

**SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLIEST
KNOWN ENGRAVINGS
OF ATTALIA-SATALIA-ANTALYA**

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ÖZET

**ANTALYA-SATALIA-ATTALIA'NIN
BİLİNER EN ERKEN GÖRÜNÜMLERİ ÜZERİNE
BAZI GÖZLEMLER**

Bu makale Kent Antalya'nın bilinen en erken tarihli görünümünü konu edinmektedir. Farklı zamanlarda yapılan ama bilinçli bir şekilde aynı kent manzarasını yineleyen resimlerin yorumlanması amaçlanmıştır.

Tahta kalıp baskı tekniği kullanılarak yapılmış ilki, Sultan III. Murat dönemine tarihlenmektedir. Attaleia burada stilistik açıdan 17. yüzyıl öncesi Avrupa'da basılmış kitap ve haritalardaki Ortaçağ ve Rönesans kasabalarına benzemektedir. 1580 tarihli bu tasvirin arka planını dağlar şekillendirmektedir. Tünek Tepe ve Beydağları silsilesi şehrin batısında olması gerekir iken doğu kıyılarında konumlandırılmıştır. Kıyıda aniden yükselen dağlar yaklaşık 1000

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metreye ulaşmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle yapımında Antalya ve çevresinin yazılı veya sözlü tarifi temel alınmış olmalıdır. Orjinal çizimin ahşaba hak edilirken ters düz edilmesinden kaynaklanan bir hata yoktur. Çünkü bu baskının alt kısmı şehir batıdan doğuya doğru olarak vermektedir.

Şehir farklı yüksekliklerde betimlenmiş kuleli duvarlarla üç ayrı alana ayrılmıştır. Bu görüntü İbn Batuta'nın Antalya'yı 1331'deki ziyaretinde aktardığı iç şehir duvarlarını anımsatmaktadır. İbn Batuta tarafından tanımlanan Antalya'nın alanları şöyle idi:

15. yüzyıl sonlarında Memluk Mısır-Suriyesi ile yoğun ticaretin yapıldığı "Mısır iskelesi" olarak adlandırılan Latin Hristiyan tüccarlar tarafından yerleşilmiş "Mina", yani liman; kentin Rum Ortodoks alanı, kuşkusuz ana Ortodoks Bazilika, Eisodia tes Panagias-Hagia Eirene Kilisesi'nin -bugünkü Kesik Minare- çevresinde konumlanmıştı; 13. yüzyılda Müslüman ve Ortodoksların duvarla çevrilmiş alanlarının arasındaki Yahudi alanı. Bu alan Yenikapı civarında büyük bir sinagoga sahipti ve İbn Batuta kale alanına ek olarak şunu da bildirir; "nüfusun geri kalan kısmı müslümanlardır, ana kentte yaşarlar".

14. yüzyılın ortasında da, Sudheim'lı (Suchem) Ludolph, De itinere terrae sanctae liber adlı eserinde ise Satalia kentini Ortodoks Hristiyanlar, Yahudiler ve Müslümanlar (Türkler) için sadece üç alana ayırmıştır ve bu 1580 tarihli baskı, Ludolph'un sözü edilen şehir tanımlamasına dayanıyor olmalıdır.

Yarım daire şeklindeki liman, kuleleri, depo binaları ve zinciri 1580 tarihli gravürde gösterilmemiştir. Tüm bu duvarlarla kuşatılmış alanlar ayrıca ana şehir duvarıyla da kuşatılmıştı. Bu alçak dış duvarın arkasında derin kuru bir hendek vardı. Ne bu alçak duvar ne de hendek tahta kalıp baskıda gösterilmemiştir. Bu eksiklikler gravürün yapılırken Suchem'li Ludolph'un yazılı tanımlamasının ya da sözlü anlatımın kullanıldığına kanıttır. Şehir ya uzaktan görülmüştür ya da falezlerin eteğindeki limana hiç girilmemiştir.

İkinci resim Ioannes - Jan Peeters olarak bilinen Felemenkli ressama aittir. 24 Nisan 1624'de Katolik İspanyol yönetimindeki Antwerp'de doğmuş ve yine Antwerp'de ellili yaşlarında 1677 ile 1680 yılları arasında bir zamanda ölmüştür. 1645'de 21 yaşında çoğunlukla Antwerp bölgesinde deniz manzaraları resimlemede ihtisaslaşan Antwerp Ressamlar Loncası'nda usta ressam olmuştur. Jan Peeters, 1645 ila 1650 yılları arası Akdeniz'i resim yapmak amacıyla gezmiştir. Bir süresini Havari Paulus'un gemisinin battığı anlaşılan Malta Adası'nda geçirmiştir. Jan Peeters'in Antwerp'de özel bir Paulus taraftarı grubun üyesi olma olasılığı vardır. Aslında bu turunun bir kısmıyla da hac görevini de yerine getirmiş oluyordu. 1580 yılı baskısının, bir yüzyıl sonra yağlı boya ile yapılan 1677 tarihli Jan Peeters'in resminin içine dâhil edilmesi önemlidir. Çünkü bu olgu Avrupalıların bu baskıdan haberdar olduklarını gösterir. Attalia, İncil'de adı geçen, Havari Paulus'un, Barnabus ve Ioannes-Markus'un Antakya'ya yelken açtığı limandır. 1580 tarihli baskıda 14-15. yüzyıl Avrupalı ismi Catalya, Satalya, Satalia ya da Sattalia'dan daha ziyade Attalia adının kullanımı kentin İncil'deki ismini yansıtmaktadır ve bu olasılıkla bazı basılı dini metinlerin orijinal olarak kullanımının yansımasıdır. Kentin bu görünümüyle -yüksek kale surlarıyla- tanrısız Kudüs'ün bir yansımasını sunduğu düşünülebilir.

