

BYZANTIUM BETWEEN “EAST” AND “WEST”:  
PERCEPTIONS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE  
BYZANTINE HERITAGE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### BYZANTIUM BETWEEN “EAST” AND “WEST”: PERCEPTIONS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE HERITAGE

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This thesis explores the perceptions and historiography of Byzantium during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focusing on late Ottoman Turkey. It examines the ways in which the cultural and architectural heritage of Byzantium was represented and described in historical writings within the context of the entangled relationships between nationalism, orientalism and historiography. The investigation is based on a close reading of the historical writings of influential scholars who played an important role in the production and dissemination of knowledge regarding the Byzantine heritage during the period under scrutiny. This thesis also attempts a parallel examination of perceptions of the Byzantine legacy both in Europe and the Ottoman world within the specific comparative historical contexts in which similar approaches to the Byzantine heritage can be traced. Such a study of perceptions and historiography of Byzantium focusing on the interactions between Ottoman and European scholars provides valuable insights into not only late Ottoman/Turkish authors' stance specifically towards the Byzantine heritage, but also to their selective “appropriation” of established European discourse

regarding Byzantium. By studying these earlier contributions to Byzantine scholarship, with a special emphasis on their ideological and historiographical impacts on later studies and the origins of continued negative perceptions and images of Byzantium, this study aims to contribute to Byzantine Studies and also to the more general growing body of literature on relationships between nationalism and nation-state building, orientalism, and historiography, by providing a case study of Turkey.

Keywords: Byzantine Heritage, Perceptions, Historiography, Architectural History, Byzantine Scholarship, Ottoman Turkey.

## ÖZ

### “DOĞU” İLE “BATI” ARASINDA BİZANS: BİZANS MİRASININ ALGISI VE MİMARLIK TARİHİ YAZIMI

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Bu tez, Bizans mirasının algılanması ve mimarlık tarihi yazımını, 19. yüzyıl sonu ile 20. yüzyıl başı Osmanlı Türkiye'si odaklı olarak incelemektedir. Çalışmada, oryantalizm, milliyetçilik ve tarih yazımı arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiler bağlamında, tarihsel metinlerde Bizans'ın kültürel ve mimari mirasının nasıl temsil edildiği ve betimlendiği araştırılmaktadır. Araştırma büyük oranda Bizans mirasına ilişkin bilgi üretiminde ve yayılmasında önemli rol oynayan bireylerin yazılarının yakın bir okumasına dayanır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, Avrupa ve Osmanlı dünyasında Bizans'ın nasıl algılandığını karşılaştırmalı tarihsel bağlam içerisinde incelemeye çalışır. Osmanlı ve Avrupalı entelektüeller arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanan böyle bir çalışma, Osmanlı/Türk yazarların özel olarak Bizans mirasına yaklaşımlarını anlamının yanı sıra, Bizans'a ilişkin Batı'da üretilmiş olan söylemin ne kadarını benimsediklerini de inceleme fırsatı sunmaktadır. Türkiye'de Bizans mirası üzerine bu erken yazıların, ideolojik ve tarih yazımsal mirasına odaklanılarak incelenmesi ve günümüzde devam etmekte olan Bizans hakkındaki olumsuz algıların kökeninin irdelenmesi ile hem Türkiye'deki Bizans çalışmalarına, hem de Türkiye örneğinin

sunulması ile oryantalizm, milliyetçilik, ulus devlet inşası ve tarih yazımı arasındaki ilişkilere dair literatüre katkıda bulunmak amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bizans Mirası, Algı ve Yaklaşımlar, Tarih Yazımı, Mimarlık Tarihi, Bizans Disiplini, Osmanlı Türkiyesi

To my Mother



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan et.al. 3 Vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991).

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the perceptions and historiography of Byzantium during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, highlighting late Ottoman Turkey. It examines the ways in which the cultural and architectural heritage of Byzantium was represented and described in historical writings within the context of the intricate relationships between nationalism, orientalism and historiography. My investigation is based on a close reading of the historical writings of individuals who were influential in the production and dissemination of knowledge regarding the Byzantine heritage during the period under scrutiny. The study of these earlier writings with a special emphasis on their ideological and historiographical legacies and the origins of continued negative perceptions and images of Byzantium will contribute to Byzantine studies in Turkey. It will also contribute to the more general growing body of literature on the relationships between nationalism and nation-state building, orientalism, and historiography, by providing a case study of Turkey.

Driven in part by the impetus of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), the last three decades have witnessed a growing interest in a critical reassessment of the perceptions and historiography of Byzantium. Consequently, recent studies have raised the issues of Western Europe's changing and ambivalent attitudes towards Byzantium and even its "absence" within the mainstream western European historiography.<sup>1</sup> More recently, on the other hand, an increasing number of studies have tended to concentrate on the complex relationships between nation-state building and historiography.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the role of the Byzantine legacy in constructing

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<sup>1</sup> "For most historians, Byzantium is an absence." Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), preface page. Also cited in Ufuk Serin, "Making Byzantium Understood: Re-Interpretation and Representation of Byzantine Cultural Heritage in Turkey", in *Byzantium Early Islam: Cultural Heritage Management. Shared Experience beyond Boundaries*, eds. P. Atzaka, C. Papakyriakou, and A. Pliota, (Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage, Thessaloniki, 2010), 209.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see Stefan Berger, Christoph Conrad and Guy P. Marchal, eds., *Writing the Nation Series: National Historiographies and the Making of Nation States in 19th and 20th Century Europe*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). In recent decades, numerous studies have examined the relationship

nation-states and national identities, particularly in Southeastern Europe and the Balkan states, has also received special attention in Europe.<sup>3</sup> What has often been overlooked in all these studies, however, is the case of Turkey, much of which is located within the former territory of the Byzantine Empire. In Turkey, this new line of studies concerning the role of archaeology, art and architectural history in the process of nation-building has either focused on the Classical periods<sup>4</sup> or Turkish and Islamic art and architectural historiography during the late Ottoman and Turkish Republican periods.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, despite the proliferation of scholarly writings on Byzantium in the last two decades in Turkey, there is still no comprehensive study

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between nationalism, archaeology and historiography in the Western scholarship as well. To give some examples, Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) explores the relationship between nationalism and archaeology in Europe and East Asia with an emphasis on archaeologists in the service of the state and the imperial uses of the remote past.; Philip L. Kohl, Mara Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, eds., *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Past*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) extended the focus by examining the Near East and South Asia.; Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) again highlights the emergence of archaeology as a professional discipline connected to the emergence of nationalism in Europe.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Marius Turda, “National Historiographies in the Balkans, 1830-1989”, in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds., 463-489, (Writing the National Series, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> The cultural policies of the early Republican period of Turkey regarding archaeology, the preservation of the cultural legacy and museum studies with an emphasis on their relationships with the nation state have received increased interest in recent times. These studies have usually examined the role of archaeology in the formation of national identity. See for example; Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, Lynn Meskell, 111-123, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Arkeoloji: Siyasi Yönlendirmeler-Çelişkiler ve Gelişim Süreci”, *Bilanço: 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış Uluslar arası Kongresi, (I: Siyaset, Kültür, Uluslararası İlişkiler)*, ed. Zeynep Rona, 193-204, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); Gül Pulhan, “Cumhuriyet’in Arkeoloji Seferberliği”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, Vol: 89, (2004): 171-174.; Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic”, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 31, no. 4, (2004):381-393.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan, eds. *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum, Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Vol. 24, (Leiden-Boston, 2007); Büşra Ersanlı-Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye’de “Resmî Tarih” Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, (İstanbul: Afa, 1992); Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2002).

focusing on earlier scholarly contributions on Byzantium in Turkey, particularly one focusing on writing about Byzantine architectural history.

Within the framework of the abovementioned growing body of scholarship on the relationships between nationalism, nation-state building, orientalism, and historiography, this thesis aims to contribute towards filling such gaps in the scholarly literature by using Turkey as a case study.

### **1.1. Aims and Significance of the Study**

From the most general to the more specific, the aims of the thesis may be summarized as follows: First, it will demonstrate that contrary to commonly held assumptions, Ottoman perceptions of Byzantium were not very different from those of Western Europe. Indeed, their approaches to Byzantium contain many similarities and follow similar patterns. In both cases, perceptions of Byzantium were ambiguous leading to a selective appropriation of its legacy. Although the precise reasons for this ambiguity have changed over time, much of it derives from the nature and geographical position of the Byzantine Empire itself.

Secondly, the thesis will outline and explain how perceptions of Byzantium were not uniform, but changed over the course of time depending on the historical and political context. Consequently, it will be shown how selective appropriation of the Byzantine legacy became particularly pronounced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of nationalism and renewed interests in the classical and the medieval past in Europe, together with the Ottoman Empire as it witnessed the encroachments of European powers and the rise of nationalist movements.

As for the case of Turkey, this study will document the history of growing interest in the study of Byzantium among Ottoman authors starting from the mid-nineteenth century and the reasons for this engagement. As the center of the Byzantine Empire and focus of academic and more popular interest, İstanbul will be highlighted with its relevant eras. Additionally, it will be argued that after the 1900's there was a significant change in the Ottoman understanding of the Byzantine heritage as a result of three new and interrelated historical processes. Ottoman rediscovery of the Byzantine heritage, as well as the efforts to de-

emphasize the role of Byzantine influences on the Ottoman Empire will be set against the background of contemporary political and cultural developments in order to provide a structured panorama of how the perceptions of the Byzantine heritage fluctuated and why.

## **1.2. The Scope, Context and Method of the Study**

Recent studies reviewing the development of Byzantine scholarship in Turkey have paid little attention to the Ottoman period as writings on the Byzantine heritage in this period were very limited and not very promising. When I began this study, I initially held similar assumptions and intended to define the scope of this thesis to include works from the early Republican period up to today, avoiding the Ottoman period. Since this study is particularly interested in exploring major factors for the negative perceptions of Byzantium and the lack of scholarly interest in Byzantine studies in Turkey, I had considered that the early Republican Period, particularly with the famed “Turkish Historical Thesis” would be the crucial period for tracing the trajectory of Byzantine studies in this country. Once I began to actually research the topic, however, I realized that neither the earliest “Byzantine studies” produced in Turkey nor the historical and political factors which had significant impacts on the ways that the study of the Byzantine heritage emerged in the early Republican period. One has to take into consideration “the long nineteenth century”<sup>6</sup> not only to note the first appearance of significant scholarly works on the subject, but also to trace the “origins” of some of the prevailing negative attitudes towards to the Byzantine heritage in Turkey, as well as in Europe.

This new historical framework has provided me with the opportunity to analyze the topic within the context of nationalism and orientalism, both of which reached their apogee in the late nineteenth century. It was also in this period that we

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<sup>6</sup> “The long 19th century”, defined by Eric Hobsbawm, refers to the period between the years 1789-the French Revolution and 1914-1918, World War I. Hobsbawm lays out his analysis in his trilogy: *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789–1848*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1962); *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875*, (New York : Scribner, 1975); and, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*, (New York: Vintage, 1989).



see the rise of history as a discipline, the emergence of nation-states and thus the overt, as well as covert, uses of history (and also archaeology) in the service of nation-state building. Seen from this perspective, the nineteenth century also marked a new period in Ottoman history as it witnessed increased modernization and westernization as well as the rise of nationalist movements in the empire. Therefore, the time frame delineated here provides an invaluable range for exploring the intricate relationships between orientalist and nationalist discourses in the written texts produced by key scholars who shaped the production and dissemination of knowledge on the Byzantine heritage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Concerning the chronological range I have chosen for this thesis, i.e. the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, I should also note that the early Republican period will only be dealt with for tracing the relevant continuities and changes. Writers, whose seminal studies on Byzantium are examined in this thesis, lived in this transition period from Empire to the Republic. Therefore, rather than exploring the attitudes of the early Republican period towards the Byzantine period, which needs to be studied in greater detail by taking into consideration not only the narratives and discourses in the texts, but also the practice of archaeology, museology and preservation, I will look at the Republican period only for tracing the intellectual and professional transformation of these scholars and the fate of relatively increased scholarly interest in Byzantine İstanbul.

As the primary aim of this thesis is the examination of scholarship and discourse, rather than the cultural policies of the state, the issues of the roles of individuals in shaping the Byzantine scholarship and how their legacies influenced the later studies in Turkey comes to the fore. Therefore, rather than archaeology, museology, and preservation of the historical buildings themselves regarding the Byzantine heritage, the dissertation is based on the analysis of perceptions and written narratives. The practices of archaeology, museology and preservation during the late Ottoman period will only be treated so far as related to the Byzantine heritage specifically, in order to provide the historical and cultural context for the production of knowledge examined in this thesis. In addition to the secondary literature, a number of archival sources and official documents preserved in the

Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in İstanbul were used for constructing this specific context.

The primary sources used in the thesis mainly consist of histories, travel books, monographs, textbooks, and a small number of newspapers and magazine articles on Byzantine history, art and architecture. These are examined focusing on their organization, context, narrative, use of language, sources consulted, and use of visual materials, when applicable. A number of architectural history textbooks produced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are examined for the first time in this thesis in order to understand the treatment of Byzantine architecture within the general western narrative of architectural historiography. I have particularly tried to select the most popular and most used survey books for their potential to explicitly display the hierarchies and differences within the construction of the Western narrative of architectural history, and thus to provide an invaluable area for examining the place of Byzantine architecture within this narrative. In exploring these textbooks, I pay special attention to how the history of architecture is “periodized” and the placement and coverage of Byzantine architecture within this periodization, research techniques, as well as historiographical and methodological approaches.

Architectural history “survey books” of this kind do not exist in the Ottoman Empire during the same time period. Hence, among scholars of the period chosen for scrutiny, I especially focus on individuals such as Celal Esad [Arseven] (1876-1971), Mehmed Ziya (1871-1930) Ahmed Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937) who were influential in the production of knowledge regarding the Byzantine heritage. Not surprisingly, these authors have been studied for their contribution to Ottoman Turkish history and architecture. For the first time in this thesis, their works will be examined as revelations of Byzantine cultural and architectural history within the wider historical and cultural context of the period. As this thesis will demonstrate, these authors contributed much to the development of the Byzantine scholarship in Turkey.

In this regard, Celal Esad enjoyed a great degree of popularity. He is often credited as “the first Turkish art historian” whose works played a leading role in attempts to define a distinctly “Turkish art” particularly during the early Republican

period.<sup>7</sup> Among his works, *Türk Sanatı* [Turkish Art] published in 1928, and *Yeni Mimari* [The New Architecture] in 1931 have often been the subject of scholarly attention.<sup>8</sup> His *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul* (1909), on the other hand, has received inadequate attention particularly from the perspective of Byzantine scholarship. Similarly, Ahmed Refik [Altınay] has often been credited as one of the first representatives of modern historians in Turkey. He is also considered the founder of “popular history” in Turkey on account of his literary style.<sup>9</sup> His several works on Ottoman Turkish history have also been the focus of scholarly attention from a different perspective. Contrary to Celal Esad and Ahmed Refik, Mehmed Ziya, who called himself an expert in “âsâr-ı atîka” had not been much acknowledged until recently when his *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsar-ı Bakıyesi* was published in 2004 in the Latin alphabet.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, except for a few informative overviews, no comprehensive study of his work has appeared so far.

While reading the writings of these authors, I am particularly attentive to the analysis of the main stereotypes concerning the Byzantine Empire and the kind of language used to describe the Byzantines, (some of which were disseminated by western historians) and the ways in which Ottoman historians began to conceive a novel approach regarding the appropriation of the Byzantine heritage. I also explore their works in order to understand the ways in which Ottoman authors approached Byzantine architecture and to what extent the Byzantine legacy has been incorporated within the historical evolution of Ottoman Turkish histories and the architectural history tradition.

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<sup>7</sup> Doğan Kuban, “Celal Esad Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı”, <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/391/5707.pdf> (accessed 11.10.2012); Semavi Eyice, “Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)” *Belleten*, 36, (1972), 141-144.

<sup>8</sup> For example see, Elvan Altan Ergut, “Celal Esad Arseven’s History of Architecture between the Past and the Present”, *International Congress of Aesthetics 2007 “Aesthetics Bridging Cultures”* <http://www.sanart.org.tr/PDFler/12a.pdf> (accessed 10.12.2010).

<sup>9</sup> Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam: Ahmed Refik Altınay* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978).

<sup>10</sup> İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya Bey, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Ölümsüz Mirası*, ed. Murat A. Karavelioğlu and Enfel Doğan (İstanbul: Bika, 2004).

Regarding the context and method, this thesis may not be deemed as a comparative historical study between “East” and “West” in which the self-reflective and critical analyses of social, cultural, historical and political contexts with particular attention to the dynamics of knowledge, power, authority, and cultural difference are crucial. Nevertheless, I have tried to pay attention to specific comparative historical contexts in which similar approaches to the Byzantine heritage can be traced and to examine descriptions and representations of Byzantium in the written texts produced by Ottoman authors in relation to their European counterparts, the origins of such descriptions in European scholarship, etc. This brings into focus the interactions between Ottoman and European scholars. Such a study of earlier scholarship provides valuable insights into not only Ottoman/Turkish authors’ stance specifically towards the Byzantine heritage, but also to their selective “appropriation” of established European discourse regarding Byzantium.

With the same concern, I include a brief section on the approaches of the Balkan states to the Byzantine heritage in the context of the nation-building process. The Balkan states here are only dealt with for their specific relevance for Ottoman perceptions of the Byzantine heritage in the late nineteenth century. As stated below, the nationalist movements in the Ottoman Empire which resulted in the emergence of new nation states in the Balkan regions had several consequences for the Ottoman perception of Byzantium. Otherwise the detailed exploration of this topic exceeds the limits of this thesis.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In her groundbreaking work *Imagining the Balkans*, Maria Tudorova shows that the Balkans as a separate geography and cultural entity was “discovered” through writings of European travellers during the late eighteenth century. She has developed a theory of *Balkanism* similar to Edward Said’s Orientalism. Accordingly, the discourse of “Balkanism” created a stereotype of the Balkans, and politics is closely related with the negative image of the Balkans. Interestingly, the nineteenth century was a period of significant transformation with regard to conception of Europe and the development of Eurocentrism. Although “the discourse of “Balkanism” may be useful for a better understanding of the discourse of “Byzantinism,” which according to Todorova, “not only functions alongside and on the same principles as Balkanism but is often superimposed on it”, the discussion of such issues is beyond the scope of this thesis. See Maria Todorova, *Imagining Balkans*, (Oxford University Press, 2009), 160-165. For the “Byzantinism”, see Cyril Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism” in *Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), 29-43.; Also cited in Dimiter G. Angelov, “The Making of Byzantinism”. <http://www.docshut.com/kmpwprp/49388939-the-making-of-byzantinism-by-dimiter-g-angelov.html> (accessed 13.02.2013).

Finally, the orientation and concentration of this thesis is primarily İstanbul. There are basically two reasons for this. The first is related to the nature of the Byzantine Empire which is centered on the city of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire for more than a thousand years and thus essential to define the identity of Byzantium. Indeed, the Byzantine world was closely identified with its capital<sup>12</sup> as “the city of Constantinople was the empire in quintessential form, containing all that was needed for imperial hegemony.”<sup>13</sup> In many cases, scholars and texts which I examined for this thesis used the words “Byzantium”, “Byzantine Empire” and “Constantinople” interchangeably to refer to the capital city. Consequently, the knowledge produced concerning Byzantium and the Byzantine Empire was also İstanbul-centered. Situated in a special topography with magnificent buildings and “talismanic sculptures”, İstanbul has always been the focus of interest not only for travellers from Europe but also local scholars who lived there, which also remained the capital and thus the intellectual and publication center of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Magdalino, “Constantinople=Byzantium”, *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 43.

<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Shepard, “Introduction: Tides of Byzantium: the Many Forms of Expansion and Contraction”, in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia, The Expansion of Latin Europe 1000-1500*, ed. J. Shepard, (Ashgate Variorum, 2007).

### 1.3. Sources and Scholarship

#### 1.3.1. Byzantium/the Byzantine Empire: Geographical, Chronological and Disciplinary Boundaries

The Byzantine Empire was one of the major civilizations in the world covering a vast geographical area and lasting more than a thousand years.<sup>14</sup> The conventional chronological frame of the Byzantine Empire has often been cited as extending from either 324 (the foundation of a new eastern capital for the Roman Empire in Constantinople) or 330 (dedication of the city and the conversion of Emperor Constantine I to Christianity) to 1453 (the fall of Constantinople).<sup>15</sup> There has also been a growing trend among scholars to highlight continuities in late antiquity until the sixth or seventh century.<sup>16</sup> According to this view, after the Arab conquests of Egypt and Syria, the nature of the state and culture was transformed with the decline of urban life marking the transformation from the late antique to the medieval empire.<sup>17</sup> Although it is relatively easy to define the end of the empire, as 29 May 1453, issues of the continuity of Byzantine culture and religion in the Balkans and some other regions of the Ottoman Empire have also received a great deal of attention.<sup>18</sup>

In modern scholarship, Byzantine history has usually been examined by dividing it into three periods. The first period covering the third century to the end of the sixth, seventh or eighth centuries, has been called the Late Antique/Late Roman or Early Byzantine period depending on the viewpoint of scholars. The Middle Byzantine period, begins either from 565 (the death of the emperor

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<sup>14</sup> Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Civilization, A World Civilization", in *Byzantium, A World Civilization*, ed. A. E. Laiou and H. Maguire, (Washington D.C., 1992), 19-35.

<sup>15</sup> A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, Vol.1: 345; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

<sup>16</sup> Alice Mary Talbot, "Byzantine Studies at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 105, No. 1, (January, 2006), 25-26.

<sup>17</sup> A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, Vol. I, 346-52; Talbot, "Byzantine Studies", 25-26.

<sup>18</sup> See H. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power 1261-1557*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004). ; Talbot, "Byzantine Studies", 26.

Justinian); 610 (the ascension of the emperor Heraklios); 717 (the beginning of the Isaurian dynasty); or 848 (the end of Iconoclasm). It ends either in 1071 (the Battle of Mankizert) or 1204 (the Sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade). The last period, the Late Byzantine, extends from either 1204, or 1261 (the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins) to 1453 (the fall of the Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire).<sup>19</sup>

It is also hard to define the geographical boundaries of the Byzantine Empire as its large territories have continually changed over the course of history. In its greatest extent, during the period of the reign of Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, the Byzantine Empire's territorial boundaries extended from Spain, Italy, Greece and the Balkan States; to Anatolia, some parts of the Caucasian, Middle East and North Africa.<sup>20</sup>

One of the questions preoccupying scholars has been the meaning of the terms "Byzantium" and "Byzantine", and the "identity" of the Byzantines. The name of the empire is derived from "Byzantion", the name of the ancient Greek city founded in the eighth century BCE at the southwest tip of the Bosphorus on the headland that later became known as Sarayburnu lying at the mouth of the peninsula by the colonists from Megara.<sup>21</sup> The city was rebuilt and inaugurated as the new capital of the Roman Empire by Emperor Constantine I in 330 AD and subsequently renamed Constantinople. The capital of the Byzantine Empire for more than a thousand years, Constantinople was essential to define the identity of Byzantium. In

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<sup>19</sup> Liz James, "Byzantium, a Very, Very Short Introduction", in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 2.

<sup>20</sup> James, "Byzantium, a Very, Very Short Introduction", 1-2; Byzantine scholarship covers Balkan regions and medieval Russia due to the influence of broad political, cultural and religious traditions of the Byzantine Empire and areas such as Syria and Egypt, which had once been part of the Byzantine Empire. Talbot, "Byzantine Studies", 25-26. Orthodox peoples of Eastern Europe were designated as the "Byzantine Commonwealth" by Dimitri Obolensky. This area includes roughly the modern-day countries of Bulgaria, Greece, the Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, southwestern Russia, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and Belarus. See Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> İnci Delemen, "Byzantion: Colony-City-Capital", in *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 years of a Capital*: June 5-September 4, 2010, (İstanbul: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 54-59.

the last years of the empire, it lost a great amount of territory and became confined to the capital city and its hinterlands.<sup>22</sup>

It has long been known that the Byzantines thought of their empire as a continuation of the Roman Empire, referring to themselves as *Romaioi*, “Romans”.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the administrative and governmental structures derived from the late Roman Empire and the language of administration was initially Latin. Constantinople was founded as “New Rome” or “Second Rome”.<sup>24</sup> In contrast to Rome, however, Constantinople was founded as a Christian city following the conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity probably in 312 and Greek was the literary language of the empire.<sup>25</sup> Thus, from the fourth to the sixth century, the religion of the empire changed from pagan to Christian and its language from Latin to Greek marking the transformation of antique to medieval empire.

Although Greek continued to be the language of government and culture, there was actually a multi-lingual population especially in the early period of the Byzantine Empire as it included Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, North Africa, Italy and Illyricum whose language was Coptic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin. In later periods, when the Balkans and territories previously under Arab rule came

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<sup>22</sup> Magdalino, “Constantinople=Byzantium”, 43.

<sup>23</sup> Cyril Mango, *Bizans: Yeni Roma İmparatorluğu*, trans. Gül Çağalı Güven, (İstanbul: YKY, 2008), 9. ; Fiona K. Haarer, “Writing Histories of Byzantium: the Historiography of Byzantine History”, in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 18. ; According to Cameron, while in its earlier periods, citizens of the Empire referred to themselves as “Roman”, and the word “Hellene” had negative connotations denoting pagan ideas; in the Comnenian period (1081-1204), “Hellene” began to be used as a self-description. In the last period of the Empire, the term came back into use as a summoning of Byzantium’s classical heritage, Cameron, *The Byzantines*, 6-8.

<sup>24</sup> Ousterhout states that “the idea of the Byzantine capital as New Rome or Second Rome is a topos that pervades the literature throughout the Byzantine period and the degree of imitation, real or imagined is striking”. He also states that early Constantinople could also be seen as “New Troy” and “New Jerusalem”, see Robert Ousterhout, “Constantinople and the Construction of a Medieval Urban Identity” *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 335-336. According to Alexander, “the resemblance to Rome was replaced by equality before the end of the fourth century and the word “Rome” came to be used to designate Constantinople from the sixth century on”. See Paul Alexander, “The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes”, in *the Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia, the Expansion of Latin Europe 1000-1500*, ed. J. Sheppard, (Ashgate Variorum, 2007), 341.

<sup>25</sup> James, “Byzantium, a Very, Very Short Introduction”, 1-2.



under Byzantine domination, the empire included Slavs and Bulgarians on its European side, and Muslim populations in the east.<sup>26</sup> As will be shown in this thesis, the unique nature of the empire with its special geographical position was indeed one of the reasons for the ambiguity in approaches to the Byzantine Empire since the beginnings of Byzantine scholarship.

### 1.3.2. Literature Review

Recent decades have witnessed a growth of new scholarship dedicated to various aspects of the Byzantine Empire, considerably increasing the chronological, geographical and thematic range of the scholarship.<sup>27</sup> Following this interest in the history of the Byzantine Empire itself, there has also been an increase in the works devoted to a re-evaluation of the ways in the study of Byzantium.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Edward Said's *Orientalism* has encouraged western European scholarship's self-criticism related to the treatment of Byzantium in mainstream historiography. Consequently, the notorious definition of Byzantium as a decadent empire ever since the British historian Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has received a great deal of attention and scholars have begun to question "the decline theory." British scholars were among the first to address issues relating to

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<sup>26</sup> Cameron, *the Byzantines*, 6-7.

<sup>27</sup> To cite only a few examples; C. Mango (ed.), *Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002); J. Harris (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).; Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robin Cormack, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008); Jonathan Shepard, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and Liz James, ed., *A Companion to Byzantium*, (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> The first studies on the development of Byzantine Studies date back to the late nineteenth century. One of the first works that provided an outline of Byzantine historical research is V. G. Vasilijevskij's "Obozrenie trudov po vizantijskoj istorii" published in 1887 and L. Bréhier *Le développement des études d'histoire byzantine du XVIIe au XXe siècle* in 1901. See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, (New Brunswick-New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969) 1-21. Ostrogorsky was one of the first to survey Byzantine scholarship providing the development of Byzantine studies in Western Europe, the Balkans and Russia. Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* remained one of the widely read and translated books including Turkish. The Turkish translation was by Prof. Dr. Fikret İşıltan, *Bizans Devleti Tarihi* (the first edition in 1981), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999).

perceptions and definitions of Byzantium using novel approaches partially derived from Said. *The Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* held in London in 1995 focused particularly on “British perceptions and historiography of Byzantium.” The papers presented in the symposium were published in 2000, with the title of *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, explored changing and ambivalent attitudes to Byzantine history, art and culture by British scholars, travellers, architects, etc.<sup>29</sup>

Among others, Averil Cameron is one of the first to discuss the relative exclusion of Byzantium in mainstream western historiography and its ambivalent position between “East” and “West.” In her inaugural lecture delivered in 1990, entitled “The Use & Abuse of Byzantium,” Cameron focused on “ways of seeing” Byzantium in the Western world over time.<sup>30</sup> Around these years, two other major scholars from the United States published articles raising questions of the treatment of Byzantine art and architecture within art historical scholarship. Robert S. Nelson’s “Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art” (1996) argued the treatment of Byzantine art within the context of art historical scholarship as a “manifestation of Orientalism”.<sup>31</sup> Robert Ousterhout, on the other hand, in his “Apologia for Byzantine Architecture” (1996) criticized the ways Byzantine architecture has been studied by most Western scholars.<sup>32</sup> J. B. Bullen, in his *Byzantium Rediscovered* (2003) explored the revival of the art and architecture of

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<sup>29</sup> Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, eds., *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Papers from the Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995, (Ashgate, Variorum, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> Averil Cameron, “The Use and Abuse of Byzantium: an essay on reception”, Inaugural lecture, King’s College, (London, 1992, repr. in *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium*, Aldershot, 1996); Averil Cameron continued to explore prejudices and stereotypes that still exist today in many historical texts, including the idea of Byzantium as an overwhelmingly Orthodox society in her book *The Byzantines* and her essay “The Absence of Byzantium”, *Nea Hestia* (Jan. 2008), 4-58.

<sup>31</sup> Robert S. Nelson, “Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art”, *Gesta*, Vol.35, No.1 (1996), 3-11.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Ousterhout, “Apologia for Byzantine Architecture”, *Gesta*, 35/1, (1996), 21–33.

the Byzantine Empire that took place across Europe and North America in the 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>33</sup>

Since then, such works - some especially addressing historical and contemporary perceptions of Byzantium and enduring negative views of Byzantium despite its growing popularity and the development of Byzantine studies as a discipline - have appeared particularly in the “introduction” or “conclusion” of books on Byzantium. In addition, a number of edited volumes published very recently provide new insights into a variety of more specialized topics such as gender, class, age, production and consumption, urban and rural life, material culture, historiography, and patronage, expanding the horizons of scholarship.<sup>34</sup> Among the latest of such works, *The Byzantine World* (2010) edited by Paul Stephenson has also a separate chapter on “the world of Byzantine Studies” which sheds more light on topics such as the development of the study of Byzantine history in Western and Southeastern Europe as well as the importance of the Byzantine legacy in Europe, since there are several heirs of Byzantium (such as Greece, Cyprus, Romania and Bulgaria) within the European Union.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the legacy of Byzantium within the context of the European Union is becoming increasingly popular not only in the scholarly world, but also in contemporary politics.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> B. Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, (London, New York: Phaidon, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robin Cormack, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) examines a wide range of topics including political history, the institutions, the physical world, and the world around Byzantium. In an introductory essay “*Byzantine Studies as an Academic Discipline*”, the editors provide a review of the development of Byzantine scholarship as well as recent turns and major shifts in the study of Byzantine culture and art history.; *A Companion to Byzantium Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*, ed. Liz James (2010) explores issues and themes driving new approaches to understanding the Byzantine Empire. The essays provide insights into a variety of intriguing topics such as gender, class, age, production and consumption, urban and rural life, material culture, historiography, and patronage. The two essays serving as an introduction, James, “*Byzantium: A Very, Very Short Introduction*,” and Fiona K. Haarer, “*Writing Histories of Byzantium: The Historiography of Byzantine History*” provides an overview of modern historical approaches to Byzantium, particularly within the context of the notion of decline and Byzantine identity.

<sup>35</sup> See Paul Stephenson, “Byzantium’s European Future”, in *the Byzantine World*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 505-509.

<sup>36</sup> For example, in November 2004, in connection with Turkey’s bid to join the EU, the French President Jacques Chirac addressed a student conference in Marseille, the day after a large

What is the situation in Turkey? For the last two or three decades, Byzantine studies, particularly Byzantine history and art have also received more scholarly attention. In addition to an increase in the departments of universities and the number of people studying Byzantine history, art and architecture, various international symposia have been organized in Turkey.<sup>37</sup>

In parallel, there has also been an increase in studies dedicated to the evaluation of various aspects of the Byzantine legacy and the representation of Byzantium in Turkey in contemporary history books, letters, cinema, art, etc. The two international symposia organized recently in İstanbul were important steps in this regard. The first was the inaugural symposium of the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University, entitled *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods* held on December 9-10, 2006 in İstanbul. The conference focused on the role of archaeology in the processes of nation-building and perceptions of Greek, Roman and Byzantine legacy in Turkey during the early Republican Period.<sup>38</sup> Engin Akyürek's paper in this volume titled

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demonstration against Turkish membership. In order to support Turkey's membership of EU, Chirac stated that: "*We are All the Children of Byzantium*" <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/392/-we-are-all-children-of-byzantium.html> (accessed 10.12.2013). Kürşad Tüzmen, the Minister of State, at that time, replied to Chirac's statement: "I am a child of the Ottomans. Europe knows the origins of Europe" <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=276585html> (accessed 10.12.2013).

<sup>37</sup> The first comprehensive international conference on Byzantine Constantinople which took place in İstanbul was jointly organized by the History Department of Boğaziçi University and the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes in 1999. The papers presented at the workshop were published in a volume in 2001. See Nevra Necipoğlu, ed., *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001).; *The International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, which has been organized every three years by Vehbi Koç Foundation in memory of late Sevgi Gönül (1938-2003), is also noteworthy. The First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium was held at İstanbul Archaeological Museums on 25-28 June 2007. The theme of the Symposium was "Change in the Byzantine World in the 12th-13th Centuries". The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium was held at the İstanbul Archaeological Museums from 21st to 23rd of June in 2010. The theme was "The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture". The Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium held at the 24- 27 June 2013, focused on "Trade in Byzantium" <http://sgsymposium.ku.edu.tr/tr/symposium-archives> (accessed 02.06.2013). Despite this, new programs on Byzantine art, architecture and archaeology have not been at the same rate.

<sup>38</sup> Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, eds., *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 31, (Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 2010). The essays in the published volume dealt with the beginning of Classical and Byzantine archaeology in Turkey, the historical context of the production of knowledge, the roles of individuals and institutions in shaping scholarship, together with the current and future state of Byzantine scholarship in Turkey.

“Byzantine Art History in Modern Turkey” provides a brief history of Byzantine studies in Turkey from the late nineteenth century to the present by adding recent developments in scholarship, the establishment of important research institutions and the current situation of the field.<sup>39</sup> Murat Ergin’s paper “Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey”, in the same volume, on the other hand, focuses on the role of archaeology and deals with the Byzantine heritage within the same category of Greek and Roman archaeology without making any differentiation between Greek, Roman and Byzantine.<sup>40</sup>

As stated by the organizers,<sup>41</sup> this conference can be considered complementary to another work dealing with the architectural historiography of Ottoman and Republican architecture in Turkey *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum* held in May 2006 under the auspices of the Aga Khan Programme for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University.<sup>42</sup> This was, indeed, one

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<sup>39</sup> Engin Akyürek, “Byzantine Art History in Modern Turkey”, in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 31, (Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 2010), 205-224.; Semavi Eyice was the first to provide a bibliographic survey of Byzantine scholarship in Turkey from the late 19th century to the 1970’s. See Semavi Eyice, “Türkiye’de Bizans Sanatı Araştırmaları ve İstanbul Üniversitesinde Bizans Sanatı” in *Cumhuriyet’in 50. Yılına Armağan*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1973), 375-428. In his “Türkiye’de Bizans Mimarisi Hakkındaki Yabancı Araştırmaların Kısa Tarihçesi”, he again provided a bibliography of archaeological studies carried out by foreign archaeologists from the late nineteenth century to the 1940’s. “Türkiye’de Bizans Mimarisi Hakkındaki Yabancı Araştırmaların Kısa Tarihçesi (İkinci Dünya Savaşına Kadar)”, *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1976), 453-469.; Similarly, Melek Delilbaşı provides a summary of studies in Byzantine history by Turkish scholars from the late nineteenth century to today, in her paper “The Present and Future of Byzantine Studies in Turkey”, in *Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. Florentina Evangelatou-Notara, (Athens-Thessaloniki, 2005), 63-72. For a review of Byzantine Studies in Turkey with an emphasis on methodological approaches in writing Byzantine architectural history, see Şule Kılıç Yıldız, “Byzantine Studies and Byzantine Architectural Historiography in Turkey”, *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 2011/2, (28:2) 63-80.

<sup>40</sup> Murat Ergin, “Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey”, in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. S. Redford and N. Ergin, (Peters, 2010), 13-33.

<sup>41</sup> S. Redford, N. Ergin, eds., “Introduction”, in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, eds. S. Redford and N. Ergin, (Peters, 2010), 2.

<sup>42</sup> The conference papers were published in *Muqarnas* edited by Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan (2007) with the title of *Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage in the “Lands of Rum.” Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Vol. 24, (Leiden-Boston, 2007).

of the first endeavors to explore the role of art and architectural history in the process of nation building of the Turkish Republic. As noted above, its focus was Islamic art and architecture in the late Ottoman and Turkish Republican periods.

The other conference focused more widely on Byzantium was organized jointly by Kadir Has University and Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, *Contemporary Perceptions of Byzantium* on 19-21 November, 2009 in Istanbul where international participants delivered papers on the contemporary representation of Byzantium in letters, novels, high school text-books, cinema, and even Turkish consciousness.<sup>43</sup>

The journal *Toplumsal Tarih* devoted its 112<sup>th</sup> issue to “Bizans Dünyası” in 2003. Nevra Necipoğlu’s article in this issue “*Türkiye’de Bizans Tarihçiliğinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Sorunları*” provides a brief overview on the development of the study of Byzantine history in Turkey.<sup>44</sup> As for the scarcity of Byzantine studies in Turkey, Necipoğlu singles out three obstacles to studying Byzantine history in Turkey. These are the difficulty of teaching Greek language, the lack of library facilities, and the ideological barrier - the rejection of the Byzantine cultural legacy. Yıldız Ötüken in her “Byzantine Art History in Turkey” briefly describes some of the excavations in Byzantine archaeology and mentions current art history departments teaching Byzantine art history in Turkey. Ten years later in 2013, *Toplumsal Tarih* again reserved a special issue for perceptions of the Byzantine heritage in Turkey in its 229<sup>th</sup> issue with the title of “*Bizans’tan Türkiye’ye Kalan Miras: Tanıdık Yabancı*”.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, internationally collaborated projects related to the Byzantine heritage are also on the rise. Among them, Ufuk Serin’s “Making Byzantium Understood: Re-Interpretation and Representation of Byzantine Cultural Heritage in Turkey” a paper published as part of *Euromed Heritage Project of Byzantium-Early*

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<sup>43</sup> See <http://rcac.ku.edu.tr/events/archives/contemporary-perceptions> (accessed 05.02.2013).

<sup>44</sup> Nevra Necipoğlu, “Türkiye’de Bizans Tarihçiliğinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Sorunları”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, 112, (2003), 72-77.

<sup>45</sup> *Toplumsal Tarih*, 229, (2012), ed. Koray Durak ve Anestis Vasilakeris.

*Islam Cultural Heritage Management: shared experience beyond boundaries*<sup>46</sup> provides valuable insights on general approaches towards Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey with an emphasis on the protection and valorization of late antique and Byzantine archaeological remains. Ufuk Serin also explores aesthetic, archeological, ideological and practical reasons behind approaches for a better understanding of Byzantium and the place of Byzantine archaeology in Turkey.

Yet, only a few scholars have commented on the representation of Byzantium in late Ottoman history writing. During the late 1980's Michael Ursinus studied the ways in which late Ottoman historians approached Byzantine history and culture in his trilogy: "Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Turkish Historiography (1986)", "Der Schlechteste Staat": Ahmed Mithat Efendi (1844-1913) on Byzantine Institutions" (1987) and "From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine history in late Ottoman historiography" (1988).<sup>47</sup> Although these articles were preliminary parts of an intended larger project,<sup>48</sup> they still remain the only source of reference for understanding the late Ottoman historiography of Byzantine history. İlber Ortaylı is another Turkish scholar providing informative overviews regarding the Byzantine representation in Ottoman and Turkish thought.<sup>49</sup>

All these works mentioned above have contributed to this thesis. However, this thesis differs from them in terms of its focus on the late Ottoman period and

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<sup>46</sup> Serin, "Making Byzantium Understood", 209-239.

<sup>47</sup> Michael Ursinus, "Byzantine History in late Ottoman Turkish Historiography, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 10/1 (1986), 211-222; "Der schlechteste staat: Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1913) on Byzantine Institutions" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 11/1, (1987), 237-244.; "From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 12/1, (1988), 305-314.

<sup>48</sup> In the first article, Ursinus states that these short papers are only preliminary part of a future project intended to be explore the written texts between 1870 and 1930 on the "Greek (ancient, Byzantine, and modern) as well as Roman history and culture". Ursinus, "Byzantine History", 211. However, as of my knowledge, he has not published yet.

<sup>49</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Byzantium in Turkish Thought", paper presented in the symposium of *Contemporary Perceptions of Byzantium* on 19-21 November in İstanbul, 2009.

writings related to the architectural history of Byzantium.<sup>50</sup> As noted above, recent scholarship in western European countries has often overlooked Turkey, although the development of Byzantine studies in Europe is reviewed. On the other hand, studies in architectural historiography are latecomers to the academic scene as architectural history as an autonomous discipline itself is relatively new in Turkey.<sup>51</sup> Such studies, however, are usually focused on the Republican period and the current situation of the Byzantine scholarship in Turkey.

#### 1.4. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Following this **Introduction**, the second chapter entitled “**Early Encounters with Byzantium: Changing Perceptions of Byzantium in Europe and the Ottoman Empire**” aims to trace the background of nineteenth century transformations regarding the perceptions and historiography of Byzantium in Western Europe and the Ottoman world. Therefore, this chapter, which covers the time period roughly from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, introduces how perceptions of Byzantium and the appropriation of its legacy have undergone significant transformations over the course of centuries depending on the circumstances of the time period. The chapter is divided into two main sections devoted to Western Europe and the Ottoman

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<sup>50</sup> There are also some studies on recent developments in the study and historiography of Byzantine architecture in Europe and America. W. Eugenia Kleinbauer’s “Prolegomena to a Historiography of Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture” in his book *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, an Annotated Bibliography and Historiography*, (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1992) provides the development of scholarship, the establishment of the important research institutions and some of the significant scholarly controversies. Cyril Mango’s “Approaches to Byzantine Architecture” has identified four different approaches used sometimes in isolation or in combination, in studying Byzantine architecture in Europe and America. See *Muqarnas*, 8, K. A. C. Creswell and His Legacy, (1991), 40-44.; L. Striker, in “The Findings at Kalenderhane and Problems of Method in the History of Byzantine Architecture” displays the shortcomings of the typological approach, which has been the most common approach in studying Byzantine architecture, by showing the necessity of the archaeological investigation of the physical evidence. L. Striker, “The Findings at Kalenderhane and Problems of Method in the History of Byzantine Architecture” in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 107-117.

<sup>51</sup> For the current state of the discipline of the architectural history with an emphasis on its broad methodological, theoretical and geographical boundaries, see Elvan Altan Ergut, Dana Arnold, Belgin Turan Özkaya, eds. *Rethinking Architectural History*, (London and New York, 2006).



Empire respectively. Accordingly, while the first section provides the beginning of scholarly studies regarding Byzantium with a special focus on Constantinople mainly derived from an interest in its classical heritage, the second section deals with the Ottoman engagement and the appropriation of the Byzantine past in physical and symbolic meanings after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

After this background chapter, the next four chapters explore the aforementioned arguments regarding the perceptions and (architectural) historiography of Byzantium in Europe and the Ottoman Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Accordingly, Chapter 3 **“Between “East” And “West”: Byzantium and the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century”** is completely devoted to the nineteenth century Western Europe and explores the place of Byzantium and the Byzantine heritage in mainstream western architectural historiography. This chapter is also divided into two main sections. The first section examines the rediscovery of Byzantium with the rising tide of nationalism and a renewed interest in the medieval age and the development of Byzantine studies as an academic discipline in various European countries. The second section of this chapter, on the other hand, focuses on the historiography of Byzantine architecture and aims to examine how Byzantine architecture was posited within the mainstream architectural historiography of the West by analyzing selected architectural history survey books in Western Europe and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Chapter 4, **“Modernity, Nationalism, and Historical Imagination: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Transformations and the “Rediscovery” of Byzantium in the Wider Ottoman World”** focuses on the perceptions and historiography of the Byzantine heritage within the wider Ottoman world including the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire where a series of nation states began to emerge from the ruins of the former. This chapter is divided into three sections. After providing a brief overview of the nineteenth century historical and political context with an emphasis on the transformation of the historiography in the first section; the second section specifically explores how late Ottoman historians perceived and wrote Byzantine history.

The third section of this chapter examines the rediscovery of Byzantium by the newly emerged Balkan nation- states. This section focuses on the ways in which these nation states' historical imagination portrayed the Byzantine heritage in the nation-building processes. In total, this chapter highlights the ways in which historians in this period shared and were influenced by similar concerns regarding the Byzantine heritage within the processes of constructing a continuous and progressive national history. It will also examine the use of the Byzantine heritage as an important device to connect them to their ancient history and modern nation state and thus the territory they established.

Chapter 5, **“The Former Shape of Constantinople”: Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul and Writing Byzantine Architectural History (1860-1920)”** focuses on İstanbul, writings related to its urban and architectural history, the role of individuals in its production and the dissemination of knowledge regarding the Byzantine past of İstanbul. It explores local Ottoman scholarship on the Byzantine urban and architectural legacy by focusing on three intellectuals well acquainted with Byzantine Constantinople through study and research: Mehmed Ziya (1865-1930), Celal Esad [Arseven] (1876-1971), and Ahmet Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937). All three wrote early accounts and architectural history of Byzantine Constantinople, intended to enlighten their compatriots.

This chapter is also divided into three major sections. The first two sections constitute a background to the third section, in which I examine the seminal works of these authors. Hence, the first section provides a brief overview of broader historical and cultural developments such as the establishment of modern state institutions and legal regulations concerning the cultural legacy after the mid-nineteenth century. The second section presents forerunning studies on the topography and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople by European scholars as the works of these Ottoman authors should be considered in relation to them.

Chapter 6, **“From Empire to Nation State: The “Fall” of Byzantium** further explores issues and developments set in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The first section of this chapter explores the transformation of the discourse regarding the Byzantine heritage due to three new interrelated historical phenomena which emerged during the transition from empire to nation state: the rise of Turkish

nationalist discourse in history writing, the rediscovery and embracing of the Byzantine heritage by the Balkan states particularly Greece and the orientalist views and counterclaims concerning the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman Empire. The second section, on the other hand, examines the Republican legacy of this shift by tracing the intellectual life and works of the authors (Celal Esad, Mehmed Ziya and Ahmed Refik) examined in Chapter 5.

Finally, the **Conclusion** critically assesses the entire study and presents the contributions of this thesis by re-evaluating the issues discussed in the earlier chapters with reference to their impact on the current standing of Byzantine studies and architectural historiography in Turkey.

## CHAPTER 2

### **EARLY ENCOUNTERS WITH BYZANTIUM: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF BYZANTIUM IN EUROPE AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (PRE- 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)**

From its construction as “storehouse” of antiquities to a “despotic empire” with its “oriental features”, western perceptions of Byzantium and its cultural and architectural legacy have undergone significant transformations over the course of centuries. Depending on the political and cultural contexts, the place of Byzantium in European history posed a unique challenge leading to selective appropriation of its legacy in different historical periods. It was simultaneously defined as part of the European past and also as “the other.” It was Christian, but Orthodox rather than Catholic or Protestant. While its Greco-Roman tradition was selectively appropriated, its “oriental” and “Islamic” features made it different. Western Europe’s shifting and often ambivalent attitude toward Byzantium and its selective appropriation of the Byzantine legacy became particularly pronounced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of nationalism and renewed interests in the classical and the medieval past.

This chapter examines European and Ottoman perceptions of Byzantium focusing on the ways in which the Europeans and Ottomans appropriated the Byzantine heritage. It describes how contemporary historical and political context affected European and Ottoman perceptions of Byzantium and the study of Byzantine history and architecture up until the early nineteenth century.

#### **2.1. European Encounters with Byzantium**

##### **2.1.1. In Search of Antiquities**

The initial western European interest in Byzantium arose in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in the context of two interrelated historical developments. One was the “Renaissance” and the related humanist interest in classical antiquity and

the other was the rise of western European monarchies and their relationship with the Ottoman Empire which had by now firmly established itself in former Byzantine territories with its capital in Constantinople.

It has long been acknowledged that the arrival of Byzantine scholars in Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries led to spreading the knowledge of not only classical Greek language, but also Byzantine literary traditions that had preserved and commented on the traditions of classical Greece.<sup>52</sup> Thus, initial interest in Byzantium was a result of the interest in classical antiquity and Greek philology among humanist circles across Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this context, Italy was the first center to produce the earliest editions and Latin translations of Byzantine historical texts in the fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup> In the sixteenth century, Augsburg, a southern German city and an active trade center between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires also became one of the important centers of editorial activity of Byzantine historiographical texts. Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), a German historian and humanist, who was then working as the private secretary and librarian of the Augsburgian commercial firm, was one of the first to consider the idea of *Corpus byzantinae historiae* by collecting, editing and publishing chronicles of Byzantine authors.<sup>54</sup> He is also credited for replacing the name of the empire “*Basileia ton Rhomaion*” with the word “Byzantium” from the

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<sup>52</sup> For the contribution of Byzantine scholars to the Renaissance movement see Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: the Academy Library Harper & Row Publishers, 1966); John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés: Selected Essays*, (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995).

<sup>53</sup> Procopius was one of the first Byzantine authors studied by Italian scholars whose *Wars* was translated into Latin as early as 1441. According to D.R. Reinsch, Italian humanists showed great interest in Procopius, especially for acquiring information about Goths, who were considered as part of Italian history. Another important factor behind the interest in Byzantine historical texts, particularly editions of Church historians was related to the dispute between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches. The works of late Byzantine historians, on the other hand, were also important sources to learn more about the Ottoman Turks posing a threat to Europe. See Diether Roderich Reinsch, “The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts”, in *the Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 435-444.

<sup>54</sup> Hieronymus Wolf published the *Chronicle* of John Zonaras, the *History* of Niketas Choniates and part of Nicephorus Gregoras’ *History*. Financed by Anton Fuger, member of merchant family of Augsburg, it was first published in Basle in 1557. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 1-2.; Reinsch, “Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts”, 438-439.

term “Byzantion”, the name of the ancient Greek town founded near Constantinople in the eighth century BCE.<sup>55</sup>

Charles Dufresne Du Cange (1610-88), the great French historian, lexicographer, and numismatist, was another important scholar on this topic and often considered as the founder of Byzantine historical studies in France. He was also one of the first scholars to use the word “Byzantium”. He first employed the term in 1680 in his Latin work *Historia Byzantina*. He employed the terms of “empire de Constantinople”, “bas-empire”, “empire-oriental”, and “empire-grec” interchangeably to refer to the Byzantine Empire. His works covered topics such as Byzantine genealogy, topography, and numismatics. Although he had never been to Constantinople, he produced an important study on the topography of the city through the study and compilation of important Byzantine textual sources in his *Constantinopolis Christiana: Seu Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1680).<sup>56</sup>

Thus, the growing interest in the major collections of Greek manuscripts copied during the Byzantine period provided the initial stimulus for the study of Constantinople and the Byzantine legacy. Moreover, the study of Byzantine texts led to growing interest in the ancient marvels of the Byzantine capital, particularly its legendary collections of ancient statues situated around the public spaces of the city.<sup>57</sup> It was Emperor Constantine the Great who had first set them up by transporting sculptures from various cities of the Roman Empire to Constantinople. This practice continued until the reign of Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Although many of the antiquities were destroyed by the end of the fifteenth century, they continued to receive interest particularly among artistic circles in Florence and

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<sup>55</sup> Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 11-12.

<sup>56</sup> Jean-Michel Spieser, “Du Cange and Byzantium” in *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Papers from the Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995, ed. Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, (Ashgate, Variorum, 2000), 209.

<sup>57</sup> For a comprehensive analysis and catalogue of ancient sculpture of Constantinople from the fourth to sixth centuries drawing on medieval literary sources, see Sarah Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

the French imperial court for various reasons.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, general interest was mainly limited to antiquities and collections of Greek manuscripts not the Byzantine Empire itself. As Ostrogorsky has noted, “Byzantium was regarded as the storehouse in which the treasures of the classical world were to be found, while there was little interest in the schismatic Byzantine Empire itself”.<sup>59</sup>

While there was perhaps little interest in the Byzantine Empire itself, the Empire’s past and what it represented, especially its capital Constantinople as the seat of the Roman Empire had symbolic political significance for emerging empires with universal claims in the 16th century. In other words, political and ideological rivalries among emerging European monarchies including the Ottoman Empire also formed an important political backdrop for the interest in Constantinople in this period.

The Habsburgs, the French monarchy, and the Ottoman Empire were particularly active in this competition. The political rivalry in these empires over the “idea of universal empire” was particularly significant in shaping the appropriation of the Roman past and its imperial legacy. In her article, Gülru Necipoglu clearly demonstrates such rivalry. In his Hungarian campaign against the Habsburgs in 1526, a portrait depicts Suleiman the Magnificent with a helmet decorated with precious jewelry and in the shape of crown. Suleiman wore this helmet in a ceremony in which the Habsburg ambassadors were received. According to Necipoglu, this was a conscious attempt to demonstrate the supremacy of the Ottomans over the Habsburgs and more importantly, the Ottomans’ claim for universal empire as a similar crown was worn by Charles V in his coronation as the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in

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<sup>58</sup> For example, Demetrios Chrysoloras, who lived in Florence, compared the ancient monuments of the Old Rome with the New Rome. Two Italian merchants, Ciriaco d’Ancona and Christorofo Buondelmonti recorded ancient inscriptions in several cities including Constantinople. Magdalino, “Constantinople=Byzantium”, 47.

<sup>59</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 1-2.

<sup>60</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu, “Suleyman the Magnificent and Representation of Power”, *Art Bulletin*, 71/3, (1989), 401-27; Günsel Renda, “The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Cultural Encounters”, *Foundation for Science Technology and Civilization*, 6-7. [www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/The\\_Ottoman\\_Empire\\_and\\_Europe1.pdf](http://www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/The_Ottoman_Empire_and_Europe1.pdf) (accessed 22.02.2012).

1453 was of symbolic importance for both Europeans and Ottomans. The establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the former Byzantine territories and its ideological and visual appropriation of the Roman imperial legacy as part of its claim for universal empire created new dynamics for European cultural politics and ideologies. Mehmed II's projection of himself as the inheritor of the Roman Empire and his cultural and architectural projects following the conquest of the city certainly reveal the first Ottoman conscious attempt to appropriate the Byzantine past, often in cultural and political dialogue with Europe. Similar to European emperors, Mehmet II was also interested in the ancient monuments and the glorious past of Constantinople. He also commissioned the collection and translation of historical and topographical works on Constantinople.<sup>61</sup>

European monarchs had also patronized such artistic and intellectual works on Byzantine Constantinople both for domestic and international politics. One of the important examples of such an attitude can be seen in the court of the French King Francis I (reign 1515-47). He sent the French humanist Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius, 1490-1555) to Constantinople in the context of his political alliance with the Ottoman sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent (reign 1520-66), for the mission of studying the city of Constantinople and gathering ancient Greek manuscripts for the King's new Fontainebleau Library. Pierre Gilles had stayed in Istanbul for three years (1544-1547) and visited the city again in 1550. He produced two important works on the city after his visits.<sup>62</sup> His best known work; *De Topographia* is the

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<sup>61</sup> Speros Vryonis., "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. I. Bierman, R. Abou el-Haj, and D. Preziosi (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 13-52; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1996); Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *DOP*, 37 (1983), 15-34.

<sup>62</sup> Petrus Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio libri Tres* (Lyon, 1561; Leiden, 1632, 1635); *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius anitquitatibus libri quatuor* (Lyon, 1561; Leiden, 1661); Pierre Gilles (1490-1555) *The Antiquities of İstanbul*, trans. John Ball, (New York: Ithaca, 1988). For a Turkish translation see Erendiz Özbayoğlu (trans.), *İstanbul'un Tarihi Eserleri*, (İstanbul: Eren, 1997). ; Kimberly Byrd, "Pierre Gilles and the Topography of Constantinople", in *Myth to Modernity İstanbul*, ed. N. Başgelen and B. Johnson, (İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2002), 1-16.; Paul Magdalino, "Byzantium-Constantinople", 47.



first comprehensive topographical study of the city that utilizes ancient textual sources along with the physical evidence of the city.<sup>63</sup>

French interest and courtly patronage for the collection of Byzantine works continued during the reigns of Louis XIII (reign 1610-43) and Louis XIV (reign 1643-1715).<sup>64</sup> A large number of Byzantine texts and histories were edited and published under the auspices of Louis XIV. These Parisian editions of large scale Byzantine historical texts, the so-called *Byzantine du Louvre* or *Paris Corpus*, had been important sources about Byzantine history and culture until replaced by the Bonn editions in the nineteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

European monarchs' interests in Byzantium in this period were partially connected to their imperial aspirations. Through the investigation of Byzantine textual sources for information regarding antiquities and the acquisition of objects and manuscripts from Constantinople, they tried to establish themselves as the legitimate heir to the Roman Empire. Some scholars and humanists also emphasized this idea in their works. Du Cange, for example, suggested a connection between the Roman Empire and the medieval French history.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, this was one of most important aspects of the appropriation of Byzantium in French scholarship.

### **2.1.2. “Decline” and “Corruption”: 18<sup>th</sup> Century Responses to Byzantium**

The eighteenth century sees a significant shift in European perceptions of Byzantium. It was in fact during this period that the term “Byzantine” acquired negative connotation in major European languages meaning “corrupt”, “bizarre”, or

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<sup>63</sup> Basset, *the Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 5.

<sup>64</sup> During this period, several manuscripts preserved in the library of Ottoman palace flowed into the Royal Library in Paris. In 1687, for example, the French ambassador, M. Girardin accessed to the library of the Ottoman palace and fifteen Greek manuscripts were sent to Paris for the French royal collection. See J. Rabby, “Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium”, 16.

<sup>65</sup> Reinsch, “Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts”, 440; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine States*, 3; Jeffreys, et al., “Byzantine Studies as an Academic Discipline”, 5.

<sup>66</sup> By focusing on Du Cange, Spieser demonstrates how a specific kind of historical interest in Byzantium was initiated in order to support France's historical relation to that of the Roman Empire or “Empire Constantinople”. See Spieser, “Du Cange and Byzantium”, 199-220.

“intricate”.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the view of the Byzantine Empire as the “decadence of the Roman Empire” became a dominant theme in historical and political writings in this century.<sup>68</sup> Both historical and literary writings produced during this period played a significant role in the construction of Byzantine history as a despotic and a decadent empire because of its “oriental features”. The eighteenth century view of Byzantium and the historical theme of decline or decadence is found most evidently in the works of Edward Gibbon (1776-89) whose *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88) had an important impact on the British construction of Byzantium. For Gibbon, Byzantium represented “oriental despotism”.<sup>69</sup>

Similar views were expressed in the writings of other enlightenment political thinkers such as Montesquieu and Voltaire. For example, Montesquieu (1689-1755), who was credited as one of the first authors to establish the pejorative connotation of the word Byzantine, reflects this view very clearly:<sup>70</sup>

Justinian’s misconduct, his prodigality, harassment and plundering, his passion for building, changing and reforming, his inconstancy in his design, his severity and weakness in a reign made more disagreeable by a protracted old age—all these were real misfortunes, mixed with useless successes and fruitless glory” ...“Greek history is full of such features. Once small-mindedness succeeded in forming the nation’s character, wisdom took leave of its enterprises, and disorders without cause, as well as revolutions without motive, appeared. A universal bigotry numbed the spirit and enervated the whole empire. Properly speaking, Constantinople is the only Eastern land where the Christian religion has been dominant. Now the faintheartedness,

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<sup>67</sup> In Oxford Dictionary of English, the word Byzantine (of an idea, a system, etc.) refers to complicated, secret and difficult to change: e.g. an organization of byzantine complexity. Cited in Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 24, n.73.

<sup>68</sup> Although the idea of “decadence” already appeared in the seventeenth century writings as Du Cange wrote a text entitled “*De la Grandeur et de la Décadence de l’ Empire de Constantinople*” which was never published, this theme did not dominate the historiography of this period. See, Spieser, “Du Cange and Byzantium”, 208-9.

<sup>69</sup> Haarer, “Writing Histories of Byzantium”, 10.

<sup>70</sup> Steven Runciman, “Gibbon and Byzantium” in *Edward Gibbon and the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. G. W. Bowersock et al. (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 56.

laziness, and indolence of the nations of Asia blended into religious devotion itself.<sup>71</sup>

Voltaire was another author who contributed to the negative view of the Byzantine Empire. He described Byzantine history as a “worthless collection contains nothing but declamations and miracles. It is a disgrace to the human mind.”<sup>72</sup>

As seen above that the “autocratic” and “despotic” features of Byzantium were emphasized in the eighteenth century political literature. Once defined as the “storehouse of antiquities” embodying glorious Greek and Roman pasts, Byzantium now became the ambiguous “other”. It was now a corrupted empire because of its location and more importantly its long association with “eastern” and “Asiatic” cultures.<sup>73</sup> Interestingly enough, it was also during this period that the European representations of the Ottoman Empire gradually changed. Unlike the earlier 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century European writings such as those by Machiavelli and Jean Bodin which had portrayed the Ottoman Empire as the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire and had praised the Ottoman empire, especially certain aspects of its institutional and political traditions<sup>74</sup>, the 18<sup>th</sup> century political writings now began to describe the Ottoman empire in negative and most often in orientalist terms. Interestingly, this was also the period in which the Ottoman and the European cultural and economic contacts increased.

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<sup>71</sup> Montesquieu, *Considerations on the causes of the greatness of the Romans and their decline*, trans. and ed. David Lowenthal, (Cambridge: Hackett Pub., 1999), 188, 203.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in Haarer, “Writing Histories of Byzantium”, 11.

<sup>73</sup> Cameron states that the 18<sup>th</sup> century authors, particularly Montesquieu and Gibbon laid the foundations of the idea of “oriental despotism” for the Byzantine Empire. Cameron, “the Use & Abuse of Byzantium”, 9.

<sup>74</sup> Machiavelli and Jean Bodin regard the Ottoman Empire as the heir of the Roman Empire. Jean Bodin writes “... It would be far more just to regard the Osmanli sultan as the inheritor of the Roman Empire, for it was he who, after capturing the imperial capital of Byzantium from the Christians, went on to conquer from the Persians that region of Babylonia which is spoken of in the Book of Daniel, adding to the ancient provinces of Rome all the land across the Danube until the banks of the Borystheness, which now constitutes the greatest part of his territory”. Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York, 1945), 292-293; See also Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of Despot: Venice and the Sublime Port*, trans. Arthur Denner, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 64-65.

Nevertheless, such a shift in European thinking and writings about the Ottoman Empire and about Byzantium was perhaps related to the larger political, social and economic changes often described as the beginning of modernity as a result of the so-called scientific revolution, the French Revolution, etc. While the discussion of such issues and the historical debate about the nature and sources of such changes is beyond the scope of this thesis, this was a period of significant transformation with regard to the conception of Europe and the development of Eurocentrism. It is also this period that sees the beginning of an orientalist system of thinking which Edward Said so brilliantly demonstrated in his book *Orientalism*. Although orientalism developed in full fledged mode in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the context of European colonial domination, it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the binary categorizations of the “West” and “East” was created where the West defined itself as superior. It is within this world-view that Byzantium was conceived.

While the portrayal of Byzantium was negative in literary and political writings, travel and art history literature demonstrated very little if any interest or appreciation of the Byzantine monuments or historical sites. For the west, in contrast to the beauty and the symmetry of classical antiquity, medieval Byzantine churches, monasteries and castles were “stylistically decadent, vaguely Islamic and hence uncivilized.”<sup>75</sup> Thus, the orientalist mode of thinking also shaped the way in which Byzantine architecture was defined and categorized. There was nothing in the Byzantine world that would appeal to the Neo-classism of this period. For example, Gibbon describes Hagia Sophia, which would be later regarded as the masterpiece of Byzantine architecture as follows:

The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving-roofs [...] the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence; and the scale of dimensions had been much surpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Kostis Kourelis, “Early Travellers in Greece and the Invention of Medieval Architectural History”, in *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance, and Place*, ed. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), 41.

<sup>76</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol-4, 262-264; Also cited in Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 26.

Gibbon did not travel to Constantinople. As Averil Cameron has noted, Gibbon's perception of Hagia Sophia was mainly based on early Byzantine historians' narratives as well as travellers' descriptions.<sup>77</sup> In fact, some of the descriptions of Byzantine sites were not based on direct observation but fabricated on the basis of written texts or reconstructed by western imagination.

However, the descriptions of Byzantine architecture generated by scholars and travellers alike who visited the Byzantine monuments and sites differed very little from Gibbon's or others. For example, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between the years 1716 and 1718 visited Hagia Sophia and some other Byzantine buildings. Her impressions were also negative.<sup>78</sup> In the same vein, Gibbon shows the same dislike for the Byzantine monuments in Italy when he visited them as part of Grand Tour. He says:

Of all the towns in Italy, I am the least satisfied with Venice, [...] with its ill-built houses, ruined pictures, and stinking ditches dignified with the pompous denomination of Canals [...] and a large square decorated with the worst Architecture I ever yet saw.<sup>79</sup>

As J. B. Bullen notes, Byzantine architecture, even Hagia Sophia failed to meet up the eighteenth century aesthetic criteria.<sup>80</sup> Part of the reason for the lack of interest and appreciation of Byzantine art and architecture was the development of antiquarianism and Neo-classism which involved recovering the collections of antiquity. The interest in recovering the collections of antiquity increased in the eighteenth century when Europe discovered "its own" past. During this period, Antiquarianism became a common practice among scholars and elites who wanted to acquire artworks. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), the German scholar who has often been considered as the founder of the discipline of art history,

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<sup>77</sup> Cameron argues that Gibbon's negative assessments of emperor Justinian were completely derived from Procopius's *Secret History*. See Averil Cameron, "Gibbon and Justinian" in *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault, (New York, 1997), 50-51.

<sup>78</sup> Robert Halsband, ed., *the Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), Vol. 1, 389-99.

<sup>79</sup> Cited in Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 26, n.87.

<sup>80</sup> J.B.Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, (London, New York: Phaidon, 2003), 110.

was also part of this antiquarian culture in the eighteenth century. According to him, the classical period from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE was the zenith of artistic achievement in terms of representation of beauty.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the invention of ancient Greece as the high point of human civilization remained an essential element in the western tradition of writing art history for long years. In addition, the birth of the neoclassical movement and the study of Greek antiquities took place in the geographical confines of the Grand Tour of the Continent. Throughout the eighteenth century, states and private institutions such as the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and the British Society of Dilettanti organized major expeditions to ancient sites. These tours resulted in the growth of publications on the places and objects that had been seen. Their publications focused mainly on classical antiquity.<sup>82</sup> Byzantine sites and monuments were not yet included in their route. These institutions and their publications had an important impact on the formation of the canonical principals of writing art and architectural history in Europe.<sup>83</sup>

## 2.2. Ottoman Encounters and the Appropriation of Byzantium

It is significant that the initial Muslim interest in Constantinople had also begun with an interest in the antiquities of Constantinople. A great number of Arabic Muslim travellers who visited Constantinople between the tenth and

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<sup>81</sup> Eric Fernie, *Art History and its Methods: A Critical Anthology*, (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), 70.

<sup>82</sup> For example, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach published the first survey of European architectural history. Other works are James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's, *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-94), Robert Wood's *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec* (1757), Richard Chandler's *Ionian Antiquities* (1797-1821). See George Tolia, "An Inconsiderate Love of Arts: the Spoils of Greek Antiquities, 1780-1820", in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 75-76; See also Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, eds. "Introduction: Archaeology and Empire", in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 17-20.

<sup>83</sup> For the relationships between the printed images of monuments and writing architectural histories, see Dana Arnold and Stephen Bending, eds., "Introduction", *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics Of Antiquarianism*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 1-10.

fourteenth centuries, such as el-Mesudî, el-Herevî and Ibn Battuta described the magnificent qualities of the city of Constantinople and its legendary wonders.<sup>84</sup> However, unlike western European interest which was formed in the context of the Renaissance discovery of antiquity, Muslim interest in these antiquities was quite similar to that of the Byzantines themselves. The original meanings of the public statuary of Constantinople rooted in imperial victory, civic virtue, and adoration of the city had long been forgotten after the ninth and tenth centuries, and they came to be regarded as talismans or sources of magic for the Byzantine beholder as well.<sup>85</sup> The Byzantines believed that while some of these sculptures were inhabited by demons, others fulfilled useful purposes. These reinterpretations of antique statues were also continued by Muslim travellers. After the conquest of İstanbul, the marvels of the city were so awe-inspiring for the new settlers that continual reference is made to them in the legendary histories of Constantinople and repeated throughout the centuries even by the official Ottoman historians.<sup>86</sup>

The early Ottoman sources which mainly consist of royal calendars, deeds, epics, and oral traditions do not show significant interest in the pre-Ottoman or non-Muslim cultures in the region and references to Byzantium or Constantinople are

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<sup>84</sup> For example, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, one of the most important Muslim geographers Ibn Rusteh provided a detailed description of the city including the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, and Justinian's Column. Interestingly, Hagia Sophia was not at the center of this Islamic lore of *Konstantiniyye* in the early travel writings. Ibn Rüsteh mentioned it briefly as "the church." In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, on the other hand, Arabic Muslim travellers appear to be interested in Hagia Sophia and provided detailed descriptions of the building and rituals which took place inside the church. Ibn Battuta was one of the travellers impressed at the "Great Cathedral" and other monasteries in the city. Thereafter; Hagia Sophia became a source of wonder for Arabic visitors and took a considerable space in their narratives. See N.M. El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, (Cambridge, Mass., 2004) 62-71; M.T. Mansouri, "Büyük Rakibin Bakışı: Müslümanların Gözünde Konstantinopolis", *Konstantinopolis 1054-1261: Hıristiyanlığın Başı, Latinlerin Avı, Yunan Başkenti*, ed. A. Ducellier and M. Balard (İstanbul, 2002), 159; Koray Durak, "Through an Eastern Window: Muslims in Constantinople and Constantinople in Early Islamic Sources," in *From Byzantium to Istanbul. 8000 Years of a Capital*, June 5-September 4, 2010, (Sabancı University: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, İstanbul), 102-111.

<sup>85</sup> C. Mango, "Ancient Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 58-60.

<sup>86</sup> Cemal Kafadar points out in a different context, "Turkish encounter with Hellenic Asia Minor was in some measure supplemented and filtered by the Turkish encounter with an earlier Arab reception of the heritage of the lands of Rum". See Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of Its Own", *Muqarnas*, 24 (2007), 10. This is also the case for the perception of the Byzantine legacy in Constantinople during this early period.

very limited in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Ottoman sources.<sup>87</sup> However, the emergence of the Ottoman state in the fourteenth century marked the beginning of a period of cultural overlap as the Ottomans settled in the former Byzantine territories and adopted the local administration of the region. During this period, while Rum Seljuk art and architecture continued to flourish in the towns of central and eastern Anatolia, the late Byzantine architectural tradition had continued particularly in the borderlands of western Asia Minor.<sup>88</sup> As Robert Ousterhout points out, there was a syncretism in early Ottoman architectural forms and materials reflecting the nature of early Ottoman society in this period.<sup>89</sup> In addition to following local wall construction techniques, the Ottoman use of *spolia* in the early buildings may also be considered another way of displaying Ottoman appropriation of the Byzantine past.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Halil İnalcık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, (London: Oxford University Press, New York-Toronto, 1962), 152-156; Baki Tezcan, “Ottoman Historical Writing”, in *The Oxford History of History Writing: 1400-1800*, eds. José Rabasa, Mayasuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo, and Daniel Woolf, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 196.

<sup>88</sup> Howard Crane, “Art and Architecture, 1300–1453”, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, Vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 266.

<sup>89</sup> Ousterhout argues that while plans and vaulting forms are similar to the architecture of the Seljuk of Anatolia, the decorative detailing and the wall construction techniques follow local Byzantine tradition. See Robert Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture”, *Muqarnas*, XIII (1995), 48-62; Robert Ousterhout, “The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture”, *Gesta*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2004), 165-176.

<sup>90</sup> The system of *spolia* (*devşirme*) refers to the re-use of architectural materials taken from the destroyed monuments for the construction of new buildings. In Anatolia, this method was used by the Seljuk and Byzantines. Similar to Seljuk and Byzantine building traditions, early Ottoman buildings also used *spolia*, containing architectural elements—columns, capitals from ancient and Byzantine buildings. In many examples, architectural components were employed at the same places and used for the same function in their original Byzantine context. See, Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, (Princeton-New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 140-145; Robert Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation”, 48-62. The re-use of materials belonging to the previous civilizations has been considered as the first movements of display by some scholars such as Wendy Shaw and Semavi Eyice. According to Wendy Shaw, who analyzed the meaning of *Devşirme* method, the re-use of ancient relics in the construction of new structures are indicators of Ottoman interest towards the old artifacts; and this interest was most probably related with the fact that “the Ottomans attributed some symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual values to the old artifacts”. For Shaw, the re-use of Byzantine sculptures, for instance, might have indicated “the imperial power of the Ottoman Empire.” Emre Madran, on the other hand, argues that using the ancient archaeological remains in other constructions is a kind of destruction caused by lack of interest. See Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late*



### 2.2.1. Constantinople and the Making of a New Empire

The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II in 1453 was a turning point both for Ottoman and world history. It had a symbolic importance for both the Christendom and for the emerging power of the Ottoman sultanate. It signaled the transformation of the Ottoman polity from a regional sultanate into an empire.<sup>91</sup> As mentioned above, Mehmed II's cultural and architectural projects display the first conscious Ottoman attempt to appropriate the Byzantine past. Engaged with diverse cultural and artistic interests, Mehmed II patronized the collection and translation of important historical and topographical works on the city. He also attempted to preserve some important Greek manuscripts. Moreover, there was a Greek scriptorium in his court where sixteen Greek manuscripts were produced between 1460's and 1480 including *Anabasis*, *Iliad*, *Testament of Solomon*, *Aichmalotes Diegesis*, and the Greek translation of Buondelmonti.<sup>92</sup>

As has been mentioned elsewhere, there was a cultural and spatial continuity between Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul.<sup>93</sup> Similar activities of

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*Ottoman Empire*, 2003, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press), 34-36; Emre Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde "Eski Eser" ve "Onarım" Üzerine Gözlemler", *Bellekten*, 195, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 505-546.

<sup>91</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (University of California Press, 1995), 152.

<sup>92</sup> Julian Raby examines Greek manuscripts produced by the Greek scriptorium in Mehmed II's court in Constantinople between years of 1460-1480. Among them, there were two works giving detailed information about the topography and history of Byzantine Constantinople and the history of the construction of Hagia Sophia. Raby argues that the majority of the manuscripts, on the other hand, were standard Byzantine educational texts with an emphasis on grammars and lexica which he explains them as the sign of "intellectual assimilation of Byzantium" see Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium", 15-34.

<sup>93</sup> Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul", 13-52. ; Gülru Necipoğlu, "From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Konstantiniyye: Creation of a Cosmopolitan Capital and Visual Culture under Sultan Mehmed II." *From Byzantium to İstanbul: 8000 years of a Capital: June 5-September 4, 2010*, (İstanbul: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 262-277.; Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of İstanbul 1455*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012); Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Survey of İstanbul, 1455", *1453 Journal of İstanbul's Culture and Art*, 3, 2008, 18-27. While recent studies tend to emphasize the appropriation of Mehmed II's Byzantine imperial tradition and continuities between Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul, some authors point out discontinuities. For example, in terms of spatial and architectural organization of the city, Paul Magdalino reminds that there were also breakpoints such as the construction of the New Palace on the acropolis of ancient city of Byzantium, while leaving the Constantine's Great Palace in a ruinous situation. He also states that "it is almost impossible to find a direct continuation

Constantine I and Mehmed II in their new capital to create an imperial iconography reflect their selective appropriation of the past.<sup>94</sup> Similar to Constantine the Great, who had collected antique sculptures from all over the empire and decorated the city's public areas, Mehmed II also made a rich collection of Byzantine sculpture which he gathered within the precincts of his palace, including many imperial porphyry sarcophagi from the Church of the Holy Apostles, and Byzantine relics.<sup>95</sup> Although the motive behind his acts is not very clear, his collection of antiques and a considerable amount of Byzantine statuary and Christian relics provides an insight into his attitude towards the Byzantine legacy.<sup>96</sup>

Mehmed II's imperial project for restoring Constantinople is described by the contemporary historian Kritovoulos.<sup>97</sup> Accordingly, he was impressed with

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between Byzantine and Ottoman institutions". See Paul Magdalino, *Ortaçağda İstanbul: Altıncı ve On Üçüncü Yüzyıllar Arasında Konstantinopolis'in Kentsel Gelişimi*, trans. Barış Cezar, (İstanbul: Koç University, 2010), 13-17. Doğan Kuban states that while there were continuities in terms of material culture such as weaving, farming, and cuisines and customs, the architectural and spatial organization of "the eastern Roman empire came to an end when İstanbul began to build, considering the monumentality, large scale, urban spatial design which was central to the Roman architectural tradition." Doğan Kuban, "The Legendary History of Constantinople-İstanbul", in *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 years of a Capital: June 5-September 4, 2010*, (İstanbul: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 18-29. See also Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul*, trans. Ülker Sayın, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001).

<sup>94</sup> Vryonis states that Constantine the Great had to contend with the late ancient pagan world and newly emerged Christianity. In the same vein, Mehmed II was in-between Christianity and Islam. Both emperors' attitudes towards the past were very similar in terms of cultural contradictions. See Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul", 13-52.

<sup>95</sup> C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750", *DOP*, 16 (1962), 397-402.

<sup>96</sup> After the conquest of the city, while many antique public monuments displayed throughout the streets of Constantinople such as the Serpent Column and the Egyptian obelisks were left intact, the colossal bronze equestrian statue of a Byzantine emperor, identified as Justinian at the entrance of the Great Palace was removed. As Raby points out that this was related to the different meanings attributed to this sculpture. While the Serpent Column was believed to safeguard the City from snakes, the copper horse was considered a potential threat for Turkish eyes. This is described in the legendary history of Constantinople as follows "Story-mongers gossiped about it and on their word Sultan Mehmed Han Gazi had it pulled down; and from the copper of those statues he had splendid cannons made, but the column is still standing as it had been opposite Ayasofya." Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror and the Equestrian Statue of the Augustaion", 305-313. (<https://www.ideals.uiuc.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/12271/illinoisclassica121987RABY.pdf?sequence=2>) (accessed 01.09.2012); See also Al-Harawi, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, trans. J. W. Meri, (Princeton, N.J., 2004), 146; Koray Durak, "Doğuya Açılan Pencere", 109-110.

<sup>97</sup> Kritobulos of Imbros is the author of the historical work covering the period from 1451 to 1467 describing the deeds of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed Fatih particularly the capture of the capital,

ancient monuments and the glorious past of the city and began to revive the ruinous city's ancient status. The later activities of Mehmed II show his conscious attempt at the reconstruction and re-population of Constantinople.<sup>98</sup>

### 2.2.2. Hagia Sophia as an Iconic Monument and Enduring Myth

The first monument which Sultan Mehmed II claimed was the great church of Hagia Sophia which was repaired and turned into the royal mosque. This action not only contributed to the preservation of Hagia Sophia, but also led to the use of this Byzantine monument as an important tool within the dialogue of the Byzantine and classical past.<sup>99</sup> Mehmed II's awareness of the imperial iconography and symbolic significance of Hagia Sophia is also evident in the fact that Hagia Sophia's name remained unchanged. Moreover, the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque did not involve radical changes in its architectural and decorative program.<sup>100</sup>

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Constantinople. C.Riggs (trans.), *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritouvolos (1451-1467)*, (Princeton, N.J, 1954), 104-5, 140-1. According to Kritobulos, Mehmed II was the natural successor to the Byzantine Emperor. Reinsch argues that Kritobulos regarded himself as a subject of the Sultan, just as before he had been a subject of the Byzantine Emperor. But at the same time "he was a patriot in the sense that he expressed solidarity with the unfortunate inhabitants of Constantinople and the victims of the war". See Diether Roderich Reinsch, "Kritobulos of Imbros: Learned Historian, Ottoman Reaya and Byzantine Patriot", *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines*, 2003, 297-311. <http://tr.scribd.com/doc/44536427> (accessed 10.12.2012)

<sup>98</sup> Before leaving the city for Edirne in 21 June 1453, Mehmed II ordered the repair of the city walls, building of a citadel in Yedikule and construction of a palace for himself at the Forum Tauri. See Halil İnalçık, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City" *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-70), 244-245. Mehmed II had also ordered a register of the population and the domestic and religious buildings of the city of Istanbul in 1455. See Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Survey of İstanbul, 1455", *1453 Journal of İstanbul's Culture and Art*, 3, 2008, 18-27; Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of İstanbul 1455*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012).

<sup>99</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium" in *Hagia Sophia from the Ages of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak (Cambridge, 1992), 195-197; Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul", 29.

<sup>100</sup> While some of the figural mosaics were plastered over, most of them remained untouched including the Virgin Mary and Child in the conch of the apse and the Christ Pantokrator at the peak of the dome. See Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument", 203-213; Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 20. For an examination of the ideological and physical approaches to Hagia Sophia within the context of transformations of the official attitudes towards preserving antiquities during the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, see Ümran Keskin, "Afterlives of Hagia Sophia: the Change in the Official Attitudes Towards Preserving

Gülru Necipoğlu argues that Mehmet II's architectural commissions selectively appropriated Byzantine, Italian Renaissance, and Timurid-Turkmen artistic traditions as part of his imperial project. Accordingly, important architectural projects such as the Fatih Mosque complex and Topkapı Palace clearly display Mehmed's "ecumenical imperial imagination" as they incorporated the Roman-Byzantine heritage into an Ottoman context.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, the destruction of the Byzantine dynastic church of the Holy Apostles in 1463 and its replacement with the Fatih complex poses important questions in terms of evaluating the attitude of Mehmed II toward the Byzantine architectural legacy.<sup>102</sup> Scholars often point out the choice of the place where the tombs of the founders of the city, Constantine I and Justinian were built reflecting a strong awareness of the sense of the place.<sup>103</sup> The Fatih complex's architectural design with its square domed bay expanded by an axial half-dome is also stated to have strong references to that of Hagia Sophia. This was also recognized by contemporaries as reported by Tursun Bey who states that the great mosque was built on the model of Hagia

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Antiquities in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods", (Unpublished MA Thesis, METU, Graduate School of Social Sciences, History of Architecture, 2011) For the current ideological and physical approaches to Byzantine ecclesiastical monuments in İstanbul, see Ayşe Dilsiz, "The Byzantine Heritage of İstanbul: Resource or Burden?: A Study on the Surviving Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Historical Peninsula Within the Framework of Perception, Preservation and Research in the Turkish Republican Period", (Unpublished MA Thesis, Koç University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management, 2006).

