uncountable, with many towers) with its wards. The moat is twenty-five steps wide. The walls on the seaside are single and most are lower than the one mentioned before, of equal thickness and well-fortified with towers«⁶⁵. Although Breuning does not say anything about the contemporary condition of the walls, the German preacher Salomon Schweigger, who was in the city in the same period, between 1578 and 1581, paints a negative picture, writing⁶⁶: »The city is surrounded in all three places with walls... the sunset direction, the land side, has a triple wall. Between each wall lies a ward. The wall standing closest to the city is higher than the other two, the other two are barely half the height, they are thick and strengthened in the best way with many powerful towers. However, a large section is falling down, and the Turks are not repairing anything«⁶⁷. The same question as above must be raised here: should we take all his words literally⁶⁸? In my opinion, this statement is only partially in accordance with the facts and is worthy of examination: The city was affected by a terrible earthquake, on July 17, 1577, a few months before his arrival. Another German preacher, Stephan Gerlach, who was in Istanbul from 1573 to 1578, witnessed this catastrophe and noted⁶⁹, »In this evening, towards the dinner, occurred a violent earthquake. From that our whole house and not only the ground but also the sea was shaken, the galleys moved inside, the water welled as if it boiled«⁷⁰. Gerlach seemingly experienced not just an earthquake but also a huge tsunami, which surely caused serious damage to the walls. It is quite possible that Schweigger saw the collapsed portions of the bulwark and the rubble in the vicinity. I think that we can acknowledge the

54 Translation by the author.

55 For a document from February/March 1494 (H. 899 Cumâdelulâ'sinin evâsiti), see Tahrir Defteri I, 11 no. 71; for a further one from May 1535 (H. 941 Zilka'de'sinin evâhiri), see Tahrir Defteri I, 12 no. 85.

56 Tahrir Defteri I, 15 no. 112.

57 Beyan-ı Menâzil pl. 8b. – See also Asutay-Effenberger, Die porta veteris rectoris 129-141. – Effenberger, Depicting the City Walls. KU-Project: <https://istanbulurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/63/depicting-the-city-walls> (June 21, 2024).

58 Oberhammer, Konstantinopel. – The Istanbul-Panorama of Melchior Lorichs is available online: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2026523> (21.06.2024). – See also V. Papadopoulou, The Golden Horn Walls and its Gates in Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople. KU-Project: <https://istanbulcitywalls.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/75/the-golden-horn-walls-and-its-gates-in-melchior-lorichs-panorama-of-constantinople> (21.06.2024).

59 Gyllius, Topographia I, XIX, 53-55 (reference to the city walls). – See Grélois, Pierre Gilles 304-305.

60 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 35: »Die turkhen aber bawen gar nichts, haben die alten schonen gepew nicht erhalten mugen vnd gar eingehen lassen«.

61 Translation by the author.

62 Von Saurau, Ortenliche Beschreibung 82: »...und in der Ringmauer eindausentundfünfhundert Türn.«

63 Translation by the author.

64 Breuning, Orientalische Reyß 47: »Ist gegen dem Land mit dreyfachen Mauren (deren jedliche unzählbar viel Thürne) sambt ihren Zwingern umbfangen.

Der Stadtgraben ist fünff und zwanzig schrit breit oder weit. Die Mauren/so auff das Meer respondiren sein einfach/und etwas niderträchtiger/als die vorgehen/gleichwol dick und mit Thürnen wol versehen«.

65 Translation by the author.

66 Schweigger, Reyssbeschreibung 105: »Die Stadt ist an allen drey Orten mit einer Maur umgeben/gegen Nidergang/da sie am Land ligt/hat es ein dryfache Maur/zwischen einer jeden Maur ein Zwinger/die Maur/so nechst an der Stadt/ist höher dann die andern zwo/die beyde aber seyn kaum halb so hoch/gar dick/und mit vielen starcken Thürnen auff's best versehen/doch fallen sie mehrertheils ein/dann die Türcken bessern nichts«. – For a list of the gates that were mentioned by travellers (including Schweigger), see Effenberger, Buondelmonti 74-79.

67 Translation by the author.

68 Schweigger, Reyssbeschreibung 102, depicts the city walls on his map as intact; they can of course be a symbolic frame of the city. For some other Ottoman and European drawings, see Effenberger, Buondelmonti figs 1-24. – Effenberger, Pictorial Sources 19-31.

69 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 364: »Diesen Abend gegen dem Nachtessen ist ein grosses Erdbeben gewesen/davon unser gantzes Haus/und nicht nur der Erdboden: sondern auch das Meer erschüttert/die Galleen darinnen sich beweget/und das Wasser über sich gequollen/als ob es gesotten hätte«. – Cf. Sakin, Deprem-ler 32 footnote 120 (for some Ottoman accounts).

70 Translation by author.

truth of parts of Schweigger's statement – that some sections of the city walls were indeed in poor condition during his stay – but the words »the Turks are not repairing anything« must be read, in my opinion, with a certain caution. As was the case previously, also after his departure, extensive repairs were carried out in the city, attested by a decree from May 5, 1583 (H. 12 Rebiülâhir 991). It was signed by sultan Murad III and reads⁷¹: »To the judge (*kadı*) of Midilli. Sinan, still the chief architect, may he stay forever in grandeur, sent me a letter, and implored that...for the repair of the city walls of Istanbul and for the commanded construction of the building at the sultan's palace it is necessary to have stonemasons and carpenters from Midilli, in total 6000 workers...I command that you send the mentioned number of stonemasons and carpenters immediately to Istanbul with all the necessary equipment«⁷². It is significant that also the restoration of the defensive line fell within the remit of the chief architect, Sinan⁷³; it is important to note too that statements like that of Schweigger must be examined thoroughly before being used for scholarly arguments. I think that here would be the appropriate place to return to the words of Dernschwam: »But the Turks build nothing. They do not want to keep the old beautiful edifices and let them collapse«⁷⁴. Dernschwam was surely in the city during the fire, which occurred on August 13, 1554. Two days before, on August 11, 1554, he was the witness of another catastrophe, which – as far as I know – has remained unnoticed until now. He wrote about this⁷⁵: »around the same time, on August 11 [1554] in the night, a huge storm wind arrived here, and the water flowing into the sea above Constantinople and Galata became so great that many villages above were erased and people were drowned«⁷⁶. Obviously, Kostantiniyye had experienced, during his stay, one disaster after another and looked sometimes accordingly. It is possible that he interpreted these extraordinary situations as the general state of the city. The earthquakes of May 6, 1593 (H. 4 Şaban 1001)⁷⁷, September 22, 1595 (H. 17 Muharrem 1004)⁷⁸, and February 1597 (H. Cumâdelâhire 1005)⁷⁹ were generally recorded as having minor seismic movements. However, it can be clearly seen that throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the old fortification was repeatedly repaired and supervised by the highest authorities.

71 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 29 no. 28: »Midillü kadısına...Hâlâ mimar başı olan Sinan dame mecdûhu mektub gönderüb ... İstanbul hisarının meremmet ve Sarayı Âmirenin ferman olunan bina mühimmi için Midillü kazasından altyüz nefer benna ve neccar ihrac olunub irsal olunmak lâzım olduğun bildirmeğin buyurdum ki vusul buldukda kazâi mezburdan zikrolunan mikdarı benna ve neccarı lâzım olan âlât ve esbâblarile...İstanbul'a irsal eyliyesin...«. – We do not know whether any other repairs took place between 1578 and 1583.

72 Translation by the author.

73 For an earlier document, which mentions the name of Sinan, see Han, İstanbul ve Galata 33 footnote 22.

74 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 35.

75 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 91: »umb die selb zeit, adi 11 Aug. in der nacht, ist hie ein grosser sturm windt khommen, vnd ist das wasser, so oberhalb Constantinapol vnd Galata in das meer fleust, in der selbigen nacht also gros khomen, das oberhalb vjll dorffer austrengt, auch leuth ertrengt«.

76 Translation by the author.

Now we must ask the following question: why was it necessary to put so much effort into keeping the walls intact when they had already lost their defensive function?

The Functions of the City Walls in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Kostantiniyye

Overall, it is true that the walls no longer served their primary (military) function, except for a section of the sea walls that was part of the fortification of the New Palace (fig. 5) and for a segment of the Land Walls that was integrated into the Yedikule Castle, as mentioned above (sketch 1; fig. 8). However, the old bulwark still defined the boundaries of the imperial city and likely gave the inhabitants a symbolic sense of protection. A decree from May 30, 1568 (H. 3 Zilhicce 975), signed by Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), provides us with the important information that all people, who travelled between the Asian and European parts of the city, needed (previously and then) to be checked at the piers in front of certain gates of the Marmara Sea Walls⁸⁰.

Contemporary and later documents inform us that the city walls belonged to the pious foundations (*vakıf*) of Sultan Mehmed II and were sources of revenues for the public treasury since they were, in essence, rental properties (*mukataa*)⁸¹. It means that the towers, wards, moat of the Land Walls and the towers plus the curtains of the sea walls could be rented to individuals for a multitude of functions, including as depots, vegetable gardens, etc. (figs 1-2)⁸². The *mukataa* system was in force in the sixteenth century and later.

In any case, the foundation deeds of Mehmed II mention, for example, a tower in the vicinity of Unkapanı (Northwest to Odun Kapı, sketch 2), in which the bowstring makers had their workshop (*kirışhane*)⁸³. According to Evliya Çelebi (about 1630) four towers in the same place served as workshops of the copper workers (*esnâf-ı bakır sızırıcıyan*)⁸⁴. It can be suggested that these craftsmen had been working there for over a long period (before 1630). From the same author we hear furthermore that the towers of the Land Walls between Silivri Kapı and Yeni Kapı (Mevlevihane Kapı) were depots for gunpowder (*bârûd-ı sıyah*) (sketch 1). In this regard he gives the important information that on the cor-

77 Târih-i Selânikî I, 312. – Sakin, Depremler 32 gives the day as May, 5.

78 Târih-i Selânikî II, 512. – Sakin, Depremler 32.

79 Târih-i Selânikî II, 670 gives the month as »Cumâdelâhire« (= Cemâziyelevvel) and adds the note as »evvel-i mâh-ı şubat« (beginning of February). – Sakin, Depremler 33 gives the date as February 11, 1597.

80 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 106 no. 6. In transcription the year was mistakenly given as 1567.

81 A. Han, City Walls in Ottoman Sources. KU-Project: <https://istanbulurlari.ku.edu.tr/en/essay/27/city-walls-in-ottoman-sources> (21.06.2024). – Cf. Han, İstanbul ve Galata 27-71.

82 The same rule is also valid for the walls of Galata see, Fatih İmaretî Vakfiyesi 235 § 204. – See also İnalçık, Galata 45. – Cf. Han, İstanbul ve Galata 27-71 esp. 40-45.

83 Fatih İmaretî Vakfiyesi 210 § 79.

84 Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnameşi I, 308.



Fig. 14 Land Walls. Top Kapı. – (Photo Gökhan Tan).

onation day of sultan Mustafa I (1617-1618/1622-1623) a tower with gunpowder was struck by lightning and exploded, therefore it was decided to keep the gunpowder not in the same but in various towers⁸⁵. Through these statements we learn that at least one tower of the Land Walls was used as a depot for gunpowder before 1630. This use can also be one of the causes why some segments of these walls are particularly damaged. The above-cited statement of von Harff: »in front of it lay three filled-up moats [two wards and moat], in which now some game animals run« can be interpreted as meaning that some parts of the moat or of the wards were used as a place to keep some animals as well.

The text of a well-known imperial decree from the early sixteenth century illustrates what was, perhaps, the most important task of the walls. It reads⁸⁶, »Every type of good, like wheat, barley, millet, flour and oat, that arrives to Ko-

stantiniyye by land may not enter the city through any gates other than Edirne Kapı, Top Kapı and Yeni Kapı and may be directly brought to the scale / customhouse (*kapan*) ... Anybody who uses other gates to avoid custom duties or hides them by not bringing them to customs should be caught...«⁸⁷. This decree informs us that these three gates of the Land Walls, Edirne Kapı (sketch 1; fig. 10), Top Kapı (sketch 1; fig. 14) and Yeni Kapı (Mevlevihane Kapı) (sketch 1; fig. 3) corresponded directly with customhouses. Edirne Kapı, in particular, was mentioned in some later decrees⁸⁸ or foundation deeds⁸⁹ in connection with a customhouse (*gümrükhane*) and a nearby neighbourhood is called to this day Karagümrük (land custom)⁹⁰. Although we cannot say if the exact same gates communicated with the custom points during the Byzantine era, pragmatically, there was likely some continuity⁹¹.

85 Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnâmesi I, 293.

86 Anhegger/İnalçık, Kânünnâme 47: »mahrûse-i Kostantiniyye'ye kurudan gelen buğdaydan ve arpadan ve darudan ve undan ve 'alafdan her ne gelürse Edrene-kapısı ve Top-kapısı ve Yeni kapudan gelüb ve gayrı kapudan gelmeyüb doğru kapana gelüb ... her kim gümrük vermemek için ki gayrı kapudan getüre ve yâhud kapana getürmeyüb gizleye ki buluna ...«

87 Translation by the author.

88 Cf. Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 15 no. 4 (from April 16, 1566/H. 26 Ramazan 973); 15-16 no. 5 (from April 12, 1566/H. 22 Ramazan 973). In both cases, in transcription, the year was mistakenly given as 1565. – see also Ahmed Refik, Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicrî 22 no. 45 (from November 26, 1596/H. 5 Rebiülâhir 1005).

89 For a foundation deed from June/July 1577 (H. 985 Cemaziyelülâ'sının evâsiti) that mentions the customhouse in the neighborhood of the Atik Ali Paşa Mosque (i. e., in the vicinity of Edirne Kapı), see Tahrir Defteri II, 596-597 no. 2740.

90 The Ottoman author Rûhî calls one of the gates in the vicinity (most likely Edirne Kapı) as Kapan Kapusu (scale/custom gate), see Sakin, Depremler 99. – Evliya Çelebi Seyahâtnâmesi I, 297 says »This customhouse is in a place near Edirne Kapı, which was designated as Karagümrük« (»Bu gümrükhâne Edirne-kapusuna kârib Karagümrük nâmiyla mâ'rûf olan yerdedir«).

91 Cf. Matschke, Tore 189-222.

Now let us look at the sea walls again: Byzantine and European sources underline the role of the artificial harbours and the Golden Horn as a natural harbour for the commercial life of Constantinople⁹². Most of these sections kept their function during the Ottoman era (figs 6. 12-13)⁹³. When it was necessary, new gates were opened and new piers were added⁹⁴. The loading of different goods usually took place at the various piers/gates. Hans Dernschwam writes, for instance⁹⁵, »He [the Sultan] has in front of the fruit gate by the sea a special house into which he lets his fruit be brought«⁹⁶. These issues were later constantly reorganized by imperial orders as well. For example, a decree from July 5, 1572 (H. 23 Safer 980) regulates the import of fruits into the city with the following words⁹⁷: »To the judge (*kadi*) of Istanbul and to the public order officer (*muhtesib*) Mehmed ... to ensure that fruit that will be transported to Istanbul shall not be loaded at another mooring than the fruit pier (*meyve iskelesi*) ... [they] shall be loaded, as usual, at the fruit pier (*yemiş iskelesi*)«⁹⁸. A further decree from June 12, 1575 (H. 3 Rebiülevvel 983) refers to the importation of wood⁹⁹: »To the judge of Istanbul ... wood should directly be brought to the *odun* [wood] pier (near *Odun Kapı*)«¹⁰⁰. Another decree from May 12, 1585 (H. 12 Cemâziyelevvel 993) mentions the pier of the chief (*emin iskelesi*, see below) as arriving/loading point for the line¹⁰¹.

The main checkpoint (*gümrük kapanı*) and the office of the chief officer of the maritime customs (*gümrük emini*) was also located in the neighborhood of the sea walls near the later Yeni Camii (sketch 2; fig. 6)¹⁰². This area is still called today Eminönü, tied directly to the Ottoman maritime customhouse located there. As mentioned above, since different items were brought to their specially designated piers, several checkpoints, customhouses, and further officers were necessary¹⁰³. For example, Dernschwam specifically uses the plural form, by writing, »in the whole city there are ... customhouses«¹⁰⁴, as do some Ottoman sources of the sixteenth

century, which mention custom chiefs (*gümrük emînleri*) in the plural¹⁰⁵. Regarding the function of a tower and its location in the vicinity of Eminönü, Stephan Gerlach offers an important connection: that of Michael Kantakuzenos, who was a descendant of the Byzantine imperial family. He explains the high post of Kantakuzenos in the Ottoman Empire – he was responsible for the salt trade – and adds¹⁰⁶, »Not too far from this fish market there is a high and wide tower. In front of it a cottage was erected. Therein all of the salt of the city is sold«¹⁰⁷. A few lines later he refers to this tower as »salt tower«¹⁰⁸. This statement matches information in the foundation deeds of the sultan Mehmed II, which speak of a salt depot in proximity¹⁰⁹. Apparently the tower also served later as the office of the salt chief (*tuz emini*): Evliya Çelebi wrote¹¹⁰: »The workplace of the [salt] *emin* is a high, rectangular, huge tower between the Zindan Kapı and the Balıkpazarı Kapı«¹¹¹. So one can clearly see that the towers of the city walls also served as part of the customhouses.

After customs clearances all imported items were distributed throughout the city. We learn from Dernschwam about several selling points¹¹² and similar information is given to us, among others, by Petrus Gyllius, who describes, for example, selling centres in front of the sea walls¹¹³. Ottoman sources show additionally that the walls sometimes played a significant role by determining the prices: some shop owners set the selling prices depending on their location, in front of or behind the walls. We find several complaints by sellers in the archives, because merchants outside the city walls were allowed to set higher prices for their goods¹¹⁴.

The description of Gyllius – in addition to the above mentioned Ottoman and European accounts – matches the following statement by Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, who was in Constantinople, during the Byzantine era, between 1403 and 1404¹¹⁵: »And the biggest movement [largest commercial zone] of the city is at the gates, which open out to the sea, especially at the gates, which stand on the right side of

92 Cf. Footnote 12.

93 Preiser-Kapeller, Moorings 141-146. – Kafescioğlu, İstanbul 30-31.

94 New jetties were especially added on the shore of the Golden Horn. For example, the Ayazma Kapı on the Golden Horn was an Ottoman addition, see Asutay-Effenberger, Surlar ve Kapılar 69-100 esp. 88-89. – Cf. Schneider, Mauern und Tore 65-107 esp. 77. – Berger, Ufergegend 149-165 esp. 157.

95 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 55: »Darczw hot er vor dem obst thor an dem meer ein sunderlich haws, dohin er seine fruchte füren ... lest«.

96 Translation by the author.

97 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 109 no. 13: »İstanbul kadısına ve muhtesib olan Mehmede.... İstanbul'a gelen meyveliyi Meyve [fruit] İskelesinden gayri yerde beyi etmeyüb olgeldüğü üzere ... Yemiş [fruit] İskelesinde beyi ideler...« – Cf. Bulunur, Galata 246 footnote 83.

98 Translation by the author.

99 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 113-114 no. 19: »İstanbul kadısına ... doğru Odun İskelesine getirüb...«.

100 Translation by the author.

101 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 132-133 no. 53.

102 Fatih İmaretî Vakfiyesi 227 § 162. – Melchior Lorichs Panorama, sheet 7: noted as »Zul Hauss« (customhouse). – Cf. Petrus Gyllius, De Bosporo Thracio II, 2, 81 (I have used here the printed version from 1632). – See also Grémois, Pierre Gilles 102. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 49. – Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi I, 297 calls the chief officer as »büyük gümrük emini«.

103 See Gerlach, Tage-Buch 45 for the fish-customs (Fischzoll). – Cf. Bulunur, Galata 260.

104 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 93: »... in der ganczen stadt ... zolheuser ... gewesen sein«. – Cf. footnote 88. – According to a decree from May 1, 1566 (H. 11 Şevval 973) many gates of the city walls served as customs points; cf. Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 105-106 no. 5 (in the transcription the year was mistakenly given as 1565).

105 Cf. Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 124 no. 40. – Cf. footnote 90.

106 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 454: »Nicht weit von diesem Fischmarck ist ein hoher weiter Thurn/daran eine Hütten gebauet/darinnen alles Saltz der gantzen Stadt verkaufft wird«.

107 Translation by the author.

108 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 454: »Saltz-Thurn«.

109 Fatih İmaretî Vakfiyesi 227 § 164.

110 Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi I, 293: »Eminin kârhanesi Zindankapusu'yla Balıkbaşarı kapusu 'nun arasında ... evc-i semâya ser çekmiş çâr kuşe bir kulle-i azîmdir«.

111 Translation by the author.

112 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 93-94.

113 Cf. Petrus Gyllius, De Bosporo Thracio II, 2, 81-84. – Grémois, Pierre Gilles 101-105.

114 Ahmed Refik, Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî 129 no. 49; 132 no. 53.

115 Clavijo, Tamarlân III, 143 § 15: »e el mayor maneo es de la ciudad a las puertas que salen a la mar, señaladamente a las puertas que son en derecho de la ciudad de Pera ...«.

Fig. 15 Golden Horn Walls. Tower with the Tomb of Baba Cafer near Zindan Kapı. – (Photo Arne Effenberger).



the city of Pera¹¹⁶. So one can recognize, one more time, a certain continuity in the use of the waterfront after 1453 (figs 6, 12-13).

Various further non-military functions of the walls during the Ottoman time can also be mentioned here: they were still towers which served as lighthouses¹¹⁷, as prisons or as burial places: One of the prisons (since the fifteenth century) was the so-called Halil Paşa Tower between Eminönü and Zindan Kapı¹¹⁸. Melchior Lorichs also depicts in his panorama (sheet 9) a tower in proximity to Zindan Kapı with an accompanying inscription: »Der Kaiserin gefangenen Thurm« (The Empress's Prisoners Tower) (sketch 2; fig. 12)¹¹⁹. Stephan Gerlach informs us about a prison tower in the vicinity of the above-mentioned »salt tower« and

refers to a Byzantine inscription on the sea front of it. He notes¹²⁰: »Like all other towers in the neighbourhood, this one also bears an inscription of Emperor Theophilos«¹²¹. Regardless of whether all these sources talk about one and the same tower or not one can say: since many of the preserved towers of the sea walls still carry an inscription of Emperor Theophilos (fig. 7)¹²², the testimony of Gerlach leaves no room for doubt that at least one of them was an original Byzantine tower¹²³.

Besides, Melchior Lorichs illustrates on sheet 9 of his panorama a further tower with an accompanying inscription »in this lies the companion of S. Job, with the name Eldad«¹²⁴. This one was probably the same tower, where according to Dernschwam a »turkischer haylig [turkisch saint] named Baba

116 Translation by the author.

117 See Dirimtekin, *Marmara Surları* 29-30. – Cf. Heher, *Bukoleon Palace* 126-128.

118 See *Fatih İmaretı Vakfiyesi* 216-217 § 106. – Cf. Baş, *Tahrir Defteri* 105-111.

119 See Eyice, *Zindan* 129-138 esp. 132-133 (with further sources). – Most recently Ganchou, *Le palais* 169-256 esp. 254.

120 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* 454: »und hat/wie fast alle andere Thürne in selbiger Stadt-Revier herumb/diese Aufschrift: Theophili Thurn/der in Christo fest stehet«.

121 Translation by the author.

122 Lower inscription band. – See Dirimtekin, *Marmara Surları* 64 no. 16 (with further literature).

123 Gerlach *Tage-Buch* 364.

124 »darin liegt S. Jobs Geselle mit Namen Eldad«. – For a discussion about this, see Eyice, *Zindan* 129-138 esp. 132-133 (with sources). – Cf. Effenberger, *Buondelmonti* 38-39. – For a short essay about the location of the graves of some Sahabes (companions of the Prophet Muhammed), close to the walls, see İşli, *Sahabe* 407-408.



Fig. 16 Sepetçiler Köşkü. – (Photo Devrim Sezer).

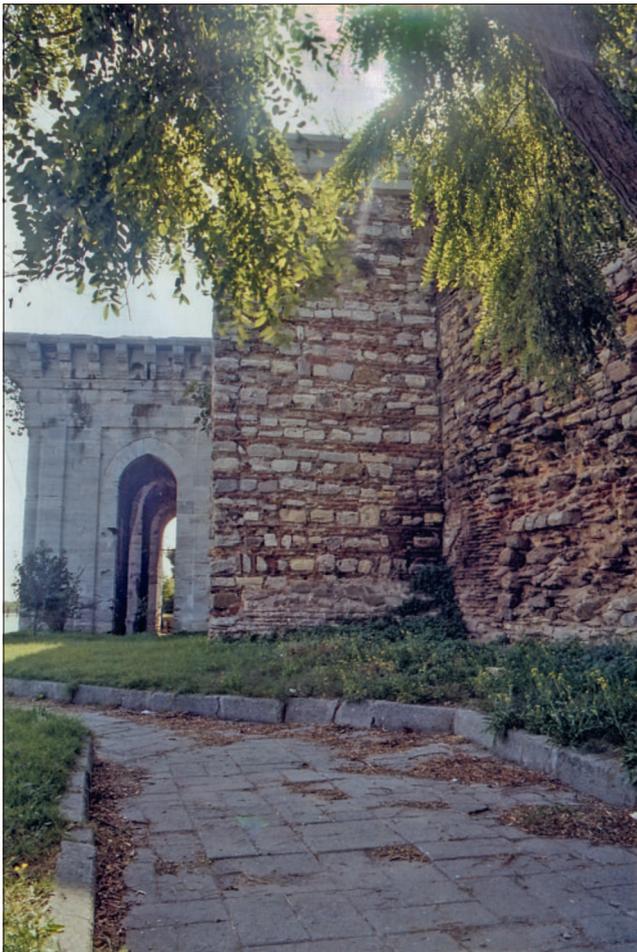


Fig. 17 Substructure of İncili Köşk. – (Photo N. Asutay-Effenberger).

Czaffer» was buried¹²⁵. This Byzantine tower with the tomb of Baba Cafer can still be visited today (fig. 15).

The fortification of the shore was occasionally integrated into the newly built palace units at the seashore too: the seventeenth-century coastal palace Sepetçiler Köşkü is one of these examples; it was partially erected on the sea walls or on some Theophilos tower(s) (fig. 16)¹²⁶. In 1591, Sinan Paşa Köşkü (İncili Köşk), to the south of the church of Christos Soter, was constructed on a segment or tower originally belonging to the sea walls as well (fig. 17)¹²⁷.

Examples can be multiplied but, I think, those already presented here are enough to show the role of the Byzantine fortification during Ottoman times, particularly in the sixteenth century and to demonstrate a certain continuity in the use of some of its segments after the Ottoman conquest.

125 Dernschwam, Tagebuch 117.

126 Also for its predecessor see, Necipoğlu, Topkapi Palace 240-241. 302 footnote 252. – The Byzantine remnants (or towers) are still to be seen.

127 Tarih-i Selânikî 243. – See Necipoğlu, Topkapi Palace 226-231.

Closing Remarks

Despite having lost its primary military function (except for some segments), the former Byzantine bulwark now embraced the Ottoman capital. It stood as a symbol of protection for the inhabitants; for artists it framed the city ideally (fig. 13). The fortification continued to be used for tasks beyond defense, such as hosting vegetable gardens or prisons, belvederes, etc. However, their significant contribution, in my opinion, was the role in the commercial life of the city: Kostantiniyye was an important centre for global trade during the entire Ottoman era – especially in the sixteenth century¹²⁸ – and many intensive trade routes ended or began in front of the city walls, which offered spaces for workshops, offices, customs, depots, and warehouses for the goods, as well as separate sections for some of the products (figs 6, 12). The importance of the walls in this respect can also be traced back through the Turkish designations for some units, such as Kirişhane (bowstring workshop), Odun Kapısı (wood gate), Meyve Kapısı or Yemiş Kapısı (fruit gate), Balıkpazarı Kapısı (fish market gate), etc.

The defensive line was affected by several disasters, and various parts collapsed. Although some statements by travelers highlight the damaged state of the walls and a perceived

apathy by the Ottomans about repairing them, the broader context of the timelines of the calamities and repair activities suggest that we need to be cautious in taking them as the complete truth. As far as we can judge – from written sources, traces on the masonry and the inscriptions – the old bulwark, as a significant part of the civil and commercial life of the city, was repeatedly repaired and upgraded by the highest Ottoman authorities: the sultan ordered the restorations, the judge organized the administrative aspects, the military helped during the repair¹²⁹. The chief architect, sometimes even Sinan himself, was responsible for the architectural matters.

In 1608, an Armenian traveler, Simeon of Poland, described Kostantiniyye/Istanbul as follows: »there are in the city a lot of masjids, guest houses, foundations, medreses, tekkes, hospitals, soup kitchens, kitchens, covered bazaars, saddleries, stables, squares, baths, hotels, markets... coffees, palaces, vegetable gardens... the markets are full with goods and the streets are full with people«¹³⁰. Simeon mentions several points both the land and sea walls, including the gates, but does not say a single word about them being in a bad condition¹³¹. It is obvious that the early seventeenth-century visitor found a fully functioning city within an intact fortress, which reflected the economic prosperity of the sixteenth century.

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128 See İnalçık/Quataert, Social History. – Murphy, Communal Living 115-131. – Recently van der Boogert, Merchants 233-255.

129 For the further role of the military, see fn. 25 or 40.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

The City Walls of Kostantiniyye/Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century: Collapses, Repairs, and Functions

This article compares some Ottoman sources with contemporary travellers' accounts as well as the physical remains of the Byzantine city walls of Kostantiniyye/Istanbul and examines their role in the city, particularly in the sixteenth century. It shows that although the fortifications lost their defensive function after the Ottoman conquest (with the exception of a few sections), they continued to play an important role in the civil and commercial life of the city, as they had in part done before the Ottoman conquest. It is suggested that, pragmatically, there was probably some continuity. In addition, the repairs ordered by the sultans – sooner or later – after natural disasters underline the importance of the bulwark. Although several travel accounts paint a negative picture of the state of the walls during the Ottoman period, the evidence of repair activity (written sources, inscriptions, traces in the masonry) suggests that we should be cautious in taking them as the complete truth.

Die Stadtmauern von Kostantiniyye/Istanbul im 16. Jahrhundert: Einstürze, Reparaturen und Funktionen

Dieser Artikel vergleicht einige osmanische Quellen mit zeitgenössischen Reiseberichten und mit den Überresten der byzantinischen Stadtmauern von Kostantiniyye/Istanbul und untersucht ihre Rolle in der Stadt, insbesondere im 16. Jahrhundert. Es zeigt sich, dass die Befestigungsanlagen nach der osmanischen Eroberung zwar ihre Verteidigungsfunktion verloren (mit Ausnahme einiger weniger Abschnitte), jedoch weiterhin eine wichtige Rolle im zivilen und kommerziellen

Leben der Stadt spielten, wie dies teilweise auch vor der osmanischen Eroberung der Fall gewesen war. Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass es wahrscheinlich eine gewisse Kontinuität gab. Darüber hinaus unterstreichen die Reparaturen, die von den Sultanen zu einem früheren oder späteren Zeitpunkt nach Naturkatastrophen angeordnet wurden, die Bedeutung des Bollwerks. Obwohl mehrere Reiseberichte ein negatives Bild vom Zustand der Mauern während der osmanischen Ära zeichnen, deuten die nachweisbaren Reparaturarbeiten (schriftliche Quellen, Inschriften, Spuren im Mauerwerk) darauf hin, dass wir sie nicht für bare Münze nehmen dürfen.

Les remparts de Kostantiniyye/Istanbul au XVI^e siècle: effondrements, réparations et fonctions

Cet article compare certaines sources ottomanes avec des relations de voyage contemporaines et avec les vestiges des remparts byzantins de Kostantiniyye/Istanbul. Il examine également leur rôle dans la ville, notamment au XVI^e siècle. Il apparaît, bien que les fortifications aient perdu leur fonction défensive après la conquête ottomane (à l'exception de quelques sections), elles ont continué à jouer un rôle important dans la vie civile et commerciale de la ville, comme c'était en partie le cas avant la conquête ottomane. Il est suggéré qu'il y avait probablement une certaine continuité. En outre, les réparations ordonnées par les sultans à une date antérieure ou postérieure, à la suite de catastrophes naturelles, soulignent l'importance des remparts. Bien que plusieurs relations de voyage donnent une image négative de l'état des murailles à l'époque ottomane, les travaux de réparation attestés (sources écrites, inscriptions, traces dans la maçonnerie) indiquent que nous ne devons pas les prendre au premier degré.

Saint Sophia and the Adjoining Monuments of Byzantine Constantinople through the Lens of Renaissance Scholars and Travellers

In the aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II, political and religious authorities, intellectuals, and all the inhabitants of the Latin countries were filled with a sense of dismay at the loss of that last bastion of Eastern Christendom that had fallen into the hands of »infidels«. Many literary texts, ranging from chronicles to epistolography, from official statements to poetic laments, underscored this growing anxiety as news of the Ottoman invasion of the former capital of the Byzantine Empire arrived.

We can limit ourselves to recalling the letters written by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini to Pope Nicholas V in which the future pope Pius II lamented the irreparable loss of countless treasures of Greek literature kept in the libraries of Constantinople – comparable for him to a second death of Homer and second destruction of Plato – and, focusing on the fate of the Hagia Sophia, grieved that the most famous church in the whole world had been ruined or polluted (*Vel ruinae iam patet, vel Maumethi spurcitiæ subiacet*)¹.

Those fears expressed by Piccolomini are dramatically confirmed by Doukas, who describes the plundering of the treasures stored in the Hagia Sophia upon the conquest of Constantinople:

What became of the temple treasures? What shall I say, and how shall I say it? (...) In that same hour, the dogs hacked the holy icons to pieces, removing the ornaments. As for the chains, candelabra, holy altar coverings, and lamps, some they destroyed, and the rest they seized. All the precious and sacred vessels of the holy sacristy, fashioned from gold and silver and other valuable materials, they collected in an instant, leaving the temple desolate and naked; absolutely nothing was left behind².

The looting the Ottoman soldiers were accused of echoes, in its heartfelt and polemical tones, the words condemning the sacrilegious acts perpetrated by the Latins during the sack of 1204 that we can find in Byzantine authors such as Niketas Choniates:

The table of sacrifice, fashioned from every kind of precious material and fused by fire into one whole (...) was broken into pieces and divided among the despoilers, as was the lot of all the sacred church treasures, countless in number and unsurpassed in beauty. (...) In addition, in order to remove the pure silver which overlay the railing of the bema, the wondrous pulpit, and the gates, as well as that which covered a great many other adornments, all of which were plated with gold, they led to the very sanctuary of the temple itself mules and asses with packsaddles³.

If we shift our viewpoint and read events through the lens of the Ottoman sources, the picture changes: in his *History* dedicated to Mehmed II Tursun Bey shows us the Conqueror's profound commotion at the view of the magnificence of the dome and the sight of the marble pavement resembling a procellous sea⁴ (**fig. 1**); the same Doukas, whose complaints about the fate of the liturgical furnishings we recalled above, in his *Historia Byzantino-Turcica* extols Mehmed's behavior towards the safeguard of the church, telling the well-known anecdote of the punishment of the soldier who was arrested while he was trying to break a marble slab⁵.

As happens in every war (and, sadly, we can all verify it in these dramatic days), propaganda has its own rules and methods to shape the narration of the events. Beyond the rhetorical speeches and mutual accusations with which the literary sources are littered, we can get a clearer picture of the vicissitudes of the Hagia Sophia after 1453 if we look at the monument itself (**fig. 2**): studies devoted to the Justinianic building, particularly conspicuous since 1934 when the then mosque was turned into a museum, have pointed to the substantial preservation of the original architectural structure⁶, of the 6th-century marble decoration⁷ (**fig. 3**), and also of large parts of the figural and aniconic mosaics (**fig. 4**) belonging to various phases of the Byzantine era⁸. What was lost forever of the Byzantine materials was the liturgical furnishings –

1 See *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, II, 43.

2 Doukas, *Decline and Fall* 231-235.

3 See *City of Byzantium* 315. As Iván Tóth said: »Although the humanistic anti-Turkish literature is in many aspects different from the crusade literature of the 12th Century, it continues its traditions« (Tóth, *The Fall of Constantinople* 143).

4 Tursun Bey, *Conquista* 82.

5 Doukas, *Decline and Fall* 231. See also Verhoeven, *From Justinian* 312.

6 See e. g. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia; Mainstone, Hagia Sophia*.

7 This is true as much for sculptures in architectural function as for floor and wall coverings: see Butler, *The Nave Cornices*; Guiglia Guidobaldi/Barsanti, *Santa Sofia*; Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Marmi di Giustiniano*; Russo, *Introduzione*.

8 Mango, *Materials*; Teteriatnikov, *Justinianic Mosaics*.



Fig. 1 Hagia Sophia. View of the marble pavement of the naos. – (Photo A. Paribeni).



Fig. 2 Hagia Sophia. View of the interior towards the East. – (Photo A. Paribeni).

Fig. 3 Hagia Sophia. Capital of the north side of the nave. – (Photo A. Paribeni).



Fig. 4 Hagia Sophia. Narthex, mosaics of the vault. – (Photo A. Paribeni).



chancel screens all around the sanctuary, the ciborium, and the ambo – no longer compatible with the requirements of the Islamic rite⁹, while many other elements of the internal and external decoration recalling the Christian past were left visible, at least during the first centuries of the life of the Ayasofya Camii¹⁰.

In light of these premises, we can bill to rhetorical conventions the denunciation of the deliberate destruction of the symbol of the cross on marble and mosaics, initiated by Pietro Zeno in 1520: «Questi turchi hanno in la magior parte le croxe guaste, che ne le pietre e musaichi erano riposte»¹¹. The elegant crosses upon globe decorating the

⁹ A vivid picture of these liturgical installations is reported by the verses of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia: see Fobelli, *Un tempio per Giustiniano*.

¹⁰ If we broaden our gaze and look at the situation of Constantinople in the second half of the 15th century at least, we will find evidence of patronage

in various churches and monasteries which shows the effort of the Christian population to maintain their religious life: see Melvani, *Patronage*.

¹¹ *Itinerario di Pietro Zeno, oratore a Costantinopoli 1523* compendiato da Marino Sanuto in Fulin, *Diarii* 120-121. On Pietro Zen's observations on the Hagia Sophia see Rakova, *Constantinople et Sainte-Sophie*.



Fig. 5a Hagia Sophia. Gallery level, marble slab of the north-eastern exaedra. – (Photo C. Barsanti).



Fig. 5b View of the south gallery of the Hagia Sophia by Cornelius Loos. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. – (After Adahl, Cornelius Loos).

marble slabs in the galleries and the parapet windows were not destroyed as we see now (fig. 5a) because they are still clearly discernible in their integrity in the series of drawings

made by Cornelius Loos (fig. 5b), the Swedish engineer and military officer sent by King Charles XII of Sweden to Constantinople in 1710¹².

12 See the numerous plates in Adahl, Cornelius Loos. Obviously, the hypothesis that Loos in his drawings could have integrated those crosses that had been already partially erased cannot be discarded, as this procedure is ascertained

for other Loos drawings, such as that with the Hippodrome view (*Dessein du Cours ou Hyppodrome in Constantinopel*: see the particular in Kafescioğlu, A new look 135 fig. 9): here the Serpent column appears untouched with all its

During the Renaissance years, somewhat before and especially after the Ottoman conquest, the Hagia Sophia was frequently visited by Western humanists, travellers, artists, and diplomats who left memories of their experience through personal notes, diaries, official reports, scholarly treatises, and, in some cases, drawings that are particularly valuable for the information they provide.

As might be expected, the pieces of evidence provided by these visitors on the antiquities of Constantinople are not all at the same level: in many cases, it would not have even been necessary for the author to undertake a trip to Constantinople, given the paucity and vagueness of the information gathered, which is so scarce that it would have been readily available at home in any literary source¹³. More detailed accounts about the Hagia Sophia are offered by some travellers who, due to their cultural formation and their privileged status as members of the retinue of diplomatic delegations, had more time and support to see and appreciate *intus et extra* the monument and the adjoining ruins.

If we compare the most eloquent descriptions of the Hagia Sophia, we notice some recurring themes: one is the rhetorical figure of helplessness in describing with words the grandeur of the building, «quod lingua humana vix exprimere posset» as Cristoforo Buondelmonti says¹⁴; in other cases, it is the inadequacy of time compared to the complexity of the task that is invoked: the report of the Florentines Bernardo Michelozzo and Francesco Bonsignori, who were in Constantinople in the last years of the fifteenth century, say that »De pavimento, de columnis, de testudinibus opere musive picturata quid dicam non est; dies enim me deficiat si pauca ex multis narravero«¹⁵. It is a proper Sisyphean task for the scholar to fully describe the church, according to Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador sent by King Henry III to Tamerlane in 1403; at the end of the description of his visit, he confessed that: »Even spending many hours there, one would not be able to see it all. Even a visitor who would come for several days in a row, never stopping to look, returning there yet another day, would discover other wonders«¹⁶.

Another recurrent theme is the focus on the dome, which is very often described as if it were the unique preserved part of the building: I give you a selection of statements beginning with the diary of the Vicentine Giovanni Maria Angiolello who arrived at Constantinople in 1470: »è cosa stupenda

di grandezza et di manifattura di marmi, alabastri, porfidi, musaico, come fino al giorno d'oggi si dimostra, et sola la cuba di mezzo è rimasta (only the central dome survives)«¹⁷; similarly Pietro Zen, in his *Itinerario di Pietro Zeno, oratore a Constantinopoli nel MDXXIII, compendiato da Marino Sanuto*, affirms that »tutta la chiesa è reduta in una cuba«¹⁸; in this statement he is followed by Francesco Della Valle who between 1531 and 1535, when he was at Constantinople at the services of the wealthy merchant Alvise Gritti, writes that »né li è rimasto altro, che non sia rovinato, eccetto la capella grande, la quale è d'una cuba sola«¹⁹; after some years Jérôme Maurand from Antibes, but a native of Savona (which explains the use of Italian in his diary), visited the Hagia Sophia in 1544 and in his long and vivid description of the church repeated that »la cuba sive Sancta Sanctorum, è quella parte che se vede integra«²⁰.

Equally recurrent is the attempt to compare the size and spaciousness of the Hagia Sophia with monuments that both the author and his audience would be more familiar with as part of their cultural background: comparisons with the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence are proposed by the Florentines Bernardo Michelozzo and Francesco Bonsignori (1497-1498), which also invoke the church of San Lorenzo as a benchmark for the length and St. Peter's at Rome for the use of marble in the pavement, even if the authors, in this case, underscore the technical and aesthetic peculiarities of the Byzantine *opus sectile*, in describing the decorative effect of the marble veneer given by the slabs »seghate et poi murate et adaptate in modo che tutto pare sia coperto di cianbellotti tanto bene dimostra quelle onde«²¹. If the author comes from the northeast of Italy, the choice of monuments with which the Hagia Sophia is associated looks toward examples of that geographical area: see, for example, the aforementioned Francesco della Valle, who compares the size of the dome of the Byzantine church with that of Sant'Antonio at Padova²².

It is not to be excluded that suggestions derived from visual memory would have guided Jerome Maurand to evoke, in his description of the Hagia Sophia, the escutcheons and arms of the Lascarid family as a comparison for something he saw in the church which he believed to be the coat of arms of the emperor Justinian²³. As the Lascarid mentioned in the text should be those of Ventimiglia²⁴, whose coat of arms is characterized by a double-headed eagle – see this specimen

three heads still standing, while several sources – collected in Strootman, *Serpent Column*; Stephenson, *Serpent Column* – say that they were smashed on October 20, 1700, i. e., ten years before Loos' survey in Istanbul. Even in some drawings of the western gallery of the Hagia Sophia, Loos freely represents marble slabs decorated with crosses on a globe, where in reality such a motif is absent (Guiglia Guidobaldi/Barsanti, *Santa Sofia* 30-31 fig. 28).

13 This is true for a great part of the early modern travel reports in Greece and the Levant: see Deisser, *Entre Constantinople et Venise* 246.

14 See Stichel, *Einblick* 21.

15 Borsook, *Travels Michelozzi Bonsignori* 160 note 92; Foschi, *Santa Sofia* 11. See also Rebaudo, *Un pellegrinaggio atipico; Figliuolo, La vita*.

16 Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan* 61.

17 Reinhard, *Edition de J.-M. Angiolello* 49. About Angiolello and his fellow citizen Pigafetta, see Petrizzelli, *Viaggiatori vicentini*.

18 Fulin, *Diarii* 121.

19 *Narrazione di Francesco della Valle Padovano della grandezza, virtù, valore, ed infelice morte dell'illustrissimo Signor Aloise Gritti*, published in Ivántól, Gritti 17.

20 Maurand, *Itinéraire* 40.

21 MSS Magl. XIII, 93 cc. 17 verso, 18 recto; Borsook, *Travels Michelozzi Bonsignori* 161 note 92. The noun *cianbellotti* recurs in several archival documents of the late medieval and early modern age, with the meaning of a kind of variously colored robe.

22 Ivántól, Gritti 17.

23 »Nel muro se vedeno le arme sive excusoni di Justiniano imperatore, fatte come quelle che tie[n]gano li gentilhomini de Lascarid« Maurand, *Itinéraire* 246.

24 The house began in 1261 when Count William Peter I of Ventimiglia married Eudoxia Lascarid, daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium, Theodore II, see Origone, *Bisanzio e i Lascarid*.



Fig. 6 Nice, Palais Lascaris. Coat of arms of the Lascaris of Ventimiglia. – (Photo Finoskov, CC BY-SA 4.0, via WikimediaCommons).



Fig. 7 Hagia Sophia. Marble revetment of the southwest pillar. – (Photo A. Paribeni).

from the Musée du Palais Lascaris at Nice (**fig. 6**) – I suppose that Maurand could have found a kind of similarity with some motifs of the marble veneer (**fig. 7**) that cover the huge pillars in the *naos* and the walls of the galleries²⁵.

Maurand's account stands out sharply from the other travel reports of his era for the variety and subtlety of his observations, even if some of them, alas, are not easy to understand: he describes with eloquent language the schemes of the marble pavement and the typologies of polychrome marble used for the columns²⁶. Elsewhere, he reports having seen complete cycles of mosaics with scenes of the Old and New Testament in various parts of the church, like the deambulatory of the gallery²⁷. Based on the documented data about figural mosaics, it is difficult to find space for such a broad iconographic program; only to a limited extent can Maurand's mosaics be identified with those attested in the following centuries thanks to the drawings of Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, Cornelius Loos and the Fossati brothers²⁸.

25 Some book-matched slabs of cipollino marble could resemble a silhouette of a frontal eagle with stretched wings.

26 »Il salegato è fatto a toni grandi e fiori di serpentine, porfidi, et de una certa preda negra lucente como specchio«. Maurand, *Itinéraire* 244. About the use of the technical term »salegato« see Mazzone, *Su un tecnicismo*.

27 »Tutto intorno vi è uno ordine di colonne di marmore orientale verzelato di negro, alte da 15 palmi, et vi sonno volte bellissime di marmore et uno deambulatorio sopra; et ne la fassa vi è depento a musaico tutto il Testamento Vecchio. – Sopra di questo deambulatorio vi è uno altro ordine di collone, alte 12 palmi, di simile preda, et di sopra le volte è il deambulatorio come il primo, et ne la fassa

An astute researcher of epigraphy, as he proved on other occasions by copying the text of the dedicatory inscription on the Obelisk of Theodosius at the Hippodrome, Maurand is also the last to report on the presence in the Hagia Sophia of a Latin inscription on a gold slab affixed to a wall, kept from 1587 in the Sultan's treasury as Reinhold Lubenau mentions and then lost, whose convoluted history was exemplarily unraveled by Cyril Mango²⁹.

The stunning decorative motifs on the marble revetments that captured Maurand's eye were particularly appealing to visitors, especially when local guides explained to them that, under the intricacy of the veneer, some figures might be hiding. The hodoeporic literature is replete with mentions of religious figures and images of animals that appeared by the joining of two marble slabs or as a result of sawing as if they were painted by nature or were created by divine will. The Hagia Sophia shared with other highly symbolic monuments of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (e.g., for Italy, San

vi é depento a musaico il Testamento Novo, de man de bonissimo maestro.«, Maurand, *Itinéraire* 244.

28 For the Loos drawings see Adahl, Cornelius Loos; for the Fossati ones see Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics: Die Hagia Sophia*.

29 »Vi se vede anchora una tabula d'oro larga uno palmo et longa doi, inclastrata al ditto muro, ovc sono esculpate talle parole in lettere antiche: Christus nascitur ex virgine in eum credo tempore Constantini et Irenes IMPERATORIBUS (sic), O SOL, IITERUM ME VIDEBIS«, see Maurand, *Itinéraire* 244. Mango, *Forged*, presents all the sources regarding this mysterious inscription. In the late 16th century we have the last mention of the inscription by Lubenau, *Beschreibung* 175.

Vitale at Ravenna and the Basilica of San Marco in Venice; for the Islamic East, the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and the Umayyad Mosque at Damas) the blossoming of legendary tales about the creation of figures that derived from the practice of cutting and arranging marble veneers to enhance their pictorial potential³⁰.

We can recall the words of Clavijo, who in the Hagia Sophia noted images, including those of Christ and the Virgin, in a white marble slab of the church, images born of the veins that nature traced on the stone, which appeared »as if they were in the clouds of heaven, and as if there was a thin veil before them«; the figural images perceived in the marble revetment of the Hagia Sophia he continues »were drawn very naturally, without any human artistry of sculpture or painting ... These images, as mentioned above, are not drawn or painted with any color, nor inlaid; but the stone itself gave birth to this image, with its veins, which can be seen; and they say that when this stone was cut, to be placed in this most holy place, the workmen saw these most wonderful and fortunate images on it.«³¹ Also the duo Michelozzi-Bon-signori report having seen a figure resembling that of the Virgin Mary »dissegnata ... nelle vene del marmo«. To provide further verisimilitude to these images created by the mottling of the marble, at some unspecified stage, small holes were drilled to emphasize the anthropomorphic qualities of the venous patterns with the characterization of the pupils³².

Other *mirabilia* of the Hagia Sophia were hidden in the unexplored substructures of the church and were known only through oral tradition and indirect evidence. A list of authors, starting from fourteenth-century Russian pilgrims such as Stephen of Novgorod and passing through fifteenth-century Western visitors like Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, and Pero Tafur, claim that underneath the pavement of the church, a vast subterranean cistern was present providing, in some cases, totally unreliable estimates as regards the size and capacity of these basins: Pero Tafur reports for example that »beneath this chapel, there is a great cistern which, they say, could contain a ship of 3000 boats in full sail«³³. Recent surveys conducted by Çiğdem Özkan Aygün into the wells, the existence of which under the nave

floor and in the surrounding area has been known for a long time³⁴, have ascertained their depth, but, alas, no traces of communication with a large cistern underneath have been found³⁵.

Following the canvas of travel reports, it seems to me that the tour of the Hagia Sophia was planned so as to achieve the maximum emotional impact on visitors: after the sight of the fantastic dome, the stunning vision of the polychrome marbles and their *acheiropoieta* images, the mystery of the subterranean water reservoirs, it could not end without a visit to another attraction, namely the sultan's menagerie housed in the church of Saint John at the Diippion, the structures of which, halfway between the Hagia Sophia and the *carceres* of the Hippodrome, are identified with the huge domed building visible in two well-known iconographic sources: a woodcut published in 1493 in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (fig. 8) representing an area of the city that in July 12, 1490 was severely damaged by a fire that spread after a storm hit the Column of Justinian at the Augusteion³⁶; and a folio drawing in the so-called Freshfield Album (fig. 9), a collection of watercolor drawings of Constantinopolitan monuments made by an anonymous artist, possibly for Stephan Gerlach, the antiquarian chaplain to David Ungnad von Sonneck, who was the imperial ambassador to the Ottoman Porte from 16 April to 23 September 1572, and again from 1573 to 1578³⁷.

As we mentioned above, the knowledge of the Hagia Sophia among the humanist community of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also passed through the production and circulation of images that sought to represent the church alone or integrated into the city's topography. The central role of the Hagia Sophia in the urban fabric is well indicated, as early as the Byzantine era, by those maquettes and bird's-eye views of Constantinople in which the image of the entire city is condensed in the representation of the church, sometimes flanked by the equestrian statue of Justinian on top of the pillar in the Augusteion: well-known examples can be seen in miniatures from two Vatican codices, a twelfth-century Book of Job³⁸, and an Epithalamion – whose dating, fluctuating between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, should be anchored to the early Palaiologan period³⁹ – to which we

30 Frequently, pilgrims or visitors to the Hagia Sophia believed they could detect human or animal figures in the book-matched patterns of marble veneers: see Onians, *Abstraction* 7-12; Fobelli, *Descrizione* figs 8-10; Flood, *God's Wonder* 176 figs 8-9; Kilerich, *The Aesthetic Viewing* 19-20.

31 Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan* 60-61.

32 Onians, *Abstraction* 10; Gamboni, *Potential Images* 26 (with the hypothesis that those drills could have been filled with coloured materials in order to enhance the emotive impact); Flood, *God's Wonder* 213.

33 See Özkan Aygün, *New Findings* 68.

34 See Grelot, *Relation nouvelle* 110 and the illustration showing an Ottoman driving water from one of these wells.

35 Özkan Aygün, *New Findings* and also Özkan Aygün/Arvanitidou/Gounari, *Interpreting*.

36 Berger/Bardill, *Representation of Constantinople* 33 fig. 8. Despite what was claimed by some witnesses, the lightning strike did not cause the destruction of the statue atop the column, as it had already melted some decades before, see Raby, *Mehmed the Conqueror*; Boeck, *Bronze Horseman* 411-414 fig. PS.3.

37 Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. o.17.2. The drawings from the Freshfield album are called into question in almost all studies dedicated to the topography and history of the Byzantine monuments of Constantinople. Among this rich bibliography, see Freshfield, *Notes on a Vellum*; Mango, *Constantinopolitana*; Stefan Hanß recently announced a study that will be consecrated to the album, see Hanß, *Shared taste* 271 note 38. Some scholars, such as Rudolf Stichel, attribute the drawings to the Flemish Lambert de Vos (Stichel, *Sechs kolossale Säulen* 7 note 29).

38 Papadaki-Oekland, *Justinian's Column*; Boeck, *Bronze Horseman* 156-162 fig. 7.1.

39 In anticipation of the conclusion of the restoration and the critical edition of the codex (Schreiner et al., *Fragmenta carminis picti*), I would like to refer to Iacobini, *Epitalamio*, for the convincing dating of the Epithalamion to the reign of Michael VIII and for his reflections on the meaning of the miniatures representing Constantinople. For a more updated picture of the debate on the dating of the manuscript see Hilsdale, *Constructing Byzantine Augusta*; Pérez Martín, *Gran boda bizantina*; Short, *Agency and Authority* (late 12th century); Hennessy, *Child Bride*; Effenberger, *Brücken* (middle of 14th century).

could add the miniature representing the construction of the church in the presence of the emperor and the two *mechanopoioi* Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus in the Old Slavonic version of the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses of the fourteenth century⁴⁰.

