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Constantinople/İstanbul: The Early Pictorial Sources

The illustrations included in the individual chapters on the harbours have a varying degree of testimonial value, both in terms of the state of the city of Constantinople/İstanbul and in terms of the representation of the harbours and landing places. This applies especially to the early city views from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Therefore, in the following, individual *vedute* will be considered more closely with regard to their time of origin and their possible sources.

Cristoforo Buondelmonti

The view of Constantinople connected with the name of Cristoforo Buondelmonti ranks first. It is preserved in numerous copies of the *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (hereinafter referred to as *LIA*) (**fig. 1**). Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c. 1380/1385 to around 1431) travelled extensively through the islands of the archipelago, visiting the Ionian west coast, Constantinople and Mount Athos since the year 1414[1]. He collected the results of his geographical and archaeological research in two works: the *Descriptio insulae Cretae* (hereinafter referred to as *DIC*) and the *LIA*. In 1417, he dedicated a first version of the *DIC* to his mentor Niccoli Niccolò, as the acrostic in the chapter beginnings shows[2]. He sent a new version of the *LIA* to his patron Cardinal Giordano Orsini († 1438) in 1420[3]. Again, he used an acrostic indicating the cardinal as described in the prologue: *In quibus dum rubeas ennumerabis ipsarum litteras, nomen meique tui et quo in locoque tempore prefeceram opus manifestabis* (»If you follow the red initial letters of the chapters subsequently, you will be able to find the letters of my and your name as well as where and when I wrote my work«)[4]. The first letters of the 82 chapters make up the words: *CRISTOFORVS BONDELMONT DE FLORENCIA*

PRESBITER HVNC MISIT CARDINALI IORDANO DE VRSINIS MCCCCXX (»The Presbyter Cristoforus Bondelmont from Florence sent this to Cardinal Jordanus Ursinus in 1420«)[5]. Where he wrote the work, however, does not emerge from the acrostic. The sixty-seventh letter D of DE VRSINIS introduces the chapter on Constantinople: *Devenio ad Lesam, nunc Constantinopolim urbem….* Buondelmonti concludes the epilogue (chapter 82) with two remarks: that he had already sent the cardinal an initial version on the Cyclades, and that now, after more careful investigations, he wanted to give him a second, more elaborate version (*secundam copiosiorem etiam tibi desculptionem uoli destinar*)[6]. That this copy contained the 79 images of the islands and cities can be found in chapter 2 of the prologue: »To capture everything even better: the mountains are represented in black, the plains in white and the waters in green«[7]. There was no doubt that in the pictures of the islands and cities the places mentioned in the text were also indicated and provided with inscriptions[8]. Buondelmonti must, therefore, have been in Constantinople for the first time before 1420 and had ample opportunity to explore the city and make a detailed *vedute*.

The first copies of Buondelmonti's works were already produced during his lifetime; the majority of the copies date from the second half of the fifteenth century. Hitherto, the impressive number of more than 70 manuscript copies of the *LIA* has been validated, including those in Greek, Italian and English translation[9]. Several manuscripts are dated by copyist entries or can be narrowed down to a time frame by the names of their owners, by watermarks in the paper, occasionally by textual or internal indications, which at the same time demonstrate the rapid spread of the *LIA* in Europe (Italy, France, Flanders and England)[10]. However, the textual tradition of the *LIA* is complicated, since in addition to the long

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1 On the person, see Weiss, Buondelmonti. – For Buondelmonti's work, see Barsanti, Costantinopoli. – Vagnon, Cartographie 273-304. – Chatzidakis, Ciriaco d'Ancona 41-48.
2 Barsanti, Costantinopoli 83. 102. 111-127. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 193-194 and n. 51.
3 This is probably the long version A, which has survived at least in three manuscripts: 1: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. A.219 inf.: Gerola, Vedute 270-279 (Constantinople chapter). – 2: Ravenna, Biblioteca Civica Classense, Ms. Lat. 308: Gerola, Vedute 270-279 (Constantinople chapter). – 3: Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, Ms. p. 20. – See Barsanti, Costantinopoli 160. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 195. 200.
4 See Bayer, Transkription 8 § 2 (14). – See Effenberger, Illustrationen, pl. 1. Here ends the year number MCCCCXX or possibly MCCCCCC. On the possible solutions of the chapters 81 and 82 beginning with X, see Ragone, Buondelmonti 199 n. 70.

5 Barsanti, Costantinopoli 85 n. 7. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 195.
6 Bayer, Transkription 59 § 82.
7 Bayer, Transkription 8 § 2 (15).
8 A list of the cardinal's surviving books, published in 1786, lists a *Liber insularum egei pelagi* and a *Liber insularum archipelagi et figuratus*, see Effenberger, Illustrationen 14 n. 28 and 20 (evidence).
9 List of 60 copies: Luttrell, Halikarnassos 193-194. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 202-203 meanwhile assumes »circa settantacinque« copies.
10 On dated and datable copies of the *LIA* and on previous owners, see Barsanti, Costantinopoli 86-91. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 181 n. 12.

Fig. 1 View of Constantinople and Pera, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*. – (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XIV.45 (=4595), fol. 123ʳ).

version A, an abbreviated version B (the majority of surviving copies) and a short version C can be distinguished[11]. The only printed edition of Gabriel R. L. de Sinner (1824), which belongs to version B, was compiled from three manuscripts in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 4823, 4824 and 4825)[12]. The text of the Düsseldorf manuscript, which also follows version B, is available in a transcribed, translated and annotated edition[13].