<sup>101</sup> Necipoğlu, "From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Konstantiniyye", 265-66.

<sup>102</sup> According to the book written by Constantios (1770-1859), who became the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1836; the Church of the Holy Apostles was first transformed into the Patriarchal palace for two years. After a while, however, since the majority of the Greek population chose to settle on the Golden Horn and the surroundings of that church were mainly inhabited by Muslims, the patriarch Gennadios asked the Sultan's permission to remove the patriarchal residence to the Church of St. Mary Pammakaristos. After a short period, the church of Holy Apostles was destroyed and the Fatih Mosque as well as the İmaret was built at the same area by using its materials. See John P. Brown (trans.) *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, (London, 1868), 69-70.

<sup>103</sup> Ousterhout argues that this could be a conscious attempt with its symbolic meanings embodying Mehmed II's imperial project and the recognition of the Ottoman Sultans as the successors of Byzantine emperors and the triumph of Islam over Christianity. See Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past", 171.

Sophia (*Ayasofya karnamesi resminde*<sup>104</sup>) but also bears new ideas and features (*nev'i şive-i taze*).<sup>105</sup>

Although the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque did not require much effort structurally, the legitimization of Hagia Sophia as an Islamic monument took longer time. The reception of Hagia Sophia by Ottoman culture has been documented in a series of Ottoman narratives reproducing and inventing myths and texts in the course of time.<sup>106</sup>

The Ottoman interest in the built environment was mainly limited to an understanding of the production of technique and craftsmanship. Similarly, architectural knowledge remained as practical techniques passed from master to apprentice rather than through written texts.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, an examination of Ottoman historical works reveals that the Ottoman court historians showed limited interest in the physical environment and provide very little information about even the most outstanding Ottoman monuments. They generally mentioned names of important buildings constructed by the sultans and viziers.<sup>108</sup> Hagia Sophia,

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<sup>104</sup> Necipoğlu points out that in the terminology of Ottoman architectural treatises while the “*resm*” refers to “ground plan” or sometimes three dimensional models, the word “*karname*” was used synonymously to refer to architectural drawings containing ground plans and sketchy elevations. See Gülru Necipoğlu, “Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice”, *JSAH*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Sep., 1986), 224-243.

<sup>105</sup> Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, by Tursun Beg, facsimile and introduction by H. İnalcık and R. Murphy (Minneapolis, 1978), cited in G. Necipoğlu, “The Life of An Imperial Monument”, 198.; G. Necipoğlu, “From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Konstantiniyye”, 266-268; Gülru Necipoğlu “Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture” *Muqarnas*, 10, (1993), 171.

<sup>106</sup> After the conquest of Constantinople, Ottoman historical writings witnessed an increase. A new cultural and political milieu created by Mehmed II led to an emergence of Ottoman historical consciousness which resulted in important works in Greek, Persian and Turkish produced between the 1470’s and 1480’s among which were the chronicles of Kritouvoulos of Imbros, Mu’ali, and Tursun Beg. İnalcık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography”; Victor Ménage, “Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, (Oxford University Press, 1962), 168-179.

<sup>107</sup> Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, translated by Adair Mill, (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2010), 18-24.

<sup>108</sup> For example, Aşıkpaşazade, one of the first Ottoman historians to describe contemporary building activities, only lists buildings-*mescids*, *medreses*, *imarets* and *zaviyes*- erected by the Sultans. The names of local churches were mentioned only in the context of their conversions into mosques. *Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi*, ed. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2011) cited in Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 18-24.

however, is an exception. The 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman authors devoted some space to Hagia Sophia either in their histories of pre-conquest İstanbul or in the context of the rivalry for later Ottoman monumental mosques.

Mehmed II's centralizing policies created tensions between those at the center of this new organization and those who were marginalized by this political process. Stephanos Yerasimos' detailed study of the myths and traditions of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia shows that written narratives produced during this period reflect this political tension.<sup>109</sup> It is striking that Hagia Sophia always remained at the center of these debates in contemporaneous literature.

The creation of an Ottoman literary tradition on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia began with Mehmed II's commission of a group of Greek scholars for writing the history of Constantinople, its rulers and particularly the history of Hagia Sophia. Among a number of texts on Hagia Sophia, a ninth century anonymous narrative, *Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sofias*, [Narrative Concerning Hagia Sophia] that had been incorporated into the *Patria*<sup>110</sup> of Constantinople was selected. Firstly, a Greek copy of *Diegesis* was prepared by Michael Achmateles in 1474. Mehmed II ordered the translation of this Greek text into Turkish and Persian. It was translated into Turkish in 1479 by Yusuf bin Musa and entitled *Ayasofya Denilen Büyük Kilisenin İnşaat Öyküsü* [History of the Building of the Great Hagia Sophia]. A year later, in 1480, Şemsüddin Karamani translated it into Persian. However, these were not complete translations of the original text, but abridged translations that

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<sup>109</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, trans. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1993).

<sup>110</sup> The *Patria* of Constantinople is the name used for a collection of texts concerning Constantinople's history, buildings and other monuments. They were edited and published by T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 Vols, (Leipzig, 1901-1907). *Patria* was translated into French and analyzed by Gilbert Dragon, *Constantinople imaginaire Etudes sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris: Bibliothèque Byzantine, 1984). See also Jonas Nilsson, "Masters of the Imperial City, Ideological Perspectives on the Byzantine Emperors of Patria Konstantinoupoleos", (Unpublished MA Thesis, Lund University Centre for Languages and Literature, 2008); Robert Ousterhout examines these texts as an indicator reflecting the transformation of the Byzantine society from the Antique period to the Middle Ages. See, Robert Ousterhout, "From History to Myth: The Diegesis Concerning the Building of Hagia Sophia", in *İstanbul: Myth to Modernity, Selected Themes*, Annual Supplement of Arkeoloji ve Sanat Magazine, ed. N. Başgelen and Brian Johnson, (İstanbul: 2002), 51-56.

contained only a summary of the history of the foundation of Constantinople and the construction of Hagia Sophia.<sup>111</sup>

For the next two centuries, these legends would exert an important influence on the construction of an Ottoman-Islamic mythology of Hagia Sophia and the foundation narrative of Constantinople. It is clear that these Ottoman versions attempted to situate Hagia Sophia in an Ottoman context by interweaving history and myth.<sup>112</sup>

One of the first Ottoman texts including the legendary history of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia is *Dürr-i Meknun* written around 1460 by Ahmed Bican Yazıcıoğlu.<sup>113</sup> According to *Dürr-i Meknun*, Constantinople was founded by a mythical ruler called Yanko bin Madyan<sup>114</sup>, who also built Hagia Sophia. The text narrates that from its beginnings, the city of Constantinople was cursed, the founders of the city were unjust and their deeds and foundations were destroyed by earthquakes.<sup>115</sup> There are also Islamic allusions for the purpose of legitimizing the

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<sup>111</sup> These two texts were translated by Felix Tauer, “Les Versions persanes de la legend sur la construction d’Aya Sofya” *Byzantinoslavica*, 15, (1951), 1-20; Idem, “Notice sur les versions persanes de la legend de l’edification d’Aya Sofya”, in *Fuat Köprülü Armağanı*, (İstanbul, 1953), 487-94; See also Paul Wittek, “Tarih-i Ayasofya”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 14, 1964, 266-70.; Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/İstanbul*, 172-173.

<sup>112</sup> The original Byzantine text had already contained some mythical features regarding the construction of Hagia Sophia. According to the story, the name of architect was Ignatius and the plan of the church was sent by God through an angel in the dream of the emperor Justinian. The narrative gives also some detail about the collection of the second hand marbles from different regions of the Empire, the number of workers, the size of the foundations, the amount of money used in the construction, etc. See Gilbert Dragon, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 191-314; C. Mango, “Byzantine Writers on the Fabric of Hagia Sophia”, in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Ş. Çakmak, (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45-48.

<sup>113</sup> *Dürr-i Meknun* is a kind of encyclopedia including geography and cosmology imbued with popular stories, the creation of the universe, mythology, etc. The story about the foundation of *Konstantiniyye/Rumiye* is told in the chapter “Şehirler, mescidler ve deyirler ve iklimler beyanındadır,” while the story of the construction of Hagia Sophia was narrated in “Mescidler ve deyirler acâibin beyân edelim”. Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun (Saklı İnciler)* trans. and ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999).

<sup>114</sup> As the name of Yanko bin Madyan was not mentioned in the texts before the fifteenth century, Yerasimos argues that this name must have been created by Ottoman writers by misreading the word Nikomedya. He states that according to eastern Christian sources, before Byzas founded Constantinople, Nikomedia had been there. Yerasimos, *Konstantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, 63-67.

<sup>115</sup> Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun*, 71-78.

consecration of the church as the royal mosque of Mehmed II. For example, the angel was replaced with *Hızır* (Elias) as the messenger of God who brought Justinian the divinely inspired plan for a church. According to the story, the half dome above the apse of Hagia Sophia had collapsed on the night of Prophet Muhammad's birth. Whenever they rebuilt it, the dome collapsed repeatedly. They sent a messenger to Prophet Muhammad. He then gave them a handful of sand to put into the lime of the construction. When people around asked him about the reason for this act, he replied that the monument would someday serve Muslim congregations.<sup>116</sup>

During the reign of Beyazıt II, around 1489/90 Ahmed bin Ahmed al-Gilani prepared another Persian version of this legend by adding new themes to the story and making some changes. A later account of this version was incorporated into an anonymous Ottoman chronicle written in 1491.<sup>117</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos argues that this new version of the legend was written to challenge the imperialist policies of

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<sup>116</sup> "... Kubbeye gelince mimar kayboldu... Resullullah hazreti dünyaya gelinceye dek ol bina şöyle kaim durdu. Resullullah hazreti dünyaya geldiği gece meşhur kilisenin kunnesi yıkıldı... Ne kadar kasd ettiler, binalar yaptıkça yıkıldı. Ahir naçar oldular. Resullah hazretlerine adem gönderdiler. Resullullah Hazretleri bir avuç toprak verdi, varın bunu kirecine katın dedi. Ya Resulalah ne hoş, kafire bu kadar inayet ettiniz. Res. Haz. Eyitti: Anı kafir için vermedim. Bir zaman gele benim ümmetim namaz kılalar, tilâvet edeler dedi." Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun*, 78-80.

<sup>117</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos translated it into French and Turkish with a detailed analysis of its sources and subsequent versions. This anonymous Ottoman chronicle which ends in 1491 records that Mehmed II was so impressed by the city that he commissioned some priests and intellectual Byzantines to write its history. However, there was a radical shift in the narrative compared to earlier translations. Yerasimos argues this anonymous text demonstrates that Ottoman historians created their own version of the history of Constantinople and the story of the construction of Hagia Sophia. According to Yerasimos, these texts contain clear reactions to the conception of universal empire and the imperialist project of Mehmed II, so they were probably fifteenth century inventions written by those opposed to this imperial project. See Yerasimos, *Konstantinye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*. 1993., Keith Hopwood, on the other hand, disagrees with Yerasimos in this topic. He argues that there was continuity in myth-making traditions from the Byzantines to Ottomans as they shared a common heritage. He states that "if Constantinople has been founded by Solomon, Yanko ibn Madyan, Alexander the Great, Puzantin of Hungary, Heraclius of Rome and Constantine the Great, it cannot be anything other than a seat of world power." See Keith Hopwood, "A Shared Heritage: Byzantine and Ottoman Views of the Classical Monuments of İstanbul", 208, in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. David Shankland (İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004) Vol. II., 201-214.



Mehmed II, especially his attempt to transform the Ottoman state into a centralized universal empire.<sup>118</sup>

Although the later sixteenth century witnessed a gradual increase in the number of written texts due to the bureaucratic expansion and the number of trained scribes<sup>119</sup>, the narrative of the history of Byzantium or Constantinople largely remained limited to myths and legends of the earlier century. Sultan Beyazıd commissioned the two historians for writing a great history of the Ottoman dynasty from its beginnings up to his time.<sup>120</sup> One of them was Idris Bidlisi whose *Heşt Behişt* [Eight Paradises] written in Persian in 1505.<sup>121</sup> The other one was Ibn-i Kemal's *Tevarih-i Ali- Osman* written in Turkish, the largest compilation of this period. Both historians recycled the earlier stories about the foundation of Constantinople by Yanko bin Madyan.<sup>122</sup>

Apart from the chroniclers of the Ottoman House, the other type of historical account that contained very brief information about the history of Constantinople/Byzantium in this period was "universal histories".<sup>123</sup> Mustafa Ali's

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<sup>118</sup> According to Yerasimos, those texts supporting the imperial project often glorify Justinian and display Christianity as a historical and esteemed monotheist religion before the rise of Islam. On the other hand, those who argue against these imperial projects, glorify Hagia Sophia characterizing it as heavenly blessed and belonging to God and diminish the role of the emperors. Christianity in this case is described as pagan. The reign of Beyazıd II marked a change in imperial policies and brought a new era. Mehmed II's severe measures while pursuing his aim to build a centralized state began to be criticized during Beyazıd II's reign. Yerasimos states that the party opposing the imperial project was probably close to the *gazıs*, men of religion, *şeyhs*, and the *ulema*, all feeling a loss of power with the new configuration of the empire. Stefanos Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, 255-256.; Baki Tezcan, "Ottoman Historical Writing", 197.

<sup>119</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: an Introduction to the Sources*, (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 149.

<sup>120</sup> Halil İnalçık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", 165-167.

<sup>121</sup> İdris-i Bitlisî 145?-1550, *Heşt Bihîşt*, 2 Vols, ed. Mehmet Karataş, Selim Kaya, Yaşar Baş, (Ankara: Bitlis Eğitim ve Tanıtma Vakfı, 2008).

<sup>122</sup> İbn Kemal, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, II. Defter, ed. Şerafettin Turan, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983, 102-103); *Tarih-i al-i Osman* written by Yusuf bin Abdullah in 1506 was another example. Yusuf bin Abdullah used a detailed version of the legend of the foundation of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia elaborated in 1490. See, Erdal Sevinçli, *Bizans Söylenceleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi: Yusuf bin Abdullah, Tarih-i al-i Osman*, (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1997).

<sup>123</sup> According to C. Fleischer, there were three historiographical strains in the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. The first was the type devoted to a single event or campaign or the reign of single sultan (*fethname*, *gazavatname*, *Selimname* etc), the second were histories of the Ottoman house

*Kühniül Ahbar* [The Essence of History] is an important example of such histories. Although Mustafa Ali drew upon a wide range of sources for his work, he continued to use earlier popular legends when chronicling the history of pre-conquest Constantinople and Hagia Sophia.<sup>124</sup>

Through the inclusion of legends in the above mentioned accounts of the sixteenth century, these legends also became part of the official Ottoman history during this period. It appears that throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman historians maintained the legendary accounts of the city disseminating them in various official chronicles.

While contemporary historians tried to legitimize the conquest of Constantinople and to situate the Byzantine monuments and Hagia Sophia into an Islamic context through reproducing myths, similar concerns can be traced in the architectural treatises and the building activities of this period. In the sixteenth century, the chief architect Sinan's autobiographical texts contained frequent references to Hagia Sophia, displaying how it became a source of inspiration for Ottoman architectural culture. The architectural treatises dictated by Sinan to his poet and painter friend, Mustafa Sa'i, provide significant insights into not only Sinan's vision of architecture, but also his dialogue with the past, and particularly with Hagia Sophia.<sup>125</sup> Among these architectural treatises, *Tuhfetü'l-Mi'mârîn* contains memoirs attributed to Sinan and references to Sinan's intention to compete

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(Chronicles of the Ottoman House), which was a genre which emerged based on popular tales and anonymous compilations. The third one was the "universal histories" including short accounts of Ottoman rule, one of the earliest examples of which was written by Şükrullah *Bahjat al-tavariikh* (Splendor of Histories) about 1458. See, C. Cornel H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Musfata Ali, 1541-1600*, (Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 238-239.

<sup>124</sup> Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 250.

<sup>125</sup> The narrative consists of five texts. These are *Adsız Risâle* (Untitled Treatise), *Risâletü'l-Mi'mârîye* (Treatise on Architecture), *Tuhfetü'l-Mi'mârîn* (Choice Gist of the Architects), *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* (The Record of Construction) and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* (Record of Buildings). While the first four texts are memoirs attributed to Sinan together with inventories of buildings he had constructed, the last text *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* contains a complete narrative of Sinan's life and buildings. See, Sâi Mustafa Çelebi, *Yapılar kitabı: tezkiretü'l-bünyân ve tezkiretü'l-ebniye: Mimar Sinan'ınları*, facsimile and ed. Hayati Develi, (İstanbul: Koçbank, 2002); Howard Crane, Esra Akin and Gülru Necipoğlu eds. *Sinan's Autobiographies: A Critical Edition of Five Sixteenth Century Texts*, ed., *Sinan's autobiographies: five sixteenth-century texts*, Muqarnas Supplements 11 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006).

with Hagia Sophia, especially to his vision of Hagia Sophia as the epitome of architectural refinement.<sup>126</sup> *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, on the other hand, provides important information regarding Sinan's own recollections and perceptions of his life and major works. In both texts, there are some references to Hagia Sophia, particularly its unique dome. The narrative states that the dome of the Selimiye Mosque surpassed the dimension of Hagia Sophia by 6 cubits (*zira*) in height and 4 cubits in circumference.<sup>127</sup>

Thus, we see that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Byzantine Hagia Sophia stood as both an iconic monument representing the glory of the past and a challenge for subsequent Ottoman architects who tried to surpass it in terms of architectural design and size of dome. It is evident that Hagia Sophia remained a benchmark in the architectural culture of the Ottomans and exerted great influence on the large scale mosques built during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>128</sup> Yet, Hagia Sophia, as a text and as an enduring myth, was also highly engaged by Ottoman historians who tried to situate it in an Islamic context by reproducing themes that included various Islamic metaphors.

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<sup>126</sup> Here, Sinan also made references to the architect *Agnados*, [Ignatius] and to the founder of Constantinople as Yanko bin Madyan and mentioned the collapse of the dome. This indicates that Sinan knew the legend. Sâi Mustafa Çelebi, *Yapılar Kitabı*, Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past", 173-175.

<sup>127</sup> Selen Morkoç, *A Study of Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: text, context, and hermeneutics*, (Bethesda: Academia, 2010), 59.

<sup>128</sup> It is known that in addition to Mehmed II's Fatih Mosque, the Sheikh Vefa Convent-Mosque and Rum Mehmed Paşa Mosque also featured aspects of Hagia Sophia's superstructure. This trend would continue into the mid-sixteenth century with Beyazid II's mosque and some vizier mosques such as the Atik Ali Pasha and the Koca Mustafa Pasha Mosques. For the influence of Hagia Sophia on Ottoman Sultanic mosques see Doğan Kuban, "The Style of Sinan's Domed Structure", *Muqarnas*, 4, 1987, 72-97. ; Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 229-230. As the competition with Hagia Sophia focused on the unprecedented size of its dome, it was Sinan's starting point in designing the Selimiye Mosque a centrally planned octagonal baldachin. G. Necipoğlu argues that Sinan created a new synthesis like his counterparts the Renaissance architects who were inspired by the Parthenon. See G. Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture", *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, 10, (1993), 173-175.

### 2.2.3. Approaches toward Byzantium: 17<sup>th</sup> Century

The seventeenth century witnessed a gradual transformation of the Ottoman attitude towards the history of past cultures. As a result of growing access to European sources, the seventeenth century Ottoman historians began to produce historical works that dealt with non-Muslim histories. It was during this period that the two Ottoman intellectuals, Katib Çelebi and Hüseyin Hezarfen, wrote an account of the history of the Byzantine Empire for the first time. Although their works made no original contribution as they consisted of abridged translations and/or compilations of European works, they created a gradual break from the earlier Ottoman historical traditions. In fact, what makes them significant is their use of written sources for the history of the Byzantine Empire. Rather than using popular Ottoman legends about the history of Konstantiniyye and Hagia Sophia, they turned to the European works and Latin translations of original Byzantine sources and sought to provide more accurate information regarding their topic.

This shift in the Ottoman historiography of Byzantine history took place in the context of increased relationships between the Ottomans and the western Europeans. As mentioned above, this was also the period when the French courtly interest in Byzantium increased due to the imperial aspirations of Louis XIII (reign 1610-43) and Louis XIV (reign 1643-1715). Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the French court systematically sent many scholars to Constantinople to investigate Greek textual sources. The growing cultural and diplomatic relationships between the Ottomans, the French and Venice led to the emergence of certain kinds of “intellectual networks” in İstanbul. Through these intellectual circles, some Ottoman intellectuals maintained regular contacts with several influential European scholars and had access to European works.<sup>129</sup>

With a wide range of interests in geography and history, Hüseyin Hezarfen (d.1691) was a member of the intellectual circle gathered around the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed Köprülü. Known as Hacı Kalfa in European accounts, Katib Çelebi (1609–1657) was also a man of wide interests--a geographer, bibliographer and a

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<sup>129</sup> Gottfried Hagen, “Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century” in Robert Dankoff, *the World of Evliya Çelebi*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 215-256.

chronicler of his period. Although Katip Çelebi has been known primarily for his impressive work *Cihannüma*, he also prepared a bibliography, a chronicle of the Empire, and a history of Constantinople by using translations of Byzantine chronicles. Hüseyin Hezarfen and Katib Çelebi had close relationships with various western European scholars including Galland (d. 1715), Ferdinando Marsili (d. 1730), Levinus Warner (d. 1665), and Pétis de la Croix, some of whom came to Constantinople accompanying ambassadors. They exchanged information and books and commissioned translations of Greek and Latin works in collaboration with those scholars.<sup>130</sup>

Besides growing contacts between western European and the Ottoman scholars, the rise of the Phanariot family was also an important factor in this shift. The Phanariots were Orthodox Christian elites who grew out of the social and political fabric of the Ottoman administration, rising to power in the late seventeenth century. Members of the Phanariot aristocracy such as Panayotis Nikusios and Alexandros Mavrokordatos were also affiliated with the Köprülü family of viziers and were instrumental in some of the translation efforts of scientific literature. Indeed, Phanariotes formed the majority of the dragomans to the Ottoman government and to foreign embassies in Istanbul due to their high level of education and knowledge of languages.<sup>131</sup> Ottoman intellectuals were certainly in collaboration with them also for accessing Latin and Greek sources and for the translation of these works.

Hüseyin Hezarfen was probably the first Ottoman historian to write Greek, Roman and Byzantine history by using western sources in his *Tarih-i Düvel-i Rumiyye* [History of the Empire of the Rum].<sup>132</sup> Apparently, this was an abbreviated translation of an original Byzantine source which Hüseyin Hezarfen claimed to have

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<sup>130</sup> B. Lewis, "The Use by Muslim Historians of Non-Muslim Sources", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, (London: Oxford University Press, New York-Toronto, 1962), 186; Gottfried Hagen, "Katib Çelebi", in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, [http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/pdf/katibcelebi\\_en.pdf](http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/pdf/katibcelebi_en.pdf) eds. C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer, (accessed 07.10.2012).

<sup>131</sup> Nikos Svoronos, "The Ideology of the Organization and of the Survival of the Nation", *The Greek Nation*, (Polis, 2004), 89-91.

<sup>132</sup> Hüseyin Cafer Hazerfen, *Tarih-i Düvel-i Rumiyye, Tenkih lif-tevarih*, 1960 (Mf 1994 A 1860).

found in the library of Panayiotis Nikusios, the head dragoman in the Ottoman court. Hüseyin Hezarfen selected part of the books from the foundation of the city of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, (diverting from earlier traditions of Yanko bin Madyan), briefly mentioned other Byzantine emperors and some events that took place throughout the history of Byzantine Empire. He also provides a short account of the construction of the Hagia Sophia.<sup>133</sup> In his other work, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, Hazerfen provides a very short account of the history of Konstantiniyye including the foundation of the city, the reign of Byzantine emperors such as “Leondinyanus, Teodosyus, Arkadyus and Justinianus” until the conquest of the city by Mehmed the II.<sup>134</sup> He also mentions monumental buildings and sculptures brought or constructed during the reign of these emperors such as the Serpentine Column, the Egyptian Obelisk and Constantine Column, and finally the construction of the Hagia Sophia by the emperor Justinian.<sup>135</sup>

Katip Çelebi also prepared several translations of Latin works. For the purpose of this thesis, one of the most impressing works produced by Katib Çelebi is *Tarih-i Konstantiniyye ve Kayasira* [History of Constantinople and Kaysers].<sup>136</sup> As stated by the author himself in the Introduction, this is a translation of selected parts from a Latin compilation published in Frankfurt in 1587.<sup>137</sup> It contains four Byzantine chroniclers’ accounts including Zonaras, Niketas Choniates, Nikeforos Gregoras and Laonikos Chalkokondyles respectively with an appendix of short

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<sup>133</sup> Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Sevim İlgürel, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 10-11.

<sup>134</sup> The author also provides the original meanings of the name of the city: “Şehr-i Konstantiniyye’ye vaz’ı esas eyleyüp tahtgâh eden Konstantin Kayser’dir. ... Milad-ı İsa’nın üç yirmi dört sene... ve namını Konstantiniyye kodu. Ba’dehu Roma’dan ve sair vilayetlerden ekâbir ve tüccar getirüp, ma’mûr eyledi. ..Asıl ismi Konstantinopoli’dir. Poli deyü şehre derler. Ya’ni “Konstantin’in şehri” demektir. ...mesala İstanbulî demek İstanbul’da demektir.” Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, 45-47.

<sup>135</sup> Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, 47.

<sup>136</sup> Katib Çelebi, *Târih-i Konstantiniyye ve Kayâsire*, facsimile and trans. İbrahim Solak, (Konya: Gençlik Kitabevi, 2009).

<sup>137</sup> Katib Çelebi’s translation starts with an explanation of the content of the book. It states that this is a selected translation of an old book about the history of the Orient from the beginnings up until the year 1579. Katib Çelebi, *Târih-i Kostantiniyye ve Kayâsire*, 13.

Ottoman history. Originally, this compilation was started by Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), a German historian and humanist, as part of his attempt to compose *Corpus byzantinae historiae* by collecting, editing and publishing chronicles of Byzantine authors.<sup>138</sup> As mentioned in the previous section (2.1.1), Hieronymus Wolf was often considered the “father of Byzantine history studies,” who has credit for replacing the name of the empire “*Basileia ton Rhomaion*” with the word “Byzantium” for the first time. Interestingly, as Katib Çelebi translated his work, he also used the word “Bizansiyum” and “Konstantiniyye” interchangeably for referring to what came to be called the Byzantine Empire in later periods. The events narrated in the book start with the reign of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros in the ninth century. The building activities of various Byzantine emperors are also briefly mentioned.<sup>139</sup> After the chapter of Laonikos

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<sup>138</sup> The story behind the compilation and translation of Byzantine chronicles first into Latin in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and then Ottoman Turkish in the 17<sup>th</sup> century is worth mentioning as it displays active cultural and trade relationships between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empire during this period. The first two of these Byzantine chronicles in this book (the works of Zonaras and Niketas Choniates) had been brought from Constantinople by Hans Dernschwam, who participated in an embassy sent by the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in Constantinople in 1553. They were translated into Latin by Hieronymus Wolf, who was then the private secretary and librarian of the one of the members of the commercial family firm, the Fugger in Augsburg. Interestingly, Augsburg, a southern German city, was an active trade center between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empire also became the first center of editorial activity of Byzantine historiographical texts. Financed by Anton Fugger, the manager of the commercial firm, this first edition was published in Basle in 1557. After the editions of Zonaras and Choniates, Hieronymus Wolf completed a “*historiae quoddam quasi corpus*” (something like a corpus of history) with his own words, since these manuscripts cover the period from ninth to twelfth century- part of chronological history of the Byzantine empire, as Choniates started when Zonaras finished. At a later time, in order to create a complete corpus of Byzantine history, Wolf’s patrons decided to cover the remaining period from 1204 to the end of the Byzantine Empire 1453. For this purpose, Nikephoras Gregoras’ *Roman History* covering the years 1204-1351 and Laonikos Chalkokondyles for the remaining century was selected. This was published in Basle in 1562. Probably after the death of H. Wolf, the compilation of chronicles was published with the title of *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum ab exordio mundi et orbe condito ad nostra haec usque tempora* [History of Oriental Empires from the beginnings up until now] by a book seller called Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt in 1587. See, Reinsch, “Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts”, 435-444. Although it is not clear how Katib Çelebi accessed this book and how he decided to translate into Turkish, this may have been part of his individual relationships with European scholars arriving to Constantinople. See Katib Çelebi, *Tarih-i Konstantiyye and Kayasire*, 10-13.

<sup>139</sup> For example, it is stated that during the reign of the Emperor Alexsios, in addition to the construction of several buildings and the reinforcement of the city walls of Constantinople, the emperor also built a great monastery near the Black Sea side of the Bosphorus. “Aleksiyo Konstantiniyye’de nice binalar etti, cümleden derya ortasında olan Damalis dimekle ma’rûf kaleyi binâ etti, ...Pilakirniya’ya dek olan liman mesdûd ola ve iki sarayda yaptırdığı azim kâalar anın ‘azametine delalet eder, altun sahîfeler ile bunları kaplatdı ve ettiği cenkleri ve imâretinin ahvâlini

Chalkokondyles (1423-1490), the Byzantine author who wrote extensively on the Ottomans<sup>140</sup>, the book ends with an account of Ottoman history as an appendix narrating the events until 1579.<sup>141</sup>

The fact that Katib Çelebi's translations are mostly preserved in unique manuscripts suggests that they were not intended to be published as separate works but produced as the basis for Katib Çelebi's encyclopedic-chronological works.<sup>142</sup> However, they are still important for understanding the approaches of the seventeenth century Ottoman historians toward the history of Byzantium.

There also emerges a tradition of world histories arranged by dynasties which began in the late sixteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>143</sup> Byzantine history was also incorporated in these chronological world

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anda nakş ve tasvîr ettirdi ve Karadeniz Boğazı'nda vâfir mükellef binalar yaptırdı...Karadeniz Boğazı'nda Katasekpe demekle ma'ruf yerde bir mu'azzam manastır yaptı..." Katip Çelebi, *Târih-i Kostantiniyye ve Kayâsire*, 35-36.

<sup>140</sup> Steven Runciman, "Byzantine Historians and the Ottoman Turks", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1964) 273-276.

<sup>141</sup> H. Wolf, *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum ab exordio mundi et orbe condito ad nostra haec usque tempora* (Frankfurt, 1587). <http://books.google.com.tr/books> (accessed 10.10.2012). As the title and the coverage of the book suggests, this edition was part of a greater project including the history of "Oriental" empires not only the Byzantine but also the Persians, Macedonians, and the Ottoman Empire. According to Reinsch, these kinds of editions and translations in Europe were also stimulated by the threat in 1529 posed by the Ottomans who laid siege to Vienna for the first time. In this context, Byzantine historians' texts were considered important provided great deal about the Turks. Reinsch, "Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts", 437-438.

<sup>142</sup> This manuscript was found together with another manuscript called *Ta'rih-i Frengi* which was a translation of Johann Carion's *Chronicon* (Paris, 1548) into Turkish, completed in 1065/1655. It is possible that both works together served as a basis for Katib Çelebi's book on the history of Europe *Irşadül-hayara ila tarih'il Yunan ve'r Rum ve'n-Nasara* [Guide of the Perplexed History of Greeks, the Byzantines, and the Christians] in 1655. This is a short treatise providing basic information on the European countries from ancient Greek and Roman histories to France, Spain, Venice, etc. with a special notes their relationships with the Ottoman Empire. Katip Çelebi explained the reason why he attempted to write such a history as the fact that there was no reliable information available to the Ottoman reader on the European states. Gottfried Hagen, "Katib Çelebi", in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, [http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/pdf/katibcelebi\\_en.pdf](http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/pdf/katibcelebi_en.pdf) ed. C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer (accessed 07.10.2012) ; Mehmet Aydın, "Katip Çelebi'nin Irşadü'l-Hayara Adlı Eseri", *Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi İstanbul 23-28 September 1985*, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1985), 95-100; Haşim Koç, "XVII. Yüzyılın Ortasında Osmanlı Coğrafyası'ndan Antik Dönemlere Bir Bakış: Katip Çelebi'nin Eserlerinden Seçmeler", *Doğu Batı Düşünce Dergisi*, 40 (April 2007), 271.

<sup>143</sup> Although the first short account of "universal history" covering a wide range of periods starting with the creation of the world was produced during the late fifteenth century, it was in the late seventeenth century, that a tradition of "universal/world history" began to flourish. It can be said that



histories. For example, *Takvîmü't-tevârîh*, a chronological table of world history beginning from the creation of the world until Katip Çelebi's own time includes the foundation of Constantinople and the construction of the Hagia Sophia.<sup>144</sup>

Hezarfen also composed a kind of world history, known as of *Tenkîhu't-Tevârih-i Mülûk* [Selections from the Histories of Empires] consisting of nine chapters.<sup>145</sup> After the first five parts which were devoted to the history of Islam, chapter 6 deals with Greek and Roman history, and chapter 7 the Byzantine period. This part includes information on the foundation of the city, Byzantine emperors, the story of *Çemberlitaş* [Constantine's Column] and *Dikilitaş* [Obelisks of Theodosius] the construction of Hagia Sophia, and the Latin conquest of Constantinople.<sup>146</sup> In the preface of the book, Hüzeyin Hezarfen states that for the history of Christian states, he made use of Greek and Latin sources with the help of *Panayot Efendi* and *Ali Efendi*, who were the dragomans in the Ottoman government.

Evliya Çelebi was another man of the pen in the seventeenth century. His *Seyahatname* is an extensive description of the Ottoman Empire providing a historical and geographical survey of cities with particular attention to their fortifications, houses, together with the dress, manners and customs of the populace. After the opening section, Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* begins with the history of İstanbul in which he provides a list of the founders of the city and the major

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an alternative view of history began to emerge in which the Ottomans were no longer posited in the center of the cosmos, like the new empirical geography, Cihannuma. Although they were still Islamic centered, they also include non-Islamic civilizations including the Chinese, Indians and Greeks. One of the first accounts of non-Muslim history was Ibrahim Mülhemi's (d.1650) *Tarih-i Müluk-i Rum ve Efrenc* [A history of Romans and Franks]. F. Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992), 187-188.

<sup>144</sup> Katip Çelebi, *Takvîmü't-Tevarih*, facsimile edition, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009).

<sup>145</sup> Cited in Hezârfen Hüseyn Efendi, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, 8.

<sup>146</sup> The rest of the book is devoted to Asia, China, the Philippines, India and America. Hezarfen finished this book in 1673 and dedicated it to Sultan Mehmed IV. Hezârfen Hüseyn Efendi, *Telhîsu'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman*, 8.; Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 251-255; B. Lewis, "The Use by Muslim Historians", 186-187.

monuments built by them.<sup>147</sup> He lists the founders of the city as “*Süleyman, Melic Rac’im, Yanko bin Madyan, İskender-i Zülkarneyn, Pozantin, Kayser-i Rum, Vezendon, Kral Yağfur, and Konstantin*” respectively. According to Evliya, *Vezendon*, the seventh founder of the city, was responsible for the construction of Hagia Sophia and the city walls,<sup>148</sup> while other churches of İstanbul were built by *Konstantin*, the ninth founder of the city.<sup>149</sup> As expected, Hagia Sophia took considerable space in the narratives of Evliya Çelebi. He provides a detailed version of mythical stories and legends of earlier centuries regarding the construction of Hagia Sophia including the collection of marble from different places, loss of Architect Ignados, the story of the collapse of the dome on the night of the prophet Muhammad’s birth, etc. His narration of Hagia Sophia is full of stories of talismanic features, marvels and wonders of the buildings.<sup>150</sup> However, he also devotes a special section entitled “*Eski mabet Büyük Ayasofya’nın şeklini, tarz ve biçimini, sanat yapılarını, uzunluk ve genişliğini bildirir*” for describing physical and aesthetic qualities of the building as well as descriptions of frescoes and mosaics.<sup>151</sup> Other Byzantine churches, (though he never calls them Byzantine, but “the churches

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<sup>147</sup> Evliya Çelebi employs the words “Konstantiniyye, İslambol, İstanbul and Belde-i Tayyibe”, interchangeably.

<sup>148</sup> *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*, eds. S.A. Kahraman and Y. Dağlı, (İstanbul: YKY, 2003) Vol.1/1, 6-21. For the history of city, Evliya claimed that he had consulted the “*Yanevan Tarihi*”, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol.1/1, 23. “*Yanevan Tarihi*” was probably the 10<sup>th</sup> century Arabic work known as *Kitab al-Unwan* written by Agapios, a bishop in Mesopotamia. This book was very well known by Arab writers in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and Evliya either directly consulted this book or through Arab writers such as his contemporary Mas’udi. It was one of the primary sources citing Nikomedia as an earlier city founded in the place of Constantinople. “Nikomedia, namely Constantinopolis was founded by Nikomedes, but later as this city was destroyed, King Byzas founded the city again and gave it his name. In later times, Constantine ascended to throne and gave his name to the city.” cited in Yerasimos, *Konstantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, 64. According to Yerasimos, the name of Yanko Bin Madyan was derived from a misreading of Nikomedia, mentioned in this book. Yazıcıoğlu’s *Dürr-i Meknun* was the first source to mention this legendary founder of Constantinople. Yerasimos, *Konstantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, 63-67.

<sup>149</sup> *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol.1/1, 13-19.

<sup>150</sup> This is not surprising considering that the whole *Seyahatname* is full of such legends. It is known that the aim of *Seyahatname* was as much to entertain as to inform. Evliya Çelebi’s patron and audience consisted of court officials and artists, military leaders and statesmen, other administrators. Robert Dankoff, *The World of Evliya Çelebi*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 52, 185-214.

<sup>151</sup> *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol.1/1, 87-88.

and monasteries built by Konstantin”) he briefly mentions are “Erzayil Kilisesi” [Church of the Holy Apostles], “Zeyrekbaşı Camii”, [Pantokrator Monastery] “a monastery with 360 domes, having strong walls like a castle” and “Büyük Kubbe attached to Hagia Sophia” [Sergios and Bachos Church].<sup>152</sup>

Evliya Çelebi tends to give accurate information only for the Islamic monuments. When it comes to the monuments of non-Islamic civilizations, he either omits them or gives very little information. In addition, when he makes some comparisons, he tends to exaggerate the number and “value” of Islamic monuments compared to the non-Islamic ones.<sup>153</sup> Evliya Çelebi’s lack of interest in non-Islamic monuments has to do with his own sense of identity as a Muslim Ottoman traveller. It is also possible that he had little or no knowledge of the Byzantine monuments.<sup>154</sup> Yet, he was aware of the Christian use of those buildings. When he provides a description of converted churches in Anatolia, for example, he briefly mentions its earlier function as a church. Another point is that Evliya Çelebi sometimes mislabels buildings or gives inaccurate information about them. But this tendency to assign wrong labels to non-Muslim buildings was not unique to Evliya Çelebi and may be seen among European travellers as well.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol.1/1, 13-19.

<sup>153</sup> For example, Ayasuluk (i.e., Ephesus): “It is clearly evident from the present remains of ancient building, how this city was great center in former times. It had: 300 hamam 200 medrese 7 bedestan (covered market) 70 imarat (public kitchen) 700 stone han, 3000 çeşme, 20,000 mescid, 1500 mekteb, 800 cami, also several hundred thousand palaces and several hundred thousand private houses.” cited in Dankoff, *The World of Evliya Çelebi*, 157-158. See also Muzaffer Özbay, “Evliya Çelebi’nin Seyahatnamesinde Anadolu Coğrafyasındaki Gayri Müslim Mabetler”, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Sakarya Univ. Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2010.)

<sup>154</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi points out that although Evliya had had some training in religious scholarship and made use of geographical literature, his primary purpose was not to give an accurate report. His travelogue constitutes part of imaginative literature. Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 160-161.

<sup>155</sup> As mentioned in the above section, traveling in the mid-sixteenth century, Pierre Gilles did not include major medieval Byzantine churches in his work due to his fascination with the heritage of Greco-Roman antiquity of İstanbul. In fact, he sometimes wrongly designates some Ottoman buildings such as covered markets (*bedesten*) as Roman basilicas. Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of İstanbul*, 30-31.; Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 160-161.

#### 2.2.4. The Revival of Interest in Byzantine Culture: 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Although it is often portrayed as the beginning of a period of decline in Ottoman historiography due to a series of Ottoman military defeats, the 18<sup>th</sup> century is in fact a period of significant transformations in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>156</sup> This century was marked by the increased economic and diplomatic ties with Europe. In addition to the European ambassadors who frequently visited İstanbul, the Ottomans began to send ambassadors to Europe for temporary missions. The famous Yirmi Sekiz Mehmed Sa'id Efendi was sent as an ambassador to Paris. It was also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that İbrahim Müteferrika began to print books. These developments resulted in the proliferation of printed *seferatnames* and translations of European works which ultimately contributed to the transformation of Ottoman historical writing. However, we do not see any individual works devoted solely to the history of the Byzantine Empire, as in the previous century.

Writings on architecture, on the other hand, continued in the eighteenth century.<sup>157</sup> What is evident in these writings is that debates regarding the size of the dome of Hagia Sophia still preoccupied the minds of the eighteenth century Ottomans. This can be traced in *Selimiye Risalesi*, a unique historical monograph on the Selimiye Mosque built by Sinan. The main concern for the author was to convey the superiority of the Selimiye Mosque over Hagia Sophia by comparing the size of

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<sup>156</sup> For discussions of the “decline” paradigm see Jane Hathaway, “Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History”, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 19:1 (June, 2004), 29-53.; Donald Quataert, “Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of “Decline”, *History Compass*, 1, (2003) ME 038, 1–9, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1478-0542.038/pdf> (accessed 10.03.2012).

<sup>157</sup> Ayvansari Hüseyin Efendi's (d. 1786) *Hadikat-ül Cevami* [Garden of the Mosques] written in the late eighteenth century (1768-96), was of utmost important for providing descriptive information on the mosques and their vicinities. Its supplementary version written by Ali Satı Efendi republished in two volumes in 1865. See Howard Crane (trans.), *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman İstanbul*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000). The treatise of *Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-i Osmani* written by *Bina Katibi* Ahmed Efendi was one of the most important architectural texts in the eighteenth century providing detailed information regarding the construction of mosque. Ahmet Efendi, *Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî, Dersaadet (İstanbul) 1335-37*. For an examination of the text within the social and political context of the period leading to the construction of the mosque, see Ali Uzay Peker, “Return of the Sultan: Nuruosmâniye Mosque and the İstanbul Bedestan”, in *Constructing Cultural Identity, Representing Social Power* edited by Cânâ Bilsel, Kim Esmark, Niyazi Kızılyürek, Ólafur Rastrick (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2010) <http://ehlee.humnet.unipi.it/books5/2/10.pdf> (accessed 01.10.2012).

their domes. It is evident, then, that Hagia Sophia was still perceived as the most monumental building in the eyes of local people and the author wanted to remind the reader that Sinan surpassed the dome of Hagia Sophia.<sup>158</sup>

Although we cannot find any notable historical or architectural accounts dealing with Byzantine history and its architecture, it seems that there emerged a kind of revival of interest in Byzantine culture and architectural tradition, particularly in İstanbul during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, social and political transformations concomitant with the urban and architectural developments changed the built environment of the city and new building types emerged in this period. In addition to European Baroque and Rococo forms mostly as ornamentation and façade compositions of secular buildings; there were also Byzantine features in this new hybrid architectural language.<sup>159</sup> According to Maurice Cerasi, the revival of Byzantine masonry and composition techniques was particularly visible in civic buildings such as in the facade of the libraries built with consoles beneath the bay windows, cornices, and alternating courses of brick and stones.<sup>160</sup> A century later, when Celal Esad wrote about the Byzantine monuments of İstanbul in his *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul*, he would point out the houses built in the eighteenth century in the Phanar/Fener region of İstanbul as examples of “Byzantine houses.”<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Selen Morkoç, *A Study of Ottoman Narratives*, 77-83.

<sup>159</sup> Maurice Cerasi, “Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture (1720-1820)”, in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture “A Supra-National Heritage”*, (İstanbul: Yem Publications, 1999), 34-42.; Ali Uzay Peker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of İstanbul”, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 6/3, (2002), 39-163. [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/eighteenth-century\\_life/v026/26.3peker.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/eighteenth-century_life/v026/26.3peker.html) (12.01.2009); Shrine Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization” in *JSAH*, 63:1 (March, 2004), 32-51.

<sup>160</sup> Maurice Cerasi, “Town and Architecture in the 18th Century,” *Rassegna, Themes in Architecture: İstanbul, Constantinople, Byzantium*, no. 72 (1997), 37–51.

<sup>161</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Constantinople: De Byzance a Stambul* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), 146; *Eski İstanbul Abidat ve Mebanisi*, ed. Dilek Yelkenci (İstanbul: Celik Gulersoy Vakfi, İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989), 191-192. Arseven states that although it is difficult to find any surviving Byzantine house, the houses in the Phanar region must have been similar to of Byzantine houses. “İstanbul’un fethinden sonra Rumların el-an bugüne kadar iskan etmekte devam ettikleri Fener cihetinde dahi bazı eski evler görülür. Bunların şekillerine nazaran Bizans vaktinde değilse bile her halde o tarz inşaya pek müşabih olmağa ehemmiyetleri aşikardır”. Also cited in Peker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire”, 154.

One of the questions that should be asked here is how far the patrons or members of the Ottoman imperial family were aware of this style, or how much they were involved in the production and the reception of this “re-invented Byzantine tradition”. It is significant to note that not only civic architecture, but also some imperial mosque architecture bear certain features that are reminiscent of the Byzantine tradition particularly in their decorative masonry and architectural details. The most important examples of such buildings are Zeyneb Sultan Mosque built in 1769 and Şebsefa Kadın Mosque in 1787.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, it can be said that this trend, which incorporated a certain degree of Byzantine and European influence, received appreciation among the Muslim upper classes of the Empire as well.<sup>163</sup>

While it is not possible to ascribe these changes only to the impact of the Phanariot families, their role in this “invention of the Byzantine tradition” is significant.<sup>164</sup> As mentioned above, the Phanariot family, who began to rise in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century onwards, had exerted great influence in the administration of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. Their appointment as governors to the Danubian municipalities increased their status and they received the honorary title of *bey* or prince.<sup>165</sup> The new Phanariot culture was based on their

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<sup>162</sup> Tülay Artan, “Arts and Architecture” in *the Cambridge History of Turkey*, Vol. 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839, ed. S.Faroqhi, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 476-477.; Maurice Cerasi, “The Problem of Specificity and Subordination to External Influences in Late Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture in Four Istanbul Buildings in the Age of Hassa Mimar Mehmed Tahir”, in *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Utrecht, 23-28 August 1999, ed. Machiel Kiel, Nico Landman and Hans Theunissen, *Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (2001), 1-23.

<sup>163</sup> Peker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire”, 147.

<sup>164</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos claims that there was no Byzantine influence on the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman architecture, despite the fact that Simeon Kalfa and Konstantin Kalfa were from Rum Orthodox community. Stefanos Yerasimos, “Türkiyeli Rumlar”, *Görüş*, (September, 2002), 16. Tülay Artan, on the other hand, points out similarities between architectural details and style of the Catholicon of the Xeropotamou Monastery on Mount Athos built in (1762-4) and buildings in Constantinople known as the “Ottoman Baroque”. It is important that it was the Phanariotes family who provided the architectural details and the building materials as donations for the Catholicon of the Xeropotamou Monastery. See Miltiades Polyviou, *To Katholiko tis Monis Xiropotamou*. Athens 1999. Cited in Artan, “Arts and Architecture” 477.

<sup>165</sup> See Christine Philliou, “Families of Empires and Nations: Phanariot *Hanedans* from the Ottoman Empire to the World Around It (1669-1856)”, in *Transregional And Transnational Families In Europe And Beyond*, eds. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Francesca Trivellato, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 177-200.

self-proclaimed associations with the late Byzantine administrative elite. As they considered themselves the heirs and custodians of Byzantine culture, they tried to propagate their Byzantine ancestry by extending their family tree to the late Byzantine period. They adhered to the Byzantine tradition particularly in the areas of law, literature, education, and language.<sup>166</sup>

Considering the common negative connotations of the word “Byzantine” and dominant perceptions of Byzantium as a despotic and a decadent empire in the political and historical literature of the eighteenth century Western Europe, such attempts to revive the Byzantine culture in the Ottoman lands is significant. However, although the Phanar aristocratic circles had access to Western thought, the source of their inspiration was initially Russia, as an Orthodox Christian state. Russia’s rise to a major political power in the eighteenth century gave credibility to the hopes for a revived Byzantine empire among some Phanariots who were devoted Orthodox Christians considering the Orthodox Church as the preserver of traditional religion, culture, and language. Therefore, their hope was the foundation of a multinational Greek speaking Orthodox state under the leadership of Russia. It was only after the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 that Phanariots lost this hope and turned their gaze to West, particularly to France. Thereafter, French rationalism would exert great influence on the Ottoman Greeks and thus Phanariots culminating with the Greek independence war of 1821.<sup>167</sup>

It is within the context of the above mentioned developments that we can understand the scope of the Byzantine revival in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. While there appears a gradual revival of interest in Byzantine culture, this was limited to certain areas and most probably related to the rise of the Phanariot family throughout the eighteenth century. The Greek War of Independence in 1821, on the other hand,

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<sup>166</sup> A. Vacapoulos, “Byzantinism and Hellenism” *Balkan Studies*, 9, (1968), 101-126.; Panayotis Alexandrou Papachristou, “The Three Faces of the Phanariots: an Inquiry into the Role and Motivations of Greek Nationality under Ottoman Rule (1683-1821)”, (Unpublished Master Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1992), 8-11; 42-49.

<sup>167</sup> George G. Arnakis, “The Role of Religion in the Development of Balkan Nationalism”, *The Balkans in Transition: essays on the development of Balkan life and politics since the eighteenth century*, ed. Charles Jelavich, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 115-144.; Papachristou, *The Three Faces of the Phanariots*, 124-130.

constituted a breaking point in Ottoman attitudes towards the Phanariots and other Greeks in the empire. After this period, the Ottomans began to exclude Greeks from important positions in the bureaucratic and social structure of the empire.<sup>168</sup>

In sum, then, perceptions of the Byzantine legacy and its appropriation underwent significant transformations over the course of centuries depending on the circumstances of the time period. The next chapter will focus on the Western European perceptions of the Byzantine legacy and its architectural/historiography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century respectively. It will demonstrate that the gradual reversal of these negative views concerning Byzantium began only in the middle of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>168</sup> According to İlber Ortaylı, some of the Phanariots during this era tried to create a confederate administrative structure. One of them, André Coroméles, proposed a Turco-Greek empire and suggested that the “Sultan should have the title of Sultan of the Turks and King of Greeks.” Another Phanariot, Pitzipios Bey, suggested the adoption of Byzantine institutions, equality of two religions, and the coronation of Sultan Abdulmejid as the Emperor of Byzantines. Pitzipios Bey, J.G. L’Orient-Les Reformes de l’Empire Byzantine, (Paris, 1858) Cited in Ortaylı, *The Greek and Ottoman Administration during the Tanzimat Period*.  
<http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/IlberOrtayli1.pdf> (accessed 01.10.2012).



## CHAPTER 3

### BETWEEN “EAST” AND “WEST”: BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The previous chapter described how European and Ottoman perceptions of Byzantium continually changed within the historical and political context in previous centuries. This chapter will examine the nineteenth century transformations in the Western perceptions of Byzantine legacy with an emphasis on the historiography of Byzantine architecture in this period.

While the first section of this chapter will examine 19<sup>th</sup> century perceptions within the political and historical context and the development of Byzantine studies as an academic discipline, the second section will analyze the treatment of Byzantine architecture in selected architectural history survey books in Western Europe and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in order to understand how Byzantine architecture was placed and treated within the mainstream architectural historiography of the West.

#### **3. 1. Rediscovery of Byzantium**

The second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a gradual transformation of attitudes towards Byzantium and its architecture. This was a period of renewed interest in Byzantine history, art and architecture. More importantly, it was during this period that we see the development of Byzantine studies as an academic discipline particularly in Germany, Italy and France, followed by Great Britain and Russia. How can we account for this transformation?

As in previous periods, there was a close connection between political context and intellectual and academic interest in Byzantium during this period. The rise of nationalism was certainly an important factor in Europe’s rediscovery of Byzantium.

The professionalization and institutionalization of history as an autonomous discipline began in the first half the nineteenth century in Germany. As it has been

widely accepted, there were close connections between the rise of nationalism and the rise of history as a science. During this period, the construction of national identity through history was a main concern of historians. The invention of national traditions was associated with Romanticism as a literary, philosophical, and artistic movement directed against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the reaction against the ideals of the French Revolution came with the discovery of the nation as the key aspect in modern history and it took the form of the idealization of the Middle Ages.<sup>169</sup> Romanticism generated the idea of the specificity and uniqueness of national identities. In response to the universalism of the Enlightenment', the aim of history was now to search for national authenticities which in turn called for nation-states. Thus, the Enlightenment notion of a universal civilization was replaced by the specificity of national trajectories reflecting the nationalization of historiography.<sup>170</sup> European Romantic historians concentrated on the Middle Ages as a foundational moment for national histories. In turn, editions of medieval sources were published across Europe. Medievalism became one of the most enduring characteristics of Romantic national history writing.<sup>171</sup> In other words, Nationalism motivated by desires to find the origins of local cultures, led to a new interest in the Middle Ages which were now perceived as a transitional period between ancient and modern in the development of European identity and national history.<sup>172</sup> Thus, rehabilitation and selective appropriation of Byzantium for the construction of national histories in various European countries were in the making.

Germany played a leading role in this development. In German historiography, the Middle Ages began to be perceived as a "high point" of German

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<sup>169</sup> Georg Iggers, and Q. Edward Wang, *Global History of Modern Historiography*, (Harlow, England; New York : Pearson Longman, 2008), 70-71.

<sup>170</sup> Stefan Berger, "The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism", in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Vol. 4: 1800-1945, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguerra, Attila Pók, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 19-26.

<sup>171</sup> Stefan Berger, "The Invention of European National Traditions", 31-33.

<sup>172</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 8.

history in establishing a connection between the modern and antiquity.<sup>173</sup> In this connection, the early Christian period played an important role as a transmitter. In the area of architectural history, along with interests in the classical period, there was also growing attention in the medieval period and an attempt to re-evaluate its art and architecture. The Middle Ages were no longer seen as the period of decay. Art historians began to re-evaluate Gothic art and architecture of the Middle Ages in a different light. For example, French and German scholars began to emphasize the inherent logic of the structure of Gothic buildings. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) stated that Gothic was worthy of respect like the architecture of classical periods.<sup>174</sup> Thus, while Gothic continued to be seen as the high point of medieval architecture, there also emerged a renewed interest in Byzantine architecture. German scholars construed continuity between the churches of the Rhine and the early Byzantine churches. In other words, traces of Hellenism found in early Rhenish churches were assumed to come through Byzantium.<sup>175</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, who visited Ravenna and San Marco in Venice fifty years after the visit of Gibbon, was impressed with the church.<sup>176</sup> His views on the Byzantine monuments were in stark contrast with those of Gibbon.

Yet what was behind Friedrich Wilhelm's interest in Byzantine architecture? According to Nelson, it was closely associated with the political and economic backdrop that culminated with the revolutionary events of March 1848. Friedrich Wilhelm was trying to reconstruct sacral monarchy. The medieval traditions were considered as crucial for reconstructing "a conservative counter-movement". Similar to Napoleon in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, his model was Emperor Constantine the Great. By reforming the Prussian church and returning to early traditions, he wanted

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<sup>173</sup> Iggers, *Global History of Modern Historiography*, 70-73.

<sup>174</sup> Fernie, *Art History and its Methods*, 12-13.

<sup>175</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 17-18.

<sup>176</sup> "...We were struck dumb by the majesty and luxury, nothing but gold and mosaic and marble. Beholding this miracle is like reading the Apocalypse (book of Revelation). I cannot otherwise express my feelings..." quoted in Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 37.

to consolidate his political position.<sup>177</sup> Thus, it can be said that in addition to nationalism, the politically motivated historicism of the period played the defining role in changing attitudes towards the study of Byzantine architecture in Germany.

One could argue for a close connection between political aspirations and cultural projects in Friedrich Wilhelm's policies. For example, in 1847 he sent W. Salzenberg to Constantinople to study Hagia Sophia. Salzenberg's visits to Constantinople coincided with the restoration works of Hagia Sophia by the Swiss Fossati brothers. This enabled Salzenberg to see the inside of Hagia Sophia and study it thoroughly. It was Sultan Abdülmecid himself who commissioned the Fossati brothers to undertake such an important work. This reveals that 19<sup>th</sup> century interest to Byzantine architecture was not limited to Germany. After succeeding his father in 1839, the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid whose reign is often perceived as the beginning of the *Tanzimat* [Restructuring] in Ottoman history, initiated a series of reforms. He wanted Westerners rather than the official palace architect for the mission of restoration of Hagia Sophia. He also ordered the non-figurative mosaics to be revealed and restored. After this restoration, Fossati published a series of lithographs in London with the title of *Aya Sofia as Recently Restored by Order of H. M. the Sultan Abdul Medjid* in 1852.<sup>178</sup> As Nelson noted, the appearance of the Sultan's name and *tughra* at the top of the album's frontispiece displays the Sultan's role in this project and the book's "quasi-official character".<sup>179</sup>

A few years later, W. Salzenberg published his *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* in 1854. Salzenberg's work made significant contributions to the production of the knowledge about the Byzantine monuments of Constantinople in the West and signaled the beginning of the academic study of Byzantium. An important development was the establishment of an Institute for Byzantine Studies within the University of Munich and the foundation of the first journal focusing on

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<sup>177</sup> Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 40- 41.

<sup>178</sup> Gaspare Fossati, *Aya Sofia, Constantinople, as Recently Restored by Order of H. M. the Sultan Abdul Medjid. From the original drawings by Chevalier Gaspard Fossati. Lithographed by Louis Hache esq* (London, 1852).

<sup>179</sup> Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 30-31.

Byzantine studies, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* by Karl Krumbacher (1856-1909), one of the most important German scholars.<sup>180</sup> His *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Ostroemischen Reiches* [History of Byzantine Literature from Justinian to the Fall of the Eastern Empire] was also published in 1897. One of the other important historiographical works in this period was the production of *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* published between 1828 and 1897 in fifty volumes. Initiated by Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), it was edited by the classical philologist Immanuel Bekker (1785-1871) under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.<sup>181</sup>

French scholars also showed renewed appreciation toward the study of Byzantium during this period. French architects were especially active in exploring monuments in Turkey and Greece. Commissioned by the French government to survey the monuments of Asia Minor and Greece as early as 1834, Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan's *L'architecture byzantine; ou, Recueil de monuments des premiers temps du Christianisme en Orient* was published in 1864. In contrast to earlier works in which sources mainly consisted of the Byzantine monuments of Italy, this study focused particularly on the Byzantine monuments in southeastern Europe and Anatolia. As the authors themselves indicate, the aim of this comprehensive study of the Byzantine monuments was to challenge earlier assumptions about Byzantine architecture and re-examination through systematic findings of archaeology.<sup>182</sup> Texier and Pullan's work, indeed, had significant impact on the re-evaluation of Byzantine architecture in later periods. Albert Lenoir, another French scholar who studied the Byzantine monuments in Turkey and Greece, published several important works on Byzantine architecture including *Architecture monastique* in 1852 and several articles in *Revue générale de*

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<sup>180</sup> Jeffreys et al., "Byzantine Studies as an Academic Discipline", 5.

<sup>181</sup> CSHB (Bonn: 1828-97), was re-edition of Byzantine historiographical texts, first edited and printed in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries so called Parisien Corpus. All the texts are accompanied by Latin translations. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/byzantium/alltexts.asp> (accessed 10.10.2012) See Reinsch, "Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts", 441.

<sup>182</sup> Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period" in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, XXIV, (2007), 136, n.13.

*l'architecture*. Charles Bayet's *L'Art byzantine*, published in 1883 should be mentioned as it provides the first comprehensive outline of Byzantine art defined as the synthesis of antiquity, the Orient and Christianity.<sup>183</sup>

The construction of French cultural and academic interest in Byzantium as part of French national history and culture also took place during this period. As in Germany, the French attributed special importance to the early middle ages in defining the roots of modern France. For example, Augustin Thierry, in his *Narratives of the Merovingan Era* (1840) provided an outline of historical roots of modern France by focusing on the early middle ages.<sup>184</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great interest in medieval architecture was reserved for Gothic architecture which was considered as the pinnacle of the national achievement in France. Viollet-le-Duc was one of the pioneers of this view among others. In later times, however, there emerged a renewed interest in Byzantine architecture.<sup>185</sup> For example, in the first edition of Alexandre Laborde's *Le Monuments de la France* published in 1836, while Gothic architecture was paid special importance, Byzantine architecture had had little space. In the second edition, twenty years later, however, Laborde identified some of French monuments as Romanesque or Byzantine in style. Towards the middle of the century, the works for searching the origin of Gothic architecture in the context of the search for the past of French national history, led to the search for Romanesque and Byzantine architecture. Prosper Mérimée, the Inspector of Historical Monuments, was one of the first scholars to suggest that "French Gothic

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<sup>183</sup> Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 72-74.

<sup>184</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 56-57.

<sup>185</sup> This gradual change was partially related to the territorial expansion of the Grand Tour which now included Ottomans lands, particularly Greece and the Holy Lands. Kostis Kourelis who has analyzed published accounts of nineteenth century travellers to Greece argues that "travel writings display the invention of a visual and textual vocabulary to describe medieval sites that in turn laid the groundwork for medieval architectural history". He also points out that there were parallels between European tourist's discovery of Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the increase in the academic study of medieval architecture in the West. Kourelis, "Early Travellers in Greece", 41.

was deeply indebted to Byzantine models”.<sup>186</sup> Armand Mallays’s *Essay on the Romanesque and Romano-Byzantine Churches in the Department of Puy-de-Dôme* (1838)<sup>187</sup> made reference to Byzantine elements of medieval French cathedrals. In his *L’architecture byzantine en France*” in 1851, Félix Verneihl, historian and archeologist, further developed the idea of Byzantine heritage of medieval French architecture by comparing Byzantine and Romanesque buildings in Aquitaine, France. In the field of art history, it was Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, who suggested a link between the iconography of Byzantine painting and that of medieval France in his *Iconographie chrétienne: historié de Dieu* in 1843.<sup>188</sup> And, thus, as in the case of Germany, the development of the idea of Byzantine heritage of France was closely associated with nationalism, romanticism and politically motivated historicism.

Unlike French and German scholars who claimed a kind of historical continuity between their national histories and Byzantium, British scholars had to find creative ways to appropriate Byzantium in the construction of the history of Great Britain whose geographical position was far from ancient remains of the Byzantine monuments.<sup>189</sup> This factor among others played an important role in shaping the British attitude and appropriation of Byzantium. Indeed Byzantine remained a little studied topic until the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike France and Germany where governments actively supported the academic study of Byzantium and funded several large scale projects, it was mainly individual scholars who initiated Byzantine studies in Great Britain. Furthermore, in contrast to French architects and theorists whose knowledge was based on extensive archeological

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<sup>186</sup> Prosper Merimée, “Essai sur l’architecture religieuse du moyen âge”, *Annuaire historique pour 1838*, (Paris, 1837) 383-327, Cited in Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 57.

<sup>187</sup> Armand Mallays, *Essai sur les églises romanes et Romano-Byzantines du département de Puy-de-Dôme and Cours d’antiquités monumentales*, 1828, Cited in Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 57-58.

<sup>188</sup> This manuscript, *Manuel d’iconographie chretienne grecque et latine* (Paris, 1845; reprint, New York, 1963) was a painter’s guide, later translated into German, Russian and English, constituted major source about Byzantine painting throughout the nineteenth century. For more information see Paul Hetherington, *The Painter’s Manual of Dionysius of Fourna* (London, 1974).

<sup>189</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 107-108.

work, British knowledge of Byzantium was mostly based on secondary textual sources. However, this situation changed by the turn of the century when John Ruskin, the British scholar, travelled to Venice. In many ways his works did what Charles Texier had done in France a few decades earlier. Even though Ruskin's examinations were based solely on Venice, he constructed a more general view of Byzantine architecture. His views on St. Mark and the Byzantine palaces of Venice reveal that Ruskin's method was based on close examination of the visual and structural features of Byzantine architecture.<sup>190</sup> Ruskin's two architectural studies, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *Stones of Venice* (1853) had an important impact on the modern reception of Byzantine art and architecture in Britain. W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson's *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (1894) was another important British study on Byzantine monuments.<sup>191</sup>

Still, Gibbon's interpretation of Byzantium and medieval Christianity in the 18<sup>th</sup> century continued to influence the British construction of Byzantium in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in certain ways. While in the nineteenth century another British historian, E.A. Freeman's construction of the history of architecture was different from that of Gibbon and had a significant influence on the subsequent authors in Britain and Western Europe, his approach was rather ambiguous and reflected the British historical and geographic position. Freeman, on the one hand, located Byzantium in a prominent position in the historical development of Western European architecture; until that time, "Byzantium had been something of a curiosity in Britain."<sup>192</sup> On the other hand, he described Byzantium as an alien culture to Western Europe. This attitude had tremendous impact on the approaches of subsequent authors to Byzantine architecture.

The turn of the nineteenth century also introduced significant changes in Russia. Similar to Europe, Russian interest in Byzantium increased as part of the

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<sup>190</sup> Crinson, *Empire Building*, 81-83.

<sup>191</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 119-131.

<sup>192</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 117.



endeavor to search for cultural roots in the processes of building a national identity.<sup>193</sup> However, unlike Western Europe where the focus was on classical Greco-Roman heritage that Byzantium had preserved; Russian interests were centered on searching the Slavic-Byzantine roots of Russian culture. The shared heritage of Orthodox Christianity, of course, played an important role.<sup>194</sup>

Although the capital of the Russian empire, Moscow was called the third Rome by some Russian writers in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries,<sup>195</sup> Russia's cultural and political appropriation of the Byzantine legacy was rather slow. In fact, during the reign of Peter the Great, there was a reaction against the Byzantine influence and ideals, since the Byzantine Empire was defined as "oriental" as in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Russia turned her face to the Western culture.<sup>196</sup> It was only in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the national awakening began as it did elsewhere in Europe that we see the development of Byzantine studies in Russia.

Initially, Byzantine studies in Russia had begun through activities of 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian travellers and collectors of Christian antiquities.<sup>197</sup> It was V. G.

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<sup>193</sup> The Byzantine Empire's relations with Russia began in the first half the ninth century through the spread of Christianity in its Greek Orthodox version from Constantinople, the adaptation of Roman law among the Slavs, the influence of Byzantine literature, art and architecture. Thus, the emulation of Byzantine cultural and political models created a cultural unity in the Balkan region and Russia. See John Meyendorff, "Cultural Ties: Byzantium, Southern Slavs and Russia", *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 119-144.; Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London, 1971).

<sup>194</sup> Robert Ousterhout, "The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey", in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 198.

<sup>195</sup> For more information, see John Meyendorff "Was there ever a 'Third Rome'? Remarks on the Byzantine Legacy in Russia," *The Byzantine Tradition after the fall of Constantinople*, ed. J. Yiannias (London: Charlottesville, 1991), 45-60; Dimiter G. Angelov, "The Making of Byzantinism", 10. <http://www.docshut.com/kmpwrrp/49388939-the-making-of-byzantinism-by-dimiter-g-angelov.html> (accessed 13.02.2013).

<sup>196</sup> Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Byzantine Studies in Russia, Past and Present", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1927), 539.

<sup>197</sup> Olga Etinhof, "Pyotr Ivanovich Sevastianov and His Activity in Collecting Byzantine Objects in Russia", *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium Through British Eyes*, Papers from the Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995, ed. Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, (Ashgate, Variorum, 2000), 211-220.

Vasilievski, professor in the University of Petrograd and member of the Academy of Sciences (d. 1899), who established the systematic study of Byzantine history in Russia. Baron V. Rosen and I. Lamanski who worked on Slavonic history were also interested in Byzantine history as Slavonic history was considered directly related to Byzantine history. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, many Russian professors of classics, such as V. Ernstedt, P. Nikitin, and V. Latyshev began to study Byzantine texts. However, it was Kondakov (1844-1925), who promoted Byzantine studies in Russia at the turn of the century.<sup>198</sup>

Institutional development of Byzantine studies in Russia emerged after the Russian defeat in the Crimean War (1853-56) and was closely connected with Russian political ambitions in the Ottoman territories. Even after the foundation of the Greek Kingdom, the Ottoman Empire retained a great number of Orthodox Christian subjects. Having thought that the demise of Ottoman Empire was inevitable, the aim of Czar Nikolai I was first to gain control over these people as the primary step of wider aspirations to develop Russian hegemony in the Balkans.<sup>199</sup> The Russian Archaeological Institute which was established in Constantinople in 1894 was part of Russian political agenda in the Ottoman lands. The primary aim of the institute was not merely to acquire classical and Byzantine art objects and manuscripts through archaeological excavations and purchasing. It was closely connected with the construction of a Slavic identity. In this context, some archaeological excavations were also carried out in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia to legitimate their Slavonic history through Byzantine heritage.<sup>200</sup> Feodor Ivanovich Uspenski (1845-1928), a historian, archaeologist and epigraphist, was appointed as the director of the institute. However, after Turkey had entered into the

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<sup>198</sup> Vasiliev, "Byzantine Studies in Russia", 539.

<sup>199</sup> Suraiyya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır, eds. "Introduction", the *Ottomans and the Balkans: a Discussion of Historiography*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 33.

<sup>200</sup> Konstantinos Papoulidis, "The Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople (1894-1914): From Its Establishment until Today" in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, Ancient Near Eastern studies. Supplement 31. (Leuven; Walpole, Mass: Peeters, 2010), 187-92.

WWI on the side of Germany, Uspenskii left Constantinople and went back to Russia and the institution was closed.<sup>201</sup>

### 3.2. Designation of Byzantine Architecture

Before dealing with the treatment of Byzantine architecture in architectural history survey books, it may be useful to have a look at the development of the nomenclature of “Byzantine architecture” as a distinct style in western architectural historiography.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, although initial Byzantine studies date as far back as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while focusing on the philological and topographical studies, there was little knowledge of Byzantine architecture as “a distinct style”. In fact, until the middle of the nineteenth century, there was no convention on the idea that what constitutes Byzantine architecture or what is the suitable label for it. In Germany, the tenth and eleventh churches of the Rhineland were described as Byzantine, while in Britain round arched churches of Saxon or Norman origin were considered Byzantine. French scholars, on the other hand, used the term Byzantine to describe what would be later called as Romanesque buildings of the southwest.<sup>202</sup>

Until the mid-nineteenth century, there was no convention on the use of terminology to distinguish different “styles of architecture” not only for Byzantine but also for architecture labeled as Romanesque and Gothic today. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the interpretation of architecture particularly in France was closely related to the rise of interest in Gothic as a model of rational structure.<sup>203</sup> Since Vasari, medieval architecture in the form of Gothic style had been seen as the epitome of barbaric styles. The change in the interpretation of Gothic as a logical manner of building was first proposed by Goethe. Moreover,

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<sup>201</sup> Vasiliev, “Byzantine Studies in Russia”, 541.

<sup>202</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 8.

<sup>203</sup> David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 22-24.

Goethe was also one of the first to construct a relationship between medieval architecture in Germany and the “spirit of German nation.”<sup>204</sup> It was William Morris, however, who placed Gothic style as one of the great achievement in human history.<sup>205</sup> In an attempt to understand the origins of Gothic, European scholars turned their attention to pre-Gothic monuments. The term *Neugriechisch* was invented in Germany by the antiquarian Sulpiz Boisserée, who used the term for the first time in his diary for 1811 to describe “Byzantine-influenced Romanesque architecture” of Rhineland. Similarly, another German scholar, Friedrich Schegel, identified the earlier period of German medieval architecture (now called Romanesque) as *gräzisiert* on account of some similarity with “Constantinian-Byzantine Christian” architecture.<sup>206</sup> According to Schegel, German medieval architecture had borrowed from Byzantine architecture on account of the trade relations and royal marriage between the Byzantine Empire and Ottonian Germany. A more descriptive adjective used for the pre-Gothic architecture was round-arched (*rundbogig*). Later, the word *romanisch* (Romanesque) began to be used on account of the Roman provenance of this type of architecture. The term *neugriechisch* was transferred to France through Ludovic Vitet, who was the *Inspecteur générale des Monuments historiques*, when he toured Germany in 1829. In his first article, he used the word *neo-grec* to describe Romanesque architecture which he thought “as a bridge between the art of Byzantium and the Gothic”. In the second article published in 1830, he used the term *neo-grec* as a synonym for Byzantine to

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<sup>204</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “German Architecture”, *Literary Sources of Art History: An Anthology of Texts from Theophilus to Goethe*, ed. E.B.G. Holt, (Princeton University Press, 1947), 542-59. This attitude to medieval architecture was followed by others. In his writings on the “Génie du Christianisme” in 1804, Chateaubriand states when he enters a Gothic cathedral, he feel old days of France.; F.A., Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme ou Beautés de la Religion Chrétienne*, Le Normant-Imprimeur Librairie, (Paris, 1816). <http://archive.org/details/genieduchristia00chatgoog> (accessed 22.10.2011).

<sup>205</sup> Fernie, *Art History and Its Methods*, 92-93.

<sup>206</sup> David B. Brownlee, “Neugriechisch/Néo-Grec: The German Vocabulary of French Romantic Architecture, *JSAH*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Mar., 1991), 18-21. For the use of the term see also Neil Arthur Levine, “The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec” in *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler, (New York and Cambridge, 1977), 330-332.

describe Italian architecture of Lombardian.<sup>207</sup> Prosper Mérimée also adopted *neogrec* as a synonym for Byzantine. Viollet-le-Duc, on the other hand, used “Byzantin” as a synonym for “Roman” when he described the architecture of the south of France.<sup>208</sup>

Another French scholar, Stéphane Niquet in his essay on “Style byzantine, style Lombard” describes “byzantine” as a name given to early Christian architecture when Emperor Constantine founded the empire in the ancient Byzantium.<sup>209</sup> Similarly, F. de Verneilh in his *L'architecture byzantine en France* also employed the term “byzantine” to denote the round-arched style in the architecture of southeast France.<sup>210</sup> Albert Lenoir was one of the forerunners of the understanding of Byzantine architecture as a different style in France. In a series of essays titled “*Études d'architecture en France*” published together with Léon Vaudoyer in 1839 tried to differentiate these styles. Accordingly, while the “style Latin” spanned the fifth to the late twelfth centuries, in the east, Christian monuments of this period should be called “style Byzantine”; in the southern Italy “Sarrazin”, in the north “Lombard”, and in England, “Norman or Saxon”.<sup>211</sup>

After the second half of the nineteenth century, it seems that the term “Byzantine architecture” began to be used more conveniently. Belonging to after this period, architectural survey books examined here employ the term of Byzantine architecture with similar usage as today. Among them, Fergusson still complains about the misuse of the term “Byzantine” particularly by French authors in

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<sup>207</sup> Vitet, “De l'architecture lombarde” *Revue française*, XVI, July 1830, 155, cited in Brownlee, “Neugriechisch/Néo-Grec”, 20.

<sup>208</sup> Mérimée, “Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge”, 292.; Brownlee, “Neugriechisch/Néo-Grec”, 21.

<sup>209</sup> Stéphane Niquet, “Exposition et discussion générale des doctrines historiques. De l'architecture en France au Moyen-Age. Premier article: Style Byzantine, Style Lombard”, *Journal de l'Institut historique*, (1834), Vol.1, 67-68. He states: “...comme le siècle de l'empire était alors à Constantinople, l'ancienne Byzance, on appela monuments chrétiens basiliques byzantines; de là vient le nom de byzantine donné style d'architecture de la première époque de christianisme”.

<sup>210</sup> F. de Verneilh, *L'architecture byzantine en France*, (Paris, 1851)  
<https://archive.org/stream/larchitecturebyz00vern#page/n5/mode/2up> (10.11.2011).

<sup>211</sup> Léon Vaudoyer and Albert Lenoir, “Études d'architecture en France”, *Magasin Pittoresque*, 7 (1839), 334; Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 59.

architecture, who, he argued, employed the term for any church having “round arch” and “colored decoration” in Rhine and France. Instead, he proposed the restriction of the term with the “architecture of Greek Church invented in Constantinople under emperor Justinian, down to the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, and to be practiced in all Christian countries of the East.”<sup>212</sup>

Considering discussions on the terminology used for defining Byzantine architecture, it can be argued that the study of Byzantine architecture was developed from the study of the Gothic and, then Romanesque architecture. During this period, the terms “Neo-Grec” or “Romanesque” were not always distinguishable from the term “Byzantine”. In addition, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century they distinguished between the two. This use of architectural vocabulary was also closely related to the view of Romantic history.<sup>213</sup>

### **3.3. Architectural History Survey Books: A Selection**

History has always been an important part of the architectural education.<sup>214</sup> Architectural history textbooks are an essential part of survey courses that introduce students of architecture to the canonical premises of the discipline.<sup>215</sup> In the

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<sup>212</sup> James Fergusson, *The illustrated handbook of architecture: being a concise and popular account of the different styles of architecture prevailing in all ages and all countries*, (London: J. Murray, second edition 1859, (the first edition 1835), 943. Also cited in Crinson, *Empire Building*, 75.

<sup>213</sup> As Mango points out, architectural historians are still preoccupied with the question as to whether the term Byzantine defines “the architecture linked to a political identity, (the eastern Roman Empire), the architecture of a religion (eastern Christianity) or a certain style.” See Cyril Mango, “Approaches to Byzantine Architecture”, *Muqarnas*, 8 (1991), K. A. C. Creswell and His Legacy, 40.

<sup>214</sup> For a review of teaching history in Schools of Architecture in the West, see Stanford Anderson, “Architectural History in Schools of Architecture”, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 1999/2000. (Sep.1999), 282-290.

<sup>215</sup> For an evaluation of architectural history education in the universities in Turkey and Greece with an emphasis on the “national architectural histories” see, Gülsüm Baydar, “Teaching Architectural History in Turkey and Greece: The Burden of the Mosque and the Temple”, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 1, (March 1999), 84-91. For an analysis of architectural history textbooks published since 1985 focusing on the inclusion of the contributions of women in the grand narrative of architecture, see Meltem Ö. Gürel and Kathryn H. Anthony, “The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race, and Architectural History Texts”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, Volume 59, Issue 3, (2006), 66-76.

nineteenth century, there was a need for students of architecture to know history as part of their professional training. In this context, survey books were produced to provide them with the historical background. In the twentieth century, on the other hand, the audience of the architectural survey books expanded because of growing interest in architecture in a wider community. This has been partly the result of the increase in the number of travellers and the interest in architectural conservation after the destruction of the wars. Subsequently, through architectural exhibitions and popular media, the interest in history of architecture also increased.<sup>216</sup> In this context, it is clear that architectural history survey books not only address the students but also a wider public by providing a “conventional” and “straightforward” presentation of the development of the architecture through the ages.

Architectural history survey books examined here were produced in a time period from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. This means that they constitute the first examples of architectural history survey books in the form as we understand today.<sup>217</sup> The selection of the survey books was also made by considering their respective roles in art and architectural history education and by virtue of being the most referenced texts in writing history of architecture. In this context, eight architectural survey books from Great Britain, the United States,

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<sup>216</sup> Christy Anderson, “Writing the Architectural Survey: Collective Authorities and Competing Approaches”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 1999/2000. (Sep.1999), 350-355. Throughout the twentieth century, new survey books were produced due to the proliferation of the knowledge and the changing parameters of the scholarship. As architectural history has profoundly changed during the course of the last decades, new survey books have been produced to cover all these changes in the discipline that incorporate new approaches and perspectives accordingly.

<sup>217</sup> David Watkin notes that the first examples of survey of architecture can be seen in the seventeenth century France. These were also the first accounts of the history of French architecture. Austrian architect Johann Bernard Fischer von Erlach’s (1656-1723) *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* (Vienna, 1723) is sometimes considered as the first survey of architectural history. A second edition of 1725 was reprinted in 1730 with an English translation by Thomas Lediard with a title “A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture, in the representation of the most noted buildings of foreign nations, both ancient and modern”. Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, 1. The first art history survey texts that can be called “global” were written during the mid-nineteenth century. In this regard, Franz Theodor Kugler’s *Handbook of Art History* (1842) is often considered as the first comprehensive survey of art history. See, Mitchell Schwarzer, “Origins of the Art History Survey Text”, *Art Journal* 54, no. 3, (autumn, 1995), 24-29.

Germany and France were chosen to cover wider geographical space as much as possible. Special attention was paid to the diversity of the scholar's backgrounds; a historian, a practicing architect, an artist, a professor of architecture teaching in the university. These survey books include;

1. Thomas Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, 1835.<sup>218</sup> (fig. 1)
2. Edward A. Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 1849.<sup>219</sup> (fig. 2)
3. James Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries* (1855) (fig. 3); *History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1862-67).<sup>220</sup> (fig. 4)

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<sup>218</sup> Thomas Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, (London: John Murray, 1835). I used its digital copy downloaded from archive.org: <http://archive.org/details/anhistoricaless01hopegoog>, (accessed 01.11.2011). Thomas Hope (1769-1831) (the book published posthumously by his family) was a merchant banker, but also an author, art collector and one of the pioneers of Neo-Classical revival in England. His book is one of the first architectural history survey books. See, David Watkin and Jill Lever, "A Sketch-book by Thomas Hope", *Architectural History*, Vol. 23 (1980).

<sup>219</sup> Edward A. Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, (London: Joseph Masters, 1849). I used its digital copy downloaded from archive.org: <http://archive.org/stream/historyarchitecture/page/n14/mode/2> (accessed 26.10.2011). This book was one of the first examples of the universal histories of architecture. Edward A. Freeman (1823-1892) is often known for his historical works particularly *History of the Norman Conquest of England*. He extensively wrote on classical Greece, Rome and Byzantine history. Freeman's constitution of the history of architecture has exerted important influence on subsequent authors in Britain and Western Europe. For this reason, his treatment of the history of Byzantine architecture is important. See Frederic Harrison, *Historical Method of Professor Freeman*, (New York-London: the Macmillan Company, 1898); See also Paul Stephenson, "Pioneers of Popular Byzantine History", in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson, (London and New York: Routledge, 2010) 462-477.

<sup>220</sup> James Fergusson (1808-86) was one of the most influential and widely read architectural historians of the Victorian period of Britain. His first book on the survey of architectural history was *illustrated Handbook of Architecture: being a concise and popular account of the Different Styles of Architecture prevailing in all Ages and Countries* published in 1855 in 2 volumes. Because of the public and academic interests of the book, it was published several times with extensive editions and renamed *History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1862-1867) in four volumes. I used both works' digital copies downloaded from archive.org: James Fergusson *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: being a concise and popular account of the Different Styles of Architecture prevailing in all Ages and Countries*, second edition, 1859. <http://archive.org/details/illustratedhand01ferggoog> (accessed 01.11.2011); *History of Architecture in All Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Vol.2 (1887) <http://archive.org/details/historyofarchite002ferg>, (accessed 10.10.2011). The importance of Fergusson lies in his approach to the study of architecture which is compatible with the ideas of the nineteenth century historiography in Western Europe. For the purpose of this thesis, his books are also important for their extensive sections on Byzantine architecture. Moreover, his books are also credited for being one of the first architectural survey devoted extensive chapters on the "Eastern" architecture.