Jan Peeters tarafından imzalı ve 1667 tarihli Antalya görünümü bir takım eklemelerle yapılmış karma bir çalışmadır. 1677 resmi aşağıdaki 5 öğeden yapılmıştır;

1. Tahta kalıp ile basılmış 1580 tarihli Attalia resmi.
2. Batıdan çizilmiş Raşat Adası'nın sahilinin serbest el tek renk sulu boya resmi.
3. Antwerp civarındaki nehirlerdeki sandal ve figürlerin taslak resimleri.
4. İngiliz deniz kuvvetleri komutanlığına ait bir gemi.
5. Osmanlı kalyonu.

Jan Peeters'in 1677'de bu resmi boyama nedeni bilinmiyor. Ama bu çalışmanın resimdeki İngiliz gemisinin kaptanı tarafından verilen bir görevin yerine getirilmesi olarak yorumlanması zordur. Eserin yapıldığı 17. yüzyıl, süre giden din savaşlarının ve mezhepçiliğin olduğu sembolizm çağıydı. Bu yapının alıcıları Antalya sahilinin fiziksel görünümüne aşina değillerdi. Ama onlar Kudüs'ün, "tepe üzerindeki kutsal şehrin" anlamının farkındaydılar. Resim, Peeters tarafından Antwerp'deki deniz sahnelerine olan ilgi için tasarlanmıştı. Resimdeki Felemenkli figürleri, Havari Paulus'un Attalia-Satalya limanından Antakya'ya geri dönüş yolculuğuyla ilişkilidir. Yine bu figürler Jan Peeters'in Antwerp'de resimlerini ve yağlı tablolarını alanlarla aynı dinsel topluluğa üye idiler. Aslında bu yapıtları alanlar Havari Paulus'un gerçek takipçileriydi.

Peeters'in daha erken tarihli tek renk sulu boya diğer resmi ise muhtemelen 1650 civarında tamamlanmış olmalıdır. Çünkü eseri bakır bir levhaya kazıyacak olan hakkâk Lucas Vorsterman'ın ölüm tarihi 1667'dir. Oldukça farklı deniz aktivitelerine yer veren suluboya resim Peeters'in bu kompozisyonu birçok kez tekrarladığını düşündürmektedir.

Son olarak şunu da belirtmek gerekir ki, Peeters'in kente bakarak resimleri yaptığı noktayı tespit etmek artık mümkün değildir. Bu olay 1743 yılı depremi ve tsunamisi sonrası sismik karışıklıkla ilgili gibi görünmektedir. Deprem kayıtları 17. yüzyılda Levant'ta tüm Fransızların üzerinde hukuki nüfuza sahip Marsilya Ticaret Odası'nın arşivlerindedir. Kayıtlar depremi şöyle anlatmaktadır; "Sattalia'da Mart'ın 6.'sından 20.'sine korkunç depremler olduğunu, Antalya limanının sularının bir süreliğine geri çekildiğini, birçok evin ve de şehir surlarında birçok yerin yıkıldığını öğrendim. Şehir surlarının bir kısmı Fransız Konsolosluk binası üzerine yıkılarak binayı tahrib etmiş. Birçok köy kaybolmuş ve Raşat Adası'nın batısında uzanan bir dağ tamamıyla bu depremden suya gömülmüş". 17. yüzyıl Antalya çizimlerinin 1743 depreminde sulara gömülen bu dağın eteğinden bakılarak yapıldığını ileri sürmek mümkündür. Raşat Adası'nın şekli de bu sismik olay sonucunda değişmiştir. Resmin solunda ön tarafta verilen kayalık alan bugün artık sular altındadır.

Kent Antalya'nın genel görünümünü gözler önüne sunan bu görsel malzemelerin gelecekte sayıca artması büyük olasıdır. Zamansal bellek niteliğindeki söz konusu gravürlerin yerel tarih araştırmalarında yeni bir sayfa açtığı kuşkusuzdur. Bu gravürler yazılı anlatımlarla desteklenen ve diğer kent panoramalarıyla karşılaştırmalı geniş çaplı incelemeleri hak etmektedir. Yeni yürütülecek araştırmaların kent ve bölge için bilimsel kazanımları büyük olacaktır.

In the collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, there is a monochrome oil painting on a wooden panel, measuring 381 by 495.3 mm that is signed and dated, I. Peeters 1677 on the transom beam of the English pink rigged naval flute in the foreground. The title of this picture is in the lower left hand corner and is in the same hand as the signature and reads in Italian, "Satalya nel Arcipelago", "Antalya and its archipelago" (Fig.1). It is somewhat loosely described by the Museum as depicting, "an English flute off Satalia"¹. The landscape depicted in the foreground of this painting can in fact be more precisely defined as it quite accurately depicts the coastline and the island, today called Sığan or Fare Adası, in the Bay of Antalya, lying some distance to the west of the ancient port-city of Antalya (Fig.2).

