SUBBTO 68, no. 1 (2023): 47-78
DOI:10.24193/subbto.2023.1.02

APPROACHING ORTHODOX SACRED SPACE IN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: THE WANDERINGS OF PROTESTANT HUMANISTS THROUGH THE BYZANTINE MONUMENTS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Nicholas MELVANI[*]

ABSTRACT. This paper deals with the reception of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople by Protestant scholars who visited the building complex of the Pammakaristos, then the seat of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as other churches within the Patriarchate's jurisdiction in the Ottoman capital. In their travel accounts, these scholars reported on the architecture, the mural decoration, the icons, liturgical structures, and relics they saw, as well as on the liturgy and other offices celebrated in monuments dating from the Byzantine period and still in the hands of Christians (Orthodox and Armenian). They also witnessed the Hagia Sophia and other historic Byzantine churches that had been converted into Islamic shrines. Their remarks on the ways Christians and Muslims used the Byzantine monuments and approached Byzantine art and architecture reveal their knowledge of as well as their position toward Orthodox Christianity and its Byzantine background.

Keywords: Constantinople – Istanbul; Christians in the Ottoman Empire; Orthodox – Protestant relations; Travelers in the Ottoman Empire; Byzantium and the Reformation; Humanism and Byzantium, Byzantine churches of Constantinople

Introduction: Protestant Travelers to Constantinople

Since the early years of the Reformation, there was a lively interest in learning about Orthodox Christianity among the followers of Martin Luther due to the widespread belief that the Greek Church preserved many elements from

[*] *Department of East European History, Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany. E-mail: nmelvani@uni-mainz.de*

the first years of Christianity; knowing about them could therefore provide additional arguments in the ongoing disputes with the Pope. Indeed, Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon believed in the importance of the Greek Church Fathers and of the Ecumenical Councils, studied sources about the disputes between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, and posited that the mere survival of Eastern Christianity under Muslim rule, i.e., beyond papal jurisdiction, was sufficient proof that a church without the Pope was possible[1]. This attitude relied primarily on knowledge acquired through the study of texts and from Greeks and Slavs who sojourned in German-speaking lands during the 16th century. In the second half of the century, a number of Protestant scholars and pilgrims travelled to Istanbul, witnessed the physical space of Christians in Istanbul, and established direct contact with the Church of Constantinople, which was facilitated by the correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and officials of the Patriarchate of Constantinople[2]. This mobility of people and written texts contributed to an enhanced image of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and of practices inherited from Byzantine religious life.

Protestant travellers were eager to discover facts about the Patriarchate of Constantinople and to explore the liturgical life of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman capital. Their research was facilitated by the presence of Lutheran officials selected by Emperor Maximilian II, himself a tolerant Protestant, to head the Habsburg delegation in Istanbul. Thus, in 1573, David Ungnad and, in 1578, Joachim von Sitzendorf were sent to the Ottoman capital, accompanied by a large suite of officials and attachés, including theologians who served as chaplains to the delegation's residence: in 1573, Stephan Gerlach and, in 1578 Salomon Schweigger, both of them learned humanists from the Tubingen circles of Martin Crusius and Jacob Andreae were present in the former Byzantine capital. Apart from their tasks as clergymen serving the residence, they were entrusted with contacting the Patriarchate of Constantinople and discussing a rapprochement between the Lutheran Church and the Orthodox[3]. At the same time, they were

1 Daniel Benga, *David Chytraeus (1530-1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen* (Wettenberg: VVB Laufersweiler Verlag, 2012), 45-69.

2 Andreas Rhoby, "The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas," in *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς: πατριαρχείο, θεσμοί, χειρόγραφα*, ed. Stavros Perentides and Georgios Steires (Athens: Daidalos, 2009), 139–52; Colton Moore, "Wittenberg and Byzantium: Lutheran Incentives to Correspond with the Patriarch of Constantinople (1573–1581)", *Journal of Religious History* 46 (2022), 3-23; Dorothea Wendebourg, „Standen politische Motive hinter dem Briefwechsel zwischen der Tübinger Theologischen Fakultät und Patriarch Jeremias II.?", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/6 (1982), 125-33.

3 Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie: der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Ernst Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz; Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Marburg: Elwert-Gräfe und Unzer Verlag, 1949).

interested in the forms of Orthodox worship and ritual practices within the Orthodox churches in the Ottoman Empire, which they recorded in their travel accounts and correspondence with their colleagues in Germany. Gerlach's journal was only published posthumously[4], but his letters to Martin Crusius, as well as the travelogue published by Schweigger in 1608[5], were important sources of knowledge for their readers north of the Alps. Their texts transmit elements of the space wherein they witnessed the Orthodox ceremonial, such as the form and layout of the Byzantine churches and how they were used by Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Before these two chaplains, Hans Dernschwam, a learned Protestant merchant employed by the Fugger enterprise, had also sojourned in Istanbul in 1553-1555 as an attaché of the Habsburg delegation and recorded his impressions in a journal, which remained unpublished for centuries.[6] A similar case was the educated pharmacist from Königsberg Reinhold Lubenau, a Protestant with strong anti-Catholic convictions, who joined the diplomat Bartholomaeus Petzen on an embassy sent by Rudolph II to Murad III and stayed in the Ottoman capital in 1587-1588. Lubenau's diary, which contains observations on the sites he visited during his stay, was published in the 20th century[7]. Besides these official visitors, other individuals made a stopover in Istanbul as part of their journeys in the East, such as the Protestant pilgrims Hans Breuning in 1579 and Samuel Kiechel in 1589, both of whom published travel accounts upon their return[8]. They, too, inserted descriptions of Byzantine churches into their pilgrimage

4 Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch, der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß* (Frankfurt a. M.: Zunner, 1674)

5 Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg: Lantzenberger, 1608); Peter Burschel, "Topkapı Sarayı oder Salomon Schweiggers Reise ans Ende der Zeit" in *Räume des Selbst: Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*, ed. Andreas Bähr, Gabrielle Jancke, and Peter Burschel (Köln: Böhlau, 2007), 29–40.

6 Franz Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-1555) nach der Urschrift im Fugger-Archiv* (Munich – Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923); Marianna Birnbaum, "The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire," *Südost-Forschungen* 50 (1991), 119-44.

7 Wilhelm Sahm, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, 2 vols. (Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas & Oppermann, 1912-1930); Johannes Koder, "Early modern times travellers as a source for the historical geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau", in *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1988), 141-48.

8 Hans Jacob Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Besten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach so er selb ander in der Tuerckey under deß Tuerckischen Sultans Jurisdiction und Gebiet so wol in Europa als Asia unnd Africa ohn einig Cuchtum oder Frey Gleit benantlich in Griechen Land Egypten Arabien Palestina das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien nicht ohne sondere grosse Gefahr vor dieser Zeit verrichtet* (Strasbourg: Johann Carolo, 1612); Samuel Kiechel, *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel aus drei Handschriften* (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1866).

accounts as part of their interest in, and curiosity about, Christian life in the Ottoman Empire. Their information could be classified as ethnographic knowledge according to Almut Hoeffer's thesis but filtered through their Protestant background and beliefs[9].

By the middle of the 16th century, the former capital of the East Roman Empire had been restored to its former splendour. Constantinople had been embellished with religious and secular buildings. The city's infrastructure, urban planning and public spaces had been upgraded. The Topkapi Palace, built on the eastern tip of the historic peninsula, was the seat of the government, and several high-ranking dignitaries had their residences and their religious foundations in the vicinity[10]. Despite the decades that had elapsed after the end of the Byzantine Empire, the material remains of Byzantine Constantinople were still present and visible within the context of Islamic Istanbul. The famous Hagia Sophia, converted into the Ayasofya Mosque in the aftermath of the Conquest, was the greatest shrine in the city and historic landmarks, such as the fortifications, the aqueduct, the Hippodrome, and the honorific columns that marked the imperial fora of Byzantine times, played a significant role in defining the cityscape, attracting the gaze of locals and foreigners, and connecting the Ottoman urban layout with its Byzantine past. This setting was the backdrop to the activity of a variety of institutions, including the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which had emerged as a leading non-Islamic authority in Istanbul and claimed the cultural heritage of Byzantium[11].

---

9 Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003), 34-44, 179-98; Ralph Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten* (Leipzig: Eudora, 2005), 179-82, 189-92.

10 For the transformation of Constantinople during the first 150 years of Ottoman rule, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan – Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

11 On the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the 16th century, see Otto Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. MB 10* (Vienna: Böhlau u. Komm, 1970; Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), as well as the classic Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance - Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest: Editions de l'Institut d'Études Byzantines, 1935), 79-125. On lay magnates and the Christian communities of Ottoman Istanbul in general, see Paris Konortas, *Orthodox and Muslim Coexistence in the Ottoman Empire. An Example in the 15th and 16th Centuries: the Relationship Between the Orthodox Post-Byzantine Archontes and the Muslim-Ottoman Administration*, in *Model of Historical Coexistence Between Muslims and Christians and its Future Prospects* (Amman: Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research, 1987), 77-90.