The image of the Hagia Sophia as the symbol of the Polis is also conveyed by some maps that illustrate manuscript versions of the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* by Cristoforo Buondelmonti⁴¹, in which the large circuit of the city wall delimitates a void space (fig. 10) where only the Justinianic cathedral and the nearby column at the Augusteion are represented⁴². In the more elaborate versions of Buondelmonti's city plan – where the most prominent monuments and the grid of the city are defined – the mass of the Hagia Sophia is always clearly distinguishable, along with the depiction of the Augusteion column, on the top of which the imperial statue sometimes appears, even though the manuscript was produced after the conquest of Constantinople and the subsequent removal of that image of the Byzantine emperor⁴³.

The circulation through Greece, the Aegean Sea, and the west coast of Asia Minor, including Constantinople, of a significant number of cartographers, draughtsmen, artists, and antiquarians fostered the diffusion in the West of several pictorial representations of classical sculptures, ancient monuments, and architectural landscapes, which Renaissance artists were aptly able to appropriate.

Artists such as Mantegna included thematic elements of Constantinople's monumental heritage in their paintings, drawing on the vast repertoire of graphic documents that were circulating in those years in the major centres of humanist culture: noteworthy is the visual reference to one of the most distinguished and emblematic monuments of the Byzantine capital, i.e., the Column of Justinian at the Augusteion, which Mantegna quotes (fig. 11) in panel VI of

the *Triumphs of Caesar*, via his cultural exchanges with Cyriac of Ancona and Manuel Chrysoloras, both of whom shared first-hand knowledge of that symbol of the glorious days of the emperors of Byzantium⁴⁴. A bird's eye view of Constan-



Fig. 10 View of Constantinople. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi*. – (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 309, fol. 35^v, CC-BY-SA 3.0).

40 Ms Vat. Sl. 2, fol. 109^v. See Boeck, *Imaging Byzantine Past* 238-245; Boeck, *Bronze Horseman* 298-304, with previous bibliography.

41 In anticipation of the conclusion of the Digital Edition of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum* – a preliminary notice has been presented by Benedetta Bessi in the International Conference «Paving the Way to the Rediscovery of Ancient Greece: Cristoforo Buondelmonti and Other Travellers (15th-19th century). New Approaches and Methods» held at Venice in October 2023 – a complete overview of the manuscripts containing the works of the Florentine traveller and cartographer is offered by Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo* 190 figs 70-71).

42 See for example the views of Constantinople in Norfolk Holkham Hall Library, ms 475, fol. 41^r and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms W 309, fol. 35^v (Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo* 190 figs 70-71).

43 Among the numerous manuscripts showing the equestrian statue atop of the column see BAV, Ms. Ross. 702, fol. 32^r (Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo* 203 fig. 78) and above all the detailed map of Constantinople in Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Ms G 13, fol. 54^r (Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo* 181 fig. 59; Bayer Cristoforo Buondelmonti). The equestrian statue, which originated together with the church and for 900 years was intimately linked to it, was removed by order of Mehmed II between 1453 and 1456 because it was perceived as an anti-Ottoman talisman and also because its permanence would have been an obstacle to the cultural appropriation of the Byzantine church as the new Ayasofya Mosque (Boeck, *Bronze Horseman* 325-334).

44 The theme is discussed in Boeck, *Making Roman Past(s)* 62-68 figs 2.3-2.4. For other Mantegna paintings alluding to the column and also to other monuments of Constantinople see Vickers, *Mantegna*; Faietti, *From Solomon's Temple*. See also the passage in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*, where Gentile Bellini is credited with having represented Saint Sophia «tirato in prospettiva, cosa veramente difficile e bella per molte parti che si veggono» into one of the stories of Saint Mark



Fig. 11 Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar VI: corselet-bearers*. – (After Andrea Mantegna, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons; London, Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace).



Fig. 12 Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono Giamberti, Cassone with painted front panel depicting the Conquest of Trebizond; part with the view of Constantinople. – (Photo New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, obj. no. 14.39).

tinople with the widely displayed Hagia Sophia – Augusteion pair appears on a cassone (wedding chest) attributed to the workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono Giamberti (fig. 12), a work of art I dealt with more than twenty years ago and that has more recently been the object of fresh studies⁴⁵.

Within the corpus of sixteenth-century drawings of the Hagia Sophia, a place of utmost importance is reserved for those of the Codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424, which is considered one of the most important collections of drawings from the Renaissance⁴⁶; in a series of folios devoted

to »Greek Antiquities«, undoubtedly derivative from a copy of Cyriac of Ancona's *Commentaria*, are two drawings and a plan showing different views of the Hagia Sophia⁴⁷. They were part of a larger set, now lost, of seven drawings by Cyriac of Ancona dedicated to this church, whose authorship is confirmed by the captions and spaces prepared for inserting the image in a fifteenth-century codex of the Biblioteca Palatina at Parma⁴⁸.

The surviving drawings of this series, »unique in Cyriac's work and without parallel in Early Renaissance architectural drawings,«⁴⁹ are not autographs but copies made by Giuliano

executed by the artist in the Scuola di San Marco at Venice after his return from Constantinople. The oil painting in question is the well-known *Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria* (now Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera), in which Gentile freely articulates the church façade, capturing elements of San Marco and the Scuola Grande di San Marco at Venice and also of San Vitale at Ravenna. A kind of Constantinopolitan flavor is assured more by other monuments that appear in the painting, such as the obelisk on the left and the upper part of an historiated column emerging in the second ground. On the Greek elements recognizable in this painting and on the impact that the experience gained by Gentile during his stay at the court of Mehmed II may have had see Pericolo, *Incorporating the Middle Ages 145-149*.

45 Paribeni, *Iconografia, committenza, topografia di Costantinopoli*. Among the most recent literature see at least Baskins, *Bride of Trebizond*; Boeck, *Bronze Horseman 343-347*. Other references in Paribeni, *Mosaici perduti*. This is not the occasion to resume the discussion on this topic, I merely point out that, in

order to outline the identity of the patron and possibly manage to determine it, it would be very important to shed light on the interests that the commissioner of the cassone (probably a member of the Strozzi family) cultivated in the middle of the 15th century in Trebizond and in Constantinople, especially with the local Franciscan community, whose relevance is underscored by the church of Saint Francis, which is identified by a caption in the Constantinople maquette represented in the left part of the cassone front.

46 Brown/Kleiner, *Giuliano da Sangallo's Drawings*; Donetti, »Antichità greche« di Giuliano da Sangallo; Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo*.

47 BAV, Barb. Lat. 4424, foll. 28^r and 44^r. See Hoffmann, *Santa Sofia ad Istanbul 153-156*.

48 Smith, *Cyriacus of Ancona*; Cyriac, *Life 265-271*; Mattiello, *Ciriaco d'Ancona a Bisanzio 14-18*.

49 Smith, *Cyriacus of Ancona 16*.

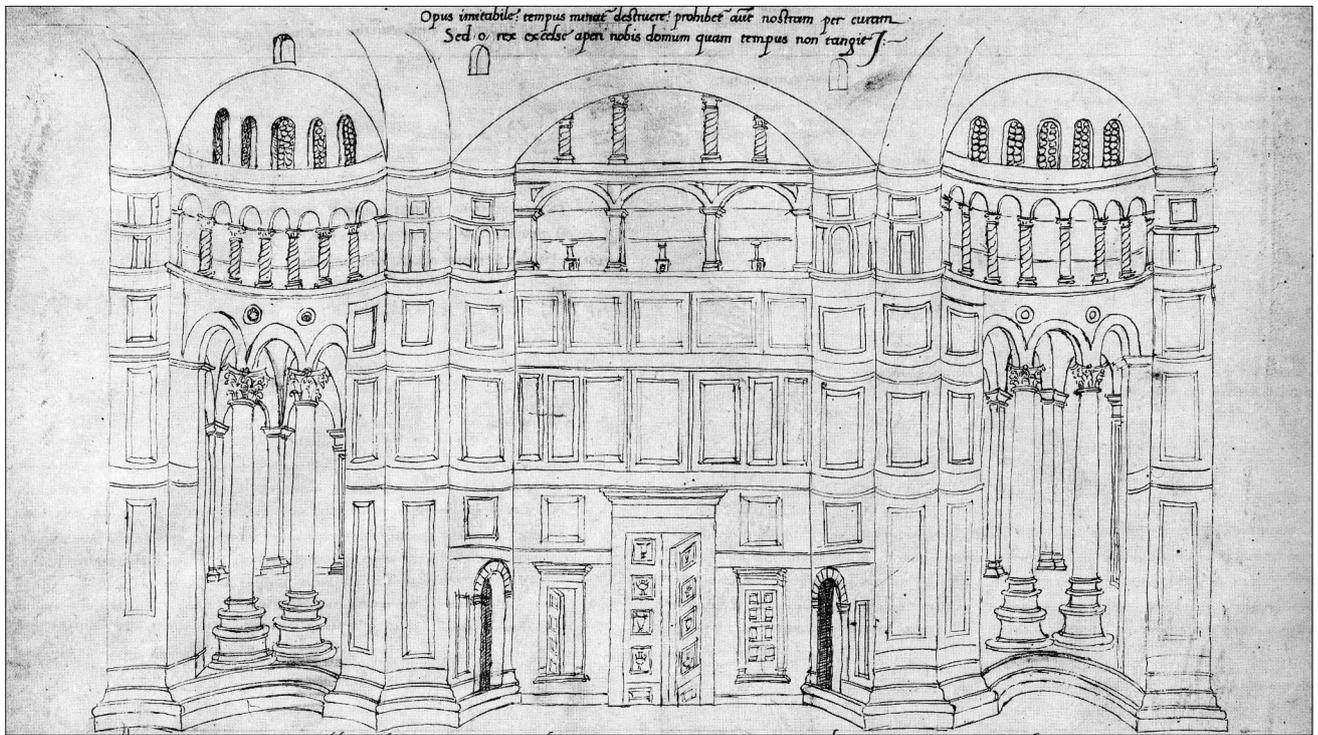


Fig. 13 Giuliano da Sangallo (after Cyriac of Ancona), view of the west side of the Hagia Sophia. – (After Foschi, Santa Sofia).

da Sangallo and his son Francesco: on a single page (fol. 28'), both outer and inner sides (fig. 13) of the western elevation are presented, together with captions giving data about the patronage, the measurements of the church and the richness of the marble decoration.

Errors, misunderstandings, and approximations are not lacking, nor do we know whether they should be blamed on the transcription work or whether they were present in the original: for example, in the drawing of the inner side of the western façade, the columns of the *exedrae* at gallery level are incongruously spiral-shaped as if they were twisted snakes: it is not to be excluded that this mistake could have been caused by the erroneous identification of the marble as serpentine (the word used by Roman *marmorarii* for the Lacedaemonian green porphyry) or serpentinite, while it is a green Thessalian *breccia* (*lapis atracius*)⁵⁰. Also, the elaboration of the socle, utterly different from the sober molding of the skirting visible in the *naos* of the Hagia Sophia, seems to derive from models of Renaissance architecture.

We conclude our journey through the graphic documentation of the Hagia Sophia in the sixteenth century with other drawings belonging to the so-called Freshfield Album, which give us three distinct views of the interior facing east, south, and west (figs 14-16): the richness and variety of the marble revetment on the walls and pillars are rendered here in a simplified way with the alternation of slabs of two

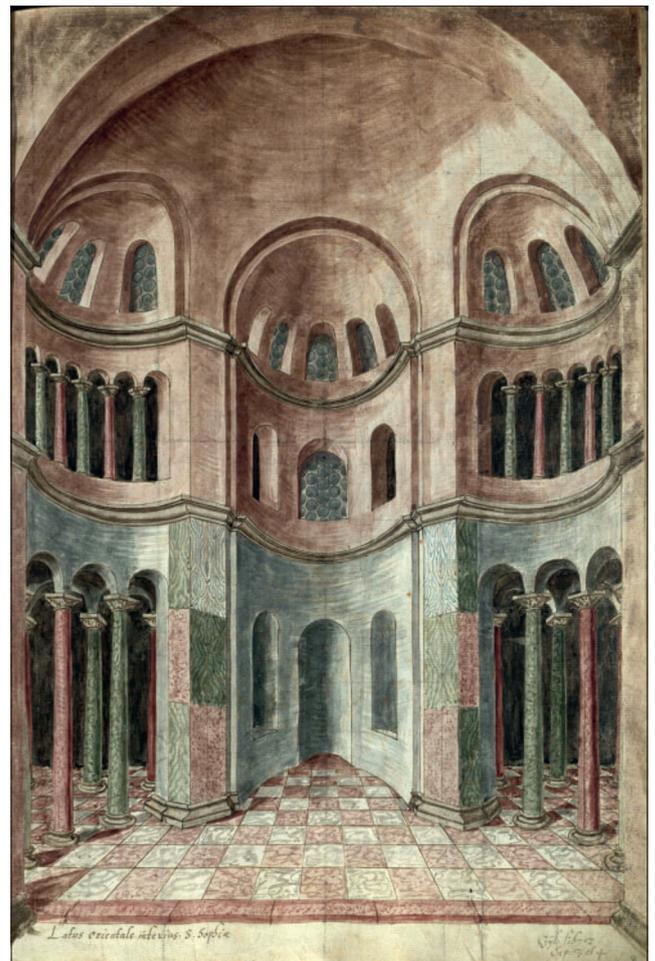


Fig. 14 Three views of the interior of St Sofia (1). – (Album Freshfield, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O.17.2, fol. 8', Wren Digital Library).

50 Stichel, Einblicke 21. On the characteristics of the *lapis atracius* see Melfos, Green Thessalian Stone.



Fig. 15 Three views of the interior of St Sofia (2). – (Album Freshfield, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O.17.2, fol. 9', Wren Digital Library).



Fig. 16 Three views of the interior of St Sofia (3). – (Album Freshfield, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O.17.2, fol. 10', Wren Digital Library).



Fig. 17 Hagia Sophia. *Omphalos*. – (Photo A. Paribeni).

different colors, reddish and green; the same alternation is erroneously applied in the representation of the columns and also in the composition of the marble pavement, except for a *rota* correctly inserted in the southern part of the nave where the elaborate composition with the *omphalos* (fig. 17) still remains⁵¹; vault and domes appear naked without traces

51 See Pedone, *Omphalos* 75 fig. 5a-b.

52 See Guiglia Guidobaldi/Barsanti, *Santa Sofia* 57-75.

of mosaic decoration, while the glasses of the windows are represented meticulously: the circular shape of the glasses that we see is confirmed by seventeenth-century eyewitnesses, such as Grelot, and by the early eighteenth-century Loos drawings; on the other hand, the shape of these glasses doesn't match that of the Justinianic fenestration⁵² and their insertion should be assigned to a restoration made in Ottoman times⁵³.

All these discrepancies find an explanation if we think of the conditions in which, in general, the draughtsmen were forced to work: little time on the spot to throw a sketch of the whole and then more thoughtful work at the studio, but without the possibility of checking, given the difficulties of access to the mosque for Christians. Despite these flaws, these pioneering drawings were the starting point for the more systematic surveys carried out by Grelot, Loos, and the Fossati brothers in the following centuries; it is also thanks to the effort of all these modern-age scholars that the knowledge of the architecture and decorative systems of the Hagia Sophia has been able to advance from the 19th century until now.

53 Guiglia Guidobaldi/Barsanti, *Santa Sofia* 73 note 21, with previous bibliography.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Saint Sophia and the Adjoining Monuments of Byzantine Constantinople through the Lens of Renaissance Scholars and Travellers

From the descriptions delivered by the European travelers who, for diplomatic missions, commercial interests, and religious reasons, sojourned in Constantinople during the 15th and 16th centuries, a peculiar attention to the Hagia Sophia and its fate in Ottoman times clearly emerges. The recurrence of the same topoi in these literary texts – such as the extolling of the dome hugeness and of the marble decoration – allow us to see that the tour of the Hagia Sophia was planned so as to achieve the maximum emotional impact on visitors; together with the cathedral church then reduced to a mosque, the surrounding monuments of Byzantine age, such as the Column of Justinian at the Augusteion and the Christian churches reused as the sultan's menageries, became part of the same set of imperial memories, that were depicted by Renaissance draughtsmen and artists who left us a precious image of these relics of the Byzantine past of the city.

Die Hagia Sophia und die angrenzenden Denkmäler des byzantinischen Konstantinopel durch die Brille von Gelehrten und Reisenden der Renaissance

Aus den Beschreibungen der europäischen Reisenden, die sich im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert aus diplomatischen, kommerziellen und religiösen Gründen in Konstantinopel aufhielten, geht eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit für die Hagia Sophia und ihr Schicksal in osmanischer Zeit hervor. Die Wiederholung derselben Topoi in diesen literarischen Texten – wie das Lob der Kuppelgröße und der Marmordekoration – lässt erkennen, dass die Besichtigung der Hagia Sophia so geplant war, dass sie bei den Besuchern eine maximale emotionale Wirkung erzielte; zusammen mit der damals zu einer Moschee umgewandelten Kathedrale wurden die umliegenden Denkmäler aus byzantinischer Zeit, wie die Justiniansäule im Augusteion und die christlichen Kirchen, die als Menagerien des Sultans genutzt wurden, Teil derselben kaiserlichen Erinnerungen, die von Renaissance-Zeichnern und Künstlern dargestellt wurden, die uns ein wertvolles Bild dieser Relikte der byzantinischen Vergangenheit der Stadt hinterlassen haben.

Sainte-Sophie et les monuments adjacents de la Constantinople byzantine à travers le prisme des érudits et des voyageurs de la Renaissance

Les descriptions des voyageurs européens qui, pour des missions diplomatiques, des intérêts commerciaux ou des raisons religieuses, ont séjourné à Constantinople au cours des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, révèlent une attention particulière à l'égard de Sainte-Sophie et de son destin à l'époque ottomane. La récurrence des mêmes topoi dans ces textes littéraires – comme l'éloge de l'immensité de la coupole et de la décoration en marbre – nous permet de constater que la visite de Sainte-Sophie était planifiée de manière à obtenir le maximum d'impact émotionnel sur les visiteurs. Avec l'église cathédrale, alors réduite à une mosquée, les monuments environnants de l'époque byzantine, comme la colonne de Justinien à l'Augusteion et les églises chrétiennes réutilisées comme menageries du sultan, ont fait partie du même ensemble de souvenirs impériaux, représentés par les dessinateurs et les artistes de la Renaissance qui nous ont laissé une image précieuse de ces vestiges du passé byzantin de la ville.

Variations in the Eye of the Beholder: The Diverse Sixteenth-Century Reception of Hagia Eirene in Istanbul

Once they passed the grand first gate, the *Bâb-ı Hümâyün* [Imperial gate], the first building in sight that welcomed the visitors of the Ottoman Imperial Palace (*Saray-ı Cedid* [New Palace]) was not an Ottoman, but a Byzantine building of monumental scale, incomparable to any of the other buildings that surround the first courtyard of the palace. This was the former Byzantine church of Hagia Eirene, dedicated to divine peace, which once formed part of the »Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία [Great Church]« of the Byzantines, functioning together as one complex with the Hagia Sophia.

Hagia Eirene in Istanbul is among the most prominent examples of Byzantine church architecture (fig. 1). The

remarkably well-preserved current structure replaced its fourth-century predecessor, which was destroyed by fire in 532. The sixth-century Hagia Eirene featured a basilical design that likely combined the traditional linear layout with a vertical emphasis, achieved by the addition of a dome to the nave, a feature that was shared with several other significant structures from the same period. The upper structure collapsed after an earthquake in 740 and was rebuilt during the Iconoclastic centuries, probably retaining the existing dome arrangement of the earlier design with some modifications. The architectural integrity of this eighth-century layout remained unchanged over the subsequent Byzantine



Fig. 1 Hagia Eirene in Istanbul. View from southwest. – (Photo B. Ar 2015).

centuries. Throughout the Ottoman era, the building was repurposed and adapted for various uses, yet it underwent few significant alterations to its core architectural characteristics¹. It was the first cathedral of the Byzantine capital and served as a cathedral again after the demolition of the fourth-century Hagia Sophia in 404. As one of the churches where the famous Archbishop John Chrysostom met with the congregations, Hagia Eirene appears in textual sources in relation to some of the notable events and struggles of the administrative and religious history of the Empire, and is also mentioned in the tenth-century book *De Ceremoniis* as part of a processional route between itself, Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace².

Once enclosed within the walls of the Ottoman Imperial palace, Hagia Eirene differed extremely both in size and also in the quality of its construction material from the rest of the buildings surrounding the first courtyard, most of which were small-scale service buildings with their façades hidden behind continuous blind enclosure walls and their clay tiled wooden roofs were in stark contrast with the lead covered dome of this monumental masonry building.

The transformation of the identity of Hagia Eirene from a Byzantine church into an Ottoman monument started long before the transfer of the Ottoman court from its previous location close to the Forum of Theodosius (the Old Palace) to the current location of the New Palace. The Great Church complex was separated from the first day of Ottoman rule in Constantinople, when Hagia Sophia was declared the first Friday mosque of the new Ottoman capital. Soon after the conquest, the war machines of the defeated Byzantine army were deposited in the building of Hagia Eirene as military spoils, causing it to lose its primary religious function. With its enclosure inside the New Palace walls in the following decades, its function was officially changed into the Imperial Armory, housing both the contemporary weapons and equipment of the army and the military spoils of wars. Swords of Ottoman Sultans were housed here together with other venerated military artefacts, and the building soon turned into a symbol of Ottoman military power.

Existing scholarship on the Hagia Eirene building majorly handles it as an example of monumental church architecture for the Byzantine centuries³. Literature focusing on its Ottoman identity is scarce and these are usually short mentions in relation to studies on the Topkapi Palace. The nineteenth-century history of the building did receive some attention in relation to Ottoman museology since the col-

lections housed here throughout the Ottoman centuries formed the basis for the Imperial Archaeological Museum and later the Military Museum, both established first in Hagia Eirene⁴. Prior to accommodating the official function of a museum, Hagia Eirene served as the Imperial Armory for a long period of time. However, the building's function extended beyond what its name suggested, serving a uniquely multifunctional role. Along with its strong architectural appeal and reminiscence of its Byzantine past, its diverse content attracted the attention of a diverse audience. This study focuses on the sixteenth-century perception of Hagia Eirene, aiming to portray an insight on its reception by its Ottoman rulers, by the local communities and by its visitors in accordance with its location, function and content.

An Overview of the First Courtyard

The establishment of the spatial organization of the New Palace was largely completed during the sixteenth century, and was subject only to minor changes in the following periods. Through preserved structures, various archival accounts and attestations of early visitors it is possible to propose a reconstruction of the sixteenth-century organization of the courtyard, the areas surrounding Hagia Eirene and the identification of its neighboring structures with their Ottoman era functions. Once the visitor passed through the *Bâb-ı Hümâyün* they came across a vast courtyard plainly spreading as a flattened terrain of compacted soil. A paved path connected this gate with the second monumental portal leading to the second courtyard. Similar to the spatial organizations of the previous Ottoman palaces⁵, this arrangement consisted of a series of courtyards, around which the administrative and living quarters, as well as various types of service structures were organized. Surrounding this core complex of buildings and courtyards lay the grand gardens and the whole complex was surrounded by an enclosure; *Sur-u Sultanî* which resembled city walls. As one passed from the outer courtyards towards the inner ones, one made a transition from a more public to a more private space. While entrance to the first courtyard was subject to restrictions during the reign of Mehmed II (1444-1446 / 1451-1481), it was permitted following the reign of his successor Bayazid II (1481-1512) allowing a wider audience to have visual access to the site⁶. Most of the palace's external service buildings were located here. Except for Hagia Eirene,

1 For an overview of the adaptations and function changes of Hagia Eirene throughout the Ottoman era see: Ar, Changing Content.

2 Constantine, Ceremonies 186.

3 For most important literature on Hagia Eirene as a Byzantine monument see: Peschlow, Irenenkirche; George, Saint Eirene; Grossmann, Atrium; Feist, Impact 129-145.

4 For a monograph on Hagia Eirene as an Ottoman monument see: Ar, Aya Irini. Also, specifically for nineteenth-century developments see: Shaw, Possessors and Possessed.

5 The Old Palace in Istanbul and the administrative palaces in the former capital Edirne.

6 Spandugino, Petit Traicté 133. Theodoro Spandugino delivering his observations from the early 16th c. mentions that there used to be guards at the gate limiting access to the courtyard and that during his time anyone could enter on horseback.

these were modest in size, independently grouped around small courtyards forming self-sufficient complexes containing workshops, dormitories, kitchens, baths and prayer rooms within independent wall enclosures. The dominant visual element defining this space was the circulation of people rather than the service buildings hidden behind blind wall enclosures. Gülru Necipoğlu's description, based on Lokman's *Hünernâme*⁷, demonstrates that the visual impact of the first courtyard was not defined by buildings, but by crowds of soldiers on horseback with harnesses decorated with jewels, their costumes, and exotic animals exhibited during important days⁸. Entry to the second courtyard on horseback was prohibited and large stables were placed next to its monumental gate⁹ (fig. 2).

Directly on the left side of *Bâb-ı Hümâyün* quarters for guards and barracks for soldiers were situated. Hagia Eirene, serving as the imperial armory [*cebehâne-i âmire*], also stood on this side. Across the courtyard on the right (eastern) side was the hospital. Descriptions by early visitors mention a colonnaded space on this right side with a view to the palace gardens and the sea. Giovanni Maria Angiolello (1451 - c. 1525), who transmits one of the earliest descriptions of the palace, mentions wooden benches overlooking the view to the gardens situated on the right side of the courtyard where servants of the officials could gather and wait¹⁰. These must have provided a scenic point facing towards Hagia Eirene across the courtyard and the sea view on the other. A later visitor, Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612)¹¹, describes the first courtyard as an almost quadrangular large area surrounded by arcaded passages, a *porticus per circuitum*, on all four sides. His observations and the mention of the gardens extending beyond these walls prove that the sixteenth-century visitor still had the same viewpoint¹². Moving further from the hospital on the right side were the bakeries¹³ and at the corner close to the Second Gate was a facility for the distribution of water to the palace.

On the south side of Hagia Eirene, the area between the building and *Sur-u Sultanî* was occupied by the above mentioned barracks, an imperial wood storage yard [*anbâr-ı hîme*] in service for construction activities, oxen stables [*istabl-ı gâvân*] housing the carts for carrying the wood



Fig. 2 The First Courtyard in the *Hünernâme* miniature, c. 1584. Hagia Eirene is represented on the left side. The wood storage building is symbolized by a scale and some wood. The hospital is on the right side. The paper commissioner's building and wooden half open spaces are situated closer to the Second Gate. – (After Lokman, *Hünernâme*).

and a workshop for mattress makers [*hasîrhâne-i hâssa*] to be laid under the carpets¹⁴. The first lion house¹⁵ [*arslan-hâne*] of the palace was also located in this area next to

7 Lokman, *Hünernâme* 1: fols 16a-18a.

8 Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace* 44.

9 Angiolello, *Manuscripts Inédits* 50-51.

10 Angiolello, *Manuscripts Inédits* 50.

11 A theologian from Tübingen. Gerlach met David Ungnad von Sonnegg in Vienna, who would later be sent as an ambassador to the Ottoman capital. When Ungnad was appointed by Emperor Maximilian II (1564-1576), he came to the city with him and stayed there for five years between 1573 and 1578 as the ambassador's chaplain. His notes on the city were later published: Gerlach, *Tagebuch*.

12 Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü* 1, 249.

13 In addition to these ovens, a smaller building providing bread specifically for the Sultan and his circle was constructed here in 1616 noted by the seventeenth-century witness Eremya Çelebi (1637-1695). This caused the visual access to be blocked: Kömürciyan, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul* 143 n. 26.

14 For a broader description of the first courtyard and an examination of archival documents on these self-sufficient individual workshops see: Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı* 40-50. Archival documents about repairs define the mattress makers complex with a dormitory, a pool, a bath with marble veneer, an infirmary, a prayer space and a kitchen arranged around a courtyard surrounded by a portico. The wood storage complex includes a mosque where the funerals of the deceased from the hospital was held. The ox carts not only served for the transportation of wood, but also of the sick from the palace to the hospital. Soldiers in training were operating them under the management of the eunuch in charge of the hospital.

15 »Lion house« was the name given to the building type that housed the wild and exotic animal menageries of the Sultan, and there were about at least four to five of them in proximity to the palace. For a study regarding buildings around the palace with this function see: Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, *Inciciyan* 51-94.

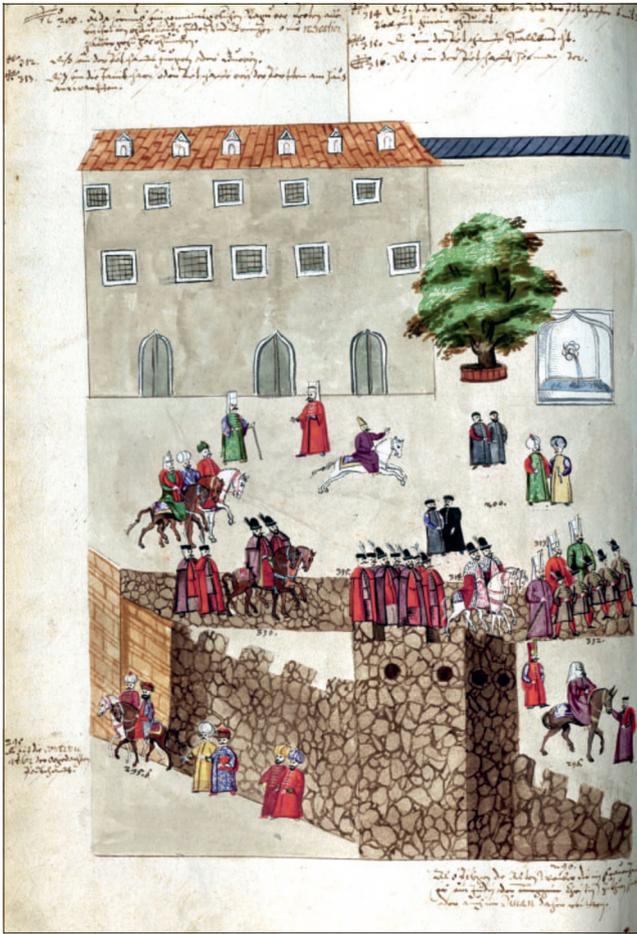


Fig. 3 The Imperial Warehouse depicted in the Habsburg album of Hieronymus Beck. The tree and fountain also seen in the Hünernâme stand adjacent to it. – (After ÖNB Cod. 8615, Fol. 130^v, last quarter of 16th century <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13954581>).

Hagia Eirene until the beginning of the seventeenth century (fig. 3).

On the northern side of Hagia Eirene stood another considerably large-scale building possibly of Byzantine origin. At its location today stands the Imperial Mint [*darphane-i âmire*] constructed in 1726, when the outer mint was transferred here from Beyazit. It was a multistoried building likely repurposed as a service unit and was majorly reserved as a depot for construction materials, but also included various offices for officials related to construction activity such as the mayor [*şehremini*] and court architects and some ateliers of artisans such as the miniature painters¹⁶. A specialized unit of the imperial mint housing the famous jewelers and masters of metal work of the court of Süleyman I (1520-1566) was also part of this complex. Beyond this building towards the west, down the slope and in proximity to Hagia Eirene lay remains of other constructions, presumed to be also of

16 For a discussion of the probable placement of the artisans see: Mahir, *Minyatür* 19.

17 Alus, *Müze-i Askeriye*. For a discussion relating these remains to a Byzantine palatial complex see: Düzgüner, *Istanbul'da Yapılar* 59-62. 67.

18 Sâ'i, *Mimar Sinan*.



Fig. 4 Paper commissioner's building and wooden half open spaces depicted in the Habsburg album of Hieronymus Beck. – (After ÖNB Cod. 8615, Fol. 132^v (last quarter of 16th century, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13954581>).

Byzantine origin by Alus, that may have served as part of this complex¹⁷. The building was referred to as the Imperial Warehouse [*anbâr-ı 'âmire*]. The documented expansion of the complex by architect Sinan¹⁸ is consistent with the evident intensive construction activity in the city during the reign of Süleyman I¹⁹. With its large scale this building was portrayed in the albums of Habsburg messengers as one of the defining elements of the first courtyard. As one moved further northward, as evidenced by both these albums and the Hünernâme miniature, the courtyard walls were aligned with wooden porticos providing a sheltered space for the officials and servants. At the northwestern part of the court stood a large octagonal kiosk with a pointed lead roof which is described by Necipoğlu as the only exception to the simple and uniform architecture of the first courtyard. An official known as the paper commissioner was operating there, collecting petitions and distributing imperial firmans of settled cases²⁰ (fig. 4).

19 Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace* 47. For an opposing view that claims the expansion of Sinan was applied to an armory depot at another location in the palace see: Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* 253.

20 Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace* 44-45.

Perception of Hagia Eirene and Its Functional Relations with Neighboring Structures

After being enclosed within the palace walls, Hagia Eirene was officially repurposed as a military depot, incorporating Ottoman army weapons alongside Byzantine war machines. Ottoman archival documents spanning several centuries record the continuous circulation of contemporary weapons and supplies for the army. Soldiers from the neighboring barracks were in charge of guarding the building and the maintenance of the weapons. After ascension to the throne, as was customary, every sultan would make a visit to the Imperial Armory. He would be informed by the chief soldier in charge of the collections and the characteristics of the weapons that were taken as loot in past wars and sieges²¹. In these early periods, the building was inaccessible to outsiders and the materials accumulated inside Hagia Eirene seem to have lacked a certain order. In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) refers to this disorderly appearance in his description of the building as a »weapons depot resembling the tomb of Afrasiyab, beyond any record or account«²². Meanwhile, the Christian relics of the church had not been removed during repurposing. Strangely, in addition to these, some accounts claim that some Muslim relics were also deposited here after the conquest of Egypt. On top of that, architectural elements from ancient structures to be reused in constructions such as fine carved capitals, monolithic columns, and pavement blocks were also listed among its content in construction-related inventories²³.

Military collections included not only contemporary weapons but also the belongings of esteemed former sultans as confirmed by early Ottoman reports. Today most of these artefacts are exhibited either in the treasury rooms of the Topkapi Palace Museum or the Military Museum in Harbiye. Since access was more restricted in the earlier centuries and documentation is scarce, we cannot find much mention of these artefacts. However, evidence from later centuries shows that certain renowned artefacts were originally housed inside Hagia Eirene before their removal to the museums established later. Therefore, we will resort to their testimony here regarding certain items. Renowned artefacts, such as the sword of Mehmed II, were frequently mentioned in nineteenth-century

visitors' memoirs²⁴. We encounter an abundance of such references as the building was used for the display of its collections in these later eras. Alongside Byzantine spoils, military trophies from other defeated enemies were also brought to Hagia Eirene, including symbolic keys of conquered cities²⁵. In Islamic states, military collections played a culturally significant role, distinct from those in late-medieval and early modern European societies. The weapons and armor used by Muslim military leaders were believed to possess sacred qualities. Diplomatic exchanges between medieval and early modern states reflect this distinction, as arms and armor were traded only among Islamic states and were never included in gift offerings to Christian rulers²⁶. Instead, diplomatic gifts from Islamic states to Christian counterparts consisted of gold, luxurious garments, and exotic animals—but never swords or helmets. Equally important were the spoils of war, which included siege machines, weapons, and armor seized from defeated enemies and Hagia Eirene was the house for all these potent symbols of military power²⁷.

The building's architectural quality, its importance to the local community, and its prime location at the city's center likely made it an obvious choice for the new Ottoman rulers as an imperial landmark. The choices and decisions of the rulers in the process of the accumulation of its content must have been intentional. As a well-guarded military structure within the palace grounds, Hagia Eirene became a repository for a diverse array of valuable artefacts, a »menagerie box« so to speak resembling the »cabinets of curiosities« of Renaissance Europe. Its audience was limited to the Sultan and his selected guests.

The more secretive and well-protected the collection remained, hidden from the public eye, the more rumors and legends developed and spread about its content among the city's residents. Travelers' accounts reveal that rumors circulated widely among the Christian population, particularly regarding the Christian relics that supposedly remained inside. Some claimed that relics of saint John the Baptist were housed within²⁸, while others believed that the grave of John Chrysostom lay beneath the structure²⁹. Though most of these stories were unfounded, they fueled public fascination and imbued the building with imagined religious significance. Occasionally, certain items from the collections

21 Sakaoğlu, Saray-ı Hümayun 65.

22 Kahraman/Dağlı, Evliya Çelebi 19.

23 Ar, Spolia 13-14.

24 For example, in his memoirs from his visit to Hagia Eirene in 1851, Gustave Flaubert describes the historical weapons exhibited inside the building and mentions that everybody visiting the building with him (except him) took Mehmed II's sword in their hands and experienced swinging it around. Flaubert, *Voyages* vol. 2, 331.

25 Flaubert, *Voyages* vol. 2, 331; Gautier, *Constantinople* 256-258. Both Gustave Flaubert and Theophile Gautier mention the keys of the conquered cities among the exhibited objects in their descriptions of the contents of Hagia Eirene.

26 For a broad examination of diplomatic gift exchanges and meanings attributed to these, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Practicing Diplomacy*.

27 In his 1839 Istanbul guidebook, Frédéric Lacroix describes Hagia Eirene and its contents as resembling a military museum rather than a mere armory depot. While he notes that the building was officially used as an armory at the time and was closed to visitors, he was still aware of the valuable military artefacts housed within. Notably, he also observes that the Ottomans regarded these weapons with the same reverence and significance as they did holy relics, highlighting their cultural and symbolic importance: Lacroix, *Guide du Voyageur* 28.

28 In his memoirs, traveler Jean Claude Flachet complains about not being able to see the relics of saint John the Baptist, among many other Christian relics, of which he heard many mentions from the local Greek population, indicating that the arm of the saint was preserved in a golden box inside Hagia Eirene. Flachet, *Observations* 16.

29 Majeska, *Russian Travelers 227*; Kömürçüyan, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul* 12. 28-29; İnciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul* 45. Mentioned in many sources, apparently it was a widespread belief that John Chrysostom was buried here.

were paraded among the city's inhabitants during special celebrations, sparking curiosity about what else might be hidden within. These public displays may have featured Byzantine war machines, or soldiers clad in attire from previous periods, wielding weapons from the earlier Ottoman period³⁰.

With its monumental size and architectural appeal Hagia Eirene was the most visually striking building of the courtyard as evidenced in the visitors' accounts. Its mentions and perception varied in accordance with the origin and background of the beholder. It was addressed in various ways in texts and it appeared in numerous local and foreign visual depictions. While some observers dwelled on the rumors regarding its content, such as the interest among the local Christian population, for a foreign visitor of the palace, unable to access the interior, its monumental appeal and late antique past could be more prominent. In the description of the first courtyard by Jérôme Maurand, a priest from Antibes who visited the palace in 1544, the only building mentioned is Hagia Eirene, and it is noteworthy in terms of the perception of the courtyard that aside from a mention of this single building he dedicates considerable space to the descriptions of the soldiers and horses with their colorful clothing and accessories as defining elements. Being a priest, in his reference to Hagia Eirene he calls it the old palace of the Patriarchs of Constantinople not referring to its Ottoman usage³¹. Gerlach describes the first courtyard as a large courtyard with the old Byzantine Church of Hagia Eirene on one side. Although he does not dwell on the building much, his choice of words for the description of Hagia Eirene displays his perception of the building, as he refers to it as the old Byzantine church rather than the Imperial Armory³².

A function that enhanced the visual perception of Hagia Eirene was the display of wild, exotic animals in the first courtyard during ceremonial feast days and noteworthy events such as the accession ceremony of Süleyman I (1520), providing a demonstration of magnificence through this ancient Near Eastern tradition adopted by Byzantine and Islamic courts³³. European envoys in the sixteenth century showed great interest in these exhibited animals, with many seeing creatures such as elephants and giraffes for the first time. Envoy reports specifically mention the Sultan's wild animals and some of these animals described in the envoys' notes are also visually depicted in albums created by certain European visitors³⁴. One other account indicates that lions were chained

in front of the gates of the armory during envoys' visits³⁵, fortifying the imperial image provided by the monumental building of the army with the image of this animal associated with power. The Ottoman state seems to have deliberately leveraged the grandeur and appeal of Hagia Eirene to showcase the power of its military forces. The earliest lion house of the palace was conveniently located just next to the building, in the area between Hagia Eirene and the outer walls of the palace. The facility was demolished after a fire in 1802 and its area was assigned to the armory after this date. Its location directly over the remains of the Xenon of Sampson and the neighboring cistern unearthed by the excavations of Ramazanoğlu in the 1950s brings to mind questions about whether these units of the Byzantine structures were used as part of the lion house complex to house the animals³⁶ (fig. 5).

Another use signaling the significance of the building in representing the military power was the erection of one of the Sultan's seven *tuğs*³⁷ in front of the building's gates to publicly announce the coming war (fig. 6). When Ottoman sultans set out on a military campaign, four *tuğs* were carried in front of them. During the campaign, at least two additional *tuğs* were taken ahead of time to the sultan's next residing place and erected there. Before the campaign began, two of them were removed from their storage in the palace and placed either in front of Hagia Eirene or the second gate. This act signaled that the sultan was about to embark on a campaign³⁸.

Beyond its symbolic and ideological roles in relation with its function as an armory, Hagia Eirene functioned as part of a larger logistical network within the palace complex. The imperial warehouse building, possibly of Late Byzantine origin, and the wood storage yard, as well as the open areas in the courtyard are the counterparts of this synergy linking the building to broader infrastructural activities. While wood and transport carts were provided by the wood yard complex, the imperial warehouse housed other construction material (fig. 7). Finer architectural materials to be reused were kept both inside Hagia Eirene and in this building and were also deposited in open air in the first and second courtyards³⁹. Listed in both *Tezkiretû'l Ebniye* and *Tezkiretû'l Bünyan'*, the inventories of architect Sinan's projects, and since there is no earlier evidence of its foundation, the wood warehouse was probably established in the sixteenth century⁴⁰. Similarly, for the neighboring large-scale structure, while its function as the

30 Venetian ambassador Ottavio Bon's attestation from his three years of service (1604-1607) in Constantinople presents one of the early descriptions of such usage. Bon refers to Hagia Eirene as one great Hall where there were many weapons of antiquity hanging up such as cimitars, javelins, bows, head-pieces and gauntlets. He states that these were lent to the soldiers and other officials accompanying the sultan or the grand vizier when they made any solemn entry into the city (Withers, *Grand Signour* 9). Nineteenth-century traveler Edward Daniel Clarke witnessed arms and armor from the collections of the armory being taken out of the building and paraded on carts and horses during public celebrations. Clarke, *Travels* vol. 3, 11.

31 Maurand, *Itinéraire* 208. 210. »Passata questa prima porta, trovassimo una bella et grande piazza; in un canto di quella vi se vede il palazzo vecchio de li Patriarchi de Const[ant]inopol«.

32 Gerlach mentions that there were shops where palace craftsmen sold their works »on the opposite side« of Hagia Eirene: Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü*.

33 Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace* 44; Lokman, *Hünernâme* 1: fol. 15a-b; 2; fol. 25a.

34 And, 16th Century 149. 153.

35 Konyalı, *Arslan ve Türkler* 257, records that the Habsburg messengers observed these animals as they proceeded to the palace in 1530.

36 Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı* 144.

37 *Tuğ*: An aigrette on spear used as an imperial or a high-ranking official's sign, a horsehair banner. They are known to have been seven in number in the sixteenth century and six in later centuries. Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı* 262-263.

38 Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı* 262-265.

39 Ar, *Spolia* 13; Tanyeli/Tanyeli, *Devşirme Malzeme*.

40 Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* 253.

Fig. 5 Byzantine substructures between Hagia Eirene and the enclosure walls. Lion house and other service structures were located on top of these ruins. – (Photo B. Ar 2010).



Fig. 6 Three riders carrying the *tuğs* of the Sultan in a painting of the Swedish ambassador Claes Rålamb from a procession he witnessed in 1657 (see also: Ådahl, *Alay-ı Hümayun* 151). Nordiska Museet NM.0991069). – (Photo P. Segemark).



imperial warehouse is certain for the sixteenth century, there is no evidence of its establishment at an earlier date. The imperial warehouse was also a notable item shaping the first courtyard with its size and the important offices it housed.

An accounts book dated to 1553 in the Topkapi Palace archives concerning the construction of the Süleymaniye com-

plex includes a list of construction material housed inside Hagia Eirene⁴¹. The most extensive category in the inventory consists of spolia, such as columns, carved decorative stones, and large stone blocks made of marble, sandstone, and green stone. Many of these stones are shaped for their intended placement, including coping stones, arch stones, and base

41 Barkan, Süleymaniye; Ar, Spolia 13-14. Unlike the Imperial Warehouse, the materials stored here, according to the inventory, appear to have been more finely trimmed rather than raw. The collection primarily consisted of metal equipment and valuable construction stones. Additionally, various construction tools were present, including shovels, adzes, and *külüng* (a mason's pickaxe), along with finely cut wooden beams, ropes of varying thickness, essential oils, Khorasan

(Roman) mortar, quicklime, equipment for the transportation of materials, and specialized bricks tailored for specific uses, such as dome bricks. The metal stockpile included large quantities of iron, as well as lead and copper objects. Notably, copper chains, intended for reuse in mosques to suspend lighting fixtures, and decorative elements salvaged from other Ottoman buildings for repurposing in new structures, were also stored here.



Fig. 7 A view of the first courtyard in the album of Gaspare Fossati from the 19th-c. restoration of Hagia Sophia. A wood storage yard can still be seen between Hagia Eirene and the enclosure wall. Adjacent to the enclosure wall there still is the barracks for soldiers guarding the gate. – (After Fossati, *Ayasofya* pl. 22).

stones, as they were sourced from pre-existing buildings or ruins. One cannot help but think of the relation between the abundance of ancient material thus accumulated here in the sixteenth century and Hagia Eirene's choice as the location of the archaeological museum of the empire in the nineteenth century⁴².

Conclusion

The sixteenth-century perception of Hagia Eirene was shaped by its architectural prominence, its strategic location within the first courtyard of the Ottoman Imperial Palace, and its evolving function as an imperial armory. The building, originally a Byzantine church of great religious significance, underwent a transformation that mirrored the broader shifts in the Ottoman approach to architectural heritage, military symbolism, and the management of imperial collections.

By this period, Hagia Eirene had become a well-guarded repository of both contemporary and former Ottoman weaponry and military artefacts taken from defeated armies and the Byzantines, reinforcing its role as a potent symbol of military power. However, its visual and spatial presence also contributed to diverse receptions among different audiences. For the Ottoman elite, it served as a functional and symbolic structure, directly associated with the army and the sultan's authority. Its continued use as a storage site for construction materials, coupled with the architectural significance of its neighboring structures, positioned it as an integral element in the palace's logistical and administrative networks.

Meanwhile, for local Christian communities and foreign visitors, Hagia Eirene's identity remained linked to its Byzantine past. The secrecy surrounding its interior fostered speculation and the persistence of legends concerning its religious relics and supposed hidden treasures. For European envoys and travelers, the church's monumental architecture and historical significance stood out in stark contrast to

42 Not all ancient artefacts deposited in such a way in the palace grounds were intended to be used in constructions such as the porphyry sarcophagi of Late Antique Byzantine emperors, brought here from the church of the Holy Apostles after its demolition for the construction of Mehmed II's complex. Unfortunately,

we have little evidence regarding the lists of materials stored at different locations of the palace. The sarcophagi were placed securely in the second courtyard, providing a more controlled environment than the publicly open first courtyard.

the more modest structures of the first courtyard, leading to varied interpretations that often emphasized its former ecclesiastical function rather than its Ottoman military role.

Beyond its immediate functional role, Hagia Eirene was actively employed in the construction of imperial imagery. The display of exotic animals, the use of the site for military announcements, and the strategic positioning of the building within palace ceremonies all contributed to its perception as a key monument of imperial authority. The simultaneous accommodation of relics, military artefacts, and construction materials within Hagia Eirene suggests a deliberate, albeit fluid, approach to repurposing Byzantine structures in the Ottoman context.

Ultimately, the case of Hagia Eirene highlights the multiplicity of meanings that historical monuments can acquire over time. As both a relic of Byzantium and a vital component of the Ottoman palace complex, its sixteenth-century reception underscores the interplay between preservation, adaptation, and reinterpretation. The complex layers of meaning attached to the building by its various audiences illustrate how architecture, function, and perception intersect to shape historical narratives and collective memory. Hagia Eirene, therefore, stands as a testament to the enduring dialogue between past and present, between architectural heritage and evolving socio-political landscapes.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Variations in the Eye of the Beholder: The Diverse Sixteenth-Century Reception of Hagia Eirene in Istanbul

This chapter examines the sixteenth-century reception of Hagia Eirene in Istanbul, a former Byzantine church that became an integral part of the Ottoman Imperial Palace complex. Although commonly referred to as the »Imperial Armoury«, Hagia Eirene's function extended beyond military storage to include a broader symbolic and logistical role within the palace. Using architectural analysis, archival records and early modern travel accounts, the study explores the different perceptions of the building among Ottoman rulers, local communities and foreign visitors. It highlights how Hagia Eirene's monumental scale, strategic location, and multi-layered history contributed to its evolving identity, serving simultaneously as a military repository, a relic of Byzantium, and a site of public spectacle. The chapter also discusses the broader implications of its transformation, illustrating how architectural adaptation and symbolic recontextualisation reinforced Ottoman imperial authority while maintaining links with the city's past. By tracing the interplay between architecture, function and perception, this study highlights the complex ways in which historical monuments acquire new meanings across different periods and audiences.

Variationen im Auge des Betrachters: Die unterschiedliche Rezeption der Hagia Eirene in Istanbul im 16. Jahrhundert

Dieses Kapitel untersucht die Rezeption der Hagia Eirene in Istanbul im 16. Jahrhundert, einer ehemaligen byzantinischen Kirche, die zu einem integralen Bestandteil des osmanischen Kaiserpalastkomplexes wurde. Obwohl sie allgemein als »Kaiserliche Waffenkammer« bezeichnet wird, ging die Funktion der Hagia Eirene über die militärische Lagerung hinaus und umfasste eine breitere symbolische und logistische Rolle innerhalb des Palastes. Anhand von architektonischen Analysen, Archivaufzeichnungen und Reiseberichten aus der frühen Neuzeit untersucht die Studie die unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmungen des Gebäudes durch osmanische Herrscher, lokale Gemeinschaften und ausländische Besucher. Sie hebt hervor, wie die monumentale Größe, die strategische Lage

und die vielschichtige Geschichte der Hagia Eirene zu ihrer sich entwickelnden Identität beitrugen, indem sie gleichzeitig als militärisches Depot, Relikt von Byzanz und Ort öffentlicher Spektakel diente. Das Kapitel befasst sich auch mit den weitreichenden Auswirkungen ihrer Umgestaltung und veranschaulicht, wie architektonische Anpassung und symbolische Rekontextualisierung die osmanische kaiserliche Autorität stärkten, während gleichzeitig die Verbindungen zur Vergangenheit der Stadt aufrechterhalten wurden. Durch die Verfolgung des Zusammenspiels zwischen Architektur, Funktion und Wahrnehmung hebt diese Studie die komplexen Wege hervor, auf denen historische Denkmäler über verschiedene Epochen und Zielgruppen hinweg neue Bedeutungen erlangen.

Les variations selon les points de vue: la réception diversifiée de Sainte-Irène à Istanbul au XVI^e siècle

Ce chapitre examine la réception au XVI^e siècle de Sainte-Irène à Istanbul, une ancienne église byzantine qui devint partie intégrante du complexe du palais impérial ottoman. Bien qu'elle soit communément appelée »l'armurerie impériale«, la fonction de Sainte-Irène s'étendait au-delà du stockage militaire pour inclure un rôle symbolique et logistique plus large au sein du palais. À l'aide d'analyses architecturales, de documents d'archives et de récits de voyage du début de l'époque moderne, l'étude explore les différentes perceptions du bâtiment par les dirigeants ottomans, les communautés locales et les visiteurs étrangers. Elle met en évidence la manière dont l'échelle monumentale, l'emplacement stratégique et l'histoire à plusieurs niveaux de Sainte-Irène ont contribué à l'évolution de son identité, servant à la fois de dépôt militaire, de relique de Byzance et de lieu de spectacle public. Le chapitre traite également des implications plus larges de sa transformation, illustrant comment l'adaptation architecturale et la recontextualisation symbolique ont renforcé l'autorité impériale ottomane tout en maintenant des liens avec le passé de la ville. En retraçant l'interaction entre l'architecture, la fonction et la perception, cette étude met en évidence les façons complexes dont les monuments historiques acquièrent de nouvelles significations à travers différentes périodes et différents publics.

Stephan Gerlach und das Stifterbild im Parekklesion des Pammakaristosklosters von Konstantinopel*

Das während der Lateinerherrschaft verfallene Kloster der Theotokos Pammakaristos wurde nach 1261 durch den nachmaligen Protostrator Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes erworben und wiederhergestellt¹. Als neuer Stifter übernahm er damit auch die Fürsorge für ein ehemaliges komnenisches Familienkloster, in dessen Kirche sich zahlreiche Gräber der Gründerfamilie befanden, von denen etliche selbst noch im 16. Jahrhundert erhalten waren (s. u.)². Unter Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes wurden an der Nordseite der Kirche ein Mantelraum und an der Eingangsseite ein Exonarthex angegliedert. An der Südseite errichtete oder vollendete seine Witwe das Parekklesion als Grablage für ihren Mann (Abb. 1). Zu einem unbekanntem späteren Zeitpunkt wurde ein weiterer Mantelraum an der Südseite angefügt, wodurch ein Ambulatorium entstand, das an drei Seiten den komnenischen Kernbau umschloss³. Die Argumente für den Abschluss der ersten Phase der Restaurierungsarbeiten ergeben sich u. a. aus der Anbringung der Mosaikbilder von Andronikos II. Palaiologos und seiner Gattin Anna von Ungarn († 28. Juni 1281) im Torhaus des Klosters, die nach 1272 und vor 1281 erfolgt sein muss⁴.

Nach der osmanischen Eroberung von Konstantinopel diente das Kloster von 1455 bis 1587 als Sitz des Ökumenischen Patriarchen⁵ und wurde schließlich 1591/1592 unter Sultan Murad III. durch den Großwesir Sinan Paşa in die Fethiye Camii (Eroberungsmoschee) umgewandelt⁶. Für diesen Zeitraum und besonders für die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahr-

hunderts besitzen wir ergiebige Quellen zum Patriarchat, zu den hier wirkenden Personen, zum Zustand des Klosters und der Pammakaristoskirche sowie zu den aktuellen politischen und kirchlichen Ereignissen. Wie Nicholas Melvani kürzlich in einer eingehenden Untersuchung dargelegt hat, waren es überwiegend protestantische Gelehrte, Reisende und Pilger, die über die Situation der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche im Osmanischen Reich, über die Verhältnisse im Patriarchat sowie über die Pammakaristoskirche und ihre innere Ausstattung mit Bildern (Mosaiken, Ikonen) und Reliquien berichtet haben⁷. Die wohl wichtigsten Nachrichten hinterließen die beiden Gesandtschaftsprediger Stephan Gerlach und Samuel Schweigger. Ihre Berichte werden ergänzt durch Mitteilungen in Istanbul verweilender Personen wie Hans Dernschwam (1553-1555)⁸, Hans Jacob Breuning⁹ und sein Gefährte Carlier de Pinon (1579)¹⁰, Reinhard Lubenau (1587-1588)¹¹ und weiterer Persönlichkeiten, die aus unterschiedlichen Beweggründen ins Osmanische Reich gereist waren¹². Der letzte Bericht über die Kirche samt einer ungenauen Grundrisszeichnung stammt von dem Dominikanermönch Martin Gruneweg, der sich während seiner vierten Reise in das Osmanische Reich im Juni 1584 in Istanbul aufgehalten hat¹³.