The Flemish painter known as Ioannes - Jan Peeters was born in Catholic Spanish ruled Antwerp on the 24th of April 1624 and died in his fifties in Antwerp at some point between 1677 and 1680². In 1645 aged 21 he became a master painter in the Antwerp Guild of Painters specializing in the painting of marine scenes mainly in the region of Antwerp. He was a proficient and prolific painter of relatively cheap marine paintings that were largely painted for sale to the general public, typical of the majority of Netherlandish and Dutch painters of the period, rather than painting specifically commissioned works, a commercial artist rather than one living by painting works commissioned by particular patrons. At some point between 1645 and 1650 at the latest, five years after becoming a master, he made a sketching tour of the Mediterranean, including a probable visit to the port of Livorno (Leghorn)³ by Pisa, a period spent on the island of Malta, where the Apostle Paul was understood to have been shipwrecked, and it maybe that Jan Peeters was a follower of some specific Pauline group in Antwerp and was making a pilgrimage as part of his tour.

¹ Inv. No. BHC1930".

² Bénézit 1955, "Jan Peeters"; as also, P. Bianchi/P.S. Inglott, Encounters with Malta (2000) "Ioannes Peeters"; de Piero, 2002, "Peeters Jan".

³ A view in oils probably depicting the port of Livorno by Jan Peeters was recently sold at auction, described as, "a view of a Mediterranean port", <http://www.artnet.com/artist/556717/jan-peeters-i.html>. For the Flemish presence in Livorno, including 9 Flemish commercial houses in the mid 17th c., see D'Angelo 2002, 277, which would explain Jan Peeters visit, with the opportunity to both draw and sell his work to his countrymen.

In Malta he completed a number of sketches including Valletta and the surrounding harbors area, drawings which were then engraved in 1650 on copper plates by the Flemish engraver Lucas Vorsterman (1624-1667) (Figs. 3 and 4)⁴.

The print Inv. No. 1354 in the Malta Fine Art Museum's collection records it was drawn, "excudit" by I. Peeters and, beneath the lower frame border on the print, to the left that it was drawn, "delinizzit" by I. Peeters and, to the right that it was engraved by "Vorsterman Lucas".

This tour by Ioannes Peeters also seems to have included a trip from Malta eastwards, possibly to the main European trading settlement of Smyrna (İzmir) where there were large communities of Dutch, English, French and a few Venetian merchants and since the 1620's their consular representatives, dealing in silk, cotton, tobacco and in the illegal export of wheat and he most probably traveled further into the Eastern Mediterranean, at least as far as the Bay of Antalya, where he may have drawn sketches of Ottoman marine craft as well as at least one view of the coastline by Antalya.

Oil paintings that were probably based upon the sketches and drawings made during the course of this Mediterranean tour include the view of Livorno mentioned above, a depiction of an oriental coastline today in Cassel Museum, a depiction of an oriental port in Nancy Museum, a painting of a battle between Dutch warships and Ottoman galleys today in the Valenciennes Museum, in France (de Piero 2002) and this painting in the National Maritime Museum, England.

He also completed another sketching tour in the adjacent Protestant United Provinces (Holland) in 1659. He would probably have been familiar with the appearance of at least some Mediterranean maritime craft from an early age, as raiding corsair craft from the North African port of Salée regularly docked in Flemish coastal ports in the first half of the 17th c. (Clissold 1977:

⁴ Malta Fine Art Museum, Inv. No. 1352, a view of the Grand harbor Valletta, Inv. No. 1354, entitled "la citta di Malta", note the Grand Harbor chain to the left of Valletta on the central peninsular and the incorrect drawing of Manoel Island and of Msida lying to the right of Valletta (Fig. 3), and Inv. No. 1356, a view of Valletta dated 1650 (Fig. 4); de Piero 2002, "Vorsterman", for copies of these prints in the Ashmolean, Oxford.

146). His elder, more famous brother, Bonaventura Peeters, also known as Bonaventura the Elder, 1614-52, likewise specialized in oil paintings of marine scenes, including a prizewinning depiction of the siege of Calloo completed in 1638 and some paintings of scenes within the Mediterranean including one of an Egyptian port and others of Ottoman maritime raids and engagements. He was forced to leave his home city of Antwerp for writing a satire on the Catholic order of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, and went to Hoboken where he died aged 38⁵. Gillis Peeters, the eldest of the three brothers, 1612-52, specialized in painting landscapes⁶. It seems the family members knew Italian well, as also Flemish and French, hence the name Bonaventura and the Italian titles given to Jan and Bonaventura's paintings.

The composite nature of this 1677 painting

This signed and dated view of Antalya painted by Jan Peeters is a composite work rather than being painted from a single subject drawing. It is a painting that was largely composed from two quite separate views, one dating from a century earlier, a print belonging to an earlier European medieval-renaissance pictorial tradition, the other, a prospect having the accuracy and feeling for landscape characteristic of 17th c. Netherlandish draughtsmanship stemming from painters such as Joachim Patenier (d. c. 1524), an earlier member of the Antwerp Guild. These two distinct elements separate in style defined the landscape depicted, together with some additional drawings, of the different marine craft and the figures in this painting.

The element that in addition to the title (Satalya=Antalya), clearly identifies this oil painting as being a depiction of Antalya was the reuse, with only some slight modifications inevitable in the conversion from a somewhat coarse black and white print to an oil painting, of a 1580 woodcut of Attalia=Antalya (Kahya 2007: 54) (Fig. 5), a European woodcut dating from the reign of Sultan Murad III that was evidently made from a verbal or written description of the city and its surroundings, in a style characteristic for example of the Medieval and Renaissance depictions of towns found in European printed

⁵ Bénézit 1955, "Peeters Bonaventura".