After the Ottoman Conquest and the conversion of the Hagia Sophia and after a few months of uncertainty, the Patriarchate was reconstituted in the early months of 1454 and found a new home in the building complex of the Byzantine Monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos[12]. This was a Middle Byzantine foundation renovated in the Palaiologan period, which apparently survived into the Ottoman period in a relatively good condition. The 16th-century patriarchs, especially Jeremias II, often thanks to the generous support of the Moldavian and Wallachian princes, maintained and even expanded the patriarchal compound, which quickly became the centre of the Greek community of Istanbul, concentrated in the hilly area West of the mosque complex of Sultan Selim I (built around 1520). A number of Byzantine churches apparently remained in the hands of the Orthodox during these first 150 years after the Conquest: the church of the Virgin Mouchliotissa nearby, which still functions today, Saint John in Troullo, now the Hirami Ahmed mosque across the street from the gate of the Pammakaristos, the remains of the great Petra monastery further to the West, as well as a number of smaller shrines along the north and south coasts of the historical peninsula and close to the Land Walls, in addition to those in Galata[13]. On the other hand, Byzantine churches and monasteries closer to the Ottoman centres of secular and religious life were gradually ruined or converted into mosques: the remains of the church of the Holy Apostles were demolished to make way for the Fatih mosque complex of Mehmed II, the nearby Pantokrator monastic complex was used as a madrasa, and the Mangana monastery, on the eastern slope of the hill occupied by the sultan's Saray, was temporarily turned into a dervish lodge and later disappeared. A more systematic wave of conversions occurred during the reign of Bayezid II, when the Stoudios, Saints Sergios and Bakchos, and Lips monasteries, for example, were transformed into mosques with adjoining tekkes[14].

The fate of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople was a major concern of visitors from Western Europe and of audiences reading about the situation in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the conversion of the legendary Hagia Sophia and its use as a Muslim prayer house was regarded as one of the

[12] Cyril Mango, "The monument and its history", in Hans Belting, Cyril Mango, and Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978), 25-34, Peter Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 217-48.

[13] Nicholas Melvani, "Patronage in Constantinople after 1453", in *En Sofía mathitéfsantes: Essays in Byzantine Material Culture and Society in Honour of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti,* ed. Charikleia Diamanti and Anastasia Vassileiou (Oxford: Archeopress, 2019), 419-22.

[14] A general survey of the converted churches of Istanbul is found in Süleyman Kırımtayıf, *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul: Their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2001).

most humiliating consequences of Ottoman victory, a clear indication of the imminent threat to Christianity in general. Thus, the Hagia Sophia, but also the new seat of the Patriarchate, is frequently referred to in travel accounts written by envoys from Venice, France, and the Holy Roman Empire in the 16th century[15].

Wandering among the Byzantine Churches of Istanbul

The *katholikon* of the Byzantine monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos was the centre of Orthodox religious life in 16th-century Istanbul. Therefore the church appears in almost all accounts written by travellers who visited the city. Descriptions of the patriarchal church of the Pammakaristos do not include information on the building itself but rather focus on the interior decoration and on the liturgical action that went on there (see below). The chaplain Salomon Schweigger dismisses the patriarchal church by stating that it is "quite large, but not handsome, rather badly built", revealing his negative feelings toward the sight of a Komnenian/Palaiologan religious building[16]. The pilgrim Jakob Breuning, on the other hand, adopted a more positive approach and noted the marble columns ("several beautiful columns of polished marble"), apparently a reference to the pairs of columns supporting the north, West, and south arches and separating the ambulatory from the core of the main church[17]. These columns are no longer extant since the vaulting of the monument was heavily remodelled when the church was converted into a mosque around the end of the 16th century, but the layout and the overall spatial configuration probably resembled the monument now known as the Koca Mustafapasa Camii (formerly the Byzantine church of the monastery of Saint Andrew in Krisei), with which the Pammakaristos church shares the same plan[18].

The laconic description in Schweigger's account is supplemented by the general view of the monastic-patriarchal complex that illustrates the text and reproduces the spatial organization of the Patriarchate, which apparently the author perceived as a reflection of the institution itself (fig. 1)[19]. In it, the church is represented as a minuscule building constructed of masonry blocks (a simplified

15 See for example, Jean-Pierre, Grélois, *Pierre Gilles, Itinéraires byzantins. Lettre à un ami. Du Bosphore de Thrace. De la topographie de Constantinople et de ses antiquités* (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007).

16 "ziemlich weit aber nicht statlich, sondern gar schlechtlich erbawt": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 118-21.

17 " viel schöner seulen von ballierten Marmel": Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 66-68.

18 Hansgerd Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristos-kirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13/14 (1963/64), 128-34, 144-46; Mango, "Monument", 3-4.

19 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 118-19.

interpretation of the actual cloisonnée masonry that includes tiles inserted into the mortar joints), occupying the top left corner of the monastic cluster (which Mango and Hallensleben have shown corresponds to the northeast part[20]). For the illustrator, the main features of the church appear to have been the cubic shape, the small scale (in relation to its surrounding structures), and the multiple domes that crown the main church. Also notable is the much lower outer narthex with the tower-like belfry (which, indeed, reflects the actual relationship between the main building and the annexe).

Fig. 1. View of the building complex of the Pammakaristos monastery from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 118)

The Pammakaristos reappears in Schweigger's general view of Constantinople, which includes the city's most important monuments, at least according to the author (fig. 2)[21]. Again, the entire complex is depicted, this time with the correct orientation, i.e., with the church at the top right side of the enclosure. The bell

[20] Mango, "Monument", 30-31; Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen", 133.
[21] Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 102.

tower, the domes and the difference in the height of the main church and the narthex are reproduced, although, in this miniature version, there are fewer details. There is a clear effort to make the Patriarchate occupy a large portion of the cartographic representation, which does not agree with the actual proportions of the monastery in relation to its neighbouring buildings, especially the mosques. Perhaps this is an attempt to emphasize Christian presence in the Ottoman capital and especially in this corner, which was indeed characterized by a strong presence of Orthodox Christians[22].

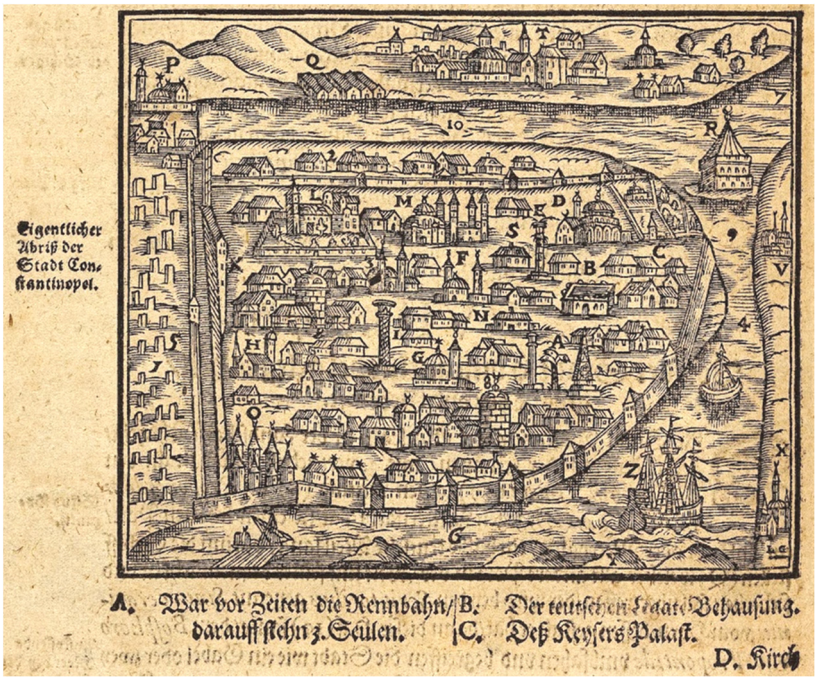

Fig. 2: View of Istanbul from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 102)

The Pammakaristos, together with the Virgin Peribleptos, are the only functioning Byzantine churches selected for this view of Istanbul. The only other Byzantine religious structure included is the Hagia Sophia. The representation of the Peribleptos appears to be an inaccurate image of the building, which is known

[22] Stéphane Yerasimos, "Les Grecs d'Istanbul après la conquête ottoman", *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 107-110 (2005), 375-99.

to have been a domed building (although there is no consensus among scholars regarding its original form, as it is no longer extant[23]), whereas here, it is shown as a basilica with a slanted roof. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy since Schweigger's text gives the impression that he actually visited the place. The church of the Peribleptos, the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate at the time[24], seems to have been particularly impressive (it was one of the so-called great imperial foundations of the 11th century and consistently praised by visitors as one of the city's wonders until the end of Byzantine Constantinople[25]), but it did not benefit from anything more detailed than phrases about its size and vague references to its beauty (Schweigger, for example says it was "pretty and large"[26]). Other Byzantine churches rarely receive analogous attention from writers.