Im Folgenden soll vor allem Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612) im Mittelpunkt meiner Darlegungen stehen¹⁴. Gerlach lebte und wirkte vom 6. August 1573 bis 4. Juni 1578 als protestantischer Geistlicher im Gefolge des kaiserlich-habsburgischen

* Merve Özkılıç/GABAM danke ich für ihre Hilfe.

1 Zu Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, dessen Geburtsdatum und Herkunft nicht überliefert sind, siehe PLP # 27504. – Leontiades, *Die Tarchaneiotai* 69-72 Nr. 32. – Zu einem unbekanntem Zeitpunkt heiratete er Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina, deren Geburtsdatum ebenfalls nicht überliefert ist. Sie scheint aber um 1330 noch gelebt zu haben (s. u. Anm. 116), weshalb sie kaum vor 1260 geboren sein kann. Auch ist unklar, ob und seit wann sie als Mitstifterin am Ausbau des Klosters beteiligt war. Zu Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina siehe PLP # 27511. – Leontiades, *Die Tarchaneiotai* 78-79 Nr. 38.
2 Zu Kontinuitäten und Änderungen hinsichtlich der Stiftertätigkeit siehe Demirtiken, *Changing Profiles*.
3 Zum Pammakaristoskloster und speziell zur Baugeschichte der Kirche siehe Halensleben, *Untersuchungen*. – Mango/Hawkins, *Report* 319-333. – Mango, *The Monument* 1-42. – Kidonopoulos, *Bauten* 82-86 (Quellen). – Effenberger, *Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit*. – Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture* 376-377. 602-605 Abb. 15.35; 24.7-9.
4 Siehe zuletzt Effenberger, *Das Mosaikbild*.
5 Zur Geschichte des Patriarchats unter den Osmanen siehe Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity* 238-258. – Kresten, *Das Patriarchat*. – Zachariadou, *The*

Great Church in captivity. – Melvani, *Gennadios Scholarios*. – Apostolopoulos, *Continuity and Change*. – Païzi-Apostolopoulou, *Continuity and Change*. – Zu den größtenteils im Patriarchat selbst verfassten Darstellungen der jüngeren Geschichte des Klosters (nach 1453) siehe Schreiner, *Die Epoche Mehmeds*.

6 Zum Datum der Umwandlung siehe Asutay-Effenberger, *Zum Datum*.

7 Melvani, *Approaching*.

8 Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch* 144.

9 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß* 66-68. – Yerasimos, *Voyageurs* 325-326. – Müller, *Prosopographie I*, 406-428.

10 Pinon, *Voyage* 85. – Yerasimos, *Voyageurs* 326-328. – Müller, *Prosopographie VII*, 232-233.

11 Lubenau, *Reisen* 172-176. – Müller, *Prosopographie V*, 254-304.

12 Yerasimos, *Voyageurs* 211 (Jean Chesneau, 1547), 220 (André Thévet, 1549), 264-265 (Jacob von Betzek, 1564 und 1572), 295 (Lambert Wyts, 1572) und 298 (Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, 1583). – Siehe auch Grémois, *Le patriarcat*.

13 Bues/Berger, *Martin Gruneweg* 2, 856-858. – Müller, *Prosopographie III*, 178-266.

14 Kriebel, *Stephan Gerlach*. – Cazacu, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople*. – Müller, *Prosopographie III*, 46-122. – Melvani, *Approaching*.



Abb. 1 Parekklesion der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii). Ansicht von Südwesten. – (Foto Dirk Osseman CC BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons).

Gesandten David Ungnad von Sonnegg (1530-1600) in Istanbul¹⁵. Er hinterließ ein Tagebuch, das jedoch erst einhundert Jahre nach den festgehaltenen Ereignissen veröffentlicht wurde¹⁶. Für die Zeit seines Aufenthaltes in Istanbul ist das Tagebuch gleichwohl eine der wichtigsten abendländischen Quellen für die politischen Begebenheiten im Osmanischen Reich, vor allem für die gespannten Beziehungen zwischen der Hohen Pforte und den westlichen Mächten. Daneben enthält das Tagebuch eine Fülle an überaus wertvollen kulturgeschichtlichen Informationen über das Alltagsleben der Türken, Griechen, Armenier und Angehörigen anderer in Istanbul oder Galata lebender Nationen sowie über deren Sitten und Gebräuche in weltlichen wie religiösen Angelegenheiten¹⁷. Gerlach war ein sehr genauer Beobachter, wobei in seinen peniblen Niederschriften so gut wie nichts ausgespart blieb, bis hin zu gewöhnlichen Dingen, die sich in Elçi Hanı, der Residenz des deutschen Botschaftspersonals, zugetragen haben¹⁸.

Von seinem Förderer, dem Tübinger Gräzisten und Philhellenen Martin Crusius (1526-1607)¹⁹ sowie von weiteren Württembergischen Protestanten war Gerlach dazu aus-

ersehen worden, Kontakte zwischen der lutherischen Kirche und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchat herzustellen und in den brieflich geführten theologischen Verhandlungen aktiv zu vermitteln²⁰. Dies erklärt seine zahlreichen Besuche im Patriarchat²¹. Dabei traf er sich öfter und auch in privater Weise zu Gesprächen mit dem Patriarchen Jeremias II. (erste Amtszeit 1572-1579) oder zu Geschäften mit Amtsträgern des Patriarchats wie dem »Rhetor« Ioannes Zygomas und dessen Sohn, dem Protonotarios Theodosios²². Ein zentrales Anliegen der Württembergischen Protestanten bestand darin, durch Verhandlungen mit dem Patriarchen auszuloten, inwieweit sich mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirchenleitung ein theologisches Bündnis gegen Rom zustande bringen ließ. Obgleich dieser Verständigungsversuch an unvereinbaren theologischen Auffassungen scheiterte, entstanden in diesem Gesprächsklima die auf unmittelbarer persönlicher Wahrnehmung basierenden Nachrichten über die Situation der griechischen Kirche unter der Osmanenherrschaft.

Zudem nutzte Crusius seinen einstigen Schüler als Informant, um seine außergewöhnliche Wissbegierde zu be-

15 Zu Ungnad siehe Müller, Prosopographie IX, 298-317.

16 1674 von seinem Enkel Samuel Gerlach herausgegeben.

17 Zu den von Gerlach erwähnten zeitgenössischen Personen siehe Müller, Prosopographie III, 46-122.

18 Siehe Eyice, Elçi Hanı. – Beschreibungen von Gerlach, Tage-Buch 20-21 und Schweigger, Reysbeschreibung 51-53.

19 Zu Martin Crusius siehe Neuendorf, Bemühungen 37-43 passim. – Literatur über Crusius (1561-2000): Wilhelmi, Die griechischen Handschriften 262-271. – Siehe jetzt die umfassende Darstellung von Calis, The Discovery of Ottoman Greece.

20 Zu den theologischen Verhandlungen zwischen den Tübinger lutherischen Theologen und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchat siehe Wendebourg, Reformation und Orthodoxie. – Neuendorf, Bemühungen. – Siehe auch Engels, Tübingen und Byzanz. – Benz, Die Ostkirche 24-38.

21 Seinem Tagebuch lassen sich mindestens 46 Besuche entnehmen.

22 Zu diesen Personen siehe De Gregorio, Studi su copisti greci II, 241-256. – Gastgeber, Ioannes und Theodosios Zygomas. – Rhoby, The Letter Network. – Perentides/Steires, Ioannes kai Theodosios Zygomas.

friedigen. In etlichen Briefe bestürmte er ihn mit Bitten, ihn mit sachlichen Informationen über Istanbul, insbesondere über das Patriarchat und die Situation der Griechen, ihre gesprochene Sprache und ihre Sitten zu versorgen oder ihm Handschriften antiker Autoren zu beschaffen²³. Einmal hatte er ihm einen Stadtplan von Konstantinopel geschickt und erbat dessen Verbesserung²⁴, ein andermal wollte er die Namen sämtlicher Kirchen in Konstantinopel erfahren²⁵. Durch Gerlachs Vermittlung²⁶ fertigte der Kopist Manuel Malaxos eine Geschichte des Patriarchats für den Zeitraum von 1454 bis 1578 an, die Crusius mit lateinischer Übersetzung und eigenen Annotationen in seinem 1584 erschienenen Werk *Turcograeciae Libri Octo* abdruckte²⁷. Von Theodosios Zygomalas erhielt er eine von diesem kompilierte Geschichte Konstantinopels, die von 1391 bis 1578 reicht, und die er ebenfalls mit seinen Kommentaren in den *Turcograecia* publizierte²⁸. Mit dem Protonotarios stand Crusius auch nach dem Scheitern der theologischen Verhandlungen noch viele Jahre in intensivem Briefaustausch und bezog von ihm wichtige Informationen²⁹.

Wie schon die Inhalte der ihm zugesandten Briefe hatte Crusius nach Gerlachs Rückkehr auch dessen mündliche Mitteilungen in seinen Tagebüchern notiert. So findet sich dort eine Skizze des Patriarchats mit erklärenden Hinweisen zu den einzelnen Gebäuden, die wohl auf Gerlachs Auskünften beruhten³⁰. Eine Ansicht der Klosteranlage, die jedoch auf eine Zeichnung von Samuel Schweigger zurückgeht (s. u.), hat er schließlich als Holzschnitt in den *Turcograecia* publiziert und ebenfalls mit einer Legende zu den einzelnen Bauten und Einrichtungen versehen (**Abb. 2**)³¹. Da von allen Gebäuden und Einrichtungen außer der nach islamischen Bedürfnissen im Inneren veränderten Pammakaristoskirche nichts erhalten ist, können wir nur noch aufgrund dieser beiden nicht in allen Details übereinstimmenden Darstellungen einen Eindruck von

der gesamten Klosteranlage im Zustand des 16. Jahrhunderts gewinnen³².

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Mitglieder ausländischer Gesandtschaften strenger Beaufsichtigung durch die osmanischen Behörden ausgesetzt waren, ist es schon auffällig, welche Bewegungsfreiheit Gerlach offensichtlich hatte. Obgleich jeder Gang durch Istanbul aus Gründen der persönlichen Sicherheit nur in Begleitung eines »Zschau-schen« (Çavuş, Sergeant) oder eines Yeniçeri stattfinden durfte, gewinnt man aus unzähligen Eintragungen im Tagebuch den Eindruck, dass Gerlach die Stadt völlig unbehelligt erkunden, sich vor Ort genau informieren und obendrein auch mehrtägige Reisen unternehmen konnte³³. Eine solche Reise nach Bithynien, die er vom 16. bis 21. Oktober 1576 gemeinsam mit Ioannes Zygomalas machte, wird im Tagebuch ausführlich geschildert³⁴. Den Reisebericht hatte Gerlach auch nach Tübingen geschickt³⁵, wo er mit großer Freude gelesen wurde³⁶.

Am 2. Februar 1578 wollten Gerlach und Theodosios Zygomalas zur Insel Chalke (Heybeliada) fahren, wurden jedoch wegen des schlechten Wetters davon abgehalten und begannen stattdessen eine lange Wanderung durch die Stadt³⁷. Nach mehreren Stationen, deren Aufzählung hier zu weit führen würde, stiegen beide von den Blachernen hinauf zum Kloster Johannes des Täufers (Ioannes Prodromos tēs Petras)³⁸ und von da zur Kirche des Choraklosters (Kariye Camii)³⁹, zum Haus des »Woiwoden der Moldau« (Bogdan Sarayi)⁴⁰ und schließlich noch zur Johanneskirche »in Trullo« (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii)⁴¹. Bemerkenswert an dieser Tagestour ist nicht nur die zurückgelegte Wegstrecke von etwa dreizehn Kilometern (den Rückweg nicht mitgerechnet), sondern auch Gerlachs ausführliche Beschreibung der Chorakirche und ihrer bildlichen Ausstattung, die zum Teil noch zu sehen war, obgleich die Kirche bereits seit 1453 als Moschee diente⁴².

23 Suchland, Byzanzbild. – Calis, Martin Crusius's lost Byzantine legacy. – Calis, The Discovery of Ottoman Greece 159-167. 185-189.

24 Crusius an Gerlach (22. Juni 1575), Theologenbriefwechsel, Brief-ID 21185: <https://thbw.hadw-bw.de/ansicht/brief/5c18f6614d3806247ded9ef9> (letzter Zugriff am 12.11.2023). – Crusius besaß eine Ansicht von Konstantinopel vom sog. Vavassore-Typus (Fauser, Repertorium 379 Nr. 6817), der erstmals in Sebastian Münsters Cosmographia (Basel 1550), verteilt über zwei Seiten (940/941), begegnet, siehe Fauser, Repertorium 379 Nr. 6818. Crusius' Exemplar zeigt die Ansicht auf einem Blatt, die Legende weicht vom Text der französischen Ausgabe (Basel 1552, S. 1161/1163) leicht ab. Das Blatt ist Crusius' Exemplar der Wolf'schen Ausgabe des Niketas Choniates von 1557 (Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 4980, 2:1) am Schluss beigebunden, siehe Wilhelm, Die griechischen Handschriften 335 Nr. 505 Abb. S. 337. – Calis, Martin Crusius's lost Byzantine legacy 128 Abb. 4.5. – Die Herkunft des Blattes, das eine etwas vereinfachte Wiedergabe vieler Details bietet, konnte ich bislang nicht klären. Interessant sind die Eintragungen von Crusius.

25 Crusius an Gerlach (18. März 1578), Theologenbriefwechsel, Brief-ID 22159: <https://thbw.hadw-bw.de/ansicht/brief/5c18f6f04d3806247dedcd3b> (letzter Zugriff am 12.11.2023).

26 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 448 (21. Januar 1578).

27 Πατριαρχική Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία: Crusius, Turcograeciae 107-184 Annotationes 185-212. Abgedruckt im Bonner Corpus: Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinoupoleos. Epirotica, rec. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn 1849) 78-204. – Zu Manuel Malaxos siehe De Gregorio, Il copista greco Manuel Malaxos. – De Gregorio, Studi su copisti greci I. – Zu Manuel Malaxos als Autor der Πατριαρχική Ἱστορία siehe Sakel, A Non-existent historian, bes. 211-212.

28 Ἱστορία Πολιτικῆ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Crusius, Turcograeciae 1-43 Annotationes 44-68, gefolgt von einem Brief des Theodosios Zygomalas vom 7. April 1581, 73-98 Annotationes 99-104. Ebenfalls abgedruckt im Bonner Corpus 3-77.

29 Zum Briefwechsel Crusius – Zygomalas siehe Rhoby, The »Friendship«, Appendix 139-152.

30 Crusius, Diarium I, 722. – Calis, The Discovery of Ottoman Greece 186-187 Abb. 6.2. – Vgl. Stichel, »Vergessene Portraits« 93 Abb. 21.

31 Crusius, Turcograecia 190. – Siehe Hallensleben, Untersuchungen 132 Abb. 2. – Mango, The Monument Abb. 114a. – Calis, The Discovery of Ottoman Greece 188 Abb. 6.3.

32 Siehe die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion der Klosteranlage durch Hallensleben, Untersuchungen 133 Abb. 4.

33 Alle aufgesuchten Orte aufgelistet bei Yerasimos, Voyageurs 303.

34 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 255-261.

35 Gerlach an Samuel Heiland (21. Oktober 1576), Theologenbriefwechsel, Brief-ID 67938: <https://thbw.hadw-bw.de/ansicht/brief/5c3c768aabd9ba3eaa86d449> (letzter Zugriff am 12.11.2023).

36 Crusius an Gerlach (27. Mai 1577), Theologenbriefwechsel, Brief-ID 21824: <https://thbw.hadw-bw.de/ansicht/brief/5c18f6c24d3806247dedbeb7> (letzter Zugriff am 12.11.2023).

37 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 453-456.

38 Zur Lage und zu den Resten siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Das Kloster.

39 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 159-163.

40 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 108.

41 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 144-146.

42 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 455-456. – Siehe dazu Ousterhout, Visitor.

Patriarchei delineatio, quantum intelligere potui, ferè hæc est.



Abb. 2 Das Patriarchat (Pammakaristoskloster) im 16. Jh. Holzschnitt nach einer Zeichnung von Samuel Schweigger. – (Nach Crusius, Turcograeciae 190).

A habitatio domini Patriarchæ, usq; ad templum extensa. Ex ea sinus ferè totus, cum oppido Galata & parte Bosphori conspicitur. B.C.D. Sepulchra quorundam Monachorum veterum, quæ inscriptionibus carent, excepto C, quæ obliterata est. Reliqua structura ab E usq; * continet conclavia Monachorum Metropolitanæ & Episcoporum, quando ab exteris locis veniunt, in his cubiculis hospitia habent. E Conclavia clericorum, scribarum & officialium D. Patriarchæ. F Tablinum D. Theodosij & suorum collegarum, vt *ἡ λογιεῖται ἡ μεγάλη*, &c. G Puteus, quorum tres in atrio, quartus in temp o est, nam totum hoc ædificium Cisternæ superstructum est ab antiquis. H Chorus vbi Patriarchicæ liturgiæ habentur: ibi inscriptio quædam mutila. *Μηχαὶλ πρῶτος ράτορ καὶ πρωτοψάλτης*. Itectum templi plumbeum ab antiquo. K *κίλλια* in hoc tractu *ἡ καλοῦνται*. L Cupressus. M Ficus. N Equile Patriarchæ. O Hic murus superiore muro humilior est: habens tantum terrestria cubicalia, non *ἀνώγεια*. P *ἀάφρη* arbor.

Im Tagebuch finden sich auch sonst zahlreiche Mitteilungen über Besuche von Kirchen in Istanbul, in Galata und auf der asiatischen Seite. Wir können aus dem Tagebuch an die 31 Kirchen erschließen, die Gerlach ein- oder mehrmals aufgesucht hat, davon 28 griechische, eine armenische und zwei von sieben »papistischen« in Galata. Die Hagia Sophia wurde viermal besucht⁴³, wobei besonders die bauliche Bereinigung des Umfeldes, die Errichtung der Türbe Selims II. (reg. 1566-1574) sowie die Erbauung der neuen Minarette und Stützmauern Gerlachs Interesse erregten⁴⁴. Zudem registrierte er als einer der letzten Zeugen die Reste des 1575 abgebrochenen Patriarchenpalastes an der Südwestecke der Hagia Sophia⁴⁵. Hingegen fanden byzantinische Monumente seltener seine Aufmerksamkeit, doch erwähnt er u. a. den Hippodrom⁴⁶, die Konstantinssäule⁴⁷, die drei offenen Zisternen (Aetios, Aspar, Mokios)⁴⁸, die sechs Säulen am

Augusteion⁴⁹ und Tekfur Sarayı («Palast Konstantins»)⁵⁰. In wenigen Fällen erwähnt er auch osmanische Bauten. So hat ihn Ungnad wohl öfter zu Geschenkübergaben und Audienzen in den Topkapı Sarayı mitgenommen, von dessen Höfen, Toren und Gemächern er eine knappe Beschreibung in sein Tagebuch eingetragen hat⁵¹.

Gerlachs häufige Teilnahme an Gottesdiensten, vor allem im Patriarchat⁵², in der armenischen Georgskirche in Psamathia (damals die noch teilweise intakte Kirche der Theotokos Peribleptos⁵³), in der Konstantinskirche im Karamanenviertel⁵⁴ und in der Marienkirche Chrysopege in Galata⁵⁵ bezeugen sein lebhaftes Interesse an der griechisch-orthodoxen und an der armenischen Liturgie, deren Abläufe er in seinem Tagebuch gleich mehrfach in aller Ausführlichkeit beschrieben hat⁵⁶. Die Pammakaristoskirche selbst (ihr griechischer Name erscheint kein einziges Mal) wird meist nur

43 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 85. 130. 335-337. – Zur Kirche siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 84-96.

44 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 23. 76. 79. 128-129. 336. – Zu den Minaretten siehe Effenberger, Konstantinopel-Istanbul.

45 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 79. – Vermutlich abgebildet im »Freshfield-Album« (Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 17. 2, fol. 21): Pitarakis, Hippodrome/Atmeydanı 276-277 (J. Bardill / B. Pitarakis).

46 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 253. 312. – Zur Kirche siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 64-71.

47 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 41. – Zur Kirche siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 255.

48 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 98. 229. – Crow/Bardill/Bayliss, Water Supply 129-132.

49 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 79. 336. – Stichel, Sechs kolossale Säulen.

50 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 96. 157. 455. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 244-247.

51 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 111-112. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 495-507.

52 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 64-66. 68-69. 91-92. 104-108. 234-236. 364-367. 473-476 (Ostern). 504.

53 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 95. 201-204. 337-339. 405-406. – Zur Kirche siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 200-201. – Mango, The Monastery. – Dalgıç/Mathews, New Interpretation.

54 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 173. 348. 499. – Zur Kirche siehe Grélois, Saint Constantin.

55 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 62-64. 83-85. 167-169. 185-186. 471-473. – Zur verschwundenen Kirche siehe Janin, Églises 242 Nr. 128.

56 Gerlach, Tagebuch 55-56. 64-66. 68-69. 83-85. 91-92. 104-108. 167-169. 234-236. 364-367. 373-467 (Patriarchat). 173. 186. 339. 348. 485. 499 (Karamanen). 95. 184-185. 186. 201-204. 337-338. 405 (Armenier). – Siehe dazu Melvani, Approaching 63-67. – Zu seinem generellen Interesse an der Religionsausübung der orthodoxen Slawenvölker siehe Bojanin, The South Slavic Parish.

Abb. 3 Das Patriarchat (Pammakaristoskloster) im 16. Jh. Holzschnitt nach einer Zeichnung von Samuel Schweigger. Seitenverkehrte Wiedergabe. – (Nach Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung* 118).

Das XXXV. Capitel.
Von des Griechischen Patriarchen Kloster zu Constantinopel/vnd desselben Heilthumben vnd andern sachen.

Des Griechischen Patriarchen Kloste.



beiläufig als Ort der Gottesdienste erwähnt. Gelegentlich werden bestimmte Ausstattungstücke, Reliquien⁵⁷ und Ikonen⁵⁸ vermerkt, wobei die in mehreren Kirchen beobachtete Verehrung der auf den Proskynetarien ausgelegten Tagesikonen Gerlach eher befremdet hat⁵⁹.

Nur einmal, unter dem 3. März 1578, findet sich im Tagebuch ein etwas längerer Eintrag über die Pammakaristoskirche⁶⁰. An diesem Tag hatte Gerlach das Patriarchat gemeinsam Samuel Schweigger (1551-1622) besucht, der ihm in Kürze als Gesandtschaftsprediger unter dem neuen und wiederum lutherischen Botschafter Joachim von Sinzendorf (amtierte 1578-1581) nachfolgen sollte⁶¹. Auch Schweigger berichtet in seiner 1608 in Nürnberg erschienenen *Reyssbeschreibung* ausführlich über seine Beobachtungen und Erlebnisse in Istanbul und hinterließ damit ein Gerlachs Mitteilungen in mancherlei Hinsicht ergänzendes Bild der Situation im Osmanischen Reich⁶². Zudem hat er sein Buch mit zahlreichen nach eigenen Zeichnungen und fremden Vorlagen angefertigten Holzschnitten ausstatten lassen, die trotz ihrer geringen, auf das Konto des Holzschneiders gehenden künstlerischen Qualität von kulturgeschichtlicher Bedeutung sind⁶³. Außer der von Crusius in den *Turcograecia* verwendeten Ansicht des Patriarchats (**Abb. 2**), deren Va-

riante in Schweiggers *Reyssbeschreibung* allerdings seitenverkehrt abgedruckt wurde (**Abb. 3**)⁶⁴, enthält sein Buch ein eigenes Kapitel mit einer recht ausführlichen Beschreibung der gesamten Klosteranlage, wobei hervorzuheben ist, dass Schweigger als Einziger unter den Zeitgenossen den Namen des Klosters nennt: ἡ μονὴ τῆς Παμμακαριστου⁶⁵.

In dem erwähnten Tagebucheintrag vom 3. März 1578 vermerkte Gerlach, dass sich in der Kirche des Patriarchats das Grab des Kaisers Alexios und dessen Mosaikbild befänden⁶⁶, erwähnt an »einem abgesonderten Ort der Kirchen« die Reliquien von (Maria) Salome und Euphemia und berichtet weiter, dass auch der Stifter der Kirche und seine Frau »auf solchen gläsernen Täftelein, garschön daselbst abgedildet« seien. Das Mosaik wird folgenderweise beschrieben: »Er in der Gestalt, wie die Ertz-Hertzen abgemahlet werden. Zwischen ihm und ihr, doch etwas höher stehet Christo und der Stifter Michael hält auf Türkische Art langlechtaußgerollete, und mit einem güldenen Band zusammen gebundene Brieff in der Hand, als ob er darinnen Christo gleichsamb Rechenschaft geben wolte aller auffgewandten Unkosten, und auß was für einem Gemüht er dieses Closter gestiftet. Sie aber trägt die Form der Kirchen auff den Händen, und übergiebet sie dem HErrn Christo. Beyde sind in prächtigen mit Gold

57 Gerlach, Tagebuch 66. 179 (Geiselsäule). 158. 179. 462 (Euphemia). 66. 462 (Maria Salome).

58 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 179 (Christus). 92. 179 (Maria). 92 (Apostel; Himmelfahrt Christi). 158 (Hypapante). 66 (Sieben Konzilien). 166-167 (Zwölf Feste).

59 Generell zur kritischen Wahrnehmung der Reliquien, Mosaiken, Fresken und des liturgischen Kircheninventars durch Gerlach und andere Zeitzeugen siehe Melvani, *Approaching* 57-63.

60 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 462.

61 Engels, Salomon Schweigger. – Müller, *Prosopographie VIII*, 267-320. – Zu Sinzendorf siehe Müller, *Prosopographie VIII*, 400-413.

62 Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung* 50-230.

63 Schweigger als Zeichner: Engels, Salomon Schweigger 239.

64 Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung* 118. – Melvani, *Approaching* 52-54 Abb. 1. – Seitenrichtig wiedergegeben bei Hallensleben, *Untersuchungen* 122 Abb. 3. – Mango, *The Monument* Abb. 114b.

65 Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung* 118-121 (Kapitel XXXV). – Am längst verschwundenen Kirchturm will Schweigger gelesen haben: Μιχαήλ πρωτοστράτωρ καὶ πρωτοκλήτωρ.

66 Zu diesem angeblichen Grab siehe Effenberger, *Zu den Gräbern* 22-26 Abb. 4 (nach Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung* 120).

und Edelgesteinen gezierten Kleidern, daß man sie für König und Königinnen achtete⁶⁷. Für die von Gerlach bewunderte Pracht der Gewänder kann mit Fug und Recht auf die der spätbyzantinischen Aristokratie angehörenden Paare im Lincoln College Typikon (um 1330) verwiesen werden⁶⁸, wobei die fürstliche Erscheinung des Protostrators vielleicht durch sein hohes Alter noch betont wurde.

Wenige Tage nach dem gemeinsamen Patriarchatsbesuch, am 7. März 1578 lieferte Gerlach in einem Brief an Crusius auch eine Beschreibung des Klosters⁶⁹. Einiges davon hat Crusius in den *Turcograecia* zitiert⁷⁰. In der summarischen Aufzählung der bildlichen Darstellungen und Reliquien innerhalb der Kirche werden die »geziemend gemalten« (*eleganter depicti*) Stifterfiguren nur beiläufig erwähnt, dafür aber, wenngleich nicht korrekt, die Namensbeischriften mitgeteilt. Sie lauteten (in normalisierter Orthografie): Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς Ταρχανειώτης ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ καὶ κτήτωρ und Μαρία Δούκαινα Κομνηνὴ Βράναινα Παλαιολογίνα Ταρχανειώτισσα ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισα καὶ κτητόρισα. Aber weder in diesem Brief noch im Tagebuch wird das Mosaikbild mit der Grabstätte des Stifterpaares in Verbindung gebracht. Auch den übrigen in der Kirche vorhandenen konnenischen und palaiologischen Gräbern (vom vermeintlichen Alexios-Grab abgesehen) schenkte Gerlach keinerlei Aufmerksamkeit, doch besitzen wir hierfür die etwa gleichzeitigen Beschreibungen des Ioannes Malaxos (verfasst zwischen 1572 und 1587)⁷¹. Aus dessen Wegbeschreibung geht eindeutig hervor, dass das Grab (μνημεῖον) sich im Parekklesion befand und die Namen des Stifterpaares offenbar innerhalb des Mosaikbildes angebracht waren⁷². Somit steht außer Zweifel, dass Gerlach das Mosaik und die Inschriften nur am Grab des Stifterpaares im Parekklesion gesehen haben kann (Abb. 1).

Bedingt durch die Errichtung des Parekklesions wurde der überwiegende Teil der erst in den neunziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts an der Südfassade der Kirche angebrachten Malereien wieder aufgegeben⁷³. Demzufolge konnte erst während dieser Bauphase das noch in Spuren nachgewiesene Arkosolgrab an der Naos-Nordwand des Parekklesions angebracht worden sein⁷⁴. Das eigentliche Grab bestand entweder aus einem wiederverwendeten und in die Wandnische hineingestellten Sarkophag bzw. aus einem aufgemauerten Block, oder es befand sich unterhalb des Fußbodens⁷⁵. Man kann vermuten, dass der Bogen über der Wandnische vergleichbar den Arkosolgräbern des Theodoros Metochites (Grab A)⁷⁶ oder des Michael Tornikes (Grab D) im Parekklesion der Chorakirche⁷⁷ mit einem reliefierten Marmorpanel eingefasst war⁷⁸. Wie das anonyme Familienbild am Grab C⁷⁹, wie das Paar Michael Tornikes und seine Frau beiderseits der Theotokos am Grab D⁸⁰ oder wie ähnlich komponierte Figurengruppen an vergleichbaren Grabanlagen⁸¹ wird auch das Mosaik mit den Stiftern Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos und seiner Frau Maria zuseiten des etwas erhöht stehenden Christus die gesamte Rückwand des Arkosols eingenommen haben⁸². An den Gräbern C, D und E der Chorakirche wurden einige der dargestellten Personen in zwiefacher Gestalt abgebildet: Zum einen in ihren weltlichen Gewändern und zum anderen im monastischen Habitus, was besagt, dass diese Personen vor ihrem Ableben das »Engelgewand« genommen hatten und unter einem neuen Namen als Mönch bzw. Nonne in einem Kloster verstorben waren⁸³.

Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos, der zwischen 1305 und 1308 verstarb⁸⁴, war anscheinend erst auf dem Totenbett Mönch geworden⁸⁵. Nach seinem Tod trat auch seine Witwe Maria in den Nonnenstand ein und nahm den Namen Martha an. In der Forschung wird fast einhellig die Ansicht vertreten,

67 Gerlach, Tage-Buch 462.

68 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lincoln College gr. 35: Hutter, Corpus 56-62 Nr. 24 Abb. 201-221 Farbtaf. 6-18.

69 Theologenbriefwechsel, Brief-ID 22180: <https://thbw.hadw-bw.de/ansicht/brief/5c18f6ed4d3806247dedcc35> (letzter Zugriff am 12.11.2023).

70 Crusius, *Turcograecia* 189-190.

71 Zu Ioannes Malaxos siehe De Gregorio, *Studi su copisti greci II*, 190-241. – Schreiner, John Malaxos. – Rhoby/Schreiner, *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*. – Zu den Gräbern siehe Weißbrod, *Knecht Gottes* 181-195. – Effenberger, *Zu den Gräbern*.

72 Die Beischriften wiedergegeben im Manuskript Cambridge, Trinity College, Cod. O.2.36, fol. 147^r, Z. 34-38 (= § 4). – Siehe Schreiner, *Unbekannte Beschreibung* 222 § 4; 232-233. – Mango, *The Monument* 18. 39 § 4 (englische Übersetzung). – Allerdings überliefert Ioannes Malaxos die Inschriften etwas anders als Gerlach, wobei unklar bleibt, was er noch lesen konnte und was er möglicherweise interpoliert hat: Μιχαήλ. Δούκας. Γλαβᾶς ὁ Τραχανειώτης. πρωτοστρατορ(ας). καὶ κτήτωρ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου und Μαρία. Δούκαινα. Κομνηνὴ. Βρυέννησα. Παλαιολογίνα ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισα καὶ κτητόρισα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ.

73 Mango/Hawkins, *Report* 324. 326-327. 330 Abb. 10-14. – Mango, *The Monument* 19. – Effenberger, *Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit* 87-88.

74 Mango, *The Monument* 21 Abb. 9.

75 Zu den Bestattungsformen innerhalb von Kirchen siehe Weißbrod, *Knecht Gottes* 13-14.

76 Underwood, *The Kariye Camii* 270-272 Abb. 10. 12 Taf. 533a. – Brooks, *The History* 25 Abb. 5. – Melvani, *The last century* 1221.

77 Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* 276-280 Abb. 10-11 Taf. 537-539c. – Brooks, *The History* 25. 27-28 Abb. 9. – Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Stein* 643-650 (TR68) Abb. 88-89. – Melvani, *The last century* 1221 Abb. 1.

78 Hjort, *The Sculpture* 249-255 Abb. 61-65 (A); 66-67; 69-70 (D). – Melvani, *Late Byzantine Sculpture* 17-18. 231 Abb. 3 (A); 4 (D). – Siehe auch das Grab des Despoten Demetrios Palaiologos im Esonartheion der Chorakirche (Grab H): Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* 295-299 Abb. 11 Taf. 550-553. – Brooks, *Sculpture* 102-103 Abb. 4.11 (Rekonstruktion). – Brooks, *The History* 29 Abb. 11.

79 Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* 272-273 Abb. 10-11 Taf. 534-536c. – Brooks, *The History* 26 Abb. 7-8. – Melvani, *The last century* 1227-1228 Abb. 6-7.

80 Melvani, *The last century* 1221-1228. 1235 Abb. 1-5.

81 Arkosolgräber E, F und G: Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* 280-294 Taf. 540 (E), 546 (F) und 548 (G). – Brooks, *Sculpture* 95-97 Abb. 4.4 und 4.5. – Melvani, *The last century* 1229-1232 Abb. 8-11 (E).

82 Ob über der Bekrönung eine weitere Inschrifttafel mit einem Epigramm angebracht war, wie im Falle des Tornikes-Grabes, kann nur spekuliert werden. Für die beiden Inschriften Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Stein* 657-660 (TR73-74) wurde das angenommen, siehe Effenberger, *Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit* 92, doch schließe ich das jetzt aus, da die hierin Angerufene Maria ist, wohingegen im Stifterbild ausdrücklich Christus als Empfänger erscheint. Die beiden Epigramme beziehen sich wohl auf die Wiederherstellung der Pammakaristoskirche.

83 Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* 273 Taf. 534-535 (C); 279-280 Taf. 539b/c (D); 287-288 Taf. 592a/b (E).

84 Zum Todesdatum siehe Leontiades, *Die Tarchaneiotai* 72.

85 Basierend auf Vers 11 des Philes-Epigramms auf dem Fassadenfries des Parekklesions, siehe Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Stein* 662, 664. Ein Mönchsname ist nicht überliefert.

dass Maria-Martha das Parekklesion der Pammakaristoskirche erst nach dem Tod ihres Gatten erbauen ließ und dort auch sein Grab eingerichtet habe (Abb. 1). Ebenso wird die Mosaikausstattung im Inneren des Parekklesions in die Zeit nach 1310 datiert⁸⁶. Die Argumente hierfür werden aus zwei von Manuel Philes (ca. 1275-1345) verfassten Epigrammen bezogen, in denen Martha als Stifterin des Gebäudes bzw. des Grabes genannt wird: Durch das 23 Verse umfassende Epigramm auf dem Fassadenfries, das dort nur noch teilweise erhalten ist⁸⁷, durch die Überschriften in Manuskripten, die den Text dieses Epigramms überliefern⁸⁸, und schließlich durch die Mosaikinschrift am Apsisbogen⁸⁹. Insofern steht außer Zweifel, dass Maria-Martha bei der Vollendung des Parekklesions eine führende Rolle gespielt haben muss⁹⁰. Zu ihrer Stiftertätigkeit wurde sie vor allem durch das beträchtliche ererbte Vermögen befähigt, über das sie seit ihrer Witwenschaft frei verfügen konnte⁹¹.

Für die Errichtung des Parekklesions einschließlich des Grabes und des hier angebrachten Stiftermosaiks hatte ich entgegen der üblichen Ansicht ein Datum nicht lange vor 1305/1308 favorisiert, als Michael noch am Leben war⁹². Dabei wurden jedoch weder der Charakter des Bildes noch sein ikonographisches Programm in die Überlegungen einbezogen. Denn bei dem Mosaik handelt es sich nicht um ein gewöhnliches Grabbild wie im Falle der Gräber in der Chorakirche, wo die Verstorbenen sich durch Bittgesten an Christus (Grab C) oder die Theotokos (Gräber D und E) wenden, sondern um ein Stifterbild, das die Darbringung eines zu Ehren Christi errichteten Kirchengebäudes zum Inhalt hatte. Michael und Maria waren nicht als Supplikanten, sondern als Dedikanten dargestellt, trugen weltliche Gewänder, hielten typische Stifterattribute in Händen und wurden in den Beischriften nur mit ihren weltlichen Namen und Titeln genannt⁹³. Das zugrundeliegende ikonographische Schema mit Christus im Zentrum und zwei beiderseits stehenden und ihm in zeremonieller Weise zugewandten Figuren erinnert an kaiserliche Repräsentationsbilder wie die Mosaiken von Konstantin IX. Monomachos und Zoe (Abb. 4)⁹⁴ oder von Ioannes II. Komnenos und Piroška-Eirene (Abb. 5)⁹⁵ an der Ost-

wand der Südepore der Hagia Sophia, wobei von den zentralen Figuren Christus thront und nur Maria steht. Michael wird als ganzfigurige Gestalt den Ehrenplatz zur Rechten (links vom Betrachter) des leicht erhöht stehenden Christus eingenommen haben, wohingegen Maria zu seiner Linken stand. Bei Michaels Attribut (ein »langlehtaußgerollte, und mit einem güldenen Band zusammen gebundene Brief in der Hand«) handelt es sich zweifellos um eine geschlossene (in ganzer Länge aufgewickelte) Schriftrolle, die mit einem Band verschnürt war. Doch abweichend von den beiden Kaiserinnen in der Hagia Sophia, die jeweils eine Schriftrolle (Chrysobull) waagrecht mit beiden Händen halten, trug Maria ein Abbild (»Form«) der Kirche »auf den Händen«, während Michael die Funktion des die Rolle präsentierenden Stifters übernommen hatte, wobei unbekannt bleiben muss, wie er die Rolle hielt.

Darstellungen von Stifterinnen allein und mit einem Kirchengebäude (»Stiftermodell«) in Händen begegnen in der Wand- und Buchmalerei eher selten und betonen dann auch immer die führende Rolle dieser Frauen (meist vermögende Witwen und Nonnen) bei der Stiftung oder Wiederherstellung einer Kirche bzw. eines Klosters⁹⁶. Das bekannteste und wohl einzige erhaltene Beispiel in der Buchkunst ist die Darstellung der Nonne Theodule (Theodora Synadene) im Lincoln College Typikon, die, gefolgt von ihrer Tochter Euphrosyne, der Gottesmutter der Sicheren Hoffnung die Kirche des von ihr erneuerten Klosters präsentiert⁹⁷. Entsprechend eindeutig ist die Bildaussage, wenn Mann und Frau gemeinsam eine Kirche oder ein Kloster gestiftet haben. Auf einer verlorenen Miniatur⁹⁸ halten Nikolaos Bryennios Komnenos Angelos Maliasenos als Mönch Joasaph⁹⁹ und seine Frau Anna Komnene Angelina Dukaina Philanthropene Palaiologina Maliasene als Nonne Anthusa¹⁰⁰ zwischen sich das Abbild der Kirche des Ioannes Prodromos-Klosters, das beide 1271 in Nea Petra am Berg Dryanoubaina/Thessalien gegründet hatten¹⁰¹. Beide sind dort zwischen Oktober 1274 und Juni 1276 in den geistlichen Stand eingetreten und werden wie Michael und Maria in der Beischrift gleichrangig als Kteton und Ktetonissa bezeichnet.

86 Siehe die Beiträge von Belting und Mouriki in Belting/Mango/Mouriki, *Mosaics and Frescoes*.

87 Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Stein* 661-666 (TR76) Abb. XCI-CI.

88 Beyer, *Über die wahrscheinliche Identität* 280-282. – Rhoby, *Manuel Philes* 1559.

89 Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken* 402-403 (Nr. M15) Abb. CXII-CIV. – Die gemalte Inschrift am oberen und unteren Gesims im Naos ist nur bruchstückhaft lesbar, die Autorschaft des Manuele Philes kann gleichwohl angenommen werden, siehe Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Fresken* 307-317 Nr. 215 Abb. 77-78. – Siehe auch zusammenfassend Drpić, *The South Parekklesion* Abb. 1-8.

90 Generell zum entscheidenden Anteil aristokratischer Frauen bei der Stiftung und Einrichtung von Familiengräbern siehe Brooks, *Women's Authority*.

91 Siehe dazu Gerstel/Kalopissi-Verti, *Female Church Founders*.

92 Effenberger, *Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit* 85-86. 91-92. – Dagegen hat Rhoby, *Epigramme auf Stein* 664-666, obwohl er meiner Datierung zustimmte, doch ernst zu nehmende Einwände vorgebracht.

93 Es gibt zwar keine Hinweise, dass beide auch als Mönch und Nonne dargestellt waren, doch kann das nicht ausgeschlossen werden.

94 Cormack, *The Mother of God* 113 Abb. 66.

95 Cormack, *The Mother of God* 114 Abb. 67.

96 Beispiele in der Wandmalerei: Marinković, *Slika* 110-111 Kat.-Nr. 27 Abb. 53 (Vardzia/Georgien, Koimesiskirche, Königin Tamar, 1184-1186); 120-121 Kat.-Nr. 41 Abb. 79 (Kloster Gradac/Serbien, Verkündigungskirche, Jelena, Frau von Stefan Uroš I., um 1275); 124-125 Kat.-Nr. 46 Abb. 92 (Georgskirche in Belisirma/Kappadokien, Stifterin Tamar, 1283-1295); 138 Kat.-Nr. 64 Abb. 138 (Kučevište/Nordmazedonien, Theotokoskirche, Stifterin Marena, 1332-1337); 144 Kat.-Nr. 71 Abb. 143 (Pološko/Nordmazedonien, Georgskloster, Stifterin Nonne Marina Smilec, 1343-1345; s. u. Anm. 102); 153 Kat.-Nr. 83 Abb. 167 (Veluče/Serbien, Theotokoskirche, unbekannte Stifterin, Ende 14. Jh.). – Die Autorin hat 89 Kirchen/Bilder zusammengestellt, auf denen Stifter, Stifterinnen oder beide gemeinsam ein Kirchenmodell präsentieren, wobei es ihr darauf ankam, die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Originalgebäude herauszustellen und die »Modelle« als Abbilder der bereits erbauten Kirchen zu verstehen, vgl. Marinković, *Founder's Model*.

97 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lincoln College gr. 35, fol. 12^v: Spatharakis, *Portrait* 198-199 Abb. 153.

98 Ehem. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. gr. 237, fol. 256^v: Spatharakis, *Portrait* 188-189 Abb. 141-142.

99 PLP # 16523.

100 PLP # 21351.

101 Zum Nea-Petra-Kloster siehe TIB 1, 224-225 (mit den Quellen).



Abb. 4 Kaiser Konstantin IX. Monomachos mit Apokombion und Kaiserin Zoe mit Chrysobull zuseiten des thronenden Christus. Hagia Sophia, Ostwand der Südempore. – (Nach Cormack, *The Mother of God* 113 Abb. 66).



Abb. 5 Kaiser Ioannes II. Komnenos mit Apokombion und Kaiserin Irene mit Chrysobull zuseiten der stehenden Theotokos mit dem Kind. Hagia Sophia, Ostwand der Südempore. – (Nach Cormack, *The Mother of God* 114 Abb. 67).

An dieser Stelle verlohnt ein Blick auf das Stifterbild in der Georgskirche von Pološko/Nordmazedonien (1343-1345), da sich hier gewisse Parallelen, aber auch gravierende Unterschiede zum Stiftermosaik im Parekklesion der Pamakaristoskirche erkennen lassen (**Abb. 6**)¹⁰². An der Westwand der Klosterkirche, d. h. an der Ostwand der erst später

angefügten Vorhalle, erscheinen in der unteren Zone links neben der Tür Jovan Dragušin¹⁰³ mit seiner Frau und rechts seine seit langem verwitwete Mutter Marina Smilec, die sich gemäß ihrem angenommenen geistlichen Stand als Nonne Maria abbilden ließ¹⁰⁴. Sie präsentiert Gott, symbolisiert durch die aus dem Himmelssegment rechts und links hervorragende

102 Ristovska, *Une moniale commanditaire*. – Pavlović, *The founder* Abb. 1-6 (mit der älteren Literatur). – Adashinskaya, *Ktetor* 169. 269-270. 583 Abb. 3.26 und 3.37. – Ich danke Dragana Pavlović für das mir für diesen Beitrag überlassene Foto (**Abb. 6**).

103 PLP # 93474. – Jovan Dragušin war Cousin des Serbenkönigs Stefan Uroš IV. Dušan (reg. 1331-1355).

104 PLP # 94078. – Marina war die ältere Tochter des Bulgarenzars Smilec, reg. 1292-1298 (PLP # 26266) und seiner Frau Smilcaina (PLP # 26265), die eine Tochter des Sebastokrators Konstantinos Dukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos (PLP # 21498) und somit eine Nichte Michaels VIII. Palaiologos war. Marina war verheiratet mit dem Despoten von Bulgarien, Eltimir, reg. ca. 1300-1305 (PLP # 6025).

Hand, und dem darüber dargestellten hl. Georg ein ziemlich getreues Abbild der Kirche von Pološko. Jovan Dragušin als Verstorbener (sein Grab befand sich innerhalb der Kirche) ist frontal und im weltlichen Habitus eines Angehörigen der lokalen Eliten porträthaft und im Sinne eines Memorialbildes verewigt, wobei er sich im Gestus eines Supplikanten an Gott und den hl. Georg wendet. Auch seine Frau und sein kleiner, vor Maria stehender Sohn führen diesen Gestus aus. Wie Dragana Pavlović überzeugend dargelegt hat, ließ Marina-Maria die Georgskirche erst nach Jovan Dragušins Tod als Grabstätte für ihren Sohn errichten und die Bilder anbringen, war somit als alleinige Stifterin tätig¹⁰⁵. Die beigegebene Inschrift weist sie ausdrücklich als »Ktitorisa« aus¹⁰⁶, wohingegen Jovan Dragušin nur mit seinem Namen und seiner engen verwandtschaftlichen Beziehung zur serbischen Königsfamilie hervorgehoben wird, die in der oberen Wandzone abgebildet ist¹⁰⁷. Ein weiteres Beispiel für die Stiftung einer Grabkirche durch eine Witwe, die in den geistlichen Stand eingetreten war, bietet das Fresko in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche im Dorf Psinthos auf Rhodos (datiert 1407/1408). Es zeigt die Nonne Kataphyge Alexena, die Christus das »Modell« der von ihr gestifteten Kirche darbringt, die sie als Grabstätte für ihren verstorbenen Mann und sich selbst vorgesehen hatte¹⁰⁸.

Auch im Stiftermosaik des Parekklesions der Pammakaristoskirche präsentierte Maria-Martha ein Abbild der Kirche. Insofern ist angesichts der aufgeführten Beispiele die Schlussfolgerung eigentlich unabweisbar, dass sie die alleinige Erbauerin des Parekklesions und Stifterin des Grabes einschließlich des Stiftermosaiks gewesen sein muss¹⁰⁹. Dennoch bleiben Fragen offen, die sich nicht schlüssig beantwortet lassen: Weshalb ließ Maria als die jetzt handelnde Nonne Martha das Grab mit einem Stifterbild in einer geradezu kaiserlichen Ikonographie ausstatten und nicht mit einem dem *status quo* angemessenen Grabbild ihres verstorbenen Gatten, vergleichbar der Figurenkonstellation im Fresko von Pološko? Weshalb ließ sie Michael und sich selbst nur im weltlichen Habitus darstellen sowie ihre »bürgerlichen« Namen und Titel in den Beischriften hervorheben? Weshalb ist hier Christus der Empfänger der Kirche und nicht die Theotokos Pammakaristos? Und vor allem: Welche Rolle kommt in der Gesamtaussage des Bildes dem Protostrator zu, der in der Ziegelinschrift an der Südfassade als alleiniger Ktetor hervorgehoben wird¹¹⁰, obwohl in den Beischriften des Grabmosaiks beide Eheleute gleichrangig als Ktetor und Ktetorissa bezeichnet wurden?

Im Gegensatz zu Jovan Dragušin (**Abb. 6**) war Michael nicht als Bittsteller dargestellt, sondern »handelte« wie Maria, wenn auch nur im übertragenen Sinne, indem er Christus eine Rolle präsentierte. Gerlachs Spekulationen über den Inhalt der



Abb. 6 Westwand der Georgskirche in Pološko/Nordmazedonien. Obere Zone: Stefan Uroš IV. Dušan, seine Frau Jelena und beider Sohn Stefan. Untere Zone: Jovan Dragušin mit seiner Frau, seine Mutter Marina Smilec als Nonne Maria mit dem »Modell« der von ihr gestifteten Kirche, ihr Enkel Stefan. 1453-1455. – (Nach Pavlović, *The founder* 108 fig. 2).

Rolle und die Beweggründe des Stifters (»auß was für einem Gemüht er dieses Closter gestiftet«) könnten durchaus den Kern treffen, wenn wir annehmen, dass es sich bei der Rolle um ein symbolisches Abbild des Stiftertypikons (ktetorikon typikon) oder einer Diatheke mit letztwilligen Verfügungen gehandelt hat¹¹¹. Die Darbringung des Typikons durch den Protostrator, oder anders ausgedrückt, die Hinterlegung des Dokumentes bei Christus macht aber nur dann Sinn, wenn seine Stiftertätigkeit auf den gesamten Klosterkomplex bezogen wird. Insofern wäre die Vertauschung der Attribute wieder logisch, da die Präsentation bzw. Übergabe des Typikons vorrangig einen Rechtsakt versinnbildlicht, der durch die Darbringung des Kirchenabbildes seine Erfüllung erfährt, wodurch beide Personen – ikonographisch eindeutig – als

105 Pavlović, *The founder* 116-118. – Ich glaube jedoch nicht, dass die untere Bildzone insgesamt als Stifterbild bezeichnet werden kann, wie Ristovska, *Una moniale commanditaire* argumentiert.

106 Pavlović, *The founder* 117 und 111 Abb. 7.

107 Pavlović, *The founder* 117 und 110 Abb. 5.

108 Gerstel/Kalopissi-Verti, *Female Church Founders* 204-205 Abb. 3. – Für den Hinweis auf diese Darstellung danke ich Sofia Kalopissi-Verti.

109 Ich halte es für ausgeschlossen, dass Maria-Martha im selben Grab bestattet werden wollte, denn das Pammakaristoskloster war ein Männerkloster. Auch besaß sie ein eigenes Kloster, s. u. Anm. 116.

110 Rhody, *Epigramme auf Stein* 666-668 (TR77) Abb. CII.

111 Zur Definition siehe Galatariotou, *Byzantine ktetorika typika* 82-84.

gleichberechtigte Stifter ausgewiesen werden. Das »Modell« in Marias Händen setzt in jedem Falle ein bereits vollendetes Kirchengebäude voraus und steht als *pars pro toto* für das gesamte Kloster, auch wenn wir nicht wissen können, wie das Kirchenabbild letztlich aussah und wieviel Ähnlichkeit es mit dem »Urbild« aufwies¹¹². Doch unabhängig davon versetzte das Stifterbild die beiden dargestellten Personen in anachronistischer Weise in eine zurückliegende Zeitebene und hielt so in symbolischer Form ein »historisches« Ereignis fest, wobei in der Darstellung des Stiftungsaktes zugleich die Hoffnung auf Erlangung des künftigen Seelenheils als eigentlicher Beweggrund mitschwingt.

Es kann also nach wie vor nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes noch zu Lebzeiten das Parekklesion als Vollendung aller seiner Baumaßnahmen im Kloster geplant und in einem Typikon oder einer rechtlich verbindlichen Verfügung sowohl für sein künftiges Grab und dessen bildliche Ausgestaltung als auch für sein Totengedenken Vorsorge getroffen hatte¹¹³. Doch dass der Ort seines Grabes letztlich dem Christos Hyperagathos geweiht wurde, war wohl erst eine Entscheidung von Maria-Martha, der nach dem Tod des Protostrators die Aufgabe zufiel, das Grab einzurichten und das Gebäude zu vollenden, wobei sie alles daransetzte, den Ruhm ihres Mannes hervorzuheben und zu bewahren. Hierfür standen ihr die besten Bauleute und Mosaizisten zur Verfügung, die das in architektonischer Hinsicht einzigartige Parekklesion geschaffen haben.

Innerhalb der Pammakaristoskirche errichtete Maria-Martha auch das Grab ihrer Eltern und stattete es mit einem mehrfigurigen Familienbild aus. Den Standort des Grabes und die Namensbeischriften der dargestellten Personen hat wieder Ioannes Malaxos überliefert¹¹⁴. Das Grabgemälde zeigte u. a. ihre Mutter Theodora Dukaina Branaina Glabaina im weltlichen Habitus und nochmals als Nonne Theodote,

und ebenso ihren Vater, den Megas Papias Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes als weltlichen Würdenträger und als Mönch Neilos. Martha selbst ließ sich in dem Grabbild gemäß ihrem geistlichen Stand nur als Nonne darstellen. Lediglich in der Beischrift wurden ihr weltlicher und ihr geistlicher Name ausdrücklich vermerkt: »Maria Dukaina Brabrina (Branaina) Palaiologina Tarchaneiotis(s)a, ihre Tochter, die wegen des heiligen Engelgewandes in Martha die Nonne umbenannt wurde«¹¹⁵. Aus den wenigen Hinweisen geht freilich nicht hervor, ob in dem Grabbild außer dem hl. Georgios auch Christus oder Maria abgebildet waren und die Personen sich wie an den Gräbern C, D und E der Chorkirche als Supplikanten auf diese bezogen haben. Da Martha mit der im Typikon des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters erwähnten »Protostratorissa Glabaina« identisch ist¹¹⁶, müsste sie um 1330 noch gelebt haben. Das Grabbild wird demzufolge im ersten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. Insofern ist es denkbar, dass ihr Vater, der in der Inschrift als »Ktetor« bezeichnete Megas Papias Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, die südliche Halle der Pammakaristoskirche gestiftet haben könnte.

Was das Grabmosaik des Stifterpaares im Parekklesion betrifft, so verdanken wir die einzige Nachricht über seine Existenz dem glücklichen Umstand, dass Gerlach und Schweigger, mit den drängenden Wünschen nach Informationen von Crusius im Gepäck, die Kirche gemeinsam aufgesucht hatten, wodurch Gerlach letztlich zu seiner Beschreibung des Bildes im Tagebuch und in seinem nur in Auszügen überlieferten brieflichen Bericht an Crusius veranlasst wurde. Mit der Umwandlung der Kirche in die Fethiye Camii verschwanden die Gräber in der Kirche und im Parekklesion und damit auch das Stifterbild am Grab des Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, obgleich die Mosaiken im Parekklesion fast vollständig überdauert haben.