4. Daniel Ramèe, *Histoire Gènèrale de L'architecture*, 1860.<sup>221</sup> (fig. 5)
5. Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin, *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*, 1896.<sup>222</sup> (fig. 6)
6. Albert Rosengarten, *Die architektonischen Stylarten*, 1869 (*A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 1898)<sup>223</sup> (fig. 7)
7. Banister Fletcher and Sir Banister Fletcher, *A history of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur: Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period*, 1896.<sup>224</sup> (fig. 8)
8. F.M. Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, 1913.<sup>225</sup> (fig. 9)

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<sup>221</sup> Daniel Ramèe, *Histoire Gènèrale de L'architecture*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Amyot, 1860). I used its digital copy downloaded from archive.org: <http://archive.org/details/histoiregnrale00ramgoog>, (accessed, 11.3.2011). Daniel Ramèe was a French architect with an interest in history. Before writing a world history of architecture, he wrote extensively on the architecture of France such as *Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame de Noyon. Plans, coupes, élévations et détails* (1845); *Histoire de L'Architecture En France* (1846).

<sup>222</sup> Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin (1855-1926) was an American architect, born at Istanbul. *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*, (New York: Longmans, Green, 1896). I used its digital copy downloaded from archive.org: <http://archive.org/details/atextbookhistor01hamlgoog> (accessed 10.11.2011).

<sup>223</sup> Albert Rosengarten (1809-1893) was a German artist trained in classical traditions. I used English translation and digital copy downloaded from archive.org: Albert Rosengarten *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, trans. W. Collett-Sandars, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898). <http://archive.org/details/ahandbookarchit00rosegoog> (accessed 10.10.2011).

<sup>224</sup> Banister Flight Fletcher (1866-1953) was a British architect and architectural historian, as was his father, also named Banister Fletcher (18333-1899). With his father, he co-authored the first edition of *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, (1896) After Fergusson; Fletcher's book was the first comprehensive survey of architecture to include regions outside the Western Europe. What makes more special this book is it has continuously been edited until recent years in order to "update" the books according to recent developments in architectural history. Banister Fletcher and Sir Banister Fletcher, *A history of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur: Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period*, (London: B.T. Batsford; New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1896) <http://archive.org/details/historyofarcocad00fletuoft> (accessed 10.12.2011). Fletcher's book is by far one of the most studied survey books in the context of post-colonial studies and architectural historiography. See John Mckean, "Sir Banister Fletcher: pillar to post-colonial readings", *The Journal of Architecture*, 11:2, (2006), 197-204; Paul Walker, "The Invisible East: Fletcher and the Unseen Ho-o-den", *Proceedings, 2009, ACSA International Conference* (June 15-19, 2001) Istanbul; Gülsüm Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 57, No. 4 (May 2004), 19-27; Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister's History of Architecture", *Assemblage*, No: 35 (1998), 6-17.

<sup>225</sup> F. M. Simpson (1855-1928) was a professor of architecture at the University College, London, fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and professor of Architecture in the University of Liverpool, Royal Academy Travelling Student when he wrote on the survey of architectural developments in history. He made several tours to visit Italy, Sicily, Greece, Turkey, and Asia

In my analysis of these survey books, I mainly focused on structural organization of the books (periodization of history of architecture and the place of Byzantine architecture within this periodization), methodological and historiographical approaches.

### **3.3.1. Periodizing History of Architecture: Where to Put Byzantine Architecture?**

Considering their formative role in constructing the canonical premises of the discipline, survey books provide an invaluable area for tracing the development of different methods of groupings and divisions of histories of architecture and the ideology behind this practice. In what follows, I would like to explore the place of Byzantine architecture within the period classifications of the architectural survey books. Although this section does not intend to analyze the European architectural historiography as a whole, a brief overview of general approaches towards periodization will be helpful for a better understanding of the place of the history of Byzantine architecture within this framework. Such an examination can also give us some useful insights for understanding the agenda of the historians concerned with the establishing boundaries and divisions within the general architectural historiography.<sup>226</sup>

With regard to the periodization of history of European art, Meyer Schapiro states that “period names have been of three kinds: political-dynastic, cultural, and aesthetic. Examples of the first are Carolingian, Ottonian, and Tudor; of the second, Medieval, Gothic, and Renaissance; of the third, Romanesque, Classic, Mannerist,

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Minor. The book is said to have particularly designed to the students of architectures. Simpson, Frederick Moore, *A History of Architectural Development*, (3 Vols.), Vol. 1 (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1913) <http://archive.org/details/ahistoryarchite00simpgoog> (accessed, 26.10.2011).

<sup>226</sup> One can trace the impact of this methodological shift in architectural history through survey courses and textbooks on architectural history. Recently, traditional survey text-books have received increasing criticism for their Eurocentric approaches and for their exclusion of “others” such as non-western societies, minorities, woman, and vernacular architecture. There is now a growing attempt to rethink and re-structure survey books and courses in order to incorporate recent developments in the field.

and Baroque.”<sup>227</sup> As Stephen Nichols points out, periodization is essentially based on the concept of comparison and “the terms of comparison inevitably privilege one art or the other, either word or image”. In the case of the middle ages, the problem has been further complicated, “as medieval culture has been defined by the ideological agendas in order to legitimize the modern from the eighteenth century onwards.”<sup>228</sup>

The division of history into three broad epochs had been established by the Italian humanists in the fifteenth century.<sup>229</sup> It was also during this period that Petrarch developed a cyclical model for the history of Europe, which consisted of periods of rise; decline and revival coincided with Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Art historians adopted this model as well. Lorenzo Ghiberti of the 15<sup>th</sup> century applied this model to the history of art.<sup>230</sup> Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) who is considered as the first art historian laid out the main methodological approach for the study of art history adopting the cyclical model mentioned above.<sup>231</sup> Although books on architecture produced throughout the ages from Vitruvius to Palladio, the history of architecture only became a subject of study in the eighteenth century evolving out of the antiquarianism. It was Johann Joachim Winckelmann in the eighteenth century, who was one of the first historians to put art in its context. According to Winckelmann the classical period was the zenith of artistic achievement in terms of representation of beauty. He introduced a systematic, chronological study of the study of art history. The invention of ancient Greece as the “high point in human civilization” remained an essential element in

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<sup>227</sup> Meyer Schapiro, H. W. Janson, E.H. Gomrich, “Criteria of Periodization in the History of European Art”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, A Symposium on Periods (winter, 1970), 113.

<sup>228</sup> Stephen G. Nichols, “Periodization and the Politics of Perception: A Romanesque Example”, *Poetics Today*, Vol.10, No. 1, Art and Literature I (spring, 1989), 128.

<sup>229</sup> Iggers and Wang, *Global History of Modern Historiography*, 28.

<sup>230</sup> E. Fernie, *Art History and its Methods*, 10-11.

<sup>231</sup> For the development of art history from antiquity to present with an extracts from art historians whose significance is highlighted by brief commentaries see Fernie *Art History and Its Methods*; For a presentation of art historical methods from connoisseurship and formalism to iconography and social history of art, see Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006).

the western tradition of history of art for long years. This idea of development and decline in the art of the ancient world has remained the standard chronology for art history. Great stylistic epochs stand out from others in the history of art, for example the Renaissance, Baroque. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century G.W. F. Hegel, one of the most influential philosophers proposed that history was one of the ways in which this spirit manifested itself.<sup>232</sup>

When we look at one of the first examples of the survey of European architectural history published in 1835, *An Historical Essay on Architecture* by the late Thomas Hope (1769-1831), we see that the author employs both political-dynastic and cultural appellations such as “Egyptian”, “Roman”, “Byzantine”; and aesthetic-stylistic definitions such as “pointed style”. One of the interesting aspects of Hope’s periodization is that although the period groupings such as ancient, medieval, and modern were not in use yet, he constructs a very chronological line of development beginning from the Egyptian architecture, continued with “Grecian” and “Roman” architecture, and, then “Byzantine” architecture, “Pointed Style” and completing his survey with “Cinquecento style”.

In his *A History of Architecture* (1849), which was one of the first examples of the universal histories of architecture, Edward A. Freeman used two types of construction for dividing architectural history into general sections; “The Architecture of the Entablature” and “The Architecture of the Arch”. This second section, “The Architecture of the Arch”, is further classified as “The Round Arch or Roman Arch” and “The Pointed Arch, or Gothic Arch”. Within this categorization, Byzantine architecture is placed under “The Round Arch or Roman Arch”. Following Freeman, Fergusson also employed a two-fold division of architectural history in his *Illustrated Handbook of Architectural History*. In contrast to Freeman whose periodization is based on architectural typology, Fergusson divides architectural history along religious lines: “Christian” and “non-Christian”. The first part (non-Christian) covers the Buddhist and Jaina, Hindu, Chinese and America, Western Asia, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Sasanian, and Sarajenic architecture

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<sup>232</sup> Fernie, *Art History and its Methods*, 10-17.

respectively. As one would expect, Byzantine architecture is examined in the Christian section.

After the second half of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, the survey books began to employ more chronological periods, with ancient, medieval, and modern periods. Interestingly, Byzantine architecture was envisaged as an “ancient” rather than “medieval” architecture. One example is Simpson’s *A History of Architectural Development*. It consists of three volumes, each of which is devoted to three separate historical periods; Ancient, Medieval and the Renaissance. The place of Byzantine Architecture in the volume of Ancient Architecture is a clear example of this approach. The division of the volumes reveals that Simpson considers Byzantine architecture as ancient, not medieval. In the same way, Rossengarten’s *A Handbook of Architectural Styles* is also composed of three volumes divided according to the three periods: Ancient, Romanesque and Modern. (Instead of Medieval he used Romanesque and the Renaissance was used interchangeably with the Modern). Although Byzantine architecture is covered in the volume of Romanesque, it is placed under the section of “Early Christian Architecture”, together with “Roman Christian Basilicas” and “Mahometan Architecture”. The grouping of Byzantine architecture with Mahometian Architecture under the title of “early Christian Architecture” shows that Rossengarten paired Byzantium with Islam and separated it both from the medieval Western European architecture. His next section on “Christian Architecture in the Middle Ages” is devoted to Gothic architecture only.

As a matter of fact, whether classed as ancient or medieval, many of the examples of buildings given in the surveys belong to the early period of Byzantine architecture. This may be another way of presenting Byzantine architecture as ancient. The survey books examined here often divide Byzantine architecture into two or three stages. Accordingly, the first period is defined explicitly from Constantine to Justinian’s reign. The second stage is not so clear-cut and often described as “a rigid imitation of the settled system, with and addition of Oriental

domes, and is finally, at least in some localities, subjected to the influence of Western art”<sup>233</sup> The third stage, on the other hand, is often omitted.<sup>234</sup>

After analyzing the treatment of Byzantine art in American textbooks and surveys of art history in current use, Robert Nelson reached similar conclusions. He points out that in the survey of art history; Byzantine art and architecture are not presented as co-eval with the Western architecture. He also demonstrates that Byzantine art has been disassociated from Western Europe explicitly through the chapter organization in which Byzantine architecture is usually followed with a chapter on Islamic architecture.<sup>235</sup>

In his *A History of Architecture*, Fletcher divides the book into two parts: the first part containing all the material from earlier editions, was designated as the “Historical Style” and he added a new part, called “The Non-Historical Style” including Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and Saracen architecture. Accordingly, Fletcher divided architectural history into Historical and Non-historical, assuming that Non-Western architecture is not part of the evolution of Western Architecture and lacking an evolutionary character like Western Architecture. In the fourth edition of 1901, Byzantine architecture is covered in the part called “Historical Style” following the Greek, Roman and Early Christian architecture. The famous drawing of the “tree of architecture” in the frontispiece of Sir Banister Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture* is the most evident expression of Fletcher’s conception of the history of architecture mentioned above.<sup>236</sup> Here, while Greek, Roman, and Romanesque architecture constituted the trunk of the tree, Byzantine architecture is illustrated right across the Sarajenic architecture branching out of the trunk.

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<sup>233</sup> Rossengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 178.

<sup>234</sup> When we examine their sources, we see that almost all of the authors made use of André Couchaud’s *Choix d’églises byzantines en Grèce* in 1842. It was one of the first books solely on Byzantine architecture. In this book, Couchaud described Byzantine architecture by dividing into three periods.

<sup>235</sup> Robert Nelson, “Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art”, *Gesta*, Vol.35, No.1, (1996) 3-11.

<sup>236</sup> For an examination of Fletcher’s “Tree of Architecture”, see Mckean, “Sir Banister Fletcher”; Walker, “The Invisible East”; Nalbantoğlu, “Toward Postcolonial Openings”.

Similar to Simpson and Rossengarten, Daniel Ramée also divides the history of architecture into three epochs: Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance-Modern. Different from them, he covers Byzantine architecture in the section on medieval architecture. Although Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance architecture were presented according to countries such as Italy, Germany, France, Italy, etc, however, Byzantine and the “Mahometan” architectures are categorized as a whole.<sup>237</sup>

### **3.3.2. Methodological Issues: How to Study Byzantine Architecture?**

With some exceptions, early nineteenth century works rely heavily upon primary textual sources for their information. Later works, however, along with textual sources, make use of plans, photographs and descriptions of the buildings based on field visits to the actual sites. Most of these sites were in Venice, Ravenna and Sicily. Even though the Ottoman territories included much of the former Byzantine Empire and its major architectural sites, European scholars who studied Byzantine architecture often visited sites outside the Ottoman Empire. During this period, Greece and Anatolia were considered to be difficult places to visit. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century and the unstable political conditions within the empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century may have further complicated travels. The perception of the Ottoman Empire as the mysterious “Orient” may have also played a role in this. Whether the experience of European scholars was based on visiting actual sites or not, it is worth recalling that their view of the Near East could not be set apart from the various lenses of orientalism.

Thomas Hope visited only Italy and Germany and Salzenberg’s seminal study for Hagia Sophia, based on first-hand access to Hagia Sophia had not appeared yet.<sup>238</sup> Thus, his remarks on Byzantine architecture in Constantinople are

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<sup>237</sup> Ramée, *Histoire Générale de L’architecture*, Vol.1 and 2, table of contents page.

<sup>238</sup> Watkin and Lever, “A Sketch-book by Thomas Hope”, 52-59. Although James Dallaway, an English topographer and writer, published *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*, T. Bensley, London 1797. Thomas Hope did not give a reference to it.

based on textual sources. Similarly, Edward Freeman never visited the “east”. In the preface of the book, he states that while he visited buildings in his own country, those in other lands were only known by recently published travel accounts.<sup>239</sup> Fergusson, on the other hand, made use of the works of Salzenberg and Texier. Since many of the authors had never traveled outside Europe, they were dependent on the sketches and reports of travellers to the Near East.

With regard to center and periphery issue, metropolitan and provincial, these scholars mostly give examples of buildings from Italy and Constantinople. The close identification of the Byzantine world with Constantinople led many scholars to concentrate on the latter. In this context, the survey books examined here also pay attention to buildings in Constantinople, as may be expected.

The survey books often covered only single buildings rather than the urban fabric. Many of these buildings were religious buildings. However, this is not particular to Byzantine architecture only. One reason for the focus on religious buildings was the assumption of the dominance of ecclesiastical architecture in the medieval period. For example, Rosengarten states:

In accordance with the tendency of the age, ecclesiastical architecture, which had assumed such prominence during the prevalence of the Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic styles, was now thrown into background, whilst the style of the Renaissance was brought to the front in the construction of castles and palaces.<sup>240</sup>

Similarly, Simpson who provides examples of domestic architecture for Greek and Roman periods focuses solely on churches in his Byzantine section.<sup>241</sup> As noted by Mango, survey books held the assumption that Byzantine architecture consists of churches and monasteries only.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, preface page.

<sup>240</sup> Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 375.

<sup>241</sup> Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, Vol.1, 213-253.

<sup>242</sup> Mango, “Approaches to Byzantine Architecture”, 40.



### **3.3.3. Defining Byzantine Architecture**

The survey books examined here adopt two discernible historical methods in their evaluation of Byzantine architecture. The first is one which focused more on ethnicity and religion as the determining factor, while the other is one of the main approaches of art history—the typological analysis of building components such as the arch, vault, columns etc.

#### **3.3.3.1. Characteristics of Byzantine Architecture: “Eastern, Slavonic and Orthodox”**

One of the most remarkable points that come out of the examination of survey books is that survey books use some basic criteria to evaluate and categorize the whole history of architecture. These are ethnicity/nation, religion, and geography. These categories are closely interrelated to each other and considered very important not only in classifying and grouping world history of architecture, but also for evaluating and defining the “essential” characters of architectural history of each period.

According to Thomas Hope, for example, geography (together with climate) is the most important factor in the emergence of the built environment.<sup>243</sup> For Simpson, in addition to geography and climate, “religion, the material available, the condition of the labour market, the wealth or poverty of a people, their life, character and requirements” are the factors that shape the distinctive characters of architecture in each country.<sup>244</sup> Similarly, Fergusson sees religion as the most important determining factor in architecture. In fact, he divides the history of architecture into two groups as Christian and non-Christian architecture. The evaluation of architectural style according to ethnicity/race is particularly evident in architectural histories of Freeman and Fergusson who were the leading figures in the Victorian architectural theory and history.

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<sup>243</sup> Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, 3-6.

<sup>244</sup> Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, Vol.1, preface.

The three authors, Freeman, Fergusson and Ramée use ethnic/racial categories for not only classifying and organizing architectural history but also defining the “quality” of architecture of any given nation. Indeed, they use such a classification to justify and argue for the superiority of architecture of Aryan nations. Freeman, for example, states:

In a survey of the world's history some periods, some nations stand forth conspicuous above others for their intrinsic splendour, and their influence in moulding the minds and institutions of other lands and peoples [...] What is the whole history of the East, the countless dynasties of China, India, and Egypt, with all their vast dominions, their early civilization, their fixed and ancient institutions, but a barren catalogue of kings, and priests, and conquerors, when it is viewed side by side with one living and stirring page of Greece, or Rome, or mediaeval Europe ? [...] And thus too with their architecture; all styles are not of the same merit, all do not equally contain a principle of life, all are not equally the expression of an idea; partly from these inherent differences, partly from external causes, all have not the same historical importance in influencing the arts of future ages.<sup>245</sup>

Such an explicitly racist attitude is not limited to Fergusson. By the same token, Daniel Ramé states that “in three epochs of history of architecture, we need to distinguish architecture of Aryan race from architecture conceived by Arab races which was incomplete, unattractive, and imitative of Aryan race.”<sup>246</sup>

These attitudes are, of course, not particular to architectural history survey books that are examined here. They were part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century European mindset and mentality. In the nineteenth century, nation, ethnicity and religion, together with geography played a critical role in the construction national past and European identity. This approach giving a central role to race and nation in historiography was also the reflection of the nineteenth century German idealism. From Winckelmann onwards, histories of art had interpreted culture as representative of the spirit of the people. In his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums* (1763), Winckelmann argued that

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<sup>245</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 17- 18.

<sup>246</sup> “Dans l'Architecture de ces trois époques historiques il faut donc distinguer celle qui a été conçue par la race ariane d'avec celle qui a été élaborée péniblement et lentement par les races arabes. Ces dernières n'ont produit que l'incomplet, l'imparfait, le plus souvent même le laid, soit en inventant elles-mêmes, soit en imitant les autres.” Ramé, *Histoire Générale de L'architecture*, Vol. 1, 19.

climate, culture, and politics all shaped the art of period.<sup>247</sup> By doing this, Winckelmann established the notion of cultural history in which the art is seen as reflecting the spirit of the age.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831), one of the most influential philosophers, proposed that history was one of the ways in which this spirit manifested itself. Hegel further developed Winckelmann's ideas and established a direct relationship between art and *Zeitgeist* (the spirit of the age) and the *Volkgeist* (the spirit of the nation). He believed that history was the result of the workings of a "world spirit" and that the art was one of the ways in which this spirit manifested itself. In conjunction with this view of history, Freeman also states that "every architectural work, both in its general conception and in its remotest detail, bears on it the stamp of its own age and country."<sup>248</sup> When William Jones first used the term of "Aryan" to denote a family of languages in the late eighteenth century, many philologists and ethnologists diverted their focus from language to race. The German historian Barthold Niebuhr, on the other hand, developed the Hegelian dialectic of progress to explain the separation of Aryan ethnic groups that inhabited the western and central Europe from those of the oriental group inhabited in the eastern Mediterranean. In this milieu, Freeman was one of the leaders in Britain to accept these ideas prevalent among German historians in the 1840's, and applied them into his studies. He argued that Aryan nations unified by language, habits and institutions had a struggle with the nations of the Orient.<sup>249</sup>

The use of racial categories as primary tools in constructing the self and the other contributed to the development of the conception of "Islamic" or "Eastern" architecture as "the other". According to western European assumptions, Islamic architecture belongs to a different ethnicity-nation, different geography and different religion. However, when it comes to Byzantine architecture, these criteria themselves posed some problems for architectural historians who attempted to

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<sup>247</sup> Cited in William Whyte, "How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture", *History and Theory*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (May, 2006), 160.

<sup>248</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 12

<sup>249</sup> Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, 115; Crinson, *Empire Building*, 79.

define the nature of Byzantine architecture clearly and to situate it within the categories of ethnicity, religion and geography. Byzantine architecture challenged such a narrative in several ways.

If we begin with ethnicity, we see that some surveys differentiated Byzantine architecture from the western architecture by using an ethnic categorization. Fergusson for example, divides “the true Christian art” into three by race: Accordingly,

The Romanesque, or Christianized Roman (which is Aryan), the Gothic or that style which was practiced by Teutonic and Celtic races, and thirdly, the Byzantine, or the style by all the Slavonic races of Europe as distinguished from Teutonic and general all nations professing the Greek form of the Christian religion.<sup>250</sup>

Therefore, it is clear that the two British authors (Fergusson and Freeman) differentiated Byzantine architecture from the western European architectural tradition by using ethnicity and the nation as an analytical tool. Accordingly, while Greek and Roman architecture belong to the Aryan race, and thus Teutonic, Byzantine architecture belongs to a different tradition.

The Christian styles are easily divided into two great groups by a line drawn from the head of the Adriatic to near the entrance of the Gulf of Finland. All too eastward of this line belongs to the Slavonic races and the Byzantine school of art; all to west ward to the Teutonic and Celtic races and Gothic school. These are so distinct from one another, and so easily defined, that either might be taken up first, and treated independently of the other; but as the Gothic is certainly derived most directly from Rome, and is by far the most important style of the two, it seems natural to give it the precedence, and the Byzantine, which is half European, half an Asiatic style of art, thus assumes its proper place as a supplement to great Christian style of Western Europe.<sup>251</sup>

These words belonging to Fergusson constitute a clear example of how ethnicity, religion and geography were used closely to relate to each other.

The survey authors used “religion” as another important tool for describing differences in the history of architecture. This is much resonated in Fergusson’s division of whole history of architecture into two parts: Christian and non-Christian.

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<sup>250</sup> Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook*, 944.

<sup>251</sup> Fergusson *Illustrated Handbook*, preface page.

Here, the place of Byzantine architecture raises interesting issues. As a Christian architecture, Byzantine presented acute problems for Fergusson. Although he placed it in the category of Christian architecture, he considers it “as a supplement to great Christian style of Western Europe.”<sup>252</sup> Religion was an inseparable part of the nation for authors of surveys and the classification was made accordingly. Despite their shared Christian backgrounds, they saw the Orthodox Christianity and its religious buildings something different than from their own religious traditions. In the context of the nineteenth century western European travellers’ attitudes to Greece, Kostis Kourelis argues that “an Orthodox church seemed more akin to a Muslim mosque than its Catholic or Protestant counterpart”.<sup>253</sup> Although this may be somewhat overstated, the practices of Orthodox Christianity were perceived as alien to European culture and more related to non-European traditions.

This complex and ambiguous attitude toward Byzantine architecture is also exemplified in the geographic categorization. The Eastern location of Byzantium is given as reference in many survey books. In this context, Byzantium belongs more to the East than the West. The use of geography and climate as determining factors for the character of architecture was an essential feature of the leading British scholar John Ruskin’s methodology. Ruskin believed that nations were deeply shaped by the landscape in which they lived. He used the division of North-South rather than East-West. This configuration was explicit in his description of the terms “north-savage” and “south-savage”. He states:

All north-savage I call NORMAN, all south-savage I call BYZANTINE; this latter including dead native Greek primarily-then dead foreign Greek, in Rome; -the Arabian, Persian-Phoenician-Indian-all you can think of, in art of hot countries up to this year 1200, I rank under one term Byzantine.<sup>254</sup>

Following Ruskin and other scholars from this period, architectural history survey books examined here, geography and climate played an important role in

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<sup>252</sup> Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook*, preface page.

<sup>253</sup> Kourelis, “Early Travellers in Greece”, 43.

<sup>254</sup> Cited in Crinson, *Empire Building*, 50.

both classifying history of architecture and defining essential characters of architecture of a given period.

The assumption of Byzantine society's rigidity derives from the Western European biases due to evaluating Byzantine history in comparison with medieval Europe. Byzantine architecture was treated with reference only to Orthodox Christianity. This has again been grows from Western European preconceptions.<sup>255</sup>

It is a character fixed, static, and immutable; it is not Persian or Arabian, not even Caucasian or Mongolian; it is not ancient, modern, or medieval; but, a term of all ages and races, it is Oriental [...] At last Byzantium stood by itself Christian indeed, and locally European, but hardly a member of the system of the European and Christian states; esteemed heretical in faith, and alien in language, government, and general feeling.<sup>256</sup>

These characterizations which belong to Freeman can be considered as a summary of a common view of Byzantium in the late nineteenth century Victorian historical scholarship. Byzantium was placed in an eccentric position. It does not belong to Western European nor does it fit in any of the historical periods conceived by the Europeans. Its "oriental character" was the most emphasized aspect of Byzantium.

This view of Byzantine history is closely related to what Edward Said has defined as orientalism. It is crucial to understand that orientalist approaches had and continued to have an important impact on the ways the western Europeans perceived not only the Ottoman Empire but also Byzantium. Edward Said redefined the term "orientalism" to refer to a constellation of assumptions underlying Western attitudes toward the Middle East. He argued that a long tradition of romanticized images of Asia and the Middle East in Western culture had served as an implicit justification for European and American colonial and imperial ambitions. A central idea of orientalism is that Western knowledge about the East is not generated from

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<sup>255</sup> For example, in the different editions of Fletcher's *A History of Architecture*, it states "Byzantine architecture, devoid of statutes, has always been remains of the official style of the Orthodox church of Eastern Europe which has conserved unchanged its doctrines and ritual. Therefore architecture also became stereotyped in form through all periods, in sharp contrast with the changes and additions which characterize the developments of medieval architecture to suit it to the varying requirements of church economy and ritual in Western Europe." Sir Fletcher Banister, *A History of Architecture*, (edition 17, 1961), 272.

<sup>256</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 164-165; also cited in Crinson, *Empire Building*, 40.

facts, but from preconceived ideas. Accordingly “Eastern” societies are similar to one another and different from “Western” societies.<sup>257</sup>

### **3.3.3.2 Byzantine Style: Domes, Vaults and Cupolas “Small, Stagnant, and Dull”<sup>258</sup>**

The typological approach is most commonly characterized by reliance on formal comparisons and the study of origins of constructive processes in architecture (i.e. the vault and the cupola). In the early stages of the architectural history discipline, the primary purpose was to collect as many materials as possible, and then to classify and describe them according to formal criteria. The typological approach in which buildings are classified according to the ground plan, definition of space and other formal criteria sometimes in isolation and sometimes with combination of other methodological approaches was dominant. The typological approach has often been hand in hand with the establishment of geographical schools or *ecoles*, and the style analysis of the buildings. Winckelmann not only introduced a systematic and a chronological study of art history, but put a new emphasis on the concept of “style”.<sup>259</sup>

While the impact of cultural history and the Hegelian view of history is more visible in Fergusson, Freeman, and Ramée’s approaches to writing architectural history,<sup>260</sup> Hope, Hamlin, Simpson and Rosengarten, on the other hand, follow a more formalist approach. For example, Hamlin begins with the definition of the key concepts in his book. He also organizes his text-books based on these definitions. Accordingly, “style” is the most important tool in defining different periods. He states: “Style is character expressive of definite conceptions, as of grandeur, gaiety, or solemnity. An historic style is the particular phase, the characteristic manner of

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<sup>257</sup> See Edward W. Said, *Şarkiyatçılık: Batı'nın Şark Anlayışları*, trans. Berna Ülner, (İstanbul: Metis, 2010), 12-13.

<sup>258</sup> I borrowed this usage from Robert Ousterhout’, “Apologia for Byzantine Architecture”.

<sup>259</sup> Watkin, *the Rise of Architectural History*, 2.

<sup>260</sup> For Freeman, see Frederic Harrison, *Historical Method of Professor Freeman*, (New York-London: the Macmillan Company, 1898.)

design, which prevails at a given time and place”. The second term is “Structural Principles”. He describes three fundamental structural principles; that of the “lintel, of the arch or vault, and of the truss”. Finally, the last category is “Historic Development” which he believed architecture has been evolved continually beginning from its first appearance in Nile valley “through various channels” of adoption, inheritance and transformation to Greek and Romans in turn.<sup>261</sup>

Similarly, Simpson states that “it is not detail that makes a style but the methods of construction which are employed, and the different ways in which those methods are applied.” He also considers two important methods of construction: the lintel and arched and sees the transformation of the lintel into arch as the most important stage in the development of the history of architecture. Simpson also examines history of architecture according to individual building components such as columns, domes, vaults, pendentives, capitals, etc.<sup>262</sup> Thomas Hope, on the other hand, seeks to demonstrate “the causes, the fundamental characteristic and the successive developments of the (style of architecture) in different ages and countries.”<sup>263</sup>

The result of typological and stylistic examination of architectural history by survey authors is to highlight one or a few architectural proponents for each period. Accordingly, Byzantine architecture is often reduced to an achievement in dome construction together with vaults. According to Rosengarten, for example, “the essential characteristic of Byzantine style is therefore, in short, that the vaulting, and especially the dome, constitutes the main feature, to which all else is subordinate”.<sup>264</sup> Similarly, According to Freeman “the offspring of the arch is the vault; of the vault the cupola; and this majestic ornament is the very life and soul of Byzantine architecture, to which every other feature is subordinate.”<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Hamlin, *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*, preface xxiii.

<sup>262</sup> Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, Vol.1, preface.

<sup>263</sup> Hope, *An Historical Essay in Architecture*, 427.

<sup>264</sup> Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 187.

<sup>265</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 167.



Such a total reliance on typological study of building components, led not only to the ignorance of historical context but making comparisons and judgments according to Western architectural typology and the evaluation of Byzantine architecture with the criteria of Western models for medieval architecture. The authors made comparisons with the monumentality of Gothic Cathedrals in the West and this led to generalizations about Byzantine architecture as “small and stagnant, and dull”.<sup>266</sup> There was a common assumption held by almost all of authors of the survey books in this period. This is the fact that after Hagia Sophia which was the highest point of the development, Byzantine architecture displayed stagnance and decadence. Consequently, buildings from the later period of Byzantium are either devalued for not having the structural achievements of Hagia Sophia or simply ignored.

It is not surprising then; in almost all of survey books examined here, Hagia Sophia is by far the most studied building, with its different plans and etchings, etc. Fergusson, for example, held the idea that after Hagia Sophia which is the highest point of the development, Byzantine architecture displayed stagnance and decadence by stating that:

Santa Sophia at Constantinople was not only grandest and most perfect creation of the old school of Byzantine art, but it was also the last. It seems as if the creative power of the empire had exhausted itself in that great effort, and for long after it the history is a blank.<sup>267</sup>

He devotes an extensive place to the examination of Hagia Sophia by comparing it with the buildings of the Gothic and Renaissance and concludes that the architectural features of Hagia Sophia surpassed both. The plans and sections of Hagia Sophia are also provided in this section. Hamlin also held the view that after Hagia Sophia, the architecture of the Byzantine Empire declined: “After the sixth century no monuments were built at all rivaling in scale the creations of the former

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<sup>266</sup> Ousterhout, “An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture”, 20-21.

<sup>267</sup> Fergusson, *History of Architecture in all Countries*, Vol. 2, 452.

periods. The later churches were, with few exceptions, relatively small and trivial”.<sup>268</sup>

As regards the number of pages devoted to Byzantine architecture in comparison with other architectural styles, it may be said that Byzantine architecture has been far less studied. Almost all of the survey books analyzed in this study reserve by far the most extensive space to the examination of Gothic architecture. For example, while Byzantine architecture is examined in less than 13 pages, Freeman devotes 75 pages to Romanesque architecture, 128 pages to Gothic architecture.<sup>269</sup> In the *History of Architecture*, Fergusson states that he extended the information on Byzantine architecture due to the proliferation of the information about Byzantine architecture in a few years by the publication of these works, until that time had been “almost entirely a blank”. However, he devotes the Byzantine chapter almost thirty pages (together with “Russian architecture”) out of total 1107 pages of the book.<sup>270</sup> Albert Rosengarten, similarly, examines Byzantine architecture in less than 12 pages, while he devotes 81 pages to Gothic, and 66 pages to the Renaissance period.<sup>271</sup>

One can assume that this is partly due to the scarcity of knowledge about the Byzantine monuments especially those in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean. This is perhaps one of the reasons. However, recent editions of Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture* (1956, 1971, and 1996) for example, show that the status of Byzantine architecture seems to have changed little.

As Nelson has pointed out “Space is another device by which “self” and “other” are constituted in the narrative”.<sup>272</sup> The space can be understood in two ways in a narrative. The first one is the space that is devoted to the examination of history of architecture of different cultures and periods. The other one is meant for

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<sup>268</sup> Hamlin, *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*, 132.

<sup>269</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, “Byzantine Architecture” is examined in pages 161-174.

<sup>270</sup> Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook*, “Byzantine Architecture” is examined in pages 941-978.

<sup>271</sup> Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, “Byzantine Architecture” is examined in 177-190.

<sup>272</sup> Nelson, “Living on the Byzantine Borders”, 36.

the position of author. In other words, it is important to understand how the author has posited himself/herself in his/her narrative. The point of view and the ways of seeing could be most explained by the use of language and the words that were used to describe Byzantine architecture. Hence, the position of author is expressed more directly in the use of language. Although Nelson points out that in traditional histories, the author does not appear as a person and thus the first-person pronoun is seldom used, in surveys examined here authors do not refrain from using the first-person pronoun. In some cases, particularly Freeman and Fergusson, even express their own taste, aesthetics or make value judgments. Freeman states that

Which style is the best is surely a matter of taste; I have myself a very strong opinion that on the whole Perpendicular is the best. [...] <sup>273</sup> Gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art, that it is the only style to be adopted for modern structures in western Europe, the present writer would never dream for a moment of calling in question; but this surely does not preclude us from looking on the architecture of other nations as being at least as curious and valuable a study as other researches of the like kind. <sup>274</sup>

In contrast, Byzantine architecture is defined mostly by such words as “rigid”, “alien”, “oriental”, “fixed”, “static”, and “immutable”. While Freeman recognizes that architectures of other cultures are important in their own right, when he says that “Byzantine architecture has an historical interest peculiar to itself, it cannot claim a place equal to those of Western Europe.” <sup>275</sup>

Needless to say, the survey books examined here were written from the vantage point of Western Europe and thus their assessments of Byzantine architecture bear more than slight traces of orientalism and European nationalism. The examination of survey books’ methods and assumptions reveal that both the evaluation of Byzantine architecture and the placement of it within the global architectural history are concomitant with Western European’s ambiguity and selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage as mentioned in the previous

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<sup>273</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, preface, xiv.

<sup>274</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 10.

<sup>275</sup> Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 164.

sections. It can also be said that ethnicity, religion, and language became crucial markers in defining the uniqueness of each nation in the late nineteenth century western historiography. By using these categories, architectural history survey books produced in this period defined and categorized Byzantine architecture as not only Eastern, Slavonic and Orthodox, but also small, stagnant and dull.

## CHAPTER 4

### **MODERNITY, NATIONALISM, AND HISTORICAL IMAGINATION: 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS AND “REDISCOVERY” OF BYZANTIUM IN THE WIDER OTTOMAN WORLD**

The previous chapter discussed how Western European renewed interest in the Byzantine legacy began in the mid-nineteenth century was closely associated with the emergence of nationalism, historicism, and orientalism. During this period, various European countries began to search for the origins of their cultures leading them to a renewed interest in the Middle Ages. Thus, we have seen how selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage served as a kind of device in constructing national histories in the western European historiography. This new appreciation of the Byzantine heritage enabled western European states to claim a kind of historical continuity of national histories.

This chapter will look at the same period in the Ottoman world. After providing a brief overview of the nineteenth century political context with an emphasis on the transformation of the historiography, the first section of this chapter will specifically explore how late Ottoman historians perceived and described Byzantium and its history. Special attention will be paid to the analysis of the main stereotypes concerning the Byzantine Empire, disseminated by western writers and historians as well as an investigation of the ways in which Ottoman historians began to conceive a novel approach regarding the appropriation of Byzantine heritage.

The second section of this chapter, on the other hand, will examine the rediscovery of Byzantium by the newly emerged Balkan states. It will focus on the ways in which these nation states' historical imagination portrayed the Byzantine heritage. In total, this chapter will highlight the ways in which historians in this period shared and were influenced by the same concerns regarding the “intermediary” use of Byzantine history within the processes of constructing a continuous and progressive national history.

#### 4.1. Nineteenth Century Ottoman Historical Context

The nineteenth century was a period of political, social, economic and cultural transformations for the Ottoman Empire, as elsewhere in Europe. The reform movements that began in the 18th century were implemented systematically leading to new official organizational measures in the Empire throughout this period. It was Sultan Mahmud II (1808-39) who initiated several reforms for restructuring Ottoman institutions. In 1839, a series of institutional changes known as *Tanzimat* accelerated the processes of centralization and modernization in the Ottoman Empire. The reforms of this era are distinguished by the focus on judicial renovation, the establishment of central and provincial councils and the attempt to improve the position of non-Muslim communities. This period was also marked by the shifting power from the palace to the civil bureaucratic headquarters at the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*).<sup>276</sup>

Starting from the late eighteenth century, the influence of German romanticism and the new concept of ‘nation’ that was developed in Western Europe began to spread throughout the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire. The nationalist uprisings of the Balkans began with the Serbian Revolt of 1804. Serbia won autonomy in 1815; Greece gained its independence in 1830. Russia claimed the protectorate of Orthodoxy resulting in the Crimean War (1853-56) with the involvement of France and Britain. The revolt broke out in Herzegovina in 1874 and spread to Bosnia, Montenegro and Bulgaria by 1876.<sup>277</sup>

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed significant attempts at reforming the state, reorganizing the economy and modernizing institutions. The modernization reforms were basically reactionary measures taken as a response to

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<sup>276</sup> The Tanzimat era begins with the declaration of Gülhane Charter (1839) and ends with the declaration of *Kanun-i Esasi*, the First Constitution (1876). See Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: a Modern History*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 52-74; Carter Vaughn Findley, “The Tanzimat”, in *the Cambridge History of Turkey*, Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World, ed. Reşat Kasaba, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 11-37.

<sup>277</sup> Stanford S. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Volume 2: Reform, Revolution and Republic. The Rise of Modern Turkey (1808-1975), (Cambridge University Press, 2002 (First published in 1977), 29-35.

the military and scientific developments in Western Europe and national uprisings inside the Empire. They particularly aimed at preventing the state from demise and preserving its integrity. A possible solution appeared in the form of westernization, as Ottoman leaders sought to import military and administrative models from Europe. The modernization efforts in this period were concomitant with the endeavors of the imperial center to disseminate its values to the peripheries resulting in the changing character of the relationships between the imperial center and its peripheral regions.<sup>278</sup>

The official ideology of Ottomanism, which emerged from the *Tanzimat* reforms (1839) promoting the equality among the *millet*s, became the ideological justification regarding the civilizing mission of the Ottoman reformers. In later periods, particularly during the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909), Ottomanism imbued with an Islamic discourse and the ruling elite came to rely on Islam as an ideology to hold together Turkish, Arabic, Albanian, and Kurdish peoples' loyalty to the Sultan.<sup>279</sup>

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 inaugurated the Second Constitutional Period, which lasted until the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. The new ruling party, the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP) placed Mehmed Reşat on the throne as a sultan. This period was marked by new social and political transformations. It introduced parliamentary rule changing social and political life, but could not prevent losing territory. This period also coincided with the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and WWI. After a considerable amount of territory losses during these wars, the project of the Young Turks was abandoned completely as the ideology of Ottomanism came to be seen unworkable. Then, the policy of the government shifted towards a Turkish nationalist discourse.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Findley, "The Tanzimat", 18-23.

<sup>279</sup> Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, (University of California Press, 1997), 15-19; Cemal Kafadar and Hakan Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing", in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Volume 4: 1800-1945, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguel, and Attila Pók (Oxford- New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 570-71.

<sup>280</sup> Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 15-19.

In accordance with the great transformations in the military, economic, social, administrative and educational system of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, the practice of historical writing underwent significant transformations. This period witnessed the emergence of new historiographical methods and the novel concept of “objectivity”.<sup>281</sup> The translation of European works into Turkish was one of the most important ways in which new historical methods were introduced. The Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall’s *Geshichte des Osmanische Reiches* [History of the Ottoman Empire] (1827-35) exerted important influences on the subsequent Ottoman historians due to extensive use of Ottoman sources. Many Ottoman historians such as Hayrullah Efendi (1817-76) who composed his *Tarih-i Devlet-i ‘Aliyye-i Osmani* [History of the Ottoman State] in 1854 relied heavily on the French translation of Hammer-Purgstall’s history.<sup>282</sup>

During these years, Ottoman intellectuals began to show an interest in defining the identity of Turks in relation to a Central Asian and Anatolian past. Mustafa Celaleddin Pasa’s (1828-75) “*Les Turcs Anciens et Modernes*” (1869) suggested that many early Anatolian tribes were Turks. This work had important influences among Ottoman authors who wanted to promote patriotism among Ottoman subjects by central Asian forebears and early Ottomans. Namık Kemal, for example, moved away from Ottoman concepts of *millet* toward the notion of *vatan*, often likened to the French concept of *patrie*, or motherland, which would be defined by the borders of the Ottoman state.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Ercüment Kuran states that in conjunction with the “two-fold nature of the Tanzimat period”, while traditional historiography continued to produce historical works, a new genre influenced by the novel concepts of “objectivity” of European history writing of the nineteenth century was adopted by a new generation of Ottoman authors. Ercüment Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period” in *Historians of the Middle East* ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, (London, 1962), 422-29.

<sup>282</sup> Kafadar and Karateke, “Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing”, 565; Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography”, 424.

<sup>283</sup> Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, (İstanbul, Kaynak Yayınları, 1983), 29-30; Wendy K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 23.



The establishment of two scholarly societies during the nineteenth century played an important role in the transformation of historical writings. *Encümen-i Daniş* [Council of Knowledge] founded by the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Paşa in 1851 was primarily concerned with undertaking scholarly research and writing history textbooks for the *Darülfunun* [University]. For this purpose, the historian Ahmed Cevdet was commissioned to write the age of reforms of Ottoman history covering the years 1774-1826 culminating in his seminal work *Tarih-i Cevdet*.<sup>284</sup>

In 1909, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* [the Ottoman Historical Society] was founded by a group of historians, art historians and statesmen under the patronage of Mehmed V. The basic aim of the institute was to produce a comprehensive Ottoman history in order to create a consciousness of a common past for the varied ethno-religious population of the empire. Although a multi-volume Ottoman history was planned by *Tarihi-i Osmani Encümeni*, only one volume could be produced by Necib Asım in 1917.<sup>285</sup>

These institutions were responsible for creating and disseminating the historical knowledge that would enhance nationalist thought and create a new Ottoman identity. The historiography was, then, considered as the most appropriate tool in defining a specific identity for all of the Ottoman society as in the case of Europe in this period. Therefore, the most important consequence of the transformation of historical writing was the increase of nationalist ideology in history writing and the works on the Ottoman dynastic history.

#### **4.2. Byzantium and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman History Writing**

As elsewhere in Europe, after the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a gradual increase in the historical works dealing with Byzantine history in the Ottoman historiography. Of course, one reason was related to the emergence of new historiographical methods and a new interest in non-Muslim histories and

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<sup>284</sup> The institution was short-lived, dissolved in 1862. Kafadar and Karateke, "Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing", 563.

<sup>285</sup> Kafadar and Karateke, "Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing", 570-71.

proliferation of “universal histories” in general. However, Byzantine history seems to have been also useful for some specific purposes ranging from providing a historical setting for Ottoman history or providing a comparison and political legitimation tool for the Ottoman Empire through historiography.<sup>286</sup>

#### **4.2.1. As a Historical Setting for Ottoman History**

In the course of the nineteenth century, Ottoman historians also recognized the potential of older traditions and the “glories of the ancient past” not only for writing a linear dynastic/national history but also for providing a political legitimacy to the empire. As discussed in the previous chapter, during this period, European Romantic historians concentrated on the middle ages as a crucial moment for writing national histories. In turn, editions of medieval sources were published across Europe.<sup>287</sup> Similarly, Ottoman historians also showed a new interest in the medieval period by “re-discovering” the foundation period of the Ottoman state as a historiographical topic. During this period, contemporary historiography of the early Ottoman history promoted a new vision of the medieval era as a seedbed of modern Ottoman identity.<sup>288</sup> Interestingly, similar to Western Europe and new nation states of the Balkan region, we see that Ottoman historians tended to use Byzantine history in their attempt at constructing a historical and progressive Ottoman history.

Starting with the Abdulaziz era (1830-1876) and increasing during the reign of Abdulhamid II (1842-1918) with the concern of the “political legitimacy”, there began nostalgia for the founding years of the Ottoman Empire. In line with this tendency, historical works on Ottoman history with an emphasis on the foundation

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<sup>286</sup> Michael Ursinus, “From Suleyman Pasha to Mehmed Fuat Köprülü”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 12/1, (1988), 307.

<sup>287</sup> Stefan Berger, “The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism”, in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Volume 4: 1800-1945, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (Oxford- New York : Oxford University Press, 2011), 31-33.

<sup>288</sup> Christoph Neumann, “Bad Times, Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography, 1850-1900”, in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır, Suraiya Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 61-66; Ahmet Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period” in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Volume: 24 (2007), 126-130.

period increased considerably.<sup>289</sup> As distinct from earlier periods, however, the early history of the Ottoman dynasty began to be introduced along with the history of pre-Islamic Turks, Seljuk and Byzantine history. It seems that while the history of pre-Islamic Turks in Central Asia provides a historical origin; Seljuk and Byzantine history presents the idea of continued history implying the imperial traditions of the Ottoman Empire that had inherited from the Byzantine and thus the Roman Empire.

The Ottoman emphasis on the early Ottoman periods for creating a rooted and continued history was not only reflected in historical writings but also through other media that would display the image of a glorious past with reference to the Islamic background. During the Abdülaziz era, for example, late medieval monuments of Bursa, including the mausoleum of the founders of the state, Osman and Orhan, were restored. Then, Abdülhamid commissioned the rebuilding of the tomb of Ertuğrul Gazi in Söğüt, the birthplace of the Ottoman dynasty.<sup>290</sup> In the same vein, the first exhibition mosque built in 1867 by the Ottoman Empire for the universal exhibition in Paris was modeled on the fourteenth and fifteenth century Ottoman mosque architecture developed in Bursa - often identified with the Green Mosque - rather than classical mosques such as Süleymaniye or Sultan Ahmed.<sup>291</sup>

All these were part of greater political and cultural pursuits of legitimation of the late Ottoman Empire through not only public ceremonies, the iconography of architecture, etc., but also historiography, an empire that was struggling with the

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<sup>289</sup> Neumann, "Bad Times, Better Self", 64-71.; Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins", 126-130.

<sup>290</sup> Selim Deringil, "The Ottoman Origins of Kemalism: Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal" in the Ottomans, the Turks and World Power Politics, *The Ottomans, the Turks and World Power Politics: collected essays*, Analecta Isisiana, 49, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2000), 179-200. ; Selim Deringil, *İkdidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji, II. Abdülhamid dönemi (1876-1909)*, trans. Gül Çağalı Güven, (İstanbul: YKY, 2002), 37-42.

<sup>291</sup> One of the main projects undertaken during the reign of Abdülaziz (1861-1876) was the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867. Salaheddin Bey, the head commissioner of the Ottoman Empire, presented Ottoman displays in his *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867). Salaheddin Bey's book, dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz summarized Ottoman displays as well as the history of the Ottoman Empire and its participation in modern civilization. See Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient, Displaying Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 96-102.

challenge of modernity and survival.<sup>292</sup> Realizing that the Ottoman Empire was weaker than European powers, Ottoman intellectuals attempted to define and legitimize the empire through history writing. Within this context, invented ideologies - Ottomanism, and later Islamism and Turkism - forged the framework of Ottoman historiography in this period. The main purpose of this new historical narrative was to display a continuous and progressive Ottoman history.<sup>293</sup>

These attempts of Ottoman historians and re-discovery of the foundation of the Ottoman state as a historiographical topic brought about a prominent role to history of the Byzantine Empire. The first was placing it into Ottoman histories as a historical background. Primary examples of this can be seen in the historical works commissioned by the scholarly societies founded in this period. For example, Hayrullah Efendi (1817-1866), a vice president of the *Encümen-i Daniş*, composed his *Tarih-i Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i Osmani* [History of the Ottoman State] in 1854 with the encouragement of this academy. In this work, while Hayrullah Efendi puts back the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to earlier times and presents the genealogy of Ottoman dynasty that went back to the Oghuz tribe<sup>294</sup>; he also included a short account of the Byzantine history as a prolegomena to Ottoman history.<sup>295</sup> Similarly, Necib Asım and Mehmed Arif, commissioned by the Turkish Historical Society for preparing a History of the Ottomans in 1909, devoted the first volume only to the pre-Anatolian Turkish, Byzantine, and Seljuk Periods respectively in more than five hundred pages as an introduction to the main work.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Deringil, *İkdidarn Sembolleri ve İdeoloji*, 37-42.

<sup>293</sup> Neumann, "Bad Times and Better Self", 62.

<sup>294</sup> Neumann, "Bad Times and Better Self", 67-68.

<sup>295</sup> Hayrullah Efendi, (1820-1866), *Tarih-i Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1271-1292 [1854-1875]) Vol.2, 86-94; Cited in Kuran, "Ottoman Historiography", 424.

<sup>296</sup> Necib Asım and Mehmed Arif, *Osmanlı Tarihi. Medhal ile bidayet- zuhur-i Osmani ve ahd-i Osman Han gaziyi muhtevidir*. Vol. 1 (all published), İstanbul 1335/1919; Cited in Kafadar and Karateke, "Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing", 570-71. See Michael Ursinus, "Byzantine History in late Ottoman Turkish Historiography", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 10/1, (1986), 218-221.

Apart from its Turkic origin, the imperial component which came to constitute the Ottoman Empire began to be increasingly interested in by some Ottoman historians, who considered the importance of the existence of an imperial tradition in the territory that the Ottoman Empire had established in order to link the Ottoman Empire with the Roman Empire, as Constantinople was the second Rome.<sup>297</sup> This attitude is best reflected in Namık Kemal's (1740-1888) study of Roman and Byzantine History as a prolegomena to his major historical work *Ottoman History* (1909).<sup>298</sup> As stated by the author himself, this study was intended to provide the Ottoman readers with an extensive overview of Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods to situate the foundation period of Ottoman civilization within its larger historical context by delineating its cultural and political links with the Islamic and the Roman civilizations. He writes:

I found it necessary to write a prolegomena before starting this history. The first section, therefore, constitutes an historical outline of the Roman Empire up to the emergence of Islam. Perhaps some readers will be wearied by the length of this introductory draft, but there was no way of condensing it any further. Firstly, without the background of Roman history, it was impossible to expound upon the Eastern [Byzantine] Empire, which was constantly in touch and at war with Islamic states till its demise, as well as upon the Islamic state that was annihilated in Andalusia, and the force that blocked the routes of Islamic conquest in the West. Secondly, I wanted to provide the reader with a sound basis for comparing the Roman Empire, the greatest political entity before the advent of Islam, with the Arab empire. Unfortunately, a comprehensive study of the Roman Empire that would serve as a reference in this regard has never been published in our language.<sup>299</sup>

As elsewhere in Europe, the notions of origin and historical continuity were of major significance for the Ottoman historiography particularly after the second

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<sup>297</sup> Ursinus, "From Suleyman Pasha", 308.

<sup>298</sup> Ursinus, "From Suleyman Pasha", 309.

<sup>299</sup> Translated by Ahmet Ersoy, "Namık Kemal: Ottoman History" in *Historicizing the Nation: Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Text and Commentaries*, Volume 2: National Romanticism, the Formation of National Movements, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2007), 94-100. Although Namık Kemal intended to publish his *Roman History* as a separate volume, its publication was ceased by the order of Sultan Abdülhamid II after the publication of the first volume in 1887. His *Osmanlı Tarihi*, without this *medhal* was published in 1908/1909. The paragraph quoted here is from the introduction of the published version of *Ottoman History*.

half of the nineteenth century. Similar to European historians, who tried to establish a link between modern nation states and Roman imperial traditions, we see that some Ottoman historians also searched for the ways that would connect Ottoman Empire with imperial and historical traditions.

#### 4.2.2. A Tool for Comparison and Legitimization

Some historical works demonstrate the interest of late Ottoman historians in the new comparative and analytical approaches developed by their European counterparts. Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1912), one of the most prolific and widely read late Ottoman authors, also journalist, novelist, and playwright, was probably the first Ottoman author to examine Ottoman History by comparing it with Roman and Byzantine history.<sup>300</sup> One of the reasons behind such a comparison was perhaps related to attempts to understand the reasons of the decline of the Ottoman Empire as the history of the Roman and Byzantine Empire may have provided a model. In his *Mufassal Tarih-i Kurun-i Cedide*, [Complete History of the Modern Ages] (3 vols, 1886-1887), while he attributed a Turkish origin to the Ottoman dynasty, he foregrounded the comparison of Ottoman Empire with other empires including the Byzantine Empire. Although this work was a study of Ottoman history from its beginnings to the sixteenth century, the author reserved a separate chapter for the Byzantine Empire in which he compared some socio-political aspects of the two empires.<sup>301</sup>

Ahmed Midhad's comparative approach is further developed by some later Ottoman historians. The best example of such a comparative framework can be seen in the two essays entitled *Roma ve Osmanlı Devletleri Arasında Mukayese-i Tarihiye* [Historical Comparison between the Roman and Ottoman States] (**fig. 10**) and *Kadim Yunanistan, Bizans ve Osmanlı Devleti* [Ancient Greece, Byzantium, and Ottoman State] (**fig. 11**) written by Celal Nuri [İleri] (1881-1938) one of the

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<sup>300</sup> Ursinus, "Byzantine History", 215; Ursinus, "From Süleyman Pasha", 311.

<sup>301</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Mufassal Tarih-i Kurun-i Cedide*, Vol.2, 269-427 cited in Ursinus, "Byzantine History", 215-218.

prominent figures of the Young Turks as an active politician, journalist, and author.<sup>302</sup> In these essays, Celal Nuri compared the Ottoman Empire with the Roman, Byzantine, Tatar and Andalusian Umayyad states focusing on their similarities in terms of the nature of the empire and the reasons of their decline.<sup>303</sup> Obviously, the author's main concern was to understand the Ottoman decline. This is also evident in the fact that the two essays were later published as part of the book entitled *Tarih-i Tedenniyyat-i Osmaniye Mukadderat-i Tarih* [History of Ottoman Decline, Providence in History] (İstanbul 1331/1912-3).<sup>304</sup> In 1917, Celal Nuri published another essay entitled *Rum ve Bizans* in which he further developed this comparative method (fig. 12).<sup>305</sup> Here, he states:

Roma ve ona halef olan Bizans tarihlerini bilmek, tarih-i Osman-i meraklıları için önemlidir. Bu nedenle her iki tarihi mütevaziyen [paralel olarak] tedvin [biraraya getirme] ve bundan şayan-ı istifade netayic [sonuç] çıkarmak asıl amacımızdır, lakin bu iş zannedildiği kadar kolay değildir.<sup>306</sup>

For this purpose, Celal Nuri examines similarities between the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire in terms of their “cosmopolite” population, state organization, position of rulers and religion, traditions, palace ceremonies

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<sup>302</sup> After graduating from the faculty of law in 1906, Celal Nuri became a lawyer. Shortly after 31 March 1909, he decided to become a journalist and freelance writer. Between 1909 and 1938, he published several articles in various newspapers and journals and books. See, Ş. Tufan Buzpinar, “Celal Nuri's Concepts of Westernization and Religion”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43:2, 247-258, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200601114091> (accessed 18.11.2012); Necmi Uyanık, “Celal Nuri ve Tarih Anlayışı” <http://www.turkiyat.selcuk.edu.tr/pdfdergi/s16/uyanik.pdf> (accessed 18.11.2012).

<sup>303</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarihi-Tedenniyyat-ı Osmaniye, Mukadderat-ı Tarihiye*, (İstanbul, 1331/1912-3). Also cited in Ursinus, “From Süleyman Pasha”, 312. See also Celal Nuri [İleri], *Uygurluklar Çatışmasında Türkiye*, trans. and ed. Mahir Aydın, (İstanbul: Togan, 2008).

<sup>304</sup> In his comparison between the Roman and the Ottoman Empire, Celal Nuri states that “Bu iki devletten biri ne gibi esbab-ı inhitat giriftar olmuş ise diğeri de ona duçar olmuştur”, Celal Nuri, *Tarihi-i Tedenniyyat*, 380.

<sup>305</sup> In the preface of his book, Celal Nuri states that he had written a history of pre-conquest Konstantiniyye by not only translation and compilation from European works but also incorporating his ideas (*telif ve muhakeme*). This text devoted to Rum and Byzantine, he argued, would be an introductory part of this work which was never published. Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, (İstanbul, Konstantinye: Cemiyet Kütüphanesi, 1917), 1-3.

<sup>306</sup> Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 54.

throughout his account (**fig. 13**).<sup>307</sup> As I will discuss in more detail in **Chapter 6**, although Celal Nuri discusses Byzantine - Ottoman transition and appreciates the linkages between the two empires, at the end, he concludes that the main reason of the corruption and decline of the Ottoman Empire was “the influence of the Byzantine Empire”!

The other incentive for making such comparisons between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire in historical writing seems to be related to political legitimacy. This was particularly relevant after the second half of the nineteenth century when the weight of Islam as a source of legitimacy became more prominent. In such cases, Byzantine history tends to be used for emphasizing the political success of the founders of the Ottoman Empire by describing the foundation of the Ottoman polity against a background of political and cultural decline in the Byzantine Empire. We see that the denigration of Byzantium that prevailed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century western historiography was easily adopted as a legitimizing device as it was the Ottomans who had defeated Byzantium at all. In addition, major encounters with the Byzantines such as the Battle of Malazgirt, the conquest of Anatolia and the Balkans, and the capture of Istanbul were particularly highlighted. Not surprisingly, the Byzantine rulers were described as “corrupt” and “despotic”, exploiting the inhabitants of the region.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Celal Nuri points out similar multinational nature of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. He states that “...Byzantine military leaders were not Roman or Byzantine, but Persian, Slavs, and Huns, etc. The Byzantine Empire was composed of Macedonians, Slavs, and Armenians. Similarly, the Ottoman state was also multinational. If Ottoman Turks had not accepted to Islamic religion a few centuries ago, they would become Rum after a short time ...” Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 43. He also mentions similarities in the administration of the both empires, palace rituals, position of the emperors etc. Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 44-49.

<sup>308</sup> Such descriptions of the Byzantines continued in the history textbooks and novels until recently. See Hercules Millas, “History Writing among Greeks and Turks: Imagining the Self and the Other”, in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, Writing the Nation Series, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 490–510.; Hercules Millas, “Non-Muslim Minorities in the Historiography of Republican Turkey: the Greek Case.” in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır, Suraiya Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 155-192.



The earliest examples of such descriptions can be found again in Ahmed Midhat's works. His *Üss-i İnkılâp* [The Basis of Transformation],<sup>309</sup> published in 1877 was an official history of the Tanzimat era commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Here, compatible with the ideology of Ottomanism, Ahmed Midhat describes a multi-ethnic empire containing non-Turkic and non-Islamic elements since its foundation period.<sup>310</sup> However, when it comes to the Byzantine Empire, he describes the Ottoman Empire as the liberator of people living under the "corrupt Byzantine rule".<sup>311</sup> Ahmed Midhat particularly emphasizes the emergence of the Ottoman state as the dawn of a new civilization ending the "Dark Ages" of Byzantine Empire, describing the Ottoman Empire as the savior of the *Rum Kilisesi* from the moral decay of the Byzantine Empire, and the protector of the Orthodox Church.<sup>312</sup> The theme of "decline and decadence" of the Byzantine Empire which had been developed in the eighteenth century western historiography was also echoed in these narratives of the Ottoman historians. For example, a very similar description of the Byzantine Empire to that of Voltaire was made by Mehmed Murad who notes that "the Eastern Roman Empire, or Rum, or the Byzantine Empire lived more than one thousand years after the decline of the Western Roman Empire. However, it left nothing other than a stain for humanity because its history

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<sup>309</sup> *Üss-i İnkılab* consists of two volumes. The first volume was published during the second year of Sultan Abdülhamid's reign. Starting with a historical overview about the emergence of the Ottoman polity, the rest of this volume comprises a detailed account of the political events of the *Tanzimat* years. The second volume, published in 1878, entirely recounts the events of the Hamidian era, publicizing the accomplishments of the new sultan in a celebratory tone. Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılap (Kısm-ı Evvel)*, (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire Matbaası, 1294/1877); Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılap, Volume 2: II. Abdülhamid Han'ın Cülüsundan Birinci Seneye Kadar*, (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2004).

<sup>310</sup> "Kemâl-i ehemmiyetle dikkat olunacak ahvâldendir ki Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye sırf bir devlet-i İslâmiyye gibi teşekkül etmemiştir... Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye tevârîh-i selefde emsâli sibkat etmemiş olmak üzere müstakillen bir (Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye) olarak teşekkül eylemiştir" Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılap (Kısm-ı Evvel)*, 9. Also Cited in Muharrem Dayanç, "Ahmed Midhad Efendi ve Üss-i İnkılab Üzerine", *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Volume 7/1 (winter 2012), 837-847. [http://turkishstudies.net/Makaleler/1110697509\\_40\\_dayançmuharrem\\_t.pdf](http://turkishstudies.net/Makaleler/1110697509_40_dayançmuharrem_t.pdf) (accessed 10.11.2012).

<sup>311</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılap*, 10-11; Dayanç, "Ahmed Midhad Efendi".

<sup>312</sup> Michael Ursinus, "Der schlechteste staat: Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1913) on Byzantine Institutions" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 11:1, (1987), 237-239.

was a disgrace.”<sup>313</sup> In his *Kainat-Kütübhone-i Tarih* (1886-87), Ahmed Midhat divides the whole Byzantine history into the periods defined by the “invasion” of the other states; “*Slavların İstilasına Kadar*” [until the Invasion of Slavs], “*İstanbul’un Ehl-i Sahib Tarafından Fethine Kadar*” [until the Conquest of İstanbul by the Latins] and “*İstila-i Osmaniye’ye Kadar*” [until the Invasion of the Ottomans].<sup>314</sup> Similarly, in another general history written or translated by İbrahim Hakkı Paşa, *Tarih-i Umumi*, Byzantine history is examined in six pages under such titles of “*Roma’nın inkırazı*” [the decline of the Roman Empire], “*Fesad-ı Ahlak*” [corrupted morals], “*Konstantiyye Rezaletleri*” [scandals of Constantinople].<sup>315</sup> In the same vein, in Mehmed Murad’s *Tarih-i Umumi*, the whole Byzantine history is nothing than political conflicts, wars and disorders.<sup>316</sup>

These historical accounts, the majority of which were translations from European originals, portrayed Byzantine society constantly in decline and subject to negative influences of other states. Such descriptions were especially useful for justifying the righteousness of the Ottoman conquerors. Accordingly all Byzantines accept the rule of Ottomans as their salvation. In these narratives, then, the main role of Byzantine history was to legitimize the foundation of the Ottoman Empire and reveal the success of the Ottoman dynasty.<sup>317</sup> It is also clear that Ottoman historians did not have a total image of Byzantine history, similar to European historians. While some periods of Byzantine history are considered more positive, some others are negative. In general, the earliest period of the Byzantine Empire is viewed as the decline period of the Roman Empire probably due to the impact of

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<sup>313</sup> “Şarki Roma veya Rum veyahud Bizans İmparatorluğu, Garb İmparatorluğunun çöküşünden sonra bin sene daha yaşamıştır. Şu kadar ki, bu yaşayışı beşeriyat namına bir leke ilave etmekten başka bir işe yaramamıştır. Çünkü kendi yaşamı rezalet içinde geçmiştir” Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.3, 62.

<sup>314</sup> Ahmed Midhat, *Kâinat: kütüphane-yi tarih*, (İstanbul: Muharrin zatına mahsus matbaa, 1288-1298 [1871 or 1872-1880 or 1881], Vol.3, 63-100.

<sup>315</sup> İbrahim Hakkı Paşa, *Tarih-i Umumi*, 3 Vols, (İstanbul, 1889, “Mekteb-i Ali Hukuk’da tedris edilmek üzere tertib olunmuştur”) Volume 3, 170-173.

<sup>316</sup> Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.3 (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1298 [1882], 71-72.

<sup>317</sup> Millas, ‘History Writing among Greeks and Turks’, 490–510; Millas, “Non-Muslim Minorities”, 155-192.

Montesquieu, Gibbon and Voltaire. Celal Nuri writes, for example: “As the Eastern Roman Empire had founded on the eve of the fall of the Western Roman Empire; it had left history nothing than moral decay, sordidness, rivalry, and discrimination.”<sup>318</sup> The reign of emperor Justinian (527-565) is often cited as the most important period and thus evaluated with a positive attitude as this period witnessed Justinian’s attempts to revive the Empire's greatness and reconquer the lost western half of the historical Roman Empire. After this period, however, the Byzantine Empire is considered to enter a low period. According to Celal Nuri, all moral decay occurred during this period since “Greeks brought their language, arts, women, disgrace. This was a period marked by disorder, moral decay, and disgrace”.<sup>319</sup> The other period, which is considered important, is the middle Byzantine period often referred to between ninth to eleventh centuries by several Ottoman authors. For example, Celal Nuri points out “the glory of Byzantine Empire was seen in the middle Byzantine period of 10-11<sup>th</sup> centuries... that also brought civilization to Russia with importing its religion, art and architecture, before which Russia was a primitive society.”<sup>320</sup> In contrast, the last centuries of Byzantium were again described with very negative words.<sup>321</sup> This was also probably related to the legitimation of the conquest of Constantinople and glorifying the Ottomans who terminated such a “corrupt” empire.

#### 4.2.3. Byzantine Legacy as a Part of Ottoman Identity

Contrary to such negative portraits of the Byzantine Empire in late Ottoman historiography, there were also novel approaches appreciating the importance of the

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<sup>318</sup> “Şarki Roma zaten Garbi Roma’nın inkırazında vuku bulduğundan, ahlaksızlık, ihtilafat, ihtirasat ve mücadelat hızbiyeden başka, tarihe bir yadigar bırakmamıştır.” Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyat*, 86.

<sup>319</sup> Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 21.

<sup>320</sup> Celal Nuri writes: “Slav toplumunun çalgısı, pek basit seslerden oluşan bir müzik aletiydi. İstanbullular, müziği de getirdi. Mimarlık da bu yollarla Rusya’ya girdi ve göze hoş gelen kiliseler, yaldızlı kubbeler yapıldı. Yapısı sert ve ahlaki kaba olan Ruslar, beylerinin baskısıyla, o zamanın en ileri uygarlığı olan, Bizans uygarlığına girdiler.” Celal Nuri, *Tarihi Tedenniyatı*, 409-412.

<sup>321</sup> Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 29-31.

study of Byzantine history, art and architecture and attempts at appropriating the Byzantine heritage as part of Ottoman identity.

Ahmet Refik [Altınay] (1881-1937), one of the prominent historians of the transition period from empire to republic, can be considered the best representative of this positive approach. Having adopted Romantic and positivist history writing, Ahmet Refik resembles his European contemporaries in many ways. He has often been credited as one of the first modern historians in Turkey as he was one of the first Ottoman authors to use Ottoman state archive, “*hazine-i evrak*” in writing history. At the same time, he was one of the first “popular” historians, successfully combining history with literature and producing several historical novels which provided him with a very wide range of readers.<sup>322</sup>

Although his main subject of study was Ottoman history like many of his contemporaries, Ahmet Refik was highly interested in Byzantine history, with an emphasis on the political and cultural linkages between the Ottomans and the Byzantines. Although his works on Byzantine history and culture were heavily based on his abridged translations of European (particularly French) works, rather than original historical writing, Ahmed Refik’s most important contribution was his attempt to incorporate the Byzantine heritage into “Ottoman identity”.

Ahmed Refik composed one of the most comprehensive world histories in the Ottoman Empire entitled “*Büyük Tarih-i Umumi: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi*, [The Great World History] published in 1327-28 [1911-3] (fig. 14). In the fourth volume of this giant six volume work, Ahmed Refik devoted a chapter to the history of the Byzantine Empire covering one hundred and sixty five pages. Here, the history of the Byzantine Empire was examined by dividing it into periods according to dynasties that ruled the empire.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> For a full bibliography of Ahmed Refik, see Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam Ahmed Refik Altınay: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978).

<sup>323</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi*, Volume 4, (İstanbul: Kütübhane-i İslam ve Askeri, İbrahim Hilmi, 1327/1911-1912) (thereafter *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*). The chapter devoted to the Byzantine Empire covers the pages 93-257. The first period covers “Justinian to Heraclius (395-717)” and begins with the division of the Roman Empire into east and west. The second chapter covers the period from “Isaurian Dynasty to the Iconoclasm (717-865”); the third chapter “Macedonian Emperors (847-1057)”; the fourth “Komenenler (1054-1204”); the fifth chapter “Latin in Konstantiniye (1204-1261)”; “Paleologoslar,

There is also a separate section for the “*Bizans Medeniyeti Hayat Siyasisi ve İctimaiyesi*” [Byzantine Civilization] in which the social, cultural, artistic and architectural developments are covered.<sup>324</sup>

In the preface of this book written by Ahmed Hilmi, the publisher of the book writes:

Current books written in the old style were far from the meeting of the new requirements to stimulate patriotism similar to Europe, [...] we examined the most important historical works from Germany, France, England and Italy, [...] took different parts from each other which were most suitable to our nation’s nature and requirements.<sup>325</sup>

Although the exact bibliography of these works is not provided, the Byzantine section of the book was apparently based on translations from the *Histoire générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à nos jours*, written by French historians Alfred Nicolas Rambaud and Ernest Lavisse 1891-1900 in 12 vols (**fig. 15-17**).

Another study of Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri* [Byzantine Empresses] first appeared in 1914 in the magazine *Şehbal* where every volume published the biography of a Byzantine empress.<sup>326</sup> The complete text was published as a separate book in 1915, with a picture of “Empress Theodora and her

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The Last Days of Byzantium (1261-1453)” the last chapter is devoted to “Bizans Medeniyeti Hayat Siyasisi ve İctimaiyesi”.

<sup>324</sup> This section includes the topics: the nature of the empire as multi-national and multi-language empire, the life of emperors, palace rituals and ceremonies, the administration of the Byzantine territory, the division of the lands into *thema*, the management of the territory, clothing, description of palaces, the importance of empress, the description of topography of *Konstantiniyye*, life of the Byzantines, the position of the church, the clergy, the impact of the church and monasteries, iconoclast movement, marriage, law, army and fleet, science and literature, philosophy, fine arts including painting, architecture and sculpture, the impact of Byzantine literature, culture and art in Russia, Bulgaria, Serbs, the influence of Byzantine art in Italy and Europe, trade, industry, and the Byzantine monuments in Konstantiniyye. Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol. 4, 208-257.

<sup>325</sup> İbrahim Hilmi “*Neşrin İfadesi*”, *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol.1, (1912) n.p.

<sup>326</sup> “Anna Komneneos, Bizans İmparatoriçeleri”, *Şehbal* 56, (1.7.1912); “Atenayıs, Bizans İmparatoriçeleri”, *Şehbal*, 57, (15.7.1912); “İrene, Bizans İmparatoriçelerinden” (1-2) *Şehbal*. 62, 63, (1 and 15.10.1912); “Teodora, Bizans İmparatoriçeleri”, *Şehbal*, 58. (1.8.1912); “Teofano, Bizans İmparatoriçeleri”, *Şehbal*, 59, (15.8.1912); “Bizans İmparatoriçelerinin Hayat Tarzı”, *Şehbal*, 66, 67. (1.12.1912). *Şehbal* was one of the first illustrated magazines published between 1908-1914 by people supporting the cultural change targeted by Committee of Union and Progress. The topics covered in the journal range from politics to science and art. For more information about this journal see Selim Ahmetoğlu, “From the Unionist Actualité to the Mass Popularity: *Şehbal* (1909-1914)”, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, Graduate Institute for Social Sciences, 2007).

courtiers depicted in a mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna” in the frontispiece the book (fig. 18-19).<sup>327</sup> Apparently, for composing this book, Ahmed Refik translated excerpts from two different books.<sup>328</sup> While majority of biographic information on the Byzantine empress seem to have been taken from the French Byzantinist Charles Diehl’s work entitled *Figures Byzantines* published in 1906,<sup>329</sup> (fig. 20) the biography of Anna Kommena, from Paul Adam’s *Byzantine Princesses* (1893)<sup>330</sup> (fig. 21). The original section of the book, however, is its introduction section entitled “*Bizans Tarihine Medhal*” [Introduction to Byzantine History] written by Ahmed Refik himself at an earlier time, dating 11 April 1329 [1911]. Here, Ahmed Refik provides his own views on the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman Empire. He states that “although the word Byzantium had long been associated with words aberration and contrivance, such criticisms and audacity are derived from the lack of enough information about Byzantium...”<sup>331</sup> Evidently, Ahmed Refik was aware of the negative connotations with the word “Byzantium” and he wanted to rehabilitate dominant perceptions of Byzantium as a decadent empire. In fact, in this re-appreciation of Byzantium, Ahmed Refik was highly influenced by Charles Diehl

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<sup>327</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri, Bizans Tarihine Medhal, İmparatoriçelerin Tarz-ı Hayatı, Teodora, Atenais, İren, Dindar Teodora, Teofano, Zovi, Anna Comnenus*, (İstanbul : Muhtar Halid Kitabhanesi, 1331 [1915], 1. tab’ı.)

<sup>328</sup> Ahmed Refik’s book includes biographies of “*Teodora, Etenayis, İrena, Dindar Teodora, Teofanu, Zui, Anna Komnenos*” in 1915 edition. In later time, it was published together with Seljuk and Ottoman woman sultans including “Melike Adiliye, Şeceretüddür, Raziye Kalfa, Kaya Sultan, Meleki Kalfa, Fatma Sultan” , with the title of *Bizans ve Osmanlı Saraylarında İhtirashlı Kadınlar*, ed. Nükhet Erkoç, (İstanbul, 2009).

<sup>329</sup> The book includes the portraits of Athénais, Theodora, Irene, Theophano, Zoe, Emperor Basil, Emperor Leon, and Anna Dalasse”. Charles Diehl, *Figures Byzantines*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1906) I accessed the book from <http://archive.org/details/figuresbyzantin00diehgoog> (15.02.2013).

<sup>330</sup> Paul Adam, *Princesses byzantines: La très pieuse Irène* [et] Anne Comnène, (Paris; 1893). I accessed the book from <http://archive.org/stream/princessesbyzant00adamuoft#page/n8/mode/1up> (accessed 15.02.2013).

<sup>331</sup> “Ezmine-i kadimeden zamanımıza gelinceye kadar, Bizans kelimesi dedikoduculuğa, ahlaksızlığa ilm olarak kullanılmış, son zamanlarda “sefil Bizans”ı süngülerle parçalamak fikirleri bile işitilmiştir. Fakat bütün bu cüretler ve muvehzeler Bizans’ı iyi tanımamaktan ileri geliyor”. Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 4. One should also note that like other Ottoman authors, Ahmed Refik used the word “Bizans” as synonym for the city Constantinople and İstanbul.

who reviewed Byzantine studies in France in his *Études Byzantines* (1905) and stated: “il existe une autre Byzance, plus vraie, plus intéressante aussi et plus vivante, riche en grands spectacles et en glorieuses figure, capable d’énergie et d’effort, de plaisirs délicats de haute culture artistique et intellectuelle.”<sup>332</sup> It is also important to note that although Ahmed Refik did not mention his source books used in *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* or *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, in his later years, he would continually write about “European historians and their works” and introduce particularly “the innovations that Charles Diehl brought to the study of Byzantium” in his journal articles published between 1922 and 1928.<sup>333</sup>

As many of his contemporaries in the late Ottoman period, the major concern of Ahmed Refik was to understand and find solutions to the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Within this context, he considered historical writing as a major tool for creating a “national identity” and “stimulate Ottoman patriotism”. As for many European historians, for him, an understanding of the past was necessary in order to be able to forge the future. In an article published in the journal *Servet-i Funun*, Ahmet Refik expressed his views on the history education in schools. Accordingly, “the main task of history education was to forge national identity and bring people loyal to fatherland and stimulate patriotism as in Europe where nationalism politics were now popular”.<sup>334</sup>

Yet, different from several Ottoman authors, he tried to articulate an Ottoman historical narrative that would include the Byzantine heritage as part of this “national identity”. In contrast to some Ottoman historians who portrayed

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<sup>332</sup> Diehl, *Études Byzantines*, 2-3.

<sup>333</sup> Ahmed Refik “Şarl Dil” [Charles Diehl], İkdam, 9007, 13.4.1922; “Tarih ve Müverrihler”, *Hayat*, 60-63, 66, 69, 71, 73, 81 (19.1.1928 vd.).

<sup>334</sup> “...İşte bu sebeble açıktır ki milliyet politikasının en ziyade revaç bulduğu asrı hazırda tarihi milliye pek ziyade ehemmiyet verilmeye başlanmış, tarih dersleri vatana vefakâr, sadık, fedakâr evladlar yetiştirmek için en mühim bir dersi vatanperverane olmak üzere tedris edilmeye başlamıştır. Filhakika tarih, hissiyatı vataniyenin muharriki yegânesidir. Vatamın ihtiva ettiği bütün sanayi’in, bütün güzelliklerin bütün büyüklüklerin dasitan mefahirini, meraretili zamanlarını, felaket günlerini bir lisani sükun ve müessirle anlatan yegane nakildir....Tarihin hubbu vatan tevlidine yegane saik olması inkar kabul etmez bir hakikattir. Bu hakikatin en ziyade takdir edilmediği bir yer varsa, o da memleketimizdir...” Ahmed Refik, “Tedrisat-ı Tarihiyye ve Tarih Kitapları: Yeni Kitaplar”, *Servet-i Fünun*, 1009, (22.9.1910), 358-359.

Byzantium as an alien culture to the Ottoman Empire; Ahmed Refik highlights immediate links between the two. Furthermore, he considered the knowledge of Byzantium [he meant İstanbul] and the history of the Byzantine Empire as crucial components for creating Ottoman patriotism. In contrast to several Ottoman historians who considered the heritage of Byzantium as one of the main reasons of Ottoman decline, Ahmed Refik argues the opposite by stating that the “the most important and glorious phases of Ottoman history took place in Byzantium”.<sup>335</sup> According to Ahmed Refik, the most important reason for Ottoman decline is the lack of love and loyalty to one’s country. This can only be constructed by “...cultivating the land, appreciating the value of motherland and glorifying the past” and these “sublime feelings can only be gained by knowing more about Byzantine, Ottoman and Islamic history...”<sup>336</sup> It is apparent that Ahmed Refik’s concept of “patriotism” was based on space, rather than ethnicity, race or religion. He tries to foster patriotism through the historical knowledge of the Ottoman borderland which definitely included the Byzantine heritage. He also highlights that “...As Byzantine civilization had flourished in these territories; there was a cultural continuum between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Byzantine heritage should be embraced as part of our history...”<sup>337</sup>

As it is seen, one crucial novelty in the writings of Ahmed Refik is his positive attitude towards to the Byzantine heritage. Equally significant is that as an Ottoman historian, Ahmed Refik highly recognized the importance of the study of Byzantine history and particularly the works of late Byzantine authors for a better understanding of early Ottoman history. In line with his belief in the “scientific” nature of historical research, Ahmet Refik concentrated his efforts on collecting and analyzing “archival” sources. This also enabled him to use primary Byzantine

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<sup>335</sup> “Bizans şehri, umum Osmanlılığın payitahtı olması nedeniyle de nazarlarımızda büyük bir kıymeti haizdir. Tarihimizin en parlak, en debdebeli sayfaları Bizans’ta geçmiştir...” Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 14.

<sup>336</sup> “Osmanlıların en büyük felaket sebeplerinden biri de topraklarına, yurtlarına bağlı olmamalarıdır. Yurda bağlılık, vatan toprağını ekip biçmekle, vatan kıymetini takdir etmekle, geçmişini yüceltmekle mümkün olabilir. Bize bu yüce hisleri ancak Bizans, Osmanlı ve İslam tarihleri kazandıracaktır.” Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 14.

<sup>337</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 4.



sources, mainly European editions of late Byzantine sources such as Niketas Khoniates, etc. He states that “...the study of Byzantine history is so important that it merited more attention than has been till now as the Ottoman Empire was founded on the Byzantine territory and it had significant impacts on the Ottoman traditions.” In order for a more “scientific” study of Byzantine history, he asserted that the study of Byzantine history “be included in history lessons in the curriculum of the University and organized academic seminars about it”.<sup>338</sup>

Such an interest in the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman Empire, particularly appreciating the importance of the study of Byzantine art and history in high school and university education can also be seen by some other contemporary Ottoman historians. One important example is Münir Mazhar, who published an article series related to Byzantine history, art and architecture and its importance for Ottoman history in *Yeni Mecmua*, the important media of Young Turks, in 1918.<sup>339</sup> Interestingly, Münir Mazhar was not in İstanbul at that time, but in Geneva for higher education and a member of *Cenevre Türk Yurdu*, [Turkish Homeland in Geneva] one of the nationalist unions founded by Ottoman citizens who studied abroad in 1911.<sup>340</sup> According to the introduction of his first article titled “*Bizans Tarihine Ait İki Ders*” [Two lectures on Byzantine History] (**fig. 22-23**) while studying in Geneva, Münir Mazhar attended the lectures delivered by Charles Diehl who came to Geneva from Paris for this event. Münir Mazhar took notes and sent them to İstanbul to be published in *Yeni Mecmua*. Münir Mazhar writes:

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<sup>338</sup> “Halbuki biz Osmanlılar için Bizans tarihini layıkıyla bilmek ve bu tarihin bütün safhalarını tam bir dikkatle incelemeye büyük ihtiyaç var. Çünkü Osmanlı, saltanatını Bizans toprağı üzerine kurmuş. Osmanlı adetlerine Bizanslıların büyük etkileri olmuştur. Bizans imparatorlarının asırlarca idare ettiği topraklar, Bizans halkının beraber yaşadıkları unsurlar halen sevgili vatanımızda mevcut. Binanaleyh Bizans’a sahip olmak Bizans’ın tarihini ve ananevi tesirlerini nazara itibara alarak ilmi bir surette tetkik etmek istiyorsak, tarih derslerimizde Bizans tarihine dair ciddi, alimane, fenni konferanslar vermek, bizim için bilhassa nazarı dikkate alınacak bir vazifedir...”Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 4.