The fact that Byzantine churches apart from the Hagia Sophia (on which, see below) are not described is in stark contrast to the long praises of Ottoman mosques and mausolea, some of which, such as the Süleymaniye and the Şehzade, are singled out and favoured with encomiastic passages[27]. The general evaluations of the Ottoman buildings of Istanbul often include references to the wonderfully built domed structures, the brightly polished or coloured columns, the elaborate interior decorations with ceramics, metalwork, and carpets, and the skilled craftsmanship of Ottoman builders and artists who created them. The performance of Muslim prayer rites in these admired shrines – which were consistently condemned and ridiculed as expressions of a false religion, did not deter scholars trained in humanist environments from admitting the architectural beauty of mosques. Humanist and Protestant attitudes towards Islam have been treated from several points of view and are beyond the scope of this article, but

---

23 Cyril Mango, "The monastery of St Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) at Constantinople revisited", *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992), 474-89; Ken Dark, "The Byzantine Church and Monastery of St Mary Peribleptos in Istanbul", *The Burlington Magazine* 141, no. 1160 (1999), 656–64; Ferudun Özgümüş, "Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) in İstanbul", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93, no. 2 (2000), 508-20; Örgü Dalgiç and Thomas Mathews, "A New Interpretation of the Church of Peribleptos and its Place in Middle Byzantine Architecture" in *Change in the Byzantine world in the 12th and 13th centuries. First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium,* ed. Ayla Ödekan*,* Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu, (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2010): 424-31.

24 Markus Rahn, *Die Entstehung des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel* (Münster – Hamburg - London: Lit Verlag 2002), 155-58.

25 George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1984), 276-83; Cirac Estopañán Sebastián, "Tres monasterios de Constantinople visitados por Españoles en el año 1403", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961), 374-77.

26 "hübsch und groß": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 121-22.

27 For example, Lubeanau admired the columns of the Süleymaniye (Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 165-66) and Breuning stated that the Sehzade was "herrlich gebawen" (Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 66).

the appreciation of Ottoman religious architecture should be considered an important factor in the discussion[28].

Although modern viewers are impressed mostly by the frescoes and mosaics adorning Byzantine interiors, this was not the case with the 16th-century visitors under discussion. In general, Byzantine paintings still visible in the churches accessible during the 16th century do not often appear in the general descriptions of Christian life in Ottoman Istanbul or in the passages dealing with specific churches. The travellers noted the frescoes and mosaics, especially the way they fill the surfaces and dominate the interiors, as well as the absence of sculpted images. Hans Dernschwam, for example, does not mention anything at all about the decoration of the patriarchal church in the Pammakaristos, and his only references to the interior concern the relics preserved and venerated by the Greeks (on which, see below)[29]. In any event, the mural decoration of the Pammakaristos, of which all that remains visible today are the mosaics of the south *parekklesion* and a few frescoes adorning the south exterior wall of the *katholikon*, all of them part of the early Palaiologan phase of the building[30], did receive some attention. The authors' reactions upon viewing Byzantine monumental paintings in the historic monument were mixed: Schweigger dismissed the images by saying that they had no artistic merits ("there is no art to be found in them")[31], but Hans Breuning was more enthusiastic, at least about the mosaics, which he characterized as "*sehr schön*" and beautifully created, while he emphasized the gold background of the images ("which are very beautiful mosaics, splendidly laid and gilded")[32]. Reinhold Lubenau ("adorned with beautiful images in mosaic") and Stefan Gerlach agreed with this approach and likewise seemed to have been positively impressed by the mosaics[33].

---

28 Thomas Kaufmann, *Türkenbüchlein: Zur Christlichen Wahrnehmung "Türckischer Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2008); Andrei Pippidi, *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Adam S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

29 Babinger, *Tagebuch*, 143-44.

30 Belting, Mango, and Mouriki, *Mosaics and Frescoes*; Vassileios Marinis, "The Mosaics of Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Istanbul," in *Mosaics of Anatolia*, ed. G. Sözen (Istanbul: HSBC, 2011), 321-32.

31 "darinn gar kein Kunst zu finden": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119;

32 "welche sehr schön von opere mosaico, herrlich eingelegt und verguldt": Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67.

33 "mitt schönen Bildern auf mosaische Art geziret wahr": Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 173; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 92.

The subject matter of the mosaics and frescoes was of particular importance to the authors. In the Pammakaristos there are vague allusions to images of Christ the Savior and the Virgin, which could refer to the now disappeared decoration of the dome and apse or even to the (no longer extant) sanctuary barrier of the *katholikon*, as well as to the mosaics still visible in the south chapel. Schweigger identifies the figures of the Greek Church Fathers ("images of their ancient Church Fathers"), apparently, the officiating bishops once adorning the apse of the main church (which is no longer extant, having been replaced by a completely new structure at the east end of the main building when it was converted into a mosque around 1600): he singles out SS Athanasios, Basil, and John Chrysostom[34]. These bishop portraits must have adorned the apse of the main church; there is not enough space in the apse of the south chapel, which is occupied by a triple window, so the authors cannot be referring to images in the apse of the *parekklesion*. The same information is repeated by Lubenau and Breuning, as well as by Gerlach, who adds that the images of the Church Fathers were notable also from the artistic point of view[35].

Images of SS Constantine and Helena are also mentioned in this context. These were most probably the figures comprising the composition of Constantine and his mother dressed in imperial attire holding the cross, also known as the True Cross, flanked by Constantine and Helena since the cross is the main theme and the focal centre. This was a common image for Byzantine church decoration of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods and is found in various parts of Byzantine religious buildings, most frequently near entrances[36]. However, it is not possible to determine where in the Pammakaristos the composition was to be seen. Whether the images of the bishops and of the first Christian emperor with his mother were part of the Komnenian or of the Palaiologan phase of the Pammakaristos is likewise impossible to tell based on the information transmitted by the German texts. Gerlach reports that in another church, that of Saint Constantine in Samatya to the southwest of the city (on which, see below), the eponymous saint and his mother with their imperial crowns and gold-embroidered costumes were painted above the entrance, where a portrait of Saint Athanasios was also found[37].

Other passages describe the imperial portraits once visible at the gate of the Pammakaristos (not extant since nothing remains of the original monastic complex save for the main church with the adjacent chapel and a few cisterns

[34] "Bildnussen irer alten Kirchenlehrer": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung,* 119.

[35] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 462.

[36] Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena. A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross", *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 18 (1995), 169-88.

[37] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 217.

and retaining walls in the outlying area)[38]. Portraits of Andronikos II or III with his wife with their imperial dress, accompanied by Greek inscriptions identifying them as Emperors of the Romans impressed almost all protestant authors who visited the Pammakaristos and stressed the effects of the imperial insignia. Schweigger illustrated his account by inserting a reproduction of the imperial couple (fig. 3). Although the rendering is free and is not reminiscent of Byzantine painting, the imperial iconography succinctly conveys the impact of the Byzantine imperial image on viewers, with the emperor's crown, loros, bejewelled ornate garments, and staff[39]. Breuning also attempted to reproduce the script of the inscription, as he was drawn by the phrasing of the imperial title[40]. Lubenau included a description of the portraits of Michael VIII and his wife Theodora, likewise with their inscriptions (but translated into Latin), he saw in the church of the Peribleptos monastery, although without specifying where it was[41].

Fig. 3. Imperial portraits in the Pammakaristos from Schweigger, Reiss Beschreibung (Heidelberg University Library, A 4170 RES, page 121)

[38] On these portraits, see Rudolf Stichel, "'Vergessene Kaiserporträts' spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel", *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998), 85–125; Mango, "The monument", 23.

[39] Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 121.

[40] Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67.

[41] Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 176-177. For these portraits, see John Osborne, "New Evidence for a Lost Portrait of the Family of Michael VIII Palaiologos", *Thesaurismata* 23 (1993), 9–13 and Stichel, "Vergessene Kaiserporträts", 75-84.

Although it is not always explicitly stated, the images mentioned as adorning the interior appear to have been works of monumental painting. This is evident by the joint references to painting and mosaics and from the iconographic subjects described, especially the images of officiating bishops. However, the two accounts written by chaplains of the Habsburg delegation also focus on panel paintings. Gerlach mentions images (*Bildnuß*) of Christ and the Virgin and refers to the veneration and the act of kissing; these must have been portable icons on *proskynetaria* (it is less likely they were wall paintings situated at eye level)[42]. Gerlach adds that on major Dominical and Marian feast days, icons with the appropriate narrative scenes were made available for veneration on lecterns. Gerlach's successor to the chaplaincy also reports that the interior of the Pammakaristos was full of panel paintings ("*gemahlte Bilder auff Tafeln*"). He singles out the images of Christ the Savior and of the Virgin and Child located at the right-hand side of the nave and describes congregants venerating them by kissing them upon entering the church[43]. It is unclear whether the two theologians include in their general references the two Palaiologan mosaic icons now preserved in the patriarchal church of Saint George at Fener in Istanbul, which represent the Virgin Hodegetria with the epithet Pammakaristos and Saint John the Baptist. Evidently, the two icons, the only surviving icons from the monastery, were donations by their Late Byzantine patrons and were installed in the iconostasis of the main church, where they remained visible in post-Byzantine times and incorporated into the 16th-century iconostasis installed under Patriarch Jeremias II (1572-1579, 1580-1584, 1587-1589). They later accompanied the Patriarchate's move to its current location at the end of the 16th century[44].

