



Point of View

Since the High Renaissance the seraglio palace in Istanbul, which today houses the celebrated Topkapı Museum, was the legendary centre of power in the Ottoman Empire - steeped in myths that are still very much alive today, think only of Mozart's Entführung aus dem Serail, first performed in 1782 at the Burgtheater here in Vienna, or Jules Dassin's comedy-thriller Topkapi (1964) starring Peter Ustinov. Hans de Jode's View of the Tip of the Seraglio is a baroque example: this large painting is not meant to be a detailed ricordo of the palace complex with its inner courtyards and towers. Instead, it aims to capture the mood, the atmosphere of a location that conjures up fantasies about the Ottoman court for everyone who has visited Constantinople, together with its landscape setting. The latter evokes both a feeling of distance and the sublime and - note, for example, the bizarre cloud formations and the eccentric palette of the dusky light reflected in the water - of exoticism and mystery. Most travellers and merchants approached this great city from the sea. But there is nothing narrative about the picturesque harbour scene in the foreground; with its almost abstract quality it effortlessly continues the mood of the landscape: the cipher of turbaned sailors, ships and wares evokes exotic spices and fabrics that are generally associated with the Ottoman Empire. The aim of this Point of View is to look at the field of tension between a subtle, profound reading of the landscape and the actual topography.

Many colleagues have contributed to this exhibition, and I would like to thank them all! Guido Messling, curator of German Painting, selected this multi-facetted composition from our depot, thereby showcasing the artist Hans de Jode; with great skill conservator Michael Odlozil has returned the painting to its former glory – they are inviting us to embark on a fascinating journey.

Stefan Weppelmann
Director of the Collection of Paintings

Enchanted by the Seraglio



ill. 1: Hans de Jode, *View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace*, 1659 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 2945

Point of View #14

Guido Messling

A View of the "Burg desz grossen Türckhen" (Palace of the Great Turk)

Rarely exhibited and only recently restored in connection with an international exhibition (see Michael Odlozil's contribution), this painting has now returned home to the Kunsthistorisches Museum to be showcased as our current "Point of View"; its unusual choice of subject matter raises a number of questions (ill. 1).1 Painted by Hans de Jode (The Hague c. 1630 – c. 1663 Vienna), it depicts Topkapı Palace (Turkish: Topkapı Sarayı, or "Canon-Gate Palace") in Istanbul (formerly Constantinople), which occupies the promontory overlooking the Sea of Marmara and the Golden Horn. Today it is a museum open to the public, but until the middle of the 19th century this extensive palace complex begun by Sultan Mehmet II shortly after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 served as the main residence of the Sultan and thus as the centre of political power in the Ottoman Empire. De Jode selected the view from the north, i.e. looking across the Golden Horn, comprising the large palace that dominates the wooded mound and, to the right of a small depression, the cupola of the church of St. Irene (Hagia Eirene) and a minaret of the Hagia Sophia, the great church that was converted into the main mosque of the Ottoman Empire in 1453. A crenelated wall with watchtowers follows the shoreline of the Golden Horn, giving way to two arcaded and domed pavilions; on the far left of the promontory you can even make out the tips of the towers of the so-called Canon-Gate, after which the palace is named. In the distance, on the opposite shore of the Bosporus, snowy mountain ranges rise up. In the foreground we see a peaceful evening harbour scene: some men are busy loading and unloading ships while others have abandoned themselves to idleness. Note also the small cartellino (Italian for "small piece of paper") in the bottom right hand corner that seems to have been attached to the painting with seals; it was once inscribed with the name of the artist, the title of the painting, and the date. Only damaged fragments remain today, but luckily the exact wording is recorded in the painting's first description in the inventory of the collection assembled by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-1662), which was compiled by canon Johannes Antonius van der Baren in connection with the new installation of the collection on the second floor of Stallburg Palace in Vienna in 1659. "Ein Stuckh von Öhlfarb auf Leinwaetth, warin dasz Hoff oder die Burg desz grossen Türckhen zu Constantinopl, warbey ettliche Schiff vnndt Schifflein im Meer seindt, vnndt vndten auf einem weisz gemahlten Papier geschrieben stehet: Seraglio del gran signor 1659; zwischen drey Pettschafften besser vnden stehet H. de Jode.