An unresolved problem is the acrostic's deviation of the date in the incipit that is found in both version A and in copies of version B: *Incipit Liber insularum archipelagi editus per presbyterum Christophorum de Bondelmontibus de Florentia, quem misit de civitate Rhodi Romam Domino Jordano Cardinali de Ursinis anno Domini MCCCCXXII* (»Book about the islands of the archipelago written by the presbyter Christophorus Bondelmonti from Florence, which he sent from the city of Rhodes to Rome to Cardinal Jordanus Ursinus in the year of the Lord 1422«)[14]. A manuscript in the Vatican, made between 1422 and 1435 on Rhodes by Onofrio da Penna, secretary of King Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo (1386-1414) and Queen Giovanna II of Naples (1414-1435), contains the short version C of the *LIA* (without the view of Constantinople), as well as a new elaboration of the *DIC*, with Buondelmonti's colophon on fol. 50[v][15]: *Scripsi hunc librum figuramque insule in urbe Constantinopoli, die .xviij°. mensis Ianuarii .m°cccc°. xxij°.* (»This book and the depiction of the island [Crete], I completed in the city of Constantinople on 18 January 1422«). This entry testifies to Buondelmonti's second stay in Constantinople at the end of 1421 or the beginning of 1422[16]. The following insertion is found in the Constantinople chapter of Chigianus (see n. 15) and another manuscript copy of version C made before 1453[17]: *ideo quam brevius potui hic de ruynis eius scripsi, licet in membrana maxima Bittoldo ducis Russie miserim, ad videndum suis omnibus extra atque infra attinentiis* (»therefore, I want to write here only briefly of their remnants, especially since I have sent a large sheet to Witold, Duke of Russia, to show what all is contained outside and within [the city]«). Witold (Biteldos, Vitovt, Vytautas), Grand Duke of Lithuania (r. 1392-1430)[18], was the father-in-law of the Muscovite Grand Prince Vasily I Dmitriyevich

(r. 1389-1425). His daughter Anna – Witold's granddaughter – probably came as an infant bride to Constantinople in 1411 and was married to the future Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (r. 1425-1448) in 1414. The Russian deacon Zosima had been part of the bridal legation and in 1419/1420 and 1421/1422 again visited Constantinople. He also visited the Princess's grave at Lips Monastery; she had died of the plague in 1417[19].

However, the date of composition of the large-sized view of Constantinople that was sent to Witold is difficult to determine. How and by which intermediary Buondelmonti was commissioned to produce the *membrana maxima*, remains a mystery despite many efforts to illuminate the historical context[20]. It would seem logical that Buondelmonti first explored the city and its surroundings with official permission before producing the *membrana maxima* and only afterwards created the standard *vedute* added to the *LIA*, the *secunda copiosior* of 1420. Thus, the *membrana maxima* would already have been produced during his first stay in Constantinople (before 1420). In any case, it can be assumed that the dissemination of the Constantinople *veduta*, which began soon after 1420, can only have been stimulated by one or more early copies of Buondelmonti's own hand.

The Constantinople *veduta* is preserved in numerous copies of the *LIA*, but the individual reproductions are of different quality. A systematic »Kopienkritik« (copy criticism) on the basis of all surviving versions is still pending[21]. Although the Buondelmonti-type *vedute* have a largely consistent standard of buildings and monuments, there are divergences with respect to those mentioned and illustrated in the three *LIA* versions[22]. In any case, all copies made after 1453 are predominantly anachronistic. Monuments that no longer existed before or after 1453, yet were still reproduced, include the Church of Blachernae (burnt down in 1434), the equestrian statue on the Column of Justinian, the cross on the Column of Constantine and the the kneeling emperor on the *columna virginea*, the Column of Michael VIII Palaiologos[23]. Most of the churches inscribed with their names were either no longer extant (e. g., the Church of the Holy Apostles demolished in 1462) or converted into mosques, but on many copies

11 Barsanti, Costantinopoli 160-164. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 193 n. 50 (list of the surviving manuscripts of version C).
12 Sinner, Buondelmonti. – See Garand, Tradition 69-76. – Buondelmonti's LIA in Greek translation in the manuscript İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Ms. Seragliensis Graecus 24.
13 Beyer, Transkription 50-53.
14 On this unsolved contradiction, see Barsanti, Costantinopoli 161. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 195-196.
15 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi F. IV.74: Barsanti, Costantinopoli 86-87. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 206-208. The subscriptio is still present in the following copies of the *LIA* and *DIC*: 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, Ms. Rés. Ge. FF 9351: Luttrell, Halikarnassos 194 no. 31. – 2: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1606: Luttrell, Halikarnassos 194 no. 30. – 3: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Ross. 703 (according to the entry on fol. 24[r] copied by Bartolomeo de Columnis of Chios, in which the incipit on fol. 1[r] gives the year 1425). – On the dating of the individual versions, see Ragone, Buondelmonti 193-194.
16 The short version C of the *LIA* contains neither the acrostic nor the incipit of 1422.

17 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. X.215 (= coll. 3773), fol. 44[r] (previously owned by Francesco Barbaro, 1390-1454). The Constantinople chapter printed in Gerola, Vedute 270-279. – See Barsanti, Costantinopoli 168-169. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 205-208.
18 PLP 2 (1977) 68 no. 2708. – Mickūnaitė, Making a Great Ruler.
19 Majeska, Russian Travelers 170. 188-189. 309. 311-312 § 34. – On Anna see PLP 1 (1976) 94 no. 1003.
20 Ragone, Membrana maxima. – Ragone, Buondelmonti 205-217.
21 On this problem, see Barsanti, Costantinopoli 164-197.
22 Effenberger, Illustrationen 18 n. 19 are first, those mentioned, but illustrated without inscription; second, those mentioned, but not illustrated, and third, those not mentioned, but with records of illustrated buildings and monuments. The list is in need of revision, as all Constantinople copies would have to be considered. With regard to the Monastery of Christ Pantepoptes, see n. 25. – Gerola, Vedute 266-269, has put together the inscriptions for 10 versions in a synoptic table. In addition, however, there are further inscriptions on *vedute* not used by him.
23 Asutay-Effenberger / Effenberger, Columna virginea.

they still bear a crowning cross. Only in a few cases, reliably datable elements are included by later copyists, such as the representation of the Yedikule Fortress (built 1457/1458) on a *veduta* in Paris[24]. Here you will also find the only labelled reproduction of the Monastery of Christ Pantepoptes known to me[25].

Likewise, the harbours depicted have not been updated to include changes made after 1453. Referred to in the *LIA* are the *olim portus velanga*[26], *contescali vel arsana*[27] and *portulus imperatoris*[28]; depicted on several copies are the former harbour by the Mermerkule (Marble Tower; *portus sed destructus preceptu turchorum),* the Harbour of Theodosius (Vlanga), Bucoleon (*portus olim palatii imperatoris*) and Kontoskalion (*Receptaculum dictum contiscali*)[29]. The harbour by the Mermerkule is often marked by a south-westerly pier and on representations where the mole is missing the impression is created that the ditch was in direct connection with or ran into the Sea of Marmara[30]. Although it is not possible to decide whether the harbour depiction is a more recent element and is based on local historical memory referring to the events of 1390/1391[31], but I do not consider tracing it back to one of Buondelmonti's replicas to be out of the question.