<sup>339</sup> For this journal see “Necdet Ekinci, “İkinci Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyete Geçiş Sürecinde Bilimsel Türkçülük Çabalarına Bir Örnek: Yeni Mecmua”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 11 (2001), 137-162.

<sup>340</sup> Mehmet Şahingöz, “Lozan Türk Yurdu”, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Volume: XIII, (March 1997).

These conference notes were of great importance for our country as our history books could not provide much information about Byzantine history. These articles may take attention of a few young, and thus contribute to the study of Byzantine history and its impact on Turkish and Ottoman history.<sup>341</sup>

For this aim, the author inserted a short bibliography at the end of his article for further studies of Byzantine history and art including the works of Gibbon, Rambaud, Diehl, Herzberg, Krumbacher, Krueger, and Bayet. Münir Mazhar also referred to Ahmed Refik's *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* and *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri* for those who wanted to search for Byzantine history. After these conference notes, Münir Mazhar continued to send several articles to *Yeni Mecmua* related to Byzantine art and architecture including “*Bizans Sanatı'nın Teşekkül ve İntişarı*”, [The formation and development of Byzantine Art] “*Bizans Konstantiniyyesi*”, [Byzantine Constantinople] and “*Bizans Tarihi*” [Byzantine History].<sup>342</sup>

It can be said that both Ahmed Refik and Münir Mazhar intended to enlighten their compatriots and students regarding the importance of the study of the Byzantine heritage. Their writings suggest that Byzantine history, art and architecture in İstanbul are vital for Ottomans who lived in İstanbul. They aimed at connecting the present Ottoman İstanbul with its past during the Byzantine Empire by referencing the supposedly glorious past and monumental architecture in İstanbul. Another more general aim was increasing loyalty to the capital, at a time when the city was under difficult historical situation during the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

#### **4. 3. “Byzantium and Byzantine History” in the Wider Ottoman Context: the Balkans**

The nationalist movements and uprisings in the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire led to the foundation of the new nation states of Modern Greece, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria in the nineteenth century. These new nation states

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<sup>341</sup> Münir Mazhar, “Bizans Tarihine Aid İki Ders”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.2/51, (1918), 489-495.

<sup>342</sup> Münir Mazhar, “Bizans Konstantiniyyesi (1)”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol. 3/ 61, (12 September 1918), 168-176; “Bizans Konstantiniyyesi (2)”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.3/63, (3 October 1918), 214-216; “Bizans Sanatının Teşekkül ve İntişarı”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.3/59, (29 August 1918), 126-128.

began to show a renewed interest in their ancient and medieval past and used historiography in the nation-building processes as in elsewhere in Europe in this century. The major turning point for Balkan states was the second half of the nineteenth century when an interest in middle ages and thus their Byzantine heritage began to rise. Academic historical writing emerging in the Balkans was also part of a wider cultural and political transformations leading to formation of nation-states. As Marius Turda points out, “historical rights” and “historical continuity” became dominant historiographical themes in the processes of nation-building and writing national histories in the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>343</sup> These two historiographical topics were useful for displaying the continuity of the nation and its close relationship with the territory it occupied.<sup>344</sup>

#### **4.3.1. Byzantine Heritage as “Intermediary”: Bridging the Gap between Ancient History and Modern Nation State in Greece**

The Modern Greek state founded in 1830 did not easily appropriate the Byzantine heritage as part of national identity in its early periods. Instead, classical antiquities, as the material evidences of classical Greece were considered extremely prominent. The period of classical antiquity, thus became the main reference point for imagining a new nation state in Greece.<sup>345</sup> Most of the archaeological research focused on the Hellenic cultures while Byzantium was ignored and remained marginal within the Greek national narrative until the end of second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>346</sup> This was closely related to the approaches in Western Europe

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<sup>343</sup> Marius Turda, “National Historiographies in the Balkans, 1830-1989”, in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, (Writing the National Series) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 463-489.

<sup>344</sup> For the relationships between the notions of origins, continuity, and rights, see C. Lorenz, “Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies: Some Preliminary Considerations”, in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. P. Seixas, (Toronto, 2004), 25-48.

<sup>345</sup> Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and James L. Porter, (Oxford University Press, 2007), 82-85.

<sup>346</sup> Alexandra Alexandri, “Names and Emblems: Greek Archaeology, Regional Identities and National Narratives of the Turn of the 20th Century”, *Antiquity*, Vol.76/ 291 (2002) 191-199.; Mehmet Özdoğan, “Heritage and Nationalism in the Balkans and Anatolia: What Has Happened

that began to consider ancient Greece as the birth place of Europe. Indeed, the newly born Greek state originally based its legitimacy on its classical heritage claiming to be the direct heir of Ancient Greece.<sup>347</sup> Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), the forerunner of Modern Greek literature and the idea of the foundation of nationally independent Greek state, based his discourse on the historical continuum between the classical past and Modern Greek state.<sup>348</sup> However, it soon became obvious that there was a considerable gap between ancient and modern Greece. This gap became even more evident when the German historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) composed a theory called ‘Slavonization of the Greeks’. In his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* [History of the Mora Peninsula during the Middle Ages] published in two parts in 1830 and 1836, Fallmerayer argued that as a result of the Slavic occupation of the Peloponnese from the late sixth to the tenth century, the contemporary inhabitants of the newly founded Kingdom of Greece did not have anything in common with their ancient ancestors. According to Fallmerayer, the modern Greeks were actually “Hellenized” Slavs and Albanians moved into Greece during the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the glorious civilization of ancient Greeks had waned without living any heirs.<sup>349</sup>

In response, Greek historians came to focus on the history of Byzantium as a chain that would link ancient Greeks with the contemporary Greek nation state.<sup>350</sup> It was historian Spyridon Zambelios (1815-1881), who first highlighted “the Greek character of Byzantium”. In his account titled *Byzantine Studies* published in 1857,

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since Hasluck?”, *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. David Shankland, Volume 2, (İstanbul: The Isis Press), 395-96.

<sup>347</sup> Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins*, 112.

<sup>348</sup> Hercules Millas, “Ethnic Identity and Nation Building: On Byzantine and Ottoman Historical Legacies”, in *Europe and Historical Legacies in the Balkans*, ed. Raymond Detrez and Barbara Segaert, (Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008), 20-21.

<sup>349</sup> J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, I, (1830) Stuttgart; II (1836); Millas, “Ethnic Identity and Nation Building”, 20-21.

<sup>350</sup> Stefan Berger, *On the Role of Myths and History in the Construction of National Identity*. <http://ehq.sagepub.com> at Ruhr-Universitaet Bochum on August 29, 2009 stories of nineteenth-century national histories (accessed 02.12.2012); Millas, ‘History Writing among Greeks and Turks’, 490–510.

he argued that ancient Greeks had not disappeared, but had survived and reshaped with the Christianity during the Byzantine period. Byzantium, thus, gained particular importance, considered to be the repository of Greek nationality.<sup>351</sup>

This work of Spyridon Zambelios encouraged the production of a more comprehensive national history. Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the founder of Greek national historiography, accomplished this mission. In his seminal work, *History of the Greek Nation, From Antiquity to Modern Times*, published in five volumes from 1860 to 1874; Paparrigopoulos constructed the whole Greek history employing the tripartite division of the nation's major periods as "ancient Hellenism, medieval Hellenism, and modern Hellenism".<sup>352</sup> By this way, the medieval Byzantine Empire, or the medieval Hellenism, became an important part of Greek national history as the second chain of the historical continuity. The refutation of Fallmerayer's thesis also came from another Greek historian Spyridon Lambros (1851-1919). In his *On the Palaeologian Dynasty and the Peloponnese*, Lambros described the Peloponnese as the direct legitimate successor of the Byzantine Empire as it was ruled by the members of last Byzantine dynasty after the fall of Constantinople.<sup>353</sup>

Thus, the assumption of the direct historical continuity between modern Greece and the Hellenistic world was well established in the late nineteenth century by means of "discovering" the "Greekness" of the Byzantine Empire. The multi-cultural and multi-lingual nature of the Byzantine Empire was now reduced in a

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<sup>351</sup> Spyridon Zambelios (1815-1881) focused on both the domestic songs and history of Byzantium, arguing that the most essential proof of historical continuity was vernacular language. Spyridon Zambelios, *Byzantine Studies: on the Sources of Modern Greek Ethnicity*, (Athens, 1857)+; Effi Gazi, "Theorizing and Practicing "Scientific" History in South-Eastern Europe (Nineteenth and Twentieth Century): Spyridon Lambros and Nicolae Jorga", in *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 202-203.

<sup>352</sup> Andromache Gazi, "National Museums in Greece: History, Ideology, Narratives", *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010*. Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011*, ed. Peter Aronsson & Gabriella Elgenius, *EuNaMus Report No 1* (Linköping University, 2010), 366. [http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp\\_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064) (accessed 21.01.2013).

<sup>353</sup> Gazi, "Theorizing and Practicing", 201-3.

“Greek Empire” and the tripartite scheme articulated by Greek intellectuals has remained to this day as the cornerstone of national historical narrative in Greece.

#### **4.3.2. Controversy and Coming to Terms with the Byzantine Legacy**

The creation of a mythic past gleaned from ancient glorious ancestors was in the making and the Greek case provided a model for the other Balkan nationalities that followed Greece in the nation-building processes of the nineteenth century. If modern Greeks went back to ancient Greece, modern Romanians could appeal to ancient Rome as a descendant.<sup>354</sup> In each cases, the “value” of the Byzantine heritage as a bridge connecting glorious past to the modern times was realized later.

In these Balkan nationalities such as Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbian, however, the appropriation of the Byzantine heritage and the construction of the medieval Byzantine history as an integral part of their own national history were a subject of controversy. While prominent historians recognized the importance of the medieval past –medieval Byzantine Empire in constructing a linear and continued national history, there were also objections to the appropriation of the Byzantine heritage as part of the national history. There were basically two reasons for this. The first was related to the image of Byzantium as an oriental state. The other was that most intellectuals of the period associated the Byzantine Empire with the Greek influence and authority among Orthodox Christian Community lived under the Ottoman rule of the Balkans.

From the late 18th century onwards, the ideas of the French and other Enlightenment philosophers enjoyed a rising popularity among multi-ethnic Orthodox Christian Community who lived under the Ottoman rule of the Balkans. These ideas, however, divided the intelligentsia of this cultural community into two camps. On the one hand, some intellectuals embraced new ideas of Enlightenment including secularism. But on the other hand, more conservatives wanted to adhere to

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<sup>354</sup> Marius Turda, “Historical Writing in the Balkans”, *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Volume 4: 1800-1945, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (Oxford- New York : Oxford University Press, 2011), 352.

traditional values. For those, who envisaged their national state as a modern European, the Byzantine Empire which considered the “oriental and agrarian society” would constitute an obstacle in this process. Furthermore, the Byzantine imagery was closely associated with the mysticism of Orthodoxy.<sup>355</sup>

The other factor was the Greek authority among the Orthodox Christian Community in the Balkans. Indeed, national consciousness in the Balkans had begun as a reaction more against the hegemony of Greek culture rather than Ottoman sovereignty as Bulgarians and Romanians were under the influence of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy and the Greek education system until the beginning of the 19th century. In this context, the struggles against the Patriarch of Constantinople for an independent church resulted in the establishment of independently headed national Orthodox churches in Bulgaria (1870) and Romania (1885).<sup>356</sup> The establishment of the Phanariot regime in Danubian municipalities (Moldavia and Wallachia of Romania from 1862) also contributed to this image. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Phanariot family who began to rise in the Ottoman Empire was appointed as governors to the Danubian municipalities with the title of *bey* or prince from the eighteenth century onwards.<sup>357</sup> As they considered themselves the heirs and custodians of Byzantine culture, they adhered to the Byzantine tradition.<sup>358</sup> Therefore, the period of Phanariot in the nineteenth century Romanian historiography was rendered “authoritarian” as it was considered the representation of Greek suppression in Romanian lands.

It was Nicole Iorga (1871-1940), the famous Romanian historian and politician, who most successively provided Romanian nationalism with the notions of historical continuity by emphasizing linkages between the Byzantine Empire and

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<sup>355</sup> Raymond Detrez, “Between the Ottoman Legacy and the Temptation of the West: Bulgarians Coming to Terms with the Greeks”, in *Europe and Historical Legacies in the Balkans*, ed. Raymond Detrez and Barbara Segaert, (Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008), 33-48.

<sup>356</sup> Alexander Kiossev “Legacy or Legacies: Competitions and Conflicts”, in *Europe and Historical Legacies in the Balkans*, ed. Raymond Detrez and Barbara Segaert, (Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008), 49-68; Nikolay Aretov “The Rejected Legacy” in *Europe and Historical Legacies in the Balkans*, ed. Raymond Detrez and Barbara Segaert, (Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008), 69- 80.

<sup>357</sup> Philliou, “Families of Empires and Nations”, 177-200.

<sup>358</sup> A. Vacalopoulos, “Byzantinism and Hellenism” *Balkan Studies*, 9, (1968), 101-126.

the Romanian principalities of the Middle Ages. In his *Histoire des Romains de Transylvanie et Hongrie* (1915), Iorga first constructed a direct lineage between the Roman colonists of Dacia and modern Romanians.<sup>359</sup> In his later years, he constructed continuity between the Romanian Principalities of the Middle Ages and the Byzantine Empire by highlighting the role of these principalities as the defenders of Orthodoxy after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>360</sup> He also redefined Phanariot period as an important period in the Romanian history.<sup>361</sup>

Iorga suggested that not only Greeks and Romania but all southeastern European peoples shared Orthodox tradition, thus they shared the same heritage.<sup>362</sup> In the wider South Slavic region, (Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs) historicism was also the integral part of nationalism and the discovery of the past; particularly the medieval period was in the making.

Byzantine studies in Serbia began by translating excerpts from the Byzantine chroniclers. Jeftimije Avramović's translation of *Ioannina Chronicle* in 1862 has often been accepted as the first academic Byzantine study in Serbia.<sup>363</sup> The Kingdom of Serbia provided a state scholarship for the development of history; some of the students went to the university in Munich, where the first chair of Byzantine Studies had been established by Karl Krumbacher, in the University of Munich in 1898. After a great many Serbian scholars specialized in Byzantine and medieval history in Munich, the importance of Byzantine sources for the study of

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<sup>359</sup> Turda, "National Historiographies", 474-475.

<sup>360</sup> Turda, "National Historiographies", 481-482. In his later years, Iorga formulated his influential work in the development of Balkan historiography, *Byzance après Byzance* (1935) for representing the commonalities of the Orthodox peoples in the Ottoman Empire in religion, law, music, and the visual arts, and thus for emphasizing the continuity of two imperial traditions. See Todorova, *Imagining Balkans*, 165.

<sup>361</sup> Gazi, "Theorizing and Practicing", 204-205.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Srđan Pirivatrić "A Case Study in the Emergence of Byzantine Studies: Serbia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century", *the Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson, (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 481-482.



Serbian national history was realized and Byzantine seminars began to be given in the Great School in Belgrade in 1906.<sup>364</sup>

In 1892, Čedomilj Mijatović, a historian and politician, published his *Constantine: The Last Emperor of the Greeks or the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453)* in London. It is significant that Mijatović dedicated his study to the heir to the Greek throne, Prince Constantine. As the title of the book suggests, he considered a continuity between two Constantines, and thus, between the Byzantine Empire and the newly founded Greek Kingdom. As a politician, he advocated the revival of the Byzantine Empire after regaining the lands that had lost in 1453.<sup>365</sup>

Similar to some Ottoman historians, who began to realize the importance of late Byzantine sources for Ottoman history; Serbian historians such as Dragutin Anastasijević (1877-1950) and Nikola Radojčić (1882-1964) also searched for information regarding Serbs provided by later Byzantine historians. Serbian historian Stojan Novaković (1842-1915) was particularly interested in middle ages.<sup>366</sup> George Ostrogorsky's (1902-76) studies were the turning point in the developments of Byzantine Studies in the twentieth century. Ostrogorsky would also become one of the most known authors in the Byzantine scholarship in Turkey as well, whose seminal works was translated into Turkish several times during the 1940's.

In Bulgaria's search for a cultural identity between the Ottoman legacy and European future, the Byzantine heritage occupied an ambiguous position. As in other nationalities, some intellectuals in Bulgaria considered the Byzantine Empire as an oriental state and thus not suitable for appropriating in the processes of the creation of a new modern European national state. Yet, the medieval Bulgarian Empire was considered important for providing legitimacy for the new Bulgarian

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<sup>364</sup> R. Radic, "Sto godina Katedre i Seminara za vizantologiju", *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, 2008 (56-I: 177-87) cited in Pirivatrić "Emergence of Byzantine Studies", 483-484.

<sup>365</sup> Pirivatrić "Emergence of Byzantine Studies", 481-482.

<sup>366</sup> D. Djordjević, "Stojan Novaković: Historian, Politician, Diplomat" in *Historians as Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe*, (Studies in Russia and East Europe), ed. Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak, (London: Macmillan, 1988), 51-69.

state. In accordance with this historical view, archaeological researches in this period focused on the centers of the early kingdoms such as Pliska, Preslav, and Turnovo.<sup>367</sup>

It was the Bulgarian historian Vasil Zlatarski who attempted to do for the Bulgarians what Paparrigopoulos had done for the Greeks a few decades earlier. His extensive researches on medieval Bulgaria closely parallel Paparrigopoulos' focus on Byzantium and his preoccupation with the ethnological underpinnings of the Medieval Greek state.<sup>368</sup> He provided Bulgaria with historical continuity through the medieval ages, and thus the Byzantine heritage.

In sum, then, legitimizing the national state, thus the recovery of the nations' medieval past came to the fore in the writings of the historians of the nineteenth century Balkan nation states. We see that in each case, Byzantium served for the same purposes. While Greek authors emphasized the Greek/Hellenic components of the "Byzantine identity", Romanians pointed out its Roman descendants. Within this context, the identity of Byzantium as the container of ancient Greco-Roman legacies became prominent. Bulgarians, on the other hand, emphasized medieval Byzantium. In both cases, Byzantium played an intermediary role in bridging the gap between ancient glorious past and modern nation states and thus the territory these states occupied.

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<sup>367</sup> James Crow, "Archaeology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack, (Oxford University Press, 2008), 50.

<sup>368</sup> Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea", *From Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, ed. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino, the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College (London: Ashgate, 1998). <http://helios-eie.ekt.gr/EIE/bitstream/10442/8689/1/kitromilidesbyzantium.pdf> accessed 02.02.2013).

## CHAPTER 5

### **“THE FORMER SHAPE OF CONSTANTINOPLE”: BYZANTIUM, CONSTANTINOPLE, İSTANBUL AND WRITING BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY (1860-1920)**

The title of this chapter, “The Former Shape of Constantinople” comes from the title of the book *Heyet-i Sabıka-ı Konstantiniyye* probably the first book published in Turkish language in 1860 on Byzantine Constantinople. As I will demonstrate in detail in this chapter, it can also be considered the first marker signaling the growing interests among Ottoman intellectuals in the Byzantine past and architectural legacy of İstanbul. This chapter explores this growing Ottoman scholarship on the Byzantine urban and architectural legacy by focusing on the seminal works of three authors: Celal Esad [Arseven] (1876-1971), Mehmed Ziya (1865 or 1871-1930), and Ahmet Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937) (**fig. 24-26**).

The selection of these three authors can be justified on several grounds as they share common features. First and foremost, they were all the forerunners of Ottoman/Turkish intellectuals interested in Byzantine Constantinople and produced seminal works during the first decade of the twentieth century Turkey. All three were members of institutions and learned societies founded in this period to encourage scholarly researches and publications including the cultural and architectural legacy of İstanbul. Their writings were the continuation of a kind of tradition of writing on Constantinople initiated a long time before and enhanced by mostly European intellectuals with whom the three authors had often close personal and academic contacts. While these preceding European studies had several influences on their methodology, there were also personal and scholarly relations between these authors and their European counterparts. Finally, they lived in a time period from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period providing invaluable examples for tracing the transformation of their intellectual development and discourse during the nation-building process.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first two sections can be considered a background to the main section, in which I will examine the works

of these authors. Therefore, the first section of this chapter provides a brief overview of broader historical and cultural developments such as the establishment of the modern state institutions and legal regulations concerning the cultural legacy after the mid-nineteenth century.

The second section, then, presents forerunner studies on the topography and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople by European scholars as the works of these authors should be considered in relation to them. In fact, the other shared features of these authors were that they were very aware of the developments in history writing and Byzantine scholarship in Europe and tried to catch up with these developments.

### **5.1. Defining the Byzantine Cultural Heritage of the Empire**

In the course of the nineteenth century, Ottoman attitudes towards antiquities had undergone a dramatic transformation whereby the Ottoman Empire began to claim ownership of the “antiquities” found in the territories of the empire. The issue of antiquity laws in 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1906, the increase in the control over foreign archaeological excavations, the establishment of the *Müze-i Hümayun* [Imperial Museum] in 1881 and archaeological researches carried out by Ottomans were crucial developments in this transformation. These developments were part of a greater official agenda in defining a civilized and modern identity and image for the Ottoman Empire often in cultural and political dialogue with Europe. Therefore, the growing Ottoman interest in antiquities and archaeology was largely a response to western European struggle for control over antiquities in the Ottoman lands.<sup>369</sup> It

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<sup>369</sup> Zeynep Çelik, “Defining Empire’s Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities”, in *Scramble For the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Zainab Bahrani, Edhem Eldem, (İstanbul: Salt, 2011), 446-7. ; For a comparative examination of the museums of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic in terms of their buildings, collections, and displaying methods in the formation of collective identities, see Pelin Gürol Öngören, “Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic”, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, METU Graduate School of Social Sciences, Architectural History Program); For an examination of the first museological and archaeological studies in the Ottoman Empire within the context of modernization process, see Selin Adile Atılman, “Museological and Archaeological Studies in the Ottoman Empire during the Westernization Processes in the 19th Century”, (Unpublished MA Thesis, METU, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of History).

is probably for this reason that late Ottoman policies with regard to appropriation of the past bear certain similarities with Western Europe. As in Europe, who turned their gaze to the classical antiquity as the foundation of European civilization, Ottomans gave special prominence to the antiquities of the classical age in their attempts at collecting, preserving and presenting the cultural patrimony.

As for the situation concerning the Byzantine patrimony of the Ottoman Empire, although it needs to be explored in more detail, we can briefly look at some specific examples in order to provide a general picture of the historical context as the production of written accounts of Byzantine architectural and archaeological studies were the outcome of these broader developments in this period.

Although the antiquities law of 1874 gives the definition of “antiquities” as “comprising every kind of art work dating from ancient times,” the revision of the law in 1881 and then 1906 elucidates this definition and provides more specific examples.<sup>370</sup> Among other varied artifacts, the definition also includes; “basilicas, churches, monasteries, city walls and towers, hippodromes, cisterns, obelisks, sarcophagus, images and icons”.<sup>371</sup> Evidently, the artifacts and buildings from the Byzantine period were also considered “antiquity” to be taken under protection and defined as state property.

During this period, a series of Byzantine monuments were also subject to restoration and rehabilitation. After the restoration of Hagia Sophia during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876), some of the mosaics of Kariye Mosque were revealed by local Greek architect Kuppas in 1875-76.<sup>372</sup> Defined as “âsâr-ı atîka”, the Binbirdirek Cistern was decided to be cleaned with the supervisor of *Muse-i*

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<sup>370</sup> While many articles of the regulation were related with archaeological excavations and treasure hunting, the three articles of the regulation concerned with the preservation and restoration of monuments. See Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye’de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teskilatı ve Kanunlar*, (İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayınları, 1977), 25-27.

<sup>371</sup> *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnamesi*, Hazine-i Evrak, 3026, (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), 6.

<sup>372</sup> Semavi Eyice, “Kariye Camii”, *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 21 (Ankara, 1955), 335-339; Engin Akyürek, *Bizans’ta Sanat ve Ritüel*, (İstanbul, 1996), 47.; Robert Ousterhout, *The Architecture of Kariye Camii in İstanbul* (Washington Dc., 1987), 9.

*Humayun* and opened to daily visit with an entrance fee.<sup>373</sup> There was also an attempt to open the Yerabatan Cistern (Basilica Cistern) to visit.<sup>374</sup> The preservation of the Tekfur Palace was on the agenda of the Ottoman government. According to a document dated to 1910, in order to preserve the Tekfur Palace “one of the most important ancient monuments of the Ottoman capital”, the private houses around the building were decided to be expropriated.<sup>375</sup> A law for the preservation of monuments (*Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname*) issued in 1912 ensuring that “all places and works from any period whatsoever” be preserved as antiquities.<sup>376</sup>

As these Byzantine buildings were those, visited most frequently by foreign diplomatic committees and travellers, the preservation activities have often been considered as part of the westernization movements of the Ottoman Empire. The land walls, for example, were constantly in concern by both foreign visitors and the Ottoman government.<sup>377</sup> Indeed, within the general framework of modernizing reforms undertaken by the ruling elite, the increased relations with the western world were always a stimulus behind such preservation acts since the late eighteenth century. For example, the Kariye Camii - as the building was seriously damaged by the earthquake of 1894 - was restored upon the order of Sultan Abdülhamid II on occasion of the visit of German emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II to İstanbul in 1898. However, there also seem to be some genuine concerns for the preservation of

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<sup>373</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 1089/35, 3 Zilhicce 1326 (27 December 1908); DH.MKT, 2703/105, 18 Zilhicce 1326 (11 January 1909).

<sup>374</sup> BOA, MV, 222/146, 8 Rabiulevvel 1340 (9 November 1921).

<sup>375</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 1151/71, 22 Rabiülahir 1328 (3 May 1910).

<sup>376</sup> Nur Altınyıldız, “The Architectural Heritage of İstanbul and the Ideology of Preservation”, in *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum, Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Vol. 24, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan, Gülru Necipoğlu, (Leiden-Boston, 2007), 286.

<sup>377</sup> One of the decrees of Sublime Port dated in 1134H. /1722M it was forbidden to construct the house and to plant a tree upon the city walls since ambassadors of Christian state may have criticized and condemned to the Ottoman government. Emre Madran states that rather than a concern for urban conservation or public health, these policies were derived from Ottoman policies to be approved by western counties. Emre Madran, “Tarihi Çevrenin Tarihi, Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Tarihi Çevre: Tavırlar-Düzenlemeler”, *Dosya*, 14.1: *Tarihi Çevrede Koruma: Yaklaşımlar, Uygulamalar*, (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, June, 2009), 7. <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/dosya14-1.pdf> (accessed 04.03.2013).

Byzantine - as well as other - “antiquities” particularly in the efforts of individuals such as Museum employees. Some archival records dating from the nineteenth century kept in the prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives gives some examples for both situations. For instance, during the construction of the Anatolian railway, workers encountered an old bridge located on the way of the railway construction to Adapazarı. The letter dated 18 December 1898 written by Osman Hamdi as the director of Museum to *Maârif-i Nezâret-i Celîlesi* [Ministry of Education] requests not to demolish this bridge which was built during the time of the emperor Justinian since “the bridge with twenty arches is architecturally very important and has been frequently visited by foreign travellers”.<sup>378</sup> Upon the letter of Osman Hamdi, *Maârif-i Nezâret-i Celîlesi* urges *Ticâret ve Nâfiâ Nezâret-i Celîlesi* [Ministry of Trade and Public Works] not to demolish this bridge and change the direction of the railway construction.

In another letter, Osman Hamdi suggested punishing those responsible in Pendik (İstanbul) “who attempted to destroy a beautiful fountain built by Pelizer [Belisarius]”, the famous general of the emperor Justinian, in order to re-use its stones for new constructions. It is important to note that, according to the same document, ten years ago local Muslim residents wanted to re-use its stones for the construction of a new mosque. Now, Christian inhabitants attempted to re-use the stones for the construction of a new church.<sup>379</sup> These two letters are intriguing as they show the attitude of both the Muslim and Christian local community to the historical building. They also display, however, both a growing knowledge and consciousness regarding the preservation of historical buildings as it was Museum

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<sup>378</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 430/22, 29 Recep 1346 [13 December 1898]; “...yirmi kimeri hâvî olan âsâr-ı nâdire-i kadîmeden cisr-i âzâzînden hedmi mansûr bulunduđu istihbâr edilmiş olub bu köprü Bizantin imparatorlarından Justinyen zamanından kalmış ve fenn-i miâmârîce gâyetü'l-gâye ehemmiyeti hâiz bulunmuş olduğuna ve seyyâhîn-i ecnebiyyenin bu eser-i nâdirü'l-emsâli ziyâretinden hâlî kalmadıklarına nazaran bekâ-yı maâmûriyeti matlûb ve mültezim ve kumpanyanın bunu tahrîbe hiçbir vechle hak ve salâhiyeti olmadığı müsellemler bulunduğundan hattın mezkûr köprü üzerinden geçirilmesi câiz olsa bile kusur vâki vechle hedmi katân rehîn-i cevâz olamayacağıнын ve bu bâbda kumpanyaya teblîgât-ı mü'essire icrâsıyla kusur-ı mezkûrun fiile çıkarılmasına meydân verilemesinin Ticâre ve Nâfiâ Nezâret-i Celîlesi ne işâri kemâl-i ehemmiyetle arz ve niyâz olunur.”

<sup>379</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 78/72, 21 Safer 1300 [29 December 1882].

employees who appreciated the architectural value of the building and also the Ottoman official consideration given to the preservation of certain architectural heritage of Byzantine Constantinople.

Starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was also involved in the display methods of the country's modern developments through the architecture, museums and world expositions. Similar to Western European emperors, such as Wilhelm Kaiser II, one could argue for a close connection between political aspirations and cultural projects of Ottoman sultans. In this context, the display of the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman Empire was also part of these cultural policies. At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, for example, the main Ottoman pavilion was displayed by a village, also referred to as the "Business Street of Constantinople". According to Zeynep Çelik, this pavilion designed to recall the Byzantine Hippodrome in İstanbul was thus the first representation of the Byzantine past as part of the Ottoman culture.<sup>380</sup> In fact, if not architecturally, the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman capital was represented before in the international arena. Among Ottoman "agricultural, industrial and artistic products" displayed in the main exhibition halls of 1867 Paris Exposition; there were five drawings of Hellenic and the Byzantine heritage of İstanbul. These drawings were prepared by Philip Anton Dethier; a German scholar who arrived in İstanbul around 1847 as the director of the Austrian School.<sup>381</sup> Dethier was also one of the members of the Ottoman commission for this exposition.<sup>382</sup> The drawings prepared by Dethier also introduced in the exposition book, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* prepared by Selahaddin Bey, the head of the Ottoman commission and dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz who also visited the exposition. According to the exposition book, Dethier composed five drawings for the exposition. These are the restoration of the Serpentine Column, a view from the

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<sup>380</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, 85-86.

<sup>381</sup> For more information see, Semavi Eyice "İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Direktörlerinden Dr. P.A. Dethier Hakkında Notlar" *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 9 (1960), 45-52.; Eyice, "Phillipp Anton Dethier İstanbul'da", in P. A. Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul*, trans. Ümit Öztürk (İstanbul, 1993), 7-11.

<sup>382</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying Orient*, 85-86.



interior of the Hebdomon Palace [the Tekfur Palace]; *Çemberlitaş* [the Constantine Column], the restitution of the Theodosius Obelisk, and finally a reduced plan of the northern part of the city walls from the gate of Balat until up to the Topkapı.<sup>383</sup>

Having studied history, archaeology and art history at Berlin University, Dethier had been working on the Byzantine buildings and inscriptions since he came to İstanbul. He carried out several surveys and published his results in a book entitled *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites a Constantinople* in 1867.<sup>384</sup> Before these works, he also carried out a cleaning work in the Serpentine Column resulting in the deciphering the inscription of the monument in 1856.<sup>385</sup> He also published many articles on the epigraphy and archaeology of Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>386</sup> These researches of Dethier would also result in the publication of another book to be displayed in his 1873 exposition of Vienna which will be discussed in detail below. Therefore, Dethier's academic interest and earlier studies must have been an important factor for the selection of these five drawings for the exposition. However, they also reflect the growing awareness of Ottoman Tanzimat

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<sup>383</sup> It is stated that “this plan, a land survey, sketched and annotated for using in a work - an edition of manuscripts of Kritovoulos which is discovered by Dethier in the library of the palace, to understand the tripartite range of the city walls, together with its trench and towers, as well as interesting details overlooked by the majority. Salahaddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867: ouvrage publié par les soins et sous la direction de S. Exc. Salahaddin Bey*, (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1867), 152.

<sup>384</sup> P. A. Dethier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople*, (1867) <http://archive.org/stream/nouvellesdcouve00dethgoog#page/n31/mode/1up> (accessed, 03.03.2013).

<sup>385</sup> Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul*, 59; Semavi Eyice, “İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Direktörlerinden” 45-52.; Eyice, “Phillipp Anton Dethier İstanbul'da”, 7-11. It was the British archaeologist Charles Newton (1816-94) who had unearthed the column in 1855. After spending only three days and founding a few fragments, however, he left Constantinople to search for classical monuments in Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, without cleaning the bronze surface. Robert Ousterhout, “The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey”, in *Scramble For the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Zainab Bahrani, Edhem Eldem, (İstanbul: Salt, 2011), 191; See also Jonathan Bardill, “Archaeologists and Excavations in the Hippodrome”, in *Hippodron/Atmeydanı*, ed. Birgitte Pitarakis, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: Pera Museum, 2010), 83-90.

<sup>386</sup> P. A. Dethier und A. D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre Christi 1453*, (İstanbul, 1864); P. A. Dethier, *Etudes archéologiques* (İstanbul, 1881) *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites a Constantinople* (İstanbul, 1867). For more information see Semavi Eyice “İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Direktörlerinden Dr. P.A. Dethier Hakkında Notlar” *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 9 (1960), 45-52.; Eyice, “Phillipp Anton Dethier İstanbul'da”, in P. A. Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul*, trans. Ümit Öztürk (İstanbul, Eren, 1993) 7-11.

elites' the importance of the claiming the cultural patrimony of the empire as in the case of western European states.

The other display area was of course the museum, the seeds of which had been formed in the late eighteenth century. The Imperial Museum, on the other hand, achieved autonomy as a modern state institution in 1889.<sup>387</sup> Wendy Shaw argued that Imperial Museum enterprise was formed in a “Helleno-Byzantine” context preserving and displaying its Hellenic and Byzantine heritage “to include itself in the club of nations that traced their cultural heritage to the ancients and thus constructed a shared experience of “Western Civilization”.”<sup>388</sup> I argue, however, that Ottomans were much interested in the “Hellenic” and/or “Roman” identity of the Byzantine heritage, similar to that of Western Europe and newborn Balkan states as discussed in the previous chapter. This will be more apparent, if we look at the first archaeological expeditions that were carried out by Osman Hamdi on behalf of the Imperial Museum. Similar to British, French, German archaeologists, who initiated the first archaeological expeditions in classical sites in search of Greco-Roman and

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<sup>387</sup> There is a controversy about what date should be accepted as the foundation of the first museum in Turkey. Some date it back to 1723 when the Ottoman government remodeled the former Church of Hagia Eirene, in use as an artillery warehouse. In 1846, Ahmed Fethi Pasha, designated the rooms around the atrium of the former Church of Hagia Eirene to house two collections owned by Sultan. This act has often been credited as the first conscious attempts at creating museological presentations of imperial collections in the Empire. The date 1869, on the other hand, is also important for replacing the word “collection” with the “museum”. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 31-46.

<sup>388</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 68-70.

biblical past,<sup>389</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey carried out the first archaeological excavations mainly on Hellenistic and Phoenician sites located in the empire's territory.<sup>390</sup>

It is obvious, on the other hand, that the Imperial Museum had a considerable number of collections dated to the Byzantine period as revealed by the Museum catalogs prepared by A. Dumont, Solomon Reinach, André Joubin and Gustave Mendel in 1868, 1882, 1893 and 1912-14 respectively.<sup>391</sup> One reason was that although the focus was the antique and classic ages in the excavations, these sites had also Byzantine layers and thus provided artifacts that belonged to the Byzantine period. It is significant to note that some Christian relics held by the Byzantine Emperors, and military objects had been kept in Hagia Irene since its

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<sup>389</sup> Britain was the leading country initiating archaeology in Anatolia due to relatively positive political and economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain. Charles Fellows (1799-1860)'s expedition in 1840's to Xanthos was one of the first archaeological expeditions in Ottoman lands. Towards to end of the nineteenth century, in addition to the Britannia, the other rising imperial nations such as Germany (Pergamon from 1878), Austria (Gölbasi from 1882; Ephesus from 1895), the United States (Assos from 1881, Sardis from 1910), and Italy (from 1913) came into prominence. For the first archaeological expeditions in the Ottoman lands see Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); D. Gill, "The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire", in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920* ed. David Shankland, Vol.1, (İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004), 223-256; Çelik et.all (eds.) *Scramble for the Past.*; Atılman, "Museological and Archaeological Studies in the Ottoman Empire".

<sup>390</sup> One of the first excavations undertaken by him was the tumulus of Antiochus I of Commagene on Nemrut Mountain. Between 1887 and 1888, he conducted excavations at the Royal Necropolis of Sidon where he discovered the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great and brought to the Imperial Museum. He worked at the temple of Hekate in Lagina between 1891 and 1892. He also worked in the necropolis of Myrina, Kyme and Aiolia. Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2 Vols. (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür Eğitim, Spor Sağlık Vakfı, 1995), 273-277; Afife Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binaları", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.1 (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1993), 310-312.; Atılman, "Museological and Archaeological Studies in the Ottoman Empire", 72-79.

<sup>391</sup> Solomon Reinach, *Ministère de l'Instruction Publique: Catalogué du Musée Impérial d'Antiquités* (Constantinople: Imprimerie Levant Times, 1882); André Joubin, *Musée impérial ottoman: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, byzantines et franques*, (Constantinople: Mihran, 1893); Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, byzantines*, 3 Vols. (Constantinople: Musée Imperial, 1912-14.) In 1868, French archaeologist A. Dumont compiled the first catalog of *Mecmua-i Âsâr-ı Atîka* by classifying these artifacts typologically. According to this catalog, *Mecmua-i Âsâr-ı Atîka* contained Greek, Roman, and Byzantine work of arts and these historical artifacts were displayed in various places of the museum. Salomon Reinach, a member of the French committee and a specialist of antiquity, published the first catalogue of the works exposed in the Tiled Pavilion, See *Catalogue du Musée Impériale d'Antiquités Constantinople* in 1882. Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binaları", 310-312.

conversion into the Imperial Armory following the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>392</sup> In the course of time, several works from the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, unearthed from various parts of the Empire were gathered here forming the seed of “*Mecmua-i Âsâr-ı Atîka*” [Magazine of Antiquities] after the organization of the collections in Hagia Irene by Ahmet Fethi Pasha, the marshal of the Imperial Arsenal in the Ministry of War, house two collections owned by Sultan.

Among the museum catalogs prepared in this period, Gustave Mendel’s *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantine, Konstantiniyye* in 1912 is important as it provides a plan of the new museum, classified the artefacts according to the expedition lounges, and described them in detail.<sup>393</sup> What is more, Gustave Mendel was brought from Bordeaux University as an expert of “*Kadim Yunan, Romen ve Bizantin Asarı muhafızı*” [Ancient Greece, Roman and Byzantine antiquities expert]<sup>394</sup>

Accordingly, many of Byzantine collections consisted of Hellenistic sculptures, reliefs, and architectural fragments which were incorporated in city walls and other buildings. For example, small reliefs depicting Christ embedded in different parts of the city walls were entered in the collections of the Imperial Museum.<sup>395</sup> A Medusa head decorating the exterior walls of Hagia Sophia was placed in the Imperial Museum in 1871.<sup>396</sup> In the same year, the Byzantine sculptures of lions taken from the Bukoleon Palace in Constantinople that had first been placed around the sea gate of the city walls probably as the symbolism of

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<sup>392</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 32-35.

<sup>393</sup> Accordingly, in the galleries of the north side of the building, the works from the Greek and Roman periods were displayed. These included architectural components, statues and reliefs came from Miletus, Didim, Lagina and Assos. In its south wing, there were the works from Hellenistic and Byzantine periods including some of the reliefs and sarcophagus. Batur, “Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binaları”, 310-312.

<sup>394</sup> According to contract of Mendel, he was responsible for not only preparing museum catalogs but also display of artifacts in scientific manner, supervision of the Museum excavations, inspection of the *Âsâr-ı Atîka* in the provinces and supervision of the printing that museum would publish in the near future. His contract was extended three months as the work has not been completed in 20 November 1913. BOA, BEO, 4232/317388, 20 Zilhicce 1331 (20 November 1913).

<sup>395</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 41.

<sup>396</sup> Necipoğlu, “Life of an Imperial Monument”, 204; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 39.

power linked to lions, were removed due to railway construction and placed in the Imperial Museum.<sup>397</sup>

A great amount of Byzantine artifacts acquired by the Imperial Museum; on the other hand, seem to have been come from different places of the empire, unearthed incidentally during the base constructions. Two documents dated to 1894 show such incidents. In the first case, a stone sarcophagus was found during the base excavation of a dervish lodge in Çarşamba, Beyceğiz. After the Museum officer realized that it belonged to the Byzantine period, it was decided to be taken to the Museum.<sup>398</sup> The second included three amphoras discovered during the base excavations of a flour mill of in Küçüksu, Göksu İstanbul. The document states that “after an examination of the artifacts revealed that they belonged to Byzantine period, and the transfer fee was not so expensive, then the submission of the artifacts was realized.”<sup>399</sup> Another document dated to 1899 shows the acquisition of artifacts that were dated to the Byzantine period after analysis that had been founded during the railway construction near the train station in İstanbul.<sup>400</sup>

The growing European interest in the antiquities found on Ottoman territory motivated the Ottoman government to change the attitudes towards ancient patrimony and the ways in which they were collected and appreciated. The Sublime Porte sent circular letters to the provinces and asked for the valuable ones to be shipped to İstanbul. As a result, the old artifacts from various parts of the Empire began to flow to Imperial Museum.<sup>401</sup> For example, a document dated to 1903, requested Byzantine coins that were found in the district of Atranos [Orhaneli, Bursa] be sent to the Imperial Museum.<sup>402</sup> Similarly, a Byzantine coin collection was sold to the Imperial Museum by Konstantin Makridi Pasha, *umur-u sıhhiye-i*

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<sup>397</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 40-41.

<sup>398</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 193/62, 11 Receb 1311 (18 January 1894).

<sup>399</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 195/89, 6 Şaban 1311 (12 February 1894).

<sup>400</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 441/51, 22 Zilkade 1316 (3 April 1899).

<sup>401</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat’ta Vilayetlerde Eski Eser Taraması”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 6, (1985), 1599.

<sup>402</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 686/ 37, 21 Zilkade 1320 (19 February 1903).

*insaniyye teftiş komisyonu azası*, a number of documents dealt with the payment-installment of this collection.<sup>403</sup>

In addition to the Museum, there were other institutions and learned societies regarding the cultural heritage in İstanbul. The first was *İstanbul Şehri Muhibleri Cemiyeti*, (Société des Amis de Stamboul) one of the earliest and the most known Antiquarian societies founded in 1911 by cosmopolitan inhabitants of İstanbul. One of the basic missions of the society was to do research and promote publications concerning the history, art and archaeology of the city.<sup>404</sup> The other was a more specific committee, *Muhâfaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümeni* [Committee for the Preservation of Historic Works] founded in 1917. Situated in a room in the Muse-i Humayun for their desk studies, Committee's main responsibilities were documenting, surveying, and photographing ancient buildings of İstanbul and publish scholarly works. The committee, members of which consisted of prominent historians, architects, art historians and museum employees was also eligible to make decisions regarding the preservation of historic buildings.<sup>405</sup> One of the other common features of these authors was their involvement in scientific institutions and learned societies founded in this period in İstanbul. Celal Esad and Mehmed Ziya were member of *Muhâfaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümeni* and *İstanbul Şehri Muhibleri Cemiyeti*, while Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya were active members of *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* [the Ottoman Historical Society] founded by a group of historians, art historians and statesmen in 1909.

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<sup>403</sup> BOA, BEO, 210/15705, 13 Zilkade 1310 (29 May 1893); BEO, 231/17290, 20 Zilhicce 1310 (5 July 1893); BOA, BEO, 277/20740, 7 Rebiülevvel 1311 (18 September 1893); MF.MKT, 284/9, 7 Rabiulevvel 1313 (28 August 1895).

<sup>404</sup> Gül Cephaneçigil, "Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesinde Milliyetçilik ve Mimarlık Tarihi" *İTÜ Dergisi A: Mimarlık, Planlama, Tasarım*, Vol. 9/ 2, 29-40 (Eylül 2010), 33-34.

<sup>405</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Bir İstanbul Tarihçisi: Mehmed Ziya" *İstanbul*, (6), (Türkiye Tarih Vakfı Yayınları 1993), 121-6; Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi", *METU JFA*, 16:1-2, (1996), 59-97.

## 5.2. Writing on the Topography and Monuments of Constantinople/İstanbul

### 5.2.1. Preceding Works

The historical topography and monuments of Constantinople had already become a popular subject among the scholars of nineteenth century Europe. Aiming at rediscovering Byzantine Constantinople, the city was a subject of many scholarly studies. While some of these studies were produced by European scholars commissioned by learned societies, some scholars had already lived in İstanbul for long years. Alexander Van Millingen (1840-1915) for example, was a professor of history at Robert College in İstanbul, whose study on the topography of Byzantine capital, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* was published in 1899 in London.<sup>406</sup> Jean Ebersolt was commissioned to investigate Byzantine churches of the city by *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, the French learned society devoted to the humanities.<sup>407</sup> His study on the historical topography of the city, *Etude sur la topographie et les monuments de Constantinople* was published in the same year with Celal Esad's *Constantinople* (1909). Professor Edwin Augustus Grosvenor, a well-travelled scholar with an in-depth knowledge of Latin and the Greek language had lived almost 20 years in İstanbul as a professor of Latin and History at Robert College between 1867 and 1890. Upon his return to the United States in 1890, he published his two volume book entitled *Constantinople* in 1895.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> This work examined the land and sea walls of the city. In *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* published in 1912. Millingen focused on the surviving Byzantine churches of the city descriptions. In addition to the topographical history and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople, he also published another book on the city for a general audience in 1906. Ekrem Işın, "İstanbul'da Kendi Uygarlığını Arayan Bir Avrupalı: Alexander van Millingen", in *Alexander van Millingen, Konstantinopolis*, trans. Aykut Gürçağlar, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2003), 7-10.

<sup>407</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Jean Ebersolt ve Eseri" in Jean Ebersolt, *Bizans İstanbulu ve Doğu Seyyahları*, trans. İlhan Arda, (İstanbul: Pera, 1996).

<sup>408</sup> Edwin Augustus Grosvenor, *Constantinople* (London, 1895) 2 Vols.  
[http://www.mgmt.boun.edu.tr/images/stories/dokumanlar/leaders/Issue\\_005/05-005.pdf](http://www.mgmt.boun.edu.tr/images/stories/dokumanlar/leaders/Issue_005/05-005.pdf) (accessed 04.05.2013).

The Austrian scholar, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) was one of the first to describe Ottoman İstanbul by focusing on primary Ottoman sources ignored by many European scholars. In his stay in Constantinople between 1779 and 1807 serving in the Austrian embassy in İstanbul, he found ample chance to examine the city.<sup>409</sup> Hammer's book *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus* published in 1822, was one of the first European studies to pay attention to both Ottoman and Byzantine monuments of the city including an inventory of churches converted into mosques. European origin and *Rum* subjects of the Ottoman Empire were also active in this area. Among these, Alexandros G. Paspates' *Byzantinai Meletai topographikai kai historikai* (1877) and Andreas David Mordtmann's *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (1892) are worth mentioning. Skarlatos Vyzantios, İstanbul born Greek scholar, in his three volumes *Constantinople, A Topographical, Archaeological and Historical Description of this famous City* published in Greek language in Athens (1869), also gives some insights into social life of the nineteenth century İstanbul.<sup>410</sup>

It was not only the above mentioned European tradition; these three Ottoman authors modeled their own visions of İstanbul. There was also a local tradition of writing on the built environment of İstanbul though it was rather weak. These local writings, however, provided models for later generations particularly for the Islamic monuments of İstanbul.

Ayvansari Hüseyin Efendi's *Hadikat-ül Cevami* written in the late eighteenth century (1768-96), was of utmost importance for providing descriptive information on the mosques and their vicinities. Its supplementary version written by Ali Satı Efendi re-published in two volumes in 1865.<sup>411</sup> Following *Hadikat-ül*

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<sup>409</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, 3 Vols, (Pest: Hartleben, 1822); Ousterhout, "Rediscovery of Constantinople", 185.

<sup>410</sup> For an analysis of this text, from the perspective of writing on the modernization project in the late Ottoman Empire within the concepts of East and the West, see Haris Exertzoglou, "Metaphors of Change: "Tradition" and the East/West Discourse in the late Ottoman Empire", in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 43-59.

<sup>411</sup> See Howard Crane (trans.), *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman İstanbul*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000).



*Cevami* the tradition of writing on the major Islamic monuments continued in İstanbul. In this respect, *Mecmua-i Cevami* published by the Osman Hacı İsmail Zade in 1886 is worth mentioning.<sup>412</sup> Ahmed Muhtar Pasha, a soldier and statesman, was a member of the planning committee for the military museum under Abdülhamid II and appointed as the first director of *Esliha-i Askeriyye Museum* in 1908-1923. Having a military background, he was much more interested in military history of İstanbul.<sup>413</sup> In his *Fethi-i Celil-i Kostantiniyye* (1898), he claimed to have consulted several Byzantine sources as well as many Ottoman and contemporary European sources. As he was interested in the conquest of İstanbul, the military architecture and the city walls were of his primary concern. He not only examined the current status of the city walls but also collected and published many different gravures and photographs of city walls.<sup>414</sup>

Towards the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some Ottoman intellectuals began to display enthusiasm not only for the Islamic monuments but also for the Byzantine architectural heritage of the city. One of the most important figures was Mehmed Raif (1863-1917), who was an Ottoman military officer with a great interest in history, architecture and archaeology of İstanbul.<sup>415</sup> His first major work was *Mir'at-ı İstanbul* (1898-99), one of the most comprehensive works devoted to the Islamic monuments of Istanbul in the end of the nineteenth century (1898-99).<sup>416</sup> Apparently, in his later years, Mehmed Raif's interest in the Islamic monuments turned into Byzantine "antiquities" of İstanbul. Thus, he participated in

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<sup>412</sup> Osman Hacı İsmail Zade, *Mecmua-i Cevami*, (İstanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar, 1304 [1886]).

<sup>413</sup> Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 185, 189, 191, 194-196.

<sup>414</sup> Mirliva Ahmed Muhtar, *Fethi-i Celil-i Kostantiniyye*, (Malumat Kitaphanesi, Tahir Bey Matbaası, Kostantiniyye, 1316 [1898]).

<sup>415</sup> Born in İstanbul in 1863, Mehmed Raif graduated from the Military School (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*). He participated in the Ottoman-Greek Wars in 1896. He taught geography, history, and rhetoric in different High Military Schools for more than twenty years. He knew French, Arabic and Persian. For a more information about Mehmed Raif Bey, see Semavi Eyice, "Mehmed Raif, Davutpaşalı", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, Vol. 28, (Ankara, 2003), 513-514.

<sup>416</sup> Together with Kolağası Ahmed Bahri, the book was published for the second time in 1900-1901. See Mehmed Raif, *Mirat-İstanbul*, ed. Günay Kut and Hatice Aynur, (İstanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Yayınları, 1996).

the rising trend of interest in *Âsâr-ı Atîka* of the city in which he is living. Although Mehmed Raif intended to publish a complete corpus of antiquities of İstanbul (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Külliyyatı*) that would consist of six volumes, he was able to publish only three of them between the years 1898/9 and 1916.<sup>417</sup> Apart from *Mirat-ı İstanbul*, the first monograph entitled *Sultan Ahmed Parkı ve Asâr-ı Atîkası*, [History of Sultan Ahmed Region and Its Ancient Monuments] 1916 (**fig. 27-28**)<sup>418</sup> includes the monuments of the *Dikili Taş* [Obelisk], *Sütun-u Mâri* [Serpentine Column], *Sütun-u Mürekkebe*, [the Constantine Column], *Hatıra-i Ziyaret*, [the German Fountain], Hippodrome, *Çemberlitaş* [Constantine Column], *Kıztaşı* [Marcianus Column], *Arkadius Sütunu* [Arcadius Colum] and cisterns. After the descriptions of the Sea Walls and Land Walls together with the city gates, harbours, towers, churches and monasteries nearby, Mehmed Raif provides information about Byzantine palaces including *Justinyen Sarayı* [Bukoleon Palace]; *Bakern Sarayı* [Blakhernai Palace] and *Hebdomoni Tekfur Sarayı*.<sup>419</sup> The other monograph entitled *Topkapı Sarayı-Hümayunu ve Parkının Tarihi* [History of the Topkapı Palace and Its Vicinity], published in the same year (1916) (**fig. 29-30**)<sup>420</sup> includes the descriptions of buildings inside the vicinities of the Topkapı Palace, -the Great Palace of Byzantium and *Saint İrin* [St. Irene Church] *Çinili Köşk Müzesi*, [Tiled Kiosk Museum] and *Müze-i Hümayun* [Imperial Museum]. Apart from these İstanbul centered writings on the built environment, there also emerged kind of “local histories” of cities in Anatolia which contained information about historical

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<sup>417</sup> The title of the other three books are listed as *İstanbul'un Ahvâl-i Kadîme-i Temeddün ve Umrânı*, *Feth-i Celîl-i Konstantiniyye*, and *İstanbul'da Mevcûd Âsâr-ı Atîka ve Nefîse*.

<sup>418</sup> Mehmed Raif Bey, *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Sultan Ahmed Senti (Sultan Ahmed Parkı ve Asâr-ı Atîkası)*, İstanbul: *Âsâr-ı Atîka Külliyyatı*: 2), ed. H.A. Arslantürk and A. Korkmaz, (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2010).

<sup>419</sup> As Mehmed Raif's main source were Pierre Gilles and Paspates, he wrongly designated Hebdomon as the Tekfur Palace. In the 16th century the building was called as the Palace of Constantine. In the 19th century some scholars argued that the Tekfur Palace is actually the Palace of Hebdomon. However, in 1899, A. Van Millingen proved that the Palace of Hebdomon is actually in Bakirköy-Yenimahalle. See Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*, (London: John Murray, 1899).

<sup>420</sup> Mehmed Raif Bey, *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresi, (Topkapı Sarayı-Hümayunu ve Parkının Tarihi)*, İstanbul: *Âsâr-ı Atîka Külliyyatı*: 1), ed. H.A. Arslantürk and A. Korkmaz, (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2010).

buildings. Although some of these monographs mention in some cases non-Islamic monuments of the city, their major concern was the Islamic period.<sup>421</sup>

### 5.2.2. “Heyet-i Sabıka-ı Konstantiniyye” (1860)

The first book on Byzantine history, topography and monuments of İstanbul published in Turkish language appeared as early as 1860. It was initially published as a serial in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1860. A year later, it was published as a separate book under the title of *Heyet-i Sabıka-ı Konstantiniyye* [The Former Shape of Constantinople]. Actually, this was an abridged Turkish translation of the book originally written by Konstantinos (1770-1859), who became the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1836. His book had first been published in Venice in 1824 in the Modern Greek language. Twenty years later, in 1844, the second Greek edition of the book was published in İstanbul. It was subsequently translated into French in 1846. The Turkish translation was made by Yorgaki Petropoulo, employed as an interpreter at the *Divan-ı Zabıtiye* [Ministry of War and Police Department]. Then, even a Karamanlı version of the book was published in 1863 in İstanbul. Finally, it was translated into English by John Brown (1814-1872), who was then the secretary of the American Legation in İstanbul, and published under the title *Ancient and Modern Constantinople* in 1868. The Turkish version was reprinted in 1872; it is stated in the preface of the book that “everybody would benefit from reading it”.<sup>422</sup>

Both the publication of the book in the newspaper as a serial, and its subsequent publications as a separate book display the growing interests among

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<sup>421</sup> For example, Şakir Şevket’s, *Trabzon Tarihi* [History of Trebizond] (1877) emphasized the Islamic history of the city. In the same vein, Halil Ethem’s (Eldem) *Kayseriye Şehri* [The City of Kayseri] (1918) focused on Seljuk period of the city. Kafadar and Karateke, “Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing”, 570-71.

<sup>422</sup> Konstantinos, *Heyet-i Sabıka-ı Konstantiniyye* (İstanbul, Tercüman-ı Ahval Matbaası, 1861); John P. Brown, trans., *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, (London, 1868); Semavi Eyice, “İstanbul’un Fethinden Önceki Devre Ait Eski Eserlerine Dair Bir Kitap Hakkında”, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 5, (1953), 85-90; Johann Strauss, “The Greek Connection in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Intellectual History” in *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. Dimitris Tziovas, (Aldershot, England; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003), 50-51.

learned inhabitants of İstanbul about the Byzantine past of the city in which they lived. In addition to being one of the earliest Turkish publications on the past of Ottoman capital for the Turkish speaking audience *Heyet-i Sabık* would remain the only one until Celal Esad's *Eski İstanbul* appeared in 1912.

The book provides a concise account of the major monuments to be seen in Constantinople, a history of localities of the city and its environs and the Bosphorus and Princes' Islands as well as modern edifices of the time.<sup>423</sup> It was composed as both as history and a useful guidebook for the use of travellers.<sup>424</sup> The original book consisting of 198 pages and five plates begins with a general account on architectural history, the main text on the topography and the Byzantine monuments of İstanbul. The book was heavily based on Du Cange's and Pierre Gilles's books as well as Byzantine chroniclers and also the personal observations and research of the author who introduced himself as the "philologist and a friend of archaeology" at the title page of the book. The Turkish version, on the other hand, consists of only 39 pages. The second Turkish edition, on the other hand, is 64 pages.<sup>425</sup>

### **5.2.3. "Le Bosphore et Constantinople" (1873): Ottoman Patronage of the Book on Byzantine Constantinople**

Following the publication of *Heyet-i Sabika-ı Konstantinye* in both newspapers and as a separate book, the Ottoman government also participated in the tradition of commissioning scholars to explore and write about the Byzantine topography and monuments of İstanbul. For the Vienna International Exposition of

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<sup>423</sup> The first section titled "Ancient Constantinople" is devoted to the history and monuments of the ancient city of Byzantium and Byzantine Constantinople with its city walls, towers, gates, topography, regions, and description of major the Byzantine monuments. The second section titled "Modern Constantinople", on the other hand, devoted to Ottoman Constantinople with its major monuments, as well as modern edifices built recently. This part also includes the environs of İstanbul, regions outside the city walls and the Princes' Islands with a description of their major monuments. This part is described the regions from Byzantine to Ottoman, the transformation of the regions and buildings. Brown, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*.

<sup>424</sup> John Brown transformed the original book into a more useful guide-book for American and English travellers by adding useful information for the tourists came to İstanbul such as rate exchange, post office, telegraphic service, as well as short trips to other provinces of the Empire.

<sup>425</sup> Eyice, "İstanbul'un Fethinden Önceki", 85-90.

1873, P. A. Dethier was commissioned by the Sublime Port to prepare a book on the topography and monuments of İstanbul. Dethier was also appointed as the museum director in 1872 by Ahmed Vefik Efendi, the Minister of Education.

Drawing mainly on Hammer's *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus* (1822), Dethier's study *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*, focused on Ottoman İstanbul with the Byzantine heritage. As Dethier noted in his book, "the world exposition of 1873 would offer a good stage to present the Ottoman capital to people from around the world."<sup>426</sup> It may be for this reason that the book begins with the Topkapı Palace and other Ottoman monuments as well as the modern nineteenth-century buildings, such as the Ministry of Defense building. However, Dethier specialized on the Byzantine heritage of the city and this was already known by Ottoman bureaucrats who had charged him to prepare drawings of Byzantine monuments and "antiquities" for the display in the Paris exhibition of 1856, as already mentioned above in the section **5.1**.

Thus, the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman İstanbul had already been displayed by the drawings of the Dethier in 1856 and this book, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* could be considered complimentary. In the book, Dethier provided Byzantine history of Hagia Sophia and its architectural features; he listed churches converted into mosques. In a section on the "ancient monuments", on the other hand, he described the Constantine Column, the Serpent Column, the Egyptian Obelisk, the Marcianus Column, the Arcadius Column, and the Basilica Cistern etc.<sup>427</sup>

The other book prepared under the patronage of the Ottoman government for the Vienna Exposition was *Usul-i Mi'mari-i Osmani* [Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture] which has often been accepted as a turning point in the historiography

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<sup>426</sup> At the preface of the book, Dethier apologized for "the simple style of the book and for borrowing from some works without referencing them, by stating that he was commissioned to write this book by Bab-ı Ali and Vienna in such a short time". The author also states that he was asked to be concise. The book is indeed very brief. Dethier also states that this was a good chance for presenting his studies on the topography and history of İstanbul in a concise form to visitors of the exhibition from all around the world "to make them educated, enlightened, and think about the historical city" Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul*, 10-11.

<sup>427</sup> Dethier, *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul*, 56-62.

of Ottoman architecture being the first work on architectural history and theory of Ottoman architecture produced in the Ottoman Empire. Commissioned by Sultan Abdülaziz, the project book was prepared by a cosmopolitan committee of Ottoman bureaucrats, artists and architects consisting of the French historian, artist and an Ottoman bureaucrat Victor Marie de Launay, an Ottoman Levantine artist of Italian origin Pietro Montani and under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, the Minister of Trade and Public Works.<sup>428</sup>

As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, there was a common assumption among Western scholars about the absence of a distinct Ottoman art and architectural style who usually referred to earlier examples of Ottoman architecture as “Saracenic” or “Arab” and as mere imitation of Byzantine architecture. Within this context, Ottoman scholars also tried to construct an architectural discourse in line with the development in the discipline of art history in Western Europe where the importance of defining a nationalist architectural tradition had long been realized in the processes of forging a consciousness of a nationalist identity. In this regard, *Usul-u Mi'mari-i Osmani* published in 1873 has often been accepted as the first work on architectural history and theory of Ottoman architecture as a response to the claims about the lack of originality of Ottoman architecture within the Islamic art and architectural context.<sup>429</sup>

Therefore, it can be said that in the Vienna exposition of 1873, these two books served the attempts of creating an image of the modern state. While *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani* defined a “distinct” Ottoman architectural tradition, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* displayed the Ottoman capital with an imperial Byzantine and antique heritage, situating the Ottoman Empire as a place in the historical continuum as the inheritor of ancient cultural traditions, just like European states tried to do so in this period.

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<sup>428</sup> Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins”, 117-128; Necioğlu, “Creation of a National Genius”, 142.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

### 5.3. Reconstructing Byzantine Constantinople

Born to a bureaucrat family of the late Ottoman period, as the son of the Vizier Ahmed Paşa, Celal Esad [Arseven] (1876-1971) was educated in modern schools and traveled to Europe several times. Although he studied for one year at the School of Fine Arts, he graduated from the Military School. After visiting Vienna, Paris and Berlin, he decided to become a painter and published many books on paintings and photography between 1895 and 1903.<sup>430</sup> It was during this period that his interests turned into the history of architecture and he made extensive research on the history of İstanbul. During these years, Celal Esad became interested in the topography and archaeology of İstanbul particularly, the Byzantine heritage of the city.

Mehmed Ziya (1865 or 1871-1930) was educated in Galatasaray Sultan-i Mektebi, with a good knowledge of French until 1886. He then graduated from the School of Fine Arts in 1890. After working as a teacher in Edirne, Halep and Konya, he became the director of a high school in Bursa *İdadisi* in 1892. Then, he returned to İstanbul and began to teach in high school Mercan *İdadisi* in İstanbul. It was during these years that Mehmed Ziya's interest in history of the city was aroused and he began to search for the "*âsar-ı kadime-i nefise*" [admirable ancient antiquities] of the city.<sup>431</sup>

After graduating from the Military School in 1898, Ahmed Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937) started out his career as a teacher of Geography, History and French in the military schools until 1909. During these years, he also began to write in several newspapers. After becoming one of the members of *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* founded in 1909, he went to Paris together with some other historians for historical

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<sup>430</sup> See Celal Esad Arseven, *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*, ed. Ekrem Işın, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1993); Semavi Eyice, "Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)", *Belleten*, 36, (1972), 141-144: 194.; Elvan Altan-Ergüt, "Celal Esad Arseven's History of Architecture Between the Past and the Present International Congress of Aesthetics 2007, Aesthetics Bridging Cultures. <http://www.sanart.org.tr/PDFler/12a.pdf> (accessed 02.10.2012).

<sup>431</sup> Semavi Eyice "İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5 (1994), 369-371; İdem, "İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya, Hayatı, Mezarı ve Eserleri", *Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu, Tebliğleri VI*, (İstanbul, 2003), 172-181.

researches. His stay in Paris where he met with many prominent French historians was a turning point in his academic life. His intellectual development and historical approaches were greatly shaped during these years. After he returned to İstanbul, he was appointed as a history teacher in *Darülfünun* in 1918.<sup>432</sup>

Celal Esad was one of the first Ottoman authors to write about Byzantine Constantinople. His book entitled *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul* (**fig. 31**) with some 289 pages first appeared in 1909 in Paris.<sup>433</sup> Although originally written in Ottoman Turkish, Celal Esad translated his book into French to be published in Paris. The first part is a survey of monuments of Byzantine Constantinople with a section on the historical topography of the city. The second part, on the other hand, dealt with Ottoman monuments of the city introduced by an account on the general features and origins of Ottoman architecture. Four years after the publication of the book in Paris, in 1912, the book was also published in Ottoman Turkish in İstanbul under the title of *Eski İstanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* [Ancient Istanbul: Monuments and Buildings] (**fig. 32-33**).<sup>434</sup> This was only the first part of the book which is devoted to Byzantine Constantinople.

Mehmed Ziya's study first appeared in 1920, entitled *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsar-ı Bakiyesi* (**fig. 34**).<sup>435</sup> Although the volume appeared with some 400 pages, this was the only first part of his work which is primarily devoted to the topography and some monuments of Byzantine Constantinople. The second volume which begins with a chapter on "the glorious

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<sup>432</sup> İbrahim Caner Türk, "Osmanlı Son Dönem Tarihçi-Eğitimcisi Ahmed Refik (Altınay) ve Tarih Eğitimi", *History Studies*, Volume 3/3 (2011).  
[http://www.historystudies.net/Makaleler/762999922\\_22%c4%b0brahim%20Caner%20T%c3%bcrk.pdf](http://www.historystudies.net/Makaleler/762999922_22%c4%b0brahim%20Caner%20T%c3%bcrk.pdf) (accessed 21.12.2012).

<sup>433</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), (thereafter, *Constantinople*).

<sup>434</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski İstanbul Abidat ve Mebaisi*, ed. Dilek Yelkenci, (İstanbul: Celik Gülersoy Vakfı, İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989), (thereafter, *Eski İstanbul*).

<sup>435</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi*, (*Birinci Kitap, Müellif: Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maârif, Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi Meclisi ve Muhafaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka ve Tarih-i Osman-i Encümenleri Azasından Mehmed Ziya*), (İstanbul: Dârü't-tıbâ'ati'l-amire, 1336 [1920] (thereafter *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1).



and splendor of İstanbul in Byzantine Period” published in 1928 under the same title (**fig. 35-37**).<sup>436</sup>

Although Ahmed Refik did not write a separate book on Byzantine Constantinople, he reserved an extensive section on this topic in his study of *Büyük Tarihi Umumi* published in 1912 (**fig. 38**), as mentioned in the previous chapter. What is more, he also published several articles on some of the Byzantine monuments in newspapers and journals between 1910 and 1937.<sup>437</sup> Ahmed Refik’s long life study of Ottoman period of İstanbul, extending from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, on the other hand, published as separate books in 1930-1932<sup>438</sup> (**fig. 39-40**).

In what follows, I would like to explore the works of the three authors in order to better understand Ottoman historiography of Byzantine Constantinople, including the authors’ theoretical and methodological approaches, their organization of the books, and the use of archaeological and visual sources.

### 5.3.1. Framing Byzantine Constantinople

Celal Esad’s *Constantinople* appeared in 1909. This book was the result of two important strains. One was Celal Esad’s personal interest in the Byzantine past and archaeology, the other was his developing nationalist concerns for Ottoman architecture which would turn into “Turkish architecture” in subsequent years. This seeming dilemma is also displayed in the framework of the book and his narrative.

Celal Esad’s book consists of two main parts: Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul (**fig. 41-42**). The first part titled *A Traverse Byzance* is devoted to

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<sup>436</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsâr-ı Bakıyesi*, (İkinci Kitap, Müellif: Muhafaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümen-i Daimisi Katib Umumisi Mehmed Ziya), (İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1928) (thereafter *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.2).

<sup>437</sup> For a full bibliography of Ahmed Refik, see Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*.

<sup>438</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Hicri On Birinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı: 1000-1100*, Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyyatı, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), Idem, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı: 1100-1200*, Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyyatı, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), Idem, *On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553-1591)*, 2.nd edition (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935); Idem Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Eski İstanbul (1553-1839)*, (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011, first edition 1931).

the history and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople. It is divided into three chapters; a brief history, the topography and description of the monuments. Except for the first chapter, in which historical timeline of the city is periodized from the point of Turkish history- that is “the period until the conquest by Turks”, “Mehmed II and preparations for the conquest” and “the conquest of the city”; the rest of the organization of this part followed aforementioned European works on Constantinople. The examination of the historical topography of Byzantine Constantinople by dividing the city into the fourteen regions with seven hills and seven valleys, for example, had first appeared in the study of Petrus Gilles in the sixteenth century.<sup>439</sup> The special attention given to the city walls describing each of the towers and the city gates in detail was one of the important sections of previous books, as well. It was often in this section that an account on the Turkish conquest of the city was placed, associated with the city walls. Similarly, the typological description of the monuments such as churches and palaces had been established in the Western art history scholarship. This part of the book also covers regions outside the city walls and the Princes’ Islands with a description of their major monuments.

Two important scholars wrote a preface to Celal Esad’s book. The first was Charles Diehl, the French Byzantinist, whose appreciation of the Byzantine heritage had important impacts on the subsequent scholars in the beginning of the twentieth century. The second was the German scholar Dr. Mordtmann who lived in İstanbul and published a topographical study on Byzantine Constantinople in 1892<sup>440</sup>. Both authors had close contact with some Ottoman scholars and Celal Esad.<sup>441</sup>

Celal Esad examines Byzantine Constantinople using a very wide range of sources extending from history and topography to the recent archaeological studies and monographs dealing with single monuments as well as European editions of Byzantine sources –such as Niketas Choniates’s *Historia*, Konstantinoes

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<sup>439</sup> Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, 35-72.

<sup>440</sup> Andreas David Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (1892).

<sup>441</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, preface.

Porphrogenots' *De Ceremonises* and Prokopios's *Historie de Edifice*.<sup>442</sup> In fact, neither the framework of book nor the information given was new.<sup>443</sup> What makes this book significant is evinced by the words of Charles Diehl: "Il est intéressant de voir un Ottoman faire à son tour une place à son pays dans ces études, comme Hamdy-bey la lui a faite, voilà longtemps déjà, dans le domaine de archéologie classique".<sup>444</sup> As Diehl states, Byzantine art and architecture had long been of particular interests of European or Ottoman *Rum* scholars. Similar to Osman Hamdi Bey, the first Ottoman archaeologist, Celal Esad was now able to find a niche in this area. Seen from this perspective, both the publication of book in French language in Paris and prefaces written by Charles Diehl and Mordtmann, the prominent Byzantinists at that time, show the attempts of Celal Esad to gain the book an international academic currency. By publishing this book, he achieved displaying "an Ottoman native's" ability of dealing with the study of the Byzantine heritage of İstanbul.

This was not the only aim of Celal Esad; however, as the second part of the book seems to have been written for completely different purposes. Its one of the novel features in this book, after Byzantine Constantinople, Celal Esad covers Ottoman İstanbul in a separate part. Such a strategy of displaying Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul side by side- but not together- may have provided a useful comparison between Byzantine and Ottoman architecture and thus helped to distinguish Ottoman architecture as a distinctive and prestigious entity from that of Byzantine. Therefore, the second part of the book aimed at bringing forth Ottoman architecture in an international arena. This is also supported by the inclusion of an introductory section in which Celal Esad discusses the main characteristics of Ottoman architecture. Here, Celal Esad writes: "Bien que l'art turc soit parfait encore considéré en Europe comme une servile imitation des arts persan,

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<sup>442</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 279-281.

<sup>443</sup> This is also stated by Charles Diehl's prologue "although an expert may not find new information here, people who are not familiar with Byzantine Constantinople will find it much useful for learning about the Byzantine topography". Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, preface.

<sup>444</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, preface, iii.

arabe, et byzantin, cette opinion est a toutes les réalités.”<sup>445</sup> Beginning with such a critical statement of European authors who considers, he argued, “Ottoman art as a mere imitation of Persian, Arab, and Byzantine art”, Celal Esad’s aim was to challenge established views regarding Ottoman architecture and demonstrate its “unique character”.<sup>446</sup>

It can be argued, then, that Celal Esad’s aim was twofold. On the one hand, he wanted to situate himself in an international arena displaying his knowledge about the Byzantine past of the city, and thus securing a place for the Ottoman capital as the inheritor of the ancient cultural traditions. But on the other hand, he aimed at defining essential features of Ottoman architecture in response to orientalist visions of Islamic architecture.

Celal Esad tends to separate Byzantine Constantinople from Ottoman İstanbul not only through this chapter division but also his narrative which did not relate Byzantine Constantinople with Ottoman İstanbul. Rather, it implies that Byzantine identity of the city came to an end when Fatih Sultan Mehmed conquered Byzantine Constantinople. It is probably for this reason that, the 1912 edition of the book, which only covers Byzantine section, is entitled as “Eski İstanbul” [Ancient İstanbul] referring to a more remote past.

The publication of Celal Esad’s book in its original in Ottoman Turkish in İstanbul, on the other hand, testifies to genuine interests shown by Ottoman readers to the Byzantine heritage of the city,<sup>447</sup> as these same years witnessed the

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<sup>445</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 151.

<sup>446</sup> As noted above, the first attempt for defining a distinct Ottoman architecture was *Usul-i Mimari Osmani* prepared for the Vienna exhibition of 1873. Celal Esad’s early anti-orientalist sentiments were thus, articulated in line with this book. Indeed, much of his section on the Ottoman architectural history is almost the repetition of ideas already stated in the *Usul-i Mimari Osmani* in 1873. In his study on the historiography of the eighteenth century architecture, Shrine Hamadeh also states that Celal Esad’s views on this topic are exactly same with Usul. See Shirine Hamadeh, “Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century”, *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24, *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* (2007), 185-197.

<sup>447</sup> Probably targeting to Ottoman audience, the section of the conquest of city was longer than the French edition with some additional information from the recent works such as Ottoman Turkish translation of Byzantine chronicler Kritobulos with a title History of Mehmed II by *Tarih-i Osman-I Encümeni*. Kritououlos, “Tarih-i Sultan Mehmed Han-ı Sani”, (İstanbul: Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası, 1912); Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, 41-58.

publication of other journal articles and works related to Byzantine history, art and architecture in the newspapers. The publication of Celal Esad's book in Ottoman Turkish in 1912 was coincided with the appearance of Ahmed Refik's six volumes *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* which contains a chapter on the history of the Byzantine Empire in his fourth volume. Although many of the paragraphs are word to word translation from the *Histoire générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, written by Alfred Nicolas Rambaud and Ernest Lavisse, Ahmed Refik introduces some additional information in different parts of the text. The most important of these is related to the topography and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople, probably translated from another work.

In line with his aim to make the city of Constantinople more familiar for the students and inhabitants of the city, Ahmed Refik provides extensive information about the historical geography and topography of the Byzantine capital with its main roads, regions, city walls and gates, churches, palaces and ancient monuments. In these descriptions, Ahmed Refik mentions the Byzantine and Ottoman names of the places and buildings together and provides a list of converted churches of İstanbul.<sup>448</sup> By making this, he tried to make sense of the "continuity" from the time of Byzantine to Ottoman. As noted before, Ahmed Refik's concept of patriotism was based on "fatherland" as a space, rather than ethnicity or religion. He most explicitly writes this as such: "Byzantine civilization had flourished in these territories, and Ottomans established in these Byzantine lands, thus there was a cultural continuum."<sup>449</sup>

Ahmed Refik particularly criticizes earlier and contemporary Ottoman writers for their lack of interest in Byzantine studies and refers to Celal Esad as the exception who studied the history of the center of Byzantine and Ottoman in his

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<sup>448</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol. 4, 214-217, 254-257.

<sup>449</sup> "Çünkü Osmanlı, saltanatını Bizans toprağında tesis etmiş. Osmanlı âdet ve anelerine Bizanslıların büyük tesirleri olmuştur. Bizans imparatorlarının asırlarca idare ettiği topraklar, Bizans halkının beraber yaşadıkları unsurlar halen sevgili vatanımızda mevcut." Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 4.

*Eski İstanbul* published in 1912.<sup>450</sup> In the introduction part of his book on the *Byzantine Empress* (1915), he states:

Imagine a city, which has the most outstanding and pure beauty of the nature has been subjected to the unfair and harsh criticisms of history. There is only one such city; it is Byzantium.<sup>451</sup>

Nearly eight years after the publication of Celal Esad and Ahmed Refik's books, in 1920, Mehmed Ziya's colossal study of *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* with some 300 pages appeared. The book was published by the *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi* with 84 copies. This was a period of turmoil that Ottoman Empire underwent; İstanbul was under occupation by the British, French and Italian troops since 1918. In April 1920, a Turkish national government and national assembly began to function in Ankara. The second volume was published in the early years of the Republic in 1928. Although it consists of more than 350 pages, this volume seems to be incomplete lacking a content page at the end probably due to the Reform of Alphabet in 1928.<sup>452</sup> After two years of the publication of this second volume, Mehmed Ziya died in 1930.

Based on contemporary European methods of research and writing together with its extensive footnotes and bibliography, Mehmed Ziya's *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* is indeed groundbreaking. Although it may have not been appreciated enough until recent years, the book was an important contribution to the study of Byzantine Constantinople. One of the most impressive parts of the book is the introductory part in which Mehmed Ziya provides a detailed review of Byzantine studies in Europe from its beginnings in the late seventeenth century up until his time (**fig. 43**). He mentioned all major studies on topography, history, art and architecture of

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<sup>450</sup> "...Lisanımızda Celal Esad Bey biraderimizin Eski İstanbul namındaki eseri müstesna olmak üzere, payitahtımızın tam bir tarihi bile mevcut değil. Bizans tarihi ise külliyyen meçhul. Halbuki biz Osmanlılar için Bizans tarihini layıkıyla bilmek ve bu tarihin bütün safhalarını kemali dikkatle tetkik etmeye büyük ihtiyaç var." Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 4.

<sup>451</sup> "...Hiçbir güzel [kadın] tasvir edilemez ki; hüsnü ve cazibesi, revnak ve letafeti, ziyinet ve ihtişamı nefretler ve alaylarla yad edilsin. Hiçbir şehir tasvir olunamaz ki, tabiatın en müstesna, en taze, en saf güzelliklerini ihtiva ettiği halde tarihin insafsız eleştirilerine hedef olsun. Ancak bu talihsizliğe, bu haksızlıklara maruz kalan yalnız bir şehir vardır; Bizans..." Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri* 3.

<sup>452</sup> Semavi Eyice, "İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya, Hayatı, Mezarı ve Eserleri", *Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu Tebliğleri VI*, (İstanbul) 2003, 172.

prominent figures such as Pierre Gilles, Du Cange, Gibbon, Salzenberg, Charles Texier, Charles Diehl, Swainson, Van Millgen and others. His reviews are beyond informative overviews of these works, but discuss their contribution to Byzantine scholarship in general. From this introduction; it is evident that Mehmed Ziya made an extensive research not only on İstanbul but on the general Byzantine history, art and architecture.<sup>453</sup>

In this introductory part, Mehmed Ziya not only refers to European studies but also summarizes the local tradition of writing on the monuments of İstanbul including *Hadikatiül Cevami*, *Mirat-ı İstanbul*, *Tarih-i Hagia Sophia*. He also refers to Celal Esad's *Eski İstanbul* as an important contribution to the study of Byzantine topography and monuments in recent years. However, rather than Celal Esad's book, he states, he formed his work on the model of another book, *Heyet-i Sabık Konstantinye* or *Konstantiniad* of Patrick Constantine (1860). Realizing soon its inadequacy for his purposes, however, he considerably extended his work, "by consulting recent French, German, and Greek works either by directly examining or making important parts of them translated into Turkish".<sup>454</sup>

The first volume of *İstanbul and Boğaziçi*, on the topography of Byzantine Constantinople seems to follow the same framework of previous works- and thus Celal Esad's book- in terms of the sequence of the topics such as the history of the city, the description of the fourteen regions, city walls with its towers and gates and finally the conquest of the city. However, the methods of research and narrative techniques seem to be very different from that of Celal Esad's book.

First of all, Mehmed Ziya devoted this whole volume to the history and topography of the city with its general topography, regions, the land and sea fortifications, military and civil gates, towers, and harbors. The second volume, on the other hand, covers the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments focusing on both the

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<sup>453</sup> Mehmed Ziya Vol.1, "Medhal" [Introduction], page numbers in Arabic script. (total 19 pages).

<sup>454</sup> "...İstanbul'un eski devirleri ile Osmanlı eserleri ve abideleri hakkında yıllardan beri inceleme ve yazımda bulunuyorum. Bu hususta araştırma yapanların kabul ettikleri gibi, uzun süren ve yorgunluk veren bir çalışmanın ürünü olan bu eserime başlarken Konstantiniad'ı temel almışsam da, araştırma ilerledikçe, bunun yetersizliği anlaşıldığından, Fransızca, Rumca ve Almanca bazı eserleri gerek doğrudan doğruya incelemek ve gerek önemli madde ve bölümleri tercüme ettirmek suretiyle kitabımı genişlettim..." Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, *medhal*, n.p.

urban layout and single monuments of the city (**fig. 44-45**). In other words, the first volume is about rural and military parts of the city, while the second on the urban core of the city, particularly the imperial palaces, hippodromes, antiquities, cisterns, churches and mosques of the city. As it is clearly states by Mehmed Ziya, this framework of the book was a conscious choice.<sup>455</sup>

In contrast to Celal Esad's descriptive and typological information about the monuments, Mehmed Ziya discusses recent archaeological discoveries including his own observations based in situ examinations. He provides the changes which took place in the course of time as well as the current condition of the buildings. He also translates some of the inscriptions on the walls from Latin, Greek or Ottoman.<sup>456</sup>

Unlike Celal Esad, Mehmed Ziya did not separate Byzantine Constantinople from Ottoman İstanbul. As one of the aims of Celal Esad is to present a distinct dynastic Ottoman architectural history, he provides a section on the premises of the general Ottoman architecture. Celal Esad's discourse is often nationalist in tone, Mehmed Ziya, on the other hand, articulates his narrative by connecting the Byzantine and Ottoman heritage of the city. This also constitutes the basic difference from other earlier European works, which often overlooked the Ottoman city.

Mehmed Ziya's book has some other features. Long footnotes are like a kind of encyclopedia providing brief information about a wide variety of topics. If the

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<sup>455</sup> Mehmed Ziya states in the introduction of his book "...In accordance with the style which many authors followed in such great studies, I have divided my study into two main parts. While I devoted the first part to the description of general topography of the city with its regions, fortifications, city gates, and thereby the conquest of the city; I left to the examination of palaces, antiquities, water aqueducts, cisterns, baths, particularly Ottoman mosques, fountains-which had a special place in the history of the Ottoman civilization, famous tombs and madrasas to the second book..."