In einer schwartz glatten Ramen, das innere Leistel geflambt, hoch 7 Spann 7 1/2 Finger vnndt 12 Spann 2 1/2 Finger braith. Vom obgemelten de Jode Original." (a piece in oil on canvas, depicting the court or palace of the Great Turk at Constantinople, with countless large and small ships in the water, and on a white painted piece of paper is written: Seraglio del Gran Signor 1659; between three seals further down is inscribed H. de Jode; in a black smooth frame, its inner ledge flamed, 7 spans 7 1/2 fingers high and 12 spans 2 1/2 fingers wide; an original painting by the said de Jode). This tells us that Hans de Jode's painting depicting the "palace of the Great Turk" (i.e. the Sultan's palace) entered the collection of Leopold Wilhelm in the year it was produced. Already during his tenure as governor of the Spanish Netherlands, the younger brother of Emperor Ferdinand III (r. 1637-1657) had made the most of the vibrant local art market to assemble one of the 17th century's greatest collections of paintings; he also commissioned numerous works from local artists, a habit he continued to indulge after his return from Brussels to Vienna in 1656, despite his constant money worries.³ However, we do not know whether he acquired de Jode's painting on the art market, whether the artist dedicated it to him in the hope of receiving a lucrative commission, or if the Archduke commissioned it. Both the fact that it appears so quickly in the inventory listing his paintings and its exceptional size would argue against the first suggestion. The painting measures over two metres in width, thereby far exceeding the normal size of Netherlandish baroque landscapes and also without precedent among de Jode's (so far) known works. But before we discuss possible reasons why Leopold Wilhelm commissioned this painting, let us look more closely at the artist who produced it.

Hans de Jode – an artist about whom we (do not) know a great deal

We know very little about Hans de Jode – and he would presumably be extremely unhappy if he knew that most of the little we do know about him concerns not his work but a lawsuit in which he played a very unfortunate role with, for him, far-reaching consequences. We know about these events from a petition sent on July 10, 1656 by the painter Petrus Vignois – then in jail in The Hague – to the Dutch court, the country's highest court of law, asking to speed up a lawsuit against him or to stop the proceedings altogether because of his innocence.⁴ In his petition Vignois recounts that on the evening of August 25, 1647 he and his fellow painters Carel Codde, Bartholomeus Appelman and Hans de Jode were strolling through The Hague when they were followed and harassed by two men; they were eventually forced to draw their weapons to defend themselves, and in the course of the ensuing brawl de Jode killed one of their assailants, a man named Simon Lentum. Though immediately regretting what he had done, de Jode fled The Hague. Convinced of their innocence, his three friends remained in their



ill. 2: Hans de Jode, Harbour View, 1657. Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio

hometown until setting off on their journeyman years. It was only in 1653, i.e. a full six years later - or so Vignois tells us - that the Bailliuw started proceedings in The Hague against all four participants in the brawl; Codde had returned earlier so the case against him was soon closed but the three others were still abroad and knew nothing of their summonses. Vignois also adds that friends of de Jode believed him at present to be in Venice or in Constantinople. It is this remark in Vignois' (ultimately unsuccessful) petition, together with the painting now in Vienna, that seems to support the suggestion that de Jode really did visit the capital of the Ottoman Empire. We will also look at what (if any) proofs the painting itself provides, but we may assume that de Jode - who, according to Vignois, was born no later than 1630 in The Hague - lived in Italy for some time. This was also the destination of the three fellow artists with whom he had spent that fateful evening in The Hague. His oeuvre too - most of it compiled by Šafařik in a seminal article published in 1966 - clearly reflects both the manifold ideas and/or motifs de Jode borrowed from various artists active in Italy in the middle of the 17th century, and where he came into contact with their work: firstly Venice, where he presumably encountered both Johann Anton Eismann (1604-1698) from Salzburg and Joseph Heintz the Younger (c. 1600-1678) from Augsburg.⁵ But we may also assume that he spent some time in Rome, the destination of generations of artists. In 1649 Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) had returned to the Eternal City, and it seems that our artist was deeply impressed by the painterly, dramatically lit compositions Rosa produced there after his return. In addition, de Jode's landscapes are closely related, especially in their choice of motifs, to the works of some of his compatriots active in Rome around 1650, foremost among them the so-called Bamboccianti, who specialized in coarse scenes of every-day life, and some of the Dutch Italianate landscape painters such as Karel Dujardin (1626-1678) or Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683, although we have no record of him actually being in Rome), who produced harbour views and Arcadian landscapes bathed in a warm southern light. Two of de Jode's signed landscapes now in Verona - painted in 1657 but only generally accepted as the master's earliest dated works in 1977 - clearly conflate these inspirations.⁶ This is particularly marked in the harbour scene with classical elements (ill. 2), whose motifs, bizarre cloud formations and sunny quaysides in the foreground anticipate the painting in Vienna, which was executed two years later. De Jode clearly produced the pair of paintings now in Verona while still in Italy, i.e. before setting off at some not vet determined date for Vienna. Our earlier thoughts on Leopold Wilhelm's acquisition of the seraglio view suggest that the artist settled in Vienna no later than 1659. He is only recorded here once during his lifetime, in an entry dated January 8, 1662 in the city's Schottenkirche (Scottish church) recording his marriage to Elisabeth Gaillet; it was witnessed by two fellow artists, the painter Johann de Hart (his name suggests that he too originated in the Low Countries) and Frans van der Steen (c. 1627-1672), a native of Antwerp who came to Vienna with Leopold Wilhelm and who worked as imperial engraver from 1656/57.7 We do not know when de Jode and van der Steen became acquainted, but the names of the men who witnessed his marriage suggest that by that time de Jode moved in the wide circle of Netherlandish artists active in Vienna and may thus have come to the attention of the imperial court. It seems that his marriage was not a long one; unlike from the years between 1657 and 1661 we have no later dated paintings by him, which suggests that he died shortly after his wedding.8 Despite this dearth of information we may, however, assume that the artist was highly respected during his sojourn in Vienna: in 1667 Charles II of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, bishop of Olomouc since 1664, received a letter alerting him to a landscape painter who, the writer claims, surpasses even "de Jode" - which did not prevent the prince from acquiring shortly afterwards three paintings by de Jode, who had died a number of years before (they are now in Kroměříž). Between 1677 and 1680 one of his even more famous relations, Prince Charles Eusebius of Liechtenstein, the founder of the celebrated Liechtenstein collections, acquired no less than eleven paintings by de Jode for the picture gallery in his palace at Valtice in southern Moravia, four of which remain there to this day.9 The majority of these sales were brokered by the painter Renier Meganck (also known as Renier Megan, c. 1637-1690), a native of Brussels. Later identified as imperial court painter, Meganck is first recorded in Vienna in 1671 when he witnessed and sealed the last will of the above-mentioned Frans van der Steen; like the latter, he too may have come to Vienna with Leopold Wilhelm.10 In addition, the stylistic similarities between his and de Jode's works suggest that he spent some time in the latter's workshop and that, as these sales suggest, he acted as his master's testamentary executioner.

The Conservator's Point of View

Michael Odlozil

Until its recent restoration the painting was stored in the museum depot and had not been treated for a long time; it was therefore in a brittle and somewhat dilapidated condition.

The support is a plain weave canvas consisting of two strips with a horizontal seam. The format was altered on all four sides of the painting.

An eight-centimetres-long strip of the original right edge was folded over and a previously also-folded part had been re-incorporated into the painting surface, together with a second addition comprising a strip of canvas taken from another painting covered with a layer of black paint. Both the folds and the addition were covered with a heavy layer of discoloured overpaint. Losses of the original canvas in the corners, e.g. in the bottom right corner around the "cartellino" featuring the signature, had been consolidated with strip linings applied to the back of the painting (ill. a). The reddish-brown grounding and the thinly applied paint layer have engendered a net of pronounced cracks and have begun to flake in some areas. During a previous restoration the surface was treated with aggressive solvents that have caused abrasions – in some areas the ground layer was exposed. The painting was coated with a thin, degraded and yellowed varnish and with dirt.

ill. a: Hans de Jode, *View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace* Detail showing the "cartellino" after retouching, the writing was not reconstructed.





ill. b: Hans de Jode, View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace Detail of the sky during removal of the overpaints

One of our first interventions was the consolidation of the paint layers in order to reduce the surface relief. Old strip linings were removed and replaced with new inlays. Once the edges were consolidated the painting was re-stretched onto its original wooden stretcher without altering its format yet again. The surface was carefully cleaned with moisture and the old varnish layers gradually reduced. We were also able to remove earlier retouchings and overpaints (ill. b). After filling in the losses, new retouchings comprising mainly water-based paints were applied to the strip of canvas covered with dark paint that was added at the top. A remark in the old Habsburg inventory suggested the shape of the new frame, which partially covers this strip of canvas added at a later date.