In most of the Buondelmonti views of Constantinople (**fig. 1**), the river Lycos begins within the city (incorrect), runs north of the Column of Theodosius (incorrect)[32] or between this and the Column of Arcadius (correct)[33] and ends in the Harbour of Kontoskalion (incorrect). The Lycos flows correctly into the bay of Vlanga in only a few copies from the second half of the fifteenth century[34]. In contrast, a body of water rises at the Church of Peribleptos and pours into the harbour bay of Vlanga in numerous *verdute*[35]. Both errors could be traced back to Buondelmonti's original version, since it was apparently forgotten where the extensively canalised Lycos ended. However, it cannot be ruled out that the sewers of the Kainoupolis district flowed into the still open bay of the Kontoskalion. This may also explain the inexorable silting up of the inner harbour basin, which led to its disuse in the middle of the sixteenth century. The anonymous Armenian pilgrim who visited Constantinople in 1434 is the only one who mentioned the sweet water that sprang from under the Monastery of Peribleptos[36]. That the water actually flowed down the valley as an open brook before the spring in the Hagiasma of the Armenian church Surp Kevork was set[37], must surely be assumed. On the contrary, although the above-mentioned Parisian copy (see n. 24) shows the Church of Peribleptos, but indicates the mouth of the brook just below the Stoudios Basilica and has also moved the harbour of Vlanga here with the indicated mole.

The large-format view in the Düsseldorf version of the *LIA*, which can be dated to 1485-1490 on the basis of the watermarks and image-related evidence (**fig. 2**)[38] differs fundamentally from the traditional Constantinople depictions. This view is again based on accurate local knowledge of Mehmed II's city, supplemented by a few updates from the time of Bayezıd II[39]. Besides Constantinople, Eyüp, Pera and a part of Üsküdar (Scutari), it also covers the territory on both sides of the Bosphorus to the coast of the Black Sea. This representation also contains numerous »deliberate« anachronisms[40] and, as an innovation, the Valens aqueduct, which is missing on all the Buondelmonti *vedute*[41]. However, the minarets of the Fatih Camii have been omitted. Vlanga (inscription: *Vlanga locus aquosus*) is only depicted here as a completely walled-in area with eleven towers (**fig. 3**)[42]. The views of the Buondelmonti type normally show a southern pier and usually mark the former harbour basin as already silted up (**fig. 1**)[43]. The Kontoskalion – here already operating as a galley harbour (Kadırgalimanı) and shipyard – is subdivided into outer and inner harbour basins (inscription: *mare*) and closed with an iron gate, with five ship sheds (inscription: *darsinale*) including warships of the Kadırga type lying within[44] and a galley moored on the inner bank (**fig. 4**)[45]. Another arsenal, probably built under Mehmed II, with two ship sheds and a landing stage in front of a gate of the Serail or the Marmara seawall (Değirmenkapı?), with the inscription *darsinale regiu(m),* is located in the area of the former Mangana (**fig. 5**)[46]. A regular pier is located in front of the cannon foundry (Tophane), two

24 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Nouv. Aqu. Lat. 2383, fol. 34ᵛ: Effenberger, Polichnion, with fig. 1. – Ganschou, «La Tour d'Irène» 159-200 fig. 4.

25 Buondelmonti mentioned the *cisterna panda pophti* (Bayer, Transkription 91 § 40), whereby is meant the Çukurbostanı (Cistern of Aspar) by the Yavuz Selim Camii. As a result, locating the monastery on the sixth hill, proposed by Mango, Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes, gains further support.

26 Beyer, Transkription 50 (8): *ollim portus velanga.* – On the harbour, Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume.

27 Ibid. 50 (9): *condescali uel arsana.* – On the harbour, see Heher, Harbour of Julian, in this volume.

28 Ibid. 50 (11): *portulus imperatoris*. – On the harbour, see Heher, Harbour of the Boukoleon, in this volume.

29 The different name variants on six copies in Gerola, Vedute 269-269.

30 On the scarce information on the Brachialion, which sealed off the ditch against the sea, see Simeonov, Brachialion, in this volume.

31 On this, see Majeska, Travelers 100-104 (account of Ignaty of Smolensk) 408-415 §§ 81-87).

32 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS. Lat. XIV.45 (=4595): Barsanti, Costantinopoli fig. 61; see also figs 83-84. 86-87. 90-91.

33 Barsanti, Costantinopoli figs 48. 60. 64. 72. 75. 77-78. 100.

34 Ravenna, Biblioteca Civica Classense, Ms. Lat. 308, fol. 58ᵛ: Barsanti, Costantinopoli 100 fig. 64. – Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms.

Ross. 702, fol. 32ᵛ (watermark c. 1475/1478): Barsanti, Costantinopoli 182 fig. 78. – London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 93, fol. 155ʳ (colophon from 1485): ibid. 196. 207 fig. 75.

35 See Barsanti, Costantinopoli figs 48. 61. 64. 77. 83-84. 87. 91; only the water course without connection to the Church of Peribleptos: fig. 72.

36 Brock, Description 88. 98-99. – The Peribleptos Monastery had a good natural spring, as the Turkish name Sulu Manastır (»monastery with water«) indicates. The source was once under the altar of the neighbouring Church of St Stephen of Aurelianus, see Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 200.

37 Atzemoglu, T'agiasmata 51-52.

38 Effenberger, Illustrationen 67-68.

39 The Türbe of Mehmed II, which was built after his death (1481).

40 Effenberger, Illustrationen 67.

41 Effenberger, Illustrationen 48 no. 35 fig. 32.

42 Effenberger, Illustrationen 31-33 no. 13 fig. 32. – See Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume.

43 For example, see Barsanti, Costantinopoli figs 48. 60-61. 64. 70-75. 77-81. 83-84. 87. 91. 94. 97.

44 On the types, see Bostan, Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı 85.

45 Effenberger, Illustrationen 29-31 no. 12 fig. 32. – See Heher, Harbour of Julian, in this volume.

46 Effenberger, Illustrationen 26 fig. 32 no. 7.

Fig. 2 View of Constantinople, Pera and the upper Bosphorus by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*. Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. G 13, fol. 54ʳ, c. 1485-1490 (the manuscript is on loan from the City of Düsseldorf to the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek of Düsseldorf).