112 Siehe Anm. 96.

113 Es kann allerdings nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes zunächst die mit einer Tambourkuppel ausgestattete östliche Kapelle des nördlichen Mantelraums als seine Grabstätte vorgesehen hatte, siehe Mango, *The Monument* 16-17. 24.

114 Cambridge, Trinity College, Cod. 0.2.36, fol. 146^v (= §2). – Schreiner, *Unbekannte Beschreibung* 222 §2; Kommentar 230-232. – Mango, *The Mo-*

nument 39 §2 (englische Übersetzung). – Effenberger, *Zu den Gräbern* 6-7 Abb. 2 Ziff. 2. – Effenberger, *Zu den Eltern*.

115 Schreiner, *Unbekannte Beschreibung* 222 Z. 15-16: ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετ' ὀνομασθείσα Μάρθα μοναχῆ.

116 Delehaye, *Deux typica* 95 Z. 15-18. – Englisch: Talbot, *Bebaia Elpis* 1563 § 145. – Zum Kloster der »Protostratorissa Glabaina« siehe Effenberger, *Die Klöster* 257-259 und öfter.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Stephan Gerlach and the founder's portrait in the Parekklesion of the Pammakaristos Monastery of Constantinople

Stephan Gerlach, who stayed in Istanbul from 1573 to 1578 as a Protestant preacher at the Embassy of the Holy Roman Emperor, left numerous reports in his diary about his visits to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, which was located in the Pammakaristos Monastery. The monastery, which had fallen into decay in the Latin period, was restored after 1261 by the future Protostrator Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos. After visiting the church, Gerlach noted the description of a long-lost mosaic painting: in the centre was Christ, to his left Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos with a scroll, and to his right his wife Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina, holding a »model« of the church. The donor portrait was located at the tomb of Michael in the Parekklesion, which, according to the prevailing opinion, was built by his widow after his death (around 1305/1308), who had taken the name Martha as a nun. In an earlier article, the author argued that the protostrator had planned his future tomb during his lifetime. However, an iconographic analysis of the image shows that both were depicted as equal benefactors, and that their joint beneficence extended to the entire monastery, although Maria-Martha undoubtedly completed the Parekklesion alone.

Stephan Gerlach und das Stifterbild im Parekklesion des Pammakaristosklosters von Konstantinopel

Stephan Gerlach, der von 1573 bis 1578 als protestantischer Prediger an der kaiserlichen Botschaft in Istanbul weilte, hinterließ in seinem Tagebuch zahlreiche Berichte über seine Besuche im Griechisch-Orthodoxen Patriarchat, das sich im Pammakaristoskloster befand. Das in der Lateinerzeit verfallene Kloster hatte der nachmalige Protostrator Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos nach 1261 wiederhergestellt. Nach einem Besuch der Kirche notierte Gerlach die Beschreibung eines längst verschwundenen Mosaikbildes: In der Mitte stand Christus, links davon Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos mit einer Schriftrolle, und rechts davon seine Frau Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina, die ein »Modell«

der Kirche in Händen hielt. Das Stifterbild befand sich am Grab Michaels im Parekklesion, das nach geltender Meinung nach seinem Tod (um 1305/1308) von seiner Witwe erbaut worden war, die als Nonne den Namen Martha angenommen hatte. In einem früheren Beitrag vertrat der Autor die Ansicht, dass der Protostrator seine künftige Grablege bereits zu Lebzeiten geplant hatte. Eine ikonographische Analyse des Bildes kann aber verdeutlichen, dass beide als gleichrangige Stifter dargestellt waren, und ihre gemeinsame Stiftertätigkeit das gesamte Kloster betraf, wenngleich Maria-Martha zweifellos das Parekklesion allein vollendet hatte.

Stephan Gerlach et le portrait du donateur dans la parekklesion du monastère Pammakaristos de Constantinople

Stephan Gerlach, qui a séjourné de 1573 à 1578 en tant que prédicateur protestant à l'ambassade impériale d'Istanbul, a laissé dans son journal de nombreux récits de ses visites au patriarcat grec orthodoxe, qui se trouvait dans le monastère Pammakaristos. Le monastère, tombé en ruine à l'époque des Latins, fut restauré après 1261 par le futur protostrate Michel Glabas Tarchaneiotos. Après avoir visité l'église, Gerlach a noté la description d'une mosaïque aujourd'hui disparue depuis longtemps: au centre se trouvait le Christ, à sa gauche Michel Glabas Tarchaneiotos tenant un rouleau de parchemin, et à sa droite son épouse Marie Doukas Comnène, qui tenait un »modèle« de l'église dans ses mains. L'image du donateur se trouvait à la tombe de Michel à la Paraklesion, qui, selon l'opinion dominante, a été construite après sa mort (vers 1305/1308) par sa veuve, qui avait pris le nom de Marthe quand elle était devenue nonne. Dans un article précédent, l'auteur a émis l'hypothèse que le protostrate avait déjà planifié sa future sépulture de son vivant. Une analyse iconographique de l'image permet toutefois de montrer que les deux personnages étaient représentés comme des donateurs de même rang et que leur activité commune de donateurs concernait l'ensemble du monastère, même si c'est sans aucun doute Marie-Marthe qui a achevé seule le Parekklesion.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople During the Sixteenth Century. Byzantine Pathways through Ottoman Space

A Byzantine Institution

For the Ottoman Empire the sixteenth century, especially the reign of the Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent, was a time of expansion, consolidation, and great achievements in various fields of Ottoman civilization. During this exceptional era, a Byzantine institution continued to operate in the Ottoman capital, a highly important institution that survived amid the new circumstances which surged after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The re-establishment of the Patriarchate in January 1454, only a few months after the Fall of the East Roman Empire, which we conventionally call Byzantine, marked the beginning of a new, long chapter in the age-old history of the institution. The new political reality posed many challenges on a practical, political and ideological level, as the representatives of the institution were confronted with the need to handle its Byzantine legacy with new objectives, within a framework that required flexibility and adaptability. In recent decades, historians of various disciplines have been studying in depth and from multiple aspects the Patriarchate of Constantinople of the early modern period¹. The new knowledge verified *inter alia* the accuracy of the »continuity and change/breaks and continuities« concept, indicating that maintaining balance between old and new was a permanent endeavor throughout the Patriarchate's history.

This paper focuses on the Byzantine characteristics of the institution that were still present during the sixteenth century. In this context I also investigate to what extent the implications of this Byzantine legacy were tangible, by arguing that they had a specific spatial imprint on the Ottoman capital, which turned the Patriarchate into a prominent and lively hub with a whole world moving around it.

The Re-Establishment in Context

Before referring to the sixteenth century, it is necessary to mention briefly the context of the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the middle of the fifteenth century, when it entered the new period of its history.

As it is well known, on 29 May 1453 Mehmed II conquered Constantinople after a long siege, inflicting the final blow to the Byzantine Empire. At the time of the Fall, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was headless, as the last Patriarch, the unionist Gregory III Mamme, had left Constantinople since August 1450 and had settled in Rome².

A few months later, on 6 January 1454, Sultan Mehmed II re-established the Patriarchate of Constantinople, designating Gennadios Scholarios as the first Patriarch. Gennadios was a well-known person: in the conflict that broke out after the Council of Florence (1438-1439), which had stipulated the Union of the Churches, Gennadios was the head of the Anti-Unionists³. With this symbolic act, the Conqueror aimed at the following targets: to legitimize himself in the conscience of the Orthodox Christian populations of the Empire as the successor of the Byzantine Emperor; to exclude the possibility of his Christian subjects forming an alliance with the Catholic Church against the Ottomans; to attract Christian populations to Constantinople, as part of his project to repopulate the deserted city and to transform it into the new capital of the Empire⁴.

According to sixteenth-century Greek chronicles the church that Mehmed II originally granted Gennadios for the settlement of the patriarchal headquarters was the Holy Apostles. Some months later, in the summer of 1454, the Patriarchate was transferred to the Byzantine monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos, located towards the north-east

1 The bibliography on the institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and its status within the Ottoman Empire is extensive; see indicatively a selection of mainly recent studies, with previous literature: Apostolopoulos, Hieros; Zachariadou, Deka; Konortas, Othomanikes; Zachariadou, Church; Papademetriou, Render; Çolak/Bayraktar-Tellan, Church; Kotzageorgis, Found; Apostolopoulos, Survival; Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Institutions; Gara/Olar, Confession-Building.

2 On Gregory III Mamme – or Mam(m)as – see Harris, Patriarch. Regarding his surname cf. Laurent, Sunom.

3 On Gennadios Scholarios see the detailed monograph of Blanchet, Scholarios, with previous literature; among the more recent works, see Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Appealing; Blanchet, Réaction; Apostolopoulos/Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Praxeis 49-75. 99-104. 111-115; Necipoğlu, Gennadios.

4 Yerasimos, Epanoikese; Zachariadou, Constantinople; Apostolopoulos, Survival. On the reliability of the 16th-century Greek chronicles relating these events see the comments of Blanchet, Scholarios 17-18. 83 n. 106 and the bibliography cited therein.

of the city, near the shore of the Golden Horn, following Gennadios' request, because the neighborhood around the Holy Apostles was unsafe for Christians⁵. The extant sources confirm that Gennadios was indeed active in the church of the Holy Apostles in the early days of his mandate. This Christian monument was still very prominent in fifteenth-century Constantinople. Besides, thanks to the tombs of the Byzantine emperors the site accommodated, it was a locus that represented the millennial succession of Byzantine emperors. Even though the exact status of the Holy Apostles at that time needs further documentation, the connection of the first Patriarch after the Fall with this prestigious monument was highly symbolic for the identity of the Patriarchate in the new chapter of its history⁶.

On 15 January 1454, only nine days after the accession of Gennadios to the patriarchal throne, the Venetian Senate was discussing the conditions set by Mehmed II within the framework of the ongoing peace negotiations that had started in the autumn of 1453 in Constantinople. The Sultan had requested *inter alia* that the rights and the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the Orthodox Christian subjects of Venice should remain as they were at the time of the [Byzantine] Emperor⁷. The Venetian Senate agreed and therefore the clause became part of the treaty that was concluded in April 1454, establishing the privileges of the Venetian communities and consuls in the Empire⁸. Mehmed's intervention in this issue obviously confirmed the authority of the newly appointed Patriarch. At the same time, it served the Sultan's own political needs, namely his intention to exercise control over the Christian populations in the Venetian territories⁹.

A few months later, in October 1454, Patriarch Gennadios sent an encyclical to the Christians of the Empire, giving them

advice and announcing his imminent resignation (he remained on the patriarchal throne until January 1456). A piece of advice he addressed to his flock was that they should »... preserve the golden commandments of the Gospel and the rules of the Holy Mother Church and the laws implemented in the most pious state of Christians...«, namely the church canons and the laws that had been in effect during the Byzantine period¹⁰. This explicit formulation originating from the Patriarch himself, in a patriarchal document that was not classified – on the contrary, it was meant to circulate widely – presupposes and attests to the fact that the Sultan recognized and legitimized the use of the Byzantine legal system in the Orthodox Church.

This attitude of the Sultan vis-à-vis the Byzantine law and the Orthodox Christians' religious practices is indicated by one more testimony. The berat issued by Mehmed II for the appointment of Patriarch Maximos III in June 1477 includes the following stipulation: »However, if he [the Patriarch] acts in contravention of their rite, he shall be inspected by all the metropolitans and if he is found worthy to be dismissed, another Patriarch whom they elect shall be appointed«¹¹. The specific clause refers to the Holy Synod's role in the process of designating the new Patriarch, reflecting a reality that was more in accordance with Byzantine practices than with the legal order of the time¹².

From the above it becomes obvious that Mehmed II recognized and legitimized the Patriarchate of Constantinople as the heir to the Byzantine past through institutional means and symbolic actions. Moreover, he used this Byzantine legacy as a base to support specific claims regarding Christian populations living outside the Ottoman borders, as demonstrated by the negotiations in January 1454 with the Venetians.

5 See the relevant testimony provided by the Greek chronicle of the 16th century "Εκθεσις Χρονική: Ecthesis 19,7-22; Philippides, Emperors 56. Gennadios was installed in the monastery of the Pammakaristos in the summer or in early autumn of 1454; therefore the transfer from the Holy Apostles can be dated to the summer of 1454: Blanchet, Scholarios 94 n. 50.

6 See the recent study of Melvani, Gennadios, where the author examines the issue of the short-term installation of the Patriarchate in the Holy Apostles through the extant sources of 15th and 16th centuries. On the Greek chronicles of the 16th c. see also Patrinelis, Proime 65 f.

7 »... les droits et la jurisdiction du patriarce grec de CP. sur les sujets grecs de la Seigneurie restent ce qu'ils etaient au temps de l'empereur«: Thiriet, Délibérations 194-195 (summary in French of the deliberations registered in Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Senato Secreti reg. 20, fols 4^{ra}).

8 For the peace treaty of 1454 see Romanin, Storia 528-535, specifically 533: »Item che le intrade che havea et Patriarcha de Constantinopoli in tuti i luogi dela Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia in tempo del Imperator de Costantinopoli cussi haver le debia de presentex«; Theunissen, Diplomats 125 n. 46; Pedani, Consuls 8.

9 Zachariadou, Deka 47; Konortas, Symvivasmos 89. The assumption that it was the patriarch Gennadios who had asked Mehmed II to impose the aforementioned condition on the Venetians is plausible. Besides, approximately thirty years later, in January 1480, the then Patriarch Maximos III addressed a similar request to the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, asking him to show solidarity towards the Orthodox Christians of his territories and to allow the envoys of the Patriarchate, which was striving to survive, to collect from them the customary contributions in cash or in kind; see Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Apostolopoulos, Episema 173-179; Apostolopoulos/Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Praxeis 186-187.

10 For the encyclical letter see Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Apostolopoulos, Episema 47-51 specifically 49 l. 38-41: »... φυλάττειν τοὺς χρυσοὺς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου νόμους καὶ τὰς τῆς ἁγίας μητρὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας διατάξεις καὶ τοὺς κρατήσαντας νόμους ἐν τῇ τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐσεβεστάτῃ πολιτείᾳ...«; Apostolopoulos/Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Praxeis 64-65; Apostolopoulos, Anaglypha 162. I thank my colleague Nikolaos Livanos for translating this paper's Greek quotations into English.

11 For the transliteration and the translation in English of the berat's text see Çolak/Bayraktar-Tellan, Church 67-68. 195 [2].

12 Konortas, Othomanikes 124-125. It should be noted though, that the aforementioned clause had not been included in the text of the oldest extant berat, the one issued by Mehmed II for Patriarch Raphael I in February 1476. It was probably added after Raphael's mandate, as a measure to control the patriarch's authority; see Kotzageorgis, Found 10. We find the same stipulation in the berat issued in April-May 1483 by Bayezid II for Patriarch Symeon I (Çolak/Bayraktar-Tellan, Church 69-70. 196-197 [2]). Nevertheless, no reference to the Holy Synod can be found in the extant patriarchal berats of the period from 1483 until mid-18th century, when the Ottoman legal order recognized the power of the metropolitans, and hence the Synod, within the Patriarchate of Constantinople through the establishment of the system of Elders (Γερωντισμός); on this subject see Konortas, Othomanikes 127-143; Çolak/Bayraktar-Tellan, Church 43. 244-250. 280-286. 298-322. For the participation of the Holy Synod in the Patriarchate's administration during the second half of 15th century, see Apostolopoulos, Prattein 203-208.

Byzantine Practices in Sixteenth-Century Governance

During the sixteenth century, the Patriarchate continued to operate along the path lined from the second half of the previous century. It remained the supreme institution of the ecclesiastical administration of the Orthodox Christians, preserving its core Byzantine characteristics.

From the point of view of its administrative structure, the principal administrative agents of the Patriarchate were the Patriarch, the permanent synod (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα / *synodos endemousa*) of prelates, and the officials (ὄφφικιάλιοι) of the patriarchal court. The synod was usually formed by the prelates who resided temporarily or permanently in Constantinople. On rare occasions, when the Church had to make extremely crucial decisions, the Patriarch convened a plenary synod, in which all the prelates under his jurisdiction were supposed to participate, in person or through a representative, along with the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Although in the Byzantine period the officials were exclusively clerics, in the Ottoman period these posts were increasingly assigned to lay persons, and some of them became very influential in the administration of the Patriarchate. The basic unit of the ecclesiastical administrative structure was the metropolis. Some metropolitan provinces included smaller ecclesiastical peripheries in their territory, namely the bishoprics. These provinces were ruled by bishops under the local metropolitan. Some bishops were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch, without the interference of the local metropolitan; they were called archbishops. Besides, there were small areas comprising a small number of villages or islands that were also directly ruled by the Patriarch, the patriarchal exarchates¹³.

In the Byzantine period, the Patriarch of Constantinople was responsible for matters related to doctrine, worship, and liturgy, namely for whatever referred to the core principles of the faith and to the practice of religion by his flock. In addition, the Great Church traditionally regulated matters of marriage and inheritance for Christians. In the new Ottoman reality, the matters under the jurisdiction of the Church were expanded. In particular, the Synodal Court of the Ecumenical Patriarchate acquired, explicitly or implicitly, jurisdiction over civil disputes between members of the clergy or the laity, with cases referred to it for arbitration, as well as over dowry disputes¹⁴.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople also had a department essential to any administrative institution, the Patriarchal Chancellery. Headed by an official called *megas chartophylax*, the chancellery was responsible for recording the decisions of the Patriarch and the Synod. During the sixteenth century, the rules of the Byzantine bureaucratic tradition were maintained at all levels.

First of all, the personnel of the chancellery kept an official codex where they recorded the decisions taken by the Patriarch and the Synod, so as to refer to them whenever it was necessary. This codex was called the «Sacred Codex». It is well known that in the middle of the sixteenth century the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire in Istanbul Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (in Istanbul from 1555 to 1562) brought to Vienna two fourteenth-century manuscripts that had been part of the of the Byzantine official register (covering the period 1315-1402). The manuscripts were subsequently integrated into the imperial library (Vind. hist. gr. 47 and 48)¹⁵. A recent study has proved that these two units of the Byzantine official codex of the Patriarchate of Constantinople were still lying in the Patriarchal Chancellery in the post-Byzantine period, until the middle of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, during this period the texts of the Byzantine patriarchal acts included in the two manuscripts continued to serve as examples for the composition of new patriarchal letters¹⁶.

Apart from the recording and classification in the official codex, the chancellery also had the obligation to disseminate the patriarchal decisions, sending patriarchal documents to those directly concerned (monasteries, lay persons, priests, prelates, etc.). Depending on the nature of every decision, the officials of the Byzantine chancellery chose specific types of letters. These types can be traced in the period under examination as well.

For example, in the sixteenth century the Patriarchate continued to issue official letters of the type of the patriarchal *sigillion* granting privileges to monastic foundations; the Patriarch continued to communicate with various addressees using the patriarchal *pittakion*, a type of informal, more familiar letter; the Patriarchate continued to issue a synodical *praxis* for the newly elected prelates, an official document describing their tasks and jurisdiction in their ecclesiastical province; the Patriarchate continued to send encyclical letters as well, in order to inform the Christians about decisions of general application¹⁷.

13 For the administrative structure of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the first centuries after the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1454 see indicatively Patrinelis, *Ekklesia* 101-102. 103-105; Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Institutions* 121-125. Specifically for the institution of the patriarchal exarchate see Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Exarchia*.

14 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Apostolopoulos, *Kataktese* 80-86; Apostolopoulos, *Co-existence*.

15 For the two extant units of the Byzantine register of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, namely the ms Vind. hist. gr. 47 and 48, see Gastgeber, *Diplomatics* 246 n. 6,

274-277 and the bibliography listed therein. On Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq and his Greek manuscripts see the recent study of Gastgeber, *Ogier*. For the extant fragments of the «Sacred Codex» from the second half of 15th c. see Apostolopoulos, *Hieros*.

16 Apostolopoulos, *Puise*.

17 For the practices of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Patriarchal Chancellery, see Hannick, *Tradition*; Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Grapheis*; Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 13-19; Gastgeber, *Diplomatics*; Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 23-27.

The Byzantine Legal System in the Ottoman Environment

Among the words of advice Patriarch Gennadios addressed to the Christians in October 1454, before his intended resignation from his mandate, he urged them to observe the canons of the church and the laws of the Byzantine state. Regarding the law, the Patriarch's wish was consistent with the will of the Sultan who had appointed him, who had connected the legitimation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with the preservation of the tradition, namely of the Byzantine legal system.

Undoubtedly the implementation of the Byzantine legal system in the Ottoman context was not a simple issue. For this reason, the Church was very often required to make adaptations, and to invent solutions in order to legally regulate some realities that had not existed during the Byzantine period¹⁸.

Nevertheless, the presence of the Byzantine legal system in the post-Byzantine period was not theoretical. On the contrary, it was an indispensable part of the administrative and judicial practice of the Patriarchate, as it constituted its regulatory framework. Patriarchal decisions were based on the laws of the Byzantine emperors, the canons of the church, Late Byzantine law compilations, etc. In fact, the texts of many patriarchal letters include passages from these legal sources, that were integrated to establish the legitimacy of the decisions¹⁹. For the same reason, the patriarchal letters usually contain mentions of earlier documents that had been issued on the same subject, either from the lay authority (imperial documents/*chrysoboulla*)²⁰ or by the ecclesiastical authority (Byzantine patriarchal *sigillia*, etc.)²¹, as well as passages from Holy Scripture.

The predominance of Byzantine law in the Ecumenical Patriarchate's operation has been confirmed by a recent finding of scientific research: a law compilation constituted by

the Great Church in 1564 and named the »Nomimon of the Great Church«²². More specifically, Patriarch Ioasaph II (summer 1546 – January 1556) entrusted a learned high-rank official, the *mezas logothetes* Hierax, with the task of compiling a law collection, which was inaugurated in January 1564. The compilation constituted the official legal manual of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from 1564 until 1592/1593, a fact that reveals that its composition responded to a permanent need of the institution within the framework of its administrative and judicial operation²³.

The compilation includes legal sources, the majority of which date from the Byzantine period (6th-14th centuries: collection of laws of Byzantine emperors, Byzantine material on matrimonial law (degrees of kinship), the manual »Ekthesis Nea« of the Patriarchal Chancellery from the fourteenth century, *Taktika* (lists and hierarchical rank of ecclesiastical provinces, officials, etc.), and material from the period 1474-1498 and from the sixteenth century)²⁴.

Safe-keeper of the True Faith, Heir to an Imperial Past

In the Byzantine period, the Patriarch of Constantinople was the supreme hierarch of the Orthodox Church, bearing the title »ecumenical«, namely of the whole universe (οἰκουμένη/ecumene): »... ἐλέξω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης« (by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch). In the post-Byzantine period the ecumenical Patriarchs continued to use the same title, except for Gennadios, who preferred to sign as »Ὁ δοῦλος τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ ταπεινὸς Γεννάδιος« (Servant of God's children, the humble Gennadios)²⁵.

As a leading ecclesiastical institution, the Patriarchate of Constantinople had the mission to preserve the doctrinal pu-

18 For example, from the first period after its re-establishment, the Great Church had to deal with matrimonial issues posing serious dilemmas, as the strict implementation of the Byzantine law could compromise the faith and the coherence of the Christians. On this subject see indicatively Papagianni, *Nomologia* 120-124; Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Gamoi*. Besides, the plenary synod of the Eastern Orthodox Church that was convened in Constantinople in 1593 by the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II introduced a significant novelty regarding the ecclesiastical penance of defrocking. Specifically, the synod decided, *inter alia*, that the prelates who did not pay their financial contributions to the Patriarchate in due time would henceforth be defrocked. For the financial obligations of the patriarch *vis-à-vis* the Imperial Treasury and the pressing circumstances of the last quarter of the 16th century that led to this novelty see Evangelou, *Kathairese*. On both the above issues see Evangelou, *Challenge Management*.

19 In a letter of confirmation issued in May 1499 by Patriarch Ioakeim I for the dependency Prospheion of the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, we find the following passages from the private law collection *Procheiron nomon* or *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Armenopoulos (1345): »Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς νόμος· εἴτε δικαία εἴτε ἀδικος ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ αἰρετοῦ δικαστοῦ ψήφος, ἐμμένειν αὐτῇ δεῖ. Καὶ αὐθις, ὁ αἰρετοῦ κριταῖς δικασθέντες μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθωσαν· καὶ πάλιν, ἔάν πλανηθῇ ὁ αἰρετὸς ἐν τῷ ψηφίζεσθαι, οὐ διορθοῦται· ψηφισάμενος γὰρ πέπαυται εἶναι δικαστῆς« (»For the holy law says »Whether the vote of the elected judge is just or unjust, it must be sustained. And further, »those who have been judged by an elected judge are not to appeal; and also »if an elected judge is misled in his vote, (the vote) cannot be corrected; for once he has been voted he is no longer a judge«); for the text of the patriarchal letter see

Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 61-63 specifically 62 l. 11-13. The synodical decision of Patriarch Ioasaph II, of December 1564, regarding the dispute between two monasteries of Meteora, contains a passage from the official law collection *Basilika* (9th c.), a stipulation that was later integrated in the private law collections *Procheiron Auctum* (1300) and *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Matthew Blastares (1335): »... ὁ νόμος ταῦτα ἡμῖν δίδωσι τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ ἐντέλλεται ὀρθῶς βιοῦν, ἕτερον μὴ βλάπτειν καὶ ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπονέμειν δίκαιον...« (»... the Law gives us these orders and demands that we live properly, that we do not harm another, and that we administer equal justice to each...«); *ibidem* 459-461 specifically 460 l. 4-5.

20 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 69-71 esp. 70 l. 17-18. 22. 25, patriarchal letter of [March 1501] for the monastery of Timios Prodromos near Serres; 151-155 esp. 152 l. 8, patriarchal letter of 1 September 1529-31 August 1530 for the dependency of Kato Volvos that the Athonite monastery of Iviron possessed in Kalamaria, etc.

21 *Ibidem* 73-75 esp. 74 l. 3-4. 9. 11-12. 19, patriarchal letter of May 1501 for the monastery of Koutloumousiou on Mount Athos; 433-435 esp. 434 l. 9. 14, patriarchal letter of March 1561 for the monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos, etc.

22 For the reconstitution, publication and the photographic reproduction of this valuable source, see Apostolopoulos, *Nomimon*.

23 Apostolopoulos, *Nomimon* I, 15-19. 21. 25-28.

24 For the contents of the »Nomimon of the Great Church« see Apostolopoulos, *Anaglypha* 87-158; Apostolopoulos, *Nomimon* I, 19-21.

25 Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Institutions* 121 n. 11.

city of the Orthodox Christian faith, whose main tenets had been established during the Byzantine period. In this context, in the period 1573-1581 a group of Lutheran scholars (Martin Crusius, Jacob Andreae, Lucas Osiander, Jacob Heerbrand) from Tübingen exchanged correspondence with the Patriarch Jeremias II, aiming to track the points of convergence between Lutheranism and the Orthodox Church. These contacts led to a theological-confessional dialogue, through which the Lutherans hoped to find their own confessional beliefs confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, in their effort to consolidate the Lutheran movement. Jeremias' responses, indicating the divergences of the Lutheran creed from the Orthodox doctrine, did not meet the Lutherans' expectations. Their aspiration to seek an ally in the Patriarchate of Constantinople – a potentially precious ally in their fight against the Catholic Church – attests though to the prestige the leading institution of the Eastern Orthodox Church still enjoyed in the Christian world²⁶.

One year after the end of the religious dialogue with the Lutheran scholars, Jeremias II had to face another challenge, this time from the head of the Catholic Church. In October 1582, Pope Gregory XIII inaugurated a calendar reform, introducing the so-called Gregorian calendar. Gregory tried to persuade Jeremias to adopt the new calendar, but the Patriarch did not agree to the reform. He considered it a potential danger to Orthodox tradition, as he emphatically stated in a letter to the Doge of Venice in February 1583: »Our Church preserves what has been bestowed upon it, while the Western (Church) does as it pleases and wishes. But it is totally impossible to do otherwise, as each and every Patriarch of our Church is subject to rules and laws, as well as to ecclesiastical traditions; and by this way of life and governance are preserved here what have been passed on by the Holy Fathers«²⁷.

At the same time, the primacy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which originated from the Byzantine period, and its political connotations were recognized by the Orthodox Christian rulers of Russia. Specifically, in the middle of the sixteenth century (1557), the Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) of Russia (1533-1584) requested Patriarch Ioasaph II to recognize him officially as the emperor of Russia. Ivan had already been crowned tsar by the metropolitan of Moscow Makarios in 1547, in an impressive ceremony. Still, he had the ambition to have his title confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople,

the high official who crowned the emperor in the last centuries of Byzantium. In his effort to be symbolically legitimized as heir to the Byzantine emperors, Ivan implicitly recognized the historical continuity and the Byzantine legacy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Finally, Ivan received his legitimation in the form of an official patriarchal document. Patriarch Ioasaph II issued a synodical letter in November 1560, that was signed by 36 prelates. Through this official letter Ivan was recognized as legal *basileus* (emperor), crowned by the Patriarch »νομίμως ἄρα καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς« (legally and ecclesiastically). It should be noted that in the text of the letter Ioasaph referred to the Byzantine tradition, pointing out that Ivan's coronation performed earlier by the metropolitan of Moscow had not been valid, because only the Pope of Rome and the ecumenical Patriarch had the privilege to crown the emperor. In other words, the Patriarch highlighted his historical rights vis-à-vis the political ambitions of the Russian ruler²⁸.

Approximately thirty years later, it was in the same religious-political context that the Tsar who succeeded Ivan IV in power, Feodor I (1584-1598), requested that the Patriarch Jeremias II raise the metropolis of Moscow to the rank of a patriarchate. Jeremias granted his request (1589-1593) under pressure and amid negotiations and disputes. Even though the tsar desired and persistently claimed that the Patriarchate of Moscow should occupy the third place in the hierarchical order of the Orthodox patriarchates, it was given the fifth place, after the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem²⁹.

Jeremias II convened two plenary synods in Constantinople, in May 1590 and in the beginning of 1593; the main objective was to confirm the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow. The synodical decisions were recorded in two official documents issued by Jeremias in May 1590 and in February 1593. An awkward – from the point of view of diplomatics – formulation lying in the text of the synodical act of May 1590 reveals the power of the Byzantine legacy of the Patriarchate at the ideological level.

More specifically, the text relates that during the ceremony of consecration of the metropolitan of Moscow Ioasaph as the first Patriarch of Moscow, Patriarch Jeremias II handed to him a »χρυσόβουλλον πατριαρχικόν« (patriarchal *chrysoboullon*). The document in question was actually the constitutional

26 For Jeremias II's dialogue with the Lutherans see Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie* 558-560, and most recently Calis, *Crusius* 34-73. 95-98, with further bibliography. According to Richard Calis, »... reading the correspondence between Tübingen and Istanbul in light of the new confessional landscape that began to take shape in this period strongly suggests that the allegedly uncorrupted tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church became a touchstone for determining who was the genuine custodian of Christian orthodoxy« (ibidem 96).

27 »... ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν διακρατῆ τὰ παραδοθέντα αὐτῆ, ἡ δὲ Δυτικὴ ὡς θέλει καὶ βούλεται. Ἄλλως γὰρ ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἔχομεν ὄλως, ὡς παντὸς πατριάρχου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν κανόσι καὶ νόμοις ὀφειλοντος ὑποκεῖσθαι, καὶ παραδόσεσιν ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς καὶ οὕτω διακρατοῦντος καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κυβερνῶντος, μένει τὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πεφυλαγμένα...«. For the text of the pittakion of February 1583 see Sathas, *Biographikon* 26-28 esp. 27. For the reform of the calendar see Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie* 563-566;

Fedalto, *Calendario*; Tzoga, *Sigillion*; Calis, *Crusius* 80-88, and the bibliography mentioned therein.

28 For the date and authenticity of the synodical letter of Patriarch Ioasaph II (c. November 1560), see Fonkič, *Grecheskie* 247-251; Fonkič, *Gramota*; the text of the document has been recently republished by Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 416-419 esp. 417, l. 8-11. For the recognition of Ivan IV's coronation and imperial title by Patriarch Ioasaph II see also Pitsakis, *Empire* 87-111; Gudziak, *Crisis* 95-97; Bogatyrev, *Reinventing*; Apostolopoulos, *Dilemmas*, studies with further literature.

29 On the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow see Tsirpanlis, *Church*; Hannick, *Hiérothée*; Pitsakis, *Empire* 111-129; Gudziak, *Crisis* 168-187; Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie* 572-575; Mureşan, *Rome*.

charter of the Patriarchate of Moscow, issued in May 1589 by Tsar Feodor I³⁰. The wording of the synodal act is unusual, however, since the term *chrysoboullon* had the meaning of a document issued by the Byzantine emperor. Moreover, only the emperor had a gold seal, whereas official documents issued by the Patriarchal Chancellery were usually stamped with a lead seal. As has recently been argued, the strange term »patriarchal *chrysoboullon*« was not used literally in this text, but metaphorically. With this term, the Patriarchate of Constantinople wanted to set a limit to the aspirations of the Russian political authority, reminding it that the heir to the Byzantine *basileus* was the Ecumenical Patriarch, who therefore had the right to issue *chrysoboulla*, even if they were sealed with a lead seal³¹.

Visualizing the Spatial Imprint of a Vibrant Institution

All the above aspects of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's operation during the sixteenth century composed and constituted its Byzantine identity. To what extent, however, was this marked Byzantine character perceptible in the public space of the Ottoman capital?

In the first place, in its capacity as a leading ecclesiastical institution that governed the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire and beyond, the Patriarchate of Constantinople had frequent contacts with Christians, clerics or laymen, from various places, on multiple issues. Many of them went themselves to Constantinople and presented their cause in a session

of the synod. For example, representatives of monasteries asked for the renewal of their privileges, the resolution of disputes regarding immovable property, the exemption from financial contributions, etc.; newly elected prelates went there on the occasion of their election; other prelates requested the modification or the confirmation of the limits of their ecclesiastical provinces or of their jurisdiction; when critical decisions had to be taken, prelates of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem came in order to participate in plenary synods; laymen that had not managed to find a solution to their cases (marriages, inheritance, dowry, disputes, etc.) on a local level, resorted to the Patriarchate; distinguished laymen (among them, powerful *archons* of the patriarchal entourage, noblemen from distant Christian communities, wealthy merchants, etc.) went to defend their protégés' or their own causes, etc. For example, in the patriarchal acts of the sixteenth century we find many cases of translocations of individuals towards Constantinople for any of the above reasons³², from the monasteries of: Theotokos Hodegetria in Kios, Bithynia³³, Saint John Prodromos in Adrianople (Edirne)³⁴, Mount Athos³⁵, Theotokos Sosinou in Pogdoriani, Epirus³⁶, Theotokos Geromeriou in Thesprotia³⁷, Meteora³⁸, Christ the Savior Dousikou near Pyle, Trikala³⁹, Metamorphosi Flamouriou on Mount Pelion⁴⁰, Theotokos Phaneromeni Tatarna in Eurytania⁴¹, Theotokos Vlochou in Aitolokarnania⁴², Panagia Omplou in Achaia⁴³; monasteries of the islands of Lesbos⁴⁴, Chios⁴⁵, Patmos⁴⁶, Paros⁴⁷, Naxos⁴⁸, Cos⁴⁹, Crete⁵⁰; from the archbishopric of Ochrid⁵¹, from the capital's hinterland⁵², from the metropolis of: Trebizond (Trabzon) in the Pontos⁵³, Larissa⁵⁴, Diauleia and Talantion⁵⁵,

30 See the text of the synodical act of May 1590 in Regel, *Analecta* 85-91 esp. 86 l. 15-16; 87 l. 3-4 [= Papoulidis/Papoulidis, *Helleno-Russica* 145-151; 146 l. 15-16; 147 l. 3-4]. For the official document of the Tsar Fedor I (May 1589), see Pitsakis, *Empire* 111-113; Mureşan, *Rome*.

31 Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Chrysoboullon*.

32 The extensive presentation of the patriarchal acts of the 16th century is beyond the scope of the present paper. The quantity of the extant material (approximately 455 acts) has led to a selection of only a few indicative examples that testify to the mobility of Orthodox Christians departing from many places throughout the Empire and visiting the Patriarchate's headquarters, as stated in the respective texts. Besides, whenever the acts' texts do not mention the presence in the Patriarchate of the Christians involved, the aforementioned Christians had obviously sent reports and documents through representatives to support their cause (»Τῆ ἡμῶν ἀνηνέχθη μετριότητι ὄτι...« / »It was reported to our mediocrity that...«; »ἠξίωσαν ἐγγράφως« / »they requested in written form«, etc.), therefore these cases presupposed mobility as well.

33 Gedeon, *Ephemerides* 60-65, sigillion of November 1594.

34 Pardos, *Pantocrator* 121-123, sigillion of June 1583.

35 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 107-109, patriarchal letter of May 1521 for the monastery of Zographou; 183-186, patriarchal letter of May 1536 for the monastery of Stavroniketa, etc.

36 Vranousis, *Sosinou* 115-117, sigillion of March 1598.

37 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 169-171, sigillion of January 1533; 437-439, sigillion of 1 September 1560-31 August 1561.

38 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 213-214, patriarchal letter of October 1540 for the monastery of Hagia Triada; 283-285, patriarchal letter of February 1545 for the monastery of Saint Stephen, etc.

39 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 177-182, patriarchal letter of April 1536.

40 Germanos, *Sigillia* 113-115, sigillion of 1 September 1592-31 August 1593.

41 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 385-390, sigillion of January 1556.

42 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 445-448, sigillion of 1 September 1562-31 August 1563.

43 Politis, *Omplou* 244-245, sigillion of 1581.

44 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 125-127. 161-165, sigillia of June 1527 and March 1531 for the monastery of Taxiarchai Leimonos, etc.

45 Amantos, *Mone* 455-458, sigillion of June 1578 for the monastery of Mounda.

46 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 95-97, patriarchal letter of September [1512]; 433-435, patriarchal letter of March 1561.

47 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta* v. 6, 281-282, sigillion of July 1593 for the monastery of Panagia Exochoriani.

48 Oudot, *Acta* 152. 154, sigillion of September 1568 for the church of Protothronos at Chalki.

49 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 393-394, patriarchal letter of 1 September 1556-31 August 1557.

50 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 167-168. 219-221, pittakia of May [1531] and May [1541].

51 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 157-160, patriarchal letter of September 1530.

52 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 379-381, patriarchal letter of August 1554 for the monastery of Timios Prodromos on the island opposite Sozopolis.

53 Sathas, *Biographikon* 175-176, patriarchal letter of ci. 1591 for the monastery of the Virgin Soumela.

54 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 129-130. 131-134. 135-138. 345-349, patriarchal letters of September 1527, July and August 1528, February 1547, etc.

55 Kampourglou, *Mnemeia* v. 2, 226-229, patriarchal letter of June 1572.

Athens⁵⁶, Argos and Nauplion⁵⁷, Corinth⁵⁸, Monembasia⁵⁹; from Ancona⁶⁰, Venice⁶¹, Lviv⁶², the monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai⁶³, etc. These cases are found in the extant patriarchal acts, therefore we must take for granted that movement was much more intense and that the points of departure of travelers much more numerous.

As mentioned above, the Ecumenical Patriarchate did not attract only the comings and goings of the Orthodox Christians of the Empire. Representatives of either permanent or occasional diplomatic missions visited its premises in the neighborhood of Fener regularly, for various official or unofficial reasons.

For example, the contacts between the Lutherans of Tübingen and the Patriarchate were mediated by the chaplains of the Holy Roman Emperor's embassy in Constantinople, the Lutherans Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578) and Salomon Scwheigger (1578-1581). Actually, due to the two priests' personal interest, their works are a precious source for the Patriarchate of that time⁶⁴.

The spatial trajectory of the Patriarchate's contacts with members of the resident diplomatic missions was more or less short, as the latter had their headquarters either in the center of Constantinople or on the hill above Galata/Pera. This maritime suburb, where the Genoese colony had been active for a long period of time until 1453, continued in the Ottoman era to attract the international community⁶⁵.

Other missions followed much longer routes, as the envoys Pope Gregory XIII sent to Jeremias II in order to convince him about the introduction of the Gregorian calendar. He

had already sent Livius Cellini de Foligno before the reform, in May 1582. Some months after the reform, Gregory sent another mission consisting of two Greek representatives, Michael Eparchos and John Bonaphes, who had some meetings with Jeremias from June until August 1583⁶⁶. The Venetian *bailo* of Constantinople had also contacts with the Patriarch regarding this issue and informed the central Venetian authorities on the progress of the talks⁶⁷.

With the exception of those who had to accomplish specific tasks or missions in the Great Church, the Patriarchate attracted some Western Europeans as well, members of diplomatic delegations or travelers who were exploring Istanbul in the sixteenth century. Obviously, the Orthodox Patriarchate's headquarters were considered as a point of interest by those visitors, even though the relevant information in their travelogues is scarce⁶⁸.

Furthermore, apart from the incoming movement of visitors to the Great Church, there was also a great deal of outgoing missions from the Patriarchate to various destinations inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. For example, the Patriarchs usually sent patriarchal exarchs on tour to the continental or insular Ottoman territories, in order to collect financial contributions from the local prelates, to regulate administrative issues, to deliver patriarchal documents to their addressees, etc.⁶⁹. Occasionally the Patriarchs sent their representatives to remote locations in non-Ottoman territories inhabited by Orthodox Christian communities or populations, for administrative and pastoral reasons, in quest of material assistance, etc.⁷⁰. Sometimes the Patriarchs themselves (for

56 Kampouroglou, *Mnemeia* v. 1, 144, patriarchal letter of around 1598-1601 for Hosia Philothei.

57 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 223-227, synodical praxis of May 1541 issued for the metropolitan of Argos and Nauplion Dorotheos.

58 Sathas, *Biographikon* 171-172, patriarchal letter of 1 September 1590-31 August 1591 for the reunification of two bishoprics belonging to the metropolitan of Corinth.

59 Miklosich/Müller, *Acta* v. 5, 175-178, synodical letter of July 1570 for the metropolitan of Monembasia Makarios.

60 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 383-384, patriarchal letter of October 1554.

61 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 363-364, *pittakion* of January 1550.

62 Szaraniewicz, *Diplomata* 54, patriarchal letter of October 1587 for the confraternity of Lviv; Milkowicz, *Monumenta* 203-205, sigillion of 1 September 1589-31 August 1590 for the monastery of Saint Onouphrios in Lviv, etc.

63 Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 307-313, sigillion of May [1545].

64 Cazacu, *Patriarcat*; Calis, *Crusius* 41-78; Grélois, *Patriarcat*.

65 From the middle of the 16th century, the »German House« was located in the center of the Ottoman city, near the Topkapi Palace (Eyice, Elçi; Radway, *Alba* 105), while in the same century the Venetian *bailo* was based initially in the center of Galata/Pera and later on the hill above the suburb, called the *Vigne di Pera* (Dursteler, *Venetians* 25-27, with a map of Galata/Pera on p. 25, and 188 n. 3; Pedani, *Piccola* 28. 30; for the toponyms Galata and Pera see also Gancho, *Privileges* 513 n. 2), where most of the embassies were gradually installed by 1600. Of course, by the standards of those times the distance between the ambassadorial residence (German House) and the Patriarchate was great, and moving around without the protection of Janissaries was dangerous for Christians, as Stephan Gerlach noted around 1573 (Calis, *Crusius* 46). For ambassadors in the Ottoman capital from the 16th century onwards see Mansel, *Constantinople* 202-231.

66 Hannick/Todt, *Jeremie* 563-566; Calis, *Crusius* 80-87. The first meeting between Jeremias II and the two Greek representatives was held at the home of the French ambassador (ibidem 85). It was not the first time the patriarch met Bonaphes, as the two men had become acquainted since 1574, when Jeremias had supported Bonaphes in a critical moment of his life (Tsiknakis, *Synergasia*).

67 Mertziou, *Patriarchika* 8-11.

68 See for example references to the Patriarchate made by Pierre Gilles [1544-1552], Hans Derschwam [1553-1555], Philippe Dufresne-Canaye [1573], Reinhold Lubenau [1588-1589], etc. in Grélois, *Patriarcat*. Contacts with the Patriarchate are also attested indirectly by various kinds of evidence. For example, during his stay in Constantinople (1555-1562), the imperial ambassador Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq acquired several manuscripts that originated from the patriarchal entourage (Gastgeber, *Ogier* 163-167. 169; Cazacu, *Patriarcat* 380). Besides, Arnold Manlius, a humanist from the Habsburg Netherlands who served as a medical doctor of the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire (1570-1574), compiled in Constantinople an *album amicorum*, or friendship album, which includes, inter alia, signatures he collected on his visits to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Radway, *Alba* 106-108).

69 Among the numerous tours of patriarchal representatives, see indicatively the missions of protonotarios Theodosios Zygomalas in October 1576-October 1577 (Rhoby, *Zygomalas*; Paizi-Apostolopoulou, *Zygomalas*) and of the megas logothetes Hierax in December 1567, 1590-1591 and 1591-1592 (Patrinelis, *Patriarchika* 149), missions assigned to the specific patriarchal officials by the Patriarchs Metrophanes III and Jeremias II.

70 For example, the metropolitan of Caesarea Metrophanes (later Patriarch Metrophanes III) resolved various issues of the Christian community during his mission to Venice (around 1546-1549), where he was sent as patriarchal exarch by Patriarch Dionysios II. For Metrophanes' mission and his subsequent visit to Pope Paul III, which led to his temporary defrocking, see the bibliography cited in Apostolopoulos, *Métrophane* 39 n. 3. For patriarchal missions of the middle of the 16th century to Moscow petitioning the tsars for financial aid, and for the trajectory of the travel route usually taken, see Gudziak, *Crisis* 95-103.

example Patriarchs Pachomios I, Theoleptos I, Jeremias I, Ioasaph II, Metrophanes III, Jeremias II, Theoleptos II, etc.) went on tours, along with their retinues/suites, throughout the Empire or beyond its borders⁷¹.

Finally, a number of people involved with the Patriarchate's operation were gravitating around its headquarters on an everyday basis, such as the prelates forming the permanent synod, the officials serving in the chancellery, priests and deacons officiating in the patriarchal church, auxiliary staff, etc.

The multiple aspects of mobility around the Patriarchate's headquarters testify to the fact that the prestige of this Byzantine institution did not concern only the Christians that lived or revolved around it in the neighborhood of Fener. Thanks to this authority, the Patriarchate had a spatial imprint that actually extended beyond its immediate entourage forming a lively node at the north-western part of the Ottoman capital, a node that served as the destination or point of departure for various categories of people moving through the Ottoman Empire or beyond its borders.

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71 The trajectories of patriarchal journeys varied according to the prevailing circumstances and the motives that led to each tour. For example, patriarchs of the 16th century went – on different occasions – through many continental ecclesiastical provinces of the Balkan peninsula, from Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus in the north to Peloponnese in the south, visiting cities (Thessalonike, Serres, Drama, Ioannina, Arta, etc.) and monasteries (Mount Athos, Meteora, monasteries of Kosinitsa on Pangaio mountain, Hosios Loukas in Steiri, Boeotia, Varnakova in Phokis, Sterea Hellas, etc.); other places that attracted at least

Synopsis

To sum up, in the sixteenth century the institution of the Patriarchate of Constantinople continued to exhibit its marked Byzantine identity in most aspects of its operation: from the point of view of its administrative structure, its bureaucratic function, the diplomatics of the documents it issued, the legal system it enforced, the religious dogma it was meant to safeguard. Finally, on the ideological-political level, for those who had claims to the Byzantine legacy, the Patriarchate operated as the heir to this tradition.

This primarily Byzantine institution was a prominent hub at the heart of the Christian community in the Ottoman capital. A whole world moved around this hub, people from different geographical and religious backgrounds, people with different agendas, clerics and laymen, who followed Byzantine paths through Ottoman space, contributing to the vibrancy of the colorful capital of two successive empires, namely Ottoman Constantinople.

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one patriarchal visit lay in the southeastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Egypt, the monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai, Jerusalem, etc.) and in the north (the monastery of Prodomos in Sozopolis, on the Black Sea coast, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, etc.). Jeremias II was the first ecumenical patriarch to travel as far as Kiev and Moscow. For the above, see indicatively Patrinelis, Jeremias; Gudziak, *Crisis* 164-167. 171-187; Angelomati-Tsougaraki, *Zeteia* 262; Cazacu, *Patriarcat* 376-378; Mureşan, *Nouvelle* 128; Paizi-Apostolopoulou/Evangelou/Apostolopoulos, *Episema* 319-321.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

The Patriarchate of Constantinople during the Sixteenth Century: Byzantine Pathways through Ottoman Space

During the sixteenth century, a Byzantine institution continued to operate in the capital of the Ottoman Empire: the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The main challenge faced by the institution in the Ottoman political framework was to deal with its Byzantine heritage while maintaining a balance between the old and the new. This paper refers to the context of the re-establishment of the Patriarchate in 1454 and Sultan Mehmed II's emphasis on its Byzantine past, and focuses on the Byzantine characteristics of the institution that were still present in the sixteenth century. Specifically, the Patriarchate followed Byzantine practices at most levels of its operation (in terms of its administrative structure, its bureaucratic function, the types of documents it issued, the legal system it enforced, the religious dogma it was supposed to safeguard, its official discourse towards those who made claims to the Byzantine legacy). In this context, the paper argues that the Patriarchate, because of its distinct Byzantine identity, had a specific spatial imprint on the Ottoman capital; indeed, it was a prominent hub around which a whole world moved, people from different geographical and religious backgrounds, people with different agendas, clerics and laymen, who followed Byzantine pathways through Ottoman space.

Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert: Byzantinische Pfade durch den osmanischen Raum

Im 16. Jahrhundert war in der Hauptstadt des Osmanischen Reiches weiterhin eine byzantinische Institution tätig: das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel. Die größte Herausforderung, der sich die Institution im politischen Rahmen des Osmanischen Reiches gegenüber sah, bestand darin, ihr byzantinisches Erbe zu verwalten und dabei das Gleichgewicht zwischen Alt und Neu zu wahren. Dieser Artikel bezieht sich auf den Kontext der Wiedererrichtung des Patriarchats im Jahr 1454 und auf die Betonung der byzantinischen Vergangenheit durch Sultan Mehmed II. und konzentriert sich auf die byzantinischen Merkmale der Institution, die im 16. Jahrhundert noch vorhanden waren. Insbesondere folgte das Patriarchat auf den meisten Ebenen seiner Tätigkeit den by-

zantinischen Praktiken (in seiner Verwaltungsstruktur, seiner bürokratischen Funktion, der Art der von ihm ausgestellten Dokumente, des von ihm durchgesetzten Rechtssystems, des religiösen Dogmas, das es schützen sollte, seiner offiziellen Haltung gegenüber denjenigen, die Ansprüche auf das byzantinische Erbe erhoben). In diesem Zusammenhang argumentiert der Beitrag, dass das Patriarchat aufgrund seiner ausgeprägten byzantinischen Identität einen spezifischen räumlichen Eindruck in der osmanischen Hauptstadt hinterließ; tatsächlich war es ein bedeutender Knotenpunkt, um den sich eine ganze Welt bewegte, Menschen mit unterschiedlichem geografischem und religiösem Hintergrund, Menschen, die verschiedene Ziele verfolgten, Geistliche und Laien, die byzantinische Pfade durch den osmanischen Raum beschrritten.

Le patriarcat de Constantinople au XVI^e siècle: Les voies byzantines à travers l'espace ottoman

Au cours du XVI^e siècle, une institution byzantine a continué à fonctionner dans la capitale de l'Empire ottoman: le patriarcat de Constantinople. Le plus grand défi auquel elle a été confrontée dans le cadre de la politique ottomane a été de gérer son héritage byzantin en maintenant un équilibre entre l'ancien et le nouveau. Cet article se réfère au contexte de la restauration du patriarcat en 1454 et à l'accent mis par le sultan Mehmed II sur son passé byzantin. Il se concentre sur les caractéristiques byzantines de l'institution qui étaient encore présentes au XVI^e siècle. Plus précisément, le patriarcat suivait les pratiques byzantines à la plupart des niveaux de son fonctionnement (en termes de structure administrative, de bureaucratie, de types de documents délivrés, de système juridique appliqué, de dogme religieux sauvegardé et de discours officiel envers ceux qui revendiquaient l'héritage byzantin). Dans ce contexte, l'article soutient qu'en raison de son identité byzantine marquée, le patriarcat avait une empreinte spatiale spécifique sur la capitale ottomane; en fait, c'était un centre important autour duquel tout un monde se déplaçait, des personnes d'origines géographiques et religieuses différentes, des personnes poursuivant des objectifs variés, des religieux et des laïcs, qui suivaient les voies byzantines à travers l'espace ottoman.

The Reception of the Hippodrome in the Writings of French Travellers to Constantinople During the Embassy of Gabriel d'Aramon (1546-1553)

The Aramontine Corpus¹: Genre, Autopsy and Mimesis

The period of the embassy of Gabriel d'Aramon², a pivotal stage of the French policy of diplomatic alliance with the Ottoman Empire, saw a profusion of texts written by the visitors who stayed in its capital³. The authors in question are Jacques Gassot, Pierre Belon, André Thevet, Guillaume Postel, Pierre Gilles, Nicolas de Nicolay and Jean Chesneau (in chronological order of printing date, not composition, as several of them were dead by the time their work was published). They were messengers and secretaries⁴, geographers⁵, and scholars with interests ranging from antiquarianism to natural sciences and comparative religion⁶.

Although this corpus may be unified by its historical context, and there are many points of contact between the texts (making it evident that they read each other), the differences in the authors' background and training, as well as interests, nuance their reception of Constantinople. Their attitudes towards the Ottomans also range from the open turkophobia of Nicolas de Nicolay to a more neutral or at times positive presentation by Guillaume Postel, suiting his purpose of advocating for religious tolerance. As their interests in antiquities and monuments vary, the amount of text they dedicate to Constantinople's architecture also ranges from just a few words in Postel to most of the book in the case of Gilles.

In terms of genre, while all the texts may be said to fall under the broader umbrella of travel-writing, they present and select their material differently. Gassot's *Le discours du Voyage de Venise à Constantinople*, originally a letter written from Aleppo on 5 December 1548 most strictly belongs to the category of travel-writing, focusing largely on the travelling itself and its itinerary. He modelled his account largely on an earlier Italian text written by the Venetian Ramberti⁷, lifting whole sections of his text and translating it into French. Chesneau then used Gassot's account to build his *Voyage de Paris en Constantinople*, expanding and correcting it as he saw necessary⁸. Belon composed his *Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges* as a collection of curiosities, whether antiquities or from the natural world. As a cosmographer, Thevet's geographical focus means that he organised his account of Constantinople in his *Cosmographie de Levant* according to its seven hills, the only one in the corpus to do so. Gilles, inspired by two Italian antiquarians⁹ and their works on Rome, organised his presentation of the city in his *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* according to the eleven regions of the Late Antique *Notitia Dignitatum*. Nicolay's *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales*, although a travel account with a greater focus on ethnography, probably features the most references to

1 The expression comes from Tinguely, *Écriture* and refers to the texts produced by travellers who were in the East during the period of Aramon's embassy (see following note) – this does not mean Aramon had a personal influence on the content of their writings. Rather, the name denotes the cultural context of their authors' stay in the East. Tinguely also notes the influence of the corpus on later descriptions of Constantinople (idem 128), giving examples from the end of the 16th century, but arguably this influence can be felt in even later works, such as in the 19th century Van Millingen, *Constantinople*, and in the 20th century Janin, *Constantinople*. Gilles' influence can even be detected in Haury's edition of the *Buildings*, cf. Haury, *Procopius 364*, where he translates the Greek κίβωτος from 1.11.19 in his *index graecitatis* with the Latin *saxa, quibus forma arcarum erat* most likely under the influence of the large square stones observed in Gilles, *Bosporo* 250, when the term actually refers to wooden caissons.