ill. 3: Sébah & Joaillier, View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace, c. 1890. Vienna, Weltmuseum, Photographic Collection, inv.no. VF 20506

European Views of the Ottoman Metropolis

Today we have no trouble visualizing a foreign location - not only because of the universal availability of endlessly reproduced digital images but also because it is easy for us to visit these exotic places and capture our impressions by pressing the release of our cameras. But this image (ill. 3) dates from a time when both photography and mass tourism were still in their infancy and had not yet merged to produce the modern continually-snapping tourist; it dates from around 1890 and was produced by the photographic studio of Sébah & Joaillier in Istanbul, whose showroom was located in the Galata quarter (today part of Beyoğlu), close to where the photographer positioned himself to capture this view. It depicts the sultan's palace more or less from the same viewpoint as our painting.¹¹ The studio was founded in 1857 by Pascal Sébah and continued after his death in 1886 by Policarpe Joaillier; like a number of other photography studios in Istanbul it specialized in views of the sights of the great city and in portraits of people in traditional costume. These professionally produced photographs were mainly bought by tourists who visited the Middle East in ever increasing numbers, most of whom included the centuries-old capital of the Ottoman Empire in their itineraries; these images were widely disseminated not only as travel souvenirs but also



ill. 4: View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace, engraving (detail), in: George Sandys, A relation of a journey begun an. Dom. 1610 [...], London 1615

as postcards. With their limited repertoire of motifs that ignored the social divisions of this multi-ethnic state these photographs produced for and aimed at European and American visitors helped to create and nurture a long-established, highly romantic image of the Ottoman Empire. So the reasons that persuaded a late-nineteenth-century tourist to buy this photograph of the seraglio palace probably do not differ greatly from the reasons why Leopold Wilhelm incorporated de Jode's painting into his collection. The real or imagined secrets of this great palace, the splendour of the Turkish court and the mysterious cloistered life of the women in the harem had fired up the imagination of generations of Europeans long before Leopold Wilhelm began to amass his collection of paintings. In the 17th century steadily growing numbers of descriptions of the seraglio and countless views of the palace (which we will look at later) bear witness to this trend.12 A visit to the Turkish metropolis is clearly not the reason why Leopold Wilhelm acquired this painting; his biography contains no references to any direct contact with the Ottoman Empire or its civilization. The Habsburg prince was probably more interested in the seat of the ruler of an important empire whose continued westward expansion resulted in repeated military encounters, and - think only of the 1529 Siege of Vienna - at times life-threatening confrontations with the Habsburg Empire. However, at the time this painting was produced the political situation was (still) marked by a certain calm, the result of the Peace of Zsitvatorok signed in 1606 to end the Long Turkish War.¹³

The many wars fought between the Ottomans and the Christian countries of Europe frequently disrupted but never completely stopped trade between East and West. Artists repeatedly travelled to Constantinople along these land and sea trade routes, as members of diplomatic delegations dispatched to the Sublime Porte by various European powers from the 16th century onwards. Back home, these artists fertilized Western ideas about the Ottoman capital and its inhabitants by producing engravings after drawings executed in situ and selling them; these engravings also functioned as sources of inspiration and motifs for other artists –