Fig. 3 Detail from **fig. 2** showing the Harbour of Theodosius, the Church of St Mary Peribleptos and the Basilica of St John Stoudios. – (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. G 13, fol. 54ʳ, c. 1485-1490).

more and a galley on the shore of Üsküdar (Scutari). It also becomes clear that the entire shore zone of the Golden Horn of Galata served as a harbour (**fig. 1**).

Giovanni Andrea Vavassore

The 1530 woodcut by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore with the cityscape of Constantinople (**fig. 6**)[47] is attributed to a prototype that cannot have been made earlier than 1478/1479[48]. The *terminus post quem* is given by the representation of the wall of the Topkapı Sarayı, which was completed in

1478/1479[49]. The Vavassore view has some inconsistencies in the city centre (the possible doubling of the sphendone of the Hippodrome, wrong or transposed inscriptions) and is probably based on an intermediate draft that would have already contained these errors[50]. Dependant on the latter are probably also the Constantinople *veduta* in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* of 1550[51], the large, double-sided engraving by Giulino Ballino of 1567[52] and the Constantinople view in the *Civitates* of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1572)[53]. They all contain deviations and innovations in individual cases compared to Vavassore's view. The common intermediary draft was probably based on a large-format

47 I know of only four copies of the woodcut: 1: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, SP 8190, Kapsel 1102 (52.6 cm × 36.8 cm): Fauser, Repertorium 379 no. 6817. – Berger, Vavassore 329-355 fig. 1. – Manners, Image 91-94 fig. 8. – 2: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Sign. IV C 44 (kindly pointed out by Bernhard Schemel): Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 5. – 3: Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale. – 4: California State Library, Coll. Fullerton.
48 Analysis of individual buildings: Berger, Vavassore 339-355.
49 It can be ruled out that in the Vavassore woodcut buildings from the time of Bayezıd II (1481-1512) are already included, see Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism 70 n. 125.
50 Stichel, Coliseo 448-459.

51 Sebastian Münster, Cosmographia, Basel 1550 (simultaneous German and Latin editions) 940-941 (as well in all reprints from 1552-1628). – See Fauser, Repertorium LXI, 379 no. 6818 (woodcut by David Kandel). – Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 6 (after the Latin edition in the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Sign. J. H. Geogr. f. 2).
52 Giulino Ballino, Disegni, without pagination. – See Fauser, Repertorium XXII, 379 no. 6820 (unsigned; stamped 1567). – Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 7.
53 Braun / Hogenberg, Civitatis orbis terrarum, Cologne 1572, vol. 1 pl. 51 (= pl. 52 in the German edition). – See Fauser, Repertorium XXXIV-XXXV, 379 Nr. 6824 (Kupferstich). – Berger, Vavassore 329-331 fig. 2.

Fig. 4 Detail from **fig. 2** showing the harbour and arsenal of Kadırgalimanı and the stables. – (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. G 13, fol. 54ʳ, c. 1485-1490).

Fig. 6 View of Constantinople, Pera-Galata and the Asiatic coast by Andrea Vavassore. Woodcut, c. 1530, after an original from 1478/1479-1481. – (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, IV C 44).
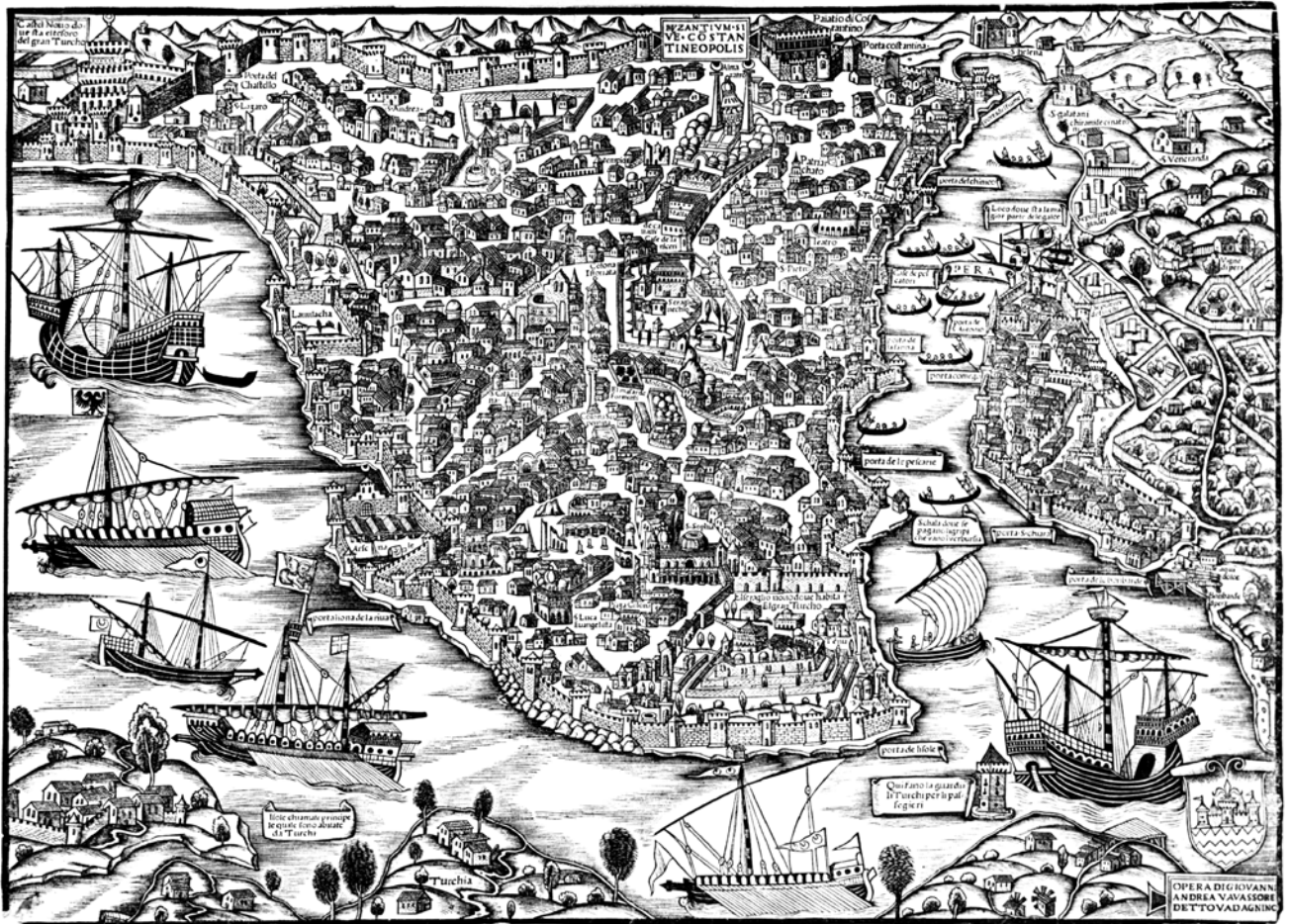
Fig. 5 Detail from **fig. 2** showing the Sultan's arsenal and landing stage at Topkapı Sarayı. – (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. G 13, fol. 54ʳ, c. 1485-1490).