⁶ Bénézit 1955, "Peeters Gillis".

books and on maps largely prior to the 17th c. This woodcut was not made from a naturalistic drawing but is a cross between a plan and a view, employing an angled birds-eye view with anomalies that clearly suggest that a verbal or literary, rather than a visual record formed the basis for this 1580 print. The topography is inaccurate and the buildings are completely out of scale and are shown as symbols rather than being visually accurate depictions. (Satalya=Antalya). The mountains that form the background to the depiction of the city, of Tüneç Tepe and the Beydagları range rising from the coastline to a height of well over 1000 m. are incorrectly shown in this woodcut as rising from the eastern rather than the western coastline of the city.

There are no mountains of this form rising from the sea immediately to the east of Antalya, where there is in fact a near level line of falez cliffs. Consequently this misrepresentation in this print would seem to stem from a verbal or a written error or misunderstanding in the description of the area immediately surrounding the city, that resulted in the error that is recorded in this 1580 print, as no visual record made on the spot of the city and its surroundings could ever have confused the location of these mountains. This error was not the result of an error common in printmaking, of the original drawing not being reversed to engrave the wooden block employed for the woodcut, as the lower part of this print depicting the city reads correctly from left to right, from west to east. In the foreground of this engraving, from the left, is depicted the ravine-fault lying directly to the west of the former walled citadel of Antalya (kadın atmacı). The walled citadel area is depicted, together with a symbolic representation of the 7 storey citadel and symbolic representations of other buildings within this walled enclosure. The actual appearance of the Seljuk citadel was as is depicted in the accurate pre 1743 camera lucida drawing of the city in AKMED's collection (Duggan 2008: 31-32) and any comparison between this 1580 woodcut and the pre 1743 wash drawing clearly shows this engraving records a symbolic notation of buildings, their scale and form, a notional depiction that is visually inaccurate although in verbal or literary terms is fairly accurate. Depicted in this woodcut lying to the east (right) of the citadel are a series of three towered walled areas dividing the city into three distinct quarters.

However, these quarters are recorded as lying beneath the level of the elevated cliff top citadel rather than being mainly on the same level of the falez cliff top as the citadel as they are in fact.

These compounds represent the inner city walls that were described by the great 14th century Moroccan traveler ibn Battutah in his Antalya visit of 1331, who also alluded to the citadel complex (Mackintosh-Smith 2002: 103)⁷, after describing the four other walled quarters of the city (Mackintosh-Smith 2002: 103)⁸. Ibn Battutah's description of the citadel-palace complex as, "a township" provides an indication both of the size of the quarter within the citadel-palace complex itself and of the numbers that inhabited this district that formed a separate and independent walled off area of the city, the citadel-palace complex that contained the ruler, his officers and slave troops, together with their dependants, servants, stables and horses. He quite naturally although exasperatingly fails to refer to the citadel itself, as a citadel was an understood feature of every city from Ankara and Aleppo to Cairo and Tunis – all important cities such as Antalya had one (Crane 1993: 157)⁹.

The four other quarters of Antalya described by ibn Battutah were: that which was inhabited by Latin Christian merchants in the "Mina" or port quarter, later in the 15th century called "the Egyptian Wharf"¹⁰ indicating the degree of trade with Mamluke Egypt-Syria, which was located below the citadel palace complex in the harbor, with the gates to this quarter closed from the outside at night and on Fridays during the Muslim midday congregational prayer (Gibb 1939: 354, 106)¹¹; the Orthodox Rum quarter of the city, doubtless that area centered around the main Orthodox Basilica, the Church of Eisodia tes Panagias-Hagia Eirene, today's Kesik Minare; a separate walled around Jewish

⁷ "while the king (the Bey) and his officers and mamluks live in a separate township, which also is surrounded by a wall that encircles it and separates it from the sections that we have mentioned", this being Ibn Battuta's description of the walled citadel-palace area.

⁸ "Each section of its inhabitants live by themselves, separated from each other section".

⁹ The same is true for Evliya Çelibî's 17th c. description of Antalya, the citadel is not mentioned. He begins his description with the Paşa Saray lying to the east of the citadel, and fails to mention the wall running from the harbor north, forming the western facing outer wall of the city.

¹⁰ In Malipiero's account of the sack of this area by Latin forces in 1472.

¹¹ As also for example at Sfax, Tunisia, until the last century to prevent surprise attack and as also for security reasons the closing of bazaar gates in Constantinople.

quarter (Collignon 1897: 51), (Lanckoronski 1890: IX)¹² which seems in the 13th century to have been located between the Muslim and Orthodox walled areas, but which from perhaps as early as the end of the 17th century until the end of the 19th century was re-established around Yenikapı (Çimrin 2006: Vol. I, 83)¹³ with its large synagogue and associated bath house, the Yenikapı Haham-Gavur Hamam.

Ibn Battutah goes on to record in addition to the citadel area (Çimrin 2006: Vol. I, 83), that “the rest of the population, the Muslims, live in the main city” (Mackintosh-Smith 2002: 103)¹⁴.

All of these five separate walled quarters of the city: State (citadel-palace)-Moslem-Orthodox Christian-Jewish-Mina, were surrounded by the main outer city wall, which was itself enclosed by a lower wall, the area between flat and beyond the lower outer wall there was a deep wide dry moat, neither the lower outer wall nor the moat were recorded in this woodcut (Hellenkemper/Hild) (Lanckoronski 1890)¹⁵.

Also in the mid 14th century, Ludolph of Suchem (Sudheim) in his *De itinere terrae sanctae liber*, incorrectly described the city “Satalia” as divided into only three quarters, for the Orthodox Christians, the Jews and the Turks, meaning the Moslem inhabitants, (Makhairas 1932: 154-155) and it may be that this 1580 print was in part based upon Ludolph’s description of the city.