Stefan Gerlach also transmits details about the iconostasis of the church of Saint Constantine, a Byzantine building in the southwest corner of the city, close to Yedikule and to the historic monastery of Saint John of Stoudios. Gerlach mentions an image of Christ flanked by John the Forerunner and, to the left, Mary and Saint Theodore, an arrangement which agrees with the standard iconography of the icons placed in the intercolumnar spaces of the templon since Byzantine times. Above one door of the sanctuary, there was the Dormition with the Apostles, and above the other, the Assumption of the Virgin[45]. This is apparently the painted

42 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 166.

43 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119.

44 On these icons, see Nikolaos Gioles, "Οι ψηφιδωτές εικόνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου και οι αναθέτες τους, *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 17 (1993-94), 249–58; Georgios Soteriou, *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου* (Athens: Estia, 1938), 23-25; Mango, "The Monument", 9-10, 29.

45 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 217.

epistylion surmounting the iconostasis, which was traditionally decorated with busts of apostles and narrative scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin[46].

Both chaplains mention separately the veneration of the crucifix in the Pammakaristos. This was most likely an allusion to the painted crucifix attached to the top of the iconostasis. The latter would be in accordance with the rising importance of the crucifix on top of iconostasis known from the monuments of Mount Athos since the 14th century; the oldest surviving example is the image from the Pantokrator monastery, although they became widespread in the 16th century when their form was perfected by Cretan workshops[47]; thus, it is conceivable that this cross or crucifixion icon in the Pammakaristos main church was a post-Byzantine addition within the framework of the remodelling of the templon commissioned by patriarch Jeremias II[48]. Indeed, the Greek sources about the interventions under Jeremias clearly refer to the painted crucifix as a dominant feature of the church's interior, which must have made an impression on the German scholars. Gerlach, in fact, mentions a similar item in the sacristy, namely the Palaiologan chapel to the south of the main church.

The Tübingen theologians, especially Gerlach, were particularly curious about the veneration of icons. In a paragraph dealing with the use of images among the Greeks in general, Gerlach relates that Orthodox Christians (including Bulgarians – i.e., South Slavs – Moldavians, Wallachians, Russians – i.e., Kievans and Ruthenians – and Muscovites) would display great emotion while praying before the painted images of Christ and the saints, and most of all of the Virgin. This included beating their chests and kissing the icons, especially women with their children[49]. The kissing of icons is also mentioned in descriptions of mass in specific churches by Gerlach and Schweigger, such as the Pammakaristos and Saint Constantine[50]. Also, the faithful would consistently materialize these honours

46 For the iconography of Byzantine templa, see Manolis Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icône aux 11e-13e siècles et la transformation du templon", in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines,* vol. 3 (Athens: Bibliotheke tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias, 1979), 182-88; Christopher Walter, "A New Look at the Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 51 (1993), 203-28.

47 Titos Papamastorakis, "Εικόνες 13ου-16ου αιώνα", in Titos Papamastorakis, Katerina Kalamartzi-Katsarou, and Ioannis Tavlakis, *Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος* (Mount Athos: Mone Pantokratoros,1998), 74-78; Maria Kazanaki-Lappa, "Ο ξυλόγλυπτος σταυρός της Ευαγγελίστριας του Λιβόρνου (1643) και οι σταυροί επιστυλίου στα κρητικά τέμπλα", in *Ευφρόσυνον- Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη*, vol. 1 (Athens: Tameio Archaiologikon Poron, 1991), 219-38.

48 Mango, "The Monument", 29, Iohannes Bekker, *Patriarchica Constantinopoleos historia, in Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae) (Bonn: Weber, 1849), 197-203.

49 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 166-67.

50 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 119.

by adorning their icons with gold and silver revetments, coins, and various votive offerings in front of them, as well as clothes and other hangings (the so-called "*podeai*").

Descriptions of the interior of the Pammakaristos also included references to the liturgical structures and other implements that determined the action taking place in the patriarchal church, in addition to the *iconostasia*, the tall sanctuary barriers separating the sanctuary from the nave already discussed. The patriarchal throne, apparently the wood-carved seat with inlaid ivory decoration with the inscription of patriarch Jeremias II, dated 1577, still in the patriarchal church of Saint George at Fener, is one of the main focal points in the description of the offices by Hans Breuning and by Stefan Gerlach[51]. The latter scholar mentions the throne in his account of the celebrations in the church on 1 August 1578 and is thus one of the earliest eyewitnesses to have recorded the existence of the newly installed seat. Gerlach also noted the position of the altar in the middle of the sanctuary and of the pulpit in the middle of the nave. Gerlach also mentioned seats and carpets arranged for special services held outside the patriarchal church (during the summer months), apparently in the courtyard, as well as the pulpit in the church of Chrysopege at Galata[52]. With the exception of the throne of Jeremias, it is unclear whether these furnishings were Byzantine items or post-1453 additions.

The priests and their vestments were an indispensable part of church interiors – including in the Pammakaristos main church, with the dominant figure of the patriarch – and of visualizations of what the authors perceived as the Greek or Orthodox character of the liturgy. Thus, the garments worn by the patriarch and his retinue when officiating are described in some detail. For example, Gerlach reports on the patriarchal vestments worn by Jeremias II during the ordination rite in the church of Chrysopege at Galata. He mentions the gold embroidered ornament and the images of the Crucifixion and of the Virgin, as well as the colours and the way the vestments were wrapped around the body. His account of the patriarchal liturgy includes a reference to the patriarch's retinue, which consisted of monks dressed in black or black-grey capes with hoods[53].

Liturgical vestments also drew the attention of Gerlach's successor Salomon Schweigger, who focused on the officiating clergy and illustrated his account of Orthodox life in Istanbul with an image depicting three priests, according to the caption accompanying the figures "An illustration of how

51 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 67; Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 504-505.
52 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 229-230, 167.
53 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 29-30.

the Greek priests are adorned when officiating and preaching in the church"[54]. The accompanying text adds details about the depicted items in order to acquaint the reader with the essential terminology used in the Greek Church: the ἐπιτραχίλιον, made of white silk, the στυχάριον, of green silk, the πωγωνάτιον (the *epigonation*), of red silk, the πολιστάυριον, coloured black with white crosses. What Schweigger and his counterparts saw must have been embroidered liturgical vestments systematically produced in Istanbul by local Greek workshops continuing to a certain extent the Byzantine tradition, already since the first years after the Ottoman Conquest; items of this sort are still extant in various collections, mostly in Romanian monasteries and on Mount Athos[55]. Depicted in Schweigger's image are also the headcovers (although the terminology for the headgear is not given). The reference to colours is also noteworthy, as it is a clear attempt to reconstruct the visual impact of the priestly figures that populated the Greek churches. To these figures are contrasted the figures of monks with their plain and austere garb depicted on another page of Schweigger's travelogue[56].

In addition to liturgical furniture and vestments, vessels and implements were also included in the descriptions. Thus, the staff and cross wielded by the patriarch were also deemed worthy of mention, as were the spoons, patens, and chalices used during Eucharist[57].

Worshippers' behaviour in the Greek churches caused scholars to mention and comment on the veneration of relics by the Orthodox Christians of Istanbul. The richest collection of relics, all of them well documented since the Byzantine period, was that on display in the Pammakaristos and consisted of items that had been salvaged from various sites in 1453 and deposited in the patriarchal monastery. Indeed, the relics kept in various parts of the building complex (the nave of the main church, the south *parekklesion*, and the chapels of the north arm of the perambulatory) were among the main attractions that caught the attention of almost all writers under discussion[58]. In fact, the relics and their wooden reliquaries are all that is mentioned from the entire complex by Hans Dernschwam[59]. Gerlach, who was more meticulous in his depiction of Orthodox cult practices, noted the veneration of the relics of Saint Euphemia (preserved in the north arm of the perambulatory) and of the Column of the

54 "Ein gemahlter Augenschein, wie die Griechischen Prießter in der Kirch, so sie Ampts pflegen und predigen, gezieret seyn": Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 215.

55 Elena Papastavrou and Daphni Filiou, "On the beginnings of the Constantinopolitan School of embroidery", *Zograf* 39 (2015), 161-76.

56 Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 218.

57 For example, Gerlach, *Tagebuch,* 64, 179-80.

58 Mango, "The Monument", 34; Arne Effenberger, "Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristoskirche", *Byzantion* 77 (2007), 188-90.

59 Babinger, *Tagebuch,* 144.

Flagellation (in the nave of the main church)[60]. Elsewhere, he also added details about the veneration of the reliquary of the finger of Saint Constantine in the eponymous church at Samatya on the saint's feast day (21 May): he describes the intense reactions of the faithful who kissed the relic and the procession of the reliquary around the church[61].