ill. 5: Pieter van den Keere, Panorama of Constantinople, engraving, 1616



detail from ill. 5

just like many of the Orientalists active at the turn of the 20th century frequently drew inspirations and ideas from the oriental photographs discussed above. Among the celebrated examples are the engravings and woodcuts (published only after his death) of the German-Danish artist Melchior Lorck (c. 1527 - c. 1583), who was in the retinue of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, the imperial ambassador who headed the embassy sent to Constantinople by Emperor Ferdinand I in 1555. Lorck began the eleven-metres-long panorama of the Ottoman metropolis carefully executed in pencil (today at Leiden University Library) in Constantinople but undoubtedly only finished it in Vienna (where he lived from 1560) with the help of detailed preparatory sketches; it too is the result of his years spent in the Ottoman capital.14 Lorck added numerous explanations to his panorama, the first to abandon the bird's eye view favoured by 15th and 16th century townscapes, and the first seen from Galata - or to be more precise, from adjacent Pera - across the Golden Horn, i.e. beginning on the far left with a view of the tip of the seraglio and the "Sultan's palace". 15 Lorck's viewpoint anticipates de Jode's painting and countless other views of the palace complex and/or the old city centre on the shore of the Golden Horn, and he probably selected it because Galata and Pera had long been the favoured quarters for Europeans visiting or residing in Constantinople. The earliest comparable printed panoramas were produced only a few years later. One of the earliest views showing solely the palace is an illustration in George Sandys' descriptions, first published in 1615 but translated into several languages and repeatedly reprinted, that became one of the standard works on the Eastern Mediterranean in the 17th century;16 unfolded, this realistic engraving, probably executed after detailed sketches made in situ, gives us almost the same view as de Jode's painting (ill. 4). In the following year Pieter van den Keere's much larger city panorama (the engraving is almost two metres long) was published. Its comprehensiveness and breadth rivals Lorck's townscape and its inscriptions reflect a similar documentary interest (ill. 5).17 We have no extant sources on the genesis of Lorck's giant panorama, but

the extremely detailed drawing was probably also intended to serve as a template for a print, presumably a giant woodcut comprising several woodblocks.¹⁸ The work must have left Vienna soon after its completion because it entered the Library at Leiden no later than 1598, where it was displayed for a century. This is probably where Wilhelm Dilich (1571–1650) studied it. He produced an engraved view of Constantinople that was informed by it, and that was published in 1606 as part of a description of this great city (which Dilich had never actually visited); Dilich's print, in turn, informed Matthäus Merian's celebrated panorama engraving of Constantinople.¹⁹ It is tempting to imagine that our painter knew Lorck's frieze at Leiden, a city situated only a few kilometres from where he was born and grew up.

However, de Jode's composition features no direct imitation of Lorck's panorama or one of the numerous extant printed views of the Ottoman capital produced in the 17th century. It is no accident that most of the latter are by Dutch artists as their native country maintained close trade relations with the Ottoman Empire at this time. But the painting contains no irrefutable proof that de Jode had travelled to the Bosporus as his friends in The Hague had assumed: the fantastic mountains rising up behind the palace and on the Asian shore are products of his imagination; the same is true of the quayside in the foreground - a glance at the painting in Verona identifies it as a set-piece motif. The realism of de Jode's composition also becomes less impressive when compared to one of the few painted views of the palace produced during the Baroque, by Willem van de Velde the Younger (ill. 6).20 But regardless of whether this marine specialist visited the Ottoman capital or whether he relied on templates, the impressive painting he produced around 1695 (canvas, 77 x 186 cm) renders the group of buildings on the north shore with verisimilitude - note, for example, the so-called shore pavilion (Yalı Köşkü) on the far right:21 this centrally-planned pavilion with straight roof edges and a cupola was completed only in 1593 but is already included in Sandys' engraving; almost all subsequent depictions of the building follow him, but in de Jode's painting the kiosk has semi-circular walls reminiscent of the apse of a church. His rendering of the adjacent Basketmakers' Kiosk (Sepetciler Köşkü) on the left, which has largely survived intact until today, also raises our suspicions because in the painting the building is not aligned with the shore but extends inland.²² Nonetheless, de Jode must have known some recently produced views because the order to replace its tower-like predecessor (still included in Sandys' engraving) with this kiosk dates only from 1643.

Perhaps the painter had at his disposal sketches produced by a 17th century artist who had travelled to Istanbul with one of the imperial embassies and had recently returned with them to Vienna.²³ Lorck's giant panorama is obviously not the only townscape to result from these Habsburg diplomatic missions, compositions designed to entertain a more or less exclusive home audience with depictions of the sights of this exotic metropolis, or at least a view of the legendary sultan's palace: the coloured fold-out townscape of Constantinople in Codex 8626 in the Austrian National Library (which mainly comprises images of typical



ill. 6: Willem van de Velde the Younger, View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace, ca. 1695. Private collection



ill. 7: Anonymous artist, The Virgin Mary and Child in the Clouds (below them the tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia), c. 1629/30. Greillenstein Palace



ill. 8: Hans de Jode (workshop or circle), *View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace*, c. 1660/70. Private collection



ill. 9: Anonymous artist, View of the Tip of the Seraglio with Topkapı Palace, late 17th century. Istanbul, Erdoğan Demirören Collection