"...Bu gibi büyük eserlerde çoğu yazarın takip ettikleri tarza uygun olarak, ben de eserimi iki kısma ayırarak birinci kitabı - şehrin genel durumunu daha yakından inceleyebilmek için - İstanbul'un mıntukaları ile surlarına ve bu münasabetle Konstantiniyye'nin fethine ait geniş bilgiye ve şehre yakın bölgelerdeki bazı önemli ve tarihi Osmanlı eserleri ve kalıntılarının anlatım ve tariflerine ayırdım. Saraylarla eski, su kemerlerini, mahzenlerini, sütunlarla hamamlarını, özellikle camilerle, Osmanlı medeniyet tarihinde ihtişamıyla özel bir yer edinen sebillerle çeşmeleri, meşhur türbe ve medreseleri, Boğaziçi, Üsküdar ve Adaların Bizans ve Osmanlı devirlerine ait eserlerini, ikinci kitaba bıraktım." See Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, "Medhal", n.p.

<sup>456</sup> Whether Mehmed Ziya knew Greek, or he got help for the translation of these inscriptions is not clear.



main text mentions the name of a historical figure, or event, the footnote provides an explanation for it. These may include a detailed description of “the Latin invasion of Constantinople”, “a biography of a Byzantine chronicler or emperor” or his own observations on the ruins of towers or city gates. In fact, his manner of use of the footnotes seems to be a very creative device through which he connects Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul. While the main text describes a Byzantine church, for example, the footnote provides information about the history of its conversion into a mosque, its inscriptions, nearby buildings, its patron etc. For the Byzantine monuments described in the main text, he also provides historical developments and transformations that occurred buildings, its current situation in the footnotes. He also discusses views of different authors and compares them with recent archaeological discoveries. He sometimes also provides his observations and archaeological examinations in the footnotes.<sup>457</sup>

For the second volume of the book, one of the main Byzantine sources of Mehmed Ziya was *Kitabü'l Merasim* [The Book of Ceremonies]<sup>458</sup> and the *Patria* of Constantinople.<sup>459</sup> Tracing the information given in these texts, Mehmed Ziya tried to identify the topography and exact place of the Byzantine parades, churches, palaces. He used written accounts for tracing the lost or ruinous Byzantine monuments. He also includes a separate section on the “the official and social life of

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<sup>457</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, 15-30, 110- 135, 235-255.

<sup>458</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* (*De ceremoniis*) is a work of compilation produced for the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-59), and partially revised or updated under Nikephoros II Phokas (963-9) dealing with diverse subjects of concern to the emperor including the role of the court, secular and ecclesiastical ceremonies, processions within the Palace a, banquets and dress, the role of the demes, hippodrome festivals with chariot races, etc. Averil Cameron, “The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies,” in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price, (Cambridge, 1987), 106-36. Mehmed Ziya used J. Ebersolt’s *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies*, (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910.)

<sup>459</sup> *The Patria of Constantinople* (Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεω) is the name used for a collection of texts concerning Constantinople’s history, buildings and other monuments. They were edited and published by T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 Vols, (Leipzig, 1901 and 1907). *Patria* was translated into French and analyzed by Gilbert Dragon, *Constantinople imaginaire Etudes sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris: Bibliothèque Byzantine, 1984).

Byzantine emperors, and their clothing style”. Byzantine palaces are given special importance dealt with in a separate section.<sup>460</sup>

### 5.3.2. Searching for the “Âsâr-ı Atîka” of the City

One of the most remarkable features of Mehmed Ziyas’s *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* is that rather than being based solely on the textual descriptions; it relies heavily on the site examinations and recent archaeological works. References to archaeological discoveries in historical texts could be seen in some earlier general history books particularly translations from European works.<sup>461</sup> However, Mehmed Ziya differs from them by his personal involvement in site visits to historic buildings and ruins as well as extensive use of recent archaeological studies. He writes;

Taking into consideration of the changes that happened for the time being, I can not only base on the descriptions given in the written sources. Therefore, I personally visited each of the monuments and made some investigations on ancient sites particularly in cisterns, towers, some underground residences. I would almost lose my life while I was sailing into the Basilica Cistern to examine inside the building.<sup>462</sup>

Equally significant is that Mehmed Ziya was very aware of what he was doing. He clearly defined his method at the outset of his book and tried to posit his approach as part of the “Âsâr-ı Atîka” [antiquities] which, he argued, “important in the eyes of scholars of the great European institutions and turned into a scientific endeavor with the nurture of ideas and international collaboration.” After reviewing some former studies on İstanbul both European and Turkish - among them Celal Esad’s *Eski İstanbul* - he states that “although they are worthy of commendation, far

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<sup>460</sup> Memed Ziya *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 2, (1928), 88-100; 2004, 131-144.

<sup>461</sup> Zeynep Çelik refers to an earlier example of *Tarih-i Umumi* dates from AH 1285 (1868-69) published by the Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Hazret-i Şahane Matbası, with some photographs and specific references to the ongoing archaeological works related to Assyrians and Babylonians especially. See “Defining Empire’s Patrimony”, 462-463. However, this book may have been a direct translation of a European work.

<sup>462</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, (1920), “Medhal”, n.p.

from being sufficient particularly considering the recent developments in the discipline of archaeology”.<sup>463</sup>

Not satisfied with “mere descriptive information”, Mehmed Ziya emphasizes the importance of the actual examination of the monuments within their historical and topographical context. He believes that “an archaeologist needs to collaborate with other disciplines, particularly with history”.<sup>464</sup> With a detailed written, architectural and archaeological knowledge, he discusses literary sources, examines buildings themselves, structure of city walls, converted churches, ruins of aqueducts, and tried to identify monuments in a ruinous state, or converted Byzantine churches by comparing written sources and recent works throughout his work. It can be said that Mehmed Ziya took a kind of interdisciplinary approach and he was very aware of the recent developments in the discipline of archaeology and history.

Graduated from the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, [the Faculty of Fine Arts] in which *Âsâr-ı Atîka İlmi* [Science of Antiquities] were among the required courses<sup>465</sup>, Mehmed Ziya had already equipped with the necessary tools for research into the “antiquities.” Indeed, before the publication of *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Mehmed Ziya had long been preoccupied with *Âsâr-ı Atîka* of İstanbul. His two earlier publications prefigure *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* in many ways. They are also important for displaying the development and transformation of mentality and academic career of this late Ottoman scholar.

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<sup>463</sup> “...Çoğunluğu tarihi olaylardan bahseden adı geçen yazarların emek ve çalışması övgüye layık olmakla beraber, özellikle eski eser ilminin zamanımızda kazanmış olduğu önem, bilimsel bir şekil alarak batılı büyük bilim kurumlarının önemli bilim adamları gözünde eşsiz bir yer kazanmış olması ve düşüncenin terbiyesi ve özellikle uluslararası alanda bilgi yakınlaşmasının kurulması noktasında aşikar olan öneminden dolayı adı geçen eserler, eski eser araştırmacısı birçok alim için düşüncenin aydınlanmasında yeterli görülüyor. Bugün, eski eser araştırmaları birçok ilmin yardımına muhtaçtır” Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1 (1920), “Medhal”, n.p.

<sup>464</sup> “Bir memleketin tarihi müesseselerini sadece anmak, eski eser alimlerinden beklenen faydaları sağlamaz. Bu gerçeğe istinaden, son zamanlarda eski eser uzmanları, özellikle Bizans tarihi uzmanları, İstanbul’un eski toplumsal hayatına ve tarihi dönemlerine ait oldukça detaylı incelemelerde bulunarak kıymetli eserler meydana getirmişlerdir”. Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1. (1920), “Medhal”, n.p.

<sup>465</sup> Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış*, 447-449; Altınyıldız, “Architectural Heritage of İstanbul”, 286.

The first one is a monograph titled *Kariye Cami-i Şerifi* [Kariye Mosque, former Chora Church], the best known Byzantine church after Hagia Sophia. The work was published in the form of “hand-book” in 1910 consisted of 119 pages (**fig. 46-47**).<sup>466</sup> As it is explained by the author in the introduction, the study aimed at “making familiar the Ottoman readers, with such a beautiful ancient monument as they little knew about this building since a comprehensive study has never been published in Ottoman language”.<sup>467</sup>

Although Mehmed Ziya’s concern about unfamiliarity of local people with the Kariye Mosque was true, the building was not totally devoid of recognition in the official level. With the increasing European interest in the Byzantine monuments of İstanbul after the second half of the nineteenth century particularly on Hagia Sophia and the Kariye Mosque, these monuments became the subject of official interests. After the restoration of Hagia Sophia, during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, some of the mosaics of Kariye Mosque were revealed by Rumi architect Kuppas in 1875-76.<sup>468</sup> As the building was seriously damaged by the earthquake of 1894, the building was restored upon the order of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1898. This restoration coincided with the visit of the German emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II to İstanbul, who had great interests of the Byzantine monuments of İstanbul. In fact, probably after these restorations and some of the mosaics were revealed, the building began to receive attention of learned Ottomans like Mehmed Ziya.

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<sup>466</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Ka’riye Cami-i Şerif, (On Yedi adet fotoğraf hâvidir)*, (İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1326[1910]); Mehmed Ziya, *Ka’riye Cami-i Şerif*, ed. Ömer Zülfe, (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), (thereafter *Kariye*).

<sup>467</sup> “İstanbul’un bir varoşu hükmünde bulunan Edirnekapısı’nda Mihrimah Sultan Cami-i Şerifi’nin karşı tarafında nisbeten dar bir sokağın müntehasında ve çukur bir mahallede kâin Ka’riye Cami-i Şerifi’nin ismini işitmedik yok gibidir. Fakat ekserimiz bilmez... Bu hal, şayan-ı istiğrab olmakla beraber, mazur da görülebilir. Çünkü bu mabed-i kadim-ü mühim hakkında, lisanımızda, bir kitap yazılmasına, hatta beş on sahifelik bir risale vücuda getirilmesine himmet edilmemiştir. Yalnız Hadikatü’l Cevâmi’de dört beş satırlık bir malûmât ile iktifa olmuştur.” Mehmed Ziya, *Ka’riye Cami-i Şerif*, (1910), 4; (2012), 11.

<sup>468</sup> Semavi Eyice, “Kariye Camii”, *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 21, (Ankara, 1955), 335-339; Engin Akyürek, *Bizans’ta Sanat ve Ritüel*, (İstanbul, 1996), 47.; Robert Ousterhout, *The Architecture of Kariye Camii in İstanbul* (Washington Dc., 1987), 9.

Searching for more scholarly information about the earlier history of the monument and artistic value of its famous mosaics,<sup>469</sup> Mehmed Ziya visited the building complex several times.<sup>470</sup> Apparently, he found some of the answers to his questions in Charles Diehl's study of *Kariye Cami* published in his *Etudes Byzantines* in 1905 (fig. 48);<sup>471</sup> Mehmed Ziya preferred to translate it into Turkish (fig.49). Although the full reference is not given, Mehmed Ziya notes *Etudes Byzantines* as an important work providing detailed knowledge about the monument, but he did not state that he was translating this work. At the end of the book, Mehmed Ziya wrote a request letter to Halil Edhem, the director of the Imperial Museum, stating that:

Kariye Camii, highly praised by all historians and art historians as the magnificent building, was in need of a careful scientific attention. It would be better if the mosaics and frescoes located in the central dome and parekklesion could be revealed and cleaned scientifically.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> Mehmed Ziya searches for: "when was the original building built, what kind of transformations it underwent, who was the donor of the building, when was the mosaics were painted, what kind of artistic value that mosaics had, what kind of researches were made..." *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, (1910), 4.

<sup>470</sup> This is also evident in that there is a separate section at the end of the book on the location and description of the mosaics, entitled *Mozayik Resimlerin Mahalleri ve Bunlar Hakkında Tafsilat*. This part may have been written by Mehmed Ziya himself based on his personal experience and site examination. Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, (1910), 103-114; (2012), 70-77.

<sup>471</sup> Charles Diehl, "Les mosaïques de Kahrié-Djami", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXII, (1904), 353-375; XXXIII (1905), 72-84; *Etudes Byzantines*, (Paris, 1905), 392-431.

<sup>472</sup> "Bütün müverrihlerin, vakanüvislerin, sanayi-i nefise meftunu olanların bâdî-i Tettebbu-u iştigalleri olan bu mabed bilhassa himmetinize, hıdmetinize arz-ı iftikar ediyor. Vaktiyle olan olmuş... Bunun iade ve telafisi kabil değil... Fakat bir çok kıymettar aksamı var ki, tamir ve ıslahı mümkündür. Ez-cümle Parekklesion denilen dairedeki suluboya tasvirlerin tathîri imkan dahilindedir. Hatta ser-kayyın Mustafa Efendi bir haylisini temizlemiş, fakat bu iş bir kayyımın yapacağı iş değildir. Bunu yaparsa ancak erbab-ı vukuf-u fen yapar. Bu suluboya tasvir, Bizans müverrihlerinin tasvirine doyamadıkları âsâr-ı nefisedendir. Kıymet-i snâiyyeleri pek büyüktür; o devirde sanat-ı tasvir ve tersimin vasıl olduğu derece-i tekâmülün asr-dîde-i şevahid-i mücessemesidir. Bâ-husus asıl caminin büyük kubbesinin köşelerinde mozayik resimler -dikkatle bakılırsa-fark ediliyor bunlar tathîr edildikten sonra, ziyaret esnasında açılmak şartıyla üzerlerine kapak vaz olursa sanat namına büyük bir eser-i kıymet şinâsi ibraz edilmiş olur sanırım. ... Hülâsa-i kelim, bu mabedin, bugün fen ve sanatın müsaade ettiği vesait dairesinde tamir ve ihyasını, bütün nefâ'is-perveran, âlf olan himmetinizden intizar ve rica ederler." 31 Mayıs 1326 [13 Haziran 1910], Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, (1910), 114-116; (2012), 79-78. This request could not be realized soon, but twenty years later in 1929, *Evkaf İdaresi* undertook a partial restoration revealing the mosaics of Koimesis at the Naos. The most comprehensive restoration of the building was realized by the Byzantine Institute of America and Dumbarton Oaks Research between 1947 and 1958 after the declaration of the building as a "national monument". The work was started under the

However, Mehmed Ziya achieved making people more familiar with the building as the graduate students of Mercan İdadisi wrote a letter of thanks to their instructor Mehmed Ziya, who introduced them to “such a magnificent building by giving a special lecture during their visit to the building”.<sup>473</sup> Moreover, he was also able to take his colleagues’, Celal Esad and Ahmed Refik’s attention to this monument. While in 1909 edition of his book, Celal Esad provided limited information about Kariye Camii; in the 1912 edition, he extended it by including several photographs from the façade and inside of the building showing its architectural units and mosaics.<sup>474</sup> Celal Esad also referred to Mehmed Ziya’s book for those “who want to know more about the building.” A few years later, Ahmed Refik also wrote a short article titled “*Kariye Camii ve Mozaikleri*”, published in the journal of *Yeni Mecmua* in 1917 (fig. 50-51). As a historian, Ahmed Refik was more interested in historical events of the time, particularly the biography of Teodoros Metochites, but he also touched upon the architecture and mosaics of the building. Interestingly, however, Ahmed Refik did not refer to Mehmed Ziya’s work, while he clearly referred to the work of the French author Charles Diehl.<sup>475</sup>

Mehmed Ziya’s book of *Kariye* was more than a monograph dedicated to architecture and mosaics of the building. Interestingly, the book contains another account entitled “*Hıristiyan Sanayi-i Nefisesi Anadolu’da Zuhur Etmışti: Âsâr-ı Atıka mütehasıslarının bu meselede tedkikat-ı mu-şikafaneleri*”. This was also an abridged translation of Charles Diehl’s article published in the same work, *Etudes Byzantines*, with the title of “*Les origines Asiatiques de l’art Byzantine*”.<sup>476</sup> Although it may seem Mehmed Ziya was arbitrary in deciding which articles to be translated among a number of other articles in *Etudes Byzantines*, by choosing this

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directorship of Thomas Whittemore and Paul Underwood. In 1948, the mosque was converted into Museum. See Ousterhout, *The Architecture of Kariye Camii*.

<sup>473</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Ka’riye Cami-i Şerif*, (1910), 117-119; (2012), 79-80.

<sup>474</sup> Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, 133-143.

<sup>475</sup> Ahmed Refik, “Kariye Camii ve Mozaikleri”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol. 1 /No 17, (1 November 1917).

<sup>476</sup> Charles Diehl, “Les origines Asiatiques de l’art Byzantine”, *Journal de Savants*, (April, 1904); *Etudes des Byzantines*, 337-352.

article, he aimed at situating this important late Byzantine building into the historical context of the development of Byzantine architecture “*from basilica to domed churches*” epitomized in the Kariye Mosque as this text summarizes the development of the typology of Byzantine architecture in Anatolia. As almost a one-to-one translation of Diehl’s article, Mehmed Ziya’s account discusses the emergence and the nature of Christian art by referring to the views of Strzygowski who was among the first to point out Anatolia as the source of Christian art, although Ziya sometimes summarizes the arguments by omitting some parts of the original text.

In fact, Mehmed Ziya was also engaged in historical buildings in Anatolia. He had written a book named *Bursa- Konya* in which, he argued, “provided pretty much information about Christian monuments in Anatolia”.<sup>477</sup> This was a travel memoir written during one of his several visits to Konya. One of the important aspects which contributed to personality and intellectual development of Mehmed Ziya was that he was a Mevlevi dervish (who follows the teachings of Mevlana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi) traveled to Konya several times. He had written a book of 600 hundred pages including the biographies of important Mevlevi people, yet this could not be published for now reasons unknown. After a few years later, in 1912, Mehmed Ziya was able to publish “only sections remained in his hand from this earlier account covering 368 pages” under the title of *Bursa’dan Konya’ya Seyahat* [A Travel from Bursa to Konya].<sup>478</sup>

In his prolegomena, Mehmed Ziya acknowledges European travel writing as a type of literature and complains about the lack of such comprehensive account published in Turkish language. He also states that although there are few travel accounts written by Ottomans, “these are not sufficient in terms of dealing with

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<sup>477</sup> “Bursa-Konya namındaki mufassal ve musavver eserimde Anadolu’daki ilk Hıristiyanların vücuda getirdikleri eser ve mebaniye dair epeyce malumat verdim.” Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, (2012), 62, n.25.

<sup>478</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya Seyahat*, ed. Melek Çoruhlu, (İstanbul, 2010). See also Semavi Eyice, “İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5 (1994), 369-371; Semavi Eyice, Mehmed Ziya, *Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (İstanbul, 2003), 172-181.

asar-ı atika”.<sup>479</sup> Compared to Evliya Çelebi, written two centuries earlier than Mehmed Ziya, the most important differences were Mehmed Ziya’s more erudite interests in antiquities and thus a more scholarly approach to the built environment. In addition, Mehmed Ziya was equipped with a photograph machine,<sup>480</sup> a map, a diary book and lead pencil<sup>481</sup> not only for noting his observations but also to draw sketches of the monuments and antiquities of his interest, similar to his western contemporaries. Throughout his journey from Bursa to Konya, he was impressed with the beauty of antique monuments such as Jupiter Temple in Çavdarhisar [Aizonai]<sup>482</sup>, described the Byzantine monuments, discussed the styles of architecture, “*tarz-ı inşa* or *usul-i mimari*”, as in the examples of İznik Hagia Sophia, or Seljukid khans and Ottoman mosques.<sup>483</sup> Therefore, before publication of his seminal book on İstanbul, Mehmed Ziya was quite familiar with Byzantine architecture in Anatolia through his visits.

Celal Esad was also interested in Byzantine archaeology of İstanbul at least since the beginnings of 1900’s. His initial studies had resulted in “an archaeological plan of Constantinople” displaying the city walls, main regions and roads and surviving Byzantine architectural heritage of the city as well as those that had disappeared long ago (**fig. 52**).<sup>484</sup> This archaeology plan was highly welcomed by contemporary Byzantinists such as Charles Diehl who described it “a more

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<sup>479</sup> “...Bu suretle gerek Fransızca ve gerek Almanca yazdıkları seyahatnamelerde, ecnebi seyyahların pek çoğu tetkikatta bulunmuşlardır. Bizde gerçi Anadolu’ya dair elde birkaç eser mevcut ise de, bunlar gerek Âsâr-ı Atîka nokta-i nazarından, gerek terekkiyat-ı hazıra itibariyle te’min-i matlube kafi görülemez” Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya*, 217.

<sup>480</sup> I can infer this from his words “...Çayımı içtim, üstümü aceleyle giyindim. Hizmetçiye seslendim, o, bir taraftan fotoğraf makinesini hazırlayadursun, fakir seherin letafetinden istifade emeliyle sokağa atıldım” Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya* 2010, 30.

<sup>481</sup> “... [at the train] Pencerenin önüne geçip oradan temaşaya kanaat etmiyordum, bir elimde küçük bir harita, bir elimde kurşun kalem olduğu halde bir sağ pencereye, bir sol pencereye uzanıyordum” Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya*, 189.

<sup>482</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya*, 202-204.

<sup>483</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Bursa’dan Konya’ya*, 28, 86, 134-137.

<sup>484</sup> Although the exact date of publication of this archaeological plan is unclear, it must have been published before 1909 as Charles Diehl mentioned it in the preface of the book. See also Semavi Eyice, “İstanbul’un Ortadan Kalkan Bazı Tarihi Eserleri”, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Prof. Dr. Tayyib Gökbilgin Hatıra Sayısı), Vol. 12, 857.



complete and detailed Byzantine archaeological plan than previous ones prepared by foreign authors”.<sup>485</sup> Celal Esad inserts this plan as an attachment to his book *Eski İstanbul* in 1912. It was also in this year that Celal Esad began to work in the İstanbul Municipality at the department of *Galata Tahrîr-i Müsakkafât Reisliği* where he was later appointed as the deputy director of *Şehremâneti Umûr-ı Fenniyye ve İstatistik* department. This mission provided him with a chance to examine the Galata region culminating with his other book on Byzantine Constantinople *Eski Galata ve Binaları*. It was first appeared in the pages of the journal *Servet-i Fünun* in 1913 and then published as a book in the same year.<sup>486</sup>

Celal Esad published an article introducing the Byzantine Great Palace at the Hippodrome with the title of “*Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı Münasebetiyle: İstanbul’da Bizans Sarayları*” [On the Occasion of Excavations at the Sultanahmet Square: the Byzantine Palaces in İstanbul] in a popular journal *Hayat* in 1927 (**fig. 53**).<sup>487</sup> As it is stated in the title of article, he wrote this article on the occasion of archaeological excavations at Sultan Ahmed Area. Although Celal Esad does not provide any detail about this excavation, it must be the archaeological excavations in the Hippodrome of Constantinople initiated in 1927 by the British Academy with a team consisting of Stanley Casson, D.T. Rice, G.F. Hudson and A.H.M. Jones.<sup>488</sup> Aiming at discovering the base of the Hippodrome, the British team got the permission from the Republican government. However, Celal Esad does include two photographs of this excavation in this article. One is a general view of the Hippodrome and the Obelisks with the caption “*Bir Heyet Tarafından Hafriyat Yapılmakta Olan Sultan Ahmet Meydanı*” [Sultan Ahmet Square Excavated by a

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<sup>485</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 1909, 11.

<sup>486</sup> Celal Esad, “Eski Galata ve Binaları”, *Servet-i Fünun*, Volume 45, (8 August 1329/1913), 346 - 351, “Eski Galata ve Binaları (Galata’daki Camiler)”, *Servet-i Fünun*, Volume 46, (7 October 1329/1913), 45-47; Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski Galata ve Binaları*, (İstanbul: Tureng Yayınları, 1989).

<sup>487</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, “Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı Münasebetiyle: İstanbul’da Bizans Sarayları”, *Hayat*, Vol. 1/24, (Ankara, 12 May 1927), 469-471.

<sup>488</sup> In July 1926, the British Academy wanted permission from “*Maarif Vekâleti*” for excavating this region. The results were published in the “*Preliminary Reports upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927*” by S. Casson, D.T. Rice, G.F. Hudson and A.H.M. Jones, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

Team], the other photograph shows the excavation area with caption “*Hafriyata Daha Yakından Bir Nazar*” [A Closer Look at the Excavation] (fig. 54). At the end of this article, he also provides a restitution of the “*Byzantine Palace and its Environs in the 10th century*” with drawing made with charcoal by Celal Esad, based on the plan of Jean Ebersolt’s *La Grand Palais* (1910).<sup>489</sup> Before that, he also produced another restitution of “*Hippodrome, Imperial Palace and Hagia Sophia in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century*” based on the plan of French scholar Jules Labarte’s *Le Palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords* (1861)<sup>490</sup> (fig. 55). After mentioning earlier studies of Labarte and Paspati’s, Celal Esad pointed out the importance of making archaeological excavations in this area. While he was the deputy director of *Şehremâneti Umûr-ı Fenniyye ve İstatistik* department, he states, he did a site inspection in this ruinous area. He argued that he had found “arched crypts (storehouse) and porticos and ruins that probably belong to the “triclinium” of the palace”. Since then, he lamented, there had been no excavation and publication, “if these remains were examined thoroughly, a more accurate plan and location of the Great Place would be possible”.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> “Resmimizi Mösyö Ebersolt tarafından yapılan ve Mösyö Thiers tarafından çizilen plan esas olmak üzere yangın yerinde meydana çıkan bakayaya göre tashihat icracıyla vücuda getirdik. Resmin anlaşılması için aşağıdaki tarifati ilave ediyoruz...” Celal Esad, “Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı”, 469-471. See Ebersolt Jean, Thiers Adolphe. “Les ruines et les substructions du grand palais des empereurs byzantins (I); L’hippodrome de Constantinople (II) » in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 57e année, N. 1, (1913), 31-39. Doi: 10.3406/crai.1913.73145.[http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/crai\\_00650536\\_1913\\_num\\_57\\_1\\_73145](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/crai_00650536_1913_num_57_1_73145) (accessed 02.11.2012)

<sup>490</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 101; *Eski İstanbul*, 172.

<sup>491</sup> “Yangından sonra iş daha kolaylaştı. Yangını müteakip şehremaneti heyeti fenni müdüriyetinde bulunmalığım hususuyla yangın yerinde mahallen yaptığım tetkikat neticesinde yanan evlerin altında birçok kemerli mahzenler ve galeriler bulmuştum. Hatta domus odaları namıyla meşhur olan Domus imperiali yani imparatorların evinden gelmesinden geldiği aşikar bulunan mahalde sarayın “Hirisu Tiklinyum”denilen en meşhur bir kısmına aid harabeleri ve kemerleri bulmuştum. O vakiden beri maa’t-teessüf ciddi bit tarhiyat (yazma) ve hafriyat yapılamadı. Eski baytar mektebinin altındaki mahzenler ve yangın yerinde bulunacak duvar ve kemer bakayasıyla eski Bizans sarayının şekil ve vaziyetini doğru olarak tayin etmek mümkün olabilecektir. Bizans tarihinin en mühim vakayına sahne olan bu sarayın ehemmiyeti aşikardır. İşte resmimiz mahallen yaptığımız tedkikata göre tanzim edilen plandan bilmukayes yapılmış münazırı bir görünüşdür. Mamafiye tarihlerde yakarıdan beri zikir ettiğimiz asırlarda ismi geçen mübaninin mukaleri tamamı tamamına yerlerinde olduğuna hakim edilemez. Heralde biraz hayalidir. Fakat sarayın hait umuminesi ve belli başlı aksamı hakkında bir fikir verir.” Celal Esad, “Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı”, 470-471. Indeed, the next year, the British excavation team applied for permission for extending excavation area in order to find the exact location of the Byzantine Great Palace. After the excavations in 1928, they roughly

The publication of this article in a time period when Celal Esad's major interests turned into proving a distinctive Turkish art and architecture culminating with the publication of his seminal work, *Turkish Art* in 1928 reveals that he was still following the development in the area of Byzantine archaeology of İstanbul, even though he was in working in Ankara for creating the new capital of the Turkish Republic during these years.<sup>492</sup> In addition, as in the case of his *Constantinople* in 1909, he probably tried to show his competence in Byzantine scholarship, making "some investigations" in that area before European archaeologists did.<sup>493</sup>

As an historian, Ahmed Refik was not personally involved in archaeology or site visits, however, he referred to the photography of archaeological artifacts preserved in the museum in his book and as the following section will display, his way of the use of archaeological and architectural images in the history book is indeed one of the most important novelties of the historiography of this period.

### 5.3.3. Visualization of the History, Representation of the City

As noted before, Ahmed Refik's version of the Byzantine history in the fourth volume of his *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* [Great World History] (1912) was profoundly based on the translations from the French author Rambaud's *Histoire Generale* (1891-1900). However, there is a notable difference between Ahmed Refik's and his source book: the former's reliance on visual materials. While Rambaud's account narrates history almost entirely in words, Ahmed Refik's whole

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recognized the location of the Great Palace between Hagia Sophia and Sultanahmet Area, but except a few ruins of architectural units, they could not find anything. As a matter of fact, in order to fully uncover the Great Palace, the area was again excavated by J. H. Baxter between 1935 and 1938. Yasemin Tümer Erdem, "Atatürk Dönemi Arkeoloji Çalışmalarından Biri: Sultanahmet Kazısı" *Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol. 62/ XXI, (July 2005). <http://atam.gov.tr/ataturk-donemi-arkeolojicalismalarından-biri-sultanahmet-kazisi> (accessed 12.10.2012).

<sup>492</sup> Celal Esad was one of the jury members of urban planning competition held in 1927 in Ankara, see Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı Ankara 1929-1939*, (Ankara, ODTÜ Yayınları, 1990); Celal Esad, *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*.

<sup>493</sup> He also suggests making further "systematic archaeological investigations on the most important areas of İstanbul in order to solve some problems in Byzantine history..." Celal Esad, "Sultanahmet Meydanı Hafriyatı", 470-471.

book is richly illustrated with photographs, drawings and maps. Apparently, unsatisfied with the textual sources and realizing the importance of visual material in making the history more comprehensible, Ahmed Refik and his publisher İbrahim Hilmi, made great efforts to gather all the visual materials from different variety of sources. In fact, the use of visual materials in historical texts was one of the novel approaches in the late nineteenth history writing and Ahmed Refik's *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* was one of the most important examples of this. The numerous illustrations and drawings used in the book extend from portrait of emperors and empresses to the depiction of soldiers, warriors, and priests; from single historic monuments to panoramic city views (**fig. 56-61**).

Considering wide range of audience, the publisher claimed to target -“all classes of society, including those that had only limited level of education”, one of the aims of the use of images then, must have made the past events easier to learn by visualizing the historical narrative. As stated by İbrahim Hilmi, the publisher of Ahmed Refik, “societies and cultures described in written texts are best represented through the visual materials that belong to them”. According to him, history books written in the “old style” were far from the meeting of the new requirements and attempts to stimulate patriotism as in Europe. “The new history”, he argued, “has been written according to such ideals related to nation building”, and this book was an attempt to do this.<sup>494</sup>

Among diverse visuals, Ahmed Refik's emphasis on the photography of architecture is unique. Even the text is not about the built environment, it is possible to encounter several photographs of historical monuments in his several other writings.<sup>495</sup> Indeed, Ahmed Refik's way of using visual images was of great interests among students and inhabitants of the city who could get *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi* fascicule by fascicule from the Hilmi Library located in Babıâli. Hasan Ali Yücel, who was then a high school student, recalls the amazement and excitement

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<sup>494</sup> İbrahim Hilmi “*Neşrin İfadesi*”, *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol.1, (1912), n. p.; Also cited in Çelik, “Defining Empire's Patrimony”, 464.

<sup>495</sup> For example, in his article series on the Byzantine emperors and empresses, he employed several photographs of Byzantine buildings in İstanbul. For a full list of Ahmed Refik's articles published in newspapers and journals see Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*.

he felt when he encountered, “the pictures of Roman temples, Egyptian rulers, and the documents of Indian and Chinese past, rather than cliché portraits of Ottoman emperors in the history books until that time”.<sup>496</sup>

According to Ahmed Refik, as the task of the historian was to “re-create of the past events, it is not sufficient to repeat the past events in words only.”<sup>497</sup> Evidently, Ahmed Refik realized the importance of photography of architecture as tangible evidences of the past and used them for keeping alive the urban memory and the sense of continuity.<sup>498</sup> Thus, the placement of the pictures of “the magnificent buildings of the glorious Byzantine past” seems to have been used as a device to create a sense of belonging to city of İstanbul and thus Ottoman patriotism. He says that “Let us appreciate every kind of beauties which the city contained... and... the Byzantine monuments rising to the heavens among the red lights of the sunset in front of us as part of values of our fatherland...”<sup>499</sup> According to Ahmed Refik, architectural heritage of İstanbul constituted tangible evidences of this cultural continuum. It was probably for this reason, throughout his articles published in the journals and newspapers until his death in 1937, Ahmed Refik embellished his narrative with the pictures of monuments “rising to the heavens” such as Hagia Sophia, the Obelisks at Hippodrome, the Kariye Mosque, and the city walls as well as the Nur-u Osmaniye Mosque, the Topkapı Palace and the Süleymaniye Mosque.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>496</sup> Hasan Ali Yücel writes: “...O zamana kadar elimizde bulunan küçük Osmanlı tarihinde kavuklu, basma kalıp padişah resimleri görmekten bıkan ve alakasızlaşan gözlerimiz; ancak bu kitabın sayfalarında Roma tapınaklarının, Mısır firavunlarının, Hind ve Çin mazisine ait belgelerin resimlerine hayret ve hayranlıkla tesadüf etmişti”, Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*, 12.

<sup>497</sup> Ahmed Refik, “Müverrihde İlim” *İkdam*, (21 October 1920); “Müverrihde Sanat”, *İkdam*, (25 October 1920).

<sup>498</sup> For such relations in the case of Roman architecture, see Suna Güven, “Ankara’nın Taşına Bak: Kentsel Bellek ve Süreklilik Üzerine”, in *Cumhuriyet’in Ütopyası Ankara*, ed. Funda Şenol Cantek, (Ankara, 2012), 32-41.

<sup>499</sup> “...Payitahtımızı sevmek, geleneğimizin bir dereceye kadar menşeyini öğrenmek için Bizans’ı tedkik edelim. Gözlerimizin önünde, grubun ateşin ziyaları arasında simalara doğru yükselen abidelerin kıymetini anlayalım...” Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatorçeleri*, 13.

<sup>500</sup> In an article-series entitled “Kafes ve Ferace Devrinde İstanbul” published in *Akşam* in 1936, Ahmed Refik extensively wrote on the history and monumental architecture of Byzantine İstanbul including: “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul: At Meydanı” *Akşam*, (17.2.1936); “Kafes ve Ferace

Returning to his Byzantine section in the *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, although pictures were not always keyed to the written text and sometimes scattered randomly in pages, in most cases, it seems that the most appropriate pictures have been chosen for the narrative. The section on the period of the reign from Constantine the Great to Emperor Heraclius (4<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) for example, is illustrated by the plates of “the Obelisk of Theodosius”, “Theodosius Walls”, “Hagia Sophia”, “drawing of a Byzantine soldier”, “coins of Constantine II”, “coins of Theodosius”, “a statue of Theodosius”; “coins of Marcian”, “coins of emperor Heraclius”, a sculpture depicting “a Sasanian king”, “the mosaic portraits of Emperor Justinian the Great with his attendants, and “empress Theodora with his attendants”, “the palace of Justinian” [the palace of Boukoleon], and mosaic portrait of “Emperor Justinian at Hagia Sophia [wrongly identified as Justinian the Great, but actually Emperor Leo].<sup>501</sup>

Celal Esad and Mehmed Ziya also used visual documents for the representation of İstanbul. In Celal Esad’s *Constantinople*, the number of images was relatively limited with some popular photographs, just as other European books on Byzantine Constantinople during this period. In fact, Hagia Sophia, the city walls, and the “antiquities of Hippodrome- the Obelisk, Serpent Column and Constantine Column- were among the most popular photographs displayed almost all media in this period. In line with this tendency, it is seen that all three authors often used the same photographs in their books (**fig. 62-76**).

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devrinde İstanbul: Kiliseler ve Hıristiyanlar”, *Akşam*, (17.5.1936) “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul: Balıklı Manastırı” *Akşam*, (21.9.1936) “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul: Binbirdirek ve leylek tılsımı”, *Akşam*, (31.8.1936) “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul : İstanbul Surları”, *Akşam*, (6.5.1936) “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul: Ayasofya ve etrafındaki eserler” *Akşam*, (28.3.1936) “Kafes ve Ferace devrinde İstanbul : Yerebatan Sarayı”, *Akşam*, (10.8.1936); For a full list of Ahmed Refik’s articles published in newspapers and journals see Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*.

<sup>501</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol.4, 93-130. The next period from the reign of Leo III the Isaurian to the beginning of Macedonian dynasty (717-867), however, is accompanied by anachronistic plates such as “the sculpture of the Good shepherd” , “the aqueduct of Valens”, “Orpheus sculpture”, “Chora Church”, “Tekfur Palace”. Vol.4, 130-144. These may have derived from the lack of appropriate photographs for that period. As for the many of the other parts of the book; the pictures seem to be placed in the appropriate sections in the text.

Furthermore, the placement of the visual materials was not always suitable with the text. For example, the section of history of the city walls is accompanied by the photographs of the Tophane Mosque and the Galata Tower (**fig. 77-78**).<sup>502</sup> In 1912 edition, however, the number of photographs increased, including detailed views and architectural units from interior of the especially the most popular two buildings, Hagia Sophia and Kariye Mosque.<sup>503</sup>

One of the most remarkable features of visual materials that were used in Mehmed Ziya's *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* is their diversity in terms of variety of visuals from photographs of single historic monuments, gravures, maps, drawings, and architectural plans, restitution of city walls, miniature paintings, mosaics, portrait medallions, coins and inscriptions (**fig. 79-90**). In contrast to previous works, the city was now represented not only with its most popular monumental buildings and antiquities of Hippodrome<sup>504</sup>, but also medieval Byzantine monuments and small

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<sup>502</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 17.

<sup>503</sup> Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, pages especially 119-146.

<sup>504</sup> The representation of Byzantine Constantinople with the Hellenic or the classical monuments of the city was the outcome of the ongoing European interest in the antiquities found on Ottoman territory. As discussed before, such an approach considered Constantinople as the storehouse of antiquities since the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Rather than a holistic approach to the urban fabric of Constantinople, they gave consideration to some single monuments, often considered related to antiquity. As mentioned in Chapter 2, although medieval Constantinople began to be scholarly investigated, average European travel books still focused on its classical antiquities in this period. It was not coincidence then, the first international visual representation of the Byzantine heritage of the Ottoman city in 1876 Paris Exhibition was also by five drawings of the "antiquities of Constantinople" that were now inherited by the Ottoman Empire who wanted be placed himself in European/modern world. As noted before, these drawings were prepared by P. A. Dethier, who was then the director of the Austrian School and would be appointed as the museum director in 1872. While Dethier's academic interest must have been decisive for the selection of these five drawings consisting of the Serpentine Column; the Tekfur Palace, the Constantine Column, the Theodosius Obelisk, and the northern part of the city walls; they also reflected the Ottoman elites' political aspirations and cultural projects shared by the western European states. All of these drawings belong to the classical heritage of Byzantium, except the Tekfur Palace. However, during this period, the Tekfur Palace had wrongly been known the palace of Emperor Constantine the Great, thus an early Byzantine building. Until the groundbreaking study of urban topography of Alexander Van Millingen published in 1892 and 1899, who proved that the Tekfur Palace was actually a late 13th-century palace as an annex of the greater palace complex of Blachernae, the complex had been known as the Palace of Hebdomon that had been mentioned in the Byzantine sources founded by the Constantine the Great. As in many of the other established traditions regarding the topography of Byzantine Constantinople, this wrong identification of the building went back to Pierre Gilles in the sixteenth century. Following Pierre Gilles, for example, Konstantiniad, who provides the appearance of the palace, relates: "Tekfur Saray located in the outside the city before the extension of the city

masjids converted from churches such as Manastır Mascidi<sup>505</sup> Toklu Dede Mescidi<sup>506</sup> or small fountains located in remote places (**fig. 81-82**).<sup>507</sup> Similar to his narrative, the placement of visuals of Mehmed Ziya represents Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul together. For example, he points out former use of church in the caption of photographs depicted Ottoman masjids.<sup>508</sup>

How could these visual materials have been obtained? Were these photographs depicting the monuments of city taken by the authors themselves or drawings were depicted by author themselves? With some notable exceptions, there was no citation to visual materials used in Celal Esad's 1909 edition and Ahmed Refik's book. Tracing sources of visual materials used by Mehmed Ziya, on the other hand, the easiest one, as he has the most academic approach citing the sources that he had consulted as in the case for the body of the written text.

A few points could give some insights into their sources, however. In fact, the introduction of Ahmed Refik's *Büyük Tarihi Umumi* tells one of the most interesting and probably the most common way of collecting visual materials at that time. Among the methods which the publisher İbrahim Hilmi proudly tells is that "they had to rip the pages of the book which costs five pounds to take for one photograph only."<sup>509</sup> Evidently, many of the images were directly taken from the

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walls, and was founded by Constantine the Great; Justinian subsequently restored and called it the Palace of Hebdomon. See Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of İstanbul*, 238-243.

<sup>505</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, (1920), 107.

<sup>506</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, (1920), 248

<sup>507</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, (1920), 251.

<sup>508</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, (1920), 115, 140-141.

<sup>509</sup> "Bununla beraber bir tarihi umumi, resimden, haritadan mümkün olduğunca yararlanması gerekir. Çünkü şimdiki tarih en çok taş vesaire gibi her nevi bakiye-i asara göre vücuda getirildiği için bunların resimleri, o zamanın adet ve ahlakını gösteren tabloların da bulunması şarttır. Bir tarihi umumi ne kadar mufassal ve ne kadar resimli olursa kıymet ve ehemmiyeti de o kadar artar. Bunun içindir ki Almanya ve İngiltere 'de yirmi kırk ciltten tarihi umumiler vücuda getiriliyor. Böyle bir çalışma çok büyük emek ve masraf gerektirir. İşte biz de bu fedakarlıklardan kaçınmadık. Hatta bir tek fotoğraf [almak] için beş liralık tarihi [kitabı] parçaladık. Bu güne kadar yapılamayan mükemmel bir tarihi umumi meydana getirdik. Almanya da, Avusturya Macaristan'da, Fransa ve İngiltere'de yayınlanan en meşhur ve en büyük tarihleri getirttik. [...] Bu eser bir eser olsun diye değil matbuatımızın bir heykel abidesi, milli kütüphanemizin baş eseri ve aynı zamanda az tahsil görmüş bütün halk sınıflarının istifadesine hizmet etmesi maksadıyla basılmıştır" İbrahim Hilmi "*Neşrin İfadesi*", *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol.1, (1912), n.p.



pages of European books. This was especially true for unaffordable photographs of remote places. In addition to this, majority of drawings depicting social and cultural life such as portraits of Byzantine peasant women, military officers, or emperors seem to have been taken from the collections of *Album Historique* (1896), published by the direction of M. Ernest Lavissee between 1891 and 1907. Ernest Lavissee, the French historian was also one of the contributors to *Histoire General*, from which Ahmed Refik translated several chapters for his *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*. In fact, as Ahmed Refik confirmed in his article of “Fransız Müverrihleri” [French Historians] in 1932,<sup>510</sup> Ernest Lavissee was one of French historians to have important impact on the historical understanding of Refik, with whom he personally met in Paris and exchanged some books.

The drawings of *Album Historique* seem to be an important provider for Celal Esad. While Ahmed Refik used mostly portrait drawings, Celal Esad, on other hand, employed drawings depicting the conquest of İstanbul and military equipment used for military attracts for the 1912 edition, probably targeting Turkish readers. Mehmed Ziya also gave reference to *Album Historique* as the major sources for the drawings of several Byzantine figures from emperors and empresses, chevaliers, soldiers, military officers, archers, religious officers, priests, grand dignitaries of the palace, civil servants, noble Byzantines, farmers, sailors, woman and children (**fig. 67-69**).<sup>511</sup>

For the representation of Byzantine Constantinople, on the other hand, there were two important providers for all these three authors. The first one was the commercial photograph studios founded by primarily foreigners, but soon inhabitants of the city, immediately after the invention of the camera in the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>512</sup> Although their focus was not the Byzantine heritage; they photographed several Byzantine monuments of İstanbul.<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Fransız Müverrihleri: Michelet, Lavissee, Vandal*, (Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932).

<sup>511</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 2, pages especially 87-97.

<sup>512</sup> Pioneers of them were J. Pascal Sébah and Policarpe Joaillier. See Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople*, 2 Vols. (İstanbul, 2003), Vol. 1, 100-150.

<sup>513</sup> Ousterhout, “Rediscovery of Constantinople”, 2011, 186.

One of the other sources of visual documents for Byzantine Capital was the Imperial Museum. While the Museum itself was the main display arena, the reproduction of the artifacts through the photography could provide another way of representation and display. Moreover, the inclusion of these photographs into the historical accounts of the city not only enabled the dissemination of the knowledge, but effectively contributed to the representation of city. By this way, from museum catalogs, the artifacts were resituated into the historical context. Acknowledging the importance of this, Ahmed Refik placed the photographs of archeological artifacts preserved in the Imperial Museum in his text with particularly captions giving information about each piece<sup>514</sup> (**fig. 56-59**).

The last contributor to the visual materials was the author himself. It is evident that Celal Esad and Mehmed Ziya themselves created their own photograph collections. In addition to these pictures, these two authors also produced certain artistic and architectural drawings. Graduated from the Military School, Celal Esad must have been familiar with photography through the instruction offered in the Ottoman Military and naval academies. As he was also personally interested in painting in the earlier years of his carrier, it is reasonable to assume that some of the photographs were taken by Celal Esad himself, though he did not mention this in the text.

Celal Esad also prepared restitutions and reconstruction drawings made by charcoal. One of them is a reconstruction drawing of the Mese Street [the main road in Byzantine İstanbul, the Ottoman Divanyolu] with the Column of Constantine in the background with a caption “Mese Street and Column of Constantine in the 10<sup>th</sup> century- the authors own imaginative drawing-(*Müellifin resm-i tasavvurisidir*)” (**fig. 91**).<sup>515</sup> Another restitution of “Hippodrome, Imperial Palace and Hagia Sophia

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<sup>514</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, pages especially 133,139, 156, 161, 174, 179, and 183.

<sup>515</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 121. It seems that Celal Esad prepared this restitution based on the photographs of the street, probably taken by him, by replacing the Ottoman building- probably the Çemberlitaş Bath built by Mimar Sinan- at the right side with an arcaded building and by drawing the “Byzantines” wearing a tunic and cloak and walking in the street.

in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century” based on the plan provided by French scholar Jules Labarte’s *Le Palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords* (1861).<sup>516</sup>

Graduated from the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, Mehmed Ziya was also talented in charcoal drawing. He also prepared some maps and architectural drawings adapted from European works (**fig. 92-93**).<sup>517</sup> There are several drawings to display the current situation of some lesser known Byzantine chapels and churches converted into mosque.<sup>518</sup> Many of these engravings depicting the Byzantine chapels converted into mosque or masjids seem to have taken from Paspates’ book on Byzantine topography and monuments of İstanbul.<sup>519</sup> Mehmed Ziya was very careful in the placement of appropriate plates in the appropriate sections of the written text.

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<sup>516</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, 101; *Eski İstanbul*, 172. As noted above Celal Esad later extended this restitution of “Byzantine Palace and Its Environs in the 10th century” based on the plan of Jean Ebersolt’s *La Grand Palais* (1910).

<sup>517</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, 482, 510; Vol.2, 6, 248.

<sup>518</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 2, 106.

<sup>519</sup> See Alexandros Georgiou Paspates, *Vyzantinai meletai topographikai kai historikai meta pleistōn eikonōn*, (Byzantine Studies: Historical and topographical), Coustantinople: Koromela, 1877.

## CHAPTER 6

### FROM EMPIRE TO NATION STATE: THE “FALL” OF BYZANTIUM

As discussed briefly in Chapter 4, from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period, there were three new interrelated historical phenomena which had significant impact on the perceptions of the Byzantine heritage and its historiography in Turkey: nationalism, nation-state building, and orientalism. The first was related to the rise of Turkish nationalist discourse in history writing. The second was related to nation-building process of Balkan states and the rediscovery and embracing of the Byzantine heritage particularly by Greece. And the third was the Orientalist discourse which reached its full-fledged form in the nineteenth century.

All three historical phenomena had significant repercussions for the transformations of the perceptions and (architectural) historiography of the Byzantine heritage in Turkey. The development of pan-Turkic ideas among Ottoman authors led to the interpretation of Turkish ethnicity as the dominant nationality in historical writings of the period. This process went hand in hand with distinguishing the “Turkic national essence” by separating it from the Byzantine as well as Islamic Arab and Persian identities. According to views prevailing among many European historians, the successes of the Ottoman Empire were predicated on the Byzantine Empire as they imitated the Byzantine institutions particularly after the capture of Constantinople. Ottoman architecture, in this light, was a mere copy of Byzantine architecture, particularly Hagia Sophia. Therefore, the late Ottoman and then early Republican historical writings were deeply engaged with these assumptions and developed counterclaims. One of the major consequences of these attempts was negative attitudes towards Byzantine legacy and elimination of Byzantine “influence” from Ottoman and then “Turkish” history, art and architectural history.

The first section of this chapter will focus on the consequences of these historical events and factors for the transformation of the perceptions and

historiography of Byzantium in the transition period from empire to nation state. The second section, on the other hand, will explore the Republican legacy of this shift in discourse tracing especially the intellectual life and works of the authors examined in Chapter 5 during this transition period.

## **6.1. Nationalism, Orientalism, and History Writing: Transformation of Discourse**

### **6.1.1. Turkish Nationalist History Writing and the Place of the Byzantine Heritage**

During the Second Constitutional Period between 1908 and 1918, a Turkish national identity began to play a prominent role in the cultural politics of the Ottoman Empire. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and nationalist movements of non-Turkish subjects in the empire paved the way for increasing awareness of the Turkish identity. This led to the re-interpretation of the Ottomanism in line with the idea that Turkish nationality is the dominant nationality of the empire.<sup>520</sup> Turkification, a project of nation-building in the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, which began to be implemented from 1913 to the end of World War I by the Young Turks, had various dimensions. By means of settlement and deportation policies, the Young Turks sought to nationalize Anatolia as the base of a Turkish national core.<sup>521</sup> While on the economic level, the members of the Committee for Union and Progress pursued a project for the creation of a Turkish bourgeois,<sup>522</sup> on the cultural level, some measures were taken to promote the use of Turkish in the local administration of resident by non-Turks which resulted in the reactions by Albanians and non-Muslim residents in the empire.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> See Şerif Mardin, “19 Yüzyıl’da Düşünce Akımları ve Osmanlı Devleti”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), Vol. 2, 342-51.

<sup>521</sup> Erol Ülker, “Contextualizing ‘Turkification’: Nation-building in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1908–18”, *Nations and Nationalism* 11/4, (2005), 613–636.

<sup>522</sup> See Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, (London, New York, 1987).

<sup>523</sup> Millas, “Non-Muslim Minorities in the Historiography”, 155.

In fact, long before the Balkan Wars and Young Turk Revolution, Turkish nationalism had taken roots among some Ottoman intellectuals. The successes of German and Italian nationalist movements and the invasion of Central Asia by Russia in the mid-nineteenth century led to the increase in the studies focusing on the history of Turks and the emergence of pan-Turkist ideas among some Ottoman authors. The contributions of individual Tatar and Azeri émigrés coming from the Russian Empire were of major significance for this development. Among them, Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa's (1828-75) "*Les Turces Anciens et Modernes*" published in 1869, argued that Turkish was a main root language which had influenced ancient Greek and Latin. In his article "*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*" [Three types of politics] published in 1904, Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), one of the most influential émigré scholars from Russia, suggested that the Turkish nation be defined according to "ethnic elements" as opposed to Ottomanism and Islamism.<sup>524</sup> After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Akçura would also become a major contributor to the "Turkish History Thesis" evolving after 1930. In fact, these ideologies of national identity contributed to the late Ottoman vision of the self, had also great influence on the intellectuals and leaders of the Turkish Republic, most of whom members of the Committee for Union and Progress.<sup>525</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 4, the foundation of the Ottoman Empire and the ethnic origins of the first Ottomans as historical themes had already become a major focus of interest particularly after the mid-nineteenth century historical writings. During this period, prominent historians and journalists searched for the origin of pre-Islamic Turkish history in their works. For instance, Süleyman Hüsni Pasha, one of the teachers of *Askeri Tıbbiye Mektebi* [Military Medical School] focused on the military and political history of the Turkish states founded before the Ottoman Empire in his *Tarihi-i Alem* (1876). Another historian, Necib Asım produced an

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<sup>524</sup> Kayalı, "Arabs and Young Turks"; Büşra Ersanlı-Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, (İstanbul: Afa, 1992); 60-85; Etienne Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine: Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1933)*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006), 39-48.

<sup>525</sup> See Deringil, "The Ottoman Origins of Kemalism"; Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden.*; Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 60-85.

account of general Turkish history highlighting the role of the nomad Turks of Central Asia in 1899.<sup>526</sup> Through these historical studies, Ottoman historians tried to foster patriotism among Ottoman subjects by linking central Asian origins and early Ottomans.<sup>527</sup>

The development of pan-Turkic ideas among Ottoman authors had significant consequences for the historiography of the Byzantine heritage. The first step was the establishment of a Turkic genealogy for the Ottoman dynasty and then the interpretation of Turkish ethnicity as the dominant nationality of the empire in historical writings of this period. These processes went hand in hand with distinguishing the “Turkic national essence” by separating it from the Byzantine as well as Islamic Arab and Persian identities. As noted before in Chapter 4, late Ottoman historians were deeply engaged with the understanding and prevention of the decline of the empire. This concern led some historians to the study of Ottoman history along with other empires particularly the Byzantine Empire for understanding the processes of decline better. We also see that some historians tend to conclude that the Ottoman Empire declined due to “influences” of other cultures particularly Byzantine as well as Persian, and Arabic since these “foreign” elements caused a change in “pure Turkic identity”.

One of the first references to the Turkic identity was made by historian Ahmed Midhat in his *Uss-i Inkılap* (1877). Considering the “immorality existing in the Byzantine lands”, Ahmed Midhat asserts that “only the virtues which the Turks had brought from Central Asia could do away with such immorality”.<sup>528</sup> In 1912, Celal Nuri condemns the Byzantine as well as Arab and Persian influences as the most important reasons of the Ottoman decline since the “essence of original Turkic identity” was lost upon encountering with such “corrupt nations” He writes:

Byzantium was the tangible evidence of moral decay. Like the cholera disease, the Byzantine corruption contaminated to the Ottoman Empire...The Turks did not capture the Byzantine Empire; on the contrary, the Byzantines

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<sup>526</sup> Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography, 428.

<sup>527</sup> Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi*, 29-30. ; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 23.

<sup>528</sup> Quoted in Ursinus, “Byzantine History”, 213, n. 11; Ursinus, “From Süleyman Pasha”, 308, n.15.

captured the Turks. In addition to Arab and Persian influences, the Ottoman Empire became the heir of corrupt Byzantine Empire... Ottoman Turks inherited their infamous capital. The disease and moral decay which had caused to decline of the Byzantine Empire, now contaminated to the Ottoman Empire, and thus the same reasons caused to collapse of the Byzantine Empire affected to the Ottoman Empire. To be the heir of Byzantium was the main reason for Ottoman decline. From this point of view, the decline of Byzantine Empire still continues.<sup>529</sup>

Celal Nuri further developed these ideas in his account called *Rum ve Bizans* published in 1917. Here, he examines socio-political linkages between the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire by focusing on the “cosmopolitan” nature of the two empires, the state organization, the position of rulers and subjects, religion, traditions, palace ceremonies, etc. In the end, however, Celal Nuri concludes that the appropriation of Byzantine institutions is now the main reason of the corruption of Turkic identity and thus the demise of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>530</sup>

In the same way, in his *Tarih-i Ebulfaruk* [History by the Father of Faruk] (1909- 1916), Mizancı Mehmed Murad (1854-1917), one of the important figures of the Young Turks, examined Ottoman history by identifying some basic features of the Ottoman Empire that caused it to decline. Accordingly, the “twin influence of Byzantine and Persian” since the foundation of the Ottoman state was a major factor. Mehmed Murad explains this phenomenon with a metaphor of architecture:

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<sup>529</sup> “Bizans kötü ahlakın bir temsil-i müşahhası idi. Kolera mikrobu gibi, Bizans yolsuzlukları, cemiyet-i Osmaniye’ye girdi. Vakâ, hali evlad-ı Osmaniyeliler bunu hissedemediler. Galib mevkiinde bulduklarından Türkler bu tavr-ı istihkar [hor görmek] ile millet-i mağlubiyeye ancak kahka-i istihza [eğlenme] fırlattılar. Fakat Turan’dan gelmiş harb ve darb ile yorulmuş Türkler, nazenin [ince, güzel], Bizans’ın cazibesine işvesine dayanamadı. Yavaş yavaş ve hiss olunamaz derecede, onun ağışuna atıldılar. Türkler Bizans’ı değil, Bizans Türkleri zapt ettiler. Türk cemiyeti Arap ve Acem inhitatını [düşme, çöküş] temadi [devam] ettirdiği gibi, Bizans inhitatını da temadiye vasıta ve alet oldu”. Celal Nuri, *Tarihi Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 89. “Garbi Roma İmparatorluğunu mahv eden Hun Türkleri olduğu gibi, Şarki Roma İmparatorluğunu harita-ı alimeden kaldıran Osmanlı Türkleri olmuştur. Birinci nevi Türkler, tam intihat-ı zamanında Roma’ya girdiklerinden, onun bozuk ahlakını kabul ettiler [...] İkinci nevi Türkler de, tam çöküş zamanında Doğu Roma’ya, yani Bizans’a dahil oldular. Vusta [Orta] Asya’dan gelen Türkler vecihen [görünüş bakımından] çirkin idi. Bunlar, güzellik bakımından herhalde kendilerinden faik [üstün] olan Bizans kızlarını sayda [avlamaya] koyuldular. O kızların çoğu Türkleşti. Güzelliklerinin yanı sıra, Bizans’ın çöküşüne neden olan ne kadar ahlak bozukluğu varsa, cümlesiyle Türk uzviyyet-i milliyesine idhale muvaffak oldular. Bizans’ın çöküşü, bu itibarıyla hala devam ediyor. Her milleti tarihsel bakımdan yönlendiren, bir gaye emel vardır. Bu gayenin münkesir olmasıyla [kırılmasıyla] millet de münkesir olur. İşte Bizans’a halef olmak, bu sükutu icab ettirmiştir.” Celal Nuri, *Tarihi Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 386-387.

<sup>530</sup> Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 40-52.



“Yeni inşa olunan bina-yı siyasimize Osmanlı harcından ziyade ecnebi malzemesi karışmıştır. Bizans arsası üzerinde, Bizans enkazı ile inşa olunan bina-yı devletimiz İran usulü üzerine tertib ve tezyin olmuştur.”<sup>531</sup>

In his study of comparative historiographies (2004), Christ Lorenz proposed that as the representations of historical identity deal with changes in time, they engage with the problem of origins. Therefore, “Before the *changes* of national identity can be investigated, its *existence* and thus its *genesis* must be clarified.”<sup>532</sup> In the late Ottoman historiography, then, we see that after the establishment of a Turkic origin and genealogy for the Ottoman dynasty in the beginning of the nineteenth century,<sup>533</sup> Ottoman historians tried to find “the changes” of this “national essence” and identity. Within this context, some Ottoman authors pointed out the encounters with Byzantium and the appropriation of the Byzantine heritage by the Ottoman Empire, causing the “pure Turkic identity” was transformed, lost or corrupted.

The ways of “influence” of these “foreign” elements on the Turkic identity seem to have been explained from different angles. While many authors point out the shared geography as the Ottoman Empire had established on the former territory of the Byzantine Empire and the appropriation of Byzantine institutions, some others emphasize ethnic and cultural influences. According to Celal Nuri, for example, the cultural influence of Byzantium to the Ottoman Empire was “unconscious” process:

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<sup>531</sup> “Osmanlıların sosyal ve idari bünyesinde Bizans ile İran tesiri daha devletin kuruluşunda ortaya çıkan bir inkıraz sebebidir. Osmanlılar başlangıçta iki, daha iyisi ikiz bir tesire maruz kalmışlardır: Önce Bizans, sonra da İran tesiri... Hele İstanbul’un fethinden sonra bu tesirler daha da ağır basmağa başlamış ve Osmanlıların asli mizaçlarını değiştirecek kadar mütessir olmuştur. Türk-Müslüman İstanbul’da bile Bizans rüzgarları esiyor, İran saraylarının hatırası en kötü siyaset ve ahlak düşüklükleri şeklinde kol geziyordu...” Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Ebulfaruk*, Vol. 7 (İstanbul, 1916), 7-8; Birol Emil, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydın Mızancı Murad Bey*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009), 492-493.

<sup>532</sup> Lorenz, “Towards a Theoretical Framework”, 21.

<sup>533</sup> Although the Kayı tribe genealogy for the Ottoman Empire first appeared in the fifteenth century *Tevârih-i Al-i Selçuk*, *Selçuknâme* or *Oğuznâme* by Yazıcızâde Âli, it did not a dominant theme until the late nineteenth century. See Yazıcızade Ali, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Selçu*, trans. Abdullah Bakır, (İstanbul, Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2009); cited in Kafadar and Karateke, “Ottoman and Turkish Historical Writing”, 570-77.

Bilmeyerek, hissetmeyerek, anlamayarak, ve hatta teneffür ederek bazı Bizans hususiyatını aldık. Sevmediğimiz; fuhşiyatıyla, rezaletleriyle, nefretimize mucib olan bir alüftenin avzağı gibi, kendisinden son derece ikrah etmekle beraber, İstanbul'un işvelerine dayanamadık. [...] Garibdir ki, Türk gayrı medruk (inconsient) olarak birçok örf ve adetini ithal eder. Âdab almayla, harem dairelerimizin en kapalı noktalarına, yemek soframıza, huyumuza, tabiat ve zevkimize kadar Bizans giriyor da bizim haberimiz bile olmuyor!<sup>534</sup>

There can also be seen some differences in their approaches to the city of İstanbul, as a capital of both the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire. In line with the Turkification project of Young Turks for creating Anatolia as the base of a Turkish national core, İstanbul began to be denigrated in historical narrative of this period. In his book on the decline of the empire, Celal Nuri defined İstanbul as “a corrupt Byzantine city with great variety of ingredients from Rum, Armenian, Arabs, Levantine, and Jewish”.<sup>535</sup> Similarly, another important figure of Young Turks, Mehmed Murad asserts that İstanbul was actually an “Ottoman Byzantium”, and thus “inheriting all misdeeds and malignity of both civilizations.”<sup>536</sup> In contrast, Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya’s love of İstanbul was indeed the most important driving force behind their studies on the Byzantine and Ottoman heritage of the city. As was also discussed in the previous chapter, Ahmed Refik even tried to foster patriotism among Ottoman subjects by linking the Byzantine heritage with the contemporary Ottoman İstanbul through his method of history writing and the use of photography of the architecture.

### 6.1.2. Other Nationalisms and the Byzantine Heritage

The second historical factor which influenced perceptions and historiography of Byzantium in Turkey was the embracing of the Byzantine heritage by the newborn Balkan national states as discussed in Chapter 4. Among them, the

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<sup>534</sup> Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 52

<sup>535</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 291-301.

<sup>536</sup> Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Ebulfaruk*, Vol.5, 353; Vol.2, 33; Emil, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydın*, 494-95.

ongoing conflicts and wars between the Greek state and Turkey during both countries' nation-building processes were crucial in defining the relationships with the Byzantine heritage in Turkey.

After the foundation of the Modern Greek state in 1830, the Greek national unity tried to be constructed with the *Megali Idea*, the Great Idea, formulated by Prime Minister I. Kolettis before the National Assembly which preceded the promulgation of the Constitution of 1844. The meaning of the Great Idea varied from the resurrection of the Byzantine Empire to the liberation and unification of all Greek populations within and expanded Greek State.<sup>537</sup> As discussed in Chapter 4, the Greek historian Paparrigopoulos' rehabilitation of Byzantium and the way in which he integrated it into the continuum of Greek historical development (1860 - 1874) had accelerated these processes. Thereafter, the Greek government attempted to expand its territories by waging the wars with the Ottoman Empire in 1881, 1908 and 1912-13.<sup>538</sup>

Although the Great Idea as a project to expand the Greek state to include all ethnic Greeks on the lines of the Byzantine Empire was not accepted universally and rather short-lived,<sup>539</sup> its traumatic consequences had long lived in the perceptions and historiography of Byzantine heritage in Turkey. First of all, it was during this period when we see that the Ottoman government began to consider any activities related to Byzantium and "its Greek connection" as potentially suspect. A document of 1892, for example, dealt with "the Greek attempts at resurrecting the Byzantine Empire".<sup>540</sup> Similarly, according to another document of 1914, the Thessaloniki Consulate informs the central government about the organization of a mourning ceremony for the anniversary of the demise of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> Ioannis A. Tassopoulos, "Constitutionalism and the Ideological Conversion to National Unity under the Greek Constitution of 1864", in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950*, ed. Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder, (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 12.

<sup>538</sup> Millas, "Non-Muslim Minorities", 155-162.

<sup>539</sup> Kitromilides, "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism".

<sup>540</sup> BOA, Y.PRK.ASK, 16/47, 28 Rabiulevvel 1310 (20 October 1892)

<sup>541</sup> BOA, DH.EUM. 3. Şb, 1/36, 8 Şevval 1332 (30 August 1914)

In this political context, even books concerning the Byzantine Empire were under strict surveillance. A number of archival documents testify to the Ottoman government's consideration of several such books in relation to the Greek and Slavic attempts for "the project of resurrecting Byzantium". Several documents, for example, are about the prohibition of the dissemination of the books published outside the Empire. The first one was a guide book of İstanbul, *Rehber-i Konstantinyye* that had been brought in from Russia. According to the document, although the book was defined "harmless" by the Russian Embassy, it was still prohibited as it contained several pictures and information regarding the Byzantine emperors.<sup>542</sup> Similarly, another book brought from Russia was prohibited due to its harmful content including the pictures of the Byzantine Emperors.<sup>543</sup> The document of 1895 testifies the prohibition of the dissemination of a history book titled the *Byzantine Empire* published in Athens due to its harmful content. According to the document, this book was encountered in a bookstore in Beyoğlu by the printing press inspector.<sup>544</sup> In the same way, the document dated 1900 states that the book titled the *History of Nation and the Byzantine Empire* published in London was prohibited entry into the Ottoman state.<sup>545</sup>

Herkül Millas, who has long dealt with mutual images and stereotypes of Greeks and Turks in his seminal studies, has demonstrated that the perceptions and representations of the "other" in Greek and Turkish national narratives were greatly shaped by the historical events and factors during the nation-building processes of both countries. Millas highlights that apart from the Serbs, the Greeks were the first ethnic group to develop a nationalist consciousness and uprisings resulted in the foundation of a sovereign state in 1830. Ottoman historians, therefore, have tended to consider the Greeks as responsible for instigating the nationalist turmoil in the Balkans which finally gave way to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>542</sup> BOA, DH.MKT, 1724/6, 27 Ramazan 1307 (17 May 1890)

<sup>543</sup> BOA, DH.MKT, 1712/61, 6 Şaban 1037 (28 March 1890)

<sup>544</sup> BOA, MF.MKT, 263/56, 28 Zilkade 1312 (23 May 1895)

<sup>545</sup> BOA, DH.MKT, 2425/75 AH 1318 (AD 1900).

Furthermore, the Greek state continuously extended its territory through the wars of 1881, 1908 and 1912-13. Finally the events of the period between 1919 and 1924 including the Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the exchange of populations of 1922-24 were crucial in defining not only the identity of the nation states, but also the construction of the historical “other” and “the great enemy” in national narratives. Millas also states that due to historical reasons each party conceives the “other” as a prospective threat to its identity.<sup>546</sup>

Looking from the Ottoman/Turkish authors’ perspectives, then, when Constantinople was conquered, Greeks, *Rum milleti* were brought under the just and multicultural rule of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, Ottoman authors considered contemporary Greeks as descendants of Orthodox Christians living under the “corrupt and despotic Byzantine Empire”. Accordingly, while they were living under the “tolerance” of the Ottoman Empire, certain members of the *Rum milleti* were also able to access to the positions of powers such as palace dragomans and appointed as governors to Danubian principalities. Despite this, however, they initiated ethnic turmoil in the Balkans leading to the demise of the Ottoman Empire. Since then, they have been attacking to take back Turkish territories along the *Megali Idea*, always with the support of the Europeans as in the case of the foundation of independent Greek state in 1820.<sup>547</sup> Therefore, we see that it was during this period that Ottoman authors associated the demise of the Ottoman

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<sup>546</sup> Hercules Millas, “Milli Türk Kimliği ve “Öteki” (Yunan)”, in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*. Vol. 4: *Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tamlı Bora and M. Gültekinçil, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 193-201.; Millas, “Non-Muslim Minorities”, 160-161. ; Alexis Heraclides, “The Essence of the Greek-Turkish Rivalry: National Narrative and Identity”, *GreeSE Paper No.51* (2011) Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/45693/1/GreeSE%20No51.pdf> (accessed 14.07.2013); Murat Ergin, “Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey”, in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. S. Redford and N. Ergin, (Leuven; Walpole, Mass, Peeters, 2010), 13-33.

<sup>547</sup> Heraclides states that from the Greek nationalist perspectives, on the other hand, when Ottomans defeated the glorious thousand years ‘Greek Byzantine Empire’ (in 1453), they subjected the Greeks to the ‘Turkish yoke’, to ‘four hundred years of slavery and dungeon’, until the Greeks were finally able to free themselves in a heroic struggle for independence (1820s)”. Heraclides, “The Essence of the Greek-Turkish Rivalry”. See also Hercules Millas, “Tourkokratia: History and the Image of Turks in Greek Literature”, *Working Papers European Studies Amsterdam*, 4, 2006. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13608740500470315> (accessed 17.07.2013).

Empire with the Greek attempts at restoration of the Byzantine Empire with irredentist policies.

Fallmerayer's thesis mentioned in Chapter 4 has acceptance among some Ottoman/Turkish historians who do not see any connection between ancient and modern Greeks. Therefore, while they praised ancient Greeks and appreciated their contribution to modern European civilization, modern day Greeks were deemed to be remnants of the people living under the rule of the Byzantine emperors. Ahmed Midhat, for example, who is said to have been able to read Greek and had a Greek connection through marriage<sup>548</sup> praised ancient Greek culture as the creator of great civilizations in his "History of Greece" published as part of his *Kainat* (Universe) in 1882. When it comes to the modern Greeks, he described Ottoman Empire as the liberator of Orthodox Christians living under the "corrupt Byzantine rule".<sup>549</sup>

Celal Nuri also praises ancient Greek culture, the beauty of *Milo Zühresi* [Venüs of Milo] and the literary wealth of Iliad and Odessa of *Omeros* [Homeros], the importance of Parthenon *harabeleri* [ruins] at Acropolis, and the "Greek contribution to the formation of the modern European culture".<sup>550</sup> He also appreciates the Greek's "ambitious project for constructing a national identity" in the nineteenth century. Yet, he explicitly feels anger towards them as he is convinced that "if the Ottoman Empire had implemented forceful policies towards Greeks from the time of the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire would not be in miserable situation now".<sup>551</sup> Celal Nuri also points out the *Megali Idea* in the form of attempts at "restoration of Byzantium by expanding Greek territory and

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<sup>548</sup> See Johann Straus, "The Greek Connection in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Intellectual History", in *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. Dimitris Tziouves, (Ashgate, 2003), 47-67.

<sup>549</sup> He states that "ancient Greece and modern Greece are not the same nation as Slavs and Bulgarians diffused into the Byzantine Empire and changed its nature." Ahmed Midhat, *Kâinat*, Vol. 3, 1-60 (Yunanistan'ı Kadim, İbtidai Tarihi Yunanistan), 63-100 (Şark İmparatorluğu). ; Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkılap*, Vol.1, 10-11; Also cited in Ursinus, "Der schlechteste staat: Ahmed Midhat Efendi", 237 and Dayanç, "Ahmed Midhad Efendi", 837-847.

<sup>550</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 388-392.

<sup>551</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 391-400; Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 52-53

regaining Constantinople”<sup>552</sup>. In order to support his arguments, he also refers to contemporary European journal articles denoting the *Fener* Patrick in İstanbul as the living “heartland of Byzantium”.<sup>553</sup> He even states that “Sultan Mehmet II did not deserve the title of “conqueror”, because he did not capture İstanbul totally; Fener district remained independent.”<sup>554</sup>

Ahmed Refik was also very aware of the claims on the Byzantine heritage in the Ottoman capital in such a historical context in which newly established Balkan nation states began to search for their ancient past drawing on the Byzantine heritage. Acknowledging the Greek and Slavic claims, he warned that “if Ottomans do not claim the Byzantine heritage, the Greek and Slavic aspirations will turn into reality who wants to capture İstanbul.”<sup>555</sup>

We see that the political context of the period under question here highly affected Ottoman perspectives and the Ottoman author’s reactions for this situation were diverse. While authors like Celal Nuri explicitly express undisguised anger toward modern Greeks due to the *Megali Idea* and condemn the Ottoman “tolerant” policies toward Greek minorities, Ahmed Refik argued that the best way to prevent these irredentist policies is the adoption and claim of the Byzantine heritage as part of Ottoman history and identity.

### 6.1.3. Orientalist Discourse and the Byzantine Heritage

The third phenomenon influencing Byzantine historiography and perceptions was the European orientalist discourse regarding the study of history and architecture of the Ottoman Empire. The question of Byzantine influence on the

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<sup>552</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 393.

<sup>553</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 394-396.

<sup>554</sup> “Sultan İkinci Mehmet’e fatih unvanını çok görürüm. Filhakika, bu padişah İstanbul’a girdi ise de onu büsbütün temellük etmedi. Fener Mahallesi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan hariçdir”. Celal Nuri, *Tarih-i Tedenniyatı Osmaniye*, 400.

<sup>555</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 10-13.

Ottoman Empire was deeply felt by the late Ottoman and then early Republican scholars who attempted to prove that the Turks were not influenced by anything.

Byzantine influences on Ottoman institutions became one of the major historiographical themes in the writings of some European authors from the late nineteenth century onwards. The French historian Alfred Rambaud (1842-1905), specializing in Byzantine and Russian history, was one of the first to study the nature of Ottoman government, military and economic institutions in comparison with the Byzantine Empire. In the fourth volume of his *Histoire General*, published between 1891 and 1901; in a section titled “*Gouvernement compare des empereurs byzantins et des sultans*”, Rambaud argued that not only the organization of the capital and the traditions of the imperial palace, but also the provincial administration and land organization of the Ottoman Empire was modeled on the Byzantine tradition. Accordingly, the model for the Ottoman *beylerbeyliks* of Anatolia and Rumelia was the Byzantine *domestique des scholae* appointed to east and west; the *vezir-i azam* was the *grand domestique*, the *kaptanpaşa* was the *megaduc*, the *reissülküttab* was the *grand logothete*, the *defterdar* was the *logethete* and the *kadiasker* was the *juge du camp*. Rambaud concluded that “Le changement de régime, quand le souverain musulman et turc remplaça le souverain Orthodoxe et hellène, n’a pas été si radical qu’on l’imagine”.<sup>556</sup>

Following Rambaud, many other prominent European historians dealing with Ottoman history such as A. Finlay, E. Oberhummer, Rudolf von Scala, H. A. Gibbons, R. Grousset, and Nicholas Iorga asserted that the Byzantine Empire had profound influences on the governmental and military structures of the Ottoman Empire. Some even argued that the Ottoman Empire was “an Islamized Byzantium”.<sup>557</sup> In the same line, in his *Byzance, grandeur et décadence* (1919),

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<sup>556</sup> Rambaud, *Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à nos jours*, (1492-1559) Vol. 4, (Paris, 1894), 749.

<sup>557</sup> While many of scholars as Rambaud and Iorga were convinced that it was after the capture of Constantinople, the Ottomans reorganized their model according to the Byzantines, some historians point out the pre-conquest period as the beginning period of Byzantine influence. For example, H. A. Gibbons, the first modern historians of the early Ottoman state, conceived so-called “tribal thesis” about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. In his *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (1916), Gibbons asserted that the Byzantine influence on Ottoman society had already begun before the conquest of Constantinople. According to Gibbons, Asian barbarians could not have constructed



Charles Diehl claimed that “Turks were neither administrators nor jurists, but rather soldiers who had very little knowledge about political science. Therefore, they established their institutions and administrative organizations by following Byzantine models.”<sup>558</sup>

Indeed, the question of whether the Ottoman Empire was the successor of the Byzantine Empire had always been a topic of lively discussion since the conquest of Constantinople when the Ottoman Empire was established as a new empire on the former territory and capital of the Byzantine Empire. As noted elsewhere in this thesis (**Chapter 2**), the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century European political authors such as Machiavelli and had portrayed the Ottoman Empire as the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire.<sup>559</sup> They had praised the Ottoman Empire, especially certain aspects of its institutional and political traditions. Then, we have seen how 18<sup>th</sup> century political writings began to describe both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire in negative and most often in orientalist terms. The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed profound transformation in terms of orientalist discourse. Thus, we see that the discourse was transformed from “inheritor” to “imitator”. While former historical writings portrayed the Ottoman Empire as the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire, the latter described it as merely an imitator of the Byzantine Empire. This was also related to transformation of the conception of Byzantine Empire as an “oriental” and “despotic” empire. As we have seen, in the seventeenth century, the Byzantine Empire was considered as the Roman Empire in western European view, but after the eighteenth century, it was seen merely as “the decline period of the Roman Empire”. Although the rehabilitation and appreciation of the Byzantine Empire

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such a complex state and Greek converts had been the creative force behind the Ottomans. Gibbons concluded that the Ottoman Empire was merely a continuation of the Byzantine Empire. See Gibbons, *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916). See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 15-33.

<sup>558</sup> “Les Turcs n’étaient ni des administrateurs ni des juristes; ils entendaient peu de chose à la science politique. Ils modelèrent donc en grande partie leurs institutions d’Etat et leur organisation administrative sur ce que leur offrait Byzance.” Charles Diehl, *Byzance Grandeur et Décadence*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1919), 305.

<sup>559</sup> Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, 292-293. ; Valenci, *The Birth of Despot*, 64-65.

began after the second half of the nineteenth century, many Ottoman historians' knowledge regarding Byzantium was still deriving from these earlier eighteenth century sources especially Gibbon and Voltaire.

The issue of Byzantine “influence” to the Ottoman is also reflected in the writings of late Ottoman authors examined in this thesis. For example, in his *Rum ve Bizans* (1917), Celal Nuri repeats the idea of “imitation” of the Byzantine Empire and “Islamized Byzantium” that prevailed among western European orientalists. He writes, “After the conquest of İstanbul, the Turks imitated Byzantium probably being unawareness or unconsciously. If Islam had not been so strict, after a while, Rum and Turks would have become similar”.<sup>560</sup>

It is not surprising that among others, Gibbon, Finlay, and Montesquieu were the primary sources of Celal Nuri.<sup>561</sup> Ahmed Refik's approach to this issue, on the other hand, is more different. Drawing mainly on recent works of French authors such as Rambaud and Diehl, he seems to consider more “positive” the Ottoman appropriation of the Byzantine heritage by showing similarities between the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire in terms of the nature of the imperial traditions located in the same geography, the position of the emperors, the relationships between the state and religion, similar institutions, etc.<sup>562</sup> With regard to Ottoman architecture, Ahmed Refik also pointed out the important contribution of the Byzantine heritage to the formation of Ottoman architecture particularly during the early periods of Ottoman Empire.<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> “Farkına varmayarak belki bilmeyerek Osmanlılar Bizansı kopya ettiler. Salabet-i İslamiye olmasa idi pek az zaman içinde Rum Türk'ü temsil edecekti. Bizans birinci neviden bir temsilkardır.” Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 41.

<sup>561</sup> Celal Nuri *Rum ve Bizans*, 17.

<sup>562</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 1-13.

<sup>563</sup> “...Osmanlı tarz-ı mimarisi bu suretle Bizans ve Şark usullerinin imtizacından hâsıl olmuştur. Osmanlılar Bursa'yı payitaht ittihaz eder etmez Bizans mimarları ile malzemesinden istifade ederek şehri müzeyyen binalarla süslemeye, Osmanlı tarz-ı mimarisinin ilk asarını vücuda getirmeğe başlamışlardır. Konstantiniye'nin fethi ise Osmanlı tarz-ı mimarisinde büyük bir inkılab husule getirmişti. O zaman Osmanlı mimarları Ayasofya ile kubbeli kiliselere takliden planlar vücuda getirmişlerdi. İşte bu tarihten itibaren Osmanlı sanat-ı mimarisinde Bizanslıların planı, fakat Suriye ve İran tezyinatı esas ittihaz edilmişti...” Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarihi Umumi*, Vol.6, 434-435.

## 6.2. Republican Legacy and the “Burden” of the Byzantine Heritage

The establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was marked with the attempts at transforming and reconstructing the society in order to create a new modern nation-state out of the heterogeneous Ottoman Empire. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Islam was left as a uniting force and Turkism became the official ideology and a crucial tool in the processes of nation state building. As is well known, the Turkish Historical Society founded on June 4, 1930 was commissioned to investigate the roots of Turkish history. The “Turkish History Thesis” constructed at the Turkish Historical Congresses of 1929 and 1937 and formulated in a book titled *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* [The Main Tenets of Turkish History] published in 1930. Accordingly, the Turks were the progenitors of the earliest historical civilizations, particularly the Sumerian and the Hittites and had significantly influenced the development of other civilizations. One of the basic endeavors of the “Turkish History Thesis” was to break off ties with recent Ottoman and Islamic past embracing early civilizations of Anatolia to provide Turkish citizens with a new national identity, according to Büşra Ersanlı who discussed this processes in her seminal work, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye’de “Resmî Tarih” Tezinin Oluşumu (1929–1937)*.<sup>564</sup>

Art and architectural historians, however, tried to establish a new nationalist and modern view of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish art and architecture, rather than totally discarding the Ottoman architectural heritage as Sibel Bozdoğan has demonstrated in several studies.<sup>565</sup> The anxiety about the notion of “influence” and the preoccupation with “Turkishness of Ottoman architecture” began in the first decade of the twentieth century increasingly continued in the early Republican period. According to Bozdoğan, Celal Esad became the leading figure who established the “quintessential Republican nationalist view of Ottoman and pre-

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<sup>564</sup> Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 225–226.

<sup>565</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2002), 262.

Ottoman Turkish art and architecture” during this period.<sup>566</sup> This view was basically the assertion of the “unique, innovative and evolving” character of Turkish architecture distinct from other Islamic and eastern architectural traditions.<sup>567</sup>

This process also brought about changes in the transformation of the discourse on the “Byzantine influence” on the “Ottoman/Turkish architecture”, since ethnic based genealogy became the defining character of architecture.<sup>568</sup> This requires, among others, the elimination of any “foreign”, particularly the Byzantine and other Islamic Persian and Arabic influences from the “essence of Turkish architecture”.