Reinhold Lubenau is more explicit in his account: he lists the flagellation column, the relics of St Euphemia, and those of St Salome. However, he expressed doubts about their authenticity (for example, he writes of the Column: "whether this is the real column, I let everyone believe what they will") and was sceptic about relics in general, especially regarding their role in contemporary Christians' lives[62]. He does reveal his curiosity about the subject, as he records some information from his knowledge of church history, mentioning that the relics of Andrew and Luke had been brought to Constantinople by Constantine the Great. He also added that patriarch Jeremias II told him stories about the number of relics once in Constantinople during Byzantine times. In short, it seems that, despite his negative attitude toward the cult of relics, Lubenau's interest in the topic lay in the historical aspects of these practices, especially their early Christian roots. It seems that he was trying to trace the origin of the errors regarding relics, which characterize the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches alike, to the time of the Church Fathers and, therefore, that he took for granted the patristic background of the Greek Church. The reliquaries in which the relics were encased are rarely discussed, and when they are, they are referred to as mere boxes; apparently, they did not catch the attention of Protestant viewers.

Gerlach obtained special permission from the patriarchal officials to attend the offices in the Pammakaristos and other churches of Constantinople during his stay and thus managed to witness the Byzantine buildings as they were being used by the Patriarchate and its clergy in the 16th century. His reports are purposefully detailed as part of his task to transmit information to his colleagues in Tubingen and correspond with the thorough research into Orthodox practices carried out among Protestant scholars toward the end of the century. The lengthiest descriptions are from three churches: the patriarchal church itself, the Church of Saint Constantine in the neighbourhood of Karamania – Samatya, and the Virgin Chrysopege at Galata.

---

60 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 179.

61 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 348-349; Jean-Pierre Grélois, "Saint Constantin, les Caramaniens et les Anasténarèdés", in *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan,* ed. Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2016), 230-32.

62 "ob es nun von der rechten Seulen, las ich jeden glauben, was er will": Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 173-74.

Gerlach witnessed mass in the Pammakaristos on various occasions[63]. On 12 May 1575, the feast day of the Ascension, he recorded that mass began with the patriarch entering through the main door blessing the interior with the cross and standing in front of the sanctuary, escorted by a monk carrying a candle and preceded by other monks making the sign of the cross and bowing toward the patriarch. The group was led by a monk who recited the Kyrie Eleison invocation alternating with the chorus of monks responding Σὺ Κύριε. As the monks in the sanctuary chanted, the Gospel book was carried toward the patriarch (Gerlach stresses the obvious fact that it was the Greek Bible), escorted by two monks carrying tapers. The patriarch kissed the book as everyone watched in humbleness and awe of the presence of the Gospel (the author notes that everyone had their eyes closed as if they were unworthy to witness the presence of the Word), after which the Bible was returned to the sanctuary. This was followed by more chanting and then by a reading from Acts (on the Ascension) by a priest in the middle of the church, more chanting, and further reading from the last chapter of the Gospel of Luke (again on the Ascension), this time by a monk (apparently a hieromonk). Gerlach notes that the congregation listened attentively to the readings by bending their heads toward the ground. After the readings, the bread and wine were processioned solemnly, to which the bystanders reacted humbly. The sanctuary doors were subsequently closed off as the patriarch recited the Nicaean Creed, and the bread and wine were consecrated; later, the curtain of the sanctuary barrier was pulled away, and a monk recited prayers for the patriarchs and the patriarch pronounced the Lord's Prayer. Then, communion was administered to the faithful. This marked the end of mass, and the patriarch distributed bread, the *antidoron*, to the congregants, who kissed his hand and proceeded to receive their share of the agape communal meal. As they exited the church, they stopped to venerate the icons placed at the pulpit and at the gate. Afterwards, the patriarch left the church and blessed the faithful in the courtyard by making the sign of cross[64].

Gerlach visited the Church of Saint Constantine in the southwest district of the city on three occasions (29 June 1576, 21 May 1577, and 21 May 1578).

[63] Matei Cazacu, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople dans la vision de Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578)", in *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVIe siècles: rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5-7 décembre 2005* (Dossiers Byzantins 7) (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2007), 373-76; Jean-Pierre Grélois, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople vu par quelques voyageurs occidentaux (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)", in *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. André Binggeli, Matthieu Cassin, and Marina Detoraki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 49-60.

[64] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 91-92.

His descriptions of the celebrations for the feast day of Saint Constantine in the eponymous church are particularly eloquent[65]. On that day (May 21), the faithful entered the church and received the blessing of the priest, who placed the gospel book on their heads and made the sign of the cross. They would also kiss the icons and the relics of the emperor-saint on display in the church. Most of the action took place outside, however, with the dancing and other acts in the courtyard, in front of the entrance. After the celebration of mass, a common meal was organized outside the church in the presence of the patriarch.

The third church described by Gerlach in the context of the liturgy is the Virgin Chrysopege at Galata[66], which the German theologian visited on 25 March 1576, i.e., on the double feast day of the Annunciation and the Veneration of the Precious Cross, on the Third Sunday of Lent (wrongly referred to by Gerlach as *Creutzes Erhebung*, the Exaltation of the Cross). Here, he witnessed the patriarch celebrating mass aided by 12 priests, perhaps the church's clergy[67]. Again, the main focal points within the building were the sanctuary and altar, the gate of the sanctuary barrier, and the throne for the patriarch installed toward the back of the church (i.e., near the entrance), as well as the entrance gate itself. The author also singled out the elevated women's area, separated by a chancel, which was reached from a separate entrance, and offered a view of the liturgical action while ensuring that women were not visible to the rest of the congregation. Gerlach again mentions the prominent role of the gospel book, the cross, the censing, the readings from the Gospel and the Epistles, the preparation and administration of Communion, the reciting of the prayers, the elaborate chanting, the preaching, which lasted three-quarters of an hour, and the distribution of the antidoron and the ensuing meal at the end.

In addition to the Byzantine churches still in the hands of Christians, the Protestant authors noted the shrines that had been converted to accommodate

65 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 348-49; Grélois, "Saint Constantin", 229-34. For the church, see also, Zafer Karaca, *Rum Ortodoks Kilisileri İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 194-208.

66 The location of this church is uncertain (it has not survived), and it is probably identical to the Greek church of the Virgin, attested in documents since the 14th century. According to Sercan Sağlam, it should be identified with the church later taken over by the Benedictines and now known as Saint Benoit (currently part of a private French-speaking school): Sercan Sağlam, "Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul)", *İDEALKENT* 11 (2020), 1846. However, this contradicts the 16th-century and 17th-century references to the church (including Gerlach's), which date from the same time as the references to Saint Benoit. The Chrysopege is known in later years as the church where the scholar Meletios Syrigos was active in the 17th century: Jules Pargoire, "Mélétios Syrigos, sa vie et ses œuvres (suite)", *Échos d'Orient* 11 (1908), 331-40.

67 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 167-169.

Muslim prayer rites. The most visited and praised monument overall was the Hagia Sophia mosque, which is referred to as the greatest and most beautiful church of Christendom and is admired for its exterior form and for the marble decoration of its interior. Indeed, knowledge of its original function as an imperial church serving Christian worship under the Roman emperor Justinian triggered intense emotions among visitors, Catholics and Protestants alike. Lubenau could apparently imagine the imperial liturgy performed in the great church, as he noted that he was shown the exact place where the Byzantine Emperors would stand when attending services[68]. In addition, the Byzantine mosaics that were still visible in the 16th century likewise generated positive responses, especially the images of Byzantine Emperors in the south gallery, one of which was misidentified by Lubenau as a portrait of Constantine the Great[69]. In Schweigger's above-mentioned panoramic view of Constantinople, the colossal Hagia Sophia dominates the entire illustration and overshadows all other Byzantine and Ottoman monuments depicted. Interestingly, it is shown as a round domed building, a fact which agrees with Reinhold Lubenau's statement that it resembled the Pantheon in Rome, apparently because of the dominant sphere of the dome. When he visited the interior, he did not fail to notice the effects of the marble pavement, which he characterized as "very artistic" ("*ganz kunstlich*"), whereas he also appreciated the marble decoration and the way the sun illuminates it[70]. However, the building's use as an Islamic shrine produced negative feelings and judgements and was viewed as a deplorable fact that compromised its beauty. On the other hand, most of the authors were not disturbed by the addition of the Ottoman imperial mausolea attached to the south of the Hagia Sophia in the last quarter of the 16th century, which they refer to in very positive terms[71].

The same negative feelings are evoked in the description of the basilica of the Stoudios monastery and the Chora monastery, the Imrahor Camii and Kariye Camii, respectively (both functioning as Muslim houses of worship with attached dervish lodges since the time of Bayezid II); their Byzantine identities

68 Sahm, *Beschreibung,* 142-146. On this topic, see Rudolf Stichel, "Die Hagia Sophia Justinians, ihre liturgische Einrichtung und der zeremonielle Auftritt des frühbyzantinischen Kaisers", in: *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, ed. Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 25-57.

69 Cyril Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.: The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962), 27-29, 119-20.