Fig. 7 Detail from **fig. 6** showing the area between Yedikule and Vlanga. – (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, IV C 44).

view of Constantinople consisting of several single sheets. There are some candidates for this. The inventory of the bequests of the Florentine cartographer Francesco Rosselli († after 1508) lists among the printing plates different views of Constantinople: *Gostantinopoli in 6 pezzi; gostantinopoli in tela cholorita inn istampa del pupillo; francia chon parte gostantinopoli, in mezzo goglie comune*[54]. Also in the extensive printmaking collection of Johannes Columbus (1488-1539) in Seville was a five-page woodcut by the Florentine Lucantonio degli Umberti (Venice, c. 1510-1529)[55] and an eight-leaf view of Constantinople. On the latter, Peter Barber remarked: »Its composition, as described in the inventory, leaves little doubt that it was the model for the single-sheet woodcut of about 1520 by Giovan Andrea Vavassore […] It is possible that the print may have some relationship with or may even be the six-sheet printed view of Constantinople by

Rosselli with two sheets of decorative material added«[56]. I think that this is not very convincing, since there is mention of six (Rosselli) and once of eight single sheets (Columbus) and the description in the inventory gives too few references to individual representational elements[57].

However, regardless of this, the prototype and the postulated intermediate draft already contained numerous ships of different types (galleons, galleys), some of which carry flags with the Byzantine double eagle, Venetian lion, Ottoman crescent and Genoese cross. In this respect, Gülru Necipoğlu referred to the treaty between Mehmed II and Venice of 1479 and considered the creation of the Vavassore prototype soon after that date as possible[58]. Whoever created the prototype, the question also arises how he was able to explore the city and in particular the two serails within its walls in such detail, which could certainly only have happened with the permission of Mehmed[59]. This suggests a dating of the original before 1481[60].

Vavassore's *veduta* shows the city from a bird's eye view like Buondelmonti's depiction (**fig. 1**), but from the Asian side. Noticeable distortions can be found in the southern part of the city (top left). The church with the river, i. e., the Church of Peribleptos, is wrongly labelled as St Lazarus (**fig. 7**)[61]. Against the course of the coastline, the Vlanga (inscription: Lauulaca) is stylised as a rectangular walled area with six towers and is marked with three bushes in accordance with its function as a bostan (garden). To the west is the fenced-in area of Küçük Langa Bostanı. The watercourse is no longer shown as in the Düsseldorf view. In the case of Kadırgalimanı, Vavassore offers an irregularly immured area for the inner part of the Tersane with the portal-like iron gate (see p. 63, fig. 8). The five ship sheds with far too small entrances and the single galley in the inner basin are apparently rotated by 180° for better clarity. The above-mentioned Vavassore-type *vedute* have freely spun out the interior (see pp. 64-65, figs 10-12). The former imperial harbour and the façade of the Palace of Bucoleon are missing. Only the inscription *porta leona de la riua* next to a gate in the sea wall refers to the portal with

54 Del Badia, Bottega 24-30. – Hind, Early Italian Engraving 1, 304. 305-306 (inv. III no. 60; inv. I no. 4; inv. III no. 47). Manners, Image 94 and Stichel, Coliseo 454. 459, however, judges tracing back Vavassore's woodcut to Rosselli with scepticism, although the latter basically insists on a large-sized six-part prototype.

55 Barber, Maps vol. 1, 261 n. 77; vol. 2, 569, inv. no. 3159. – See also Hind, Early Italian Engraving 1, 211-214.

56 Barber, Maps vol. 1, 255; vol. 2, 573, inv. no. 3178. The author does not cite the works of Berger, Vavassore and Stichel, Coliseo, nor is he aware that another copy of Vavassore's woodcut exists in the Staatsbibliothek of Bamberg.

57 Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism 70 n. 125, is also sceptical.

58 Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism 27.

59 On the depiction of the three kiosks in the Topkapı Sarayı, see Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism 27.