Celal Esad was critical of Orientalist views that prevailed among many European historians in which Ottoman/Turkish architecture was considered a mere copy of Byzantine architecture, and indistinguishable from Persian and Arabic architecture. The most comprehensive critique of Orientalist views of the Byzantine influence on the Ottoman Empire was also produced by Fuat Köprülü, prominent historian of this period. Both authors were deeply engaged with these Orientalist views and posed very similar arguments regarding the issue of “the influence of Byzantium”.

### **6.2.1. Celal Esad and Fuad Köprülü**

Celal Esad was the first to attempt to define a distinct category of Ottoman architecture different from Arab, Persian and Byzantine architectural traditions. In 1906, three years before the publication of his first book Constantinople, Celal Esad wrote a series of article entitled “*Osmanlı Sanayi-i Nefisesi*”, “*Bizans Sanayi-i Nefisesi*”, “*Araplarda Sanat-ı Tezyin-İran ve Türk Sanayi-i Nefisesi*” “*Arap Sanayi-i*

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<sup>566</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, “Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the “New Architecture” in the Early Republic”, in *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum, Muğarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Vol. 24, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan, Gülru Necipoğlu, (Leiden-Boston, 2007), 200-201; Zeynep Çelik, “Architecture”, *the Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Sabri Sayari, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 115-116.

<sup>567</sup> Bozdoğan, “Reading Ottoman Architecture”, 200-201.

<sup>568</sup> Bozdoğan, “Reading Ottoman Architecture”, 202.

*Nefisesi*” and “*Osmanlı Mimarisi*” published in the newspaper *İkdam* respectively.<sup>569</sup> As noted by him in the first article, the aim of Celal Esad was to prove the distinctiveness of Ottoman architecture from that of Arab, Persian and Byzantine architecture. In order to do this, he argued, he needed to study first Byzantine, Arab and Persian architecture. These articles are the complimentary part of his first article on Ottoman art and architecture in which he aimed at defining an autonomous, distinctive and historically rooted architecture by differentiating Ottoman architecture from both Byzantine and Islamic-Arab and Persian architectural tradition.

This is very evident in his introductory sentence of the first article. He writes:

Some European authors envisaged Ottoman architecture as a mere imitation of Arab, Persian and particularly Byzantine architecture. They also asserted that as Arabic architecture was highly influenced from Byzantine; all Islamic architecture was formed under the influence of Eastern Christians.<sup>570</sup>

Indeed, as in the case of Ottoman institutions, Ottoman architecture was degraded by many European art historians -particularly specialized in Byzantine architecture- as an indistinct *mélange* of Byzantine and Islamic components. Charles Texier, for example, in his *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (1839-49) argued that “Ottomans being tribes with tents do not have an architecture particular to their nation... Their public edifices are the works of foreigners, Arab and Persian architects initially, and Greek architects afterwards”<sup>571</sup> He also asserted that later mosques of Ottoman Empire were merely imitation of Hagia Sophia.<sup>572</sup> Another French architectural historian specialized in Roman and Byzantine art, Auguste

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<sup>569</sup> Celal Esad, “Osmanlı Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, (13.12.1906); Celal Esad, “Araplarda Sanat-ı Tezyin- İran ve Türk Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, (24.12.1906); Celal Esad, “Arap Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, (18.12.1906); Celal Esad, “Osmanlı Mimarisi”, *İkdam*, (3.1.1907). Also cited in Cephaneçigil, “Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesinde Milliyetçilik ve Mimarlık Tarihi”, 35.

<sup>570</sup> Celal Esad, “Osmanlı Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, (13.12.1906).

<sup>571</sup> Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure: Description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie* (Paris, 1862), 125. Quoted in Necipoğlu, “Creation of a National Genius”, 142-143, n.11.

<sup>572</sup> Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 126. Cited in Necipoğlu, “Creation of a National Genius”, 142-143, n.12.

Choisy, in his *L'art de batir chez le Byzantines* (1883) also asserted that the monumental imperial mosques of chief architect Sinan were the last representative of Byzantine architecture.<sup>573</sup>

In his earlier writings of 1906 and 1909, Celal Esad acknowledged the contribution of Byzantine architecture in the formation of Ottoman architecture.<sup>574</sup> Although Celal Esad's views were already Turkic nationalistic in character in these early works, it was after the foundation of the Republic that he firmly established the nationalist views of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish art and architecture in his *Türk Sanatı* published in 1928. Here, although he acknowledges that there were some interactions between Byzantine and Seljuk architecture, he attributes these similarities to a common source, which was Asia.<sup>575</sup> In the chapter on Ottoman architecture, he again mentions Byzantine architecture. But this time, he does not accept any links between the two. He says that "Ottoman artists had very different perspectives from those of the Byzantines. Ottoman architecture had no relations with the diseased gloominess of Byzantine architecture".<sup>576</sup>

Although Celal Esad criticized the Orientalist conception of Islamic architecture, he also evaluated Byzantine architecture with these same Orientalist approaches. Similar to authors of architectural history survey books examined in Chapter 3, Celal Esad compared Byzantine architecture with western European architectural traditions. In his account, "Bizans Sanayi-i Nefisesi" (1906), he clearly states:

It is not true to assert that Byzantine art and architecture reached a high level of development like some authors who treat every small Byzantine church as if it was Hagia Sophia. Byzantine architecture could never achieve the

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<sup>573</sup> Auguste Choisy, *L'art de batir chez le Byzantines* (1883), 139-41. Cited in Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius", 151.

<sup>574</sup> "... Filhakika Osmanlı sanat-ı nefisesi Arap, Acem ve Bizans sanatlarının aguşunda doğmuş ve yine onların tesiri altında büyümüş bir sanattır. Fakat iyice dikkat ve mütalaa olunursa görülür ki bu sanatların hiçbirine tamamıyla benzemez, ayrı bir şahsiyet-i mahsusayı haizdir." Celal Esad, "Osmanlı Sanayi-i Nefisesi".

<sup>575</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, (İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1984, 1st edition in 1928), 36, 57.

<sup>576</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, 83.

beauty and symmetry of ancient Greek art. The Greeks always searched for beauty, in contrast to the Byzantines who were more interested in luxury.<sup>577</sup>

At this stage, in order to justify his own views, Celal Esad referred to the words of Alphonse de Lamartine (1790 -1869), an orientalist French writer, poet and politician who visited İstanbul as part of his travels to the “East”, and regarded Hagia Sophia as “as poor in its geometry and the product of the poor taste, decadence and corruption of a civilization.”<sup>578</sup>

Similar views regarding the Byzantine heritage and a comprehensive critique of Orientalist conceptions of Ottoman history were produced by Fuad Köprülü, one of the influential historians of the early Republican period. Born in İstanbul in 1890, his family was related to Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (d.1661). After completing his secondary education at Mercan High School in 1906/7, he studied at the School of Law of *Darülfünun*, but then specialized in Turkish literature and sociology under the guidance of Ziya Gökalp, the Turkish nationalist ideologist of the Ottoman Empire. After teaching at several high schools in İstanbul between 1910 and 1913, he was appointed as a professor of the history of Turkish literature at *Darülfünun*. Between 1915 and 1925, Köprülü published his major works on the history of Turkish literature. In these studies, Köprülü claimed that Turkish history had to be dealt with as a whole in contrast to European scholars such as Joseph von Hammer and E. J. W. Gibb, whose studies, he argued, confined

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<sup>577</sup> “Fakat şunu da iyi bilmelidir ki Bizans sanayi-i nefisesi öyle her ufak bir şapeli birer Ayasofya gibi göstermek isteyen tarafgir müelliflerin dediği vecihle büyük bir derece-i sanata vasıl olamamış ve hiç bir zaman kadim Yunan mesleğinin zerafetine varmamıştır. Buna sebep ise Bizans sanatkarlarının kadim Yunaniler gibi tabiatla güzelliği mütalaa etmeyip sadegiden ayrılmaları ve daima süs ve fantazyaya cihetinden başka bir şey görmemeleridir.” Celal Esad, “Bizans Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, 16 Aralık 1906.

<sup>578</sup> “Mösyö dö la Martin Ayasofya Cami-i Şerifi’nin usul-i mimarisinden bahsederken diyor ki: “Bu taş yığnına bakılacak olursa henüz tekâmül etmemiş bir devre ait asardan olduğu görülür.” Filhakika Bizans sanayi-i nefisesi tekamül etmemiş bir sanat idi. Sanatkarlar bunu tekamül ettirmek için tezyinatta tafsilata girdikçe bu sanatı tealiden alıkoyuyor ve gitgide inkıraza duçar ediyorlardı.” Celal Esad, “Bizans Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, 16 Aralık 1906. However, in his book, Celal Esad somewhat softened this remark by adding his own views: “it is a mistake to think like this. Byzantine art occupied an important place in the stages of art history” Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, 111.

to Ottoman literature.<sup>579</sup> However, Köprülü also criticized his contemporary Turkish scholars who were overly imbued with Turkish nationalism. In many articles published in magazines and newspapers, Köprülü criticized these studies which argued for the direct continuity of Turkish domination in Anatolia since the Hittites.<sup>580</sup>

Köprülü's interest in Turkish literature led him to conduct researches on Turkish history of art as well. He also contributed to the formation of a nationalist view of Turkish art history during the early years of the Republic. As is well known, Viennese art historians particularly Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941) and his student Heinrich Glück contributed much on the formation of the master narrative regarding "Turkish art". Their studies on the existence of a Turkish Art were highly approved by Turkish scholars primarily by Fuad Köprülü who got into contact with Strzygowski and invited him to contribute the journal of *Türkiyat Mecmuası* published by Köprülü himself in 1926-1933.<sup>581</sup> Köprülü also contributed in the same volume with a paper entitled "Turkish Art" in which he introduced the works of Strzygowski and Glück and criticized some Turkish art historians for not appreciating enough their works.

Strzygowski and Glück's works were crucial for not only defining the essence of Turkish art by focusing on the notions of origination and movement, but also in differentiating it from Byzantine art and architectural traditions. Strzygowski argued against the views prevailed among European historians that Turkish art came into being solely with the contribution of Byzantium and Islamic states. According to him, Greek art had a Semitic origin and Mediterranean in nature. As Islamic and

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<sup>579</sup> Gary Leiser, "Introduction", in *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, trans. Gary Leiser, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 1-13.

<sup>580</sup> Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 50-63.

<sup>581</sup> Cemal Köprülü, "Cumhuriyetimizin Ellinci Yılı Vesilesiyle: En Eski Plastik Sanatları Hakkında", in *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupaya Etkisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973), v-xv; H. Glück, "Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3, (1933), 119-28; Joseph Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3, (1926-1933), 1-80; Fuat Köprülü, "Türk Sanatı", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3, (1933). These articles re-published in *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupaya Etkisi* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973)



Byzantine art inherited the origins of Greek art, they are completely different from Turkish Art which was itself in Northern origin.<sup>582</sup>

In his book length article consisting of 150 pages and entitled “*Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar*” [Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions] Köprülü focused solely on this issue. The article first appeared in 1931 in the first volume of *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* [The Journal of Turkish Legal and Economic History] one of the scholarly journals founded by Köprülü himself.<sup>583</sup> One of the novelties in this work is the method which Köprülü called “genetic” and “comparative” for a better exploring the most important aspects of the supposed influence of Byzantine institutions on the Ottoman institutions.<sup>584</sup> After reviewing arguments by aforementioned European scholars such as Rambaud, Diehl, and Gibbons in detail; Köprülü claimed that various institutions which were alleged to have been taken from Byzantium had their origin in pre-Ottoman Turkic and/or other Muslim states, thus were non-Byzantine in origin. However, he also states:

Bizans devlet müesseselerinin Osmanlı devlet müesseseleri üzerinde hiç bir bariz tesir icra etmemiş olması, Osmanlılar’dan evvelki devirlerde de böyle bir tesirin bulunmadığına asla bir delil teşkil edemez. Türk ve İslamlar üzerinde Bizans

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<sup>582</sup> Stryzowski “Türkler ve Orta Asya San’atı Meselesi”; Ergin “Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Eras”, 23-24. In his *Altay-Iran* published 1917, Stryzowski contested the prevailing European conception in favor of Greco-Roman art by advocating the Northern (Aryan) art enhanced by the movements of nomadic peoples from the northern parts of the Central Asia. In his *Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi* in 1926-27, Stryzowski linked the origins of Turkish art to Central Asia. For a detailed analysis of the ideological and methodological premises of the formation of the Turkish art with the utmost contribution of Viennese School of Art Historians, see Oya Pancaroğlu, “Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century”, *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24, (2007), 67-78. Although Celal Esad’s works were among earliest in such attempts at defining a distinct category of Turkish Art, who used the word for the first time in his *Constantinople* (1909), Celal Esad is also said to have been influenced by Stryzowski’s ideas and methods in the refinement of his ideas regarding the formation and basic characteristics of Ottoman/Turkish architecture.

<sup>583</sup> Fuad Köprülü, “Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar”, *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, 1 (1931), 165-313.; Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*, 4th edition, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003); Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, trans. Gary Leiser, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999).

<sup>584</sup> Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*, 28-29.

medeniyetinin diğer bir takım tesirleri de, en ziyade, Osmanlılar'dan evvelki devirlerde gerçekleşmiştir.<sup>585</sup>

Hence, Köprülü asserted that the Byzantines had no major direct influence on Ottomans as for all the Ottoman institutions, or if there was any Byzantine influence on Ottoman institutions, these came indirectly to Ottomans through the Turkish *beyliks*, Anatolian Seljuks and other Muslim states that had long been in contact with Byzantium.<sup>586</sup>

Fuad Köprülü's essay laid the groundwork for the future trajectory of the historiographical methodology in the study of Byzantine and Ottoman institutions. He established a methodology for subsequent Turkish scholars who often based their arguments on the conclusions of Köprülü.<sup>587</sup> İlber Ortaylı also argued that by not accepting the relation of the Byzantine heritage with the Ottoman institutions, Fuad Köprülü influenced the conception of history which was radically transformed during the 1930's. Ortaylı describes this historical notion as a "recession" for Byzantine studies in Turkey.<sup>588</sup> Celal Esad and Fuad Köprülü's works during the early Republican era were crucial in differentiating the Byzantine influences from the Ottoman/Turkish art and architectural traditions.

### 6.2.2. Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya

Compared to Fuat Köprülü and Celal Esad Arseven, Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya's works appear to have had little or no effect on future Byzantine studies in Turkey. Why their efforts regarding Byzantine history and art have not

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<sup>585</sup> Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*, 170. In his later works, Köprülü again comments on this topic: "Esas eserimde, Bizans'ın bilhassa Emeviler ve Abbasiler devirlerinde İslam müesseselerine tesirlerini müsbet mu'talar olarak kaydettim. Türklere gelince, bu tesirin onlar üzerinde, Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşundan sonra değil, daha evvel âmil olduğunu meydana koyduğumu sanıyorum". Quoted in Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 89.

<sup>586</sup> Gary Leiser, "Postscript", *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, trans. Gary Leiser, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 161-167.; See also Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 80-90.

<sup>587</sup> Gary Leiser notes that İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1888-1977) and Osman Turan (1874-1978), Köprülü's students and prominent historians, used Köprülü's conclusions for not accepting the linkages between the Byzantine and Ottoman institutions. Leiser, "Postscript", 165-166.

<sup>588</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tarih Yazıcılık Üzerine*, (İstanbul: Cedit Neşriyat, 2009), 69.

been appreciated enough by subsequent scholars in Turkey? This can be attributed to a number of factors if one traces the fate of their life and academic works during the same period.

To begin with Mehmed Ziya, the publication of the second volume of *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* in 1928 coincided with the reform of the alphabet breaking the link with the Ottoman and Islamic past in order to orient the new state of Turkey towards the West. According to Semavi Eyice, probably for this reason, Mehmed Ziya's second volume seems to be incomplete for not having an index and content page at the end of the book.<sup>589</sup>

In 1937, after seven years following the death of Mehmed Ziya in 1930, his son Celal Ergun, a pharmacologist himself, tried to re-publish this second volume with the new alphabet (**fig. 36**). This new edition, intended for weekly publication, fascicule by fascicule, however, suffered from serious drawbacks. While the main titles of the original text more or less remained same, the content of the original text was dramatically reduced by omitting and/or summarizing some parts. For example, in the first fascicule, after mentioning very briefly the foundation of Byzantium in the sixth century by the Great Constantine, the conquest of the city by Ottomans is described in detail. The typesetting and spelling of foreign words were full of errors. The most conspicuous divergence from the original text is seen in its illustrations. Rather than using the original visual materials, this new edition of the text is accompanied by irrelevant photographs. For example, the text under the title of “the glorious and brightness of İstanbul during the time of Byzantines” is illustrated by photographs of a number of Ottoman mosques. In other words, while the text is narrating the topography of Byzantine Constantinople, the illustrations display “Ottoman mosques” from different parts of the city such as “Cerrahpaşa mosque”, “Ersinan Mosque”, Ahmed Paşa Mosque” (**fig. 94-95**).<sup>590</sup> The editor seems to be completely arbitrary in deciding what parts of the text and photographs were to replace another one. Ultimately, this highly inattentive and careless “edition” of the

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<sup>589</sup> Eyice, “Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu”, 178.

<sup>590</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* (1937), 6-17.

book ceased publication after the tenth fascicule.<sup>591</sup> Thus, Mehmed Ziya's study remained with these unfinished fascicules until recent years.

Semavi Eyice, who has often been regarded as the founder of Byzantine art history scholarship in Turkey, was also the first person to appreciate Mehmed Ziya's works. During the early years of career in the 1960's, Semavi Eyice began to be interested in Mehmed Ziya's life and works, initially because he found some similarities between himself and Mehmed Ziya, such as great love and interest in the history and monuments of İstanbul.<sup>592</sup> During these years, Semavi Eyice decided to publish an article introducing Mehmed Ziya and his works. In his two attempts, however, during 1960's and 1980's respectively, Eyice was disappointed by the poor quality of the published texts in a popular journal.<sup>593</sup> Similar to the edition of his book in 1937, the article introducing *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* was also published incomplete and carelessly. Mehmed Ziya and his efforts on behalf of the Byzantine heritage were not brought back to the minds of people until *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* was republished in 2004.

Ahmed Refik, on the other hand, experienced several difficulties in the transition from an "Ottoman historian" to a "nationalist historian" probably because he could not orient himself into the new political and historical context. Although the declaration of the Turkish Republic did not constitute a break in historical studies, the question of how to write history textbooks became an important issue. The debates concerning this issue continued until the four volumes of high school history textbooks were written in 1931. Yet, the method which would be used in writing Ottoman history was not still resolved.

At the beginning of the processes of writing a new history for the new Turkish Republic, Ahmed Refik also participated in these attempts as a member of the Ottoman Historical Society (after 1924 Turkish Historical Society). He

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<sup>591</sup> Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu", 178.

<sup>592</sup> "Mehmed Ziya Bey vefat ettiğinde henüz 6-7 yaşlarında bir çocuk olduğumdan onu tanıyamadım ancak onun da benim gibi Galatasaray Sultanisi Lisesi mezunu olması ve yine İstanbul'un tarih ve eski eserlerine meraklı oluşu benim ona büyük bir yakınlık duymama yol açtı". Eyice, Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu, 178.

<sup>593</sup> Eyice, "Bir İstanbul Tarihçisi Mehmed Ziya", n.p.

contributed to *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* [The Main Tenets of Turkish History], with a paper titled “*Osman Oğulları*” in which he examined the beginning of Ottoman dynasty in Anatolia. Here, he also emphasized the successes of the Ottoman dynasty and their close relations with the Byzantines.<sup>594</sup> Since 1920’s, Ahmed Refik focused on the topic of Ottoman and Byzantine relations particularly in the formative period of the Ottoman Empire. He published several articles under the titles of “*Orhan Gazi ve Paleoglar*”, “*Türkler ve Bizans*”, and “*Türk ve Bizans İdaresinde Anadolu*” in the journal *İkdam*.<sup>595</sup> In these articles, he highlighted the political and cultural relationships between Ottomans and Byzantines using Ottoman and Byzantine primary sources. These articles constituted the base of his book entitled *Bizans Karşısında Türkler* published in 1924.<sup>596</sup> However, the Republican leaders were trying to construct a new Turkish identity and his passionate interest in Ottoman history and his methods of history writing may not have been so useful for this aim. Thus, he was gradually excluded from the academic circles.<sup>597</sup>

Soon after his appointment as president of the Turkish History Society in 1925 upon the death of former president Abdurrahman Şeref, he had to leave this position to Fuad Köprülü in 1927. During the First Turkish History Congress in 1929, when Yusuf Akçura criticized recent Ottoman historiography for being mere compilations of historical publications in French, Ahmed Refik made a self-criticism for the “inadequacy of his books”.<sup>598</sup> Afterwards, he lost his teaching

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<sup>594</sup> Ahmed Refik, “Osman Oğulları”, *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları*, cited in Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 128.

<sup>595</sup> Ahmed Refik, “Orhan Gazi ve Paleoglar”, *İkdam*, 8415, (29.7.1920); “Türkler ve Bizans”, *İkdam* 8729, (3.7.1921); “Türkler ve Bizans Kilisesi”, *İkdam*, 8463, (28.9.1920); “Türk ve Bizans İdaresinde Anadolu”, *İkdam*, 8470, (5.10.1920); “*Türk ve Bizans*”, *İkdam*, 8813-8860, (28.9.1921-14.11.1921); “Bizans’ta Türkler”, *İkdam*, 9427, (15.6.1923).

<sup>596</sup> Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Bizans Karşısında Türkler (699-857/1299-1453)*, ed. Fahameddin Başar, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005) The book is an examination of the history of Ottoman Empire with its relations with the Byzantines from the foundation of the Ottoman state until up to the capture of İstanbul based on Byzantine and Ottoman chronicles as well as secondary sources.

<sup>597</sup> Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 153-157.

<sup>598</sup> Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 152-153.

position during the reorganization of İstanbul University in 1933. These years were the period of the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic, Ahmed Refik continued to write articles highlighting the successes of the Ottoman Empire. Within that political context of the period, this was unacceptable.<sup>599</sup>

In fact, during the early years of the Republic, a simplified version of Ahmed Refik's *Büyük Tarih -i Umumi* published in 1929 by the State Print was being used as a textbook in the history classes of high schools (**fig. 40**). Ahmed Refik's Byzantine history, thus, continued to be taught in high schools during the first decade of the Republican period. Furthermore, until his death in 1937, Ahmed Refik continued to publish journal articles on the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments of İstanbul. In article-series entitled "*Kafes ve Ferace Devrinde İstanbul*", published in *Akşam* in 1936, he covered the topics such as "the City Walls", "Hagia Sophia" "At Meydanı", "The Topkapı Palace", "Binbirdirek Cistern", "Basilica Cistern" etc. The biographic articles related to Byzantine emperors and empresses also continued to appear in several newspapers until his death in 1937.<sup>600</sup>

These newspaper articles must have aroused great interest as they were also republished as separate books. Indeed, Ahmed Refik was one of the widely read historians particularly due to his method which digested history with ease by combining it with literature. Therefore, we can say that compared to Mehmed Ziya, Ahmed Refik enjoyed great popularity not only during his time, but particularly after his death. However, both Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya's studies became known and made use for what they wrote about Ottoman history or Ottoman

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<sup>599</sup> According to the story told by Reşat Ekrem Koçu, the assistant of Ahmed Refik, in one of the occasions in which Atatürk and Ahmed Refik came together in 1928, Atatürk requested from Ahmed Refik: "Yeni bir devlet kurduk. Bir filiz... Ama gelişen bir filiz. Yeni bir tarih anlayışı da getirdik. Dünyaya, uygarlığın Orta Asya'dan, Mezopotamya'dan, Anadolu'dan yayıldığını ispatlamaya çalışıyoruz. Kalemimiz bizimle olmasa bile ters düşmesin". [We founded a new nation state. It is now just flourishing. We also created a new concept of history. We are trying to prove that civilization had spread from the Middle Asia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia to the world. Therefore, even though you are writing history for these ideals, do not write to oppose them.] Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*, 121-122.

<sup>600</sup> See **Chapter 4.2.3**. For a full list of Ahmed Refik's articles published in newspapers and journals see Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*.

monuments of İstanbul rather than Byzantine history and/or Byzantine İstanbul. For example, Ahmed Refik's article series of *Ottoman Life in Past Centuries* became one of the major sources used by foreign and local scholars who interested in Ottoman İstanbul. In the same way, Mehmed Ziya's *İstanbul and Boğaziçi* was often explored and cited for information regarding Ottoman buildings. For example, Alfons Maria Schneider (1896-1952), who was one of the leading scholars in İstanbul during the 1930's conducting excavations in Hagia Sophia,<sup>601</sup> made use of Mehmed Ziya and Ahmed Refik's studies in his article "Die Blachernen" (1951) while seeking information about the Ottoman interventions to the building.<sup>602</sup> Even Semavi Eyice, who "discovered" Mehmed Ziya and introduced *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* as a valuable contribution to the history of İstanbul states that "the most valuable contribution of his work is Mehmed Ziya's comments on the Turkish monuments."<sup>603</sup>

Therefore, Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya's Republican legacy concerning the Byzantine heritage remained very little, if any. This can also be seen in their successors. Ahmed Refik's pupil, Reşat Ekrem Koçu who had inherited many features from him such as the merging of history with literature, wrote *Bizans Tarihi: Şarki Roma İmparatorluğu (395-1453)* published in 1934 as part of a series "History Books for Kids." As may be expected, this book was heavily based on his mentor, Ahmed Refik's *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*. Similar to his mentor, Reşad Ekrem Koçu with great interest in the history of İstanbul began to publish *Istanbul Encyclopedia*. There was little related to the Byzantine heritage of the city in *Istanbul Encyclopedia*, the journal became popular for the Ottoman past of the city. Describing his childhood in 1950's, grew up in the wealthy westernized district of Nisantasi in İstanbul, Orhan Pamuk, the famous novelist, in his autobiographical book *İstanbul: Memories and the City*, writes:

Like most İstanbul Turks, I had little interest in Byzantium as a child. I associated the word with spooky, bearded, black-robed Greek Orthodox

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<sup>601</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Prof. Dr. Alfons Maria Schneider", *Belleten*, XVI, 64, (October 1952).

<sup>602</sup> Alfons Maria Schneider, "Die Blachernen", *Oriens*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Aug. 15, 1951).

<sup>603</sup> Eyice, "Bir İstanbul Tarihçisi Mehmed Ziya", n.p.

priests, with the aqueducts that still ran through the city, with Hagia Sophia and the red brick of walls of old churches. To me, these were remnants of an age so distant that there was little need to know about it. Even the Ottomans who conquered Byzantium seemed very far away.

As a fan of Reşat Ekrem Koçu's *İstanbul Encyclopedia*, he got relatively familiar with the Ottoman past, but the Byzantines, "had vanished into thin air soon after the conquest..."<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>604</sup> Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* trans. Maureen Freely, (London, Faber and Faber, 2005), 155.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

This thesis is the first comprehensive study attempting to explore the perceptions and historiography of the Byzantine heritage in the late nineteenth century with a special focus on the writing of architectural history. Important contributions of the thesis are outlined in eight concluding points presented below.

1. First of all, this thesis demonstrates that both European and Ottoman-Turkish perceptions of Byzantium underwent transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Perceptions of Byzantium were not uniform across the region, but were very much shaped by political changes in different periods. However, one dominant pattern we see is the ambiguity towards Byzantium.

In this regard, western perceptions of Byzantium were ambiguous, leading to a selective appropriation of its legacy. Although the reasons for this ambiguity varied according to different time periods, much of the debate derived from the nature and geographical position of the Byzantine Empire. Founded upon the classical Greek city of Byzantium as a “New Rome”, later extension of territories covered “Eastern” and “Islamic” lands. Thus, it was simultaneously defined as part of the European past and also as “the other.” In the same vein, it was Christian, but Orthodox rather than Catholic or Protestant. While its Greco-Roman tradition was selectively appropriated to attach it to the West, its “oriental” and “Islamic” features set it apart. Despite its portrayal as an Oriental empire in western political and literary writings, Byzantium occupied an ambiguous position and was never quite rejected. Byzantium belonged to the “West” when compared to Eastern cultures but never completely.

One of the basic endeavors of this thesis was to attempt a parallel examination of perceptions of the Byzantine legacy both in Europe and the Ottoman world. This examination has shown that as in Europe, Ottoman attitudes towards the heritage of Byzantium and its role were deeply ambivalent, reflecting changing national and global political and cultural dynamics during this period. Indeed, late

Ottoman approaches with regard to Byzantium bear certain similarities and follow similar patterns with those of Western Europe.

Accordingly, the thesis has revealed how the “antiquities of Constantinople” prompted an initial interest in the legacy of Byzantium in the eyes of both European and Muslim visitors to the city. During the early modern era, while there was little interest in the empire, its past and what it represented, especially its capital Constantinople, as the seat of the Roman Empire, had particular symbolic and political significance for emerging empires with universal claims during this period. Political and ideological rivalries among these emerging European monarchies, including the Ottoman Empire, formed an important political backdrop for interest in Constantinople. The Ottomans, like the Western Europeans, engaged in the selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the former claimed to be the legitimate heirs of the Roman imperial legacy, using it in their political competition with western European monarchies with similar aspirations. Within the context of the scholarly web between European and Ottoman scholars, the first Byzantine studies, in the form of Turkish translations of Byzantine chronicles from European compilations appeared in this period. It is also seen that the iconic Byzantine monument, Hagia Sophia, as a building and as a text, was highly engaged by Ottoman historians and architects.

The eighteenth century brought about significant changes in the Western perceptions of the Byzantine Empire. Once defined as a storehouse of antiquities embodying glorious Greek and Roman past, Byzantium became the ambiguous “other” in this century. With the impact of the French revolution, historical and literary writings played a significant role in the construction of Byzantium as a “despotic” and “decadent” empire because of its “autocratic” and “Oriental features”. Interestingly, this was a period of significant transformation with regard to the conception of Europe, the development of Euro-centrism and the European representations of the Ottoman Empire. It is also this period that sees the beginning of the orientalist system of thinking and the creation of binary categorizations of the “West” and “East” with the West defining itself as superior.

Contrary to such perceptions in the West, there emerged a kind of revival of interest in the Byzantine cultural and architectural tradition in the Ottoman capital

of İstanbul. Due to the lack of any notable historical or architectural account dealing with Byzantine history and architecture in this period, however, we can attribute this gradual revival of interest in Byzantine culture to the rise of Phanariot family who considered themselves the heirs and custodians of Byzantine culture.

2. Western Europe's ambivalent attitude and selective appropriation of the Byzantine legacy became particularly pronounced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of renewed interests in the classical and the medieval past. This study has pointed out that this renewed interest in the Byzantine legacy and appreciation of the study of Byzantine history, art and architecture in the mid-nineteenth century was closely associated with the rise of nationalism, historicism, and orientalism. Of course, the professionalization of history as an autonomous discipline and the emergence of Byzantine studies as an academic field of study should not be overlooked.

Significant political developments in the nineteenth century Europe encouraged the processes of nation-building and the utilization of matching historiography. During this period, various European countries began to search for the origins of their cultures which in turn led to a renewed interest in the Middle Ages. Thus, the thesis revealed how the selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage served as a tool in constructing national histories in Western European historiography. This new appreciation of the Byzantine heritage enabled Western European states to claim a kind of historical continuity for their national histories.

Through this narrative, it is also seen how this process was experienced by historians of the new nation states of the Balkan region, particularly after the second half of the nineteenth century. In searching for native traditions in the efforts to create a national culture, these historians began to show a renewed interest in the Middle Ages, and thus Byzantine history and culture with which deep historical relationships were highlighted. Thus, "medieval Byzantium" became crucial as a part of a historical chain that would connect the ancient past to these modern nation states. This became most evident in the Modern Greek nation state's political aspirations and historiographical approaches which emphasized her Byzantine heritage particularly for legitimizing "the Great Idea" (Megali Idea) and cultural continuity.

Although the Greek case provided a model for the historiographical traditions of other Balkan states in the project of nation-building in the nineteenth century, this did not happen as smoothly in Romania and Bulgaria where the Byzantine heritage also represented oppression for Romanians and Bulgarians by the Greek Orthodoxy and the “Oriental agricultural state” that was hardly ideal for their aspirations of becoming modern European national states. Therefore, I conclude that the appropriation of the Byzantine heritage was selective also here. In conjunction with crucial markers in defining the uniqueness of each nation, such as ethnicity, religion, and language in the nineteenth century as I discussed in previous chapters, while some emphasized the Orthodox religion of Byzantine, as is the case with Russia and Romania, others gave prominence to its Greek language, in order to use the Byzantine heritage for creating a historical and sustainable national identity.

3. A major argument of this thesis is that, as elsewhere in Europe, after the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a gradual increase in accounts dealing with Byzantine history in the Ottoman historiography. The emergence of new historiographical methods, a new interest in non-Muslim histories and proliferation of universal histories stand out in this development. Similar to European historians, Ottoman authors also recognized the potential of older traditions and the “glories of the ancient past” not only for writing a linear dynastic or national history but also for providing a political legitimacy to the empire. Ottoman historians also showed an interest in the medieval period by “re-discovering” the formative period of the Ottoman state as a historiographical topic. Interestingly, as in Western Europe and new nation states of the Balkan region, Ottoman historians also tended to use Byzantine history in their attempt at constructing a progressive Ottoman history.

Although the portrayal of Byzantium was negative in the majority of the nineteenth century Ottoman historical writings, there was also a new appreciation of the importance of the study of Byzantine history for a better understanding of Ottoman history. More importantly, it was in these historical accounts that we see Ottoman historians acknowledging the Ottoman appropriation of the Byzantine heritage by pointing to similarities between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires in terms of the nature of those empires which were located in the same geography, the

position of emperors, the relationships between the state and religion, and thus Byzantine-Ottoman linkages.

4. Starting from the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing interest in Byzantine Constantinople and its architectural heritage among late Ottoman intellectuals who lived in İstanbul. This interest paved the way for the production of important scholarly works dealing with the history, topography, architecture, and archaeology of Byzantine Constantinople during the first decades of the twentieth century. One of the most important contributions of this thesis is the exploration of these earlier “local” contributions to the study of Byzantine İstanbul. In this regard, Celal Esad, Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya’s works attempted to explore the Byzantine heritage of the city and enlighten compatriots living in the city. This has contributed much to the emergence of “Byzantine scholarship” in the late nineteenth century Turkey.

In this regard, the thesis points out that the emergence of such studies was partially the result of the Ottoman Empire’s modernization attempts in relation to Europe and a new approach to the cultural heritage of the Empire, such as new regulations concerning the preservation of architectural heritage, museums and archaeological activities and the establishment of modern scientific institutions in the multicultural and intellectual milieu of İstanbul in this period. This is apparent in the fact that all three authors were members of institutions and learned societies founded in this period. This particularly apparent in how the works of these authors followed the methods and frameworks of European counterparts and how they “emulated” and “appropriated” the works of European scholars with whom Ottoman authors had often close personal and academic contacts. Yet, their works also display ingenious “local” attempts and developments as we see in nationalist concerns of Celal Esad, the “universal” approaches of Mehmed Ziya or in the attempts of Ahmed Refik to incorporate the Byzantine heritage as part of Ottoman identity through visual materials.

Among them, Celal Esad was one of the first Ottoman authors to write about Byzantine Constantinople with the publication of his *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul* in 1909. This was the result of his genuine interests in the Byzantine past and archaeology of İstanbul, but also his developing nationalist concerns for

Ottoman architecture. We have seen that this seeming dilemma is also displayed in the framework of his book and its narrative. Mehmed Ziya's genuine interest in the methods of "*âsâr-ı atîka*" led him to the actual examination of monuments within their historical and topographical contexts. Such an approach is very important considering that the established typological approach had long dominated the study of Byzantine architecture until recently not only in Turkey, but in Europe as well. Ahmed Refik can also be considered an "innovator," who realized the importance of photography for architecture as tangible evidence of the past and who used it for keeping alive urban memory and continuity. It was for this reason that he used, most appropriately, the pictures of "the magnificent buildings of the glorious Byzantine past"<sup>605</sup> for creating a sense of belonging to Byzantine and Ottoman İstanbul.

Although the focus was on these three authors, it is also noted that the interest and publications on the Byzantine heritage in the late Ottoman period were not limited to them. Other authors, particularly Mehmed Raif, Münir Mazhar, and Celal Nuri, also wrote on the history, art and architectural history of Byzantium with a special emphasis on Byzantine and Ottoman linkages.

5. Concerning Byzantine architectural history writing in Europe, I have concluded that despite a renewed interest in Byzantium in this period, the examination of architectural history books also reveals its ambivalent position within western historiography. My analysis of architectural history survey books shows that Byzantine architecture posed some problems to authors of survey books in terms of the ethnic, geographic and religious categorizations of the nineteenth century historiography of architectural history. While in some surveys, Byzantine architecture is clearly dissociated from Western European architectural traditions and paired with Islamic and/or Asian architecture, some others highlight its Greco-Roman heritage and attribute to it an important role in the development of the Western European architectural tradition. This is particularly pronounced in the placement of Byzantine architecture within "Ancient Architecture" rather than

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<sup>605</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 13.

“Medieval Architecture.” All these demonstrate the ambiguous position of Byzantine architecture within the European architectural narrative.

The trace of such an approach to Byzantine architecture is also seen in Ottoman authors, although we cannot find similar kinds of architectural history production in this period. For instance, Celal Esad’s evaluation of Byzantine architecture and the placement of it within global architectural history are concomitant with Western Europe’s ambiguity and selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage. Similar to them, Celal Esad highlights the prominent position of Byzantine architecture in the historical development of Western European architecture. On the other hand, he evaluates Byzantine architecture by comparing it with western architectural developments.

**6.** The historical and political context of the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was crucial in defining the trajectory of the perceptions and treatment of the Byzantine heritage in Republican Turkey. In other words, the historical process leading to the demise of the Ottoman Empire and then, the creation of a new nation state out of a heterogeneous empire had a significant impact on the late Ottoman and then early Republican authors’ perspectives regarding the Byzantine heritage.

In this regard, the thesis reveals that Ottoman/Turkish author’s treatment of the Byzantine heritage during this period was somewhat “reactive” and closely related to current political context. The rise of nationalist movements leading to the emergence of sovereign states in the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire had profound influence on the writings of the Ottoman authors concerning Byzantine history. Hence, the development of Turkish nationalism had also significant consequences for the historiography of the Byzantine heritage including the interpretation of Turkish ethnicity as the dominant nationality of the empire and the elimination of the Byzantine as well as Islamic Arab and Persian identities. As this thesis has demonstrated, the ongoing conflicts and wars especially between the Greek state and Turkey during both countries’ nation-building processes greatly affected how they viewed Byzantium. It was during this period that Ottoman Turkish authors associated the demise of the Ottoman Empire with Greek attempts

at creating a national state and the policies of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

The second “reactive” character of Ottoman/Turkish Byzantine historiography is seen in the responses to the Western European orientalist discourse considering the Ottoman Empire as a mere imitation of the Byzantine Empire. This thesis highlights how late Ottoman and then early Republican scholars were well aware of these assumptions, and made great effort to argue against them. Ironically, their works reinforced negative attitudes toward Byzantine legacy, and resulted in the “purging” of Byzantine influences from the Ottoman and later Turkish culture, art and architectural history.

Apart from these “external” factors, the most important element which shaped late Ottoman authors’ perspectives during this period is the actual situation of the Ottoman Empire which was on the eve of the demise. Within this context, I conclude that rather than studying Byzantine history as “a historical subject”, late Ottoman historians were interested in the history of the Byzantine Empire for the present time and even for the future. This is particularly evident in Ottoman authors’ preoccupation with “the question of Byzantine influence” and in their attempts at understanding, analyzing and finding solutions for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. While late Ottoman authors condemned the Byzantine influence for the decline of the Ottoman Empire, for early Republican authors (these were often same people) the Byzantine heritage was intimately connected with the Ottoman past, which now had to be dealt with in a different political and nationalist context.

7. It should also be highlighted that Ottoman authors’ treatments of the Byzantine heritage were not uniform. In addition to the historical context mentioned above, this may also be related to the ideologies to which Ottoman intellectuals subscribed throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth century. However, we have seen that although they lived in the same period and pursued the ideology of “Turkism”, for example, Ottoman authors produced different accounts of Byzantium. This means that apart from the political and ideological context, there was another important factor, which is a more practical one, in shaping perspectives of Ottoman authors: the nature of sources that were used by Ottoman authors. Preceding chapters clearly demonstrate that Ottoman historians were very much



dependent on European works for the history of Byzantium. They made either direct translations or compilations from a variety of different works. Therefore, their perceptions were greatly shaped by their source material.

When we examine the sources that were used by Ahmed Midhat, Celal Nuri and Mehmed Murad, for example, we see that they were heavily based on the French editions of the works of the eighteenth century authors especially Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Gibbon. Therefore, when describing the Byzantine Empire, Ottoman authors often echoed negative views and employed the same denigrating words such as “corruption”, “lawlessness”, “extravagance” and “frivolity” prevailed in the writings of the enlightenment scholars in the eighteenth century Western Europe.

In contrast, Ahmed Refik and Mehmet Ziya’s primary sources were often more recent French studies. Among them, the French author Charles Diehl seems to have had a special place for Ottoman authors. As mentioned in different parts of the thesis, almost all of the authors explored in this study had a personal or academic relationship with Charles Diehl and his works. For instance, Charles Diehl wrote a preface to Celal Esad’s *Constantinople* (1909); Mehmed Ziya translated two articles by Charles Diehl, the *Kariye Cami* and “*Les origines Asiatiques de l’art Byzantine*” both published in Diehl’s *Etudes Byzantines* in 1900. Ahmed Refik, on the other hand, translated Diehl’s *Figures Byzantines* (1906).

Why was Charles Diehl so inspiring for Ottoman authors? In addition to direct personal and academic relations between him and several Ottoman authors, we can state two major reasons. The first one is related to Charles Diehl’s approach to the study of Byzantium. As already noted in Chapter 2, the very beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a renewed appreciation of Byzantine studies in Europe. In this regard, Charles Diehl was one of the first to criticize the presentation of Byzantine history in earlier works and tried to challenge established negative perceptions of Byzantium. In the same vein, Ahmed Refik was also aware of the negative connotations of Byzantium and wanted to rehabilitate dominant views of Byzantium as a decadent empire in his several accounts. Therefore, the new approaches by Charles Diehl were greatly “appropriated” by Ottoman authors who also wanted to deal with Byzantine history, art and architecture. Among them

Mehmed Ziya and Ahmed Refik translated Diehl's works but presented them as if their own ideas. Furthermore, Ahmed Refik published several articles in journals and newspapers introducing Diehl's new appreciation of the study of Byzantium to a wider audience. The second and related factor is Charles Diehl's emphasis on the relationships between the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empire. For example, Münir Mazhar published the conference notes of Charles Diehl assuming that it would encourage further studies concerning Byzantium and its impact on Ottoman history.<sup>606</sup>

8. Finally, this thesis has also concluded that the role of individuals was crucial not only in the production of knowledge regarding the Byzantine heritage but also in defining the trajectory of Byzantine scholarship in Turkey.

Among intellectuals examined in this thesis, Fuad Köprülü and Celal Esad had important impacts not only on the future trajectory of the disciplines of history and art history respectively, but also for the study of Byzantine history, art and architecture in Turkey. Celal Esad and Fuad Köprülü had very similar views regarding the issue of the "influence" of the Byzantine heritage on Ottoman institutions, art, and architecture. Indeed, neither Celal Esad, nor Fuad Köprülü rejected the relevance of the Byzantine heritage for the Ottoman Empire, but they attributed these interactions to the pre-Ottoman times and did not accept a direct continuity between the Byzantine and Ottoman traditions. Nevertheless, their approaches remained influential for later generation Republican scholars, especially for those who wanted to argue against any historical link between the Ottomans and the Byzantines. Compared to them, Ahmed Refik and Mehmed Ziya's works appears to have had little or no effect on future Byzantine studies in Turkey, although they took a more positive approach to the Byzantine heritage.

The other important consequence of Fuad Köprülü's seminal work was on the method. Despite his comprehensive use of primary Turkish and other Islamic sources, Köprülü did not use any Byzantine sources.<sup>607</sup> This tradition has continued

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<sup>606</sup> Münir Mazhar, "Bizans Tarihine aid İki Ders", 489-495.

<sup>607</sup> Leiser, "Postscript", 161.

until recently when the importance of Byzantine sources for the early Ottoman periods was realized by later generations of historians. In contrast, the topic of continuity and changes between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empire has been considered of utmost importance and many contemporary Turkish historians focus on the late Byzantine sources for the early period of Ottoman history. In this regard, Ahmed Refik is probably among the first to point out the importance of the study of late Byzantine sources. However, Ahmed Refik could not produce an original historical work articulating these ideas in an academic manner which would have had positive effects on Byzantine scholarship in Turkey. Rather, his ideas were scattered mainly in the introductory part of his studies while the main body of the texts were in effect almost word to word translations of French works, particularly from Rambaud, Lavissee and Diehl. Mehmed Ziya's important study of Byzantine İstanbul, on the other hand, could not be sufficiently appreciated by modern scholars due to the fact that his works suffered from some misfortune as mentioned in the previous chapters.

As Said has forcefully argued, the production of knowledge, including historical knowledge, is far from a purely academic endeavor and is related, in part, to configurations of power in any given historical context.<sup>608</sup> The historical developments that went into the making of the European and Ottoman-Turkish representations of the Byzantine past were extremely complex and subjected to shifting dynamics. Furthermore, it was not solely larger political contexts but also individual actors, institutions, and key texts played a significant role in this process. For the late Ottomans and early Republican Turks, the question of what to do with the Byzantine past was not an abstract question as that past was (and is) physically present in the built environment, and thus could not easily be rewritten. They had a great challenge and a heavy burden, so to speak. As a matter of fact, the perception of the Byzantine past and its architecture has continued as an issue up to the present day.

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<sup>608</sup> Said, *Şarkiyatçılık*, 18-20.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, in her discussion of European scholarship on Byzantine historiography, there has been what Averil Cameron calls the “absence of Byzantium.” Cameron’s concern about this “absence of Byzantium” in the European historical narrative has been received seriously among European scholars and has resulted in self-reflective and self-critical reassessments of Western Europe’s attitude toward Byzantium. This thesis represents an attempt to contribute to this discussion by providing a thorough case study of Turkish (architectural) historiography of Byzantium which has been a missing part in these studies until now.

One cannot help but notice that we are living through another historical moment in which the question of what to do with the Byzantine past figures significantly, and continues to occupy the minds and energies of political authorities and particular cultural circles within Turkey, as can be seen in such activities as the re-conversion of important Byzantine churches, which had been used as museums since the Republican period, into mosques. Furthermore, although it is a World Heritage Site and a European capital of culture, İstanbul is going through a continuous series of re-fashioning activities resulting in a fading away of the Byzantine, Ottoman and early Republican legacy of the city. This is a worrying trend. “The absence of Byzantium” within the built environment of Turkey would have irreversible and negative consequences for the preservation of the World’s architectural heritage. It is my belief that the efforts of individual scholars through the production of knowledge, like the actors and texts examined in this thesis, can contribute to the safeguard of the Byzantine heritage. It is in that spirit that I offer this thesis with the hope that in some small way it may encourage the preservation of Turkey’s remarkable Byzantine architectural heritage.

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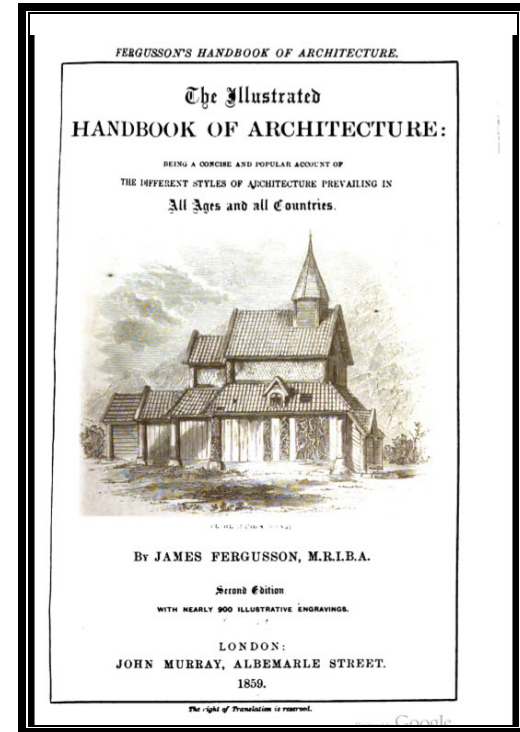
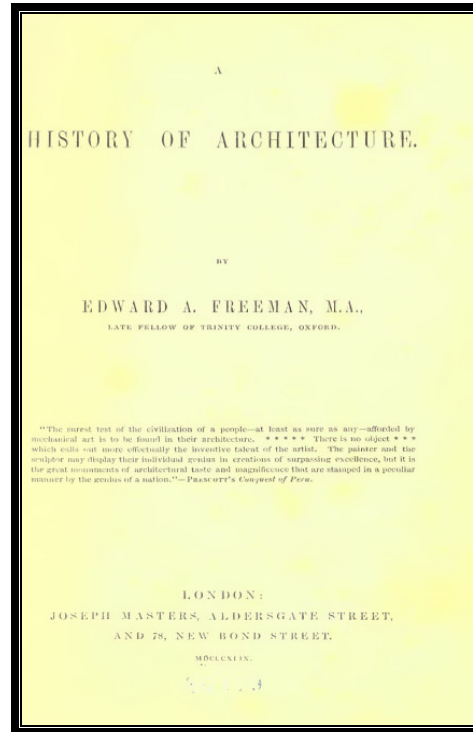
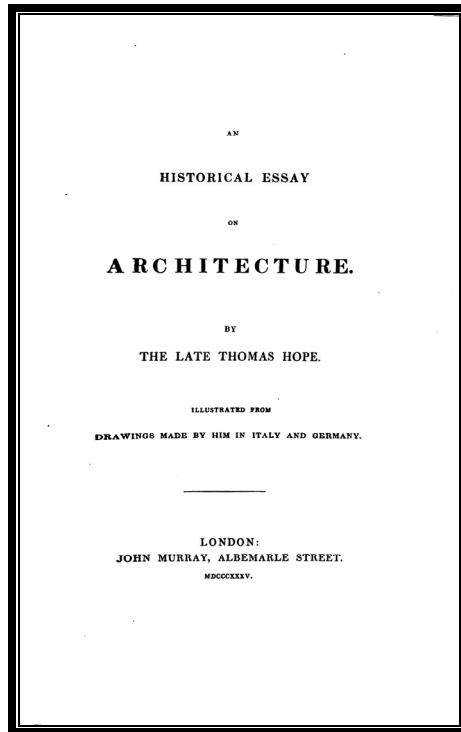
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## **APPENDIX A**

### **FIGURES**

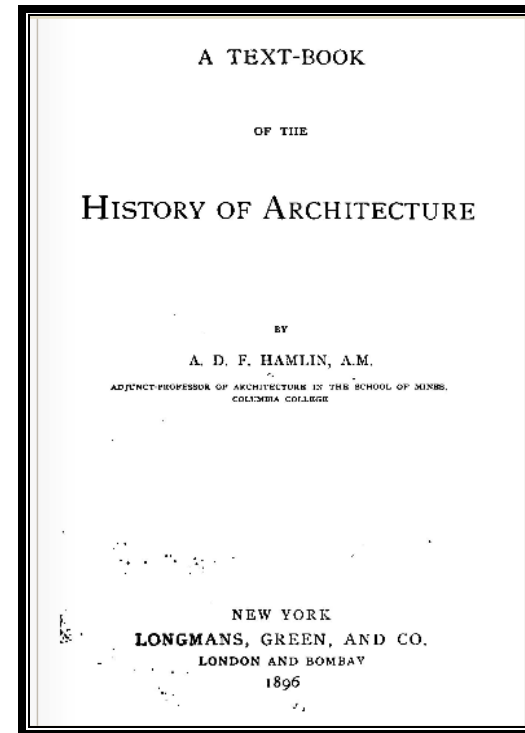
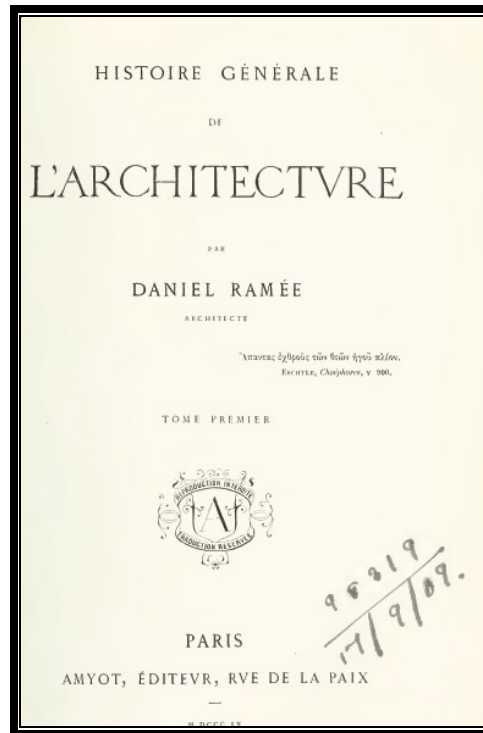
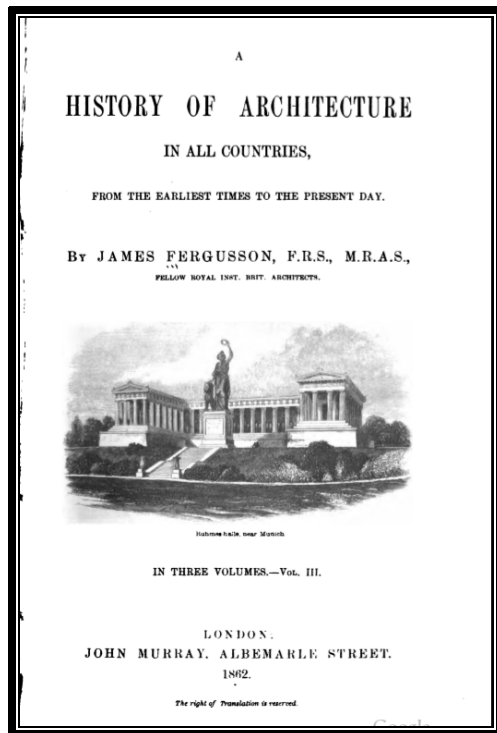




**Figure 1** (left): Thomas Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, 1835, title page.

**Figure 2** (middle): Edward A. Freeman, *A History of Architecture*, 1849, title page,

**Figure 3** (right): James Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 1859, title page.



**Figure 4** (left): James Fergusson, *History of Architecture in All Countries*, 1862, title page.

**Figure 5** (middle): Daniel Ramée, *Histoire Générale de L'architecture*, 1860, title page.

**Figure 6** (right): Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin, *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*, 1896, title page.

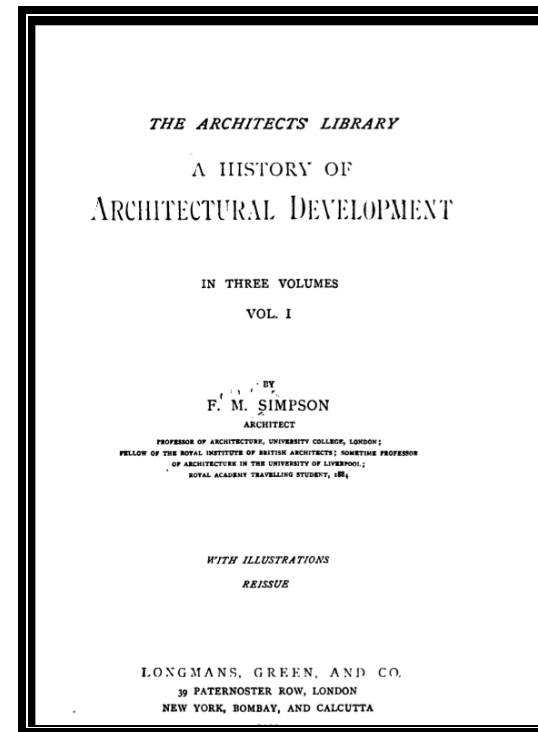
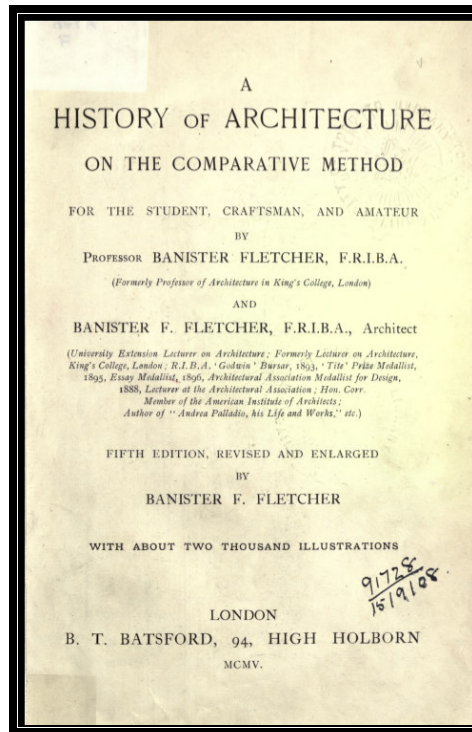
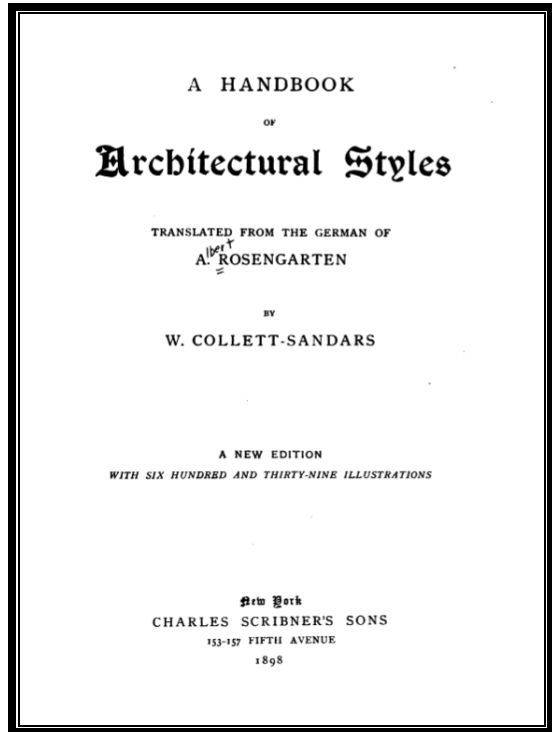


Figure 7 (left): Albert Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 1898, title page.

Figure 8 (middle): Banister Fletcher and Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur: Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period*, 1896, title page.

Figure 9 (right): F.M. Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, 1913, title page.

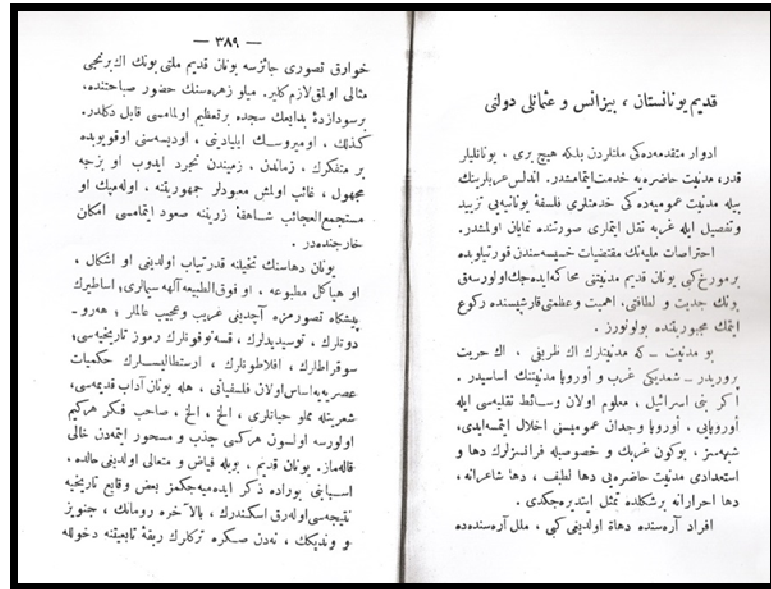
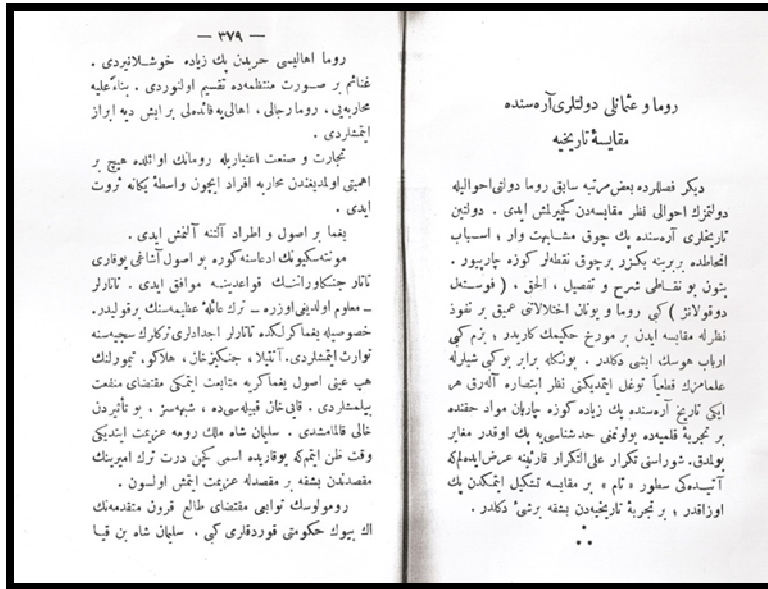


Figure 10 (left): Celal Nuri, *Tarihi-Tedenniyat-ı Mukadderat-ı Tarihiye*, İstanbul, 1331 [1912-3], page 378-379 “Roma ve Osmanlı Devletleri Arasında Mukayese-i Tarihiye”.

Figure 11 (right): Celal Nuri, *Tarihi-Tedenniyat-ı Mukadderat-ı Tarihiye*, İstanbul, 1331 [1912-3], page 389-390, “Kadim Yunanistan, Bizans ve Osmanlı Devleti”.

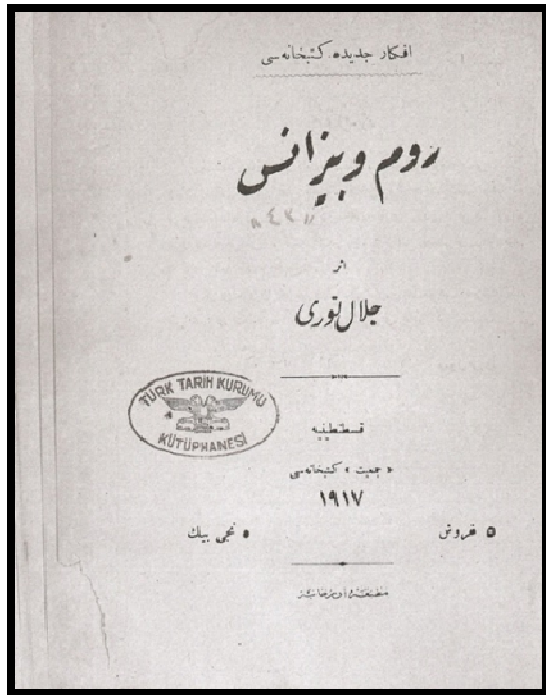


Figure 12 (left): Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 1917, title page.

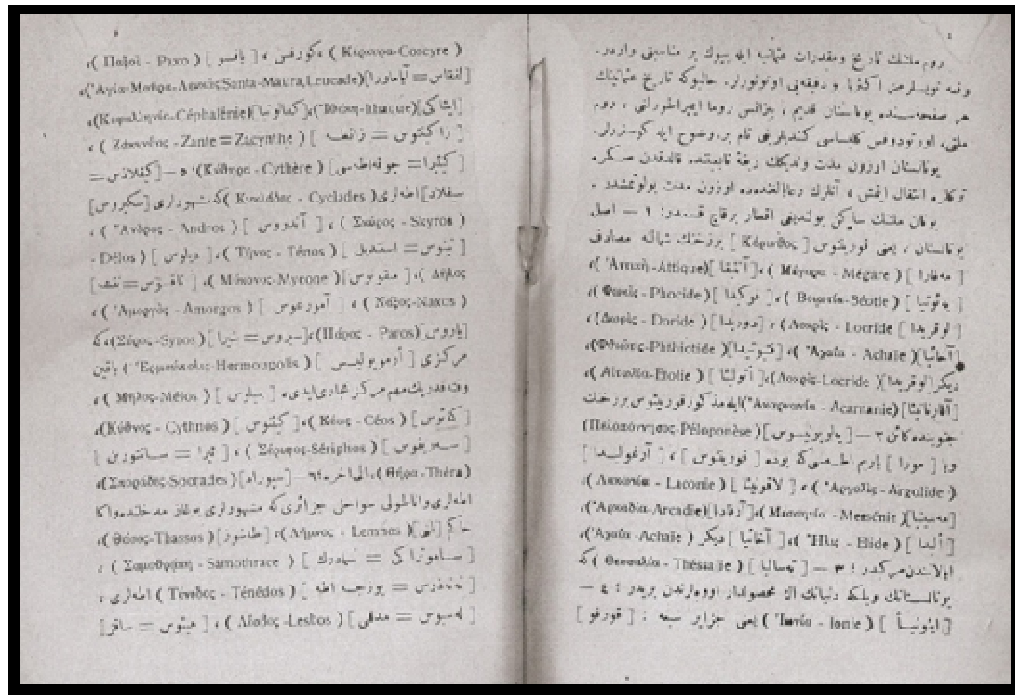
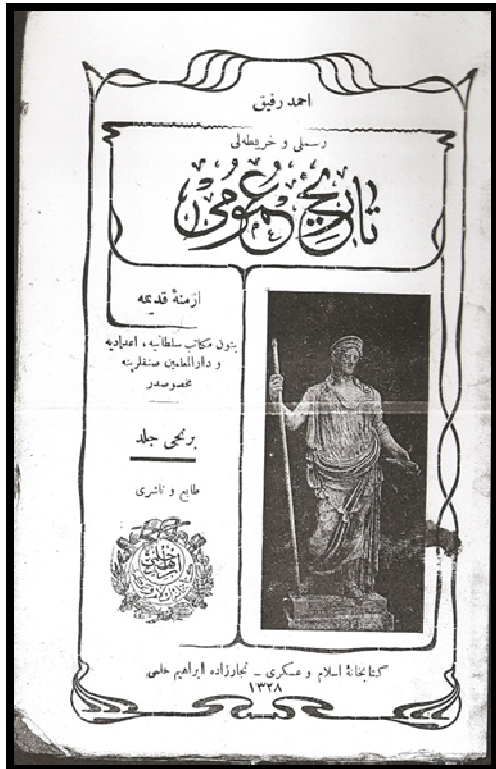


Figure 13 (right): Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, 1917, page 4-5.



**Figure 14** (left): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.1: Ezmîne-i Kadîme, 1912, title page.

**Figure 15** (right): Alfred Nicolas Rambaud and Ernest Lavissee, *Histoire générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 1893, Vol.1, title page.



Figure 16 (left): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 93.

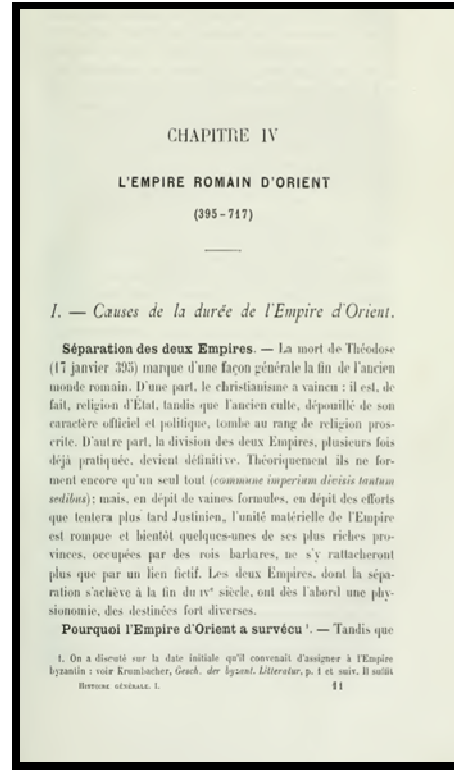


Figure 17 (right): Alfred Nicolas Rambaud and Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire générale du IVe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Vol.1, page 16

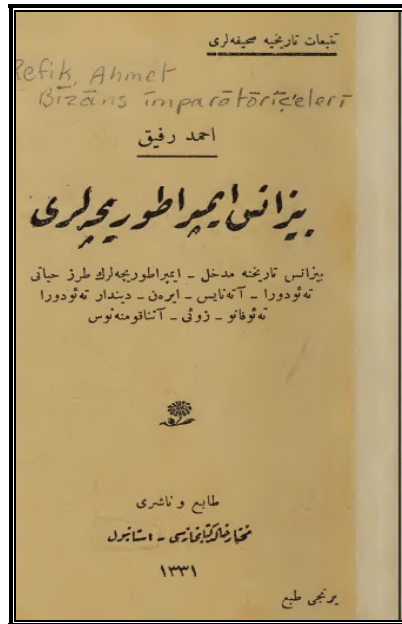


Figure 18 (left): Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 1915, title page.

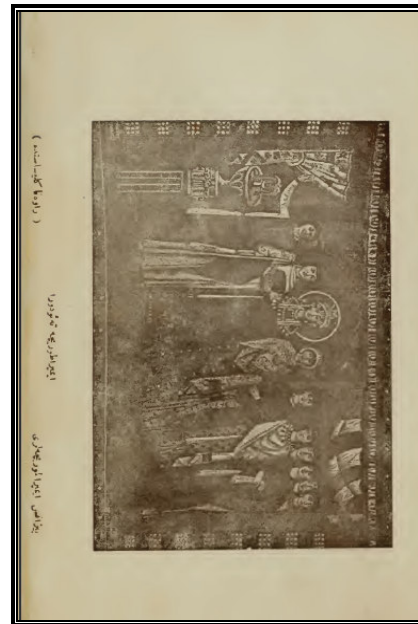


Figure 19 Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri*, 1915, frontispiece.

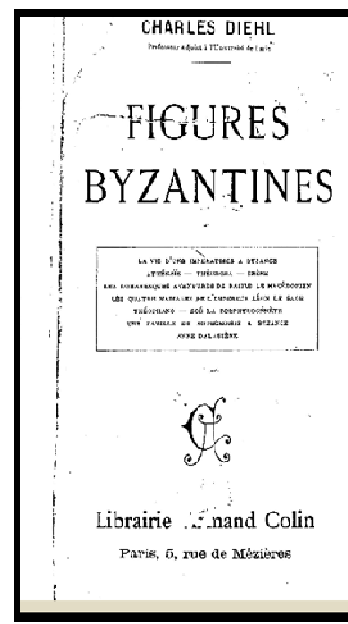


Figure 20 Charles Diehl, *Figures Byzantines*, 1906, title page.

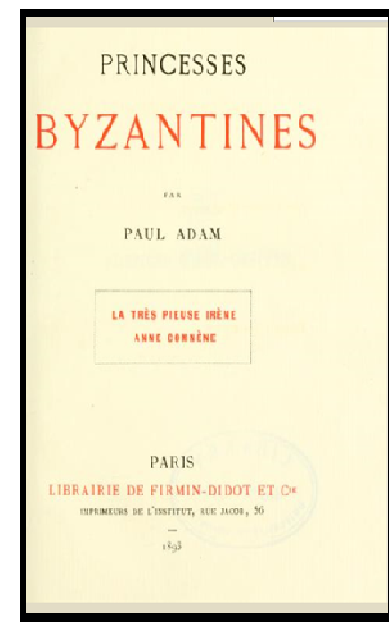


Figure 21 Paul Adam, *Princesses Byzantines*, 1893, title page.

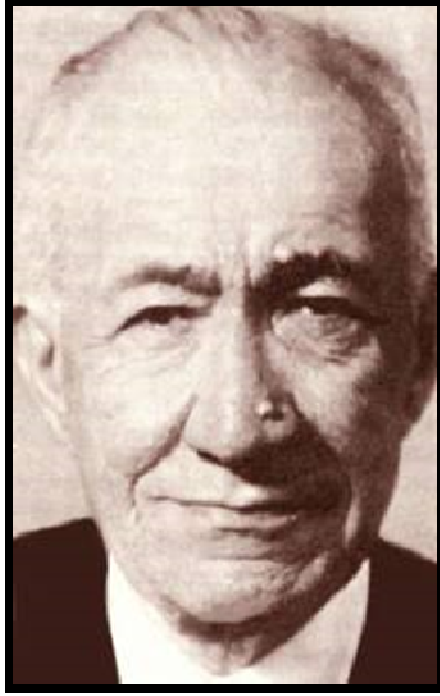




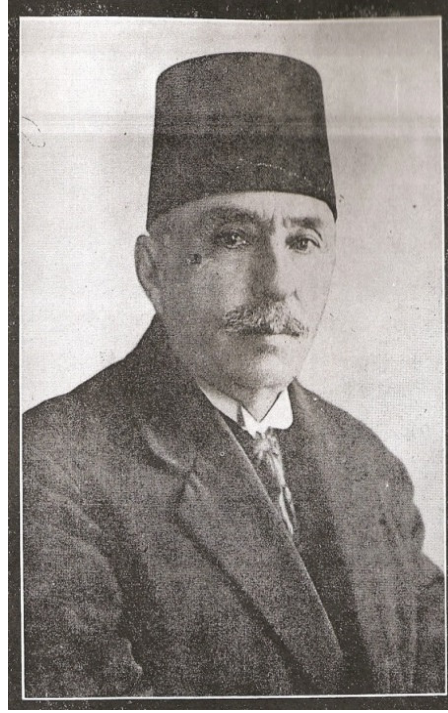
Figure 22 (left): Münir Mazhar, “Bizans Tarihine Aid İki Ders”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.2/51, (1918), page 489.



Figure 23 (right): Münir Mazhar, “Bizans Tarihine Aid İki Ders”, *Yeni Mecmua*, Vol.2/51, (1918), page 490-491.



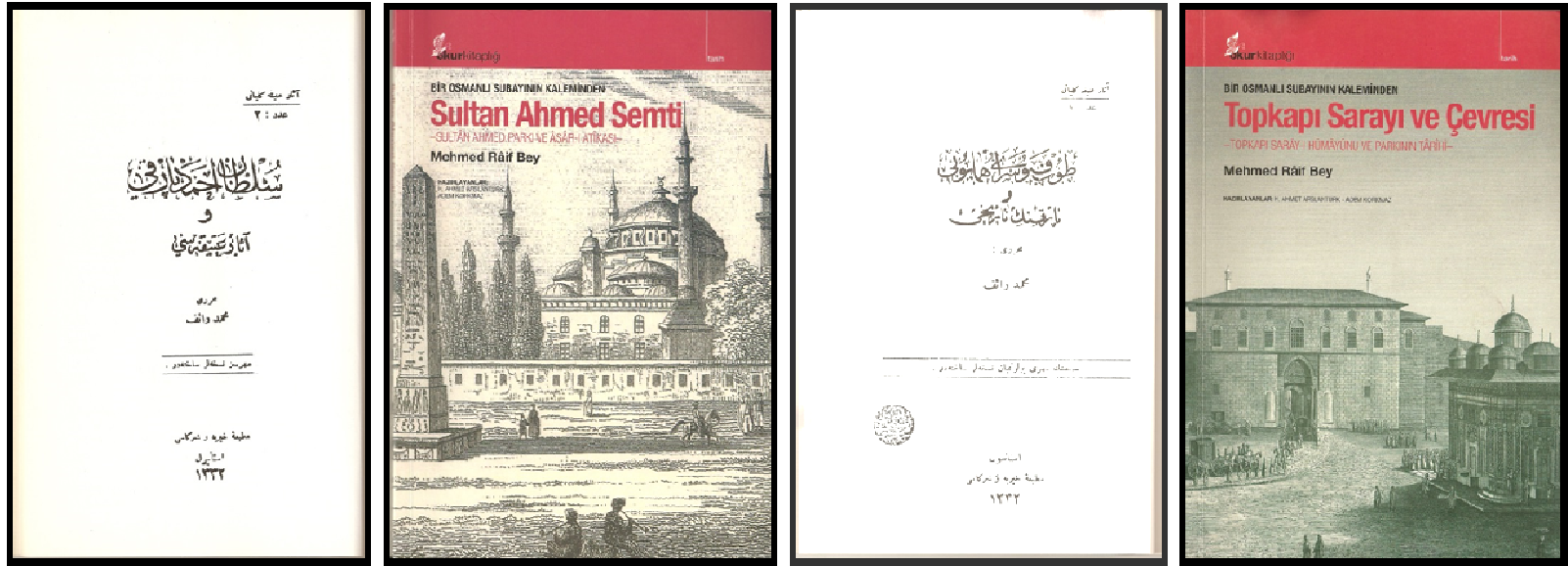
**Figure 24** Portrait of Celal Esad  
(source: [www.kameraarkası.org](http://www.kameraarkası.org))



**Figure 25** Portrait of Mehmed Ziya  
(after Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*  
1937, frontispiece)



**Figure 26** Portrait of Ahmed Refik  
(after Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Ahmed Refik:  
hayatı, seçme şiir ve yazıları*, frontispiece)



**Figure 27** (left): Mehmed Raif, *Sultan Ahmed Parkı ve Asaâr-ı Afîkası*, 1916, title page.

**Figure 28** Mehmed Raif Bey, *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Sultan Ahmed Senti* (ed. H.A. Arslantürk and A. Korkmaz, İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2010), book cover.

**Figure 29** Mehmed Raif Bey, *Topkapı Sarây-ı Hümayûnu ve Parkının Tarihi*, 1916, title page.

**Figure 30** *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresi*, (ed. H.A. Arslantürk and A. Korkmaz, İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2010), book cover.

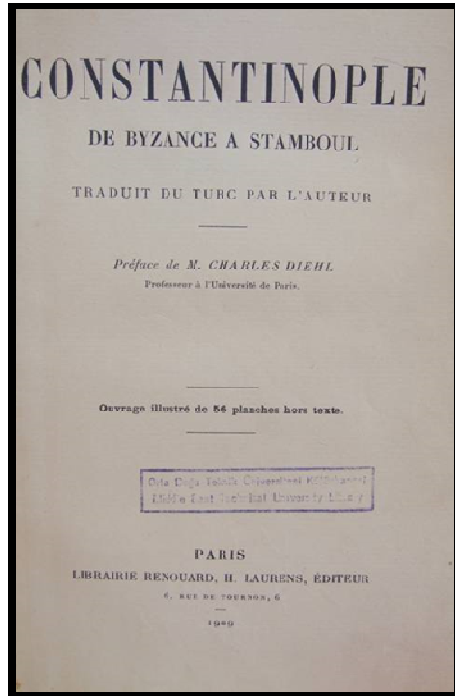


Figure 31 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul*, 1909, title page.

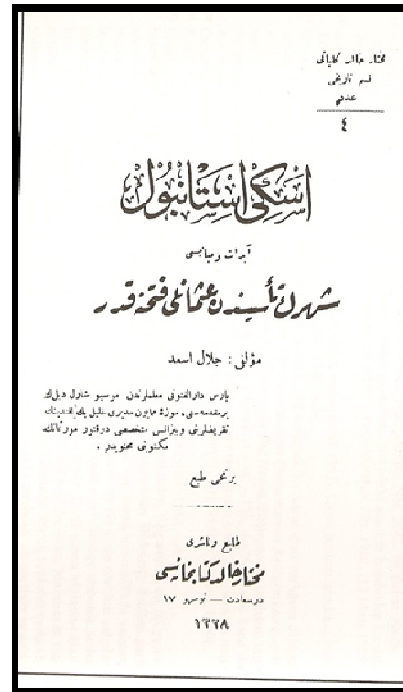
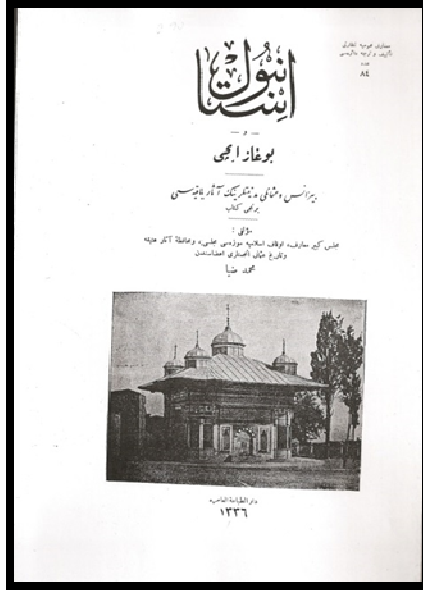


Figure 32 (middle): Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul, Abidat ve Mebanisi Şhrin Tesisinden Osmanlı Fethine Kadar*, 1912, title page.



Figure 33 (right): Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski İstanbul (Abidat ve Mebanisi)*, 1989, book cover.



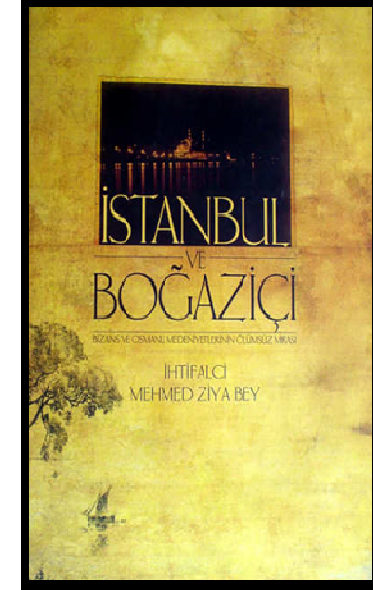
**Figure 34** (left): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi*, Vol.1, 1920, title page.



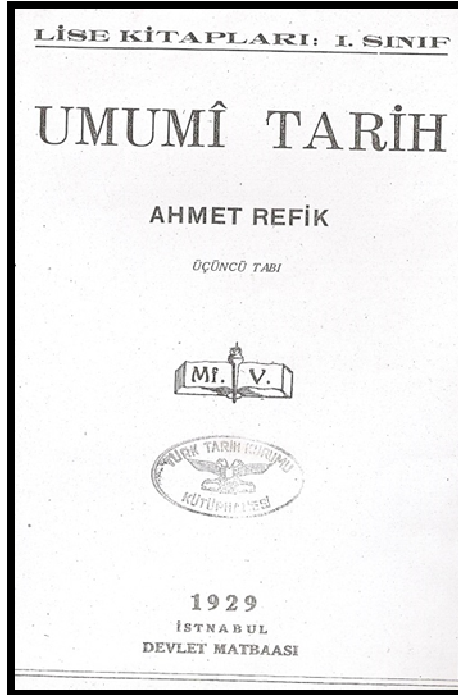
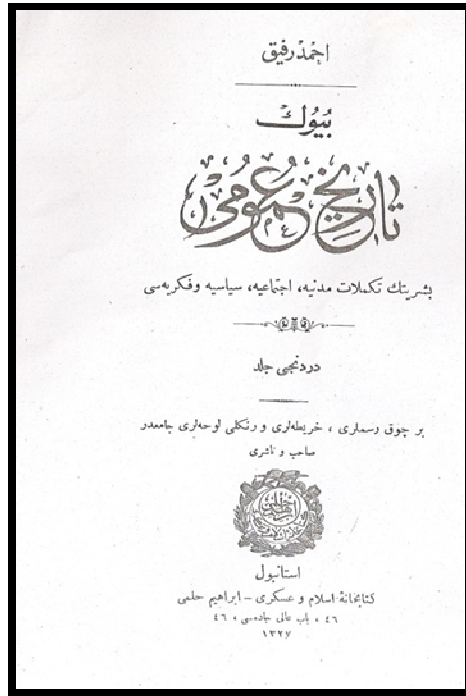
**Figure 35** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi*, Vol. 2, 1928, title page.