2 Gabriel de Luetz, baron of Aramon (1508?-1553) was ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1546 to his death. On his embassy, see Paviot, *Ambassade*.

3 Belon, *Observations* 69 explains that French travellers were hosted by the embassy in Pera and extols the generosity of the ambassador towards his guests, providing them not only with hospitality and whatever they may need such as clothing, mounts and money to return to France, no matter their extraction.

4 Jacques Gassot (1525-1585) was a messenger for Francis I and Jean Chesneau (1520-?) was the secretary of the ambassador.

5 André Thevet (1516-1592) was cosmographer for Francis I and Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-1583) was geographer – and likely also a spy – for Henry II. On Thevet, see Lestringant, *Atelier*, and Van Den Abbeele, *Duplicity*. On de Nicolay, see Ilg, *Reisebericht*.

6 Pierre Belon (1517-1564) was a botanist whose travels were funded by the cardinal De Tournon and Pierre Gilles (1489-1555) was a natural scientist with a strong background in Hellenism, sent by Francis I to the east to look for manuscripts for the Royal library of Fontainebleau. On Belon, see Barsi, *Énigme*. On Gilles, see Miachon, *Oeuvre*, and Jacob, *Voyage* (more specifically on the De Bosporo). Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) was a philosopher and linguist, the only author without royal connections during the embassy. On Postel and his thought, see Bouwsma, *Concordia*, and Kuntz, *Postel*.

7 Ramberti, *Cose*.

8 Chesneau wrote during the reign of Selim II (1566-1574). The 19th-c. edition of his text is based on BnF Arsenal, Ms. 4767 (Tinguely, *Écriture* 275) but the most extant manuscript version is BnF, Ms. fr. 23045, fols 269-309^v.

9 Marliani, *Topographia*, and Fulvio, *Urbis*.

ancient texts after Gilles. As for Postel, *De la République des Turcs* focuses on Turkish mores and society rather than travelling, and his references to monuments fit within this discussion rather than being descriptive.

Most of the authors write within the conventions of their genre, which offers challenges for the modern historian. Despite being able to claim autopsy for the things they describe, their descriptions are shaped by mimesis, just as much from contemporary texts as from ancient testimonies, borrowing from such genres as patria or city-praise. Gilles in particular relies extensively on classical texts, to the point of being reduced to this aspect by modern critics as if the way he composed his text with profuse quotations from ancient sources eclipsed his direct personal experience¹⁰. On the contrary, by interweaving numerous quotations in his text, he subtly articulates together past and present to convey the experience of Constantinople in a multi-layered way. Thus, this paper will aim to analyse how mimesis is deployed to achieve the writers' purposes in depicting Constantinople, in particular in shaping the reader's view of the city through building impactful images and using emotional language.

Textual Economy and the Hippodrome as Pole and Axis in the Mental Map of Sixteenth-century Constantinople

Most of the authors in the corpus had a limited amount of textual space to deploy their depiction of Constantinople, which usually forms only a small part of a much larger geographical space covered (with the exception of Gilles whose two books cover Constantinople and the Bosphorus only). Hence the concept of »textual economy«, as defined by Basseler for use in analysing short stories as the way a text manages its material, i.e., its narrative resources, may be applied to the travellers' accounts¹¹. How do the authors negotiate the necessity of presenting Constantinople as vividly as possible with the smallest use of resources? They do this through their selection of material, that is, not covering all monuments but choosing the ones with the greatest evocative power, they use condensation or shorthand, and they aim for the most evocative power and the sparest use of resources through deploying cultural references and frameworks known to the reader¹².

There are two monuments which appear in all texts, even Postel's which is more concerned with ethnography than ar-

chitecture, and they are, as one might expect, Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome. In Gilles' text, the two monuments occur the most, and not only does he devote large sections of the narrative to them, but he uses them as reference points throughout. When he represents the hypothetical view the Sultan has over the city from his palace on the first hill, he highlights the two buildings: »[...] respicit [...] et prope nobilem Urbis partem, ædem Sophiæ et Hippodromum«¹³. The adjective qualifying the area defined by the two monuments, *nobilis*, conveys their importance and fame. But the sentence is also placed at the heart of the panorama Gilles describes, surrounded by the other charms the city has to offer, bucolic landscapes, sea breezes and little sailing boats bobbing along the Bosphorus. In fact, the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia are the main architectural elements in this ekphrasis, framed by this *locus amoenus*. Even in his other text on the Bosphorus, Gilles mentioned the Hippodrome, not as a pole, but as an axis, when he suggests imagining a straight line going from the promontory of Chalcedon cutting through the Hippodrome then through the complex of Sultan Bayezid on the third hill, then the complex of Sultan Mehmed on the fourth, before reaching the Land Walls. It is no coincidence that he associates these places as locations of displays of past power¹⁴.

Unsurprisingly, the authors of the corpus who offer condensed descriptions of the city all allot some space to the Hippodrome. These short accounts allow us to see the mimesis at play within the corpus, as they frequently echo each other. The earliest description is that of Gassot:

L'on voit en Constantinople l'Hippodrome où anciennement faisaient courir les chevaux, avec la forme du Théâtre et arènes au milieu dudit Hippodrome y a une grande aiguille, qui est une Colonne faite en façon d'aiguille fort belle, et bien élaborée, et sans chaux, faite des pierres vives mises ensembles: de sorte qu'elle est élevée plus de cinquante brasses¹⁵, en amenuisant toujours en forme d'aiguille, ou de Pyramide, et est appuyée sur quatre balles de marbres. Davantage l'on voit une colonne de bronze en forme de serpent avec trois têtes. Il y avait n'a pas longtemps un Hercule de bronze, qui avait été porté de Hongrie, mais ils l'ont ôté de ce lieu. Puis au milieu y a une grande machine comme un colosse de divers marbres et beaux, en laquelle est entaillée et engravée l'histoire des susdites choses, et autres qui jadis se déroulaient habituellement au théâtre, et hippodrome (all French extracts modernised by me)¹⁶.

10 Tinguely, *Écriture* 97. »La parole du voyageur risque ici de s'effacer presque complètement devant celle de l'autorité citée, traduite ou commentée. La glose savante menace à chaque instant d'éclipser toute trace de témoignage vécu, toute impression ressentie sur les pistes des contrées lointaines«.

11 Basseler, *Economy*.

12 E.g., Postel, *République* 44 compares Hagia Sophia to Notre Dame and Sainte-Croix in Orléans, both cathedrals likely to be familiar to his audience.

13 Gilles, *Topographia* 31. »Closer, he sees the eminent part of the city, the church of Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome.« All translations from the *Topographia* were adapted from Byrd, Gilles.

14 Gilles, *Bosporo* 251-252.

15 A brasse was about 1.62 m, so 50 would be about 81 m.

16 Gassot, *Discours* 11. One can see in Constantinople the Hippodrome where in ancient times they would have horses race, in the shape of a theatre or arena. In the middle of the aforementioned Hippodrome there is a great needle, which is a column made in the shape of a needle, very beautiful and elaborate and without lime, made from exposed stones assembled together so that it is taller than fifty brasses [fathoms], getting thinner in the shape of a needle, or pyramid, and leaning on four balls of marble. Additionally, one can see a bronze column in the shape of a snake with three heads. Not long ago there was a

This section translates fairly closely the corresponding passage in his Venetian model¹⁷. The description of the Hippodrome only gives a vague impression of its overall appearance (a theatre or arena) before moving on to its decorative elements: the Obelisk of Theodosius, the Serpent Column, and the Colossus of Constantine (also known as the Masonry Obelisk), and a bronze Hercules which he mentions had been recently removed. When it comes to the details of the Obelisk and Colossus, Gassot reproduced mistakes from his model, inverting their attributes: it is the Obelisk of Theodosius that features iconography (on its base, not the Obelisk itself which features hieroglyphs), and the Colossus which is made of masonry¹⁸. It is surprising that Gassot followed his model faithfully without correcting the text based on his first-hand experience. Chesneau then copied Gassot's text but attempted some corrections. First, he removed the reference to the bronze Hercules. Then, he attempted to redistribute the characteristics of the first obelisk, but in doing so, he created a third, imaginary hybrid one¹⁹.

The next condensed description, the shortest of all, is that of Belon:

Il y a aussi un Hippodrome, qui était une chose somptueuse et magnifique: dans lequel on voit deux obélisques, dont l'une était revêtue de lames d'airain, puis dorées: aussi n'est il fait que de pierres de marbre liées avec fer et plomb. L'autre obélisque y a été apportée d'Égypte, qui n'est pas tout entière. Encore y a là, un serpent d'airain fondu d'excessive grosseur, élevé droit en manière de colonne²⁰.

Belon does not concern himself with the overall aspect of the Hippodrome, beyond its beauty, and only gives details of the two obelisks and the Serpent Column, concentrating principally on the materials used. However, he does provide the information that the Colossus used to be covered in brass cladding, without naming a source for this²¹. Thevet's account is almost as short as the previous one:

En outre, il y a de beaux et plaisants spectacles nommés Hippodromes, c'est-à-dire, lieux spacieux, où anciennement les Empereurs faisaient courir les chevaux par récréation et manière d'exercice. Au milieu de cette grande place il y a plusieurs belles colonnes fort antiques et magnifiquement ouvragées et gravées, toutes de marbre, sauf une qui est de cuivre en forme d'un serpent ayant

trois têtes. Là aussi y a un Hercule de cuivre, qui fut apporté de Hongrie, chose singulière et plaisante à regarder²².

Although later than Belon's text, it is possible that Thevet did not know it. While he mentions the obelisks and the Serpent Column, Thevet seems to deliberately avoid the difficulties faced by Gassot and Chesneau by choosing to eschew differentiating the obelisks entirely and grouping them instead into an indefinite group of so-called columns. In fact, the illustration which accompanies the passage on the Hippodrome in both editions (**fig. 1**) appears to represent one obelisk (likely the masonry one, at the very least it does not feature hieroglyphs) as well as a historiated column. There was no such column in Thevet's time, but the illustration clearly aims to represent the antique Hippodrome as evidenced by the horse riders and charioteers in Roman garb. Perhaps the confusion stemmed from the fact that the masonry obelisk was believed to have been historiated in the time of its bronze panels. Thevet also writes about the bronze Hercules as if it was still



Fig. 1 Thevet, *Cosmographie* (1556) p. 64. – (Photo BnF Gallica).

bronze Hercules which had been brought from Hungary, but they removed it from this place. Then in the middle there is a big construction like a colossus of various beautiful marbles on which are cut and engraved the history of such things or others that used to happen customarily in the theatre, or hippodrome. All translations my own unless otherwise stated.

17 Ramberti, *Cose* 12-13.

18 Tinguely, *Écriture* 131.

19 Tinguely, *Écriture* 133-134.

20 Belon, *Observations* 73-74. There is also a Hippodrome, which is a sumptuous and magnificent thing: in which one sees two obelisks, one of which was cov-

ered in brazen sheets which were then gilded: besides it is only made of marble stones assembled with iron and lead. The other obelisk was brought from Egypt and is not whole. There is also a snake of melted brass whose size is excessive, raised upright in the manner of a column.

21 At the very least, the information that it used to be bronze is included in the Greek epigram on its base: »The four-sided marvel of the uplifted, wasted by time, now Constantine the Emperor, whose son is Romanus, the glory of the kingship, restores better than the ancient spectacle. For the Colossus was a wonder once in Rhodes, and this is now a brazen wonder here«. Trans. Bardill, *Monuments* 151. For the inscription, see Rhoby, *Epigramme* 610-612 (TR53).

there, even if it was gone by the time our visitors arrived in Constantinople²³.

The latest text to be published, written by Nicolay, combines elements of many of the previous:

Le reste des notables antiquités, qui pour le jour d'hui se trouvent à Constantinople sont l'Hippodrome, que les Turcs appellent Atmayden. Qui est la place où les Empe-reurs faisaient anciennement courir les chevaux, pour le plaisir et divertissement du peuple, qui les regardait d'un cirque ou théâtre du tout pour le présent ruiné. Au milieu de cette grand place se voient élevée sur quatre boules de fin marbre, une belle Obélisque de pierre mixte, toute d'une pierre, et de la hauteur de cinquante coudées, remplie et enrichie de lettres hiéroglyphiques: et tout auprès un grand colosse: auquel sont entaillées, par histoires les choses mémorables qui ont été faites en l'Hippodrome. Une autre grande colonne de marbre près de là, et une de bronze faite par un singulier artifice, en forme de trois serpents entortillés [...]²⁴.

We can see elements of several of the condensed descriptions, like the general shape and purpose of the Hippodrome (the mention of its ruined state also echoes Gilles' text, cf. below). Nicolay does reproduce one of the mistakes of his predecessors in presenting the colossus as a historiated obelisk. One thing he is the only one to offer is the name of the Hippodrome in Turkish: Atmayden (i. e. Atmeydani).

These condensed descriptions show an efficient way to convey a visual impression of the Hippodrome relying on the powerful visuals of its decorative elements. We can also see a trend of associating certain buildings or elements with the Hippodrome which are not technically part of it, as sort of satellites, like the church of John Dihippion converted into a menagerie (more on the association with the menagerie and the procession of the Sultan below). Gilles also puts the Hippodrome in a position of choice and as a major urban pole when he depicts the topography of the city as shaped like an eagle:

Nec admodum dissimilis est aquilae pandenti alias, oblique intuenti sinistrorsum: in cuius rostro positus est collis primus, ubi Regis Palatium, in oculo templum Sophiae, in capitis vertice posteriori fere est Hippodromus, in collo sunt duo colles, secundus et tertius. Reliqua Urbis pars ala, et caeterum corpus occupant²⁵.

The only monuments mentioned are, as expected, the Sultan's Palace, Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome, forming the eagle's head. Of course, the image was chosen to tie the city to its Roman and mythical past, as it evokes not only the Roman insignia and the eagles which appear in a foundation myth according to which Constantine had meant to set his new capital in Chalcedon, but eagles stole the mason's lines and dropped them in Byzantium instead²⁶. But the fact that Gilles mentions the two sultans' complexes in his description of the axis that cuts the Hippodrome (see above) and the current sultan's seraglio in this topographical description, shows how historical locations of imperial displays of power are constantly connected with those of Ottoman power.

Layering the Greek and Roman Past with Ottoman Constantinople

This layering or merging of the past with the Ottoman present is one of the main features of the Hippodrome's presentation, in both textual and visual representations. It is presented with its current meaning, not only as remains of the city's Greek and Roman identity, but as a symbol of Ottoman power. This is particularly evident in the way the Sultan's menagerie becomes associated with the Hippodrome, and his procession is depicted as passing in front of the Hippodrome, which is not technically accurate. This procession had become a topos in the imagination of the period, forming a bridge between the topoi of the Seraglio and Hagia Sophia²⁷. In our texts, this effectively makes the space of the Hippodrome much denser by linking it with these two catalogues: the menagerie on one hand, and the procession on the other. For example, Thevet goes straight from the Hippodrome to the menagerie of Saint John of Dihippion²⁸, listing the animals

22 Thevet, *Cosmographie* 63-64. Additionally there are beautiful and pleasant spectacles called Hippodromes, that is to say, spacious locations, where in ancient times the Emperors would make horses race for entertainment and in manner of exercise. In the middle of this big square there are many beautiful columns, very antique and beautifully ornamented and engraved, all of marble, except one which is copper in the shape of a three-headed snake. There is also a copper Hercules there, which was brought from Hungary, a singular thing and pleasant to behold.

23 For the textual and iconographic evidence on the bronze Hercules, see below.

24 Nicolay, *Navigations* 65. The rest of the noteworthy antiquities which are still in Constantinople today include the Hippodrome, which the Turks call Atmayden. It is the square where the Emperors would make horses race in ancient times for the pleasure and entertainment of the people, who would watch them from a circus or theatre which is now in ruins. In the middle of this large square rises on top of four balls of fine marble a beautiful Obelisk of mixed type(?) stone, all in one block, and of a height of fifty coudées [cubits], filled and enriched with hieroglyphic letters, and right near another large colossus where are engraved as

manner of stories the memorable things which happened at the Hippodrome. Another large marble column nearby, and a bronze one made by a peculiar device in the shape of three snakes twisted together [...].

25 Gilles, *Topographia* 24. It is not very different in shape from an eagle stretching its wings and looking at an angle to the left: in its beak is situated the first hill, where the Royal Palace [i. e. Topkapı] is, in its eye, the church of Hagia Sophia, near the nape of its neck is the Hippodrome, on its neck are two hills, the second and the third. The remaining parts of the city occupy its wings and the rest of its body.

26 Tinguely, *Écriture* 102. The anecdote is related by Nicolay, *Navigations* 89 and comes from Zonaras, *Annals* 13.3. The first French translation of Zonaras had recently been published in 1560, which is likely what Nicolay used (Millet, *Zonare*).

27 Tinguely, *Écriture* 137.

28 On the church and its use as a menagerie, see Mango, *Diippion*, *Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger*, *Kirche*, *Grémois*, *Note*, and *Westbrook*, *Freshfield*.

in the sultan's menagerie as if following the way the gaze travels, when there is a considerable distance between the great cats of the Dihippion and the elephants kept in the Palace of Constantine²⁹. This increases the density of the Hippodrome, as well as »repopulating« it (cf. below). This association had already become part of the iconography of Constantinople in the period. Thevet inserts a print into the second edition of his book on page 60 depicting the Sultan on his way to the mosque (fig. 2) in his description of the procession, which precedes the descriptions of Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome. There had already been an illustration (identical to fig. 1) for the Hippodrome in the first edition, page 63, showing the sphendone, the masonry obelisk, the serpent column and a historiated column (matching the text rather than reality). That image clearly represented the Hippodrome in the past, with riders wearing classical gear. In the new illustration, showing a more contemporary image, the sphendone is in ruins, and only one obelisk can be seen (presumably, the Masonry Obelisk, although it is hard to tell), elongating the vertical axis of the horse's raised leg. The position of the horse itself is reminiscent of imperial equestrian bronzes, for example the famous one of Justinian which used to sit at the top of a column in the nearby Augusteion. The foreground in the image is crowded with the Sultan's retinue, the antique ruins a background used to ground the Sultan at its heart. The image is the perfect representation of the way the Ottoman power builds on the iconography of New Rome³⁰. Thevet may have been inspired by the work of the Flemish Pieter Coecke van Aelst³¹ who represented the Sultan's procession through the city in a woodcut whose last panel (VII) shows the Hippodrome, particularly the spina's monuments, in the background (fig. 3). Van Aelst had visited



Fig. 2 Thevet, *Cosmographie* (1556) p. 60. – (Photo BnF Gallica).

Constantinople in 1533, hence the Hercules and its two sister statues can be seen (fig. 4), although the work was printed later in Antwerp in 1553. The caption under the image reads:

La Ville de Constantinople, avec toutes ses mosquées ou temples, obélisques ou aiguilles, et colonnes avec le serpent de cuivre, à voir par le dedans. Idem, comment et de quelle manière le grand Turc ayant devant lui allant



Fig. 3 Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*, print from a woodcut, 1553. – (Photo The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Object Number: 28.85.1-.7a, b).

29 Tinguely, *Écriture* 136.

30 Tinguely, *Écriture* 136.

31 On the artist and the original purpose for the design – likely intended to be produced as a tapestry sold to Süleyman – see Born, *Moeurs*, and Born, *Coecke*.



Fig. 4 Detail of fig. 3.

douze acquebutiers ou archers: et après lui suivent deux de ses plus nobles chambellans. Et faisant ainsi le tour de la ville, il fait sa démonstration³².

This engraving and the accompanying legend show well the juxtaposition of the Sultan's procession, a display of Ottoman power, with the decorative elements of the Hippodrome, the two obelisks and the Serpent Column, themselves symbols from earlier historical powers (Egypt, Greece, Rome, Byzantium).

First, the obelisks stand out in their ubiquitousness in the French reception of the Hippodrome (they appear in all our authors aside from Postel). As noted earlier, there are some issues and confusion in the accounts, mostly due to the way mistakes get repeated across the texts. The history of the two

obelisks and their origin is something few of the authors attempt to discuss, aside from Gilles, but their function of representing Constantinople as a new Rome by reproducing the iconographic programme of the old Rome with two obelisks on the spina of its Circus Maximus was something at least some of our authors would have been aware of³³. Of course, the appeal of obelisks, like pyramids, relied partially on exotism and the suggestion of domination over distant nations. However, the symbolism of obelisks as objects of power was something with contemporary relevance. Thevet's protector, the cardinal of Lorraine, had an ivy-clad obelisk topped with a crescent as his emblem (although he called it a pyramid)³⁴. It is entirely possible that Thevet's choice to add the image of the Sultan with the obelisk in the background in the second edition of his book was meant to please his powerful patron. The other two monuments which function by evoking the past are the bronze Hercules and the Serpent Column. The past they recall goes further back in time than the obelisks which evoke emperors of Rome and New Rome, as their appeal is to the Greece of a mythical, legendary past. For the serpent column, its connections to the Delphic oracle are the main source of its appeal as it ties back to the *patria* (i. e. foundation myths) of the city. Most of the authors discuss Constantinople's origins in more or less detail, but references to Delphi only appear in Thevet, Gilles and Nicolay. Thevet and Nicolay do not make the connection between the serpent and the Delphic oracle but provide the legend of the Delphic oracle regarding the best location for the original city of Byzantium (deemed superior to Chalcedon), which Nicolay says was given to a duke (rather, a general if translating the Latin *dux*) called Pausanias, saying the story came to him from many ancient authors³⁵. While Pausanias is said to have captured Byzantium and possessed it, he is not usually said to have founded it, and the oracle provided by Nicolay about building opposite the blind (i. e., Chalcedon) is usually given to the Megarian Byzas in the tradition³⁶. Perhaps the tie between Pausanias and the Delphic serpent can be made from the mention of his dedication of the golden tripod at Delphi which we associate with the Serpent Column³⁷. Gilles ties the Serpent Column to its original Delphic origin much more explicitly, patchworking extracts from ancient sources with his own remarks as he usually does³⁸. He starts with Zosimus relating that Constantine set up the Delphic tripod in the Hippodrome, then adding that Sozomen mentioned another tripod which was dedicated to Apollo after the victory of Pausanias over the Persians, then Eusebius on the

32 The City of Constantinople, with all its mosques or temples, obelisks or needles, and columns with the copper snake, as can be seen. Idem, how and in which manner the great Turk, having ahead of him twelve arquebusier or archers and after him follow two of his most noble chamberlains, touring the city thus, makes his procession.

33 See Bardill, *Monuments for a discussion of the obelisks' late antique origins and contexts*. See also Akýürek, *Hippodrome* 22-30. 32-40.

34 On this emblem and the perception of its symbolism in the period, see Anderson, *Horace*.

35 The oracle is at Thevet, *Cosmographie* 58-59 and Nicolay, *Navigations* 61. Later in the same passage, Nicolay mentions Pliny, Diodorus, Polybius and Zonaras, but none of them attribute the foundation to Pausanias or connect the famous oracle to him.

36 Herodotus, *Histories* 4.144.2, Strabo, *Geography* 7.6.2 and Tacitus, *Annals* 12.63.

37 This is notably related in Cornelius Nepos, *Pausanias* 1.2. Nepos does use *dux* to refer to Pausanias so this may be a clue that Nicolay read him.

38 Gilles, *Topographia* 90-91.

serpent column supporting the tripod³⁹. He then quotes older sources to evoke the original history of the tripod; Herodotus first, then the imperial writer Pausanias to counter the idea that the Ottomans had removed the gold from the monument, when it had already been stripped in his time⁴⁰. The way Gilles braids these testimonies together after giving his description of the Serpent Column has the effect of tying it to a multi-layered past; that of Constantine and the glory of the city in its late antique heyday, but also that of ancient Greece and its history, particularly the Persian wars. The mentions of Apollo, Delphi and the Pythian oracle bring a dimension of magic and myth, which gives further evocative strength to a monument full of apotropaic power⁴¹.

This brings us to the final decorative element which occurs in most of our texts (apart from Chesneau and Belon) even though this sculpture was no longer in situ during their visits. The power of the bronze Hercules was that it conveyed the impression of Greek mythical antiquity despite the fact it was not ancient. Thevet and Gassot (see above) mention the bronze without providing its origin. Perhaps they did not know it, but it is also possible they chose not to include it to preserve the idea that it may have been ancient. Gilles, on the other hand, presents it in context, first with its location, a specific marble column for which he gives dimensions, before explaining that it was brought back from Hungary by the vizier Ibrahim Pasha⁴². He then relates the story of its destruction:

Sed illo extincto Hercules, qui non modo vivus in domandis monstris orbem peragraverat, sed etiam mortuus huc illuc gestatus fuerat, tot clades evaserat. Tandem eversus et distractus est a Turcis, acerrimis hostibus statuarum et totius artis Vitruvianæ, Hercule præstantioribus. Qui tertio decimo proposito certamine Herculem vicerunt fortius quam qui primi vicerunt longis ante temporibus [...]⁴³.

With this dramatic statement, Gilles conflates two time periods, or rather real historical time and mythical time, by making the destruction of the statue by the Turks the thirteenth labour of Hercules. This is designed to aggrandise the depiction of Ottoman power as surpassing even the heroes

of ancient myths. There is also a reference to Muslims' beliefs against statues, which then turns into a reference to Vitruvius. While the art of Vitruvius might suggest architecture at first sight, within the context of this passage, it must reference a section of the *De Architectura* which had garnered a lot of interest in the Renaissance and within Gilles' own circle: the one explaining how to depict the proportions of the human body⁴⁴. This modern destruction of Hercules then transitions into a classical parallel. This is typical of the way Gilles writes in his book; populating his text with quotations from ancient sources, and patchworking together the past and present:

[...] ex eo quod Herculem ligneum summa arte factum combussissent, ut Diagoras [...] impius. In publicum deversorium [...] profectus. Cum lignis [...] egeret ad lentem coquendam, invenisset qui Herculem ligneum pulcherrime et summa arte laboratum, eum in frusta dissectum in ignem congestit, addens hæc verba: »O Hercule, qui duodecim certamina subiisti, age [...] et tertiumdecimum [...] certamen subeas, et lentem nunc coquas!«⁴⁵.

With this, Gilles establishes a parallel between the famous atheist Diagoras and the Ottomans in their lack of respect towards statuary. This anecdote also emphasises the humorous tone which was already showing through in the claim that the destruction of the statue by the Turks was Hercules' thirteenth labour. When Gilles brings up the bronze Hercules in a later passage discussing another statue of Hercules featuring in ancient sources, it is worth keeping in mind this humour and not taking his claim that they are one and the same too seriously:

ubi etiam Suidas tradit fuisse Herculis statuam, quæ celebratur, eique multa sacrificia fiebant, eamque postea in Hippodromum traductam, Iuliano consulare, ab antiqua Roma [...] Byzantium una cum decem statuīs deportatam partim vehiculo, partim navi. Qui si ille est, quem ex Ungaria Abramus Bassa Byzantium vexerat et collocaverat in Hippodromo, non minus mortuus, quam vivus orbem peragravit⁴⁶.

39 Zosimus, History 2.31; Sozomen, History 2.5; Eusebius, Life 3.54.

40 Herodotus, Histories 9.81.1; Pausanias, Description 10.13.9.

41 See Stichel, Schangensäule, as well as Stephenson, Serpent for a diachronic study of the monument and its reception.

42 See Dernschwam, Tagebuch 100 for a contemporary account of the statue by a German traveller who saw it *in situ* and provides details of its origin.

43 Gilles, Topographia 89-90. But after his death [i. e., Ibrahim Pasha], Hercules, who had not only wandered the world, vanquishing monsters while alive, but even dead had been carried here and there, had escaped so many calamities. Finally, he was overturned and dismembered by the Turks, the most hostile enemies of statuary and of the whole art of Vitruvius. These men, with a thirteenth labour, vanquished him, rather than those who first vanquished him a long time ago [...].

44 Vitruvius, Architectura 3.1, which Gilles' friend Guillaume Philandrier commented on in Philandrier, Annotations 132-134 (81-82 in the primary text), bringing in the opinion of contemporary authors such as Pomponius Gauricus, Luca di Borgo and Mario Equicola.

45 Gilles, Topographia 90. [...] in so much as they had burned a Hercules exquisitely crafted of wood, as the impious Diagoras did. Entering an inn and wanting wood with which to cook his lentils, he [Diagoras] found a most beautiful and exquisitely crafted wooden Hercules, cut it up and built a fire, saying these words: »O Hercules! You who undertook twelve labours, go on, suffer a thirteenth labour! Now you will cook lentils!«. This anecdote comes from Scholia in Aristophanem 118 (ad Nubes 830) but can also be found in the 4th c. Epiphanius, Ancoratus 103.8 with slightly different phrasing, and an earlier variant occurs in Athenagoras, Legatio 4.1 with turnips rather than lentils.

46 Gilles, Topographia 115 quoting Souda s. v. βασιλική: Also in this location there was the statue of Hercules, as Suidas tells, which was worshipped. Many sacrifices were made to it, and later, it was transported to the Hippodrome, having been brought from the Old Rome under the authority of the Consul Julian [...] to Byzantium among ten statues partly by chariot and partly by ship. If this is the same one that Ibrahim Pasha took from Hungary to Byzantium and put in the Hippodrome, he wandered the world no less when he was dead than when he was alive.

This other statue of Hercules was destroyed by the Latin crusaders in 1204, according to Niketas Choniates⁴⁷, an author who Gilles quoted multiple times in his works⁴⁸. While we cannot determine whether Gilles had read this particular passage of Choniates⁴⁹, even if he did, he could well have preferred to leave this fact unsaid in order for the image to work and be able to offer his humorous take on the extensive travels of Hercules in life and in death. Continuity is his priority, and by subsuming both statues into one, Gilles is able to connect together different periods and iterations of the Hippodrome and its use for displays of power and their symbolism.

In particular, one symbolic meaning connecting the Roman and Ottoman uses of the Hippodrome which the travelers take notice of is that of triumph. When Postel discusses the episode of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha setting up the three bronze statues on a marble column at the Hippodrome, as can be seen in **figure 4**, which included the Hercules, he specifically interpreted this gesture as emulating Roman triumphs. The depictions of the Sultan's procession shown in **figures 2** and **3** deliberately evoke Roman triumphal aesthetics. Many elements of the Hippodrome descriptions also summon the idea of *translatio imperii*, tying together empires of the past, whether Egyptian, Greek, or Roman, with the current Ottoman empire. The spoliation of the Sultan to create his own monuments⁵⁰ is expressed in terms that echo that of Constantine building his capital⁵¹. The parallel between the Sultan and Constantine uses cultural frameworks familiar to the reader to imbue modern Constantinople with a sense of its past. The illustration added to Thevet's book in 1556 (**fig. 2**) represents the Sultan in an equestrian pose known to the reader from famous imperial statues, such as that of Justinian which had recently been destroyed⁵². The continuity can act as a reassuring link to the familiar past, and glorifying the Ottoman rule as a continuation from its Roman predecessors reflects positively on the French's current policy of alliance with Süleyman. Yet, there is still room for tension in the text between the past and current state of

the Hippodrome. A certain melancholy for its past glory can be felt, particularly in Gilles:

Nunc vero circus Constantinopolitanus friget omnibus ornamentis spoliatus, nuperque exaedificari coeptus est, quod me spectantem dolore adfecit. Quem augebat Belisarii primum de rege Vandalorum in Hippodromo triumphantis, deinde ob virtutem summam maxime periclitantis recordatio, quam mihi dabat numisma, quod tum forte habebam in manibus. In cuius uno latere scalptus erat Iustinianus Belisarium excipiens triumphantem, in altero Belisarii imago cum hoc elogio: GLORIA ROMANORVM BELISARIVS⁵³.

This passage pivots right after Gilles' discussion of circus factions in the Hippodrome and juxtaposes on one hand the current Hippodrome, empty and in the process of being demolished, with that of its heyday in the sixth century. He uses a material object, a medal commemorating Belisarius' triumph, as a sort of talisman summoning a picture of the past. Whether the medal even existed, as it is currently unattested, matters little for its literary function⁵⁴. With the figure of Belisarius, Gilles is able to evoke two opposite sides of the past Hippodrome; the glory of an imperial triumph combined with the violence of the Nika riots which he subtly evoked with the »great peril« Belisarius encountered⁵⁵. After this intensely emotional passage, Gilles quickly switches to soberly quoting Procopius discussing the various entrances to the Hippodrome⁵⁶. The passages quoted all come from the section of the *Wars* discussing the Nika riots, so without ever mentioning them openly, it is clear what Gilles intends to bring to the reader's mind. With this medal and the Procopius quotations, Gilles did not only contrast the current desolate state of the Hippodrome with its triumphal past, but he also put in parallel its contemporary destruction by the Ottomans (*nuperque exaedificari coeptus est*) with that caused by the circus factions.

47 Choniates, *Historia* 649-650. See Cutler, *Signis* 116-117 and Cutler, *Herakles*.

48 Gilles, *Bosporo* 71-72; *Topographia* 122. 124. 154. 164. 177. 204.

49 We do not know which Vatican manuscript he read Choniates in, but at least Vat.gr.163 featured this part of the text, also known in scholarship as *De Signis*.

50 Gassot, *Discours* 9; Chesneau, *Voyage* 26.

51 Belon, *Observations* 73; Nicolay, *Navigations* 62.

52 Gilles, *Topographia* 105 says the statue was taken down thirty years prior to his visit; he is able to take measurements of some fragments, a leg and the nose from the emperor, and the hoof from his horse. For an overview of the monument's history and its reception across periods and cultures, see Boeck, *Horseman*.

53 Gilles, *Topographia* 94-95. But now the circus of Constantinople is lifeless, stripped of all ornamentation. They recently started demolishing it, a spectacle which struck me with grief. This was aggravated by the memory of Belisarius, who first celebrated his triumph over the Vandal king at the Hippodrome, then suffered the greatest peril because of his extreme virtue, something I was re-

mindful of by a medal I happened by chance to have in hand. On one side of the medal Justinian had been stamped as he welcomed the triumphant Belisarius, and on the other side was a portrait of Belisarius with the caption: *Gloria Romanorum Belisarius*.

54 The Latin word *numisma* can be interpreted as either coin or medal, I preferred the idea of a commemorative medal here, finding it less plausible that an actual coin used for tender would centre Belisarius to this degree, but considering the object is quite likely fictional, the difference between coin and medal matters little.

55 The Nika riots of 532 started as violence between the Blue and Green circus factions before turning into a sedition, contesting the rule of Justinian. Many buildings were destroyed during the riots, including Hagia Sophia, which led to a rebuilding programme by Justinian afterwards. Belisarius fought to defend the imperial palace from rioters, which is likely what Gilles is alluding to. On the topography of the riots, see Westbrook, *Palace*.

56 Gilles, *Topographia* 95; Procopius, *Wars* 1.24.43, 52 and 49.

Populating the Description of the Hippodrome in Gilles' Topographia

The way Gilles used the medal of Belisarius to close his account of the Hippodrome is part of his greater strategy of combining ancient sources and modern anecdotes with his topographical and architectural descriptions to enliven his text. One could also interpret the association of the menagerie and procession mentioned earlier in other textual and visual depictions as part of a similar effort to bring the Hippodrome back to its ancient glory by populating it, in its textual form, with people and animals. This infuses its description with vitality and highlights its function as a place of spectacle and entertainment. This strategy also combines real and artistic depictions of people and animals. In Pierre Gilles, outside of the menagerie, the only live animals featured are the dolphins, leaping out of the waves, as seen from the viewpoint of the Hippodrome⁵⁷. In terms of artistic depictions, there is of course the Serpent Column, but also multiple mentions calling to mind horses: the four bronze horses which were taken to Venice⁵⁸, as well as equestrian statues: of Justinian⁵⁹, but also Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, all in the imperial gallery⁶⁰, and of chariot-eers⁶¹. Artistic depictions of animals at the Hippodrome were something that was already part of the French *imaginaire* of the Hippodrome's statuary in crusader literature, as in Robert de Clari's list of its bronze animal statues depicting lion, bear, horse, camel and bull⁶². The way the animals of the menagerie were brought closer to the Hippodrome, as mentioned earlier, can also be interpreted in light of that, as a way to bring back the lost animals to the modern Hippodrome.

More often than not, the way Gilles incorporates his quotations from ancient texts that depict the people of the Hippodrome forms parallels with his modern anecdotes. This is the case in his account of the Obelisk of Theodosius, where, after describing the bas-relief on the base of the obelisk which depicts its transport and erection, he quotes Ammianus⁶³ on the method of transporting an obelisk, then ties it to his witnessing of a similar method with the »columna virginea« in his own time:

Hunc Obeliscum posse etiam Byzantios machinatores in alium locum transferre incolumem, adverti ex columna sita in dorso quinti collis Constantinopolitani, quæ parum cedebat Obelisco. Hanc a suis sedibus deiici in terram vidi in hunc fere modum⁶⁴.

Gilles thus combines his description of the work of art, a quotation of an ancient text elaborating on the same theme, and autopsy in a way that creates continuity from past to present and represents the same thing across three different modes of writing, which adds a variegated texture to his own text. With this, he also claims that ancient technical knowledge has not been lost and brings life to his account of the Hippodrome while dealing with a complex technical topic. The other obelisk, the masonry Colossus, also features a striking modern anecdote, following a shorter account of the monument than the other obelisk, consisting of its technical description, the context of its erection, and the epigram written on its base. With the contemporary anecdote, Gilles reinforces the height of the colossus, already highlighted in his description and the epigram which compares it to the colossus of Rhodes:

His Colossus excelsior est Obelisco. In cuius cacumen, {cum} festo quodam die qui celebrabatur ob circumcisionem Principis Boldaniæ⁶⁵, ascendere vidi circulatorum quemdam bene peritum, et descendere incolumem. Quem subsecutus alter imperitior ascendit quidem similiter in cacumen. Sed excelsitas ita præstrinxit eius oculos ut, desperans descensum se quantum contendere potuit, longe a Colosso proiecerit, ne decideret in Colossi crepidines. Itaque rectus cadens, pedibus alte defixis in terram, statim mortuus spectatus est⁶⁶.

The anecdote is both vivid and grotesque, with the acrobat's erect position in death, lodged into the Hippodrome's ground, turning him into a human column. This striking image also ends the account of the obelisk abruptly before moving onto the Hippodrome's column and statues. With this episode, Gilles reminds the reader of the Hippodrome's original use as a circus, a place of spectacle. The Latin word chosen to refer to the acrobat, *circulator*, brings it to mind etymologically, but also through implying that the person's occupation is a public performance, attracting a crowd in a circle around him. This spectacular and somewhat violent side of the Hippodrome is also illustrated by an anecdote later in the text, in the discussion of the Chrysotriklinos, a hall in the Great Palace:

Chrysotriclinii porta occidentalis illa fuit, cuius meminit Leo sextus, cum prædixit Andronico tyrannidem meditantem, per

57 Gilles, Topographia 33.

58 Gilles, Topographia 93.

59 Gilles, Topographia 93; cf. Planudian Anthology 62.

60 Gilles, Topographia 115. cf. Souda s.v. Γραττιανός.

61 Gilles, Topographia 93-94.

62 de Clari, Conquête 91. On Robert de Clari, see Macrides, Constantinople.

63 de Clari, Conquête 85-86; Ammianus, History 17.4.15.

64 de Clari, Conquête 86. There are still Byzantine engineers who could move this obelisk safely to another site, which I concluded from the column situated on the side of the fifth hill of Constantinople, which is only a little smaller than the Obelisk. This, I saw removed from its base and placed on the ground in this way.

65 The prince of Moldavia, Ilyaş Vodă Rareş. The festivity occurred on the 31st of May 1551, cf. Grégoire, Itinéraires 333.

66 Gilles, Topographia 89. This Colossus is taller than the Obelisk. On a holiday celebrating the circumcision of Prince Boldania [sic], I watched as a very experienced entertainer climbed to the top and came back down safely. Following him, a less experienced man similarly climbed to the summit, but the altitude so blinded him that, having no hope of descending no matter how much he exerted himself, he jumped as far away from the Colossus as he could so that he would not land on its base. Thus he was watched as he fell, in a straight line with his feet fixed deep in the ground, dying instantly.

portam Chrysotriclinii occidentalem Andronici caput in Hippodromo abscindendum ad se allatum iri⁶⁷.

The quotation does not tell much to the reader about the Chrysotriklinos, but it brings the promise of spectacular violence and associates the Hippodrome with political intrigue and public execution.

The main use of the Hippodrome as a place of sporting events is brought up through Gilles' discussion of the statues which used to populate it. Some of those are of emperors (e. g. the equestrian statues mentioned above), or eunuchs (specifically a certain Plato who Gilles mentions was burnt alive⁶⁸). But he also evokes the ones depicting its athletes, emphasising their multitude:

Iam vero quid commemorem infinitas statuas pugilum, luctatorum, aurigarum in Hippodromo sitas? Quæ etsi dudum perierunt, tamen recens eorum memoria non perit, retenta plusquam trecentis versibus etiamnum exstantibus, quibus nonnulli aurigæ decantantur. Sed permultorum memoria exstincta est [...]⁶⁹

This hyperbolic statement efficiently repopulates the Hippodrome with a plethora of people who would have usually provided the entertainment. It also allows Gilles to bring up the way time erases the past, in this case the many chariot-eers who found glory in the past. This allows him to transition from this impersonal account of the many into one specific case of a charioteer whose name he preserves:

[...] ut Thomæ aurigæ præstantissimi. Quæ ne funditus pereat me admonet lapidis fragmentum, quod vidi Byzantii cum hac inscriptione, Θωμᾶ ἡνιόχου⁷⁰.

Gilles then includes a large quotation from Cassiodorus about Thomas in a letter from the Ostrogoth king Theodoric to the prefect Faustus⁷¹. Just as with the medal of Belisarius, Gilles uses material remains to ground his account in the physical landscape of contemporary Constantinople. The inscription's fragmentary state fits within his discourse of the Hippodrome in the process of being demolished, allowing Gilles to present himself as the preserver of memory, in line with classical views of historiography. His use of the Cassiodorus' quotation works to complement the scant physical remains, as it tells a

fuller story of Thomas than the small remnant of an inscription only preserving his name and occupation. Whether the stone and inscriptions exist, like with the medal, may not be determined. But its use in Gilles' text, to summon an emblematic figure of the Hippodrome and bring him back to life, can still be appreciated, whether fact or fiction. Of course, the Hippodrome of the time was not as lifeless as Gilles purports it to be, as it hosted various pageants and sporting events, something Gilles himself was aware of with his anecdote of the acrobats⁷².

All in all, the authors of the corpus, and most acutely Gilles, deploy literary strategies intended to make their subject come to life, whether by alluding to contemporary human activity they can associate with the Hippodrome, or by bringing its past glory through quotations and allusions. This purpose of antiquarianism, to bring the dead back to life, was already evident in the works of antiquarians, numismatists and epigraphers of the earlier Renaissance, such as Ciriaco of Ancona⁷³.

Panoramic Views and the Aesthetics of Ruin

One last element of the presentation of the Hippodrome by sixteenth-century French travellers is the hardest one to quantify: empty space. This empty space in the Hippodrome functions on multiple levels, in its literary and artistic representation. First, the empty space can be that of what is missing and thus associated with the state of ruin. This is particularly evident with Gilles both times he discusses the Hippodrome as a ruin⁷⁴. What is missing from the Hippodrome plays as much a part in its presentation as what still remains there. The stripping of the Hippodrome also functions over a long period of time, as elements that are currently missing are mentioned for both the distant, ancient past (missing statues and decorations spoliated at various points of the city's history) and very recent past (the statue of Hercules, but also parts of the structure being demolished right in front of Gilles' eyes).

Yet the empty space may also be a source of appeal. Without it, the Hippodrome would not have the same quality as a vista, as it creates a sense of expansion and open space. This panoramic aspect can also be experienced at various levels, as the Hippodrome can be appreciated as a striking vista from above (from the Sultan's point of view from

67 Gilles, *Topographia* 132, quoting Zonaras 16.14.16-17. Leo V mentions the western door of the Chrysotriclinium when he predicted to Andronicus, who was fomenting a coup, that his head, after being severed in the Hippodrome, was going to be brought to him via the western door of the Chrysotriclinium.

68 Gilles, *Topographia* 93, quoting Souda s. v. Προκόπιος (475/476).

69 Gilles, *Topographia* 93, referring to *Palatine Anthology* 15.41-50; *Planudian Anthology* 335-387. But why should we recall now the countless statues of the boxers, wrestlers and charioteers that once stood in the Hippodrome? Although they have long since perished, their memory has endured up to now, preserved in over 300 verses still extant, which praise some of the charioteers. But the memory of most has been extinguished [...].

70 Gilles, *Topographia* 93, [...] like that most excellent charioteer, Thomas. Lest he disappear completely, I am reminded of his existence by a stone fragment, which I saw in Byzantium with the following inscription: Θωμᾶ ἡνιόχου [Thomas Charioteer].

71 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.51. This identification is deemed plausible by Cameron, *Porphyrius* 10.

72 For the Hippodrome as a nexus of urban activity in the early modern period, see Kafescioğlu, *Picturing*.

73 Belozerskaya, *Wake*, although aimed at a general audience, is a good overview of Ciriaco's part in the birth of modern archaeology.

74 Gilles, *Topographia* 94, cited above and 239 where he refers to it in his conclusion as »Hippodromum spoliatum«, the stripped Hippodrome.

the height of his palace) but also offers wide seaside views from its grounds. The appreciation for panoramas was already something present in Byzantine literature, with spiritual connotations⁷⁵, although in the case of our texts, no such spiritual elements may be detected, but rather the traditional dynamics of power as the viewer from above extends control through his gaze onto the landscape viewed.

The space allows the artistic elements of the Hippodrome (the two obelisks, the serpent column, other columns present at the site) to be appreciated with some breathing space, as in an open-air museum. The linearity of these elements arranged along the centreline of the Hippodrome also has an aesthetically pleasing quality, and, as we have seen earlier, it has a processional quality which the texts exploit by linking it to the procession of the Sultan and the listing of the animals present in his menagerie. In fact, the list as a rhetorical and artistic device has a long history⁷⁶ and is something the authors deploy in their descriptions of Constantinople as part of their use of textual economy, whether it is a list of the main features of the Hippodrome, or a list of the antiquities of Constantinople⁷⁷. These lists give a more impressionistic idea of the city, the vagueness a source of evocative power as the necessary scantness of description for each item leaves room for the imagination. From the controlled display of power, the discourse changes to an appreciation of the scattered and fragmented. The pathos present in Gilles' evocation of the Hippodrome, devoid of life, and in the process of being demolished, tinges its appreciation with melancholia. This prefigures romantic ideals

and tropes that much of future travel literature in Greece and the East would adopt in later centuries. In the same city cohabit two ways of reading the remains of the antique built environment, on one hand, structures appropriated, used and renewed by contemporary power, and on the other, those left to merge with and become part of the natural landscape, disintegrating into it.

In sum, these texts offer both a unified and diverse view of sixteenth-century Constantinople and its monuments. They play complex games of mimesis, with each other, with contemporary travellers' accounts, and with ancient sources. All together they offer a national effort to claim Constantinople for France, something which would soon solidify in the next century with Louis XIV claiming descentance from Byzantine emperors, and in such cultural efforts as the so-called *Byzantine du Louvre*, an imprint offering editions of Byzantine historians⁷⁸. The period represented by these texts, Aramon's embassy and its diplomatic effort to court the rising Ottoman power, had its own stakes in representing the glory of the Ottoman capital as a new, New Rome, reflecting in turn positively on the French and their effort to ally with it. In a way, the authors are claiming the lustre of Ottoman Constantinople for themselves, another reason why the embassy produced so many texts in a short period, with each author trying to claim his own stake. Yet, under the brilliant displays of power, there is an awareness of the fragility of human creations and the necessity to preserve the past before it crumbles away.

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75 See Dora, World.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

The Reception of the Hippodrome in the Writings of French Travellers to Constantinople During the Embassy of Gabriel d'Aramon (1546-1553)

This paper looks at the reception of the Hippodrome in the writings of French travellers to Constantinople during the embassy of Gabriel d'Aramon from 1546 to 1553; Pierre Gilles, Pierre Belon, Jean Chesneau, Guillaume Postel, Jacques Gassot, Nicolas de Nicolay and André Thevet, as well as relevant iconography from the period. The way the Hippodrome was perceived and represented by the French travellers is examined first in their focus on a handful of powerful artistic elements meant to economically convey the monument, then in the trans-historical picture they created by adding the many layers of Constantinople's history, Greek, Roman and Byzantine to its modern presence. A case study for this purpose is the strategy of Pierre Gilles of featuring animals and people from both past and present to bring his account to life. Finally, while all the authors represent the Ottoman power and contemporary Constantinople as the new, New Rome, fitting within the context of the French alliance and this embassy's purpose, their texts also have a melancholic tinge prefiguring the Romantic appreciation of ruins.

Die Rezeption des Hippodroms in den Schriften französischer Reisender nach Konstantinopel während der Gesandtschaft von Gabriel d'Aramon (1546-1553)

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Rezeption des Hippodroms in den Schriften französischer Reisender in Konstantinopel während der Botschaft von Gabriel d'Aramon von 1546 bis 1553, nämlich Pierre Gilles, Pierre Belon, Jean Chesneau, Guillaume Postel, Jacques Gassot, Nicolas de Nicolay und André Thevet, sowie in einigen zeitgenössischen Bildern. Die französischen Reisenden stellten das Hippodrom durch eine Handvoll kraftvoller künstlerischer Elemente dar, die dazu bestimmt waren, mit kleinen Strichen ein impressionistisches Bild des Denkmals zu malen. Sie fügten dem eine transhistorische Dimension hinzu, indem sie die vielen Schichten der griechischen, römischen und byzantinischen Geschichte Konstantinopels seiner modernen Präsenz hinzufügten. Die Strategie von Pierre Gilles, Tiere und Menschen von gestern und heute in Szene zu setzen, um seine Erzählung zum Leben zu erwecken, ist ein exemplarischer Fall. Schließlich stellen alle Autoren die osmanische Macht und das heutige Konstantinopel als das neue »Neue Rom« dar, was im Kontext des französischen Bündnisses und des Ziels dieser Botschaft steht, aber ihre Texte haben auch einen melancholischen Unterton, der die Vorliebe der Romantiker für Ruinen vorwegnimmt.

La réception de l'Hippodrome dans les écrits des voyageurs français à Constantinople au temps de l'ambassade de Gabriel d'Aramon (1546-1553)

Cet article examine la réception de l'Hippodrome dans les écrits des voyageurs français à Constantinople pendant l'ambassade de Gabriel d'Aramon de 1546 à 1553, à savoir Pierre Gilles, Pierre Belon, Jean Chesneau, Guillaume Postel, Jacques Gassot, Nicolas de Nicolay et André Thevet, ainsi que dans certaines images contemporaines. Les voyageurs français ont représenté l'hippodrome à travers une poignée d'éléments artistiques puissants destinés à peindre à petites touches une image impressionniste du monument. Ils ont ajouté à cela une dimension transhistorique en surimposant les nombreuses strates de la Constantinople grecque, romaine et byzantine, à sa présence moderne. La stratégie de Pierre Gilles, qui consiste à mettre en scène des animaux et des personnes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui pour donner vie à son récit, en constitue un cas exemplaire. Enfin, si tous les auteurs représentent la puissance ottomane et la Constantinople contemporaine comme la nouvelle »Nouvelle Rome«, ce qui s'inscrit dans le contexte de l'alliance française et de l'objectif de cette ambassade, leurs textes ont également une teinte mélancolique qui préfigure le goût romantique pour les ruines.

Dealing with Printing in Sixteenth-Century Constantinople*

This paper deals with the issue of printing in Ottoman Constantinople during the sixteenth century. It asks questions about the attitudes of the Ottoman authorities towards printing and printed books, about the role of printing for the Ottoman Muslim, Jewish and Christian communities in Constantinople, printing presses and book markets in the city. Book printing is perceived here as a global phenomenon not only because of its cultural meaning, which is evident and indisputable, but also in the sense of trans-regional networks and connections that necessarily supported printing, like the market for printing tools and books, centers for training of printers. Of course, sixteenth-century Constantinople was not even close to being an important center of printing in the Eastern Mediterranean world, not least because, as it is well known, Ottoman Muslims did not adopt printing with movable types until the third decade of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Constantinople was involved in the global landscape of printing by providing a market and customers for printed production, offering manuscripts for print, but also as a place, where Jews possessed their typography, where numerous Hebrew books were printed and attempts were made also for Christians to establish their own printing. This involvement of early modern Constantinople in the processes of the global landscape of book printing will be addressed in this article.

Ottoman Muslim Authorities and Ottoman Society, Printing and Printed Books

The first official Ottoman Muslim printing press was established in Constantinople by Ibrahim Müteferrika (1670/1674-1745) in 1727; this means that during the sixteenth century Ottoman Muslim books in Arabic script were not printed on site, but they could be brought from Europe as gifts or trading goods to the Ottoman capital. Certainly, European printed books were known and available to the court and

to the reading elites. For example, in 1483, Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512) received as a gift a printed Italian book with maps and a world description. The book was called *Sette giornate della geographia (The Seven Days of Geography)*, written by Francesco Berlinghieri and printed in 1482 in Florence, in a printing shop of Niccolò Tedesco. The present was delivered to the Ottoman Sultan by a Florentine merchant, Paolo da Colle. This gift was intended to serve a diplomatic mission in the name of Florence, as well as to advertise Italian Renaissance printing culture in the Eastern Mediterranean¹. Further examples of Florentine or Flemish prints from the second part of the fifteenth-sixteenth century are to be found in the Topkapi Palace Museum Library². Ottoman reading elites, which also consisted of renegades from European countries, had their own interest in accessing and possessing printed books from Europe. Some of them asked their European correspondents to send them printed books³. Others found the printed books they were interested in directly in Istanbul, e. g. from Jewish booksellers, who often played the role of intermediaries between European and Ottoman book markets. The sixteenth-century traveler Reinhold Lubenau mentioned in his diary a Slavonic Bible that he found at a Jewish bookbinder's in Istanbul of 1587/1588⁴. According to him, it was Dāmād Ibrahim Pasha (son-in-law of Sultan Murad III, who originated from Bosnia and Herzegovina), who ordered the Jew to bind the Bible for him. It is hard to tell, what kind of printed Slavonic Bible Reinhold Lubenau could see in a Jewish workshop in Constantinople. He mentions only the fact that the Bible included the New Testament, which surprised him, because it was commissioned by a high-ranking Ottoman Muslim and was to be found in a Jewish workshop, both belonging to religious communities, which do not accept the New Testament. Lubenau also wrote that it was his own ability to read in Polish that helped him to understand that it was a Christian Slavonic Bible⁵. Even though Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik claimed that Dāmād Ibrahim Pasha bought in the Jewish bookshop a Bible, which had originally

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1 Cf. Roberts, *Printing* 1, 4-7.