¹² The walled Jewish quarter of Antalya housed a large population into the 16th c., with this Jewish presence in Antalya recorded from the Roman period onwards associated with the port and trade, as was case with the majority of Mediterranean ports, declining in numbers the second half of the 19th c., Collignon records there was a small Jewish population in 1876, “*Les Juifs forment une faible partie de cette population*”; while Lanckoronki records a Jewish population of about 250 in Antalya in 1884.

¹³ The Yenikapı gate was opened in the walls in 1840.

¹⁴ Unfortunately on his visit to the sick bed of Khidr Beg, son of Yunus Beg, and ruler of Antalya, ibn Battutah does not record any description of the ruler’s surroundings, presumably because they were typical of a ruler of the period, nor is it clear if this visit was made to the ruler’s palace or if perhaps ibn Battutah went into the adjacent Antalya citadel to see Khidr Bey.

¹⁵ For the record of this, in the photo-engraving of Hadrian’s Gate from 1885.

Like ibn Battutah, Evliya Çelebi (Crane 1993: 157-160), in his description of the city in 1671-2, describes the city walls, gates and the separate quarters and also fails to describe the citadel.

The very tall, three stage tower with a pointed roof looking very like a church steeple in the middle of this print was the artist-engraver's symbolic representation of the Yivli minaret, Evliya Çelebi's "narın kulesi" or slender tower, the upper part above the şerefe being lost at the time of Evliya's visit in 1671-2, doubtless the consequence of seismic activity prior to his visit, possibly the 1660 Rhodes earthquake (Ambraseys/Finkel 1995: 72; Soysal/Sipahioğlu/Kolçak/Altınok 1981), and which resulted in the identification of this structure by Evliya as a tower rather than a minaret. It is possible, although by no means certain, that the lower pointed roofed structure to the left of this three stage steeple (Yivli minaret) represents Zincirkıran Mehmet Bey's türbe of 1378, suggesting that the depiction of the city quarter enclosing these two structures represented the Moslem quarter of the city and possibly suggesting the adjacent compound to the right represented the Orthodox Christian quarter.

On this basis the lower long walled compound could represent either the Jewish quarter or possibly the Mina, with on the far right of this lower compound the Hıdırlık tower.

The semi-circular harbor, the depots of the mina quarter, the chain and towers of the harbor arms are not recorded in this 1580 engraving and it seems evident from these omissions that the person who described the city verbally or in a written record like that given by Ludolph of Suchem, the description that was then employed by the engraver of this woodcut, described the city of Antalya as seen from a distance and who perhaps never saw the city close up or entered the port itself lying at the foot of the cliffs.

The inclusion of an accurate copy made in oils a century later of this 1580 woodcut of the city of Attalia-Antalya within Jan Peeter's 1677 painting is important, because it signified the city of Attalia to those Europeans aware of this print as being in close proximity to the main subject of this painting and Attalia was named in the Holy Bible, the port from where the Apostle Paul,

Barnabus and John-Mark sailed to Antioch (Antakya)¹⁶. The use of the name Attalia rather than its European 14th-15th c. name, Catalya, Satalya, Satalia or Sattalia on this 1580 print reflected its Biblical New Testament name, it was probably originally employed to illustrate some printed religious text and was a depiction that could be thought to represent a type or a reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem with its elevated walled citadel. Further, because the then small port city of Antalya was not in fact as close to, nor clearly visible from where the foreground 17th c. drawing of the coastline was made, given the receding distant coastline of the bay and the location of the harbor (**Fig.2**) a copy of this inaccurate print of the port city was included by Jan Peeters to identify the otherwise unknown place depicted in the foreground, as also for religious reasons; and to fill with interesting, if erroneous, detail an otherwise large, relatively empty space in the picture and which also aided in the success of this composition by providing an irregular line of coastline recession rising to a peak in the distance, quite different from the coastline's actual appearance. Ioannes Peeters was of course a painter and draughtsman, an artist, not necessarily always desirous of topographical exactitude (Bénézit 1955)¹⁷, he, like the designer of the 1580 woodcut, was concerned with artistic effect and a depiction's content, its meaning, rather than practicing some early form of photorealism.

Jan Peeters was an artist not a topographer and the inclusion of this oil copy of the 1580 print lifted the scene depicted in this 1677 oil painting out of the mundane temporal world indicating to those aware of its meaning quite another realm.

However, also identifying the subject as occurring by Antalya for those familiar with the then extant features of the coastline and recorded in an entirely different manner from the 1580 print, there is in the left foreground of this painting a reasonably accurate depiction of the coastline lying c. 20 km. to the west of Antalya, depicting the cliff, two bays and the island of Rashat (today's

¹⁶ "And when they had preached the word in Perga (Perge), they went down into *Attalia*: And thence sailed to Antioch (Antakya)...", King James authorised version, Holy Bible, Acts 14: 25-26. Attalia is also given in Martin Luther's translation of the Latin Bible into German.

¹⁷ For the incorrect depiction of Manoel Island and Msida in Marsamsett harbor from the sea lying to the right of the Valletta peninsular.