**Figure 36** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Türk Medeniyetleri'nin Eserleri*, İstanbul, 1937, book cover.



**Figure 37** İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Ölümsüz Mirası*, 2 Vols, 2004, book cover.



**Figure 38** (left) : Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi, Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi*, Volume 4, (İstanbul: Kütübhane-i İslam ve Askeri, İbrahim Hilmi, 1327/1911-1912), title page.

**Figure 39** (middle): Ahmet Refik, *Umumi Tarih*, Lise Kitapları 1. Sınıf, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929), title page.

**Figure 40** (right): Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Eski İstanbul*, 2011, book cover.

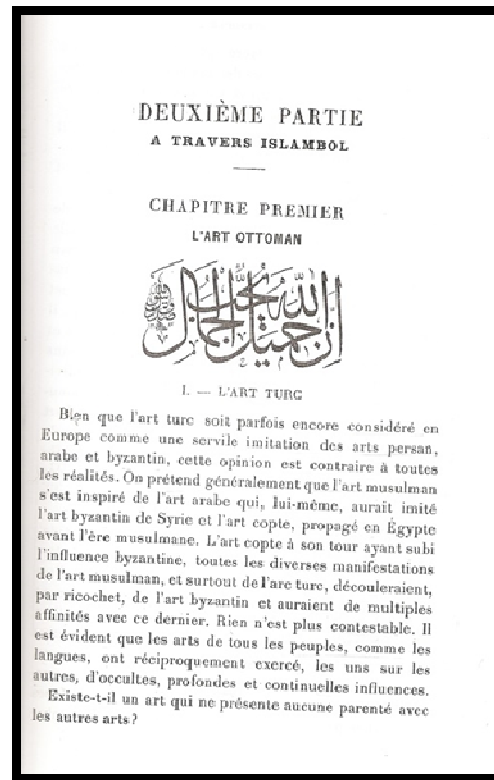
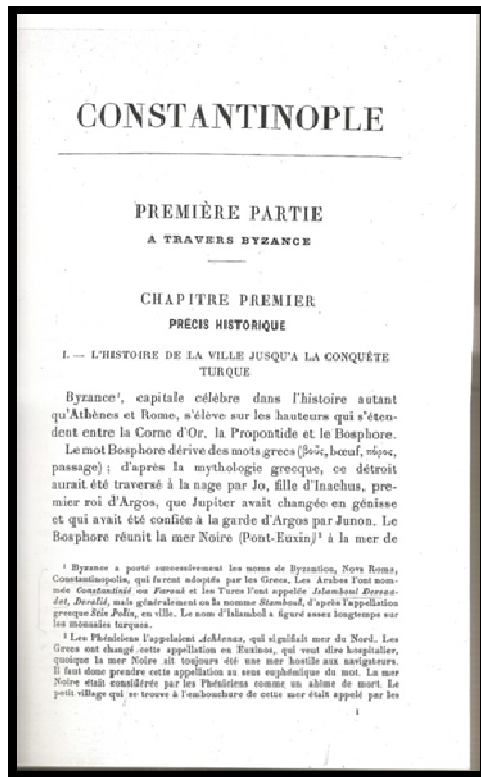


Figure 41 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, page 1. "Première Partie: A Travers Byzance".

Figure 42 (right): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, page 151. "Deuxième Partie: A Travers Islambol".



Figure 43 (left): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, “Medhal” [Introduction], n.p.



Figure 44 (middle): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, page 1.

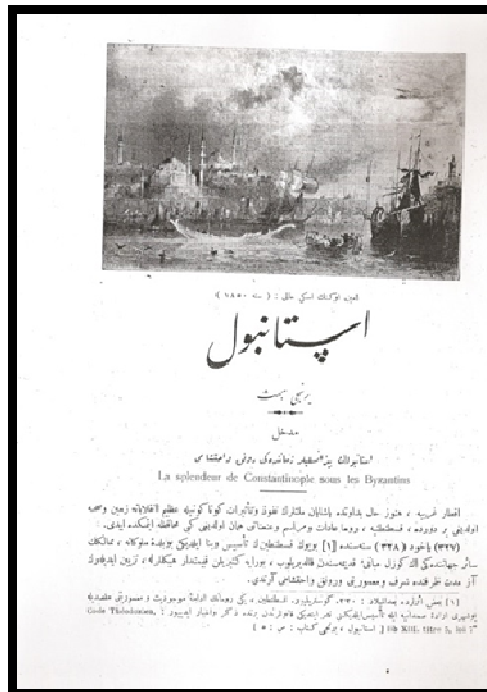


Figure 45 (right): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.2, page 1.



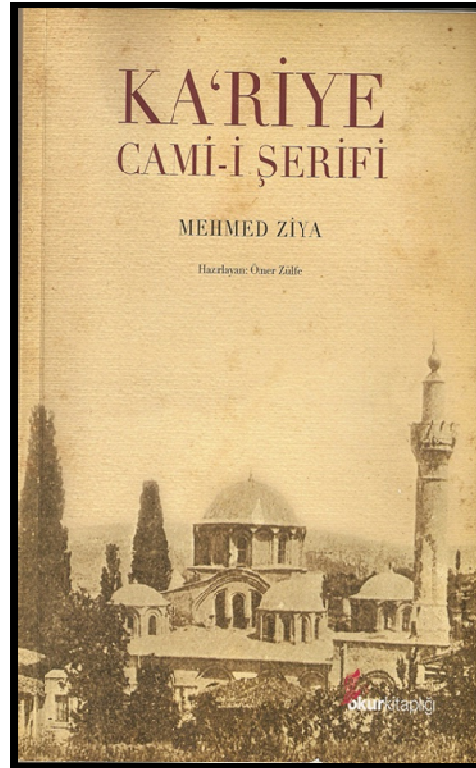
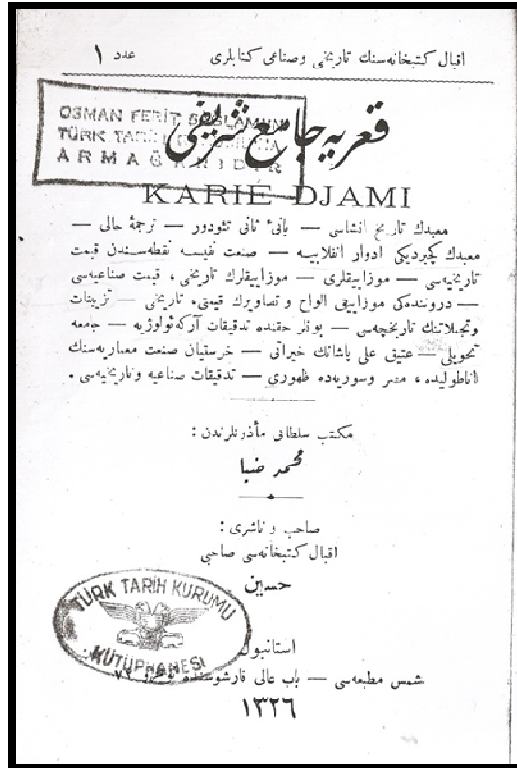


Figure 46 (left): Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, 1910, title page.

Figure 47 (right): Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, (İstanbul, Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), book cover.



Figure 48: (left): Charles Diehl, “les mosaïques de kariye mosque”, *Etudes Byzantines*, page 395.

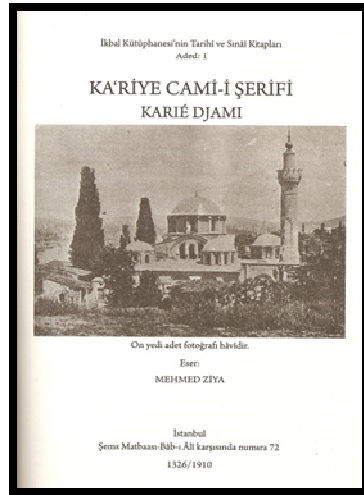


Figure 49: Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerifi*, 1910, title page.



Figure 50: Ahmed Refik, “Kariye Camii ve mozaikleri”, *Yeni Mecmua*, 1917, page 329, “Kariye Camisi”.



Figure 51: Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 16. “Mosqué de Kariyé (Ancienne église de Khora)”.

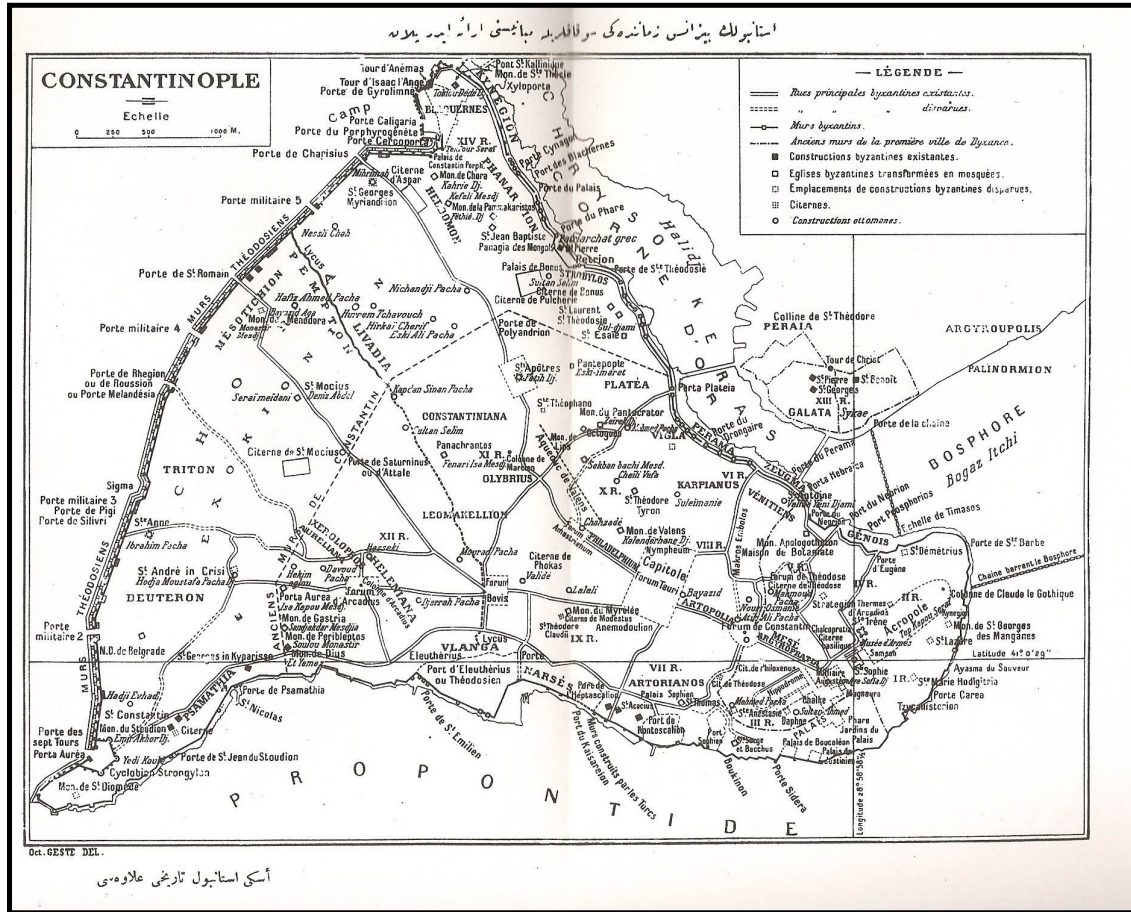
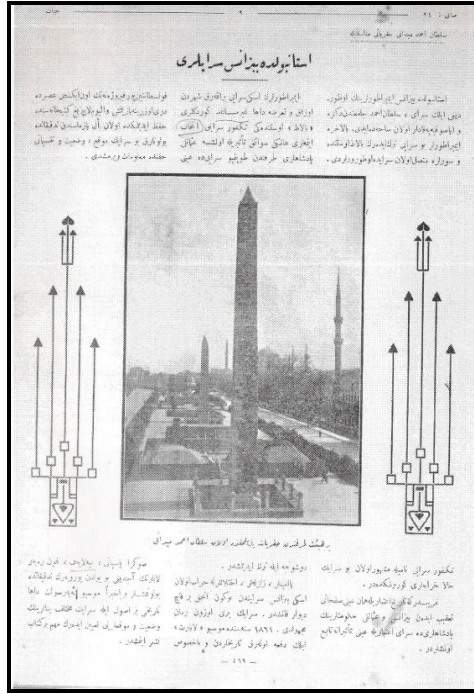
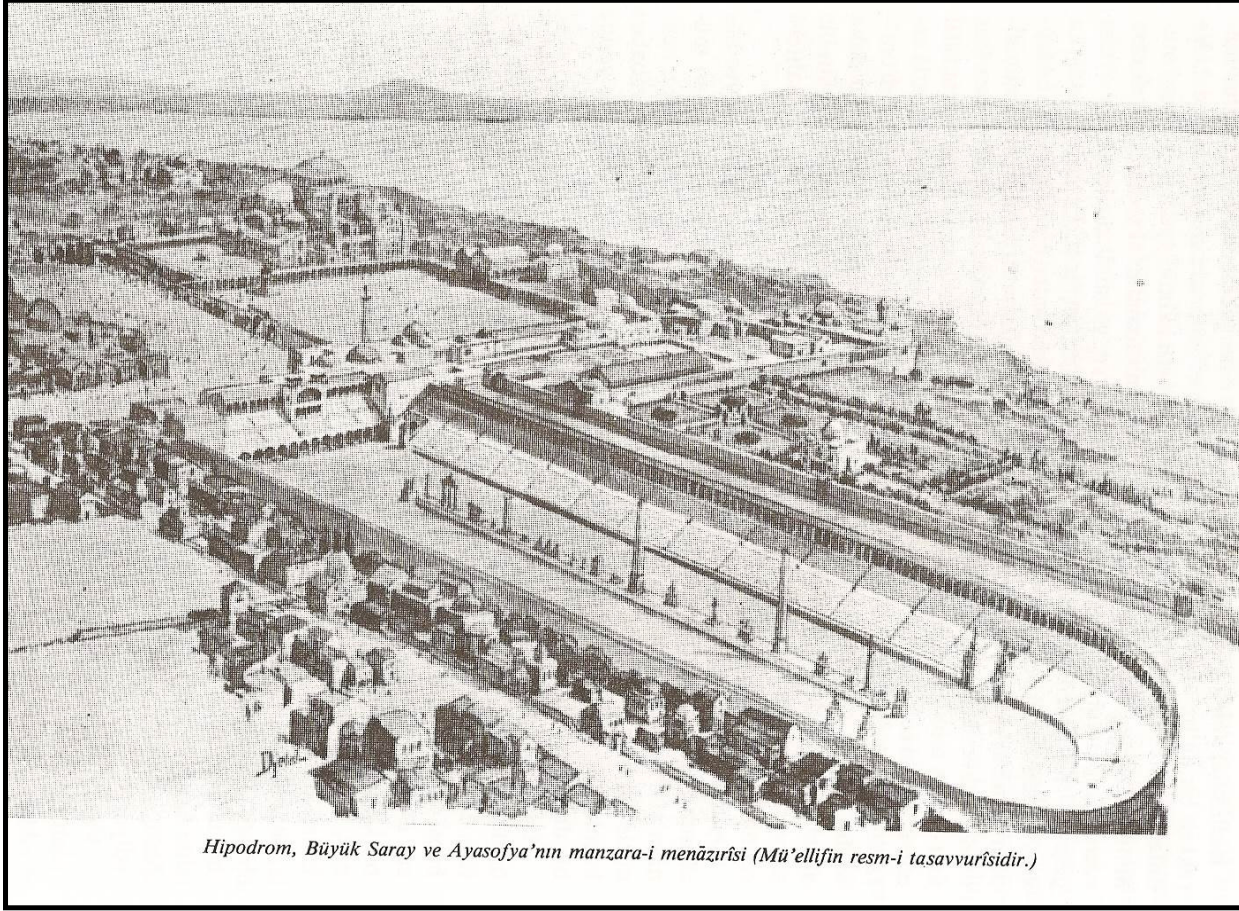


Figure 52 Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, (ed. Dilek Yelkenci, 1989), appendix. “İstanbul’un Bizans Zamanındaki Sokakları ve Mebanisini Gösterir Plan”.



**Figure 53** Celal Esad Arseven, “Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı Münasebetiyle: İstanbul’da Bizans Sarayları”, *Hayat*, Vol. 1/24, (1927).

**Figure 54** Celal Esad Arseven, “Sultanahmed Meydanı Hafriyatı Münasebetiyle: İstanbul’da Bizans Sarayları”, *Hayat*, Vol. 1/24, (1927). “Hafriyata Daha Yakından Bir Nazar”



*Hipodrom, Büyük Saray ve Ayasofya'nın manzara-i menâzırısı (Mü'ellifin resm-i tasavvurısidir.)*

**Figure 55** Celal Esad, *Eski İstanbul*, (ed. Dilek Yelkenci, 1989), page 172. "Hipodrom, Büyük Saray ve Ayasofya'nın manzara-i menazırısı (Mü'ellifin resm-i tasavvurısidir)."

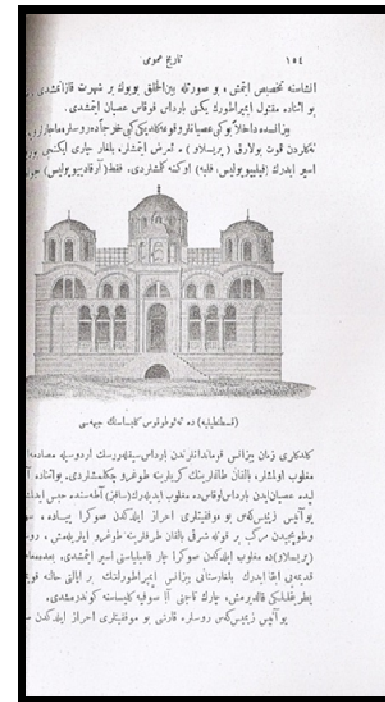
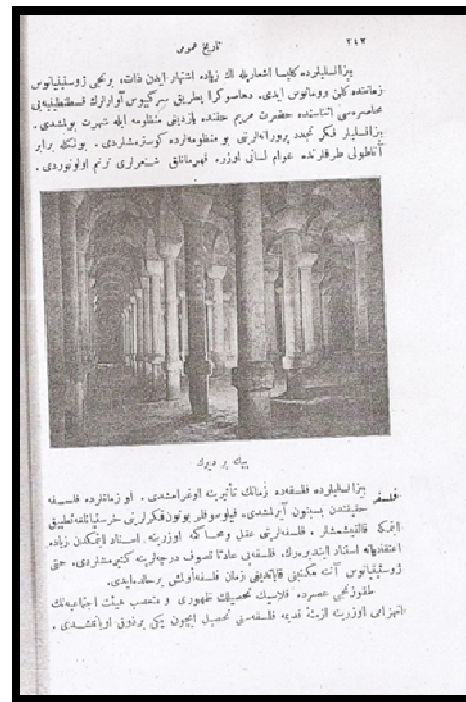


Figure 56 (left): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 240. “Bir köşe parçası, onüçüncü asır, müzeyi humayundadır”.

Figure 57 (middle): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 242. “Binbir Direk”.

Figure 58 (right): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 104. “Konstantiniye’de Teotokos Kilisesi’nin Cephesi”.



Figure 59 (left): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 161. “Kürsü Parçası (Selanik’te bulunmuştur) (Müze-i Hümayundur)”.

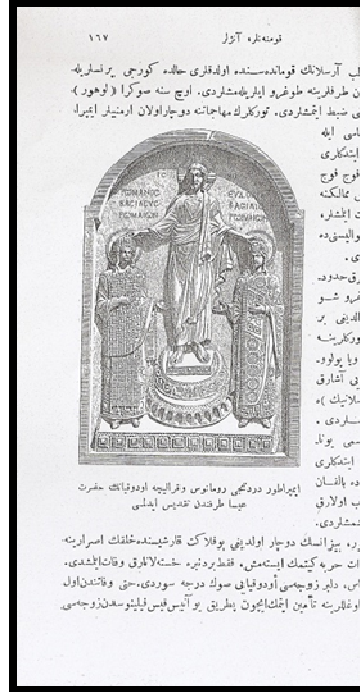


Figure 60 (middle): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 167. “İmparator Dördüncü Romanos ve Kraliçe Ödöka’nın Hazreti İsa Tarafından Takdis Edilmesi”.



Figure 61 (right): Ahmet Refik, *Umumi Tarih*, 1929, page. 367. “Bizans tarzında sütün başlıkları”.

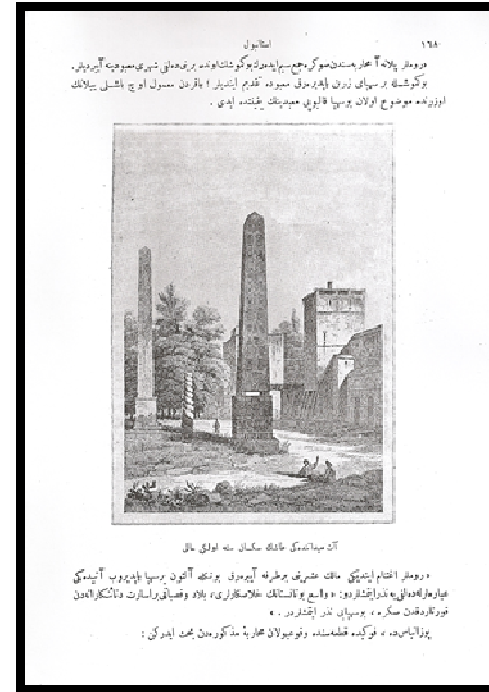
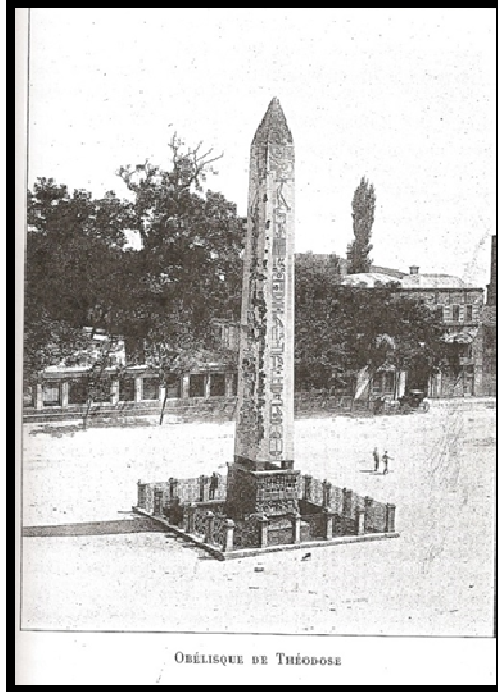


Figure 62 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 20, “Obelisque de Theodosius”.

Figure 63 (middle): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 108. “Teodozyus Sütunu”.

Figure 64 (right): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.2, page 168. “At Meydanı’ndaki Taşın Seksen Sene Evvelki Hali”.





Figure 65 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 7. “Sainte-Sophie-Vue générale prise du côté de L’Hippodrome”.



Figure 66 (right): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol. 4, page 116. “Ayasofya Camisi”.



Figure 67 (left): M. Ernest Lavisse, *Album Historique*, 1896, page 40.

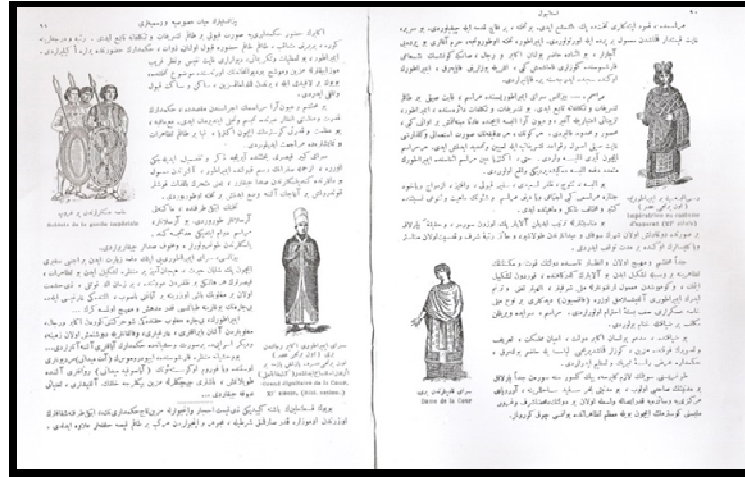


Figure 68 (middle): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.2, page 90-91.



Figure 69 (right): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 102. “Bizanslılar’ın Anadolu Askeri”.

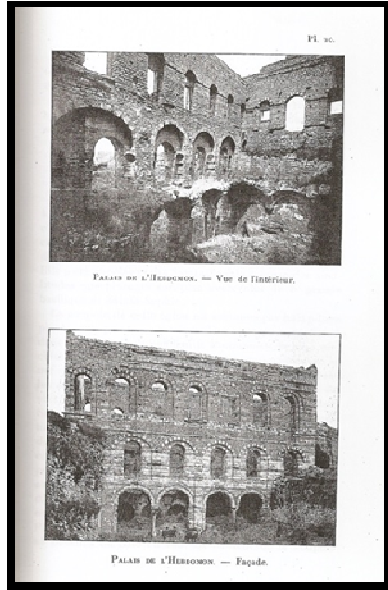


Figure 70 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 20. “Hebdomon Palace”.



Figure 71 (middle): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 145. “Hebdomon (Tekfur) Sarayı”



Figure 72 (right): Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.2, page 110-111. “Tekfur Sarayı: dâhili kısmı ve şimal cephesi”.

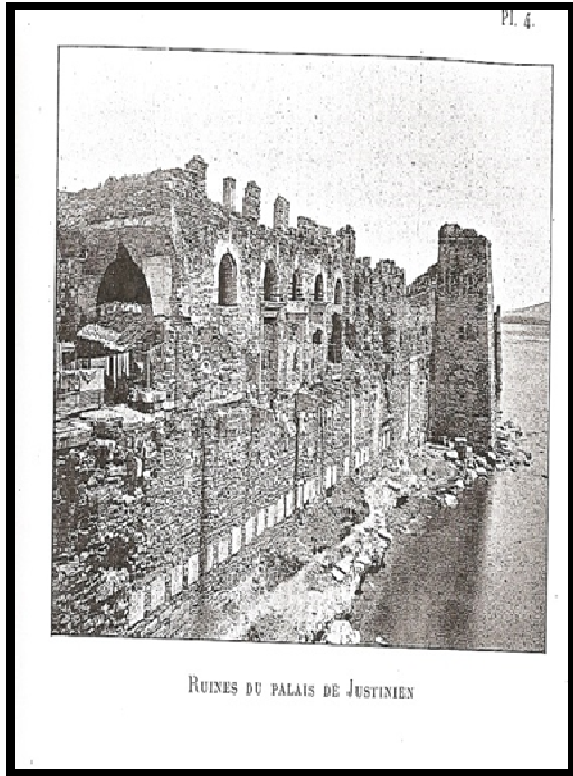


Figure 73 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 4. “Ruines du Palais de Justinien”,



Figure 74 (middle): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 9. “Konstantiniye’de Jüstinyanus Sarayı”

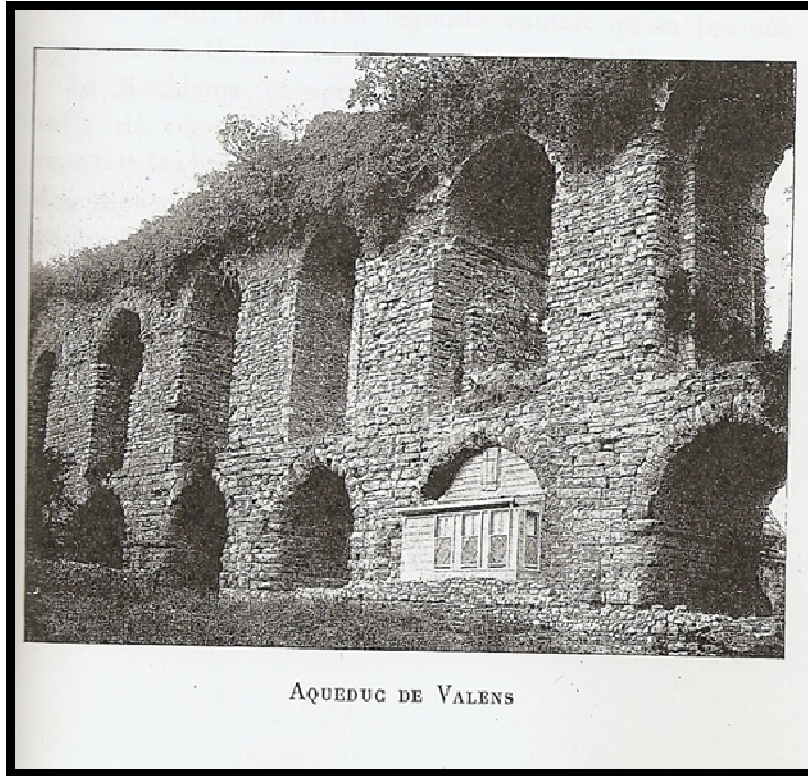
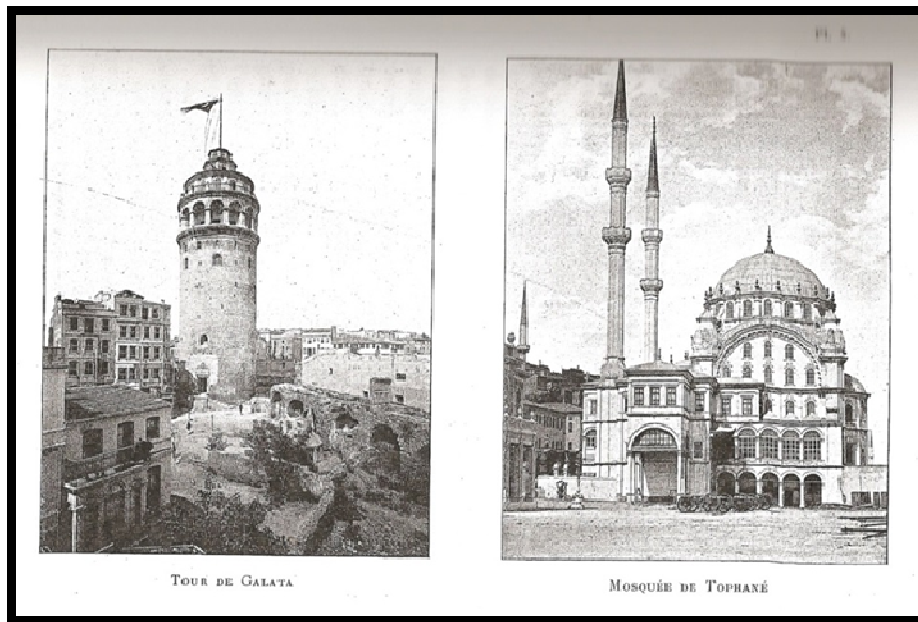
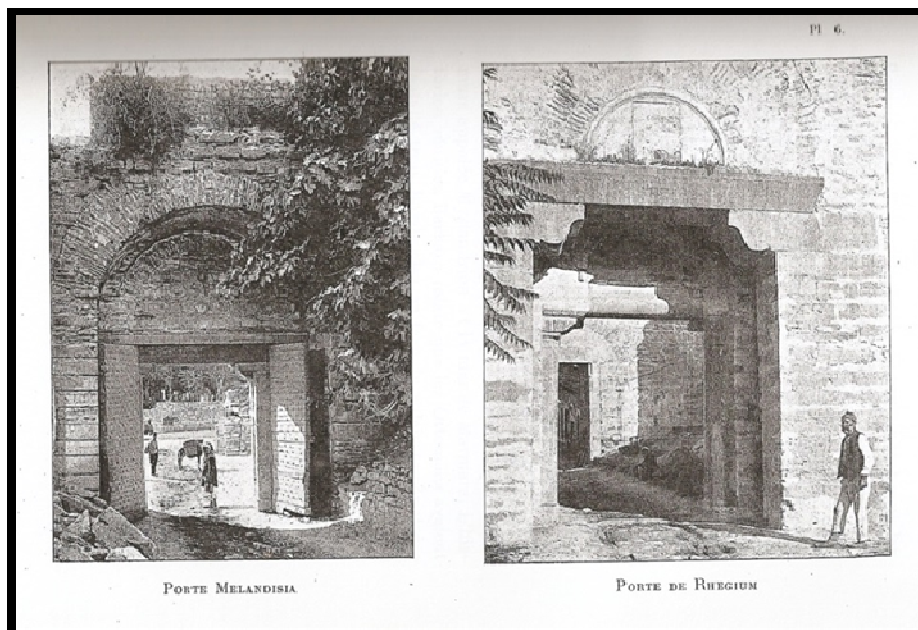


Figure 75 (left): Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 4. “Aqueduc de Valens”,

Figure 76 (left): Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.4, page 136. “Valens Su Kemerı”.



**Figure 77** Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 5.  
 “Tour de Galata”, “Mosquée de Tophané”.



**Figure 78** Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 6.  
 “Porte Melandisia”, “Porte de Rhegium”

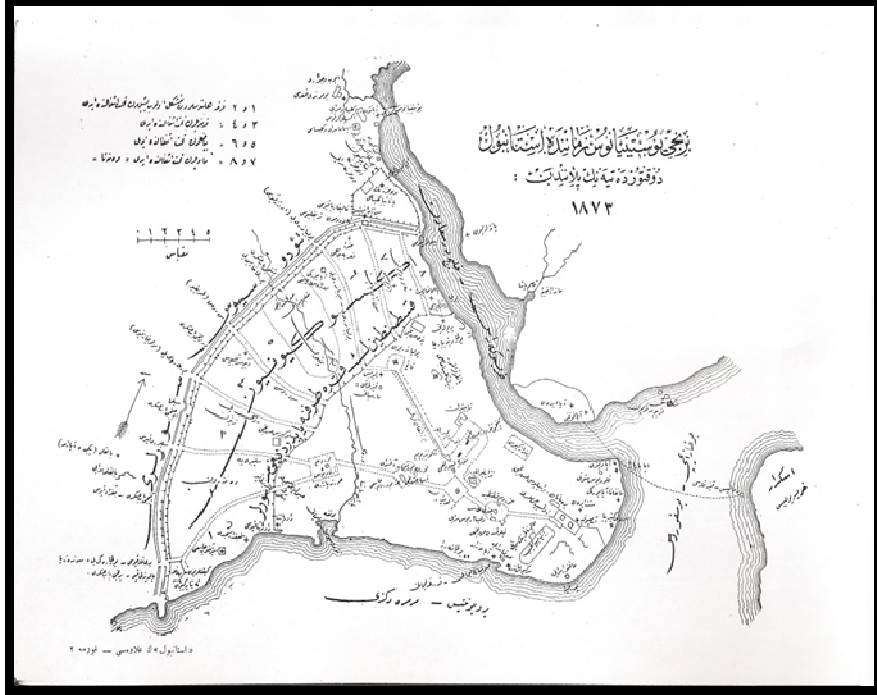


Figure 79 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, and Vol. 2, n.p. “Birinci Justinianus Zamanı İstanbul, Doktor Dethiye’ nin Planından, 1873”.

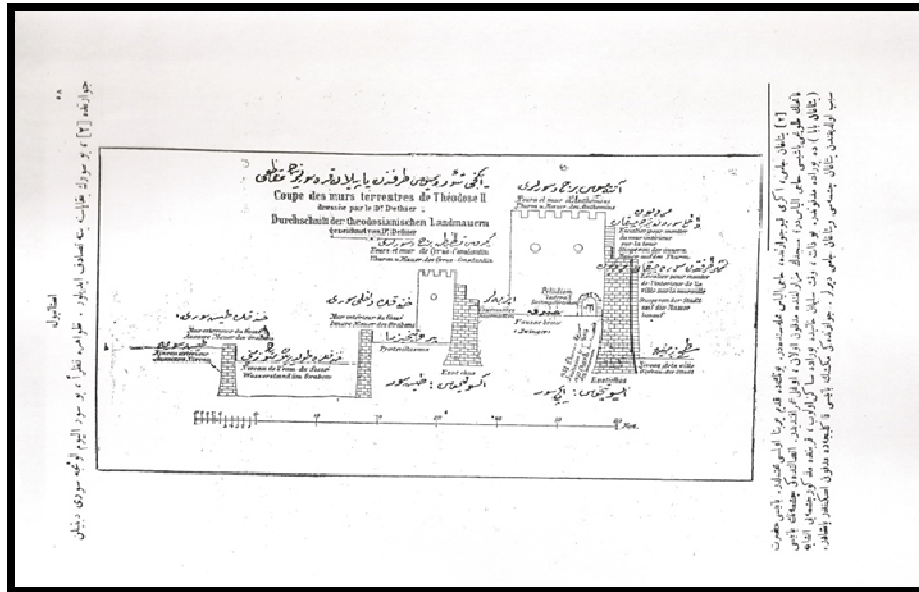


Figure 80 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 58.

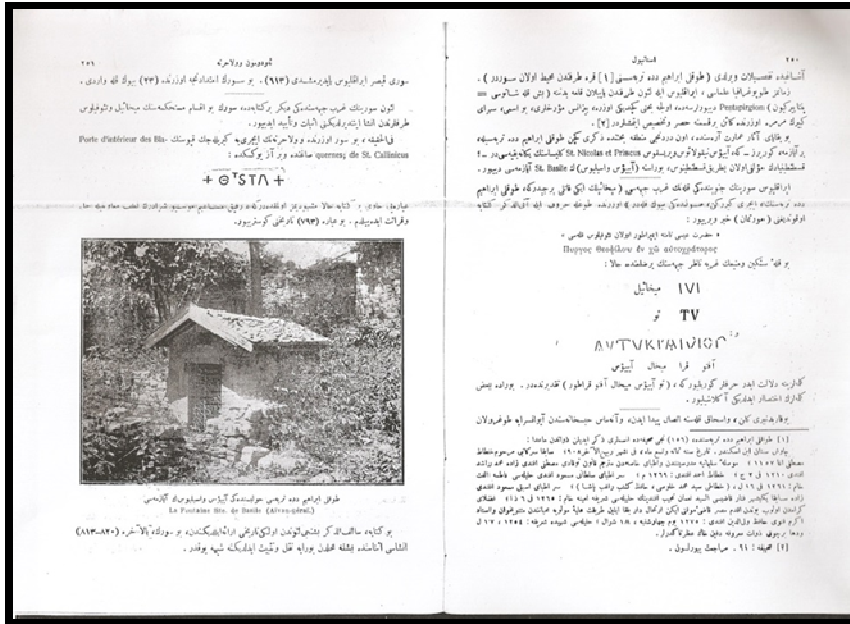


Figure 81 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 250-251. “Toklu İbrahim Dede Türbesi Avlusundaki Ayios Vasiliyus’un Ayvasması, La Fontaine Ste. De Basile (Aivan serai)”

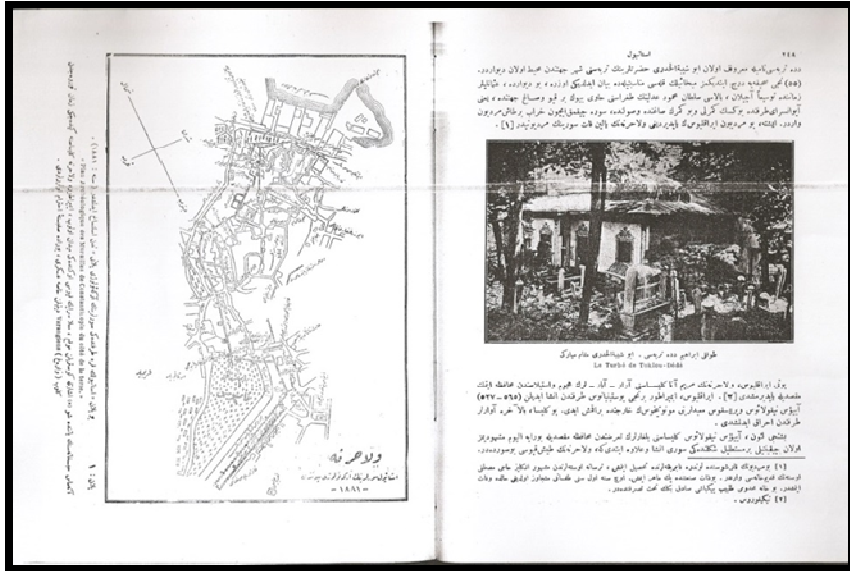


Figure 82 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 248-249. (left): “Vlaherna Sarayı, (Bu plan “İstanbul’un Kara Tarafındaki Surlarının Arkeoloji Planı’ndan istinsah edilmiştir. (sene:1881)”; (right): “Toklu İbrahim Dede Türbesi. Ebu Şeybetü’l-Hudri’nin Mübarek Makamı”.





Figure 83 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 228-229. (left): “Tekfur Sarayı Surları, Les murs de Palais de Porphirogénète”, (right): “Tekfur Sarayı, Palais de Porphirogénète”.

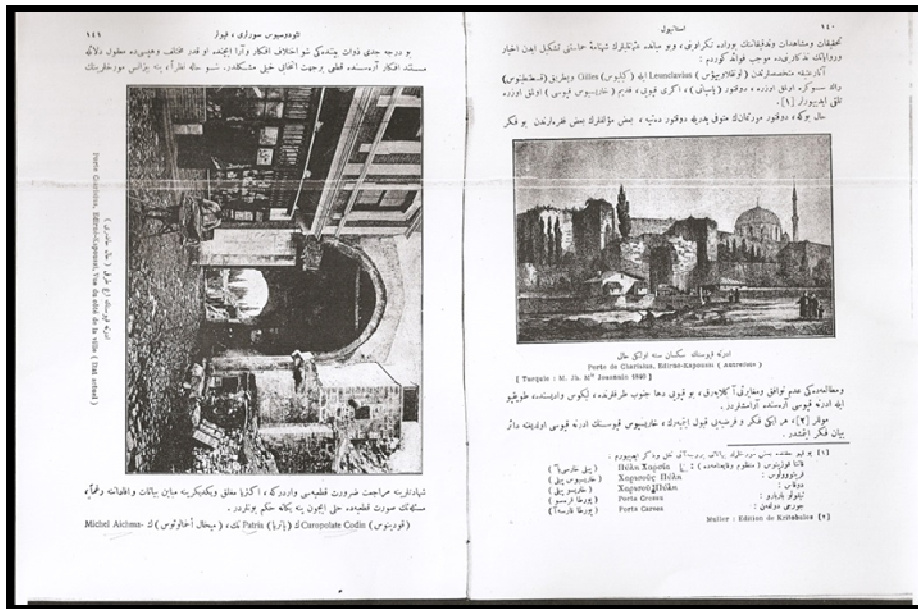
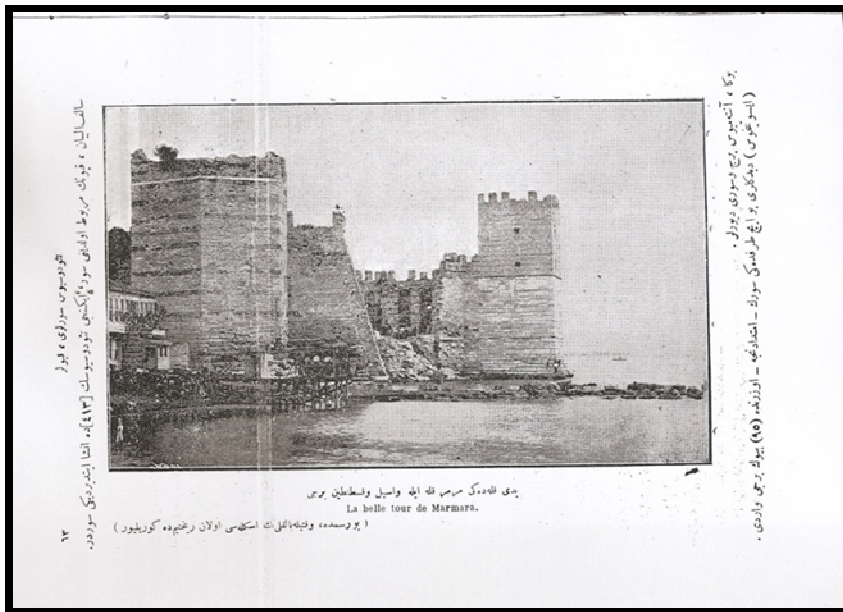


Figure 84 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 140-141. (left): “Edirne Kapı’nın iç tarafı, hal-i hazır”, (right): “Edirne Kapısı’nın Seksen Sene Evvelki Hali, (after Jouamin 1840)”.



**Figure 85** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 76-77. (left): “Küçük Yıldızlı Kapı (Petite Porte Dorée), (right): “Yedi Kule’deki Yıldızlı Kapı’nın Fatih Asrındaki Şekli (Porte Dorée)”.



**Figure 86** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol. 1, page 63. “Yedikule’deki Mermer Kule ile Vasil ve Konstantin Burcu, La belle tour de Marmara (Bu resimde, vaktiyle Balıklı’nın iskelesi olan rıhtım da görünüyör)”.



Figure 87 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 94. “Silivri Kapısı (dış tarafı), Porte de Pygie, Porte de Sylivri (vue de dehors)”.

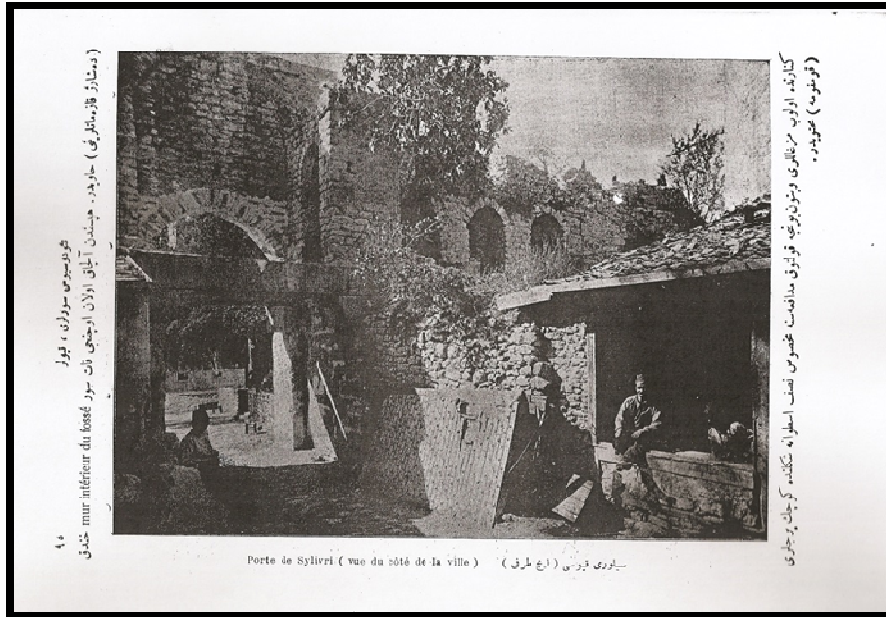


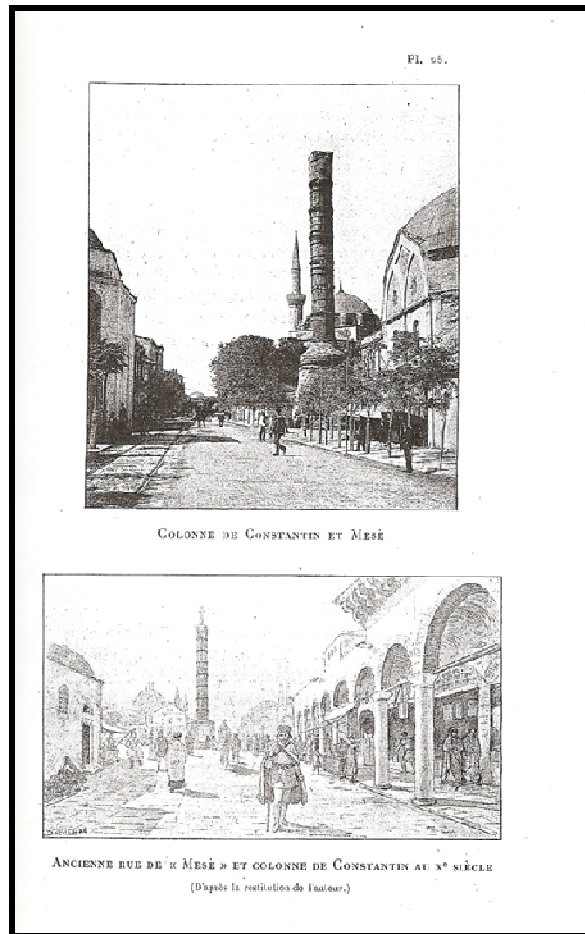
Figure 88 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 95. “Silivri Kapısı (iç tarafı), Porte de Sylivri (vue du côté de la ville)”.



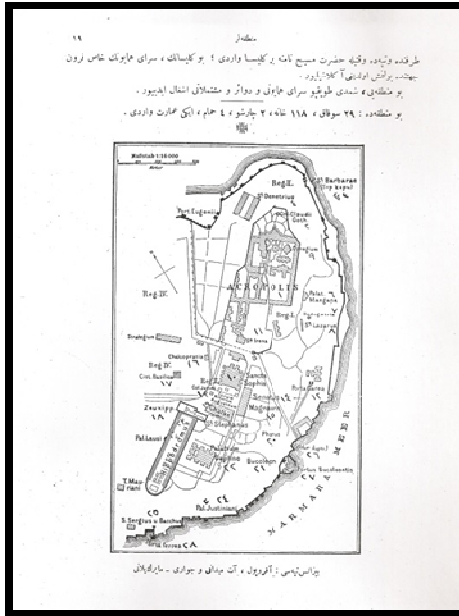
Figure 89 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 91. “İkinci bab-ı askeri: Belgrad Kapısı (eski hali), Porte Militaire Deutera. 2. Porte de Belgrade”.



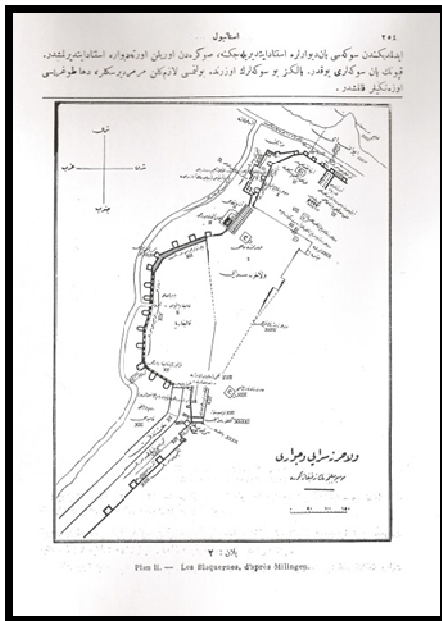
Figure 90 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 91. “İkinci bab-ı askeri: Belgrad Kapısı (eski hali), Porte Militaire Deutera. 2. Porte de Belgrade”.



**Figure 91** Celal Esad, *Constantinople*, plate 25. (above): “Colonne de Constantine et Mesé, (below): “Ancienne Rue de “Mese” et Colonne de Constantin Au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle (Daprès la restitution de l’auteur).



**Figure 92** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 19. “Bizans Tepesi: Akropol, At Meydanı ve Civarı- Meyer’in Planı”.



**Figure 93** Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, Vol.1, page 254. “Vlaharne Sarayı Civarı, Millingenin Planından, Les Blaquernes, d’après Millingen”.



Figure 94 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Türk Medeniyetleri'nin Eserleri*, 1937, page 9.

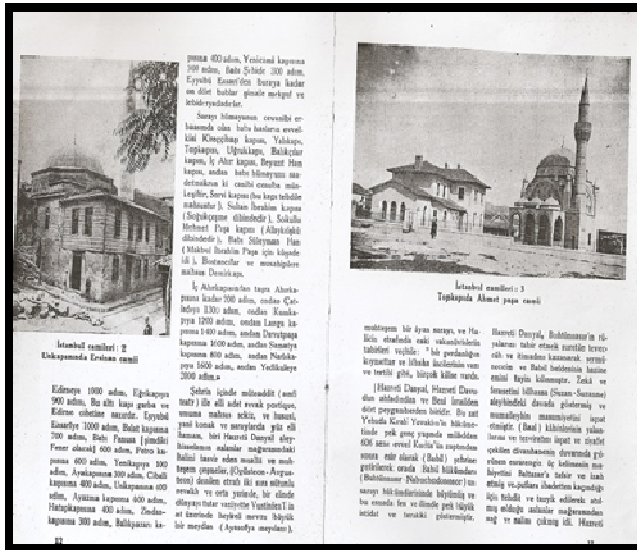
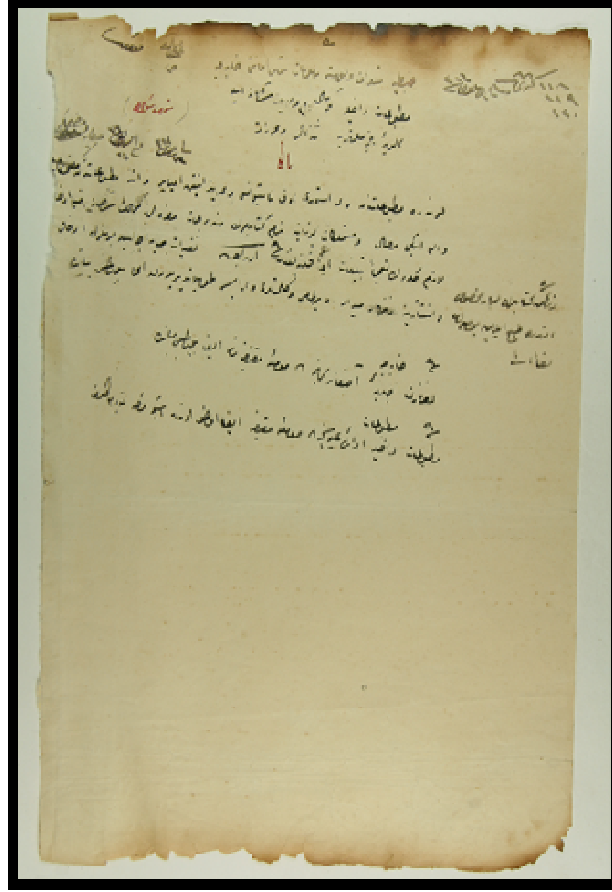


Figure 95 Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Türk Medeniyetleri'nin Eserleri*, 1937, page 12-13.

**APPENDIX B**

**ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS**





1. BOA. DH.MKT. 2425

fi 24 Eylül sene 316

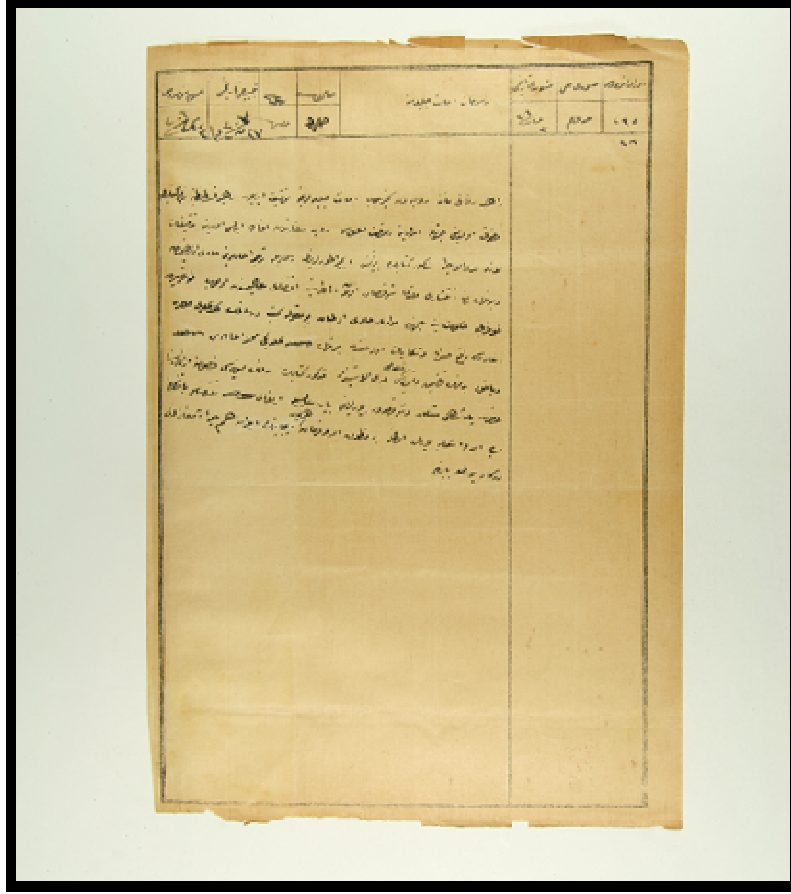
Zaptiye Telgraf ve Posta, Mühimmât, Şehremaneti, Hâriciye,

Matbûâât, Dâhiliye ve Saâdetim, Vilâyât-ı Şâhâne ile

Elviye-i Gayr-i Mülğaya Tezâkir ve Muharrerât

Fî 13 Receb sene ve fi Teşrîn-i evvel sene 24

Londra matbûââtından *Dı İstori of Naşyonis ve Dı Bizantin Empayır* ve Atina matbûââtından *Hikâye-i Müzhike* ve *Elli İki Masâl ve Müstemlekât-ı Yunaniyye* nâm kitâbların mündericât-ı mazarratlarına mebnî Memâlik-i Şâhâneye men-i idhâlî lâzım gelerek taâmîmen teblîgat icrâ ve mezkûr kitâbların lisân-ı mahsûs üzere tabâ edilen pusuladan leffen isrâ kılındığından Hâriciye Nezâret-i Celîle-i Âsefânelerinden muâmele-i mukteziyyenin îfâ bildirilmesi bâbında oraca da takayyüdât-ı cedîd icrâsıyla bunların bunların idhâl ve intişârına meydân verilmemesi gelişmeleri ve var ise dolandırılarak iâmâ buyurulması bâbında matbûâât-ı dâhiliye idâre-i alliyeyince îfâ olunmak üzere işbu tezkire tevdi kılındı.

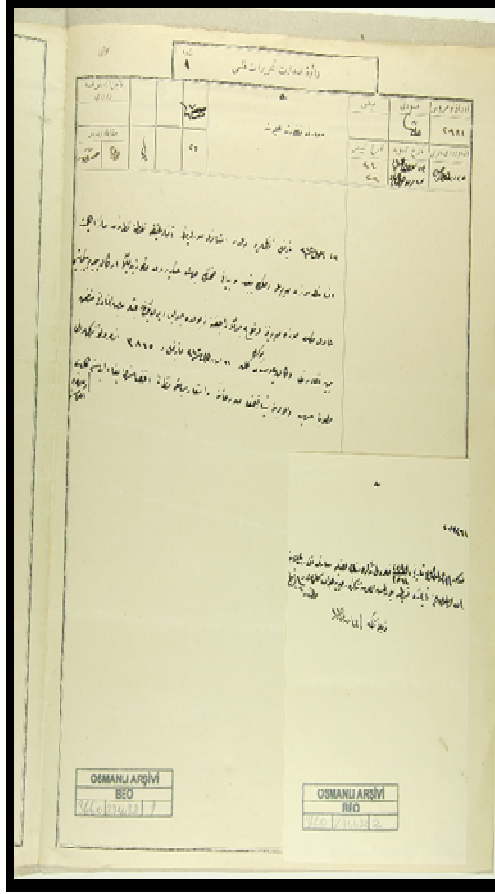


## 2. BOA. DH. MKT. 1724

Rüsûmât Emâret-i Celîlesi□ne

27 N. sene 307 ve 3 Mayıs sene 306

Rahib Rafael nâmına Rusya'dan getirilüb emânet-i celîlelerince tevkîf idilen *Rehber Kostantine* nâm kitâbın mazarratı olmadığı cihetle imrârına ruhsat i□tâsı Rusya Sefâreti'nden ifâde idilmesi üzerine tedkîkât-ı lâzıme lede□l-icrâ mezkûr kitâbın Bizans İmparatorları'nın resimleriyle terceme-i hâllerini hâvî olduğundan ve buların men□-i intişârı mukaddemâ şeref-sâdır olan irâre-i seniyye iktizâ-yı □âlîsinden olub doğrudan doğruya hükümet-i seniyye □aleyhinde mevâddı hâvî olmayan bu makûle kütb ve resâilin geldikleri mahallere i□âdesi dâfi□-i sadâ□ ve şikâyât olacağından bunların geldiği mahalle i□âdesi veyâhud bedelinin tazmîn ve tesviyesi hususu lede□l-istîzân mezkûr kitâbın bedelinin tesviyesi hususuna irâde-i seniyye-i hazret-i pâdişâhî müte□allik ve şeref-sudûr bulunduğu beyân-ı □âlîsiyle ifâ-yı muktezâsı bâ-tezkire-i sâmiyye emr ve iş□âr buyurulmuş olmağla ber-mantûk-ı mer-i fermân-ı hümâyûn icâbının icrâsına himem-i □aliyye-i âsefâneleri dergâr buyurulmak bâbında.



### 3. BOA. BEO. 3660

Dâire-i Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî

Maârif Nezâret-i Âliyyesine

24 Şevvâl sene 327

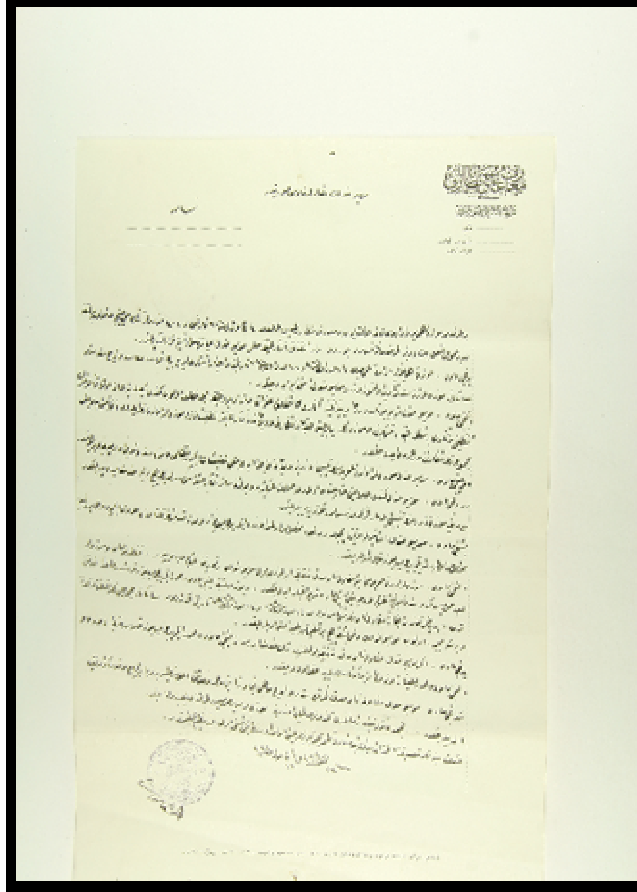
25 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 325

23 Eylül sene 325 târîhli tezkireye zeyldir. İstanbul surlarının âsâr-ı atîka nokta-i nazarından hâiz-i ehemmiyet aksâmının müze müdürleriyle birlikde taâîn ve beyânı zımında cihet-i askeriyeden me'mûr idilen Erkân-ı Harbiye binbâşısı Adil Bey'in müze müdiriyetine vukû bulan mürâcaatına yolda cevap verdiğinden bahsle bazı ifâdâtı mutazammın Harbiye Nezâreti Vekâleti Âliyyesi'nden bu güne gelen 21 Teşrin-i Evvel sene 325 tarihli ve 3865 numaralı tezkire dahi matviyyen savb-ı vâlâlarına tesyâr kılınmak münderecâtına ve işâr-ı sâbika nazaran iktizâsının ifâ ve ebnâsına ebnâsına melfûfen hüccet.

273361

Mezkûr fî 19 Eylül sene 325 tarih ve 2298 numarolu tezkiresinin leffiyile Maârif Nezâret-i Âliyyesi'ne fî 23 Eylül sene-i m. târîhinde tastîr buyurulmuş olan tezkire-i sâmiyye cevâb gelmiştir.

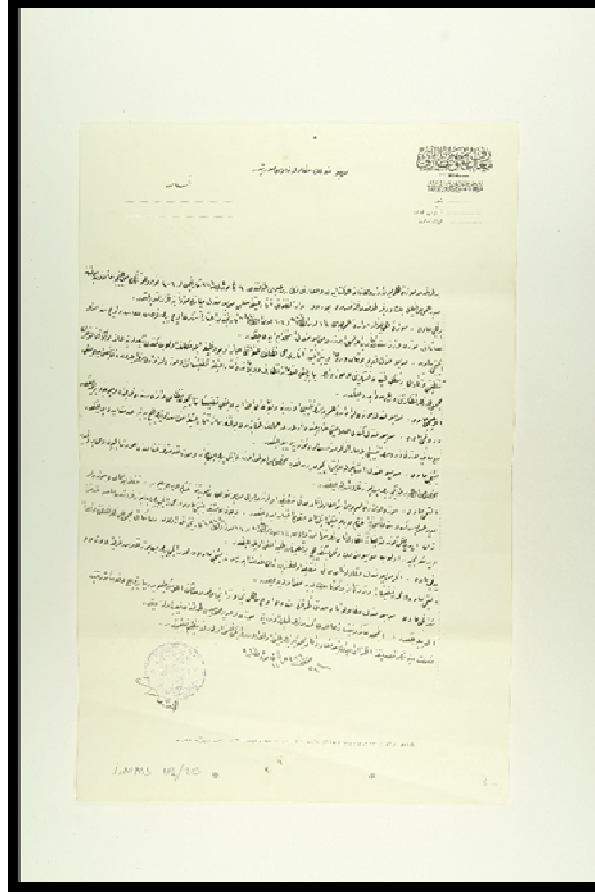
Zeylen tezkire fî 24 Teşrin-i evvel sene 325



#### 4. BOA. İMMS. 172/1

Dâire-i Sadâret Tahrîrât Kalemî  
Maârif Nezâret-i Aliyyesine  
20 Ziâ-ı-hicce 331  
20 Teşrîn-i sâni 329

11 Teşrin-i evvel sene 329 tarihli ve 1191 numaralı tezkire-i aliyyelerine cevabdır. Bizantin, Romen ve Yunan âsârı muhâfızı ünvânıyla Fransa'dan celb olunan Bordu [Bordeaux] Dârü'l-fünûnu muallimlerinden Mösyö Mendel'in 1 Teşrin-i evvel sene 329 tarihinden itibaren şerâ'it-i mukarrere-i sâbika dâiresinde üç mâh müddetle istihdâmı husûsuna meclis-i vükelâ kararıyla bil-istîzân irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı pâdişâhî şeref-südûr buyurularak sûret-i musaddakası o bâbdaki mukâvelenâmenin Divan-ı Hümayun dâiresinden musaddak sûretiyle berâber savb-ı âlîlerine isrâ kılınmağla ifâ-yı muktezâlarına hüccet.



##### 5. BOA. İ.MMS. 172/2

Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti

Mösyö Mendel'in Mukâvelenâmesi Sûretidir.

Bir taraftan müze-i hümâyûn idâresi nâmına hareket eden ve Maârif Nezâret-i Aliyyesi tarafından 4 Kanun-ı sani sene 326 tarihli ve 406 numaralı tezkire mücebince me'zûn bulunan müdir-i umûmî Halil Bey ve diğêr taraftan Fransa'da Bordu [Bordeaux] Dâru'l-fünûnu âsâr-ı âtîka muallimi Mösyö Mendel hayâtında mevâd-ı âtiye kararlaştırıldı.

Birinci mâdde: Müze-i Hümâyûnlar idâre-i umûmiyyesi fî 1 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 326 ve 14 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 1910 târîhinden itibaren şehri üç bin gurûş maâş ve üç sene müddetle maâşâtı müze veznesinden te'diye olunmak üzere Mösyö Mendel'i istihdâm idecektir.

İkinci mâdde: Mösyö Mendel kadîm Yunan ve Roma ve Bizantin âsârı muhâfızlığı ünvanını hâiz ve bu vazife ile mükellef olup kendi şubelerine âid olan katalogların tanzîmi ve âsârın bir şekli-fennîde teihîrini ve müzenin yapacağı hafriyata nezâreti ve vilâyâtda âsâr-ı âtîka tefûşâtını ve müzeler idâresinin ileride te'sîs ideceği mecmûanın nezâretini deruhde idecektir.

Üçüncü mâtde: Mösyö Mendel'e müzeler idâre-i umûmiyyesinin tensîbi üzerine vilâyâtda icrâ ideceği teftîşât için nizâmî dâiresinde harcırâh ve yevmiye virilecektir.

Dördüncü mâtde: Mösyö Mendel kendi salâhiyeti hâricinde olarak memâlik-i Omaniyye'de bulunan sâir âsâr-ı şâfîka mes'elelerinin hiç birine hizmet idemeyecektir. Maâmâfih müze idâresinin tensîbi ile mârru'z-zikr mü'esseselere gönderilebilecektir.

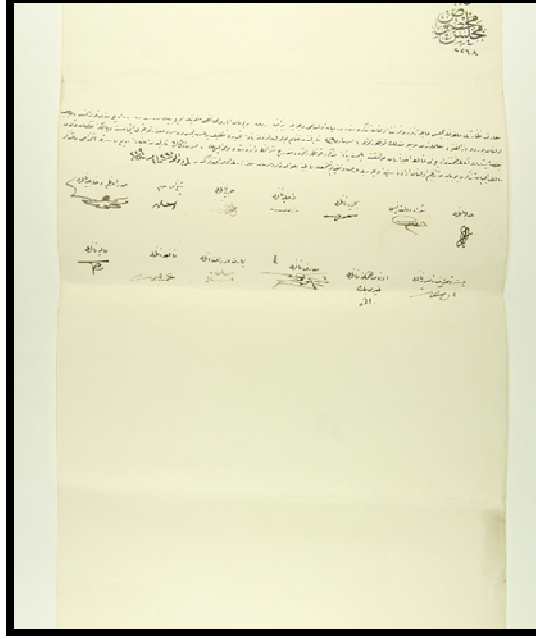
Beşinci mâtde: Mösyö Mendel İstanbul'a şâzîmeti için bir def'aya mahsûs olmak üzere iki bin beş yüz ve müddet-i hizmetinin hitâmında şâvdet için dahi bir def'aya mahsûs olarak iki bin beş yüz gurûş alacaktır.

Altıncı mâtde: müzeler idâre-i umûmiyyesi işbu mukâvelenâme müddeti münkaziyye olmazdan evvel Mösyö Mendel'in me'mûriyetine hitâm virebiliyor. Fakat bu hâlde müzeler müdir-i umûmîsi kendüsüne me'mûriyetine hitâm virileceğini iki mâh mukaddem ihbâr idecektir. Ve bundan başka beşinci mâtde muharrer iki bin beş yüz gurûşdan mââdâ hizmeti hizmeti terk ideceği günden itibaren mukâvelenâmenin muntehâsı olan fî 1 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 329 ve 14 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 1913 târihine kadar olan maâşâtı mecmû'ünün nısfını def'aten virmeğe mecbûr olub Mösyö Mendel'in dahî başka hiçbir tazmînât talebe hakkı olmayacaktır.

Yedinci mâtde: Eğer Mösyö Mendel mukâvelenâme müddeti münkaziyye olmaksızın terk-i hizmet iderse ne beşinci mâtde muharrer iki bin beş yüz gurûş harcırâh ve ne de altıncı mâtde muharrer tazmînâta ve ne de sâir bir gûnâ mutâlebeye hakkı olamayacaktır.

Sekizinci mâtde: Mösyö Mendel mukâvelenâme müddeti zarfında senede üç mâhı tecâvüz itmemek ve maâşını almak şartıyla bir veya birkaç def'a me'zûniyet alabilecektir. Ancak me'zûniyet zamanları kendüsünün talebi üzerine müzeler müdir-i umûmîsi tarafından ta'yîn olunacaktır. Hükûmet-i seniyyenin tasdîkine iktirân iden işbu mukâvelenâme yekdiğerinin şâynı olmak üzere iki nüsha olarak tanzîm kılınmıştır.

Fî 23 Muharrem sene 329 ve fî 11 Kânûn-ı sâni sene 326



## 6. BOA. İ.MMS. 172/3

Bâb-ı Âlî Meclis-i Mahsûs

Maârif Nezâreti'nin melfûfuyla meclis-i âcizânemizde kırâ'at olunan tezkiresinde dermeyân olındığı vech ile Bizantin Roman ve Yunan âsârı muhâfızî ünvânıyla üç bin gurûş maâş ve üç sene müddetle Fransa'dan celb olunan Bordu [Bordeaux] Dârü'l-fünûn'u muallimlerinden Mösyö Mendel'in kontoratosu 1 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 329 târîhinde hitâm bularak lüzûmuba binâ'en tecdîdi teklîf idilmiş ise de serd-i maâzeretle kabul itmemesine ve yalnız noksan kalan bağız işlerin ikmâlî zımnında üç ay kalmağla âhiren beyân-ı muvâfakat eylemesine binâ'en mezkûr kontoratoda münderice şerâ'it dâ'iresinde mûmâ-ileyhin 1 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 329 târîhinden itibaren üç mâh müddetle istihdâmı bi't-tezekkür sâlifü'l-beyân tezkire bu bâbda tanzîm olunan irâde-i seniyye lâyhasıyla arz u takdîm kılınmağla kâtibeten ahvâlde emr u fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir. Fî 17 Zîl-hicce sene 331 fî 4 Teşrîn-i sâni sene 329

Adliye Nâzırı (imza)

Şûrâ-yı Devlet Re'isi (imza)

Bahriye Nâzırı (imza)

Dâhiliye Nâzırı (imza)

Harbiye Nâzırı (imza)

Şeyhü'l-islâm (imza)

Sadr-ı Âzâm (imza)

Posta ve Telgraf ve Telefon Nâzırı (imza)

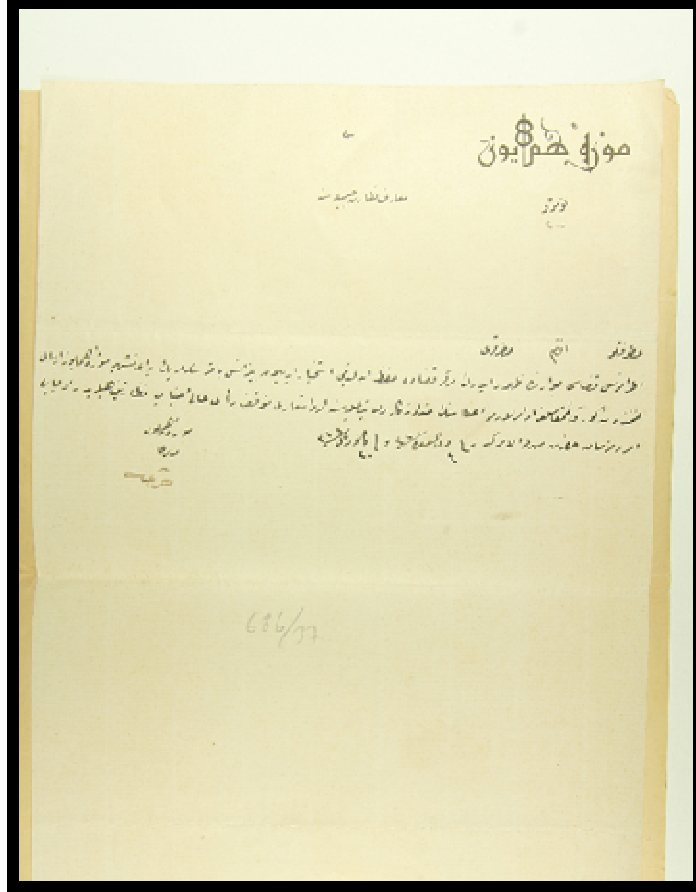
Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nâzırı bulunamadı

Maârif Nâzırı (imza)

Ticâret ve Ziraât Nâzırı (imza)

Nâfi'a Nâzırı

Mâliye Nâzırı



7. BOA. MF. MKT. 686

Müze-i Hümayûn

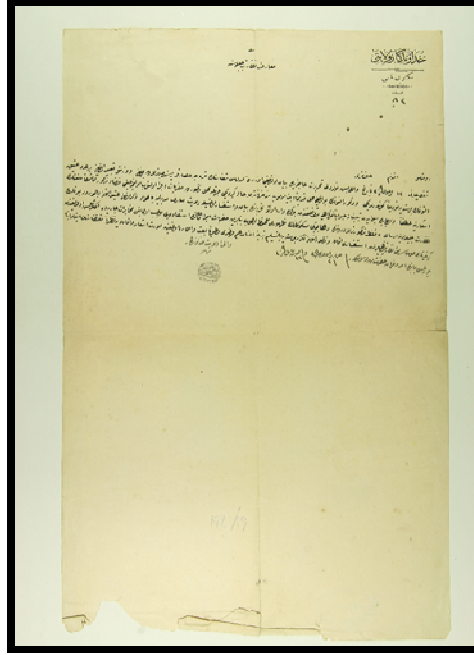
Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Atûfettü efendim hazretleri

Atranos Kazâsı civârında zuhûr iderek merkez kazâda hıfz idildiği istihbâr idilen Bizans bakır sikkelerinin bir ay teşhîr-i müze-i hümayûna irsâli zımnında mezkûr kâ'immakâmlığa evâmîr-i lâzime itâsinın Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyet-i Aliyyesi'ne emr u işâri mütevakkıf re'y-i âlî-i cenâb-ı nezâret-penâhîleridir. Ol bâbda emr u fermân hazret-i men-lehü'l-emrindir. Fî 4 Zi'l-ka'de sene 320 fî 20 Kânûn-ı sâni sene 318

Müze-i Hümayûn Müdürü



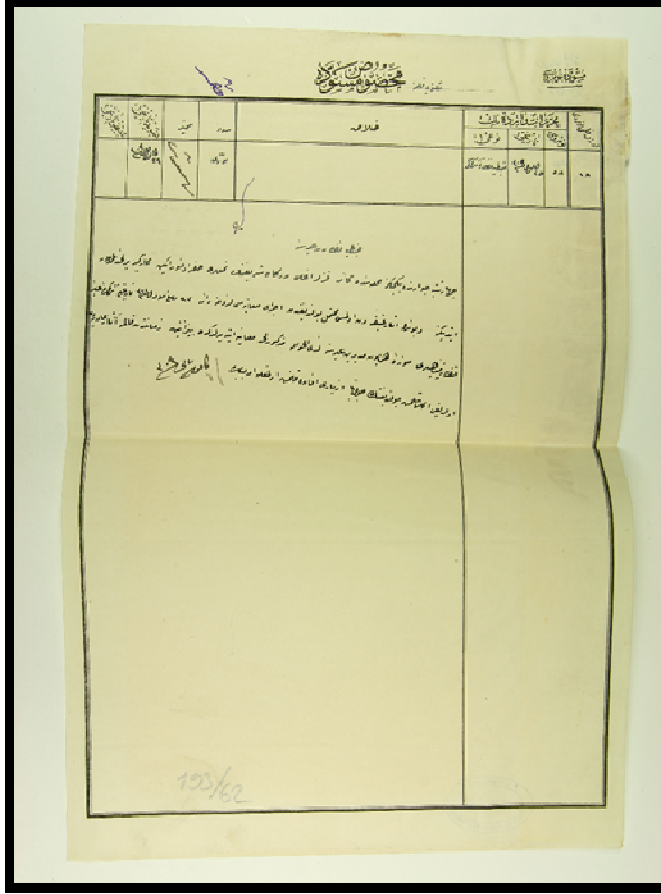


## 8. BOA. MF. MKT. 192

Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti  
Mektûbî Kalemi 82  
Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine  
Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri

Tafsîlâtı 12 Eylül 309 târîh ve elli beş numarolu tahrîrât-ı âcizîde beyân olunduğı üzere Gedüs [Gediz] Kazâsı'nın Karacahisar Karyesi'nde bir tarlada bulunan ve Vezentu (v.z.n.t.o/u/v) taâbîr olunan bir âaded âatîk altunun postaya tevdîân gönderildiğı ve mezkûr altunun bulunduğı mahal kadîmen ebniye olub mu'ahheren tarla hâline girdiğı cihetle mahal-i mezkûrda hafriyât icrâ olunub olunmayacağı kazâ-i mezkûr kâ'immakâmlığının işârina âatfen ve ol bâbda sebk iden teblîgâta cevâben Kütahiyye Mutasarrıfılığı'ndan bu kere vârid olan tahrîrâtıda beyân ve istifsâr olunmasıyla vilâyet maârif müdüriyetine biâl-havâle zikr olunan âatîk altun biâl-vürûd bunun Nezâret-i Celîlelerine irsâli ve fakat mezkûr tarla derûnunda daha bu gibi meskûkâtın zuhûru melhûz olub benâberin hafriyât icrâsı hâlinde istifâdeyi mûcib olacağı muhâberât-ı câriyeden anlaşılması olduğundan keyfiyetin savb-ı sâmi-i nezâret-penâhîlerinden istifsârı ifâde ve mezkûr altun tekrâr postaya biât-teslîm tebdîlen alınan âilm u haberi matviyyen baâis ve idâre olmağın sûret-i işâr ve ifâdeye nazaran muktezâsının ifâ ve ebna buyurulması bâbında emr u fermân hazret-i men-lehüâ-emrindir. Fî 26 Cemâziyeâ-âhir sene 311 ve fî 23 Teşrîn-i sâni sene 309.

Vâli-i Vilâyet-i Hüdâvendigâr



### 9. BOA. MF. MKT. 193

Mektûbî Kalemine Mahsûs Müsvedde

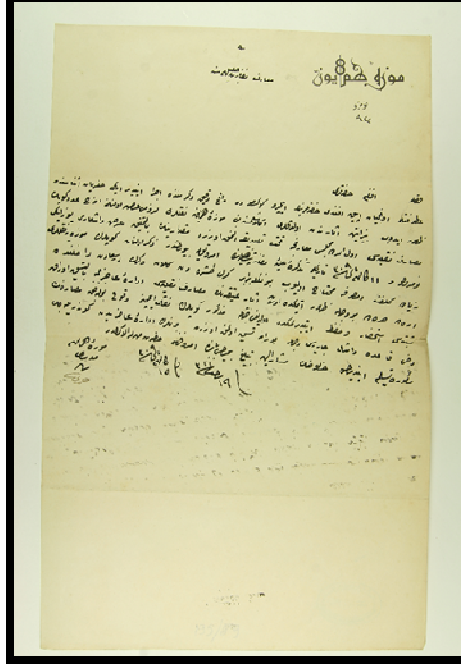
Hülâsa

25 Eylûl sene 309

Zabtiye Nezâret-i □Aliyyesi□ne

Çarşamba civârında Beğçeğiz Mahallesi□nde kâ'in Kızlar Ağası dergâh-ı şerîfinin temelleri hafır olunur iken kargîr bir lahd zuhûr itdiğine ve bunun âsâr-ı □atîkadan olması muhtemel bulunduğundan icrâ-yı mu□âyenesi lüzûmuna dâ'ir 27 Rebî□u□l-evvel sene 311 târîhli tezkire-i □aliyye-i nezâret-penâhîleri müze-i hümâyûn müdüriyet-i □aliyyesine lede□l-havâle mezkûr lahd mu□âyene itdirildikde Bayzantin zamânından kalma âsâr-ı □âdiyyeden olduđu anlaşılımış bulunduğundan cevâben izbârı ifâde kılınmış olmağla ol bâbda.