2 Barbarics-Hermanik, *Market* 389 f.

3 Barbarics-Hermanik, *Market* 395.

4 Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen* 231.

5 Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen* 231: Ich habe auch bei einem Juden, der ein Buchbinder wahr, die gantze Biebel in sclavonischer Sprache gefunden, die geschrieben wahr, die ehr dem Ibrahim Bassa, der des turckischen Keisers Amurethi Tochter hatt, einbinden solte. Dabei auch das gantze Neue Testament wahr, daruber ich mich sehr wundert. Der Jude aber wust nicht, was es wahr. Will ich aber Polnisch lesen kunte, verstundt ich dieses auch. Der Bassa aber wahr seiner Geburt nach ein Raguseer aus Dalmatia oder Sclavonia.

been printed in Venice in Serbian with Cyrillic typefaces⁶, it is more realistic to assume that the Bible Lubenau saw and was able to identify as such originated from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was most probably printed in Latin characters. For one thing, the Bible was never published with Cyrillic typefaces in sixteenth-century Venice. The only possible Slavonic Bible at this time would be the Bible of Ostrog (1581), from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the first Church Slavonic edition of the complete Bible⁷. But it is not clear, if Lubenau was able to read Cyrillic letters. It could have also been a Polish translation of the Bible that had been published for the first time already in 1561 (in Cracow)⁸.

Protestant and Catholic printed catechisms and missionary books were often brought to Constantinople and were also easy to find there, as e.g. Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622)⁹, a German Lutheran theologian, preacher and traveler, reported. He mentioned also that he himself carried to Constantinople a catechism by Luther and Brenz in Italian, that had been commissioned by Louis III, Duke of Württemberg (r. 1568-1593) for print, with a goal to have it distributed among captive Christians in Constantinople¹⁰.

The possibility of selling printed Christian literature motivated numerous European publishers, especially the Protestant ones, to print for the Ottoman book market for their missionary goals.

Prints in Arabic letters also arrived in Ottoman Constantinople, primarily from Italian and German cities¹¹. Some Italian publishers, like the Venetian Paganino de Paganini, even prepared a full-length primer of the Qur'an in Arabic in 1536/1537 in order to distribute it among Muslims, especially among Ottoman Muslims in Istanbul for a good profit¹². In this context, we should also mention the project of a new *Typographia Medicea* in Rome¹³, which was elaborated in the 1570s with the goal of printing in languages and scripts of the Orient. In 1577 the famous French typographer Robert Granjon was invited by Pope Gregory VIII to provide Arabic typefaces of the highest quality for the new printing house¹⁴. The *Typographia* published religious books for Arabic-speaking Christians, grammars, works on medicine, geography, and geometry to be distributed via the Ottoman book market¹⁵.

Ottoman authorities attempted to control the import of books printed in Arabic letters and to support some Euro-

pean merchants in their book trade in the Ottoman Empire. A decree (*firman*) by Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595) issued in 1588 explicitly allowed two Italian merchants – the brothers Bandini – to import books printed in Arabic, Ottoman and Persian for sale in the Ottoman Empire. By this decree the merchants and their business with printed books were protected from any interference by the Ottoman authorities. The Ottoman Turkish text of this decree was also printed in *Typographia Medicea* in Rome and appended to the Arabic edition of Euclid¹⁶. It reads as follows:

Be it hereby known to all governors, sea captains, judges, and other officials stationed in the Imperial domain that two European merchants by the name of Anton and Orasyu [Horatio] Bandini, being bearers of Imperial permission to conduct trade, are buying and selling and doing business by importing certain goods and valuable printed books and pamphlets in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Some persons are opening up their shipments by force, and with little or no payment at all are taking their wares and interfering with their trade. It is therefore directed that the said merchants and their agents and employees be allowed to carry on their business in safety and that their merchandise be not seized, and that whosoever disobeys this decree of mine be reported immediately. It is also ordered that their books and goods be purchased in return for the payment of the correct price and that there should no longer be any complaints in this matter¹⁷.

It is obvious that the Ottoman Empire was well acquainted with printed books and had developed access to the printed books in different languages, including Arabic and Ottoman, from other countries, first of all from Italian cities, like Rome, Florence and Venice. On the other hand, it seems that in the sixteenth century Ottoman Muslims were not interested in establishing their own printing presses. The reasons for this »delay« have been discussed for centuries in the travelogues and by researchers¹⁸. It is interesting that the lack of printing in the Ottoman Empire did not so much bother the European travelers of the sixteenth century, who were actually used to this technology in their homelands. A rare exception is the report by Ogier Busbecq (1522-1592), a Flemish diplomat

6 Müller, Franken 216; Barbarics-Hermanik, Market 395.

7 Guseva, Izdanija 1 no. 83, 588-593; Alekseev (ed.), Biblija; Thomson, Bible 61-66.

8 This edition is known as Biblia Leopoldy (Biblia to iest Xięgi Stharego y Nowego Zakonu). See also, Belcarzowa, Źródła.

9 Salomon Schweigger was sent as an envoy preacher from the Habsburgs to Constantinople in 1577 and stayed there until 1581, when he went to visit Jerusalem and Damascus, before returning back to German lands via Crete and Venice. In 1608 Schweigger's travelogue was published in Nuremberg. He is the author of the first German translation of the Qur'an, which was published and re-published in Nuremberg in 1616 (1623, 1659 and 1664). For his translation he used the translation of the Qur'an into Italian (itself a translation from Latin).

10 Schweigger, Reissbeschreibung auss Tueschland 97: daher ich aus Christlichem mitleiden bewegt worden/ den Catechismum Lutheri und Brentij in Italianische

Sprach zu bringe/damit sie also ein uebung irer Christlichen Religion hetten/welchen Catechismum Italicum mein G. Fuerst und Herr Ludwig/Herzog zu Wuerttemberg u. vor etlich Jaren hat lassen drucken/und ein gute anzahl derselbigen Exemplar gen Constantinopel fuer die gefangenen Christen geschickt/dann alle Nationen die Italianische Sprach verstehn.

11 On the early history of Arabic printing in Europe, see: Nemeth, Typography 25-35.

12 Wilson, Translating 33f.

13 Cf. Nemeth, Typography 29-35. On the cultural context of the presence of the Arabic language in Rome, see: Girard, Arabic.

14 Barbarics-Hermanik, Market 389f.

15 Barbarics-Hermanik, Market 403.

16 Barbarics-Hermanik, Market 403.

17 The decree was edited and translated here: Atiyeh, Book 283.

18 See Barbarics-Hermanik, Exchange 106.

and ambassador of the Habsburg monarchs to Istanbul in 1554-1562, included in one of his *Turkish letters* which he published later in Antwerp¹⁹. He wrote:

For no nation in the world has shown greater readiness than the Turks to avail themselves of the useful inventions of foreigners, as is proved by their employment of cannons and mortars, and many other things invented by Christians. They cannot, however, be induced as yet to use printing, or to establish public clocks, because they think that the scriptures – that is, their sacred books – would no longer be scriptures if they were printed, and that, if public clocks were introduced, the authority of their muezzins and their ancient rites would be thereby impaired²⁰.

This well-known passage has often been used in order to provide the explanation for the »late introduction of printing« in the Ottoman Empire. It was the religious factor, which made Ottoman Muslims reject the »printing revolution« of the West; Islam must have been responsible for the long-term lack of book printing in the Ottoman Empire²¹. This interpretation has been strongly criticized lately by researchers, who explain that it was a typical topos used by European travelers to ascribe all negative features to the influence of the exotic religion. But this reference also says something else, namely that Ottoman authorities were open to foreign technologies as long as they were interested in them, as long as they meant a direct practical benefit for them. Apparently, this was not the case with book printing, as it seems that the demand for printing books among Ottoman Muslims was not obvious enough and did not stimulate any powerful individuals among Ottoman Muslims, who might have expressed any concern for establishing a press in the sixteenth century.

Another legend about Ottoman printing was most probably born in the second half of the sixteenth century: namely that Ottomans did not print, because printing and printed books had been prohibited by the decree of the Sultan Bayezid II stipulating the penalty of death for those who would dare to initiate printing in the Ottoman Empire. It was probably André Thevet (1502-1590), a French Franciscan priest and cosmographer²², who first published this story

of the Ottoman legal ban against using printed books²³. André Thevet composed a portrait of Johannes Gutenberg in the second volume of his work *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres, Grecz, Latins, et payens, recueilliz de leurs tableaux, livres, medalles antiques, et modernes* (Paris, 1584) and wrote about the extraordinary role of printing in Europe and commented on the lack of printing in the East. Kathryn Schwartz translated this passage into English in the following way:

What I know for sure is that the Greeks, Armenians, Mingrelians, Abyssinians, Turks, Persians, Moors, Arabs & Tartars do not write their books except by hand. [And] that among the others, the Turks are constrained by the ordinance of Baiazeth, second in name, their Emperor [Bayezid II], published in the year fourteen hundred eighty-three, carrying the prohibitions, on the pain of death to not consume printed books, which was the ordinance confirmed by Selim, first of name, [Selim I] his son, the year one thousand five-hundred fifteen²⁴.

According to Kathryn Schwartz, the Western European environment, where André Thevet wrote and published his work, had been critical for decades towards the Ottoman handling of the Greco-Roman and Byzantine heritage and held the Ottomans responsible for the loss of numerous precious manuscripts. It seems that Thevet's claims must be interpreted in a similar way: The Ottomans were hostile to literary culture, they were dangerous to manuscripts, and whereas Europeans benefited so much from printed books, the Ottoman sultans were the ones who banned the use of these books in the Ottoman Empire²⁵. Obviously, André Thevet did not provide any references in his writing about these two sultans' decrees. There is no evidence in the Ottoman archives that would anyhow confirm the existence of these documents²⁶. By examining Thevet's information, it seems also questionable, why Bayezid II would have banned the use of printed books and printing in 1483, the same year he received a printed geographical book from Florence. Only ten years later, in 1493, Sephardic Jews established their own printing press in Istanbul without any specific permission from the Sultan (which would have been needed, if the legal ban had actually existed). Even less realistic seems

19 The first edition of the letters appeared under the title *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* in 1581 in the Plantin press (by the famous publisher Christophe Plantin, of French origin) in Antwerp in Latin. In 1595 the letters were re-published under the title *Turcicae epistolae*.

20 Ogier de Busbecq, *Letters* 255.

21 Cf. Eisenstein, *Revolution 335 f.*: »Religion in particular should not be overlooked. There are some non-Asian societies where alphabets were used but where printers were forbidden to apply their craft to sacred texts. In the vast empire governed by the Ottoman Turks, prohibitions against printing not only the Koran but any text in Arabic script remained in effect for hundreds of years.«

22 On André Thevet, his career and travels see e.g. Laborie/Lestringant, *Histoire* 9-41.

23 See: Schwartz, *Sultans* 12; Sabev, *Müteferrika* 13.

24 Translation here: Schwartz, *Sultans* 12. The original passage reads as follows: Ce qui m'en réd plus assuré est que les Grecs, Armeniés, Mingrelías, Abissins Turcs, Persiens, Mores, Arabes & Tartares n'escruiuent leurs liures qu'à la main. Ce qu'entre autres les Turcs ont pratiqué par l'ordonnance de Baiazeth, second du nom, leur Empereur, publiée l'an quatorze cens quatre vingt & trois, portant dessenses, sur peine de la vie de n'user de liures imprimez: laquelle ordonnance fut confirmee par Selin, premier du nom, son fils l'an mil cinq cens quinze. Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, II, 515a.

25 Schwartz, *Sultans* 12.

26 Sabev, *Müteferrika* 14; Schwartz, *Sultans* 6.

Thevet's claim about Sultan Selim I (1512-1520), who must have issued a firman in 1515 confirming his father's decree against printing. At this point, there were Jewish printing presses active in Istanbul and Thessalonike, South Slavs established repeatedly their presses in the Balkans and Wallachia²⁷. Also, after the alleged »second firman«, printing was active in the Ottoman Empire and printed books were imported from abroad and kept in the sultanic libraries in Istanbul²⁸. It is hard to tell where Thevet received this information about the ban for printed books. He himself had spent some time in the Levant and even lived for one year in Constantinople around 1549. Here Thevet must have actually learned about the existence of Hebrew presses that were mentioned e. g. by his compatriot Pierre Belon (1517-1564)²⁹, whose mission to the Levant ended in the same year 1549, or by the German traveler Hans Dernschwam (1494-1568/1569), who was in Constantinople between 1553 and 1555³⁰. This quotation by Thevet wouldn't have gained so much attention and interest in this paper, if it hadn't had a massive influence on the research tradition in the field of the history of printing in the Ottoman Empire. Even though there are no historical documents that would support the legend of the ban on printing or printed books in the law issued by Sultan Bayezid II, who threatened with the death penalty those who wouldn't obey the law, it is still a common narrative in historical scholarship³¹, especially in popular scientific works and even in general public knowledge easily accessible via the internet³². Another popular name, who claimed that Ottoman sultans prohibited printing, was the English diplomat and historian Paul Rycaut (1629-1700), who already in the middle of the seventeenth century commented on the status of Ottoman education, scholarship, and science in Constantinople in order to explain »the barbarous ignorance of the Turks«³³. He wrote:

The Art of Printing (a matter disputable, whether it hath brought more of benefit or mischief to the world) is absolutely prohibited amongst them [Turks], because it may give a beginning to that subtlety of Learning which is inconsistent with, as well as dangerous to the grossness of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their livelyhood, who gain their bread only by their Pen, and occasion the loss of that singular Art of fair Writing,

wherein they excel or equal most Nations: the effect of which is evident amongst the Western people where Printing hath taken footing³⁴.

On the one hand, with this statement Rycaut pointed out the »strange« absence of Ottoman Muslim printing, which he attributed to the prohibitions imposed by sultans. He names two reasons for this prohibition: first of all, the Ottoman rulers are afraid of knowledge that could be spread thanks to the printing technology and could end the tyrannic rule; secondly, he pointed out that the sultans had to protect their scribes and their exclusive art and thus ban dangerous printing. This version of the ban on printing with the explanations delivered by Rycaut was also widespread among the later travelers to the Ottoman Empire and has been uncritically adopted by researchers until today³⁵.

The historical fact is that Ottoman Muslims had not established any printing presses until the eighteenth century. Printed books in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish were imported into the Ottoman Empire first of all from Italian cities. It seems that despite the numerous reports, the Ottoman authorities never prohibited printing or the import of printed books. The demand for printed books was obviously low enough that it could be covered by imports. Instead of pointing out the »delayed« introduction of book printing by the Ottoman authorities, we could ask the following question: what would an Ottoman official press have printed in the sixteenth century, if it had actually existed? As the repertoire of Jewish and Armenian printed books in Constantinople will show, the main demand among various religious communities consisted of religious, liturgical and prayer books. Also, Greek books that were consistently imported into the Ottoman Empire and sold well were liturgical books for everyday services. The Ottoman Muslims considered the printing of books useful as long as sacred and religious Islamic books were excluded from printing, as the very first decree, issued by Sultan Ahmed III for Ibrahim Müteferrika's printing press (1727), prescribed³⁶. It is questionable that the demand in geographic, historical, or medical printed books in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish, which were of interest only to a small group of the intellectual elite, would have been sufficient for establishing and running an Ottoman Muslim printing press in Constantinople of the sixteenth century.

27 Leber, Printing; Kilpatrick, Printing.

28 The most famous of sultanic libraries in Constantinople are the Süleymaniye and Topkapı Palace libraries. Cf. Faroqui, History 46-48.

29 Belon, Les observations III, ch. 13, 181.

30 Dernschwam, Bericht von einer Reise 151.

31 It is impossible to name here all the studies mentioning this prohibition and punishment due to their huge number, I will provide only one reference here to illustrate the point: Müller, Franken 216.

32 Cf. the following links: <https://www.zukunft-ch.ch/islam-und-buchdruck-haben-sie-gewusst/>; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ausbreitung_des_Buchdrucks#Naeh_Osten (28.10.2023).

33 Rycaut, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, I, ch. 6, 30.

34 Rycaut, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, I, ch. 6, 32.

35 On this issue, see: Sabev, Müteferrika 13-15; Schwartz, Sultans 26f.

36 Here are some passages from the decree by Ahmed III: »Books produced by printing cause several thousand volumes to be produced from a single volume, all of which are accurate copies. With little effort there is great return, making this a desirable activity to pursue...Excepting books of religious law, Koranic exegesis, the traditions of the Prophet, and theology, you asked the Padishah's permission in the aforementioned tract to print dictionaries, history books, medical books, astronomy and geography books, travelogues, and books about logic«. For a complete translation of this firman into English, see here: Atiyeh, Book 284f.

Jewish Printing in Sixteenth-Century Constantinople

A special role in the printing landscape of the Ottoman Empire and the whole Mediterranean was played by Jews. Sephardic Jews after the expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (starting in 1496) were particularly active as intermediaries and cultural brokers between different parts of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Their commercial networks were crucial for the book trade. Some Sephardic Jews had been educated in European universities, mostly in Padua, and brought their private libraries including printed books to the Ottoman Empire. Jews were of exceptional importance as booksellers, bookbinders, printers, collectors of manuscripts and printed books, but also as translators and compilers of European printed books³⁷.

The history of Jewish printing in the early modern Ottoman Empire can officially count as the most successful. A Hebrew printing press was established by Sephardic Jews in Constantinople as early as 1493, one year after the tragic expulsion of Jews from Catholic Spain. The initiative of establishing the printing press belonged to brothers David and Samuel ibn Nachmias, who originated from Spain; the necessary tools for the press arrived in Constantinople from the Italian city of Naples³⁸. There is no evidence that Sephardic Jews had any difficulties with establishing their printing press in the Ottoman capital or needed any kind of special permission from the sultan. On the contrary, the colophon to the first published book in Constantinople *'Arba'a Turim* (1493) contains a praise to Sultan Bayezid II (the one, who allegedly had banned printing under the penalty of death). As the last lines of the colophon read:

Friday 4 Tevet of the year five thousand two hundred and fifty-four, here in the large city of Constantinople, at the time of the great Mohammedan King Sultan Bayezid's reign, may he live and may the Lord help him and may He enhance his royal rule. Amen³⁹.

This mention of the sultan's name and the blessing of his rule deserve particular attention as a demonstration of loyalty, acknowledgement, and appreciation of the new Sephardic subjects for their Muslim ruler. Hence, Jewish printing in Constantinople also served to glorify the Sultan and preserve his memory among Jewish subjects⁴⁰. The Nachmias brothers remained the leading Jewish printers in Constantinople and published dozens of Hebrew books until 1511/1512⁴¹.

Not much is known or has been written about the involvement of Romaniote (former Byzantine) Jews in the process of book printing in Constantinople. To be sure, Sephardic Jews in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and later Ashkenazi Jews (mostly recently arrived immigrants), played a much more important role as printers in the Ottoman capital than the Romaniotes. Of course, the position of Byzantine Jews in Constantinople was not a very stable one, following the Ottoman measures that resulted in their forced displacement from remote parts of the Empire to the capital. Still, there are interesting examples of Romaniotes, who were involved in the process of printing as editors or sponsors. It is also important that the interests of Romaniote readership were kept in mind by both, Sephardic and Ashkenazic printers, who thus contributed to preserving the religious tradition of Byzantine Jews.

Already the very first Hebrew printed edition *'Arba'a Turim* (1493) was prepared for publication in the press of the Nachmias brothers by Elijah ben Benjamin ha-Levi (d. after 1540), a Romaniote Jew and a famous rabbi. He edited the code and authored its colophon⁴². Some of his *responsa* were published later in Constantinople (1734). Elijah ha-Levi prepared the first collection of prayers for the Romaniote audience for publication – the *Mahzor Romania* (Constantinople, 1510)⁴³. Thus, Elijah ben Benjamin ha-Levi secured the preservation of the Byzantine Jewish liturgical tradition by using the advantages of printing. Some decades later, another Romaniote Jew – David ben Elijah Kashti – sponsored publishing projects of Eliezer ben Isaac, an Ashkenazi printer from Lublin, who had moved to Constantinople in 1575 and started working at the press of Sephardic brothers Ja'abetz. David Kashti was also keen in serving primarily the interests of Romaniote Jews, which is why he commissioned a prayer book for the Romaniote rite at first by Solomon and Yoseph Ja'abetz, but entrusted the printing of the second volume to Eliezer Ashkenazi⁴⁴.

Particular attention is due to a famous multilingual edition of the Torah, the so called Constantinople Pentateuch (1547) that was published by Eliezer Soncino, a member of a prominent Italian Jewish printers' dynasty. Along with Hebrew and Aramaic texts, it was translated into vernacular Greek and Spanish in Hebrew characters with the hope, as the preface states, »that it would be useful for young Israelites and so that they would get used to speaking correctly«⁴⁵. The translation of the Torah into vernacular Greek had presumably begun in the Late Byzantine period and was concluded most probably already in the Ottoman period by Romaniotes⁴⁶. It means that the Pentateuch of Constantinople contains a

37 Barbarics-Hermanik, Exchange 109.

38 Offenber, Incunable.

39 The Hebrew text of the colophon can be found here: Yaari, Ha-Defus 59. Quoted in English from Offenber, Incunable 233.

40 On the subject of Jewish attraction and allegiance to the Ottoman state, see e.g. Levi, Sephardim 19-21.

41 Freimann, Druckereien 30f.; Hacker, Printing 20f.; Harris, Jews 47f.

42 Cf. the text of the colophon: And I have done my best to make it as perfect as possible by removing all errors imaginable; I, an insignificant man among thou-

sands, Elia, son of Benjamin ha-Levi, may his soul rest in paradise. Offenber, Incunable 233.

43 <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5646-elijah-ben-benjamin-ha-levi>.

44 Heller, Printing 112-114.

45 Legrand, Bibliographie II no. 239, 159-161. The French translation of the preface: *ibid.* 159f.

46 Sznol, Targum 240.

translation of the Bible in a medieval and early modern form of the Greek language. This edition has received particular attention by scholars because it was the very first translation of the Bible into vernacular Greek (albeit in Hebrew transliteration)⁴⁷. This Jewish edition can be truly considered as an example of preserving the Byzantine heritage in print.

Jewish printing in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire was very successful, as Jews published more than 460 titles in print; 280 of them were printed in Constantinople alone. All of these books were printed in Hebrew characters, even though some of them were not in Hebrew, but in Judaeo-Spanish (Ladino), the vernacular language of Sephardic Jews primarily from Spain and Portugal. Thirty books (or seven percent) of all printed book production were in Ladino. At least one edition is known to have been published at least partially in Greek addressing Romaniote (further Byzantine) Jews of the Ottoman Empire and thus also in Hebrew characters. It is the already mentioned edition of the Torah with Haftaroht and five Megilloth, commonly known as the Constantinople Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1547) translated into vernacular Greek and Spanish in Hebrew characters⁴⁸. Joseph R. Hacker mentions also one Persian book in Hebrew characters that was printed in Constantinople for Iranian Jews⁴⁹. The issue of the languages in which Jews printed in the Ottoman Empire has been a controversial one, as some European travelers during the sixteenth century wrote about the multilingual character of Jewish printing in Constantinople. For example, the already mentioned Pierre Belon described Jewish printing in the 1540-s as follows (in a translation by Joseph R. Hacker):

The Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal well know how to spread their Judaism in Turkey by translating into Hebrew all kinds of books which were continuously printed in Constantinople without any restriction. There, they also print in Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, and German. However, they print nothing in either Turkish or Arabic, as they are prohibited from doing so⁵⁰.

Joseph Hacker regarded this quotation by Pierre Belon as credible even though there is no evidence that Jews printed any books in the sixteenth century in other than Hebrew

characters. As most other historians, Hacker repeated this statement by Belon about the official prohibition of printing in Turkish or Arabic as historically reliable and trustworthy.

The Czech traveler Kryštof Harant (1564-1612), who traveled through the Ottoman Empire in 1598-1599 and left a travelogue *Journey from Bohemia to the Holy Land, by way and the sea* that was published in Prague in 1608, described the situation in a similar way.

Such Jews established for them a printing press or a typography in Constantinople that Turks themselves do not have. There they print books in all kinds of languages, like Wallachian (?), Spanish, Greek, Latin and Jewish; and they can also publish in other languages except for Turkish and Arabic for the sake of Turks, as these two languages are sacred for them, and they [Jews] are not worthy of them, otherwise they would defile them⁵¹.

Kryštof Harant's description is very similar to the one by Pierre Belon and it is possible that he was acquainted with his work which had first been published fifty years earlier. Both emphasize the privileged status of intellectual Jews, their access to printing facilities and possibilities to print apart from Hebrew in different European languages, but point out that Jews do not print in the languages of Islam, because they are non-Muslims or because they have a ban on printing in Turkish and Arabic. As is usual for European travelers, they were surprised at how freely Jews could live and operate in the Ottoman Empire in comparison to Christian Europe. Among the topoi in the travelogues were the following: the huge number of Jews, who settled in Constantinople and other major Ottoman cities; the freedom of Jewish religious life with numerous synagogues in the Empire; the multilingual character of the Jewish community because of the varied origins of the Jews living there⁵²; the great opportunities Jews could enjoy in trade and handicrafts, but also the fact that Jewish people were the subjects of Muslims and had similar restrictions as Christians did in terms of clothes and religious customs showing their inferiority towards Islam and Ottoman Muslims. It seems that this context is crucial for interpreting both quotes, those by Pierre Belon and Kryštof Harant. So the first question is, why did both authors write

47 On this edition and further bibliography, see: Bádenas de la Peña, *Lengua; Bádenas de la Peña/Sznol, Traducciones; Sznol, Targum; Krivoruchko, Pentateuch*. The re-transliteration into the Greek alphabet of the Greek text of the Bible was provided by Hesselting, *Pentateuque*.

48 On this edition and further bibliography, see: Krivoruchko, *Pentateuch*.

49 Hacker, *Authors* 20.

50 Hacker, *Authors* 19. The original excerpt from the source reads as follows: »Les Juifs qui ont esté chassés d' Espagne et du Portugal ont si bien augmenté leur Judaism en Turquie, qu'ils ont presque traduit toutes sortes de livres en leur language hébraïque et maintenant ils ont mis impression à Constantinople, sans aucuns pointcs. Ils y impriment aussi en Espagnol, Italien, Latin, Grec, et Alman; mais ils n'impriment point en Turc ni en Arabe; car il ne leur est pas permis«. See Belon, *Les observations*, III, ch. 13, 181.

51 Spravili sobě dotčení Židé v Konstantinopoli tiskárnu aneb impressi, již sami Turci nemají; v té tisknou ve všelijakých jazycích knihy, jako vlašsky, španělsky, řecky, latíně a židovsky, a mohou je i v jiných řečech vydávati, krom v turecké

a arabské, pro záповěd tureckou, jakoby ty dvě řeči svaté byly a oni jich hodny nebyli, aneb žeby je poškvřnili. See: Harant, *Cesta do Země Svaté* 47. Kryštof Harant mentioned also that learned Christians who had been ransomed from Ottoman captivity were employed in the Jewish typography and treated as slaves, as they had to work also during feast days. Cf. *ibid.*: V tiskárně vřivají křestanův učených a od Turkův z zajetí vykoupěných, s těmi jako s otroky nakládají a je i v svátek k robotě a dílu ženou.

52 E. g. Hans Dernschwam described with many details all the languages that were to be found among Ottoman Jews. Cf. Dernschwam, *Bericht von einer Reise 144*: In der Türkei lebten in allen Städten zahllose Juden aus allen möglichen Völkern und Sprachen, wobei jedes Volk und jede Sprachgemeinschaft zusammen hielt. Sie kamen aus allen Ländern, aus denen sie vertrieben worden waren, und lebten in der Türkei wie in Schwärmen dicht beisammen. Sie sprachen deutsch, italienisch, spanisch, portugiesisch, französisch, polnisch, griechisch, türkisch, syrisch, chaldäisch und andere Sprache mehr. On the variety of Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire: Härtel, *Diversity*.

that Jews printed books in many European languages? On the one hand, there is no evidence that Jews had printed in other than Hebrew letters before the second half of the seventeenth century⁵³. Maybe the travelers experienced Jews speaking different European languages and suggested that they also printed books in each of their vernaculars. For the sixteenth-century Europeans printing was directly associated with vernacular languages and they could hardly imagine that Jews would print exclusively in their sacred language Hebrew, when they were so capable of communicating with Christians in each of their languages⁵⁴. Another explanation could be that Jews not only printed books in Constantinople, but also acted as translators, bookbinders⁵⁵ and sellers of European printed books. Thus the number of European printed books Jews were selling and working with close to Jewish printed production could be confusing for Europeans and lead them to a wrong conclusion.

On the other hand, it is not clear, what European travelers meant about the ban of printing in Turkish and Arabic for Jews. Again, there are no official documents preserved that would contain any specific permissions, regulations or restrictions of the Ottoman authorities towards Jewish printers in Constantinople. Certainly, there could have been some oral agreements that were never written down from the Ottoman Muslim or Jewish part, or there never existed any legal restrictions for Jews concerning printing in Arabic or Turkish. So why would Belon and Harant claim otherwise? Both were definitely aware of the lack of Ottoman Muslim printing in sixteenth-century Constantinople and were possibly interested in finding an explanation for this ›strange absence‹, as Orlin Sabev put it. They wouldn't have written about the complete ban on printing in the Ottoman Empire as André Thevet did, as they knew too well that Jews had actively printed books there. But they needed to demonstrate that sacred for Islam languages were excluded from printing and thus suggested that even though the Ottomans had not prohibited Jews from printing, they had forced them to limit printing only to Hebrew and European languages. Nevertheless, the version about the Ottoman special permission for Jews to print in other languages than Turkish and Arabic, as well as the particular multilingualism of Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire have been established narratives in the historiography until today⁵⁶.

In my opinion, an appropriate question to formulate would be: Why would Ottoman Jews be interested in printing other than Jewish books in Hebrew (or at least Hebrew letters)? The Ottoman Empire was a part of the Eastern Mediterranean printing landscape, where Jewish traders could easily establish connections to any European publishers or booksellers in order to import, for example, European printed books in any languages including Arabic. It seems that the main and the only goal of Jewish printing in Constantinople was to provide the Jewish community with the necessary religious and legal books. As the preface in one of the earliest published books in Constantinople (1506) implies:

Since that day, when God confused the languages of the earth by the sudden and bitter expulsion from Spain... books were also abandoned in the trauma of destruction... and because of troubles of the times and the lack of books, people have neglected the education of their children. May their hearts inspire them to spread the knowledge of the Torah in Israel... and to replace some of the numerous works which were destroyed⁵⁷.

On the one hand, Jews were interested in printing their own books in Constantinople. On the other hand, it was important to take care of funding for the publication and printing activities of the Jewish press. As the price of books in the sixteenth century was very high, the problem of the distribution of books posed a significant problem for printers. Although the wish to make books available for readership was an important motive for printing, the existence of printing presses and their ability to publish further books depended on regular financing as well as public demand. If both these factors did not exist, early modern printing presses could not function and ceased their activities. In the case of Hebrew printing presses in the Ottoman Empire, there seemed to be a list of measures in order to provide necessary funding for presses to enable them to operate. On the one hand, there were patrons of printing among wealthy Jews, who were ready to finance the publication of books for the benefit of the Jewish community. The fact that there was only one Hebrew printing press in Istanbul and thus no concurrence among Jewish printers in the Ottoman capital and later also in Thessalonike, made it possible for representatives of the

53 Jewish printer Avraham ben Yedida Gabbai definitely possessed Latin typesets and printed also in Spanish and English (in Latin characters). E. g. in 1663 Gabbai printed Paul Rycaut's *Capitulations* in English with Latin characters. He also apologized in his preface for technical problems with some letters like »w«. See Rycaut, *The Capitulations and Articles* 8.

54 On Jewish multilingualism in the Ottoman Empire: Hacker, *Authors* 18-22.

55 As already mentioned above, a Jewish bookbinder who was working with the printed Bible, according to the report by Reinhard Lubenau. Cf. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen* 231. Hans Dernschwam referred to meeting one bookbinder from Wroclaw (Breslau), probably a former convert to Christianity, who moved with his sons to Constantinople and around 1552 also brought his

daughter there. Cf. Dernschwam, *Bericht von einer Reise 148f.*: Auch jene Juden, die der Taufgeschenke wegen von einem christlichen Land zum andern gezogen waren, sich zwei oder dreimal hatten taufen lassen, auch um ein Handwerk lernen zu können, fand man in Konstantinopel und in der Türkei. Sie ernärten sich teils von ihrem Handwerk, wie zum Beispiel ein Buchbinder, der lange in Breslau gelebt hatte, mit zwei Söhnen hierher gekommen war und seine Tochter ungefähr 1552 nachgeholt hatte.

56 Hacker, *Introduction* 18; Hacker, *Authors* 18; Heller, *Book* 81, fn. 5.

57 Quoted in English from Ben Na'eh, *Printing* 79; Yaari, *Ha-Defus* 18, 59f.; Freimann, *Druckereien* 30.

urban community to provide for the only source of printed production. On the other hand, it was necessary to find the way to sell books among Ottoman Jews in order to have stable means for further printing, but also to distribute already printed books. Yaron Ben Na'eh mentioned in this context the following description from the introduction to the Talmud Constantinople edition of 1583, which said:

Every Sabbath we shall publish sections from the Talmud and distribute them among those who wish to buy them. They will receive these booklets each Sabbath and pay their price so that with God's help the Talmud will be in the hands of everyone in a short while and can be paid for gradually in a manner that will make the burden of payment easier to bear. The Talmud will then be wholly his own by payment which will amount to twenty-five florins. Therefore, now anyone who wishes can come and get booklet after booklet and pay for them...⁵⁸.

Among patrons of Jewish printing in Constantinople were also some wealthy women, like *kira* Esther Handali, who sponsored publishing of several books in the Jabez/Ya'abetz press in Constantinople in 1566⁵⁹. Another female patron Reyna Nasi (d. 1599), a widow of the famous diplomat, the Duke of Naxos Joseph Nasi (1524-1579), established a new printing press at the outskirts of Istanbul in Ortaköy (1592), and moved it later (1597) to the suburbs of Kuruçeşme (Kuru-Chesme)⁶⁰. Her press was active between 1593 and 1599 and produced fifteen books in Hebrew and Ladino⁶¹. After she died in 1599, the Jewish press also ceased its activity and the Jewish community of Constantinople remained without means for printing for several decades, until 1639.

It seems that the demand for a printing press on a regular basis existed only among the Jewish community in sixteenth-century Constantinople. Its success was connected with a broader readership among Jews in the Ottoman Empire and beyond. The level of literacy among Jewish Sephardic and Ashkenazi immigrants from European cities was presumably higher than that characteristic of premodern Ottoman society in general. Printing in Hebrew, the sacred and intelligible language for Jews (at least male ones and non-converts) made these religious books accessible to different Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire regardless of their everyday vernaculars.

Armenians and Greeks in Ottoman Constantinople: Dealing with Printing Armenians

At least two Armenian printing presses are known to have been active in Ottoman Constantinople in the second half of the sixteenth century. They were tightly connected with the Armenian diaspora and printing networks in Venice. Venice remained the main center of printing for Armenians; Armenians went there in order to be trained as printers; also printing tools originated in Venice and needed to be imported to the Ottoman Empire.

Armenian printing was established for the first time in Venice, at the beginning of the sixteenth century⁶². A few decades later Abgar Dpir, a native Armenian from Northern Anatolia, came to Venice to acquire printing skills. In 1567, Abgar Dpir moved with his skills and press to Constantinople, where he first published a short grammar of the Armenian language. The Armenian printing press was housed in the church of Saint Nicholas Topkapı for only two years. During this time the printer managed to publish five books, including a psalter, a prayer book, and a church calendar⁶³. According to the preface in Abgar Dpir's book, Armenian printing in Constantinople had to be coordinated not only with the head of the Armenian Church, but also with the Greek Patriarch and the Ottoman authorities; hence a significant effort had to be made to overcome the bureaucracy⁶⁴.

Moreover, the existence of an Armenian printing house in Constantinople was probably complicated by the competition between different Christian groups and denominations. Another Armenian printer, the priest Yovhannēs/Hovhannēs T'ērzn'ts'i, went to Rome and Venice for education, he established a new printing house in Constantinople in 1587, but that did not last long either. However, most Armenian printed books were still produced in Venice and later brought to Constantinople in order to be sold. Their import and distribution were arranged thanks to the activities of Armenian merchants and clerics with active networks in the diaspora abroad⁶⁵.

Manuscripts also remained particularly important for Armenian religious culture. The need for Armenian scribes in the Ottoman Empire was evidenced in many points in the text of Simeon from Zamość, who visited Constantinople some decades later. An Armenian traveler Simeon of Poland (1584-after 1636), who had been active as a copyist of manuscripts in his homeland, had no difficulties to find assignments for

58 Transl. by: Ben Na'eh, Printing 78.

59 Cf. Yaari, Ha-Defus 113; Pektaş, Beginnings 15; Rozen, Community 206.

60 Cf. Meral, Matbaasi.

61 Ben Na'eh, Printing 81; Yaari, Ha-Defus 139-147.

62 It was Hakob Meghapart, an Armenian printer, who established the first Armenian printing press in Venice in 1512. His first book was Urbathagirq (The book of Fridays). Hakob Meghapart («Jacob the Sinner») published five books in two years 1512-1513. See, Aslanian, Circulation 36 f.

63 Kevorkian, Livre; Pektaş, Beginnings 16 f.

64 Cf. the colophon to the first Armenian printed book in Constantinople (translated into French by Kevorkian, Livre): Ce livre de prières et livre de messe ont

été composés en 1017 de l'ère des Arméniens [= 1568], un jeudi du mois de mai, sous le catholicossat de Têr Mik'aël..., dans la métropole de Constantinople, sous la protection de [l'église] Saint-Nicolas, aux pieds du rabunapet [et] patriarche Têr Yakob, avec l'agrément des prêtres d'ici...et de ceux qui ont commandité le livre, de xoca Murat, mahtesi F[...], du clerc Martiros, de Sadar Ibrahimsa, de Toner et Xat'unpasa. Souvenez-vous en outre, dans vos pures prières, de moi, Abgar dpir, qui ai construit cet atelier, ainsi que de mon jeune enfant, le clerc Sultan.

65 Sanjian, Celebrating 6; Aslanian, Circulation 41-43.

copying books in Constantinople in the first decades of the seventeenth century. He reported as follows:

I stayed in Istanbul for a year. I worked hard copying books in order to save [money] for the trip to Jerusalem, for I had made a vow to go there. Scribes are very valued in Istanbul and although there are many clerics there, there are no copyists, for reading is one art, while writing is another. The laymen, clerics, and k'ahanas gave me many books to copy. I worked and labored zealously day and night, hurried and worried nonstop in order to earn enough for the expenses of the journey, for I had no money left. I earned fifty to sixty drams a day. May God bless the people and the k'ahanas of Istanbul, for I managed to save eighty kuruş that year⁶⁶.

Simeon himself was acquainted with the advantages of Armenian printing that he experienced not only in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also during his voyage from the Ottoman Empire to Venice and Rome⁶⁷.

Printing in Greek Beyond the Ottoman Empire

Greek attitudes towards printing can be addressed only in the global Transottoman context. When dealing with the history of printing in sixteenth-century Constantinople, it is important to stress that Greeks were directly involved in the process of book exchange between the Ottoman Empire and the Western world. European scholars and publishers were interested in Greek manuscripts from the Ottoman Empire that could be easily published in numerous centers of Greek printing like in Venice, Florence, Rome, Alcalá, Paris, or Geneva⁶⁸. Greek intellectual émigrés, who had left after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 carrying numerous manuscripts with them⁶⁹, played an enormous role in the publishing activities in Italian cities first of all. Increasing European interest in the ancient heritage made Greek scholars abroad important figures in Renaissance culture. Their networks allowed them access to Greek manuscripts and support for their publishing activity in Southern and Western Europe⁷⁰. Printed books in Greek were imported by Greek merchants from European centers to the Ottoman Empire and sold among Ottoman Greeks. It seems that Greeks

in Constantinople until the seventeenth century were not directly interested in establishing a Greek press in the Ottoman Empire. Some travelers to Constantinople like Stephan Gerlach, noted that the Greeks preferred manuscripts to the printed books even though there were many ecclesiastical prints imported from Venice⁷¹.

Little is known about the attitude of Greeks towards printing in sixteenth-century Constantinople. Allegedly, it was already Patriarch Hieremias II Tranos, who had attempted to establish a Greek printing press in Constantinople. However, the only evidence for this is to be found in the so-called *Annales Suevici* of the Protestant theologian Martin Crusius (1526-1607). He mentioned that he had been visited by two Greek priests, Leontius Philoponus and Ezekiel Xyriches on 17 March, 1590. They had been talking about the pitiful condition of the Greek clergy, their lack of education, and their failure to understand the Greek language of the Scripture. In this context, Hieremias' initiatives to improve the level of education among the clergy were mentioned. Martin Crusius noted the following testimony during this visit:

*Episcopi et clerus Graecorum: indocti plerique sunt, et adversati patriarchae Hieremiae, quando voluit ante plureis annos Scholas et eruditionem in Graeciam introducere, ac Typographiam. Metuunt enim sibi, ne postea removeantur ipsi propter ruditatem*⁷².

According to this passage, the Greek clergy resisted Hieremias' reform attempts, because of the fear they would be replaced by more educated ones. Even though this passage mentions the typography in the last place after schools and education for Greeks, K. Sathas suggested that Patriarch Hieremias II had planned to establish a printing press in Constantinople as a part of his reforms to improve the level of education among Orthodox Greeks⁷³. Sathas' narrative became a part of the official biography of the Patriarch Hieremias II. As Hannick and Todt stated, Hieremias II Tranos had devoted his attempts to the foundation of a typography, but his project had failed, because of the constant resistance from the side of the poorly educated clergy⁷⁴. The facts that Patriarch Hieremias actively advocated for measures for the education of the clergy and that he was also involved during the 1570s in theological negotiations with German Protestants initiated by Stephan Gerlach and Martin Crusius⁷⁵, would support the idea of the Patriarch's interest in founding a Greek typography in Con-

66 See, Simëon, *The Travel Accounts* 187.

67 Cf. Simëon, *The Travel Accounts* 138: »The Armenians have also established a printing press [basmakir, from Turkish basma, printing press], which we saw with our own eyes. May God illuminate their souls for they worry about us more than we do about ourselves! They told us that the printing press cost 10000 kuruş. However, at present, just like in Venice, it is idle; because of the carelessness and the evil disposition of our people, there is no manager and no workers«.

68 Cf. Staikos/Sklavenitis, *Centres* 2-87.

69 Reinsch, *Manuscripts* 105.

70 See, Rhoby, *Friendship* 259, 262; Reinsch, *Manuscripts* 106.

71 Cf., Moennig, *Collection* 50: *Typographiam nunquam habuisse creduntur. Idem libri ipsorum, plerique manuscripti sunt. Et Bibliotheca in Monte S(ancto) ex manuscriptis constare dicitur. Multi Venetiis importantur impressae: quorum in Templis usus est...Manuscripta, magis, quam impressa, legere amant...*

72 *Annales Suevici*, vol. 3, 830.

73 Sathas, *Schediasma* ζ'-ζ'α' [90-91].

74 Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie* II 554. The authors of this article also maintain that such an initiative by the patriarch would have never been approved by the Ottoman authorities (without citing any reference for this suggestion) (fn. 24).

75 Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie* II 558-560.

stantinople even though there is no more concrete evidence that he had attempted to establish one.

Ottoman Greeks were primarily interested in regular supplies of liturgical books that could be used in churches and monasteries in their daily service. This way the Greek clergy was able to preserve the Byzantine liturgical tradition among Orthodox Greeks under Ottoman rule. Greek merchants, especially those who were born in the Venetian territories, acknowledged this demand and ensured that such books were published in large quantities in the Italian cities and organized regular delivery to the Ottoman cities and towns, where they were mostly sold by their agents. In the recent article by Irene Papadaki (2021), the author presented a case study on activities of Manolis Glyzounis (c. 1540-1596), a Greek publisher and copyist in Venice originally from the island of Chios, who was involved in systematic book trade in Constantinople⁷⁶. Glyzounis had been actively interested in the trade of his editions since he first ventured into publishing activities. He sold his books directly in Venice nearby the Rialto Bridge⁷⁷, he organized a network of merchants in the Ottoman Empire, who were interested in trading his books in Greek regions. Glyzounis himself also organized shipments of books to Greek regions. In 1588 he sent a batch of 173 copies of the *Octoechos* and the Psalter, 14 copies of the *Anthologion*, and 15 copies of the Gospels to Ioannina. Even more systematic was his engagement with the trade of his printed books in Constantinople, where as of 1590 he had a personal commercial agent: Giacomo Messinis. This merchant from Chios was responsible for the distribution of Glyzounis's books to the local book market and in his homeland. Sales profits covered the needs of Glyzounis's family in Chios, while the surplus was sent to him in Venice⁷⁸. Another characteristic case is the Cypriot merchant Gabriel Cudunà, who bought 197 copies of the Psalter, 124 copies of the *Octoechos*, and five copies of the *Anthologion* in Venice, in order to send them for sale to Constantinople, along with other arts and crafts products⁷⁹.

Greek hierarchs, especially patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria were well aware of the advantages, but also the disadvantages of book printing, especially in the context of confession-building and competition with representatives of other confessions, first of all German Protestants and Catholics. Treatises and letters of Greek hierarchs became available for publishing and distributing abroad. In the sixteenth century it was the aforementioned patriarch of Constantinople Hieremias II Tranos as well as the patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas, whose writings appeared in print. The negative reply of Hieremias II to the idea of a union between the

Orthodox and Protestant Churches, which he had originally sent to Tübingen, had been published in a Latin translation in Cracow in 1582 (Typographica Lazari) under the title *Censura orientalis Ecclesiae de praecipuis nostri saeculi haereticorum dogmatibus* and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. The initiative for the translation and publication of this text came from the chaplain of the Polish king Stefan Báthory named Stanisław Sokolowski⁸⁰. Hieremias II's text had not originally been written to be printed. It was archimandrite Theoleptos, the patriarch's associate from Constantinople, who arranged that »this book against the Lutherans« was brought to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by an Armenian priest⁸¹. His epistle was published in Greek after the Latin preface to *Censura orientalis Ecclesiae* by Hieremias II. A copy of it was sent to Pope Gregory XIII; the anti-Protestant attitude of the patriarch of Constantinople was interpreted as a favorable moment for negotiations about a possible union between Rome and Constantinople⁸². Pope Gregory XIII in October 1582 initiated his famous calendar reform that was shortly afterwards introduced by Stefan Báthory as obligatory for all inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the Orthodox Ruthenians, who were subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople. Hieremias II reacted with an epistle against the new calendar, issued in Iași (Moldavia) in April 1583. Some months later it was published in its Slavonic translation in Ostroh, in the typography of the Orthodox prince Constantin Basil of Ostroh⁸³.

As I haven't found much information on Hieremias II Tranos' attitude towards printing, it seems that he himself did not have any influence on the process of publishing his writings. Hieremias' polemical view towards the Protestants was not supposed to appear in print and he possibly considered its publication wrong, as the information that the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople rejected the attempts of a Lutheran-Orthodox rapprochement, had potentially strengthened the Catholic Church, primarily in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the other hand, he probably appreciated that his critique of the new Gregorian calendar could be printed and distributed among the Orthodox Ruthenian clergy as well as lay people and could thus provide a direct and official reaction from Constantinople on this issue. It seems that unlike Hieremias II, the patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas was definitely interested in having his polemical treatises and letters with pastoral contents printed and distributed for a broader readership. He even developed a particular strategy for publishing his texts primarily in the cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Not only did he send manuscripts of his treatises with Greek members of clergy and

76 Cf. Papadaki, Glyzounis.

77 Papadaki, Glyzounis 131.

78 Papadaki, Glyzounis 132f.

79 Papadaki, Glyzounis 131.

80 The book was republished 1582 in Dilingen and Cologne. Some parts of it were republished again in Ingolstadt in 1585. Cf. Legrand, *Bibliographie IV*, no. 762-764, 239-241; no. 789-790, 275f.

81 Cf. *Censura orientalis Ecclesiae* (without pagination): ἔπεμψα ἕκεινο τὸ βιβλίον τὸ κατὰ τῶν λουτέρων, μετὰ τοῦ ἀρμενίου ἱερέως τοῦ ἡλιοπολίτου.

82 Hannick/Todt, *Jérémie II*, 564.

83 Cf. *Poslanie patriarcha Ieremii*; Guseva, *Izdaniija II*, no. 93, 677f.

merchants there, but he also informed his correspondents, among them the Russian Tsar, about the successful publication of his work in Ruthenian cities⁸⁴. It is worth mentioning Meletios' treatises »On Christian Piety – an Answer Against the Jew« (Κυρίου Μελετίου Ἀγιοτάτου Πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπὲρ τῆς χριστιανῶν εὐσεβείας πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπολογία) (Leontopolis [Lviv] 1593)⁸⁵. As the preface of the Meletios Pegas' following treatise mentioned, it was the success of Meletios' anti-Jewish bilingual edition that became a reason for publishing his other work in Greek: Διάλογος Ὁρθόδοξος Χριστιανός (Bylinē [Vilnius] 1596)⁸⁶. Epistles that Meletios Pegas wrote in support of Ruthenian Orthodox Christians against the Union with the Catholic Church were translated into Slavonic and published in such famous anti-Unionist editions as Apokrisis (Ostroh 1597)⁸⁷ and »A booklet in ten sections« (Книжица в десяти разделах) (Ostroh 1598)⁸⁸. Another (re-) publication of Meletios Pegas' epistles succeeded in Greek under the title Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα (Constantinople 1627?)⁸⁹ most probably already several decades after Meletios' death, in Constantinople, in the typography that had been founded by the Patriarch of Constantinople and Meletios' nephew, Kyrillos Loukaris (1572-1638), a strong advocate of book printing. He was helped by a Greek emigré from London, the professional typographer Nikodemos Metaxas (1585-1646). The press operated only for a few months, before it was closed by the Ottoman authorities, because of Jesuit complaints about the anti-Islamic character of Greek editions⁹⁰.

These examples show that the only aspect of printing Greek hierarchs from the Ottoman Empire were missing, was the possibility of publishing polemical writings. In the second half of the sixteenth century they could use their networks

in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in order to publish polemics in Greek or Slavonic. Later, in the seventeenth century, Kyrillos Loukaris would use his typography in Constantinople for publishing polemical writings; in the second half of the seventeenth century the printing presses in Wallachia and Moldavia would become centers of Greek and Orthodox polemical printing. On the other hand, the demand for Greek liturgical books, more important for the broader needs of the Greek Orthodox community, was sufficiently fulfilled by Venetian editions. There is no evidence that the Ottoman authorities were more restrictive towards establishing a Greek printing press than they were towards the Jewish or Armenian ones. But like in the Ottoman Muslim or Armenian cases, there were enough Greek printed books imported. The transregional or Transottoman connections and networks made the global exchange possible, and thus there was no need to have a Greek printing press in sixteenth-century Constantinople.

Conclusion

This paper shows different strategies of Ottoman Muslims, Jews and Christians by dealing with printing in sixteenth-century Constantinople. Even though only Jews possessed their own typography that was active for decades and published several hundreds of book titles in the Ottoman capital during this period, Constantinople remained an attractive center for the trade of printed books in different languages and scripts, and was involved in the intellectual and scholarly exchange with European centers of printing as a source for manuscripts and a recipient of published books.

84 Meletios Pegas informed Tsar Feodor Alekseevič in July 1593 about his polemical book against the Jews, which the Orthodox brotherhood of Lviv had published earlier in 1593 as a bilingual Greek-Slavonic edition. Cf. Regel, *Analecta* 105: τὴν γὰρ χαλκογραφίαν πολλὴ δαπάνη οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κτησάμενοι τὰς τε ἱεράς βίβλους ἐκτυποῦσι καὶ τὰ παιδείας τῆς χθαμαλωτέρας γράμματα. ἔν ἐστι τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν βλάστημα καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον τουτὶ ὑπόμνημα τὸ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ λαβόντες κατὰ τῶν τῆς πίστεως τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐδημοσιεύσαντο.

85 Legrand, *Bibliographie II*, no. 200 f.; Leber, *Polemics* 71 f. 86-105.

86 Only one copy of this printed book is known in the British Library, no. 869. Cf. Legrand, *Bibliographie II*, no. 218, 115-119.

87 The Apokrisis contains one epistle by Patriarch Meletios Pegas, in section seven of the book, folio 185-192 (a copy from the National Library of Russia, St

Petersburg, I.7.13). The editor introduced Meletios falsely as the incumbent Patriarch of Constantinople (possibly to make his text appear more important to his readers, because of the exceptional authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch): Замыкающий в совѣхъ листы нѣкоторые навелѣбнѣшого и всестѣйшого кврѣ Мелетїа передъ тымъ александрийского, а теперь оуже константинопольског патріархи (fol. 185).

88 A Slavonic edition, consisting of eight epistles by Patriarch Meletios Pegas, one letter by Prince Constantin Basil of Ostroh and one letter by an Athonite monk and publicist Ivan Višenskij. Cf. Guseva, *Izdaniya II*, no. 161.

89 Legrand, *Ouvrages*, no. 168. 240-243.

90 Cf. Hering, *Patriarchat* 164-168; Vranoussis, *Hellénisme* 30 f.; Legrand, *Ouvrages*, no. 166-168. 234-243; Olar, *Typographie; Pektaş*, Press (esp. 110-114); Leber, *Printing* 74 f.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Dealing with Printing in Sixteenth-Century Constantinople

This contribution asks about the role that book printing played in 16th-century Constantinople. Keeping in mind cultural changes that book printing brought to early modern Europe, the article explores how the knowledge about printing as well as the import of printed books challenged the Ottoman capital. As it is known that the first Ottoman Muslim press was established as late as 1727, this paper asks about the attitudes of the Ottoman authorities towards printing and printed books, about the role of printing for the Ottoman Muslim, Jewish and Christian (primarily Greek, but also Armenian) communities in Constantinople. These groups had apparently different strategies in dealing with printing in the capital: Sephardic Jews established their first printing press in 1493 in Constantinople and printed for decades and centuries almost without disruptions; Ottoman Muslims used mainly manuscripts as their media, but also imported printed books from Europe; Greeks and Armenians mostly imported books from Venice and other centers of printed production with the aid of diaspora networks. Altogether, Constantinople was an attractive center for the trade of printed books in different languages and scripts and was involved in the intellectual and scholarly exchange with European centers of printing.

Der Umgang mit dem Buchdruck im Konstantinopel des 16. Jahrhunderts

Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich mit der Frage, welche Rolle der Buchdruck im Konstantinopel des 16. Jahrhunderts spielte. Unter Berücksichtigung der kulturellen Veränderungen, die der Buchdruck im frühneuzeitlichen Europa mit sich brachte, untersucht der Artikel, wie das Wissen über den Buchdruck sowie die Einfuhr gedruckter Bücher die osmanische Hauptstadt herausforderten. Da die erste osmanisch-muslimische Druckerei erst 1727 gegründet wurde, geht dieser Artikel der Frage nach, wie die osmanischen Behörden zum Buchdruck und zu gedruckten Büchern standen und welche Rolle der Buchdruck für die osmanisch-muslimischen, jüdischen und christlichen (hauptsächlich griechischen, aber auch armenischen) Gemeinschaften in Konstantinopel spielte.