Sıçan or Fare Island) with a ship and smaller vessel in the lee of this island, and it is this recorded area of coastline that forms the pictorial focus of this painting (Fig.6). There seems little reason to doubt that the drawing of this area of the coast was most probably made by Jan Peeters before 1650 during his visit to Mediterranean¹⁸ and it seems probably that this is the earliest accurate depiction made by any artist of this area of coastline by Rashat Island. However, the position from which this drawing was made no longer exists today and the shape of the island depicted is somewhat different from its present appearance and both of these points would seem to be due to the subsequent seismic upheaval associated with the 1743 earthquake and tsunami, the report of which is in the archives of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce which had jurisdiction in the 17th c. over all French individuals in the Levant. It reads: "I have been informed from Sattalia (Antalya) that from the 6th to the 20th March, there were terrible earthquakes, as a result of which the port of Antalya dried up for some time (i.e. a tsunami), many houses collapsed as well as parts of the city walls at different places. Parts of the city wall fell on the French Consul's house, destroying it. Many villages were lost in this earthquake, and a mountain opposite that which lies west of the *islet of Rashat* sank completely" (Ambraseys/Finkel 1995: 118). It seems this 17th c. drawing was made from the foot of the mountain that went under the waves in this 1743 seismic event and the shape of the islet above sea level seems also to have been changed as another consequence of this seismic event. It is impossible today to locate the position where the artist sat on dry land, given the rocks depicted in the left foreground, as this area now lies beneath the sea.

The English pink rigged naval fly-boat or flute (Archibald 1972: 132)¹⁹ (Fig.7), flying the admiralty jack and with the English Royal arms carved on the stern, depicted on the right hand side of this painting, is from the bellying sails underway, not at anchor; while the two longboats, that in the foreground and that being rowed towards land and the figures depicted in the foreground are not

¹⁸ It is perhaps possible that the sketch employed by Jan Peeters for this painting was made by his brother Bonaventura who may have visited the Mediterranean to sketch before his death in 1652.

¹⁹ The stern part of which was always round ribbed, served as a vessel of war, as also for transport and for voyages of exploration etc. Two un-named flutes are recorded on the strength of the English admiralty in 1697.

English and would seem, in fact, to be unrelated to the naval flute, as these figures are of a Netherlandish appearance, not 17th c. English sailors from their dress. English warships first entered the Mediterranean in 1620 and wintered for the first time in the Mediterranean in 1650-1 at Spanish and Sicilian bases (D'Angelo 2002: 277) and it is therefore possible, although it seems unlikely that this English flute was drawn by Antalya by Jan Peeters.

Further, it should be noted of the stern of Admiralty flute that the hull to the right of the rudder is incorrectly recorded and, in addition, that the Ottoman galley lying beyond the bowsprit of the flute, given the depiction of the wind filled sails and flags on the naval flute and the limp flags on the Ottoman galley seem to indicate different wind systems, suggesting that two different sketches probably recorded in different places, formed the basis for Jan Peeters' painting of these two vessels.

It is also to be noted that the relative sizes of the ship and smaller vessel sheltering behind Sıçan island (Sıçan Adası), the English flute, the longboats and the Ottoman galley are somewhat strange, for example the ship by Sıçan Adası being minuscule in relation to the galley lying at a greater distance from the viewer, as also minuscule in relation to the longboat in the mid distance and to the flute, the reason for these anomalies was the painting's method of composition, copying from a number of different drawings with the marine craft having different sizes and experiencing different weather conditions, recorded in these different drawings.

In consequence of the above, one can suggest this 1677 painting was constructed from the following five elements:

1. A copy of the 1580 woodcut of Attalia (**Fig. 5**).
2. An accurate freehand wash drawing of the coastline by Rashat Island drawn from the west, probably drawn by the artist more that twenty years earlier (**Fig. 6**).
3. Sketches of figures and longboats plying the rivers around Antwerp.
4. A drawing of an English Admiralty flute.
5. A drawing of an Ottoman galley.

It seems unlikely that elements 2 and 5 of this painting belong together given the discrepancy in size between the galley and the ship by Rashat Island, although both were probably drawings that were made by Jan Peeters during his Mediterranean travels in or before 1650.

The name “Rashat” employed in 18th c. French correspondence concerning Antalya (Ambraseys/Finkel 1995: 118)²⁰, as also for example by the British in the 19th c. (Beaufort 2002: 69, 87, 115)²¹ and on the 20th c. British Admiralty Mediterranean Pilot chart V showing Antalya Bay, was the name that was used to describe the seismically tilted small island-islet depicted in this painting, Nessos Lyrnateia, called today Sıçan Adası or Fare Adası. The French word “rashat” means to buy back or to set free and this island was presumably so called by the French and the English because it marked the place where Ottoman captives were released ashore and where freed European slaves-captives were brought aboard European ship, although there seems to be no presently published evidence indicating when the release of Ottoman captives by Rashat Island took place.

The earlier use by Jan Peeters of this same composite composition

The reason why Jan Peeters painted this painting in 1677 is unknown. It seems to the authors unlikely that this work was painted to fulfill a commission given by the Captain of the English naval flute depicted in this painting, although this is not altogether impossible given the maritime trade links between England and Flanders and it might possibly even relate to a specific otherwise unrecorded contemporary incident possibly concerning the release of Ottoman captives (Matar 1999: 24ff)²² by an English flute by Rashat Island supervised by the Ottoman galley in the period between perhaps related to the increased English naval activity in eastern Mediterranean coastal waters during this period. However it seems much more probable that this painting was a

²⁰ “Many villages were lost in this earthquake, and a mountain opposite that which lies west of the *islet of Rashat* sank completely”.

²¹ Rashat I is marked on his map of the southern coastline of Asia Minor.