national costumes) dates from around 1580-1592, i.e. only a few years later.²⁴ The high-quality miniatures in this manuscript, which once belonged to Emperor Rudolf II, are by a painter who joined the embassy of the imperial envoy Bartholomäus Pezzen to the Sublime Porte and who has tentatively been identified as Heinrich Hendrowski. And among the pictures commissioned by Hans Ludwig Kuefstein to celebrate his return from the diplomatic mission that set off in 1628 are scenes of great cultural-historical interest depicting life at the Ottoman court, and an ex-voto painting that shows the Virgin Mary enthroned above the Sultan's palace and the Hagia Sophia (ill. 7).²⁵ Most of these works were commissioned by the respective ambassadors, but they also document the lively interest shown by other members of the imperial court in the appearance of the palace in which their greatest foreign adversary resided. It is therefore not surprising that this imposing view of the Sultan's palace made quite an impression when it was displayed soon after its completion at Vienna's Stallburg Palace: only a few years later it was apparently paraphrased in a picture by a painter who had either trained in de Jode's studio or was a member of his circle; with the help of stylistic comparisons he can tentatively be identified as the business-savvy Renier Meganck (ill. 8).²⁶ Another version on the art market seems more contemporaneous; also attributed to de Jode, it is clearly of inferior quality. The inscription on the cartellino affixed with sealing wax is a good example of the careless execution of what can only be called a copy: it comprises both the date 1659 and the title of the work, but the Italian "Seraglio" is misspelt as "Sergolio".²⁷ In this context mention must also be made of a fourth painted view of the tip of the seraglio that is today in a private collection in Istanbul (ill. 9).28 Recently displayed as the work of an anonymous Dutch painter, the composition differs stylistically from the versions collectively known as the "de Jode group"; nonetheless there are surprising similarities - note, for example, the characteristic details of the buildings along the shore of the Golden Horn. If the artist who produced this picture was not a member of de Jode's circle in Vienna we must suppose that all these works recur to a common, now lost (Dutch?) template. So a little known but extremely interesting example of Orientalist reception in the Baroque leaves us with a host of unanswered questions.

- 1 Following its restoration, the painting was exhibited at Brussels and Cracow, see exhib.cat. *The Sultan's World. The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*, ed. by Robert Born, Michal Dziewulski and Guido Messling, exhibition Brussels, Bozar, and Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe, Ostfildern-Ruit 2015, 278, cat.no. 171 (Guido Messling).
- 2 Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Oesterreich. Nach der Originalhandschrift im fürstlich Schwarzenberg'schen Centralarchive herausgegeben von Adolf Berger, fürstlich Schwarzenberg'schem Centralarchivsdirector, in: Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 1 (1883), LXXIX CLXXVII, no. 824; see also Franz Mareš, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Kunstbestrebungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm, in: Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 5 (1887), pp. 345-363 (356).
- 5 For Leopold Wilhelm as collector and connoisseur see Mareš 1887 (op. cit. note 2); Renate Schreiber, "ein galeria nach meinem humor". Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums, ed. by Wilfried Seipel, vol. 8), Vienna 2004, esp. pp. 89-129; and various recent essays in exhib. cat. Sammellust. Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms, ed. by Sabine Haag, exhibition Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Intermezzo 06), Vienna 2014. According to Mareš 1887 (op. cit. note 2), p. 349, Leopold Wilhelm commissioned works from over fifty-six artists in Brussels and Vienna.
- 4 Published verbatim by Abraham Bredius (ed.), Künstler-Inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts, vol. 7, The Hague 1921, pp. 2-6 (with German translation).
- 5 Eduard Šafařik, *Nově rozpoznaná tvorbe malíře Hanse de Jode*, in: Umění 14 (1966), pp. 378-392 (French summary p. 393); ibid., *Der Maler Hans de Jode neu erkannt*, in: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie 11 (1967), pp. 7-34.
- 6 Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio, inv.no. 6273 (Harbour View) and 6275 (Landscape with Waterfall), canvas, each 70 x 99 cm. For both paintings see Elisabetta Antoniazzi Rossi, *Due paesaggi di Hans de Jode nel Veneto*, in: Paragone 28, no. 331, (1977), pp. 24-33.
- 7 See Alexander Hajdecki, Die Niederländer in Wien, II., in: Oud Holland 23 (1905/06), pp. 108-128 (116).
- 8 Theodor Frimmel (in: Blätter für Gemäldekunde 4 [1908], 30) mentions two "large horizontal paintings", signed and dated "H de Jode F 16.3"; the obscured number is probably a 6. Dated 1663, they would be the artist's last known works. See also Šafařik 1967 (*op. cit.* note 5), 34, nos. 38-39.
- 9 Šafařik 1967 (op. cit. note 5), p. 14.
- 10 Hajdecki (op. cit. note 7), p. 117.
- 11 For Sébah & Joaillier see Roswitha Buchner, *Das Bild Istanbuls im 19. Jahrhundert* (Pera-Blätter no. 13), Istanbul 1997.
- 12 For 17th century travelogues see Franz Babinger, Eine unbemerkte holländische Großansicht von Konstantinopel (um 1665), in: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1962, no. 3, pp. 81-90 (85); Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Das Osmanische Reich im Spiegel europäischer Druckwerke. Kostbarkeiten aus vier Jahrhunderten, Begleitheft zur Ausstellung des Instituts für Orientalische und Ostasiatische Philologien, Turkologie, der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität und der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main 12. April bis 18. Mai 1985, Frankfurt/Main 1985, pp. 21-33.
- 13 See Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700*, Stuttgart 2008 (1st edition 1970), pp. 125-195; for general cultural contacts see Günsel Renda, *The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th century: Changing images*, in: exhib. cat. Image of the Turks in the 17th century Europe, exhibition Sabanci University, Sakip Sabanci Museum, Istanbul 2005, pp. 44-55.
- 14 For the most recent comprehensive analysis see Erik Fischer, *Melchior Lorck*, 5 vols., Copenhagen 2009, esp. vol. 3 (on his woodcuts and engravings) and 4 (on his Constantinople-Panorama).
- 15 For a concise overview of earlier townscapes see Franz Babinger, Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel, Galata ('Pera') und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften vol. 77, 3. Abhandlung), Vienna 1959, pp. 3-6; and Friedbert Ficker, Konstantinopel in alten Darstellungen, in: Académie Roumaine. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européenes 40, pp. 1-4 (2002), pp. 81-96 (84-89). Turgut Vogt, Istanbul. Beschreibungen, Stiche und Zeichnungen, Zurich 1990, focuses mainly on later views.