Fî 6 Kânûn-ı sâni sene 309



## 10. BOA. MF. MKT. 195

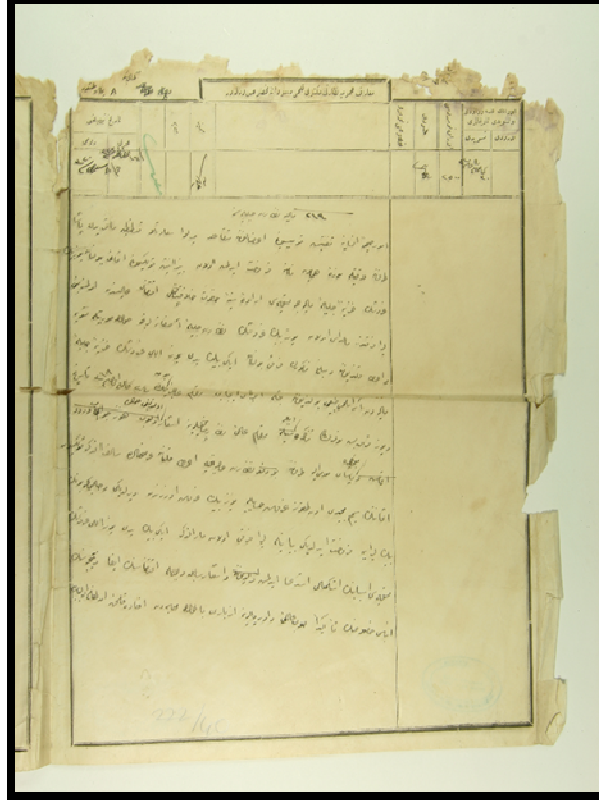
Müze-i Hümayûn

Ma'ârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri

□Atûfetlü Uncuyan İpek Efendi hazretlerinin içeri Göksuda vâkî□ değirmeninden icrâ itirdiği hafriyât esnâsında zuhûr idüb Bayzantin âsârından oldukları anlaşılmasına mebnî müze-i hümayûna nakilleri lüzûmu □arz olunan üç □aded küpün mesârif-i nakliyesi evvel-emirde meclis-i ma'ârifce taht-ı tasdîke alınmak üzere mikdârının bi□t-tahkîk □arz ve iş□ârı yüz iki numerolu ve 11 Kânûn-ı sâni sene 309 târîhli tezkire-i □aliyye-i nezâret-penâhîlerinde emr u tevliyet buyurulmuşdur. Zikr olunan küplerin müzeye nakilleri ziyâde külfet masrafa muhtâc olmayub bu nakille berâber gerek taşradan gelen ve gerek Der-Sa□âdet dâhilinden arada sırada bu vechle zuhûr itmekte olan âsâr-ı □atîkanın mesârif-i nakliyesi idâre-i □âcizimce bi□t-tesviye evrâk-ı müsbetesi istihzâr ve hıfz itdirilmekte olduğu cihetle mezkûr küplerin nakli için vukû□ bulacak mesârifin dahî fâ□ide ve emsâl-i câriyesi vechle buraca tesviye olunmak üzere bunların idâre-i □âciziden gönderilecek me'mûra teslîm itdirilmesi husûsunun muşârun-ileyhe teblîğ buyurulması bâbında emr u fermân hazret-i men-lehü□l-emrindir. Fî 19 Receb sene 311 ve fî 15 Kânûn-ı sâni sene 309

Müze-i Hümayûn Müdürü



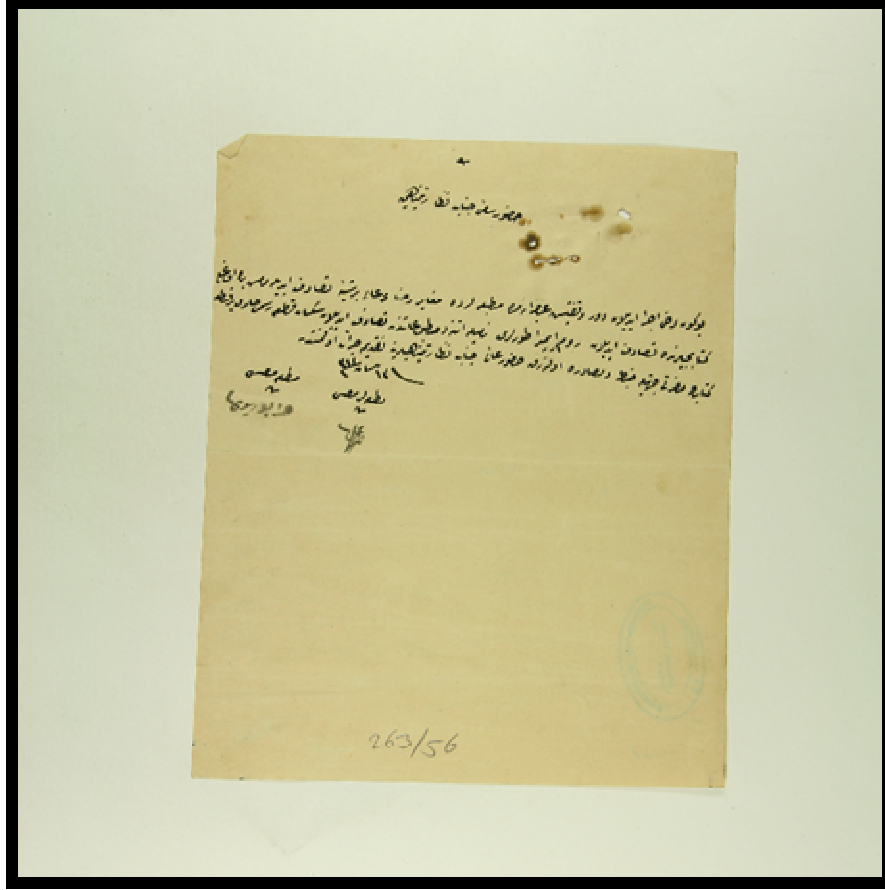
### 11. BOA. MF. MKT. 222

Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti Mektûbî Kalemî Müsevvidânına Mahsûs Varakadır

219

Mâliye Nezâret-i Celîlesi'ne

Umûr-ı Sıhhiye-i İnsâniyye teftîş komisyonu a'zâlığında mütekâ'îd mîrlivâ saâdetlü Kostantin Makridî Paşa tarafından vaktiyle müze-i hümâyûn nâmına fûrûht idilmiş olan Bizantin koloksiyonu esmânı bulunan yüz bin guruşun hazîne-i celîle-i mâliyece tesviyesi irâde-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilâfet-penâhî iktizâ-i 'âlisinden olmasına mebnî lira farkından mâ'adâsı olan yüz bin gurûşun nezâret-i celîle-i âsefânelerince havâle sûretiyle tesviye ve i'tâ kılındığına ve meblağ-ı mezkûrun farkı bulunan iki bin yedi yüz elli guruşun hazîne-i celîle-i mâliyeden aranılması tabî'î bulunduğundan bahsle icrâ-yı îcâbı makâm-ı 'âcizîden 24 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 318 târîh ve yüz kırk beş numarolu tezkire ile makâm-ı 'âlî-i nezâret-penâhîlerine iş'âr olunduğu hâlde bu kere paşâ-yı mûmâ-ileyh tarafına nezâret-i 'âcizîce i'tâ kılınan 'arz-ı hâlde sâlifü'z-zikr koloksiyon esmânının sîm-i mecîdî on dokuz gurûş hesâbıyla yüz bin gurûş üzerinden virildiği ve halbuki bunun bin liraya fûrûht idildiği beyânıyla lire farkı olan mâru'z-zikr iki bin yedi yüz elli gurûşun tesviyesi esbâbının istikmâli istidâ idilmiş ve iş'âr-ı sâbık vechile iktizâsının îfâ ve neticesinin ebnâsı husûsunun te'kîden savb-ı 'âlî-i dâverîlerine izbârı bi'l-havâle muhâsebeden îfâde kılınmış olmağla ol bâbda.



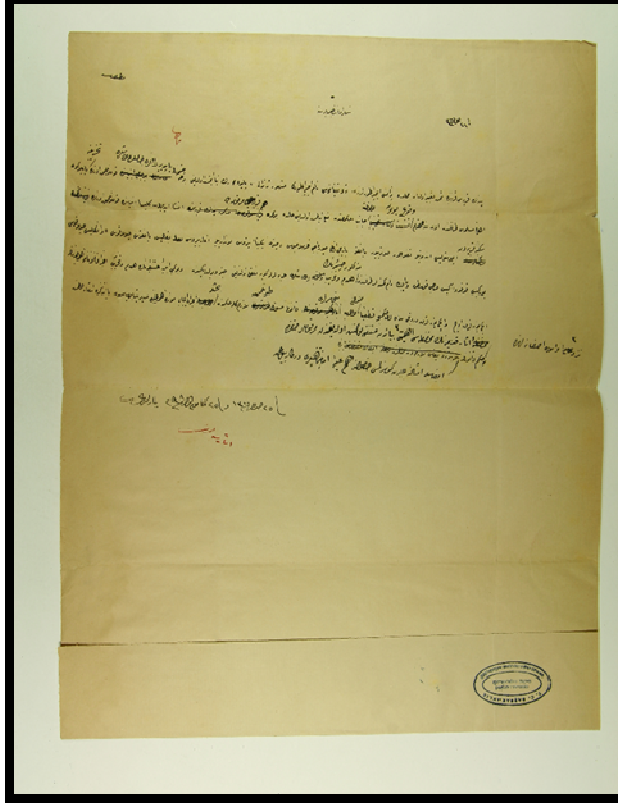
12. BOA. MF. MKT. 263

Huzûr-ı sâmi-i cenâb-ı nezâret-penâhîye

Bugün dahî icrâ idilen devr ve teftîş-i âcîzânemde matbaalarda mugâyir-i rızâ-yı âlî bir şey'e tesâdüf idilememiş Beyoğlu kitabçılarında tesâdüf idilen *Rum İmparatorları* nâmıyla Atina ve matbûâtından tesâdüf idilen seksen kıtâa resmi hâvî bir kıtâa kitâbın mazarratı cihetiyle zabt ve müsâdere olunarak huzûr-ı âlî-i cenâb-ı nezâret-penâhîlerine takdîme cür'et olunmuşdur.

Fî 13 Nisan sene 311

Matbaalar müfettişi



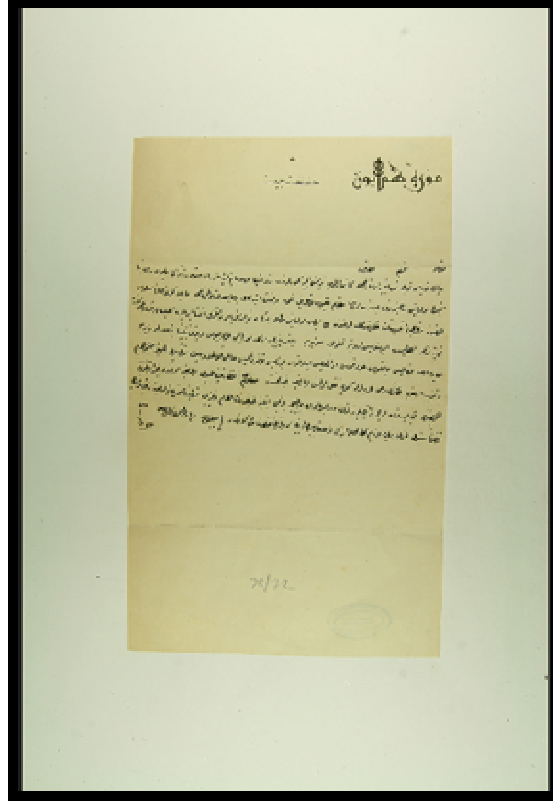
### 13. BOA. MF. MKT. 78/1

Fî 21 S. sene 300

Şehremânet-i Celîlesi□ne

Pendik Karyesi kurbunda Temen ta□bîr olunan mahalde Bizans İmparatorları□ndan Justinyanus nâm imparatorun meşhûr Janralı Pilizerek binâ itmiş olduğu bir çeşmenin yaptırdıkları câmi□de taşlara kullanılmak üzere tahrîne Yaylaköy ahâli-i müslimesi tarafından on sene mukaddem vukû□ bulan teşebbüs olunan cânib-i hükûmetden men□ idilmiş olduğu hâlde karye-i merkûmede inşâ idilen kilise ebniyesinde kullanılmak üzere sekene-i karyeden Apotolis Andonyo Tefedor Yanko Yazıcı oğlu Çorbacı Haralambos Dimitri Nikina Petros Londariyo Anarbiros Bakkalis Yankos Çolakos Evankilis Çolakos Burkis Kokodakis Haçi Kostî ve Pavlo nâm kimesneler tarafından mezkûr çeşmenin hedm ve tahrîb ve taşları arabalarla köye nakl olunduğu haber virildiğinden ve bu gibi ebniye-i □atîkanın hedm ve tahrîbi cezâ kânûnnâme-i hümâyûnunun iki yüz kırk üç ve iki yüz kırk dördüncü maddeleri hükmünce kat□iyyen memnû□ olub mütecâsirleri kânûnen mes'ûl tutulmak lâzım geleceğinden bahsle icrâ-yı îcâbı müze-i hümâyûn müdiriyyet-i behiyyesinden bâ-tezkire iş□âr olunmuş âsâr-ı kadîmenin muhafazası ehemmiyeti nezd-i vâlâ-yı âsefânelerine beyândan mustağnî olunmuş olduğundan merkûmlar hakkında hükm-ı kânûnun îfâsıyla emsâline ibret gösterilmesi husûsuna himem-i □aliyye-i emânet-penâhîleri dergâr buyurulmak

Fî 25 Safer sene 1300 ve fî 25 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 298 yazıldı.



#### 14. BOA. MF. MKT. 78/2

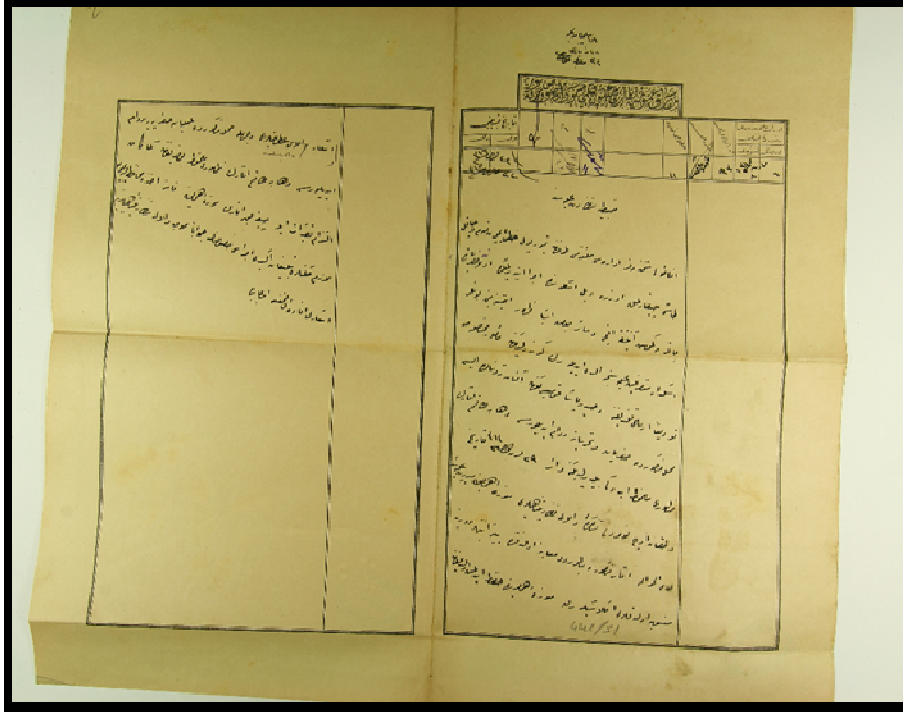
Müze-i Hümâyûn

Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri

Pendik Karyesi kurbunda Temen taâbîr olunan mahalde kâ'in olub Bizans İmparatorlarıñdan Justinyanus nâm imparatorun meşhûr Janralı Pilizerek binâ itmiş olduđu bir çeşmenin bundan on sene mukaddem yıkub taşlarını almak ve inşâ itdikleri câmiîe kullanmak gibi Yayla köyü ahâlî-i müslimesi tarafından vukûb olan teşebbüsât hükûmet-i mahalliye tarafından menâ idilmiş olduđu hâlde bu kere Pendik Karyesi dâhilinde inşâ edilen kilisede kullanmak üzere karye-i mezkûr ahâlisinden Apostolis Andonyo Tofodor Suniribo Banko Pazimisi oğlu Çorbacı Haralambos Dimitri Nikista Petros Londariyo Anabriyos Bakkalis Yankos Çolakos Evangilis Çolakos Yorgis Koforakisi Hacı Kostî ve Pavlo maârifetleriyle işbu çeşme hedm ve tahrîb olunub taşları dahî arabalarla köye nakl olunmuş olduđu haber alınmışdır. Maâlum-ı ahâlî-i nezâret-penâhîleri olduđu üzere haber cezâ kânûnnâme-i hümâyûnunun iki yüz kırk üç ve iki yüz kırk dördüncü maddeleri mücebince bu gibi ebniye-i atîkanın hedm ve tahrîbi katâiyyen memnûn olduğundan mütecâsirlerin kânûnen sù'âl tutulmalarının lazım gelen mahalle irâde ve işâar buyurulması bâbında emr u fermân hazret-i men-lehüñl-emrindir. Fî 18 Safer sene 300 ve fî 18 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 298

Hamdullah

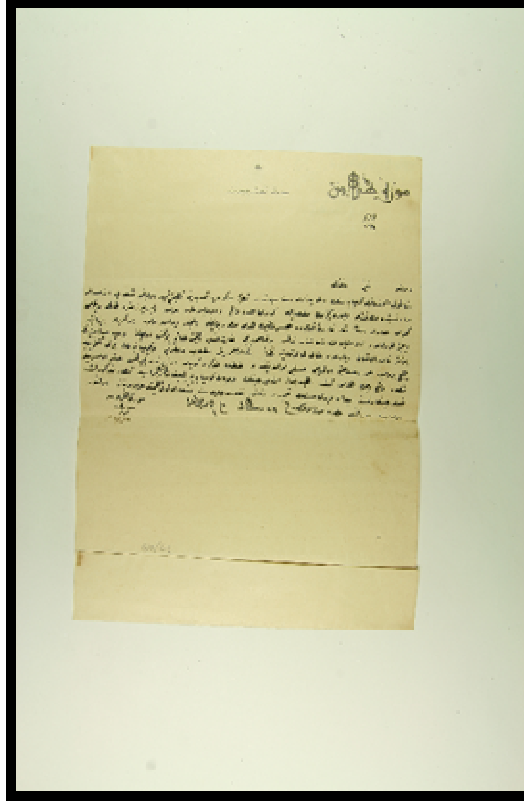


15. BOA. MF. MKT. 441.

Zabtiye Nezâret-i □Aliyyesine

Anadolu şimendifer idâresi mültezimi tarafından demiryolu hattı için kum ve çakıl taşı çıkarılmak üzere Dil İskelesi□nde icrâ etdirilmekte olan hafriyatda bakır ve gümüş antika akçe ve sâir ba□zı eşyâ zuhûr etmesine mebnî bunlar Üsküdar Mutasarrıf-ı □Aliyyesince elde edilerek gönderildiğinden me'mûr-ı mahsûsa tevdi□ân irsâl kılındığına ve Haydar Paşa komiserliğinden alınan jurnalde ise mahal-i mezkûrda hafriyât ve taharriyâta devâm edilirse daha bir takım âsârın zuhûru melhûz edildiği bildirildiğine dâir 29 Teşrîn-i evvel sene 314 târîh ve doksan üç numaralı tezkire-i vâlâ-yı nezâret-penâhîleri Müze-i Hümâyûn Müdüriyet-i □Aliyyesi□ne lede□l-havâle âsâr-ı mezkûre bi□l-vürûd mu□âyene olundukda Bizantin devrine mensûb oldukları anlaşıl原因 olarak Müze-i Hümâyûn□da hıfz edilmiş olduğundan iş□âr-ı □aliyyeleri vechle mahal-i mezkûrda □ameliyât-ı hafriyyeye devâm edilirse daha bir takım âsârın zuhûru melhûz bulunduğundan kemâgân iltizâm-ı takayyüzât ile çıkacak âsârın Müze-i Hümâyûn nâmına ahz u muhâfazaları için lazım gelenlere teblîgât-ı akîde icrâsı husûsunun cevâben savb-ı vâlâ-yı nezâret-penâhîlerine iş□ârı ifâde olunmağla ol bâbda.





16. BOA. MF. MKT. 430 /1

Müze-i Hümayûn

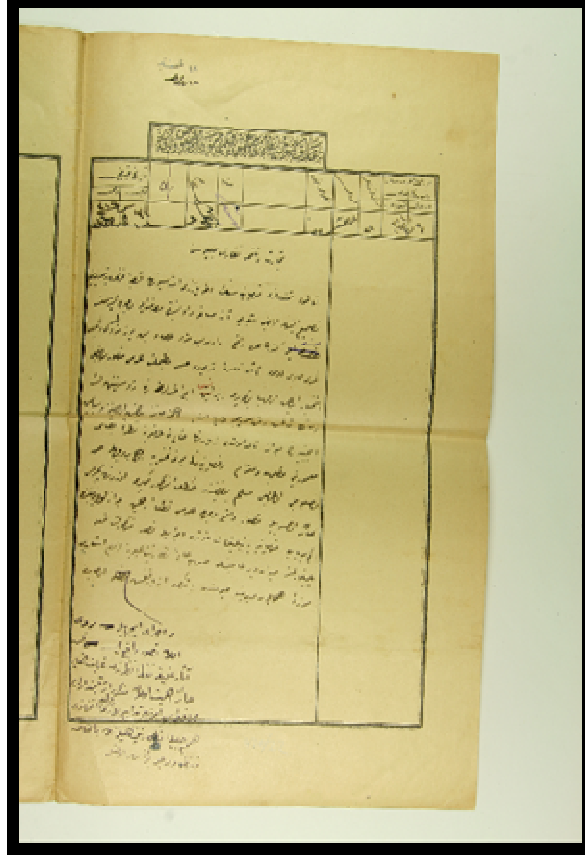
Maârif-i Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Devletlü Efendim Hazretleri

Anadolu şimendiferi kumpanyasının Adapazarı istasyonundan kasaba-i mezkûreye temdîdini tashîh etmiş olduğu şubeyi az mesâfe ve o nisbette masraf ile vücûda getirmek maksadıyla güzergâhda vâki ve on beş metre arz ve beş yüz metre tûlü ve yirmi kemeri hâvî olan âsâr-ı nâdire-i kadîmeden cisr-i azîmden hedmi mansûr bulunduğu istihbâr edilmiş olup bu köprü Bizantin imparatorlarından Justinyen zamanından kalmış ve fenn-i miârîce gâyetü'l-gâye ehemmiyeti hâiz bulunmuş olduğuna ve seyyâhîn-i ecnebiyyenin bu eser-i nâdirü'l-emsâli ziyâretten hâlî kalmadıklarına nazaran bekâyı ma'mûriyeti matlûb ve mültezim ve kumpanyanın bunu tahrîbe hiçbir vechle hak ve salâhiyeti olmadığı müsellemler bulunduğundan hattın mezkûr köprü üzerinden geçirilmesi câiz olsa bile kusur vâki vechle hedmi katân rehîn-i cevâz olamayacağı ve bu bâbda kumpanyaya tebligât-ı mü'essire icrâsıyla kusur-ı mezkûrun fi'le çıkarılmasına meydân verilemesinin Ticâre ve Nâfi'â Nezâret-i Celîlesine işî kemâl-i ehemmiyetle arz ve niyâz olunur. Ol bâbda emr u fermân hazret-i men-lehü'l-emrindir. Fî 29 Receb sene 316 ve fî 1 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 314.

Müze-i Hümayûn Müdürü

Hamdullah



### 17. BOA. MF. MKT. 430 /2

Ticâret ve Nâfi□a Nezâret-i Celîlesine

Anadolu şimendiferi kumpanyasının Adapazarı istasyonundan kasaba-i mezkûreye temdîdini tasmiîm etmiş olduğu şu□beyi az mesâfe ve o nisbette masraf ile vücûda getirmek üzere güzergâhda vâki□ ve on beş metre □arz ve beş yüz metre tûlü ve yirmi kemeri hâvî olan âsâr-ı nâdire-i kadîmeden cisr-i □azîmin hedmi mansûr bulunduğu istihbâr edilmiş olup bu köprü Bizans imparatorlarından Justin□in zamânından kalmış ve fenn-i mi□mârîce gâyetü□l-gâye ehemmiyeti hâiz bulunmuş olduğuna ve seyyâhîn-i ecnebiyyenin bu eser-i nâdirü□l-mesâli ziyâretten hâlf kalmadıklarına nazaran bekâ-yı ma□mûriyyeti matlûb ve mültezim ve kumpanyanın bunu tahrîbe hiçbir vechle hakk-ı salâhiyeti olmadığı müsellemler bulunduğundan hattı mezkûr köprü üzerinden geçirilmesi câiz olsa bile kusûr vâki□ vechle hedmi kat□ân rehîn cevâz olamayacağını ve bu bâbda kumpanyaya teblîgât-ı mü'essire icrâsıyla kusûr-ı mezkûrun fi□ile çıkarılmasına meydan verilmemesinin savb-ı □âlî-i nezâret-penâhîlerine lüzûm-ı iş□ârı Müze-i Hümâyûn Müdiriyet-i □Aliyyesi□nden bâ-tezkire izbâr kılınmış ve icrâ-yı îcâbiyla mer'î olan kusûr vâki□ ise fenn-i âsâr-ı □atîka nokta-i nazarından gâyetü□l-gâye hâiz-i ehemmiyet olan mezkûr eser-i kıymetdârın muhâfazası emrinde tedâbir-i lâzîme-i kat□iyye ittihâz-ı himem-i celîle-i nezâret-penâhîlerinden bi□l-hâssa manzûr ve mercû bulunmuş olmağla ol bâbda.

## APPENDIX C

### TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez, Bizans mirasının algılanması ve mimarlık tarihi yazımını, 19. yüzyıl sonu ile 20. yüzyıl başı Osmanlı Türkiyesi odaklı olarak incelemektedir. Çalışmada, oryantalizm, milliyetçilik ve tarih yazımı arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiler bağlamında, tarihsel metinlerde Bizans'ın kültürel ve mimari mirasının nasıl temsil edildiği ve betimlendiği araştırılmaktadır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, Avrupa ve Osmanlı dünyasında Bizans'ın nasıl algılandığını karşılaştırmalı tarihsel bağlam içerisinde incelemeye çalışır. Araştırma, büyük oranda Bizans mirasına ilişkin bilgi üretiminde ve yayılmasında önemli rol oynayan bireylerin yazılarının yakın bir okumasına dayanır. Türkiye'de Bizans mirası üzerine bu en erken yazıların, ideolojik ve tarih yazımsal mirasına odaklanılarak incelenmesi ve günümüzde devam etmekte olan Bizans hakkındaki olumsuz algıların kökeninin irdelenmesi ile bu çalışmanın, Türkiye'deki Bizans çalışmalarına katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir. Daha genel olarak ise bu çalışma ile şarkiyatçılık, tarih yazımı ve ulus devlet inşası arasındaki ilişkilere dair literatüre katkıda bulunmak amaçlanmıştır.

Son yıllarda, özellikle Edward Said'in Oryantalizm (1978) adlı çalışmasının yarattığı ivme nedeniyle, Batı Avrupa'da Bizans mirasının algılanması ve tarih yazımının eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendirilmesine yönelik çalışmalar artmıştır.<sup>1</sup> Bu çalışmalar, Batı Avrupa'da tarih boyunca Bizans'a ikircikli ve değişken yaklaşımlar olduğu, hatta ana akım tarih yazımında "Bizans'ın yokluğu" sorularını gündeme getirmiştir.<sup>2</sup> Diğer taraftan son yıllarda milliyetçilik, ulus-devlet ve tarih yazımı üzerine çalışmalarda da bir artış görülmektedir. Bu çalışmalarda özellikle Güney-

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<sup>1</sup> Sözü edilen çalışmalardan bazıları şunlardır: Robin Cormack ve Elizabeth Jeffreys, (eds.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Papers from the Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995, (Ashgate, Variorum, 2000).; Liz James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium*, (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).; Robert Ousterhout, "Apologia for Byzantine Architecture", *Gesta*, 35/1, (1996), 21–33.; Robert S. Nelson, "Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art", *Gesta*, Vol.35, No.1 (1996): 3-11.

<sup>2</sup> "Pek çok tarihçi için, Bizans yoktur" Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), önsöz sayfası.

Doğu Avrupa ve Balkan bölgesindeki ulus devletlerin oluşumunda Bizans mirasının rolü konusu önem kazanmıştır.<sup>3</sup> Ancak söz konusu çalışmalarda Türkiye örneği ihmal edilmiştir. Türkiye’de bu anlamda yapılan çalışmalar ise genellikle klasik dönem ya da Osmanlı ve Türk mimarlık tarihi üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır.<sup>4</sup>

Bu tezde incelenen tarihsel dönem Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e geçiş dönemi olan geç 19. yüzyıl ile erken 20. yüzyıl olarak belirlenmiştir. Ancak, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi yalnızca, geç Osmanlı döneminde ortaya çıkan gelişmelerin devamlılığı ve değişimini izlemek amacıyla incelenmiştir.<sup>5</sup> Bu tezin amacı, Bizans mirasına ilişkin geç Osmanlı dönemindeki devlet politikalarını incelemekten ziyade, bu dönemde yaşayan entelektüeller tarafından üretilen bilgiyi ve yaklaşımları incelemek olduğu için; Osmanlı dönemindeki arkeolojik araştırmalar, müzecilik faaliyetleri, koruma ve onarım aktiviteleri yalnızca tarihi ve politik bağlamı vermek amacıyla betimlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın birincil kaynaklarını, Bizans tarihi, sanatı ve mimarlığı üzerine yazılmış kitaplar, makaleler, seyahatnameler ve monografiler oluşturur. Ayrıca, söz konusu dönemde Batı Avrupa ülkeleri ve Amerika’da üretilmiş dünya mimarlık tarihi (survey) kitapları, ilk kez burada Bizans mimarisinin, dünya mimarlık tarihi yazını içindeki yerini anlamak için incelenmiştir.

Türkiye’de bu türden bir mimarlık tarihi yazını örneklerini, bu dönem için bulmak elbette mümkün değildir. Bu tezde, Bizans mimari mirası üzerine bilgi

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<sup>3</sup> Örneğin bakınız, Marius Turda, “National Historiographies in the Balkans, 1830-1989”, *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds., 463-489, (Writing the National Series, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Örneğin bakınız, Gülru Necipoğlu ve Sibel Bozdoğan, (eds.) *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the Lands of Rum, Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Vol. 24, (Leiden-Boston, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Türkiye’de erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kültür politikalarında arkeoloji, kültürel miras ve koruma çalışmaları ve bunların ulus-devlet inşa sürecindeki rolüne ilişkin çalışmalardan bazıları şunlardır: Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, Lynn Meskell, 111-123, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Arkeoloji: Siyasi Yönlendirmeler-Çelişkiler ve Gelişim Süreci”, *Bilanço: 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış Uluslar arası Kongresi, (I: Siyaset, Kültür, Uluslararası İlişkiler)*, ed. Zeynep Rona, 193-204, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); Gül Pulhan, “Cumhuriyet’in Arkeoloji Seferberliği”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, Vol: 89, (2004): 171-174.; Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic”, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 31, no. 4, (2004):381-393.

üretimi konusunda öncülük eden üç yazar, Celal Esad [Arseven] (1876-1971), Mehmed Ziya (1871-1930), Ahmed Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937) üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Söz konusu yazarlar aslında bilimsel ilgiden yoksun değillerdir. Özellikle Türkiye'deki ilk sanat tarihçisi olarak bilinen Celal Esad'ın, Türk sanat ve mimarlığına ilişkin kitapları pek çok açıdan değerlendirilmiştir.<sup>6</sup> Aynı şekilde Ahmed Refik, hem bir tarihçi hem de popüler bir romancı olarak pek çok modern araştırmamanın konusu olmuştur.<sup>7</sup> Ancak sözü edilen araştırmalar, bu yazarların genellikle Osmanlı/Türk tarihi, sanatı ve mimarisi üzerine yazdıkları ile ilgilenmişlerdir. Bu çalışmada bu yazarların eserleri, Türkiye'de Bizans mimari tarihi üzerine yapılan çalışmaların en erken örnekleri olarak incelenmektedir. Mehmed Ziya ise Celal Esad ve Ahmed Refik kadar tanınmış bir yazar olmamakla birlikte, en önemli eseri *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* 2004 yılında yeni harflerle yeniden basılmıştır.<sup>8</sup> Ancak bu güne kadar onun bu çalışması da detaylı bir incelemenin konusu olmamıştır.

Tezin içerik ve metoduna ilişkin olarak, öncelikle bu tez, Avrupa ve Osmanlı dünyasındaki Bizans algısını karşılaştırmalı tarihsel bağlam içinde incelemeye çalışmıştır. Bu kapsamda, Osmanlı yazarlarının Avrupalı yazarlar ile olan ilişkileri, Bizans'a ilişkin “yerleşik” bazı algıların Avrupa'dan nasıl “ithal” edildiği, ama aynı zamanda Osmanlı/Türk yazarların Bizans mirasına ilişkin “yerel” bir söylem de geliştirdikleri ileri sürülmektedir. Bu yaklaşım, sözü edilen dönemde, Balkan ülkelerinin Bizans mirasına yaklaşımını da kısaca ele almayı gerektirdi. Balkan ülkeleri, Osmanlı yazarlarının Bizans algısına ilişkin bir çalışma için iki açıdan önemliydi. Osmanlı devletinin Balkan bölgesinde bu dönemde ortaya çıkan milliyetçilik hareketleri ve ardından bağımsız modern ulus devletler kurulması, Osmanlı yazarlarının bu süreci anlama ve “baş etme” sürecinde, Bizans'ın algılanış ve tarih yazımında ele alınış biçimini derinden etkilemiştir. Aynı zamanda, söz

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<sup>6</sup> Doğan Kuban, “Celal Esad Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı”, <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/391/5707.pdf> (11.10.2012); Semavi Eyice “Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)” *Belleten*, 36, (1972), 141-144.

<sup>7</sup> Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam: Ahmed Refik Altınay* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978).

<sup>8</sup> İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya Bey, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Ölümsüz Mirası*, ed. Murat A. Karavelioğlu and Enfel Doğan (İstanbul: Bika, 2004).

konusu ülkelerin ulusal tarihlerini yazma sürecinde de, Bizans'ın oynadığı araşsal rolü görmek de ilginçtir.

Ayrıca tezin odak noktasını İstanbul'un oluşturduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Bizans İmparatorluğu'na başkentlik yapmış ve Bizans'ın kimliği ile özdeşleşen Konstantinopolis ya da Osmanlı yazarlarının deyimiyle *Konstantiniyye*, bir Osmanlı başkenti olarak da kültürel ve entelektüel üretimin merkezi olmuştur. Bu nedenle sadece Avrupalı seyyahların ve yazarların değil, Osmanlı yazarlarının da Bizans mirasına olan ilgisinin odağında İstanbul yer almıştır. Dahası bu ilgi, Bizans İstanbul'unun arkeolojisi, sanatı ve mimarisi üzerine yapılan çalışmaların en erken örneklerinin ortaya çıkışına tanıklık etmektedir.

Bu tez yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Tezin giriş bölümü olan Birinci bölümde; çalışmanın genel çerçevesi ve konuya ilişkin daha önce yapılan çalışmaların değerlendirilmesiyle birlikte, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun yapısı, coğrafi ve tarihi sınırlarına ilişkin çok temel bilgiler yer alır.

İkinci bölümde, tezin asıl odak noktasını oluşturan geç 19. yüzyılda yaşanan dönüşümü anlamak amacıyla, bu döneme kadar olan tarihsel arka plan ele alınmıştır. İki alt bölüme ayrılan bu bölümün ilk kısmında, Batı Avrupa'da Bizans mirasına olan ilginin kaynağı ve erken modern dönemdeki ilk Bizans çalışmalarına yer verilmiştir. İkinci alt bölüm ise aynı dönemde, İstanbul'un fethinin ardından kendini Bizans topraklarında konumlandıran Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ayrılmış, 19. yüzyıla kadar Osmanlı'nın Bizans mirası ile olan ilişkisi özellikle Ayasofya üzerinden değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Üçüncü bölüm bütünüyle 19. yüzyıl Batı Avrupa'sına ayrılmıştır. Bu dönemdeki milliyetçilik, oryantalizm ve tarih yazımı arasındaki ilişkiler bağlamında, Batı Avrupa tarih yazımında Bizans'ın yeri ve özellikle Bizans mimarlık tarihi yazımını inceler. Bu bölümde ilk olarak, 19. yüzyılda ortaya çıkan tarihsel gelişmeler ve Avrupa'da bir nevi Bizans'ın “yeniden keşfi” incelenir. Ardından, bugün kullanılan genel mimarlık tarihi kitaplarının en erken örneklerinden oluşan bir seçki; genel olarak mimarlığın geçmişinin nasıl tarihi dönemlere ayrıldığı, Bizans mimarisinin bu dönemlere ayırma içindeki yeri, tanımlanması ve sınıflandırılması ve genel olarak mimarlık tarihi yazımı metotları açısından incelenmiştir.

Dördüncü bölüm, üçüncü bölüme paralel olarak 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı dünyasına odaklanır. Bu bölüm üç ana alt bölüme ayrılır. Birinci alt bölüm 19. yüzyıldaki tarihsel ve politik bağlamını vermektedir. İkinci alt bölüm, Osmanlı tarihçilerinin Bizans mirasını nasıl algıladığı ve tarihsel metinlerde nasıl betimlediğini araştırır. Ayrıca, Avrupa ile paralel olarak Osmanlı yazarlarının artan Bizans ilgisinin ardında yatan nedenleri anlamaya çalışır. Üçüncü alt bölümde ise Batı Avrupa ve Osmanlı'da olduğu gibi, Balkan bölgesinde yeni kurulan ulus devletlerde Bizans'ın yeniden keşfi ve bunun milli tarih yazımına etkileri incelenmektedir. Genel olarak bu bölüm, ulus devleti kurma sürecinde Bizans mirasının rolünü araştırır ve bu dönemdeki yazarların benzer tarihsel koşullar altında, benzer kaygılar ile “sürekli ve ilerleyici milli bir tarih” yazmak amacıyla, diğer unsurlar ile birlikte Bizans mirasının araçsal kullanımını ortaya koymaya çalışır. Diğer bir deyişle, Bizans mirasının “şanlı uzak geçmiş” ile modern ulus devletler arasındaki tarihsel bağı kurmadaki rolüne dikkat çeker.

Beşinci bölüm, Bizans İstanbul'unun yazınsal ve görsel imgeleri, metinler ve bireyleri inceler. Bu bölümün odak noktasında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yirmi yılında, Bizans tarihi, sanatı ve mimarlığı üzerine çalışma yapan üç önemli figür; Mehmed Ziya, Celal Esad ve Ahmet Refik vardır. Bu yazarların, Türkiye'deki Bizans sanatı ve mimarlığı yazınının en erken örneklerini verdiklerini söylemek mümkündür.

Beşinci bölüm üç alt bölüme ayrılmıştır. Birinci alt bölümde bu yazarların içinde bulunduğu tarihsel, politik ve kültürel ortamı yeniden kurmak amacıyla, özellikle 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra ortaya çıkan modern devlet kurumları, yasal düzenlemeler, arkeoloji ve müzecilik faaliyetlerinin genel bir portresi verilir. Beşinci bölümün ikinci alt bölümü, Avrupalı ve sınırlı sayıda Osmanlı yazarları tarafından, İstanbul üzerine yapılan daha eski çalışmalara ayrılmıştır. Çünkü bu üç yazarın eserlerinin, bu öncel çalışmalardan bağımsız değerlendirilmesi mümkün değildir.

Beşinci bölümün üçüncü alt bölümünde ise; bu üç yazarın Bizans İstanbul'u üzerine olan çalışmaları değerlendirilir. Bu çalışmalar; Celal Esad'ın ilk olarak 1909

yılında Paris'te basılan kitabı *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul* ve 1912 yılında *Eski İstanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* adıyla İstanbul'da yayınlanan baskısı<sup>9</sup>; Mehmed Ziya'nın ilk cildi 1920, ikinci cildi ise 1928 yılında basılan *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsar-ı Bakiyesi* adlı çalışması<sup>10</sup> ve tarihçi Ahmed Refik'in ilk olarak 1912 yılında yayımlanan, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi* adlı kitabının Bizans tarihine ayrılan bölümleri ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir.<sup>11</sup> Bu kapsamda, Bizans İstanbul'unun tarihsel topografyası ve mimarisinin söz konusu yazarlar tarafından nasıl bir kuramsal ve pratik çerçevede kurgulandığı; kentin geçmişine ve eski eserlerine artan bir ilgi ile metinlerde yazılı olanlarla yetinmeyip, anıtları yerinde inceleyerek kentin "Bizans arkeolojisi" ile de ilgilendikleri, tarih yoluyla geçmişi kurgulamada ve bir kimlik inşa etmede, Bizans mimarisine ait görsel malzemenin nasıl bir işlev üstlendiği incelenmiştir.

Altıncı bölümde, dördüncü ve beşinci bölümde genel çerçevesi verilen tezin ana noktalarını oluşturan Bizans mirasının algılanması ve tarih yazımının, İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyet'e geçiş sürecindeki özel tarihsel koşullar nedeniyle dönüşümü ve Bizans mirasına ilişkin söylemin değişimini incelemektedir. Burada özellikle 1900'lerden sonra Bizans mirasının algılanması ve tarih yazımının, değişen tarihi ve politik koşullara bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan üç temel tarihsel olgu kapsamında anlaşılabilirliğini öne sürer. Bunlar kabaca, milliyetçilik, ulus-devlet inşa süreci ve oryantalizmdir.

Altıncı bölümün ilk alt bölümünde sırasıyla, artan milliyetçilik ve Osmanlı aydınları arasında Türkçülük ideolojisinin yükselişi, Balkan bölgelerinde yeni

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<sup>9</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909).; Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski İstanbul Abidat ve Mebaisi*, ed. Dilek Yelkenci, (İstanbul: Celik Gülersoy Vakfı, İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989).

<sup>10</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi*, (Birinci Kitap, Müellif: Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maârif, Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi Meclisi ve Muhafaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka ve Tarih-i Osman-i Encümenleri Azasından Mehmed Ziya), (İstanbul: Dârü't-tüb'ati'l-amire, 1336 [1920]; Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi*, (İkinci Kitap, Müellif: Muhafaza-i Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümen-i Daimisi Katib Umumisi Mehmed Ziya), (İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1928).

<sup>11</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Büyük Tarih-i Umumi: Beşeriyetin Tekemmülat-ı Medeniye, İctimaiye, Siyasiye ve Fikriyesi*, Cilt 4, (İstanbul: Kütübhane-i İslam ve Askeri, İbrahim Hilmi, 1327/1911-1912).



kurulan ulus devletler ve ardından özellikle Yunanistan'ın bağımsızlığını kazanması ile gelişen tarihsel süreç ve son olarak Osmanlı'nın kuruluş dönemi ve yapısına ilişkin Bizans'ın kopyası olduğu şeklindeki Batı Avrupa tarih yazımındaki yerleşik oryantalist söylemin karşı tezler geliştirilmesine neden olduğu ve dolayısıyla Türkiye'deki Bizans mirasının algılanması ve tarih yazımını derinden etkilediğini ortaya koymaya çalışılmaktadır.

Altıncı bölümün ikinci alt bölümünde ise, beşinci bölümde eserleri incelenen üç yazarın, yani Celal Esad, Mehmed Ziya ve Ahmed Refik'in Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra ortaya çıkan tarihsel ve politik koşullar bağlamında bireysel ve akademik dönüşümleri izlenmektedir. Burada özellikle Bizans mirasına yaklaşımlar açısından geç Osmanlı döneminden Cumhuriyet'e kalan miras üzerine durulmuştur. Bu kapsamda ayrıca, ilk olarak 1931 yılında yayımlanan *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar*" adlı makalesi ile yukarıda bahsedilen Osmanlı'daki Bizans etkisi "sorununu" çok kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alan Fuad Köprülü ve çalışmaları değerlendirilmiştir.<sup>12</sup>

Bu tez, Bizans mirasının algılanması ve mimarlık tarihi yazımı üzerine yapılan ilk kapsamlı çalışmadır. Tezin sonuçlarını sekiz ana madde ile sıralamak mümkündür:

1. Bizans'a yaklaşımların tarih boyunca bütüncül olmayıp, değişen tarihi ve politik koşullardan fazlasıyla etkilendiği görülmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, tarih boyunca yekpare bir Bizans algısından söz etmek mümkün değildir. Belirli dönemlerde Batı Avrupa politik ve edebi yazımında "doğulu" bir devlet olarak tanımlanmasına rağmen, Bizans'ın tamamen "öteki" olarak kurgulanıp dışlandığı da söylenemez. Bizans ne tam olarak Avrupa medeniyetine ait, ne de ötekidir. Bizans mirasının yalnızca belirli yönlerinin "benimsenmesine" dayanan bu "seçici" yaklaşımın nedenleri tarih boyunca bazı değişimler gösterse de, değişmeyen bazı temel özellikleri vardır. Bunların başında da, Bizans olarak adlandırılan

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<sup>12</sup> Fuad Köprülü, "Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar", *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, 1 (1931), 165-313.; Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*, 4. basım, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003); Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, trans. Gary Leiser, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999).

imparatorluğun yapısı gelmektedir. Klasik Yunan kenti üzerine “Yeni Roma” olarak inşa edilen; Hıristiyan, fakat Ortodoks, “Doğulu” ve “İslam”ı anımsatan bazı özellikleri nedeniyle Bizans, Batı Avrupa uygarlığından farklıdır.

Bu tezin katkılarında birisi, Avrupa ve Osmanlı’nın Bizans algısının paralel bir biçimde incelemesidir. Bu kapsamda, Osmanlı’nın Bizans algısının, sanılanın aksine Batı Avrupa’dan pek de farklı olmadığı, hatta aralarında pek çok paralellik bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Her iki durumda da Bizans mirasına ikircikli ve seçici bir yaklaşım söz konusudur. En erken dönemlerden itibaren, Konstantinopolis’in sahip olduğu “antikiteler” ve “tılsımlı anıtlar” hem Avrupalı hem de Müslüman seyyahların ve bilginlerin ilgisini çeken ilk şey olmuştur. Aynı şekilde, erken modern dönem boyunca, Bizans İmparatorluğunun kendisinden ziyade onun geçmişi ve temsil ettiği görkemli Roma, evrensel imparatorluk ideolojisine sahip olan monarşiler için sembolik ve ideolojik öneme sahip olmuştur. Bu yarışta elbette Bizans’ın başkentini kendine başkent yapan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da vardır. Dolayısıyla Osmanlılar tıpkı Avrupalı imparatorluklar gibi Bizans mirasının belirli yönlerini benimsemişler, onu Roma imparatorluk mirasının yasal varisi iddialarını desteklemek için kullanmışlardır. Bu dönemde, Katip Çelebi ve Hüseyin Hezarfen gibi 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı aydınları, Avrupalı tarihçiler ile kurdukları akademik ilişkiler çerçevesinde, Bizans kroniklerinin Batılı edisyonlarının Türkçeye çevirisi yoluyla en erken “Bizans çalışmalarının” örneklerini vermişlerdir. Bu dönemde ayrıca, hem mimari hem de sembolik önemi bulunan Ayasofya, bir taraftan görkemli kubbesiyle Osmanlı mimarlarına ilham verirken, diğer taraftan Osmanlı tarihçilerinin zihinlerini de meşgul eder. Özellikle Bizans döneminde üretilen efsane ve tarihlerin evrilmesi ve yeni eklenen “temalar” yoluyla Osmanlı yazarları Ayasofya’nın tarihini yeniden üretirler.

18. yüzyılda Avrupa’nın Bizans’ı algılayışında köklü değişimler söz konusudur. Fransız devriminin etkisiyle politik literatürde, Bizans’ın “otoriter” ve “doğulu” özellikleri nedeniyle despotik ve bozulmuş bir imparatorluk olarak tanımlanmasıyla; daha önceleri “antikite deposu” olarak adlandırılan Bizans, 18. yüzyıl literatüründe “öteki” olarak belirir. İlginç bir şekilde, bu dönem aynı zamanda “Avrupa” kavramı ve Avrupa merkezci bakış açısının oluşumunda da bir dönüm noktasıdır. Oryantalist düşünce sisteminin başlangıcı ile “doğu” ile batı”

arasındaki ayrımın belirginleştiği, politik literatürde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun da tıpkı Bizans gibi olumsuzlandığı görülür.

Avrupa'da Bizans'a ilişkin bu olumsuz tavırlara karşılık, 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı başkenti İstanbul'da Bizans mimarisi ve kültürü adeta yeniden canlanır. Ancak bunun nedenine ilişkin somut tarihi veriler olmayışı, bu ilginin İstanbul'da Fenerli Rumların etkisiyle sınırlı olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Kendilerini Bizans mirasının koruyucusu olarak gören ve soy ağaçlarını son Bizans sülalesine kadar dayandıran İstanbul'un Fener semtinde oturan bu zengin ve nüfuz sahibi ailenin, 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı sarayındaki etkisinin oldukça arttığı bilinmektedir.

2. Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren Avrupa'da Bizans kültürü, tarihi, sanatı ve mimarisine karşı gittikçe artan ilginin; dönemin tarihsel koşulları, milliyetçilik, oryantalizm ve tarihselcilik ile yakından ilişkili olduğunu ileri sürer. Tabii ki, bu dönemde tarihin bağımsız bir disiplin olarak ortaya çıkışı ile Bizans çalışmalarının akademik bir alan olarak doğuşu da önemli gelişmelerdir. 19. yüzyıldaki önemli tarihsel gelişmeler ve ulus-devletlerin ortaya çıkışı, bu süreçte tarih yazımının gelişimini derinden etkilemiştir. Bu süreçte Avrupa'da yerel kültürlerle ilişkin yapılan araştırmalar, Ortaçağ dönemine yeni bir ilgi gösterilmesine neden olur. Bu kapsamda, modern Avrupa tarih yazımında gerekli olan tarihsel sürekliliğin ortaya koyulmasında, Bizans mirasının yeniden keşfi dikkat çekicidir.

Benzer bir sürecin, Balkanlar'da yeni kurulan modern devletler tarafından da yaşandığını görürüz. Özellikle 19. yüzyıl ikinci yarısından sonra, ulusal bir kültür yaratmak için yerel gelenekleri araştıran tarihçiler, benzer şekilde Ortaçağ dönemine, dolayısıyla tarihsel ilişki içinde buldukları Bizans tarihi ve kültürüne yeni bir ilgi gösterirler. Böylece, Ortaçağ Bizans'ı ulus devletlerin ihtiyacı olan eski çağlar ile modern zamanlar arasındaki tarihsel devamlılığı sağlayan önemli bir halka olarak değer kazanır. Bu süreç, en çok modern Yunan devletinin politik hedefleri ve tarih yazımında göze çarpar. 1830 yılında bağımsızlığını kazanmasının ardından ulusal kimliğini antik Yunan üzerinden kuran modern Yunan devletinin Bizans mirasına sahip çıkması 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra gerçekleşir.<sup>13</sup> Ünlü

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<sup>13</sup> Alexandra Alexandri, "Names and Emblems: Greek Archaeology, Regional Identities and National Narratives of the Turn of the 20th Century", *Antiquity*, Vol.76/ 291 (2002) 191-199.;

Yunan tarihçi Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos'un Yunan milli tarihini Helenizm, Ortaçağ Helenizmi ve Modern Helenizm olarak kurgulamasıyla, Bizans, antik Yunan ile modern Yunanı birleştiren zincirin önemli bir halkası, Yunan tarihinin ve kimliğinin ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelir.<sup>14</sup> Dahası, Bizans'ın Yunan kimliğine vurgu yapan bu yeni kurgulanan ulusal tarih, bütün Yunan halklarının başkenti İstanbul olan büyük bir Helen imparatorluğu altında birleştirme ideali, yani Megali İdea'ya da yön vermiştir.<sup>15</sup>

Modern Yunan devletinin ulusal tarih yazımında Bizans mirasına sahip çıkma biçimi diğer Balkan ulusları için de örnek teşkil eder. Ancak bu süreç, örneğin Romanya ve Bulgaristan'da daha çetrefilli bir hal alır. Çünkü modern Avrupalı bir devlet kurma idealleri olan Romanyalı ve Bulgaristanlı dönemin bazı entelektüelleri için Bizans devleti sadece “doğulu”, “despotik” ve “kırsal” bir imparatorluğu değil, aynı zamanda yüzyıllardan beri sürmekte olan Rum Ortodoksluğu'nun üstünlüğü ve baskısını da temsil etmektedir. Ancak, tıpkı Yunanistan örneğinde olduğu gibi, eski çağlar ile modern ulus devletler arasındaki bağı kurmada Bizans mirası önemli rol oynar. Bu nedenle, 19. yüzyıl tarih yazımının, her ulusun “özgün” niteliklerini belirlemede kullanılan ölçütler; yani etnisite, din ve dil kapsamında, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun kendilerine uygun belirli özelliklerini vurgulayan bir yaklaşım sergilerler. Örneğin Bizans'ın Ortodoks dinini ve Yunanca dilini vurgulayan Yunan tarih yazımına karşılık, bazı Romanyalı tarihçiler Bizans'ın Roma kökenine dikkat çekerler.<sup>16</sup>

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Mehmet Özdoğan, “Heritage and Nationalism in the Balkans and Anatolia: What Has Happened since Hasluck?”, *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. David Shankland, Cilt 2, (İstanbul: Isis Press), 395-96.

<sup>14</sup> Andromache Gazi, “National Museums in Greece: History, Ideology, Narratives”, *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010*. Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011*, ed. Peter Aronsson & Gabriella Elgenius, *EuNaMus Report No 1* (Linköping University, 2010), 366. [http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp\\_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064) (21.01.2013).

<sup>15</sup> Ioannis A. Tassopoulos, “Constitutionalism and the Ideological Conversion to National Unity under the Greek Constitution of 1864”, in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950*, ed. Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder, (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 12.

<sup>16</sup> Marius Turda, “Historical Writing in the Balkans”, *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Volume 4: 1800-1945, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (Oxford- New York : Oxford University Press, 2011), 352.

3. Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Avrupa’da olduğu gibi, Osmanlı yazarları arasında da Bizans tarihi, kültürü ve sanatına belirgin bir ilgi artışı olduğunu göstermiştir. Osmanlı yazarları Bizans mirasının çeşitli yönleri, özellikle de bu mirasın Osmanlı üzerine etkileri üzerine yazmaya başlarlar. Yeni tarih yazımı metotlarının ve evrensel tarih yazımının ortaya çıkışı da bu gelişmede elbette önemli rol oynamaktadır. Avrupalı tarihçiler gibi Osmanlı yazarları da, eski geleneklerin ve uzak geçmişin sadece sürekli ve doğrusal bir tarih yazımı için değil, imparatorluğun gittikçe azalmakta olan siyasi meşruiyetini sağlamak için de önemli olduğunun farkına varmışlardır. Böylece, tarihsel çalışmalarda imparatorluğun kuruluş dönemlerine yeni bir ilgi söz konusudur.<sup>17</sup>

Tıpkı Avrupalı yazarlar gibi Osmanlı yazarlarının da çizgisel bir Osmanlı tarihi yazmak için Bizans tarihinden yararlandıkları görülür. Bu metinlerdeki Bizans’ın betimlemeleri çoğu zaman olumsuz olsa da, Osmanlı tarihini daha iyi anlamak için Bizans tarihinin çalışılması gerektiğini belirten yeni bir anlayış da söz konusudur. Daha da önemlisi, Osmanlı imparatorluğunun son dönemindeki tarihsel ve politik koşulların etkisiyle, imparatorluğun çöküş nedenlerini anlamaya ve çözüm aramaya yönelik bazı tarihçiler için Bizans imparatorluğu, önemli bir tarihsel örnek teşkil eder. Bizans ve Osmanlı’nın, imparatorluk yapısından kaynaklı ortak özelliklerini ortaya koyan bu çalışmalar, Osmanlı’nın Bizans mirasının önemine de işaret eden ilk çalışmalar olarak değerlendirilebilir.

4. Dönemin entelektüellerinin Bizans tarihine ve özellikle Bizans İstanbul’una olan ilgisi, yirminci yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Konstantinopolis’in tarihsel topografya, mimari ve arkeolojisine dair önemli çalışmaların ortaya çıkışına zemin hazırlar. Bu tezin en önemli katkılarından birisi de, Bizans İstanbul’una ilişkin yukarıda isimleri zikredilen bu en erken çalışmaların ayrıntılı olarak incelenmesidir. Bu anlamda, özellikle Celal Esad, Mehmed Ziya ve Ahmed Refik’in yaşadıkları kentin Bizans mirasını araştırmak ve bu konuda hemşehrilerini

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<sup>17</sup> Christoph Neumann, “Bad Times, Better Self: Definitions of Identity and Strategies for Development in Late Ottoman Historiography, 1850-1900”, *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır, Suraiya Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 61-66; Ahmet Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period” in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, Cilt: 24 (2007), 126-130.

aydınlatmak amacıyla yazdıkları eserler, Türkiye'deki Bizans çalışmalarının çok daha eskiye gittiğinin göstergeleridir.

Bu eserlerin üretiminin, büyük oranda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun modernleşme çabaları kapsamındaki reformları, kültür mirasına yeni bir yaklaşım ile yapılan yasal düzenlemeler, müzecilik ve arkeoloji faaliyetleri ile İstanbul'un çok kültürlü ortamında kurulan bilimsel cemiyetler ile yakından ilgili olduğu görülür. Bu durum özellikle, her üç yazarın da Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Cemiyeti, İstanbul Muhipleri Derneği ve Osmanlı Tarih Cemiyeti gibi, tarih ve İstanbul'a ilişkin bilimsel yayın yapmayı teşvik eden cemiyetlerin aktif üyeleri olmalarından bellidir. Ayrıca, 19. yüzyılda Bizans İstanbul'u üzerine Avrupalı yazarlarca yapılan çok sayıda çalışmanın da, Osmanlı yazarları üzerinde büyük etkisi olmuştur. Bu durum, her üç yazarın da Bizans İstanbul'una ilişkin kendilerinden önce ya da dönemin Avrupalı yazarlarınca üretilen çalışmaların metot ve içeriğini "benimseme"lerinden de açıkça bellidir. Ancak onların çalışması aynı zamanda; Celal Esad'ın milliyetçi kaygılarında, Mehmed Ziya'nın "evrensel" yaklaşımında, ya da Ahmed Refik'in görsel malzemeler yoluyla Bizans mirasını Osmanlı kimliğinin bir parçası olarak kurgulamaya çalışmasında görüleceği üzere, "yerel" üretimin "özgün" örnekleridir.

5. Avrupa'da Bizans mimarlık tarihi yazımına ilişkin olarak, mimarlık tarihi kitaplarında yaptığım araştırmalar, söz konusu dönemdeki tarih yazımına paralel olarak mimarlık tarihinin de, 19. yüzyıl tarih yazımının belirleyici faktörleri olan "etnisite", "coğrafya" ve "din" kategorileri ile tanımlanıp sınıflara ya da dönemlere ayrıldıklarını ortaya koymuştur. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, dünya mimarlık tarihi kitaplarının, Bizans mimarisini bu kriterler kapsamında tanımlamakta ya da sınıflamakta "problem" yaşadıkları görülmektedir. Bazı mimarlık tarihi kitaplarının Bizans'ı Avrupa'dan tamamen soyutlayıp genellikle Asyalı ya da Doğulu kültürlerin mimarlığı ile aynı kategoride değerlendirdikleri, diğer bazı kitapların ise Bizans'ın Greko-Roman mirasını vurgulayarak, onun Avrupa mimarlık üsluplarının gelişimindeki rolüne vurgu yapan bir yaklaşım sergiledikleri görüşmüştür. Bu yaklaşımın; Bizans mimarlığının yalnızca antik dönem ile sınırlı olduğu, Ayasofya'nın Bizans mimarlık geleneğinde ulaşılan en üst nokta olarak değerlendirilip sonraki dönemlerde ortaya konan yapıtların mimari bir gerileme

olarak görülmesi ve anıtsallılık bakımından Gotik ve Rönesans mimarisinin gelişme çizgisini yakalayamadığı için Bizans mimarisinin “küçük, karanlık ve durağan yapılar” olarak değerlendirilmesine neden olduğu ortaya konmuştur. Ayrıca, mimarlık tarih yazımındaki bu yaklaşımların, önceki bölümlerde bahsedilen Avrupa’nın genel olarak Bizans’a olan muğlak yaklaşımı ile örtüşür nitelikte olduğu görülmüştür.

Her ne kadar bu türden bir mimarlık tarihi yazımını aynı dönem Türkiye’inde göremesek bile, Bizans mimarisine benzer yaklaşımların izlerini incelediğimiz yazarlarda da görmekteyiz. Örneğin, Celal Esad’ın Bizans mimarisini değerlendirmesi ve dünya mimarlık tarihi içine yerleştirmesi, Avrupa’da üretilen mimarlık tarihi kitaplarında görülen bu değerlendirmeler ile paralellikler göstermektedir. Avrupa yazınında, İslam mimarisinin Oryantalist bir yaklaşım ile yekpare ve gelişim göstermeyen bir mimari gelenek olarak değerlendirmesini eleştiren Celal Esad, Bizans mimarisini Yunan sanatının güzelliğine erişememekle suçlar.<sup>18</sup>

6. Bu çalışma, Osmanlı döneminden Cumhuriyet dönemine geçiş sürecindeki tarihi ve politik koşulların, Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye’inde Bizans mirasının algılanması ve ele alınış biçiminin yörüngesini belirlemede son derece önemli bir rol oynadığını gösterir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, Osmanlı/Türk yazarların Bizans mirasına yaklaşımlarının bir nevi “tepkisel” ve güncel politik bağlam ile yakından ilintili olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun son dönemlerinde artan milliyetçilik hareketleri ve Balkanlarda bağımsız ulus devletlerin doğuşuna giden süreçle birlikte, Osmanlı aydınları arasında giderek artan Türkçülük ideolojisi tarih yazımında da yankılarını bulmuş, bazı yazarlar Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun çöküşünün en büyük nedeninin tarihsel Bizans etkisi olduğunu ileri sürerek, Bizans’ın nasıl kötülüklerle dolu olduğunu vurgulamışlardır.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Celal Esad, “Bizans Sanayi-i Nefisesi”, *İkdam*, 16 Aralık 1906.

<sup>19</sup> Celal Nuri, *Tarihi-Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye, Mukadderat-ı Tarihiye*, (İstanbul, 1331/1912-3); Celal Nuri, *Rum ve Bizans*, (İstanbul, Konstantinye: Cemiyet Kütüphanesi, 1917); Mehmed Murad, *Tarih-i Umumi*, Vol.3 (İstanbul:Mihran Matbaası, 1298 [1882]).

Yunanistan'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan bağımsızlığını isyanlarla kazanmasından (1821-29), 1923 yılındaki Nüfus Mübadelesine kadar olan süreçteki savaşlar ve anlaşmazlıklar, tarih yazımında yalnızca Yunanistan'ın değil,<sup>20</sup> artık onunla birebir ilintili olarak algılanan Bizans'ın da Türkiye'nin tarihsel düşmanı olarak inşa edilmesine yol açtığı görülmüştür. Diğer bir deyişle, Yunanistan'ın politik arzularına ulaşmak için Bizans mirasını ulusal tarihine eklemeyerek sahip çıkması, geç Osmanlı döneminden itibaren Türkiye'de Bizans mirasının doğrudan Yunanistan ile ilişkilendirilmesine neden olmuştur. Örneğin tarih yazımında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşü ile Yunan ayaklanmaları ve Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun yeniden inşasına dayalı bir politika izlemeleri arasında doğrudan bir bağ kurulmuştur.<sup>21</sup>

Türkiye'deki Bizans algısı ve tarih yazımının tepkisel oluşunun bir diğer nedeni ise Osmanlı Devletinin bütün kurum ve yapılarıyla doğrudan Bizans'ın bir kopyası olduğuna ilişkin Batı Avrupa'da üretilen Oryantalist söylemlerdir.<sup>22</sup> Hem geç Osmanlı hem de erken Cumhuriyet dönemi yazarları bu “sorun” ile aktif bir biçimde meşgul olmuşlar ve karşı tezler geliştirmeye çalışmışlardır. Bu çabaların konumuz açısından en önemli sonucu ise Bizans ile Osmanlı arasındaki bağları tümüyle görmezden gelen ya da reddeden bir yaklaşımın doğmasına neden olmasıdır.

Osmanlı/Türk yazarlarının bakış açılarını şekillendiren tüm bu “dışsal” faktörler dışında, imparatorluğun iç dinamikleri daha doğrusu çöken bir imparatorluğun kendisi söz konusudur. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, imparatorluğun çöküş nedenlerini anlama ve hatta çözüm arayışına giren Osmanlı tarihçilerinin, Bizans'ı tarihsel bir konu olarak ele almaktan ziyade, güncel politika malzemesi olarak ele almaları da “doğal”dır. Bu durum özellikle “Osmanlı'da Bizans etkisi”

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<sup>20</sup> Hercules Millas, “Milli Türk Kimliği ve “Öteki (Yunan)”, *Milliyetçilik*, ed. T.Bora, M. Gültekin, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*. C.4, T. Bora, genel editör (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 193-201; Murat Ergin, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Yunan, Roma ve Bizans Dönemlerinin Algılanması ve Arkeoloji”, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açuları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*, ed. S. Redford ve N. Ergin, (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları), 34-35.

<sup>21</sup> Hercules Millas, “Milli Türk Kimliği ve “Öteki (Yunan)”, 193-201.

<sup>22</sup> Bakınız Alfred Rambaud, *Histoire générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, (1492-1559) Cilt 4, (Paris, 1894), 749. ; Gibbons, *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916); Charles Diehl, *Byzance Grandeur et Décadence*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1919), 305.



meselesi ile aktif bir biçimde ilgilenen yazarlarda görülür. Geç Osmanlı yazarları için Bizans etkisi Osmanlı'nın çöküşüne neden olan en önemli faktörlerden birisiyken, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi yazarları için Bizans, artık yeni bir politik ve milliyetçi bağlamda ele alınması gereken Osmanlı mirası ile yakından ilişkilidir ve bu nedenle biraz daha karmaşıklaşmıştır.

7. Bununla birlikte, Osmanlı yazarlarının Bizans'a yaklaşımları homojen değildir. Yazarların içinde buldukları tarihsel ve politik koşulların yanı sıra, bireysel ideolojik eğilimlerinin de etkisi olmakla beraber, bazen örneğin "Türkçülük" ideolojisinin hâkim olduğu yazarların Bizans'a ilişkin yaklaşımlarının farklı olduğu görülebilmektedir. Bunun çok pratik bir nedeni vardır: Yazarların kullandığı kaynaklar. Osmanlı ve İslam tarihi dışındaki tarih yazımı için büyük oranda Batılı kaynaklara dayanan Osmanlı tarihçileri, Bizans tarihinin yazımı için de Batılı kaynakları kullanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Ahmed Midhat, Celal Nuri ve Mizancı Murad gibi pek çok yazarın Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gibbon, Le Beau gibi yazarlardan ya doğrudan çeviri ya da derlemelerde buldukları görülmektedir. Bu nedenle söz konusu yazarların, Bizans'a ilişkin 18. Yüzyıl'da üretilen bazı "yerleşik" kalıpları tekrar ettikleri; yani Bizans tarihini savaşlar ve istilalardan ibaret; Bizans yöneticilerini tebaasına zulmeden despot hükümdarlar, halkını ise ahlâki çöküntü içinde sergileyen bir tablo ortaya koydukları görülür.

Ancak, Ahmed Midhat, Celal Nuri ya da Mehmed Murad gibi yazarlardan farklı olarak, Ahmed Refik ve Mehmed Ziya'nın Bizans tarihi ve mimarisine ilişkin temel başvuru kaynakları daha yakın zamanda Fransız yazarlarca yapılan çalışmalardır. Bunlar arasında Fransız yazar Charles Diehl'in özel bir yeri olduğu aşikardır. Bu çalışmada incelenen neredeyse tüm yazarların bir şekilde Diehl ile akademik ve kişisel ilişki içinde olmalarının yanı sıra, Diehl'in çalışmalarından etkilenmişlerdir. Örneğin, Diehl, Celal Esad'ın *Constantinople* kitabına önsöz yazarak onun bu çalışmasını takdir etmiştir. Mehmed Ziya, Diehl'in birisi Kariye Camii, diğer Hristiyan sanatının kaynağına ilişkin iki makalesini tercüme ederek *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif* adlı kitabında kullanmıştır.<sup>23</sup> Aynı şekilde, Ahmed Refik,

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<sup>23</sup> Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif, (On Yedi adet fotoğraf hâvidir)*, (İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1326[1910]); Mehmed Ziya, *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerif*, ed. Ömer Zülfe, (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012),

Diehl'in *Figures Byzantines* (1906) adlı kitabından yaptığı tercümelemlerle *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri* (1915) kitabını yayınlamakla kalmamış, Diehl'in bizzat kendisini ve akademik çalışmalarını tanıtan makaleler yazarak gazete ve dergilerde yayınlamıştır.<sup>24</sup> Yine başka bir yazar, Münir Mazhar, Cenova'da bulunduğu sıralarda Diehl tarafından verilen bir konferansa katıldıktan sonra, konferans sırasında tuttuğu notları "Bizans Tarihine ait İki Ders" başlığıyla İstanbul'a göndererek Yeni Mecmua dergisinde yayınlanmasını sağlamıştır.<sup>25</sup>

Peki, neden özellikle Charles Diehl Osmanlı yazarları üzerinde bu kadar etkili olmuştur? Diehl'in İstanbul'daki meslektaşlarıyla kurduğu yakın ilişki haricinde iki önemli neden vardır. Bunlardan birincisi, tezin ikinci bölümünde belirtildiği gibi 19. yüzyıl sonu ve 20. yüzyıl başında Avrupa'da Bizans çalışmalarının yeni bir ivme kazanması ve Diehl'in Bizans'ı yeni bir anlayışla değerlendiren bu yaklaşımda başı çekmesidir. 1905 yılında yayımlanan *Études Byzantines* adlı kitabında Charles Diehl, Bizans'a ilişkin 18. yüzyıldan kalma bakış açılarını kökten sarsacak bir yaklaşım sergilemiş ve aslında "başka bir Bizans'ın var olduğunu" ve onun da "sanılandan çok daha entelektüel ve sanatsal bir kültüre sahip olması nedeniyle" daha fazla çalışılmayı hak ettiğini belirten ifadelerle Fransa'da o zamana dek yapılan Bizans çalışmaları hakkında bilgi vermiştir.<sup>26</sup> Diehl'in Bizans'ı yeni bir bakış açısıyla ele alan bu yaklaşımı, Bizans tarihi, sanatı ve mimarisi hakkında çalışan Osmanlı yazarlarınca fazlasıyla "benimsenmiş", hatta Ahmed Refik ve Mehmed Ziya, Diehl'den yaptıkları çevirileri kendilerine mal etmişlerdir.

Bununla bağlantılı olarak bir diğer neden ise, Diehl'in yaptığı çalışmalar arasında, özellikle Bizans ve Osmanlı arasındaki tarihsel, kültürel ve sanatsal ilişkilere odaklanmasıdır. Bizans ve Osmanlı İmparatorlukları arasındaki ilişkilere çalışan bir diğer Fransız yazar Alfred Rambaud'dur ki, Ahmed Refik'in *Büyük*

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<sup>24</sup> Ahmed Refik, *Bizans İmparatoriçeleri, Bizans Tarihine Medhal, İmparatoriçelerin Tarz-ı Hayatı, Teodora, Atenais, İren, Dindar Teodora, Teofano, Zovi, Anna Comnenus*, (İstanbul : Muhtar Halid Kitabhanesi, 1331 [1915], 1. tabı.); "Tarih ve Müverrihler", *Hayat*, 60-63, 66, 69, 71, 73, 81 (19.1.1928 vd), "Şarl Dil" *İkdam*, 9007, 13.4.1922.

<sup>25</sup> Münir Mazhar, "Bizans Tarihine aid İki Ders", *Yeni Mecmua*, Cilt. 2/51, (1918), 489-495.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Diehl, *Études Byzantines*, Introduction a 'histoire de Byzance les Etudes d'histoire Byzantine en 1905, La civilisation Byzantine, L'Empire Grec sous les Paléologues, Les mosaïques de Nicée, saint-Luc, Kahrié Djami etc. (Paris, 1905), <http://archive.org/stream/tudesbyzantines00diehgoog#page/n18/mode/1up>, (03.03.2013).

*Tarih-i Umumi*'sindeki Bizans bölümü büyük ölçüde bu yazarın *Histoire Generale* (1891-1900) adlı çalışmasından alınmıştır. Rambaud'dan sonra, Charles Diehl de söz konusu ilişkiler konusunda yaptığı çalışmalar ile Osmanlı yazarlarının daha fazla dikkatini çekmiş olmalıdır. Bu durum özellikle Münir Mazhar'ın Diehl'in konferans notlarını gönderirken onun "Osmanlı'nın Bizans mirası konusunda uzman" olduğunu belirtmesinden de anlaşılır.

Bununla birlikte Batı geleneği ile uyumlu olarak, Osmanlı yazarlarının bin yıldan fazla süren Bizans tarihi hakkında yekpare bir imgesi de yoktur. Bizans tarihinin bazı dönemleri daha olumlu değerlendirilirken bazı dönemleri daha olumsuz değerlendirilir. Buna göre, Bizans'ın son yüzyılları muhtemelen İstanbul'un fethini meşrulaştırmak amacıyla en olumsuz değerlendirilen dönemdir.

8. Son olarak tezin önemli sonuçlarından birisi Bizans mirasına ilişkin bilgi üretimi ve yayılmasında olduğu kadar, Türkiye'de Bizans çalışmalarının geleceğinin belirlenmesinde de bireylerin önemli rolü olduğudur. Bu tezde incelenen entelektüeller arasında, Fuad Köprülü ve Celal Esad bu anlamda iki önemli figürdür.

Her iki yazarın ortak noktası, Osmanlı'daki Bizans etkisi meselesi üzerine olan benzer yaklaşımlarıdır. Aslında ne Celal Esad ne de Fuad Köprülü esas olarak Osmanlı'daki Bizans etkisini tümüyle reddetmemişlerdir. Onların itiraz ettiği, en basit şekliyle, Osmanlı'nın tüm kurumlarının doğrudan Bizans'tan alındığı ve klasik dönem Osmanlı mimarisinin de tamamen Ayasofya'nın birer kopyası olduğu yönündeki Avrupa'daki oryantalist söylemdir. Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar* adlı eserinde, Bizans'ın Osmanlı'ya doğrudan bir etkisi olmadığı, Bizans'a atfedilen pek çok kurumun aslında Bizans kökenli olmayıp, Osmanlı öncesi Türk ya da İslam devletlerine ait olduğu, Bizans'tan gelen bir etki varsa bile bunun doğrudan doğruya değil; Anadolu beylikleri, Selçuklular, Emevîler ve Abbasiler başta olmak üzere diğer Müslüman devletleri kanalıyla geldiğini iddia eder.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003), 170.

Aynı şekilde Celal Esad, her sanat geleneğinin birbirbiri üzerinde bir şekilde etkisi olmasının muhtemel olduğunu söylese de<sup>28</sup>, O da Köprülü gibi Osmanlı ve Türk mimarisinin gelişimine Bizans mimarisinin doğrudan bir katkısı olamayacağını, Selçuklular ile Bizans arasındaki bir takım etkileşimlerin kaynağının ise esas itibariyle Asya kökenli olduğunu öne sürer.<sup>29</sup> Böylece, tarih alanında Fuad Köprülü'nün, sanat tarihi alanında ise Celal Esad'ın, Bizans ve Osmanlı arasındaki bağlara ilişkin ileride yapılacak çalışmalara önemli ölçüde etkileri söz konusu olmuştur.

Köprülü'nün eserinin Bizans çalışmaları açısından bir diğer önemli sonucu ise onun oldukça geniş Türk ve İslam kaynaklarını kullanmasına rağmen neredeyse hiç Bizans kaynağı kullanmayışıdır. Cumhuriyet dönemi tarih yazımını doğrudan etkileyen bu eğilim yakın zamanlarda özellikle geç Bizans dönemi kaynaklarının Osmanlı'nın erken dönem tarihi için önemi takdir edilinceye kadar devam etmiştir.

Aslında daha 1910'lu yılların başındaki yazıları ve makalelerinde, Ahmed Refik, biraz da Avrupalı tarihçilerin etkisiyle söz konusu Bizans kaynaklarının Osmanlı tarihi için önemini vurgulamış, Osmanlı ile Bizans arasındaki ilişkilere dikkat çeken makaleler yayınlamıştır. Fakat ne yazık ki Ahmed Refik bu görüşlerini tarihsel bir metoda dayandıran özgün bir çalışma üretmemiş, çoğu zaman Fransız yazarlardan doğrudan çeviri kitaplarında parça parça ifade etmiştir. Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra bir süre daha çalışmalarını devam ettiren Ahmed Refik, 1929'da Türk Tarih Kurumu Başkanlığından, 1933 yılındaki üniversite reformu ile de İstanbul Üniversitesi'ndeki kadrosundan ayrılmak zorunda kalır.<sup>30</sup> Cumhuriyetin ilerleyen yıllarında ve hatta günümüzde Ahmed Refik önemli bir tarihçi olarak, özellikle Osmanlı dönemi İstanbul yaşamına ilişkin serisi ile ilgi duyulan bir tarihçi olmasına rağmen, onun Bizans tarihi ve İstanbul'u üzerine yazdıklarının Türkiye'de Bizans çalışmalarının gelişimine pek etkisi olduğu söylenemez.

İstanbul'un Bizans mirası üzerine çok değerli çalışmalar yapan Mehmed Ziya'ya gelince, 1928 yılında, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* adlı eserinin ikinci cildini

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<sup>28</sup> Celal Esad, "Osmanlı Sanayi-i Nefisesi", *İkdam*, (13.12.1906)

<sup>29</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, (İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1984, 1. basımı 1928) 36, 57, 83.

<sup>30</sup> Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*, 121-122.

yayımlayan Mehmed Ziya, çok geçmeden 1930 yılında vefat eder. Onun bu önemli eserinin yeni harflerle ilk basımı 1937 yılında oğlu Celal Ergun tarafından gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılır. Ancak, özgün kitap formundan çok farklı olarak haftalık fasiküller yayımlanan bu yeni baskının, Mehmed Ziya'nın eseri ile yakından uzaktan ilişkisi yoktur. Orijinal metnin büyük bir kısmı atılmış, örneğin Bizans İstanbul'unun tarihi neredeyse sadece bir fetih tarihine indirgenmiş, özgün kitapta kullanılan görsel malzeme yerine, "Osmanlı Camileri"nden oluşan bir fotoğraf albümü, metnin ilgili ilgisiz çeşitli bölümlerine serpiştirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak özgün kitabı bambaşka bir forma sokan bu haliyle çok geçmeden yayımı durmuştur. Böylece, Mehmed Ziya'nın hayatının on beş yılını vererek hazırladığı, Bizans İstanbul'una ilişkin belki de yakın zamana kadar Türkçe basılan en önemli eseri, uzun yıllar boyunca unutulmaya mahkûm olmuştur. Tüm bu veriler ışığında, Celal Esad ve Fuad Köprülü'ye göre, Ahmed Refik ve Mehmed Ziya'nın Cumhuriyet döneminde gerçekleştirilen Bizans çalışmalarına neredeyse hiç etkisi olamamıştır denebilir.

Sonuç olarak, Edward Said'in belirttiği gibi, bilgi üretimi sadece akademik bir çaba olmayıp herhangi bir tarihsel bağlamda iktidarın oluşumuyla ve kullanılmasıyla yakından ilgilidir. Bu kapsamda, Bizans mirasının Avrupa ve Osmanlı/Türk temsillerinin oluşumuna neden olan tarihsel gelişmeler son derece karmaşık ve değişen dinamiklere bağlıdır. Dahası, tarihsel ve politik koşulların ötesinde; bireyler, kurumlar ve temel metinler de bu süreçte çok önemli rol oynamıştır. Geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemi entelektüelleri için, Bizans mirası ile ne yapılacağı konusu kuramsal bir soru değildir. Çünkü bu geçmiş, aynı zamanda yapılı çevrede temsil edilmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu geçmişin nasıl yazılacağı sorusu her daim zihinleri meşgul eden konulardan birisi olagelmıştır.

Tezin en başında Avrupa'da Bizans imgesi ve tarih yazımı konusunda, Averil Cameron'un "Bizans'ın yokluğu" olarak adlandırdığı, Batı'daki ana akım tarih yazımında Bizans'ın algılanış ve ele alınış biçimlerinden bahsedilmiş, Cameron'un 1990'larda çarpıcı bir biçimde dile getirdiği bu konunun, o dönemden beri sürekli olarak modern Avrupa tarih yazımında eleştirel bir tutum ile yeniden değerlendirdiği ve bu konuda pek çok öncü çalışmanın üretildiği ifade edilmiştir. Bu çalışmalarda çoğu zaman göz ardı edilen Türkiye örneği ise, bu tez çalışmasının

odak noktasını oluşturmuş, böylece bu yeni akım tartışmalara bir katkıda bulunmak istenmiştir.

Bununla birlikte, Türkiye’de Bizans mirası ile “ne yapılacağı sorusu”nun yeniden gündeme geldiği tarihi dönemlerden birinin daha yaşanmakta olduğu da göz ardı edilemez. Son yıllarda, uzun zamandır müze olarak kullanılmakta olan önemli Bizans kiliselerinin yeniden camiye dönüştürülmesi, bu mirasın Türkiye’de siyasi otorite ve bazı kültürel çevrelerin zihinlerini hala “meşgul” ettiğinin en açık göstergesidir. Dahası, Avrupa Kültür Başkenti ve bir Dünya Miras Alanı olmasına rağmen İstanbul, kentin Bizans, Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet mirasının yok olmasına neden olan sürekli bir “dönüşüm” süreci yaşamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Türkiye’de mimari miras olarak “Bizans’ın yokluğu”nun, evrensel miras açısından olumsuz ve geri dönülmez sonuçlar doğuracağı ortadadır. Dolayısıyla bu tez çalışmasının, Türkiye’deki Bizans mirasının korunmasına bilgi üretimi yoluyla - tıpkı bu tezde incelenen bireyler ve metinleri gibi - küçük de olsa bir katkı sunması umut edilmektedir.

## APPENDIX D

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

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#### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	İstanbul University, Art History	2004
BA	İstanbul University, Art History	2001
High School	Medical Vocational High School, Ankara	1995

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2006- Present	Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage and Museums	Culture and Tourism Expert (Art Historian)

#### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English: advanced, French: good

#### PUBLICATIONS

“Byzantine Studies and Byzantine Architectural Historiography in Turkey”, METU *Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 2011/2, (28:2) 63-80 DOI: 10.4305/METU.JFA.2011.2.3