²² However, the recorded main Ottoman maritime prisoner releases made by the English occurred with the Ottoman Barbary corsairs in the western Mediterranean at ports such as Algiers, Tunis and Sale.

typical composite composition designed by the artist for sale to the Antwerp public interested in maritime scenes, in the distant and exotic eastern Mediterranean and with an interest in both religion and in its expression in the realm of the symbolic-the emblematic. The reason why this latter reason for the painting of this picture seems to be the more probable is that Jan Peeters had already employed almost exactly this same composite composition, combining the 1580 woodcut of Attalia with the mid 17th c. wash drawing of the coastline by Rashat Island, in an earlier drawing that was made before 1667, ten years before this painting was completed. This earlier wash drawing was quite probably completed around 1650. It was then engraved on a copper plate and published in quantity by the same Flemish engraver Lucas Vorsterman, who had engraved Ioannes Peeters drawings of Malta, one of which is dated 1650 and who died in 1667 and this is therefore a pre 1667 engraving. It measures 116 by 273 mm. and like the 1677 oil painting is entitled "Satalya nel Arcipelago"²³ (Fig. 8). However this engraving depicts a quite different selection of maritime activity with the exception of a similar although not identical group of Flemish attired figures in the foreground with a longboat. In this print, depicting essentially the same coastal landscape as the later 1677 monochrome oil painting, there is no English naval flute, the Ottoman galley has been moved and is reversed facing seawards, it includes a fleet of four European ships one of which is firing its cannon and there are quite different vessels moored in the lee of Rashat Island (Fig 8).

Consequently it is evident that Ioannes Peeters repeated this composite composition a number of times, with numerous copies of the engraving in circulation, in each case the composite landscape remained the same, forming the frame for the maritime activity, but the marine craft depicted in each original work varied, perhaps at the whim or fancy of the painter, no doubt with an eye to sales, perhaps also to the symbolism embodied in maritime craft flying a flag, Ottoman, Dutch, English, the ships, the different national and confessional communities of faith, trade and war floating on the sea of the world. This type of composite composition could be understood as the maritime

²³ For examples of copies of this pre 1667 engraving: University of Liège, Legs. Witterd (1903). Inv. No 30961; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inv. No. PAD7001. We appreciate Sn. M. Üstün's assistance in bringing this print to our attention.

version of 17th – 18th c. Italian “capriccio” paintings²⁴ except for the inclusion of the Christian religious-emblematic, the “city on the hill”, the inclusion in this pre 1667 engraving as also in the 1677 oil painting of the representation of Attalia taken from the 1580 print, which, although in temporal realistic terms is inaccurate, clearly defined the location of the scene depicted for any informed purchaser as occurring by Attalia and lifted this depiction from the temporal into the symbolic religious-spiritual realm. The use by Jan Peeters of this print in his work was it seems, to deliberately indicate to those aware and able to read the emblem, indicating a relationship to the New Testament, to Attalia and to the Apostle Paul. It seems these depictions created by Jan Peeters were not to be read only in a purely temporal manner as contemporary depictions of shipping around this 17th c. Mediterranean port but instead they contained a deeper, higher meaning-indicated by the setting chosen, by the city on the hill as also by the fantastical mountain.

The purchaser of these works was probably entirely unfamiliar with the physical appearance of Antalya’s coastline but would not only have been well aware of the importance of maritime commercial activity to the Flemish economy as also of the relationship between Islam and Christianity, and of the significance of the “Holy City on the Hill”, of Jerusalem in both temporal and spiritual realms, of holy mountains and of the importance of the city of Attalia-Satalya in the eastern Mediterranean, a port visited by the Apostle Paul, a visit recorded in the New Testament.

This was of course the importance, in the eyes of the Flemish purchasers of Jan Peeters prints and oil painting of this scene, and the reason for the inclusion of the title naming Satalya on both print and oil painting.

Given the importance of religion in 17th c. Flanders, of the ongoing wars of religion and sectarianism²⁵, Catholic against Protestant, Protestant against Catholic, sect against sect, and in the age of the meaningful symbol, of the

²⁴ Such as in its extreme form the astounding works of the Neapolitan painters Francesco Desiderio (fl. 1623-31) and Salvator Rosa 1615-73.

²⁵ Including in adjacent Holland the “prophet” Kühlmann and his sect who proposed a “new Christianity”, who wrote the Kühlmannspalter and travelled to Istanbul to give a “Bible” to the Sultan, but the Sultan had left the city because of plague and Kühlmann then went to Smyrna (Izmir) where there was a substantial European Christian population, before returning to Holland, a remarkable figure that may perhaps have had some influence upon the climate also inhabited by Sabbatai Sevi who announced he was the Jewish Messiah in Smyrna in 1648.

emblematic, Jan Peeters composite composition entitled "Satalya and its Archipelago" contains a great deal more of interest and importance than just a copy of a century earlier view of Attalia, a mid 17th c. view by Antalya and of the depiction of various maritime craft.

It seems most probable that Jan Peeters tour included visits to Pauline sites in Rome, as well as the Pauline sites of Malta and by Attalia-Antalya and, it maybe that the unspoken implication of the Flemish figures and the longboat depicted in the foreground of these works relates to the Apostle Paul's departure from the port of Attalia-Satalya on his mission of conversion, with the purchasers of Jan Peeters prints and oil paintings in Antwerp belonging to the same confessional community of Flemish figures as those depicted by the longboat in the foreground and by implication and association with the copy of the 1580 print of Attalia, to indicate that they, the purchasers of these works, were the true followers of the Apostle Paul.