Diese Gruppen hatten offenbar unterschiedliche Strategien im Umgang mit dem Buchdruck in der Hauptstadt: Sephardische Juden errichteten ihre erste Druckerei 1493 in Konstantinopel und druckten jahrzehntelang und jahrhundertlang fast ohne Unterbrechungen; osmanische Muslime verwendeten hauptsächlich Manuskripte als Medien, importierten aber auch gedruckte Bücher aus Europa; Griechen und Armenier importierten hauptsächlich Bücher aus Venedig und anderen Zentren der Druckproduktion mit Hilfe von Diaspora-Netzwerken. Insgesamt war Konstantinopel ein attraktives Zentrum für den Handel mit gedruckten Büchern in verschiedenen Sprachen und Schriften und war in den intellektuellen und wissenschaftlichen Austausch mit europäischen Druckzentren eingebunden.

L'emploi de l'imprimerie à Constantinople au XVI^e siècle

Cet article traite du rôle de l'imprimerie à Constantinople au XVI^e siècle. En tenant compte des changements culturels qu'a entraînés l'imprimerie dans l'Europe moderne, l'article examine comment la connaissance de l'imprimerie et l'importation de livres imprimés ont défié la capitale ottomane. Étant donné que la première imprimerie ottomane n'a été fondée qu'en 1727, cet article explore la position des autorités ottomanes vis-à-vis de l'imprimerie et des livres imprimés, ainsi que le rôle de l'imprimerie pour les communautés ottomanes, juives et chrétiennes (principalement grecques, mais aussi arméniennes) de Constantinople. Ces groupes avaient manifestement des stratégies différentes concernant l'imprimerie dans la capitale: Les Juifs séfarades ont construit leur première imprimerie à Constantinople en 1493 et ont imprimé pendant des décennies et des siècles presque sans interruption; les musulmans ottomans utilisaient principalement des manuscrits comme supports, mais importaient également des livres imprimés d'Europe; les Grecs et les Arméniens importaient principalement des livres de Venise et d'autres centres de production d'imprimés grâce à des réseaux de la diaspora. Dans l'ensemble, Constantinople était un centre attractif pour le commerce de livres imprimés en différentes langues et écritures, et était intégrée dans les échanges intellectuels et scientifiques avec les centres d'imprimerie européens.

Saint Benoît at Galata or the Survival of the Unfittest. The Exceptional Perseverance of a Byzantine Monastery in Ottoman Istanbul

Overall, the fate of Byzantine churches and monasteries in Ottoman Istanbul was grim. Once the pride and fame of Byzantine Constantinople and numbering in their hundreds¹, all Orthodox churches were eventually abolished, the only notable exception being the tiny Panagia Mouchliotissa close to Fener, a traditionally Greek quarter of Ottoman Istanbul². Some churches were converted into mosques and thus survived, but monastic estates were disbanded and are lost entirely. Exceptionally, the Byzantine church and monastery of Saint Benoît at Galata survives intact, if not as an Orthodox, but as a Christian institution, including one of the largest estates of the city, certainly the largest in Galata (figs 1-2)³. In modern times, the monastery was divided between Lazarists and Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, who put the vast estate to use as a school, originally with two separate courtyards for boys (since 1783) and girls (since 1839), but more recently united (in 1988), with nearly 1000 pupils⁴.

This paper asks how Saint Benoît survived as a church and monastery from the Byzantine period through Ottoman times, when all comparable institutions perished. Starting from the seventeenth century, the later part of the answer is already provided by the annals of the French embassy that adopted Saint Benoît as an ambassadorial chapel. Thus, French ambassadors provided for the upkeep of the church, protected the estate, and arranged for French monks to come and occupy the monastery, first Jesuits and – after that order was abolished in 1773 – the Lazarists⁵. The earlier history of Saint Benoît before and until the French involvement is less well attested and forms the starting point and descriptive first part of this paper. As we shall see, the sixteenth century was a particularly disruptive period for Saint Benoît, which makes it anything but obvious why this institution fared better than so many others that did not survive.

The second, more argumentative part of the paper seeks the answer by first turning to other churches that were abolished in or before the sixteenth century. The abolishment was

often due to one of three reasons: because a church was in disrepair, for political reasons, or because a building was required to house a mosque. Returning to the case of Saint Benoît, the paper finally argues that the aforesaid three reasons for abolishment did not apply and asks why. As a result, Saint Benoît appears to have survived partly because the original Byzantine complex was particularly well-built and solid, but mainly because it was not politically significant and not wanted for a mosque, as other buildings were better suited to that purpose. As the Ottoman authorities did not allow a church to be abolished for any other reason, being solid but insignificant and unfit seems to have saved Saint Benoît until the French ambassador took the church under his protection.

Saint Benoît from the Byzantine Period through the Sixteenth Century

Most of today's church building dates from 1686 and after, when Saint Benoît was repeatedly destroyed by fire and subsequently rebuilt (figs 3-4)⁶. However, various earlier seventeenth-century descriptions show that the original, Byzantine church building had survived until the fire of 1686, i.e. throughout the sixteenth century. Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, on a visit to Istanbul in the 1650s, described St Benoît as »a very large church, which was one of the most magnificent churches belonging to the Orthodox religion in the Grecian empire, and is at present in the hands of the Frank Jesuits. It is very ancient and lofty, and is painted all over, in mosaic, with the festivals of Our Lord, explained in Greek characters. The belfry is high, and of ancient structure«⁷.

The *Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople* date from the 1610s, when the Jesuits had been newly established at Saint Benoît⁸. At that point in time, the church still contained what the Jesuit report de-

1 Janin, *Églises et monastères*; Kidonopoulos, *Urban Physiognomy*; Magdalino, *Medieval Constantinople* 27-31.

2 Schneider, *Byzanz* 38-47; Kırımıyaf, *Converted Byzantine Churches*.

3 Niewöhner, *St. Benoît*.

4 Belin, *Histoire de la latinité* 428-436; Roche, *Éducation* 13f. 99-101. 105-109. 171-174. 177-180.

5 Belin, *Histoire de la latinité* 232-270.

6 Niewöhner, *St. Benoît*, including references to extensive earlier literature, most of which is not listed in this paper and much of which is grey and rife with misleading rumours. Some of these have more recently been summarized by Coşkun, *St. Benoît*.

7 Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius* 27. Cf. Paul d'Alep, *Voyage du patriarche Macaire* 1, 105; Seewann/Stoy, *Bücherkunde Südosteuropa* 152f. cat. 423.

8 Ruii, *Conflicting Visions*.



Fig. 1 Galata. Satellite image of the Genoese possessions. The arrow indicates the northern corner of St Benoît's estate (cf. fig. 2). – (Photo Googlemaps with addition).

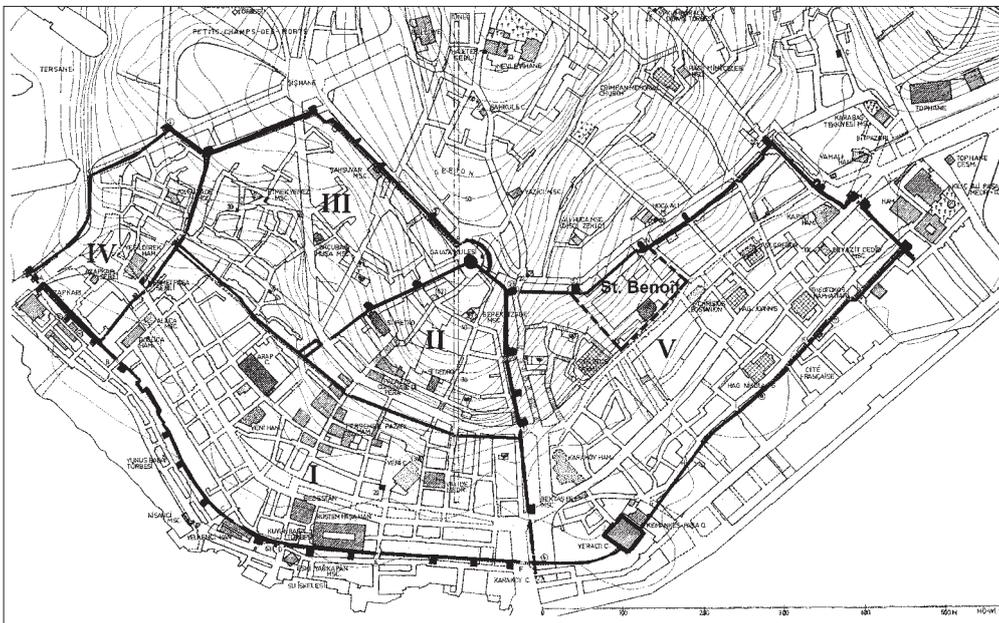


Fig. 2 Galata. Map of the Genoese possessions and their fortifications. The numbers indicate the order of fortification. The eastern quarter no. V was called Lagirio, fortified last, around the turn of the 15th c., and contains the large rectangular estate of St Benoît. – (After Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 321 with additions).

scribes as »un théâtre, en demy rond de degrés sur l'autel« and what must have been the semi-circular stepped bench or *synthronon* in the apse of the Byzantine church, where the Orthodox clergy used to sit and face the altar⁹. The same *Relations* also detail that the Christological mosaics were arranged in registers on the walls, as was common in Late Byzantine churches.

The French ambassador, who arranged for the Jesuits to come to Istanbul and occupy Saint Benoît, was Jean de Gontaut Biron, Baron de Salignac. His ambassadorship lasted from 1605 to 1610, and he reported extensively and proudly on Saint Benoît, comparing the mosaics with those in the Hagia

Sophia and providing some iconographic detail: »L'église de Saint-Benoist ne se puis assez louer, pour estre de toutes celles de Galata, la plus magnifique, pour ce qu'elle contient remplie, par le dedans, haut et bas des parois ou murailles, d'excellantes peintures ou figures de mosaïque, si dextremant et artificieusement élaborées, que toutes celles de Sainte-Sophie n'a aucun avantage sur celles. Où se voit naïvement représentées l'entrée de Notre Seigneure en Hiérusalem, la resurrection de Lazare, la guérison du paralytique et tant d'autres signalés miracles du Seigneur en sa Passion, que la diversité de l'ouvrage et beauté des figures et couleurs, sy bien et naturellement rapportées, raporte aussy à la vue des spectateurs plesir

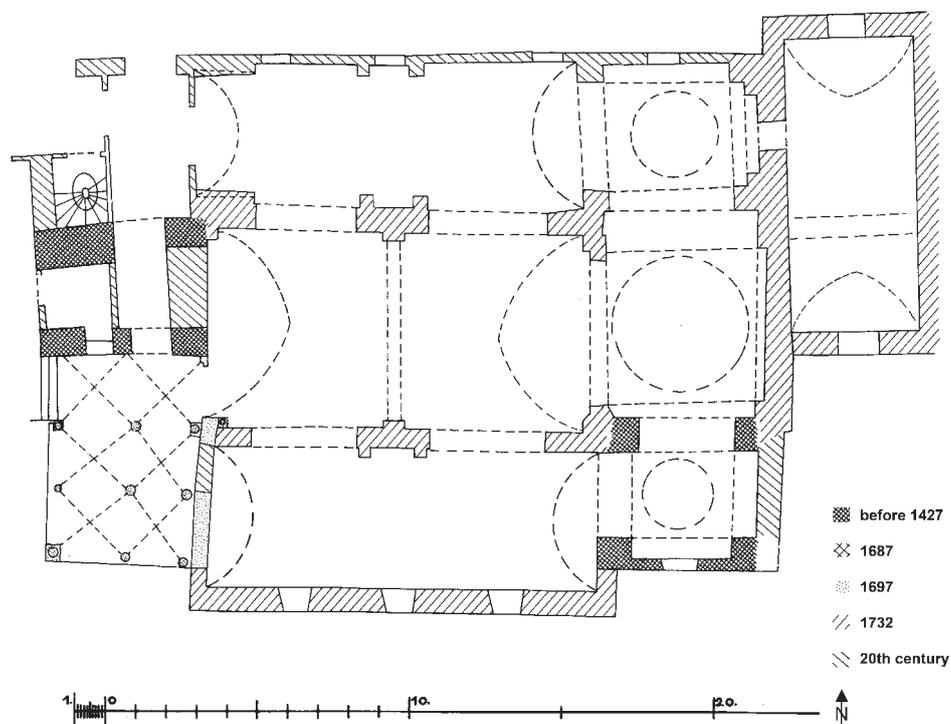
⁹ Carayon, *Relations inédites* 42 f. For other examples of later Byzantine synthrona, see Talbot Rice, *Church of Hagia Sophia* 18 pl. 5 a; Altripp, *Beobachtungen zu Synthronoi* 385. 393 fig. 19 a. b; 405; Mylonas, *Bildlexikon des Heiligen Berges*,

foldout 101, 4; Tekinalp, *Hagios Ioannes in Prusa* 169. 174 fig. 14; Alp, *Middle Byzantine Churches* 18 f. fig. 11.

Fig. 3 St Benoît. The church building seen from the south, photographed in 2007 from a tall window of an office building on the other side of Kemeraltı Caddesi. Note the western belfry and the south-eastern chapel. Street access is provided by the angled stairs on the left side. – (Photo Ph. Niewöhner).



Fig. 4 St Benoît. Plan of the main church floor one storey above street level. The various hatchings indicate the different building phases. – (Plan Ph. Niewöhner).



et devotion ensemble»¹⁰. The Christological scenes identified by the ambassador, the entrance into Jerusalem, the raising of Lazarus, and the healing of the paralytic, were common in Late Byzantine churches of any dedication and are understood to refer to the major feasts on the liturgical calendar¹¹.

The ambassador also wrote about a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary that he renovated and that still exists today. The chapel forms the south-eastern corner compartment of the church, and its narrow and steep proportions, tambour, melon dome, and lead roof outlining the contours of the

10 De Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie* 83f.

11 Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration 14-16*; Mathews, *Sequel to Nicaea II*; Maguire, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*.



Fig. 5 St Benoît. South-eastern chapel, seen from the south, photographed in 2007. The south façade is of fine ashlar masonry. The tambour, the melon dome, and the lead roof, outlining the contours of the window arches, are clearly Byzantine. – (Photo Ph. Niewöhner).



Fig. 6 St Benoît. Belfry seen from the south, photographed in 2007. – (Photo Ph. Niewöhner).

window arches are blatantly Byzantine (**fig. 5**)¹². Until the twentieth century, the chapel also had an outwardly polygonal apse¹³, another typical feature of Byzantine church building¹⁴. The southern façade of the chapel is built with fine ashlar masonry, same as the belfry and the gate of the monastery (**figs 6-7**). The gate was pulled down in 1958 to make space for an enlargement of Kemeraltı Caddesi, but is documented through earlier photographs and drawings¹⁵. The gate was typical of Byzantine monasteries¹⁶, and bell towers were common in Late Byzantine church building, apparently following Western examples and the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261)¹⁷. However, fine ashlar masonry is not otherwise attested in Late Byzantine Constantinople, suggesting that the chapel, bell tower, and gate, and thus

presumably the whole church and monastery, were built on a single occasion by an itinerant workshop.

The Late Byzantine church must have been placed in-between the southeast chapel and the bell tower that likely marked and bridged the centre of a narthex. The church may thus be reconstructed as a cross-in-square (**fig. 8**) or, alternatively, as a domed nave with ambulatories¹⁸. The modern school buildings and yards to the north of the church used to be extensive gardens that were repeatedly mentioned throughout the history of the complex and depicted as late as c. 1800 (**fig. 9**)¹⁹. The monastery and gardens occupied what used to be a large Early Byzantine cistern. According to the French traveller and antiquarian Pierre Gilles (1490-1555), the cistern should once have been vaulted with 300 columns²⁰,

12 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 100f.; Ousterhout, *Constantinople* 78.

13 Gurlitt, *Baukunst Konstantinopels* pl. 62 bottom right.

14 Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture*.

15 Beylié, *L'habitation byzantine* pl. 11, left; Gurlitt, *Baukunst Konstantinopels* 42 pl. 62 top right; Sauvaget, *Notes* 260f. pls 28, 4; 30, 1. See also various photographs and drawings, including the inside of the gatehouse, that were made in 1958, as the gate was dismantled; they are archived at Salt Galata and available online: <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/74672>.

16 Cf. Orlandos, *Monastiriaki Arhitektoniki* 17-26.

17 Bouras, *Impact of Frankish Architecture* 257; Berger, *Glockenturm*; Ousterhout, *Pantokrator Monastery* 751f. 762; Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans* 831-833; Miljković, *Semantra and Bells*.

18 For similar surviving churches, see for example the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii and Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul or the Theotokos Kosmosoteira in Pherai in nearby Thrace: Eyice, *Remarques* 184-190; Hawkins/Mathews, *Notes; Sinos, Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira; Ćurčić, Architecture in the Balkans* 272f. 408f.; Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture* 255-261. 375-377.

19 Carayon, *Relations inédites* 42f.; Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi* ed. Andreasyan 40; Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi* ed. Pamukçiyân 36; Ruggieri, *Costantinopoli* 123-125; Laporte, *voyage à Constantinople* 37, fig. 20. On **fig. 9**, see Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama* 146.

20 Gyllius, *Topographia Constantinopoleos* 228.

but an open cistern appears equally and maybe more likely²¹. As late as the eighteenth century, Kosmaz Gornidas Kōmūrciyan alias Cosimo Comidas De Carbognano described the high and extremely thick walls of the cistern surrounding the monastery and gardens²². In the Galata image of the seventeenth-century Khalili Portolan Atlas²³, Saint Benoît may thus be identifiable by the bell tower, the domed chapel, as well as large grounds with mighty walls and a gate to the southwest of the church (fig. 10).

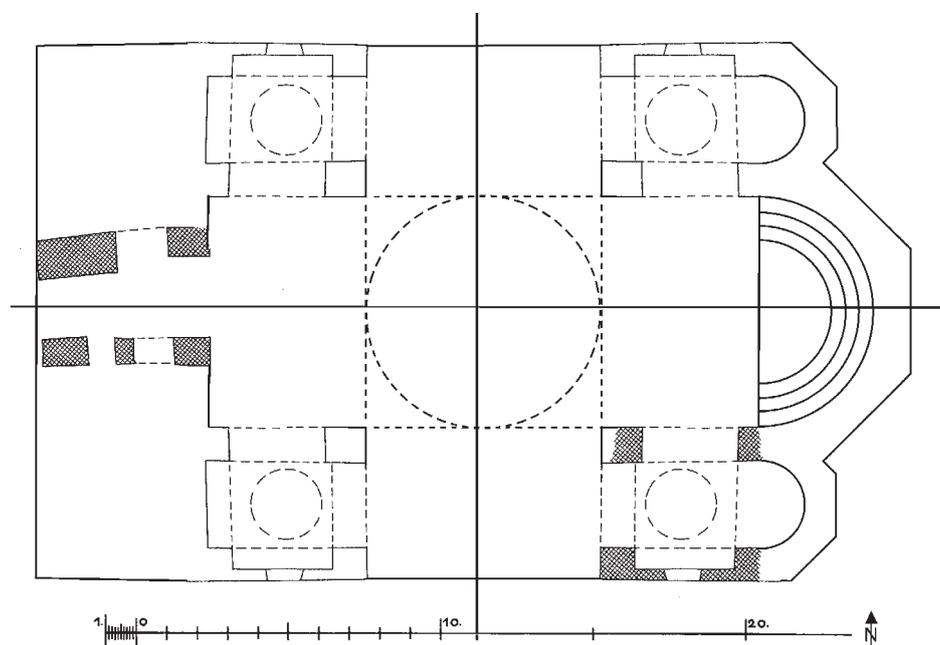
Until the sixteenth century, Saint Benoît was also known as Santa Maria della Cisterna, the latter attribute obviously referring to the Early Byzantine cistern, whilst the dedication to the Virgin Mary seems to go back to the Late Byzantine church. The modern dedication to Saint Benoît was secondary and is first attested in the foundation inscription of the Benedictine monastery from 1427²⁴: *+ ad honorem Dei et santissimae uisitacionis Uirgini' Marie et beatissimi patris nostri Benedicti hoc monasteriū fundatū fuit M CCCC XX VII die XII Madii t̄pr beatissī d d nri Pape M V +*.

A sixteenth-century document that, in the nineteenth century, was archived at Monte Cassino, the home and administrative center of the Benedictine order, describes Saint Benoît as *monasterium S. Mariae Misericordiae in Pera, prope Constantinopolim, unitur congregationi a Nicolao V, anno 1449, sed possessio capta est anno 1450, cum monasterio S. Benedicti, ibidem illi unito*²⁵. This description refers to a legal act, by which Saint Benoît formally joined the Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina at Padua (later to become the Congregatio Cassinensis) in the middle of the fifteenth century, twenty-two years after the foundation in-



Fig. 7 St Benoît, historic photograph of the gate to the monastic estate. The gate used to stand at the bottom of the angled staircase in fig. 3, but was demolished in 1958 to make way for the enlargement of Kemeraltı Caddesi. – (After Sauvaget, Notes pl. 30, 1).

Fig. 8 St Benoît. Reconstruction of the original Byzantine church as cross-in-square. The bell tower and the south-eastern chapel, which still stand today, are hatched. – (Plan Ph. Niewöhner).



21 Janin, *Églises et monastères* 586. Cf. various similarly large cisterns in Istanbul, some open, some covered, and all from the Early Byzantine period: Bardill/Bayliss/Crow, *Water Supply* 128-142; Altuğ et al., *Byzantine Cisterns*.

22 De Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica* 60.

23 Soucek, *Piri Reis pl.*; Barsanti, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo* 246 f., fig. 107.

24 The inscription is today lost, but was recorded twice in the 17th c.: Hasluck, *Dr. Covel's Notes* 58; Dalleggio D'Alessio, *Relazione* 61.

25 Belin, *Histoire de la latinité* 234.



Fig. 9 St Benoît. Historic view of the garden and the church as seen from Galata Tower. – (After Henry Aston Barker, c. 1800).

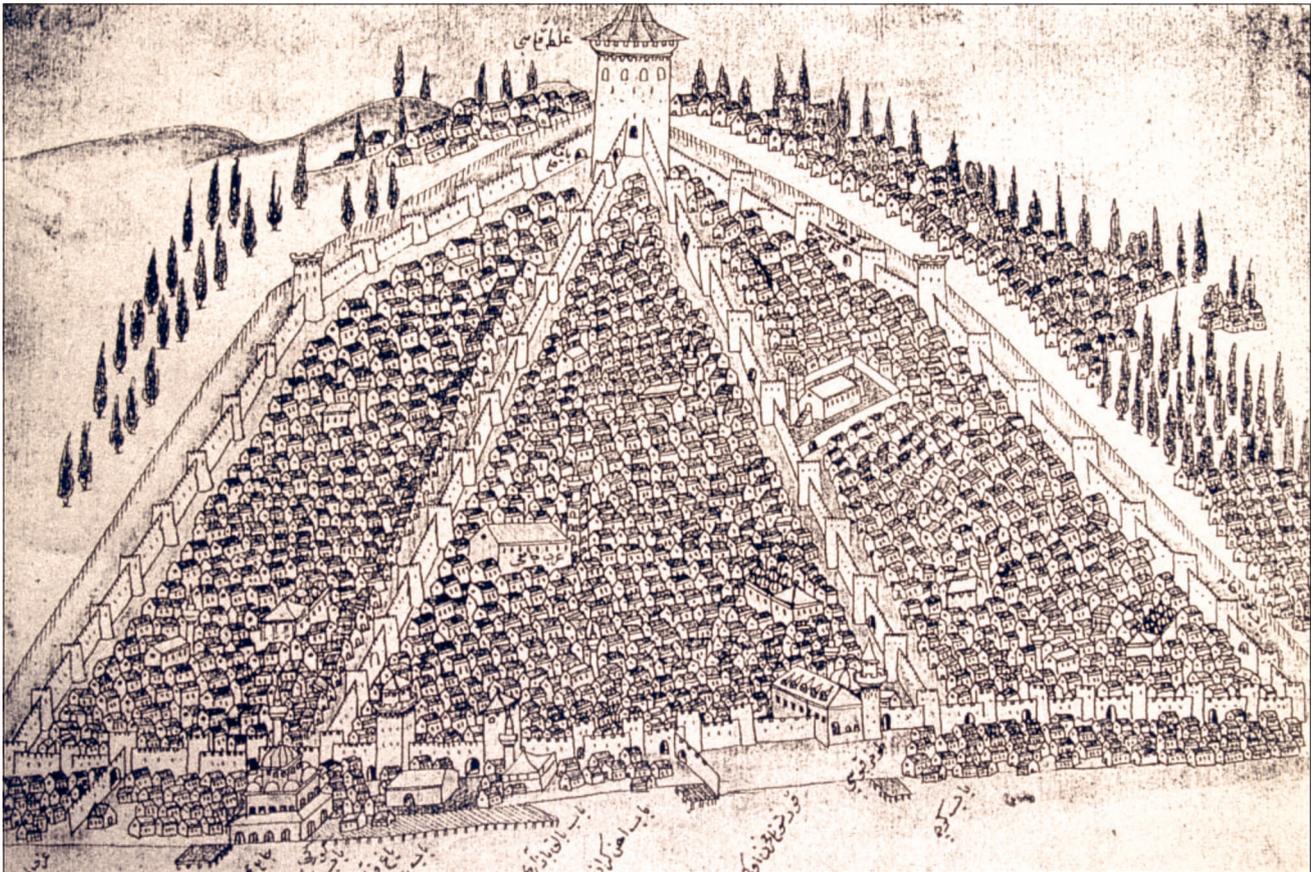


Fig. 10 Ottoman Galata as illustrated in the so-called Khalili Portolan Atlas. The easternmost quarter on the right side is Lagirio, where St Benoît may be identifiable by a large walled estate, arched gate, staircase, bell tower, and domed southeast chapel. The atlas is an edition of the Kitab-i Bahriye by Piri Re'is and must date from after 1686, when St Benoît was rebuilt without a main dome. – (After London, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, ms. 718 fol. 4 b = Soucek, Piri Reis pl.).

scription of 1427²⁶. The monastery is understood first and foremost as Santa Maria, while the secondary dedication to Saint Benoît is described as if it had resulted from the union of two institutions.

All this finds an explanation in a letter that the Benedictine monk Gregorius de Corsanego wrote from Venice to the Genoese *podestà* or governor of Galata/Pera in 1426. The letter asked whether Gregorius and his brethren could estab-

26 Dalleggio D'Alessio, monastère de Sainte-Marie 64-70; Polonio, Santa Maria 410.

lish themselves at Pera, either in an existing monastery or in a new one, to be built with the help of God: *in Pera vivere intra monasterium aliquod iam constructum vel forsan divino suffragio costruendo, aut ecclesiam aliquam*²⁷. Gregorius, who later became bishop of Trebizond, was a native of Galata/Pera and may thus have known of a vacant and available monastery there²⁸. However, the timing leaves no doubt that the Benedictines did not build anew but moved into a pre-existing monastery. This explains why the foundation inscription from 1427 does not mention any building work, nor any donor, why the first dedication was to the Virgin Mary, almost certainly the original patron saint of the pre-existing monastery and church, and why the official recognition by, and integration into the Benedictine congregation, followed later.

As late as the seventeenth century, John Covel (1638-1722), who served as vicar of the English ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1671 and 1672, noted that the Greeks referred to Saint Benoît as Ἁγία Χρυσσοποιή, presumably referring to a gilded icon of the Virgin Mary²⁹. In 1402, the accounts of the Genoese administration of Galata/Pera listed payments to the priest of a Greek Orthodox church of Mary in Lagirio, who had provided the Genoese with translations³⁰. Lagirio was then a suburb of Galata and included Saint Benoît; the priest and church must have served the Greek residents of Lagirio who were still numerous in the fourteenth century³¹. This changed when the Genoese, around the turn of the fifteenth century, extended the fortifications of Galata to also include Lagirio (fig. 2)³². Now the Greeks appear to have left, and their church was deserted, which paved the way for Gregorius de Corsanego's initiative and the new, Latin dedication to Saint Benoît.

The Benedictine foundation seems to have taken off well enough and survived the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453 in good order. Only the church treasure was shipped to Chios, to ensure that it would not be looted³³. The monks stayed behind at the monastery in Galata, where they remained unharmed. Trouble came later, in the second half of the fifteenth century, and it seems to have been the formal union with the Congregation of Santa Giustina that proved detrimental in the long term.

Originally, the union of 1449 may have been prompted by the impending Ottoman conquest, to serve as a safety, in case the Genoese administration of Galata should collapse and the monastic community be forced to abandon Saint

Benoît. However, the union was formulated so as to give the Congregation of Santa Giustina possession and oversight of Saint Benoît. Henceforth, the congregation would rule Saint Benoît from afar, dispose of the endowment elsewhere, and install abbots who sometimes preferred not to live in Istanbul, either. This conflicted with local custom at Galata, where abbots were expected to be present, act as owners, dispose of the income as they themselves saw fit, and choose their own successors. The results were many a disagreement and legal confrontation that also involved various lay persons and the Genoese administration of Galata as well as the Vatican. The monastic community soon dwindled, as did the endowment, and by the sixteenth century Saint Benoît was mostly occupied by no more than a vicar, who may have acted on behalf of the Congregation of Santa Giustina, but could be a Dominican or a Franciscan and might reportedly sell off the church furnishings and even the lead roofing³⁴.

This deplorable state of affairs continued until 1582, when the Congregation of Santa Giustina elected the last Benedictine abbot. What happened thereafter is not attested, but the new abbot does not appear to have taken up office, and in 1583 a first lot of Jesuits took possession of Saint Benoît. The Jesuits were headed by P. Giulio Mancinelli S.J., who reported the following:

*Monasterium Divi Benedicti, quod a multis annis a monachis dicti ordinis derelictum atque destitutum fuerat, nobis pro domicilio, ex Pontificis auctoritate consignaverunt; quod cum Turcae voluissent illud in meschitam vertere, sicut et aliis multis praestiterant ecclesiis; orator Galliarum accessit at imperatorem Turcarum exponens illam ecclesiam esse regis Galliae, id est ad usum oratorium eius, et propterea rogabat ut dimitteretur illi, cui imperator consentit et concessit illi in scriptis privilegium ut in futurum nihil aliquid simile tentaretur a Turcis, sed libere secundum pristinum modum relinqueretur et inde mox factum est ut eius ecclesia dicatur*³⁵.

Remarkably, the Jesuit mentions the blessings of the Vatican and the commitment of the French ambassador as well as the Sublime Porte, but no agreement with the Benedictines that are criticized for negligence that could potentially result in the conversion of Saint Benoît into a mosque. It is thus not clear whether the Jesuit takeover was conducted in accordance

27 Belgrano, Prima serie 189. Cf. Dalleggio D'Alessio, Monastère de Sainte-Marie 62 f.

28 Airdi, Libri e cultura; Polonio, Santa Maria 406-408.

29 Hasluck, Dr. Covel's Notes 58.

30 Balard, Romanie génoise 1, 196 n. 103 with reference to the state archives of Genoa in San Giorgio, hall 34/45, Peire Massaria 1402, fol. 72'. Additionally on this particular source, see also Balard, Bilan 7 f. A nineteenth-century compilation of records at the Orthodox patriarchate in Istanbul also lists a church of the Virgin Mary at Sykai, as Galata used to be called in the early Byzantine period: Gedeon, Βυζαντινόν Εορτολόγιον 210 cat. 66 s.v. Ναός τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν ταῖς Συκαῖς. Unfortunately, Gedeon omitted to relate the particular records, from which he drew his information, but his compilation is considered trust-

worthy nevertheless: see Janin, Églises et monastères 231 cat. 117, s.v. Theotokos en Sykais.

31 Nomidis/Schneider, Galata 6; Balard, Romanie génoise 1, 271; Balard, Société pérote 303.

32 Nomidis/Schneider, Galata 6; Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 320-322; Balard, Romanie génoise 1, 188-190.

33 Dalleggio D'Alessio, Monastère de Sainte-Marie 70-73; Polonio, Santa Maria 413 f.; Quirini-Poplowski, Ex partibus orientalibus translata 296 f.

34 Dalleggio D'Alessio, Monastère de Sainte-Marie 73-94; Polonio, Santa Maria 413-421.

35 Ruggieri, Costantinopoli 123-125.

with the Congregation of Santa Giustina. The threat of a Muslim conversion may have been a reason as much as an excuse to act independently of the Benedictines. However, the first Jesuit initiative was short-lived, as the monks attended plague patients, contracted the disease themselves, and died within three years. They were swiftly replaced by Italian Capuchins, who arrived in 1587, but had to leave again after only two years; the Capuchin mission was to attend Christian prisoners, but included the zealous saint Joseph of Leonessa, who in 1589 tried to enter the palace and proselytise the sultan and thus got himself and his brethren expelled from the city³⁶.

Two decades later, when the aforementioned French ambassador Jean de Gontaut Biron brought in the second, more fortunate contingent of Jesuits, he described Saint Benoît as run-down and for a long time inhabited by no more than two or three Greek clerics³⁷:

»Mais, lorsque nous arivames à Constantinople (qui fut 1605), tout de lieu estoit deslabré, et n’y avoit en yceluy que deux ou trois prestres grecs [...] Cette église Saint Benoist ayant esté sy grand temps en mains des quelques pauvres prestres grecs, l’avoit tellement laissé décheaoir, qu’elle estoit presque deslaissée de catholiques romains«.

Thus, short from being converted into a mosque or burnt to the ground (as happened in 1686), Saint Benoît could hardly have fared worse during the sixteenth century. How, then, did the impressive and reportedly still well-preserved church as well as the exceptionally large monastic estate escape the common fate, and how was it able to survive intact, when all other comparable institutions and buildings were dissolved and converted, in Galata most notably the Dominican church and later Arap Camii³⁸?

The Abolishment of Other Churches

The decline and disappearance of Istanbul’s churches and monasteries was a protracted and complex process that had started long before the Ottoman conquest of the city. Saint Polyeuktos was already ruinous when the Latins conquered and plundered Constantinople in 1204³⁹, and the Holy Apostles, which was repeatedly restored in the thirteenth century, was reportedly in disrepair again by 1422⁴⁰. These large early Byzantine buildings were prone to earthquake damage,

difficult to repair, and increasingly outsized in relation to the ever-shrinking urban population of later times. Many later Byzantine donors preferred to build, repair, and add to smaller monastic foundations, where monks or nuns could be enlisted to pray for the donors’ salvation⁴¹. Monastic foundations were notoriously unstable, all monastic communities likely victims of a Muslim victory, and most churches and monasteries reportedly deserted ahead of or during the Ottoman conquest⁴².

An Ottoman survey of Istanbul in 1455 includes 26 monasteries and 42 churches, only three of which were still in Orthodox hands, one monastery and two churches⁴³. Other data attests to a few more remaining Greek institutions, but they, too, were eventually converted as Istanbul developed into a Turkish city⁴⁴. The Conqueror himself had turned Hagia Sophia into an imperial mosque and replaced the Holy Apostles with his Fatih Camii for obvious political reasons⁴⁵. Other conversions during the later reign of Mehmed II, including Pantokrator/Zeyrek, Eski Imaret, and Kalenderhane Camii, provided the growing Muslim population with mosques, and this continued under successive sultans⁴⁶. Genoese Galata fared better at first, because it had surrendered to, rather than been conquered by, the Turks. A *firman* or decree of Mehmed II, dating from June 1st 1453, stipulated that the Genoese were allowed to keep their churches (but not build new ones, nor sound bells)⁴⁷. However, the case of the Dominican church and later Arap Camii that, two decades later, was converted by the same sultan, exemplifies that in the long run Galata and the Latin churches and monasteries shared the fate of the Greek Orthodox institutions on the historic peninsula⁴⁸. Ottoman law protected a church from conversion only as long as the building was not required as a mosque. Even when that was not the case, a church could still be expropriated if the Christians failed to maintain the building in good repair⁴⁹. Sooner or later, almost every church was thus converted or abolished in one way or another, and the question remains why not Saint Benoît?

Why Not Saint Benoît?

To start with, and in comparison with other Byzantine churches and monasteries, Saint Benoît was lucky in so far as it escaped any immediate consequences of the Ottoman conquest, because it had been incorporated into Genoese

36 Chiaretti/d’Alatri, *Missione cappuccina a Costantinopoli*; Busolini, Giuseppe da Leonessa; Morelli, Giuseppe da Leonessa.

37 De Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie* 83 f.

38 Leggio, *Genova a Costantinopoli*; Sicimoğlu Yenikler, *Cultural Transformation*.

39 Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane* 113.

40 Buondelmonti, *Description* 88; Gerola, *Vedute di Costantinopoli* 276; Necipoğlu, *Gennadios Scholarios*.

41 Kidonopoulos, *Urban Physiognomy*; Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture* 303-331; Marinis, *Church Building* 187 f.

42 Kafescioğlu, *Byzantium* 340 f.

43 Inalcik, *Survey of Istanbul* 479-500.

44 Schneider, *Byzanz* 38-47; Kırımtayfı, *Converted Byzantine Churches*.

45 Inalcik, *Policy of Mehmed II*; Raby, *Founder of Constantinople*.

46 Yerasimos, *Grecs d’Istanbul*; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 21 f. 99 f. 204-206. 223 f.

47 Inalcik, *Ottoman Galata* 17-27; Balletto/Pistarino 1453; Ganchou, Mehmed II. On the remaining bells of Ottoman Galata, including those of St Benoît, see Rodriguez Suarez, *Bell Ringing*.

48 Belin, *Histoire de la latinité* 187-346; Yerasimos, *Galata*; Borromeo, *Catholiques à Constantinople*; Leggio, *Genova a Costantinopoli*; Sicimoğlu Yenikler, *Cultural Transformation* 83-91.

49 Altinyıldız, *Architectural Heritage* 282.

Galata. Although that incorporation meant that the church and monastery were deserted by the Greek Orthodox long before the city fell to the Turks, Saint Benoît was lucky a second time round, because it was occupied by the Benedictines, who stayed during and after the conquest and thus ensured that the monastery was protected as a functioning Christian institution.

Later, when Galata's Dominican church, a fourteenth-century basilica in Gothic style⁵⁰, was converted into a mosque and eventually became the Arap Camii, Saint Benoît's fortune appears to have lain in being less suitable for use as a Muslim prayer house. Most Turks would have lived in more desirable quarters further uphill and closer to the Arap Camii, where the view and the air are better. Saint Benoît is perched on a terrace one storey above street level, which requires climbing steep stairs, makes access unpractical, and leaves no space for a fountain where to perform the ritual ablutions required before Muslim prayer (fig. 3). The interior of the Late Byzantine domed church of Saint Benoît was a lot smaller than that of the Gothic basilica and later Arap Camii. Saint Benoît could not have accommodated the customary long rows of many Muslims praying simultaneously. In the Byzantine monastic churches of Constantine Lips and the Pammakaristos that were converted into the Fenâri İsa and the Fethiye Camii, the columns under the domes were replaced by wide arches, thus creating more spacious interiors⁵¹.

The huge estate of Saint Benoît would initially have mattered little, because Galata and all of Istanbul were underpopulated after the Ottoman conquest, a situation that prevailed well into the sixteenth century⁵². In addition, the massive outer walls of the Early Byzantine cistern that formed and surrounded the estate would have prevented any infringement through squatters or otherwise. The only remaining way of disbanding the monastic estate in accordance with Ottoman law was to allege negligence, as appears to have happened in the later part of the sixteenth century, when the French ambassador stepped in and claimed the monastery for himself and the Jesuits. However, when the Jesuits finally established a permanent presence in the early seventeenth century, the church was reportedly still in good repair. This seems remarkable, as the Benedictine monastery had all but been deserted since the late fifteenth century, with some of its sixteenth-century representatives allegedly selling off the lead roofing. The overall quality of the building must have been as good as the fine ashlar masonry of the southeast chapel, the belfry, and the gate. The original founders would seem to have been well advised, when they called in the itin-

erant workshop that appears to have built the Late Byzantine monastery.

Conclusions

The history of Saint Benoît until and beyond the sixteenth century shows that its survival as a Christian church and monastery throughout the Ottoman period was owed to a series of peculiar circumstances. The circumstances were unique to Saint Benoît and shared by no other Byzantine church, which can explain why only Saint Benoît survived. Whilst many Byzantine churches and monasteries were reportedly deserted in 1452, well ahead of the Ottoman conquest, only Saint Benoît was resettled by Latin monks; it seems odd that they should have done so as late as 1427, when, following three Ottoman sieges between 1394 and 1422⁵³, the Turkish takeover of Constantinople could be anticipated. The Genoese were of course expecting to come to terms with the Turks and did so in the end, but the removal of Saint Benoît's church treasure to Chios indicates that the Benedictines were preparing for a worse case. It remains to be established what prompted Gregorius de Corsanego and his brethren to come to Galata under such circumstances.

Likewise, the French commitment to Saint Benoît appears to require explanation, too. The arrival of French Jesuits at Saint Benoît in 1583, only one year after the Italian Benedictines had elected a new abbot, seems to imply a lot of diplomatic activity, the workings and motivations of which are as yet unknown, even if the alleged threat of a Muslim conversion is accepted at face value. However, the French initiative on behalf of Saint Benoît ties in with other, similar French commitments to Latin institutions at Galata, and by the seventeenth century, the entire Catholic community would refer to, and pray for, the French king as their guardian⁵⁴. The lasting success of this guardianship distinguishes Saint Benoît from other, less fortunate institutions and is, once again, highly exceptional.

On a more general level, the history of Saint Benoît also illustrates typical features of Ottoman rule and early modern statehood, in particular the fine balance between the rule of law that protected the monastery as a Christian institution, but also threatened a Muslim takeover in case of neglect, and the influence of powerful individuals, i.e. the French ambassador, who applied for the guardianship of Saint Benoît on behalf of the French king, and the Turkish sultan, who granted that guardianship in perpetuity.

50 On the architecture of the Arap Camii, see Giordani, *Arap Camii; Çetinkaya, Arap Camii; Sıçimoğlu Yenikler*, Cultural Transformation 79-83 (with earlier bibliography).

51 Macridy, *Monastery of Lips 253f.* details that the wide arches date from a renovation of the Fenâri İsa Mosque, after the building had burned in 1633, and suggests that the Byzantine columns had been removed »perhaps because they were damaged by fire«. Alternatively, the columns could also have been removed, because they were wanted for other building projects. However, their

replacement with wide arches (instead of piers) required considerable extra labor and was surely owed to the requirements of Muslim prayer. Mango, *St. Mary Pammakaristos; Kırımtayif*, *Converted Byzantine Churches* 47-50. 63-67.

52 Yerasimos, *Grecs d'Istanbul; Kafescioğlu*, *Byzantium* 340f.

53 Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, *First Siege; Necipoğlu*, *Byzantium* 149-232.

54 Belin, *Histoire de la latinité 175-186; Mitler*, *Genoese in Galata* 77; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans* 72; De Obaldia, *French Protectorate*.

Another common factor in the history of Saint Benoît was the enduring quality and beauty of the monastery inside the solid walls of the early Byzantine cistern and of its Late Byzantine church. If the complex had not been laid out and built well enough to survive long periods of neglect and still attract people like Gregorius de Corsanego and later the French ambassador, it would have perished long ago. On the

other hand, some of the same architectural features were ill-suited for Muslim prayer, which likely played an important part in preventing Saint Benoît from being converted into a mosque. Thus, the survival of a church that Christians of all denominations praised on a level with Hagia Sophia may ultimately have been owing to its uselessness as a Muslim prayer house.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Saint Benoît at Galata or the Survival of the Unfittest. The Exceptional Perseverance of a Byzantine Monastery in Ottoman Istanbul

St Benoît at Galata was also known as S. Maria della Cisterna and appears to have started out as a late Byzantine monastery within a large early Byzantine cistern. The rectangular perimeter of the cistern informs the outline of St Benoît's estate until this day, and neither church nor monastery were affected by the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul and Galata, when other such Christian institutions were disbanded and eventually converted or replaced. This paper asks why not St Benoît, and describes how the church and monastery survived by a concatenation of exceptional circumstances. In particular, St Benoît appears to have profited from being ill-suited for Muslim prayer.

St. Benoît in Galata oder *Survival of the Unfittest*. Der außergewöhnliche Fortbestand eines byzantinischen Klosters im osmanischen Istanbul

St. Benoît in Galata war früher auch als Santa Maria della Cisterna bekannt und scheint als spätbyzantinisches Kloster in einer großen frühbyzantinischen Zisterne eingerichtet worden zu sein. Deren mächtige Umfassungsmauern begrenzten und schützten das Kloster, und so blieb das Anwesen während und nach der osmanischen Eroberung Istanbuls

und Galatas unberührt, als andere christliche Institutionen zerfielen und Kirchen früher oder später in Moscheen umgewandelt wurden. Dieser Beitrag fragt, warum das nicht auch bei St. Benoît der Fall war, und versucht zu erklären, wie Kirche und Kloster durch eine Verkettung außergewöhnlicher Umstände erhalten blieben. Insbesondere scheint St. Benoît davon profitiert zu haben, dass das Kirchengebäude nicht als Moschee geeignet war.

Saint Benoît à Galata ou la survie du moins apte. La persévérance exceptionnelle d'un monastère byzantine dans l'Istanbul ottoman

Saint-Benoît à Galata, également connue sous le nom de S. Maria della Cisterna, semble avoir été un monastère byzantin construit dans une grande citerne du début de l'époque byzantine. Le périmètre rectangulaire de la citerne caractérise encore aujourd'hui le plan de la parcelle de Saint-Benoît, et ni l'église ni le monastère n'ont été affectés par la conquête ottomane d'Istanbul et de Galata, lorsque d'autres institutions chrétiennes de ce type ont été dissolues et finalement transformées ou remplacées. Cet article pose la question du sort différent subi par Saint-Benoît et décrit les circonstances exceptionnelles qui ont permis à l'église et au monastère de survivre. Il semble notamment que Saint-Benoît ait bénéficié du fait qu'elle était inadaptée à la prière musulmane.

Property Losses and Gains for the Order of Preachers in Early Ottoman Galata through a Sultanic *vakıf* and Genoese *pia causa**

Because this congregational mosque is the largest of the blessed mosques of Galata, it is also called the Great Mosque (*Câmi'-i Kebîr*). It has an imperial tribune, a pulpit atop a single column, a caller to prayer's tribune, galleries for the congregation and a large fountain¹.

The interior and exterior alterations mentioned by Hüseyin Ayvansaray (d. 1787) including the construction of a large fountain in the courtyard for the provision of water for ritual ablutions and for drinking, were a functional re-adaptation of the former church of Saint Paul used by friars of the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) following its conversion into a mosque just a couple of decades after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The expulsion of the friars led to their relocation below the Galata Tower in 1476. This move was facilitated through a generous donation of a house with land by a Genoese nobleman².

This study aims to demonstrate the multifaceted use of the endowment within the multi-religious context of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Galata based on a comparative study of two endowments: Sultan Mehmed II's (r. 1444-1446; 1451-1481) Ayasofya Vakfiye and the 1562 renewal of Angelo Zacharia's 1535 donation deed. These sources reveal how the properties endowed to the Order of Preachers were lost through a sultanic *vakıf* and subsequently regained through a Genoese *pia causa*. Due to the significance of the two archival sources on which this study is based, transcription and facsimiles published for the first time will be included in the appendices.

The Church of Saint Paul and the Ayasofya Vakfiye

According to the Ottoman peace contract '*ahdnâme* of 1453 that was granted to the Republic of Genoa following Sultan Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople, the church and priory of Saint Paul which had been commissioned by the Order of Preachers in 1323 or 1325³ retained its function as a Latin Catholic place of worship⁴. However, the friars were expelled from the priory in June 1476, Mehmed II issued an imperial edict (*fermân*) for its use as a Muslim place of worship, and between 1476 and 1478 it was transformed into a mosque. To cover the costs of the upkeep of the building and the salaries of its employees, Sultan Mehmed incorporated it into the larger *vakıf* of the Ayasofya in 1479-1481, instead of allocating it to a separate endowment. It became known as Galata Mosque (*Ğalağa Câmi'*) or the Great Mosque (*Câmi'-i Kebîr*) because it was the largest mosque in the district at the time of its conversion. Only the former name appears in the above-mentioned endowment charter (*vakfiye*)⁵.

In the *vakfiye* of the Ayasofya, the Galata Mosque is mentioned along with the names of seven other mosques, four of which had previously been churches and were converted into buildings appropriate for Muslim worship immediately after the conquest and the remaining three were mosques built and endowed by Sultan Mehmed II:

... each one of these buildings which are good deeds are places of worship of the obedient. After reaching a stage of completion, the previously mentioned shelter of the rich and poor Ayasofya Mosque, Molla Zeyrek Mosque, Galata Mosque and Silivri Mosque⁶, and joyful orders for the construction of the New Mosque, el-Şeyh Vafâzâde

* This study is based in part on my thesis titled »A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1740«, for which I received my Ph.D. in History at Aix-Marseille University, on 18 December 2018.

1 Ayvansarayî in his masterpiece *Hadikatü' l-Cevâmi'* lists the former church used by the friars of the Order of Preachers under the name »Arab Câmi'i« but also mentions its previous name. Ottoman Turkish »Bu câmi'-i şerif Ğalağa Câmi'-i şeriflerinin cümlesiniñ büyüğü olduğundan câmi'-i kebîr dağı derler. Mahfil-i hümayûn ve bir sütün üzere minber ve mü'ezzin mahfil-i cemâ'at mahfilleri ve şadurvânı vardır«. Ayvansarayî, *Hadikâ*, 424-427.

2 d'Alessio, *Le Couvent* 9.

3 This date comes from several contemporary documents and from dates inscribed on tombstones: d'Alessio, *Une inscription* 407-413.

4 Mamboury, *Tourists* 319.

5 The conversion of Saint Paul, as well as Saint Francis in 1697 into mosques which were subsequently provided with an endowment demonstrates the significance of *vakıfs* in shaping and perpetuating the Islamic urban design of the capital of the Ottoman Empire. For more on the impact on urban organisation and role played in urban infrastructure see Deguilhem, *The waqf in the city* 934-937.

6 Also known as *Câmi'-i Kal'a-i Silivri* as mentioned in *Ayasofya Vakfiyesi*, VGMA, fol. 357.

Mosque and Rümili Fortress⁷ Mosque⁸. The mention of the mosques was followed immediately by an explanation of their purpose with an emphasis on worship, which was given legal and religious justification through the insertion of Qur'anic verses⁹.

The section of the *vakfiye* specific to the Galata Mosque details the salaries allocated to the employees of the mosque, who comprised a preacher, imam, five memorisers of the Qur'an (*ḥāfız*) to recite chapters of the Qur'an on Fridays, two callers to prayer (*müezzins*), two custodians, a wise teacher (*mu'arrif-i 'arife*) and a caretaker whose responsibility it was to light the lamps. Similarly, it mentions the amount of money to be allocated for the oil and carpets of the mosque¹⁰.

The Church of Saints Peter and Paul and a Genoese Act of Donation

Although the friars of the Order of Preachers lost their Byzantine-era church and the priory was endowed for Muslim use, they gained a different church at the heart of Galata in the form of a building containing a small chapel. Later a priory was established and dedicated to two of the apostles, Peter and Paul, the latter appellation being an addition by the friars in memory of their expropriated church. The tradition that the priory used to house sisters of Saint Catherine¹¹ has been rejected by Janin:

Il est certain que l'église était dédiée aux saints apôtres Pierre et Paul. Or il existait à Péra, au moins depuis 1413, une chapelle sous ce vocable, fondée par Gianotto da Bisticcia, bourgeois de la ville. Le 19 janvier 1414, le pape Jean XXIII accordait une indulgence de trois ans et trois quarantaines aux fidèles qui la visiteraient à certains jours et contribueraient à son entretien. La chapelle était donc sous le régime du patronat. Elle passa à la famille des Zaccaria qu'exerçait encore ce droit en 1535¹².

In fact, it was probably founded in the fourteenth century. Loenertz likewise rejects the tradition on the basis that there would have been no reason for the friars to change the name

of the saint to which the church was dedicated, particularly as it was Saint Catherine. The same author maintains that, instead, they occupied the church of the Saints Apostles Peter and Paul of the Pisans, which was founded in 1414 by Giannotto da Bisticcia¹³. The priory was the victim of a fire which broke out on 20 March 1497. The friars were forced to cover the costs of its reconstruction by incurring a debt of eight thousand aspers from Pietro Zacharia, the father of Angelo Zacharia, after the Master General of the Order claimed that the imprudence of one of the friars, Zaneti de Pesaro, had caused the fire¹⁴. The following year in 1498, the Chapter General of the Order of Preachers, celebrated in Ferrara, confirmed the acceptance of the new location among their properties in the city of Istanbul¹⁵. This hasty decision was probably the result of money paid for the reconstruction of the priory in 1497, which could only be covered by a debt¹⁶. On 20 April 1535, the old Zacharia ceded the house to the friars of the Order of Preachers. The act of donation is preceded by the following text, which is a summary of the deed:

Li Frati di S. Domenico abitanti in S. Pietro di Pera sono liberi possessori del detto convento et chiesa senza alcuna dipendenza per conto dell'antico ius patronato; solo restano obligati di dare nella candelora alla casa dell Magnifico Signor Lazzarotto Drapperis successore di quelli che havevano la chiesa per ius patronato una candela di mezz'ocha et l'obligo della messa che si dice nella retrofania resta in vigore tanto ho saputo io infrascritto dall'illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Visitatore Apostolico Monsignor Vescovo di Tino et in memoria di ciò ho scritto queste 8 Righe questo di 9 d'aprile 1626 nel detto S. Pietro.

Lo Fra Gregorio di Tino humile Vicario Generale et servo dell'Ordine di S. Dominico per il Levante affermo quanto di sopra manu propria¹⁷.

The act of donation dated 20 April 1535 of a house and chapel was used to establish the first endowment of the Order of Preachers in Galata following the appropriation and conversion of their former property of Saint Paul into a mosque. The deed states that the property, which included the chapel, house and outbuildings, was given in perpetuity

7 The site of Rumelihisari had been a Roman defensive structure in the past, which was used as a prison by the Byzantines and Genoese. Later, a monastery was built there. There was a small mosque, endowed by the Sultan at the time of construction.

8 Original Ottoman Turkish: »[...] bu ebniye-i ḥayrât ki her biri ma'bed-i ehl-i tâ'at-dür vâsil-ı mertebe-i temâm olduktan sonra ol zıll-i Hudâ melâz-ı bay ü gedâ zikri sebk iden Ayasofya câmi'i ve Molla Zeyrek câmi'i ve Ğalaṭa câmi'i ve Silyri câmi'i ve kendüler sa'âdet ile binâ buyurdıkları Câmi'-i cedid ve eṣ-Şeyh Vafâzâde câmi'i ve Rümili ḥişârî câmi'ini [...]«. Ayasofya Vakfiyesi, VGMA, fol. 57.