70 These comments agree with recent approaches to the Hagia Sophia and its sensory features, for example, in Nadine Schibille *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

71 Kiechel, *Die Reisen,* 410; Sahm, *Beschreibung*, 146.

were noted by Breuning and Gerlach[72]. The latter was particularly enthusiastic about the iconographic cycles of the Old and New Testament in the narthexes of the Chora Church[73]: "adorned with beautiful artfully painted figures from the Old and New Testament, made of gilded square tesserae, and with Greek captions"[74]. In the *parekklesion* Gerlach noted the frescoes, including the funerary portraits in the *arcosolia*, but did not write anything about the rest of the decoration, apparently because it had been whitewashed upon the building's conversion in the early 16th century[75]. Gerlach describes the new use by pointing out that the floor was covered in Turkish carpets at the time. Gerlach also noted the painted decoration he saw in the basilica of the Stoudios monastery, which was apparently still visible in his time, despite the site's use as a mosque (some traces of frescoes are still visible on the east wall, but they have not been systematically studied – otherwise the mural paintings of the Stoudios church are known only from the written sources)[76]. Dernschwam was also drawn to the images adorning various parts of the former monastery, especially the portrait of Saint Constantine in the basilica and the composition of the Last Supper in the refectory (which is no longer extant)[77].

72 Breuning, *Orientalische Reyß*, 76, Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 217, 455-56.

73 Gerlach, *Tagebuch,* 455-456; Robert Ousterhout, "A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 117-24. On the mosaics in the narthex, see Paul Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967), 108-51; Paul Underwood, "Some problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry cycles", in *The Kariye Djami. Studies in the Art of Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. Paul Underwood, (Princeton: Routledge & Kegan Paul PLC, 1975), 243-302.

74 "mit schönen auff vergüldten viereckichten gläsern Taffeln künstlich gemahlten Figuren aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament und mit Griechischen Uberschrifften gezieret ist".

75 The frescoes of the parekklesion were barely visible in the 19th century, hidden beneath the whitewash (although there is no direct evidence of when this occurred): Robert Ousterhout, "(Re)Presenting the Kariye Camii: Architecture, Archaeology, and Restoration", in *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul & the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, ed. Holger Klein and Robert Ousterhout (New York: The Wallach Art Gallery, 2004), 32-33.

76 On the mural decoration of the Stoudios monastery, see Warren Woodfin, "A Majestas Domini in Middle-Byzantine Constantinople", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 51 (2003), 45-55; Nicholas Melvani, "The History of the Stoudios monastery", in Tarkan Okçuoğlu, Esra Kudde, and Nicholas Melvani, *Stoudios Monastery in Istanbul. History, Architecture and Art* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2021), 143, 161.

77 Babinger, *Tagebuch,* 52-53.

Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and Art

The term "Byzantine" to describe the East Roman Empire had already been introduced in 1564 by Hieronymus Wolf[78], but was not used by travellers to Istanbul to refer to the art and architecture of Byzantium. However, there is no doubt that the travellers were aware of the Byzantine identity of the churches they visited. Even if they refer to the dates of buildings in vague terms (Lubenau describes the Pammakaristos simply as very old – "*gar uhralte*" – and the Peribleptos as an ancient Greek church – "*alte griechische Kirche*"), it is clear that they recognized them as Christian remnants of the East Roman Empire and as parts of Istanbul's Byzantine heritage. The imperial portraits in the Pammakaristos and the Peribleptos, which were described as images of the Greek or Eastern Emperors ("*Griechischer Kaiser*" or "*Orientalischer Kaiser*"), provided a tangible link between the 16th-century Orthodox community and the pre-1453 phase of Constantinople, in addition to the orally transmitted information circulating among local Greeks. Thus, the images and the structures they adorned were perceived as reminders of the Byzantine phases of the respective building complexes, which in turn were treated as material remains of the capital of the East Roman Empire, in accordance with the Habsburg scheme of *Translatio Imperii,* i.e. the transfer of the empire to the Greeks in the East and to the Franks in the West[79].

Research into the origins of early Christian architecture was not advanced in the 16th century; knowledge of early churches was confined to the basilicas of Rome and to a few renowned buildings in the East, particularly the Holy Sepulchre and the Hagia Sophia[80]. Likewise, there is little evidence that scholars

---

78 Hans-Georg Beck, *Der Vater der deutschen Byzantinistik: das Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm selbst erzählt* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1984); Dieter Reinsch, "Hieronymus Wolf as Editor and Translator of Byzantine Texts," in *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500*, ed. Przemyslaw Marciniak and Dion C. Smythe (Farnham: Routledge, 2016), 43-53.

79 Matthias Schnettger, "Nostrum, nostrum est Romanum Imperium. La présence de Rome dans l'exercice du pouvoir du Saint-Empire romain germanique", in *L'imperium Romanum en perspective. Les savoirs d'empire dans la République romaine et leur héritage dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, ed. Julien Dubouloz, Sylvie Pittia, and Gaetano Sabatini (Besançon: Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, 2014), 341-54; Notker Hammerstein, "Imperium Romanum cum omnibus suis qualitatibus ad Germanos est translatum. Das vierte Weltreich in der Lehre der Reichsjuristen", in *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 3), ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987), 187-202.

80 For descriptions and illustrations of the Holy Sepulchre, see Andres Betschart, *Zwischen Zwei Welten: Illustrationen und Berichte Westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), 118-38.

of the Reformation were interested in the origins of church building and planning. That the travellers to Istanbul tended to focus more on sixth century-churches (the Hagia Sophia is explicitly attributed to Justinian and praised in lengthy paragraphs) and less on the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods is no surprise: the Pammakaristos church, a Komnenian building with Palaiologan additions, is described in less flattering terms, and it seems that monuments from later periods were viewed as signs of the empire's decline.

This general preference for early monuments is consistent with the humanist background of the scholars, who were motivated by their passion for antiquity, as well as with their eagerness to discover Roman elements, especially when they were representing the Holy Roman Emperor. Besides this predilection for late antique buildings, there is little effort in the texts to distinguish between different periods of Byzantine architecture. Likewise, the authors do not distinguish between the cross-in-square Middle Byzantine churches and early Christian basilicas, such as the Stoudios church (they do not comment on the fact that the latter was not a domed building, thus different from the majority of early and later Byzantine monuments in the city). Overall, there are no signs that the Protestant travellers to Istanbul viewed the form and layout of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople as an argument regarding correct Christian practices, as they placed greater emphasis on what went on inside these buildings. In any case, their descriptions of the ritual reflect their gaze, which was likely affected by their own Protestant ideas of sacred space and places of worship in their homeland[81].

For example, Gerlach appears to have been concerned with visibility within Orthodox churches when he commented that the sanctuary was blocked from view by the tall chancel screen, especially during the time the doors were closed and the curtain was drawn[82]. Lubenau's interest in windows and lighting in the churches might be an indication of his sensitivity toward visibility. The praises of marble and the responses to the sensory effects of the lavish decoration appear to be more connected with the writers' humanist background and their curiosity for the art of antiquity, but it is likely that they were not happy with the numerous columns and piers in the Pammakaristos patriarchal church, which resulted in the separation of the central space from its surrounding ambulatory and must have hindered the view toward the performance of the

[81] Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Reformation Germany," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39-59.

[82] Visibility enabling a clear view toward the sanctuary was a major concern for Lutheran worship and church planning: Joseph Leo Koerner, *Die Reformation des Bildes* (Munich: H.C. Beck, 2017), 480-81.

offices[83]. The detailed description of the Pammakaristos complex with the various auxiliary structures and annexes, also in the woodcut illustrating Schweigger's description, shows the interest in the monastic character of the Patriarchate as part of its institutional identity. Likewise, the Germans were certainly interested in attendance, as they were eager to report on the congregational practices of the Orthodox: thus, Gerlach was pleased to observe that the majority of the congregation was present during mass for most of the time in the Pammakaristos and that the Chrysopege was packed with people on the feast day of the Dormition, resulting in a crowded space due to the small scale of the building[84].

The wealth of painted images adorning church interiors caused mixed reactions among the Protestant viewers[85]. On the one hand, the veneration and constant kissing of icons were condemned as an idolatrous practice that was close to those of the Catholics, but on the other, the beauty of mosaics and frescoes attracted positive statements about the ways they contributed to the creation of aesthetically pleasing interiors. The iconography and subject matter were certainly of interest to the travel writers, as they conveyed important aspects of Orthodox theology. For example, the biblical scenes in the Pammakaristos, but also in the converted Chora, certainly agreed with the emphasis on the didactic and evangelizing character of narrative painting, as exemplified in the first Lutheran churches of the 16th century[86]. Thus, the extensive cycle of the Ministry of Christ in the Chora must have struck a sensitive chord with Gerlach[87]. The omnipresence of the cross and of the Crucified Christ, especially its function as a focal point in the liturgy, was particularly significant and stressed accordingly, as the crucifix was considered a key subject for contemplation in Lutheran worship[88]. The authors also insisted on the depictions of the officiating bishops in the apse of the sanctuaries of Greek churches, which was probably in line with their interest in Greek Fathers and their role in the Orthodox Church as guarantors of continuity and originality. This interest was matched by their desire to acquire manuscripts preserving works of Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and others during their stay in Istanbul[89].

---

83 For this configuration and its liturgical-funerary use, see Vassileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 191.

84 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 167 ("die Kirche zimlich eng und der Leute sehr viel gewesen").

85 Sergiusz Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), 99-168.

86 David Price, *In the Beginning Was the Image: Art and the Reformation Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 209-60.