60 The latest date for the creation of the original – 1490 – was long argued on the grounds that the church in Vavassore's woodcut named as *S. Luca Euangelista* was the Nea Ekklesia or the Güngörmez kilisesi, which served as a *baruthane* (powder magazine) and on 12 July 1490 was destroyed by lightning, see Mango, Brazen House 180. – Mango, Développement 9 n. 9. – Mango, Nea Ekklesia: ODB II (1991) 1446; followed by Effenberger, Illustrationen 19. The Ottoman written sources for the thunderstorm on 12 July 1490 in Konyalı,

İstanbul Sarayları 18-19. The church appears to be much more detailed and still intact, but without an inscription on the engraving in Panvinio, De ludis circensibus 61 pl. R. Mango, L'Euripe de l'hippodrome 182 n. 5, dated the original to after 1491, because the Firuz Ağa Camii, built 1491, was already depicted. The Nea Ekklesia possibly existed as a ruin for a longer period. The Bolognese scholar Luigi Fernando Marsili (1658-1730), who, as a young man, lived in İstanbul in 1679/1680 in the service of the Venetian Bailo, reported: *giù verso le stalle v'é una chiesa di stile greco, cinta con pilastri di muro, avendo tre capelle e la porta. Di fuori ha aspetto buonissimo, e nella volta si scoprono anche alcune vestigie di mosaico* (»Down in the direction of the stables, there is a Greek-style church, surrounded by pilasters on the wall, which has three chapels [apses] and a door. From the outside it has a very beautiful appearance, and on the vaulting one spot even some remnants of mosaic«), see Paribeni, *Chiesa antica greca nel serraglio posta* 318 (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Marsili, MS. 51, c. 356ᵛ). By *stalle* he means the stables of Mehmed II, which are shown for the first time in the Düsseldorf İstanbul view with the inscription *stabula regis*, see Effenberger, Illustrationen 28 no. 10 fig. 32 (see my **fig. 4**). The church was, therefore, west of the stables in the former palace area. – See now Effenberger, St. Grovus.

61 Berger, Vavassore 349 no. 35.

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digiſch vnd andere kawflewt geſagt haben) bey achthundert hewßern verpzent. vnd bey dzeytawſent menſchen
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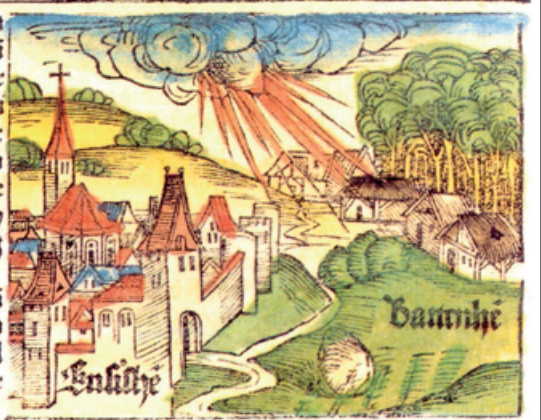

Fig. 8 Depiction of the storm of 12 July 1490 in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicum*. – (From Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (1493), fol. 257ʳ, com-
plete edition, coloured, 1493, introduction and commentary by S. Füssel [Cologne 2001]).
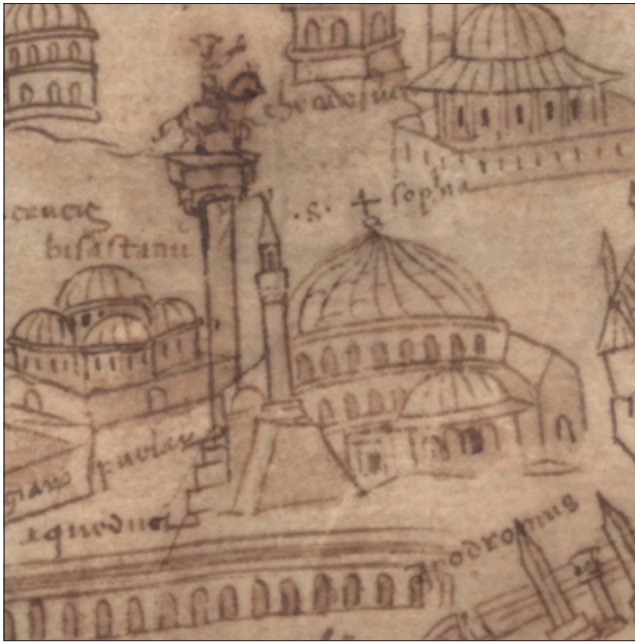
Fig. 9 Detail from **fig. 2** showing the Hagia Sophia and the Column of Justinian with equestrian statue. – (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. G 13, fol. 54ʳ, c. 1485-1490).

spolia below the (demolished) western palace front (see p. 69, fig. 2; p. 76, fig. 19)[62]. The Golden Horn was probably (mis) understood by the Venetian Vavassore alone as the »Canal Grande« and filled with eight gondolas that serve as *traghetti* (**fig. 6**).

Hartmann Schedel

The 1493 *Liber chronicarum*, the world chronicle of the Nuremberg physician and Humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), contains three views of Constantinople[63]: a large-scale representation of the entire urban area including Pera on two pages on folios 129ʳ-130ᵛ (see p. 44, fig. 5); a reduced reproduction of this representation on folio 249ʳ; and a section of the eastern city area on folio 257ʳ (**fig. 8**),

on which the devastating storm of 12 July 1490 is represented (see n. 60 above). It must be the case that the woodcutter Wilhelm Pleydenwurff produced images from various models from before 1493 for all three illustrations[64]. This issue arises, above all, for the compilation of buildings, which only occurs on folio 257ʳ[65]. The Hagia Sophia is depicted with two minarets, the wooden minaret on the west side and the minaret of Mehmed II on the southeast corner, although the imprecise depiction seems to suggest the eastern aspect[66]. What is striking is the great agreement with the Düsseldorf reproduction of the Hagia Sophia (east side with apse and minaret) and the Column of Justinian with a rider (**fig. 9**)[67]. The same connection between church (without minarets) and column also appears in the two other Constantinople depictions in the *Liber chronicarum*, but the rider there is incorrectly turned to the left (west). I have already discussed the question of the possible template for the Hagia Sophia and Justinian's Column, including the equestrian statue that no longer existed after 1456. It could not be proved that the Constantinople view by Peronet Lamy († 1453), contained in two copies of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, goes back to Ciriacus of Ancona, and it could neither be proven that either of the two copies was known to Schedel or the illustrators of the *Liber chronicarum*[68]. The Church of St John the Theologian on Diippion (mistakenly referred to as *Joh<ann>is bapt<is>te*) is only illustrated once, but without an inscription, in the above-mentioned (p. 22) Parisian Buondelmonti *vedute* from the period after 1457/1458[69]. The stables of Mehmed II, here differentiated as horse and camel stables (*Stabula equitum* and *Stabula camelorum*, respectively), are shown as an open, four-sided courtyard with gates and windows, as well as on the İstanbul miniature of Matrakçı Nasuh from 1537[70]. In the slightly older Düsseldorf depiction it is reproduced as a free-standing building within a courtyard with two entrances (**fig. 2** and **4**)[71]. Stephan Gerlach (in İstanbul from 1573 to 1578) described the stables as follows: »Further I came to the Emperor's stables, an exceedingly large, long and wide building, in which several hundred horses can stand [...] The place where the horses stand is a building, as otherwise a karavanseray, in