9 Ayasofya Vakfiyesi, VGMA, fols 57-59. Original Ottoman Turkish: »[...] bu yedi aded mesâcid cevâmi' ve ma'âbid ve savâmi'i kâffe-i [58] ehl-i İslâm ve âmme-i 'ibâd-ı 'ubbâd-ı Rabbü'l-enâma ki mefhûmi ile her biri ma'rûfu'l-ittisâmdur ikâmet-i cem'u cemâ'ât ve edâ-yı nevâfil ve ferâiz u vâcibât ve müdâvemet-i salâvât-ı mektûbe ve muvâzabet-i ibâdât-ı mergûbe itmeleri için vakf [59] buyurup âmme-i nâsa teslim buyurdılar.«

10 Ayasofya Vakfiyesi, VGMA, fols. 318-320.

11 The name could only refer to Saint Catherine of Alexandria (d. 305), rather than of Sienna (d. 1380) who was not canonised by Pope Pius II before 1461.

12 Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique* 593. Among those who mention this tradition are Belin, *Histoire* 213-214 and d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 468, who confirms the tradition but debates the opinion that the friars' advent saw the departure of the Saint Catherine community of nuns, rather stating that it was most probable that they departed on board the Genoese ships during the siege of 1453.

13 Loenertz, *Les établissements* 340.

14 d'Alessio, *Le Couvent* 10.

15 Loenertz, *Byzantina* 221.

16 Loenertz, *Byzantina* 221.

17 As presented in the original Italian in d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 462.

to the friars of the Order of Preachers for their free use and benefit upon the fulfilment of certain conditions. Such is the essence of any *vakıf*, although a vigorous search has found no evidence that the donation was registered at the local Shariah court and would therefore not have received such an appellation. The donor did not appoint himself or his descendants as trustees for the administration of the endowment. The founder sought to gain spiritual benefits via his endowment in both this life and the next by stipulating the monthly offer of a candle and the weekly celebration of a mass for his own soul and for that of his parents which were given by the friars in honor and remembrance of their patron. He also stipulated three other conditions: first, the friars of the Order of Preachers would be the beneficiaries and not the patrons of the church; second, the friars would have to cover all of the costs of reconstruction and repair; third, the founder would retain the privilege of supervising the conduct of the friars, such as expelling scandalous or rebellious friars in agreement with the superior, of administering the goods as procurator and of reviewing their accounts¹⁸.

A provisional contract was written up by Zacharia's father, Pietro Antonio, whereas the new contract was binding for all potential heirs of the founder. Consultation and consent of the procurator was required for all temporal matters, with the exception of emergency reparation or reconstruction which was to be agreed upon by the religious community and all expenses were to be covered by them¹⁹. The deed also makes mention of eight thousand aspers which was the total amount of the debt that the friars had incurred with Pietro Antonio who had provided for the payment of the renovation and construction of the church and priory. As for the date of the official installation of the friars, d'Alessio estimates that it took place shortly before 1523 because the original contract was renewed every twelve years since its creation and, therefore, the original contract could be dated between 1500 and 1523²⁰.

Furthermore, the founder ensured that the property was considered, according to ancient law, as the undivided ownership of the community and thus prevented contentions regarding the division of the property. As a customary recognition on the part of the religious beneficiaries of their dependence upon their generous benefactor and in keeping with the customs of Zacharia's country, he requested the presentation of a candle on Candlemas Day. Likewise, it was customary to commemorate the benefactors during liturgical ceremonies and so a mass was to be celebrated every week in memory of Zacharia's deceased family members²¹. The

contract was signed by the contracting parties consisting of friars of the Order of Preachers, represented by the substitute vicar for the Orient, Lucas de Pera, and three of his colleagues, and by Angelo Zacharia. At the end, the Florentine notary public Philippe Argentis, recorded the agreement initialled on behalf of the bailo of Florence in Istanbul. This is supported by an authentic notarised copy of the document dated 1561 as follows:

Si dice essere cosa certa come sotto di 20 del mese di Aprile dell'anno 1535, il Sig. Angelo Zaccaria, figliuolo del quondam Pietro Antonio di Pera, come padrone e procuratore ancora in quel tempo della Chiesa e Cappella delli Santi Pietro e Paulo di Pera...ha dato e concesso per sé et successori et posterì suoi et della sua famiglia in perpetuo con titolo et causa di relocatione, over renovatione la predetta chiesa et capela dei Santi Pietro e Paulo, poste nella città di Pera...al Rev.do Padre Fra Luca di Pera, dell'Ordine de Predicatori di S. Domenico, allora Vicario di detta chiesa, et a molti altri frati similmente conventuali, all'ora presenti et accettanti [...]²².

Conclusion

The friars were eager to obtain an official act of donation juridically approved so as to clarify the status of the properties endowed to them and thus secure them against any future attempts of either expropriation on the part of the Ottoman state or contestations by the Latin Catholic community. The contract was legally recognised by the representatives of the Christian community of Galata, the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, who were also responsible for the temporal administration of the Latin Catholic churches. Yet, its legitimacy was never contested by the Ottoman authorities despite the private properties being endowed to the friars in perpetuity for their worldly and spiritual benefit and the spiritual benefit of the Catholics of Galata. This can possibly be attributed to the fact that the property itself remained registered in the name of the founder, Angelo Zacharia.

Acknowledgments

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18 d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 465; Palazzo/Raineri, *La Chiesa* 7.

19 d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 466.

20 It was renewed in 1561 and 1609 as well as in a declaration of 1626: d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 472-473.

21 d'Alessio, *Les origins dominicains* 466.

22 CADG, register no. 37.1.1.

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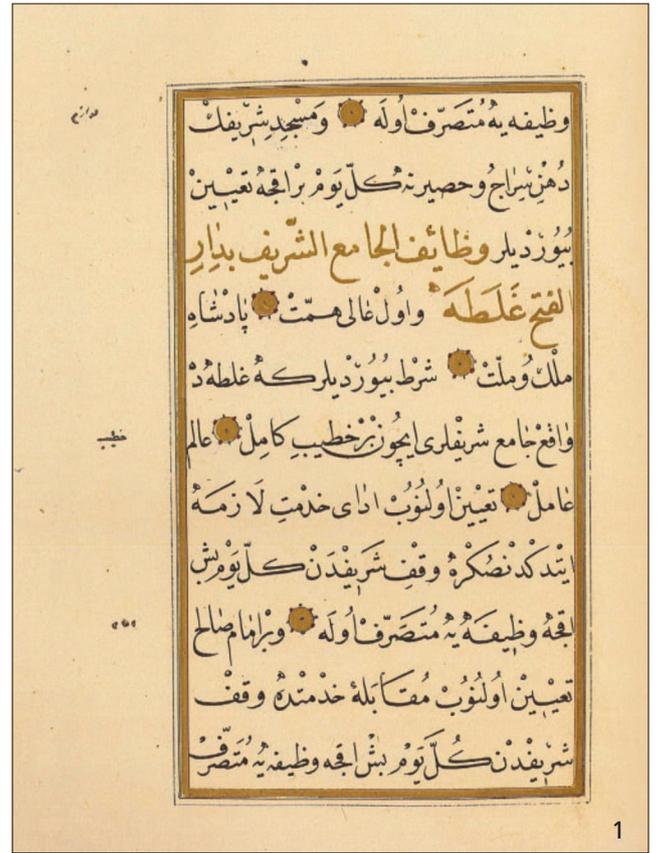
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Appendices

Veẓāifü'l-cāmi' u'ş-şerif bi dāri'l-feth Ğalata
 Ve ol 'ālī-ḥimmet pādīşah-ı milk ü millet şarṭ buyurdılar ki
 Ğalata'da vāki' cāmi'-i şerifleri için bir ḥatīb-i kāmīl 'ālim-i
 'āmil ta'yin olunup edā-yı ḥizmet-i lāzime itdükden sonra
 vaḳf-ı şerifden külle yevm beş aḳçe vazıfeye mutaşarrıf ola
 ve bir imām-ı sāliḥ ta'yin olunup mukābele-i ḥizemette vaḳf-ı
 şerifden külle yevm beş aḳçe vazıfeye mutaşarrıf [319] ola ve
 beş nefer ḥāfız ta'yin olunup bunlar daḫı kemā merre mirāren
 eyyām-ı cum'ada ḳable şalāti'l-cum'a Ḳur'ān-ı kerīmden bir
 cüz'-i şerif tilāveti ile cāmi'-i şerifi teşrif ve āzān-ı sāmī'ni teşrif
 eyleyüp vaḳf-ı mübāreklerinden re'islerine külle yevm üç aḳçe
 bākī dört nefer ḥāfıza yevmī ikişer aḳçeden mecmū'ına külle
 yevm on bir aḳçe vazıfe virile ve iki nefer müe'zzin-i şāliḥa her
 birine birer aḳçeden iki nefere külle yevm iki aḳçe vazıfe virile
 ve iki ḳayyım-ı şāliḥa külle yevm her birine iki aḳçeden iki ḳay-
 yıma yevmī dört [320] aḳçe vazıfe virile ve bir mu'arrif-i 'āriḫe
 külle yevm iki aḳçe vazıfe virile ve iş'āl-i kanādil ḥidmetin edā
 iden ḳayyıma külle yevm iki aḳçe vazıfe virile ve vaḳf-ı şerifün
 dūhn ve ḥaşırına külle yevm bir aḳçe ta'yin buyurdılar.



Figs 1-2 Ayasofya vakfiye, fols. 318-320. – (Photo Courtesy of VGMA).

Di esse d'aposte cio d'p. co. l' d'etj modi enomi concorrendo uincendo uolm digna ed ilale
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ordine sucesori suoi nella d. chiesa et utj libery del d. monasterio -

Renunciado. le qual partj pntj et ascoltanti -
fu fatto. di Pera nel d. Conuento ouer monasterio di st. Pietro e Paulo nel loco -
terreno uicino la sacrestia dela d. Chiesa pnti M^o Angiolo. q. andrea de testi et
M^o bartolam^e q. sebastiano de danesi amerdua di pera et M^o franc. q. pietro
de Gaetani da fior^e. tutj testⁱ. chiamati uenuti et pnti tutte le cose predete
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pub^l. fiorent^e. et al pnti Cancelliere esecret^o. del m. b. Bailo & lanacione
fiore^e. In Costant^e. pnti. di far M^o pre d. Instrument^o. di renouatione In fede
mio soto scritto et glio posto M^o mio ordinario segno cioe cotto -

Noj Albertacio Alberti Inconstant^e. Bailo fiore^e. facciamo fede Indubitata aciascheduno
come M^o s. scritto e pier filipo nro Cancelliere esecret^o fu et e notaro publico
In Costant^e. In fede In testimonio nra diche abiamo fatto scrivere la presente
di Pera M^o di no. di fe^l. is b. del Inuarnat^o -
Alberto Alberti Bailo fiore^e -

Concordat cum originali

H. de Catho Nic. gentis Samar.
Constant. eoj.

Figs 3-5 An authenticated copy dated 06 January 1562, reconfirming Angelo Zacharia's 1535 donation of Saint Paul and of all its dependencies to the friars. - (Photos Courtesy of the Conventual Archive of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata).

Copia

Nel Nome d'Idio Amen nelano dela salutifera In Carnato^{ne} del nro G. Giesu
 Cristo, 1561, Indicatione quinta nel tempo del Pontificato del 3. In xpo pad.
 et b. nro Dio & diuina providenta papa quarto ad i. n. b. del mese di gen. del m. oia
 si dice eser cosa certa come solo In d. no, del mese di aprile del ano, 1535
 proximo passato saluo altro tempo piu vero In s. Angiolo zacaria figliolo
 del g. pietro anto. di pera come padrone et procurator ancora In quel
 tempo della Chiesa et Capela delz s. Pietro & Paulo di Pera & ragio del Do-
 minio et patronia douta al medemo. s. Anlollo et suoi predecessori tanto
 de iure q. d. & consuetudine come si dice datanto tempo In qua aprovata
 et pacifilant. et quietant. obseruata del principio del qual Juspatronato
 no. si troua memoria apresso del homini —
 ha dato et concesso & se et & successori et posterj suoi edela sua famiglia In
 & ppetuo con titolo et causa di relocatione ouer renouatione la predeta Chiesa
 et Capela delz s. pietro & paulo poste nela Cita di pera co. q. d. deue hauesse di suo
 orto et altra sue pertinentie Al d. pad. fra luca di pera del ordine di
 predicati. di b. Dom. alora vic. In deta Chiesa et a molti altri frati similmt.
 conuentuali alora pnti et acetanti. recipienti. esecorduenti. & re et & alij —
 frati del d. ordine q. d. di sop. ad officio habitare quirsi et In & ppetuo di tpo In tempo
 renouar — Con agrauio alz medemi frati di dar & censo et In memor.
 del deto Juspatrono. al d. s. Anlollo un cereo ouer ogni ano nel g. de la
 festa dela purificatio. dela Santa vergg. et In quel modo et forma et come sino
 In quel giorno era stato oueruto, et con q. d. pato ancora che l. d. frati
 fossero oblig. di celebrare ogni setim. una messa de defontz & l'anima del d. s.
 s. Anlollo et suoi predecess. et co questa agiota di piu che l. beni del
 d. Chiesa et orto fossero comuni fra deti frati, li quali frati no. douesse
 ro riceuere alcun secolare habitare nele sue celle dal che ne potesse
 naser qualche pericolo ma bene potessero riceuere altri frati forastieri
 del d. ordine pur che In segno del d. Juspatrono. facessero et auicato di tutte
 le cose predete In prefato. s. Anlollo di piu douessero et fossero oblig. di deti
 frati ancora fabricar et reparar del suo proprio & le necessita dela d. Chiesa
 ouer luoco et & comodo di lor steti et In ogni caso et occorrenza che nela d. Chiesa
 ouer suo Conu. ho monasterio si ritrouasse qualche frate scandaloso et Inobe-
 diente semp. potesse come membro marcio & mela del d. s. Anlollo padrone
 edel presidente di d. frati eser scacciato dal d. loco —
 et con questo pato e spresam. dichiarato che niun secolare giocasse ala bala nelz
 chiostrj del d. monasterio et l. stesso s. Anlollo restasse procur. di deti frati et
 fosse semp. chiamato nele ragioni del d. Monast. —
 et di piu le d. parti concordem. ano anulato un certo obligo di 8000. contenuto
 come si dice In un certo insto de unaltra renouatio fatta citta la d. Chiesa rogato
 come

Come sia ferma ff. & dominico delasino del ano 1513, come debute le sopra scritte cose et di ciascheduna di esse piu amplam. si dice ritrovarsi un scritto contratto tra le dete parti et firmato de prop. mano et anco solo scritto ff. mano di s. philippo argentj de oro pub. fior. no. come testò nelle dete convenzioni et capitoli al qual scritto ff. causa di breuita s' ab. relatione.

La onde hogi che e in questo pnte sopra scritto giorno ff. pietro maruffo nepote da parte di madre del d. G. Anlolo zacaria et come fig. unico maschio dela olim sig. Caterina fig. q. unica et universal. erede del predeto olim s. Anlolo nato dalla detta sig. Caterina et franc. olim suo homo et legitimo marito al qual dise convenir deo In patronato dela d. Chiesa et capella di ss. Pietro e Paulo et Corri. Come padrone et procurator dela d. Chiesa come gia si chiamava ff. d. G. Anlolo suo auo materno ff. et suoj credi et posterj In ff. petuo dela sua famiglia dato concesso et reconcesso sotto titolo et ragion di renouatione In ogni miglior modo via et forma con q. piu et meglio ha potuto et puo gl. e stato et. e lecito ab. ff. padri fra Domenico. q. Georgij de Calui di Pera prior al pnte del d. monasterio fra Donato. q. Vito da Baro teofilo. q. Agostino de Castiglioni da Genoa fra Lorenzo. q. Giacomo anto de narri et fra bened. q. simo de Tadesa tuti frati. Convenuali del d. ordine abitanti al presente nel d. monast. et Chiesa et capitularm. ff. que sto Insieme chiamati congregati et adunati nel loco solito del loro Capibolo cioe vicino al sacranio ouer sacra. della d. Chiesa pnti et acatanti ff. et ff. frati del d. suo ordine sucesori suoj nella d. Chiesa stipulati et reconducenti In ff. petuo et sucesiam. da essere renouato di dodeci In dodeci ani lnd. Chiesa et Capella et orto come di sop. contenti. e descritti Insieme con tutte et ciascheduna di ff. cose che sono dela dita Chiesa Capella orto Casa et beni sop. sotto ouero dentro di se Intrauanti et co. tutte et ciascheduna con adiacentie ff. Inuentie coesentie e seruitu et con tutte lesaff. acioni vso et ouer requisicione al ff. stesso locatore nella d. dela dita et sop. la dita Chiesa et beni ff. Inuenti spetati et competati et che potessero competere hadauer tener possedere fruir et celebr. Inessa la messe ed iuuij officij secondo ff. suo rito et far In ff. petuo tuto ff. ab. de frati et predeti suoj sucesori piacera. et cosi ff. d. s. pietro maruffo nella med. et nom. come disop. pose et confirmo ff. d. G. pa. Domi. prior antedeto et gl. alij frati capitularm. come disop. congregati pnti et recipienti estipulanti come di sop. nella posesione d. medema Chiesa et capella con ~~beni~~ ~~seruitu~~ det. co. piena autorita con tutti e ciaschedun pato modo condicione obli. et forme come di sopra contenute e descritte.

lequal tutte cose e ciascheduna sopra scritte le dete parti Insieme et alter natam. una al altra et ff. contrario hanno promesso et co. solene stipulatione sono convenute hauer In ff. petuo ff. forme ratificate e grate et no. contravenir ouer dir ff. se ouer alij Ingiudicio ouer fueri. alcuna ragio ouer ius ho causa. solo pena del doppio et solo resarcim. dell. danj spese et Interesse dela lite et fuora la qual pena: a pena niente dimeno le predete cose durono In ff. petuo.

ff. ouer man. la ditute lequal cose et ciascheduna disse: le dete parti et ciascheduna

Transliteration of Angelo Zacharia's act of donation dated 20 April 1535

In nomine Domini Amen. Anno eiusdem Domini 1535 die XXma aprilis. Misser Angelo Zacharia, quondam Domini Petri Antonij, come procuratore e patrone della chiesa e capella di S. Pietro, habbiando iurepatronatus convenente et patto con li frati del Ordine di S. Domenico di rinovare gli patti e conventioni che hanno insieme di tempo in tempo, et siando passato il termino di anni dodici, come appare per lo ultimo instrumento fatto per il Signor D: Domenico della Xane notario, infrascritti saranno posti et annotati li patti et conventioni loro. In primo detto Misser Angelo Zacharia come Patrone [di] detta chiesa et di detto loco di S. Pietro et Paulo, vuole et concede alli detti Frati di S. Domenico conventuali, che possino stare et abitare in dicto loco et officiare li divini officii e celebrare le loro messe e fare tutte le loro ceremonie solite et consuete a l'ordine loro. Unde per incenso e memoria de iurepatronatus vuole detti frati annuatim al tempo della candelora debbiano dare a lui uno doppiere, o vero bendone, come hanno oservato sino al presente: Ancora debbiano celebrare una messa di morti ogni settimana per l'anima de suoi passati secondo il stile che fin hora hanno tenuto, e che li beni, et la chiesa et el giardino non debbiano esser propriati al particolare, tal che habbia a nascer qualche discordia, ma che sieno comuni, come de primo s'è facto d'accordo: ancora che non debbiano accetar per stantia persona alcuna mundana in le loro celle ne alcuno huomo de chi nasca al luogo pericolo, ma totis viribus diano a loro repulsa; et venendo alcuno frate forestiere de loro in detta chiesa debbiano, in signum patronatus, notificarlo a detto misser Angelo; ancora li frati volendo fabricare alcuna casa per loro comodo debbiano dirlo al detto misser Angelo; e far di lui mentione come patron di loro; e bisognando detta chiesa, o detto luogo qualche fabrica e riparatione sieno detti frati a fabricar obligati, e riparare con l'habitatione alli loro bisogni. Ancora siando nel ultimo istrumento del predeto quondam D. Dominico della Xane otto-

mila aspri nominati, quali furono sborsati e spesi in lo edificio del monasterio, vuole sieno al presente annullati e non sieno piu obligati detti aspri ottomila. Ancora trovandosi in detto monasterio alcuno frate dissoluto o scandaloso e inobediente, misser Angelo con lo presidente delli frati possa expellerlo, e fare mandarlo come membro putrido e scandaloso e perche la inquiete non paria alli religiosi; però non vuole che li mondani giochino alla palla nell'inchiostro per aliquo patto; e questo vuol sia per patto espresso. Ancora vuolesi intendar in presente come in futuro che è di conventione et di patto, che detto misser Angelo sia procuratore de' frati in detto luogo, e in le ragioni del detto convento sia sempre chiamato: Così osservando e mantenendo le dette cose detto misser Angelo promette e si obliga di non mutar gli detti Frati conventuali di San Domenico dalla detta chiesa: Ma li detti Frati habbino a stare et habitare. Né vuole che niuno postero o di suoi discendenti possino né vogliano rimuoverli dal detto luogo, servando li capituli qui sopra posti e per verita e chiarezza del sopradetto si sottoscriveranno ambedue le parti e testimoni di mano proprio.

Ego [Fra] Lucas de Pera Vicarius substitutus Societatis vice omnium Fratrum presentium affirmans supradicta manu propria me subscripsi.

Ego Fra Pantaleon de Pera confirmo supradicta manu propria.

Ego Fra Joannes de Pera affirmo supradicta manu propria.

Ego Fra Thomas de Pera affirmo supradicta manu propria.

Ego Angelo Zacharia quondam Domini [Petri Antonij] affirmo supradicta manu propria.

Ego Phillipus Argentis...Notarius publicus et civis florentinus, in presentiarum Magnifici Domini Aloisij, pro Illustrissimo Domino Florentino Constantinopoli Bailis dignissimi Cancellarii, supradicta descripsi; inter prestantes Magnificum Lucam et Dominum Angelum et actum Anno D. MDXXXV.

Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Property Losses and Gains for the Order of Preachers in Early Ottoman Galata through a Sultanic *vakıf* and Genoese *pia causa*

The Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1453 marked the expulsion of the Order of Preachers (known as the Dominicans) from their priory and the conversion of their church of Saint Paul into the Galata Mosque. In 1476, the friars relocated to below the Genoese Tower of Galata, facilitated by a property donation by a Genoese nobleman called Angelo Zacharia. This study demonstrates the multifaceted use of the legal structure of the endowment within the religiously plural context of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Galata based on a comparative study of two endowments: Sultan Mehmed II's (r. 1444-1446; 1451-1481) Ayasofya Vakfiye and the 1562 renewal of Angelo Zacharia's 1535 donation deed. These sources reveal how the Order of Preachers' endowment of properties resulted in their loss through a sultanic *vakıf* and subsequently to their gain through a Genoese *pia causa*.

Eigentumsverluste und -gewinne für den Predigerorden im frühosmanischen Galata durch ein *Vakıf* des Sultans und eine genuesische *Pia Causa*

Die osmanische Eroberung der byzantinischen Hauptstadt Konstantinopel im Jahr 1453 markierte die Vertreibung des Predigerordens (auch bekannt als Dominikaner) aus ihrem Priorat und die Umwandlung ihrer Kirche St. Paul in die Galata-Moschee. 1476 zogen die Mönche in den Bereich unterhalb des Genueserturms von Galata um, was durch eine Grundstücksspende eines genuesischen Adligen namens Angelo Zacharia ermöglicht wurde. Diese Studie zeigt die vielfältige Nutzung der rechtlichen Struktur der Stiftung im religiös pluralistischen Kontext des Galata des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage einer vergleichenden Studie zweier Stiftungen: Ayasofya Vakfiye von Sultan Mehmed II. (reg. 1444-1446; 1451-1481) und die Erneuerung von Angelo Zacharias Schenkungsurkunde aus dem Jahr 1535 im Jahr 1562. Diese Quellen zeigen, wie die Schenkung von Grundstücken durch den Predigerorden dazu führte, dass sie durch ein *Vakıf* des Sultans verloren gingen und anschließend durch eine genuesische *Pia Causa* wiedererlangt wurden.

Pertes et gains immobiliers pour l'Ordre des Prêcheurs dans le quartier ottoman de Galata à travers un *vakıf* sultanique et une *pia causa* génoise

La conquête ottomane de la capitale byzantine de Constantinople en 1453 a marqué l'expulsion de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs (appelés les Dominicains) de leur prieuré et la conversion de leur église Saint-Paul en mosquée de Galata. En 1476, les frères se sont installés en contrebas de la tour génoise de Galata, grâce à un don immobilier d'un noble génois appelé Angelo Zacharia. Cette étude démontre l'utilisation multi-forme de la structure juridique de la dotation dans le contexte religieux pluriel de Galata aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, sur la base d'une étude comparative de deux dotations: L'Ayasofya Vakfiye du sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446; 1451-1481) et le renouvellement en 1562 de l'acte de donation d'Angelo Zacharia de 1535. Ces sources révèlent comment la dotation de propriétés de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs a entraîné leur perte par le biais d'un *vakıf* sultanique, puis leur gain par le biais d'une *pia causa* génoise.

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.

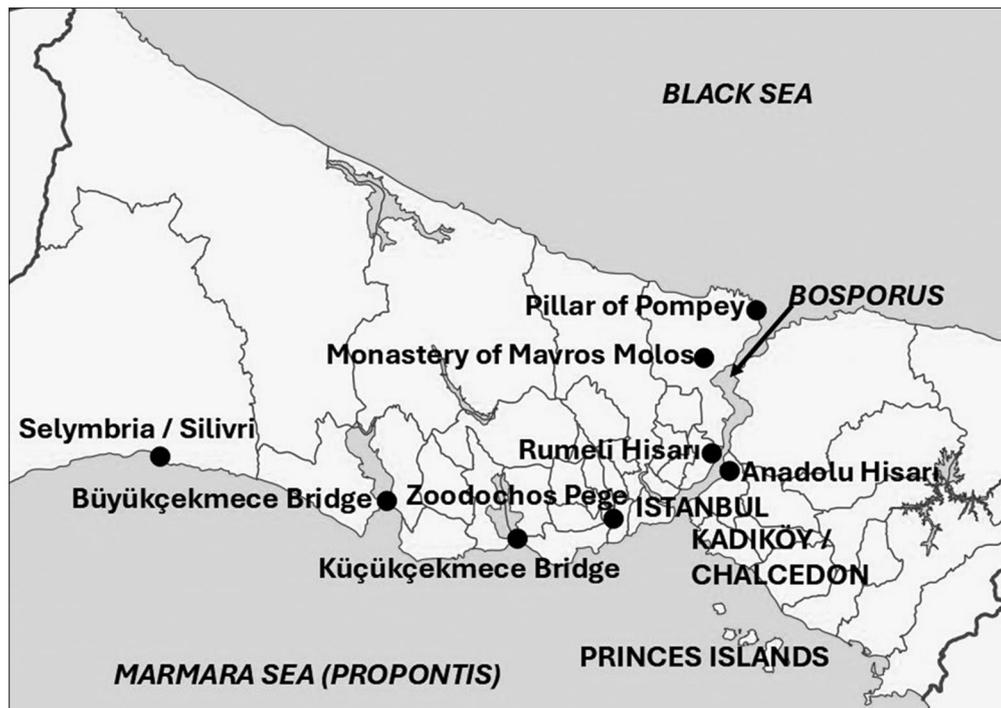
7 Sahn, Lubenau vol. 1, 130-132.

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-

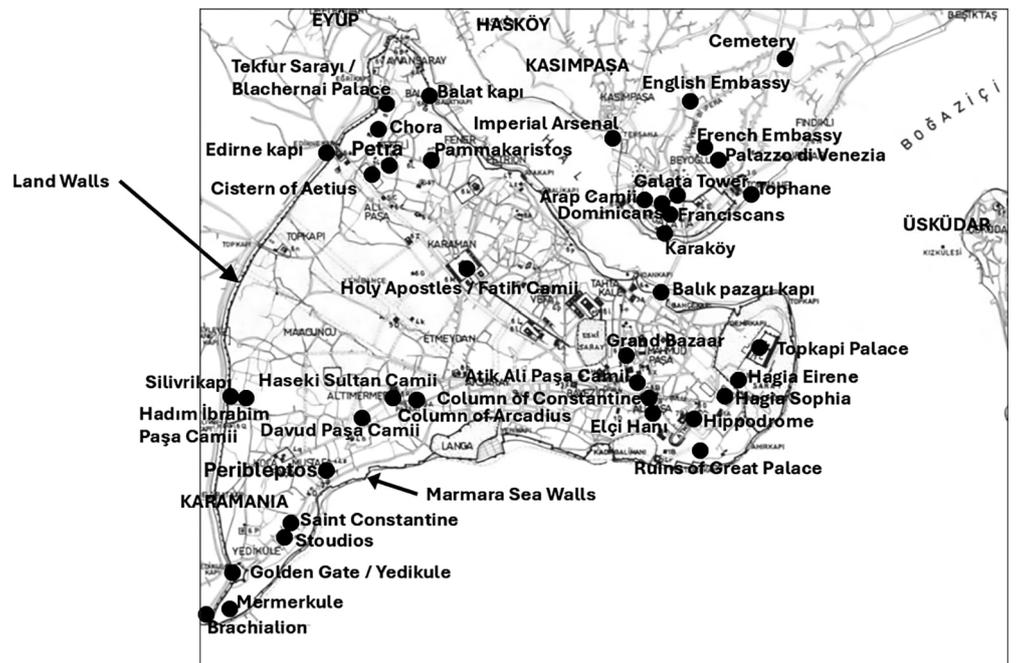
10 Taddei, Colonna di Arcadio; Konrad, Beobachtungen 367-368. For the market, see Özgüven, Market Place.

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 Dantzig (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*.

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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.

Interpreting the Fall of Constantinople in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy: Marginal Notes in the Troitsa Manuscript of Nestor Iskender's »Tale of the Capture of Tsargrad«

The Tale of Nestor-Iskender (also spelled Iskander), or as the current critical edition names it *Повесть о взятии Царьграда турками в 1453 году* [Tale on the Taking of Tsargrad by the Turks in the year of 1453] is one of the main sources for the Fall of Constantinople that circulated in Muscovy in the sixteenth century¹. The only complete manuscript of the text, Troitsa 773, is currently held in the Russian National Library and is available in digital form. The quality of the digitization makes it possible not only to read through the lines of the manuscript, but also study the marginalia. More than 30 handwritten notes not only accompany the text of the *Tale* but also provide an example of how to read the text. The present article is a first attempt to study the main set of marginal notes in the manuscript.

The study consists of four parts. After a brief introduction to the *Tale*, the second part describes the manuscript and the third part summarizes the notes. The fourth part is an analysis of the notes in their present form. The article is not a critical edition of the text, but is an attempt to draw the attention of scholars to hitherto overlooked material.

A Story With No Title

Together with another later text, the so-called *Memoirs of a Janissary* by Constantine Mihailović, *The Tale* of Nestor Iskender is part of the corpus of literary works related to the events of 1453². *The Tale* represents an important body of literary impressions that claim to be the work of eyewitnesses who allegedly fought on the Ottoman side. In the Muscovite discourse, *the Tale* is known as the »most authoritative source« on the siege preserved from that period³.

The »Tale« survives in two versions: a short one and a full one⁴. The short version is part of a wider chronological work, the so-called Chronograph of 1512. The subject of

the present discussion is the full version and its manuscript. The author, Nestor-Iskender, is an enigmatic figure, and, as Oleg Tvorogov puts it, might be a literary invention. The only information about the author can be found in the main manuscript of the full version of the *Tale* (Troitsa 773). On the last folio of the text, the author claims to be a traveler who was captured by the Turks and forced to serve in the Ottoman army during the siege of Constantinople. Some time later he was able to escape to Christian lands to tell his story. For the sake of clarity, this *persona auctoris*, referred to as Nestor-Iskender, will be considered the author of the tale throughout this article.

The very designation of the *Tale* is problematic, since the narrative begins *in medias res*, without a title, on folio 217^r of the manuscript⁵. The narrative about the siege and fall of Constantinople (1453) is the only text of this genre in the literary tradition of north-western Eurasia from this period. The author describes the foundation of the City, provides brief descriptions of some places of interest (palace, hippodrome, *megas embolos*), and talks about the prophecies that had predicted the Fall of Constantinople at the beginning of its history. The rest of the *Tale* is devoted to the events of 1453 with a strong sympathy for the Byzantines and a negative, biased view of the Turks⁶. The description of 1453 begins with military details and the preparations on both sides. The description of the siege generally corresponds to the widely accepted consensus regarding the military events, with the addition of epic components missing from other accounts, and details that allow modern scholars to conclude that the author had first-hand knowledge of the siege⁷. The full version of the *Tale* ends with a description of Constantine XI's heroic death, Mehmed II's entry into the city, his contract with the Orthodox Patriarch, and a brief description of the prophecy that attributes the return of the city to red-haired people from the north. This last passage has attracted much atten-

1 For the digital version of the manuscript see scan made at the Russian State Library at the official site of the monastery of St. Sergius <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/304-i/f-304i-773/#image-1> (10.04.2025). This article uses the electronic critical edition of the text prepared and commented by Oleg Tvorogov. Nestor Iskender, *Povest'*.

2 For the rest of the corpus, see Speranskiy, *Povesti i skazaniya* 136.

3 For the role of the text, see Florya, Nestor Iskender.

4 For differences in the manuscript tradition see Tvorogov, *Vstuplenie*.

5 The authors of the nineteenth-century catalog of the manuscripts noted the absence of the title. See Illarij/Arsenij, *Opisanie* 172.

6 For a short analysis of the image of the Turks in Nestor-Iskender see Öksüz – Yapıcı, Nestor Iskender 43-45.

7 See Hanak, Nestor-Iskender.

tion among scholars of late Renaissance apocalypticism⁸. The attempts to connect it with the problematic »Moscow – Third Rome« theory did not gain much traction as well.

The authenticity of the *Tale* has long been the subject of debate among scholars. Historical inaccuracies, primarily concerning the role of the Orthodox Patriarch in the siege and the presence of the Empress in the city (Constantine XI was officially a widower), led some scholars (mainly Soviet and Russian) to view the *Tale* as a later compilation⁹. The patchy knowledge of the city was also cited as evidence for the later origin of the text. A series of studies by Hanak and Philippides, however, argue otherwise¹⁰. Explaining the author's uneven knowledge, they suggest that he may have been a defector from the Ottoman army who changed sides during the siege and was kept under some form of surveillance. According to this interpretation, Nestor was not allowed into the center of the city but fought among the defenders on the walls and managed to survive the final onslaught. This makes the *Tale* unique, as its author may have witnessed the events of 1453 probably from *both sides*¹¹. This position is cautiously supported by other scholars who use certain details from Nestor's *Tale* in connection with other works about the events of 1453¹².

The present article takes a different perspective, focusing not on Nestor-Iskender's text but on a set of marginal notes in the Troitsa 773 manuscript of the *Tale*. The notes, written in two different hands, can be found on almost every page of the manuscript. As we shall see, three experts date the main hand to the first half of the sixteenth century. The notes thus reflect a unique »readers' experience« of the *Tale* and provide an insight into how sixteenth-century Muscovite readers' perceived the siege of 1453.

The Manuscript

The manuscript belongs to the so-called Troitsa Collection, which was originally kept in the treasury of the Trinity Monastery some seventy kilometers north of Moscow. The monastery was an important center of learning and archiving of written materials, some of which were later transferred to be preserved elsewhere. Troitsa 773, for example, was first moved to the Historical Museum in Moscow, and during the Soviet era it was moved again to the collection of the Russian National Library, where it is currently held. The manuscript has recently been digitized, making it easily accessible for in-depth study.

8 As Nina Sinitsina has noted, the apocalyptic motifs vary in different versions of the *Tale*. Sinitsina, *Tretiy Rim* 192-193. For the recent analysis and summary of the secondary literature on the questions of the Third Rome and (dis)connection between the theory and the text in question see Yeruslimsky, *Imperator Svyatoy Rusi 490-492*. On the projection of the »Third Rome« see Ostrowski, *Moscow The Third Rome 173-175*. I thank professor Konstantin Yeruslimsky for the possibility to work with the book before the official launch.

9 See Tvorogov, *Vstuplenie*.

The dating of Troitsa 773 is debated. The nineteenth-century catalogue entry dates it to the sixteenth century. In his comparative study, Speransky suggests 1530 as the date of the creation of the main version of the *Tale*¹³. I have consulted Adrian Selin (Higher School of Economics in St Petersburg) and two other experts, who have confirmed that the main text of the *Tale* was written in an early sixteenth-century hand, and dated the hand of the main annotator to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The possible dating of the manuscript can be supported by internal evidence; for example, an inscription on folio 273 reads »So Great Prince Vasily Ivanovich gave to Peter Vasilyev...«. The handwriting of this inscription seems to be identical to that of the annotator and it seems highly likely that »Great Prince Vasily Ivanovich« refers to Vasily III, Grand Prince of Muscovy (r. 1505-1533). This suggests not only a *terminus ante quem* for the leaves that were later used for the book, but also the circles in which the manuscript was conceived, namely those of the intelligentsia around the Grand Princes' Chancellery. The location of the manuscript in contemporary Muscovy is not clear, but there are a number of enticing options. Was this manuscript part of the famous library of Ivan the Terrible or was it part of a boyar's library, that was later donated to the monastery? While these questions remain open for paleographers and philologists, the present study moves on to a close description of the notes.

Inscriptions on the Margins

The series of notes sheds light on both the context of the text's production and the experience of a contemporary reader. The following list is an incomplete and provisional translation of the anonymous commentator's notes, which follow the numbering of the folios written in a nineteenth-century hand. According to my reading, there were two annotators of the manuscript. The notes of the second annotator are marked in the list below with »+«.

fol. 219^v above the main text »About the sign of the eagle and the snake«

fol. 220^r above the main text »About the construction of the City«

fol. 221^v On the margin next to the description of the prominent people settling Constantinople »and so«

fol. 222^r above the main text »About the advance of the godless Magoma and darkness«

fol. 225^v above the main text, damaged »First assault«

10 Hanak considers him to be an Ottoman defector, whom Byzantines consciously kept away from sensitive locations. »In all probability, he was then within the city, but not in close proximity to the walls«. See Hanak, Nestor-Iskender.

11 See Hanak and Philippides, *The Siege 137*.

12 See Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins* 211.

13 See Speranskiy, *Povesti i skazaniya*.

- + fol. 225^v below the main text »A« (First assault – RS)
fol. 227^v above the main text »Coming of Zustuneia (Giustiniani Longo – R.S.)«
- + fol. 227^v. Text in the lower part of the parchment damaged and restored by different later hand. It seems likely that the letter »Б« (denoting the second assault in numbering of the second annotator) could be present below this text.
fol. 227^r above the main text »Second assault«
fol. 230^r above the main text »The Council of the Tzar« (Emperor Constantine XI – R.S.)
fol. 231^r above the main text »Third assault«
fol. 232^r above the main text »About the prophecy«
fol. 232^v on the right margin, next to the description of the sins »do not walk in his way«
- + fol. 233^v below the main text »B« (Third assault – RS)
fol. 234^r above the main text »Fourth assault«
fol. 235^r above the main text »About the cannons built«
fol. 235^v above the main text »About the glory of the Tzar«
fol. 236^r above the main text »How the Tzar attacked the Turks«
fol. 237^r above the main text »About the descent of ineffable Light«
fol. 240^v above the main text, damaged note »Defeat (?) [...] of the Godless One. City [...] assault«
- + fol. 240^r below the main text »Г« (Third assault – RS)
fol. 242^v above the main text »Assault from the Godless One and the attack of the Tzar against the Turks«
fol. 243^v above the main text to the left »About striking Zustuneia with a cannon«
fol. 243^r On the left margin »And so came that day«
fol. 244^r above the main text »About the death of Zustuneia«
fol. 245^v, above the main text »About the battle of the Tzar«
fol. 245^r, above the main text »About the council of the Godless One«
fol. 246^v, above the main text »About the great darkness«
fol. 247^v, above the main text »About the death of Begliar-bey of the East from the Tzar«
fol. 248^v, above the main text »About the (unclear) of the Tzar«
- + fol. 248^v, below the main text »Д« (Fourth assault – RS)
fol. 248^r, above the main text »About the farewell of Tzar in the Great Church«
- + fol. 248^r below the main text »E« (Fifth assault – RS)
fol. 249^r above the main text »About the Capture of the City«
fol. 250^r above the main text »About the entrance of the Godless One into the City«
fol. 252^v above the main text »About the predictions about the same City«

It is notable that, with the exception of folios 227-230 (according to the nineteenth-century pagination), every folio of the text of the *Tale* is furnished with notes of some content.

According to one of the experts consulted, this is found only in a few manuscripts before the seventeenth century. The original purpose of this annotation, also absent from other works in the same manuscript, is an open question.

Equally interesting is the fact that there are several layers of annotation. The first annotator (who on the basis of palaeographical evidence probably preceded the main one) numbered only the assaults, from the first to the fifth. The second annotator (whom I call the Main one) is probably the author of both the main set of comments and the inscription stating that the book was donated by Vasily III. Sometimes annotators were in disagreements with one another. Some assaults were numbered twice – both at the top of the page and below the text. This suggests two readers, one of whom was interested exclusively in military matters, while the other annotated every folio of the *Tale*. In the list above, the annotations of the second annotator are marked with a »+«. The present study focuses on the first annotator and his comments, which form a sufficiently coherent corpus that allows observations about the annotator's perception of the events.

The Notes to the *Tale* In terms of topics, assaults and military matters seem to be the most important to the main annotator. More than half of the notes pertain to military subjects, some receiving a special note, for example, the one about the construction of cannons. Others deal with military leaders, the most prominent of whom are »the Tzar« (Constantine XI), »Zustuneia« (Giustiniani Longo), and Mehmed II Fatih (first referred to as »Magoma« then the »Godless One«). Their actions are the subject of more than half of the notes and mark out the positions of the two protagonists and one antagonist in the tale of Nestor Iskender.

The text also contains apocryphal material, starting with the prophecy of the snake and the eagle, continuing with the descent of light (fol. 237^r), the great darkness (fol. 246^v), and concluding with an annotation of the thing »predicted about the same City« (fol. 252). The phenomena associated with the Church are absent from the notes. Geography is similarly underrepresented: the only spatial marker found in the notes is the Hagia Sophia, referred to as »the Great Church« at the top of fol. 248^v. Although apocryphal material appears in fewer notes than military topics, it is instructive. The Annotator either had a personal interest in the prophecies and/or was familiar with this aspect of the Constantinopolitan grand narrative.

The Annotator's main interest was no doubt the drama of the Fall of Constantinople. He clearly understood his subject and paid special attention to the destruction of Byzantium as an empire. Some of the remarks particularly highlight the author's emotional reaction. First and foremost, the »day had come« note marks the culmination of the narrative, while elsewhere the same hand writes »do not follow his way« above the description of the sins of the citizens of Constantinople before the Fall of the city. It is, therefore, safe to say that the Annotator was interested in spiritual welfare and regarded the Fall as a spiritual catastrophe. His note on »his« mistakes may be commenting upon Emperor Constantine XI's

decision to accept the help of the Latins. However, this remains uncertain, given that the whole issue of pro-papal politics is absent from Nestor Iskender's text.

The author has little sympathy for Sultan Mehmed Fatih, who is mentioned by name only once and in an abbreviated form. The rest of the notes refer to him as the »Godless One«, a sign that the annotator tries to avoid the enemy's name, demonstrating his desire to distance himself from the sultan. Besides this *damnatio memoriae* regarding the sultan, references to other members of the Ottoman army are notably absent. On fol. 238, the author describes »how the Tzar attacked the Turks«, where the term »the Turks« is correctly spelled, emphasized by a capital initial »T« rising well above the line. The only note commemorating members of the Ottoman command is the single reference to the Beylerbeyi of the East (fol. 247^v), and the number of officers mentioned by Nestor summarized as »many«.

In conclusion, the notes provide an interesting insight into the experience of a reader and give some, albeit limited, information about the readers of the manuscript in sixteenth-century Muscovy. Some readers, such as the author of notes 1 and 2, were primarily interested in military matters, especially in the Ottoman assaults against the fortified city. This is hardly surprising, since the military history of the Duchy of Muscovy in the first half of the sixteenth century is known to have recorded many assaults and conquests. Secondly, the main Annotator paid special attention to the prophecies about the city. He was interested in divine omens, in the darkness and light, and in the future destiny of Constantinople. The Annotator perceived the Turks as a religious, hostile Other and avoided their names in the text. The notes reveal his obvious sympathy towards »the Tzar« Constantine XI, while references to the topography of Constantinople are markedly absent in the notes. The city and its rich topography described in some detail by Nestor in the first part of his work does not attract the attention of the Annotator. This is in stark contrast with the previous Rus' tradition of the description of holy places by pilgrims, which reached its peak in the time of Palaiologoi¹⁴. The Annotator was either unfamiliar with this tradition or, more plausibly, disregarded it for the sake of the details more relevant for sixteenth-century readers of the manuscript, some of whom have been associated with the Grand Prince Vasily III.

The Context of the Notes: Vasily III and his Many Sieges

The other works contained in the manuscript suggest that the person who commissioned it was interested in both formulat-

ing a negative view on Islam and in the technical description of how to take a fortified city with the help of firearms.

The time of the appearance of the manuscript coincides with the aftermath of the first official contacts between Muscovites and the Ottomans during the Plescheev embassy. While no data is available about the contacts in the first decades of the sixteenth century, the manuscript likely emerged against the backdrop of the discussions of the aftermath of the embassy which Ivan III sent to Bayezid II, which was problematic in many ways (1496-1498).

During the embassy, protocol differences resulted in significant misunderstandings, if not in an open fiasco of the mission, which was concluded with the exchange of letters between the two sovereigns¹⁵. The reign of Vasily III saw another set of mostly unsuccessful attempts to establish amicable relations, providing the context for the circulation of the Troitsa manuscript. In addition to this, the time of the circulation of the Troitsa manuscript also chronologically coincides with the very start of Vasily III's reign and his repeated sieges of Smolensk. Smolensk, an ancient city on a fortified hill high above the Dnieper River, was the scene of intense military confrontation between the Grand Duchy of Muscovy and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Vasily III made recurrent attempts to organize its capture, using the force of mercenaries and modern cannons. Despite all his efforts, Smolensk fell only in 1514. What had been planned as a short siege to fortify the position of a new grand duke on the throne ended up as a drawn-out campaign, during which the Muscovite forces were soundly defeated by the Grand Duchy at Orsha (1514)¹⁶.

The defeat led the Muscovites to change their artillery tactics: instead of targeting the walls, their artillerymen switched to using their cannons to start fires inside Smolensk day and night, using tactics similar to those of the Ottomans during the Siege of 1453. Smolensk capitulated and became a major center in a network of defenses that the Grand Duchy constructed on the western border. The second siege that took some time to complete was that of Kazan'. The forces of Grand Dukes Vasily and Ivan, and later the forces of Tzar Ivan, struggled to control the khanate on the Volga. After many failed attempts, Kazan' became the site of a major siege in 1552 that finished with the fall of the city and the subjugation of the local population to the new Tzar of Muscovy. In both sieges, artillery pieces and divisions made up by loyal Muslims played a role that is difficult to overestimate. Importantly, the conquest of Kazan' connected Moscow to a web of connections with the other Muslim polities of wider Eurasia¹⁷.

Surviving written sources suggest that the reactions to these events varied. On the one hand, there was a heated debate about the apocalyptic expectations both in the Grand

14 For example, the pilgrim's account by Zosimas the Deacon. For more on Zosimas, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 167-173.

15 For the story of the first embassy from the Grand Prince of Moscow to Bayezid II, see: Taki, *Tzar and Sultan* 24.

16 On the siege of Smolensk and its context, see Kazakou, *Gunpowder Revolution* 87-88. For new trends in the external politics of Vasily III see Yerusalmitsky, *Imperators Svyatoy Rusi* 225.

17 For a recent bibliography on »new Muslim connections« see: Moiseev, *Musul'manskaya Politika*.

Duchy and in other states of North-Western Eurasia¹⁸. On the other hand, the Fall of Constantinople and the rise of the Ottomans were part of the discourse, especially with regard to the Muscovite respect for Ottoman military technology. Both the widely known texts by Ivan Peresvetov¹⁹ and the letters of the monk Philotheos, some of which addressed Prince Vasily III, are part of this discourse. This is the historical and literary context for the *Notes* that the anonymous author wrote in the margins of the Troitsa manuscript. The Annotator was not only interested in military matters but also in the ideal of a »just Tzar« or »good Tzar«²⁰. The hostility towards the Ottomans was very much present in the Muscovite discourse in this period, fueled by various factors, including the problematic first contact of the Plescheev embassy, the successful contacts with the Habsburg Empire, and considerations about the destiny of Byzantium. Thus, it is no surprise that the Annotator took a clear anti-Ottoman stance, his antipathies even more pronounced than Nestor-Iskender's.

All this leaves much room for hypothesis. It is tempting to suggest that the Annotator was an educated courtier

of Vasily III, probably associated with Maxim the Greek and other scholars of the time. As such, he might have known Metropolitan Makarios and other people who influenced the future Tzar Ivan. Although this cannot be verified, it is safe to assume that the Annotator (and the reader, who marked the assaults with the capital letters) used Nestor's account to study military matters. This distinguishes the Annotator from many of his contemporaries, since much of the contemporary literary tradition in north-west Eurasia focused either on righteous rulership or on various apocalyptic motifs. The latter were more popular, since in northwestern Eurasia the end of the world was expected at the end of the seventh millennium. In contrast to this type of discourse, which was popular both at the court of the Great Prince and among the formally independent literati, the Annotator looked beyond the prophecies and the fate of Constantinople and focused also on military matters. Not a single note refers to the hopes of reconquering Constantinople, even speculatively, which suggests that the Annotator chose to sideline the apocalyptic optimism present in Nestor Iskender's original account.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Interpreting the Fall of Constantinople in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy: Marginal Notes in the Troitsa Manuscript of Nestor Iskender's «Tale of the Capture of Tsargrad»

The *Tale of the Capture of Tsargrad* by Nestor-Iskender is an important text that recounted the Fall of Constantinople to the literati of Northwestern Eurasia. The main manuscript of the *Tale* is found in Troitsa 773. This article presents the sixteenth-century notes found in the margins of the manuscript. The analysis of the handwriting and intratextual evidence demonstrates that the multiple marginalia of the manuscript can be regarded as an interpretation of the events of 1453 and also connects the annotations with the reign of the Grand Prince Vasily III (r. 1505-1533).

Deutungen des Falls von Konstantinopel im Moskau des 16. Jahrhunderts: Randbemerkungen im Troitsa-Manuskript von Nestor Iskender «Geschichte der Eroberung von Zargrad»

Die »Geschichte der Eroberung von Zargrad« von Nestor Iskender ist ein wichtiger Text, der den Gebildeten im Nordwesten Eurasiens den Fall von Konstantinopel erzählt. Das Hauptmanuskript der Erzählung befindet sich in Troitsa 773. Dieser Artikel präsentiert die Notizen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, die am Rand des Manuskripts gefunden wurden. Die Analyse der Handschrift und der intratextuellen Evidenz zeigt, dass die zahlreichen Marginalien des Manuskripts als Deutung der Ereignisse von 1453 angesehen werden können, sie verbindet die Anmerkungen ferner mit der Regierungszeit des Großfürsten Wassili III. (reg. 1505-1533).

Interprétation de la chute de Constantinople dans la Moscovie du XVI^e siècle: notes marginales dans le manuscrit de Troïtsa du «Conte de la prise de Tsargrad» de Nestor Iskender

Le Conte de la prise de Tsargrad de Nestor-Iskender est un texte important qui a raconté la chute de Constantinople aux érudits de l'Eurasie du Nord-Ouest. Le manuscrit principal se trouve à Troitsa 773. Cet article présente les notes du XVI^e siècle trouvées dans les marges du manuscrit. L'analyse de l'écriture manuscrite et des preuves intratextuelles démontre que les multiples notes marginales du manuscrit peuvent être considérées comme une interprétation des événements de 1453 et relie également les annotations au règne du grand-prince Vassili III (r. 1505-1533).

List of Contributors

Bilge Ar

Istanbul Technical University
Department of Architecture
Taşkışla Cd. 2
TR - 34367 Şişli, Istanbul
bar@itu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-5852-1779

Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger

Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Kunstgeschichtliches Institut
Universitätsstr. 150
DE - 44801 Bochum
neslihan.asutay-effenberger@ruhr-uni-bochum.de
ORCID: 0009-0007-6877-3658

Arne Effenberger

Lindauer Allee 21
DE - 13407 Berlin
arneeffenberger@t-online.de

Youli Evangelou

Institute of Historical Research / NHRF
Vasileos Konstantinou 48
GR - 11635 Athens
giouliiev@eie.gr
ORCID: 0000-0002-8519-1429

Taisiya Leber

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Historisches Seminar
Arbeitsbereich Byzantinistik
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18
DE - 55099 Mainz
taleber@uni-mainz.de
ORCID: 0000-0002-5689-3464

Nicholas Melvani

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Historisches Seminar
Arbeitsbereich Osteuropäische Geschichte
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18
DE - 55099 Mainz
nmelvani@uni-mainz.de
ORCID: 0000-0002-5030-3590

Philipp Niewöhner

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Christliche Archäologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte
Nikolausberger Weg 15
DE - 37073 Göttingen
philippniewoehner@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0009-0004-4564-8318

Vanessa R. de Obaldía

8 Cockcroft Place
UK - Cambridge, CB3 0HF
v.r.deobaldia@gmail.com

Andrea Paribeni

Università degli studi di Urbino Carlo Bo
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Via Bramante 17
IT - Urbino 61029
andrea.paribeni@uniurb.it
ORCID: 0000-0003-0750-8889

Roman Shliakhtin

Independent Scholar
rshliakh@uni-mainz.de
ORCID: 0000-0002-3174-3849

Elodie Turquois

7 Eskbank road
UK - Bonnyrigg, EH19 3AH
eturquois@gmail.com
ORCID: 0009-0006-0816-6656

Sigles Used

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
AO	Archivum Ottomanicum	IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen	JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies	JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident	PO	Patrologia Orientalis
ByzA	Byzantinisches Archiv	REB	Revue des Études byzantines
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	REG	Revue des Études grecques
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae	SBN	Studi bizantini e neoellenici
CHCByz	Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance	TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae	TM	Travaux et Mémoires
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers	VV	Vizantijskij vremennik
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies	ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta
EO	Échos d'Orient		

The fact that elements of the tangible and intangible heritage of Byzantine Constantinople were preserved as the city's urban layout was gradually transformed during the decades after the Ottoman conquest of 1453 is well known to international scholarship. Yet, the nature of this transformation and the degree to which the Byzantine background affected sixteenth-century realities is possible through the thorough study of an array of texts, careful examination of the material remains still visible in modern Istanbul, and a close focus on the diverse institutions active in the Ottoman capital. The contributors to the present volume investigate diverse aspects of the urban physiognomy and cultural activity of Constantinople/Istanbul during its early Ottoman phase by concentrating on the urban and institutional framework, the theological, antiquarian, and political interests of travelers and scholars active in the city, the religious life of local Christians, the appearance, use, and appropriation of the Byzantine monuments and public spaces, and the ways the image of the city was captured by artists and mapmakers. Thanks to a combination of a variety of methodological approaches, the authors address more complex issues, such as the familiarization of western humanism and renaissance audiences with the physical space of the Ottoman capital and its Byzantine background and the role of the Orthodox Patriarchate in the organization of Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe.

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