87 This was a favoured theme in early Reformation art: Price, *In the Beginning*, 115-29.

88 Koerner, *Reformation des Bildes,* 219-42.

89 Cazacu, "Le patriarcat de Constantinople", 375-76.

The texts also frequently mention the presence of portraits of Constantine the Great among the figures depicted in fresco. Although these were primarily images of the saintly ruler with his mother next to the Cross, the emperor's imperial dress must have surely struck viewers. Constantine was indeed a central figure in Habsburg ideology and for representatives of the Reich visiting the Ottoman capital: Constantine was the main reference point in passages recounting the history of Constantinople and its role as New Rome with repeated references to the transfer of the seat of government to the Bosporus by the first Christian emperor[90]; this probably accounts for the attention his image in the Greek churches received. Moreover, this was a time when scholars of the Reformation were investigating facts about the so-called Constantinian Donation and questioning its authenticity[91], in search of arguments against the claims of the Papacy; the presence of an imperial portrait inside a church must have resonated particularly with theologians concerned with the relations between church and state, especially in the case of the first Christian ruler. Depictions of rulers in Lutheran churches in Germany were indeed a favoured theme and the Byzantine examples detected in Constantinople may have been received as a positive aspect[92]. In the same vein, the authors were consistently interested in images of later emperors, including those in the converted Hagia Sophia (which were still visible) and the Palaiologan ones in the Patriarchal monastery of the Pammakaristos.

In addition to images, the Protestant visitors were fascinated by the role of scripture and the presence of the written and spoken (as well as the sung) word in the Byzantine churches as part of their research concerning the Greek Church[93]. Thus, they consistently mentioned inscriptions, legends, and captions they could read on icons, frescoes, and mosaics and focused on the Greek texts. At the same time, they accurately described how the Gospel book was processioned around the various parts of the church accompanied by candles in the ceremonial of the offices. Likewise, the preaching that followed communion received a detailed description of the contents, the duration, and the public's attentiveness to the sermons[94]. However, Gerlach noted that preaching in classical Greek was

90 For example, in Schweigger, *Reiss Beschreibung*, 124-125, where he describes the Column of Constantine (the monument now known as Çemberlitaş).

91 Christian Gastgeber, "Iohannes Sambucus und die Donatio Constantini", in *Johannes Sambucus, János Zsámboki, Ján Sambucus (1531–1584). Philologe, Sammler und Hofhistoriograph am Habsburgerhof*, ed. Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2018), 241-68.

92 Naïma Ghermani, "Das sprechende Porträt. Fürstenbildnisse und Konfession zwischen 1520 und 1550", in *Reformation und Bildnis. Bildpropaganda im Zeitalter der Glaubensstreitigkeiten*, ed. Günter Frank and Maria Lucia Weigel (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2018), 81-98.

93 Koerner, *Reformation des Bildes*, 306-31, 467-79.

94 Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 154.

occasionally unintelligible by contemporary audiences[95]. Curiously, the melismatic chant characteristic of Byzantine music was well-received, as Gerlach spoke highly of the "wonderful coloraturas" ("*wunderbarliche Coloraturen*") he heard during the liturgy and did not complain that they obscured the clarity of the words.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, the Protestant travellers who visited and described Byzantine churches in use by the Orthodox population of 16th-century Istanbul had a rather vague impression of the main characteristics of Byzantine art and architecture. Even though to them, the Hagia Sophia represented a high point in Christian architecture and the later Byzantine buildings were signs of a declining culture, the defining aspects appear to have been the domes and the interiors populated by brightly coloured marbles, mosaics, and icons. Lubenau's comment that the sanctuary of the Hagia Sophia was "in the Greek style" ("*nach griechischer Art*"), perhaps a reference to the layout of the windows and the mosaic decoration, might be an indication that the writer recognized this layout, albeit in a church converted into a mosque, as a characteristic Byzantine feature he could see in other buildings.

What was of more interest to the scholars under discussion was the ways sacred space was configured and used based on the ritual and the conduct of the congregation within these buildings, but they did not fail to notice that the iconography of images, the monumental inscriptions, and the position of liturgical structures had an impact on bystanders and that they were an integral part of experiencing Orthodox churches. Images of Greek Fathers and representations from the New Testament, in conjunction with the readings of the Gospels and the performance of the liturgies of Saint Basil and John Chrysostom, were consistent with the perception that the Greek Church was based on its patristic origins. Indeed, Protestants who visited the Byzantine churches of Constantinople in the last decades of the 16th century recognized that these buildings and their decoration, just like books, were an important source of knowledge on the past and present of Orthodox Christians: they were fascinated to see the words of the Gospel inscribed and performed in Greek, decipher pictorial cycles of biblical scenes, and view portraits of the Greek Fathers and images of events from Church history represented on the walls and on portable icons.

[95] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* 168.

The contribution of these travel accounts to the wider understanding of Orthodox worship and practices was vital: even if some of the journals and diaries discussed above were not published until several decades later, their authors were in a position to orally disseminate information on what they witnessed and to communicate their findings in their written correspondence; those that were actually published with illustrations within a few years made this newly acquired knowledge accessible to a wide readership in Vienna and in south Germany and provided scholars north of the Alps with fresh visual evidence from Byzantium. Indeed, the information on the spatial characteristics of the Pammakaristos, for example was eagerly received by Martin Crusius in Tübingen, who reproduced the view of the monastery in his *Turcograecia* in 1584 (i.e., before Schweigger's book appeared in print in 1608) and studied the data he received from Gerlach and Schweigger, as confirmed by his notes and drawings in his (unpublished) diary[96].

Therefore, the travelling Protestants and the circulation of people and information between Istanbul and Tubingen, as well as the increasing mobility of Orthodox monks and laymen from Eastern Europe, resulted in an enhanced perception of Orthodoxy and opened new ways in its communication with the humanist circles of Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Babinger, Franz. *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553–1555) nach der Urschrift Fugger-archiv*. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1923.

Beck, Hans-Georg. *Der Vater der deutschen Byzantinistik: das Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm selbst erzählt*. Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1984.

Bekker, Iohannes. *Patriarchica Constantinopoleos historia, in Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae). Bonn: Weber, 1849.

Benga, Daniel. *David Chytraeus (1530–1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen*. Wettenberg: VVB Laufersweiler Verlag, 2012.

Benz, Ernst. *Wittenberg und Byzanz; Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche*. Marburg: Elwert-Gräfe und Unzer Verlag, 1949.

[96] Martinus Crusius, *Turcograeciae Libri Octo. Quibus Graecorum Status Sub Imperio Turcico, in Politia & Ecclesia, Oeconomia & Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usq[ue] tempora, luculenter describitur* (Basel: Henricpetrus Ostenius, 1584), 190.

Betschart, Andres. *Zwischen Zwei Welten: Illustrationen und Berichte Westeuropäischer Jerusalemreisender*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996.

Birnbaum, Marianna. "The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire". *Südost Forschungen* 50 (1991): 119–44.

Breuning, Hans Jacob. *Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Besten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach so er selb ander in der Tuerckey under deß Tuerckischen Sultans Jurisdiction und Gebiet so wol in Europa als Asia unnd Africa ohn einig Cuchtum oder Frey Gleit benantlich in Griechen Land Egypten Arabien Palestina das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien nicht ohne sondere grosse Gefahr vor dieser Zeit verrichtet*. Strasbourg: Johann Carolo, 1612.

Burschel, Peter. "Topkapı Sarayı oder Salomon Schweiggers Reise ans Ende der Zeit". In *Räume des Selbst: Selbstzeugnisforschung transkulturell*, edited by Andreas Bähr, Gabrielle Jancke, and Peter Burschel, 29-40. Cologne: Böhlau, 2007.

Cazacu, Matei. "Le patriarcat de Constantinople dans la vision de Stephan Gerlach (1573–1578)". In *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVIe siècles: rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5–7 décembre 2005* (Dossiers Byzantins 7), 369–86. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2007.

Chatzidakis, Manolis. "L'évolution de l'icône aux 11e-13e siècles et la transformation du templon". In *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. 3; 182–88. Athens: Bibliotheke tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias, 1979.

Cirac, Estopañán Sebastián, "Tres monasterios de Constantinople visitados por Españoles en el año 1403". *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961): 358-81.

Crusius, Martinus. *Turcograeciae Libri Octo. Quibus Graecorum Status Sub Imperio Turcico, in Politia & Ecclesia, Oeconomia & Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usq[ue] tempora, luculenter describitur*. Basel: Henricpetrus Ostenius, 1584.

Dalgiç Örgü, and Thomas Mathews. "A New Interpretation of the Church of Peribleptos and its Place in Middle Byzantine Architecture". In *Change in the Byzantine world in the 12th and 13th centuries. First international Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, edited by Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu, 424-31. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2010.

Dark, Ken. "The Byzantine Church and Monastery of St Mary Peribleptos in Istanbul". *The Burlington Magazine* 141, no. 1160 (1999): 656–64.

Effenberger, Arne. "Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristoskirche". *Byzantion* 77 (2007): 170–96.