62 Effenberger, Illustrationen 28-29. – On the Bukoleon Palace, see Heher, Harbour of the Bukoleon, in this volume.

63 Fauser, Repertorium LXV-LXVI, 378-379 nos 6810-6816 (all prints from 1493-1497).

64 Berger/Bardill, Representations of Constantinople 2-14 see the originals in Buondelmonti's *vedute* and in the protoype of Vavassore's view. Not all attempts at identification are convincing. The towering »pole« on a two-level substructure between the columns of Justinian and Theodosius certainly stands for the Obelisk of Theodosius in the Hippodrome. The completely immured and tree-covered district with the gate from which a brook gushes out, is Vlanga (as Külzer in this volume concurs), a combination of the Buondelmonti and Vavassore type. The immured district on the Golden Horn does not indicate the outer wall of Leo V, but the Phanarion. Both are illustrated only on the Düsseldorf view (the latter with inscription *fanarium*), see Effenberger, Illustrationen 39-40 nos 21-22 fig. 32. The Phanarion by itself only appears in Vavassore's *veduta*. This would indeed speak in favour of the fact that an intermediate template or a copy of the Vavassore type was known to the illustrator.

65 Analysis: Berger/Bardill, Representations of Constantinople 15-24.

66 Effenberger, Minarette.

67 On the Düsseldorf *veduta*, only the minaret on the southeast corner of the Hagia Sophia is indicated, the wooden minaret on the southern staircase tower of the west side was not visible from the chosen viewpoint.

68 It is the copy of the lost Speyer Codex in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 378 (the Constantinople miniature on fol. 84ʳ), of which another copy exists in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 794 (the Constantinople depiction, fol. 167ʳ, see Effenberger, Minarette 197-200, colour fig. 9).

69 Westbrook, Freshield Folio, wants to identify the building on folio 21 of the »Freshfield Album« (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 0.17.2) with the Church of St John on the Diippion, but ignores the pictorial sources (and, accordingly, the literature, which deals with it), which show a double shell octagon with drum. For an important written testimony, see Grélois, Note. – For the church, see now Magdalino, The Church of St John the Apostle.

70 İstanbul, University Library, MS. Yıldız Ty 5964, fols 8b and 9a: Yurdaydın, Matrakçı Nasuh pl. 8a.

71 See above n. 60.

the middle a beautiful large open space, a lot of water in it, and a high house, like a quadrangular tower«[72]. The Han character of the building seems to have been characterised best on sheet 257[r]. From the arsenal of Kadırgalimanı only the roofs of the five ship sheds can be seen behind the sea wall, but it is confirmed once again that there were only five sheds. Most striking is the reproduction of the Muchrutas (a Seljuk pavilion), which apparently still existed within the indicated palace ruins[73]. The buildings in Topkapı Sarayı (*Domus mag<ni> turci*) and in the serail garden (*Viridium*) are also of interest. The missing upper floor of Bab-ı Hümamayun and the two towers flanking Babüsselam reappear almost simultaneously on the Düsseldorf view (**fig. 2**) and on sheet 257[r] of the *Liber chronicarum* (**fig. 8**). The Hagia Eirene (erroneously referred to as *S. Joh<ann>es Chrysostoma*[74]) is also placed only on the Düsseldorf *veduta* in the first courtyard of the serail with the inscription *S. elini*[75]. The church in the corner of the serail appears for the first time on the Düsseldorf view in the same place and is labelled here as *S. Maria*. I consider it to be the Hodegetria Church[76]. The inscription *S. Geor<g>ius* must be related to the Georgios Church further to the north in the Mangana quarter. The damaged church building (*Destruct<i>o antiqua*) outside the line, which according to the inscription *circulus deuast<i>onis* marks the limit of the effects of the storm, must mean the Baruthane and not the Nea Ekklesia (see n. 60 above)[77]. Incidentally, the view on page 257[r] illustrates oral reports of the storm, for the text states: »as the trustworthy Venetians and other merchants said«. Perhaps the whole representation goes back to a locally made leaflet that recorded this event[78] and that the woodcutters have implemented it in their manner, using the Column of Justinian with the equestrian statue from an unknown original.

Ottoman Representations

The *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (»Book of Seafaring«) by the navigator and cartographer Piri Reis, of which numerous copies have been preserved, was made between 1521 and 1526[79]. The two-page İstanbul map is from the bird's-eye view, as are the Buondelmonti and Vavassore-type views, but as seen from the north. The illustration includes Constantinople, Galata-Pera, the Asian side with Üsküdar and Kadıköy and the Princes' Islands. The interior of the city is packed with

Fig. 10 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople in the Kitab-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis (London), showing the Harbour of Theodosius with free-standing tower. – (London, Khalili Collection. From Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer fig. 47).

mosques and houses in a condensed manner, with the most important buildings and city gates labelled with the Ottoman names[80]. The Harbour of Theodosius is reproduced as on the Buondelmonti copies in the state before the complete closure of the alluvial bay. It was only depicted with the free-standing tower in the sea, which was also erroneously represented as a round tower (**fig. 10**)[81]. This state of the harbour, which was long obsolete at the time of origin of the map, is therefore likely to date back to an unknown original, which must be older than the prototype of the Vavassore view of 1479/1481[82]. A copy of the Buondelmonti type can probably be ruled out, especially since neither moles nor signs of sedimentation can be identified.