- 16 For this work see Jonathan Haynes, The Humanist as Traveler, Rutherford 1986.
- 17 For this work and the copy see Franz Babinger, Zwei Stambuler Gesamtansichten aus den Jahren 1616 und 1642 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Historisch-Philosophische Klasse, Abhandlungen N.F. H. 50), Munich 1960.
- 18 Fischer 2009 (op. cit. note 14), vol. 1, p. 101.
- 19 See Babinger 1959 (op. cit. note 15), pp. 18-19.
- 20 Michael S. Robinson, *The paintings of the Willem van de Veldes*, Greenwich 1990, p. 550, no. 580
- 21 For this building see Gülru Necipoğlu, Architecture, Ceremonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Cambridge (Mass.)/ London 1991, pp. 232-240.
- 22 Necipoğlu 1991 (op. cit. note 21), pp. 240-241.
- 23 See the reports in Karl Teply (ed.), Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn, Stuttgart 1968.
- 24 See Babinger 1959 (op. cit. note 15); on the Codex in general see Alberto Albasino, I Turchi: Codex Vindobonensis 8626, Parma 1971.
- 25 For Kuefstein, his mission and the pictures based on topographical views see Karl Teply, Die Kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan Murad IV im Jahr 1628. Des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte, Vienna 1976; Philipp Mansel, Between Two Empires: Hans Ludwig Kuefstein, Ambassador from the Holy Roman Emperor to the Ottoman Sultan in 1628, and his pictures, in: exhib. cat. At the Sublime Porte. Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550-1800), exhibition London, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London 1988, pp. 11-19.
- 26 Canvas, 137 x 210 cm, most recently Vienna, Kinsky Kunst Auktionen, 98. Jubiläumsauktion 20 Jahre im Kinsky, Nov. 26 28, 2013, lot 24.
- 27 Canvas, 120 x 187 cm, most recently Munich, Hampel Fine Art Auctions, Gemälde Alter Meister und Russische Kunst, April 4, 2008, lot 471 (as Hans de Jode).
- 28 Canvas, 102 x 167 cm, colour ill. in exhib. cat. Istanbul 2005 (op. cit. note 13), 118, cat.no. 2 (Günsel Renda).

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