Francisco, Adam. *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics.* Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Gastgeber, Christian. "Iohannes Sambucus und die Donatio Constantini". In *Johannes Sambucus, János Zsámboki, Ján Sambucus (1531–1584). Philologe, Sammler und Hofhistoriograph am Habsburgerhof*, edited by Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker, 241-68. Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2018.

Gerlach, Stephan. *Tage-Buch, der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß*. Frankfurt a. M.: Zunner, 1674.

Ghermani, Naïma. "Das sprechende Porträt. Fürstenbildnisse und Konfession zwischen 1520 und 1550". In *Reformation und Bildnis. Bildpropaganda im Zeitalter der Glaubensstreitigkeiten*, edited by Günter Frank and Maria Lucia Weigel, 81-98. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2018.

Gioles, Nikolaos. "Οι ψηφιδωτές εικόνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου και οι αναθέτες τους". *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 17 (1993-94): 249–58.

Grélois, Jean-Pierre. *Pierre Gilles, Itinéraires byzantins. Lettre à un ami. Du Bosphore de Thrace. De la topographie de Constantinople et de ses antiquités*. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007.

Grélois, Jean-Pierre. "Saint Constantin, les Caramaniens et les Anasténarèdés". In *Le saint, le moine et le paysan: Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, edited by Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paule Pagès, 229–44. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2016.

Grélois, Jean-Pierre. "Le patriarcat de Constantinople vu par quelques voyageurs occidentaux (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)". In *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, edited by André Binggeli, Matthieu Cassin, and Marina Detoraki, 49-60. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.

Hallensleben, Hansgerd. "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristos-kirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13/14 (1963/64): 128-93.

Hammerstein, Notker. "Imperium Romanum cum omnibus suis qualitatibus ad Germanos est translatum. Das vierte Weltreich in der Lehre der Reichsjuristen". In *Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 3), edited by Johannes Kunisch, 187-202. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987.

Heal, Bridget. "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Reformation Germany". In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 39-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Höfert, Almut. *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003.

Iorga, Nicolae. *Byzance après Byzance - Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine*. Bucharest: Editions de l'Institut d'Études Byzantines, 1935.

Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem. *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Karaca, Zafer. *Rum Ortodoks Kilisileri İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008.

Kaufmann, Thomas. *Türkenbüchlein": Zur Christlichen Wahrnehmung "Türckischer Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2008.

Kazanaki-Lappa, Maria. "Ο ξυλόγλυπτος σταυρός της Ευαγγελίστριας του Λιβόρνου (1643) και οι σταυροί επιστυλίου στα κρητικά τέμπλα". In *Ευφρόσυνον- Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη*, vol. 1, 219-38. Athens: Tameio Archaiologikon Poron, 1991.

Kiechel, Samuel. *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel aus drei Handschriften*. Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1866.

Kırımtayıf, Süleyman. *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul: Their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2001.

Koder, Johannes. "Early modern times travellers as a source for the historical geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau". In *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen*, 141-48. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1988.

Koerner, Joseph Leo. *Die Reformation des Bildes*. Munich: H.C. Beck, 2017.

Konortas, Paris. "Orthodox and Muslim Coexistence in the Ottoman Empire. An Example in the 15th and 16th Centuries: The Relationship Between the Orthodox Post-Byzantine Archontes and the Muslim-Ottoman Administration". In *Model of Historical Coexistence Between Muslims and Christians and its Future Prospects,* 77-90*.* Amman: Royal Academy for Islamic Civilization Research, 1987.

Kresten, Otto. *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. MB 10*. Vienna: Böhlau u. Komm, 1970.

Majeska, George. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1984.

Mango, Cyril. *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*. Washington, D.C.: The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962.

Mango, Cyril. "The monument and its history". In Hans Belting, Cyril Mango, and Doula Mouriki. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul,* 3-41. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978.

Mango, Cyril. "The monastery of St Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) at Constantinople revisited". *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992): 474-89.

Marinis, Vassileios. "The Mosaics of Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Istanbul." In *Mosaics of Anatolia*, edited by Gürol Sözen, 321-32. Istanbul: HSBC, 2011.

Marinis, Vassileios. *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Melvani, Nicholas. "Patronage in Constantinople after 1453". In *En Sofía mathitéfsantes: Essays in Byzantine Material Culture and Society in Honour of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti*, edited by Charikleia Diamanti and Anastasia Vassileiou, 412-426. Oxford: Archeopress, 2019.

Melvani, Nicholas. "The History of the Stoudios monastery". In Tarkan Okçuoğlu, Esra Kudde, and Nicholas Melvani, *Stoudios Monastery in Istanbul. History, Architecture and Art,* 113-166. Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2021.

Michalski, Sergiusz. *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Moore, Colton. "Wittenberg and Byzantium: Lutheran Incentives to Correspond with the Patriarch of Constantinople (1573–1581)". *Journal of Religious History* 46 (2022): 3-23.

Müller, Ralph. *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten*. Leipzig: Eudora, 2005.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. *The Age of Sinan – Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Osborne, John. "New Evidence for a Lost Portrait of the Family of Michael VIII Palaiologos". *Thesaurismata* 23 (1993): 9–13.

Ousterhout, Robert. "A Sixteenth-Century Visitor to the Chora". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 117-24.

Ousterhout, Robert. "(Re)Presenting the Kariye Camii: Architecture, Archaeology, and Restoration". In *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul & the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, edited by Holger Klein and Robert Ousterhout, 32-42. New York: The Wallach Art Gallery, 2004.

Özgümüş, Ferudun. "Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) in İstanbul". *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93/2 (2000): 508-20.

Papademetriou, Tom. *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Papamastorakis, Titos. "Εικόνες 13ου-16ου αιώνα". In Titos Papamastorakis, Katerina Kalamartzi-Katsarou, and Ioannis Tavlakis. *Εικόνες Μονής Παντοκράτορος,* 43-145. Mount Athos: Mone Pantokratoros, 1998.

Papastavrou, Elena, and Daphni Filiou. "On the beginnings of the Constantinopolitan School of embroidery". *Zograf* 39 (2015): 161-76.

Pargoire, Jules. "Mélétios Syrigos, sa vie et ses œuvres (suite)". *Échos d'Orient* 11 (1908): 331-40.

Pippidi, Andrei. *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Price, David. *In the Beginning Was the Image: Art and the Reformation Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Rahn, Markus, *Die Entstehung des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. Münster – Hamburg - London: Lit Verlag 2002.

Reinsch, Dieter. "Hieronymus Wolf as Editor and Translator of Byzantine Texts". In *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500*, edited by Przemyslaw Marciniak and Dion C. Smythe, 43-53. Farnham: Routledge, 2016.

Rhoby, Andreas. "The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas". In *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς: πατριαρχείο, θεσμοί, χειρόγραφα*, edited by Stavros Perentides and Georgios Steires, 139-152. Athens: Daidalos, 2009.

Sağlam, Sercan. "Transformation and Continuity of Sacred Places: The Case of Galata (Istanbul)". *İDEALKENT* 11 (2020): 1832-55.

Sahm, Wilhelm. *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas & Oppermann, 1912-1930.

Schibille, Nadine. *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Schnettger, Matthias. "Nostrum, nostrum est Romanum Imperium. La présence de Rome dans l'exercice du pouvoir du Saint-Empire romain germanique". In *L'imperium Romanum en perspective. Les savoirs d'empire dans la République romaine et leur héritage dans l'Europe médiévale et modern,* ed. Julien Dubouloz, Sylvie Pittia, and Gaetano Sabatini, 341-54. Besançon: Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, 2014.

Schreiner, Peter. "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971): 217-48.

Schweigger, Salomon. *Ein newe Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*. Nuremberg: Lantzenberger, 1608.

Soteriou, Georgios. *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*. Athens: Estia, 1938.

Stichel, Rudolf. "„Vergessene Kaiserporträts" spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel". *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998): 75–125.

Stichel, Rudolf. "Die Hagia Sophia Justinians, ihre liturgische Einrichtung und der zeremonielle Auftritt des frühbyzantinischen Kaisers". In *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, edited by Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, 25-57. Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2010.

Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena. A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Re-evaluation of the Cross". *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 18 (1995): 169-88.

Underwood, Paul. *The Kariye Djami*. New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967.

Underwood, Paul. "Some problems in Programs and Icongraphy of Ministry cycles". In *The Kariye Djami. Studies in the Art of Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, edited by Paul Underwood, 243-302. Princeton: Routledge & Kegan Paul PLC, 1975.

Walter, Christopher. "A New Look at the Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier". *Revue des Études Byzantines* 51 (1993): 203-28.

Wendebourg, Dorothea. "Standen politische Motive hinter dem Briefwechsel zwischen der Tübinger Theologischen Fakultät und Patriarch Jeremias II.?" *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/6 (1982): 125-33.

Wendebourg, Dorothea. *Reformation und Orthodoxie: der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.

Woodfin, Warren. "A Majestas Domini in Middle-Byzantine Constantinople". *Cahiers Archéologiques* 51 (2003): 45-55.

Yerasimos, Stéphane. "Les Grecs d'Istanbul après la conquête ottoman". *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 107-110 (2005): 375-99.