The İstanbul miniature by Matrakçı Nasuh from 1537 follows a different depiction principle[83]. İstanbul is seen from the side of the Theodosian walls, thus reproduced from the west[84]. Galata-Pera is only to be considered correctly if the double leaf (each 31.2 cm × 22.5 cm) is turned by 90° in a clockwise direction[85]. Many buildings can be identified and prove the high value of this *veduta* as a witness for the state of the city at the time of Suleiman the Magnificent[86]. Within the two cities, the individual buildings are usually arranged horizontally, but the painter had to solve the problem of

72 Gerlach, Tagebuch 336B-337A (21 April 1577).
73 Recognised by Asutay-Effenberger, Muchrutas.
74 Berger/Bardill, Representations of Constantinople 20-21.
75 Effenberger, Illustrationen 23-24 no. 2 fig. 32.
76 Effenberger, Illustrationen 27-28 no. 9 fig. 32. – Grotowski, The Hodegon.
77 Alternatively: Berger/Bardill, Representations of Constantinople 23.
78 Berger/Bardill, Representations of Constantinople 15: »apparently based on a sketch made on the spot by Schedel's informers«.
79 Orbay, Istanbul viewed 117-289. – Soucek, Piri Reis 132-135. – Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 11 (copy in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orientabteilung, Sign. Dietz A fol. 57, c. 1663-1724/1725).

80 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 216-223 fig. 47 (London, Khalili Collection). – Asutay-Effenberger, Kitâb-ı Bahriye.
81 In the London copy, the tower has the inscription »Kulle-i Hamza«, see Soujek, Piri Reis 134. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 219.
82 Effenberger, Illustrationen 32.
83 Orbay, Istanbul viewed 47-67. – Halbout du Tanney, Istanbul.
84 Yurdaydın, Matrakçı Nasuh pl. 8b.
85 Yurdaydın, Matrakçı Nasuh pl. 8a.
86 Denny, Plan of Istanbul (often with wrong identifications).

how to depict walls and alignments of buildings running in a west-east direction. Thus, the towers and curtain walls of the sea walls at the Golden Horn along the shore are shown standing upright. On the Sea of Marmara, the painter tried to make a perspective view, which reached to the *sphendone* of the Hippodrome, but on the vertical coastline, the towers seem to »topple over« into the sea. In the case of the walled and almost square-shaped district of Langa Bostanı, the eight

towers stand on three sides on an imaginary level and tilt inwards, while the two large corner towers on the sea side »topple over« back into the sea (**fig. 11**). There are lovely details inside, such as a large bed of flowers and vegetables, three trees and two draw wells. The inner basin, the retaining wall and the large gate of Kadırgalimanı are depicted, but the artist made a mistake by moving the five ship sheds to the opposite end of the inner bay.

The *Hünername* (»Book of Skills«) created by Seyyid Lokman in 1584/1585 for the Sultan Murad III (1574-1595) contains a map of İstanbul (44.0 cm × 27.5 cm) attributed to the painter Veli Can[87]. In addition to the actual city, the map extends from the Golden Horn to the confluence of the combined rivers of Alibey suyu and Kağıthane suyu, a large part of Galata with the Tersane-i Amire of Kasımpaşa, the villages Hasköy and Sütlüce, the cult district of Eyüp, the settlements on the foreland of the Theodosian walls and a corner of Üsküdar. In the view, a different kind of representation of the building is encountered, which actually forces the image to be rotated and viewed from several angles. This is exactly how the draughtsman must have done his work and chosen different city points[88]. The lower third of İstanbul is viewed from the Marmara side, the upper part assumes the view from the Golden Horn. The fact that the buildings are turned upside down in each case may not have disturbed the observers, as the city is actually made to be experienced by its two main sides. Nevertheless, the view is relatively reliable in topographical terms. Although labels are missing, most buildings can be identified. The apparent doubling of the walled Harbour of Theodosius could be clarified[89]. The reproduction of Kadırgalimanı is inaccurate[90].

In summary, only the Düsseldorf view (**fig. 2**) reflects the contemporary situation of both the former Harbour of Theodosius and the situation of Kadırgalimanı during the reign of Mehmed II in a way that corroborates or complements the written sources. This is due to the fact that with this *veduta* we have a contemporary pictorial document that was made by a draughtsman who was well-versed in local circumstances (if not particularly gifted) and whose intention was no longer to illustrate the Constantinople chapter of the *LIA*.

Summary / Zusammenfassung

Constantinople / İstanbul: The Early Pictorial Sources
The illustrations included in the individual chapters on the harbours have a varying degree of testimonial value, both in terms of the state of the city of Constantinople / İstanbul and also terms of the representation of the harbours and landing places. This applies especially to the early city views from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this chapter, the harbours on the *vedute* of the Buondelmonti and Vavassore types, of Hartmann Schedel, as well as several early Ottoman views (Matraçı Nasuh, Piri Reis, Lokman's *Hünername*) will be discussed. For the illustrations of the Buondelmonti and Vavassore types, possible underlying pictorial sources will be analysed. The Düsseldorf view of İstanbul in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi* of 1485/1490, which already conveys the state of the city at the time of Mehmed II or Bayezıd II, proves to be significant in many respects.

Konstantinopel / İstanbul: die frühen bildlichen Zeugnisse
Die den einzelnen Hafen-Kapiteln beigegebenen Abbildungen haben einen unterschiedlichen Zeugniswert sowohl in Bezug auf den Zustand der Stadt Konstantinopel / İstanbul als auch mit Blick auf die Darstellung der Häfen und Anlegestellen. Dies betrifft vor allem die frühen Stadtansichten aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. In dem Beitrag werden die Hafenanlagen auf den Veduten vom Buondelmonti- und vom Vavassore-Typus, Hartmann Schedel sowie einige frühe osmanische Ansichten (Matraçı Nasuh, Piri Reis, *Hünername* des Lokman) untersucht. Für die Darstellungen vom Buondelmonti- und Vavassore-Typus werden die möglicherweise zugrundeliegenden Bildquellen behandelt. Als in vielerlei Hinsicht aussagekräftig erweist sich die Düsseldorfer İstanbul-Ansicht im *Liber insularum archipelagi* des Cristoforo Buondelmonti von 1485/1490, die bereits den Zustand der Stadt zurzeit Mehmets II. bzw. Beyazıts II. überlief.

87 İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1523, vol. 1, fols. 158b. 158aʳ. – Anafarta, Hünername pl 37. – Orbay, Istanbul Viewed 73-116. – Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 12.

88 Orbay, Istanbul Viewed 90-114.

89 Effenberger, Illustrationen 32.

90 See Heher, Harbour of Julian fig. 13, in this volume.