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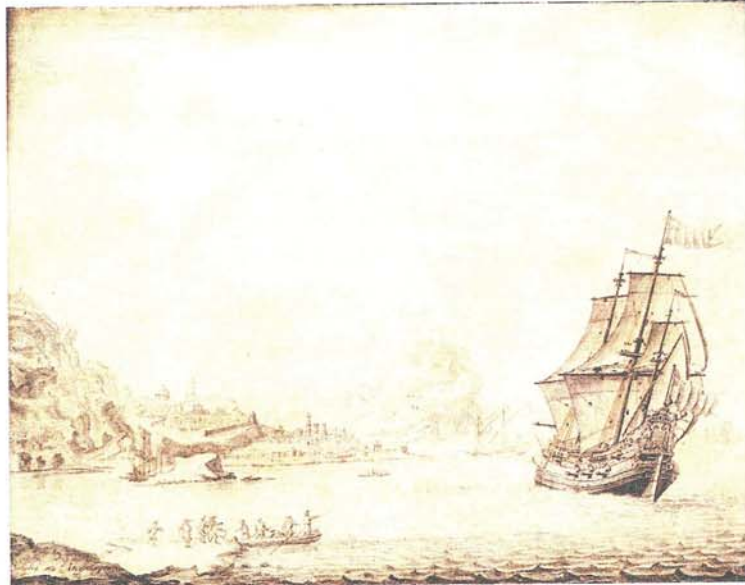


Fig. 1: Ioannes-Jan Peeters 1677 oil painting.



Fig. 2: Photograph of Sıçan Adası and coastline from the west.

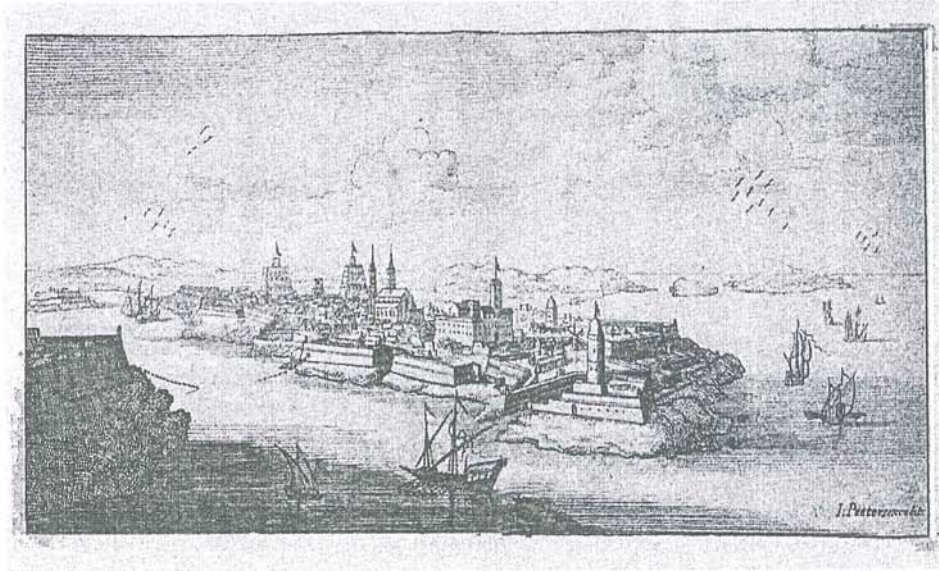


Fig. 3: Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman of Ioannes Peteers drawing entitled "La Citta di Malta" of Valletta.

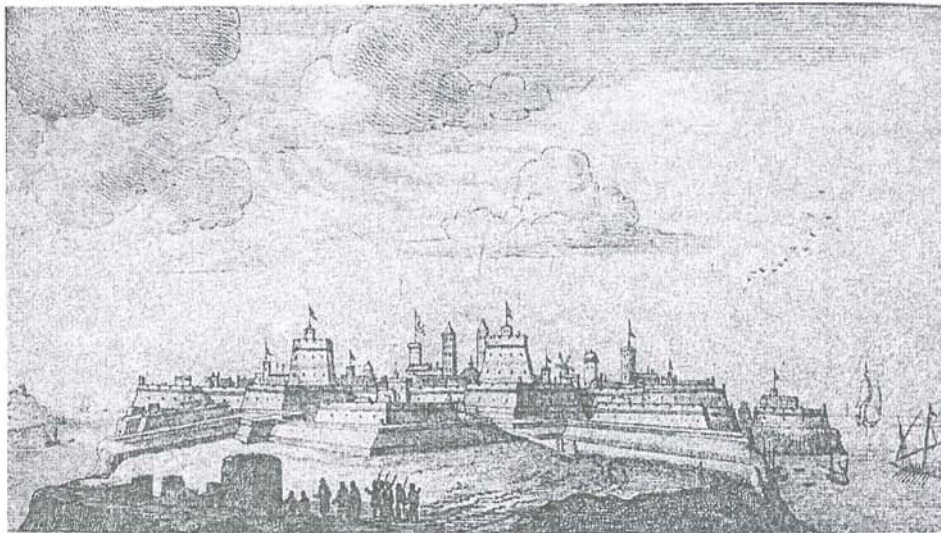


Fig. 4: Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman of Ioannes Peteers drawing of a view of Valletta of 1650.



Fig. 5: The 1580 woodcut of Antalya.



Fig. 6: The painting with the area covered by the 1580 print removed and the actual coastline inserted.



Fig. 7: A measured drawing of a flute.



Fig. 8: Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman of Ioannes Peteers drawing entitled "Satalya nel Arcipelago" dating to before 1667.

